



Policy brief

56

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Media Literacy Index 2021

Double Trouble: Resilience to Fake News at the Time of Covid-19 Infodemic

Marin Lessenski

Contents

Double Trouble: Resilience to Fake News at	2
Time of Covid-19 Infodemic	2
Context of Media Literacy Index 2021: Are We (not) all in this together?	2
How the predictors are measured: about the index methodology	4
What the numbers are saying about 2021: the index scores and ranking	5
Changes in the index: progress and regress	7
Clusters in the Media Literacy Index 2021	9
The Media Literacy Index clusters on the map	10
What does the changes in clusters tell us?	11
Conclusion: education still remains the top recommendation	12
Table 1: Methodology	5
Table 2: Media Literacy Index 2021 and changes in scores and ranks vs 2019, 2018 and 2017	8
Table 3: Clusters in the Media Literacy Index 2021	9
Table 4: Comparison of clusters 2021, 2019 and 2018	
Table 5: Data and sources	13
Figure 1: Media Literacy Index 2021 ranking and scores	6
Figure 2: Map of the Media Literacy Index 2021 clusters	10

Media Literacy Index 2021

Double Trouble: Resilience to Fake News at Time of Covid-19 Infodemic

Context of Media Literacy Index 2021: Are We (not) all in this together?

At the beginning of the Covid-19 pandemic it was assumed that solidarity will trump all other considerations as we all were in this together. By and large, this was the case and the past year witnessed examples of common action, compassion and cooperation. At the same time, we have witnessed serious divides between countries as well as within societies along the lines of Covid-19 skepticism in the early stages to vaccine nationalism more recently. A large portion of the lack of solidarity and cooperation has been related to the abundance of fake news and misinformation, which has accompanied the Covid-19 a pandemic.

A fitting buzzword for this - "infodemic" – has been in widespread usage along with the spread of Covid-19 in 2020 and 2021. A portmanteau word combining "information" and "epidemic" coined in 2003¹, the term signifies the deluge of fake news and disinformation amid too much information. As bad as the Covid-19 outbreak is the infodemic has made the matters worse, literally affecting health and lives of

¹"Infodemic", https://www.macmillandictionary.com/buzzword/entries/infodemic.html

individuals and harming the societies' organized efforts to combat the pandemic. For one, the infodemic creates a trust crisis eroding trust as in the medical and scientific knowledge and institutions, which have been the first responders in the health crisis, as well trust crisis of governance, necessary to lead and manage the response to an increasingly all-encompassing crisis – health, social and economic.

The issue of trust has already been tackled in the previous edition of the Media Literacy Index, (index 2019²). The report examined the relationship between the media literacy scores and trust in scientists and journalists, which resulted in two observations. First, countries with higher distrust in scientists have lower levels of media literacy. Second, countries with high level of distrust in journalists have generally low scores in media literacy. In both cases, the opposite was true too – higher media literacy scores were associated with lower levels of distrust in scientists and journalists. Actually, the data used for comparison on trust levels in index 2019 was drawn from a study involving on vaccine hesitancy on account on the growing measles cases in Europe at the time.³ Vaccine hesitancy made for an indicative case study as it combines most of the elements related to disinformation with a deliberately misleading source, misreporting by media, global conspiracy theories and public scare with dire public health consequences. But few, if anyone, would have predicted the scale of the Covid-19 crisis and the now enveloping vaccination campaign and the increased influence of scientists in tackling the pandemic and the responsibility of journalists in tackling the infodemic.

The infodemic challenge at a time of Covid-19 was quickly recognized not only as national but also as an international problem with the European Union⁴, the Council of Europe, OECD⁵ and of course the World Health Organization⁶ setting up their own strategies and approaches.

Along with the broad strategies, there were more practical responses. The European External Action Service published hands-on advice with some basics of media literacy⁷. Fact-checking organizations such as Poynter have set up special sections on Covid-19⁸ and there has been a telling advice column on "How do you talk with a loved one who believes pandemic conspiracy theories?" ⁹

https://wellcome.org/sites/default/files/wellcome-global-monitor-2018.pdf

² The Media Literacy Index 2019: Just think about it, OSIS, 2019, https://osis.bg/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/MediaLiteracyIndex2019 -ENG.pdf

³ Gallup (2019) Wellcome Global Monitor – First Wave Findings.

⁴ "Tackling COVID-19 disinformation - Getting the facts right", Joint Communication, 10 June 2020, https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/ip_20_1006

⁵ OECD Policy Responses to Coronavirus (COVID-19), Combatting COVID-19 disinformation on online platforms 3 July 2020, https://www.oecd.org/coronavirus/policy-responses/combatting-covid-19-disinformation-on-online-platforms-d854ec48/

⁶ Managing the COVID-19 infodemic: Promoting healthy behaviours and mitigating the harm from misinformation and disinformation, 23 September 2020, https://www.who.int/news/item/23-09-2020-managing-the-covid-19-infodemic-promoting-healthy-behaviours-and-mitigating-the-harm-from-misinformation-and-disinformation

⁷ Building immunity to disinformation, 18 January 2021, https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage_en/91549/Building%20immunity%20to%20disinformation

⁸ The CoronaVirusFacts/DatosCoronaVirus Alliance Database, https://www.poynter.org/ifcn-covid-19-misinformation/

⁹ How do you talk with a loved one who believes pandemic conspiracy theories?, 6 December 2020, https://www.theatlantic.com/health/archive/2020/12/misinformation-mailbag/617311/

Another issue brought with the Covid-19 infodemic was that it also entered the political realm thus contributing to polarization. Lockdowns, medical masks and vaccines was soon added to the arsenal of "culture wars", adding to old or creating new rifts with adverse effects.

The Media Literacy Index was created in 2017 as a response to the 'post-truth' phenomenon¹¹ to measure the potential for resilience to 'post-truth', 'fake-news' and their consequence in a number of European countries and contribute to finding solutions. The Media Literacy Index 2021, presented in this report, is the fourth edition of the index after those in 2017¹², 2018¹³ and 2019¹⁴. The Media Literacy Index scores and ranks 35 countries in Europe according to their capacity to withstand the 'post-truth' and its negative ramification. The main assumption is that indicators for media freedom, quality of education, interpersonal trust and e-participation can serve as predictors to the level of resilience of a society to fake news, post-truth and related phenomenon. The concept of media literacy is employed to gauge the potential for resilience to the negative effects of diminishing public trust, severely polarized politics, and fragmented media, among others.

How the predictors are measured: about the index methodology

The current paper contains an instrument for measuring if not media literacy itself, but predictors of media literacy with the aim to rank societies in their potential for resilience in the face of the post-truth phenomenon. The model employs several indicators (Table 1) that correspond to different aspects related to media literacy and the post-truth phenomena. Level of education, state of the media, trust in society and the usage of new tools of participation seem to be the predictors of media literacy. As they have different importance, the indicators are included with a corresponding weight. The media freedom and education indicators carry most weight, with reading literacy attributed relatively most importance in education. Trust and e-participation indicators are attributed the remaining share. The index converts

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¹⁰ Politics is wrecking America's pandemic response Jonathan Rothwell and Christos Makridis, Thursday, 17 September, 2020, https://www.brookings.edu/blog/up-front/2020/09/17/politics-is-wrecking-americas-pandemic-response/

response/

The report on the first Media Literacy Index 2017 entitled "Can this be true? Predictors of media literacy and resilience to the post-truth phenomenon in Europe", OSIS, 2017, is available at https://osis.bg/?p=437&lang=en
"Can this be true? Predictors of media literacy and resilience to the post-truth phenomenon in Europe", OSI-Sofia 2017, https://osis.bg/?p=437&lang=en

^{13 &}quot;Media Literacy Index 2018: Common Sense Wanted", OSIS, 2018, https://osis.bg/?p=121&lang=en

¹⁴ The Media Literacy Index 2019: Just think about it, OSIS, 2019, https://osis.bg/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/MediaLiteracyIndex2019 -ENG.pdf

the data into standardized scores from 0 to 100 (lowest to highest) and ranks the countries from 1 to 35 (highest to lowest position).¹⁵

Table 1: Methodology

Methodology of the Media Literacy Index					
Indicators	Weight				
Media Freedom indicators					
Freedom of the Press score by Freedom House	20%				
Press Freedom Index by Reporters without Borders	20%				
Education indicators					
PISA score in reading literacy (OECD)	30%				
PISA score in scientific literacy (OECD)	5%				
PISA score mathematical literacy (OECD)	5%				
Share of population (%) with university degree (Eurostat)	5%				
Trust					
Trust in others (Eurostat)	10%				
New forms of participation					
E-participation Index (UN)	5%				

Table 1. The table shows the methodology of the media literacy index with the groups of indicators, sources and their respective weight (importance). The data are converted into standardized scores (z-scores) from 100 to 0, highest to lowest.

What the numbers are saying about 2021: the index scores and ranking

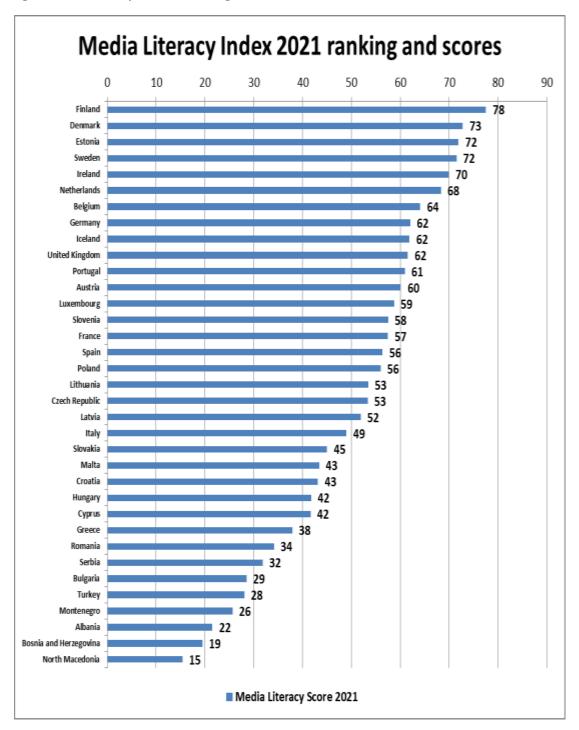
In Media Literacy Index 2021 ranking, Finland is at 1st place in with 78 points, followed by Denmark which is 2nd with 73 points, Estonia (3rd place with 72 points), Sweden (4th place with 72 points) and Ireland (5th place with 70 points). These countries are the top five performers among the 35 European countries in the ranking from 1 (highest) to 35 (lowest) on a scale from 0 to 100 points (lowest to highest score). Finland is well ahead of the rest with a lead of 5 points over the second best ranking country Denmark (78 points vs 73 points respectively).

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¹⁵ The used methodology and sources are based on the Catch-Up Index of the Open Society Institute - Sofia; the latest available data is as of 10 February 2021. You can find description of the methodology in the report "Running on Fumes: Findings of the European Catch-Up Index 2019", available in the Documents and Links section of the website www.thecatchupindex.eu and https://osis.bg/?p=3601&lang=en. Missing data were replaced using imputation procedures as described in the report.

At the bottom of the ranking are North Macedonia (35th place with 15 points), Bosnia and Herzegovina (34th place with 19 points), Albania (33rd place with 22 points), Montenegro (32nd place with 26 points) and Turkey (31st place with 28 points).

Figure 1: Media Literacy Index 2021 ranking and scores



The figure shows the 35 European countries, included in the index, ranked according to their media literacy scores for 2021. The index uses standardized scores from 100 to 0, highest to lowest.

Changes in the index: progress and regress

The index has had so far three editions— in 2017, 2018 and 2019 — which provides the opportunity to track the progress and regress of the countries in the index over the years. There are two ways to measure this — through the changes in scores (0-100, lowest to highest) and through the changes in the ranking (1-35, highest to lowest).

Turkey made the biggest progress with regard to scores with 14 points over its result in 2017. This allowed it to move 3 positions up the ranking in 2017, but the country still remains among the last five countries out of 35 in the index. A closer look at the indicators show Turkey's current result is due only to the improved scores in the education indicators (PISA) over the previous editions of the index.

In terms of improvement in scores, the countries with significant progress are North Macedonia (+5 points), Estonia (+3) and Sweden (+3) compared to 2017. In terms of improvement in the ranking, France (+4 positions up), Portgugal (+3), Iceland (+3), Estonia (+2), Sweden (+2), Lithuania (+2) are among the countries that moved up the ranking compared to 2017.

In terms of decrease in the ranking, the highest drop over the years is registered by Slovenia (-5 positions), the Netherlands (-3), Austria (-2), Poland (-2), the Czech Republic (-2), Latvia (-2) and BiH (-2). In terms of decrease in scores, the biggest drop compared to previous years is registred by Slovakia (-6 points), Latvia (-4), Romania (-4), Montegenro (-4) BiH (-4) Slovenia (-3), Czech Republic (-3) as well as Malta (-3).

The overall improvement by score and in the ranking over the years is registered by Estonia, Sweden and Ireland, which are good performers anyway, occupying 3rd, 4th and 5th place in the index 2021, as they generally improve along the main indicators for education, media freedom and trust in people. The overall deterioration in both their scores and in the ranking over the years is registered in the cases of Latvia (20th place in 2021), Slovenia (14th place in 2021) and Bosnia and Herzegova (34th place in 2021) as they worsen their performance along the main indicators of the index.

Table 2: Media Literacy Index 2021 and changes in scores and ranks vs 2019, 2018 and 2017

Media	Literacy	/ Index 2	021 and	change	vs 2019,	2018 ar	nd 2017	
Country	Score 202 1	Rank 2021	Score change vs 2019	Score change vs 2018	Score change vs 2017	Rank change vs 2019	Rank change vs 2018	Rank change vs 2017
Finland	78	1	-1	1	1	0	0	0
Denmark	73	2	1	1	1	0	0	0
Estonia	72	3	2	3	4	2	2	2
Sweden	72	4	1	2	4	0	0	2
Ireland	70	5	1	2	2	1	1	-1
Netherlands	68	6	-3	-2	-3	-3	-3	-3
Belgium	64	7	-2	0	1	0	0	0
Germany	62	8	-2	0	-1	0	0	0
Iceland	62	9	0	0	3	0	0	3
United Kingdom	62	10	1	1	2	2	0	1
Portugal	61	11	-1	2	2	0	4	3
Austria	60	12	1	0	0	1	0	-2
Luxembourg	59	13	-3	-1	0	-3	1	0
Slovenia	58	14	-1	-3	-3	0	-3	-5
France	57	15	-1	1	3	0	1	4
Spain	56	16	-1	-3	-1	0	-3	0
Poland	56	17	3	1	-2	1	1	-2
Lithuania	53	18	1	-1	-1	1	2	2
Czech Republic	53	19	3	-1	-3	2	0	-2
Latvia	52	20	-2	-4	-4	-3	-3	-2
Italy	49	21	-2	-1	-1	-1	0	1
Slovakia	45	22	1	-3	-6	0	0	-1
Malta	43	23	0	-3	-3	0	0	0
Croatia	43	24	0	-1	-3	1	0	0
Hungary	42	25	1	2	0	1	1	1
Cyprus	42	26	-1	-2	-1	-2	-1	-1
Greece	38	27	-3	-1	0	0	0	1
Romania	34	28	-1	-4	-4	0	0	-1
Serbia	32	29	1	1	-2	1	0	0
Bulgaria	29	30	-3	-1	-2	-1	0	0
Turkey	28	31	9	12	14	3	3	3
Montenegro	26	32	-3	-2	-4	-1	-1	-1
Albania	22	33	0	-1	0	0	0	0
BiH	19	34	-5	-5	-4	-2	-2	-2
North Macedonia	15	35	3	5	5	0	0	0

The table shows the 35 European countries included in the index ranked according to their 2021 score as well as the change in scores and rank of a country compared to the index editions of 2019, 2018 and 2017.

Clusters in the Media Literacy Index 2021

Table 3: Clusters in the Media Literacy Index 2021

Clusters in the Media Literacy Index 2021						
Rank	Country	Score	Cluster			
1	Finland	78				
2	Denmark	73				
3	Estonia	72	1			
4	Sweden	72	•			
5	Ireland	70				
6	Netherlands	68				
7	Belgium	64				
8	Germany	62				
9	Iceland	62				
10	UK	62				
11	Portugal	61				
12	Austria	60	2			
13	Luxembourg	59				
14	Slovenia	58				
15	France	57				
16	Spain	56				
17	Poland	56				
18	Lithuania	53				
19	Czech Republic	53				
20	Latvia	52				
21	Italy	49				
22	Slovakia	45	3			
23	Malta	43				
24	Croatia	43				
25	Hungary	42				
	Cyprus	42				
	Greece	38				
28	Romania	34				
	Serbia	32				
	Bulgaria	29	4			
	Turkey	28				
32	<u> </u>	26				
	Albania	22				
	BiH	19	5			
35		15				

The clusters are groups of countries with similar characteristics along the line of the Media Literacy Index 2021. The clusters are also hierarchical – from the top performers in the first cluster to the last in the fifth cluster.

The first cluster is composed of a small group of six countreis from Finland to the Netherlands, which are the best perfomers in index 2021. The second cluster is the biggest one with 11 out of 35 countries, starting with Belgium (7th place with 64 points) to Poland (17th place with 56 points).

The third cluster is composed of 9 countries out of 35 in total from Lithuania (18th with 53 points) to Hungary (25th with 42 points) and Cyprus (26th with 42 points). The fourth cluster is composed of six countries – from Greece (27th place with 38 points) to Montenegro (32nd with 26 points). The fifth and last cluster is the smallest one, comprised of three countries – Albania (33rd with 22 points), BiH (34th with 19 points) and North Macedonia (35th place with 15 points).

The table visualizes as follows: (a) The five clusters, based on the 2021 index scores of the countries. (b) The 35 countries in the index, ranked according to their index score. The standardized scores are from 100 to 0, highest to lowest. The ranking positions are from 1 to 35, highest to lowest.

The Media Literacy Index clusters on the map

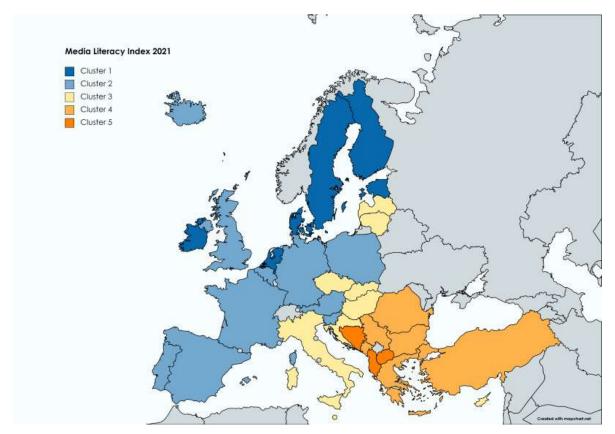


Figure 2: Map of the Media Literacy Index 2021 clusters

The map shows the results of a cluster analysis, based on the scores of the 35 European countries in the Media Literacy Index 2021. The cluster analysis sorts the countries into groups, where each country is more similar with those in its cluster than those in other clusters.

When the five clusters are shown on the map, there are certain emerging patterns. The best performing countries in the first cluster are located in the Northwestern part of Europe. The worst performing countries are located in the Southeastern part of the continent. The rest of the clusters are located in a diagonale patterns – the second cluster just below the first one, stretching from Portugal in the South, through several big countries – Spain, France, Germany and Poland as well as the Central European ones of Austria and Slovenia.

The middle, transitional cluster three consists of countries such as Italy in the South through the Central European neighbors of the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and Croatia to Latvia and Lithuania.

The last two clusters are in the Southeast, with cluster number 4 consisting of several neighbors – Romania, Serbia, Montenegro, Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey, followed by the fifth and last cluster with the BiH, Albania and North Macedonia.

What does the changes in clusters tell us?

Table 4: Comparison of clusters 2021, 2019 and 2018

Comparison of clusters 2021, 2019 and 2018						
Rank 2021	Country	2021	2019	2018		
1	Finland	1	1	1		
2	Denmark	1	1	1		
3	Estonia	1	1	1		
4	Sweden	1	1	1		
5	Ireland	1	1	1		
6	Netherlands	1	1	1		
7	Belgium	2	1	2		
8	Germany	2	1	2		
9	Iceland	2	2	2		
10	UK	2	2	2		
11	Portugal	2	2	2		
12	Austria	2	2	2		
13	Luxembourg	2	2	2		
14	Slovenia	2	2	2		
15	France	2	2	2		
16	Spain	2	2	2		
17	Poland	2	2	2		
18	Lithuania	3	2	2		
19	Czech Republic	3	2	2		
20	Latvia	3	2	2		
21	Italy	3	2	3		
22	Slovakia	3	3	3		
23	Malta	3	3	3		
24	Croatia	3	3	3		
25	Hungary	3	3	3		
26	Cyprus	3	3	3		
27	Greece	4	3	3		
28	Romania	4	4	3		
29	Serbia	4	4	4		
30	Bulgaria	4	4	4		
31	Turkey	4	5	5		
32	Montenegro	4	4	4		
33	Albania	5	5	4		
34	BiH	5	5	4		
35	North Macedonia	5	5	5		

The changes in the clusters from 2019 and 2018 show how different countries moved or stayed within the sama cluster¹⁶.

The overall picture seems to point to a deterioration in the situation when 2019 and 2021 are compared. In 2019, the first cluster of the best performers was bigger to include countries such as Belgium and Germany, but which returned in 2021 to the second cluster, where they were in 2018.

In 2019, the 1st cluster, which consists of the best performers, included a higher number of countries than in 2021, including Belgium and Germany, but which in 2021 returned to the 2nd cluster. A number of countries - Lithuania, Czech Republic, Italy and Latvia – enjoyed places in the 2nd cluster in 2019, but moved to the 3rd cluster in 2021. Similarly, Greece and Romania deteriorated in terms of cluster membership, going from 3rd to 4th cluster. Albania and BiH moved down from 4th to 5th cluster.

The only country that transferred to a better performing cluster is Turkey – from 5^{th} to 4^{th} .

The table presents the countries and the five clusters in the index editions of 2021, 2019 and 2018.

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 $^{^{16}}$ Index 2017 does not include BiH and North Macedonia so it is not included in the comparison.

Conclusion: education still remains the top recommendation

There has been a growing understanding that reining in fake news necessitates some sort of control and regulation. The tension between free speech tenets and fact-based reporting and decision-making has been going on even before the Covid-19, but the life-threatening health crisis made it an emergency. But there is a concern that the response to the infodemic can be misused too. The anti-fake news campaign has been misused to create new censorship tools by a number of governments – including several ones in Europe. The International Press Institute noted that "For illiberal leaders who have long sought new methods to suppress independent media and dissent online, the health crisis and subsequent "infodemic" presented an opportunity to rush through laws without scrutiny and add another tool to their legislative arsenals."¹⁷

The Media Literacy Index has been created as a tool for measuring the resilience potential to fake news and post-truth in societies. One of the premises is that the quality of education is a factor in determining this resilience. A recent study on fighting Covid-19 misinformation has revealed that "greater cognitive reflection and science knowledge were associated with stronger discernment" in regard Covid-19 related fake news. A study on conspiracy theories have found that more educated people feel more in control of their lives, do not believe so much in easy solutions and have more analytical skills.

One of the leitmotivs of the index has been that education is paramount in addressing the fake news problem and could be considered before other approaches, e.g. "education before regulation". In the report of the 2018 index, the role of education was compared to vaccination against the fake news and post-truth phenomenon, where it would be building immunity to various strains and forms of false claims, disinformation, propaganda, etc. This approach was recommended to improve the chances in succeeding as it would prevent or at least alleviate the effects of post-truth as fake news continue to spread through evolving forms and channels that are difficult to target by regulation. It is clear that this is not a silver bullet and cannot cope with all the cases all the time. Reality is more complex and there are other factors at work - psychological factors such as confirmation bias or political polarization which feeds on and perpetuates misinformation. But better functional education and specialized media literacy education would offer resistance against the worst cases of fake news and post-truth. Eventually, tackling fake news and disinformation would dial down the temperature of political and social debates – and confrontations – would improve trust in societies and would contribute to a more healthy environment (figuratively and literally) in the Covid-19 pandemic.

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¹⁷ Rush to pass 'fake news' laws during Covid-19 intensifying global media freedom challenges, IPI, 22 October 2020, https://ipi.media/rush-to-pass-fake-news-laws-during-covid-19-intensifying-global-media-freedom-challenges/

¹⁸ Fighting COVID-19 Misinformation on Social Media: Experimental Evidence for a Scalable Accuracy-Nudge Intervention, Gordon Pennycook et all, Psychological Science, 30 June 2020, https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0956797620939054

¹⁹ Jan-Willem van Prooijen and Karen M. Douglas, "Belief in conspiracy theories: Basic principles of an emerging research domain", European Journal of Social Psychology, 2018 Dec; 48(7): 897–908, https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC6282974/

Table 5: Data and sources

Media Literacy Index 2021: sources and data										
	nking and ores	Used sources and data	Freedom of the Press (Freedom House)	Press Freedom Index (Reporters without Borders)	PISA score in reading literacy (OECD)	PISA score in scientific literacy (OECD)	PISA score mathemat ical literacy (OECD)	Share of population (%) with university degree (Eurostat)	Trust in others (Eurostat, EQSL)	E- participati on Index (UN)
Ranking (1-35)	Score (100-0)	Country/Scale	On a scale from 0 to 100 (best to worst)	On a sclae from 0 to 100 (best to worst)	The higher score the better; 500 is very good and below 300 is a very poor result	The higher the better; 500 is very good and below 300 is a very poor result	The higher the better, 500 is very good and below 300 is a very poor result	In percentages from 100% to 0% (higher is better)	On a scale from 10 to 0 (highest to lowest)	On a scale from 1 to 0 (highest to lowest)
1	78	Finland	12	7.93	520	522	507	37.3	7.4	0.9524
2	73	Denmark	12	8.13	501	493	509	32.7	7.3	0.9643
3	72	Estonia	16	12.61	523	530	523	35.9	5	1
4	72	Sweden	11	9.25	506	499	502	37.1	6.6	0.8214
5	70	Ireland	18	12.6	518	496	500	40.5	6.0	0.8571
6	68	Netherlands	11	9.96	485	503	519	33.0	6.2	0.9643
7	64	Belgium	12	12.57	493	499	508	36.0	5.3	0.6548
8	62	Germany	20	12.16	498	503	500	25.2	5.1	0.75
9	62	Iceland	15	15.12	474	475	495	36.5	7	0.7738
10	62	UK	25	22.93	504	505	502	39.3	5.4	0.9762
11	61	Portugal	17	11.83	492	492	492	22.5	4.7	0.8214
12	60	Austria	22	15.78	484	490	499	30.1	5.3	0.9762
13	59	Luxembourg	14	15.46	470	477	483	38.3	5.9	0.7024
14	58	Slovenia	23	22.64	495	507	509	28.7	4.8	0.8571
15	57	France	26	22.92	493	493	495	32.8	5.4	0.9048
16	56	Spain	28	22.16	496	483	481	34.0	5.2	0.8452
17	56	Poland	34	28.65	512	511	516	27.2	4.7	0.9643
18	53	Lithuania	21	21.19	476	482	481	36.1	4.6	0.7381
19	53	Czech Republic	21	23.57	490	497	499	21.7	4.3	0.7262
20		Latvia	26	18.56	479	487	486	30.1	4.5	0.5833
21	49	Italy	31	23.69	476	468	487	17.1	5.2	0.8214
22	45	Slovakia	26	22.67	458	464	486	22.0	4	0.7024
23		Malta	23	30.16		457	472	24.6	5	0.8333
24	43	Croatia	41	28.51		472	464	22.0		0.8929
25		Hungary	44	30.84		481	481	21.7	4.9	0.6786
26		Cyprus	23	20.45		439	448	39.4	3	0.9524
27		Greece	44	28.8		452	451	27.7	4.1	0.7857
28		Romania	38	25.91	428	426	430	15.5	4.8	0.8095
29		Serbia	49	31.62	439	440	448	20.4	4.4	0.8214
30		Bulgaria	42	35.06		424	436	24.8		0.8929
31		Turkey	76	50.02		468	454	17.3		0.8929
32		Montenegro	44	33.83		415	430	20.3		0.5476
33		Albania	51	30.25		417	437	17.6		0.8452
34		BiH	51	28.51		398		17.6		0.6071
35	15	North Macedonia	64	31.28	393	413	394	17.6	3	0.8333

The data was converted into standartized z-scores and missing data was imputed following the methodology described in the Catch-Up Index reports, available in the documents and links section of the website www.thecatchupindex.eu and https://osis.bg/?p=3146&lang=en. The latest available data was used as of 10 February 2021.



European Policies Initiative

Open Society Institute - Sofia

POLICY BRIEF **56**

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About the author

Marin Lessenski is Program Director, Open Society Institute – Sofia

E-mail: mlessenski@osi.bg

Statistical processing: Petia Brainova, Dragomira Belcheva, Open Society Institute – Sofia.

About EuPI

The European Policy Initiative (EuPI) aims at stimulating and assisting new Member States from CEE to develop capacity for constructive co-authorship of common European policies at both government and civil society level.

Contact

Address:

56 Solunska Str. Sofia 1000

Tel.: (+359 2) 930 66 19 Fax: (+359 2) 951 63 48 E-mail: mlessenski@osi.bg

Web: www.osis.bg

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