



Working Paper Series on the Transition Countries
No. 9

**DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE IN EURASIA:
A GLOBAL COMPARISON**

Jeffrey Swedberg
and
Ron Sprout

September 2008

Program Office
Bureau for Europe & Eurasia
U.S. Agency for International Development

Table of Contents

Abstract	Page 4
Working Paper Series List.....	Page 5
Salient Findings	Page 6
I. Introduction.....	Page 8
II. Methodology.....	Page 8
Figure 1 Regions for Global Comparison.....	Page 17
III. Aggregate Cross-country Trends.....	Page 10
Figure 2 Governing Justly and Democratically in the World, Aggregated Scores.....	Page 18
Figure 3 Governing Justly and Democratically vs. Economic Growth and Performance, Global.....	Page 19
Table 1 Global Regions across Three Sector Indices	Page 20
Table 2 Eurasian Countries across Three Sector Indices.....	Page 20
Figure 4 Investing in People vs. Economic Growth and Performance	Page 21
Figure 5 Governing Justly and Democratically vs. Economic Growth and Performance, Eurasia.....	Page 22
Figure 6 Eurasia vs. Global Data Set for Governing Justly and Democratically.....	Page 23
Figure 7 Eurasia vs. Selected Countries for Governing Justly and Democratically.....	Page 24
Table 3 Global Scores on Governing Justly & Democratically Index	Page 25
IV. Eurasia’s Democratization Profile Compared.....	Page 11
Figure 8 Governing Justly and Democratically in the World.....	Page 26
Figure 9 Eurasia vs. Sub-Saharan Africa.....	Page 27
Figure 10 Eurasia vs. South Asia.....	Page 27
Figure 11 Eurasia vs. East Asia.....	Page 28
Figure 12 Eurasia vs. Middle East and North Africa.....	Page 28
Table 4 Governing Justly & Democratically by Region 2007 – Disaggregated.....	Page 29
Figure 13 Nations in Transit Scores 2007.....	Page 30
Table 5 Nations in Transit Data 2007.....	Page 31
V. Tracking Trends over Time.....	Page 12
Figure 14 Freedom in the World 2007.....	Page 32
Table 6 Freedom in the World over Time – Political Rights and Civil Liberties Scores Combined.....	Page 33
Figure 15 Institutions of Governance	Page 34
Table 7 Governance Indicators Over Time.....	Page 35

Trends over time using a region-specific dataset.....	Page 13
Figure 16 Democratic Reforms 1986-2007.....	Page 36
Table 8 Democratization Scores over Time.....	Page 37
Figure 17 Democratic Reforms - Central Asia.....	Page 38
Figure 18 Democratic Reforms – Russia and Western CIS.....	Page 39
Figure 19 Democratic Reforms - Caucasus.....	Page 40
Figure 20 Democratic Reforms in Eurasia over Time.....	Page 41
Table 9 Nations in Transit Scores over Time.....	Page 42
VI. A closer (and alternative) look at media and civil society.....	Page 14
Figure 21 Media Sustainability.....	Page 43
Figure 22 Media Sustainability in Eurasia by Component.....	Page 44
Table 10 Media Sustainability Index – 2001-2007.....	Page 45
Table 11 Media Sustainability Index – by Component.....	Page 45
Figure 23 NGO Sustainability Index	Page 46
Table 12 NGO Sustainability Index – 2001-2007.....	Page 47
VII. Conclusion.....	Page 15
Appendix 1 Regional Country Groups	Page 48
Appendix 2 Indicator Definitions	Page 49
Appendix 3 Indicator Conversions	Page 50
Primary References.....	Page 52

Democracy and Governance in Eurasia: A Global Comparison

Jeffrey Swedberg

U.S. Agency for International Development, Washington DC

Email: jswedberg@usaid.gov

Ron Sprout

U.S. Agency for International Development, Washington DC

Email: rsprout@usaid.gov

Abstract: An analysis of country progress in Eastern Europe & Eurasia in a global context reveals that Eurasia (defined as the former Soviet Union less the three Baltic States) lags behind all other major regions of the world in governing justly and democratically. Eurasia lags behind all the seven other major regions of the world in three of the six democratization dimensions: in media; rule of law; and government effectiveness. Eurasia and South Asia score the poorest in controlling corruption. Only the Middle East and North Africa region has fewer political rights and civil liberties than Eurasia.

The most common democratization profile found in the world is one in which civil liberties and political rights are the most advanced areas and the governance indicators of anti-corruption and rule of the law are the least advanced. Eurasia and the Middle East and North Africa regions do not conform to this pattern and also share a common democratization characteristic: both regions lag the most in the development of independent of media.

Eurasia's democratic freedom trends (i.e., trends in political rights and civil liberties) over time are very unique. Such trends in Eurasia have been more volatile than in other regions. From 1987 until the collapse of communism in 1991, democratic freedoms in Eurasia increased at a very fast pace by historical standards. From 1991 to the present, the overall Eurasian regional trend has been an erosion of democratic freedoms and, in fact, all twelve Eurasian countries have shown deterioration in democratic freedoms since the early 1990s. Moreover, according to a more recent transition region-specific dataset from Freedom House, democratization in Eurasia has deteriorated across all six dimensions (public governance, anti-corruption, rule of law, electoral process, independent media, and civil society) since 1999. In contrast, since the early 1990s, democratic freedoms have either increased or have been stable in all other major regions of the world. Eurasia's erosion of democratic freedoms since the early 1990s is comparable to that experienced by Eurasia in the 1970s to mid-1980s.

*USAID/E&E/PO Working Paper Series on the Transition Countries
September 2008*

No.1 Demography and Health (June 2005)

No.2 Education (October 2005)

No.3 Economic Reforms, Democracy, and Growth (November 2005)

No.4 Monitoring Country Progress in 2006 (September 2006)

No.5 Domestic Disparities (forthcoming)

No.6 Labor Markets (December 2006)

No.7 Global Economic Integration (forthcoming)

No. 8 Convergence and Divergence (January 2007)

No. 9 Democracy and Governance in Eurasia (September 2008)

The findings, interpretations, and conclusions expressed in these working papers are entirely those of the authors. They do not necessarily represent the view of USAID. The papers are available online at http://www.usaid.gov/locations/europe_eurasia.

Salient Findings

An analysis of country progress in Eastern Europe & Eurasia in a global context reveals that Eurasia (defined as the former Soviet Union less the three Baltic States) lags behind all other major regions of the world in *governing justly and democratically*. This holds true even when the five Central Asian Republics are not included in the Eurasian average. In contrast, Eurasia as a region does not exhibit comparable deficits relative to other global regions in terms of *investing in people* and in *economic performance*.

Eurasia lags behind all the seven other major regions of the world in three of the six democratization dimensions: in media; rule of law; and government effectiveness. Eurasia and South Asia score the poorest in controlling corruption. Of all the global regions, only the Middle East and North Africa region has fewer political rights and civil liberties than Eurasia.

Progress in *governing justly and democratically* varies within Eurasia with three tiers of development. Armenia, Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine are notably more advanced than are the other eight Eurasian countries on this score, though all remain below the global average. Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Tajikistan constitute the middle tier - five countries grouped closely at the Eurasian average on the index. The third and least advanced tier - Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Belarus - are among the ten least democratic nations worldwide. Of the 153 country dataset, only three countries are less advanced than Turkmenistan in democracy and governance: Somalia; Burma; and North Korea. Democratization in Belarus lags behind Cuba and Iraq. Progress in Azerbaijan and Tajikistan is comparable to that found in China; progress in Russia, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan is comparable to that found in Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and Venezuela.

The most common democratization profile found in the world is one in which civil liberties and political rights are the most advanced democratization areas, and anti-corruption and rule of the law are the least advanced. This profile is found in the Central and Eastern Europe countries, in the OECD countries, Latin America and the Caribbean, and to a lesser extent, East Asia and the Pacific, South Asia, and Sub-Saharan Africa. Eurasia and the Middle East and North Africa do not conform to this pattern and also share a common characteristic: both regions lag the most in the development of independent media.

Eurasia's democratic freedom trends (i.e., trends in political rights and civil liberties) over time are very unique. Democratic freedoms in Eurasia have been much more volatile, more subject to both advances and backsliding, than any of the regions in the developing and developed world. Three periods of democratization in Eurasia are evident since 1972. From 1972 until 1987, democratic freedoms were fewer in Eurasia (then united under the USSR) than any other region worldwide and they eroded significantly during this period. From 1987 until the collapse of communism in 1991, democratic freedoms in Eurasia increased at a very fast pace by historical standards, matched only by the pace of political liberalization in CEE. The rapid pace of democratic liberalization from 1987 to 1991 was the period in Eurasia of the glasnost reforms under Gorbachev. From 1991 to the present, the overall Eurasian regional trend has been an

erosion of democratic freedoms. According to these measures, democratic freedoms in Eurasia in 2007 (latest year of available data) were fewer than such freedoms in 1991, at the collapse of communism. In contrast, since the early 1990s, democratic freedoms have either increased or have been stable in all other major regions of the world.

A salient trend within the Eastern Europe and Eurasia region is a very large and generally growing democratization gap between Eurasia and the two CEE sub-regions. In this transition dimension in particular, CEE and Eurasia seem to move along two divergent transition paths.

There has been relatively little difference in Eurasia country-specific trends over time; i.e., all Eurasian countries have shown deterioration in democratization since the early 1990s. Only Turkmenistan, still one of the world's least democratic countries, saw any improvement from 2006 to 2007.

Finally, drawing on the six democracy components from Freedom House's region-specific *Nations in Transit* data (rule of law, anti-corruption, electoral process, independent media, civil society, and public governance), it is clear all democratization aspects in Eurasia since 1999 have witnessed some deterioration, though civil society is for more advanced than all other democratization aspects.

I. Introduction

An analysis of country progress in Eastern Europe & Eurasia in a global context reveals that Eurasia (that is, the Former Soviet Union less the three Baltic States) lags behind all other major regions in the world in democracy and governance.¹ This paper attempts to examine that salient finding more closely.² How does Eurasia as a region compare to the least democratic countries in the world? How does the range of democratization among the Eurasian countries compare with the range elsewhere? (In other words, how indicative is the Eurasian norm?). How do the various democracy and governance “sectors” (such as media, judicial reform, political parties, and local government administration) contribute to the overall findings? How does Eurasia’s democracy and governance profile compare with such profiles elsewhere; typical or atypical? Similarly, to what extent and in what sense is Eurasia’s democratization profile unique? Finally, we examine trends over time as well. Does Eurasia’s deterioration in democratization since the collapse of communism have precedence, over time and/or across the globe? This analysis is intended to be the first part of a larger effort; that is, the descriptive analysis of this paper is to be followed by analyses that will attempt to take stock of the “whys.” What are the causes behind these findings?

The next section outlines our basic methodology and tries to articulate some key constraints in this endeavor to measure democracy and governance. Next we look at aggregate cross-country trends. Section four compares Eurasia’s democratization profile with that of other regions of the world. The fifth section analyses trends over time. Section six attempts to take another and closer look at two democratization sectors: media and civil society. *Appendix 1* tabulates the regional country groups of the global dataset. *Appendix 2* provides elaboration of definitions of indicators in our governing justly and democratically index. Finally, *Appendix 3* provides the indicator conversions from the original data to our 1-to-5 scale.

II. Methodology

Figure 1 shows the groupings of the 153 countries analyzed in this paper. Countries under a million in population are not included, so as to remove the small and often democratically advanced countries that can skew regional averages. In addition, the thirty nations of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) are included in a separate category representing the most democratically advanced countries. The OECD includes Western Europe, North America, as well as countries such as Australia, Japan, Mexico, and Poland that would otherwise increase the democracy and governance scores for their respective geographic regions. This grouping system serves to minimize the impact of a few high performing countries

¹ This analysis stems largely from the development of a global dataset and its presentation by Robyn Murphy and Ron Sprout of the Bureau for Europe and Eurasia in USAID and Kathy Rowan of Analysis, Information Management & Communication (AIM): *Monitoring Country Progress in Europe & Eurasia and the World*, October 18, 2007.

² Many thanks to the E&E Democracy and Governance team, in particular, Alex Sokolowski, Meg Gaydosik, Claire Ehmann, Eric Rudenshiold, Shawna Wilson, and Caryn Wilde, for very helpful and thoughtful suggestions on earlier drafts of this research.

which would otherwise drive up the scores of regions, particularly Central & Eastern Europe and East Asia & the Pacific.

We develop an index of *governing justly and democratically* (GJD) which consists of six indicators, all standardized on a 1 to 5 scale where 5 represents the most advanced worldwide: (1) political rights; (2) civil liberties; (3) independent media; (4) rule of law; (5) control of corruption; and (6) government effectiveness. Indicators 1-3, which are generated by Freedom House, are intended to broadly measure democracy or democratic freedoms. Indicators 4-6, generated by the World Bank Institute, are intended to broadly measure governance and the quality of governmental institutions

The governing justly and democratically index endeavors to quantify some inherently qualitative notions of democracy and governance and is therefore subject to the definitional and methodological debates that have accompanied similar efforts. A 2008 study from the National Academy of Sciences critically assesses current efforts to measure democracy and finds credible faults with virtually all efforts, including those that make up our GJD index.³ The study notes, for example, that the Freedom House indicators of civil liberties and political rights are insufficiently sensitive to gradations in the quality of democracy across countries. Moreover, there is a high correlation among the components of the civil liberties and political rights indicators, suggesting little differentiation between the disaggregated components (e.g. freedom of expression, personal autonomy, etc.). The study voiced similar criticism of the World Bank Institute governance indicators, stating that the indicators of government effectiveness, control of corruption, rule of law, etc., involve very similar underlying components.

Acknowledging these challenges, the GJD index attempts to maximize objectivity by providing a common scaling system to democracy and governance indicators with different methodological underpinnings⁴. By using three Freedom House indicators and three World Bank Institute indicators, the GJD index attempts to be equally balanced between indicators measuring democracy *and* governance.

The democracy indicators are measured by a panel of Freedom House experts who rate countries. *Civil liberties* are determined by freedom of expression, association and organizational rights, rule of law and human rights, and personal autonomy and economic rights. *Political rights* are rated by a panel according to the prevalence of free and fair elections; the ability of citizens to form political parties that may compete fairly in elections; freedom from domination by the military, foreign powers, totalitarian parties, religious hierarchies and economic oligarchies; and the political rights of minority groups. *Freedom of the press* is rated by a Freedom House panel according to the legal environment, the political environment, and the economic environment for the media.

³ National Academy of Sciences, *Improving Democracy Assistance, Building Knowledge Through Evaluations and Research* (2008).

⁴ The six-indicator index is similar in content to the “Ruling Justly” indicators used by the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC). However, the GJD index used here substitutes Freedom House’s Freedom of the Press survey for the Voice and Accountability indicator used by MCC.

The governance indicators are measured by the World Bank Institute, which compiles and aggregates multiple surveys and polls prepared by international organizations, political risk rating firms, academic institutions, etc. *Government effectiveness* is an index of surveys and polls that attempts to measure the quality of public services, the quality of the civil service and its independence from political pressures, the quality of policy formulation and implementation, and the credibility of the government's commitment to such policies. *Rule of law* is an index of surveys and polls that attempts to measure the extent to which individuals and firms have confidence in and abide by the rules of society, and in particular the quality of contract enforcement, the police, and the courts, as well as the likelihood of crime and violence. *Control of corruption* is an index of surveys and polls that attempts to measure the extent to which public power is exercised for private gain, including both petty and grand forms of corruption, as well as "capture" of the state by elites and private interests.

The distinction between indicators of democracy and indicators of governance is not always clear. Some sub-elements of the democracy indicators, e.g. rule of law under civil liberties, can blur the differences. However, the GJD index hopefully captures most of the elements generally associated with the concepts of democracy and governance, even if a commonly accepted definition of those terms remains elusive. For the purpose of this analysis, democracy and governance are related but independent values. One is not considered to be a component of the other. Within Eurasia, however, there is a strong correlation between governance and democracy. *Government effectiveness*, for instance, does not merely measure the efficiency of service delivery but takes stock of the independence of the civil service. Belarus, despite its relative ability to "make the trains run on time," scores nearly as poorly on the governance indicators as it does on the democracy indicators. The term "democratization" is used here to refer to both democracy and governance.

III. Aggregate Cross-country Trends

As highlighted in *Figure 2* and *Table 1*, Eurasia lags behind all other major regions of the world in governing justly and democratically as measured by the GJD index. The OECD countries are the most advanced in democratization, and generally by a considerable amount. The Central and Eastern European countries (less the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia, and Poland which are included in the OECD grouping) are a distant second in democratization, followed by Latin America and the Caribbean. Four regions follow with relatively comparable levels of democratization among them: East Asia; Sub-Saharan Africa; South Asia; and the Middle East & North Africa. Lagging well behind all country groups in democratization is Eurasia.

In striking contrast to Eurasia's democratization gap vis-à-vis the rest of the world, Eurasia's relative performance in the economic and social dimensions is much more favorable (*Figures 3* and *4*; *Tables 1* and *2*). Specifically, Eurasia outperforms all of the developing country regions in *investing in people*, and is comparable to progress in *economic growth and performance* in the more advanced developing regions of East Asia, Latin America & the Caribbean, and the Middle East & North Africa.⁵

⁵ *Investing in People* includes: (1) per capita income; (2) environmental performance; (3) life expectancy; (4) under-five mortality rate; (6) government spending on health and education as a percent of GDP; (7) income inequality;

Progress in governing justly and democratically varies notably within Eurasia (*Figures 5-7, Table 3*), though all Eurasian countries have levels of democratization below the global average. Of the 153 countries measured, Turkmenistan has the 4th lowest level of democratization (closest to that found in Burma and Zimbabwe) while Ukraine has the highest level of democratization among Eurasia, with a rank of 79 (closest to that found in the Central African Republic and Burkina Faso).

The Eurasian countries fall broadly into three tiers by level of democratization. Democratization in Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, and Moldova are above Eurasian average though below the Latin America and Caribbean average and below the global average. Russia, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, and Azerbaijan are close to the Eurasia average and slightly below the Middle East and North Africa regional average. The final tier composed of Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Belarus lags well behind all the other Eurasian countries and all the global regional averages. Of the 153 country dataset, only three countries are less advanced than Turkmenistan in democracy and governance: Somalia; Burma; and North Korea. Democratization in Belarus lags behind Cuba and Iraq. Progress in Azerbaijan and Tajikistan is comparable to that found in China; progress in Russia, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan can be compared to that found in Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and Venezuela.

IV. Eurasia's Democratization Profile Compared

This section shows Eurasia's democratization profile across the various democracy areas vis-à-vis democratization profiles of other regions of the world. *Figure 8* examines the disaggregated democracy and governance scores of these regional groupings. Eurasia lags behind all other regions in all indicators with a handful of exceptions. The Middle East and North Africa region has a slightly lower political rights score and is comparable in civil liberties. South Asia and Eurasia have similar control of corruption ratings.

Figures 9-10 provide another means to compare democratization profiles across the global regions. The shaded blue areas of these web charts show the progress in democracy and governance in Eurasia relative to that found in Sub-Saharan Africa (the red outline in *Figure 9*), and South Asia (the purple outline in *Figure 10*). In both of these regions, Eurasia is comparable in the "governance" measures of government effectiveness, control of corruption, and rule of law, but lags in the "democracy" indicators of civil liberties, political rights and independent media.

Figures 11 and 12 show two additional comparisons: the shaded light blue areas of these web charts show that the progress in democracy and governance in Eurasia is below that found in East Asia on both democracy and governance indicators (the dark blue outline in *Figure 11*). The Middle East and North Africa is the one region in which Eurasia is roughly comparable in the

and (8) poverty. *Economic growth and performance* includes: (1) foreign direct investment; (2) domestic credit as % of GDP; (3) infrastructure; (4) agricultural productivity; (5) business environment; (6) regulatory quality; and (7) and the quality of the environment.

democracy indicators, but as the green line in *Figure 12* shows, Eurasia trails the Middle East and North Africa on the governance indicators.

Despite some areas of comparative parity, there is no region in which Eurasia does not lag in either democracy or governance indicators. Data for disaggregated indicators are contained in *Table 4*.

Freedom House produces an annual transition region-specific report, *Nations in Transit*, partly funded by E&E/USAID. In this report, seven indicators of democratization are measured and tracked for the E&E region (*Figure 13* and *Table 5*). These measures are presumably more rigorous and certainly better tailored to democracy gaps and trends in the transition region than Freedom House's global measures of political rights and civil liberties, and may address some of the criticism of the broader global indicators made by the National Academy of Sciences study. Two constraints of the *Nations in Transit* measures for our current purposes are: (1) these indicators are not available for other parts of the world; and (2) the data series only goes back in time to 1997.

Eurasia lags significantly relative to CEE countries across the board in democratization measures (*Figure 13*). Eurasia lags the most relative to the CEE countries which have graduated from USG assistance in electoral processes; the gap is smallest in anti-corruption measures (in no small part because there is still much to be done in the fight against corruption in even the more advanced transition countries).⁶

V. Tracking Trends over Time

We use two datasets to capture democratization trends over time. The first dataset allows us to look at broad democratization trends worldwide since the early 1970s. These data are political rights and civil liberties indices from Freedom House (*Freedom in the World*), and are two of the six indicators that make up our GJD index. The second dataset is the transition region-specific data from Freedom House's *Nations in Transit*.

Democratic freedoms in Eurasia have been much more volatile, more subject to both advances and backsliding, than any region of the developing or developed world since 1972 (*Figure 14* and *Table 6*). Three periods of democratization in Eurasia are evident since 1972. From 1972 until 1987, democratic freedoms were fewer in Eurasia than any other region worldwide (except CEE in the early 1970s) and they eroded significantly during this period. From 1987 until the collapse of communism in 1991, democratic freedoms in Eurasia increased at a very fast pace historically, matched only by the pace of political liberalization in CEE. The rapid pace of democratization from 1987 to 1991 was the period in Eurasia of the glasnost reforms under Gorbachev.

⁶ The CEE countries which have graduated from USG assistance include the 8 Northern Tier CEE countries (Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Poland, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania) as well as Romania, Bulgaria, and Croatia.

From 1991 to the present, despite occasional fluctuations, the overall Eurasian regional trend has been an erosion of democratic freedoms, in contrast to the rapid increases (at least until very recently) in CEE during this same period. The most recent volatility in Eurasia's score between 2005 and 2007 reflects in part the positive impact of the democratic revolutions in Ukraine and Georgia, followed by the violent response of Georgian authorities to disturbances in that country in 2007. According to these measures, democratic freedoms in Eurasia in 2007 were fewer than such freedoms in 1991, at the collapse of communism. In contrast, since the early 1990s, democratic freedoms have either increased or have been stable in all other major regions of the world.

Table 6 shows the scores of democratic freedoms since 1973 and highlights three additional key findings: (1) the Middle East and North Africa region lags behind all other major regions of the world in democratic freedoms (in political rights and civil liberties), though such freedoms in Eurasia are very close to MENA standards; (2) over the duration of the time period from 1973-2007, the only major region in the world which experienced a net decline in democratic freedoms was South Asia; and (3) far and away the most significant increase in democratic freedoms from 1973-2007 occurred in Central and Eastern Europe.

Figure 15 and *Table 7* combine the three indicators of the “governance” side of the governing justly and democratically index – rule of law, control of corruption, and government effectiveness. Overall, *Figure 15* reveals stable trends in governance since 1996, even in Eurasia. These measures are less volatile than are the democratic freedom trends over time. Of all the regions, only the Central and Eastern Europe region witnessed a notable increase in governance in this period. Most regions witnessed minor erosion in governance from 1996 to 2007. While governance in Eurasia has not backslid during this time period, it nevertheless is the least developed of all the regions of the world, including in Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia. The levels of governance in the OECD far exceed levels of governance in all other parts of the world.

Trends over time using a region-specific dataset

Figures 16-20 and *Tables 8-9* draw from Freedom House's region-specific *Nations in Transit* dataset. These data begin in 1997. In *Figures 16-20*, we also extend the analysis back in time by converting the change in the scores of the more generalized political rights and civil liberties data from Freedom House into our 1-5 scheme.⁷ For our purposes, here, however, we focus on the trends from 1997 to 2007.

Overall, *Figure 16* underscores a very large and generally growing democratization gap between Eurasia and the two CEE sub-regions. In fact, the backsliding in democratic reforms in Eurasia is more evident in this picture and in these data than is evident in the global dataset of *Figures 14* or *15*. It is interesting to observe, albeit perhaps coincidental, that the Southern Tier CEE and Eurasia trends have been fairly consistently moving in opposite directions since 1999, almost in a mirror image of each other.

⁷ An increase (decrease) in both political rights and civil liberties translated into a “0.2” increase (decrease) in our 1-5 scores. An increase in one dimension resulted in an increase (decrease) of “0.1”. A “directional” change in democratic freedoms in a country according to Freedom House translated into a change of “0.05”.

Figures 17-19 disaggregate Eurasia's democratization trends over time in each of the three main Eurasian sub-regions: Central Asia; Russia and the Western CIS; and the Caucasus. Of the three Eurasian sub-regions, the trends in Central Asia have been the most dismal (*Figure 17*). Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan are among the least democratic countries worldwide, having achieved that status in the early years of independence. Democratization in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan has regressed steadily since the early 1990s. The so-called "Tulip Revolution" in 2005 has not resulted in democratic advancement in Kyrgyzstan. Of the five Central Asian countries, only Tajikistan has had a period of several continuous years of democratic gains since independence, once civil war ended. However, in more recent years, democracy gains have been eroding in Tajikistan as well.

Democracy trends in the Western CIS have been more variable (*Figure 18*). The democratization path in Belarus has more closely resembled trends in Central Asia; steady and significant backsliding, particularly once Alexander Lukashenko gained power in 1994, to levels of repression comparable to Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. Russia, too, has seen steady erosion of democratization since the mid-1990s, a trend that accelerated with the emergence of Vladimir Putin to power. Ukraine's democratization path closely followed that of Russia's through much of the 1990s. However, since the early 2000s, leading up to and beyond the "Orange Revolution," democratic reforms have advanced. While Moldova experienced modest democratic gains through the 1990s, regression has outweighed progress in this sphere in Moldova since 2001 when the Communist Party was elected. More than any other sub-region of Eurasia, the Western CIS made more tentative moves towards democracy in the 1990s. With the exception of Ukraine, however, all of the Western CIS countries have seemingly turned away from this experiment in the 2000s.

In the Caucasus, democratic reforms have stagnated at best in Azerbaijan (*Figure 19*). Such reforms are farther along in Armenia, though backsliding has been steady since 1994. Georgia's path has been more erratic, with notable gains in the 1990s up to 1998, followed by steady decline up to and even shortly after the 2003 "Rose Revolution." Measurable gains in democratization occurred in Georgia in 2005 and 2006, but were set back by government crackdowns in 2007.

Figure 20 and *Table 9* look at trends over time in Eurasia by the components of democratization using the *Nations in Transit* data. Since 1999, all democratization aspects in Eurasia have witnessed some deterioration by these measures. The greatest deterioration has been in public governance; the least backsliding has occurred in civil society and anti-corruption measures. As evident in *Figure 20*, civil society in Eurasia is far more advanced than are the other democratization components.

VI. A closer (and alternative) look at media and civil society

E&E/USAID funds the *Media Sustainability Index* (*Figures 21-22* and *Tables 10-11*). This is an effort by the non-profit organization, IREX, to analyze and quantify progress in media in the region. The measures used represent indices of five components of media sustainability by

IREX: free speech; professional journalism; plurality of news sources; business management; and supporting institutions.

By this analysis, no country in Eurasia has yet to attain a threshold of sustainability in media, and only two, Georgia and Ukraine, have achieved a “near sustainable” threshold. However, this analysis shows much more positive trends of media development over time than does Freedom House’s *Nations in Transit*. According to the *Media Sustainability Index*, seven Eurasian countries have advanced towards developing a sustainable free media sector from 2001-2007, and only four countries have witnessed backtracking. In contrast, according to the *Nations in Transit* data, only Ukraine of the Eurasian countries has experienced advancements in its media sector since 2001.

According to the *Media Sustainability Index*, the Eurasian countries on average have advanced from 2001-2007 across the board in the six media components (that go into the index) (*Figure 22*). Of these six components, the development of *supporting institutions* is farthest along, while *business management* and *professional journalism* lag the most.

Figure 23 and *Table 12* further examine civil society in Eurasia through the lens of the *NGO Sustainability Index*, a joint undertaking by USAID and Management Systems International (MSI). According to this analysis, since 2000, civil society in five Eurasian countries has advanced: Ukraine; Kazakhstan; Kyrgyzstan (marginally); Moldova (marginally); and Tajikistan. Backsliding has occurred from 2000-2007 in Uzbekistan and Belarus (marginally). Armenia, Georgia, Russia, and Azerbaijan saw no measurable change in civil society progress in 2007 compared to 2000. In the aggregate, Eurasia saw no net change in this index since 2000, a finding at odds with Freedom House’s *Nations in Transit* analysis (which had civil society in Eurasia deteriorating moderately over this time period).

VII. Conclusion

By almost every measure, democratization trends in Eurasia are troublesome, although the degree of the problem looks different according to different measures. The most discouraging analysis stems from Freedom House’s *Nations in Transit* data set, which looks exclusively at the transition countries. According to this data set, democratization has deteriorated in Eurasia across all six democratization dimensions in recent years. The global data sets of Freedom House’s *Freedom in the World* and the World Bank Institute’s *Governance Matters* show Eurasia at or near the bottom in every democratization measure relative to the other major country groups of the world. However, the World Bank indicators show little change in governance capacities in Eurasia since 1996; i.e., neither progress nor backsliding. In addition, the *Media* and *NGO Sustainability Indices*, in contrast to Freedom House data, show modest gains on balance in Eurasia in these two sectors since 2000-2001.

The differences in results likely highlight some limitations in our ability to define and measure democratization. The National Academy of Sciences study contends that “the development of a widely recognized disaggregated definition of democracy, with clearly defined and objectively measurable components, would be the result of a considerable research project that is yet to be

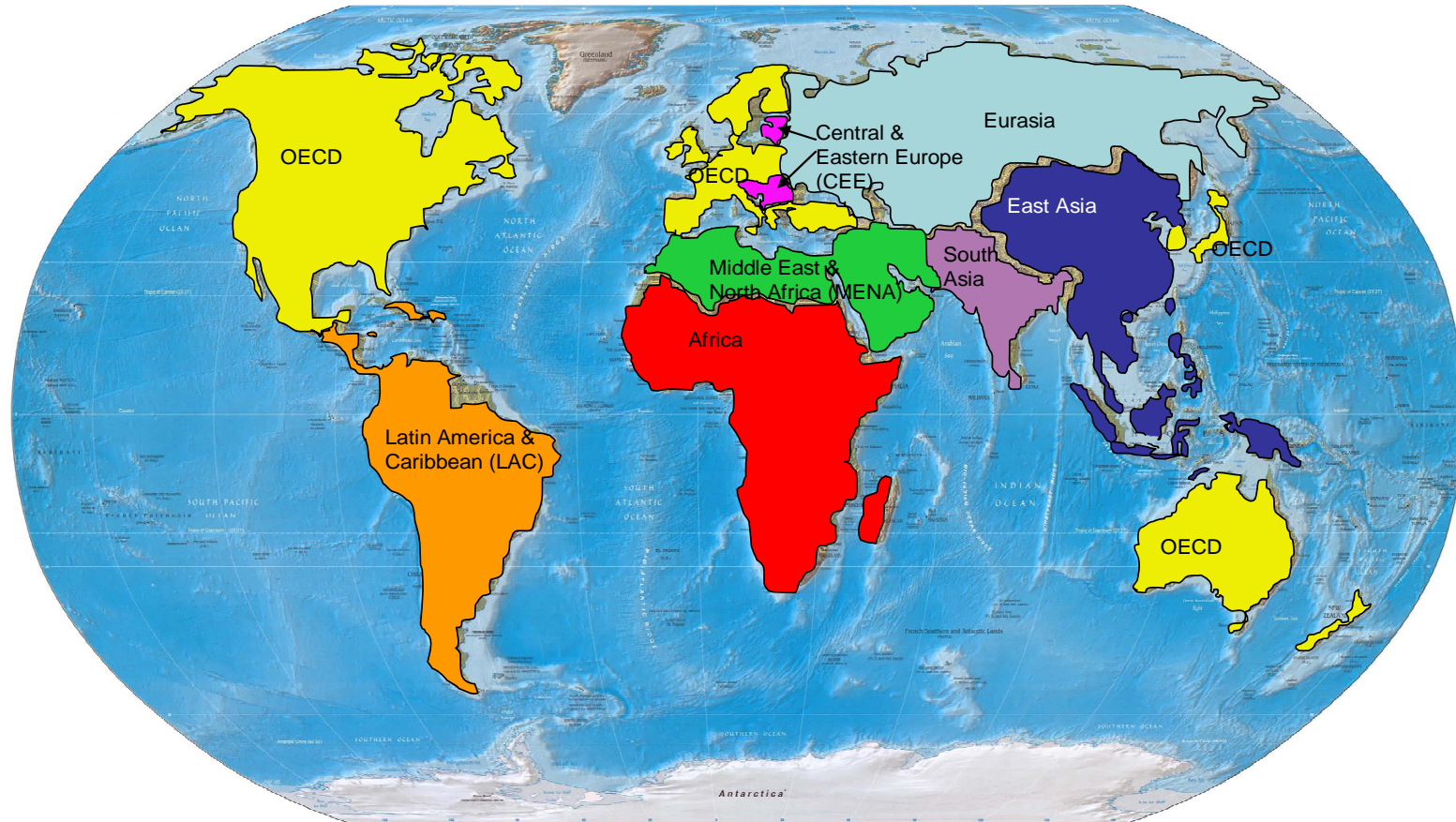
done.”⁸ It is unfortunate that the NAS study did not explicitly critique Freedom House’s *Nations in Transit* data set; i.e., its transition region specific disaggregated measures of democratization. Nevertheless, the thrust of the NAS study’s observation no doubt remains valid.

With that significant caveat in mind, the next stage in our research on this topic is to explore the “whys.” In particular, what might be plausible explanations as to why Eurasia’s democratization profile is so unique and so dismal? What are the prospects in the future and related to that what might be some of the implications for USAID programming?

⁸ National Academy of Sciences, *Improving Democracy Assistance*, (2008) p. 61.

Figure 1

Regions for Global Comparison

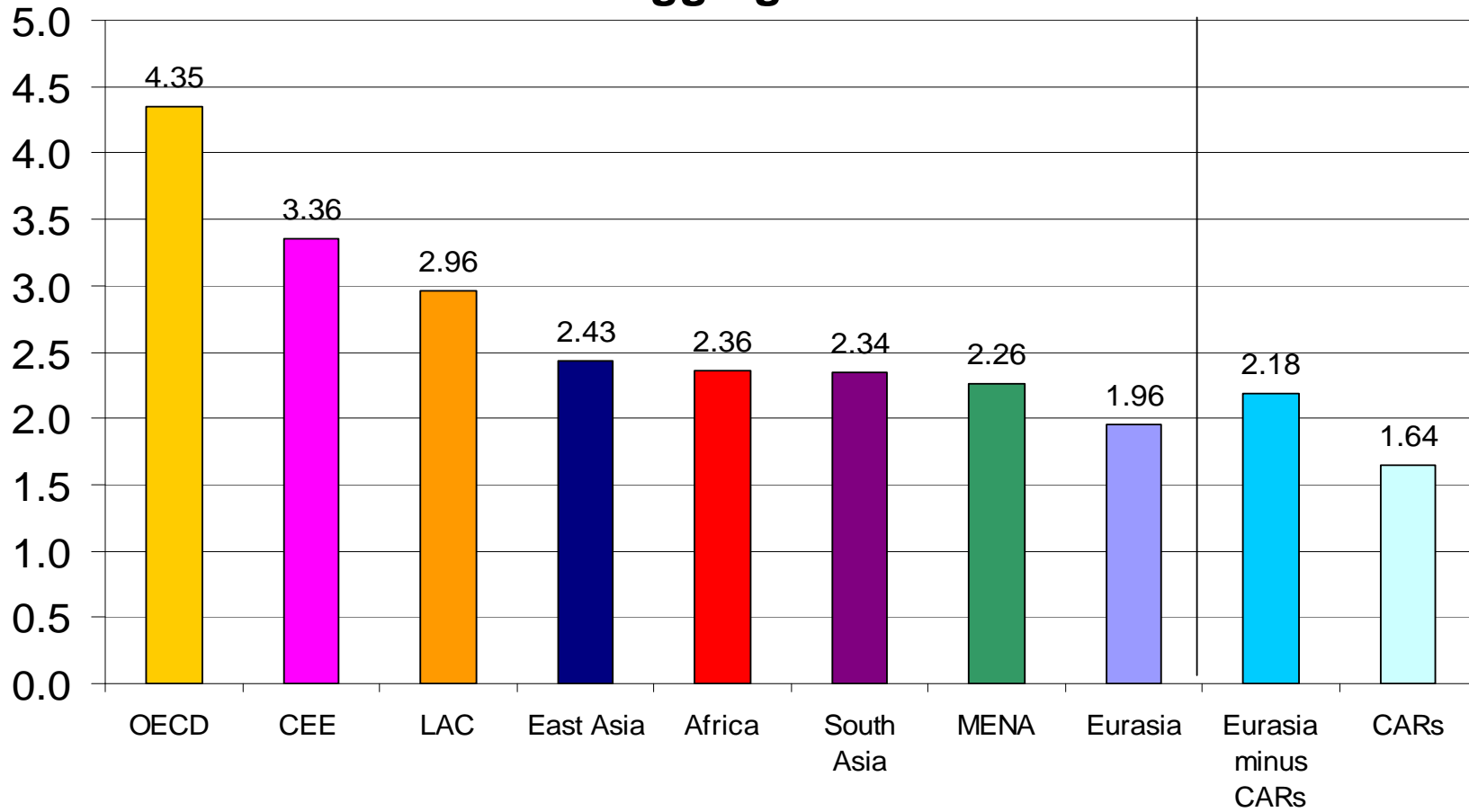


Nations under 1 million population excluded. OECD nations not included in other categories



Governing Justly and Democratically in the World – Aggregated Scores

Figure 2

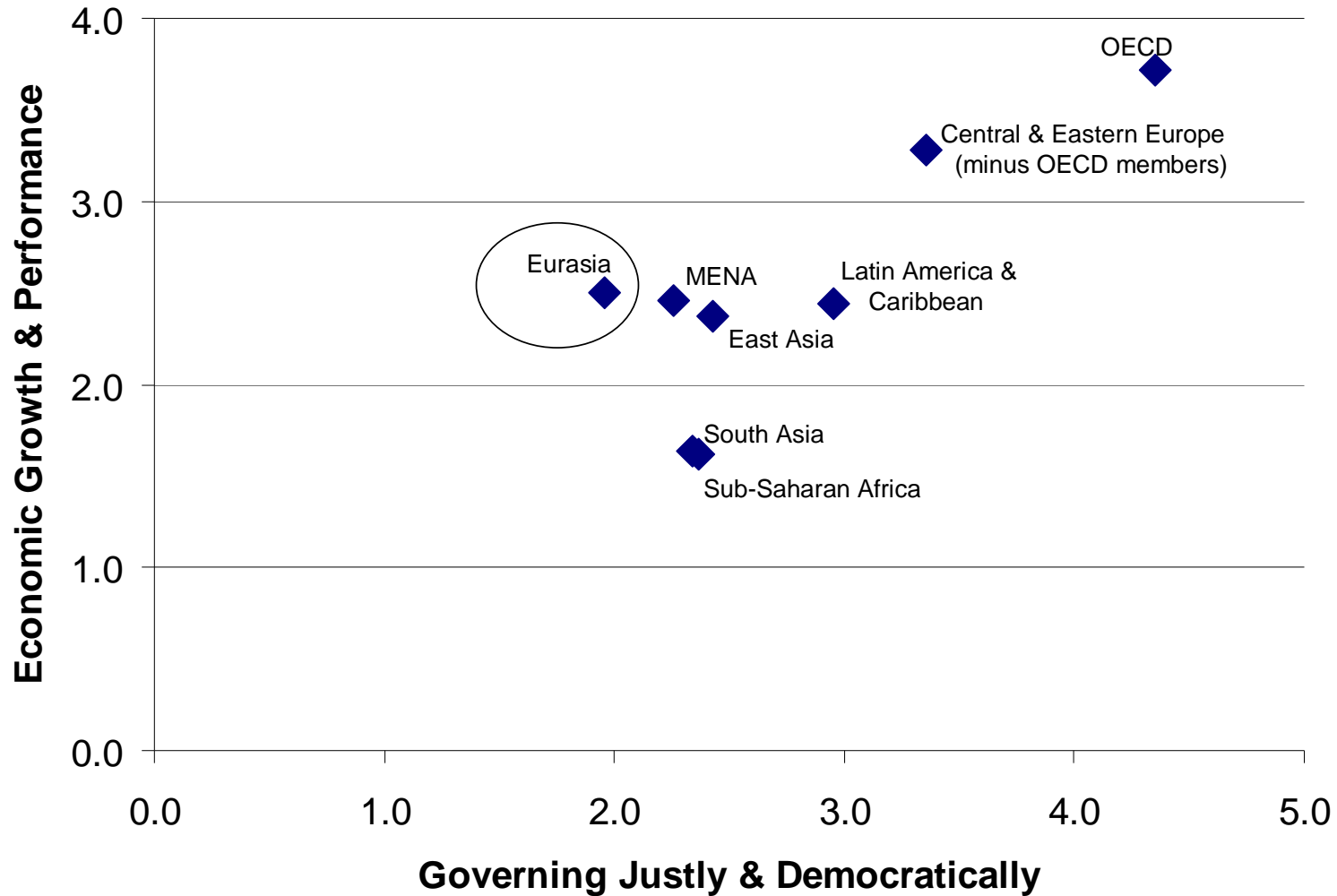


Ratings are based on a scale from 0.5 to 5.0, with 5 representing the best score. World Bank Institute, *Governance Matters Indicators* (2007); World Bank, Freedom House, *Freedom in the World 2008* (2007), and *Freedom of the Press 2008* (2007).



Figure 3

Governing Justly & Democratically vs. Economic Growth & Performance



Ratings are based on a scale from 1 to 5, with 5 representing the best score. World Bank Institute, *Governance Matters Indicators* (2007); World Bank, *World Development Indicators* (2005), *Doing Business in 2006* (2005); Freedom House, *Freedom in the World 2008* (December 2007), *Freedom of the Press* (2007); Yale and Columbia University, *2006 Environmental Performance Index* (2006); IMF, *Country Reports*; UNCTAD, *Foreign Direct Investment Database* (2006).

Table 1. Global Regions Across Three Sector Indices (1-5 Scale)

Region	Governing Justly and Democratically	Economic Growth and Performance	Investing in People
Africa	2.36	1.62	1.33
Central and Eastern Europe	3.36	3.28	3.97
East Asia	2.43	2.38	2.62
Eurasia	1.96	2.50	3.23
Latin America & Caribbean	2.96	2.44	3.01
Middle East & North Africa	2.26	2.46	2.90
OECD	4.35	3.72	4.59
South Asia	2.34	1.64	1.70

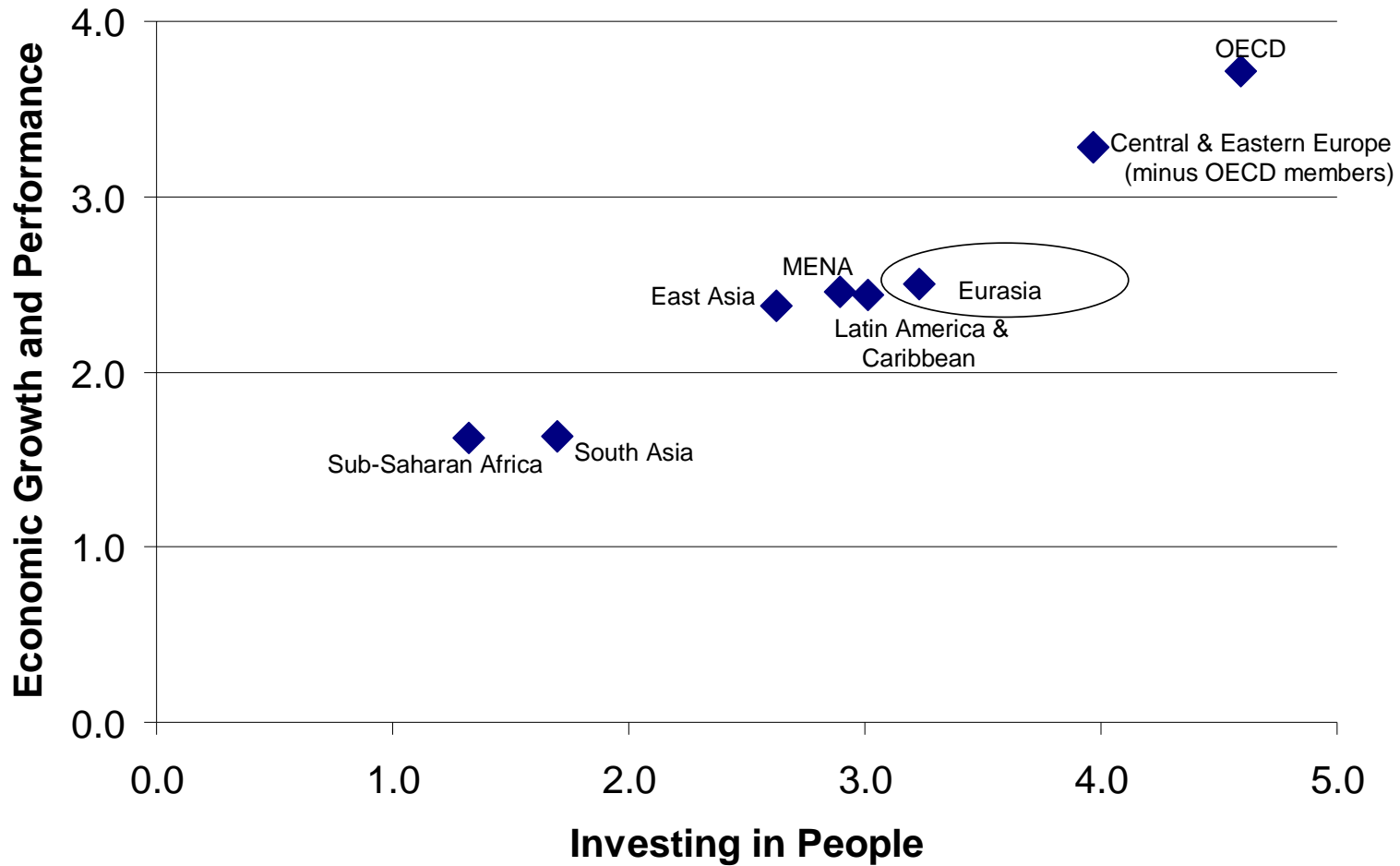
Table 2. Eurasian Countries Across Three Sector Indices (1-5 Scale)

Country	Governing Justly and Democratically	Economic Growth and Performance	Investing in People
Armenia	2.3	3.3	3.4
Azerbaijan	1.8	2.4	2.8
Belarus	1.4	2.3	4.3
Georgia	2.6	3.0	2.7
Kazakhstan	1.9	3.2	3.4
Kyrgyzstan	2.0	1.8	3.3
Moldova	2.4	2.6	3.5
Russia	2.0	2.7	3.5
Tajikistan	1.8	2.0	2.7
Turkmenistan	1.2	2.3	2.5
Ukraine	2.8	2.7	4.0
Uzbekistan	1.3	1.8	2.9

Ratings are based on a scale from 1 to 5, with 5 representing the best score. World Bank Institute, *Governance Matters Indicators* (2007); World Bank, *World Development Indicators* (2005), *Doing Business in 2006* (2005); Freedom House, *Freedom in the World 2008* (December 2007), *Freedom of the Press* (2007); Yale and Columbia University, *2006 Environmental Performance Index* (2006); IMF, *Country Reports*; UNCTAD, *Foreign Direct Investment Database* (2006 UNDP, *Human Development Report* (2006); UN, *State of the World's Children* (2007)



Figure 4 **Investing in People vs. Economic Growth and Performance**

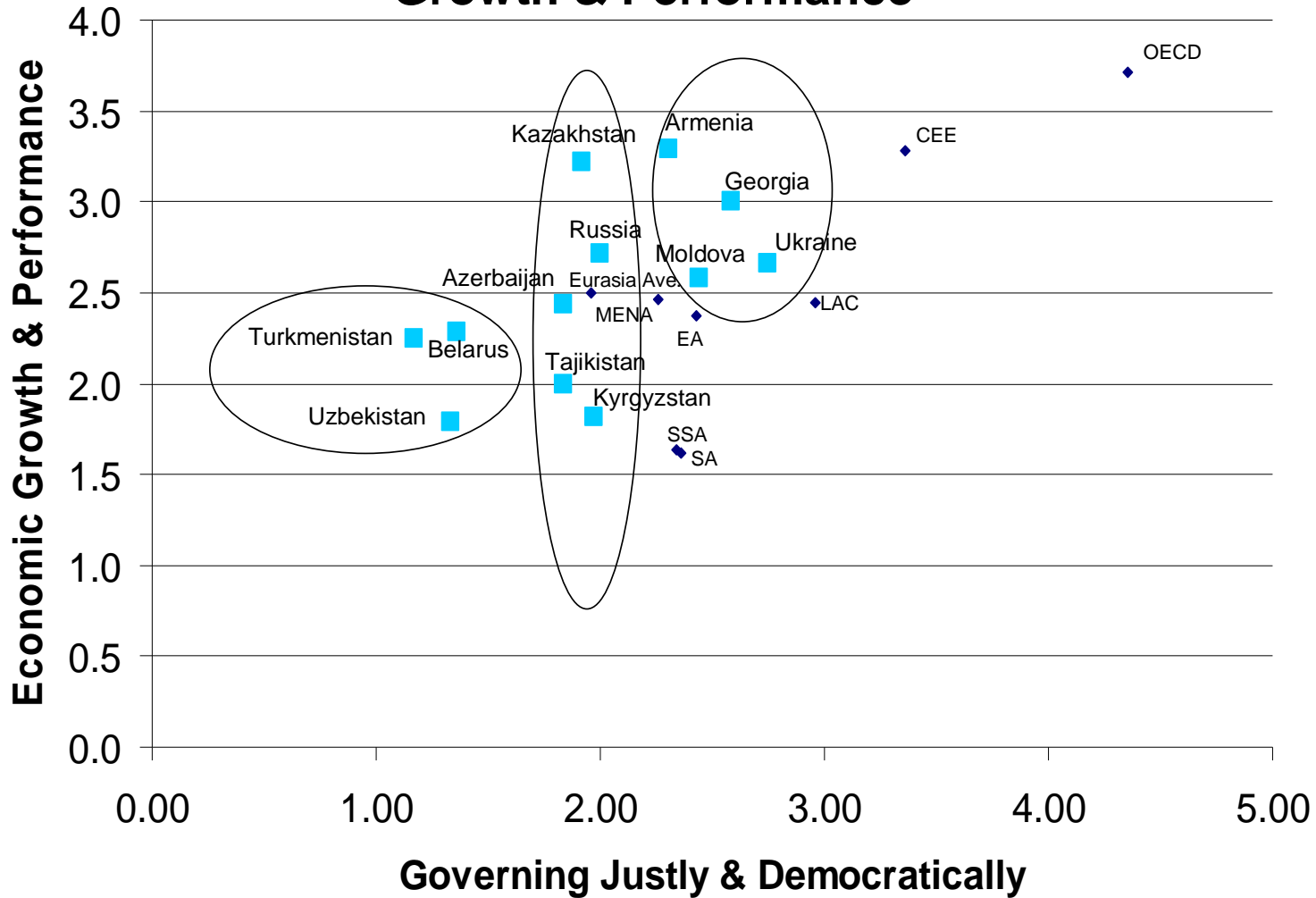


Ratings are based on a scale from 0.5 to 5.0, with 5 representing the best score. World Bank Institute, *Governance Matters Indicators* (2007); World Bank, *World Development Indicators* (2007), *Doing Business in 2007* (2006); Freedom House, *Freedom in the World 2007* (2007), and *Freedom of the Press 2007* (2007); UNDP, *Human Development Report* (2006); UN, *State of the World's Children* (2007); Yale and Columbia University, *2006 Environmental Performance Index* (2006).



Figure 5

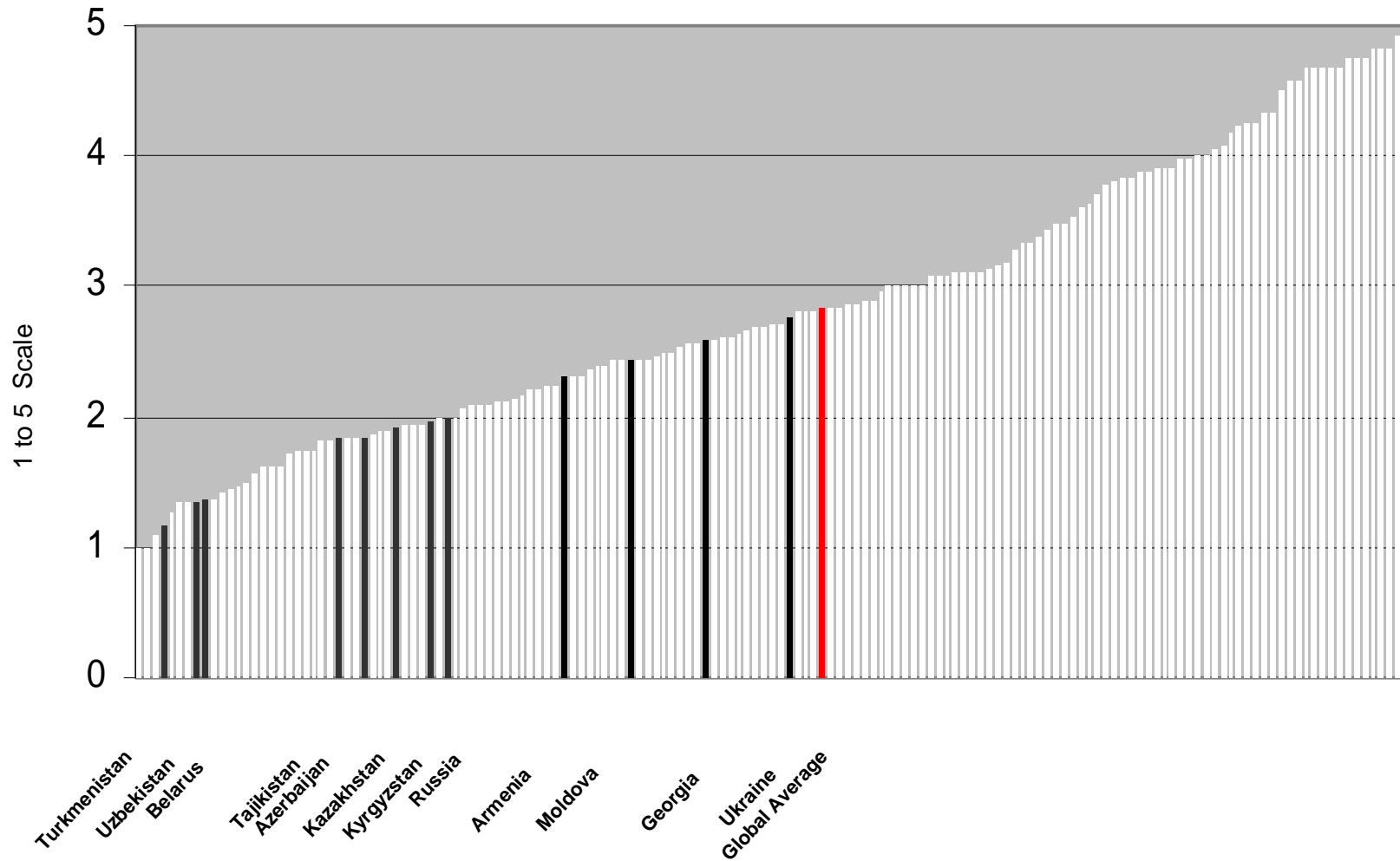
Governing Justly & Democratically vs. Economic Growth & Performance



Ratings are based on a scale from 1 to 5, with 5 representing the best score. World Bank Institute, *Governance Matters Indicators* (2007); World Bank, *World Development Indicators* (2005), *Doing Business in 2006* (2005); Freedom House, *Freedom in the World 2008* (December 2007), *Freedom of the Press* (2007); Yale and Columbia University, *2006 Environmental Performance Index* (2006); IMF, *Country Reports*; UNCTAD, *Foreign Direct Investment Database* (2006).

Figure 6

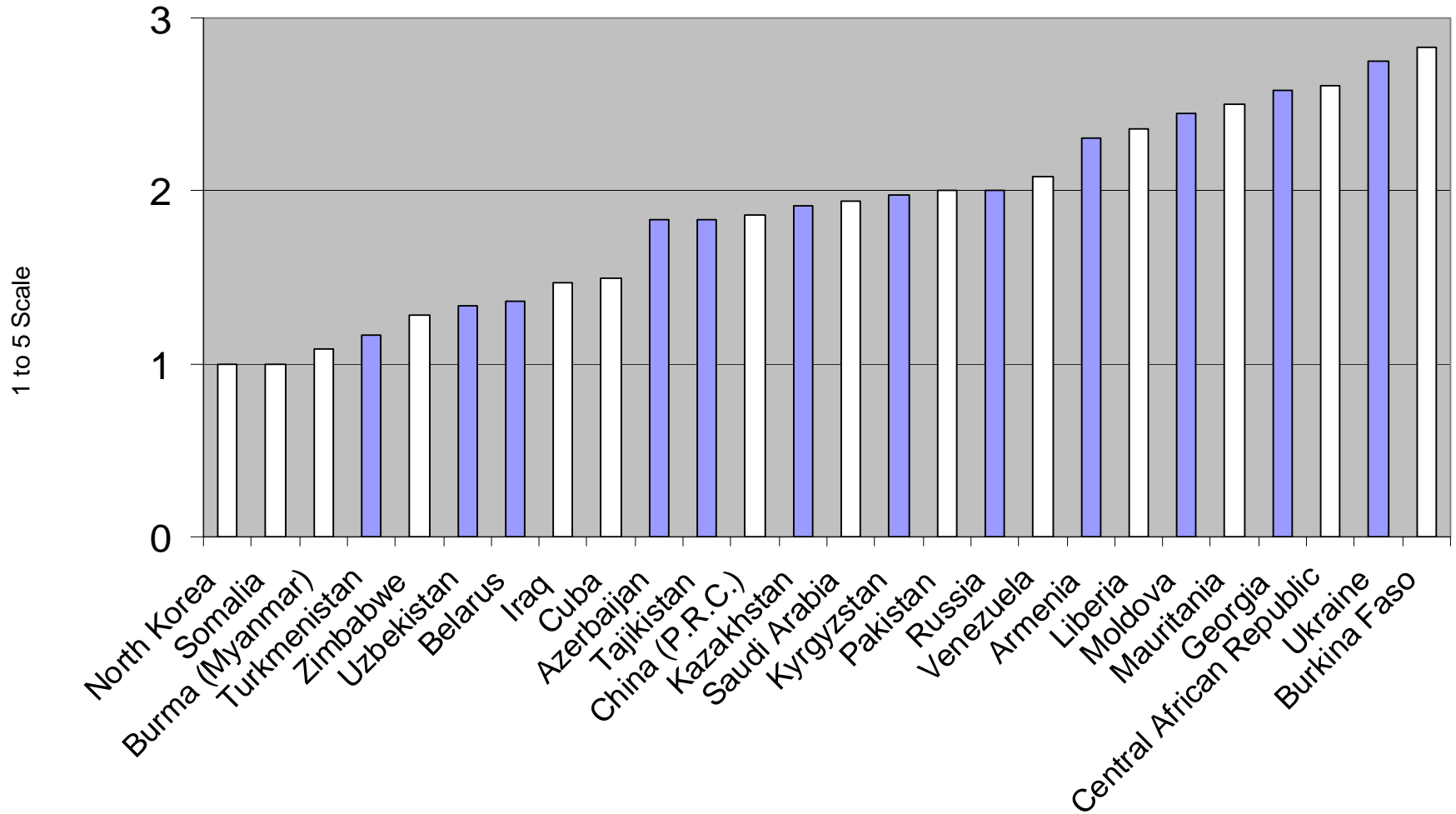
Eurasia vs. Global Dataset for Governing Justly and Democratically (n-153)



Ratings are based on a scale from 0.5 to 5.0, with 5 representing the best score. World Bank Institute, *Governance Matters Indicators* (2007); World Bank, Freedom House, *Freedom in the World 2008* (2007), and *Freedom of the Press 2008* (2007).

Eurasia vs. Selected Countries for Governing Justly and Democratically

Figure 7



Ratings are based on a scale from 0.5 to 5.0, with 5 representing the best score. World Bank Institute, *Governance Matters Indicators* (2007); World Bank,); Freedom House, *Freedom in the World 2008* (2007). and *Freedom of the Press 2008* (2007).

Table 3: Global Scores on Governing Justly & Democratically Index (1 – 5 Scale)

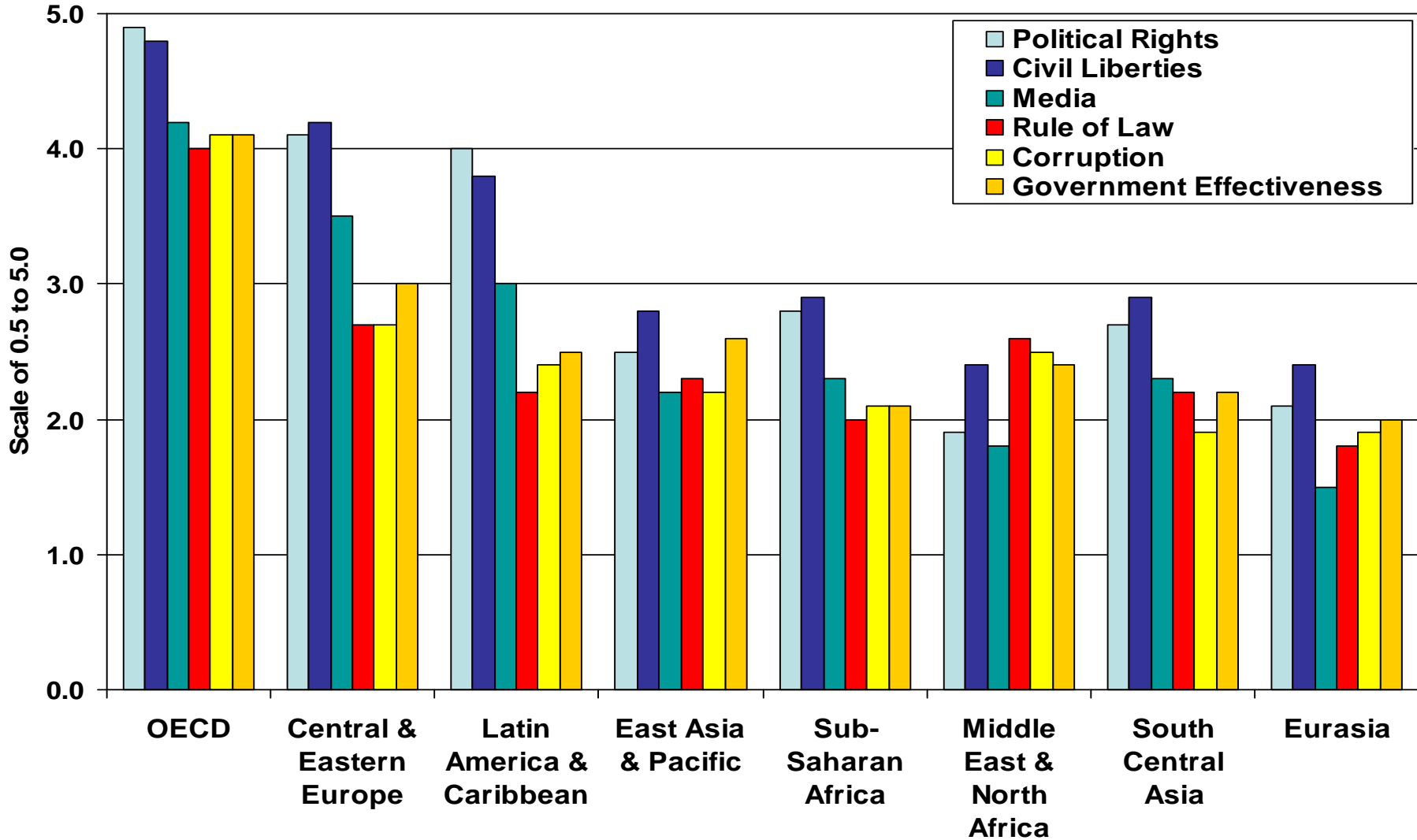
1	North Korea	1.00	33	Saudi Arabia	1.94	65	Mauritania	2.50	97	Malaysia	3.08	129	Lithuania	4.00
2	Somalia	1.00	34	Togo	1.94	66	Thailand	2.53	98	Serbia & Mont.	3.08	130	Israel	4.06
3	Burma	1.08	35	Yemen	1.94	67	Ecuador	2.56	99	Argentina	3.11	131	Czech Rep.	4.08
4	<u>Turkmenistan</u>	1.17	36	<u>Kyrgyzstan</u>	1.97	68	Paraguay	2.56	100	Benin	3.11	132	Slovenia	4.17
5	Zimbabwe	1.28	37	Pakistan	2.00	69	<u>Georgia</u>	2.58	101	Dominican R.	3.11	133	Japan	4.22
6	Libya	1.33	38	<u>Russia</u>	2.00	70	Oman	2.58	102	Mongolia	3.11	134	Chile	4.25
7	Sudan	1.33	39	Rwanda	2.00	71	Cent. Africa. Republic	2.61	103	Turkey	3.14	135	Portugal	4.25
8	<u>Uzbekistan</u>	1.33	40	Haiti	2.06	72	Timor-Leste	2.61	104	Mali	3.17	136	Estonia	4.33
9	<u>Belarus</u>	1.36	41	Algeria	2.08	73	Honduras	2.64	105	Romania	3.19	137	Spain	4.33
10	Eritrea	1.36	42	Kosovo	2.08	74	Sri Lanka	2.67	106	Brazil	3.28	138	France	4.50
11	Congo (DRC)	1.42	43	Venezuela	2.08	75	Bosnia	2.69	107	India	3.33	139	Belgium	4.58
12	Chad	1.44	44	Ethiopia	2.11	76	Philippines	2.69	108	Jamaica	3.33	140	United States	4.58
13	Iraq	1.47	45	Gabon	2.11	77	Albania	2.72	109	Panama	3.39	141	Australia	4.67
14	Cuba	1.50	46	Bangladesh	2.14	78	Nicaragua	2.72	110	Trinidad & Tobago	3.44	142	Austria	4.67
15	Cote d'Ivoire	1.56	47	Guinea-Bissau	2.17	79	<u>Ukraine</u>	2.75	111	Bulgaria	3.47	143	Germany	4.67
16	Laos	1.61	48	Gambia	2.22	80	Jordan	2.81	112	Ghana	3.47	144	Ireland	4.67
17	Syria	1.61	49	Tunisia	2.22	81	Mozambique	2.81	113	Namibia	3.53	145	United Kingdom	4.67
18	Afghanistan	1.61	50	Egypt	2.25	82	Papua NG	2.81	114	Croatia	3.61	146	Canada	4.75
19	Iran	1.72	51	Nigeria	2.25	83	Burkina Faso	2.83	115	Singapore	3.64	147	Netherlands	4.75
20	Angola	1.75	52	<u>Armenia</u>	2.31	84	Indonesia	2.83	116	South Africa	3.69	148	New Zealand	4.75
21	Guinea	1.75	53	Lebanon	2.31	85	UAE	2.83	117	Botswana	3.78	149	Denmark	4.83
22	W. Bank/Gaza	1.75	54	Nepal	2.31	86	Madagascar	2.86	118	Greece	3.81	150	Finland	4.83
23	Cameroon	1.81	55	Liberia	2.36	87	Tanzania	2.86	119	Italy	3.83	151	Sweden	4.83
24	Vietnam	1.81	56	Uganda	2.39	88	Bolivia	2.89	120	Poland	3.83	152	Norway	4.92
25	<u>Azerbaijan</u>	1.83	57	Sierra Leone	2.39	89	Colombia	2.89	121	South Korea	3.89	153	Switzerland	4.92
26	Cambodia	1.83	58	Guatemala	2.44	90	Macedonia	2.97	122	Mauritius	3.89		Eurasia Average	1.95
27	Congo (RC)	1.83	59	Kenya	2.44	91	El Salvador	3.00	123	Costa Rica	3.92		Global Average	2.84
28	<u>Tajikistan</u>	1.83	60	<u>Moldova</u>	2.44	92	Kuwait	3.00	124	Slovakia	3.92			
29	China (P.R.C.)	1.86	61	Niger	2.44	93	Mexico	3.00	125	Uruguay	3.92			
30	Burundi	1.89	62	Zambia	2.44	94	Peru	3.00	126	Latvia	3.97			
31	Swaziland	1.89	63	Morocco	2.47	95	Senegal	3.00	127	Taiwan	3.97			
32	Kazakhstan	1.92	64	Malawi	2.50	96	Lesotho	3.08	128	Hungary	4.00			

Ratings are based on a scale from 0.5 to 5.0, with 5 representing the best score. World Bank Institute, *Governance Matters Indicators* (2007); World Bank, Freedom House, *Freedom in the World* 2008 (2007), and *Freedom of the Press* 2008 (2007).



Governing Justly and Democratically in the World

Figure 8

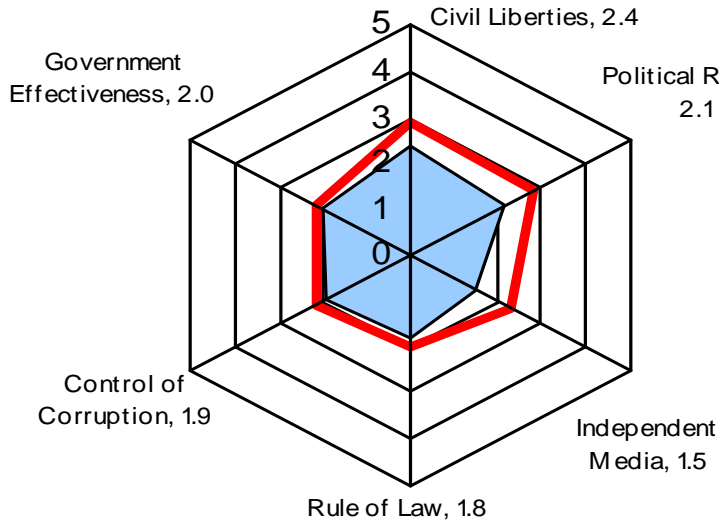


Ratings are based on a scale from 0.5 to 5.0, with 5 representing the best score. World Bank Institute, *Governance Matters Indicators* (2007); World Bank, Freedom House, *Freedom in the World 2008* (2007), and *Freedom of the Press 2008* (2007).

Governing Justly and Democratically

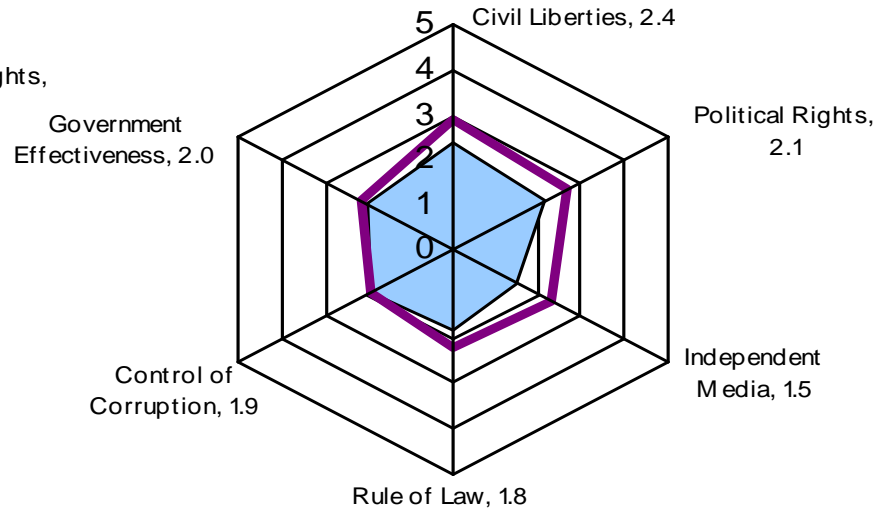
Eurasia vs. Africa & South Asia

Figure 9



Eurasia vs. Sub-Saharan Africa

Figure 10



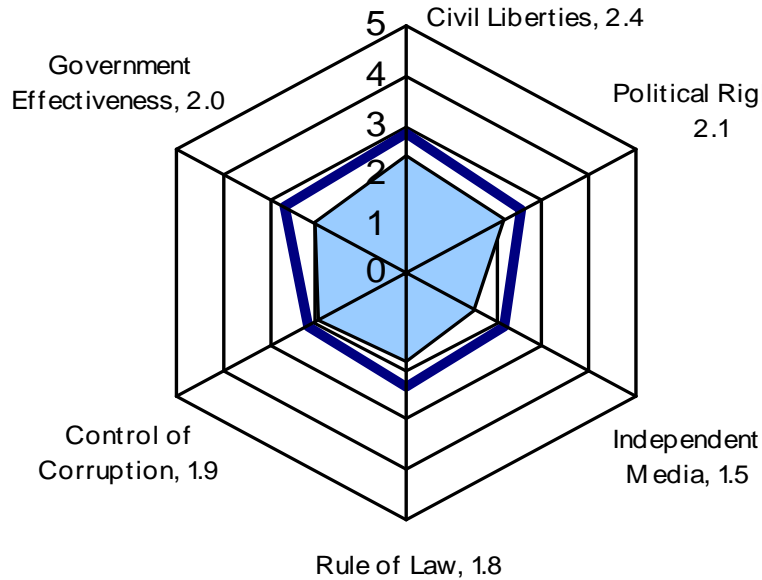
Eurasia vs. South Asia

Ratings are based on a scale from 0.5 to 5.0, with 5 representing the best score. World Bank Institute, *Governance Matters Indicators* (2007); World Bank, *World Development Indicators* (2007); Freedom House, *Freedom in the World 2007* (2007), and *Freedom of the Press 2007* (2007).

Governing Justly and Democratically

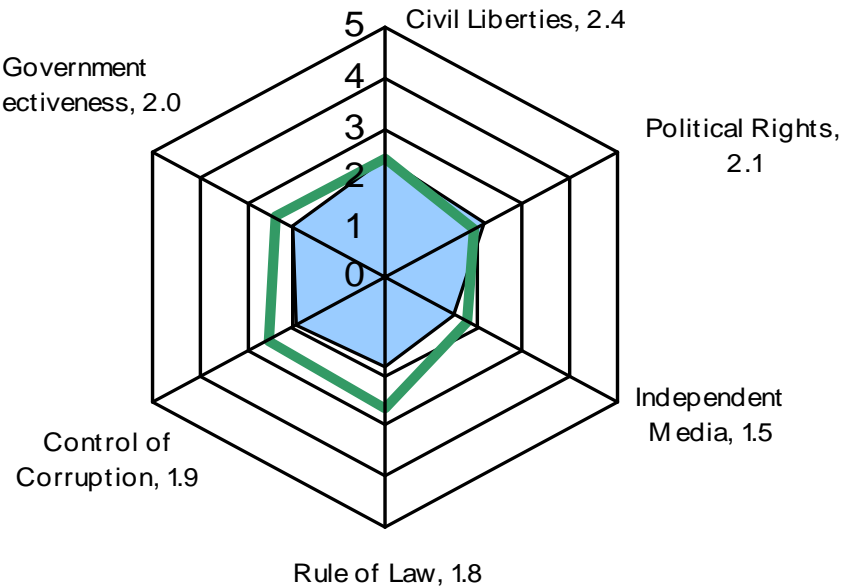
Eurasia vs. East Asia and Middle East – North Africa

Figure 11



Eurasia vs. East Asia

Figure 12



Eurasia vs. Middle East/ North Africa

Ratings are based on a scale from 0.5 to 5.0, with 5 representing the best score. World Bank Institute, *Governance Matters Indicators* (2007); World Bank, *World Development Indicators* (2007); Freedom House, *Freedom in the World 2007* (2007), and *Freedom of the Press 2007* (2007).

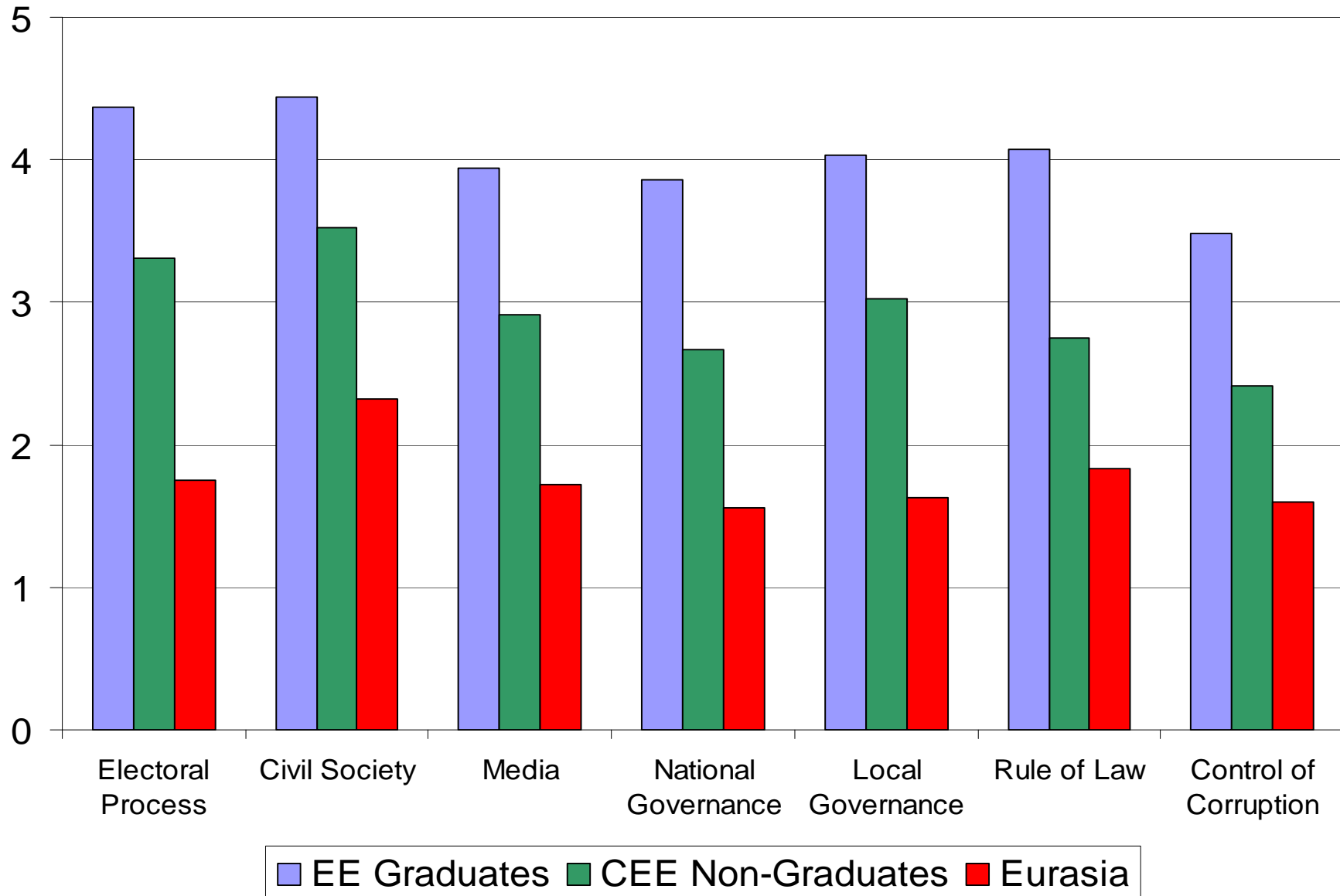
Table 4: Governing Justly & Democratically by Region 2007 – Disaggregated

Region	Political Rights	Civil Liberties	Media	Rule of Law	Control of Corruption	Government Effectiveness	Average Score
Africa	2.76	2.92	2.33	2.01	2.10	2.06	2.36
Central/Eastern Europe	4.06	4.22	3.46	2.71	2.71	3.00	3.36
East Asia	2.47	2.82	2.20	2.33	2.20	2.57	2.43
Eurasia	2.06	2.44	1.46	1.83	1.92	2.04	1.96
Latin America & Caribbean	3.95	3.76	2.95	2.19	2.40	2.48	2.96
Middle East & North Africa	1.94	2.37	1.76	2.56	2.53	2.38	2.26
OECD	4.93	4.83	4.16	4.04	4.07	4.09	4.35
South Asia	2.67	2.89	2.25	2.17	1.92	2.17	2.34
Central Asian Republics	1.53	1.93	1.10	1.60	1.80	1.90	1.64
Non CAR Eurasia Average	2.43	2.81	1.71	2.00	2.00	2.14	2.18
South Asia with CAR	2.15	2.45	1.73	1.91	1.86	2.05	2.03

Ratings are based on a scale from 0.5 to 5.0, with 5 representing the best score. World Bank Institute, *Governance Matters Indicators* (2007); World Bank, Freedom House, *Freedom in the World* 2008 (2007), and *Freedom of the Press* 2008 (2007).

Figure 13

Nations in Transit Scores - 2007



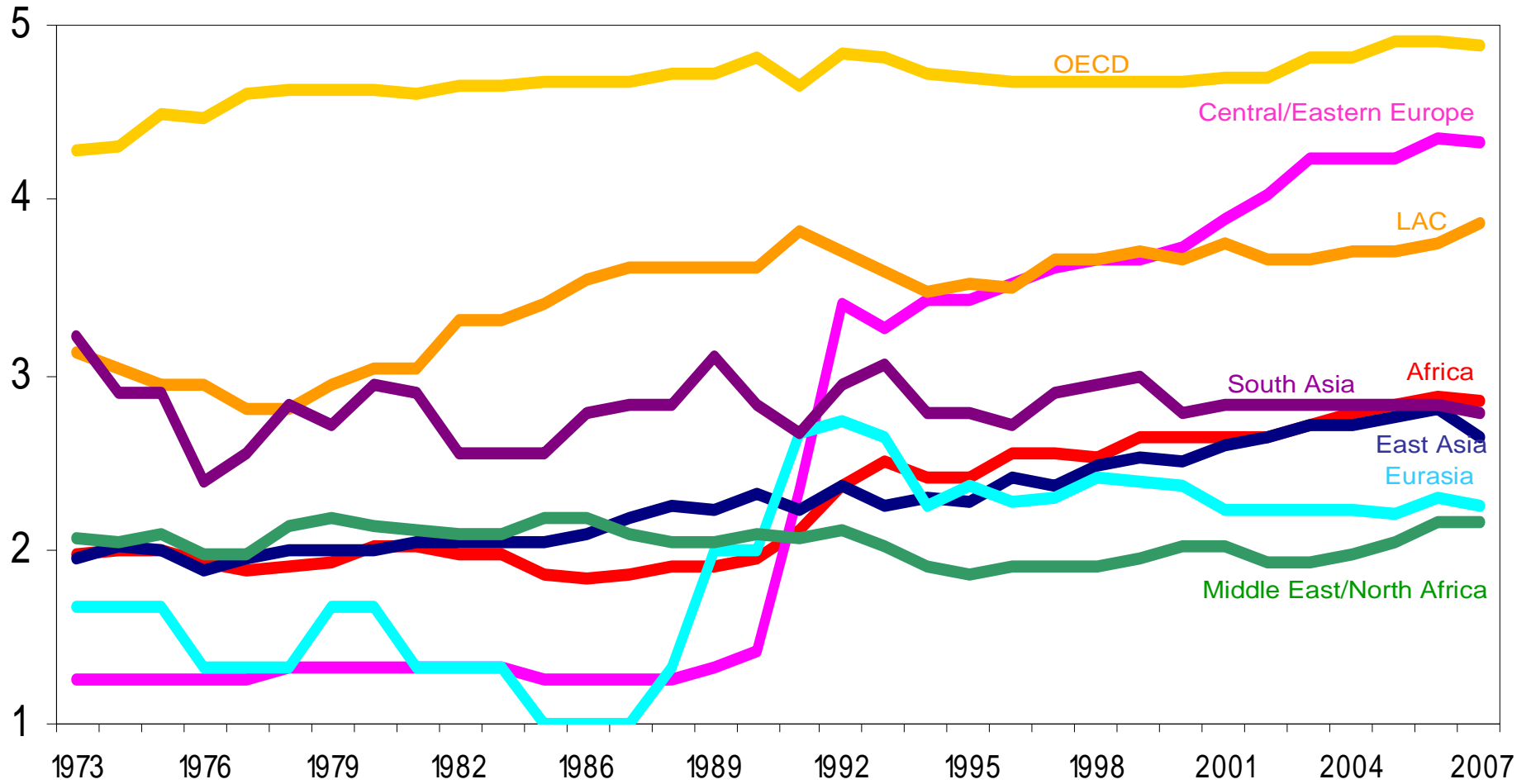
Freedom House, Nations in Transit 2008, (2007)

Table 5: Nations in Transit Data (2007)

Country, Region	Electoral Process	Civil Society	Independent Media	National Governance	Local Governance	Judicial Framework & Independence	Control of Corruption	Aggregate Democracy Score
Armenia	2.0	3.3	1.8	2.2	2.0	2.2	1.8	2.2
Azerbaijan	1.3	2.2	1.5	1.7	1.7	1.8	1.5	1.7
Belarus	1.0	1.3	1.2	1.0	1.2	1.2	1.5	1.2
Georgia	2.5	3.3	2.8	1.8	2.0	2.5	2.3	2.5
Kazakhstan	1.2	2.0	1.2	1.2	1.5	1.5	1.3	1.4
Kyrgyzstan	1.7	2.7	1.7	1.5	1.3	1.7	1.5	1.7
Moldova	3.2	3.2	2.0	1.8	1.8	2.7	1.7	2.3
Russia	1.2	2.0	1.5	1.5	1.8	2.2	1.7	1.7
Tajikistan	1.3	2.0	1.7	1.5	1.7	1.7	1.5	1.6
Turkmenistan	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.2	1.0	1.2	1.0
Ukraine	3.7	3.8	3.3	2.5	2.2	2.5	1.8	2.8
Uzbekistan	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.1
Eurasia Average	1.8	2.3	1.7	1.6	1.6	1.8	1.6	1.8
Bulgaria	4.5	4.0	3.3	3.7	3.7	3.8	3.3	3.8
Croatia	3.5	3.8	3.2	3.5	3.2	2.8	2.7	3.2
Czech Rep.	4.5	4.8	4.2	3.8	4.5	4.3	3.5	4.2
Estonia	4.7	4.5	4.7	4.2	4.0	4.7	4.0	4.4
Hungary	4.5	4.7	4.0	4.2	4.2	4.5	3.7	4.2
Latvia	4.3	4.5	4.5	4.3	4.2	4.5	3.7	4.3
Lithuania	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.0	4.0	4.5	3.2	4.2
Poland	4.3	4.8	4.2	3.3	4.2	4.0	3.7	4.1
Romania	3.8	4.2	3.2	3.2	3.7	3.0	3.0	3.4
Slovakia	4.7	4.7	4.0	4.0	4.2	4.0	3.5	4.1
Slovenia	4.7	4.3	4.2	4.3	4.7	4.7	4.2	4.4
CEE Graduates Average	4.4	4.4	4.0	3.9	4.0	4.1	3.5	4.0
Albania	3.0	3.7	3.2	2.8	3.8	3.0	2.3	3.1
Bosnia	3.7	3.3	2.8	2.3	2.5	3.0	2.8	2.9
Kosovo	2.7	3.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.8	1.8	2.2
Macedonia	3.5	3.5	2.8	3.0	3.2	3.0	2.7	3.1
Montenegro	3.5	3.8	3.2	2.8	3.5	3.0	2.2	3.1
Serbia	3.5	3.8	3.2	3.0	3.2	2.7	2.7	3.1
CEE Non-Graduates Average	3.3	3.5	2.9	2.7	3.0	2.8	2.4	2.9

Freedom House, Nations in Transit 2008, (2007)

Freedom in the World – 1972-2007



Freedom House, Freedom in the World 2008– (2007) – Combined Political Rights and Civil Liberties – OECD countries are not double counted

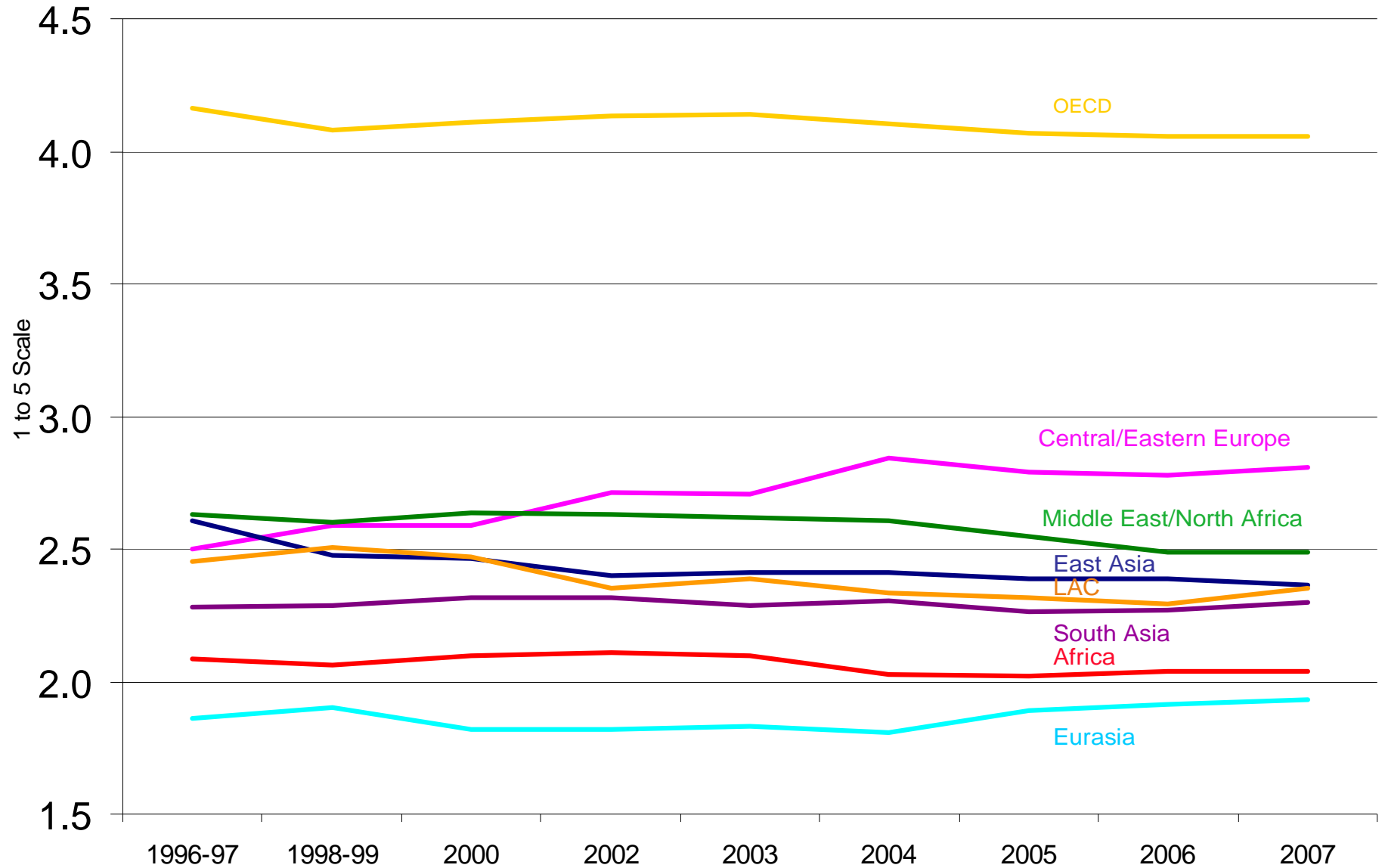
Table 6 – Freedom in the World over Time – Political Rights and Civil Liberties Scores Combined (1 to 5 Scale)

Region	1973	1975	1977	1979	1981	1984	1985	1987	1989	1991	1993	1995	1997	1999	2001	2003	2005	2007
Africa	2.0	2.0	1.9	1.9	2.0	2.0	1.9	1.9	1.9	2.1	2.5	2.4	2.5	2.7	2.6	2.7	2.8	2.8
CEE	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3	2.3	3.3	3.4	3.6	3.7	3.9	4.2	4.2	4.3
East Asia	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.3	2.4	2.5	2.6	2.7	2.8	2.6
Eurasia	1.7	1.7	1.3	1.7	1.3	1.3	1.0	1.0	2.0	2.7	2.6	2.4	2.3	2.4	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.3
LAC	3.1	2.9	2.8	2.9	3.0	3.3	3.4	3.6	3.6	3.8	3.6	3.5	3.7	3.7	3.7	3.7	3.7	3.9
MENA	2.1	2.1	2.0	2.2	2.1	2.1	2.2	2.1	2.0	2.1	2.0	1.9	1.9	1.9	2.0	1.9	2.0	2.2
OECD	4.3	4.5	4.6	4.6	4.6	4.7	4.7	4.7	4.7	4.6	4.8	4.7	4.7	4.7	4.7	4.8	4.9	4.9
South Asia	3.2	2.9	2.6	2.7	2.9	2.6	2.6	2.8	3.1	2.7	3.1	2.8	2.9	3.0	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.8

Freedom House, Freedom in the World 2008– (2007) – Combined Political Rights and Civil Liberties – OECD countries are not double counted

Figure 15

Institutions of Governance (1996 – 2007)



Ratings are based on a scale from 0.5 to 5.0, with 5 representing the best score. World Bank Institute, *Governance Matters Indicators (2007)* Average scores for Rule of Law, Control of Corruption, Government Effectiveness. OECD countries are not double counted

Table 7 – Governance Indicators Over Time (1 to 5 Scale)

Corruption	1996	1998	2000	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Africa	2.1	2.1	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1
CEE	2.3	2.6	2.5	2.7	2.6	2.8	2.8	2.7	2.7
East Asia	2.6	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.3	2.2	2.2	2.2
Eurasia	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.7	1.8	2.0	1.9
LAC	2.4	2.5	2.5	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4
MENA	2.6	2.7	2.7	2.8	2.7	2.6	2.6	2.5	2.5
OECD	4.1	4.1	4.2	4.1	4.2	4.1	4.0	4.1	4.1
South	2.3	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.5	2.6	2.6

Rule of Law	1996	1998	2000	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Africa	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.9	1.9	2.0	2.0
CEE	2.7	2.5	2.5	2.6	2.6	2.7	2.6	2.6	2.7
East	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.2	2.3	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.3
Eurasia	2.0	1.8	1.7	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.9	1.8	1.8
LAC	2.5	2.4	2.4	2.3	2.3	2.2	2.2	2.1	2.2
MENA	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.5	2.6
OECD	4.1	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	3.9	4.0
South Asia	2.3	2.2	2.3	2.3	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.2

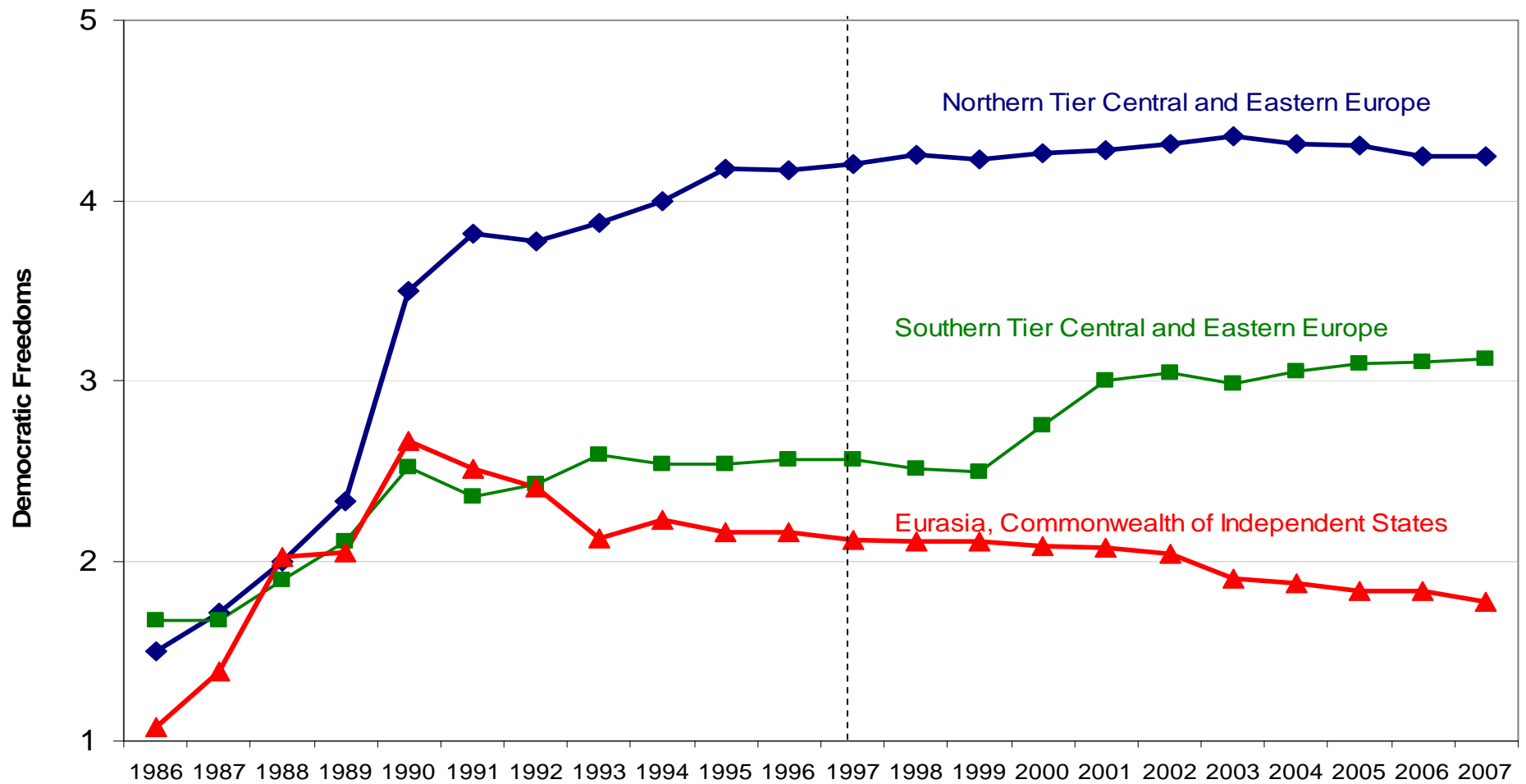
Govt. Effectiveness	1996	1998	2000	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Africa	2.1	2.0	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.0	2.1
CEE	2.5	2.6	2.7	2.8	2.9	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
East Asia	2.8	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.6	2.5	2.6	2.6
Eurasia	1.9	2.0	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.9	2.0	2.0	2.0
LAC	2.5	2.6	2.6	2.4	2.5	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.5
MENA	2.7	2.4	2.6	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.4	2.4	2.4
OECD	4.3	4.1	4.1	4.3	4.2	4.2	4.2	4.1	4.1
South Asia	2.3	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.2	2.1	2.1	2.2

Governance Average	1996-97	1998-99	2000	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Africa	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0
CEE	2.5	2.6	2.6	2.7	2.7	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.8
East Asia	2.6	2.5	2.5	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4
Eurasia	1.9	1.9	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.9	1.9	1.9
LAC	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.3	2.4	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3
MENA	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.5	2.5	2.5
OECD	4.2	4.1	4.1	4.1	4.1	4.1	4.1	4.1	4.1
South Asia	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3

Ratings are based on a scale from 0.5 to 5.0, with 5 representing the best score. World Bank Institute, *Governance Matters Indicators* (2007) Average scores for Rule of Law, Control of Corruption, Government Effectiveness. OECD countries are not double counted

Figure 16

Democratic Reforms – 1986 – 2007



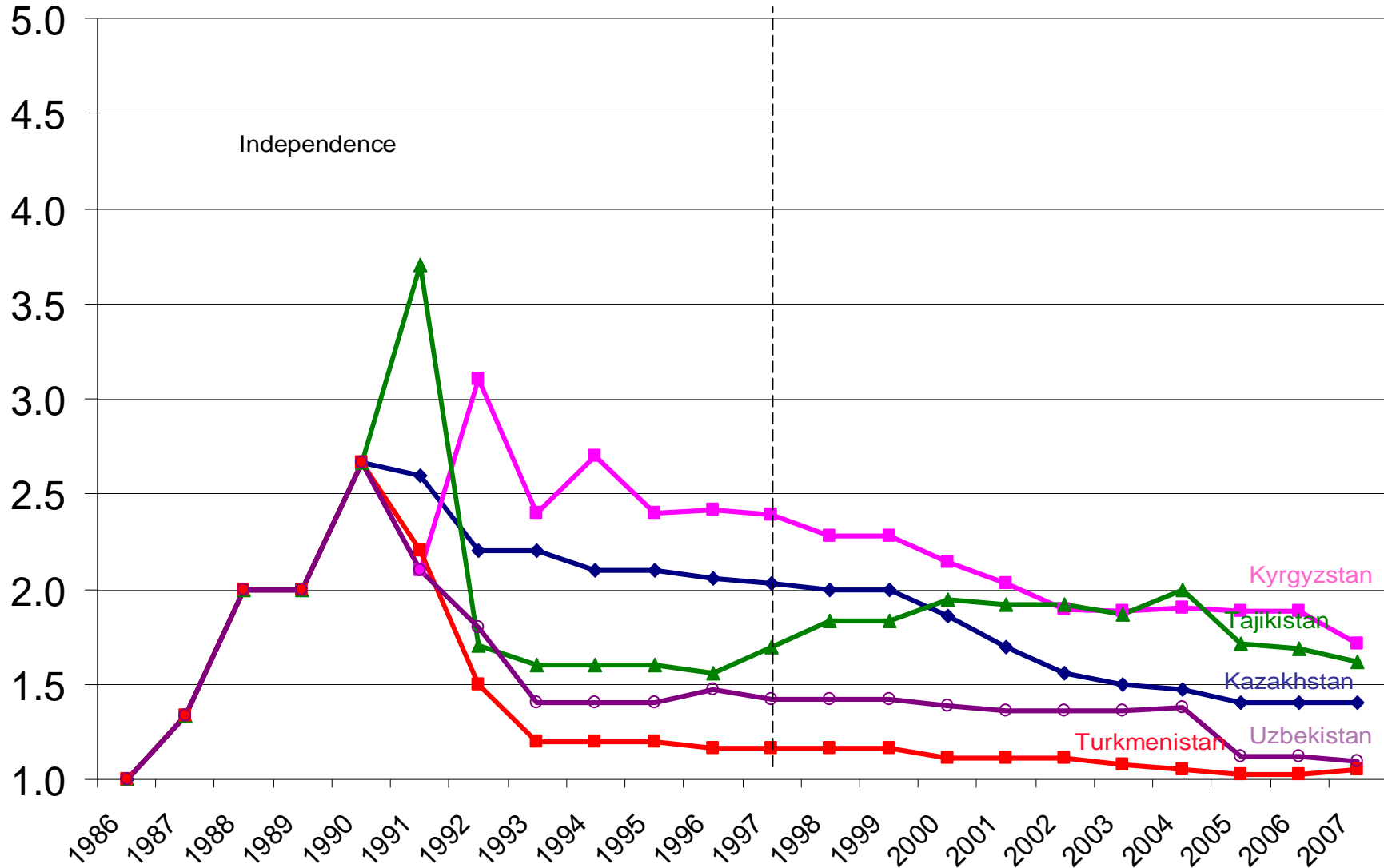
Freedom House, Nations in Transit 2008 (2007); Freedom in the World – pre 1997. Dotted line represent transition of datasets.

Table 8 – Democratization Scores over Time (1-5 scale)

	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	
Armenia	1.0	1.3	2.0	2.0	2.7	1.8	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.5	2.4	2.4	2.5	2.5	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.3	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.2	
Azerbaijan	1.0	1.3	2.0	2.0	2.7	2.2	2.2	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.9	2.0	2.0	1.9	1.8	1.7	1.7	1.7	
Belarus	1.0	1.3	2.0	2.0	2.7	2.7	2.9	2.5	2.7	2.0	1.8	1.6	1.5	1.5	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	
Georgia	1.0	1.3	2.0	2.0	2.7	1.7	2.4	2.0	2.0	2.4	2.5	2.6	2.9	2.9	2.8	2.6	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.5	2.5
Kazakhstan	1.0	1.3	2.0	2.0	2.7	2.6	2.2	2.2	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.9	1.7	1.6	1.5	1.5	1.4	1.4	1.4	
Kyrgyzstan	1.0	1.3	2.0	2.0	2.7	2.1	3.1	2.4	2.7	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.3	2.3	2.1	2.0	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.9	
Moldova	1.0	1.3	2.0	2.0	2.7	2.4	2.0	2.0	2.7	2.7	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.7	2.5	2.4	2.3	2.4	2.4	2.3	
Russia	1.0	1.3	2.0	2.0	2.7	3.3	2.9	2.9	2.9	2.9	2.9	2.7	2.6	2.6	2.4	2.3	2.4	2.2	1.9	1.8	1.8	1.7	
Tajikistan	1.0	1.3	2.0	2.0	2.7	3.7	1.7	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.7	1.8	1.8	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.9	2.0	1.7	1.7	1.6	
Turkmenistan	1.0	1.3	2.0	2.0	2.7	2.2	1.5	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	
Ukraine	1.0	1.3	2.0	2.0	2.7	3.2	3.2	2.5	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.5	2.4	2.5	2.4	2.7	2.9	2.8	2.8	
Uzbekistan	1.0	1.3	2.0	2.0	2.7	2.1	1.8	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.5	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.1	1.1	1.1	
Eurasia Average	1.0	1.3	2.0	2.0	2.7	2.5	2.4	2.1	2.2	2.2	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.0	2.0	1.9	1.9	1.8	1.8	1.8	
Czech Republic	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.7	4.3	4.1	4.1	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.3	4.2	4.2	4.0	4.1	4.1	4.1	4.2	4.2	4.2	
Estonia	1.0	1.3	2.0	2.0	2.7	3.7	3.4	3.7	3.7	4.0	4.1	4.2	4.2	4.2	4.3	4.3	4.3	4.4	4.4	4.4	4.4	4.4	
Hungary	2.3	2.7	2.7	3.3	4.3	4.2	4.2	4.6	4.6	4.6	4.6	4.6	4.4	4.3	4.3	4.3	4.4	4.4	4.4	4.4	4.3	4.2	
Latvia	1.0	1.3	2.0	2.0	2.7	3.8	3.5	3.5	3.8	4.1	4.1	4.1	4.1	4.1	4.2	4.2	4.2	4.2	4.2	4.3	4.3	4.3	
Lithuania	1.0	1.3	2.0	2.0	2.7	3.4	3.4	3.7	3.7	4.1	4.1	4.2	4.1	4.2	4.2	4.2	4.3	4.5	4.2	4.2	4.1	4.2	
Poland	2.0	2.3	2.3	3.3	4.3	4.2	4.2	4.2	4.2	4.6	4.6	4.6	4.6	4.6	4.6	4.6	4.5	4.5	4.3	4.2	4.1	4.1	
Slovakia	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.7	4.3	3.5	3.5	2.5	3.2	3.2	3.1	3.2	3.9	3.9	4.0	4.2	4.3	4.3	4.3	4.4	4.2	4.1	
Slovenia	2.0	2.0	2.3	2.7	2.7	3.6	3.9	4.3	4.3	4.3	4.3	4.4	4.4	4.4	4.4	4.4	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.4	
Northern Tier Average	1.5	1.7	2.0	2.3	3.5	3.8	3.8	3.9	4.0	4.2	4.2	4.2	4.3	4.2	4.3	4.3	4.3	4.4	4.3	4.3	4.2	4.2	
Albania	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.3	2.2	2.6	3.0	2.6	2.6	2.5	2.4	2.5	2.5	2.7	2.8	2.9	2.9	3.0	3.1	3.1	3.1	
Bosnia-Herzegovina	2.0	2.0	2.3	2.7	2.7	1.9	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	2.0	2.0	2.1	2.1	2.2	2.4	2.6	2.8	2.9	3.0	3.0	2.9	
Bulgaria	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	3.3	2.8	2.8	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.0	3.2	3.3	3.3	3.4	3.4	3.4	3.5	3.5	3.7	3.7	3.8	
Croatia	2.0	2.0	2.3	2.7	2.7	3.1	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.7	2.7	2.7	3.3	3.4	3.1	3.1	3.2	3.2	3.2	3.2	
Kosovo	2.0	2.0	2.3	2.7	2.7	2.6	2.6	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	1.9	1.9	2.3	3.0	3.1	2.0	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.2	
Macedonia	2.0	2.0	2.3	2.7	2.7	1.6	1.6	3.3	2.9	2.9	2.9	2.9	3.1	3.0	3.0	2.7	2.8	3.0	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.1	
Montenegro	2.0	2.0	2.3	2.7	2.7	2.6	2.6	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	1.9	1.9	2.3	3.0	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.0	
Romania	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	1.8	2.5	2.5	2.8	2.8	3.0	3.1	3.3	3.3	3.2	3.2	3.3	3.3	3.4	3.4	3.5	3.4	
Serbia	2.0	2.0	2.3	2.7	2.7	2.6	2.6	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	1.9	1.9	2.3	3.0	3.1	3.1	3.2	3.2	3.2	3.1	
Southern Tier Average	1.7	1.7	1.9	2.1	2.5	2.4	2.4	2.6	2.5	2.5	2.6	2.6	2.5	2.5	2.8	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.1	

Freedom House, Nations in Transit 2008 (1997-2007); Freedom in the World – pre 1997

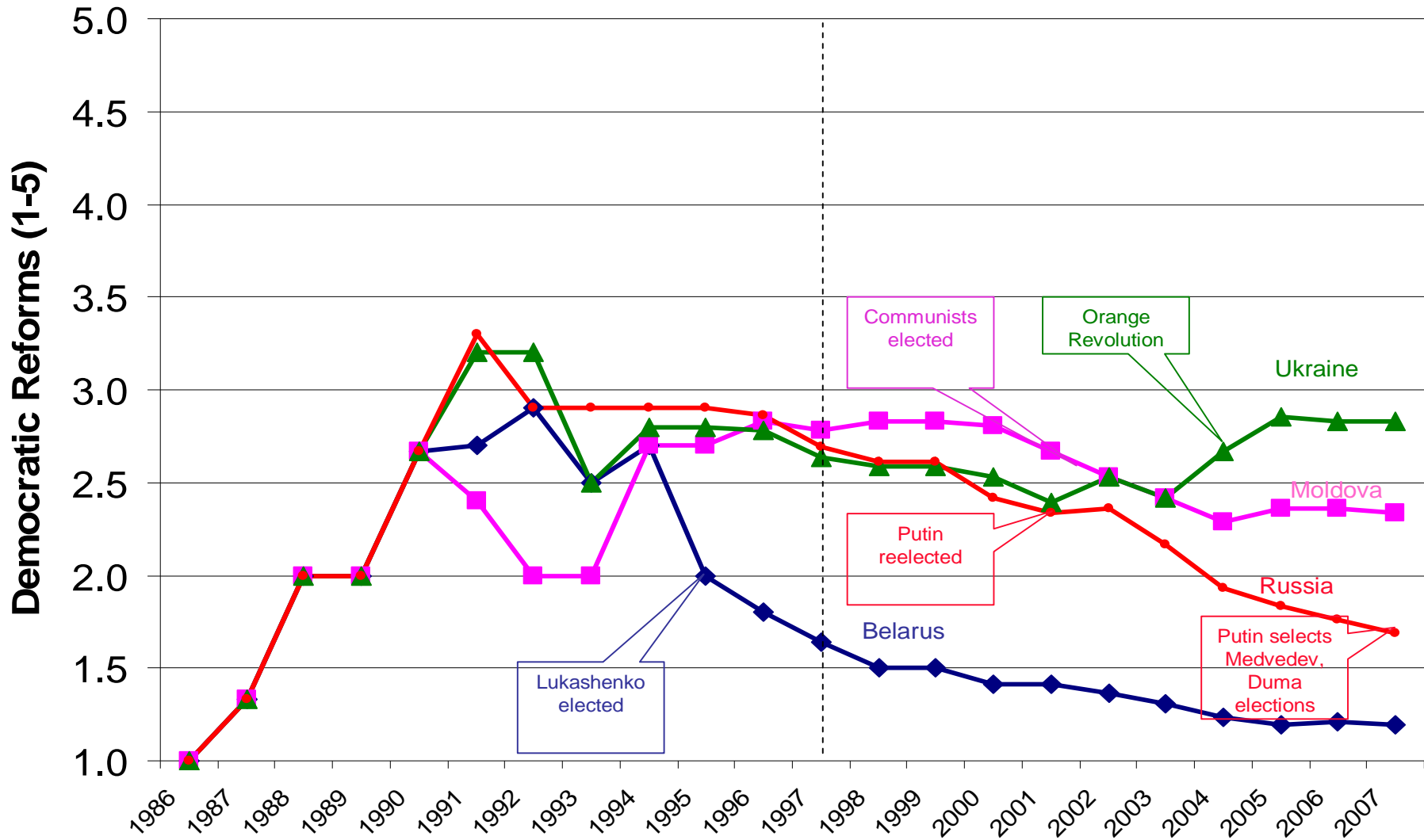
Democratic Reforms – Central Asia



Freedom House, Nations in Transit, 2008; Freedom in the World, 2008, Dotted line represent transition of datasets

Figure 18

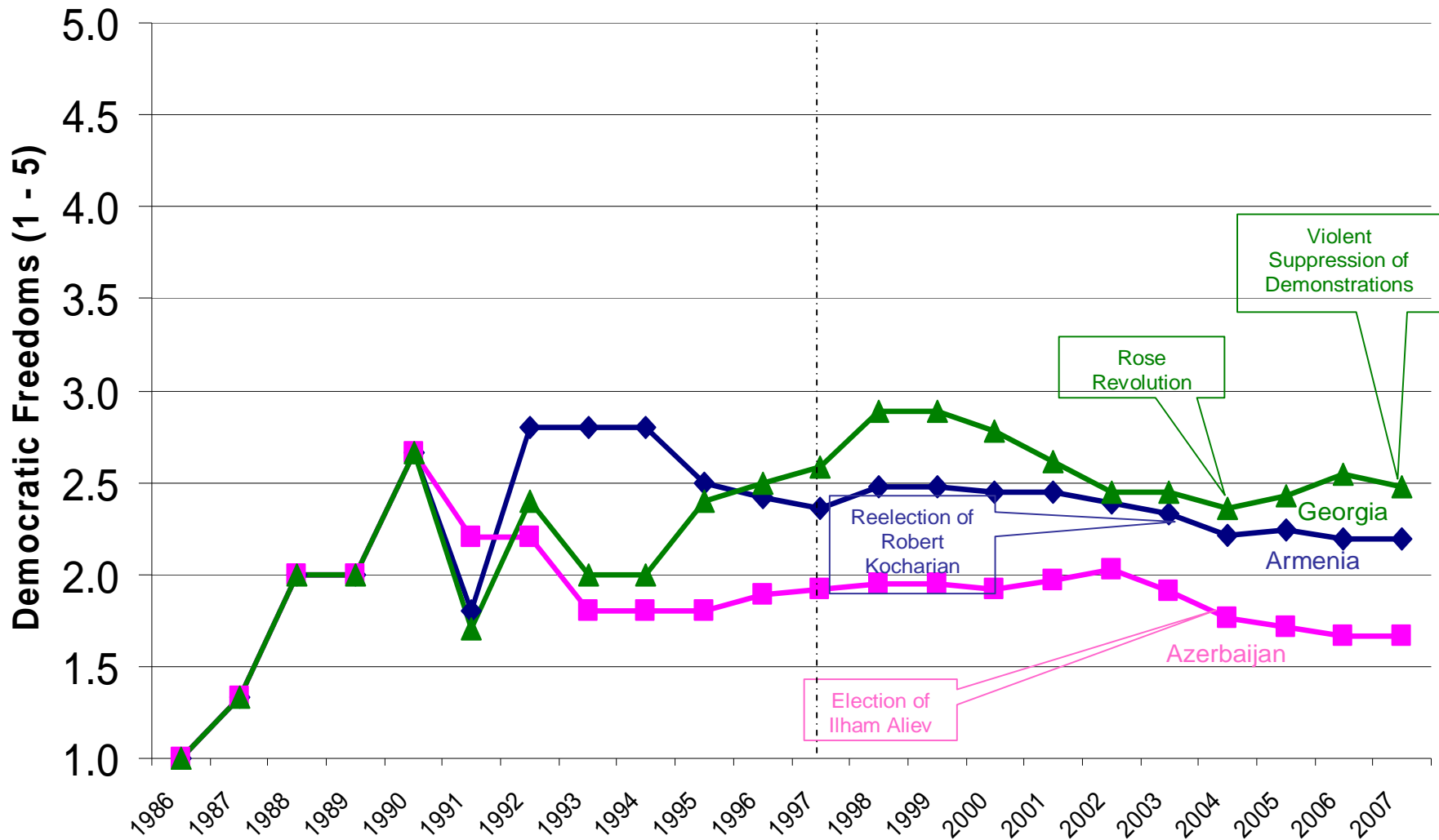
Democratic Reforms – Russia and Western CIS



Freedom House, Nations in Transit, 2008; Freedom in the World, 2008, Dotted line represent transition of datasets

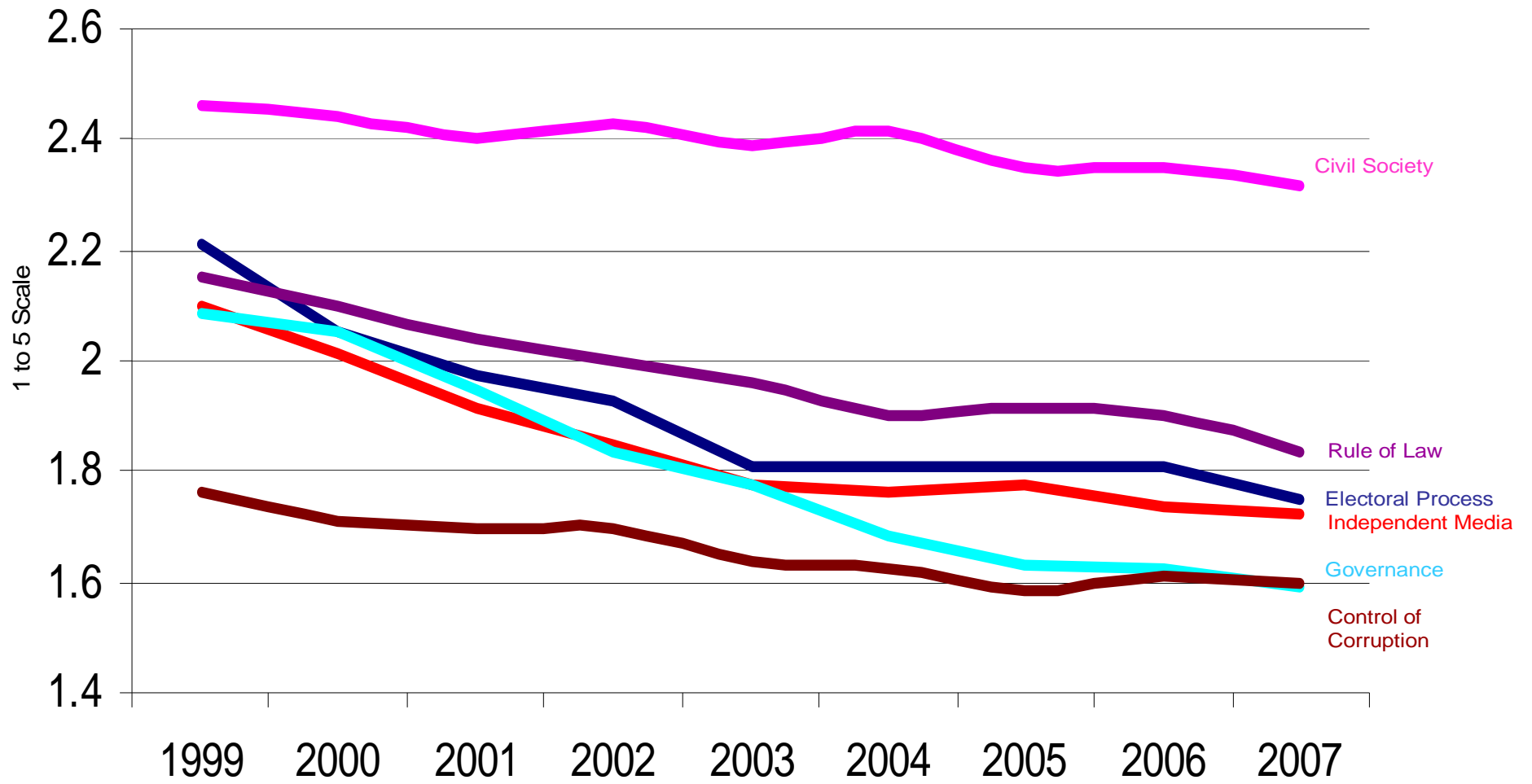
Figure 19

Democratic Reforms - Caucasus



Freedom House, Nations in Transit, 2008; Freedom in the World, 2008, Dotted line represent transition of datasets

Figure 20 **Democratic Reform Components In Eurasia over Time**



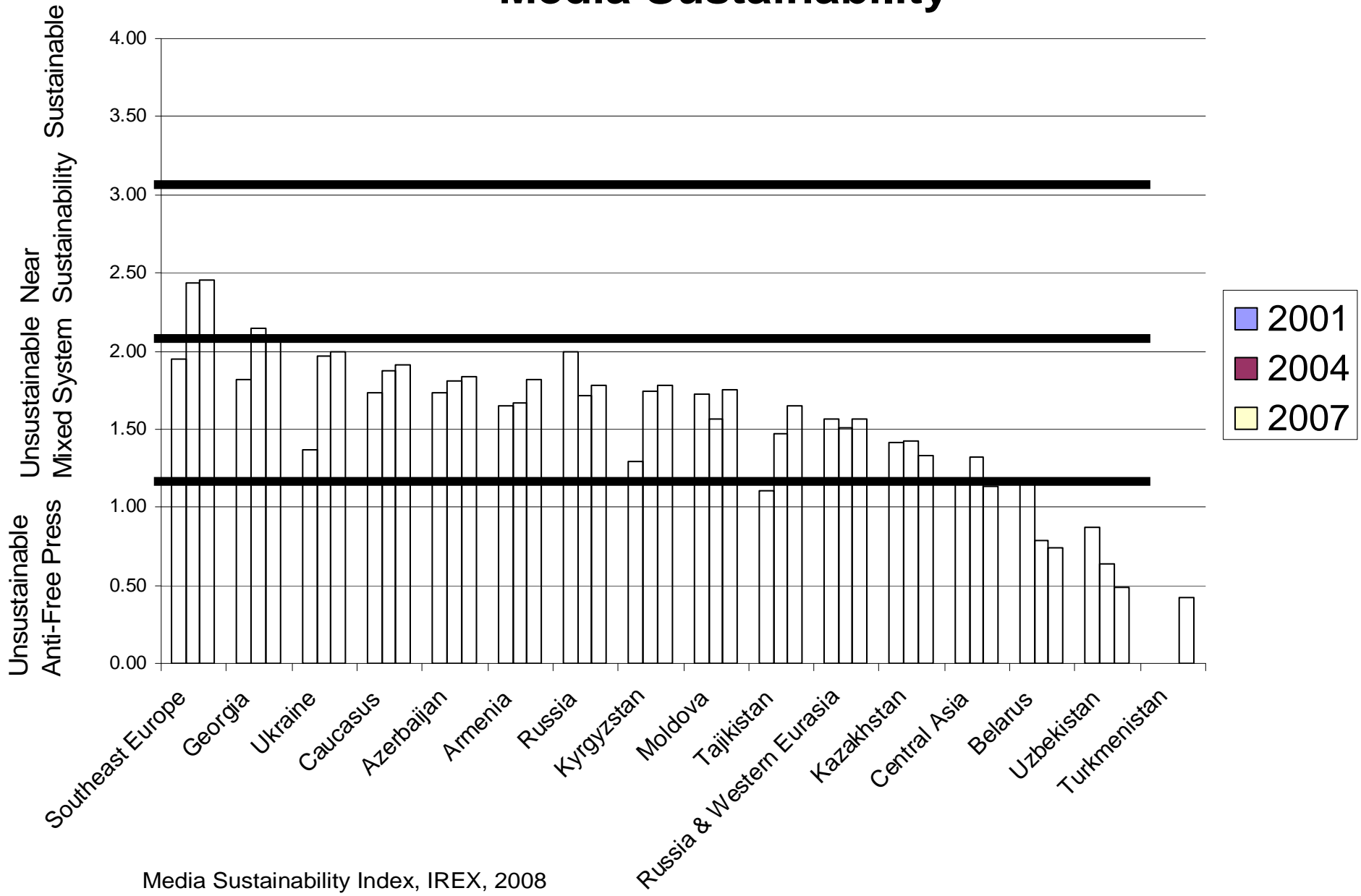
Freedom House, Nations in Transit 2008 (2007)

Table 9 – Nations in Transit Scores over Time (1-5 scale)

Electoral Processes										Civil Society									
	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007		1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Armenia	2.2	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8	2.0		3.3	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.3
Azerbaijan	2.0	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.7	1.5	1.3	1.3	1.3		2.5	2.7	2.7	2.8	2.7	2.5	2.3	2.2	2.2
Belarus	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0		1.7	1.3	1.5	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.3
Georgia	3.0	2.7	2.3	2.2	2.2	2.5	2.5	2.7	2.5		3.2	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.3
Kazakhstan	1.7	1.5	1.5	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.2		2.3	2.3	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.8	1.8	2.0
Kyrgyzstan	2.3	1.8	1.8	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.8	1.8	1.7		2.7	2.7	2.7	2.7	2.7	2.7	2.7	2.7	2.7
Moldova	3.5	3.5	3.3	3.2	3.0	3.0	3.2	3.2	3.2		3.2	3.2	3.0	3.2	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.2	3.2
Russia	3.0	2.8	2.7	2.5	2.0	1.7	1.5	1.3	1.2		3.2	3.0	3.0	2.8	2.7	2.5	2.3	2.2	2.0
Tajikistan	2.0	2.2	2.2	2.2	1.8	1.7	1.5	1.3	1.3		2.2	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.5	2.3	2.3	2.0
Turkmenistan	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0		1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
Ukraine	3.3	3.0	2.7	3.0	2.8	3.3	3.5	3.7	3.7		3.0	3.2	3.2	3.3	3.2	3.7	3.8	3.8	3.8
Uzbekistan	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.0		1.3	1.3	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.0	1.0	1.0
<i>Average</i>	2.2	2.1	2.0	1.9	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8		2.5	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.3	2.3	2.3
<i>Median</i>	2.1	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.8	1.7	1.5	1.3	1.3		2.6	2.7	2.7	2.8	2.7	2.5	2.3	2.3	2.1
Independent Media										Governance									
Armenia	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.3	2.2	2.0	2.0	1.8	1.8		2.7	2.7	2.7	2.5	2.5	2.2	2.2	2.1	2.1
Azerbaijan	2.0	1.8	2.0	2.0	1.8	1.7	1.7	1.5	1.5		1.5	1.5	1.7	1.8	1.8	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7
Belarus	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2		1.5	1.5	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.1
Georgia	3.2	3.3	3.2	3.0	3.0	2.8	2.8	3.0	2.8		2.7	2.5	2.3	2.0	1.8	1.8	1.9	2.0	1.9
Kazakhstan	2.0	1.7	1.7	1.5	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.2		2.3	2.3	1.8	1.5	1.5	1.4	1.3	1.3	1.3
Kyrgyzstan	2.3	2.3	1.8	1.7	1.7	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.7		2.3	2.2	2.0	1.7	1.7	1.8	1.6	1.6	1.4
Moldova	3.0	2.8	2.7	2.5	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.2	2.0		2.7	2.7	2.5	2.2	2.0	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8
Russia	2.5	2.2	2.0	2.0	1.8	1.7	1.7	1.5	1.5		2.7	2.3	2.2	2.3	2.2	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.7
Tajikistan	1.8	2.0	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.7	1.5	1.5	1.7		1.5	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.8	1.8	1.7	1.7	1.6
Turkmenistan	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0		1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.1
Ukraine	2.3	2.2	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.5	3.2	3.2	3.3		2.5	2.5	2.3	2.3	2.2	2.3	2.4	2.3	2.3
Uzbekistan	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.0	1.0	1.0		1.5	1.7	1.7	1.5	1.5	1.4	1.1	1.1	1.1
<i>Average</i>	2.1	2.0	1.9	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.7	1.7		2.1	2.1	1.9	1.8	1.8	1.7	1.6	1.6	1.6
<i>Median</i>	2.2	2.1	1.9	1.9	1.8	1.7	1.7	1.5	1.6		2.3	2.3	1.9	1.8	1.8	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.6
Rule of Law										Corruption									
Armenia	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.2	2.3	2.3	2.2		1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8
Azerbaijan	2.0	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.0	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8		1.7	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5
Belarus	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2		2.2	2.2	2.2	2.0	1.8	1.7	1.5	1.5	1.5
Georgia	3.0	3.0	2.8	2.7	2.7	2.3	2.5	2.5	2.5		2.3	2.2	2.0	1.8	1.7	1.8	2.0	2.3	2.3
Kazakhstan	2.0	1.8	1.7	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5		1.7	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3
Kyrgyzstan	2.3	2.2	2.2	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.7		1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.5
Moldova	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.7	2.7	2.5	2.7	2.7	2.7		1.7	1.7	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.7	1.7	1.7
Russia	2.8	2.7	2.5	2.7	2.5	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.2		1.5	1.5	1.7	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.7	1.7	1.7
Tajikistan	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.7		1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5
Turkmenistan	1.2	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0		1.7	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.2
Ukraine	2.7	2.7	2.5	2.7	2.5	2.8	2.8	2.7	2.5		1.7	1.7	1.7	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8
Uzbekistan	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.5	1.2	1.2	1.2		1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.3	1.3	1.3
<i>Average</i>	2.2	2.1	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.8		1.8	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.6
<i>Median</i>	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.1	2.0	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.8		1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.6	1.6	1.5

Freedom House, Nations in Transit 2008 (2007)

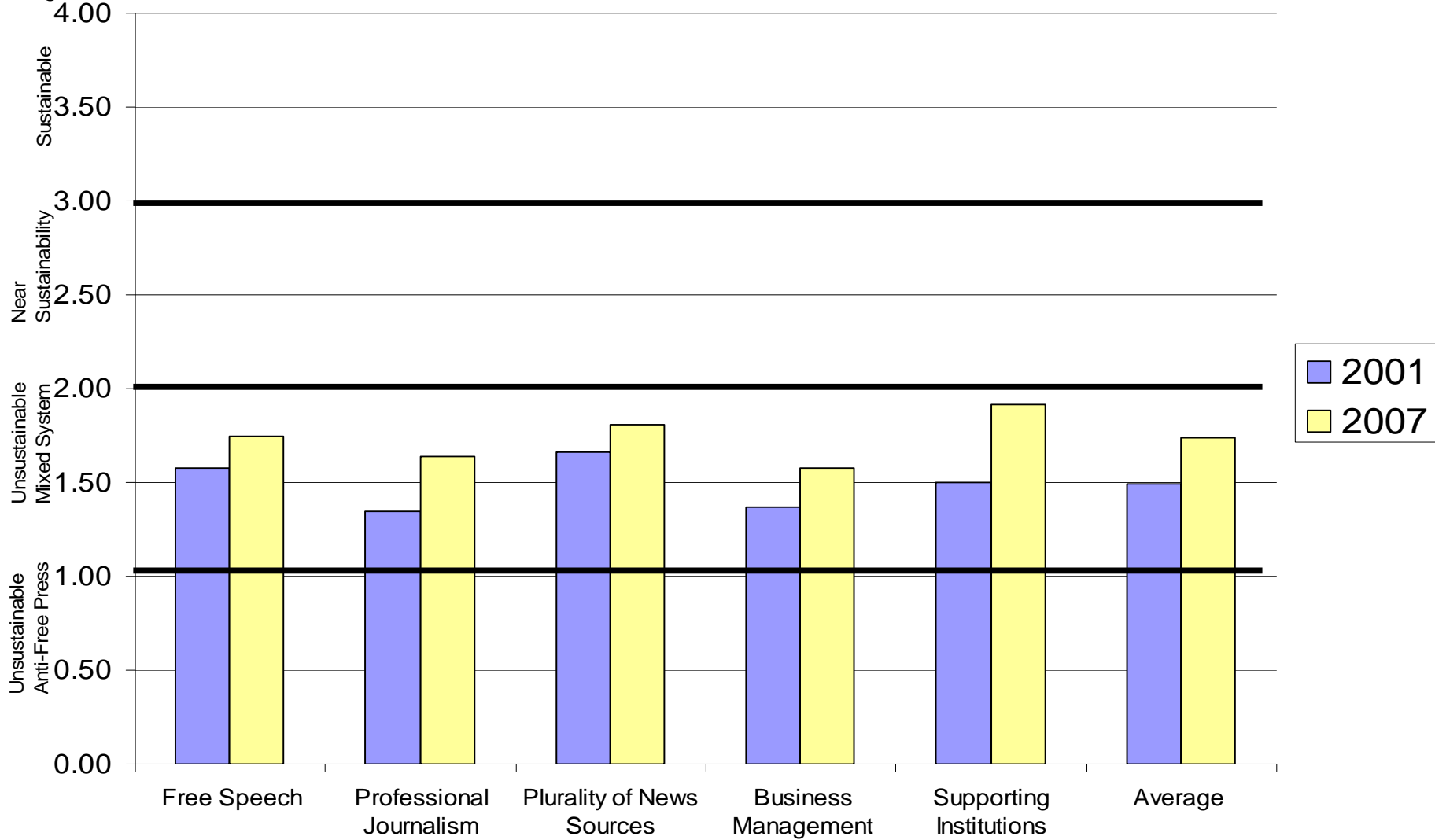
Media Sustainability





Media Sustainability in Eurasia – By Component

Figure 22



Media Sustainability Index, IREX, 2008

Table 10 – Media Sustainability Index – 2001-2007 (1 to 4 Scale)

	2001	2004	2007
Southeast Europe	1.95	2.44	2.45
Georgia	1.82	2.14	2.07
Ukraine	1.37	1.96	2.00
Caucasus	1.74	1.87	1.91
Azerbaijan	1.74	1.81	1.84
Armenia	1.65	1.67	1.81
Russia	2.00	1.71	1.78
Kyrgyzstan	1.29	1.74	1.78
Moldova	1.72	1.56	1.75
Tajikistan	1.11	1.47	1.65
Russia & Western Eurasia	1.57	1.51	1.57
Kazakhstan	1.42	1.42	1.33
Central Asia	1.17	1.32	1.13
Belarus	1.17	0.79	0.74
Uzbekistan	0.87	0.64	0.49
Turkmenistan			0.42

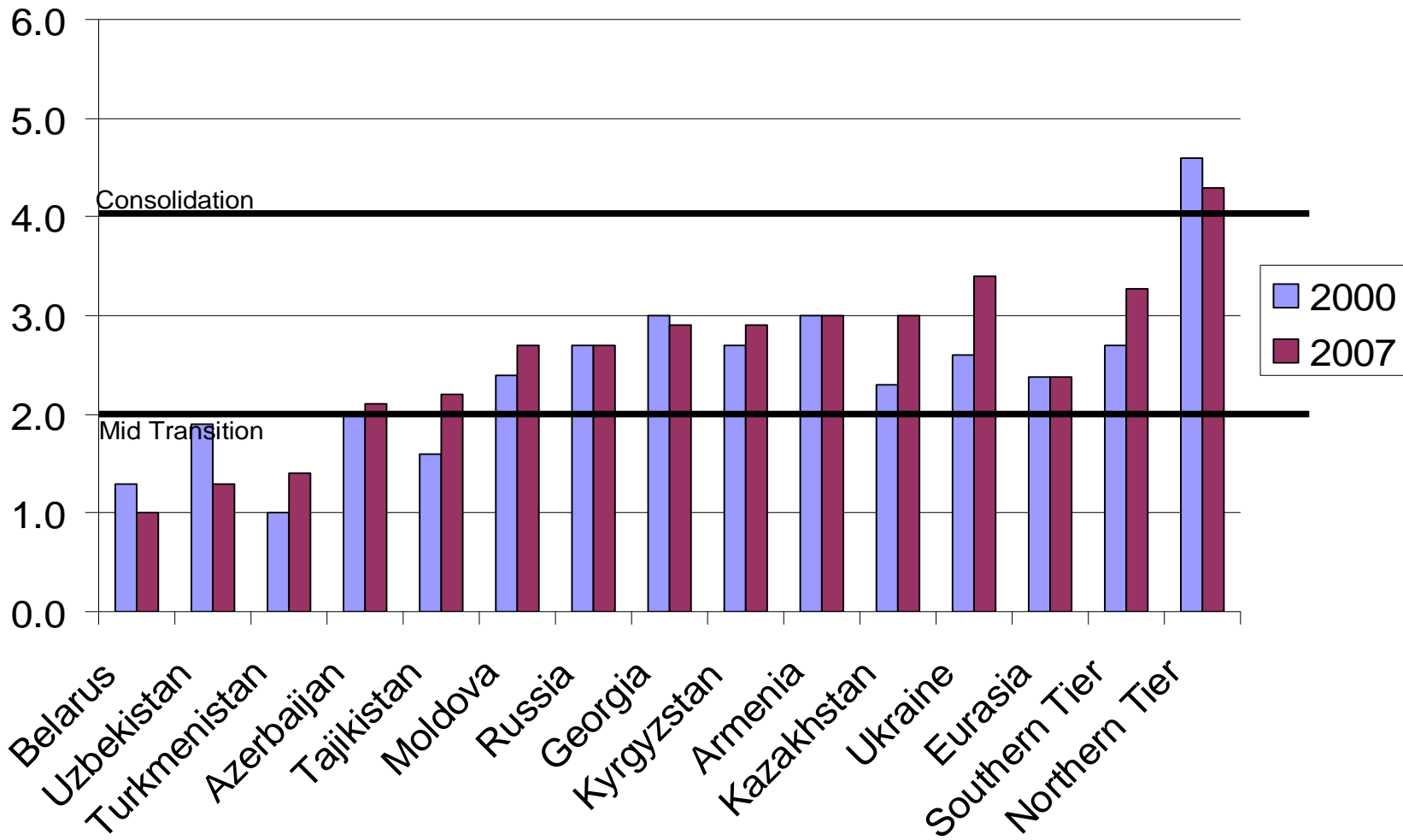
Table 11 – Media Sustainability Index (1 to 4 Scale)

Components in 2007	Free Speech	Professional Journalism	Plurality of Sources	Business Management	Supporting Institutions	Average
Albania	2.47	2.26	2.32	1.71	2.30	2.21
Armenia	1.93	1.71	1.89	1.31	2.23	1.81
Azerbaijan	2.01	1.79	2.01	1.54	1.84	1.84
Belarus	0.48	0.89	0.74	0.82	0.75	0.74
Bosnia & Herzegovina	3.04	2.25	2.84	2.50	2.55	2.64
Bulgaria	2.42	2.49	3.04	2.63	2.98	2.71
Croatia	2.76	2.22	2.64	2.73	2.71	2.61
Georgia	2.16	2.11	2.09	1.77	2.23	2.07
Kazakhstan	1.24	1.14	1.11	1.39	1.77	1.33
Kosovo	2.33	2.24	2.40	1.96	2.39	2.26
Kyrgyzstan	1.77	1.43	2.15	1.64	1.90	1.78
Macedonia	2.10	2.27	2.42	2.11	2.50	2.28
Moldova	1.79	1.60	1.74	1.51	2.12	1.75
Montenegro	2.62	2.00	2.48	2.22	2.44	2.35
Romania	2.62	2.21	2.88	2.76	2.61	2.62
Russia	1.62	1.50	1.82	1.99	1.96	1.78
Serbia	2.21	1.91	2.48	2.87	2.50	2.39
Tajikistan	1.47	1.40	1.88	1.57	1.92	1.65
Turkmenistan	0.32	0.82	0.39	0.31	0.26	0.42
Ukraine	1.93	1.66	2.16	2.15	2.09	2.00
Uzbekistan	0.44	0.77	0.27	0.42	0.54	0.49
Combined Averages						
Southeast Europe	2.51	2.21	2.61	2.39	2.55	2.45
Caucasus	2.03	1.87	2.00	1.54	2.10	1.91
Russia & Western Eurasia	1.46	1.41	1.62	1.62	1.73	1.57
Central Asia	1.05	1.11	1.16	1.07	1.28	1.13

Media Sustainability Index, IREX, 2008

Figure 23

NGO Sustainability Index



2007 NGO Sustainability Index, June 2008 (Scores Reversed)

Table 12 – NGO Sustainability Index (1 to 6 Scale)

	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Czech Republic			4.6	4.7	4.5	4.6	4.3	4.3	4.3	4.3
Estonia			4.6	4.9	4.8	4.8	4.9	4.9	4.9	4.9
Hungary	5.4	5	4.7	4.4	4.4	4.3	4.4	4.3	4.4	4.3
Latvia	2.8		4.2	4.1	4.2	4.3	4.4	4.4	4.4	4.3
Lithuania	3.9	4	3.8	4	4.2	4.4	4.3	4.3	4.3	4.3
Poland	5	4.9	4.9	4.9	4.8	4.9	4.7	4.7	4.7	4.7
Slovakia	4.2	4.9	5.1	5.1	4.9	4.8	4.5	4.4	4.5	4.5
Slovenia						3.6	3	3	3	3.1
Northern Tier	4.3	4.7	4.6	4.6	4.5	4.5	4.3	4.3	4.3	4.3
Albania	2.8	2.2	2.4	2.4	2.7	2.9	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.2
Bosnia	1.4	1.8	3	2.5	2.8	2.9	3	3.1	3.2	3.2
Bulgaria	3.4	3	3.3	3.4	3.9	3.9	3.8	3.8	3.8	3.9
Croatia	2.6	2.3	2.7	3.2	3.3	3.5	3.5	3.6	3.7	3.8
Kosovo		2.6	2.4	2.4	2.7	2.8	3.2	3.2	3.2	3.1
Macedonia	2.6	2.4	2.4	2.8	3	3.3	3.4	3.4	3.4	3.4
Montenegro		2.4	2.4	2.3	2.4	2.5	2.7	2.8	2.8	2.9
Romania	3.2	2.9	2.9	3	3.3	3.2	3.3	3.4	3.4	3.5
Serbia	1.6	1.6	2.5	2.9	2.9	3	2.6	2.6	2.5	2.5
Southern Tier	2.5	2.4	2.7	2.8	3	3.1	3.2	3.2	3.2	3.3
Armenia		1.9	3	2.6	2.8	2.9	2.9	2.9	2.9	3
Azerbaijan	0.6	1.3	2	2.1	1.8	2.9	2.1	2	2	2.1
Belarus			1.3	1.5	1.7	1.4	1.4	1.2	1.1	1
Georgia	3.6	3.2	3	3	2.8	2.9	3.1	3	3	2.9
Kazakhstan	2.6	2.2	2.3	2.7	2.9	3.1	2.9	2.9	2.9	3
Kyrgyzstan	3.1	2.9	2.7	2.7	2.9	2.9	2.8	2.9	2.9	2.9
Moldova			2.4	2.8	2.8	2.7	2.7	2.8	2.7	2.7
Russia	3.6	2.9	2.7	2.7	3	2.6	2.8	2.7	2.7	2.7
Tajikistan	0.4	0.9	1.6	1.9	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.3	2.2
Turkmenistan		0.4	1	1.2	1.4	1.3	1.4	1.3	1.3	1.4
Ukraine	2.8	2.9	2.6	2.7	3	3.1	3.2	3.3	3.4	3.4
Uzbekistan	2.3	1.7	1.9	2.4	2.3	2.3	1.8	1.4	1.3	1.3
Eurasia	2.4	2	2.4	2.4	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.4	2.4	2.4

2007 NGO Sustainability Index, June 2008 (Scores Reversed)

APPENDIX 1

Regional Country Groups: n=153

<u>Africa n=42</u>	Zimbabwe	Russia	Tunisia
Angola		Tajikistan	United Arab Emirates
Benin	<u>CEE n=12</u>	Turkmenistan	West Bank/Gaza
Botswana	Albania	Ukraine	Yemen
Burkina Faso	Bosnia and	Uzbekistan	
Burundi	Herzegovina		<u>OECD n= 28</u>
Cameroon	Bulgaria	<u>LAC n=21</u>	Australia
Central African	Croatia	Argentina	Austria
Republic	Estonia	Bolivia	Belgium
Chad	Kosovo	Brazil	Canada
Congo (Brazzaville)	Latvia	Chile	Czech Republic
Congo (Kinshasa)	Lithuania	Colombia	Denmark
Cote d'Ivoire	Macedonia	Costa Rica	Finland
Eritrea	Romania	Cuba	France
Ethiopia	Serbia and	Dominican Republic	Germany
Gabon	Montenegro	Ecuador	Greece
Gambia	Slovenia	El Salvador	Hungary
Ghana		Guatemala	Ireland
Guinea	<u>East Asia n=15</u>	Haiti	Italy
Guinea-Bissau	Burma (Myanmar)	Honduras	Japan
Kenya	Cambodia	Jamaica	Korea, Rep. South
Lesotho	China (P.R.C.)	Nicaragua	Mexico
Liberia	Indonesia	Panama	Netherlands
Madagascar	Korea, North	Paraguay	New Zealand
Malawi	Laos	Peru	Norway
Mali	Malaysia	Trinidad and Tobago	Poland
Mauritania	Mongolia	Uruguay	Portugal
Mauritius	Papua New Guinea	Venezuela	Slovak Republic
Mozambique	Philippines		Spain
Namibia	Singapore	<u>MENA n=17</u>	Sweden
Niger	Taiwan	Algeria	Switzerland
Nigeria	Thailand	Egypt	Turkey
Rwanda	Timor-Leste	Iran	United Kingdom
Senegal	Vietnam	Iraq	United States
Sierra Leone		Israel	
Somalia	<u>Eurasia n=12</u>	Jordan	<u>South Asia n=6</u>
South Africa	Armenia	Kuwait	Afghanistan
Sudan	Azerbaijan	Lebanon	Bangladesh
Swaziland	Belarus	Libya	India
Tanzania	Georgia	Morocco	Nepal
Togo	Kazakhstan	Oman	Pakistan
Uganda	Kyrgyzstan	Saudi Arabia	Sri Lanka
Zambia	Moldova	Syria	

APPENDIX 2

Indicator Definitions

I. Governing Justly and Democratically

(1) Political rights. This is a Freedom House indicator from its annual *Freedom in the World*. Political rights are rated by independent experts, including the extent to which elections (national and local) are free, fair, and competitive, the ability of citizens to form political parties, freedom from domination by the military, foreign power, totalitarian parties, religious hierarchies and economic oligarchies, and political rights of the minority groups. Two general criteria are used to rate progress: policy (the laws) and practice (the implementation of laws). 2007 data.

(2) Civil liberties. This is also from Freedom House's *Freedom in the World*. Independent experts rate freedom of expression, association and organizational rights, rule of law and human rights, and personal autonomy and economic rights. Two general criteria are used to rate progress: policy (the laws) and practice (the implementation of laws). 2007 data.

(3) Media freedom. This is a Freedom House indicator which is assessed worldwide annually. Countries are scored on the basis of a set of 23 questions divided into three subcategories: (1) legal environment (which encompasses an examination of both the laws and regulations that could influence media content and the government's inclination to use these laws and legal institutions to restrict the media's ability to operate); (2) political environment (which includes an evaluation of the degree of political control over the content of news media); and (3) economic environment (which includes an examination of the structure of media ownership; transparency and concentration of ownership; the costs of establishing media as well as of production and distribution; the selective withholding of advertising or subsidies by the state or other actors; the impact of corruption and bribery on content; and the extent to which the economic situation in a country impacts the development of the media). 2007 data.

(4) Rule of law. This indicator is from the World Bank Institute and in an index of surveys that rates countries on the extent to which the public has confidence in and abides by rules of society, incidence of violent and non-violent crime, effectiveness and predictability of the judiciary, and the enforceability of contracts. 2007 data.

(5) Control of corruption. This is also from the World Bank Institute, also an index of surveys that rates countries on various forms of corruption, including petty corruption, grand corruption, and state capture (which is the private sector capturing the state by illegally influencing the implementation of laws). 2007 data.

(6) Government effectiveness. This indicator is from the World Bank Institute. It is an index of surveys that rates countries on the quality of public service provision, the quality of the bureaucracy, the competence of civil servants, the independence of the civil service from political pressures, and the credibility of the government's commitment to policies. 2007 data.

APPENDIX 3

Indicator Conversions.

Indicator values were converted to a 1-5 scale, with a 5 representing the best possible outcome worldwide

I. Governing Justly and Democratically

(1) & (2) Political Rights & Civil Liberties (2007, Scores are rated by Freedom House on a scale of 1 to 7 with 1 representing the most free, Freedom House, *Freedom in the World 2008*. These scores were inverted and put on a 1 to 5 scale).

1.0: 7
1.7: 6
2.3: 5
3.0: 4
3.7: 3
4.3: 2
5.0: 1

(3) Media (2007, Overall Press Freedom, Freedom House, *Press Freedom Survey 2008*):

0.5: 90 or more
1.0: 80-89
1.5: 70-79
2.0: 60-69
2.5: 50-59
3.0: 40-49
3.5: 30-39
4.0: 20-29
4.5: 10-19
5.0: 9 or less

(4) Rule of Law (2007, World Bank Institute, *Governance Matters, 2007*):

0.5: -2.5 to -2.0
1.0: -1.9 to -1.5
1.5: -1.4 to -1.0
2.0: -0.9 to -0.5
2.5: -0.4 to 0
3.0: 0.1 to 0.5
3.5: 0.6 to 1.0
4.0: 1.1 to 1.5
4.5: 1.6 to 2.0
5.0: 2.1 to 2.5

(5) Control of Corruption (2007, World Bank Institute, *Governance Matters*, 2007):

0.5: -2.5 to -2.0
1.0: -1.9 to -1.5
1.5: -1.4 to -1.0
2.0: -0.9 to -0.5
2.5: -0.4 to 0
3.0: 0.1 to 0.5
3.5: 0.6 to 1.0
4.0: 1.1 to 1.5
4.5: 1.6 to 2.0
5.0: 2.1 to 2.5

(6) Government Effectiveness (2007, World Bank Institute, *Governance Matters*, 2007):

0.5: -2.5 to -2.0
1.0: -1.9 to -1.5
1.5: -1.4 to -1.0
2.0: -0.9 to -0.5
2.5: -0.4 to 0
3.0: 0.1 to 0.5
3.5: 0.6 to 1.0
4.0: 1.1 to 1.5
4.5: 1.6 to 2.0

Primary References

Freedom House. *Nations in Transit 2008*. New York (2008).

Freedom House. *Freedom in the World 2008*. New York (2008).

Freedom House. *Freedom of the Press 2008*. New York (2008).

IMF (International Monetary Fund). Various country reports. Washington, D.C. (2006).

National Academy of Sciences. *Improving Democracy Assistance, Building Knowledge Through Evaluations and Research*. Washington, D.C. (2008).

UNCTAD (United Nations Conference on Trade & Development). *Foreign Direct Investment Database*. New York (2006).

UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund). *TransMonee Database*. New York (2006).

USAID/E&E (U.S. Agency for International Development, Europe & Eurasia Bureau). *Monitoring Country Progress in Eastern Europe and Eurasia*. No. 10. Washington D.C. (2006).

World Bank. *Doing Business 2008*. Washington, D.C. (2007).

World Bank. *2008 World Development Indicators*. Washington, D.C. (2007).

World Bank Institute. *Governance Matters*. Washington, D.C. (2007)

Yale and Columbia University. *2006 Environmental Performance Index*. New Haven and New York (2006).