

Democratization

Progress towards democracy building is primarily assessed from indicators drawn from Freedom House. *Table 4* shows 2005 democratization data drawn from Freedom House's *Nations in Transit* and disaggregated into seven components: (1) electoral process; (2) civil society; (3) independent media; (4) national governance; (5) local governance; (6) rule of law; and (7) the fight against corruption.⁷

According to these data, the Northern Tier CEE countries remain well out front in democratic reforms (across all sectors), followed by virtually all the Southern Tier CEE countries, followed by Eurasia. Kosovo is the Southern Tier CEE outlier, with democratic reform progress closer to Eurasian standards. Of the Eurasian countries, Ukraine comes closest to democratization standards in CEE.

In general, the 2005 data show a continuation of the growing democratization gap between CEE and Eurasia that has been evident since the early transition years. Freedom House's *Nations in Transit* data show six Eurasian countries backsliding on democratic reforms in 2005 and only three countries (Ukraine, Georgia, and Moldova) moving forward. In CEE, seven countries advanced in democratization in 2005 and only two countries (Hungary and Poland) regressed. Among the three sub-regions, the broadest gains occurred in the Southern Tier CEE countries, advancing in six of seven democracy areas. The most broad-based gains in democratization in 2005 occurred in Bulgaria, Albania, and Ukraine; the countries which regressed the most were Uzbekistan, Russia, and Tajikistan.

Table 5 includes Freedom House's broader political rights and civil liberties indices. While not as rigorous (or as well-tailored) as the transition region-specific data of *Table 4*, these indices do provide a longer term view of the trends (going back to the 1970s). They also provide a means to compare progress with the rest of the world. These data show that the range in progress in democratization across the transition countries spans the range of possibilities worldwide, from progress in all eight of the Northern Tier CEE countries (which get the best possible score worldwide on Freedom House's two indices, alongside all of the EU-15 countries except Greece), to the absence of virtually any democratic freedoms in Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan (which get the worst possible score worldwide, a distinction shared by only six other countries: Burma; Cuba; North Korea; Libya; Sudan; and Syria).

Figure 5 combines the two Freedom House data series, using the more rigorous measures from *Nations in Transit* when that series began (in 1997). These data underscore that the Northern Tier CEE countries achieved a level of democratization slightly below Western European standards by the mid-1990s; by 2004 they were on a par with those standards. The Southern Tier CEE countries remain notably behind the Northern Tier CEE countries, though the gap has narrowed significantly since the late 1990s. Democratization trends in Eurasia have been strikingly different than those in Northern and Southern Tier CEE. Specifically, while considerable liberalization of democratic freedoms in Eurasia occurred under Gorbachev leading up to the collapse of the Soviet

Union in 1991, since then, the trend towards democratization has generally been one of steady backsliding among the three Eurasian non-reformers and stagnation in democratization for much of the 1990s in the Eurasian reformers followed more recently by gradual erosion of such reforms.

Figures 6 and 7 show attempts to measure two democracy sectors in the transition region in greater detail: the NGO sector and media.⁸ The *NGO Sustainability Index (Figure 6)* shows that the NGO sectors in the Northern Tier CEE countries are far more advanced than those elsewhere in the transition region, and are the only NGO sectors where “consolidation” has occurred. Nevertheless, most of the gains in the NGO sector from 1998 to 2005 occurred in the Southern Tier CEE countries. Some of the most notable backsliding during that time period occurred in Eurasia; Russia is a salient example.

The *Media Sustainability Index (Figure 7)* assesses trends from 2001 through 2005 in the Southern Tier CEE and Eurasia. By these scores, media is much more advanced in the Southern Tier CEE than in Eurasia (all the Southern Tier CEE countries have higher scores than do all the Eurasian countries). However, only one country, Croatia, has crossed (in 2005) the “sustainable” threshold. Most of the gains from 2001 to 2005 in media occurred in the Southern Tier CEE countries. In 2005, seven Southern Tier CEE countries advanced in media reforms while two regressed (Bosnia-Herzegovina and Bulgaria); in Eurasia, five countries advanced and five regressed. The greatest gains in 2005 occurred in Ukraine, Romania, and Albania.

Finally, on democratization, is the comparison worldwide of perceptions of corruption in 2005 from Transparency International (*Figure 8*). These data suggest that corruption is perceived to be very high by global standards in many transition countries, particularly in Eurasia. In fact, most of the transition countries attain Transparency International’s dubious threshold of “rampant corruption;” in particular, all of the Southern Tier CEE countries except Bulgaria and Croatia (i.e., Romania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia-Montenegro, Macedonia, and Albania), and all of Eurasia.

TABLE 4. DEMOCRATIC REFORMS IN 2005

	ELECTORAL PROCESS	CIVIL SOCIETY	INDEPENDENT MEDIA	NATIONAL GOVERNANCE	LOCAL GOV.	RULE OF LAW	CORRUPTION	AVERAGE
SLOVENIA	4.7	4.5	4.5 ↓	4.3	4.7	4.7	4.2 ↓	4.5
ESTONIA	4.7	4.3	4.7	4.2	4.0	4.7	4.0	4.4
SLOVAK REPUBLIC	4.8	4.8	4.2	4.3	4.3 ↑	4.3	3.7	4.4 ↑
HUNGARY	4.8	4.8	4.0	4.3	4.2	4.5	3.7 ↓	4.3 ↓
LATVIA	4.5	4.5	4.7	4.3 ↑	4.0	4.5	3.5 ↑	4.3 ↑
POLAND	4.5	4.8	4.5 ↓	3.8 ↓	4.3	4.2 ↓	3.5 ↓	4.2 ↓
LITHUANIA	4.5	4.7	4.5	4.0	4.0	4.7 ↑	3.0 ↓	4.2
CZECH REPUBLIC	4.3	4.7	4.3	4.0	4.3	4.2 ↑	3.3	4.2 ↑
BULGARIA	4.5	3.8	3.5 ↑	3.7 ↑↑	3.7 ↑↑	3.7 ↑	3.2 ↑	3.7 ↑
ROMANIA	3.8	4.2	3.0	3.3	3.7	3.0	2.8	3.5
CROATIA	3.5 ↓	3.8 ↑	3.2	3.3	3.2	2.8 ↑	2.5	3.2
SERBIA	3.5	3.8	3.5	3.0	3.2	2.8	2.5 ↑	3.2
MONTENEGRO	3.3 ↓	3.7 ↓	3.5	2.7	3.3	2.8	2.2	3.1
MACEDONIA	3.5 ↓	3.5	2.8	3.2 ↑	3.2 ↑	3.2	2.5 ↑	3.1 ↑
ALBANIA	3.3 ↑	3.7 ↑	3.2 ↑	3.0	3.8 ↑	2.8 ↑	2.2	3.1 ↑
BOSNIA AND HERZ.	3.7 ↑	3.2	3.0	2.5	2.5	3.0 ↑	2.8 ↑	3.0 ↑
UKRAINE	3.5 ↑	3.8 ↑	3.2 ↑↑	2.7 ↑	2.2	2.8	1.8	2.9 ↑
GEORGIA	2.5	3.3	2.8	2.0	1.8 ↑	2.5 ↑	2.0 ↑	2.4 ↑
MOLDOVA	3.2 ↑	3.0	2.3	1.8	1.8	2.7 ↑	1.7 ↑	2.4 ↑
ARMENIA	1.8	3.3	2.0	2.3	2.0	2.3 ↑	1.8	2.2
KOSOVO	2.5	2.8 ↓	2.0	1.8	2.0	1.8	1.7	2.1
KYRGYZ REPUBLIC	1.8 ↑	2.7	1.8	1.7	1.5 ↓	2.0	1.7	1.9
RUSSIA	1.5 ↓	2.3 ↓	1.7	1.7 ↓	1.8	2.2	1.7 ↓	1.8 ↓
TAJKISTAN	1.5 ↓	2.3 ↓	1.5 ↓	1.5 ↓	1.8	1.8	1.5	1.7 ↓
AZERBAIJAN	1.3 ↓	2.3 ↓	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.8	1.5	1.7 ↓
KAZAKHSTAN	1.3	1.8 ↓	1.2 ↓	1.2 ↓	1.5	1.5	1.3	1.4 ↓
BELARUS	1.0	1.2	1.2	1.0 ↓	1.3	1.2	1.5 ↓	1.2 ↓
UZBEKISTAN	1.2	1.0 ↓	1.0 ↓	1.0 ↓	1.2 ↓	1.2 ↓	1.3 ↓	1.1 ↓
TURKMENISTAN	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.2 ↓	1.0
CEE & EURASIA	3.1	3.4	2.9	2.7	2.8	2.9	2.4	2.9
NORTHERN TIER CEE	4.6	4.6	4.4 ↓	4.2	4.2	4.5 ↑	3.6 ↓	4.3
SOUTHERN TIER CEE	3.6	3.7 ↑	3.1 ↑	3.1 ↑	3.3 ↑	3.0 ↑	2.6 ↑	3.2 ↑
EURASIA	1.8	2.3 ↓	1.8	1.6 ↓	1.7 ↓	1.9	1.6	1.8
ROM. & BULG. 2002	4.3	3.5	3.3	3.2	3.2	3.3	2.8	3.4
NORTHERN TIER CEE AT GRADUATION	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.1	4.1	4.4	3.6	4.3

Ratings are based on a scale from 1 to 5, with 1 representing most advanced--or, in the case of corruption, most free.

A "↑" indicates an increase in democratization since 2002; a "↓" signifies a decrease. One arrow represents a change greater than 0.1 and less than 0.5; two arrows represents change 0.5 and greater.

Data depict trends from November 2004 through December 2005.

Freedom House, *Nations in Transit 2006* (2006).

TABLE 5. POLITICAL RIGHTS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

	<u>1990</u>		<u>1999</u>		<u>2000</u>		<u>2002</u>		<u>2003</u>		<u>2004</u>		<u>2005</u>	
	PR	CL	PR	CL	PR	CL	PR	CL	PR	CL	PR	CL	PR	CL
SLOVENIA	5	4	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
CZECH REPUBLIC	2	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1
ESTONIA	5	4	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1
HUNGARY	2	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1
POLAND	2	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1
SLOVAK REPUBLIC	2	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1
LATVIA	5	4	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1 ↑
BULGARIA	3	4	2	3	1	3	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
LITHUANIA	5	4	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	2	2	1 ↑	1 ↑
CROATIA	5	4	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
ROMANIA	6	5	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	2 ↑	2
SERBIA & MONT.	5	4	4	4	3	3	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	2
ALBANIA	7	6	4	5	3	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
MACEDONIA	5	4	4	3	4	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
UKRAINE	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	3 ↑	2 ↑
BOSNIA AND HERZ.	5	4	5	4	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	4	3
MOLDOVA	5	4	2	4	2	4	3	4	3	4	3	4	3	4
GEORGIA	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	4	3	3 ↑
ARMENIA	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	5	4	5	4
RUSSIA	5	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	6	5	6	5
AZERBAIJAN	5	4	6	5	6	5	6	5	6	5	6	5	6	5
KAZAKHSTAN	5	4	6	5	6	5	6	5	6	5	6	5	6	5
KYRGYZ REPUBLIC	5	4	6	5	6	5	6	5	6	5	6	5	5 ↑	4 ↑
TAJIKISTAN	5	4	6	6	6	6	6	5	6	5	6	5	6	5
KOSOVO					6	6	6	6	5	5	5	5	6	5
BELARUS	5	4	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	7	6	7	6
UZBEKISTAN	5	4	7	6	7	6	7	6	7	6	7	6	7	7 ↓
TURKMENISTAN	5	4	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
CEE & EURASIA	4.6	3.8	3.5	3.7	3.5	3.8	3.4	3.5	3.4	3.5	3.5	3.3	3.4 ↑	3.1 ↑
NORTHERN TIER CEE	3.5	3.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	1.9	1.0	1.9	1.1	1.3	1.0 ↑	1.0 ↑
SOUTHERN TIER CEE	5.1	4.4	3.3	3.4	3.1	3.4	2.8	2.9	2.7	2.8	2.9	2.6	2.8 ↑	2.6
EURASIA	5.0	4.0	5.3	5.1	5.3	5.2	5.4	5.1	5.3	5.0	5.5	4.9	5.4 ↑	4.8 ↑
EUROPEAN UNION-15 ¹									1.0	1.1	1.0	1.1	1.0	1.1
OECD ²									1.1	1.3	1.1	1.2	1.1	1.2
ROMANIA & BULG. 2002							1.5	2.0						
NORTHERN TIER CEE														
AT GRADUATION	1.1	2.0												

Ratings from 1 to 7, with 1 representing greatest development of political rights/civil liberties.

A ↑ (↓) signifies an increase (decrease) in democratization in 2004 as measured by a change in political rights or civil liberties

(1) All 15 EU members score "1" in Political Rights. In Civil Liberties 14 of the 15 members score a "1"; and Greece scores a "2".

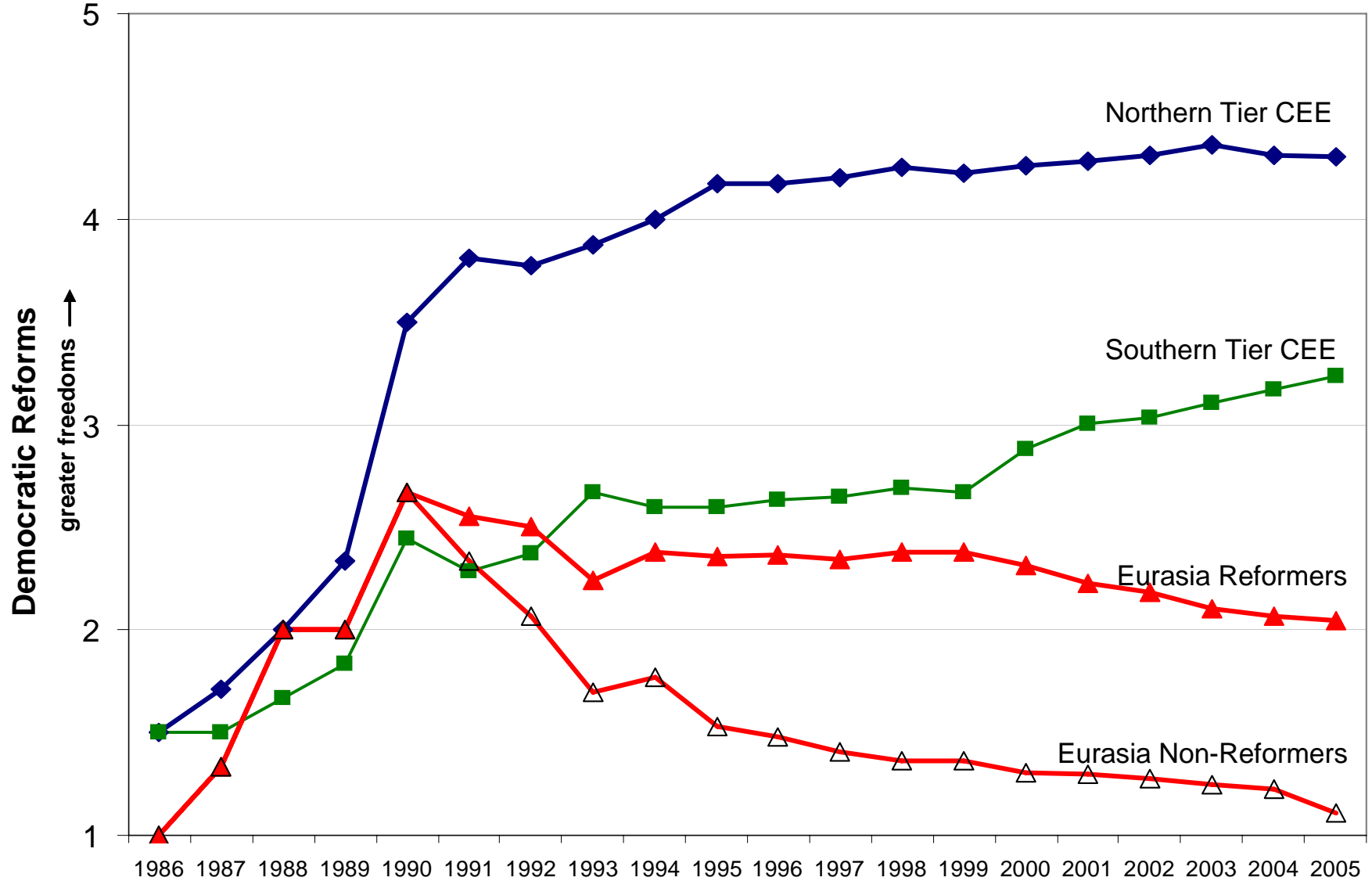
(2) All but two OECD members score a "1" in Political Rights; the exceptions are Turkey ("3") and Mexico ("2").

For Civil Liberties, 24 members score a "1"; 4 score a "2" (Greece, Japan, Mexico and South Korea); and Turkey scores a "3".

Freedom House, *Freedom in the World 2006* (2005) and previous editions.

Figure 5

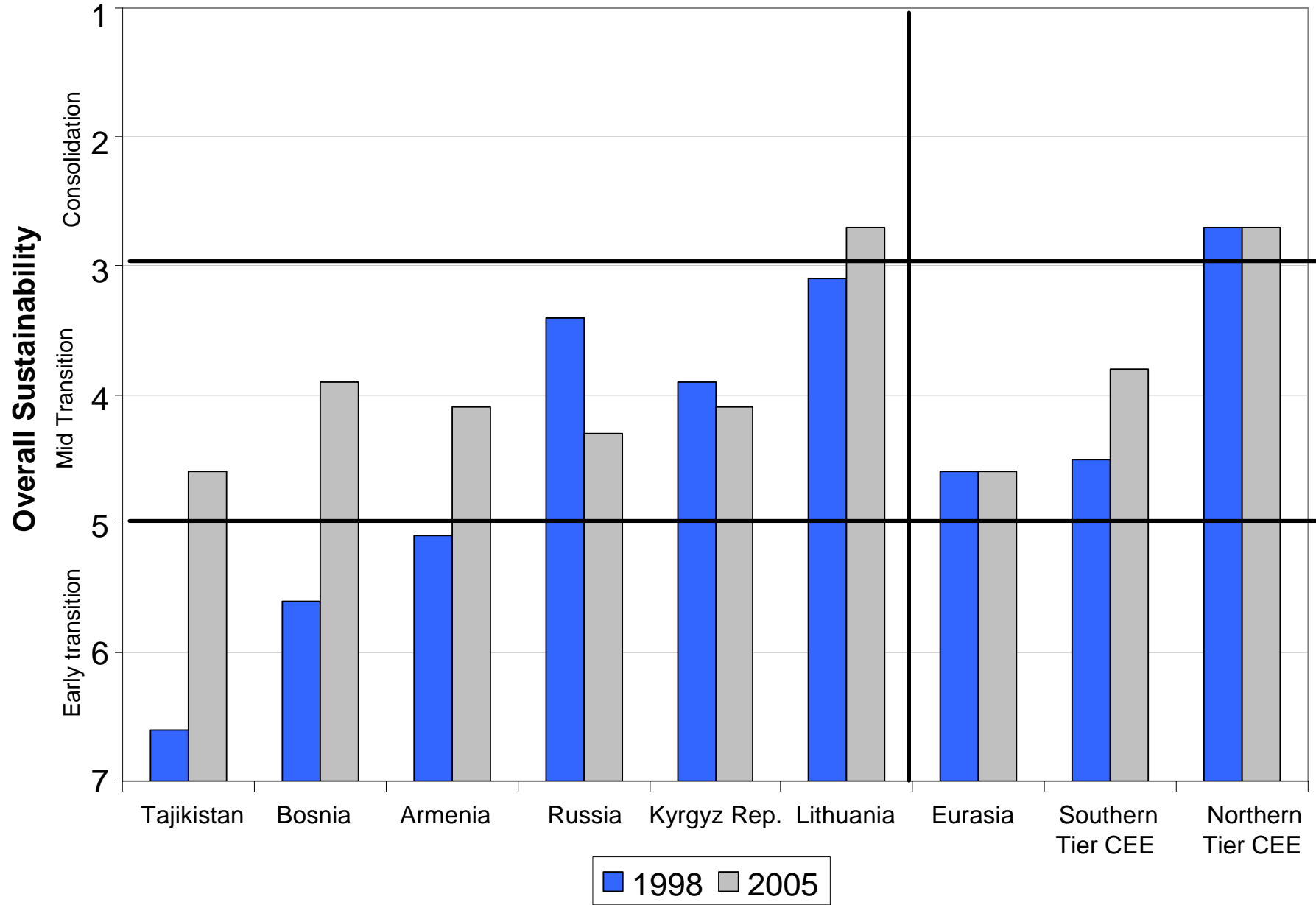
Democratic Reforms



Ratings from 1 to 5, with 5 representing greatest development of political rights/civil liberties. The data are an aggregation of Freedom House's political rights and civil liberties indices; Freedom House, *Freedom in the World 2005* (2005 and previous editions), *Nations in Transit* (2006). Eurasia non-reformer include Uzbekistan, Belarus & Turkmenistan.

Figure 6

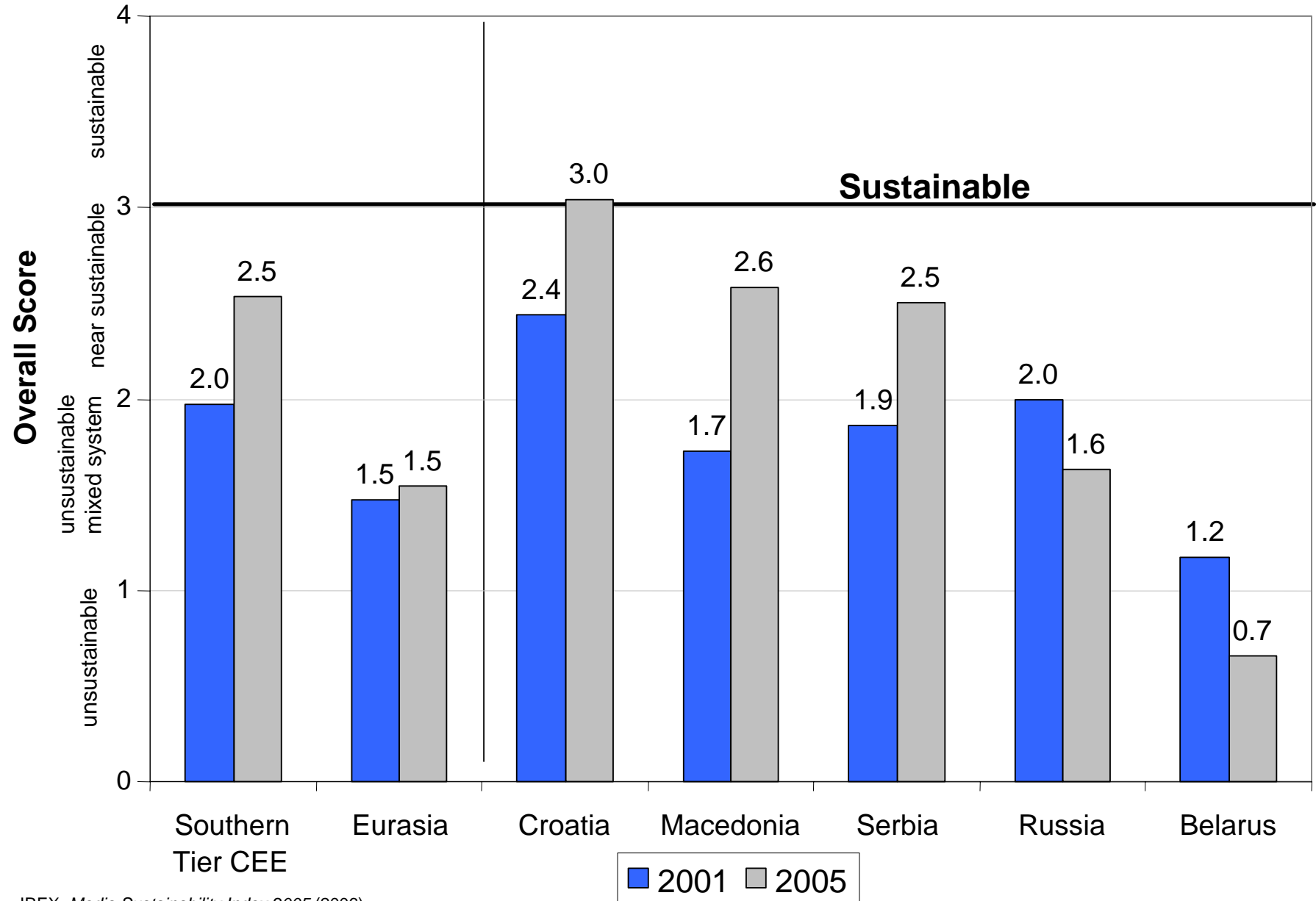
NGO Sustainability Index



USAID/EE/DGST, *The 2005 NGO Sustainability Index for Central and Eastern Europe and Eurasia* (2006).

Figure 7

Media Sustainability Index

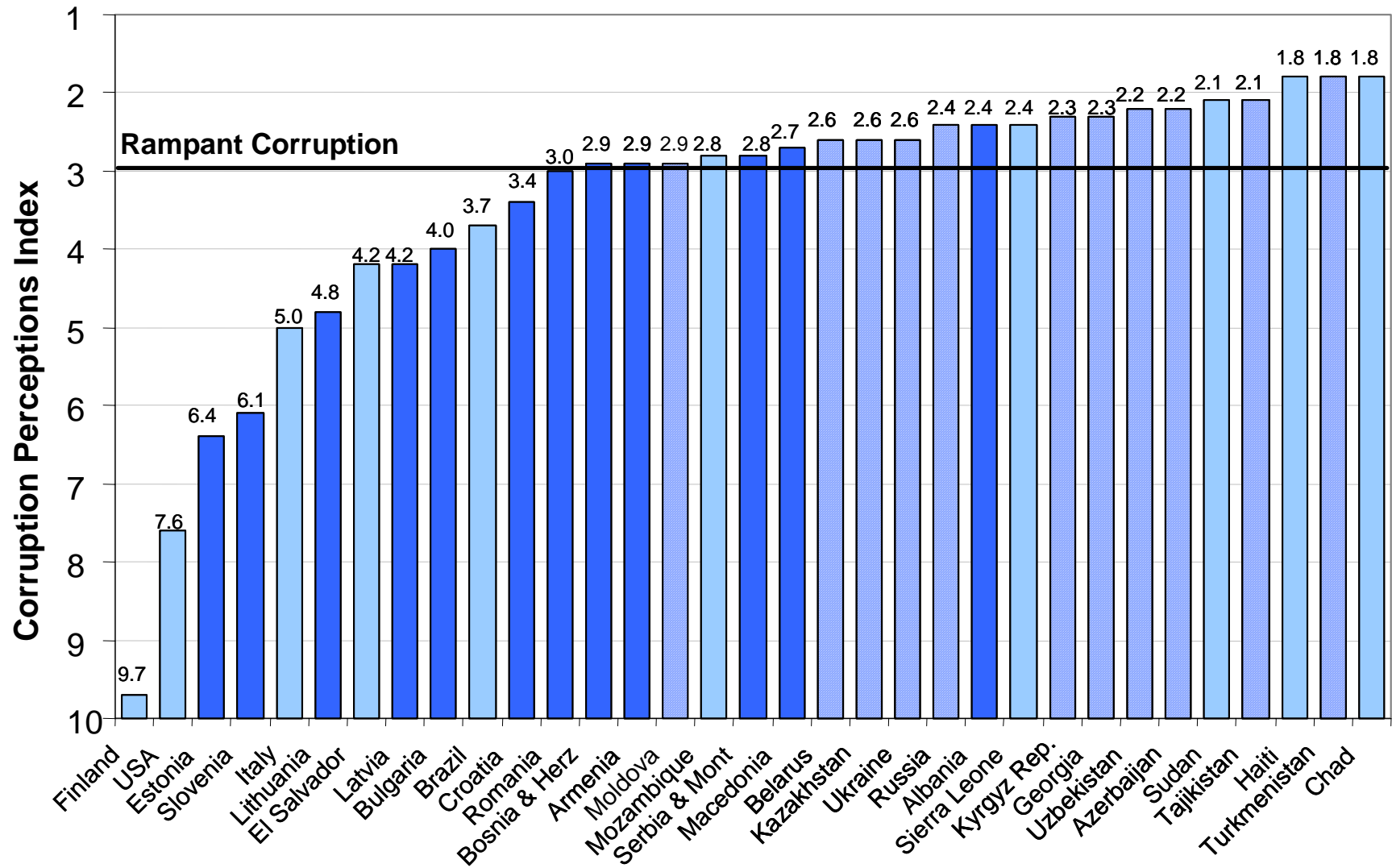


IREX, *Media Sustainability Index 2005* (2006).

Figure 8

Corruption Perceptions in 2005

(Transparency International)



Transparency International, *Corruption Perceptions Index 2005* (October 2005). Ratings on a 1 to 10, with 10 representing least amount of corruption.