

Democratization

Progress towards democracy building is primarily assessed from indicators drawn from Freedom House. *Table 3* shows 2003 democratization data drawn from Freedom House's *Nations in Transit* and disaggregated into six components: (1) electoral process; (2) civil society; (3) independent media; (4) governance and public administration; (5) rule of law; and (6) corruption. According to these data, the Northern Tier CEE countries are much more advanced on democratic reforms (across all sectors), than are the rest of the transition countries. The Eurasian countries lag the most. In 2003, five countries made measurable gains in democratization on balance; all CEE countries. Eight countries witnessed backsliding; all of these countries are in Eurasia.

Table 4 includes Freedom House's broader political rights and civil liberties indices. While not as rigorous (or as well-tailored) as the transition region-specific data of *Table 3*, these indices do provide a longer term (and more recent) view of the trends, from pre-transition years through 2004. They also provide a means to compare progress with the rest of the world. These data show that the range in progress in democratization across the transition countries spans the range of possibilities worldwide, from progress in six Northern Tier CEE countries (which get the best possible score worldwide on Freedom House's two indices, alongside all of the EU-15 except Greece), to the absence of democratic freedoms in Turkmenistan (which gets the worst possible score worldwide, a distinction shared by only seven other countries: Burma; Cuba; North Korea; Libya; Saudi Arabia; Sudan; and Syria).

Table 4 also takes the democratization trends up to date, to December 2004. The 2004 trends are largely a continuation of a pattern that emerged as early as the early 1990s; that is, most of the advances in 2004 occurred in CEE (six of eight countries that moved forward were in CEE) and most of the backsliding occurred in Eurasia (three of five countries that regressed were in Eurasia). The 2004 exceptions to the growing CEE-Eurasia democratization gap on the CEE side were Lithuania (where, according to Freedom House, political rights "suffered a modest setback" stemming primarily from the impeachment of the president due to his affiliations with a foreign security service and organized crime) and Romania (where political rights deteriorated as a result of flawed presidential and parliamentary election processes). In Eurasia, only two countries advanced in democratic freedoms in 2004: Ukraine (where a "surge in civic activism and a major improvement in press freedom emerged during the country's presidential campaign and the protest movement that ignited in the wake of widespread ballot fraud") and Georgia (where Mikhail Saakashvili was elected president in January 2004 in "honest and professionally conducted" elections following the removal of Shevardnadze).

Figure 2 shows the trends in democratic freedoms in the three main transition sub-regions since 1986. It underscores the growing divide in democratization between CEE and Eurasia. By these scores, the Northern Tier CEE countries achieved a level of democratization slightly below Western European standards by the mid-1990s; by 2004 they were on a par with those standards. The Southern Tier CEE countries remain notably behind the Northern Tier CEE countries, though the gap has narrowed

significantly since the mid to late 1990s. Democratization trends in Eurasia have been strikingly different than those in Northern and Southern Tier CEE. Specifically, while considerable liberalization of democratic freedoms in Eurasia occurred under Gorbachev leading up to the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, since then, the trend towards democratization has been stagnation at best.

Figure 3 shows the disaggregated trends in democratization in Eurasia since 1996, the first year for which these data are available. The deterioration in democratic reforms in Eurasia has been almost across the board, though most salient in the electoral process, the development of independent media, and governance and public administration. Civil society reforms, largely NGO development, remain the farthest along of the democratization components in Eurasia, and, in contrast to the other democracy reforms, have not been backsliding.

Figures 4 and *5* show attempts from sources other than Freedom House to measure two democracy sectors in greater detail: the NGO sector and media.⁹ Though there are country exceptions to the sub-region trends, these data support the broad trends that surface from an analysis of the Freedom House scores: (1) the CEE countries, particularly the Northern Tier CEE countries, are much farther along in democratization than are the Eurasian countries; and (2) most of the forward movement is taking place in CEE, particularly in the Southern Tier CEE in recent years, while virtually all of the backsliding has been occurring in Eurasia.

⁹ The *NGO Sustainability Index* is produced by EE/USAID. The *Media Sustainability Index* is a USAID financed effort by IREX.

Table 3. Democratization Disaggregated in 2003

	Electoral Process	Civil Society	Independent Media	Governance	Rule of Law	Corruption	Average
Slovenia	4.7	4.7	4.5	4.3 ↑	4.5	4.3	4.5
Poland	4.7	4.8	4.5	4.3	4.7	4.0	4.5
Estonia	4.7 ↑	4.3	4.7 ↑	4.2	4.5	4.0	4.4 ↑
Hungary	4.8	4.8	4.2	4.0	4.5	3.8	4.4
Slovakia	4.7	4.8	4.2 ↓	4.2	4.3	3.5	4.3
Lithuania	4.5	4.7	4.5	4.0	4.5	3.3	4.3
Latvia	4.5	4.3	4.7 ↑	4.2	4.3 ↑	3.3	4.2 ↑
Czech Rep.	4.3	4.7	4.2	4.2	4.0	3.3	4.1
Bulgaria	4.5 ↑	3.7 ↑	3.3	3.2	3.5 ↑	2.8	3.5 ↑
Romania	3.8	4.0 ↑	3.2	3.2	2.8	2.7	3.3
Croatia	3.5	3.7	3.2	3.2	2.7 ↓	2.5	3.1
Montenegro	3.3 ↑	3.8	3.5	3.0 ↑	2.8	2.2	3.1
Serbia	3.3 ↑	3.8	3.3 ↓	3.0 ↑	2.8	2.3	3.1
FYR Macedonia	3.3	3.5 ↑	2.8 ↓	3.0 ↑	3.0 ↑	2.3 ↑	3.0 ↑
Albania	3.2	3.3 ↑	3.2 ↑	2.8	2.8	2.2 ↓	2.9
Bosnia-Herzegovina	3.3 ↑	3.2 ↑	2.8	2.3 ↑	2.7 ↑	2.5 ↑	2.8 ↑
Georgia	2.2	3.3 ↑	3.0	1.8 ↓	2.7	1.7 ↓	2.4
Ukraine	2.8 ↓	3.2 ↓	2.0	2.2 ↓	2.5 ↓	1.8	2.4 ↓
Moldova	3.0 ↓	3.0 ↓	2.3 ↓	2.0 ↓	2.7	1.5	2.4 ↓
Armenia	1.8 ↓	3.3	2.2 ↓	2.5	2.3	1.8	2.3 ↓
Russia	2.0 ↓↓	2.7 ↓	1.8 ↓	2.2 ↓	2.5 ↓	1.8	2.2 ↓
Kosovo	2.2	2.8	2.0	1.7	1.7	1.7	2.0
Azerbaijan	1.7 ↓	2.7 ↓	1.8 ↓	1.8	2.0 ↓	1.5	1.9 ↓
Kyrgyzstan	1.7	2.7	1.7	1.7	2.0	1.7	1.9
Tajikistan	1.8 ↓↓	2.3	1.8	1.8 ↑	1.8	1.5 ↓	1.9 ↓
Kazakhstan	1.3	2.0	1.3 ↓	1.5	1.5	1.3 ↓	1.5 ↓
Uzbekistan	1.2	1.3	1.2	1.5	1.3	1.7	1.4
Belarus	1.2	1.2 ↓	1.2	1.3	1.2	1.8 ↓	1.3 ↓
Turkmenistan	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0 ↓	1.0	1.5	1.1
CEE & Eurasia	3.1	3.4	2.9	2.8	2.9 ↓	2.4	2.9
Northern Tier CEE	4.6 ↑	4.6 ↑	4.4 ↑	4.2 ↑	4.4 ↑	3.7	4.3 ↑
Southern Tier CEE	3.5 ↑	3.6 ↑	3.2 ↓	3.0 ↓	2.9 ↓	2.4 ↓	3.1
Eurasia	1.8 ↓	2.4 ↓	1.8 ↓	1.8 ↓	2.0 ↓	1.6 ↓	1.9 ↓
Northern Tier CEE at Graduation	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.1	4.4	3.6	4.3
Romania & Bulgaria 2002	4.1	3.7	3.3	3.2	3.1	2.8	3.4

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

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

Data depict trends from November 2002 through December 2003.

Freedom House, *Nations in Transit 2004* (2004).

Table 4. Political Rights and Civil Liberties¹

	1990 ²		1999		2000		2001		2002		2003		2004 ³	
	PR	CL	PR	CL	PR	CL	PR	CL	PR	CL	PR	CL	PR	CL
Slovenia	5	4	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Czech Republic	2	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1 ↑
Estonia	5	4	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1 ↑
Hungary	2	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1 ↑
Poland	2	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1 ↑
Slovakia	2	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1 ↑
Latvia	5	4	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
Bulgaria	3	4	2	3	1	3	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
Lithuania	5	4	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	2 ↓	2
Croatia	5	4	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Romania	6	5	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3 ↓	2
Serbia & Montenegro	5	4	4	4	3	3	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	2
Albania	7	6	4	5	3	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
FYR Macedonia	5	4	4	3	4	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Ukraine	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3 ↑
Bosnia-Herzegovina	5	4	5	4	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3 ↑
Moldova	5	4	2	4	2	4	2	4	3	4	3	4	3	4
Georgia	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3 ↑	4
Armenia	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	5 ↓	4
Russia	5	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	6 ↓	5
Azerbaijan	5	4	6	5	6	5	6	5	6	5	6	5	6	5
Kazakhstan	5	4	6	5	6	5	6	5	6	5	6	5	6	5
Kyrgyzstan	5	4	6	5	6	5	6	5	6	5	6	5	6	5
Tajikistan	5	4	6	6	6	6	6	5	6	5	6	5	6	5
Belarus	5	4	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	7 ↓	6
Uzbekistan	5	4	7	6	7	6	7	6	7	6	7	6	7	6
Turkmenistan	5	4	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
CEE & Eurasia	4.6	3.8	3.5	3.7	3.4	3.7	3.3	3.4	3.3	3.4	3.3	3.4	3.5 ↓	3.2 ↑
Northern Tier CEE	3.5	3.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	1.9	1.0	1.9	1.0	1.9	1.1 ↓	1.3 ↑
Southern Tier CEE	5.1	4.4	3.3	3.4	2.9	3.1	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.7 ↓	2.4 ↑
Eurasia	5.0	4.0	5.3	5.1	5.3	5.1	5.3	5.0	5.3	5.0	5.3	5.0	5.5 ↓	4.9 ↑
European Union-15 ⁴											1.0	1.1	1.0	1.1
OECD ⁵											1.1	1.3	1.1	1.2 ↑
Northern Tier CEE at Graduation			1.1	2.0										
Romania & Bulgaria 2002			1.5	2.0										

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

(2) The 1989 scores for the Soviet Union, Czech and Serbia & Montenegro are used for the countries that were part of these larger entities in 1989.

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

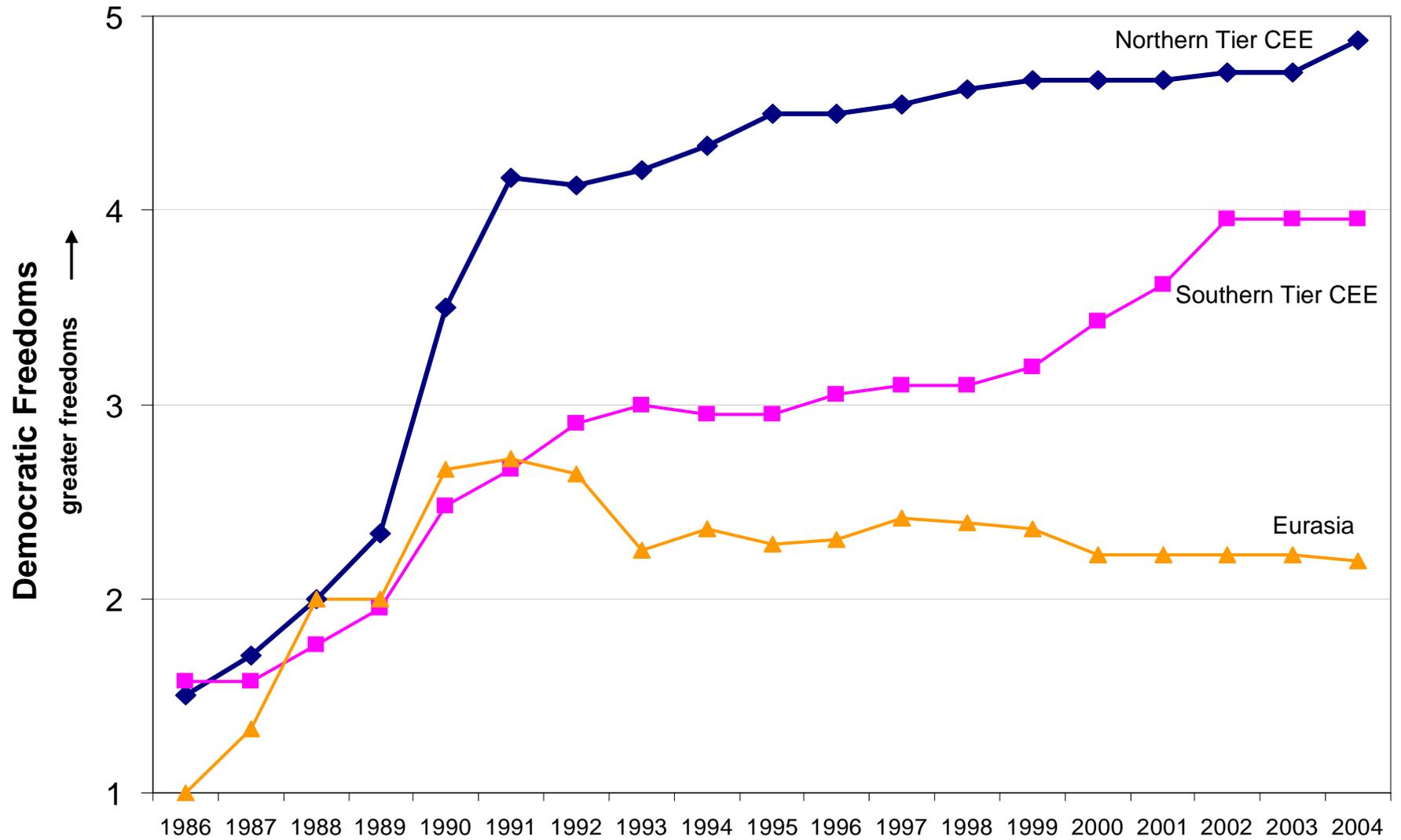
(4) All 15 EU members score "1" in Political Rights. In Civil Liberties 14 of the 15 members score a "1"; and Greece scores a "3".

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

For Civil Liberties, 24 members score a "1"; 4 score a "2" (Greece, Japan, Mexico and South Korea); and Turkey scores a "3". Freedom House, *Freedom in the World 2005* (2005) and previous editions.

Figure 2

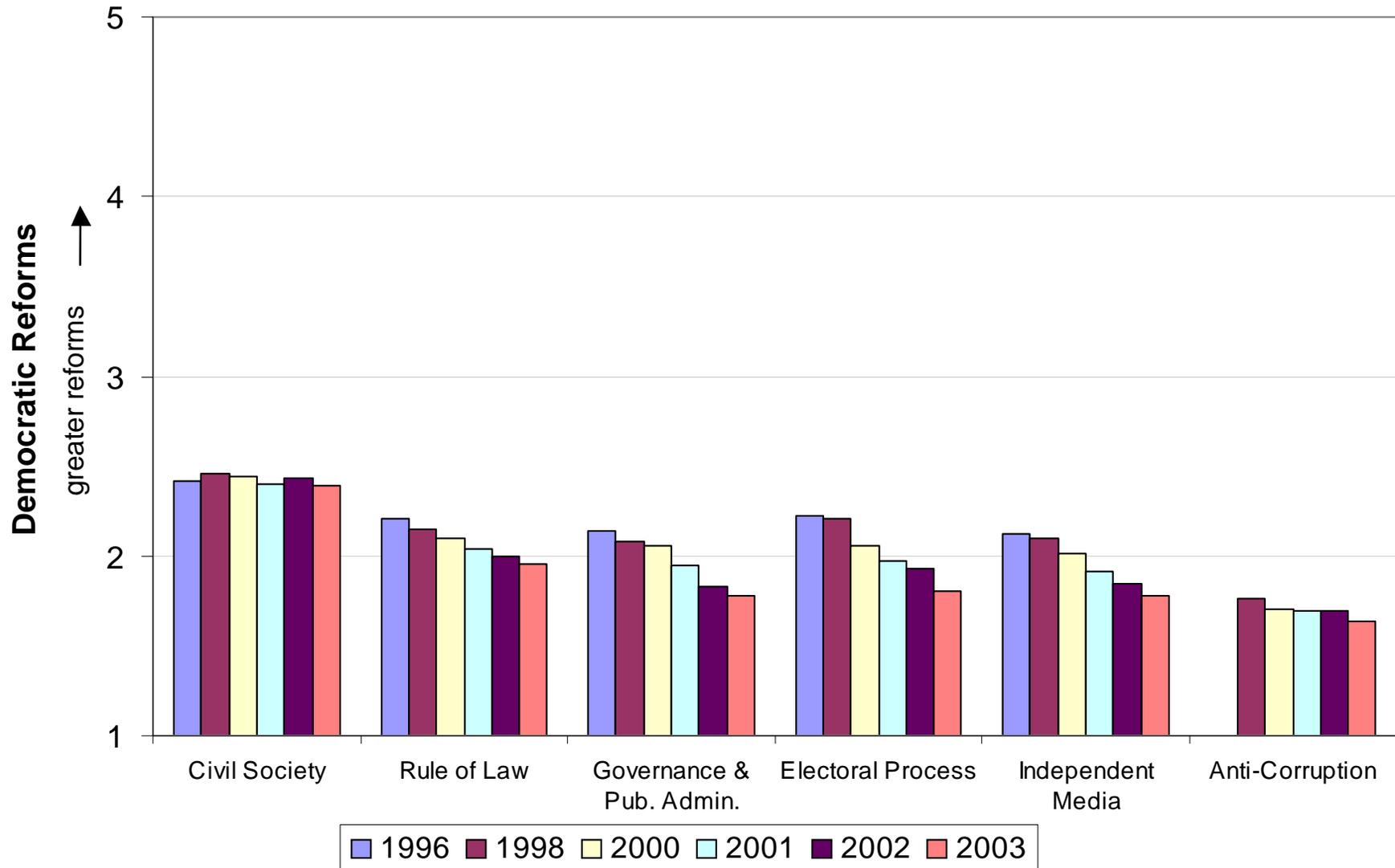
Democratic Freedoms



Ratings from 1 to 5, with 5 representing greatest development of political rights/civil liberties. The data are an aggregation of Freedom House's political rights and civil liberties indices; Freedom House, *Freedom in the World 2005* (2005 and previous editions).

Figure 3

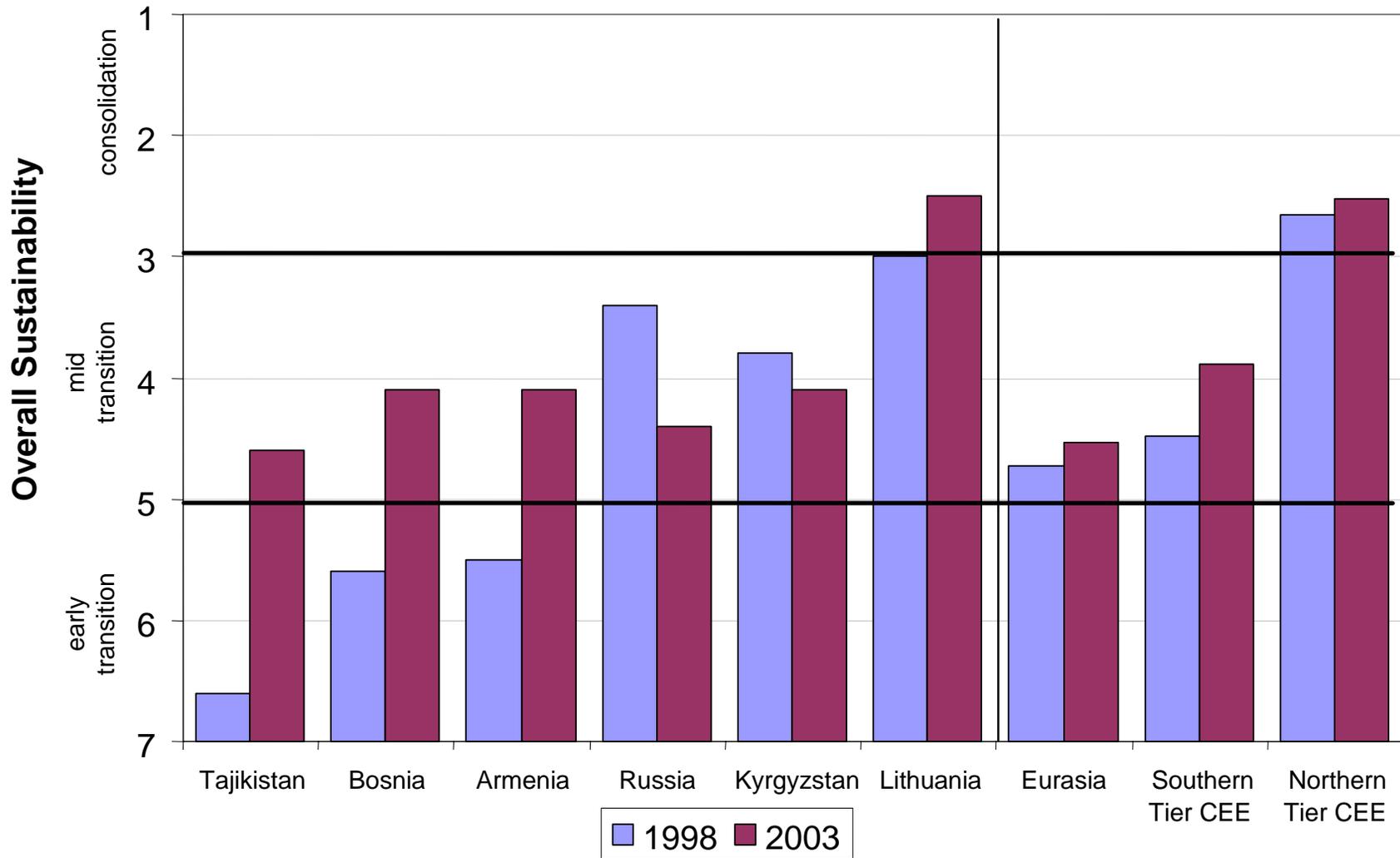
Democratic Reforms in Eurasia



Freedom House, *Nations in Transit 2004* (2004); Ratings from 1 to 5, with 5 representing greatest progress in democratic reforms.

Figure 4

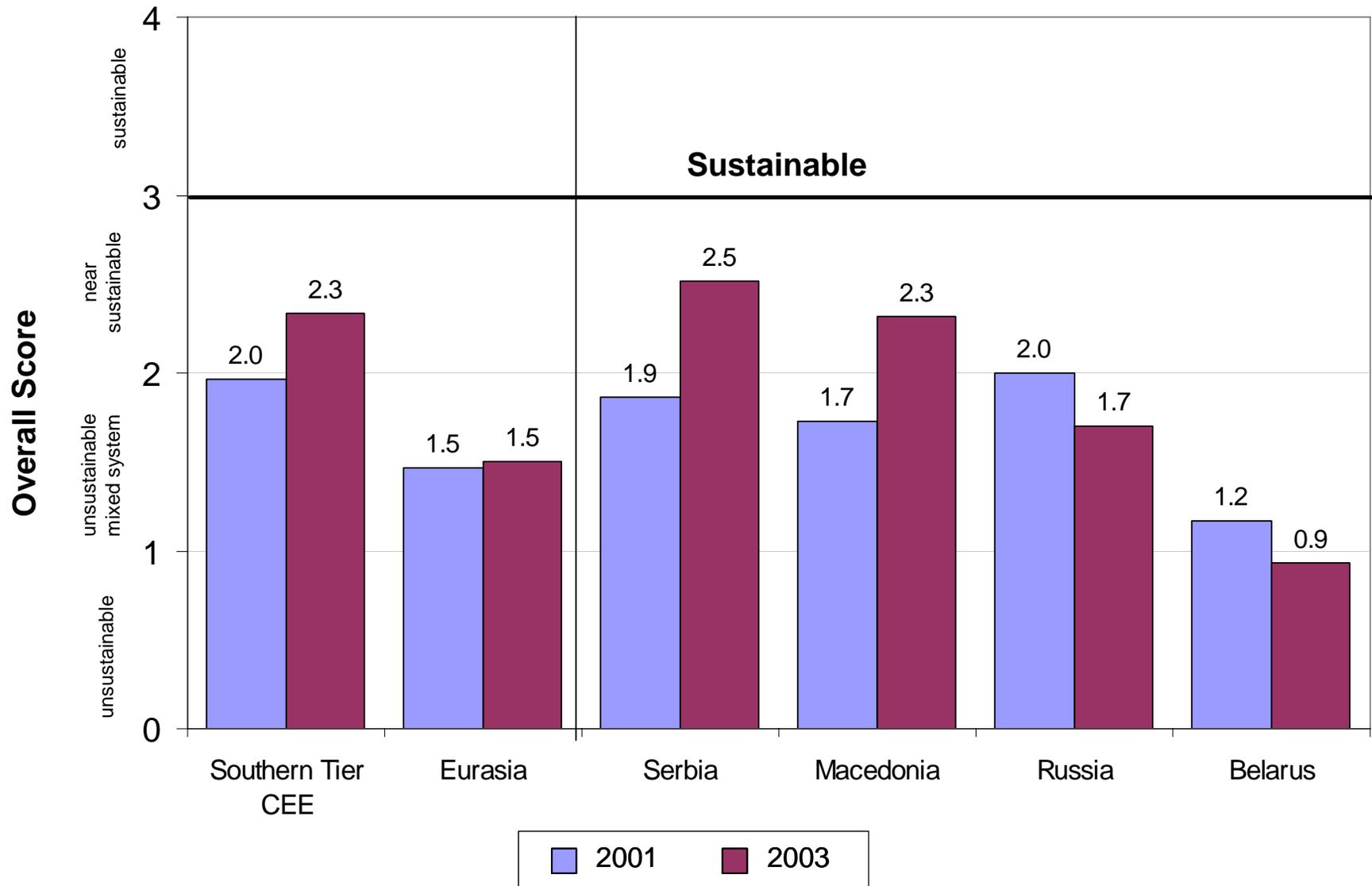
NGO Sustainability Index



USAID/EE/DGST, *The 2003 NGO Sustainability Index for Central and Eastern Europe and Eurasia* (2004).

Figure 5

Media Sustainability Index



IREX, *Media Sustainability Index 2003 (2004)*.