

THE JURY: GLOBAL DEMOCRACY'S SECRET WEAPON

By Nicolas Mansfield

In English common law, the right to a trial by a jury in criminal cases dates back more than eight centuries to the Magna Carta. In the seminal *Bushell's Case* of 1670, in which 12 jurors were fined and imprisoned for not delivering a guilty verdict in an unlawful assembly case, the Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas delivered an opinion confirming the right of juries to issue verdicts according to their convictions. Sir William Blackstone, the great articulator of the common law, subsequently described the jury as the “glory of the English law” and essential to the preservation of liberty. In the American Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson cited the abrogation of that right among the litany of abuses visited upon the colonies by the British government, and it is included in the Sixth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

As its empire expanded over the course of the 19th and early 20th centuries, Britain introduced the jury system into many of its colonies and territories around the world. When these entities became independent countries, some decided to preserve the jury system, while others abandoned it. All told, out of 38 countries in which the jury system had been introduced by the British,¹ 26 chose to maintain it in some form, and 12 chose to abolish it.

This Paper will chart the remarkable divergence of these two groups of countries with regard to the protection of political rights, civil liberties and the rule of law, reflecting the underappreciated importance of the jury system as a bulwark of democracy. It will argue that protecting—and expanding—the right to trial by jury is an essential tool in the fight against the democratic backsliding that has been much documented in recent years.

¹ The 38 countries include the United Kingdom itself.

To Be or Not to Be: *The jury debates in the post-colonial Global South*

Because they touch directly on the connection between the jury system and democratic government, it is worth summarizing the debates in at least a few post-colonial countries concerning whether to retain the jury.

India

The first jury trial in India took place in 1665, in the early period of British influence, and by the late 19th century jury trials were encompassed in the Criminal Procedure Code. However, jury trials were mandatory only in the High Courts of Presidency Towns (Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, as they were then known). In other regions, jury trials were optional and rarely used.² Juries were comprised of three to nine jurors, depending on the severity of the offense. Following independence, there was significant debate about whether to continue jury trials, and in 1958, the Law Commission on Reform of Judicial Administration recommended that they be abolished.³ The following year, the sensationalized case of *Nanavati v. State of Maharashtra* served to amplify calls for ending the jury system. Nanavati shot and killed his wife's lover, confessed and was tried for murder, but was acquitted by a jury. The aftermath of the verdict intensified criticism of juries, as the Nanavati jury was seen as having been swayed by public sympathy, media coverage, and class biases.⁴ Ensuing debate in the early 1960s resulted in the abolition of juries in most regions of the country, with the final holdout, West Bengal, abolishing them in 1975.⁵

Post-independence debates in India about juries made reference to the expense and inefficiency of the jury system, but the core argument against the system was that common people could not be trusted to administer justice. The 1958 Law Commission on Reform of Judicial Administration stated that "it is difficult to find jurors of the right type", and that jurors can be swayed by "extrajudicial considerations."⁶ The Law Commission invoked Mahatma Gandhi's earlier opposition to juries: Gandhi said that "[i]n matters where absolute impartiality, calmness and ability to sift evidence and understand human nature are required, we may not replace trained judges by untrained men brought together by chance."⁷ The Law Commission did

² Jean-Louis Halpérin, "Lay Justice in India", written summary of presentation at the Cornell Law School/Ecole Normale Supérieure Colloquium, "Popular Justice: Beyond Judges and Juries" (Paris, March 25, 2011).

³ See Summary of Recommendations of Report of Law Commission on Reform of Judicial Administration, Ministry of Law (New Delhi, 1958), Ch.42.

⁴ James Jaffe, "After Nanavati: The Last Jury Trial in India?", EPW 52(32) 18 (2017).

⁵ James Jaffe, "'Not the Right People': Why Jury Trials were Abolished in India", Socio-Legal Review, National Law School of India, (Bangalore, 2020).

⁶ Law Commission of India, Summary of Recommendations of Report of Law Commission on Reform of Judicial Administration, Ministry of Law (New Delhi, 1958), Ch.42

⁷ Mahatma Gandhi, *The Young India* (1931), quoted in Law Commission of India, Reform of Judicial Administration, 14th Report (1958), pp. 872-873.

acknowledge the jury's role as a bulwark against arbitrary power, but rather optimistically waved this concern aside:

The success of the system in England has, it appears to us, not much relevance because what may suit English conditions and the English character may not work satisfactorily in India. *Nor has the historical aspect of the jury having served as a protection to the citizen against the exercise of arbitrary power by the Crown any significance in the present condition in India* [emphasis added].⁸

Recent research suggests that many leading figures in the Indian judiciary itself favored the abolition of juries and were an influential factor in their demise. This opposition was also rooted in a lack of trust in common people.⁹

Singapore

In 1959, when Singapore was still a British Crown Colony, a Criminal Procedure Amendment Bill was advanced that aimed to eliminate juries from all cases except those involving capital offenses. It is noteworthy that Lee Kuan Yew, Singapore's first Prime Minister and the subsequent avatar of modern illiberal governance, personally participated in the debate related to the jury provision in the bill. He opposed juries because he saw them as too prone to manipulation by skilled lawyers.¹⁰ In his memoirs, reflecting back on the jury debates, he stated that he "had no faith in a system that allowed the superstition, ignorance, biases, and prejudices of seven jury-men to determine guilt or innocence."¹¹ When Singapore became independent in 1965, the move to abolish juries intensified, culminating in debate surrounding the Criminal Procedure Amendment Bill of 1969. Once again, Lee Kuan Yew played a prominent role advocating for abolition. A Special Committee was established to hear evidence, and the debate was robust with defenders of the jury among the bar arguing that judges would be more subject to pressure by the executive. However, by 1969 there were no opposition lawmakers in Parliament, and therefore adoption of the bill was a foregone conclusion. The amendment was adopted and by 1970 juries were abolished.¹²

Ghana

The jury system was introduced in Ghana (known as the Gold Coast during the colonial era) in 1853, based on the British model. In the late 19th century, it was modified through reforms of the Criminal Procedure Ordinance, with juries retained only in capital and other specific cases

⁸ Law Commission of India, *supra* n.7, at 869.

⁹ Jaffe, "Not the Right People: Why Jury Trials were Abolished in India", *supra* n.5.

¹⁰ Andrew Phang, Jury trial in Singapore and Malaysia: The unmaking of a legal institution, *Malaya Law Review* 251, (1), 50-86 (1983), p.53.

¹¹ See George P. Landow, "Lee Kuan Yew's Opposition to Trial by Jury." *Postcolonial Web*. *Postcolonial Studies*, George P. Landow (Brown University), 1998-99, accessible at postcolonialweb.org/singapore/government/leekuaneyew/lky2.html (accessed on August 28, 2025)

¹² Phang, *supra* at n.10, pp. 57-71.

and the number of jurors reduced from twelve to seven.¹³ While jury service was generally reserved for Europeans and elite Africans, it was the case that Africans had to be tried by a jury at least half of whom were African.¹⁴ When Ghana became independent in 1957, it retained the jury system, which was incorporated into the 1960 criminal procedure law.¹⁵ Ghana also incorporated jury trials into its 1992 Constitution, which provides that anyone charged with a criminal offence (other than treason) punishable by death or life imprisonment must be tried with a jury (unanimous verdicts are required in death penalty cases, while a parliamentary mandated majority is required in life imprisonment cases).¹⁶ Jurors are required to be literate adults between the age of 25 and 60, with many professions exempted from service (e.g., lawyers, doctors, newspaper editors, etc.).¹⁷ In practice, jurors are generally drawn from a relatively small pool of public service workers.¹⁸ There has been significant debate in Ghana in recent years about the jury system, with some arguing for its expansion (e.g., broadening the jury pool and expanding the application of juries), while others proposing abolition, on the grounds that legal and factual issues are too complex for lay people.¹⁹

Jamaica

Under Jamaica's 1962 Constitution, all existing pre-independence statutes remained in force, including the 1962 Jury Act.²⁰ There is no apparent evidence of any movement to abolish juries after independence. The Jury Act provides that jurors must be literate citizens between the age of 18 and 70 who are on the voter/tax list, with certain professions exempted.²¹ During the last decade, the Jury Act has been amended to reduce the required number of jurors in certain trials from twelve to seven and allow for majority (non-unanimous) verdicts in non-capital murder cases.²²

¹³ See Richard Rathbone, A Murder in the Colonial Gold Coast: Law and Politics in the 1940s, 30 J. OF AFR. HIST. 445, 450, n. 17 (1989).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ See Criminal and Other Offenses (Procedure) Act of 1960, Sections 242-245 (jury required only in capital cases, and comprised of seven jurors)

¹⁶ Ghana Constitution of 1992, Article 19(2). It should be noted that Ghana abolished the death penalty in 2023.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Sections 205, 207.

¹⁸ Republic of Ghana Judiciary website, "CJ Opens Criminal Assizes... Announces Reforms & Expansion of Ghana's Jury System", accessible at <https://judicial.gov.gh/index.php/publications/news-publications/js-latest-news/item/508-2025-04-16-19-31-06#> (accessed on August 28, 2025).

¹⁹ See, e.g., Graphic Online, "Jury trial through the lens of murder cases" (July 18, 2022), accessible at <https://www.graphic.com.gh/features/features/jury-trial-through-the-lens-of-murder-cases.html#:~:text=Justice%20Lydia%20Osei%20Marfo%20ordered,at%20the%20time%20of%20selection> (accessed on August 28, 2025); The Ghana Report, "Trial by jury 2" (November 25, 2023), accessible at <https://www.theghanareport.com/trial-by-jury-2/#:~:text=For%20those%20who%20argue%20for,in%20the%20administration%20of%20justice> (accessed on August 28, 2025).

²⁰ The Jamaica (Constitution) Order in Council 1962, Section 4.

²¹ See The Jury Act (as amended, February 1, 2016).

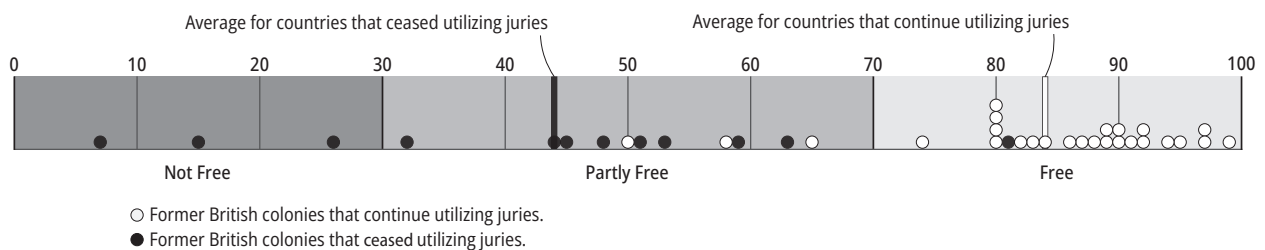
²² *Ibid.*, at Section 44.

In sum, in these examples, the countries that retained juries did so as part of a general continuation of the judicial system imposed by the British, while the abolishing countries explicitly justified their approach by a lack of confidence in the competence of the average citizen. In the next section, we will review how these contrasting views of civic participation are reflected in the manner in which political freedoms and civil liberties are protected today.

The Great Divide

Created in 1973, Freedom House's annual "Freedom in the World" report is the most widely read and cited report tracking global trends in political rights and civil liberties. The report is composed of numerical ratings and supporting descriptive texts for 195 countries and 13 territories. External analysts use a combination of on-the-ground research, consultations with local contacts, and information from news articles, nongovernmental organizations, governments, and a variety of other sources. Expert advisers and regional specialists then vet the analysts' conclusions. The final product represents the consensus of the analysts, advisers, and Freedom House staff. A total numerical score is calculated for each country, from zero (the lowest possible score) to 100. Each country is assigned one of three ratings: Free, Partly Free, or Not Free.²³

Freedom score of former British colonies and utilization of juries in trial†



† Freedom House's 2025 *Freedom in the World* report

Freedom House's 2025 report reveals a striking divergence between the 26 former British possessions that chose to retain the jury system and the 12 that chose to abolish it. Of the 26 retaining countries, 23 are rated Free and three Partly Free. Of the 12 abolishing countries, three are Not Free, eight are Partly Free, and only one is Free²⁴. In sum, 88% of retainers are

²³ Freedom House, *Freedom in the World*, available at <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world> (accessed on August 29, 2025). It is worth noting that although Freedom House's reports are relied on widely by academics, practitioners, and journalists, there is no perfect methodology for measuring democracy or freedom, in part because of the complexity of the laws and norms under review as well as the various historical and economic factors that contribute to how governance has developed in countries around the world.

²⁴ The one abolishing country rated Free is South Africa, and that is arguably a unique case. During the British colonial period, only whites were allowed to serve on juries (except in Cape Province), which often resulted in blatant miscarriages of justice. But by the 1960s, following legislative reforms limiting the right to a jury trial, such trials had been almost entirely abandoned. In 1969, the apartheid government abolished juries completely. As such, the jury system was no longer in existence when South Africa became a multiracial democracy in 1994, and its revival was never seriously considered. Milton Seligson, "Lay Participation in South Africa From Apartheid to Majority Rule", *International Review of Penal Law* Volume 72 (2001), pp. 273-284.

Free, compared to only 8% of abolishers. The average score of the retainers is 84; the average score of the abolishers is 40. Notably, the divide cuts across income levels. Abolisher Singapore, a high-income country, is only Partly Free, while retainer Ghana, a lower-middle income country, is Free. A listing of all 38 countries and their corresponding scores and ratings can be found in Annex A.

It is important to note that correlation does not imply causation. To say that Ghana is Free because it retained juries, and India is only Partly Free because it did not, would be unfounded. But the Freedom House data perhaps allows for more nuanced conjecture. A country that abolishes juries because it does not trust its citizens to render verdicts is a country that places a lesser value on citizenship, and has less respect for its citizens, than a country that maintains them. It stands to reason that the devaluing and disrespecting of citizens reflected in the abolition of juries would be present in other aspects of governance, informing the way citizens and the state understand their respective roles. This could result in lower overall levels of political and civic rights. In this sense, jury abolition could be seen as a symptom or indicator of a broader anti-democratic ethos. In the context of non-common law countries, it is worth noting that all-lay juries were abolished in Germany in 1924 and in Italy in 1931, and severely limited in Vichy France in 1941, which is to say shortly before or during totalitarian rule in all three countries.²⁵

Schools of Democracy: *Why juries are essential to preserving democratic government*

The strong correlation between juries and political and civic freedom has not escaped the notice of astute observers of democracy. Hume placed great importance on the link between juries and freedom, noting that the jury is an institution that is “the best calculated for the preservation of liberty and the administration of justice, that ever was devised by the wit of man.”²⁶ Hume noted approvingly that juries can “retract and control whatever had been determined, and [] punish any guardian” for abuse of authority, thereby checking government action.²⁷ United States Supreme Court Justice Anthony Kennedy noted in a 2017 opinion that “[t]he jury is a central foundation of our justice system and... a necessary check on governmental power.... The jury is a tangible implementation of the principle that the law comes from the people.”²⁸

²⁵ Yue Ma, “Lay Participation in Criminal Trials: A Comparative Perspective,” *International Criminal Justice Review*, 8(1), 74-94, fn. 2.

²⁶ David Hume, *The History of England from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688* (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund 1983), vol. 1, p.68.

²⁷ David Hume, *Of some Remarkable Customs* (1752, 1777), in Hume Texts Online, Essays, Moral, Political, and Literary, Part 2.

²⁸ See *Peña-Rodriguez v. Colorado*, 580 U.S. 107 (2017).

Tocqueville thought that the political role of juries in America was even more significant than their judicial function, serving as a crucial element of civic engagement in government and as a way to educate a democratic citizenry:

The jury, and above all the civil jury, serves to give to the minds of all citizens a part of the habits of the mind of a judge; and these habits are precisely those that best prepare the people to be free.... It vests each citizen with a sort of magistracy; it makes all feel that they have duties towards society to fulfill and that they enter into its government.... One ought to consider [the jury] as a school, free of charge and always open, where each juror comes to be instructed in his rights.... Thus the jury, which is the most energetic means of making the people reign, is also the most efficacious means of teaching them to reign.²⁹

Contemporary social science research confirms Tocqueville's insight. In a 2010 study, researchers reviewed court and voting records for over 13,000 empaneled jurors from across the United States and conducted interviews with thousands more jurors. They found that serving on a jury made previously infrequent voters more likely to vote in future elections. They also found that former jurors pay increased attention to news media, participate more frequently in conversations with neighbors about community issues, and become more active in charitable group activities.³⁰ A prominent legal scholar has argued similarly that jury service fosters democratic virtues such as deliberation, equality, and responsibility.³¹ The juror study suggests another possible explanation for the greater levels of freedom in countries retaining juries than in those abolishing them: countries that do not instill democratic values in its citizenry through jury service may find it more difficult to develop the civic habits among its people that democracies depend upon for survival.³²

²⁹ Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (trans. Harvey C. Mansfield and Delba Winthrop), (Univ. of Chicago Press, 2001), pp. 262-264. John Stuart Mill shared Tocqueville's views on juries, noting that they contributed to the "mental education" of the people, and served as "a mode of strengthening their active faculties." J.S. Mill, *On Liberty* (Penguin Classics, 1985), pp.180-181.

³⁰ See John Gastil, et al, *The Jury and Democracy: how jury deliberation promotes civic engagement and political participation* (Oxford University Press, 2010).

³¹ See Jeffrey Abramson, *We, the Jury: The Jury System and the Ideal of Democracy* (Harvard University Press, 2000). Abramson argues that juries should explicitly nullify laws they deem unfair. On that theme, it is worth noting the recent refusal of a grand jury in Washington, D.C. to indict someone alleged to have assaulted a federal officer is an example of the latent power of citizens to counter the government's criminal justice priorities. New York Times, "Grand Juries in D.C. Reject Prosecutors' Efforts to Level Harsh Charges Against Residents" (August 29, 2025) accessible at <https://www.nytimes.com/2025/08/29/us/politics/dc-grand-juries-indictments.html?searchResultPosition=1> (accessed on August 29, 2025). Grand juries are distinct from petit juries, the primary subject of this Paper, in that they decide whether there is adequate evidence to support an indictment in a particular case, rather than serving as the ultimate determiner of guilt at trial. But the premise of civic engagement is the same in both bodies. In contrast to petit juries, grand juries were much less frequently introduced by the British in their former colonies, and were abolished in England and Wales in 1933.

³² It goes without saying that many thriving democracies do not have juries, but they often introduce some element of civic participation in their justice systems. In Europe, many civil law countries employ a system of lay judges or

Preserving and Expanding Jury Systems: *The Way Forward*

The demonstrated link between the jury system and democracy should be a call to action for those concerned about democratic backsliding around the world. A pro-democracy, pro-jury agenda should include the following elements:

Promote jury system expansion

Attempts to promote the adoption of the jury system in countries without any such tradition should be pursued with caution, but countries that have expressed an interest in this regard should be supported. Jury system countries seeking to expand or strengthen such systems should be publicly praised and provided with any necessary technical assistance. For example, in April 2025, Ghanaian Chief Justice Gertrude Sackey Torkornoo proposed broadening the jury pool to include eligible Ghanaians from both public and private sectors. She further indicated that the revised selection process would ensure greater fairness, transparency and legal compliance, in line with the Constitution, and she called on the electronic media to educate the public on the evolving role of jurors in criminal trials.³³ Kazakhstan, a country with no prior tradition of juries, introduced a hybrid system in 2007 for serious felonies, in which jurors and judges deliberate together.³⁴ In 2024, a draft bill was introduced to establish a true jury system, in which 11 jurors would deliberate without any interference by the judge.³⁵ International democracy supporters should be loudly hailing these initiatives, particularly given that Ghana and Kazakhstan are both outliers in their respective regions in terms of juries.

Oppose movements to restrict or eliminate juries

A number of jury system countries have been debating the restriction or elimination of juries in recent years. In the United Kingdom, the government is exploring significant limitations to the right to a jury trial under the guise of improving efficiency. A recent government-sponsored review includes recommendations that in certain cases, such as fraud and bribery, there should

assessors, who sit alongside professional judges as part of a mixed tribunal and participate jointly in deliberations. The crucial difference between such systems and the British model is that in the latter, the jury is entirely independent of the judge. Renée Lettow Lerner, *The Jury: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford, 2023). Interestingly, some civil law countries have adopted common law-style jury systems in recent years. Spain introduced juries for serious criminal cases in 1995, and several provinces in Argentina have introduced juries for similar cases over the past decade. Sanja Kutnjak Ivković, Shari Seidman Diamond, Valerie P. Hans, Nancy S. Marder, eds., *Juries, Lay Judges, and Mixed Courts: A Global Perspective* (Cambridge University Press, 2021).

³³ Republic of Ghana Judiciary website, "CJ Opens Criminal Assizes... Announces Reforms & Expansion of Ghana's Jury System", *supra* n.18.

³⁴ It is worth noting that in Russia (and several other former Soviet republics), there were attempts after the collapse of the Soviet Union to introduce jury trials in an attempt to democratize the justice system. However, through subsequent legislative reforms and the active role of the judiciary in constraining juries (e.g., almost all jury acquittals in Russia are reversed on appeal), the role of the jury as an independent organ has been effectively eliminated. Stephen C. Thaman, "The Nullification of the Russian Jury: Lessons for Jury-Inspired Reform in Eurasia and beyond," *Cornell International Law Journal*, Vol. 40, Issue 2, Article 3 (2007).

³⁵ Eurasianet, "Kazakhstan moves to adopt classic jury trials" (March 15, 2024), accessible at https://eurasianet.org/kazakhstan-moves-to-adopt-classic-jury-trials?utm_source=chatgpt.com (accessed on August 29, 2025)

be judge-only trials.³⁶ Limitations on jury trials, including their possible elimination, have also been debated in other jury trial countries, particularly in the Caribbean.³⁷ International democracy promoters should be engaging with defenders of the jury system in such countries to highlight the correlation between juries and political and civic freedom, educate the public about the importance of juries (including through social media campaigns), and help push back against abolition.

Reinforce jury systems under strain

Some countries that maintain ostensibly robust jury systems are finding them under strain. In the United States, the percentage of citizens that have failed to respond to a jury summons or failed to appear increased dramatically from 2007 to 2019³⁸. This disturbing trend is compounded by the decrease in jury trials in the country: a 2023 survey conducted by the National Center for State Courts (NCSC) found that rate of jury trials per 100,000 population in the United States dropped from 58.6 in 2007 to 37.7 in 2019, a 26% decrease.³⁹ The NCSC has described the challenges to the American jury system as “unprecedented” and has put forth an agenda to reinforce the system, focusing on public outreach and improving the juror experience.⁴⁰ Democracy advocates should strongly support the efforts of NCSC and other organizations in the United States seeking to protect the jury system, and they should be studying and addressing similar challenges faced by other jury system countries.

Juror education also warrants attention. In the United States, the American Bar Association Principles for Juries and Jury Trials implore courts to develop orientation programs for jurors using a combination of written, oral and audiovisual materials, presented, at least in part, by a judge.⁴¹ Many judges take time to explain to prospective jurors why their service is essential and the key role they play in the country’s democratic government. Courts in many jurisdictions have developed videos that all prospective jurors are shown when arriving at the courthouse,

³⁶ See BBC News, “Jury-free trials recommended to save courts from ‘collapse’” (July 9, 2025), accessible at <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/cm2m808kml0o> (accessed on August 29, 2025).

³⁷ See, e.g., Caribbean Life, “Judge only trials” (April 25, 2024) accessible at <https://www.caribbeanlife.com/judge-only-trials/> (accessed on August 29, 2025); Demerara Waves (Guyana), “Abolish jury trials for interior murder cases, new offences- DPP, CCJ judge, others” (25 June 2023) found at <https://demerarawaves.com/2023/06/25/abolish-jury-trials-for-interior-murder-cases-new-offences-dpp-ccj-judge-others/> (accessed on August 29, 2025).

³⁸ In 2007, the average nonresponse/failure to appear (FTA) rate for jury summonses was 9 percent. By 2019, NCSC reported that the average nonresponse rate for qualification questionnaires was 17 percent for two-step courts and the average nonresponse/FTA rate for jury summonses was 14 percent for one-step courts. The pandemic exacerbated these trends, increasing nonresponse rates in two-step courts to 22 percent and nonresponse/FTA rates in one-step courts to 16 percent by 2021-2022. Paula Hannaford-Agor, “Rebuilding the Foundation: Addressing a Crisis in Juror Participation”, in Trends in State Courts 2025 (NCSC 2025), p.85.

³⁹ National Center for State Courts, 2023 State-of-the-State Survey of Jury Improvement Efforts, p.3. A decrease in trials in general is a global problem. See Fair Trials, “The Disappearing Trial: Towards a rights-based approach to trial waiver systems” (2022).

⁴⁰ National Center for State Courts, Preserving the Future of Juries & Jury Trials (December 2024).

⁴¹ See American Bar Association, *Principles for Juries and Jury Trials* (American Jury Project, 2005), Principle 6.B.

which emphasize not just the practicalities of jury duty but its history and democratic function.⁴² Courts in the United States should redouble their efforts at juror education, and other countries with juries should consider developing or strengthening their own efforts in this regard.

Juries are not a panacea for the challenges facing democracies around the world, and introducing or maintaining a jury system is no guarantee that democracy will succeed in any given country, but the link between greater political and civic liberties and a well-functioning jury system is too strong to be ignored. Donors, governments, and democracy advocates must make greater efforts to defend and expand meaningful and just jury systems around the world.

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⁴² See, e.g., U.S. District Court for the Northern District of California, "We the People: The Honor of Jury Service," accessible at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uL8llg_okrU (accessed on October 9, 2025); District of Columbia Superior Court, "We the People: A Call to Duty," accessible at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1DzcSoxaNik> (accessed on October 9, 2025); Utah State Courts, "Jury Service in Utah," accessible at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9fZH5OUs8W0#:~:text=This%20video%20gives%20an%20overview%20of%20jury,is%20expected%20of%20you%20as%20a%20juror> (accessed on October 9, 2025.)

ANNEX A: Listing of all 38 countries and their corresponding scores and ratings⁴³

Country	Currently Utilizing Ju-ries?	Freedom Score	Freedom Rating
Antigua and Barbuda	Yes	83	Free
Australia	Yes	95	Free
Bahamas	Yes	90	Free
Bangladesh	No	45	Partly Free
Barbados	Yes	94	Free
Belize	Yes	88	Free
Cameroon	No	15	Not Free
Canada	Yes	97	Free
Dominica	Yes	92	Free
Gambia	Yes	50	Partly Free
Ghana	Yes	80	Free
Grenada	Yes	89	Free
Guyana	Yes	74	Free
India	No	63	Partly Free
Ireland	Yes	97	Free
Jamaica	Yes	80	Free
Kenya	No	51	Partly Free
Malawi	Yes	65	Partly Free
Malaysia	No	53	Partly Free
Malta	Yes	87	Free
Mauritius	Yes	86	Free
Myanmar (Burma)	No	7	Not Free
New Zealand	Yes	99	Free
Nigeria	No	44	Partly Free
Pakistan	No	32	Partly Free
Saint Lucia	Yes	91	Free
Seychelles	Yes	80	Free
Sierra Leone	No	59	Partly Free
Singapore	No	48	Partly Free
South Africa	No	81	Free
Sri Lanka	Yes	58	Partly Free
St Kitts and Nevis	Yes	89	Free
St Vincent and The Grenadines	Yes	90	Free
Tonga	Yes	80	Free
Trinidad and Tobago	Yes	82	Free
United Kingdom	Yes	92	Free
United States	Yes	84	Free
Zimbabwe	No	26	Not Free

⁴³ Freedom House, Freedom in the World, available at <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world> (accessed on August 29, 2025).