# Transformation Index of the Bertelsmann Stiftung 2012



**BTI 2012** Codebook for Country Assessments

### BTI project team

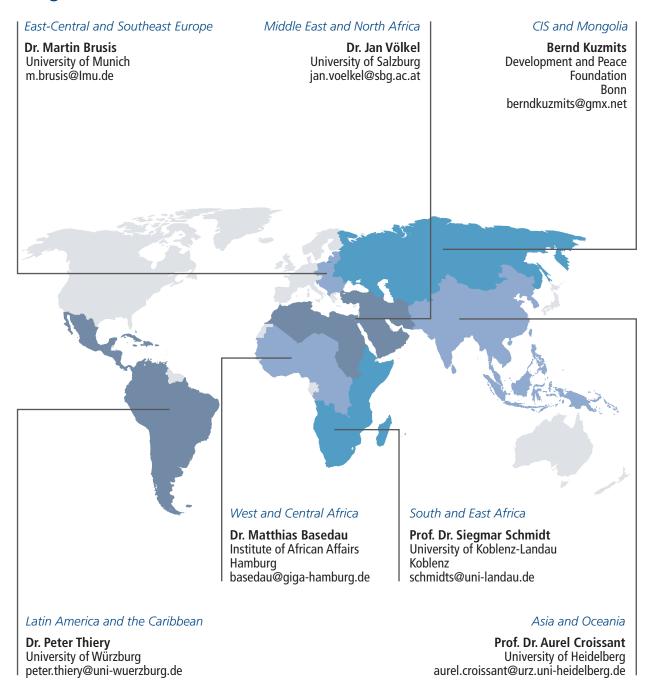
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### **Foreword**

Welcome to the fifth edition of the Transformation Index (BTI) 2012, a survey of political, social and economic transformation around the world. Our goal is to contribute to successful strategies for peaceful and sustainable transformation. Comprehensive in its approach, and with an emphasis on the quality of governance, the BTI has become a trusted and well-known measure of good governance for scholars and decision makers alike.

As experts on countries in transition, you are our most valuable asset; the knowledge and information you provide is central to helping us improve our understanding of the complex processes of transformation. This manual is intended to support you in your work by serving as a guide to the organization, procedures and practices of the BTI. It explains all the criteria and questions guiding the individual assessments comprising the BTI. It also aims to ensure a common understanding of the BTI's criteria, questions and conceptual underpinnings in order to facilitate comparable assessments, reliable and objective ratings, and a transparent review process.

Managing the BTI has been a continuous learning experience. In recent months, the BTI has undergone internal and external evaluation processes. As a result, we have reviewed and, where necessary, modified the wording of questions and criteria in order to improve clarity and ensure conceptual consistency. We would like to thank all country experts who offered suggestions and encourage you all to continue doing so. Special thanks go to Kenneth Mease at the University of Florida, for his gracious support and insightful suggestions throughout the evaluation process.

Experienced BTI country experts will note a major change this year in our means of collecting data. We have opted for an online assessment at www.bti-network.de, trusting that this procedure will prove to facilitate your work and enhance communication during the different stages of the process.

As in the past, the BTI divides the world into seven regions. Each region is supervised by a regional coordinator with significant experience in his respective region. As your point of contact, your regional coordinator can provide support and answer any questions you might have about the BTI.

We look forward to working with you and encourage you to contact us or your regional coordinator with any questions that might arise.

The BTI Team

### **BTI Basics**

#### What is the Transformation Index?

Throughout the world, democracy and a market economy have become powerful frameworks in which social sustainability can prosper. Successful processes of reform can be observed in every region of the globe. There are, however, no guarantees of success; many countries undergoing transformation face stagnation and power struggles or violence and even state failure. Good governance is pivotal to reform policies that work. What are the key decisions? What are the lessons to be learned from past experiences? What strategies are likely to succeed? Under which conditions? The Transformation Index 2012 puts development and transformation policies to the test.

Advocating reforms aimed at supporting the development of a constitutional democracy and a socially responsible market economy, the BTI provides the framework for an exchange of good practices among agents of reform. The BTI publishes two rankings, the Status Index and the Management Index, both of which are based on in-depth assessments of 128 countries. The Status Index ranks the countries according to the state of their democracy and market economy, while the Management Index ranks them according to their respective leadership's management performance. Distributed among the dimensions of democracy, market economy and management, a total of 17 criteria are subdivided into 49 questions.

BTI countries are selected according to the following criteria: They have yet to achieve a fully consolidated democracy and market economy, have populations of more than two million (excepting eight states chosen as particularly interesting cases), and are recognized as sovereign states.

The Transformation Index project is managed by the Bertelsmann Stiftung. More information is available at www.bertelsmann-transformation-index.de/en.

### Concepts of analysis and measurement

#### Constitutional democracy

The construction of the BTI and the questions set out in this manual are based on specific analytic concepts of democracy, a market economy and management. In contrast to minimalist definitions of electoral democracy,

the BTI's understanding of democracy includes the rule of law and the separation of legislative, executive and judicial powers with checks and balances. Our concept of democratic transformation reflects the extent to which a democratic order is consolidated in terms of acceptance, interest representation and political culture. Thus we seek to assess the extent to which the ground rules of democracy are both established and accepted within society. Individual democracy questions indicate whether and how to assess political transformation under authoritarian conditions.

Because we consider the cohesion and identity of a state a necessary condition for the sustainability of democracy, the BTI combines the democracy assessment with an assessment of the country's stateness. Transformation can be shaped profoundly by issues of stateness such as a contested state monopoly on the use of force, disputed nationhood, interfering religious dogmas or the absence of basic administrative infrastructures.

### socio-political safeguards

Market economy flanked by The underlying BTI concept of a market economy flanked by socio-political safeguards implies not only the existence of free markets and property rights, but also the principles of social justice, responsibility and sustainability. In

our understanding, development entails not only economic growth, but also the process of overcoming poverty while extending freedoms of action and choice to the largest possible share of the population. Because we consider democracy to be empirically and functionally interlinked with a market economy, we aggregate democracy and market economy ratings into a single Status Index. Transformation thus refers to comprehensive, politically managed social change from an authoritarian system toward democracy and a market economy. Constitutional democracy and a socially responsible market economy are goals but not necessarily direct priorities in the complex processes of development and transformation.

### Management performance and good governance

Since the BTI considers leading political actors crucial to development and transformation, their management performance is examined and compared more closely in a separate ranking, the Management Index. Management

here is defined as the performance, capacity and accountability of the political leadership, i.e., of those political actors who have the power and responsibility to shape or determine public policy in a society. These actors include not only governments and political elites, but also nongovernmental organizations that can play an important role in transformation. Political leadership demonstrates good governance in BTI terms when it manages development and transformation effectively, uses resources efficiently, builds a broad consensus on reform and cooperates with international partners.

### Country assessment procedure

## Assessment preparation

Please review this codebook, which defines key concepts, explains the methodology and clarifies procedures. We advise you to access the online database www.bti-network.de as soon as possible. Material relevant to the assessment process (including this codebook, a style guide and other documents) can be downloaded there. You can also familiarize yourself with the BTI and its previous editions at www.bertelsmann-transformation-index.de/en. More information on assessment preparation can be found on page 8.

## Writing your country report

The country report is intended to provide both a comprehensive narrative and substantive analysis of the state of transformation and the management performance of political elites in your country. More on writing your report on page 8.

## 3 Assigning country ratings

For each section you have written in your country report, you will need to give a score that correlates to your assessment. There are a total of 49 questions requiring ratings. More on ratings on page 12.

## 4 What happens after submission?

Once you have completed and submitted the country report and the country ratings at www.btinetwork.de, assessments undergo a review and calibration process before going to print. For more on how individual assessments are processed to create the BTI, go to page 13. BTI Workflow 2011

#### **Country assessments**

1. Country report—a written assessment of the state of transformation and the management performance

2. Country ratings—numerical assessments of the state of transformation and the management performance

#### First review

- 1. Each country report undergoes a process of blind review by a second country expert. The second expert also provides ratings for the country independent of the first expert's ratings.
- 2. The regional coordinator reviews both experts' ratings, the original report and the second expert's review and comments.
- 3. Adjustments to the report and ratings may be made in consultation with the first country expert.

#### Edit

Report edits begin.

### Intra-regional review & calibration

Each regional coordinator reviews ratings in his region. Scores are calibrated to reflect differences among countries of the same region.

#### Inter-regional review & calibration

The regional coordinators convene and review ratings across regions. Scores are calibrated to reflect international differences and ensure global comparability.

#### **Ratings aggregated**

Ratings given for each question are aggregated to calculate the overall scorces for the following analytical dimensions: democracy status, market economy status, and management performance.

#### Final review & calibration

Final ratings are reviewed, calibrated if necessary and adopted by the BTI Board.

#### **Publications**

Dissemination of Status and Management Indices, country reports, further analyses and visualisation of the BTI results through:

- Book
- Internet
- Transformation Atlas

Jan

Feb

Apr

May

Nov

## 1 Assessment preparation

A helpful starting point to prepare yourself for the assessment will be to read the reports on your country provided by previous editions of the BTI. The archives for country reports are accessible at www.bertelsmann-transformation-index.de/en/bti/. This is where you will also find an article on the methodology of the BTI, which details the BTI's conceptual underpinnings, analytical dimensions, criteria and the process of index creation. To start the country assessment online, you will receive a password which allows you to enter the database at www.bti-network.de. Please use the database manual to get acquainted with your new work platform. Should you have any questions, please contact the BTI team or your regional coordinator.

# **2** Writing your country report

The country report needs to provide: (1) a comprehensive analysis of the state of transformation and its management in your country, and (2) a detailed but concise substantiation of this analysis. Authors are asked to provide as much country-specific detail as possible within a framework designed for standardization. Doing so allows for an in-depth analysis of governance within a specific country as well as international and longitudinal comparability. Reviewers are asked to supplement the information provided by the author, or to challenge the report's assessment, if country-specific details are not sufficiently provided.

The authors are requested to sketch a holistic view of the state of affairs in the following texts: Executive Summary, History and Characteristics of Transformation, and Strategic Outlook. The responses to individual criteria and questions should provide substantiations, explanations and justifications for a given rating.

The report and your comments should reflect the situation in your country at the beginning of 2011. Your evidence should refer to the period January 31, 2009 – January 31, 2011. Please make sure that your BTI 2012 report is carefully updated and reflects current developments. Do not insert footnotes or bibliographical references.

### **BTI Country Report Structure**

### **Executive Summary**

Identifies the key developments affecting your country's democratic and economic transformation from 2009 to 2011.

### **History and Characteristics**

Maps the trajectory of transformation.

#### **Criteria Texts**

Criteria texts should provide a precise overview of the state of transformation and management at the end of January 2011.

### **Democracy**

1	Stateness	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.4
2	Political Participation	2.1	2.2	2.3	2.4
3	Rule of Law	3.1	3.2	3.3	3.4
4	Stability of Democratic Institutions	4.1	4.2		
5	Political and Social Integration	5.1	5.2	5.3	5.4

### **Market Economy**

6	Level of Socioeconomic Development	6			
7	Organization of the Market/Competition	7.1	7.2	7.3	7.4
8	Currency and Price Stability	8.1	8.2		
9	Private Property	9.1	9.2		
10	Welfare Regime	10.1	10.2		
11	Economic Performance	11			
12	Sustainability	12.1	12.2		

### Management

13	Level of Difficulty	13.1	13.2	13.3		
14	Steering Capability	14.1	14.2	14.3		
15	Resource Efficiency	15.1	15.2	15.3		
16	Consensus-building	16.1	16.2	16.3	16.4	16.5
17	International Cooperation	17.1	17.2	17.3		

### **Strategic Outlook**

Identifies strategic policy recommendations for advocates of reform, domestic and external.

### **Executive Summary**

Snapshot of current failures and successes. This text identifies the key developments within the period under review affecting the country's course of democratic and economic reform. It should provide the reader with a vivid image of transformation in your country. There is no need to summarize all 17 criteria and 49 questions; focus instead on what you consider most important to the development of democracy and a market economy in your country from 2009 to 2011. Often the most difficult text to write and comment on, this one is best saved for last.

- 1. Start with key, illustrative points and show how they affect transformation and why they are so important.
- 2. Introducing too many points at the start will overwhelm and confuse most readers.
- 3. If you can condense several key issues into three or four concepts (e.g., talk about state failure rather than list a series of discrete points without context such as deficiencies in stateness, rule of law and the monopoly on the use of force) your reader is likely to read more.

### **History and Characteristics**

Mapping the trajectory of transformation. This text outlines past developments in democratic and economic reform, beginning with the liberalization of the country's past authoritarian regime. For countries that are currently autocracies, past regime changes or major political developments shaping the present situation may be described. Past market reforms and structural economic changes shaping the current state of affairs should also be sketched. The purpose here is not to provide a history of the country per se, but to set the scene for the Executive Summary and Strategic Outlook.

- 1. Where appropriate, you can use the text provided in the BTI 2010.
- 2. Key figures, parties, events or developments should be introduced here.
- **3.** Be strategic about where to start your timeline. There is rarely a need to recapitulate a century of history.

#### Criteria Texts

The backbone: 17 criteria made up of 49 questions that measure the extent to which a country has transformed and how its leadership manages transformation.

Your responses to the questions provided in the questionnaire should reflect the situation in your country at the end of January 2011. To ensure international and longitudinal comparability, responses must explain in concrete terms why or how a given aspect is (partially) met or not (e.g., How do state powers

check and balance each other?). Exceptions, limiting circumstances or otherwise relevant information not explicitly addressed by the question are also appropriate here.

- 1. Most important: You must address each question in the database and assign a score before you will be able to submit the report. Please follow this carefully when you draft the report.
- 2. The questionnaire provides four different response options for each question. You can use the wording of the most suitable option and adjust it to the situation in your country. Please substantiate your ratings with empirical evidence wherever possible.
- 3. Try to provide particularly rich evidence for the management dimension, as it is a distinctive feature of the BTI.
- 4. Level of detail: be judicious. Each question should warrant at least one salient example.
- 5. Avoid generalizations such as "a weak rule of law is one of the most important shortcomings in good governance."
- 6. Refer to events, policies or decisions made during the period under review.
- 7. Do not substitute a response with a reference to another question.

#### Strategic Outlook

The Strategic Outlook text should facilitate dialogue on key challenges by suggesting policy strategies for actors (domestic and international). You are not expected to forecast trends, but make suggestions on how to confront or handle main problems. If your country is successfully advancing transformation, provide a suggestion on how to sustain and promote good strategies currently underway. There is no need to recap key problems or successes in detail; state these succinctly at first, moving quickly to your suggestions. Please avoid:

- 1. Talking about the past.
- 2. Generalizations such as "future trends are difficult to establish at this point."
- 3. Stand-alone generalizations such as "reducing poverty is crucial to sustained economic transition"; follow this up with a suggestion for at least one aspect of poverty reduction.

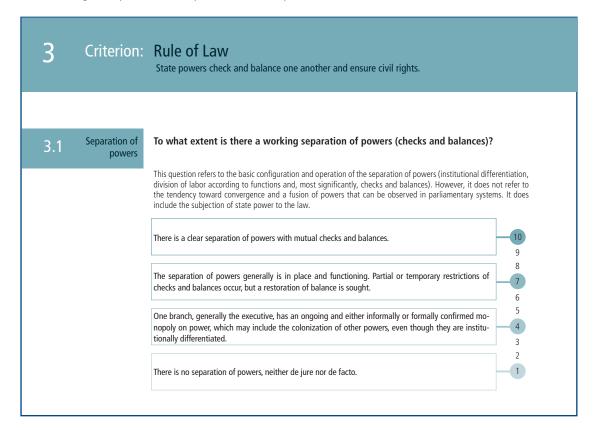
## 3 Assigning country ratings

49 questions require numerical rating. The rating scale for each question ranges from 10 (best) to 1 (worst). Four response options relate to the scoring levels of 10 - 7 - 4 - 1, each of which describes an empirical assessment that corresponds to a respective rating. In most cases, the question is further clarified with an accompanying text.

The questions are grouped into criteria such as Stateness, Political Participation, etc. Directly below the criterion title, the normative assumption made by the BTI is provided as an additional guide to the questions and ratings (see example below). Please assign your rating by:

- Considering which response option best approximates the situation in your country.
- 2. Relate and compare your rating with that given to your country in the previous BTIs.
- **3.** Determine whether the response option is fully compatible with the situation in your country, or whether a slightly better or worse rating might be called for.

The following example illustrates questionnaire components:



## 4 What happens after submission?

The country report will be reviewed by a second country expert and by the coordinator responsible for your region. To ensure an independent second assessment, the review will be conducted anonymously, and we will not disclose experts' names during the rating period.

As the author, you will receive detailed comments on your report within three weeks after submission. Please consider these comments and adjust your report accordingly. Where necessary, you may also adjust your numerical ratings in view of the comments.

Please note that the regional coordinators and the BTI editors will revise and modify your report more substantially than is usual for conventional scholarly publications. Given the scale of the BTI and the need for international comparability of standardized assessments, such modifications are necessary.

### Ratings review and calibration

The 49 numerical ratings for each of the 128 countries are reviewed and adjusted three times. First, a second country expert gives ratings in response to the 49 questions independently of the first expert. Two regional experts then discuss these ratings and agree on ratings that reflect the differences among countries of the same region. To ensure global comparability, the regional coordinators and the BTI team then convene and review ratings across regions and calibrate the scores. During the final review phase, ratings are reviewed and calibrated by the BTI Board, a team of esteemed development professionals who counsel the BTI project. Should a calibrated rating differ significantly from that suggested by you, we might consult you and request your opinion, which will influence the final rating. Final rating decisions, however, are made by the BTI Board.

## Criteria & Questions

Democi	racy	15
Your response 1 2 3 4 5	es should reflect the situation at the end of January 2011.  Stateness Political Participation Rule of Law Stability of Democratic Institutions Political and Social Integration	
Market	Economy	25
Your response 6 7 8 9 10 11 12	es should reflect the situation at the end of January 2011.  Level of Socioeconomic Development Organization of the Market and Competition Currency and Price Stability Private Property Welfare Regime Economic Performance Sustainability	
Manag	ement	34
(January 200	ses should refer to the country's political leadership during the period under review 9–January 2011). If there was substantial change of policy during this period that can already, please rate the political leadership as of January 2011.  Level of Difficulty Steering Capability Resource Efficiency Consensus-building International Cooperation	

# Democracy

- 1 Stateness
- 2 Political Participation
- 3 Rule of Law
- 4 Stability of Democratic Institutions
- 5 Political and Social Integration

1

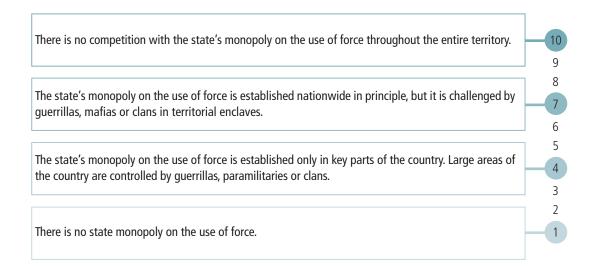
### **Criterion: Stateness**

There is clarity about the nation's existence as a state with adequately established and differentiated power structures.

1.1

Monopoly on the use of force

To what extent does the state's monopoly on the use of force cover the entire territory of the country?

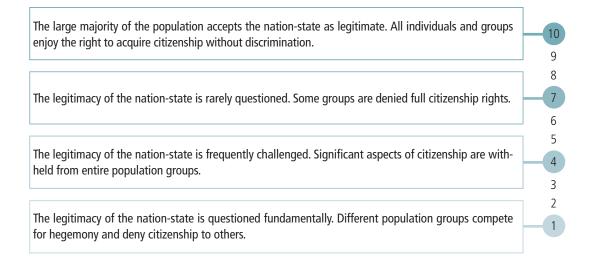


1.2 State identity

## To what extent do all relevant groups in society agree about citizenship and accept the nation-state as legitimate?

The question seeks to assess the extent to which

- · major groups in society accept and support the official / dominant concept of the nation-state
- access to citizenship and naturalization is denied to particular groups on the basis of race, gender, language, religion, political or other opinions, national or social origin, property, place of birth or other status



1

### **Criterion: Stateness**

There is clarity about the nation's existence as a state with adequately established and differentiated power structures.

1.3

No interference of religious dogmas

## To what extent are legal order and political institutions defined without interference by religious dogmas?

Religious dogmas might play an influential role in politics, with churches or religious groups acting as interest groups (e.g., with regard to laws on abortion or divorce) as part of the decision-making process. However, if the legal order and the political institutions are defined by and derived from religious dogmas, there will likely be fundamental barriers to the development of individual beliefs, capacities and choices.

The state is secular. Religious dogmas have no noteworthy influence on legal order or political institutions.

The state is largely secular. However, religious dogmas have considerable influence on legal order and political institutions.

Secular and religious norms are in conflict about the basic constitution of the state or are forming a hybrid system.

The state is theocratic. Religious dogmas define legal order and political institutions.

1.4 Basic administration

#### To what extent do basic administrative structures exist?

This question seeks to examine whether the basic civil functions of a state apparatus are fulfilled in terms of regulation, administration and implementation. It does not refer to basic security functions like keeping the peace or maintaining law and order, and it does not address the quality of the administrative structures, solely their existence and scope.

Please assess functions such as:

- · the provision of jurisdiction, tax authorities and law enforcement
- the administration of communication, transport and basic infrastructure (water, education, health)

The state has a differentiated administrative structure throughout the country which provides all basic public services. 9 8 The administrative structures of the state provide most basic public services throughout the country, but their operation is to some extent deficient. 6 5 The administrative structures of the state are extending beyond maintaining law and order, but their 4 territorial scope and effectivity are limited. 3 2 The administrative structures of the state are limited to keeping the peace and maintaining law and 1 order. Their territorial scope is very limited, and broad segments of the population are not covered.

### **Criterion: Political Participation**

The populace decides who rules, and it has other political freedoms.

2.1 Free and fair elections

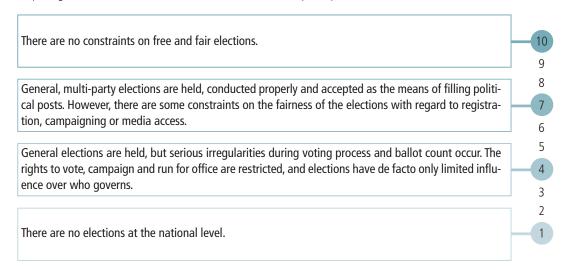
#### To what extent are political representatives determined by general, free and fair elections?

Please assess if:

- · general elections are regularly conducted on the national level
- · universal suffrage with secret ballot is ensured
- · several parties with different platforms are able to run
- · political posts are filled according to election outcome

When evaluating the quality of elections, please consider if:

- the electoral management body is impartial and effective
- · registration procedures for voters, candidates and parties are transparent and fair
- the polling procedures, including vote count, result verification and complaint resolution, are conducted in a transparent, impartial and correct manner
- · fair and equal media access is ensured for all candidates and parties
- · polling is accessible, secure and secret to ensure effective participation

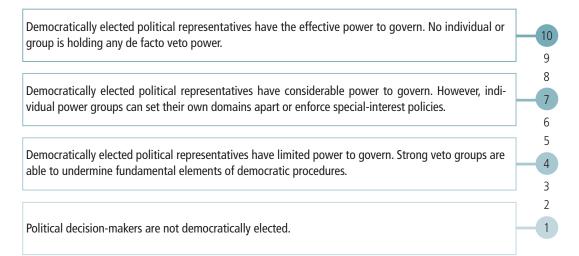


2.2 Effective power to govern

## To what extent do democratically elected political representatives have the effective power to govern, or to what extent are there veto powers and political enclaves?

Veto powers refer to individuals or groups who have the power to undermine democratic procedures without questioning the system as such. Veto powers can come from the military, the clergy, landowners, business elites, and external actors, among others. They can "veto" the results of democratic decisions or retain prerogatives that cannot be touched by democratically elected officeholders (e.g., nominating the commander-in-chief of the armed forces).

Note: This point is distinct from the stateness criterion; guerrilla organizations, paramilitaries, state-free regions (in slums or in rural areas) are not the veto powers meant here.



### **Criterion: Political Participation**

The populace decides who rules, and it has other political freedoms.

2.3

Association / assembly rights

## To what extent can individuals form and join independent political or civic groups? To what extent can these groups operate and assemble freely?

When assessing the degree of freedom of association and assembly, please consider:

- · if the constitution guarantees freedom of association and assembly, and if these laws are enforced
- · if there are severe restrictions on assembly and association for all citizens or for particular groups
- if the government uses intimidation, harassment or threats of retaliation to prevent citizens from exercising the rights to association and assembly (e.g. by arbitrarily arresting, detaining and imprisoning peaceful demonstrators or using excessive force)
- if the government uses transparent and non-discriminatory criteria in evaluating requests for permits to associate and/or assemble
- · if groups are able to operate free from unwarranted state intrusion or interference in their affairs

Association and assembly rights are unrestricted for individuals and independent political or civic groups within the basic democratic order.

Association and assembly rights are partially limited, but generally there are no outright prohibitions of independent political or civic groups.

Association and assembly rights are severely limited. Oppositional political groups with any relevance are prohibited or systematically disabled. Independent civic groups can operate and assemble if they support the regime or are not outspokenly critical of it.

Association and assembly rights are denied. Independent civic groups do not exist or are prohibited.

Freedom of expression

#### To what extent can citizens, organizations and the mass media express opinions freely?

When assessing the degree of freedom of expression, please consider:

- · if the constitution guarantees freedom of expression, and if these laws are enforced
- if individuals, organizations or media are harassed or physically threatened by either the state or influential interest groups and if there are cases of assault against dissenting media or critical journalists
- if the state practices censorship, or if journalists practice self-censorship
- · if penal code, security laws or penalties for libeling state officials are enacted to intimidate dissenting opinion
- · if freedom of information legislation is in place and effective
- · if the structure of the media system provides for a plurality of opinions

Freedom of expression is unrestricted for citizens, groups and the press within the basic democratic 10 order. 9 8 Freedom of expression is partially limited, but generally there are no outright prohibitions on the press. 6 5 Freedom of expression is severely limited. Public debate is vulnerable to distortion and manipulation 4 through strong intervention. 3 2 1 Freedom of expression is denied. Independent media do not exist or are prohibited.

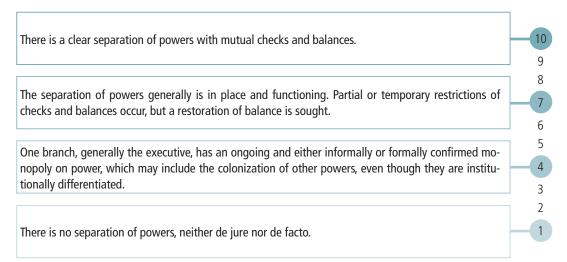
### Criterion: Rule of Law

State powers check and balance one another and ensure civil rights.

3.1 Separation of powers

#### To what extent is there a working separation of powers (checks and balances)?

This question refers to the basic configuration and operation of the separation of powers (institutional differentiation, division of labor according to functions and, most significantly, checks and balances). However, it does not refer to the tendency toward convergence and a fusion of powers that can be observed in parliamentary systems. It does include the subjection of state power to the law.

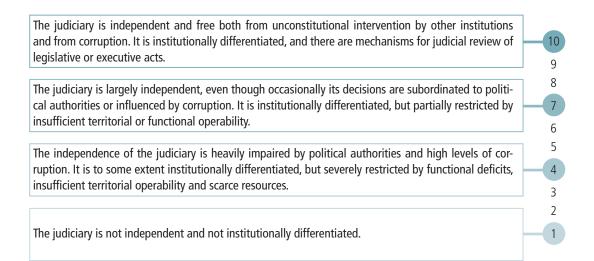


3.2 Independent judiciary

#### To what extent does an independent judiciary exist?

An independent judiciary has the ability and autonomy to

- · interpret and review existing laws, legislation and policies, both public and civil
- pursue its own reasoning, free from the influence of political decision-makers or powerful groups and individuals and from corruption
- · develop a differentiated organization, including legal education, jurisprudence, regulated appointment of the judiciary, rational proceedings, professionalism, channels of appeal and court administration



### Criterion: Rule of Law

State powers check and balance one another and ensure civil rights.

3.3

Prosecution of office abuse

## To what extent are public officeholders who abuse their positions prosecuted or penalized?

This question seeks to assess if public servants and politicians are held accountable by legal prosecution and public contempt when they break the law and engage in corrupt practices. It also includes conflicts of interest and ethical misconduct. The focus should be on the extent to which the rule of law is undermined by political corruption. Please note that the quality of anti-corruption policy shall be assessed in response to question 15.3.

Note: Please be aware that the Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) of Transparency International uses the data and information given in response to questions 3.3 and 15.3 for their assessments. To avoid circularity of assessments, please do not base your evaluation of the extent to which office abuse is prosecuted on the CPI.

Officeholders who break the law and engage in corruption are prosecuted rigorously under established 10 laws and always attract adverse publicity. 9 8 Officeholders who break the law and engage in corruption generally are prosecuted under established laws and often attract adverse publicity, but occasionally slip through political, legal or procedural loopholes. 6 5 Officeholders who break the law and engage in corruption are not prosecuted adequately under the law, but occasionally attract adverse publicity. 3 2 Officeholders who break the law and engage in corruption can do so without fear of legal consequences or adverse publicity.

3.4 Civil rights

## To what extent are civil rights guaranteed and protected, and to what extent can citizens seek redress for violations of these rights?

Civil rights contain and limit the exercise of state power by the rule of law. Their most important aspects comprise:

- the protection of personal liberty against state and non-state actors, including the right to life and security of the person, prohibition of torture, cruel and inhuman treatment or punishment and the protection of privacy
- $\cdot\,\,$  equality before the law, equal access to justice and due process under the rule of law

Your answer should examine both the de jure and de facto situation concerning the protection of civil rights, including the mechanisms and institutions established to prosecute, punish and redress violations of these rights. Please also bear in mind that discrimination against women, ethnic or religious groups should be evaluated explicitly in the report and reflected in the rating.

Civil rights are guaranteed by the constitution and respected by all state institutions. Infringements 10 present an extreme exception. Citizens are effectively protected by mechanisms and institutions established to prosecute, punish and redress violations of their rights. 9 8 Civil rights are guaranteed, but are partially or temporarily violated or are not protected in some parts of the country. Mechanisms and institutions to prosecute, punish and redress violations of civil rights are in place, but often prove to be ineffective. 6 5 Civil rights are guaranteed only within limited enclaves or are violated over protracted periods of time. 4 Some mechanisms and institutions to prosecute, punish and redress violations of civil rights are established formally, but do not function. 3 2 Civil rights are not guaranteed and frequently violated. There are no mechanisms and institutions to protect citizens against violations of their rights.

### **Criterion: Stability of Democratic Institutions**

Democratic institutions are capable of performing, and they are adequately accepted.

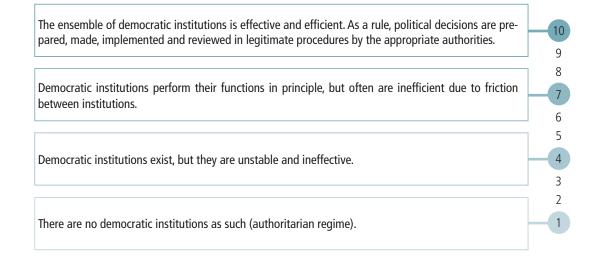
4.1

Performance of democratic institutions

### Are democratic institutions capable of performing?

This question aims to establish if democratic institutions exist and to what extent they perform their functions effectively and are free from extensive, counterproductive friction. Democratic institutions include national, regional and local governments, the parliament, the judiciary and the public administration.

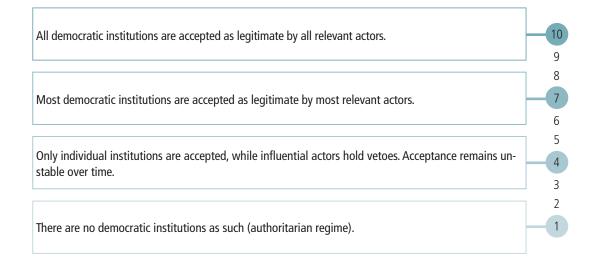
Note: If "democratic" institutions are part of an authoritarian system, please explain briefly how they operate and elaborate on their potential for future democratization.



4.2 Commitment to democratic institutions

### To what extent are democratic institutions accepted as legitimate by the relevant actors?

The relevant actors are all individuals and organizations that are able to concentrate political power. This includes government bodies, political parties, associations, interest groups and civic organizations, as well as groups with potential veto powers, such as the military or the clergy.



5

### **Criterion: Political and Social Integration**

Stable patterns of representation exist for mediating between society and the state; there is also a consolidated civic culture.

5.1 Party system

## To what extent is there a stable and socially rooted party system able to articulate and aggregate societal interests?

To answer this question, please consider:

- the extent to which parties are socially rooted and organizationally institutionalized
- the degree of clientelism and the effects it has in promoting or inhibiting stability
- the fragmentation of the party system
- · the level of polarization
- · the degree of voter volatility

The party system is stable and socially rooted: it is able to articulate and aggregate societal interest with low fragmentation, low voter volatility and low polarization.

The party system is fairly stable and socially rooted: moderate fragmentation, moderate voter volatility and moderate polarization.

The party system is unstable with shallow roots in society: high fragmentation, high voter volatility and high polarization.

There is no party system to articulate and aggregate societal interest.

5.2 Interest groups

## To what extent is there a network of cooperative associations or interest groups to mediate between society and the political system?

This question addresses the representation of societal interests in the political system. In evaluating the systemic nature and the quality of representative patterns, please consider:

- the spectrum of interest groups, ranging from social movements and community organizations to unions and professional associations
- the capacity to incorporate all (competing) social interests and to avoid the dominance of few strong interests
- · the degree of cooperation between different interest groups

Make sure to mention if organized social, communicative and political power aims to undermine democracy or civil society (e.g., mobilization of ethnic or nationalist interests).

There is a broad range of interest groups that reflect competing social interests, tend to balance one another and are cooperative.

There is an average range of interest groups, which reflect most social interests. However, a few strong interests dominate, producing a latent risk of pooling conflicts.

There is a narrow range of interest groups, in which important social interests are underrepresented.
Only a few players dominate, and there is a risk of polarization.

Interest groups are present only in isolated social segments, are on the whole poorly balanced and cooperate little. A large number of social interests remain unrepresented.

### **Criterion: Political and Social Integration**

Stable patterns of representation exist for mediating between society and the state; there is also a consolidated civic culture.

5.3 Approval of democracy

### How strong is the citizens' approval of democratic norms and procedures?

Please base your assessment on public opinion survey data, addressing the following factors:

- approval of the democratic system (often measured by agreement with the idea of democracy as the best form of government or the most preferred political system)
- approval of democratic performance (often measured by how democracy functions in practice or the satisfaction with the working of democracy)
- approval of democratic institutions (often measured by the level of trust in institutions such as parliaments, presidency, the legal system and police, the state bureaucracy, political parties, and the military)

Note: As the approval of democratic performance and institutions cannot be assessed in authoritarian systems, you should choose the N/A-option for autocracies.



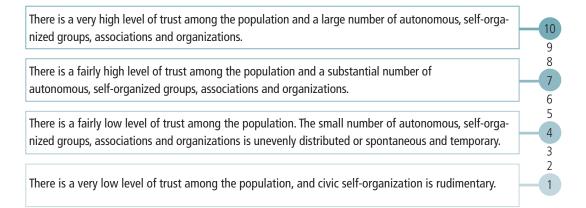
5.4 Social capital

### To what extent have social self-organization and the construction of social capital advanced?

This question aims to assess the level of trust between citizens, which fosters cooperation and mutual support for purposes of self-help, rather than primarily to further political objectives. Social capital may also be based on cultural patterns of interaction characterizing traditional societies.

Please indicate

- · to what extent there is a sense of solidarity and trust among the citizens (as measured by public opinion surveys)
- · to what extent there is a voluntary and autonomous organization of cultural, environmental or social associations



# Market Economy

- 6 Level of Socioeconomic Development
- 7 Organization of the Market and Competition
- 8 Currency and Price Stability
- 9 Private Property
- 10 Welfare Regime
- 11 Economic Performance
- 12 Sustainability

6

### Criterion: Level of Socioeconomic Development

In principle, the country's level of development permits adequate freedom of choice for all citizens.

6

### Socioeconomic barriers

## To what extent are significant parts of the population fundamentally excluded from society due to poverty and inequality?

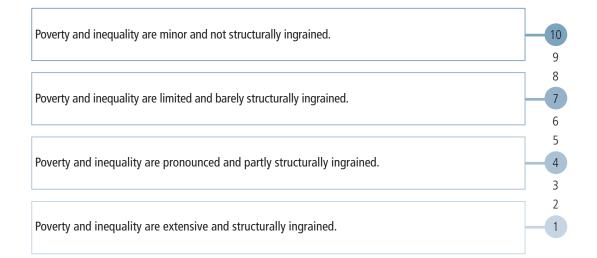
Poverty combined with inequality leads to serious social exclusion that fundamentally impedes participation in otherwise potentially functional market economies. This question aims to assess the level of social exclusion as a determining factor for economic transformation. It refers to structural exclusion and not to the output strength of a country's economy as reflected in macroeconomic data like unemployment or GDP growth (see question 11).

Please take the following factors into account:

- · the overall level of socioeconomic development
- · the poverty rate
- · the level of inequality with regard to
  - income
  - education
- · the level of exclusion, based on
  - gender
  - religion
  - ethnicity
- the scope of subsistence economy (as an indicator for exclusion)

Whenever reliable data are available, your answer should combine quantitative indicators with qualitative explanation. For reasons of comparability, you should preferably draw on quantitative data such as:

- · the Human Development Index (HDI)
- · the poverty rate
- · the Gini coefficient



### Criterion: Organization of the Market and Competition

There are clear rules for stable, market-based competition.

7.1 Market-based competition

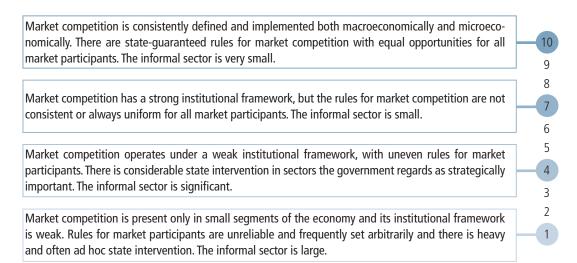
### To what level have the fundamentals of market-based competition developed?

Market competition should be consistently defined both macroeconomically and microeconomically.

Essential elements of market-based competition comprise:

- · low importance of administered pricing
- · currency convertability
- contestability of markets
- · no significant entry and exit barriers in product and factor markets
- · freedom to launch and withdraw investments
- · no discrimination based on ownership (state/private, foreign/local) and size

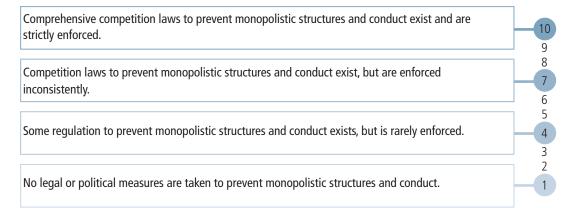
Please consider the size of the informal sector, as a large informal sector indicates an inappropriate institutional framework of economic policy and often reflects the result of extensively regulated markets.



7.2 Anti-monopoly policy

## To what extent do safeguards exist to prevent the development of economic monopolies and cartels, and to what extent are they enforced?

This question aims to assess whether antitrust or competition laws exist and are enforced against monopolistic or cartelistic structures (e.g. mergers, dominant market positions, concentration) and conduct (e.g. collusion, price fixing, predatory pricing).



### Criterion: Organization of the Market and Competition

There are clear rules for stable, market-based competition.

7.3

Liberalization of foreign trade

### To what extent has foreign trade been liberalized?

Quantify your information whenever possible (please consult, among other sources, the Trade Policy Reviews of the WTO on member states) and include the following criteria:

- · conditions, tariff and non-tariff measures for market access
- · import licensing and customs valuation
- · export subsidies and "countervailing duties" on allegedly subsidized imports
- · import quotas and export limitations
- contingency trade barriers (anti-dumping procedures, "safeguards" restrictions of imports to protect a specific domestic industry from serious injury)
- · replacement of non-tariff with tariff measures
- · information on the country's participation in the WTO

Foreign trade is widely liberalized, with uniform, low tariffs and few non-tariff barriers.

Foreign trade is liberalized in principle, but significant exceptions remain, including differentiated tariffs and privileged treatment for domestic sectors or industries.

Foreign trade follows non-discrimination principles in form, but is significantly distorted by state interference, special rules, tariff and non-tariff barriers, etc. The economy is integrated selectively into the world market.

Foreign trade is largely state-supervised or controlled. The economy is decoupled from the world market.

7.4 Banking system

## To what extent have a solid banking system and a functioning capital market been established?

International standards of banking systems are defined by the Basel Accords (www.bis.org). These standards require banks to hold a minimum share of capital equity in relation to their assets and to the risk the bank exposes itself to through its lending and investment practices. They also demand that banks undergo a supervisory review process, and that they disclose information about their economic activities.

A solid capital market is characterized by a past record of low shares of nonperforming loans, prudential requirements for bank transactions in foreign currency, enforcement of rules on disclosure, independence of financial regulators and hard budget constraints between companies, banks and the public sector.

Note: Please make sure to provide information on capital-adequacy ratios, disclosure rules, supervision, share of non-performing loans and hard budget constraints. You should also elaborate on reforms in the financial sector, especially in reaction to the recent global financial crisis.

pervision and minimum capital equity requirements. Capital markets are open to domestic and foreign capital with sufficient resilience to cope with sudden stops and capital flow reversals.

The banking system and capital market are differentiated and oriented in principle to international standards. However, there is a de facto lack of supervision, which contributes to increased vulnerability to sudden stops and capital flow reversals.

The banking system and capital market are poorly differentiated; regulation and supervision requirements are inadequate.

The banking system is solid and oriented toward international standards with functional banking su-

Banks are largely state-owned or state-controlled; there is no capital market.

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### **Criterion: Currency and Price Stability**

There are institutional or political precautions to control inflation sustainably, together with an appropriate monetary policy and fiscal policy.

8.1

Anti-inflation / forex policy

## To what extent do government and central bank pursue a consistent inflation policy and an appropriate foreign exchange policy?

This question seeks to assess whether inflation control and exchange-rate policies are in accordance with other goals of the government's economic policy. Please provide data on the volatility of inflation and currency exchange rates. When answering the question, note the following aspects:

- Inflation control: Account should be taken not only of the absolute level of inflation, but also of its volatility over time, which in some cases may trigger greater uncertainty in expectations among economic players.
- Exchange-rate policies: Account should be taken whether, in case of exchange rate targeting, the central bank is successful in achieving a stable real exchange rate by avoiding a strong divergence between the country's inflation rate and that of the anchor country. When the local currency is not pegged to a foreign anchor currency, please assess whether inflation targeting was successful.
- The role of the central bank: Formal independence of the central bank has not proven to be a sufficient guide post in assessing the quality of anti-inflation and forex policy. Please focus your assessment on the de facto independence of the central bank and its cooperation and conflict resolution mechanisms with the government.

Inflation and foreign exchange policies are brought into concert with other goals of economic policy and are institutionalized in a largely independent central bank.

Controlling inflation and an appropriate foreign exchange policy are recognized goals of economic policy, but have not been consistent over time and do not have an adequate institutional framework.

Controlling inflation is a component of the economic system in principle, but it is institutionally and politically subordinated to other goals. Foreign exchange policy is essentially used for political purposes.

The country has no anti-inflation system or policy; foreign exchange policy is subject to manipulation for political reasons.

8.2

Macrostability

## To what extent do the government's fiscal and debt policies support macroeconomic stability?

This question seeks to assess whether the government has implemented a consistent stability policy which includes medium-term goals for debt reduction and fiscal consolidation, and potentially the creation of a stabilization reserve to reduce external vulnerability. Please provide data on the budget deficit and public debt.

The government's fiscal and debt policies promote macroeconomic stability, supported in part by institutional (self-) constraints.

The government's fiscal and debt policies generally promote macroeconomic stability, but lack institutional safeguards and are prone to populist policy changes.

The government's fiscal and debt policies are inconsistent and insufficient to promote macroeconomic stability.

The government has not devised or implemented any fiscal or debt policies to promote macroeconomic stability.

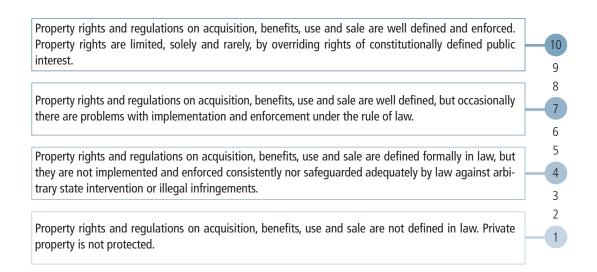
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### **Criterion: Private Property**

There are adequate conditions to support a functional private sector.

9.1 Property rights

To what extent do government authorities ensure well-defined rights of private property and regulate the acquisition, benefits, use and sale of property?



9.2 Private enterprise

To what extent are private companies permitted and protected? Are privatization processes conducted in a manner consistent with market principles?

Private companies are viewed institutionally as primary engines of economic production and are given 10 appropriate legal safeguards. The privatization of state companies proceeds consistently with market principles. 9 8 Private companies are viewed institutionally as important engines of economic production and are 7 given legal safeguards, but concentration of market power (state companies, oligopolies) is tolerated. The privatization of state companies does not always proceed consistently with market principles. 6 5 Private companies can act freely in principle but encounter economic, political or social barriers to development. State companies or monopolies dominate the strategic business sectors. 3 2 At most, private companies are permitted as exclusive enclaves; otherwise the state dominates the economic system.

### Criterion: Welfare Regime

There are viable arrangements to compensate for social risks.

10.1

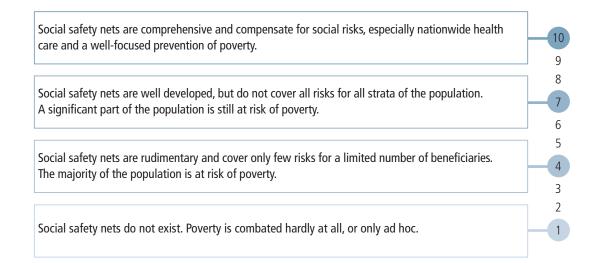
Social safety nets

### To what extent do social safety nets provide compensation for social risks?

This question refers to social safety nets which compensate for the social risks of the capitalist economic system, such as unemployment or poverty, and which alleviate handicaps such as old age, illness or disability. In your answer, please make sure to comment on:

- the forms of compensation: cash and conditional cash transfers, subsidies, waivers, food programs, educational or empowerment initiatives
- the funding: tax, redistribution, pay-as-you-go, investment funds
- the structure of the welfare regime: public, private or both

Note: In countries that do not provide comprehensive, state-funded welfare systems, social safety nets can refer to those arrangements that are functionally equivalent to formal compensation for social risks. Social safety nets may also comprise family, clan or village structures, if these structures can provide viable compensation on a broad scale for risks.



10.2

Equal opportunity

#### To what extent does equality of opportunity exist?

This question is directed at finding out to what extent individuals have equal access to participation in society regardless of their social background. This includes equal access to education, public office or employment.

Equality of opportunity for women, ethnic or religious groups should be evaluated explicitly in your analysis. Please comment both on the legal provisions and their implementation and enforcement.

Equality of opportunity is achieved. Women and members of ethnic or religious groups have equal access to education, public office and employment. There is a comprehensive and effective legal and 10 institutional framework for the protection against discrimination. 9 8 Equality of opportunity is largely achieved. Women and members of ethnic or religious groups have near-equal access to education, public office and employment. There are a number of legal provisions against discrimination, but their implementation is at times insufficient. 6 5 Equality of opportunity is not achieved. Women and/or members of ethnic or religious groups have limited access to education, public office and employment. There are some legal provisions against 4 discrimination, but their implementation is highly deficient. 3 2 Equality of opportunity is denied. Women and/or members of ethnic or religious groups have only very limited access to education, public office and employment. There are no legal provisions against discrimination.

### **Criterion: Economic Performance**

The economy's performance points to solid development.

11

Output strength

### How does the economy, as measured in quantitative indicators, perform?

The output strength of the economy should be evaluated using pertinent economic data with regard to:

- · GDP growth
- · inflation
- employment
- budget balance
- tax revenuedebt
- trade balance
- · investment

The economic performance is very good. Positive macroeconomic data may include relatively high GDP growth rates, relatively high employment levels, price stability, balanced budget, reasonable debt and a sustainable current account position.

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The economic performance is good. Moderately positive macroeconomic data may include low GDP growth rates, only moderate unemployment levels, relative price stability, a slightly unbalanced budget, a tendency toward debt and a manageable current account position.

7

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The economic performance is poor. Continuing negative macroeconomic data may include stagnant GDP levels, relatively high unemployment levels, low price stability, an unbalanced budget, rising debt and a volatile current account position.

5

3

The economic performance is very poor. Strongly negative macroeconomic data may include negative GDP growth rates, very high unemployment levels, high inflation, large budget deficits, unreasonably high debt and an increasingly unsustainable current account position.

2

Economic growth is balanced, environmentally sustainable and future-oriented.

12.1

Environmental policy

### To what extent are environmental concerns effectively taken into account in both macroand microeconomic terms?

This question seeks to assess the extent to which externalization of costs or inadequate time horizons are avoided or restrained by environmental regulation.

In macroeconomic terms, you should determine whether tax and energy policies take ecological goals and measures into account (e.g. promotion of renewable energies, CO<sup>2</sup> reduction goals). In microeconomic terms, you should establish whether the government sets incentives for environmentally sound consumption and investments to households and companies.

Please use the Environmental Performance Index as a quantitative guidepost and consider that a deeply engrained awareness of the environment or nature in society may serve as a functional equivalent.

Environmental concerns are effectively taken into account and are carefully balanced with growth efforts. Environmental regulation and incentives are in place and enforced.

Environmental concerns are taken into account but are occasionally subordinated to growth efforts. Environmental regulation and incentives are in place, but their enforcement at times is deficient.

Environmental concerns receive only sporadic consideration and are often subordinated to growth efforts. Environmental regulation is weak and hardly enforced.

Environmental concerns receive no consideration and are entirely subordinated to growth efforts. There is no environmental regulation.

12.2

Education policy/ R&D

### To what extent are there solid institutions for basic, secondary and tertiary education, as well as for research and development?

This question seeks to assess:

- · whether education policy is successful in delivering high-quality education and training
- · whether research and development receive effective support from the government

When answering this question, your focus should not be on expenditures alone, but also on the quality and competitiveness of the education system and the research sector. Please also consider:

- the structure of funding and knowledge providers (public, private, international cooperation)
- the output of the educational and developmental efforts: enrollment rates, literacy rates, percentage of people with higher education, number of patent applications etc.

Education policy ensures a nationwide system of high-quality education and training, and the research and technology sector is dynamic and competitive. Investment in education and training is clearly above average (more than 6% of GDP) as is investment in research and development (more than 2.0% of GDP).

Education policy ensures a nationwide system of sound education and training, and the research and technology sector is fairly advanced. Investment in education and training is average (from 4% to 6% of GDP) as is investment in research and development (1.5% to 2.0% of GDP).

Education policy contributes to a system of education and training which is sub-standard, with qualitative deficits in secondary and tertiary education and insufficient school enrollment. Research and development is deficient. Investment in education and training is rather low (from 2% to 4% of GDP) as is investment in research and development (less than 1.5% of GDP).

There are only basic levels of institutions for education, training and R&D. School enrollment is low, and the illiteracy rate is high. Investment in education and training is very low (below 2% of GDP) as is investment in research and development (below 0.5% of GDP).

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# Management

- 13 Level of Difficulty
- 14 Steering Capability
- 15 Resource Efficiency
- 16 Consensus-building
- 17 International Cooperation

13.1

Structural constraints

## To what extent do structural difficulties constrain the political leadership's governance capacity?

Management performance may be limited by structural constraints that do not result from the current political leadership's actions and cannot be overcome swiftly.

Constraints may include:

- · extreme poverty
- · the lack of an educated labor force
- · a disadvantageous geographical location (e.g., landlocked or small island states)
- · severe infrastructural deficiencies
- · natural disasters
- · pandemics, such as widespread HIV/AIDS infections.

While the level of difficulty will also be calculated from three quantitative indicators reflecting structural constraints (Gross National Income p.c. at purchasing power parities; U.N. Education Index; mean of the BTI 2012 stateness and rule of law scores), you should describe the country-specific profile of structural constraints.



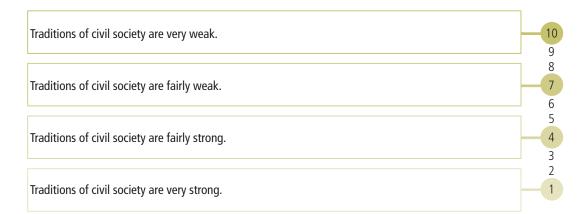
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Civil society traditions

#### To what extent are there traditions of civil society?

Indicators of civil society traditions are:

- · long-term presence of public or civic engagement
- · a civic culture of participation in public life
- · numerous and active civic associations
- · social trust (social capital)



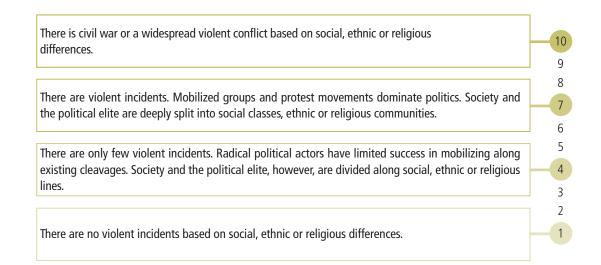
13.3

Conflict intensity

#### How serious are social, ethnic and religious conflicts?

Indicators of conflict intensity include the following:

- · the confrontational nature of politics
- the polarization and split of society along one or several cleavages
- the mobilization of large groups of the population
- · the use and spread of violence



### **Criterion: Steering Capability**

The government manages reforms effectively and can achieve its policy priorities.

14.1

Prioritization

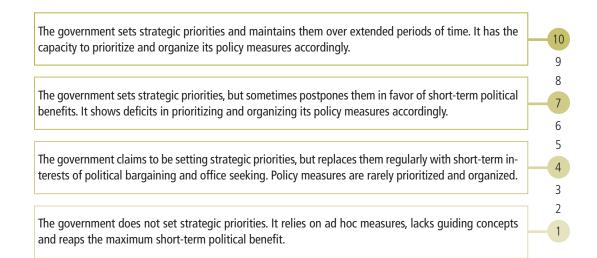
### To what extent does the government set and maintain strategic priorities?

This question seeks to assess:

- the political capability to take on a longer-term perspective going beyond immediate concerns of electoral competition and to maintain strategic priorities over periods of crisis and stalemate
- the strategic capacity of the government to prioritize and organize its policy measures (gaining and organizing expertise, evidence-based policy-making, regulatory impact assessments, strategic planning units)

The focus should be on the executive, including the administration and the cabinet. Make sure to identify reform drivers and defenders of the status quo, as political determination and institutional capacity may vary among different departments and ministries. Please also comment on how setting and maintaining strategic priorities might be constrained by government composition and by actors outside the government (e.g. powerful economic interests, lobbies, foreign governments, foreign donors).

Please consider if the strategic priorities correspond with the normative framework of the BTI in terms of striving for democracy and a market economy.



### **Criterion: Steering Capability**

The government manages reforms effectively and can achieve its policy priorities.

14.2

Implementation

### How effective is the government in implementing its own policies?

This question examines the extent to which the government has been able to achieve its own strategic priorities. The assessment should therefore center on the major policy priorities identified by a government and examine whether declared objectives could be realized or what hinders effective implementation.

The focus should be on the executive including the administration and the cabinet. Make sure to identify reform drivers and defenders of the status quo, as political determination and institutional capacity may vary among different departments and ministries.

Please consider if the implementation of strategic priorities corresponds with the normative framework of the BTI in terms of striving for democracy and a market economy.



14.3 Policy learning

#### How innovative and flexible is the government?

Innovation in policy-making often comes from learning. This learning extends beyond changes in policy outputs to include changes in the basic beliefs guiding policy formulation. Learning opportunities are provided by:

- · learning from past experiences (effective monitoring and evaluation)
- · observation and knowledge exchange (good practices, international cooperation)
- · consultancy (academic experts and practitioners)

Flexibility refers to a government's ability to adapt to and take advantage of developmental opportunities inherent to a given political situation. Flexibility and learning allow governments to replace failed policies with innovative ones. If possible, provide empirical evidence on whether policy learning happens coincidentally or if there are institutionalized mechanisms that facilitate innovation and flexibility in policy-making.

Please consider if innovation and flexibility correspond with the normative framework of the BTI in terms of striving for democracy and a market economy.

The government demonstrates a pronounced ability of complex learning. It acts flexibly and replaces 10 failed policies with innovative ones. 9 8 The government demonstrates a general ability of policy learning, but its flexibility is limited. Learning processes inconsistently affect the routines and the knowledge foundation on which policies are based. 6 5 The government demonstrates little willingness or ability in policy learning. Policies are rigidly en-4 forced, and the routines of policy-making do not enable innovative approaches. 3 2 1 The government demonstrates no willingness or ability in policy learning.

### Criterion: Resource Efficiency

The government makes optimum use of available resources.

Efficient use of assets

### To what extent does the government make efficient use of available human, financial and organizational resources?

In assessing the government's resource efficiency, please focus on the executive, including the administration and the cabinet.

Please consider the following indicators:

Efficient use of government administrative personnel

- · personnel expenses relative to the services offered by the state
- · low number of politically motivated dismissals and new appointments of public servants
- · competitive recruiting procedures protected against political influences

#### Efficient use of budget resources

- · balanced state budget
- · a manageable level of state debt
- · effective and independent auditing
- transparent budget planning and implementation
- · low deviation of actual budget expenditures from the associated planned expenditures

#### Efficient administrative organization

- · public administration that enables effective management under criteria of professional rationality
- "responsible" decentralization (i.e., establishing local self-government with legal and financial autonomy), backed by arrangements for public review of the local administration's activities
- · existence of procedures and institutions to reform and modernize the public administration



### **Criterion: Resource Efficiency**

The government makes optimum use of available resources.

15.2

Policy coordination

## To what extent can the government coordinate conflicting objectives into a coherent policy?

As many policies have conflicting objectives, reflect competing political interests and affect other policies, the government has to ensure that its overall policy is coherent.

Successful coordination should:

- · assure that trade-offs between policy goals are well balanced
- · introduce horizontal forms of coordination to mediate between different departments of the state administration
- ascribe responsibilities in a transparent manner to avoid the negligence of tasks, redundancies or friction between different government branches.

Various coordination styles — hierarchic-bureaucratic, informal-network, personalist, centralized, decentralized etc. — are possible and may be functionally equivalent. What matters is their impact on policy coherence.

The government tries to coordinate conflicting objectives, but with limited success. Friction, redundancies and gaps in task assignment are significant.

The government mostly fails to coordinate between conflicting objectives. Different parts of the government tend to compete among each other, and some policies have counterproductive effects on other policies.

The government fails to coordinate conflicting objectives. Its policies thwart and damage each other.

The executive is fragmented into rival fiefdoms that counteract each other.

15.3 | An

Anti-corruption policy

#### To what extent does the government successfully contain corruption?

Please elaborate whether adequate institutional arrangements exist to implement an anti-corruption policy and if they successfully contribute to an effective prosecution of corruption. In your answer, you should indicate if the government implements and monitors the following integrity mechanisms:

- · auditing of state spending
- · regulation of party financing
- · citizen and media access to information
- accountability of officeholders including asset declarations, conflict of interest rules, codes of conduct
- · transparent public procurement system

Note: Please be aware that the Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) of Transparency International uses the data and information given in response to questions 3.3 and 15.3 for their assessments. To avoid circularity of assessments, please do not base your evaluation of the success of anti-corruption policy on the CPI.

The government is successful in containing corruption, and all integrity mechanisms are in place and effective.

The government is often successful in containing corruption. Most integrity mechanisms are in place, but some are functioning only with limited effectiveness.

The government is only partly willing and able to contain corruption, while the few integrity mechanisms implemented are mostly ineffective.

The government fails to contain corruption, and there are no integrity mechanisms in place.

16

### Criterion: Consensus-building

The political leadership establishes a broad consensus on reform with other actors in society without sacrificing its reform goals.

16.1

Consensus on goals

## To what extent do the major political actors agree on democracy and a market economy as strategic, long-term goals?

This question specifically seeks to assess the extent of normative agreement on the general goals of development and transformation. It reflects the experience that many successful transformations are based on agreements reached by reform-minded political actors with old elites or potential opponents of reform.

Major political actors are parties, politicians, interest groups and economic actors with political clout, whose power and importance (e.g. number of voters, jobs, financial resources, authority, influence, etc.) are relevant to the course of the political process.

Please make sure to comment on the degree of consensus both with regard to democracy and with regard to a market economy.

All major political actors agree on establishing or consolidating democracy and a market economy as strategic, long-term goals of transformation.

9 8

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The major political actors agree on one of the goals (democracy or market economy) as a strategic, long-term goal of transformation. Or: there is a general consensus on both goals, which is weakened by significant controversy over strategic priorities.

7

There is a fundamental conflict among the major political actors over both democracy and a market economy as strategic, long-term goals of transformation. Or: any proclaimed consensus on goals is rudimentary, very fragile and likely to be challenged by powerful actors.

4

5

There are no major political actors who want to establish democracy or a market economy.

2

16.2 Anti-democratic actors

#### To what extent can reformers exclude or co-opt anti-democratic actors?

This question seeks to assess the extent to which reformers are able to overcome anti-democratic veto actors:

- · Reformers are defined here as all political actors who advocate democratization, be it in or close to the government or in opposition.
- Anti-democratic veto actors are defined as political actors who can cause democratization to stall or fail and might include the military, influential economic actors or powerful opposition groups.

A successful reform policy can eliminate the veto power of anti-democratic actors, induce them to comply permanently with constitutional rules, or develop a basic consensus with them.

Reformers can successfully exclude or co-opt all actors with anti-democratic interests.

Reformers cannot completely control all powerful anti-democratic actors, but can limit their influence significantly.

Reformers have little control over powerful anti-democratic actors, who can use their influence to severely disrupt the reform process.

Reformers have no control over anti-democratic actors.

2

### Criterion: Consensus-building

The political leadership establishes a broad consensus on reform with other actors in society without sacrificing its reform goals.

16.3

Cleavage/conflict management

### To what extent is the political leadership able to moderate cleavage-based conflict?

Cleavages are significant and protracted divisions of society that are often, but not necessarily, reflected in the political party system. Cleavages may be manifested in ethnic, class, regional or religious conflicts.

Please assess the extent to which the political leadership is able to depolarize structural conflicts, to prevent society from falling apart along these cleavages, and to establish as broad a consensus as possible across the dividing lines.



16.4 Civil society participation

## To what extent does the political leadership enable the participation of civil society in the political process?

This question asks whether the political leadership involves civil society actors in:

- agenda setting
- policy formulation
- deliberation and decision-making
- policy implementation
- performance monitoring

Civil society actors include civic, economic and professional interest associations, religious, charity and community-based organizations, intellectuals, scientists and journalists.



16

### Criterion: Consensus-building

The political leadership establishes a broad consensus on reform with other actors in society without sacrificing its reform goals.

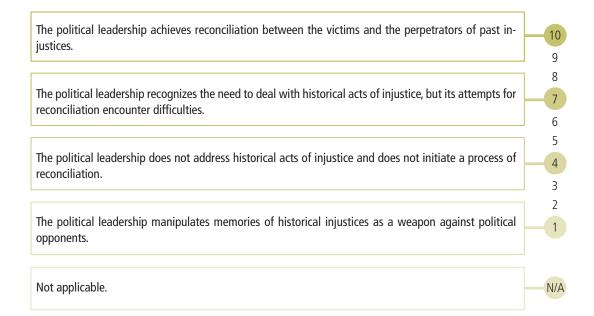
16.5

Reconciliation

## To what extent can the political leadership bring about reconciliation between the victims and perpetrators of past injustices?

This question examines the extent to which a country's political leadership is able to address or overcome a conflict-laden past that is experienced as unjust, or at least to achieve moral justice for past acts of injustice. The goal of coping with the past is to obtain justice or reconciliation between former victims and perpetrators.

Note: If a country has not experienced major historical injustices or has already achieved reconciliation prior to 2009, you should choose the N/A-option. Please elaborate briefly on successfully concluded reconciliation processes.



### **Criterion: International Cooperation**

The political leadership is willing and able to cooperate with external supporters and organizations.

17.1

Effective use of support

## To what extent does the political leadership use the support of international partners to implement a long-term strategy of development?

This question evaluates how the political leadership makes use of international assistance—major projects involving technical or personal cooperation—in its own development agenda. The focus here is on the ability to learn from international know-how, to adapt external advice to domestic realities and to integrate international assistance into a consistent, long-term strategy of development.

Questions to consider include:

- · Does the government have clear aims of political and economic development?
- · Is there a roadmap specifying steps to reach these aims and defining the inputs required from international partners/donors?
- · Have the political actors made progress in implementing such steps or do short-term expediencies, policy inconsistencies, perhaps even rent-seeking, dominate the use of international assistance?

The political leadership makes well-focused use of international assistance in order to implement its 10 long-term strategy of development. 9 8 The political leadership tries to use international assistance for its own development agenda, but has clear deficits in devising a consistent long-term strategy which could integrate this support effectively. 6 5 The political leadership uses international assistance for short-term expediencies or rent-seeking. There is no viable long-term development strategy. 3 2 The political leadership is not interested in international know-how and support. It considers any form 1 of international cooperation as undesired political interference.

17.2

Credibility

## To what extent does the government act as a credible and reliable partner in its relations with the international community?

This question addresses the level of confidence the government has been able to attain with the international community for its reform policies on the way to democracy and a market economy. Policies not related to democratic and market reforms (e.g., a reliable cooperation in international military alliances or peace missions) should not be considered.

The international community includes international organizations, bilateral and multilateral donors, foreign governments and investors, and international NGOs.

The government is considered a credible and reliable partner by the international community. 10 9 8 The government mostly acts as a credible and reliable partner, but some international actors still express doubts regarding its reliability. 6 5 The government tries to present itself as a credible and reliable partner, but it is not trusted by most 4 of the international community. 3 2 The government repeatedly acts unpredictably, without regard for the international community, 1 and cooperating with the state entails major risks. It is not considered credible and reliable by the international community.

17

### **Criterion: International Cooperation**

The political leadership is willing and able to cooperate with external supporters and organizations.

17.3

Regional cooperation

## To what extent is the political leadership willing and able to cooperate with neighboring countries?

This question seeks to assess the willingness and ability of the political leadership:

- · to develop good neighborly relations
- · to cooperate with neighbors in international and regional organizations
- · to support regional or international integration.



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