

FREEDOM MATTERS.
A THEORETICAL-PRACTICAL APPROACH TO THE MEASUREMENT OF FREEDOM

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ABSTRACT

Freedom matters is a strong statement on one of the most important concepts behind the political scene in modern times. This research features two significant contributions: it shows the hegemonic theoretical conceptualization of freedom in social sciences and unveils those theories as the ideological foundations of modern global freedom indices. Using mixed methodologies proper of the social sciences, I developed a discourse analysis in its qualitative aspect of the most influential texts in the field to continue with the data analysis of secondary data provided by essential freedom indices from around the globe. It links both methods into a matrix of analysis that provides valuable information about ideological and political alignments of the institutions behind the production of each index. The research also unveils the methodology currently used for measuring freedom (although not exclusively on this subject) and how this is detrimental to the plural and multicultural understanding of the global and local reality. With its unique theoretical-practical components, this research has significant implications for social policy. It will soon provide a more unified understanding of security, self-preference, and opportunity as components of a more integrating knowledge of freedom.

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INTRODUCTION

Hegoak ebaki banizkio
nerea izango zen,
ez zuen aldegingo.

Bainan, honela
ez zen gehiago txoria izango
eta nik...
txoria nuen maite.

(Artze, 1957)

Freedom is one of the pillars of our civilization; it makes us humans. "God, freedom and immortality, says [Kant], are the three «ideas of the reason.»" (Russell, 1961b, p. 389) Given the importance of freedom, one might think it is uncontested and stable beyond personal beliefs—nothing further from reality. Nevertheless, freedom is often at risk, not as a general concept or a capacity of the being itself, but in its value and materialization, individual and collective.

Freedom is a fascinating object of study that intersects several disciplines in social sciences and human affairs. For example, it has been a classical object of study for political philosophy, moral philosophy, philosophy of law, and, of course, the Sociology of Law.

I have identified a general tendency to misunderstand freedom. However, what makes freedom so challenging to understand and achieve? A possible answer might be hiding behind Joxean Artze's famous poem and the dilemma it presents of understanding that everything that we appreciate must be free, even if that means it might get away from us. Does this mean freedom is a value above everything? I think not, or at least not all the time, and there lies the point of this research, to find out what

we understand by freedom, how we measure it and differentiate between the measurement of freedom and the measurement of the value of freedom. These two aspects of the research are of particular importance: (i) the different understandings and approaches to the study of freedom; and (ii) the measurement of freedom, particularly collective legal freedom.

1.1. RESEARCH AIM, QUESTIONS, AND HYPOTHESES

With this research, I aim to develop a methodological tool for understanding the genealogical development of freedom, from the theoretical analysis to the metrological observation of the phenomenon. This primary aim has been divided into the following four subordinate objectives: (i) identify different conceptualizations of freedom; (ii) identify opposing and complementary conceptualizations; (iii) identify different global rankings and measurements of freedom; and (iv) identify whether different conceptualizations of freedom influence the different measurements of freedom currently made.

Addressing the subordinate objectives allows me to link freedom to its contingent links, allowing me to understand the evolution of the concept to the current point, where contesting understandings of freedom are being queried by data science. This is done by linking the different conceptualizations of freedom with varying indices of freedom produced worldwide.

Even though this research is not an attempt to develop a definition of freedom, an enhanced understanding of the indices researched that along Chapter 2 will require conceptualizing freedom.

To clarify the objectives of the research, I answer the following research questions:

- a) Is freedom a concept with universal validity?
- b) Is freedom being measured accurately with the current methods? and,
- c) Is there a way to measure freedom that asserts global and local preferences on the subject simultaneously?

Finally, having a precise aim for the dissertation, guided by the research questions formulated before, I started the research with the following working hypothesis: The indices currently measuring freedom are produced by Western institutions, supporting a hegemonic conceptualization of freedom; its measurement and use. The hegemonic definition of freedom and the metrics used work to the detriment of individual freedoms, especially in countries from the Global South.

1.2. JUSTIFICATION OF THE RESEARCH

Studying, thinking, and measuring freedom is important; the world needs it, but we cannot afford to impose our model of liberty or freedoms -as I will show later- on others, thus turning freedom into the axiological Trojan Horse of one civilization into another. This research is relevant to the field; by developing a matrix of analysis as a methodological tool to understand

the evolution in the measurement of freedom over time. The production of indices and measurement of liberty is not new. I will provide examples of this in the following chapters, which show the advance in understanding and measuring freedom; however, I can advance that understanding and measuring freedom have yet to be connected, or at least need to be adequately linked.

This dissertation constitutes a unique approach to the study of freedom, with strong theoretical foundations linking reflections on classical philosophy, philosophy of law, and political and moral philosophy with methodologies of the sociology of law and statistics. This theoretical-practical approach is the hallmark of this dissertation and constitutes the cornerstone to understanding freedom's genealogy.

With the theoretical approach of this dissertation, I unveil the importance of freedom and the relevance of the correct delimitation of the concept and its further application to the measurement of freedom and its value for the development of public policies.

1.3. METHODOLOGY

The methodological approach for the dissertation imbibes different methods of the social sciences. Using diverse qualitative and quantitative methods applied to theoretical-practical research allowed me to obtain more reliable results.

One research aim is that each chapter of the dissertation contains descriptive information that can be used to nurture the understanding of the rest of the dissertation, with a particular impact on the Matrix of Analysis in Chapter 5.

In the Theoretical Approaches to Freedom, I reviewed the literature using the triangulation method to understand how literature has permeated the current measurement of freedom globally. The analysis of texts, from the classics to the most recent, is relevant when contrasting the terminological use made in the indices and their reports, which allows the reproduction of a technical discourse that pretends to be scientific and objective.

The content analysis in the literature review also allowed me to notice an evolution in using freedom and liberty. One of the thesis hypotheses is that they are used interchangeably but should be considered different. Either way, I will use them as synonyms except for the explicit reference to one or another based on the text of the study.

In analyzing the measurement of freedom, I developed an analysis of the publishers from the institutional and ideological point of view and a statistical analysis of the reports produced. These reports contain a discourse worth studying and contrasting with the documents and data extracted from the theoretical approach.

Finally, the data obtained from the qualitative and quantitative methods nourished the matrix of analysis that triangulates the data and outcomes

obtained to stabilize them and satisfy the dissertation's research questions.

1.3.1. PARADIGM AND METHODOLOGY

Professor Maggie Walter (2013), from the University of Tasmania, argues that empirical and theoretical activities have interdependent roles. Considering the wise words of my methodology professor, I find it relevant to understand the theoretical paradigms behind the methodological procedures of the dissertation. Walter (2013) describes paradigms as theoretical macro frames of reference. I imagine them as massive warehouses where, in this case, social theories are deposited, stored, studied, and developed. According to Walter (2013), there are six different paradigms (i) Conflict; (ii) Feminist; (iii) Functionalist; (iv) Indigenous; (v) Interpretivist; and (vi) Postmodernist.

Even though professor Walter (2013) associates the Conflict Paradigm with large-scale, quantitative research methods, she also relates the paradigm with the work of Karl Marx by saying that "A conflict perspective begins from the notion of society as inherently unequal, and engaged in ongoing conflict around the competing interests of different social groups." (Walter, 2013, p. 17) While this dissertation does not aim to unveil the inequalities and conflicts between social groups, competition is inherent to the rankings analyzed in the following chapters. The Feminist and the Indigenous paradigms are equally exciting and have influenced the research at some point; however, both paradigms deserve to be used

as lighthouses for separate papers. By now, it is enough to say that a feminist approach to the issue of how we measure freedom has been introduced to some of the indices, as the following chapters will show. Professor Walter (2013) introduces the concept of participatory action research that aims to relocate the control of the research from the researcher to the subject researched. It is defined as "A cyclical research process aimed at providing feedback into a cycle for problem-solving. It is a practical research method that requires an equal and open collaboration between the researcher and the research community." (Walter, 2013, p. 18)

Participatory action research requires many more resources than those allocated for a dissertation; however, that should be the aim for measuring freedom. Participatory action research should become the new normal for measuring relevant issues such as freedom. This could benefit a truly global understanding of the genealogy of freedom by allowing individuals worldwide to measure the phenomenon on their terms. The use of participatory action research is the answer to the decolonization of research, usually developed in a unidirectional way from north to south in the global context elucidated by Boaventura de Souza Santos.

However, participatory action research is separate from the current methodology used for the analysis. That means the interpretivist Paradigm associated with Max Weber and the qualitative methods have yet to be used here. The functionalist Paradigm is the foundation of my research. Following Emile Durkheim, I understand the world as an

interdependent structure that shares values and realities that are constantly changing. This does not mean that this is my only understanding of freedom as a social phenomenon. My way of understanding reality is by using diverse methodologies and contrasting paradigms.

Following the argumentative lines established early on, I used quantitative methods by collecting secondary data from the most prestigious indices that measure freedom. This allowed me to get a global understanding of freedom as a worldwide phenomenon. I also used qualitative methods, such as Discourse Analysis and Historical Analysis. The Discourse Analysis allowed me to understand the motivations behind what, how, and why freedom is being measured. The Historical Analysis allows the genealogical understanding of freedom and its measurement over time.

1.3.2. RESEARCH PROCEDURES

The research procedures started with the theoretical approach to the subject of this dissertation. I designed the analysis of the topic with a multidisciplinary approach. The five approaches I used to understand freedom show the concept's complexity. Freedom has legal, philosophical, and political implications and descriptions, none of which is capable, on its own, of explaining freedom and its implications over time. As the definition of the concept is difficult for a starting point, I decided to unveil the development of the concept, how different cultures have understood freedom, and what can be inferred from that. At the end

of the road, I can only understand such a complex phenomenon by standing on the shoulders of giants. That is why the theoretical approach becomes so important. It helps not only to understand the development of freedom but also to understand how the understanding of freedom through its measurement is valuable nowadays.

The way I understand socio-legal research is a tandem between theoretical and practical knowledge, which is why the Literature Review links to the empirical research of the indices and their producers. The empirical analysis was divided into two parts: (i) a Review of the twelve institutions that participated in producing the indices; and (ii) a Review of fourteen indices produced to measure freedom worldwide.

For institutional research, I developed a standardized structure of analysis. Under this structure, all institutions can be compared in the analysis matrix. As a result, the institutional research provides information about the following:

- i. Location. Shows the Anglo-centrism of the field, reinforced by the hegemonical location of the centers of study in the Global North.
- ii. Foundation. Shows a trend of the times that freedom became a measured concept; otherwise, difficult to define.
- iii. Founders. On most occasions, it shows a clear trend interconnected to when those indices and institutions were founded.

- iv. Governance. Shows the institutional configuration that permeates the indices' design. This can tell us about the ideological alignment of the institutions behind the indices.
- v. Funding. Shows the origin of the material means necessary to produce the indices. When available, it shows the ideological alignment of the indices.
- vi. Every institution is related to the Indices of interest for this research. Most of the institutions engage with a wide range of research and publications. For some, the selected indices are an insignia; for others, they are just another publication made by some of its departments. Nevertheless, they are essential to relate each index to the people and ideas behind it.

The fourteen indices I reviewed are:

- i. CIRI Human Rights Data Project, from the University of Connecticut. Measuring a period from 2007 to 2011.
- ii. Democracy Index, from The Economist Intelligence Unit. Measuring a period from 2017 to 2021.
- iii. Economic Freedom of the World Index, from the Fraser Institute. Measuring a period from 2015 to 2019.
- iv. Freedom in the World, from the Freedom House. Measuring a period from 2018 to 2022.
- v. Freedom of the Press, from the Freedom House. Measuring a period from 2013 to 2017.

- vi. Freedom on the Net, from the Freedom House. Measuring a period from 2017 to 2021.
- vii. Human Freedom Index, from the Cato Institute, the Fraser Institute, and the Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung für die Freiheit. Measuring a period from 2015 to 2019.
- viii. Index of Economic Freedom, from The Wallstreet Journal and The Heritage Foundation. Measuring a period from 2018 to 2022.
- ix. Index of Freedom in the World, from the Cato Institute, the Fraser Institute, and the Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung für die Freiheit. Measuring the year 2012.
- x. Liberal Democracy Index, from the V-Dem Institute. Measuring a period from 2018 to 2022.
- xi. State Fragility Index, from the Center for Systemic Peace. Measuring a period from 2009 to 2018, with the publication of reports for 2009, 2011, 2014, 2017, and 2018.
- xii. World Electoral Freedom Index, from the Fundación para el Avance de la Libertad. Measuring a period from 2018 to 2021.
- xiii. World Index of Moral Freedom, from the Fundación para el Avance de la Libertad. Measuring a period from 2016 to 2022 with biannual reports.
- xiv. World Press Freedom Index, from the Reporters sans Frontières. Measuring a period from 2017 to 2021.

The indices researched include information about:

- a) Editors understand that indices are not ideologically neutral publications; however, indices' outcomes are interconnected with personal and institutional aims.
- b) The institutional affiliation shows a clear link between the institutions producing the indices and the outcome, making the connection between those parts of the dissertation.
- c) Period of production. Even though the original aim of the dissertation was to engage with lustrum research, this was impossible because some of the essential freedom indices still need to be published. In contrast, others just started publishing in the last five years, and others are published biannually¹ or in discontinuous years². That is the reason for an individual analysis of the previous five reports, usually meaning a period of 5 years: however, extending that period from 2007 to 2022 (fifteen years).
- d) Each index points to other relevant data directly related to the institutional and editorial ideological leanings. The aim is sometimes expressed directly; others are understood through the freedoms measured and methodology used.

¹ World Index of Moral Freedom.

² State Fragility Index.

- e) The methodological approach of each index is as interesting as diverse; however, I standardized it to understand the core of each index analyzed, as follows:
- i. Categories of freedom under measurement; even if the index aim is to measure freedom as a binder concept, it is usually composed of other freedoms to be measured.
 - ii. Countries that are considered. Even if it sounds counter-intuitive, the diversity of countries and territories considered by each index (and the changes in the number of countries over time) is relevant. For example, the total of countries and territories measured by the selected indices is 216; however, only 48 appear in each of the 14 indices along the specified period for each.
 - iii. Indicators are used in each index to understand and measure the degree of freedom in each country. The low number of indices that explicitly incorporate gender or race indicators, with a precise analysis of these groups, is particularly significant.
 - iv. Coding has been a methodological challenge because almost every index has been coded differently. I solved this in the Matrix of Analysis, standardizing the data gathered to compare countries, indices, and freedoms.

To facilitate the comparison, I analyzed each index using four figures:

- i. Average Freedom by Country, shown on a map with a gradient from green to red, is the average grade of freedom reached by each country during the selected period. The map allows a better understanding of the individual and regional positioning, with a better representation of the freedom situation than the representation given by the traditional rankings.
- ii. Yearly Overall Freedom acknowledges a model of the development of global freedom during the selected period of the countries and liberties at each index.
- iii. Yearly Countries Classification is a relevant tool for governments and NGOs to understand countries' situations. Most indices already include this classification; therefore, I gathered and systematized it. In addition, I created a quartile-based classification for those indices that do not provide a countries' classification. This allowed me to continue the methodological approach to the countries' rankings with an ideologically aseptic classification.
- iv. Yearly Average by Category is one of the most exciting features of the model. It shows each index's main categories and how they are positioned in a global average related to the freedoms better set globally.

As announced, the research covers fifteen years, from 2007 to 2022. Some indices are no longer produced; however, they are relevant for a field they

helped to build. The most recent five years (2018-2022) is the stage more suitable for this dissertation; nevertheless, the analysis of the fourteen indices generated the need to broaden this period. This way, discontinued indices relate with the most updated ones, developing a conversation with the field's origins, present, and future.

I gathered, coded, and modeled all the data extracted from the indices to produce a Matrix of Analysis built on the conviction that a more comprehensive approach to measuring freedom is possible.

Structurally, the Matrix of Analysis follows the configuration developed in the index analysis (Average freedom by country, Yearly overall freedom, Yearly countries classification, and Yearly average by category), summing up with the institutional research comprised:

- I. Mapping of the institutions' location, attempting to show a trend of the centralization of the institutions gathering data related to freedom.
- II. Institution's political alignment, categorizing the institutions into four categories (Conservative, Liberal/libertarian, Neutral, Progressive), according to the explicit or implicit affiliation published on their websites.
- III. Institutional funding, relating to the source of the resources used to develop the indices, follows the idea that the source of financial resources tells a lot about the ideological alignment of the index. The

sources were divided into three categories: (i) public, (ii) private, and (iii) hybrid.

IV. The nature of institutions is divided into four categories (i) educative; (ii) think tank, (iii) media, and (iv) NGOs. This categorization often links with the institutions' political alignment and funding.

The Institutional comparative matrix shows links and trends between the institutions and how each measures freedom; interesting is the trend drawn by the indices developed by the same institution.

An exciting issue takes part in the analysis matrix. First, I present the 216 countries and territories representing the research's total population, paying particular attention to those 48 that always appeared in the 14 indices during the selected period.

1.4. OUTLINE OF THE REPORT

This dissertation is the report of findings of the research on freedom I started in 2017. It comprises six chapters designed to introduce the reader to the study, beginning with this introduction that offers the general idea of the background of the research, its aim, questions, and hypothesis. I previously presented a summary of the study's methodology, and this initial chapter is completed with the delimitations of this dissertation's scope and critical assumptions.

The second chapter is a literature review on freedom, with different approaches explained at the beginning, each representing the various

disciplines involved in the research. This chapter is divided into three parts corresponding to the following approaches: (i) Genealogical; (ii) Socio-Legal; and (iii) Metrological.

In the Genealogical Approaches to Freedom section, I perform a literature review following the model developed by Professor Quentin Skinner, following the idea that freedom is an evolving value that cannot be defined without comprising its contingent conditions. This approach allowed me to develop a conversation between scholars in an intergenerational discussion of the brightest minds of our times.

I also developed a review of Socio-Legal Approaches to Freedom, presenting the traditional classification of freedom as positive, negative, and republican, as presented by Mill and Bentham, adding inquiries on the understanding of the issue by classics and moderns presented by Constant. Finally, logically connected with the Genealogical review, I developed a theoretical study to understand the link between freedom and government, arbitrary power, economic inequality, liberalism, and libertarianism.

Finally, I made a theoretical approach to the Measurement of Freedom. It is essential to clarify that in this section, all approaches are theoretical instead of practical, that is, the approach given to the measurement in the following chapters. In this section, I follow the work of Sally Engle Merry and Ian Carter to build a critique of the current measure of freedom. This section uses the deductive method, starting from a review of

measurement and the use of the indices and finishing with its connection to the next chapter.

The third chapter presents an analysis of the institutions that produce freedom metrics. This answers the question of who? When analyzing the institutions, I intend to unveil standardized data such as country, year of foundation, founders, stockholders, partners, funding, administration, index, or indices produced, and other products or reports unlinked to “freedom”.

The fourth chapter is devoted to studying each of the fourteen indices. Again, I present a strong connection between the indices and the institutions that produce them. I also analyze the methodology, variables, data, and ideological alignment and compare the last five reports published when possible.

The fifth chapter contains the neuralgic component of my dissertation, which is the Matrix of Analysis that connects all the research I conducted. No new data is introduced in this chapter. Still, it integrates all data previously presented, systematizing it into a series of charts and tables that enable a better understanding of the matter. The chapter is divided into two sections. The first section is devoted to institutional analysis, while in the second, I developed an analysis of the trends that the combined indices draw.

1.5. DELIMITATIONS OF SCOPE, KEY ASSUMPTIONS, AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

No matter how ambitious, any inquiry has limitations, some given by the scope or the circumstances surrounding the research and the researcher. This is not the exemption, and I need to highlight some delimitations to the area made for the best interest of this dissertation.

Ambition is a light that often guides the researcher, and the beginning of any research is driven almost entirely by that ambition. In my case, my original aim was to grasp everything that a human being can understand for freedom. However, of course, that aim was unrealistic and unrealizable. So, the objective needed to be narrowed, not to limit my possibilities, but in favor of better research procedures.

This dissertation is a humble attempt to contribute to the field in a specific area of freedom, its measurement. The research is delimited in two ways, by time and resources. The temporal delimitation is of fifteen years in the data collection. Metrology is not an antique science; however, almost everything is subject to measurement since its irruption, and freedom is no exception. How freedom has been measured has changed since the Index of Economic Freedom appeared twenty-five years ago. However, why not bring the temporal range of the research to twenty-five years? Because not every freedom index existed then, fifteen years is a better time frame. The other delimitation I need to state is that the research on the indices is also based on the subject they aim to measure. There are thousands of indices worldwide, and a few measures freedom, but most

make national or regional measurements and rankings. I only reviewed indices that measure global freedom, developing scales that allow me to contrast national evolutions and cross information between them.

Social sciences research indeed involves the study of human beings. Nevertheless, social studies can be reached by gathering data directly or indirectly through what has been called secondary data. This research involves no direct human research; therefore, no ethical considerations must be listed.

I gathered secondary data directly from the websites of the institutions that published the reports included in the research. Some of them are obscure in their procedures and data, and sometimes that information has been deleted; those circumstances are stated in each case.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The methodological approach of this dissertation is unique, with procedures that gather secondary information from the most relevant indices in the field, cross-referencing the data with the institutional history of its publishers. I gathered information from more countries and territories than those recognized by the United Nations over three lustra. The design of the research procedures allowed me to understand the origins of the field and establish a communication line between the past, present, and future of the study of freedom.

The analysis of freedom and the intrinsic difficulty of defining it shows the importance of approaching it as an evolving concept. The evolution of freedom itself is better perceived and grasped through the combined methodology proposed for this research: analyzing its development globally; however, paying attention to understanding freedom locally.

2. THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO FREEDOM (LITERATURE REVIEW)

“First ask yourselves, Gentlemen, what an Englishman, a Frenchman, and a citizen of the United States of America understand today by the word ‘liberty.’” (Constant, 1988b, p. 310) Two centuries later, this question is more relevant than ever but needs to be updated to answer the inquiries of modern times. We need to ask ourselves as human beings, as people of all the corners of the Earth what do we understand today by the word freedom. What does my neighbor and people living in my antipodes understand as freedom. The question is pertinent today to understand freedom in different terms, to create an inclusive and plural definition of the term, and to produce measures that can build a comprehensive understanding of what freedom means for individuals and communities, for women and men, for rich and poor, to embrace every religion and cultural traditions. Let us ask ourselves what we understand by the word ‘liberty’ and if those different understandings can be sufficient to embrace the changes along time and traditions.

Freedom is a complex concept; it is a word that represents different things for different people at different times. Freedom is a word that changes according to the next word or if we are using it in plural or singular. Different languages translate different to the concept, English refers to it in at least two different ways, while Spanish, French and Euskara only one. Russian has three and a Japanese seems not to have an exact translation. However, linguistic complexity is not the only approach to unveil the

relevance of freedom; a multiplicity of approaches nourishes its importance.

Given the importance and universality of freedom, a review of everything that has been written is an appealing but unbearable endeavor; nevertheless, I will be exploring three approaches that will serve as guiding threads to review the essential sources that (so far) I have been able to identify on the subject.

The first approach is genealogical, and I will use it to show how our understanding of freedom and the different categories of freedom have changed over time. With this approach, I unveil the relevance of freedom as a core political value that cannot be defined but approached according to the observer and the subject's times and circumstances. This approach aims to manifest the unlikelihood of sustaining the hegemonic definition of freedom, to draw a map of the different possibilities to understanding freedom, where measuring might be the best chance we have in our times, and to unveil its core significance if it is to be a global concept.

The second approach I develop is socio-legal, researching of the theories of freedom and how those theories interact with other concepts such as a person, power, autonomy, and dependence. This approach reviews the limits imposed on freedom by studying subjects such as government, authoritarianism, and inequality. In addition, it revisits classic concepts such as the classifications of freedom (positive, negative, and republican) and its distinction to liberty, liberalism, and libertarianism.

My last approach deals with modern tendencies and methodologies. The metrology of freedom has been developing in the previous century to understand how different countries respond to core political concepts. In that context, some scholars recently have been enquiring about the measurement of freedom, making it, in that sense, a notion that can be analyzed within its evolution. The importance of this approach remains in the socio-legal and comparative value that indicators have in modern economic and political affairs.

2.1. GENEALOGICAL APPROACHES TO FREEDOM

“The world has never had a good definition of liberty, and the American people just now are much in need of one. We all declare for liberty, but in using the same word, we do not mean the same thing... Here are two not only different but incompatible things called by the same name, liberty. ABRAHAM LINCOLN” (Hayek, 1960, p. 11)

Abraham Lincoln’s words manifest the difficulty of understanding freedom; each person can approach the concept according to their possibilities and circumstances. However, that does not mean that defining freedom is an easy commission. So then, should we forsake the idea of learning what freedom is? Or, on the contrary, should we trust a hegemonic definition and move on? I argue that neither alternative is desirable and that to understand freedom, the only way is to unveil the critical nature of this core value for humankind.

I sustain that freedom is an entropic value. Freedom changes from time to time, region to region, culture to culture, and individual to individual. This constant change in what we understand as freedom has developed the need to understand the different definitions of freedom as pictures taken in a particular place and time; of course, having in mind that in the production of this photograph, the photographer unveils her values and circumstances. Does this mean each person has a unique understanding of freedom that we have to respect, and that is it? I would say no. We should respect personal knowledge in any matter, but that is not the end of the story. The individual understanding of freedom, which kind of freedom do we value as individuals should follow the democratic process to entail its defense against constraints, may them come from where they come.

For Bertrand Russell (1961a), philosophers are simultaneously causes and effects of their socio-political circumstances. The problem in selecting texts is that the author must find the equilibrium between lack of details and over-adding them. For a better understanding of the development and evolution of freedom, I will follow the ideas presented by Quentin Skinner in 2016 at the Stanford Humanities Center as part of his Harry Camp Memorial Lectures. Skinner (2016) pursues the notion that concepts with histories cannot have definitions, an idea initially developed by Nietzsche in his famous essay *On the Genealogy of Morality*.

Following Nietzschean ideas, Skinner (2016) uses genealogy to understand the evolution of freedom within Western culture by analyzing rival definitions and how this rivalry develops the concept of freedom itself. That is what you can expect in this section, the analysis of different understandings of freedom among time and political views to provide a genealogical insight that should keep evolving with our times. Until here, I followed Professor Skinner's lecture. I will not follow his path from the liberal to the neo-Roman, passing through the Hegelian concept of freedom, because I think there is much evolution made before and after; and because Professor Skinner himself states that his genealogy is focused on "[...] the English language tradition of classical liberal political philosophy." (Skinner, 2016) I would like to go further, in time and space, to unveil a more global understanding of freedom.

Pierre Bourdieu wrote that "[...] there is no more potent tool for rupture than the reconstruction of genesis: by bringing back into view the conflicts and confrontations of the early beginnings and therefore all the discarded possible, it retrieves the possibility that things could have been (and still could be) otherwise." (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 40)

There is a common mistake to think that ancient philosophers were not concerned about freedom and did not engage with the concept. Sometimes, it seems like freedom is a modern concept that became relevant after the revolutions of the late XVIII century—nothing further

from reality. However, the genealogy of freedom can be traced (at least) to the antique Greek philosophy.

The first approach to the term freedom that (so far) I have been able to trace is a quote from Aristotle in *Politics*, book 6, chapter 2. "In democracy, LIBERTY is not supposed: for it is commonly held that no man is FREE in any other government." (Hobbes, 1996, p. 144) Therefore, freedom was understood as a political and social value, disregarding individual freedom as only part of communitarian freedom. This will be important in the socio-legal approach to freedom because the understanding of freedom is deeply interconnected to the political system and the concept of person, also, with an interesting historical development.

Friedrich August von Hayek (1960) said that men entered history divided into free and unfree. Until not so long enslaving practices were legal and even in our days those practices are more common than we would like. To Hobbes (1996), the liberty of the ancient Greeks and Romans was not an individual liberty but a communal one. This notion is also supported by Constant (1988b), who says that the ancients had no notion of individual rights. Liberty consisted of active and constant participation in collective power. We must remember that the ancient idea of freedom was linked with who could participate in the affairs of the *polis*. In legal terms, who was considered person and who was not. According to Constant (1988b), a concept of liberty borrowed from the antique republics is offered to people worldwide. That liberty consisted of participation in collective

power, what Hayek calls political freedom; the difference between them and us relays on the notion of person. Hayek observed that in the ancient world, men could be free or unfree; however, we are not thinking about the pleiad of human beings not considered men. This reminds us of the current discussion of considering animals and nature as persons, as subjects of law.

For Thomas Hobbes (1996), and let's keep in mind this concept was developed in the mid seventeenth century, liberty is the absence of opposition, meaning by opposition only external impediments of motion. This understanding of freedom has passed the test of time and nowadays is one of the most common definitions of freedom. Negative freedom has become the preferred definition for scholars interested in the subject. For Benn and Weinstein (1971), that definition is unsatisfactory because interference with freedom needs to be unjustified, and freedom could be better understood as the non-restriction of options. This is an understanding of opposition in positive terms. The difference remains in where the opposition is placed.

For James Harrington (1992), the individual's liberty is the empire of reason, and liberty in society is the empire of laws. Equality of power between nations is the liberty of every man within them. In that way, I suspect that Harrington, like most rationalist, relays in reason the feature of the being that itself can create freedom as an individual feature and then liberty as a feature of a rational society. In these terms, society seems to exist within

Law, but what about those social endeavors outside Law, for Harrington, there is no space for freedom within them.

John Locke seemed to be aware of the link between freedom and the law in his famous *Two Treatises of Government*, published by the end of the seventeenth century. Locke (1960) thought that law aims to preserve and enlarge freedom until the person reaches a state of perfect liberty, which for him, is the natural state of the person. However, this raises a question. Is reaching this state of perfect freedom (even if it is the person's natural state) possible? Locke (1960) established the liberty to destroy oneself as a limit to freedom. I will show later that this limit has evolved and is on the wane. This is a limit that proves the evolution of freedom, some decades ago issues as euthanasia and abortion were out of discussion, while in Japan the idea of suicide was accepted as a matter of honor, since ancient times.

Undoubtedly, the French Revolution represents a breaking point in understanding freedom. It is with the writers of the second half of the eighteenth century that freedom is popularized and democratized. Authors such as Montesquieu (1989) understood liberty as the lack of constraints and the power of the person to exercise her own will without being constrained to do anything against one's will. The Baron de Montesquieu established the limits of this freedom of choice within the law. This is a crucial distinction between freedom and liberty, introduced by the liberal revolutions of the eighteenth century. The idea that the law is the limit of

freedom is explained in-depth by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who, in the *Social Contract* (1763), develops the concept of a public person formed by the union of the individuals, each apportioning their power under a united direction. According to Rousseau (1763), the liberty of the individual is the empire of reason; and liberty in society is the empire of laws, but equality of power is the only way to ensure the liberty of every man. This idea is very similar to the one, already studied, developed by Harrington almost a century before, with the difference that equality of power is now focused on the individuals, not the state.

Outside continental Europe, Jeremy Bentham (1776), twenty years after Rousseau, introduced an exciting concept of liberty against the law, making it the opposite of liberty against wrongdoers. Of course, both liberties are opposite, but he suggested that when one is increased, the other is diminished in the same proportion and by the exact cause.

Almost at the end of the eighteenth century, Immanuel Kant developed the principle of universal freedom, which will be very important for understanding and measuring freedom. Kant (1785) understood the law as the sum of all conditions where the will of every individual is reconciled with the will of others; therefore, individual and universal freedom coexist within the law of universal coercion. In this way, Kant thought of freedom as a necessary social value, created and protected under the realm of law, on what he conceived as the Universal Law of Rights.

The concept of person, that I anticipated has a strong connection with the understanding of freedom, has existence with the realm of Law. Said in other worlds, the person is a legal concept. The relationship between freedom and the person has been as important as the different kinds of freedom that can be experienced. The first distinction I am aware of is that introduced by Benjamin Constant (1988b) when differentiating between (i) liberty of exercise -particularly of political and civil rights-; and (ii) Liberty of enjoyment -of private pleasures. Both are institutionally secured. Constant (1988b) identified the first with the liberty experienced by the ancients, while the moderns enjoyed the latter. Constant (1988b) followed the ideas of his predecessors by arguing that Representative Government is the only shelter for the individual to find freedom and peace, which was unknown by the ancients and becomes the antithesis of what libertarians or liberal anarchists might assume. This will become relevant in future chapters to understand why the measurement of freedom is particularly interested in unveiling the constraints imposed by the states on the individual, sometimes neglecting the possibility of finding constraints from any other source.

Just a couple of years later, in what is now Germany, Friedrich Hegel (1942) summed up the Kantian relationship between freedom and rights by understanding that freedom is the substance and goal of rights. Hegel (1942) goes further by ensuring that freedom is made actual by the system of rights, that is, the Law. For Hegel (1942), negative freedom is only a one-

sided abstract idea. He contests the usual concept of freedom, related to arbitrariness, which involves free reflection and dependence on content.

Although freedom has been the object of study by liberals, Karl Marx (1977) had a different approach to understanding freedom, not as an individual endeavor. Quite the contrary, he thought that human rights (including political freedom) were exercised in the community. For Marx (1977), liberty is a power whose limit can be found in harming others, and the law is the instrument that establishes those limits. An exciting contribution to the Marxist theory of freedom is the categorization between the rights of the citizen and the rights of the man; both categorizations are essential for measuring freedom. A couple of years later, writing about *The German Ideology*, Marx and Engels (1977) assured that in a communist society, where labor division does not exist, the person can grow her freedom without any constraints other than the principle of no-harm already exposed before. Miller (1983) deepened the analysis of constraints on freedom by stating that constraints become obstacles to freedom only when they are (i) imposed by another human; (ii) not removed; or (iii) casually responsible. This is an interesting addition to the theory, because clarifies the conditions required to understand that constraints diminish freedom. Which means that not every constraint is an obstacle to freedom.

By the end of the twentieth century, David Zimmerman contested that capitalist or communist systems protect better the freedom. To

Zimmerman (1981), the core of the dispute relies on coercion, and there is a mutual understanding that coercion is morally wrong. In that sense, to Zimmerman (1981), one possible dispute about freedom is the coerciveness of the relations of production, particularly in the capitalist system. By framing coercion as morally wrong, Zimmerman opens the discussion about the source of coercion, that is frequently observed beyond the confines of the state.

In the mid-nineteenth century, John Stuart Mill represented a significant milestone in studying freedom. His work, *On Liberty*, is the most influential piece on the subject until our days. For Mill (1991), liberty consists of pursuing your good in your way; therefore, it is not absolute and univocal but an issue that changes over time in a close relationship with the individual. Mill established the limitation of freedom only for extreme cases, where public power must protect the undesired result of not limiting freedom, like harming yourself or others. Mill (1991) is particularly worried about social tyranny, so he marks the essence of freedom itself in the person, not in the body of the laws or the social realm.

The middle range of understanding freedom and the state could be found in T.H. Green (1941), who thought that all forms of society tend to freedom, which (following Hegel's idea of freedom) is realized in the state, but always by individuals. Freedom is the autonomy of the will, the effort after self-perfection, and it always exists in the relationship between one man and others.

In 1925 Guido de Ruggiero, the Italian historian wrote *The History of European Liberalism* as the first effort of the twentieth century to systematize the study of freedom. I want to center the analysis on his distinction between positive and negative freedom. This categorization became famous almost half-century later with the Berlin's *Two Concepts of Liberty*. De Ruggiero (1969) defined freedom not only as the ability to self-determination, but he added that this ability could only be exercised in civil society. According to De Ruggiero (1969), negative freedom denies all authority, including the law, while positive freedom transfers that authority to the personal realm, to the individual's mind. De Ruggiero (1969) contests the eighteenth-century idea of freedom as natural to men; for De Ruggiero, freedom is developed by men in society, and, more importantly, liberty does not exist thanks to the law or the state; law, equality, and rights can only exist in freedom.

A determinant moment in the modern evolution of freedom happened in January 1941 when the president of the United States of America, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, pronounced his State of the Union address, where he developed four categories of freedoms:

1. Freedom from fear;
2. Freedom from want;
3. Freedom of speech and expression; and,
4. Freedom of religious worship.

These freedoms are now in constitutions from all around the world. We know that human rights have equal status, are indivisible and interdependent, and human rights involve freedoms that rest in collective action. However, Louise Arbour (2005) reminds us that freedom has been restricted by neoliberal policy imperatives, narrowing it to civil liberties. Globalization has exacerbated this, which generates benefits, but most of the benefits are given to a few.

Friedrich von Hayek published what might be the most influential book for liberals and libertarians to the present day. In *The Constitution of Liberty*, he defines freedom as “[t]he state in which man is not subject to coercion by the arbitrary will of another or others” (Hayek, 1960, p. 11). One of the most important contributions of the text is Hayek’s idea that individual freedom (what he usually refers to only as freedom) is different from group freedom (including national). Hayek (1960) believed that the aspirations of group freedom defenders (nationalists, for instance) are shared with individual freedom defenders, which is why liberals and nationalists sympathized during the nineteenth century. However, Hayek (1960) claims that group freedom defenders are usually related to the sophism of identifying freedom with our duties within that group. In other words, the measurement of freedom entails its own protection. When we fail to identify set of the freedoms relevant for the individual, we might be framing as freedom something that is not. Destroying our subject of study by being unable to identify it. If the group, through law, religion, or morality, imposes an identification between a set of duties and freedom;

then those duties disguised as freedoms get measured; which, according to Hayek (1960), destroys individual liberty.

Another outstanding contribution of von Hayek's (1960) are the five elements required to protect the individual against coercion:

- i) Legal status of the community;
- ii) Immunity of the person from arbitrary arrest;
- iii) Labor;
- iv) Movement; and,
- v) Private property.

The first two related to what we now know as the rule of law, and the last three to fundamental human rights and individual choice. As the definition of freedom is usually based on the absence of something, Hayek (1960) warned us of the distinction between coercion and oppression and why power cannot be the core of the definition of freedom, not even of positive freedom. For Hayek (1960), coercion eliminates every individuality in a person to make her a tool, which can be done by controlling her environment or circumstances in degrees that can go from simple threats to slavery or tyranny. As we can imagine, in such cases, freedom is absent to the extent that coercion occupies those control spaces. According to Hayek (1960), oppression is a continuous state of coercion; therefore, oppression and not coercion is the opposite of freedom. A year after the publication of *The Constitution of Liberty* in Italy, Bruno Leoni (1961) defended that freedom consists in constraining others from constraining

you, which contests Hayek's (1960) idea of power as a false conception of freedom.

Isaiah Berlin also had a genealogical approach to freedom. Berlin (2002) contested the idea of authentic, universal liberty, a concept developed during the liberal revolutions of the late Eighteenth century, first by criticizing Mill's notion of freedom as limited by the danger of harming others and then contesting Rousseau because, for him, liberty meant the possession by all of a shared public power to interfere with every aspect of every citizen's life. But an equal right to interference cannot be understood as liberty—quite the contrary. In the following chapters, I will show how those societies with tight sociocultural systems tend to provoke the oppression of the individual, suppressed by the mass. This is evident in small villages and towns, which has led some authors to believe that living in larger cities might favor the development of individual freedom. Finally, Berlin (2002), following what he calls the liberal tradition represented by Constant, Mill, and Tocqueville, states the two principles that any free society must follow:

- i) Only rights can be regarded as absolute; and,
- ii) Frontiers of freedom should be non-artificial and men inviolable.

A year later, J.P. Day (1987) contested Berlin's reduction of the definition of freedom to desire. For this argument, Day (1987) followed the Stoic idea that freedom is secured through removing desire, developed by Epictetus. Furthermore, Day (1987) reduces Berlin's argument to the absurd by saying

that if A is free to D, this presupposes A wants D and makes her unfree to D, dependent on her desire. One argument does not follow the next one; however, Day brings to the conversation the idea of removing desire as the core of freedom, a vision not only present in antique western philosophy; but also, in non-salvation religions across the globe.

John Rawls (1971) thought liberty is an institutional structure; it's worth depending on the person's or group's capacity to advance their ends within the framework given by that structure of liberties. Which means that for Rawls, freedom depends directly on the institutional framework given to the person to exercise her freedom. That institutional view was contested by Robert Nozick (1974). In his opinion, the person tends to act in various ways that cannot be explained by a system of liberties designed by the state, no matter which kind of society we take (capitalist or socialist).

In 1977, Ronald Dworkin contributed significantly to the analysis of freedom by opposing the utilitarian principle because it can be invoked as a reason to limit freedom. According to Dworkin (1977), the general interest has been used to diminish personal freedom because liberty is a right in a weak sense, which means that liberty cannot compete with strong rights. A year after the publication of Dworkin's *Taking Rights Seriously*, Joel Feinberg (1978) defined freedom as the possession of alternative possibilities of action, arguing that the usual thought is that the increase of alternatives enhances freedom. Freedom is not a matter of

addition and subtraction of choices but about the quality of those alternatives. What Feinberg (1978) called the fecund and limited options, avoids the possibility of creating a conventional unit for measuring freedom, a problem I will come back to later, because he assures, as does Berlin, that the value assigned by agent and Society to possibilities is what allows us to measure freedom.

Charles Taylor (1979) resumed the idea of freedom as the absence of obstacles; however, he introduced the notion that those obstacles must be related to the person's will, which could be external or internal. For Taylor (1979), the distinction between positive and negative freedom is related to the concepts each entails. As an opportunity concept, negative freedom entails the person being left without interference; positive freedom is an exercise concept, where the person reaches control over her life.

In the 1980's British philosopher John Gray (1989) delivered a brilliant critique of Berlin's understanding of freedom under the assumption that for Berlin, personal choices are not relevant, at least not as crucial as interference from others. Instead, to Gray (1989), the choices given to the individual by eliminating obstacles must be rational choices that the individual can appropriate. This understanding contests the dichotomy between positive and negative freedom; by suggesting that the only way to understand freedom must bear in mind both negative and positive positions as requirements for the value entailed.

Felix Oppenheim (1981) turned back to the idea of freedom as relational, as a relationship between (at least) two subjects that might make each other unfree in two ways, by creating something (i) impossible to be done; or (ii) punishable if done. The Oppenheim idea of freedom relies upon the impossibility of favoring one freedom without diminishing another via limitations. According to Oppenheim (1981), behind the decision about the extent and limits of any freedom, there is always a degree of incompatibility between freedoms, which necessarily presupposes a common understanding of the meaning of freedom.

In *Illusions about Private Property and Freedom* (1981), Canadian Political Philosopher Gerald Cohen develops the contingency of the concepts or ideas about property freedom and capitalism. Cohen (1981) believes that property freedom is the essential freedom in the capitalist system. He mainly refers to private property as the means to sell and buy within the system. This relates to Marx's idea that freedom is not based on union but on separation, concluding that "[t]he practical application of the rights of man to freedom is the right of man to private property." (Marx, 1977, p. 53)

Cohen finally delivers a handy distinction between liberals and libertarians; that will be useful to understand the institutional background behind contemporary freedom measurements. For Cohen (1981), free society has been used as a synonym for capitalism, and libertarianism is the reference commonly used for pure capitalist societies. The main difference appointed by Cohen (1981) between liberals and libertarians is

the significance of freedom in front of other values. Libertarians might deny the importance of different values in favor of liberty; while liberals might be open to restricting freedom in favor of other matters; perhaps, looking for the welfare state. Keith Aoki (1998) divides liberals and libertarians according to the relationship between the public and private spheres. For the liberals, there is a division or separation between both spheres, while libertarians understand both spheres as rivals. In the most extreme versions of liberalism –says Bengoetxea (2015) – individualism denies that the social context can condition the ability of personal choice, also rejecting nationalism, which becomes quite close to libertarianism. However, Bengoetxea's mentor, Neil MacCormick (1996), developed an idea of liberalism as a social democrat, universalistic (under the law), and individualistic in the sense that every human value must enrich the individual life; and, on a social level, the individual's self-realization is valuable for the individual and others.

Let's inquire into the thought of one of the most renowned libertarians, Murray Rothbard, who criticized Berlin's identification of freedom and free market economics with coercive aggression. Rothbard (1982) disregarded as fallacious the distinction between negative and positive liberty developed by Isaiah Berlin by assuring that he confused liberty with opportunity, in the sense that one could not have the opportunity to do something; without losing, in any sense the freedom to do so.

“A socialist might say that the humanist personalist values of freedom and self-development, to which both liberals and socialists are attached, are not adequately safeguarded by the ethic of free competition because that takes no account of the restrictive consequences of economic inequality, [...]”. (Benn, 1977, p. 404) David Miller (1983) stated that freedom could not be axiologically-neutral. To Miller (1983), the socialist understanding of freedom provokes its unequal distribution because it depends exclusively on having effective opportunities to act (what we usually understand by positive freedom). Libertarian freedom, on the other side, is only restricted by the rule of law, and Miller (1983) says this is the prerequisite that social freedom fails to protect. William Connolly (1974) thought that positive normative connotations surround freedom, and supporters of different ideologies mix freedom with the axiological understanding of their ideology. Connolly (1974) argues that the use of the freedom to the benefit of ideological disputes creates a vague and unclear value that might end up losing its utility in empirical inquiry.

In 1985, Oppenheim published a critique of Miller’s *Constraints on Freedom*. In his paper, Oppenheim (1985) agrees that unfreedom is a subcategory of inability, given that limitations of freedom should be attributed to human-imposed obstacles, as with punishability. However, Oppenheim (1985) argues that Miller did not distinguish between the degree of freedom of a given person and the value assigned to her freedom by the person herself. According to Oppenheim (1985), the degree of unfreedom is directly related to (i) the severity of the sanction, (ii) the probability of its

application, (iii) the difficulty of surmounting the obstacle; and (iv) the number of alternatives closed. This means that unfreedom is not only related to negative freedom; but also, to positive. I think this might be Oppenheim's most significant contribution to the field.

Of course, Oppenheim's critiques of Miller's analysis did not go unnoticed by the author of *Constraints on Freedom*, who, within a couple of months, published a reply to Oppenheim in volume 95 of *Ethics*. Miller (1985) distinguishes between positive and negative instrumentality by stating that an agent is positively instrumental if all things are done in a given time and lead to a result in a small proportion; the exact opposite happens to address the negative instrumentality of the agent.

A critical aspect of the genealogy of freedom is the role of gender studies scholars in developing the field. Janice Moulton and Francine Rainone are good examples of the richness of understanding freedom. Moulton and Rainone (1984) sustain that sex roles restrict freedom; however, nearly any pattern of behavior can be called a role. For Moulton and Rainone (1984), roles are essential to freedom because they provide information about what to expect; however, they believe that having a role prevents the person from having another, reinforcing the sexual division of labor, and perpetuating the subordination of women to men. Regarding the opportunity of having more than one role, Angela Davis (2017) helps us prove them wrong using the intersectionality theory, which recognizes the existing interconnection between race, class, gender, sexuality, etc. Davis

(2017) proposes that enslaved people could have developed the concept of freedom, and it is undeniable the participation of the African-American population in the fight for the universalization of freedom and human rights through the Civil Rights movement. Movement that supposed not the recognition of the systemic values as universal, but the recognition of undermined populations as persons. Arendt (2016) believed that liberation must be followed by freedom, which is the leitmotif behind the rebellion. Alanis de la Vega (2018) explains that the European Colonization of the Americas caused the domination of native American peoples, and their emancipation has been a struggle for freedom of identity; while liberation seeks self-determination and self-transformation towards a freedom beyond identity. The theory behind this idea is the Philosophy of Liberation, which Alanis de la Vega (2018) defines as a philosophical movement that seeks social transformation under the premise that it is not the same to be born at the center of the hegemonic system as at its periphery. I will return to this idea later because the peripheral understanding of freedom is vital for global measurement of freedom.

In 1987, Joseph Raz published his famous *Morality of Freedom*, analyzing freedom as necessary for the good life. Raz (1988) showed himself in favor of the understanding of freedom as positive freedom, which he related to the possession of specific mental and physical capabilities; as long as an adequate range of options were available for the person. Therefore, for Raz (1988), positive freedom becomes necessary for the person's autonomy. Negative freedom, says Raz (1988), is valuable only as it cuts

coercive interferences; in that way, it only serves for the enhancement of positive freedom; but cannot be considered as freedom itself; instead, it is in a dependent relationship with positive freedom, and autonomy. Wertheimer (1987) added that coercive conditions might be factual or normative, meaning freedom can be defined in moral or legal terms. For Wertheimer (1987), moral analysis of freedom allows finer-grained distinctions that law (generally making binary decisions) cannot make.

Christopher Megone's view of freedom might disagree with Wertheimer's analysis. For Megone (1987), there is only one concept of liberty, and the different conceptions of freedom confuse it with other values, such as goodness and wisdom. Megone (1987) understands the person as free, independently of the consequences of the exercise of freedom; which means he might disregard the positive understanding of freedom, and he points out that to say that a person is more or less free is to introduce axiological values to a concept that should lack them. Flathman (1987); also criticizes positive freedom theorists when saying that they equate freedom with virtue as an integral part of a general theory of morality, threatening the independence and value of freedom itself.

Richard Flathman (1987) thought that the value of freedom varies depending on the importance we assign to our actions and objectives; however, perfect freedom is unattainable. For Flathman (1987), desires do not enslave the agent; freedom in our culture is good, and some particular freedoms are precious.

The dispute between positive and negative defenders of freedom continued with the Canadian Philosopher Thomas Hurka (1987) in his analysis of autonomy, who thought that expansion of choice contributes to a more desirable pattern of choices. Hurka (1987) introduced a notion that nowadays has become increasingly important because the increase in options given to the person does not mean an automatic increase in freedom. The person to be free should rationalize her choice. That rationalization can only be achieved with autonomy, which increases not the options, but the goals that person might achieve; therefore, her agency. Regarding the relationship between freedom and autonomy, Gerald Dworkin (1988) points out that self-determination, autonomy, and liberty are not the same; however, he recognizes that freedom is necessary for the person to develop self-determination and autonomy. According to Gerald Dworkin (1988), not every interference with the person's voluntary actions interferes with her ability to choose a way of life, which, at the end of Dworkin's thought, is the core of freedom. Pettit (1997) dissected domination in 3 aspects: (i) capacity to interfere; (ii) interference on an arbitrary basis; and (iii) interference is made over choices that the dominated party could have made.

By the end of the twentieth century, Stanley Benn continued Gerald Dworkin's idea of choice as the core of freedom when he wrote a comprehensive theory of liberty. Benn (1988) developed his theory under the idea that choice is a logical presuppose of freedom. To Benn (1988), a common choice has four components in relationship with the agent,

where the agent: (i) has a range of powers and capacities enabling him to act with another range of impediments, usually absent, (ii) is confronted by opportunity costs; (iii) has a set of beliefs that affect i and ii, and (iv) has activities which he believes are worth engaging. Now, Benn (1988) also points out that decisions made by the agent are affected by beliefs (iii and iv), but those beliefs are not autonomous; those beliefs can be determined by someone else. This is what Michael Gorr (1989) understood as the most characteristic feature of coercion, the manipulation of behavior. Benn (1988) finishes by stating that rational choice can only be achieved in autonomy, which is only available within a plural tradition, with two conditions: (i) the agent's beliefs must be coherent and consistent, and (ii) the agent's system of beliefs should suffer a constant adjustment.

John Christman (1991) advocates that opportunities are irrelevant to the fundamental nature of freedom, given that the person (when free) is guided by her values. However, Christman (1991) warns us that the person can be manipulated into giving up her wishes. Christine Swanton (1992) makes a valuable distinction here by differentiating between what makes a proposal an offer and what makes it a threat, and that stands in what she calls the illocutionary force of the offer. Swanton (1992) thinks that those threats limit freedom depending on their perlocutionary effects, adding that not all perlocutionary effects limit freedom, just those that limit a person's potential in agency by limiting autonomy and options.

Amartya Sen takes us back –throughout his prolific literary production– to the connection between freedom and equality. This connection was already made by great thinkers such as James Harrington and Rousseau. Sen (1992) wrote that equality often contrasts with freedom, as if they were in conflict, citing Rawls, Dworkin, Nagel, Scanlon, and Nozick. However, Sen (1992) believes that equality is not opposed to freedom but constitutes an essential element of it. Sen (1992) argues that using the utilitarian formula, requires maximizing the total amount of the utilities, does not contribute to equality. For Sen (1992), a good society is a society of freedom. Freedom requires real opportunities to achieve the well-being constituted by the capability to achieve what he calls *functionings*³.

British Philosopher Onora O’Neil (1992) thought that if freedom is the absence of constraint (negative freedom), how can we explain how some acts constrain the person more than others? O’Neil (1992) understood that for Kant, autonomy is pivotal for human freedom; however, freedom cannot be proved but only deduced or defended. Negative freedom can only flourish in the conditions given by the formation of positive freedom, but the opposite can also be said.

The prominent libertarian philosopher Hillel Steiner might have reached the highest point in understanding freedom. For Steiner (1994), cultures and persons entertain specific values; therefore, they differ over what

³ According to the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, “*functionings* are capabilities that have been achieved.” (Robeyns & Byskov, 2021)

obstructions count as freedom. It might not be measurable if we allow cultural values to interfere with our conception of freedom. Philosophers discover inconsistent uses of different words, such as freedom, because the ordinary usage of concepts as freedom is unique. These uses reflect our intuition about the circumstances in which a person can be considered free. Steiner (1994) argues that traditionally, arguments about freedom are disputes over positive and negative conceptions of freedom; and adds that negative freedom is empirical and a person can only be unfree if her action is impossible by the action of another (or others). Finally, Steiner (1994) suggests that law cannot be a source of unfreedom because penalization does not make the action impossible; it simply curtails it, and freedom is curtailed. This relates with Oppenheim's notion of two ways of freedom, already addressed.

Against libertarian tradition, Gerald Cohen (1995) stated that capitalism should limit the capacity of persons to acquire goods; to avoid others suffering severe loss of liberty. Cohen (1995) believes that removing a certain amount of freedom can be in the interest of freedom. Like other supporters of positive freedom, Cohen (1995) defines freedom according to the number and nature of the person's options. Therefore, I am unfree only when people prevent me from doing what I have a right to do; and no one has the right to prevent me from doing so; however, this thought by Cohen (1995) is only giving account for a legal understanding of freedom; liberty to be more specific. This understanding of unfreedom does not really add any correspondence to learning what freedom is. Cohen (1995)

criticizes Nozick by saying he cannot coherently be a defender of private property and an opponent of all restrictions to individual freedom.

Phillipe van Parijs (1995) attempted to distinguish formal freedom from material freedom, as he called them. Formal freedom requires a society where security and self-ownership are warranted; however, more is needed to fulfill absolute freedom. Real freedom –says van Parijs (1995)– requires the elements already mentioned for formal freedom, with the addition of opportunity. I might say that van Parijs identifies formal and real freedom with negative and positive freedom. What van Parijs understands as formal freedom could be called liberty or legal freedom, while real freedom could be identified with freedom in the broader sense. Quentin Skinner (1998) agrees with van Parijs' theory by stating that law does not change individual liberty because liberty is only possible in free states, where only force and coercion interfere with the referred individual freedom.

Martin van Hees (2000) considers that the expansion of rights increases legal freedom as a whole if and only if that expansion is valuable for the person. Finally, the key to understanding legal freedom is developed by Kramer (2003), who defines what he calls normative liberty as the state of permissiveness established by norms; and permissibility is what defines legal freedom; while ability is the key to understanding freedom in a withering sense, a non-normative dimension.

For van Hees (2000), there is a relationship between collective freedom and equality of rights and liberties, and that is that equality before the law makes democracy a system more suitable for the expansion of freedoms. Here, the First Principle of Justice developed by Rawls (1971) states that each person has an equal right to expand her liberties, which is compatible with similar liberties for others. This is recognized by van Hees (2000), who considers that a legal system maximizes freedom if one cannot allocate extra rights without violating other individual rights. In the second principle of justice, also related to freedom, Rawls (1971) states that social and economic inequalities would only be permissible if they satisfy two conditions: (i) Equality of opportunities for the individuals within the system; and (ii) Inequalities must benefit the least-advantaged.

Matthew Kramer (2003) suggests that there might be some confusion between socio-political and metaphysical freedom. This confusion is attributed by Kramer (2003) to the misunderstanding of socio-political freedom as abilities because if people are not performing them, we could think they do not own those freedoms. But then, a person is free to do something if (i) she can do it; (ii) it is possible for her to do it; or (iii) she is unprevented from doing it.

Rawls (1971) draws a list of basic liberties and enunciates two ways in which they could be elaborated:

- I. Historical. This is done by developing surveys of democratic regimes, which produce a list of rights and liberties applied in what Rawls calls successful regimes.
- II. Analytical. This is a list produced by the researcher that lists the liberties that provide political and social conditions essential for developing and exercising the two principles of justice.

Serena Olsaretti (2004) introduced a helpful distinction between freedom and voluntariness, explaining that freedom is about our options, while voluntariness is related with our choices. For Olsaretti (2004), freedom does not guarantee voluntariness; however, some freedom is necessary for some voluntariness. For this author, coercion only undermines voluntariness, but not freedom, at least not consistently.

2.2. SOCIO-LEGAL APPROACHES TO FREEDOM

The road to understanding freedom is long and sometimes seems elusive. I would like to zoom in on the understanding of freedom in the mainstream debates on the subject in the legal tradition, particularly in the studies related to the sociology of law. According to García Villegas (2010), the sociology of law cannot be understood as autonomous knowledge on certain premises such as the legal culture, individuals, capital distribution, and power relationships.

When approaching different categories of freedom, the most influential political philosopher is Isaiah Berlin, whose essay *Two Concepts of Liberty* is based on the binary distinction between positive and negative freedom.

For Berlin, negative freedom answers the question: "What is the area within which the subject –a person or group of persons– should be left to do or be what he can do or be, without interference by other persons?" (Berlin, 2002, p. 168), while positive liberty answers the question: "What, or who is the source of control or interference that can determine someone to do, or be, this rather than that?" (Berlin, 2002, p. 168).

To clarify this, might be helpful to consider that Berlin was worried initially about the source of unfreedom, and that is why he related negative freedom to the space where the person is left without the interference of others, thus making the negative definition of freedom a simple calculation of the legal principle that for the private person, everything that is not prohibited is allowed. In this first vision of Berlin, positive freedom is more related to the source of unfreedom. Both were complementary but not valuable sources of categorization because negative freedom is about the quantitative aspect of freedom, while positive is used to answer the source of that quantification.

Later, in *Four Essays in Freedom*, Berlin (1969) makes a precision to his definition of the concept of liberty by saying that negative freedom is indeed the removal of obstacles to whatever it is that a person wants; while positive freedom represents the offer of choices that a person can take, and adds that those choices must be as open as possible, even if that means that freedom cannot be measured anymore. Finally, Berlin (2002) stated that positive freedom –not negative– animated the most powerful

movements of his time; this might be true even today. However, it is not the search for new choices that move the people, but the lack of possibilities, the constraints –if you will– that finally moves the people to action.

As I pointed out in the genealogical development of freedom, the categorization of freedom was not always relevant for the field; quite the contrary, negative freedom seems to have dominated the arena. Nevertheless, negative freedom is instrumental because it defines what freedom is; by saying what it is not, where we can find the antipodes of freedom.

Negative freedom has been understood as the absence of obstacles. Thomas Hobbes made a distinction between liberty and freedom. "LIBERTY, or FREEDOM, signified (properly) the absence of opposition; (by the opposition, I mean external impediments of motion;) and may be applied no less to irrational and inanimate creatures than to rational." (Hobbes, 1996, loc. 2509) Restricting negative freedom –says Carter (2007)– affects deliberations and desires, reducing autonomy, which could be understood as self-legislation of the person. Guido de Ruggiero (1969) supported the binary model of positive and negative freedom, differing from Hobbes, defined freedom as the ability to do what one likes without external compulsion. Negative freedom disregards authority and law, while positive freedom involves internalizing authority and law within one's mind.

John Rawls (1971) thought that the controversy between negative and positive freedom is a matter of the clash of values attached to different liberties, especially when those values conflict. Rawls (1971), in his *Theory of Justice*, dissected the understanding of freedom, explaining it concerning three items: (i) the agent, as the one who enjoys or exercises freedom; (ii) the restrictions or limitations, what the agent must get rid of, to have freedom; and (iii) the outcome, that is what the agent is free or not to do. Although later in this chapter, I will show the relevance of this process, by now, I can only anticipate that only the outcome is relevant for the measurement of freedom; however, it only makes sense within the metrics of the agent and restrictions to freedom.

Hayek (1960) introduced a distinction that I consider more valuable than the positive and negative freedom distinction. First, he says that the absence of a particular obstacle (negative freedom) becomes positive through what we do with it. Therefore, as I have said before, one presupposes the other. He differentiated between liberty in general and liberties, assuming that several liberties might be the path to liberty.

Benjamin Constant's (1988a) categorization of freedom is also binary: (i) liberty of exercise; and (ii) liberty of enjoyment where the representative government is the shelter for freedom. I believe that the labels used by Constant to categorize freedom roughly correspond to those of positive and negative freedom. Negative freedom pertains to the freedom of

exercise, while the freedom of enjoyment aligns with the description of positive freedom.

The Polish Sociologist Maria Borucka-Arctowa (1977) acknowledged another binary categorization of freedom; she thought there is a difference between freedom from and freedom to. This common distinction nowadays resembles the current understanding of positive (to) and negative (from) freedom. Furthermore, Borucka-Arctowa (1977) is interested in the relationship between freedom and equality. Equality is what prevents positive freedom (to) from becoming a privilege. Finally, Borucka-Arctowa (1977) believes that man had achieved positive freedom before negative freedom, which she calls being fully awake. However, negative freedom defenders may contest this by saying that positive freedom requires overcoming all obstacles or constraints to the will.

Borucka-Arctowa's thinking on freedom and equality is contested by David Raphael (1977), who believes that freedom nourishes some inequality, which is natural to men. Raphael (1977) introduces the idea that equality should not be a category of the being. However, a category applied to freedom itself and argues that there is no positive or negative freedom, but negative and positive functions applied to freedom. For Raphael (1977), there is a negative function when freedom is limited, and then pursuing one's goals is positive freedom, which he calls equal freedom. According to Raphael (1977), equal freedom aims to maximize freedom for everyone equally. This is distinct from seeking to make

everyone equal. This is supported by Rawls (1996), whose understanding of equality is identical, with the addition that in an equal society, everyone can cooperate in a common project for justice.

Rawls' (1996) theory of freedom sided with the negative understanding. Rawls believes that a person cannot be subjected to a system that determines their aims; as such, a free society is one where everyone can choose her goal in life.

We can draw a border between proponents of negative freedom (libertarians) and positive freedom (egalitarians). Carter (2007) explains that libertarians understand freedom as the absence of active interference by others, where the rule of law is the ultimate guarantee of freedom because it is general and non-discriminatory. On the other side, Carter (2007) says that egalitarians identify freedom with the ability to act; therefore, any obstacle constitutes a constraint to freedom, and –this is highly arguable– the rule of law creates unfreedom to promote other freedoms, rather than those benefited by the system.

The difficulty in satisfying the plurality of aims necessary for the system to protect positive freedom rests in two different sets, explained by Carter (2007):

- a) People disagree about the nature of the good life, and the only way to protect conflicting conceptions is by granting the freedom to pursue them with respect for antagonistic or even colliding conceptions; and,

- b) The ends of life are themselves many, incompatible and incommensurable, and that –Carter (2007) declares– is the value of freedom.

At the end of the road, the distinction between negative and positive freedom is only helpful in theoretical approaches. However, positive, and negative freedom are two faces of the same coin. As Gerald MacCallum Jr. (1967) pointed out, freedom is always both positive and negative, that possibility of doing something and lack the opposition for that something to be done.

Beyond the binary categorization of freedom, there is a third view on freedom, identified by some authors as *republican* freedom; however, in my opinion, this is only a variation on the negative freedom. As far as I understand, it is a matter of linguistics. Still, deep in the issue analysis, it is an important distinction that might even eliminate the usual definition of negative freedom. For republicans, freedom consists in the absence of domination (in contrast with the lack of interference). Nevertheless, the new question is whether interference can be made without domination. It is a matter of degree. First, at the bottom of the scale, the individual is free of domination (*republican* freedom); next, the individual is free of domination and human interference (negative freedom) and at the top and true freedom, the person is free to choose her way of life (positive freedom). Another interpretation of this issue was formulated by Philip Pettit (1997), according to whom republican freedom involves positive and

negative freedom. It is negative when it requires the absence of domination and positive when it asks for security against interference and domination.

One last categorization of freedom was made by van Hees (2000) on what he called *leximin freedom*, whose necessary conditions of existence are equality, security, and opportunity. This kind of freedom is called *real freedom for all* by van Parijs (1995).

2.2.1. FREEDOM AND OTHER SOCIAL VALUES

In the first part of this chapter, I have argued that the best way to understand the nature of freedom is through its genealogical analysis. The rankings and measurements of freedom are the core of this research, and I will analyze them in the last part of this chapter and the following chapters, as well as the consequences of policies that affect freedom. We now concentrate on the relationship between freedom and other social goods.

Is the Law the best discipline to understand freedom? Or is it Political Science, Sociology, Philosophy, or Psychology? Although understanding freedom is a task that requires the intersection of different disciplines, multidisciplinary research, within the multiplicity of methods brought to the table from other disciplines, cultures, and traditions, acknowledges the complexity of the task.

The theories and methods produced by the sociology of law constitute a fascinating starting point for analyzing freedom as a global trans-generational issue. Of course, analyzing social values and legal traditions is essential, but it also acknowledges the correlation between freedom and security, restraint, force, and domination. Professor Gerald MacCallum Jr. generated a categorization of those controversies. According to MacCallum (1967), there are four kinds of debates:

- I. On the nature of freedom;
- II. On the relationship between freedom and other social goods (security, justice, equality...);
- III. On the ranking of freedom among those other social goods (is it more important or not); and,
- IV. On the consequences of policies that affect freedom.

In 1531 Nicolò Machiavelli (1950) believed that the quest for freedom is a desire to live in security. Constant (1988a) assures that morality is destroyed without security; however, he relates this lack of security to arbitrary power, not material insecurity. This relationship between freedom and security can still be traced to the modern concept of freedom. This has impregnated freedom metrics, particularly if we understand freedom and security beyond the physical manifestations. This conception of freedom is shared with that of Locke (1960), who identified freedom with the lack of restraint and violence from others. This idea is shared by Montesquieu (1989), who related this concept to political liberty.

Interestingly, nowadays, some theories point out that some degree of liberty must be lost to favor security. This is a phenomenon particularly present in non-Western cultures. It may be pertinent to remember the measures taken by different governments after 9/11, which translated into a complete change of paradigm for people's freedom of movement (particularly international movement). More recently, the COVID-19 pandemic showed that the classical link between security and freedom has changed, and nowadays is a legal link that relates only to the rule of law as the source of legal security.

The modern conception of the link between freedom and security has been broken and now appears to contest the aims of a good life. Let me remember that Constant (1988b) stated that enjoyment of security is one of the aims of the moderns; of course, security is institutionally guaranteed. Berlin (2002) supports this understanding of the issue, who stated that positive freedom should be weighed against the claims of other values like security, equality, and justice. However, other liberals like Cohen (1981) advocate for the freedom to be restrained by social and economic security demands. Pettit's (1997) social and economic security demands might have understood the issue differently by stating that freedom requires security against arbitrary interference, which becomes like the rule of law in its basic terms. This is interesting because Pettit (1997) established security as a requirement for republican freedom.

If the understanding of security is the one already explained and the security that freedom requires is that of the person not to be restricted, the issue to be solved is whether restraints might affect freedom. Raphael (1977) believed restraint became an external limit on freedom because it comes from other people. In that sense, Raphael (1977) explains that freedom is valued for the scope it gives to the individual to fulfill her goals in a social environment. Otherwise, (1977) freedom outside a social system becomes irrelevant; the liberty of a person that chooses to live on a deserted island becomes irrelevant.

This is contested by John Locke (1660), for whom the law aims to preserve and enlarge freedom, and liberty does not mean to be free of restraint but rather to dispose of one's person, actions, and property within the allowance of the law, according to one's own will.

In Ronald Dworkin's (1977) view, liberty affects political thought in two ways: (i) by creating a false sense of conflict between freedom and other values; and (ii) regarding restraints on some kinds of freedoms over others, under the false assumption that those have a remarkable impact on freedom as a whole. A clear example of this is the idea developed by defenders of positive freedom, that as John Christman (1991) tends to believe that restraints do not acknowledge how people's will can be manipulated; for Christman, restraint is not a source of unfreedom if opportunities exist; which affects directly an understanding of positive freedom. Christman (1991) concludes his argument in favor of positive

freedom and opportunity as the core of his theory by stating that restraints a person faces are virtually unmeasurable; therefore, freedom (in this case, unfreedom) could not be measured this way either. Hillel Steiner (1983), preoccupied with the measurement of freedom, believes that restraints are at the core of measurement and understanding of freedom. However, Steiner also understands that sometimes, restraints counted as limiting freedom are exaggerated by negative liberty theorists. This reinforces Rousseau's (1973) idea that force and liberty are the original instruments of self-preservation.

Should we understand any restraint as limiting freedom? Only those limitations imposed by force do not necessarily mean physical force imposed through violence or deceitfulness. For Hannah Arendt (2006), force in nature is a cause of motion, and motive is the internal or psychological cause of conduct. However, the socio-legal approach is not interested in the natural cause of motion, nor the inner, but in the social interactions that provide a force to cause or prevent the conduct. Some majority usually exert this social force. Individual freedom finds immediate restraints when qualities of general will are transferred to a majority. In Rousseau's words: "Each of us puts his person and all his power in common under the supreme direction of the general will, and in our corporate capacity, we receive each member as an invisible part of the whole." (Rousseau, 1973, p. 193)

Berlin (2002) criticized Rousseau's understanding of liberty by saying that for the French Philosopher, liberty means the possession by all of shared public power to interfere with every aspect of every citizen's life. Still, an equal right to oppress is not freedom. For Guido de Ruggiero (1969), freedom is man's ability to achieve self-determination living in civil society but must not be confused with a natural attribute of the person; no one is born free but becomes free through development.

Joel Bakan is influenced (as so many authors define freedom) by Berlin's (2002) idea that only another person can restrict liberty. Still, total liberty is impossible, and according to Bakan, we must give up some freedom to preserve the rest. Which liberties we are willing to give up will depend on personal and social values. "Freedom involves the ability of people to develop their capacities; to determine, through deliberation, choice, and action, how to live their lives; and to participate in the democratic governance of social, economic, and political life." (Bakan, 2012, p. 23)

Raphael (1977) believed that liberty is a social value that relates individuals to the community and restraints upon the individual is necessarily imposed by others. Anyhow, Raphael (1977) manages to understand that freedom is valued for the scope that it gives to the individual. This is a brilliant conceptualization of freedom in both aspects, for the removed restraints and the possibility that the person gets to choose. Bertrand Russell (1961a) reminds us that Marco Aurelio promoted equality before the law, prioritizing the freedom of being governed. According to Rawls

(1996), individual rights that protect fundamental liberties do not depend on calculations about social values but on a system of self-limitation of liberties that collide with one another or within one member of the society's liberties against the liberties of another one.

2.2.2. FREEDOM, DEMOCRACY AND LAW

According to Lester Mazor (1977), a contesting value of liberty is equality. In liberal theory, freedom implies possession and exclusivity by denying access to others; therefore, he thinks increasing equality might undermine freedom. On the other hand, Guatemalan philosopher Luis Recaséns-Siches (1977) wrote that human dignity presupposes individual freedom as a principle; however, the person does not develop this freedom on her own and might need the assistance of the social realm, including the legal system. As regards the social realm, Recaséns-Siches (1977) stressed two aspects of freedom: (i) a negative one, which consists of the defense of the individual against external intrusion, including other individuals, corporations, and the government body; and (ii) an active one, that allows the individual to freely develop her possibilities within the assistance of some material and social conditions.

For Inoue (1993), concerned about the contrast between liberal and communitarian concepts of freedom, protecting individual freedoms is an overarching concern of the legal system; communitarians must strengthen community-based moral and social values. Reorientation toward individual rights does not necessarily mean sacrificing all aspects

of communality to individualism. Respect for individual rights is essential to create a sense of balance. This balance can only be achieved by the integration of 3 elements, according to Inoue (1993): (i) universalism; (ii) respect for individuals as individuals; and (iii) concern for others as individuals. Levey (2011) believes that communitarians argue that liberalism concentrates on the binary relationship between state and individuals, endorsing particular ethnocultural traditions. This has permeated the national and international sphere of the legal system. Makau Mutua (2013) highlights that the Human Rights Corpus is fundamentally Eurocentric and was conceived as a continuum of colonialism. To attend to the needs of a plural world, we must contest eurocentrism.

Borucka-Arctowa (1977) thought that incorporating freedoms into the legal system responds to the conception of other liberties rather than the concept of liberty as a whole. Here, Borucka-Arctowa (1977) follows Hayek's idea that liberties are special privileges and exemptions conferred to some groups to the detriment of others. Both authors conclude that liberties undermine liberty if liberty is understood as an absolute concept.

On that idea of the law as a system that undermines freedom, Jeremy Bentham (1970) unveils an exciting understanding of liberty as: (i) liberty against the law; and (ii) liberty against wrongdoers. However, this distinction reveals a logical incompatibility. Unlike the difference between positive and negative liberty, those liberties are opposed. Law is

supposed to reduce wrongdoing; therefore, the greater liberty against the law, the less liberty against wrongdoers, and vice versa.

To contest the idea that law reduces freedom, I will borrow Montesquieu's (1989) insight that liberty means having the power to do what one wants to do within limits established by the law, as long as a moderate government enacts that law. To Arendt (2016), limited government – independent of its form – is the only way to protect civil liberties. What constitutes a moderate or limited government? Martin van Hees (2000) understands a relationship between the collective and equality; freedom is allocated through rights within the legal system. This idea is somehow supported by Kant (1970), for whom individual freedom coexists with everyone's freedom through rights. This is how Kant develops his Universal Law of Rights: "Let your external actions be such that the free application of your will can coexist with the freedom of everyone by a universal law." (Kant, 1970, p. 132).

Raphael (1977) understood freedom as a norm of democracy; however, this is not the only political system that aims to protect freedom, "[...]though some of the anti-democratic views have to give freedom a peculiar interpretation in order to back up their claim." (Raphael, 1977, p. 552) Every political system still must solve the tension naturally created within other values of the system and find an equilibrium between the aims of the system and the protection of the values, may it be to favor the individual or the collective. In that way, says Arendt (2016), constitutional

liberties are exemptions to the abuse of power; therefore, constitutionally protected freedom can only be negative.

Kerimov (1977) thought freedom could only be attained in a democratic system, even calling for democracy to be the essence of freedom. Instead, for Berlin (2002), there is no necessary connection between freedom and democracy. Conceptions of freedom can be manipulated because they derive from understanding what a person is. This is particularly interesting in Berlin's (2002) view of revolutionaries, which defend their univocal and accurate idea of freedom by claiming its universality. For John Stuart Mill free institutions are almost impossible in multicultural countries Levey (2011), even though multiculturalism is concerned with integrating a diverse society based on liberal democratic notions of liberty, equality, and justice. Levey (2011) considers that multiculturalism could be the basis for constructing national identity, given that minorities can express their national identity as much as the majority.

People are rational, practical beings who use norms because the idea of a norm is shared, thus acquiring social existence. Law is an institutional normative order, but it is not the only valid normative order; neither is the modern state the only form of law. The law institutes a type of reasoning on practical matters that avoids *prima facie* deliberation on what should be done; in this way, people, by participating in the making of the law either as norm users or indirectly appointing norm givers, self-regulate their behaviors. Joxerramon Bengoetxea (2015), following MacCormick's

theories, believes that the overall coherence of the law is in line with super systemic principles of tolerance, recognition, accommodation, freedom, dignity, and autonomy. To Isaiah Berlin (2002), a person needs recognition to be someone; however, the only way to get recognition is through the members of society.

In developing the theory of the person, Bengoetxea (2015) says that the greater the distance of decision centers or institutions, the more difficult participation becomes, which makes these centers strange for people. This connects with ideas on direct and indirect democracy systems and the difference between the liberty of the ancients and the moderns developed by Benjamin Constant.

According to Edward Andrew (1992), John Locke thought that liberty is a right that is, in essence, inalienable. For Hegel (1942), freedom is the substance of rights, which according to Hayek (1960), it presupposes an individual private sphere. Therefore, the state should not interfere with it. This is a vision where individual possession of rights has replaced the idea of common possession of the law. Another vision of the issue is that the right to liberty is inalienable precisely because the person does not *own* life and liberty; the person only *possesses* or enjoys it. Under this view, liberty is a constitutive possession of the person. Therefore, natural law limits the freedom of the person. For Robert Nozick's law necessarily curtails freedom because the person should be able to alienate at will anything they own. However, Andrew (1992) concludes that the final aim of the law

is to preserve and enlarge freedom within the consensual relations developed between persons.

A way to clarify Andrew's idea about the link between law and freedom was developed by John Rawls (1996), who developed the concept of fundamental liberties as a legally protected framework of pathways and opportunities. However, Rawls (1996) acknowledges that people might suffer from the lack of material means that prevent them from enjoying the liberties the legal system should protect. Rawls (1996) thought that this is because, instead of considering that restrictions limit personal liberties, it is usually thought that restrictions affect the value of liberty itself, which brings us back to the idea that we have to choose between values such as security or order to the detriment of liberty.

Melanie Adrian (2017) considers civil belonging a concept that could help protect liberty and diversity in a globalized world. Freedom and love for the country strengthen the sense of belonging in 5 ways: (i) decent, (ii) culture, (iii) belief, (iv) social contract (v) commercial contract. For Adrian (2017), the restriction of religious freedom limits the individual's identity, endangering pluralism. I think that this argument is valid for other freedoms, such as speech or movement; particularly, for the international movement freedom.

Scholars commonly understand that liberties are bound to collide; Rawls (1996) believed that when liberties are positivized, the rules that outline those liberties should create a coherent liberty system. What Rawls (1996)

advised about the liberty system is that fundamental freedoms can only be limited –even neglected– when a collision within them takes place, never in the name of the common good or axiological determinations. This means that to Rawls (1996), no liberty is absolute; the only absolute in Rawls' liberty system is that it should be assured equally to all citizens.

Nowadays, freedom is highly appreciated. Ricardo Sanmartín (2015) states that discourses, laws, and significant commemorations are always related to freedom and its relationship with human dignity. However, Angela Davis (2017) recognizes (especially in the US) the confusion between freedom and civil rights as if freedom were exhausted in attaining civil rights. This confusion could apply to political rights in general in the West.

Berlin (2002) unveils the importance of political liberty because he understood it is the area within which a man can act unobstructed by others, this liberty can only be constrained by other human beings, and this is a natural process because by living in society, we must give up some freedom to preserve the rest. Even for Berlin, absolute freedom is not possible. For Berlin (2002), the person needs recognition to be someone; however, the only way a person gets recognition is through the members of the society to which she belongs.

Hayek (1960) introduced a distinction between personal and political freedom. Personal freedom is the state in which a person is not subject to coercion by the arbitrary will of another person, and political freedom is participation in government matters in the commonwealth. Bertrand

Russell (1961b) assured that social cohesion and freedom have always conflicted. Take the two Antique Greece cities; personal freedom was almost completely denied in Sparta, while it was highly protected in Athens. The different understandings of freedom, brilliantly illustrated by Russell, show that the liberties system can be very different in relatively close regions in the same timeframe. In our times, an explanation of the personal and institutional preference for personal or political liberties seems like what Russell understood as the aim of the community. To Russell (1961b), once the community prevails over the individual, the individual sacrifices the present for the good of the future. This argument, however, seems like an over-rationalization of the decisions made by the individual. This theory is supported by Pattanaik and Xu (1990), who believe that a set of available options in the future may depend on the degree of freedom enjoyed now, which means that limiting freedoms today could be beneficial in the end not only in utilitarian terms but also in terms of overall freedom. Sen (1990) criticizes Pattanaik and Xu's theorem by deducing that in the theorem, the alternatives of choice that compose freedom are counted, dissociating freedom from our preferences and forgetting the different alternatives available for the person.

Now, the exercise of political liberties requires a system of social cooperation. Rawls (1996) thought this should be a cooperation of mutual benefit within two elements, one reasonable and another rational: (i) the reasonable element refers to a shared notion of fair terms of cooperation, where all participants in the cooperating system share reciprocal benefits

and burdens within a comparison pattern; and, (ii) the rational element refers to the advantage that each individual enjoys. Hannah Arendt (1967) understood freedom as an inner capacity, as a starting point, and the political reality of movement between men.

Mathew Kramer (2003) suggests that there might be some confusion between socio-political and metaphysical freedoms. We cannot understand socio-political freedoms as abilities because if people are not performing them, we could think they do not have those freedoms. A person is free, following Kramer (2003), to do something if: (i) she can do it, (ii) she can do it, or (iii) she is not unprevented from doing it.

Some authors propose that freedom is an intra-personal, non-interpersonal issue. Sanmartín (2015) understands freedom as a moral belief that can only operate in reality if embodied in observable behaviors. In my opinion, freedom is not only a materialized belief. Freedom is a value within an interpersonal relationship. This means freedom is always related to another human being. If I am constrained by my fears, morality, or beliefs, this is utterly related to how I interact with the rest of society. If what constrains me is a phobia or a psychological issue, this constraint is comparable to natural constraints such as the laws of physics.

New technologies are threatening fundamental rights to privacy and self-determination. Julie Cohen (2017) considers that usual constructions of Law cannot guarantee human rights and freedoms in the digital age. This is so because, according to Cohen (2017), Smart Digital Technologies

structure our habitual patterns of thought and practice, altering the exercise of choice and reason. Sanmartín (2015) makes an example of this with social media that is presented as a space for freedom; while adopting voluntary panoptic concessions, where the individual is uniformized within a global market.

For Cohen (2017), framing rights as liberties does not guarantee the actual enjoyment of those liberties; on the contrary, this might favor specific formulations of human well-being, using the state-centered language of human rights, leaving aside the influence of corporations, society, and individuals over human affairs. Michel Coutu (2018) believes that the universalization of rights and liberties did not reduce the constraints exercised against individuals. This universalization was formal, linked to an abstract individual, an economic agent. Coutu (2018) complained that globalization could have created a greater legal unity; instead, it made new differences by generating a legal order further removed from the individual.

To solve the issue, Julie Cohen (2017) proposes the capabilities approach, which points out that human well-being requires sufficient access to essential resources and the development of necessary capabilities to pursue individual and social self-determination. Under Cohen's (2017) approach, fundamental rights are made available within an equation of the (i) content and institutional structure of the legal regime, (ii) resource distribution, and (iii) affordance of the environment (physical or digital,

that includes considerations on the flow and symmetry of information). A couple of years before, this idea was already explored by Isabel Turégano (2015) when exploring Dworkin's idea that the equality of resources might explain distributive equality, sensitive to the importance of freedom. This is particularly relevant in the way Turégano (2015) assigns the responsibility on the decision-making freedom, making freedom and equality not competitors, but necessary to each other.

Freedom is different according to time, place, and circumstances. Ricardo Sanmartín (2015) considers that freedom has no univocal meaning because of the qualitative components used to understand it, particularly the cultural horizon of the time. Caroline Humphrey published a paper making a genealogy of what could be understood as freedom in Russia through time. What Humphrey (2007) was trying to contest is the western leaders' claim that freedom is a universal value. Her paper shows that this idea of universality is not exclusive to the West but applies to any leader aiming to command a specific population.

Humphrey (2007) develops her research based on three terms she identified that are used to express freedom in Russian (i) *svoboda*, identified as political freedom, (ii) *mir*, which we could translate as universal freedom; and (iii) *voyla*, translated as personal or individual freedom. In her analysis, Humphrey (2007) unveils the evolution of the words according to the regimes suffered in Russian history. A linguistic twist was introduced in soviet times where *svoboda* –according to

Humphrey (2007)– acquired a double meaning of independence from foreign powers and privileged political status. In contrast, *mir* became some programmatic freedom directed by the party's aims. Finally, *voyla* is regarded by Humphrey (2007) as the accurate Russian word for freedom, used as something the individual experiences away from society, obviously disregarded during soviet times as debauchery. “The three ideas of freedom have come to inhabit very different worlds of value. None of them is identical to Western ideas of freedom. But, after all, Russians are far from alone in this. Much of the world is culturally different in this regard.” (Humphrey, 2007, p. 9)

Sanmartín (2015) follows Humphrey's ideas and thinks that freedom is a value that changes over time, space, history, and culture of different human groups, and that is why we will never fully understand it. Nevertheless, I would claim we can understand freedom through its genealogy combined with the modern techniques of measurement, comparison, and analysis of different legal cultures and social accommodations outside the traditionally established legal system.

2.3. METROLOGICAL APPROACHES TO FREEDOM

“Numbers are the epitome of the modern fact because they seem to be simple descriptions of phenomena and resist the biases of conjecture and theory because they are subject to the invariable rules of mathematics. Numbers have become the bedrock of systematic knowledge because they seem to be free of interpretation and to be neutral and descriptive. They are

presented as objective, with an interpretive narrative attached to them by which they are given meaning." (Merry, 2011, p. 89)

The fact that thesis title is Freedom Matters conveys that freedom is a word inserted into our daily language. Adrian (2017) unveiled the ordinary language typology theory to analyze the common terminology used on matters of belonging and integration, including beliefs, values, and culture. This ordinary language analysis can identify the limits imposed on individual freedom by restricting other freedoms according to the values that each society seeks to promote. "[F]reedom is measured by the strength of these barriers, and the number and importance of the paths which they keep open for their members – if not for all, for at any rate a great number of them." (Berlin, 2002, p. 211)

In social sciences, the understanding of freedom has changed significantly over time. The two previous approaches demonstrate that freedom has evolved from an abstract idea to a metrological phenomenon. This evolution is not exclusive to freedom, as social sciences have turned to quantitative methodologies to approach their study subjects. This shift is driven by a desire to move beyond abstract ideas and to measure social phenomena more concretely and objectively.

Professor Sally Engle Merry is a scholar who significantly contributed to this field. She developed a "meta-metrological" approach, which seeks to go beyond simply measuring things to understand what those things are, why, how, and for whom they are being measured. This approach

recognizes that the measurement process is not neutral but is shaped by various social, cultural, and historical factors.

In her work, Merry (2011) emphasizes that it is not enough to measure social phenomena - we must also interrogate the assumptions and values that underpin these measurements. For example, when we measure freedom, we must ask ourselves what freedom means and what values are implicit in our definitions. We also need to know how our measurements might impact the people we measure.

By taking this meta-metrological approach, Merry provides a valuable framework for understanding and measuring complex social phenomena in a more nuanced and holistic way. Her work highlights the importance of going beyond simple measurement to examine the assumptions and values underpinning our research critically. Human rationality, to survive, must protect the diversity of individuals and opinions from interference. For Karl Popper (1964), scientific objectivity is based on social institutions, which does not mean scientists cannot be objective.

What is an indicator in social sciences?

A Social indicator is a statistic of direct normative interest that facilitates concise, comprehensive, and balanced judgments about the condition of significant aspects of society. It is, in all cases, a direct measure of welfare and is subject to the interpretation that if it changes in the "right" direction, while other things remain equal, things have gotten better, or people are "better off." (White, 1977, p. 447)

Professor Merry, in her influential paper “Measuring the World: Indicators, Human Rights, and Global Governance” (2011) made a very well-structured analysis of indicators, defining them as statistical measures used to understand complex data, creating rankings that are useful for two reasons: (i) to create knowledge, presenting objective and scientific facts (or at least that is the aim); and, (ii) to support governance, by measuring different facets of people. Merry (2011) explained that the ethnography of indicators requires a historical analysis of the indicator itself, its theory, creators, publishers, and the effect on decision-making and public perception. In addition, I want to understand the material means and the institutional background behind the indicators.

According to Professor Merry (2011), indicators are used to promote various public policies, whose importance is increasing worldwide at local, national, and global levels. More than a decade ago, Merry (2011) understood that the biggest sponsors of measuring social phenomena are international institutions such as the United Nations, the World Bank, and Non-governmental organizations, with increasing involvement of different corporations that are changing the way they work. For Merry (2011), the power of indicators depends on their impact on corporate reputations if those corporations are going to be understood as social beings in a broad sense. In the analysis of different indices, it is usually observed that “[...] indicators typically conceal their political and theoretical origins and underlying theories of social change and activism.” (Merry, 2011, p. 84)

According to Merry (2011), the indicators' critical dimension is their capacity to create unambiguous, clear, and impersonal measures to explain complex social facts; however, those aims are underlined by the hidden agenda behind the way those indicators produce knowledge. "Indeed, statistical measures create new categories. An indicator may even create the phenomenon it measures instead of the other way around." (Merry, 2011, p. 84) The most significant change introduced by using indicators –said Merry (2011)– is the shift in the core of public policy production from general principles and social values to the use of statistical information. However, despite the idea behind the use of statistical measures to produce public policies, Merry (2011) warned us about the risk of benefiting private knowledge and elite power in decision-making.

"Interest in using indicators to monitor human rights compliance has grown significantly. Indicators introduce into the global human rights law field a form of knowledge production in which numerical measures make visible forms of violation and inequality otherwise obscured." (Merry, 2011, p. 84) And those indicators are evolving into more sophisticated data analysis guides. Using new technologies such as Artificial Intelligence and Big Data could help us increase the accountability of protecting Human Rights and freedom among them. According to Alejandro Chafuen (2020), former president of Atlas Network, macro numbers are significant to prove theories; however, they usually obscure the person's role. This may derive from attempts at social engineering by rulers and experts.

Why is freedom being measured? Carter, Kramer & Steiner (2007) list five reasons for measuring freedom: (i) the value we attach to freedom; (ii) principles of justice endorsed by liberals; (iii) equal freedom; (iv) maximization of freedom; or, (v) bare minimum of freedom. Furthermore, the authors say this can be done absolutely or comparatively. The last is the way I designed the methodology for this dissertation. Freedom rankings, according to van Hees (2000), should satisfy at least two conditions of comparison:

- a) Comparison of individual freedom (strong monotonicity); and,
- b) Comparison of collective freedom (dominance).

Almost five decades ago, Charles Taylor illustrated the problems a comparative method might entail when not conducted properly.

“Consider the following diabolical defense of Albania as a free country. We recognize that religion has been abolished in Albania, whereas it has not been in Britain. But on the other hand, there are probably far fewer traffic lights per head in Tirana than in London. (I haven’t checked for myself, but this is a very plausible assumption.) Suppose an apologist for Albanian Socialism were nevertheless to claim that this country was freer than Britain, because the number of acts restricted was far smaller. After all, only a minority of Londoners practice some religion in public places, but all have to negotiate their way through traffic. Those who practice religion generally do so on one day of the week while they are held up at traffic lights every day. In sheer quantitative terms, the number of acts restricted by traffic lights must be greater than that restricted by a ban on public religious

practice. So if Britain is considered a free society, why not Albania?" (Taylor, 1979, p. 183)

Richard Arneson (1985) switched the way we inquire about freedom by asking if objective or subjective circumstances determine freedom. This is an essential question if we are willing to measure freedom. When measuring freedom, Kramer (2003) states that we need to consider psychological and behavioral conditions, which would count as subjective circumstances.

"Freedom thus requires a measure of social equality." (Bakan, 2012, p. 23)

Kerimov (1977), a collectivist and defender of positive freedom, understood that the level of freedom achieved is related to the degree of compliance of the individual with the socially assigned goals and roles. Popper (1964) might disagree because he understood that the equalization of human minds would mean the end of progress. More than half a century ago, Hayek (1960) warned us that the measurement of freedom might destroy individual liberty by convincing people that personal liberty must be given up in the name of some kind of freedom. This reading is quite evident when studying some collectivists who seem to have an idea of programmatic freedom cemented on views of a good life.

The relation mentioned above between equality and freedom is revisited by van Hees (2000), who developed a theory of leximin freedom, where equality, security, and opportunity are satisfied in a society (called real

freedom for all by van Parijs). According to van Hees (2000), societies can fulfill leximin freedom to different degrees. This compliance to leximin freedom is measured by comparing societies where one enjoys more legal freedom than the worst-off person in the other society. Consequently, a legal system maximizes freedom if one cannot allocate extra rights without violating other individual rights. Wolfgang Killian (1977) believed that the identification and evaluation of equality and freedom are interconnected with the social model adopted regarding the private and public realms. "Varying with the structure of this model, information will be interpreted either positively as enrichment or negatively as surveillance and manipulation." (Killian, 1977, p. 484)

As already said, for Berlin (2002), freedom is measured by the strength of the barriers and the number and importance of the paths open for society members. This means that the measurement of negative freedom entails pluralism. For Quentin Skinner (1998), freedom can only be measured by the extent to which you are not constrained from acting at will. Measurement of global phenomena is not being made but as separate parts of unconnected factors. Andersen and Herbertsson (2003) unveiled that comparing countries usually measure globalization, but this comparison and what has been reached is arbitrary, and irregularities appear. The authors propose using factor analysis, combining several variables into a smaller set of independent variables without losing the essential information from the original dataset. Although it is sensitive to changes, this methodology assigns the most considerable weight to

explanatory variables with the most significant variance across countries. They list nine variables as good indicators of globalization, of which three are freedoms (to use alternative currencies; to exchange in capital and financial markets; and to trade with foreigners), all referring to economic freedom.

Freedom is a word inserted in our ordinary language to promote specific values; its use must be spread beyond the geopolitical limits of the nation-state, creating, and being nurtured by globalization. Globalization produces faster growth, higher standards of living, and new opportunities; however, it is an emotionally charged word. Being an emotional word has the disadvantage of bringing adversaries to claim for and against it. According to Akhter (2004), scholars have found that globalization produces pillage, undermines social cohesion, and erodes the sense of community; but also pushes wages down, redistributes income, increases unemployment, and affects health and human rights.

Jeffrey C. Alexander (2006) says that Globalization was the response to the war traumas of the early 20th century. The author suggests that civil society is a concept linked to the liberal discourse, as it has none of the structures and ideologies of the national state. However, this might be seriously contested because the world is still organized in a collection of national states whose governments find in the organized civil society a counterweight to the accumulation of power.

Carter (1999) criticized MacCallum's claims, explained before, about freedom as a triadic concept, where an agent (X) is free from constraints (Y) to do or be a particular thing (Z). While Berlin and Grey might argue that (Z) cannot be specific or might not even exist at all, this is because, Carter (1999) argues, our ignorance about the future gives value to particular freedoms in the present.

Hillel Steiner (1983) thought of freedom as a social relation between persons; however, not as a matter of degrees. Feinberg (1978) rejects Steiner's theory because restrictions to liberty, as a matter of degree, have no conventional measurement unit. Steiner (1983) understands the measurement of freedom as dependent on (i) the open possibilities; (ii) the difficulties in actualizing these possibilities; (iii) their importance for the person; (iv) their closeness to intentional acts; and, (v) the value given by the society. Beneath that understanding, Steiner (1983) developed a formula to measure personal freedom, where we must make a list (L) of the total number of free (F) and unfree (U) actions. Here are some examples given by Steiner itself:

[...] all acts on our list would be assigned positive or negative numbers representing the valuation of their significance or anti-significance. Suppose our list contains the following six actions and their respective valuations: A (+10), B (+8), C (+6), X (-9), Y (-7), Z (-5). And suppose that Red is free to do A, B, X, and unfree to do C, Y, Z. Applying the formula to compute the extent of Red's liberty, we get the following result:

$$\frac{F_r}{F_r+U_r} = \frac{A+B+X}{(A+B+X)+(C+Y+Z)} = \frac{9}{3} = 3$$

Hence, to expunge negative valuations from our computation in order to avoid the contradictions they entail, it is necessary to make a move which is indeed a commonplace in most accounts of the *positive* conception of liberty. That is, we need to remove all negatively valued actions from our list of actions which Red is free or unfree to do.

$$\frac{F_r}{F_r+U_r} = \frac{A+B+X}{(A+B+X)+(C+Y+Z)} = \frac{3}{6} = \frac{1}{2}$$

[...] on the positive conception of liberty, the extent of Red's freedom is given

$$\text{thus, } \frac{F_r}{F_r+U_r} = \frac{A+B}{(A+B)+C} = \frac{18}{24} = \frac{3}{4} \quad (\text{Steiner, 1983, pp. 80–81})$$

The creator of the formula himself warned that depending on the theoretical position (positive or negative freedom defender), the measurement of freedom and input of data to the formula could be completely different; however, the positive freedom standpoint usually results in higher results, and this is so because actions to be measured may be infinite. Steiner (1983) believes that we might think that modern industrial societies are freer than primitive societies because of the number of possibilities open nowadays.

Carter (1999) identified three problems with Steiner's formula to measure freedom:

1. Indefinite number of descriptions, which I think could be solved by measuring liberties and unfreedoms symmetrically;
2. Indefinite subdivision, because the action could be subdivided into spatial-temporal terms; and,
3. Indefinite casual chains.

For Carter (1999), freedom is an extensive quality. To avoid the three measuring problems, we must distinguish between specific and overall freedom, where threats can diminish the first but not the second. It is relevant to remember that for Carter (1999), freedom means the capacity to perform a number compossible of actions not being restrained by relevant preventing conditions; therefore, a person's freedom is a function of the number and size of the sets of compossible actions she is constrained and unconstrained from performing. Let me illustrate the definition and measurement of freedom with an example developed by the same author:

"The extent of Red's freedom, we should say, is equal to the value of

$$\sum_{i=1}^n F_{r,i} \Big/ \left(\sum_{i=1}^n F_{r,i} + \sum_{i=1}^n U_{r,i} \right)$$

where $F_{r,i}$ stands for the number of sets of compossible actions available to Red of which a specific action, i , is a member, and $U_{r,i}$ stands for the number of sets of compossible actions unavailable to Red, of which i is a member."

(Carter, 1999, p. 181)

In an explicit critique of Christman's (1991) idea of restraints being the only relevant element to measure freedom, Robert Sugden developed his theory on measuring freedom around the quantification of opportunity. Sugden (1998) uses cardinal criteria to measure opportunity by assessing diversity, which means we must consider the particular characteristics of options and consider those options interrelated. Potentiality also plays a

vital role in Sugden's theory of measuring freedom through opportunity. For Sugden (1998), we need to consider potential preferences only if those take part in relevant circumstances. For example, psychological and social influences can determine potential preferences, but potential preference then collapses to indirect utility. Conversely, if we are willing to take all conceivable preferences, potential preference becomes empty. Sugden (1998) solves the dilemma by introducing concepts of eligibility and ineligibility of options, a solution fashioned by Carter in the theorem previously explained.

Carter (1999) divides qualities measured in freedom as intensive and extensive. Intensive quality cannot be measured by empirical counting procedures, while extensive quality requires individual units of the measured quality that can be concatenated. Therefore, it is crucial to use small units to benefit the accuracy of measuring extensive qualities. Sugden (1998) suggested that diversity cannot be measured simply using information about how the individual ranks options. According to Sugden (1998), no one has solved the problem of representing diversity and complementarity without using any notion of preference or value.

Martin van Hees is interested in the freedom ranking, which goes one step beyond its measurement. As you will see in the following chapters, the measurement of freedom has evolved to more than a simple exposition of metrics obtained by countries and territories. The freedom rankings have increasing relevance in the results displayed, and the narrative

governments worldwide make with them. Van Hees (2000) unveils two kinds of authors regarding rankings of freedom:

- a) Those ranking freedom in dependent relation with the individual preferences, this approach conflates freedom with the value of freedom; and,
- b) Those that rank freedom without considering individual preferences, this approach says nothing about the dissimilarity of options.

For this dissertation (especially for chapters 4 and 5), I found even more relevant van Hees' (2000) idea that there is also a difference between ranking freedom and legal freedom, which focuses on the comparison of sets of rights by measuring the amount of freedom rights provide. Van Hees (2000) believes that the expansion of rights increases overall legal freedom only if that extra freedom is valuable for the individual in some sense; therefore, to arrive at a collective legal freedom ranking, an aggregation procedure is needed. Van Hees (2000) explains the aggregation procedure as taking individual freedom rankings over a set of legal systems, producing a collective freedom ranking; this sort of filter enables us to understand and translate individual freedoms into a complex system of freedoms and rights interrelated.

Merry (2011) believed that countries more concerned about human rights might have better measurements of fulfilling and protecting human rights. They would thus report a more significant proportion of violations than those countries not so involved in the respect and defense of human

rights. However, according to Chafuen (2020), the measurement of economic freedom has been carried out for over three decades, and statistics usually are used to prove that we are living in the best times, especially with the use of indices on freedom, globalization, and the rule of law.

Observations made by Merry (2011) led her to the conclusion that the use of indicators enhances international scrutiny over countries in the Global South; this is because contemporary global indicators are produced in the Global North, delegating the data collection to local Non-Governmental Organizations or governments, that might not be as keen to cooperate or disclose unbiased data. Another common bias Merry (2011) identified is the real aim of the indices producers, who might be willing to manage and control populations or allocate resources in their favor. Therefore, thoroughly understanding the data gathered is essential to understanding who created the indices, how they are made, and how information is collected. That is the subject of the following chapters.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

I have already explored the complexity of defining freedom, as it is not a static concept. This chapter explores the complexity of defining freedom, as it is not a static concept. The understanding of freedom changes depending on culture, place, time, and other circumstances. However, freedom can be defined and understood. Instead, it is a concept that needs to be studied within its evolution. In this chapter, I apply three

approaches to try to understand the concept, its development, and its relevance, building on the work of previous scholars who analyzed freedom.

The Genealogical Approach is a helpful starting point for understanding the evolution of freedom as a concept. Following the dialogue among the prominent thinkers who have written about Freedom in different periods, this approach, developed using Quentin Skinner's methodology, reveals the complexity of my object of study and how its evolution has brought us to where we are today. Through this approach, Skinner identified that only force and coercion could interfere with freedom, leading to the need for a definition of freedom that captures this core aspect.

Freedom in ordinary language entails specific values, beliefs, and cultural backgrounds. Let us remember the genealogical analysis of freedom in Russia, the vast difference between *Svoboda*, *mir*, and *voyla*, not only as different concepts of the same value but as proof of the evolution of each according to the changes suffered by Russian society.

The Socio-Legal Approach has revealed the interaction of different conceptualizations of freedom and other values under theoretical debates between communitarians and individualists, liberals, and libertarians. These ideas have created functional classifications for understanding freedom from the humanities perspective.

The distinction between positive and negative freedom is interesting. This distinction is relevant for categorization and understanding the ideological alignment of different authors and indicators. However, this distinction is artificial for some authors who understand that it is the elimination of obstacles and the creation of choices.

Negative freedom is also known as freedom of exercise or freedom "from". This kind of freedom denies authority and includes freedom from fear and want. It requires no interference and is based on the concept of opportunity. Increasing options does not necessarily increase freedom, as opportunity is irrelevant to freedom. Libertarians defend this understanding of freedom, characterized as removing obstacles without interference. Restrictions on negative freedom reduce autonomy and disregard authority and law.

Positive freedom could also be identified as "freedom to" or "freedom of enjoyment." This freedom transfers authority to the personal realm, which includes freedom of speech, expression, and religious worship. Freedom is understood as the possession of alternative possibilities of action. It allows a person to control their life and entails a range of options for a good life. Freedom is independent of the consequences of its exercise, and choice is a logical presupposition of freedom. This is an understanding of freedom usually defended by egalitarians. It cares about the source of interference, creating choices, and is weighted against claims of other

values. Freedom internalizes authority and law. Negative freedom becomes positive via what a person does with it.

Some authors view freedom as always positive and negative, with the distinction being a matter of categories rather than freedom itself. This view of freedom is supported by the conception of Republican Freedom and Leximin Freedom, which comprise security, self-ownership, equality, and opportunity.

A balance between individual and collective freedom is possible through universal respect and concern for others as individuals. While human dignity presupposes individual freedom, it is developed in society. Individual freedom coexists with the freedom of others. However, personal, and social cohesion have always conflicted.

The Metrological Approach to Freedom is the observed result of the genealogical evolution of the understanding of freedom. The approach to the measurement of freedoms can be made analytically and historically. For example, some authors believe that restraints are the core of measurement of freedom, while others believe that restraint is immeasurable.

Freedom is measured by the number of open paths, according to the positive freedom defenders. For their counterparts, negative freedom scholars, freedom is a measurement of constraints; however, these constraints might be unconnected. In the following chapters, I will confirm Merry's idea that countries more concerned with Human Rights

have better measurements than those that are not as concerned and how the increase of international scrutiny over countries in the global south affects the collection of data. If scientific objectivity is based on social institutions and those institutions are contested by indicators, that might affect future indicators. More importantly, it prevents individuals from achieving the protection entailed to every human being.

Evaluation of equality and freedom are interconnected with the social model. Measurements are made and used to compare different realities and need to account for individual and collective freedom to produce the rankings I will show in the following chapters. Ignorance about the future gives value to specific freedoms in the present. The measurement of freedoms depends on possibilities, difficulties, personal relevance, closeness, and social value of the freedom measured. However, measurements change according to the theoretical position of the person that creates or interprets the indicators. Measurement must consider diversity in opportunities, preferences, and circumstances.

As noted, the conceptualization of freedom has been problematic across time and borders. I agree with Russell (1961a) in his approach to studying many magnificent thinkers by not professing worship or content but hypothetical sympathy. Imagine this multi-diverse and global world with almost infinite opinions and understandings crossing the globe faster than we can understand, being contested, proved, and provoked. What a fantastic time to understand freedom.

Ideological disputes keep the matter of freedom (practical and theoretical) alive. The main argument of this dissertation relays on the richness and variety of understandings across the globe and over time. It is not simply a dispute about where we should position the Overton window to have a better view of freedom. Understanding freedom is contingent to the socio-legal system established in the time and place we refer to is fundamental for understanding the genealogy of the term. This will be noticed in the following chapters.

3. INSTITUTIONAL RESEARCH ON FREEDOM (WHO MEASURES FREEDOM)

As already established in the analysis of the Measurement of Freedom, it is crucial to understand that measurement is a social and political phenomenon. Measurement is not a phenomenon that is produced by itself. Saying that something is measured means that someone is measuring it. This might look evident, but it is not. Usually, indicators, measurements, statistics, and indices are presented as pure science, as numbers are disconnected from socio-political reality. However, every time we measure, we measure with an idea in mind. This is not directing the measurements to achieve some result; however, the simple decision of measuring a subject rather than any other can tell a lot about the decision made by the person that is measuring.

Twelve institutions produce the indices selected. To better understand them and benefit from understanding them, I standardized the analysis into nine sections applied to each of them, as follows:

- I. Location;
- II. Date of foundation;
- III. Founding members;
- IV. Current ownership;
- V. Funding;
- VI. Administration form and members;
- VII. Index or indices of interest;
- VIII. Other publications and activity; and,

IX. Scholars linked to the institution.

For a better understanding of the situation, the description of the Institutions is done in chronological order as follows:

- I. The University of Connecticut, established in 1881;
- II. The Wallstreet Journal, established in 1889;
- III. Freedom House, established in 1941;
- IV. The Economist Intelligence Unit, established in 1946;
- V. Friedrich-Nauman Foundation for Freedom, established in 1958;
- VI. The Heritage Foundation, established in 1973;
- VII. Fraser Institute, established in 1974;
- VIII. Cato Institute, established in 1977;
- IX. Reporters Without Borders, established in 1985;
- X. Center for Systemic Peace, established in 1997;
- XI. V-Dem Institute, established in 2014; and,
- XII. Foundation for the Advancement of Freedom, established in 2015.

3.1. UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT

The University of Connecticut is a public state university established in Storrs, Connecticut, in the United States of America. The university was established in 1881 by Governor Hobart Bigelow as the Storrs Agricultural School under the donation of the Storrs brothers Charles and August. (University of Connecticut, 2019b).

Location:	Storrs, Connecticut, USA
Foundation:	1881
Founders:	Charles Storrs August Storrs
Governance:	Board of Trustees
Funding:	US\$ 2.7 billion
President:	Thomas Katsouleas
Indices of interest:	Ciri Human Rights Data Project
Webpage:	www.uconn.edu

Nowadays, the University of Connecticut is governed by a Board of Trustees, with twenty-one members, twelve directly appointed by the Governor of the State of Connecticut, who takes part in the Board as President. The alums elect two members, and the students select another two. The remaining board members are the University of Connecticut's Health Board of Directors Chair, the Commissioners of Agriculture, Economic, and Community Development, and the Commissioner of Education. What does this configuration of the Board of Trustees mean for the University of Connecticut? It means that (and it is essential not to forget that this is a public institution) the Connecticut State government dominates the legislative decisions with eighty-nine percent of the votes on any issue regarding the University. (University of Connecticut, 2019c)

The configuration of the university's governing body becomes more relevant with a budget that for 2021 exceeded 2.7 billion dollars. This budget ran as follows:

MAIN REGIONAL CAMPUSES

Revenues

State Appropriation	208'800,000.00
Fringe Benefits	187'800,000.00
Student Tuition & Fees	685'200,000.00
Gifts, Grants & Contracts	252'800,000.00
Sales/Services – Auxiliary Enterprises	17'600,000.00
Sales/Services – Educational	30'900,000.00
All other Revenues	31'300,000.00
<i>Total</i>	US\$1"414'400,000.00

Expenditures

Academic Services	644'400,000.00
Research Services	99'200,000.00
Student Services	493'300,000.00
Operating, Support & Physical Plant Services	205'000,000.00
<i>Total</i>	US\$1"441'900,000.00

UCONN HEALTH**Revenues**

State Appropriation	132'900,000.00
Fringe Benefits	144'000,000.00
Student Tuition & Fees	29'700,000.00
Gifts, Grants & Contracts	86'500,000.00
Interns & Residents	77'400,000.00
Net Patient Care	569'700,000.00
All other Revenues	178'700,000.00
Total	US\$1'218'900,000.00

Expenditures

Hospital & Health Services	756'900,000.00
Academic Services	244'900,000.00
Research Services	116'700,000.00
Operating, Support & Physical Plant Services	158'900,000.00
Total	US\$1'218'900,000.00

Table 1. UConn Budget for the Fiscal Year 2021 (University of Connecticut, 2021)

Looking at the numbers, the immediate figure that comes to sight are the expenditures on academic services, which represent 44.6%, while research represented only 6.8% of the main campus expenditures of the 2021 central regional campuses budget. It is also relevant to mention that the 2021 expenditures overpassed the revenues in the main regional campuses by almost US\$30 million, according to the fact sheet published by the University of Connecticut (2021, p. 2).

The President of the University is Thomas C. Katsouleas, supported by the thirteen Members of the Executive Cabinet:

Andrew Agwunobi	Executive Vice President for Health Affairs and Chief Executive Officer of UConn Health
David Benedict	Director of Athletics
Nicole Fournier Gelston	General Counsel and Chief of Staff to the President
Nathan Fuerst	Vice President for Division of Enrollment Planning & Management
Michael Gilbert	Vice President for Student Affairs
Scott Jordan	Executive Vice President for Administration and Chief Financial Officer
Tysen Kendig	Vice President for Communications
Michael Kirk	Senior Advisor to the President
Carl W. Lejuez	Provost and Executive Vice President for Academic Affairs
Radenka Maric	Vice President for Research, Innovation and Entrepreneurship
Scott Roberts	President and CEO of the UConn Foundation
Rachel Rubin	Executive Secretary to the Board of Trustees
Franklin A. Tuitt	Vice President and Chief Diversity Officer

Table 2. UConn Executive Cabinet (University of Connecticut, 2019a)

The University of Connecticut (2018) is among the top 25 public universities in the United States of America, with US\$260 million expended within its fourteen schools and colleges and its eighty research centers. This economic impact has allowed the University to produce meaningful research, such as the Ciri Human Rights Data Project, one of the indices I will analyze later in this chapter.

3.2. THE WALLSTREET JOURNAL

The Wall Street Journal is a news platform founded in 1889 by Charles Dow, Edward Jones, and Charles Bergstresser. The journal is based in New York City. Its mission is to be “the

Location:	New York, USA
Foundation:	1889
Founders:	Charles Dow Edward Jones Charles Bergstresser
Chairman:	Rupert Murdoch
Funding:	Not Published
Editor in Chief:	Matt Murray
Indices of interest:	Index of Economic Freedom
Webpage:	www.wsj.com

definitive source of news and information through the lens of business, finance, economics, and money, global forces that shape the world and are key to understanding it.” (The Wall Street Journal, 2021)

Dow Jones & Co., part of News Corp, owns the Wall Street Journal. Rupert Murdoch leads the Journal’s Executive team as Executive Chairman, Robert Thomson as Chief Executive Officer, and Almar Latour as Chief Executive Officer and Publisher.

The Governance of the journal is divided by the Newsroom, Opinion, and Dow Jones Management teams, as follows:

NEWSROOM

Matt Murray

Neal Lipschutz

Karen Miller Pensiero

Editor in Chief

Deputy Editor in Chief

Managing Editor

Jason Anders	Chief News Editor
Louise Story	Chief News Strategist & Chief Product and Technology Officer
Thorold Barker	Editor, Europe
Andrew Dowell	Editor, Asia
Anthony Galloway	Global Head of Video and Audio
Brent W. Jones	Editor, Culture, Training and Outreach
Alex Martin	Chief Print Editor

OPINION

Paul A Gigot	Editor of the Editorial Page
Daniel Henninger	Deputy Editor, Editorial Page

DOW JONES MANAGEMENT

Daniel Bernard	Chief Experience Officer
Mae Cheng	SVP, Barron’s Group
Jason P. Conti	General Counsel, Chief Compliance Officer
Frank Filippo	EVP, Business Information & Services
Robert Hayes	Chief Business Officer, New Ventures
Kamilah Mitchell-Thomas	Chief People Officer
Josh Stinchcomb	EVP & Chief Revenue Officer, WSJ Barron’s Group
Christina Van Tassell	Chief Financial Officer
Suzi Watford	EVP, Consumer & Chief Marketing Officer

Table 3. The Wall Street Journal Executive team (The Wall Street Journal, 2021)

In collaboration with the Heritage Foundation, the Wall Street Journal produces the Index of Economic Freedom.

3.3. FREEDOM HOUSE

Freedom House is one of the most recognizable organizations around the world. Founded in 1941 by Eleanor Roosevelt, the former first lady of the United States of America, and Wendell

Location:	Washington D.C., USA
Foundation:	1941
Founders:	Eleanor Roosevelt Wendell Willkie
Chairman:	Michael Chertoff
Funding:	US\$7.6 million
President:	Michael J. Abramowitz
Indices of interest:	Freedom in the World
Webpage:	www.freedomhouse.org

Willkie, former Republican Presidential nominee, who lost against Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1940.

Located in Washington, D.C., in the United States of America, it is governed by a board of trustees, currently chaired by Michael Chertoff. Other members of the board of trustees are:

Michael Chertoff	Chair
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Goli Ameri	Vice Chair
Peter Bass	Vice Chair
Robert Keane	Treasurer
Monde Muyangwa	Secretary
Carol C. Adelman	
David E. Birenbaum	
Sewell Chan	
Jørgen Ejbøl	
Martin Etchevers	
Francis Fukuyama	
Jonathan Ginns	
Dionisio Gutierrez	
Rachel Kleinfeld	
Jim Kolbe	
Faith Morningstar	
Sushma Palmer	
Vivek Paul	
Maurice A. Perkins	
Andrew Prozes	
Ian Simmons	
Thomas Staudt	
Robert H. Tuttle	
Anne Wedner	
Norman Willox	
Bette Bao Lord	Emeritus Board Member
Dennis C. Blair	Emeritus Board Member
Paula Dobriansky	Emeritus Board Member
D. Jeffrey Hirschberg	Emeritus Board Member
Anthony Lake	Emeritus Board Member
Diana Negroponte	Emeritus Board Member
William H. Taft, IV	Emeritus Board Member
Wendell Willkie, II	Emeritus Board Member

Table 4. Freedom House Board of Trustees (Freedom House, 2021a)

Freedom House is managed by an Executive and a Leadership Staff as follows:

EXECUTIVE STAFF

Michael Abramowitz	J. President
Annie Wilcox Boyajian	Director of Advocacy
Brian Hill	Vice President, Development
Mark Moyer	Chief Financial Officer
Sarah Repucci	Vice President, Research and Analysis
Jennifer Stapleton	Director of Communications

LEADERSHIP STAFF

Laura Adams	Senior Director, Program Strategy, Development and Learning
Urooj Arshad	Senior Program Manager, Dignity for All
Marc Behrendt	Director, Europe, and Eurasia programs
Gerardo Berthin	Director, Latin America, and the Caribbean programs
Danya Greenfield	Senior Program Manager for Lifeline
Vytis Jurkonis	Project Director, Vilnius office
Jin Kim	Director of Finance
Sheryl Mendez	Senior Program Manager, Emergency Assistance Programs
Mindy Michels	Director of Emergency Assistance Programs

Sofya Orlosky	Senior Program Manager, Eurasia programs
Colby Pacheco	Senior Program Manager, Africa programs
Nate Schenkkan	Director for Special Research
Adrian Shahbaz	Research Director, Technology and Democracy
Jon Temin, Director	Africa programs
David Timberman	Director, Asia programs
Matthew Schaaf	Project Director (Ukraine)
Mai Truong	Research Director, Management and Strategy

Table 5. Freedom House Executive and Leadership (Freedom House, 2021a)

According to the last audited financial statements, Freedom House got revenues for 2019 of US\$ 48'112,348.00, of which US\$ 45'147,366.00 were obtained from US Federal grants. (Bethesda, 2019) This is 94% of the budget, which is not common among liberal pro-capitalist organizations, as I will show later.

Since 1973, Freedom House has been producing its flagship index, Freedom in the World; however, they are working on others. Freedom House has several exciting products, such as Freedom on the Net, Nations in Transit, Freedom and the Media, China Media Bulletin, and special reports on different subjects, all related to promoting and defending liberal values.

3.4. THE ECONOMIST INTELLIGENCE UNIT

The Economist Intelligence Unit is the research and analysis division of the Economist Group, founded in 1946 to provide research services to the newspaper and later to other companies. The Economist Intelligence Unit is based in

Location:	London, U.K.
Foundation:	1946
Founders:	James Wilson
Board of Trustees:	Baroness Bottomley of Nettlestone Tim Clark Lord O'Donnell Dame Alison Carnwath
Funding:	£ 65 million
Managing Director:	Robin Bew
Indices of interest:	Democracy Index
Webpage:	www.eiu.com

London, United Kingdom and was founded by the Economist Group, which

was founded in 1843 by James Wilson. It is currently governed by a Board of Trustees composed of four people:

- Baroness Bottomley of Nettlestone.
- Tim Clark.
- Lord O'Donnell; and,
- Dame Alison Carnwath.

As part of the Economist Group, The Economist Intelligence Unit shares part of the group's revenues. In 2020, from the £326 million budget, the Economist Intelligence Unit revenue represented 19.9%, about £ 65 million. (The Economist Group, 2020, p. 3) The Economist Intelligence Unit revenue has been growing steadily, mainly with the benefit of the consulting area that now represents the 37% of its total revenues (The Economist Group, 2020, p. 11), and an operating profit of £ 12 million (The Economist Group, 2020, p. 53)

The Economist Intelligence Unit's revenues are divided by research and consulting. Research revenue is derived from subscriptions to the Economist Intelligence Unit's Country Analysis, the Economist Intelligence Unit's Corporate Network sponsorship, and Executive Briefings. (The Economist Group, 2020, p. 55)

The consulting revenues relate to the services given to the Economist Intelligence Unit clients in different areas such as public policy, healthcare, and consumer markets. (The Economist Group, 2020, p. 56)

Robin Bew is the Managing director of the Economist Intelligence Unit, which he joined in 1995 as an editor.

The Economist Intelligence Unit produces the Democracy Index to measure pluralism, liberties, and political culture.

3.5. FRIEDRICH-NAUMAN-STIFTUNG FÜR DIE-FREIHEIT

Translated to English as the Friedrich Nauman Foundation for Freedom is a liberal institute based in Potsdam, Germany. Founded in 1958

Location:	Potsdam, Deutschland
Foundation:	1958
Founders:	Theodor Heuss
Chairman:	Jürgen Morlok
Funding:	€87 million
Chairman:	Karl-Heinz Paqué
Indices of interest:	Human Freedom Index
Webpage:	www.freiheit.org

by Theodor Heuss, the first President of the Federal Republic of Germany (1949-1959). The foundation is governed by a Board of Trustees, chaired by Prof. Dr. Ludwig Theodor Heuss, and composed as follows:

Prof. Dr. Ludwig Theodor Heuss	Chairman of the Theodor Heuss Foundation Head of Internal Medicine, Hospital Zollikerber Majority Shareholder Basler Schwbae-Verlag, Zürich
Prof. Dr. Jürgen Morlok	Independent Business Consultant
Liane Knüppel	Former President of the Association of Scholarship Holders
Dr. Peter Jeutter	Entrepreneur
Florian Rentsch	Minister of State (retired) Chairman of the Management Board of the Association of Sparda Banks e.V.
Christel Augenstein	Former Lord Mayor of the city of Pforzheim
Anne Brasseur	Former Minister of Education, Vocational Training and Sport of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg
Dr. h.c. Hinrich Enderlein	Former State Minister Entrepreneur
Richard Fudickar	Entrepreneur
Hon.-Prof. Dr. Helmut Haussmann	Former Federal Minister
Dr. Maren Jasper-Winter MdA	Member of the Free Democrats' fraction at the Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin
Alexander Graf Lambsdorff MdB	Deputy Chairman of the Free Democrats' fraction at the German Bundestag Federal Chairman of the Free Democrats, Berlin
Dr. Anita Maaß	Mayor of the City Lommatzsch
Gisela Piltz	Lawyer
Judith Pirscher	President of the Government District Detmold Federal Chairwoman of the Association of Liberal Local Politicians

Dr. Stefan Ruppert	Member of the Management at B. Braun Holding GmbH & Co KG
Dr. Hermann Otto Solms MdB	Former Deputy Chairman of the German Bundestag Honorary Federal Chairman of the Free Democrats
Prof. Dr. Thomas Straubhaar	Professor of Economics at the University of Hamburg Fellow of the Transatlantic Academy in Washington, D.C.
Johanness van Baalen	President of the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe Former member of the European Parliament Member of the Government Advisory Council for International Affairs Chair of the Security Policy Division of the Government Advisory Council for International Affairs Member of the Government Advisory Council for Eurozone
Joachim Werren	Former Secretary of State

Table 6. *Friedrich-Nauman-Stiftung für die-Freiheit Board of Trustees. (Friedrich-Nauman-Stiftung für die-Freiheit, 2017)*

The Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom (2021a, p. 68) had an income of €86.7 million, coming from the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (45.6%), Federal Ministry of the Interior (16.8%), Federal Foreign Office (9.5%), Federal Ministry of Education and Research (9.5%), Federal Funds (1.4%), and European Union funds (0.6%).

The administration of the Foundation is entrusted to a Board of Directors composed as follows:

Prof. Karl-Heinz Paqué (Chairman)	State Minister (ret.) Professor at the Faculty of Economics of the Otto-von-Guericke-University Magdeburg
Sabine Leutheusser-Schnarrenberger (Deputy Chairwoman)	Former MdB Former Federal Minister
Manfred Richter	Former MdB Former MdBB Former Lord Mayor of the city of Bremerhaven
Michael Link MdB	FDP federal board member Former director OSCE/ ODIHR
Bettina Stark-Watzinger MdB	Chairwoman of the Finance Committee of the German Bundestag FDP federal board member Chairwoman of the Free Democrats Hesse
Dr. Wolfgang Gerhardt	Honorary Chairman

Table 7. *Friedrich-Nauman-Stiftung für die-Freiheit Board of Directors. (Friedrich-Nauman-Stiftung für die-Freiheit, 2021b)*

The Foundation produces the Human Freedom Index with the Cato Institute and the Fraser Institute. The Foundation also has the Freedom Barometer, but different from the Human Freedom Index, it only measures freedom in Europe; therefore, in the following subchapter, I will analyze only the Human Freedom Index.

3.6. THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION

The Heritage Foundation, based in the United States of America, is one of the World's leading think tanks in public policy. It is in Washington, D.C., United States of America. It was founded

Location:	Washington, D.C., USA
Foundation:	1973
Founders:	Joseph Coors Edwin Feulner Paul Weyrich
Chairman:	Barb Van Andel-Gaby
Funding:	US\$76.7 million
President:	Kay C. James
Indices of interest:	Index of Economic Freedom
Webpage:	www.heritage.org

in 1973 by the president of the brewing company and regent of the University of Colorado Joseph Coors, the academic Edwin John Feulner Jr., and the conservative political activist Paul Weyrich. The think tank is governed by an independent Board of Trustees as follows:

Barb Van Andel Gaby, <i>Chairman</i>	Member of the Board of Directors of Alticor Trustee of the Richard and Barbara Gaby Foundation Member of the Board of Advisors for the Arete Scholarship Fund
Michael W. Gleba, Vice Chairman	Chairman / CEO, Treasurer and Trustee of the Sarah Scaife Foundation
Kay Coles James, President	President of the Heritage Foundation since 2018
Larry P. Arn	President of the Hillsdale College
Edwin J. Feulner	Founder and former President of the Heritage Foundation
Steve Forbes	Former presidential candidate President and Chief Executive Officer of Forbes Ic.
Robert P. George	McCormick Professor of Jurisprudence, Princeton University Director of the James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions, Princeton University Visiting Professor, Harvard Law School
Ryan Haggerty	Owner of RHR Consulting
Price Harding	Chairman of Carter Baldwin (executive search firm)
Virginia Heckman	Manager at Noble Properties, Inc. Trustee of the Samuel Roberts Noble Foundation, Inc.
Jerry Hume	Chairman of the Board of Basic American Inc. Former Chairman of the California Academy of Sciences
Mark A. Kolokotronis	Founder and President of Castle Knoll Investments, LLC.

Edwin Meese III	Ronald Reagan Distinguished Fellow Emeritus Meese Center for Legal and Judicial Studies
Rebekah A. Mercer	Director of the Mercer Family Foundation Founder and Chairman of Reclaim New York Owner of Ruby et Violette
The Hon J, William Middendorf II	Chairman, Middendorf and Company Former Secretary of the Navy, Ambassador to the European Communities, Organization of American States, and the Netherlands
Abby Spencer Moffat Nersi Nazari	Chief Executive Officer, Diana Davis Spencer Foundation Chairman and CEO, Vital Connect, Inc. Founder of Pacific General Ventures
Robert Pennington Anthony J. Saliba	Former President and Director at Capital Guardian Trust, Co. Executive Managing Director, ConvergeX Group Chief executive officer, Liquid Point
Thomas A. Saunders III	President of Ivor & Co., LLC Chairman Emeritus
Brian Tracy	Heritage Associate Founder, Brian Tracy International
David R. Brown,	Orthopedic Associates Chairman Emeritus
The Hon. Frank Shakespeare	Former U.S. Ambassador to the Vatican
Phillip N. Truluck Midge Decter	Former Senior Advisor at the Heritage Foundation Member of the Society of Emeritus Trustees Former editor at Basic Books
William E. Simon Jr.	Member of the Society of Emeritus Trustees Executive Director of William E. Simon & Sons, LLC
Belden H. Bell	Member of the Society of Emeritus Trustees Former Counselor to the President of the Heritage Foundation, OAS Ambassador/Director to the Federation of St. Kitts and Nevis
J. Frederic Rench	Member of the Society of Emeritus Trustees Former Chairman and CEO of Racine Industries Inc., St. John's Military Academy and Free Congress Foundation

Table 8. The Heritage Foundation Board of Trustees. (The Heritage Foundation, 2022b)

The Heritage Foundation (2021b) is mainly supported by its more than half-million members and only 2% of all its contributors are corporations. Also, the Foundation does not receive financial contributions from any government. Yet, even without this powerful support, the Heritage Foundation (2021b) is the most broadly supported public policy research institute in the United States of America and probably in the world.

The total assets of the Heritage Foundation (2021a) by December 31, 2020, were of US\$378'856,050.00, with operating revenues of US\$76'728,141.00,

operating expenses of US\$74'877,911.00, and non-operating activities income of US\$5'800,567.00.

The administrative leadership of the Heritage Foundation is entrusted to a team of fifteen people, as follows:

Kay C. James	President
John P. Backiel	Vice President, Finance and Accounting
Tommy Binion	Vice President of Government Relation
Robert B. Bluey	Vice President, Communications Executive Editor, The Daily Signal
Chris Byrnes	General Counsel Secretary to the Board of Trustees
James Jay Carfano	Vice President Kathryn and Shelby Cullom Davis Institute for National Security and Foreign Policy, and the E. W. Richardson Fellow
Wes Dyck	Vice President, Personnel
Eric Korsvall	Vice President, Operations
John Malcolm	Vice President, Institute for Constitutional Government, Director of the Meese Center for Legal & Judicial Studies, and Senior Legal Fellow
Andrew McIndoe	Vice President of Development
Angela Sailor	Vice President The Feulner Institute
Jack Spencer	Vice President The Institute for Economic Freedom

Table 9. The Heritage Foundation Board of Directors. (The Heritage Foundation, 2022a)

The Heritage Foundation produces the Index of Economic Freedom in collaboration with the Wall Street Journal.

3.7. FRASER INSTITUTE

The Fraser Institute is one of the best-ranked think tanks in the world. Founded in 1974 in Vancouver, Canada, by the scholar Michael Walker and the businessman Patrick Boyle.

Location:	Vancouver, B.C., Canada
Foundation:	1974
Founders:	Michael Walker T. Patrick Boyle
Chairman:	Peter Brown
Funding:	CA\$ 13 million
President:	Niels Veldhuis
Indices of interest:	Economic Freedom Index Human Freedom Index Index of Freedom in the World
Webpage:	www.fraserinstitute.org

The Fraser Institute governance is entrusted to a Board of Directors as follows:

Peter M. Brown	Chair
Rod Senft	Vice Chair
Mark Scott	Vice Chair, British Columbia
Andrew Judson	Vice Chair, Alberta
Shaun Francis	Vice Chair, Ontario
Jonathan Wener	Vice Chair, Quebec
Jill Angevine	
Kathy Assayag	
Brian Baker	
Ryan Beedie	
Brad Bennett	
Alex A. Chafuen	
Derwood S. Chase, Jr.	
Christine Cooper	
Heather Culbert	
Geoffrey Cumming	
James W. Davidson	
Wayne Deans	
Gary Dhaliwal	
Anna El-Erian	
Grant Fagerheim	
W. Robert Farquharson	
Greg C. Fleck	
Paul Fletcher	
Guy Goodwin	
Douglas Goss	
Peter Grosskopf	
Paul J. Hill	
Salem Al Ismaily	
C. Kent Jespersen	
Brian Kenning	
Hassan Khosrowshahi	
Craig Langdon	
Graham S. Lee	
Pierre H. Lessard	
Brandt C. Louie	
Margaret-Jean Mannix	
Kenneth W. Mariash, Sr.	
J. Scott McCain	
Catherine McLeod-Seltzer	
Tracey L. McVicar	
George Melville	
Gwyn Morgan	
Eleanor Nicholls	
John O'Neill	
Herb C. Pinder	
Ron Poelzer	
H. Sanford Riley	
John Risley	
David Sutherland	
Catherine Swift	
Ian W. Telfer	
Arni C. Thorsteinson	
Brad Wall	
Donald A. Wheaton	
Michael A. Walker	Co-founder and Honorary Board Member
T. Patrick Boyle	Co-founder and Honorary Chairman for Life

Table 10. Fraser Institute Board of Directors. (Fraser Institute, 2014a)

The Fraser Institute receives no funding from the Canadian or any other government. Actually, in 2020 the Fraser Institute (2021b, p. 40) was eligible to receive the Canada Emergency Wage Subsidy to support the salary cost due to the Covid-19 Pandemic but chose not to. Until December 2020, the total assets of the Fraser Institute were CA\$13'017,601.00 with revenues of CA\$9'097,630.00 and total expenses of CA\$9'247,558.00. All the revenues come from donations, sales of publications, interests, and other income.

The Fraser Institute team is the following:

Niels Veldhuis	President
Jason Clemens	Executive Vice-President
Elmira Alikbari	Director, Natural Resource Studies
Bacchus Barua	Director, Health Policy Studies
Manpreet Brar	Director, Human Resources
Daniela Castillo	Education Programs Coordinator
Betty Chuck	Executive Assistant
Stephanie Clements	Human Resources & Office Administrator
Joel Emes	Senior Economist
Cheryl Fung	Digital Marketing Coordinator
Jake Fuss	Senior Economist
Ben Gaw	Web Developer
Timothy Greengrass	Senior Accountant
Mark Hasiuk	Senior Media Relations Specialist
Ryan Hill	Associate Director, Education Programs
Tegan Hill	Economist
Chris Howey	Accounts Payable Administrator
Phil Johnston	Manager, Video and Motion Graphics
Steve Lafleur	Senior Policy Analyst
Devon Orth-Lashley	Education Programs Coordinator
Nathaniel Li	Economist
Hugh MacIntyre	Senior Policy Analyst
Drue MacPherson	Junior Media Relations Coordinator, Eastern Canada
Paige MacPherson	Associate Director, Education Policy
Lindsey Martin	Production Editor
Kristin McCahon	Senior Editor
Stephen McCreary	Associate Director, Digital Marketing
Fred McMahan	Resident Fellow, Dr. Michael A. Walker Chair in Economic Freedom
Mackenzie Moir	Policy Analyst
Tanya Nelson	Education Programs Coordinator
Milagros Palacios	Director, Addington Centre for Measurement
Elizabeth Pratt	Senior Development Associate
Chery Rutledge	Manager, Web Projects
Venia Tan	Director, Finance and Accounting

Bryn Weese	Director, Communications
Peng Wi	Graphic Designer
Alex Whalen	Policy Analyst
Oliver Wu	Senior Systems Administrator
Jairo Yunis	Policy Analyst

Table 11. Fraser Institute Team. (Fraser Institute, 2014b)

The Fraser Institute produces the Economic Freedom Index, the Index of Freedom in the World, and the Human Freedom Index in collaboration with the Cato Institute and the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom.

However, the research of the Fraser Institute goes beyond our imagination. Some of their interests are: Aboriginal Policy, Competitiveness, COVID-19, Democracy and Governance, Economic Freedom, Education Policy, Energy, Environment, Government Spending and Taxes, Health Care, Labor Policy, Municipal Policy, Natural Resources, Pensions and Retirement, Poverty and Inequality, Provincial Prosperity, School Report Cards, Trade and US Relations, Essential Scholars, among others.

3.8. CATO INSTITUTE

The Cato Institute is one of the best-known institutions around the globe. On its webpage, it is called a "public policy research organization – a think tank – dedicated to the principles of individual liberty, limited government, free markets, and peace." (Cato Institute, 2021a)

Location:	Washington, D.C., USA
Foundation:	1977
Founders:	Ed Crane; Charles Koch; & Murray Rothbard.
Chairman	Robert A Levy
Funding:	US\$31'695,000.00
President & CEO	Peter N. Goettler
Indices of interest:	Economic Freedom of the World Human Freedom Index
Webpage:	www.cato.org

The Cato Institute was founded in 1977 by Ed Crane, Charles Koch, and Murray Rothbard in San Francisco, California, U.S.A. Currently, it is in a building located at 1000 Massachusetts Avenue. NW Washington, D.C.

The administration of the Cato Institute has traditionally been entrusted to a president and a vice president, assisted by a large staff. Currently, the Executive Administration of the Cato Institute (2020, p. 36) runs as follows:

Peter N. Goettler	President and CEO
Robert A. Levy	Chairman
David Boaz	Executive Vice President
Lesley Albanese	Vice President of Initiatives
Jill Braun	General Counsel
Clark Scott	Chief of Staff
Charrisse Wilson	Executive Assistant to the President

Table 12. Cato Institute Executive Administration. (Cato Institute, 2022)

In 2012 a board of directors replaced the shareholders, and this board of directors has suffered some changes since those days; however, it has been stable. Currently, the Board of Directors of the Cato Institute (2020, p. 44) is composed as follows:

John A. Allison	Cato Institute
Baron Bond	BB&T
Rebecca Dunn	The Foundation Group LLC
Roberto Gelfond	Dunn Foundation
Peter N. Goettler	MQS Management
David C. Humphreys	Cato Institute
James M. Kilts	TAMKO Building Products, Inc.
	Centerview Capital Holdings
	The Gillette Company
James M. Lapeyre Jr.	Laitram, LLC
Ken Levy	Levy Family Fund
Robert A. Levy	Cato Institute
Nancy M. Pfothenhauer	Media Speak Strategies
Lewis E. Randall	E*Trade Financial
Howard S. Rich	U.S. Term Limits
Robert A. Taylor	EBC Management
Nestor R. Weigand Jr.	J.P. Weigand & Sons, Inc.
Jeffrey S. Yass	Susquehanna International Group, LLP
Fred Young	Young Radiator Company
K. Tucker Andersen	<i>Emeritus Director</i>
Frank Bond	<i>Emeritus Director</i>
Ethel Mae C. Humphreys	<i>Emeritus Director</i>
David Koch	<i>Emeritus Director</i>
John C. Malone	<i>Emeritus Director</i>

Frederick W. Smith *Emeritus Director*
Table 13. *Cato Institute Board of Directors. (Cato Institute, 2022)*

It is worth to mention that the "Cato Institute accepts no government funding. Instead, contributions from individuals, foundations, and corporations make possible [its] ability to drive important policy debates toward limited government, free markets, individual liberty, and peace." (*Cato Institute 2019 Annual Report, 2020, p. 41*) For 2020, the Cato Institute (2020, p. 41) reported operating revenue of US\$31'695,000.00, consistent with the last ten years' Operating Revenue.

During the last ten years, individual revenues have represented at least 75% of the revenue. In 2019 and 2020 of the Cato Institute Revenues, and in 2013 and 2014, the percentage reached 87%. In addition, in the Cato Annual Reports from 2010 to 2013, a list of contributors was published under Institutional Support, divided between Foundations Sponsors and Corporate Sponsors.

Reading the list of Corporate Sponsors is very interesting, given the corporation names we could recognize in the following list:

- Altria Group Inc.
- Amerisure Companies
- Atlantic Trust Co.
- BB&T
- Caterpillar Inc.
- CME Group
- Consumer Electronics Association
- Ebay Inc.
- Facebook Inc.
- FedEx Corporation
- Google Inc.
- K12 Management Inc.
- Mazda North America
- McGraw Hill Financial
- MetLife Inc.
- National Association of Broadcasters

- OLCIO International, Inc.
- Overstock.com
- Pmi Global Services Inc.
- Reynolds American
- Southern Company Services
- C.V. Starr & Company Inc.
- Verisign Inc.
- Volkswagen of America
- Whole Foods Market

Cato Institute (2011) (2012) (2013) (2014)

Unfortunately, since the 2014 report, the Cato Institute stopped making public the list of institutional supporters. However, looking at the list of fellows and adjunct scholars provided by the Cato Institute is more important for this dissertation. This makes establishing links between the Institute and other institutes, universities, and foundations possible. Let's look at the following lists:

Fellows:

F. A. Hayek (1899–1992)	Distinguished Senior Fellow
James M. Buchanan (1919-2013)	Distinguished Senior Fellow
Václav Klaus	Distinguished Senior Fellow
Richard Lindzen	Distinguished Senior Fellow
José Piñera	Distinguished Senior Fellow
Earl C. Ravenal	Distinguished Senior Fellow in Foreign Policy Studies
Ronald A. Bailey	Media Fellow
Radley Balko	Media Fellow
Randy E. Barnett	Senior Fellow
Ike Brannon	Visiting Fellow
Vladimir Bukovsky	Senior Fellow
Tucker Carlson	Senior Fellow
Emily McClintock Ekins	Research Fellow
Lawrence Gasman	Senior Fellow in Telecommunications
Leon T. Hadar	Research Fellow in Foreign Policy Studies
Ronald Hamowy	Fellow In Social Thought
Steve H. Hanke	Senior Fellow
John Hasnas	Senior Fellow
Nat Hentoff	Senior Fellow
Diqing Jiang	Research Fellow
Penn Jillette	Mencken Research Fellow
David Kirby	Associate Policy Analyst
Stanley Kober	Research Fellow in Foreign Policy Studies
David Kopel	Associate Policy Analyst
Deepak Lal	Senior Fellow
Christopher Layne	Research Fellow in Foreign Policy Studies
Robert A. Levy	Senior Fellow and Chairman, Cato Institute
Jeffrey Milyo	Senior Fellow

Jeffrey A. Miron	Senior Fellow
John Mueller	Senior Fellow
Johan Norberg	Senior Fellow
Gerald P. O'Driscoll Jr.	Senior Fellow
P. J. O'Rourke	Mencken Research Fellow
Tom G. Palmer	Senior Fellow
William Poole	Senior Fellow
Jim Powell	Senior Fellow
Richard W. Rahn	Senior Fellow
Alan Reynolds	Senior Fellow
Flemming Rose	Senior Fellow
Nicholas Quinn Rosenkranz	Senior Fellow
William Ruger	Research Fellow in Foreign Policy Studies
George A. Selgin	Senior Fellow
William Shipman	Co-Chairman, Project on Social Security Choice
Vernon L. Smith	Senior Fellow
Teller	Mencken Research Fellow
A. Trevor Thrall	Senior Fellow
Brandon Valeriano	Senior Fellow
Lawrence H. White	Senior Fellow
Randall Wright	Senior Fellow
Aaron Velowitz	Senior Fellow
Cathy Young	Media Fellow
Guillermo Zuloaga	Fellow In Free Speech
Todd Zywicki	Senior Fellow

Table 14. *Cato Institute Fellows. (Cato Institute, 2021c)*

Adjunct Scholars:

Rajshree Agarwal	University of Maryland
Stuart Anderson	National Foundation for American Policy
James Bacchus	University of Central Florida
Ronald A. Bailey	Reason
Carlos Ball	Agencia Interamericana De Prensa Económica
Patrick Basham	The Democracy Institute
David Beckworth	Western Kentucky University
Jason Bedrick	EdChoice
Tom W. Bell	Chapman University School of Law
Alberto Benegas Lynch Jr.	University Of Buenos Aires
Lorenzo Bernaldo De Quirós	Freemarket International Consulting
David E. Bernstein	George Mason University School of Law
Josh Blackman	South Texas College of Law
Donald J. Boudreaux	George Mason University
Robert L. Bradley Jr.	Institute For Energy Research
Edward Calabrese	University of Massachusetts
Gabriela Calderón de Burgos	Research Associate and Editor, EICato.org
Bryan Caplan	George Mason University
John H. Cochrane	University Of Chicago School of Business
Robert Corn-Revere	Davis Wright Tremaine Llp
Tyler Cowen	George Mason University
W. Michael Cox	Southern Methodist University Cox School of Business
Corey A. DeAngelis	Reason Foundation
Anthony de Jasay	Independent Scholar
Veronique de Rugy	Mercatus Center
C. Wallace de Witt	Allen & Overy
Gregory Dolin	University of Baltimore School of Law
Kevin Dowd	Cass Business School

Gerald P. Dwyer	Clemson University
Alan Ebenstein	Santa Barbara, California
Lanny Ebenstein	Santa Barbara, California
Bert Ely	Ely And Company, Inc.
Alex Epstein	Santa Barbara, California
Richard A. Epstein	New York University Law School
Louis Fisher	Law Library of Congress
Vance Fried	Oklahoma State University
Enrique Gherzi	Lima, Peru
Eugene Gholz	The University of Texas at Austin
Eric Goepner	George Mason University
Tyler Goodspeed	University of Oxford
Richard L. Gordon	Pennsylvania State University
Andrew M. Grossman	Baker Hostetlet
Marie Gryphon	Manhattan Institute
James D. Gwartney	Florida State University
William Happer	Princeton University
Scott E. Harrington	The University of Pennsylvania The Wharton School
Robert Higgs	Independent Institute
Thomas Hogan	Troy University
Jeffrey Rogers Hummel	San José State University
David A. Hyman	University Of Illinois College of Law
Craig D. Idso	Center for the Study of Carbon Dioxide and Global Change
Malou Innocent	Philadelphia, PA
David Isenberg	Washington, D.C.
Peter Martin Jaworski	Georgetown University
Jason Scott Johnston	University of Virginia School of Law
Kay H. Jones	Zephyr Consulting
Jerry L. Jordan	Adjunct Scholar
Terence Kealey	University of Buckingham
Sahar Khan	Washington, D.C.
David Kirby	Washington, D.C.
Daniel B. Klein	George Mason University
Arnold Kling	Economist And Author
David B. Kopel	Independent Institute
Martin Krause	University Of Buenos Aires
Chandran Kukathas	London School of Economics
Christopher Layne	Texas A&M University
Timothy B. Lee	Princeton University
Jacob T. Levy	McGill University
Stan Liebowitz	The University of Texas at Dallas
Scott Lincicome	White & Case LLP
Loren Lomasky	University Of Virginia
Erik Luna	Washington And Lee School of Law
William J. Luther	Kenyon College
Timothy Lynch	Washington, D.C.
Jonathan R. Macey	Yale Law School
Tibor R. Machan	Chapman University
Ned Mamula	Middleburg, Virginia
Henry G. Manne	George Mason University School of Law
Ryan Maue	WeatherBELL
Kerry McDonald	Foundation for Economic Education
Robert McDonald	United States Military Academy
Ross McKittrick	University of Guelph
Robert J. Michaels	California State University at Fullerton
Thomas W. Miller Jr.	Mississippi State University

Alberto Mingardi	Istituto Bruno Leoni
Mark Moller	DePaul University School of Law
Michael Munger	Duke University
Michael J. New	University Of Alabama
Sam Peltzman	University Of Chicago
David G. Post	Temple University Law School
Dan Quan	Banks Street Advisors
Alvin Rabushka	Hoover Institution
Flemming Rose	Jyllands-Posten
Roberto Salinas-León	Mexico Business Forum
Razeen Sally	London School of Economics
Timothy Sandefur	Pacific Legal Foundation
Adam B. Schaeffer	Evolving Strategies
Pedro Schwartz	Universidad Autónoma De Madrid
Charles Silver	University of Texas Law School
Harvey Silvergate	Zalkind, Rodriguez, Lunt & Duncan
Jeffrey A. Singer	Valley Surgical Clinics, Ltd.
Ilya Somin	George Mason University School of Law
Jason Sorens	Dartmouth College
Richard L. Stroup	North Carolina State University
Tanja Štumberger Porčnik	Vienna, Austria
Daniel A. Sumner	University Of California, Davis
Shirley Svorny	California State University at Northridge
Thomas Szasz	Upstate Medical University State University Of New York
A. Trevor Thrall	George Mason University
Richard H. Timberlake Jr.	University Of Georgia
Walker F. Todd	Chautauqua Institution
James Tooley	Newcastle University
Charlotte Twright	Boise State University
Stephen J.K. Walters	Loyola University Maryland
Lawrence H. White	George Mason University
Glen Whitman	California State University at Northridge
Walter E. Williams	George Mason University
Leland B. Yeager	Auburn University
Aaron Velowitz	University Of Kentucky
Kate Xiao Zhou	The University of Hawaii at Manoa
Todd Zywicki	George Mason University School of Law

Table 15. Cato Institute Adjunct Scholars. (Cato Institute, 2021b)

This shows the names and affiliations of the scholars that have participated at the Cato Institute for the last ten years, and some names will be easily recognizable. I studied some of their work in the theoretical approaches. Still, it is essential to be aware of these scholars' contributions to the indices of interest produced by the Cato Institute.

The Cato Institute produces two significant indices for this dissertation (i) Economic Freedom of the World; and (ii) Human Freedom Index.

However, the literary production of the Cato Institute goes beyond the indices. Until today, the Cato Institute (2021) has published the following:

- Blogs: 23,046
- Books: 339
- Commentaries: 16,185
- Economic Freedom of the World reports: 8
- Events: 2,024
- Human Freedom Index reports: 6
- Multimedia material: 26,427
- News Releases: 225
- Outside Articles: 558
- Public Filings: 1,217
- Reviews and Journals: 8,109
- Speeches: 79
- Studies: 1,900

However impressive the publications list might look, the influence of the Cato Institute in public affairs unveils the remarkable amount of Nobel Laureates involved with the Institute. Sixteen, according to the Cato Institute (2020) Policy Report, as follows:

- F. A. Hayek (1974)
- Milton Friedman (1976)
- James M. Buchanan (1986)
- Ronald Coase (1991)
- Gary S. Becker (1992)

- Douglass C. North (1993)
- Robert Mundell (1999)
- Vernon L. Smith (2002)
- Edward C. Prescott (2004)
- Thomas C. Schelling (2005)
- Edmund Phelps (2006)
- Angus Deaton (2015)
- Mario Vargas Llosa (2010)
- Thomas Sargent (2011)
- Richard Thaler (2017)
- Michael Kremer (2019)

3.9. REPORTERS SANS FRONTIÈRES

Translated to English as Reporters Without Borders, an independent non-governmental organization states that “freedom of expression and information will always be the world’s most important freedom.” (Reporters

Location:	Paris, France
Foundation:	1985
Founders:	Robert Ménard Remy Loury Jaques Molénat Émillien Jubineau
Chairman:	Pierre Haski
Funding:	€ 6 million
Executive Director:	Christophe Deloire
Indices of interest:	World Press Freedom Index
Webpage:	www.rsf.org

without Borders, 2016) Reporters without Borders has consultative status with the United Nations Organization (UN), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the Council of Europe (CoE), and the International Organization of the Francophonie (OIF). The NGO is located in Paris, with foreign sections in ten cities and

correspondents in 130 countries worldwide. It was founded in 1985 by four journalists:

- Robert Ménard.
- Rémy Loury.
- Jacques Molénat; and,
- Émillien Jubineau.

The Board of Governors is elected every two years by the general assembly of the NGO. It is composed of twenty-five people, seven of whom conform to the Executive Bureau, as follows:

Executive Board:

Pierre Haski	President
Françoise Sivignon	Vice-President
Jean-Michel Boissier	Treasurer
Michael Bergmeijer	
Frédéric Filloux	
Paola Sandoval	
Elaine Sciolino	

Table 16. Reporters sans Frontières Executive Bureau. (Reporters sans Frontières, 2021b)

Members:

Angela Charlton.	Phil Chetwind.
Elaine Cobbe.	Bertrand Delcros.
Hadani Ditmars.	Louis Dreyfus.
Philippe Jahshan.	Julie Joly.
Odile Marquant-Berthoux.	Cécile Mégie.
Paul Moreira.	Déo Namujimbo.
Eyoum Ngangue.	Martine Ostrovsky.
Michael Rediske.	Pascal Roux.
Abdoulaye Traoré; and	Gérard Tschopp.

Table 17. Reporters sans Frontières Members. (Reporters sans Frontières, 2021b)

Reporters Without Borders' funding for 2019 was €6.1 million, diversified according to the NGO's strategy to ensure neutrality and objectivity. Reporters Without Borders (2021, p. 42) is funded following a

diversification strategy, where State sector donors represent 47%. This includes:

- European Union;
- French Development Agency; and,
- Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency.

Private-sector foundations represent 19% and include:

- Adessium Foundation; and,
- Wellspring Philanthropic Fund.

Commercial activities, which include the book's sales, represent 22%, and, Corporate sponsorship and donations by the public, including requests, represent 12%.(Reporters without Borders, 2019)

The Reporters Without Borders administration has been entrusted to an Executive Direction:

- Christophe Deloire, Executive Director.
- Thibaut Bruttin, General Director Deputy; and,
- Antone Petitbon, Operations Director.

Reporters Without Borders produces the World Press Freedom Index, with a yearly publication of its results and analysis.

3.10. CENTER FOR SYSTEMIC PEACE

The Center for Systemic Peace produced the Policy Data Series until 2017. It is based in Vienna, Virginia, USA. It was founded in 1997 by Monty G. Marshall, a former Researcher and Professor at George Mason University and currently director of Societal-Systems Research and the Center for Systemic Peace.

Location:	Vienna, VA, USA
Foundation:	1997
Founders:	Monty G. Marshall
Director:	Monty G. Marshall
Funding:	---
Indices of interest:	State Fragility Index
Webpage:	www.systemicpeace.org

The Center was funded by the US Government, through the Political Instability Task Force, until February 29th, 2019, but new funding information is now unavailable. The Center for Systemic Peace is a project developed only by five people:

Dr. Monty G. Marshall	Director
Dr. Benjamin R. Cole	Research Associate
Donna Ramsey Marshall	Research Associate
Eliot Elzinga	Research Associate and Videographer
Gabrielle Elzinga-Marshall	Research Assistant

Table 18. Center for Systemic Peace People. (Center for Systemic Peace, 2014)

The Center for Systemic Peace, despite its short staff, manages to make nine periodical publications and publishes nine products:

- Global Conflict Trends.
- Conflict in Africa.
- War List.
- State Fragility Index⁴.
- Political Instability Task Force.

⁴ I selected the State Fragility Index, to take part of the following chapter.

- Societal-Systems Analytics.
- INSCR Data Page.
- Global Report; and,
- Polity Project.

3.11.V-DEM INSTITUTE

V-Dem is the abbreviation for Varieties of Democracy. The Institute is the “[...] executive management arm of V-Dem responsible for

Location:	Gothenburg, Sweden
Foundation:	2014
Founders:	Staffan I. Lindberg
Director:	Staffan I. Lindberg
Funding:	---
Indices of interest:	Liberal Democracy Index
Webpage:	www.v-dem.net

most aspects of the data collection efforts, management, and coordination of several large research programs, and for most of the outreach, dissemination, and collaborations with policy/practitioner’s organizations.” (V-Dem Institute, 2022c)

The V-Dem Institute was founded in 2014 by Professor Staffan I. Lindberg as an independent research institute based at the University of Gothenburg, Sweden.

The Staff at V-Dem Institute is formed by a Staff of only twenty-one researchers and four Ph.D. Students, as follows:

Staffan I. Lindberg
Vanessa Boese

Director
Assistant Professor

PROGRAM MANAGEMENT UNIT

Garry Hindle
Josefine Pernes
Nazifa Alizada
Natalia Natsika

Managing Director
Program and Finance Director
Operations and Outreach Manager
Program and Research Assistant

DATA MANAGEMENT UNIT

Lisa Gastaldi
Johannes von Römer
Sandra Grahn

Data Analyst and Program Coordinator
Research Software Engineer
Analyst and Junior Data Manager

Oskar Rydén	Data Scientist and Data Manager
Martin Lundstedt	Research Assistant
POSTDOCTORAL RESEARCH FELLOWS	
Kelly Morrison	Postdoctoral Research Fellow
Yuko Sato	Postdoctoral Research Fellow
RESEARCH ASSOCIATES	
Abdalahadi Alijla	Research Associate
Amanda Edgell	Research Associate
Sebastian Hellmeier	Research Associate
Jean Lachapelle	Research Associate
Jura Medzihorsky	Research Associate
Eitan Tzelgov	Research Associate
Yi-Ting Wang	Research Associate
Matthew Wilson	Research Associate
PHD STUDENTS	
Taiwo Ayodeji Ahmed	Doctoral Research Assistant
Adea Gafuri	Doctoral Research Assistant
Berker Kavasoglu	Doctoral Research Assistant
Valeriya Mechkova	Doctoral Research Assistant

Table 19. V-Dem Institute Staff. (V-Dem Institute, 2022b)

The V-Dem Institute receives funding from several institutions, beginning from its hosting institution, the University of Gothenburg; even though the numbers are not public, some of its funders are:

Aarhus University
 Andrónico Luksic Grants Program
 Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA)
 European Commission
 European Research Council
 European Research Council via University of Glasgow
 Facebook
 Fundação Francisco Manuel dos Santos
 German Development Institute
 Heinrich Böll Stiftung
 Independent Research Fund Denmark
 International IDEA
 International Republican Institute
 Kellogg Institute, University of Notre Dame
 Knut and Alice Wallenberg Foundation
 Marcus and Marianne Wallenberg Foundation
 Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Denmark
 Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Sweden
 Mo Ibrahim Foundation
 National Science Foundation
 Nucleus for the Study of Stateness and Democracy in Latin America
 Open Government Partnership
 Open Society Foundation
 Pan-American Development Foundation
 Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO)
 Quality of Government Institute
 Research Council of Norway
 Riksbankens Jubileumsfond

Riksbankens Jubileumsfond
 Swedish Research Council
 Swedish Research Council
 The B-Team
 The Kellogg Institute for International Studies
 The World Bank
 The World Bank
 USAID/IRI/CEPPS/

Table 20. V-Dem Funders. (V-Dem Institute, 2022a)

The V-Dem Institute produces several publications, including a Working Paper Series and the Democracy Report, which includes the Liberal Democracy Index, which is the index I selected for further analysis.

3.12. FUNDACIÓN PARA EL AVANCE DE LA LIBERTAD

Translated to English as the Foundation for the Advance of Freedom is a libertarian think tank established in 2015 in Madrid, Spain. Its “mission is to promote the advance of individual human freedom in all its aspects and the success of the organizations and entities that impulse and defend it.” (Fundación para el Avance de la Libertad, 2023)

Location:	Madrid, Spain
Foundation:	2015
Founders:	---
Executive Director:	Federico López
Funding:	---
President:	Roxana Nicula
Indices of interest:	Índice Mundial de Libertad Moral World Electoral Freedom Index
Webpage:	www.fundalib.org

The Foundation “advocate for as little government as possible, and a limited government has a minimal role to play on the ethical dilemmas and decisions faced by individuals – if any at all.” (Álvarez, Pina, et al., 2020, p. 5)

The foundation is governed by a General Council, integrated by:

Carlos Alberto Montaner
 Roxana Nicula
 Juan Pina
 Gloria Álvarez
 Armando Añel
 Philipp Bagus

Honorary President
 President
 General Secretary

Fernando Bernad
 Lorenzo Bernaldo de Quirós
 Borja Breña
 Pedro Chidichimo
 Cristina Enache
 Luis Fernández
 Javier Fuentes
 Luis I. Gómez
 Andrés Guevara
 Andreas Kohl
 Agustín Maíz
 Juan Pablo Marcos
 Daniel Martínez
 Almudena Negro
 José Antonio Peña
 Ramón Pérez
 Manuel Pulido
 Leonardo Ravier
 Diego Ruiz
 Roald Schoenmakers
 Ángel Soria
 Óscar Timón

Table 21. Fundación para el Avance de la Libertad General Council. (Fundación para el Avance de la Libertad, 2021)

The Foundation's management team is made up of the following people:

Roxana Nicula	Executive President
Federico López	Executive Director
Josep Purroy	Technologies Director
Juan Pina	Projects General Director
Óscar Timón	Research Director

Table 22. Fundación para el Avance de la Libertad Management Team. (Fundación para el Avance de la Libertad, 2021)

Despite being the youngest of the researched institutions, it publishes four indices of interest:

- Guevara Report.
- World Religious Freedom Index.
- World Electoral Freedom Index; and,
- World Moral Freedom Index.

In this case, I will be analyzing the last two (World Electoral Freedom Index and the World Moral Freedom Index) that also provide interesting

information relevant to unveiling the significance of the location and cultural background of the institutions in the measurement of freedom.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

After analyzing the institutions that publish freedom indices, I verified some hypotheses. All the institutions and scholars involved are based in the Global North. More importantly, freedom is being measured by institutions and scholars based in the global north. Particularly relevant is the presence of the United States of America as home to seven of the twelve institutes and is involved in every index produced directly or indirectly via government or private funders' sponsorship. This might not be surprising, given that the USA is the fourth country with the highest per capita investment in research in the European and North American region, according to the UNESCO (2022).

There are only three non-anglophone institutions: Friedrich-Nauman Foundation, Reporters without Borders, and Foundation for the Advancement of Liberty. Two have very clear ideological connections with liberal and libertarian institutions based in the United States of America.

Speaking about the institutions' ideological alignments, most are self-defined as liberal, libertarian, and conservative rather than progressive or left-winged. Introducing metrics generated on a more diversified ideological spectrum could enrich the research; however, those groups have studied freedom with a theoretical perspective.

Now I answered the questions of who and where freedom is being measured. It is now the turn to know how to eventually understand why it is being measured in the way it is being measured. The two following chapters will complement the data presented in this chapter.

4. FREEDOM INDICES IN THE WORLD

As already established in the analysis of the Measurement of Freedom, it is important to understand that measurement is a social and political phenomenon. Measurement is not a phenomenon that is produced by itself. Saying that something is measured, means that something is being measured by someone. This might look evident, but it is not. Usually, indicators, measurements, statistics, and indices are presented as pure science, as a set of numbers disconnected from socio-political reality. However, every time we measure, we measure with an idea in mind. This is not necessarily directing the measurements to achieve some result; however, the simple decision of measuring a subject rather than any other can tell a lot about the decision made by the person that is measuring.

The American think tank, Fraser Institute's (2021a) motto is "if it matters, we measure it" and that opens several questions. What matters? To whom does it matter? When does it matter? And the most important of all. Does it indeed matter? This dissertation directs all those questions to one subject: Freedom. And you might imagine -just by reading the title of this dissertation- that it does matter, it is a subject relevant enough not only to be measured but analyzed in depth.

The following pages describe fourteen indices that measure global freedom, that share some common characteristics. These indices are not created spontaneously by their authors. All indices are linked with think tanks, universities, media, and government institutions; therefore, they all

measure freedom, but they do not measure it the same way. The indices analyzed share the following connections: (i) they are global; (ii) they measure freedom; (iii) they have been operated for at least 5 years; (iv) they produce periodical reports; and (v) they can be compared with at least 3 other reports.

As you might remember, for every institution, I already highlighted the indices they are producing and which ones I will be analyzing now. The following list clarifies the link between institutions and indices:

Ciri Human Rights Data Project	University of Connecticut
Democracy Index	The Economist Intelligence Unit
Economic Freedom of the World Index	Fraser Institute
Freedom in the World	Freedom House
Freedom of the Press	Freedom House
Freedom on the Net	Freedom House
Human Freedom Index	Cato Institute
	Fraser Institute
	Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung für die Freiheit
Index of Economic Freedom	The Wallstreet Journal
	The Heritage Foundation
Index of Freedom in the World	Cato Institute
	Fraser Institute
	Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung für die Freiheit
Liberal Democracy Index	V-Dem Institute
State Fragility Index	Center for Systemic Peace
World Electoral Freedom Index	Fundación para el Avance de la Libertad

World Index of Moral Freedom	Fundación para el Avance de la Libertad
World Press Freedom Index	Reporters sans Frontières

A quarter of the indices listed above are produced by collaboration of two or more institutions. Also, some institutions as the Fraser Institute or Freedom House produce more than one index, which produces a dominance in the subject by those North American think tanks.

Each index analysis includes its methodology, variables, data, comparison of the last five reports published. Some of the Indices are no longer produced, but their relevance for the field is such that is impossible not to mention them, and the comparison is done by the trends made through the years. The Indices are analyzed in chronological order; I will start with the CIRI Human Rights Data Project disappeared in 2011 and finalize with the World Electoral Freedom Index, which first publication occurred in 2018 and most recent in 2021.

4.1. CIRI HUMAN RIGHTS DATA PROJECT

The CIRI Human Rights Data Project was, for decades the most influential data base in human rights. Created by David Cingranelli⁵ and David Richards⁶, whose surname initials' give name to the index. The index was published with the support of the University of Connecticut, starting in 1994 with annual data from 1981 to 2011, year of its last publication.

⁵ Professor of Political Science at Binghamton University, State University of New York.

⁶ Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Memphis.

The aim of the Index was to provide “[...] standards-based measures of government human rights practices, using much of the broad range of human rights recognized in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.”(Cingranelli & Richards, 2010, p. 402) According to Cingranelli and Richards (2010) the aim of the CIRI Human Rights Data Project was to benefit theoretical-empirical research about violations of physical integrity rights; however, the Index is exclusively centered in the violations committed by governmental agencies, which means, it does not account obstructions produced by particulars but I will come back to this later in this chapter.

Cingranelli and Richards (2010) describe the Index as a mixed-method of qualitative and quantitative, using the content analysis of human rights laws and government behavior, intersecting the tertiary data obtained from the US State Department Country Reports on Human Rights and Amnesty International’s Annual Reports. According to the authors of the Index. “Most scholars believe that this step, crosschecking the Country Reports assessment against the Amnesty International assessment, is necessary to remove a potential bias in favor of US allies.”(Cingranelli & Richards, 2010, p. 406)

The Index created by Cingranelli and Richards (2010) measured the state human rights practices among 195 countries, related with 15 human rights divided in 4 categories, as follows:

- Physical integrity rights:

- Disappearance;
- Extrajudicial killing;
- Political imprisonment; and,
- Torture.
- Civil rights and liberties:
 - Freedom of Assembly and Association. Measures the limitations imposed by the national government to these rights.
 - Freedom of domestic Movement. Indicates the freedom to travel within the country.
 - Electoral self-determination. Indicates freedom of political choice, right to change the laws and officials.
 - Freedom of foreign or international Movement. Indicates the freedom to leave and return to the country.
 - Independence of the judiciary. Measures the independence of this branch from others, including from the military.
 - Freedom of Religion. Includes the freedom to practice and convert to any religion; and,
 - Freedom of Speech. Includes government censorship and mass media ownership.
- Workers' rights:
 - Freedom of association, collective bargaining, minimum age of employment, labor conditions, and protection from forced labor. Including working conditions regarding health and safety.
- Women's rights:

- Women's economic rights. Measuring equal pay, professional freedom of choice, employment equality in hiring and promotion, job security, non-discrimination, and the right to be free from sexual harassment.
- Women's political rights. Including the right to vote and be elected, join political parties, be appointed for government positions; and,
- Women's social rights. Indicate the rights of equal inheritance, marriage, travel, to obtain a passport, confer citizenship to children and partner, initiate divorce, property, participation in social, cultural and community activities, education, freedom to choose residence, avoid genital mutilation without consent; as well as, forced sterilization.

The indicators used to measure each Human Right by Cingranelli and Richards (2014) goes from 0 to 2. Where the 0 indicates frequent violations of the measured human right, 1 indicates some violations, and 2 indicates no reported violation. Additionally, the authors used three special codes, developed by the Polity Data Project, that must be excluded from the data base, to be able to analyze it. Those codes are:

- -999 shows where data is missing;
- -77 indicates a period where the country's political authority has collapsed; and,
- -66 denotes an interruption of the country's political authority but reestablished after a foreign occupation.

The CIRI Human Rights Data Project does not produce scores for those countries whose central political authority has collapsed. This might be the case of countries in civil war or occupied by alien military forces. This seems to be problematic, because the crimes against human rights committed under such circumstances should be observed and measured, to serve as a reminder of the atrocities committed in humankind worst times. Another questionable methodological decision made by the authors is to ignore the country's population. "[They] think it is a mistake to take population into account when assigning human rights scores because [...] doing so introduces too much subjectivity into the coding process. Taking population into account requires that the coders know the population size of each country." (Cingranelli & Richards, 2010, p. 420) And this is problematic, because it is important to understand population, to understand if some human rights are better protected in more or less populated regions. The only argument that I support in this respect is that the human rights should be protected, no matter the country's population and that no dead should count more than any other. However, the measurement might be heavily distorted by the number of violent acts produced in some more populated or bigger region.⁷

The following figure represents the average obtained by country for the analyzed period (2007-2011). I think it shows quite clearly the geopolitical alignment that the Index represents. In this and the following indices, the

⁷ On this matter, might be beneficial to remember the example given by Charles Taylor about the measurement of freedom in Albania and London, reproduced in the Second Chapter.

green areas are in countries of Anglophone North America, Western Europe, Australia, Japan, and some exceptions such as Chile in South America.

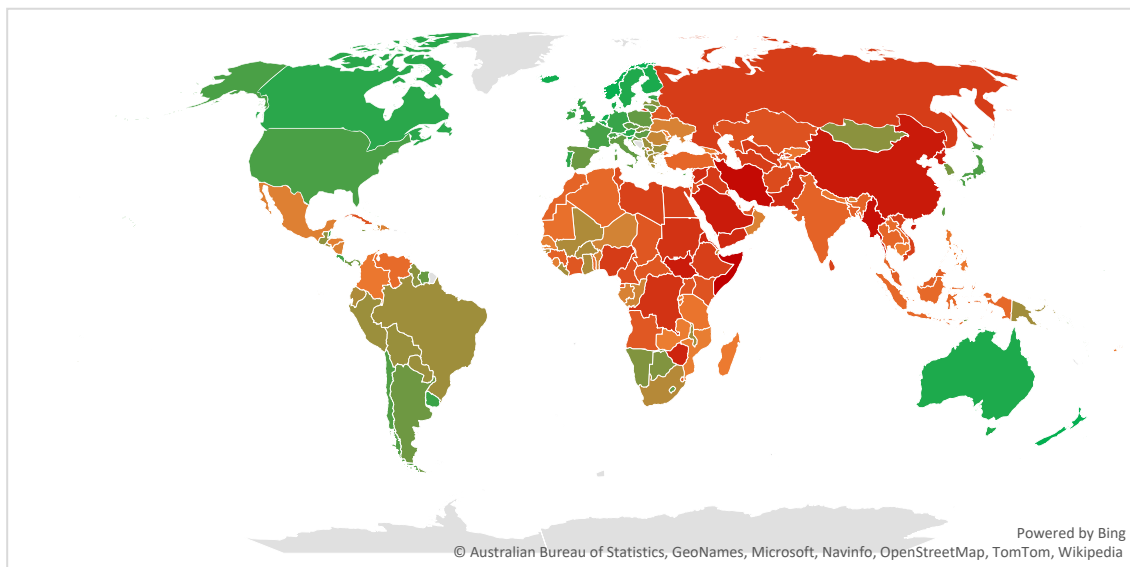


Figure 1. CIRI Human Rights Data Project, 2007-2011 Average Freedom by Country. (Cingranelli, Richards, & Chad Clay, 2014)⁸

This is, of course, just a picture of an average at some point in time, and beyond the geopolitical alignment of the Index, shows that the relationship between freedom and development is not necessarily a dependent relationship between variables, as Amartya Sen (2000) has suggested. You can access the full data set considering countries, ranking and yearly overall in the Appendix 1 of this dissertation.

According to Cingranelli and Richards (2010) the Index showed a general improvement of human rights' respect overtime. The following chart shows the development of the freedom during the selected period of reference.

⁸ Full data set, considering countries, ranking and yearly overall in the Appendix 1.

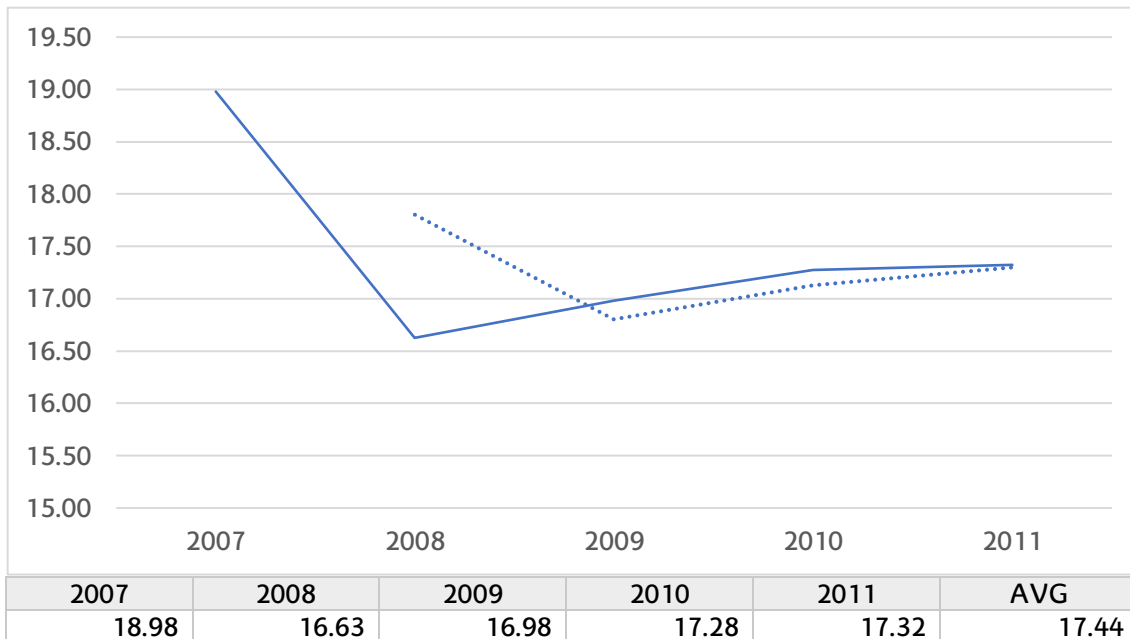


Figure 2. CIRI Human Rights Data Project. Yearly Overall Freedom. (Cingranelli, Richards, & Chad Clay, 2014)

As the chart shows, there was a slight improvement in the freedom measured; however, there is a drop of more than 2 points between 2007 and 2008. This could be explained partially by the terrible economic crisis that the world suffered in 2008; and the authors decision to discontinue the Women's Social Rights category was discontinued from the index. For 2007 this category represented 1.26 points, the 10 out of 15. There is still a drop of 1.09 points that was not regained in the following years.

The CIRI Human Rights Data Project did not classify countries according to the overall obtained in the index; however, as is the case of some other indices, I created a countries classification, dividing them in four quarters, as follows:

- Top Quarter: 30.00 to 22.50 points.
- Second Quarter: 22.49 to 15.00 points.
- Third Quarter: 14.99 to 07.50 points; and,
- Bottom Quarter: 00.00 to 07.49 points.

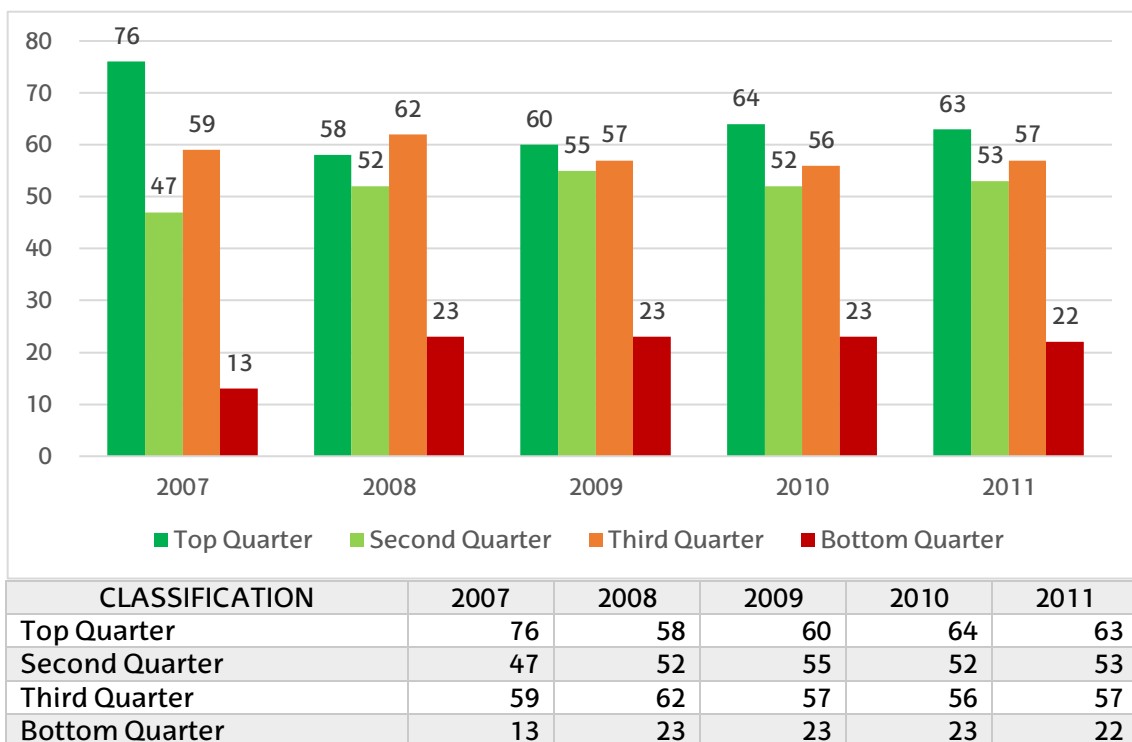


Figure 3. CIRI Human Rights Data Project, Yearly Countries Classification. (Cingranelli, Richards, & Chad Clay, 2014)

As exposed in the figure above, the 2007-2008 freedom drop represented a loss of 18 countries in the top quarter of the table and the emergence of 10 countries in the bottom one, almost doubling the number of bottom quarter countries. The distribution of the table remained quite the same from 2008 to 2011.

An essential segment of the indices analysis is the categories consideration. As explained before in this chapter, the CIRI Human Rights Data Project’s importance lies in the human rights protection measured and the number of categories that formed the index. I won’t be explaining them again, but the following graph shows each category behavior along the five years considered.

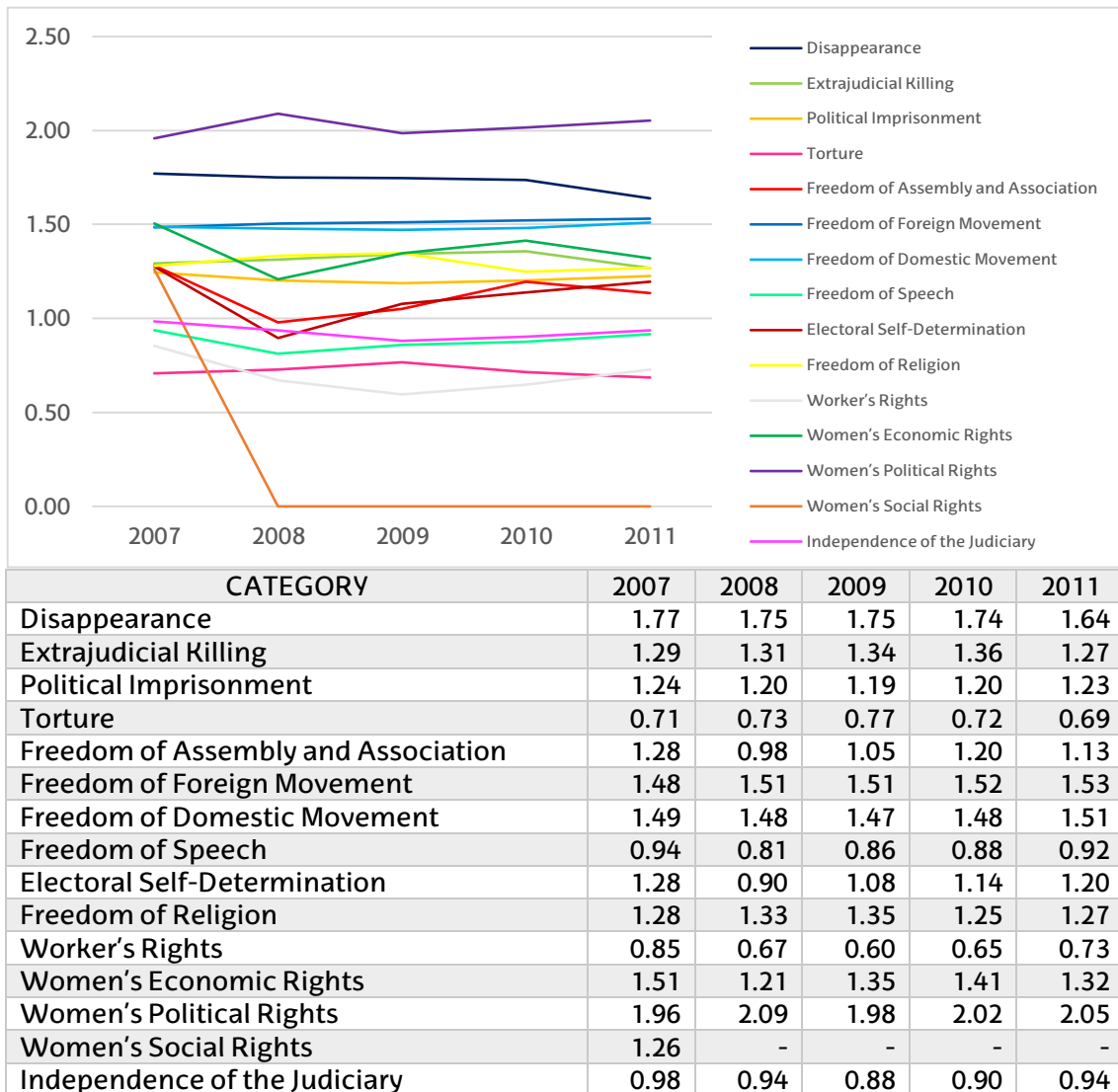


Figure 4. CIRI Human Rights Data Project, Yearly Average by Category. (Cingranelli, Richards, & Chad Clay, 2014)

As you remember, the dramatic drop of the Women’s Social Rights category is explained because after 2007 it was not considered as part of the Index. In the opposite side of the graphic, the Women’s Political Rights rate in the top of the cart and looks like they are getting better. I cannot say the same about disappearance, that until 2011 remained as second place; however, with a consistent sustained descent.

A category utterly relevant is the one that measures the freedom of movement (domestic and foreign), because it is still not considered by a lot of indices, despite most of the indices are produced by think tanks and

institutions considered libertarians and liberals. It would have been interesting to see what this index could have told us about the pandemic and post-pandemic situation of different liberties such as the movement, the independence of the judiciary and the worker's rights.

4.2. STATE FRAGILITY INDEX

"A country's fragility is closely associated with its state capacity to manage conflict; make and implement public policy; and deliver essential services and its systematic resilience in maintaining system coherence, cohesion, and quality of life; responding effectively to changes and crises, and continuing progressive development." (Marshall & Cole, 2009, p. 31)

The State Fragility Index was produced by the Center for Systemic Peace and makes part of the Global Report on Conflict, Governance, and State Fragility that Professor Marshall publishes with Professor Cole at the beginning and now with Professor Elzinga-Marshall. The Index provides data from 1995 to 2018 about 167 countries, with populations greater than 500,00 people. (Center for Systemic Peace, 2022)

Although the Index published yearly data, as said, from 1995 to 2018, selected the years with a Global Report Published, these are 2009, 2011, 2014, and 2017, using the 2018 State Fragility Matrix as the fifth and most recent published version of the index.

The State Fragility Matrix uses the effectiveness and legitimacy of four indicators: security, governance, economy, and society. According to Marshall and Goldstone (2007) the methodological approach to assess

state fragility was originally developed at the University of Maryland's IRIS center, as requested by the US Agency for International Development (USAID).

As said, the State Fragility Index (Marshall & Cole, 2009) is composed of 2 mayor categories up to 25 points, each of them composed by four indicators, as follows:

- Effectiveness Score: 0 to 13 points
 - Security Effectiveness: Measures general security and vulnerability to political violence during the last 25 years. Marshall and Cole (2009, p. 31) created a formula that calculates the effects of short wars; and, how the war effects diminish gradually over a 25-year period. The numerical output of this indicator goes from 0 to 3.
 - Political Effectiveness: Scores the governance stability for a period of 15 years, with special focus in coups d'état referring to the duration and number of events. The numerical output of this indicator goes from 0 to 3.
 - Economic Effectiveness: Measures the gross domestic product per capita during the last 7 years, according to the World Bank's World Development Indicators. The numerical output of this indicator goes from 0 to 4. In the last update made by Marshall and Elzinga-Marshall (2017, p. 53) to the Index, 4 = less than US\$500.00; 3 = from US\$500.00 to US\$1,199.99; 2 = from US\$1,200.00 to US\$2,999.99; 1 = from US\$3,000.00 to US\$7,499.99; and, 0 = greater than US\$7,500.00 GDP per capita.

- Social Effectiveness: Scores the human capital development for the year of analysis, using as a source the UNDP Human Development Report and its Index. The numerical output of this indicator goes from 0 to 3. "The Social Effectiveness Score is assigned as follows: 3 = less than or equal to .400; 2 = greater than .400 and less than or equal to .600; 1 = greater than .600 and less than or equal to .700; and 0 = greater than .700." (Marshall & Elzinga-Marshall, 2017, p. 54)
- Legitimacy Score: 0 to 12 points
 - Security Legitimacy: Scores state repression during a period of 13 years. The numerical output of this indicator goes from 0 to 3.
 - Political Legitimacy: Measures the governance inclusion; including factionalism; ethnic group political discrimination; polity fragmentation; and exclusionary ideology of ruling elite. The numerical output of this indicator goes from 0 to 3.
 - Economic Legitimacy: Scores the share of export trade in manufactured goods for the last 15 years, according to the UN Development Programme and the World Bank's World Development Indicators. This indicators includes two classes of products "manufactured goods and primary commodities; low percentage of manufactured goods indicates a high reliance on primary commodities for foreign exchange." (Marshall & Elzinga-Marshall, 2017, p. 53). The numerical output of this indicator goes from 0 to 3.
 - Social Legitimacy: Scores the human capital care, particularly the infant mortality rate ("number of deaths of infants under one year of

age from a cohort of 1,000 live births” (Marshall & Elzinga-Marshall, 2017, p. 54)) for the year of study. The output goes from 0 to 3.

The State Fragility Index, produced in the USA considers as non-fragile 12 countries Austria; Canada; Denmark; Finland; Hungary; Ireland; Netherlands; Poland; Portugal; Slovenia; South Korea; and Sweden. All these countries ranked consistently in the top of the chart. It is interesting to notice that the USA makes in average a 46th place out of the 167 countries considered. The following chart shows that Western countries are considered at the top of the chart, with some exceptions as Argentina; Chile; and Uruguay in Latin America, Botswana in Africa, and Japan; and Korea in Asia. On the opposite side, in average, the worst evaluated countries lay in Africa, notice the red stripe that crosses the continent. Democratic Republic of the Congo commands the list with an average of 23.40 points, which means that its fragility is near to be absolute. Sudan; South Sudan; Central African Republic; Somalia; Afghanistan; Chad; Ethiopia; Myanmar; and Burundi join this list of countries that could be considered to have failed to protect its citizen’s interest.

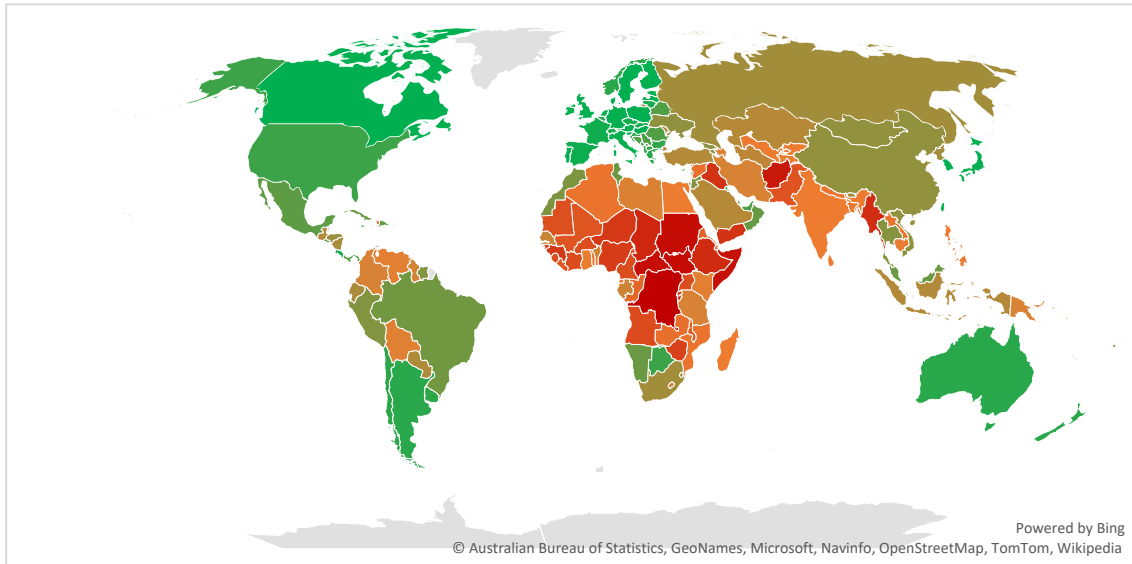


Figure 5. State Fragility Index, 2009-2018, Average Freedom by Country. (Marshall & Cole, 2009, 2011, 2014; Marshall & Elzinga-Marshall, 2017, 2018)⁹

According with the reports analyzed, the worlds fragility has been constantly dropping from an 8.66 world average in 2009 to the 7.98 registered in 2018 report. This is important, because the index does not only speak about state institutions being less fragile, but those institutions providing a sufficient basement for the protection and promotion of liberties.

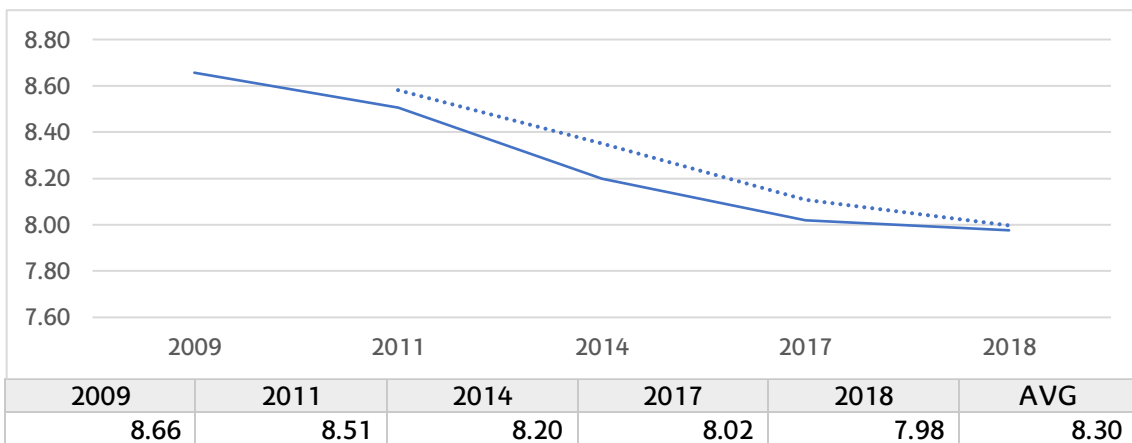


Figure 6. State Fragility Index, Yearly Overall Freedom. (Marshall & Cole, 2009, 2011, 2014; Marshall & Elzinga-Marshall, 2017, 2018)

⁹ Full data set, considering countries, ranking and yearly overall in the Appendix 2.

Marshall and Cole (2009, 2011, 2014); and, Marshall and Elzinga-Marshall (2017, 2018) use the Polity IV Project levels of democracy and autocracy to categorize countries, analyzing the quality of political institutions and processes and political competition, into:

- Institutionalized Democracy: over 10
- Weak Democracy: between 6 and 10
- Weak Autocracy: between -5 and 5
- Institutionalized Autocracy -10
- State Failure; and,
- Occupied Government.

As I show in the following chart, Institutionalized democracies reign in the political horizon and have been increasing its number from 94 in 2009 to 99 in 2018. A similar line has been followed by the weak democracies, increasing its number from 14 in 2009 to 26 in 2017, but dropping to 20 in 2018. In the case of autocracies, the figure shows 54 countries in 2009 (combining weak and institutionalized autocracies with 5 occupied governments) that dropped to 48 (including 3 state failures and 1 occupied government in 2018). This means that according to the State Fragility Index, the percentage of non-democratic countries in the world went from 32.33 % in 2009 to 28.74% in 2018.

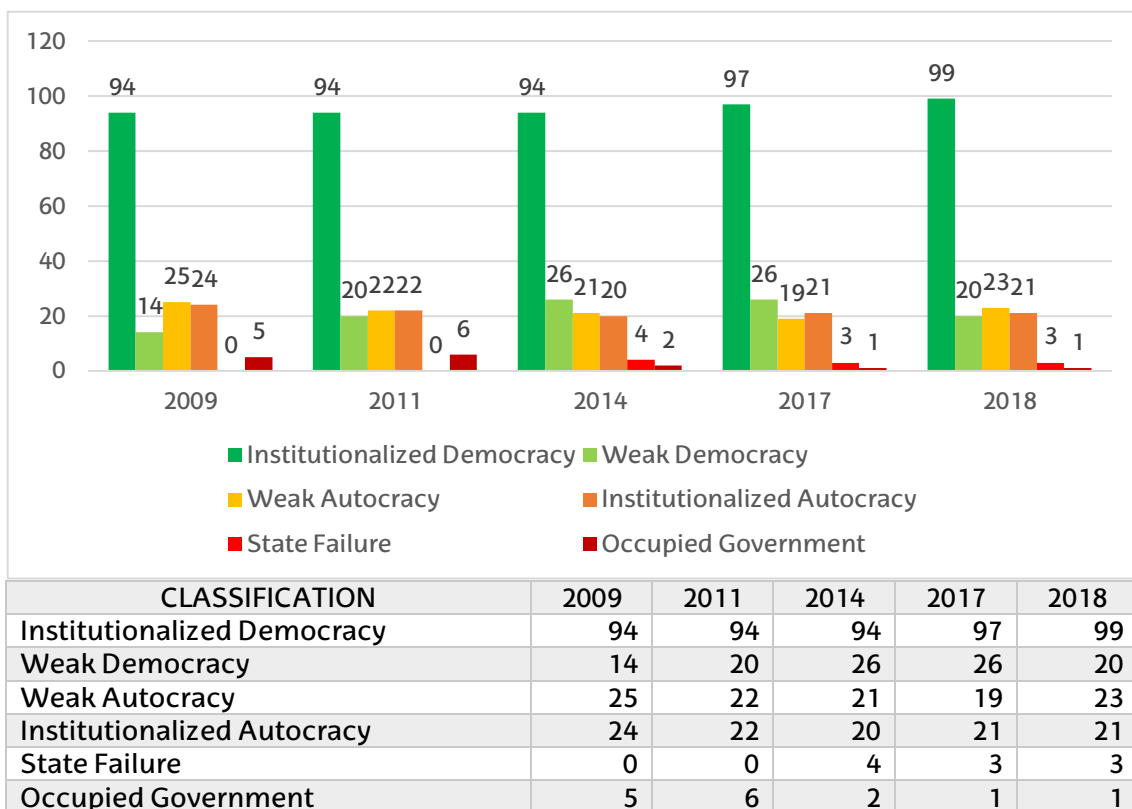


Figure 7. State Fragility Index, Yearly Countries Classification. (Marshall & Cole, 2009, 2011, 2014; Marshall & Elzinga-Marshall, 2017, 2018)

I found relevant the analysis of the categories used to develop the State Fragility Index. As you remember the Index is integrated by two broad categories: the effectiveness and legitimacy scores; each one composed of security, political, economic; and social sub-categories.

The following figure shows that the effectiveness and legitimacy scores have been dropping consistently, but the gap between these two categories is broadening over time. If considering the sub-categories, the economical is the most concerning, especially in the effectiveness source; while security effectiveness is the less concerning issue of the index, followed by the social legitimacy.

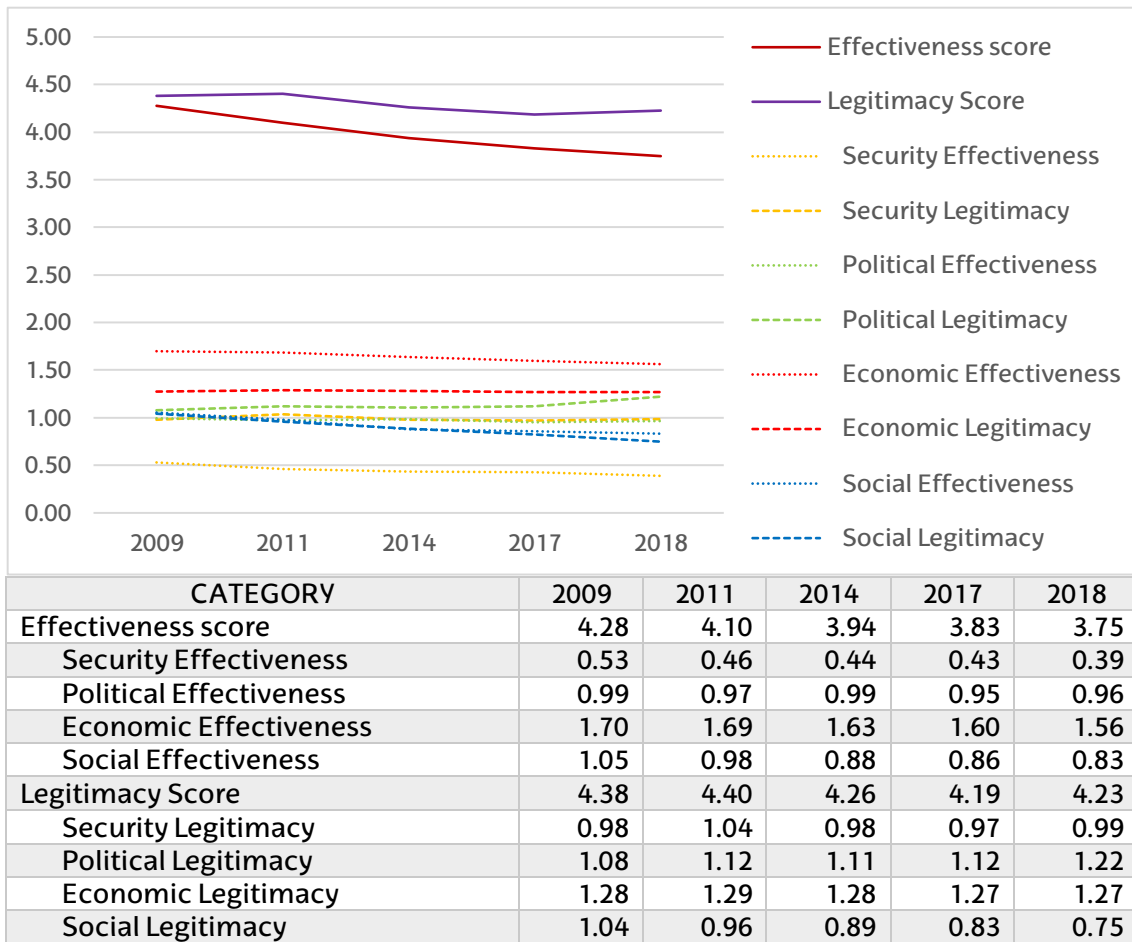


Figure 8. State Fragility Index, Yearly Average by Category. (Marshall & Cole, 2009, 2011, 2014; Marshall & Elzinga-Marshall, 2017, 2018)

This index's figures are read the opposite as usual because it measures negative liberties, which means, it measures the threads that every country considered must deal with.

The State Fragility Index is a good example of what was told in previous chapters. As its title announces, it measures indicators of negative freedom, within the understanding that only State is a source of constraints. Understand the different views on that subject is important for a correlation of the multiple indicators analyzed in this and the next chapter.

4.3. INDEX OF FREEDOM IN THE WORLD

In 2012 Ian Vásquez and Tanja Štumberger made a very interesting – however short- attempt to measure freedom in a more complex way. Using data from 2008 and their own methodology, Vásquez and Štumberger created the Index of Freedom in the World, published as a chapter in the book *Worldwide Index of Human Freedom*, edited by Fred McMahon.

Vásquez and Štumberger (2012) attempted to explore the meaning of freedom and understand its relationship with social and economic phenomena; doing so, with a classical liberal perspective. It is important to mention that Vásquez and Štumberger (2012) specify that they are trying to measure negative liberty, using third-party sources data.

The way the Index of Freedom in the World is built is interesting, because it takes two sub-indices to measure economic and social freedoms, covering 123 countries (the same as the Economic Freedom of the World Index, whose they use as the Economic Index category).

The Index of Freedom in the World is composed by 76 variables, 42 from the Economic Freedom in the World Index and 34 from the Personal Freedom Index. The Personal Freedom Index categorizes its 34 variables in 4 categories:

1. Security and Safety
 - a. Government's threat to a person
 - i. Extrajudicial killings

- ii. Torture
 - iii. Political imprisonment
 - iv. Disappearances
 - b. Society's threat to a person
 - i. Intensity of violent conflicts
 - ii. Level of organized conflict (internal)
 - iii. Female genital mutilation
 - iv. Son preference
 - v. Homicide
 - vi. Human trafficking
 - vii. Sexual violence
 - viii. Assault
 - ix. Level of perceived criminality
 - c. Threat to private property
 - i. Theft
 - ii. Burglary
 - iii. Inheritance
 - d. Threat to foreigners
2. Freedom of Movement
- a. Forcibly displaced populations
 - b. Freedom of foreign movement
 - c. Freedom of domestic movement
 - d. Women's freedom of movement
3. Freedom of Expression

- a. Press killings
 - b. Freedom of speech
 - c. Laws and regulations that influence media content.
 - d. Political pressures and controls on media content
 - e. Dress code in public
4. Relationship Freedoms
- a. Freedom of assembly and association
 - b. Parental authority
 - c. Government restrictions on religion
 - d. Social hostility toward religion
 - e. Male-to-male relationships
 - f. Female-to-female relationships
 - g. Age of consent for homosexual couples
 - h. Adoption by homosexuals

I will analyze the Economic category in the epigraph [4.5. Economic Freedom in the World Index](#).

As you can see in the following figure, the tendency of having the same countries in the green area of the map continues along the indices analyzed. The top ten has New Zealand, Netherlands, Hong Kong, Australia, Canada, Ireland, United States of America, Denmark, Japan, and Estonia. The case of Hong Kong is interesting, because most indices have stopped considering Hong Kong between the subjects of study. Japan and Estonia are probably the surprises at this index. In the antipodes we can

find Zimbabwe as the lowest ranked country, followed by Burma (now Myanmar), Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Syria, Congo, Algeria, Iran, Burundi, and Cameroon. As you can confirm in the analysis of the rest of the indices, not much has changed in the last 10 years and what was observed by Vázquez and Štumberger prevails until today.

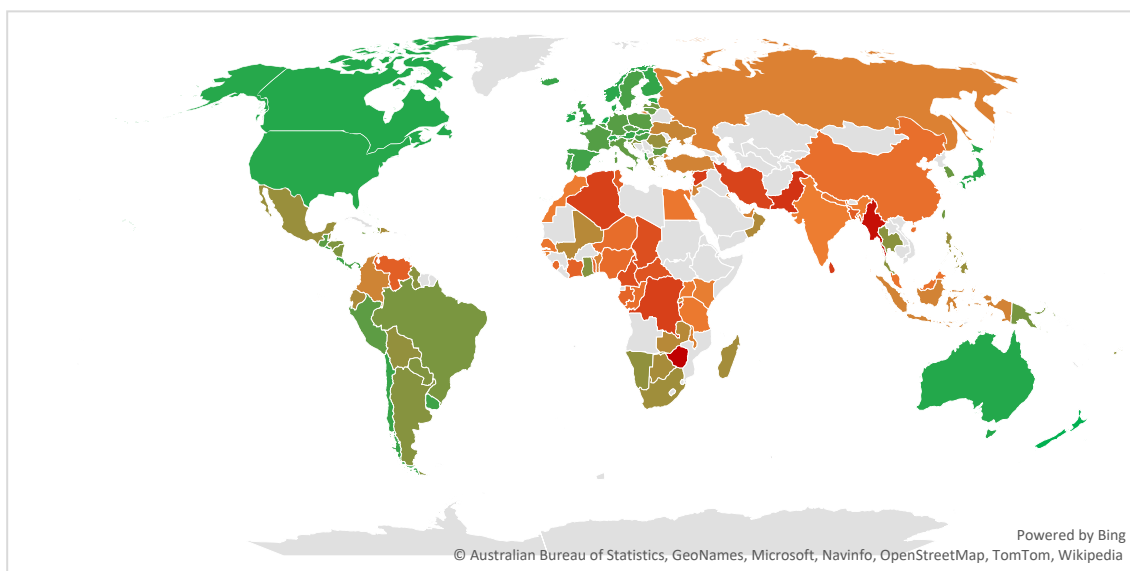


Figure 9. *Index of Freedom of the World, 2012, Average Freedom by Country. (Vázquez & Štumberger, 2012)*¹⁰

Unfortunately, the Index reports only one year. Vázquez and Štumberger (2012) mention that they would have liked to compare at least two periods separated by five or more years, but couldn't do it due to lack of sufficient data to do so. The average freedom in the world for that year was 6.88, remember that the index was published in 2012, but the data is from 2008, when the world was in a severe crisis. This should be important in the next analysis of the categories and the different scores for the social and economic categories that compose the Index of Freedom of the World.

¹⁰ Full data set, considering countries, ranking and yearly overall in the Appendix 3.

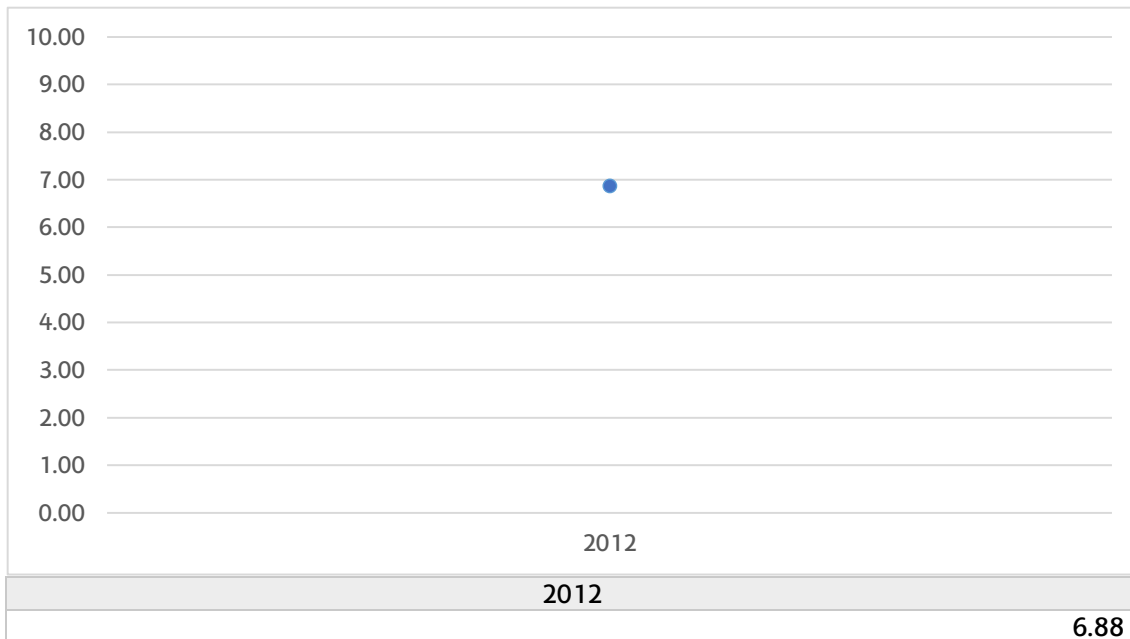


Figure 10. Index of Freedom of the World, 2012, Yearly Overall Freedom. (Vásquez & Štumberger, 2012)

Unfortunately, the Index of Freedom in the World does not offer a classification of the countries, according to their scores. This feature is quite useful for communication purposes, and the indices that incorporate a countries' classifications seems to be clearer in the who-is-who narrative that the reports must built around the data. For that purpose, and in the same way done for the CIRI Human Rights Data Project studied before, I developed a classification in four quartiles for the 123 countries considered in the Index. The classification considers the score from 0 to 10 of the Index of Freedom of the World, where each quartile accounts 25% of the spectrum of the score where the countries could be positioned. As follows:

- Top Quarter: 07.50 to 10.00 points.
- Second Quarter: 05.00 to 07.49 points.
- Third Quarter: 02.50 to 04.99 points; and,
- Bottom Quarter: 00.00 to 02.49 points.

As you can see in the following figure, more than half of the countries could be classified in the second quartile, followed by the first quartile with 36.58% and 45 countries. The third quartile has only 9 countries, representing less than 10% of the subjects of study and fortunately, no country could be classified in the last quartile. 92.68% of the countries considered in the Index of Freedom of the World are in the top half of the score. This does not mean they are all largely free, but means that most of the world, considering a combination of social and economic freedom measurements could be considered at least sufficiently free.

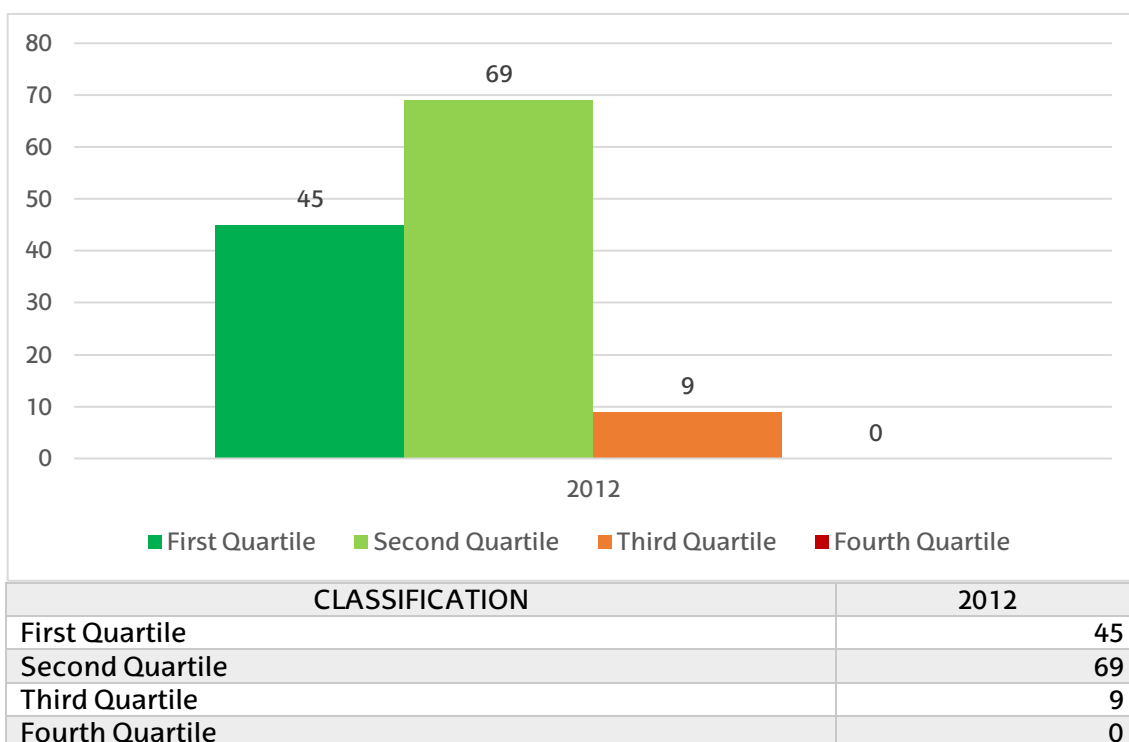
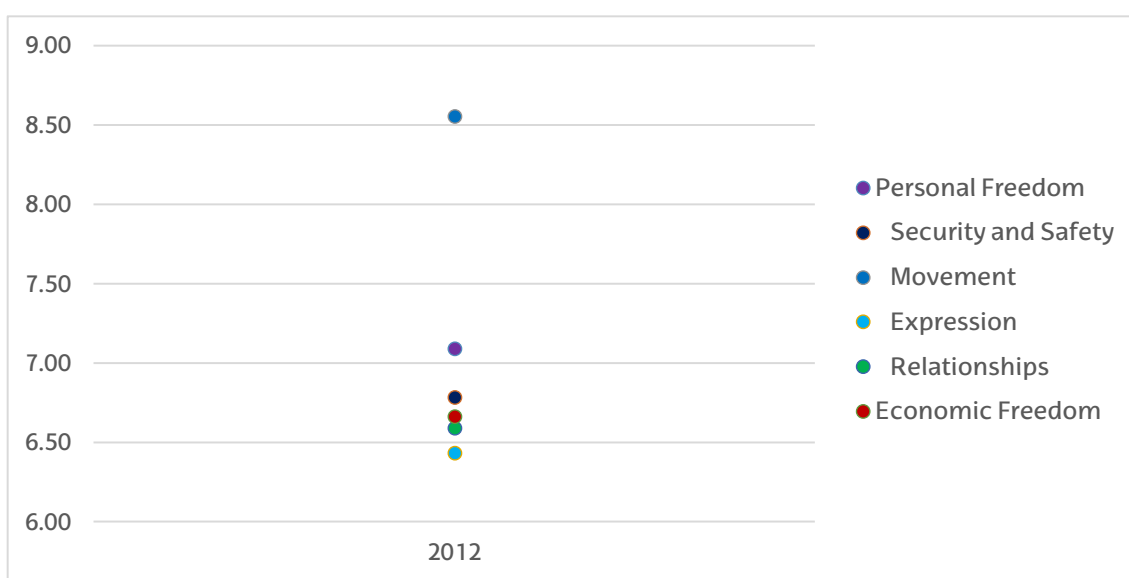


Figure 11. Index of Freedom of the World, 2012, Yearly Countries Classification. (Vásquez & Štumberger, 2012)

More important than the classification or ranking by countries is to disaggregate the average scores of the different components of the index. The following figure shows that Personal Freedom is almost half point above Economic Freedom. Remember the year the data is analyzing. It is obvious that for 2008 Economic Freedoms might have suffered. This is

explained because most economies in the world reacted to the financial crisis with restrictive measures.

The analysis of the Personal Freedom has different readings. In one hand, freedom of movement, among its four components is rated way above the average of any subcategory. It scores almost two and a half points over its category. On the other hand, freedom of expression falls to be the lowest rated sub-category measured by the Index of Freedom of the World.



CATEGORY	2012
Personal Freedom	7.09
Security and Safety	6.79
Movement	8.56
Expression	6.44
Relationships	6.59
Economic Freedom	6.66

Figure 12. Index of Freedom of the World, 2012, Yearly Average by Category. (Vásquez & Štumberger, 2012)

Finally, it is noticeable the well distributed variables that measure freedoms with a gender perspective. Every one of the sub-categories is related to a variable that helps the reader understand how gender issues certainly affect the enjoyment of freedoms, without needing special categories, as happens in latest published indices as the CIRI Human

Rights Data Project, Human Rights Index of the World, and the Index of Moral Freedom.

4.4. FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

Freedom of the Press was an index published by Freedom House yearly between 1980 and 2017. The Index “[...] assessed the degree of print, broadcast, and digital media freedom in 199 countries and territories. It provided numerical scores and country narratives evaluating the legal environment for the media, political pressures that influenced reporting, and economic factors that affected access to news and information.” (Freedom House, 2022c)

Freedom of the Press (2013, p. 17) scores 199 countries from 0 to 100, being 0 the best and 100 the worst. The scores are given using 23 questions and 109 indicators divided in three categories:

- **Legal Environment.** “[E]ncompasses an examination of both the laws and regulations that could influence media content and the government’s inclination to use the laws and legal institutions to restrict the media’s ability to operate.” (Deutsch Karlekar & Dunham, 2013, p. 18)
- **Political Environment.** Evaluates the political control over news media. This category is particularly interesting because it analyses direct constraints, such as censorship (internal and external), harassment or intimidation, as well as the editorial independence of private and state-owned media.

- **Economic Environment.** “This includes the structure of media ownership; transparency and concentration of ownership; the costs of establishing media as well as any impediments to news production and distribution; the selective withholding of advertising or subsidies by the state or other actors; the impact of corruption and bribery on content; and the extent to which the economic situation in a country impacts the development and sustainability of the media.” (Deutsch Karlekar & Dunham, 2013, p. 18)

Freedom of the Press classifies countries and their relationship with media in 3 varieties:

- Free: 00 to 30
- Partly Free: 31 to 60
- Not Free: 61 to 100

The Press Freedom follows the trends of civil, economic, and political freedoms. As you can notice in the following figure, what is considered as the Global North remains in the green area of the map. In the top ten of the freest countries in the world, we find Norway, Sweden, Netherlands, Belgium, Finland, Denmark, Luxembourg, Switzerland, Andorra, and Liechtenstein. All of them European, most of them Scandinavian. In the antipodes of the Press Freedom ranking, we find countries and disputed territories with serious armed conflicts and repressive dictatorships. Beginning within North Korea, followed by Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Crimea, Eritrea, Cuba, Belarus, Equatorial Guinea, Iran, and Syria.

The case of Crimea is interesting, because this is one of the two Indices¹¹ that studies the region, with different approaches that I will analyze later.

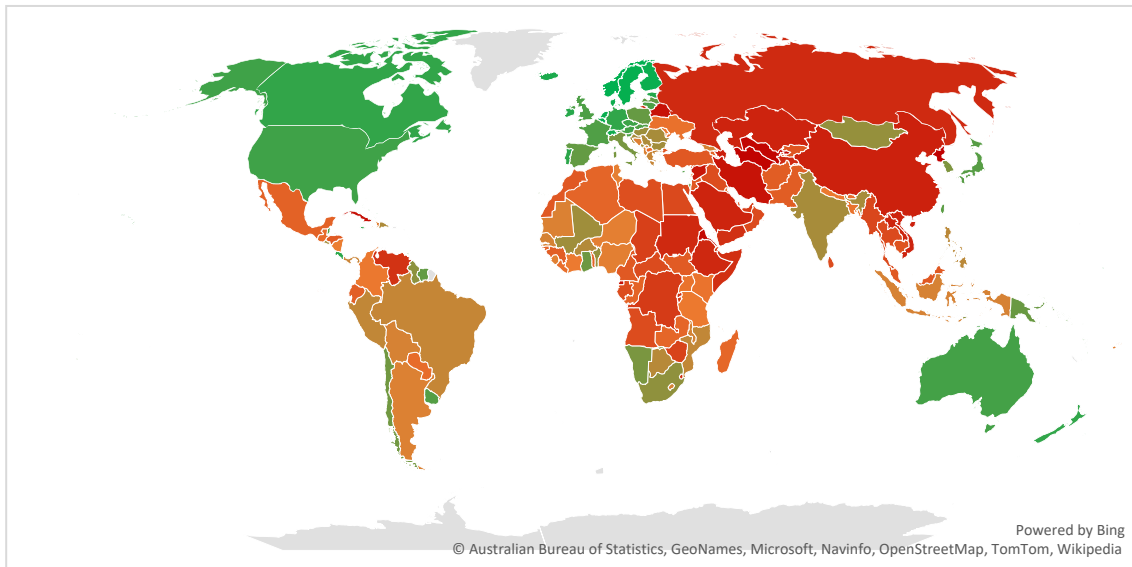


Figure 13. Freedom of the Press, 2013-2017, Average Freedom by Country. (Deutsch Karlekar & Dunham, 2013, 2014; Dunham, 2016, 2017; Dunham et al., 2015; Freedom House, 2017)¹²

It is interesting how huge areas of the world map as Canada, USA and Australia immediately call our attention as the biggest green areas, none of them ranked in the top10, but the same happens with the opposite regimes, with China, Russia or Kazakhstan representing a big red mass in the map, but also, not ranked as the lowest countries in terms of press freedom.

The following figure represents the increase of press repression in the world during the period between 2013 and 2017. In just one lustrum, we could say that freedom of the press dropped almost 2 points. But it is also much more serious than that, because according to the classification that Freedom House assigns to the countries, world is in the position of a partly

¹¹ Freedom in the World, also produced by Freedom House also measures freedom in the region of Crimea.

¹² Full data set, considering countries, ranking and yearly overall in the Appendix 4.

free one. And I will say more, at the end of the 2017 (five years ago, before COVID, and Russian invasion to Ukraine and before the raise of Latin-American populisms) the world average was just 10.20 points away from being classified as not free, almost twice as it was from being free (19.40 points). Unfortunately, there is no information as to how the trend followed, but further indices will show if there has been a change in the trend.

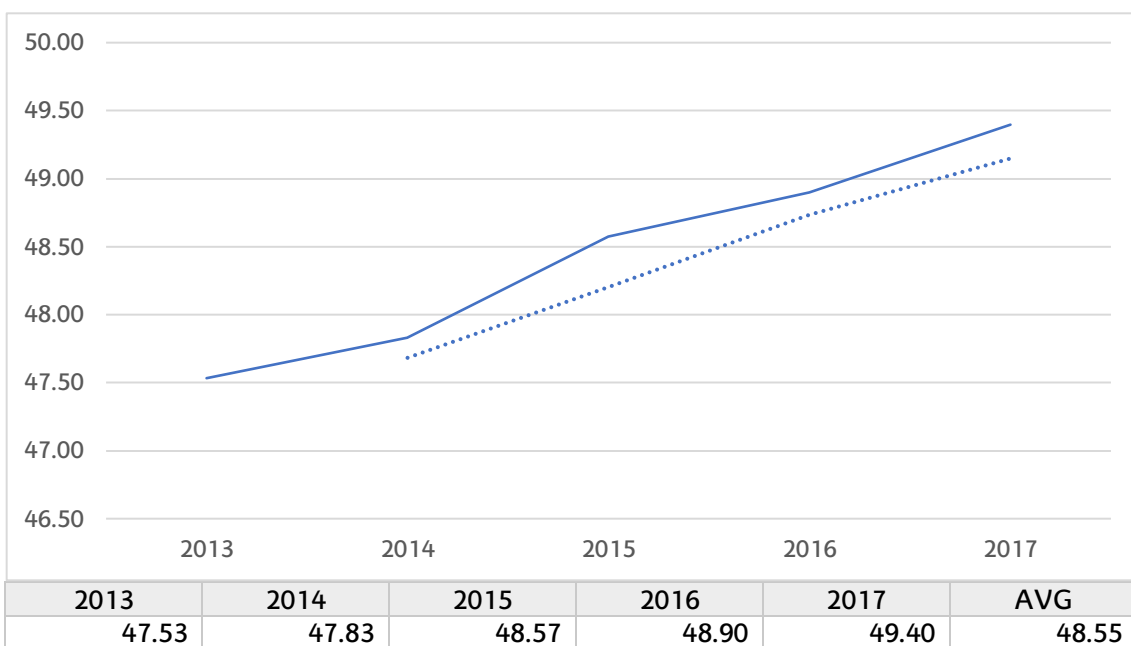


Figure 14. Freedom of the Press, Yearly Overall Freedom. (Deutsch Karlekar & Dunham, 2013, 2014; Dunham, 2016, 2017; Dunham et al., 2015; Freedom House, 2017)

The following figure shows the world trend where most countries in the world are not sufficiently protecting press freedom. Also, in yearly basis the free countries have been losing members in benefit of the partly free and the unfree countries, that by 2017 represented the 69.34% of the countries in the world, which is dramatic, not even considering the population of those countries, some of them highly populated as China. The countries classified as partially free lowered from 70 to 68 in 2014 and 2015; however, it was in benefit of the not free countries. By 2017 the

number of partially free countries went up to 72; however, lowering the number of free countries all the way to 61, without affecting the not free countries (66) unchanged since 2014.

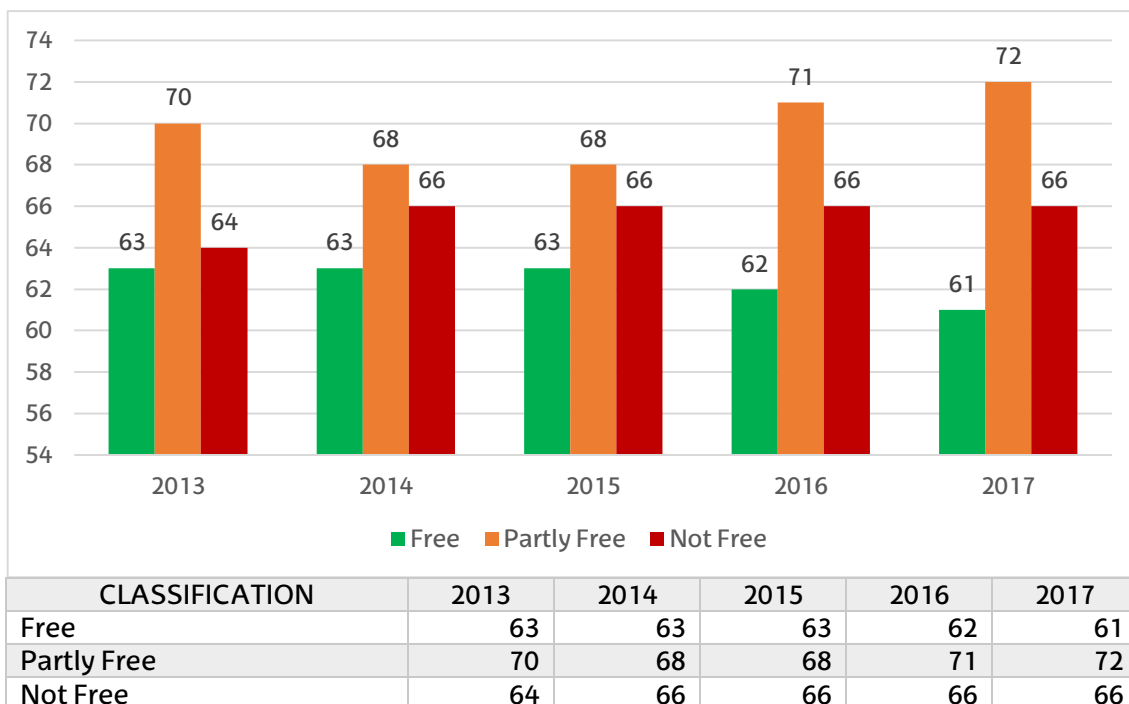


Figure 15. Freedom of the Press, Yearly Countries Classification. (Deutsch Karlekar & Dunham, 2013, 2014; Dunham, 2016, 2017; Dunham et al., 2015; Freedom House, 2017)

Finally, the following figure represents the three broad categories that compose the index. There are more than five points of difference between economic and legal environment and the political. More surprisingly is the growing tendency that the political environment is showing, with a difference of .90 points between 2013 and 2017. The second worst trend is the Legal one, with a .59 growth in the same period. Finally, the Economic growth tendency was of .37 points for the period analyzed. If the tendencies would have sustained, now the difference could be of more that 6 points between the political and economic environment.

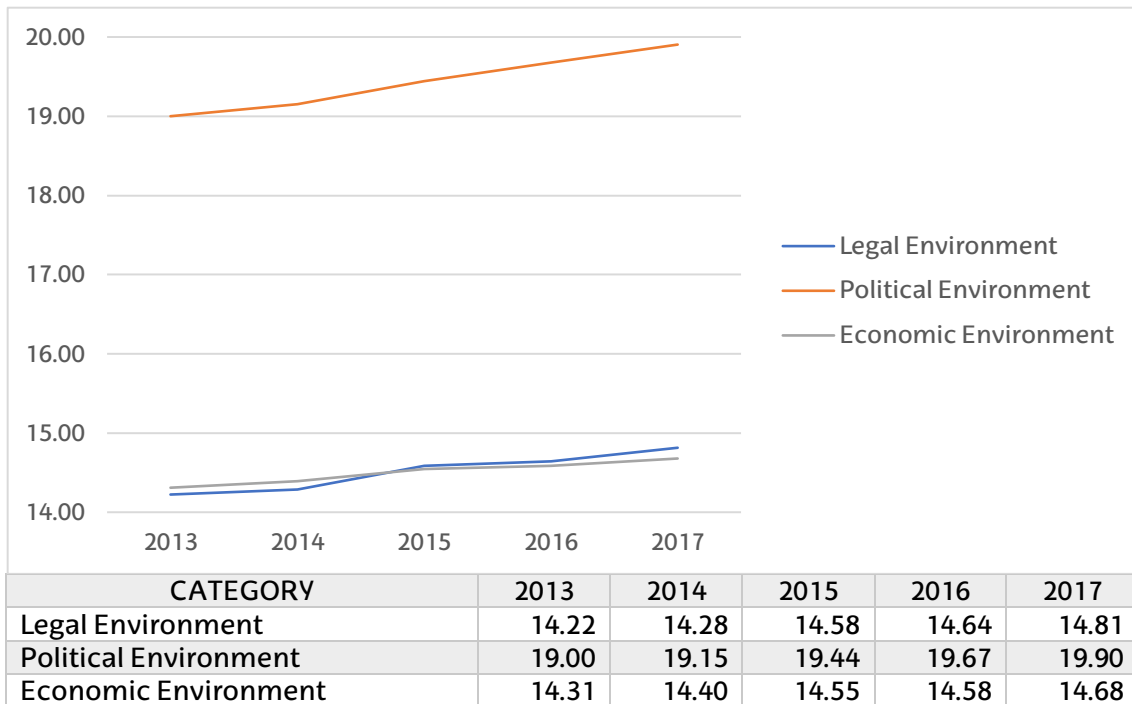


Figure 16. Freedom of the Press, Yearly Average by Category. (Deutsch Karlekar & Dunham, 2013, 2014; Dunham, 2016, 2017; Dunham et al., 2015; Freedom House, 2017)

This was a very important index, and it is quite sad that Freedom House is not producing it anymore. Since 2017 conditions of the press have been worsening as the World Press Freedom Index, produced by Reporters without Borders.

4.5. ECONOMIC FREEDOM OF THE WORLD INDEX

The Economic Freedom of the World Annual Report was first published in 1996; however, that report had retrospective research from 1975 to 1995. The Report has always been edited by James Gwartney and Robert Lawson, with the collaboration of the staff of the Fraser Institute.

According to Gwartney (2017, p. 1) the base of economic freedom is self-ownership and in that sense, economic freedom is fundamental for the individuals to decide on how to shape their own lives.

“The cornerstones of economic freedom are personal choice, voluntary exchange, open markets, and clearly defined and enforced property rights. Individuals are economically free when they are permitted to choose for themselves and engage in voluntary transactions as long as they do not harm the person or property of others.” (Gwartney et al., 2017, p. 1)

The Economic Freedom of the World Index measured the degree of economic freedom of 159 countries in 2017 to 165 in 2021. It is relevant to mention that you will find data retrieved from the reports 2017-2021; though, the data corresponds to the period 2015-2019.

The Economic Freedom of the World Index measures the economic freedom based in 5 broad areas:

- **Size of Government.** Measures government expenditures and incomes, according to Gwartney (2017) this variable shows how a country relies on personal choice and markets rather than in governmental centralized decision making. Countries with low levels of government spending, lower tax rates and small government-controlled companies' rates higher. This category is composed by (Gwartney et al., 2017, p. 4):
 - Government consumption
 - Transfers and subsidies
 - Government enterprises and investment
 - Top marginal tax rate
 - Top marginal income tax rate
 - Top marginal income and payroll tax rate

- **Legal System and Property Rights.** Rates the level of protection of persons and their property. Gwartney (2018) believes that this function of protection is the most important governmental function. The components of this category are (Gwartney et al., 2018, p. 4):
 - Judicial independence
 - Impartial courts
 - Protection of property rights
 - Military interference in rule of law and politics
 - Integrity of the legal system
 - Legal enforcement of contracts
 - Regulatory costs of the sale of real property
 - Reliability of police
 - Business costs of crime

- **Sound Money.** This variable rate inflation and the capacity of individuals to acquire foreign currency within the legal and economic system of the different countries. Lower rates of inflation and deregulation of the foreign currency acquisition are better rated in this category. The components of this category are (Gwartney et al., 2019, p. 4):
 - Money growth
 - Standard deviation of inflation
 - Inflation: most recent year
 - Freedom to own foreign currency bank accounts.

- **Freedom to Trade Internationally.** These variables measure trade restrictions. According to Gwartney (2020) this is a necessary condition for economic freedom in a modern world and measures trade restrictions. “In order to get a high rating in this area, a country must have low tariffs, easy clearance and efficient administration of customs, a freely convertible currency, and few controls on the movement of physical and human capital.” (Gwartney et al., 2020, p. 5) The components of this variable are (Gwartney et al., 2020, p. 5):
 - Tariffs
 - Revenue from trade taxes (% of trade sector)
 - Mean tariff rate.
 - Standard deviation of tariff rates
 - Regulatory trade barriers
 - Non-tariff trade barriers
 - Compliance costs of importing and exporting
 - Black-market exchange rates
 - Controls of the movement of capital and people
 - Financial openness
 - Capital controls.
 - Freedom of foreigners to visit.
- **Regulation of credit, labor, and business.** This is a key component that measures the restrictions that government imposes to particulars for trading and entering the free financial, labor and exchange market. The components of this category are (Gwartney et al., 2021b, p. 4):

- Credit market regulations
 - Ownership of banks
 - Private sector credit
 - Interest rate controls / negative real interest rates
- Labor market regulations
 - Hiring regulations and minimum wage
 - Hiring and firing regulations
 - Centralized collective bargaining
 - Hours regulations
 - Mandated cost of worker dismissal
 - Conscription
- Business regulations
 - Administrative requirements
 - Bureaucracy costs
 - Starting a business
 - Impartial public administration
 - Licensing restrictions
 - Cost of tax compliance

“Each component (and sub-component) is placed on a scale from 0 to 10 that reflects the distribution underlying data. When sub-components are present, the sub-component ratings are averaged to derive the component rating. The component ratings within each area are then averaged to derive ratings for each of the five areas. In turn, the five area ratings are averaged to derive the summary rating for each country.” (Gwartney et al., 2017)

An adjustment in the Economic Freedom of the World Index was introduced for the 2017 Report, which means that all dataset considered in the timeframe considers the Gender Disparity Index to make the adjustment. "The Gender Disparity Index (GDI) is generated using one data source: the World Bank's report, *Women, Business, and the Law* (World Bank 2009, 2011, 2013b, 2015). This World Bank dataset tracks the existence of legal and regulatory barriers imposed on women that may impede their ability to participate in formal economic activity." (Fike, 2017, p. 189)

But how does the Gender Disparity Index affect the Economic Freedom of the World Index? Rosemary Fike (2017) considered that the disparity of equal treatment under the law should be applied to the Legal System and Property Rights, although the disparity affects all categories measured by the Index. To make the adjustment, the following formula was applied.

$$\text{Adjusted Area 2 Score}_{it} = \frac{(\text{Area 2 Score}_{it} + \text{Gender Disparity Index}_{it} \times \text{Area 2 Score}_{it})}{2}$$

Equation 1. Gender Disparity Adjustment Equation (Fike, 2017, p. 199)

The Economic Freedom of the World Index classifies countries in quartiles:

- First quartile.
- Second quartile.
- Third quartile; and,
- Fourth quartile.

The top 10 countries in the Economic Freedom of the World Index for the 2015-2019 lustrum differ from other indices. The economically freest country is consistently Hong Kong, followed by Singapore, New Zealand, Switzerland, United States of America, Australia, Ireland, United Kingdom, Georgia, and Canada. The biggest surprises here are the first and second ranked (Hong Kong and Singapore), besides being out of the usual geographic area of the freest countries, they are usually ranked among the lowest in other freedom measurements. Economic freedom rates different from other measures of political or civil freedom; where countries like the USA are usually well rated, but out of the top ten. I will come back to this in the next chapter, analyzing the crossed trends between indices, freedoms, and countries.

On the opposite side, the bottom ten has countries that we find in other indices, with Venezuela as the lowest rated country in the Economic Freedom of the World Index, followed by Sudan, Republic of the Congo, Algeria, Libya, Syria, Central African Republic, Angola, Egypt, and Democratic Republic of the Congo. Unfortunately, the Index does not consider countries as Cuba or North Korea, which might be interesting cases for the study of economic freedom in those systems.

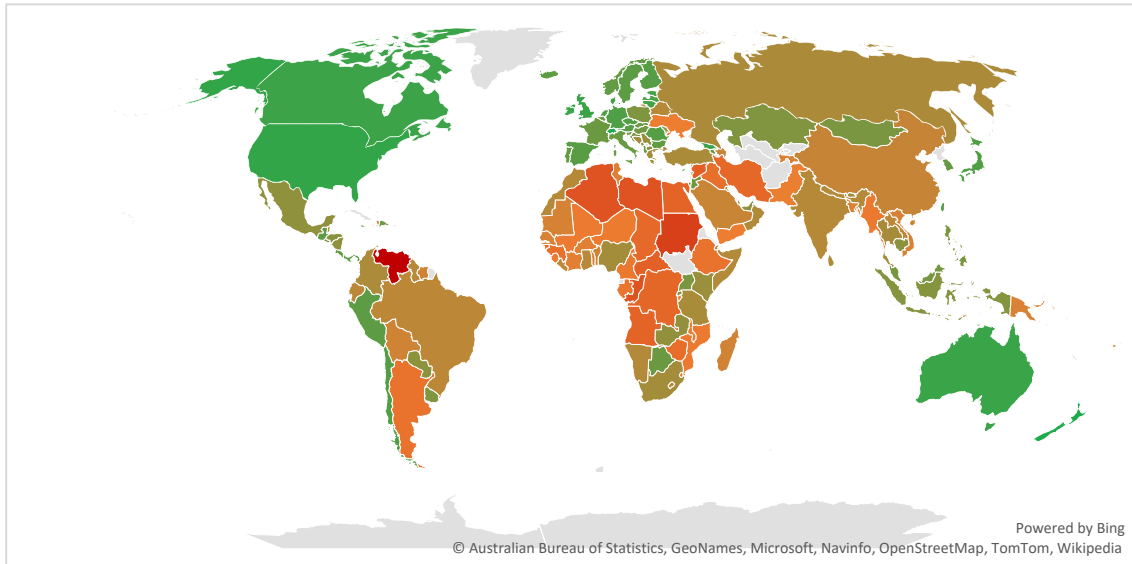


Figure 17. Economic Freedom of the World Index, 2015-2019, Average Freedom by Country. (Gwartney et al., 2021a)¹³

According to the data published in the Dataset (Gwartney et al., 2021a) the overall economic freedom in the world has been growing slowly, but steadily with a growth of 0.05 points during the period of reference, reaching an inflection point for such growth during 2017. Might be interesting to consult future publications that will consider the economic implications of the COVID-19 pandemic, which probably will happen with the publication of the 2022 Annual Report.

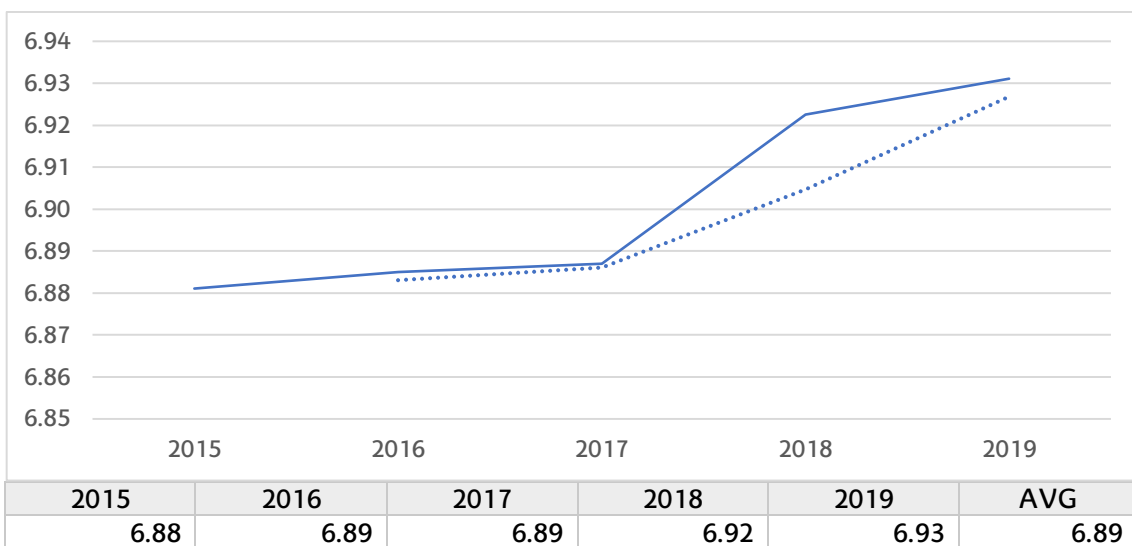


Figure 18. Economic Freedom of the World Index, 2015-2019, Yearly Overall Freedom. (Gwartney et al., 2021a)

¹³ Full data set, considering countries, ranking and yearly overall in the Appendix 5.

Gwartney (2021a) classifies countries in four quartiles. The following figure is reproduced only for consistency purposes because it is a very simple way to divide countries. The authors of the Economic Freedom of the World Index classified countries based in their rankings, rather than their scores. That is the reason for the chart to look so plain.

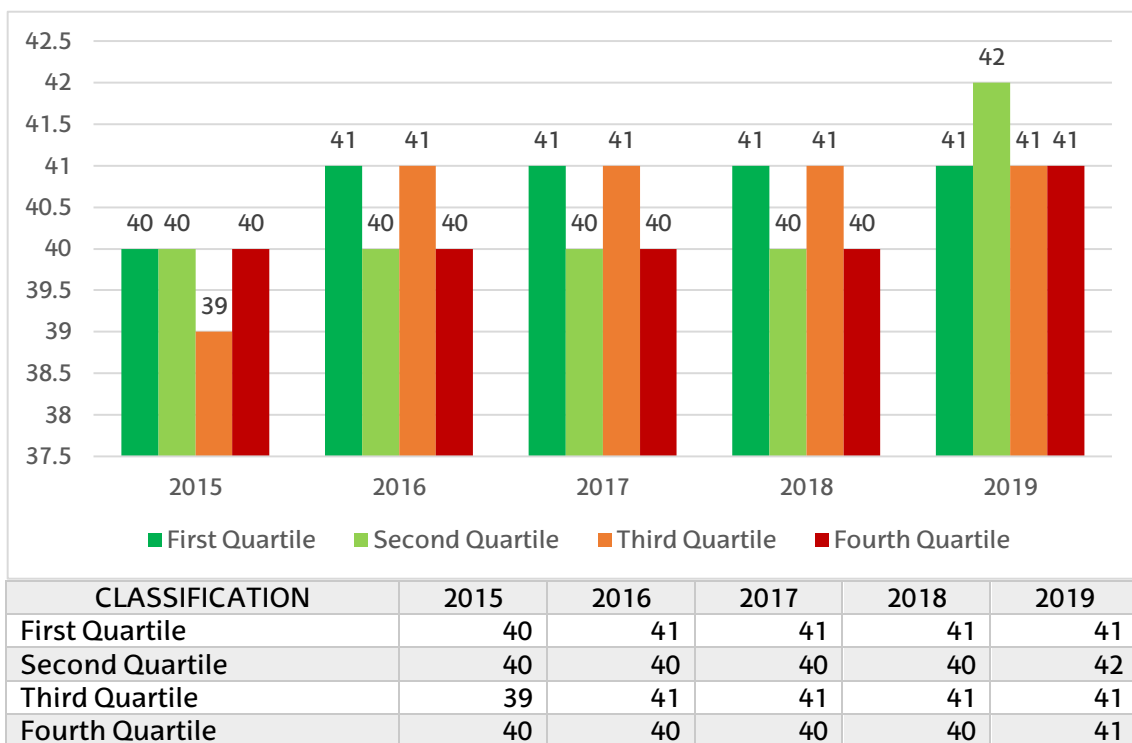


Figure 19. Economic Freedom of the World Index, 2015-2019, Yearly Countries Classification. (Gwartney et al., 2021a)

The following figure is much more interesting, in the sense that it shows the five categories that integrate the Economic Freedom of the World Index and how each of them has been progressing over time (of course, during the reference period 2015-2019). Sound of money is rated in the top of the chart, which means that globally, central banks' autonomy has been sufficiently respected; allowing them to leave inflation as low as possible; also, regulation on foreign currency trade has been working fine. This is paradigmatic, because the lowest rated category is the Legal System and Property Rights that remained with almost no changes during the period

of reference. Following the general trend, the categories “individual growth” is minimum and sustained, with “Sound of Money” and “Regulation” at the top with a 0.14 points growth each and the marginal growth of the “Legal System and Property Rights” at the bottom with 0.05 points of growth in the lustrum.

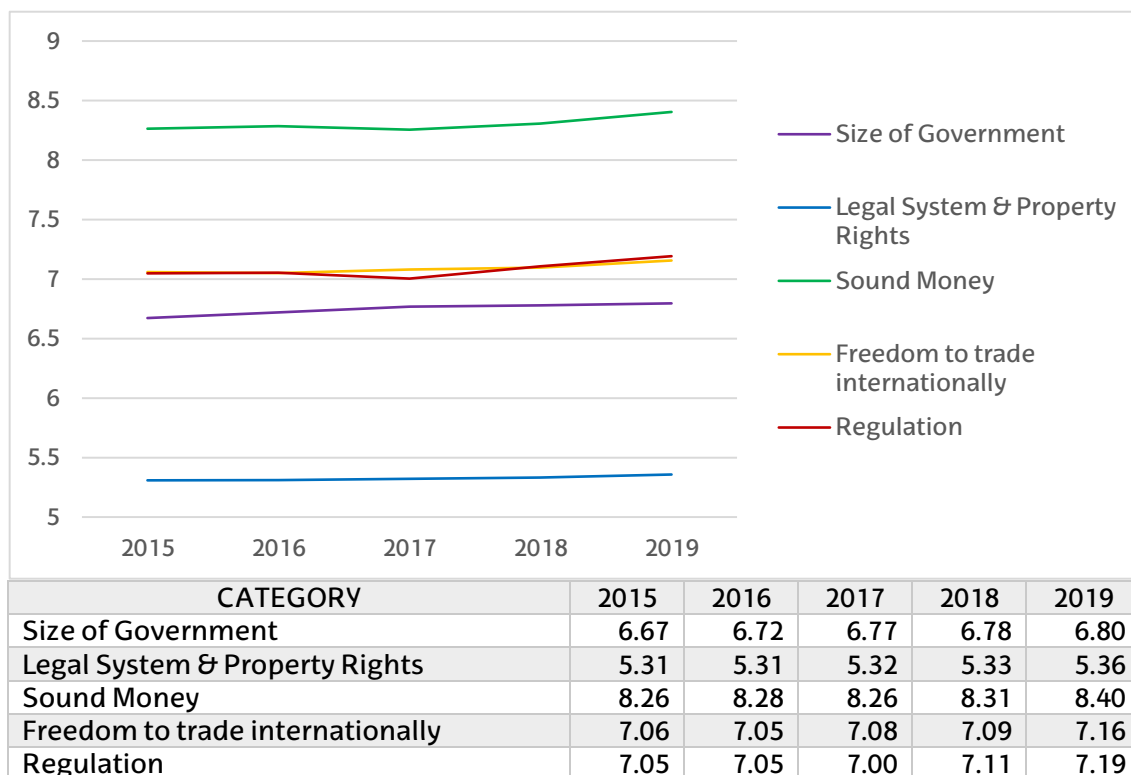


Figure 20. Economic Freedom of the World Index, 2015-2019, Yearly Average by Category. (Gwartney et al., 2021a)

4.6. HUMAN FREEDOM INDEX

Launched in 2015 by the Cato Institute, Fraser Institute, Friedrich Naumann Stiftung für Die Freiheit, the Institute of Economic Analysis, and Visio Institute, the Human Freedom Index pretends to be “[...] the most comprehensive freedom index so far created for a globally meaningful set of countries.” (Vásquez & Porčnik, 2017, p. 5) The data series published with the Index covers from 2008 to 2019 and each report covers the data of 2 years behind.

The Human Freedom index designed by Vásquez and Porčnik (2017) understands freedom as the absence of coercive constraint and to do so, it uses 79 indicators within 12 categories. The first 7 are considered by the authors as Personal Freedoms, while the last 5 belong to the realm of the Economic Freedoms

- **Rule of Law.** It intends to capture “[...] the extent to which people are exposed to abuse by the authorities, and therefore it provides a measure of whether and by how much one is “subject to another man’s will”.” (Vásquez & Porčnik, 2017, p. 17)
- **Security and Safety.** Measures the crimes committed against populations of a given country.
- **Movement.** Vásquez & Porčnik (2017) state that restricting freedom of movement limits the overall freedom that is experienced by people. This indicator measures domestic and foreign movement, including a special indicator for the freedom of movement of women.
- **Religion.** This category measures the possibility of exercising one’s own beliefs in the private and public realm.
- **Association, Assembly, and Civil Society.** Measures the possibility of engaging with others, individuals, or organizations, for any legal means, particularly political and commercial.
- **Expression and Information.** This is the broader category of the index, measuring freedom of expression exercised by individuals, press and the use of internet.

- **Identity and Relationships.** This category measures the lack of restrictions to establish self-identity and relationships with others, being the gender relationships with oneself and family, the core of this category.

The following categories, understood as Economic Freedoms were taken from the Economic Freedom of the World Index, previously explained; therefore, I will only list them as follows.

- Size of Government;
- Legal System and Property Rights;
- Access to Sound Money;
- Freedom to Trade Internationally; and,
- Regulation of Credit, Labor, and Business.

The 159 to 165¹⁴ countries and territories considered for the Human Freedom Index are classified in quartiles from first to fourth, with the same problematic that I already mentioned in the previous analysis of the Economic Freedom of the World Index, which is not surprising, given that the Fraser Institute participates in the production of both indices.

An average of the scores provided in the Human Freedom Index show that the top 10 countries for the period 2015-2019 were led by Switzerland, followed by New Zealand, Denmark, Ireland, Estonia, Australia, Canada,

¹⁴ In 2017 Human Freedom Index Annual report considered 159 countries, that number growth to 162 for the next year's report, reaching the present number of 165 in the last issue for 2021.

Sweden, Finland, and the United Kingdom. In the bottom of the ranking, we can find Syria, Sudan, Venezuela, Egypt, Yemen, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Burundi, and Iraq. The following figure illustrates what is usual in the indices, the green stripe runs in the north, from Alaska to Europe, with the exceptions of Chile and Uruguay in Latin America, Japan, and Mongolia in Asia, as well as Australia and New Zealand. Meanwhile the red stripe runs through the Arab world and Africa.

An interesting comparative can be found in the following chapter; where, the comparison matrix shows the use of the Economic Freedom of the World Index as the 53.16% of the indicators of the Human Freedom Index are taken from it.

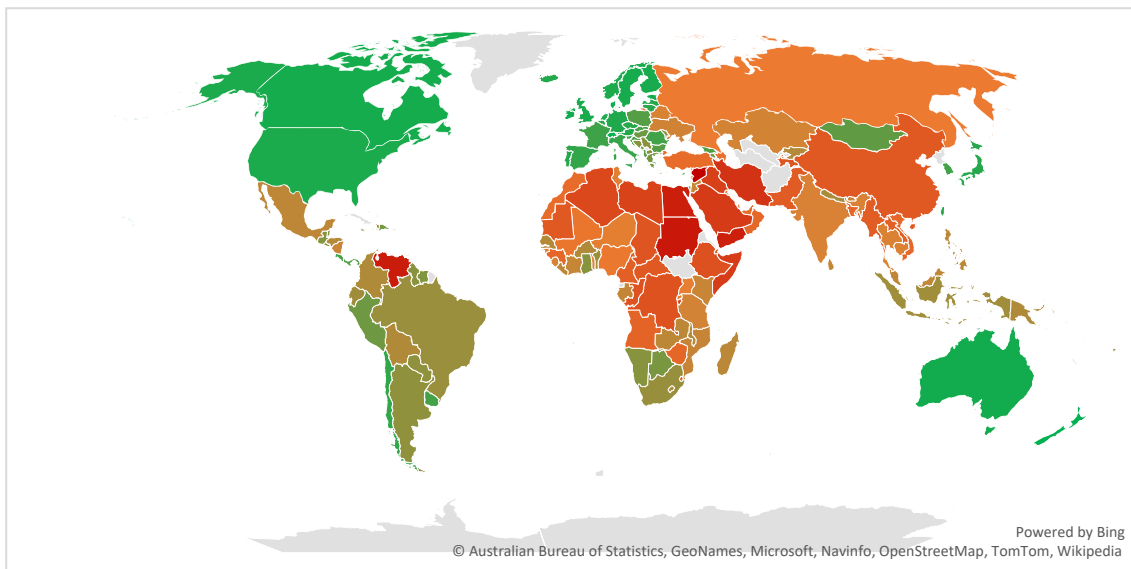


Figure 21. Human Freedom Index, 2015-2019, Average Freedom by Country. (Vásquez et al., 2021; Vásquez & McMahon, 2020; Vásquez & Porčnik, 2017, p. 17, 2018, 2019)¹⁵

The following figure represents the yearly overall freedom for the period 2015-2019. This is a very interesting chart that shows the development of freedom in the world, with a very rare outcome. The Human Freedom

¹⁵ Full data set, considering countries, ranking and yearly overall in the Appendix 6.

Index is one of the few indices that shows a fluctuation in the overall freedom in the world. During 2015 and 2018 overall freedom reached its peak at 7.15 and the lowest overalls come from 2016 and 2019, right after the peaks. Even with the fluctuations, this index follows the general trend of loss of freedom in the mid-term studied.

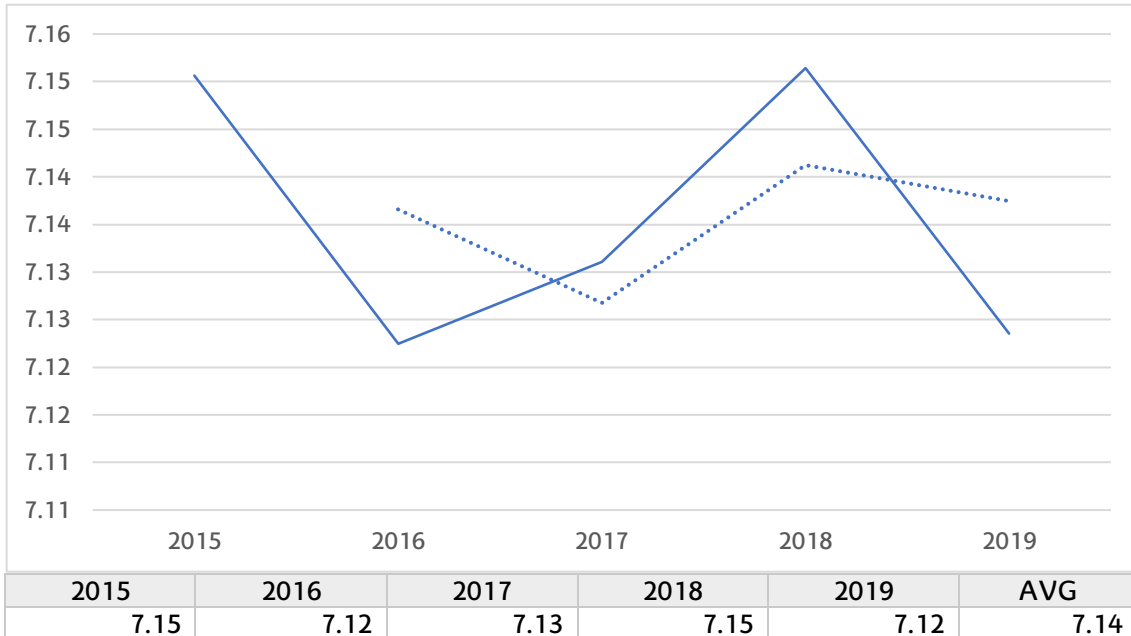


Figure 22. Human Freedom Index, Yearly Overall Freedom. (Vásquez et al., 2021; Vásquez & McMahon, 2020; Vásquez & Porčnik, 2017, p. 17, 2018, 2019)

As I already anticipated, the categorization made in the Human Freedom Index is the same as the one made at the Economic Freedom of the World Index, where the overall of countries has been divided in four quartiles. It could be useful for individual countries comparatives, the same way the rank does.

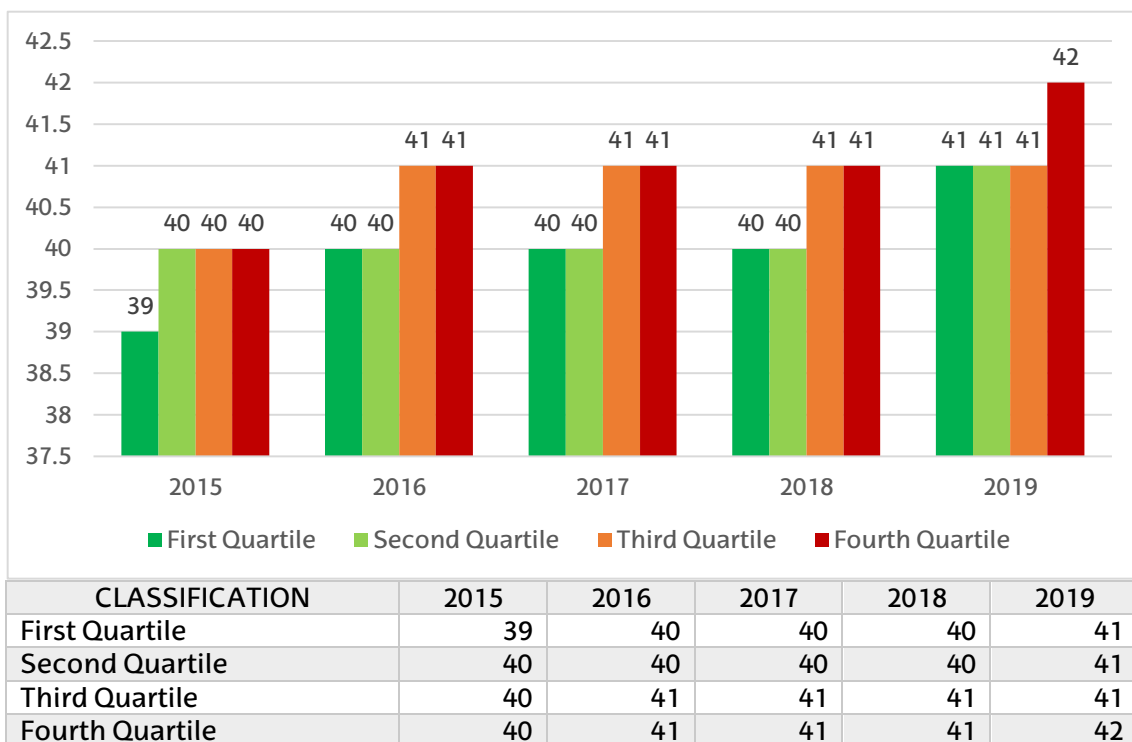


Figure 23. Human Freedom Index, Yearly Countries Classification. (Vásquez et al., 2021; Vásquez & McMahon, 2020; Vásquez & Porčnik, 2017, p. 17, 2018, 2019)

The most striking feature of the indices seems to be the ranking or the classification. It is easy to understand, compare and communicate. Probably those two features are the ones that receive more attention in media; however, the most interesting feature is the disaggregation of the categories that make part of the whole measurement. this index is divided in two main parts: (i) Personal Freedom; and (ii) Economic Freedom. Both components are as well formed by the 12 categories (7 for Personal Freedom, and 5 for Economic Freedom). the following figure to notice the development of each of the categories.¹⁶

¹⁶ To provide a better understanding of the chart, those categories that follow under the realm of Personal Freedoms follow a continuous line; while the Economic Freedoms can be seen as a dotted line.

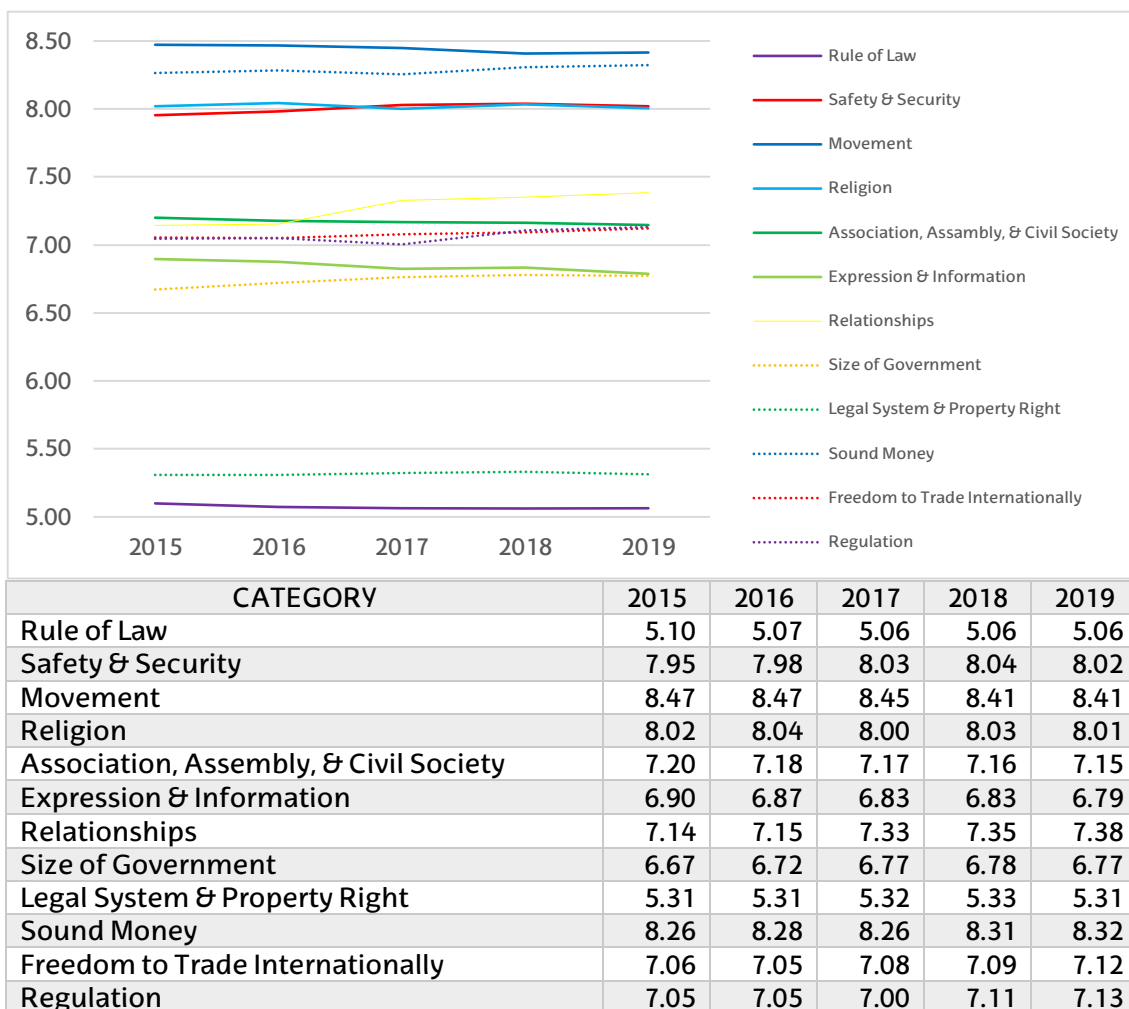


Figure 24. Human Freedom Index, Yearly Average by Category. (Vásquez et al., 2021; Vásquez & McMahon, 2020; Vásquez & Porčnik, 2017, p. 17, 2018, 2019)

Freedom of Movement is consistently better ranked, followed by the Access to Sound Money. With more than 3 points of difference, the lowest ranked categories are Rule of Law and Legal System and Property Right. all Economic Freedoms present an increase, except for the Legal System and Property Right that presented an increase, to fall into the exact same overall for the 2019 measurement. On the other side, Personal Freedoms show a decrease, except for Security and Safety and Identity and Relationships that has the biggest increase of them all, with a positive difference of 0.24 points during the reference term.

4.7. ÍNDICE MUNDIAL DE LIBERTAD MORAL

Translated to English as the World Index of Moral Freedom (WIMF) is being published biannually by the Foundation for the Advancement of Liberty since 2016. The WIMF has been published 4 times: 2016, 2018, 2020, and 2022.

According to the Foundation for the Advancement of Liberty “[...] the Index was published to fill an existing gap in the study of freedom; however, recognizing the labor of other institutions producing freedom indices all around the globe.” (Kohl & Pina, 2016, p. 4)

The editors of the Index understand freedom as absence of coercion; therefore, moral freedom is defined by them as absence of moral coercion. (Kohl & Pina, 2016, p. 5) The Index measures the degree of state intervention in individual moral decisions, by analyzing the situation in 160 countries. Covering the 99% of the world’s population and 80% of existing sovereign states. (Kohl & Pina, 2016, p. 5)

The Index is divided into five categories, each answering to a specific question (Kohl & Pina, 2016, p. 6):

- a) **Religious indicators**. How free is the practice of any religion or none, and how religious-controlled is the state? The variables used by the authors of the Index (Kohl & Pina, 2016, p. 7) are:

Amount of religious influence on the state. Formal institutional status and governmental practice.	37.5%
Moral censorship of online content.	10%
Religious freedom. As regulated in legal instruments.	37.5%
Religion-related Human Rights. Specially incarceration of prisoners of conscience.	15%

- b) **Bioethical indicators.** How free is the individual decision making on matters posing bioethical questions? The variables used (Kohl & Pina, 2016, p. 7) are:

Legal status of abortion.	62.5%
Legal status of euthanasia.	12.5%
Main bioethical freedom indicators ¹⁷ , for the 2016 and 2018 indices. (2016, p. 7)	25%
Legal status of surrogacy, for the 2020 index.	

- c) **Drugs indicators.** How free is the production, trade and consumption of substances deemed harmful? The variables used for this indicator (Kohl & Pina, 2016, p. 8) are:

Legal status of cannabis policies	70%
Legal status policies on drugs, in general.	15%
Number of drug-related incarcerations. Reflecting the strictness of drug's law enforcement.	15%

- d) **Sexuality indicators.** How free are sexual intercourse, pornography, and sex services among consenting adults? The variables used for this indicator (Kohl & Pina, 2016, p. 8) are:

Free consumption of pornography. Reflected by censorship of this kind of goods.	40%
Legal status of prostitution.	35%
Legal age of sexual consent.	25%

- e) **Gender and Family indicators.** How free are women, LGTB individuals and unmarried couples living together? The variables used for this indicator (Kohl & Pina, 2016, p. 8) are:

Women's freedom. Specially freedom of movement. ¹⁸	25%
Cohabitation of unmarried couples. ¹⁹	25%

¹⁷ The main bioethical indicators used for the 2016 and 2018 reports of the IWMMF were quite broad, considering public policies on rules on stem cell research, therapeutical cloning, and surrogacy. For the 2020 report, the authors of the Index substituted the broad definition of those public policies to concentrate on the ruling of surrogacy.

¹⁸ In the 2020 report, the percentage given to this category is 20; however, it seems to be a mistake. The total percentage sums 90 in the 2020 report.

¹⁹ The same happens with the category of cohabitation of unmarried couples; where in 2020's report, the percentage was lowered to 20.

Legal status of same sex marriage in the country. ²⁰	40%
Legal status of transgender individuals in each country.	10%

The Index classifies countries in eight different categories, accordingly to the points each of them obtains as follows:

- Highest moral freedom (90-100 points).
- Very high moral freedom (80-90 points).
- High moral freedom (60-80 points).
- Acceptable moral freedom (50-60 points).
- Insufficient moral freedom (40-50 points).
- Low moral freedom (20-40 points).
- Very low moral freedom (10-20 points); and,
- Lowest moral freedom (0-10 points).

The World Index of Moral Freedom measures freedom among 160 countries. The following figure shows how the green stripe that usually runs through North America and Europe is not as clear as in any other Index produced in the Anglo-Saxon world. In the top ten we can find the Netherlands in first place; followed by Portugal, Uruguay, Canada, Belgium, Czech Republic, Spain, Germany, Mexico, and Switzerland. It is remarkable the good position that Latin American countries reach in this ranking. It is enough to look at the figure to see that there is no other map where you will see a greener Latin America. On the antipodes of the rank, the red stripe has the usual countries. The lowest ranked country is Saudi Arabia, followed by Yemen, United Arab Emirates, Afghanistan, Iraq, Kuwait, Iran, Qatar, Brunei, and Oman. It is noticeable that the gap

²⁰ This category changed for 2020. The report introduced the adoption by same sex couples as an indicator; however, it is not well explained the weight of this indicator within the category.

between the first and the last ranked countries is of 82.57 in an index that scores countries from 0 to 100.

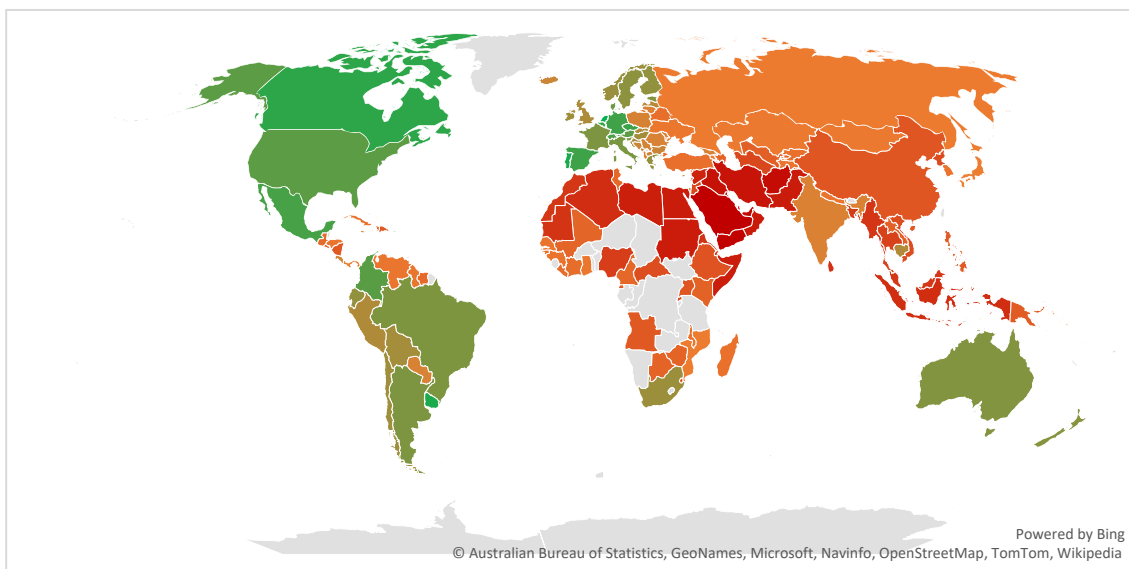


Figure 25. World Index of Moral Freedom, 2016-2022, Average Freedom by Country. (Álvarez et al., 2022; Álvarez, Koterá, et al., 2020; Kohl & Pina, 2016; Pina & Watson, 2018)²¹

The following figure explores the overall freedom in the 160 countries considered in this World Index of Moral Freedom., there was a raising trend, until the 2020-2022 period, where after a sustained improvement, the effects of COVID pandemic showed some of its outcomes for freedom. The index is still quite young but has a point in measuring core structural topics that affect personal freedom.

²¹ Full data set, considering countries, ranking and yearly overall in the Appendix 7.

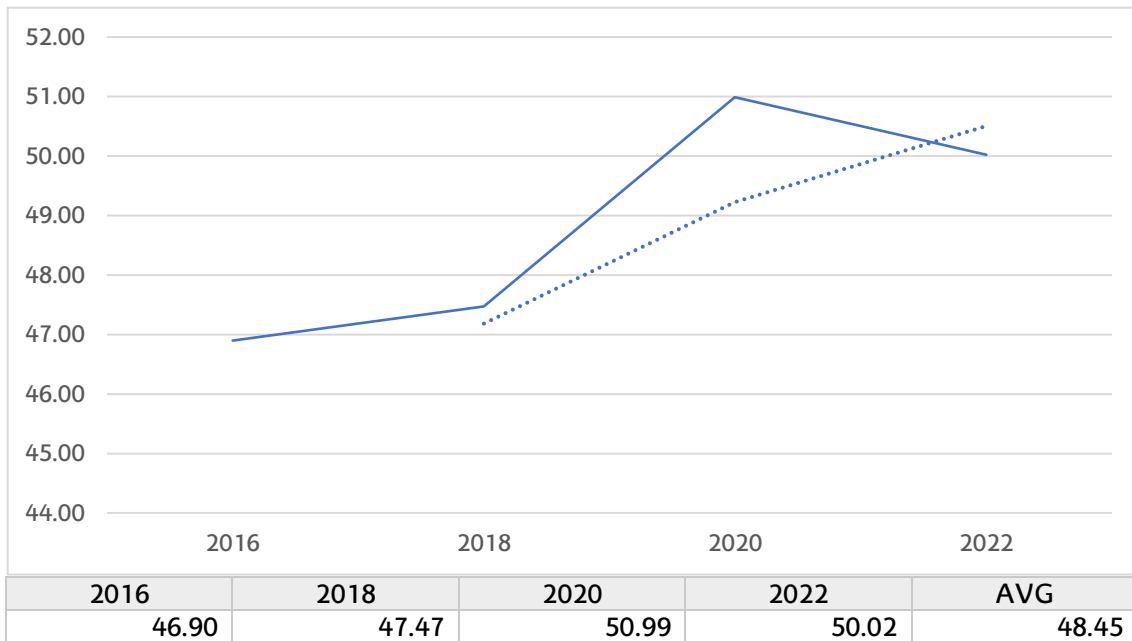


Figure 26. World Index of Moral Freedom, 2016-2022, Yearly Overall Freedom. (Álvarez et al., 2022; Álvarez, Kotera, et al., 2020; Kohl & Pina, 2016; Pina & Watson, 2018)

The World Index of Moral Freedom classifies countries in eight different categories, with the highest and lowest categories, that usually incorporate just one country. In 2016 only 64 out of 160 countries were classified in the top half categories, meaning that only 40% of the countries measured by the index belong to the highest, very high, high, or acceptable classifications. By 2022, even with the pandemic, those numbers went up to the 45% with 4 countries less than the best overall of the previous publication of the Index.

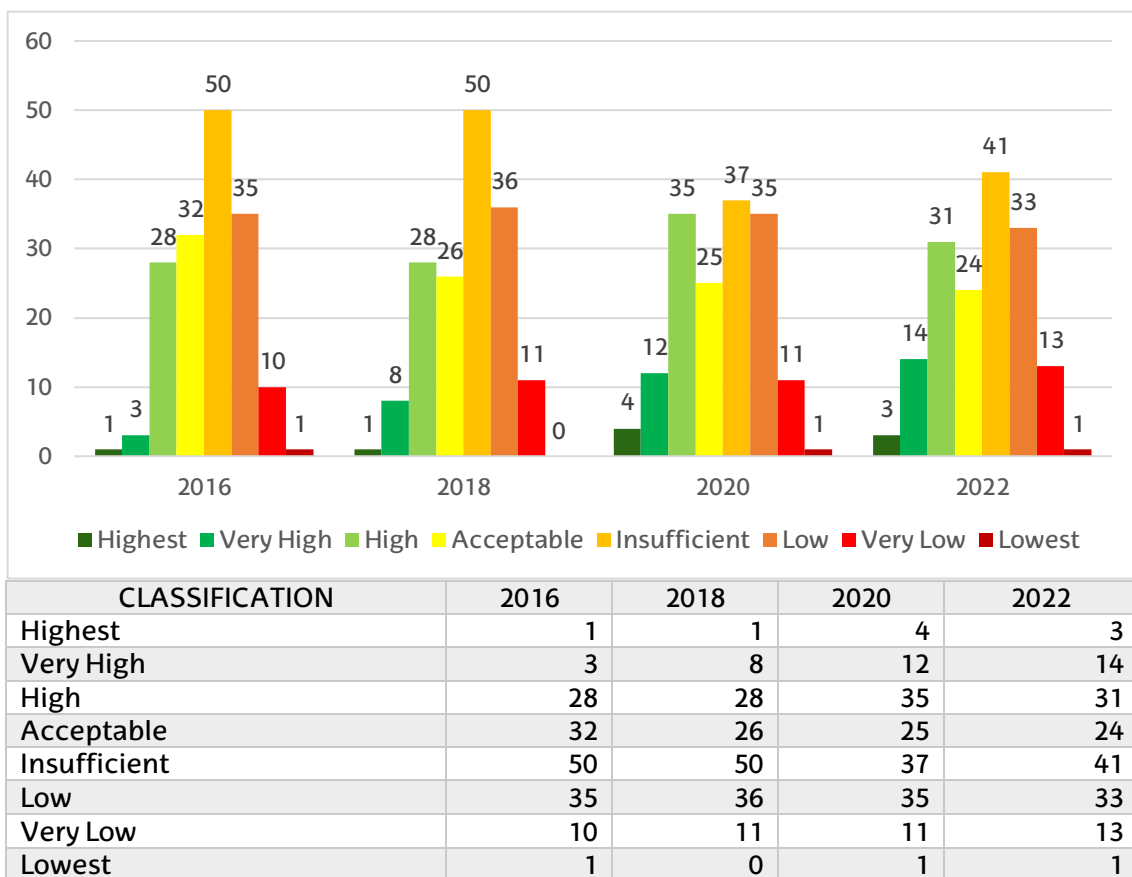


Figure 27. World Index of Moral Freedom, Yearly Countries Classification. (Álvarez et al., 2022; Álvarez, Kotera, et al., 2020; Kohl & Pina, 2016; Pina & Watson, 2018)

Finally, the categories that integrate the indicators of the index show a very interesting trend, where Religious Freedoms are the best ranked; however, with a slight fall of 1.2 points in the period that the Index has been produced. The Bioethical, Drugs, and Sexuality categories have improved their respective overall during the period, especially the Drugs category with an increase of 10.32 points. It is also important to highlight the decrease suffered by the Gender and Family category that reached its lowest point in 2020 (39.83 points) and losing during the period of reference a total of 2.27 points, to become the category with the biggest drop of them all.

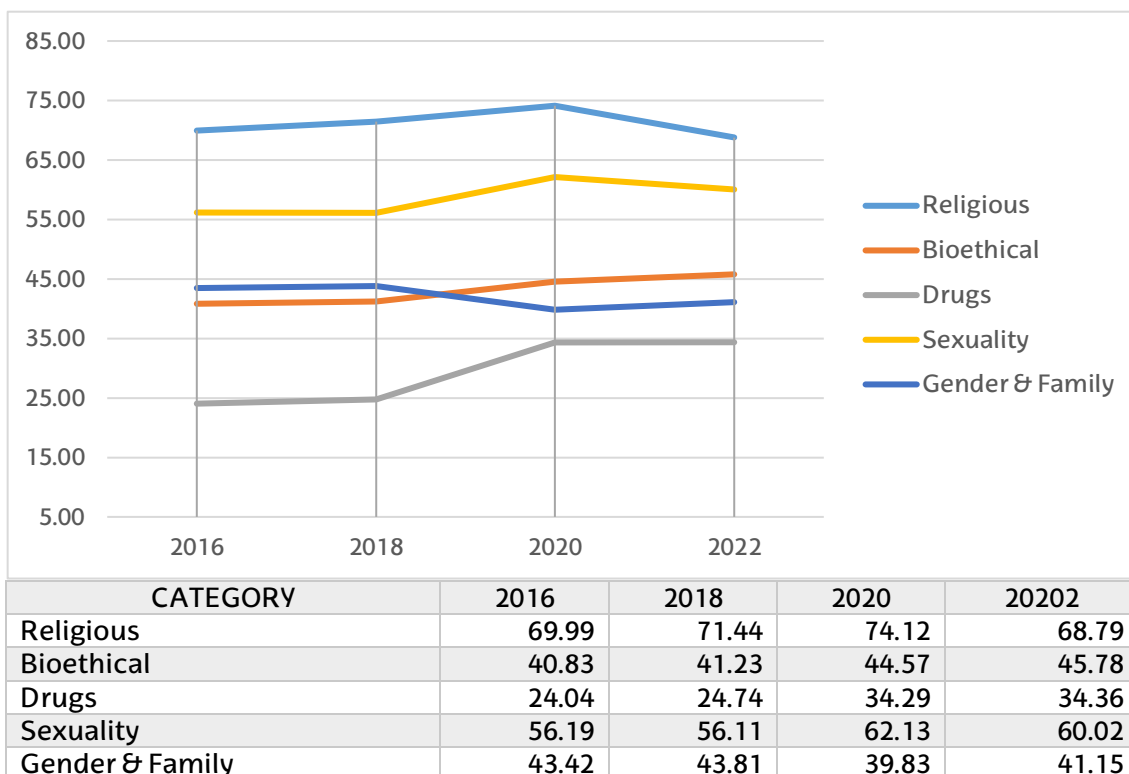


Figure 28. World Index of Moral Freedom, Yearly Average by Category. (Álvarez et al., 2022; Álvarez, Kotera, et al., 2020; Kohl & Pina, 2016; Pina & Watson, 2018)

The index concludes that countries that rank higher in their respect for moral freedom usually perform better in other freedom indices; however, the following chapter shows this is not necessarily the case. This is especially relevant when comparing the results of the index with the economic freedom indices analyzed.

4.8. DEMOCRACY INDEX

The Democracy Index has been published for the last fifteen years. The first report was issued in 2007, disseminating the state of democracy among 165 independent states and 2 territories, excluding (for undisclosed reasons) 27 micro-states. The Index is produced by the Economist Intelligence Unit, the research brand of The Economist Group. An argument against the inclusion of this index as a freedom index might

be done because democracy is not a synonym of freedom, being considerably broader. However, democracy and all its components are essential for the understanding, protection, and enhancement of liberty and ultimately, freedom.

The Index is grounded in sixty indicators grouped in five categories:

- Electoral Process and Pluralism;
- Civil Liberties;
- Functioning of the Government;
- Political Participation; and,
- Political Culture.

Each category is based on a 0 to 10 scale, using a model of sixty questions that are answered by a panel of experts and cross-checked with surveys developed within the country of interest. Each question uses a three-points scoring system (1 for a yes and 0 for a no). The third option appears in all those cases where the binary system is not suitable to the current situation. In that case, the Index incorporates the possibility of using a 0.5 to measure all those grey areas, where the answer to the question assessed to the experts cannot be a simple yes or no. According to the Economist Intelligence Unit (2018) adjustments to the scores of each category are made if countries do not score 1 in some areas of democracy that the Economist Intelligence Unit understands as critical for democracy:

1. Whether national elections are free and fair.
2. Security of voters.

3. Influence of foreign powers on government; and,
4. Capability of the civil service to implement public 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 Economist Intelligence Unit, 2018, p. 64)

The Democracy Index (2018) places countries in 4 categories of regime:

CATEGORY	SCORE	DEFINITION
Full democracies	>8	“Countries in which not only basic political freedoms and civil liberties are respected, but which 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.” (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2018, p. 64)
Flawed democracies	>6 ≤8	“These countries also have free and fair elections and, even if there are problems (such as infringements on media freedom), basic civil liberties are 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.” (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2018, p. 64)

Hybrid regimes $>4 \leq 6$ “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.” (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2018, p. 64)

Authoritarian regimes ≤ 4 “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 Economist Intelligence Unit, 2018, p. 64)

Each index is devoted to a special issue. In 2017 was the freedom of speech, arguing that “freedom of speech is the most important freedom of all and a prerequisite for establishing a healthy democracy.” (The

Economist Intelligence Unit, 2018, p. 37). The 2018 issue was devoted to the political participation, fundamentally inspired by the #metoo movement that remarked the political participation of the women all over the world. In 2019's Index, the focus continues with political participation; however switches to popular protests, finding that Latin America might become "the most democratic emerging-market region in the world." (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2020, p. 16) For the 2020 issue of the Index, the pandemic was the protagonist, resulting in "the withdrawal of civil liberties on a massive scale and fueled an existing trend of intolerance and censorship of dissenting opinion." (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2021, p. 3) The last issue published –2022 – continues the analysis of the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic, establishing that "[i]t had led to the normalization of emergency powers, which have tended to stay on the statute books, and accustomed citizens to a huge extension of state power over large areas of public and personal life." (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2022, p. 3)

The Overall Freedom by Country shows a geopolitical alignment with the Index production. The Global North dominates the top 10 in the average for the last 5 years with Norway topping the list, followed by Iceland, Sweden, New Zealand, Denmark, Finland, Canada, Ireland, Australia, and Switzerland.

Meanwhile the bottommost are dominated by Third World countries, mostly Arab. North Korea is the lowest ranked country, and Democratic

Republic of Congo, Central African Republic, Syria, Chad, Turkmenistan, Equatorial Guinea, Tajikistan, Yemen, and Saudi Arabia complete the bottom 10 of this ranking. The following figure illustrates the geopolitical alignment of the index.

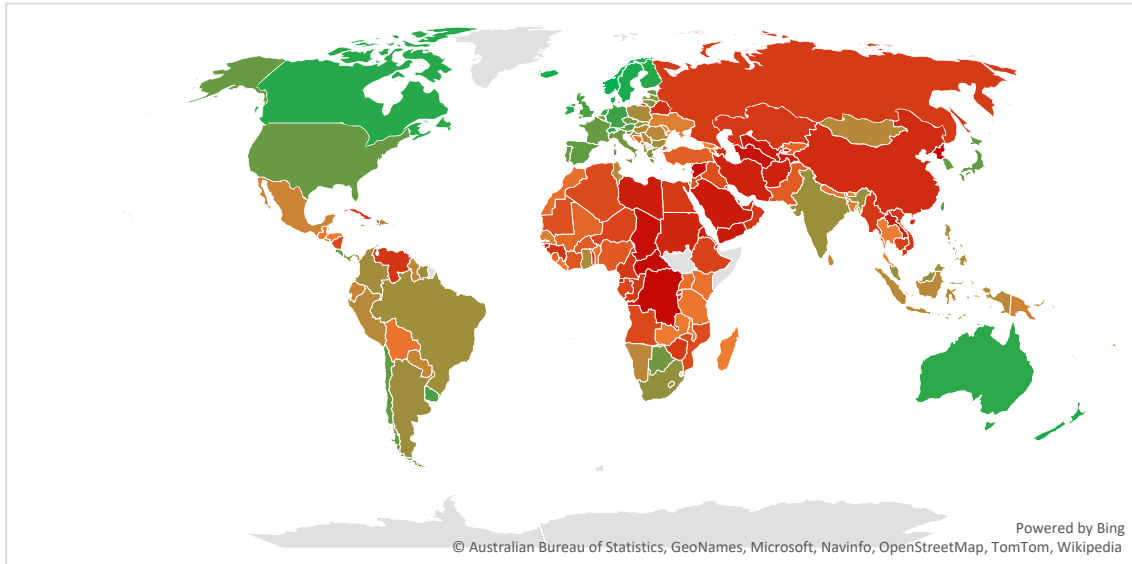


Figure 29. Democracy Index, 2017-2021, Average Freedom by Country. (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022)²²

The Average freedom in the world, according to the Democracy Index (2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022), has been dropping since 2018. It is undeniable that basic liberties have suffered because of the pandemic, as we can see at the numbers for 2020 and 2021; nevertheless, the average is dramatically low. During the last five years, the World has not experienced an average freedom over 5.48 of a total of 10. Also, during the period of reference, the world lost a total of 0.20 points, and seems like the drop will continue.

²² Full data set, considering countries, ranking and yearly overall in the Appendix 8.

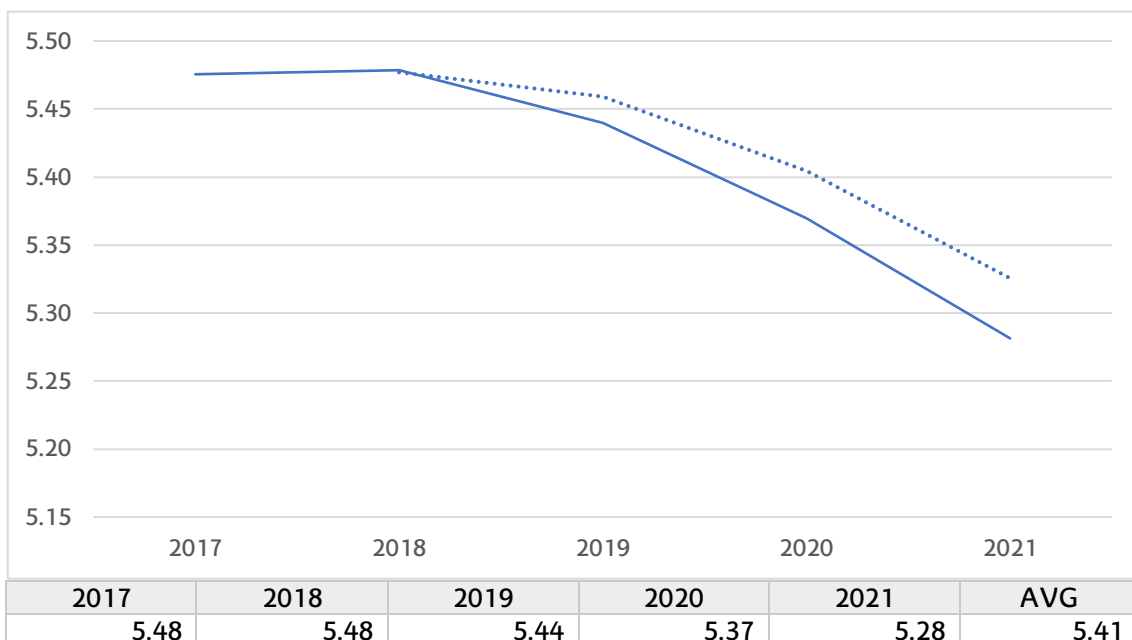


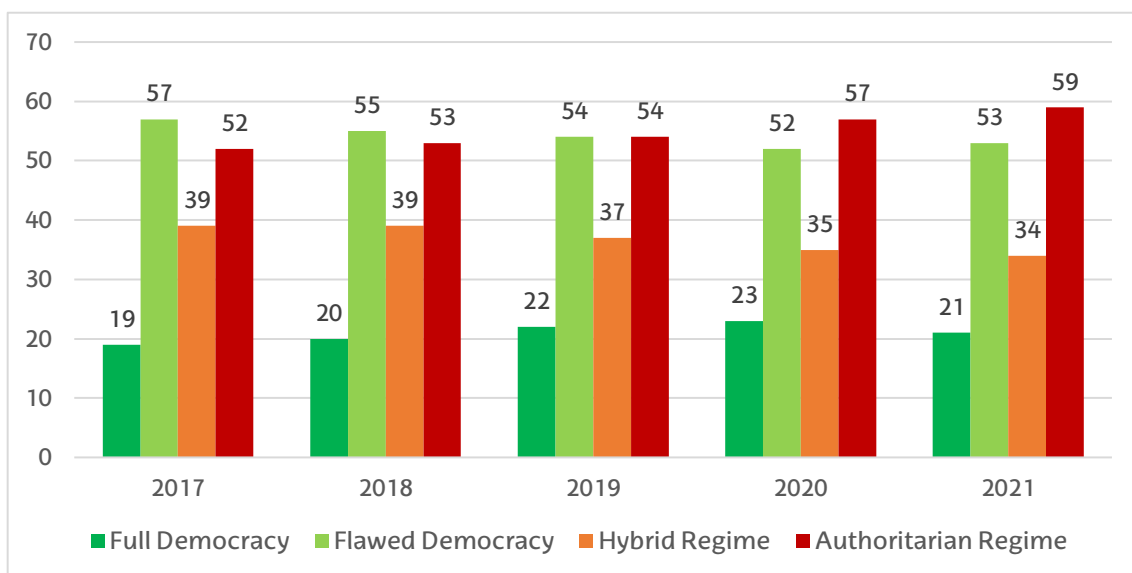
Figure 30. Democracy Index, Yearly Overall Freedom. (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022)

The countries' categorization is a very useful tool provided in the Democracy Index. The ranking of countries can be of little use, because being a number 60 instead of the 70 says not much about the freedom situation of a country; however, the numbers and change of category say a lot, as has been the case in the 2021 Democracy Index outcome for countries as Spain and Mexico. The downgrade of category has an important resonance for the political environment of a given country.

As already established, the Democracy Index classifies countries according to the overall scores they obtain. In the Countries Classification chart, you can compare the 2017-2021 period on each of these categories. A first outcome could be that Full Democracies represent (in average) only the 13% of the 167 subjects of study; meanwhile Authoritarian Regimes more than doubles that percentage with a 35.2% of the countries. The outcome is even more disturbing when dividing the countries between

democratic and non-democratic, when doing so, the sum of Hybrid and Authoritarian Regimes represent the 59% of the world.

Of course, some countries are doing better than others, but we are experiencing a disturbing increase of the authoritarian and hybrid regimes. Let’s look at the following figure.



CLASSIFICATION	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
Full Democracy	19	20	22	23	21
Flawed Democracy	57	55	54	52	53
Hybrid Regime	39	39	37	35	34
Authoritarian Regime	52	53	54	57	59

Figure 31. Democracy Index, 2017-2021, Yearly Countries Classification. (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022)

The following figure shows how the categories composition has been changing during the last five issues of the Democracy Index. As you can see, every category has dropped, except “political participation”, that has grown good enough to surpass the “political culture” and “civil liberties”, that for the 2021 Democracy Index fall all the way to the third place. This is symptomatic of the times we are living in. The reduction of the Civil Liberties; along with the defective Functioning of the Government in the

fight against the pandemic granted the fall of the indicators for the last two years.

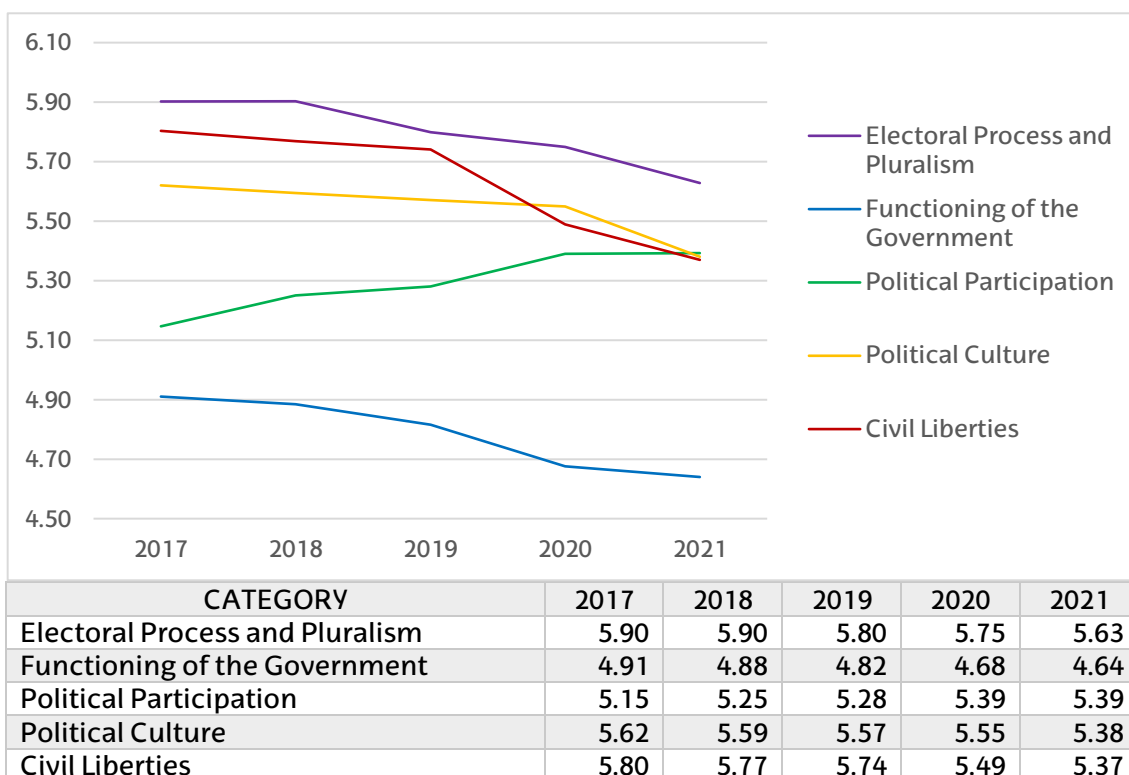


Figure 32. Democracy Index, Yearly Average by Category. (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022)

The Democracy Index importance lies in the connection it establishes between political and electoral values with civil liberties, showing how freedom is better exercised under the protection of democratic liberal systems, rather than in authoritarian regimes. The following chapter explores this issue more in depth; however, the rise of authoritarian regimes poses risks for individual freedoms.

4.9. WORLDWIDE PRESS FREEDOM INDEX

The World Press Freedom Index, originally published as the Worldwide Index of Press Freedom was created as the first global index that deals with freedom of the press. The Index appeared for the first time in October

2002. Ever since, it has been published yearly by Reporters without Borders, except for the 2011-2012 report. The (2022) report has not been analyzed due the change in methodology that makes it difficult to compare with the previous years. The period for analysis is thus 2017-2021.

The World Press Freedom Index measures:

The degree of freedom available to journalists in 180 countries is determined by pooling the responses of experts to a questionnaire devised by RSF. This qualitative analysis is combined with quantitative data on abuses and acts of violence against journalists during the period evaluated. The criteria evaluated in the questionnaire are pluralism, media independence, media environment and self-censorship, legislative framework, transparency, and the quality of the infrastructure that supports the production of news and information. (Reporters sans Frontières, 2021a)

Countries considered in the Index get a score from 0 to 100. The score is calculated using the Underlying Situation, and Abuse Scores. "The first, ScoA, is based on the first six of the seven indicators listed above. The second, ScoB, combines the first six indicators with the seventh (abuses). A country's final score is the greater of these two scores." (Reporters sans Frontières, 2021a)

Considering an average of the 180 countries for the period of reference, the top 10 of the World Press Freedom Index is led by Norway, followed by Sweden, Finland, Netherlands, Denmark, Switzerland, Jamaica, Costa Rica,

New Zealand, and Belgium. In the bottom of the rank, we could find countries as North Korea, Turkmenistan, Eritrea, China, Vietnam, Syria, Djibouti, Cuba, Laos, and Iran.

The following figure shows the usual countries in green, with some exceptions in Africa and South America. The red area also changes, with the African countries ranking much better, compared with other indices.

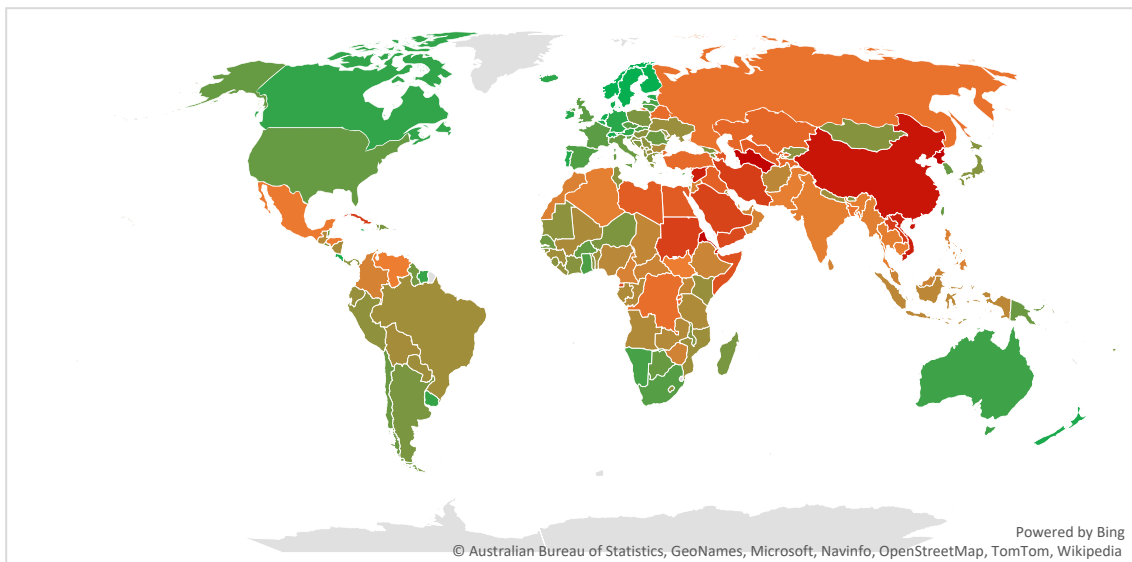


Figure 33. World Press Freedom Index, 2017-2021, Average Freedom by Country. (Reporters sans Frontières, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021c)²³

The overall of the World Press Freedom Index, for the period 2017-2021 presents an almost perfect W shape. The overall in 2017 was 35.08, the same as the 2021. The drops suffered in 2018 and 2020 ended up with an almost immediate recuperation. Future publications of the Index, with the new methodology should show if the trend follows or if the recuperation or loss of press freedom will prevail. Considering that the methodology establishes that the maximum score for a country is 100, the rate at 35 is quite low.

²³ Full data set, considering countries, ranking and yearly overall in the Appendix 9.

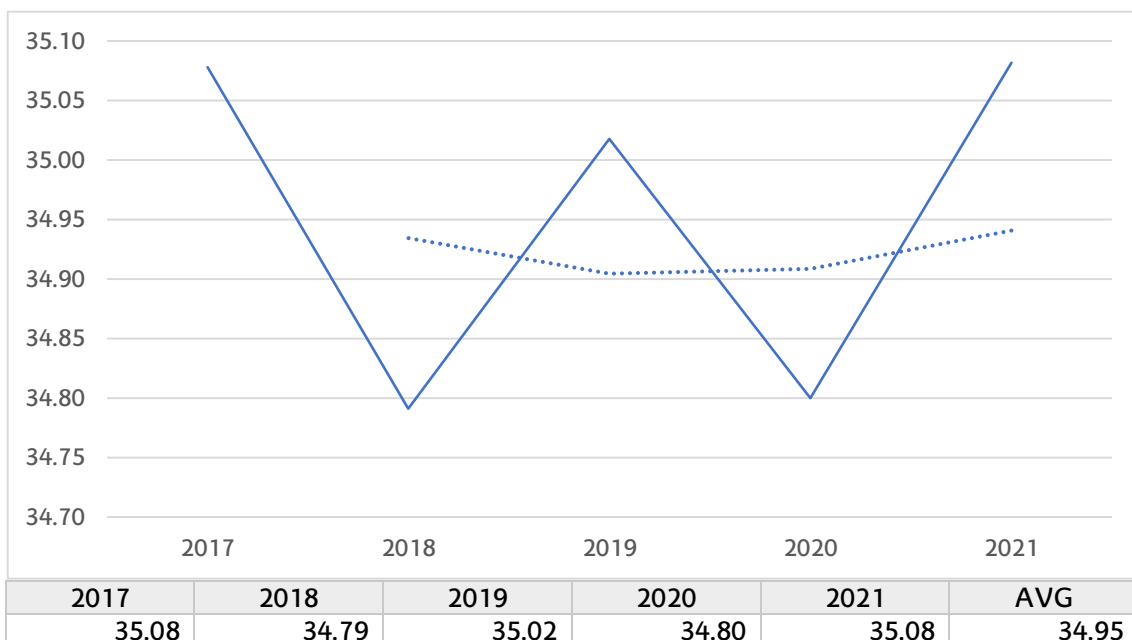


Figure 34. World Press Freedom Index, Yearly Overall Freedom. (Reporters sans Frontières, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021c)

The classification made by Reporters without Borders is very useful to complement the figure with the world map. It is noticeable that countries in a Problematic Situation prevail in the landscape of the following figure. The dominance of countries in such classification goes from its minimum of 32.7% in 2017 and 2021 to a maximum of 36.6% in 2019. Meanwhile, the countries in Good Situation are the few in the yearly classification of the Index, being 2021 the lowest year, representing only the 6.6% of the 180 countries, not far away from the 9.4% that represented in 2018.

It is relevant to notice the steadiness that the countries in Very Serious Situation maintain, fluctuating between the 12.7% and the 10.5%, that is a difference of only 4 countries.

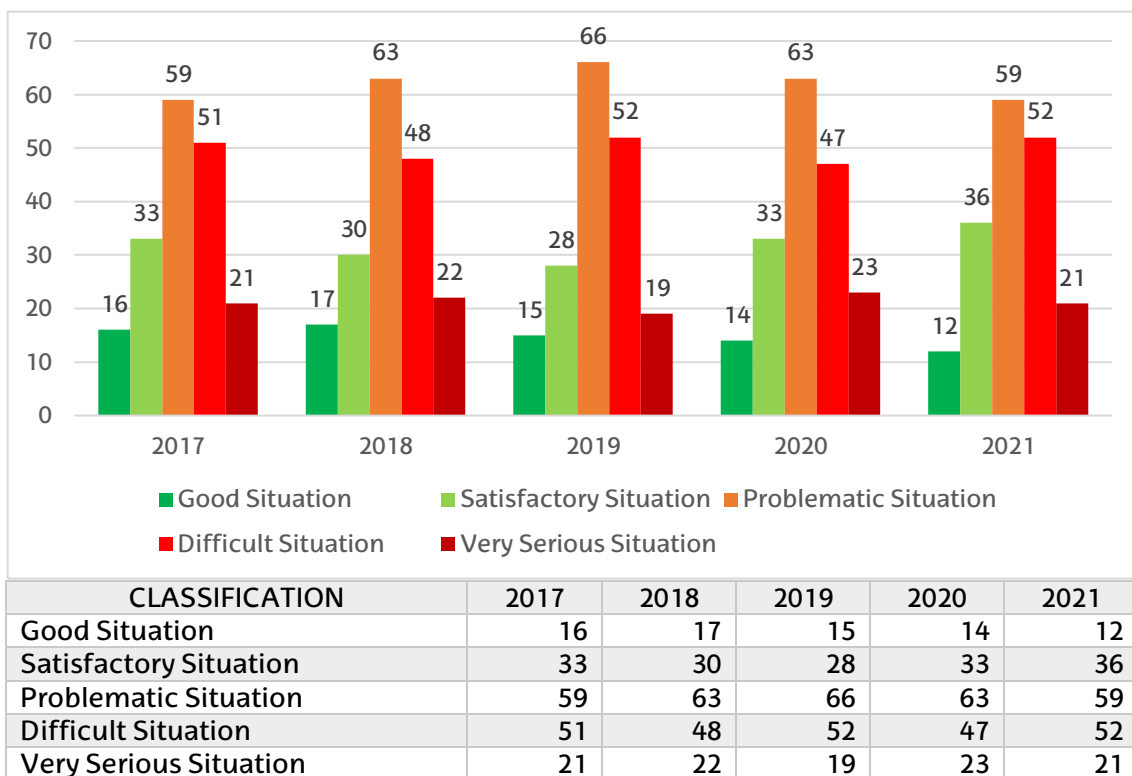


Figure 35. World Press Freedom Index, Yearly Countries Classification. (Reporters sans Frontières, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021c)

The long-term stability of the World Press Freedom Index is shown in the following figure, where the Underlying Situation Score barely changed in the selected period; while the Abuse Score presented a sustained drop until 2021, year that reflected a rebound of more than 3 points, leaving the score only one point below the reference of 2017. The underlying situation score remains steady along time.

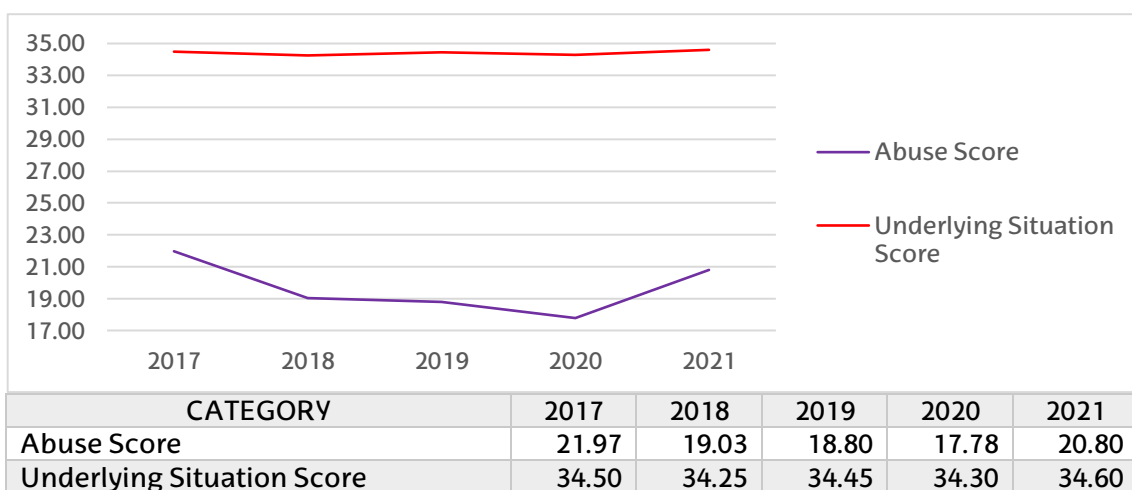


Figure 36. World Press Freedom Index, Yearly Average by Category. (Reporters sans Frontières, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021c)

The next chapter presents a deeper analysis of the freedom of the press. The matrix of analysis allows to compare the trend that this Index presents with that of the Freedom of the Press published by the Fraser Institute. Also, other indices analyze the freedom of the press as a component of a general freedom and that is another interesting way to cross data between indices for a better understanding of particular and general freedom.

4.10.FREEDOM ON THE NET

Freedom on the Net is an annual report published by Freedom House. The Freedom on the Net Report was launched in 2009; however, it was only in 2011 that the report became an annual publication for Freedom House. The period analyzed covers the last five editions of the report, 2017-2021. This Index measures restrictions on the rights online. It is important to notice, that Freedom on the Net does not only measure government interference, but also non-state actors' restrictions.

Freedom on the Net started covering 15 countries and has been increasing that amount to the current 65-70 covered during the term of reference. The Index classifies these countries in three categories. A country is categorized in each according to the total amount of points it scores, as follows²⁴:

- Free: 100 – 61 points
- Partly Free: 60 – 31 points

²⁴ Before the 2018 report, the categorization of countries was exactly the opposite; which means that free countries were those with a score between 0 and 30; partly free 31 – 60; and 61 – 100 not free.

- **Not Free:** 30 – 0 points

To reach the category assigned to each country, the experts at Freedom House assess how it answers to the 21 questions designed by the authors, in correspondence with the 3 categories that integrate the index of Freedom on the Net. Those categories are:

- **Obstacles to Access.** With 5 questions “[...] details infrastructural and economic barriers to access, legal and ownership control over internet service providers, and independence of regulatory bodies;” (Kelly et al., 2017, p. 36)
- **Limits on Content.** With 8 questions “[...] analyzes legal regulations on content, technical filtering and blocking of websites, self-censorship, the vibrancy and diversity of online news media, and the use of digital tools for civic mobilization;” (Kelly et al., 2017, p. 36)
- **Violations of User Rights.** Also, with 8 questions “[...] tackles surveillance, privacy, and repercussions for online speech and activities, such as imprisonment, extralegal harassment, or cyberattacks.” (Kelly et al., 2017, p. 36)

Freedom of the Net is the index that scores the least number of countries, from all the fourteen Indices selected for this research. The low number of countries is noticeable in the following figure, with large grey areas across every continent and the green areas are noticeable fewer than the red ones. In the top ten, the hegemony of western countries is disrupted.

Iceland, Estonia, Costa Rica, Canada, Taiwan, Germany, United Kingdom, France, Australia, and the United States of America lead the average of Freedom on the Net, for the period 2017-2021. In the antipodes we find China, Iran, Syria, Cuba, Vietnam, Ethiopia, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Uzbekistan, and Egypt. The following figure shows the usual division between free and non-free countries; however, it is noticeable the large number of countries that has not been considered, especially countries as Spain, Denmark or Norway are missing here.

The scores given to each country was inverted in 2018, which means, the 2017 scores cannot be compared to the further measurements. To correct the issue, I introduced a variation that will be noticed in this sub-chapter and following chapter; however, single country raw data can still be consulted at the Appendix 10, with the original scores given by Freedom House in the Freedom of the Net 2017 report. The variation consisted in converting the total scores of each country to negative numbers and the subtracting that number to maximum number of points assessed to countries (100). In that way, each country conserved a linear relation with subsequent scores, affecting the total average in 5.32 points up.

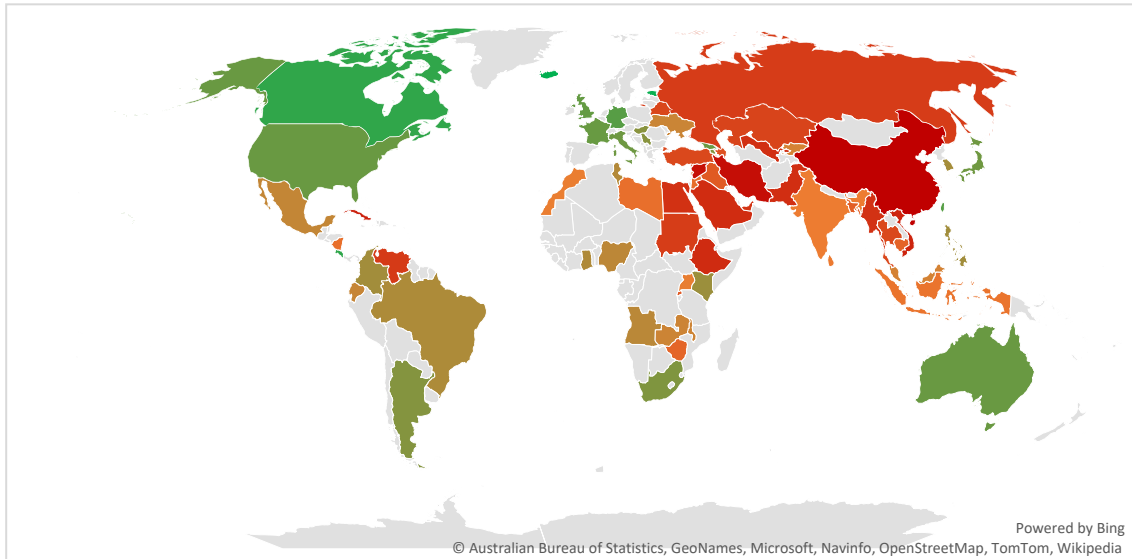


Figure 37. Freedom on the Net, 2017-2021, Average Freedom by Country. (Baker et al., 2021; Buyon et al., 2020; Kelly et al., 2017; Truong et al., 2018, 2019)²⁵

The following figure represents the evolution in the measurement of Freedom on the Internet. Please, notice that the chart contains the numbers produced by the adjustment I had to introduce to make the measurement comparable. With the Original numbers, the average for 2017 would be 47.34 instead of the 52.66 that now we can see, which also changes the considered period average that growth from 51.97 to 52.81.

Beyond the correction introduced, the overall freedom figure shows an interesting trend, with a growth of the freedom on the net in the long term; although it suffered a valley during 2019 and 2020, before the COVID explosion of internet interactions. Some of these changes might be explained simply by assessing the number of countries considered yearly. Years 2017, 2019, and 2020 analyzed 65 countries, while 2018 and 2021 considered 5 more countries. This could be another way to explain the rise of values, precisely in the years in which more countries were accounted.

²⁵ Full data set, considering countries, ranking and yearly overall in the Appendix 10.

Considering that 2 of those countries (Costar Rica (4) and Taiwan (5)) are in the top 5 and none of the 6 (also, Serbia (17), Ghana (24), Nicaragua (44), and Iraq (48)) are considered as Not Free. One country was not considered in either of 2017 or 2021 reports, Syria, considered as the third worst country in terms of protection of Freedom on the Net. Not considering such a low score, added with the other countries might explain the variation observed in the following figure.

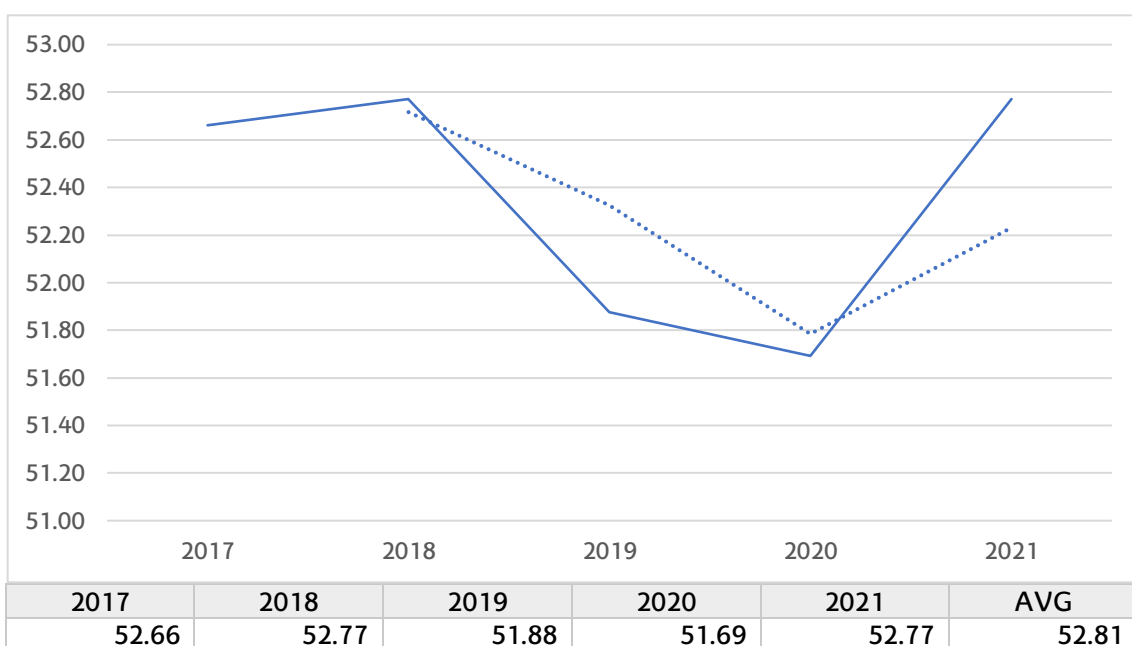
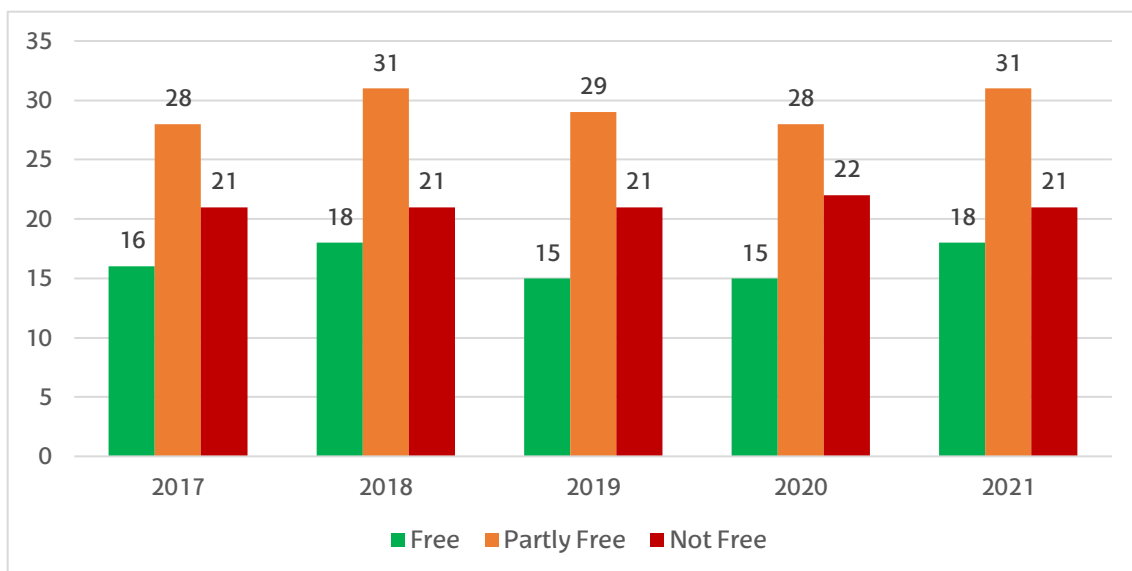


Figure 38. Freedom on the Net, Yearly Overall Freedom. (Baker et al., 2021; Buyon et al., 2020; Kelly et al., 2017; Truong et al., 2018, 2019)

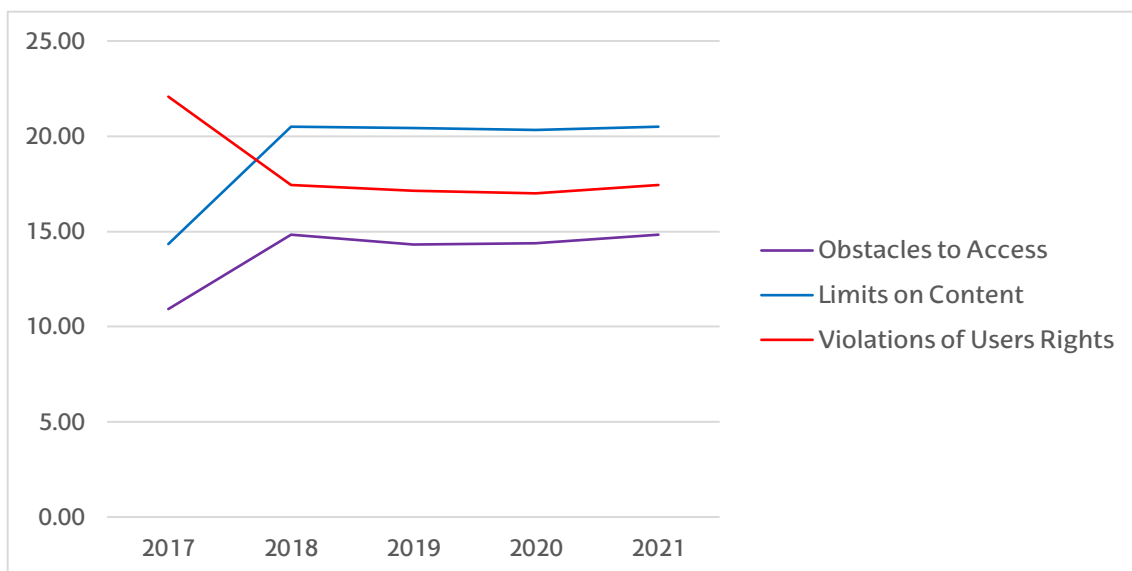
Beyond the overall freedom on the net, the countries classification shows a solid trend of classifying most of the countries as partly free, followed by the not free countries that stays in 21 except for 2020, when it rose to 22. The amount of free countries is lesser reaching their top in 2018 and 2021 with 18 countries each year. As explained before, the variations in countries' classification are better explained by the selection of subjects of study, rather than relevant variations in the effective protection of freedom in internet.



CLASSIFICATION	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
Free	16	18	15	15	18
Partly Free	28	31	29	28	31
Not Free	21	21	21	22	21

Figure 39. Freedom on the Net, Yearly Countries Classification. (Baker et al., 2021; Buyon et al., 2020; Kelly et al., 2017; Truong et al., 2018, 2019)

Finally, the 3 categories that compose the index behave in different ways. In one hand Obstacles to Access and Limits on Content showed an increase in 2018 almost four points in the case of Obstacles to Access and more than six in the case of Limits on Content. The opposite happened to the Violations of User Rights category, that dropped almost five points in the same period. After that, all categories remained unchanged between 2018 and 2021, with minor valleys along the way. Again, all the changes in the following figure are probably explained by the two methodological changes already dissected.



CATEGORY	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
Obstacles to Access	10.92	14.83	14.31	14.37	14.83
Limits on Content	14.34	20.50	20.43	20.32	20.50
Violations of Users Rights	22.08	17.44	17.14	17.00	17.44

Figure 40. Freedom on the Net, Yearly Average by Category. (Baker et al., 2021; Buyon et al., 2020; Kelly et al., 2017; Truong et al., 2018, 2019)

The Freedom on the Net index is better explained when read within the Freedom of the Press, also produced by Freedom House and the World Press Freedom Index edited by Reporters without Borders. This will be possible in the next chapter, where the matrix of analysis shows the trends that this freedom is following in the world.

4.11.FREEDOM IN THE WORLD

Freedom in the World is one of the most respected and well-known indices of freedom. It has been published since 1973 by Freedom House; which means that in 2023 it is making 50 years. Of course, assessing such a large period was impossible for a dissertation such as this, and following the methodology advertised in previous chapters. The term of reference being 2018-2022 makes Freedom in the World one of the indices with fresher data for analysis and further discussion.

The report's methodology is derived in large measure from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1948. Freedom in the World is based on the premise that these standards apply to all countries and territories, irrespective of geographical location, ethnic or religious composition, or level of economic development. Freedom in the World operates from the assumption that freedom for all people is best achieved in liberal democratic societies.

Freedom in the World assesses the real-world rights and freedoms enjoyed by individuals, rather than governments or government performance per se. Political rights and civil liberties can be affected by both state and nonstate actors, including insurgents and other armed groups. (Freedom House, 2022b)

The Index assesses freedom in 195 countries and 15 territories that can score an overall from 0 to 100 points, based in 25 indicators divided in 2 categories:

- Political Rights (0 – 40)
 - Electoral Process
 - Political Pluralism and Participation
 - Functioning of Government
- Civil Liberties (0 – 60)
 - Freedom of Expression and Belief
 - Association and Organizational Rights
 - Rule of Law
 - Personal Autonomy and Individual Rights

Countries are categorized as Free, Partly Free, and Not Free. The same categorization is being made in other indices published by Freedom House, which facilitates the comparison tasks.

The countries ranking is not different from other rankings. The top ten is commanded by Finland, followed by Norway, Sweden, Canada, Netherlands, New Zealand, Uruguay, Luxembourg, Australia, and Denmark. All of them considered as Western or Global North countries, exception made by Uruguay that usually scores high in freedom rankings. In the bottom part of the rank Syria is placed, followed by Tibet, South Sudan, Eritrea, Turkmenistan, North Korea, Western Sahara, Eastern Donbas, Equatorial Guinea, Saudi Arabia. It is striking the fact that 3 territories controlled by other countries are ranked so low, even more striking that those territories are ranked alongside sovereign states. Another outstanding fact is the huge difference that Freedom in the World makes between the top countries and the lowest. It is the biggest difference found, with Finland, Norway, and Sweden scoring an average of 100.00 and Syria, scoring an average of 0.20 points, reaching its lowest in 2018 with -1, even before US forces left the country.

The following figure shows the usual trend, with the green stripe dominating the Global North and the red stripe running through Russia, China, the Arab world, and Africa. It is noticeable that South America is quite green, as well as the south of Africa. This could be explained by the aim of the Index to follow the theoretical assumptions of the realism,

measuring not only legal constraints, but also factual issues that affect society. Also, understanding that government is not the only source of constraint or limitation of freedom might explain the change of trend in the regions of reference.

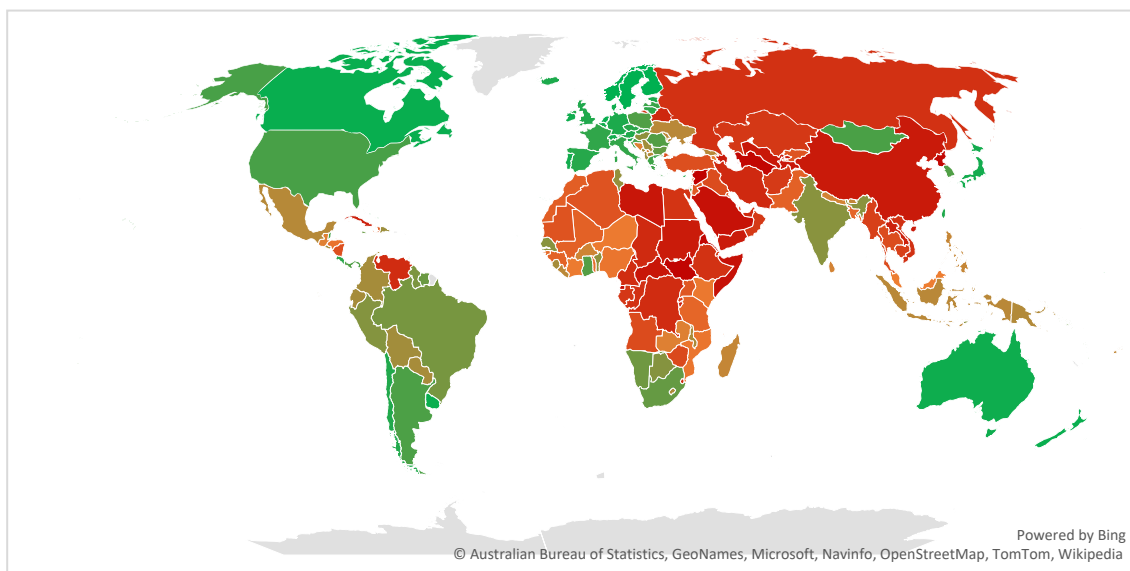


Figure 41. Freedom in the World, 2018-2022, Average Freedom by Country. (Freedom House, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021b, 2022a)²⁶

The following figure shows the descending trend that freedom is following. In the last 5 years, the overall freedom in the world has dropped 1.91 points. What does this figure show compared to other indices? Probably the non-recovery trend that most of the indices suffered after 2020 COVID-19 disruption. It is too early to know if the trend will pick up in the following years, but the average is dropping close to the 50 points.

²⁶ Full data set, considering countries, ranking and yearly overall in the Appendix 11.

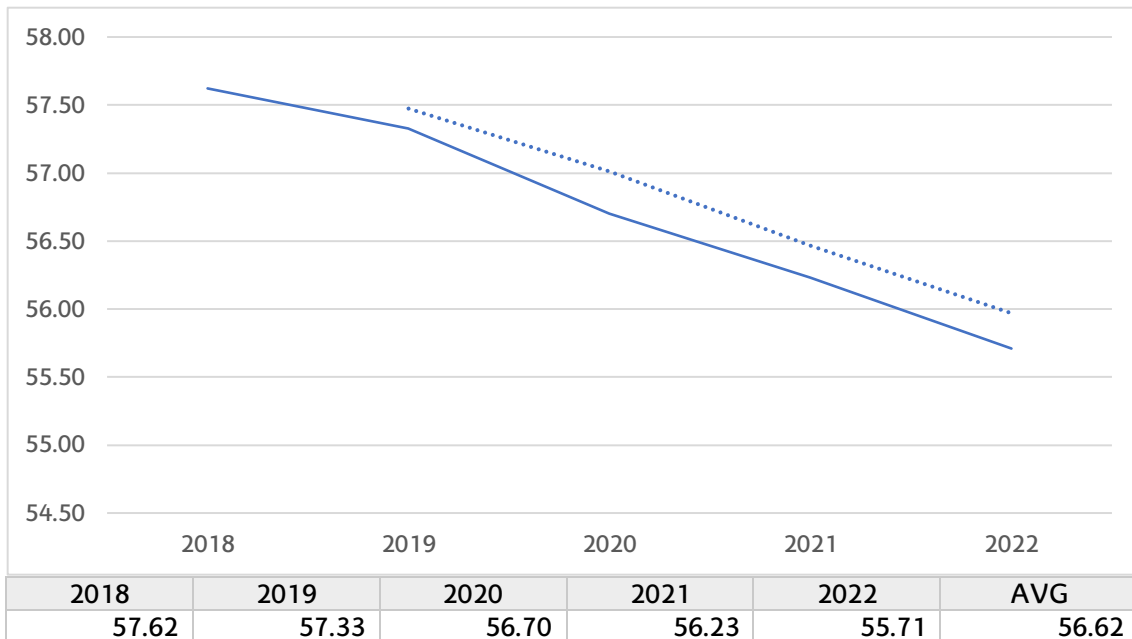
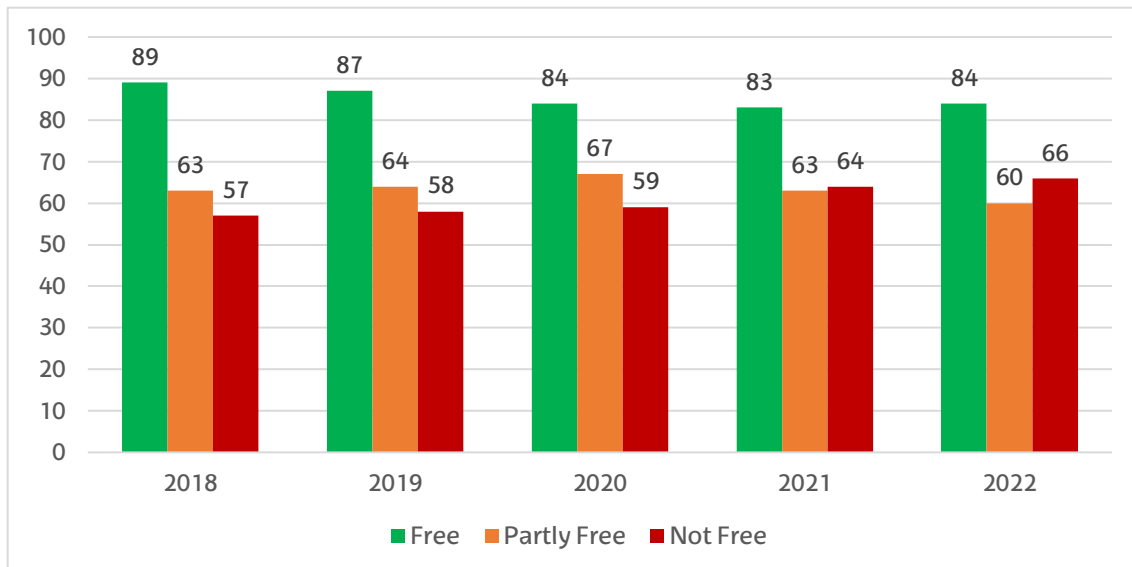


Figure 42. Freedom in the World, Yearly Overall Freedom. (Freedom House, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021b, 2022a)

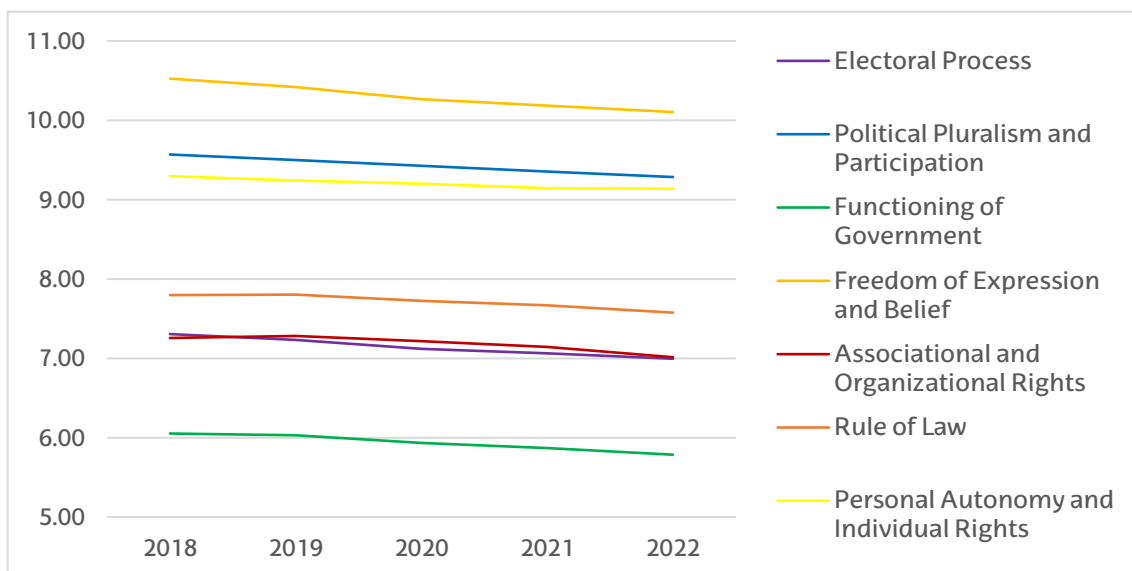
The countries' classification is very interesting. The following figure presents a significant difference from the usual trend of other indices. In this case, consistently, the free countries dominate the skyline; however, during the last 5 years, the free countries classification has dropped 5.6%; also, partly free countries suffered a drop during the lustrum, in this case of 4.7%. Accordingly, the not free category has grown from 57 countries in 2018 to 66 in 2022 to make 31.4% of the total of the countries considered in the 2022 Freedom in the World report. It is also relevant to notice that while free and not free countries have had ups and downs in the period of reference, the not free category had experienced a sustained growth; and that trend will probably not stop soon.



CLASSIFICATION	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
Free	89	87	84	83	84
Partly Free	63	64	67	63	60
Not Free	57	58	59	64	66

Figure 43. Freedom in the World, Yearly Countries Classification. (Freedom House, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021b, 2022a)

The seven categories that compose the Freedom in the World Index show a very similar descending trend; however, not everyone had the same starting point. For example, “Freedom of Expression and Belief” has been steadily the best evaluated among the different categories, while “Functioning of Government” falls in the bottom of the chart, with almost half the points scored to Freedom of Expression. This could seem like a regular outcome for any index produced by a libertarian think tank, but Freedom House is considered as a conservative organization. The explanation of the low performance of the functioning of government may have more to do with the perception the experts might have regarding government work rather than with an institutional design of the index itself.



CATEGORY	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
Electoral Process	7.31	7.23	7.12	7.06	7.00
Political Pluralism and Participation	9.57	9.50	9.42	9.35	9.29
Functioning of Government	6.05	6.03	5.93	5.87	5.79
Freedom of Expression and Belief	10.53	10.42	10.27	10.19	10.10
Associational and Organizational Rights	7.26	7.28	7.21	7.14	7.01
Rule of Law	7.80	7.80	7.73	7.67	7.58
Personal Autonomy and Individual Rights	9.30	9.24	9.20	9.14	9.14

Figure 44. Freedom in the World, Yearly Average by Category. (Freedom House, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021b, 2022a)

The relevance given to “political participation” in the measurement of freedom is outstanding. In the case of the Freedom in the World, this category consistently scored over 9 during the period of reference, while “electoral process” scored over 7. Together, both categories score more than any other combination of relating categories in the index. The relevance of this will be shown in the next chapter, where the matrix of analysis shows the global trend in this regard.

4.12. INDEX OF ECONOMIC FREEDOM

“As a vital component of human dignity, autonomy, and personal empowerment, economic freedom is valuable as an end itself.” (T. Miller et al., 2018, p. 9) The Index of Economic Freedom is being published by the Wall Street Journal and the Heritage Foundation since 1995. The Index is

the most comprehensive index in Economic Freedom, as during the selected period (2018–2022) it rates between 177 to 180 countries, classifying them in 5 kinds:

- Free;
- Mostly Free;
- Moderately Free;
- Mostly Unfree; and,
- Repressed.

To score, rank, and classify countries, the Heritage Foundation measures 12 relevant aspects of economic freedom, grouped into four categories:

- Rule of Law
 - **Property Rights.** “Relying on a mix of survey data and independent assessments, it provides a quantifiable measure of the degree to which a country’s laws protect private property rights and the extent to which those laws are respected.” (T. Miller et al., 2018, p. 453)
 - **Judicial Effectiveness.** “Well-functioning legal frameworks are essential for protecting the rights of all citizens against unlawful acts by others, including by governments and powerful private parties.” (T. Miller et al., 2018, p. 454)
 - **Government Integrity.** “Of greatest concern is the systemic corruption of government institutions and decision-making by such practices as bribery, extortion, nepotism, cronyism, patronage, embezzlement, and graft.” (T. Miller et al., 2018, p. 454)
- Government Size

- **Tax Burden.** “[M]easure that reflects marginal tax rates on both personal and corporate income and the overall level of taxation (including direct and indirect taxes imposed by all levels of government) as a percentage of gross domestic product (GDP).” (T. Miller et al., 2018, p. 455)
- **Government Spending.** “[C]aptures the burden imposed by government expenditures, which includes consumption by the state and all transfer payments related to various entitlement programs.” (T. Miller et al., 2018, p. 456)
- **Fiscal Health.** “Widening deficits and a growing debt burden, both of which are caused by poor government budget management, lead to the erosion of a country’s overall fiscal health. Deteriorating fiscal health, in turn, is associated with macroeconomic instability and economic uncertainty.” (T. Miller et al., 2018, p. 457)
- **Regulatory Efficiency**
 - **Business Freedom.** “[M]easures the extent to which the regulatory and infrastructure environments constrain the efficient operation of businesses.” (T. Miller et al., 2018, p. 458)
 - **Labor Freedom.** “[Q]uantitative measure that considers various aspects of the legal and regulatory framework of a country’s labor market, including regulations concerning minimum wages, laws inhibiting layoffs, severance requirements, and measurable regulatory restraints on hiring and hours worked, plus the labor force

participation rate as an indicative measure of employment opportunities in the labor market.” (T. Miller et al., 2018, p. 459)

- **Monetary Freedom.** “[C]ombines a measure of price stability with an assessment of price controls. Both inflation and price controls distort market activity.” (T. Miller et al., 2018, p. 459)
- **Market Openness**
 - **Trade Freedom.** “[M]easure of the extent of tariff and nontariff barriers that affect imports and exports of goods and services.” (T. Miller et al., 2018, p. 460)
 - **Investment Freedom.** “[E]valuates a variety of regulatory restrictions that typically are imposed on investment.” (T. Miller et al., 2018, p. 462)
 - **Financial Freedom.** “[I]s an indicator of banking efficiency as well as a measure of independence from government control and interference in the financial sector.” (T. Miller et al., 2018, p. 463)

The following figure shows the general average freedom by country. As you can see the general map changes, especially in the red zone; where usually red areas as Russia and China are not rated that low. In the top and bottom ten in the ranks for the selected period Hong Kong commands the list, even though it has not been part of the report since 2020. Hong Kong is followed closely by Singapore, New Zealand, Switzerland, Ireland, Australia, Estonia, Taiwan, Canada, and Denmark. In the antipodes we find North Korea at the bottom, followed by Venezuela, Cuba, Zimbabwe, Eritrea, Sudan, Bolivia, Republic of Congo, Equatorial Guinea, and East Timor.

Iraq, Libya, Liechtenstein, Somalia, Syria, and Yemen were part of past editions of the Index of Economic Freedom; however, for the reference period they were no longer considered, but for partial evaluations in some of the categories of the Index.

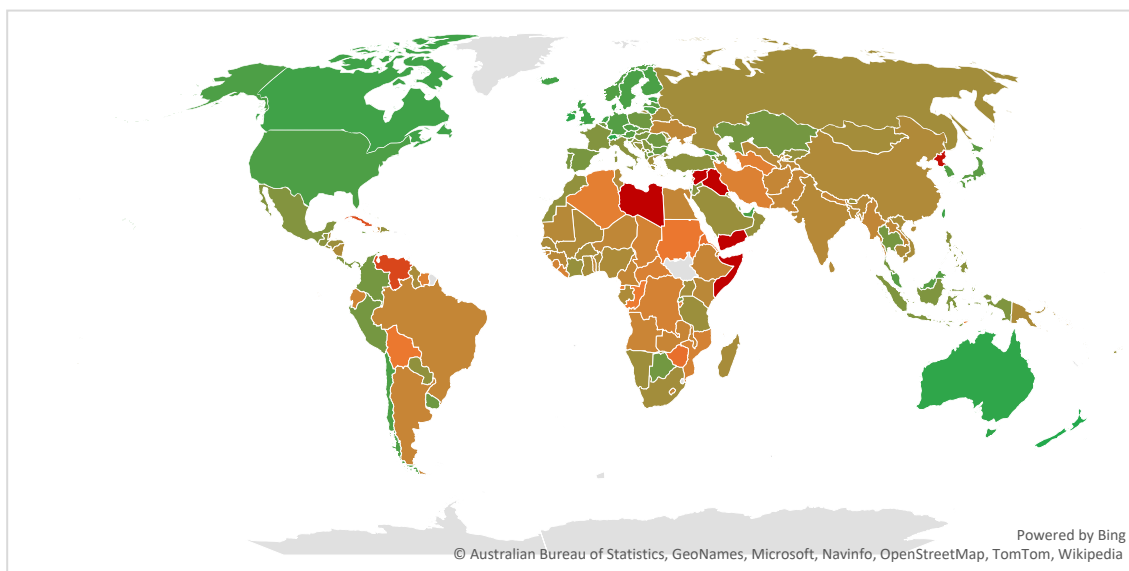


Figure 45. *Index of Economic Freedom, 2018–2022, Average Freedom by Country.* (T. Miller et al., 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022)²⁷

The next figure shows the evolution of overall economic freedom in the world during the period 2018–2022. What the figure shows is that economic freedom in the world has followed a descending trend of 1.07 points in the last lustrum. This makes the Economic Freedom Index one of the most stable indices, because the average of the reference period is of 61.08 and the world economic freedom average has been consistently above 60.

²⁷ Full data set, considering countries, ranking and yearly overall in the Appendix 12.

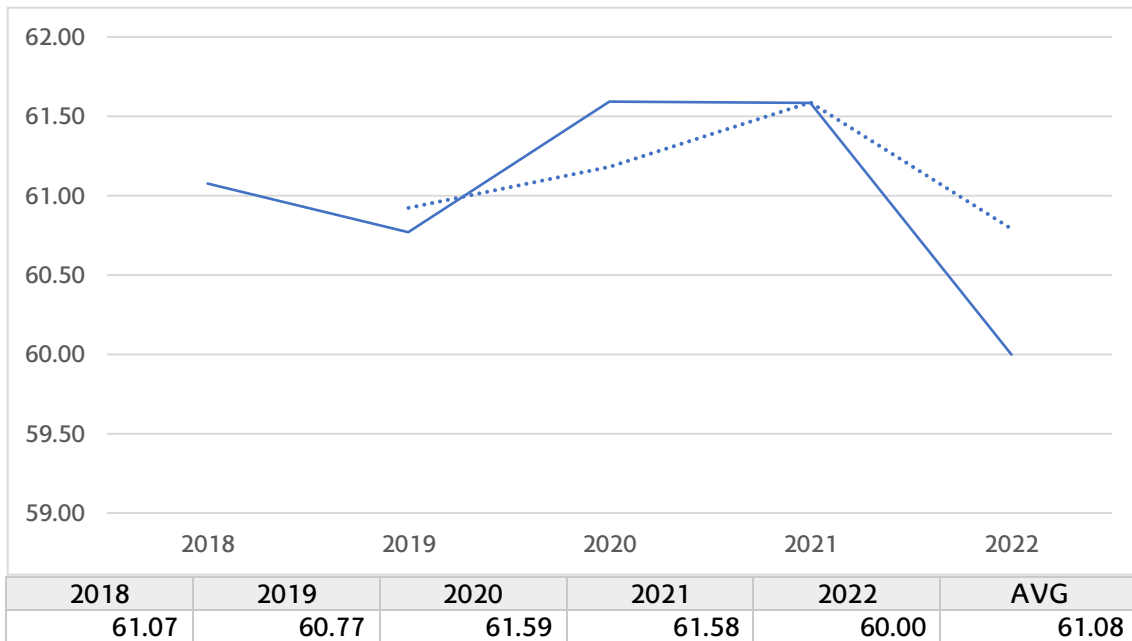


Figure 46. Index of Economic Freedom. Yearly Overall Freedom. (T. Miller et al., 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022)

More revealing is the following figure that shows the classification made by the Heritage Foundation of the 177 – 180 countries classified from *free* to *repressed*. As expected, the skyline is dominated by central categories, moderately free and mostly unfree. Free countries remain almost unchanged fluctuating between 5 and 7 countries; while the Repressed countries suffered a dramatic increase in 2022, almost duplicating the 18 countries of 2021 to the 32 countries of 2022, which is 4.5 times the number of free countries for that year; by the way, the year with most free countries in the reference period.

Out of 5 categories, 3 refer to free countries to some extent and 2 refer to non-free ones. However, if we divide countries in these two broad categories (free and non-free), we can see how after a lustrum the difference went from 12 more free countries to 1 more non-free countries, including the biggest gap of 2020 of 18 free countries.

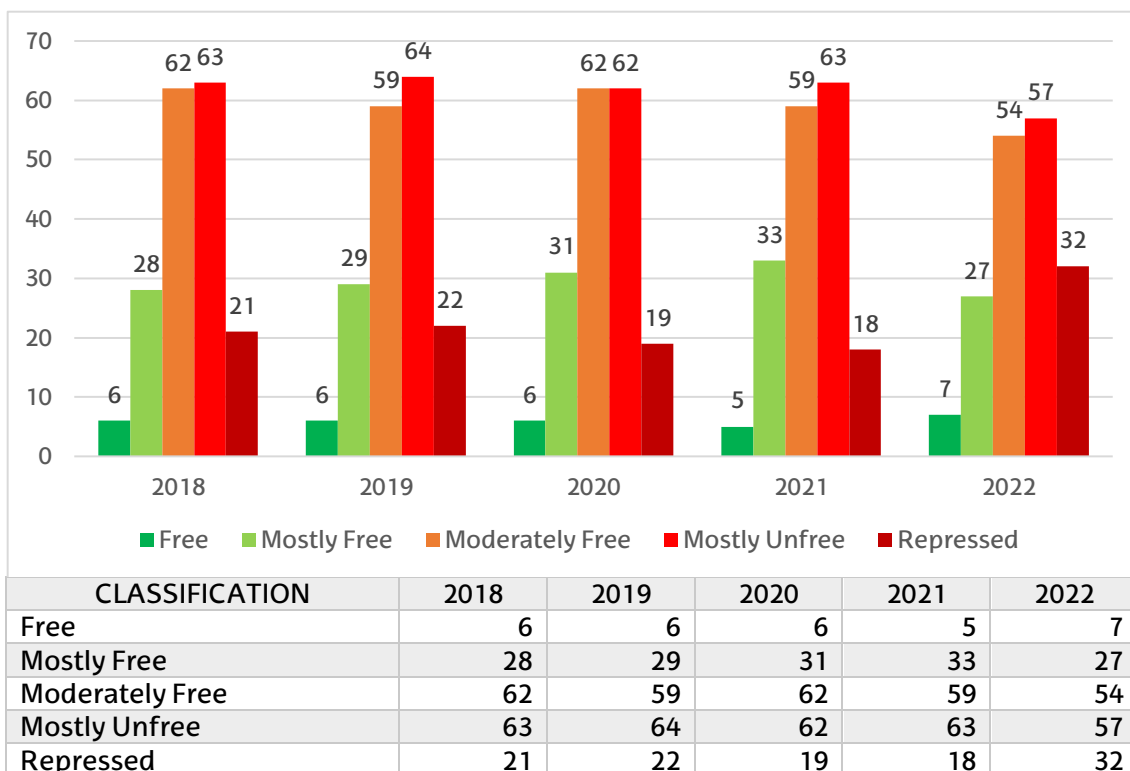
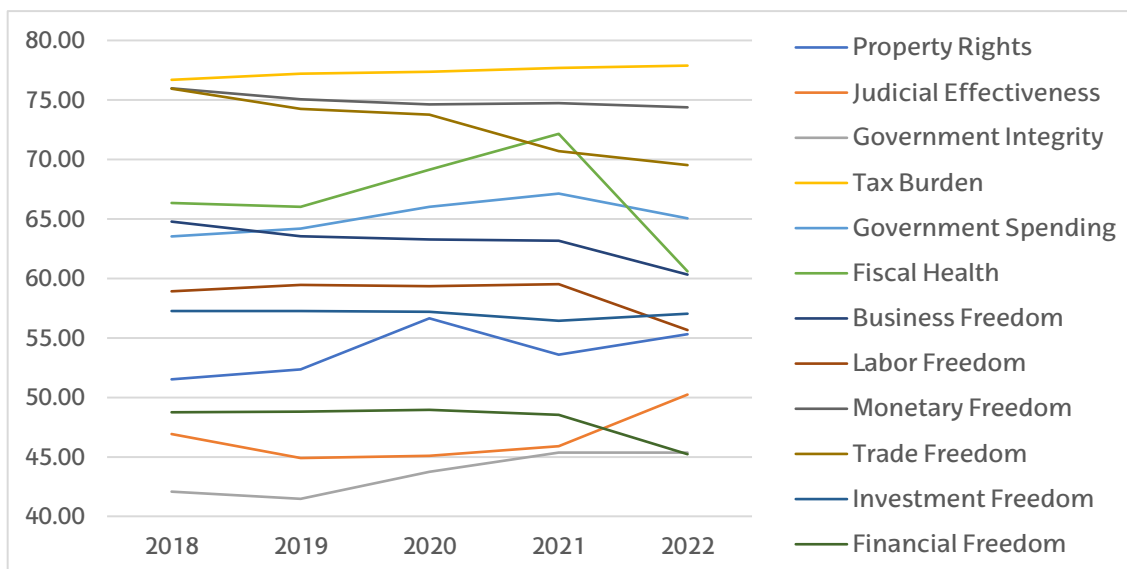


Figure 47. Index of Economic Freedom, Yearly Countries Classification. (T. Miller et al., 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022)

The different categories that compose the index are very important to understand why the trends behave the way they do. In the following figure, you can see how the twelve categories of the Index of Economic Freedom perform very different between them.

From the twelve categories, half of them suffered a decrease during the reference period. The most significant is Trade Freedom with a loss of 6.42 points, followed by Fiscal Health (-5.73), Business Freedom (-4.45), Labor Freedom (-3.23), Monetary Freedom (-0.59), and Investment Freedom (-0.25). The other six categories that got an increase are commanded by Property rights (3.78), followed by Judicial Effectiveness (3.32), Government Integrity (3.29), Government Spending (1.51), Tax Burden (1.19), and Financial Freedom (0.68). As you can notice, the increase of these six categories is marginal to the decrease of the other

half of the Index. Specially if we notice the case of Fiscal Health that suffered the biggest drop of them all with a loss of 11.56 points from 2021 to 2022.



CATEGORY	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
Property Rights	51.51	52.33	56.64	53.60	55.29
Judicial Effectiveness	46.91	44.90	45.07	45.87	50.23
Government Integrity	42.06	41.47	43.76	45.36	45.35
Tax Burden	76.69	77.21	77.35	77.71	77.88
Government Spending	63.53	64.20	66.00	67.13	65.04
Fiscal Health	66.32	66.00	69.13	72.15	60.59
Business Freedom	64.77	63.51	63.29	63.18	60.32
Labor Freedom	58.89	59.44	59.36	59.51	55.66
Monetary Freedom	75.97	75.07	74.65	74.75	74.38
Trade Freedom	75.94	74.26	73.76	70.72	69.52
Investment Freedom	57.26	57.26	57.20	56.44	57.01
Financial Freedom	48.73	48.78	48.95	48.55	49.41

Figure 48. Index of Economic Freedom, Yearly Average by Category. (T. Miller et al., 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022)

Compared with the Economic Freedom of the World Index, published by the Fraser Institute, this index seems to perform a deeper study of how economic freedom behaves globally. In the following chapter, these two indices will make sense together for a larger period and a continued trend, combining categories for a better understanding of economic freedom and its subcategories.

4.13. LIBERAL DEMOCRACY INDEX

The Liberal Democracy Index was launched as part of the Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) Annual Report, since its first edition in 2017. For this research, the selected period of the published reports is 2018-2022. The Report covers 179 countries²⁸, categorized in:

- Liberal Democracy;
- Electoral Democracy;
- Electoral Autocracy; and,
- Closed Autocracy.

The Liberal Democracy Index unique approach consist in its components. It is constituted by 5 other component indices:

- **Electoral Democracy Index.** Composed by the Expanded freedom of expression index, Freedom of association index, Share of population with suffrage, Clean elections index, and Elected officials index.
- **Liberal Component Index.** Constituted by the Equality before the law and individual liberty index, Judicial constraints on the executive index, and Legislative constraints on the executive index.
- **Egalitarian Component Index.** Composed by the Equal protection index, Equal access index, and Equal distribution of resources index.

²⁸ The 2018 V-Dem Annual Democracy Report accounted only 178 countries. Malta was added ever since 2019's Report.

- **Participatory Component Index.** Constituted by the Civil society participatory index, Direct popular vote index, Local government index, and regional government index.
- **Deliberative Component Index.** “[C]aptures to what extent the deliberative principle of democracy is achieved. It assesses the process by which decisions are reached in polity.” (Lührmann et al., 2018, p. 91)

The following figure shows the usual greenery of the western countries, contrasted with the red of massive areas in Asia and the Arab world.

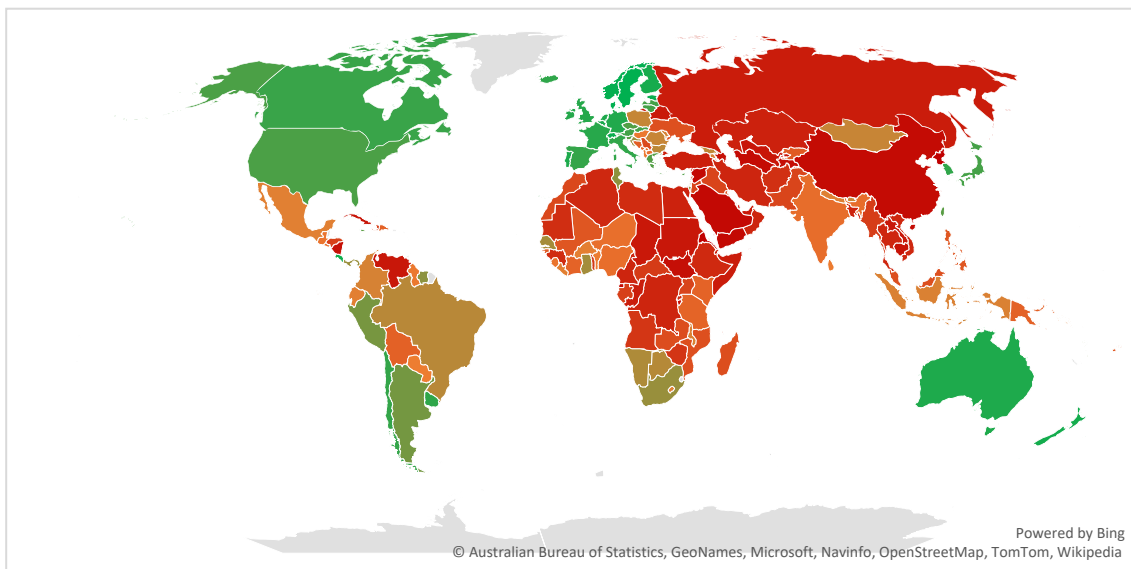


Figure 49. Liberal Democracy Index, 2018-2022, Average Freedom by Country. (Alizada et al., 2021; Boese et al., 2022; Lührmann et al., 2018, 2019, 2020)²⁹

During the reference period the best evaluated country was Sweden, followed by its neighbors Denmark, Norway, Estonia, Switzerland, Costa Rica, New Zealand, Finland, Belgium, and Portugal. In the autocratic side of the Liberal Democracy Index, we find North Korea in the bottom, accompanied by Eritrea, Syria, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Turkmenistan, China, Equatorial Guinea, and Tajikistan.

²⁹ Full data set, considering countries, ranking and yearly overall in the Appendix 13.

The following figure shows the constant decrease of the overall freedom in the Democracy Index. It is worth mentioning that the score goes from 0 to 1 and during the last 5 years, the best global average was 0.41, reaching the lowest in 2022 of 0.39. Until now, no year has showed any recovery sign; however, the Index is still quite young and last couple of years have been dramatically complicated for freedom.

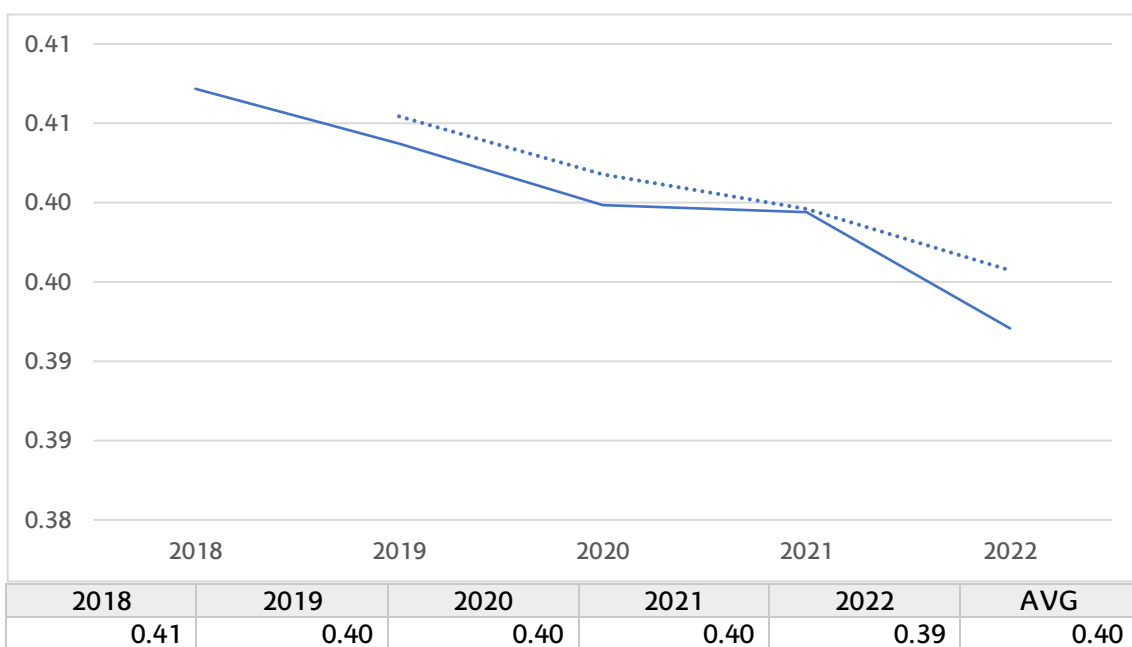
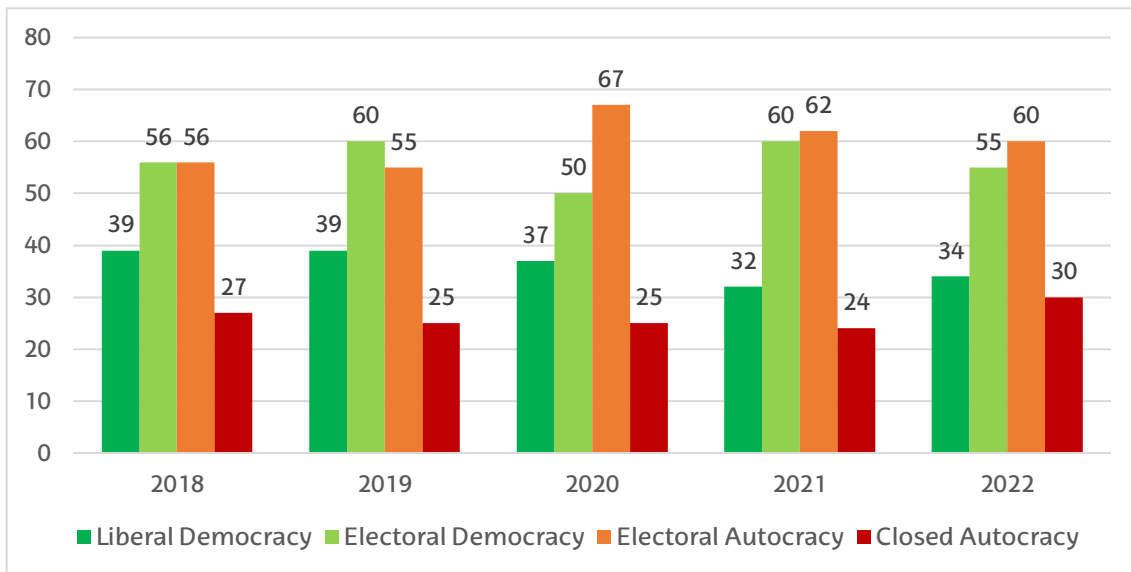


Figure 50. Liberal Democracy Index, Yearly Overall Freedom. (Alizada et al., 2021; Boese et al., 2022; Lührmann et al., 2018, 2019, 2020)

The countries classification shows different perspectives for the same trend. The countries' classification made in the Liberal Democracy Index divides countries in 4; however, we could make a broader classification of democracies and autocracies. In 2018 democracies represented 53.37% and by 2022 that percentage has descended to 49.72%, which means that now more countries in the world are autocracies than democracies. However, 2019 and 2020 represent the years with biggest differences. In 2019 55.30% of the countries were considered democracies by the Liberal

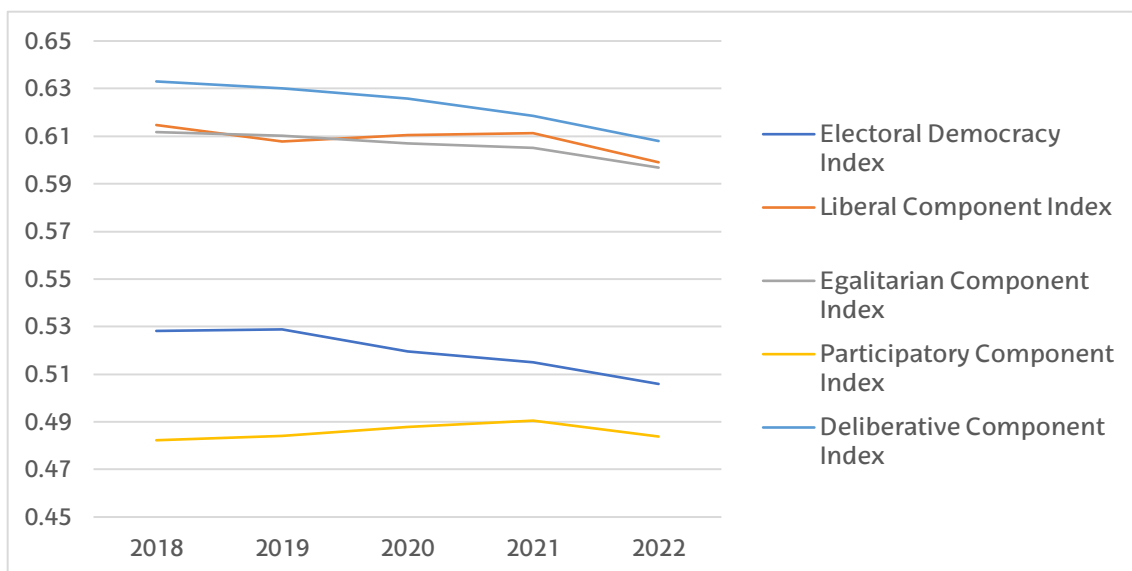
Democracy Index; while 2020 that category lost 6.7 percentual points to be placed in its lowest point with 48.60%.



CLASSIFICATION	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
Liberal Democracy	39	39	37	32	34
Electoral Democracy	56	60	50	60	55
Electoral Autocracy	56	55	67	62	60
Closed Autocracy	27	25	25	24	30

Figure 51. Liberal Democracy Index, Yearly Countries Classification. (Alizada et al., 2021; Boese et al., 2022; Lührmann et al., 2018, 2019, 2020)

The final figure shows the Deliberative Component of the Index in the top of the Chart, followed closely by the Liberal Component; however, that Liberal component has a very erratic behavior; which has made Egalitarian Component Index to come close and sometime exceed it. In the bottom of the cart, we can find the Participatory Component, that displayed a positive behavior until 2022, first year with negative growth of that variable.



CATEGORY	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
Electoral Democracy Index	0.53	0.53	0.52	0.51	0.51
Liberal Component Index	0.61	0.61	0.61	0.61	0.60
Egalitarian Component Index	0.61	0.61	0.61	0.61	0.60
Participatory Component Index	0.48	0.48	0.49	0.49	0.48
Deliberative Component Index	0.63	0.63	0.63	0.62	0.61

Figure 52. Liberal Democracy Index, Yearly Average by Category. (Alizada et al., 2021; Boese et al., 2022; Lührmann et al., 2018, 2019, 2020)

The following index is a very good complement for the Liberal Democracy Index; however, the Liberal Democracy Index is one of the most ambitious projects, in terms of the wide number of freedoms accounted by the index.

4.14. WORLD ELECTORAL FREEDOM INDEX

The World Electoral Freedom Index is the youngest of the indices I selected for this analysis. First published by the Foundation for the Advancement of Liberty in January 2018, unlike the World Index of Moral Freedom (also published by the Foundation for the Advancement of Liberty), this Index is published yearly, and the author has remained unchanged.

José Antonio Peña (2018, p. 6) aims to measure not only the freedom, but the empowerment enjoyed by citizens as electors. Having this in mind is

important, to fashion the importance of the index comparatively with other indices of its kind as the Democracy Index, or the Liberal Democracy Index, analyzed before.

The World Electoral Freedom Index studies 198 countries, classifying them in 8 different categories, according to the score they get, as follows:

- Outstanding > 80 points
- Very High 75-80 points
- High 70-75 points
- Acceptable 65-70 points
- Insufficient 60-65 points
- Low 55-60 points
- Very Low 50-55 points
- Remarkably Low < 50 points

The Index is composed of 4 sub-indices, with uneven contributions to the general calculation of the World Electoral Freedom Index:

- **Political Development Index.** Intends to measure the preconditions of the electoral freedom, grouped in 3 areas: (i) political and legal; (ii) overall freedom; and (iii) economic development. Contributes 10%
- **Active Suffrage Freedom Index.** Measures 4 areas: (i) universality of suffrage and its restrictions; (ii) electorate rights; (iii) electorate roll; and (iv) election and counting procedures. Contributes 30%
- **Passive Suffrage Freedom Index.** Measures 6 areas: (i) restrictions to suffrage; (ii) requirements to suffrage (iii) barriers to entry the electoral

system; (iv) characteristics of the election campaigns; (v) election process; and (vi) distortion of the result of the elections. Contributes 30%

- **Elector Empowerment Index.** Intends to measure the empowerment of electors in the following areas: “effectiveness of the election, direct decision-making procedures by the electorate, political pluralism, real power of the representatives and capacity to oust them, and integrity of the political process.” (Peña, 2018, p. 33) Contributes 30%

The four available editions of the report (2018-2021) have been analyzed. For the reference period, the best ranked countries are led by Ireland; followed by Iceland, Finland, Switzerland, Australia, Denmark, Slovenia, Estonia, Latvia, and United Kingdom. In the antipodes, Brunei ranks 198th, followed by Saudi Arabia, Qatar, South Sudan, Eritrea, Thailand, China, Oman, North Korea, and Somalia.

The following figure shows the individual countries average score, the greener, the freer. As with the World Index of Moral Freedom Latin American countries are well positioned, arguably because of the sociocultural alignment with the Spanish publishers of the report. Other than that, some areas of Southeast Asia, such as India and Indonesia are quite well ranked themselves.

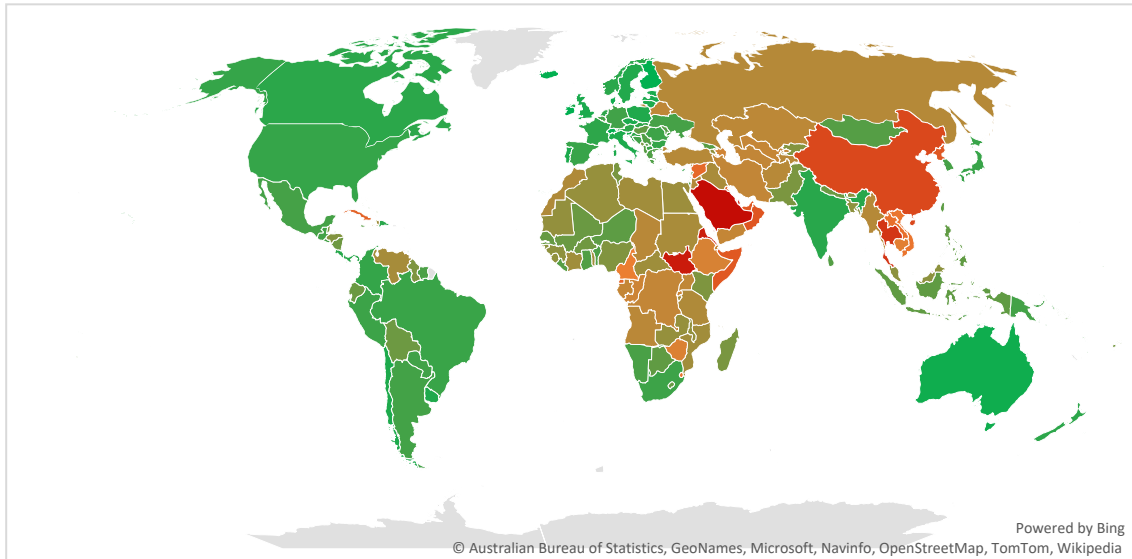


Figure 53. World Electoral Freedom Index, 2018-2021, Average Freedom by Country. (Peña, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021)³⁰

The trend followed by the World Electoral Freedom Index is symptomatic of the current times. For the starting year, the World Electoral Freedom averaged 62.11 points out of 100 and increased for 2019 to its all-time high of 62.76; however, 2020 represented a fall of more than 4 points, with a recovery of a little more than half a point for 2021. In the specific case of this Index, only time will allow to detect a trend, because the anomaly introduced by the 2020 disruption of the pandemic produces a false sense of failure in the trend.

³⁰ Full data set, considering countries, ranking and yearly overall in the Appendix 14.

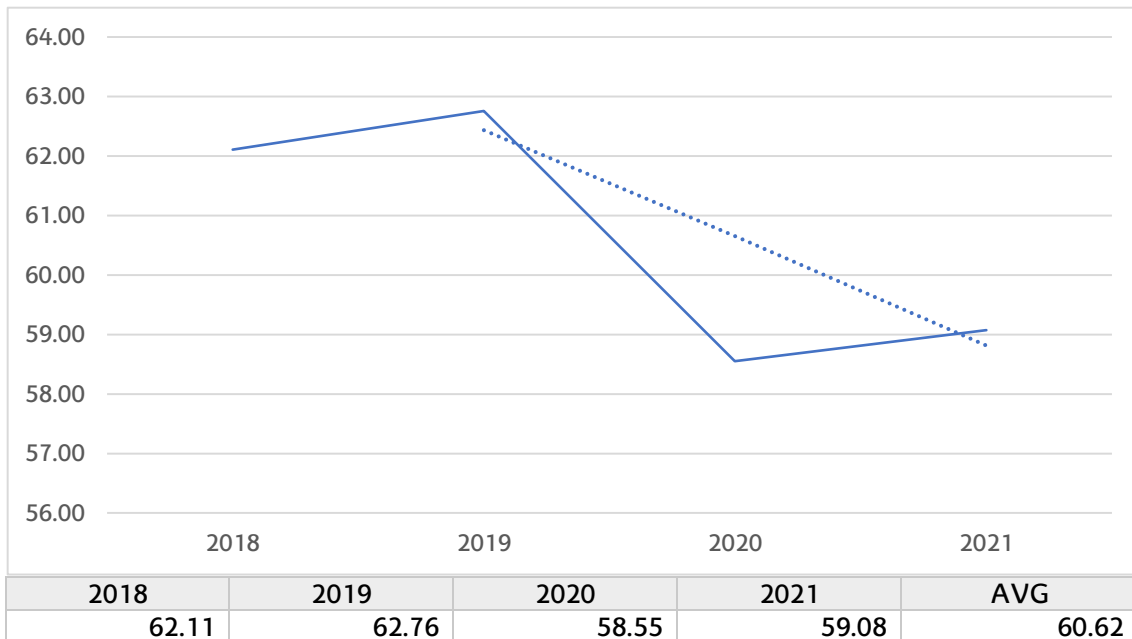


Figure 54. World Electoral Freedom Index, Yearly Overall Freedom. (Peña, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021)

The following figure shows a very interesting outcome, probably derived from the 2020 fall in the overall index. The number of the Remarkably Low scored countries has increased. In 2018 and 2019 nineteen countries fell under that classification, representing the 9.5% of the total countries in the index. By 2020 that figure sky-rocketed to fifty-five 27.7% of the countries. Those numbers remained unchanged despite the average recuperation of 2021. The Outstanding classification has been growing sustainably although the 2020 declined, and the same has happened to the Very High classification, which is good news. High and Acceptable classified countries have lost some members; however, it is not a representative number, not as much to explain the change in the trend. Insufficient and Low countries went from 74 in 2018 to 27 in 2021.

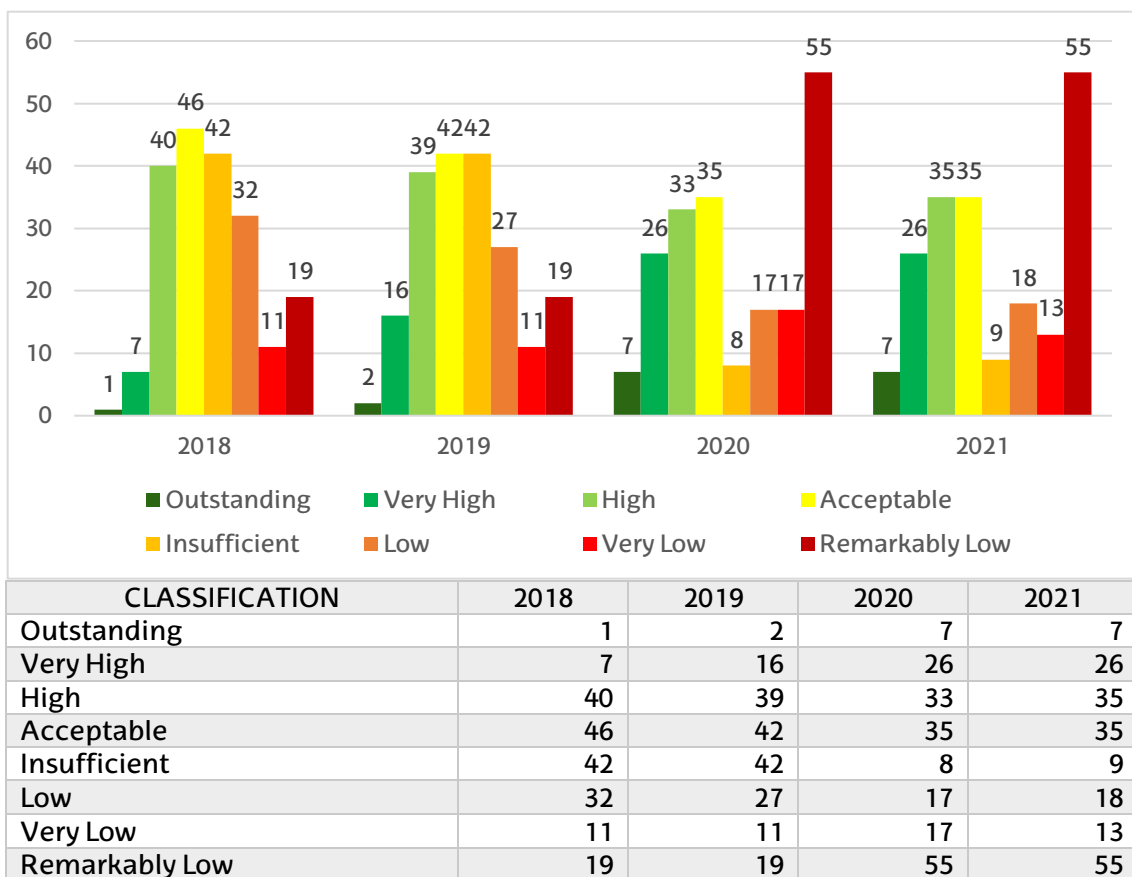


Figure 55. World Electoral Freedom Index, Yearly Countries Classification. (Peña, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021)

The 4 indices that compose the World Electoral Freedom Index provide further information. The Passive Suffrage and Political Development are the only ones that suffered a decrease in the 4 years overall; however, the Political Development Index suffered an outstanding 16.57 points decrease in 2020, the biggest of them all. This subindex measures the preconditions of electoral freedom, including the economic development of countries, which was outrageously affected during 2020; as well as the overall freedoms that were suspended in a lot of countries while fighting to save lives.

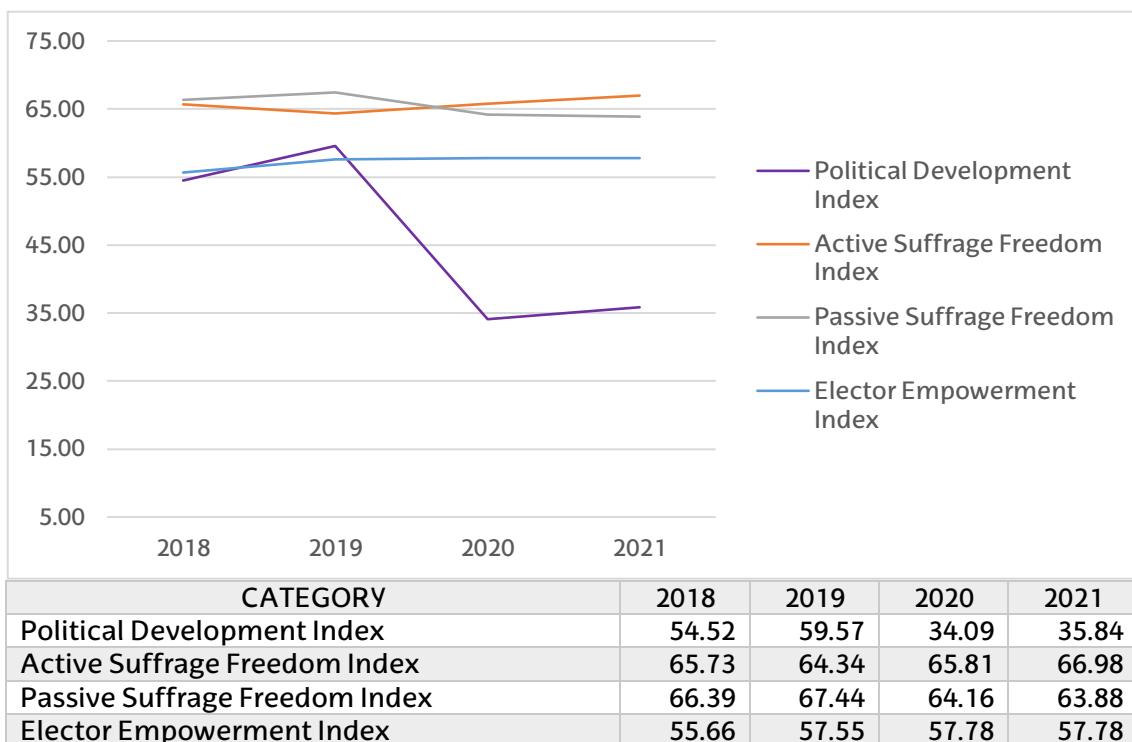


Figure 56. World Electoral Freedom Index, Yearly Average by Category. (Peña, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021)

The World Electoral Freedom Index shows in the four analysis variants a drop in the 2020 indicators. This might be explained because it aims to measure political participation, which was particularly affected during the Covid-19 pandemic. It presents the Americas as a united green area, with electoral freedoms sufficiently protected. In the next chapter, I will deepen in the assumptions on the correlation between the indices publishers, their ideologies, and particular countries.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The analysis of fourteen indices, along fifteen years unveils the new understanding of the genealogy of freedom. Assuming the impossibility of developing a univocal definition of freedom, seems like scholars have followed this evolution on regular basis through the production of indicators.

An interesting outcome of the Indices analysis is that the countries where those Indices are produced are well placed; however not top ranked. Those top places are usually assigned to neighboring countries or countries culturally or historically aligned with the producer of the Index, as happens with the *Fundación para el Avance de la Libertad* and the Spanish former colonies. This happened in both indices, the World Electoral Freedom Index, and the World Index of Moral Freedom. It is, however, remarkable that Latin American countries are better ranked when the indicators are developed by a Spanish scholar, rather than with Latin American Scholars. This is an experience that is not shared with other former colonial powers. Reporters without Borders does not favor its former colonies or non-metropolitan territories; the same happens with most of the indices, produces by anglophone organizations that does not seem to have any special treatment for the members of the Commonwealth.

It is interesting that as well as it happens with the literature reviewed in the second chapter, the presence of indicators dedicated to the minority's freedoms are very limited. Probably indicators regarding freedoms of the women are an exception, because some indices incorporate the issue; however not all. Eventually, the acknowledgement of the perception of freedom by racial minorities or how displaced populations understand freedom will form part of the next generation of indicators in the matter.

On the other side, the four graphics used for the analysis of the indices: (i) Average Freedom by Country; (ii) Yearly Overall Freedom; (iii) Yearly Countries Classification; and (iv) Yearly Average by Category showed very interesting trends. Most of the maps that show the Average Freedom by Country display a general green land on what is known as the Global North; while Muslim countries, especially those in the Middle East seems to perform poorly, the same can be said about the graphics regarding Yearly Countries Classification. All these trends are better understood in the following chapter, with the help of the matrix of analysis.

5. MATRIX OF ANALYSIS

This chapter presents the findings from the previous chapters in a comprehensive analysis matrix that allows to compare variables at institutional and indices level.

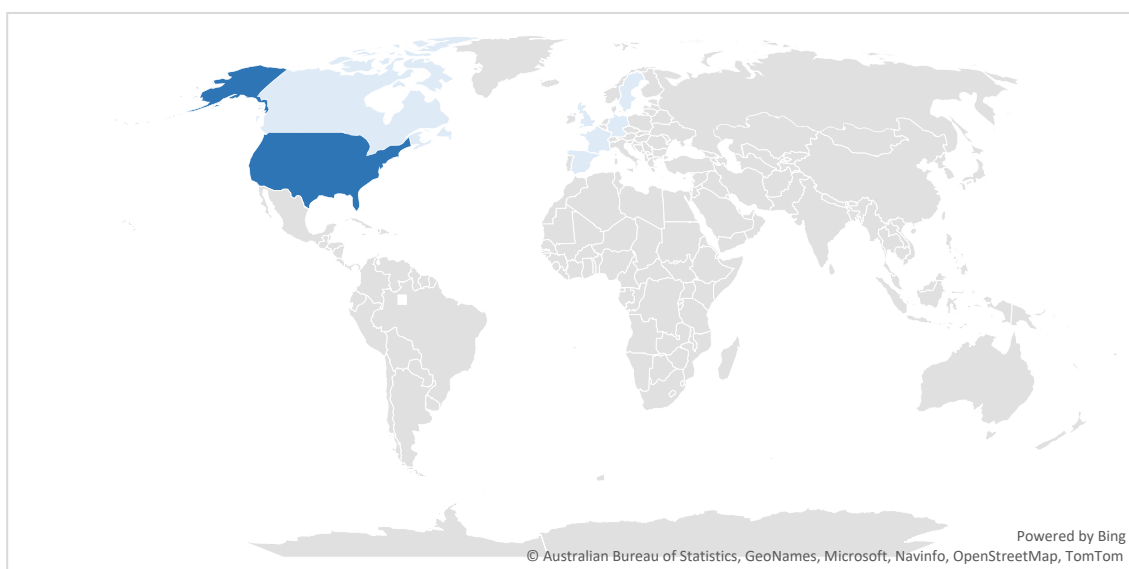
The relevance of building the matrix lies in the comparative tool that facilitates to understand and overcome the ideological and socio-cultural limitations that are attached to the indices studied in the previous chapter.

The matrix is structured in two parts, the first includes an analysis of the twelve institutions, showing their location, ideological views, funding, and the nature of institution. The second part of the matrix is indicators concerned, and statistically centered. I compare the fourteen indices by first asserting the countries considered by each of the indices for every year during the terms of reference. It will follow the structure already explored in the previous Chapter, by analyzing the average freedom by country, trend of the overall freedom, the classifications followed by the different indices (included those created by your truly) and the different categories that make up the indices to understand how they compare, complement, and sometimes oppose.

5.1. INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS

The location of the institutions, as pointed out before is focused on the global north. Half of the institutions are in the United States of America; while other five are in Europe and the last one has its residence in Canada.

A common trend that can be found in the Institutions is that all of them are in the anglophone North America and Europe, areas also considered as part of the Global North or the West; which are areas that coincide with the green areas that represent the freer countries in the world, according to the general average of the fourteen indices considered as one; as well as each one separately. The following map shows those places where the indices are produced.



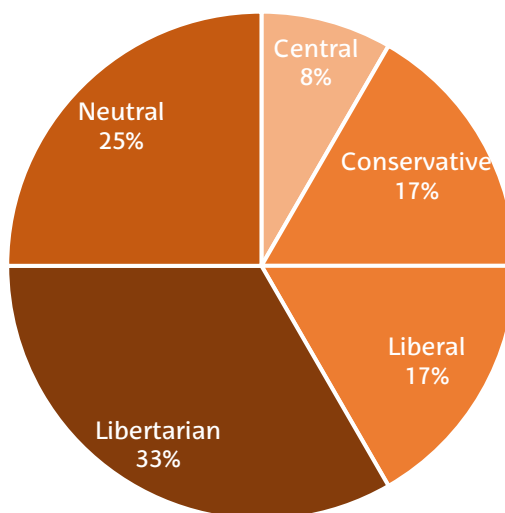
INSTITUTION	LOCATION
University of Connecticut	Storrs, Connecticut, USA
The Wall Street Journal	New York, USA
Freedom House	Washington D.C., USA
The Economist Intelligence Unit	London, UK
Friedrich-Nauman-Stiftung für die-Freiheit	Postdam, Germany
The Heritage Foundation	Washington D.C., USA
Fraser Institute	Vancouver B.C., Canada
Cato Institute	Washington D.C., USA
Reporters sans Frontières	Paris, France
Center for Systemic Peace	Vienna, VA, USA
V-Dem Institute	Gothenburg, Sweden
Fundación para el Avance de la Libertad	Madrid, Spain

Figure 57. Institutions' location.

As the geographical location and cultural links of the producers of the indices are important, also, the ideological influences are one of the most relevant sources of score assignation in each of the indices. The

ideological association of the institutions can be classified as (i) Conservative, (ii) Liberal/Libertarian, (iii) Neutral, and (iv) Progressive.

I developed this classification, according to the information disclosed by each institution, via its webpage or reports published. As can be noticed in the following chart, half the institutions consider themselves as liberal or libertarians; while other half is considered as conservative, neutral, or strictly central.

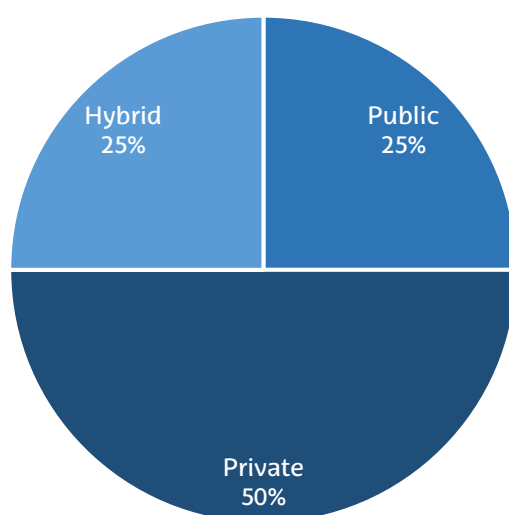


INSTITUTION	POLITICAL ALIGNMENT
University of Connecticut	Liberal
The Wall Street Journal	Conservative
Freedom House	Liberal
The Economist Intelligence Unit	Central
Friedrich-Nauman-Stiftung für die-Freiheit	Libertarian
The Heritage Foundation	Conservative
Fraser Institute	Libertarian
Cato Institute	Libertarian
Reporters sans Frontières	Neutral
Center for Systemic Peace	Neutral
V-Dem Institute	Neutral
Fundación para el Avance de la Libertad	Libertarian

Figure 58. Political Alignment of the Institutions.

Specifics and numbers about funding of each institution have already been analyzed in Chapter three. In the following figure, the analysis is limited to the categorization of the institutional funding, dividing it in

three labels: (i) Public; (ii) Private; and (iii) Hybrid. By Public I refer to the funding provided by government institutions, national or international, at any level. Private institutions refer to the exact opposite; meaning private enterprises, NGO's; as well as the funding obtained by the institutions by their own means, through sales, subscriptions, and others. Finally, hybrid funding refers to institutions that are funded by public and private institutions without any statutory limitation.



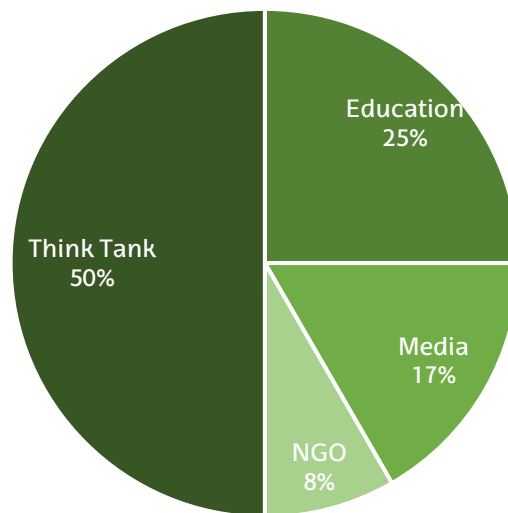
INSTITUTION	FUNDING
University of Connecticut	Hybrid
The Wall Street Journal	Private
Freedom House	Public
The Economist Intelligence Unit	Private
Friedrich-Nauman-Stiftung für die-Freiheit	Public
The Heritage Foundation	Private
Fraser Institute	Private
Cato Institute	Private
Reporters sans Frontières	Hybrid
Center for Systemic Peace	Public
V-Dem Institute	Hybrid
Fundación para el Avance de la Libertad	Private

Figure 59. Institutional funding origin.

As the figure shows, 50% of the institutions are privately funded; however, only 25% are funded exclusively by public money, the rest 25% does not make much distinction on the matter. This relates to the institutional

alignment. One might expect that organizations that perceive themselves as libertarians would be not in favor of the use public money to finance their research; however, that is not always the case, because the nature of the institutions also plays a relevant role in the process of delimiting their scope and means.

The last institutional analysis unveils the importance of the activities developed by the publishing institutions. For some of them, the publication of reports is their main activity, for others it is the result of other enquiries. The kind of institution varies, we can find academic institutions, think tanks, newspapers, etc. The following figure shows the main activities of the institutions that are publishing the indices.



INSTITUTION	NATURE
University of Connecticut	Education
The Wall Street Journal	Media
Freedom House	Think Tank
The Economist Intelligence Unit	Media
Friedrich-Nauman-Stiftung für die-Freiheit	Think Tank
The Heritage Foundation	Think Tank
Fraser Institute	Think Tank
Cato Institute	Think Tank
Reporters sans Frontières	NGO
Center for Systemic Peace	Education
V-Dem Institute	Education

Fundación para el Avance de la Libertad	Think Tank
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Figure 60. Nature of Institutions.

Half the institutions consider themselves as liberal or libertarians; the rest are conservative or centered neutrals (33%). Different ideological manifestations could be beneficial for the measurement of freedom. This does not mean that inside those institutions plural points of view are being silenced; however, the institutional standpoint is usually an important starting point for research made within the institution of interest.

INSTITUTION	LOCATION	POLALIGN	FUNDING	NATURE
University of Connecticut	USA	Liberal	Hybrid	Education
The Wall Street Journal	USA	Conservative	Private	Media
Freedom House	USA	Liberal	Public	Think Tank
The Economist Intelligence Unit	UK	Central	Private	Media
Friedrich Nauman Foundation	Germany	Libertarian	Public	Think Tank
The Heritage Foundation	USA	Conservative	Private	Think Tank
Fraser Institute	Canada	Libertarian	Private	Think Tank
Cato Institute	USA	Libertarian	Private	Think Tank
Reporters sans Frontières	France	Neutral	Hybrid	NGO
Center for Systemic Peace	USA	Neutral	Public	Education
V-Dem Institute	Sweden	Neutral	Hybrid	Education
Fundación para el Avance de la Libertad	Spain	Libertarian	Private	Think Tank

Table 23. Institutions' comparative matrix

The libertarian/Liberal composition of the institution relates with the funding the institutions receive. Half the institutions do not receive any funding from the government, most of them, under the assumption that by getting funds from the government they could introduce bias into their research; without acknowledging that the same could happen by being funded privately.

On the other side, one quarter of the institutions get exclusively public funding, not for political views, but for the convenience of getting funds via grants and direct contracts with national and international public institutions. Only 25% of the institutions make no distinction about the

source of their funds, acknowledging that good institutional design and independent ethics and publications committees should be enough to ensure the independence of the research published.

In the category of the nature of the institution, the division remains consistent with half of them being think tanks, 25% Scholarly related and only one NGO, that is the French Reporters without Borders.

5.2. TRENDS OF ANALYSIS

The matrix of analysis of the fourteen indices is the core of the research. It is a tool that allows a better comparison and understanding of the indices and the trends drawn by them through the different periods of time selected.

It is interesting to address the countries considered by each of the fourteen indices. In the overall 216 countries and territories are analyzed; however, just 48 countries appeared in all indices:

- Argentina
- Australia
- Bahrain
- Bangladesh
- Brazil
- Canada
- China
- Colombia
- Costa Rica
- Ecuador
- Egypt
- Estonia
- France
- Germany
- Ghana
- Hungary
- India
- Indonesia
- Iran
- Italy
- Japan
- Jordan
- Kenya
- Malawi
- Malaysia
- Mexico
- Morocco
- Myanmar
- Nicaragua
- Nigeria
- Pakistan
- Philippines
- Russia
- Rwanda
- Singapore
- South Africa
- Sri Lanka
- Syria
- Thailand
- Tunisia
- Turkey
- Uganda
- Ukraine
- United Arab Emirates
- United Kingdom
- United States of America
- Venezuela
- Zimbabwe

Not all Indices measured the same number of countries, which is problematic, because in a wholesome context they are not measuring the same. That is a problem that does not concern only the methodological approach to the subject, but the matter itself, because overtime, indices considered different countries. Furthermore, some indices are producing data not only about countries, but other non-recognized and conflicted territories. The differences in countries answered to two different sources: (i) changes in countries over time; and (ii) lack of information.

Both issues are usual and expected; however, the first one has a methodological solution, as explained in the previous chapter; which is to stabilize the countries, by assessing the most recent denominations, and considering changes in their denominations, divisions, separations, unions, etc. The second is much complex, because the lack of information is sometimes just lack of sufficient or reliable information, always under the eyes of the researcher in charge. On that matter one of the missing countries is the Vatican, due its relevance, as a theocratic state; however, methodological guidelines have prevented it from being part of any index.

The Freedom in the World, produced by Freedom House is the index that considers the most countries and territories, with 210; while Freedom on the Net, published by the same think tank considered only 71 countries, becoming the lowest in the chart. While the average countries considered is 169, seven indices remain under that average, five of them with under 10 countries below; while the other seven indices start with the 179 countries

of the Liberal Democracy Index, all the way to the already mentioned 210 of the Freedom in the World. The following figure shows the number of countries considered for each Index, during its own term of reference.

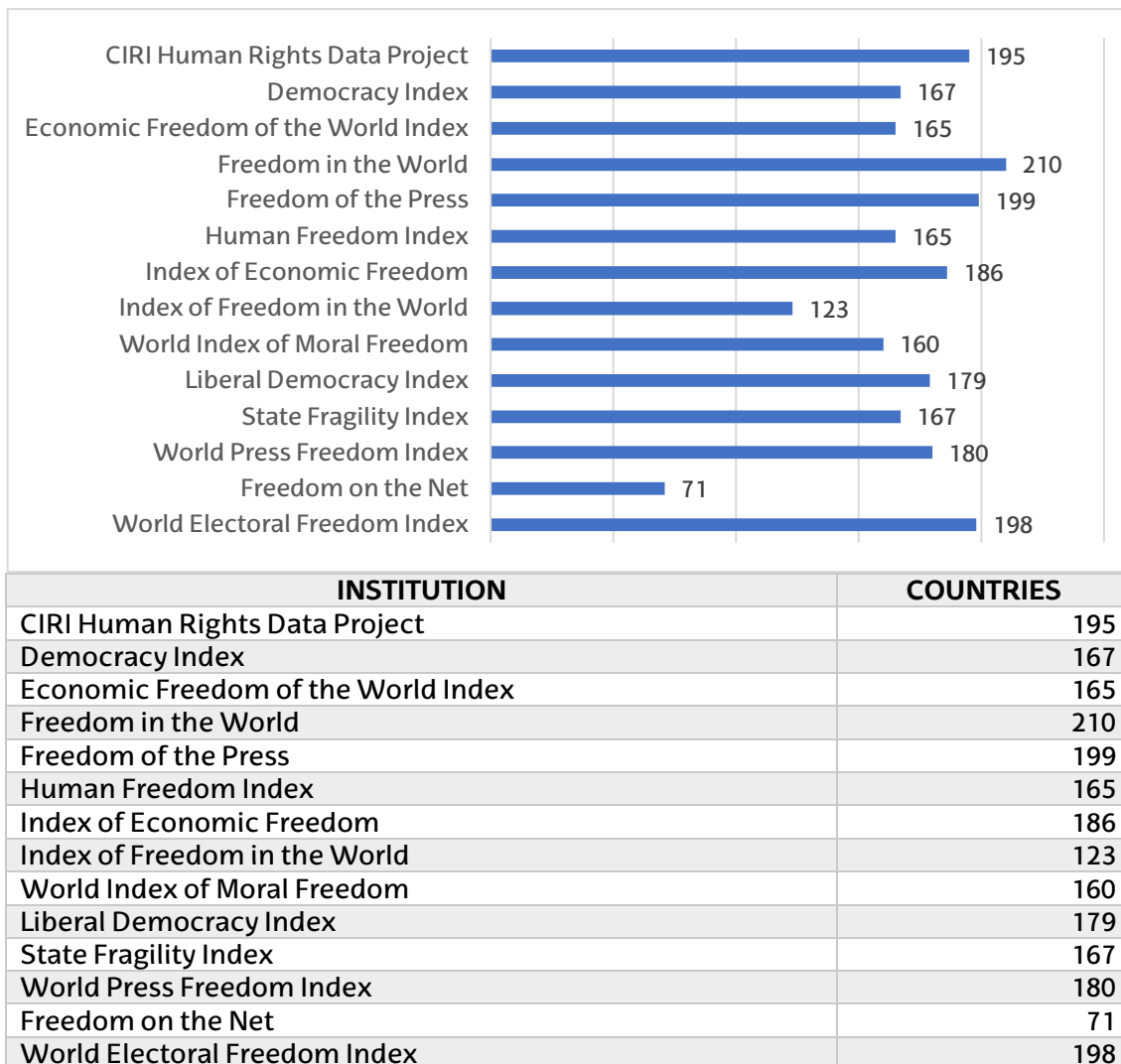


Figure 61. Total number of countries by Index.

Next, it is interesting to analyze exactly which countries have been chosen by the publishers of the Indices. Only 48 countries have been considered by all indices during the terms of reference. Also, 14 countries and territories (most of them under dispute) appeared only in one index, most of them in Freedom in the World. Another 27 countries only were considered in less than half of the indices, which makes a total of 41 countries that appeared in less than half of the indices, almost the same

number of countries that appeared in all of them. The following table shows all the countries and a relation to with which index they appeared at; as well as an overall of the times they appeared.

COUNTRY	A ³¹	B ³²	C ³³	D ³⁴	E ³⁵	F ³⁶	G ³⁷	H ³⁸	I ³⁹	J ⁴⁰	K ⁴¹	L ⁴²	M ⁴³	N ⁴⁴	TOT
Abkhazia	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	1
Afghanistan	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	X	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	10
Albania	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
Algeria	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
Andorra	✓	X	X	✓	✓	X	X	X	✓	X	X	✓	X	✓	6
Angola	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	13
Ant & Bar ⁴⁵	✓	X	X	✓	✓	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	✓	4
Argentina	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14
Armenia	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	13
Australia	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14
Austria	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
Azad Kashmir	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	1
Azerbaijan	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	13
Bahamas	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	X	X	X	✓	9
Bahrain	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14
Bangladesh	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14
Barbados	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	X	X	X	✓	9
Belarus	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	13
Belgium	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
Belize	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	X	X	✓	X	✓	9
Benin	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	12
Bhutan	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	X	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	11
Bolivia	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
Bos & Her ⁴⁶	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	12
Botswana	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
Brazil	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14
Brunei	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	X	X	✓	X	✓	9

³¹ CIRI Human Rights Data Project
³² Democracy Index
³³ Economic Freedom of the World Index
³⁴ Freedom in the World
³⁵ Freedom of the Press
³⁶ Human Freedom Index
³⁷ Index of Economic Freedom
³⁸ Index of Freedom in the World
³⁹ World Index of Moral Freedom
⁴⁰ Liberal Democracy Index
⁴¹ State Fragility Index
⁴² World Press Freedom Index
⁴³ Freedom on the Net
⁴⁴ World Electoral Freedom Index
⁴⁵ Antigua and Barbuda.
⁴⁶ Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Bulgaria	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
Burkina Faso	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	11
Burundi	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	12
Cambodia	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	13
Cameroon	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
Canada	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14
Cape Verde	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	11
CAR ⁴⁷	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
Chad	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	12
Chile	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
China	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14
Colombia	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14
Comoros	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	12
DR Congo ⁴⁸	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	12
Congo ⁴⁹	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	12
Cook Islands	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	✓	1
Costa Rica	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14
Crimea	X	X	X	✓	✓	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	2
Croatia	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
Cuba	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	X	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	11
Cyprus	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
Czech Rep ⁵⁰	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
Denmark	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
Djibouti	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	12
Dominica	✓	X	X	✓	✓	X	✓	X	✓	X	X	X	X	X	✓	6
Dominican R. ⁵¹	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
East Timor	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	11
East Donbas ⁵²	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	1
Ecuador	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14
Egypt	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14
El Salvador	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
Eq. Guinea ⁵³	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	X	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	10
Eritrea	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	X	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	10
Estonia	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14
Eswatini	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	12
Ethiopia	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	13
Fiji	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	12
Finland	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
France	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14
Gabon	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	12
Gambia	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	13
Gaza Strip	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X	X	2
Georgia	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	13

⁴⁷ Central African Republic
⁴⁸ Democratic Republic of the Congo
⁴⁹ Republic of the Congo
⁵⁰ Czech Republic
⁵¹ Dominican Republic
⁵² Eastern Donbas
⁵³ Equatorial Guinea

Germany	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14
Ghana	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14
Greece	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
Grenada	✓	X	X	✓	✓	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	✓	4
Guatemala	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
Guinea	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	12
Guinea-Bissau	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
Guyana	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
Haiti	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
Honduras	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
Hong Kong	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	X	✓	X	X	9
Hungary	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14
Iceland	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	13
India	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14
Indonesia	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14
Iran	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14
Iraq	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	13
Ireland	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
Israel	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
Italy	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14
Ivory Coast	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
Jamaica	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
Japan	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14
Jordan	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14
Kashmir	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	1
Kazakhstan	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	13
Kenya	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14
Kiribati	✓	X	X	✓	✓	X	✓	X	X	X	X	X	X	✓	5
Kosovo	✓	X	X	✓	✓	X	✓	X	X	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	8
Kuwait	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
Kyrgyzstan	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	13
Laos	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	12
Latvia	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
Lebanon	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	13
Lesotho	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	X	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	11
Liberia	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	12
Libya	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	13
Liechtenstein	✓	X	X	✓	✓	X	✓	X	X	X	X	✓	X	✓	6
Lithuania	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
Luxembourg	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
Macau	X	X	X	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	1
Madagascar	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
Malawi	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14
Malaysia	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14
Maldives	✓	X	X	✓	✓	X	✓	X	✓	✓	X	✓	X	✓	8
Mali	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
Malta	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	X	✓	12
Marshall Isl ⁵⁴	✓	X	X	✓	✓	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	✓	4

⁵⁴ Marshall Islands

Mauritania	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
Mauritius	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	12
Mexico	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14
Micronesia	✓	X	X	✓	✓	X	✓	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	✓	5
Moldova	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	12
Monaco	✓	X	X	✓	✓	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X	X	✓	5
Mongolia	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	12
Montenegro	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	12
Morocco	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14
Mozambique	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	12
Myanmar	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14
Nagorno-Kar ⁵⁵	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	1
Namibia	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	12
Nauru	✓	X	X	✓	✓	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	✓	4
Nepal	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
Netherlands	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
New Zealand	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
Nicaragua	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14
Niger	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	12
Nigeria	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14
Niue	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	✓	1
North Korea	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
N. Macedonia ⁵⁶	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	12
N. Cyprus ⁵⁷	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	✓	X	X	2
Norway	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
OECS	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	✓	X	X	1
Oman	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
Pakistan	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14
Palau	✓	X	X	✓	✓	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	✓	4
Palestine	X	✓	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	✓	X	X	✓	3
Panama	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
Papua ⁵⁸	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
Paraguay	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
Peru	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
Philippines	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14
Poland	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
Portugal	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
Qatar	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
Romania	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	12
Russia	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14
Rwanda	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14
S. Kitts & Nev ⁵⁹	✓	X	X	✓	✓	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	✓	4
Saint Lucia	✓	X	X	✓	✓	X	✓	X	✓	X	X	X	X	X	✓	6

⁵⁵ Nagorno-Karabakh
⁵⁶ North Macedonia
⁵⁷ Northern Cyprus
⁵⁸ Papua New Guinea
⁵⁹ Saint Kitts and Nevis

S. Vin. & Gre ⁶⁰	✓	✗	✗	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	6
Samoa	✓	✗	✗	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	✗	✓	6
San Marino	✓	✗	✗	✓	✓	✗	✗	✗	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	5
ST&P ⁶¹	✓	✗	✗	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗	✗	✓	✗	✗	✗	✓	6
Saudi Arabia	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	13
Senegal	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	13
Serbia	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	13
Seychelles	✓	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗	✓	10
Sierra Leone	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	12
Singapore	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14
Slovakia	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	13
Slovenia	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	13
Solomon Isl ⁶²	✓	✗	✗	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗	✓	8
Somalia	✓	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	11
Somaliland	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗	3
South Africa	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14
South Korea	✓	✓	✗	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	11
South Ossetia	✗	✗	✗	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	1
South Sudan	✓	✗	✗	✓	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	7
Spain	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	13
Sri Lanka	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14
Sudan	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	13
Suriname	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	12
Sweden	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	13
Switzerland	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	13
Syria	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14
Taiwan	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	13
Tajikistan	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	12
Tanzania	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	12
Thailand	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14
Tibet	✗	✗	✗	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	1
Togo	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	12
Tonga	✓	✗	✗	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗	✓	✗	✗	✓	✗	✓	7
Transnistria	✗	✗	✗	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	1
Tri & Tob ⁶³	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	13
Tunisia	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14
Turkey	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14
Turkmenistan	✓	✓	✗	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	10
Tuvalu	✓	✗	✗	✓	✓	✗	✗	✗	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	5
Uganda	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14
Ukraine	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14
UAE ⁶⁴	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14
UK ⁶⁵	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14

⁶⁰ Saint Vincent and the Grenadines

⁶¹ São Tomé and Príncipe

⁶² Solomon Islands

⁶³ Trinidad and Tobago

⁶⁴ United Arab Emirates

⁶⁵ United Kingdom

USA ⁶⁶	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14
Uruguay	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	13
Uzbekistan	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	X	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	11
Vanuatu	✓	X	X	✓	✓	X	✓	X	X	✓	X	X	X	✓	6
Venezuela	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14
Vietnam	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	13
West Bank	X	X	X	✓	✓	X	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X	3
Western Sahara	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	1
Yemen	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	12
Zambia	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	13
Zanzibar	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X	1
Zimbabwe	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	14

Table 24. Overall countries considered by Index.

The relevance of the countries measured across fifteen years and fourteen indices reveals the endeavor made by researchers, scholars, and institutions. When a country is not presented in each report it is usually because the indicators obtained are not sufficiently reliable or there are no indicators at all. Remember Professors Merry words about the difficulty to obtain reliable information from countries that are not keen to protect human rights that might not share reliable information, not share information at all; or even worse, forbid the production of certain information within their territories. The fourteen Indices considered for this research, when represented in a world map show a very similar trend. The following figures are a reminder of how every index looks in a map.

⁶⁶ United States of America

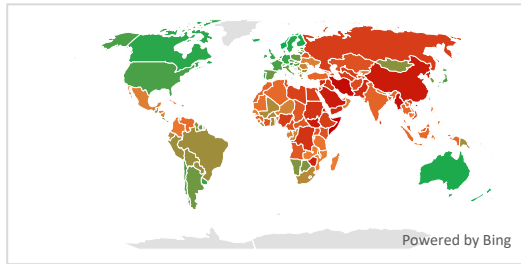


Figure 62. CIRI Human Rights Data Project, 2007-2011 Average Freedom by Country. (Cingranelli, Richards, & Chad Clay, 2014)

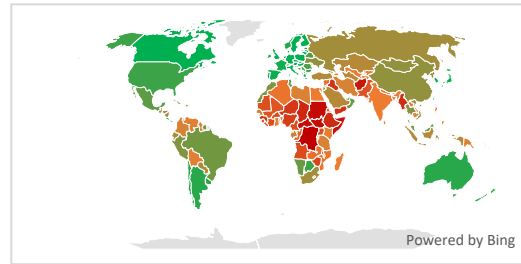


Figure 63. State Fragility Index, 2009-2018, Average Freedom by Country. (Marshall & Cole, 2009, 2011, 2014; Marshall & Elzinga-Marshall, 2017, 2018)

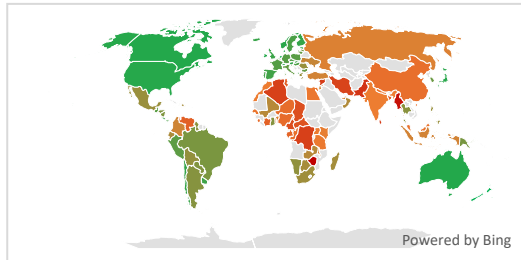


Figure 64. Index of Freedom of the World, 2012, Average Freedom by Country. (Vásquez & Štumberger, 2012)

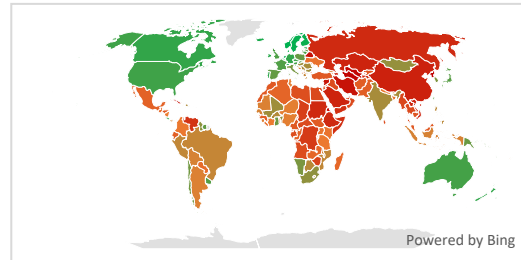


Figure 65. Freedom of the Press, 2013-2017, Average Freedom by Country. (Deutsch Karlekar & Dunham, 2013, 2014; Dunham, 2016, 2017; Dunham et al., 2015; Freedom House, 2017)

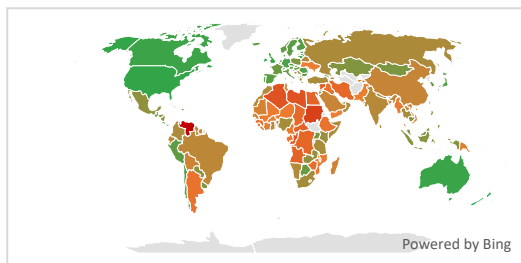


Figure 66. Economic Freedom of the World Index, 2015-2019, Average Freedom by Country. (Gwartney et al., 2021a)

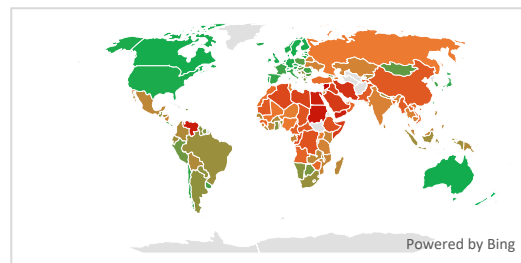


Figure 67. Human Freedom Index, 2015-2019, Average Freedom by Country. (Vásquez et al., 2021; Vásquez & McMahon, 2020; Vásquez & Porčnik, 2017, p. 17, 2018, 2019)

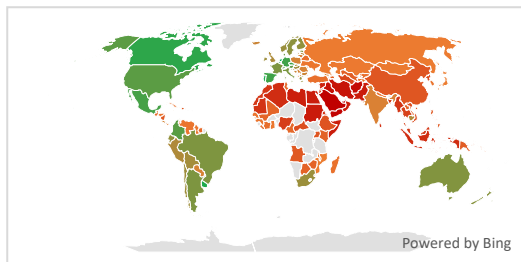


Figure 68. World Index of Moral Freedom, 2016-2022, Average Freedom by Country. (Álvarez et al., 2022; Álvarez, Kotera, et al., 2020; Kohl & Pina, 2016; Pina & Watson, 2018)

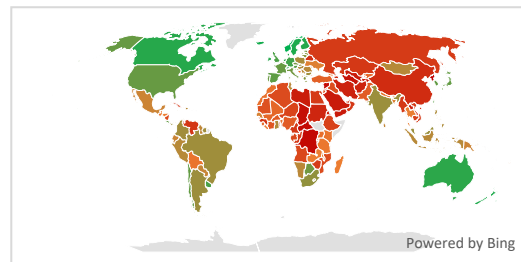


Figure 69. Democracy Index, 2017-2021, Average Freedom by Country. (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022)

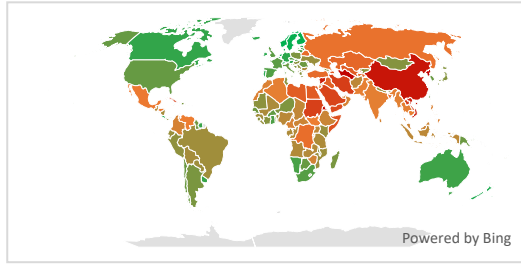


Figure 70. World Press Freedom Index, 2017-2021, Average Freedom by Country. (Reporters sans Frontières, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021c)

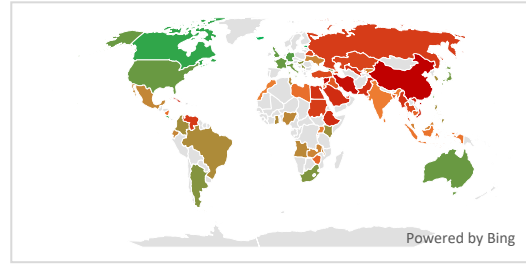


Figure 71. Freedom on the Net, 2017-2021, Average Freedom by Country. (Baker et al., 2021; Buyon et al., 2020; Kelly et al., 2017; Truong et al., 2018, 2019)

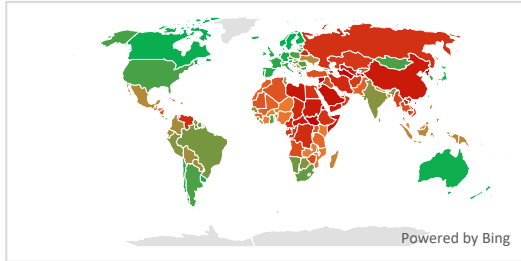


Figure 72. Freedom in the World, 2018-2022, Average Freedom by Country. (Freedom House, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021b, 2022a)

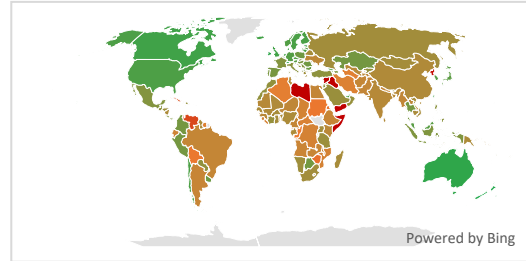


Figure 73. Index of Economic Freedom, 2018-2022, Average Freedom by Country. (T. Miller et al., 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022)

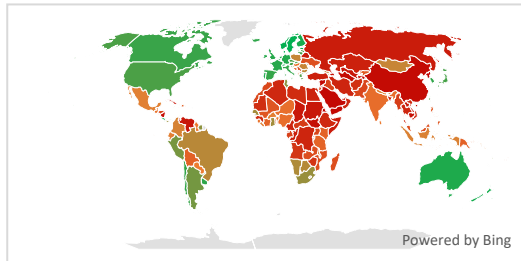


Figure 74. Liberal Democracy Index, 2018-2022, Average Freedom by Country. (Alizada et al., 2021; Boese et al., 2022; Lührmann et al., 2018, 2019, 2020)

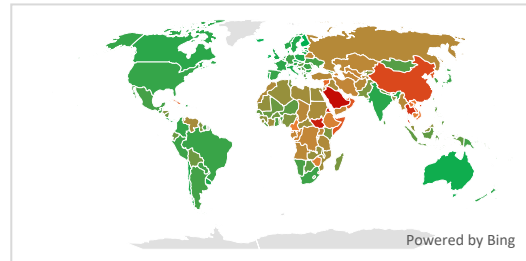


Figure 75. World Electoral Freedom Index, 2018-2021, Average Freedom by Country. (Peña, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021)

The aggregation of the Average Freedom by Country shows a model of how the global indicators on freedom by country would look like for a fifteen-year period. It is a tool beneficial for understanding how free countries are considered. The Average Freedom by Country is represented in the following figure:

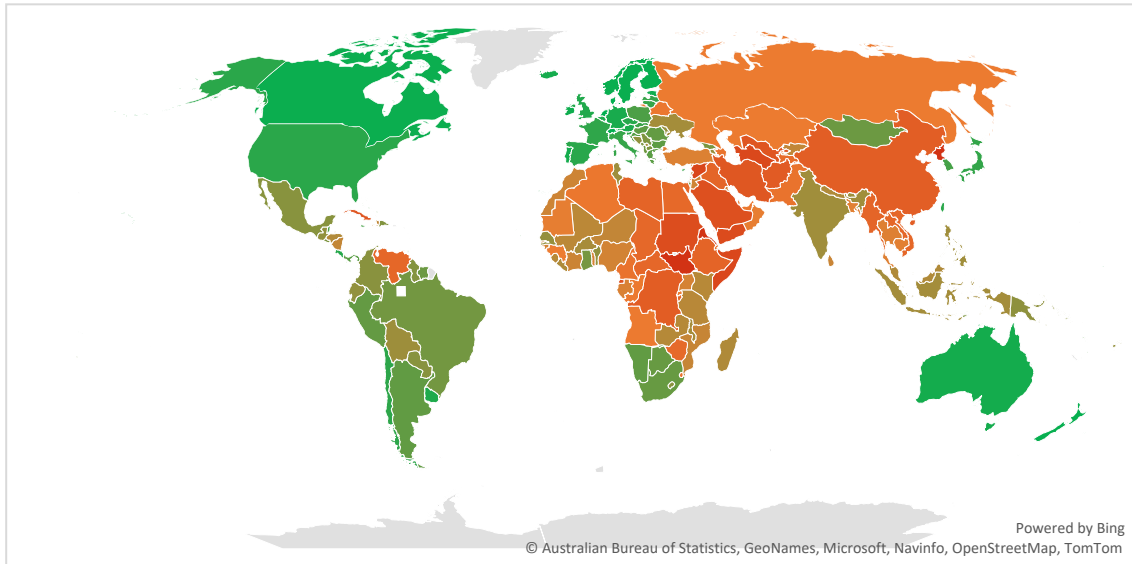


Figure 76. Average Freedom by Country.

As seen in previous chapter, there is a very clear green area in the western world, while Africa and Asia are mostly identified as unfree regions of the World.

The top ten in the Average Freedom by Country is led by the Netherlands (87.54), followed by Denmark (86.93), Switzerland (86.65), New Zealand (86.45), Finland (86.18), Norway (85.99), Sweden (85.97), Palau (85.82), Canada (85.57), and Luxembourg (85.24). In the antipodes a lot of territories (as non-recognized countries) can be found, and this is an important outcome of the Matrix of Analysis. The most unfree territory in the World is Tibet with an average score of only 1.00, followed by Western Sahara (4.00), Eastern Donbas (4.33), Crimea (6.90), Gaza Strip (9.15), South Ossetia (10.20), North Korea⁶⁷ (18.16), Zanzibar (18.42), South Sudan (18.42), and Eritrea (18.63).⁶⁸

⁶⁷ The lowest rated Country in the World.

⁶⁸ The complete list of countries can be found at the Appendix 15.

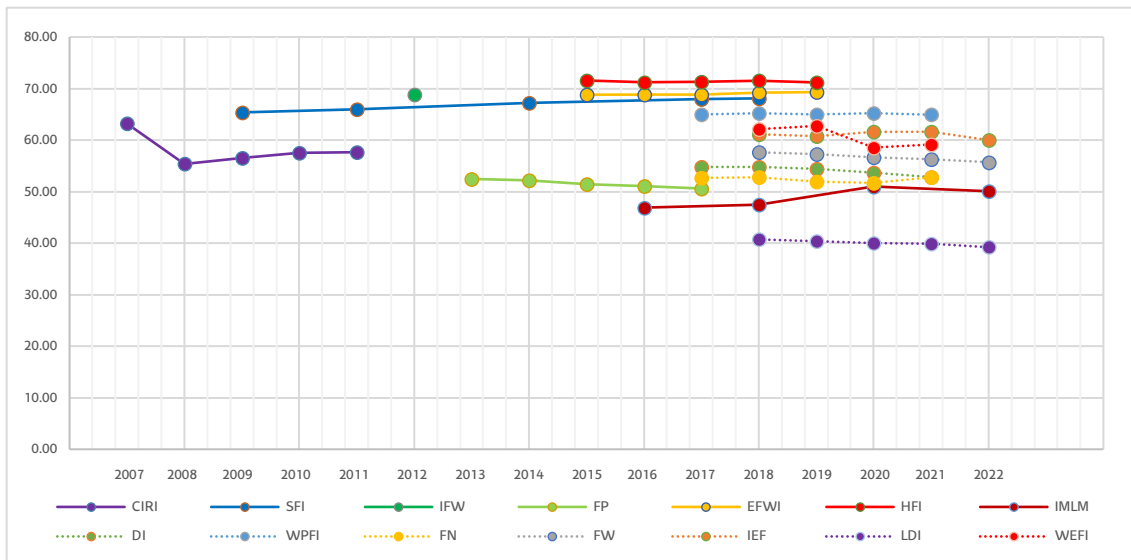
The Human Freedom Index is the index with the highest average (71.36) and only two indices have an average under 50 points, the Liberal Democracy Index (40.40) and the World Index of Moral Freedom (48.84).

The average of each index can be found in the following figure.

INDEX	AVERAGE
CIRI Human Rights Data Project	58.06
Democracy Index	54.09
Economic Freedom of the World Index	69.01
Freedom in the World	56.72
Freedom of the Press	51.55
Freedom on the Net	52.35
Human Freedom Index	71.36
Index of Economic Freedom	61.00
Index of Freedom in the World	68.80
Liberal Democratic Index	40.04
State Fragility Index	66.92
World Electoral Freedom Index	60.62
World Index of Moral Freedom	48.84
World Press Freedom Index	65.05

Table 25. Average Freedom by Index

As important as the average is the trend drawn by the index itself because it allows us to understand the behavior of the measured phenomenon overtime, in this case freedom. The following figure shows the trend of the different indices in a period extended from 2007 to 2022. As expected, the fourteen indices behave differently in the different periods of time they were produced; however, it is interesting that almost no index crosses any other, with one exception, the cross performed between the World Electoral Freedom Index and the Index of Economic Freedom in 2020.



	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
CIRI	63.20	55.36	56.54	57.53	57.69											
SFI			65.37		65.98			67.21				67.93	68.10			
IFW						68.80										
FP							52.47	52.17	51.43	51.10	50.60					
EFWI									68.81	68.85	68.87	69.23	69.31			
HFI									71.51	71.22	71.31	71.51	71.24			
IMLM										46.90		47.47			50.99	50.02
DI												54.75	54.79	54.40	53.70	52.81
WPFI												64.92	65.21	64.98	65.20	64.92
FN												52.66	52.77	51.88	51.69	52.77
FW													57.62	57.33	56.70	56.23
IEF													61.07	60.77	61.59	61.58
LDI													40.72	40.37	39.98	39.94
WEFI													62.11	62.76	58.55	59.08

AVG 63.20 55.36 60.96 57.53 61.83 68.80 52.47 59.69 63.91 59.52 61.58 59.14 59.22 54.80 55.33 51.23

Figure 77. Trend of freedom over time in every index

From the fourteen indices eight of them present a reduction of the overall freedom measured, four went up and two remained the same, including the Index of Freedom in the World that was produced just once. The indices' individual behavior explains the average behavior of freedom in measurements overtime.

A different story is told when making an average per year. The following figure shows the decrease of that average freedom. The decrease is sustained in the trend with a 63.20 start in 2007 and a 51.23 for 2022. Since 2012 the trend dropped under the 60 points, which could point to a decrease in the quality of freedom as measured by the indices. The drop

of the average since 2020 is particularly enlightening; it coincides with the disruption of the Covid-19 pandemic and could be due to the nature of the emergency and exceptional measures adopted to combat the pandemic, but also to with the authoritarian impulses that such emergency measures generated when they were maintained over time leading some States to incubate public policies that limit or restrict individual freedoms.

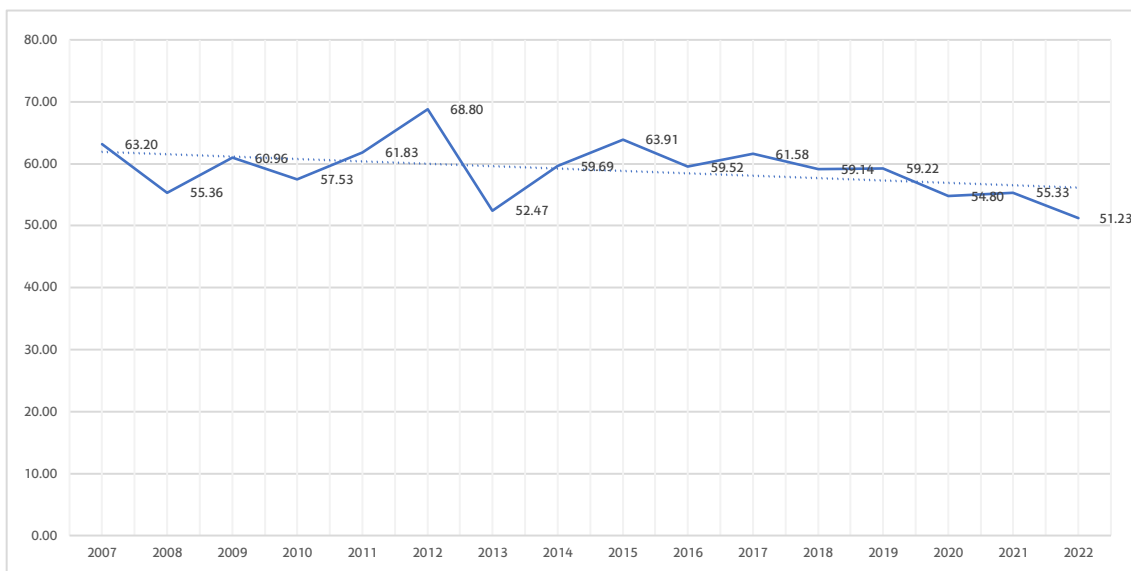


Figure 78. Average freedom overtime.

Following the structure already established in the previous chapter, the logical arrangement is to continue with the analysis of the countries' classification. The classification is different in every index, which makes it difficult for comparison purposes; however, some trends can be observed.

From the fourteen indices, six divide countries in four groups; while three divide countries in three; two do it in five and other two do it in eight; while only one does a classification of six classes.

All those classifications can be observed in the following figure:

CIRI	Top Quarter	Second Quarter		Third Quarter	Bottom Quarter	
SFI	Institutionalized Dem.	Weak Dem.	Weak Aut.	Institutionalized Aut.	State Fail.	Occupied Gov.
IFW	First Quartile	Second Quartile		Third Quartile	Fourth Quartile	

FP	Free		Partly Free				Not Free		
EFWI	First Quartile		Second Quartile		Third Quartile		Fourth Quartile		
HFI	First Quartile		Second Quartile		Third Quartile		Fourth Quartile		
IMLM	High	Very High	High	Acceptable	Insufficient	Low	Very Low	Lowest	
DI	Full Democracy		Flawed Democracy		Hybrid Regime		Authoritarian Regime		
WPFI	Good Situation	Satisfactory Situation		Problematic Situation		Difficult Situation	Very Serious Situation		
FN	Free		Partly Free				Not Free		
FW	Free		Partly Free				Not Free		
IEF	Free	Mostly Free		Moderately Free		Mostly Unfree		Repressed	
LDI	Liberal Democracy		Electoral Democracy		Electoral Autocracy		Closed Autocracy		
WEFI	Outstanding	Very High	High	Acceptable	Insufficient	Low	Very Low	Remarkably Low	

Figure 79. Classifications in Freedom Indices

Having in mind the classifications presented, it appears that three classes are too few and eight are too many, making the comparison through these labels very difficult. The four-group division used by most of the indices could function as the base to stabilize the contrast parameter. It is important to remember that not all indices measure the same amount of countries Freedom in the World measures 210 countries and Freedom on the Net only 70.

Only three indices out of fourteen have more free countries than any other category; those are: the Ciri Human Rights Data Project, State Fragility Index, and the Freedom in the World. In the antipodes of this only the Liberal Democracy Index shows the dominance of the unfree countries over the rest, representing the 34.63% of the countries. The remaining eleven indices display a usual Gaussian curve shape, which means that the middle categories dominate over the other ones. Three indices present no unfree countries: the Index of Freedom in the World, Economic Freedom of the World Index, and Human Freedom Index.

The cases of the Economic Freedom of the World Index, World Press Freedom Index, Index of Economic Freedom, and World Electoral Freedom

Index are paradigmatic, because all of them show over 100 mostly free countries, with an impressive difference regarding the rest of the classes.

The following figure shows the comparison between indices.

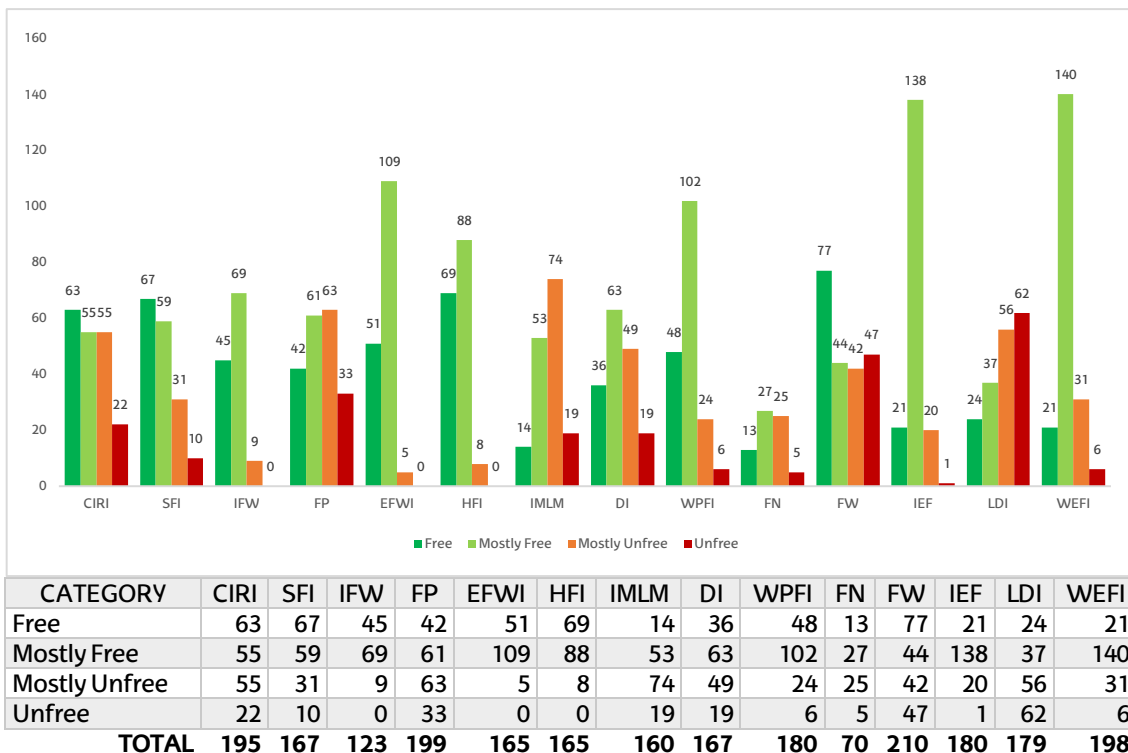
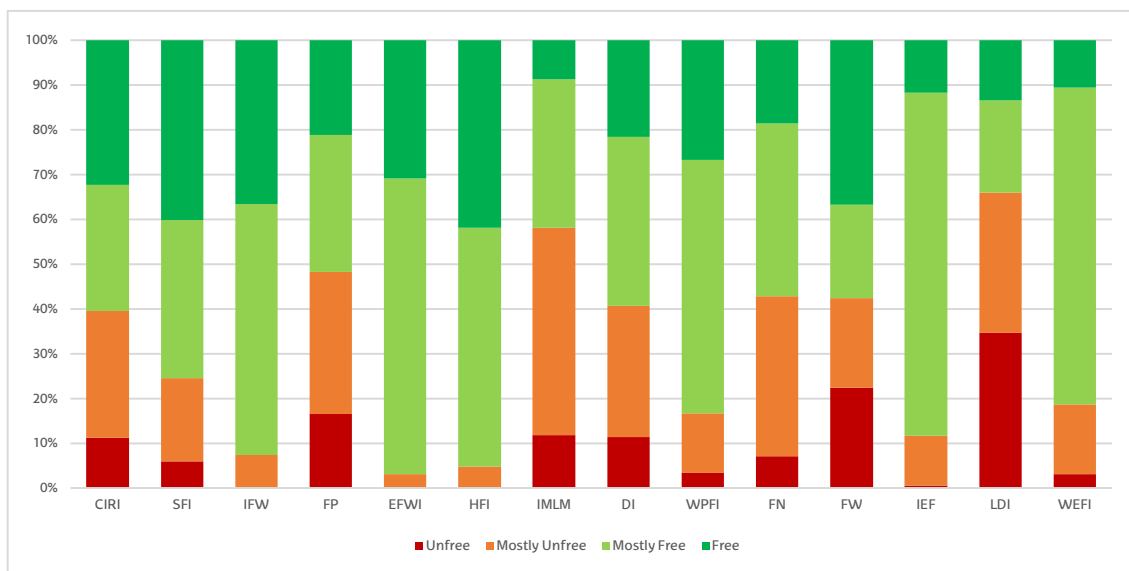


Figure 80. Average Countries Classification according to every Index.

In the individual analysis, the CIRI Human Rights Data Project presents an equally distributed classification. The 32% of the 195 countries considered are classified as Free; while 28% are considered Mostly Free and Mostly Unfree, while only 11% is considered Unfree. The Freedom in the World displays another equal distribution; however, it shows an inverted Gaussian curve; which is uncommon. The 37% of the countries are classified as Free; while 21% are considered as Mostly Free, 20% Mostly Unfree, and 22% were classified as Unfree.

The following figure shows all the indices with its classifications and percentages, showing that most of the indices value positively the

countries with a general greener area, with just two exceptions: the World Index of Moral Freedom (IMLM) and the Liberal Democracy Index that have the sum of the Unfree and Mostly Unfree countries over the 50% of the population considered by each.



CATEGORY	CIRI	SFI	IFW	FP	EFWI	HFI	IMLM	DI	WPFI	FN	FW	IEF	LDI	WEFI
Free	33%	40%	37%	21%	31%	42%	9%	22%	27%	19%	37%	12%	13%	11%
Mostly Free	28%	35%	56%	31%	66%	53%	33%	38%	57%	39%	21%	77%	21%	70%
Mostly Unfree	28%	19%	7%	32%	3%	5%	46%	29%	13%	35%	20%	10%	31%	16%
Unfree	11%	6%	0%	16%	0%	0%	12%	11%	3%	7%	22%	1%	35%	3%

Figure 81. Average Countries Classification according to every index, displayed in percentage.

All the trends developed by the indices can be summarized in a global average. This average is shown in the following figure that represents a general classification for the 216 countries and territories considered by the fourteen indices during the period of reference. The figure presents a perfect Gaussian curve, where Mostly Free countries represent 44% of the population, followed by the Mostly Unfree with the 29% and in the extremes of the chart Free countries represent the 21% and the Unfree represent only a 6%.

It is important to remember that most of that 6% is composed by disputed territories, half of them disputed territories between former Soviet States.

If the classification should be done between Free and Unfree countries and territories, the Free countries and territories would be 140, representing the 73% of the world; while the unfree countries and territories would represent the remaining % of the 216 countries and territories considered as total population by the fourteen indices.

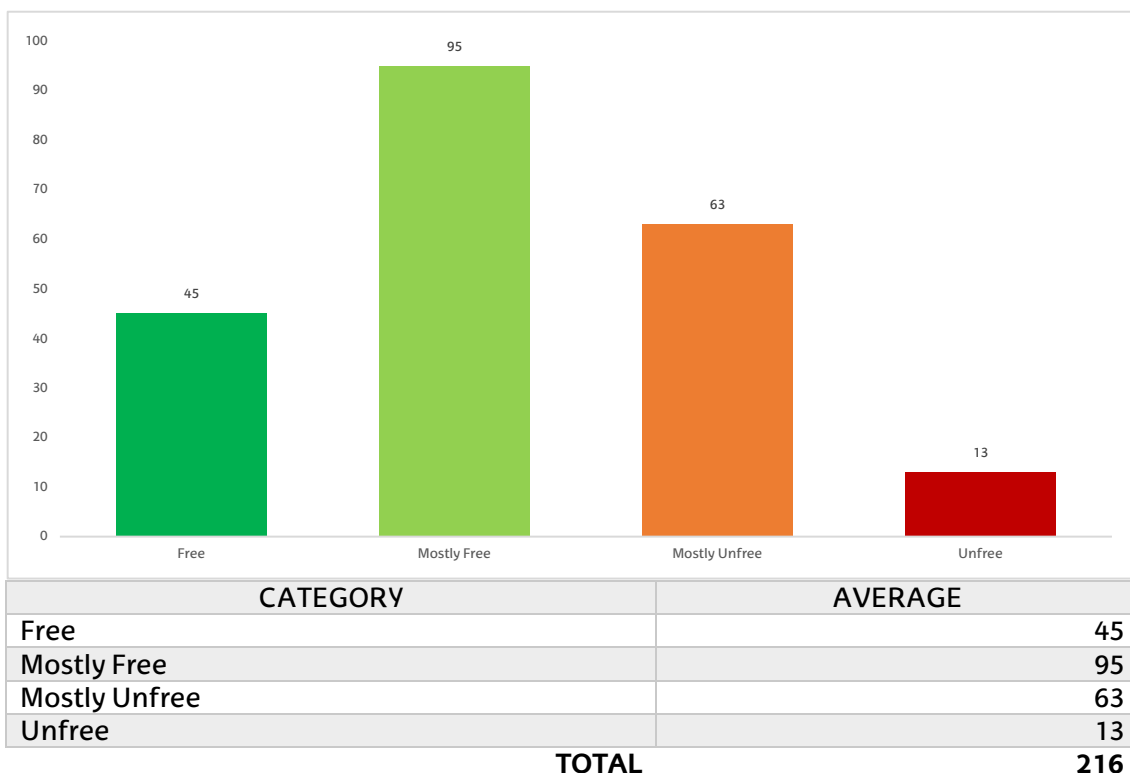


Figure 82. Average Countries classification.

The final analysis of the matrix belongs to the categories that compose the indices. The fourteen indices contain a total of 94 categories extended over a timeframe of 15 years. To simplify the understanding of the categories the following twelve labels are used for comparison:

- Assembly & Association Freedom
- Economic Freedom
- Gender Freedom
- Information Freedom

- Labor Freedom
- Movement Freedom
- Opinion & Expression Freedom
- Physical Integrity
- Political Freedom
- Rule of Law
- Self-determination Freedom
- Thought, Conscience & Religion Freedom

Some categories are binders; and as so are not considered as independent categories, but their parts are. That is the case of the Effectiveness score and Legitimacy score, both from the State Fragility Index, and the Personal Freedom, from the Index of Freedom in the World. In the three cases, the binders include several categories and labels. Therefore, applying a label to any of these binding categories could induce to count twice the measurements involved. The following table shows the application of the labels to the different categories in each index.

	CATEGORY	LABEL
CIRI	Disappearance	Physical Integrity
	Extrajudicial Killing	Physical Integrity
	Political Imprisonment	Physical Integrity
	Torture	Physical Integrity
	Freedom of Assembly and Association	Assembly & Association Freedom
	Freedom of Foreign Movement	Movement Freedom
	Freedom of Domestic Movement	Movement Freedom
	Freedom of Speech	Opinion & Expression Freedom
	Electoral Self-Determination	Political Freedom
	Freedom of Religion	Thought, Conscience & Religion Freedom
	Worker's Rights	Labor Freedom
	Women's Economic Rights	Gender Freedom
	Women's Political Rights	Gender Freedom
	Women's Social Rights	Gender Freedom
	Independence of the Judiciary	Rule of Law
	SF	Effectiveness score

	Security Effectiveness	Physical Integrity
	Political Effectiveness	Political Freedom
	Economic Effectiveness	Economic Freedom
	Social Effectiveness	Economic Freedom
	Legitimacy Score	*Binder
	Security Legitimacy	Physical Integrity
	Political Legitimacy	Political Freedom
	Economic Legitimacy	Economic Freedom
	Social Legitimacy	Economic Freedom
IFW	Personal Freedom	*Binder
	Security and Safety	Physical Integrity
	Movement	Movement Freedom
	Expression	Opinion & Expression Freedom
	Relationships	Self-determination Freedom
FP	Economic Freedom	Economic Freedom
	Legal Environment	Opinion & Expression Freedom
	Political Environment	Opinion & Expression Freedom
EFWI	Economic Environment	Opinion & Expression Freedom
	<i>Size of Government</i>	<i>Economic Freedom</i>
	<i>Legal System & Property Rights</i>	<i>Economic Freedom</i>
	<i>Sound Money</i>	<i>Economic Freedom</i>
	<i>Freedom to trade internationally</i>	<i>Economic Freedom</i>
HFI	<i>Regulation</i>	<i>Economic Freedom</i>
	Rule of Law	Rule of Law
	Safety & Security	Physical Integrity
	Movement	Movement Freedom
	Religion	Thought, Conscience & Religion Freedom
	Association, Assembly, & Civil Society	Assembly & Association Freedom
	Expression & Information	Opinion & Expression Freedom
	Relationships	Self-determination Freedom
	Size of Government	Economic Freedom
	Legal System & Property Right	Economic Freedom
	Sound Money	Economic Freedom
	Freedom to Trade Internationally	Economic Freedom
	Regulation	Economic Freedom
WIMF	Religious	Thought, Conscience & Religion Freedom
	Bioethical	Self-determination Freedom
	Drugs	Self-determination Freedom
	Sexuality	Self-determination Freedom
	Gender & Family	Gender Freedom
DI	Electoral Process and Pluralism	Political Freedom
	Functioning of the Government	Political Freedom
	Political Participation	Political Freedom
	Political Culture	Political Freedom
WPFI	Civil Liberties	Assembly & Association Freedom
	Abuse Score	Opinion & Expression Freedom
	Underlying Situation Score	Opinion & Expression Freedom
FoN	Obstacles to Access	Information Freedom
	Limits on Content	Information Freedom
	Violations of Users Rights	Information Freedom
FW	Electoral Process	Political Freedom
	Political Pluralism and Participation	Political Freedom
	Functioning of Government	Rule of Law
	Freedom of Expression and Belief	Opinion & Expression Freedom
	Associational and Organizational Rights	Assembly & Association Freedom

	Rule of Law	Rule of Law
	Personal Autonomy and Individual Rights	Self-determination Freedom
IEF	Property Rights	Economic Freedom
	Judicial Effectiveness	Rule of Law
	Government Integrity	Rule of Law
	Tax Burden	Economic Freedom
	Government Spending	Rule of Law
	Fiscal Health	Rule of Law
	Business Freedom	Assembly & Association Freedom
	Labor Freedom	Labor Freedom
	Monetary Freedom	Economic Freedom
	Trade Freedom	Economic Freedom
	Investment Freedom	Economic Freedom
	Financial Freedom	Economic Freedom
	LDI	Electoral Democracy Index
Liberal Component Index		Rule of Law
Egalitarian Component Index		Rule of Law
Participatory Component Index		Political Freedom
Deliberative Component Index		Political Freedom
WEFI	Political Development Index	Political Freedom
	Active Suffrage Freedom Index	Political Freedom
	Passive Suffrage Freedom Index	Political Freedom
	Elector Empowerment Index	Political Freedom

Table 26. Indices, Categories and Labels.

In the Table of Indices, Categories and Labels the Economic Freedom of the World Index is the origin of the binding category of Economic Freedom used by the Index of Freedom in the World; however, those categories do not intersect in the periods of reference, the year 2012 for the Index of Freedom in the World and the years 2015 to 2019 for the Economic Freedom of the World Index. The use of categories in the same period of reference is used by the Human Freedom Index, that shares the categories (i) Size of Government; (ii) Legal System and Property Rights; (iii) Sound of Money; (iv) Freedom to Trade Internationally; and (v) Regulation.⁶⁹

From the labeling of the 94 categories of reference, the most used is the Economic Freedom with 21 appearances, followed by Political Freedom

⁶⁹ Origin categories have been highlighted in dark green, while the dependent categories are highlighted in light green.

(16) and Rule of Law (10). These three labels represent by themselves half the sample taken from the indices. The following figure shows how the labels were distributed among the categories.

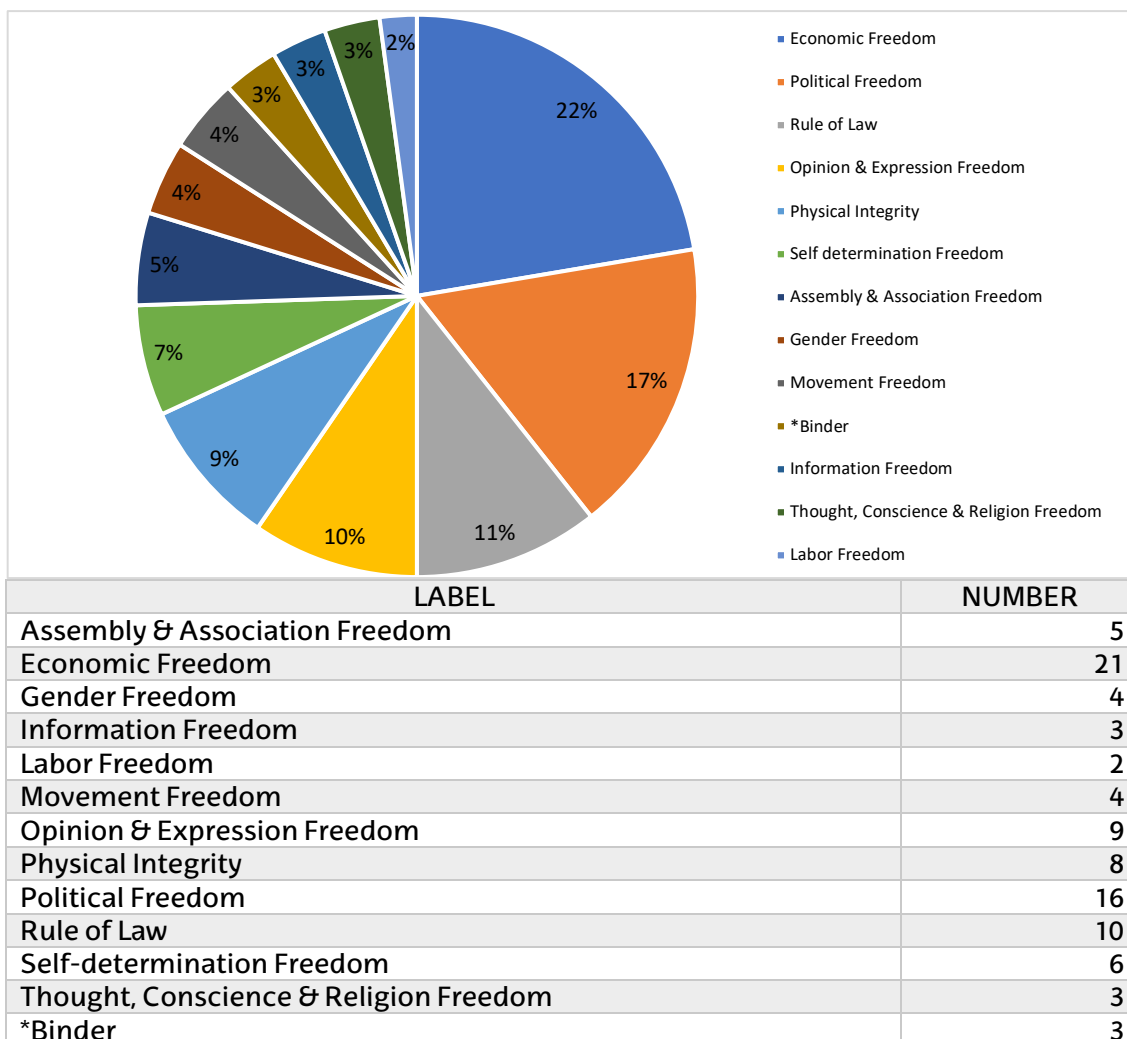
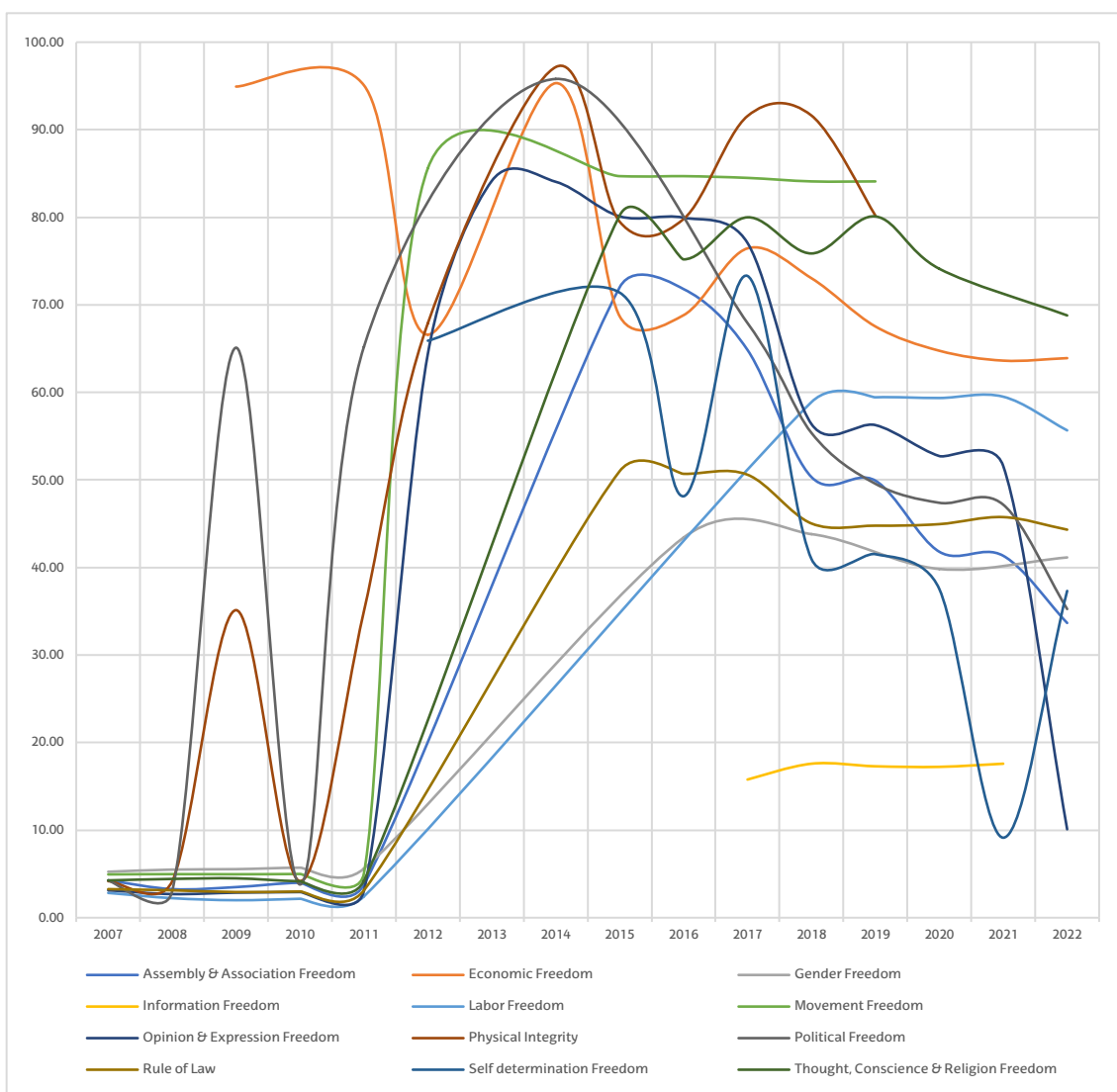


Figure 83. Categories distribution among Labels.

In the individual analysis of the labels, the following figure shows how different all of them are. The first trend observed is the disparity between the measurements taken before and after 2012. That is explained by the base of measurements used by the different Indices overtime. In that way, during the period 2007–2011 only the CIRI Human Rights Data Project and the State Fragility Index (2009 and 2011) produced reports. Only the Opinion and Expression Freedom is measured in every year from 2007 to

2022, followed by the Assembly and Association Freedom and the Rule of Law with 13 appearances; while Economic Freedom, Physical Integrity, Political Freedom, and Thought, Conscience & Religion Freedom appeared for 12 years. In the opposite side, Information Freedom just appeared 5 times, all of them from 2017 to 2021. This is explained because of the source of this label, the Freedom on the Net, index produced by Freedom House since 2017.



LABEL	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Assembly & Association Freedom	4.26	3.26	3.50	4.00	3.76			
Economic Freedom			94.93		95.08	66.60		95.32
Gender Freedom	5.25	5.49	5.54	5.71	5.61			
Information Freedom								

Labor Freedom	2.83	2.23	2.00	2.16	2.43			
Movement Freedom	4.95	4.98	4.96	5.00	5.06	85.60		
Opinion & Expression Freedom	3.13	2.70	2.86	2.93	3.06	64.40	84.16	84.06
Physical Integrity	4.17	4.15	35.13	4.18	35.01	67.90		97.16
Political Freedom	4.26	3.00	65.11	3.80	65.21			95.80
Rule of Law	3.26	3.13	2.93	3.00	3.13			
Self-determination Freedom						65.90		
Thought, Conscience & Religion Freedom	4.26	4.43	4.50	4.16	4.23			
Assembly & Association Freedom	72.00	71.80	64.85	50.33	49.92	41.80	41.34	33.67
Economic Freedom	68.70	68.82	76.45	73.04	67.53	64.76	63.63	63.92
Gender Freedom		43.42		43.81		39.83		41.15
Information Freedom			15.78	17.59	17.29	17.23	17.59	
Labor Freedom				58.89	59.44	59.36	59.51	55.66
Movement Freedom	84.70	84.70	84.50	84.10	84.10			
Opinion & Expression Freedom	80.11	79.95	77.07	56.39	56.27	52.73	51.60	10.10
Physical Integrity	79.50	79.80	91.57	91.63	80.20			
Political Freedom			67.92	55.38	49.56	47.39	47.18	35.26
Rule of Law	51.00	50.70	50.60	45.03	44.78	44.95	45.76	44.32
Self-determination Freedom	71.40	48.14	73.30	40.98	41.52	37.55	9.14	37.33
Thought, Conscience & Religion Freedom	80.20	75.20	80.00	75.87	80.10	74.12		68.79

Figure 84. Indices' categories along time.

In the yearly account of the categories and labels, similar things can be said. There is only one year where all twelve labels were measured: 2018, followed by the eleven labels applied to 2019 and the ten applied to 2009, 2011, 2017, 2020. It is paradigmatic that during 2013 the only Freedom measured was Opinion and Expression.

In the overall analysis of the labels and categories, Economic Freedom is the best rated of them all, with an average of 74.90, distantly followed by Physical Integrity (55.87). In the spectrum of the labels with a failed average, 10 out of 12 can be found here, led by Movement Freedom with an average of 48.42, followed by the Self-determination Freedom (47.25), Thought, Conscience & Religion Freedom (46.32), Political Freedom (44.99) Opinion & Expression Freedom (44.47), Assembly & Association Freedom (34.19), Labor Freedom (30.45), Rule of Law (30.20), Gender Freedom (21.76), and Information Freedom (17.10).

All this could be explained by the following and final table. The table shows the intersection of the indices and the labels assigned to them by year, from the year 2007 to the 2022. For a better understanding of the subject, a color has been assigned to each label, and repeated labels have been suppressed.

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
CIRI	n	n	n	n	n											
	n	n	n	n	n											
	n	n	n	n	n											
	n	n	n	n	n											
	n	n	n	n	n											
	n	n	n	n	n											
	n	n	n	n	n											
	n	n	n	n	n											
SFI			n		n			n			n	n				
			n		n			n			n	n				
			n		n			n			n	n				
IFW						n										
						n										
						n										
						n										
EFWI FP							n	n	n	n	n					
									n	n	n	n	n			
HFI									n	n	n	n	n			
									n	n	n	n	n			
									n	n	n	n	n			
									n	n	n	n	n			
									n	n	n	n	n			
									n	n	n	n	n			
WIMF										n		n		n		n
										n		n		n		n
										n		n		n		n
DI											n	n	n	n	n	
											n	n	n	n	n	
FN WPFI											n	n	n	n	n	
											n	n	n	n	n	
FW												n	n	n	n	n
												n	n	n	n	n
												n	n	n	n	n
IE												n	n	n	n	n
												n	n	n	n	n

													n	n	n	n	n
													n	n	n	n	n
													n	n	n	n	n
WEFI	LDI												n	n	n	n	n
													n	n	n	n	n
													n	n	n	n	

n Assembly & Association Freedom
n Economic Freedom
n Gender Freedom
n Information Freedom
n Labor Freedom
n Movement Freedom
n Opinion & Expression Freedom
n Physical Integrity
n Political Freedom
n Rule of Law
n Self-determination Freedom
n Thought, Conscience & Religion Freedom

Table 27. Labels applied by year and Index.

The table not only shows the intersection between the assigned labels and indices along time; an important outcome is the specialization that each index displays. Labels are not repeated in each index; therefore, the five indices with only one label (Freedom of the Press, Economic Freedom of the World Index, World Press Freedom Index, Freedom on the Net, and World Electoral Freedom Index) have different categories incorporated; but their names already refer to a specific freedom to be measured; or at least, to the guideline for the measurements presented in their reports. The only index that does not follow this trend is the Index of Economic Freedom, published by the Wall Street Journal and the Heritage Foundation.

The Index of Economic Freedom is composed by twelve categories, identified with four labels (Assembly and Association Freedom, Economic Freedom, Labor Freedom, and Rule of Law). On the opposite side of the trend, the CIRI Human Rights Data Project incorporates nine labels,

corresponding to fifteen categories and the Human Freedom Index with eight labels and twelve categories. Even in opposite cases of the spectrum, labels are useful to unify categories, for a better understanding of what each index is measuring. The more global the aim of the index is, the wider labels and categories will comprise. The more specialized, it will still have several categories; however, pertaining to the realm of a reduced number of labels, identified with freedoms and concepts related to the genealogy of freedom, such as security or the rule of law.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The methodological approach presented in this chapter, allows to display, and understand the measurement of freedom as a phenomenon that relates directly with our understanding of freedom and its genealogy. It is remarkable how the location of the twelve institutions producing the indices is all in North America and Europe in an even proportion. The institutional location provides a deeper narrative beyond the usual division of the world between the Global North and the Global South. Half of the institutions are libertarian-liberal aligned, while the rest are self-labeled as conservative, neutral or strictly central. It is interesting how institutions identified as progressive, socialist, or communist do not seem to be interested in the research, measurement, and publication of this matter. However, there is sufficient evidence to show that such institutions, public and private, do a proper use of such statistics in the

support of their own research, public policies, and political communication.

The self-identification of the publishing institutions as liberal and libertarians is consistent with the fact that most of the funding is private, with half of them categorically refusing to receive public funding, and another quarter operating under a hybrid system and only a quarter of the institutions are funded by governments, mostly Think Tanks and Educational institutions that represent 75% of the institutions. The Think Tanks alone are half of the producers of the freedom indices in the world.

In the resulting institutional map, all roads lead to the Global North or the Western world. The United States of America with six institutions that participate in the production of nine indices scores an average of 79.83, which would rank it in 29 out of 216 countries and territories. No other country in the world has ever invested more resources to the establishment and defense of freedom, to end up out of the top-ten and dropping down. The other producers are not far away from the United States. Only two are ranked in the top ten, not too high though and the rest lay down in the realm of the free countries, as the classification suggested may show.

Sweden is the best ranked, among them, in 7th place with an 85.97 average, followed by Canada (9th) with 85.57, Germany (17th) with 83.20, United Kingdom (23rd) with 81.69, Spain (26th) with 79.99, and France is the only

one below the USA with a score of 79.01 and a 33rd place in the average.⁷⁰ It is paradoxical since France and the United States are often considered two comfort places when thinking about freedom, because of the Revolution of the first in 1789 and the independence of the second in 1776 and all their “Copernican Revolution” for the understanding of the civil and political realm.

The matrix of analysis showed that during the term of reference, more than 60% of the indices displayed a reduction in the overall freedom, while the 30% went up and the rest remained the same (the Index of Freedom in the World was produced only once). The overwhelming majority of indices displaying a descendent trend in freedom explains the twelve-point reduction of the freedom in the world for the extended period between 2007 to 2022, including its two great periods of descent in 2013 and 2020, this last one that has not been reestablished and it has not been fully understood in statistical terms in how freedom has suffered the effects of the pandemic disruption.

As dramatic as it may seem to be an average of 51.23 in the World Freedom for the year 2022, bordering the state of failure, the countries classifications show a very different panorama with the 65% of the 216 countries and territories studied considered to be free (45) or mostly free (95); while 35% are considered mostly unfree (63) or unfree (13). An

⁷⁰ Sweden and Spain are the only two countries in this list that were not considered by every index in the research, by not being included in any of the publications of the Freedom on the Net, published by Freedom House.

interesting analysis for future research could be not only to analyze this by country, but by population; specially, because some of the most populated countries in the world are considered as mostly unfree, as is the case of China and India. Or even by extension of territories, where Russia could be added, especially because half of the territories categorized as unfree are being disputed by the transcontinental giant.

The final analysis of this matrix was that of the categories, condensed to the twelve labels that showed in some way the ideological alignment of the producers of the indices. Half of the categories could be considered as part of the labels Economic Freedom, Political Freedom, and Rule of Law. Of course, not every selected index has a global purpose; however, these 3 labels are present in most of the indices, while not every label was measured in every year during the extended period. The most dramatic point was 2013 where only Opinion & Expression Freedom was measured. That might explain the drop mentioned above.

Every label was measured for the reference term of five years or five publications of the reports, this brings stability to the data and probably in further research, the term of reference could be expanded, to understand also inter-generational considerations of the measurement of freedom. The measurement of freedom and the understanding of the indices, beyond the discourse, will add a different, modest but measurable, avenue to the philosophical road already paced by giants in the development of a genealogy of freedom.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Freedom is one of the pillars of our civilization. Given the importance of freedom, not only at a theoretical level but in the lives of the billions of people who inhabit the planet, various conceptualizations have emerged about what should be understood by freedom. It has been established that the journey that must be followed to understand freedom cannot be uprooted from the contingent conditions of the development of the concept itself. This is not an exclusive phenomenon of freedom; instead, it is a condition to which all the values on which our society is founded are subject.

The theoretical-practical approach applied to the research allowed me to review the genealogy of freedom, following Quentin Skinner's methodological design, to make later an in-depth analysis of the meaning and consequences of understanding freedom at a much more specific level. Next, the socio-legal analysis is derived from my academic experience and the practical approach organizations worldwide must measure freedom. Finally, the metrological approach starts with the theoretical assumptions developed by Sally Engle Merry, whose relevance to the field allowed her research to be applied to the study of any social phenomenon of interest.

What is the worth of freedom? Can it be more or less valuable? That depends on people's ability to advance their ends within a liberties framework. The value of freedom lies in the quality of alternatives that the system, particularly the legal system, makes available. However, we must be careful not to confuse freedom with opportunity or related concepts. Freedom is usually confused

with other values. Some confuse freedom with autonomy or self-determination; even though it is not the same, it is an existing condition for those values. Likewise, freedom is often confused with voluntariness; while the first lists the options available for the person, the second lists what the person makes with those options. Defining freedom is important because a good definition of it benefits better measurements, and better measurements improve our understanding of freedom; it is a virtuous circle. However, it has already been established that a univocal definition of freedom is not possible or desirable. A genealogical approach to freedom is beneficial to the understanding of the past, present, and future of the value.

Is there a link between freedom and equality? Equality is an essential element of space that can ensure it. Legal equality expands freedoms. For egalitarians, the Rule of Law creates "unfreedoms" because it limits the ability to act. Equality prevents positive space from becoming a privilege. Freedom potentially nourishes inequality. Equality must be understood as equality in liberty, which allows people to cooperate in a joint project of justice. Some authors, especially libertarians and critics of Rawls believe that increasing equality undermines freedom.

The solid development of a genealogy of freedom that goes from the conceptualization of the person as an agent that develops in freedom; until the understanding that historically vulnerable groups have had to participate in the development of the concept by force, and it is now that we find ourselves before the doors of a more global and inclusive understanding of freedom.

The most critical understandings of freedom and other surrounding values were pointed out, and a wide range of theories, mainly those developed from the late eighteenth century to today, were analyzed. The aim is to create an insight into what freedom is—until recently, understanding what is human also involved categorizing individuals as either free or unfree. The liberal revolutions of the late eighteenth century brought about a notable paradigm shift. However, there has not been any further evolution in understanding freedom and its relationship with individual and systemic values. The modern aim of enjoying comfort and security is driven by the belief that the absence of some freedoms favors convenience. However, social and economic security may restrict freedom as much as social and economic insecurity.

The boundaries of freedom are as essential to its definition as constraints. This is the core of the modern debate around freedom, where should those limits be imposed, and should boundaries expand or shrink. A common understanding is that freedom's limit should follow the non-harming principle; however, this principle is insufficient. Some authors believe the only limit to liberty is to destroy oneself, while others believe the limit rests in harming others. The limit should only be applied in extreme cases. Some restrictions on freedom could benefit freedom, as in the case of private property, which entails some restrictions on the individual liberty of others to benefit the person's freedom. But even this liberal idea is contested by the existence, development, and expansion of monopolistic business models that endanger freedom by becoming entities more powerful than states, which until the end

of the twentieth century seemed to be the primary sources of unfreedom for the person.

Freedom can be understood as the absence of internal or external opposition. It is the power to act without constraints, which must be imposed by other people, not casually removed. These constraints can be material, moral, or normative. Constraints manipulate behavior and must be arbitrary. When those constraints are institutionalized, they become domination, which requires the random capacity to interfere with choices the dominated could have made, affecting freedom. Constraints limit freedom only if they come from another person (this might be an individual or a community acting as such). Cultural values change what we consider a person, translating into our understanding of what constitutes a constraint of freedom. Gender, race, and class can be sources of restriction that modern theories are contesting, but the road ahead is long, and intersectionality might be helpful in this regard. Also, the ownership of the means of production plays a relevant role in the constraints against individual and social freedom; those constraints are produced by a system that has not been capable of answering to the multiplicity of needs of a global and multicultural society that is expanding the horizons of what we should understand as freedom.

It is commonly understood that freedom is only possible in democratic systems, while some authors limit it to representative governments as the protector of individual freedom. The link between freedom and particular ideologies must be taken with caution because revolutionaries tend to twist

the understanding of the person and freedom to claim the universality of their conceptualization. Nevertheless, the connection between freedom and ideologies is beneficial because freedom cannot be axiologically neutral and may use the agent instrumentally. This is evident in the dispute between libertarians and liberals.

Some might say freedom is the driving force behind liberation, rebellion, or revolution. The Philosophy of Liberation provides a source of contestation from the peripheries against the hegemonic understandings of freedom. The question arises whether neoliberal policy imperatives restrict freedom. In legal freedom, only human rights are absolute, men are inviolable, and the frontiers of freedom cannot be artificial. The utilitarian principle frequently diminishes freedom but cannot compete with solid rights, such as the right to life. Law is not a source of unfreedom, as it does not make the activity impossible, only illegal. Formal freedom might differ from material freedom, and the law increases freedom only if the rights entitled are valuable for the person. Legal freedom generates permissibility, which is different from the ability created by freedom. It is important to note that freedom is not a natural ability; the person becomes free within the system. Rules create a coherent liberty structure that enables the exercise of political liberties within the cooperation system. The coherence of law follows tolerance, recognition, accommodation, freedom, dignity, and autonomy. Constitutional liberties are exemptions to the abuse of power.

Freedom is the power to do what one wants within limits established by the law. It is the substance of rights. Although freedom is an inalienable right and the state cannot interfere with it, the law curtails freedom to enlarge it. Freedom is imposed against both the law and wrongdoers, which requires a balance that changes over time. The generally accepted limit to freedom is the law, but under the empire of the law, there is a particular form of freedom: legal freedom. Legal freedom entails liberty against wrongdoers as well as against the law, and the equilibrium between the two is found within the legal system. Freedom is the substance and goal of the law.

Freedom is incorporated into the legal system according to the conception of other liberties, which could undermine liberty. It is essential to be careful when framing rights as liberties that might favor a specific formulation of well-being or good life. There needs to be more clarity between freedom and civil rights. It seems unquestionable that the Human Rights Corpus is Eurocentric, continuing the tradition of colonialism. This is also problematic because it assumes a distance of the individual from the decision centers, which necessarily translates into a loss of freedom. This phenomenon is encouraged by Globalization, particularly by the institutionalization of global public policies, as a response to the traumas of the early twentieth century.

The difference between individual freedom and communitarian freedom is also relevant, particularly for understanding the conditions that allow one to submit to the other, such as in the case of the so-called law of universal coercion. Freedom, in this sense, is the ability to pursue good in one's way or

achieve self-determination. Freedom constrains others from constraining you, and anarchists believe that the system cannot explain the individual's actions and, therefore, cannot limit them. Freedom presupposes the existence of a private sphere and private property.

For communitarian authors, freedom is exercised in the social realm and is limited by harm to others, established by the law. In this case, freedom is achieved by individuals always in society, and it is always a relationship between two subjects. Absolute personal freedom does not exist, as it is related to social values. A standard critique of the communitarian approach is that an equal right to oppress cannot be considered freedom, as freedom is only relevant in a social system. Personal will is contributed to the general choice, and civility protects liberty.

Liberals are willing to accept restrictions on freedom to promote other values. They recognize that there is a difference between public and private spheres. Liberalism can be social-democratic, universalistic, and to some degree, individualistic. However, it is primarily focused on the relationship between the state and individuals. Libertarians, on the other hand, consider freedom to be the maximum value and see private and public spheres as rivals. If individualism denies social context, it is close to libertarianism. For libertarians, freedom is necessary to ensure that the Rule of Law does not interfere with the person.

The culmination of the genealogical study of freedom is found in the metrological works carried out on the subject during the last decades. Why

measure freedom? To endorse some principles, add value, promote maximization of freedom, and minimize constraints within enhancing equality among individuals. Freedom must account for psychological and behavioral conditions and determine objective and subjective circumstances that affect the indicators. The rankings developed since the end of the twentieth century clearly show the authors' conceptualization of freedom, either directly or indirectly.

Rankings are necessary for creating knowledge and supporting governance, so the historical analysis of theories, creators, and perception is relevant. As promoters of public policies, measurements on freedom impact individuals and corporations within an agenda that is not necessarily open and transparent. The great utility of indicators is to test theories. However, they fail to explain individual freedom, which provokes an illusion of living in a global society with expanded freedom, that some individuals need to be getting. Nevertheless, we must be careful not to misunderstand or obscure individual liberty in the name of global metrics because it is usual that the level of freedom is related to the degree of compliance of the individual with the goals and roles socially assigned.

The indicators reproduced in the indices are as important as the organizations that generate them. Understanding what is behind the indices constitutes what I have called meta-metrological studies that allow connecting specific indicators with the ideological alignment to which they respond. This makes it

possible to understand what is measured and why it is measured as it is measured.

The institutional analysis included twelve institutions, with a foundation date that can be dated from 1881 to 2015, which shows the variety of selected organizations; even though they are primarily North American institutions and all of them are based in the Global North. The ideological alignments of the institutions are as important as their physical location, with most of them self-defined as liberal or libertarian and conservative, leaving behind any left-wing or progressive institution measuring freedom.

In any case, the marked ideological alignment of the creators of the indexes, and therefore, from the indices themselves, does not mean that no one else benefits from them. Around the world, national and international organizations and governments of the most varied ideological latitudes take advantage of the indicators produced to promote reforms, attack the opposition, or demonstrate the effectiveness of public policies and other government administrative decisions.

In line with the institutional analysis, the indicators show that freedom measurements are not an isolated phenomenon nor an exercise in pure science. The study of the fourteen global indices, which have measured freedom in at least five publications and allow comparison with each other, has yielded important conclusions. Reviewing the methodology, variables, data, and their comparison has allowed the trend followed by the different freedoms measured through these interesting instruments. With indices that began to

be produced in 1981, such as the CIRI Human Rights Data Project, to the most recent, such as those published by the Foundation for the Advancement of Liberty, which began to publish the world index of electoral freedom in 2018, we have almost half a century of difference; even so, every indicator contributes to the unraveling of what we understand by freedom in our days.

The analysis of the fourteen indices makes it possible to verify what was said in the theoretical analysis that it is impossible to reach an unequivocal and definitive definition of freedom, so giving an account of its evolution is the best way to approach the phenomenon.

It is paradigmatic that the countries that produce the indices are well qualified; however, they need to be ranked as the best. On the other hand, the four analysis models show a clear downward trend in practically all freedoms, a sustained trend over the last fifteen years.

It is also relevant to emphasize the tendency in all the indices to highlight the conditions of lack of freedom that prevail in large sectors of the planet, the most important being Africa, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia. This trend responds to various factors, such as the unfavorable conditions for the development of freedom and the differences in the understanding of the value itself are the main ones.

The result of the analysis of indices and organizations that produce them makes sense in the analysis matrix, in which the already discussed location of index producers and their connection with the percentage of GDP allocated to research and development areas was found.

The self-identification of the institutions as mostly liberal or libertarian speaks of the ideological alignment linked to the interest that the analysis of freedom arouses. This tendency is verified by the literature from which the indices imbibe with authors of the same ideologies. In contrast, authors of progressive ideologies have a mostly theoretical approach to the phenomenon. The same tendency follows the origin of the financing of the institutions, as well as the type of institutions, where the crossing of data shows the usual liberal ideological alignment, with funding coming mainly from the private sector, academic institutions, non-governmental organizations, and, above all, think tanks established in the West, particularly in the Anglo-Saxon world.

An unexpected finding was that of the subjects participating in the indices. On the one hand, one could assume that the population of the indicators would be made up of the countries recognized as such by international organizations and, on the other, that these countries would remain constant over time in the measurements considered. However, this is not the case; only fifty countries remained consistent throughout the selected period, out of a universe of more than two hundred, which consider not only countries but also autonomous and disputed territories. This makes it difficult even to compare indices produced by the same institution.

The aggregate of indices that the matrix presented is also very relevant, from the map of freedom already discussed to the compared trend of the different indices, which generally show a downward trend in a stable behavior. This declining trend of global freedom shows a drop of almost 12 points in the last

fifteen years, nearly one issue per year. This trend, which seems alarming, is contrasted by the classification of countries that places 64% of the countries and territories as free or mostly free, while thirteen countries would be found in the unfree quadrant.

One of the most important discoveries of the research is that of the freedoms studied, where 22% refer to economic freedoms, 17% to political, and 11% to the rule of law. The remaining 50% is divided between freedom of expression, physical integrity, self-determination, association, gender, movement, information, thought, and work. This may also be due to the ideological identification of the institutions and publishers of the indexes. This case also explains that economic freedom has the best averages, averaging 74 points. In contrast, freedom of information would be at the bottom, with only 17 points, constituting a massive difference of more than 57 points on a scale of 0 to 100.

I want to define freedom as the ability to develop capacities, determine how to live one's life, and participate in the democratic governance of social, economic, and political life. A person is free if she can do, can do, and is not prevented from doing what she aims and is entitled to. However, freedom will vary from country to country and evolve over time. Therefore, I argue that freedom –beyond definitions– can only be appraised within the metrics presented in the following chapters.

One of the aims of this research was to identify different definitions of freedom, complementary and opposing. This might sound unusual; however, as seen in the Theoretical Approach, the study of opposing meanings of

freedom enriched the understanding of the subject, while within the complementary definitions lay the fine details behind the genealogy of a subject crucial to understand our nature.

Another ambition of the research was to find as many global indicators as possible of freedom. This is relevant because the status of the genealogy of freedom can only be understood within the realm of metrological research. In other words, the development of freedom as a conceptualized value has reached a stage where verifying if freedom is respected, protected, and enhanced worldwide is desirable. Now that the indicators have been published for almost half a century, it is time to unveil the values and understandings behind those indices. What is the definition of freedom that the editors of the indices are thinking about when measuring? For most of them, one first step is approaching the phenomenon from a positive, negative, or republican perspective of freedom. This seemingly theoretical decision has very relevant implications in the field. For example, if our understanding of freedom is an understanding of positive freedom, we would be willing to incorporate the open options available to the individual or the community to pursue what it considers a good life.

On the other hand, if the chosen perspective is that of negative freedom, the alternatives available to the individual are irrelevant. At the same time, what would occupy us would be to measure the restrictions that he faces and those that are eliminated. If the perspective with which we approach the measurement is that of republican freedom, we should find the balance

between restrictions removed and options open. Others arise from this initial decision, like how freedom is measured. For obvious reasons of convenience, the legal system is the perfect field to do so. A socio-legal approach to measuring freedom is a handy tool because Law has clear rules, and the system embraces a particular understanding of freedom that is also evolving.

Despite the convenience of the study of law, the different sources of opportunities and restrictions outside the realm of law should be addressed. On this level, sociology has the necessary tools to account for new technologies and their incorporation into a system of freedoms that is modulated not only by the state or the closest people; but by centers of power, over which the individual does not have control or surveillance, as could happen in liberal democratic systems of law.

Three research questions guided the research: (i) Is freedom a concept with universal validity? (ii) Is freedom being measured accurately with the current methods? and (iii) Is there a way to simultaneously measure freedom that asserts global and local preferences on the subject?

Regarding whether freedom is a concept with universal validity, it is present throughout time, in all corners of the Earth; however, it has not been always understood in the same way in all places or. That is why the genealogical study of the concept allows us to take detailed photographs of the evolution of freedom. Through genealogy, freedom admits different definitions, all correct and capable of producing a solid basis for measuring compliance and defense.

Speaking of the freedom measurement instruments that we have, each represents the effort of hundreds and even thousands of people with a genuine interest in the defense and protection of freedoms, particularly individual freedoms; however, even scientists are products of their circumstances. Current measurements are based on a conceptualization of freedom based on Western values, particularly from the Anglo-Saxon world. They owe much of their cultural baggage to the liberal revolutions of the late eighteenth century. The development of regional observatories that measure freedom from different angles and based on the cultural diversity of the various corners of the planet would be much more attractive to the next generation of the rich history of the genealogy of freedom.

In the discourse, it sounds very promising to challenge the colonial structures and encourage the creation of knowledge from the perspective of the fallen. Decolonizing the understanding of freedom should involve the development of a theory that accounts for the restrictions relevant to different cultures and which are frankly irrelevant, at the risk that, from the hegemonic perspective, it may seem meaningless. On the other hand, it is also relevant to consider the person, what different cultures consider a good life, and whether that is a purpose in life. What do different cultures or generations think about the utilitarian principle that dominates the Western theory of freedom or on whom the decision of what constitutes the common good falls, which in its historical perspective seems almost self-evident, when, it depends on the centers of power and decision-making? Accounting for the temporal phenomenon of freedom is as relevant as accounting for its spatiality. Are the new generations

willing to reduce current freedoms in favor of future ones, or it is the opposite. All these factors will be decisive in the next step towards learning about such an exciting topic.

Given what has been said, the research hypothesis is confirmed that the indices currently measuring freedom are produced by Western institutions, supporting a hegemonic conceptualization of freedom, its measurement, and its use. The hegemonic definition of freedom and the metrics used work to the detriment of individual freedoms, especially in countries from the global south. Following Professor Sally Engle Merry's idea that the relevance of the indices does not fall on the published indicators; but in the background of its creators and the difficulty in collecting data, particularly in countries that traditionally do not have the defense of human rights as their priority and the use that is given to them in the realm of politics and the media.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THEORY

The implications that the dissertation might bring to the theoretical realm are fascinating, where an understanding of freedom as a global phenomenon can be done within modern measurement techniques. Scholars around the globe are getting particular interest in the affairs concerning oppressed populations, be they minorities or not. This research permits understanding complex phenomena usually approached through different methods. This unveils a new phase for the genealogical account.

The ambition is to continue the great work carried out by giants in the field, such as Sally Engle Merry, Ian Carter, and Mathew Krammer, who, at an

academic level, are at the top in understanding social phenomena as measurement subjects. They laid the groundwork for exploring the development of metrology within the humanities and social sciences.

Concerning the social sciences that converge in this dissertation, the most relevant academic contribution is the study of Law since it demonstrates that the use of metrological instruments and the approach to the study of norms can be carried out through indicators. Thus approaching Roscoe Pound's (1993) ideal of differentiating the law in books from 'the law in books and the law in action'.

The rapprochement, already carried out by the sociology of law, between social phenomena and their normative valuation also represents an opportunity for applying what has been said up to now. The law can be investigated by measuring social phenomena instruments; It can also be taught this way. Designing models that account for the efficiency and effectiveness of regulatory instruments can start from the same idea that the matrix analysis elaborated here imbibes. Carrying out meta-metrological studies such as those carried out by Professor Engle Merry in which the background of the institutions and people that make up the centers of power and decision-making can be widely beneficial to provide certainty to various legal systems; In addition, it can detect early the need for the implementation of public policies or the drafting, reform or repeal of regulatory instruments that are no longer capable of accounting for reality. Thus, reducing the gap between is and ought.

IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY AND PRACTICE

The growing relevance of indicators for comprehending reality is indisputable. Nevertheless, their importance in the decision-making sphere is even more significant. Hence, the implications for policy and practice hold significance for Non-Government Organizations, Governments, and International Agencies. The matrix of analysis provides a clear comparison between the data published by each index, making data available for comparison in future publications if the matrix is updated. Furthermore, data is available across time, countries, and freedoms typology and is advantageous for understanding whether theoretical approaches can alter the methodological approximation to freedom measurement.

Cross-referencing data between indices produces more data, which results in superior data when standardized, compared, and analyzed. This better data is helpful for Non-Government Organizations and human rights defenders, enabling them to obtain improved information to achieve their objectives. The same holds for journalists, who now have a tool for comparing and challenging official discourse on indices. If one index is particularly beneficial for a country, it can be utilized for various purposes, from implementing public policies to electoral speech. Nonetheless, comparing indices may provide a comprehensive depiction of the freedom scenario in each region.

Conversely, with the same notion, governments may benefit from superior data to implement public policies and understand whether certain liberties are appropriately translated into civil rights. As a result, governments and

international agencies can easily comprehend how freedoms are protected and where additional assistance is required. International agencies would benefit from producing better data and, in turn, could collaborate in creating and recognizing indices that work through methodologies based on different points of interest.

LIMITATIONS

As already acknowledged in the Delimitations of Scope, every research has limitations as a human endeavor. The main of them is the time, in this case, the five years allowed to complete the doctorate dissertation. Also, the limited sources of information are limited to the confines of the subject's self-understanding. Considering the limited number of female authors utilized, it is essential to acknowledge the limitations of the theoretical sources. This short female representation in the theoretical approach emerges because no additional female authors came to the author's attention while writing the dissertation. Many male editors of the indices also represent this; however, that is a constantly changing parameter. It seems that for libertarian and liberal organizations, the transition to similar knowledge production is arriving without much opposition. However, genealogical research as this will always drag a vast amount of knowledge produced without female perspective or participation, which is understandable and supports the idea of developing the understanding of freedom itself.

Furthermore, using a limited amount of literature from non-Anglophone traditions could hinder the comprehension of the concept at hand. Still, it

represents an opportunity for the future to produce more binding research within literature from different cultural traditions. However, the intention was to develop a theoretical approach in consonance with the practical approach; in other words, the sources of definition for the indicators presented are not to be found in the global south; but in the mainstream theories of freedom, particularly on those of the liberal tradition; and to a lesser extent in that of the libertarianism.

After the research stage had ended, four reports were published: (i) Democracy Index; (ii) Freedom on the Net; (iii) World Electoral Freedom Index; and (iv) World Press Freedom Index. The latter was acknowledged in the corresponding chapter and not analyzed because of the methodological changes introduced for the 2022 report. The other three were recently published, and given that the indicators remained without dramatic changes, it was not worth incorporating them in such a hurry. Furthermore, by now, the dissertation presented could not cover a larger timeframe because of the current resources available and an intention to frame a particular timeframe. Also, the relationship between indicators and other indicators of development, population, and time expectancy could have benefited the research; however, given the resources and timeframe. Incorporating those indicators was out of the discussion. Nevertheless, all those limitations are not absolute and constitute a solid foundation for future research.

FURTHER RESEARCH

This dissertation is not the culmination of the research but rather the commencement of an extensive and significant study. This research aims to track the progress of novel indicators, primarily concerning the evaluation of freedom, but not limited to it. The objective is to embark on research that challenges the existing constructions founded on unidimensional determinations of what is deemed relevant to be measured and the definitions employed for such measurements.

It is imperative to recognize that this dissertation represents a cornerstone for more extensive and comprehensive research. The study aims to establish new indicators that capture the multidimensional nature of social phenomena that influence freedom beyond what has been previously measured. As such, I seek to challenge the current constructions that emphasize unidimensional aspects of freedom, which may not reflect the complex and multifaceted nature of freedom in contemporary societies.

Moreover, future research aims to provide a critical perspective on the current measuring and defining freedom practices. I intend to contest contemporary constructions based on one-sided determinations, which may limit the scope of what is considered relevant to be measured. By doing so, the study aims to contribute to a more nuanced understanding of freedom, considering its diverse dimensions and the complex interplay between them.

New indicators should relate to local communities and start by questioning the understanding of each community of the indicator. In this case, the pertinent

question is, what is freedom? How is freedom translated into the local languages? What has been the evolution of the concept? Moreover, a severe global measurement tool is possible only after answering all those questions. Therefore, it is time for the Global South to produce its indicators with understanding.

Scholars from different ideologies must participate actively to advance the measurement of freedom. The aim is not to produce a definitive, neutral perspective on freedom but to ensure that diverse viewpoints, including those typically antagonistic, are heard. Also, scholars from different disciplines should participate in this endeavor. It is undeniable that individuals with a profound comprehension of statistics are invaluable. However, the expertise of scholars in the humanities, sociology, jurisprudence, social psychology, and other related fields is also crucial. The more disciplines participate in the development of indicators, the more complete they are going to be. Furthermore, the wider the indicators, the greater our understanding of freedom. Understanding freedom and other freedoms around the globe, will bring humankind closer to effectively protect individuals against constraints within a fairer and more inclusive system.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1. CIRI HUMAN RIGHTS DATA PROJECT

COUNTRY	2007		2008		2009		2010		2011		AVG
	RANK	OVRL	RANK	OVRL	RANK	OVRL	RANK	OVERL	RANK	OVRL	
Afghanistan	21	12	22	8	23	7	23	7	21	10	8.80
Albania	11	22	9	21	9	21	9	21	13	18	20.60
Algeria	21	12	17	13	17	13	17	13	20	11	12.40
Andorra	6	27	5	25	3	27	3	27	3	28	26.80
Angola	22	11	21	9	22	8	18	12	19	12	10.40
Antigua and Barbuda	8	25	7	23	4	26	4	26	4	27	25.40
Argentina	6	27	10	20	8	22	9	21	8	23	22.60
Armenia	19	14	21	9	21	9	21	9	18	13	10.80
Australia	3	30	5	25	3	27	2	28	3	28	27.60
Austria	4	29	4	26	5	25	2	28	4	27	27.00
Azerbaijan	23	10	21	9	22	8	21	9	21	10	9.20
Bahamas	7	26	5	25	4	26	5	25	8	23	25.00
Bahrain	19	14	13	17	14	16	18	12	25	6	13.00
Bangladesh	23	10	20	10	19	11	18	12	19	12	11.00
Barbados	4	29	7	23	4	26	4	26	6	25	25.80
Belarus	20	13	18	12	21	9	23	7	22	9	10.00
Belgium	4	29	4	26	3	27	3	27	4	27	27.20
Belize	7	26	5	25	5	25	4	26	4	27	25.80
Benin	16	17	16	14	14	16	14	16	13	18	16.20
Bhutan	15	18	15	15	16	14	14	16	14	17	16.00
Bolivia	10	23	14	16	10	20	9	21	11	20	20.00
Bosnia and Herzegovina	12	21	13	17	13	17	13	17	15	16	17.60
Botswana	12	21	10	20	9	21	8	22	8	23	21.40
Brazil	9	24	13	17	11	19	10	20	13	18	19.60
Brunei	20	13	16	14	17	13	16	14	16	15	13.80
Bulgaria	10	23	10	20	11	19	10	20	13	18	20.00
Burkina Faso	13	20	12	18	13	17	10	20	12	19	18.80
Burundi	18	15	19	11	14	16	18	12	18	13	13.40
Cambodia	17	16	16	14	17	13	16	14	15	16	14.60
Cameroon	20	13	23	7	21	9	23	7	21	10	9.20
Canada	4	29	4	26	2	28	4	26	6	25	26.80
Cape Verde	7	26	4	26	5	25	5	25	6	25	25.40
Central African Republic	22	11	19	11	21	9	20	10	21	10	10.20
Chad	23	10	23	7	22	8	18	12	17	14	10.20
Chile	5	28	7	23	7	23	4	26	9	22	24.40

FREEDOM MATTERS

APPENDICES

China	29	3	26	4	28	2	27	3	28	3	3.00
Colombia	18	15	18	12	15	15	17	13	16	15	14.00
Comoros	16	17	13	17	12	18	11	19	10	21	18.40
Costa Rica	6	27	6	24	5	25	3	27	7	24	25.40
Croatia	8	25	9	21	8	22	11	19	6	25	22.40
Cuba	21	12	22	8	20	10	21	9	21	10	9.80
Cyprus	5	28	7	23	5	25	5	25	8	23	24.80
Czech Republic	8	25	8	22	7	23	7	23	6	25	23.60
Democratic Republic of the Congo	24	9	25	5	24	6	25	5	26	5	6.00
Denmark	5	28	2	28	3	27	1	29	3	28	28.00
Djibouti	15	18	12	18	13	17	11	19	18	13	17.00
Dominica	5	28	6	24	6	24	4	26	5	26	25.60
Dominican Republic	13	20	16	14	15	15	14	16	17	14	15.80
East Timor	11	22	9	21	7	23	7	23	9	22	22.20
Ecuador	13	20	12	18	11	19	11	19	14	17	18.60
Egypt	24	9	23	7	23	7	21	9	26	5	7.40
El Salvador	15	18	11	19	10	20	9	21	12	19	19.40
Equatorial Guinea	22	11	20	10	21	9	19	11	20	11	10.40
Eritrea	25	8	26	4	25	5	28	2	29	2	4.20
Estonia	7	26	4	26	4	26	4	26	5	26	26.00
Eswatini	19	14	19	11	19	11	18	12	21	10	11.60
Ethiopia	24	9	24	6	22	8	24	6	23	8	7.40
Fiji	16	17	15	15	17	13	16	14	19	12	14.20
Finland	2	31	3	27	3	27	3	27	4	27	27.80
France	4	29	7	23	4	26	6	24	8	23	25.00
Gabon	16	17	16	14	16	14	13	17	13	18	16.00
Gambia	14	19	13	17	15	15	14	16	17	14	16.20
Georgia	18	15	13	17	14	16	16	14	18	13	15.00
Germany	4	29	6	24	4	26	5	25	5	26	26.00
Ghana	12	21	14	16	11	19	11	19	12	19	18.80
Greece	14	19	14	16	11	19	8	22	11	20	19.20
Grenada	3	30	2	28	4	26	4	26	6	25	27.00
Guatemala	10	23	11	19	10	20	8	22	12	19	20.60
Guinea	21	12	17	13	23	7	17	13	19	12	11.40
Guinea-Bissau	13	20	12	18	14	16	13	17	12	19	18.00
Guyana	10	23	9	21	9	21	10	20	12	19	20.80
Haiti	14	19	12	18	13	17	13	17	17	14	17.00
Honduras	13	20	15	15	18	12	15	15	16	15	15.40
Hungary	7	26	7	23	6	24	7	23	9	22	23.60

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Iceland	3	30	2	28	3	27	1	29	3	28	28.40
India	19	14	19	11	18	12	20	10	20	11	11.60
Indonesia	18	15	18	12	19	11	17	13	20	11	12.40
Iran	30	2	29	1	29	1	29	1	30	1	1.20
Iraq	27	6	26	4	21	9	22	8	24	7	6.80
Ireland	4	29	7	23	4	26	4	26	6	25	25.80
Israel	20	13	21	9	20	10	19	11	20	11	10.80
Italy	7	26	7	23	10	20	6	24	7	24	23.40
Ivory Coast	21	12	20	10	20	10	20	10	22	9	10.20
Jamaica	8	25	9	21	9	21	11	19	9	22	21.60
Japan	7	26	5	25	5	25	6	24	8	23	24.60
Jordan	21	12	21	9	23	7	22	8	23	8	8.80
Kazakhstan	24	9	20	10	20	10	20	10	22	9	9.60
Kenya	23	10	20	10	22	8	19	11	21	10	9.80
Kiribati	7	26	6	24	5	25	4	26	6	25	25.20
Kosovo	31	0	30	0	11	19	10	20	9	22	12.20
Kuwait	21	12	20	10	16	14	19	11	19	12	11.80
Kyrgyzstan	17	16	16	14	17	13	17	13	19	12	13.60
Laos	20	13	16	14	18	12	17	13	20	11	12.60
Latvia	9	24	13	17	7	23	9	21	11	20	21.00
Lebanon	20	13	17	13	19	11	18	12	21	10	11.80
Lesotho	9	24	6	24	8	22	8	22	7	24	23.20
Liberia	12	21	12	18	12	18	12	18	10	21	19.20
Libya	24	9	20	10	21	9	22	8	28	3	7.80
Liechtenstein	2	31	2	28	4	26	3	27	4	27	27.80
Lithuania	8	25	9	21	7	23	7	23	9	22	22.80
Luxembourg	1	32	1	29	2	28	2	28	1	30	29.40
Madagascar	11	22	13	17	19	11	21	9	18	13	14.40
Malawi	13	20	14	16	9	21	9	21	11	20	19.60
Malaysia	19	14	21	9	18	12	19	11	21	10	11.20
Maldives	19	14	13	17	13	17	11	19	15	16	16.60
Mali	12	21	13	17	14	16	11	19	11	20	18.60
Malta	1	32	4	26	4	26	4	26	5	26	27.20
Marshall Islands	6	27	4	26	5	25	6	24	5	26	25.60
Mauritania	16	17	18	12	17	13	16	14	21	10	13.20
Mauritius	5	28	6	24	6	24	6	24	7	24	24.80
Mexico	15	18	17	13	14	16	15	15	15	16	15.60
Micronesia	9	24	7	23	7	23	5	25	8	23	23.60
Moldova	15	18	17	13	18	12	15	15	15	16	14.80

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Monaco	6	27	4	26	5	25	4	26	6	25	25.80
Mongolia	11	22	12	18	9	21	9	21	9	22	20.80
Montenegro	10	23	8	22	9	21	8	22	11	20	21.60
Morocco	20	13	19	11	18	12	18	12	20	11	11.80
Mozambique	19	14	16	14	15	15	14	16	15	16	15.00
Myanmar	31	0	28	2	28	2	28	2	28	3	1.80
Namibia	10	23	9	21	8	22	9	21	11	20	21.40
Nauru	5	28	4	26	5	25	5	25	6	25	25.80
Nepal	21	12	18	12	14	16	18	12	14	17	13.80
Netherlands	2	31	3	27	3	27	2	28	2	29	28.40
New Zealand	2	31	1	29	2	28	1	29	2	29	29.20
Nicaragua	11	22	15	15	14	16	17	13	18	13	15.80
Niger	15	18	16	14	15	15	12	18	14	17	16.40
Nigeria	23	10	20	10	24	6	26	4	26	5	7.00
North Korea	29	3	27	3	27	3	27	3	27	4	3.20
North Macedonia	11	22	10	20	9	21	10	20	13	18	20.20
Norway	1	32	2	28	1	29	2	28	3	28	29.00
Oman	14	19	14	16	14	16	14	16	19	12	15.80
Pakistan	28	5	27	3	26	4	24	6	25	6	4.80
Palau	3	30	2	28	3	27	3	27	4	27	27.80
Panama	8	25	7	23	8	22	12	18	7	24	22.40
Papua New Guinea	13	20	10	20	11	19	12	18	11	20	19.40
Paraguay	14	19	13	17	10	20	8	22	10	21	19.80
Peru	9	24	10	20	11	19	12	18	13	18	19.80
Philippines	18	15	17	13	16	14	15	15	17	14	14.20
Poland	7	26	7	23	9	21	7	23	8	23	23.20
Portugal	3	30	4	26	4	26	5	25	5	26	26.60
Qatar	22	11	15	15	16	14	17	13	20	11	12.80
Republic of Congo	18	15	14	16	13	17	12	18	14	17	16.60
Romania	16	17	14	16	12	18	13	17	13	18	17.20
Russia	22	11	22	8	24	6	24	6	26	5	7.20
Rwanda	14	19	17	13	17	13	18	12	18	13	14.00
Saint Kitts and Nevis	5	28	7	23	5	25	6	24	5	26	25.20
Saint Lucia	4	29	7	23	5	25	4	26	7	24	25.40
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	4	29	4	26	5	25	4	26	7	24	26.00
Samoa	6	27	7	23	7	23	6	24	8	23	24.00
San Marino	2	31	1	29	1	29	2	28	2	29	29.20
São Tomé and Príncipe	7	26	5	25	6	24	6	24	5	26	25.00
Saudi Arabia	29	3	26	4	27	3	26	4	29	2	3.20

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Senegal	15	18	14	16	16	14	17	13	16	15	15.20
Serbia	11	22	10	20	11	19	12	18	11	20	19.80
Seychelles	11	22	12	18	11	19	9	21	10	21	20.20
Sierra Leone	16	17	15	15	17	13	14	16	15	16	15.40
Singapore	15	18	15	15	13	17	13	17	13	18	17.00
Slovakia	8	25	10	20	10	20	9	21	10	21	21.40
Slovenia	3	30	6	24	2	28	3	27	4	27	27.20
Solomon Islands	9	24	9	21	7	23	6	24	7	24	23.20
Somalia	31	0	30	0	30	0	30	0	31	0	0.00
South Africa	15	18	13	17	13	17	12	18	10	21	18.20
South Korea	10	23	10	20	7	23	7	23	10	21	22.00
South Sudan	31	0	30	0	30	0	30	0	15	16	3.20
Spain	9	24	8	22	8	22	7	23	8	23	22.80
Sri Lanka	24	9	24	6	22	8	23	7	23	8	7.60
Sudan	28	5	25	5	25	5	22	8	24	7	6.00
Suriname	11	22	7	23	7	23	6	24	8	23	23.00
Sweden	3	30	3	27	3	27	3	27	5	26	27.40
Switzerland	7	26	6	24	6	24	4	26	6	25	25.00
Syria	28	5	26	4	24	6	24	6	27	4	5.00
Taiwan	9	24	7	23	6	24	6	24	7	24	23.80
Tajikistan	20	13	20	10	20	10	20	10	19	12	11.00
Tanzania	18	15	19	11	17	13	15	15	17	14	13.60
Thailand	19	14	18	12	20	10	19	11	18	13	12.00
Togo	21	12	16	14	16	14	20	10	18	13	12.60
Tonga	15	18	11	19	10	20	7	23	9	22	20.40
Trinidad and Tobago	5	28	7	23	6	24	6	24	7	24	24.60
Tunisia	23	10	22	8	22	8	23	7	19	12	9.00
Turkey	19	14	22	8	18	12	17	13	18	13	12.00
Turkmenistan	26	7	23	7	23	7	22	8	24	7	7.20
Tuvalu	10	23	9	21	7	23	7	23	8	23	22.60
Uganda	20	13	21	9	24	6	22	8	18	13	9.80
Ukraine	17	16	16	14	14	16	14	16	13	18	16.00
United Arab Emirates	23	10	20	10	20	10	21	9	21	10	9.80
United Kingdom	4	29	6	24	5	25	4	26	4	27	26.20
United States of America	7	26	5	25	6	24	5	25	7	24	24.80
Uruguay	5	28	3	27	5	25	6	24	6	25	25.80
Uzbekistan	25	8	22	8	25	5	23	7	24	7	7.00
Vanuatu	8	25	6	24	8	22	7	23	8	23	23.40
Venezuela	21	12	18	12	18	12	18	12	16	15	12.60

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Vietnam	24	9	24	6	22	8	23	7	24	7	7.40
Yemen	23	10	25	5	26	4	28	2	28	3	4.80
Zambia	18	15	15	15	16	14	15	15	16	15	14.80
Zimbabwe	25	8	27	3	28	2	27	3	26	5	4.20
AVERAGE		18.98		16.63		16.98		17.28		17.32	17.44

Table 28. CIRI Human Rights Data Project (2007-2011) (Cingranelli, Richards, & Chad Clay, 2014)

APPENDIX 2. STATE FRAGILITY INDEX

COUNTRY	2009			2011			2014			2017			2018			AVG
	RANK	OVRL	CAT	RANK	OVRL	CAT	RANK	OVRL	CAT	RANK	OVRL	CAT	RANK	OVRL	CAT	
Afghanistan	163	22	—	163	22	—	163	21	—	163	21	Aut W	161	20	Aut W	21.20
Albania	48	3	Dem I	47	3	Dem I	48	3	Dem I	41	2	Dem I	29	1	Dem I	2.40
Algeria	134	14	Aut W	131	13	Aut W	135	14	Dem W	123	11	Dem W	123	11	Dem W	12.60
Angola	146	17	Aut W	143	16	Aut W	147	16	Aut W	152	17	Aut W	150	16	Aut W	16.40
Argentina	40	2	Dem I	38	2	Dem I	29	1	Dem I	40	2	Dem I	52	3	Dem I	2.00
Armenia	70	6	Dem W	79	7	Dem W	82	7	Dem W	75	6	Dem W	73	6	Dem I	6.40
Australia	39	2	Dem I	37	2	Dem I	42	2	Dem I	39	2	Dem I	38	2	Dem I	2.00
Austria	18	0	Dem I	18	0	Dem I	21	0	Dem I	24	0	Dem I	16	0	Dem I	0.00
Azerbaijan	133	14	Aut I	111	11	Aut I	109	10	Aut I	110	10	Aut I	112	10	Aut I	11.00
Bahrain	53	4	Aut I	59	5	Aut I	100	9	Aut I	102	9	Aut I	103	9	Aut I	7.20
Bangladesh	125	13	Dem I	123	12	Dem W	132	13	Dem W	131	12	Dem W	122	11	Aut I	12.20
Belarus	52	4	Aut I	54	4	Aut I	56	4	Aut I	51	3	Aut I	69	5	Aut I	4.00
Belgium	38	2	Dem I	36	2	Dem I	41	2	Dem I	38	2	Dem I	37	2	Dem I	2.00
Benin	108	11	Dem I	103	10	Dem I	108	10	Dem I	109	10	Dem I	111	10	Dem I	10.20
Bhutan	102	10	Aut W	102	10	Dem W	91	8	Dem W	84	7	Dem W	72	6	Dem I	8.20
Bolivia	116	12	Dem I	122	12	Dem I	107	10	Dem I	108	10	Dem I	121	11	Dem I	11.00
Bosnia and Herzegovina	51	4	—	53	4	—	55	4	—	59	4	—	58	4	—	4.00
Botswana	47	3	Dem I	46	3	Dem I	47	3	Dem I	50	3	Dem I	51	3	Dem I	3.00
Brazil	60	5	Dem I	70	6	Dem I	63	5	Dem I	74	6	Dem I	71	6	Dem I	5.60
Bulgaria	46	3	Dem I	45	3	Dem I	40	2	Dem I	37	2	Dem I	36	2	Dem I	2.40
Burkina Faso	147	17	Aut W	150	17	Aut W	142	15	Aut W	148	16	Dem I	149	16	Dem I	16.20
Burundi	150	18	Dem I	155	18	Dem I	157	18	Dem I	162	21	Aut W	164	21	Aut W	19.20
Cambodia	124	13	Aut W	121	12	Aut W	117	11	Dem W	122	11	Dem W	110	10	Aut W	11.40
Cameroon	148	17	Aut W	149	17	Aut W	141	15	Aut W	147	16	Aut W	148	16	Aut W	16.20
Canada	17	0	Dem I	17	0	Dem I	20	0	Dem I	23	0	Dem I	15	0	Dem I	0.00
Cape Verde	59	5	—	58	5	Dem I	62	5	Dem I	67	5	Dem I	68	5	Dem I	5.00
Central African Republic	154	19	Aut W	162	21	Aut W	167	24	SF	166	23	Dem I	166	23	Dem I	22.00
Chad	162	21	Aut W	161	21	Aut W	161	19	Aut W	159	19	Aut W	158	19	Aut W	19.80
Chile	37	2	Dem I	35	2	Dem I	39	2	Dem I	36	2	Dem I	50	3	Dem I	2.20
China	91	9	Aut I	86	8	Aut I	73	6	Aut I	73	6	Aut I	85	7	Aut I	7.20
Colombia	115	12	Dem I	110	11	Dem I	99	9	Dem I	107	10	Dem I	120	11	Dem I	10.60
Comoros	123	13	Dem I	120	12	Dem I	127	12	Dem I	121	11	Dem I	131	12	Aut W	12.00
Costa Rica	29	1	Dem I	29	1	Dem I	28	1	Dem I	28	1	Dem I	28	1	Dem I	1.00
Croatia	45	3	Dem I	34	2	Dem I	38	2	Dem I	35	2	Dem I	35	2	Dem I	2.20
Cuba	58	5	Aut I	69	6	Aut I	61	5	Aut I	66	5	Aut I	67	5	Aut W	5.20
Cyprus	44	3	Dem I	44	3	Dem I	46	3	Dem I	49	3	Dem I	49	3	Dem I	3.00
Czech Republic	28	1	Dem I	28	1	Dem I	27	1	Dem I	22	0	Dem I	27	1	Dem I	0.80
Democratic Republic of the Congo	164	23	Dem W	165	23	Dem W	166	23	Dem W	167	24	Dem W	167	24	Aut W	23.40
Denmark	16	0	Dem I	16	0	Dem I	19	0	Dem I	21	0	Dem I	14	0	Dem I	0.00

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Djibouti	139	15	Aut W	130	13	Dem W	130	13	Dem W	130	12	Dem W	130	12	Dem W	13.00
Dominican Republic	69	6	Dem I	68	6	Dem I	60	5	Dem I	58	4	Dem I	48	3	Dem I	4.80
East Timor	122	13	Dem I	119	12	Dem I	90	8	Dem I	83	7	Dem I	84	7	Dem I	9.40
Ecuador	101	10	Dem W	101	10	Dem W	89	8	Dem W	82	7	Dem W	83	7	Dem W	8.40
Egypt	121	13	Aut W	118	12	Aut W	126	12	Aut W	129	12	Aut W	109	10	Aut W	11.80
El Salvador	68	6	Dem I	67	6	Dem I	54	4	Dem I	57	4	Dem I	57	4	Dem I	4.80
Equatorial Guinea	114	12	Aut W	117	12	Aut W	125	12	Aut W	128	12	Aut I	129	12	Aut I	12.00
Eritrea	132	14	Aut I	116	12	Aut I	140	15	Aut I	141	15	Aut I	145	15	Aut I	14.20
Estonia	27	1	Dem I	15	0	Dem I	18	0	Dem I	20	0	Dem I	13	0	Dem I	0.20
Eswatini	78	8	Aut I	80	8	Aut I	93	9	Aut I	85	8	Aut I	75	7	Aut I	8.00
Ethiopia	155	19	Aut W	160	20	Dem W	160	19	Aut W	158	19	Aut W	160	20	Dem W	19.40
Fiji	67	6	Aut W	66	6	Aut W	72	6	Aut W	56	4	Dem W	56	4	Dem W	5.20
Finland	15	0	Dem I	14	0	Dem I	17	0	Dem I	19	0	Dem I	12	0	Dem I	0.00
France	26	1	Dem I	27	1	Dem I	26	1	Dem I	18	0	Dem I	26	1	Dem I	0.80
Gabon	100	10	Aut W	109	11	Dem W	116	11	Dem W	106	10	Dem W	95	8	Dem W	10.00
Gambia	131	14	Aut W	136	14	Aut W	139	15	Aut W	140	15	Dem W	144	15	Dem W	14.60
Georgia	83	8	Dem I	85	8	Dem I	81	7	Dem I	72	6	Dem I	66	5	Dem I	6.80
Germany	14	0	Dem I	13	0	Dem I	16	0	Dem I	17	0	Dem I	25	1	Dem I	0.20
Ghana	120	13	Dem I	115	12	Dem I	115	11	Dem I	120	11	Dem I	119	11	Dem I	11.60
Greece	25	1	Dem I	26	1	Dem I	37	2	Dem I	34	2	Dem I	47	3	Dem I	1.80
Guatemala	107	11	Dem I	100	10	Dem I	80	7	Dem I	91	8	Dem I	94	8	Dem I	8.80
Guinea	151	18	Aut I	158	19	Dem W	156	18	Dem W	156	18	Dem W	156	18	Dem W	18.20
Guinea-Bissau	149	17	Dem I	148	17	Dem I	155	18	Dem W	151	17	Dem I	152	17	Dem I	17.20
Guyana	113	12	Dem I	114	12	Dem I	114	11	Dem I	101	9	Dem I	93	8	Dem I	10.40
Haiti	130	14	Dem W	154	18	—	138	15	SF	138	14	Dem W	118	11	Dem W	14.40
Honduras	82	8	Dem I	92	9	Dem I	79	7	Dem I	81	7	Dem I	82	7	Dem I	7.60
Hungary	13	0	Dem I	12	0	Dem I	15	0	Dem I	16	0	Dem I	11	0	Dem I	0.00
India	112	12	Dem I	129	13	Dem I	124	12	Dem I	119	11	Dem I	117	11	Dem I	11.80
Indonesia	99	10	Dem I	91	9	Dem I	98	9	Dem I	90	8	Dem I	92	8	Dem I	8.80
Iran	129	14	Aut I	108	11	Aut I	106	10	Aut I	100	9	Aut I	102	9	Aut I	10.60
Iraq	159	20	—	157	19	Dem W	154	18	Dem W	155	18	Dem I	155	18	Dem I	18.60
Ireland	12	0	Dem I	11	0	Dem I	14	0	Dem I	15	0	Dem I	10	0	Dem I	0.00
Israel	90	9	Dem I	84	8	Dem I	88	8	Dem I	80	7	Dem I	81	7	Dem I	7.80
Italy	11	0	Dem I	10	0	Dem I	13	0	Dem I	14	0	Dem I	24	1	Dem I	0.20
Ivory Coast	138	15	—	153	18	Dem W	146	16	Dem W	150	17	Dem W	147	16	Dem W	16.40
Jamaica	36	2	Dem I	43	3	Dem I	36	2	Dem I	48	3	Dem I	46	3	Dem I	2.60
Japan	10	0	Dem I	9	0	Dem I	12	0	Dem I	13	0	Dem I	23	1	Dem I	0.20
Jordan	66	6	Aut W	65	6	Aut W	78	7	Aut W	71	6	Aut W	80	7	Aut W	6.40
Kazakhstan	89	9	Aut I	90	9	Aut I	97	9	Aut I	99	9	Aut I	101	9	Aut I	9.00
Kenya	128	14	Dem I	113	12	Dem I	105	10	Dem I	105	10	Dem I	108	10	Dem I	11.20
Kosovo	81	8	—	64	6	Dem I	77	7	Dem I	79	7	Dem I	65	5	Dem I	6.60
Kuwait	43	3	Aut I	42	3	Aut I	45	3	Aut I	47	3	Aut I	55	4	Aut I	3.20
Kyrgyzstan	98	10	Dem W	128	13	Dem I	123	12	Dem I	127	12	Dem I	128	12	Dem I	11.80
Laos	127	14	Aut I	127	13	Aut I	122	12	Aut I	126	12	Aut I	127	12	Aut I	12.60

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Latvia	9	0	Dem I	25	1	Dem I	11	0	Dem I	12	0	Dem I	9	0	Dem I	0.20
Lebanon	88	9	Dem I	78	7	Dem I	71	6	Dem I	65	5	Dem I	64	5	Dem I	6.40
Lesotho	111	12	Dem I	107	11	Dem I	87	8	Dem I	98	9	Dem I	107	10	Dem I	10.00
Liberia	156	19	Dem I	152	18	Dem I	137	15	Dem I	135	13	Dem I	126	12	Dem I	15.40
Libya	76	7	Aut I	77	7	—	129	13	SF	134	13	SF	140	14	SF	10.80
Lithuania	24	1	Dem I	24	1	Dem I	25	1	Dem I	27	1	Dem I	22	1	Dem I	1.00
Luxembourg	23	1		23	1		10	0	Dem I	11	0	Dem I	8	0	Dem I	0.40
Madagascar	97	10	Dem I	135	14	Aut W	121	12	Dem W	118	11	Dem I	125	12	Dem I	11.80
Malawi	145	16	Dem I	139	15	Dem I	145	16	Dem I	137	14	Dem I	134	13	Dem I	14.80
Malaysia	65	6	Dem I	63	6	Dem I	70	6	Dem I	64	5	Dem W	45	3	Dem I	5.20
Mali	137	15	Dem I	134	14	Dem I	151	17	Dem W	146	16	Dem W	143	15	Dem W	15.40
Mauritania	144	16	Aut W	142	16	Aut W	144	16	Aut W	145	16	Aut W	146	16	Aut W	16.00
Mauritius	22	1	Dem I	22	1	Dem I	24	1	Dem I	10	0	Dem I	7	0	Dem I	0.60
Mexico	50	4	Dem I	51	4	Dem I	59	5	Dem I	63	5	Dem I	63	5	Dem I	4.60
Moldova	87	9	Dem I	99	10	Dem I	96	9	Dem I	89	8	Dem I	91	8	Dem I	8.80
Mongolia	75	7	Dem I	76	7	Dem I	86	8	Dem I	78	7	Dem I	79	7	Dem I	7.20
Montenegro	35	2	Dem I	33	2	Dem I	34	2	Dem I	46	3	Dem I	33	2	Dem I	2.20
Morocco	64	6	Aut I	62	6	Aut I	69	6	Aut W	70	6	Aut W	78	7	Aut W	6.20
Mozambique	136	15	Dem I	133	14	Dem W	120	12	Dem W	117	11	Dem W	116	11	Dem W	12.60
Myanmar	160	20	Aut I	159	20	Aut I	159	19	Aut W	157	19	Dem I	154	18	Dem I	19.20
Namibia	63	6	Dem I	57	5	Dem I	58	5	Dem I	62	5	Dem I	62	5	Dem I	5.20
Nepal	126	14	Dem I	138	15	Dem I	134	14	Dem I	116	11	Dem I	100	9	Dem I	12.60
Netherlands	8	0	Dem I	8	0	Dem I	9	0	Dem I	9	0	Dem I	6	0	Dem I	0.00
New Zealand	34	2	Dem I	32	2	Dem I	33	2	Dem I	32	2	Dem I	32	2	Dem I	2.00
Nicaragua	86	9	Dem I	98	10	Dem I	85	8	Dem I	88	8	Dem I	77	7	Dem I	8.40
Niger	152	18	Dem I	151	18	Dem I	153	18	Dem I	154	18	Dem W	157	19	Dem W	18.20
Nigeria	157	19	Dem W	147	17	Dem W	150	17	Dem W	153	18	Dem I	153	18	Dem I	17.80
North Korea	96	10	Aut I	89	9	Aut I	76	7	Aut I	77	7	Aut I	76	7	Aut I	8.00
North Macedonia	42	3	Dem I	52	4	Dem I	35	2	Dem I	33	2	Dem I	34	2	Dem I	2.60
Norway	33	2	Dem I	31	2	Dem I	32	2	Dem I	31	2	Dem I	31	2	Dem I	2.00
Oman	57	5	Aut I	50	4	Aut I	68	6	Aut I	61	5	Aut I	61	5	Aut I	5.00
Pakistan	143	16	Dem W	137	15	Dem I	143	16	Dem I	144	16	Dem I	142	15	Dem I	15.60
Panama	62	6	Dem I	56	5	Dem I	44	3	Dem I	45	3	Dem I	44	3	Dem I	4.00
Papua New Guinea	106	11	Dem W	97	10	Dem W	113	11	Dem W	115	11	Dem W	106	10	Dem W	10.60
Paraguay	85	9	Dem I	83	8	Dem I	95	9	Dem I	97	9	Dem I	90	8	Dem I	8.60
Peru	74	7	Dem I	75	7	Dem I	67	6	Dem I	69	6	Dem I	70	6	Dem I	6.40
Philippines	110	12	Dem I	106	11	Dem I	112	11	Dem I	125	12	Dem I	139	14	Dem I	12.00
Poland	7	0	Dem I	7	0	Dem I	8	0	Dem I	8	0	Dem I	5	0	Dem I	0.00
Portugal	6	0	Dem I	6	0	Dem I	7	0	Dem I	7	0	Dem I	4	0	Dem I	0.00
Qatar	61	6	Aut I	61	6	Aut I	53	4	Aut I	44	3	Aut I	43	3	Aut I	4.40
Republic of Congo	140	15	Aut W	140	15	Aut W	131	13	Aut W	136	13	Aut W	135	13	Aut W	13.80
Romania	56	5	Dem I	49	4	Dem I	52	4	Dem I	55	4	Dem I	42	3	Dem I	4.00
Russia	80	8	Dem W	74	7	Dem W	75	7	Dem W	96	9	Dem W	99	9	Dem W	8.00
Rwanda	158	19	Aut W	146	17	Aut W	149	17	Aut W	143	16	Aut W	141	15	Aut W	16.80

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Saudi Arabia	95	10	Aut I	96	10	Aut I	94	9	Aut I	87	8	Aut I	89	8	Aut I	9.00
Senegal	94	10	Dem I	88	9	Dem I	104	10	Dem I	104	10	Dem I	105	10	Dem I	9.80
Serbia	55	5	Dem I	55	5	Dem I	51	4	Dem I	43	3	Dem I	41	3	Dem I	4.00
Sierra Leone	161	20	Dem I	156	19	Dem I	133	14	Dem I	133	13	Dem I	133	13	Dem I	15.80
Singapore	32	2	Dem W	30	2	Dem W	31	2	Aut W	30	2	Aut W	40	3	Aut W	2.20
Slovakia	21	1	Dem I	21	1	Dem I	23	1	Dem I	26	1	Dem I	21	1	Dem I	1.00
Slovenia	5	0	Dem I	5	0	Dem I	6	0	Dem I	6	0	Dem I	3	0	Dem I	0.00
Solomon Islands	93	10	Dem I	95	10	Dem I	103	10	Dem I	95	9	Dem I	98	9	Dem I	9.60
Somalia	166	25	—	166	24	—	162	20	Dem W	160	20	Dem W	159	20	Dem W	21.80
South Africa	79	8	Dem I	82	8	Dem I	84	8	Dem I	86	8	Dem I	88	8	Dem I	8.00
South Korea	4	0	Dem I	4	0	Dem I	5	0	Dem I	5	0	Dem I	2	0	Dem I	0.00
South Sudan							165	22	SF	165	23	SF	165	22	SF	22.33
Spain	20	1	Dem I	20	1	Dem I	4	0	Dem I	4	0	Dem I	20	1	Dem I	0.60
Sri Lanka	109	12	Dem I	126	13	Dem W	111	11	Dem W	114	11	Dem I	115	11	Dem I	11.60
Sudan	165	24	Aut W	164	23	Aut W	164	22	Aut W	164	22	Aut W	163	21	Aut W	22.40
Suriname	73	7		81	8		66	6	Dem W	68	6	Dem W	60	5	Dem W	6.40
Sweden	3	0	Dem I	3	0	Dem I	3	0	Dem I	3	0	Dem I	1	0	Dem I	0.00
Switzerland	19	1	Dem I	19	1	Dem I	22	1	Dem I	25	1	Dem I	19	1	Dem I	1.00
Syria	105	11	Aut I	94	10	Aut I	136	15	Aut I	139	15	Aut I	138	14	Aut I	13.00
Taiwan	2	0	Dem I	2	0	Dem I	2	0	Dem I	2	0	Dem I	18	1	Dem I	0.20
Tajikistan	119	13	Aut W	105	11	Aut W	110	11	Aut W	113	11	Aut W	114	11	Aut W	11.40
Tanzania	104	11	Dem W	112	12	Dem W	102	10	Aut W	103	10	Dem W	104	10	Dem W	10.60
Thailand	72	7	Dem W	73	7	Dem W	65	6	Dem I	60	5	Aut W	87	8	Aut W	6.60
Togo	118	13	Aut W	125	13	Aut W	128	13	Aut W	132	13	Aut W	132	13	Aut W	13.00
Trinidad and Tobago	49	4	Dem I	48	4	Dem I	50	4	Dem I	54	4	Dem I	39	3	Dem I	3.80
Tunisia	71	7	Aut W	72	7	—	57	5	Dem W	53	4	Dem I	54	4	Dem I	5.40
Turkey	84	9	Dem I	87	9	Dem I	83	8	Dem I	94	9	Aut W	97	9	Aut W	8.80
Turkmenistan	103	11	Aut I	93	10	Aut I	92	9	Aut I	93	9	Aut I	86	8	Aut I	9.40
Uganda	142	16	Aut W	145	17	Aut W	152	18	Aut W	142	16	Aut W	137	14	Aut W	16.20
Ukraine	54	5	Dem I	60	6	Dem I	64	6	Dem I	92	9	Dem W	96	9	Dem W	7.00
United Arab Emirates	41	3	Aut I	41	3	Aut I	49	4	Aut I	52	4	Aut I	59	5	Aut I	3.80
United Kingdom	1	0	Dem I	1	0	Dem I	1	0	Dem I	1	0	Dem I	17	1	Dem I	0.20
United States of America	31	2	Dem I	40	3	Dem I	43	3	Dem I	42	3	Dem I	53	4	Dem I	3.00
Uruguay	30	2	Dem I	39	3	Dem I	30	2	Dem I	29	2	Dem I	30	2	Dem I	2.20
Uzbekistan	117	13	Aut I	124	13	Aut I	119	12	Aut I	112	11	Aut I	113	11	Aut I	12.00
Venezuela	92	10	Dem W	104	11	Aut W	101	10	Dem W	111	11	Dem W	136	14	Aut W	11.20
Vietnam	77	8	Aut I	71	7	Aut I	74	7	Aut I	76	7	Aut I	74	7	Aut I	7.20
Yemen	141	16	Aut W	141	16	Aut W	158	19	Dem W	161	21	SF	162	21	SF	18.60
Zambia	135	15	Dem I	132	14	Dem I	118	12	Dem I	124	12	Dem I	124	12	Dem I	13.00
Zimbabwe	153	18	Dem W	144	17	Dem W	148	17	Dem W	149	17	Dem W	151	17	Dem W	17.20
AVG		8.66			8.51			8.20			8.02			7.98		8.30

Table 29. State Fragility Index (2009, 2011, 2014, 2017, 2018)(Marshall & Cole, 2009, 2011, 2014; Marshall & Elzinga-Marshall, 2017, 2018)

APPENDIX 3. INDEX OF FREEDOM IN THE WORLD

COUNTRY	2012			AVG
	RANK	OVERAL	QUARTILE	
Albania	24	7.98	1	7.98
Algeria	117	4.77	3	4.77
Argentina	56	7.22	2	7.22
Australia	4	8.33	1	8.33
Austria	14	8.13	1	8.13
Bahamas	26	7.94	1	7.94
Bahrain	74	6.74	2	6.74
Bangladesh	111	5.31	2	5.31
Barbados	76	6.68	2	6.68
Belgium	32	7.83	1	7.83
Belize	63	7.09	2	7.09
Benin	87	6.27	2	6.27
Bolivia	64	7.07	2	7.07
Botswana	71	6.85	2	6.85
Brazil	50	7.35	2	7.35
Bulgaria	42	7.60	1	7.60
Burundi	115	4.93	3	4.93
Cameroon	114	5.03	2	5.03
Canada	5	8.33	1	8.33
Central African Republic	112	5.18	2	5.18
Chad	113	5.07	2	5.07
Chile	16	8.12	1	8.12
China	100	5.76	2	5.76
Colombia	81	6.41	2	6.41
Costa Rica	20	8.05	1	8.05
Croatia	57	7.20	2	7.20
Cyprus	45	7.53	1	7.53
Czech Republic	34	7.78	1	7.78
Democratic Republic of the Congo	118	4.76	3	4.76
Denmark	8	8.30	1	8.30
Dominican Republic	72	6.84	2	6.84
Ecuador	73	6.80	2	6.80
Egypt	96	5.93	2	5.93
El Salvador	21	8.04	1	8.04
Estonia	10	8.28	1	8.28

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Fiji	61	7.11	2	7.11
Finland	13	8.16	1	8.16
France	33	7.78	1	7.78
Gabon	107	5.54	2	5.54
Germany	35	7.75	1	7.75
Ghana	55	7.23	2	7.23
Greece	65	7.03	2	7.03
Guatemala	36	7.73	1	7.73
Guinea-Bissau	90	6.15	2	6.15
Guyana	59	7.16	2	7.16
Haiti	51	7.34	2	7.34
Honduras	52	7.31	2	7.31
Hong Kong	3	8.39	1	8.39
Hungary	31	7.87	1	7.87
Iceland	17	8.10	1	8.10
India	92	6.06	2	6.06
Indonesia	84	6.36	2	6.36
Iran	116	4.83	3	4.83
Ireland	6	8.33	1	8.33
Israel	105	5.60	2	5.60
Italy	40	7.62	1	7.62
Ivory Coast	108	5.48	2	5.48
Jamaica	46	7.48	2	7.48
Japan	9	8.28	1	8.28
Jordan	82	6.38	2	6.38
Kenya	91	6.12	2	6.12
Kuwait	85	6.35	2	6.35
Latvia	48	7.44	2	7.44
Lithuania	41	7.61	1	7.61
Luxembourg	15	8.12	1	8.12
Madagascar	70	6.88	2	6.88
Malawi	88	6.27	2	6.27
Malaysia	99	5.84	2	5.84
Mali	77	6.66	2	6.66
Malta	27	7.94	1	7.94
Mauritius	30	7.88	1	7.88
Mexico	68	7.00	2	7.00
Morocco	93	6.04	2	6.04
Myanmar	122	3.72	3	3.72

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Namibia	62	7.10	2	7.10
Nepal	97	5.89	2	5.89
Netherlands	2	8.47	1	8.47
New Zealand	1	8.73	1	8.73
Nicaragua	53	7.30	2	7.30
Niger	102	5.71	2	5.71
Nigeria	104	5.68	2	5.68
Norway	12	8.26	1	8.26
Oman	75	6.74	2	6.74
Pakistan	121	4.47	3	4.47
Panama	28	7.92	1	7.92
Papua New Guinea	49	7.39	2	7.39
Paraguay	54	7.27	2	7.27
Peru	38	7.68	1	7.68
Philippines	67	7.02	2	7.02
Poland	37	7.73	1	7.73
Portugal	25	7.97	1	7.97
Republic of Congo	101	5.73	2	5.73
Romania	66	7.03	2	7.03
Russia	89	6.25	2	6.25
Rwanda	80	6.44	2	6.44
Senegal	98	5.88	2	5.88
Sierra Leone	103	5.68	2	5.68
Singapore	39	7.67	1	7.67
Slovakia	19	8.07	1	8.07
Slovenia	43	7.56	1	7.56
South Africa	69	6.94	2	6.94
South Korea	44	7.53	1	7.53
Spain	23	8.00	1	8.00
Sri Lanka	120	4.64	3	4.64
Sweden	29	7.91	1	7.91
Switzerland	11	8.26	1	8.26
Syria	119	4.67	3	4.67
Taiwan	47	7.48	2	7.48
Tanzania	95	5.96	2	5.96
Thailand	58	7.17	2	7.17
Togo	106	5.54	2	5.54
Trinidad and Tobago	60	7.13	2	7.13
Tunisia	110	5.36	2	5.36

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Turkey	83	6.37	2	6.37
Uganda	94	6.00	2	6.00
Ukraine	79	6.49	2	6.49
United Arab Emirates	86	6.31	2	6.31
United Kingdom	18	8.08	1	8.08
United States of America	7	8.30	1	8.30
Uruguay	22	8.03	1	8.03
Venezuela	109	5.42	2	5.42
Zambia	78	6.66	2	6.66
Zimbabwe	123	3.38	3	3.38
AVG		6.88		6.88

Table 30. Index of Freedom in the World (2012) (Vásquez & Stumberger, 2012, p. 63)

APPENDIX 4. FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

COUNTRY	2013			2014			2015			2016			2017			AVG
	RANK	OVRL	CAT	RANK	OVRL	CAT	RANK	OVRL	CAT	RANK	OVRL	CAT	RANK	OVRL	CAT	
Afghanistan	153	67	NF	150	66	NF	148	67	NF	138	62	NF	133	60	PF	64.40
Albania	96	49	PF	98	49	PF	97	49	PF	106	51	PF	105	51	PF	49.80
Algeria	134	61	NF	129	59	PF	135	61	NF	137	62	NF	141	65	NF	61.60
Andorra	9	13	F	10	13	F	9	13	F	9	13	F	9	15	F	13.40
Angola	157	68	NF	158	69	NF	155	70	NF	157	71	NF	159	73	NF	70.20
Antigua and Barbuda	79	38	PF	80	39	PF	77	38	PF	69	35	PF	68	34	PF	36.80
Argentina	109	52	PF	107	51	PF	109	51	PF	105	50	PF	93	46	PF	50.00
Armenia	135	61	NF	137	62	NF	136	61	NF	139	63	NF	138	63	NF	62.00
Australia	31	21	F	33	22	F	33	22	F	34	23	F	32	22	F	22.00
Austria	32	21	F	31	21	F	32	22	F	33	23	F	31	22	F	21.80
Azerbaijan	177	82	NF	183	84	NF	188	87	NF	189	89	NF	190	90	NF	86.40
Bahamas	27	19	F	27	20	F	28	21	F	31	22	F	34	23	F	21.00
Bahrain	188	86	NF	188	87	NF	189	87	NF	188	87	NF	189	87	NF	86.80
Bangladesh	112	53	PF	115	54	PF	115	54	PF	134	61	NF	136	62	NF	56.80
Barbados	23	18	F	24	18	F	24	18	F	23	18	F	23	19	F	18.20
Belarus	193	93	NF	193	93	NF	194	93	NF	194	91	NF	176	83	NF	90.60
Belgium	3	11	F	4	11	F	4	11	F	4	11	F	4	12	F	11.20
Belize	35	22	F	34	22	F	34	22	F	32	22	F	48	27	F	23.00
Benin	70	34	PF	73	36	PF	75	38	PF	74	38	PF	72	37	PF	36.60
Bhutan	126	58	PF	127	59	PF	127	59	PF	125	58	PF	125	58	PF	58.40
Bolivia	94	48	PF	96	48	PF	92	47	PF	96	49	PF	111	53	PF	49.00
Bosnia and Herzegovina	97	49	PF	104	50	PF	108	51	PF	104	50	PF	104	51	PF	50.20
Botswana	83	41	PF	85	41	PF	86	44	PF	88	45	PF	89	45	PF	43.20
Brazil	91	46	PF	91	45	PF	90	45	PF	91	46	PF	94	47	PF	45.80
Brunei	167	75	NF	165	75	NF	168	75	NF	166	76	NF	164	76	NF	75.40
Bulgaria	77	37	PF	79	39	PF	76	38	PF	79	40	PF	81	42	PF	39.20
Burkina Faso	86	42	PF	87	44	PF	87	44	PF	83	41	PF	77	41	PF	42.40
Burundi	162	72	NF	163	74	NF	164	74	NF	173	80	NF	179	85	NF	77.00
Cambodia	149	66	NF	147	66	NF	154	69	NF	155	69	NF	154	70	NF	68.00
Cameroon	150	66	NF	148	66	NF	145	66	NF	144	65	NF	144	66	NF	65.80
Canada	29	20	F	26	19	F	25	18	F	24	18	F	21	18	F	18.60
Cape Verde	52	27	F	51	27	F	51	27	F	49	27	F	51	27	F	27.00
Central African Republic	140	62	NF	170	77	NF	160	72	NF	160	71	NF	158	71	NF	70.60
Chad	168	76	NF	166	75	NF	165	74	NF	163	74	NF	162	74	NF	74.60
Chile	64	31	PF	65	31	PF	64	31	PF	61	29	F	59	29	F	30.20

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China	179	83	NF	184	84	NF	186	86	NF	187	87	NF	188	87	NF	85.40
Colombia	113	53	PF	116	54	PF	120	55	PF	121	56	PF	120	57	PF	55.00
Comoros	98	49	PF	99	49	PF	98	49	PF	100	49	PF	99	49	PF	49.00
Costa Rica	24	18	F	25	18	F	21	17	F	20	17	F	15	16	F	17.20
Crimea							196	94	NF	196	94	NF	196	94	NF	94.00
Croatia	81	40	PF	83	40	PF	82	40	PF	84	42	PF	78	41	PF	40.60
Cuba	191	92	NF	191	90	NF	193	91	NF	193	91	NF	194	91	NF	91.00
Cyprus	45	25	F	44	25	F	45	25	F	40	24	F	37	23	F	24.40
Czech Republic	28	19	F	28	20	F	29	21	F	28	21	F	28	21	F	20.40
Democratic Republic of the Congo	180	83	NF	174	79	NF	132	59	PF	169	78	NF	173	82	NF	76.20
Denmark	6	12	F	6	12	F	6	12	F	6	12	F	6	12	F	12.00
Djibouti	164	74	NF	164	75	NF	167	75	NF	165	75	NF	166	77	NF	75.20
Dominica	40	24	F	42	25	F	43	25	F	44	26	F	41	25	F	25.00
Dominican Republic	82	40	PF	84	41	PF	84	42	PF	85	42	PF	82	42	PF	41.40
East Timor	73	35	PF	71	35	PF	69	35	PF	68	35	PF	69	35	PF	35.00
Ecuador	137	61	NF	138	62	NF	140	64	NF	145	66	NF	145	66	NF	63.80
Egypt	141	62	NF	155	68	NF	162	73	NF	167	77	NF	167	77	NF	71.40
El Salvador	84	41	PF	82	39	PF	79	39	PF	76	39	PF	76	41	PF	39.80
Equatorial Guinea	190	91	NF	190	90	NF	191	90	NF	192	91	NF	193	91	NF	90.60
Eritrea	194	94	NF	194	94	NF	195	94	NF	195	94	NF	195	94	NF	94.00
Estonia	13	16	F	15	16	F	15	16	F	15	16	F	14	16	F	16.00
Eswatini	170	77	NF	172	78	NF	173	79	NF	175	82	NF	174	83	NF	79.80
Ethiopia	178	82	NF	178	81	NF	181	83	NF	179	83	NF	183	86	NF	83.00
Fiji	121	56	PF	117	54	PF	112	52	PF	95	48	PF	88	44	PF	50.80
Finland	4	11	F	5	11	F	5	11	F	5	11	F	5	12	F	11.20
France	36	22	F	35	22	F	35	23	F	51	28	F	46	26	F	24.20
Gabon	160	71	NF	159	70	NF	156	70	NF	153	68	NF	155	71	NF	70.00
Gambia	181	83	NF	181	83	NF	178	81	NF	186	87	NF	187	87	NF	84.20
Georgia	99	49	PF	93	47	PF	93	48	PF	97	49	PF	102	50	PF	48.60
Germany	19	17	F	18	17	F	22	18	F	25	20	F	25	20	F	18.40
Ghana	55	28	F	55	28	F	54	28	F	63	31	PF	64	33	PF	29.60
Greece	85	41	PF	92	46	PF	107	51	PF	94	48	PF	87	44	PF	46.00
Grenada	39	23	F	39	24	F	37	23	F	38	24	F	44	26	F	24.00
Guatemala	128	59	PF	131	60	PF	134	60	PF	129	58	PF	127	58	PF	59.00
Guinea	142	62	NF	141	64	NF	141	64	NF	143	65	NF	143	66	NF	64.20
Guinea-Bissau	148	65	NF	152	67	NF	131	59	PF	132	60	PF	129	59	PF	62.00
Guyana	68	33	PF	70	34	PF	70	36	PF	70	36	PF	73	38	PF	35.40
Haiti	100	49	PF	105	50	PF	105	50	PF	111	52	PF	108	52	PF	50.60
Honduras	143	62	NF	142	64	NF	153	68	NF	152	67	NF	147	66	NF	65.40

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Hong Kong	71	35	PF	74	37	PF	83	41	PF	77	39	PF	80	42	PF	38.80
Hungary	74	36	PF	72	35	PF	72	37	PF	78	40	PF	84	44	PF	38.40
Iceland	10	14	F	9	12	F	14	16	F	14	15	F	12	15	F	14.40
India	80	38	PF	81	39	PF	81	40	PF	82	41	PF	83	43	PF	40.20
Indonesia	101	49	PF	100	49	PF	99	49	PF	101	49	PF	100	49	PF	49.00
Iran	192	92	NF	192	90	NF	192	90	NF	191	90	NF	192	90	NF	90.40
Iraq	154	67	NF	157	69	NF	159	72	NF	159	71	NF	157	71	NF	70.00
Ireland	14	16	F	16	16	F	16	16	F	17	17	F	20	18	F	16.60
Israel	65	31	PF	63	30	F	63	30	F	65	32	PF	65	33	PF	31.20
Italy	69	33	PF	67	31	PF	65	31	PF	64	31	PF	62	31	PF	31.40
Ivory Coast	136	61	NF	121	55	PF	114	53	PF	109	51	PF	107	51	PF	54.20
Jamaica	25	18	F	21	17	F	20	17	F	21	18	F	22	19	F	17.80
Japan	41	24	F	43	25	F	44	25	F	45	26	F	49	27	F	25.40
Jordan	145	63	NF	156	68	NF	147	66	NF	147	66	NF	150	68	NF	66.20
Kazakhstan	182	84	NF	187	85	NF	185	85	NF	182	84	NF	182	85	NF	84.60
Kenya	114	53	PF	122	57	PF	124	57	PF	124	58	PF	124	58	PF	56.60
Kiribati	53	27	F	58	29	F	58	29	F	62	30	F	61	30	F	29.00
Kosovo	102	49	PF	101	49	PF	100	49	PF	102	49	PF	97	48	PF	48.80
Kuwait	129	59	PF	128	59	PF	128	59	PF	130	59	PF	131	60	PF	59.20
Kyrgyzstan	158	69	NF	151	66	NF	149	67	NF	150	67	NF	148	67	NF	67.20
Laos	183	84	NF	185	84	NF	184	84	NF	181	84	NF	181	85	NF	84.20
Latvia	56	28	F	52	27	F	52	28	F	53	28	F	47	26	F	27.40
Lebanon	115	53	PF	113	53	PF	118	55	PF	119	56	PF	118	56	PF	54.60
Lesotho	103	49	PF	94	47	PF	94	48	PF	98	49	PF	103	51	PF	48.80
Liberia	122	56	PF	126	58	PF	133	60	PF	128	58	PF	130	60	PF	58.40
Libya	130	59	PF	135	62	NF	161	73	NF	164	75	NF	165	77	NF	69.20
Liechtenstein	11	14	F	11	14	F	10	14	F	10	14	F	10	15	F	14.20
Lithuania	42	24	F	40	24	F	41	25	F	36	23	F	30	21	F	23.40
Luxembourg	7	12	F	7	12	F	7	12	F	7	13	F	8	14	F	12.60
Madagascar	151	66	NF	140	63	NF	130	59	PF	127	58	PF	126	58	PF	60.80
Malawi	116	53	PF	108	51	PF	102	49	PF	89	45	PF	90	45	PF	48.60
Malaysia	146	64	NF	144	64	NF	143	65	NF	149	67	NF	151	69	NF	65.80
Maldives	118	55	PF	119	55	PF	121	55	PF	123	58	PF	135	62	NF	57.00
Mali	92	46	PF	77	37	PF	74	37	PF	73	37	PF	71	37	PF	38.80
Malta	37	22	F	37	23	F	36	23	F	35	23	F	35	23	F	22.80
Marshall Islands	20	17	F	19	17	F	18	17	F	18	17	F	18	17	F	17.00
Mauritania	93	47	PF	95	48	PF	103	50	PF	107	51	PF	112	53	PF	49.80
Mauritius	63	30	F	62	30	F	62	30	F	60	29	F	58	29	F	29.60
Mexico	138	61	NF	133	61	NF	139	63	NF	140	64	NF	140	64	NF	62.60

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Micronesia	33	21	F	32	21	F	30	21	F	29	21	F	29	21	F	21.00
Moldova	117	53	PF	114	53	PF	119	55	PF	120	56	PF	119	56	PF	54.60
Monaco	15	16	F	13	15	F	12	15	F	12	15	F	13	16	F	15.40
Mongolia	78	37	PF	76	37	PF	73	37	PF	72	37	PF	70	37	PF	37.00
Montenegro	75	36	PF	78	39	PF	78	39	PF	81	41	PF	85	44	PF	39.80
Morocco	152	66	NF	149	66	NF	146	66	NF	146	66	NF	146	66	NF	66.00
Mozambique	87	42	PF	90	45	PF	89	44	PF	90	46	PF	96	48	PF	45.00
Myanmar	163	72	NF	160	70	NF	163	73	NF	161	73	NF	160	73	NF	72.20
Namibia	66	31	PF	66	31	PF	67	33	PF	66	33	PF	63	32	PF	32.00
Nauru	57	28	F	64	31	PF	66	32	PF	80	41	PF	92	46	PF	35.60
Nepal	127	58	PF	120	55	PF	122	55	PF	117	54	PF	110	52	PF	54.80
Netherlands	5	11	F	3	10	F	3	11	F	3	11	F	3	11	F	10.80
New Zealand	16	16	F	22	18	F	26	19	F	26	20	F	24	19	F	18.40
Nicaragua	106	51	PF	110	52	PF	111	52	PF	115	54	PF	117	55	PF	52.80
Niger	105	50	PF	109	52	PF	110	51	PF	113	53	PF	109	52	PF	51.60
Nigeria	107	51	PF	106	51	PF	113	53	PF	108	51	PF	106	51	PF	51.40
North Korea	196	96	NF	197	97	NF	199	97	NF	199	97	NF	199	98	NF	97.00
North Macedonia	123	56	PF	124	57	PF	125	58	PF	136	62	NF	139	64	NF	59.40
Norway	1	10	F	1	10	F	1	10	F	1	9	F	1	8	F	9.40
Oman	161	71	NF	161	71	NF	158	71	NF	158	71	NF	156	71	NF	71.00
Pakistan	147	64	NF	145	64	NF	144	65	NF	141	64	NF	142	65	NF	64.40
Palau	17	16	F	14	15	F	13	15	F	13	15	F	11	15	F	15.20
Panama	95	48	PF	103	50	PF	101	49	PF	93	46	PF	79	41	PF	46.80
Papua New Guinea	58	28	F	59	29	F	59	29	F	57	29	F	56	29	F	28.80
Paraguay	139	61	NF	130	59	PF	129	59	PF	126	58	PF	128	59	PF	59.20
Peru	89	43	PF	88	44	PF	91	47	PF	92	46	PF	91	45	PF	45.00
Philippines	90	43	PF	89	44	PF	88	44	PF	86	44	PF	86	44	PF	43.80
Poland	47	26	F	49	27	F	47	26	F	52	28	F	66	34	PF	28.20
Portugal	21	17	F	23	18	F	23	18	F	22	18	F	19	17	F	17.60
Qatar	155	67	NF	153	67	NF	150	67	NF	154	69	NF	153	70	NF	68.00
Republic of Congo	120	56	PF	123	57	PF	172	79	NF	131	59	PF	132	60	PF	62.20
Romania	88	42	PF	86	41	PF	85	42	PF	75	38	PF	75	38	PF	40.20
Russia	176	81	NF	177	81	NF	180	83	NF	178	83	NF	175	83	NF	82.20
Rwanda	174	80	NF	173	79	NF	174	79	NF	171	79	NF	170	79	NF	79.20
Saint Kitts and Nevis	30	20	F	29	20	F	27	20	F	27	20	F	27	21	F	20.20
Saint Lucia	12	15	F	12	15	F	11	15	F	11	15	F	16	17	F	15.40
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	22	17	F	20	17	F	19	17	F	19	17	F	26	21	F	17.80
Samoa	61	29	F	60	29	F	61	30	F	59	29	F	57	29	F	29.20
San Marino	18	16	F	17	16	F	17	16	F	16	16	F	17	17	F	16.20

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São Tomé and Príncipe	59	28	F	56	28	F	55	28	F	55	28	F	54	28	F	28.00
Saudi Arabia	184	84	NF	182	83	NF	182	83	NF	185	86	NF	185	86	NF	84.40
Senegal	110	52	PF	97	48	PF	95	48	PF	99	49	PF	95	47	PF	48.80
Serbia	76	36	PF	75	37	PF	80	40	PF	87	45	PF	98	49	PF	41.40
Seychelles	124	56	PF	111	52	PF	106	50	PF	103	49	PF	101	49	PF	51.20
Sierra Leone	104	49	PF	102	49	PF	104	50	PF	112	53	PF	116	54	PF	51.00
Singapore	156	67	NF	154	67	NF	151	67	NF	151	67	NF	149	67	NF	67.00
Slovakia	38	22	F	38	23	F	39	24	F	39	24	F	45	26	F	23.80
Slovenia	43	24	F	41	24	F	42	25	F	37	23	F	36	23	F	23.80
Solomon Islands	60	28	F	57	28	F	56	28	F	50	27	F	52	27	F	27.60
Somalia	185	84	NF	179	82	NF	175	79	NF	172	79	NF	171	79	NF	80.60
Somaliland							117	54	PF	116	54	PF	114	53	PF	53.67
South Africa	72	35	PF	69	33	PF	71	37	PF	71	36	PF	74	38	PF	35.80
South Korea	67	31	PF	68	32	PF	68	33	PF	67	33	PF	67	34	PF	32.60
South Sudan	131	60	PF	136	62	NF	152	68	NF	148	66	NF	152	70	NF	65.20
Spain	54	27	F	54	28	F	53	28	F	54	28	F	53	28	F	27.80
Sri Lanka	165	74	NF	167	76	NF	169	76	NF	142	64	NF	134	61	NF	70.20
Sudan	175	80	NF	176	81	NF	177	81	NF	183	85	NF	184	86	NF	82.60
Suriname	44	24	F	53	28	F	57	29	F	56	28	F	55	28	F	27.40
Sweden	2	10	F	2	10	F	2	10	F	2	11	F	2	11	F	10.40
Switzerland	8	12	F	8	12	F	8	13	F	8	13	F	7	13	F	12.60
Syria	189	88	NF	189	89	NF	190	90	NF	190	90	NF	191	90	NF	89.40
Taiwan	48	26	F	47	26	F	49	27	F	46	26	F	42	25	F	26.00
Tajikistan	172	79	NF	175	80	NF	179	82	NF	177	83	NF	186	87	NF	82.20
Tanzania	108	51	PF	118	55	PF	116	54	PF	118	55	PF	122	58	PF	54.60
Thailand	144	62	NF	143	64	NF	166	75	NF	168	77	NF	168	77	NF	71.00
Togo	159	70	NF	146	65	NF	138	62	NF	133	60	PF	121	57	PF	62.80
Tonga	62	29	F	61	29	F	60	29	F	58	29	F	60	30	F	29.20
Trinidad and Tobago	49	26	F	46	25	F	48	27	F	47	27	F	43	25	F	26.00
Tunisia	111	52	PF	112	53	PF	96	48	PF	110	52	PF	115	54	PF	51.80
Turkey	125	56	PF	134	62	NF	142	65	NF	156	71	NF	163	76	NF	66.00
Turkmenistan	197	96	NF	196	95	NF	198	95	NF	198	96	NF	198	98	NF	96.00
Tuvalu	50	26	F	50	27	F	50	27	F	48	27	F	50	27	F	26.80
Uganda	119	55	PF	125	58	PF	123	56	PF	122	57	PF	123	58	PF	56.80
Ukraine	132	60	PF	139	63	NF	126	58	PF	114	53	PF	113	53	PF	57.40
United Arab Emirates	166	74	NF	168	76	NF	170	76	NF	170	78	NF	169	78	NF	76.40
United Kingdom	34	21	F	36	23	F	38	24	F	41	25	F	39	25	F	23.60
United States of America	26	18	F	30	21	F	31	22	F	30	21	F	33	23	F	21.00
Uruguay	51	26	F	48	26	F	40	24	F	42	25	F	38	24	F	25.00

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Uzbekistan	195	95	NF	195	95	NF	197	95	NF	197	95	NF	197	95	NF	95.00
Vanuatu	46	25	F	45	25	F	46	25	F	43	25	F	40	25	F	25.00
Venezuela	169	76	NF	171	78	NF	176	81	NF	174	80	NF	172	81	NF	79.20
Vietnam	186	84	NF	186	84	NF	187	86	NF	184	85	NF	178	84	NF	84.60
West Bank and Gaza Strip	187	84	NF	180	82	NF	183	84	NF	180	83	NF	177	84	NF	83.40
Yemen	173	79	NF	169	76	NF	171	78	NF	176	83	NF	180	85	NF	80.20
Zambia	133	60	PF	132	61	NF	137	62	NF	135	61	NF	137	63	NF	61.40
Zimbabwe	171	77	NF	162	73	NF	157	70	NF	162	74	NF	161	74	NF	73.60
AVG		47.53			47.83			48.57			48.90			49.40		48.55

Table 31. Freedom of the Press (2013-2017) (Freedom House, 2017)

APPENDIX 5. ECONOMIC FREEDOM OF THE WORLD INDEX

COUNTRY	2015			2016			2017			2018			2019			AVG
	RANK	OVRL	CAT	RANK	OVRL	CAT	RANK	OVRL	CAT	RANK	OVRL	CAT	RANK	OVRL	CAT	
Albania	35	7.71	1	36	7.71	1	37	7.73	1	33	7.78	1	31	7.81	1	7.75
Algeria	155	4.90	4	157	5.05	4	159	4.78	4	159	4.83	4	162	4.90	4	4.89
Angola	140	5.67	4	152	5.43	4	158	4.89	4	158	4.86	4	153	5.50	4	5.27
Argentina	151	5.23	4	148	5.62	4	134	5.96	4	140	5.88	4	153	5.50	4	5.64
Armenia	31	7.78	1	36	7.71	1	32	7.79	1	18	7.94	1	15	8.03	1	7.85
Australia	9	8.17	1	9	8.22	1	7	8.25	1	5	8.29	1	9	8.20	1	8.23
Austria	24	7.88	1	27	7.83	1	26	7.85	1	26	7.86	1	28	7.86	1	7.86
Azerbaijan	116	6.31	3	114	6.43	3	117	6.32	3	111	6.53	3	121	6.44	3	6.41
Bahrain	69	7.18	2	77	7.08	2	69	7.16	2	66	7.28	2	65	7.33	2	7.21
Bangladesh	123	6.16	4	128	6.14	4	130	6.09	4	131	6.08	4	136	6.05	4	6.10
Barbados	99	6.65	3	101	6.59	3	108	6.57	3	115	6.39	3	87	6.91	3	6.62
Belarus				126	6.15	4	98	6.68	3	95	6.76	3	88	6.88	3	6.62
Belgium	40	7.68	1	46	7.59	2	42	7.61	2	46	7.62	2	45	7.62	2	7.62
Belize	92	6.76	3	91	6.8	3	101	6.67	3	99	6.72	3	100	6.70	3	6.73
Benin	133	5.89	4	123	6.18	4	119	6.31	3	114	6.43	3	110	6.62	3	6.29
Bhutan	82	6.98	3	87	6.88	3	94	6.72	3	94	6.77	3	92	6.82	3	6.83
Bolivia	122	6.17	4	117	6.35	3	116	6.39	3	118	6.33	3	125	6.28	4	6.30
Bosnia and Herzegovina	85	6.89	3	88	6.84	3	85	6.89	3	88	6.91	3	90	6.86	3	6.88
Botswana	48	7.51	2	49	7.54	2	41	7.63	1	44	7.64	2	45	7.62	2	7.59
Brazil	117	6.28	3	108	6.51	3	98	6.68	3	108	6.59	3	109	6.63	3	6.54
Brunei	91	6.78	3	85	6.92	3	63	7.30	2	70	7.23	2	66	7.30	2	7.11
Bulgaria	43	7.59	2	38	7.69	1	32	7.79	1	31	7.82	1	36	7.76	1	7.73
Burkina Faso	128	6.02	4	126	6.15	4	132	6.06	4	133	6.07	4	138	6.04	4	6.07
Burundi	126	6.07	4	120	6.22	3	144	5.77	4	146	5.70	4	150	5.65	4	5.88
Cambodia	71	7.14	2	68	7.18	2	74	7.13	2	68	7.25	2	72	7.22	2	7.18
Cameroon	139	5.69	4	145	5.74	4	142	5.78	4	142	5.85	4	145	5.86	4	5.78
Canada	8	8.22	1	6	8.28	1	8	8.22	1	13	8.11	1	14	8.06	1	8.18
Cape Verde	65	7.19	2	65	7.21	2	64	7.28	2	37	7.71	1	41	7.65	1	7.41
Central African Republic	157	4.81	4	154	5.25	4	152	5.29	4	153	5.33	4	156	5.36	4	5.21
Chad	152	5.22	4	153	5.32	4	151	5.43	4	149	5.56	4	152	5.60	4	5.43
Chile	23	7.90	1	22	7.9	1	20	7.91	1	19	7.93	1	29	7.85	1	7.90
China	120	6.24	4	118	6.27	3	114	6.50	3	110	6.54	3	116	6.53	3	6.42
Colombia	97	6.69	3	95	6.74	3	91	6.75	3	93	6.78	3	92	6.82	3	6.76
Comoros													113	6.55	3	6.55
Costa Rica	33	7.74	1	34	7.77	1	37	7.73	1	39	7.68	1	40	7.68	1	7.72

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Croatia	60	7.31	2	62	7.26	2	55	7.43	2	58	7.40	2	62	7.36	2	7.35
Cyprus	27	7.84	1	23	7.85	1	26	7.85	1	25	7.89	1	24	7.89	1	7.86
Czech Republic	19	7.94	1	19	7.94	1	22	7.88	1	24	7.91	1	27	7.87	1	7.91
Democratic Republic of the Congo	142	5.60	4	143	5.75	4	156	4.96	4	156	5.17	4	156	5.36	4	5.37
Denmark	13	8.05	1	11	8.10	1	9	8.18	1	9	8.17	1	10	8.17	1	8.13
Djibouti													105	6.68	3	6.68
Dominican Republic	46	7.53	2	50	7.49	2	54	7.44	2	49	7.57	2	51	7.58	2	7.52
East Timor	113	6.39	3	108	6.51	3	112	6.52	3	115	6.39	3	130	6.19	4	6.40
Ecuador	110	6.46	3	113	6.44	3	113	6.51	3	105	6.62	3	105	6.68	3	6.54
Egypt	150	5.27	4	155	5.15	4	157	4.94	4	150	5.51	4	149	5.68	4	5.31
El Salvador	58	7.33	2	55	7.35	2	58	7.36	2	60	7.39	2	60	7.39	2	7.36
Estonia	11	8.16	1	11	8.10	1	13	8.03	1	14	8.08	1	13	8.11	1	8.10
Eswatini	124	6.15	4	128	6.14	4	131	6.07	4	130	6.09	4	136	6.05	4	6.10
Ethiopia	147	5.37	4	149	5.60	4	145	5.73	4	145	5.72	4	144	5.87	4	5.66
Fiji	108	6.53	3	108	6.51	3	106	6.61	3	113	6.50	3	114	6.54	3	6.54
Finland	26	7.85	1	30	7.82	1	24	7.87	1	21	7.92	1	21	7.92	1	7.88
France	38	7.69	1	43	7.60	2	45	7.60	2	50	7.53	2	53	7.55	2	7.59
Gabon	144	5.56	4	147	5.65	4	140	5.87	4	144	5.76	4	147	5.80	4	5.73
Georgia	9	8.17	1	10	8.15	1	9	8.18	1	8	8.24	1	5	8.26	1	8.20
Germany	16	8.01	1	17	8.00	1	17	7.97	1	21	7.92	1	22	7.91	1	7.96
Ghana	112	6.40	3	107	6.55	3	102	6.65	3	104	6.63	3	102	6.69	3	6.58
Greece	96	6.70	3	94	6.76	3	97	6.70	3	82	7.06	3	78	7.15	2	6.87
Guatemala	27	7.84	1	32	7.79	1	39	7.70	1	36	7.73	1	32	7.80	1	7.77
Guinea	149	5.30	4	139	5.87	4	148	5.54	4	148	5.57	4	151	5.62	4	5.58
Guinea-Bissau	154	5.09	4	160	4.91	4	148	5.54	4	143	5.77	4	135	6.06	4	5.47
Guyana	90	6.80	3	101	6.59	3	109	6.56	3	108	6.59	3	117	6.52	3	6.61
Haiti	94	6.74	3	99	6.68	3	110	6.55	3	112	6.52	3	118	6.51	3	6.60
Honduras	61	7.30	2	68	7.18	2	71	7.15	2	68	7.25	2	70	7.26	2	7.23
Hong Kong	1	8.96	1	1	8.96	1	1	8.98	1	1	9.03	1	1	8.91	1	8.97
Hungary	54	7.39	2	43	7.60	2	48	7.57	2	53	7.49	2	54	7.53	2	7.52
Iceland	55	7.38	2	27	7.83	1	29	7.82	1	29	7.84	1	23	7.90	1	7.75
India	108	6.53	3	101	6.59	3	98	6.68	3	103	6.64	3	108	6.66	3	6.62
Indonesia	71	7.14	2	59	7.29	2	61	7.31	2	62	7.34	2	70	7.26	2	7.27
Iran	148	5.34	4	150	5.58	4	141	5.79	4	155	5.24	4	160	5.06	4	5.40
Iraq				146	5.67	4	150	5.47	4	151	5.47	4	148	5.74	4	5.59
Ireland	5	8.36	1	8	8.24	1	11	8.13	1	9	8.17	1	7	8.21	1	8.22
Israel	42	7.60	2	47	7.58	2	47	7.59	2	50	7.53	2	43	7.63	2	7.59
Italy	37	7.70	1	41	7.64	1	42	7.61	2	47	7.61	2	47	7.61	2	7.63
Ivory Coast	134	5.87	4	134	5.92	4	129	6.10	4	128	6.14	4	131	6.18	4	6.04

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Jamaica	35	7.71	1	43	7.60	2	45	7.60	2	42	7.67	2	39	7.71	1	7.66
Japan	21	7.91	1	21	7.91	1	18	7.92	1	16	7.98	1	18	7.98	1	7.94
Jordan	49	7.50	2	51	7.48	2	51	7.47	2	52	7.52	2	50	7.59	2	7.51
Kazakhstan	64	7.26	2	74	7.13	2	64	7.28	2	61	7.36	2	55	7.52	2	7.31
Kenya	65	7.19	2	78	7.04	2	86	6.86	3	87	6.92	3	86	6.94	3	6.99
Kuwait	106	6.56	3	93	6.77	3	107	6.58	3	102	6.66	3	98	6.72	3	6.66
Kyrgyzstap	78	7.02	2	70	7.17	2	71	7.15	2	77	7.14	2	77	7.17	2	7.13
Laos	111	6.44	3	111	6.48	3	111	6.54	3	105	6.62	3	111	6.60	3	6.54
Latvia	12	8.12	1	15	8.02	1	15	8.00	1	19	7.93	1	20	7.94	1	8.00
Lebanon	73	7.12	2	72	7.15	2	81	7.02	2	85	6.96	3	95	6.76	3	7.00
Lesotho	95	6.73	3	104	6.58	3	102	6.65	3	107	6.61	3	112	6.57	3	6.63
Liberia	98	6.67	3	100	6.65	3	115	6.49	3	118	6.33	3	122	6.35	3	6.50
Libya	153	5.18	4	156	5.08	4	160	4.68	4	160	4.74	4	163	4.79	4	4.89
Lithuania	15	8.02	1	13	8.06	1	12	8.04	1	12	8.13	1	7	8.21	1	8.09
Luxembourg	29	7.82	1	31	7.80	1	28	7.83	1	26	7.86	1	30	7.84	1	7.83
Madagascar	114	6.38	3	120	6.22	3	125	6.16	4	124	6.26	4	124	6.33	3	6.27
Malawi	137	5.81	4	133	6.00	4	127	6.11	4	136	5.94	4	141	5.96	4	5.96
Malaysia	50	7.49	2	59	7.29	2	58	7.36	2	53	7.49	2	55	7.52	2	7.43
Mali	136	5.85	4	140	5.86	4	146	5.71	4	138	5.89	4	146	5.83	4	5.83
Malta	17	7.98	1	16	8.01	1	14	8.02	1	15	8.01	1	15	8.03	1	8.01
Mauritania	131	5.91	4	119	6.23	3	123	6.21	4	123	6.27	4	120	6.49	3	6.22
Mauritius	14	8.04	1	14	8.03	1	15	8.00	1	7	8.25	1	11	8.16	1	8.10
Mexico	75	7.06	2	80	6.97	2	74	7.13	2	75	7.17	2	75	7.20	2	7.11
Moldova	84	6.95	3	79	6.99	2	81	7.02	2	72	7.22	2	66	7.30	2	7.10
Mongolia	56	7.37	2	67	7.19	2	49	7.51	2	56	7.46	2	61	7.38	2	7.38
Montenegro	76	7.04	2	84	6.93	3	71	7.15	2	53	7.49	2	42	7.64	2	7.25
Morocco	107	6.55	3	105	6.57	3	105	6.62	3	95	6.76	3	102	6.69	3	6.64
Mozambique	145	5.51	4	150	5.58	4	142	5.78	4	129	6.11	4	132	6.15	4	5.83
Myanmar	143	5.58	4	142	5.77	4	135	5.95	4	140	5.88	4	143	5.94	4	5.82
Namibia	99	6.65	3	112	6.45	3	93	6.73	3	92	6.80	3	95	6.76	3	6.68
Nepal	105	6.57	3	105	6.57	3	94	6.72	3	101	6.67	3	99	6.71	3	6.65
Netherlands	17	7.98	1	18	7.95	1	18	7.92	1	21	7.92	1	19	7.96	1	7.95
New Zealand	3	8.60	1	3	8.62	1	3	8.60	1	3	8.56	1	3	8.56	1	8.59
Nicaragua	65	7.19	2	65	7.21	2	77	7.10	2	80	7.08	2	82	7.04	2	7.12
Niger	140	5.67	4	138	5.88	4	137	5.93	4	137	5.90	4	139	5.97	4	5.87
Nigeria	102	6.64	3	86	6.89	3	86	6.86	3	84	6.98	3	84	6.97	3	6.87
North Macedonia	63	7.27	2	64	7.22	2	76	7.12	2	75	7.17	2	79	7.13	2	7.18
Norway	53	7.40	2	25	7.84	1	25	7.86	1	37	7.71	1	37	7.72	1	7.71
Oman	104	6.60	3	96	6.73	3	91	6.75	3	98	6.73	3	102	6.69	3	6.70

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Pakistan	135	5.86	4	136	5.91	4	136	5.94	4	133	6.07	4	142	5.95	4	5.95
Panama	25	7.87	1	25	7.84	1	30	7.80	1	32	7.81	1	33	7.79	1	7.82
Papua New Guinea	121	6.22	4	123	6.18	4	126	6.14	4	131	6.08	4	128	6.23	4	6.17
Paraguay	78	7.02	2	76	7.09	2	69	7.16	2	70	7.23	2	72	7.22	2	7.14
Peru	31	7.78	1	35	7.74	1	35	7.76	1	33	7.78	1	35	7.78	1	7.77
Philippines	52	7.45	2	53	7.39	2	61	7.31	2	62	7.34	2	58	7.42	2	7.38
Poland	47	7.52	2	54	7.38	2	50	7.49	2	79	7.09	2	75	7.20	2	7.34
Portugal	38	7.69	1	40	7.65	1	40	7.67	1	39	7.68	1	33	7.79	1	7.70
Qatar	74	7.08	2	73	7.14	2	79	7.06	2	83	7.01	3	80	7.09	2	7.08
Republic of Congo	158	4.60	4	161	4.64	4	154	5.18	4	157	4.91	4	159	5.08	4	4.88
Romania	21	7.91	1	19	7.94	1	22	7.88	1	29	7.84	1	26	7.88	1	7.89
Russia	102	6.64	3	90	6.81	3	88	6.83	3	90	6.85	3	100	6.70	3	6.77
Rwanda	69	7.18	2	74	7.13	2	67	7.20	2	62	7.34	2	64	7.35	2	7.24
Saudi Arabia	129	6.01	4	116	6.37	3	119	6.31	3	117	6.37	3	91	6.85	3	6.38
Senegal	130	6.00	4	130	6.12	4	121	6.28	3	122	6.30	3	127	6.25	4	6.19
Serbia	85	6.89	3	82	6.96	3	80	7.03	2	78	7.13	2	72	7.22	2	7.05
Seychelles	44	7.54	2	48	7.55	2	51	7.47	2	39	7.68	1	43	7.63	2	7.57
Sierra Leone	138	5.74	4	143	5.75	4	146	5.71	4	138	5.89	4	132	6.15	4	5.85
Singapore	2	8.78	1	2	8.79	1	2	8.82	1	2	8.82	1	2	8.81	1	8.80
Slovakia	44	7.54	2	42	7.62	2	42	7.61	2	47	7.61	2	47	7.61	2	7.60
Slovenia	59	7.32	2	57	7.33	2	56	7.40	2	58	7.40	2	57	7.43	2	7.38
Somalia													107	6.67	3	6.67
South Africa	88	6.81	3	98	6.69	3	84	6.90	3	86	6.94	3	84	6.97	3	6.86
South Korea	41	7.64	2	39	7.68	1	36	7.74	1	42	7.67	2	47	7.61	2	7.67
Spain	30	7.80	1	27	7.83	1	34	7.77	1	28	7.85	1	24	7.89	1	7.83
Sri Lanka	92	6.76	3	96	6.73	3	102	6.65	3	91	6.82	3	94	6.78	3	6.75
Sudan				159	4.92	4	161	4.35	4	161	4.25	4	164	4.19	4	4.43
Suriname	99	6.65	3	132	6.06	4	117	6.32	3	121	6.31	3	134	6.14	4	6.30
Sweden	19	7.94	1	32	7.79	1	30	7.80	1	35	7.74	1	37	7.72	1	7.80
Switzerland	4	8.53	1	4	8.56	1	4	8.57	1	4	8.54	1	4	8.48	1	8.54
Syria	156	4.89	4	158	5.01	4	155	5.02	4	147	5.60	4	158	5.19	4	5.14
Taiwan	34	7.72	1	23	7.85	1	21	7.90	1	16	7.98	1	17	8.02	1	7.89
Tajikistan	125	6.08	4	131	6.08	4	139	5.88	4	126	6.18	4	119	6.50	3	6.14
Tanzania	85	6.89	3	92	6.78	3	89	6.79	3	95	6.76	3	97	6.75	3	6.79
Thailand	88	6.81	3	89	6.82	3	90	6.78	3	89	6.86	3	89	6.87	3	6.83
The Bahamas	51	7.48	2	52	7.43	2	60	7.34	2	44	7.64	2	52	7.56	2	7.49
The Gambia	65	7.19	2	62	7.26	2	67	7.20	2	74	7.18	2	82	7.04	2	7.17
Togo	132	5.90	4	134	5.92	4	122	6.25	3	118	6.33	3	122	6.35	3	6.15
Trinidad and Tobago	83	6.97	3	61	7.28	2	66	7.26	2	66	7.28	2	69	7.27	2	7.21

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Tunisia	117	6.28	3	122	6.20	3	127	6.11	4	133	6.07	4	139	5.97	4	6.13
Turkey	81	6.99	3	80	6.97	2	96	6.71	3	100	6.69	3	114	6.54	3	6.78
Uganda	57	7.36	2	56	7.34	2	53	7.45	2	57	7.42	2	58	7.42	2	7.40
Ukraine	146	5.38	4	137	5.89	4	138	5.92	4	126	6.18	4	129	6.20	4	5.91
United Arab Emirates	80	7.01	2	70	7.17	2	83	7.01	3	80	7.08	2	68	7.28	2	7.11
United Kingdom	7	8.25	1	7	8.26	1	6	8.27	1	11	8.15	1	12	8.15	1	8.22
United States of America	6	8.29	1	5	8.35	1	5	8.38	1	6	8.26	1	6	8.24	1	8.30
Uruguay	61	7.30	2	58	7.30	2	57	7.37	2	62	7.34	2	62	7.36	2	7.33
Venezuela	159	2.77	4	162	2.70	4	162	2.67	4	162	3.31	4	165	2.83	4	2.86
Vietnam	127	6.04	4	125	6.16	4	124	6.20	4	125	6.24	4	126	6.26	4	6.18
Yemen	119	6.25	3	115	6.39	3	133	5.97	4	152	5.44	4	155	5.45	4	5.90
Zambia	76	7.04	2	82	6.96	3	78	7.09	2	73	7.20	2	80	7.09	2	7.08
Zimbabwe	115	6.34	3	141	5.82	4	153	5.19	4	154	5.31	4	161	4.94	4	5.52
AVG		6.88			6.89			6.89			6.92			6.93		6.89

Table 32. Economic Freedom of the World Index (2015-2019) (Gwartney et al., 2021a)

APPENDIX 6. HUMAN FREEDOM INDEX

COUNTRY	2015			2016			2017			2018			2019			AVG
	RANK	OVRL	CAT	RANK	OVRL	CAT	RANK	OVRL	CAT	RANK	OVRL	CAT	RANK	OVRL	CAT	
Albania	41	8.10	2	42	8.10	2	40	8.16	1	42	8.16	2	43	8.14	2	8.13
Algeria	149	5.16	4	151	5.16	4	152	5.18	4	152	5.21	4	154	5.26	4	5.19
Angola	132	5.86	4	137	5.79	4	144	5.52	4	136	5.80	4	129	6.09	4	5.81
Argentina	77	7.23	2	67	7.43	2	65	7.59	2	65	7.57	2	74	7.38	2	7.44
Armenia	56	7.70	2	51	7.78	2	52	7.80	2	47	8.01	2	40	8.20	1	7.90
Australia	6	8.90	1	5	8.93	1	4	8.93	1	4	8.94	1	8	8.84	1	8.91
Austria	14	8.78	1	13	8.78	1	17	8.74	1	18	8.68	1	21	8.67	1	8.73
Azerbaijan	130	5.94	4	130	6.01	4	126	6.10	4	127	6.14	4	127	6.16	4	6.07
Bahamas	50	7.87	2	50	7.85	2	42	8.14	2	35	8.25	1	38	8.22	1	8.07
Bahrain	145	5.47	4	146	5.47	4	146	5.48	4	144	5.62	4	143	5.73	4	5.55
Bangladesh	130	5.94	4	134	5.91	4	133	5.82	4	136	5.80	4	142	5.75	4	5.84
Barbados	55	7.73	2	52	7.75	2	54	7.77	2	60	7.69	2	51	7.92	2	7.77
Belarus				118	6.41	3	109	6.64	3	109	6.65	3	109	6.73	3	6.61
Belgium	21	8.63	1	28	8.51	1	25	8.60	1	26	8.60	1	23	8.61	1	8.59
Belize	65	7.51	2	62	7.56	2	69	7.51	2	69	7.54	2	63	7.64	2	7.55
Benin	81	7.14	3	75	7.29	2	73	7.43	2	76	7.37	2	76	7.32	2	7.31
Bhutan	101	6.84	3	109	6.67	3	107	6.74	3	105	6.81	3	98	6.86	3	6.78
Bolivia	84	7.10	3	86	7.07	3	84	7.16	3	88	7.08	3	92	6.94	3	7.07
Bosnia and Herzegovina	62	7.56	2	62	7.56	2	62	7.63	2	65	7.57	2	67	7.54	2	7.57
Botswana	60	7.62	2	57	7.69	2	59	7.64	2	59	7.70	2	53	7.90	2	7.71
Brazil	72	7.32	2	77	7.28	2	73	7.43	2	78	7.36	2	78	7.22	2	7.32
Brunei	128	6.01	4	121	6.30	3	117	6.47	3	120	6.44	3	116	6.46	3	6.34
Bulgaria	42	8.05	2	43	8.09	2	43	8.13	2	44	8.13	2	45	8.08	2	8.10
Burkina Faso	79	7.18	2	79	7.17	2	83	7.20	3	94	6.97	3	100	6.85	3	7.07
Burundi	152	5.06	4	155	5.04	4	155	4.96	4	155	4.97	4	157	5.02	4	5.01
Cambodia	104	6.78	3	108	6.70	3	117	6.47	3	118	6.46	3	115	6.47	3	6.58
Cameroon	134	5.84	4	138	5.72	4	140	5.68	4	143	5.63	4	145	5.63	4	5.70
Canada	6	8.90	1	7	8.90	1	7	8.88	1	9	8.83	1	6	8.85	1	8.87
Cape Verde	44	8.00	2	47	7.93	2	45	8.07	2	35	8.25	1	36	8.26	1	8.10
Central African Republic	150	5.12	4	143	5.62	4	136	5.76	4	139	5.76	4	147	5.62	4	5.58
Chad	144	5.49	4	149	5.32	4	147	5.43	4	146	5.58	4	150	5.57	4	5.48
Chile	28	8.53	1	27	8.53	1	21	8.64	1	25	8.61	1	28	8.44	1	8.55
China	145	5.47	4	145	5.48	4	141	5.67	4	145	5.60	4	150	5.57	4	5.56
Colombia	91	7.01	3	81	7.14	3	84	7.16	3	89	7.07	3	89	7.01	3	7.08
Comoros													130	6.07	4	6.07

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Costa Rica	32	8.41	1	32	8.42	1	36	8.30	1	38	8.23	1	37	8.25	1	8.32
Croatia	38	8.25	1	40	8.15	1	38	8.20	1	40	8.21	1	42	8.16	2	8.19
Cyprus	35	8.34	1	30	8.46	1	31	8.43	1	31	8.43	1	29	8.42	1	8.42
Czech Republic	20	8.64	1	18	8.70	1	22	8.63	1	24	8.62	1	23	8.61	1	8.64
Democratic Republic of the Congo	142	5.53	4	147	5.46	4	151	5.19	4	151	5.30	4	147	5.62	4	5.42
Denmark	4	9.00	1	3	9.02	1	3	9.02	1	3	8.99	1	3	8.98	1	9.00
Djibouti													137	5.84	4	5.84
Dominican Republic	59	7.65	2	54	7.72	2	52	7.80	2	50	7.91	2	54	7.88	2	7.79
East Timor	86	7.07	3	89	7.00	3	78	7.27	2	79	7.29	2	78	7.22	2	7.17
Ecuador	88	7.04	3	86	7.07	3	81	7.22	3	73	7.49	2	72	7.43	2	7.25
Egypt	158	4.21	4	160	4.21	4	159	4.11	4	158	4.41	4	161	4.49	4	4.29
El Salvador	70	7.40	2	62	7.56	2	71	7.49	2	74	7.48	2	73	7.39	2	7.46
Estonia	6	8.90	1	6	8.92	1	5	8.90	1	5	8.92	1	4	8.91	1	8.91
Eswatini	138	5.70	4	138	5.72	4	139	5.70	4	141	5.73	4	139	5.79	4	5.73
Ethiopia	152	5.06	4	154	5.08	4	150	5.23	4	147	5.53	4	132	5.95	4	5.37
Fiji	82	7.12	3	82	7.10	3	77	7.28	2	76	7.37	2	75	7.36	2	7.25
Finland	11	8.84	1	12	8.83	1	8	8.85	1	6	8.89	1	6	8.85	1	8.85
France	30	8.45	1	33	8.40	1	32	8.42	1	34	8.33	1	34	8.34	1	8.39
Gabon	105	6.73	3	97	6.89	3	94	6.92	3	101	6.84	3	104	6.80	3	6.84
Gambia	136	5.80	4	136	5.84	4	104	6.75	3	97	6.93	3	97	6.88	3	6.44
Georgia	43	8.04	2	41	8.12	2	38	8.20	1	39	8.22	1	40	8.20	1	8.16
Germany	14	8.78	1	14	8.77	1	14	8.76	1	16	8.73	1	15	8.73	1	8.75
Ghana	64	7.52	2	60	7.60	2	66	7.57	2	70	7.53	2	70	7.49	2	7.54
Greece	56	7.70	2	58	7.66	2	57	7.70	2	54	7.82	2	56	7.86	2	7.75
Guatemala	62	7.56	2	61	7.57	2	67	7.56	2	63	7.59	2	65	7.63	2	7.58
Guinea	137	5.79	4	129	6.02	4	134	5.81	4	134	5.82	4	138	5.82	4	5.85
Guinea-Bissau	120	6.32	4	124	6.22	4	116	6.48	3	111	6.62	3	106	6.77	3	6.48
Guyana	61	7.59	2	71	7.41	2	68	7.53	2	67	7.56	2	70	7.49	2	7.52
Haiti	76	7.24	2	77	7.28	2	82	7.21	3	80	7.24	2	80	7.21	2	7.24
Honduras	93	6.98	3	94	6.93	3	92	6.96	3	83	7.13	3	86	7.09	3	7.02
Hong Kong	21	8.63	1	24	8.62	1	20	8.67	1	20	8.66	1	30	8.41	1	8.60
Hungary	48	7.92	2	44	8.01	2	51	7.81	2	56	7.73	2	59	7.73	2	7.84
Iceland	26	8.57	1	17	8.74	1	15	8.75	1	13	8.77	1	12	8.77	1	8.72
India	110	6.64	3	105	6.75	3	109	6.64	3	114	6.54	3	119	6.39	3	6.59
Indonesia	72	7.32	2	72	7.38	2	79	7.26	2	82	7.22	3	85	7.10	3	7.26
Iran	154	4.71	4	157	4.84	4	156	4.92	4	157	4.64	4	160	4.53	4	4.73
Iraq				153	5.09	4	154	5.01	4	154	4.98	4	157	5.02	4	5.03
Ireland	3	9.03	1	4	8.94	1	6	8.89	1	6	8.89	1	5	8.90	1	8.93
Israel	58	7.67	2	58	7.66	2	59	7.64	2	68	7.55	2	62	7.66	2	7.64

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Italy	29	8.50	1	29	8.49	1	27	8.49	1	28	8.49	1	26	8.49	1	8.49
Ivory Coast	109	6.68	3	104	6.78	3	98	6.88	3	98	6.90	3	95	6.90	3	6.83
Jamaica	48	7.92	2	49	7.87	2	49	7.87	2	52	7.90	2	52	7.91	2	7.89
Japan	17	8.66	1	21	8.65	1	18	8.68	1	16	8.73	1	15	8.73	1	8.69
Jordan	103	6.82	3	107	6.73	3	102	6.80	3	99	6.87	3	94	6.91	3	6.83
Kazakhstan	107	6.69	3	113	6.58	3	111	6.62	3	108	6.68	3	106	6.77	3	6.67
Kenya	99	6.89	3	98	6.88	3	108	6.69	3	107	6.72	3	109	6.73	3	6.78
Kuwait	127	6.05	4	123	6.26	4	125	6.21	4	125	6.27	4	121	6.34	3	6.23
Kyrgyzstan	102	6.83	3	94	6.93	3	88	7.04	3	80	7.24	3	81	7.18	2	7.04
Laos	141	5.54	4	141	5.66	4	137	5.74	4	136	5.80	4	136	5.85	4	5.72
Latvia	17	8.66	1	19	8.68	1	22	8.63	1	22	8.64	1	21	8.67	1	8.66
Lebanon	106	6.72	3	101	6.85	3	100	6.85	3	100	6.86	3	108	6.76	3	6.81
Lesotho	85	7.08	3	92	6.97	3	90	7.00	3	92	7.01	3	89	7.01	3	7.01
Liberia	92	6.99	3	89	7.00	3	93	6.93	3	102	6.83	3	103	6.81	3	6.91
Libya	151	5.11	4	152	5.10	4	153	5.06	4	153	5.14	4	156	5.05	4	5.09
Lithuania	24	8.60	1	23	8.63	1	26	8.58	1	22	8.64	1	19	8.68	1	8.63
Luxembourg	12	8.79	1	14	8.77	1	13	8.79	1	10	8.81	1	10	8.80	1	8.79
Madagascar	97	6.90	3	94	6.93	3	96	6.90	3	91	7.02	3	88	7.02	3	6.95
Malawi	88	7.04	3	83	7.09	3	84	7.16	3	87	7.09	3	91	6.99	3	7.07
Malaysia	107	6.69	3	111	6.59	3	104	6.75	3	86	7.10	3	82	7.17	2	6.86
Mali	125	6.16	4	122	6.28	4	127	6.09	4	126	6.25	4	124	6.25	4	6.21
Malta	23	8.62	1	25	8.61	1	30	8.44	1	29	8.46	1	27	8.45	1	8.52
Mauritania	142	5.53	4	138	5.72	4	149	5.37	4	149	5.44	4	143	5.73	4	5.56
Mauritius	46	7.95	2	45	8.00	2	47	7.99	2	44	8.13	2	46	8.07	2	8.03
Mexico	95	6.94	3	98	6.88	3	94	6.92	3	96	6.94	3	93	6.92	3	6.92
Moldova	72	7.32	2	75	7.29	2	72	7.46	2	64	7.58	2	61	7.68	2	7.47
Mongolia	47	7.94	2	46	7.95	2	46	8.06	2	46	8.06	2	47	8.00	2	8.00
Montenegro	52	7.80	2	56	7.71	2	58	7.67	2	55	7.78	2	54	7.88	2	7.77
Morocco	126	6.12	4	131	6.00	4	130	5.93	4	130	5.99	4	134	5.90	4	5.99
Mozambique	100	6.88	3	102	6.80	3	103	6.78	3	102	6.83	3	104	6.80	3	6.82
Myanmar	147	5.46	4	142	5.63	4	142	5.66	4	140	5.74	4	141	5.78	4	5.65
Namibia	66	7.48	2	67	7.43	2	63	7.61	2	61	7.62	2	66	7.56	2	7.54
Nepal	80	7.17	3	80	7.16	2	80	7.24	2	84	7.12	3	84	7.12	3	7.16
Netherlands	12	8.79	1	14	8.77	1	15	8.75	1	14	8.76	1	11	8.78	1	8.77
New Zealand	1	9.13	1	1	9.14	1	2	9.12	1	2	9.12	1	2	9.01	1	9.10
Nicaragua	78	7.20	2	83	7.09	3	90	7.00	3	124	6.28	4	125	6.24	4	6.76
Niger	118	6.44	3	114	6.56	3	117	6.47	3	118	6.46	3	118	6.41	3	6.47
Nigeria	121	6.28	4	126	6.16	4	124	6.25	4	123	6.30	4	123	6.28	3	6.25
North Macedonia	67	7.46	2	69	7.42	2	59	7.64	2	62	7.60	2	58	7.75	2	7.57

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Norway	17	8.66	1	10	8.84	1	8	8.85	1	12	8.79	1	13	8.76	1	8.78
Oman	133	5.85	4	133	5.92	4	132	5.90	4	131	5.91	4	133	5.92	4	5.90
Pakistan	139	5.60	4	144	5.61	4	143	5.62	4	142	5.65	4	145	5.63	4	5.62
Panama	40	8.17	2	37	8.22	1	41	8.15	2	43	8.15	2	44	8.12	2	8.16
Papua New Guinea	88	7.04	3	88	7.04	3	87	7.05	3	85	7.11	3	82	7.17	3	7.08
Paraguay	75	7.31	2	69	7.42	2	73	7.43	2	71	7.51	2	67	7.54	2	7.44
Peru	53	7.74	2	53	7.73	2	50	7.86	2	50	7.91	2	50	7.93	2	7.83
Philippines	82	7.12	3	83	7.09	3	99	6.87	3	102	6.83	3	101	6.83	3	6.95
Poland	31	8.44	1	39	8.17	1	44	8.11	2	49	7.93	2	49	7.96	2	8.12
Portugal	16	8.69	1	20	8.67	1	18	8.68	1	19	8.67	1	18	8.69	1	8.68
Qatar	124	6.18	4	125	6.17	4	127	6.09	4	128	6.10	4	128	6.15	4	6.14
Republic of Congo	148	5.30	4	150	5.23	4	145	5.50	4	148	5.46	4	152	5.55	4	5.41
Romania	33	8.40	1	31	8.44	1	35	8.31	1	35	8.25	1	35	8.33	1	8.35
Russia	122	6.26	4	119	6.34	3	123	6.30	4	122	6.33	4	126	6.23	4	6.29
Rwanda	116	6.45	3	120	6.31	3	122	6.42	4	116	6.49	3	120	6.36	3	6.41
Saudi Arabia	155	4.68	4	156	4.88	4	157	4.91	4	156	4.92	4	155	5.12	4	4.90
Senegal	94	6.95	3	91	6.99	3	89	7.03	3	90	7.06	3	87	7.07	3	7.02
Serbia	67	7.46	2	66	7.50	2	69	7.51	2	71	7.51	2	67	7.54	2	7.50
Seychelles	51	7.84	2	54	7.72	2	55	7.74	2	53	7.85	2	57	7.84	2	7.80
Sierra Leone	111	6.55	3	110	6.66	3	113	6.55	3	110	6.63	3	111	6.70	3	6.62
Singapore	45	7.98	2	48	7.91	2	48	7.97	2	48	7.96	2	48	7.98	2	7.96
Slovakia	36	8.32	1	35	8.35	1	37	8.27	1	41	8.18	2	39	8.21	1	8.27
Slovenia	34	8.38	1	34	8.37	1	34	8.38	1	32	8.40	1	32	8.37	1	8.38
Somalia													159	4.93	4	4.93
South Africa	70	7.40	2	74	7.33	2	76	7.36	2	75	7.40	2	77	7.30	2	7.36
South Korea	39	8.20	1	37	8.22	1	28	8.48	1	30	8.45	1	31	8.39	1	8.35
Spain	27	8.56	1	26	8.57	1	29	8.47	1	27	8.53	1	25	8.56	1	8.54
Sri Lanka	97	6.90	3	92	6.97	3	101	6.82	3	94	6.97	3	112	6.58	3	6.85
Sudan				161	4.13	4	161	4.00	4	161	3.95	4	162	4.48	4	4.14
Suriname	53	7.74	2	73	7.37	2	56	7.72	2	56	7.73	2	63	7.64	2	7.64
Sweden	5	8.92	1	9	8.87	1	8	8.85	1	8	8.84	1	9	8.83	1	8.86
Switzerland	2	9.08	1	2	9.09	1	1	9.15	1	1	9.14	1	1	9.11	1	9.11
Syria	159	3.52	4	162	3.49	4	162	3.54	4	162	3.83	4	165	3.66	4	3.61
Taiwan	25	8.58	1	21	8.65	1	24	8.62	1	20	8.66	1	19	8.68	1	8.64
Tajikistan	140	5.59	4	147	5.46	4	148	5.38	4	150	5.43	4	153	5.52	4	5.48
Tanzania	96	6.92	3	102	6.80	3	112	6.61	3	113	6.55	3	114	6.48	3	6.67
Thailand	114	6.46	3	116	6.48	3	117	6.47	3	112	6.56	3	96	6.89	3	6.57
Togo	113	6.50	3	111	6.59	3	115	6.50	3	115	6.52	3	113	6.50	3	6.52
Trinidad and Tobago	69	7.41	2	65	7.53	2	63	7.61	2	58	7.72	2	60	7.70	2	7.59

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Tunisia	112	6.51	3	115	6.52	3	113	6.55	3	116	6.49	3	116	6.46	3	6.51
Turkey	116	6.45	3	127	6.11	4	137	5.74	4	133	5.85	4	139	5.79	4	5.99
Uganda	114	6.46	3	116	6.48	3	121	6.44	3	121	6.39	3	122	6.32	3	6.42
Ukraine	119	6.34	3	105	6.75	3	104	6.75	3	106	6.78	3	98	6.86	3	6.70
United Arab Emirates	129	6.00	4	127	6.11	4	129	5.95	4	129	6.00	4	131	6.06	4	6.02
United Kingdom	9	8.88	1	7	8.90	1	11	8.83	1	11	8.80	1	14	8.75	1	8.83
United States of America	9	8.88	1	10	8.84	1	12	8.80	1	15	8.75	1	15	8.73	1	8.80
Uruguay	37	8.26	1	36	8.26	1	33	8.39	1	33	8.35	1	33	8.36	1	8.32
Venezuela	157	4.52	4	159	4.27	4	160	4.09	4	159	4.25	4	164	4.03	4	4.23
Vietnam	135	5.83	4	134	5.91	4	131	5.91	4	131	5.91	4	134	5.90	4	5.89
Yemen	156	4.53	4	158	4.59	4	158	4.31	4	160	4.07	4	163	4.08	4	4.32
Zambia	86	7.07	3	98	6.88	3	97	6.89	3	93	7.00	3	102	6.82	3	6.93
Zimbabwe	123	6.25	4	132	5.95	4	135	5.77	4	134	5.82	4	149	5.60	4	5.88
AVG		7.15			7.12			7.13			7.15			7.12		7.11

Table 33. Human Freedom Index (2015-2019) (Vásquez et al., 2021; Vásquez & McMahon, 2020; Vásquez & Porčnik, 2017, 2018, 2019)

APPENDIX 7. ÍNDICE MUNDIAL DE LIBERTAD MORAL

COUNTRY	2016			2018			2020			2022			AVG
	RANK	OVRL	CAT	RANK	OVRL	CAT	RANK	OVRL	CAT	RANK	OVRL	CAT	
Afghanistan	152	16.88	Very Low	154	16.50	Very low	160	9.59	Lowest	160	9.59	Lowest	14.32
Albania	47	53.50	Acceptable	52	53.13	Acceptable	61	54.69	Acceptable	59	53.94	Acceptable	53.77
Algeria	148	20.63	Low	149	20.25	Low	130	34.35	Low	133	32.47	Low	25.08
Andorra	85	46.13	Insufficient	96	45.00	Insufficient	73	50.96	Acceptable	53	56.58	Acceptable	47.36
Angola	123	36.50	Low	124	36.13	Low	95	46.09	Insufficient	90	44.84	Insufficient	39.57
Argentina	25	64.45	High	15	71.08	High	17	77.82	High	24	72.82	High	71.12
Armenia	65	49.58	Insufficient	64	49.95	Insufficient	60	55.13	Acceptable	76	48.63	Insufficient	51.55
Australia	30	61.35	High	22	66.48	High	15	82.80	Very High	8	86.55	Very High	70.21
Austria	14	71.13	High	14	72.13	High	7	86.06	Very High	10	84.18	Very High	76.44
Azerbaijan	106	42.68	Insufficient	108	42.30	Insufficient	107	42.47	Insufficient	113	40.59	Insufficient	42.48
Bahamas	89	45.88	Insufficient	90	45.50	Insufficient	87	47.52	Insufficient	99	43.77	Insufficient	46.30
Bahrain	145	21.63	Low	146	21.25	Low	146	21.55	Low	145	21.55	Low	21.48
Bangladesh	132	28.90	Low	134	28.53	Low	135	31.38	Low	130	33.26	Low	29.60
Belarus	87	46.08	Insufficient	88	45.70	Insufficient	84	47.70	Insufficient	96	43.95	Insufficient	46.49
Belgium	5	79.35	High	11	78.98	High	4	90.82	Highest	3	90.07	Highest	83.05
Bolivia	22	65.30	High	28	65.30	High	46	62.30	High	48	60.43	High	64.30
Bosnia and Herzegovina	42	55.63	Acceptable	45	55.25	Acceptable	51	60.36	High	49	59.23	Acceptable	57.08
Botswana	115	39.88	Low	115	39.50	Low	78	49.53	Insufficient	64	52.03	Acceptable	42.97
Brazil	19	69.30	High	20	68.93	High	24	74.46	High	25	72.59	High	70.90
Brunei	150	18.75	Very Low	150	19.88	Very low	151	16.05	Very Low	156	14.18	Very Low	18.23
Bulgaria	48	53.33	Acceptable	56	52.45	Acceptable	40	66.80	High	45	63.05	High	57.53
Cambodia	15	70.50	High	17	70.50	High	99	45.38	Insufficient	92	44.63	Insufficient	62.13
Cameroon	83	46.25	Insufficient	85	45.88	Insufficient	109	41.60	Insufficient	120	37.85	Low	44.58
Canada	9	76.58	High	3	86.58	Very high	3	91.94	Highest	5	88.44	Very High	85.03
Central African Republic	119	37.60	Low	119	37.23	Low	131	33.50	Low	129	33.50	Low	36.11
Chile	36	59.40	Acceptable	32	63.28	High	30	72.43	High	22	74.18	High	65.04
China	114	40.00	Insufficient	116	39.30	Low	121	36.86	Low	121	36.86	Low	38.72
Colombia	11	74.98	High	12	76.15	High	16	81.15	Very High	13	83.40	Very High	77.43
Comoros	134	28.13	Low	131	29.25	Low	118	38.14	Low	123	36.27	Low	31.84
Costa Rica	50	53.08	Acceptable	50	53.45	Acceptable	48	62.03	High	40	64.03	High	56.19
Croatia	37	59.13	Acceptable	39	59.50	Acceptable	29	73.04	High	20	75.54	High	63.89
Cuba	59	50.88	Acceptable	68	49.00	Insufficient	105	43.53	Insufficient	102	43.53	Insufficient	47.80
Cyprus	46	53.73	Acceptable	51	53.35	Acceptable	35	70.34	High	37	66.59	High	59.14
Czech Republic	4	80.50	Very High	5	83.63	Very high	14	83.21	Very High	16	81.33	Very High	82.45
Denmark	21	66.33	High	16	71.08	High	12	83.39	Very High	15	81.51	Very High	73.60

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Djibouti	131	29.50	Low	132	29.13	Low	141	26.73	Low	140	26.73	Low	28.45
Dominica	105	43.13	Insufficient	105	42.75	Insufficient	114	39.48	Low	114	39.48	Low	41.79
Dominican Republic	117	38.90	Low	112	40.78	Insufficient	116	38.31	Low	118	38.31	Low	39.33
Ecuador	24	64.75	High	29	65.13	High	31	72.37	High	42	63.62	High	67.42
Egypt	153	16.88	Very Low	153	17.25	Very low	143	24.42	Low	143	22.54	Low	19.52
El Salvador	118	37.70	Low	118	39.20	Low	88	47.38	Insufficient	109	42.01	Insufficient	41.43
Equatorial Guinea	102	43.88	Insufficient	104	43.13	Insufficient	125	35.96	Low	131	32.96	Low	40.99
Eritrea	138	26.80	Low	136	26.80	Low	139	27.03	Low	141	25.28	Low	26.88
Estonia	18	69.40	High	19	69.03	High	32	72.02	High	23	73.77	High	70.15
Eswatini	109	41.88	Insufficient	111	41.50	Insufficient	120	37.63	Low	124	35.75	Low	40.34
Ethiopia	126	34.63	Low	128	34.25	Low	101	44.57	Insufficient	105	42.69	Insufficient	37.82
Finland	31	60.58	High	27	65.83	High	21	75.57	High	21	74.82	High	67.33
France	17	69.93	High	21	68.15	High	22	75.00	High	32	68.88	High	71.03
Gambia	91	45.80	Insufficient	92	45.43	Insufficient	104	43.62	Insufficient	100	43.62	Insufficient	44.95
Georgia	79	46.63	Insufficient	67	49.25	Insufficient	36	70.00	High	38	66.25	High	55.29
Germany	8	78.03	High	6	83.03	Very high	11	84.53	Very High	12	83.78	Very High	81.86
Ghana	68	49.00	Insufficient	72	48.63	Insufficient	74	50.62	Acceptable	71	50.62	Acceptable	49.42
Greece	29	61.38	High	26	65.88	High	25	74.42	High	26	72.54	High	67.23
Guatemala	104	43.45	Insufficient	100	43.83	Insufficient	80	48.60	Insufficient	81	47.47	Insufficient	45.29
Guinea	67	49.38	Insufficient	69	49.00	Insufficient	85	47.69	Insufficient	97	43.94	Insufficient	48.69
Guinea-Bissau	94	45.63	Insufficient	95	45.25	Insufficient	72	51.12	Acceptable	68	51.12	Acceptable	47.33
Guyana	56	51.83	Acceptable	59	51.45	Acceptable	102	44.12	Insufficient	110	41.12	Insufficient	49.13
Haiti	99	44.13	Insufficient	101	43.75	Insufficient	110	41.11	Insufficient	111	41.11	Insufficient	43.00
Honduras	108	42.45	Insufficient	107	42.45	Insufficient	50	60.84	High	63	52.21	Acceptable	48.58
Hungary	33	59.88	Acceptable	30	64.75	High	37	69.27	High	43	63.40	High	64.63
Iceland	51	52.95	Acceptable	46	54.08	Acceptable	41	65.99	High	35	66.74	High	57.67
India	41	57.03	Acceptable	42	56.35	Acceptable	70	51.39	Acceptable	74	49.27	Insufficient	54.92
Indonesia	146	21.43	Low	142	22.93	Low	136	30.61	Low	138	27.11	Low	24.99
Iran	154	16.63	Very Low	152	17.75	Very low	154	15.51	Very Low	154	15.51	Very Low	16.63
Iraq	158	13.00	Very Low	157	12.63	Very low	145	21.80	Low	147	19.92	Very Low	15.81
Ireland	40	57.33	Acceptable	31	64.05	High	26	74.39	High	31	70.14	High	65.26
Israel	82	46.28	Insufficient	62	50.53	Acceptable	27	74.27	High	30	70.90	High	57.03
Italy	26	64.25	High	23	66.38	High	10	84.61	Very High	11	83.86	Very High	71.75
Ivory Coast	81	46.33	Insufficient	81	46.70	Insufficient	96	45.65	Insufficient	87	45.65	Insufficient	46.23
Jamaica	45	53.88	Acceptable	49	53.50	Acceptable	47	62.06	High	47	62.06	High	56.48
Japan	60	50.85	Acceptable	60	50.85	Acceptable	64	53.53	Acceptable	62	53.03	Acceptable	51.74
Jordan	125	35.88	Low	125	35.88	Low	138	29.58	Low	137	29.58	Low	33.78
Kazakhstan	58	51.08	Acceptable	61	50.70	Acceptable	79	49.22	Insufficient	82	47.35	Insufficient	50.33
Kenya	120	37.33	Low	120	36.95	Low	68	53.19	Acceptable	75	48.94	Insufficient	42.49

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Kuwait	155	15.93	Very Low	155	15.93	Very low	152	16.02	Very Low	152	16.02	Very Low	15.96
Kyrgyzstan	80	46.38	Insufficient	84	46.00	Insufficient	81	48.52	Insufficient	84	46.64	Insufficient	46.97
Laos	98	44.63	Insufficient	98	44.25	Insufficient	117	38.26	Low	107	42.26	Insufficient	42.38
Latvia	34	59.63	Acceptable	40	59.25	Acceptable	45	63.98	High	44	63.23	High	60.95
Lebanon	128	33.90	Low	129	33.90	Low	83	48.20	Insufficient	89	45.20	Insufficient	38.67
Liberia	90	45.88	Insufficient	91	45.50	Insufficient	93	46.33	Insufficient	86	46.33	Insufficient	45.90
Libya	143	22.00	Low	147	21.00	Low	150	17.98	Very Low	151	17.98	Very Low	20.33
Lithuania	54	52.63	Acceptable	57	52.25	Acceptable	52	59.56	Acceptable	50	58.81	Acceptable	54.81
Luxembourg	12	72.60	High	13	72.23	High	6	87.61	Very High	6	86.86	Very High	77.48
Madagascar	78	46.70	Insufficient	83	46.33	Insufficient	77	49.70	Insufficient	80	47.82	Insufficient	47.58
Malawi	69	48.83	Insufficient	73	48.45	Insufficient	91	46.47	Insufficient	93	44.60	Insufficient	47.92
Malaysia	140	25.08	Low	137	26.20	Low	129	34.53	Low	132	32.65	Low	28.60
Maldives	139	25.75	Low	140	25.75	Low	148	20.28	Low	150	18.40	Very Low	23.93
Mali	111	41.55	Insufficient	117	39.30	Low	75	50.30	Acceptable	72	50.30	Acceptable	43.72
Malta	96	45.20	Insufficient	44	55.33	Acceptable	34	70.73	High	28	72.08	High	57.09
Mauritania	133	28.73	Low	133	28.73	Low	142	24.44	Low	142	22.57	Low	27.30
Mauritius	92	45.75	Insufficient	93	45.38	Insufficient	112	40.74	Insufficient	112	40.74	Insufficient	43.96
Mexico	10	75.53	High	8	81.33	Very high	9	85.14	Very High	17	80.76	Very High	80.67
Moldova	52	52.88	Acceptable	55	52.50	Acceptable	53	57.74	Acceptable	58	53.99	Acceptable	54.37
Monaco	77	47.08	Insufficient	70	48.95	Insufficient	89	46.70	Insufficient	83	46.70	Insufficient	47.58
Mongolia	74	48.08	Insufficient	77	47.70	Insufficient	62	54.40	Acceptable	70	50.65	Acceptable	50.06
Montenegro	32	60.03	High	38	59.65	Acceptable	58	56.28	Acceptable	54	55.53	Acceptable	58.65
Morocco	137	27.08	Low	138	26.20	Low	134	32.06	Low	135	30.18	Low	28.45
Mozambique	63	50.08	Acceptable	65	49.70	Insufficient	66	53.41	Acceptable	65	51.54	Acceptable	51.06
Myanmar	136	27.63	Low	139	26.13	Low	137	29.79	Low	136	29.79	Low	27.85
Nepal	66	49.58	Insufficient	71	48.83	Insufficient	86	47.59	Insufficient	98	43.84	Insufficient	48.67
Netherlands	1	91.70	Highest	1	91.33	Highest	1	95.44	Highest	2	94.69	Highest	92.82
New Zealand	23	65.25	High	24	66.38	High	19	76.45	High	14	83.32	Very High	69.36
Nicaragua	124	36.33	Low	122	36.33	Low	94	46.15	Insufficient	103	43.15	Insufficient	39.60
Nigeria	135	28.03	Low	135	27.28	Low	127	35.50	Low	115	39.25	Low	30.27
North Korea	127	34.50	Low	127	34.50	Low	126	35.75	Low	125	35.75	Low	34.92
North Macedonia	43	54.13	Acceptable	48	53.75	Acceptable	42	64.78	High	39	65.40	High	57.55
Norway	35	59.63	Acceptable	33	62.50	High	20	76.15	High	29	71.90	High	66.09
Oman	149	20.63	Low	148	20.63	Low	153	15.77	Very Low	153	15.77	Very Low	19.01
Pakistan	151	18.05	Very Low	151	18.05	Very low	144	22.20	Low	144	22.20	Low	19.43
Panama	57	51.75	Acceptable	58	51.75	Acceptable	59	55.20	Acceptable	55	55.20	Acceptable	52.90
Papua New Guinea	103	43.63	Insufficient	103	43.25	Insufficient	128	35.41	Low	126	35.41	Low	40.76
Paraguay	44	54.13	Acceptable	43	55.63	Acceptable	57	56.38	Acceptable	57	54.50	Acceptable	55.38
Peru	38	59.08	Acceptable	37	60.58	High	39	67.47	High	36	66.72	High	62.38

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Philippines	116	39.63	Low	114	39.63	Low	113	40.40	Insufficient	79	47.90	Insufficient	39.89
Poland	64	50.08	Acceptable	54	52.70	Acceptable	44	64.22	High	51	57.34	Acceptable	55.67
Portugal	3	83.80	Very High	2	86.93	Very high	2	95.43	Highest	1	95.18	Highest	88.72
Qatar	156	15.63	Very Low	156	15.63	Very low	147	20.47	Low	146	20.47	Low	17.24
Romania	55	52.00	Acceptable	41	56.50	Acceptable	54	57.73	Acceptable	56	55.10	Acceptable	55.41
Russia	53	52.88	Acceptable	47	54.00	Acceptable	97	45.47	Insufficient	88	45.47	Insufficient	50.78
Rwanda	122	36.58	Low	123	36.20	Low	132	32.66	Low	127	34.54	Low	35.15
Saint Lucia	84	46.25	Insufficient	86	45.88	Insufficient	90	46.64	Insufficient	85	46.64	Insufficient	46.26
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	70	48.75	Insufficient	74	48.38	Insufficient	56	57.20	Acceptable	52	57.20	Acceptable	51.44
San Marino	71	48.43	Insufficient	66	49.55	Insufficient	65	53.43	Acceptable	41	63.93	High	50.47
Saudi Arabia	160	7.75	Lowest	160	10.13	Very low	157	12.86	Very Low	157	12.86	Very Low	10.25
Senegal	75	47.63	Insufficient	80	47.25	Insufficient	71	51.15	Acceptable	73	49.40	Insufficient	48.68
Serbia	49	53.13	Acceptable	53	53.13	Acceptable	49	61.43	High	67	51.43	Acceptable	55.90
Seychelles	73	48.25	Insufficient	76	47.88	Insufficient	92	46.36	Insufficient	106	42.61	Insufficient	47.50
Singapore	88	46.08	Insufficient	89	45.70	Insufficient	67	53.32	Acceptable	66	51.45	Acceptable	48.37
Slovakia	27	62.33	High	34	61.95	High	43	64.24	High	46	62.37	High	62.84
Slovenia	16	70.00	High	18	69.63	High	18	76.47	High	19	78.22	High	72.03
Solomon Islands	86	46.13	Insufficient	87	45.75	Insufficient	103	44.12	Insufficient	95	44.12	Insufficient	45.33
Somalia	142	22.25	Low	143	22.25	Low	155	15.13	Very Low	149	18.88	Very Low	19.88
South Africa	28	61.70	High	35	61.33	High	23	74.62	High	18	79.62	High	65.88
South Korea	97	44.88	Insufficient	82	46.38	Insufficient	63	54.38	Acceptable	61	53.63	Acceptable	48.55
Spain	6	78.60	High	7	81.60	Very high	8	86.05	Very High	7	86.55	Very High	82.08
Sri Lanka	144	21.90	Low	144	21.90	Low	123	36.39	Low	128	34.26	Low	26.73
Sudan	147	21.43	Low	145	21.43	Low	156	14.79	Very Low	155	14.79	Very Low	19.22
Suriname	95	45.38	Insufficient	97	45.00	Insufficient	100	44.80	Insufficient	91	44.80	Insufficient	45.06
Sweden	20	66.95	High	25	65.95	High	33	71.69	High	34	67.44	High	68.20
Switzerland	13	72.38	High	9	80.88	Very high	13	83.28	Very High	9	86.28	Very High	78.85
Syria	141	23.30	Low	141	23.30	Low	149	19.78	Very Low	148	19.78	Very Low	22.13
Tajikistan	72	48.38	Insufficient	79	47.50	Insufficient	76	50.29	Acceptable	77	48.41	Insufficient	48.72
Thailand	130	30.75	Low	130	29.38	Low	124	36.20	Low	104	42.70	Insufficient	32.11
Tonga	112	40.75	Insufficient	113	40.38	Insufficient	106	43.40	Insufficient	94	44.53	Insufficient	41.51
Trinidad and Tobago	93	45.75	Insufficient	94	45.38	Insufficient	55	57.60	Acceptable	60	53.72	Acceptable	49.58
Tunisia	107	42.58	Insufficient	106	42.58	Insufficient	82	48.35	Insufficient	78	48.22	Insufficient	44.50
Turkey	61	50.78	Acceptable	75	48.03	Insufficient	108	42.14	Insufficient	108	42.14	Insufficient	46.98
Turkmenistan	121	36.88	Low	121	36.88	Low	140	26.89	Low	139	26.89	Low	33.55
Tuvalu	113	40.05	Insufficient	109	41.93	Insufficient	115	38.77	Low	117	38.77	Low	40.25
Uganda	110	41.88	Insufficient	110	41.88	Insufficient	133	32.34	Low	134	32.34	Low	38.70
Ukraine	76	47.58	Insufficient	78	47.58	Insufficient	69	52.88	Acceptable	69	50.76	Acceptable	49.35
United Arab Emirates	157	15.38	Very Low	158	11.50	Very low	158	12.14	Very Low	158	10.27	Very Low	13.01

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United Kingdom	39	58.05	Acceptable	36	60.63	High	38	69.20	High	33	67.45	High	62.63
United States of America	7	78.20	High	10	79.15	High	28	73.68	High	27	72.43	High	77.01
Uruguay	2	88.75	Very High	4	84.50	Very high	5	89.99	Very High	4	89.99	Very High	87.75
Uzbekistan	101	43.93	Insufficient	99	43.93	Insufficient	122	36.73	Low	122	36.73	Low	41.53
Venezuela	62	50.75	Acceptable	63	50.38	Acceptable	98	45.43	Insufficient	101	43.55	Insufficient	48.85
Vietnam	129	33.88	Low	126	35.38	Low	119	37.90	Low	119	37.90	Low	35.72
Yemen	159	11.23	Very Low	159	11.23	Very low	159	10.19	Very Low	159	10.19	Very Low	10.88
Zimbabwe	100	44.08	Insufficient	102	43.70	Insufficient	111	40.89	Insufficient	116	39.01	Low	42.89
AVG		46.90			47.47			50.99			50.02		48.45

Table 34. World Index of Moral Freedom (2016-2022) (Álvarez et al., 2022; Álvarez, Kotera, et al., 2020; Kohl & Pina, 2016; Pina & Watson, 2018)

APPENDIX 8. DEMOCRACY INDEX

COUNTRY	2017			2018			2019			2020			2021			AVG
	RANK	OVRL	CAT	RANK	OVRL	CAT	RANK	OVRL	CAT	RANK	OVRL	CAT	RANK	OVRL	CAT	
Afghanistan	149	2.55	Aut Reg	143	2.97	Aut Reg	141	2.85	Aut Reg	139	2.85	Aut Reg	167	0.32	Aut Reg	2.31
Albania	77	5.98	Hyb Reg	76	5.98	Hyb Reg	79	5.89	Hyb Reg	71	6.08	Fla Dem	68	6.11	Fla Dem	6.01
Algeria	128	3.56	Aut Reg	126	3.50	Aut Reg	113	4.01	Hyb Reg	115	3.77	Aut Reg	113	3.77	Aut Reg	3.72
Angola	125	3.62	Aut Reg	123	3.62	Aut Reg	119	3.72	Aut Reg	117	3.66	Aut Reg	122	3.37	Aut Reg	3.60
Argentina	48	6.96	Fla Dem	47	7.02	Fla Dem	48	7.02	Fla Dem	48	6.95	Fla Dem	50	6.81	Fla Dem	6.95
Armenia	111	4.11	Hyb Reg	103	4.79	Hyb Reg	86	5.54	Hyb Reg	89	5.35	Hyb Reg	89	5.49	Hyb Reg	5.06
Australia	8	9.09	Ful Dem	9	9.09	Ful Dem	9	9.09	Ful Dem	9	8.96	Ful Dem	9	8.90	Ful Dem	9.03
Austria	15	8.42	Ful Dem	16	8.29	Ful Dem	16	8.29	Ful Dem	18	8.16	Ful Dem	20	8.07	Ful Dem	8.25
Azerbaijan	148	2.65	Aut Reg	149	2.65	Aut Reg	146	2.75	Aut Reg	146	2.68	Aut Reg	141	2.68	Aut Reg	2.68
Bahrain	146	2.71	Aut Reg	148	2.71	Aut Reg	149	2.55	Aut Reg	150	2.49	Aut Reg	144	2.52	Aut Reg	2.60
Bangladesh	92	5.43	Hyb Reg	88	5.57	Hyb Reg	80	5.88	Hyb Reg	76	5.99	Hyb Reg	75	5.99	Hyb Reg	5.77
Belarus	138	3.13	Aut Reg	137	3.13	Aut Reg	150	2.48	Aut Reg	148	2.59	Aut Reg	146	2.41	Aut Reg	2.75
Belgium	32	7.78	Fla Dem	31	7.78	Fla Dem	33	7.64	Fla Dem	36	7.51	Fla Dem	36	7.51	Fla Dem	7.64
Benin	87	5.61	Hyb Reg	81	5.74	Hyb Reg	97	5.09	Hyb Reg	102	4.58	Hyb Reg	106	4.19	Hyb Reg	5.04
Bhutan	99	5.08	Hyb Reg	94	5.30	Hyb Reg	91	5.30	Hyb Reg	84	5.71	Hyb Reg	81	5.71	Hyb Reg	5.42
Bolivia	89	5.49	Hyb Reg	83	5.70	Hyb Reg	104	4.84	Hyb Reg	94	5.08	Hyb Reg	98	4.65	Hyb Reg	5.15
Bosnia and Herzegovina	101	4.87	Hyb Reg	101	4.98	Hyb Reg	102	4.86	Hyb Reg	101	4.84	Hyb Reg	95	5.04	Hyb Reg	4.92
Botswana	28	7.81	Fla Dem	28	7.81	Fla Dem	29	7.81	Fla Dem	33	7.62	Fla Dem	30	7.73	Fla Dem	7.76
Brazil	49	6.86	Fla Dem	50	6.97	Fla Dem	52	6.86	Fla Dem	49	6.92	Fla Dem	47	6.86	Fla Dem	6.89
Bulgaria	47	7.03	Fla Dem	46	7.03	Fla Dem	47	7.03	Fla Dem	52	6.71	Fla Dem	53	6.64	Fla Dem	6.89
Burkina Faso	103	4.75	Hyb Reg	104	4.75	Hyb Reg	112	4.04	Hyb Reg	116	3.73	Aut Reg	111	3.84	Aut Reg	4.22
Burundi	153	2.33	Aut Reg	153	2.33	Aut Reg	154	2.15	Aut Reg	154	2.14	Aut Reg	149	2.13	Aut Reg	2.22
Cambodia	124	3.63	Aut Reg	125	3.59	Aut Reg	124	3.53	Aut Reg	130	3.10	Aut Reg	134	2.90	Aut Reg	3.35
Cameroon	126	3.61	Aut Reg	132	3.28	Aut Reg	141	2.85	Aut Reg	142	2.77	Aut Reg	143	2.56	Aut Reg	3.01
Canada	6	9.15	Ful Dem	6	9.15	Ful Dem	7	9.22	Ful Dem	5	9.24	Ful Dem	12	8.87	Ful Dem	9.13
Cape Verde	23	7.88	Fla Dem	26	7.88	Fla Dem	30	7.78	Fla Dem	32	7.65	Fla Dem	32	7.65	Fla Dem	7.77
Central African Republic	164	1.52	Aut Reg	164	1.52	Aut Reg	165	1.32	Aut Reg	165	1.32	Aut Reg	162	1.43	Aut Reg	1.42
Chad	165	1.50	Aut Reg	163	1.61	Aut Reg	163	1.61	Aut Reg	163	1.55	Aut Reg	160	1.67	Aut Reg	1.59
Chile	26	7.84	Fla Dem	23	7.97	Fla Dem	21	8.08	Ful Dem	17	8.28	Ful Dem	25	7.92	Fla Dem	8.02
China	139	3.10	Aut Reg	130	3.32	Aut Reg	153	2.26	Aut Reg	151	2.27	Aut Reg	148	2.21	Aut Reg	2.63
Colombia	53	6.67	Fla Dem	51	6.96	Fla Dem	45	7.13	Fla Dem	46	7.04	Fla Dem	59	6.48	Fla Dem	6.86
Comoros	123	3.71	Aut Reg	121	3.71	Aut Reg	131	3.15	Aut Reg	132	3.09	Aut Reg	126	3.20	Aut Reg	3.37
Democratic Republic of the Congo	163	1.61	Aut Reg	165	1.49	Aut Reg	166	1.13	Aut Reg	166	1.13	Aut Reg	164	1.40	Aut Reg	1.35
Republic of Congo	132	3.25	Aut Reg	131	3.31	Aut Reg	134	3.11	Aut Reg	129	3.11	Aut Reg	137	2.79	Aut Reg	3.11
Costa Rica	23	7.88	Fla Dem	20	8.07	Ful Dem	19	8.13	Ful Dem	18	8.16	Ful Dem	20	8.07	Ful Dem	8.06
Croatia	58	6.63	Fla Dem	60	6.57	Fla Dem	59	6.57	Fla Dem	59	6.50	Fla Dem	56	6.50	Fla Dem	6.55
Cuba	131	3.31	Aut Reg	142	3.00	Aut Reg	143	2.84	Aut Reg	140	2.84	Aut Reg	142	2.59	Aut Reg	2.92
Cyprus	35	7.59	Fla Dem	35	7.59	Fla Dem	34	7.59	Fla Dem	34	7.56	Fla Dem	37	7.43	Fla Dem	7.55
Czech Republic	34	7.62	Fla Dem	34	7.69	Fla Dem	32	7.69	Fla Dem	31	7.67	Fla Dem	29	7.74	Fla Dem	7.68

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Denmark	5	9.22	Ful Dem	5	9.22	Ful Dem	7	9.22	Ful Dem	7	9.15	Ful Dem	6	9.09	Ful Dem	9.18
Djibouti	145	2.76	Aut Reg	146	2.87	Aut Reg	144	2.77	Aut Reg	144	2.71	Aut Reg	139	2.74	Aut Reg	2.77
Dominican Republic	55	6.66	Fla Dem	61	6.54	Fla Dem	60	6.54	Fla Dem	63	6.32	Fla Dem	60	6.45	Fla Dem	6.50
East Timor	43	7.19	Fla Dem	42	7.19	Fla Dem	41	7.19	Fla Dem	44	7.06	Fla Dem	43	7.06	Fla Dem	7.14
Ecuador	76	6.02	Fla Dem	68	6.27	Fla Dem	67	6.33	Fla Dem	69	6.13	Fla Dem	81	5.71	Hyb Reg	6.09
Egypt	130	3.36	Aut Reg	127	3.36	Aut Reg	137	3.06	Aut Reg	138	2.93	Aut Reg	132	2.93	Aut Reg	3.13
El Salvador	65	6.43	Fla Dem	77	5.96	Hyb Reg	71	6.15	Fla Dem	77	5.90	Hyb Reg	79	5.72	Hyb Reg	6.03
Equatorial Guinea	161	1.81	Aut Reg	161	1.92	Aut Reg	161	1.92	Aut Reg	160	1.92	Aut Reg	158	1.92	Aut Reg	1.90
Eritrea	151	2.37	Aut Reg	151	2.37	Aut Reg	152	2.37	Aut Reg	153	2.15	Aut Reg	153	2.03	Aut Reg	2.26
Estonia	30	7.79	Fla Dem	23	7.97	Fla Dem	27	7.90	Fla Dem	27	7.84	Fla Dem	27	7.84	Fla Dem	7.87
Eswatini (Swaziland)	144	3.03	Aut Reg	141	3.03	Aut Reg	132	3.14	Aut Reg	133	3.08	Aut Reg	128	3.08	Aut Reg	3.07
Ethiopia	129	3.42	Aut Reg	128	3.35	Aut Reg	125	3.44	Aut Reg	123	3.38	Aut Reg	123	3.30	Aut Reg	3.38
Fiji	81	5.85	Hyb Reg	79	5.85	Hyb Reg	81	5.85	Hyb Reg	83	5.72	Hyb Reg	84	5.61	Hyb Reg	5.78
Finland	9	9.03	Ful Dem	8	9.14	Ful Dem	5	9.25	Ful Dem	6	9.20	Ful Dem	3	9.27	Ful Dem	9.18
France	29	7.80	Fla Dem	29	7.80	Fla Dem	20	8.12	Ful Dem	24	7.99	Fla Dem	22	7.99	Fla Dem	7.94
Gabon	126	3.61	Aut Reg	124	3.61	Aut Reg	121	3.61	Aut Reg	121	3.54	Aut Reg	121	3.40	Aut Reg	3.55
Gambia	113	4.06	Hyb Reg	111	4.31	Hyb Reg	107	4.33	Hyb Reg	103	4.49	Hyb Reg	101	4.41	Hyb Reg	4.32
Georgia	79	5.93	Hyb Reg	89	5.50	Hyb Reg	89	5.42	Hyb Reg	91	5.31	Hyb Reg	91	5.12	Hyb Reg	5.46
Germany	13	8.61	Ful Dem	13	8.68	Ful Dem	13	8.68	Ful Dem	14	8.67	Ful Dem	15	8.67	Ful Dem	8.66
Ghana	52	6.69	Fla Dem	57	6.63	Fla Dem	55	6.63	Fla Dem	59	6.50	Fla Dem	56	6.50	Fla Dem	6.59
Greece	38	7.29	Fla Dem	39	7.29	Fla Dem	39	7.43	Fla Dem	37	7.39	Fla Dem	34	7.56	Fla Dem	7.39
Guatemala	80	5.86	Hyb Reg	87	5.60	Hyb Reg	93	5.26	Hyb Reg	97	4.97	Hyb Reg	99	4.62	Hyb Reg	5.26
Guinea	137	3.14	Aut Reg	136	3.14	Aut Reg	132	3.14	Aut Reg	133	3.08	Aut Reg	147	2.28	Aut Reg	2.96
Guinea-Bissau	157	1.98	Aut Reg	157	1.98	Aut Reg	148	2.63	Aut Reg	147	2.63	Aut Reg	138	2.75	Aut Reg	2.39
Guyana	63	6.46	Fla Dem	54	6.67	Fla Dem	71	6.15	Fla Dem	75	6.01	Fla Dem	65	6.25	Fla Dem	6.31
Haiti	114	4.03	Hyb Reg	102	4.91	Hyb Reg	105	4.57	Hyb Reg	106	4.22	Hyb Reg	119	3.48	Aut Reg	4.24
Honduras	82	5.72	Hyb Reg	85	5.63	Hyb Reg	89	5.42	Hyb Reg	88	5.36	Hyb Reg	92	5.10	Hyb Reg	5.45
Hong Kong	71	6.31	Fla Dem	73	6.15	Fla Dem	75	6.02	Fla Dem	87	5.57	Hyb Reg	85	5.60	Hyb Reg	5.93
Hungary	56	6.64	Fla Dem	57	6.63	Fla Dem	55	6.63	Fla Dem	55	6.56	Fla Dem	56	6.50	Fla Dem	6.59
Iceland	2	9.58	Ful Dem	2	9.58	Ful Dem	2	9.58	Ful Dem	2	9.37	Ful Dem	5	9.18	Ful Dem	9.46
India	42	7.23	Fla Dem	41	7.23	Fla Dem	51	6.90	Fla Dem	53	6.61	Fla Dem	46	6.91	Fla Dem	6.98
Indonesia	68	6.39	Fla Dem	65	6.39	Fla Dem	64	6.48	Fla Dem	64	6.30	Fla Dem	52	6.71	Fla Dem	6.45
Iran	150	2.45	Aut Reg	150	2.45	Aut Reg	151	2.38	Aut Reg	152	2.20	Aut Reg	154	1.95	Aut Reg	2.29
Iraq	112	4.09	Hyb Reg	114	4.06	Hyb Reg	118	3.74	Aut Reg	118	3.62	Aut Reg	116	3.51	Aut Reg	3.80
Ireland	6	9.15	Ful Dem	6	9.15	Ful Dem	6	9.24	Ful Dem	8	9.05	Ful Dem	7	9.00	Ful Dem	9.12
Israel	30	7.79	Fla Dem	30	7.79	Fla Dem	28	7.86	Fla Dem	27	7.84	Fla Dem	23	7.97	Fla Dem	7.85
Italy	21	7.98	Fla Dem	33	7.71	Fla Dem	35	7.52	Fla Dem	29	7.74	Fla Dem	31	7.68	Fla Dem	7.73
Ivory Coast	116	3.93	Aut Reg	113	4.15	Hyb Reg	111	4.05	Hyb Reg	109	4.11	Hyb Reg	105	4.22	Hyb Reg	4.09
Jamaica	38	7.29	Fla Dem	47	7.02	Fla Dem	50	6.96	Fla Dem	42	7.13	Fla Dem	42	7.13	Fla Dem	7.11
Japan	23	7.88	Fla Dem	22	7.99	Fla Dem	24	7.99	Fla Dem	21	8.13	Ful Dem	17	8.15	Ful Dem	8.03
Jordan	117	3.87	Aut Reg	115	3.93	Aut Reg	114	3.93	Aut Reg	118	3.62	Aut Reg	118	3.49	Aut Reg	3.77
Kazakhstan	141	3.06	Aut Reg	144	2.94	Aut Reg	139	2.94	Aut Reg	128	3.14	Aut Reg	128	3.08	Aut Reg	3.03
Kenya	95	5.11	Hyb Reg	98	5.11	Hyb Reg	94	5.18	Hyb Reg	95	5.05	Hyb Reg	94	5.05	Hyb Reg	5.10
Kuwait	119	3.85	Aut Reg	116	3.85	Aut Reg	114	3.93	Aut Reg	114	3.80	Aut Reg	110	3.91	Aut Reg	3.87

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Kyrgyzstan	95	5.11	Hyb Reg	98	5.11	Hyb Reg	101	4.89	Hyb Reg	107	4.21	Hyb Reg	115	3.62	Aut Reg	4.59
Laos	151	2.37	Aut Reg	151	2.37	Aut Reg	155	2.14	Aut Reg	161	1.77	Aut Reg	159	1.77	Aut Reg	2.08
Latvia	40	7.25	Fla Dem	38	7.38	Fla Dem	38	7.49	Fla Dem	38	7.24	Fla Dem	38	7.31	Fla Dem	7.33
Lebanon	104	4.72	Hyb Reg	106	4.63	Hyb Reg	106	4.36	Hyb Reg	108	4.16	Hyb Reg	111	3.84	Aut Reg	4.34
Lesotho	56	6.64	Fla Dem	56	6.64	Fla Dem	60	6.54	Fla Dem	64	6.30	Fla Dem	64	6.30	Fla Dem	6.48
Liberia	93	5.23	Hyb Reg	93	5.35	Hyb Reg	88	5.45	Hyb Reg	90	5.32	Hyb Reg	90	5.43	Hyb Reg	5.36
Libya	154	2.32	Aut Reg	154	2.19	Aut Reg	156	2.02	Aut Reg	157	1.95	Aut Reg	154	1.95	Aut Reg	2.09
Lithuania	37	7.41	Fla Dem	36	7.50	Fla Dem	36	7.50	Fla Dem	42	7.13	Fla Dem	40	7.18	Fla Dem	7.34
Luxembourg	12	8.81	Ful Dem	12	8.81	Ful Dem	12	8.81	Ful Dem	13	8.68	Ful Dem	14	8.68	Ful Dem	8.76
Madagascar	95	5.11	Hyb Reg	95	5.22	Hyb Reg	85	5.64	Hyb Reg	85	5.70	Hyb Reg	83	5.70	Hyb Reg	5.47
Malawi	89	5.49	Hyb Reg	90	5.49	Hyb Reg	87	5.50	Hyb Reg	82	5.74	Hyb Reg	78	5.74	Hyb Reg	5.59
Malaysia	59	6.54	Fla Dem	52	6.88	Fla Dem	43	7.16	Fla Dem	39	7.19	Fla Dem	39	7.24	Fla Dem	7.00
Mali	86	5.64	Hyb Reg	91	5.41	Hyb Reg	100	4.92	Hyb Reg	111	3.93	Aut Reg	119	3.48	Aut Reg	4.68
Malta	17	8.15	Ful Dem	18	8.21	Ful Dem	26	7.95	Fla Dem	30	7.68	Fla Dem	33	7.57	Fla Dem	7.91
Mauritania	121	3.82	Aut Reg	119	3.82	Aut Reg	116	3.92	Aut Reg	112	3.92	Aut Reg	108	4.03	Hyb Reg	3.90
Mauritius	16	8.22	Ful Dem	17	8.22	Ful Dem	18	8.22	Ful Dem	20	8.14	Ful Dem	19	8.08	Ful Dem	8.18
Mexico	66	6.41	Fla Dem	71	6.19	Fla Dem	73	6.09	Fla Dem	72	6.07	Fla Dem	86	5.57	Hyb Reg	6.07
Moldova	78	5.94	Hyb Reg	79	5.85	Hyb Reg	83	5.75	Hyb Reg	80	5.78	Hyb Reg	69	6.10	Fla Dem	5.88
Mongolia	60	6.50	Fla Dem	62	6.50	Fla Dem	62	6.50	Fla Dem	61	6.48	Fla Dem	62	6.42	Fla Dem	6.48
Montenegro	83	5.69	Hyb Reg	81	5.74	Hyb Reg	84	5.65	Hyb Reg	81	5.77	Hyb Reg	74	6.02	Fla Dem	5.77
Morocco	101	4.87	Hyb Reg	100	4.99	Hyb Reg	96	5.10	Hyb Reg	96	5.04	Hyb Reg	95	5.04	Hyb Reg	5.01
Mozambique	115	4.02	Hyb Reg	116	3.85	Aut Reg	120	3.65	Aut Reg	122	3.51	Aut Reg	116	3.51	Aut Reg	3.71
Myanmar	120	3.83	Aut Reg	118	3.83	Aut Reg	122	3.55	Aut Reg	135	3.04	Aut Reg	166	1.02	Aut Reg	3.05
Namibia	71	6.31	Fla Dem	69	6.25	Fla Dem	65	6.43	Fla Dem	58	6.52	Fla Dem	55	6.52	Fla Dem	6.41
Nepal	94	5.18	Hyb Reg	97	5.18	Hyb Reg	92	5.28	Hyb Reg	92	5.22	Hyb Reg	101	4.41	Hyb Reg	5.05
Netherlands	11	8.89	Ful Dem	11	8.89	Ful Dem	11	9.01	Ful Dem	9	8.96	Ful Dem	11	8.88	Ful Dem	8.93
New Zealand	4	9.26	Ful Dem	4	9.26	Ful Dem	4	9.26	Ful Dem	4	9.25	Ful Dem	2	9.37	Ful Dem	9.28
Nicaragua	105	4.66	Hyb Reg	122	3.63	Aut Reg	122	3.55	Aut Reg	120	3.60	Aut Reg	140	2.69	Aut Reg	3.63
Niger	122	3.76	Aut Reg	120	3.76	Aut Reg	127	3.29	Aut Reg	125	3.29	Aut Reg	125	3.22	Aut Reg	3.46
Nigeria	109	4.44	Hyb Reg	108	4.44	Hyb Reg	109	4.12	Hyb Reg	110	4.10	Hyb Reg	107	4.11	Hyb Reg	4.24
North Korea	167	1.08	Aut Reg	167	1.08	Aut Reg	167	1.08	Aut Reg	167	1.08	Aut Reg	165	1.08	Aut Reg	1.08
North Macedonia (Macedonia)	88	5.57	Hyb Reg	78	5.87	Hyb Reg	77	5.97	Hyb Reg	78	5.89	Hyb Reg	73	6.03	Fla Dem	5.87
Norway	1	9.87	Ful Dem	1	9.87	Ful Dem	1	9.87	Ful Dem	1	9.81	Ful Dem	1	9.75	Ful Dem	9.83
Oman	143	3.04	Aut Reg	140	3.04	Aut Reg	137	3.06	Aut Reg	136	3.00	Aut Reg	130	3.00	Aut Reg	3.03
Pakistan	110	4.26	Hyb Reg	112	4.17	Hyb Reg	108	4.25	Hyb Reg	105	4.31	Hyb Reg	104	4.31	Hyb Reg	4.26
Palestine	108	4.46	Hyb Reg	109	4.39	Hyb Reg	117	3.89	Aut Reg	113	3.83	Aut Reg	109	3.94	Aut Reg	4.10
Panama	45	7.08	Fla Dem	45	7.05	Fla Dem	46	7.05	Fla Dem	40	7.18	Fla Dem	48	6.85	Fla Dem	7.04
Papua New Guinea	75	6.03	Fla Dem	75	6.03	Fla Dem	74	6.03	Fla Dem	70	6.10	Fla Dem	69	6.10	Fla Dem	6.06
Paraguay	71	6.31	Fla Dem	70	6.24	Fla Dem	70	6.24	Fla Dem	67	6.18	Fla Dem	77	5.86	Hyb Reg	6.17
Peru	61	6.49	Fla Dem	59	6.60	Fla Dem	58	6.60	Fla Dem	57	6.53	Fla Dem	71	6.09	Fla Dem	6.46
Philippines	51	6.71	Fla Dem	53	6.71	Fla Dem	54	6.64	Fla Dem	55	6.56	Fla Dem	54	6.62	Fla Dem	6.65
Poland	53	6.67	Fla Dem	54	6.67	Fla Dem	57	6.62	Fla Dem	50	6.85	Fla Dem	51	6.80	Fla Dem	6.72
Portugal	26	7.84	Fla Dem	27	7.84	Fla Dem	22	8.03	Ful Dem	26	7.90	Fla Dem	28	7.82	Fla Dem	7.89
Qatar	133	3.19	Aut Reg	133	3.19	Aut Reg	128	3.19	Aut Reg	126	3.24	Aut Reg	114	3.65	Aut Reg	3.29

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Romania	64	6.44	Fla Dem	66	6.38	Fla Dem	63	6.49	Fla Dem	62	6.40	Fla Dem	61	6.43	Fla Dem	6.43
Russia	135	3.17	Aut Reg	144	2.94	Aut Reg	134	3.11	Aut Reg	124	3.31	Aut Reg	124	3.24	Aut Reg	3.15
Rwanda	133	3.19	Aut Reg	128	3.35	Aut Reg	129	3.16	Aut Reg	130	3.10	Aut Reg	127	3.10	Aut Reg	3.18
Saudi Arabia	159	1.93	Aut Reg	159	1.93	Aut Reg	159	1.93	Aut Reg	156	2.08	Aut Reg	152	2.08	Aut Reg	1.99
Senegal	74	6.15	Fla Dem	73	6.15	Fla Dem	82	5.81	Hyb Reg	86	5.67	Hyb Reg	88	5.53	Hyb Reg	5.86
Serbia	66	6.41	Fla Dem	63	6.41	Fla Dem	66	6.41	Fla Dem	66	6.22	Fla Dem	63	6.36	Fla Dem	6.36
Sierra Leone	105	4.66	Hyb Reg	105	4.66	Hyb Reg	102	4.86	Hyb Reg	99	4.86	Hyb Reg	97	4.97	Hyb Reg	4.80
Singapore	69	6.32	Fla Dem	66	6.38	Fla Dem	75	6.02	Fla Dem	74	6.03	Fla Dem	66	6.23	Fla Dem	6.20
Slovakia	44	7.16	Fla Dem	44	7.10	Fla Dem	42	7.17	Fla Dem	47	6.97	Fla Dem	45	7.03	Fla Dem	7.09
Slovenia	36	7.50	Fla Dem	36	7.50	Fla Dem	36	7.50	Fla Dem	35	7.54	Fla Dem	35	7.54	Fla Dem	7.52
South Africa	41	7.24	Fla Dem	40	7.24	Fla Dem	40	7.24	Fla Dem	45	7.05	Fla Dem	44	7.05	Fla Dem	7.16
South Korea	20	8.00	Fla Dem	21	8.00	Fla Dem	23	8.00	Fla Dem	23	8.01	Ful Dem	16	8.16	Ful Dem	8.03
Spain	19	8.08	Ful Dem	19	8.08	Ful Dem	16	8.29	Ful Dem	22	8.12	Ful Dem	24	7.94	Fla Dem	8.10
Sri Lanka	62	6.48	Fla Dem	71	6.19	Fla Dem	69	6.27	Fla Dem	68	6.14	Fla Dem	67	6.14	Fla Dem	6.24
Sudan	155	2.15	Aut Reg	155	2.15	Aut Reg	147	2.70	Aut Reg	149	2.54	Aut Reg	145	2.47	Aut Reg	2.40
Suriname	50	6.76	Fla Dem	49	6.98	Fla Dem	49	6.98	Fla Dem	51	6.82	Fla Dem	49	6.82	Fla Dem	6.87
Sweden	3	9.39	Ful Dem	3	9.39	Ful Dem	3	9.39	Ful Dem	3	9.26	Ful Dem	4	9.26	Ful Dem	9.34
Switzerland	9	9.03	Ful Dem	10	9.03	Ful Dem	10	9.03	Ful Dem	12	8.83	Ful Dem	9	8.90	Ful Dem	8.96
Syria	166	1.43	Aut Reg	166	1.43	Aut Reg	164	1.43	Aut Reg	164	1.43	Aut Reg	162	1.43	Aut Reg	1.43
Taiwan	33	7.73	Fla Dem	32	7.73	Fla Dem	31	7.73	Fla Dem	11	8.94	Ful Dem	8	8.99	Ful Dem	8.22
Tajikistan	159	1.93	Aut Reg	159	1.93	Aut Reg	159	1.93	Aut Reg	159	1.94	Aut Reg	157	1.94	Aut Reg	1.93
Tanzania	91	5.47	Hyb Reg	91	5.41	Hyb Reg	95	5.16	Hyb Reg	93	5.10	Hyb Reg	92	5.10	Hyb Reg	5.25
Thailand	107	4.63	Hyb Reg	106	4.63	Hyb Reg	68	6.32	Fla Dem	73	6.04	Fla Dem	72	6.04	Fla Dem	5.53
Togo	142	3.05	Aut Reg	138	3.10	Aut Reg	126	3.30	Aut Reg	141	2.80	Aut Reg	136	2.80	Aut Reg	3.01
Trinidad and Tobago	46	7.04	Fla Dem	43	7.16	Fla Dem	43	7.16	Fla Dem	41	7.16	Fla Dem	41	7.16	Fla Dem	7.14
Tunisia	69	6.32	Fla Dem	63	6.41	Fla Dem	53	6.72	Fla Dem	54	6.59	Fla Dem	75	5.99	Hyb Reg	6.41
Turkey	100	4.88	Hyb Reg	110	4.37	Hyb Reg	110	4.09	Hyb Reg	104	4.48	Hyb Reg	103	4.35	Hyb Reg	4.43
Turkmenistan	162	1.72	Aut Reg	162	1.72	Aut Reg	162	1.72	Aut Reg	162	1.72	Aut Reg	161	1.66	Aut Reg	1.71
Uganda	98	5.09	Hyb Reg	96	5.20	Hyb Reg	99	5.02	Hyb Reg	98	4.94	Hyb Reg	100	4.48	Hyb Reg	4.95
Ukraine	83	5.69	Hyb Reg	84	5.69	Hyb Reg	78	5.90	Hyb Reg	79	5.81	Hyb Reg	86	5.57	Hyb Reg	5.73
United Arab Emirates	147	2.69	Aut Reg	147	2.76	Aut Reg	145	2.76	Aut Reg	145	2.70	Aut Reg	134	2.90	Aut Reg	2.76
United Kingdom	14	8.53	Ful Dem	14	8.53	Ful Dem	14	8.52	Ful Dem	16	8.54	Ful Dem	18	8.10	Ful Dem	8.44
United States of America	21	7.98	Fla Dem	25	7.96	Fla Dem	25	7.96	Fla Dem	25	7.92	Fla Dem	26	7.85	Fla Dem	7.93
Uruguay	18	8.12	Ful Dem	15	8.38	Ful Dem	15	8.38	Ful Dem	15	8.61	Ful Dem	13	8.85	Ful Dem	8.47
Uzbekistan	158	1.95	Aut Reg	156	2.01	Aut Reg	157	2.01	Aut Reg	155	2.12	Aut Reg	150	2.12	Aut Reg	2.04
Venezuela	117	3.87	Aut Reg	134	3.16	Aut Reg	140	2.88	Aut Reg	143	2.76	Aut Reg	151	2.11	Aut Reg	2.96
Vietnam	140	3.08	Aut Reg	139	3.08	Aut Reg	136	3.08	Aut Reg	137	2.94	Aut Reg	131	2.94	Aut Reg	3.02
Yemen	156	2.07	Aut Reg	158	1.95	Aut Reg	158	1.95	Aut Reg	157	1.95	Aut Reg	154	1.95	Aut Reg	1.97
Zambia	85	5.68	Hyb Reg	86	5.61	Hyb Reg	97	5.09	Hyb Reg	99	4.86	Hyb Reg	79	5.72	Hyb Reg	5.39
Zimbabwe	136	3.16	Aut Reg	134	3.16	Aut Reg	129	3.16	Aut Reg	127	3.16	Aut Reg	133	2.92	Aut Reg	3.11
AVG		5.48			5.48			5.44			5.37			5.28		5.41

Table 35. Democracy Index(2017-2021) (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022)

APPENDIX 9. WORLD PRESS FREEDOM INDEX

COUNTRY	2017			2018			2019			2020			2021			AVGR
	RANK	OVRL	CLSS	RANK	OVRL	CLSS	RANK	OVRL	CLSS	RANK	OVRL	CLSS	RANK	OVRL	CLSS	
Afghanistan	120	39.46	Diff	118	37.28	Diff	121	36.55	Diff	122	37.70	Diff	122	40.19	Diff	38.24
Albania	76	29.92	Pro	75	29.49	Pro	82	29.84	Pro	84	30.25	Pro	83	30.59	Pro	30.02
Algeria	134	42.83	Diff	136	43.13	Diff	141	45.75	Diff	146	45.52	Diff	146	47.26	Diff	44.90
Andorra	35	21.03	Sat	37	22.21	Sat	37	24.63	Sat	37	23.23	Sat	39	23.32	Sat	22.88
Angola	125	40.42	Diff	121	38.35	Diff	109	34.96	Pro	106	33.92	Pro	103	34.06	Pro	36.34
Argentina	50	25.07	Pro	52	26.05	Pro	57	28.30	Pro	64	28.78	Pro	69	28.99	Pro	27.44
Armenia	79	30.38	Pro	80	29.99	Pro	61	28.98	Pro	61	28.60	Pro	63	28.83	Pro	29.36
Australia	19	16.02	Sat	19	15.46	Sat	21	16.55	Sat	26	20.21	Sat	25	19.79	Sat	17.61
Austria	11	13.47	Good	11	14.04	Good	16	15.33	Sat	18	15.78	Sat	17	16.34	Sat	14.99
Azerbaijan	162	56.40	VS	163	59.73	VS	166	59.13	VS	168	58.48	VS	167	58.77	VS	58.50
Bahrain	164	58.88	VS	166	60.85	VS	167	61.31	VS	169	60.13	VS	168	61.10	VS	60.45
Bangladesh	146	48.36	Diff	146	48.62	Diff	150	50.74	Diff	151	49.37	Diff	152	49.71	Diff	49.36
Belarus	153	52.43	Diff	155	52.59	Diff	153	51.66	Diff	153	49.75	Diff	158	50.82	Diff	51.45
Belgium	9	12.75	Good	7	13.16	Good	9	12.07	Good	12	12.57	Good	11	11.69	Good	12.45
Belize	41	23.43	Sat	47	24.55	Sat	53	27.50	Pro	53	27.50	Pro	53	27.61	Pro	26.12
Benin	78	30.32	Pro	84	30.16	Pro	96	31.74	Pro	113	35.11	Diff	114	38.18	Diff	33.10
Bhutan	84	30.73	Pro	94	30.73	Pro	80	29.81	Pro	67	28.90	Pro	65	28.86	Pro	29.81
Bolivia	107	33.88	Pro	110	32.45	Pro	113	35.38	Diff	114	35.37	Diff	110	35.47	Diff	34.51
Bosnia and Herzegovina	65	27.83	Pro	62	27.37	Pro	63	29.02	Pro	58	28.51	Pro	58	28.34	Pro	28.21
Botswana	48	24.93	Sat	48	25.29	Pro	44	25.09	Pro	39	23.56	Sat	38	23.25	Sat	24.42
Brazil	103	33.58	Pro	102	31.20	Pro	105	32.79	Pro	107	34.05	Pro	111	36.25	Diff	33.57
Brunei	156	53.72	Diff	153	51.48	Diff	152	51.48	Diff	152	49.65	Diff	154	49.91	Diff	51.25
Bulgaria	109	35.01	Diff	111	35.22	Diff	111	35.11	Diff	111	35.06	Diff	112	37.29	Diff	35.54
Burkina Faso	42	23.85	Sat	41	23.33	Sat	36	24.53	Sat	38	23.47	Sat	37	23.17	Sat	23.67
Burundi	160	55.78	VS	159	55.26	VS	159	52.89	Diff	160	55.33	VS	147	47.57	Diff	53.37
Cambodia	132	42.07	Diff	142	45.90	Diff	143	45.90	Diff	144	45.46	Diff	144	46.84	Diff	45.23
Cameroon	130	41.59	Diff	129	40.92	Diff	131	43.32	Diff	134	43.28	Diff	135	43.78	Diff	42.58
Canada	22	16.53	Sat	18	15.28	Sat	18	15.69	Sat	16	15.29	Sat	14	15.25	Sat	15.61
Cape Verde	27	18.02	Sat	29	20.39	Sat	25	19.81	Sat	25	20.15	Sat	27	20.09	Sat	19.69
Central African Republic	113	36.12	Diff	112	35.25	Diff	145	47.27	Diff	132	42.87	Diff	126	41.92	Diff	40.69
Chad	121	39.66	Diff	123	38.45	Diff	122	36.71	Diff	123	39.70	Diff	123	40.20	Diff	38.94
Chile	33	20.53	Sat	38	22.69	Sat	46	25.65	Pro	51	27.31	Pro	54	27.89	Pro	24.81
China	176	77.66	VS	176	78.29	VS	177	78.92	VS	177	78.48	VS	177	78.72	VS	78.41
Colombia	129	41.47	Diff	130	41.03	Diff	129	42.82	Diff	130	42.66	Diff	134	43.74	Diff	42.34
Comoros	44	24.33	Sat	49	25.30	Pro	56	27.91	Pro	75	29.77	Pro	84	30.65	Pro	27.59

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Democratic Republic of the Congo	154	52.67	Diff	154	51.60	Diff	154	51.71	Diff	150	49.09	Diff	149	48.59	Diff	50.73
Republic of Congo	115	36.73	Diff	114	35.42	Diff	117	36.04	Diff	118	36.56	Diff	118	38.83	Diff	36.72
Costa Rica	6	11.93	Good	10	14.01	Good	10	12.24	Good	7	10.53	Good	5	8.76	Good	11.49
Croatia	74	29.59	Pro	69	28.94	Pro	64	29.03	Pro	59	28.51	Pro	56	27.95	Pro	28.80
Cuba	173	71.75	VS	172	68.90	VS	169	63.81	VS	171	63.81	VS	171	63.94	VS	66.44
Cyprus	30	19.79	Sat	25	19.85	Sat	28	21.74	Sat	27	20.45	Sat	26	19.85	Sat	20.34
Czech Republic	23	16.91	Sat	34	21.89	Sat	40	24.89	Sat	40	23.57	Sat	40	23.38	Sat	22.13
Denmark	4	10.36	Good	9	13.99	Good	5	9.87	Good	3	8.13	Good	4	8.57	Good	10.18
Djibouti	172	70.54	VS	173	70.77	VS	173	71.36	VS	176	76.73	VS	176	78.62	VS	73.60
Dominican Republic	59	26.76	Pro	59	26.79	Pro	55	27.90	Pro	55	27.90	Pro	50	25.60	Pro	26.99
East Timor	98	32.82	Pro	95	30.81	Pro	84	29.93	Pro	78	29.90	Pro	71	29.11	Pro	30.51
Ecuador	105	33.64	Pro	92	30.56	Pro	97	31.88	Pro	98	32.62	Pro	96	32.83	Pro	32.31
Egypt	161	55.78	VS	161	56.72	VS	163	56.47	VS	166	56.82	VS	166	56.17	VS	56.39
El Salvador	62	27.24	Pro	66	27.78	Pro	81	29.81	Pro	74	29.70	Pro	82	30.49	Pro	29.00
Equatorial Guinea	171	66.47	VS	171	66.47	VS	165	58.35	VS	165	56.38	VS	164	55.67	VS	60.67
Eritrea	179	84.24	VS	179	84.24	VS	178	80.26	VS	178	83.50	VS	180	81.45	VS	82.74
Estonia	12	13.55	Good	12	14.08	Good	11	12.27	Good	14	12.61	Good	15	15.25	Sat	13.55
Eswatini	152	51.27	Diff	152	51.46	Diff	147	49.09	Diff	141	45.15	Diff	141	46.34	Diff	48.66
Ethiopia	150	50.34	Diff	150	50.17	Diff	110	35.11	Diff	99	32.82	Pro	101	33.63	Pro	40.41
Fiji	67	28.64	Pro	57	26.55	Pro	52	27.18	Pro	52	27.41	Pro	55	27.92	Pro	27.54
Finland	3	8.92	Good	4	10.26	Good	2	7.90	Good	2	7.93	Good	2	6.99	Good	8.40
France	39	22.24	Sat	33	21.87	Sat	32	22.21	Sat	34	22.92	Sat	34	22.60	Sat	22.37
Gabon	108	34.83	Pro	108	32.37	Pro	115	35.60	Diff	121	37.20	Diff	117	38.60	Diff	35.72
Gambia	143	46.70	Diff	122	38.36	Diff	92	31.35	Pro	87	30.62	Pro	85	30.76	Pro	35.56
Georgia	64	27.76	Pro	61	27.34	Pro	60	28.98	Pro	60	28.59	Pro	60	28.64	Pro	28.26
Germany	16	14.97	Good	15	14.39	Good	13	14.60	Good	11	12.16	Good	13	15.24	Sat	14.27
Ghana	26	17.95	Sat	23	18.41	Sat	27	20.81	Sat	30	22.26	Sat	30	21.33	Sat	20.15
Greece	88	30.89	Pro	74	29.19	Pro	65	29.08	Pro	65	28.80	Pro	70	29.01	Pro	29.39
Guatemala	118	39.33	Diff	116	36.17	Diff	116	35.94	Diff	116	35.74	Diff	116	38.45	Diff	37.13
Guinea	101	33.15	Pro	104	31.90	Pro	107	33.49	Pro	110	34.34	Pro	109	35.42	Diff	33.66
Guinea-Bissau	77	30.09	Pro	83	30.09	Pro	89	30.95	Pro	94	32.06	Pro	95	32.68	Pro	31.17
Guyana	60	26.80	Pro	55	26.25	Pro	51	26.63	Pro	49	26.63	Pro	51	25.61	Pro	26.38
Haiti	53	26.36	Pro	60	26.82	Pro	62	29.00	Pro	83	30.20	Pro	87	31.12	Pro	28.70
Honduras	140	43.75	Diff	141	45.23	Diff	146	48.53	Diff	148	48.20	Diff	151	49.35	Diff	47.01
Hong Kong	73	29.46	Pro	70	29.04	Pro	73	29.65	Pro	80	30.01	Pro	80	30.44	Pro	29.72
Hungary	71	29.01	Pro	73	29.11	Pro	87	30.44	Pro	89	30.84	Pro	92	31.76	Pro	30.23
Iceland	10	13.03	Good	13	14.10	Good	14	14.71	Good	15	15.12	Sat	16	15.37	Sat	14.47
India	136	42.94	Diff	138	43.24	Diff	140	45.67	Diff	142	45.33	Diff	142	46.56	Diff	44.75
Indonesia	124	39.93	Diff	124	39.68	Diff	124	36.77	Diff	119	36.82	Diff	113	37.40	Diff	38.12

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Iran	165	65.12	VS	164	60.71	VS	170	64.41	VS	173	64.81	VS	174	72.70	VS	65.55
Iraq	158	54.03	Diff	160	56.56	VS	156	52.60	Diff	162	55.37	VS	163	55.57	VS	54.83
Ireland	14	14.08	Good	16	14.59	Good	15	15.00	Good	13	12.60	Good	12	11.91	Good	13.64
Israel	91	31.01	Pro	87	30.26	Pro	88	30.80	Pro	88	30.84	Pro	86	30.90	Pro	30.76
Italy	52	26.26	Pro	46	24.12	Sat	43	24.98	Sat	41	23.69	Sat	41	23.39	Sat	24.49
Ivory Coast	81	30.42	Pro	82	30.08	Pro	71	29.52	Pro	68	28.94	Pro	66	28.87	Pro	29.57
Jamaica	8	12.73	Good	6	11.33	Good	8	11.13	Good	6	10.51	Good	7	9.96	Good	11.13
Japan	72	29.44	Pro	67	28.64	Pro	67	29.36	Pro	66	28.86	Pro	67	28.88	Pro	29.04
Jordan	138	43.24	Diff	132	41.71	Diff	130	43.11	Diff	128	42.08	Diff	129	42.89	Diff	42.61
Kazakhstan	157	54.01	Diff	158	54.41	Diff	158	52.82	Diff	157	54.11	Diff	155	50.28	Diff	53.13
Kenya	95	31.20	Pro	96	30.82	Pro	100	32.44	Pro	103	33.72	Pro	102	33.65	Pro	32.37
Kosovo	82	30.45	Pro	78	29.61	Pro	75	29.68	Pro	70	29.33	Pro	78	30.32	Pro	29.88
Kuwait	104	33.61	Pro	105	31.91	Pro	108	33.86	Pro	109	34.30	Pro	105	34.36	Pro	33.61
Kyrgyzstan	89	30.92	Pro	98	31.00	Pro	83	29.92	Pro	82	30.19	Pro	79	30.37	Pro	30.48
Laos	170	66.41	VS	170	66.41	VS	171	64.49	VS	172	64.28	VS	172	70.56	VS	66.43
Latvia	28	18.62	Sat	24	19.63	Sat	24	19.53	Sat	22	18.56	Sat	22	19.26	Sat	19.12
Lebanon	99	33.01	Pro	100	31.15	Pro	101	32.44	Pro	102	33.19	Pro	107	34.93	Pro	32.94
Lesotho	68	28.78	Pro	68	28.78	Pro	78	29.74	Pro	86	30.45	Pro	88	31.61	Pro	29.87
Liberia	94	31.12	Pro	89	30.33	Pro	93	31.49	Pro	95	32.25	Pro	98	33.36	Pro	31.71
Libya	163	56.81	VS	162	56.79	VS	162	55.77	VS	164	55.77	VS	165	55.73	VS	56.17
Liechtenstein	32	20.31	Sat	30	20.49	Sat	26	20.49	Sat	24	19.52	Sat	23	19.49	Sat	20.06
Lithuania	36	21.37	Sat	36	22.20	Sat	30	22.06	Sat	28	21.19	Sat	28	20.15	Sat	21.39
Luxembourg	15	14.72	Good	17	14.72	Good	17	15.66	Sat	17	15.46	Sat	20	17.56	Sat	15.62
Madagascar	57	26.71	Pro	54	26.20	Pro	54	27.76	Pro	54	27.68	Pro	57	28.24	Pro	27.32
Malawi	70	28.97	Pro	64	27.43	Pro	68	29.36	Pro	69	29.32	Pro	62	28.80	Pro	28.78
Malaysia	144	46.89	Diff	145	47.41	Diff	123	36.74	Diff	101	33.12	Pro	119	39.47	Diff	40.73
Maldives	117	39.30	Diff	120	37.95	Diff	98	32.16	Pro	79	29.93	Pro	72	29.13	Pro	33.69
Mali	116	38.27	Diff	115	36.15	Diff	112	35.23	Diff	108	34.12	Pro	99	33.50	Pro	35.45
Malta	47	24.76	Sat	65	27.44	Pro	77	29.74	Pro	81	30.16	Pro	81	30.46	Pro	28.51
Mauritania	55	26.49	Pro	72	29.09	Pro	94	31.65	Pro	97	32.54	Pro	94	32.25	Pro	30.40
Mauritius	56	26.67	Pro	56	26.45	Pro	58	28.46	Pro	56	28.00	Pro	61	28.74	Pro	27.66
Mexico	147	48.97	Diff	147	48.91	Diff	144	46.78	Diff	143	45.45	Diff	143	46.71	Diff	47.36
Moldova	80	30.41	Pro	81	30.01	Pro	91	31.21	Pro	91	31.16	Pro	89	31.61	Pro	30.88
Mongolia	69	28.95	Pro	71	29.05	Pro	70	29.51	Pro	73	29.61	Pro	68	28.97	Pro	29.22
Montenegro	106	33.65	Pro	103	31.21	Pro	104	32.74	Pro	105	33.83	Pro	104	34.33	Pro	33.15
Morocco	133	42.42	Diff	135	43.13	Diff	135	43.98	Diff	133	42.88	Diff	136	43.94	Diff	43.27
Mozambique	93	31.05	Pro	99	31.12	Pro	103	32.66	Pro	104	33.79	Pro	108	35.39	Diff	32.80
Myanmar	131	41.82	Diff	137	43.15	Diff	138	44.92	Diff	139	44.77	Diff	140	46.14	Diff	44.16
Namibia	24	17.08	Sat	26	20.24	Sat	23	18.95	Sat	23	19.25	Sat	24	19.72	Sat	19.05

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Nepal	100	33.02	Pro	106	32.05	Pro	106	33.40	Pro	112	35.10	Diff	106	34.62	Pro	33.64
Netherlands	5	11.28	Good	3	10.01	Good	4	8.63	Good	5	9.96	Good	6	9.67	Good	9.91
New Zealand	13	13.98	Good	8	13.62	Good	7	10.75	Good	9	10.69	Good	8	10.04	Good	11.82
Nicaragua	92	31.01	Pro	90	30.41	Pro	114	35.53	Diff	117	35.81	Diff	121	39.98	Diff	34.55
Niger	61	27.21	Pro	63	27.40	Pro	66	29.26	Pro	57	28.25	Pro	59	28.44	Pro	28.11
Nigeria	122	39.69	Diff	119	37.41	Diff	120	36.50	Diff	115	35.63	Diff	120	39.69	Diff	37.78
North Korea	180	84.98	V S	180	88.87	V S	179	83.40	V S	180	85.82	V S	179	81.28	V S	84.87
North Macedonia	111	35.74	Diff	109	32.43	Pro	95	31.66	Pro	92	31.28	Pro	90	31.67	Pro	32.56
Northern Cyprus	75	29.88	Pro	77	29.59	Pro	74	29.67	Pro	77	29.79	Pro	76	29.82	Pro	29.75
Norway	1	7.60	Good	1	7.63	Good	1	7.82	Good	1	7.84	Good	1	6.72	Good	7.52
OECS	38	22.10	Sat	35	22.11	Sat	50	26.04	Pro	44	23.78	Sat	45	23.98	Sat	23.60
Oman	126	40.46	Diff	127	40.67	Diff	132	43.42	Diff	135	43.42	Diff	133	43.37	Diff	42.27
Pakistan	139	43.55	Diff	139	43.24	Diff	142	45.83	Diff	145	45.52	Diff	145	46.86	Diff	45.00
Palestine	135	42.90	Diff	134	42.96	Diff	137	44.68	Diff	137	44.09	Diff	132	43.18	Diff	43.56
Panama	96	32.12	Pro	91	30.56	Pro	79	29.78	Pro	76	29.78	Pro	77	29.94	Pro	30.44
Papua New Guinea	51	25.07	Pro	53	26.19	Pro	38	24.70	Sat	46	23.93	Sat	47	24.88	Sat	24.95
Paraguay	110	35.64	Diff	107	32.32	Pro	99	32.40	Pro	100	32.97	Pro	100	33.52	Pro	33.37
Peru	90	30.98	Pro	88	30.27	Pro	85	30.22	Pro	90	30.94	Pro	91	31.71	Pro	30.82
Philippines	127	41.08	Diff	133	42.53	Diff	134	43.91	Diff	136	43.54	Diff	138	45.64	Diff	43.34
Poland	54	26.47	Pro	58	26.59	Pro	59	28.89	Pro	62	28.65	Pro	64	28.84	Pro	27.89
Portugal	18	15.77	Sat	14	14.17	Good	12	12.63	Good	10	11.83	Good	9	10.11	Good	12.90
Qatar	123	39.83	Diff	125	40.16	Diff	128	42.51	Diff	129	42.51	Diff	128	42.60	Diff	41.52
Romania	46	24.46	Sat	44	23.65	Sat	47	25.67	Pro	48	25.91	Pro	48	24.91	Sat	24.92
Russia	148	49.45	Diff	148	49.96	Diff	149	50.31	Diff	149	48.92	Diff	150	48.71	Diff	49.47
Rwanda	159	54.11	Diff	156	52.90	Diff	155	52.43	Diff	155	50.34	Diff	156	50.66	Diff	52.09
Samoa	21	16.41	Sat	22	16.69	Sat	22	18.25	Sat	21	18.25	Sat	21	19.24	Sat	17.77
Saudi Arabia	168	66.02	V S	169	63.13	V S	172	65.88	V S	170	62.14	V S	170	62.73	V S	63.98
Senegal	58	26.72	Pro	50	25.61	Pro	49	25.81	Pro	47	23.99	Sat	49	25.22	Pro	25.47
Serbia	66	28.05	Pro	76	29.58	Pro	90	31.18	Pro	93	31.62	Pro	93	32.03	Pro	30.49
Seychelles	87	30.86	Pro	85	30.17	Pro	69	29.41	Pro	63	28.66	Pro	52	25.66	Pro	28.95
Sierra Leone	85	30.73	Pro	79	29.98	Pro	86	30.36	Pro	85	30.28	Pro	75	29.61	Pro	30.19
Singapore	151	51.10	Diff	151	50.95	Diff	151	51.41	Diff	158	55.23	V S	160	55.20	V S	52.78
Slovakia	17	15.51	Sat	27	20.26	Sat	35	23.58	Sat	33	22.67	Sat	35	23.02	Sat	21.01
Slovenia	37	21.70	Sat	32	21.69	Sat	34	22.31	Sat	32	22.64	Sat	36	23.10	Sat	22.29
Somalia	167	65.95	V S	168	63.04	V S	164	57.24	V S	163	55.45	V S	161	55.47	V S	59.43
South Africa	31	20.12	Sat	28	20.39	Sat	31	22.19	Sat	31	22.41	Sat	32	21.59	Sat	21.34
South Korea	63	27.61	Pro	43	23.51	Sat	41	24.94	Sat	42	23.70	Sat	42	23.43	Sat	24.64
South Sudan	145	48.16	Diff	144	46.88	Diff	139	45.65	Diff	138	44.49	Diff	139	45.78	Diff	46.19
Spain	29	18.69	Sat	31	20.51	Sat	29	21.99	Sat	29	22.16	Sat	29	20.44	Sat	20.76

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Sri Lanka	141	44.34	Diff	131	41.37	Diff	126	39.61	Diff	127	41.94	Diff	127	42.20	Diff	41.89
Sudan	174	73.56	VS	174	71.13	VS	175	72.45	VS	159	55.33	VS	159	52.93	Diff	65.08
Suriname	20	16.07	Sat	21	16.44	Sat	20	16.38	Sat	20	17.50	Sat	19	16.95	Sat	16.67
Sweden	2	8.27	Good	2	8.31	Good	3	8.31	Good	4	9.25	Good	3	7.24	Good	8.28
Switzerland	7	12.13	Good	5	11.27	Good	6	10.52	Good	8	10.62	Good	10	10.55	Good	11.02
Syria	177	81.49	VS	177	79.22	VS	174	71.78	VS	174	72.57	VS	173	70.63	VS	75.14
Taiwan	45	24.37	Sat	42	23.36	Sat	42	24.98	Sat	43	23.76	Sat	43	23.86	Sat	24.07
Tajikistan	149	50.27	Diff	149	50.06	Diff	161	54.02	Diff	161	55.34	VS	162	55.52	VS	53.04
Tanzania	83	30.65	Pro	93	30.65	Pro	118	36.28	Diff	124	40.25	Diff	124	40.69	Diff	35.70
Thailand	142	44.69	Diff	140	44.31	Diff	136	44.10	Diff	140	44.94	Diff	137	45.22	Diff	44.65
Togo	86	30.75	Pro	86	30.23	Pro	76	29.69	Pro	71	29.33	Pro	74	29.59	Pro	29.92
Tonga	49	24.97	Sat	51	25.68	Pro	45	25.41	Pro	50	27.27	Pro	46	24.59	Sat	25.58
Trinidad and Tobago	34	20.62	Sat	39	22.79	Sat	39	24.74	Sat	36	23.22	Sat	31	21.55	Sat	22.58
Tunisia	97	32.22	Pro	97	30.91	Pro	72	29.61	Pro	72	29.45	Pro	73	29.53	Pro	30.34
Turkey	155	52.98	Diff	157	53.50	Diff	157	52.81	Diff	154	50.02	Diff	153	49.79	Diff	51.82
Turkmenistan	178	84.19	VS	178	84.20	VS	180	85.44	VS	179	85.44	VS	178	80.03	VS	83.86
Uganda	112	35.94	Diff	117	36.77	Diff	125	39.42	Diff	125	40.95	Diff	125	41.19	Diff	38.85
Ukraine	102	33.19	Pro	101	31.16	Pro	102	32.46	Pro	96	32.52	Pro	97	32.96	Pro	32.46
United Arab Emirates	119	39.39	Diff	128	40.86	Diff	133	43.63	Diff	131	42.69	Diff	131	43.13	Diff	41.94
United Kingdom	40	22.26	Sat	40	23.25	Sat	33	22.23	Sat	35	22.93	Sat	33	21.59	Sat	22.45
United States of America	43	23.88	Sat	45	23.73	Sat	48	25.69	Pro	45	23.85	Sat	44	23.93	Sat	24.22
Uruguay	25	17.43	Sat	20	15.56	Sat	19	16.06	Sat	19	15.79	Sat	18	16.38	Sat	16.24
Uzbekistan	169	66.11	VS	165	60.84	VS	160	53.52	Diff	156	53.07	Diff	157	50.74	Diff	56.86
Venezuela	137	42.94	Diff	143	46.03	Diff	148	49.10	Diff	147	45.66	Diff	148	47.60	Diff	46.27
Vietnam	175	73.96	VS	175	75.05	VS	176	74.93	VS	175	74.71	VS	175	78.46	VS	75.42
Yemen	166	65.80	VS	167	62.23	VS	168	61.66	VS	167	58.25	VS	169	62.35	VS	62.06
Zambia	114	36.48	Diff	113	35.36	Diff	119	36.38	Diff	120	37.00	Diff	115	38.21	Diff	36.69
Zimbabwe	128	41.44	Diff	126	40.53	Diff	127	42.23	Diff	126	40.95	Diff	130	43.12	Diff	41.65
AVG		35.08			34.79			35.02			34.80			35.08		34.95

Table 36. World Press Freedom Index (2017-2021) (Reporters sans Frontières, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021c)

APPENDIX 10. FREEDOM ON THE NET

COUNTRY	2017			2018			2019			2020			2021			AVG
	RANK	OVRL	CAT	RANK	OVRL	CAT	RANK	OVRL	CAT	RANK	OVRL	CAT	RANK	OVRL	CAT	
Angola	25	40	PartlyFree	26	62	PartlyFree	19	64	PartlyFree	22	62	PartlyFree	26	62	PartlyFree	58.00
Argentina	13	27	Free	15	71	Free	13	72	Free	13	71	Free	15	71	Free	62.40
Armenia	17	32	PartlyFree	16	71	Free	8	76	Free	11	75	Free	16	71	Free	65.00
Australia	5	21	Free	12	75	Free	5	77	Free	7	76	Free	12	75	Free	64.80
Azerbaijan	44	58	PartlyFree	52	35	NotFree	45	39	NotFree	45	38	NotFree	52	35	NotFree	41.00
Bahrain	56	71	NotFree	57	30	NotFree	53	29	NotFree	53	29	NotFree	57	30	NotFree	37.80
Bangladesh	41	54	PartlyFree	49	40	PartlyFree	41	44	PartlyFree	43	42	PartlyFree	49	40	PartlyFree	44.00
Belarus	48	64	NotFree	56	31	NotFree	48	35	NotFree	46	38	NotFree	56	31	NotFree	39.80
Brazil	19	33	PartlyFree	23	64	PartlyFree	20	64	PartlyFree	21	63	PartlyFree	23	64	PartlyFree	57.60
Cambodia	38	52	PartlyFree	47	43	PartlyFree	42	43	PartlyFree	42	43	PartlyFree	47	43	PartlyFree	44.80
Canada	3	15	Free	3	87	Free	3	87	Free	3	87	Free	3	87	Free	72.60
China	65	87	NotFree	70	10	NotFree	65	10	NotFree	65	10	NotFree	70	10	NotFree	25.40
Colombia	18	32	PartlyFree	21	65	PartlyFree	17	67	PartlyFree	17	66	PartlyFree	21	65	PartlyFree	59.00
Costa Rica				4	87	Free							4	87	Free	87.00
Cuba	61	79	NotFree	67	21	NotFree	62	22	NotFree	61	22	NotFree	67	21	NotFree	33.00
Ecuador	31	43	PartlyFree	27	62	PartlyFree	24	61	PartlyFree	29	57	PartlyFree	27	62	PartlyFree	57.00
Egypt	54	68	NotFree	63	26	NotFree	56	26	NotFree	58	26	NotFree	63	26	NotFree	34.40
Estonia	1	6	Free	2	94	Free	2	94	Free	2	94	Free	2	94	Free	76.40
Ethiopia	63	86	NotFree	61	27	NotFree	54	28	NotFree	54	29	NotFree	61	27	NotFree	39.40
France	12	26	Free	7	78	Free	9	76	Free	6	77	Free	7	78	Free	67.00
Gambia	53	67	NotFree	37	53	PartlyFree	39	48	PartlyFree	40	49	PartlyFree	37	53	PartlyFree	54.00
Georgia	8	24	Free	9	77	Free	10	75	Free	8	76	Free	9	77	Free	65.80
Germany	4	20	Free	6	79	Free	4	80	Free	4	80	Free	6	79	Free	67.60
Ghana				24	64	PartlyFree							24	64	PartlyFree	64.00
Hungary	15	29	Free	18	70	Free	14	72	Free	14	71	Free	18	70	Free	62.40
Iceland	2	6	Free	1	96	Free	1	95	Free	1	95	Free	1	96	Free	77.60
India	26	41	PartlyFree	40	49	PartlyFree	33	55	PartlyFree	36	51	PartlyFree	40	49	PartlyFree	49.00
Indonesia	37	47	PartlyFree	42	48	PartlyFree	36	51	PartlyFree	38	49	PartlyFree	42	48	PartlyFree	48.60

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Iran	62	85 NotFree	69	16 NotFree	64	15 NotFree	64	15 NotFree	69	16 NotFree	29.40
Iraq			48	41 PartlyFree					48	41 PartlyFree	41.00
Italy	10	25 Free	10	76 Free	11	75 Free	9	76 Free	10	76 Free	65.60
Japan	7	23 Free	11	76 Free	12	73 Free	12	75 Free	11	76 Free	64.60
Jordan	39	53 PartlyFree	45	47 PartlyFree	40	47 PartlyFree	39	49 PartlyFree	45	47 PartlyFree	48.60
Kazakhstan	45	62 NotFree	54	33 NotFree	50	32 NotFree	49	32 NotFree	54	33 NotFree	38.40
Kenya	16	29 Free	20	66 PartlyFree	16	68 PartlyFree	16	67 PartlyFree	20	66 PartlyFree	59.20
Kyrgyzstan	22	37 PartlyFree	35	53 PartlyFree	25	61 PartlyFree	30	56 PartlyFree	35	53 PartlyFree	52.00
Lebanon	36	46 PartlyFree	38	51 PartlyFree	35	52 PartlyFree	33	52 PartlyFree	38	51 PartlyFree	50.40
Libya	42	54 PartlyFree	43	48 PartlyFree	37	49 PartlyFree	37	50 PartlyFree	43	48 PartlyFree	49.80
Malawi	30	42 PartlyFree	30	59 PartlyFree	28	57 PartlyFree	25	60 PartlyFree	30	59 PartlyFree	55.40
Malaysia	33	44 PartlyFree	33	58 PartlyFree	29	57 PartlyFree	28	58 PartlyFree	33	58 PartlyFree	55.00
Mexico	24	39 PartlyFree	29	60 PartlyFree	26	60 PartlyFree	23	61 PartlyFree	29	60 PartlyFree	56.00
Morocco	34	45 PartlyFree	36	53 PartlyFree	34	54 PartlyFree	34	52 PartlyFree	36	53 PartlyFree	51.40
Myanmar	46	63 NotFree	68	17 NotFree	47	36 NotFree	50	31 NotFree	68	17 NotFree	32.80
Nicaragua			44	48 PartlyFree					44	48 PartlyFree	48.00
Nigeria	20	34 PartlyFree	31	59 PartlyFree	21	64 PartlyFree	26	60 PartlyFree	31	59 PartlyFree	55.20
Pakistan	57	71 NotFree	64	25 NotFree	57	26 NotFree	59	26 NotFree	64	25 NotFree	34.60
Philippines	14	28 Free	22	65 PartlyFree	18	66 PartlyFree	19	64 PartlyFree	22	65 PartlyFree	57.60
Russia	50	66 NotFree	58	30 NotFree	51	31 NotFree	51	30 NotFree	58	30 NotFree	37.40
Rwanda	40	53 PartlyFree	50	38 NotFree	44	41 PartlyFree	44	39 NotFree	50	38 NotFree	41.80
Saudi Arabia	58	72 NotFree	65	24 NotFree	59	25 NotFree	60	26 NotFree	65	24 NotFree	34.20
Serbia			17	71 Free					17	71 Free	71.00
Singapore	27	41 PartlyFree	34	54 PartlyFree	30	56 PartlyFree	32	54 PartlyFree	34	54 PartlyFree	51.80
South Africa	11	25 Free	14	73 Free	15	72 Free	15	70 Free	14	73 Free	62.60
South Korea	21	35 PartlyFree	19	67 PartlyFree	22	64 PartlyFree	18	66 PartlyFree	19	67 PartlyFree	59.80
Sri Lanka	32	43 PartlyFree	39	51 PartlyFree	38	49 PartlyFree	35	52 PartlyFree	39	51 PartlyFree	49.20
Sudan	49	64 NotFree	55	33 NotFree	60	25 NotFree	52	30 NotFree	55	33 NotFree	37.00
Syria	64	86 NotFree			63	17 NotFree	63	17 NotFree			40.00
Taiwan			5	80 Free					5	80 Free	80.00
Thailand	52	67 NotFree	51	36 NotFree	49	35 NotFree	47	35 NotFree	51	36 NotFree	41.80
Tunisia	23	38 PartlyFree	25	63 PartlyFree	23	64 PartlyFree	20	64 PartlyFree	25	63 PartlyFree	58.40

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Turkey	51	66 NotFree	53	34 NotFree	46	37 NotFree	48	35 NotFree	53	34 NotFree	41.20
Uganda	28	41 PartlyFree	41	49 PartlyFree	31	56 PartlyFree	31	56 PartlyFree	41	49 PartlyFree	50.20
Ukraine	35	45 PartlyFree	28	62 PartlyFree	32	56 PartlyFree	24	61 PartlyFree	28	62 PartlyFree	57.20
United Arab Emirates	55	69 NotFree	62	27 NotFree	55	28 NotFree	55	29 NotFree	62	27 NotFree	36.00
United Kingdom	9	24 Free	8	78 Free	6	77 Free	5	78 Free	8	78 Free	67.00
United States of America	6	21 Free	13	75 Free	7	77 Free	10	76 Free	13	75 Free	64.80
Uzbekistan	60	77 NotFree	59	28 NotFree	58	26 NotFree	57	27 NotFree	59	28 NotFree	37.20
Venezuela	47	63 NotFree	60	28 NotFree	52	30 NotFree	56	28 NotFree	60	28 NotFree	35.40
Vietnam	59	76 NotFree	66	22 NotFree	61	24 NotFree	62	22 NotFree	66	22 NotFree	33.20
Zambia	29	41 PartlyFree	32	59 PartlyFree	27	58 PartlyFree	27	59 PartlyFree	32	59 PartlyFree	55.20
Zimbabwe	43	56 PartlyFree	46	46 PartlyFree	43	42 PartlyFree	41	46 PartlyFree	46	46 PartlyFree	47.20
AVG		47.34		52.77		51.88		51.69		52.77	51.97

Table 37. Freedom on the Net (2017-2021) (Baker et al., 2021; Buyon et al., 2020; Kelly et al., 2017; Truong et al., 2018, 2019)

APPENDIX 11. FREEDOM IN THE WORLD

COUNTRY	2018			2019			2020			2021			2022			AVG
	RANK	OVRL	CAT	RANK	OVRL	CAT	RANK	OVRL	CAT	RANK	OVRL	CAT	RANK	OVRL	CAT	
Abkhazia	140	41	PF	141	41	PF	139	40	PF	136	40	PF	136	40	PF	40.40
Afghanistan	163	26	NF	162	27	NF	162	27	NF	162	27	NF	189	10	NF	23.40
Albania	91	68	PF	89	68	PF	88	67	PF	90	66	PF	88	67	PF	67.20
Algeria	150	35	NF	150	34	NF	149	34	NF	150	32	NF	150	32	NF	33.40
Andorra	13	96	F	18	94	F	18	94	F	24	93	F	24	93	F	94.00
Angola	164	26	NF	157	31	NF	153	32	NF	152	31	NF	152	30	NF	30.00
Antigua and Barbuda	59	83	F	57	84	F	55	85	F	54	85	F	54	85	F	84.40
Argentina	60	83	F	58	84	F	56	85	F	55	84	F	55	84	F	84.00
Armenia	132	45	PF	125	51	PF	120	53	PF	115	55	PF	116	55	PF	51.80
Australia	6	98	F	6	98	F	8	97	F	9	97	F	14	95	F	97.00
Austria	20	94	F	26	93	F	25	93	F	26	93	F	26	93	F	93.20
Azad Kashmir	161	28	NF	161	28	NF	161	28	NF	160	28	NF	155	29	NF	28.20
Azerbaijan	188	12	NF	191	11	NF	193	10	NF	193	10	NF	193	9	NF	10.40
Bahamas	37	91	F	38	91	F	37	91	F	37	91	F	36	91	F	91.00
Bahrain	189	12	NF	188	12	NF	189	11	NF	188	12	NF	185	12	NF	11.80
Bangladesh	133	45	PF	140	41	PF	141	39	PF	138	39	PF	138	39	PF	40.60
Barbados	14	96	F	13	96	F	16	95	F	16	95	F	16	95	F	95.40
Belarus	175	21	NF	178	19	NF	177	19	NF	189	11	NF	196	8	NF	15.60
Belgium	18	95	F	16	96	F	15	96	F	15	96	F	13	96	F	95.80
Belize	51	86	F	52	86	F	52	86	F	52	87	F	51	87	F	86.40
Benin	63	82	F	70	79	F	90	66	PF	94	65	PF	107	59	PF	70.20
Bhutan	115	55	PF	112	59	PF	112	59	PF	105	61	PF	102	61	PF	59.00
Bolivia	92	67	PF	92	67	PF	97	63	PF	91	66	PF	92	66	PF	65.80
Bosnia and Herzegovina	116	55	PF	120	53	PF	119	53	PF	118	53	PF	118	53	PF	53.40
Botswana	84	72	F	84	72	F	81	72	F	81	72	F	81	72	F	72.00
Brazil	73	78	F	78	75	F	78	75	F	79	74	F	79	73	F	75.00
Brunei	160	28	NF	160	29	NF	160	28	NF	159	28	NF	157	28	NF	28.20
Bulgaria	70	80	F	69	80	F	69	80	F	74	78	F	73	79	F	79.40
Burkina Faso	108	60	PF	109	60	PF	113	56	PF	116	54	PF	117	53	PF	56.60
Burundi	179	18	NF	185	14	NF	187	13	NF	185	14	NF	182	14	NF	14.60
Cambodia	156	30	NF	163	26	NF	163	25	NF	165	24	NF	161	24	NF	25.80
Cameroon	173	22	NF	177	19	NF	179	18	NF	182	16	NF	179	15	NF	18.00
Canada	4	99	F	4	99	F	5	98	F	6	98	F	5	98	F	98.40
Cape Verde	41	90	F	42	90	F	35	92	F	34	92	F	33	92	F	91.20
Central African Republic	195	9	NF	195	9	NF	195	10	NF	196	9	NF	198	7	NF	8.80

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Chad	180	18	NF	181	17	NF	182	17	NF	179	17	NF	178	15	NF	16.80
Chile	21	94	F	20	94	F	41	90	F	31	93	F	21	94	F	93.00
China	185	14	NF	189	11	NF	192	10	NF	195	9	NF	194	9	NF	10.60
Colombia	96	65	PF	94	66	PF	93	66	PF	95	65	PF	97	64	PF	65.20
Comoros	117	55	PF	126	50	PF	132	44	PF	134	42	PF	135	42	PF	46.60
Democratic Republic of the Congo	182	17	NF	184	15	NF	180	18	NF	175	20	NF	171	19	NF	17.80
Republic of Congo	176	21	NF	173	21	NF	174	20	NF	173	20	NF	175	17	NF	19.80
Costa Rica	38	91	F	39	91	F	38	91	F	38	91	F	37	91	F	91.00
Crimea	196	9	NF	198	8	NF	199	8	NF	199	7	NF	199	7	NF	7.80
Croatia	52	86	F	54	85	F	54	85	F	53	85	F	53	85	F	85.20
Cuba	186	14	NF	186	14	NF	185	14	NF	186	13	NF	184	12	NF	13.40
Cyprus	22	94	F	21	94	F	20	94	F	19	94	F	22	93	F	93.80
Czech Republic	28	93	F	36	91	F	36	91	F	36	91	F	35	91	F	91.40
Denmark	10	97	F	10	97	F	10	97	F	10	97	F	9	97	F	97.00
Djibouti	165	26	NF	164	26	NF	166	24	NF	166	24	NF	162	24	NF	24.80
Dominica	29	93	F	29	93	F	27	93	F	28	93	F	28	93	F	93.00
Dominican Republic	93	67	PF	93	67	PF	89	67	PF	88	67	PF	87	68	PF	67.20
East Timor	90	69	F	87	70	F	85	71	F	82	72	F	82	72	F	70.80
Eastern Donbas							203	5	NF	203	4	NF	203	4	NF	4.33
Ecuador	109	60	PF	103	63	PF	96	65	PF	89	67	PF	84	71	F	65.20
Egypt	166	26	NF	171	22	NF	173	21	NF	178	18	NF	174	18	NF	21.00
El Salvador	88	70	F	91	67	F	92	66	PF	99	63	PF	108	59	PF	65.00
Equatorial Guinea	199	7	NF	202	6	NF	202	6	NF	202	5	NF	202	5	NF	5.80
Eritrea	205	3	NF	206	2	NF	207	2	NF	207	2	NF	206	3	NF	2.40
Estonia	23	94	F	22	94	F	21	94	F	20	94	F	18	94	F	94.00
Eswatini	184	16	NF	183	16	NF	178	19	NF	177	19	NF	176	17	NF	17.40
Ethiopia	190	12	NF	179	19	NF	167	24	NF	169	22	NF	167	23	NF	20.00
Fiji	110	59	PF	107	61	PF	109	60	PF	110	60	PF	111	58	PF	59.60
Finland	1	100	F	1	100	F	1	100	F	1	100	F	1	100	F	100.00
France	42	90	F	43	90	F	43	90	F	43	90	F	46	89	F	89.80
Gabon	170	23	NF	168	23	NF	171	22	NF	170	22	NF	169	21	NF	22.20
Gambia	144	41	PF	134	45	PF	128	46	PF	126	46	PF	127	47	PF	45.00
Gaza Strip	191	12	NF	192	11	NF	191	11	NF	191	11	NF	186	11	NF	11.20
Georgia	97	64	PF	100	63	PF	105	61	PF	107	60	PF	110	58	PF	61.20
Germany	24	94	F	23	94	F	22	94	F	21	94	F	19	94	F	94.00
Ghana	61	83	F	61	83	F	64	82	F	64	82	F	67	80	F	82.00
Greece	54	85	F	51	87	F	51	88	F	51	87	F	50	87	F	86.80
Grenada	49	88	F	48	89	F	48	89	F	48	89	F	48	89	F	88.80
Guatemala	113	56	PF	119	53	PF	121	52	PF	121	52	PF	120	51	PF	52.80

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Guinea	141	41	PF	138	43	PF	138	40	PF	139	38	PF	144	34	NF	39.20
Guinea-Bissau	142	41	PF	139	42	PF	129	46	PF	129	44	PF	131	43	PF	43.20
Guyana	81	74	F	81	75	F	79	74	F	80	73	F	80	73	F	73.80
Haiti	143	41	PF	142	41	PF	143	38	PF	140	37	PF	147	33	NF	38.00
Honduras	131	46	PF	131	46	PF	131	45	PF	130	44	PF	128	47	PF	45.60
Hong Kong	111	59	PF	110	59	PF	117	55	PF	119	52	PF	129	43	PF	53.60
Hungary	85	72	F	86	70	PF	86	70	PF	86	69	PF	85	69	PF	70.00
Iceland	19	95	F	19	94	F	19	94	F	18	94	F	17	94	F	94.20
India	76	77	F	79	75	F	83	71	F	87	67	PF	91	66	PF	71.20
Indonesia	98	64	PF	104	62	PF	106	61	PF	111	59	PF	109	59	PF	61.00
Iran	181	18	NF	180	18	NF	181	17	NF	183	16	NF	180	14	NF	16.60
Iraq	153	31	NF	152	32	NF	156	31	NF	155	29	NF	154	29	NF	30.40
Ireland	15	96	F	11	97	F	11	97	F	11	97	F	10	97	F	96.80
Israel	72	79	F	75	78	F	76	76	F	78	76	F	78	76	F	77.00
Italy	45	89	F	45	89	F	45	89	F	45	90	F	42	90	F	89.40
Ivory Coast	125	51	PF	124	51	PF	123	51	PF	128	44	PF	123	49	PF	49.20
Jamaica	77	77	F	76	78	F	73	78	F	68	80	F	68	80	F	78.60
Japan	16	96	F	14	96	F	13	96	F	13	96	F	11	96	F	96.00
Jordan	146	37	PF	146	37	PF	146	37	PF	147	34	NF	148	33	NF	35.60
Kashmir	127	49	PF	128	49	PF	159	28	NF	161	27	NF	159	27	NF	36.00
Kazakhstan	174	22	NF	172	22	NF	169	23	NF	168	23	NF	166	23	NF	22.60
Kenya	129	48	PF	130	48	PF	126	48	PF	125	48	PF	125	48	PF	48.00
Kiribati	30	93	F	30	93	F	28	93	F	29	93	F	29	93	F	93.00
Kosovo	121	52	PF	118	54	PF	116	56	PF	117	54	PF	113	56	PF	54.40
Kuwait	149	36	PF	148	36	PF	147	36	PF	143	37	PF	141	37	PF	36.40
Kyrgyzstan	147	37	PF	145	38	PF	142	39	PF	156	28	NF	158	27	NF	33.80
Laos	192	12	NF	187	14	NF	186	14	NF	187	13	NF	183	13	NF	13.20
Latvia	50	87	F	50	87	F	49	89	F	49	89	F	49	88	F	88.00
Lebanon	138	43	PF	133	45	PF	133	44	PF	132	43	PF	133	42	PF	43.40
Lesotho	99	64	PF	101	63	PF	98	63	PF	100	63	PF	98	63	PF	63.20
Liberia	103	62	PF	105	62	PF	108	60	PF	109	60	PF	106	60	PF	60.80
Libya	197	9	NF	196	9	NF	198	9	NF	197	9	NF	195	9	NF	9.00
Liechtenstein	43	90	F	44	90	F	44	90	F	44	90	F	41	90	F	90.00
Lithuania	39	91	F	40	91	F	39	91	F	41	90	F	44	89	F	90.40
Luxembourg	7	98	F	7	98	F	6	98	F	8	97	F	8	97	F	97.60
Madagascar	114	56	PF	114	56	PF	107	61	PF	108	60	PF	104	61	PF	58.80
Malawi	101	63	PF	98	64	PF	101	62	PF	93	66	PF	93	66	PF	64.20
Malaysia	134	45	PF	121	52	PF	122	52	PF	122	51	PF	122	50	PF	50.00
Maldives	151	35	PF	149	35	PF	140	40	PF	137	40	PF	137	40	PF	38.00

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Mali	135	44	PF	135	44	PF	135	41	PF	149	33	NF	149	32	NF	38.80
Malta	34	92	F	37	91	F	42	90	F	42	90	F	45	89	F	90.40
Marshall Islands	35	92	F	32	93	F	30	93	F	30	93	F	30	93	F	92.80
Mauritania	157	30	NF	153	32	NF	150	34	PF	144	35	PF	143	35	PF	33.20
Mauritius	46	89	F	46	89	F	46	89	F	50	87	F	52	86	F	88.00
Mexico	104	62	PF	102	63	PF	103	62	PF	103	61	PF	105	60	PF	61.60
Micronesia	31	93	F	33	92	F	32	92	F	32	92	F	31	92	F	92.20
Moldova	107	61	PF	113	58	PF	110	60	PF	104	61	PF	101	62	PF	60.40
Monaco	64	82	F	63	82	F	62	83	F	61	83	F	58	84	F	82.80
Mongolia	55	85	F	55	85	F	57	84	F	56	84	F	56	84	F	84.40
Montenegro	94	67	PF	95	65	PF	100	62	PF	101	63	PF	90	67	PF	64.80
Morocco	145	39	PF	144	39	PF	145	37	PF	142	37	PF	140	37	PF	37.80
Mozambique	122	52	PF	122	51	PF	130	45	PF	131	43	PF	132	43	PF	46.80
Myanmar	154	31	PF	158	30	PF	157	30	NF	157	28	NF	191	9	NF	25.60
Nagorno-Karabakh	158	30	PF	155	31	PF	151	34	PF	145	35	PF	142	36	PF	33.20
Namibia	78	77	F	80	75	F	75	77	F	76	77	F	77	77	F	76.60
Nauru	66	81	F	74	78	F	74	77	F	75	77	F	76	77	F	78.00
Nepal	118	55	PF	116	54	PF	115	56	PF	114	56	PF	112	57	PF	55.60
Netherlands	5	99	F	5	99	F	4	99	F	5	98	F	6	97	F	98.40
New Zealand	8	98	F	8	98	F	9	97	F	4	99	F	4	99	F	98.20
Nicaragua	136	44	PF	151	32	NF	155	31	NF	154	30	NF	164	23	NF	32.00
Niger	128	49	PF	129	49	PF	125	48	PF	124	48	PF	121	51	PF	49.00
Nigeria	126	50	PF	127	50	PF	127	47	PF	127	45	PF	130	43	PF	47.00
North Korea	206	3	NF	204	3	NF	205	3	NF	205	3	NF	205	3	NF	3.00
North Macedonia	112	58	PF	111	59	PF	99	63	PF	92	66	PF	89	67	PF	62.60
Northern Cyprus	67	81	F	67	81	F	67	81	F	73	78	F	75	77	F	79.60
Norway	2	100	F	2	100	F	2	100	F	2	100	F	2	100	F	100.00
Oman	171	23	NF	169	23	NF	168	23	NF	167	23	NF	163	24	NF	23.20
Pakistan	139	43	PF	143	39	PF	144	38	PF	141	37	PF	139	37	PF	38.80
Palau	36	92	F	34	92	F	33	92	F	33	92	F	32	92	F	92.00
Panama	62	83	F	59	84	F	59	84	F	59	83	F	60	83	F	83.40
Papua New Guinea	102	63	PF	99	64	PF	102	62	PF	102	62	PF	100	62	PF	62.60
Paraguay	100	64	PF	97	65	PF	95	65	PF	97	65	PF	95	65	PF	64.80
Peru	82	73	F	82	73	F	80	72	F	83	71	PF	83	72	F	72.20
Philippines	105	62	PF	106	61	PF	111	59	PF	112	56	PF	114	55	PF	58.60
Poland	56	85	F	56	84	F	58	84	F	63	82	F	66	81	F	83.20
Portugal	11	97	F	12	96	F	12	96	F	12	96	F	15	95	F	96.00
Qatar	168	24	NF	166	25	NF	165	25	NF	164	25	NF	160	25	NF	24.80
Romania	57	84	F	66	81	F	63	83	F	62	83	F	62	83	F	82.80

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Russia	177	20	NF	174	20	NF	175	20	NF	174	20	NF	170	19	NF	19.80
Rwanda	172	23	NF	170	23	NF	172	22	NF	171	21	NF	168	22	NF	22.20
Saint Kitts and Nevis	48	89	F	47	89	F	47	89	F	47	89	F	47	89	F	89.00
Saint Lucia	40	91	F	35	92	F	34	92	F	35	91	F	34	92	F	91.60
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	44	90	F	41	91	F	40	91	F	39	91	F	38	91	F	90.80
Samoa	71	80	F	68	81	F	68	81	F	67	81	F	63	83	F	81.20
San Marino	12	97	F	17	95	F	17	95	F	23	93	F	23	93	F	94.60
São Tomé and Príncipe	65	82	F	62	83	F	60	84	F	57	84	F	57	84	F	83.40
Saudi Arabia	200	7	NF	200	7	NF	200	7	NF	200	7	NF	200	7	NF	7.00
Senegal	79	75	F	83	72	F	84	71	PF	84	71	PF	86	68	PF	71.40
Serbia	83	73	F	90	67	PF	91	66	PF	98	64	PF	99	62	PF	66.40
Seychelles	87	71	PF	85	71	PF	82	72	PF	77	77	F	74	79	F	74.00
Sierra Leone	95	66	PF	96	65	PF	94	65	PF	96	65	PF	94	65	PF	65.20
Singapore	123	52	PF	123	51	PF	124	50	PF	123	48	PF	126	47	PF	49.60
Slovakia	47	89	F	49	88	F	50	88	F	46	90	F	43	90	F	89.00
Slovenia	32	93	F	25	94	F	23	94	F	17	95	F	39	90	F	93.20
Solomon Islands	86	72	F	73	79	F	72	79	F	71	79	F	71	79	F	77.60
Somalia	201	7	NF	201	7	NF	201	7	NF	201	7	NF	201	7	NF	7.00
Somaliland	137	44	PF	137	43	PF	136	41	PF	135	42	PF	124	49	PF	43.80
South Africa	74	78	F	71	79	F	70	79	F	69	79	F	69	79	F	78.80
South Korea	58	84	F	60	83	F	61	83	F	60	83	F	61	83	F	83.20
South Ossetia	194	10	NF	193	10	NF	194	10	NF	194	10	NF	188	11	NF	10.20
South Sudan	207	2	NF	207	2	NF	208	2	NF	208	2	NF	208	1	NF	1.80
Spain	25	94	F	24	94	F	31	92	F	40	90	F	40	90	F	92.00
Sri Lanka	119	55	PF	115	56	PF	114	56	PF	113	56	PF	115	55	PF	55.60
Sudan	198	8	NF	199	7	NF	188	12	NF	181	17	NF	190	10	NF	10.80
Suriname	75	78	F	77	77	F	77	75	F	72	79	F	72	79	F	77.60
Sweden	3	100	F	3	100	F	3	100	F	3	100	F	3	100	F	100.00
Switzerland	17	96	F	15	96	F	14	96	F	14	96	F	12	96	F	96.00
Syria	209	-1	NF	209	0	NF	210	0	NF	210	1	NF	210	1	NF	0.20
Taiwan	33	93	F	31	93	F	29	93	F	22	94	F	20	94	F	93.40
Tajikistan	193	11	NF	194	9	NF	197	9	NF	198	8	NF	197	8	NF	9.00
Tanzania	124	52	PF	132	45	PF	137	40	PF	146	34	PF	145	34	PF	41.00
Thailand	155	31	NF	159	30	NF	154	32	PF	153	30	NF	153	29	NF	30.40
Tibet	208	1	NF	208	1	NF	209	1	NF	209	1	NF	209	1	NF	1.00
Togo	130	47	PF	136	43	PF	134	44	PF	133	43	PF	134	42	PF	43.80
Tonga	80	75	F	72	79	F	71	79	F	70	79	F	70	79	F	78.20
Transnistria	169	24	NF	167	24	NF	170	22	NF	172	20	NF	173	18	NF	21.60
Trinidad and Tobago	68	81	F	64	82	F	65	82	F	65	82	F	64	82	F	81.80

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Tunisia	89	70	F	88	69	F	87	70	F	85	71	F	96	64	PF	68.80
Turkey	152	32	NF	154	31	NF	152	32	NF	151	32	NF	151	32	NF	31.80
Turkmenistan	203	4	NF	205	2	NF	206	2	NF	206	2	NF	207	2	NF	2.40
Tuvalu	26	94	F	27	93	F	26	93	F	27	93	F	27	93	F	93.20
Uganda	148	37	PF	147	36	NF	148	34	NF	148	34	NF	146	34	NF	35.00
Ukraine	106	62	PF	108	60	PF	104	62	PF	106	60	PF	103	61	PF	61.00
United Arab Emirates	183	17	NF	182	17	NF	183	17	NF	180	17	NF	177	17	NF	17.00
United Kingdom	27	94	F	28	93	F	24	94	F	25	93	F	25	93	F	93.40
United States of America	53	86	F	53	86	F	53	86	F	58	83	F	59	83	F	84.80
Uruguay	9	98	F	9	98	F	7	98	F	7	98	F	7	97	F	97.80
Uzbekistan	202	7	NF	197	9	NF	196	10	NF	192	11	NF	187	11	NF	9.60
Vanuatu	69	81	F	65	82	F	66	82	F	66	82	F	65	82	F	81.80
Venezuela	167	26	NF	176	19	NF	184	16	NF	184	14	NF	181	14	NF	17.80
Vietnam	178	20	NF	175	20	NF	176	20	NF	176	19	NF	172	19	NF	19.60
West Bank	162	28	NF	165	25	NF	164	25	NF	163	25	NF	165	23	NF	25.20
Western Sahara	204	4	NF	203	4	NF	204	4	NF	204	4	NF	204	4	NF	4.00
Yemen	187	13	NF	190	11	NF	190	11	NF	190	11	NF	192	9	NF	11.00
Zambia	120	55	PF	117	54	PF	118	54	PF	120	52	PF	119	51	PF	53.20
Zimbabwe	159	30	NF	156	31	PF	158	29	PF	158	28	NF	156	28	NF	29.20
AVG		57.62			57.33			56.70			56.23			55.71		56.62

Table 38. Freedom in the World (2018-2022) (Freedom House, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021b, 2022a)

APPENDIX 12. INDEX OF ECONOMIC FREEDOM

COUNTRY	2018			2019			2020			2021			2022			AVG
	RANK	OVRL	CAT	RANK	OVRL	CAT	RANK	OVRL	CAT	RANK	OVRL	CAT	RANK	OVRL	CAT	
Afghanistan	154	51.30	M.Unf	152	51.50	M.Unf	136	54.70	M.Unf	146	53.00	M.Unf	-	-	-	52.63
Albania	65	64.50	Mod.F	52	66.50	Mod.F	57	66.90	Mod.F	66	65.20	Mod.F	50	66.60	Mod.F	65.94
Algeria	172	44.70	Rep	171	46.20	Rep	169	46.90	Rep	162	49.70	Rep	167	45.80	Rep	46.66
Angola	164	48.60	Rep	156	50.60	M.Unf	154	52.20	M.Unf	140	54.20	M.Unf	139	52.60	M.Unf	51.64
Argentina	144	52.30	M.Unf	148	52.20	M.Unf	149	53.10	M.Unf	148	52.70	M.Unf	144	50.10	M.Unf	52.08
Armenia	44	68.70	Mod.F	47	67.70	Mod.F	34	70.60	Mos.F	32	71.90	Mos.F	58	65.30	Mod.F	68.84
Australia	5	80.90	Free	5	80.90	Free	4	82.60	Free	3	82.40	Free	12	77.70	Mos.F	80.90
Austria	32	71.80	Mos.F	31	72.00	Mos.F	29	73.30	Mos.F	25	73.90	Mos.F	22	73.80	Mos.F	72.96
Azerbaijan	67	64.30	Mod.F	60	65.40	Mod.F	44	69.30	Mod.F	38	70.10	Mos.F	75	61.60	Mod.F	66.14
Bahamas	74	63.30	Mod.F	76	62.90	Mod.F	69	64.50	Mod.F	70	64.60	Mod.F	38	68.70	Mod.F	64.80
Bahrain	50	67.70	Mod.F	54	66.40	Mod.F	63	66.30	Mod.F	40	69.90	Mod.F	74	62.00	Mod.F	66.46
Bangladesh	128	55.10	M.Unf	121	55.60	M.Unf	122	56.40	M.Unf	120	56.50	M.Unf	137	52.70	M.Unf	55.26
Barbados	117	57.00	M.Unf	67	64.70	Mod.F	92	61.40	Mod.F	67	65.00	Mod.F	28	71.30	Mos.F	63.88
Belarus	108	58.10	M.Unf	104	57.90	M.Unf	88	61.70	Mod.F	95	61.00	Mod.F	135	53.00	M.Unf	58.34
Belgium	52	67.50	Mod.F	48	67.30	Mod.F	48	68.90	Mod.F	37	70.10	Mos.F	37	69.60	Mod.F	68.68
Belize	116	57.10	M.Unf	123	55.40	M.Unf	111	57.40	M.Unf	114	57.50	M.Unf	109	56.60	M.Unf	56.80
Benin	120	56.70	M.Unf	127	55.30	M.Unf	133	55.20	M.Unf	100	59.60	M.Unf	81	61.00	Mod.F	57.56
Bhutan	87	61.80	Mod.F	74	62.90	Mod.F	85	62.10	Mod.F	109	58.30	M.Unf	94	59.30	M.Unf	60.88
Bolivia	173	44.10	Rep	173	42.30	Rep	175	42.80	Rep	172	42.70	Rep	169	43.00	Rep	42.98
Bosnia and Herzegovina	91	61.40	Mod.F	83	61.90	Mod.F	82	62.60	Mod.F	82	62.90	Mod.F	68	63.40	Mod.F	62.44
Botswana	35	69.90	Mod.F	36	69.50	Mod.F	40	69.60	Mod.F	51	67.60	Mod.F	61	64.80	Mod.F	68.28
Brazil	153	51.40	M.Unf	150	51.90	M.Unf	144	53.70	M.Unf	143	53.40	M.Unf	133	53.30	M.Unf	52.74
Brunei	70	64.20	Mod.F	63	65.10	Mod.F	61	66.60	Mod.F	57	66.60	Mod.F	62	64.80	Mod.F	65.46
Bulgaria	47	68.30	Mod.F	37	69.00	Mod.F	36	70.20	Mos.F	35	70.40	Mos.F	29	71.00	Mos.F	69.78
Burkina Faso	95	60.00	Mod.F	96	59.40	M.Unf	117	56.70	M.Unf	124	56.50	M.Unf	100	58.30	M.Unf	58.18
Myanmar	135	53.90	M.Unf	139	53.60	M.Unf	141	54.00	M.Unf	135	55.20	M.Unf	149	49.60	Rep	53.26
Burundi	157	50.90	M.Unf	162	48.90	Rep	166	49.00	Rep	161	49.90	Rep	172	39.40	Rep	47.62
Cape Verde	96	60.00	Mod.F	73	63.10	Mod.F	76	63.60	Mod.F	77	63.80	Mod.F	49	66.70	Mod.F	63.44
Cambodia	101	58.70	M.Unf	105	57.80	M.Unf	113	57.30	M.Unf	118	57.25	M.Unf	106	57.10	M.Unf	57.63
Cameroon	149	51.90	M.Unf	145	52.40	M.Unf	145	53.60	M.Unf	144	53.37	M.Unf	136	52.90	M.Unf	52.83
Canada	9	77.70	Mos.F	8	77.70	Mos.F	9	78.20	Mos.F	9	77.87	Mos.F	15	76.60	Mos.F	77.61
Central African Republic	163	49.20	Rep	161	49.10	Rep	159	50.70	M.Unf	166	48.80	Rep	168	45.70	Rep	48.70
Chad	162	49.30	Rep	159	49.90	Rep	161	50.20	M.Unf	158	50.40	M.Unf	146	49.80	Rep	49.92
Chile	20	75.20	Mos.F	18	75.40	Mos.F	15	76.80	Mos.F	19	75.20	Mos.F	20	74.40	Mos.F	75.40
China	110	57.80	M.Unf	100	58.40	M.Unf	103	59.50	M.Unf	107	58.40	M.Unf	158	48.00	Rep	56.42

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Colombia	42	68.90	Mod.F	49	67.30	Mod.F	45	69.20	Mod.F	49	68.10	Mod.F	60	65.10	Mod.F	67.72
Comoros	121	56.20	M.Unf	124	55.40	M.Unf	143	53.70	M.Unf	132	55.70	M.Unf	143	50.40	M.Unf	54.28
Democratic Republic of the Congo	147	52.10	M.Unf	157	50.30	M.Unf	162	49.50	Rep	165	49.00	Rep	160	47.60	Rep	49.70
Republic of Congo	177	38.90	Rep	176	39.70	Rep	176	41.80	Rep	156	50.70	M.Unf	155	48.50	Rep	43.92
Costa Rica	57	65.60	Mod.F	61	65.30	Mod.F	68	65.80	Mod.F	72	64.20	Mod.F	55	65.40	Mod.F	65.26
Ivory Coast	85	62.00	Mod.F	78	62.40	Mod.F	101	59.70	M.Unf	91	61.70	Mod.F	76	61.60	Mod.F	61.48
Croatia	92	61.00	Mod.F	86	61.40	Mod.F	84	62.20	Mod.F	79	63.60	Mod.F	45	67.60	Mod.F	63.16
Cuba	178	31.90	Rep	178	27.80	Rep	178	26.90	Rep	176	28.10	Rep	175	29.50	Rep	28.84
Cyprus	48	67.80	Mod.F	44	68.10	Mod.F	37	70.10	Mos.F	33	71.40	Mos.F	23	72.90	Mos.F	70.06
Czech Republic	24	74.20	Mos.F	23	73.70	Mos.F	23	74.80	Mos.F	27	73.80	Mos.F	21	74.40	Mos.F	74.18
Denmark	12	76.60	Mos.F	14	76.70	Mos.F	8	78.30	Mos.F	10	77.80	Mos.F	10	78.00	Mos.F	77.48
Djibouti	171	45.10	Rep	169	47.10	Rep	151	52.90	M.Unf	126	56.20	M.Unf	120	55.30	M.Unf	51.32
Dominica	66	64.50	Mod.F	72	63.60	Mod.F	97	60.80	Mod.F	147	53.00	M.Unf	125	54.40	M.Unf	59.26
Dominican Republic	89	61.60	Mod.F	89	61.00	Mod.F	95	60.90	Mod.F	88	62.10	Mod.F	71	63.00	Mod.F	61.72
Ecuador	165	48.50	Rep	170	46.90	Rep	158	51.30	M.Unf	149	52.40	M.Unf	126	54.30	M.Unf	50.68
Egypt	139	53.40	M.Unf	144	52.50	M.Unf	142	54.00	M.Unf	130	55.70	M.Unf	152	49.10	Rep	52.94
El Salvador	75	63.20	Mod.F	84	61.80	Mod.F	90	61.60	Mod.F	94	61.00	Mod.F	90	59.60	M.Unf	61.44
Equatorial Guinea	175	42.00	Rep	174	41.00	Rep	167	48.30	Rep	163	49.20	Rep	163	47.20	Rep	45.54
Eritrea	176	41.70	Rep	177	38.90	Rep	177	38.50	Rep	173	42.30	Rep	171	39.70	Rep	40.22
Estonia	7	78.80	Mos.F	15	76.60	Mos.F	10	77.70	Mos.F	8	78.20	Mos.F	7	80.00	Free	78.26
Eswatini (Swaziland)	123	55.90	M.Unf	132	54.70	M.Unf	131	55.30	M.Unf	137	55.10	M.Unf	141	51.40	M.Unf	54.48
Ethiopia	142	52.80	M.Unf	137	53.60	M.Unf	146	53.60	M.Unf	151	51.70	M.Unf	150	49.60	Rep	52.26
Fiji	84	62.00	Mod.F	81	62.20	Mod.F	77	63.40	Mod.F	87	62.20	Mod.F	111	56.40	M.Unf	61.24
Finland	26	74.10	Mos.F	20	74.90	Mos.F	20	75.70	Mos.F	17	76.10	Mos.F	9	78.30	Mos.F	75.82
France	71	63.90	Mod.F	71	63.80	Mod.F	64	66.00	Mod.F	64	65.70	Mod.F	52	65.90	Mod.F	65.06
Gabon	109	58.00	M.Unf	118	56.30	M.Unf	118	56.70	M.Unf	110	58.10	M.Unf	115	55.80	M.Unf	56.98
Gambia	145	52.30	M.Unf	146	52.40	M.Unf	123	56.30	M.Unf	104	58.80	M.Unf	102	58.00	M.Unf	55.56
Georgia	16	76.20	Mos.F	16	75.90	Mos.F	12	77.10	Mos.F	12	77.20	Mos.F	26	71.80	Mos.F	75.64
Germany	25	74.20	Mos.F	24	73.50	Mos.F	27	73.50	Mos.F	29	72.50	Mos.F	16	76.10	Mos.F	73.96
Ghana	122	56.00	M.Unf	109	57.50	M.Unf	104	59.40	M.Unf	101	59.20	M.Unf	89	59.80	M.Unf	58.38
Greece	115	57.30	M.Unf	106	57.70	M.Unf	100	59.90	M.Unf	96	60.90	Mod.F	77	61.50	Mod.F	59.46
Guatemala	73	63.40	Mod.F	77	62.60	Mod.F	73	64.00	Mod.F	75	64.00	Mod.F	69	63.20	Mod.F	63.44
Guinea	146	52.20	M.Unf	120	55.70	M.Unf	121	56.50	M.Unf	123	56.50	M.Unf	129	54.20	M.Unf	55.02
Guinea-Bissau	118	56.90	M.Unf	135	54.00	M.Unf	148	53.30	M.Unf	139	54.90	M.Unf	166	46.00	Rep	53.02
Guyana	102	58.70	M.Unf	113	56.80	M.Unf	124	56.20	M.Unf	116	57.40	M.Unf	91	59.50	M.Unf	57.72
Haiti	124	55.80	M.Unf	143	52.70	M.Unf	153	52.30	M.Unf	155	50.80	M.Unf	145	50.00	M.Unf	52.32
Honduras	94	60.60	Mod.F	93	60.20	Mod.F	93	61.10	Mod.F	98	59.80	M.Unf	92	59.50	M.Unf	60.24
Hong Kong	1	90.20	Free	1	90.20	Free	2	89.10	Free							89.83

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Hungary	55	66.70	Mod.F	64	65.00	Mod.F	62	66.40	Mod.F	55	67.20	Mod.F	48	66.90	Mod.F	66.44
Iceland	11	77.00	Mos.F	11	77.10	Mos.F	13	77.10	Mos.F	11	77.40	Mos.F	13	77.00	Mos.F	77.12
India	130	54.50	M.Unf	129	55.20	M.Unf	120	56.50	M.Unf	121	56.50	M.Unf	131	53.90	M.Unf	55.32
Indonesia	69	64.20	Mod.F	56	65.80	Mod.F	54	67.20	Mod.F	56	66.90	Mod.F	63	64.40	Mod.F	65.70
Iran	156	50.90	M.Unf	155	51.10	M.Unf	164	49.20	Rep	168	47.20	Rep	170	42.40	Rep	48.16
Ireland	6	80.40	Free	6	80.50	Free	6	80.90	Free	5	81.40	Free	3	82.00	Free	81.04
Israel	31	72.20	Mos.F	27	72.80	Mos.F	26	74.00	Mos.F	26	73.80	Mos.F	43	68.00	Mod.F	72.16
Italy	79	62.50	Mod.F	80	62.20	Mod.F	74	63.80	Mod.F	68	64.90	Mod.F	57	65.40	Mod.F	63.76
Jamaica	40	69.10	Mod.F	39	68.60	Mod.F	49	68.50	Mod.F	45	69.00	Mod.F	46	67.40	Mod.F	68.52
Japan	30	72.30	Mos.F	30	72.10	Mos.F	30	73.30	Mos.F	23	74.10	Mos.F	35	69.90	Mod.F	72.34
Jordan	62	64.90	Mod.F	53	66.50	Mod.F	66	66.00	Mod.F	69	64.60	Mod.F	87	60.10	Mod.F	64.42
Kazakhstan	41	69.10	Mod.F	59	65.40	Mod.F	39	69.60	Mod.F	34	71.10	Mos.F	64	64.40	Mod.F	67.92
Kenya	129	54.70	M.Unf	130	55.10	M.Unf	132	55.30	M.Unf	138	54.90	M.Unf	138	52.60	M.Unf	54.52
Kiribati	159	50.80	M.Unf	168	47.30	Rep	172	45.20	Rep	171	44.40	Rep	96	59.20	M.Unf	49.38
North Korea	180	5.80	Rep	180	5.90	Rep	180	4.20	Rep	178	5.20	Rep	177	3.00	Rep	4.82
South Korea	27	73.80	Mos.F	29	72.30	Mos.F	25	74.00	Mos.F	24	74.00	Mos.F	19	74.60	Mos.F	73.74
Kosovo	56	66.60	Mod.F	51	67.00	Mod.F	53	67.40	Mod.F	58	66.50	Mod.F	86	60.10	Mod.F	65.52
Kuwait	81	62.20	Mod.F	90	60.80	Mod.F	79	63.20	Mod.F	74	64.10	Mod.F	101	58.30	M.Unf	61.72
Kyrgyzstan	78	62.80	Mod.F	79	62.30	Mod.F	81	62.90	Mod.F	78	63.70	Mod.F	116	55.80	M.Unf	61.50
Laos	138	53.60	M.Unf	110	57.40	M.Unf	129	55.50	M.Unf	141	53.90	M.Unf	151	49.20	Rep	53.92
Latvia	28	73.60	Mos.F	35	70.40	Mos.F	32	71.90	Mos.F	30	72.30	Mos.F	18	74.80	Mos.F	72.60
Lebanon	140	53.20	M.Unf	154	51.10	M.Unf	157	51.70	M.Unf	154	51.40	M.Unf	162	47.30	Rep	50.94
Lesotho	136	53.90	M.Unf	142	53.10	M.Unf	138	54.50	M.Unf	142	53.50	M.Unf	157	48.10	Rep	52.62
Liberia	158	50.90	M.Unf	160	49.70	Rep	165	49.00	Rep	164	49.20	Rep	159	47.90	Rep	49.34
Lithuania	19	75.30	Mos.F	21	74.20	Mos.F	16	76.70	Mos.F	15	76.90	Mos.F	17	75.80	Mos.F	75.78
Luxembourg	14	76.40	Mos.F	17	75.90	Mos.F	19	75.80	Mos.F	18	76.00	Mos.F	5	80.60	Free	76.94
Macau	34	70.90	Mos.F	34	71.00	Mos.F	35	70.30	Mos.F							70.73
Madagascar	119	56.80	M.Unf	114	56.60	M.Unf	99	60.50	Mod.F	112	57.70	M.Unf	98	58.90	M.Unf	58.10
Malawi	148	52.00	M.Unf	153	51.40	M.Unf	152	52.80	M.Unf	145	53.00	M.Unf	134	53.00	M.Unf	52.44
Malaysia	22	74.50	Mos.F	22	74.00	Mos.F	24	74.70	Mos.F	22	74.40	Mos.F	42	68.10	Mod.F	73.14
Maldives	155	51.10	M.Unf	141	53.20	M.Unf	119	56.50	M.Unf	136	55.20	M.Unf	161	47.30	Rep	52.66
Mali	113	57.60	M.Unf	103	58.10	M.Unf	126	55.90	M.Unf	133	55.60	M.Unf	114	55.90	M.Unf	56.62
Malta	46	68.50	Mod.F	41	68.60	Mod.F	42	69.50	Mod.F	36	70.20	Mos.F	27	71.50	Mos.F	69.66
Mauritania	134	54.00	M.Unf	119	55.70	M.Unf	130	55.30	M.Unf	128	56.10	M.Unf	119	55.30	M.Unf	55.28
Mauritius	21	75.10	Mos.F	25	73.00	Mos.F	21	74.90	Mos.F	13	77.00	Mos.F	30	70.90	Mos.F	74.18
Mexico	63	64.80	Mod.F	66	64.70	Mod.F	67	66.00	Mod.F	65	65.50	Mod.F	67	63.70	Mod.F	64.94
Micronesia	143	52.30	M.Unf	149	51.90	M.Unf	156	52.00	M.Unf	160	50.40	M.Unf	82	61.00	Mod.F	53.52
Moldova	105	58.40	M.Unf	97	59.10	M.Unf	87	62.00	Mod.F	85	62.50	Mod.F	78	61.30	Mod.F	60.66
Mongolia	125	55.70	M.Unf	126	55.40	M.Unf	127	55.90	M.Unf	86	62.40	Mod.F	66	63.90	Mod.F	58.66

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Montenegro	68	64.30	Mod.F	92	60.50	Mod.F	91	61.50	Mod.F	80	63.40	Mod.F	103	57.80	M.Unf	61.50
Morocco	86	61.90	Mod.F	75	62.90	Mod.F	78	63.30	Mod.F	81	63.30	Mod.F	97	59.20	M.Unf	62.12
Mozambique	170	46.30	Rep	163	48.60	Rep	160	50.50	M.Unf	153	51.60	M.Unf	142	51.30	M.Unf	49.66
Namibia	103	58.50	M.Unf	99	58.70	M.Unf	96	60.90	Mod.F	83	62.60	Mod.F	95	59.20	M.Unf	59.98
Nepal	133	54.10	M.Unf	136	53.80	M.Unf	139	54.20	M.Unf	157	50.70	M.Unf	148	49.70	Rep	52.50
Netherlands	17	76.20	Mos.F	13	76.80	Mos.F	14	77.00	Mos.F	16	76.80	Mos.F	8	79.50	Mos.F	77.26
New Zealand	3	84.20	Free	3	84.40	Free	3	84.10	Free	2	83.90	Free	4	80.60	Free	83.44
Nicaragua	100	58.90	M.Unf	107	57.70	M.Unf	115	57.20	M.Unf	125	56.30	M.Unf	122	54.80	M.Unf	56.98
Niger	160	49.50	Rep	151	51.60	M.Unf	137	54.70	M.Unf	117	57.30	M.Unf	121	54.90	M.Unf	53.60
Nigeria	104	58.50	M.Unf	111	57.30	M.Unf	116	57.20	M.Unf	105	58.70	M.Unf	124	54.40	M.Unf	57.22
North Macedonia	33	71.30	Mos.F	33	71.10	Mos.F	41	69.50	Mod.F	46	68.60	Mod.F	53	65.70	Mod.F	69.24
Norway	23	74.30	Mos.F	26	73.00	Mos.F	28	73.40	Mos.F	28	73.40	Mos.F	14	76.90	Mos.F	74.20
Oman	93	61.00	Mod.F	88	61.00	Mod.F	75	63.60	Mod.F	71	64.60	Mod.F	108	56.60	M.Unf	61.36
Pakistan	131	54.40	M.Unf	131	55.00	M.Unf	135	54.80	M.Unf	152	51.70	M.Unf	153	48.80	Rep	52.94
Panama	54	67.00	Mod.F	50	67.20	Mod.F	55	67.20	Mod.F	62	66.20	Mod.F	56	65.40	Mod.F	66.60
Papua New Guinea	127	55.70	M.Unf	101	58.40	M.Unf	108	58.40	M.Unf	103	58.90	M.Unf	123	54.60	M.Unf	57.20
Paraguay	82	62.10	Mod.F	85	61.80	Mod.F	80	63.00	Mod.F	84	62.60	Mod.F	73	62.90	Mod.F	62.48
Peru	43	68.70	Mod.F	45	67.80	Mod.F	51	67.90	Mod.F	50	67.70	Mod.F	51	66.50	Mod.F	67.72
Philippines	61	65.00	Mod.F	70	63.80	Mod.F	70	64.50	Mod.F	73	64.10	Mod.F	80	61.10	Mod.F	63.70
Poland	45	68.50	Mod.F	46	67.80	Mod.F	46	69.10	Mod.F	41	69.70	Mod.F	39	68.70	Mod.F	68.76
Portugal	72	63.40	Mod.F	62	65.30	Mod.F	56	67.00	Mod.F	52	67.50	Mod.F	31	70.80	Mos.F	66.80
Qatar	29	72.60	Mos.F	28	72.60	Mos.F	31	72.30	Mos.F	31	72.00	Mos.F	44	67.70	Mod.F	71.44
Romania	37	69.40	Mod.F	42	68.60	Mod.F	38	69.70	Mod.F	43	69.50	Mod.F	47	67.10	Mod.F	68.86
Russia	107	58.20	M.Unf	98	58.90	M.Unf	94	61.00	Mod.F	92	61.50	Mod.F	113	56.10	M.Unf	59.14
Rwanda	39	69.10	Mod.F	32	71.10	Mos.F	33	70.90	Mos.F	47	68.30	Mod.F	105	57.10	M.Unf	67.30
Saint Lucia	51	67.60	Mod.F	38	68.70	Mod.F	50	68.20	Mod.F	53	67.50	Mod.F	65	64.30	Mod.F	67.26
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	49	67.70	Mod.F	55	65.80	Mod.F	59	66.80	Mod.F	59	66.30	Mod.F	54	65.70	Mod.F	66.46
Samoa	90	61.50	Mod.F	82	62.20	Mod.F	86	62.10	Mod.F	89	61.90	Mod.F	40	68.30	Mod.F	63.20
São Tomé and Príncipe	137	53.60	M.Unf	134	54.00	M.Unf	125	56.20	M.Unf	129	55.90	M.Unf	85	60.30	Mod.F	56.00
Saudi Arabia	98	59.60	M.Unf	91	60.70	Mod.F	83	62.40	Mod.F	63	66.00	Mod.F	118	55.50	M.Unf	60.84
Senegal	126	55.70	M.Unf	117	56.30	M.Unf	110	58.00	M.Unf	111	58.00	M.Unf	88	60.00	Mod.F	57.60
Serbia	80	62.50	Mod.F	69	63.90	Mod.F	65	66.00	Mod.F	54	67.20	Mod.F	59	65.20	Mod.F	64.96
Seychelles	88	61.60	Mod.F	87	61.40	Mod.F	72	64.30	Mod.F	60	66.30	Mod.F	79	61.10	Mod.F	62.94
Sierra Leone	151	51.80	M.Unf	167	47.50	Rep	168	48.00	Rep	150	51.70	M.Unf	140	52.00	M.Unf	50.20
Singapore	2	88.80	Free	2	89.40	Free	1	89.40	Free	1	89.70	Free	1	84.40	Free	88.34
Slovakia	59	65.30	Mod.F	65	65.00	Mod.F	60	66.80	Mod.F	61	66.30	Mod.F	36	69.70	Mod.F	66.62
Slovenia	64	64.80	Mod.F	58	65.50	Mod.F	52	67.80	Mod.F	48	68.30	Mod.F	32	70.50	Mos.F	67.38
Solomon Islands	114	57.50	M.Unf	133	54.60	M.Unf	150	52.90	M.Unf	122	56.50	M.Unf	110	56.50	M.Unf	55.60
South Africa	77	63.00	Mod.F	102	58.30	M.Unf	106	58.80	M.Unf	99	59.70	M.Unf	112	56.20	M.Unf	59.20

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Spain	60	65.10	Mod.F	57	65.70	Mod.F	58	66.90	Mod.F	39	69.90	Mod.F	41	68.20	Mod.F	67.16
Sri Lanka	111	57.80	M.Unf	115	56.40	M.Unf	112	57.40	M.Unf	131	55.70	M.Unf	132	53.30	M.Unf	56.12
Sudan	161	49.40	Rep	166	47.70	Rep	173	45.00	Rep	175	39.10	Rep	174	32.00	Rep	42.64
Suriname	166	48.10	Rep	165	48.10	Rep	163	49.50	Rep	169	46.40	Rep	156	48.10	Rep	48.04
Sweden	15	76.30	Mos.F	19	75.20	Mos.F	22	74.90	Mos.F	21	74.70	Mos.F	11	77.90	Mos.F	75.80
Switzerland	4	81.70	Free	4	81.90	Free	5	82.00	Free	4	81.90	Free	2	84.20	Free	82.34
Taiwan	13	76.60	Mos.F	10	77.30	Mos.F	11	77.10	Mos.F	6	78.60	Mos.F	6	80.10	Free	77.94
Tajikistan	106	58.30	M.Unf	122	55.60	M.Unf	155	52.20	M.Unf	134	55.20	M.Unf	147	49.70	Rep	54.20
Tanzania	97	59.90	M.Unf	94	60.20	Mod.F	89	61.70	Mod.F	93	61.30	Mod.F	93	59.50	M.Unf	60.52
Thailand	53	67.10	Mod.F	43	68.30	Mod.F	43	69.40	Mod.F	42	69.70	Mod.F	70	63.20	Mod.F	67.54
East Timor	167	48.10	Rep	172	44.20	Rep	171	45.90	Rep	170	44.70	Rep	164	46.30	Rep	45.84
Togo	168	47.80	Rep	158	50.30	M.Unf	140	54.10	M.Unf	113	57.50	M.Unf	104	57.20	M.Unf	53.38
Tonga	76	63.10	Mod.F	108	57.70	M.Unf	107	58.80	M.Unf	115	57.50	M.Unf	83	60.80	Mod.F	59.58
Trinidad and Tobago	112	57.70	M.Unf	112	57.00	M.Unf	109	58.30	M.Unf	102	59.00	M.Unf	99	58.80	M.Unf	58.16
Tunisia	99	58.90	M.Unf	125	55.40	M.Unf	128	55.80	M.Unf	119	56.60	M.Unf	128	54.20	M.Unf	56.18
Turkey	58	65.40	Mod.F	68	64.60	Mod.F	71	64.40	Mod.F	76	64.00	Mod.F	107	56.90	M.Unf	63.06
Turkmenistan	169	47.10	Rep	164	48.40	Rep	170	46.50	Rep	167	47.40	Rep	165	46.20	Rep	47.12
Uganda	83	62.00	Mod.F	95	59.70	M.Unf	102	59.50	M.Unf	106	58.60	M.Unf	127	54.20	M.Unf	58.80
Ukraine	150	51.90	M.Unf	147	52.30	M.Unf	134	54.90	M.Unf	127	56.20	M.Unf	130	54.10	M.Unf	53.88
United Arab Emirates	10	77.60	Mos.F	9	77.60	Mos.F	18	76.20	Mos.F	14	76.90	Mos.F	33	70.20	Mos.F	75.70
United Kingdom	8	78.00	Mos.F	7	78.90	Mos.F	7	79.30	Mos.F	7	78.40	Mos.F	24	72.70	Mos.F	77.46
United States of America	18	75.70	Mos.F	12	76.80	Mos.F	17	76.60	Mos.F	20	74.80	Mos.F	25	72.10	Mos.F	75.20
Uruguay	38	69.20	Mod.F	40	68.60	Mod.F	47	69.10	Mod.F	44	69.30	Mod.F	34	70.00	Mos.F	69.24
Uzbekistan	152	51.50	M.Unf	140	53.30	M.Unf	114	57.20	M.Unf	108	58.30	M.Unf	117	55.70	M.Unf	55.20
Vanuatu	36	69.50	Mod.F	116	56.40	M.Unf	98	60.70	Mod.F	97	60.50	Mod.F	72	62.90	Mod.F	62.00
Venezuela	179	25.20	Rep	179	25.90	Rep	179	25.20	Rep	177	24.70	Rep	176	24.80	Rep	25.16
Vietnam	141	53.10	M.Unf	128	55.30	M.Unf	105	58.80	M.Unf	90	61.70	Mod.F	84	60.60	Mod.F	57.90
Zambia	132	54.30	M.Unf	138	53.60	M.Unf	147	53.50	M.Unf	159	50.40	M.Unf	154	48.70	Rep	52.10
Zimbabwe	174	44.00	Rep	175	40.40	Rep	174	43.10	Rep	174	39.50	Rep	173	33.10	Rep	40.02
AVG		61.07			60.77			61.59			61.58			60.00		61.08

Table 39. Index of Economic Freedom (2018-2022) (T. Miller et al., 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022)

APPENDIX 13. LIBERAL DEMOCRACY INDEX

COUNTRY	2018			2019			2020			2021			2022			AVG
	RANK	OVRL	CAT	RANK	OVRL	CAT	RANK	OVRL	CAT	RANK	OVRL	CAT	RANK	OVRL	CAT	
Afghanistan	126	0.22	EA	123	0.23	EA	125	0.21	EA	129	0.19	EA	177	0.02	CA	0.24
Albania	76	0.46	LD	80	0.43	LD	79	0.43	EA	85	0.40	ED	82	0.40	EA	0.42
Algeria	134	0.18	EA	143	0.14	EA	148	0.12	EA	139	0.15	EA	135	0.15	EA	0.24
Angola	141	0.14	CA	130	0.20	EA	122	0.23	EA	126	0.21	EA	126	0.19	EA	0.23
Argentina	42	0.63	ED	40	0.68	ED	44	0.63	ED	39	0.67	ED	38	0.66	ED	0.68
Armenia	122	0.24	EA	99	0.33	EA	42	0.64	EA	47	0.60	EA	54	0.56	ED	0.54
Australia	8	0.83	LD	7	0.82	LD	14	0.79	LD	20	0.79	LD	14	0.81	LD	0.83
Austria	24	0.76	LD	32	0.72	LD	30	0.72	LD	24	0.76	LD	26	0.75	ED	0.76
Azerbaijan	165	0.07	EA	167	0.06	EA	166	0.07	EA	166	0.07	EA	162	0.07	EA	0.09
Bahrain	170	0.05	CA	177	0.04	CA	173	0.05	CA	171	0.05	CA	169	0.05	CA	0.07
Bangladesh	135	0.18	EA	145	0.13	EA	154	0.10	EA	154	0.10	EA	146	0.12	EA	0.18
Barbados	39	0.67	LD	42	0.68	LD	29	0.73	LD	38	0.68	LD	35	0.68	LD	0.70
Belarus	148	0.12	EA	150	0.12	EA	150	0.12	EA	163	0.08	EA	175	0.04	EA	0.12
Belgium	11	0.82	LD	14	0.80	LD	6	0.82	LD	11	0.82	LD	11	0.82	LD	0.84
Benin	46	0.61	ED	57	0.54	LD	73	0.46	EA	103	0.30	EA	105	0.28	EA	0.49
Bhutan	62	0.52	ED	61	0.52	LD	66	0.49	LD	71	0.46	ED	65	0.48	LD	0.57
Bolivia	84	0.40	ED	89	0.40	ED	105	0.31	EA	121	0.23	EA	89	0.37	ED	0.38
Bosnia and Herzegovina	115	0.27	EA	94	0.37	ED	93	0.35	ED	96	0.34	ED	94	0.35	ED	0.42
Botswana	55	0.58	ED	47	0.59	ED	54	0.55	LD	66	0.48	ED	64	0.49	LD	0.58
Brazil	56	0.57	ED	53	0.56	ED	60	0.51	ED	56	0.51	ED	59	0.51	ED	0.55
Bulgaria	51	0.59	ED	65	0.50	ED	67	0.49	ED	62	0.49	ED	56	0.55	ED	0.56
Burkina Faso	65	0.50	ED	64	0.50	ED	112	0.27	EA	57	0.51	ED	66	0.48	ED	0.52
Burundi	169	0.06	EA	171	0.05	EA	169	0.06	EA	170	0.05	EA	160	0.08	EA	0.09
Cambodia	162	0.08	EA	164	0.08	EA	161	0.09	EA	167	0.07	EA	164	0.06	EA	0.12
Cameroon	138	0.15	EA	144	0.13	EA	140	0.15	EA	145	0.12	EA	140	0.13	EA	0.18
Canada	20	0.77	LD	25	0.76	LD	21	0.78	LD	28	0.74	LD	24	0.75	LD	0.79
Cape Verde	33	0.72	LD	38	0.70	ED	28	0.73	ED	37	0.69	ED	42	0.65	ED	0.71
Central African Republic	125	0.23	EA	120	0.25	EA	124	0.21	EA	125	0.21	EA	131	0.16	EA	0.28
Chad	159	0.09	EA	157	0.10	EA	151	0.11	EA	157	0.09	EA	163	0.07	CA	0.14
Chile	18	0.79	LD	21	0.77	ED	25	0.76	LD	25	0.76	ED	21	0.77	LD	0.79
China	167	0.06	CA	169	0.06	CA	174	0.05	CA	174	0.04	CA	172	0.04	CA	0.14
Colombia	66	0.49	ED	68	0.48	ED	62	0.50	ED	74	0.45	ED	69	0.47	ED	0.54
Comoros	120	0.25	EA	126	0.22	EA	131	0.18	EA	134	0.17	EA	139	0.13	EA	0.27
Democratic Republic of the Congo	6	0.83	LD	152	0.12	EA	143	0.14	EA	137	0.16	EA	132	0.16	EA	0.19
Republic of Congo	57	0.55	ED	155	0.11	EA	155	0.10	EA	148	0.12	EA	150	0.11	EA	0.16

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Costa Rica	163	0.08	CA	6	0.83	LD	8	0.82	LD	4	0.85	LD	4	0.85	LD	0.86
Croatia	28	0.75	LD	50	0.57	ED	56	0.55	ED	44	0.64	ED	46	0.63	ED	0.62
Cuba	22	0.77	LD	163	0.08	CA	159	0.09	CA	162	0.09	CA	159	0.08	CA	0.13
Cyprus	156	0.10	EA	28	0.74	LD	35	0.71	LD	32	0.72	LD	34	0.69	LD	0.74
Czech Republic	5	0.84	LD	36	0.70	LD	38	0.70	ED	34	0.71	ED	31	0.71	ED	0.72
Denmark	145	0.13	EA	3	0.85	LD	1	0.86	LD	1	0.88	LD	2	0.88	LD	0.89
Djibouti	119	0.26	ED	149	0.12	EA	144	0.13	EA	144	0.12	EA	143	0.12	EA	0.19
Dominican Republic	63	0.51	ED	98	0.33	ED	100	0.32	ED	95	0.34	ED	68	0.47	ED	0.43
East Timor	91	0.36	ED	62	0.51	ED	58	0.52	ED	70	0.46	ED	63	0.49	ED	0.54
Ecuador	146	0.13	EA	69	0.47	ED	63	0.50	ED	64	0.48	ED	70	0.47	ED	0.57
Egypt	77	0.46	ED	141	0.14	EA	145	0.13	EA	146	0.12	EA	144	0.12	EA	0.15
El Salvador	171	0.05	EA	73	0.46	ED	76	0.44	ED	87	0.38	ED	119	0.21	EA	0.42
Equatorial Guinea	177	0.02	CA	172	0.05	EA	171	0.05	EA	169	0.06	EA	168	0.05	EA	0.08
Eritrea	3	0.86	LD	178	0.02	CA	179	0.01	CA	179	0.01	CA	179	0.01	CA	0.04
Estonia	158	0.10	CA	4	0.84	LD	2	0.84	LD	9	0.83	LD	6	0.84	LD	0.85
Eswatini (Swaziland)	154	0.11	EA	139	0.16	CA	147	0.12	CA	147	0.12	CA	149	0.11	CA	0.16
Ethiopia	97	0.33	EA	140	0.15	EA	133	0.18	EA	136	0.16	EA	133	0.15	EA	0.21
Fiji	7	0.83	LD	91	0.38	ED	103	0.31	EA	109	0.28	EA	107	0.27	EA	0.36
Finland	13	0.81	LD	11	0.80	LD	11	0.81	LD	7	0.84	LD	8	0.83	LD	0.84
France	108	0.29	EA	20	0.77	LD	17	0.78	LD	15	0.80	LD	16	0.79	LD	0.81
Gabon	104	0.30	EA	122	0.24	EA	128	0.20	EA	127	0.21	EA	122	0.21	EA	0.31
Gambia	164	0.08	CA	76	0.44	ED	74	0.46	ED	81	0.42	ED	81	0.41	EA	0.49
Gaza Strip	58	0.55	ED	173	0.05	CA	165	0.08	CA	159	0.09	CA	165	0.06	CA	0.10
Georgia	14	0.81	LD	59	0.53	ED	61	0.50	ED	58	0.51	ED	62	0.49	ED	0.57
Germany	59	0.54	LD	17	0.77	LD	20	0.78	LD	8	0.83	LD	9	0.82	LD	0.83
Ghana	37	0.70	LD	58	0.53	LD	45	0.61	LD	48	0.60	LD	52	0.57	ED	0.63
Greece	64	0.51	ED	34	0.71	ED	24	0.76	ED	27	0.74	LD	36	0.67	LD	0.76
Guatemala	127	0.21	EA	88	0.40	ED	86	0.40	ED	83	0.41	ED	98	0.32	ED	0.42
Guinea	100	0.32	ED	134	0.18	EA	135	0.17	EA	142	0.14	EA	148	0.11	CA	0.23
Guinea-Bissau	68	0.49	ED	112	0.29	EA	109	0.29	ED	93	0.35	ED	92	0.36	ED	0.32
Guyana	116	0.26	ED	84	0.42	ED	83	0.42	ED	84	0.40	ED	90	0.37	ED	0.45
Haiti	114	0.27	EA	132	0.18	EA	121	0.24	EA	120	0.23	EA	121	0.21	EA	0.25
Honduras	102	0.31	CA	124	0.23	EA	129	0.20	EA	122	0.23	EA	116	0.24	EA	0.31
Hong Kong	61	0.52	ED	107	0.30	CA	116	0.26	CA	115	0.25	CA	123	0.20	CA	0.34
Hungary	15	0.81	LD	75	0.44	ED	85	0.40	EA	89	0.37	EA	91	0.36	EA	0.42
Iceland	81	0.43	ED	18	0.77	LD	23	0.77	ED	19	0.79	LD	25	0.75	LD	0.79
India	72	0.48	ED	85	0.42	ED	90	0.36	ED	97	0.34	EA	93	0.36	EA	0.40
Indonesia	139	0.15	EA	63	0.50	ED	65	0.49	ED	73	0.45	ED	76	0.43	ED	0.55
Iran	107	0.29	EA	146	0.13	EA	141	0.14	EA	140	0.14	EA	142	0.12	EA	0.21

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Iraq	19	0.78	LD	118	0.25	EA	120	0.24	EA	124	0.22	EA	118	0.22	EA	0.29
Ireland	53	0.58	ED	24	0.76	LD	12	0.80	LD	12	0.82	LD	10	0.82	LD	0.83
Israel	23	0.77	LD	51	0.57	LD	49	0.57	LD	41	0.65	LD	41	0.65	LD	0.64
Italy	89	0.37	ED	16	0.78	LD	22	0.77	LD	21	0.78	LD	20	0.77	LD	0.80
Ivory Coast	32	0.72	ED	74	0.45	ED	88	0.38	ED	101	0.31	EA	114	0.24	EA	0.45
Jamaica	25	0.76	LD	35	0.70	ED	39	0.69	ED	35	0.70	ED	33	0.69	ED	0.73
Japan	123	0.24	CA	30	0.73	LD	26	0.74	LD	30	0.73	LD	28	0.74	LD	0.77
Jordan	143	0.13	EA	117	0.25	CA	118	0.25	CA	118	0.24	CA	110	0.25	CA	0.32
Kazakhstan	96	0.33	EA	151	0.12	EA	149	0.12	EA	143	0.13	EA	138	0.13	EA	0.15
Kenya	106	0.29	EA	106	0.30	EA	97	0.34	EA	90	0.37	EA	83	0.40	EA	0.37
Kosovo	110	0.28	CA	96	0.35	ED	84	0.41	ED	78	0.43	ED	79	0.42	ED	0.45
Kuwait	94	0.34	EA	111	0.29	CA	106	0.30	CA	105	0.29	CA	106	0.27	CA	0.36
Kyrgyzstan	160	0.09	CA	93	0.37	ED	101	0.32	EA	104	0.29	EA	108	0.27	EA	0.41
Laos	27	0.75	LD	162	0.08	CA	157	0.10	CA	160	0.09	CA	152	0.10	CA	0.11
Latvia	101	0.31	ED	23	0.76	LD	34	0.71	LD	29	0.74	LD	30	0.73	LD	0.75
Lebanon	82	0.42	ED	110	0.29	EA	108	0.29	EA	106	0.29	EA	103	0.28	EA	0.36
Lesotho	67	0.49	ED	83	0.42	ED	71	0.47	ED	61	0.50	ED	60	0.50	ED	0.51
Liberia	133	0.19	CA	82	0.43	ED	81	0.43	ED	67	0.48	ED	73	0.46	ED	0.50
Libya	29	0.73	ED	135	0.17	CA	137	0.16	CA	138	0.15	CA	134	0.15	CA	0.26
Lithuania	26	0.76	LD	29	0.73	ED	27	0.73	ED	23	0.76	ED	27	0.74	ED	0.75
Luxembourg	117	0.26	EA	22	0.77	LD	15	0.79	LD	22	0.78	LD	15	0.80	LD	0.82
Madagascar	73	0.47	ED	108	0.29	EA	102	0.31	EA	112	0.27	EA	112	0.24	EA	0.32
Malawi	128	0.21	EA	71	0.46	ED	82	0.42	EA	72	0.45	ED	57	0.53	ED	0.53
Malaysia	140	0.15	EA	109	0.29	EA	98	0.33	EA	107	0.28	EA	102	0.29	EA	0.35
Maldives	85	0.39	ED	133	0.18	EA	99	0.33	EA	76	0.44	ED	75	0.45	ED	0.36
Mali				104	0.32	ED	104	0.31	EA	100	0.32	EA	128	0.18	CA	0.38
Malta	137	0.16	EA	52	0.57	ED	53	0.56	ED	46	0.61	ED	45	0.63	ED	0.59
Mauritania	36	0.70	ED	136	0.17	EA	136	0.16	EA	131	0.18	EA	130	0.17	EA	0.25
Mauritius	71	0.48	ED	31	0.72	LD	32	0.71	ED	59	0.50	ED	72	0.46	ED	0.66
Mexico	83	0.42	ED	60	0.53	ED	68	0.49	ED	82	0.41	ED	87	0.39	ED	0.51
Moldova	60	0.53	ED	79	0.43	ED	75	0.45	ED	69	0.47	ED	47	0.62	ED	0.51
Mongolia	93	0.35	EA	66	0.48	ED	57	0.52	ED	60	0.50	ED	61	0.49	ED	0.57
Montenegro	113	0.27	CA	97	0.35	EA	91	0.35	EA	94	0.35	EA	86	0.39	EA	0.43
Morocco	98	0.33	EA	116	0.26	CA	115	0.26	CA	113	0.26	CA	115	0.24	CA	0.37
Mozambique	118	0.26	EA	102	0.32	EA	113	0.27	EA	114	0.25	EA	113	0.24	EA	0.35
Myanmar	52	0.58	ED	119	0.25	EA	119	0.25	EA	110	0.27	EA	156	0.08	CA	0.31
Namibia	70	0.48	ED	49	0.57	ED	51	0.57	ED	55	0.52	ED	58	0.51	ED	0.60
Nepal	12	0.81	LD	72	0.46	ED	72	0.46	ED	75	0.45	ED	71	0.46	ED	0.51
Netherlands	9	0.83	LD	9	0.81	LD	16	0.78	LD	10	0.82	LD	13	0.81	LD	0.83

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New Zealand	150	0.12	EA	10	0.81	LD	10	0.82	LD	6	0.85	LD	5	0.84	LD	0.80
Nicaragua	87	0.38	ED	168	0.06	EA	170	0.06	EA	168	0.06	EA	167	0.06	EA	0.12
Niger	79	0.45	ED	77	0.44	ED	94	0.34	EA	86	0.39	ED	84	0.40	ED	0.50
Nigeria	178	0.01	CA	78	0.44	ED	96	0.34	EA	91	0.36	ED	95	0.34	EA	0.45
North Korea	95	0.33	ED	179	0.01	CA	178	0.01	CA	178	0.01	CA	178	0.01	CA	0.01
North Macedonia	1	0.87	LD	95	0.36	ED	78	0.43	ED	79	0.43	ED	85	0.40	ED	0.46
Norway	144	0.13	CA	1	0.87	LD	5	0.83	LD	3	0.86	LD	3	0.86	LD	0.88
Oman	109	0.29	EA	147	0.13	CA	142	0.14	CA	141	0.14	CA	137	0.14	CA	0.15
Pakistan	47	0.61	ED	115	0.26	EA	126	0.21	EA	116	0.25	EA	117	0.23	EA	0.33
Panama	99	0.32	EA	46	0.61	ED	47	0.59	ED	53	0.56	ED	53	0.56	ED	0.64
Papua New Guinea	74	0.47	ED	103	0.32	EA	89	0.37	EA	98	0.34	EA	96	0.34	EA	0.37
Paraguay	49	0.60	ED	81	0.43	ED	80	0.43	ED	80	0.43	ED	77	0.43	ED	0.44
Peru	90	0.36	ED	45	0.62	ED	40	0.67	ED	36	0.69	ED	40	0.65	ED	0.69
Philippines	50	0.60	ED	101	0.32	ED	110	0.29	EA	108	0.28	EA	104	0.28	EA	0.38
Poland	10	0.82	LD	56	0.55	ED	64	0.50	ED	63	0.49	ED	80	0.41	ED	0.50
Portugal	161	0.08	CA	8	0.81	LD	7	0.82	LD	18	0.79	ED	12	0.81	ED	0.83
Qatar	152	0.11	EA	160	0.09	CA	164	0.09	CA	156	0.10	CA	155	0.09	CA	0.14
Romania	69	0.49	ED	87	0.41	ED	77	0.43	ED	54	0.55	ED	44	0.64	ED	0.49
Russia	151	0.12	EA	148	0.12	EA	156	0.10	EA	153	0.10	EA	151	0.10	EA	0.15
Rwanda	129	0.21	EA	137	0.16	EA	138	0.15	EA	150	0.11	EA	145	0.12	EA	0.20
São Tomé and Príncipe	48	0.61	ED	54	0.56	ED	50	0.57	ED	50	0.59	ED	50	0.58	ED	0.62
Saudi Arabia	175	0.04	CA	176	0.04	CA	177	0.04	CA	172	0.05	CA	171	0.04	CA	0.07
Senegal	54	0.58	ED	55	0.56	ED	52	0.56	ED	51	0.58	ED	55	0.55	ED	0.61
Serbia	103	0.31	EA	113	0.28	EA	117	0.25	EA	119	0.24	EA	111	0.24	EA	0.35
Seychelles	78	0.45	ED	67	0.48	ED	69	0.48	ED	68	0.47	ED	51	0.57	LD	0.55
Sierra Leone	88	0.37	ED	90	0.39	ED	87	0.40	ED	77	0.44	ED	78	0.43	ED	0.51
Singapore	92	0.36	EA	100	0.33	EA	92	0.35	EA	102	0.31	EA	97	0.33	EA	0.41
Slovakia	30	0.73	ED	33	0.71	ED	31	0.72	ED	26	0.76	ED	22	0.77	ED	0.72
Slovenia	17	0.79	LD	19	0.77	LD	33	0.71	LD	40	0.65	ED	48	0.60	ED	0.72
Solomon Islands	80	0.45	ED	86	0.42	ED	59	0.51	ED	65	0.48	ED	67	0.47	ED	0.51
Somalia	142	0.14	CA	154	0.11	CA	152	0.10	CA	155	0.10	CA	153	0.09	CA	0.17
Somaliland	105	0.29	EA	105	0.30	EA	114	0.27	EA	117	0.25	EA	109	0.26	EA	0.32
South Africa	43	0.62	ED	48	0.58	ED	48	0.58	ED	52	0.58	ED	49	0.59	ED	0.64
South Korea	34	0.71	LD	13	0.80	ED	18	0.78	LD	17	0.79	LD	17	0.79	LD	0.82
South Sudan	168	0.06	CA	170	0.05	CA	167	0.06	CA	165	0.07		166	0.06	CA	0.08
Spain	35	0.70	LD	26	0.74	LD	9	0.82	LD	13	0.80	LD	18	0.78	LD	0.81
Sri Lanka	75	0.47	ED	70	0.46	ED	70	0.47	ED	88	0.38	ED	88	0.38	ED	0.50
Sudan	155	0.11	EA	159	0.09	EA	162	0.09	CA	161	0.09	CA	157	0.08	CA	0.12
Suriname	45	0.61	ED	43	0.64	ED	55	0.55	ED	49	0.60	ED	43	0.65	ED	0.65

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Sweden	2	0.86	LD	2	0.87	LD	3	0.83	LD	2	0.87	LD	1	0.88	LD	0.88
Switzerland	4	0.85	LD	5	0.84	LD	4	0.83	LD	5	0.85	LD	7	0.84	LD	0.87
Syria	176	0.03	CA	175	0.04	CA	175	0.04	CA	176	0.04	CA	174	0.04	CA	0.05
Taiwan	38	0.69	LD	37	0.70	LD	37	0.70	LD	33	0.72	LD	32	0.70	LD	0.74
Tajikistan	166	0.06	EA	165	0.06	EA	168	0.06	EA	173	0.05	EA	170	0.05	EA	0.08
Tanzania	86	0.39	EA	92	0.38	ED	95	0.34	EA	99	0.33	EA	100	0.31	EA	0.42
Thailand	157	0.10	CA	156	0.10	CA	139	0.15	CA	133	0.17	CA	129	0.17	CA	0.15
Togo	121	0.24	EA	129	0.20	EA	132	0.18	EA	128	0.20	EA	125	0.20	EA	0.29
Trinidad and Tobago	40	0.65	LD	39	0.68	LD	43	0.63	LD	43	0.64	ED	39	0.66	ED	0.70
Tunisia	44	0.62	LD	41	0.68	ED	41	0.66	LD	42	0.64	ED	74	0.46	EA	0.67
Turkey	149	0.12	EA	142	0.14	EA	153	0.10	EA	149	0.11	EA	147	0.11	EA	0.15
Turkmenistan	173	0.05	CA	166	0.06	EA	172	0.05	EA	175	0.04	EA	173	0.04	EA	0.05
Uganda	111	0.28	EA	114	0.27	EA	123	0.22	EA	123	0.23	EA	120	0.21	EA	0.33
Ukraine	124	0.23	EA	125	0.22	EA	107	0.29	EA	92	0.35	ED	99	0.32	ED	0.38
United Arab Emirates	153	0.11	CA	153	0.11	CA	158	0.09	CA	158	0.09	CA	158	0.08	CA	0.17
United Kingdom	16	0.81	LD	12	0.80	LD	13	0.79	LD	14	0.80	LD	19	0.78	LD	0.81
United States of America	31	0.73	LD	27	0.74	LD	36	0.70	LD	31	0.73	LD	29	0.74	LD	0.72
Uruguay	21	0.77	LD	15	0.78	LD	19	0.78	LD	16	0.80	LD	23	0.76	LD	0.81
Uzbekistan	172	0.05	CA	161	0.09	CA	160	0.09	CA	152	0.10	CA	154	0.09	CA	0.17
Vanuatu	41	0.64	ED	44	0.63	LD	46	0.61	ED	45	0.64	ED	37	0.66	ED	0.69
Venezuela	147	0.12	EA	158	0.09	EA	163	0.09	EA	164	0.07	EA	161	0.07	EA	0.09
Vietnam	131	0.20	CA	138	0.16	CA	146	0.12	CA	151	0.11	CA	141	0.13	CA	0.23
West Bank	132	0.19	CA	128	0.20	CA	127	0.21	EA	135	0.16	EA	136	0.14	EA	0.29
Yemen	174	0.04	CA	174	0.05	CA	176	0.04	CA	177	0.04	CA	176	0.03	CA	0.04
Zambia	112	0.28	EA	121	0.24	EA	111	0.27	EA	111	0.27	EA	101	0.30	EA	0.34
Zanzibar	136	0.17	EA	131	0.19	EA	130	0.18	EA	132	0.18	EA	124	0.20	EA	0.22
Zimbabwe	130	0.20	EA	127	0.21	EA	134	0.18	EA	130	0.19	EA	127	0.19	EA	0.25
AVG		0.41			0.40			0.40			0.40			0.39		0.45

Table 40. Liberal Democracy Index (2018-2022) (Alizada et al., 2021; Boese et al., 2022; Lührmann et al., 2018, 2019, 2020)

APPENDIX 14. WORLD ELECTORAL FREEDOM INDEX

COUNTRY	2018			2019			2020			2021			AVG
	RANK	OVRL	CAT	RANK	OVRL	CAT	RANK	OVRL	CAT	RANK	OVRL	CAT	
Afghanistan	144	59.07	L	139	60.45	I	161	41.90	RL	163	42.66	RL	51.02
Albania	86	65.92	A	90	66.10	A	86	68.04	A	88	67.78	A	66.96
Algeria	171	54.47	VL	169	54.90	VL	116	57.70	L	113	59.20	L	56.57
Andorra	46	70.31	H	52	70.80	H	20	77.12	VH	17	77.72	VH	73.99
Angola	137	59.86	L	137	60.52	I	167	40.54	RL	170	41.27	RL	50.55
Antigua and Barbuda	99	64.49	I	97	65.20	A	81	68.62	A	75	69.12	A	66.86
Argentina	73	67.28	A	68	68.85	A	45	73.08	H	53	72.19	H	70.35
Armenia	118	62.50	I	129	61.71	I	140	51.62	VL	131	54.99	VL	57.71
Australia	5	77.27	VH	6	77.72	VH	5	80.63	O	6	80.36	O	79.00
Austria	38	70.84	H	31	72.79	H	33	75.57	VH	30	75.93	VH	73.78
Azerbaijan	168	55.08	L	167	55.44	L	173	38.80	RL	175	39.26	RL	47.15
Bahamas	131	60.86	I	135	60.82	I	80	68.70	A	77	69.10	A	64.87
Bahrain	183	42.93	RL	183	43.01	RL	178	33.45	RL	179	34.19	RL	38.40
Bangladesh	107	63.47	I	110	63.58	I	138	52.50	VL	140	52.39	VL	57.99
Barbados	112	62.97	I	124	62.63	I	65	70.43	H	69	69.92	A	66.49
Belarus	163	56.08	L	160	56.76	L	156	42.73	RL	155	44.25	RL	49.96
Belgium	85	66.18	A	77	67.96	A	43	73.14	H	44	73.52	H	70.20
Belize	159	56.82	L	158	57.17	L	96	66.58	A	93	67.01	A	61.90
Benin	74	67.17	A	75	67.98	A	64	70.64	H	79	68.61	A	68.60
Bhutan	176	53.94	VL	171	54.73	VL	106	62.58	I	107	62.35	I	58.40
Bolivia	63	68.69	A	66	69.10	A	115	57.82	L	119	57.76	L	63.34
Bosnia and Herzegovina	53	69.48	A	47	71.17	H	61	70.94	H	60	71.26	H	70.71
Botswana	114	62.79	I	113	63.33	I	87	67.92	A	86	67.84	A	65.47
Brazil	52	69.57	A	48	71.15	H	42	73.39	H	39	73.68	H	71.95
Brunei	198	4.52	RL	198	4.73	RL	197	0.01	RL	197	1.40	RL	2.67
Bulgaria	45	70.31	H	45	71.21	H	31	75.74	VH	36	74.23	H	72.87
Burkina Faso	76	66.68	A	79	67.66	A	113	58.04	L	114	59.03	L	62.85
Burundi	110	63.20	I	105	63.78	I	153	43.33	RL	153	45.09	RL	53.85
Cambodia	175	53.95	VL	177	52.98	VL	177	33.71	RL	177	35.07	RL	43.93
Cameroon	178	51.50	VL	179	50.33	VL	179	33.38	RL	178	34.70	RL	42.48
Canada	26	72.87	H	27	73.44	H	29	76.01	VH	33	75.14	VH	74.37
Cape Verde	77	66.68	A	80	67.23	A	49	72.62	H	50	72.41	H	69.74
Central African Republic	147	58.96	L	144	59.72	L	141	51.15	VL	141	51.13	VL	55.24
Chad	151	58.71	L	150	59.18	L	159	42.41	RL	159	43.21	RL	50.88
Chile	17	74.02	H	14	75.78	VH	13	78.75	VH	15	77.91	VH	76.62

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China	192	34.37	RL	192	33.27	RL	193	16.27	RL	193	17.62	RL	25.38
Colombia	22	73.34	H	16	75.42	VH	59	71.15	H	59	71.37	H	72.82
Comoros	164	55.86	L	159	56.77	L	133	53.47	VL	139	52.53	VL	54.66
Democratic Republic of the Congo	160	56.79	L	163	56.39	L	164	41.13	RL	167	42.24	RL	49.14
Republic of Congo	166	55.52	L	162	56.58	L	175	37.28	RL	173	39.93	RL	47.33
Cook Islands	65	68.38	A	64	69.35	A	101	65.17	A	85	67.92	A	67.71
Costa Rica	23	73.27	H	23	73.97	H	22	76.75	VH	24	76.60	VH	75.15
Croatia	50	69.70	A	41	71.51	H	27	76.05	VH	26	76.40	VH	73.42
Cuba	186	39.13	RL	186	39.83	RL	185	27.03	RL	185	28.49	RL	33.62
Cyprus	61	68.83	A	55	70.58	H	30	75.98	VH	18	77.64	VH	73.26
Czech Republic	19	73.69	H	22	74.60	H	7	80.17	O	8	79.93	VH	77.10
Denmark	6	76.04	VH	5	77.83	VH	6	80.22	O	5	80.71	O	78.70
Djibouti	172	54.45	VL	172	54.68	VL	158	42.61	RL	161	43.14	RL	48.72
Dominica	113	62.89	I	114	63.28	I	94	66.90	A	96	66.67	A	64.94
Dominican Republic	8	75.27	VH	11	76.13	VH	41	73.54	H	40	73.68	H	74.66
East Timor	60	68.89	A	59	69.93	A	84	68.11	A	90	67.48	A	68.60
Ecuador	88	65.43	A	71	68.10	A	114	57.99	L	105	63.86	I	63.85
Egypt	97	64.69	I	109	63.59	I	148	46.30	RL	146	47.54	RL	55.53
El Salvador	57	69.00	A	51	70.96	H	71	69.81	A	63	70.36	H	70.03
Equatorial Guinea	185	40.96	RL	185	40.84	RL	186	26.81	RL	186	28.20	RL	34.20
Eritrea	194	18.93	RL	194	18.88	RL	194	5.50	RL	194	6.78	RL	12.52
Estonia	11	74.77	H	7	76.50	VH	10	79.07	VH	9	79.44	VH	77.45
Eswatini	181	45.39	RL	181	45.61	RL	180	32.62	RL	180	33.94	RL	39.39
Ethiopia	174	54.10	VL	176	53.80	VL	176	35.97	RL	176	38.88	RL	45.69
Fiji	98	64.51	I	104	64.29	I	112	58.12	L	109	61.95	I	62.22
Finland	4	78.18	VH	3	79.96	VH	1	83.22	O	1	83.72	O	81.27
France	31	71.65	H	34	72.31	H	26	76.07	VH	31	75.91	VH	73.99
Gabon	155	57.71	L	153	58.18	L	172	39.33	RL	172	40.65	RL	48.97
Gambia	123	62.16	I	111	63.38	I	129	54.33	VL	128	55.45	L	58.83
Georgia	87	65.48	A	89	66.34	A	83	68.55	A	94	66.99	A	66.84
Germany	64	68.45	A	57	70.05	H	54	71.98	H	51	72.34	H	70.71
Ghana	91	65.21	A	88	66.56	A	62	70.71	H	71	69.73	A	68.05
Greece	84	66.26	A	72	68.09	A	75	69.21	A	72	69.57	A	68.28
Grenada	115	62.69	I	123	62.66	I	89	67.54	A	91	67.33	A	65.06
Guatemala	34	71.23	H	38	71.82	H	69	69.87	A	78	68.84	A	70.44
Guinea	122	62.17	I	117	63.06	I	132	53.59	VL	137	52.74	VL	57.89
Guinea-Bissau	129	61.20	I	127	61.92	I	127	54.87	VL	126	55.63	L	58.41
Guyana	156	57.54	L	151	59.14	L	104	63.49	I	108	62.10	I	60.57
Haiti	177	53.18	VL	175	53.89	VL	119	56.72	L	123	56.79	L	55.15

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Honduras	108	63.37	I	101	64.80	I	126	55.15	L	125	56.30	L	59.91
Hungary	33	71.50	H	49	71.12	H	109	60.65	I	116	58.16	L	65.36
Iceland	2	78.98	VH	4	79.59	VH	2	83.22	O	2	83.68	O	81.37
India	20	73.44	H	25	73.89	H	28	76.02	VH	28	76.15	VH	74.88
Indonesia	126	61.95	I	108	63.60	I	82	68.59	A	87	67.78	A	65.48
Iran	162	56.17	L	166	55.87	L	163	41.28	RL	158	43.38	RL	49.18
Iraq	149	58.83	L	130	61.58	I	147	46.40	RL	147	47.04	RL	53.46
Ireland	1	80.44	O	1	80.98	O	3	81.37	O	3	83.18	O	81.49
Israel	68	67.89	A	76	67.98	A	72	69.70	A	68	70.00	H	68.89
Italy	18	73.71	H	15	75.72	VH	11	78.89	VH	12	78.73	VH	76.76
Ivory Coast	140	59.61	L	148	59.29	L	142	50.62	VL	144	49.95	RL	54.87
Jamaica	105	63.85	I	102	64.52	I	73	69.70	A	65	70.13	H	67.05
Japan	54	69.42	A	53	70.76	H	36	74.82	H	45	73.42	H	72.11
Jordan	138	59.78	L	141	60.03	I	152	43.96	RL	160	43.17	RL	51.74
Kazakhstan	158	57.43	L	154	57.80	L	162	41.77	RL	156	43.83	RL	50.21
Kenya	89	65.31	A	93	65.66	A	130	54.25	VL	124	56.77	L	60.50
Kiribati	29	72.10	H	32	72.74	H	48	72.73	H	42	73.61	H	72.80
Kosovo	40	70.75	H	44	71.22	H	108	61.00	I	99	66.06	A	67.26
Kuwait	188	38.12	RL	188	38.40	RL	184	27.63	RL	183	30.58	RL	33.68
Kyrgyzstan	101	64.41	I	99	65.11	A	128	54.45	VL	133	54.60	VL	59.64
Laos	182	44.56	RL	182	44.65	RL	182	30.12	RL	182	31.40	RL	37.68
Latvia	16	74.19	H	8	76.38	VH	12	78.77	VH	10	79.19	VH	77.13
Lebanon	142	59.23	L	132	61.21	I	98	65.98	A	101	65.84	A	63.07
Lesotho	127	61.66	I	125	62.22	I	93	67.02	A	97	66.62	A	64.38
Liberia	95	64.97	I	85	66.75	A	77	69.15	A	82	68.22	A	67.27
Libya	106	63.53	I	107	63.62	I	150	45.61	RL	150	46.30	RL	54.77
Liechtenstein	66	68.28	A	58	69.94	A	47	72.78	H	37	73.81	H	71.20
Lithuania	10	74.84	H	13	75.85	VH	15	77.82	VH	13	78.26	VH	76.69
Luxembourg	25	73.03	H	20	74.80	H	24	76.36	VH	20	76.80	VH	75.25
Madagascar	90	65.22	A	91	66.06	A	120	56.69	L	121	57.19	L	61.29
Malawi	130	61.04	I	131	61.32	I	137	52.59	VL	135	53.82	VL	57.19
Malaysia	125	61.95	I	121	62.75	I	134	53.44	VL	136	53.81	VL	57.99
Maldives	116	62.54	I	115	63.23	I	136	53.21	VL	132	54.89	VL	58.47
Mali	109	63.20	I	106	63.65	I	100	65.48	A	106	63.03	I	63.84
Malta	14	74.38	H	19	74.96	H	23	76.59	VH	27	76.32	VH	75.56
Marshall Islands	62	68.83	A	65	69.30	A	66	70.19	H	73	69.53	A	69.46
Mauritania	128	61.57	I	126	62.19	I	139	52.07	VL	138	52.64	VL	57.12
Mauritius	30	71.75	H	35	72.26	H	38	73.88	H	41	73.65	H	72.89
Mexico	70	67.68	A	73	68.08	A	52	72.40	H	54	72.12	H	70.07

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Micronesia	92	65.12	A	94	65.60	A	78	68.88	A	66	70.07	H	67.42
Moldova	35	71.19	H	39	71.70	H	105	63.06	I	110	61.83	I	66.95
Monaco	133	60.40	I	133	61.04	I	103	64.31	I	103	65.03	A	62.70
Mongolia	100	64.46	I	96	65.37	A	70	69.85	A	67	70.00	H	67.42
Montenegro	82	66.37	A	81	67.21	A	125	55.88	L	122	57.09	L	61.64
Morocco	150	58.77	L	146	59.52	L	151	44.21	RL	148	46.81	RL	52.33
Mozambique	146	59.02	L	147	59.51	L	143	50.35	VL	143	50.00	VL	54.72
Myanmar	169	54.58	VL	168	55.39	L	146	47.93	RL	145	47.64	RL	51.39
Namibia	71	67.60	A	70	68.24	A	63	70.69	H	61	70.93	H	69.37
Nauru	145	59.03	L	145	59.57	L	74	69.26	A	62	70.37	H	64.56
Nepal	55	69.34	A	62	69.67	A	117	57.40	L	117	58.07	L	63.62
Netherlands	36	71.04	H	33	72.71	H	32	75.65	VH	29	76.13	VH	73.88
New Zealand	39	70.83	H	42	71.48	H	18	77.56	VH	23	76.68	VH	74.14
Nicaragua	48	70.01	H	61	69.70	A	118	57.33	L	127	55.45	L	63.12
Niger	96	64.70	I	98	65.17	A	92	67.22	A	95	66.92	A	66.00
Nigeria	104	63.94	I	103	64.43	I	123	56.51	L	129	55.29	L	60.04
Niue	121	62.22	I	118	62.92	I	122	56.64	L	115	58.81	L	60.15
North Korea	190	35.91	RL	190	36.22	RL	189	23.49	RL	190	24.91	RL	30.13
North Macedonia	37	70.99	H	40	71.52	H	57	71.48	H	46	73.29	H	71.82
Norway	32	71.58	H	28	73.44	H	25	76.27	VH	21	76.76	VH	74.51
Oman	191	34.58	RL	191	34.92	RL	188	23.71	RL	189	25.16	RL	29.59
Pakistan	94	65.00	A	95	65.57	A	124	56.32	L	120	57.23	L	61.03
Palau	21	73.43	H	24	73.91	H	39	73.75	H	35	74.50	H	73.90
Palestine	167	55.52	L	170	54.78	VL	192	17.80	RL	192	18.44	RL	36.64
Panama	27	72.59	H	26	73.51	H	21	76.88	VH	25	76.57	VH	74.89
Papua New Guinea	67	67.96	A	67	68.91	A	56	71.56	H	47	73.24	H	70.42
Paraguay	59	68.92	A	60	69.89	A	50	72.54	H	56	71.70	H	70.76
Peru	28	72.35	H	29	73.23	H	51	72.48	H	83	68.10	A	71.54
Philippines	41	70.61	H	46	71.20	H	110	58.81	L	111	61.70	I	65.58
Poland	13	74.40	H	12	75.91	VH	19	77.41	VH	22	76.68	VH	76.10
Portugal	7	75.54	VH	10	76.28	VH	14	78.31	VH	19	77.51	VH	76.91
Qatar	195	16.32	RL	195	16.33	RL	195	3.66	RL	195	5.17	RL	10.37
Romania	58	68.97	A	56	70.14	H	46	73.01	H	43	73.60	H	71.43
Russia	134	60.12	I	140	60.40	I	157	42.69	RL	164	42.42	RL	51.41
Rwanda	170	54.57	VL	173	54.57	VL	169	40.31	RL	168	41.64	RL	47.77
Saint Kitts and Nevis	81	66.39	A	83	66.93	A	68	69.90	A	70	69.78	A	68.25
Saint Lucia	117	62.52	I	119	62.89	I	91	67.41	A	92	67.18	A	65.00
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	111	62.99	I	112	63.37	I	85	68.07	A	81	68.47	A	65.73
Samoa	124	62.01	I	120	62.79	I	99	65.50	A	100	65.96	A	64.07

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San Marino	43	70.48	H	36	72.11	H	40	73.56	H	49	72.73	H	72.22
São Tomé and Príncipe	78	66.57	A	87	66.70	A	79	68.86	A	76	69.12	A	67.81
Saudi Arabia	197	12.62	RL	197	11.95	RL	198	0.00	RL	198	1.15	RL	6.43
Senegal	119	62.42	I	116	63.14	I	97	66.37	A	98	66.32	A	64.56
Serbia	75	67.01	A	78	67.88	A	76	69.20	A	80	68.59	A	68.17
Seychelles	79	66.54	A	82	66.99	A	111	58.56	L	112	60.32	I	63.10
Sierra Leone	136	60.00	I	136	60.61	I	131	54.18	VL	130	55.18	L	57.49
Singapore	173	54.21	VL	174	54.40	VL	171	39.45	RL	154	44.82	RL	48.22
Slovakia	47	70.08	H	37	72.11	H	34	74.97	H	32	75.35	VH	73.13
Slovenia	15	74.28	H	9	76.34	VH	8	79.92	VH	7	80.32	O	77.72
Solomon Islands	120	62.36	I	122	62.68	I	95	66.79	A	89	67.49	A	64.83
Somalia	187	39.01	RL	187	39.33	RL	191	21.96	RL	191	21.36	RL	30.42
South Africa	51	69.63	A	63	69.66	A	44	73.10	H	48	72.85	H	71.31
South Korea	72	67.33	A	74	67.99	A	55	71.94	H	52	72.23	H	69.87
South Sudan	193	20.09	RL	193	20.73	RL	196	1.12	RL	196	2.64	RL	11.15
Spain	56	69.22	A	50	71.11	H	37	74.60	H	38	73.80	H	72.18
Sri Lanka	49	69.96	A	30	72.83	H	107	62.40	I	104	64.89	I	67.52
Sudan	132	60.57	I	134	60.97	I	149	46.07	RL	152	45.63	RL	53.31
Suriname	80	66.44	A	84	66.93	A	53	72.08	H	64	70.34	H	68.95
Sweden	24	73.06	H	21	74.72	H	17	77.60	VH	14	78.10	VH	75.87
Switzerland	3	78.98	VH	2	80.77	O	4	81.37	O	4	81.85	O	80.74
Syria	184	41.63	RL	184	42.00	RL	183	28.89	RL	184	30.17	RL	35.67
Taiwan	103	64.14	I	100	64.84	I	88	67.81	A	84	68.03	A	66.21
Tajikistan	143	59.14	L	143	59.84	L	160	42.03	RL	162	42.81	RL	50.96
Tanzania	157	57.52	L	155	57.68	L	145	48.18	RL	149	46.40	RL	52.45
Thailand	196	13.84	RL	196	13.19	RL	187	23.85	RL	187	26.27	RL	19.29
Togo	148	58.89	L	149	59.27	L	144	49.95	RL	142	50.33	VL	54.61
Tonga	139	59.74	L	138	60.52	I	102	64.77	I	102	65.84	A	62.72
Trinidad and Tobago	83	66.26	A	86	66.74	A	58	71.36	H	57	71.40	H	68.94
Tunisia	93	65.04	A	92	66.00	A	121	56.67	L	118	57.85	L	61.39
Turkey	135	60.04	I	152	58.51	L	155	42.83	RL	157	43.69	RL	51.27
Turkmenistan	153	58.01	L	157	57.21	L	166	40.61	RL	169	41.35	RL	49.30
Tuvalu	161	56.19	L	161	56.71	L	90	67.52	A	74	69.15	A	62.39
Uganda	152	58.60	L	156	57.61	L	170	39.83	RL	165	42.39	RL	49.61
Ukraine	69	67.71	A	69	68.65	A	60	71.14	H	55	71.78	H	69.82
United Arab Emirates	189	37.43	RL	189	36.66	RL	190	23.22	RL	188	25.27	RL	30.65
United Kingdom	9	74.95	H	17	75.37	VH	9	79.16	VH	11	78.93	VH	77.10
United States of America	44	70.42	H	54	70.71	H	35	74.88	H	34	74.67	H	72.67
Uruguay	12	74.53	H	18	75.21	VH	16	77.75	VH	16	77.88	VH	76.34

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Uzbekistan	165	55.58	L	165	56.04	L	165	41.12	RL	166	42.26	RL	48.75
Vanuatu	42	70.49	H	43	71.31	H	67	69.94	A	58	71.37	H	70.78
Venezuela	102	64.31	I	128	61.90	I	154	43.26	RL	151	45.91	RL	53.85
Vietnam	180	46.74	RL	180	45.95	RL	181	32.42	RL	181	33.69	RL	39.70
Yemen	154	57.72	L	164	56.38	L	168	40.39	RL	171	41.19	RL	48.92
Zambia	141	59.57	L	142	59.93	L	135	53.40	VL	134	53.83	VL	56.68
Zimbabwe	179	50.38	VL	178	51.80	VL	174	38.38	RL	174	39.86	RL	45.11
AVG		62.11			62.76			58.55			59.08		60.62

Table 41. World Electoral Freedom Index (2018-2021) (Peña, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021)

APPENDIX 15. AVERAGE FREEDOM BY COUNTRY AND INDEX

COUNTRY	CIRI	SFI	IFW	FP	EFWI	HFI	IMLM	DI	WPFI	FN	FW	IEF	LDI	WEFI	AVG
Abkhazia											40.40				40.40
Afghanistan	29.30	15.20		35.60			14.32	23.08	61.76		23.40	52.63	17.42	51.02	32.37
Albania	68.60	90.40	79.80	50.20	77.48	81.32	53.77	60.08	69.98		67.20	65.94	42.46	66.96	67.25
Algeria	41.29	49.60	47.70	38.40	48.92	51.94	25.08	37.22	55.10		33.40	46.66	14.76	56.57	42.05
Andorra	89.24			86.60			47.36		77.12		94.00			73.99	78.05
Angola	34.63	34.40		29.80	52.70	58.12	39.57	35.98	63.66	62.00	30.00	51.64	19.36	50.55	43.26
Antigua and Barbuda	84.58			63.20							84.40			66.86	74.76
Argentina	75.26	92.00	72.20	50.00	56.38	74.40	71.12	69.52	72.56	71.60	84.00	52.08	65.36	70.35	69.77
Armenia	35.96	74.40		38.00	78.50	78.98	51.55	50.56	70.64	72.20	51.80	68.84	47.32	57.71	59.73
Australia	91.91	92.00	83.30	78.00	82.26	89.08	70.21	90.26	82.39	76.40	97.00	80.90	80.80	79.00	83.82
Austria	89.91	100.00	81.30	78.20	78.56	87.30	76.44	82.46	85.01		93.20	72.96	74.18	73.78	82.56
Azad Kashmir				13.60							28.20				20.90
Azerbaijan	30.64	56.00			64.06	60.70	42.48	26.82	41.50	37.80	10.40	66.14	6.74	47.15	40.87
Bahamas	83.25		79.40	79.00	74.90	80.66	46.30				91.00	64.80		64.87	73.80
Bahrain	43.29	71.20	67.40	13.20	72.06	55.54	21.48	25.96	39.55	29.40	11.80	66.46	4.78	38.40	40.04
Bangladesh	36.63	51.20	53.10	43.20	61.04	58.44	29.60	57.72	50.64	42.40	40.60	55.26	12.56	57.99	46.46
Barbados	85.91		66.80	81.80	66.22	77.72					95.40	63.88	68.58	66.49	74.76
Belarus	33.30	84.00		9.40	66.18	66.08	46.49	27.48	48.55	34.20	15.60	58.34	9.54	49.96	42.24
Belgium	90.58	92.00	78.30	88.80	76.24	85.90	83.05	76.44	87.55		95.80	68.68	81.54	70.20	82.70
Belize	85.91		70.90	77.00	67.30	75.52			73.88		86.40	56.80		61.90	72.85
Benin	53.95	59.20	62.70	63.40	62.86	73.10		50.42	66.90		70.20	57.56	43.76	68.60	61.05
Bhutan	53.28	67.20		41.60	68.34	67.84		54.20	70.19		59.00	60.88	49.48	58.40	59.13
Bolivia	66.60	56.00	70.70	51.00	63.04	70.70	64.30	51.52	65.49		65.80	42.98	34.04	63.34	58.89
Bosnia and Herzegovina	58.61	84.00		49.80	68.78	75.72	57.08	49.18	71.79		53.40	62.44	33.40	70.71	61.24
Botswana	71.26	88.00	68.50	56.80	75.88	77.10	42.97	77.56	75.58		72.00	68.28	53.64	65.47	68.70
Brazil	65.27	77.60	73.50	54.20	65.38	73.22	70.90	68.94	66.43	64.40	75.00	52.74	53.18	71.95	66.62
Brunei	45.95			24.60	71.06	63.36	18.23		48.75		28.20	65.46		2.67	40.92
Bulgaria	66.60	90.40	76.00	60.80	77.30	80.96	57.53	68.88	64.46		79.40	69.78	52.40	72.87	70.57
Burkina Faso	62.60	35.20		57.60	60.68	70.74		42.22	76.33		56.60	58.18	45.30	62.85	57.12
Burundi	44.62	23.20	49.30	23.00	58.82	50.10		22.16	46.63		14.60	47.62	5.88	53.85	36.65
Cambodia	48.62	54.40		32.00	71.84	65.76	62.13	33.50	54.77	44.00	25.80	57.63	7.58	43.93	46.30
Cameroon	30.64	35.20	50.30	34.20	57.84	57.00	44.58	30.14	57.42		18.00	52.83	13.60	42.48	40.33
Canada	89.24	100.00	83.30	81.40	81.78	88.72	85.03	91.26	84.39	86.60	98.40	77.61	75.90	74.37	85.57
Cape Verde	84.58	80.00		73.00	74.08	81.02		77.68	80.31		91.20	63.44	69.52	69.74	76.78
Central African Republic	33.97	12.00	51.80	29.40	52.08	55.76	36.11	14.22	59.31		8.80	48.70	21.28	55.24	36.82
Chad	33.97	20.80	50.70	25.40	54.26	54.78		15.88	61.06		16.80	49.92	9.20	50.88	36.97

Chile	81.25	91.20	81.20	69.80	78.98	85.50	65.04	80.18	75.19		93.00	75.40	77.00	76.62	79.26
China	9.99	71.20	57.60	14.60	64.16	55.58	38.72	26.32	21.59	10.60	10.60	56.42	4.88	25.38	33.40
Colombia	46.62	57.60	64.10	45.00	67.56	70.78	77.43	68.56	57.66	66.20	65.20	67.72	47.80	72.82	62.50
Comoros	61.27	52.00		51.00	65.50	60.70	31.84	33.72	72.41		46.60	54.28	19.08	54.66	50.25
Cook Islands														67.71	67.71
Costa Rica	84.58	96.00	80.50	82.80	77.20	83.22	56.19	80.62	88.51	87.00	91.00	65.26	83.56	75.15	80.83
Crimea				6.00							7.80				6.90
Croatia	74.59	91.20	72.00	59.40	73.52	81.94	63.89	65.54	71.20		85.20	63.16	58.82	73.42	71.84
Cuba	32.63	79.20		9.00			47.80	29.16	33.56	21.40	13.40	28.84	8.40	33.62	30.64
Cyprus	82.58	88.00	75.30	75.60	78.64	84.16	59.14	75.52	79.66		93.80	70.06	72.14	73.26	77.53
Czech Republic	78.59	96.80	77.80	79.60	79.08	86.40	82.45	76.82	77.87		91.40	74.18	71.74	77.10	80.76
Democratic Republic of the Congo	19.98	6.40	47.60	23.80	53.68	54.20		13.52	49.27		17.80	49.70	13.58	49.14	33.22
Denmark	93.24	100.00	83.00	88.00	81.34	90.02	73.60	91.80	89.82		97.00	77.48	86.10	78.70	86.93
Djibouti	56.61	48.00		24.80	66.80	58.40	28.45	27.70	26.40		24.80	51.32	12.34	48.72	39.53
Dominica	85.25			75.00			41.79				93.00	59.26		64.94	69.87
Dominican Republic	52.61	80.80	68.40	58.60	75.22	77.92	39.33	65.02	73.01		67.20	61.72	34.28	74.66	63.75
East Timor	73.93	62.40		65.00	64.00	71.70		71.38	69.49		70.80	45.84	49.84	68.60	64.82
Eastern Donbas											4.33				4.33
Ecuador	61.94	66.40	68.00	36.20	65.42	72.50	67.42	60.92	67.69	59.80	65.20	50.68	45.66	63.85	60.83
Egypt	24.64	52.80	59.30	28.60	53.10	42.86	19.52	31.28	43.61	27.20	21.00	52.94	12.64	55.53	37.50
El Salvador	64.60	80.80	80.40	60.20	73.64	74.64	41.43	60.32	71.00		65.00	61.44	38.82	70.03	64.79
Equatorial Guinea	34.63	52.00		9.40			40.99	18.98	39.33		5.80	45.54	5.32	34.20	28.62
Eritrea	13.99	43.20		6.00			26.88	22.58	17.26		2.40	40.22	1.28	12.52	18.63
Estonia	86.58	99.20	82.80	84.00	80.96	89.10	70.15	78.68	86.45	94.00	94.00	78.26	84.26	77.45	84.71
Eswatini	38.63	68.00		20.20	61.00	57.28	40.34	30.72	51.34		17.40	54.48	12.16	39.39	40.91
Ethiopia	24.64	22.40		17.00	56.58	53.70	37.82	33.78	59.59	25.00	20.00	52.26	14.94	45.69	35.65
Fiji	47.29	79.20	71.10	49.20	65.38	72.46		57.76	72.46		59.60	61.24	31.44	62.22	60.78
Finland	92.57	100.00	81.60	88.80	78.76	88.52	67.33	91.78	91.60		100.00	75.82	82.26	81.27	86.18
France	83.25	96.80	77.80	75.80	75.94	83.88	71.03	79.40	77.63	76.60	89.80	65.06	79.16	73.99	79.01
Gabon	53.28	60.00	55.40	30.00	57.28	68.36		35.54	64.28		22.20	56.98	22.90	48.97	47.93
Gambia	53.95	41.60		15.80	71.74	64.40	44.95	43.20	64.44	47.20	45.00	55.56	40.52	58.83	49.78
Gaza Strip											11.20		7.10		9.15
Georgia	49.95	72.80		51.40	82.00	81.56	55.29	54.56	71.74	76.20	61.20	75.64	51.68	66.84	65.45
Germany	86.58	99.20	77.50	81.60	79.62	87.54	81.86	86.62	85.73	79.60	94.00	73.96	80.24	70.71	83.20
Ghana	62.60	53.60	72.30	70.40	65.84	75.42	49.42	65.90	79.85	64.00	82.00	58.38	56.92	68.05	66.05
Greece	63.94	92.80	70.30	54.00	68.74	77.48	67.23	73.92	70.61		86.80	59.46	71.50	68.28	71.16
Grenada	89.91			76.00							88.80			65.06	79.94
Guatemala	68.60	64.80	77.30	41.00	77.72	75.82	45.29	52.62	62.87		52.80	63.44	40.66	70.44	61.03
Guinea	37.96	27.20		35.80	55.80	58.52	48.69	29.56	66.34		39.20	55.02	16.12	57.89	44.01

Guinea-Bissau	59.94	31.20	61.50	38.00	54.74	64.82	47.33	23.94	68.83		43.20	53.02	32.02	58.41	49.00
Guyana	69.26	58.40	71.60	64.60	66.12	75.16	49.13	63.08	73.62		73.80	57.72	41.94	60.57	63.46
Haiti	56.61	42.40	73.40	49.40	66.00	72.36	43.00	42.42	71.30		38.00	52.32	22.50	55.15	52.68
Honduras	51.28	69.60	73.10	34.60	72.28	70.18	48.58	54.46	52.99		45.60	60.24	23.22	59.91	55.08
Hong Kong			83.90	61.20	89.68	85.98		59.30	70.28		53.60	89.83	26.20		68.89
Hungary	78.59	100.00	78.70	61.60	75.16	78.40	64.63	65.92	69.77	70.80	70.00	66.44	41.90	65.36	70.52
Iceland	94.57		81.00	85.60	77.54	87.20	57.67	94.58	85.53	95.20	94.20	77.12	77.70	81.37	83.79
India	38.63	52.80	60.60	59.80	66.20	65.92	54.92	69.76	55.25	52.60	71.20	55.32	38.20	74.88	58.29
Indonesia	41.29	64.80	63.60	51.00	72.68	72.56	24.99	64.54	61.88	49.80	61.00	65.70	47.02	65.48	57.60
Iran	4.00	57.60	48.30	9.60	54.02	47.28	16.63	22.86	34.45	15.40	16.60	48.16	13.74	49.18	31.27
Iraq	22.64	25.60		30.00	55.88	50.25	15.81	38.04	45.17	41.00	30.40	-	24.42	53.46	36.06
Ireland	85.91	100.00	83.30	83.40	82.22	89.30	65.26	91.18	86.36		96.80	81.04	79.50	81.49	85.06
Israel	35.96	68.80	56.00	68.80	75.86	76.36	57.03	78.50	69.24		77.00	72.16	60.38	68.89	66.54
Italy	77.92	99.20	76.20	68.60	76.34	84.92	71.75	77.26	75.51	75.60	89.40	63.76	77.40	76.76	77.90
Ivory Coast	33.97	34.40	54.80	45.80	60.42	68.28	46.23	40.92	70.43		49.20	61.48	34.90	54.87	50.44
Jamaica	71.93	89.60	74.80	82.20	76.58	78.94	56.48	71.06	88.87		78.60	68.52	70.08	67.05	74.98
Japan	81.92	99.20	82.80	74.60	79.40	86.90	51.74	80.28	70.96	75.40	96.00	72.34	73.82	72.11	78.39
Jordan	29.30	74.40	63.80	33.80	75.12	68.26	33.78	37.68	57.39	47.40	35.60	64.42	24.60	51.74	49.81
Kashmir											36.00				36.00
Kazakhstan	31.97	64.00		15.40	73.10	66.68	50.33	30.32	46.87	33.60	22.60	67.92	12.52	50.21	43.50
Kenya	32.63	55.20	61.20	43.40	69.90	67.82	42.49	51.00	67.63	67.60	48.00	54.52	34.76	60.50	54.05
Kiribati	83.92			71.00							93.00	49.38		72.80	74.02
Kosovo	40.63	73.60		51.20					70.12		54.40	65.52	38.08	67.26	57.60
Kuwait	39.29	87.20	63.50	40.80	66.58	62.26	15.96	38.68	66.39		36.40	61.72	28.46	33.68	49.30
Kyrgyzstan	45.29	52.80		32.80	71.30	70.44	46.97	45.88	69.52	57.20	33.80	61.50	31.76	59.64	52.22
Laos	41.96	49.60		15.80	65.36	57.18	42.38	20.84	33.57		13.20	53.92	9.16	37.68	36.72
Latvia	69.93	99.20	74.40	72.60	80.02	86.56	60.95	73.34	80.88		88.00	72.60	73.92	77.13	77.66
Lebanon	39.29	74.40		45.40	70.02	68.08	38.67	43.42	67.06	52.00	43.40	50.94	29.24	63.07	52.69
Lesotho	77.26	60.00		51.20	66.28	70.14		64.84	70.13		63.20	52.62	46.20	64.38	62.39
Liberia	63.94	38.40		41.60	64.98	69.12	45.90	53.56	68.29		60.80	49.34	45.62	67.27	55.74
Libya	25.97	56.80		30.80	48.94	50.92	20.33	20.86	43.83	48.20	9.00	-	16.22	54.77	35.55
Liechtenstein	92.57			85.80					79.94		90.00	-		71.20	83.90
Lithuania	75.92	96.00	76.10	76.60	80.92	86.26	54.81	73.44	78.61		90.40	75.78	73.92	76.69	78.11
Luxembourg	97.90	98.40	81.20	87.40	78.30	87.92	77.48	87.58	84.38		97.60	76.94	77.78	75.25	85.24
Macau												70.73			70.73
Madagascar	47.95	52.80	68.80	39.20	62.70	69.54	47.58	54.74	72.68		58.80	58.10	27.58	61.29	55.52
Malawi	65.27	40.80	62.70	51.40	59.64	70.74	47.92	55.92	71.22	58.60	64.20	52.44	46.80	57.19	57.49
Malaysia	37.30	79.20	58.40	34.20	74.30	68.60	28.60	70.02	59.27	57.40	50.00	73.14	28.00	57.99	55.46
Maldives	55.28			43.00			23.93		66.31		38.00	52.66	30.88	58.47	46.06

Mali	61.94	38.40	66.60	61.20	58.28	62.06	43.72	46.76	64.55		38.80	56.62	30.36	63.84	53.32
Malta	90.58		79.40	77.20	80.10	85.16	57.09	79.12	71.49		90.40	69.66	59.20	75.56	76.25
Marshall Islands	85.25			83.00							92.80			69.46	82.63
Mauritania	43.96	36.00		50.20	62.22	55.58	27.30	39.02	69.60		33.20	55.28	16.68	57.12	45.51
Mauritius	82.58	97.60	78.80	70.40	80.96	80.28	43.96	81.76	72.34		88.00	74.18	61.72	72.89	75.80
Mexico	51.95	81.60	70.00	37.40	71.06	69.20	80.67	60.66	52.64	60.40	61.60	64.94	45.78	70.07	62.71
Micronesia	78.59			79.00							92.20	53.52		67.42	74.15
Moldova	49.28	64.80		45.40	70.96	74.66	54.37	58.84	69.12		60.40	60.66	47.74	66.95	60.27
Monaco	85.91			84.60			47.58				82.80	58.66		62.70	70.37
Mongolia	69.26	71.20		63.00	73.82	80.02	50.06	64.80	70.78		84.40		50.54	67.42	67.76
Montenegro	71.93	91.20		60.20	72.50	77.68	58.65	57.74	66.85		64.80	61.50	35.80	61.64	65.04
Morocco	39.29	75.20	60.40	34.00	66.38	59.88	28.45	50.08	56.73	53.40	37.80	62.12	25.66	52.33	50.12
Mozambique	49.95	49.60		55.00	58.26	68.18	51.06	37.08	67.20		46.80	49.66	28.16	54.72	51.31
Myanmar	5.99	23.20	37.20	27.80	58.24	56.54	27.85	30.54	55.84	27.60	25.60	53.26	22.02	51.39	35.93
Nagorno-Karabakh											33.20				33.20
Namibia	71.26	79.20	71.00	68.00	66.78	75.40		64.06	80.95		76.60	59.98	55.00	69.37	69.80
Nauru	85.91			64.40							78.00			64.56	73.22
Nepal	45.95	49.60	58.90	45.20	66.48	71.62	48.67	50.54	66.36		55.60	52.50	46.32	63.62	55.49
Netherlands	94.57	100.00	84.70	89.20	79.46	87.70	92.82	89.26	90.09		98.40	77.26	80.68	73.88	87.54
New Zealand	97.24	92.00	87.30	81.60	85.88	91.04	69.36	92.80	88.18		98.20	83.44	82.70	74.14	86.45
Nicaragua	52.61	66.40	73.00	47.20	71.24	67.62	39.60	36.26	65.45	48.00	32.00	56.98	7.06	63.12	51.90
Niger	54.61	27.20	57.10	48.40	58.70	64.68		34.64	71.89		49.00	53.60	38.98	66.00	52.07
Nigeria	23.31	28.80	56.80	48.60	68.68	62.54	30.27	42.42	62.22	61.60	47.00	57.22	38.50	60.04	49.14
Niue														60.15	60.15
North Korea	10.66	68.00		3.00			34.92	10.80	15.13		3.00	4.82	1.14	30.13	18.16
North Macedonia	67.27	89.60		40.60	71.82	75.74	57.55	58.66	67.44		62.60	69.24	39.12	71.82	64.29
Northern Cyprus									70.25		79.60				74.93
Norway	96.57	92.00	82.60	90.60	77.06	87.80	66.09	98.34	92.48		100.00	74.20	85.58	74.51	85.99
OECS									76.40						76.40
Oman	52.61	80.00	67.40	29.00	67.00	59.00	19.01	30.28	57.73		23.20	61.36	13.64	29.59	45.37
Pakistan	15.98	37.60	44.70	35.60	59.46	56.22	19.43	42.60	55.00	26.20	38.80	52.94	24.72	61.03	40.73
Palau	92.57			84.80							92.00			73.90	85.82
Palestine								41.02	56.44					36.64	44.70
Panama	74.59	84.00	79.20	53.20	78.22	81.62	52.90	70.42	69.56		83.40	66.60	58.62	74.89	71.32
Papua New Guinea	64.60	57.60	73.90	71.20	61.70	70.82	40.76	60.58	75.05		62.60	57.20	33.96	70.42	61.57
Paraguay	65.93	65.60	72.70	40.80	71.44	74.42	55.38	61.66	66.63		64.80	62.48	43.66	70.76	62.79
Peru	65.93	74.40	76.80	55.00	77.68	78.34	62.38	64.62	69.18		72.20	67.72	64.76	71.54	69.27
Philippines	47.29	52.00	70.20	56.20	73.82	69.48	39.89	66.48	56.66	66.40	58.60	63.70	30.66	65.58	58.35
Poland	77.26	100.00	77.30	71.80	73.36	81.22	55.67	67.22	72.11		83.20	68.76	50.88	76.10	73.45

Portugal	88.58	100.00	79.70	82.40	76.96	86.80	88.72	78.86	87.10		96.00	66.80	81.00	76.91	83.83
Qatar	42.62	82.40		32.00	70.76	61.38	17.24	32.92	58.48		24.80	71.44	8.94	10.37	42.78
Republic of the Congo	55.28	44.80	57.30	37.80	48.82	54.08		31.14	63.28		19.80	43.92	10.88	47.33	42.87
Romania	57.28	84.00	70.30	59.80	78.90	83.46	55.41	64.28	75.08		82.80	68.86	50.38	71.43	69.38
Russia	23.98	68.00	62.50	17.80	67.66	62.92	50.78	31.54	50.53	31.00	19.80	59.14	10.76	51.41	43.42
Rwanda	46.62	32.80	64.40	20.80	72.40	64.06	35.15	31.80	47.91	40.60	22.20	67.30	15.06	47.77	43.49
Saint Kitts and Nevis	83.92			79.80							89.00			68.25	80.24
Saint Lucia	84.58			84.60			46.26				91.60	67.26		65.00	73.22
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	86.58			82.20			51.44				90.80	66.46		65.73	73.87
Samoa	79.92			70.80					82.23		81.20	63.20		64.07	73.57
San Marino	97.24			83.80			50.47				94.60			72.22	79.67
São Tomé and Príncipe	83.25			72.00							83.40	56.00	58.26	67.81	70.12
Saudi Arabia	10.66	64.00		15.60	63.82	49.02	10.25	19.90	36.02	25.40	7.00	60.84	4.28	6.43	28.71
Senegal	50.62	60.80	58.80	51.20	61.90	70.20	48.68	58.62	74.53		71.40	57.60	56.52	64.56	60.42
Serbia	65.93	84.00		58.60	70.46	75.04	55.90	63.62	69.51	71.00	66.40	64.96	26.38	68.17	64.61
Seychelles	67.27			48.80	75.74	77.98	47.50		71.05		74.00	62.94	48.98	63.10	63.74
Sierra Leone	51.28	36.80	56.80	49.00	58.48	66.18		48.02	69.81		65.20	50.20	40.44	57.49	54.14
Singapore	56.61	91.20	76.70	33.00	88.04	79.60	48.37	61.96	47.22	55.40	49.60	88.34	33.36	48.22	61.26
Slovakia	71.26	96.00	80.70	76.20	75.98	82.66	62.84	70.86	78.99		89.00	66.62	73.74	73.13	76.77
Slovenia	90.58	100.00	75.60	76.20	73.76	83.80	72.03	75.16	77.71		93.20	67.38	70.58	77.72	79.52
Solomon Islands	77.26	61.60		72.40			45.33				77.60	55.60	46.46	64.83	62.63
Somalia	0.00	12.80		19.40	66.70	49.30	19.88		40.57		7.00	-	10.76	30.42	25.68
Somaliland				46.33							43.80		27.42		39.18
South Africa	60.61	68.00	69.40	64.20	68.62	73.58	65.88	71.64	78.66	72.60	78.80	59.20	58.84	71.31	68.67
South Korea	73.26	100.00	75.30	67.40	76.68	83.48	48.55	80.34	75.36	65.80	83.20	73.74	77.46	69.87	75.03
South Ossetia											10.20				10.20
South Sudan	10.66	10.67		34.80					53.81		1.80		6.08	11.15	18.42
Spain	75.92	97.60	80.00	72.20	78.28	85.38	82.08	81.02	79.24		92.00	67.16	76.80	72.18	79.99
Sri Lanka	25.31	53.60	46.40	29.80	67.48	68.48	26.73	62.44	58.11	52.00	55.60	56.12	43.12	67.52	50.91
Sudan	19.98	10.40		17.40	44.28	41.40	19.22	24.02	34.92	31.40	10.80	42.64	9.02	53.31	27.60
Suriname	76.59	74.40		72.60	62.96	76.40	45.06	68.72	83.33		77.60	48.04	60.98	68.95	67.97
Sweden	91.24	100.00	79.10	89.60	77.98	88.62	68.20	93.38	91.72		100.00	75.80	86.14	75.87	85.97
Switzerland	83.25	96.00	82.60	87.40	85.36	91.14	78.85	89.64	88.98		96.00	82.34	84.16	80.74	86.65
Syria	16.65	48.00	46.70	10.60	51.42	36.08	22.13	14.30	24.86	16.00	0.20	-	3.94	35.67	25.12
Taiwan	79.25	99.20	74.80	74.00	78.94	86.38		82.24	75.93	80.00	93.40	77.94	70.16	66.21	79.88
Tajikistan	36.63	54.40		17.80	61.44	54.76	48.72	19.34	46.96		9.00	54.20	5.70	50.96	38.33
Tanzania	45.29	57.60	59.60	45.40	67.94	66.72		52.48	64.30		41.00	60.52	35.00	52.45	54.02
Thailand	39.96	73.60	71.70	29.00	68.28	65.72	32.11	55.32	55.35	35.00	30.40	67.54	13.90	19.29	46.94
Tibet											1.00				1.00

Togo	41.96	48.00	55.40	37.20	61.50	65.22		30.10	70.08		43.80	53.38	20.36	54.61	48.47
Tonga	67.93			70.80			41.51		74.42		78.20	59.58		62.72	65.02
Transnistria											21.60				21.60
Trinidad and Tobago	81.92	84.80	71.30	74.00	72.12	75.94	49.58	71.36	77.42		81.80	58.16	65.22	68.94	71.73
Tunisia	29.97	78.40	53.60	48.20	61.26	65.06	44.50	64.06	69.66	63.20	68.80	56.18	61.04	61.39	58.95
Turkey	39.96	64.80	63.70	34.00	67.80	59.88	46.98	44.34	48.18	34.80	31.80	63.06	11.58	51.27	47.30
Turkmenistan	23.98	62.40		4.00			33.55	17.08	16.14		2.40	47.12	4.86	49.30	26.08
Tuvalu	75.26			73.20			40.25				93.20			62.39	68.86
Uganda	32.63	35.20	60.00	43.20	73.98	64.18	38.70	49.46	61.15	53.80	35.00	58.80	24.20	49.61	48.56
Ukraine	53.28	72.00	64.90	42.60	59.14	66.96	49.35	57.32	67.54	59.20	61.00	53.88	28.34	69.82	57.52
United Arab Emirates	32.63	84.80	63.10	23.60	71.10	60.24	13.01	27.62	58.06	28.40	17.00	75.70	9.54	30.65	42.53
United Kingdom	87.25	99.20	80.80	76.40	82.16	88.32	62.63	84.44	77.55	77.40	93.40	77.46	79.52	77.10	81.69
United States of America	82.58	88.00	83.00	79.00	83.04	88.00	77.01	79.34	75.78	76.40	84.80	75.20	72.76	72.67	79.83
Uruguay	85.91	91.20	80.30	75.00	73.34	83.24	87.75	84.68	83.76		97.80	69.24	77.82	76.34	82.03
Uzbekistan	23.31	52.00		5.00			41.53	20.42	43.14	26.40	9.60	55.20	8.30	48.75	30.33
Vanuatu	77.92			75.00							81.80	62.00	63.42	70.78	71.82
Venezuela	41.96	55.20	54.20	20.80	28.56	42.32	48.85	29.56	53.73	30.20	17.80	25.16	8.84	53.85	36.50
Vietnam	24.64	71.20		15.40	61.80	58.92	35.72	30.24	24.58	22.80	19.60	57.90	14.36	39.70	36.68
West Bank				16.60							25.20		18.02		19.94
Western Sahara											4.00				4.00
Yemen	15.98	25.60		19.80	59.00	43.16	10.88	19.74	37.94		11.00	-	4.04	48.92	26.92
Zambia	49.28	48.00	66.60	38.60	70.76	69.32		53.92	63.31	58.80	53.20	52.10	27.28	56.68	54.45
Zanzibar													18.42		18.42
Zimbabwe	13.99	31.20	33.80	26.40	55.20	58.78	42.89	31.12	58.35	44.80	29.20	40.02	19.20	45.11	37.86

Table 42. Average Freedom by Country and Index