

SMEs and Smarter Business Regulations

**Anil Kapur
Bihar University**

September 15, 2012

This 10th edition of the *Doing Business*¹ report marks a good time to take stock—to look at how far the world has come in business regulatory practices and what challenges remain. In the first report one of the main findings was that low-income economies had very cumbersome regulatory systems. Ten years later it is apparent that business regulatory practices in these economies have been gradually but noticeably converging toward the more efficient practices common in higher income economies. How much has the gap narrowed? Did some regions close the regulatory gap more rapidly than others? This year's report tells that story. It points to important trends in regulatory reform and identifies the regions and economies making the biggest improvements for local entrepreneurs. And it highlights both the areas of business regulation that have received the most attention and those where more progress remains to be made.

The report also reviews research on which regulatory reforms have worked and how. After 10 years of data tracking reforms and regulatory practices around the world, more evidence is available to address these questions. The report summarizes just some of the main findings. Among the highlights: Smarter business regulation supports economic growth. Simpler business registration promotes greater entrepreneurship and firm productivity, while lower-cost registration improves formal employment opportunities. An effective regulatory environment boosts trade performance. And sound financial market infrastructure—courts, creditor and insolvency laws, and credit and collateral registries—improves access to credit.

¹ www.doingbusiness.org

WHAT ARE SMART RULES FOR BUSINESSES?

Just as good rules are needed to allow traffic to flow in a city, they are also essential to allow business transactions to flow. Good business regulations enable the private sector to thrive and businesses to expand their transactions network. But regulations put in place to safeguard economic activity and facilitate business operations, if poorly designed, can become obstacles to doing business. They can be like traffic lights put up to prevent gridlock—ineffective if a red light lasts for an hour. Most people would run the red light, just as most businesses facing burdensome regulations will try to circumvent them to stay afloat. Striking the right balance in business regulation can be a challenge. It becomes an even greater challenge in a changing world, where regulations must continually adapt to new realities. Just as traffic systems have to adjust when a new road is being constructed, regulations need to adapt to new demands from the market and to changes in technology (such as the growing use of information and communication technology in business processes).

This challenge is one focus of this report. Through indicators benchmarking 185 economies, *Doing Business* measures and tracks changes in the regulations applying to domestic small and medium size companies in 11 areas in their life cycle. This year's aggregate ranking on the ease of doing business is based on indicator sets that measure and benchmark regulations affecting 10 of those areas: starting a business, dealing with construction permits, getting electricity, registering property, getting credit, protecting investors, paying taxes, trading across borders, enforcing contracts and resolving insolvency. *Doing Business* also documents regulations on employing workers, which are not included in this year's aggregate ranking or in the count of reforms.

The economies that rank highest on the ease of doing business are not those where there is no regulation—but those where governments have managed to create rules that facilitate interactions in the marketplace without needlessly hindering the development of the private sector. In essence, *Doing Business* is about SMART business regulations—Streamlined, Meaningful, Adaptable, Relevant, Transparent—not necessarily fewer regulations. *Doing Business* encompasses 2 types of indicators: indicators relating to the *strength of legal institutions* relevant to business regulation and indicators relating to the *complexity and cost of regulatory processes*.

Those in the first group focus on the legal and regulatory framework for getting credit, protecting investors, enforcing contracts and resolving insolvency. Those in the second focus on the cost and efficiency of regulatory processes for starting a business, dealing with construction permits, getting electricity, registering property, paying taxes and trading across borders. Based on time-and-motion case studies from the perspective of the business, these indicators measure the procedures, time and cost required to complete a transaction in accordance with relevant regulations.

Economies that rank high on the ease of doing business tend to combine efficient regulatory processes with strong legal institutions that protect property and investor rights. OECD high-income economies have, by a large margin, the most business-friendly regulatory environment on both dimensions. Regions such as East Asia and the Pacific and the Middle East and North Africa have relatively efficient regulatory processes but still lag in the strength of legal

institutions relevant to business regulation. Good practices around the world provide insights into how governments have improved the regulatory environment in the past in the areas measured by *Doing Business*

WHO NARROWED THE REGULATORY GAP IN 2011/12?

As reflected in the ranking on the ease of doing business, the 10 economies with the most business-friendly regulation are Singapore; Hong Kong SAR, China; New Zealand; the United States; Denmark; Norway; the United Kingdom; the Republic of Korea; Georgia; and Australia (table 1.1). Singapore tops the global ranking for the seventh consecutive year. A number 1 ranking on the ease of doing business does not mean that an economy ranks number 1 across all 10 regulatory areas included in this aggregate measure. Indeed, Singapore's rankings range from 1 in trading across borders to 36 in registering property. Its top 3 rankings (on trading across borders, dealing with construction permits and protecting investors) average 2, while its lowest 3 (on registering property, getting credit and enforcing contracts) average 20.

Similarly, Guatemala's top 3 (on getting credit, registering property and getting electricity) average 22, and its bottom 3 (on paying taxes, protecting investors and starting a business) average 151. So while the ease of doing business ranking is a useful aggregate measure, analysis based on this measure should also take into account the dispersion of regulatory efficiency across the areas measured by *Doing Business*. In the past year 58% of economies covered by *Doing Business* implemented at least 1 institutional or regulatory reform making it easier to do business in the areas measured, and 23 undertook reforms in 3 or more areas. Of these 23 economies, 10 stand out as having jumped ahead the most in the relative ranking. Others in this group advanced

less in the global ranking because they already ranked high. Two are Korea and the Netherlands. Already among the top 35 in last year's global ranking, both implemented regulatory reforms making it easier to do business in 4 areas measured by *Doing Business*.

Four of the 10 economies improving the most in the ease of doing business are in Eastern Europe and Central Asia—the region that also had the largest number of regulatory reforms per economy in the past year. Four of the 10 are lower-middle income economies; of the rest, 1 is low income, 3 are upper middle income and are high income. And for the first time in 7 years, a South Asian economy—Sri Lanka—ranks among those improving the most in the ease of doing business.

Eight of the 10 economies made it easier to start a business. Kazakhstan, Mongolia and Ukraine reduced or eliminated the minimum capital requirement for company incorporation. Sri Lanka computerized and expedited the process for registering employees. Burundi eliminated 3 requirements: to have company documents notarized, to publish information on new companies in a journal and to register new companies with the Ministry of Trade and Industry. Five of the 10 made it easier to resolve insolvency, and 2 of these also strengthened their systems for enforcing contracts.

Serbia strengthened its insolvency process by introducing private bailiffs, prohibiting appeals of the court's decision on the proposal for enforcement, expediting service of process and adopting a public electronic registry for injunctions. The new private bailiff system also increased efficiency in enforcing contracts. Poland introduced a new civil procedure code that, along with an increase in the number of judges, reduced the time required to enforce a commercial contract.

Poland also made it easier to resolve insolvency, by updating the documentation requirements for bankruptcy filings. Four economies made it easier to register property. Poland increased efficiency in processing property registration applications through a series of initiatives in recent years. These included creating 2 new registration districts in Warsaw and, in the past year, introducing a new caseload management system for the land and mortgage registries and continuing to digitize their records.

Five economies improved in the area of getting credit. Costa Rica, Mongolia and Uzbekistan guaranteed borrowers' right to inspect their personal credit data. Sri Lanka established a searchable electronic collateral registry and issued regulations for its operation. Kazakhstan strengthened the rights of secured creditors in insolvency proceedings. Greece, driven in part by its economic crisis, implemented regulatory reforms in 3 areas measured by *Doing Business*—improving its regulatory environment at a greater pace in the past year than in any of the previous 6. It made construction permitting faster by transferring the planning approval process from the municipality to certified private professionals, strengthened investor protections by requiring greater disclosure and introduced a new pre-bankruptcy rehabilitation procedure aimed at enhancing the rescue of distressed companies. Costa Rica, the only economy in Latin America and the Caribbean in the group of 10, implemented regulatory changes in 4 areas measured by *Doing Business*. It introduced a risk-based approach for granting sanitary approvals for business start-ups and established online approval systems for the construction permitting process. Costa Rica also guaranteed borrowers' right to inspect their personal data and made paying taxes easier for local companies by implementing electronic payments for municipal taxes.

While these 10 economies improved the most in the ease of doing business, they were far from alone in introducing improvements in the areas measured by *Doing Business* in 2011/12. A total of 108 economies did so, through 201 institutional and regulatory reforms. And in the years since the first report was published in 2003, 180 of the 185 economies covered by *Doing Business* made improvements in at least one of these areas—through nearly 2,000 such reforms in total.

In 2011/12 starting a business was again the area with the most regulatory reforms. In the past 8 years the start-up process received more attention from policy makers than any other area of business regulation tracked by *Doing Business*—through 368 reforms in 149 economies. These worldwide efforts reduced the average time to start a business from 50 days to 30 and the average cost from 89% of income per capita to 31%.

In the past year Eastern Europe and Central Asia once again had the largest share of economies registering improvements, with 88% of economies implementing at least 1 institutional or regulatory reform making it easier to do business and 67% implementing at least 2. This region has been consistently active through all the years covered by *Doing Business*, implementing 397 institutional and regulatory reforms since 2005. At least some of this regulatory reform push reflects efforts by economies joining the European Union in 2004 to continue to narrow the gap in regulatory efficiency with established EU members—as well as similar efforts among economies now engaged in EU accession negotiations.

WHO HAS NARROWED THE GAP OVER THE LONG RUN?

To complement the ease of doing business ranking, a relative measure, last year's *Doing Business* report introduced the distance to frontier, an absolute measure of business regulatory efficiency. This measure aids in assessing how much the regulatory environment for local entrepreneurs improves in absolute terms over time by showing the distance of each economy to the "frontier," which represents the best performance observed on each of the *Doing Business* indicators across all economies and years included since 2005. The measure is normalized to range between 0 and 100, with 100 representing the frontier. A higher score therefore indicates a more efficient business regulatory system.

Analysis based on the distance to frontier measure shows that the burden of regulation has declined since 2005 in the areas measured by *Doing Business*. On average the 174 economies covered by *Doing Business* since that year are today closer to the frontier in regulatory practice. In 2005 these economies were 46 percentage points from the frontier on average, with the closest economy 10 percentage points away and the furthest one 74 percentage points away. Now these 174 economies are 40 percentage points from the frontier on average, with the closest economy 8 percentage points away and the furthest economy 69 percentage points away.

OECD high-income economies are closest to the frontier on average. But other regions are narrowing the gap. Eastern Europe and Central Asia has done so the most, thanks to about 17 institutional and regulatory reforms per economy since 2005. Economies in the Middle East and North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa have implemented more than 9 institutional and regulatory reforms on average—and those in East Asia and the Pacific, Latin America and the Caribbean

and South Asia about 8. With its faster pace of improvement, Eastern Europe and Central Asia overtook East Asia and the Pacific as the second most business-friendly region according to *Doing Business* indicators.

But the variation within regions is large. In Latin America and the Caribbean, for example, Colombia implemented 25 institutional and regulatory reforms in the past 8 years, while Suriname had none. In East Asia and the Pacific, Vietnam implemented 18 reforms, and Kiribati none. In a few economies (such as República Bolivariana de Venezuela and Zimbabwe) the business environment deteriorated as measures added to the complexity and cost of regulatory processes or undermined property rights and investor protections. Within the European Union, 4 Southern European economies have recently accelerated regulatory reform efforts.

Improvements happened across all regulatory areas measured by *Doing Business* between 2005 and 2012. But governments were more likely to focus their reform efforts on reducing the complexity and cost of regulatory processes—the focus of 1,227 reforms recorded by *Doing Business* since 2005—than on strengthening legal institutions—the focus of close to 600.

Improving business regulation is a challenging task, and doing it consistently over time even more so. Yet some economies have achieved considerable success since 2005 in doing just that. A few of these economies stand out within their region: Georgia, Rwanda, Colombia, China and Poland. Georgia is the top improver since 2005 both in Eastern Europe and Central Asia and globally. With 35 institutional and regulatory reforms since 2005, Georgia has improved in all areas measured by *Doing Business*. In the past year alone it improved in 6 areas. As just one

example, Georgia made trading across borders easier by introducing customs clearance zones in such cities as Tbilisi and Poti. These one-stop shops for trade clearance processes are open all day every day, allowing traders to submit customs documents and complete other formalities in a single place. Georgia also strengthened its secured transactions system. A new amendment to its civil code allows a security interest to extend to the products, proceeds and replacements of an asset used as collateral.

Georgia has also distinguished itself by following a relatively balanced regulatory reform path. Many economies aiming to improve their regulatory environment start by reducing the complexity and cost of regulatory processes (in such areas as starting a business). Later they may move on to reforms strengthening legal institutions relevant to business regulation (in such areas as getting credit). These tend to be a bigger challenge, sometimes requiring amendments to key pieces of legislation rather than simply changes in administrative procedures. Georgia has followed this pattern, focusing initially on reducing the complexity and cost of regulatory processes and later on strengthening legal institutions. But among a group of 5 top regional improvers, Georgia has improved the most along both dimensions.

Rwanda, the number 2 improver globally and top improver in Sub-Saharan Africa since 2005, has reduced the gap with the frontier by almost half. To highlight key lessons emerging from Rwanda's sustained efforts, this year's report features a case study of its reform process. But Rwanda is far from alone in the region: of the 50 economies advancing the most toward the frontier since 2005, 17 are in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Worldwide, economies at all income levels are narrowing the gap with the frontier on average—but low-income economies more so than high-income ones. This is an important achievement. Indeed, while business regulatory practices in all lower income groups are converging toward those in high-income economies on average, low-income economies have reduced the gap the most, by 4 percentage points since 2005. Lower-middle-income economies have closed the gap with high-income economies by 3 percentage points, and upper-middle-income economies by 2 percentage points. This convergence is far from complete, however.

While the Arab Republic of Egypt is the top improver in the Middle East and North Africa since 2005, its improvement was concentrated in the years before 2009. In the past 4 years there was no visible improvement in the areas measured by *Doing Business*. Regionally, there was less focus on reforming business regulation in the past year than in any previous year covered by *Doing Business*, with only 11% of economies implementing at least 2 regulatory reforms.

Colombia, the economy narrowing the gap with the frontier the most in Latin America and the Caribbean, is also featured in a case study this year. Between 2006 and 2009 Colombia focused mostly on improving the efficiency of regulatory processes, with an emphasis on business registration and tax administration. But in 2010 it began reforming legal institutions, such as by strengthening the protection of minority shareholders and by improving the insolvency regime.

Two of the “BRICs” rank among the top 50 improvers—China and India, each also the top improver in its region since 2005. Both implemented regulatory reforms particularly in the early years covered by *Doing Business*. China established a new company law in 2005, a new credit

registry in 2006, its first bankruptcy law in 2007, a new property law in 2007, a new civil procedure law in 2008 and a new corporate income tax law in 2008. After establishing its first credit bureau in 2004, India focused mostly on simplifying and reducing the cost of regulatory processes in such areas as starting a business, paying taxes and trading across borders.

Five OECD high-income economies make the list of top 50 improvers: Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovenia, Portugal and France. Poland in the past year alone implemented 4 institutional and regulatory reforms, among the 20 recorded for it by *Doing Business* since 2005. It improved the process for transferring property, made paying taxes more convenient by promoting the use of electronic facilities, reduced the time to enforce contracts and strengthened the process of resolving insolvency.

IN WHAT AREAS IS THE GAP NARROWING THE MOST?

Since 2005 there has been a convergence in business regulatory practices in two-thirds of the areas measured by *Doing Business*: starting a business, paying taxes, dealing with construction permits, registering property, getting credit and enforcing contracts. This means that laws, regulations and procedures in these areas are more similar across economies today than they were 8 years ago. Overall, more convergence has occurred in the areas measured by *Doing Business* that relate to the complexity and cost of regulatory processes than in those that relate to the strength of legal institutions.

The greatest convergence in regulatory practice has occurred in business startup. Among the 174 economies covered by *Doing Business* since 2005, the time to start a business in that year averaged 112 days in the worst quartile of the economies as ranked by performance on this indicator, while it averaged 29 days for the rest. Since then, thanks to 368 reforms in 149 economies, the average time for the worst quartile has fallen to 63 days, getting closer to the average of 18 for the rest. Similar but less strong patterns are observed for indicators of time, procedures and cost for paying taxes, dealing with construction permits and registering property.

But in 3 areas the trend runs weakly in the other direction. In protecting investors, trading across borders and resolving insolvency the realities in different economies have slowly drifted apart rather than converged. This does not mean that in these 3 areas the average regulatory environment is worse today than in 2005; it is actually better. But it does mean that economies that were in the best 3 quartiles of the distribution in these 3 areas in 2005 have strengthened practices and institutions somewhat faster than those in the worst quartile.

WHAT IS THE IMPACT ON ECONOMIC OUTCOMES?

Beyond what *Doing Business* measures, have the business regulation reforms undertaken by governments since 2005 had an impact? In presenting analysis of this question, earlier editions of *Doing Business* focused on cross-country analyses linking business regulation to economic variables such as corruption or rates of informality in the economy.

With more years of data now available, previous research on the impact of reforms in the areas measured by *Doing Business* can be extended over time and linked to more economic outcomes. Using several years of data for the same economy makes it possible to take into account country characteristics that remain constant over time when doing analysis across economies—something not possible in the earlier cross-country analyses. Based on a 5-year panel of economies, one such study finds that in low-income economies that implemented reforms making it easier to do business, the growth rate increased by 0.4 percentage point in the following year.² Emerging evidence from analysis based on 8 years of *Doing Business* data and building on the earlier studies shows that improvements in business entry and other aspects of business regulation matter for aggregate growth as well. Credibly pinning down the magnitude of this effect is more difficult, however.

Research on the effect of regulatory reforms is advancing especially rapidly around the question of business start-up. A growing body of research has shown that simpler entry regulations encourage the creation of more new firms and new jobs in the formal sector. Economies at varying income levels and in different regions saw noticeable increases in the number of new firm registrations after implementing such reforms.

Within-country studies have confirmed the positive association between improvements in business registration and registration of new firms in such countries as Colombia, India, Mexico and Portugal. These studies have found increases of 5–17% in the number of newly registered businesses after reforms of the business registration process (for more discussion, see the chapter “About *Doing Business*”). Better business regulation as measured by *Doing Business* is also

associated with greater new business registration. Ongoing research by *Doing Business* using 8 years of data shows that reducing the distance to frontier by 10 percentage points is associated with an increase of 1 newly registered business for every 1,000 working-age people, a meaningful result given the world average of 3.2 newly registered businesses for every 1,000 working-age people per year.

Yet another finding relates to the relationship between foreign direct investment and business regulation. A case study in this year's report shows that although the *Doing Business* indicators measure regulations applying to domestic firms, economies that do well in this area also provide an attractive regulatory environment for foreign firms. Again using multiple years of data, the case study shows that economies that are closer to the frontier in regulatory practice attract larger inflows of foreign direct investment.

References:

- Aghion, Philippe, Robin Burgess, Stephen Redding and Fabrizio Zilibotti. 2008. "The Unequal Effects of Liberalization: Evidence from Dismantling the License Raj in India." *American Economic Review* 98 (4): 1397–412.
- Ahlquist, John S., and Aseem Prakash. 2010. "FDI and the Costs of Contract Enforcement in Developing Countries." *Policy Sciences* 43 (2): 181–200.
- Akerlof, George A. 1970. "The Market for Lemons: Quality Uncertainty and the Market Mechanism." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 84 (3): 488–500.
- Alesina, Alberto, Silvia Ardagna, Giuseppe Nicoletti and Fabio Schiantarelli. 2005. "Regulation and Investment." *Journal of the European Economic Association* 3 (4): 791–825.
- Alvarez de la Campa, Alejandro, Santiago Croci Downes and Betina Tirelli Hennig. 2012. *Making Security Interests Public: Registration Mechanisms in 35 Jurisdictions*. Washington, DC: International Finance Corporation.
- Amin, M., and Haidar, Jamal. 2012. "The cost of registering property: does legal origin matter?," *Empirical Economics* 42(3): 1035-1050.
- Amin, M., and Haidar, Jamal. "Trade Facilitation and Country Size?," *World Bank, mimeo*
- Antunes, Antonio, and Tiago Cavalcanti. 2007. "Start Up Costs, Limited Enforcement, and the Hidden Economy." *European Economic Review* 51 (1): 203–24.
- APEC (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation). 2005. *A Mid-Term Stocktake of Progress towards the Bogor Goals: Busan Roadmap to Bogor Goals*. <http://publications.apec.org/>.
- _____. 2010a. *APEC at Glance, 2010*. APEC#210-SE-05.2. <http://publications.apec.org/>.
- _____. 2010b. *The Kyoto Report on Growth Strategy and Finance: 2010 APEC Finance Ministerial Meeting*. <http://apec.org>.
- _____. 2011a. *APEC New Strategy for Structural Reform: Economy Priorities and Progress Assessment Measures*. <http://publications.apec.org/>.
- _____. 2011b. *APEC's Ease of Doing Business: Interim Assessment*. <http://publications.apec.org/>.
- _____. 2012. "EoDB Starting a Business in Thailand." <http://aimp.apec.org/>.
- Ardagna, Silvia, and Annamaria Lusardi. 2010. "Explaining International Differences in Entrepreneurship: The Role of Individual Characteristics and Regulatory Constraints." In *International Differences in Entrepreneurship*, ed. Josh Lerner and Antoinette Schoar, 17–62. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Arvis, Jean-François, Jean-François Marteau and Gaël Raballand. 2010. *The Cost of Being Landlocked: Logistics Costs and Supply Chain Reliability*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Aslund, Anders. 2009. "How Latvia Can Escape from the Financial Crisis." Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Bank of Latvia, Riga. Available at <http://www.iie.com/>.

Belayachi, Karim and Haidar, Jamal. 2008. "Competitiveness from Innovation, not Inheritance," In World Bank, *Celebrating Reform 2008*. Washington, DC: World Bank Group and U.S. Agency for International Development.

Banerjee, Abhijit, and Esther Duflo. 2005. "Growth Theory through the Lens of Development Economics." In *Handbook of Development Economics*, ed. Philippe Aghion and Steven Durlauf, vol. 1A: 473–552. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Barseghyan, Levon. 2008. "Entry Costs and Cross-Country Differences in Productivity and Output." *Journal of Economic Growth* 13 (2): 145–67.

Benmelech, Efraim, and Nittai K. Bergman. 2011. "Bankruptcy and the Collateral Channel." *Journal of Finance* 66 (2): 337–78.

Besley, Timothy, and Robin Burgess. 2002. "The Political Economy of Government Responsiveness: Theory and Evidence from India." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 117 (4): 1415–51.

Blonigen, Bruce, and Jeremy Piger. 2011. "Determinants of Foreign Direct Investment." NBER Working Paper 16704, National Bureau of Economic Research, Cambridge, MA.

Bosch, Mariano, and Julen Esteban-Pretel. 2009. "Cyclical Informality and Unemployment." CIRJE Discussion Paper 613, Center for International Research on the Japanese Economy, Tokyo.

Botero, Juan Carlos, Simeon Djankov, Rafael La Porta, Florencio López-de-Silanes and Andrei Shleifer. 2004. "The Regulation of Labor." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 119(4): 1339–82.

Botero, Juan Carlos, Rafael La Porta, Florencio López-de-Silanes, Andrei Shleifer and Alexander Volokh. 2003. "Judicial Reform." *World Bank Research Observer* 18 (1): 67–88.

Branstetter, Lee G., Francisco Lima, Lowell J. Taylor and Ana Venâncio. 2010. "Do Entry Regulations Deter Entrepreneurship and Job Creation? Evidence from Recent Reforms in Portugal." NBER Working Paper 16473, National Bureau of Economic Research, Cambridge, MA.

Bruhn, Miriam. 2011. "License to Sell: The Effect of Business Registration Reform on Entrepreneurial Activity in Mexico." *Review of Economics and Statistics* 93 (1): 382–86.

_____. 2012. "A Tale of Two Species: Revisiting the Effect of Registration Reform on Informal Business Owners in Mexico." Policy Research Working Paper 5971, World Bank, Washington, DC.

Busse, Matthias, and José Luis Groizard. 2008. "Foreign Direct Investment, Regulations, and Growth." *World Economy* 31 (7): 861–86.

Calderon, César, Alberto Chong and Gianmarco Leon. 2007. "Institutional Enforcement, Labor-Market Rigidities, and Economic Performance." *Emerging Markets Review* 8 (1): 38–49.

Calderon, César, and Luis Servén. 2003. "The Output Cost of Latin America's Infrastructure Gap." In *The Limits of Stabilization: Infrastructure, Public Deficits, and Growth in Latin America*, ed. William R. Easterly and Luis Servén. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Cardenas, Mauricio, and Sandra Rozo. 2009. "Firm Informality in Colombia: Problems and Solutions." *Desarrollo y Sociedad*, no. 63: 211–43.

Chang, Roberto, Linda Kaltani and Norman Loayza. 2009. "Openness Can Be Good for Growth: The Role of Policy Complementarities." *Journal of Development Economics* 90: 33–49.

Chari, Anusha. 2011. "Identifying the Aggregate Productivity Effects of Entry and Size Restrictions: An Empirical Analysis of License Reform in India." *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy* 3: 66–96.

Ciccone, Antonio, and Elias Papaioannou. 2007. "Red Tape and Delayed Entry." *Journal of the European Economic Association* 5 (2–3): 444–58.

Cirmizi, Elena, Leora Klapper and Mahesh Uttamchandani. 2012. "The Challenges of Bankruptcy Reform." *World Bank Research Observer* 27 (2): 185–203.

Coolidge, Jacqueline, Lars Grava and Sanda Putnina. 2003. "Case Study: Inspectorate Reform in Latvia 1999–2003."

Cunat, Alejandro, and Marc J. Melitz. 2007. "Volatility, Labor Market Flexibility, and the Pattern of Comparative Advantage." NBER Working Paper 13062, National Bureau of Economic Research, Cambridge, MA.

Deininger, Klaus, and Paul Mpuga. 2005. "Does Greater Accountability Improve the Quality of Public Service Delivery? Evidence from Uganda." *World Development* 33 (1): 171–91.

Desai, Mihir, C. Fritz Foley and James Hines Jr. 2003. "Foreign Direct Investment in a World of Multiple Taxes." *Journal of Public Economics* 88: 2727–44.

de Soto, Hernando. 2000. *The Mystery of Capital: Why Capitalism Triumphs in the West and Fails Everywhere Else*. New York: Basic Books.

- Dewaelheyns, Nico, and Cynthia Van Hulle. 2008. "Legal Reform and Aggregate Small and Micro Business Bankruptcy Rates: Evidence from the 1997 Belgian Bankruptcy Code." *Small Business Economics* 31 (4): 409–24.
- Djankov, Simeon. 2009. "The Regulation of Entry: A Survey." *World Bank Research Observer* 24 (2): 183–203.
- Djankov, Simeon, Oliver Hart, Caralee McLiesh and Andrei Shleifer. 2008. "Debt Enforcement around the World." *Journal of Political Economy* 116 (6): 1105–49.
- Djankov, Simeon, Rafael La Porta, Florencio López-de-Silanes and Andrei Shleifer. 2002. "The Regulation of Entry." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 117 (1): 1–37.
- _____. 2003. "Courts." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 118 (2): 453–517.
- _____. 2008. "The Law and Economics of Self- Dealing." *Journal of Financial Economics* 88 (3): 430–65.
- Djankov, Simeon, Caralee McLiesh and Andrei Shleifer. 2007. "Private Credit in 129 Countries." *Journal of Financial Economics* 84 (2): 299–329.
- Dollar, David, Mary Hallward-Driemeier and Taye Mengistae. 2006. "Investment Climate and International Integration." *World Development* 34 (9): 1498–516.
- Dulleck, Uwe, Paul Frijters and R. Winter- Ebmer. 2006. "Reducing Start-up Costs for New Firms: The Double Dividend on the Labor Market." *Scandinavian Journal of Economics* 108: 317–37.
- EBRD (European Bank for Reconstruction and Development). 2011. "Strategy for Latvia." <http://www.ebrd.com/>.
- Ferraz, Claudio, and Frederico Finan. 2011. "Electoral Accountability and Corruption: Evidence from the Audits of Local Governments." *American Economic Review* 101: 1274–311.
- Fisman, Raymond, and Virginia Sarria- Allende. 2010. "Regulation of Entry and the Distortion of Industrial Organization." *Journal of Applied Economics* 13 (1): 91–120.
- Franks, Julian, Colin Mayer, Paolo Volpin and Hannes F. Wagner. 2011. "The Life Cycle of Family Ownership: International Evidence." *Review of Financial Studies* 25(8): 1–38.
- Freedom House. 2012. *Freedom in the World 2012*. Washington, DC: Freedom House.
- Funchal, Bruno. 2008. "The Effects of the 2005 Bankruptcy Reform in Brazil." *Economics Letters* 101: 84–86.
- Giné, Xavier, and Inessa Love. 2010. "Do Reorganization Costs Matter for Efficiency? Evidence from a Bankruptcy Reform in Colombia." *Journal of Law and Economics* 53 (4): 833–64.

Haidar, Jamal. 2012. "The Impact of Business Regulatory Reforms on Economic Growth." *Journal of the Japanese and International Economies*. 26(3): 285-307.

Haidar, Jamal. 2008. "Egypt: How to Raise Revenues by Lowering Fees." In World Bank, *Celebrating Reform 2008*. Washington, DC: World Bank Group and U.S. Agency for International Development.

Haidar, Jamal. 2009. "Protecting Investors and Economic Growth," *Economics Letters* 103(1): 1-4.

Hallward-Driemeier, Mary, Gita Khun-Jush and Lant Pritchett. 2010. "Deals versus Rules: Policy Implementation Uncertainty and Why Firms Hate It." NBER Working Paper 16001, National Bureau of Economic Research, Cambridge, MA.

Hamdani, Assaf, and Yishay Yafeh. 2012. "Institutional Investors as Minority Shareholders." *Review of Finance*. Published online February 7. doi:10.1093/rof/rfr039.

Haselmann, Rainer, Katharina Pistor and Vikrant Vig. 2010. "How Law Affects Lending." *Review of Financial Studies* 23 (2): 549–80.

Helpman, Elhanan, Marc Melitz and Yona Rubinstein. 2008. "Estimating Trade Flows: Trading Partners and Trading Volumes." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 123 (2): 441–87.

Hirshleifer, Jack. 1980. "Privacy: Its Origin, Function and Future." *Journal of Legal Studies* 9 (4): 649–64.

Hoekman, Bernard, and Alessandro Nicita. 2011. "Trade Policy, Trade Cost and Developing Country Trade." *World Development* 39 (12): 2069–79.

Hornberger, Kusi, Joseph Battat and Peter Kusek. 2011. "Attracting FDI: How Much Does Investment Climate Matter?" Viewpoint Note 327, World Bank Group, Washington, DC.

Houston, Joel, Chen Lin, Ping Lin and Yue Ma. 2010. "Creditor Rights, Information Sharing, and Bank Risk Taking." *Journal of Financial Economics* 96 (3): 485–512.

Imi, Atsushi. 2011. "Effects of Improving Infrastructure Quality on Business Costs: Evidence from Firm-Level Data in Eastern Europe and Central Asia." *Developing Economies* 49 (2): 121–47.

Islam, Roumeen. 2006. "Does More Transparency Go Along with Better Governance?" *Economics and Politics* 18 (2): 121–67.

Iwanow, Thomasz, and Colin Kirkpatrick. 2009. "Trade Facilitation and Manufacturing Exports: Is Africa Different?" *World Development* 37 (6): 1039–50.

Jensen, Nate, Quan Li and Aminur Rahman. 2010. "Understanding Corruption and Firm Responses in Cross-National Firm Level Surveys." *Journal of International Business Studies* 41: 1481–504.

Kaplan, David, Eduardo Piedra and Enrique Seira. 2007. "Entry Regulation and Business Start Ups: Evidence from Mexico." Policy Research Working Paper 4322, World Bank, Washington, DC.

Kaufmann, Daniel. 2003. "Governance Redux: The Empirical Challenge." In World Economic Forum, *The Global Competitiveness Report 2003–2004*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Kaufmann, Daniel, Aart Kraay and Massimo Mastruzzi. 2010. "The Worldwide Governance Indicators: Methodology and Analytical Issues." Policy Research Working Paper 5430, World Bank, Washington, DC.

Klapper, Leora, Luc Laeven and Raghuram Rajan. 2006. "Entry Regulation as a Barrier to Entrepreneurship." *Journal of Financial Economics* 82 (3): 591–629.

Klapper, Leora, Anat Lewin and Juan Manuel Quesada Delgado. 2009. "The Impact of the Business Environment on the Business Creation Process." Policy Research Working Paper 4937, World Bank, Washington, DC.

Klapper, Leora, and Inessa Love. 2011a. "The Impact of Business Environment Reforms on New Firm Registration." Policy Research Working Paper 5493, World Bank, Washington, DC.

_____. 2011b. "The Impact of the Financial Crisis on New Firm Registration." *Economics Letters* 113 (1): 1–4.

Kraay, Aart, and Norikazu Tawara. 2011. "Can Disaggregated Indicators Identify Governance Reform Priorities?" Policy Research Working Paper 5254, World Bank, Washington, DC.

Lagarde, Christine. 2012. "Latvia and the Baltics—a Story of Recovery." Speech as prepared for delivery in Riga, Latvia. <http://www.imf.org/>.

La Porta, Rafael, and Andrei Shleifer. 2008. "The Unofficial Economy and Economic Development." Tuck School of Business Working Paper 2009-57. Available at <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1304760>.

Latvia, Ministry of Economics. 2011. "National Reform Programme of Latvia for the Implementation of the 'Europe 2020' Strategy." Available at <http://ec.europa.eu/europe2020/>.

Liepina, Sanda, Jacqueline Coolidge and Lars Grava. 2008. "Improving the Business Environment in Latvia: The Impact of FIAS Assistance." Foreign Investment Advisory Service Occasional Paper 18, World Bank Group, Washington, DC.

- Loayza, Norman, Ana Maria Oviedo and Luis Servén. 2005. "Regulation and Macroeconomic Performance." Policy Research Working Paper 3469, World Bank, Washington, DC.
- Masatlioglu, Yusufcan, and Jamele Rigolini. 2008. "Informality Traps." *B.E. Journal of Economic Analysis & Policy* 8 (1).
- McLean, R. D., T. Zhang and M. Zhao. 2012. "Why Does the Law Matter? Investor Protection and Its Effects on Investment, Finance, and Growth." *Journal of Finance* 67: 313–50.
- Micco, Alejandro, and Carmen Pagés. 2006. "The Economic Effects of Employment Protection: Evidence from International Industry-Level Data." IZA Discussion Paper 2433, Institute for the Study of Labor (IZA), Bonn.
- Moullier, Thomas. 2009. "Reforming Building Permits: Why Is It Important and What Can IFC Really Do?" International Finance Corporation, Washington, DC.
- Narayan, Deepa, Robert Chambers, Meer Kaul Shah and Patti Petesh. 2000. *Voices of the Poor: Crying Out for Change*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
- Nunn, Nathan. 2007. "Relationship-Specificity, Incomplete Contracts, and the Pattern of Trade." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 122 (2): 569–600. OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development). 2010.
- "Construction Industry." *OECD Journal of Competition Law and Policy* 10 (1). Olken, Benjamin A. 2007. "Monitoring Corruption: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Indonesia." *Journal of Political Economy* 115 (2): 200–49.
- Paul, Samuel. 1992. "Accountability in Public Services: Exit, Voice and Control." *World Development* 20 (7): 1047–60.
- Perotti, Enrico, and Paolo Volpin. 2005. "The Political Economy of Entry: Lobbying and Financial Development." Paper presented at the American Finance Association 2005 Philadelphia Meetings.
- Portugal-Perez, Alberto, and John Wilson. 2011. "Export Performance and Trade Facilitation Reform: Hard and Soft Infrastructure." *World Development* 40 (7): 1295–307.
- Ramello, Giovanni, and Stephen Voigt. 2012. "The Economics of Efficiency and the Judicial System." *International Review of Law and Economics* 32: 1–2.
- Rauch, James. 2010. "Development through Synergistic Reforms." *Journal of Development Economics* 93 (2): 153–61.
- Reinikka, Ritva, and Jakob Svensson. 1999. "Confronting Competition: Investment Response and Constraints in Uganda." Policy Research Working Paper 2242, World Bank, Washington, DC.

_____. 2005. "Fighting Corruption to Improve Schooling: Evidence from a Newspaper Campaign in Uganda." *Journal of the European Economic Association* 3 (2–3): 259–67.

Republic of Korea, Ministry of Justice. 2011. "Ease of Doing Business Enforcing Contracts of Indonesia and Peru." Available at <http://aimp.apec.org>.

Rodano, Giacomo, Nicolas Andre Benigno Serrano-Velarde and Emanuele Tarantino. 2011. "The Causal Effect of Bankruptcy Law on the Cost of Finance." Available at <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1967485>.

Rwanda, Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning. 2000. *Rwanda Vision 2020*. Available at <http://www.gesci.org/>.

_____. 2007. *Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy, 2008–2012*. Available at <http://planipolis.iiep.unesco.org/>.

Scarpetta, Stefano, Anne Sonnet and Thomas Manfredi. 2010. "Rising Youth Unemployment during the Crisis: How to Prevent Negative Long-Term Consequences on a Generation?" OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Paper 106, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Paris.

Schneider, Friedrich. 2005. "The Informal Sector in 145 Countries." Department of Economics, University Linz, Austria.

Schneider, Friedrich, Andreas Buehn and Claudio E. Montenegro. 2010. "New Estimates for the Shadow Economies All Over the World." *International Economic Journal* 24 (4): 443–61.

Seker, Murat. 2011. "Trade Policies, Investment Climate, and Exports." Policy Research Working Paper 5654, World Bank, Washington, DC.

Sharma, Siddharth. 2009. "Entry Regulation, Labor Laws and Informality: Evidence from India." Enterprise Survey Working Paper, Enterprise Analysis Unit, World Bank Group, Washington, DC.

Sohn, Ira. 2008. "Back from the Brink: Economic and Financial Reform in Colombia." International Trade and Finance Association Working Paper, International Trade and Finance Association, Kingsville, TX.

Stampini, Marco, Ron Leung, Setou M. Diarra and Lauréline Pla. 2011. "How Large Is the Private Sector in Africa? Evidence from National Accounts and Labor Markets." IZA Discussion Paper 6267, Institute for the Study of Labor (IZA), Bonn.

Stigler, George J. 1961. "The Economics of Information." *Journal of Political Economy* 69 (3): 213–25.

_____. 1971. "The Theory of Economic Regulation." *Bell Journal of Economics and Management Science* 2: 3–21.

Stiglitz, Joseph E. 2003. "Transparency of Government (Part 1): Breakthrough for Reforming the Shape of a Nation." *Economics Review* (Research Institute of Economy, Trade and Industry). <http://www.rieti.go.jp/en/>.

Stiglitz, Joseph E., and Andrew Weiss. 1981. "Credit Rationing in Markets with Imperfect Information." *American Economic Review* 71 (3): 393–410.

UNCITRAL (United Nations Commission on International Trade Law). 2004. *Legislative Guide on Insolvency Law*. New York: United Nations.

_____. 2007. *Legislative Guide on Secured Transactions*. New York: United Nations.

USAID (U.S. Agency for International Development) and New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2010. "Making It Easier to Start a Business in Indonesia: Diagnostic Study." Available at <http://aimp.apec.org>.

Varejao, José, and Pedro Portugal. 2007. "Employment Dynamics and the Structure of Labor Adjustment Costs." *Journal of Labor Economics* 25: 137–65.

Visaria, Sujata. 2009. "Legal Reform and Loan Repayment: The Microeconomic Impact of Debt Recovery Tribunals in India." *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 1 (3): 59–81.

von Lilienfeld-Toal, Ulf, Dilip Mookherjee and Sujata Visaria. 2012. "The Distributive Impact of Reforms in Credit Enforcement: Evidence from Indian Debt Recovery Tribunals." *Econometrica* 80 (2): 497–558.

Waglé, Swarnim. 2011. "Investing across Borders with Heterogeneous Firms: Do FDI-Specific Regulations Matter?" Policy Research Working Paper 5914, World Bank, Washington, DC.

Walsh, James, and Jiangyan Yu. 2010. "Determinants of Foreign Direct Investment: A Sectoral and Institutional Approach." IMF Working Paper WP/10/87, International Monetary Fund, Washington, DC.

WEF (World Economic Forum). 2012. *The Global Competitiveness Report 2012–2013*. Geneva: WEF.

Wei, Shang-Jin. 2000. "How Taxing Is Corruption on International Investors?" *Review of Economics and Statistics* 82 (1): 1–11.

Williams, Andrew. 2009. "On the Release of Information by Governments: Causes and Consequences." *Journal of Development Economics* 89 (1): 124–38.

World Bank. 2001. "Latvia: Programmatic Structural Adjustment Loan Project." Report 22457, Europe and Central Asia Region, World Bank, Washington, DC.

_____. 2003. *Doing Business in 2004: Understanding Regulation*. Washington, DC: World Bank Group.

_____. 2004. *World Development Report 2004: Making Services Work for Poor People*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

_____. 2005. *World Development Report 2005: A Better Investment Climate for Everyone*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

_____. 2006. *Doing Business in 2007: How to Reform*. Washington, DC: World Bank Group.

_____. 2007. *Doing Business in 2008*. Washington, DC: World Bank Group.

_____. 2009a. *From Privilege to Competition: Unlocking Private-Led Growth in the Middle East and North Africa*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

_____. 2009b. *How Many Stops in a One-Stop Shop?* Washington, DC: World Bank Group.

_____. 2010a. *Doing Business 2011: Making a Difference for Entrepreneurs*. Washington, DC: World Bank Group.

_____. 2010b. *Investing Across Borders 2010*. Washington, DC: World Bank Group.

_____. 2011a. *Doing Business 2012: Doing Business in a More Transparent World*. Washington, DC: World Bank Group.

_____. 2011b. "Principles for Effective Creditor Rights and Insolvency Systems." Revised draft, January 20. http://www.worldbank.org/ifa/rosc_icr.html.

_____. 2012. *World Development Indicators 2012*. Washington, DC: World Bank. World Bank Facility for Investment Climate Advisory Services. 2011. *Managing for Impact: FIAS Strategy for FY12–16*. Washington, DC: World Bank Group.

World Bank Independent Evaluation Group. 2008. *Doing Business: An Independent Evaluation—Taking the Measure of the World Bank–IFC Doing Business Indicators*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Zoellick, Robert B., Ahmad M. Al-Madani, Donald Kaberuka, Haruhiko Kuroda, Thomas Mirow and Luis A. Moreno. 2012. "How to Make Trade Easier." Commentary, Project Syndicate. <http://www.project-syndicate.org/>