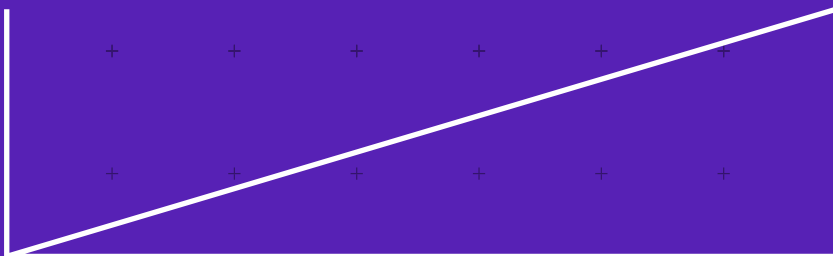


**CENTER FOR NEW IDEAS**

MARCH 2025



# BELARUS RESILIENCE INDEX 2024



**HENADZ KORSHUNAU AND ALESIA RUDNIK**



The Resilience Index is a holistic expert evaluation of a country as a multi-factor, complex system. It was developed by Henadz Korshunau and Alesia Rudnik, researchers at the Centre for New Ideas, as a tool for identifying and tracking trends in the most resilient and vulnerable spheres of life in Belarus. The Index consists of four main spheres, political, economic, social and information, which are divided into 4-5 areas, evaluated using a number of indicators. The Resilience Index is published each spring based on the results of the preceding year. The results are evaluated using a scale from -5 to +5, where -5 represents the most vulnerable and least resilient state, and +5 represents the most resilient state. When comparing year-on-year results, we consider changes of 0.5 or more points to be significant. For a full explanation of our indicators, as well as a detailed description of the methodology used to conduct the expert survey, see the Methodology section.

This year, 40 Belarusian experts assessed the country's political, economic, information, and social spheres for the Resilience Index; they concluded that all key spheres are in crisis. As in previous years, the **political** (-2.55) and **information** spheres (-2.31) were deemed to be in the worst state. The **economic** and **social** spheres received a score of -1.44. Of all the areas in all four spheres, **domestic policy** (-4.75) and **foreign policy** (-3.40) in the political sphere, along with friendly **environment for media work** (-4.38) in the information sphere, received the worst scores.

Of all the areas in the main spheres, only three received positive ratings: the **diaspora** (0.50) in the social sphere and **social infrastructure** (+0.06) in the political sphere. Please note that since the first release of the Index, the authors have included the diaspora in Belarus's social sphere, as it actively influences the political, social, and cultural agenda within the country.

Although this perception of the diaspora is changing as it loses leverage over the situation in Belarus, we have continued to assess the diaspora's ties with the motherland and its political impact on the situation in the country in order to analyse trends and patterns over the past four years.

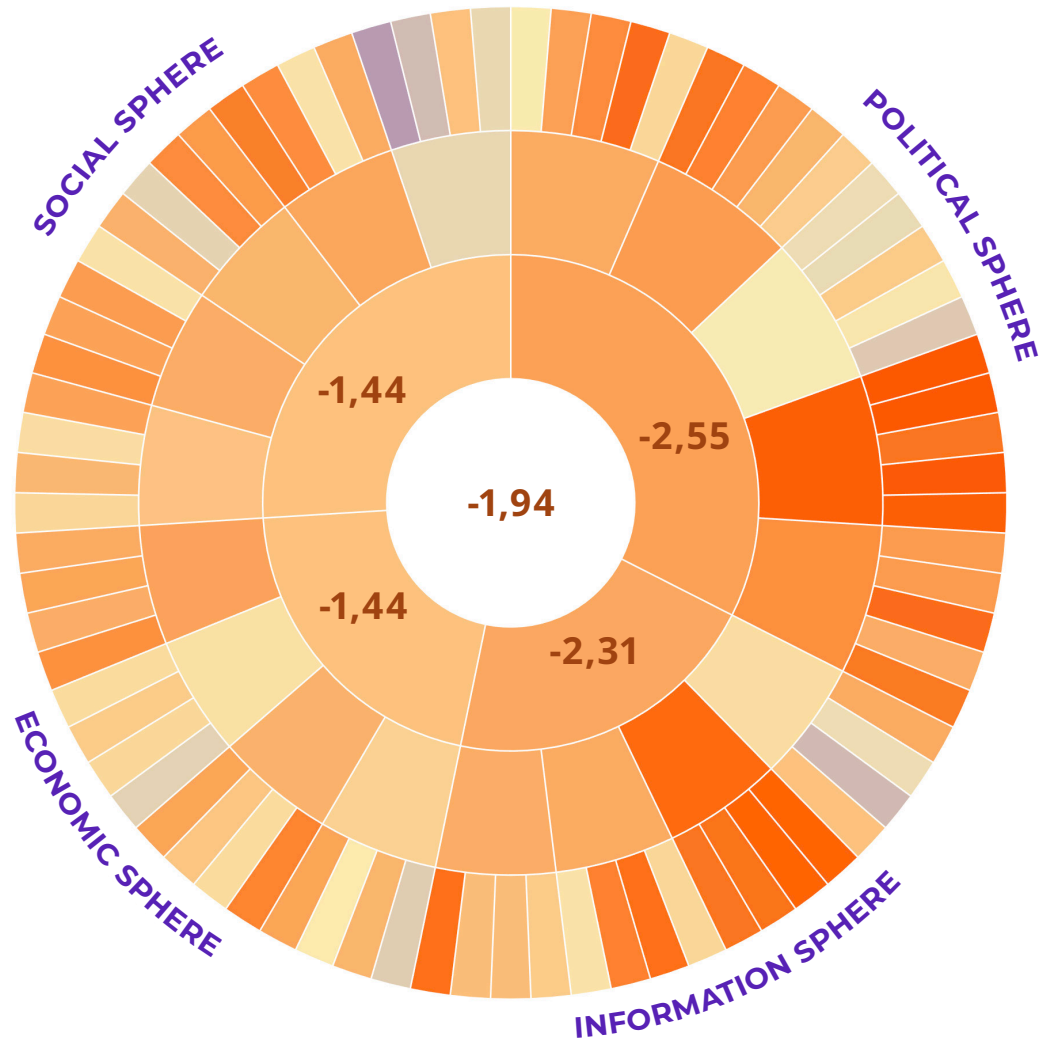
Expert assessments last year, like the year before, pointed to the need for a complete reset of all spheres of societal life, rather than just a crisis: the Belarus Resilience Index stands at -1.94 (the 2023 score was -1.96). Expert assessments worsened in the political sphere, while only the **economic sphere** showed an improvement. The table below presents the results of the Resilience Index over the past four years. A more detailed overview of our experts' quantitative and qualitative assessments for the 2024 Resilience Index is provided further down.



	2021	2022	2023	2024
General Resilience Index	-1,88	-2,17	-1,96	-1,94
Political sphere	-2,75	-2,60	-2,40	-2,55
Information sphere	-2,46	-2,45	-2,33	-2,31
Economic sphere	-1,44	-2,33	-1,85	-1,44
Social sphere	-0,87	-1,31	-1,28	-1,44



INDEX 2024 ↓



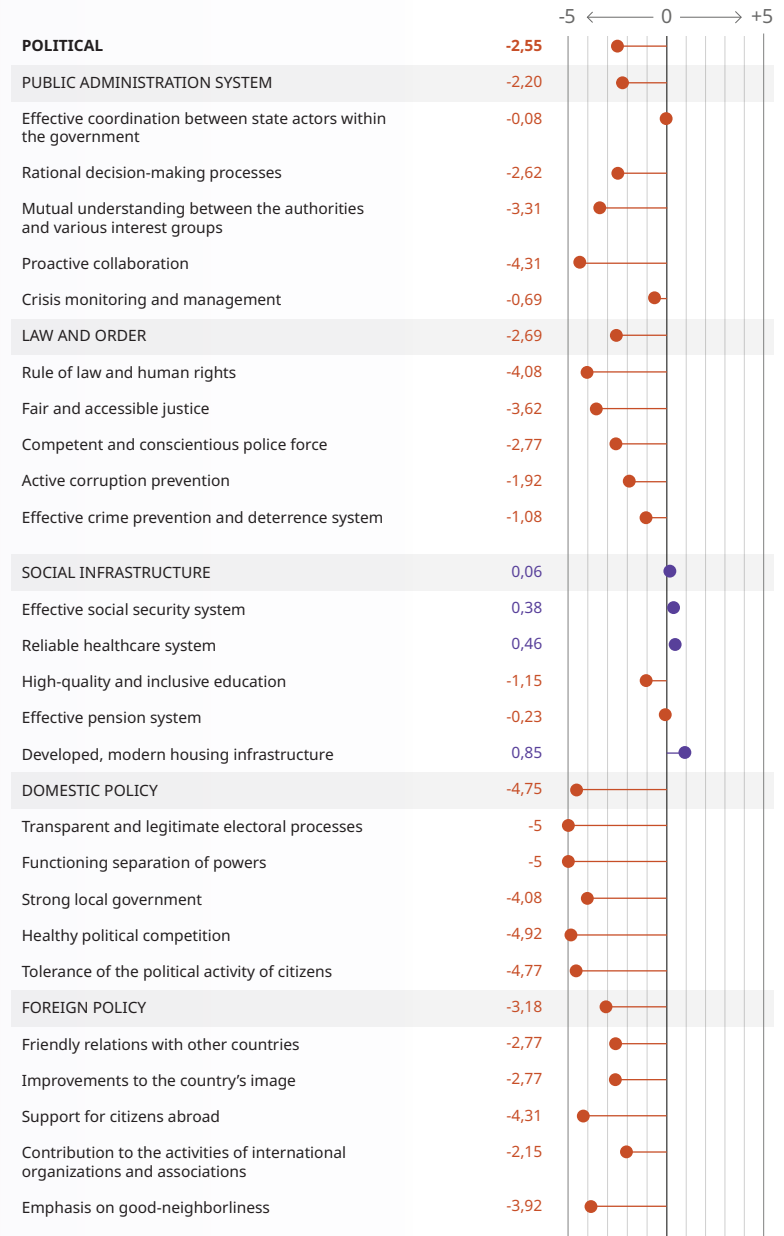


## POLITICAL SPHERE

Last year, as in all four years this Index has been compiled, the **political sphere** remained in the most difficult condition. Its index for 2024 was -2.55, down from -2.40 points in 2023.

Experts rated **domestic policy** as the most vulnerable area in the Index, with a score of -4.75. This low rating reflects the collapse of nearly all indicators in this category. One of the most problematic aspects was *transparent and legitimate electoral processes*, which received the lowest possible score (-5). In 2024, ahead of the local and parliamentary elections, the number of political parties was drastically reduced from 16 to 4, with the majority of seats in the House of Representatives allocated to Belaya Rus, a political party founded to support the regime. For the first time, elections were conducted under new laws that eliminated the minimum voter turnout requirement and banned ballot photography. Additionally, citizens living abroad lost the right to vote at embassies — a restriction that was repeated in the 2025 presidential election, though that election did not figure into this year's assessment.

Experts also criticised the *functioning separation of powers* (-5), due to the fact that all ministries serve the interests of Alexander Lukashenka, following directives from the Presidential Administration and the Security Council. The increasing influence of the security apparatus, which reinforces the highly personalised nature of the political system, was also noted. Key political decisions are driven not by the interests of citizens but by a the "*fear of losing political power.*"





The **foreign policy** area was also assessed as being in a state of crisis, with a rating of -3.18 (compared to -2.82 in 2023). The most critical indicators were *support for citizens abroad* (-4.31) and *emphasis on good neighbourliness* (-3.92).

Although sceptical, experts acknowledge Belarus's growing international ties with Russia and China, pointing out that "*the country maintains diplomatic relations exclusively with autocracies and dictatorships,*" effectively "*becoming a political outcast in the Western community*". However, with Donald Trump's return to power, a shift in this direction may be expected this year, potentially leading to the legitimisation of the authorities by the United States.

Areas such as **public administration system** (-2.20) and **law and order** (-2.69) remain in a state of crisis. In the former, the most problematic indicator was *proactive collaboration* (-4.31), while the highest-rated was *crisis monitoring and management* (-0.69), an increase of 1.41 points from last year's assessment. Many experts noted that while the government conducts crisis monitoring, the sole purpose of analytics in this area is to ensure the administration retains power.

In the **law and order** area, the lowest-rated indicators were *rule of law and human rights* (-4.08) and *fair and accessible justice* (-3.62). While experts note that everyday crime levels remain relatively low and that the Belarusian police "do their job fairly well," this is largely achieved through increased street surveillance and monitoring. At the same time, citizens cannot expect fair investigations into politically motivated "crimes". A similar situation applies to the judiciary — while individuals can take legal action at a reasonable cost and defend their rights, for defendants accused of "extremism", justice is replaced by a biased court system that serves the interests of politicians.

The only area in the political sphere to receive a positive rating — albeit a minimal one — was **social infrastructure** (0.06, compared to 0.18 in 2023). As in previous years, the highest-rated indicator in this area was *developed, modern housing infrastructure* (0.85). *Reliable healthcare system* (0.46) and *effective social security system* (0.38) also received positive assessments.

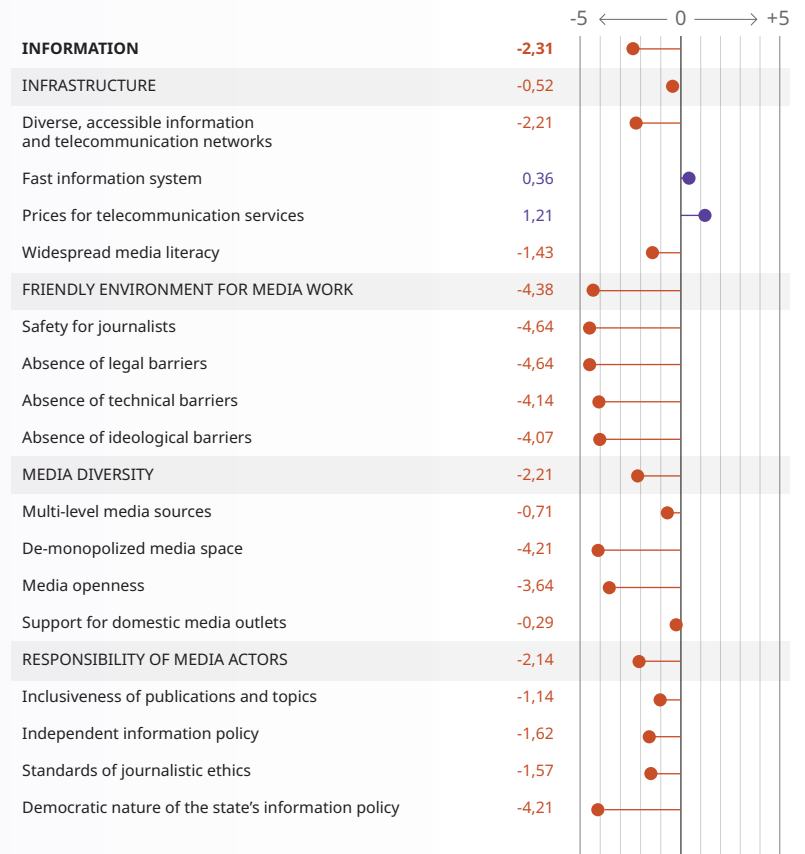
Notably, compared to last year's assessment, expert ratings declined slightly for two indicators: *effective pension system* (-0.63) and *functioning separation of powers* (-0.60). Two indicators saw a significant deterioration: *support for citizens abroad* (-1.41) and *strong local government* (-1.28).



## INFORMATION SPHERE

The **information sphere** remains in decline, just as it was last year (-2.31). According to experts, the most alarming area was ***friendly environment for media work***, which received a rating of -4.38 (only ***domestic policy*** performed worse). Every indicator in this area scored below -4, including *safety for journalists* and *absence of legal, technical, and ideological barriers to journalistic work*. As of the report's preparation, 40 media workers are imprisoned in Belarus — 10 more than in 2024 — and all independent media outlets are now classified as “extremist” and forced to operate from abroad. Over the past year, at least five independent media employees were convicted in absentia.

Meanwhile, the Belarusian authorities continue to invest in state-controlled media. In 2024, spending on media infrastructure and state media [increased](#) to \$54 million. The country's media sector is also becoming increasingly dependent on Russia. In January 2024, an [agreement](#) was signed to establish a joint Belarusian-Russian media holding, along with [plans](#) to create a shared list of “extremists”. As before, the registration of new media outlets and the legal conditions for journalists remain under strict state control, including oversight by security forces.





The area ***friendly environment for media work*** received the most criticism. Experts continue to assess ***media diversity*** (-2.21) and ***responsibility of media actors*** (-2.14) as being in a state of crisis.

Within ***media diversity***, the most critical issues relate to *de-monopolised media space* (-4.21) and *media openness* (-3.64). Experts note that Belarus has not yet hit rock bottom in this area, largely due to the presence of neutral media outlets (e.g., *Tochka*, *Smartpress*) and the migration of television audiences to social media, where non-political content is on the rise. However, experts caution that while this shift might seem like a positive trend given the criminalisation of independent media consumption, the state still has the capacity to bring these media categories under full control if necessary.

In the ***responsibility of media actors*** area, the most critical indicator — as in previous years — was the indicator *democratic nature of the state's information policy* (-4.21). While other indicators in this area (*inclusiveness of publications and topics*, *independent information policy*, and *standards of journalistic ethics*) showed some improvement, they remain in a state of crisis.

The area ***infrastructure***, which had consistently received positive ratings in previous years, received a score of -0.52 in 2024 (down from 0.73 in 2023). This decline is attributed to lower expert assessments for three out of four of its indicators: *prices for telecommunication services* dropped by 2.39 points (from 3.60 in 2023 to 1.21 in 2024), *fast information systems* fell by 1.54 points (from 1.90 to 0.36), and *diverse, accessible information and telecommunication networks* decreased by 1.31 points.

Despite relatively high ratings for *communication infrastructure*, experts emphasise that it remains entirely under state control: “The system remains technically fast and stable, but the primary risks come from the political system.” Internet blackouts happen frequently.

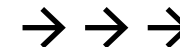
When discussing *media literacy* among the population, some experts note that the situation in Belarus is not yet as dire as in neighbouring Russia. However, they caution that “*when access to high-quality independent media is severely restricted, people stop reading them, turn to social media instead, lose their ability to critically assess information, and no longer know which sources to trust — inevitably leading to a decline in media literacy skills.*”

In assessing the media sector, experts highlight the ambivalent nature of state policy toward the press: “*The situation is catastrophic. Inside the country, journalism exists in only three forms — underground reporting, strictly censored non-political content (which still carries the risk of arrest at any time), and outright propaganda.*”

On one hand, the number of media actors in Belarus appears to be growing; on the other, this increase is largely driven by the state expanding its presence in the information space. Independent media operating within the country remain highly vulnerable, covering all topics except politics, while “*state media exist to serve the interests of only one segment of the Belarusian population — those who are content with a single, predetermined perspective.*”

Additionally, although independent outlets operating from abroad have more freedom in decision-making, they face significant restrictions in obtaining official comments and engaging with sources inside Belarus.



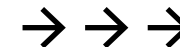


## ECONOMIC SPHERE

Experts note a slight improvement in the state of the economy over the past year. Compared to 2023, the **economic sphere** saw an increase of 0.41 points in the Index (from -1.85 to -1.44), though it remains in a state of crisis. The rise in ratings was driven primarily by significant improvements in the areas **labour** (0.84) and **budgetary and financial activities** (0.53).

The improvement in the **labour** area was largely due to a rise in the *employment* indicator, which increased by 1.51 points (from -0.73 in 2023 to 0.78 in 2024). Experts cited data from Belstat, which shows that employment in the third quarter reached 84.5%. However, high employment and low unemployment are linked to a widespread labour shortage. Experts warn of ineffective unemployment regulation, pointing out that *“government agencies are failing to implement an active labour market policy. Belarus has the lowest unemployment benefits in the region — \$10–20 per month is not enough for an unemployed person to survive.”* As such, the *effective management of unemployment* indicator declined over the year, dropping to -0.59.





Experts remain concerned about the ongoing outflow of the working-age population due to comparatively low wages in Belarus compared to neighbouring countries. This trend contributes to both population decline and ageing. In response, the authorities have introduced several administrative measures in recent years, such as easing bureaucratic barriers and recognising foreign diplomas. However, experts note that *“Belarus remains an unattractive destination for labour migration due to political instability and the ongoing labour shortage in Russia, where salaries are on average 30% higher.”*

In the **budgetary and financial activities** area, the *sufficient gold reserves* and *GDP growth* indicators showed improvement. Experts highlighted a rise in *GDP growth* (0.71, from -1.27 to -0.56) and an increase in *sufficient gold reserves* (1.49, from -0.82 to 0.67). They point out that *“while Belarus’s gold reserves remain below the internationally accepted level of three months’ worth of imports, they are at one of the highest levels in the country’s*

*history.”* However, experts predict a slowdown in GDP growth, warning of *“an overheating economy, which is already evident in labour shortages, full production capacity utilisation, and sanctions-related constraints.”* The *trade balance* and *manageable public debt* indicators remained largely unchanged (-0.67 and -1.11, respectively).

Within the **economic base** area, *diversification of foreign markets* remains in critical condition (-3.56, compared to -3.45 last year). *Sectoral economic policy* and *equitable conditions for all forms of business* are still in crisis, with Index scores of -1.33 and -2.44, respectively. The *regional distribution of production* indicator was rated at -0.56.

Experts pointed out that private enterprise, as well as small and medium-sized businesses, continue to struggle due to excessive bureaucracy and government control. They highlighted the growing politicisation of business policy, noting that *“in economic disputes, courts overwhelmingly rule in favour of state-owned businesses rather than private enterprises.”*

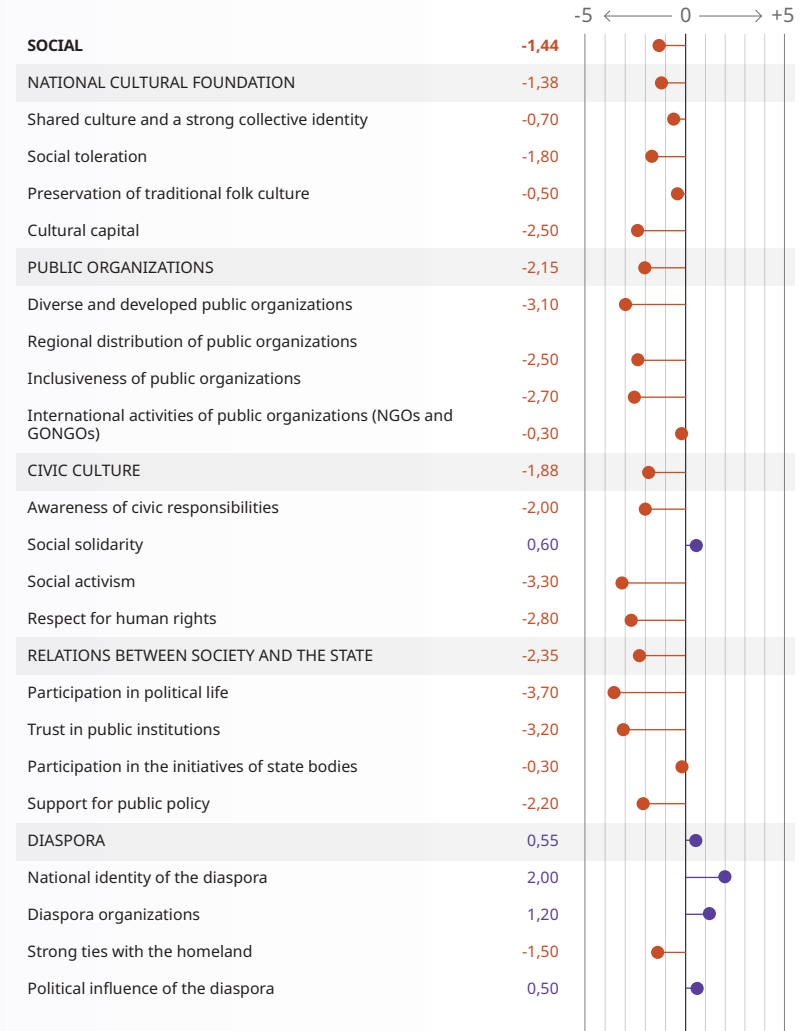


## SOCIAL SPHERE

The state of the **social sphere** has deteriorated further. In 2024, experts rated this sphere at -1.44, down from -1.28 in 2023. A four-year comparison shows that the **social sphere** is the only one that has experienced a continuous, albeit gradual, decline in ratings each year.

In the **diaspora** area, all indicators saw a decline over the reporting period — a trend that the Index has recorded annually. However, three indicators still remain in positive territory: *national identity of the diaspora* (2.00, down by 1.23 points), *diaspora organisations* (1.20, down by 0.75 points), and *political influence of the diaspora* (0.50, down by 1.72 points). In 2024, the *strong ties with the homeland* indicator dropped below zero, falling to -1.50 (compared to 0.41 last year).

Experts assessed the diaspora’s activity (0.55) more negatively than in previous years, particularly in terms of *national identity*, *political influence*, and *strong ties with the homeland*. They note that “Belarusian civic structures abroad are being re-established and newly created, but few can operate in a legal and fiscal framework as officially registered entities within the countries where Belarusians have relocated.” Additionally, they highlight that “while the latest wave of Belarusian migrants in Western countries does not yet constitute a critical mass within the Belarusian society, it has the potential to drive a rapid qualitative shift in the long term, if the country moves toward democratisation.”





The **civic culture** area also saw a sharp decline in ratings. The most critical situation was recorded for *social activism* (-3.20). Two other indicators were assessed as being in crisis: *respect for human rights* (-2.80) and *awareness of civic responsibilities* (-2.00). The only indicator in this area to receive a positive score was *social solidarity*, which reflects levels of mutual aid and horizontal connections within society (0.60).

As before, the most concerning area remains **relations between society and the state** (-2.35). This rating is primarily driven by low scores for *participation in political life* (-3.70) and *trust in public institutions* (-3.20). Additionally, in 2024, the state revisited its policy towards NGOs, mandating that they obtain official recognition from the government. This further reinforced the trend of expanding government-organised non-governmental organisations (GONGOs).

The situation in the **public organisations** area has slightly improved, rising from -3.02 to -2.15. Experts noted improvements across all indicators, although they remain in the negative zone:

- *Diverse and developed public organisations*: -3.10
- *Inclusiveness of public organisations*: -2.70
- *Regional distribution of public organisations*: -2.50
- *International activities of public organisations (NGOs and GONGOs)*: -0.30

Experts observed a resurgence of activity among some organisations, mainly in the form of grassroots initiatives and communities. However, these remain largely underground: “*Despite the country’s isolation, active citizen groups within Belarus manage to maintain and develop international contacts, though often not directly, but through organisations registered in the EU.*”

Nevertheless, in 2024, the authorities continued to stigmatise civil society organisations as “extremist.” Over the past year, 54 organisations were added to the official extremist list. In August, the government tightened legislation on foreign aid, criminalising its use. An additional 246 third-sector organisations were shut down in 2024. New legislation also criminalised any support for LGBTQ groups, endangering organisations providing assistance to these communities.

Meanwhile, organisations in exile have expanded their advocacy efforts on behalf of Belarusian society at the international level, particularly through platforms such as “*the Council of Europe’s Contact Group on Belarus and the Strategic Dialogue between the United States and the Belarusian Democratic Movement.*”

Following a sharp decline in 2022, the **national cultural foundation** area has remained relatively stable, with a rating of -1.38. Expert assessments of *cultural capital* (-2.50), *social toleration* (-1.80), and *shared culture and strong collective identity* (-0.70) have remained at the same levels as the previous year, reflecting continued stagnation in citizens’ engagement with art and culture, acceptance of linguistic, national, and religious diversity, and the collective identity of the majority of the population.



## CONCLUSIONS

The primary goal of the Resilience Index is to identify Belarus's pressure points as a complex system, as well as the spheres in which the Belarusian state and society demonstrate the most resilience — the ability to overcome crises, adapt to their consequences, and evolve. To assess resilience across four key spheres — the *political, economic, social, and information spheres* — we surveyed 40 Belarusian experts.

In 2024, Belarus made no progress toward stability or systemic adaptability in the face of crises. The country's overall Resilience Index score stands at -1.94, nearly unchanged from last year's score of -1.96, indicating that the crisis persists. As authoritarian institutions and Alexander Lukashenka's personal position have strengthened in 2024, the political decisions and legislative changes introduced over the past year have only weakened the country's resilience. These developments have deepened Belarus's dependence on a centralised political and economic model, limiting opportunities for diversification, adaptability, and crisis response.

Experts noted some positive trends, including the release of political prisoners, an increase in gold reserves, GDP growth, and employment stability, as well as the continued activity of Belarusian civil society structures in exile. However, these improvements were overshadowed by a range of negative developments. The strengthening of authoritarian practices was reflected in Lukashenka assuming the role of head of the

All-Belarusian People's Assembly, the staging of another sham election, and the introduction of a law guaranteeing Lukashenka's personal security. The growing influence of the security apparatus, increased pressure on vulnerable groups such as the Polish minority and LGBTQ individuals, and further purges of the information space, accompanied by an expansion of state propaganda, were also identified as critical concerns. Belarus's economic dependence on Russia has deepened, while the militarisation of education, politics, and culture accelerated.

The results of this year's index once again underscore Belarus's systemic vulnerabilities. The country remains constrained by limited economic ties, large-scale repression, political isolation, and a government that prioritises retaining power over ensuring citizens' well-being. The potential of civil society and independent media operating from abroad, previously noted in past Index reports, is now under threat due to dwindling international support. Normalising the political sphere remains the key to restoring resilience in the economic, social, and information spheres.

## METHODOLOGY

The methodology of the Belarus Resilience Index is based on an analysis of key spheres of societal life — political, information, social, and economic — through the lens of resilience, understood as a system’s ability to adapt to crises. We proceed from the assumption that any system seeks to overcome external and internal dysfunctions, and that each of its elements (or subsystems) contributes in some way to maintaining its stability. In practice, no social system or subsystem can remain in a state of perfect equilibrium. However, resilience emerges through interaction with other systems or subsystems, allowing for either development or regression. Thus, our focus is specifically on resilience as a characteristic of a system that reflects its ability to maintain its identity and evolve by overcoming various stresses and crises.

**Resilience** is a concept that captures a system’s ability to respond effectively to external challenges and internal crises. It combines sustainability, flexibility, and preparedness for internal and external stresses. For this Index, we relied on the **City Resilience Index** and Judith Rodin’s framework of resilience,<sup>1</sup> as well as elements of the **Asia Power Index** methodology.

<sup>1</sup> Rodin, Judith (2014), The Resilience Dividend: Being Strong in a World Where Things Go Wrong

*The division of societal life into four spheres follows a conventional structure. In the Belarus Resilience Index, these spheres are defined as follows:*



**Economic sphere** – covering industry and the distribution of the country’s resources (both tangible and intangible);



**Political sphere** – which refers to the relations between various subjects and the authorities;



**Social sphere** – covering the conception and affirmation of supra-individual phenomena and actors comprising groups of people;



**Information sphere** – the sphere of creating, transmitting, and retransmitting meaning.



The inclusion of the **political, social, and economic** spheres follows standard approaches to segmenting social systems. Traditionally, a **cultural sphere** would occupy the fourth category as a space for cultural production, assimilation, and heritage. However, due to the abstract nature of “culture” and the need for concrete analytical categories, we instead designated **information** as the fourth sphere. Functionally, the **information sphere** corresponds to “culture” and is one of the most strategically significant factors in social dynamics.

The system assessed in the Index is divided into four spheres, 18 areas, and 77 indicators. Each sphere consists of 4–5 areas, which are essential for the resilience of both the individual spheres and the system as a whole. Each area is further broken down into 4–5 indicators. The names and descriptions of indicators are formulated in a normative manner—they represent the ideal states of the structural elements that contribute to resilience and development.

**FACTORS THAT ENHANCE RESILIENCE INCLUDE:**

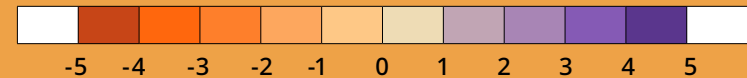
- *diversity, development, openness, and flexibility, which increase a system’s adaptability and its ability to withstand challenges and crises.*

**CONVERSELY, FACTORS THAT WEAKEN RESILIENCE INCLUDE:**

- *monopolisation, homogenisation, and the conservation of the status quo, which make systems fragile and more vulnerable to stress and upheaval.*

The expert assessment procedure involves comparing the current state of affairs with an ideal state using an 11-point scale, as follows:

- **from -5 to -4** – collapse or near collapse
- **from -3.99 to 3** – critical condition
- **from -2.99 to -1.00** – crisis
- **from -0.99 to +0.99** – stagnation
- **from +1 to +2.99** – stable situation with some growth
- **from +3 to +3.99** – sustainable growth (prevailing growth)
- **from +4 to +5** – general systemic progress



When analysing indicator trends in comparison with previous editions of the Index, we considered a difference of 0.5 points or more to be significant enough to warrant attention:

- A difference of **0.5 points or less** was considered negligible;
- A difference of **0.5 to 1.0 points** was deemed insignificant;
- A difference of **1.1 to 2.0 points** was considered significant;
- A difference of **2.1 points or more** was classified as fundamental.



The concept of resilience underlies the development of international documents, political programs, and academic conferences. Resilience refers to the ability of systems to react to crises through preparation, risk management, and adaptation to changing conditions.

Resilience is the ability of any system (individual, social, or organisational) to prepare for failures brought about by crises, recover after shocks or stresses, and adapt to new circumstances, drawing on lessons from past experience. The concept of dynamic sustainability is relevant to many fields; it can be used to analyse countries, regions, ecosystems, companies, architecture, etc.

The use of the resilience framework became particularly relevant following the 9/11 terrorist attacks. Initially applied to crisis prevention and system recovery in counterterrorism, the concept has since been adapted to various fields (Borovikova, 2018). It is most commonly used in the study of climate resilience and natural disasters. However, in recent years, resilience has also been applied in fields as diverse as politics, education, energy, and the digital space.

A resilient system possesses five key characteristics: *awareness*, *diversity*, *integration*, *self-regulation*, and *adaptation* (Rodin, 2014).

- **Awareness** refers to an understanding of strengths and weaknesses, as well as the ability to update information, reassess situations, and monitor changes effectively.
- **Diversity** ensures that multiple actors, different approaches, and varied scenarios contribute to the system's preparedness for future crises. Critical functions should not be concentrated in a single element of the system.
- **Integration** facilitates transparent communication between actors, enabling coordinated and effective decision-making. A resilient system must balance both diversity and cohesion — differences of opinion and alternative solutions strengthen the system, while integration ensures that ideas and stakeholders are aligned in achieving shared objectives.
- **Self-regulation** means that failure does not necessarily lead to a crisis, as the system is prepared for disruptions and can "fail safely."





- **Adaptation** refers to the system's ability to adjust and evolve in response to new circumstances, allowing it to recover to a functional state after a crisis. A resilient system does not aim for permanent stability but instead prioritises continuous adaptation to shocks and stresses.

The goal of resilience-building is not to create a rigid and unchanging system, but rather to expand a country's capacity for development under new conditions, turning crises into opportunities for strengthening and innovation. By fostering resilience, new and unexpected connections, opportunities, and pathways for growth can emerge. This is what Judith Rodin terms the *resilience dividend*.

A resilient system is dynamic. It is built on preparedness, accountability, and the activation of a system's dormant elements. It requires cooperation between formal and informal actors, as well as the use of diverse technologies and tools. There are four stages in the evolution of a resilient system: growth, conservation, crisis (triggered by reaching a threshold), and reorganisation/adaptation. To analyse a system's weaknesses and enhance its resilience, it is essential to obtain feedback from its participants. Structural factors — such as limited access to education or high unemployment — can have cascading effects on specific issues, such as crime rates. Therefore, addressing surface-level problems requires a holistic approach that considers the structure of the system as a whole. For example, it is unlikely that a country that relies entirely on environmentally harmful technologies will achieve lasting prosperity.

To assess Belarus as a system, we propose an expanded methodological approach that takes into account political polarisation, the increased influence of individual actors, and the agency of groups that were not previously decisive stakeholders in shaping resilience. The Belarus Resilience Index incorporates the country's political, social, and economic realities, ensuring that the concept of resilience is applied in a way that reflects the specific challenges Belarus faces, rather than being simply adapted from fields such as climate science or engineering.

A key aspect of resilience analysis is the expansion of tools for development under new conditions, where crises serve as opportunities to strengthen the system and explore new, unexpected connections and solutions. Resilience is not about eliminating uncertainty but about ensuring that systems remain adaptable in the face of it — in other words, reaping the resilience dividend.

It is also crucial to recognise that resilience in one system — whether an individual, a city, or a country — can sometimes come at the expense of another. We propose an expanded methodological approach that takes into account political polarisation, the increased influence of individual actors, and the agency of groups that were not previously decisive stakeholders in shaping the country's stability before the political crisis.



## ALESIA RUDNIK

Director of the Center for New Ideas. She comes from Hrodna and graduated from European Humanities University (political science). In Sweden, she received two master's degrees in political science and journalism and is currently writing her PhD thesis on technology and democratization in autocracies. Alesia worked as an analyst and wrote for Belarus Digest, Atlantic Council. For three years, she was the chairperson of Belarusians in Sweden. In 2022, Alesia became a first Belarusian to be awarded with the Swedish prize "European of the Year". She has publications in various international editions. Areas of interest: technology development and democratization, protest movements, and political technologies.



## HENADZ KORSHUNAU

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## ECONOMIC

AREA	INDICATOR	INDICATOR EXPLANATION
<b>LABOR</b>	Employment	Targeted policy of creating good conditions for job growth
	Effective management of unemployment	Inclusive labor policy with mechanisms for fostering the skills needed on the current and emerging labor market
	Rational distribution of income	Creation of conditions that stimulate reasonable income growth and its fair distribution
	Alignment of labor migration with national interests	Effective measures aimed at attracting and retaining highly educated and qualified personnel
<b>ECONOMIC BASE</b>	Diversification of foreign markets	Effective diversification of foreign markets to mitigate economic risks
	Regional distribution of production	Reasonable distribution of production throughout the country to achieve both an economic and social effect
	Sectoral economic policy	Analysis of indicators in various industries with a primary focus on the most promising sectors
	Equitable conditions for all forms of business	Creation of an equitable and favorable environment for businesses of different forms and sizes: public, private, foreign; small, medium, and large.
<b>BUDGETARY AND FINANCIAL ACTIVITIES</b>	Sufficient gold reserves	Sufficient gold reserves to overcome potential crises
	Trade balance	Maintenance of a favorable (positive) trade balance
	Manageable public debt	Sufficient funds for servicing and/or reducing public debt
	GDP growth	Gradual and steady GDP growth
<b>RESOURCES FOR DEVELOPMENT</b>	Favorable investment climate	Favorable and consistently improving conditions for attracting domestic and foreign investment

AREA	INDICATOR	INDICATOR EXPLANATION
	Pursuit of high technology and innovation	Emphasis on high-tech and innovative industries
	Encouragement of private enterprise	Incentive system for fostering private enterprise at all levels
	Participation in international production chains	Integration of the country's economy into broader economic systems

## POLITICAL

AREA	INDICATOR	INDICATOR EXPLANATION
<b>PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION SYSTEM</b>	Effective coordination between state actors within the government	Comprehensive and flexible communication (including feedback) among various branches, levels, and actors within the government
	Rational decision-making processes	Transparent, inclusive, and comprehensive development of policies and strategies for government planning, decision-making, and policy execution.
	Mutual understanding between the authorities and various interest groups	The authorities consider the interests of various groups in the country (social, political, ethnic, etc.); there is inclusive and constructive cooperation among all actors involved in public decision-making
	Proactive collaboration	The state supports the development of civil society, seeking to include active-minded citizens and their organizations/associations in the development of the country at all levels
	Crisis monitoring and management	Comprehensive, high-quality state and independent monitoring of the situation in the country (economic, technological, ecological, etc.), allowing the state to manage emergencies holistically
<b>LAW AND ORDER</b>	Rule of law and human rights	Public order and security systems are based on respect for human rights; they are kept in check by laws
	Fair and accessible justice	Effective, independent, impartial justice mechanisms
	Competent and conscientious police force	The police conscientiously and effectively perform their duty to keep citizens safe.
	Active corruption prevention	Transparent and effective approach to combatting corruption in all spheres of life

AREA	INDICATOR	INDICATOR EXPLANATION
	Effective crime prevention and deterrence system	Comprehensive, cooperative, and strategic crime deterrence mechanisms
<b>SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE</b>	Effective social security system	Effective social security system for vulnerable groups
	Reliable healthcare system	Affordable, high-quality medical care for all groups (covering aspects ranging from sanitary control to ambulance services)
	High-quality and inclusive education	The education system inclusively provides the entire population with the objective, scientific knowledge necessary for personal development and social competence.
	Effective pension system	The pension system works reliably, ensuring a decent level of well-being for its participants.
	Developed, modern housing infrastructure	Well-maintained engineering systems; logistics, transport, telecommunications, and other infrastructure; stable operation of rapid response services of various types
<b>DOMESTIC POLICY</b>	Transparent and legitimate electoral processes	The government fulfils its obligations to ensure democratic, fair, and free elections
	Functioning separation of powers	The executive, judicial, and legislative branches function independently of one another
	Strong local government	The local authorities have enough autonomy to make independent decisions at their own level; they are afforded opportunities to influence political decision-making at higher levels
	Healthy political competition	Favorable environment for the development of political parties, organizations, and other actors in the political process
	Tolerance of the political activity of citizens	Citizens' political activity is valued by the state, which actively fosters civic education and encourages political involvement
<b>FOREIGN POLICY</b>	Friendly relations with other countries	Developed network of diplomatic missions, absence of diplomatic scandals
	Improvements to the country's image	Purposeful attempts by the authorities to improve the country's image abroad through broad political, economic, cultural, sporting, and other global ties.

AREA	INDICATOR	INDICATOR EXPLANATION
	Support for citizens abroad	Systematic cooperation with Belarusians abroad; friendly and long-term relations with representatives of the diaspora
	Contribution to the activities of international organizations and associations	Transparent and mutually beneficial relations with a wide range of foreign policy partners in supranational and international associations
	Emphasis on good-neighborliness	Unequivocal respect for sovereignty and respect for neighboring countries

## SOCIAL

AREA	INDICATOR	INDICATOR EXPLANATION
<b>NATIONAL CULTURAL FOUNDATION</b>	Shared culture and a strong collective identity	Existence of a collective consciousness and culture that most of the country's inhabitants identify with
	Social toleration	Mutual acceptance of different groups (linguistic, national, religious, etc.)
	Preservation of traditional folk culture	Popularization of various elements of traditional culture (cuisine, handicrafts, clothing, etc.)
	Cultural capital	Familiarity with classical elements of world culture and modern trends: theaters, museums, exhibitions, etc.
<b>PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS</b>	Diverse and developed public organizations	Effectively functioning public organizations of various types (territorial, professional, human rights, ecological, religious, etc.)
	Regional distribution of public organizations	Public organizations cover all regions of the country
	Inclusiveness of public organizations	All population groups are represented by public organizations, which seek to resolve their problems and defend their rights
	International activities of public organizations (NGOs and GONGOs)	Public organizations participate in the activities of a wide range of foreign and international organizations



AREA	INDICATOR	INDICATOR EXPLANATION
<b>CIVIC CULTURE</b>	Awareness of civic responsibilities	People understand and accept their duties as citizens; they take responsibility for what's happening in the country
	Social solidarity	Solidarity and mutual aid at the neighborhood, territorial, professional, and other levels
	Social activism	Citizens actively participate in public life; they express their opinions and take part in solving social problems.
	Respect for human rights	Understanding of the importance of human rights, respect for them as common and personal values
<b>RELATIONS BETWEEN SOCIETY AND THE STATE</b>	Participation in political life	Active participation of citizens in the political life of the country
	Trust in public institutions	Trust of citizens in governance structures and agencies that uphold public order
	Participation in the initiatives of state bodies	Most citizens take part in events or initiatives instigated by the authorities in some way.
	Support for public policy	As a whole, society supports the government's policies
<b>DIASPORA</b>	National identity of the diaspora	Developed national and civic consciousness of the diaspora
	Diaspora organizations	A developed network of institutional and informal organizations connecting Belarusians abroad with each other and with their homeland
	Strong ties with the homeland	Maintenance of regular, productive ties with the homeland; active support for the homeland
	Political influence of the diaspora	Sufficient skills and resources to lobby for the country's interests abroad

## INFORMATION

AREA	INDICATOR	INDICATOR EXPLANATION
<b>INFRASTRUCTURE</b>	Diverse, accessible information and telecommunication networks	Diverse and competitive systems that ensure the distribution of telecommunication services throughout the country.





AREA	INDICATOR	INDICATOR EXPLANATION
	Fast information system	Up-to-date information can be rapidly dispersed (the vast majority of the country is covered by television and radio signals, broadband internet, and postal services)
	Prices for telecommunication services	Affordable prices for telecommunication services
	Widespread media literacy	Inclusive efforts to raise awareness in society of the risks and opportunities of using various sources of information ("media security")
<b>FRIENDLY ENVIRONMENT FOR MEDIA WORK</b>	Safety for journalists	Opportunities for unhindered and safe journalistic work
	Absence of legal barriers	Independent media outlets can be registered; they can function freely within the bounds of the law
	Absence of technical barriers	Absence of artificial technological barriers: access to printing houses, telecommunication networks, and TV/radio stations
	Absence of ideological barriers	The activities of the media are not subject to ideologically motivated censorship from the government
<b>MEDIA DIVERSITY</b>	Multi-level media sources	Developed network of national, regional, and local media
	De-monopolized media space	Accessibility and equal conditions for various types of media: state-owned and private, pro-regime and oppositional
	Media openness	Opportunities for foreign and international media to work freely in the country
	Support for domestic media outlets	The government actively supports domestic media outlets
<b>RESPONSIBILITY OF MEDIA ACTORS</b>	Inclusiveness of publications and topics	The media represent and defend the interests of various social groups and societal strata.
	Independent information policy	The media can apply their own independent information policy
	Standards of journalistic ethics	The media generally conduct their work properly, on the basis of mutual respect
	Democratic nature of the state's information policy	The information policy of the state aims to ensure free access to information, equitable conditions for the media, and the support and protection of public interests in the information field

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