COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE INDEX OF DEMOCRACY LEVEL: ARMENIA, GEORGIA, AZERBAIJAN, RUSSIA, BELARUS, KAZAKHSTAN, UKRAINE AND MOLDOVA

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This interdisciplinary research is conducted for the development of the Index of Democracy Level in Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Ukraine and Moldova. The study also provides a comparative analysis of the Index of Democracy Level for the abovementioned countries. There are both in-country and cross-country analysis: In-country analysis includes the study of democracy of each country and the Political, Economic, Social, Educational and Health Factors impacting the Index of Democracy Level within the period of 1995-2012. Cross-country analysis is a country comparative analysis of the Index of Democracy Level and the factors it is conditioned with in 2012 and 2013. This study can be used by research centres, professors and students for research and academic purposes.

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INTRODUCTION

Modern comparative political science is an academic discipline that has rich research methodology, set of methodological tools and well-developed theoretical basis. Comparative political science studies political institutions and processes by uniting empirical and theoretical levels of the analysis as well as its quantitative and qualitative methods. “The third wave” of democratization has fostered and promoted the improvement of contemporary methods and the development of new tools and approaches. Particularly, the assessment and measures methods have been widely spread, and, nowadays, there is a great demand for these methods even beyond academic circles. Major international organizations, research institutions and analytical centres have developed democracy indices that will scale states by their political administration and levels of democracy. For this reason, the model of Index of Democracy Level based on the method of index construction has been implemented and applied as a tool within the scope of this research.

In these modernization conditions, the assessment of democracy levels in countries such as Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Ukraine and Moldova is of special interest. The selection of the countries is conditioned by their internationally and regionally diverse integration processes. The Eastern Partnership (EaP) was launched in 2009 with the aim to bring Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Ukraine and Moldova closer to the European Union. It implies a higher level of political integration through the conclusion of signing Association Agreements as well as long-term perspectives for the further and closer integration into the EU economic and social systems. Moldova, Georgia and Ukraine took the path of the European integration by signing both the political and economic part of EU Association Agreements in 2014 hence they strengthened the perspective for the development of the European integration vector. Whereas, Armenia joined a new integration project, i.e. Eurasian Economic Union, initiated by Russia, Kazakhstan and Belarus. In this sense, this is a complex research, aimed at disclosing the general democratic developments trends in these above-mentioned countries by viewing Political, Economic, Social, Educational and Health Factors, affecting them and by studying their levels of democratization. Such approaches will allow to measure democratic bases of stability of their political systems. One of the main questions of the research is whether these countries with diverse directions of the integration have the same or different democracy levels. Or else, whether the democracy levels are different in the countries with the same integration vector.

Democracy levels of these eight mentioned countries were studied with the help of the Index of Democracy Level by implementing in-country and cross-country analyses.

In-country analysis includes the study of democracy level of each country and the Political, Economic, Social, Educational and Health Factors, affecting it throughout eighteen years (1995-2012). The time span is conditioned by the necessity to study democratic processes preceded by the independence of Post-Soviet states, yet the year 1995 was chosen as the starting date of the research for the data availability reason.

Cross-country analysis is a country comparative analysis of the Index of Democracy Level and comparative observations of the influential factors within 2012 and 2013 years.

Mathematical and statistical methods of the analysis have been applied in this interdisciplinary research. The calculations relied on the official data provided by the publications of states national statistics office and renowned international organizations. As a consequence, database of 4000 pieces has been created.

Taking into account the importance and influence of electoral processes on the democracy level of transitional countries, a special attention has been paid to the analysis of presidential and parliamentary elections by accumulating about 1000 pieces of data referring to the election results.

The book is composed of introduction, ten chapters and two annexes. The methodology of the Index of Democracy Level is presented in the first chapter. From the second to the ninth chapters with the application of the model of the Index of Democracy Level, trends of democracy level as well as indicators of the factors conditioned by them are analyzed for the period of 1995-2012 in the following countries: Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Ukraine, and Moldova. The states' Indices of Democracy Level for the years 2012-2013 are constructed in the tenth chapter, the states are proportioned by scales due to their calculated indices, the comparative analysis is conducted based on the Indices and indicators of Political, Social, Economic, Educational and Health Factors of the countries studied.

ARUSYAK ALEKSANYAN

CHAPTER 1.
THE MODEL OF THE INDEX OF DEMOCRACY LEVEL[1]

ARUSYAK ALEKSANYAN

The history of measuring democracy has emerged since the 1960s and has progressed due to pursuit of improved methods and quest for new adjusted scales. In particular, during the 1980-1990 years, social sciences deeply and thoroughly viewed factors promoting democracy and the means aimed at their influence measurement. Nowadays, there has been an increased interest and demand for measuring democracy level beyond the academic circles since it determines the international image of a state. "Democracy" is one of the mostly studied, discussed and numerously defined concepts. It is quite natural, that the founder of polyarchy democracy theory R. Dahl (1971, 3) denoted that " The twenty-five centuries during which democracy has been discussed, debated, supported, attacked, ignored, established, practiced, destroyed, and then sometimes reestablished have not, it seems, produced agreement on some of the most fundamental questions about democracy". The widely spread and generally accepted definition of democracy (Becker and Raveloson 2008, 4) was defined by the 16th USA president A. Lincoln as the "government of the people, by the people, for the people".

There is a bulk of academic literature expounding a plurality of theories and definitions of democracy as well as conditions and factors affecting democracy emphasized by scholars. S. M. Lipset, the founder of modernization theory argued that economic growth and well-being led to democracy. He (Lipset 1959, 80) particularly mentioned that "…the factors of industrialization, urbanization, wealth, and education, are so closely interrelated as to form one common factor. In addition, the factors subsumed under economic development carry with it the political correlate of democracy. Robert Dahl (1985), R. Barro (1999, 160) and Siegle (et al. 2004) spoke about the correlation between economic development and well-being and its influence on democracy.

The researchers of the "third wave" democratization of the political regimes took into reference other aspects of democracy. So, S. Huntington (1991), claimed the importance of cultural factors along with political and economic ones, by stating that only the western culture provided the appropriate base for the development of democratic institutions. Moreover, he also mentioned that other cultures, such as

[1] The methodology of the Index of Democracy Level was developed by Arusyak Aleksanyan within the # RO3 scholarship frameworks of Caucasus Research Resource Centre -Armenia and Carnegie Corporation of New York.

Confucianism and Islam, were incompatible with democracy. Within the context of civilizational factors of democracy, the notion of civiliarchic democracy has also been observed (Aleksanyan 2005, 53, Aleksanyan 1999, 2-9).

The scholars like Vanhanen (1984: 1989; 1997) and others suggest considering the issue at two levels: political participation and competition levels.

O'Donnel (2004), Warren (2006), and Rose (2009) argue that the rule of law and control over corruption are the major determinants of effective or ineffective democracy.

Summarizing main study findings and researches of democracy, Rustow (1970, 337-338) determines three core analytical accounts. The first approach proposed by Lipset and Cutright correlates the stable democracy with certain economic and social conditions (for example, GDP per capita income), with widespread literacy level, with prevalent urban residence etc. The second account concentrates on "the need for certain beliefs or psychological attitudes among citizens." Political culture specialists Daniel Lerner (1958), Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba (Almond and Verba 1963), claim that civil culture and willingness to participate in public affairs are imperative for establishing democracy." Finally, the third approach looks into the characteristic features of social and political structure. For example, Arend Lijphart (1968) and Ralf Dahrendorf (1959) specify the importance of conflict and peace for democracy, but Robert Dahl (1961) insisted on the fact that democratic stability implied the loyalty to democratic values and rules mainly among skilled politicians rather than electorate.

When developing methodology of the Index of Democracy Level by defining variables, it is also important to mention a number of developed indices of democracy within the political science frameworks, which refer to any parts of democracy systems. (Aleksanyan 2013, 8-16)

Cutright (1963) developed an index of political development based on the formation of executive and legislative bodies by the principles of democracy. The rating scale comprises 0-3 points. The author estimated the formation processes of executive and legislative bodies of 77 countries during the time span of the years 1940-1960 by applying 0-2 points for the formation of a legislative body and 0-1 for the formation of an executive body. The points were distributed according to the following principles: 1. Pluralism of political ideas; 2. Formation of the government, election and competition; 3. Level of the minority influence.

Vanhanen (1997; 2000; 2003) reflecting on the R. Dahl's (1971) concept applied two variables: political participation and political competition. To measure the democracy level he transformed them into two qualitative indicators. The first one is the competition, i.e. the proportion of votes won by opposition during the presidential or

parliamentary elections and the second one is the participation, i.e. the number of the population, actually taken part in the elections. It should also be noted, that the percentage is calculated not by the enfranchised population but by the total population. In accordance with the acquired results, states are divided into 1. democratic, 2. partially democratic and 3. non-democratic.

K.Bollen's (1980) principle of political democracy index is based on the thesis of the correlation of elite democracy with nonelite democracy, which forms a special system. Correspondingly, he (Bollen 1980, 372) defines democracy as "the extent to which the political power of elite is minimized and that of nonelite is maximized". Bollen emphasizes two features of political democracy as variables of his analysis- political liberties and popular sovereignty expressed in the electoral process. Bollen's indicators of political liberties are: 1. Press freedom; 2. Freedom of group opposition and 3. Government sanctions (the number of cases). The indicators of popular sovereignty (the right to elect the ruling political elite and the applicability of this right) are: 1. Fairness of elections, 2. Executive selection and 3. Legislative selection.

American political scientist T. Gurr (Marshal, Gurr, Jaggers 2010) developed the index of Polity IV. The latter is the author of other indices, such as Polity I, Polity II and Polity III. The index of Polity IV refers to the aspects of institutional democracy and to the analysis of the states' present day levels of democracy. T. Gurr specifies indicators of autocracy and indices of institutional democracy that include the following six dimensions. 1. Regulation of executive recruitment, 2. Competition of executive recruitment, 3. Openness of executive recruitment, 4. Constraints on the chief executive, 5. Regulation of participation and 6.Competitiveness of participation. According to this, the states are divided into three regimes: "autocrat", "anocrat" and "democrat".

The calculation of The Economist Intelligence Unit's Democracy Index is based on five categories. They are: 1. electoral process and pluralism, 2.civil liberties, 3. the functioning of government, 4. political participation, 5. political culture. These are all closely interrelated and form one conceptual unity. The measurement of this index consists of 0-10-point scale and the overall index of democracy is the simple average of five category indices. This fact allows the states to be classified as: 1.full democracy regimes, 2. flawed democracy regimes and 3.hybrid democracy regimes (Campbell 2008, 14-15).

Index of Economic Freedom is measured by The Heritage Foundation in partnership with The Wall Street Journal with the rating system of 0-100 points, where 100 point is the indicator of the highest level of Economic Freedom and 0 of the lowest level. The Index of Economic Freedom is based on 10 variables: 1. Business freedom, 2. Trade freedom, 3. Fiscal freedom, 4. Financial freedom, 5. Government spending, 6.

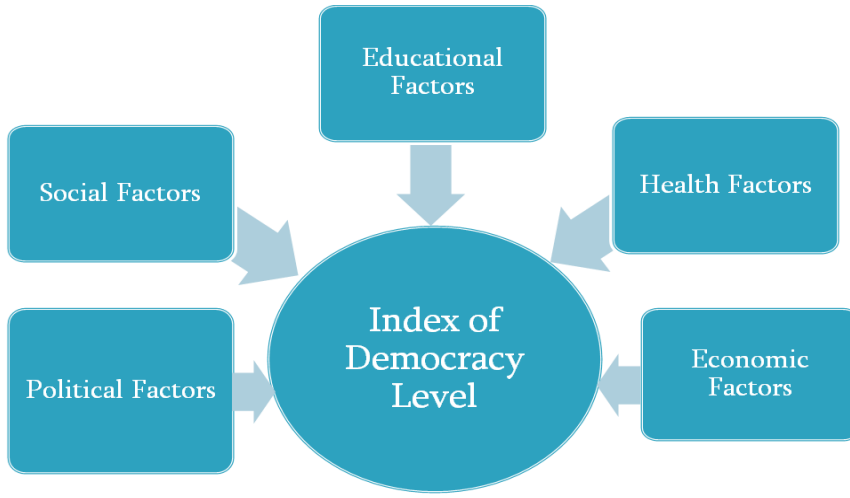
Monetary freedom, 7. Investment freedom, 8.Property rights, 9. Freedom from corruption, 10. Labour freedom (Index of Economic Freedom 2014, 471-483).

Political Rights and Civil Liberties Indices are measured by the Freedom House organization by the Freedom in the World (Freedom in the World 2014) methodology. The Political Rights indicator is based on ten-point questionnaire and are grouped into three subcategories: electoral process (3 questions), political pluralism and participation (4 questions) and functioning of the government (3 questions). Civil liberties questionnaire comprises 15 points, which is grouped into four subcategories, such as freedom of expression and belief (4 questions), association and organizational rights (3 questions), Rule of Law (4 question), personal autonomy and individual rights (4 questions). Scores are awarded to each of these questions on a scale of 0-4. The highest score that can be awarded to political rights checklist is 40. The highest score that can be awarded to civil liberties checklist is 60. The raw points are converted into a 1-7 point rating scale, where 1 point stands for the highest freedom indicator, and correspondingly 7 point stands for the lowest.

The above-mentioned concepts and indices generally support one or other aspect of democracy. For this reason, the Index of Democracy Level (IDL) is based on some aspects of democracy, including the Political, Economic, Social, Educational and Health Factors that may have an impact on it.

Figure 1

Factors affecting the Index of Democracy Level[2]



[2] The reason for the separation of Indices of Health and Educational Factors from the Social Factor Index is conditioned by a deeper and more profound study of their components as separate fields. The Index of Social Factors in this case refers only to inequality of income.

Based on the methodology of main provisions and existing factors, the principle of five groups of factors with various rating scales and with an overall impact on democracy is taken as a base while modeling the democracy. These factors are political, economic, social, educational and health[3].

Indicators of political dimensions

1. Rule of Law (RL)
2. Political stability/ Absence of Violence (St.)
3. Indices of Political Rights and Civil Liberties (PR&CL)
4. Freedom of the Press (FP)
5. Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI)
6. Political system (PS)
7. Gender equality (GE)
8. Social unrest and political pressure (PP)
9. Majority in the parliament (MP)
10. Religion (R)
11. The presence of conflict (Conf.)

Indicators of economic dimensions

1. Gross National Income per capita, ppp (GNI)
2. External trade rate (TR)
3. Index of Economic Freedom (IEF)
4. Domestic credits (DC)
5. Foreign direct investments (FDI)
6. Inflation rate (Inf.)
7. Budget deficit (Def)

Indicators of social dimensions

[3] The choice of the IDL variables was taken on the method of correlation of matrix construction and variable expulsion. More than 50 variables were initially selected, but then the variables with high coefficients of correlation were excluded from the model.

1. Real wage (W)
2. Unemployment (U)
3. GINI index (GINI)

Indicators of educational dimensions

1. HDI (Human Development Index) Education Index (HDI.ed)
2. Public spending on education (ES)

Indicators of health dimensions

1. Life expectancy at birth (LE)
2. Health expenditure (HE)

The calculation methodology and the nature of certain variables and indices included in the model are the following: Rule of Law and Political Stability/ Absence of Violence are two out of six indices aimed at the assessment of effectiveness of the public administration published by the World Bank (Kaufmann, Kraay, Mastruzzi 2010, 2-3). The Rule of Law measures the citizens' confidence of the law and the level of their readiness to comply with it, the crime rates and effectiveness of legislative power, courts and the police. Political Stability/ Absence of Violence includes indicators that measure the stability of state institutions, drastic changes, destabilization and the probability of regime change inconsistent with the Constitutional rule (including terrorism and the use of violence within the state).

Indices of Political Rights and Civil Liberties are measured by Freedom House organization, the methodology of which we have already presented. The abovementioned indices are included in the model under one variable (simple average). In the model the standardized data are scaled as maximum value of 1 point and minimum value of 7 point.

Freedom House also defines the measurement of Freedom of the Press and assesses the degree of freedom of the press of 197 countries worldwide. The questions and assessments are connected with the following three spheres, such as "legislative atmosphere", "political atmosphere" and "economic atmosphere". It provides numerical rankings based on the assessments collected from these components and rates the states as "free" (0-30 points), "partly free" (31-60) and "not free" (61-100). During the data standardization the highest accepted value (max) is 0, and the lowest value (min) is 100.

Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI 2008, 1-13) is measured by Transparency International organization and is based on the survey conducted by experts. The index has the ranking scale from 0-10 (0 to 100 according to the updated methodology), where 0 point implies the highest level of corruption and effectively 10 points indicate the lowest level of it. The data of CPI are calculated in accordance with the resources provided by 11 independent organizations, like Political and Economic Risks Consultancy, the World Bank, Bertelsmann Foundation, "Global Insight" World Economic Forum and etc.)

The survey topics refer to the corruption, the conflict of interests, anti-corruption events and improvements, state's steps taken to apply sanctions and to eradicate corruption. There exist issues concerning the spread of corruption not only in the public administration sphere, but also among citizens of a state and in the mass media circles. The corruption risks may appear in small bureaucratic institutions and escalate up to the highest instances of authority, or else there are risks for briberies offered in the spheres of export and import, tax payment offices, utilities payments as well as in decision-making courts. The importance of this variable is conditioned by the fact, that corruption indicators show the quality of bureaucratic and public administration systems. During the data standardization the highest accepted value (max) is 10 points, whereas the lowest value (min) is 0 point.

The variable of the political system in accordance with the coding system of Keefer (2012, 3-4) is divided into the following categories: parliamentary (2 points), assembly-elected presidential (1 point) and presidential (0 point). Political systems get 0 point when the head of the state cannot be elected or is elected directly by the state's citizens or electorate, yet there is no position of a prime minister. With the elected president and prime-minister the system is called presidential, if a president has: 1. veto power that the parliament can override with only qualitative majority, 2. appoints prime-minister and/or other members of the government or ministers and 3. can dissolve the parliament by calling for new election. Political systems with assembly-elected president are characterized as parliamentary (2 points) with the exception, when the parliament cannot easily recall the chief executive as it needs a two-thirds vote to impeach or dissolve itself. In this case, the system gets 1 point.

The variable of gender equality is measured by the Global Gender Gap reports published by the World Economic Forum that refer to the measurement of inequality between men and women in four fundamental categories (Hausmann et al. 2012): 1.economic participation and opportunity, 2. educational attainment, 3. health and survival and 4. political empowerment. The value ranges between 1 point that stands for perfect equality and 0 point for total inequality.

The variable of social unrest and political pressure is measured by a number of demonstrations, strikes, social unrests, particularly pressures applied against them during a specified span of time. Taking into account the absence of such statistics, relying on the analyses, reports and informative studies carried out by newspapers and research centres, the scaling range of 0-5 was settled for their assessment.

The variable of the "majority in the parliament" is measured by the following principle: 0 point is given in case the party of the chief executive has the absolute majority in the legislative authority; 1 point given, if the mandates are comparatively and equally distributed, and eventually 2 points are applied when the opposition holds the absolute majority.

The variable of religion is based on the research, which proves the close correlation of the religion and democracy and the fact, that non-Christian cultures are less compatible with democracy. Two categories are distinguished in this variable: "Christian" (1 point) and "non-Christian" (0 point).

The presence of conflict affecting democracy is measured in the following way: the absence of conflict (2 points), passive conflict (1 point), when a state is in conflicting relations with another state or states, but there are no active military actions. And, active conflict (0 point), which described as a state conflicts with another state/states and there are active military actions carried out. The maximum value in the scale is 2 points and the minimum value is 0 point.

The Index of Economic Freedom (2008) is measured by The Heritage Foundation, whose methodology has already been discussed above. In general, IEF (the Index of Economic Freedom) denotes the guarantee of the construction of legislative body and property rights and it is also considered one of the most important indicators of democracy. For that very reason, the index was included in the model as a separate variable. In the model the value of 100 points (max) is estimated as the highest indicator, where 0 point (min) is the lowest indicator of the rating scale.

Human Development Index Education Index (HDI-education) is assessed by the UNDP (United Nations Development Programme). It is based on two indicators: 1. average number of years of education received by people ages 25 and older. 2. expected years of schooling (for children of ages 5) (Human Development Report 2010). HDI reflects the degree of well-being of the society and is considered one of the most essential indicators.

GINI index (incomes GINI coefficient) measures the deviation of the distribution of income among individuals or households within a country from perfect equal distribution. A value of 0 represents absolute equality, a value of 1 absolute inequality.

9. Real wage described the purchasing power of nominal wage within a definite time span, i.e. the goods and services that can be purchased with wages at prices specified at a particular period. During the cross-country analysis, the average monthly wage is calculated by the indicator equivalent to purchasing power in US dollars.

All variables are standardized by the following formula[4]:

$$X' = \frac{x_i - \min\{x_i\}}{\max\{x_i\} - \min\{x_i\}}$$

$\min\{x_i\}$ *and* $\max\{x_i\}$ *are the lowest and highest values, the variable* x *can attain the magnitude of a descriptive indicator respectively.*

In cross-country analyses, the averaged indicators of the lowest 3 and the highest 3 data collected during the last 5 years were used for some variables as the lowest and the highest values and in case of one country, the corresponding values of different time periods were used.

The calculation of each group of standardized indicators (Political Factors Index (PFI), Economic Factors Index (EFI), Social Factors Index (SFI), Educational Factors Index (EdFI), Health Factors Index (HFI) was based on counting the weighted average factors impacting on democracy and simple average for the variables of other dimensions:

PFI = (2*(PR&CL+ FP + CPI + RL + St. +PS + PP + MP + GGG) + Conf.+ R[*])/20

EFI = (GNI + FDI + IEF + Inf. + Def. + Tr. + DC)/7

SFI = (GINI + W + U)/3

EdFI = (ES + HDI.ed)/2

HFI = (HS + LE)/2

Taking into account the impact of above-mentioned 5 groups of variables (dimensions) on the democracy level we propose to formulate the degree of

[4] The minimum and maximum values of "negative" variables, e.g. inflation rate, have been swamped in the formula, and the in the low values we correspondingly get the standardized higher values and vice versa.

[*] The rating scales of the variables of the presence of conflict and religion have been lowered, as there aren't outcomes of a state's inner developments. Besides, the influence of the variable of religion is partially measured by means of other variables, such as gender equality, and a number of conflicts can be conditioned by a right to struggle for self-determination, which having a negative impact on state's development does not contradict to democracy.

interrelation between these indicators and democracy. Accordingly, the Index of Democracy Level is a weighted average of 5 computed indices[5]:

IDL = (41,5* PFI +32,5* (SFI + EFI +HFI)/3 +26*EdFI)/100

According to this IDL formula, the most influential Factor is the Political one, then correspondingly followed by Social, including Educational and Health Factors.

Another peculiarity of the model is that through regression it is possible to denote the most impacting indices and variables and to what extent they impact on the stability of a political system of a state under question.

By summarizing aforesaid, it should be noted, that there are other various indices used for democracy measurement within the frameworks of modern political science. Some of them emphasize the formal or institutional democracy (F. Cutright's Index of Political Development), whereas others (K. Bollen, R. Dahl, T. Vanhanen) specify its procedural feature. Moreover, some indices measure the level of implementation of declared rights (Indices of Political Rights and Civil Liberties). In this case, IDL includes the mentioned three aspects and in fact, it is more inclusive than the mentioned indices.

IDL consists of:

- official statistics
- developed new variables
- existing indicators regularly released by renowned international organizations.

Eventually, the proposed model allows to:

1. Analyze and compare the degree of democracy at different time spans

2. Compare the degree of democracy of two and more states classifying them by the definition and ranking of the applicable scale

3. Identify the factors who have either the most positive or the most negative impact on the democracy of the given state by disclosing the fields where the situation is mostly needed to be repaired to make improvements.

[5] Weights are defined through calibration, which is particularly based on the calculation of democracy level in countries such as Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Iceland and on the decision of the sub-indices' coefficient in them as well as on the study of theoretical democracy provisions and existing models.

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Abbreviations

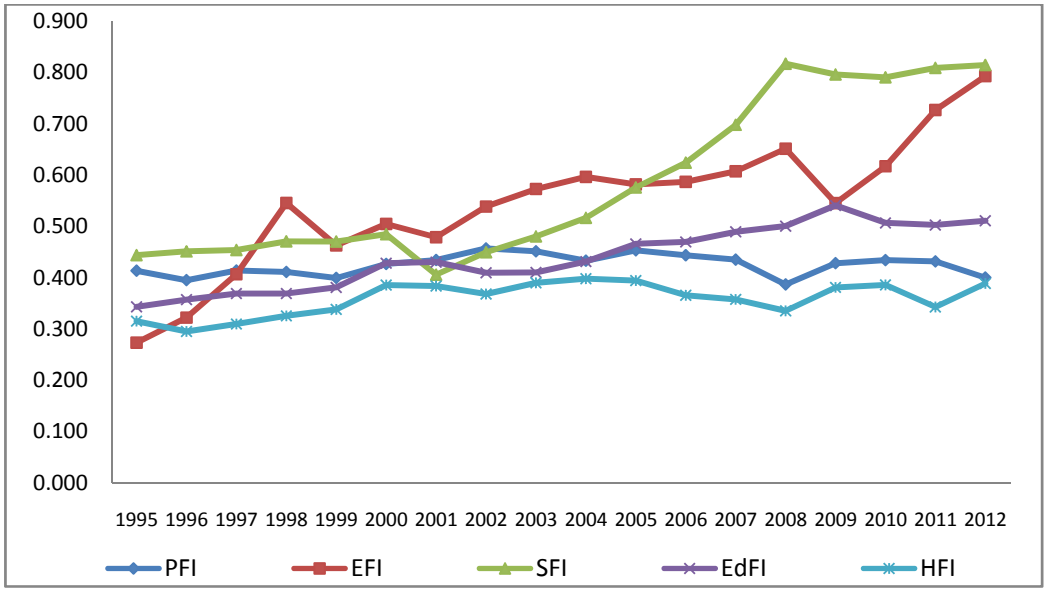
Tr.	External trade rate
HFI	Health Factors Index
HE	Health expenditure
Def.	Budget deficit
Inf.	Inflation Rate
Gen.	Gender equality
U.	Unemployment
RW	Real wage index
MP	Majority in the parliament
R	Religion
St.	Political Stability/ Absence of Violence
EdFI	Educational Factors Index
CPI	Corruption Perceptions Index
ES	Public spending on education
Conf.	Presence of conflict
GNI	Gross National Income
WB	World Bank
GNP	Gross Domestic Product
FP	Freedom of the Press
HDI.ed	Human Development Index Education Index
GINI	GINI index
PP	Social unrest and political pressure
SFI	Social Factors Index
DC	Domestic credits
IEF	Index of Economic Freedom
EFI	Economic Factors Index
PFI	Political Factors Index
PR&CL	Political Rights and Civil Liberties Indices
PS	Political system
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
RL	Rule of Law
IDL	Index of Democracy Level

CHAPTER 2.
THE INDEX OF DEMOCRACY LEVEL OF ARMENIA

ARUSYAK ALEKSANYAN

Figure 1

Indices of Political, Economic, Social, Health and Educational Factors affecting the Index of Democracy Level of Armenia in the time span between 1995-2012*



* The source is based on the calculations accumulated by the researcher.

Table 1

Indices of Political, Economic, Social, Educational, Health Factors of Armenia in the time span between 1998 and 2012*

Years	PFI	EFI	SFI	EdFI	HFI	IDL
1995	0,413	0,273	0,444	0,343	0,315	0,362
1996	0,395	0,322	0,451	0,357	0,295	0,367
1997	0,414	0,406	0,454	0,369	0,309	0,400
1998	0,411	0,545	0,471	0,369	0,325	0,438
1999	0,399	0,463	0,470	0,381	0,338	0,415
2000	0,426	0,505	0,485	0,428	0,385	0,449
2001	0,434	0,479	0,406	0,430	0,383	0,437
2002	0,457	0,538	0,449	0,409	0,368	0,462
2003	0,451	0,573	0,480	0,410	0,390	0,475
2004	0,433	0,596	0,516	0,431	0,398	0,480
2005	0,453	0,581	0,576	0,466	0,394	0,495
2006	0,443	0,587	0,624	0,470	0,365	0,495
2007	0,435	0,607	0,698	0,489	0,357	0,506
2008	0,386	0,651	0,817	0,500	0,335	0,509
2009	0,428	0,545	0,796	0,541	0,381	0,505
2010	0,434	0,617	0,790	0,507	0,386	0,523
2011	0,432	0,727	0,809	0,503	0,343	0,547
2012	0,400	0,793	0,814	0,511	0,388	0,558

2.1 Political Factors Index

By studying the curve of Political Factors Index of democracy, we see that political developments remain on the same level having small increases and decreases, which are mainly conditioned by the elections. Researches prove that there are big downfalls in the democracy level and political stability in Armenia, particularly during the presidential elections, which is typical of countries with the presidential system and transition countries (Aleksanyan 2013, 18-28).

* The source is based on the calculations accumulated by the researcher.

In accordance with Keefer's (2012, 3-4) methodology[1], the governing system of the RA is presidential. Keefer's coding system suggests that a system is presidential if a president is directly elected either by citizens or by electorate, has the veto power, also appoints prime minister and/or other ministers of the Cabinet and can dissolve the parliament (see also Chapter 1).

Under the Constitution of the Republic of Armenia, the President of the Republic shall be the head of the state. The President of the Republic shall strive to uphold the Constitution and to ensure the regular functioning of the legislative, executive and judicial powers. The President of the Republic shall be the guarantor of the independence, territorial integrity and security of the Republic of Armenia. The citizens of the Republic of Armenia shall elect the President of the Republic for a five-year term of office. (Article 49, Constitution of the RA)

According to Paragraph 2 of Article 55 of the RA Constitution, the President of the Republic shall, within twenty-one days of receipt, sign and promulgate, the laws passed by the National Assembly. This is one of the essential legislative powers of the President, by which he factually concludes the law-making process. By receiving the law from the National Assembly, the president can either sign or by the veto power suspend its coming into force and remand the law with recommendations and objections, requesting for new deliberations. The President shall, within five days, sign and promulgate the law re-adopted by the National Assembly. The National Assembly may decline to accept the recommendations and objections of the President with the majority vote of the total number of Deputies vote by overriding the veto power of the President.

In conformity with the Article 74.1 of the Constitution of the RA, the President of the Republic shall dissolve the National Assembly and call for extraordinary elections. On the basis of the distribution of the seats in the National Assembly and consultations held with the parliamentary factions, the President of the Republic shall appoint as Prime Minister the person enjoying confidence of the majority of Deputies. If this is impossible, the President of the Republic shall appoint as the Prime Minister the person enjoying confidence of the maximum number of Deputies. The President of the Republic shall appoint to and dismiss from office the members of the Government upon the recommendation of the Prime Minister.

The presidential elections took place in Armenia in 1991, 1996, 1998, 2003, 2008 and 2013 (see Table 2).

[1] Keefer's methodology was also applied in the calculations of the variable of the "political system" model.

The first presidential elections took place in 1991, when Levon Ter-Petrosyan, a candidate of the Armenian National Movement (also known as Armenian Pan-National Movement) won 83 % of votes counted.

The next presidential elections were rather problematic. According to official tally, Levon Ter-Petrosyan was re-elected by gaining 51% of votes, whereas the member of the opposition Vazgen Manukyan (National Democratic Union), claiming on the widespread election frauds, amassed only 41% of the votes. As the outcome of that elections, 150-200 thousand demonstrators broke into the building of the National Assembly and beat up its chairman and vice-chairman on September 25, 1996 (Astourian 2001, 45). The protest was suppressed by military force in the result of which 60 people suffered from various injuries (Amnesty International 1996). The fall of the Index of Political Factors registered in 1996 was strongly stipulated by this political crisis (see Figure 1, Table 1).

In March of 1998 it was decided to hold extraordinary elections forced by the inner divergences aimed at the regulation of the Mountainous Karabagh (Nagorno-Karabagh or Artsakh) conflict which was proposed by L. Ter-Petrosyan (Lurer.com, 2013). Nevertheless, the visible fall of the Political Factors Index was denoted in 1999, caused by the events of October 27, when there were deadly shootings in the parliamentary building (WSWS 1999).

Another decrease of the Political Factors Index is also visible in 2003 and 2004 (see Figure 1, Table1). Since 2003, the fall has been stipulated by the active political events at a specified time span. There were presidential, parliamentary elections as well as referendum. Parliamentary elections in comparison with presidential elections were carried out smoothly. The opposition did not agree with the election results and insisted on the elections being fraudulent, moreover the OSCE election observers announced, that those elections were held with shortcomings (OSCE/ODIHR 2003). On the second round of the elections, Robert Kocharyan was re-elected with 67.5 % of votes and was empowered with the right to be in the office for another 5 years. The certain rise of political unrest cases stipulated by the abundant political events was noticed in that particular period time, which continued up to the spring of 2004, when the opposition triggered a number of protests, demanding the impeachment of R. Kocharyan on March 28 (Ishkhanian 2008, 44-45).

Table 2

The votes of the RA presidential candidates, expressed in percentage[2]

Candidates	Presidential Elections in Armenia							
	1991	1996	1998		2003		2008	2013
	I rd.	I rd.	I rd.	II rd.	I rd.	II rd.	I rd.	I rd.
Levon Ter-Petrosyan (ANM)	***83***	***51,75***	-	-	-	-	21,5	-
Paruyr Hayrikyan (NUSD)	7,2	-	5,4	-	-	-	-	1,2
Sos Sargsyan (ARF-D)	4,3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Zory Balayan	0,45	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rafael Khazaryan	0,39	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ashot Navasardyan (RPA)	0,16	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Vazgen Manukyan (NDU)	-	41,29	12,2	-	0,91	-	1,29	-
Sergey Badalyan (CPA)	-	6,3	10,9	-	-	-	-	-
Ashot Manusharyan (SICU)	-	0,6	-	-	-	-	-	-
Robert Kocharyan	-	-	38,7	***58,9***	49,48	***67,45***	-	-
Karen Demirchyan	-	-	30,7	40,1	-	-	-	-
David Shahnazaryan	-	-	0,5	-	-	-	-	-
Artashes Geghamyan (NUP)	-	-	0,4	-	17,6	-	0,46	-
Vigen Khachatryan (LDP)	-	-	0,3	-	-	-	-	-
Hrant Khachatryan (UCR)	-	-	0,2	-	-	-	-	-
Aram Sargsyan (DPA)	-	-	0,2	-	0,21	-	-	-
Yuri Mkrtchyan	-	-	0,2	-	-	-	-	-
Ashot Bleyan (NW)	-	-	0,1	-	-	-	-	-
Stepan Demirchyan (APP)	-	-	-	-	28,22	32,55	-	-
Aram Karapetyan	-	-	-	-	2,95	-	-	-
Ruben Avagyan (UAP)	-	-	-	-	0,41	-	-	-
Garnik Margaryan (MDP)	-	-	-	-	0,09	-	-	-
Aram Harutyunyan (NCP)	-	-	-	-	0,06	-	0,18	-
Serzh Sargsyan (RPA)	-	-	-	-	-	-	***52,82***	***58,64***
Arthur Baghdasaryan (RLP)	-	-	-	-	-	-	16,69	-
Vahan Hovhannisyan (ARF-D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	6,18	-
Tigran Karapetyan (People' P)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0,6	-
Arman Melikyan	-	-	-	-	-	-	0,27	0,24
Raffi Hovhannisyan (HP)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	36,74
Hrant Bagratyan (non-partizan)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,15
Andrias Ghukasyan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0,57
Vardan Sedrakyan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0,42

[2] The sources of the data are Nohlen, Dieter, Grotz, Florian, and Hartmann, Christof. (eds). 2001. Elections in Asia and the Pacific: A Data Handbook: Volume 1: Middle East, Central Asia, and South Asia, Oxford University Press, the official site of the RA CEC at www.elections.am/electionsview/, the last statement of the OSCE on the RA elections at http://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/armenia (18.08.2014).

The presidential elections in 2008 were the most problematic in the history of the Independent Armenia. The tally of the first round of presidential elections held on February 19, Serzh Sargsyan the Prime Minister of Armenia and the former Minister of Defense won the elections with 52.8%. Levon Ter-Petrosyan received 21.5% of the votes calculated (see Table 2). Mass rally started to be held on Freedom Square on February 20, which eventually transformed into a mass disturbances and disorders. A number of casualties incurred in the result of the clashes between military force and demonstrators. About 100 members of opposition were taken to jail and appeared in court (Human Rights in Armenia 2012). In fact, the lowest fall of the Political Factors Index is caused by the abovementioned events (see Figure 1, Table 1).

Serzh Sargsyan was re-elected as the president of the Republic of Armenia in 2013. Post-election processes were also accompanied by numerous demonstrations.

In reference to the parliamentary elections, the negative impact of their post-election processes on democracy is milder than that of presidential elections. The impact of parliamentary election on the Index of Democracy Level was also measured by the ratio of opposition and government seats of the deputies in the parliament.

In fact, the highest legislative body in Armenia is the unicameral National Assembly, which consists of 131 Members of the Parliament where 41 deputies are elected by majoritarian and 90 deputies by proportional representation for a five-year term in conformity of the Electoral Code.

Since the independence of the Republic of Armenia, there were five elections held for the National Assembly in 1995, 1999, 2003, 2007 and 2012 (see the Table 3).

Analyzing the data on the participation of the political parties, it can be noted that during all parliamentary elections, only two parties, namely Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF) and Republican Party of Armenia (RPA) (with the bloc of 1995 and 1999) took part in the elections and surpassed the law-established 5% barrier, whereas the Communist Party of Armenia (CPA) and National Democratic Union (NDU) took seats only in the National Assembly of the first (1995) and of the second (1999) convocations. “Rule of Law” party took stable participation starting from the elections of the second convocation, and the Prosperous Party of Armenia together with Heritage Party (HP) from the elections of the fourth convocation (2007). In general, we may state, that the political content mainly varied during the elections of all five convocations. It should also be noted, that the number of non-partisans has been reduced.

Table 3

The ratio of the deputy seats of the political parties in the National Assembly of the Republic of Armenia[3]

Parties, blocs, candidates	Election of the NA of the RA									
	1995		1999		2003		2007		2012	
	M	P	M	P	M	P	M	P	M	P
"Republic" bloc [4]	68	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
"Shamiram"	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Communist Party of Armenia	4	6	2	8	-	-	-	-	-	-
National Democratic Union	2	3	2	4	-	B*	-	-	-	-
National Union of Self-determination	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Liberal Democratic Party	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Armenian Revolutionary Federation	1	-	3	5	-	11	-	16	1	5
"Unity" bloc[5]	-	-	33	29	-	-	-	-	-	-
"Rule of Law" party	-	-	2	4	7	12	2	8	1	5
"Law and Unity" bloc[6]	-	-	1	6	-	-	-	-	-	-
The Republican Party of Armenia	-	B	-	B	10	23	22	41	29	40
"Justice" bloc[7]	-	-	-	-	1	14	-	-	-	-
"National Unity"	-	-	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	-
United Labour Party (ULP)	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-
Pan Armenian Worker's Party	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
"Union" party	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Prosperous Party	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	18	9	28
"Heritage"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	5
Armenian National Congress	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Vacant seats	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Independents/Non-partizans	72	-	32	-	37	-	9	-	1	-
Total	***150***	***40***	***75***	***56***	***56***	***75***	***41***	***90***	***41***	***90***

[3] The sources of the data are Nohlen, Dieter, Grotz, Florian, and Hartmann, Christof. (eds). 2001. Elections in Asia and the Pacific: A Data Handbook: Volume 1: Middle East, Central Asia, and South Asia, Oxford University Press, the official site of the RA CEC at www.elections.am/electionsview/, the last statement of the OSCE on the RA elections at http://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/armenia (18.05.2014).

[4] "Republic" bloc included Armenian National Movement (ANM), Democratic Liberal Party (DLP), Republican Party (RP), Christian Democratic Union (CHDU), Union of Intellectuals and Social Democratic Party.

[*] B - participated in the election by the bloc.

[5] "Unity" bloc included Republican Party (RP) and People's Party (PP).

[6] "Law and Unity" bloc included National Unity Party (NUP) and Union of Constitutional Rights (UCR).

[7] "Justice" bloc included People's Party (PP), National Democratic Union (NDU), Union of Constitutional Rights (UCR), Democratic Party of Armenia (DPA), National Democratic Alliance Party (NDAP), National Democratic Party (NDP), "Republic".

Figure 2

The ratio of deputy seats by the proportional and majoritarian representation[8]

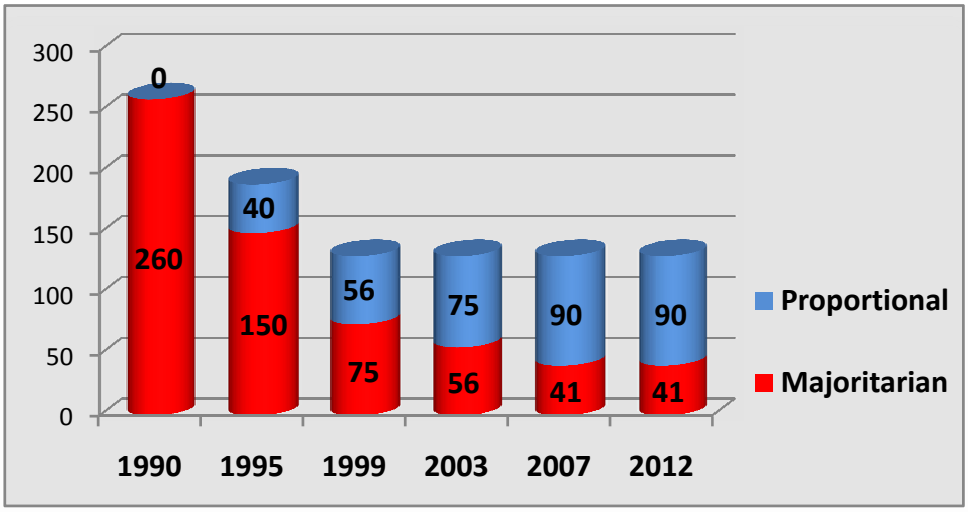


Table 4

The ratio of deputy seats by the proportional and majoritarian representation in the National Assembly

Electoral representation	1990[9]	1995	1999	2003	2007	2012
Majoritarian	260	150	75	56	41	41
Proportional	0	40	56	75	90	90
Total	**260**	**190**	**131**	**131**	**131**	**131**

It should be also noted, that during elections some amendments were periodically carried out in the Article 95 of the Electoral Code[10] adopted in 1999 and the ratio of deputy seats allocated by the majoritarian and proportional representation were

[8] The sources of the data are Article 5 of the Constitutional Law of the RA (accepted on 27.03.1995), The Law of the Republic of Armenia about the amendments and additions of the Electoral Code of the Article 55, paragraphs 1 and 2 (accepted on 03.07.2002), The Law of the Republic of Armenia about the amendments and additions of the Electoral Code of the Article 57, paragraphs 1 and 2 (accepted on 19.05.2005).

[9] The Supreme Council of ASSR (Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic) just after the declaration of Independence on August 24 decided to rename the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic into Republic of Armenia, with the functioning Supreme Council of the 12th convocation to be considered as the Supreme Council of the Republic of Armenia of the first convocation. // http://parliament.am/parliament.php?id=parliament&lang&lang=eng (19.08.2014).

[10] It came out of force and was declared in 2011 by the adoption of the Electoral Code of the Republic of Armenia , where the number of deputies elected by the majoritarian and proportional system was confirmed in conformity with the Article 103 http://www.parliament.am/legislation.php?sel=show&ID=2020#5 (19.08.2014).

reviewed every time in favour of the latter (see Figure 2). The joint conclusions made by the Venice Commission and by the OSCE office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) positively estimated the amendments of the Electoral Code. This condition confirms the formation and adoption process of the multi-party system.

The number of political parties participated in the elections can also testify about the beginning of the formation of the political system. In fact, twenty-one parties and one bloc took part in the years of 1999 and 2003 and 23 parties in 2007. Nonetheless, the number of parties was reduced to eight in the elections of 2012.

The results of the National Assembly of five convocations certify that there are both positive and negative processes taking place in the formation of the political system of the Republic of Armenia. Since the independence of Armenia, the smoothest parliamentary elections were held in 2007, which were concluded by the OSCE observers as "mainly democratic" and with visible improvements in comparison with former ones (OSCE/ODHIR 2007). The results of 2012 parliamentary elections most negatively affected the Index of Democracy Level and the variable of the majority in the parliament calculated in this model reached the lowest mark (0). It is due to the fact, that party of the president of the Republic of Armenia gained the absolute majority in the parliament and consequently assumed the powers to take decisions solely in the legislative and executive bodies.

In this case, the layout of the powers draws to the minimum the constitutional amendments, adopted by the referendum on November 27 2005 and aimed at the formation of democratic processes. These amendments were adopted to restrict the powers of the president and to increase the role of the National Assembly in the government formation processes. The Constitution of the Republic of Armenia was adopted on July 5 1995. The necessity to make certain amendments to the Constitution was stipulated by the membership of Armenia to the Council of Europe in 2001, but the project of the constitutional amendments through referendum was rejected in 2003. The next project of amendments was put to a referendum and was accepted on November 27 2005. Only 1, 2 and 114 Articles of the Constitution of the RA are not subject to amendments, where it is stated that the Republic of Armenia is a sovereign, democratic state, based on social justice and the rule of law and the power lies with the people.

In reference to other political variables included in the model it must be mentioned, that the Indices of Political Stability and Rule of Law have been comparatively improved during the given period of time but with certain fluctuations. And, the lowest indicator of the Rule of Law Index was registered in 1996 with the mark of 34,45, whereas the lowest indicator of the Political Stability Index was registered

within the time span of 1998-2000 with the mark of 22,12 stipulated by the years of political crisis[11].

The Corruption Perceptions Index of Armenia having the rating scale from 0 to 10 (another methodology was applied in 2012 with the scale of 0-100) was improved only by one point within the time span of 1998-2012 years and Armenia sits at the 105th place out of 174 countries and the 94th place in the year of 2013.

The results of the Global Corruption Barometer 2013 showed that 82 % of the respondents considered the corruption as "serious" or "very serious" issue in Armenia, the 58-69 % considered the institutions of education, justice and health, policy and the state officials as the most corrupted. The most corrupted cases were mentioned in the fields of policy and health (21-24 %)[12].

In fact, the causes of the risks of corruption in Armenia are caused by the fusion of government or state system with the entrepreneurial activities, by the non-efficient government at the presence of the conflict of interests, legal loopholes as well as the tolerance towards the corruption.

According to Freedom House, the press is free in Armenia. By analyzing the chronological number of assessments, it becomes evident, that the press in Armenia was estimated as "partly free" up to 2001 and since 2002 to 2013 it has been measured as "not free". The experts of Freedom House explain this change by the efforts of the government to silence the political criticism and by the suspension of the broadcasting of a highly rating and independent "A1+" channel and all these led to the pressure of political powers on the media. Political Rights and Civil Liberties are "partly free", based on the assessment of the organization. Yet, it should be mentioned that the mark "4" of Civil Liberties has remained unchanged during these years. In reference to Political Rights, they had different fluctuations. The assessment mark got worse mainly during the years of political intensions with the lowest mark particularly registered since 2008, which was conditioned by the arrest of opposition members in the presidential elections and other political pressures. A positive change has been noticed since 2012[13].

Another positive step towards democracy was the adoption of a new Electoral code in 2011, where the gender equality index was defined (paragraph 2 of Article 108 of the Electoral Code of the Republic of Armenia). The studies of the Global Gender Gap

[11] See the official site of the World Bank at http://info.worldbank.org/governance/ wgi/index.aspx#reports (19.08.2014).
[12] See the Transparency International the global coalition against corruption official site at http://www.transparency.org/gcb2013/country/?country=armenia (19.08.2014).
[13] See the official site of "Freedom House" www.freedomhouse.org (19.05.2014).

Index (GGG) by the World Economic Forum (Hausmann et al. 2013, 10, 13) testify that the gender inequality is expressively visible in the policy of Armenia, since Armenia holds the 115th place out of 136 countries worldwide. The sub-index of economic participation and possibilities of the GGG Index shows that Armenia is on the 82th place, the sub-index of health and existence places Armenia on the 131th position, and sub-index of literacy level places the country on the 29th position. In case of the latter, the inequality is in favour of women, particularly in the sphere of a higher education. By the latest calculation of the assessments of the GGG Index, Armenia occupies the 94th place.

By summarizing aforesaid, we can note, that the Political Factors Index was not subjected to palpable changes within the years of 1995-2012. Moreover, when the Republican Party obtained an absolute majority in the Parliament, as a result of the fall the assessed indicator of the Political Factors Index was lower (0,400) in 2012 than in 1995 (0,413). During the mentioned period the lowest indicator was in 2008 (0,386) stipulated by the presidential post-election processes. It is appropriate to mention, that almost all falls are correlated with election processes, mainly those of presidential. The highest assessment of the Political Factors Index was in 2002 (4,457) conditioned by the improvement of the Indices of Political Stability, Rule of Law, Freedom of the Press and the Corruption Perceptions. The year 2000 was also estimated as one of the most stable years in connection with the variables of social unrest and political pressures.

2.2 Economic Factors Index

The impact of Economic Factors Index on democracy level is estimated positive during the years 1995-2012 despite the certain drastic falls of the Economic Factors curve (see Figure 1, Table 1).

After the collapse of the USSR, the transition from the planned economy to the market economy was not smooth. The actual GDP of the country was cut for more than 53% from 1990 to 1994. The lowest drop of actual GDP value was registered in 1992, which was about 42%, whereas the same indicator was six times higher in the countries of CIS. The drop of the GDP caused the unprecedented rise of the prices in the time span of 1991-1994. During the mentioned period the consumer price index was 274,1 in 1991, 828,7 in 1992, 1922,9 in 1993, 5062 in 1994 (National Accounts of Armenia 1990-1997). The economic collapse stopped only in 1994. Armenia has become one of rapidly developing countries in transition since 1994. The stable and average 5% economic growth was registered during 1994-2001 and the number of the economic growth comprised of two digits in 2002-2007, which nonetheless was reduced due to financial and economic crisis. In general, the world financial and

economic crisis had a great impact on the economy of Armenia. The deepest drop of the Economic Factors Index was registered in the year of 2009. The crisis started at the end of 2008 and got intensified at the beginning of 2009 but it reduced at the end of the year (see Figure 1, Table 1). Instead of an anticipated economic growth only 6.9% of the growth was registered in Armenia in 2008, but in 2009 the number was reduced to 14.2% (Armenia Economic Report 2010, 9-16). The pace of the economy recovery of Armenia was a bit quickened in 2011. Thus, economic growth of 2.2% in 2010 was replaced by 4.7% in 2011 and by 7.2% in 2012 (Armenia Economic Report 2011, 12-19). In fact, the actual GDP of the country with a continuous growth after the crisis almost approached to its previous highest level (level in 2008). GDP in dollars (inaccurate date by purchasing power) still yields the level of 2008 (Armenia Economic Report 2013, 16).

Nevertheless, the paces of the economy recovery of Armenia were not quick. And, despite the stable and continuous economic growth proceeded by the financial and economic crisis, there are two drastic falls of the Economic Factors Index seen in the years 1999 and 2001 in the Figure (see Figure 1). The cause of the first fall was the rise of the budget deficit in comparison with the previous year and a twofold reduction of the foreign direct investments, whereas the cause of the second fall was the rise of prices, the reduction of domestic credits and of foreign direct investments.

2.3 Social Factors Index

If the previous political system alongside with its shortcomings was characterized by the implementation of large budget allocations in the social sphere, then the situation was drastically changed after the collapse of the USSR where little level of polarization was quite typical of the system. The social expenditure of a state budget was twofold reduced from 38,4% to 20,3% in the years 1992-1996. When the wartime actions ended, the budget expenses in social sphere were not added during 1995-1997, moreover, in certain years, they were even reduced. The dynamics of the Social Factors Index expressed in Figure 1 show that there was a slight rise within 1995-2000 and a drastic fall in 2001. One of the reasons of the fall was the highest level of unemployment (38,4%)[14] during the years mentioned. Then a stable rise of the SFI is visible, which was proceeded by the drastic fall conditioned by the financial and economic crisis. During the last decade, Armenia joined the group of middle-income countries due to its stable economic growth before the crises. The economic growth led to the increase of the real wage, to the stabilization of employment level and to the increase of expenditure from the budget for the social sphere. All these together with the growth of increasing flow of private transfers contributed to the significant

[14] See the official site of National Statistical Service at: http://www.armstat.am (19.05.2014).

reduction of poverty level. Nonetheless, it should be noted, that the significant economic growth was not accompanied by equal improvements of other social and poverty indices.

The first rise of the unemployment level was denoted in 2009 due to the economic crisis. The crisis also had a negative impact on the polarization of the society (by the incomes), it affected the rise of the unemployment and on the reduction of the real wage. The level of poverty continued to increase in 2010, and consequently, the polarization continued to deepen. Only the 4,7% economic growth registered in 2011 contributed to the reduction of poverty level and it amounted to 32,4% in 2012[15].

The main reason for poverty in the country is the low level of incomes. The factors stipulated by extremely unsatisfying conditions in the labour market are the main causes for poverty in the Republic of Armenia. Another important issue is connected with the migration of the population of reproductive and labour age, resulting in the growth of number of mainly senior citizens.

2.4 Educational Factors Index

The theory of modernization signifies a close correlation between democracy and education. According to S. M. Lipset (1959; 1969, 154), education is a precondition for the development and formation of democracy. M. Sodaro (2004, 207-220) proposes education as one out of ten conditions for democracy and F. Gleaser (Gleaser et al. 2004) states, that the developments of the educational sphere lead to the positive changes in democracy.

The importance of education is highly evaluated, as it is one of the conditions for a country to have a stable progress, to develop and to reproduce its human capital. Nowadays, it is one of the main priorities of the state policy. The most important factor to improve the economic development, to alleviate poverty and inequality and to improve the level of democracy is to ensure an accessible and qualitative education. Numerous researches suggest that there exists a reverse connection between education and poverty. In the result of number researches carried out in Armenia, it has become evident that in high levels of education the risk of poverty has been significantly reduced (Tumasyan 2007).

Education in Armenia includes public and professional education, extracurricular education, as well as the assistance to the diaspora educational institutions. The public

[15] See the official site of National Statistical Service at: http://www.armstat.am (19.05.2014).

education programme is prioritized in the education sector. The overwhelming majority of education expenditure 82-83% is aimed at public education programmes[16] and 12-14 % of it is proportioned to the professional education programmes (Medium Term Expenditure Frameworks (MTEF) 2013-2015, 90). According to official statistics, the enrollment in elementary school amounted to 99% in 2011/12, enrollment in basic school amounted to 91,8% and 72,8% is the enrollment in high school. (National Statistical Service of the Republic of Armenia 2012). In fact, there is a decline in the general number of pupils continuing their education in high schools. The research conducted in 2010 on the social level of household state, that those living in extreme poverty and in villages do not continue the education in high schools.

The government spending per pupil (15% of GDP per capita) is extremely low in comparison with the average expenses of the EU (22-28% of GDP per capita). The allocation of such a small portion from the budget hinders the implementation of efficient reforms in the system and does not ensure the qualitative and accessible education for all layers of the population (PDSP 2014-2015, 172).

It must be mentioned that Armenia joined the Bologna Process in 2005. The main purpose of the Bologna Process is to establish the united European system of education. Armenia after being included in these processes and by assuming the implementation of fundamental reforms in the system would be a part of the European Area of higher education.

The dynamics of the government spending shows that regardless the financial and economic crisis, the spending was increased (% of GDP) in 2009 with the highest assessment registered at 3,84% of GDP. The education expenditure constituted 2,9% of GDP in 2013, which is 1,7 times less than the average sum spent by the former Soviet Union countries in 2010 (PDSP 2014-2015, 170).

HDI Education Index grew from 0,68 to 0,839 within the observed period. The average years of schooling with additional a year and a half (1.6) were introduced in 1980 and continued till 2012 and the expected years of schooling were prolonged by 2,3 years. Armenia with the mentioned HDI is ranked among the countries with high level[17]. The Educational Factors Index generally had a positive impact on the Index of Democracy Level within the years of 1998-2012 (see Figure 1, Table 1).

[16] Public education programmes include pre-school, elementary, basic and secondary education (general, vocational and special) as well as a number of envisaged programmes aimed at the assistance in the implementation of general education programmes.

[17] See the official site of the United Nations Development Programme athttp://hdr.undp.org/en/content/human-development-index-hdi (02.07.2014).

2.5 Health Factors Index

Health sector is a priority in the state policy of the Republic of Armenia and the main purposes are the prevention of diseases, their early detection, diagnosis and treatment, a better accessibility to medical care and the improvement of its quality. According to the data, given by the World Bank, the government and private spending on health were gradually reduced in Armenia from 1995 to 2012 and the 4,5% of GDP was registered in 2012[18]. In reference to the health budget, it constituted to 1,64 % of GDP in 2012. The government spending is envisaged to be increased to 1,8 % of GDP by 2017 and by 2,7% of GDP by 2025 due to the 2014-2015 Perspective Development Strategic Programme of the Republic of Armenia (PDSP 2014-2015, 162,167). Nevertheless, the level of health expenditure when comparing with the level of other expenditure is low. During the years of economic growth, there was no appropriate attention paid to this sphere and correspondingly, during the post-crisis period the financing of this sector was reduced. The 38% and 35% of the health budget is aimed at inpatient and outpatient services, which are considered the two major groups for financing in the health sector EDRC (Economic Development and Research Centre 2013). Although there has been a definite increase in the consumption of health care services in recent years, the indicator of Armenia is 2-2,5 times lower than that of the CIS and EU new member-countries[19]. The level of death rate has been recently increased during the last ten years, which is conditioned by the diseases of blood circulation (441 cases out of 100000 residents) and by the malignant tumors (185 out of 100000 residents), which causes great concern. Moreover, the increase in the number of such diseases is significant. Nonetheless, the average life expectancy in Armenia was increased by 6 years during the years 1995-2012[20].

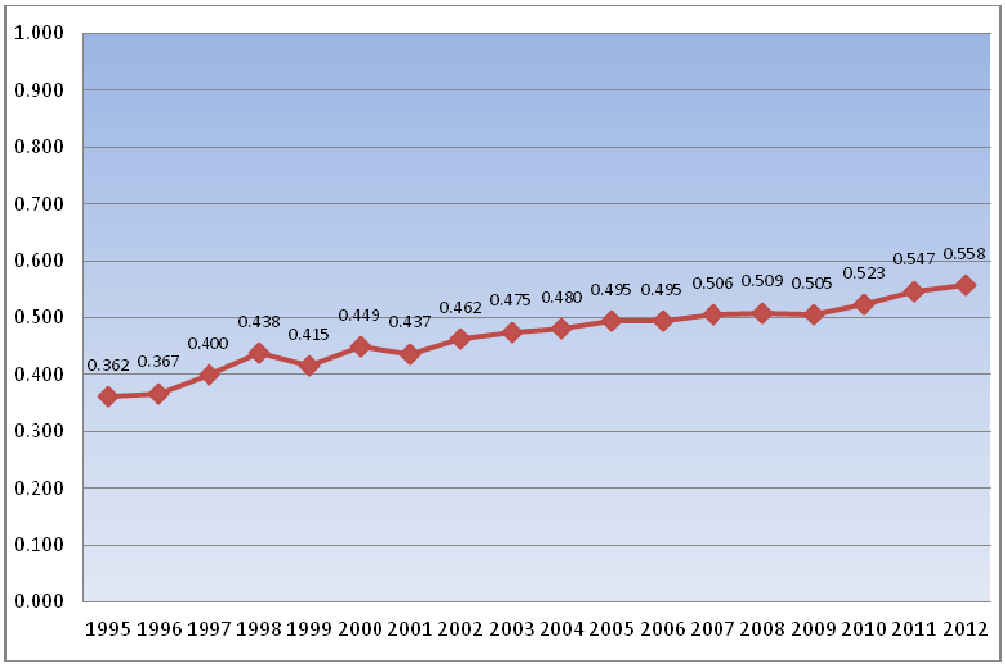
There were two drastic declines of Health Factors Index within the observed years, which took place in 2008 and 2011 (see Figure 1, Table 1) and they were stipulated by the reduction of government and private spending on health. The highest mark for this expenditure was registered in 2000.

[18] See the official site of the WB at: www.data.worldbank.org/indicator/SH.XPD.TOTL.ZS (19.06.2014)
[19] See the official site of the Ministry of Health at http://www.moh.am/, the official site of Health for all Database, WHO/Europe, 2013 http://data.euro.who.int/hfadb/ (15.06.2014).
[20] See the official site of the WB http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.LE00.IN (19.06.2014).

2.6 Development trends of the Index of Democracy Level

Figure 3

The Index of Democracy Level in Armenia (1995-2012) *



The indices of democracy level are presented in Figure 3 within the years of 1995-2012. There had been a general trend for the affirmative increase in the Index of Democracy Level during the mentioned years and due to certain fluctuations the indices had been improved from year to year. It is noticeable, that fluctuations were more frequent during the first period of the mentioned years rather than during the second. Particularly, the trend for indices growth has developed more smoothly since 2002, which means that democracy in Armenia has become more consolidated during the last decade. Regardless of the fact, that the Political Factors Index was the lowest in 2008, nevertheless, with the increase of SFI, EFI and EdFI, there was no decline in the IDL. The only sharp fall in the second period happened in 2009 due to the financial and economic crisis, which, by all means, had a negative influence on democracy processes, especially on the social and economic spheres. Yet, before the crisis, there were two more declines of IDL, where the decline of 1999 was due to October 27 deadly shootings in the National Assembly and to the reduction of economic indicators, whereas the decline of 2001 was due to the drastic and

* The source is based on the calculations accumulated by the researcher.

simultaneous fall of SFI and EFI. The lowest indicator (0,362) of IDL was registered in 1995 and the highest (0,558) was in 2012. It should be noted, that even though the results of 2012 parliamentary elections had a negative impact and caused the decline of PFI, as the party of the president obtained an absolute majority in the Parliament, the decline of IDL did not happen at the expense of the joint growth of Economic, Social, Educational and Health Factors Indices. The low level of IDL variation (st. dev. =0,06, mean = 0,5) proves that the transition to democracy in Armenia took place smoothly and without serious upheavals.

2.7 Regression analysis of the Index of Democracy Level

The regression analysis illustrated the variables of Political, Economic, Social, Educational and Health Factors Indices, which had a significant influence on the IDL of Armenia.

The regression results show that there has been a significant correlation between the IDL_i[21] and variables of Political Rights and Civil Liberties Indices, of Political Stability/Absence of Conflict and Rule of Law.

$$\mathbf{Y' = 0{,}014x_1 - 0{,}079\ (Adj.\ R^2=0{,}596),}$$

where Y is the IDL_i (IDL cleaned from the variable of the Rule of Law), x_1 is the Rule of Law.

$$\mathbf{Y' = 0{,}004x_2 + 0{,}33\ (Adj.\ R^2=0{,}538),}$$

where Y is the IDL_i (IDL cleaned from the variable of Political Stability/Absence of Conflict), x_2 is the Political Stability/Absence of Conflict.

$$\mathbf{Y' = 0{,}093x_3 + 0{,}06\ (Adj.\ R^2=0{,}351),}$$

where Y is the IDL_i (IDL cleaned from the variable of the Indices of Political Rights and Civil Liberties), x_3 is the Indices of Political Rights and Civil Liberties.

A significant correlation has been established between IDL and Economic Factors, included in the model as well as between GNI per capita and External trade rate.

$$\mathbf{Y' = 0{,}005x_4 + 0{,}392\ (Adj.\ R^2=0{,}731),}$$

[21] IDLi is the Index of Democracy Level cleaned from the corresponding variable during every paired regression analysis.

where Y is the IDL_i (IDL cleaned from GNI per capita), x_4 is the GNI per capita ($100).

$$\mathbf{Y' = -0{,}006x_5 + 0{,}873\ (Adj.\ R^2 = 0{,}428),}$$

where Y is the IDL_i (IDL cleaned from the variable of external trade rate), x_5 is the external trade rate (% of GDP).

A significant correlation has been denoted in the Social Factors Index, i.e. between the IDL_i and GINI index.

$$\mathbf{Y' = -0{,}49x_6 + 0{,}695\ (Adj.\ R^2 = 0{,}776),}$$

where Y is the IDL_i (IDL cleaned from GINI index), x_6 is GINI index.

The following equations were drawn from the regression analysis of the Educational Factors.

$$\mathbf{Y' = 0{,}95x_7 - 0{,}308\ (Adj.\ R^2 = 0{,}861),}$$

where Y is the IDL_i (IDL cleaned from the variable of HDI Education Index), $\mathbf{x_7}$ is the HDI Education Index.

$$\mathbf{Y' = 0{,}078x_8 + 0{,}3\ (Adj.\ R^2 = 0{,}640),}$$

where Y is the IDL_i (IDL cleaned from the variable of the government spending on education), $\mathbf{x_8}$ is the government spending on education (% of GDP).

The following equation was drawn in reference to Health Factors Indices.

$$\mathbf{Y' = 0{,}024x_9 - 1{,}2\ (Adj.\ R^2 = 0{,}905),}$$

where Y is the IDL_i (IDL cleaned from the variable of life expectancy), $\mathbf{x_9}$ is the life expectancy.

To sum up, the variable of Political Factors, namely Rule of Law and Political Stability significantly impact on the IDL of Armenia, where 1 unit change will correspondigly lead to the growth of the IDL_i from 0,004 to 0,014. The mentioned variables determine 54-60% of dependent variables. The 1 unit change of the Indices of Political Rights and Civil Liberties will lead to the change of IDL_i with the value of 0,09. GNI and external trade rate also impact on the IDL. The growth of the GNI per capita for $100 and the decline of the external trade with 1% of GDP will lead to the rise of the IDL_i correspondingly from 0,005 to 0,006. A special attention must be paid to the negative influence of the external trade rate on the IDL. One of the actual

reasons may be imbalance in the external trade of Armenia. The negative leftover of the external trade is one of the issues in our ecomony, which, by all means, harms our inner market.

Another finding illustrates that the Index of Democracy Level of Armenia is strongly affected by social indicators, where the decline of GINI with 0,1 unit will reduce the IDLi with the magnitude 0,5 unit, respectively, explaining the 78% of variation of dependent variables.

The rise of HDI Education Index with 0,1 unit and the change in the government spending on education with 1% of GDP will bring the change of the IDLi with the magnitude of 0,09 and 0,078 units, respectively. Particularly, the HDI Education Index has a significant coefficient of determination, which explains 86% of the variation in democracy.

There was estbalsihed a strong correlation between IDLi and variable of life expectancy and the observations prove, that the latter affects positively and is associated with 0,02 unit increase of the IDLi.

By summarizing the abovesaid, we can conclude that the regression analysis shows that the indicators of Political Rights and Civil Liberties, Political Stability and Rule of Law, GINI index, external trade rate, GNI, and other Educational and Health Factors mostly affect the IDL. Nonethless, GINI index and HDI Education Index possess the most significant coefficient of determination. GINI index reveals that there is an unequal distribution of incomes in the society, i.e. the existence of polarization of the population and the absence of the middle class, which negatively affect the democrary level. It's a widely accepted fact, that the literacy rate (99,6%) is quite high in Armenia and it is considered the basis of the general elementary education. In this respect, it can have a positive impact on poverty reduction and sustainable development and relatively in the formation of democracy.

It is important to focus the attention foremost on the abovementioned factors in order to ensure the positive devepolment in the consolidation process of democracy in Armenia.

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Abbreviations

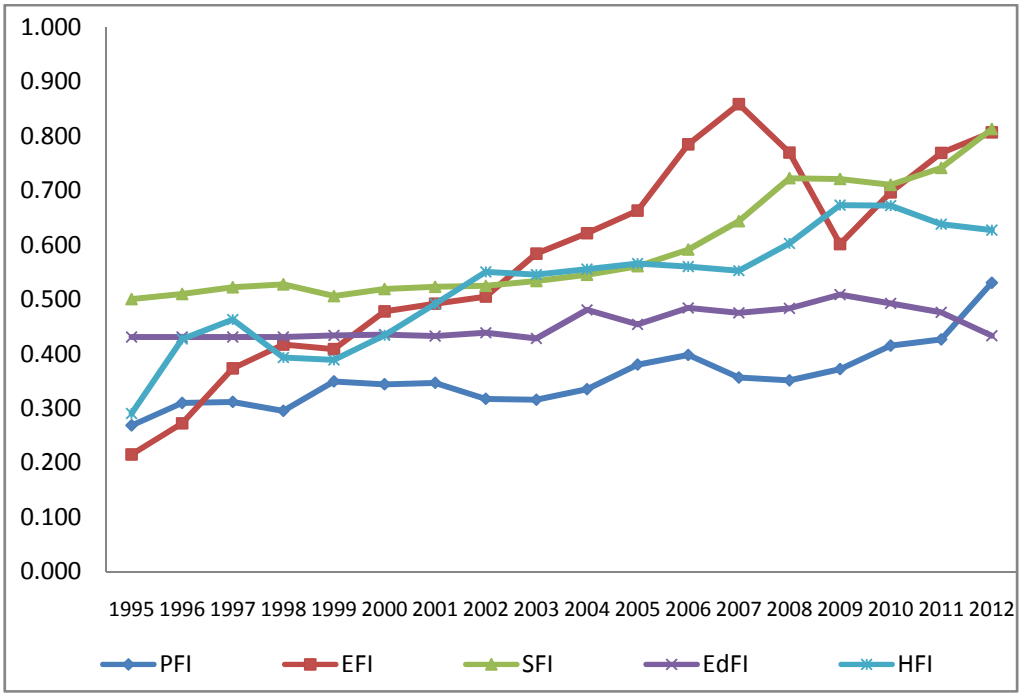
ANM	Armenian National (Pan-National) Movement
NDP	National Democratic Party
APP	Armenian People's (Popular) Party
UAP	"United Armenians" Party
MDP	"Motherland and Dignity" Party
NCP	"National Consent" Party
RLP	"Rule of Law" Party
NPA	National Party of Armenia
HP	"Heritage" Party
UNSD	Union of Self-determination
ARF	Armenian Revolutionary Federation
RPA	Republican Party of Armenia
NDU	National Democratic Union
CPA	Communist Party of Armenia
SICU	Scientific Industrial and Civic Union
NU	"National Unity" Party
DLP	Democratic Liberal Party
UCR	Union of "Constitutional Rights"
DPA	Democratic party of Armenia
Fr.	"Freedom" Party
PAP	"Prosperous Armenia" Party
UWP	United Workers' Party

CHAPTER 3.
THE INDEX OF DEMOCRACY LEVEL OF GEORGIA

ANNA SARKISYAN

Figure 1

Indices of Political, Economic, Social, Health and Educational Factors affecting the Index of Democracy Level of Georgia in the time span between 1995-2012*



* The source is based on the calculations accumulated by the researcher.

Table 1

Indices of Political, Economic, Social, Educational, Health Factors of Georgia in the time span between 1995 and 2012*

Years	PFI	EFI	SFI	EdFI	HFI	IDL
1995	0,269	0,215	0,501	0,431	0,290	0,300
1996	0,310	0,272	0,510	0,431	0,427	0,348
1997	0,312	0,373	0,522	0,431	0,463	0,380
1998	0,295	0,417	0,528	0,431	0,393	0,377
1999	0,349	0,409	0,506	0,434	0,389	0,395
2000	0,344	0,478	0,519	0,436	0,434	0,418
2001	0,347	0,492	0,523	0,433	0,492	0,429
2002	0,317	0,505	0,525	0,439	0,551	0,427
2003	0,316	0,584	0,534	0,428	0,546	0,446
2004	0,335	0,622	0,545	0,481	0,556	0,472
2005	0,380	0,663	0,561	0,454	0,566	0,502
2006	0,398	0,785	0,592	0,484	0,560	0,547
2007	0,357	0,859	0,644	0,475	0,553	0,552
2008	0,351	0,770	0,723	0,484	0,603	0,542
2009	0,372	0,602	0,721	0,509	0,673	0,517
2010	0,415	0,697	0,711	0,493	0,672	0,557
2011	0,427	0,769	0,742	0,476	0,638	0,578
2012	0,531	0,807	0,813	0,433	0,627	0,633

3.1 Political Factors Index

After the collapse of the USSR, Georgia like other countries was in a difficult political and economic situation during the first years of its independence. Ethnic and territorial conflicts, political unrest combined with economic crisis brought the heads of the country to a state of hopelessness.

The curve of the PFI on Figure 1 shows that the fluctuations of political processes affecting democracy of Georgia were quite noticeable during the mentioned years of 1995-2012 and this brings a proof for the upheavals in Georgia either assisting or

* The source is based on the calculations accumulated by the researcher.

hampering the formation of democracy (Ghalumyan 2013, 29-38). The main reason for fluctuations is the election as it was typical of most of the countries.

The Constitutional amendments adopted by the Parliament of Georgia in October 2010 were of much importance in the democratic process of Georgia and in accordance to which, the state in 2013 after the presidential elections made a transition to a new model of state government. The powers of the president were reduced and distributed between the parliament and the government. Since then, the president of Georgia has a representative function. He is the head of the state, as it was before. the guarantor of the implementation of the Constitution and the commander in chief of armed forces, supreme representative of Georgia in foreign relations and s/he has the power to appoint new elections (The Constitution of Georgia, Article 69, 73). Nevertheless, the President does not have the right to implement foreign and domestic policy as well as s/he cannot come up with legislative initiatives, to revoke government decisions or to call for an extraordinary session of the parliament (the Constitution of Georgia Articles 73, 78, 79, 80). The president also does not have the right to dissolve or to form new government. (The Constitution of Georgia, Article 48, 73, 79). Eventually, after the constitutional amendments prime minister has become the head of the executive branch in Georgia who is formally appointed by the president. The president offers a candidacy for the position of the prime minister the one who is represented by the party with the majority seats in the parliament. The prime ministers offers the candidates for the positions of the ministers and together with the government programme brings up for the adoption by the parliament (The Constitution of Georgia, Article 78, 79, 80, 81).

The Parliament of Georgia is the highest representative body, which implements the legislative power, defines the main directions of domestic and foreign policies of the country. It is comprised of 150 members (73 by the majoritarian system and 77 by proportional system) elected for a four-year period (the Constitution of Georgia, Article 49).

Presidential or parliamentary electoral processes mainly conditioned the important political events.

The presidential elections in Georgia took place in 1991, 1995, 2000, 2004, 2008 and 2013 (See Table 2).

Table 2

The votes of the RG presidential candidates, expressed in percentage[1]

Candidates	Presidential Elections in Georgia					
	1991	1995	2000	2004	2008	2013
	I rd.	I rd.	I rd.	I rd.	I rd.	I rd.
Zviad Gamsakhurdia	***87,6***	-	-	-	-	-
Valerian Advadze	8,2	-	-	-	-	-
Jemal Mikeladze	1,8	-	-	-	-	-
Nodar Natadze	1,2	-	-	-	-	-
Irakli Shengelaia	0,9	-	-	-	-	-
Eduard Shevardnadze	-	***77***	***79,82***	-	-	-
Jumber Patiashvili	-	20,1	16,66	-	-	-
Akaki Bakradze	-	1,5	-	-	-	-
Pantaleimon Giorgadze	-	0,50	-	-	-	-
Mikhail Saakashvili	-	-	-	***96,24***	***53,47***	-
Teimuraz Shashiashvili	-	-	-	1,87	-	-
Levan Gachechiladze	-	-	-	-	25,69	-
Arkadi Patarkatsishvili	-	-	-	-	7,10	-
Shalva Natelashvili	-	-	-	-	6,49	2,88
David Gamkrelidze	-	-	-	-	4,02	-
Giorgi Maisashvili	-	-	-	-	0,77	-
Giorgi Margelashvili	-	-	-	-	-	***62,12***
David Bakradze	-	-	-	-	-	21,72
Nino Burjanadze	-	-	-	-	-	10,19
Georgi Targamadze	-	-	-	-	-	1,06
Koba Davitashvili	-	-	-	-	-	0,6
Others	0,3	0,9	3,52	1,89	2,46	2,03

Following the collapse of the USSR the independence of Georgia was proclaimed on April 9, 1991 and Zviad Gamsakhurdia was elected the first president in May of the same year. Nonetheless, several months later due to the aggravation of the tension between the government and opposition, Gamsakhurdia had to leave the post of the president and the Military Council took control of the government. In the elections

[1] The sources of the data are Nohlen, Dieter, Grotz, Florian, and Hartmann, Christof. (eds). 2001. Elections in Asia and the Pacific: A Data Handbook: Volume 1: Middle East, Central Asia, and South Asia, Oxford University Press, the official site of the RA CEC at www.elections.am/electionsview/, the last statement of the OSCE on the Republic of Georgia elections at http://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/armenia (20.08.2014).

after the aforementioned events, Eduard Shevardnadze received the majority of votes and won the elections. He succeeded in restoring stability to a certain extent during several years with the help of Russian interference.

The Georgian people, unwilling to tolerate the widespread corruption and low standards of living, opposed to the government of Shevardnadze in 2003 and demanded his resignation. As a result of the mass protests and "Rose Revolution", Mikhail Saakashvili became the president of the country in the presidential elections on January 2004. The government of Saakashvili actively commenced to implement democratic reforms, by initiating the reduction of poverty, unemployment and high level of corruption, the improvement of economic situation and solution for energetic and other issues, urgent in the country. The activation of civil society organizations was significant in the political regime of the democratization process (Aleksanyan 2013, 24-34; Aleksanyan 2014, 31-44).

The mass demonstrations started in 2007 headed by the former defense minister Irakli Okruashvili who accused Mikhail Saakashvili of human rights violation, of Zurab Zhvanya's death, country's prime-minister and of Arkadi Patarkatsishvili' killing, a businessman of the country. The demonstrators demanded the resignation of the president and a call for an extraordinary parliamentary election. The president Saakashvili agreed to lay down its powers and appoint new presidential elections. Nonetheless, he won the presidential election held on January 2008 and became the president of Georgia for the second time. Parliamentary elections followed the presidential in the same year with Saakashvili's United "National Movement" winning 80% of seats in the parliament.

The war with Russian on August 2008 was another significant cause that undermined country's political and economic stability, which resulted in the redesigning of the regional map, when the Russian Federation accepted the independence of South Ossetia and Abkhazia. Though the war did not last long, it still had a very negative impact on the economic situation of the country the effects of which had had a long-term influence in various spheres of the country. The negative influence of the events of 2007-2008 on the Political Factors Index of Georgia was quite obvious (see Figure 1, Table 1).

Nonetheless, it was interesting to watch how B. Ivanishvili managed to ruin Saakashvili's allegedly untarnished reputation and raised the question of his political will during one year. The presence of dissatisfactions among the population allowed Ivanishvili to gather many adherents around him even though his short-term political carrier astounded many.

Analyzing the parliamentary elections of Georgia in 1992, 1995, 1999, 2003, 2004, 2008 and 2012 the dynamics of political ups and downs as well as democratic changes become apparent (see Table 3).

Table 3

The ratio of the deputy seats of the political parties in the parliament of Georgia[2]

Parties, blocs, participants	Parliamentary elections of Georgia												
	1992		1995		1999		2003	2004		2008		2012	
	M	P	M	P	M	P	P[3]	M	P	M	P	M	P
"Peace" bloc	6	29	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
"11th of October" bloc	1	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
National Democratic Party of Georgia	2	12	3	31	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
"Unity" bloc	1	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Democratic Party	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Union of Georgian Traditionalists	1	7	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Georgian Party of Greens	-	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
"Charter 91"	1	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ilya Chavchavadze Society	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
All-Georgian Society of Mehrab Kostava	2	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Union of citizens of Georgia	-	-	18	90	47	85	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Georgian Union of Renaissance	-	-	6	25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Republican Party of Georgia	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
"All Georgian union of Revival"	-	-	-	-	7	51	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
"Industry will save Georgia"	-	-	-	-	1	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Labour Party of Georgia	-	-	-	-	2	-	20	3	-	-	6	-	-
For New Georgia	-	-	-	-	-	-	38	19	-	-	-	-	-
Union of Democratic Revival	-	-	-	-	-	-	33	6	-	-	-	-	-
United National Movement	-	-	-	-	-	-	32	18	135	71	48	32	33
Burjanadze-Democrats	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	-	-	-	-	-	-
New rigthtists	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	-
"Rightist opposition" bloc	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	15	-	-	-	-
"United Opposition" bloc	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	15	-	-
Gerogian Dream	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	41	44
Other parties (each 1-6 dep. seats)	1	28	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-
Representatives of Abkhazia	-	-	8	4	12	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	-
Non-partizans	60	-	29	-	16	-	-	21	-	-	-	-	-
Vacant seats	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	***75***	***150***	***85***	***150***	***85***	***150***	***150***	***85***	***150***	***75***	***75***	***73***	***77***

[2] The sources of the data are Nohlen, Dieter, Grotz, Florian, and Hartmann, Christof. (eds). 2001. Elections in Asia and the Pacific: A Data Handbook: Volume 1: Middle East, Central Asia, and South Asia, Oxford University Press, the official site of the RA CEC at www.elections.am/electionsview/, the last statement of the OSCE on the Republic of Georgia elections at http://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/armenia (20.08.2014).

[3] The Supreme Court of Georgia due to numerous violations considered invalid the results of the parliamentary elections of November 2, 2003 by the proportional system. New elections were held on March 28, 2004 by the proportional list.

The first elections of independent Georgia contributed to the formation of political parties. They were held by special electoral system, where all the political powers even with the lowest votes given to them were allowed to enter the parliament (RIA Novosti 2008). As a result, more than twenty parties and blocs received mandates in the parliament some of them having one or two deputy seats. Nevertheless, only two of all parties managed to overcome the barrier of 5% in the elections of 1995, whereas other parties formed new powers (see Table 3). The barrier of 5%, defined by the Constitution was a strong prohibition for parties, but the "Union of citizens of Georgia" headed by Shevardnadze simplified the decision-making process by gaining majority in the parliament. If the previous parliament adopted 150 laws, then the parliament of 1995 convocation adopted more than 650 laws (RIA Novosti 2008).

After the elections in 1999, there was an amendment in the Constitution of Georgia and the barrier of 5% was escalated to the 7% and only three parties, two of which formed new powers succeeded in achieving it. Eventually, the number and the content of political parties in the parliament varied from one election to another which contributed to the formation of political system. In reference to the parliamentary elections in 2003, they were held with a great number of violations. For that very reason, the opposition managed to announce the official tally of the proportional elections invalid by demanding Shevardnadze's resignation (RIA Novosti 2008). The proportional new elections were held in March 2004, when a newly elected president M.Saakashvili's party won. The ruling party took the majority seats in the 2008 parliamentary elections and it managed to repeat the same results in the 2008 elections (see Table 3). It must also be mentioned, that prior to the election, on November 22, 2007 the parliament of Georgia voted for the amendments in the Electoral Code of the country, which entitled the barrier of 7% for the entry to the Parliament to be changed again to the barrier of 5% (CoE, Parliamentary Assembly 2008, 229). The events of the democratic processes, taken place in Georgia in 2012 were considered crucial and decisive, as there occurred an unprecedented peaceful transfer of power. The opposition not only won in the parliamentary elections, but it also gained the majority seats in there. Moreover, on November 15, 2010, the parliament adopted a new model of the Constitution of Georgia in conformity with which, the powers of the president were significantly curtailed (the amendment came into force in 2013 after the presidential elections) at the expense of expanding the powers of the prime minister and the parliament. These events reflected in the data of the Index of Political Factors by registering a sharp increase in 2012 (Figure 1, Table 1). The interrelations between the opposition and the government positively affected the democracy of Georgia. But, unfortunately, it did not last long since the prime minister (head of the executive body) as well as the president were the members of the "Georgian dream" coalition, which in its turn, had the majority seats in the parliament.

Figure 2

The ratio of deputy seats by the proportional and majoritarian representation[4]

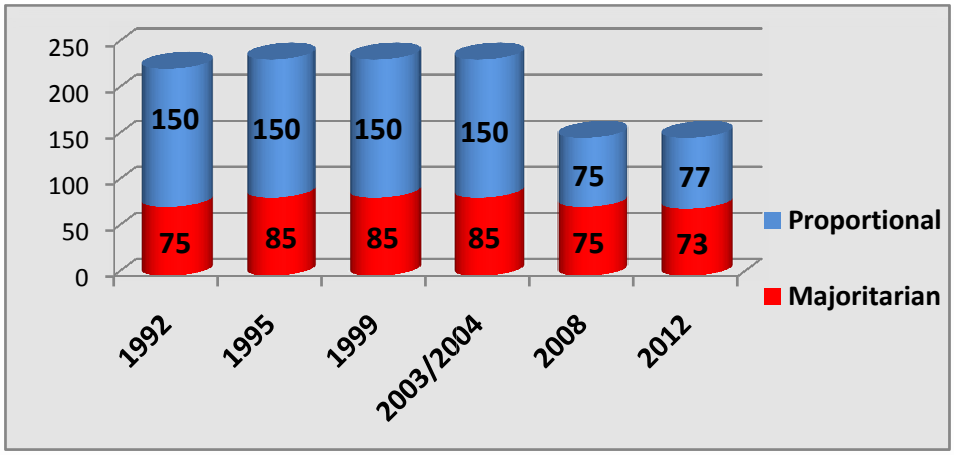


Table 4

The ratio of deputy seats by the proportional and majoritarian representation in the parliament of Georgia

Electoral representation	1992	1995	1999	2003/2004	2008	2012
Majoritarian	75	85	85	85	75	73
Proportional	150	150	150	150	75	77
Total	**225**	**235**	**235**	**235**	**150**	**150**

The ratio of deputy seats by the proportional and majoritarian representation is presented in the Figure 2. It may be seen that the seats allocated by the proportional representation, with the exception in 2008, always exceeded the majoritarian seats. During the last elections that ratio was almost evened out and the number of deputy seats was reduced to 85.

According to the "Caucasus Barometer" data accumulated by the household research in 2012, 54% of the respondents positively estimated the participation of the population in the protests against the government (CRRC 2012).

[4] See the official cite of the Central Election Commission of Georgia at www.cesko.ge/en, OSCE observations on the election in Georgia at www.osce.org/odihr/elections/georgia (20.09.2014).

Referring to the other political variables included in the model, we must mention that the indicators of Political Stability and Rule of Law within the mentioned period of 1995-2012 improved with slight fluctuations. Moreover, the results collected during the recent years many times exceeded the indicators of the years 1995-1998[5].

The Corruption Perceptions Index starting from 2005 has been rapidly improving with 3 units. In accordance with the data, supplied by the Global Corruption Barometer the corruption rate has been reduced in Georgia in the opinion of 70% respondents. Nonetheless, the population consider the field of justice (51%) and the mass media (42%) as the most corrupted institutions[6].

As for the data of Freedom House, press, Political Rights and Civil Liberties are "partly free"[7].

By summing up, we should mention, that within the observed period there were three major declines in the PFI. The first one is stipulated by the Georgian –Abkhaz conflict in 1998, the second one is conditioned by the growth of the social protests in 2002-2003 and the third one is due to the mass protests (2007) and the Russian-Georgian war activities and its outcomes (2008). One can also see some growth in the PFI in 2006 shown in the Figure 1, which took place due to the best indicators of the Indices of Political Rights and Civil Liberties in this year. In addition to all that, it was one of the most peaceful years with no indications of political pressure and social unrest (See Figure 1, Table 1).

3.2 Economic Factors Index

After the collapse of the USSR Georgia undertook civil war and economic crisis. The GDP of the country in the years 1990-1994 was decreased about 70% due to official data.

Since the independence of Georgia some in-country conflicts have simply more deepened the economic crisis in the given country. The inflation rate reached its peak with 2000% in 1993 and the economy of the country was registered as a total decline (Georgia Country Study 2013). Although various statistical sources give contradicting data, the researches make it obvious, that since 1989 the economy of Georgia has been collapsing almost in every aspect due to lack of energy supplies and energetic resources. Georgia imported 95% of its energetic resources in 1990, and since the first

[5] See the official site of the WB.
[6] See the official site of Transparency international global coalition against corruption at www.transparency.org/gcb2013/country/?country=georgia (19.09.2014).
[7] See the official site of Freedom House at www.freedomhouse.org (19.09.2014).

years of Georgia's independence, the country receives only one third of the necessary energy (Georgia Country Study 2013).

After the "Rose Revolution" in 2003 the government of M. Saakashvili succeeded in implementing some economic reforms, in reducing the level of corruption and in improving economic indicators.

Nonetheless, short-term war activities alongside with world economic crisis had its negative influence on the economy of Georgia, which is pictured on the Figure with the curve of EFI declining during 2008-2009 (see Figure 1, Table 1). However, the country managed to restore the pre-crisis indicators during a short of time. In 2008 4600 US dollars per capita of GDP was increased to 6000 US dollars in 2012[8]. The continuous growth of the EFI has been registered since 2010.

Georgia signed the Association Agreement with the EU on November 29 2013, which will significantly deepen the long-term and large-scale cooperation and will open new promising perspectives for Georgia.

3.3 Social Factors Index

When observing the curve of the SFI, there are slight changes within 1995-2000, which are conditioned by the absence of the dynamics of some variables included in the model. That is to say, there were no significant changes of the social indicators up to 2005. Nonetheless, the stable growth within 2000-2004 and the rapid growth within 2005-2008 testifies the formation of social state (see Figure 1). Although, there was an increase of the unemployment rate within the observed years, nevertheless, there has been noted a drastic increase of the real wage since 2005. As for the issue of social spending of the budget, the main concern is that their implementation is carried out not at the expense of taxes but of state loans, which accumulates the state's foreign debt.

It is noteworthy that the migration processes are getting activated. By the "Caucasus Barometer" data, 42% of the population expressed its readiness to leave the country on temporary basis, whereas 62% is willing to leave on permanent basis (CRRC 2012). The intentions of the population to leave Georgia are stipulated by the education and labour opportunities. The traditional countries of migration continue to be Germany, France, Spain, Austria and Greece.

[8] http://www.indexmundi.com/georgia/#Economy (01.09.2014).

3.4 Educational Factors Index

The role and influence of Educational Factors and education in general are important preconditions for the stable development of the state. We can note that the curve of the EdFI is the most stable one in comparison with others as it is pictured in Figure 1. It is mainly conditioned by the fact, that educational spending within the mentioned period almost remained unchanged[9].

The social and economic changes of Georgia in 1999 led to the crisis in the educational sector impacting on the substructure of educational system and on the modernization processes of its programmes. In 2002 the government of Georgia, clearly realizing issues in the educational system and prioritizing the efficient activities taken in this sphere, started to implement a new programme of reforms aimed at conforming their educational criteria with international ones with the assistance of the World Bank. Educational reforms played an important role in the formation of the educational legislative basis in Georgia (Berulava 2010).

The secondary education consists of 12 classes where 6 years are spent in elementary school, 3 year in basic school and 3 years in secondary school. After 9 years of education, children get a certificate of basic education and after twelve years they are awarded with the diploma of complete secondary education. The higher education comprises 4 levels, such as certified specialist, Bachelor's degree, Master's degree and Doctor of Philosophy.

3.5 Health Factors Index

The health system provided free of charge medical services to the population of Georgia since the Soviet era. Nonetheless, after the independence it turned out to be financially impossible to provide qualitative medical care. The health spending was cut up to 24 times during 1991-1994 and consequently, patients had to pay their medical expenses. In 1995, the government of Georgia decreed that the health system would be no longer free, yet it did not manage to devise a sustainable programme for health financing for many years[10].

The ultimate goal of a new programme adopted by the government in 2006 was the privatization of all medical institutions. The programme was implemented by various methods due to the lack of supervision of changing governments[11].

The curve of HFI had positive increase with little fluctuations as it may be seen on

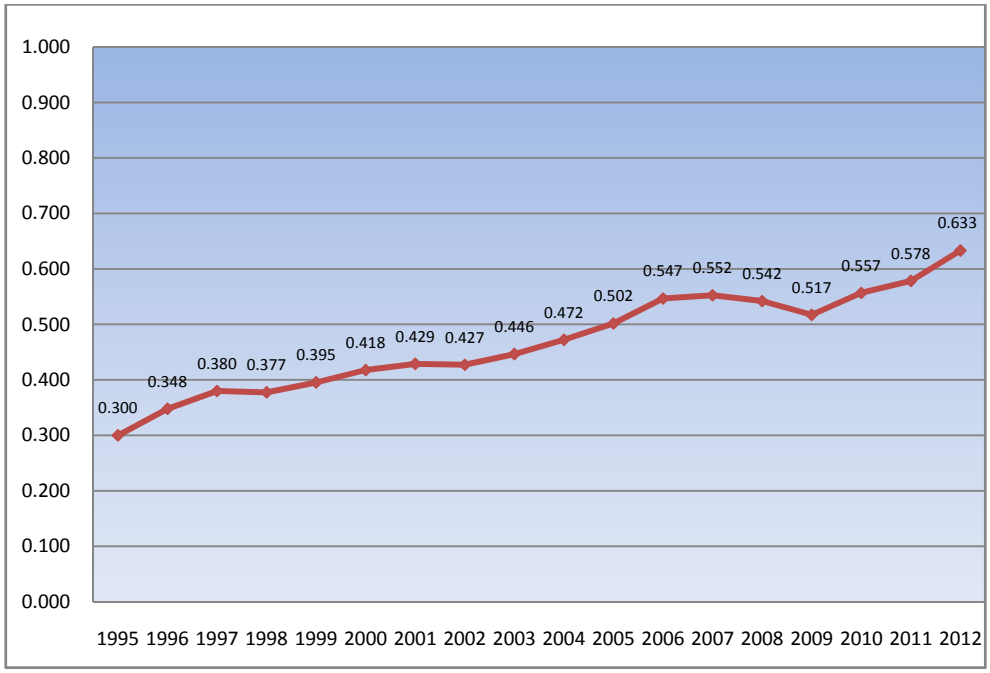
[9] See the official site of WB at www.data.worldbank.ord/indicator/SE.XPD.TOTL.GD.ZS (01.09.2014).
[10] See the official site of United Nations development Programme at www.undp.org.ge/files/24_278_524979_NHDR-08-ENG.pdf (01.09.2014).
[11] See the official site of Oxfam International Organization at www.oxfam.org/en/research/health-care-reform-georgia (01.09.2014).

Figure 1. The health expenditure has been increasing yearly since 1995[12]. The life expectancy index was also increased within the time span of the years 1995-2012.

3.6 Development trends of the Index of Democracy Level

Figure 3

Index of Democracy Level of Georgia (1995-2012) *



Since the independence of Georgia in 1991 there has started democratic reforms. Nowadays the outcomes of these reforms are evident in the spheres of human rights and fundamental freedoms, freedom of speech and electoral right.

According to "Caucasus Barometer" data, 51% of the population of Georgia considered the country completely and partly democratic in 2011, whereas in 2012 only 38% was of the same opinion (CRRC 2011, 2012).

To measure the Index of Democary Level (IDL) 25 indicators of 5 groups were accumulated, processes and assessed. The interrelation of Political, Economic, Social, Educational and Health Factors vividly express the dymanics of the Democracy Index

[12] See the official site of Oxfam International at www.oxfam.org/en/research/health-care-reform-georgia (01.09.2014).

* The source is based on the calculations accumulated by the researcher.

(see Figure 1 and 3). It is noteworthy that the highest indicator was registered in 2012 (0,633) when the country through democratic processes took the path of constitutional reforms, expanding the powers of the prime minister and parliament alongside with the changing of governments.

By analyzing the IDL dymanics we can notice that during 1995-2012 there were some increasing trends combined with certain declines. The cause of the 1998 decline was the Georgia-Abkhaz armed conflict, the 2002 decline was the tensed situation in the counrty befor the "Rose Revolution" which eventually was settled by the free will of the population by means of peaceful presidential elections in 2003. The IDL rapid increase of the years 2003-2007 was interrupted by the Georgia-Russia war in 2008 and by the global economic crisis. Nevertheless, the IDL was restored in 2010 and continues to be increasing by registering the progress in the formation of democratic institutions.

3.7 Regression analysis of the Index of Democracy Level

Arusyak Aleksanyan, Anna Sarkisyan

The regression analysis illustrates the variables of those indices, which have a significant influence on the IDL of Georgia.

A significant correlation has been established between the IDL_i[13] and political indicators, such as Political Stability/Absence of Conflict, included in this model.

$$\mathbf{Y' = 0{,}011x_1 + 0{,}281\ (Adj.\ R^2=0{,}752),}$$

where Y is the IDL_i (IDL is cleaned from the variable of Political Stability/Absence of Conflict, x_1 is Political Stability/Absence of Conflict.

The following correlation has been established between the Social Factors and variables.

$$\mathbf{Y' = 0{,}006x_2 + 0{,}261\ (Adj.\ R^2=0{,}934),}$$

where Y is the IDL_i (IDL is cleaned from GNI per capita), x_2 is the the GNI per capita ($100).

$$\mathbf{Y' = 0{,}005x_3 + 0{,}073\ (Adj.\ R^2 = 0{,}778),}$$

where Y is the IDL_i (IDL is cleaned from the index of external trade rate), x_3 is the index of external trade rate (% of GDP).

[13] IDL_i is the Index of Democracy Level cleaned from the corresponding variable during every paired regression analysis.

$$\mathbf{Y' = 0{,}009x_4 + 0{,}256\ (Adj.\ R^2 = 0{,}817),}$$

where Y is the IDL_i (IDL is cleaned from the index of domestic credits), x_4 is the index of domestic credits (% of GDP).

The following equation was calculated for health indicators.

$$\mathbf{Y' = 0{,}07x_5 - 4{,}67\ (Adj.\ R^2 = 0{,}910),}$$

where Y is the IDL_i (IDL is cleaned from the variable of life expectancy), $\mathbf{x_5}$ is the life expectancy.

$$\mathbf{Y' = 0{,}057x_6 - 0{,}001\ (Adj.\ R^2 = 0{,}625),}$$

where Y is the IDL_i (IDL is cleaned from the variable of government spending on health), $\mathbf{x_6}$ is the health spending (% of GDP).

In accordance with the accumulated data, the variable of the Political Stability of the Political Factors Index played a significant role on the democracy in Georgia and the positive change with 1 unit will lead to the increase of the IDL_i with 0, 011 unit. The mentioned variable explaines 75% of IDL_i variation.

The variables of GNI, the external trade rate and domestic credits also influenced on the IDL_i of Georgia. The growth of GDP per capita with 100 dollars together with the 1% growth of the external trade rate and domectic credits will lead to the increase of IDL_i respectively with 0,006, 0,005 and 0,009 units. The Economic Factors have particularly the highest determination coefficient and explain 78-93% of democratic changes.

The life expectancy change with 1 year and the 1% increase of health spending will bring the increas of the IDL_i respectively with 0,071 and 0,057 units. It must be mentioned that the variable of life expectancy explains 91% of IDL variation, which is indeed a very high indicator. There was no significant correlation between the Social and Educational Factors included in the model.

The political stability, GNI, the external trade rate, domestic credits and mentioned Health Factors affect the IDL. The Political Stability indicator of Gerogia was the lowest indicator registered among the observed eight countries, which testifies for still ongoing reforms. In reference to Economic Factors, it should be noted that volume of domestic credits was periodically increasing from 8% in 1995 to 35% in 2012, which consequently had an affirmative influence on democracy.

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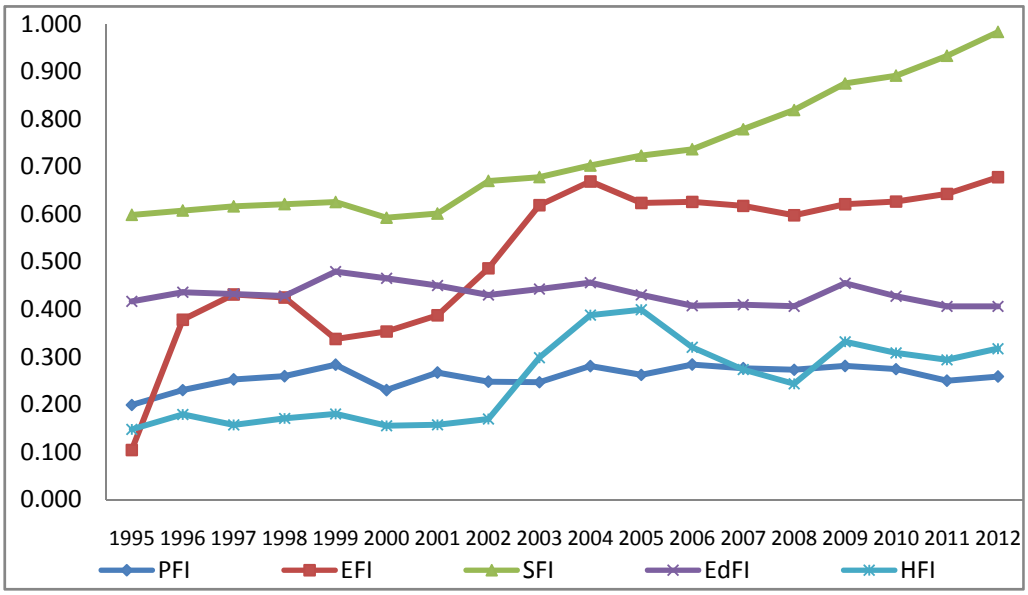
CHAPTER 4.
THE INDEX OF DEMOCRACY LEVEL OF AZERBAIJAN

VAHAN HUNANYAN

Figure 1

Indices of Political, Economic, Social, Health and Educational Factors affecting the Index of Democracy Level of Azerbaijan in the time span between 1995-2012*



* The source is based on the calculations accumulated by the researcher.

Table 1

Indices of Political, Economic, Social, Educational, Health Factors of Azerbaijan in the time span between 1995 and 2012*

Years	PFI	EFI	SFI	EdFI	HFI	IDL
1995	0,199	0,105	0,598	0,417	0,148	0,236
1996	0,230	0,378	0,607	0,436	0,179	0,326
1997	0,253	0,431	0,616	0,432	0,157	0,348
1998	0,260	0,425	0,621	0,428	0,171	0,350
1999	0,284	0,338	0,625	0,479	0,180	0,345
2000	0,230	0,354	0,593	0,465	0,155	0,319
2001	0,267	0,388	0,601	0,450	0,158	0,343
2002	0,248	0,486	0,670	0,430	0,170	0,367
2003	0,247	0,619	0,678	0,443	0,299	0,417
2004	0,281	0,669	0,702	0,456	0,388	0,458
2005	0,262	0,624	0,723	0,431	0,399	0,439
2006	0,284	0,626	0,736	0,408	0,320	0,439
2007	0,276	0,617	0,779	0,410	0,274	0,434
2008	0,273	0,598	0,819	0,407	0,244	0,428
2009	0,281	0,621	0,875	0,455	0,332	0,458
2010	0,275	0,627	0,891	0,428	0,309	0,453
2011	0,250	0,643	0,933	0,406	0,294	0,448
2012	0,259	0,678	0,983	0,406	0,317	0,468

4.1 Political Factors Index

The studies of the PFI showed that its curve had a comparatively smooth motion during the years 1995-2012 (see Figure 1, Table 1). The declines were mainly conditioned by the political conflicts. The cases of political unrest have recently increased, which negatively affected the PFI (Hunanyan 2013, 39-47). In addition, the elections in Azerbaijan have been estimated as unfree and unfair by the international observers so far.

Azerbaijan is a presidential republic. In conformity with Article 99 of the Constitution adopted in 1995, the president of the country is vested with the executive power, who

* The source is based on the calculations accumulated by the researcher.

is elected for a five-year term by direct voting. If this majority is not collected during the first round of elections, then the second round of elections shall be held. Two candidates only, who have polled most votes in the first round, shall participate in the second round (Article 101 of the Constitution of the Republic of Azerbaijan). It should be mentioned that there has never been the second round of the elections in the history of presidential elections of Azerbaijan.

The president is entitled with broad powers, such as an appointment of a prime minister approved by the parliament Milli Mejlis as well as his/her removal from the position, the submission of the State budget of the Azerbaijan Republic to the Milli Mejlis for ratification, the appointment and removal from position members of the Cabinet of Ministers, the appointment and announcement of a referendum and etc. (Article 109 of the Constitution of the Republic of Azerbaijan).

The President of the Republic of Azerbaijan shall sign and issue laws. He has the right to remand the law to Milli Mejlis with his own objections and recommendations if there may be any. The parliament may override the objections of the President with the majority of two thirds of the votes and only after it, laws may come into force (Article 101 of the Constitution of the Republic of Azerbaijan).

With the aim of implementing executive power, the President of the Azerbaijan Republic shall form the Cabinet of Ministers of the Azerbaijan Republic. The Cabinet of Ministers of the Azerbaijan Republic shall be subordinate and accountable to the President of the Azerbaijan Republic. The Milli Mejlis of the Azerbaijan Republic shall give consent to the candidacy for the post of the Prime Minister of the Azerbaijan Republic no later than one week from the day of the candidacy representation. If the mentioned order is violated and Milli Mejlis does not give the consent for three times, then the President can appoint the Prime Minister of Azerbaijan Republic without the consent of the Mill Mejlis (Article 114,118 of the Constitution of the Republic of Azerbaijan).

The presidential elections in Azerbaijan were held in 1991, 1992, 1993, 1998, 2003, 2008 and 2013.

The first years of independence were characterized by the political instability and by the fierce power struggle led by various forces, when “the three presidential elections in a row” (1991, 1992 and 1993), revolutions or attempts of revolution can strongly testify all aforementioned.

Ayaz Mutalibov the head of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan won 98,5% of votes in the first presidential elections held in September 1991. In the next presidential

elections of 1992 Mutalibov was removed with the pressure of Azerbaijan Popular Front and Abulfaz Elchibey, the head of Azerbaijan Popular Front won 60,9 % of the votes. Nonetheless, Abulfaz Elchibey was ousted from the position of the president in the next year by the rebellion headed by Surat Huseynov. In 1993 Heydar Aliyev, speaker of the Parliament and the head of the Soviet Azerbaijan proceeded him and won 98,8% of the votes in the presidential elections held.

The constitution adopted by referendum in 1995 entitled Aliyev with broad powers and the country became a presidential republic. At first, Heydar Aliyev's establishment was not so strong and many political shocks were registered within 1995-1997. The escalation of unstable situation was in 1995, when in March of the same year about 70 people were killed in the attempt of a coup headed by Rovshan Javadov, Deputy Interior Minister. The prosecution of Azerbaijan convicted the members of the oppositional Azerbaijan Popular Front on attempting to stir up the rebellion in consequence of which Iskander Hamidov, former Interior Minister as well as about 200 people were arrested. As an accusation of participation in the March rebellion, Tofik Gasimov, former minister of Foreign Affairs and the head of the opposition was also put in jail. Under coup attempt charges, a number of senior police officers were arrested too (Encyclopedia Britannica 1995). The following two years were also full of conspiracies and rebels against Aliyev, affluent with public trials against conspirators, and full of killings of politicians and pressures on the opposition (Encyclopedia Britannica 1996, 1997). In 1995 60% of the candidates by the majoritarian system and a number of opposition parties were not allowed to take part in the parliamentary elections and the international observers registered numerous violations and estimated the elections fell short of international standards (Cornell 2011, 91). Taking all these into consideration, the level of civil unrest included in this model was estimated with 0,5 unit, which is the lowest one within the observed period.

In 1998 Heydar Aliyev was elected president with 77,6 % of the accumulated votes (See Figure 2). Alyiev took the Central Election Commission under his supervision and consequently the main 5 opposition members Abulfaz Elchibey, Isa Gambar, Rasul Guliyev, Ilyas Ismayilov and Lala Shovket claimed the election results invalid. In September and November in 1998 opposition held numerous protests, where serous clashes took place between the militaries and demonstrators (CSCE 1998, 1, 24).

Table 2

The votes of the RA presidential candidates, expressed in percentage[1]

Candidates	Presidential Elections in Azerbaijan						
	1991	1992	1993	1998	2003	2008	2013
	I rd.	I rd.	I rd.	I rd.	I rd.	I rd.	I rd.
Ayaz Mutalibov (ACP)	***98,5***	-	-	-	-	-	-
Abulfaz Elchibey (APF)	-	***60,9***	-	-	-	-	-
Nizami Suleymanov (DUIA)	-	33,8	-	-	-	-	-
Ilyas Ismayilov (SMDRA)	-	0,7	-	-		-	-
Rafig Turabkhanov (Abdulayev) (PRP)	-	0,5	-	-	-	-	-
Yaqub Mamadov	-	1,7	-	-	-	-	-
Heydar Aliyev (NAP)	-	-	***98,8***	***77,6***	-	-	-
Kerar Abilov (UAP)	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Zakir Taqiyev (EPA)	-	-	0,2	-	-	-	-
Etibar Mamadov (ANIP)	-	-	-	11,8	-	-	-
Nizami Suleymanov (IAP)	-	-	-	8,2	-	-	-
Firudin Hassanov (CPA)	-	-	-	0,9	-	-	-
Ashraf Mehdiyev (AVIPR)	-	-	-	0,9	-	-	-
Khanhusein Kazimili (SPPA)	-	-	-	0,3	-	-	-
Ilham Aliyev (NAP)	-	-	-	-	***76,84***	***88,73***	***84,54***
Isa Gambar (Musavat)	-	-	-	-	13,97	-	-
Lala Shovket (NU)	-	-	-	-	3,62	-	-
Etibar Mamadov (ANIP)	-	-	-	-	2,92	-	-
Ilyas Ismayilov (NU)	-	-	-	-	1	-	1,07
Sabir Rustamhanli (CSP)	-	-	-	-	0,82	-	-
Gudrat Hasangu(APF)	-	-	-	-	0,50	2,28	1,99
Hafiz Hajiyev (MMP)	-	-	-	-	0,34	0,65	0,66
Igbal Agazadeh (UP)	-	-	-	-	-	2,86	2,4
Fazil Mustafayev (GEP)	-	-	-	-	-	2,47	-
Gulamhuseyn Alibayli	-	-	-	-	-	2,23	-
Fuad Aliyev (ALD)	-	-	-	-	-	0,78	-
Jamil Hasanli (NCDF)	-	-	-	-	-	-	5,53
Zahid Oruj	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,45
Araz Alizade (SDP)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0,87
Faraj Guliyev (NRMP)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0,86
Sardar Jalaloghlu (Mamadov) (ADP)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0,62

[1] The sources of the data are Nohlen, Dieter, Grotz, Florian, and Hartmann, Christof. (eds). 2001. Elections in Asia and the Pacific: A Data Handbook: Volume 1: Middle East, Central Asia, and South Asia, Oxford University Press, IFES Election Guide. 2014. "Country Profile. Azerbaijan." Accessed May 25, 2014 at www.electionguide.org/countries/id/16.

The Constitutional amendments took place with the aim to appoint Ilham Aliyev, the son of incumbent president Heydar Aliyev in the post of the president in 2002. The amendment stated that in case of a president's death and resignation, the powers are vested not in the speaker of the parliament but in the prime minister. In addition, for a candidate to win the election in the first round, he needs to amass the simple majority of votes in comparison to the previously settled two thirds of the votes. The requirement that the participation of the voters should not be less than 50% was also abolished (Heinrich 2010, 11).

As a result of the elections held in 2003, the son Aliyev took office after his father. Ilham Aliyev amassed 77% of the voters during the elections, whereas the representative of the opposition Isa Gamber got only 14%. The elections were again reported to be unfree and unfair by the international organizations and by the opposition (Bouckaert 2003). Two people were killed and many were injured in the clashes with the police during the mass rallies organized by the opposition (BBC news 2003) and 700 members of the opposition were put in jail (Democracy Web 2014).

The incumbent president Ilham Aliyev was re-elected in 2008 by 89% of the votes. The representatives of the main oppositional forces boycotted those elections by claiming the unjustness of electoral laws, complaining of pressures and of the government supervision over the mass media. Even though the elections were estimated as non-democratic they went peacefully in comparison with previous ones due to the lack of opposition integrity and to the adoption of a new law on public assemblies which significantly restricts the possibility to carry out them (Nichol 2008).

The constitutional amendment adopted in 2009 strengthened "the presidential authoritarianism" when the two-term limit to the Presidency was lifted, making extremely likely that president Ilham Aliyev will stand for a third term.

And consequently, he was re-elected for the third time with the majority of votes (84,5%) in the elections of 2013.

Nonetheless, the parliamentary elections also are of great importance in the political life of Azerbaijan. The unicameral parliament of Azerbaijan Milli Mejlis was created in 1995 in conformity with the Constitution. Its 125 members are elected for a five-year term by the majoritarian system. Twenty-five deputies out of 125 were elected by proportionate representation in 1995 and 2000 elections, whereas the number of deputies elected by that system was reduced to zero as a result of the Constitutional amendments (see Figure 2, Table 3). This step was aimed at reducing the presence of already weak and fragmented oppositional parties, as the latter were generally getting deputy seats by proportional system (Heinrich 2010, 13).

Azerbaijan had had four elections to Milli Mejlis since the independence from the Soviet Union and they were held in 1995, 2000, 2005 and 2010 (see Table 3).

Table 3

The ratio of the deputy seats of the political parties in the parliament of Azerbaijan[2]

Political Parties, blocs and participants	Milli Mejlis elections in Azerbaijan					
	1995		2000		2005	2010
	M	P	M	P	M	M
"New Azerbaijan" Party	40	19	59	16	61	74
Azerbaijan Popular Front Party	1	3	2	4	1	-
National Independence Party	0	3	2	-	-	-
Democratic Party of Azerbaijan	2	-	-	-	-	-
"Musavat"	1	-	2	-	5	-
"Motherland" Party	1	-	1	-	2	2
Democratic Party of Entrepreneurs	1	-	-	-	-	-
"Social justice" Party	1	-	-	-	-	-
United Azerbaijan Party	1	-	-	-	-	-
"Civil Solidarity" Party	-	-	0	3	3	3
Azerbaijani Communist Party	-	-	0	2	-	-
"For the sake of Azerbaijan" bloc	-	-	1	-	-	-
Azerbaijani Social Prosperity Party	-	-	1	-	1	-
"Compatriot" Party	-	-	1	-	-	-
"Hope" Party	-	-	-	-	1	-
"Civic Union" Party	-	-	-	-	1	-
"Whole Azerbaijan Popular Front Party"	-	-	-	-	1	-
Party of Democratic Reforms	-	-	-	-	1	-
"Great revival" Party	-	-	-	-	1	-
"Justice" Party	-	-	-	-	1	-
Non-Partizans	52	-	30	-	43	38
Party not mentioned	-	-	-	-	3	8
Vacant seats	-	-	1*	-	-	-
Total	***100***	***25***	***99***	***25***	***125***	***125***

During all parliamentary elections since 1995, Milli Mejlis has always been under the control of the "New Azerbaijan" ruling party. The opposition received no seats during the last elections in 2010. It should be mentioned that many non-partisan deputies are elected to Milli Mejlis, who, in fact, are subordinate to the ruling party. Besides all

[2] The sources of the data are Nohlen, Dieter, Groz, Florian, and Hartmann, Christof. (eds). 2001. Elections in Asia and the Pacific: A Data Handbook: Volume 1: Middle East, Central Asia, and South Asia, Oxford University Press, European Parliament-Delegation to Observe the Parliamentary Elections in Azerbaijan. 2006. Election Observation Report. Accessed May 25, 2014. www.europarl.europa.eu/intcoop/election_observation/missions/2004—2009/20061106_azerbaijan.pdf., Inter-Parliamentary Union. 2014 "Azerbaijan Milli Mejlis (National Assembly) Elections in 2005." Accessed June 20, 2014. www.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/arc/2019_05.htm European Parliament. 2010. Election Observation Delegation to the Parliamentary Elections in Azerbaijan. Accessed May 25, 2014. www.europarl.europa.eu/intcoop/election_observation /missions/2009-2014/azerb_parl_2010_ep.pdf

* The seat of one deputy remained vacant as he was supposed to be elected from Nagorno-Karabakh.

small pro-government political parties periodically enter the parliament (Banks et al. 2009, 87, Heinrich 2010, 13). For that reason, the PFI variable of the majority in the parliament has the lowest value (0) within the observed time span, which in its turn affects the IDL negatively.

Parliamentary elections in Azerbaijan were accompanied by occasional demonstrations and clashes with the police in consequence of which the number of civil unrest was factually increasing in years.

The parliamentary elections in 2000 were followed by pre-election and post-election mass rallies. Prior to the elections more than 100 demonstrators were injured in the clashes with the police in the protest against the amendments of the Electoral Code in April and several heads of the opposition were arrested (Hadji-zadeh 2000). The CEC rejected the registration of seven opposition parties, including "Musavat". Though due to the international pressure that restriction was removed several months later, nevertheless, the parties were deprived of the opportunity to prepare properly. After the elections the candidates of the opposition who were elected to the parliament, decided to boycott the work of the parliament and demonstrations were organized in Baku with the demand to call for new elections (Encyclopedia Britannica 2000). We should note, that in Azerbaijan neither presidential nor parliamentary elections had ever been reported without arrests and physical assaults of independent and pro-opposition journalists, without bans or lawsuits against mass media and pressures made through invented restrictions and other cases (HRW 2000). This was widely practised in 2000 elections. For example, the editor of the most oppositional newspaper "Eni Musavat" was arrested on charges of airplane hijacking. He was later released under pressure from the international organizations. As a consequence of all these, the level of Freedom of the Press of the model was lowered with 6 units, from 70 to respectively 76 (countries are given a total Freedom of the Press score from 0 (best) to 100 (worst). The variable of Political Rights and Civil Liberties was changed from 5 to 5,5 and continued to remain on the same level up to 2012. For this reason, the most drastic decline of PFI was registered in 2000 (see Figure 1, Table 1).

The same procedure was carried out during the next elections in 2005. The authorities arrested some key opposition members just before the elections on the charges of the coup d'état (HRW 2000). Besides, the pre and post-election period was characterized by numerous demonstrations, which were broken up by the police. Taking all into account, the members of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) offered to suspend the Azerbaijani delegation's voting rights, but under the influence of Azerbaijan's "caviar diplomacy", the PACE took no actions but issued a strongly critical statement instead (Economist 2013). There is also noticeable decline of the PFI in 2005 (see Figure 1, Table 1).

Figure 2

The ratio of deputy seats by the proportional and majoritarian representation[3]

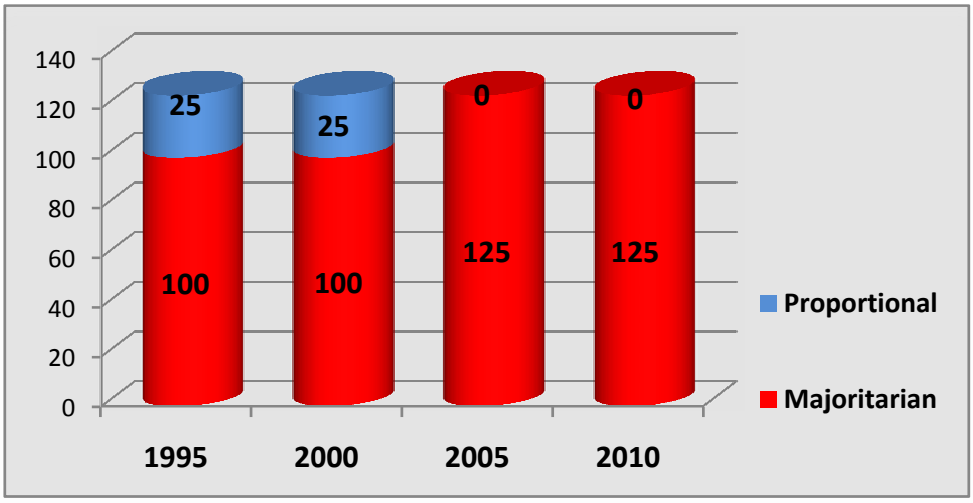


Table 4

The ratio of deputy seats by the proportional and majoritarian representation in Milli Mejlis

Electoral representation	1995	2000	2005	2010
Majoritarian	100	100	125	125
Proportional	25	25	0	0
Total	**125**	**125**	**125**	**125**

Ilham Aliyev by strengthening his position in the political hierarchy tightened his supervision over the levers of power completely neutralized the opposition forces. The ruling clan of Azerbaijan through massive oil revenues can ignore the criticism from international organizations and civil society institutions (Aleksanyan 2013, 24-34 and Aleksanyan 2014, 31-44). On the other side, the opposition under continuous pressure from the authorities was totally weakened and disunited.

It is evident in Figure 1 that the PFI remained on the same level with slight fluctuations within 2006-2010 years. Regardless of the fact, that parliamentary elections were reported with large-scale violations and irregularities, the opposition

[3] The source of the data: Heinrich, Andreas. 2010. "The Formal Political System in Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan. A Background Study." Research Centre for East European Studies 107:1-63. http://www.forschungsstelle.uni-bremen.de/images/stories/pdf/ap/ fsoap107.pdf (06.12.2014).

could not do anything but made defamatory remarks (Al Jazeera 2010). In the meantime, the "European Stability Initiative" think-tank called Azerbaijan's 2010 parliamentary elections the most flawed ever in the CoE's member states (Economist 2013).

The value of the PFI was significantly low in 2011, when the dissatisfactions from the elections of the previous year were expressed by means of the widespread protest generated by the influence of Arab spring (Edwards 2011). The increase of civil unrest was registered in that year, which was stipulated by "Arab Spring" and by the ongoing political awakening in the Islamic world. The government succeeded in regulating the situation by pressuring on the protests by resorting to violent forces (Yunusov 2011).

Speaking about other variables of the PFI, it should be mentioned that despite the fact, that Corruption Perceptions Index went up within the mentioned period, nevertheless, Azerbaijan being considered one of the most corrupted countries took the 139th place out of 174 states.

The coordinator of "Human Rights House" of Azerbaijan Gojayev estimations claim that the ruling elite seem driven by one overwhelming motive: self-enrichment with an access to state funds, including through plundering the budgetary allocations and possession of shares from the lucrative oil business (Gojayev 2012, 28). The Alyiev's family heads this corruption pyramid, where the multi-billion inflow of dirty money is supervised by various methods (Weiss 2014).

According to the results of Global Corruption Barometer 2013, 58% of the respondents consider corruption in Azerbaijan "serious" or "very serious" issue and police, health and judicial systems were named the most corrupted institutions by 58-69 % of the respondents. The most bribe taking cases are commonly registered in the police and health spheres (21-24%)[4].

The press in Azerbaijan was estimated as "not free" by Freedom House. The situation deteriorated during the last years, as it got 68 units in 1995, nonetheless, the units were respectively raised to 82 in 2012.

In reference to Political Rights and Civil Liberties, they were assessed as "not free". Azerbaijan was estimated as "partly free" up to the year 2003, but in the same year, due to the "scandalous" elections and pressure on the opposition it appeared among the "not free" states. Political Rights were estimated with 6 units within the mentioned

[4] See the official site of Transparency International at www.trabsparency.org/gcb2013/country/?country=azerbaijan (20.06.2014).

time span and the civil rights fluctuated in the range of 4-6 units. The latter was measured with 5 units in 2000, but in 2013 it went up to 6 units[5].

4.2 Economic Factors Index

The stages of Azerbaijan economic developments are divided into 4 parts: crisis (1992-1995), formation (1996-1997), development (1998-2008) and stagnation (starting from 2009). One of the main issues after the independence of Azerbaijan was the severance of economic relations with other Soviet states as well as the problems of economic structure stipulated by the transition from planned economy to market economy and the lack of financial resources. A serious decline was registered at this period with the rise of unemployment and inflation rate (Bayramov 2012, 56). The lowest decline was denoted in 1993, when the GDP was cut by 23,1%[6]. The fall of the GDP was accompanied by hyperinflation with 1,128% in 1993; 1, 662.2% in 1994 and 411, 8%[7] in 1995. In fact, the production rate of the economy in 1995 was equal to the rate in 1989 with the mark of 40% (Cornell 2011, 98).

The so-called "Contract of the Century" was signed in 1994 with the aim of exploiting the Caspian sea oil resources as well as with the aim to ratify of the armistice of the Karabakh war. Hence, during the years of 1996-1997 the economy of the country became stabilized and a positive growth was reported due to the large amount of foreign direct investments. Consequently, the average growth of GDP comprised 10%. One can see that EFI was rather low in 1999 as it is shown in Figure 1. This is explained by the deficit increase in the budget of Azerbaijan caused by the economic crisis in the Russian Federation as well as by the reduction of foreign direct investments, of domestic credits and of external trade rate.

The highest peak of the economic growth marked with 34, 5% was in 2006. That same year the oil pipeline Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan became operational by drastically increasing the value of oil exports. It should be pointed out that this skyrocketing development was due to both the large-scale usage of oil resources and the rising of oil prices in the international markets.

To illustrate the dependence of Azerbaijan economy on the oil the following should be noted, that oil sector is responsible for 94% of country's export value, for 60% of domestic industry and for 70% of the state budget revenues (Bayramov 2012, 58). If at the beginning of 1998 the price of a barrel was about 12 US dollars, then during

[5] See the official site of Freedom House at www.freedomhouse.org (20.06.2014).
[6] See the official site of WB at http://data.worldbank.rog/indicator
[7] See the official site of WB at http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/FP.CPI.TOTL.ZG?page=3 (15.06.2014).

several years it had been gradually growing and the price reached 132 US dollars in the summer 2008 (IndexMundi 2014).

Unilateral development had its negative impacts. The economic decline was registered in 2008 and the 0,1% growth of GDP was the lowest indicator after 1996. The main cause of these events was conditioned by 9,3% fall of oil industry (Bayramov 2012, 56).

The economy of Azerbaijan is mostly dependent on oil. Some experts point out that the "highest peak of Azerbaijan oil production" has been reached and it will decrease per year (EIA 2014). This will negatively affect the development of the country's economy.

4.3 Social Factors Index

The economic crisis during the first years of independence worsened the social issues and caused the rise of unemployment rate. Many workplaces were reduced as a result of deindustrialization. In addition, the growth of the population and consequently the increase of labour force deteriorated the situation. Some were forced to leave abroad in quest of work and the destination was chosen to be Russia. This, to some extent, solved the unemployment problem and the inflow of financial transfers made by migrants "alleviated" social issues. In accordance with the World Bank report, the transferred sums were equivalent to 6 million US dollars in 1998, but were amounted to the highest indicator of more than 1,5 million in 2008. In reference with the Asian Development Bank studies in 2006, 77% of transfers were used to satisfy basic needs (CRRC-Azerbaijan 2011, 46).

The economy of Azerbaijan grew at quick pace due to the development of oil industry. And, consequently, the government managed to use some amount of the oil revenues to solve social issues and to reduce the poverty level in general. A significant part of the population has a limited access to water and gas supply and telephone service (CRRC-Azerbaijan 2011, 88).

We should mention, that although government spending on social issues have been absolutely increased, it has been actually reducing within the recent years. The social security expenses comprised 18,2% of the budget in 2003, whereas in 2009 the number was reduced to 9,7% (CRRC-Azerbaijan 2011, 22).

By studying the curve of SFI we may state that it was comparatively stable in 1995-1999, but it rapidly grew in 2001-2012. The decline in 2000 was stipulated by the drastic growth of unemployment rate (see Figure 1).

4.4 Educational Factors Index

In conformity with the Constitution of Azerbaijan, every person has the right to an education. In accordance with the new "Education Law" adopted in 2009, the education in Azerbaijan consists of public (elementary, the basic secondary and upper/complete secondary education) and professional systems (vocational education and higher education).

The level of education has been lowered in consequence of the widespread corruption after the independence. The level of enrolment in elementary education with 95% and of secondary education with 83% is high in Azerbaijan unlike other post-Soviet countries. Although the level of enrolment in pre-elementary and higher education is low in the country, where 16% enrolment in the pre-elementary schools registered in 2009 is of greatest issue (CRRC-Azerbaijan 2011, 88, 39). The 15% enrolment in higher education institutions is also rather low in comparison with the enrolment in the Caucasus where the average 28,3% was registered (UNICEF 2010).

Azerbaijan has made progress in terms with HDI Education Index where 0, 644 indicator was registered in 1995 and 0, 734 in 2010, which is still the lowest indicator among the Caucasian states. The spending on education was gradually decreasing with the respective percentage rate of 4,2% of the GDP in 1999 and with 2,4%[8] in 2011, which put the commitment of the government to develop this sphere under suspicion.

By analyzing Figure 1, it becomes clear that the EdFI remained on the same level without any registered progress and downfalls. This is explained by the reduction of educational expenditures, which in its turn neutralized the growth of HDI Education Index.

4.5 Health Factors Index

The health system of Azerbaijan still generally preserves the Soviet Union model in the market economy conditions, i.e. all health services are on the free of charge basis. At the expense of the economic growth proceeded after the collapse in 1991 some investments were registered in the health sector, in particular in the construction of hospitals and in the import of modern medical supplies. If the government spending on health didn't exceed 6 dollars per capita till 2000, then at the beginning of 2000 the situation changed and the spending was increased to 50 dollars per capita in 2008 (Ibrahimov et al. 2010, 19).

Regardless of the abovementioned data, the government allocates small amounts on health sector, as in terms of the government spending in comparison with GDP

[8] See the official site of WB at http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.XPD.TOTL.GD.ZS (20.06.2014).

Azerbaijan takes the last place among the post-Soviet countries (CRRC-Azerbaijan 2011, 134). Hence, the population covers the significant portion of health care expenses. For example, in 2007 62% of the general expenditures in health sector were out of pocket payments (Ibrahimov et al. 2010, 22) either of legal character (the purchase of medicine) or of illegal character (additional payment for paid services).

According to the WB survey in 2002, one out of three families mentioned that they in case of need were not able to use the health services, since they were very expensive (CRRC-Azerbaijan 2011, 131).

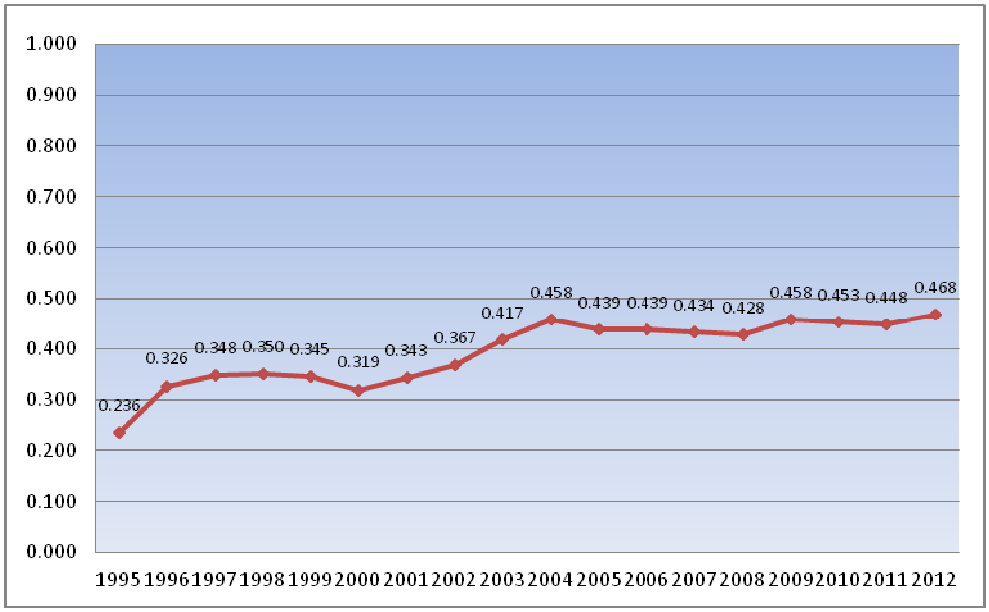
The provision of qualified personnel and the provision of their necessary quantity is one of the essential problems in health sector, because the number of doctors per capita decreased after the independence (Ibrahimov et al. 2010, 56, 56).

This proves the high level of child death rate, which is one of the highest among the CIS countries. The life expectancy index has a positive trend which is associated with the increase from 64,6 units in 1995 to 70,6[9] units in 2012.

4.6 Development trends of the Index of Democracy Level

Figure 3

Index of Democracy Level of Azerbaijan (1995-2012) *



[9] See the official site of WB at http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.LEOO.IN (20.06.2014).
* The source is based on the calculations accumulated by the researcher.

Figure 3 shows the dynamics of Index of Democracy Level within 1995-2012, where the growth was registered duirng 1995-1996 and 2000-2004. The IDL increased by 0, 09 units in 1995-1996 and it was maily stipulated by the 3,5 times increase of EFI (see Table 1). Nonetheless, the fall of IDL can be seen in 2000, caused by the decrease of PFI. The cases of civil disturbances were of great number in that year, as mass rallies took place in pre-election and post-election period, accompanied by clashes with the police and the oppostion members who passed the elections boycotted the work of the parliament. The Freedom of the Press indicator was the lowest ever registered that year.

IDL grew smoothly within 2000-2004 due to Social and Economic Factors which were boosted by foreign investments in oil production. The fall of PFI, EFI and EdFI registered in 2005 impacted decreasingly on IDL. Later IDL had proportional development conditioned by Alyiev's final consolodation, and the fall in 2008 was caused by a slight decrease of Health, Economic, Political and Educational Factors Indices.

4.7 Regression analysis of the Index of Democracy Level

Arusyak Aleksanyan, Vahan Hunanyan

The regression analysis illustrated the variables of Political, Economic, Social, Educational and Health Factors Indices, which had a significant influence on the IDL of Azerbaijan.

The regression results show that there has been a significant correlation between the IDL_i[10] and variables of Rule of Law.

$$\mathbf{Y' = 0{,}010x_1 + 0{,}189\ (Adj.\ R^2=0{,}574),}$$

where **Y'** is the IDL_i (IDL was cleaned from the variable of the Rule of Law) and x_1 is the Rule of Law.

The significant correlation has been established between the IDL and the EFI variable of the budget deficit.

$$\mathbf{Y' = 0{,}034x_2 + 0{,}419\ (Adj.\ R^2=0{,}581),}$$

[10] IDLi is the Index of Democracy Level cleaned from the corresponding variable during every paired regression analysis.

where Y' is the IDLi (IDL was cleaned from the variable of the budget deficit) and x_2 is budget deficit.

The following equation has been done for the health indicators.

$$\mathbf{Y' = 0{,}026x_3 - 1{,}344 \ (Adj.\ R^2 = 0{,}722),}$$

where Y' is the IDLi (IDL was cleaned from the variable of the life expectancy) and x_3 is the life expectancy.

Thus, the Political Factors variable of the Rule of Law has a siginificant influence on Azerbaijan, where 1 unit change in the Rule of Law will lead to 0, 01 unit change in IDLi with an explanatory power of 57%.

The Social Factors variable of budget deficit/proficit also impacts on IDLi with 1% of GDP increase will bring to 0, 034 unit change on IDLi.

In reference to Health Factors, variable of life expectancy has its influence on IDLi and one year addition will lead to 0, 026 unit change on IDLi. This variable has the highest determintaion coefficient and explains 72% of the variation of democracy.

The regression analysis denote, that the variable of Rule of Law, budget deficit and life expectancy have the most impact on IDL of Azerbaijan.

It is necessary to pay special attention to the abovementioned variables in order to raise the level of democracy in Azerbaijan.

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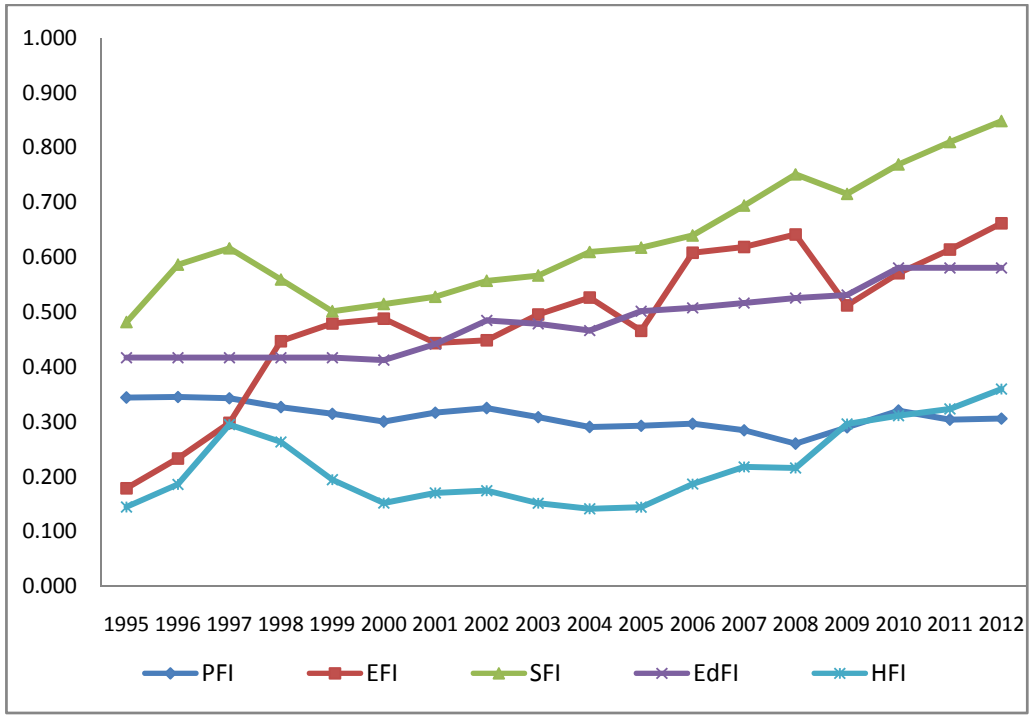
Abbreviations

IAP	"Independent Azerbaijan" Party
ADP	Azerbaijan Democratic Party
ALDP	Azerbaijan Liberal Democratic Party
SMDRA	Social Movement for Democratic Reforms in Azerbaijan
NU	"National Unit"
DUIA	Democratic Union of Intellegentsia in Azerbaijan
EPA	"Endeavour Party of Azerbaijan"
SDP	Social Democratic Party
NRMP	National Revival Movement Party
NCDF	National Council of Democratic Forces
PRP	"People's Republic" Party
MMP	"Modern Musavat" Party
UAP	"United Azerbaijan" Party
AVIPR	Association of Victims of Illegal Political Repression

CHAPTER 5.
THE INDEX OF DEMOCRACY LEVEL OF RUSSIA

Figure 1
Indices of Political, Economic, Social, Health and Educational Factors affecting the Index of Democracy Level of Russia in the time span between 1995-2012*



* The source is based on the calculations accumulated by the researcher.

Table 1

Indices of Political, Economic, Social, Educational, Health Factors of Russia in the time span between 1995 and 2012*

Years	PFI	EFI	SFI	EdFI	HFI	IDL
1995	0,344	0,179	0,482	0,417	0,145	0,302
1996	0,345	0,233	0,586	0,417	0,186	0,333
1997	0,343	0,298	0,616	0,417	0,295	0,364
1998	0,327	0,447	0,559	0,417	0,263	0,386
1999	0,315	0,479	0,501	0,417	0,195	0,376
2000	0,301	0,488	0,515	0,412	0,152	0,369
2001	0,317	0,444	0,528	0,442	0,170	0,370
2002	0,325	0,449	0,557	0,485	0,175	0,383
2003	0,309	0,496	0,567	0,479	0,152	0,387
2004	0,291	0,527	0,610	0,466	0,142	0,389
2005	0,293	0,466	0,617	0,502	0,144	0,380
2006	0,297	0,608	0,640	0,508	0,187	0,426
2007	0,285	0,619	0,694	0,516	0,218	0,434
2008	0,260	0,641	0,751	0,526	0,216	0,436
2009	0,290	0,512	0,715	0,531	0,296	0,421
2010	0,320	0,571	0,769	0,581	0,311	0,461
2011	0,304	0,614	0,810	0,581	0,324	0,472
2012	0,306	0,662	0,848	0,581	0,360	0,493

5.1 Political Factors Index

Ashot Aleksanyan

The curve of the Political Factors Index (PFI) of the Russian Federation (RF) illustrates that the democratic transformations of the political system and the regime were essentially influenced by the independent statehood formation, ethno-political factors, electoral processes, activation of political parties and civil society institutions as well as by the establishment of the procedures of human rights and fundamental freedoms protection.

The democratic transformation of the political system and the regime of the RF started in the 1990s, when on June 12, 1990 the Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR) adopted the Declaration of State Sovereignty.

* The source is based on the calculations accumulated by the researcher.

The 1991, August 19-21 coup d'état which is also known as the State Committee on the State of Emergency (GKChP) or August Coup (Avgustovsky Putch) was an attempt to put an end to the totalitarian regime of the USSR (Soyuzinfo 2002, Argumenti i Fakti 2013). The collapse of the coup led to the dissolution of the USSR totalitarian regime and created legal and legitimate prerequisites for the independence of the Soviet Republics. The initiators of the coup d'état tried to denounce the liberal-democratic achievements but were prevented thanks to the active participation of the RSFSR democratic forces.

The political crisis of 1992-1993 was the most controversial one in the context of the democratic transformation of the newly independent Russia (Tarasova 2013, 327-347, Belkin 1994, 80-102). The reason of the crisis was the conflict of "interests" between the president and the parliament of the RF. The attempts to solve the conflict-causing situation between the executive and legislative bodies through legal procedures led to a constitutional crisis and political instability[1]. The all-Russian referendum of April 25, 1993 (RIA Novosti, 2011), the dissolution of the parliament by the President's decree of September 21, 1993 and the subsequent events during the September-October months showed the necessity of strengthening the constitutional status of checks and balances between the state bodies.

The implementation of constitutional reforms[2], the process of restructuring the local self-government bodies[3], the adoption of the new Constitution in 1993, as well as the first convocation of the State Duma and the elections of the Federal Assembly created a relatively stable political situation.

It became possible to improve the consocial democracy level thanks to the new administrative reforms in the federal system of government and in the local self-government bodies of the federal units.

Six presidential elections were held in the RF in 1991, 1996, 2000 (early elections), 2004, 2008, and in 2012 (see Table 2). Only one out of the six presidential elections took place with two stages. The rest ended with one round.

[1] Decree №1400 of the President of the RF of 21.09.1993 "On the phase of constitutional reform in the Russian Federation" (together with "Provision on the federal government bodies during the transition period", "Provision on Elections to the State Duma"), // http://graph.document.kremlin.ru/page.aspx?1209725.

[2] Decree №1598 of the President of the RF of 07.10.1993 "On legal regulation during the phase of constitutional reform in the Russian Federation", // http://graph.document.kremlin.ru/page.aspx?1209725.

[3] Decree №1723 of the President of the RF of October 22, 1993 "On basic principles of organization of state power in the subjects of the Russian Federation" // http://constitution.garant.ru/history/active/10102783/#text, Decree №1760 of the President of the RF of 26.10.1993 "On the reform of local self governance in the Russian Federation" (together with "Provision on fundamentals of organization of self governance in the Russian Federation during the phase of constitutional reform"), // http://graph.document. kremlin.ru/page.aspx?1197665.

Vladimir Putin's first presidential term became a breakthrough in the history of the newly independent Russia and this was due to the consistent efforts towards increasing the international prestige of the Russian Federation, solving the domestic confrontations, strengthening the legal status of the presidential institute, introducing new procedure of checks and balances between the executive, legislative and judicial powers, implementation of anti-corruption strategy and etc (Sakwa 2002, 6, Sakwa 2006, 412–419, Sakwa 2011, Sakwa 2012, Roxburgh 2013, 108-127, 316-343, Galkin 2002, 28).

The 2008 presidential pre-election process was the most controversial one among all the presidential elections, when the representatives of the civil society organizations and opposition forces were discussing the probability of the President Vladimir Putin's being re-elected for the "third" time (Sakwa 2012, 25-44, Treisman 2012, Rose et al. 2011, Van Herpen 2013).

Table 2

The votes of the RF presidential candidates, expressed in percentage[4]

Candidates	Presidential elections of the RF						
	1991	1996		2000	2004	2008	2012
	I rd.	I rd.	II rd.	I rd.	I rd.	I rd.	I rd.
Boris Yeltsin	***57,30***	**35,28**	***53,82***	-	-	-	-
Nikolai Ryzhkov	16,85	-	-	-	-	-	-
Vladimir Zhirinovsky	7,81	5,70	-	2,70	-	9,35	6,22
Amangeldy Tuleyev	6,81	-	-	2,96	-	-	
Gennady Zyuganov	-	32,03	40,31	29,21	-	17,72	17,18
Alexander Lebed	-	14,52	-		-	-	-
Grigory Yavlinsky	-	7,34	-	5,80	-	-	-
Vladimir Putin	-	-	-	***52,94***	***71,31***	-	***63,60***
Nikolay Kharitonov	-	-	-	-	13,69	-	-
Sergey Glazyev	-	-	-	-	4,10	-	-
Irina Khakamada	-	-	-	-	3,84	-	-
Oleg Malishkin	-	-	-	-	2,02	-	-
Sergey Mironov	-	-	-	-	0,75	-	3,85
Dmitriy Medvedev	-	-	-	-	-	***70,28***	-
Andrei Bogdanov	-	-	-	-	-	1,30	-
Mikhail Prokhorov	-	-	-	-	-	-	7,98
Other candidates	7,16	2,16	-	3,58	-	-	-

[4] Source: Official Website of the Central Electoral Commission of the RF http://www.cikrf.ru, http://www.izbirkom.ru/region/izbirkom, Final Reports by the OSCE on the elections in the RF http://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/russia

It is noteworthy that the lowest level of the Political Factors Index in the scope of the studied period was the year of 2008 which was mainly connected with the military actions in South Ossetia and Russian-Georgian military conflict in July-August of the same year (Tsyganok 2008, 94-149, Beridze 2009, 53-60). The military actions led to active involvement of Russia in the conflict resolution process and to the negative assessment from the international community (EU EP Resolution 2008, Office of the President of the Republic of Estonia 2008), which ended with Georgia's exit from the CIS, and with the recognition of South Ossetia and Abkhazia as independent states by the Russian Federation[5].

The Constitution of the Russian Federation says that the President of the Russian Federation shall be the Head of State, the guarantor of the Constitution of the Russian Federation and of human and civil rights and freedoms (Article 80, points 1 and 2).

According to the Constitution and the federal laws of the Russian Federation, the President of the RF shall determine the basic objectives of the internal and foreign policy of the State as well as the President shall represent the Russian Federation within the country and in international relations (Article 80, points 3 and 4). The president of the RF was elected for a term of 5 years (1991), for 4 years since 1993, and starting from 2012 the presidential term has been extended to 6 years[6].

The President of the Russian Federation, with the consent of the State Duma, shall appoint the Chairman of the Government, shall have the right to chair meetings of the Government and adopt decisions on the resignation of the Government of the Russian Federation. In accordance with proposals of the Chairman of the Government of the Russian Federation, the president shall appoint and relieve of their post deputy chairmen of the Government of the Russian Federation and federal ministers (Constitution of the RF, Article 83). Along with other functions, the President shall form and head the Security Council of the Russian Federation, shall appoint and dismiss supreme commanders of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation (Constitution of the RF, Article 83).

The President shall dissolve the State Duma (Constitution of the RF, Article 111,117) in case the State Duma thrice rejects candidates for Chairman of the Government of the Russian Federation nominated by the President of the Russian Federation

[5] Decree №1261 of the President of the RF of 26.08.2008 "On recognition of the Republic of South Ossetia", // http://graph.document.kremlin.ru/page.aspx?973234, Decree №1260 of the President of the RF of 26.08.2008 "On recognition of the Republic of Abkhazia", // http://graph.document.kremlin.ru/page.aspx?973231.

[6] Federal Law №6-FKZ of the Russian Federation of December 20, 2008 on amending in the Constitution of the RF "On amendment of the Russian Federation President's term of Office and of the State Duma", // http://www.rg.ru/2008/12/31/konstitucia-popravki-dok.html; Draft Law "On amendment of the term of office of the President of the Russian Federation and State Duma" (November 11, 2008), // http://www.kremlin.ru/ref_notes/227.

(Constitution of the RF, Article 111). In the event the State Duma shall twice express non-confidence in the Government within three months, the President shall dissolve the State Duma if not agreed with the decision (Constitution of the RF, Article 117). But the State Duma may not be dissolved by the President during a year after it was elected, from the moment it advances charges against the President of the Russian Federation, and also while a state of emergency or a martial law operate in the whole territory of the Russian Federation (Constitution of the RF, Article 109).

The Federal Assembly consists of two Chambers - the Council of the Federation and the State Duma (Constitution of the RF, Article 95, point 1). According to the Article 95, point 2 of the Constitution the Council of the Federation includes two representatives from each subject of the Russian Federation: one from the legislative and one from the executive body of state authority.

The Council of the Federation, among its other functions, shall also approve the decree of the President of the Russian Federation on the introduction of a martial law and of a state of emergency, shall decide on the possibility of using the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation outside the territory of the Russian Federation (Constitution of the RF, Article 102). The Article 105, point 1 of the Constitution says that Federal laws shall be adopted by the State Duma and shall be submitted in five days for the consideration of the Council of the Federation. According to the Article 107, point 1 the adopted federal law shall be submitted to the President of the Russian Federation for signing and ratifying. If in fourteen days since the moment of receiving the federal law the President rejects it, the State Duma and the Council of the Federation shall reconsider the given law. In such cases, the federal law is adopted by not less than two thirds of the total number of the members of the Council of the Federation and of the deputies of the State Duma. And, it shall be signed and ratified by the President in seven days.

There have been six parliamentary elections in Russia (See Table 3). First convocation of 1993-1995, the second convocation in 1996-1999, the third one in 2000-2003, the fourth in 2004-2007, the fifth convocation in 2008-2011 and the sixth convocation in 2011-2016. The deputies to the State Duma were elected for four and starting from 2011 for a five-year term[7].

[7] Federal Law №6-FKZ of the Russian Federation of December 30, 2008 on amending the Constitution of the Russian Federation "On amendment of the term of office of the President of the Russian Federation and State Duma", // http://www.rg.ru/2008/12/31/ konstitucia-popravki-dok.html; Draft Law "On amendment of the term of office of the President of the Russian Federation and State Duma" (November 11, 2008), // http://www.kremlin.ru/ref_notes/227

Table 3

The ratio of the deputy seats of the political parties in the parliament of the Russian Federation[8]

Political parties, blocs	Elections to the State Duma									
	1993		1995		1999		2003		2007	2011
	M	P	M	P	M	P	M	P	P	P
Choice of Russia	25	37	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Liberal Democratic Party of Russia/ Zhirinovsky's union	5	59	1	50	0	17	0	36	40	56
Communist Party of the Russian Federation	10	32	58	99	46	67	12	40	57	92
Agrarian Party of Russia	2	22	20	0	-	-	2	0	-	-
"Yabloko"	7	20	14	31	4	16	4	0	-	-
Party of Unity and Accord of Russia	3	19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Women of Russia	2	22	3	0	0	0	-	-	-	-
Democratic Party of Russia	1	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Civic Unity	18	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Movement of Democratic Reforms	7	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
"Our Home-Russia"	-	-	10	45	7	0	-	-	-	-
Democratic choice of Russia – United Democrats	-	-	9	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
"Power to the People"	-	-	9	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
"Forward, Russia!"	-	-	3	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
"Unity (Medved)"	-	-	-	-	9	64	-	-	-	-
"Fatherland-All Russia"	-	-	-	-	31	37	-	-	-	-
Union of Right Forces	-	-	-	-	5	24	3	0		
"United Russia"	-	-	-	-			104	120	315	238
"Rodina" national patriotic Union	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	29	-	-
Democratic Party of Russia	-	-	-	-	-	-	17	0	-	-
A Just Russia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	38	64
Other political parties	4	4	21	0	9	0	9	0	0	0
Independents	135	-	77	-	105	-	67	-	-	-
Total	***219***[9]	***225***	***225***	***225***	***216***[10]	***225***	***225***	***225***	***450***	***450***

The first parliamentary elections were held on December 12, 1993. The elections were based on majoritarian and proportional representation systems. Half of the 450 parliament members were elected by a proportional representation and half were elected through majoritarian electoral system. The threshold for proportional system was set at 5%.

The Table 3 shows that only 3 parties (CPRF, LDPR and "Yabloko") have participated in the 6 elections to the State Duma but only the CPRF and LDPR were represented at all 6 convocations. It is interesting that meanwhile the communist parties were either split or dissolved or restructured in the former Soviet Republics, in Russia the CPRF had an active participation in the elections to the State Duma (Evans

[8] Source: http://www2.essex.ac.uk/elect/database/indexCountry.asp? country= RUSSIA&opt =elc.

[9] Majoritarian elections did not take place in 6 constituencies. No election took place in Chechnya and also in Tatarstan, where five deputies could not be elected due to less than 25% voter turnout. Five majoritarian deputies were elected in Tatarstan on March 13, 1994. (http://www2.essex.ac.uk/elect/database/indexElections.asp?country=RUSSIA&election=ru93duma).

[10] Majoritarian elections failed in 9 constituencies: in 8 constituencies "against all candidates" received the most of votes, and no elections were held in Constituency No. 31 (Chechnya). (http://www2.essex.ac.uk/elect/database/indexElections.asp?country=RUSSIA&election=ru99duma).

Jr. 2012, 103-124, Remington 2009, 39-58), and moreover in the elections of 1995 and 1999 the party won the most seats.

Figure 2

The ratio of deputy seats by the proportional and majoritarian representation[11]

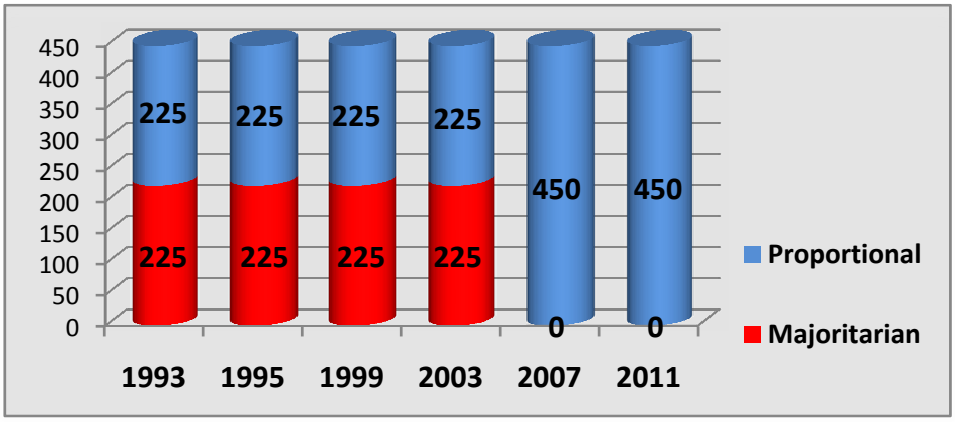


Table 4

Ratio of the deputy seats of the political parties in the State Duma

Electoral representation	1993	1995	1999	2003	2007	2011
Majoritarian	225	225	225	225	0	0
Proportional	225	225	225	225	450	450
Total	**450**	**450**	**450**	**450**	**450**	**450**

[11] Source: Federal law №124-FZ of 19.09.1997 "On basic guarantees of election rights and the right of citizens of the Russian Federation to participate in a referendum" (adopted by the State Duma of the FA of the RF in 05.09.1997) (adopted with amendments and addenda) // http://graph.document.kremlin.ru/ page.aspx?1153564, Federal law №51-FZ of 18.05.2005 "On elections to the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation" (adopted by the State Duma of the FA of the RF in 22.04.2005), // http://graph.document.kremlin.ru/ page.aspx?823953, Federal law №90-FZ of 21.06.1995 "On elections to the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation" (adopted by the State Duma of the FA of the RF in 09.06.1995), // http://graph.document.kremlin.ru/ page.aspx?1155783, Federal law №146-FZ of 17.08.1995 "On approval of schema of single- mandate constituency for holding elections to the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation of the second convocation" (adopted by the State Duma of the FA of the RF in 12.08.1995), // http://graph.document.kremlin.ru/ page.aspx?1161778, Federal law №121-FZ of 24.06.1999 "On elections to the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation" (adopted by the State Duma of the FA of the RF in 02.06.1999) (adopted by amendments and addenda), // http://graph.document.kremlin.ru/ page.aspx?1060079, Federal Law №95-FZ of 11.07.2001 "On political parties" (adopted by the State Duma of the FA of the RF in 21.06.2001) (adopted by amendments and addenda), // http://graph.document.kremlin.ru/ page.aspx?688150

The elections to the State Duma of 1993, 1995 and 1999 were held based on a "mixed" electoral system[12]. And in 2007 and 2011, according to the federal law of 2005 "On the election of deputies of the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation" elections took place based on proportional distribution of deputy seats[13]:

In comparison with other post-Soviet states, the trade union movement is quite active in Russia: a number of rallies and marches were organized in this scope. Hence, trade unions managed to play an active role in the reforms in the social system and in the elaboration of the social policy of the RF. The role of trade unions was also significant in the formation of the multi-party system (Gelman 2008, 135-152, Gelman 2012, Sakwa 2002, 8, Mendras 2012, Kurdiukov and Malfliet 2007, 202-220) and of the civiliarchic procedures of protection of social rights and freedoms of people.

Over the period of 1995-2012 federal and territorial trade unions actively fought for the social rights and freedoms of workers (SCLR 2014). While there are difficulties in the formation of the rest of the civil society institutes (McFaul et al. 2004, Remington 2011, Robertson 2010), the trade unions, were able to overcome the existing difficulties with their active participation and contribute in the introduction of procedures of social partnership. More particularly, the federation of the independent trade unions gathers 46 all-Russian and 78 territorial trade unions that include 95% of the members of the trade unions of the RF which is more than 22 million of workers (FNPR 2013). The rallies of miners of February 8, 1995, February 1, 1996 and of January 15, 1998 were the largest mass protests organized by the trade unions and on November 5, 1996 about 15 million people participated in the all-Russian protest under the slogan "for work, wages and social guarantees" (Trade Unions of Russia 2005, 36, 176). In 1996-1998 the movement of trade unions was also active in educational and health care sectors. The culmination of social disobedience was the period of 1997-1998, that was mainly aimed at protection of the social rights and freedoms of workers (Trade Unions of Russia 2005, 177).

[12] Provision on elections to the State Duma in 1993: [approved by the decree №1400 of the President of the RF on September 21, 1993], // http://graph.document.kremlin.ru/ page.aspx?1209725; Provision on elections to the State Duma in 1993: [approved by the decree № 1557 of the President of the RF on October 1, 1993]; Federal law №90-FZ of 21.06.1995 "On elections to the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation" (adopted by the State Duma of the FA of the RF in 09.06.1995), // http://graph.document.kremlin.ru/page.aspx?1155783; Federal law №121-FZ of 24.06.1999 "On elections to the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation" (adopted by the State Duma of the FA of the RF in 02.06.1999), // http://graph.document. kremlin.ru/page.aspx?1060079.

[13] Federal law №51-FZ of May 18, 2005 "On elections to the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation" (adopted by the State Duma of the FA of the RF in 22.04.2005, // http://graph.document.kremlin.ru/ page.aspx?823953; Federal law №188-FZ of 21.07.2007 on amendments in the Federal law "On elections to the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation" (adopted by the State Duma of the FA of the RF in 06.07.2007), // http://graph.document.kremlin.ru/page.aspx?920525.

The 2004-2012 "March Against Hatred" organized by the civil society and opposition forces, the 2005-2006 "I am free" civil project, the 2005-2009 Dissenters' March, the 2009 "Strategy 31" civic protests, the 2005-2012 United Civil Front, the 2007-2011 initiative of defenders of St. Petersburg, the 2011-2012 "Vote Against All" civil movement, the 2011-2013 civil revolts and others had a big impact in the context of civil disobedience in the civic-political life.

In 2012, according to the Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) the Russian Federation ranked 133rd out of 176 countries, in 2013 she tied for 127th place out of 177. The Global Corruption Barometer 2013 concludes that the citizens of the RF lost their belief towards the effectiveness of the state anti-corruption struggle[14]. According to the data of the Global Corruption Barometer 2013, the respondents think that corruption level has not decreased in any sector during the last three years and only 5% think that the state anti-corruption struggle is effective[15]. The respondents assessed the police (66%), the judicial system (59%), legislative system (54%), state officials (74%) and political parties (49%) as the most corrupt bodies[16].

As reported by the Freedom House data in 1999-2004 the RF was considered "partially independent" and over the period of 2005-2012 "not independent" in the area of Political Rights and Civil Liberties[17]. In the field of media freedoms the RF was regarded "partially independent" in 2002 and "not independent" during 2003-2012. According to Freedom House the decline in Freedom of the Press is mainly due to the electoral processes, attempts by the authorities to control the activities of mass media and due to the restrictions in the legislation[18].

As reported in the 2006-2012 data of the Global Gender Gap Index (Global Gender Gap Report 2013), the sub-index of the political opportunities has the lowest level which says that the lowest indicators were in 2006-2008 and Russia was ranked 108th out of 115, 120th out of 128 and 100th out of 130 countries. In 2009-2012 the political opportunities sub-index of the Global Gender Gap Index of the RF improved to some extent but still not enough to be sufficient. After the 2011 parliamentary elections women accounted for 13,6% of deputies in the State Duma and 4,7% of members in the Federal Assembly. Russia is in the 61st place according to the 2013 final statistics.

[14] See the official website of the Transparency International Anti-Corruption Centre: http://transparency.org.ru/barometr-mirovoi-korruptcii/korruptciiu-pobedit-ne-pravitelstvo-a-grazhdane (02.07.2014).
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid.
[17] See the official website of the Freedom House: http://freedomhouse.org/ report/freedom-world/2012/russia-0#.VDIucPmSwlI (19.05.2014).
[18] Ibid.

In conclusion, we should note that the 2012 Political Factors Index decreased in comparison to the year of 1995. While in 1995 the value of the Political Factors Index was 0,344, it was 0,306 in 2012. Over 1995-2012 the Political Factors Index scored four visible declines (in 2000, 2004, 2008 and in 2011). The declines of 2000, 2004 and 2008 are caused by the presidential elections and the decline of 2011 was due to the parliamentary elections. The main reasons of the first decline of the Political Factors Index were the restart of military actions in Chechnya on September 30, 1999 that continued also in 2000 and the early presidential elections of January 5, 2000, held in domestic tension. The main struggle was between the incumbent Prime Minister Vladimir Putin and the head of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation Genady Zyuganov. Ella Pamfilova was the first female candidate to run in the presidential elections (Lenta.ru 2010). The presidential elections created completely new situation for the political elite, parties, civil society organizations and served as a key period in the civiliarchic socialization for the democratizing political system. In comparison with the previous years, the values of Political Stability (10,1), Rule of Law (13,4), Corruption Perceptions Index (2,1), Political Rights and Civil Liberties (5) of the Political Factors Index decreased in 2000. The decline of the Political Factors Index in 2004 was connected with the presidential elections and the fostering of the presidential system. The acting president received 71,31% of votes. This election also had a female candidate: Irina Khakamada ran in the presidential election. The level of the Political Stability of the Political Factors Index, in comparison with the previous years scored an unprecedented decline (7,69) in 2004 and it had the lowest value in the studied time span. The decline was due to the anti-terrorist activities in Chechnya and ethno-political tension in the North Caucasus, as well as because of terrorist activities in Moscow and in other cities of the RF. Various obstacles raised in the area of Political Rights and Civil Liberties protection (5,5), and were accompanied with civil mass disobedience. In the studied time span the value of 2008 (0,260) is the lowest in the Political Factors Index. It was influenced by the presidential election processes that fueled additional tension on the relations between the political elite and opposition forces. The terrorist acts in Chechnya and other inhabited places of the North Caucasus had a negative impact on the stability of the political system.

The Political Factors Index significantly rose during the period of 1995-2012 (in 1996, 2001-2002 and in 2009-2010). The increase of 1996 in comparison to the previous year is almost negligible, however in the studied time span the year of 1996 has the highest value (0,345) and this fact is connected with the establishment of the Rule of Law (23,44), the procedures of protection of Political Rights and Civil Liberties (3,5). This was influenced by the membership of Russia in the Council of Europe on February 28, 1996 as well as by the termination of the Chechen first war on August

31, 1996 and signing the peace agreement. The presidential elections that were the only one up to date held with two rounds played an essential role in democratization of the political system. Versus the previous years, the 2001-2002 Political Factors Index was positively influenced by the increase of the value of the Rule of Law (23,92). The value of the Political Stability (24.04) was the highest in 2002. And in comparison to the previous years the Corruption Perceptions Index improved (2,7). Versus the previous years the high values of the Rule of Law (25,12 and 26,07), Freedom of the Press (81) had a positive impact on the rise of the Political Factors Index in the time span of 2009-2010 (see Figure 1, Table 1).

5.2 Economic Factors Index

Arevik Anapiosyan

After the collapse of the USSR the economy of the Russian Federation was quite unstable. The policy of the Russian Central Bank of spreading ruble brought to an incontrollable inflation, which reached to about 198% in 1995 (Popovich et al. 2011). Afterwards the economy gradually stabilized, the inflation was contained (except from 1999) and the state budget became balanced. The study of the dynamic of the Economic Factors Index shows that during 1995-2014 the economy of the RF mainly had trends of development, however at least three breakdowns were recorded during the economic development.

After its independence the Russian Federation started to undertake a series of reforms in the field of economy that contributed to the fundamental reconstruction of production, to the change of the mechanisms of production and doing investments, to the liberalization of the economy, and to the privatization of the significant part of the state property that created completely new possibilities for the development of business sector (Copenhagen Institute for Futures Studies 2005). Despite the actions aimed at the liberalization and privatization of the economy, the big enterprises continue to belong to the state and the state authorities has a big influence on the activities of these companies.

All in all, after the fall of the USSR till 1998 the economic reforms implemented by the RF were aimed at insuring the transition towards market economy. However these reforms were more like „shock therapy" for the economy and in 1997 the Asian financial crisis contributed to the devaluation of the ruble and it was followed by the default of the state debt (1998) and right in 1999 there was a high inflation (85,7%) (Nuffield Poutry Study Group 2006). Despite the decline of these economic indicators, its influence on the Economic Factors Index and on the Index of Democracy Level is

not visible that was due to the increase of the volume of the domestic landing of the state. In 1998 the government added the volume of landing of the economy for two times in order to manage the economic deep crisis (see Figure 1, Table 1).

After the crisis in 1999 a new stage of reforms started in the RF. The economic policy was precisely aimed at improving the indicators of the economic growth. Thanks to this policy the GDP annually grew for 7% in average, until 2009 the income-expense ration had a surplus, as well as the volume of the foreign investments increased (RIANOVOSTI: Opinion and Analysis 2008).

With the improvement of the macro-economic indicators, the level of poverty in the cities of the RF decreased significantly but the social-economic gap and poverty between the urban and rural communities deepened. The global financial crisis was a new challenge for the Russian economic stability connected with the oil prices. According to the assessments by economists, Russia effectively responded to the global crisis in autumn of 2008. The federal government managed to prevent the collapse of the bank system and to defend the interests of the private companies. However some specialists note that the authorities made a number of mistakes, among of them were the attempts of prevention of the ruble devaluation (Guriev and Alen 2010), increase of the taxes on import and especially on the import of cars (Tragakes and Lessof 2003). Perhaps the biggest fall of the Economic Factors Index was exactly in 2009 after which one can notice a smooth post-crisis recovery of the economy (see Figure 1, Table 1): It is noteworthy that after long negotiations, in 2011, the Russian Federation became a member of the World Trade Organization (WTO).

5.3 Social Factors Index

Arevik Anapiosyan

The Constitution of the RF notes that Russia is a social state whose policy is aimed at creating conditions for a worthy life and the unhindered development of man. The fundamentals of the social state ideology are the principle of the social solidarity. Poverty, disease, solitude, senility and other social problems impose the state to take urgent measures (Okhotski, Bogucharskaya 2012, 30-44).

Since its independence, the goal of the economic reforms by Russia was mainly to establish a social state. However, in reality the transition towards a market economy is followed by a crisis in the social field. Hence, in the beginning of 1990s the authorities of the RF implemented some projects in order to change "the equal distribution" model of the social policy of the USSR (Timofeeva 2012).

The Social Factors Index diagram indicates that during the period of 1995-2012 the social system of the Russian Federation developed and this is noted by the leading professionals in the field.

The Figure 1 shows that in 1995-1997 the Social Factors Index sharply increased. This was due to the reforms aimed at formation of the economy thanks to which in 1996 the salaries grew almost for 7,7 times in comparison to the year of 1995 (Federal Service of State Statistics 2014). Despite the growth of the average number of the salary the Federal subjects develop unequally which deepens the social polarization (Titterton 2006). The Figure 1 indicates that after 1997 till 1999 the Social Factors Index sharply declined which was mainly because of the gross salary reduction. This was due to the devaluation of the ruble in 1997, the default of the budget in 1997, inflation of about 85,7% and the level of unemployment (10,6%) (Federal Service of State Statistics 2014).

Starting from 1999 the social situation was gradually restored and a balanced growth was recorded that got to its peak in 2008. However, the global financial crisis had its influence also on the social welfare of the state and in 2009 the Social Factors Index fell down once again because of the reduction of the gross salary in comparison with 2008 and because of the growth of unemployment when it had the highest rate after 2000. Starting from 2009 to 2012 the Social Factors Index grew in a symmetrical way.

5.4 Educational Factors Index

Arevik Anapiosyan

Education system with qualified education is a precondition for stable development of a state. It is embedded in the strategic program of the reforms in the educational area of the Russian Federation (National Strategy on Education for Sustainable Development of the RF, 2002). The progress in the education sector of the RF is perceived in the context of the general development of the state and the education system has three levels of government: federal, regional and urban.

In 2001 the federal government of the RF declared the development of education as one of the priorities of the country and after that the expenses on the education sector increased sharply (Filatova et al. 2012). We can see from the Figure 1 that the Educational Factors Index diagram increased in 2001 which is mainly connected with enlarging of the budget allocated for the educational system. In 2001-2002 the educational budget was increased for almost two times, however in relation to the

GDP, in terms of percentage ratio the increase of the budget was low (3,1% in 2001, and 3,8% in 2002).

In 2004 the Russian Federation joined the Bologna Process and large-scale reforms started in the higher education system. Today the RF has Master's and Bachelor's Degrees harmonized with the European higher education system.

In 1995-2005 the demand for education widely grew. The increase of students' number and establishment of various new private educational institutions contributed to the progress in the educational sector. However, in 2006 this tendency started to change gradually. In the beginning, it was noticeable in the private and already in 2007 in the state higher education institutions. The decline was due to two main factors: due to demographic decline and financial crisis. The situation is more complicated in the federal subjects.

In 2010 the indicator of expenditure in the area of education in relation with the GDP is the highest but it is much lower than the average indicator of the OECD states (6,3%). The country spends 2,4% of its GDP on the pre-school and higher education and the budget allocated for the elementary and secondary education (2,1%) in comparison to the 3,9% of the GDP of the OECD member states is very small (OECD 2013). The increase of financing of the higher education is generally positive, however, it cannot be done at the expense of the secondary education.

5.5 Health Factors Index

Arevik Anapiosyan

The health system of the Russian Federation is largely based on therapeutic and developing preventive healing (Rozenfeld 1996). This is mainly the result of centralization of the healthcare and system regulated by the state coming from the Soviet legacy. An importance was given to the preventive healing in the values system of the society and in the individual of the RF only during the last 2-3 years (2011-2014). The whole health system was reformed with the decentralization of the state government. However, in 1991-1992 the wide decentralization of health system and transfer of operations were done on the lower level of the federal subjects (Tragakes and Lessof 2003, 63).

Based on the study of the Health Factors Index we can make a conclusion that in general the situation in 2012 was more favorable than in 1995. But, it is worth to note that the relative development of the system had ups and downs. For example in 1997

in order to push forward the investments and development of the preventive healing, the federal government enlarged the budget for the health sector for 27% in comparison with the previous year. The sharp increase of the Health Factors Index diagram is connected with the enlargement of the budget.

In 2005 the partial centralization of the health care sector was connected with the recentralization of the economy. For instance, in the context of the management reforms, in 2004 the federal fund of the obligatory health insurance was transferred under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Health. The main aim of this step was the effective management of the funds and resources. In 2005 the budget for health care was increased but the significant part was spent on the implementation of the project called "Provision of additional medicine" for the ambulant patients. But, the operating system was not able to control the number of prescriptions that brought to the early expiration of the allocated budget in 2006. The "Provision of additional medicine" project was reformed in 2008 thanks to which the expenditure in the health care system was reduced (Popovich et al. 2011).

According to the reports of the World Health Organization (WHO) the expenses on the health sector in the RF are low in relation to the GDP. Thomson notes (Thomson 2002) that the expenditure on the health sector in relation to the GDP should count to at least 7% in countries with high income. Meanwhile in Russia such indicator was only scored in 1997 and in 1998 the financing of the health system was reduced with a small stabilization in 2002 and 2009 (see Appendix 1, Russia).

It is noteworthy that a series of reforms in the health sector had a positive impact. But, the health situation of the population in the rural area is worse in comparison with the situation in the cities. In 2009 the death toll of newborns in rural area was 9,7% out of 1000 newborns, meanwhile in the cities it was 7,5%. The death cases of the age group of working population in rural areas are for 25% more than in urban areas.

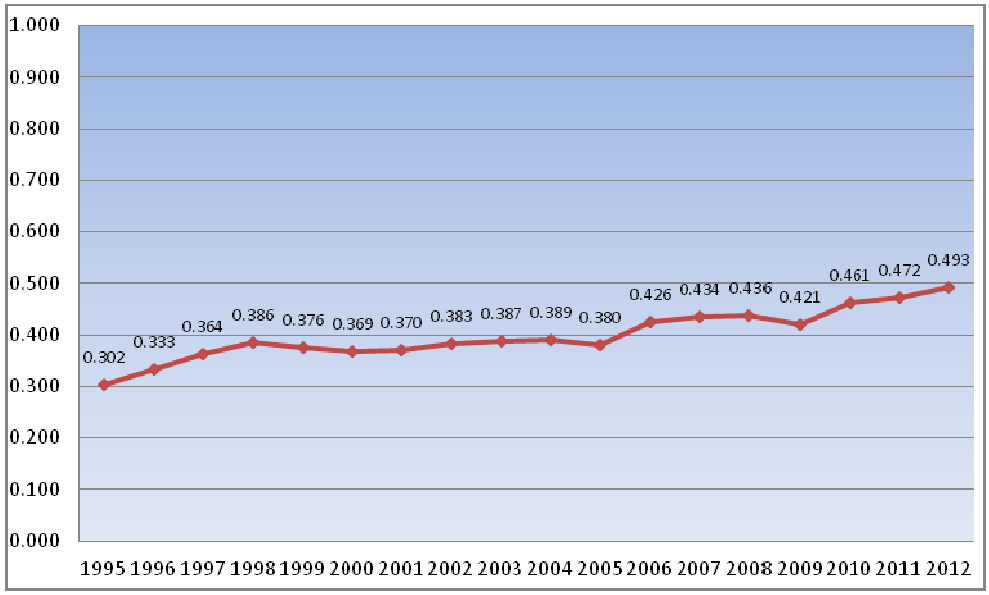
The comprehensive study of the length of life plays an important role in the model of the IDL based on which we can conclude that despite the large scale reforms, the probability of mortality at the age span between 15-60 is 42% in Russia (14,1% in the U.S., 33,5% in Kyrgyzstan) (World Bank 2011a).

5.6 Development trends of the Index of Democracy Level

Ashot Aleksanyan

Figure 3

The Index of Democracy Level in Russia in the time span between 1995-2012*



The Figure 3 is the Index of Democracy Level (IDL) in the time span of 1995-2012, that shows three indicators of both declines (1999-2000, 2005, 2009) and growths (1998, 2006-2008, 2012). The first decline of the IDL is visible in the time period of 1999-2000, that was negatively influenced by the Political Factors and Health Factors Indices, as well as by the sharp decrease of the Social Factors Index in 1999. The SFI had the lowest indicators in 1999 (0,501). The decline of the IDL was mainly because of the conflict in Chechnya and ethnic-political clashes, resignation of the president of the RF and activation of civil disobediences.

The decrease of the IDL curve in 2005 was because of pre-election tension of the presidential elections in 2004 as well as because of terrorist acts in February-September of 2004 and with abrupt decline of the Economic Factors Index indicators.

In 2009 the decline of the IDL curve was mainly connected with the decrease of the Economic (0,512) and Social (0,715) Factors indicators because of the financial and economic crisis.

* The source is based on the calculations accumulated by the researcher.

The Figure 3 shows that from 1995 till 1998 the IDL had growing trends that was due to the continuing increase of the EFI till 1998 as well as due to the stabilization of the EdFI and till 1997 improvement of the SFI and HFI indicators despite the fact that the PFI decreased at that time.

The second significant growth of the IDL was in 2006-2008 that was due to the high indicators of the EFI, SFI and EdFI during that period. In 2012 the highest growth of the IDL was scored thanks to the increase of the indicators of the EFI, SFI and HFI in 2010-2012 that lowered the negative impact of the declines of the PFI.

By concluding, it is obvious that in general the IDL curve had a positive trend for growth. Meanwhile in 1995 it had a value of 0,302, in 2012 it was 0,493: the positive trend for growth exists also in the economic, social, educational dimensions. In reference to the Health Factors, despite the fluctuations and declines during the period of 1997-2009, it started to grow during the subsequent years and in 2012 its value was 0,360. In fact, in the studied time frame only the PFI declined in the Russian Federation.

5.7 Regression analysis of the Index of Democracy Level

Arusyak Aleksanyan, Arevik Anapiosyan

Through the Regression Analysis of the Index of Democracy Level in Russia we have found out the most significant variables of Indices of Political, Economic, Social, Health and Educational Factors affecting the democracy.

According to the analysis of the data, among the political indicators included in the model, a significant correlation was maintained among the IDL_i [19]and the variables of the Political Rights and Civil Liberties as well as Freedom of the Press.

$$\mathbf{Y' = 0{,}054x_1 + 0{,}131\ (Adj.\ R^2 = 0{,}608),}$$

where Y' is the IDL_i (IDL cleaned from the variable of Political Rights and Civil Liberties) and x_1 is the Political Rights and Civil Liberties.

$$\mathbf{Y' = 0{,}005x_2 + 0{,}089\ (Adj.\ R^2 = 0{,}781),}$$

where Y' is the IDL_i (IDL cleaned from the variable of Freedom of the Press), and x_2 is Freedom of the Press.

[19] IDLi is the Index of Democracy Level cleaned from the corresponding variable during every paired regression analysis.

Among the Economic Factors included in the model, a significant correlation was maintained between the IDL and GNI.

$$\mathbf{Y' = 0{,}005x_3 + 0{,}342\ (Adj.\ R^2=0{,}649),}$$

where Y' is the IDL_i (IDL cleaned from the GNI per capita) and x_3 is the GNI per capita ($1000).

A notable correlation is seen in the Social Factors Index among the IDL_i and real wage as well as unemployment.

$$\mathbf{Y' = 0{,}012x_4 + 0{,}372\ (Adj.\ R^2 = 0{,}599),}$$

where Y' is the IDL_i (IDL cleaned from the real wage) and x_4 is the real wage (100).

$$\mathbf{Y' = -0{,}014x_5 + 0{,}506\ (Adj.\ R^2 = 0{,}351),}$$

where Y' is the IDL_i (IDL cleaned from the unemployment rate), and x_5 is the unemployment rate.

The correlation is strong also among the IDL_i, and variables of the Human Development Index (HDI) Education Index and the educational spending.

$$\mathbf{Y' = 1{,}302x_6 - 0{,}585\ (Adj.\ R^2 = 0,\ 723),}$$

where Y' is the IDL_i (IDL cleaned from the variable of HDI Education Index), and x_6 is the HDI Education Index.

$$\mathbf{Y' = 0{,}056x_7 + 0{,}222\ (Adj.\ R^2 = 0{,}773),}$$

where Y' is the IDL_i (IDL cleaned from the variable of the government spending on education) and x_7 is the government spending on education (% of GDP):

According to the regression analysis, the IDL of Russia is notably affected by variables of Freedom of the Press, Political Rights and Civil Liberties, therefore the positive change of the latter by one point will contribute to the growth of the IDL_i by 0,054 points, conditioning the 61% of the variations of the dependent variable. The positive change of the IDL by 0,005 point will bring to the growth of Freedom of the Press by 1 point which makes 78% of variations of the IDL.

Among the Economic Factors, the growth of the GNI per capita by 1000 dollars will contribute to the growth of the IDL_i by 0,005 point. The real wage and the unemployment are the Social Factors that according to the study have significant impact on the level of democracy. The growth of the real wage by 100 dollars and the

reduction of the unemployment by 1% will bring to the growth of the IDL_i by 0,012 and 0,014 points respectively.

The growth of the Human Development Index Education Index by 0,1 point and the change in the government spending on education by 1% will bring to a change of the IDL_i by 0,13 and 0,056 points respectively. The two variables have a quite high coefficient of determination and it forms the 72-77% of variation of the IDL.

In order to improve the level of democracy in the Russian Federation, it will be important to pay attention to the factors that have the strongest impact on the formation of democratic institutes.

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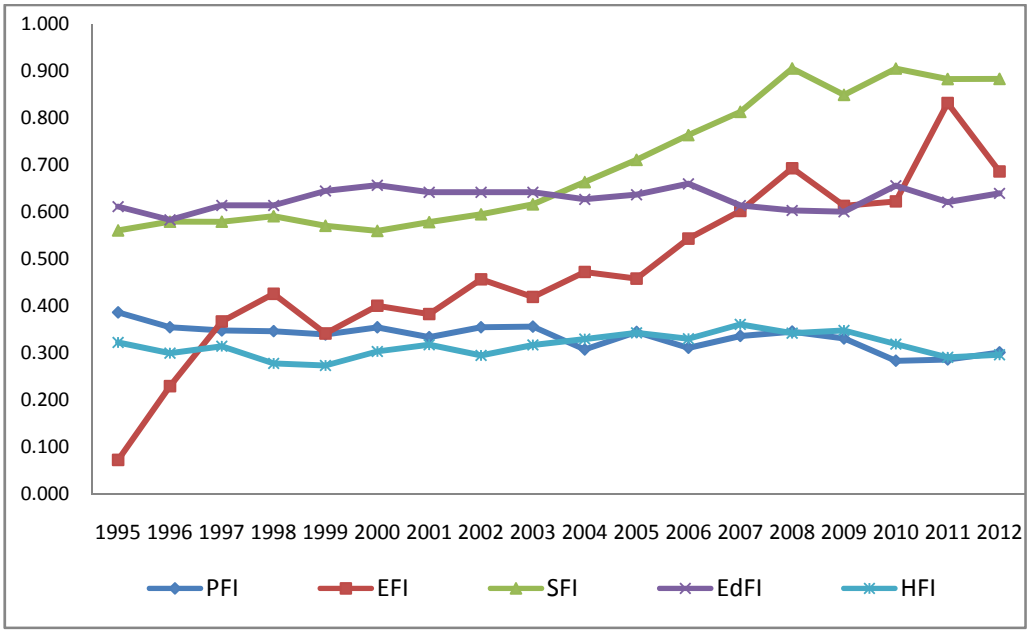
Abbreviations

RSFSR	Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic
LDPR	Liberal Democratic Party of Russia
CPRF	Communist Party of the Russian Federation
FITUR	Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia

CHAPTER 6.
THE INDEX OF DEMOCRACY LEVEL OF BELARUS

Figure 1
Indices of Political, Economic, Social, Health and Educational Factors affecting the Index of Democracy Level of Belarus in the time span between 1995-2012*



* The source is based on the calculations accumulated by the researcher.

Table 1

Indices of Political, Economic, Social, Educational, Health Factors of Belarus in the time span between 1995 and 2012*

Years	PFI	EFI	SFI	EdFI	HFI	IDL
1995	0,387	0,073	0,561	0,612	0,323	0,342
1996	0,355	0,230	0,580	0,584	0,300	0,366
1997	0,349	0,368	0,580	0,614	0,315	0,404
1998	0,347	0,426	0,591	0,614	0,278	0,416
1999	0,340	0,342	0,571	0,645	0,274	0,391
2000	0,355	0,401	0,560	0,657	0,304	0,416
2001	0,334	0,383	0,579	0,642	0,318	0,405
2002	0,355	0,457	0,595	0,642	0,295	0,432
2003	0,357	0,420	0,617	0,642	0,318	0,428
2004	0,308	0,473	0,664	0,627	0,330	0,426
2005	0,345	0,459	0,711	0,637	0,343	0,446
2006	0,312	0,544	0,764	0,660	0,331	0,461
2007	0,337	0,603	0,813	0,614	0,362	0,490
2008	0,346	0,693	0,906	0,604	0,343	0,524
2009	0,331	0,613	0,849	0,601	0,349	0,492
2010	0,284	0,623	0,905	0,656	0,319	0,484
2011	0,287	0,832	0,883	0,621	0,291	0,530
2012	0,302	0,686	0,883	0,640	0,297	0,501

6.1 Political Factors Index

Ashot Aleksanyan

The Political Factors Index (PFI) of Belarus has fallen with some fluctuations. And the results of 1995 not only exceed the indices of previous years but are also the highest indicators in the studied time span (see Figure 1, Table 1). This means that in this sphere a significant decline is visible in Belarus. More particularly declines in the democracy level of the country and in political stability are seen during the

* The source is based on the calculations accumulated by the researcher.

presidential elections which is characteristic to the countries that are in transition and have presidential system of government. The Declaration of State Sovereignty of the Republic of Belarus was adopted by the Supreme Soviet[1] on July 27, 1990. The Law "On the Main Principles of Democracy in the Republic of Belarus" [2] on February 27, 1991, the Law on "Insuring political and economic autonomy of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic" on August 25, 1991, and the Constitution on March 15, 1994[3] were adopted.

The Constitution of Belarus[4] says the Republic of Belarus is a unitary, democratic, social state based on the rule of law (Article 1), where democracy shall be exercised on the basis of diversity of political institutions, ideologies and views (Article 4)[5].

According to the Constitution, the President of the Republic of Belarus shall be the Head of State, the guarantor of the Constitution of the Republic of Belarus, the rights and liberties of man and citizen (Article 79). The President shall enjoy immunity. The President shall be elected directly by the people of the Republic of Belarus for a term of office of five years by universal, free, equal, direct and secret ballot (Constitution, Article 81).

The President of Belarus shall call national referenda, call regular and extraordinary elections to the House of Representatives, the Council of the Republic and local representative bodies. The president shall dissolve the chambers of the Parliament to the order and instances determined by the Constitution as well as appoint and dismiss the head and the six members of the Central Commission of the Republic of Belarus on Elections and National Referenda. The President shall appoint the Prime minister of the Republic of Belarus with the consent of the House of Representatives,

[1] Declaration of State Sovereignty of the Republic of Belarus (adopted on 27.07.1990), //http://www.gorby.ru/userfiles/belorusia.pdf.
[2] Law of 27 February 1991 №651-XII "On the main Principles of Democracy in the Republic of Belarus", // http://house.gov.by/ index.php/,87,,,,0,,,0.html; http://pravo.levonevsky.org/bazaby /zakon/zakb1478.htm.
[3] Constitution of the Republic of Belarus of 1994 (with changes and additions adopted at the republican referenda of November 24, 1996 and of October 17, 2004), // http://www.pravo.by/main.aspx?guid =6351.
[4] The 1994 Constitution with changes and additions adopted at the republican referenda of November 24, 1996 and of October 17, 2004 is in force in Belarus. The Constitution was adopted on March 15, 1994 at the 13th session of the 12th convocation of the Supreme Council. It is the first Constitution in the whole history of independent Republic of Belarus and it is the 5th Constitution after the October Revolution of 1917. (http://president.gov.by/ru/constitution_ru/).
[5] Constitution of the Republic of Belarus of 1994 (with changes and additions adopted at the republican referenda of November 24, 1996 and of October 17, 2004) // http://www.pravo.by/ main.aspx?guid=6351.

determine the structure of the Government of the Republic of Belarus, appoint and dismiss the Deputy Prime Ministers, ministers and other members of the Government. With the consent of the Council of the Republic the President shall appoint and dismiss the Chairperson and judges of the Constitutional, Supreme and Economic Courts. The President shall also appoint the 6 members and other judges of the Constitutional Court.

The President shall deliver messages to the people of the Republic of Belarus on the state of the nation and on the guidelines of the domestic and foreign policy and annual messages to the Chambers of the Parliament. The President shall sign bills and have the right to return it to the House of Representatives and also shall abolish acts of the Government.

The President of Belarus shall be the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Belarus and shall declare a martial law or a state of emergency in the territory of the Republic of Belarus by submitting the decision to the Council of the Republic for approval within three days.

The President shall suspend his membership of political parties and other public associations that pursue political goals during the whole term in office (Constitution, Article 86).

Whether the office of President falls vacant his power shall be transferred to the Prime Minister (Article 89).

The Executive power shall be exercised by the Government (Dubovitskiy 2009, 237-253, Dubovitskiy 2010, 172-181, Dubovitskiy 2011, 169–176), and shall be accountable to the President of the Republic of Belarus and responsible to the Parliament of the Republic of Belarus (Article 106).

Four presidential elections took place in Belarus in 1994, 2001, 2006 and in 2010 (See Table 2)[6]: The next presidential election will be held in 2015. Since its independence, Alexander Lukashenko has won all the presidential elections.

[6] Source of Data: Official website of the CCENR http://www.rec.gov.by/Archive-Elections

Table 2

The votes of the RB presidential candidates, expressed in percentage [7]

Candidates	Presidential elections of Belarus				
	1994		2001	2006	2010
	I rd	II rd	I rd	I rd	I rd
Alexander Lukashenko	*44,82*	***80,34***	***75,65***	***83***	***79,65***
Vyacheslav Kebich	17,33	14,17	-	-	-
Zenon Poznyak	12,82	-	-	-	-
Stanislav Shushkevich	9,91	-	-	-	-
Aleksander Dubko	5,98	-	-	-	-
Vasily Novikov	4,29	-	-	-	-
Vladimir Goncharik	-	-	15,65	-	-
Syarhey Haydukevich	-	-	2,48	3,5	-
Alexander Milinkevich	-	-	-	6,1	-
Alyaksandr Kazulin	-	-	-	2,2	-
Andrei Sannikov	-	-	-	-	2,43
Jaroslav Romanchuk	-	-	-	-	1,98
Grigory Kostusyev	-	-	-	-	1,97
Vladimir Neklyaev	-	-	-	-	1,78
Vitali Rimashevski	-	-	-	-	1,09
Viktor Tereshchenko	-	-	-	-	1,19
Nikolay Statkevich	-	-	-	-	1,05
Ales Michalevic	-	-	-	-	1,02
Dzmitry Us	-	-	-	-	0,39

The very first elections for the office of president in Belarus formed new discourse of political competition among the political elite, parties and civil society. 6 out of 21 registered parties participated in the presidential elections (Feduta and others, 2003, 15). Mainly the competition was between the deputy of the Supreme Council Alexander Lukashenko[8] and the Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich[9]. The presidential

[7] Source of Data: official website of the CCENR. "Results of the Presidential Elections of the Republic of Belarus (I round – 23rd June, 1994; II round – 10th July 1994)", // http://www.rec.gov.by/sites/ default/files/pdf/Archive-Elections-PRB1994-Itogi.pdf; "Results of the Presidential Elections of the Republic of Belarus, 9th September, 2001", // http://www.rec.gov.by/sites/ default/files/pdf/Archive-Elections-PRB2001-Results.pdf; "Results of the Presidential Elections of the Republic of Belarus, 19th March, 2006", // http://www.rec.gov.by/sites/default/files/pdf/Archive-Elections-PRB2006-Sved1.pdf; "Results of the Presidential Elections of the Republic of Belarus, 19th December, 2010", // http://www.rec.gov.by/sites/default/ files/pdf/Elections-PRB-sved21.pdf.

[8] Open letter of A. Lukashenko directed to the regional authorities that criticized the his inefficient work and lack of responsibility, was published on September 22, 1990 in the "Udarny Front" newspaper of the Shklovski region. On March 25, 1991 the "National Newspaper" published the "Authoritarianism: Belarusian version" Article by A. Lukashenko that criticized the state government system (Karbalevich 1998, 226-258). In 1991 A. Lukashenko, the parliament member at that time, quitted the Communist Party and initiated "Communists of Belarus for democracy" fraction criticizing the policy of the Communist Party of Belarus and defending the independence of Belarus. In 1993 A. Lukashenko became the head of the temporary Commission on the Struggle against Corruption of the Supreme Council

elections were held with two rounds. Alexander Lukashenko won the runoff election with more than 80% of votes. Stanislav Shushkevich, the Chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Belarus also participated in the presidential election and got 10% of the votes. After the first presidential elections, contradiction between the executive and the legislative powers arose (Antanovich 2010, 176-197, Timanovski 2012, 11-31, Shidlovskay, 2012, 33-43, Ghubbar 2013, Harzl 2013). The referendum of May 14, 1995 that gave the right to the President to dismiss the Supreme Council in case the latter violates the Constitution, was one of the steps to strengthen the constitutional and legal status of the president[10].

The second presidential elections were supposed to be held in 1999 but on November 24, 1996, the national referendum (Божанов 2010, 126-133, Василевич 2009, 9-21, Rotman and Danilov 2002, 100-111, Szumanska 2013)[11] approved the extension of the term of the president till 2001. The Law on "Elections of the President of the Republic of Belarus"[12] of 1994 says that the same person can not hold the President's office for more than two terms, however with the adoption of the electoral Code[13] in 2000 this law lost its force. The abovementioned provision was preserved in the Law on "The President of Belarus"[14] adopted in 1995. This restriction was removed through the

(Arguments and facts, 2013). Taking into consideration that the sessions of the Supreme Council during those years were mainstreamed on TV, the active participation of A. Lukashenko as a parliament member, made him a public political figure, with high political rating.

[9] V. Kebich and S. Shushkevich signed the Belovezhski agreement on behalf of Belarus that put an end to the USSR. However V. Kebich in comparison with S. Shushkevich thought that the USSR could be preserved in a new format if M. Gorbachov desired to adopt a new Constitution and if he didn't refuse from the position of the head of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Rovdo 2009, 93).

[10] Protocol On the Central Commission of the Republic of Belarus on Holding Elections and Conducting Republican Referenda "On the results of the Republican referendum held on May 14, 1995 according to the decree №3728-XII of the Supreme Council of Belarus of April 13, 1995 http://www.rec.gov.by/sites/default/files/pdf/Archive-Referenda-1995-Post.pdf; Communication on results of voting of the Republican Referendum of May 14, 1995 // http://www.rec.gov.by/ sites/default/files/pdf/Archive-Referenda-1995-Soob.pdf; Questions of the Republican Referendum in the Republic of Belarus of May 14, 1995 // http://www.rec.gov.by/sites/default/files/pdf/Archive-Referenda-1995-Questions.pdf.

[11] The OSCE ODIHR noted that in 1996 after the questionable referendum the changes in the Constitution brought to the enlargement of the rights of the President, to the reconstruction of the Supreme Council to two chamber Parliament and reduction of its rights. This brought to the restriction of fundamental liberties, termination of the special invitee status at the Council of Europe and non recognition of the Parliament of Belarus by the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly. The Parliamentary elections of 2000 did not manage to improve the situation and overcome the negative trends. (http://www.osce.org/ru/odihr/ elections/belarus/14459? download=true).

[12] Law of the Republic of Belarus of Supreme Council of March 29, 1994, № 2909-XII "On the Presidential Elections of the Republic of Belarus" // http://pravo.levonevsky.org/bazaby/zakon/ zakb1221.htm.

[13] Electoral Codex of the Republic of Belarus of February 11, 2000, № 370-З, // http://www.rec.gov.by/sites/ default/files/pdf/kodeks.pdf.

[14] Law of the Republic of Belarus of February 21, 1995, № 3602-XII "On The President of the Republic of Belarus", // http://pravo.levonevsky.org/bazaby/zakon/zakb1168.htm.

changes and additions to the Constitution of 1996 and 2004, national referenda[15], as well as through changes and additions to the Law on "The President of Belarus" during 1996-2006[16].

The 1995-2000 processes of the interstate integration between the Russian Federation and Belarus, maintenance of the Union State[17] played a big role in the internal political processes of Belarus (Bazanov, Krishtapovich 2011, 5-10, Makarov 2011, 57-63, Makarov 2014, Giemza 2013, Marples 1999, Embassy of Belarus in Russian 2000).

The main struggle in the Presidential elections of September 9, 2001 went between the incumbent president Aleksander Lukashenko and the Chairperson of the Federation of Trade Unions of Belarus (FTUB) Vladimir Goncharik. Despite the fact that the incumbent president won the elections with 75,65%, the international observers did not recognize the election results and assessed it as non-democratic[18]. More particularly, the report of the OSCE ODIHR along with the positive trends noted about the intolerance of the regime towards political opposition, the decrees of the president (Dubovitskiy 2010, 72-181, Lagoon 2010, 85-89, Lagoon 2005, 66-79, Bennett 2011, Hellmich 2013, Marples 2007, 103-122, Weis 2013, Wilson 2012), instability of the legislation and the electoral system, dependency of electoral administration on

[15] Protocol Of the Central Commission of the Republic of Belarus on Holding Elections and Conducting Republican Referenda "On the results of the Republican referendum held on November 24, 1996 in accordance to the decree of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Belarus of September 6, 1996, №578-XIII", // http://www.rec.gov.by/sites/default/ files/pdf/Archive-Referenda-1996-Protokol. docx.pdf; Communication of the Central Commission of the Republic of Belarus on Holding Elections and Conducting Republican Referenda "On the results of voting of the Republican Referendum of November 24, 1996" // http://www.rec.gov.by/sites/ default/files/pdf/Archive-Referenda-1996-Soob.pdf; Decree on Central Commission of the Republic of Belarus on Holding Elections and Conducting Republican Referendum of October 21, 2004, №268 " on the results of the Republican Referendum of October 17, 2004", // http://www.rec.gov.by/sites/default/files/pdf/ Archive-Referenda-2004-Post268.pdf.

[16] Law of the Republic of Belarus of February 21, 1995, №3602-XII "Concerning the President of the Republic of Belarus" (adopted with changes and addenda), // http://president.gov.by/ru/ official_documents_ru/view/zakon-respubliki-belarus-ot-21-fevralja-1995-g-3602-xii-1396/

[17] On April 2, 1996 the agreement on Establishing Union between the RF and Belarus, on April 29, 1996 agreement on Creation of Parliamentary Assembly of the Union of the RF and Belarus, on April 2, 1997 agreement on the Union between the RF and Belarus, in December, 1998 the declaration on the Future Unification of the RF and Belarus, as well as the agreement on Equal Rights of Citizens and agreement on the Creation of Equal Conditions for the entrepreneurial subjects of the Member were signed. On December 8, 1999 the treaty on the Creation of the Union State was signed that came into force on January 26, 2000 (See the official website of the Embassy of the Republic of Belarus in the RF http://www.embassybel.ru/belarus-russia-relations/commonwealth-history/).

[18] Source of the data: final reports of the OSCE: "Presidential Elections of the Republic of Belarus of September 9, 2001". Warsaw: OSCE ODIHR Limited Election Observation Mission. Final Report, October 4, 2001 (corrected version), // http://www.osce.org/ru/odihr/elections/belarus/ 14459?download=true

executive power, partiality of the state mass media and pressure towards the opposition media[19].

The presidential election of 2001 brought various questions among politicians and experts. Some of them describe the political regime of Belarus as a hybrid of dictatorship and democracy (elective dictatorship, demagogic and superficial democracy) (Rovdo 2009, 66, Shkel 2011, 51-57, Niadbay et al. 2011, Verpoest 2007, 145-170, Wilson 2012). The Political Factors Index curve declined in 2001 (see Figure 1, Table 1).

The main struggle in the third presidential elections (2006, March 19) was between the incumbent president and opposition candidate Alexander Milinkevich. The two candidates for the president office (A. Voytovich, V. Frolov) refused to participate in the election demanding to restore legality and constitutionality[20]. The incumbent president won the election gaining 83% of votes[21]. The political opposition did not recognize the results of the presidential election and demanded to denounce the results and to organize new election (Korosteleva 2012, 212-234). The proponents of the candidate for president office A. Milinkevich, organized protests and sit-in strikes, that were suppressed by the police and some activists were arrested (RIA Novosti 2010, Coflictologue 2006). The presidential election was criticized by the international observers noting that the Electoral Code of Belarus restricts civil and political rights and does not include enough guarantees for political pluralism and transparency of elections[22]. The report written by the observers records restrictions also towards the activities of civil society organizations[23], that had negative influence on the civil participation (Borzhelli 2013, Velmakin 2008, 77-85, Golubev, Khadika 2003, Korzh и др. 2013, Usov 2008, 92-117, Harzl 2013, Niadbay et al. 2011). Because of these events the curve of the Political Factors Index decreased in 2004 and in 2006 (see Figure 1, Table 1).

[19] Source of the data: OSCE Final Reports: http://www.osce.org/ru/odihr/elections/belarus/14459?download=true

[20] Alexander Voytovich was the former chairman of the Council of the Republic of the National Assembly (2000-2003), former president of the National Academy of Sciences (1997-2001), and Valery Frolov was the former parliament member of the National Assembly House of Representatives of Belarus, the member of the Social-Democrats Party of Belarus (Gromada) (TUT.BY 2005).

[21] Source of Data: Official website of the CCENR, "Data on the result of the Presidential Elections of March 19, 2006", // http://www.rec.gov.by/sites/default/files/pdf/Archive-Elections-PRB2006-Sved1.pdf:

[22] Source of the data: OSCE Final Reports: "Presidential Elections of the Republic of Belarus of March 19, 2006". Report of the OSCE ODIHR Election Observation Mission, Warsaw, June 7, 2006. // http://www.osce.org/ru/ odihr/elections/belarus/19395? download=true

[23] In 2003 51, in 2004 38 and in 2005 68 CSOs were canceled from the state registration. The state procedure of registering a CSO became more difficult. According to the Ministry of Justice of Belarus, only 61 applications of CSOs out of 1284 were satisfied in 2005 (See: http://www.osce.org/ru /odihr/elections/belarus/19395?download=true).

The presidential elections of December 19, 2010 also ended with the victory of the incumbent president (79,65%)[24]. Out of 9 candidates of the elections, only the coordinator of the "European Belarus" civil movement Andrey Sannikov managed to get 2,43% of votes (Borzova 2010a, 104-117, Khamutovskaya 2012, 61-66). The political opposition did not recognize the election results and organized mass protests and civil disobediences that were accompanied by arrests of the political candidates, activists and violence (Conflictologue 2010, RIA Novosti 2010b, 2010c, 2010d, 2011a, 2011b, Utro.ru 2010). Despite the fact that thanks to the EU's Eastern Partnership programme, the restrictions towards the free activities of the civil society organizations got relatively milder in Belarus, intolerance and destructiveness continued in the political life (Antanovich 2013, 104-111, Vick 2011, 5-13, Egorov 2011, 40-59, Bennett 2011). The international observation mission once again did not recognize the presidential election results, noting that the basis of legislation do not match with the OSCE criteria: the activities of the mass media[25] were under control, transparency in final counting of votes was not insured and there was big number of electoral violations[26].

Belarus is a republic where the president has wide range of powers, however, taking into consideration the democratic and non-democratic processes in Belarus we also need to study the parliament and the parliamentary elections. According to the Constitution of Belarus, the Parliament, i.e. the National Assembly is a representative and legislative body with a term of 4 years (Article 93). With the decision of the national referendum of 1996 the parliament consists of two chambers - the Council of the Republic and the House of Representatives (Article 90).

The Council of the Republic consists of 64[27] members, out of which 56 are elected from regions and 8 shall be appointed by the President (Article 90). The deputies of the House of Representatives may simultaneously be a member of the Government (Article 92).

[24] Source of Data: Official website of the CCENR, "Data on the results of the Presidential Elections of December 19, 2010", // http://www.rec.gov.by/sites/ default/files/pdf/Elections-PRB-sved21.pdf.
[25] Despite the fact that there are 77 TV channels, 9 news agencies and more than 1300 printed media in Belarus, there are no alternative information sources (See: http://www.osce.org/ru/odihr/76092?download=true). According to the data of October 1, 2014, there are 1572 printed media (428 public and 1144 private), 265 electronic media (179 public and 86 private), 9 news agncies (2 public and 7 private) in Belarus (See the official website of the Ministry of Information of the Republic of Belarus: http://www.mininform.gov.by/ru/stat-ru/).
[26] Source of the data: OSCE Final Reports: "Presidential Elections of the Republic of Belarus of December 19, 2010". Final Report of the OSCE ODIHR Election Observation Mission, Warsaw, February 22, 2011, // http://www.osce.org/ru/odihr/76092?download=true
[27] Official website of the Republic of Belarus: http://www.belarus.by/ ru/government/parliament

The House of Representatives shall consist of 110 deputies that are elected on the majoritarian basis. The power of the House of Representatives may be terminated prematurely where no confidence is expressed or a non-confidence vote is expressed to the Government or where the House fails twice to give its consent for the appointment of the Prime Minister (Article 94).

The House of Representatives shall consider draft laws put forward by the President or submitted by no less than 150 thousand citizens of the Republic of Belarus to make amendments and alterations in the Constitution and give its interpretation (Article 97). The House of Representatives shall consider draft laws including the guidelines of the domestic and foreign policy of the Republic of Belarus, consider the report of the Prime minster on the policy of the Government and approve or reject it[28] (Article 97). It shall consider on the initiative of the Prime minister a call for a vote of confidence and on the initiative of no less than 1/3 of the full composition of the House of Representatives express a non-confidence vote to the Government.

During the studied time span Belarus had one election to the Council of the Republic (1995) and four elections to the House of Representatives (2000, 2004, 2008, 2012)[29].

Any citizen of the Republic of Belarus at least 21 years of age who has been resident of Belarus and does not have a criminal record can become a deputy. The candidates for the deputy seats can be nominated both by the parties and by the citizens (by collecting at least 1000 signatures in support of their candidate in the respective constituency).

The candidate for Deputy who has gained more than half of votes of voters who have taken part in voting if the elections have been recognized as taken place, shall be considered elected. If neither of the candidates for Deputies of the House of Representatives has gained the necessary number of votes, the second round of voting on the two candidates for Deputy who have gained the greatest numbers of votes of voters shall be held not later than two weeks. Elections in the second round are considered as taken place if more than 25 percent of the voters have taken part in voting.

The main political parties of Belarus are Agrarian Party (AP), Communist Party of Belarus (CPB), Liberal-Democratic Party, Party of Labor and Justice, Social and Sports Party (See Table 3). The above mentioned parties support the president and have opportunity to be elected. The opposition parties actively participate in elections but in

[28] Twice rejection means to express no confidence to the Government.

[29] Source of the data: OSCE Final Reports on elections in Belarus: http://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/belarus

reality do not have a possibility to be elected and to influence on the political agenda (Gigin 2012, 28-36, Dakhovnik 2009, 75-78, Semyonova 2009, 32-36, Semyonova 2010, 136-209, Ghubbar 2013, Rotman and Danilov 2002, 100-111).

Table 3

The ratio of the deputy seats of the political parties in the parliament of Belarus[30]

Parties, blocs, participants	Elections to the House of Representatives				
	1995[31]	2000	2004	2008	2012
	M	M	M	M	M
Belarusian Party of Communists	43	-	-	-	-
Agrarian Party	33	4	3	1	1
Party of Democratic Consent	8	-	-	-	-
United Civil Party	5	-	-	-	-
The Belarusian Social Democratic Hramada	2	-	-	-	-
Pan-Belarusian Party of Unity and Consent	2	-	-	-	-
Belarusian Ecological Party	1	-	-	-	-
Belarusian Peasants Party	1	-	-	-	-
Belarusian National Party	1	-	-	-	-
Belarusian Green Party	1	-	-	-	-
Belarusian Socialist Party	1	-	-	-	-
Communist Party of Belarus [32]	-	6	8	6	3
Social and Sports Party of Belarus	1	1	-	-	-
Party of Labor and Justice	1	1	-	-	1
Belarusian Patriotic Movement	1	-	-	-	-
Labor Party of Belarus	1	-	-	-	-
Civil Party	1	-	-	-	-
Liberal-Democratic Party	-	1[33]	1	-	-
Social-Democratic Party of National Consent	-	1	-	-	-
Independents	95	85	97	103	104
Vacant	62[34]	11[35]	136[36]	-	1[37]
Total	***260***	***110***	***110***	***110***	***110***

[30] Source of Data: Official website of the CCENR: http://www.rec.gov.by/Archive-Elections (18.09.2014).

[31] This was the last Supreme Council election. The election of the 13th convocation of the Supreme Council took place with two rounds on May 14, 1995 and on May 28, and re-run of the election was held again with two rounds on November 29 and December 10 (See: http://www.rec.gov.by/Kalendar).

[32] In the result of the split of the Party of Communists of Belarus, the Communist Party of Belarus was formed on November 2, 1996 (КПБ 2007).

[33] This representative quitted the party after the election.

[34] In the result of the low level of participation, 119 deputies were elected in the first round, meanwhile at least 174 were necessary for quorum. Because of the absence of quorum the Parliament couldn't operate and half year later re-run was organized: the number of deputies got to 198, leaving 62 seats vacant.

[35] The re-run took place in 2001, and the elected deputies were independents.

[36] Re-run was held in the Constituency No 52 in 2005, and the elected deputies were independents.

[37] Re-run at the Constituency 36 was held in 2014, and the elected deputies were independents.

Figure 2

The ratio of deputy seats by the proportional and majoritarian representation [38]

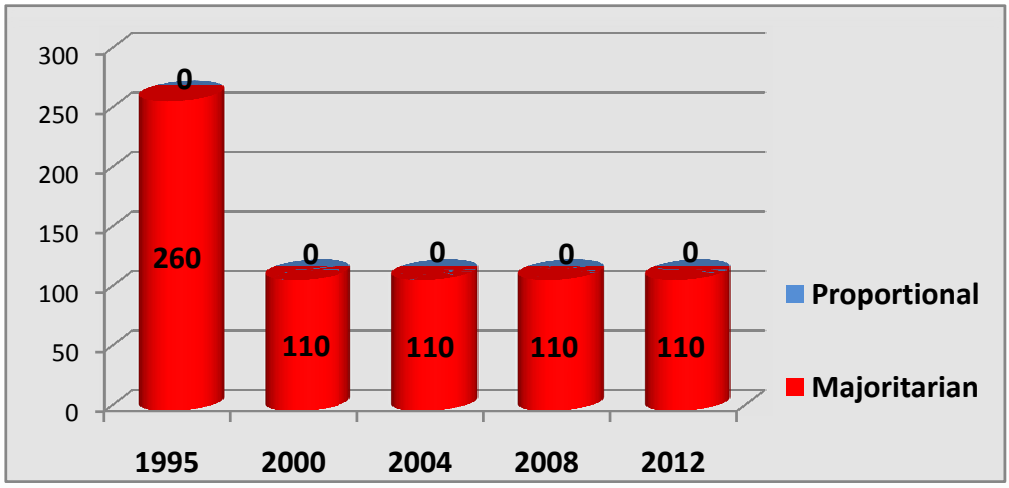


Table 4

The ratio of deputy seats by the proportional and majoritarian representation in the Parliament of Belarus

Electoral representation	1995	2000	2004	2008	2012
Majoritarian	260	110	110	110	110
Proportional	0	0	0	0	0
Total	**260**	**110**	**110**	**110**	**110**

In comparison with the other post-Soviet states the tradition of elections based on majoritarian electoral system is preserved in Belarus (see Figure 2). As a rule the absence of proportional system weakens the role of parties in the political life of the country and this gradually happened in Belarus. A number of parties registered and participated in the parliamentary elections in the beginning of 1990. But, when looking at the dynamics of representation of the parties at each convocation in the Parliament (see Table 3), we can see that the number of the parties was significantly reduced after the first elections of the newly independent Belarus. In 1995, 52% of the elected deputies were representatives of parties and the rest were independent. Already in 2000, the number of the deputies belonging to political parties formed 13%, in 2004 it was 10%, in 2008 - 6,5%, and in 2012 - 4.5%. It is noteworthy that the role and the influence of the opposition diminished in the political arena, with the reduction of the representatives of political parties in the parliament (Borzova 2010a, 104-117,

[38] Source of Data: Official website of the CCENR: http://www.rec.gov.by (18.09.2014).

Borzova 2010b, 176-186, Khamutovskaya 2012, 61-66, Niadbay et al. 2011), as the independents who formed the majority in the parliament supported the president.

The parliamentary election results of 2004 were not recognized by the international observers, stating that the election did not comply with the standards of the OSCE as the equal political competition between political parties was violated[39]. This election brought to political tension as simultaneously referendum on constitutional changes was held where people also voted on the question of the abolishment of the constitutional term limits for the incumbent president.

Despite the positive trend of the parliamentary elections of 2008 and 2012, the international observers considered the power of control by the president (Velmakin 2008, 77-85), the legislation, electoral system and administration as the main obstacle towards democratic election[40]. One of the main inconsistencies of the parliamentary elections was the weak party system, insufficient participation and political representation by parties (Vankevich и др. 2008, Golubev, Khadika 2003, Dakhovnik 2009, 75-78, Semyonova 2010, 158-169, Marples 2007, 103-122).

There were held five elections to the Council of the Republic in Belarus in 1997, 2000, 2004, 2008 and in 2012[41].

The Council of the Republic is a regional representative body. The Council of the Republic shall approve or reject draft laws adopted by the House of Representatives with regard to alternations and addenda to the Constitution, and on the interpretation of the Constitution as well as other draft laws (Article 98). The Council of the Republic shall elect six members of the Central Commission on Elections and National Referenda (CCENR). It shall reverse decisions of local Councils of deputies which do not conform to legislation and adopt resolution on the dissolution of local Council of Deputies (Article 98).

According to the Constitution, the right of legislative initiative shall belong to the President[42], the deputies of the House of Representative, the members of the Council

[39] Source of the data: OSCE Final Reports: "Parliamentary Elections of the Republic of Belarus of October 17, 2004". Final Report of the OSCE ODIHR Election Observation Mission, Warsaw, December 9, 2004: // http://www.osce.org/ru/odihr/elections/ belarus/38658?download=true

[40] Source of the data: OSCE Final Reports: "Parliamentary Elections of the Republic of Belarus of September 28, 2008": Final Report of the OSCE ODIHR Election Observation Mission, Warsaw, November 28, 2008, // http://www.osce.org/ru/odihr/elections/belarus/35123?download=true, "Parliamentary Elections of the Republic of Belarus of September 23, 2012": Final Report of the OSCE ODIHR Election Observation Mission, Warsaw, December 14, 2012: // http://www.osce.org/ru/ odihr/elections/98395?download=true

[41] Official website of the National Assembly Republic Council of the Republic of Belarus: http://www.sovrep.gov.by/ index.php/arhivy.html.

[42] According to the Constitution, the House of Representatives and the Council of the Republic on the proposal of the President, may adopt a law supported by a majority of the full composition of both Chambers, delegating to him legislative powers to issue decrees which have the power of law. (Constitution, Article 101).

of the Republic, the Government, as well as to citizens[43] who are eligible to vote, in a number of no less than 50 thousand. The bill shall become a law after consideration at the House of Representatives, approval by the Council of the Republic, and after signature of the President (Article 100). The President shall also have the right of veto (Article 100).

As for the other variables included in the model, the reforms of the state system do not give results in the fight against corruption and this is seen through the negative assessments in the Corruption Perceptions Index in comparison with the first period of the studied time span[44]. According to the Freedom House, the fields of press, political rights and civil liberties are not free in Belarus and the given assessments in the studied time span also reduced[45].

According to the data of January 1, 2014 15 political parties, 1057 partisan organizations, 37 trade unions and 23193 trade union organizations, 141 foundations, 38915 organizational structures of civil associations, 2521 civil organizations, out of which 231 are international, 694 republican and 1596 domestic organizations are registered in Belarus (Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Belarus, 2014). Despite the formed legislation on the activities of civil society institutes, there is a number of restrictions (Doroshenko 2011, EuroBelarus 2014, Lagvinets 2012, EaP CSF 2011). Taking into consideration the unfavorable internal situation, the Belarussian National Platform of the EaP Civil Society Forum, unlike the other countries, formed other principles of activities (EaP CSF 2013).

Concluding, the Political Factors Index curve declined in 2012 in comparison with the Year of 1995. Meanwhile in 1995 the PFI was of 0,387 value (the highest value of the whole time span), it was 0,302 in 2012. During 1995-2012 the PFI had six visible declines (in 1996, 1999, 2001, 2004, 2006 and in 2010). The declines in 2001, 2006 and in 2010 are connected with the presidential and the one in 2004 with the parliamentary elections. The main reason of the first decline of the PFI was the conflict of interests between the president and the parliament in 1996. National referendum was initiated by the president on 24 November of the same year for overcoming the crisis. The referendum went in tensed atmosphere as along with different questions also the issues of maintaining presidential or parliamentary

[43] The right of legislative initiative of citizens is implemented in the Chamber of Representatives. Draft laws the adoption of which may reduce State resources, or increase expenditures may be introduced in the Chamber of Representatives only with the consent of the President or on his assignment by the Government. The President or, on his assignment, the Government has the right to forward proposals to the Chamber of Representatives and to the Council of the Republic on the urgency of consideration of a draft law (Constitution, Article 99). Any bill, unless otherwise specified by the Constitution, is initially considered in the Chamber of Representatives and then in the Council of the Republic (Constitution, Article 100).

[44] See the official website of the Transparency International Anti-corruption Centre: http://www.transparency.org (19.09.2014).

[45] See the official website of the Freedom House: www.freedomhouse.org (19.09.2014).

republic was being decided. The arguable referendum strengthened the constitutional status of the president. The 1996 political crisis had a negative impact on the Political Rights and Civil Liberties indicators (6) of the Political Factors Index.

The reason of the decline of the PFI in 1999 was the lasting political struggle among the president and the opposition parties that lasted till April 4 and on April 16 the election of the deputies to the local councils took place. In comparison with the previous years the value of the Rule of Law decreased (20,57). The Political Rights and Civil Liberties remained problematic (6). The reason of the decline of the PFI in 2001 was the presidential election that caused new political crisis and civil disobedience after the parliamentary elections of 2000. This brought to freezing the relations between the European organizations (OSCE, CoE) and Belarus. The Rule of Law values of the PFI decreased (13,40) in comparison with the previous years.

The decline of the PFI in 2004 was due to the parliamentary elections. Despite the active participation of the opposition parties, 97 out of the 110 elected deputies were independents which was a big strike to the representative democracy and formation of the partisan system. The indicator of the Rule of Law declined (8,61) in 2004 which is one of the lowest indicators in the studied time frame. The political tension among the civil society, opposition parties and the authorities had a negative impact on the Political Stability, Political Rights and Civil Liberties (6,5). The fall down of the PFI in 2006 was due to the presidential elections where the incumbent president won with unprecedented 83% of votes. The disagreement with the presidential election results brought to civil mass disobedience and negative assessment by the international community. In 2006 the indicators of the Political Stability, the Rule of Law, Corruption Perceptions Index of the PFI decreased.

The reason of the decline of the PFI in 2010 was the presidential election that caused dispute among the opposition parties and civil society. The indicators of the Political Stability (41,04) and social disobedience (0,8) decreased in 2010 and were the lowest results in the studied time span. The indicator of the Rule of Law continued to remain low in 2010.

During 1995-2012 the curve of the PFI had also two visible growths (in 2000 and in 2002-2003). Despite that the opposition parties boycotted the parliamentary election, the growth happened in 2000 that was mainly due to the seats representation of 6 political parties in the House of Representatives. In comparison with the previous years the growth in 2002-2003 the growth of the PFI was negligible but the value of the Political Stability was the highest (68,75) during the whole time frame (see Figure 1, Table 1).

6.2 Economic Factors Index

Anna Sarkisyan

The study of the Economic Factors Index of Belarus shows that the curve of the EFI speedily grew in 1995-1998 and followed with sharp fluctuation preserving the growth trends (see Figure 1, Table 1).

Meanwhile the GDP percentage correlation was negative in 1995 and was -10,4%, it was only positive during the next years and the positive growth in 2004 was 11,4%, in 2006 and 2008 10% that was stopped in 2009 scoring 0,20%[46]. The abrupt decline of the EFI was connected with the global financial crisis that had a negative impact on the economy of Belarus[47].

Despite the impact of the financial economic crisis, the GDP of Belarus grew but the consequences of the crisis were deep especially on the area of industry[48].

The authorities had to accept the devaluation of the ruble in 2011 with great difficulty: the rouble fell by 50% during a couple of years. The Eurasian Economic Commission allocated 3,5 billion dollars loan in support to the economy of Belarus (World Economic Outlook, Belarus 2006). The inflation was 35% in 2013. Belarus applied to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for getting financing from abroad, asking to approve assistance project of 8 billion dollars[49]. According to the IMF Belarus is slow with reforms in the liberalization of prices, privatization, floating currency and salaries. As reported by the World Bank data of 2011 the economic model of Belarus had serious problems and managed to avoid the bankruptcy thanks to the financial assistance of the RF (The Heritage Foundation, Belarus).

According to the 2014 data of the World Bank the freedom degree value of the economy of Belarus was 50,1 and is ranked 150th in the rating list (WB Report 2010). The ranking is twice higher than the previous year which is mainly due to the liberties of investments and expenditure by the government[50].

The state debt of Belarus is as follows. Meanwhile the ration of the state debt and the GDP was 9,5% in 2004, it was already 34,7% in 2009 because of the economic

[46] See the official website of the World Bank: http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/ NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG?page=1 (02.07.2014).
[47] See http://world-economic-outlook.findthebest.com/l/4101/Belarus (02.07.2014).
[48] See the official website of the National Statistical Committee of the Republic of Belarus: http://www.belstat.gov.by/ofitsialnaya-statistika/otrasli-statistiki/ (02.07.2014).
[49] See http://world-economic-outlook.findthebest.com/l/4101/Belarus (02.07.2014).
[50] See the official website of The Heritage Foundation: http://www.heritage.org/index/pdf/2014/ countries/ belarus.pdf (02.07.2014).

financial crisis. After the crisis the country started to reduce its debt and in 2014 it got to 34,4%[51].

As it is reported by the IMF, Belarus had a stable growth in regard with the international reserves starting from 1994 (it became 5 billion from 100 billion starting from 1994 till 2012)[52].

Belarus has also agricultural large scale system that is mainly based on subsidies from the government (Savchenko 2009). After the capital reforms of 1991-1994 the economic growth of Belarus slowed down. About 80% of the industry is state owned which make big difficulty for foreign investments.

Belarus has small energy supplies: it imports oil and natural gas from Russia with relatively low price compared with the international market prices. At the end of 2006 Russia stopped subsidizing the prices of oil and gas that was imported to Belarus that brought to some tension between the two countries. The tension got to its peak in 2010 when Russia totally stopped its import to Belarus. Although the energy prices of Russia grew, that brought the triple devaluation of the Belarussian ruble[53], the EFI sharply grew (see Figure 1, Table 1) thanks to the budget surplus, direct foreign investments, foreign trade turnover and improvement of GNI indicators.

6.3 Social Factors Index

Anna Sarkisyan

The Social Factors Index (SFI) smoothly grew during the studied years. The only significant decline was in 2009 connected with the financial and economic crisis. Moreover, the curves of the SFI and EFI of Belarus have almost the same dynamic and the ratio coefficient is quite high (R=0,9). This shows the strong connection between each other and efficient input of the economic outcoms into the social area (see Figure 1, Table 1).

Some factors of the SFI describe the social area of Belarus and the politics aimed at it. Meanwhile in 2000 almost the 42% of the population lived in poverty, in 2013 this

[51] See http://knoema.com/atlas/Belarus/General-government-gross-debt (02.07.2014).
[52] See http://knoema.com/atlas/Belarus/International-reserves (02.07.2014).
[53] See http://www.theodora.com/wfbcurrent/belarus/belarus_economy.html (02.07.2014).

indicator was only 5,5%[54]. The unemployment level was 2,9% in 1995, 4% in 1996 (the highest), 0,8% in 2008 and 0,5% in 2012[55].

The GINI that describes the polarization of the society based on incomes, year by year declines and was 0,256 (25,6) in 2011. Moreover, these indicators are the lowest in the IDL study of the 8 countries[56].

The Law on "State Social Advantages, Rights and Guarantees for Specific Categories of Citizens" was adopted in Belarus in 2007 that implemented reforms on social advantages.

Despite the successes, there is a number of problems in the social area. The issues of hidden unemployment, and youth unemployment as well as demographic problems remain unresolved.

6.4 Educational Factors Index

Anna Sarkisyan

The educational system of Belarus is quite developed along with graduate and postgraduate studies that attracts numerous foreign students. The national educational system is regulated by the social-economic development programmes of 2001-2005, 2006–2010, and 2011-2015 and by the National Strategy for Sustainable Social and Economic Development of Belarus adopted in 2004 till 2020[57]. The Law on Education of Belarus adopted on January 13, 2011 was one of the important steps[58].

The pre-school education is not obligatory in Belarus but 70% of the children go to pre-school institutions before entering school[59]. All the pupils under the age of 15 must have basic education foundation but most of the pupils finish the high school until age of 18. Those 15-year old pupils who have graduated the primary level of education can enter a college or other technical schools. After finishing the high

[54] See the official website of the World Bank: http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.NAHC (20.10.14).
[55] See the official website of the National Statistical Committee of the Republic of Belarus: http://belstat.gov.by/homep/en/indicators/ labor.php (20.10.14).
[56] See the official website of the World Bank: http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.GINI (20.10.14).
[57] the National Strategy for Sustainable Social and Economic Development of Belarus till 2020 (adopted on 05.2004) http://economy.gov.by/ ru/macroeconomy/nacionalnaya-strategiya.
[58] Codex on Education of the Republic of Belarus (adopted on 13.01.2011). The official website of the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Belarus: http://edu.gov.by/main.aspx?guid=18201 (20.10.14).
[59] The official website of the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Belarus: http://edu.gov.by/en/ main.aspx (20.10.14).

school, the students get an opportunity to continue their education at the institutions of higher education. The two languages Russian and Belorussian are recognized as official languages in the framework of the educational system. There are four kinds of educational institutions in Belarus: classical universities, institutes, Higher Colleges, academies[60]. The main courses at the higher education institutions last for 5 years and students can chose full time or distance education systems. All the higher education institutions are governed by the Ministry of Education of Belarus[61].

The EdFI had a positive increasing trend with some fluctuations in the studied time frame. The lowest value (0,584) of the EdFI was in 1996 and the highest value (0,660) in 2006.

The educational component of the PFI grew continuously in 2012-2013 having the highest score (820) and ranking 53rd among 187 countries[62]. The educational expenses of the state form 5,15% of the GDP and in this regard Belarus is 71st out of 173 countries[63].

The level of literacy is 99,7% and among the CIS countries Belarus is only behind Russia and Ukraine in regard to the number of students (467 per 10000 population in Belarus and 523 and 488 in Russia and Ukraine respectively). Moreover, Belarus is ahead in this question from Austria (314), Germany (277), Italy (343) and Japan (315). There are around 10000 educational institutions in the Republic of Belarus where 445 thousand specialists educate more than 2 million students[64].

6.5 Health Factors Index

Anna Sarkisyan

Since its independence structural changes in the health system of Belarus were only partial that is seen in the dynamic of the curve of the Health Factors Index (HFI) as there was some fluctuation in the HFI during the studied time span but the fluctuation stayed mainly on the same level.

[60] See the official website of the World Bank: http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.PRM.ENRR/countries/BY-7E-XT?display=graph (20.10.14).
[61] See the official website of the National Statistical Committee of the Republic of Belarus: http://www.belstat.gov.by/ofitsialnaya-statistika/otrasli-statistiki/(20.10.14):
[62] See the official website of the UN Development Programme: http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/ education-index (20.10.14).
[63] See the official website of the US Central Intelligence Agency: https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/bo.html (20.10.14).
[64] See the official website of the President of the Republic of Belarus: http://president.gov.by/ru/university_ru (20.10.14).

The health system of Belarus and the significant part of the health service are state owned. Health service in the framework of the private health sector form only 7%[65].

The main attention is focused on maternal and child protection. Free medical tests, checks after the child birth, medical examinations and physical examinations of newborns are at no-cost. The death toll of newborns decreased for more than three times during 1991-2011 and Belarus is first with this indicator among the CIS countries.

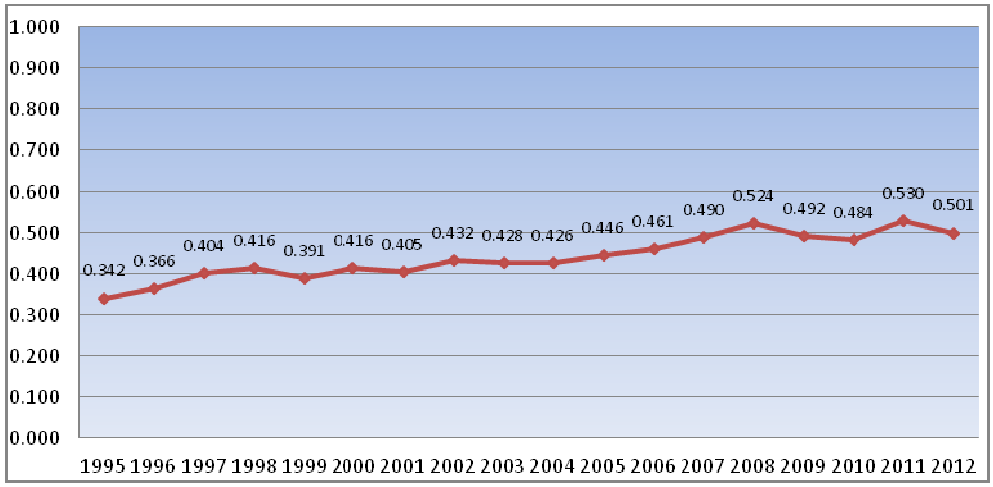
The death toll of the population got to the highest level (-5,9) in 2002 and decreased in 2011 getting to -2,8[66]. A positive growth trend of fertility level exists[67].

6.6 Development trends of the Index of Democracy Level

Ashot Aleksanyan

Figure 3

The Index of Democracy Level of Belarus in the time span between 1995-2012*



[65] See the official website of the Ministry of Health of the Republic of Belarus: http://minzdrav.gov.by /en/static/about-index/achivements (25.10.14).
[66] See the official website of the Ministry of Health of the Republic of Belarus: http://minzdrav.gov.by/ en/static/about-index/achivements (11.10.14).
[67] See the official website of the Ministry of Health of the Republic of Belarus: http://minzdrav.gov.by/ en/static/about-index/achivements (15.10.14).
* The source is based on the calculations accumulated by the researcher.

The curve of the Index of Democracy Level (IDL) of Belarus during 1995-2012 mainly had an increasing trend. The lowest indicator (0,342) of the IDL was scored in 1995 and the highest one (0,530) was in 2011. The IDL was relatively high (0,524) also in 2008, and the main falldowns were in 1999, 2001, 2009-2010 and in 2012.

The main reason of the decline is the parliamentary, presidential and local self-government elections. The decline of the IDL in 1999 was connected with civil disobediences that were organized against the prolongation of the President office-term and widening of his rights. This brought to the fall down of the indicators of the PFI (0,340), EFI (0,342), SFI (0,571), HFI (0,274). The decrease of the real wage (78,5 dollars) as well as the highest level of inflation (293,7%)[68] in the studied time span played a negative impact on the IDL comparing with the previous year. The decline of the IDL in 2001 was due to the presidential election that created a new wave of political mistrust and disagreement between the state authorities and civil society organizations, parliamentary fractions and opposition parties. The low indicators of the PFI (0,334) and EFI (0,383) had negative impact on the IDL. The global financial and economic crisis that had a negative influence on the stability of the economic system had an impact on the declines of the IDL in 2009-2010. The indicators of the PFI, EFI and SFI were relatively low in 2009-2010 versus the year of 2008. The decrease of the PFI indicators was mainly because of the presidential election when the incumbent president was elected for the second time that brought to anti-governmental mass protests. The parliamentary elections that were not recognized by the opposition parties and civil society organizations had an impact on the decline of the IDL in 2012. The crisis of the legitimization of democracy is reflected in the low indicators of the PFI (0,302) and EFI (0,686). During these years the civil disobedience activated and the procedures of domestic protection of the Political Rights and Civil Liberties were at question (6,5).

The Figure 3 shows that the IDL had a positive trend for growth in 1995-1998, 2000, 2002, 2005-2008, and in 2011. The growth during 1995-1998 was mainly due to the continuous improvement of the EFI indicators. The PFI and EFI in 2000 and the positive trend of the PFI, EFI and SFI in 2002 contributed to the increase of the IDL. The growth of the IDL during 2005-2008 was connected with the increase of the EFI and SFI and with the improvement of the indicators of the PFI in 2006-2008. More particularly, the attempts of a dialogue between the president and the opposition parties who were suggested to present a candidate each to the CCENR with the right of advisory vote played a positive role on the PFI in 2008. The next growth of the IDL was in 2011 that was due to the improvement of the indicators of the PFI and the sharp

[68] See the official website of the World Bank: http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/FP.CPI.TOTL.ZG (20.09.14).

growth of the EFI (0,832 unit which was the highest in the studied time frame) that decreased the negative impact of the SFI, EdFI and HFI.

6.7 Regression analysis of the Index of Democracy Level

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According to the regression Analysis, among the political indicators included in the model, a significant correlation was maintained among the IDL_i[69] and the variables of the Political Rights and Civil Liberties as well as Freedom of the Press.

$$\mathbf{Y' = 0{,}013x_1 + 0{,}409\ (Adj.\ R^2=0{,}633),}$$

where Y' is the IDL_i (IDL cleaned from indices of Civil Liberties and Political Rights) and x_1 is the Political Rights and Civil Liberties Index.

$$\mathbf{Y' = 0{,}007x_2 - 0{,}19\ (Adj.\ R^2=0{,}700),}$$

where Y' is the IDL_i (IDL cleaned from the variable of Freedom of the Press), and x_2 is Freedom of the Press.

Among the Economic Factors included in the model, a significant correlation was maintained between the IDL_i and the following variables:

$$\mathbf{Y' = 0{,}001x_3 + 0{,}357\ (Adj.\ R^2=0{,}815),}$$

where Y' is the IDL_i (IDL cleaned from GNI per capita) and x_3 is the GNI per capita ($100).

$$\mathbf{Y' = 0{,}004x_4 + 0{,}346\ (Adj.\ R^2 = 0{,}407),}$$

where Y' is the IDL_i (IDL cleaned from domestic credits), and x_4 is the domestic credits (% of GDP).

$$\mathbf{Y' = 0{,}025x_5 + 0{,}449\ (Adj.\ R^2 = 0{,}372),}$$

where Y' is the IDL_i (IDL cleaned from the budget deficit/surplus), and x_5 is the budget deficit/surplus.

[69] IDLi is the Index of Democracy Level cleaned from the corresponding variable during every paired regression analysis.

A significant correlation is seen in the Social Factors Index between IDL_i GINI Index and unemployment rate.

$$\mathbf{Y' = -2,7x_6 + 1,2 \ (Adj.\ R^2 = 0,405),}$$

where Y' is the IDL_i (IDL cleaned from GINI) and x_6 is GINI Index.

$$\mathbf{Y' = -0,03x_7 + 0,469 \ (Adj.\ R^2 = 0,212),}$$

where Y' is the IDL_i (IDL cleaned from unemployment rate), and x_7 is the unemployment rate.

Among the Political Factors, as it was already mentioned, Index of Civil Liberties and Political Rights and Freedom of the Press had a significant influence on democracy of Belarus, and the positive change of which brings to the growth of the IDL_i with one unit (0,013 and 0,007 units). The mentioned variables form the 63-70% of variation of the dependent variable.

Among the Economic Factors, the GNI, credits for economy, Index of Economic Freedom and deficit of the budget/surplus have a significant impact on the democracy of Belarus. The GNI per capita and the Index of Economic Freedom have high determinants, the growth of which will bring to the increase of the IDL_i by 100 dollars in the first case and by one point in the second case (by 0,001 and 0,01 points respectively) and it will form 81 and 51% of the correlation of the dependent variable.

The decrease of the GINI coefficient among the social indicators by 0,1 point and the reduction of the unemployment rate by 1% will bring to the growth of the IDL_i by 0,2 and 0,028 points.

In conclusion, it is noteworthy that according to the results of the regression analysis, mostly Civil Liberties and Political Rights, Freedom of the Press, GINI index, GNI, Index of Economic Freedom and other factors have influence on the IDL in Belarus.

Looking at the mentioned variables, we see that they are mainly connected with rights and liberties in both political and economic areas. The problems existing in the mentioned areas must be improved for the democratic principles in Belarus.

Going back to the existing correlation between the social indicators and democracy, we should note that the GINI index is the lowest in Belarus in comparison with other countries. This shows the positive impact of the Social Factors on democracy.

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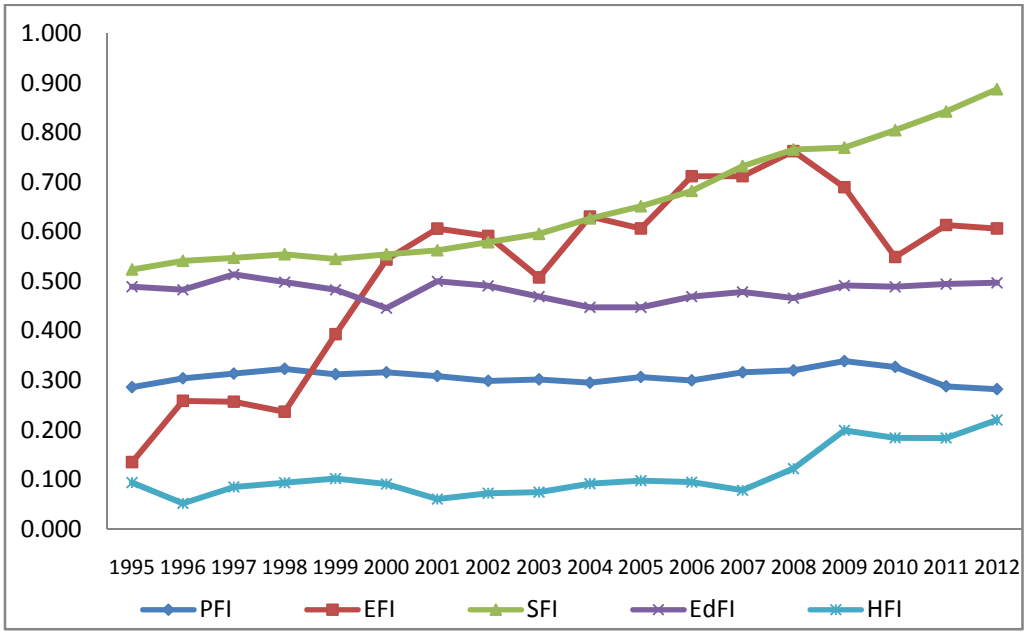
Abbreviation

AK	Agrarian Party
IMF	International Monetary Fund
CPB	Communist Party of Belarus
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
CCENR	Central Commission on Elections and National Referenda
CB	Central Bank
SFI	Social Factors Index
EFI	Economic Factors Index

CHAPTER 7.
THE INDEX OF DEMOCRACY LEVEL OF KAZAKHSTAN

Figure 1

Indices of Political, Economic, Social, Health and Educational Factors affecting the Index of Democracy Level of Kazakhstan in the time span between 1995-2012*



* The source is based on the calculations accumulated by the researcher.

Table 1

Indices of Political, Economic, Social, Educational, Health Factors of Kazakhstan in the time span between 1995 and 2012*

Years	PFI	EFI	SFI	EdFI	HFI	IDL
1995	0,286	0,135	0,524	0,489	0,093	0,274
1996	0,304	0,258	0,541	0,483	0,051	0,310
1997	0,314	0,257	0,547	0,514	0,084	0,321
1998	0,323	0,236	0,554	0,498	0,093	0,320
1999	0,312	0,393	0,545	0,483	0,101	0,354
2000	0,316	0,544	0,554	0,446	0,090	0,391
2001	0,309	0,606	0,562	0,500	0,060	0,407
2002	0,299	0,591	0,579	0,491	0,072	0,401
2003	0,302	0,508	0,596	0,469	0,074	0,381
2004	0,295	0,631	0,627	0,447	0,091	0,413
2005	0,307	0,606	0,651	0,447	0,097	0,414
2006	0,300	0,712	0,682	0,469	0,094	0,444
2007	0,316	0,712	0,732	0,478	0,078	0,456
2008	0,320	0,763	0,766	0,466	0,122	0,478
2009	0,339	0,690	0,770	0,491	0,199	0,478
2010	0,327	0,549	0,805	0,489	0,184	0,438
2011	0,288	0,614	0,843	0,494	0,184	0,444
2012	0,282	0,606	0,888	0,497	0,220	0,448

7.1 Political Factors Index

Ashot Aleksanyan

The Political Factors Index (PFI) in the Republic of Kazakhstan (RK) has fallen, and the results of 2012 are lower than those of 1995 (see Figure 1, Table 1). Thus, there has been a serious decline in this sphere in RK.

The PFI of RK shows that the factors significantly influencing the political system and the democratic transformation of the regime have been the establishment of an independent statehood, political stability, the system of "checks and balances" between the branches of government, electoral processes, as well as the development of political parties, the civil society, and the protection of human rights and their fundamental freedoms.

* The source is based on the calculations accumulated by the researcher.

After the collapse of USSR, the process of Kazakh SSR independence began. The first political transformations in KSSR took place on April 24, 1990, when the law "On establishing the office of The President of Kazakh SSR, on introducing amendments and addenda to the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of Kazakh SSR" were ratified. This Law confirmed the post of a president of KSSR, and the General Secretary of the Communist Party of KSSR – Nursultan Nazarbayev was elected the first president of KSSR by the Supreme Soviet (Parliament of RK, 2014).

The liberalization processes from the totalitarian political system of USSR got started on October 25, 1990, when the Supreme Soviet of KSSR adopted Declaration "On the state sovereignty of Kazakh SSR"[1]. Later developments of the independent statehood resulted in passing a law "On the improvement of the governmental structure" and introducing additions to the KSSR Constitution (1978) on November 20, 1990. Thus, the President became the Head of executive power, the posts of vice-president, prime minister and state advisors were established and the Council of Ministers was transformed into the Cabinet of Ministers[2]. With the implementation of the new governmental system, the system of local self-government changed, too, and those changes were fixed in the law "On Local Self-Government and Local People's Deputies of the Kazakh SSR" on February 15, 1991[3] (Karsakov, Chebotarev 2009, 8-26).

The Constitution of RK proclaims that Kazakhstan is a Presidential Republic. The President of Kazakhstan is the Head of the State, who determines the domestic and foreign affairs of the country(Constitution of RK, Article 40)[4].The President is elected every 5 years, with a secret voting, based on the universal, equal and direct voting rights (Constitution of RK, Article 41). The President can dissolve the Parliament or the Mazhilis, in accordance with the Constitution (Constitution of RK, Article 63). According to the 44th Amendment of the Constitution the President is the Commander

[1] Declaration of Kazakh SSR "On State Sovereignty of the Kazakh SSR" from October 25, 1990. (Adopted by the Supreme Soviet of Kazakh SSR on October 25, 1990, №1700). // Bulletins of Supreme Soviet of Kazakh SSR, 1990, № 44, p. 408.

[2] Law of Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic from November 20, 1990, №334-XII, "On Improvement of Governmental Structure of Kazakh SSR and Introducing Amendments and Addenda to the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of Kazakh SSR" (Amendments and addenda introduced in accordance with Law on Supreme Soviet of Kazakh SSR dated June 25, 1991, № 705-XII) (repealed)//http://online.zakon.kz/Document/?doc_id=1000264.

[3] Law of Kazakh SSR from February 15, 1991, "On Local Self-Government and Local People's Deputies of the Kazakh SSR" (Law of Republic of Kazakhstan from February 15, 1991, "On Local Self-Government and Local People's Deputies of the Republic of Kazakhstan" (with amendments introduced by the Law of RK №1117-XII)) (repealed) // http://online.zakon.kz/document/?doc_id=1000404&show_di=1.

[4] For more information, see Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan (adopted at the national referendum on August 30, 1995. Came into force on September 5, 1995. Amendments introduced on October 7, 1998, May 21, 2007, February 2, 2011)// http://www.constitution.kz

in chief of the Republic, he appoints and dismisses the Higher Command of Armed Forces, and nominates candidates for the post of Prime Minister to be approved by Mazhilis, after consulting with the political parties represented in Mazhilis. The President also appoints and dismisses the members of the Government, and he can dismiss the Prime Minister, too. In accordance with the Constitution, the President is allowed to rule by decree (Constitution of RK, Article 45, Paragraph 2). The powers of the President are defined in accordance with the Constitution law "On the President" [5]. Considering the fact, that incumbent president of Kazakhstan is also the first president of the country, his special status and powers are defined in accordance with the Constitutional law "On the Leader of the Nation – The First President" [6]. Here it needs to point out, that this law states that none can be elected for more than two successive terms, but this law is not applicable to the first president, as he can be reelected unlimited number of times.

Presidential elections in RK took place in 1991, 1999 (early election), 2005, 2011 (early election) (see Table 2). All four of them were First Past the Post elections, two of which were early elections. From 1990 onwards, the present president Nursultan Nazarbayev has won all of the presidential elections.

The first popular and direct presidential election took place on December 1, 1991, when the incumbent president won the 98,7% of the votes. This election was held during a very complicated period for KSSR, and the reason for that were the deconstructive and unconstitutional processes in USSR. After this presidential election on December 8, 1991, the collapse of USSR brought new challenges and confrontations. With the dissolution of USSR the process of KSSR independence began. This process got fixed in the law ratified by the Supreme Soviet of KSSR "On renaming KSSR" [7] on December 10, 1991, and in the law "On the independence of Republic of Kazakhstan" adopted by the Supreme Soviet of RK on December 16, 1991[8].

One of the most significant achievements of the first period of Nursultan Nazarbayev's presidency after the independence was the adoption of the first

[5]Constitutional law of the Republic of Kazakhstan from December 26, 1995, №2733 "On the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan" (with amendments and addenda introduced dated 03.02.2011)// http://online.zakon.kz/Document/?doc_id=1004068.

[6] Constitutional law of the Republic of Kazakhstan from July 20, 2000, №83-II "On the First President of the Republic of Kazakhstan – the Leader of the Nation" (with amendments and addenda dated 03.07.2013) // http://online.zakon.kz/Document/ ?doc_id=1019103.

[7] Law of Kazakh SSR from 10.12.1991 "On Change the Name of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic" // http://kazakhstan.news-city.info/docs/ systems/dok_perobb.htm.

[8] Constitutional law of Republic of Kazakhstan from December 16, 1991, № 1007-XII "On the State Independence of the Republic of Kazakhstan" // http://online.zakon.kz/ Document/?doc_id=1000798.

Constitution[9] by the Supreme Soviet of RK[10] on January 28, 1993. The new Constitution significantly strengthened the status of the President. These changes brought to the first divergence on constitutional and legal matters between the executive and legislative branches of government. The Constitution established the model of parliamentary republic, which created a tension in "checks and balances" system between the powers of the president and the parliament. Examples of this were the early termination of powers of a number of regional councils of Peoples' deputies and the Supreme Soviet's demands of self-liquidation[11]. As a result, on December 9, 1993, the Supreme Soviet of RK passed the law on the early termination of powers of councils of Peoples' deputies. This law resulted in passing a law on "On Temporary Delegation of Additional Powers to the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan and Heads of Local Administration" on December 10, 1993. The "culmination of the clash" between the president and the parliament was on December 10, 1993, when 200 out of 360 MPs resigned, thus issuing self-liquidation. These circumstances strengthened the powers of the executive branch of government, as now the President had the rights to perform legislative functions, as well as to influence the arrangement of judicial and legislative branches and regional representative bodies.

The next crisis during the first period of Nursultan Nazarbayev's presidency was the dissolution of Supreme Soviet in 1994, as well as the establishment of the Assembly of People of Kazakhstan[12] on March 1, 1995. The Assembly was to perform functions of a parliament. It was the initiative of the Assembly of People of Kazakhstan to prolong the presidential term up to December 1, 2000. The President took advantage of the circumstances and made changes in the electoral code and initiated a referendum to extend his presidential term on March 17, 1995. The constitutional referendum, which took place on March 29, 1995, approved the extension of the term (Mukhamedzhanov 2001).

[9] Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan from January 28, 1993 (Repealed due to the adoption of new Constitution on August 30, 1995) // http://online.zakon.kz/Document/ ?doc_id=1010212.

[10] The draft of Constitution of 1993 brought up large disagreement in the society, which were based on the issues of right of ownership (private, state), administrative structure (unitary, federation), state language (Kazakh, Russian), system of governance (presidential, parliamentary) and citizenship. In 1993, the oppositional political parties applied to the Supreme Soviet urging not to ratify the draft of Constitution.

[11] The Supreme Soviet of Kazakh SSR was elected in 1990, and the term of power was ending in 1995.

[12] Assembly of People of Kazakhstan, from an advisory body under the president of the republic, became a constitutional body. In 2007, with the new amendments in the Constitution, the Assembly of People of Kazakhstan got the right to select 9 MPs to Mazhilis. In October 20, 2008, with the decree of the president, legal rights of the Assembly of People of Kazakhstan were establish, and as a result it became an integral subject of the political system. The first president of the Republic of Kazakhstan, the leader of the nation, has the right of lifelong presidency of the Assembly of People of Kazakhstan (See the official website of the President of RK - http://www.akorda.kz/ru/page/page_assambleya-naroda-kazakhstana_1352453861): The President constituted the Assembly of People of Kazakhstan (Constitution of RK, Article 44, point 21).

In 1995, the President presented a new draft of the Constitution, which enlarged the scope of his powers, i.e. he could dissolve the parliament, form and dissolve the Government (Cummings 2005, 38-55; Levitsky and Way 2010, 183-235). The draft suggested substituting the Supreme Soviet for a bicameral parliament with limited powers – Senate (the upper house) and Mazhilis (the lower house). Despite discordance among the political powers and civil society organizations, the referendum on August 30, 1995, approved the new draft of Constitution (El.kz 2013). Thus, RK became a presidential republic. In accordance with the Constitution and with the President's initiative on December 16, 1995 the law "On the Parliament of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the status of its deputies", on December 18, 1995 the law "On the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan" and on December 20, 1995 the law "On the Judicial system and the status of judges" were ratified[13]. The new Constitution, the Parliament, the Government and the constitutional law "On the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan" (ratified on December 26, 1995) strengthened the President's constitutional powers significantly.

The second election[14] was called early and took place on January 10, 1999, and during this election, the ruling president got 81% of the votes. But, previously, on October 7, 1998, several changes were made in the Constitution and in the Electoral Code of RK, in particular the presidential term of power was extended to 7 years, and the limitation that 'none can be elected for more than two successive terms was removed. This change brought up serious issues among the incumbent President and the possible candidates for the presidential post (Shamsaddin oglu Agayev 2013, 89-100). In particular, the Central Election Commission did not register the candidacy of the previous Prime Minister A. Kazhegeldin. Considering all the organizational drawbacks of the presidential election and its mismatch to the international standards, OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights refused to deploy an Election Observation Mission.

The third presidential election took place on December 4, 2005, during which the incumbent president won again, gaining 91,15 % of votes. This was the first time the electronic voting system was used. Before the next election, on December 23, 2010,

[13] Constitutional Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan from October, 16, 1995, №2529 "On Parliament of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the status of its deputies" (amendments and additions introduced dated 03.10.2013)//http://online.zakon.kz/ Document/?doc_id=1003961; Constitutional Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan from December 18, 1995 № 2688 "On the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan" (amendments and additions introduced dated 29.02.2014)// http://online.zakon.kz/ Document/?doc_id=1003973; Decree of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, having the force of a Constitutional law, from December 20, 1995, N 2694 "On Courts and status of juries of the Republic of Kazakhstan" // Bulletins of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Kazakhstan, 1997, N 7, p. 78; N 11, p. 156; N13-14, p. 194; in 1999 N4, p. 100; N 23, p. 915; 2000 N 10, p.231).

[14] The referendum held on April 29, 1995, extended the term of powers of the President to December 1, 2000.

the President suggested to hold a referendum to extend his presidential term to 2020. This initiative received very negative feedback from civil society organizations as well as from international organizations, thus the President had to denounce the referendum (Mukhamedzhanov 2011, YK.KZ 2011).

The fourth presidential election was called early and took place on April 3, 2011, and the incumbent president won the election, getting 95,55% of votes. But, before the election, on May 21, 2007 changes were made in the Constitution again, and the presidential term of power became 5 years[15], and the limitation that 'none can be elected for more than two successive terms was restored. This rule, nonetheless, did not apply to the first president.

Table 2

The votes of the RK presidential candidates, expressed in percentage [16]

Candidates	Presidential Elections in RK			
	1991	1999	2005	2011
	I rd.	I rd.	I rd.	I rd.
Nursultan Nazarbayev	***98,7***	***81***	***91,15***	***95,55***
Serikbolsyn Abdildin (KCP)	-	11,9	-	-
Gani Kasymov	-	4,7	-	1,94
Engels Gabbasov (PPUK)	-	0,8	-	-
Jarmakhan Tuyabkay	-	-	6,61	-
Alikhan Baimenov (DPK "Ak Zhol'')	-	-	1,61	-
Erasil Abilkasimov	-	-	0,34	-
Mels Yeliussizov ("Tabigat" EM)	-	-	0,28	1,15
Zhambyl Akhmetbekov (CPPK)	-	-	-	1,36

In order to adequately evaluate the civiliarchic activities in the political system of RK, we need to consider the parliamentary system and its elections.

[15] Source – OSCE Final report "Republic of Kazakhstan Parliamentary elections, 18 August 2007. OSCE/ODIHR Election Observation Mission Report". Warsaw, 30 October 2007 // http://www.osce.org/ru/odihr/elections/kazakhstan/28438?download=true.

[16] Source – OSCE Final report "The Republic of Kazakhstan Presidential election 10 January 1999 Assessment mission, 5 February 1999." // http://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/kazakhstan/ 14771?download=true, "The Republic of Kazakhstan Presidential election, 4 December 2005. OSCE/ODIHR Election Observation Mission Final Report." Warsaw, 21 February 2006 // http://www.osce.org/ odihr/elections/ kazakhstan/18153?download=true, "Republic of Kazakhstan Early Presidential Election 3 April 2011. OSCE/ODIHR Election Observation Mission Final Report. Warsaw, 16 June 2011// http://www.osce.org/ru/odihr/elections/ 81115?download =true.

The Parliament is the highest representative body of RK, which performs legislative functions[17] (Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Article 49, paragraph 1). It consists of two chambers – Senate and Mazhilis.

The second parliamentary elections were held on December 7, 1995, which were in fact the first elections of the bicameral parliament. The term of powers of Senate is 6 years; it is composed of two representatives from each region, each city of national significance and the capital city. The President of the country appoints 15 MPs (Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Article 50, paragraph 2) and can prematurely terminate their powers.

Mazhilis consists of 107 MPs, whose term of powers is 6 years. Out of 107 MPs 98 are elected through direct popular election, and 9 of them appointed by the Assembly of People of Kazakhstan. MPs elected to Mazhilis by the Party Lists according to the proportionate representation system can lose their mandate if they terminate their membership to the party or if they get expelled from the party, as well as when their party dissolves (Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Article 52, paragraph 5).

Article 55 of the Constitution of RK defines the exclusive powers of the Senate, and Article 56 those of the Mazhilis. Moreover, the Senate can perform the functions of a parliament in case of premature termination of powers of Mazhilis. Mazhilis can express a vote of no confidence in the Government at the initiative of no less than 1/5 of the total number of MPs and by the majority of votes from the total number of deputies.

The first session of the Parliament consists of joint and separate sessions of the two chambers; the first session is called and opened by the president of the country. According to Article 53, paragraph 1 of Constitution of the RK during the joint sessions by the initiative of the President's amendments and additions are introduced to the Constitution. At the initiative of the President, the Parliament at the joint sessions has the right to delegate legislative Powers to the President by 2/3 of the votes from the total number of MPs of each Chamber (Constitution of RK, Article 53, paragraph 3). The Chambers of Parliament in accordance with the Constitution adopt laws and discuss the budget of the republic (Constitution of RK, Article 54).

During the discussed time period elections of 5 convocation of Supreme Soviet and Mazhilis have taken place (see Table 3); first convocation – 1996-1999, second – 1999-2004, third – 2004-2007, fourth – 2007-2011, fifth – 2012-up today (Parliament of the RK 2014)[18].

[17] The status of the Parliament is fixed in Constitutional law (Constitutional Law of the RK from October 16, 1995 N2529 "On Parliament of the RK and the status of its deputies" (with amendments and additions introduced dated 03.01.2013).// http://online.zakon.kz/Document/ ?doc_id=1003961).

[18] "Regulations of the Parliament Mazhilis of the RK" (Issued by the decree of the Parliament Mazhilis dated of 8 February 1996) (with amendments and additions introduced dated 09.11.2011). http://www.parlam.kz/ru/mazhilis/reglament, http://online.zakon.kz/Document/?doc_id=1023877.

Table 3

The ratio of the deputy seats of the political parties in the parliament of the RK[19]

Parties, Unions, Participants	RK Mazhilis Elections									
	1994[20]	1995	1999		2004		2007		2012	
	M[21]	M	M	P	M	P	Other[22]	P	Other	P
Party of National Unity of Kazakhstan	33	25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Federation of Trade Unions of Kazakhstan	11	5	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
People's Congress of Kazakhstan	9	1	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
Socialist Party of Kazakhstan	8	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Peasant's Union of Kazakhstan	4	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Social Movement "Harmony"	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Democratic Committee of Human Rights	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Union of Kazakhstan's Youth	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Democratic Party of Kazakhstan	-	12	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
People's Cooperative Party of Kazakhstan	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kazakhstan Renaissance Party	-	1	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
"Otan"[23] / 'Nur OTAN' Party	-	-	20	4	35	7	-	98	-	83
Communist Party of Kazakhstan	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Agrarian Party of Kazakhstan	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Civic Party of Kazakhstan	-	-	9	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
"Ak Zhol" Democratic Party of Kazakhstan	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	8
"ASAR" Party[24]	-	-	-	-	3	1	-	-	-	-
"AIST" Coalition of Agrarian and Civic Parties	-	-	-	-	10	1	-	-	-	-
Assembly of People of Kazakhstan	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	-	9	-
Kazakhstan Communist People's Party	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Other parties	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	0	-	0
Presidential list[25]	42	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Non-Partisans	64	7	24	-	18	-	-	-	-	-
Total	***177***	***67***	***67***	***10***	***67***	***10***	***9***	***98***	***9***	***98***

[19] Source – OSCE Final Report "Elections in Kazakhstan", //http://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/kazakhstan

[20] These were the last elections to Supreme Soviet of RK, and it was transferred to a bicameral system in 1995 in accordance with the Constitution (Mazhilis and Senate).

[21] In accordance to temporary regulations of Supreme Societ, party factions were organized in the Supreme Soviet, which were People's Union of Kazakhstan Unity (32 MPs), "People's Congress of Kazakhstan" party (22 MPs), Socialist Party (12 MPs), Federation of Trade Unions (12 MPs). This was the first time in the history of Kazakhstan, when parties were allowed to take part in drafting and ratifying government programmes (Парламент РК 2014). Later, non-partisan MPs joint the factions, and as a result the number of parliamentary seats the parties had changed.

[22] Starting from 2007, 9 MPs are elected by the Assembly of People of Kazakhstan.

[23] It was founded in 1999, and the leader of the party has been the incumbent president of the country. The party has more than 900 members. (See http://election.kz/portal/page?_pageid=73,47267&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL, http://nurotan.kz/ru/istoriya-partii): In 2006, the "Otan" republican parties was renamed "Nur Otan" People's Democratic party.

[24] On October 25, 2003, "Asar" republican party was founded, and the leader of it was the daughter of the country's president – Dariga Nazarbayeva. In 2006, the party united with "Otan" republican party (Zonakz 2006).

[25] The President presents a list of 64 candidates and people elect 42 of them as MPs.

Figure 2

The ratio of deputy seats by the proportional and majoritarian representation[26]

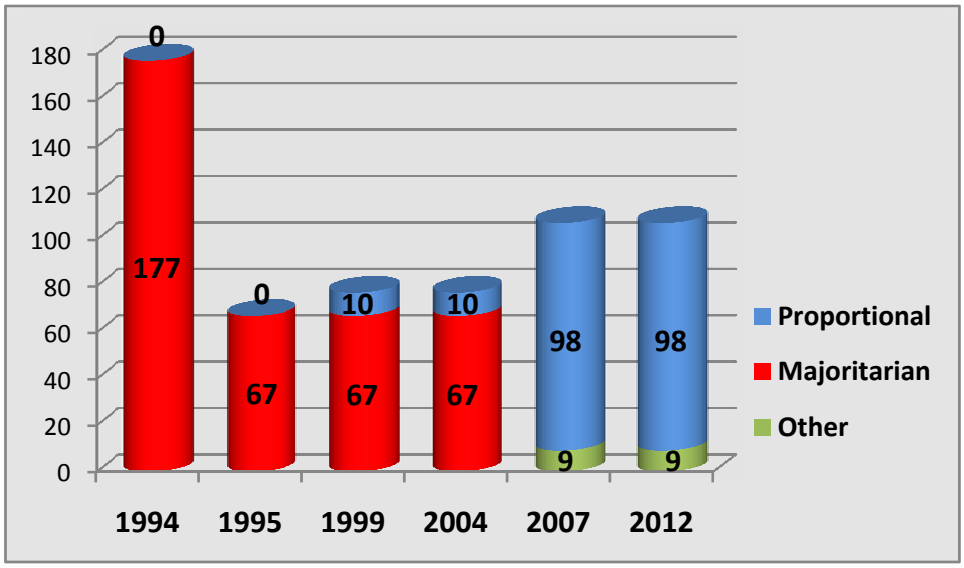


Table 4

Ratio of the deputy seats of the political parties in the Mazhilis

Electoral representation	1994	1995	1999	2004	2007	2012
Majoritarian	177	67	67	67	0	0
Proportional	0	0	10	10	98	98
Other	0	0	0	0	9	9
Total	**177**	**67**	**77**	**77**	**107**	**107**

The first Supreme Soviet elections after the independence of RK took place on March 7, 1994. These election were significant not only because they were the first one, but also because they were being carried out according to the new Constitution (1993) and the new electoral code. On December 1993 the new Electoral Code of RK was ratified, which established a new majoritarian representation electoral system. According to the Code, the term of powers of MPs was 5 years, and their number 177; 135 of them elected from regional administrative districts and 42 elected from

[26] Source: website of Central Election Commission of RK //http://election.kz/portal/ page?_pageid =73,47267&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL (18.09.2014).

President's list. It is noteworthy, that the Code authorized not only social unions and individuals to nominate candidates (the latter, by means of self-nomination), but also the President.

After the Supreme Soviet elections of March 17, 1994, when 176 MPs were elected, the diarchy in the state government grew. The reason for that was the formation of parliamentary opposition, which disapproved of the Government's social-economic policies and reform plans. Another reason for contradiction was the decision of the Supreme Court of RK on March 6, 1995, according to which the Supreme Soviet elections of 1994 were considered unjust and illegal[27]. The Supreme Soviet tried to counterbalance the decision of the Supreme Court and the President's "anti-parliamentary" actions. On March 11, 1995, the Supreme Soviet decided to dissolve the Supreme Court, which, however, didn't happen[28]. The clash between legislative and executive branches was put to an end by the decision of the Supreme Court[29], which gave the President an opportunity to strengthen his constitutional status (Chebotarev 2011, Chebotarev 2006). As a matter of fact, Kazakhstan was left without a parliament for the second time. Taking advantage of the situation (Nazpary 2001), the President signed a decree "On Actions Resultant from the Supreme Court's Decision of March 6, 1995", which gave him the right to rule by decree. This directly resulted in the extension of the term of powers of the President in 1995, and in the debate and ratification of new draft of Constitution.

The second parliamentary elections and first elections of bicameral parliament following the independence took place on December 9, 1995[30]. In fact, the constitutional law "On Elections" was ratified by the decree of the President, since he was ruling by decree then (Parliament of the RK 2014).

Only 67 MPs were elected by the majoritarian representation system. The elections to second convocation of Mazhilis in 1999 and elections to third convocation in 2004

[27] One of the candidates for deputies of the Parliament applied to the Constitutional court appealing against the actions of the Central Election Commission, and the Court found that the Constitutions and Laws of RK have been violated during the calculation of votes. This decision brought to a new political crisis in the country, as the legitimacy of the elections of other MPs was now questioned.

[28] On March 11, 1995, the Supreme Soviet ratified the constitutional law "On Introducing amendments and addenda to the Constitution" and decree "On the suspention of the Constitutional Court", which did not come into force, for obvious reasons.

[29] The Constitutional Court supported President's actions, and responding to President's request it explained that in the current situation the law from December 10, 1993 comes into force (Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan from December 10, 1993 N2576-XII "On Temporary Delegation of Additional Powers to the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan and Heads of Local Administration" (repealed)// http://online.zakon.kz/Document/?doc_id=1002635).

[30] Constitutional Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan from September 28, 1995, N2464 " On Elections in the Republic of Kazakhstan" (with amendments and and additions introduced dated 03.10.2013) http://online.zakon.kz/ Document/?doc_id=1004029.

were held with "mixed" electoral system when MPs 67 out of 77 were elected with majoritarian representation, and 10 with proportionate representation. In order to win seats in Mazhilis with proportionate representation, the political parties had to get over 7% of votes. Subsequently, after the elections to Mazhilis in 1999 and 2004 respectively 4 political parties were elected to Mazhilis with proportionate representation (see Table 3).

The Electoral Code supposes a second round of elections, if the candidates nominated with majoritarian representation do not get over 50% of votes[31]. Despite the fact, that electronic voting was used during these elections, the electoral process was still not transparent enough.

The early elections to fourth convocation of Mazhilis in 2007, took place in accordance with the new amendments and additions to the Constitution which were introduced in the same year[32]. According to the new electoral system, 107 MPs of Mazhilis were elected with proportional representation, and 9 MPs were elected by the Assembly of People of Kazakhstan. These elections were extraordinary in the history of Mazhilis of Kazakhstan, because only "Nur Otan" Republican Democratic People's Party managed to get over 7% of votes. At the end of 2006 "Assar", Agrarian Party and Civic Party joined the "Otan" party forming the "Nur Otan" party. At the end of 2007, "Nagyz Ak Zhol" oppositional party joined the All-National Social Democratic Party, and "Ak Zhol" party joint "Adilet" party. The Communist Party of Kazakhstan did not participate in the elections to Mazhilis, boycotting the changes in the electoral code.

In the early elections to the fifth convocation of Mazhilis in 2012 three parties managed to get over 7% of votes: the parties were "Nur Otan"(80,99% of votes and 83 MPs), "Ak Zhol" Democratic Party (7,47% of votes and 8 MPs), Kazakhstan Communist People's Party (7,19% of votes and 7 MPs) [33]. The remaining 9 MPs were elected by the Assembly of People of Kazakhstan.

During the period in question, the order of convening the 5 convocations of Senate was determined by the order of convening the 5 convocations of Mazhilis (Parliament of the RK 2014).

[31] Source – OSCE Final Report "Republic of Kazakhstan Parliamnetary elections, 19 September and 3 October, 2004. OSCE/ODIHR Election Observation Mission Report", Warsaw, 15 December, 2004. // http://www.osce.org/ru/odihr/elections/kazakhstan/38916?download=true

[32] Source – OSCE Final Report "Republic of Kazakhstan Parliamentary Elections, 18 August 2007, OSCE/ODIHR Election Observation Mission Report", Warsaw, 30 October 2007.//http://www.osce.org/ru/odihr/elections/kazakhstan/ 28438?download=true

[33] Source – OSCE Final Report "Republic of Kazakhstan Early parliamentary elections 15 January 2012, OSCE/ODIHR Election Observation Mission Report", Warsaw, 3 April 2012// http://www.osce.org/ru/odihr/elections/90805?download=true

In regard to political variables of IDL, it is noteworthy, that the rates of Political Stability and Rule of Law improved with some fluctuation during the period in question. Particularly, the lowest values of Rule of Law and Political Stability were recorded in 1995-1996, respectively 11,96 and 28,85.

During 1998-2012 the Corruption Perceptions Index of RK improved by 0,5 points on the scale from 0-10 (with 2012 methodology from 0-100) ranking 133rd among 174 countries in 2012, and 140th in 2013. According to Global Corruption Barometer 2013 report, 40-66% of the interviewed mentioned business (40%), Public officials/Civil servants (53%), Medical and Healthcare services (54%), Education system (55%), Judiciary (63%) and Police (66%) as the most corrupt institutions[34].

According to Freedom House rating of Freedom of the Press in RK, the press in Kazakhstan has been "not-free" up to 2013 (included) [35].

Starting from 90s, there have been more than 5000 NGOs in Kazakhstan, more than 3000 civil foundations and regional organizations, more than 1000 legal entities (Baybolova and others 2002, Sidorov 2006). According to reports from 2011, there are 2740 Mass Media in RK, 84% of which (2301) are governmental, and 16% (439) non-governmental (Internews Kazakhstan 2012). The Confederation of NGOs of Kazakhstan had major impact on the civiliarchic partnership in Kazakhstan. It was founded on March 30, 2000 and it made suggestions to the Government on making reforms in the sphere of NGOs (balazan.kz 2011). These suggestions were accepted by the Government (Popova 2013, 42-46), and consolidated in 2002 in the law of RK "Concept of state support of non-governmental organizations in the Republic of Kazakhstan", in 2003 in the law of RK "Program of state support of non-governmental organizations in the Republic of Kazakhstan for 2003-2005", in 2005 in the law of RK "In the respect of state social procurement" and in 2006 in the law of RK "Concept of Civil Society Development for 2006-2011" [36]. Even though the tendencies for collaboration of civil society institutes are positive, the procedures of protections of human rights and their fundamental freedoms are still questionable (Human Rights Watch 2012, The US State Department 2013). The riots organized by oppositional political powers, professional organizations and NGOs, usually meet state administrative bodies' and local administrative bodies' inadequate response (The US Diplomatic Mission in Kazakhstan 2012). And the reason for that is the formation of

[34] See Transparency International Global Anti-Corruption Coalition's official website http://www.transparency.org/gcb2013/country/?country=kazakhstan

[35] See the official website of "Freedom House" https://freedomhouse.org/country/kazakhstan#.VHBvvouUf_E

[36] Decree of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan from July 25, 2006, N154, "The Concept of Civil Society Development for 2006-2011" // http://ru.government.kz/ docs/u060154~2.htm.

an authoritarian[37] regime (Shkel 2009,119), non-formal institutions (Borisova 2002, 28-47; Malashenko 2013, 3-15, Schatz 2004, 3-21, 72-95) and the level of "non-freedom", which have been negatively rated by the Freedom House[38]. Anti-civiliarchic tendencies hinder the establishment of consociational democracy, multi-party system and civic culture (Karmazina 2008, 62-63), thus limiting the opportunities of political parties for participation.

As reported by Global Gender Gap Index of The World Economic Forum issues of gender inequality do exist in RK. According to Global Gender Gap 2013 report, RK ranks 32nd among 136 countries. In the Global Gender Gap 2013 report, Kazakhstan ranks 65th in the *Political Empowerment* sub index, 20th in *Economic Participation and Opportunities sub index* and 69th in *Educational Attainment* sub index[39].

Summing up, it is worth noting, that the Political Factors Index (PFI) curve of 2012 has fallen compared to that of 1995. In 1995, the PFI was 0,286 and in 2012 it is 0,282. The PFI has shown five major downfalls from 1995 to 2012 (1999, 2001-2002, 2004, 2006 and 2010-2012). Three of the abovementioned downfalls (1999, 2004, 2010-2012) were due to the presidential and parliamentary elections, the results of which were criticized by not only the oppositional parties and the civil society, but also by EU, Council of Europe, OSCE and other international organizations. The main reasons for the first downfall were the early presidential election on January 10, 1999 and parliamentary elections on October 10, 1999. These events negatively affected the political stability in the country, because the Central Election Commission of RK did not register the candidacy of A. Kazhegeldin, the former Prime Minister, and the main rival of the incumbent president. OSCE announced that both elections did not meet the international standards. The reason behind the 2001-2002 downfall were the strengthening of President' constitutional powers and the ratification of the law on the first president of RK in 2000. The fall in 2004 was due to the parliamentary elections on September 19, 2004, and the tension in the political sphere connected with the upcoming presidential elections of 2005. The downfall of 2006 was greatly due to the low levels of Rule of Law, post-presidential election situation and pre-parliamentary election processes. The fall of PFI of 2010 was connected with the upcoming referendum on the extension of the presidential term, which brought to large civil disobedience. The major reasons for 2011-2012 downfall were the early presidential election on April 3, 2011, and early parliamentary elections on January 15-16, 2012,

[37] See the official website of "Freedom House" – "Kazakhstan: Nations in Transit 2003-2013." https://freedomhouse.org/report/nations-transit/2013/kazakhstan#. VHHQ6ouUf_E

[38] See the official website of "Freedom House" – "Kazakhstan: Freedom in the World 1995-2013." https://freedomhouse.org/country/kazakhstan#. VHHIIouUf_E

[39] See World Economic Forum's official website http://www.weforum.org/reports

which negatively affected the Political Stability (36,32 and 36,02) in the country (see Figure 1, Table 1).

The PFI curve has registered two significant rises during the period from 1995-2012 (1998 and 2009). The rise of 1998 is due to the decision to hold early presidential election, which was to overcome the lack of political legitimacy. The dialogue between the government and civil organizations brought to the rise of levels of Political Stability (47, 60) and the Rule of Law (16, 27). During the period discussed, the level of PFI was the highest (0,339), which was due to the rise of levels of Rule of Law (32,7) and Political Stability (72,04) compared to the previous years. And, the Political Stability during the same time period was the highest (see Figure 1, Table 1).

7.2 Economic Factors Index

Arthur Ghazinyan, Arevik Anapiosyan

After the collapse of the USSR, RK was left with a USSR inherited economic system, and its characteristics – the volume of export, the financial system and transfers were totally dependent on the market of the Union. These, according to some sources, comprised 12% of the country's GDP (Peck 2004). Considering the fact, that the economy of USSR was built upon interconnection of economies, where mutual trade was of high importance, it is no surprise that the collapse of the USSR brought to a sharp drop of the volume of trade and export. It is also important to note, that after the independence of RK, its economy largely depended on the economy of Russian Federation, and the instability of the latter, negatively affected the development of the economy of RK.

In these circumstances, the Government of RK undertook measures to stabilize the economy, and the governmental program for the stabilization of the economy rested upon three main principles – the first goal of the government was to control the inflation, the second was to provide conditions for the sustainable development of the main areas of their economy (Peck 2004). The control of inflation became possible only in 1997-1998, even in 1995, when there was a big number of measures undertaken for the stabilization of the economy, the inflation was past 176% (see the corresponding Table of data). The second goal was the stabilization of the economy, and for reaching this goal, the Government had to liberalize the prices and reduce the fiscal deficit, which would only be possible through privatization and through improving the legislation on finances (Auty 1999).

Main reforms oriented towards the stabilization of economy were performed from 1991-1996. Thus, in 1991-1992 measures were undertaken for the liberalization of

prices and for the financial liberalization – particularly, the limitations on private and free banks and financial institutions were denounced. It is noteworthy, that the liberalization of prices brought to an unprecedented inflation in 1992, which was past 1381% and the GDP dropped about 11,3% compared to 1991. During the same period, the legislative field was regulated and the law on the right of ownership and trade was passed. Several areas belonging to the government were privatized. As a result of privatization, in 1997 the share of the private sector of economy was 55% of the GDP, instead of 20% of 1994 (Makhmutova 2000).

A very important step was the implementation of the national currency in 1993, which helped the government start implementing independent microeconomic policy (Makhmutova 2000).

After the reforms, the economy of RK marked a progress, which is especially seen on the curve after 1998 (see Figure 1). Though it is noteworthy, that the fast stabilization of the economy was due to some radical decisions, such as ceasing of the restriction on prices of bread and other consumer basket goods, selling state companies to foreign investors and reforming the pension system.

The study of Economic Factors Index (EFI) curve shows that there were two major drops after 1998 (in 2003 and 2009-2010). The main reasons for the downfall of 2003 were the drop of volume of foreign investments about twice compared to 2002, the increase of the deficit in the state budget and the drop of the Index of Economic Freedom. The "major" drop of 2009-2010 was due to the global economic crisis. It was during this period when the direct flow of foreign investments was cut and the volume of domestic credits dropped, etc.

Today, the economy of RK is considered one of the most well developed economies in post-Soviet countries, as it is relatively independent and free. Despite all these, the economy is mainly based on mining and oil industry, which is dangerous itself, and the diversification of the economy is still a major problem for the government.

7.3 Social Factors Index

Arthur Ghazinyan, Arevik Anapiosyan

After the collapse of USSR, the RK found itself in difficult economic and social condition. One of the main social problems for the government was the rise of unemployment rate and poverty, and social and healthcare services (Asian Development Bank 1998). In these circumstances, the aim of the Government was to

reform the social system of the country, for the socially vulnerable layers to have a satisfactory level of social protection, and for the reforms not to become a huge financial burden on the state (World Bank: Operations Evaluation Department 2001). Nevertheless, the biggest social problem the state was facing was the rise of the level of poverty, and as a result, the pension system was facing a crisis, too, because the ratio of users of the pension system and people who pay social taxes was disturbed. The crisis was partially due to the initiative of the Government to make changes in the law on Pensions in 1992, according to which male with 25 years of work experience could retire at 58, and female could retire at 53, if she had 20 years of work experience.

To solve the problems the Government of RK organized extra-budgetary funds, forcing entrepreneurs to make payments to these funds (Murthi, Pradhan and Scott 2002). With the help of International Monetary Fund and World Bank the social welfare system was reformed and the Ministry of Social Protection was founded in 1993, which was assigned to manage the Pension fund out of the extra-budgetary funds (International Monetary Fund 1995).

With the next round of reforms, the citizens were given the opportunity to choose either monetary or non-monetary support. The non-monetary support presupposed reimbursing the bills, transportation and communication expenses. But, the non-monetary support was revoked in 1998, and only the monetary support system was left.

With cutting both monetary and non-monetary expenses, the government was successful in addressing the social issues of socially vulnerable groups.

In 1998, the government started a new reform of social sphere. The social support programs were now classified in 3 groups: 1. State social support, 2. Special state support, 3. Targeted social support (World Bank 2004). In 2002, the targeted social support program was implemented, according to which the government was providing financial support to families whose income was lower than the poverty threshold.

To solve one of the most difficult social problems and to lower the rates of unemployment the government founded an employment agency system (World Bank 2004). With the stabilization of economy, new workplaces were created, and this resulted in lower levels of unemployment. If we observe the Social Factors Index (SFI) curve, we will see that the curve has been rising since 2000, which is mainly due to the reduction in the level of unemployment.

7.4 Educational Factors Index

Arthur Ghazinyan, Arevik Anapiosyan

The processes of improving legislative and normative provisions for educational system started right after the independence of RK. Particularly, on July 7, 1992, the law "On Education" and in 1993 the law "On Higher Education" were adopted (UNESCO 2011). The Law "On Education" underwent some changes, and this time the international requirements and standards were considered. Presently, the field of education is regulated by the Constitution of RK (1995), law "On Education" (2007), law "About the Science" (2011) and State program of education development in the Republic of Kazakhstan for 2011-2020.

Speaking of educational system of RK, it is noteworthy, that it is a blend of international education standards and post-soviet education standards and customs. RK is part of the Bologna Process (2010), which presupposes reforms in the educational sphere. As a result of Kazakhstan's integration in the Bologna Process, its educational system has a multi-level structure now. Specifically, the education in Kazakhstan has a three-cycled system, which allows getting bachelor's degree, master's degree and PhD. The educational system of RK is now implementing the credit accumulation system, based on the Bologna Process (Abdiraiymova et al 2012).

RK's involvement in the Bologna Process allowed for more financial support for the sphere of education: in 2012 it comprisedgot 3,2% of RK's annual GDP. After joining the Bologna Process, the number of higher education institutions dropped. In 2011, the number of higher education institutions in RK was 140, while today there are 130 of them. As of 2014, only 43% of these institutions are accredited (Canning 2014).

Though the state financing of education is on a large scale, the private donations greatly ease the burden on the state.

The state of RK keeps its attention fixed on the sphere of research, too. During 2012, the Government of RK spent 48 million 968 thousand tenge on researches, and 70% of it was provided to higher education.

The literacy rate in RK is fairly high: as of 2008, 99,7% of adults (aged over 15) were literate. Thought, from 2008 to 2012, the literacy rate dropped: the ratio of secondary school enrollment was 86% (compared to the 92% in 2004)[40].

[40] See World Bank official website // http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.SEC.NENR (19.06.2014).

7.5 Health Factors Index

Arthur Ghazinyan, Arevik Anapiosyan

Kazakhstan inherited a stable healthcare infrastructure from USSR. Right after the independence, RK started implementing a policy of cuts and reforms in this infrastructure. Thought, the lack of specialized administration and health administrative stuff greatly deranged these reforms. Since 1996, the Ministry of Health of RK has changed its internal structure several times, and in 1999 it was dissolved, and its jurisdictions were given to different ministries. The most noteworthy reform in the health system of RK was the implementation of compulsory health insurance system, which was maintained until 1999 (Katsaga et al 2012). Then, a special institution was organized, whose main function was to provide allocations for medical services from the budget (Immigration and Refugee Board 2000). Furthermore, an important step for reforming the health system in RK was the establishment of the family doctor's institute and privatization of the medical infrastructure during 1997-1999, which itself became a stimulus for involving new sources to finance the health system (Abzalova R. et al 1998).

Perhaps, it was due to this attempts that the Health Factors Index curve went up after 1996 to 1999, connected with the grow of financial support to the health system. After failing the reforms and cutting the financing for the health system, the quality of medical services went down (Katsaga et al 2012).

In 2001, the government of RK started implementing a policy of decentralizing jurisdictions of health policies, and as a result the regional-administrative units of RK started playing an important role in establishing the budget of health policies. These changes negatively impacted the effectiveness of the healthcare system of RK, directly resulting in the accessibility of healthcare services among the population (Katsaga et al 2012). It was due to the decentralization policy, that the curve of Health Factors Index (HFI) fell in 2001, connected with the reduction of finances being provided to the sphere of health policy.

Despite the fact, that after 1992, the reforms in the health system have failed in RK, they have had positive effects, too, by extending the median age of the population of RK. Specifically, the study of HFI curve of 1995 shows that the median age of population has risen. The median age in 1995 was 64,9 in RK, and as of 2012 it is 69,6[41].

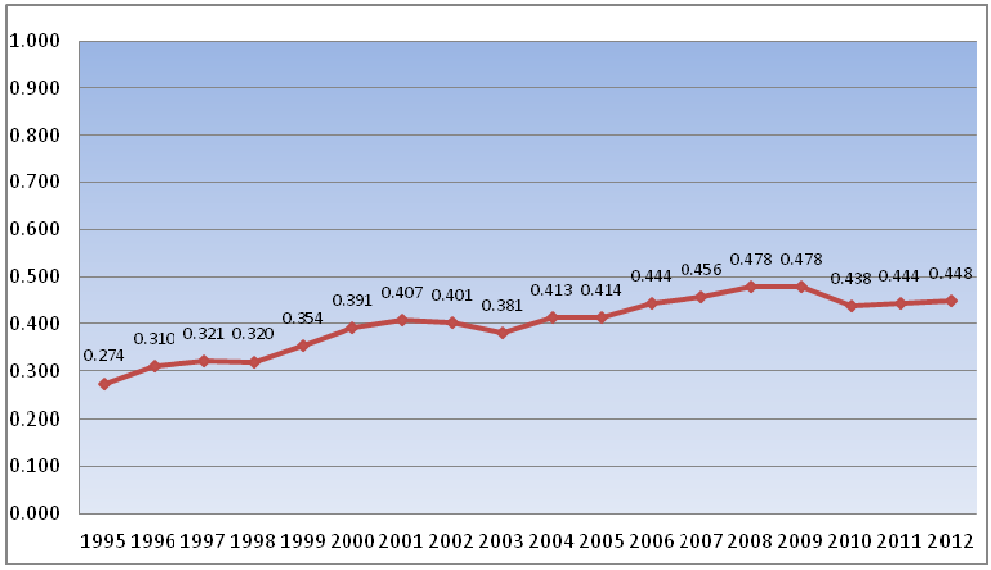
[41] See World Bank official website // http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.LE00.IN (19.06.2014).

7.6 Development trends of the Index of Democracy Level

Ashot Aleksanyan

Figure 3

The Index of Democracy Level of Kazakhstan in the time span between 1995-2012*



As we can see on Figure 3, the IDL curve of RK has improved in the time observed compared with 1995. The DLI in 1995 was 0,274, and in 2012 it was 0,448.

The IDL had three main rises; 1997 (0,321), 1999-2001, 2004 (0,413) and 2005-2009. The rise in 1997 was connected with the improvements of values of PFI, SFI, EdFI and HFI, as well as slight fluctuations of the EFI. The rise in 2004 was due to the progress of EFI (a drastic progress), SFI and HFI. The rise of 2005-2008 was mainly connected with the continuous progress of SFI, progress of PFI in 2005 and 2007-2008, HFI in 2005 and 2008 and EFI in 2006 and 2008. In 2009, the stability of IDL was due to positive rates of PFI, SFI, HFI and EdFI, which, though, were unable to neutralize the negative impact of the EFI on the IDL. During these years, the rise of IDL was largely connected with the expansion of social functions of the state and with establishment of oppositional political powers and civil society organizations. As a matter of fact, in 2008-2009, IDL had the highest Figure (0,478), and the reason for this was the activation of trade unions, NGOs, social mass media and alternative civil

* The source is based on the calculations accumulated by the researcher.

movements, which tried to influence the political agenda. Positive trends in implementing civil control and social partnership had situational nature, as basic phases of establishment of political system and parliamentary parties had shown.

IDL had two major drops in 2003 (0,381) and 2010 (0,438), which were results of decrease of democracy, establishment of undemocratic procedures and authoritarian regime. The fall of IDL in 2003 was mainly affected by the Economy and Educational Factors Indices, as compared to the previous years the EFI had dropped totaling 0,508 points. The Index of Economic Freedom, trade and foreign direct investment volumes of EFI decreased, totaling respectively 49, 7, 91 % of GDP and 6,8 % of GDP. In 2010, the drop of IDL was due to the low rates of PFI, EFI, EdFI and HFI. The drop of PFI was connected with the republican referendum for extensions of terms of powers of the president, which got negative feedback from oppositional political powers, civil society and international organizations. Compared with the previous years, the level of EFI had an exclusive drop totaling 0,549 points. The latter was affected by the cut of the volume of domestic credits (45,4% of GDP), external trade (73% of GDP) and direct foreign investments (5% of GDP). HFI dropped too, totaling 0,184 and it was connected with the reduction of health expenditure (4,3).

7.7 Regression analysis of the Index of Democracy Level

Arusyak Aleksanyan, Arevik Anapiosyan

Through the Regression Analysis of the Index of Democracy Level of Kazakhstan we have found out the most significant variables of Indices of Political, Economic, Social, Health and Educational Factors affecting the democracy.

According to the analysis of the data, among the political indicators included in the model, a significant correlation was maintained among the IDL_i* and the variables of the Political Stability as well as Freedom of the Press.

$$\mathbf{Y' = 0{,}002x_1 + 0{,}278\ (Adj.\ R^2 = 0{,}401),}$$

where Y' is the IDL_i (IDL cleaned from the variable of Political Stability/Absence of Violence) and x_1 is the Political Stability.

$$\mathbf{Y' = 0{,}008x_2 - 0{,}153\ (Adj.\ R^2 = 0{,}757),}$$

* IDLi is the Index of Democracy Level cleaned from the corresponding variable during every paired regression analysis.

where Y' is the IDL_i (IDL cleaned from the variable of Freedom of the Press), and x_2 is Freedom of the Press.

Among the Economic Factors included in the model, a significant correlation was maintained between the IDL and the Index of Economic Freedom.

$$\mathbf{Y' = 0,007x_3 + 0,044 \ (Adj.\ R_2=0,780),}$$

where Y' is the IDL_i (IDL cleaned from the Index of Economic Freedom), and x_3 is the Index of Economic Freedom.

A notable correlation is seen in the SFI between the IDLi and unemployment.

$$\mathbf{Y' = -0,016x_4 + 0,540 \ (Adj.\ R^2 = 0,633),}$$

where Y' is the IDL_i (IDL cleaned from the unemployment), and x_4 is the unemployment rate.

The correlation is strong between IDL_i and HDI Education Index.

$$\mathbf{Y' = 0,594x_5 - 0,094 \ (Adj.\ R^2 = 0,568),}$$

where Y' is IDL_i (IDL cleaned from the HDI Education Index) and x_5 is HDI Education Index.

The democracy of RK has been greatly affected by Political Stability and Freedom of the Press. This means that the positive change by one point in Political Stability and Freedom of the Press will bring to the rise of IDL, respectively 0,002 and 0,008. Among the abovementioned variables, Freedom of the Press has a high determination coefficient, and its correlation determines 76% of the changes in IDL_i.

Democracy is affected also by the economic freedom, and its rise by one point will bring to the rise of IDL by 0,0007 points.

Among the social indices, the unemployment is the most influential, and its rise by one point will bring to the drop of IDL by 0,016 points.

The correlation between HDI Education Index and IDL_i is large. The rise of HDI Education Index by one point will result in the positive change in IDL_i by 0,594 points.

From the results of the regression analysis we can conclude that IDL can be raised by improving the above mentioned factors.

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Abbreviations

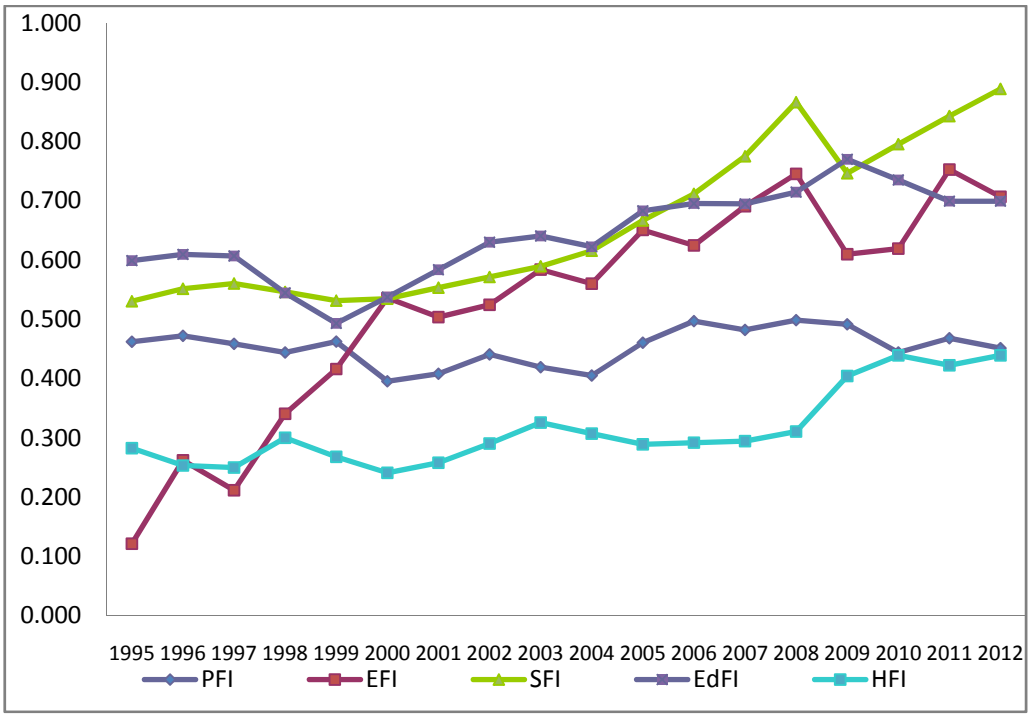
PUK	People's Union of Kazakhstan
PNUK	Party of National Unity of Kazakhstan
DPK	Democratic Party of Kazakhstan

CHAPTER 8.
THE INDEX OF DEMOCRACY LEVEL OF UKRAINE

ASHOT ALEKSANYAN

Figure 1

Indices of Political, Social, Economic, Educational and Health Factors affecting the Index of Democracy Level of Ukraine in the time span between 1995-2012*



* The source is based on the calculations accumulated by the researcher.

Table 1

Indices of Political, Economic, Social, Educational, Health Factors of Ukraine in the time span between 1998 and 2012*

Years	PFI	EFI	SFI	EdFI	HFI	IDL
1995	0,462	0,121	0,530	0,599	0,282	0,376
1996	0,472	0,262	0,551	0,609	0,253	0,417
1997	0,458	0,211	0,560	0,606	0,250	0,399
1998	0,444	0,340	0,546	0,544	0,300	0,423
1999	0,462	0,416	0,531	0,493	0,268	0,440
2000	0,395	0,536	0,535	0,537	0,241	0,446
2001	0,408	0,503	0,553	0,583	0,258	0,451
2002	0,441	0,524	0,571	0,630	0,290	0,481
2003	0,419	0,584	0,589	0,640	0,326	0,494
2004	0,405	0,560	0,615	0,622	0,307	0,481
2005	0,460	0,650	0,667	0,683	0,289	0,538
2006	0,497	0,624	0,711	0,695	0,292	0,552
2007	0,482	0,691	0,775	0,694	0,294	0,571
2008	0,498	0,745	0,866	0,714	0,311	0,605
2009	0,491	0,610	0,746	0,770	0,404	0,570
2010	0,444	0,619	0,795	0,735	0,439	0,558
2011	0,468	0,752	0,843	0,699	0,422	0,603
2012	0,451	0,706	0,888	0,699	0,439	0,590

8.1 Political Factors Index

The curve of Political Factors Index influencing the Index of Democracy Level of Ukraine shows typical patterns and regularities of the civiliarchic procedures and institutionalization, taking place in the political system of the society during 1995-2012. Figure 1 shows that relevant fluctuations of the curve trajectory of PFI are conditioned by the transformations in the public life of the society during the mentioned period of time. They have been stipulated by the adoption of the Declaration of State Sovereignty of Ukraine[1] and Constitution[2], formation and operation of civil society institutions, new parties[3], parliamentary opposition and the

*The source is based on the calculations accumulated by the researcher.

[1] The Declaration of State Sovereignty of Ukraine (the Gazette of the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, 1990, N31, p.429) http://zakon4.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/55-12

[2] Constitution of Ukraine (the Gazette of the Verkhovna Rada, 1996, N30, p.141), http://zakon4.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/254k/96-vr

[3] Being governed by Amendment of the Constitution of the USSR of 1990, the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic adopted the Law On political parties and non-governmental

policy elite (Kuzio 2007, 63-654, Olding-Smee and von Rooden 1999, 9-21, Wanner 2008, Whitmore 2004). In spite of procedure aimed at the development of independent statehood in 1988-1994, leaders of the Communist party continued to have influence on the political arena of Ukraine and they succeeded in sustaining the balanced transformation of totalitarian political system and regime[4].

Ukraine is a presidential republic, which underwent a number of changes within 1990-2014. They can be conditionally divided into the following stages: till 2004, 2005-2010, 2011-2013 and from 2014 up to day. The structural and functional substructures of public administration were established on the first stage, and on June 28 1996, the constitutional status of state administration and local self-governing authorities was confirmed by adoption of the Constitution[5] of Ukraine by the Verkhovna Rada. The all-Ukrainian referendum conducted on April 16, 2000 with a purpose to make constitutional changes[6] was also important on this stage where the following issues[7] were brought to a nationwide vote:

1. formation of two-chamber parliament,
2. the right of the president to dissolute the parliament (if parliamentary majority is not formed within one-month period or the budget is not confirmed within three-month period),
3. reduction of the deputies' number from 450 to 300,
4. termination of immunity of deputies. Regardless of the fact, that referendum was conducted and the participants voted in favour of all four points, yet only the second one was implemented[8].

organizations in the Ukrainian SSR, which was an important action in the sense of establishment and development of multiparty system. The first party - the Ukrainian Republican Party was established on April 1990 in independent procedure that aimed at assuming political responsibility for development of democratic Ukraine.

[4] "Democratization" of the totalitarian political system of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union also promoted preservation of influence of the policy elite of the Communist part of Ukraine. E.g. Resolution of the Communist party of the USSR of February 1990, pursuant to which Article 6 of the Constitution of the USSR should have been amended by which the monopolistic role of the Communist party in the Soviet society was reserved. Extraordinary meeting of the people's deputies of the USSR held on March 1990 decided to delete Article 6 from the USSR Constitution. In particular, it brought to transformation of the policy elite in Ukraine on initiative of which the Democratic platform and Marxist platform were founded within the frames of the Communist party. If the Democratic platform tried to make the Communist party a democratic party of a parliamentary type, to the contrary, the Marxist platform tried to keep the existing ideology.

[5] Constitution of Ukraine (the Gazette of the Verkhovna Rada, 1996, N30, p.141), http://zakon4.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/254k/96-vr

[6] Decree of the President of Ukraine N65/2000 On conduction of All-Ukrainian Referendum upon population initiative (January 15, 2000).

[7] ibid.

[8] According to official data 29 728 575 persons from 36 629 926 persons entitled to vote participated in the voting (See official site of the Central Election Commission of Ukraine: http://www.cvk.gov.ua/ ows-doc/doc-ref/rez.htm).

Before the constitutional reforms of 2004, the President appointed the Prime Minister with the approval of the parliament respectively, whereas other members of the government were appointed upon the submission of the Prime Minister. The President was correspondingly elected for a five-year term, and powers of the Verkhovna Rada were termed for 4 years within the mentioned period. Since 2004, the powers of the Verkhovna Rada have been extended to 5 years term due to the constitutional reforms. Respectively, the right to appoint the Prime Minister, Ministers of Defense and Foreign Affairs has been vested with the Verkhovna Rada upon the submission of the President, whereas the right to appoint to office the other members of the Cabinet of Ministers was carried out upon the submission of the Prime Minister.

The Verkhovna Rada could also adopt a decision about resignation of the Prime Minister and the Cabinet of Ministers.

The President V.Yushchenko initiated constitutional reforms in 2007 by establishing the National Constitutional Council[9] and which was supposed to present a new project subject to nationwide voting before December 01, 2009. Yet, the increase of political differences and distrust to the President made those reforms impossible.

The third stage termed from 2011 to 2014 started when the Constitutional Court of Ukraine declared the Law, adopted in December 08, 2004 on making amendments in the Constitution of Ukraine anti-constitutional. By this resolution, Ukraine returned to the Constitution adopted on June 28, 1996 hence by becoming a presidential republic. New "transformation" of the public administration system caused dissatisfaction in the society, which were manifested in the form of anti-presidential protests and mass rallies. In order to overcome the existing distrust and to make a new project of constitutional reforms, the President V. Yushchenko initiated "Constitutional congress"[10] headed by the former President of Ukraine L.Kravchuk.

In conformity with the Constitution of Ukraine the President is the head of the state and the guarantor of the state sovereignty, territorial integrity, the observance of the Constitution of Ukraine and human and citizens' rights and freedoms (Article 102). The President is elected by the citizens for five-year period (Article 102); he terminates powers of the Verkhovna Rada ahead of time in cases provided by the Constitution (Article 106), as well as addresses to the Verkhovna Rada with annual and extraordinary proposals about domestic and foreign situation.

[9] Decree of the President of Ukraine N1294/2007 on National Constitution (December 27, 2007), Decree of the President H477/2010 (477/2010) of 02.04.2010, http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/ 1294/2007.
[10] Decree of the President of Ukraine N328/2012 on Constitutional Assembly (May 17, 2012) Amendments in the Decree of the President N566/2012 of 01.10.2012, No.341/2013 of 21.06.2013, http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/ 328/2012.

Within the mentioned period of time presidential elections in Ukraine were conducted in 1991, 1994 (extraordinary), 1999, 2004, 2010 (see Table 2). First presidential elections in Ukraine were conducted in 1991, and the leader of the former Communist party of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk won elections by receiving 61.59% of votes. It was noteworthy, that presidential elections of December 01 1991, when the former leader of the Communist party of Ukraine won, coincided with all-Ukrainian Independence Referendum.

Miners' strike and political disorders took place in Donbas in 1993, which brought to deep social-economic crisis. The main claims were to give the President and the parliament a vote of confidence. As a result of negotiations, the Verkhovna Rada appointed the referendum on confidence in September 26, 1993. But in order to overcome the growing political disorders and the crisis of civil legitimacy the Verkhovna Rada, after having negotiated with the President, canceled the referendum 2 days prior of its conduction and appointed extraordinary parliamentary (March 27, 1944) and extraordinary presidential elections (June 26, 1994).

The second presidential and first extraordinary presidential elections conducted on June 26, 1994 were considered unique for the fact that the main competition was between the representatives of the former Communist party of Ukraine, i.e. acting President and former Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma (Kravchuk 2005, 131-165, Kuzio 2005, 167-190, Kuzio 2007, 63-94). If the acting President won in the first round of presidential elections with 38.36% of votes, then Leonid Kuchma won in the second round of the elections held on June 10, 1994 by garnering 52.15% of votes. Those elections were exceptional in the post-soviet region, as the acting presidents had never lost elections during presidential elections.

Correlation between political forces formed in the result of the presidential elections and political legitimacy level enabled to keep democratization procedures of the political system and Political Stability up to 1999 (Makhorkina 2005, 251-267, Way 2005b, 191-205).

The third presidential elections[11] were held on October 31 and November 14, 1999 that were conducted in two stages. The main competition during those elections was between the acting President and leader of the Communist party P. Simonenko, L.Kuchma received 36.49% of voters in the first round, and P. Simonenko accumulated 22.24%. The acting President won in the second round by garnering 56.5% of votes.

[11] The Law of Ukraine On Elections of the President of Ukraine was adopted on March 05, 1999, which was an important step aimed at stabilization of the electoral legislation, Gazette of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, 1999, N14, p.81, http://zakon4.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/474-14

The fourth presidential elections were held on October-December 2004. The main competition was between the acting Prime Minister V.Yanukovich and the leader of opposition V.Yushchenko (Bredies et al. 2007, Clem and Craumer 2007, 78-110, Mitchell 2012, 115-165).

The presidential elections of 2004 were unprecedented in the history of Ukraine not only in the sense that elections were conducted "in three rounds" - on October 31, November 21 and December 26, 2004, but also that the main competitors of the political struggle were the representatives of the Communist party.

The first round of elections was held on October 31, 2004, during which V.Yushchenko received 39,87% of votes and V.Yanukovich received 39,32% of votes. In accordance with the results of the second round of election of November 21, 2004 the acting Prime Minister V.Yanukovich won by gaining 49,42% of votes, whereas V.Yushchenko received 46,69% of votes. Nonetheless, international election observation mission of the OSCE, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, European Parliament, a number of other organizations and Western countries criticized the conducted elections, by stating that the results of the second round of presidential elections didn't meet with the standards of democracy. Only the Election observation mission of the CIS countries considered the elections "transparent, legitimate and free". Post-electoral procedures brought a new crisis of the political legitimacy that was accompanied by mass political protests turned into All-Ukrainian wave of complaints – "Orange Revolution" (Strasser 2004, Baykhelt, Pavlenko 2005, 52-90, Kurt 2005, 157-160, Kuchma 2007, Matsievskiy 2007, 86-103). Under the unprecedented public pressure, political forces proposed programs aimed at overcoming the situation (Mykhnenko 2012, 166-186, Polese 2012, 143-165, White and McAllister 2012, 115-142). The Supreme Court annulled the results of the 2nd round of presidential elections and took a decision to hold another elections of the second stage. In order to secure legal conformity the Verkhovna Rada made amendments in the Constitution and in the electoral legislation[12] on December 08, which were immediately signed by the acting President L.Kuchma. Mainly, the Law On Elections of the President of Ukraine was adopted regarding the peculiarities of application of the law on re-election of December 26, 2004[13], and some powers of the President were restricted by the constitutional amendments (Articles 76, 78, 81-83, 85,

[12] See official site of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/main/tt1001y2004.

[13] Law of Ukraine On making amendments in the Law of Ukraine, On peculiarities of application of the law of Ukraine, On elections of the President of Ukraine at repeated elections of December 26, 2004 (the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, Law N2228-IV of 14.12.2004), http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/ show/2228-15; Law of Ukraine On peculiarities of application of the law of Ukraine, On elections of the President of Ukraine at repeated elections of December 26, 2004 (the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, Law N2221-IV of 08.12.2004), http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2215-15

87, 89, 90, 93, 98, 112-115)[14]. According to some specialists, presidential-parliamentary form of Ukraine turned into Prime Minister-Presidential form due to such changes (Andrijasevic 2013, Birch 2000, Whitehead 2011, 19-37, Borisov 2013, Borisov 2011, 93-103).

The presidential re-elections were conducted on December 26, 2004 results of which were officially declared on January 10, 2005 and in accordance with the results the leader of opposition V.Yushchenko won by 51,99% of the votes, and V.Yanukovich received 44,2% of the votes. It should be mentioned that in spite of international assistance and domestic unanimity on regulating the existing political tension and on solving main issues of public administration system with joint efforts, the Party of Regions headed by V.Yanukovich continued active struggle in the arena of opposition. The development of political opposition formed a new political culture causing the crisis of the domestic policy legitimacy, which was not still regulated by V.Yanukovich, who was appointed in the position of the Prime Minister of Ukraine. The presidential elections of 2010 became the outcome of that political struggle when the leader of the Party of Regions V.Yanukovich and Yu.Timoshenko became the main candidates.

According to the results of the presidential elections of January 17, 2010, V.Yanukovich won in the 1st round (35,32% of votes), and Yu.Timoshenko received 25,05% of votes. Taking into account the condition that none of the candidates managed to receive more than 50% of votes, the second round of presidential elections was appointed to be held on February 07, 2010. The leader of the Party of Regions V.Yanukovich won by receiving 48,95% of the votes and Yu.Timoshenko with 45,47%.

If "Orange Revolution" in 2004 and V.Yushchenko's victory in the presidential elections contributed to a democratization process of the political life, then, on the contrary, the victory of V.Yanukovich in presidential elections in 2010 and the growing influence of the Party of Regions, brought the democracy to a retreat and to a return of semi-authoritarian methods of L.Kuchma's administration (Parrott 1997, 1-39, Matuszak 2012, 34-50, Popova 2014, 14-43, Way 2005a, 231-261, Way 2005b, 191-205).

From analysis of the post-electoral developments it becomes obvious that besides the main problems existing in the political field of Ukraine ethno-cultural, lingo-cultural and religious issues were also added. The new President should have tried to harmonize problems occurred in the cultural and spiritual sphere. Intercultural

[14] Law of Ukraine On making amendments in the Constitution of Ukraine (the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, Law N2222-IV of 08.12.2004), http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2222-15

controversies directly concerned the status of Russian language and activity of the Russian Orthodox Church. Ideological struggle and potential of political society of "Pro-Russian" and "Pro-European" political forces had a great role in that issue (Grytsay, Nikolko 2009, Aberg and Sandberg 2003, 210-250, Dragneva and Dimitrova 2007, 171-201).

Table 2

The votes of the RU presidential candidates, expressed in percentage [15]

Candidates	Presidential elections in Ukraine									
	1991	1994		1999		2004			2010	
	I rd.	I rd.	II rd.	I rd.	II rd.	I rd.	II rd.	II rd.[16]	I rd.	II rd.
Leonid Kravchuk	***61,59***	38,36	45,06	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Vyacheslav Chernovil (People's Movement of Ukraine)	23,27	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Levko Lukyanenko (Ukrainian Republican Party)	4,49	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Vladymyr Hrynyov	4,17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Leonid Kuchma	-	-	***52,15***	36,49	***56,25***	-	-	-	-	-
Aleksandr Moroz (Socialist Party of Ukraine)	-	13,33		11,29		5,81	-	-	-	-
Vladimir Lanovoy	-	9,55	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pyotr Simonenko (Communist Party of Ukraine)	-	-	-	22,24	37,80	4,97	-	-	3,55	-
Nataliya Vitrenko (Progressive Socialist Party of Ukraine)	-	-	-	10,97	-	-	-	-	-	-
Yevgeniy Marchuk	-	-	-	8,13	-	-	-	-	-	-
Viktor Yushchenko	-	-	-	-	-	39,87	46,69	***51,99***	5,45	-
Viktor Yanukovych (Party of Regions)	-	-	-	-	-	39,32	49,42	44,20	35,32	***48,95***
Yulia Tymoshenko (HMB)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25,05	45,47
Serhgey Tihipko (UUK)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13,06	-
Arseniy Yatsenyuk (PTSHK)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6,96	-
Vladimir Litvin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,35	-
Other candidates	2,31	4,27		5,13		4,94	-	-	4,34	-

The Parliamentary elections in Ukraine as well as in other post-Soviet countries had important influence on the development process of democratic political system.

[15] Data source: official site of the Central Election Commission of Ukraine: http:www.cvk.gov.ua, Final reports of the OSCE regarding elections of Ukraine: http:www.osce.org/odihr/elections/ukraine, as well as Nohlen, Dieter and Stover, Philip, 2010. Elections in Europe. A Data Handbook. Nomos and http://www2.essex.ac.uk/elect/database/indexCountry.asp?country=Ukraine&opt=elc

[16] The Superior court annulled presidential elections of the II round and decided to conduct reelections of the II round.

The last elections of Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR took place in 1990, and after independence - in 1994 (extraordinary), in 1998, 2002, 2006, 2007 (extraordinary) and in 2012 (see Table 3).

Having an essential role in the Parliamentary elections of 1990 the Communist Party of Ukraine managed to keep its influence in new social-political conditions in the future as well. Before Parliamentary elections of 2012, the Communist Party of Ukraine was the only party that was permanently presented in all convocations of parliament. Hence, the Communist Party of Ukraine by possessing political force, managed to have an influential participation in making political decisions and to fulfill the "restrictive" role in liberal-democratic procedures. The comparative stability of the PFI curve up to 1999 is the evidence of that fact, which underwent a decrease with some fluctuations from 1999 to 2004. It should be mentioned, that the Parliament succeeded in sustaining "checks and balances" system. It is not accidental that two extraordinary elections in 1997 and 2007 were held during 1992-2012. In particular, extraordinary parliamentary elections on March 3, 1994 were unique, as 450 deputies were elected by majority electoral procedure. That was the reason for the Parliament to commence its work on May 11 with incomplete members of the parliament, as elections were still being continued in a number of electoral precincts. As a result of extraordinary parliamentary elections, held on September 30, 2007, a political agreement was signed between the President V.Yushchenko and the Prime Minister V.Yanukovych aimed at overcoming the existing political legitimacy crisis.

In the sense of establishing legal bases of parliamentary electoral system, the elections of 3rd convocation of March 28, 1998 and of the 4th convocation of October 28, 2002 of the Verkhovna Rada were of great significance. According to the acting electoral procedure of 1998, the first half of 450 deputies of the Verkhovna Rada were elected by proportional electoral procedure, and the second half by majority electoral procedure. The barrier of 4% was set for parties and unions and comparative majority system was established in the majority electoral procedure. 30 parties participated in elections and only 8 out of them could overcome 4% electoral barrier[17].

In contrary to previous elections, the parliamentary elections of 2006 took place exclusively by proportional electoral system. Therefore, the members of the parliament were elected for the term of 5 years, and 3% barrier was established for the parties and unions. The results of such elections had great influence on political life of Ukraine (Herron 2009b, 58-77, Wilson and Birch 2009, 53-84), Maksak 2006, 106-113), since the Orange Revolution entailed constitutional changes made in 2004 and entered into force from January 01, 2009 in accordance with which some part of president's powers were vested with the parliament. The parliament of new convocation was entitled to appoint the Prime Minister upon submission by the

[17] See official site of the Central Election Commission of Ukraine: http:www.cvk.gov.ua/pls/vd2002/webproc0v?kodvib=1&rejim=0

President, Ministers of Defense and Foreign Affairs, and other Ministers of the Cabinet upon submission by the Prime Minister. A new political crisis occurred due to political differences and disagreements of parties, and, eventually, the Verkhovna Rada was dissolved on April 02, 2007 by the decree of the President and consequently, extraordinary elections were appointed[18]. The fact that the President and the Prime Minster were the representatives of different political forces was also the reason for main contradictions. It brought to "legal struggle" of powers of legislative and executive authorities stated by the Constitution.

In the political arena of post-Soviet countries, it was for the first time in Ukraine that the President and the Prime Minister were representatives of different parties. That contradiction was especially escalated at adopting the draft of the law on the Cabinet of Ministers that was at last signed in 2008 (after extraordinary parliamentary elections)[19].

The scheduled elections of the Verkhovna Rada were conducted on October 28, 2012 in accordance with the Law on Elections of People's Deputies of Ukraine[20] adopted on November 17, 2011 as Ukraine didn't have Election Law[21]. The election legislation was amended in 2012 by restoring the "mixed" electoral procedure with 5% barrier established as a passing limit for parties by proportional electoral procedure. The first half of 450 deputies was elected by proportional electoral procedure, whereas the second half by majority electoral procedure. The Law of Ukraine on Central Election Commission (30.04.2004) and a number of other laws[22] have a great significance in the sphere of legal regulation of electoral procedures.

[18] Decree of the President of Ukraine No.264/2007 (April 02, 2007), http://www.president.gov.ua/documents/5961.html; Decree of the President of Ukraine No.355/2007 (April 0226 2007), http://www.president.gov.ua/documents/6068.html.

[19] Law of Ukraine on the Cabinet of Ministers of May 16, 2008, Gazette of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, 2008, N25, p.241, http://zakon4.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/279-17.

[20] Law of Ukraine on Elections of People's Deputies of Ukraine (the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, Law No.4061-VI of 17.11.2011, http://zakon4.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/4061-17.

[21] The draft of the Election Law has been kept in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine since 04.06.2014, Number and date of registration: No.4010a of 04.06.2014, http://w1.c1.rada.gov.ua/pls/zweb/webproc4_1?pf3511=51202.

[22] Law of Ukraine on Central Election Commission, (the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, Law No.1932-VI of 30.06.2004, http://zakon4.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/1932-15; Law of Ukraine on Elections of the People's Deputies of the Verkhovna Rada of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea (the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, Law No.2487-VI of 10.07.2010, http://zakon4.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2487-17; Law of Ukraine on Elections of the People's Deputies of Ukraine (the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, Law No.4061-VI of 17.11.2011, http://zakon4.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/4061-17; Law of Ukraine on All-Ukrainian Referendum (the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, Law No.5475-VI of 06.11.2012, http://zakon4.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/5475-17; Law of Ukraine on Elections of the President of Ukraine (the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, Law No.474-XIV of 05.03.1999, http://zakon4.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/474-14.

Table 3

The ratio of the deputy seats of the political parties in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine[23]

Parties, unions, participants	Elections of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine								
	1994	1998		2002		2006	2007	2012	
	M	M	P	M	P	P	P	M	P
Communist Party of Ukraine	86	37	84	6	59	21	27	0	32
People's movement of Ukraine	20	14	32	-	B[24]	B	B	-	-
Peasant Party of Ukraine	19	-	-	0	0	0	-	-	-
Socialist Party of Ukraine and Peasant Party Union	-	-	29	-	-	-	-	-	-
Socialist Party of Ukraine	14	-	-	3	20	33	0	-	-
Christian Democratic Union	1	2	0	-	B	B	B	-	-
Party of Greens of Ukraine	0	0	19	-	-	0	0	0	0
People's Democratic Party	-	11	17	-	-	0	0	-	-
"Gromada" All-Ukrainian Union	-	8	16	-	-	0	-	0	0
Progressive Socialist Party of Ukraine	-	2	14	-	-	0	0	-	-
Social-Democratic Party of Ukraine (joint)	-	3	14	5	19	A[25]	-	-	-
"Our Ukraine" Viktor Yushchenko's union	-	-	-	42	70	81	72	0	0
"For the Unified Ukraine!" Parties Union	-	-	-	66	35	-	-	-	-
Yulia Tymoshenko's Union	-	-	-	0	22	129	156	-	-
Party of Regions	-	-	-	-	-	186	175	114	72
VolodymyrLytvyn's Union	-	-	-	-	-	0	20	-	-
Political party "All-All-Ukrainian Batkivshchyna " Association	-	-	-	-	-	A	A	43	62
Ukrainian Democratic Alliance for Reform of Vitali Klitschko	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	34
Political party "All-Ukrainian Union "Svoboda"	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	12	25
People's Party	-	-	-	-	-	-	C[26]	2	0
Other parties	30	26	0	9	0	0	0	4	0
Non-party	168	111	-	94	-	-	-	43	-
Vacancies	112	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	***450***	***220****	***225***	***225***	***225***	***450***	***450***	***225***	***225***

[23] Data source: official site of the Central Election Commission of Ukraine: http:www.cvk.gov.ua, Final reports of the OSCE regarding elections of Ukraine: http:www.osce.org/odihr/elections/ukraine, Nohlen, Dieter and Stover, Philip, 2010. Elections in Europe. A Data Handbook. Nomos and http://www2.essex.ac.uk/elect/database/indexCountry.asp?country=Ukraine&opt=elc

[24] B – Union "Our Ukraine" participated in elections that was called "Our Ukraine-People's Self-protection.

[25] A - Yulia Tymoshenko's Union participated in elections.

[26] C – Lytvyn's Union participated in elections.

* Five vacancies remained three months after elections (see http://www2.essex.ac.uk/elect/database/indexElections.asp?country=Ukraine&election=ukr98).

Figure 2

The ratio of deputy seats by the proportional and majoritarian representation [27]

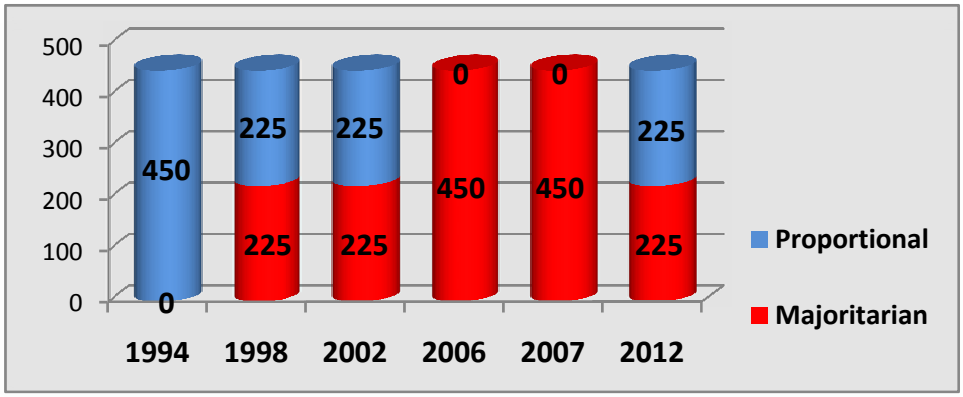


Table 4

The ratio of deputy seats by the proportional and majoritarian representation in Verkhovna Rada

Electoral representation	1994	1998	2002	2006	2007	2012
Proportional	0	225	225	450	450	225
Majoritarian	450	225	225	0	0	225
Total	**450**	**450**	**450**	**450**	**450**	**450**

Independent statehood fostered the development of civil society institutions, which had significant influence on political system and democratization of the government (Aberg and Sandberg 2003, 210-250, Burkovsky and Haran 2013, 207-229, Pishchikova 2010, Pospiezna 2014, 1-32, 94-120, Verpoest 2007, 145-170). Mass rallies, civil movements, public complaints and various meetings of public unions were the examples for the formation of civil culture (Balakireva and Sereda 2013, 219-250, Herron 2009a, Koshiw 2013, Phillips 2010, 13-42, Wilson 2014, Gosh 2012, Soskin 2007, 32-40).

According to the data of 2007, 52693 non-governmental organizations, 15867 parties, 10705 charitable organizations, 20186 religious organizations, 18960 trade unions and other public unions (Latsiba 2008, 58-72) were registered in Ukraine. The year 2010 was the most active in the sense of mass events performed by civil society organizations in 2003-2012 (Table 4).

[27] Data source: official site of the Central Election Commission of Ukraine: http:www.cvk.gov.ua, Final reports of the OSCE regarding elections of Ukraine: http:www.osce.org/odihr/elections/ukraine, Nohlen, Dieter and Stover, Philip, 2010. Elections in Europe. A Data Handbook. Nomos and http://www2.essex.ac.uk/elect/database/indexCountry.asp?country=Ukraine&opt=elc

Table 4

Chronology of civil disobedience in 2003-2012[28]

Year	*Number of mass events*	*Number of participants in million*	*Police staff to maintain public order*
2003	66 065	45,7	704 058
2004	93 139	77,4	1 514 975
2005	122 054	61,0	1 003 808
2006	170 732	85,4	868 775
2007	206 495	93,1	940 265
2008	153 731	64,7	879 271
2009	156 469	61,5	823 199
2010	260 520	132,8	1 081 652
2011	171 773	68,3	934 580
2012	235 768	94,6	1 180 644

In the history of the new independent Ukraine civil disobediences and civil war, Euromaidan, ethno-political oppositions taken place in 2013-2014 were unprecedented. New mass movement of civil disobediences took place in Ukraine on November 21, 2013, which culminated at the end of November 2013. The main reason for all these was due to the fact, that an Association Agreement of Ukraine with EU at Eastern Partnership Summit in Vilnius was not signed. In order to prevent mass civil disobediences the authorities tried to suppress the rallies, and a number of laws were adopted on January 16, 2014 according to which the procedure for conducting mass gatherings became sterner. Gradually civil disobediences obtained radical and extreme direction, which became evident by confrontations between law-enforcing authorities and demonstrators on January 19, 2014, occupation of governmental and public buildings, as well as demonstrators' public reprobation on state officials. In order to regulate mass disorders a number of negotiations were conducted between the President, parliamentary opposition parties and leaders of civil disobediences movement. Due to the accepted agreement a number of laws adopted on January 16, 2014 were declared invalid (Analytic, Kiev Center of Political Studies and Conflictology, 2014), and the amnesty was granted to participants of mass gatherings. Simultaneously, the President accepted the resignations of the Prime Minister and Cabinet of Ministers by undertaking to form coalition government and to take steps to bring back the Constitution of 2004 and form of parliamentary-presidential government. Nevertheless, all efforts and promises of the President brought a new wave of civil disobediences in the form of unprecedented armed clashes, bloodshed and murders (Brest Courier 2014, OBSERVER 2014, Segodnya.ua 2014, LB.ua 2014). Thanks to the involvement of the EU, USA and Russian Federation, the

[28] See Tyzhden.ua 2013, http://tyzhden.ua/News/87844 (26.08.2013).

President and the leaders of opposition signed an agreement on February 21, 2014, by which the previously obtained arrangements were settled and reestablished. They were the following: to restore the Police internal forces to their permanent service locations, to restore the Constitution adopted in 2004, as well as to implement constitutional amendments to conduct extraordinary presidential elections by the end of 2014). Political struggle and disagreements caused radical actions by the opposition parties in the Verkhovna Rada, after which the President "was self-isolated under the order against the Constitution" or "self-restricted from his powers vested with him under the constitution", by attaining political asylum in the Russian Federation. President's powers were assigned to the Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada on February 23, 2014.

The change of the governing political elite and further deepening of Euro integration processes led to an aggravation of ethno-political problems, which were manifested in pre-electoral and post-electoral processes from time to time. The evidence of it is pictured by the requirements of population of the eastern districts of Ukraine about obtaining federal status, declaration of independence of Donetsk and Lugansk districts and self-organization of corresponding republics. The armed rebellion and anti-terroristic actions in the eastern districts of Ukraine (the Right sector 2014, Radio Svoboda 2014), as well as the struggle for national identity caused the growth of intolerance towards Russian-speaking population and the Russian Orthodox Church. At the same time destructive consequences of the civil war in Ukraine were unprecedented in the context of contemporary geopolitical clashes (BBC 2014a, BBC 2014b, Russian newspaper 2014, Ukrainian Independent Information Agency of News), as well as the deterioration of relations between Ukraine and Russian Federation, USA and RF, EU and RF.

By analyzing the indices of Political Stability and Rule of Law included in the model, we may state that they have been relatively improved within the observed period of time. Moreover, the lowest indices of Political Stability (12,92) and Rule of Law (29,33) were registered in 2000[29].

According to the Corruption Perceptions Index, Ukraine took the 144th place in 2012 and 2013. By the data of the Global Corruption Barometer of 2013, only 4% of the respondents considered the state anticorruption struggle[30]efficient. The respondents also considered authorities, such as courts, law-enforcing bodies, state service, parliament, parties that are to fight against corruption as the most corrupted[31].

[29] See official site of the World Bank: http:// info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/index.aspx#reports (10.06.2014).
[30] See official site of the Transparency International Anti-corruption Center: http://www.transparency.org /gcb2013/country/? Country=ukraine_ (10.06.2014).
[31] See official site of the Transparency International Anti-corruption Center: http://www.transparency.org /gcb2013/country/? Country=ukraine_ (10.06.2014).

According to the data of Freedom House Ukraine was considered "partial free" given the Political Rights and Civil Liberties in 1999-2005, "free" – in 2006-2010, and again "partial free" in 2011-2012[32]. In the sense of Freedom of the Press, Ukraine was considered "partial free" in 2002, "not free" in 2003-2004, and again "partial free" in 2005-2012. According to Freedom House, the regression of indices of Freedom of the Press in Ukraine is conditioned by the efforts of state authorities to control mass media activity, to restrict freedom of speech, to use violations towards mass media and to kill journalists[33].

According to the data of the Index of Global Gender Gap (Report 2013) of 2006-2012, sub-index of political opportunities is the lowest indicator in Ukraine according to which Ukraine recorded the highest indicator in 2006, 2010 and 2011, taking 97th, 105th and 106th places accordingly. The decline of sub-index of political opportunities of Ukraine observed by the Global Gender Gap took place in the years 2007-2009 and 2012. After parliamentary elections of 2012, women made only 8% of the total number of deputies in the Verkhovna Rada. Ukraine took the 64th place in accordance with the final calculations in 2013.

To sum up, we would like to mention that the PFI curve of the Index of Democracy Level of Ukraine decreased in 2012 in comparison with 1995. If PFI was at 0,462 points in 1995, then in 2012 it was estimated at 0,451 points. The highest indicator of PFI within the observed period of time was recorded in 2008 (0,498), whereas the lowest in 2000 (0,395).

Table 1 shows that the curve of PFI of Ukraine recorded five falls: in 1997-1998 (0,458 and 0,444), in 2000 (0,395), in 2004 (0,405), in 2010 (0,444) and in 2012 (0,451). But, prior to the first fall in 1997-1998 the curve of PFI went up in 1995-1996. It was conditioned by overcoming the process of legitimacy crisis after extraordinary presidential and parliamentary elections, and the main reason for the fall was due to democratic transformation of the political system and political disagreements occurred in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea. It also brought forward the fall of indices of Political Stability and Rule of Law. The drastic fall of PFI took place in 2000 and it was the lowest indicator during the observed period of time. It was conditioned by fall of Political Stability (29,33), as well as by the lowest indicators of the Rule of Law (12,92) and Corruption Perceptions Index (1,5). Political Rights and Civil Liberties (4) were comparatively low in 2000 and they remained so up to 2003. The fall of PFI in 2004 was conditioned by presidential elections, Orange Revolution and formation of new political elite. They stipulated the fall of Political

[32] Data source: official site of the Freedom House: http://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/1999/ukraine#.VES5mPnLeRY.

[33] Data source: official site of the Freedom House: http://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/1999/ukraine#.VES5mPnLeRY.

Stability (28,85) and activation of public disorders (0,5), which was recorded by the lowest indicators. The drop of the PFI in 2010 was conditioned by presidential elections, struggle of parties and political forces, causing the re-emergence of political mass disobediences (1). The fall of PFI in 2012 was conditioned by parliamentary elections that triggered a new political tension between government party and opposition parties.

The curve of Political Factors Index of the democracy level was comparatively high in 1996, 1999, 2001-2002, 2005-2006 and 2008. The process of independent statehood and civil stability agreed by democratic transformations promoted the growth of Political Factors Index. Presidential elections conducted in 1999 in two stages promoted the growth of Political Factors Index, which had a significant influence on the development of "con-social" democracy. The indicator of Freedom of the Press (60) was improved in that year, the number of social disorders was reduced to 3,7 points. The growth of Political Factors Index in 2001-2002 was conditioned by creation of prerequisites for development of freedom of opposition parties, civil society and mass media. Two opposition blocs – "Our Ukraine" the bloc of V.Yushchenko and the bloc of Yu.Tymoshenchko managed to obtain significant parliamentary seats of the Verkhovna Rada by proportional representation. In this respect, the parliamentary opposition succeeded in playing the essential role in the political decisions-making processes. The growth of PFI in 2005-2006 was conditioned by civil legitimacy and parliamentary representation of opposition parties. Parliamentary elections of 2006 for the first time being held by 100% proportional representation in the history of new independent Ukraine also contributed to all that. Indices of Political Stability, Political Rights and Civil Liberties (2,5), Corruption Perceptions Index were also improved within the mentioned period of time. The growth of Political Factors Index in 2008 was mainly conditioned by democratic improvements in the political system and form of government, which contributed to the formation of in-country procedures on protection of the Rule of Law (29,33), Political Rights and Civil Liberties (2,5). Moreover, the Rule of Law recorded the highest indicator within the observed period of time.

8.2 Economic Factors Index

The influence of Economic Factors is great on the Index of Democracy Level (IDL) of Ukraine. In order to increase efficiency of the economic system the favourable geographic location of Ukraine is especially important. Beginning from independent years Ukraine had the best conditions of economic progress (Banaian 1999). About 5% of the world industrial production is manufactured in Ukraine: 1/10 of cast iron,

1/10 of steel, and 1/12 of coal[34]. Taking into consideration that economy of the USSR was built on economic sub-structural connections of different republics (Aslund 2009, Banaian 1999, D'Anieri, Gmyrya 2012, 71-74), more than 80% of industrial production of Ukraine didn't have complete technological stage[35]. That is why the severance of economic relations with the USSR and the development of the market economy created significant difficulties for preservation of the stability of Ukraine's social-economic system (Aslund 2009, Grigoriev, Golyashev, Buryak 2014b, Kobuta, Sikachina, Zhigadlo 2012). In particular, Gross Domestic Product was significantly reduced in 1994 in comparison with 1991. This brought to hyperinflation in 1993 completely disturbing balance of credit and financial system[36].

The curve of Economic Factors Index (EFI) of the Index of Democracy Level in Ukraine grew in the years 1995-2012. If it had 0,121 points in 1995, EFI had 0,706 points in 2012.

The curve of Economic Factors Index grew in 1995-1996, but there was a decline in 1997. Low levels of sub-indices of Gross Domestic Product, domestic credits of economy, foreign direct investment, the Index of Economic Freedom had comparatively affected the fall of the EFI curve. The role of budget deficit was also significant in 1997. EFI grew in 1998-2000, which was conditioned by liberation of economic system, implementation of a new financial and credit policy, development of strategy aimed at improvement of procedures of market economy and at the overcoming of economic crisis. EFI grew from 2000 to 2008 with some fluctuations.

After the presidential elections of 2004 implementation of microeconomic improvements and the rise of economic indicators became the primary issues in the economic sphere. The success of those programs was mainly depended on Euro-integration process as well, which would improve financial stability, formation of favourable investment environment, struggle against corruption, transparency of the economy public administration and liberation (Aslund 2009, Chervits 2013). Though relative stability of the political system of 2006 was disturbed as a result of new political crisis of 2007, a stable economic growth was recorded in the economy (Noel et al. 2006, Grigoriev, Golyashev, Buryak 2014a). It was mostly conditioned by a significant growth of volumes of machine-building, metallurgy and metal-processing, as well as agricultural, chemical and oil-chemical, food and light industry

[34] Economic development of the country. Access date: 16.09.2014; http://ukrexport.gov.ua/rus/economy/indicators/ukr/3046.html.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Economic development of the country. Access date: 16.09.2014; http://ukrexport.gov.ua/rus/economy/indicators/ukr/3046.html.

production[37]. Volumes of exports of products were increased by 36.4% in 2007, whereas import volumes were increased by 45,8%. In comparison to the previous year, real incomes of population also increased by 12,8% alongside with the real income of the population and the real wage grew by 12,5%[38]. Due to that fact, the highest indicator of Gross Domestic Product was recorded in 2008. Budget deficit was also reduced, and indices of commodity turnover and domestic credits grew.

Pre-electoral process and presidential elections had negative influence on regression of EFI indicators in 2009. Budget deficit was relatively high and the foreign direct investment volumes were low in 2009.

After parliamentary elections of 2012 post-electoral struggle continued between political forces, thus leaving negative influence on the stability of the economic system. The EFI curve underwent a fall. Though the increase of the inflation was the lowest in 2012, the trade volumes were reduced, the low level of foreign direct investments was still preserved, whereas the budget deficit was high in comparison with the previous year.

8.3 Social Factors Index

Unemployment, poverty (Hrynkevych, Ilyash, Halkiv 2013, NECE Conference of European Statisticians (CES) Bureau meeting in 2014, Measure of poverty in Ukraine 2013), migration and the main issues of the development of labour market created new risks in the Ukrainian society (Malinovskaya 2013a, 2-35, Malinovskaya 2013b, Poznyak 2012, Reznik 2006, 66-89). The main problems of a social state, social protection and the development of social model are still urgent in the development and implementation of social efficient policy, as well as in the system of social government (Vardomsky and others 2013).

The curve of Social Factors Index (SFI) of the Index of Democracy Level in Ukraine grew in 1995-2012. If it had 0,530 points in 1995, then it had 0,888 points in 2012. Three falls of SFI were recorded within the observed period of time: in 1998, 1999 and 2009. The SFI curve relatively grew in 1995-1997, 2000-2008, 2010-2012 (the highest indicator was recorded in 2012).

The first fall of SFI in 1998 was conditioned by the growth of unemployment level, as well as reduction of real wage, which was the lowest in 1999. Though after presidential elections of 1999 favorable conditions were created for the economic growth, it was not enough to improve the social situation.

[37] Economic development of the country. Access date: 16.09.2014; http://ukrexport.gov.ua/rus/ economy/ indicators/ukr/3046.html
[38] Economic development of the country. Access date: 16.09.2014; http://ukrexport.gov.ua/rus/ economy/ indicators/ukr/3046.html

The reason for the fall of SFI in 2009 was repeatedly caused by the growth of unemployment level and reduction of real wage.

The value of Human Development Index (HDI) had an influence on the SFI within the observed period of time, according to which Ukraine took the 69th place among 169 countries in 2010, and the 76th place among 187 countries in 2011, and the 78th place in 2012. The HDI value increased from 0,714 to 0,740 (UNDP HDR 2013).

8.4 Educational Factors Index

Efficient policy of educational system and its development programs have an essential influence on the democratic progress of the transitional society of Ukraine. At the beginning of 1995 the main problems of education obtained unique direction, which was conditioned by clarification of strategic approaches of public policy and necessity to establish procedures (Boyarsky, Cheyanov, Ruchaysky 2013). In particular, the corresponding documents adopted by the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine and establishment of the procedures aimed at their implementation played a favorable role (Law on Education of 1991 and state program "Education (Ukraine in XXI century)").

In general, the curve of Educational Factors Index (EdFI) of the Index of Democracy Level of Ukraine grew in 1995-2012, yet some falls were also recorded in the meantime. The first decline of EdFI took place in 1997-1999. The EdFI was at 0,606 points in 1997, and it continued reducing in 1999 and reached to the lowest level with 0,493 points within the observed period of time. The second fall of EdFI took place in 2004 (0,622), and relatively, the third fall in 2010 (0,735) and in 2011 (0,699). The social-economic crisis and process aimed at the transition from the planned economy to the market economy led to reduction of financing and to limitation of budget spending on educational sphere. Wages and scholarships were reduced as a result of all above-mentioned factors and a tuition fee system was introduced in higher education and secondary-professional institutions, and the number of students on free of charge basis and on governmental budget basis were limited (Bulba, Stepanenko 2014).

The EdFI curve grew in 1995-1996, 2000-2003, 2005-2006 and 2008-2009. The highest indicator of the EdFI within the observed period of time was recorded in 2009 (0,770) conditioned by the increase of government spending on education, which was the highest one within the observed period of time (7,3%).

Public hearings on the subject of "About condition of the education in Ukraine" held in February 1995 (Legal consultations 1995) had a unique role for the development of educational sphere after independence, organized by the parliament of Ukraine for the

first time. Some suggested approaches were adopted under the decision of the Chairman of the Ukrainian parliament in 1995, and some were accepted under the orders "On main directions to be taken for improvements of higher education in Ukraine" in September 1995 and "On measures to improve activities of education authorities" on October 1995 issued by the President of Ukraine. Further steps directed to develop a state assistance policy to the spheres of scientific-technical establishments, scientific-educational activity and scientific-educational were also of high importance[39]. In 1995 by the decree of the Minister of Education and Science of Ukraine a working group was formed to develop the concept on humanitarian education in Ukraine, and the main issues of investment which were discussed by the Colleague of the Ministry of Education and Science on December 27 of the same year.

The development of the draft law on the Higher Education of 1998 which was adopted only in 2002 had a significant role in EdFI[40].

The Law on General secondary education of 1999[41], the President's decree on National doctrine of education development of 2002[42], the state "Teacher" program approved by the Cabinet of Ministers of 2002[43] were of great significance for the development and implementation process of the scientific-educational policy.

The HDI Education Index of EdFI increased from 0,74 to 0,86 within the mentioned period of time, according to which Ukraine is considered a county with a high level of human development[44].

8.5 Health Factors Index

The Health Factors Index of the Index of Democracy Level grew in 1995-2012. The main progress of the HFI was recorded in 1998, 2001-2003, 2009-2010 and 2012. The highest indicator of the EdFI was recorded in 2010 (0.439) conditioned by the increase of health expenditure. Four declines of the HFI were recorded within the observed period of time, such as in 1995-1997, 1999-2000, 2004-2005 and 2011. Moreover, the

[39] Decree of the President of Ukraine No.661/95 of 26.07.1995, http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/661/95. Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers No.911 of 15.11.1995, http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/911-95-%D%BF

[40] Law of Ukraine on Higher education N2984-III of 17.01.2002, http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2984-14

[41] Law of Ukraine on General secondary education, http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/651-14

[42] Decree of the President of Ukraine on National doctrine of education development No.347/2002 of 17.04.2002, http:// www.mon.gov.ua/ua/activity/education/56/692/normativno-pravova-baza

[43] Decree of the Cabinet of Ministers on State program "Teacher" No.379 of 28.03.2002, http:// www.mon.gov.ua/ua/activity/education/56/692/normativno-pravova-baza.

[44] See official site of the UNDP: http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/tale-1-human-development –index-and-its-components.

lowest indicator of the HFI was in 2000 (0.241) conditioned by reduction of health expenditure.

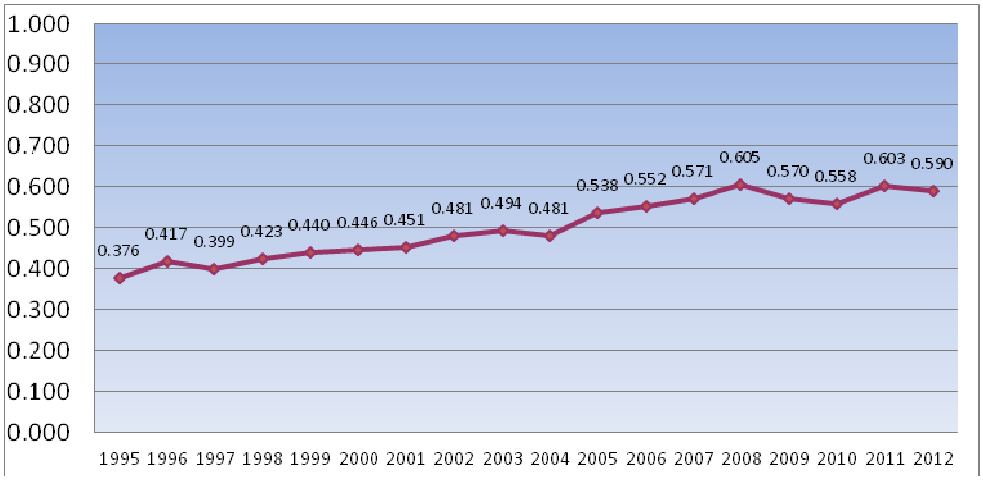
As a result of all above-mentioned factors, a demographic decline of the population was also registered (Experts of Ukraine 2009).

After the collapse of the USSR Ukraine inherited the centralized health system and the preservation of that very system created significant difficulties (Levenets 2012, Shpak 272-278, Menon 2010). With a purpose to make improvements in the health system (Lekhan, Rudy, Shishkin 2007), decentralization process had begun since 1995, where the redistribution of the powers was intended. Nonetheless, it caused the incompatibility of funds and expenditure provided for health, the main reasons of which were administrative and territorial uneven divisions of Ukraine as well as the uneven allocation of population for employment, since the industrial substructures were mainly centralized in the Southern and Eastern parts of Ukraine, whereas the agricultural substructures were mainly in the West. The Law on Legislative bases of health of Ukraine was adopted in 1993[45], and the concept of the health development was approved in 2000[46].

8.6 Development trends of the Index of Democracy Level

Figure 3

The Index of Democracy Level in Ukraine (1995-2012) *



[45] Law od Ukraine on Bases of legislation of Ukraine on health protection No.28001-XII of 19.11.1992, http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2801-12

[46] Decree of the President of Ukraine on Concept of health protection development of the population of Ukraine N1313/2000 of 07.12.2000, http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/1313/2000

* The source is based on the calculations accumulated by the researcher.

The Index of the Democracy Level (IDL) of Ukraine is presented in the Figure 3, which had a positive growth trend. According to the data of the observed period of time the IDL had a higher indicator in 2012 (0,590) than in 1995 (0,376), with the highest indicator to be recorded in 2008 (0,605) and the lowest in 1995 (0,376).

Figure 3 shows that within 1995-2012 the first growth of the IDL curve was recorded in 1996, the second stable growth was registered in 1998-2003, the third was in 2005-2008, and respectively, the forth was in 2011. The 1996 growth of the IDL was mainly conditioned by a parallel growth of Political Factors Index, Economic Factors Index, Social Factors Index and Educational Factors Index. Figure 1 and 3 show that a stable growth of the IDL in 1998-2003 was mainly stipulated by the improvement of indicators of Economic Factors Index and Social Factors Index. The other factors of the IDL were of "periodic" importance, from which PFI assisted the growth of the IDL in 1999 and 2001-2002, EFI in 2000-2003, and HFI – in 2001-2003.

The growth of the IDL in 2005-2008 was conditioned by the improvement of Political Factors Index, Economic Factors Index, Social Factors Index and Educational Factors Index. The IDL had the highest indicator in 2008 stimulated by high indicators of PFI, EFI and SFI within the observed period of time. The positive indicators of PFI, EFI and SFI contributed to the growth of the IDL, which succeeded in reducing negative influences of Health Factors Index and Educational Factors Index.

Figure 3 shows that the IDL had four main falls, such as in 1997 (0,399), 2004 (0,481), 2009-2010 (0,558) and 2012 (0,590). The first fall of the IDL was observed in 1997 caused by the reduction of indicators of PFI, EFI, HFI and EdFI. The main reason was miners' strike, civil disobediences and parliamentary elections to be held in 1998. Low indicators of PFI, EFI, HFI and EdFI had negative influence on the fall of the IDL in 2004. They were mostly stipulated by constitutional improvements undertaken by the President, conduction of presidential elections and mass rallies in 2003-2004. Such procedures were culminated into "Orange Revolution" and into a formation of new political elite. Low indicators of PFI, EFI, HFI and EdFI affected the fall of the IDL in 2009-2010 caused by internal political tension between the President and the parliament, which led to legitimacy crisis. The global financial-economic crisis also complemented to the internal political disagreements. The decline was partially possible to prevent by the activation of Euro-integration procedures and by the implementation of obligations within the scope of the Eastern Partnership programme. Nevertheless, neither Euro-integration procedures nor presidential elections could preserve a relative internal political stability, because political, economic, cultural, spiritual and ethno-lingual contradictions, which had been between the ruling political elite and the opposition political forces, were deepening. Low indicators of PFI and EFI were the reason of the fall of the IDL in 2012, mainly

stipulated not only by the deepening of the existing contradictions but also by absence of procedures of their civilized regulation. For this very reason, the impossibility of the political dialogue and mutual understanding between the governing political elite and opposition became apparent by the further political procedures.

8.7 Regression analysis of the Index of Democracy Level

Arusyak Aleksanyan, Ashot Aleksanyan

Let us observe the variable of Political, Economic, Social, Educational, Health Factors Indices included in the model, which had significant influence on democracy level of Ukraine through regression analysis.

According to the obtained data, from the political indices included in the model, a significant relation was established between the variables of IDL_i[47] and Political Stability/Absence of Violation, as well as Political Rights and Civil Liberties Indices.

$$\mathbf{Y' = 0{,}007x_1 + 0{,}23\ (Adj.\ R^2=0{,}360),}$$

where Y' is IDL_i (IDL cleaned from the variable of absence of Political Stability/Absence of Violation, and x_1 - absence of Political Stability/Absence of Violation).

$$\mathbf{Y' = 0{,}072x_2 + 0{,}73\ (Adj.\ R^2=0{,}273),}$$

where Y' is IDL_i (IDL cleaned from the Index of Political Rights and Civil Liberties was, and x_2 is the Index of Civil Liberties and Political Rights).

Negative correlation of the Index of Democracy Level and Indices of Political Rights and Civil Liberties may be conditioned by the demonstration of "contradicting rights and liberties". Moreover, the process of the independence contributed to its radical demonstrations. The liberation process in Crimea was accompanied by the independence process of Ukraine itself, as well as by struggle of Russian-speaking population for protection of social and cultural rights. Internal political contradictions and "unyielding" approaches in reference to the aforementioned main problems created new ethnic and lingua-cultural divisional lines.

A significant correlation was established between IDL_i and GNI per capita and foreign direct investments from Economic Factors included in the model:

[47] IDL_i is the Index of Democracy Level cleaned from the corresponding variable during every paired regression analysis.

$$\mathbf{Y' = 0{,}003\ x_3 + 0{,}320\ (Adj.\ R^2=0{,}879),}$$

where Y' is IDL_i (IDL cleaned from GNI per capita, and $\mathbf{x_3}$ – GNI per capita for 100$/).

$$\mathbf{Y' = 0{,}023\ x_4 + 0{,}428\ (Adj.\ R^2=0{,}500),}$$

where Y' is IDL_i (IDL cleaned from Foreign direct investments, and x_4 –Foreign direct investments (% of GDP).

As a result of regression analysis of Educational Factors the following equations were obtained:

$$\mathbf{Y' = 0{,}653\ x_5 - 0{,}826\ (Adj.\ R^2=0{,}926),}$$

where Y' is IDL_i (IDL cleaned from Human Development Index Education Index, and x_5 – HDI Education Index.

$$\mathbf{Y' = 0{,}053\ x_6 + 0{,}224\ (Adj.\ R^2=0{,}414),}$$

where Y' is IDL_i (IDL cleaned from the variable of government spending on education, and x_6 – government spending on education (% of GDP).

The following equations were received for health indices:

$$\mathbf{Y' = 0{,}068\ x_7 + 0{,}54\ (Adj.\ R^2=0{,}315),}$$

where Y' is IDL_i (IDL cleaned from which the variable of health expenditure, and x_7– health expenditure (% of GDP).

To sum up, from the Political Factors included in the model, especially the variable of Political Stability had important influence on democracy of Ukraine, where one point positive change will ensure 0,007 point growth of IDL. The mentioned variable explains 36% of the variation of dependent variable. The change of Indices of Political Rights and Civil Liberties is associated with 0,09 unit decrease in the IDL.

GNI and foreign direct investments also make an influence of the democracy. The growth of GNI per capita for 100 USD and the growth of foreign direct investments by 1% of Gross Domestic Product will provide the growth of the IDL by 0,003 and 0,023 points accordingly.

In reference to social indices, the growth of HDI Education Index by 0,1 point, and change of government spending on education by 1% of Gross Domestic Product will assist to the increase of IDL by 0,2 and 0,053 points accordingly. In particular, Human Development Index Education Index has a high coefficient of determination and explains 93% of the variation of democracy.

From Health Factors, an important relation was established between IDLi and state expenditure in the sphere of health, and positive change of the latter by 1% will add growth of IDLi by 0,07 point.

By summarizing, regression analysis shows that Political Stability, Political Rights and Civil Liberties, foreign direct investments and GNI and a number of other Educational and Health Factors mostly influence on IDL. GNI, HDI Education Index and, somehow, foreign direct investments have high coefficient of determination from the mentioned factors. The latter shows Ukraine receives a significant international financial support and has significant foreign economic ties, which have an essential influence on the development of market economy and democratic procedures. It is important to pay attention to the above-mentioned factors as the preconditions for the formation of a civil democratic government.

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Abbreviations

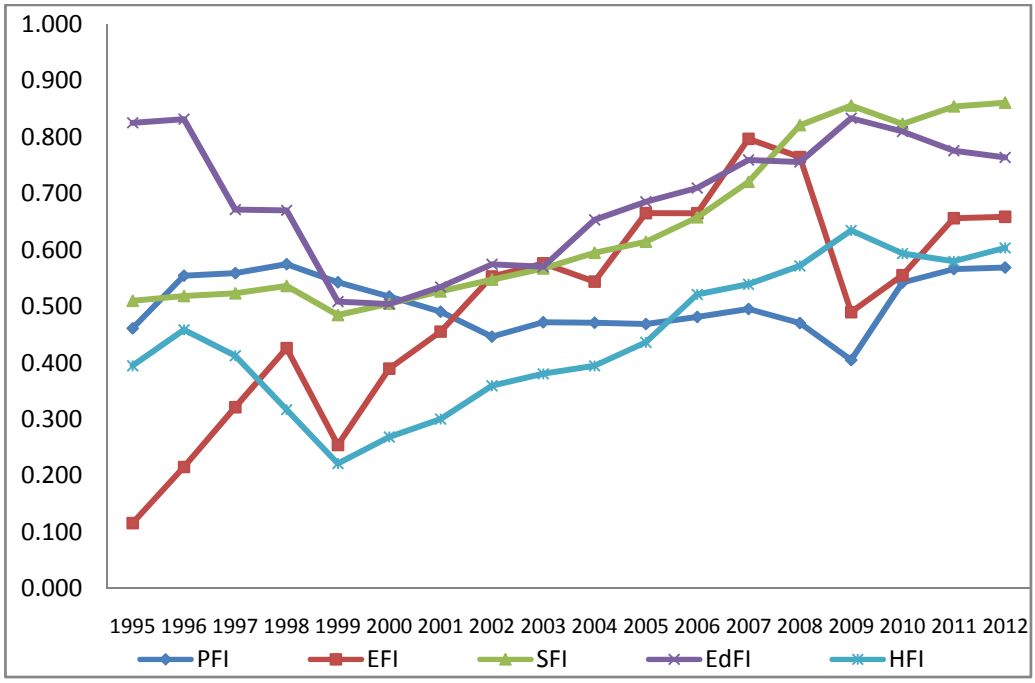
PMU	People’s Movement of Ukraine
RPU	Republican Party of Ukraine
SPU	Socialist Party of Ukraine
CPU	Communist Party of Ukraine
PSPU	Progressive socialist party of Ukraine
PR	Party of Regions
AUBA	All-Ukrainian ”Batkivschyna” Association
SUP	Strong Ukraine party
FCP	Front of Change Party
DPU	Democratic Party pf Ukraine
CEC	Central Electoral Commission

CHAPTER 9.
THE INDEX OF DEMOCRACY LEVEL OF MOLDOVA

VAHAN HUNANYAN

Figure 1

Indices of Political, Economic, Social, Health and Educational Factors affecting the Index of Democracy Level of Moldova in the time span between 1995-2012*



* The source is based on the calculations accumulated by the researcher.

Table 1

Indices of Political, Economic, Social, Educational, Health Factors of Moldova in the time span between 1998 and 2012*

Years	PFI	EFI	SFI	EdFI	HFI	IDL
1995	0,461	0,116	0,510	0,825	0,395	0,409
1996	0,554	0,215	0,518	0,832	0,458	0,482
1997	0,559	0,321	0,523	0,671	0,413	0,489
1998	0,575	0,426	0,536	0,670	0,317	0,514
1999	0,542	0,254	0,484	0,508	0,221	0,423
2000	0,517	0,389	0,504	0,504	0,269	0,454
2001	0,490	0,455	0,526	0,534	0,300	0,469
2002	0,446	0,553	0,547	0,574	0,359	0,489
2003	0,472	0,576	0,567	0,570	0,380	0,510
2004	0,471	0,544	0,595	0,653	0,394	0,515
2005	0,468	0,665	0,614	0,685	0,436	0,555
2006	0,481	0,665	0,657	0,709	0,521	0,577
2007	0,495	0,796	0,720	0,759	0,539	0,631
2008	0,470	0,764	0,821	0,756	0,572	0,626
2009	0,405	0,489	0,855	0,833	0,634	0,547
2010	0,542	0,555	0,823	0,810	0,593	0,610
2011	0,566	0,656	0,854	0,775	0,579	0,645
2012	0,569	0,658	0,860	0,764	0,603	0,648

9.1 Political Factors Index

According to the research data of the Index of Democracy Level of Moldova between 1995-2012 (see Figure 1, Table 1), the curve of Political Factors Index showed some significant fluctuations. Indicators of Political Factors Index were higher at the beginning and at the end than in the middle of the studied period of time.

Starting from 1999 and up to 2009, Political Factors Index underwent significant decline with some fluctuations. Moreover, in 2009 Political Factors Index had the lowest unit of 0,405. Then a drastic growth was registered and in 2012 Political Factors Index of 0,569 almost equaled to the maximal value of 0,57 recorded in 1998 during the observed period of time.

Moldova is a parliamentary republic, the Constitution of which was adopted in 1994. Executive powers are carried out by the President and the Government. President is the head of the country and the guarantor of national sovereignty, independence and territorial unity and integrity of the state (Constitution of Moldova, Article 77).

* The source is based on the calculations accumulated by the researcher.

Starting from 2000, the President shall be elected by obtaining the vote of three fifths of the elected parliament members, and shall have a four-year tenure and is limited to two terms, i.e. can be re-elected only one time (Constitution of Moldova, Articles 78, 80).

In the event of the impossibility to form the Government or of blocking up the procedure of adopting the laws within 3 months, the President of the Republic of Moldova, following the consultations of the parliamentary fractions, may dissolve the Parliament. (Constitution of Moldova, Article 85).

The President signs and publishes laws. The President of the Republic of Moldova shall be entitled, whenever he has certain objections regarding a law, to submit it within two weeks at the most to the Parliament for reconsideration. In the event the Parliament abides by its previously passed decision, the President shall promulgate the law (Constitution of Moldova, Article 93).

A significant part of functions of executive power belongs to the Government of Moldova. The Government shall ensure the carrying out of the state internal and external policy and shall exercise the general leadership of the public administration. (Constitution of Moldova, Article 96). The Prime Minister shall exercise the leadership of the Government and the President of the Republic of Moldova shall designate a candidate for the office of Prime Minister after hearing of the parliamentary fractions. The candidate for the office of Prime Minister shall request the vote of confidence of the Parliament over the programme of activity and the entire list of the Government members. (Constitution of Moldova, Articles 98, 101).

Presidential elections in Moldova were conducted in 1991, 1996, 2001, 2005, 2009 (twice), 2011-2012 (see Table 2).

In the first presidential elections of independent Moldova in 1991, Mircea Snegur, being the only candidate and being the head of the country during the last years, won with 98,2%.

The Speaker of Parliament a center-oriented Petru Lucinschi who obtained assistance of the left forces won in the battle with Snegur by 54.02% of votes in the second round of the next elections of 1996. He was the last directly elected president of Moldova as after constitutional changes in 2000 the President has been elected by the parliament. After those changes “center of gravity” in the public administration system almost completely passed to the parliament and election of the President depends on distribution of powers in the Parliament.

Table 2

The votes of Moldova presidential candidates[1]

Candidates	Presidential Elections of the Republic of Moldova										
	1991	1996		2001	2005	2009 May-June		2009 Nov-Dec.		2011/2012	
	I rd.	I rd.	II rd.	I rd.	I rd.	I rd.	II rd.	I rd.	II rd.	I rd.	II rd.
Mircea Snegur (Party of Renaissance and Conciliation of Moldova)	***98,2%***	38,75%	45,98%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Petru Lucinschi	-	27,66%	***54,02%***	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Vladimir Voronin (Communist party)	-	10,23%	-	***71***[2]	***75***	-	-	-	-	-	-
Andrey Sangeli (Agrarian-Democratic party of Moldova)	-	9,47%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Valeriu Matey (Democratic party)	-	8,90%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Marina Levitskiy	-	2,13%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Anatol Plugaru	-	1,80%	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-
Luliana Gorea-Costin	-	0,64%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Veronika Abramchuk	-	0,42%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dmitriy Bragish (Bragish Alliance)	-	-	-	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Valerian Christya (Communist party)	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gheorghe Duca	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Zinaida Grechanaya (Communist party)	-	-	-	-	-	60	60	-	-	-	-
Stanislav Groppa (Communist party)	-	-	-	-	-	0	-	-	-	-	-
Andrey Neguca (Communist party)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	-	-	-	-
Marian Lupu (Democratic party)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	53	53	58	-
Nikolai Timofty	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	***62***

Legislative power in Moldova is presented by unicameral parliament, which is a representative and legislative superior authority consisted of 101 deputies being elected for the term of 4 years through direct elections on a proportional principle (Constitution of Moldova, Articles 60, 61, 63).

The Parliament adopts laws, resolutions and decisions, sets referendums, confirms the main directions of domestic and foreign policy of the state, carries out parliamentary control over executive power, approves or annuls international treaties, approves and supervises the state budget (Constitution of Moldova, Articles 60, 61, 63).

[1] Data source: Nohlen, Dieter and Stover, Philip, ed., Elections in Europe: A data handbook. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2010; ADEPT (The Association of Participatory Democracy), 2014. Elections in the Republic of Moldova. Accessed March 10, 2014, http: //www.e-democracy.md/en/elections.

[2] According to constitutional improvements of 2000, the President is elected by the parliament. In order to be elected the president must receive at least 3/5 of votes of deputies, i.e. 61 votes.

Parliamentary elections in Moldova were conducted in 1994, 1998, 2001, 2005, 2009 (twice), 2010 (see Table 3).

Table 3

The ratio of the deputy seats of the political parties in the parliament of the Republic of Moldova[3]

Parties, unions, participants	Parliamentary elections in Moldova						
	1994	1998	2001	2005	2009	2009	2010
	P	P	P	P	P	P	P
Agrarian-Democratic Party	56	-	-	-	-	-	-
Socialist Party and "Unitate-Unity" Movement	28	-	-	-	-	-	-
Peasants and Intellectuals Bloc	11	-	-	-	-	-	-
Christian-Democratic People's Front	9	-	-	-	-	-	-
Communist Party	-	40	71	56	60	48	42
Democratic Union	-	26	-	-	-	-	-
Union "For a Democratic and Prosperous Moldova"	-	24	-	-	-	-	-
Alliance of Democratic Forces	-	11	-	-	-	-	-
Braghis Alliance	-	-	19	-	-	-	-
Christian-Democratic People's Party	-	-	11	11	-	-	-
Moldova Democrata	-	-	-	34	-	-	-
Liberal-Democratic Party	-	-	-	-	15	18	32
Liberal Party	-	-	-	-	15	15	12
"Our Moldova" Alliance	-	-	-	-	11	7	-
Democratic Party	-	-	-	-	-	13	15
Total	***104***	***101***	***101***	***101***	***101***	***101***	***101***

First parliamentary elections of the independent Moldova were conducted in 1994, in which Agrarian-Democratic Party won by absolute majority and formed the Government. It should be mentioned, that before 2000 when the President was elected by direct elections, continuous controversies had been occurring between the President, Government and the Parliament. The first confrontation between the

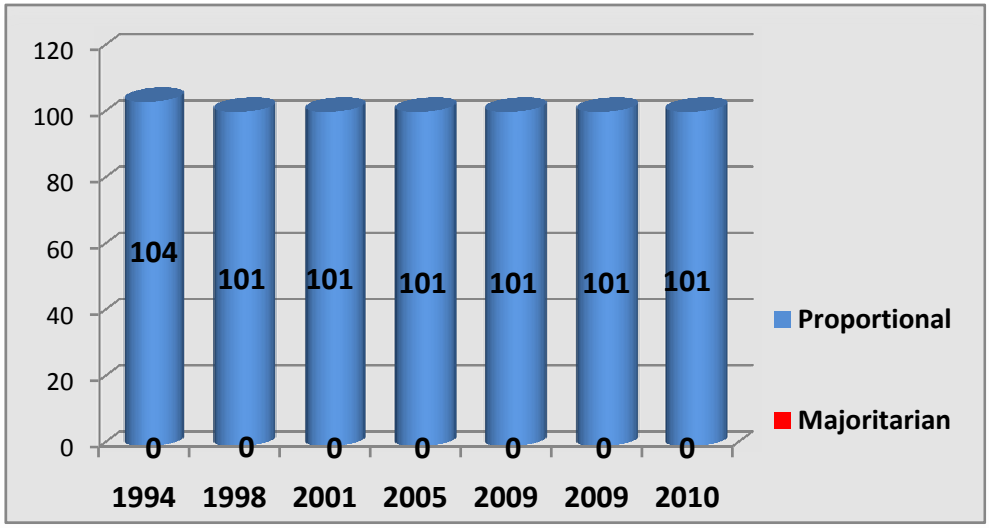
[3] Data source: Nohlen, Dieter and Stover, Philip, ed., Elections in Europe: A data handbook. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2010; ADEPT (The Association of Participatory Democracy), 2014. Elections in the Republic of Moldova. Accessed 10 March 2014, http: //www.e-democracy.md/en/elections.

President and governing party took place in 1995. On March of that same year, the students' mass demonstrations were directed against the initiative of the Government to replace the Moldavian language by Romanian under the Constitution. The President Mircea Snegur met with the demands of the students and thus the relations became strained between the President more or less supported by Agrarian-Democratic Party and the Government headed by the same party. The situation normalized in 1996 and Political Factors Index recorded significant growth (0,554). It was stipulated by the lessening of political disorders, improvement of the Index of the Freedom of Press and improvement of Political Rights and Civil Liberties Indices.

Due to the fact that some deputies of the Agrarian-Democratic Party were enrolled into faction of other parties, the governing Agrarian-Democratic Party lost its absolute majority, it enjoyed back in the elections of 1994 (ADEPT 2014a) and all this above-mentioned contributed to the growth of Political Factor Index in 1996. The Agrarian-Democratic Party had to rely on "Socialist Unity" Union (Horowitz 2005, 119-120), as a result of which parliamentary majority unit was reduced from 1 to 0.

Figure 2

The ratio of deputy seats by the proportional and majoritarian representation [4]



[4] Data source ADEPT (Association for Participatory Democracy). 2014. "Alegerile parlamentare anticipate în Moldova din 27 februarie 1994 Parliamentary Elections in the Republic of Moldova." http://www.e-democracy.md/ en/elections/parliamentary (15.09.2014).

Table 4

The ratio of deputy seats by the proportional and majoritarian representation in the parliament of Moldova

Electoral repsentation	1994	1998	2001	2005	2009	2009	2010
Majoritarian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Proportional	104	101	101	101	101	101	101
Total	**104**	**101**	**101**	**101**	**101**	**101**	**101**

Figure 1 shows that the fall of the Political Factor Index had started since 1998 and lasted till 2002. The Communist party of Moldova received 40 seats, "Democratic Convention of Moldova" Union 26 seats, Union "For Democratic and Prosperous Moldova" 24 and Party of Democratic Forces 11 parliamentary seats in parliamentary elections of 1998 (see Table 3). The last three parties formed a center-right coalition government, which, as the time showed, was very unstable and full of splits (Lovatt 1999). Moreover, the conflict between the President Lucinschi and the parliament was typical for the period from 1998 to 2000 (Matsuzato 2010). The confrontation between the President and the Parliament reached its climax by causing the constitutional crisis. In reply to attempts of the President Lucinschi to expand presidential powers, the Parliament made amendments in the Constitution on July, according to which the President should be elected three fifths of the votes of the parliament instead of direct elections. And since the Parliament didn't manage to elect a new President for three times in a year (Encyclopedia Britannica 2000), hence the acting President Lucinschi dissolved the parliament by consequently appointing new elections (Moscow Times 2011).

The Communist party won in extraordinary parliamentary elections of 2001 (Moldova is the first post-Soviet state where communists succeeded in coming to power) by garnering 50,07% of votes (71 deputy seats). Due to the parliamentary majority, the Communist party enabled to form a stable government and to give an end to a governmental crisis by elected V.Voronin in the post of the president. However, in many people's opinion, the party attempted to withdraw from the reforms made during the past years and it had authoritarian purposes (Tismaneanu 2009). Under the reign of the Communist Party, a significant fall was particularly observed in the sphere of freedom of the press. In fact, in 2001 the index of Freedom of the Press calculated by Freedom House Moldova underwent a decline from 59 points in 2001 to 67 points in the year of 2008. Relatively, in accordance with the Freedom in the World report

conducted by the above-mentioned organization, the rate of Political Rights and Civil Liberties underwent a decline from 3 to 4 points.

A sharp growth of political disorders happened in the result of events of the first half of 2002 was a challenge for the government formed by the Communist party of Moldova. At the beginning of the year the Government included the Russian language into the obligatory subjects at schools with the intention to make it an official language, as well as to make changes in history books. Starting from January 9th all this gave way to protests and mass rallies that lasted for about three months and were headed by opposition Christian-Democratic party.

The biggest protest happened on March 31 by drawing 8000 demonstrators who demanded the resignation of the Government and the appointment of new elections. Though the opposition did not succeed in reaching the main goals, the Government refused to introduce innovations due to the demonstrations and exhortations of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (Encyclopedia Britannica 2002; Tribuna.Md 2012). Thereafter the communists succeeded to keep the country's political system stable without any essential growth of the Political Factor Index.

The lowest indicator of PFI was recorded in 2009 (0,405), which is considered the most stable in the contemporary history of Moldova.

Many candidates didn't accept the results of parliamentary elections conducted on April 05 2009, according to which the Communist party of Moldova received 49,48% of votes with respectively 60 parliamentary seats. That victory and the retention of power by the Communist party of Moldova led to mass strikes and protests of the youth who aspired for changes not only in the capital Kishinev but also in other towns (ADEPT 2014b). In the course of the demonstration on April 07 thousands of demonstrators attacked the Parliament and the President's residency. Three people died in the result of the clashes with police and many people were injured (Schwirtz 2009). Though the Constitutional Court left the elections results unchanged, the level of the tension in the country was, in general, very high. The two attempts to garner the necessary 61% for a victory in the elections were made in vain by the Communist party of Moldova who possessed majority in the Parliament and consequently, the acting president Voronin dissolved the Parliament and appointed extraordinary parliamentary elections on July 26.

The Communist party of Moldova won in extraordinary elections receiving 44,69% of votes (48 parliamentary seats), but the rest parties, such as Liberal-Democratic party, Liberal party, Democratic party of Moldova, "Our Moldova" Union by forming

Alliance "For European Integration" with 53 deputies and obtained seats in the parliament by forming coalition government (ADEPT 2014c). The main goals of the coalition were as follows: administration of the rule of law, strengthening of human rights protection, creation of efficient management system, integration and membership to EU (Euronews 2009).

Due to the opposition of the Communist party of Moldova the new coalition government didn't succeed in electing a president for two times in a row in November and in December, and new parliamentary elections were appointed on November 28, 2010 (the second one during two years). A republican referendum conducted to restore presidential elections by direct voting also failed (BBC 2010). Nonetheless, the country managed to overcome the crisis and political obstacles, which were present in 2009. Figure 1 shows, Political Factors Index recorded a sharp growth, which was stipulated not only by the growth of the indicators of Freedom of the Press, Rule of Law, Political Stability, Political Rights and Civil Liberties, but by the fall of the indicators of political disorders and corruption. The reduction of political disorders and the growth of Freedom of the Press played an important role in the increase of PFI and those indicators were the best recorded in comparison with previous years.

In the elections of 2010, assessed by the international observers as mostly corresponding to recommendations provided by OSCE and Council of Europe (OSCE/ODIHR 2014), the Alliance "For European integration" received more parliamentary seats than the Communist party of Moldova, which received 42 parliamentary seats (see Table 3). However, it was not still enough to elect the President. At last, a politically undefined situation was solved by the fact, that Nikolai Timofti candidate of the Alliance "For European integration" after a three-year interval was elected the President by the Parliament of Moldova on March 16, 2012 (due to the fact, that three deputies of the Communist party of Moldova left the party) (Economist 2012).

Referring to the indicators of Political Stability and of the PFI, we should mention that they were high at the beginning and at the end of the studied period of time, and they were comparatively low in the middle part of the observed period. The lowest indicator of the Rule of Law (32.4) was recorded in 2002-2003, and of Political Stability (26.07) in 2009[5].

[5] See official site of the World Bank: http:// info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/index.aspx#reports (10.06.2014)

According to Corruption Perceptions Index, Moldova was in 94th place among 176 states in 2012 and in 102nd place among 177 states in 2013. By the results of the Global Corruption Barometer of 2013, 71% of the respondents considered corruption in Moldova "a very serious problem", whereas 19% considered "a serious problem". 75-80% of the respondents considered the justice system, police, parties and the parliament to be the most corrupted institutions. They stated that the most cases of corruption happened in the spheres of police, health and education (37-53%)[6].

In reference to Freedom of the Press, we should mention that according to Freedom House Moldova changed its "partly free" status to "not free" in 2003 due to adoption of laws strictly regulating mass media. The country was re-enrolled in the list of "partly free" countries in 2010 conditioned by the reforms made in the field of Freedom of the Press and journalists' rights protection.

Spheres of Political Rights and Civil Liberties are "partly free". During the observed period of time the Political Rights rates fluctuated from 2 to 4. If up to 2009 Civil Liberties Index was assessed by 4 points, then later they were approved and were assessed by 3[7].

9.2 Economic Factors Index

Economic Factors Index of Moldova recorded a continuous growth during the observed period of time and made a positive influence on the Index of Democracy Level.

At the beginning of 1990, the volume of economic regress of Moldova was the highest in comparison with other republics of the former USSR. At the end of 1990, a significant cut in the economy of Moldova took place by making two fifths of the economy of the last years of the Soviet period (Hensel and Gudim 2004, 89). Especially beginning from 2000 economy of Moldova grew at a quick rate, but it was unstable and accompanied with drastic fluctuations. Taking into account that the country's economy was small and open, foreign events had a serious influence on Economic Factors Index (crisis of ruble in 1998). It should be taken into consideration that since its independence, a number of crises in the country have affected the development of economy, and the short-term coalition governments were not able to make structural improvements. Moldova is still considered one of the poorer states in

[6] See official site of the Transparency International Anti-corruption Center: http://www.transparency.org /gcb2013/country/? Country=ukraine_ (10.06.2014).
[7] See official site of the Freedom House: www.freedomhouse.org (10.06.2014).

Europe, where agriculture has an important role in the economy. In Moldova, employment in the industry sphere is below 15% and it mainly depends on the imported energy supplies (GlobalEdge 2014). Transfers of about 1.6 milliard USD made by approximately one million Moldovans working in Europe, Russian and other countries are very important for the recovery of the economy of Moldova (World Factbook 2014).

Since its independence, Moldova has made significant economic improvements aimed at stabilization of market economy, which commenced by a wide privatization program started in 1993. Yet, the State's interference into the economy is too much, and corruption prevents from stable development. Due to the shortage of workplaces, many Moldovans were forced to leave abroad for earnings (globalEDGE 2014).

Studying the trends of Economic Factors Index, Figure 1 shows that there were two declines when the first one happened in 1999 and the second one respectively in 2009 and within that period the EFI grew with some fluctuations. It should be mentioned that a stable growth of Economic Factors Index was recorded till 1998 included. It was conditioned by the success of a number of economic improvements of the transitional period, when Moldova had a reputation of one of the leading improvers in the region and the prices and internal trade were liberalized in the middle of 1990. Due to reasonable monetary policy, Moldova succeeded in overcoming hyperinflation at the beginning of 1990, simultaneously the liberalized trade policies paved the way for Moldova to join the World Trade Organization among the first countries of CIS (Hensel and Gudim 2004, 89).

The sharp fall of Economic Factors Index in 1999 was conditioned by the economic crisis in Russia on August 1998 and inflation of ruble that had serious consequences on economy of Moldova, e.g. at that moment 50% of export of Moldova was made to Russia (Birkens and Pennell 1999, 12). Almost all economic indicators of Economic Factors Index of 1999 were decreased in comparison with the previous year. Factually, inflation raised from 7,8 % to 39,2%[8], and volumes of trade expressed by Gross Domestic Product were reduced to 123,6% from 129,1%[9]. By the next year, Moldova mainly overcame the crisis and recorded a relatively stable economic growth before the world economic crisis. The Economic growth of the country in 2000-2008 years made 6,3% in average, mainly conditioned by money transfers of Moldovan migrants (globalEDGE 2014). A little drop of Economic Factors Index was recorded in 2004 conditioned by the reduction of surplus of trade volumes and budget, and the highest indicator was recorded in 2007.

[8] See official site of the World Bank: http:// info.worldbank.org/indictor/FP.CPI.TOTL.ZG (10.06.2014)
[9] See official site of the World Bank: http:// info.worldbank.org/indicator/NE.TRD.GNFS.ZS (10.06.2014)

The world economic crisis of 2009 had a serious influence on the economy of Moldova. Gross Domestic Product was reduced by 6% annually, in comparison with the previous year, when it grew by 7,8%. Despite that drop the economy was restored in the next year due to international large-scale assistance (Otarashvili 2013).

Economic situation in 2010-2012 showed that international economic fluctuations affected Moldova. Money transfers of 2010-2011 and investments in economy played an important role which in its turn increased an internal demand, and subsequently the growth of the volume of import was significant due to which the Gross Domestic Product grew by 7.1% in 2010 and by 6.4% in 2011. In comparison with the previous year, Economic Factors Index grew very little in 2012. It was conditioned by drought of that year that led to the decrease of agriculture by 22.3%, and internal demand of Moldovan products was reduced caused by the crisis of the European zone (volumes of trade expressed in Gross Domestic Product was reduced from 130.8% to 127.9%[10]) (World Bank Group 2014). Moreover, the volumes of foreign direct investments were reduced. Due to increase of domestic credits, reduction of inflation and increase of the Index of Economic Freedom, a little growth of EFI was recorded.

9.3 Social Factors Index

During the first transitional years, Moldova had to significantly reduce state budget allocations aimed at public sphere. The latter alongside with economic fall became the reason for an essential growth of poverty level and inequality, which reached its highest peak during Russian crisis (Vienna Institute 2010, 7). Nevertheless, in general, by analyzing the dynamics of SFI it becomes obvious that there was almost a continual growth since 1995 (excluding the years 1999-2010), and social conditions of population were improved in the country.

In fact, in the first year of observation, i.e. in 1995 the real wage amounted to 26,1 USD, whereas it increased to 241,50 USD in 2012, and GINI index turned from 0,344 to 0,436[11]. Unemployment rate was also lowered in 1999 from 11,1% to 5,6%[12].

A drastic decrease of the SFI in 1999 was conditioned by Russian ruble crisis, which caused the fall of the index of real wage in Moldova and consequently the rise of

[10] See official site of the World Bank: http:// info.worldbank.org/indicator/NE.TRD.GNFS.ZS (10.06.2014)
[11] See National statistic service: http:// www.statistica.md/pageview.php?I=ru&idc=263&id=2193 (20.05.2014)
[12] See official site of the World Bank: http:// data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.UEM.TOTL.ZS (15.06.2014)

unemployment rate. Thereafter, a stable economic growth in 2000-2008 and reduction of social inequality contributed to a continual growth of SFI. For example, indicators of poverty and of extreme poverty recorded as 30,2% in Moldova 2006 decreased by 4,5% and reached 16,6% and 0,6% in 2012, making Moldova one of the leading countries in the world in the poverty reduction issues (The World Bank Group 2014).

It should be mentioned that Moldova reduced unemployment rate to a one-digit unit due to the fact, that one fourth of economically active population worked abroad (IOM 211). Money transfers of migrant workers became important factor for the reduction of poverty and for the improvement of social conditions.

Followed by economic crisis conditioned by global crisis in 2008-2009, Social Factors Index recorded a fall in 2010 and similar to 1999 the reason for the fall was the reduction of the index of real wage and the rise of unemployment rate. Social Factors Index grew simultaneously with the recovery of economy.

9.4 Educational Factors Index

Moldova inherited a developed educational system but due to its economic conditions, after 1996 it had to reduce educational expenses, which especially recorded great fall in critical 1999. More than twice less financial assets were allocated for education in that year than in 1996.

General educational level is high and literacy level is 98,5%. The level of enrollment in elementary and secondary educational institutions is about 100%, the standards set for higher education have been increasing during the recent years but quality provision is still problematic as corruption rate is significant in this sphere (Bertelsmann Stiftung 2014).

At the beginning of transitional period, a grave cut of population enrollment in educational establishments was recorded till 1999, but the growth was recorded after that year (Vienna Institute 2013, 3). In fact, if 54000 students studied at universities during 1990-1991, then 107800 students studied in 2010-2011. On the other hand, the number of pupils enrolled in secondary vocational education and technical educational establishments was reduced (Government of the Republic of Moldova 2012, 12).

During the recent years, the government of Moldova significantly increased the spending allocated to education by almost doubling the spending within the last ten years. In particular, funds to education, allocated in the critical year of 2009,

comprised 9,5% of the Gross Domestic Product[13], in case when the average European spending comprised 5,5% of the GDP. Nonetheless, despite of all this, such type of spending does not have any serious social and economic influence (Government of the Republic of Moldova 2012, 12). "Brain drain" to Europe and Russia is an important and essential issue in Moldova.

9.5 Health Factors Index

By studying the dynamics of Health Factors Index as in case of Educational Factors Index (see Figure 1, Table 1), it becomes clear that after 1996, the indicator of HFI went down by reaching its lowest point in 1999, which was mainly caused by the reduction of spending allocated to health care, which was, in its turn, conditioned by economic crisis (for comparison it needs to be mentioned that in 1996 10,27% of GDP was allocated, whereas in 1999 only 5,89% of GDP[14]). Though during those years life expectancy at birth didn't undergo any serious changes, it should be mentioned that in comparison with the last years of the Soviet Union it was significantly reduced (WHO 2008, 5).

Starting from 2000 Health Factors Index grew, thanks to the economic growth, and the country managed to add volumes allocated to health sphere (see Figure 1). A gradual growth of life expectancy also contributed to the growth of the Social Factors Index. The implemented improvements are also important for strengthening of positive trends in this sphere, particularly the establishment of the obligatory health care system in 2004.

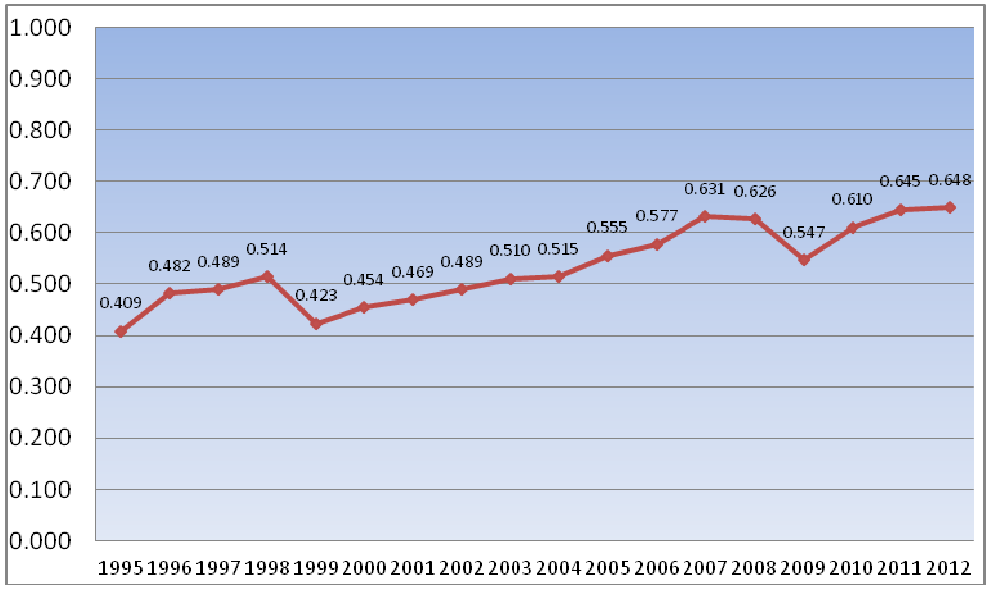
The highest indicator of HFI was recorded in 2009 due to the significant funds allocated in that sphere in that year (12,5% of GDP). Despite an insignificant cut of expenditure allocated to the health sphere in the following years and the decrease of HFI, in general, HFI contributed to the rise of the IDL.

[13] See official site of the World Bank: http:// data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.XPD.TOTL.GD.ZS (10.05.2014).
[14] See official site of the World Bank: http:// data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.XPD.TOTL.GD.ZS (10.05.2014).

9.6 Development trends of the Index of Democracy Level

Figure 3

The Index of Democracy Level in Moldova (1995-2012) *



The Index of Democracy Level (IDL) of Moldova between 1995-2012 is presented in Figure 3.

Having summarized the results of IDL we can conclude that in spite of existing falls and stagnation period, IDL of Moldova grew.

Figure 3 shows that a fluent growth of the IDL was recorded in 1998. In 1999 IDL underwent significant fall caused by the fall of the indicators of EFI, SFI, HFI and EdFI in the result of Russian ruble crisis. Moreover, despite the fact, that there was recorded a fall of PFI in that year, it didn't have any essential influence on the fall. Hence, in this case the fall of IDL was conditioned by social-economic reasons.

IDL began growing in 2000 due to simultaneous increase of values of Economic Factors Index, Social Factors Index, Educational Factors Index and Health Factors Index. The growth pace, in a certain sense, is limited, conditioned by a negative influence of Political Factors Index, since in 1998-2000 relations between institutes of government of a state, i.e. Parliament and President were tense, and protest rallies against educational reforms carried out by the Communist party took place in 2002.

* The source is based on the calculations accumulated by the researcher.

Though there was recorded a growth of PFI, the improvement of the IDL was stipulated by the EFI. The IDL of pre-crisis year of 1998 was surpassed only by the IDL in 2003 and later the growth of the IDL was of a moderate rate.

The growth of the IDL was stopped in 2008 and in 2009 the second drastic decrease took place in the observed period of time, which was conditioned by political and world economic crisis. The shifting of power and large-scale international financial assistance in the same year assisted to the growth of the IDL in 2010, which continued for two years.

Though further development trends of IDL are positive, and most likely it will have a positive course for the next years, and we should be aware and alert of drastic falls and the speed slowdown to a stagnation, as it was in the past.

9.7 Regression analysis of the Index of Democracy Level

Arusyak Aleksanyan, Vahan Hunanyan

Variables of Political, Economic, Social, Health Factors Indices included in the model were calculated through regression analysis within the frames of the research, which have significant influence on democracy level of Moldova.

According to the obtained data, from the political indices included in the model, a significant relation was established between the variables of IDL_i[15] and Corruption Perceptions Index:

$$\mathbf{Y' = 0{,}109x_1 + 0{,}24\ (Adj.\ R^2=0{,}241),}$$

where Y' is IDL_i (IDL cleaned from the variable of Corruption Perceptions Index and x_1 – Corruption Perceptions Index).

From the economic indices included in the model, a significant relation was established between IDL_i and GNI per capita and domestic credits:

$$\mathbf{Y' = 0{,}076x_2 + 0{,}359\ (Adj.\ R^2=0{,}796),}$$

where Y' is IDL_i (IDL cleaned from GDP per capita), x_2 – GNI per capita (1000$).

$$\mathbf{Y' = 0{,}009x_3 + 0{,}229\ (Adj.\ R^2=0{,}685),}$$

[15] IDLi is the Index of Democracy Level cleaned from the corresponding variable during every paired regression analysis.

where Y' is IDL_i (IDL cleaned from domestic credits), x_3 – domestic credits (% of GDP).

In Social Factors Index a significant relation was observed between IDL_i and unemployment and GINI index:

$$\mathbf{Y' = 0{,}032x_4 + 0{,}741\ (Adj.\ R^2=0{,}308),}$$

where Y' is IDL_i (IDL cleaned from unemployment), x_4 – unemployment.

$$\mathbf{Y' = -\ 2{,}019x_5 + 1{,}339\ (Adj.\ R^2=0{,}793),}$$

where Y' is IDL_i (IDL cleaned from GINI index), x_5 – GINI index.

As a result of regression analysis of Health Factors the following equations were obtained:

$$\mathbf{Y' = 0{,}035x_6 + 0{,}222\ (Adj.\ R^2=0{,}669),}$$

where Y' is IDL_i (IDL cleaned from the variable of life expectancy), x_6 – life expectancy

$$\mathbf{Y' = 0{,}026x_7 + 0{,}266\ (Adj.\ R^2=0{,}482),}$$

where Y' is IDL_i (IDL cleaned from the variable of health expenditure), x_7 – health expenditure (% of GDP).

In fact, the Corruption Perceptions Index from the Political Factors mainly influenced on the IDL of Moldova, where with a one point positive change will bring to the change of IDL_i by 0,109 point.

GNI (coefficient of determination reaches to 80%) from Economic Factors and domestic credits influenced on the democracy. GNI per capita for 1000 USD, and the growth of domestic credits by 1% of GDP will contribute to the growth of IDL_i by 0,076 and 0,009 points accordingly.

GINI index from social index is more influential, the decrease of which by one point will bring to the growth of IDL_i by 0,2 points. GINI index has a high coefficient of determination and explains 79% of variation of dependent variables.

From Health Factors, a positive change of the life expectancy by one year and the growth of health expenditure by 1% of GDP will assist the growth of IDLi by 0,035 and 0,026 points accordingly.

Regression analysis shows that Corruption Perceptions Index, GNI per capita, domestic credits, GINI index, unemployment, life expectancy and health expenditure have an influence on IDL. GNI per capita and GINI index has higher coefficient of determination from the mentioned above factors. Consequently, in order to provide the democratic development in Moldova it is required to make efforts aimed at economic development of the country and increase of general well-being level, simultaneously to make steps aimed at equal distribution of profits and to alleviate social polarization.

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Abbreviations

BA	Braghis Alliance
PIB	Peasants and Intellectuals Bloc
UDPM	Union “For a Democratic and Prosperous Moldova”
MD	Moldova Democrata
ADF	Alliance of Democratic Forces
LP	Liberal Party
ADP	Agrarian-Democratic Party
DPM	Democratic Party of Moldova
DCM	Democratic Convention of Moldova
LDPM	Liberal-Democratic Party of Moldova
CPM	Communist Party of Moldova
OMA	“Our Moldova” Alliance
PRRM	Party of Rebirth and Reconciliation of Moldova
SPUUM	Socialist Party and Unitate-Unity Movement
CDPP	Christian Democratic People’s Party
CDPF	Christian Democratic People’s Front

CHAPTER 10.
CROSS-COUNTRY ANALYSIS OF THE INDEX OF DEMOCRACY LEVEL

(ARMENIA, GEORGIA, AZERBAIJAN, RUSSIA, BELARUS, KAZAKHSTAN, UKRAINE, MOLDOVA)

ARUSYAK ALEKSANYAN

10.1 General description of cross-country analysis of the Index of Democracy Level

The calculation methodology of the IDL of states is the same for both cross-country and in-country analysis (see Chapter 1). The only difference is that in case of the latter the values of calculated IDL are presented in the model for one particular country yet at different periods of time, whereas in case of in-country analysis the values of calculated IDL are measured for several countries but during one particular year. Moreover, in case of in-country analyses corresponding values at different periods of time of the observed country are accepted as maximum and minimum values. In reference to the cross-country analysis, the maximum and minimum values for a number of variables were established according to the studies of maximum and minimum indications of almost all countries in the world conducted at the last several years. Taking into account some principles of methodology simple average indications registered within the mentioned period of time were chosen as maximum and minimum values of "three states".

In-country Index of the Democracy Level is expressed by the corresponding points from 0 to +1, and cross-country index is measured from 0 to +100, according to which states are classified in the following way:

[0] – [32] – non-democratic

[33] – [66] – partially democratic

[67] - [100] – democratic

Non-democratic political systems are described by "hyper centralization" of public authority. There is no political opposition acting freely. The citizens' liberties and rights, established even under the constitution, are of a formal nature, i.e. in fact, the citizens are isolated from political processes, because human rights are ignored and all political disobediences are suppressed by force. Control over economic spheres, monopoly, corruption, a high polarization of the society and a high level of poverty are the typical features of states with non-democratic system.

In *partially democratic political systems,* the division of state authorities, being established under the Constitution, may factually be "distorted". Failures in the spheres of human rights protection and rule of law can frequently be denoted. There exist polarization and poverty of population, yet, on the contrary, some members of a narrow circle become rich, high level of civil disobediences and the pressure of them. The development of market relations, reforms aimed at the liberalization of economy, formation of political pluralism, establishment of political party system and civil society, investment aimed at development of education and science and others take place in countries in transition at various levels. Nevertheless, social and economic development is still intended to grow regardless of some fluctuations and falls.

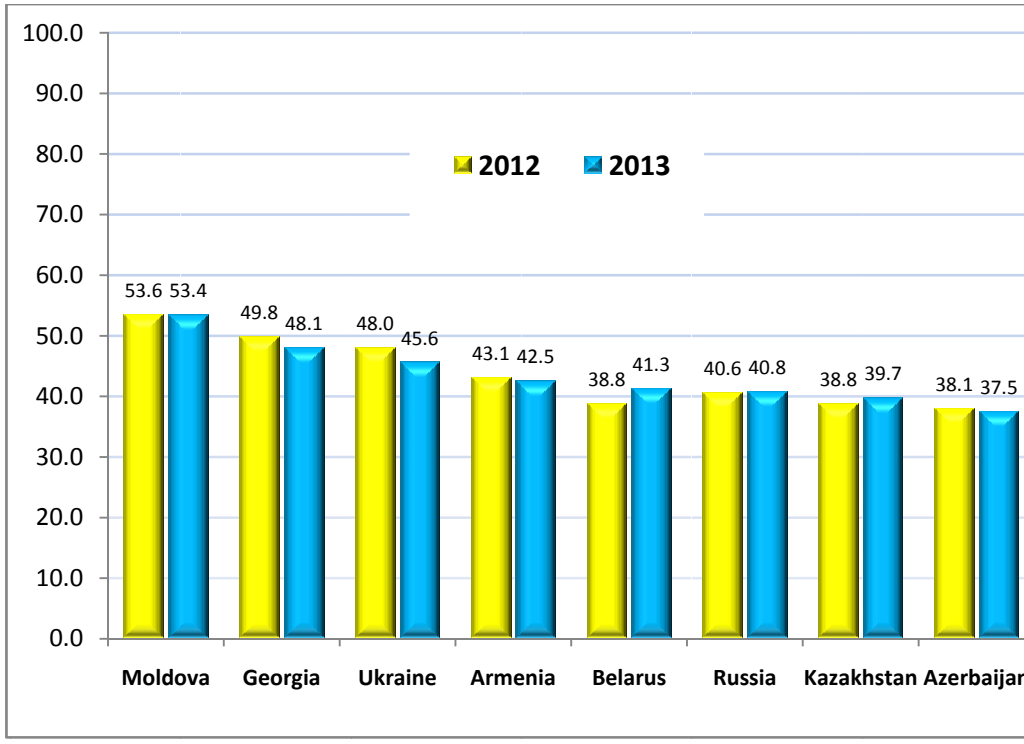
In democratic political systems, the society empowers its representatives to make decisions on public life at different levels of power prescribed by the law. Moreover, in conformity with the established procedures the society takes participation in the making of public administration decisions and supervises their implementation. The principle of separation of powers is distinctly implemented. A multi-party system and pluralism are typical of democratic states, and the opposition is an integral part of political processes. The authority belongs to majority, but the rights of minorities are protected. A "transfer" of authorities is one of the most important principles of democratic political systems, which takes place in accordance with the law and without the destabilization of the system. This system can also be characterized by a sustainable development of the society in the social and economic spheres and by the efficient provision of social guarantees.

According to data obtained from a cross-country analysis (see Figure 1), all the studied states are partially democratic. Moldova has the highest indicator of the IDL (53,4), Georgia slightly yields to Moldova (48,1), then follows Ukraine (45,6). Armenia received 42,5 points. Azerbaijan has the lowest index (37,5) and together with Kazakhstan, it approaches the category of "non-democratic political system". In comparison with 2012, the Index of Democracy Level in all states went down in 2013.

Belarus and Kazakhstan were exceptions and Russia recorded an insignificant positive change. Moreover, Belarus improved its index with three points in comparison with the previous year, and by surpassing Russia its position was changed.

Figure 1

Index of Democracy Level (2012, 2013)*



* The source is based on the calculations accumulated by the researcher.

Table 1

Values of the main variables of the IDL[1]
(Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Ukraine, Moldova, 2013)

Main variables of the Index of Democracy Level	Armenia	Georgia	Azerbaijan	Russia	Belarus	Kazakhstan	Ukraine	Moldova
1. Political Stability (0-100)	49,76	30,81	33,18	22,27	46,45	34,6	21,33	45,5
2. Rule of Law (0-100)	45,02	53,55	30,33	24,64	20,38	30,81	23,22	42,65
3. Freedom of the Press (100-0)	62	47	84	81	93	85	63	53
4. Political Rights and Civil Liberties (7-1)	4,5	3	6	5,5	6,5	5,5	3,5	3
5. Corruption Perceptions Index (0-100)	36	49	28	28	29	26	25	35
6. Political system (0,1,2)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
7. Majority in the parliament (0,1,2)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
8. Social unrest and political pressures (0-5)	1,9	2	1,9	1,8	1,5	2,5	0,5	4
9. Gender equality	0,663	0,675	0,658	0,698	0,714[a]	0,722	0,694	0,704
10. GNI per capita, $ (PPP)	8140	7040	16180	23200	16940	20570	8960	5190
11. External trade rate (% of GDP)	77,6	102,4	75,6	50,9	125,2	67,1	102,2	126,0
12. Index of Economic Freedom (0-100)	68,9	72,6	61,3	51,9	50,1	63,7	49,3	57,3
13. Domestic credits (% of GDP)	46	42,9	25,5	48,3	39,9	40,4	95,7	44,2
14. FDI (% of GDP)	3,5	6,3	3,6	3,4	3,1	4,3	2,1	3,2
15. Inflation rate (%)	5,8	-0,5	5,4	6,8	18,3	5,8	-0,3	4,6
16.Budget deficit (% of GDP)	-1,7	-1,19	6,06[d]	-1,27	-0,93	-2[b]	-4,82	-1,76
17. Real wage, $ (PPP)	660	726[a]	700[a]	1105	1067	772	728	483
18. Unemployment (%)	18,6	14,3	5,5	5,8	5,9	5,2	7,9	5,9
19. GINI index	0,303	0,414	0,33	0,397	0,265	0,286	0,248	0,306
20. HDI Education Index	0,683	0,733	0,656	0,778	0,872	0,833	0,839	0,656
21.Public spending on education (% of GDP) a*	3,3	2,0	2,4	4,1	5,1	3,1	6,2	8,4
22.Life expectancy at birth /2012 a*	74,4	73,9	70,6	70,5	72,1	69,6	70,9	68,7
23.Health expenditure (% GDP) /2012 a*	4,5	9,2	5,4	6,3	5,0	4,2	7,6	11,7

The analysis of sub-indices of democracy level (see Figures 2,3,4,5,6,) and the analysis of their variables (see Table 1) enables to show factors determining democratic procedures of states within the mentioned period of time.

[1]Sources for calculations: 1,2-www.govindicators,org, 3,4-http:www.freedomhouse.org, 5-http:// www.transparency.org, 6,7,8,-appraised by the researcher, 9-http://www.weforum.org/issues/global-gender-gap, 10,11,1314, 15, 19,21,22,23 – http:// www.data.worldbank.org/indicator, 12-http://www.heritage.org/index, 16-http://countryeconomy.com/deficit *17*- http://w3.unece.org/ *18* - http://www.ilo.org/, *20* - http://hdr.undp.org,

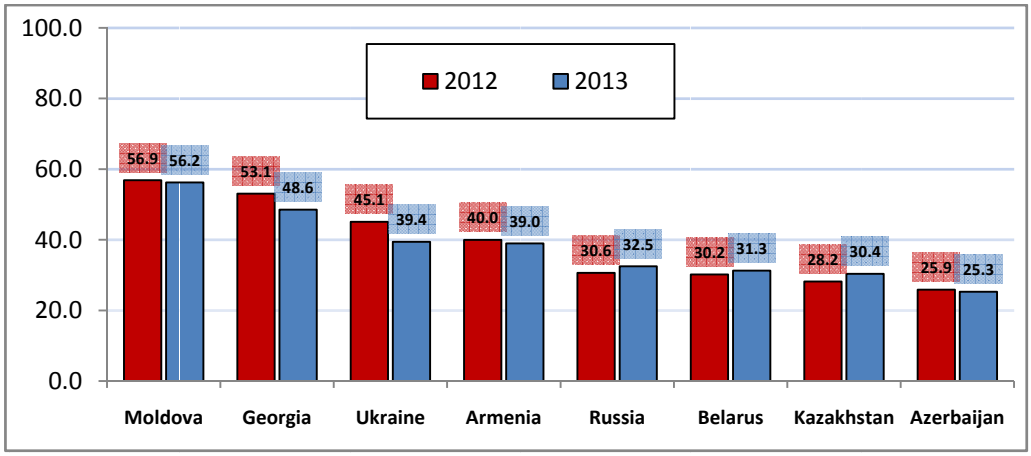
*a- data of previous year/years of such source, b- national statistical chronicle of the mentioned states, d-other sources have been used in case of absence of some data in the mentioned sources (accessed on 15.10.14).

10.2 Political Factors Index

Having studied the Political Factors Index of IDL it becomes obvious that Moldova holds leading position and Azerbaijan holds the lowest horizontal position among these countries. Moreover, the gap between Moldova and Azerbaijan is too large (see Figure 2).

Figure 2

Political Factors Index (2012, 2013)*



Let us return to separate variables of the Political Factors Index (see Table 1). According to Freedom House, the best indications of Political Rights and Civil Liberties in 2012 and 2013 were registered in Moldova (3) (2012, 2013), Georgia (3) and Ukraine (3,5) and these states are described as "partly free" by being close to the category of "free" countries. In accordance with the freedom rate, Armenia is also classified as "partly free" country having correspondingly recorded 5 and 4 points in the categories of Political Rights and Civil Liberties. According to the evaluation of the experts' report, the remaining states such as Russia, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan and Belarus are rated as "not free" countries (Freedom in the World, 2014). In comparison with the previous year, the fall of the indication in the sphere of Civil Liberties was registered in Azerbaijan in 2013[2].

According to data of index of Political Stability/ Absence of Violence published by the World Bank[3], Armenia was the most stable political country in 2012 and 2013

* The source is based on the calculations accumulated by the researcher.

[2] See official site of the Freedom House: http://www.freedomhouse.org /report-types/freedom-world (19.10.2014).

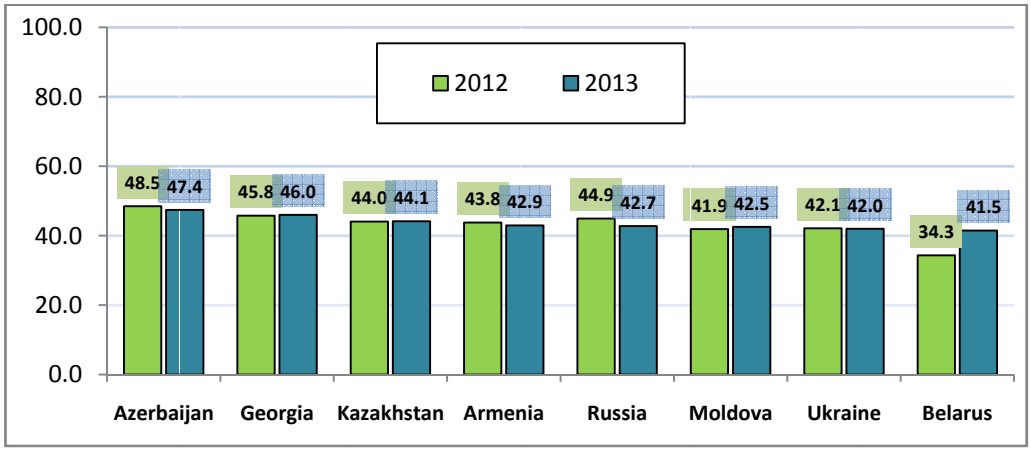
[3] See official site of the World Bank: http:// info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/index.aspx#home (19.10.2014).

among the studied countries, whereas Russia (2012) and Ukraine (2013) were the most unstable countries. Moreover, if compared with the previous year the mentioned indicator of Armenia was reduced by 1 point, the mentioned indicator of Ukraine was reduced by 20 points (see Annexes 2 and 3). The greatest issues were observed in reference with the Rule of Law and Freedom of the Press in Belarus, yet the best results were registered in Georgia (see Table 1). According to Transparency International Anti-corruption Organization, the struggle against corruption was much more successful in Georgia (49), and the most problematic situation was preserved in Ukraine (25) (assessed by 0-100 point system, where 0 is the highest level of Corruption Perceptions, and 100 is the lowest). A great number of political disobediences was registered in Ukraine, which culminated at the end of 2013 by the development of events taken place in Maidan. In this sense, the situation is stable in Moldova. Concerning the variable of the "political system" of the IDL, we should mention that among the countries being studied in and before 2012, only the political system of Moldova was described as the country with the curtailed powers of the president and subsequently the expanded powers of the parliament. This led to the fact, that in 2013 Georgia and Moldova garnered the same point 1 (see Table 1). It should be mentioned, that events of last years played an important role in democratic procedures of Georgia. In 2012 elections, the opposition formed an absolute majority by making peaceful transfer of powers for the first time in Georgia. Earlier, on October 15, 2010 the parliament approved new constitutional draft law by which the President's powers were essentially curtailed (the changes completely entered into force after presidential elections of 2013) due to expansion of powers of the Prime President and the parliament. But "checks and balances principle" of opposition and authorities didn't last long, as both the Prime Minister (head of the executive power) and newly elected President were representatives of "Georgian Dream" party by making majority in the parliament. Within the frames of variable of "majority in the parliament", only Moldova and Ukraine had the best indicators (see Table 1), hence the distribution of seats of authorities and that of the opposition in their parliaments is relatively equal. In the rest of the countries, the political party of the head of the executive power has an absolute majority, or an absolute majority of deputies who, irrespective of their party affiliation, are members oriented for President.

10.3 Economic Factors Index

Table 3

Economic Factors Index (2012, 2013)*



According to data of Economic Factors Index of the IDL, Azerbaijan holds leading position (47,4), and the result recorded in Belarus yields to the rest of the states (see Figure 3).

Being oil-mining country, Azerbaijan has recorded development rates of economy especially since 2006, when the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil pipeline was put into operation, which enabled to increase volumes of oil export. Oil industry of Azerbaijan determines 94% of the country's export, 60% of local industry and 70% of incomes of state budget (Bayramov 2012, 58). As for Belarus, it has great problem especially in connection with inflation rate, which registered 18,3% in 2013 (see Table 1), and 59,2% in 2012.

In comparison with the previous year Economic Factors Index in Russian underwent decrease in 2013 (42,7) which resulted in the change of the position from the third place to the fifth one. It was mainly conditioned by budget balance, which instead of a surplus of the previous years a deficit was registered in 2013. However, the best indicator of Gross National Income per capita belongs to Russia (see Table 1).

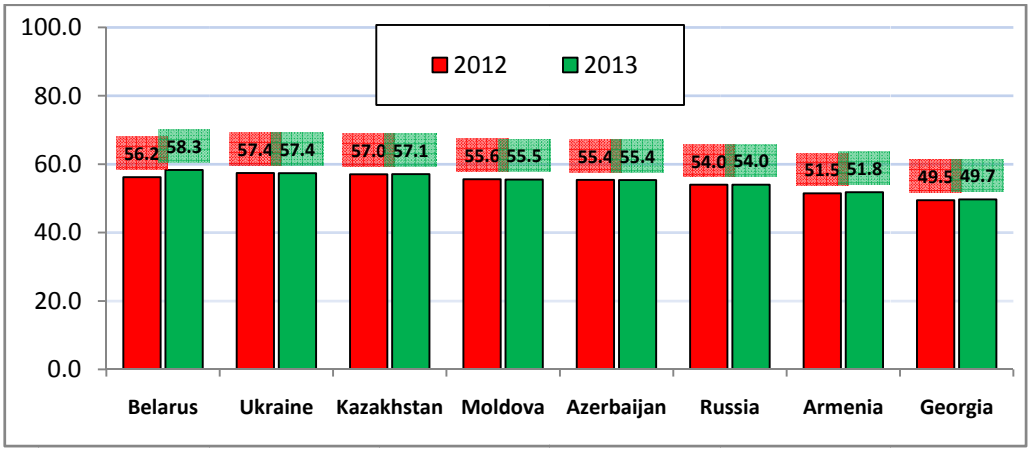
It is important to return to the fact that differences of the recorded indicators of the PFI were great in the countries studied, but in case of the Economic Factors Index, it was on the contrary. That is to say, the mentioned states were significantly different in the view of real reforms and progress in the political arena, yet in the view of economic developments, they were almost on the same level.

* The source is based on the calculations accumulated by the researcher.

10.4 Social Factors Index

Table 4

Social Factors Index (2012, 2013)*



Belarus had the highest indicator of Social Factors Index of the IDL in 2013 in contrast to Economic Factors Index (see Figure 3).

Social policy of the Government of Belarus during the last decade was highly efficient. It is noteworthy to compare the following: the poverty level of population in 1999 was calculated at 46,7%, in 2000 it went down to 41,9%, and only 5,5% was registered in 2013[4]. Average monthly salary in Belarus (being specified by the purchasing power indicator of the USA) is one of the highest, and unemployment rate and GINI index is one of the lowest among the studied countries (see Table 1, Annexes 2, 3). It is natural, that correlation coefficient of Social Factors Index and Economic Factors Index of Belarus is sufficiently high ($R_{SFI/EFI}$=0,9), which states their close connection as well as introduction of economic development results into the social sphere.

Both Georgia and Armenia have the lowest indicator of Social Factors Index. These two countries have serious problems with unemployment. In particular, GINI index is higher in Georgia (0,414). Though level of poverty in Georgia is low, polarization level of the society is high. Nonetheless, the level of poverty is one of the serious problems in Armenia in social spheres, which according to the obtained data was measured by 32,4% in 2012[5].

* The source is based on the calculations accumulated by the researcher.

* The source is based on the calculations accumulated by the researcher.

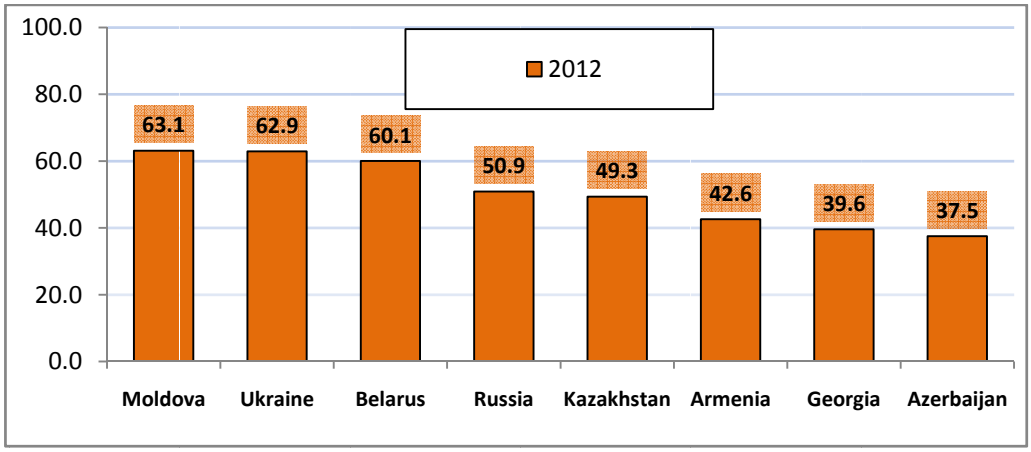
[4] See official site of the World Bank: http:// data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.NAHC (20.10.2014).

[5] See official site of the World Bank: http:// data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.NAHC,
Official site of National Statistical Service of the Republic of Armenia: http:// www.armstat/am (20.10.2014).

10.5 Educational Factors Index

Table 5

Educational Factors Index (2012[6])*



Moldova has the best indicator of Educational Factors Index (63,1) (see Figure 5). Within the last decade, the Government of Moldova almost doubled its spending on education. In particular, in the critical 1999 they allocated 9,5% of the Gross Domestic Product[7] when average European country allocated 5,5% of GDP. The government spending on education in 2012 was the highest among eight countries 8,4% (see Table 1). The minimum indicator was recorded (37,5) in Azerbaijan and it should also be mentioned that after independence the quality of education degraded due to wide-spread corruption. In comparison with other post-Soviet countries, the number of students enrolled in the Higher Educational Establishments is rather low in Azerbaijan, i.e. 15%, in comparison with the average indicator of 28,3% in the Caucasus (UNICEF 2010, 2). Government spending on education was gradually reduced by reaching to 2,4% in 2011 from 4,2% of GDP registered in 1999[8], which means that "oil successes" of the state and progress recorded in the sphere of economy bypass the sphere of education. It is also confirmed by the correlation coefficient of Educational Factors Index and Social Factors Index if Azerbaijan, which is again negative ($R_{EdFI/EFI}$=-0,3).

[6] Taking into account that corresponding data of 2013 hasn't been published in the official site of the WB, calculations of Health Factors Index may be carried out only based on the data of 2012.

[*] The source is based on the calculations accumulated by the researcher.

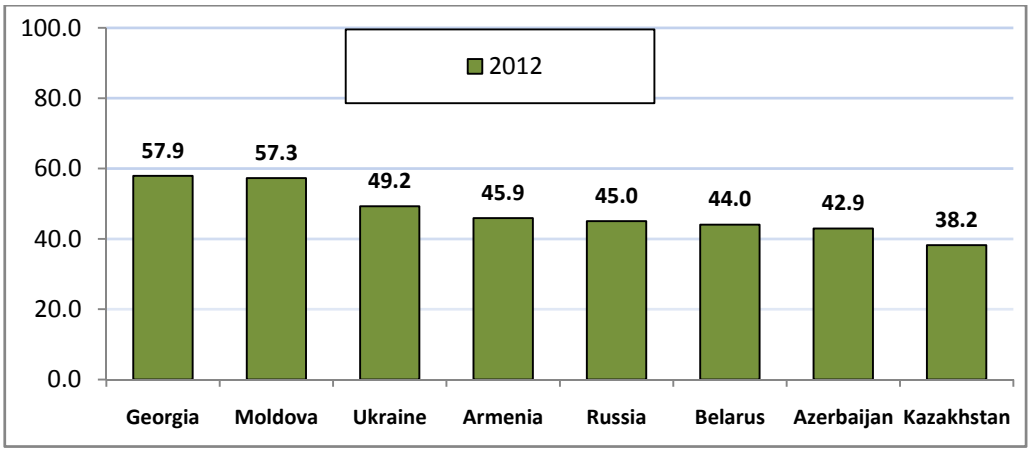
[7] See official site of the World Bank: http:// data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.XPD.TOTL.GD.ZS (20.10.2014).

[8] See official site of the World Bank: http:// data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.XPD.TOTL.GD.ZS (20.10.2014).

10.6 Health Factors Index

Table 6

Health Factors Index (2012)[9]



Georgia has the highest indicator of Health Factors Index (57,9), whereas Kazakhstan has the lowest one (38,2) (see Figure 6).

Within the last decade, the state's health expenditure[10] was increased almost two times by making 9,2% in 2012. The life expectancy recorded a positive growth within the studied period of time (see Table 1). The life expectancy in Kazakhstan also grew. If in 1995 the life expectancy of people in this country was 64,9 years old, then in 2012 that indicator was increased to 69,6 years old. The health expenditures were reduced in comparison with the second half of 1990. It is noticeable that the Armenians are long-livers among the population of the studied states and their life expectancy is 74,4 years old (see Table 1).

Conclusions

The comparative analysis of Political, Economic, Social, Educational and Health Factors of the Index of Democracy Level of post-Soviet eight countries shows that irrespective of the recorded progress, all countries still have a lot to do for democratic reforms. Democratic unanimity is required to preserve the stability of a political

[9] The source is based on the calculations accumulated by the researcher. Taking into account that corresponding data of 2013 hasn't been published in the official site of the WB, calculations of Health Factors Index may be carried out only based on the data of 2012.

[10] See official site of the World Bank: http:// data.worldbank.org/indicator/SH.XPD.TOTL.ZS (20.10.2014).

system. In particular, political events happened and still being continued in Ukraine in 2013-2014 can serve as a proof.

Eventually, due to the results of cross-country analysis of the IDL the following conclusions were made:

Moldova has the highest, and Azerbaijan has the lowest Index of Democracy among the studied countries. Democracy level of Moldova, Georgia and Ukraine that have chosen the vector of European integration is higher, than of member countries of the Eurasian Economic Union, where Armenia is a leading country.

In respect of the South Caucasus countries, according to the Index of Democracy Level the countries were distributed in the following case: Georgia (48,1), Armenia (42,5), and Azerbaijan (37,5).

The analysis of variables of Political Factors Index shows that elements typical to parliamentary republic prevail in Moldova and Georgia. The distribution of seats of authority and the opposition in parliaments of Ukraine and Moldova are almost equal as opposed to other countries. The political party of the head of the executive power or forces assisting him made absolute majority of deputies in the rest six countries.

If the interval of the recorded indicators of the PFI of studied states is long, it is vice versa in Economic Factors Index. In fact, indicators of states with European integration in the view of real reforms and progress are quite high in the political sphere, (results registered in Armenia are closer to these states of the group). While all the states are almost on the same level in the sense of economic progress and development.

Azerbaijan has the best indicator of Economic Factors Index. By holding the last position in this index, Belarus holds leading position in the Social Factors Index, which proves the efficiency of the social policy of this country. High rate of correlation coefficient of Economic Factors Index and Social Factors Index of Belarus indicates high level of economic investments in the social sphere.

It is noteworthy to mention the comparative analysis of the Index of Economic Freedom from the variables included in the Index of Democracy Level, according to which Armenia and Georgia recorded high indicators, the average of which is closer to EU indicator (71), while the average indicator of Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan is equal to 55 (see Table 1). It means that economies of Armenia and Georgia are liberalized and, in this aspect, they are closer to economic system of EU.

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Abbreviations

HFI Health Factors Index
EdFI Educational Factors Index
SFI Social Factors Index
EFI Economic Factors Index
PFI Political Factors Index
IDL Index of Democracy Level

ANNEX 1.

IN-COUNTRY ANALYSIS (1995-2012)

The data* and standardized values[1] of the variables of the Index of Democracy Level included in the model

* If data were unavailable, they were compared with other sources when standardized, but in case of sources unavailability and incomparability, they remained unchanged or were replaced with the average indicators of the previous and/or next years.

[1] The source is the calculations made by the researcher.

ARMENIA

Variables of PFI (Armenia 1995-2012)

Years	Pol. Stability[1]	Stand.
1995	-	0,284
1996	28,37	0,284
1997	-	0,252
1998	22,12	0,221
1999	-	0,221
2000	22,12	0,221
2001	-	0,279
2002	33,69	0,337
2003	50	0,500
2004	40,38	0,404
2005	43,75	0,438
2006	35,58	0,356
2007	47,12	0,471
2008	44,2	0,442
2009	51,66	0,517
2010	48,11	0,481
2011	42,92	0,429
2012	50,71	0,507
	min = 0	max = 100

Years	Rule of Law[2]	Stand.
1995	-	0,345
1996	34,45	0,345
1997	-	0,364
1998	38,28	0,383
1999	-	0,376
2000	36,84	0,368
2001	-	0,397
2002	42,58	0,426
2003	43,54	0,435
2004	38,28	0,383
2005	41,15	0,412
2006	39,71	0,397
2007	40,67	0,407
2008	46,15	0,462
2009	40,76	0,408
2010	39,81	0,398
2011	42,72	0,427
2012	43,13	0,431
	min = 0	max =100

Years	PR and CL[3]	Stand.
1995	4	0,500
1996	4,5	0,417
1997	4,5	0,417
1998	4	0,500
1999	4	0,500
2000	4	0,500
2001	4	0,500
2002	4	0,500
2003	4	0,500
2004	4,5	0,417
2005	4,5	0,417
2006	4,5	0,417
2007	4,5	0,417
2008	5	0,333
2009	5	0,333
2010	5	0,333
2011	5	0,333
2012	4,5	0,417
	min = 7	max = 1

Years	FP[4]	Stand.
1995	56	0,440
1996	56	0,440
1997	56	0,440
1998	56	0,440
1999	57	0,430
2000	59	0,410
2001	60	0,400
2002	65	0,350
2003	64	0,360
2004	64	0,360
2005	64	0,360
2006	64	0,360
2007	66	0,340
2008	68	0,320
2009	66	0,340
2010	65	0,350
2011	65	0,350
2012	61	0,390
	min = 100	max = 0

[1] www.govindicators.org (01.08.2014).
[2] www.govindicators.org (01.08.2014).
[3] http://www.freedomhouse.org/report-types/freedom-world (01.08.2014).
[4] http://www.freedomhouse.org/report-types/freedom-press (01.08.2014).

Years	CPI[5]	Stand.
1995	-	0,25
1996	-	0,25
1997	-	0,25
1998	2,5	0,25
1999	2,5	0,25
2000	2,5	0,25
2001	2,5	0,25
2002	3,4	0,34
2003	3	0,30
2004	3,1	0,31
2005	2,9	0,29
2006	2,9	0,29
2007	3	0,30
2008	2,9	0,29
2009	2,7	0,27
2010	2,6	0,26
2011	2,6	0,26
2012	3,4	0,34
	min = 0	max = 10

Years	Gender equality[6]	Stand.
1995	-	0,665
1996	-	0,665
1997	-	0,665
1998	-	0,665
1999	-	0,665
2000	-	0,665
2001	-	0,665
2002	-	0,665
2003	-	0,665
2004	-	0,665
2005	-	0,665
2006	-	0,665
2007	0,6651	0,665
2008	0,6677	0,668
2009	0,6619	0,662
2010	0,6669	0,667
2011	0,6654	0,665
2012	0,6636	0,664
	min = 0	max = 1

Years	Political system[7]	Stand.
1995	0	0
1996	0	0
1997	0	0
1998	0	0
1999	0	0
2000	0	0
2001	0	0
2002	0	0
2003	0	0
2004	0	0
2005	0	0
2006	0	0
2007	0	0
2008	0	0
2009	0	0
2010	0	0
2011	0	0
2012	0	0
	min = 0	max = 2

Years	Social unrest[8]	Stand.
1995	2	0,40
1996	1,5	0,30
1997	2,5	0,50
1998	2	0,40
1999	1,5	0,30
2000	3	0,60
2001	3	0,60
2002	3,5	0,70
2003	2,5	0,50
2004	2,7	0,54
2005	3,5	0,70
2006	3,5	0,70
2007	2,5	0,50
2008	0,5	0,10
2009	2,5	0,50
2010	3	0,60
2011	3	0,60
2012	2,5	0,50
	min = 0	max = 5

[5] http://www.transparency.org/cpi2012/results (01.08.2014).
[6] http://www.weforum.org/issues/global-gender-gap (01.08.2014).
[7]The source is estimated by the researcher.
[8]The source is estimated by the researcher.

ANNEX 1

Years	Majority in parl. [9]	Stand.
1995	1	0,5
1996	1	0,5
1997	1	0,5
1998	1	0,5
1999	1	0,5
2000	1	0,5
2001	1	0,5
2002	1	0,5
2003	1	0,5
2004	1	0,5
2005	1	0,5
2006	1	0,5
2007	1	0,5
2008	1	0,5
2009	1	0,5
2010	1	0,5
2011	1	0,5
2012	0	0
	min = 0	max = 2

Years	Religion [10]	Stand.
1995	1	1
1996	1	1
1997	1	1
1998	1	1
1999	1	1
2000	1	1
2001	1	1
2002	1	1
2003	1	1
2004	1	1
2005	1	1
2006	1	1
2007	1	1
2008	1	1
2009	1	1
2010	1	1
2011	1	1
2012	1	1
	min = 0	max = 1

Years	Conflict[11]	Stand.
1995	1	0,5
1996	1	0,5
1997	1	0,5
1998	1	0,5
1999	1	0,5
2000	1	0,5
2001	1	0,5
2002	1	0,5
2003	1	0,5
2004	1	0,5
2005	1	0,5
2006	1	0,5
2007	1	0,5
2008	1	0,5
2009	1	0,5
2010	1	0,5
2011	1	0,5
2012	1	0,5
	min = 0	max = 2

[9]The source is estimated by the researcher.
[10]The source is estimated by the researcher.
[11]The source is estimated by the researcher.

Variables of EFI (Armenia 1995-2012)

Years	GNI per capita, $[1]	Stand.
1995	1580	0
1996	1780	0,032
1997	1960	0,060
1998	2080	0,079
1999	2190	0,097
2000	2380	0,127
2001	2690	0,176
2002	3120	0,244
2003	3630	0,325
2004	4120	0,403
2005	4850	0,518
2006	5720	0,656
2007	6680	0,808
2008	7390	0,921
2009	6280	0,745
2010	6620	0,799
2011	7190	0,889
2012	7890	1
	min = 1580	max = 7890

Years	Trade (% of GDP) [2]	Stand.
1995	86,1	1
1996	79,2	0,774
1997	78,5	0,751
1998	71,8	0,531
1999	70,6	0,489
2000	73,9	0,599
2001	71,6	0,523
2002	75,9	0,666
2003	82,2	0,871
2004	75,0	0,636
2005	72,0	0,537
2006	62,6	0,227
2007	58,3	0,087
2008	55,7	0
2009	58,5	0,091
2010	66,1	0,343
2011	71,1	0,507
2012	74,4	0,613
	min = 55,7	max = 86,1

Years	DC (% of GDP) [3]	Stand.
1995	9,1	0,092
1996	9,1	0,091
1997	8,0	0,062
1998	10,7	0,134
1999	10,7	0,134
2000	11,5	0,155
2001	9,3	0,098
2002	7,4	0,047
2003	5,6	0
2004	6,7	0,029
2005	8,8	0,084
2006	8,1	0,065
2007	12,1	0,170
2008	18,6	0,338
2009	21,5	0,414
2010	27,8	0,576
2011	36,4	0,798
2012	44,2	1
	min = 5,6	max = 44,2

Years	FDI (% of GDP) [4]	Stand.
1995	1,7	0,059
1996	1,1	0
1997	3,2	0,196
1998	11,7	1
1999	6,6	0,522
2000	5,5	0,412
2001	3,3	0,208
2002	4,7	0,337
2003	4,3	0,304
2004	6,9	0,552
2005	4,9	0,358
2006	7,1	0,568
2007	7,6	0,615
2008	8,0	0,655
2009	9,0	0,747
2010	6,2	0,479
2011	6,5	0,515
2012	4,9	0,362
	min = 1,1	max = 11,7

[1]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GNP.PCAP.PP.CD (01.08.2014).
[2]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NE.TRD.GNFS.ZS (01.08.2014).
[3]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/FS.AST.DOMS.GD.ZS (01.08.2014).
[4]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/BX.KLT.DINV.WD.GD.ZS (01.08.2014).

ANNEX 1

Years	IEF[5]	Stand.
1995	42,2	0,422
1996	46,7	0,467
1997	49,6	0,496
1998	56,44	0,564
1999	63	0,630
2000	66,4	0,664
2001	68	0,680
2002	67,3	0,673
2003	70,3	0,703
2004	69,8	0,698
2005	70,6	0,706
2006	68,6	0,686
2007	69,9	0,699
2008	69,9	0,699
2009	69,2	0,692
2010	69,7	0,697
2011	68,8	0,688
2012	69,4	0,694
	min = 0	max = 100

Years	Inflation, %[6]	Stand.
1995	176,0	0
1996	18,7	0,890
1997	14,0	0,917
1998	8,7	0,946
1999	0,6	0,992
2000	-0,8	1
2001	3,1	0,978
2002	1,1	0,990
2003	4,7	0,969
2004	7,0	0,956
2005	0,6	0,992
2006	2,9	0,979
2007	4,4	0,971
2008	8,9	0,945
2009	3,4	0,976
2010	8,2	0,949
2011	7,7	0,952
2012	2,6	0,981
	min = 176	max = -0,8

Years	Bud.def.(% of GDP)[7]	Stand.
1995	-6	0,338
1996	-	0
1997	-	0,363
1998	-4,2	0,563
1999	-5,7	0,375
2000	-4,1	0,575
2001	-3,2	0,688
2002	-2,2	0,813
2003	-2	0,838
2004	-1,5	0,900
2005	-1,7	0,875
2006	-1,3	0,925
2007	-1,5	0,900
2008	-0,7	1
2009	-7,5	0,150
2010	-4,9	0,475
2011	-2,8	0,738
2012	-1,5	0,900
	min = -8,7	max =-0,7

[5] The final unit of the Index of Economic Freedom for the year 2013 is mainly calculated by the analysis of the data collected from the second half of the year 2011 and from the first half of 2012. For this reason the calculations of the EFI of IDL in 2012 include Index of Economic Freedom published in 2013. (The Heritage Foundation and The Wall Street Journal: Index of Economic Freedom, // http://www.heritage.org/index/about): This approach is also applicable for other years of the observed period http://www.heritage.org/index/explore?view=by-region-country-year (01.08.2014).

[6] http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/FP.CPI.TOTL.ZG (01.08.2014).

[7] http://armstat.am/en/?nid=45 (01.08.2014).

Variables of SFI (Armenia 1995-2012)

Years	Real wage, $[1]	Stand.
1995	6,3	0
1996	19,3	0,048
1997	24,3	0,067
1998	32,8	0,099
1999	37,4	0,116
2000	42,4	0,135
2001	42,8	0,136
2002	47,1	0,152
2003	57,4	0,191
2004	76,1	0,260
2005	113,1	0,398
2006	145,5	0,519
2007	207,8	0,751
2008	262,1	0,954
2009	255,6	0,930
2010	253,9	0,923
2011	269,4	0,981
2012	274,5	1
	min = 6,3	max = 274,5

Years	Unempl.,%[2]	Stand.
1995	6,7	0,933
1996	9,3	0,907
1997	10,8	0,892
1998	9,4	0,906
1999	11,2	0,888
2000	11,7	0,883
2001	38,4	0,616
2002	35,3	0,647
2003	31,2	0,688
2004	31,6	0,684
2005	31,2	0,688
2006	27,8	0,722
2007	28,7	0,713
2008	16,4	0,836
2009	18,7	0,813
2010	19	0,810
2011	18,4	0,816
2012	18,5	0,815
	min = 100	max = 0

Years	GINI index[3]	Stand.
1995	-	0,398
1996	0,602	0,398
1997	-	0,403
1998	0,593	0,407
1999	0,593	0,407
2000	-	0,436
2001	0,535	0,465
2002	0,451	0,549
2003	0,438	0,562
2004	0,395	0,605
2005	0,359	0,641
2006	0,369	0,631
2007	0,371	0,629
2008	0,339	0,661
2009	0,355	0,645
2010	0,362	0,638
2011	0,371	0,629
2012	0,372	0,628
	min =1	max = 0

[1] The initial source` http://armstat.am/en/?nid=45 (01.08.2014):
[2] http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.UEM.TOTL.ZS (01.08.2014).
[3] http://www.armstat.am/am/?nid=45 (01.08.2014).

Variables of EdFI (Armenia 1995-2012)

Years	HDI Ed.[1]	Stand.
1995	0,68	0,680
1996	-	0,708
1997	-	0,708
1998	-	0,708
1999	-	0,708
2000	0,736	0,736
2001	-	0,778
2002	-	0,778
2003	-	0,778
2004	-	0,778
2005	0,819	0,819
2006	0,826	0,826
2007	0,828	0,828
2008	0,831	0,831
2009	0,829	0,829
2010	0,834	0,834
2011	0,839	0,839
2012	0,839	0,839
	min = 0	max = 1

Years	Ed.spend.(% of GDP)[2]	Stand.
1995	-	0,006
1996	1,8	0,006
1997	-	0,030
1998	-	0,030
1999	2,2	0,054
2000	2,8	0,120
2001	2,5	0,083
2002	2,1	0,041
2003	2,1	0,043
2004	2,5	0,085
2005	2,7	0,113
2006	2,7	0,113
2007	3,0	0,151
2008	3,2	0,170
2009	3,8	0,252
2010	3,2	0,179
2011	3,1	0,166
2012	3,3	0,183
	min = 1,8	max = 9,89

Variables of HFI (Armenia 1995-2012)

Years	Life expectancy[3]	Stand.
1995	68,8	0,295
1996	69,2	0,324
1997	69,7	0,355
1998	70,2	0,389
1999	70,8	0,422
2000	71,3	0,454
2001	71,8	0,485
2002	72,2	0,513
2003	72,6	0,539
2004	73,0	0,562
2005	73,3	0,582
2006	73,5	0,598
2007	73,8	0,612
2008	73,9	0,623
2009	74,1	0,632
2010	74,2	0,640
2011	74,3	0,648
2012	74,4	0,654
	min =64,1	max = 79,9

Years	HE (% of GDP)[4]	Stand.
1995	6,42	0,335
1996	5,79	0,266
1997	5,77	0,263
1998	5,76	0,262
1999	5,68	0,254
2000	6,25	0,317
2001	5,94	0,282
2002	5,40	0,223
2003	5,56	0,241
2004	5,50	0,234
2005	5,25	0,207
2006	4,58	0,133
2007	4,31	0,103
2008	3,80	0,047
2009	4,55	0,129
2010	4,56	0,131
2011	3,71	0,038
2012	4,49	0,122
	min =3,37	max =12,48

[1] http://hdr.undp.org/en/data (01.08.2014).
[2] http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.XPD.TOTL.GD.ZS (01.08.2014).
[3] http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.LE00.IN (01.08.2014).
[4] http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SH.XPD.TOTL.ZS (01.08.2014).

GEORGIA

Variables of PFI (Georgia 1995-2012)

Years	Pol. Stability[1]	Stand.
1995	-	0,067
1996	6,73	0,067
1997	-	0,070
1998	7,21	0,072
1999	-	0,127
2000	18,27	0,183
2001	-	0,156
2002	12,98	0,130
2003	12,02	0,120
2004	19,71	0,197
2005	25,48	0,255
2006	18,27	0,183
2007	25	0,250
2008	16,75	0,168
2009	18,95	0,190
2010	24,06	0,241
2011	26,89	0,269
2012	24,64	0,246
	min = 0	max = 100

Years	Rule of Law[2]	Stand.
1995	-	0,081
1996	8,13	0,081
1997	-	0,074
1998	6,7	0,067
1999	-	0,103
2000	13,88	0,139
2001	-	0,132
2002	12,44	0,124
2003	17,7	0,177
2004	31,1	0,311
2005	30,14	0,301
2006	40,19	0,402
2007	45,93	0,459
2008	49,04	0,490
2009	49,29	0,493
2010	48,82	0,488
2011	51,17	0,512
2012	54,5	0,545
	min = 0	max = 100

Years	PR and CL[3]	Stand.
1995	4,5	0,417
1996	4	0,500
1997	3,5	0,583
1998	3,5	0,583
1999	3,5	0,583
2000	4	0,500
2001	4	0,500
2002	4	0,500
2003	4	0,500
2004	3,5	0,583
2005	3	0,667
2006	3	0,667
2007	4	0,500
2008	4	0,500
2009	4	0,500
2010	3,5	0,583
2011	3,5	0,583
2012	3	0,667
	min = 7	max = 1

Years	FP[4]	Stand.
1995	68	0,320
1996	55	0,450
1997	56	0,440
1998	57	0,430
1999	47	0,530
2000	53	0,470
2001	53	0,470
2002	54	0,460
2003	54	0,460
2004	56	0,440
2005	57	0,430
2006	57	0,430
2007	60	0,400
2008	60	0,400
2009	59	0,410
2010	55	0,450
2011	52	0,480
2012	49	0,510
	min = 100	max = 0

[1] http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/index.aspx#reports (01.08.2014).
[2] http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/index.aspx#reports (01.08.2014).
[3] http://www.freedomhouse.org/report-types/freedom-world (01.08.2014).
[4] http://www.freedomhouse.org/report-types/freedom-press (01.08.2014).

Years	CPI[5]	Stand.
1995	-	0,23
1996	-	0,23
1997	-	0,23
1998	-	0,23
1999	2,3	0,23
2000	-	0,23
2001	-	0,24
2002	2,4	0,24
2003	1,8	0,18
2004	2	0,20
2005	2,3	0,23
2006	2,8	0,28
2007	3,4	0,34
2008	3,9	0,39
2009	4,1	0,41
2010	3,8	0,38
2011	4,1	0,41
2012	5,2	0,52
	min = 0	max = 10

Years	Gender equality[6]	Stand.
1995	-	0,670
1996	-	0,670
1997	-	0,670
1998	-	0,670
1999	-	0,670
2000	-	0,670
2001	-	0,670
2002	-	0,670
2003	-	0,670
2004	-	0,670
2005	-	0,670
2006	0,67	0,670
2007	0,6665	0,667
2008	0,6654	0,665
2009	0,668	0,668
2010	0,6598	0,660
2011	0,6624	0,662
2012	0,6691	0,669
	min = 0	max = 1

Years	Political system[7]	Stand.
1995	0	0
1996	0	0
1997	0	0
1998	0	0
1999	0	0
2000	0	0
2001	0	0
2002	0	0
2003	0	0
2004	0	0
2005	0	0
2006	0	0
2007	0	0
2008	0	0
2009	0	0
2010	0	0
2011	0	0
2012	0	0
	min = 0	max = 2

Years	Social unrest[8]	Stand.
1995	2	0,40
1996	3	0,60
1997	1,5	0,30
1998	2	0,40
1999	2,5	0,50
2000	2,5	0,50
2001	4	0,80
2002	1,5	0,30
2003	1,5	0,30
2004	1	0,20
2005	2,5	0,50
2006	3	0,60
2007	1	0,20
2008	2	0,40
2009	1,5	0,30
2010	3	0,60
2011	3	0,60
2012	2	0,40
	min = 0	max = 5

[5] http://www.transparency.org/cpi2011/results/ (01.08.2014).
[6] http://www.weforum.org/issues/global-gender-gap (01.08.2014).
[7]The source is estimated by the researcher.
[8]The source is estimated by the researcher.

Years	Majority in parl.[9]	Stand.
1995	0	0
1996	0	0
1997	0	0
1998	0	0
1999	0	0
2000	0	0
2001	0	0
2002	0	0
2003	0	0
2004	0	0
2005	0	0
2006	0	0
2007	0	0
2008	0	0
2009	0	0
2010	0	0
2011	0	0
2012	2	1
	min = 0	max = 2

Years	Religion[10]	Stand.
1995	1	1
1996	1	1
1997	1	1
1998	1	1
1999	1	1
2000	1	1
2001	1	1
2002	1	1
2003	1	1
2004	1	1
2005	1	1
2006	1	1
2007	1	1
2008	1	1
2009	1	1
2010	1	1
2011	1	1
2012	1	1
	min = 0	max = 1

Years	Conflict[11]	Stand.
1995	0	0
1996	0	0
1997	1	0,50
1998	0	0
1999	1	0,50
2000	1	0,50
2001	0	0
2002	1	0,50
2003	1	0,50
2004	1	0,50
2005	1	0,50
2006	1	0,50
2007	1	0,50
2008	0	0
2009	1	0,50
2010	1	0,50
2011	1	0,50
2012	1	0,50
	min = 0	max = 2

[9]The source is estimated by the researcher.
[10]The source is estimated by the researcher.
[11]The source is estimated by the researcher.

Variables of EFI (Georgia 1995-2012)

Years	GNI per capita, $[1]	Stand.
1995	1380	0
1996	1640	0,059
1997	1990	0,139
1998	2130	0,171
1999	2230	0,194
2000	2310	0,212
2001	2430	0,239
2002	2600	0,278
2003	2970	0,362
2004	3270	0,431
2005	3650	0,517
2006	4120	0,624
2007	4680	0,752
2008	4830	0,786
2009	4660	0,747
2010	4910	0,804
2011	5260	0,884
2012	5770	1
	min=1380	max=5770

Years	Trade (% of GDP)[2]	Stand.
1995	67,8	0,438
1996	45,7	0
1997	57,8	0,239
1998	53,6	0,156
1999	57,2	0,227
2000	62,7	0,336
2001	63,3	0,349
2002	71,6	0,513
2003	78,3	0,644
2004	79,7	0,674
2005	85,3	0,784
2006	89,9	0,874
2007	89,2	0,860
2008	87,0	0,818
2009	78,7	0,653
2010	87,7	0,832
2011	91,1	0,899
2012	96,2	1
	min=45,7	max= 96,2

Years	DC (% of GDP) [3]	Stand.
1995	8,08	0
1996	8,12	0,002
1997	12,9	0,178
1998	15,6	0,280
1999	19,5	0,425
2000	21,5	0,499
2001	20,0	0,443
2002	20,1	0,446
2003	20,0	0,444
2004	18,9	0,404
2005	21,5	0,498
2006	23,7	0,583
2007	31,1	0,855
2008	32,7	0,914
2009	32,9	0,924
2010	33,2	0,933
2011	34,1	0,968
2012	35,0	1
	min=8,08	max=34,98

Years	FDI (% of GDP) [4]	Stand.
1995	-	0,255
1996	-	0,255
1997	6,9	0,256
1998	7,3	0,284
1999	2,9	0
2000	4,3	0,087
2001	3,4	0,030
2002	4,7	0,115
2003	8,4	0,351
2004	9,6	0,430
2005	7,1	0,266
2006	15,1	0,782
2007	18,5	1
2008	12,4	0,612
2009	6,1	0,201
2010	7,5	0,292
2011	7,5	0,295
2012	5,3	0,151
	min =2,94	max =18,45

[1]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GNP.PCAP.PP.CD (01.08.2014).
[2]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NE.TRD.GNFS.ZS (01.08.2014).
[3]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/FS.AST.DOMS.GD.ZS (01.08.2014).
[4]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/BX.KLT.DINV.WD.GD.ZS (01.08.2014).

Years	IEF[5]	Stand.
1995	44,1	0,441
1996	46,5	0,465
1997	47,9	0,479
1998	52,5	0,525
1999	54,3	0,543
2000	58,3	0,583
2001	56,7	0,567
2002	58,6	0,586
2003	58,9	0,589
2004	57,1	0,571
2005	64,5	0,645
2006	69,3	0,693
2007	69,2	0,692
2008	69,8	0,698
2009	70,4	0,704
2010	70,4	0,704
2011	69,4	0,694
2012	72,2	0,722
	min = 0	max = 100

Years	Inflation, %[6]	Stand.
1995	162,7	0
1996	39,4	0,754
1997	7,1	0,951
1998	3,6	0,972
1999	19,2	0,877
2000	4,1	0,969
2001	4,6	0,966
2002	5,6	0,960
2003	4,8	0,965
2004	5,7	0,960
2005	8,2	0,944
2006	9,2	0,938
2007	9,2	0,938
2008	10,0	0,933
2009	1,7	0,984
2010	7,1	0,951
2011	8,5	0,942
2012	-0,9	1
	min=162,7	max =-0,9

Years	Bud.def.(% of GDP) [7]	Stand.
1995	-	0,372
1996	-	0,372
1997	-4,3	0,372
1998	-2,8	0,532
1999	-2,2	0,596
2000	-1,6	0,660
2001	0,2	0,851
2002	-1,8	0,638
2003	-0,9	0,734
2004	0,5	0,883
2005	1,5	0,989
2006	1,6	1
2007	0,8	0,915
2008	-1,9	0,628
2009	-7,8	0
2010	-4,4	0,362
2011	-1,2	0,702
2012	-0,5	0,777
	min=-7,8	max = 1,6

[5]The final unit of the Index of Economic Freedom for the year 2013 is mainly calculated by the analysis of the data collected from the second half of the year 2011 and from the first half of 2012. For this reason the calculations of the EFI of IDL in 2012 include Index of Economic Freedom published in 2013. (The Heritage Foundation and The Wall Street Journal: Index of Economic Freedom, // http://www.heritage.org/index/about): This approach is also applicable for other years of the observed period http://www.heritage.org/index/explore?view=by-region-country-year (01.08.2014).

[6]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/FP.CPI.TOTL.ZG (01.08.2014).

[7]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/GC.BAL.CASH.GD.ZS (01.08.2014).

Variables of SFI (Georgia 1995-2012)

Years	Real wage, $[1]	Stand.
1995	4,1	0
1996	16,5	0,029
1997	30,6	0,061
1998	38,5	0,080
1999	28,0	0,055
2000	35,2	0,072
2001	43,6	0,092
2002	49,0	0,104
2003	56,0	0,120
2004	77,3	0,170
2005	104,1	0,232
2006	143,0	0,322
2007	201,7	0,458
2008	326,2	0,746
2009	327,6	0,750
2010	313,0	0,716
2011	347,4	0,796
2012	435,6	1
	min =4,01	max = 435,6

Years	Unempl.,%[2]	Stand.
1995	-	0,873
1996	12,7	0,873
1997	7,6	0,924
1998	12,4	0,876
1999	12,6	0,874
2000	10,3	0,897
2001	11,1	0,889
2002	12,6	0,874
2003	11,5	0,885
2004	12,6	0,874
2005	13,8	0,862
2006	13,6	0,864
2007	13,3	0,867
2008	16,5	0,835
2009	16,9	0,831
2010	16,3	0,837
2011	15,1	0,849
2012	15,0	0,850
	min = 100	max = 0

Years	GINI index[3]	Stand.
1995	-	0,629
1996	0,371	0,629
1997	0,419	0,581
1998	0,373	0,627
1999	0,411	0,589
2000	0,411	0,589
2001	0,410	0,590
2002	0,403	0,597
2003	0,404	0,596
2004	-	0,593
2005	0,411	0,590
2006	0,411	0,589
2007	0,394	0,606
2008	0,413	0,587
2009	0,417	0,583
2010	0,421	0,579
2011	-	0,580
2012	-	0,590
	min =1	max = 0

[1] http://91.208.144.188/Table.aspx?rxid=c8ca81e9-2824-4c5b-a46a-c80202913531&px_db=Database&px_type=PX&px_language=en&px_tableid=Database%5cSocial+Statictics%5cLabour%5cWages_and_salaries3.px&layout=tableViewLayout1 (01.08.2014).

[2] http://www.indexmundi.com/georgia/unemployment_rate.html (01.08.2014).
http://www.geostat.ge/index.php?action=page&p_id=146&lang=eng

[3] http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.GINI (01.08.2014).

Variables of EdFI (Georgia 1995-2012)

Years	HDI Ed.[1]	Stand.
1995	-	0,824
1996	-	0,824
1997	-	0,824
1998	-	0,824
1999	-	0,824
2000	-	0,824
2001	-	0,824
2002	-	0,824
2003	-	0,824
2004	-	0,824
2005	0,824	0,824
2006	0,82	0,820
2007	0,84	0,840
2008	0,829	0,829
2009	0,842	0,842
2010	0,842	0,842
2011	0,842	0,842
2012	0,842	0,842
	min = 0	max = 1

Years	Ed.spend.(% of GDP)[2]	Stand.
1995	-	0,038
1996	-	0,038
1997	-	0,038
1998	2,11	0,038
1999	2,16	0,044
2000	2,18	0,047
2001	2,14	0,042
2002	2,24	0,054
2003	2,07	0,033
2004	2,91	0,138
2005	2,48	0,085
2006	3,00	0,149
2007	2,70	0,111
2008	2,92	0,138
2009	3,22	0,176
2010	-	0,143
2011	2,70	0,111
2012	2	0,025
	min = 1,8	max = 9,89

Variables of HFI (Georgia 1995-2012)

Years	Life expectancy[3]	Stand.
1995	70,2	0,388
1996	70,5	0,402
1997	70,7	0,419
1998	71,0	0,438
1999	71,3	0,457
2000	71,6	0,477
2001	71,9	0,496
2002	72,2	0,513
2003	72,5	0,530
2004	72,7	0,545
2005	72,9	0,558
2006	73,1	0,569
2007	73,2	0,579
2008	73,4	0,588
2009	73,5	0,597
2010	73,7	0,606
2011	73,8	0,615
2012	-	0,615
	min =64,1	max = 79,9

Years	HE (% of GDP)[4]	Stand.
1995	5,1	0,193
1996	7,5	0,452
1997	8,0	0,507
1998	6,5	0,349
1999	6,3	0,321
2000	6,9	0,392
2001	7,8	0,488
2002	8,7	0,588
2003	8,5	0,561
2004	8,5	0,567
2005	8,6	0,574
2006	8,4	0,552
2007	8,2	0,527
2008	9,0	0,617
2009	10,2	0,749
2010	10,1	0,739
2011	9,4	0,662
2012	9,2	0,640
	min =3,37	max =12,48

[1] http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/tables (01.08.2014).
[2] http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.XPD.TOTL.GD.ZS (01.08.2014).
[3] http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.LE00.IN (01.08.2014).
[4]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SH.XPD.TOTL.ZS (01.08.2014).

AZERBAIJAN

Variables of PFI (Azerbaijan 1995-2012)

Years	Pol. Stability[1]	Stand.
1995	-	0,188
1996	18,75	0,188
1997	-	0,192
1998	19,71	0,197
1999	-	0,195
2000	19,23	0,192
2001	-	0,168
2002	14,42	0,144
2003	19,71	0,197
2004	15,87	0,159
2005	16,83	0,168
2006	16,35	0,164
2007	24,52	0,245
2008	32,54	0,325
2009	35,07	0,351
2010	35,85	0,359
2011	29,25	0,293
2012	23,70	0,237
	min = 0	max = 100

Years	Rule of Law[2]	Stand.
1995	-	0,129
1996	12,92	0,129
1997	-	0,144
1998	15,79	0,158
1999	-	0,151
2000	14,35	0,144
2001	-	0,196
2002	24,88	0,249
2003	24,40	0,244
2004	20,10	0,201
2005	28,71	0,287
2006	24,88	0,249
2007	23,92	0,239
2008	23,08	0,231
2009	21,80	0,218
2010	23,22	0,232
2011	21,13	0,211
2012	24,64	0,246
	min = 0	max =100

Years	PR and CL[3]	Stand.
1995	6	0,167
1996	5,5	0,250
1997	5	0,333
1998	5	0,333
1999	5	0,333
2000	5,5	0,250
2001	5,5	0,250
2002	5,5	0,250
2003	5,5	0,250
2004	5,5	0,250
2005	5,5	0,250
2006	5,5	0,250
2007	5,5	0,250
2008	5,5	0,250
2009	5,5	0,250
2010	5,5	0,250
2011	5,5	0,250
2012	5,5	0,250
	min = 7	max = 1

Years	FP[4]	Stand.
1995	69	0,310
1996	74	0,260
1997	74	0,260
1998	73	0,270
1999	70	0,300
2000	76	0,240
2001	77	0,230
2002	73	0,270
2003	71	0,290
2004	72	0,280
2005	73	0,270
2006	75	0,250
2007	77	0,230
2008	78	0,220
2009	79	0,210
2010	79	0,210
2011	80	0,200
2012	82	0,180
	min = 100	max = 0

[1] www.govindicators.org (01.08.2014).
[2] www.govindicators.org (01.08.2014).
[3] http://www.freedomhouse.org/report-types/freedom-world (01.08.2014).
[4] http://www.freedomhouse.org/report-types/freedom-press (01.08.2014).

Years	CPI[5]	Stand.
1995	-	0,17
1996	-	0,17
1997	-	0,17
1998	-	0,17
1999	1,7	0,17
2000	1,5	0,15
2001	2	0,20
2002	2	0,20
2003	1,8	0,18
2004	1,9	0,19
2005	2,2	0,22
2006	2,4	0,24
2007	2,1	0,21
2008	1,9	0,19
2009	2,3	0,23
2010	2,4	0,24
2011	2,4	0,24
2012	2,7	0,27
	min = 0	max = 10

Years	Gender equality[6]	Stand.
1995	-	0,678
1996	-	0,678
1997	-	0,678
1998	-	0,678
1999	-	0,678
2000	-	0,678
2001	-	0,678
2002	-	0,678
2003	-	0,678
2004	-	0,678
2005	-	0,678
2006	-	0,678
2007	0,6781	0,678
2008	0,6856	0,686
2009	0,6626	0,663
2010	0,6446	0,645
2011	0,6577	0,658
2012	0,6546	0,655
	min = 0	max = 1

Years	Political system[7]	Stand.
1995	0	0
1996	0	0
1997	0	0
1998	0	0
1999	0	0
2000	0	0
2001	0	0
2002	0	0
2003	0	0
2004	0	0
2005	0	0
2006	0	0
2007	0	0
2008	0	0
2009	0	0
2010	0	0
2011	0	0
2012	0	0
	min = 0	max = 2

Years	Social unrest[8]	Stand.
1995	0,5	0,10
1996	1,9	0,38
1997	2,5	0,50
1998	2,7	0,54
1999	3,8	0,76
2000	2	0,40
2001	3,5	0,70
2002	2,2	0,44
2003	1,9	0,38
2004	4	0,80
2005	2,5	0,50
2006	3,8	0,76
2007	3,3	0,66
2008	2,9	0,58
2009	3,2	0,64
2010	2,8	0,56
2011	2	0,40
2012	2,5	0,50
	min = 0	max = 5

[5] http://www.transparency.org/cpi2012/results (01.08.2014).
[6] http://www.weforum.org/issues/global-gender-gap (01.08.2014).
[7] The source is estimated by the researcher.
[8] The source is estimated by the researcher.

Years	Majority in parl. [9]	Stand.
1995	0	0
1996	0	0
1997	0	0
1998	0	0
1999	0	0
2000	0	0
2001	0	0
2002	0	0
2003	0	0
2004	0	0
2005	0	0
2006	0	0
2007	0	0
2008	0	0
2009	0	0
2010	0	0
2011	0	0
2012	0	0
	min = 0	max = 2

Years	Religion[10]	Stand.
1995	0	0
1996	0	0
1997	0	0
1998	0	0
1999	0	0
2000	0	0
2001	0	0
2002	0	0
2003	0	0
2004	0	0
2005	0	0
2006	0	0
2007	0	0
2008	0	0
2009	0	0
2010	0	0
2011	0	0
2012	0	0
	min = 0	max = 1

Years	Conflict[11]	Stand.
1995	1	0,5
1996	1	0,5
1997	1	0,5
1998	1	0,5
1999	1	0,5
2000	1	0,5
2001	1	0,5
2002	1	0,5
2003	1	0,5
2004	1	0,5
2005	1	0,5
2006	1	0,5
2007	1	0,5
2008	1	0,5
2009	1	0,5
2010	1	0,5
2011	1	0,5
2012	1	0,5
	min = 0	max = 2

[9]The source is estimated by the researcher.
[10]The source is estimated by the researcher.
[11]The source is estimated by the researcher.

Variables of EFI (Azerbaijan 1995-2012)

Years	GNI per capita, $[1]	Stand.
1995	2410	0
1996	2430	0,002
1997	2630	0,018
1998	2900	0,039
1999	3110	0,056
2000	3350	0,076
2001	3710	0,104
2002	4130	0,138
2003	4650	0,180
2004	5110	0,217
2005	6290	0,312
2006	8580	0,496
2007	10570	0,655
2008	12320	0,796
2009	13730	0,909
2010	14620	0,981
2011	14590	0,978
2012	14860	1
	min = 2410	max = 14860

Years	Trade (% of GDP)[2]	Stand.
1995	69,4	0
1996	85,1	0,300
1997	82,0	0,243
1998	77,2	0,150
1999	69,9	0,009
2000	77,4	0,154
2001	78,2	0,170
2002	92,8	0,449
2003	107,6	0,732
2004	121,5	1
2005	115,8	0,891
2006	105,3	0,688
2007	96,6	0,523
2008	89,2	0,381
2009	74,7	0,102
2010	75,0	0,107
2011	80,5	0,213
2012	79,3	0,191
	min = 69,4	max =121,5

Years	DC (% of GDP) [3]	Stand.
1995	12,5	0,238
1996	13,0	0,269
1997	13,0	0,269
1998	12,9	0,263
1999	10,6	0,119
2000	9,6	0,056
2001	9,8	0,069
2002	8,7	0
2003	9,4	0,044
2004	10,9	0,138
2005	11,2	0,156
2006	13,1	0,275
2007	17,2	0,531
2008	16,2	0,469
2009	22,5	0,863
2010	23,0	0,894
2011	19,2	0,656
2012	24,7	1
	min = 8,7	max = 24,7

Years	FDI (% of GDP) [4]	Stand.
1995	10,8	0,195
1996	19,7	0,404
1997	28,1	0,601
1998	23,0	0,481
1999	11,1	0,202
2000	2,5	0
2001	4,0	0,035
2002	22,3	0,465
2003	45,1	1
2004	41,0	0,904
2005	33,8	0,735
2006	21,4	0,444
2007	13,9	0,268
2008	8,2	0,134
2009	6,5	0,094
2010	6,3	0,089
2011	6,8	0,101
2012	7,7	0,122
	min = 2,5	max = 45,1

[1]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GNP.PCAP.PP.CD (01.08.2014).
[2]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NE.TRD.GNFS.ZS (01.08.2014).
[3]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/FS.AST.DOMS.GD.ZS (01.08.2014).
[4]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/BX.KLT.DINV.WD.GD.ZS (01.08.2014).

Years	IEF[5]	Stand.
1995	30,0	0,300
1996	34,0	0,340
1997	43,1	0,431
1998	47,4	0,474
1999	49,8	0,498
2000	50,3	0,503
2001	53,3	0,533
2002	54,1	0,541
2003	53,4	0,534
2004	54,4	0,544
2005	53,2	0,532
2006	54,6	0,546
2007	55,3	0,553
2008	58,0	0,580
2009	58,8	0,588
2010	59,7	0,597
2011	58,9	0,589
2012	59,7	0,597
	min = 0	max = 100

Years	Inflation, %[6]	Stand.
1995	411,8	0
1996	19,8	0,933
1997	3,7	0,971
1998	-0,8	0,982
1999	-8,5	1
2000	1,8	0,975
2001	1,5	0,976
2002	2,8	0,973
2003	2,2	0,975
2004	6,7	0,964
2005	9,7	0,957
2006	8,3	0,960
2007	16,7	0,940
2008	20,8	0,930
2009	1,5	0,976
2010	5,7	0,966
2011	7,8	0,961
2012	1,1	0,977
	min = 411,8	max = -8,5

Years	Bud.def.(% of GDP) [7]	Stand.
1995	-5,2	0
1996	-2,9	0,401
1997	-2,4	0,487
1998	-1,8	0,585
1999	-2,4	0,482
2000	-1,1	0,711
2001	-0,4	0,826
2002	-0,4	0,838
2003	-0,2	0,867
2004	0,1	0,916
2005	-0,7	0,783
2006	0,4	0,972
2007	-0,3	0,852
2008	0,0	0,895
2009	-0,5	0,814
2010	-0,9	0,752
2011	0,6	1
2012	-0,3	0,857
	min = -5,2	max = 0,6

[5]The final unit of the Index of Economic Freedom for the year 2013 is mainly calculated by the analysis of the data collected from the second half of the year 2011 and from the first half of 2012. For this reason the calculations of the EFI of IDL in 2012 include Index of Economic Freedom published in 2013. (The Heritage Foundation and The Wall Street Journal: Index of Economic Freedom, // http://www.heritage.org/index/about): This approach is also applicable for other years of the observed period http://www.heritage.org/index/explore?view=by-region-country-year (01.08.2014).

[6]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/FP.CPI.TOTL.ZG (01.08.2014).

[7] http://www.stat.gov.az/ (01.08.2014).

Variables of SFI (Azerbaijan 1995-2012)

Years	Real wage, $[1]	Stand.
1995	2,7	0
1996	16,7	0,028
1997	30,6	0,056
1998	38,0	0,071
1999	45,1	0,085
2000	48,7	0,092
2001	57,3	0,109
2002	68,7	0,132
2003	84,8	0,164
2004	104,3	0,203
2005	126,1	0,247
2006	154,0	0,303
2007	215,8	0,427
2008	276,7	0,549
2009	365,3	0,726
2010	389,2	0,774
2011	428,2	0,852
2012	501,8	1
	min = 2,7	max =501,8

Years	Unempl.,%[2]	Stand.
1995	0,8	0,992
1996	0,9	0,991
1997	1,0	0,990
1998	1,1	0,989
1999	1,2	0,988
2000	11,8	0,882
2001	10,9	0,891
2002	10,0	0,900
2003	9,2	0,908
2004	8,0	0,920
2005	7,3	0,927
2006	6,6	0,934
2007	6,3	0,937
2008	5,9	0,941
2009	5,7	0,943
2010	5,6	0,944
2011	5,4	0,946
2012	5,2	0,948
	min = 100	max = 0

Years	Unequal income distribution[3]	Stand.
1995	-	0,803
1996	-	0,803
1997	-	0,803
1998	-	0,803
1999	-	0,803
2000	-	0,803
2001	5,7	0,803
2002	2,6	0,978
2003	2,9	0,961
2004	2,5	0,983
2005	2,3	0,994
2006	2,7	0,972
2007	2,7	0,972
2008	2,8	0,966
2009	3,0	0,955
2010	3,0	0,955
2011	2,2	1
2012	2,2	1
	min = 20	max = 2,2

[1]http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/european_neighbourhood_policy/enp_east/data/database (01.08.2014).
[2]http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/european_neighbourhood_policy/enp_east/data/database (01.08.2014).
[3]http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/european_neighbourhood_policy/enp_east/data/database (01.08.2014).

Variables of EdFI (Azerbaijan 1995-2012)

Years	HDI Ed.[1]	Stand.
1995	0,644	0,644
1996	-	0,661
1997	-	0,661
1998	-	0,661
1999	-	0,661
2000	0,677	0,677
2001	0,690	0,690
2002	0,693	0,693
2003	0,702	0,702
2004	0,709	0,709
2005	0,716	0,716
2006	0,722	0,722
2007	0,727	0,727
2008	0,734	0,734
2009	0,734	0,734
2010	0,734	0,734
2011	-	0,734
2012	-	0,734
	min = 0	max = 1

Years	Ed.spend.(% of GDP)[2]	Stand.
1995	3,3	0,190
1996	3,5	0,212
1997	-	0,204
1998	3,4	0,195
1999	4,2	0,298
2000	3,9	0,254
2001	3,5	0,210
2002	3,2	0,167
2003	3,3	0,184
2004	3,4	0,204
2005	3,0	0,145
2006	2,6	0,093
2007	2,5	0,093
2008	2,4	0,079
2009	3,2	0,176
2010	2,8	0,121
2011	2,4	0,079
2012	-	0,079
	min = 1,8	max = 9,89

Variables of HFI (Azerbaijan 1995-2012)

Years	Life expectancy[3]	Stand.
1995	64,6	0,030
1996	65,0	0,057
1997	65,5	0,086
1998	65,9	0,115
1999	66,4	0,143
2000	66,8	0,168
2001	67,2	0,193
2002	67,6	0,219
2003	68,0	0,247
2004	68,5	0,277
2005	68,9	0,306
2006	69,4	0,334
2007	69,8	0,358
2008	70,1	0,377
2009	70,3	0,392
2010	70,5	0,402
2011	70,6	0,408
2012	70,6	0,413
	min =64,1	max = 79,9

Years	HE (% of GDP)[4]	Stand.
1995	5,79	0,266
1996	6,12	0,302
1997	5,45	0,228
1998	5,43	0,226
1999	5,36	0,218
2000	4,67	0,143
2001	4,48	0,122
2002	4,47	0,120
2003	6,56	0,350
2004	7,92	0,499
2005	7,86	0,493
2006	6,17	0,307
2007	5,10	0,189
2008	4,37	0,110
2009	5,85	0,272
2010	5,33	0,215
2011	5,01	0,180
2012	5,39	0,222
	min =3,37	max =12,48

[1] http://alexandersimoes.com/projects/hdi_tree/app/ (01.08.2014).
[2] http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.XPD.TOTL.GD.ZS (01.08.2014).
[3] http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.LE00.IN (01.08.2014).
[4]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SH.XPD.TOTL.ZS (01.08.2014).

RUSSIA

Variables of PFI (Russia 1995-2012)

Years	Pol. Stability[1]	Stand.
1995	-	0,120
1996	12,02	0,120
1997	-	0,135
1998	14,9	0,149
1999	-	0,125
2000	10,1	0,101
2001	-	0,171
2002	24,04	0,240
2003	14,42	0,144
2004	7,69	0,077
2005	12,5	0,125
2006	19,23	0,192
2007	18,75	0,188
2008	20,1	0,201
2009	18,01	0,180
2010	18,87	0,189
2011	17,45	0,175
2012	20,38	0,204
	min = 0	max = 100

Years	Rule of Law[2]	Stand.
1995	-	0,234
1996	23,44	0,234
1997	-	0,208
1998	18,18	0,182
1999	-	0,158
2000	13,4	0,134
2001	-	0,187
2002	23,92	0,239
2003	20,1	0,201
2004	19,14	0,191
2005	20,57	0,206
2006	19,62	0,196
2007	18,18	0,182
2008	20,19	0,202
2009	25,12	0,251
2010	26,07	0,261
2011	27,23	0,272
2012	23,7	0,237
	min = 0	max = 100

Years	PR and CL[3]	Stand.
1995	3,5	0,583
1996	3,5	0,583
1997	3,5	0,583
1998	4	0,500
1999	4,5	0,417
2000	5	0,333
2001	5	0,333
2002	5	0,333
2003	5	0,333
2004	5,5	0,250
2005	5,5	0,250
2006	5,5	0,250
2007	5,5	0,250
2008	5,5	0,250
2009	5,5	0,250
2010	5,5	0,250
2011	5,5	0,250
2012	5,5	0,250
	min = 7	max = 1

Years	FP[4]	Stand.
1995	58	0,420
1996	53	0,470
1997	53	0,470
1998	59	0,410
1999	60	0,400
2000	60	0,400
2001	60	0,400
2002	66	0,340
2003	67	0,330
2004	68	0,320
2005	72	0,280
2006	75	0,250
2007	78	0,220
2008	80	0,200
2009	81	0,190
2010	81	0,190
2011	80	0,200
2012	81	0,190
	min = 100	max = 0

[1] http://info.worldbank.org (01.09.2014).
[2] http://info.worldbank.org (01.09.2014).
[3] http://www.freedomhouse.org/report-types/freedom-world (01.09.2014).
[4] http://www.freedomhouse.org/report-types/freedom-press (01.09.2014).

Years	CPI[5]	Stand.
1995	-	0,26
1996	2,58	0,26
1997	2,27	0,23
1998	2,4	0,24
1999	2,4	0,24
2000	2,1	0,21
2001	2,3	0,23
2002	2,7	0,27
2003	2,7	0,27
2004	2,8	0,28
2005	2,4	0,24
2006	2,5	0,25
2007	2,3	0,23
2008	2,1	0,21
2009	2,2	0,22
2010	2,1	0,21
2011	2,4	0,24
2012	2,8	0,28
	min = 0	max = 10

Years	Gender equality[6]	Stand.
1995	-	0,677
1996	-	0,677
1997	-	0,677
1998	-	0,677
1999	-	0,677
2000	-	0,677
2001	-	0,677
2002	-	0,677
2003	-	0,677
2004	-	0,677
2005	-	0,677
2006	0,677	0,677
2007	0,687	0,687
2008	0,699	0,699
2009	0,699	0,699
2010	0,704	0,704
2011	0,704	0,704
2012	0,698	0,698
	min = 0	max = 1

Years	Political system[7]	Stand.
1995	0	0
1996	0	0
1997	0	0
1998	0	0
1999	0	0
2000	0	0
2001	0	0
2002	0	0
2003	0	0
2004	0	0
2005	0	0
2006	0	0
2007	0	0
2008	0	0
2009	0	0
2010	0	0
2011	0	0
2012	0	0
	min = 0	max = 2

Years	Social unrest[8]	Stand.
1995	2	0,40
1996	1,8	0,36
1997	1,9	0,38
1998	1,8	0,36
1999	1,9	0,38
2000	2	0,40
2001	2,1	0,42
2002	2	0,40
2003	1,9	0,38
2004	1,8	0,36
2005	2	0,40
2006	2	0,40
2007	1,7	0,34
2008	1,7	0,34
2009	1,8	0,36
2010	2	0,40
2011	1	0,20
2012	1	0,20
	min = 0	max = 5

[5] http://www.transparency.org/cpi2012/results (01.09.2014).
[6] http://www.weforum.org/issues/global-gender-gap (01.09.2014).
[7]The source is estimated by the researcher.
[8]The source is estimated by the researcher.

Years	Majority in parl. [9]	Stand.
1995	0	0
1996	0	0
1997	0	0
1998	0	0
1999	0	0
2000	0	0
2001	0	0
2002	0	0
2003	0	0
2004	0	0
2005	0	0
2006	0	0
2007	0	0
2008	0	0
2009	0	0
2010	0	0
2011	0	0
2012	0	0
	min = 0	max = 2

Years	Religion[10]	Stand.
1995	1	1
1996	1	1
1997	1	1
1998	1	1
1999	1	1
2000	1	1
2001	1	1
2002	1	1
2003	1	1
2004	1	1
2005	1	1
2006	1	1
2007	1	1
2008	1	1
2009	1	1
2010	1	1
2011	1	1
2012	1	1
	min = 0	max = 1

Years	Conflict[11]	Stand.
1995	1	0,50
1996	1	0,50
1997	1	0,50
1998	1	0,50
1999	1	0,50
2000	1	0,50
2001	1	0,50
2002	1	0,50
2003	1	0,50
2004	1	0,50
2005	1	0,50
2006	1	0,50
2007	1	0,50
2008	0	0,00
2009	1	0,50
2010	2	1,00
2011	2	1,00
2012	2	1,00
	min = 0	max = 2

[9]The source is estimated by the researcher.
[10]The source is estimated by the researcher.
[11]The source is estimated by the researcher.

Variables of EFI (Russia 1995-2012)

Years	GNI per capita, $[1]	Stand.
1995	5580	0,020
1996	5450	0,013
1997	5580	0,020
1998	5230	0
1999	5680	0,026
2000	6650	0,081
2001	7270	0,117
2002	7870	0,151
2003	8970	0,214
2004	10030	0,275
2005	11560	0,362
2006	14530	0,532
2007	16360	0,637
2008	19710	0,828
2009	18850	0,779
2010	19910	0,840
2011	21860	0,951
2012	22710	1
	min = 5230	max = 22710

Years	Trade (% of GDP)[2]	Stand.
1995	55,2	0,358
1996	47,9	0,030
1997	47,3	0
1998	55,8	0,385
1999	69,4	1
2000	68,1	0,941
2001	61,1	0,626
2002	59,7	0,562
2003	59,1	0,536
2004	56,6	0,421
2005	56,7	0,427
2006	54,7	0,338
2007	51,7	0,201
2008	53,4	0,277
2009	48,4	0,053
2010	50,4	0,140
2011	52,0	0,214
2012	51,9	0,208
	min = 47	max = 69

Years	DC (% of GDP) [3]	Stand.
1995	25,5	0,193
1996	27,8	0,291
1997	29,5	0,360
1998	44,9	1
1999	33,3	0,519
2000	24,9	0,171
2001	25,7	0,204
2002	26,9	0,252
2003	27,9	0,293
2004	25,7	0,201
2005	20,8	0
2006	22,4	0,067
2007	25,5	0,193
2008	24,4	0,149
2009	34,1	0,552
2010	37,7	0,701
2011	39,6	0,779
2012	42,7	0,909
	min = 20,8	max = 44,9

Years	FDI (% of GDP) [4]	Stand.
1995	0,5	0
1996	0,7	0,034
1997	1,2	0,171
1998	1	0,125
1999	1,7	0,293
2000	1,0	0,131
2001	0,9	0,094
2002	1	0,121
2003	1,8	0,333
2004	2,6	0,525
2005	2	0,379
2006	3,8	0,823
2007	4,3	0,949
2008	4,5	1
2009	3	0,621
2010	2,8	0,580
2011	2,9	0,595
2012	2,5	0,499
	min = 0,5	max = 4,5

[1]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GNP.PCAP.PP.CD (01.09.2014).
[2]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NE.TRD.GNFS.ZS (01.08.2014).
[3]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/FS.AST.DOMS.GD.ZS (01.08.2014).
[4]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/BX.KLT.DINV.WD.GD.ZS (01.08.2014).

Years	IEF[5]	Stand.
1995	51,6	0,516
1996	48,6	0,486
1997	52,8	0,528
1998	54,5	0,545
1999	51,8	0,518
2000	49,8	0,498
2001	48,7	0,487
2002	50,8	0,508
2003	52,8	0,528
2004	51,3	0,513
2005	52,4	0,524
2006	52,2	0,522
2007	49,8	0,498
2008	50,8	0,508
2009	50,3	0,503
2010	50,5	0,505
2011	50,5	0,505
2012	51,1	0,511
	min = 0	max = 100

Years	Inflation, %[6]	Stand.
1995	197,5	0
1996	47,7	0,778
1997	14,8	0,950
1998	27,7	0,883
1999	85,7	0,581
2000	20,8	0,918
2001	21,5	0,915
2002	15,8	0,944
2003	13,7	0,955
2004	10,9	0,970
2005	12,7	0,960
2006	9,7	0,976
2007	9	0,980
2008	14,1	0,953
2009	11,7	0,966
2010	6,9	0,991
2011	8,4	0,982
2012	5,1	1
	min = 197,5	max = 5,1

Years	Bud.def.(% of GDP) [7]	Stand.
1995	-5,2	0,166
1996	-7,7	0
1997	-6,8	0,060
1998	-4,8	0,192
1999	-1,4	0,417
2000	2,5	0,675
2001	2,3	0,662
2002	1,4	0,603
2003	1,5	0,609
2004	4,1	0,781
2005	1,5	0,609
2006	7,4	1
2007	5,5	0,874
2008	4	0,775
2009	-6	0,113
2010	-4,1	0,238
2011	-3,6	0,272
2012	-0,04	0,507
	min = -7,7	max = 7,4

[5]The final unit of the Index of Economic Freedom for the year 2013 is mainly calculated by the analysis of the data collected from the second half of the year 2011 and from the first half of 2012. For this reason the calculations of the EFI of IDL in 2012 include Index of Economic Freedom published in 2013. (The Heritage Foundation and The Wall Street Journal: Index of Economic Freedom, // http://www.heritage.org/index/about): This approach is also applicable for other years of the observed period http://www.heritage.org/index/explore?view=by-region-country-year (01.08.2014).

[6]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/FP.CPI.TOTL.ZG (01.09.2014).

[7] http://www.budgetrf.ru, http://info.minfin.ru/ (01.09.2014).

Variables of SFI (Russia 1995-2012)

Years	Real wage, $[1]	Stand.
1995	37,0	0
1996	284,0	0,317
1997	303,1	0,342
1998	182,1	0,186
1999	44,4	0,009
2000	64,5	0,035
2001	91,2	0,070
2002	120,2	0,107
2003	157,4	0,155
2004	211,1	0,224
2005	269,1	0,298
2006	356,8	0,411
2007	487,9	0,579
2008	611,7	0,738
2009	527,8	0,630
2010	645,3	0,781
2011	734,7	0,896
2012	815,7	1
	min = 37	max = 815,7

Years	Unempl.,%[2]	Stand.
1995	9,4	0,906
1996	9,7	0,903
1997	11,8	0,882
1998	13,3	0,867
1999	13,0	0,870
2000	10,6	0,894
2001	9,0	0,910
2002	7,9	0,921
2003	8,2	0,918
2004	7,8	0,922
2005	7,1	0,929
2006	7,1	0,929
2007	6,0	0,940
2008	6,2	0,938
2009	8,3	0,917
2010	7,3	0,927
2011	6,5	0,935
2012	5,5	0,945
	min = 100	max = 0

Years	GINI index[3]	Stand.
1995	-	0,539
1996	0,461	0,539
1997	-	0,625
1998	-	0,625
1999	0,375	0,625
2000	-	0,615
2001	0,396	0,604
2002	0,357	0,643
2003	0,373	0,627
2004	0,317	0,683
2005	0,375	0,625
2006	0,421	0,579
2007	0,437	0,563
2008	0,423	0,577
2009	0,401	0,599
2010	-	0,599
2011	-	0,599
2012	-	0,599
	min =1	max = 0

[1] The initial source` http://www.gks.ru (01.09.2014):
[2] http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.UEM.TOTL.ZS (01.09.2014).
[3] http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.GINI?page=3 (01.09.2014).

Variables of EdFI (Russia 1995-2012)

Years	HDI Ed.[1]	Stand.
1995	-	0,698
1996	-	0,698
1997	-	0,698
1998	-	0,698
1999	-	0,698
2000	0,689	0,689
2001	-	0,723
2002	-	0,723
2003	-	0,723
2004	-	0,723
2005	0,756	0,756
2006	0,756	0,756
2007	0,761	0,761
2008	0,767	0,767
2009	0,778	0,778
2010	0,778	0,778
2011	0,778	0,778
2012	0,778	0,778
	min = 0	max = 1

Years	Ed.spend.(% of GDP)[2]	Stand.
1995	-	0,136
1996	-	0,136
1997	-	0,136
1998	-	0,136
1999	-	0,136
2000	2,9	0,136
2001	3,1	0,161
2002	3,8	0,247
2003	3,7	0,235
2004	3,5	0,210
2005	3,8	0,247
2006	3,9	0,260
2007	-	0,272
2008	4,1	0,284
2009	-	0,284
2010	4,9	0,383
2011	-	0,383
2012	-	0,383
	min = 1,8	max = 9,89

Variables of HFI (Russia 1995-2012)

Years	Life expectancy[3]	Stand.
1995	65,2	0,071
1996	66,2	0,133
1997	67,0	0,180
1998	66,8	0,170
1999	66,0	0,123
2000	65,3	0,079
2001	65,5	0,088
2002	65,1	0,062
2003	65,0	0,057
2004	65,4	0,084
2005	65,5	0,087
2006	66,6	0,161
2007	67,5	0,215
2008	67,8	0,237
2009	68,6	0,285
2010	68,9	0,301
2011	69,7	0,352
2012	70,5	0,403
	min =64,1	max = 79,9

Years	HE (% of GDP)[4]	Stand.
1995	5,4	0,219
1996	5,6	0,239
1997	7,1	0,409
1998	6,6	0,357
1999	5,8	0,266
2000	5,4	0,225
2001	5,7	0,253
2002	6,0	0,287
2003	5,6	0,246
2004	5,2	0,200
2005	5,2	0,202
2006	5,3	0,212
2007	5,4	0,221
2008	5,1	0,194
2009	6,2	0,307
2010	6,3	0,322
2011	6,1	0,295
2012	6,3	0,317
	min =3,37	max =12,48

[1] http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/tables (01.09.2014).
[2] http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.XPD.TOTL.GD.ZS (01.09.2014).
[3] http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.LE00.IN (01.09.2014).
[4]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SH.XPD.TOTL.ZS (01.09.2014).

BELARUS

Variables of PFI (Belarus 1995-2012)

Years	Pol. Stability[1]	Stand.
1995	-	0,457
1996	45,67	0,457
1997	-	0,462
1998	46,63	0,466
1999	-	0,476
2000	48,56	0,486
2001	-	0,505
2002	52,4	0,524
2003	68,75	0,688
2004	52,88	0,529
2005	57,21	0,572
2006	51,44	0,514
2007	55,29	0,553
2008	63,16	0,632
2009	62,56	0,626
2010	41,04	0,410
2011	41,98	0,420
2012	46,45	0,465
	min = 0	max = 100

Years	Rule of Law[2]	Stand.
1995	-	0,278
1996	27,75	0,278
1997	-	0,256
1998	23,44	0,234
1999	-	0,206
2000	17,7	0,177
2001	-	0,134
2002	9,09	0,091
2003	11,96	0,120
2004	8,61	0,086
2005	10,53	0,105
2006	8,61	0,086
2007	11,96	0,120
2008	16,35	0,164
2009	17,06	0,171
2010	15,17	0,152
2011	14,08	0,141
2012	17,54	0,175
	min = 0	max = 100

Years	PR and CL[3]	Stand.
1995	5	0,333
1996	6	0,167
1997	6	0,167
1998	6	0,167
1999	6	0,167
2000	6	0,167
2001	6	0,167
2002	6	0,167
2003	6	0,167
2004	6,5	0,083
2005	6,5	0,083
2006	6,5	0,083
2007	6,5	0,083
2008	6,5	0,083
2009	6,5	0,083
2010	6,5	0,083
2011	6,5	0,083
2012	6,5	0,083
	min = 7	max = 1

Years	FP[4]	Stand.
1995	70	0,30
1996	85	0,15
1997	90	0,10
1998	80	0,20
1999	80	0,20
2000	80	0,20
2001	82	0,18
2002	82	0,18
2003	84	0,16
2004	86	0,14
2005	88	0,12
2006	89	0,11
2007	91	0,09
2008	91	0,09
2009	92	0,08
2010	93	0,07
2011	93	0,07
2012	93	0,07
	min = 100	max = 0

[1] http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/index.aspx#reports (01.08.2014).
[2] http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/index.aspx#reports (01.08.2014).
[3] http://www.freedomhouse.org/report-types/freedom-world (01.08.2014).
[4] http://www.freedomhouse.org/report-types/freedom-press (01.08.2014).

Years	CPI[5]	Stand.
1995	-	0,39
1996	-	0,39
1997	-	0,39
1998	3,9	0,39
1999	3,4	0,34
2000	4,1	0,41
2001	-	0,45
2002	4,8	0,48
2003	4,2	0,42
2004	3,3	0,33
2005	2,6	0,26
2006	2,1	0,21
2007	2,1	0,21
2008	2	0,20
2009	2,4	0,24
2010	2,5	0,25
2011	2,4	0,24
2012	3,1	0,31
	min = 0	max = 10

Years	Gender equality[6]	Stand.
1995	-	0,711
1996	-	0,711
1997	-	0,711
1998	-	0,711
1999	-	0,711
2000	-	0,711
2001	-	0,711
2002	-	0,711
2003	-	0,711
2004	-	0,711
2005	-	0,711
2006	-	0,711
2007	0,7113	0,711
2008	0,6909	0,691
2009	0,7141	0,714
2010	-	0,714
2011	-	0,714
2012	-	0,714
	min = 0	max = 1

Years	Political system[7]	Stand.
1995	0	0
1996	0	0
1997	0	0
1998	0	0
1999	0	0
2000	0	0
2001	0	0
2002	0	0
2003	0	0
2004	0	0
2005	0	0
2006	0	0
2007	0	0
2008	0	0
2009	0	0
2010	0	0
2011	0	0
2012	0	0
	min = 0	max = 2

Years	Social unrest[8]	Stand.
1995	2	0,40
1996	2	0,40
1997	2	0,40
1998	1,5	0,30
1999	1,5	0,30
2000	2	0,40
2001	1	0,20
2002	2	0,40
2003	1,5	0,30
2004	1	0,20
2005	3	0,60
2006	2	0,40
2007	3	0,60
2008	3	0,60
2009	2	0,40
2010	0,8	0,16
2011	1	0,20
2012	1	0,20
	min = 0	max = 5

[5] http://www.transparency.org/cpi2011/results/ (01.08.2014).
[6]http://www.weforum.org/issues/global-gender-gap (01.08.2014).
[7]The source is estimated by the researcher.
[8]The source is estimated by the researcher.

Years	Majority in parl. [9]	Stand.
1995	0	0
1996	0	0
1997	0	0
1998	0	0
1999	0	0
2000	0	0
2001	0	0
2002	0	0
2003	0	0
2004	0	0
2005	0	0
2006	0	0
2007	0	0
2008	0	0
2009	0	0
2010	0	0
2011	0	0
2012	0	0
	min = 0	max = 2

Years	Religion[10]	Stand.
1995	1	1
1996	1	1
1997	1	1
1998	1	1
1999	1	1
2000	1	1
2001	1	1
2002	1	1
2003	1	1
2004	1	1
2005	1	1
2006	1	1
2007	1	1
2008	1	1
2009	1	1
2010	1	1
2011	1	1
2012	1	1
	min = 0	max = 1

Years	Conflict[11]	Stand.
1995	2	1
1996	2	1
1997	2	1
1998	2	1
1999	2	1
2000	2	1
2001	2	1
2002	2	1
2003	2	1
2004	2	1
2005	2	1
2006	2	1
2007	2	1
2008	2	1
2009	2	1
2010	2	1
2011	2	1
2012	2	1
	min = 0	max = 2

[9]The source is estimated by the researcher.
[10]The source is estimated by the researcher.
[11]The source is estimated by the researcher.

Variables of EFI (Belarus 1995-2012)

Years	GNI per capita, $[1]	Stand.
1995	3430	0,023
1996	3160	0
1997	4090	0,079
1998	4500	0,114
1999	4750	0,135
2000	5150	0,169
2001	5560	0,203
2002	5980	0,239
2003	6600	0,292
2004	7610	0,377
2005	8640	0,464
2006	9820	0,564
2007	10940	0,659
2008	12290	0,774
2009	12310	0,775
2010	13470	0,874
2011	14660	0,975
2012	14960	1
	min=3160	max=14960

Years	Trade (% of GDP)[2]	Stand.
1995	103,7	0,103
1996	96,8	0
1997	125,5	0,426
1998	123,0	0,388
1999	120,8	0,357
2000	141,6	0,665
2001	137,0	0,597
2002	131,0	0,508
2003	134,1	0,554
2004	142,1	0,673
2005	118,9	0,328
2006	124,3	0,408
2007	128,2	0,465
2008	129,6	0,487
2009	112,3	0,230
2010	122,2	0,377
2011	164,2	1
2012	158,7	0,919
	min=96,8	max=164,2

Years	DC (% of GDP) [3]	Stand.
1995	15,0	0
1996	15,1	0,001
1997	17,0	0,065
1998	35,2	0,668
1999	19,9	0,161
2000	19,2	0,137
2001	17,6	0,086
2002	18,0	0,099
2003	22,2	0,236
2004	21,2	0,204
2005	21,8	0,223
2006	27,2	0,402
2007	26,8	0,390
2008	32,7	0,583
2009	34,1	0,629
2010	45,3	1
2011	31,7	0,552
2012	32,2	0,568
	min=15	max=45,3

Years	FDI (% of GDP) [4]	Stand.
1995	0,11	0
1996	0,71	0,098
1997	2,49	0,389
1998	1,33	0,201
1999	3,66	0,580
2000	0,93	0,135
2001	0,78	0,109
2002	1,69	0,259
2003	0,96	0,140
2004	0,71	0,098
2005	1,01	0,149
2006	0,97	0,141
2007	3,99	0,635
2008	3,60	0,571
2009	3,81	0,605
2010	2,52	0,395
2011	6,23	1
2012	2,31	0,361
	min=0,11	max=6,23

[1]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GNP.PCAP.PP.CD (01.08.2014).
[2]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NE.TRD.GNFS.ZS (01.08.2014).
[3]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/FS.AST.DOMS.GD.ZS (01.08.2014).
[4]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/BX.KLT.DINV.WD.GD.ZS (01.08.2014).

Years	IEF[5]	Stand.
1995	38,7	0,387
1996	39,8	0,398
1997	38	0,380
1998	35,4	0,354
1999	41,3	0,413
2000	38	0,380
2001	39	0,390
2002	39,7	0,397
2003	43,1	0,431
2004	46,7	0,467
2005	47,5	0,475
2006	47	0,470
2007	45,3	0,453
2008	45	0,450
2009	48,7	0,487
2010	47,9	0,479
2011	49	0,490
2012	48	0,480
	min = 0	max = 100

Years	Inflation, %[6]	Stand.
1995	709,3	0
1996	52,7	0,935
1997	63,9	0,919
1998	72,9	0,906
1999	293,7	0,592
2000	168,6	0,770
2001	61,1	0,923
2002	42,5	0,949
2003	28,4	0,970
2004	18,1	0,984
2005	10,3	0,995
2006	7,0	1
2007	8,4	0,998
2008	14,8	0,989
2009	12,9	0,992
2010	7,7	0,999
2011	53,2	0,934
2012	59,2	0,926
	min=709,3	min=7

Years	Bud.def.(% of GDP) [7]	Stand.
1995	-2,7	0
1996	-1,8	0,177
1997	-1,1	0,315
1998	-0,9	0,355
1999	-1,9	0,158
2000	0,1	0,552
2001	-0,8	0,375
2002	1,1	0,749
2003	-1,1	0,315
2004	-0,1	0,506
2005	0,2	0,577
2006	1,5	0,822
2007	0,4	0,617
2008	2,4	1
2009	0,2	0,576
2010	-1,5	0,236
2011	1,7	0,873
2012	0,1	0,552
	min =-2,7	max =2,37

[5]The final unit of the Index of Economic Freedom for the year 2013 is mainly calculated by the analysis of the data collected from the second half of the year 2011 and from the first half of 2012. For this reason the calculations of the EFI of IDL in 2012 include Index of Economic Freedom published in 2013. (The Heritage Foundation and The Wall Street Journal: Index of Economic Freedom, // http://www.heritage.org/index/about): This approach is also applicable for other years of the observed period http://www.heritage.org/index/explore?view=by-region-country-year (01.08.2014).

[6]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/FP.CPI.TOTL.ZG (01.08.2014).

[7]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/GC.BAL.CASH.GD.ZS (01.08.2014).

Variables of SFI (Belarus 1995-2012)

Years	Real wage, $[1]	Stand.
1995	65,5	0
1996	91,6	0,075
1997	87,2	0,062
1998	100,5	0,100
1999	78,5	0,037
2000	67,2	0,005
2001	88,5	0,066
2002	105,7	0,115
2003	122,2	0,162
2004	160,9	0,273
2005	215,3	0,428
2006	271,5	0,589
2007	323,4	0,737
2008	414,3	0,997
2009	357,3	0,834
2010	415,4	1
2011	387,4	0,920
2012	-	0,920
	min=65,5	max=415,4

Years	Unempl.,%[2]	Stand.
1995	2,9	0,971
1996	-	0,960
1997	-	0,972
1998	-	0,977
1999	-	0,979
2000	2,1	0,979
2001	2,3	0,977
2002	2,9	0,971
2003	3,1	0,969
2004	1,9	0,981
2005	1,5	0,985
2006	1,1	0,989
2007	1,0	0,990
2008	0,8	0,992
2009	0,9	0,991
2010	0,7	0,993
2011	0,6	0,994
2012	0,5	0,995
	min = 100	max = 0

Years	GINI index[3]	Stand.
1995	0,288	0,712
1996	-	0,705
1997	-	0,705
1998	0,303	0,697
1999	-	0,697
2000	0,304	0,697
2001	0,307	0,693
2002	0,300	0,700
2003	-	0,719
2004	0,262	0,738
2005	0,279	0,721
2006	0,286	0,714
2007	0,287	0,713
2008	0,272	0,728
2009	0,277	0,723
2010	0,277	0,723
2011	0,265	0,735
2012	-	0,735
	min =1	max = 0

[1] http://w3.unece.org/pxweb/dialog/varval.asp?ma=60_MECCWagesY_r&path=../database/STAT/20-ME/3-MELF/&lang=1&ti=Gross+Average+Monthly+Wages+by+Country+and+Year (01.08.2014).
[2] http://belstat.gov.by/homep/en/indicators/labor.php (01.08.2014).
[3] http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.GINI (01.08.2014).

Variables of EdFI (Belarus 1995-2012)

Years	HDI Ed.[1]	Stand.
1995	-	0,771
1996	-	0,771
1997	-	0,771
1998	-	0,771
1999	-	0,771
2000	-	0,771
2001	-	0,771
2002	-	0,771
2003	-	0,771
2004	-	0,771
2005	0,771	0,771
2006	0,792	0,792
2007	0,814	0,814
2008	0,832	0,832
2009	0,866	0,866
2010	0,866	0,866
2011	0,866	0,866
2012	0,866	0,866
	min = 0	max = 1

Years	Ed.spend.(% of GDP)[2]	Stand.
1995	5,46	0,453
1996	5,01	0,396
1997	-	0,458
1998	-	0,458
1999	6,00	0,519
2000	6,20	0,543
2001	-	0,514
2002	-	0,514
2003	-	0,514
2004	5,71	0,484
2005	5,87	0,503
2006	6,08	0,529
2007	5,15	0,414
2008	-	0,375
2009	4,52	0,336
2010	5,41	0,446
2011	4,84	0,376
2012	5,15	0,414
	min = 1,8	max = 9,89

Variables of HFI (Belarus 1995-2012)

Years	Life expectancy[3]	Stand.
1995	68,5	0,276
1996	68,6	0,286
1997	68,5	0,276
1998	68,4	0,273
1999	67,9	0,241
2000	68,9	0,305
2001	68,5	0,279
2002	68,1	0,250
2003	68,6	0,282
2004	69,0	0,307
2005	68,9	0,301
2006	69,4	0,336
2007	70,2	0,386
2008	70,5	0,402
2009	70,4	0,399
2010	70,4	0,399
2011	70,7	0,415
2012	-	0,415
	min =64,1	max = 79,9

Years	HE (% of GDP)[4]	Stand.
1995	6,7	0,370
1996	6,2	0,315
1997	6,6	0,354
1998	6,0	0,284
1999	6,2	0,307
2000	6,1	0,303
2001	6,6	0,357
2002	6,5	0,340
2003	6,6	0,353
2004	6,6	0,353
2005	6,9	0,386
2006	6,3	0,326
2007	6,4	0,337
2008	5,9	0,283
2009	6,1	0,298
2010	5,6	0,240
2011	4,9	0,168
2012	5,0	0,179
	min =3,37	max =12,48

[1] http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/tables (01.08.2014).
[2] http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.XPD.TOTL.GD.ZS (01.08.2014).
[3] http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.LE00.IN (01.08.2014).
[4]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SH.XPD.TOTL.ZS (01.08.2014).

KAZAKHSTAN

Variables of PFI (Kazakhstan 1995-2012)

Years	Pol. Stability[1]	Stand.
1995	-	0,289
1996	28,85	0,289
1997	-	0,382
1998	47,60	0,476
1999	-	0,466
2000	45,67	0,457
2001	-	0,512
2002	56,73	0,567
2003	57,21	0,572
2004	48,08	0,481
2005	52,40	0,524
2006	52,88	0,529
2007	66,83	0,668
2008	66,99	0,670
2009	72,04	0,720
2010	61,79	0,618
2011	36,32	0,363
2012	36,02	0,360
	min = 0	max = 100

Years	Rule of Law[2]	Stand.
1995	-	0,120
1996	11,96	0,120
1997	-	0,141
1998	16,27	0,163
1999	-	0,163
2000	16,27	0,163
2001	-	0,151
2002	13,88	0,139
2003	16,27	0,163
2004	15,79	0,158
2005	24,88	0,249
2006	18,66	0,187
2007	21,53	0,215
2008	24,25	0,243
2009	32,7	0,327
2010	32,7	0,327
2011	32,39	0,324
2012	30,81	0,308
	min = 0	max = 100

Years	PR and CL[3]	Stand.
1995	5,5	0,250
1996	5,5	0,250
1997	5,5	0,250
1998	5,5	0,250
1999	5,5	0,250
2000	5,5	0,250
2001	5,5	0,250
2002	5,5	0,250
2003	5,5	0,250
2004	5,5	0,250
2005	5,5	0,250
2006	5,5	0,250
2007	5,5	0,250
2008	5,5	0,250
2009	5,5	0,250
2010	5,5	0,250
2011	5,5	0,250
2012	5,5	0,250
	min = 7	max = 1

Years	FP[4]	Stand.
1995	62	0,380
1996	64	0,360
1997	66	0,340
1998	68	0,320
1999	68	0,320
2000	70	0,300
2001	69	0,310
2002	73	0,270
2003	74	0,260
2004	75	0,250
2005	75	0,250
2006	76	0,240
2007	78	0,220
2008	78	0,220
2009	78	0,220
2010	80	0,200
2011	81	0,190
2012	84	0,160
	min = 100	max = 0

[1] http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/sc_country.asp (01.08.2014).
[2] http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/sc_country.asp (01.08.2014).
[3] http://www.freedomhouse.org/report-types/freedom-world (01.08.2014).
[4] http://www.freedomhouse.org/report-types/freedom-press (01.08.2014).

Years	CPI[5]	Stand.
1995	-	0,23
1996	-	0,23
1997	-	0,23
1998	2,3	0,23
1999	2,3	0,23
2000	3,0	0,30
2001	2,7	0,27
2002	2,3	0,23
2003	2,4	0,24
2004	2,2	0,22
2005	2,6	0,26
2006	2,6	0,26
2007	2,1	0,21
2008	2,2	0,22
2009	2,7	0,27
2010	2,9	0,29
2011	2,7	0,27
2012	2,8	0,28
	min = 0	max = 10

Years	Gender equality[6]	Stand.
1995	-	0,693
1996	-	0,693
1997	-	0,693
1998	-	0,693
1999	-	0,693
2000	-	0,693
2001	-	0,693
2002	-	0,693
2003	-	0,693
2004	-	0,693
2005	-	0,693
2006	-	0,693
2007	0,6983	0,698
2008	0,6976	0,698
2009	0,7013	0,701
2010	0,7055	0,706
2011	0,7010	0,701
2012	0,7213	0,721
	min = 0	max = 1

Years	Political system[7]	Stand.
1995	0	0
1996	0	0
1997	0	0
1998	0	0
1999	0	0
2000	0	0
2001	0	0
2002	0	0
2003	0	0
2004	0	0
2005	0	0
2006	0	0
2007	0	0
2008	0	0
2009	0	0
2010	0	0
2011	0	0
2012	0	0
	min = 0	max = 2

Years	Social unrest[8]	Stand.
1995	2	0,400
1996	3	0,600
1997	3	0,600
1998	3	0,600
1999	2,5	0,500
2000	2,5	0,500
2001	2	0,400
2002	1,7	0,340
2003	1,7	0,340
2004	2	0,400
2005	1,7	0,340
2006	1,7	0,340
2007	2	0,400
2008	2	0,400
2009	2	0,400
2010	1,9	0,380
2011	1,4	0,280
2012	1,2	0,240
	min = 0	max = 5

[5] http://www.transparency.org/cpi2012/results (01.08.2014).
[6] http://www.weforum.org/issues/global-gender-gap (01.08.2014).
[7]The source is estimated by the researcher.
[8]The source is estimated by the researcher.

Years	Majority in parl. [9]	Stand.
1995	0	0
1996	0	0
1997	0	0
1998	0	0
1999	0	0
2000	0	0
2001	0	0
2002	0	0
2003	0	0
2004	0	0
2005	0	0
2006	0	0
2007	0	0
2008	0	0
2009	0	0
2010	0	0
2011	0	0
2012	0	0
	min = 0	max = 2

Years	Religion[10]	Stand.
1995	0	0
1996	0	0
1997	0	0
1998	0	0
1999	0	0
2000	0	0
2001	0	0
2002	0	0
2003	0	0
2004	0	0
2005	0	0
2006	0	0
2007	0	0
2008	0	0
2009	0	0
2010	0	0
2011	0	0
2012	0	0
	min = 0	max = 1

Years	Conflict[11]	Stand.
1995	2	1
1996	2	1
1997	2	1
1998	2	1
1999	2	1
2000	2	1
2001	2	1
2002	2	1
2003	2	1
2004	2	1
2005	2	1
2006	2	1
2007	2	1
2008	2	1
2009	2	1
2010	2	1
2011	2	1
2012	2	1
	min = 0	max = 2

[9]The source is estimated by the researcher.
[10]The source is estimated by the researcher.
[11]The source is estimated by the researcher.

Variables of EFI (Kazakhstan 1995-2012)

Years	GNI per capita, $[1]	Stand.
1995	3660	0
1996	3790	0,016
1997	3970	0,038
1998	4010	0,043
1999	4130	0,058
2000	4480	0,101
2001	5280	0,200
2002	5950	0,282
2003	6540	0,355
2004	7240	0,441
2005	7850	0,516
2006	8690	0,619
2007	9510	0,720
2008	9650	0,738
2009	10010	0,782
2010	10440	0,835
2011	11070	0,913
2012	11780	1
	min = 3660	max = 11780

Years	Trade (% of GDP)[2]	Stand.
1995	83	0,439
1996	71	0,146
1997	72	0,171
1998	65	0
1999	83	0,439
2000	106	1
2001	93	0,683
2002	94	0,707
2003	91	0,634
2004	96	0,756
2005	98	0,805
2006	92	0,659
2007	92	0,659
2008	94	0,707
2009	76	0,268
2010	73	0,195
2011	77	0,293
2012	78	0,317
	min = 65	max = 106

Years	DC (% of GDP) [3]	Stand.
1995	9,5	0,062
1996	7,9	0,029
1997	6,5	0
1998	8,7	0,046
1999	10,1	0,075
2000	12,3	0,121
2001	11,6	0,106
2002	13,1	0,137
2003	14,8	0,173
2004	21,1	0,304
2005	24,7	0,378
2006	32,5	0,541
2007	41,0	0,717
2008	54,2	0,992
2009	54,6	1
2010	45,4	0,809
2011	40,3	0,703
2012	41,1	0,719
	min = 6,5	max = 54,6

Years	FDI (% of GDP) [4]	Stand.
1995	4,7	0,024
1996	5,4	0,108
1997	6,0	0,181
1998	5,2	0,084
1999	9,4	0,590
2000	7,0	0,301
2001	12,8	1
2002	10,5	0,723
2003	6,8	0,277
2004	9,6	0,614
2005	4,5	0
2006	9,4	0,590
2007	11,4	0,831
2008	12,6	0,976
2009	12,4	0,952
2010	5	0,060
2011	7,6	0,373
2012	7,4	0,349
	min = 4,5	max = 12,8

[1]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GNP.PCAP.PP.CD (01.08.2014).
[2]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NE.TRD.GNFS.ZS (01.08.2014).
[3]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/FS.AST.DOMS.GD.ZS (01.08.2014).
[4]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/BX.KLT.DINV.WD.GD.ZS (01.08.2014).

Years	IEF[5]	Stand.
1995	-	0,417
1996	-	0,417
1997	41,7	0,417
1998	47,3	0,473
1999	50,4	0,504
2000	51,8	0,518
2001	52,4	0,524
2002	52,3	0,523
2003	49,7	0,497
2004	53,9	0,539
2005	60,2	0,602
2006	59,6	0,596
2007	61,1	0,611
2008	60,1	0,601
2009	61,0	0,610
2010	62,1	0,621
2011	63,6	0,636
2012	63,0	0,630
	min = 0	max = 100

Years	Inflation, %[6]	Stand.
1995	176,2	0
1996	39,2	0,801
1997	17,4	0,928
1998	7,1	0,988
1999	8,3	0,981
2000	13,2	0,953
2001	8,4	0,981
2002	5,8	0,996
2003	6,4	0,992
2004	6,9	0,989
2005	7,6	0,985
2006	8,6	0,980
2007	10,8	0,967
2008	17,2	0,929
2009	7,3	0,987
2010	7,1	0,988
2011	8,3	0,981
2012	5,1	1
	min = 176	max = 5,1

Years	Bud.def.(% of GDP) [7]	Stand.
1995	-4	0
1996	-2,6	0,292
1997	-3,7	0,063
1998	-3,9	0,021
1999	-3,5	0,104
2000	-0,1	0,813
2001	-0,4	0,750
2002	-0,3	0,771
2003	-1	0,625
2004	-0,3	0,771
2005	0,6	0,958
2006	0,8	1
2007	-1,7	0,479
2008	-2,1	0,396
2009	-2,9	0,229
2010	-2,4	0,333
2011	-2,1	0,396
2012	-2,9	0,229
	min = -4	max = 0,8

[5]The final unit of the Index of Economic Freedom for the year 2013 is mainly calculated by the analysis of the data collected from the second half of the year 2011 and from the first half of 2012. For this reason the calculations of the EFI of IDL in 2012 include Index of Economic Freedom published in 2013. (The Heritage Foundation and The Wall Street Journal: Index of Economic Freedom, // http://www.heritage.org/index/about): This approach is also applicable for other years of the observed period http://www.heritage.org/index/explore?view=by-region-country-year (01.08.2014).

[6]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/FP.CPI.TOTL.ZG (01.08.2014).

[7]www.stat.gov.kz (01.08.2014).

Variables of SFI (Kazakhstan 1995-2012)

Years	Real wage, $[1]	Stand.
1995	28,6	0
1996	73,3	0,072
1997	96,3	0,110
1998	115,8	0,141
1999	91,4	0,102
2000	89,2	0,098
2001	108,9	0,130
2002	125,7	0,157
2003	145,7	0,190
2004	194,6	0,269
2005	237,9	0,339
2006	298,3	0,437
2007	386,3	0,579
2008	430,9	0,652
2009	425,0	0,642
2010	492,1	0,751
2011	566,9	0,872
2012	646,1	1
	min = 28,6	max = 646,1

Years	Unempl.,%[2]	Stand.
1995	11,0	0,890
1996	13,0	0,870
1997	13,0	0,870
1998	13,1	0,869
1999	13,5	0,865
2000	12,8	0,872
2001	10,4	0,896
2002	9,3	0,907
2003	8,8	0,912
2004	8,4	0,916
2005	8,1	0,919
2006	7,8	0,922
2007	7,3	0,927
2008	6,6	0,934
2009	6,6	0,934
2010	5,8	0,942
2011	5,4	0,946
2012	5,3	0,947
	min = 100	max = 0

Years	GINI index[3]	Stand.
1995	-	0,681
1996	0,319	0,681
1997	0,338	0,662
1998	0,347	0,653
1999	0,332	0,668
2000	0,307	0,693
2001	0,339	0,661
2002	0,328	0,672
2003	0,315	0,685
2004	0,305	0,695
2005	0,304	0,696
2006	0,312	0,688
2007	0,309	0,691
2008	0,288	0,712
2009	0,267	0,733
2010	0,278	0,722
2011	0,290	0,710
2012	0,284	0,716
	min =1	max = 0

[1] The initial source` www.stat.gov.kz (01.08.2014):
[2] The initial source` www.stat.gov.kz (01.08.2014):
[3] www.stat.gov.kz (01.08.2014).

Variables of EdFI (Kazakhstan 1995-2012)

Years	HDI Ed.[1]	Stand.
1995	-	0,706
1996	-	0,706
1997	-	0,706
1998	-	0,706
1999	-	0,706
2000	0,706	0,706
2001	-	0,833
2002	-	0,833
2003	-	0,833
2004	-	0,833
2005	0,833	0,833
2006	0,839	0,839
2007	0,833	0,833
2008	0,833	0,833
2009	0,822	0,822
2010	0,817	0,817
2011	0,828	0,828
2012	0,833	0,833
	min = 0	max = 1

Years	Ed.spend.(% of GDP)[2]	Stand.
1995	4,0	0,272
1996	3,9	0,260
1997	4,4	0,321
1998	-	0,290
1999	3,9	0,260
2000	3,3	0,185
2001	-	0,167
2002	3,0	0,148
2003	-	0,105
2004	2,3	0,062
2005	2,3	0,062
2006	2,6	0,099
2007	2,8	0,124
2008	2,6	0,099
2009	3,1	0,161
2010	3,1	0,161
2011	3,1	0,161
2012	-	0,161
	min = 1,8	max = 9,89

Variables of HFI (Kazakhstan 1995-2012)

Years	Life expectancy[3]	Stand.
1995	64,9	0,052
1996	64,1	0,001
1997	64,5	0,023
1998	64,6	0,029
1999	65,5	0,090
2000	65,5	0,090
2001	65,8	0,106
2002	66,0	0,118
2003	65,9	0,112
2004	65,9	0,113
2005	65,9	0,115
2006	66,2	0,130
2007	66,5	0,152
2008	67,0	0,185
2009	68,4	0,274
2010	68,3	0,266
2011	69,0	0,309
2012	69,6	0,349
	min =64,1	max = 79,9

Years	HE (% of GDP)[4]	Stand.
1995	4,6	0,135
1996	4,3	0,102
1997	4,7	0,146
1998	4,8	0,157
1999	4,4	0,113
2000	4,2	0,091
2001	3,5	0,014
2002	3,6	0,025
2003	3,7	0,036
2004	4,0	0,069
2005	4,1	0,080
2006	3,9	0,058
2007	3,4	0,003
2008	3,9	0,058
2009	4,5	0,124
2010	4,3	0,102
2011	3,9	0,058
2012	4,2	0,091
	min =3,37	max =12,48

[1] http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/education-index (01.10.2014).
[2] http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.XPD.TOTL.GD.ZS (01.08.2014).
[3] http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.LE00.IN (01.08.2014).
[4]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SH.XPD.TOTL.ZS (28.10.2014).

UKRAINE

Variables of PFI (Ukraine 1995-2012)

Years	Pol. Stability[1]	Stand.
1995	-	0,370
1996	37,02	0,370
1997	-	0,358
1998	34,62	0,346
1999	-	0,320
2000	29,33	0,293
2001	-	0,303
2002	31,25	0,313
2003	32,69	0,327
2004	28,85	0,289
2005	37,02	0,370
2006	44,23	0,442
2007	48,56	0,486
2008	45,45	0,455
2009	34,12	0,341
2010	45,75	0,458
2011	43,40	0,434
2012	41,71	0,417
	min = 0	max = 100

Years	Rule of Law[2]	Stand.
1995	-	0,196
1996	19,62	0,196
1997	-	0,172
1998	14,83	0,148
1999	-	0,139
2000	12,92	0,129
2001	-	0,187
2002	24,40	0,244
2003	23,44	0,234
2004	26,79	0,268
2005	27,27	0,273
2006	24,40	0,244
2007	26,32	0,263
2008	29,33	0,293
2009	24,17	0,242
2010	24,64	0,246
2011	23,47	0,235
2012	26,07	0,261
	min = 0	max = 100

Years	PR and CL[3]	Stand.
1995	3,5	0,583
1996	3,5	0,583
1997	3,5	0,583
1998	3,5	0,583
1999	3,5	0,583
2000	4	0,500
2001	4	0,500
2002	4	0,500
2003	4	0,500
2004	3,5	0,583
2005	2,5	0,750
2006	2,5	0,750
2007	2,5	0,750
2008	2,5	0,750
2009	2,5	0,750
2010	3	0,667
2011	3,5	0,583
2012	3,5	0,583
	min = 7	max = 1

Years	FP[4]	Stand.
1995	39	0,610
1996	49	0,510
1997	49	0,510
1998	50	0,500
1999	60	0,400
2000	60	0,400
2001	60	0,400
2002	67	0,330
2003	68	0,320
2004	59	0,410
2005	53	0,470
2006	53	0,470
2007	53	0,470
2008	55	0,450
2009	53	0,470
2010	56	0,440
2011	59	0,410
2012	60	0,400
	min = 100	max = 0

[1] www.govindicators.org (01.08.2014).
[2] www.govindicators.org (01.08.2014).
[3] http://www.freedomhouse.org/report-types/freedom-world (01.08.2014).
[4] http://www.freedomhouse.org/report-types/freedom-press (01.08.2014).

Years	CPI[5]	Stand.
1995	-	0,28
1996	-	0,28
1997	-	0,28
1998	2,8	0,28
1999	2,6	0,26
2000	1,5	0,15
2001	2,1	0,21
2002	2,4	0,24
2003	2,3	0,23
2004	2,2	0,22
2005	2,6	0,26
2006	2,8	0,28
2007	2,7	0,27
2008	2,5	0,25
2009	2,2	0,22
2010	2,4	0,24
2011	2,3	0,23
2012	2,6	0,26
	min = 0	max = 10

Years	Gender equality[6]	Stand.
1995	-	0,680
1996	-	0,680
1997	-	0,680
1998	-	0,680
1999	-	0,680
2000	-	0,680
2001	-	0,680
2002	-	0,680
2003	-	0,680
2004	-	0,680
2005	-	0,680
2006	0,6797	0,680
2007	0,6790	0,679
2008	0,6856	0,668
2009	0,6896	0,690
2010	0,6869	0,687
2011	0,6861	0,686
2012	0,6894	0,689
	min = 0	max = 1

Years	Political system[7]	Stand.
1995	0	0
1996	0	0
1997	0	0
1998	0	0
1999	0	0
2000	0	0
2001	0	0
2002	0	0
2003	0	0
2004	0	0
2005	0	0
2006	0	0
2007	0	0
2008	0	0
2009	0	0
2010	0	0
2011	0	0
2012	0	0
	min = 0	max = 2

Years	Social unrest[8]	Stand.
1995	2	0,40
1996	3	0,60
1997	2,5	0,50
1998	2	0,40
1999	3,7	0,74
2000	1,5	0,30
2001	1,5	0,30
2002	3	0,60
2003	2	0,40
2004	0,5	0,10
2005	1,5	0,30
2006	3	0,60
2007	2	0,40
2008	3	0,60
2009	3,5	0,70
2010	1	0,20
2011	3	0,60
2012	2	0,40
	min = 0	max = 5

[5] http://www.transparency.org/cpi2012/results (01.08.2014).
[6] http://www.weforum.org/issues/global-gender-gap (01.08.2014).
[7] The source is estimated by the researcher.
[8] The source is estimated by the researcher.

Years	Majority in parl. [9]	Stand.
1995	1	0,50
1996	1	0,50
1997	1	0,50
1998	1	0,50
1999	1	0,50
2000	1	0,50
2001	1	0,50
2002	1	0,50
2003	1	0,50
2004	1	0,50
2005	1	0,50
2006	1	0,50
2007	1	0,50
2008	1	0,50
2009	1	0,50
2010	1	0,50
2011	1	0,50
2012	1	0,50
	min = 0	max = 2

Years	Religion[10]	Stand.
1995	1	1
1996	1	1
1997	1	1
1998	1	1
1999	1	1
2000	1	1
2001	1	1
2002	1	1
2003	1	1
2004	1	1
2005	1	1
2006	1	1
2007	1	1
2008	1	1
2009	1	1
2010	1	1
2011	1	1
2012	1	1
	min = 0	max = 1

Years	Conflict[11]	Stand.
1995	2	1
1996	2	1
1997	2	1
1998	2	1
1999	2	1
2000	2	1
2001	2	1
2002	2	1
2003	2	1
2004	2	1
2005	2	1
2006	2	1
2007	2	1
2008	2	1
2009	2	1
2010	2	1
2011	2	1
2012	2	1
	min = 0	max = 2

[9]The source is estimated by the researcher.
[10]The source is estimated by the researcher.
[11]The source is estimated by the researcher.

Variables of EFI (Ukraine 1995-2012)

Years	GNI per capita, $[1]	Stand.
1995	3140	0,060
1996	2920	0,009
1997	2900	0,005
1998	2880	0
1999	2930	0,012
2000	3190	0,072
2001	3650	0,178
2002	3950	0,248
2003	4450	0,363
2004	5160	0,528
2005	5520	0,611
2006	6120	0,750
2007	6820	0,912
2008	7200	1
2009	6130	0,752
2010	6540	0,847
2011	6970	0,947
2012	7180	0,995
	min = 2880	max =7200

Years	Trade (% of GDP)[2]	Stand.
1995	97	0,365
1996	94	0,267
1997	84	0
1998	86	0,051
1999	102	0,497
2000	120	1
2001	109	0,703
2002	106	0,605
2003	113	0,806
2004	115	0,861
2005	102	0,502
2006	96	0,333
2007	95	0,308
2008	102	0,494
2009	94	0,286
2010	104	0,563
2011	115	0,862
2012	110	0,729
	min = 84,2	max = 119,9

Years	DC (% of GDP) [3]	Stand.
1995	15,5	0,010
1996	14,8	0
1997	17,1	0,031
1998	24,6	0,132
1999	25,2	0,141
2000	23,8	0,122
2001	24,2	0,127
2002	28,1	0,179
2003	33,1	0,247
2004	31,7	0,227
2005	33,2	0,249
2006	45,7	0,416
2007	61,1	0,623
2008	82,9	0,916
2009	89,1	1
2010	80,2	0,880
2011	80,3	0,881
2012	80,2	0,880
	min = 14,8	max = 89,1

Years	FDI (% of GDP) [4]	Stand.
1995	0,6	0
1996	1,2	0,072
1997	1,2	0,081
1998	1,8	0,143
1999	1,6	0,119
2000	1,9	0,159
2001	2,1	0,180
2002	1,6	0,127
2003	2,8	0,269
2004	2,6	0,246
2005	9,1	1
2006	5,2	0,546
2007	7,1	0,774
2008	5,9	0,633
2009	4,1	0,413
2010	4,7	0,491
2011	4,4	0,453
2012	4,4	0,457
	min = 0,6	max = 9,1

[1]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GNP.PCAP.PP.CD (01.08.2014).
[2]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NE.TRD.GNFS.ZS (01.08.2014).
[3]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/FS.AST.DOMS.GD.ZS (01.08.2014).
[4]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/BX.KLT.DINV.WD.GD.ZS (01.08.2014).

Years	IEF[5]	Stand.
1995	40,6	0,406
1996	43,5	0,435
1997	40,4	0,404
1998	43,7	0,437
1999	47,8	0,478
2000	48,5	0,485
2001	48,2	0,482
2002	51,1	0,511
2003	53,7	0,537
2004	55,8	0,558
2005	54,4	0,544
2006	51,5	0,515
2007	51	0,510
2008	48,8	0,488
2009	46,4	0,464
2010	45,8	0,458
2011	46,1	0,461
2012	46,3	0,463
	min = 0	max = 100

Years	Inflation, %[6]	Stand.
1995	376,7	0
1996	80,3	0,788
1997	15,9	0,959
1998	10,6	0,973
1999	22,7	0,941
2000	28,2	0,927
2001	12,0	0,970
2002	0,8	0,999
2003	5,2	0,988
2004	9,0	0,977
2005	13,6	0,965
2006	9,1	0,977
2007	12,8	0,967
2008	25,2	0,934
2009	15,9	0,959
2010	9,4	0,977
2011	8,0	0,980
2012	0,6	1
	min = 377	max = 0,6

Years	Bud.def.(% of GDP) [7]	Stand.
1995	-	0,007
1996	-4,88	0,258
1997	-6,75	0
1998	-2,06	0,646
1999	-1,51	0,723
2000	0,41	0,987
2001	-0,33	0,884
2002	0,51	1
2003	-0,39	0,876
2004	-2,96	0,522
2005	-1,80	0,682
2006	-0,70	0,833
2007	-1,38	0,740
2008	-1,32	0,749
2009	-3,90	0,393
2010	-5,90	0,117
2011	-1,80	0,682
2012	-3,70	0,420
	min = -6,8	max = 0,5

[5]The final unit of the Index of Economic Freedom for the year 2013 is mainly calculated by the analysis of the data collected from the second half of the year 2011 and from the first half of 2012. For this reason the calculations of the EFI of IDL in 2012 include Index of Economic Freedom published in 2013. (The Heritage Foundation and The Wall Street Journal: Index of Economic Freedom, // http://www.heritage.org/index/about): This approach is also applicable for other years of the observed period http://www.heritage.org/index/explore?view=by-region-country-year (01.08.2014).

[6]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/FP.CPI.TOTL.ZG (01.08.2014).

[7]http://www.bank.gov.ua/control/en/publish/article?art_id=67604&cat_id=37801 (01.08.2014).

Variables of SFI (Ukraine 1995-2012)

Years	Real wage, $[1]	Stand.
1995	53	0,040
1996	67	0,081
1997	70	0,090
1998	63	0,072
1999	39	0
2000	41	0,006
2001	58	0,055
2002	70	0,093
2003	86	0,140
2004	111	0,213
2005	158	0,354
2006	207	0,499
2007	269	0,684
2008	353	0,937
2009	237	0,590
2010	281	0,722
2011	330	0,867
2012	374	1
	min = 39,4	max = 374,5

Years	Unempl.,%[2]	Stand.
1995	5,6	0,944
1996	7,6	0,924
1997	8,9	0,911
1998	11,3	0,887
1999	11,6	0,884
2000	11,6	0,884
2001	10,9	0,891
2002	9,6	0,904
2003	9,1	0,909
2004	8,6	0,914
2005	7,2	0,928
2006	6,8	0,932
2007	6,4	0,936
2008	6,4	0,936
2009	8,8	0,912
2010	8,1	0,919
2011	7,9	0,921
2012	7,5	0,925
	min = 100	max = 0

Years	GINI index[3]	Stand.
1995	0,393	0,607
1996	0,351	0,649
1997	-	0,680
1998	-	0,680
1999	0,29	0,710
2000	-	0,714
2001	-	0,714
2002	0,283	0,717
2003	0,281	0,719
2004	0,281	0,719
2005	0,282	0,718
2006	0,297	0,703
2007	0,296	0,704
2008	0,275	0,725
2009	0,264	0,736
2010	0,256	0,744
2011	0,260	0,740
2012	0,260	0,740
	min =1	max = 0

[1] The initial source` http://www.ukrstat.gov.ua (01.08.2014):
[2] http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.UEM.TOTL.ZS (01.08.2014).
[3] http://knoema.com/atlas/Ukraine/GINI-index?origin=knoema.ru (01.08.2014).

Variables of EdFI (Ukraine 1995-2012)

Years	HDI Ed.[1]	Stand.
1995	0,74	0,740
1996	-	0,761
1997	-	0,761
1998	-	0,761
1999	-	0,761
2000	0,782	0,782
2001	-	0,811
2002	-	0,811
2003	-	0,811
2004	-	0,811
2005	0,839	0,839
2006	0,845	0,845
2007	0,851	0,851
2008	0,856	0,856
2009	0,858	0,858
2010	0,86	0,860
2011	0,86	0,860
2012	0,86	0,860
	min = 0	max = 1

Years	Ed.spend.(% of GDP)[2]	Stand.
1995	-	0,457
1996	5,50	0,457
1997	5,46	0,452
1998	4,45	0,327
1999	3,62	0,225
2000	4,17	0,292
2001	4,68	0,356
2002	5,43	0,449
2003	5,60	0,470
2004	5,31	0,434
2005	6,06	0,526
2006	6,21	0,545
2007	6,15	0,538
2008	6,43	0,572
2009	7,31	0,681
2010	-	0,610
2011	6,15	0,538
2012	-	0,538
	min = 1,8	max = 9,89

Variables of HFI (Ukraine 1995-2012)

Years	Life expectancy[3]	Stand.
1995	67,1	0,191
1996	67,3	0,203
1997	67,3	0,202
1998	68,0	0,245
1999	68,2	0,259
2000	67,9	0,238
2001	68,3	0,265
2002	68,3	0,264
2003	68,2	0,260
2004	68,2	0,259
2005	68,0	0,244
2006	68,1	0,252
2007	68,2	0,261
2008	68,3	0,263
2009	69,2	0,322
2010	70,3	0,391
2011	70,8	0,425
2012	-	0,425
	min =64,1	max = 79,9

Years	HE (% of GDP)[4]	Stand.
1995	6,8	0,374
1996	6,1	0,303
1997	6,1	0,297
1998	6,6	0,355
1999	5,9	0,277
2000	5,6	0,244
2001	5,7	0,251
2002	6,3	0,316
2003	6,9	0,391
2004	6,6	0,356
2005	6,4	0,334
2006	6,4	0,332
2007	6,4	0,328
2008	6,6	0,358
2009	7,8	0,486
2010	7,8	0,487
2011	7,2	0,420
2012	7,5	0,453
	min =3,37	max =12,48

[1] http://hdr.undp.org/en/data (01.08.2014).
[2] http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.XPD.TOTL.GD.ZS (01.08.2014).
[3] http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.LE00.IN (01.08.2014).
[4] http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SH.XPD.TOTL.ZS (01.08.2014).

MOLDOVA

Variables of PFI (Moldova 1995-2012)

Years	Pol. Stability[1]	Stand.
1995	-	0,433
1996	43,27	0,433
1997	-	0,483
1998	53,37	0,534
1999	-	0,409
2000	28,37	0,284
2001	-	0,327
2002	37,02	0,370
2003	37,50	0,375
2004	36,54	0,365
2005	33,17	0,332
2006	31,73	0,317
2007	41,35	0,414
2008	34,93	0,349
2009	26,07	0,261
2010	32,55	0,326
2011	44,34	0,443
2012	45,97	0,460
	min = 0	max = 100

Years	Rule of Law[2]	Stand.
1995	-	0,474
1996	47,37	0,474
1997	-	0,479
1998	48,33	0,483
1999	-	0,407
2000	33,01	0,330
2001	-	0,328
2002	32,54	0,325
2003	32,54	0,325
2004	41,63	0,416
2005	40,67	0,407
2006	37,80	0,378
2007	36,84	0,368
2008	39,90	0,399
2009	40,28	0,403
2010	42,18	0,422
2011	44,13	0,441
2012	45,02	0,450
	min = 0	max =100

Years	PR and CL[3]	Stand.
1995	4	0,500
1996	3,5	0,583
1997	3,5	0,583
1998	3	0,667
1999	3	0,667
2000	3	0,667
2001	3	0,667
2002	3,5	0,583
2003	3,5	0,583
2004	3,5	0,583
2005	3,5	0,583
2006	3,5	0,583
2007	3,5	0,583
2008	4	0,500
2009	3,5	0,583
2010	3	0,667
2011	3	0,667
2012	3	0,667
	min = 7	max = 1

Years	FP[4]	Stand.
1995	62	0,380
1996	57	0,430
1997	58	0,420
1998	56	0,440
1999	58	0,420
2000	59	0,410
2001	59	0,410
2002	59	0,410
2003	63	0,370
2004	65	0,350
2005	65	0,350
2006	65	0,350
2007	66	0,340
2008	67	0,330
2009	65	0,350
2010	55	0,450
2011	54	0,460
2012	53	0,470
	min = 100	max = 0

[1] www.govindicators.org (01.08.2014).
[2] www.govindicators.org (01.08.2014).
[3] http://www.freedomhouse.org/report-types/freedom-world (01.08.2014).
[4] http://www.freedomhouse.org/report-types/freedom-press (01.08.2014).

Years	CPI[5]	Stand.
1995	-	0,26
1996	-	0,26
1997	-	0,26
1998	-	0,26
1999	2,6	0,26
2000	2,6	0,26
2001	3,1	0,31
2002	2,1	0,21
2003	2,4	0,24
2004	2,3	0,23
2005	2,9	0,29
2006	3,2	0,32
2007	2,8	0,28
2008	2,9	0,29
2009	3,3	0,33
2010	2,9	0,29
2011	2,9	0,29
2012	3,6	0,36
	min = 0	max = 10

Years	Gender equality[6]	Stand.
1995	-	0,713
1996	-	0,713
1997	-	0,713
1998	-	0,713
1999	-	0,713
2000	-	0,713
2001	-	0,713
2002	-	0,713
2003	-	0,713
2004	-	0,713
2005	-	0,713
2006	0,7128	0,713
2007	0,7172	0,717
2008	0,7244	0,724
2009	0,7104	0,710
2010	0,716	0,716
2011	0,7083	0,708
2012	0,7101	0,710
	min = 0	max = 1

Years	Political system[7]	Stand.
1995	1	0,50
1996	1	0,50
1997	1	0,50
1998	1	0,50
1999	1	0,50
2000	1	0,50
2001	1	0,50
2002	1	0,50
2003	1	0,50
2004	1	0,50
2005	1	0,50
2006	1	0,50
2007	1	0,50
2008	1	0,50
2009	1	0,50
2010	1	0,50
2011	1	0,50
2012	1	0,50
	min = 0	max = 2

Years	Social unrest[8]	Stand.
1995	3	0,60
1996	4,5	0,90
1997	4,5	0,90
1998	4,5	0,90
1999	4	0,80
2000	3,8	0,76
2001	4,5	0,90
2002	3	0,60
2003	4,3	0,86
2004	4	0,80
2005	3,8	0,76
2006	4,5	0,90
2007	5	1,00
2008	4,3	0,86
2009	0,8	0,16
2010	4	0,80
2011	4,5	0,90
2012	4,1	0,82
	min = 0	max = 5

[5] http://www.transparency.org/cpi2012/results (01.08.2014).
[6] http://www.weforum.org/issues/global-gender-gap (01.08.2014).
[7]The source is estimated by the researcher.
[8]The source is estimated by the researcher.

Years	Majority in parl. [9]	Stand.
1995	0	0,00
1996	1	0,50
1997	1	0,50
1998	1	0,50
1999	1	0,50
2000	1	0,50
2001	0	0,00
2002	0	0,00
2003	0	0,00
2004	0	0,00
2005	0	0,00
2006	0	0,00
2007	0	0,00
2008	0	0,00
2009	0	0,00
2010	1	0,50
2011	1	0,50
2012	1	0,50
	min = 0	max = 2

Years	Religion[10]	Stand.
1995	1	1
1996	1	1
1997	1	1
1998	1	1
1999	1	1
2000	1	1
2001	1	1
2002	1	1
2003	1	1
2004	1	1
2005	1	1
2006	1	1
2007	1	1
2008	1	1
2009	1	1
2010	1	1
2011	1	1
2012	1	1
	min = 0	max = 1

Years	Conflict[11]	Stand.
1995	1	0,50
1996	1	0,50
1997	1	0,50
1998	1	0,50
1999	1	0,50
2000	1	0,50
2001	1	0,50
2002	1	0,50
2003	1	0,50
2004	1	0,50
2005	1	0,50
2006	1	0,50
2007	1	0,50
2008	1	0,50
2009	1	0,50
2010	1	0,50
2011	1	0,50
2012	1	0,50
	min = 0	max = 2

[9]The source is estimated by the researcher.
[10]The source is estimated by the researcher.
[11]The source is estimated by the researcher.

Variables of EFI (Moldova 1995-2012)

Years	GNI per capita, $[1]	Stand.
1995	1490	0,023
1996	1510	0,032
1997	1550	0,050
1998	1470	0,014
1999	1440	0
2000	1500	0,027
2001	1710	0,123
2002	1880	0,201
2003	2150	0,324
2004	2400	0,438
2005	2650	0,553
2006	2860	0,648
2007	2970	0,699
2008	3280	0,840
2009	2990	0,708
2010	3330	0,863
2011	3600	0,986
2012	3630	1
	min = 1440	max = 3630

Years	Trade (% of GDP)[2]	Stand.
1995	107,3	0
1996	129,2	0,587
1997	129,1	0,584
1998	123,6	0,436
1999	119,5	0,327
2000	125,2	0,480
2001	123,4	0,431
2002	130,7	0,627
2003	140,7	0,896
2004	132,7	0,681
2005	142,8	0,952
2006	137,2	0,800
2007	144,6	1
2008	134,4	0,727
2009	110,4	0,082
2010	117,8	0,281
2011	130,8	0,630
2012	127,9	0,551
	min = 107,3	max =144,6

Years	DC (% of GDP) [3]	Stand.
1995	23,7	0,016
1996	23,4	0
1997	26,0	0,136
1998	34,0	0,561
1999	28,7	0,280
2000	25,2	0,096
2001	27,5	0,217
2002	29,1	0,301
2003	29,5	0,324
2004	32,0	0,457
2005	31,5	0,431
2006	34,5	0,590
2007	40,2	0,890
2008	39,8	0,869
2009	41,4	0,955
2010	37,2	0,732
2011	39,4	0,852
2012	42,2	1
	min = 23,4	max = 42,2

Years	FDI (% of GDP) [4]	Stand.
1995	1,5	0,007
1996	1,4	0
1997	4,1	0,249
1998	4,6	0,297
1999	3,2	0,170
2000	9,9	0,789
2001	3,7	0,212
2002	5,1	0,339
2003	3,7	0,216
2004	3,4	0,183
2005	6,4	0,462
2006	7,6	0,574
2007	12,2	1
2008	12,0	0,984
2009	2,5	0,101
2010	3,5	0,192
2011	3,9	0,236
2012	2,5	0,107
	min = 1,4	max = 12,2

[1]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GNP.PCAP.PP.CD (01.08.2014).
[2]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NE.TRD.GNFS.ZS (01.08.2014).
[3]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/FS.AST.DOMS.GD.ZS (01.08.2014).
[4]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/BX.KLT.DINV.WD.GD.ZS (01.08.2014).

Years	IEF[5]	Stand.
1995	52,5	0,525
1996	48,9	0,489
1997	53,5	0,535
1998	56,1	0,561
1999	59,6	0,596
2000	54,9	0,549
2001	57,4	0,574
2002	60	0,600
2003	57,1	0,571
2004	57,4	0,574
2005	58	0,580
2006	58,7	0,587
2007	57,9	0,579
2008	54,9	0,549
2009	53,7	0,537
2010	55,7	0,557
2011	54,4	0,544
2012	55,5	0,555
	min = 0	max = 100

Years	Inflation, %[6]	Stand.
1995	29,8	0,239
1996	23,5	0,399
1997	11,9	0,694
1998	7,8	0,799
1999	39,2	0
2000	31,1	0,204
2001	9,6	0,752
2002	5,3	0,864
2003	11,6	0,701
2004	12,5	0,680
2005	11,8	0,698
2006	12,9	0,669
2007	12,1	0,688
2008	12,9	0,669
2009	-0,1	1
2010	7,4	0,810
2011	7,7	0,800
2012	4,7	0,878
	min = 39,2	max = -0,1

Years	Bud.def.(% of GDP) [7]	Stand.
1995	-	0
1996	-	0
1997	-6,3	0
1998	-3,7	0,312
1999	-2,9	0,406
2000	-1,5	0,579
2001	1,0	0,876
2002	-	0,938
2003	2,0	1
2004	0,3	0,792
2005	1,8	0,978
2006	0,2	0,783
2007	-0,3	0,719
2008	-0,4	0,711
2009	-5,9	0,044
2010	-2,6	0,450
2011	-1,8	0,543
2012	-2,0	0,518
	min = -6,3	max = 2,0

[5]The final unit of the Index of Economic Freedom for the year 2013 is mainly calculated by the analysis of the data collected from the second half of the year 2011 and from the first half of 2012. For this reason the calculations of the EFI of IDL in 2012 include Index of Economic Freedom published in 2013. (The Heritage Foundation and The Wall Street Journal: Index of Economic Freedom, // http://www.heritage.org/index/about): This approach is also applicable for other years of the observed period http://www.heritage.org/index/explore?view=by-region-country-year (01.08.2014).

[6]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/FP.CPI.TOTL.ZG (01.08.2014).

[7] http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/GC.BAL.CASH.GD.ZS (01.08.2014).

Variables of SFI (Moldova 1995-2012)

Years	Real wage, $[1]	Stand.
1995	26,1	0,031
1996	31,7	0,055
1997	38,4	0,084
1998	43,8	0,108
1999	19,1	0
2000	23,0	0,017
2001	37,3	0,080
2002	48,8	0,130
2003	57,7	0,169
2004	80,4	0,268
2005	93,7	0,326
2006	114,5	0,417
2007	152,4	0,583
2008	217,8	0,869
2009	247,8	1
2010	223,7	0,895
2011	241,5	0,972
2012	241,5	0,972
	min = 19,1	max = 247,8

Years	Unempl.,%[2]	Stand.
1995	6,6	0,934
1996	6,5	0,935
1997	8,0	0,920
1998	5,7	0,943
1999	11,1	0,889
2000	8,5	0,915
2001	7,3	0,927
2002	6,8	0,932
2003	7,9	0,921
2004	8,1	0,919
2005	7,3	0,927
2006	7,4	0,926
2007	5,1	0,949
2008	4,0	0,960
2009	6,4	0,936
2010	7,4	0,926
2011	6,7	0,933
2012	5,6	0,944
	min = 100	max = 0

Years	GINI index[3]	Stand.
1995	-	0,564
1996	-	0,564
1997	0,436	0,564
1998	0,443	0,557
1999	0,436	0,564
2000	0,419	0,581
2001	0,428	0,572
2002	0,421	0,579
2003	0,389	0,611
2004	0,403	0,597
2005	0,411	0,589
2006	0,371	0,629
2007	0,371	0,629
2008	0,367	0,633
2009	0,370	0,630
2010	0,352	0,648
2011	0,344	0,656
2012	0,335	0,665
	min =1	max = 0

[1] http://www.statistica.md/pageview.php?l=ru&idc=263&id=2193 (01.08.2014).
[2] http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.UEM.TOTL.ZS (01.08.2014).
[3] http://www.statistica.md/pageview.php?l=ru&idc=263&id=2193 (01.08.2014).

Variables of EdFI (Moldova 1995-2012)

Years	HDI Ed.[4]	Stand.
1995	0,65	0,650
1996	-	0,663
1997	-	0,663
1998	-	0,663
1999	-	0,663
2000	0,676	0,676
2001	0,692	0,692
2002	0,692	0,692
2003	0,692	0,692
2004	0,692	0,692
2005	0,708	0,708
2006	0,715	0,715
2007	0,716	0,716
2008	0,716	0,716
2009	0,714	0,714
2010	0,716	0,716
2011	0,716	0,716
2012	0,714	0,714
	min = 0	max = 1

Years	Ed.spend.(% of GDP)[5]	Stand.
1995	-	1
1996	9,9	1
1997	-	0,679
1998	-	0,677
1999	4,7	0,354
2000	4,5	0,332
2001	4,8	0,376
2002	5,5	0,457
2003	5,4	0,448
2004	6,8	0,614
2005	7,2	0,662
2006	7,5	0,704
2007	8,3	0,802
2008	8,2	0,795
2009	9,5	0,952
2010	9,1	0,903
2011	8,6	0,835
2012	8,4	0,813
	min = 1,8	max = 9,9

Variables of HFI (Moldova 1995-2012)

Years	Life expectancy[6]	Stand.
1995	66,7	0,166
1996	66,6	0,160
1997	66,6	0,158
1998	66,6	0,160
1999	66,7	0,167
2000	66,9	0,177
2001	67,1	0,190
2002	67,3	0,204
2003	67,5	0,216
2004	67,7	0,228
2005	67,9	0,238
2006	68,0	0,246
2007	68,1	0,254
2008	68,2	0,261
2009	68,3	0,268
2010	68,5	0,276
2011	68,6	0,283
2012	68,7	0,291
	min =64,1	max = 79,9

Years	HE (% of GDP)[7]	Stand.
1995	9,05	0,623
1996	10,27	0,757
1997	9,45	0,667
1998	7,69	0,474
1999	5,89	0,276
2000	6,65	0,360
2001	7,11	0,410
2002	8,07	0,515
2003	8,33	0,544
2004	8,49	0,561
2005	9,15	0,634
2006	10,63	0,796
2007	10,88	0,824
2008	11,41	0,882
2009	12,49	1
2010	11,68	0,911
2011	11,36	0,876
2012	11,72	0,916
	min =3,37	max =12,49

[4] http://countryeconomy.com/hdi/moldova (01.08.2014).
[5] http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.XPD.TOTL.GD.ZS (01.08.2014).
[6] http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.LE00.IN (01.08.2014).
[7] http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SH.XPD.TOTL.ZS (01.08.2014).

ANNEX 2.
CROSS-COUNTRY ANALYSIS (2012, 2013)

The data* and standardized values[1] of the variables of the Index of Democracy Level included in the model

* The source is the calculations made by the researcher.

[1] The data of other years of the same or different sources were used if certain data were unavailable. Taking into account, that the data of the year 2013 for the variables of "life expectancy", "government spending on education" and "government spending on health" have not been published on the official site of the WB in 2013, hence the calculations of those variables were made on the basis of the data of 2012.

2012

Variables of PFI (2012)

Country	Pol. Stability[2]	Stand.
Armenia	50,71	0,507
Georgia	24,64	0,246
Azerbaijan	23,7	0,237
Ukraine	41,71	0,417
Moldova	45,97	0,460
Belarus	46,45	0,465
Russia	20,85	0,209
Kazakhstan	36,02	0,360
	min = 0	max = 100

Country	Rule of Law[3]	Stand.
Armenia	43,13	0,431
Georgia	54,5	0,545
Azerbaijan	24,64	0,246
Ukraine	26,07	0,261
Moldova	45,02	0,450
Belarus	17,54	0,175
Russia	23,7	0,237
Kazakhstan	30,81	0,308
	min = 0	max = 100

Country	PR and CL[4]	Stand.
Armenia	4,5	0,417
Georgia	3	0,667
Azerbaijan	5,5	0,250
Ukraine	3,5	0,583
Moldova	3	0,667
Belarus	6,5	0,083
Russia	5,5	0,250
Kazakhstan	5,5	0,250
	min = 7	max = 1

Country	FP[5]	Stand.
Armenia	61	0,390
Georgia	49	0,510
Azerbaijan	82	0,180
Ukraine	60	0,400
Moldova	53	0,470
Belarus	93	0,070
Russia	81	0,190
Kazakhstan	84	0,160
	min = 100	max = 0

Country	CPI[6]	Stand.
Armenia	34	0,34
Georgia	52	0,52
Azerbaijan	27	0,27
Ukraine	26	0,26
Moldova	36	0,36
Belarus	31	0,31
Russia	28	0,28
Kazakhstan	28	0,28
	min = 0	max = 10

Country	Gender equality[7]	Stand.
Armenia	0,6636	0,664
Georgia	0,6691	0,669
Azerbaijan	0,6546	0,655
Ukraine	0,6894	0,689
Moldova	0,7101	0,710
Belarus	0,7141*	0,714
Russia	0,698	0,698
Kazakhstan	0,7213	0,721
	min = 0	max = 1

[2] www.govindicators.org (10.20.2014).
[3] www.govindicators.org (10.20.2014).
[4] http://www.freedomhouse.org/report-types/freedom-world (10.20.2014).
[5] http://www.freedomhouse.org/report-types/freedom-press (10.20.2014).
[6] http://www.transparency.org/cpi2012/results (10.20.2014).
[7] http://www.weforum.org/issues/global-gender-gap (10.20.2014).
* The datum refers to 2009.

Country	Political system[8]	Stand.
Armenia	0	0
Georgia	0	0
Azerbaijan	0	0
Ukraine	0	0
Moldova	1	0,5
Belarus	0	0
Russia	0	0
Kazakhstan	0	0
	min = 0	max = 2

Country	Social unrest[9]	Stand.
Armenia	2,5	0,50
Georgia	2	0,40
Azerbaijan	2,5	0,50
Ukraine	2	0,40
Moldova	4,1	0,82
Belarus	1	0,20
Russia	1	0,20
Kazakhstan	1,2	0,24
	min = 0	max = 5

Country	Majority in parl.[10]	Stand.
Armenia	0	0
Georgia	2	1
Azerbaijan	0	0
Ukraine	1	0,5
Moldova	1	0,5
Belarus	0	0
Russia	0	0
Kazakhstan	0	0
	min = 0	max = 2

Country	Religion [11]	Stand.
Armenia	1	1
Georgia	1	1
Azerbaijan	0	0
Ukraine	1	1
Moldova	1	1
Belarus	1	1
Russia	1	1
Kazakhstan	0	0
	min = 0	max = 1

Country	Conflict[12]	Stand.
Armenia	1	0,5
Georgia	1	0,5
Azerbaijan	1	0,5
Ukraine	2	1
Moldova	1	0,5
Belarus	2	1
Russia	2	1
Kazakhstan	2	1
	min = 0	max = 2

[8]The source is estimated by the researcher.
[9]The source is estimated by the researcher.
[10]The source is estimated by the researcher.
[11]The source is estimated by the researcher.
[12]The source is estimated by the researcher.

Variables of EFI (2012)

Country	GNI per capita,$[13]	Stand.
Armenia	7890	0,110
Georgia	6760	0,093
Azerbaijan	14860	0,211
Ukraine	8670	0,121
Moldova	4710	0,063
Belarus	16800	0,239
Russia	22710	0,326
Kazakhstan	18860	0,269
	min = 370	max=69000

Country	Trade (% of GDP) [14]	Stand.
Armenia	73,9	0,126
Georgia	95,9	0,183
Azerbaijan	79,3	0,140
Ukraine	110,1	0,219
Moldova	127,4	0,264
Belarus	158,1	0,343
Russia	51,9	0,069
Kazakhstan	77,9	0,136
	min = 25	max =413

Country	DC (% of GDP)[15]	Stand.
Armenia	44,1	0,365
Georgia	34,9	0,344
Azerbaijan	24,7	0,322
Ukraine	87,5	0,461
Moldova	42,1	0,360
Belarus	32,0	0,338
Russia	42,7	0,362
Kazakhstan	41,1	0,358
	min = -120	max = 330

Country	FDI(% of GDP)[16]	Stand.
Armenia	4,9	0,588
Georgia	5,2	0,592
Azerbaijan	7,7	0,615
Ukraine	4,4	0,584
Moldova	2,5	0,566
Belarus	2,3	0,564
Russia	2,5	0,566
Kazakhstan	6,8	0,606
	min = -57,4	max =48,5

[13]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GNP.PCAP.PP.CD (10.20.2014).
[14]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NE.TRD.GNFS.ZS (10.20.2014).
[15]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/FS.AST.DOMS.GD.ZS (10.20.2014).
[16]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/BX.KLT.DINV.WD.GD.ZS (10.20.2014).

ANNEX 2

Country	IEF[17]	Stand.
Armenia	69,4	0,694
Georgia	72,2	0,722
Azerbaijan	59,7	0,597
Ukraine	46,3	0,463
Moldova	55,5	0,555
Belarus	48	0,480
Russia	51,1	0,511
Kazakhstan	63	0,630
	min = 0	max = 100

Country	Inflation,%[18]	Stand.
Armenia	2,6	0,815
Georgia	-0,9	0,864
Azerbaijan	1,1	0,836
Ukraine	0,6	0,843
Moldova	4,6	0,785
Belarus	59,2	0,011
Russia	5,1	0,779
Kazakhstan	5,1	0,779
	min = 60	max = -10

Country	Bud.def. (% of GDP) [19]	Stand.
Armenia	-1,39	0,366
Georgia	-0,46	0,404
Azerbaijan	6,06	0,672
Ukraine	-4,05	0,257
Moldova	-2,05	0,339
Belarus	0,09	0,427
Russia	2,67	0,533
Kazakhstan	-2,90[20]	0,304
	min = -10	max = 14

[17]The final unit of the Index of Economic Freedom for the year 2013 is mainly calculated by the analysis of the data collected from the second half of the year 2011 and from the first half of 2012. For this reason the calculations of the EFI of IDL in 2012 include Index of Economic Freedom published in 2013. (The Heritage Foundation and The Wall Street Journal: Index of Economic Freedom, // http://www.heritage.org/index/about): This approach is also applicable for other years of the observed period http://www.heritage.org/index/explore?view=by-region-country-year (01.08.2014).

[18]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/FP.CPI.TOTL.ZG (10.20.2014).

[19]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/GC.BAL.CASH.GD.ZS (10.20.2014).

[20] The source of the datum is www.stat.gov.kz (10.20.2014):

Variables of SFI (2012)

Country	Real wage, $[21]	Stand.
Armenia	501,83	0,032
Georgia	725,82	0,048
Azerbaijan	700,19	0,046
Ukraine	721,85	0,048
Moldova	463,00	0,029
Belarus	720,03	0,048
Russia	1 054,39	0,072
Kazakhstan	751,00	0,050
	min = 56	max=14000

Country	Unempl.,%[22]	Stand.
Armenia	18,5	0,815
Georgia	15,0	0,850
Azerbaijan	5,4	0,946
Ukraine	7,7	0,923
Moldova	5,6	0,944
Belarus	9,7	0,903
Russia	5,5	0,945
Kazakhstan	5,3	0,947
	min = 100	max = 0

Country	GINI index[23]	Stand.
Armenia	0,303	0,697
Georgia	0,414	0,586
Azerbaijan	0,33[24]	0,670
Ukraine	0,248[25]	0,752
Moldova	0,306[26]	0,694
Belarus	0,265[26]	0,735
Russia	0,397[27]	0,603
Kazakhstan	0,286[27]	0,714
	min =1	max = 0

[21] It is calculated by the index of purchasing power of a consumer: The initial source is http://w3.unece.org/pxweb/dialog/varval.asp?ma=60_MECCWagesY_r&path=../database/STAT/20-ME/3-MELF/&lang=1&ti=Gross+Average+Monthly+Wages+by+Country+and+Year (10.20.2014):

[22] http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.UEM.TOTL.ZS (10.20.2014).

[23] http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.GINI (10.20.2014).

[24] The datum refers to 2008.

[25] The datum refers to 2010.

[26] The datum refers to 2011.

[27] The datum refers to 2009.

Variables of EdFI (2012)

Country	HDI Ed.[28]	Stand.
Armenia	0,683	0,683
Georgia	0,733	0,733
Azerbaijan	0,656	0,656
Ukraine	0,839	0,839
Moldova	0,656	0,656
Belarus	0,872	0,872
Russia	0,778	0,778
Kazakhstan	0,833	0,833
	min = 0	max = 1

Country	Ed. spend.(% of GDP)[29]	Stand.
Armenia	3,3	0,169
Georgia	2,0	0,059
Azerbaijan	2,4[30]	0,094
Ukraine	6,2[30]	0,419
Moldova	8,4	0,606
Belarus	5,1	0,329
Russia	4,1[31]	0,239
Kazakhstan	3,1[32]	0,154
	min = 1,3	max=13

Variables of HFI (2012)

Country	Life expectancy[33]	Stand.
Armenia	74,4	0,784
Georgia	73,9	0,770
Azerbaijan	70,6	0,675
Ukraine	70,9	0,684
Moldova	68,7	0,620
Belarus	72,1	0,716
Russia	70,5	0,670
Kazakhstan	69,6	0,646
	min = 47	max = 82

Country	HE (% of GDP)[34]	Stand.
Armenia	4,5	0,134
Georgia	9,2	0,388
Azerbaijan	5,4	0,183
Ukraine	7,6	0,301
Moldova	11,7	0,526
Belarus	5,0	0,164
Russia	6,3	0,230
Kazakhstan	4,2	0,118
	min =2	max=20.5

[28] http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/education-index (09.20.2014).
[29] http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.XPD.TOTL.GD.ZS (10.20.2014).
[30] The datum refers to 2011.
[31] The datum refers to 2008.
[32] The datum refers to 2009.
[33] http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.LE00.IN (10.20.2014).
[34]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SH.XPD.TOTL.ZS (10.20.2014).

2013

Variables of PFI (2013)

Country	Pol. Stability[35]	Stand.
Armenia	49,76	0,498
Georgia	30,81	0,308
Azerbaijan	33,18	0,332
Ukraine	21,33	0,213
Moldova	45,5	0,455
Belarus	46,45	0,465
Russia	22,27	0,223
Kazakhstan	34,6	0,346
	min = 0	max = 100

Country	Rule of Law[36]	Stand.
Armenia	45,02	0,450
Georgia	53,55	0,536
Azerbaijan	30,33	0,303
Ukraine	23,22	0,232
Moldova	42,65	0,427
Belarus	20,38	0,204
Russia	24,64	0,246
Kazakhstan	30,81	0,308
	min = 0	max = 100

Country	PR and CL[37]	Stand.
Armenia	4,5	0,417
Georgia	3	0,667
Azerbaijan	6	0,167
Ukraine	3,5	0,583
Moldova	3	0,667
Belarus	6,5	0,083
Russia	5,5	0,250
Kazakhstan	5,5	0,250
	min = 7	max = 1

Country	FP[38]	Stand.
Armenia	62	0,380
Georgia	47	0,530
Azerbaijan	84	0,160
Ukraine	63	0,370
Moldova	53	0,470
Belarus	93	0,070
Russia	81	0,190
Kazakhstan	85	0,150
	min = 100	max = 0

[35] www.govindicators.org (10.20.2014).
[36] www.govindicators.org (10.20.2014).
[37] http://www.freedomhouse.org/report-types/freedom-world (10.20.2014).
[38] http://www.freedomhouse.org/report-types/freedom-press (10.20.2014).

ANNEX 2

Country	CPI [39]	Stand.
Armenia	36	0,36
Georgia	49	0,49
Azerbaijan	28	0,28
Ukraine	25	0,25
Moldova	35	0,35
Belarus	29	0,29
Russia	28	0,28
Kazakhstan	26	0,26
	min = 0	max = 10

Country	Gender equality[40]	Stand.
Armenia	0,6634	0,663
Georgia	0,675	0,675
Azerbaijan	0,6582	0,658
Ukraine	0,6935	0,694
Moldova	0,7037	0,704
Belarus	0,7141*	0,714
Russia	0,6983	0,698
Kazakhstan	0,7218	0,722
	min = 0	max = 1

Country	Political system[41]	Stand.
Armenia	0	0
Georgia	1	0,5
Azerbaijan	0	0
Ukraine	0	0
Moldova	1	0,5
Belarus	0	0
Russia	0	0
Kazakhstan	0	0
	min = 0	max = 2

Country	Social unrest[42]	Stand.
Armenia	1,9	0,38
Georgia	2	0,40
Azerbaijan	1,9	0,38
Ukraine	0,5	0,10
Moldova	4	0,80
Belarus	1,5	0,30
Russia	1,8	0,36
Kazakhstan	2,5	0,50
	min = 0	max = 5

[39] http://www.transparency.org/cpi2012/results (10.20.2014).
[40] http://www.weforum.org/issues/global-gender-gap (10.20.2014).
* The datum refers to 2009.
[41] The source is estimated by the researcher.
[42] The source is estimated by the researcher.

Country	Majority in parl. [43]	Stand.
Armenia	0	0
Georgia	0	0
Azerbaijan	0	0
Ukraine	1	0,5
Moldova	1	0,5
Belarus	0	0
Russia	0	0
Kazakhstan	0	0
	min = 0	max = 2

Country	Religion [44]	Stand.
1995	1	1
1996	1	1
1997	0	0
1998	1	1
1999	1	1
2000	1	1
2001	1	1
2002	0	0
	min = 0	max = 1

Country	Conflict[45]	Stand.
Armenia	1	0,5
Georgia	1	0,5
Azerbaijan	1	0,5
Ukraine	2	1
Moldova	1	0,5
Belarus	2	1
Russia	2	1
Kazakhstan	2	1
	min = 0	max = 2

[43]The source is estimated by the researcher.
[44]The source is estimated by the researcher.
[45]The source is estimated by the researcher.

Variables of EFI (2013)

Country	GNI per capita, $[46]	Stand.
Armenia	8140	0,113
Georgia	7040	0,097
Azerbaijan	16180	0,230
Ukraine	8960	0,125
Moldova	5190	0,070
Belarus	16940	0,241
Russia	23200	0,333
Kazakhstan	20570	0,294
	min = 370	max=69000

Country	Trade (% of GDP) [47]	Stand.
Armenia	77,6	0,135
Georgia	102,4	0,199
Azerbaijan	75,6	0,130
Ukraine	102,2	0,199
Moldova	126,0	0,260
Belarus	125,2	0,258
Russia	50,9	0,067
Kazakhstan	67,1	0,109
	min = 25	max =413

Country	DC (% of GDP)[48]	Stand.
Armenia	46,0	0,369
Georgia	42,9	0,362
Azerbaijan	25,5	0,323
Ukraine	95,7	0,479
Moldova	44,2	0,365
Belarus	39,9	0,355
Russia	48,3	0,374
Kazakhstan	40,4	0,356
	min = -120	max = 330

Country	FDI (% of GDP)[49]	Stand.
Armenia	3,5	0,576
Georgia	6,3	0,602
Azerbaijan	3,6	0,576
Ukraine	2,1	0,562
Moldova	3,2	0,572
Belarus	3,1	0,571
Russia	3,4	0,574
Kazakhstan	4,3	0,583
	min = -57,4	max =48,5

[46] http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GNP.PCAP.PP.CD (10.20.2014).
[47] http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NE.TRD.GNFS.ZS (10.20.2014).
[48] http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/FS.AST.DOMS.GD.ZS (10.20.2014).
[49] http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/BX.KLT.DINV.WD.GD.ZS (10.20.2014).

Country	IEF[50]	Stand.
Armenia	68,9	0,689
Georgia	72,6	0,726
Azerbaijan	61,3	0,613
Ukraine	49,3	0,493
Moldova	57,3	0,573
Belarus	50,1	0,501
Russia	51,9	0,519
Kazakhstan	63,7	0,637
	min = 0	max = 100

Country	Inflation, %[51]	Stand.
Armenia	5,8	0,769
Georgia	-0,5	0,858
Azerbaijan	5,4	0,774
Ukraine	-0,3	0,855
Moldova	4,6	0,785
Belarus	18,3	0,591
Russia	6,8	0,755
Kazakhstan	5,8	0,768
	min = 60	max = -10

Country	Bud.def. % of GDP[52]	Stand.
Armenia	-1,7	0,354
Georgia	-1,19	0,374
Azerbaijan	6,06[53]	0,672
Ukraine	-4,82	0,226
Moldova	-1,76	0,351
Belarus	-0,93	0,385
Russia	-1,27	0,371
Kazakhstan	-2,0[54]	0,341
	min = -10	max = 14

[50] The final unit of the Index of Economic Freedom for the year 2013 is mainly calculated by the analysis of the data collected from the second half of the year 2011 and from the first half of 2012. For this reason the calculations of the EFI of IDL in 2012 include Index of Economic Freedom published in 2013. (The Heritage Foundation and The Wall Street Journal: Index of Economic Freedom, // http://www.heritage.org/index/about): This approach is also applicable for other years of the observed period http://www.heritage.org/index/explore?view=by-region-country-year (01.08.2014).

[51] http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/FP.CPI.TOTL.ZG (10.20.2014).

[52] http://countryeconomy.com/deficit (10.20.2014).

[53] The source of the datum is http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/GC.BAL.CASH.GD.ZS (10.20.2014):

[54] The source of the datum is www.stat.gov.kz (10.20.2014):

Variables of SFI (2013)

Country	Real wage, $[55]	Stand.
Armenia	660	0,043
Georgia	726[57]	0,048
Azerbaijan	700[57]	0,046
Ukraine	728	0,048
Moldova	483	0,031
Belarus	1067	0,073
Russia	1105	0,075
Kazakhstan	772	0,051
	min = 56	max=14000

Country	Unempl., %[56]	Stand.
Armenia	18,6	0,814
Georgia	14,3	0,857
Azerbaijan	5,5	0,945
Ukraine	7,9	0,921
Moldova	5,9	0,941
Belarus	5,9	0,941
Russia	5,8	0,942
Kazakhstan	5,2	0,948
	min = 100	max = 0

Country	GINI index[58]	Stand.
Armenia	0,303[57]	0,697
Georgia	0,414[57]	0,586
Azerbaijan	0,33[59]	0,670
Ukraine	0,248[60]	0,752
Moldova	0,306[61]	0,694
Belarus	0,265[61]	0,735
Russia	0,397[62]	0,603
Kazakhstan	0,286[62]	0,714
	min =1	max = 0

[55]It is calculated by the purchasing power of a consumer. The initial source is http://w3.unece.org/pxweb/dialog/varval.asp?ma=60_MECCWagesY_r&path=../database/STAT/20-ME/3-MELF/&lang=1&ti=Gross+Average+Monthly+Wages+by+Country+and+Year (10.20.2014):

[56] http://www.ilo.org/global/research/global-reports/global-employment-trends/2014/WCMS_234879/lang--en/index.htm (10.20.2014).

[57] The datum refers to 2012.

[58]http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.GINI (10.20.2014).

[59] The datum refers to 2008.

[60] The datum refers to 2010.

[61] The datum refers to 2011.

[62] The datum refers to 2009.

Variables of EdFI (2013)

Country	HDI Ed.[63]	Stand.
Armenia	0,683	0,683
Georgia	0,733	0,733
Azerbaijan	0,656	0,656
Ukraine	0,839	0,839
Moldova	0,656	0,656
Belarus	0,872	0,872
Russia	0,778	0,778
Kazakhstan	0,833	0,833
	min = 0	max = 1

[63] http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/education-index (10.20.2014).

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