

Political Will-ACT Index: Measuring the Readiness of Countries to Cross Development Greyline

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Abstract

This paper aims to present a new index, the Political Will-ACT Index. The proposed index provides a measure for the readiness of low & middle income countries to cross development greyline. A line if a country cross manage to cross, it achieves sustainable development. The concept of Political Will-ACT merges political will with three other dimensions: ability, commitment, and tolerance.

The paper concludes that for countries to achieve sustainable economic development, they have to fulfill four conditions: (1) Their political leaders should have clear vision for achieving sustainable development. (2) Their governments must be committed to their reform agendas & programs. (3) The ability of the government to mobilize enough resources needed for implementing reform agendas. (4) Countries must tolerate the economic agents during executing reform programs & policies.

Keywords: sustainable economic development, political will, institutions, political stability, government effectiveness, rule of law, and control of corruption

1. Introduction

Economists and activists usually blame political will for the low level of development in developing countries. However, measuring political will is not an easy task and it only can be measured indirectly, Brinderhoff (2000). Many studies have shown the importance of political will and effective governance in achieving economic growth. Brinkerhoff (2000) argues that effective and democratic governance have strong impacts on sectorial reforms which is a very important aspect in economic development and prosperity for developing countries. I argue that even though political will is a prerequisite for achieving sustainable economic development, it is not an enough condition. The ability of any country to cross development greyline depends largely on, what I call, Political Will-ACT. This concept merges political will with three other dimensions: ability, commitment, and tolerance. According to this concept, political will is a prerequisite for crossing the development greyline of any county. Why this is the case? This is because development process is led by politics and mostly affected by it. The first step in development process for countries is the existence of the political will of their leaders and their influential institutions to achieve sustainable economic development. This political will must be transferred into actions. However, taking actions depends on the ability of political leaders to mobilize resources to fulfill the conditions needed for these actions to take place. Moreover, these actions are expected to have impacts on some economic agents. Thus, some groups may resist them which means that political leaders must find ways to pass their development policies & agendas through responding to these negatively affected groups. In this regards, awareness raising of the public regarding on the potential gains from reforms agendas is a core element for the continuity of development process. It also requires a great level of commitment from political leaders and their governments to go through development process in order to be successful in crossing development greyline.

From the above discussion, I argue that political will, by itself, is not enough to cross development greyline in any country. It must be accompanied with three other factors. *Firstly*, the ability of the government to implement reform agendas and the proposed economic transformation's plans. *Secondly*, the existence of the commitment of political leaders to go through the development process and to take needed actions. *Thirdly*, using a tolerance approach in dealing with economic agents to overcome difficulties and challenges that may rise during transformation process.

This paper aims to present a new index, I call it Political Will-ACT Index. This index measures the level political will, ability, commitment and tolerance in low & middle income countries. Thus, Political Will -ACT Index provides a

measurement for the readiness of low & middle income countries to cross development greyline.

2. Literature Review

One of the most important frameworks designed to understand political will is the framework developed by **Brinkerhoff (2000)**. According to this framework, political will incorporates individual actors, organizations, socio-economic & governance systems, and policies. Based on this study, we conclude that there are five main characteristics of political will in achieving economic development: (1) Reformers themselves have to believe in the importance of achieving economic sustainable development by implementing ambitious reform agendas. (2) Reformers should be able to use deep analysis in designing and implementing economic reform programs. (3) Reformers must have strong will and ability to mobilize resources needed to achieve sustainable economic development. (4) Reformers should be credible in implementing reform policies. (5) Reformers must take the necessary steps to guarantee the continuity of reform agendas, programs and policies.

Lassa J.A, et al. (2019) constructed the index of political will and/or commitments on disaster risk reduction (DRRPW Index) for 190 countries. The study uses five variables to construct this index which are: commitment to understand risk, governability of disaster risk, commitment to invest in DRR, administrative commitment to disaster preparedness, and early warning system. The constructed index has values between 0 and 1. The higher the value of DRRPW Index is, the higher is the political will of governments to reduce disaster risk. DRRPW Index emphasizes the importance of: (1) understanding the pay offs of disaster risk reduction. (2) government commitment for this issue. (3) mobilization of the resources needed to deal with disaster risk.

Hammergren (1998) emphasizes the importance of political will as a core element in Demand-Side Model of Reform. The study applies this model on the judicial reform programs in Latin America financed via USAID. The study concludes that political will is the driving force for Demand-Side Model of Reform. It also emphasizes that the necessary political will needed for reform may exist only in the attitude of few political leaders and being adopted by few influential political institutions. The study introduces a guide to design and execute reform programs. The proposed guide emphasizes the following aspects of reforms. (1) The existence of clear vision & objectives for reform programs and the ability to mobilize enough resources to execute these programs. (2) The assessment of risks and pay offs of reform programs. (3) Reform programs are usually implemented through political process. Thus, governments need to tolerate the groups who get affected negatively by these reform programs. (4) Community participation is a key element for the success of reform programs. (5) Continuous monitoring and evaluation for reform programs is a very important aspect in order to deal with any complications and negative impacts of these programs. (6) Never let public dissatisfaction leading reform programs. However, information dissemination regarding the claimed successful outcomes of the reform programs is very important for mobilizing public support for these programs.

Radu (2015) analyzes the link between economic and political factors and its impact on economic growth in the CEE countries. The study concludes that both political stability and political certainty have a positive impact on economic growth in the CEE countries. **Feng (2003)** examines the impact of political institutions on economic performance. The study concludes that political institutions as represented by democracy and governance are very important factors in economic performance. **Gourevitch (2008)** presents the views that emphasize the impact of politics and political institutions on economic growth. The paper concludes that the political economy of development is a very important aspect in the development process.

3. Data

To collect data needed for the calculation of Political Will- ACT Index, the author depends mainly on: UNDP database, World Bank database, Sustainable Development Goals Report 2021 and Doing Business Report 2020.

Finally, Even though the number of countries classified by OECD as low & middle income countries is 135, the author calculated Political Will-ACT Index for only 100 countries because of data limitation.

4. The Methodology of Constructing Political Will-ACT Index

To construct Political Will-ACT Index, the author followed five steps.

Step (1): Identifying the dimensions of the Political Will-ACT Index.

Political Will-ACT Index consists of four dimensions. **The first dimension** is Political Will, which measures to what extent the political leadership and government of a country have a clear vision for achieving sustainable development and crossing development greyline. **The second dimension** measures the ability (A) of a state to achieve its sustainable development agenda to be a developed country. This dimension includes institutional ability, financial ability, human capital, and private sector maturity. **The third dimension** measures the commitment (C) of the political leadership and the government of a specific country to implement its sustainable development agenda. **The fourth dimension** measures to what extent the leadership and the government of a country is successful in tolerating (T) the political, social and

economic impacts of its reform agenda. This dimension emphasizes change management smoothness and the claimed successful outcomes of reform programs.

Step (2): Identifying the appropriate indicators for the four dimensions of the Political Will-ACT Index.

To measure the four dimensions for the Political Will-ACT Index, the author selected sets of indicators to be proxies for these dimensions. Table (1) in the appendix shows all indicators included in the calculation of the Political Will-ACT Index and the source of data for each of these indicators.

Step (3): Transferring all indicators into indices between 0 and 1.

By taking a look into the dimensions of Political Will-ACT Index, we notice that indicators expressed in different units. Thus, it is very important to standardize these indicators by transforming them into indices between 0 and 1. The author used the following equation to make the required transformation of the indicators.

$$\text{Indicator index} = \frac{(\text{Actual Value} - \text{Minimum Value})}{(\text{Maximum Value} - \text{Minimum Value})}$$

Step (4): Creating the dimensions' indices.

To create the four dimensions' indices included in the Political Will-ACT Index, the author used the geometric mean for all indicators included in every dimension using the following equation.

$$\text{Dimension Index} = (\text{Indicator1} * \text{Indicator2} * \dots * \text{Indicator n})^{1/n}$$

Step (5): Calculating the Political Will-ACT Index.

To form the Political Will-ACT Index, the author aggregated the four dimension's indices using the geometric mean for them as stated in the following equation:

$$\text{Political Will - ACT Index} = (\text{Political Will Index} * \text{A Index} * \text{C Index} * \text{T Index})^{1/4}$$

Finally, the author classifies the performance of countries in Political Will-ACT Index into four categories. *The first category* is the very high performance countries in which their performance in the Political Will Index exceeds the mean by one standard deviation or more. *The second category* is the high performance countries in which their performance is higher than the mean by less than one standard deviation. *The third category* is the low performance countries in which their performance in Political Will Index is less than the mean by less than one standard deviation. *The fourth category* is the Very low performance countries in which their performance is less than the mean by one standard deviation or more.

5. Dimension Indices

5.1 Political Will Index

Over the history, experiences have shown that the major factor for development is the political leaders who have strong will to develop their countries. Without strong political will to achieve sustainable development, this dream never comes true. Political will for achieving sustainable development is the driving force for all economic, social and political reform agendas. Thus, the dimension of political will is a very important aspect to be considered in the process of constructing the Political Will-ACT Index. Political will dimension includes two variables. *The first variable* measures to what extent political leaders have a clear vision for achieving sustainable development. To set a value for this variable, the author depends on Sustainable Development Goals Index (SDG) that evaluates each country's overall performance on the 17 SDGs. The author argues that the countries' performance on SDG Index reflects the vision of their leadership in achieving sustainable development. *The second variable* is adopting an ambitious reform agendas. To evaluate the existence, the quality, and the implementation of an economic reform program in a specific country, the author depends on various IMF reports to assess the following aspects of economic reform programs: Fiscal policy, monetary policy, foreign exchange policy, financial market stability, business environment, tax reform, social protection, job creations, foreign trade, anti-corruption, labor market, education, and judicial reform.

To evaluate the performance of countries in the Political Will Index, the author calculated the following statistics for the sample's countries.

Table 1. Political Will Index's Statistics

Statistics	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Standard Deviation
Value	0.012	0.954	0.576	0.233

Based on the above statistics, countries are classified in terms of their performance in Political Will Index into four categories: very high performers, high performers, low performers, and very low performers. Figure (1) shows that the number of countries classified to be very high performers in Political Will Index is 20 countries. Belarus, Thailand, Bulgaria, Vietnam, and Serbia are the highest performers, respectively.

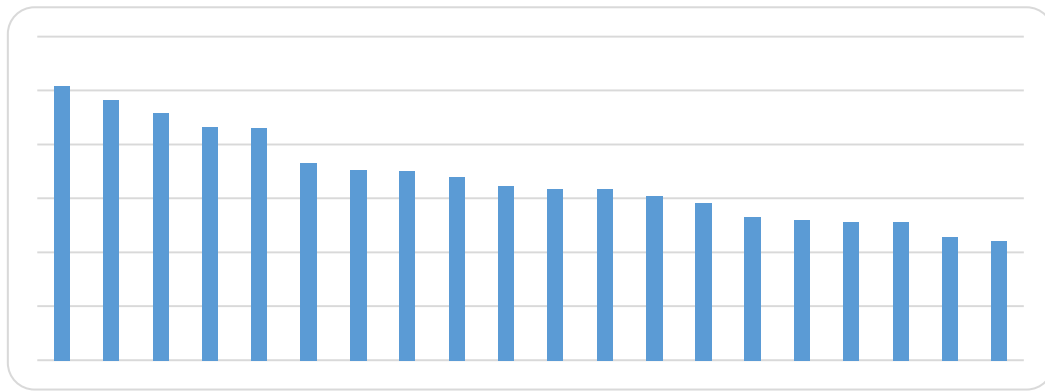


Figure 1. Political Will Index for the Very High Performance Countries

Figure (2) shows that 36 countries classified to be high performers which make the number of countries calssfied as very high & high performers in Political Will Index is 56 countries. The number illustrates the positive impact of international organization such as the UN and IMF in encouraging political leaders in the low & middle income countries to achieve sustainable development.

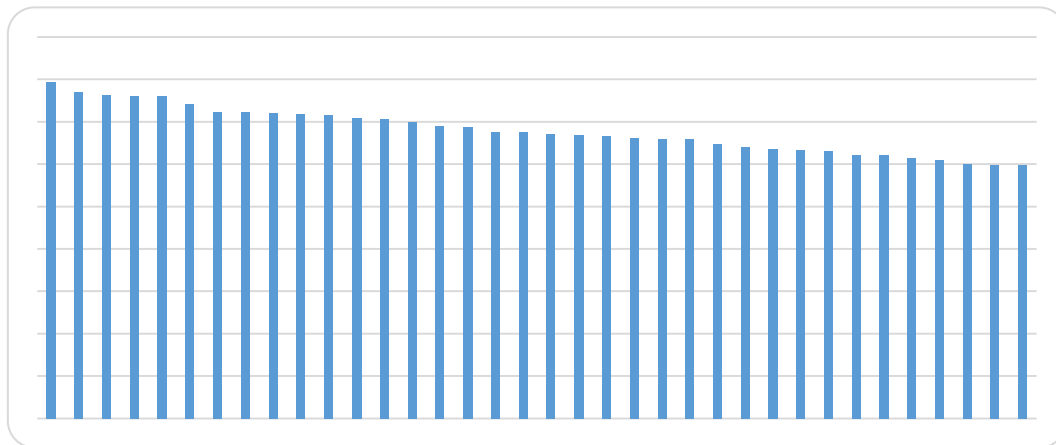


Figure 2. Political Will Index for High Performance Countries

Figure (3) shows that the number of countries classified as low performers in the political Will Index is 26 countries.

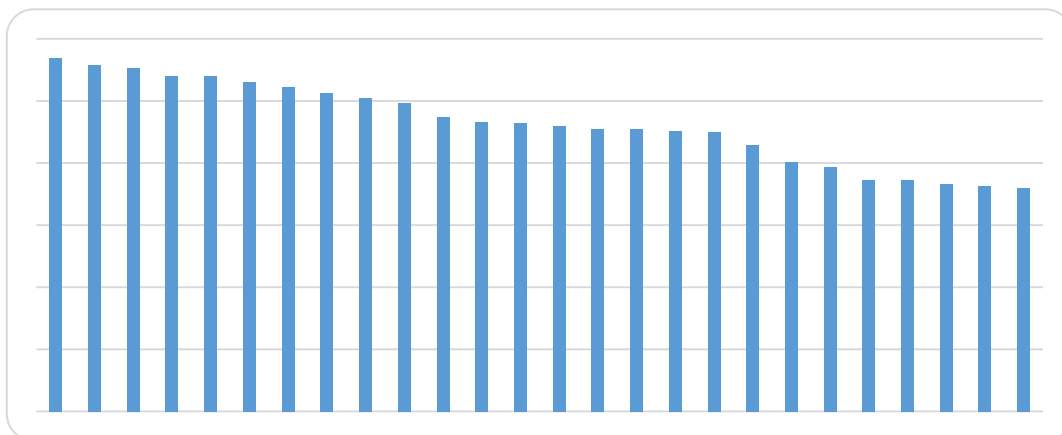


Figure 3. Political Will Index for low performance countries

Figure (4) shows that the number of countries classified as very low performers in the political Will Index is 18 countries. Which means that there are 44 countries classified as low & very low performers. The lowest performers are: Central Africa, Yemen, South Sudan, Afghanistan, and Chad, respectively. All these countries suffer from security threats, political instability, and social unrest. Thus, it is clear that when political leaders face security threats, political instability, and social unrest their priority will be dealing with such issues not to develop reform agendas for achieving sustainable development.

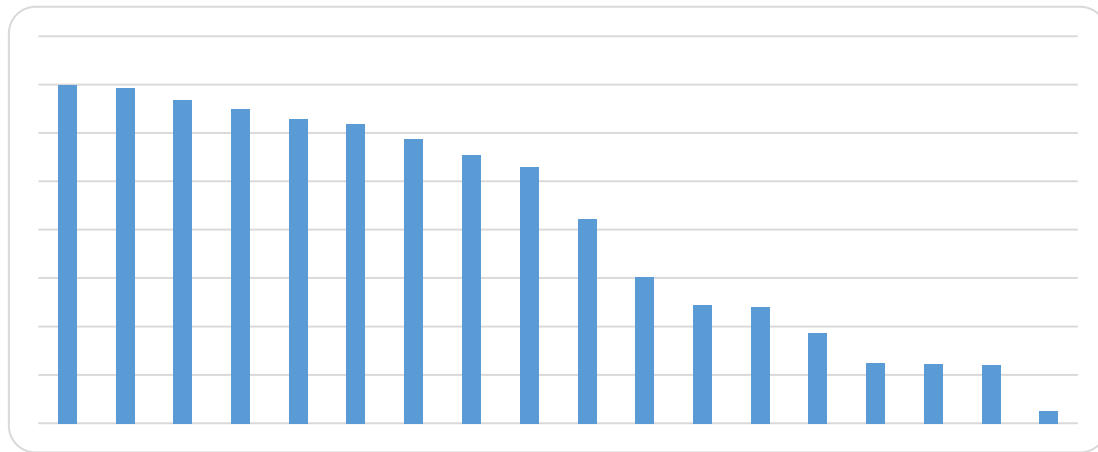


Figure 4. Political Will Index for very low performance countries

5.2 Ability Index

Ability Index consists of four variables. *The first variable* is institutional ability. Many theoretical and empirical studies have shown the importance of high quality institutions for sustainable development to take place in any country. To assess institutional ability three indicators are used. (1) *Government effectiveness* which captures the quality of policies’ formation & implementation as well the quality of services provided by governments. (2) *Corruption control* which captures to what extent power is exercised by government’s officials and the state elites to gain private benefits and achieve private goals. (3) *Regulatory quality* which captures to what extent governments are able to put in place sets of regulations that promote private sector and enhance business environment. *The second variable* is financial ability. Development requires financial resources to finance the activities and projects included in sustainable development plans. These resources may come from government and / or private sector. Also, it may come from domestic and / or foreign partners. For data availability reasons, the author uses foreign direct investment net inflows as a percentage of GDP as an indicator to capture the financial ability for countries to achieve sustainable development. Many empirical studies have shown the importance of FDI on economic growth through being a source of closing the financial gaps in development agendas. Moreover, the importance of FDI is not limited to being a source of finance. FDI is proven to be a good channel through which countries transfer knowledge and technology. *The third variable* is human capital ability. Both theoretical and empirical studies have shown the importance of stock of human capital in development process. To assess the level of human capital ability, human development index is used as a proxy. *The fourth variable* is the private sector maturity. The author argues that to what extent countries are able to cross development greyline depends largely on the maturity of their private sector. A mature private sector leads to a high level of investment, creativity and innovation. Moreover, private sector is keen to maximize profits which means achieving the optimum use of available resources which can be considered as a core element in development.

To evaluate the performance of countries in the Ability Index, the author calculated the following statistics for the sample’s countries.

Table 2. Ability Index’s Statistics

Statistics	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Standard Deviation
Value	0.001	0.695	0.395	0.138

Based on the above statistics, countries are classified in terms of their performance in Ability Index into four categories: very high performers, high performers, low performers, and very low performers. The following figures show these categories.

Figure (5) shows that the number of countries classified to be very high performers in the Ability Index is 15 countries. The best performers are: Georgia, Malaysia, Fuji, South Africa, and Costa Rica, respectively.

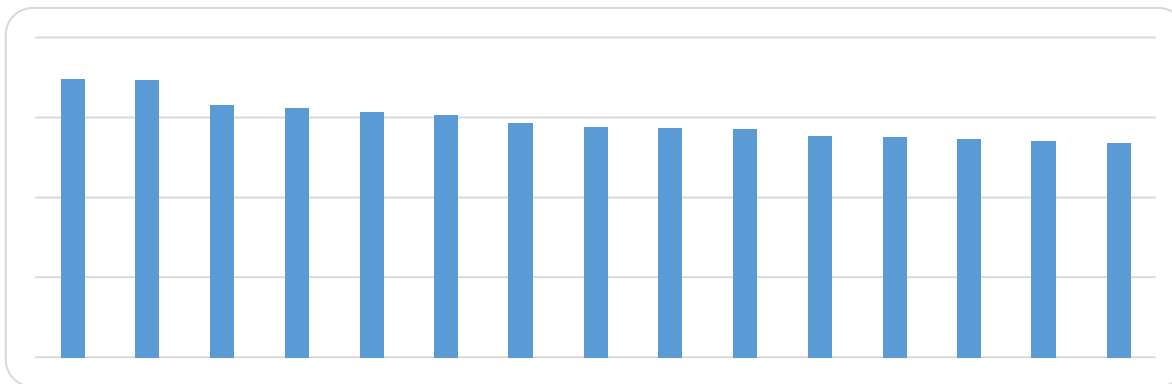


Figure 5. Ability Index for very high performance countries

Figure (6) shows that the number of countries classified as high performers in the Ability Index is 35 countries. This means that 50 countries out of the 100 country in the sample have very high & high performance in the Ability Index. However, we notice that the highest performer only achieve 0.7 points on the Ability Index which means that developing countries face great challenges in terms of: the available sources of finance, weak institutions, low stock of human capital, and immature private sector.

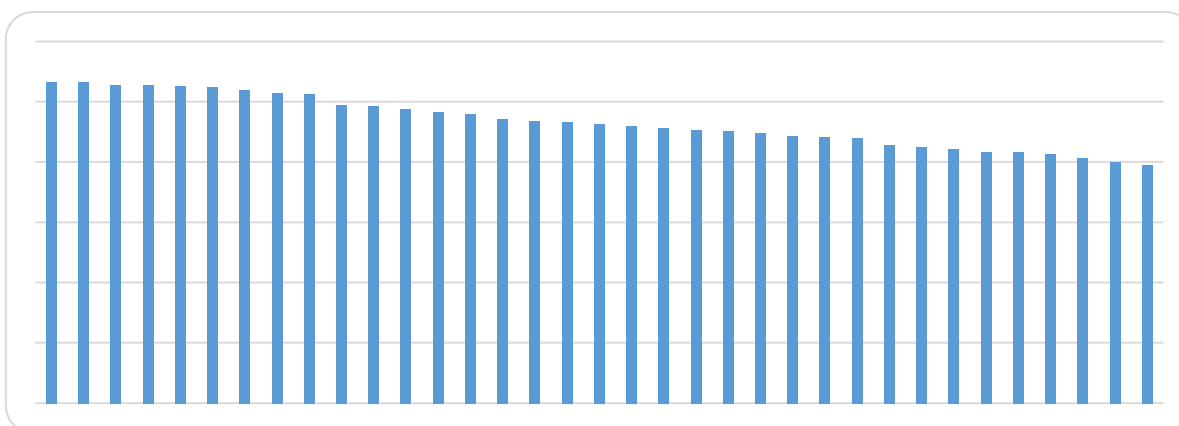


Figure 6. Ability Index for high performance countries

Figure (7) shows that the number of countries calssified as low performers in the Ability Index is 35 countries.

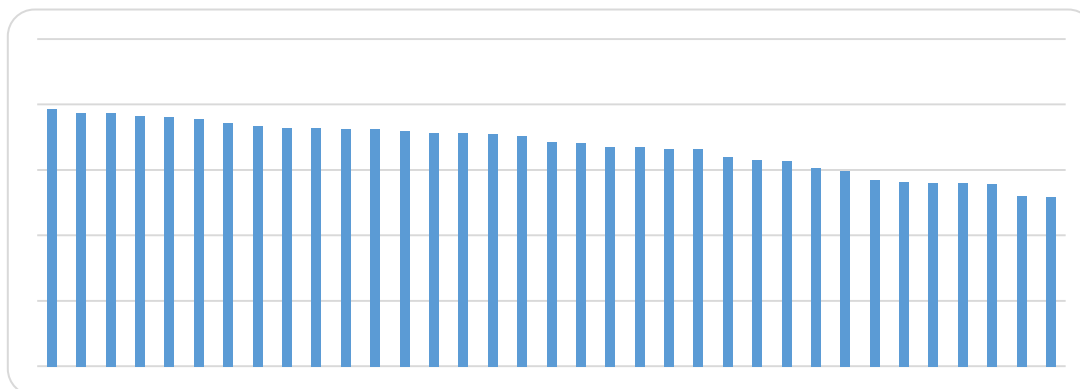


Figure 7. Ability Index for low performance countries

Figure (8) shows that the number of countries classified as very low performers in the Ability Index is 15 countries. This means that out of 100 countries in the sample, 50 countries of them have low & very low performance in the Ability Index. The lowest performers are: South Sudan, Mauritania, Yemen, Afghanistan, and Congo Dem., respectively. All of these countries are rich in terms of natural resources. However, they have not been able to maximize the benefit of their resources because of many political, security, and social reasons.

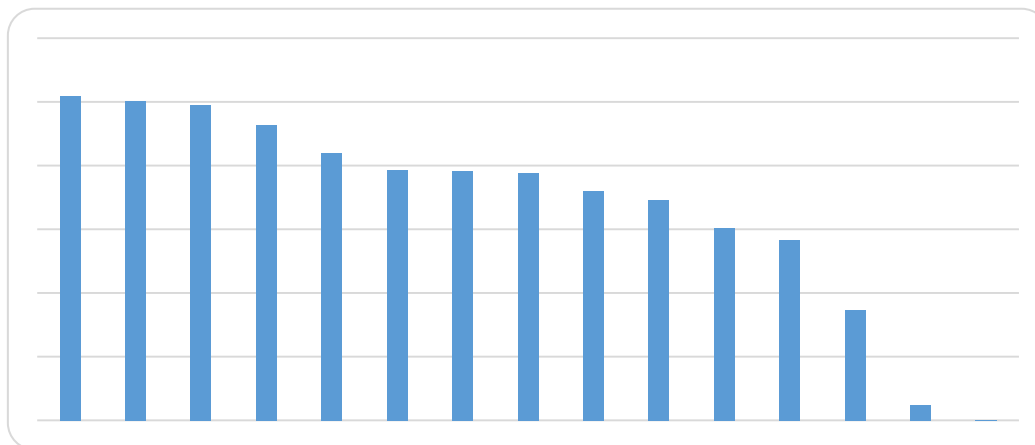


Figure 8. Ability Index for very low performance countreis

5.3 Commitment Index

The majority of the low & middle income countries have reform agendas regardless who plays the role of being a catalyst for such agendas. From the author point of view, it does not make a substantial difference if it is a domestic catalyst or an international catalyst such IMF and World Bank in the case in which the international catalyst is able to build a high level of ownership by domestic officials for the reform agendas. The previous section discusses the countries’ ability in achieving reform agendas. This section emphasizes the importance of commitment to reform agendas & programs in the development process. Two indicators are used to assess countries’ commitment to reform agendas & programs. (1) *Political stability* which captures the potential level of violence and terrorism. Also, it shows the possibility of a sudden regime change. Political stability is an important element for implementing as well as continuity of reform agendas. (2) *Ease of doing business* which captures to what extent governments are committed to provide a friendly business environment. Without relaxing the procedures needed for establishing & running businesses, it is difficult for countries to encourage private sector to play its role as a partner in achieving sustainable development.

To evaluate the performance of countries in the Commitment Index, the author calculated the following statistics for the sample’s countries.

Table 3. Commitment Index’s Statistics

Statistics	Minimum	Maxmium	Mean	Standard Deviation
Value	0.001	0.845	0.539	0.194

Based on the above statistics, countries are classified in terms of their performance in Commitment Index into four categories: very high performers, high performers, low performers, and very low performers. The following figures shows these categories.

Figure (9) shows that the number of countries classified as very high performers in Commitment Index is 17 countries. The highest performers are: Malaysia, Bulgaria, Bhutan, Bostwana, and Belarus.

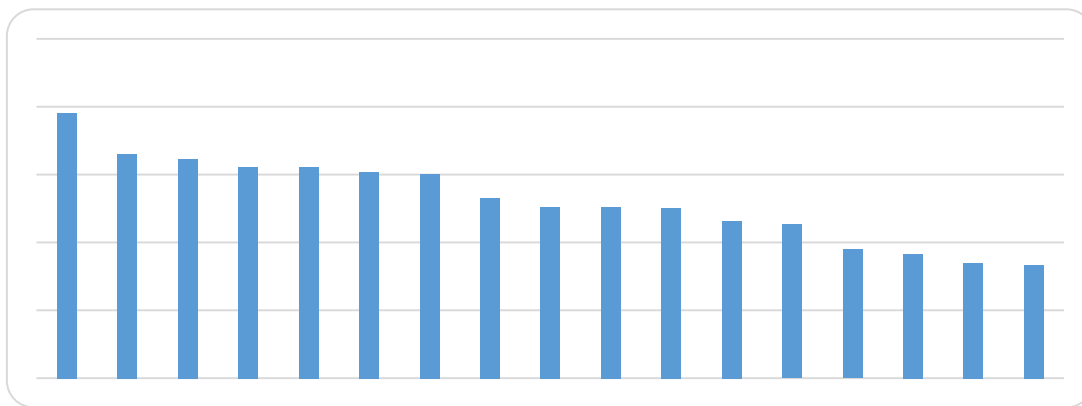


Figure 9. Commitment index for very high performance countries

Figure (10) shows that the number of countries classified as high performers in Commitment Index is 43 countries. This means that out of the 100 country in the sample, 60 countries have high & very high performance in Commitment Index. We conclude from this number that officials in many of low & middle income countries are committed to their reform agendas even if these agendas are not ambitious enough. I argue that the reason behind that is the role of the international organizations such as IMF and the World Bank in monitoring economic reform programs in developing countries.

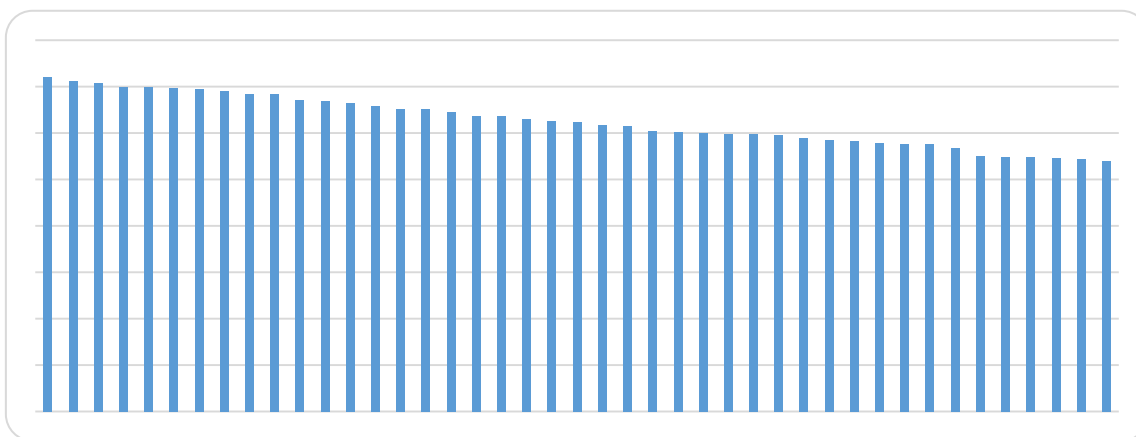


Figure 10. Commitment index for high performance countries

Figure (11) shows that number of countries classified as low performance in Commitment Index is 23 countries.

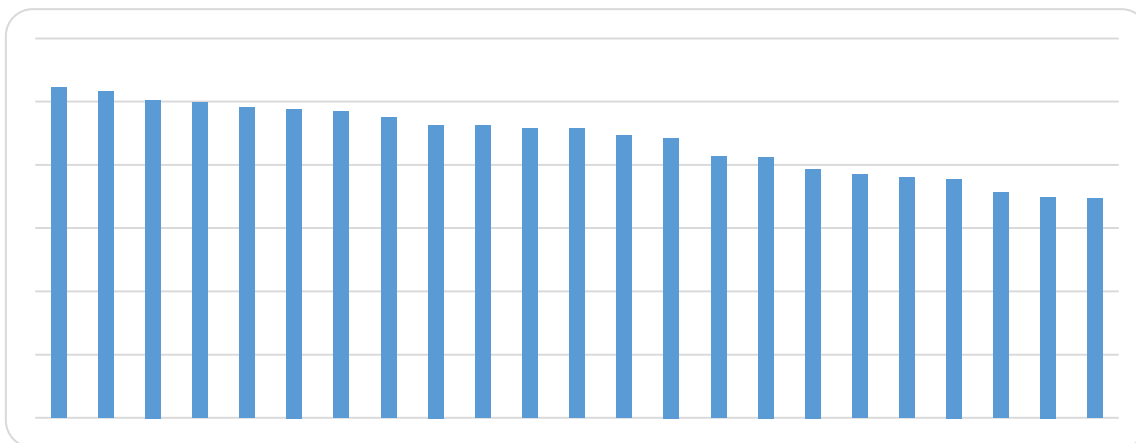


Figure 11. Commitment index for low performance countries

Figure (12) shows that the number of countries calssified as very low performers in Commitment Index is 17 countries. This means that 40 countries out of the 100 countries included in the sample have low & very low performance in Commitment Index. The lowest performers are: Yemen, South Sudan, Afghanstan, Cenral Africa, and Iraq, respectively. We conclude from this analysis that when political leaders face security, political instability, and social segregation, it is very difficult for them to have a sense of commitment for reform programs they developed by themselves or / and international organizations.

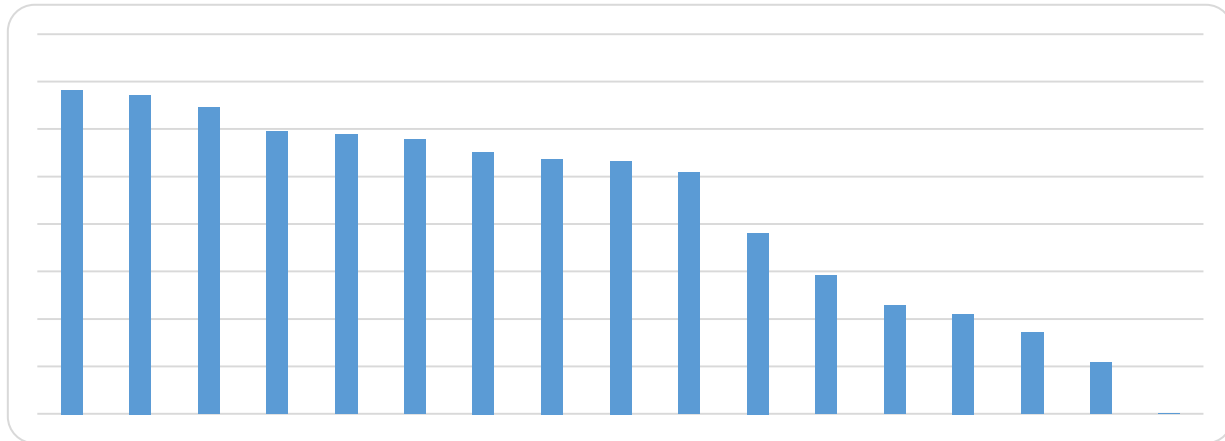


Figure 12. Commitment index for very low performance countries

5.4 Tolerance Index

Development process leads to deep social, economic and political changes. Many agents get affected negatively during this process. Thus, torelating the negative impacts and the groups who get affected negatively because of the development process is very import element for the implementation of the development agendas & reforms. To assess the degree of tolerance, the author uses two variables. **The first variable** is the change management smoothnes. The degree of change management smoothnes depends on three factors measured by three indicators. (1) *Gini Coefficient* which captures the level of income inequilty in a society. The higher Gini Coefficient is, the more complicated procedures are needed in order to implement reform agendas. Countries that suffer from deep income inequality are most likely to face greater challenges during the implementation of their reform agendas. (2) *Rule of law* which captures the respect for the laws and the degree of property right protection, contract enforcement, and the quality of police and judicial systems. Countries that have a high degree of rule of law are likely to have smoother management change than those who have low degree of rul of law. (3) *Voice and accountability* which captures the ability of citezens to participate in selecting their governments. It also captures the degree of political & speech freedom. The higher the voice and accountability is, the more participation from citezens in forming reform agendas. Citezens participation in forming, implementing and monitoring reform policies leads to an increase in the level of their ownership of these policies. As citezens’ ownership of reform policies increases, the implementation and continuity of reform agendas & programs are most likely to be smoother. **The second variable** is the claimed successful outcomes. The author argues that when reform programs pay off and lead to a substantial improvement in economic performance, citezens are more likely to accept the reform agendas & programs. To assess the degree of reform agendas’ successful outcomes, three indicators are used. (1) *The average of GDP per capoitia growth rate during the period of 2015- 2019*, just before COVID19 hit the global economy. A five-year average economic growth is used to capture its trend and to smoothout fluctuations during this period. (2) *The average of inflation rate during the period of 2015 – 2019*. (3) *The average of unemployment rate during the period of 2015 – 2019*. As these three indicators improve, citezens are more likely to support reform agendas. Economic growth, inflation and unemployment affect directly the real income per capita which has a great impact on the standards of living and poverty level in countries.

To evaluate the performance of countries in the Tolerance Index, the author calculated the following statistics for the sample’s countries.

Table 4. Commitment Index’s Statistics

Statistics	Minimum	Maxmium	Mean	Standard Deviation
Value	0.001	0.832	0.611	0.150

Based on the above statistics, countries are classified in term of their performance in Tolerance Index into four categories: very high performers, high performers, low performers and very low performers. The following figures shows these categories.

Figure (13) shows that there are 10 countries classified as very high performers in Tolerance Index. The highest performers are: Bhutan, Vanuatu, India, Malaysia, and Moldova.

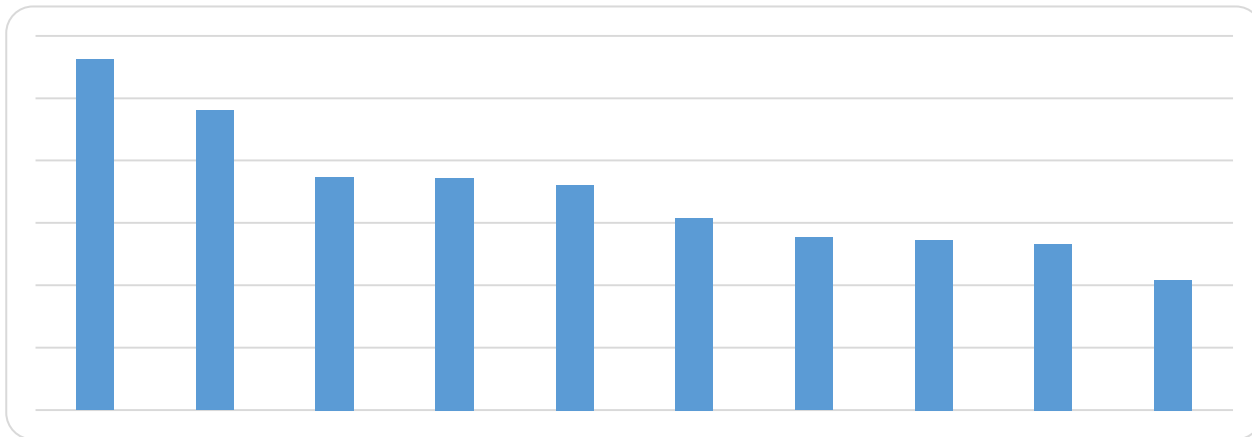


Figure 13. Tolerance Index for very high performance countries

Figure (14) shows that there are 50 countries classified as high performers in terms of Tolerance Index. This makes the number of countries classified as very high & high performers 60 countries. We conclude from this analysis that low & middle income countries give a substantial attention toward political and social aspects of reform agendas. The history has shown us that many reform agendas were dismissed because governments were not able to tolerate the economic and social impacts of these reforms.

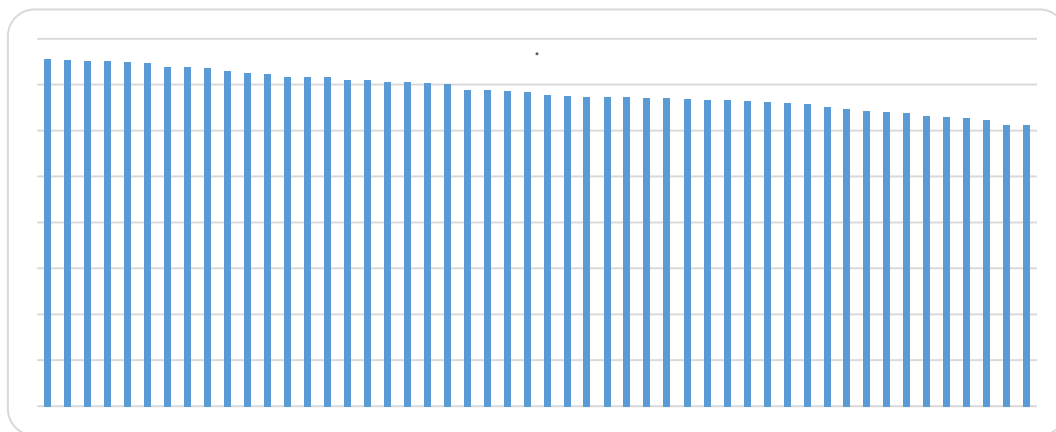


Figure 14. Tolerance Index for high performance countries

Figure (15) shows that there are 28 countries classified as low performers in Tolerance Index.

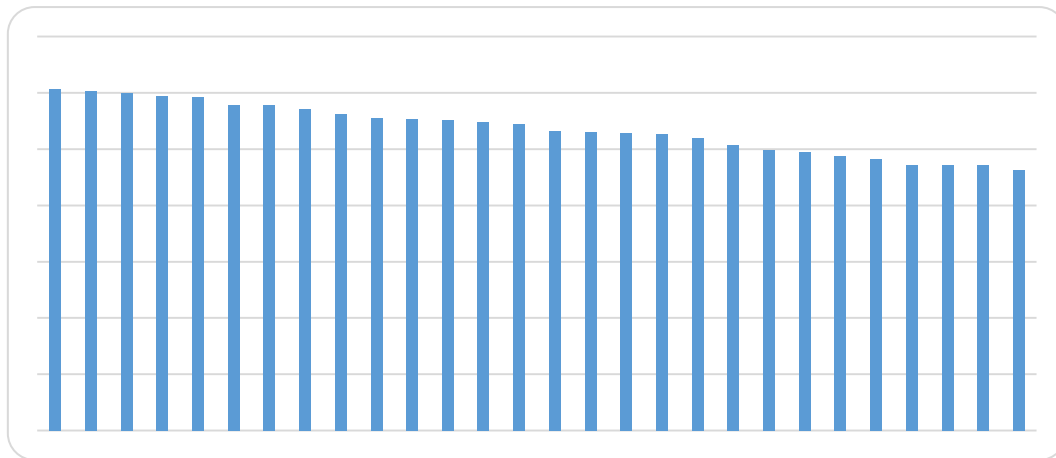


Figure 15. Tolerance Index for low performance countries

Figure (16) shows that there are 12 countries classified as very low performers in terms of Tolerance Index. The lowest performers are: South Sudan, Yemen, South Africa, Sudan, and Eswatni, respectively. We conclude that as income inequality increases and social segregation becomes an issue, officials face serious challenges in tolerating the negative social & economic impact of reform agendas.

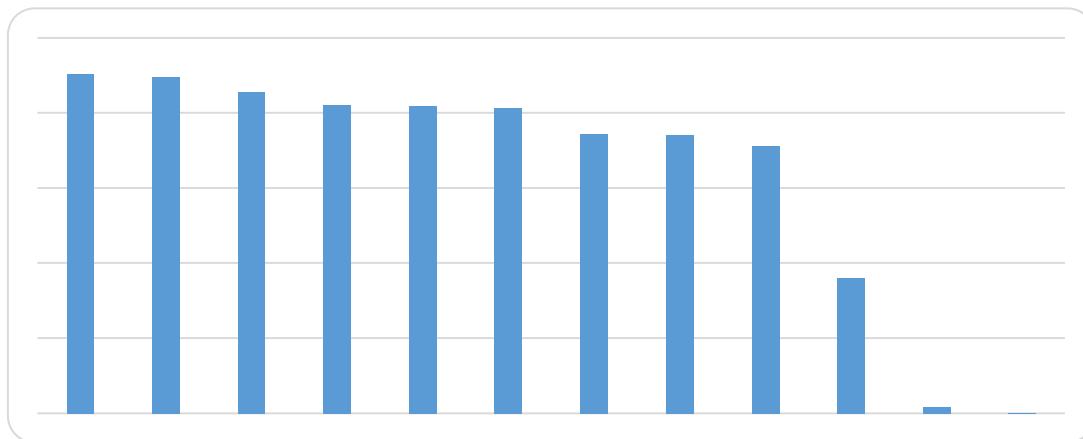


Figure 16. Tolerance Index for very low performance countries

6. Political Will-ACT Index

To evaluate the performance of countries in the Political Will-ACT Index, the author calculated the following statistics for the sample’s countries.

Table 5. Political Will-ACT Index’s Statistics

Statistics	Minimum	Maxmium	Mean	Standard Deviation
Value	0.001	0.845	0.539	0.194

The author calssified the performance of countries in Political Will-ACT Index into four categories as mentioned above. Figure(17) shows that there are 13 countries classified as very high performers in the Political Will-ACT Index. The highest performers are: Malaysia, Bulgaria Georgia, Costa Rica, and Thiland, respectively.

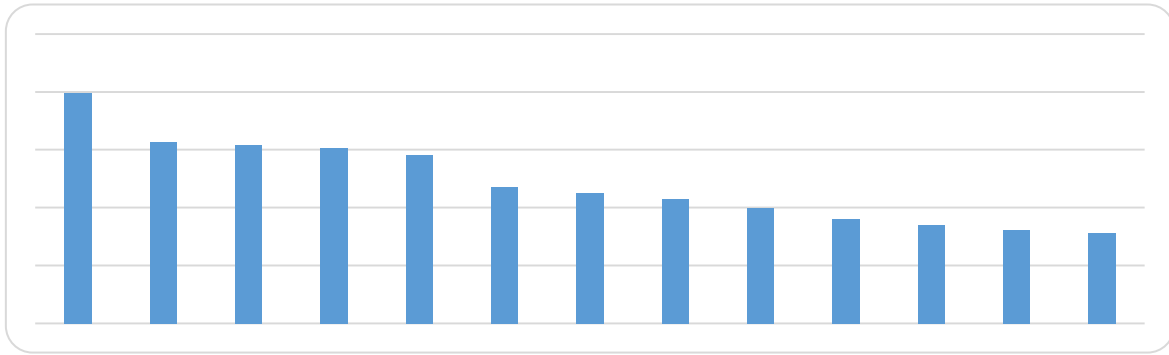


Figure 17. Political Will-ACT Index for very high performance countries

Figure (18) shows that there are 43 countries classified as high performers in the Political Will-ACT Index. This makes the number of countries classified as high & very high performers is 61 countries. This means that a substantial number of low & middle income countries have the political will and the ability to design and implement reform agendas. Moreover, it illustrates that developing countries are committed to implement their reform agendas and they are considering tolerance approaches during excuting reform programs.

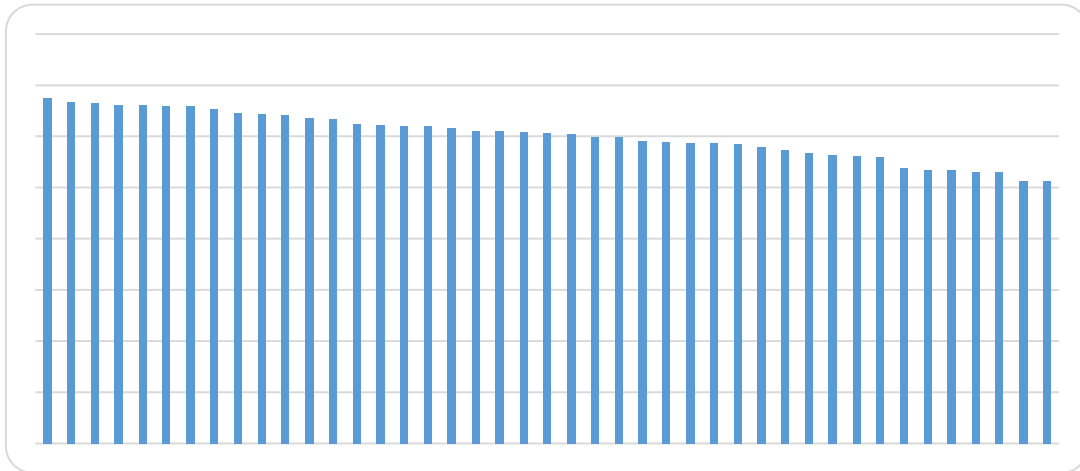


Figure 18. Political Will-ACT Index for high performance countries

Figure (19) shows that there are 31 countries classified as low performers in terms of the Political Will-ACT Index.

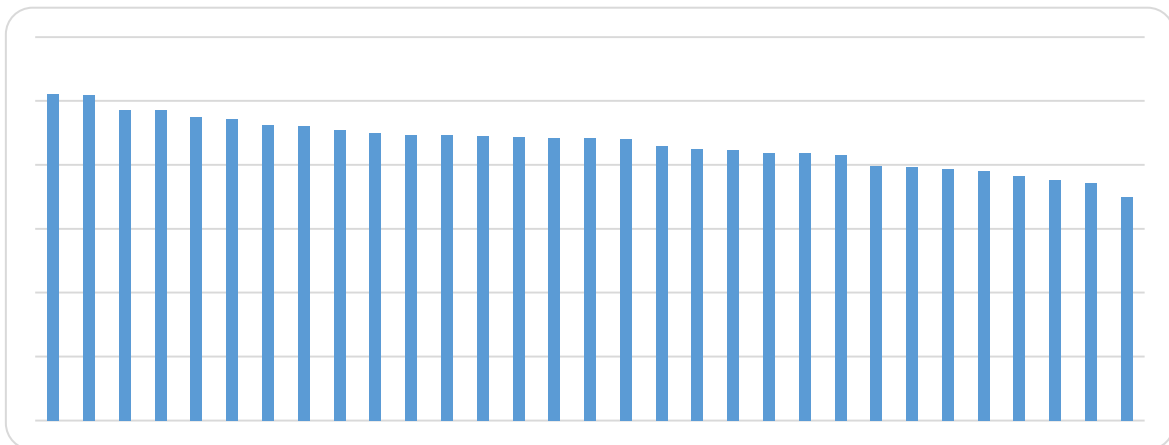


Figure 19. Political Will-ACT Index for low performance countries

Figure (20) shows that there are 13 countries classified as very low performers in terms of the Political Will-ACT Index. The lowest performers are: South Sudan, Yemen, Cenral Africa, Afghanistan, and Mauritania, respectively. We conclude that when countries suffer from security, political instability, and social segregarion challenges the priority of their leaders move from development toward facing these chanelenges. Thus, there will not be a high level of political will neither commitment from the side of political leaders and influential institutions to design and implement reform programs. This means that developing countries should solve political instability, security problems, and social segregation complications before starting implementing amptious reform agendas that lead them to cross development greyling.

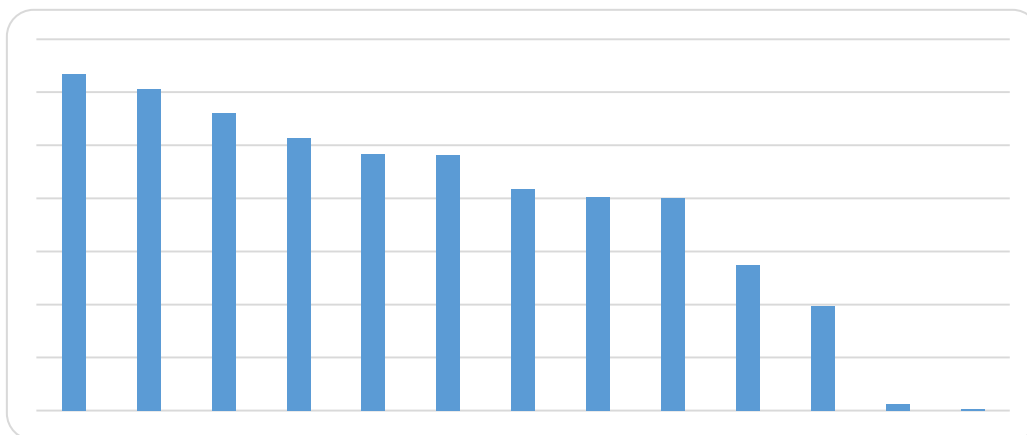


Figure 20. Political Will-ACT Index for very low performance countries

7. Conclusion and Policy Implication

This section presents the calculated the Political Will-ACT Index and its four dimension indices: Political Will, Ability, Commitment and Tolerance. Figure (21) emphasizes the importance of political dimensions through the development process. As this figure shows, eight countries out of the ten highest performance countries in the Political Will-ACT Index, their high performance is derived by political will, commitment and tolerance dimensions. Thus, we conclude that countries whose their political leaders have a clear vision for achieving sustainable development and their governments are committed to implement ambitious reform programs, they are the closest to cross development greyline. Beside having a clear vision and ambitious reform programs, countries must improve their business environment and stabilize their political system. Moreover, adopting an inclusive growth model acompained with community participation and stronge rule of law enhances the ability of governments in tolerating the social and economic impacts of reform programs. Finally, government must show some success in term of macroeconomic indicators in order to be able to continue in implementing their economic reform agendas.

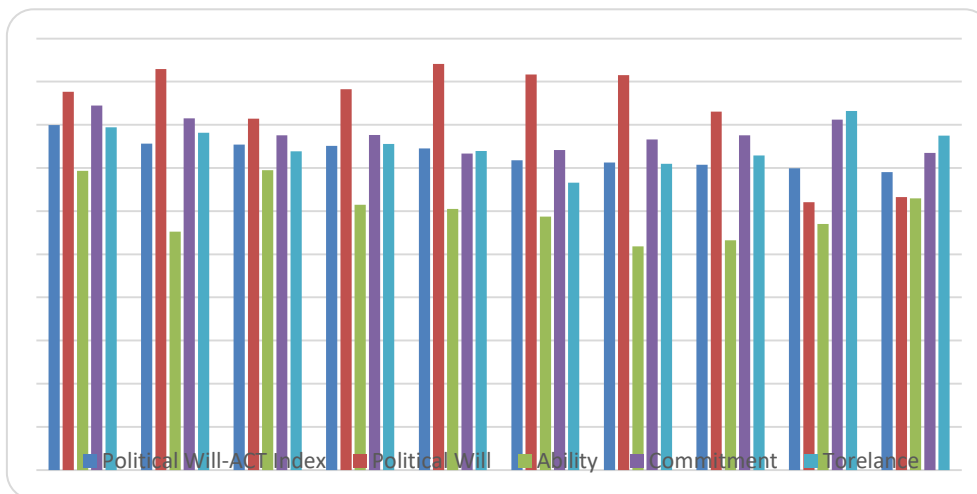


Figure 21. The highest performance countries in Political - Will-ACT Index

Figure (22) illustrates that for the lowest performance countries, the priority of their leaders and influential institutions should be: reforming institutions, improving business environment, reforming education & health systems, achieving political stability, dealing with social segregation, and solving security problems.

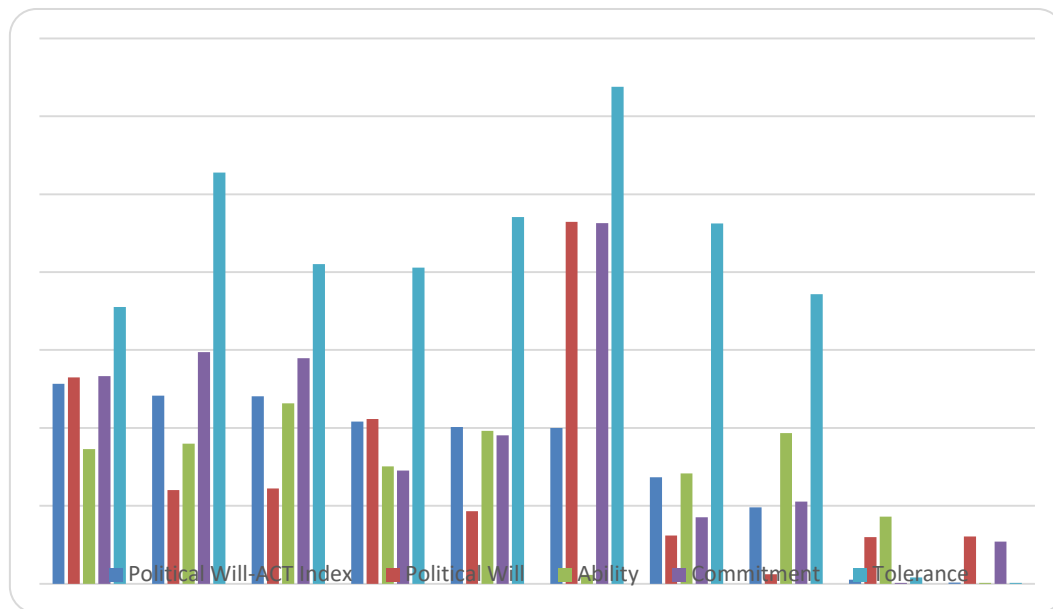


Figure 22. The lowest performance countries in Political Will-ACT Index

Based on figures (21) and (22), we conclude that for low & middle income countries to cross development greyline, they must have political leaders who have clear agendas for developing their countries. Moreover, governments of these countries have to be committed to these reform agendas. This study emphasises the importance of enhancing government effectiveness, fighting corruption, upgrading regulatory systems, enhancing the rule of law, encouraging community participation, improving business environment, achieving political stability, and spreading out the benefits of development to reach to all society's members. These are the conditions that low & middle income countries need to fulfill in order to be able to cross development greyline.

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Appendix

Table 1A. data sources

No.	Dimension	Variable	Indicator	Source
1	Political Will	Clear vision by political leadership and government.	Sustainable Development Goals Index 2021.	Sustainable Development Goals Reports, 2021.
			The existence of an Economic reform program.	Calculated by author based on IMF countries' reports.
2	Ability	Institutional ability	Government effectiveness	WB Governance datasets
			Corruption Control	WB Governance dataset
			Regulatory Quality	WB Governance datasets
		Financial ability	Foreign direct investment, net inflows (% of GDP)	WB development indicators.
		Human capital ability	Human Development Index (HDI).	UNDP database.
Private sector maturity.	Domestic credit to private sector (% of GDP)	WB development indicators.		
3	Commitment	Commitment to the reform agenda.	Political stability	WB Governance datasets
			Ease of doing business.	Doing business, 2020.
4	Tolerance	Change management smoothness.	Gini Coefficient (Social Segregation)	UNDP database
			Rule of law	WB Governance dataset
			Voice and Accountability	WB Governance datasets
		Claimed successful outcomes.	GDP per capita growth rate. (Average of 2015- 2019)	World Bank Development Indicators.
			Inflation (Average of 2015- 2019)	World Bank Development Indicators.
			Unemployment (Average of 2015- 2019)	World Bank Development Indicators.

Table 2A. Political Will Index

Country	Rank	Political Will Index	Country	Rank	Political Will Index
BELARUS	1	0.954	BHUTAN	51	0.621
THAILAND	2	0.941	RWANDA	52	0.614
BULGARIA	3	0.929	KENYA	53	0.608
VIETNAM	4	0.917	GUATEMALA	54	0.599
SERBIA	5	0.915	MONGOLIA	55	0.597
COSTA RICA	6	0.883	SOUTH AFRICA	56	0.597
MALAYSIA	7	0.876	BOLIVIA	57	0.569
BRAZIL	8	0.876	SENEGAL	58	0.558
ECUADOR	9	0.870	COTE D'IVOIRE	59	0.553
AZERBAIJAN	10	0.861	TOGO	60	0.540
KAZAKHSTAN	11	0.858	IRAQ	61	0.540
PERU	12	0.858	TUNISIA	62	0.530
UKRAINE	13	0.852	PAKISTAN	63	0.522
ARMENIA	14	0.846	LEBANON	64	0.513
EGYPT, ARAB REP.	15	0.833	TAJIKISTAN	65	0.505
JAMAICA	16	0.830	UGANDA	66	0.496
ARGENTINA	17	0.828	NAMIBIA	67	0.474
UZBEKISTAN	18	0.828	ZIMBABWE	68	0.467
GEORGIA	19	0.814	MAURITANIA	69	0.464
JORDAN	20	0.810	PARAGUAY	70	0.459
COLOMBIA	21	0.794	CAMEROON	71	0.454
TURKEY	22	0.769	NICARAGUA	72	0.454
MOROCCO	23	0.763	BANGLADESH	73	0.452
ALBANIA	24	0.761	MALAWI	74	0.450
EL SALVADOR	25	0.761	MALI	75	0.429
CABO VERDE	26	0.741	NIGERIA	76	0.401
MEXICO	27	0.723	ANGOLA	77	0.394
MOLDOVA	28	0.722	MADAGASCAR	78	0.372
ALGERIA	29	0.718	LESOTHO	79	0.372
MALDIVES	30	0.717	TANZANIA	80	0.366
NEPAL	31	0.714	DJIBOUTI	81	0.362
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	32	0.709	BURKINA FASO	82	0.359
INDIA	33	0.705	MOZAMBIQUE	83	0.350
SURINAME	34	0.697	NIGER	84	0.347
MONTENEGRO	35	0.688	ZAMBIA	85	0.334
PHILIPPINES	36	0.688	ESWATINI	86	0.325
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA	37	0.676	SIERRA LEONE	87	0.314
GAMBIA, THE	38	0.675	ETHIOPIA	88	0.309
SRI LANKA	39	0.671	CONGO, REP.	89	0.294
CAMBODIA	40	0.667	BENIN	90	0.277
MYANMAR	41	0.665	SUDAN	91	0.265
GHANA	42	0.661	CONGO, DEM. REP.	92	0.211
KYRGYZ REPUBLIC	43	0.659	LIBERIA	93	0.151
GABON	44	0.659	BURUNDI	94	0.122
BOTSWANA	45	0.646	HAITI	95	0.120
VANUATU	46	0.640	CHAD	96	0.093
INDONESIA	47	0.635	AFGHANISTAN	97	0.062
FIJI	48	0.633	SOUTH SUDAN	98	0.061
HONDURAS	49	0.630	YEMEN, REP.	99	0.060
IRAN, ISLAMIC REP.	50	0.621	CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC	100	0.012

Table 3A. Ability Index

Country	Rank	Ability Index	Country	Rank	Ability Index
GEORGIA	1	0.695	KENYA	51	0.393
MALAYSIA	2	0.693	GUATEMALA	52	0.387
FIJI	3	0.630	GHANA	53	0.387
SOUTH AFRICA	4	0.623	SURINAME	54	0.382
COSTA RICA	5	0.614	LESOTHO	55	0.382
THAILAND	6	0.605	BURKINA FASO	56	0.377
VIETNAM	7	0.587	EGYPT, ARAB REP.	57	0.371
CABO VERDE	8	0.576	KYRGYZ REPUBLIC	58	0.367
MONTENEGRO	9	0.572	COTE D'IVOIRE	59	0.364
BHUTAN	10	0.570	ESWATINI	60	0.363
BULGARIA	11	0.553	BENIN	61	0.363
JORDAN	12	0.550	IRAN, ISLAMIC REP.	62	0.362
MONGOLIA	13	0.547	BANGLADESH	63	0.359
COLOMBIA	14	0.540	MOZAMBIQUE	64	0.356
TUNISIA	15	0.536	NICARAGUA	65	0.355
JAMAICA	16	0.532	UZBEKISTAN	66	0.354
ARMENIA	17	0.532	TOGO	67	0.352
BOTSWANA	18	0.528	MYANMAR	68	0.342
TURKEY	19	0.528	ALGERIA	69	0.341
MOROCCO	20	0.526	DJIBOUTI	70	0.335
NAMIBIA	21	0.524	ZAMBIA	71	0.334
SERBIA	22	0.519	ETHIOPIA	72	0.332
BRAZIL	23	0.514	MALI	73	0.331
PERU	24	0.513	PAKISTAN	74	0.320
ALBANIA	25	0.495	GABON	75	0.315
MALDIVES	26	0.494	TANZANIA	76	0.313
INDIA	27	0.488	UGANDA	77	0.303
SRI LANKA	28	0.483	NIGER	78	0.299
PHILIPPINES	29	0.479	MADAGASCAR	79	0.284
EL SALVADOR	30	0.471	CAMEROON	80	0.282
INDONESIA	31	0.468	MALAWI	81	0.280
VANUATU	32	0.466	LIBERIA	82	0.279
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA	33	0.463	GAMBIA, THE	83	0.278
CAMBODIA	34	0.459	SIERRA LEONE	84	0.260
RWANDA	35	0.456	CONGO, REP.	85	0.259
KAZAKHSTAN	36	0.452	NIGERIA	86	0.254
LEBANON	37	0.452	TAJIKISTAN	87	0.250
SENEGAL	38	0.448	ANGOLA	88	0.248
MEXICO	39	0.443	BURUNDI	89	0.232
BELARUS	40	0.442	IRAQ	90	0.210
HONDURAS	41	0.439	CHAD	91	0.196
PARAGUAY	42	0.428	ZIMBABWE	92	0.196
UKRAINE	43	0.425	CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC	93	0.194
MOLDOVA	44	0.422	HAITI	94	0.180
ECUADOR	45	0.417	SUDAN	95	0.173
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	46	0.417	CONGO, DEM. REP.	96	0.151
NEPAL	47	0.414	AFGHANISTAN	97	0.142
BOLIVIA	48	0.406	YEMEN, REP.	98	0.086
ARGENTINA	49	0.399	MAURITANIA	99	0.012
AZERBAIJAN	50	0.395	SOUTH SUDAN	100	0.001

Table 4A. Commitment Index

Country	Rank	Commitment Index	Country	Rank	Commitment Index
MALAYSIA	1	0.845	ECUADOR	51	0.577
BULGARIA	2	0.815	LESOTHO	52	0.577
BHUTAN	3	0.812	ESWATINI	53	0.575
BOTSWANA	4	0.806	TURKEY	54	0.566
BELARUS	5	0.805	BRAZIL	55	0.550
RWANDA	6	0.802	TOGO	56	0.547
KAZAKHSTAN	7	0.800	UGANDA	57	0.547
MONGOLIA	8	0.783	MALDIVES	58	0.546
COSTA RICA	9	0.776	CAMBODIA	59	0.543
JAMAICA	10	0.776	PHILIPPINES	60	0.540
GEORGIA	11	0.776	HONDURAS	61	0.523
SERBIA	12	0.766	GAMBIA, THE	62	0.516
MONTENEGRO	13	0.763	TANZANIA	63	0.503
VANUATU	14	0.745	BENIN	64	0.499
VIETNAM	15	0.742	EGYPT, ARAB REP.	65	0.490
FIJI	16	0.735	UKRAINE	66	0.488
THAILAND	17	0.733	MOZAMBIQUE	67	0.484
ALBANIA	18	0.719	SURINAME	68	0.475
MOLDOVA	19	0.712	MAURITANIA	69	0.463
MOROCCO	20	0.706	BOLIVIA	70	0.462
NAMIBIA	21	0.698	ZIMBABWE	71	0.458
COTE D'IVOIRE	22	0.698	SIERRA LEONE	72	0.457
PERU	23	0.695	MADAGASCAR	73	0.447
ARMENIA	24	0.694	NICARAGUA	74	0.442
UZBEKISTAN	25	0.689	GABON	75	0.413
AZERBAIJAN	26	0.684	NIGER	76	0.413
ZAMBIA	27	0.683	BURKINA FASO	77	0.393
SOUTH AFRICA	28	0.669	ALGERIA	78	0.385
JORDAN	29	0.669	LIBERIA	79	0.380
EL SALVADOR	30	0.664	IRAN, ISLAMIC REP.	80	0.378
INDONESIA	31	0.657	LEBANON	81	0.356
KYRGYZ REPUBLIC	32	0.651	BANGLADESH	82	0.349
CABO VERDE	33	0.650	ETHIOPIA	83	0.347
MEXICO	34	0.645	ANGOLA	84	0.341
INDIA	35	0.636	MYANMAR	85	0.336
GHANA	36	0.635	NIGERIA	86	0.323
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA	37	0.630	HAITI	87	0.297
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	38	0.626	CAMEROON	88	0.294
SENEGAL	39	0.623	BURUNDI	89	0.289
SRI LANKA	40	0.617	PAKISTAN	90	0.276
PARAGUAY	41	0.614	CONGO, REP.	91	0.268
MALAWI	42	0.603	SUDAN	92	0.266
NEPAL	43	0.601	MALI	93	0.254
ARGENTINA	44	0.600	CHAD	94	0.191
COLOMBIA	45	0.598	CONGO, DEM. REP.	95	0.145
TUNISIA	46	0.596	IRAQ	96	0.114
TAJIKISTAN	47	0.595	CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC	97	0.105
DJIBOUTI	48	0.589	AFGHANISTAN	98	0.085
GUATEMALA	49	0.584	SOUTH SUDAN	99	0.054
KENYA	50	0.583	YEMEN, REP.	100	0.001

Table 5A. Tolerance Index

Country	Rank	Tolerance Index	Country	Rank	Tolerance Index
BHUTAN	1	0.832	MALAWI	51	0.647
VANUATU	2	0.816	BOLIVIA	52	0.642
INDIA	3	0.795	JORDAN	53	0.641
MALAYSIA	4	0.794	MAURITANIA	54	0.638
MOLDOVA	5	0.792	MADAGASCAR	55	0.632
BULGARIA	6	0.781	LIBERIA	56	0.630
FIJI	7	0.775	COLOMBIA	57	0.626
MONGOLIA	8	0.775	CAMBODIA	58	0.622
CABO VERDE	9	0.773	SIERRA LEONE	59	0.613
MALDIVES	10	0.762	BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA	60	0.611
COSTA RICA	11	0.756	KAZAKHSTAN	61	0.607
INDONESIA	12	0.754	TURKEY	62	0.603
NEPAL	13	0.752	GUATEMALA	63	0.598
SENEGAL	14	0.751	BOTSWANA	64	0.594
SRI LANKA	15	0.749	ALGERIA	65	0.592
GHANA	16	0.746	BELARUS	66	0.578
THAILAND	17	0.739	BRAZIL	67	0.578
GEORGIA	18	0.738	NIGERIA	68	0.571
BURKINA FASO	19	0.737	ARGENTINA	69	0.562
JAMAICA	20	0.729	LEBANON	70	0.554
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	21	0.726	AZERBAIJAN	71	0.553
PHILIPPINES	22	0.724	EGYPT, ARAB REP.	72	0.551
PERU	23	0.718	HONDURAS	73	0.547
NIGER	24	0.717	SURINAME	74	0.544
COTE D'IVOIRE	25	0.717	DJIBOUTI	75	0.531
EL SALVADOR	26	0.711	CAMEROON	76	0.530
SERBIA	27	0.710	HAITI	77	0.528
ALBANIA	28	0.706	MOZAMBIQUE	78	0.526
BANGLADESH	29	0.705	NICARAGUA	79	0.520
KENYA	30	0.703	ZIMBABWE	80	0.507
TUNISIA	31	0.700	ZAMBIA	81	0.497
MONTENEGRO	32	0.689	GABON	82	0.494
GAMBIA, THE	33	0.688	UZBEKISTAN	83	0.488
TANZANIA	34	0.685	IRAN, ISLAMIC REP.	84	0.481
KYRGYZ REPUBLIC	35	0.684	IRAQ	85	0.471
MALI	36	0.678	CHAD	86	0.471
ARMENIA	37	0.676	LESOTHO	87	0.470
RWANDA	38	0.673	AFGHANISTAN	88	0.463
UGANDA	39	0.673	NAMIBIA	89	0.451
BENIN	40	0.672	ANGOLA	90	0.448
UKRAINE	41	0.671	TAJIKISTAN	91	0.427
MOROCCO	42	0.670	BURUNDI	92	0.410
ETHIOPIA	43	0.668	CONGO, REP.	93	0.410
PARAGUAY	44	0.667	CONGO, DEM. REP.	94	0.406
VIETNAM	45	0.666	CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC	95	0.371
PAKISTAN	46	0.663	ESWATINI	96	0.370
MEXICO	47	0.661	SUDAN	97	0.355
MYANMAR	48	0.659	SOUTH AFRICA	98	0.180
ECUADOR	49	0.657	YEMEN, REP.	99	0.008
TOGO	50	0.652	SOUTH SUDAN	100	0.001

Table 6A. Political Will-ACT Index

Country	Rank	Political Will-ACT Index	Country	Rank	Political Will-ACT Index
MALAYSIA	1	0.799	GUATEMALA	51	0.534
BULGARIA	2	0.756	PARAGUAY	52	0.533
GEORGIA	3	0.754	HONDURAS	53	0.530
COSTA RICA	4	0.751	NAMIBIA	54	0.529
THAILAND	5	0.745	SURINAME	55	0.512
VIETNAM	6	0.718	BOLIVIA	56	0.512
SERBIA	7	0.713	TOGO	57	0.510
JAMAICA	8	0.707	GAMBIA, THE	58	0.508
BHUTAN	9	0.699	ALGERIA	59	0.486
FIJI	10	0.690	UGANDA	60	0.485
PERU	11	0.685	MYANMAR	61	0.473
CABO VERDE	12	0.681	MALAWI	62	0.471
ARMENIA	13	0.678	LEBANON	63	0.462
MONTENEGRO	14	0.675	SOUTH AFRICA	64	0.460
MONGOLIA	15	0.667	GABON	65	0.454
BELARUS	16	0.666	IRAN, ISLAMIC REP.	66	0.450
ALBANIA	17	0.661	BANGLADESH	67	0.447
JORDAN	18	0.661	TANZANIA	68	0.446
MOROCCO	19	0.660	BURKINA FASO	69	0.445
KAZAKHSTAN	20	0.659	LESOTHO	70	0.443
VANUATU	21	0.653	DJIBOUTI	71	0.441
INDIA	22	0.646	ZAMBIA	72	0.441
MOLDOVA	23	0.644	NICARAGUA	73	0.439
EL SALVADOR	24	0.641	BENIN	74	0.429
BOTSWANA	25	0.636	TAJIKISTAN	75	0.423
COLOMBIA	26	0.633	MOZAMBIQUE	76	0.422
RWANDA	27	0.623	NIGER	77	0.419
SRI LANKA	28	0.622	PAKISTAN	78	0.418
INDONESIA	29	0.620	MADAGASCAR	79	0.416
MALDIVES	30	0.619	ESWATINI	80	0.398
BRAZIL	31	0.615	MALI	81	0.396
TURKEY	32	0.610	ETHIOPIA	82	0.393
ECUADOR	33	0.609	SIERRA LEONE	83	0.389
MEXICO	34	0.608	ZIMBABWE	84	0.381
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	35	0.605	CAMEROON	85	0.376
NEPAL	36	0.604	NIGERIA	86	0.370
PHILIPPINES	37	0.599	ANGOLA	87	0.349
AZERBAIJAN	38	0.599	LIBERIA	88	0.317
GHANA	39	0.590	CONGO, REP.	89	0.302
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA	40	0.589	IRAQ	90	0.280
UKRAINE	41	0.587	SUDAN	91	0.257
TUNISIA	42	0.587	HAITI	92	0.241
SENEGAL	43	0.585	BURUNDI	93	0.241
ARGENTINA	44	0.578	CONGO, DEM. REP.	94	0.208
KYRGYZ REPUBLIC	45	0.573	CHAD	95	0.201
CAMBODIA	46	0.567	MAURITANIA	96	0.200
COTE D'IVOIRE	47	0.563	AFGHANISTAN	97	0.137
UZBEKISTAN	48	0.560	CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC	98	0.098
KENYA	49	0.559	YEMEN, REP.	99	0.005
EGYPT, ARAB REP.	50	0.538	SOUTH SUDAN	100	0.001

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