

THE DEMOCRACY BAROMETER: ISRAEL'S DEMOCRACY IN A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

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Herzliya Conference

Political Indicators

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DEMOCRACY BAROMETER

- Time series 1990-2014
- 105 indicators sorted and aggregated with accordance to concepts amalgamate to reflect the quality of democracies.
- Sample: established democracies (below 1.5 in Freedom House and above 9 in Polity IV).
- 30 blueprint countries that qualified and had sufficient data.
- The best practices in the blueprint states became 100 in relevant the democracy scale.
- The worst practices in the blueprints states became 0 in the relevant democracy scale.
- Then 40 established democracies (including Israel) were added to the sample and scaled with accordance to the blueprint states scales.
- Project based in WZB <http://www.democracybarometer.org>

DB MEASUREMENT PRINCIPLES

- Decreases the usage of experts' evaluations.
- Minimizes measurement errors by using various sources.
- Assessing institutions, their policy environment and policy output.
- Minimizing missing values from core (blueprint) countries' sample.
- Scaling of indicators value from 0 to 100 therefore allowing indicators' comparison and aggregation to components.

DB AGGREGATION PRINCIPLES

- Democratic Quality Aggregation: principles → functions → concepts → sub-concepts → indicators
- Each concept has the same weight for aggregation.
- Points are added for known problems with democracy happening in specific cases.
- After giving each country in a given year on each indicator a number between 0 and 100 the aggregation rule goes as follows:

$$DB = \left[\prod_{i=1}^{\{n\}} (x_i + 500) \right]^{\left\{ \frac{1}{n} \right\}} - 500$$

- The 500 addition and subtraction aims to avoid zeros and negatives.
- This is done from indicators and up until the Democratic Quality measure.

QUALITY OF DEMOCRACY, PRINCIPLES AND FUNCTIONS

Quality of
Democracy

Freedom

Public Sphere

Rule of Law

Individual Liberties

Control

Governmental Capability

Mutual Constraints

Competition

Equality

Representation

Participation

Transparency

FREEDOM

Individual Liberties		Rule of Law		Public Sphere	
<i>Right to Physical Integrity</i>	<i>Right to Free Conduct of Life</i>	<i>Equality before the law</i>	<i>Quality of the legal system</i>	<i>Freedom to associate</i>	<i>Freedom of opinion</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Constitutional provisions guaranteeing physical integrity • No transgressions by the state • Mutual acceptance of right to physical integrity by citizens 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Constitutional provisions guaranteeing freedom of conduct of life • Freedom of conduct of life • Effective property rights 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Constitutional provisions for impartial courts • Effective independence of the judiciary • Effective impartiality of the legal system 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Constitutional provisions for judicial professionalism • Confidence in the justice system • Confidence in the police 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Constitutional provisions guaranteeing freedom to associate • Degree of association (economic interests) • Degree of association (public interest) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Constitutional provisions guaranteeing freedom of speech • Media offer • Political neutrality of the press system

CONTROL

Competition		Mutual Constraints		Governmental Capability	
<i>Competitiveness of elections</i>	<i>Openness of elections</i>	<i>Checks between three powers</i>	<i>Vertical checks for power</i>	<i>Government resources</i>	<i>Conditions for efficient implementation</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Formal rules for competitiveness • Closeness for electoral outcomes • Low concentration of seats 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Low legal hurdle for entry • Effective Contestation • Effective access to resources 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Balance of checks between executive and legislative powers • Balance between executive and legislative powers • Judicial review 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Degree of Federalism • Subnational fiscal autonomy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Time horizon for action • Public support • Governmental stability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No anti-government action • No interference • Administrative assertiveness • Independence of the Central Bank

EQUALITY

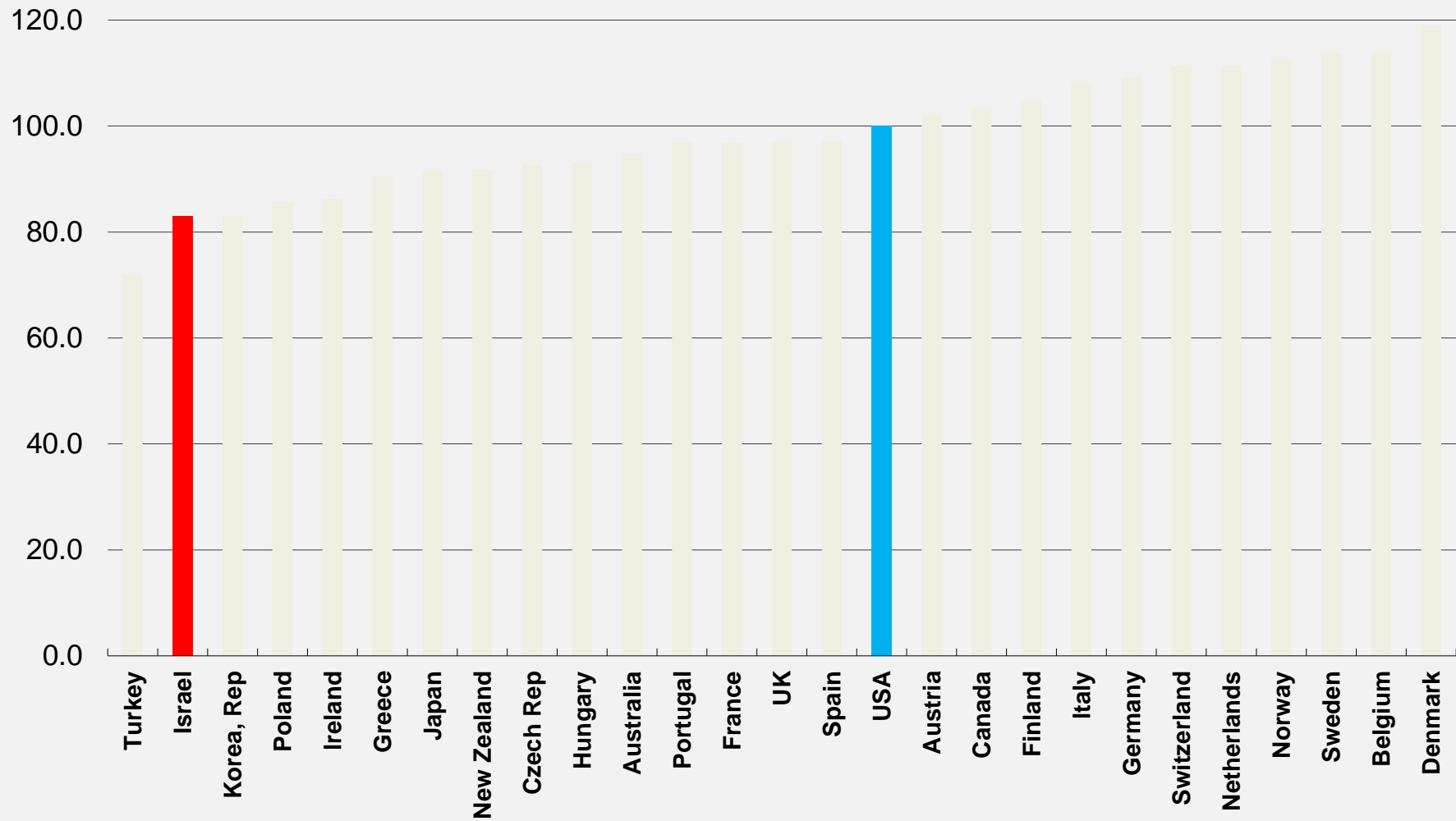
Transparency		Participation		Representation	
<i>No Secrecy</i>	<i>Provisions for transparent political process</i>	<i>Equality of participation</i>	<i>Effective participation</i>	<i>Substantive Representation</i>	<i>Descriptive Representation</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Disclosure of party financing • Absence of corruption 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Freedom of information • Informational openness • Willingness for transparent communication 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Suffrage • Non-selectivity of electoral participation • Non-selectivity of alternative participation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rules facilitating participation • Effective institutionalized participation • Effective non-institutionalized participation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Structural possibilities for inclusion of preferences • Constitutional provisions for direct democracy • No distortion 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No legal constraints for inclusion of minorities • Adequate representation of women • Effective access to power for minorities

Components of the Governmental / Political Index:

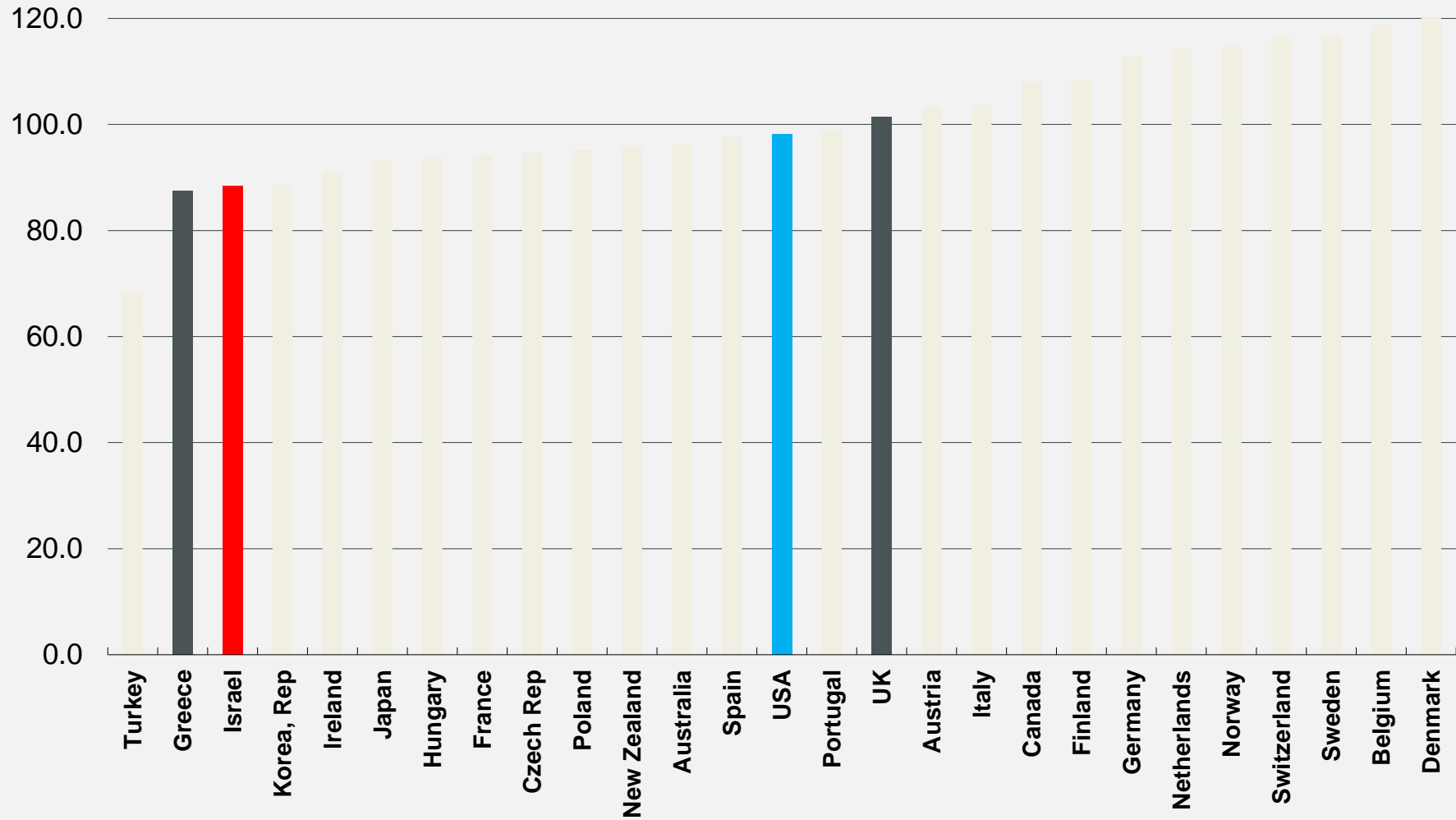
(Equal Weights) Herzliya Indices Team Prof. Rafi Melnick

1. Individual Liberties
2. Rule of Law
3. Public Sphere
4. Competition
5. Mutual Constraints
6. Governmental Capability
7. Transparency
8. Participation
9. Representation
10. Regulatory Quality
11. Alliances
12. Membership in International Organizations
13. Hosted Embassies

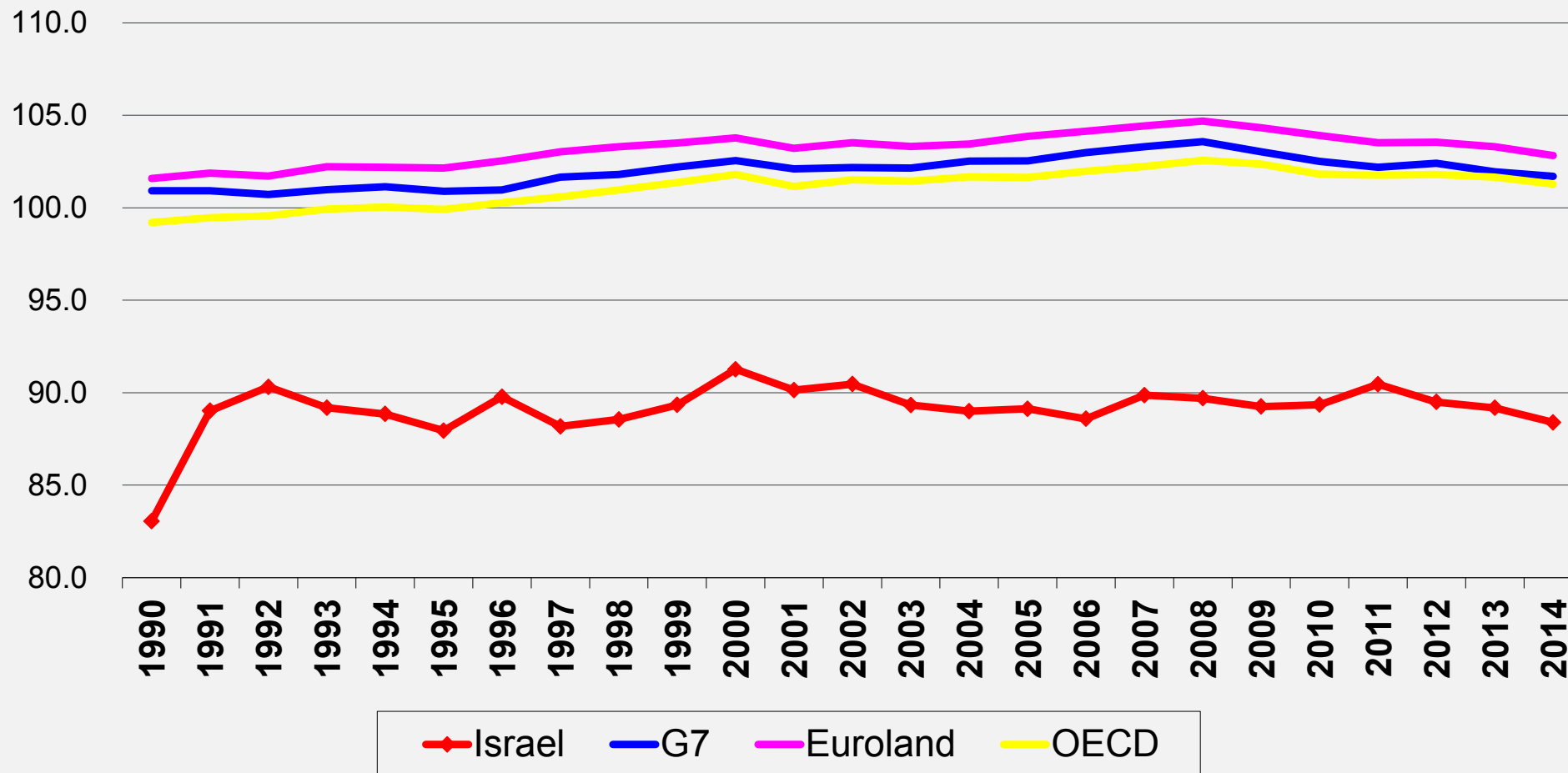
1990 | GOVERNMENTAL / POLITICAL BASE



Governmental / Political Base | 2014



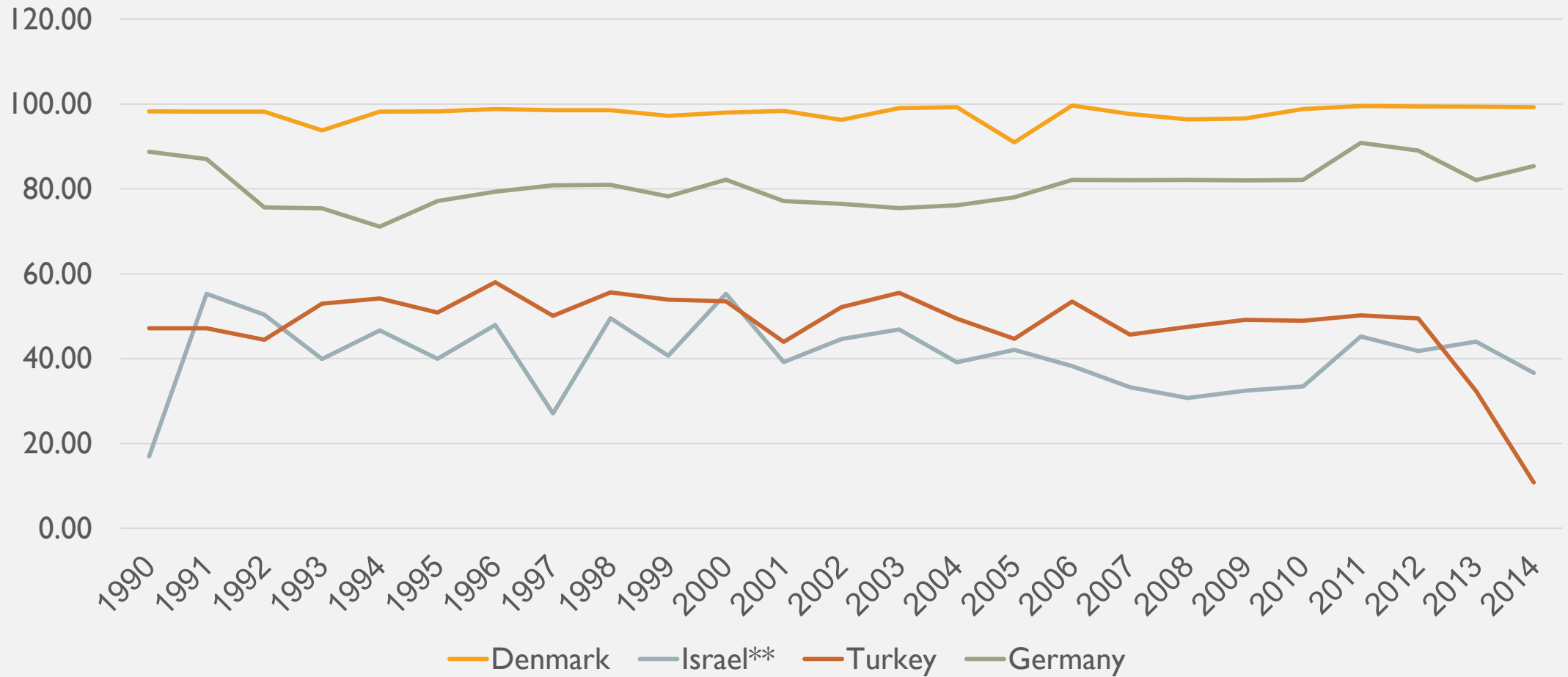
Development of the Governmental/ Political Dimension Israel and the Developed Countries



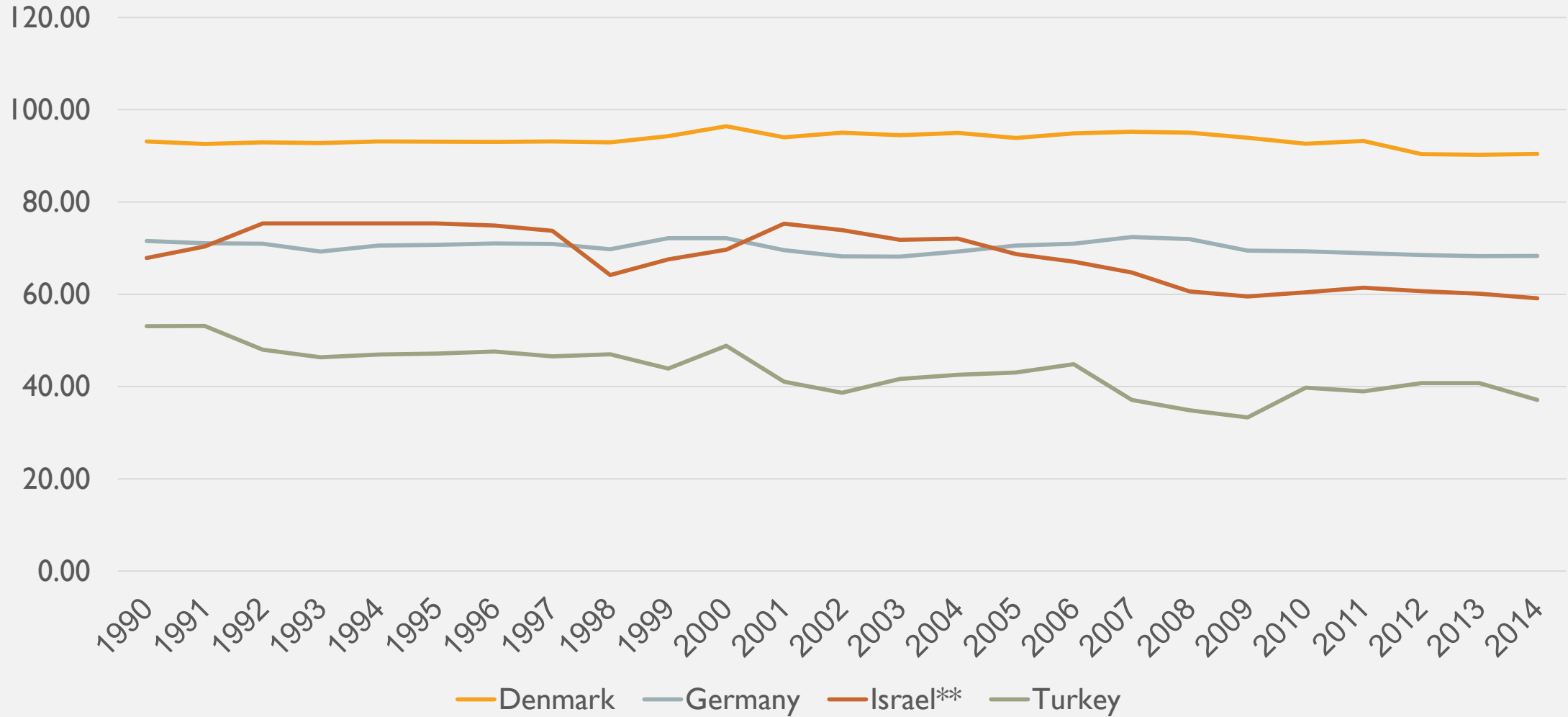
Governmental/ Political Index 2014

1	Denmark	120.4	17	New Zealand	95.9
2	Belgium	118.9	18	Poland	95.1
3	Sweden	116.7	19	Czech Rep	94.6
4	Switzerland	116.5	20	France	94.2
5	Norway	114.8	21	Hungary	93.8
6	Netherlands	114.3	22	Japan	93.4
7	Germany	113.0	23	Ireland	91.2
8	Finland	108.4	24	Korea, Rep	88.7
9	Canada	108.1	25	Israel	88.4
10	Italy	103.7	26	Greece	87.4
11	Austria	103.4	27	Turkey	68.3
12	UK	101.3			
13	Portugal	98.8			
14	USA	98.2			
15	Spain	97.6			
16	Australia	96.3			

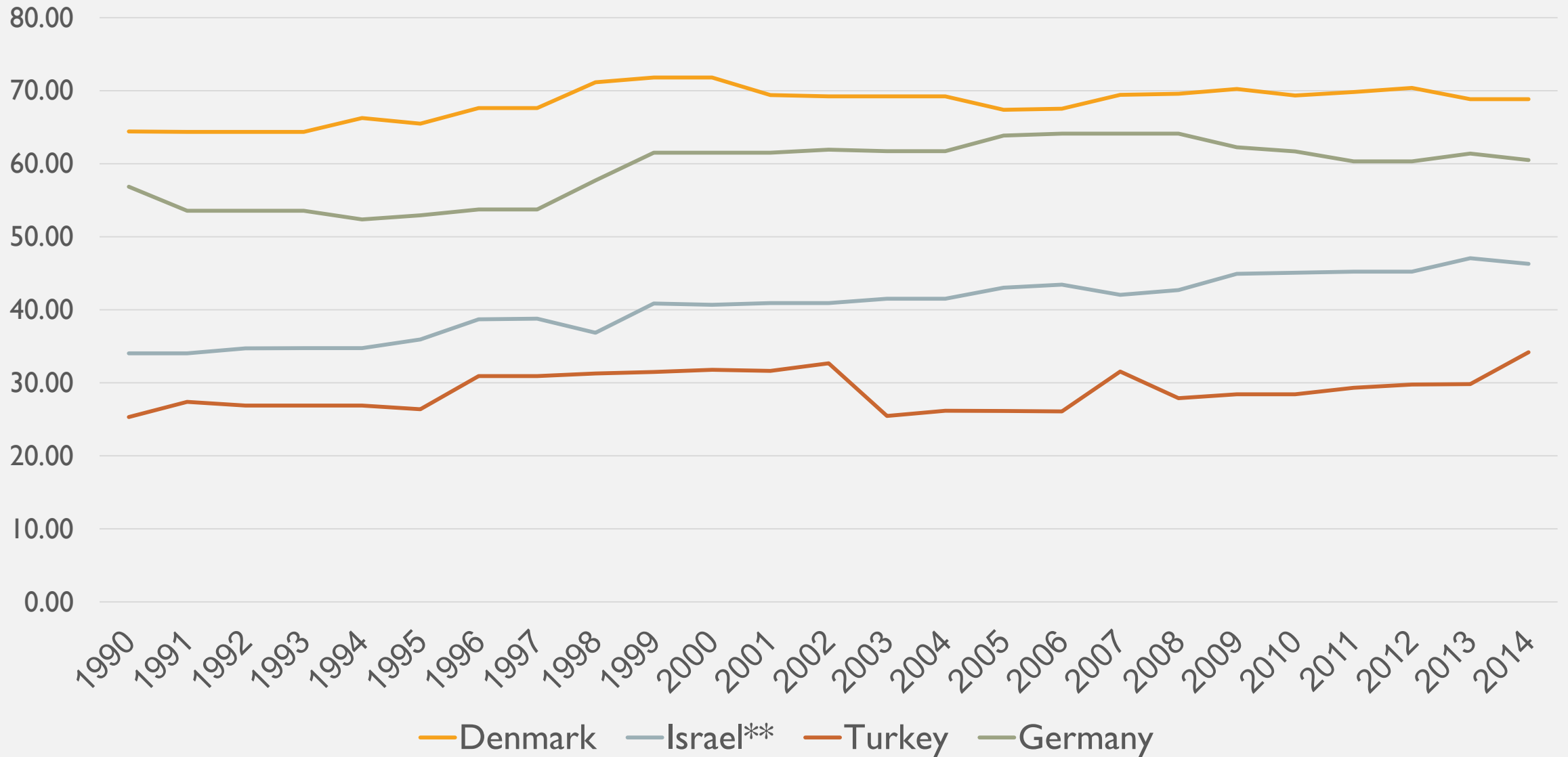
Back to the Barometer: Individual Liberties (Freedom) 1990-2014



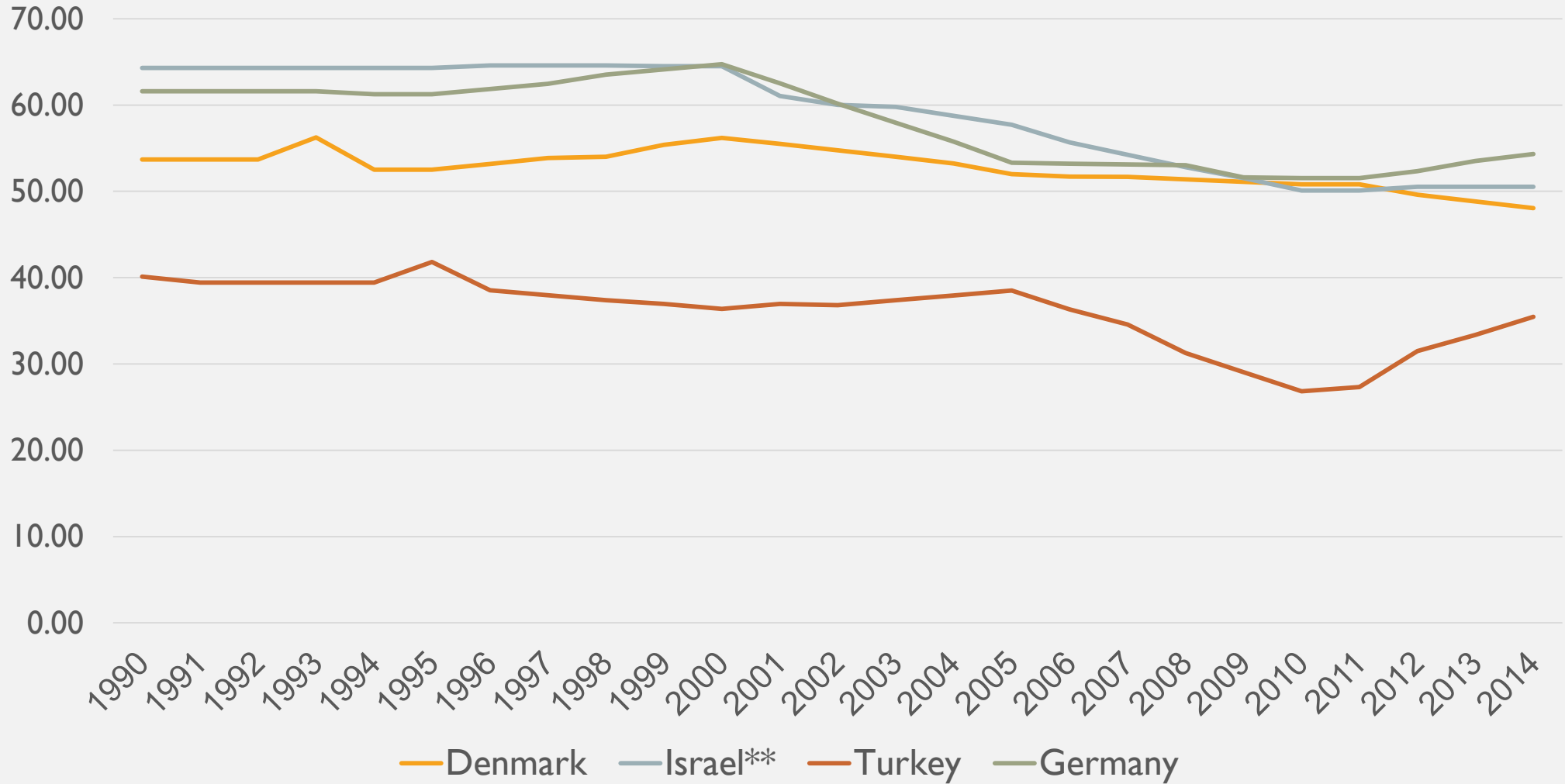
Rule of Law (Freedom) 1990-2014



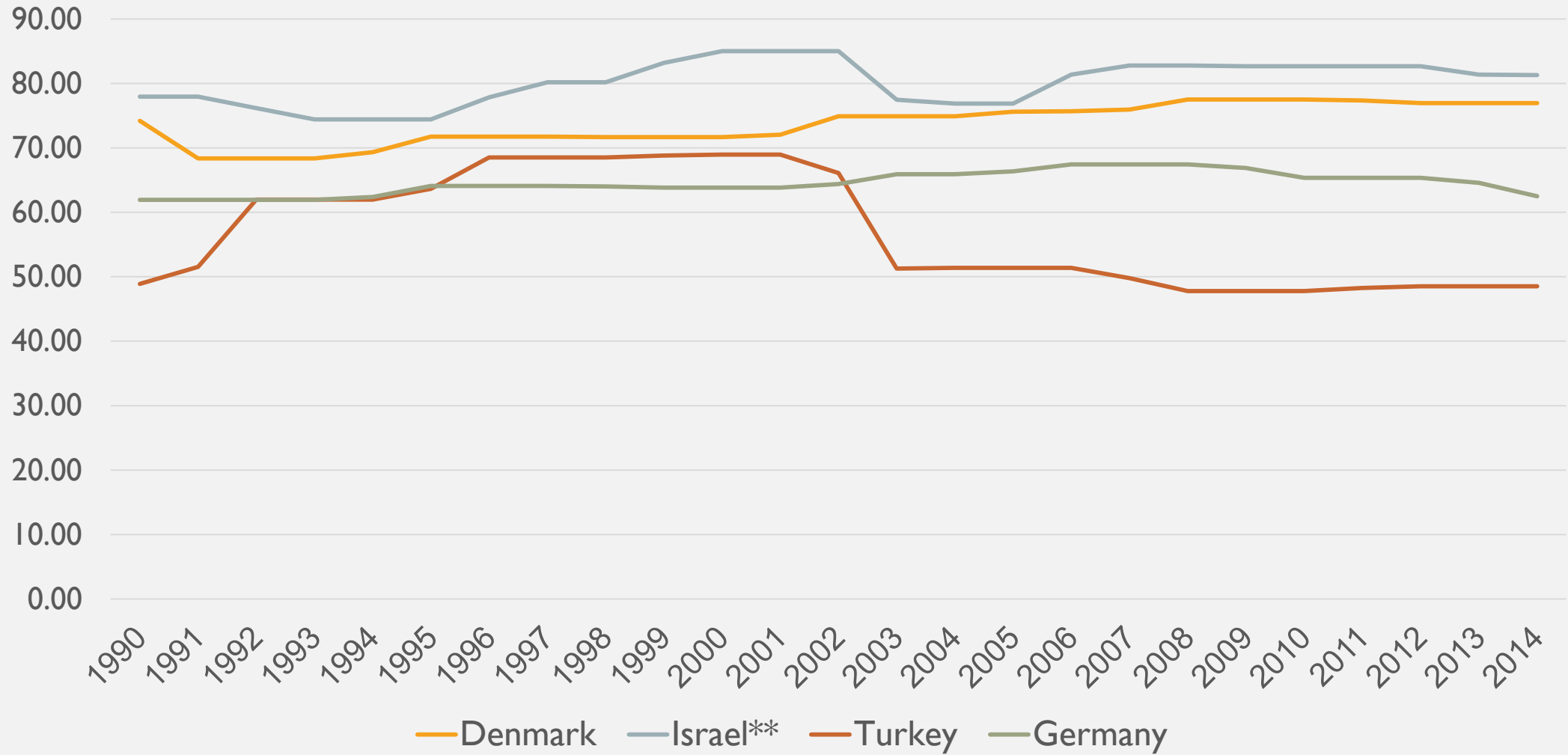
Representation (Equality) 1990-2014



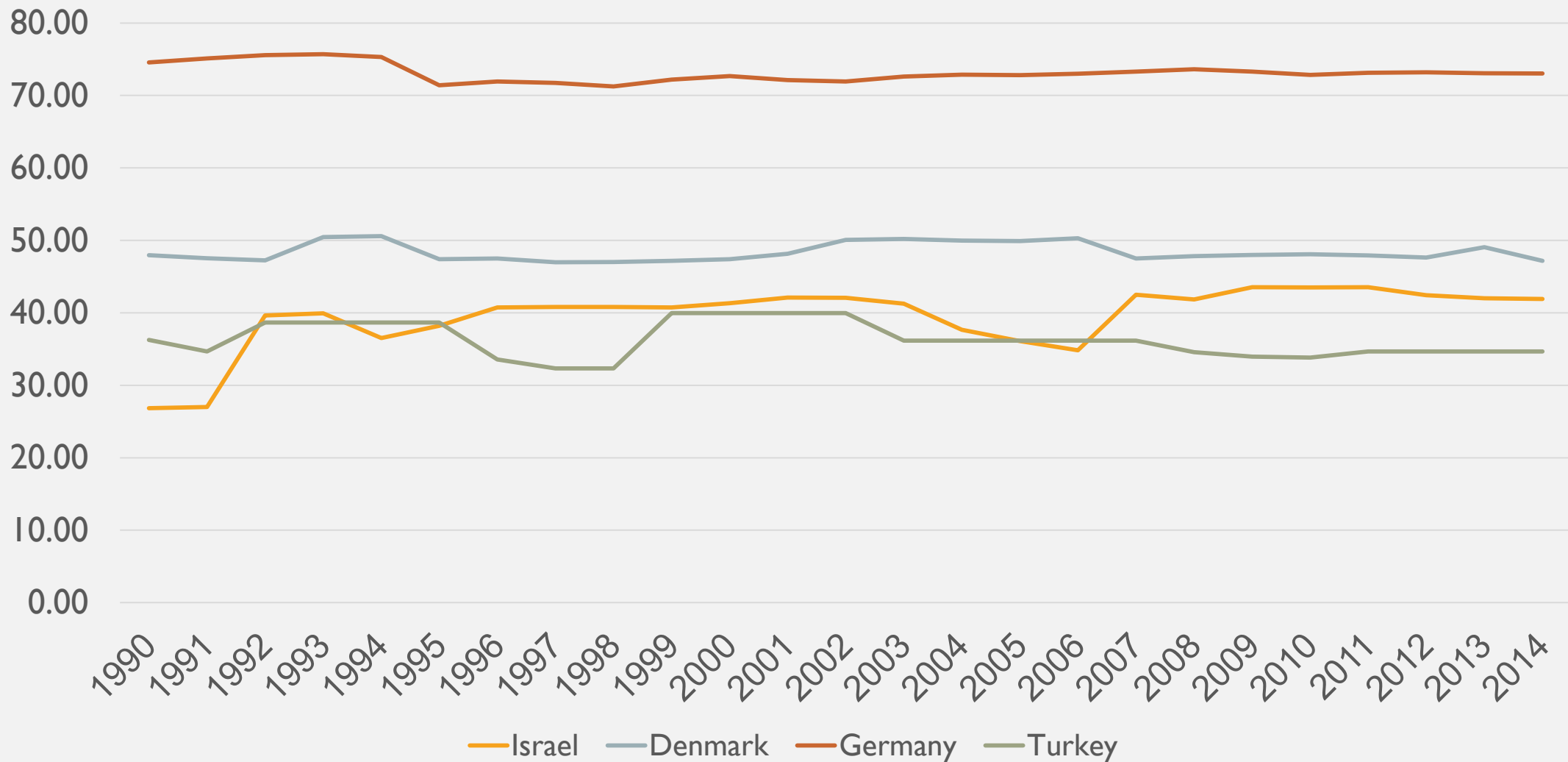
Political Participation (Equality) 1990-2014



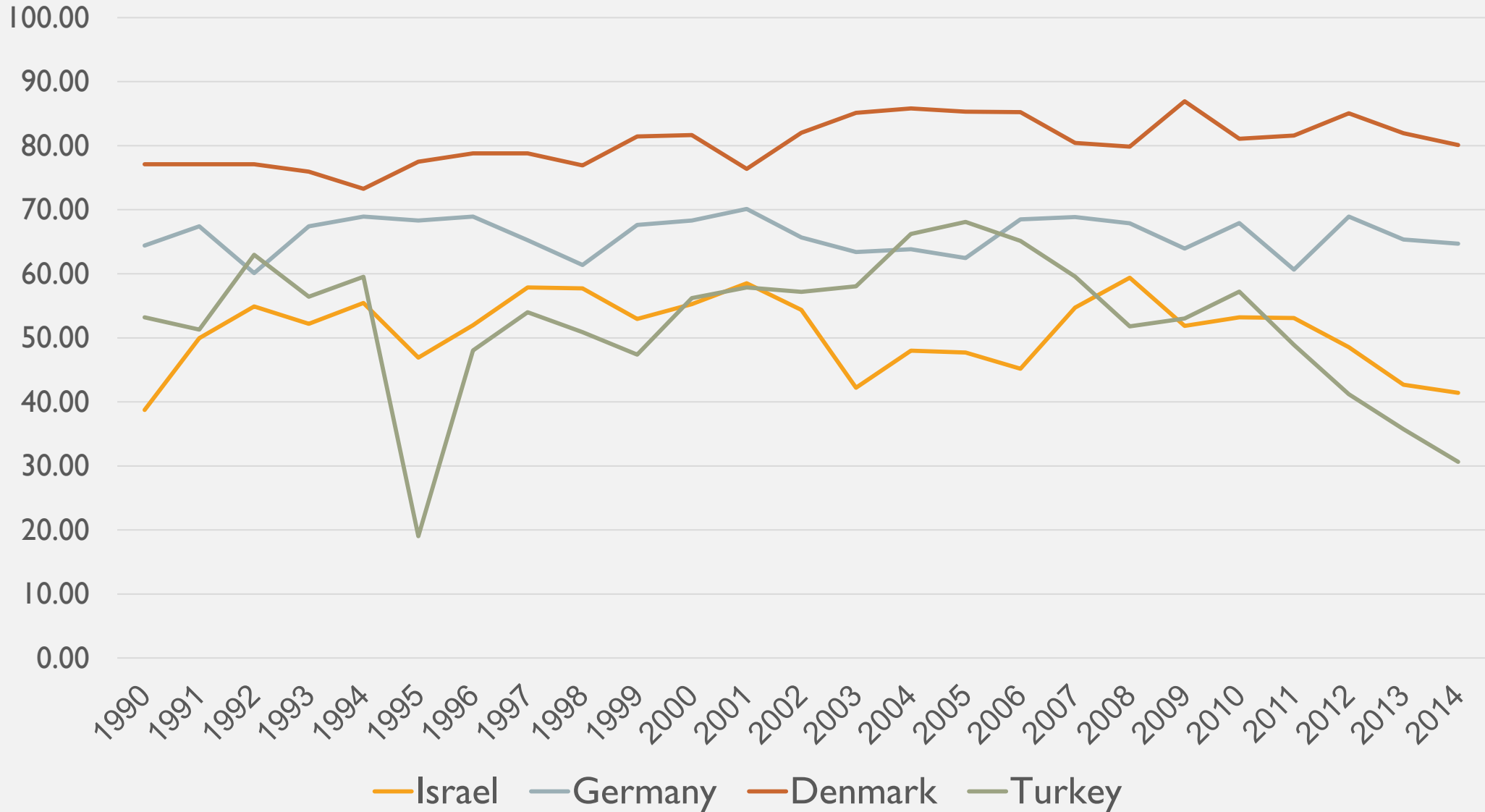
Political Competition (Control) 1990-2014



Mutual Constraints (Control) 1990-2014



Government Capability (Control) 1990-2014



ASSESSING ISRAEL'S DEMOCRATIC GOVERNABILITY

- Low level of Individual Liberties yet adherence to the rule of law
- Low level of representation (mostly Israel's Arabs' substantive representation as an issue)
- High political participation and competition
- Low-medium levels of mutual constraints
- Varying (usually low) government capability

- Hence: a competitive yet defective democracy with lacking and inconsistent governability

Potential Points for Improvement Israeli Case

- Substantive Representation for all citizens
- Less involvement of religion in state affairs
- Less political competition
- A stricter separation of powers with an emphasis on the judiciary's independence.
- (much much) Better government capacity:
 - Better civil service
 - Better policy implementation

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Merkel, Wolfgang and Bochler, Daniel (project leaders); Bousbah, Karima; Bühlmann, Marc; Giebler, Heiko; Hänni, Miriam; Heyne, Lea; Müller, Lisa; Ruth, Saskia; Wessels, Bernhard (2016). *Democracy Barometer. Methodology. Version 5*. Aarau: Zentrum für Demokratie. <http://www.democracybarometer.org>
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- Merkel, Wolfgang (2012). „Embedded and Defective Democracies: Where Does Israel Stand?“. In: Tamar Herman (ed.) „By the People, For the People, Without the People?“. Jerusalem: Israel Democracy Institute.