

Codebook for Country Assessments

### BTI project team

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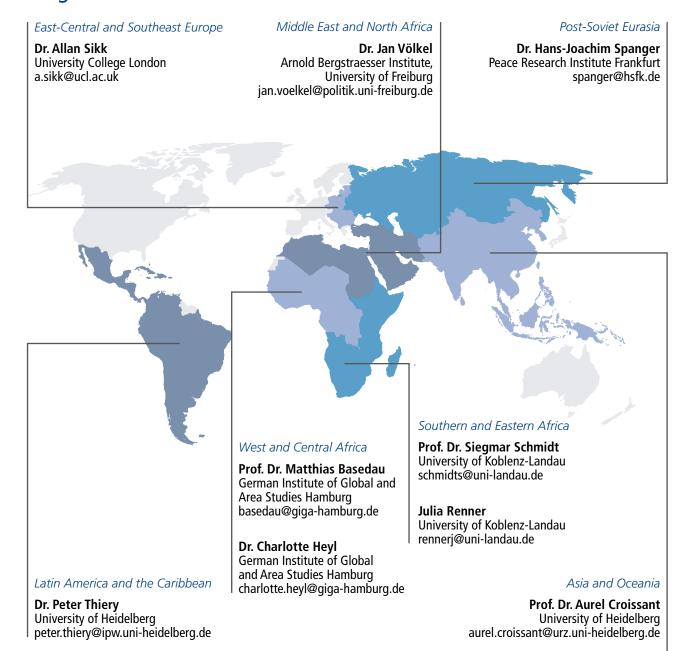
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#### **Foreword**

Welcome to the tenth edition of the Transformation Index BTI, a survey of political 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.

In this regard, the BTI 2022 certainly constitutes a very special edition. As the COVID-19 pandemic threatens to disrupt or alter many transformation paths and as development gains are often diminished, your task will include evaluating the significant implications for most aspects of political, economic and social transformation in your respective country. At the same time, the crisis management constitutes a major task for governments in the large majority of countries and sheds new light on the quality of governance. We prepared a Corona Guidance for you with detailed advice and questions on specific indicators, in which we expect the effects of the pandemic to bear a particular importance. Please consult this Corona Guidance, as it will assist you in your writing process and assure comparability of the country reports. You will find it integrated in your working environment in the online database in various formats.

In terms of collecting and processing the data, we will again rely on our online database system www.bti-network.de as our work platform, trusting that this procedure is facilitating your work and enhancing transparency and communication during the different stages of the process. As in the past, the BTI divides the world into seven regions that are supervised by regional coordinators with significant experience in their 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 BTI 2022 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 Governance Index, both of which are based on in-depth assessments of 137 countries. The Status Index ranks the countries according to the state of their democracy and market economy, while the Governance Index ranks them according to their respective leadership's performance. Distributed among the dimensions of democracy, market economy and governance, a total of 17 criteria are subdivided into 49 guestions.

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 one million, and are recognized as sovereign states.

The Transformation Index project is managed by the Bertelsmann Stiftung. More information is available at www.bti-project.org.

#### 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 governance. 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.

#### Inclusive and sustainable market economy

The underlying BTI concept of a market economy equipped with sociopolitical 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.

#### Good governance

Since the BTI considers leading political actors crucial to development and transformation, their governance performance is examined and compared more closely in a separate ranking, the Governance Index. Governance 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 Corona Guidance, a style guide and other documents) can be downloaded there. You can also familiarize yourself with the BTI and its previous editions at www.bti-project.org. 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 governance 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**

#### **Country assessments**

- 1. Country report—a written assessment of the state of transformation and the governance performance
- 2. Country ratings—numerical assessments of the state of transformation and the governance 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.

#### Intra-regional review & calibration

Regional coordinators review ratings in their respective regions. Scores are calibrated to reflect differences among countries of the same region.

#### Inter-regional review & calibration

- 1. Research assistants check the reliability and comparability of each score level per indicator and make recommendations for the inter-regional calibration.
- 2. The BTI project team and regional coordinators convene and calibrate ratings across regions to reflect international differences and ensure global comparability.

#### Edit

Stylistic edit of country reports.

#### Final review & calibration

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

#### **Analysis**

The project team and regional coordinators analyze trends at the global and regional level and produce reports.

#### **BTI launch**

Public release of data, reports, analyses and visualizations of BTI results via print report, website, the Transformation Atlas, the press and social media.

Jan 21

Feb 21

Mar 21

May 21

June 21

Jan 22

## 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. Country reports from all previous BTI editions are accessible at www.bti-project.org. 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 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 governance 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 2021. Your evidence should refer to the period February 1, 2019 – January 31, 2021. Please make sure that your BTI 2022 report is carefully updated and reflects current developments. Do not insert footnotes or bibliographical references.

## **BTI Country Report Structure**

500 words	Executive Summary Identifies the key developments affecting your country's democratic and economic transformation from 2019 to 2021.						
600 words	History and Characteristics Maps the trajectory of transformation.						
		Texts texts should provide a precise overview of the at the end of January 2021.	ne state (	of transfo	ormatior	n and	
3,200 words	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	
3,200 words		Market Economy					
	6	Level of Socioeconomic Development	6				
	7	Organization of the Market/Competition	7.1	7.2	7.3	7.4	
	8	Monetary and Fiscal 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			
4000 words		Governance					
	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	5.5
	17	International Cooperation	17.1	17.2	17.3		
500 words	Strategic Outlook Identifies strategic policy recommendations for advocates of reform, domestic and external.						
<u> </u>							

approx. 12,000 words

#### **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 2019 to 2021. 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.
- 4. Please offer a comprehensive assessment of the severity of COVID-19 effects and the quality of crisis management in a separate, additional paragraph. Avoid generalizations such as: "The COVID-19 pandemic has posed a profound challenge to the government's transformation strategy.", but put effects and responses in perspective of the country's given transformation status and governance.

#### **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 2020. Please update when necessary.
- 2. Key figures, parties, events or developments should be introduced here.
- 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 2021. 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.

- Most important: You must address each question in the database, assign a score and indicate your level of confidence 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.
- Try to provide particularly rich evidence for the governance 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.
- Avoid generalizations such as "a weak rule of law is one of the most important shortcomings in good governance."
- **6.** Even though the corona pandemic constitutes a major disruptive shock from early 2020 onward, make sure to cover all relevant events, policies or decisions made during the entire period under review.
- **7.** Do not substitute a response with a reference to another question.
- **8.** Avoid piling up information by simply adding information to the BTI 2020 country report. Most country reports tend to get longer over time, at times containing outdated and repetitory information which makes the text more difficult to read. To support your awareness of the text length, a word count is integrated into the database.

#### 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.
- 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.

Please make sure that the information covering the extent and impact of COVID-19 does not lead to exceeding the text limit for the overall length of the report.

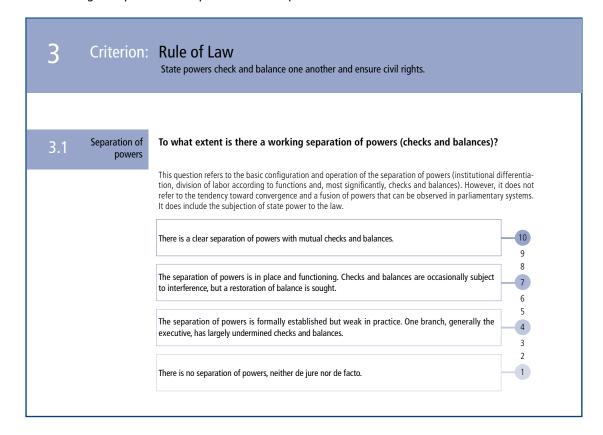
## **3** Assigning country ratings

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.
- 4. While the pandemic will influence many aspects of transformation and development, it will not automatically have a direct (negative) impact on each of the codebook indicators. Avoid introducing a general COVID-19 malus across the board, but make sure that you carefully map potential effects for the scoring to specific indicators and substantiate your rating in your written assessment.

The following example illustrates questionnaire components:



## 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 four weeks after submission. Please consider these comments and adjust your report accordingly.

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 137 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. Then, regional experts 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 panel of esteemed scholars and practitioners with long-term experience in the field of development and transformation who advise the BTI team. 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 2021.  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	Level of Socioeconomic Development Organization of the Market and Competition Monetary and Fiscal Stability Private Property Welfare Regime Economic Performance Sustainability	
Governance		
(February 201	es should refer to the country's political leadership during the period under review 19 – January 2021). If there was substantial change of policy during this period that can already, please rate the political leadership as of January 2021.  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**

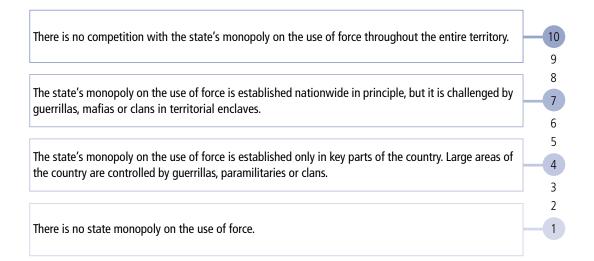
There is clarity about the nation's existence as a state with adequately established and differentiated power structures.

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?

In addition to your written assessment, please give an estimate of the percentage of territory and population the state has effective control over.

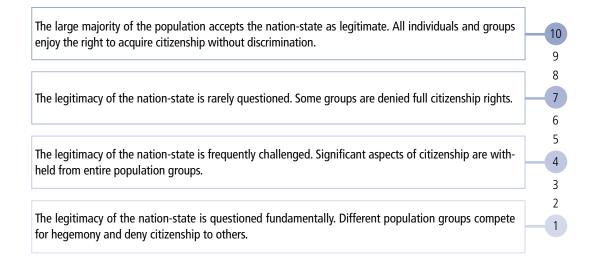


1.2 State identity

## 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, ethnicity, national origin, religion, gender or for political reasons).



1

### **Criterion: Stateness**

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

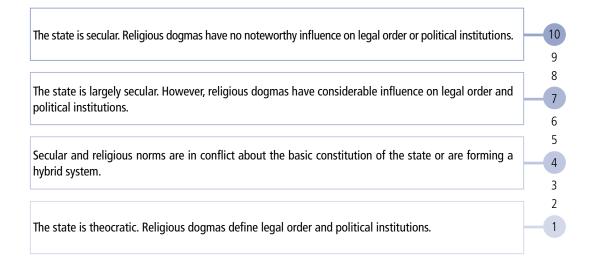
1.3

No interference of religious dogmas

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

This question seeks to assess the extent to which the state's legal framework and institutional arrangements are based on secular norms and positive law. If the legal system, its jurisdiction and 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.

Note: Religious dogmas can prove influential 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. This should negatively affect the assessment only in those instances, when their influence leads to the direct transfer of religious norms into laws.



1.4 Basic administration

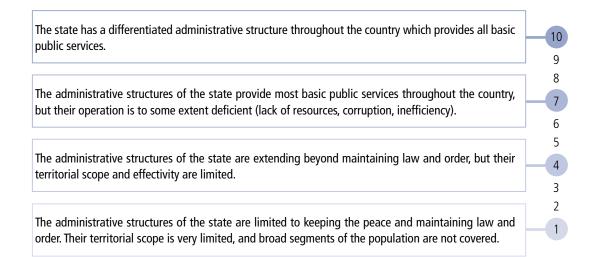
#### To what extent do basic administrative structures exist?

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 the most basic security functions like keeping the peace or maintaining law and order. It primarily addresses the existence and scope of administrative structures, as well as their operational reach across the territory (differentiation, efficiency, accessibility).

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)

Quantitative Reference Indicators: Access to improved sanitation facilities · Access to improved water source



### **Criterion: Political Participation**

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

2.1 Free and fair elections

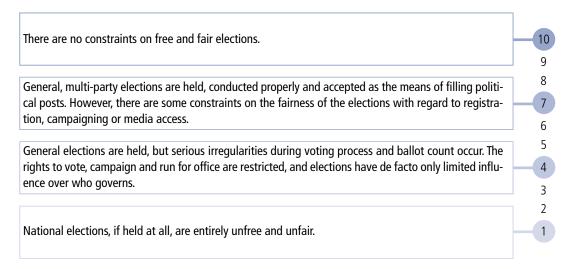
#### To what extent are political representatives determined by general, free and fair elections?

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

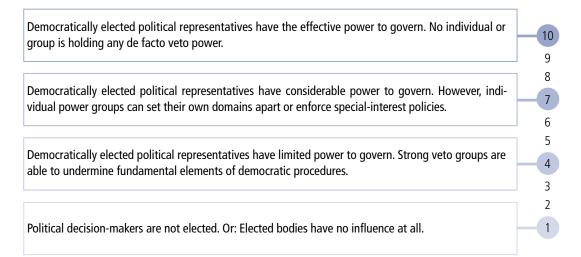


2.2 Effective power to govern

## 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 quarantees 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

Legal restrictions to protect democratic processes (no-protest zones, prohibition of fascist or racist organizations) should not be considered a reason for providing a lower score.

Association and assembly rights are guaranteed against interference or government restrictions.

Residents and civic groups can fully exercise these rights.

Association and assembly rights are occasionally subject to interference or government restrictions, but generally there are no outright prohibitions of independent political or civic groups.

Association and assembly rights are often subject to interference or government restrictions. Residents and civic groups that do not support the government often cannot exercise these rights.

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

2.4

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

Legal restrictions to protect democratic processes (ethical guidelines by media supervisory boards, prohibition of hate-speeches) should not be considered a reason for providing a lower score.

Freedom of expression is guaranteed against interference or government restrictions. Individuals, groups and the press can fully exercise these rights.

Freedom of expression is occasionally subject to interference or government restrictions, but there are generally no incidents of blatant intrusions like outright state censorship or media shutdowns.

Freedom of expression is often subject to interference or government restrictions. Distortion and manipulation shape matters of public debate.

Freedom of expression is denied. Independent media do not exist or are prohibited.

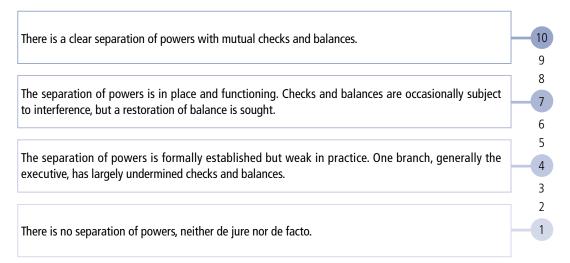
### Criterion: Rule of Law

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.

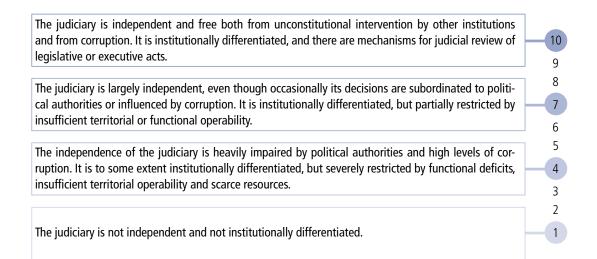


3.2 Independent judiciary

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

An independent judiciary has the ability and autonomy to

- $\cdot\;$  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



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 adequately prosecuted, 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
- · 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 based on gender, sexual orientation, religion, ethnicity, race or political preference should be evaluated explicitly in the report and reflected in the rating.

Civil rights are codified by law and respected by all state institutions, which actively prevent discrimination. Residents are effectively protected by mechanisms and institutions established to 10 prosecute, punish and redress violations of their rights. 9 8 Civil rights are codified by law, but are not properly respected and protected. Mechanisms and institutions to prosecute, punish and redress violations of civil rights are in place, but are not consistently effective. 6 5 Civil rights are codified by law, but even the most fundamental rights (i.e., to life, liberty and physical 4 integrity) are violated in practice. Mechanisms and institutions to prosecute, punish and redress violations of civil rights are largely ineffective. 3 2 Civil rights are systematically violated. There are no mechanisms and institutions to protect residents against violations of their rights.

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

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

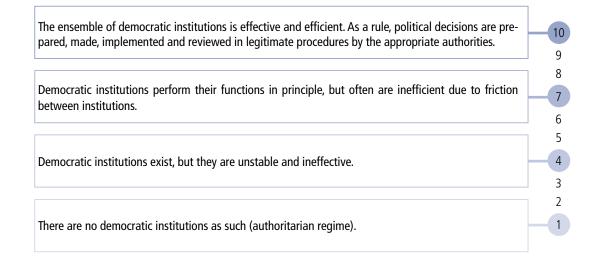
4.1

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.

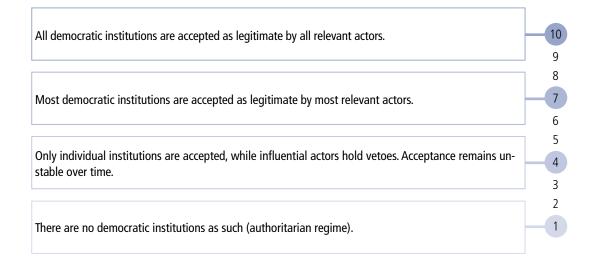
Note: If "democratic" institutions are part of an authoritarian system, please explain briefly how they operate and elaborate on their potential for future democratization.



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**

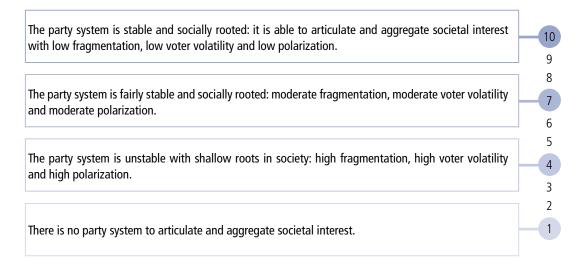
Stable patterns of representation exist for mediating between society and the state; there is also a consolidated civic culture.

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



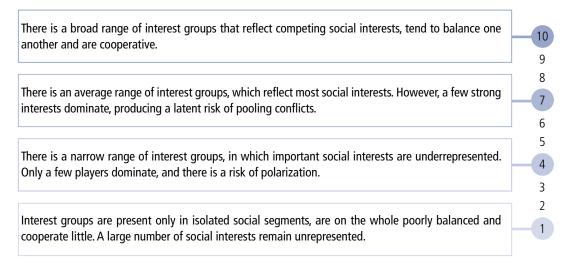
5.2 Interest groups

## 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).



### **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.



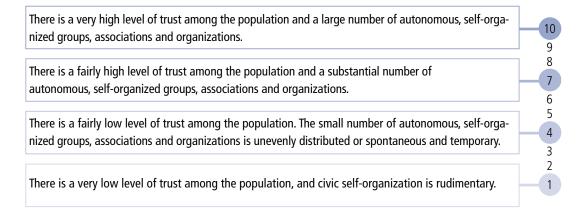
5.4 Social capital

### 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 Monetary and Fiscal 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?

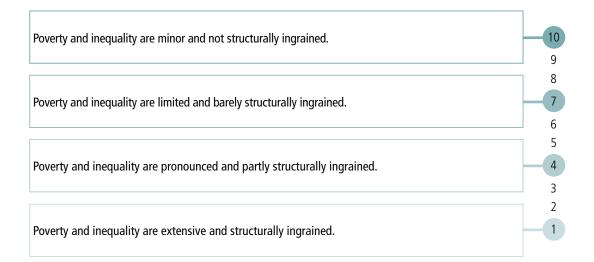
Poverty combined with inequality leads to serious social exclusion that fundamentally impedes participation in otherwise potentially functional market economies. This question aims to assess the level of social exclusion as a determining factor for economic transformation. It refers to structural exclusion 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 and wealth
- the extent to which markers such as race, ethnicity, gender, place of residence etc. are excluding people from economic opportunity.
- the scope of subsistence economy (as an indicator for exclusion)

Whenever reliable data are available, your answer should combine quantitative indicators with qualitative explanation.

Quantitative Reference Indicators: Human Development Index (HDI)  $\cdot$  Overall loss in HDI due to inequality Poverty rate  $\cdot$  Gini Index  $\cdot$  Gender Inequality Index



### Criterion: Organization of the Market and Competition

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

7.1

Market organization

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

The main focus of this question is to assess if free and fair competition is guaranteed by an institutional framework that ensures unrestricted participation in the market and a level playing field for all market participants.

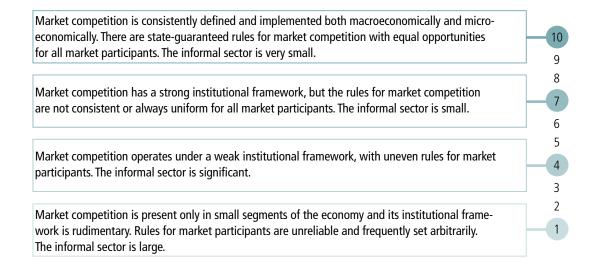
Fundamentals of market-based competition comprise:

- no significant entry and exit barriers in product and factor markets (including licensing procedures and permit regulations; administrative barriers to market access)
- · freedom to launch and withdraw investments (including foreign ownership barriers; access to capital)
- no discrimination based on ownership (state/private, foreign/local) and size (including the importance of public ownership in specific sectors and direct control over business enterprises)

Even though the role of the state is primarily to guarantee compliance with the rules, active or protective state engagement (industry policy) can prove beneficial to economic development, if it supports innovation and nascent markets and does not result in heavy state intervention and control of important market segments for clientelist purposes.

Please consider the size of the informal sector, as a large informal sector could indicate an inappropriate institutional framework of economic policy or an inefficient application of the rules. Please also mention if price setting is mainly determined by market forces and if cross-border labor and capital movement (including currency convertibility) is enabled.

Quantitative Reference Indicators: Starting a Business (Doing Business): Cost · Days · Procedures



### Criterion: Organization of the Market and Competition

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

7.2

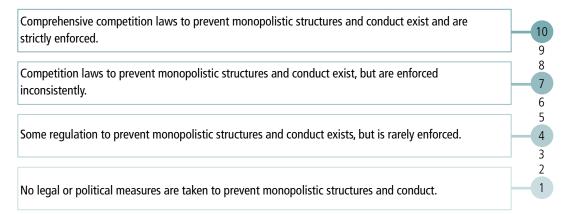
Competition policy

## To what extent do safeguards exist to protect competition, and to what extent are they enforced?

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

Essential elements of an efficient protection of competition comprise:

- existence of an antitrust law with clear rules regarding combating cartels and collusion, abuse of market power and merger control regulation
- existence of an independent competition authority and membership in the international competition network (ICN)
- implementation of antitrust law, including transparency and legal certainty of decisions through guaranteed judicial procedures, no discrimination between domestic and foreign companies
- consistent role of the state, like a low importance of state subsidies, tax reliefs and sector- or firm-specific exemptions for clientelist purposes



7.3

Liberalization of foreign trade

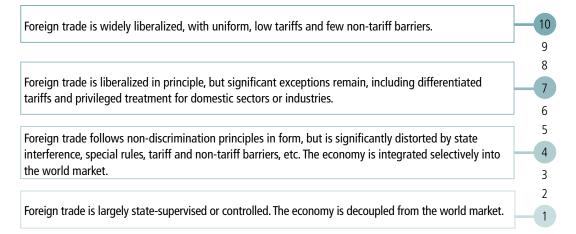
#### To what extent has foreign trade been liberalized?

This question aims to assess the degree of openness of an economy towards foreign trade. Please focus your assessment on conditions, tariff and non-tariff measures for market access.

As the gap between the bound and applied "most favoured nation" (MFN) tariff rates is substantial in many developing countries, the simple average of the MFN applied total tariffs should be referred to. Please consult the WTO Tariff Profiles (https://www.wto.org/english/res\_e/statis\_e/tariff\_profiles\_list\_e.htm), which also grant information on the respective country's WTO Membership Status.

Protectionist measures or limited market access resulting from non-tariff measures should also be discussed and might include the following aspects:

- · import quotas and export limitations
- · export subsidies and "countervailing duties" on allegedly subsidized imports
- contingency trade barriers (anti-dumping procedures, "safeguards" restrictions of imports to protect a specific domestic industry from serious injury)



### Criterion: Organization of the Market and Competition

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

7.4

Banking system

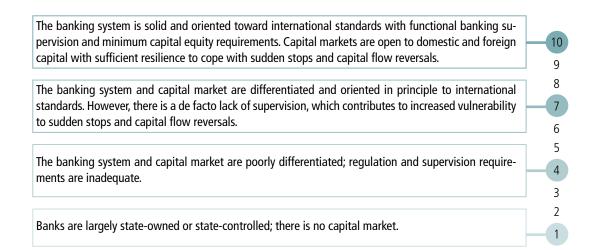
### To what extent have a solid banking system and a functioning capital market been established?

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 you 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.

Quantitative Reference Indicators: Bank capital to assets ratio · Bank nonperforming loans



### **Criterion: Monetary and Fiscal Stability**

There are institutional and political precautions to achieve monetary and fiscal stability.

8.1

Monetary stability

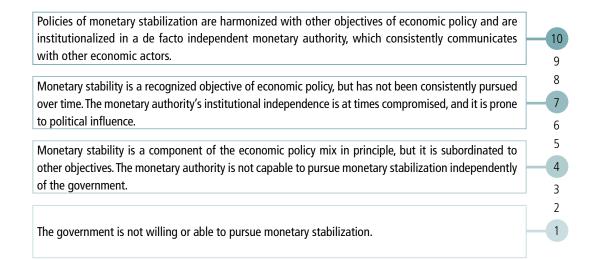
## To what extent does the monetary authority pursue and communicate a consistent monetary stabilization policy?

This question seeks to assess whether the control of monetary stability including foreign exchange-rate policies are in accordance with other goals of the government's economic policy. Please provide data on the volatility of inflation and foreign exchange rates.

When answering the question, please note the following aspects:

- Inflation control: Account should be taken not only of the absolute level of inflation and the effectiveness of inflation targeting, but also of inflation volatility over time, which in some cases may trigger greater uncertainty in expectations among economic players than the level of inflation itself.
- Exchange-rate policies: Account should be taken whether, in case of exchange rate targeting, the monetary authority (in most cases the central bank) is successful in defending the target by avoiding a strong divergence between the country's inflation rate and that of the anchor country or currency basket countries and by discouraging speculative attacks against the exchange rate target. When the local currency is not pegged to a foreign anchor currency or a currency basket, please assess whether flexible exchange rate policies were successful.
- The role of the monetary authority: Formal independence of the monetary authority has often not proven to be a sufficient guidepost in assessing the quality of monetary stabilization. Please focus your assessment on the de facto independence of the monetary authority, its communication with the actors in financial markets, and its cooperation and conflict resolution mechanisms with the government.

Quantitative Reference Indicators: Inflation (CPI) · Real effective exchange rate index



### **Criterion: Monetary and Fiscal Stability**

There are institutional and political precautions to achieve monetary and fiscal stability.

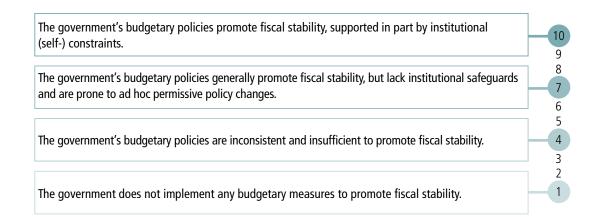
8.2

Fiscal stability

#### To what extent do the government's budgetary policies support fiscal stability?

This question seeks to assess whether the government is pursuing a stability oriented fiscal policy which includes medium-term objectives and measures for debt sustainability and fiscal consolidation, and potentially the establishment of a stabilization mechanism to reduce external vulnerability. Please provide data on the budget deficit and public debt.

Quantitative Reference Indicators: Current account balance · Public debt · External debt · Total debt service · Government consumption · Cash surplus or deficit · Total reserves



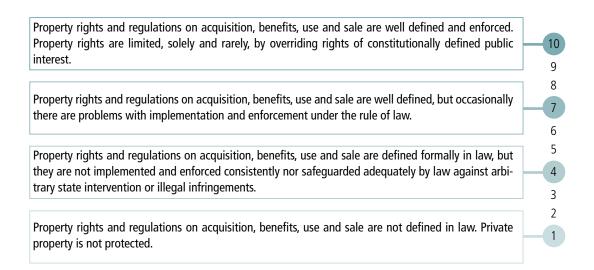
9

### **Criterion: Private Property**

There are adequate conditions to support a functional private sector.

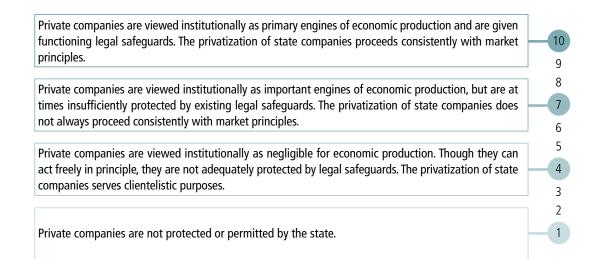
9.1 Property rights

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?



### 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
- the coverage/inclusiveness of social safety nets (where applicable, please also comment on the access of non-citizens to social safety nets).

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.

Social safety nets are comprehensive and compensate for social risks, especially nationwide health care and a well-focused prevention of poverty.

Social safety nets are well developed, but do not cover all risks for all strata of the population.

A significant part of the population is still at risk of poverty.

Social safety nets are rudimentary and cover only few risks for a limited number of beneficiaries.

The majority of the population is at risk of poverty.

Social safety nets do not exist. Poverty is combated hardly at all, or only ad hoc.

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. The denial of equal opportunity based on gender, sexual orientation, religion, ethnicity, race or political preference should be evaluated explicitly in your analysis as should be the scope and intensity of discrimination against non-citizens. Please comment both on the legal provisions and their implementation and enforcement.

Quantitative Reference Indicators: Literacy rate  $\cdot$  Ratio of female to male enrollment  $\cdot$  Gross enrollment ratio  $\cdot$  Female labor force

Equality of opportunity is achieved. Women and members of ethnic, religious and other groups have equal access to education, public office and employment. There is a comprehensive and effective legal and institutional framework for the protection against discrimination.

Equality of opportunity is largely achieved. Women and members of ethnic, religious and other 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.

Equality of opportunity is only partially achieved. Women and/or members of ethnic, religious and other groups have limited access to education, public office and employment. There are some legal provisions against discrimination, but their implementation is highly deficient.

Equality of opportunity is not achieved. Women and/or members of ethnic, religious and other groups have only very limited access to education, public office and employment. There are no legal provisions against discrimination.

10

9

6 5

3 2

1

### **Criterion: Economic Performance**

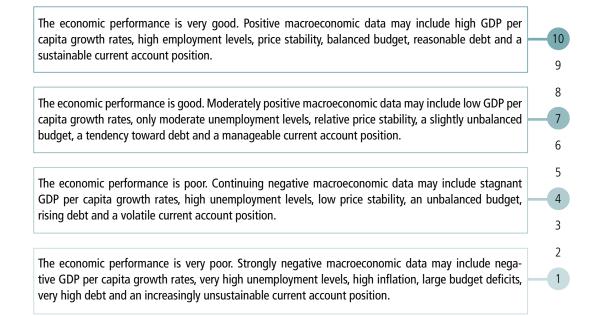
The economy's performance points to solid development.

11

Output strength

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

Quantitative Reference Indicators: GDP · GDP per capita, PPP · GDP per capita growth · Inflation (CPI) Unemployment · Foreign direct investment · Current account balance · Public debt · Cash surplus or deficit Tax revenue · Gross capital formation



### **Criterion: Sustainability**

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

12.1

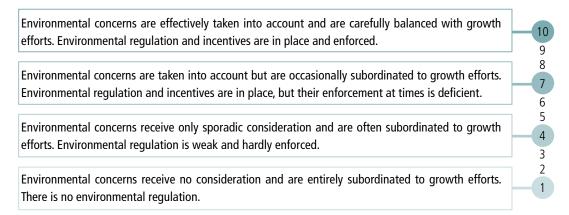
Environmental policy

#### To what extent are environmental concerns effectively taken into account?

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

Please determine whether tax and energy policies take environmental goals and measures into account (e.g., promotion of renewable energies, CO2 reduction goals). You should also establish whether the government sets incentives for environmentally sound consumption and investments to households and companies.

Please consider that a deeply engrained awareness of the environment or nature in society may serve as a functional equivalent.



12.2 Education policy/

## 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.

Please note that unequal access to education should be primarily discussed in indicator 10.2 (Equal Opportunity).

Quantitative Reference Indicators: UN Education Index · Public expenditure on education · R&D expenditure

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 10 average (more than 6% of GDP) as is investment in research and development (more than 2.0% of GDP). 9 8 Education policy ensures a nationwide system of sound education and training, and the research and 7 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). 6 5 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 4 development is deficient. Investment in education and training is rather low (from 2% to 4% of GDP) 3 as is investment in research and development (less than 1.5% of GDP). 2 There are only basic levels of institutions for education, training and R&D. School enrollment is low, 1 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).

## Governance

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

13.1

Structural constraints

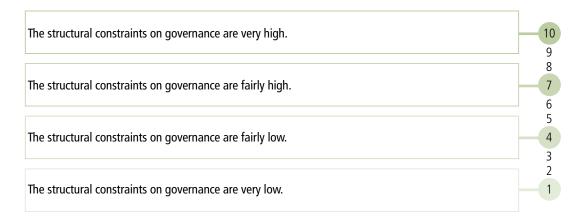
# To what extent do structural difficulties constrain the political leadership's governance capacity?

Governance 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

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 2020 stateness and rule of law scores), you should describe the country-specific profile of structural constraints.

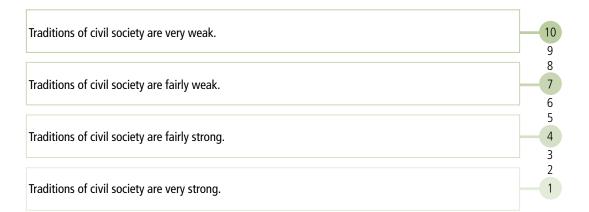


13.2 Civil society traditions

#### 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)



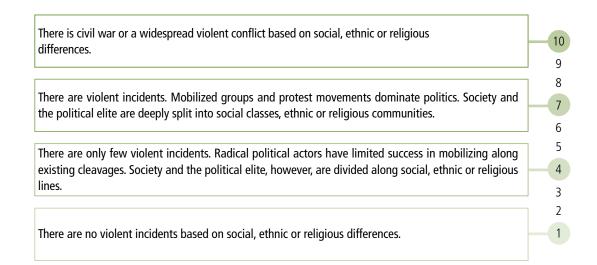
13.3

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** 

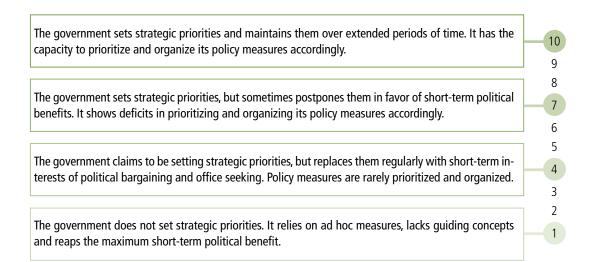
#### To what extent does the government set and maintain strategic priorities?

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 policymaking, 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. The maximum score for autocracies is 5 points.



## **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 you 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. The maximum score for autocracies is 5 points.



14.3 Policy learning

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

Innovation in policymaking 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 policymaking.

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 maximum score for autocracies is 5 points.

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 7 based. 6 5 The government demonstrates little willingness or ability in policy learning. Policies are rigidly en-4 forced, and the routines of policymaking 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.

15.1

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.

10 The government coordinates conflicting objectives effectively and acts in a coherent manner. 9 8 The government tries to coordinate conflicting objectives, but friction, redundancies and gaps in task assignment are significant. 6 5 The government often fails to coordinate between conflicting objectives. Different parts of the govern-4 ment tend to compete among each other, and some policies have counterproductive effects on other policies. 3 2 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

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.

## 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 together 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. For that purpose, two separate response fields are offered in the database. Your written assessment should still be reflected in one single score. The maximum score for autocracies is 7 points.

All major political actors agree on establishing or consolidating democracy and a market economy as 10 strategic, long-term goals of transformation. 9 8 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 7 by significant controversy over strategic priorities. 6 5 The major political actors are in conflict over both democracy and a market economy as strategic, long-4 term goals of transformation. Or: any proclaimed consensus on goals is rudimentary, very fragile and likely to be challenged by powerful actors. 3 2 1 There are no major political actors who want to establish democracy or a market economy.

16.2 | Ar

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.

## **Criterion: Consensus-building**

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

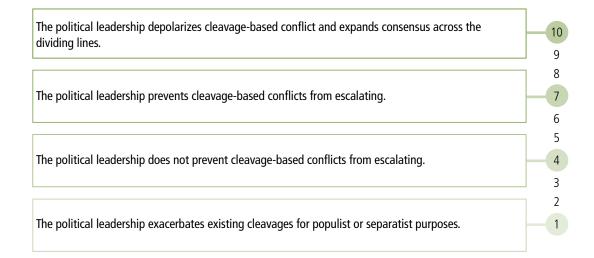
16.3

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 manifest in ethnic, class, regional or religious conflicts as well as those regarding national citizenship.

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.



## Criterion: Consensus-building

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

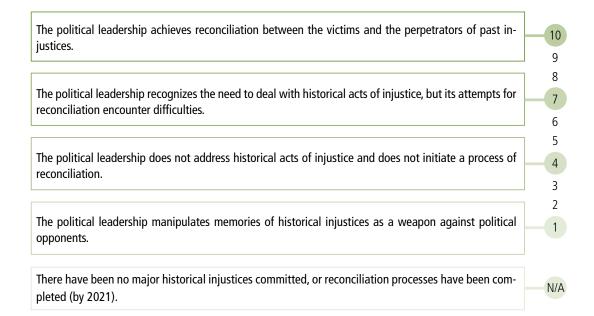
16.5

### 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: In case a country has already achieved reconciliation prior to 2021, please elaborate briefly on the successfully concluded process.



## **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?
- 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?



## **Criterion: International Cooperation**

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

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.

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

Please base your assessment on how consistent and coherent a government has been in upholding its international commitments.

Considerations might include but are not limited to the following:

- compliance with existing international agreements (e.g., climate change agreements, ILO core labor standards, human rights conventions, trade and debt agreements, development agreements, arms control agreements, peace and cease-fire agreements)
- the reliable and trustworthy cooperation with the institutions or mechanisms that monitor compliance (e.g., International Criminal Court, International Court of Justice, UN Human Rights Council, WTO dispute settlement decisions).

The government acts as a credible and reliable partner. It frequently demonstrates initiative in advanc-10 ing international cooperation efforts and actively contributes to them. 9 8 For the most part, the government acts as a credible and reliable partner. It shows notable engagement in international cooperation efforts. 6 5 The government rarely acts as a credible and reliable partner. It shows little engagement in interna-4 tional cooperation efforts. 3 2 The government repeatedly acts unreliably, and cooperating with the state entails major risks. The government does not contribute (and often undermines) international cooperation efforts.

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.

The political leadership actively and successfully builds and expands cooperative neighborly and inter-10 national relationships. It promotes regional and international integration. 9 8 The political leadership cooperates with many neighboring states and complies with the rules set by regional and international organizations. 6 5 The political leadership cooperates selectively or sporadically with individual neighboring states and is 4 reluctant to accept the rules set by regional and international organizations. 3 2 The political leadership is uncooperative. It does not seek to build relations with neighbors and obstructs regional or international organizations.

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