Doing Business 2008

Latin America

COMPARING REGULATION IN 178 ECONOMIES

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Copies of *Doing Business 2008, Doing Business 2007: How to Reform, Doing Business in 2006: Creating Jobs, Doing Business in 2005: Removing Obstacles to Growth* and *Doing Business in 2004: Understanding Regulation* may be purchased at www.doingbusiness.org.

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Introduction

Doing Business 2008 is the fifth in a series of annual reports investigating the regulations that enhance business activity and those that constrain it. *Doing Business* presents quantitative indicators on business regulations and the protection of property rights that can be compared across 178 economies—from Afghanistan to Zimbabwe—and over time.

Regulations affecting 10 stages of a business's life are measured: starting a business, dealing with licenses, employing workers, registering property, getting credit, protecting investors, paying taxes, trading across borders, enforcing contracts and closing a business. Data in *Doing Business 2008* are current as of June 1, 2007. The indicators are used to analyze economic outcomes and identify what reforms have worked, where, and why.

The *Doing Business* methodology has limitations. Other areas important to business—such as a country's proximity to large markets, the quality of its infrastructure services (other than those related to trading across borders), the security of property from theft and looting, the transparency of government procurement, macroeconomic conditions or the underlying strength of institutions—are not studied directly by *Doing Business.* To make the data comparable across countries, the indicators refer to a specific type of business—generally a limited liability company operating in the largest business city.

Because standard assumptions are used in the data collection, comparisons and benchmarks are valid across economies. The data not only highlight the extent of obstacles to doing business; they also help identify the source of those obstacles, supporting policymakers in designing reform.

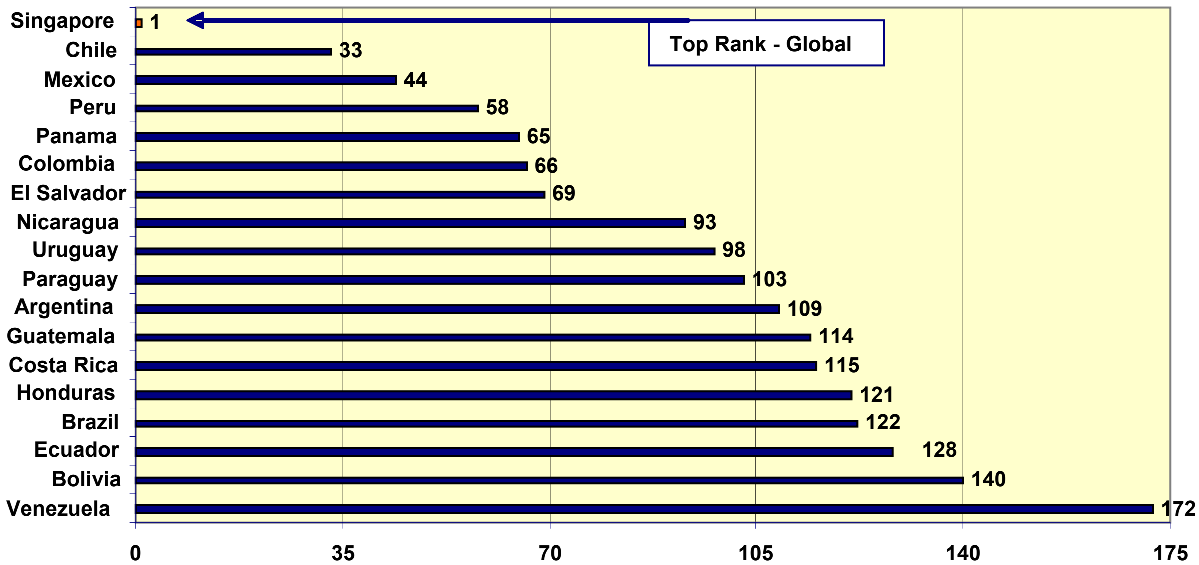
The data set covers 178 economies: 46 in Sub-Saharan Africa, 31 in Latin America and the Caribbean, 28 in Eastern Europe and Central Asia, 24 in East Asia and Pacific, 17 in the Middle East and North Africa and 8 in South Asia—as well as 24 OECD high-income economies as benchmarks. Some of the regions have been divided into subregions to generate a total of 13 regional profiles.

The following pages present the summary *Doing Business* indicators for Latin America. The data used for this regional profile come from the *Doing Business* database and are summarized in graphs. These graphs allow a comparison of the countries in each region not only with one another but also with the "best practice" country for each indicator.

The best-practice countries are identified by their position in each indicator as well as their overall ranking and by their capacity to provide good examples of business regulation to other countries. These best-practice countries do not necessarily rank number 1 in the topic or indicator, but they are in the top 5.

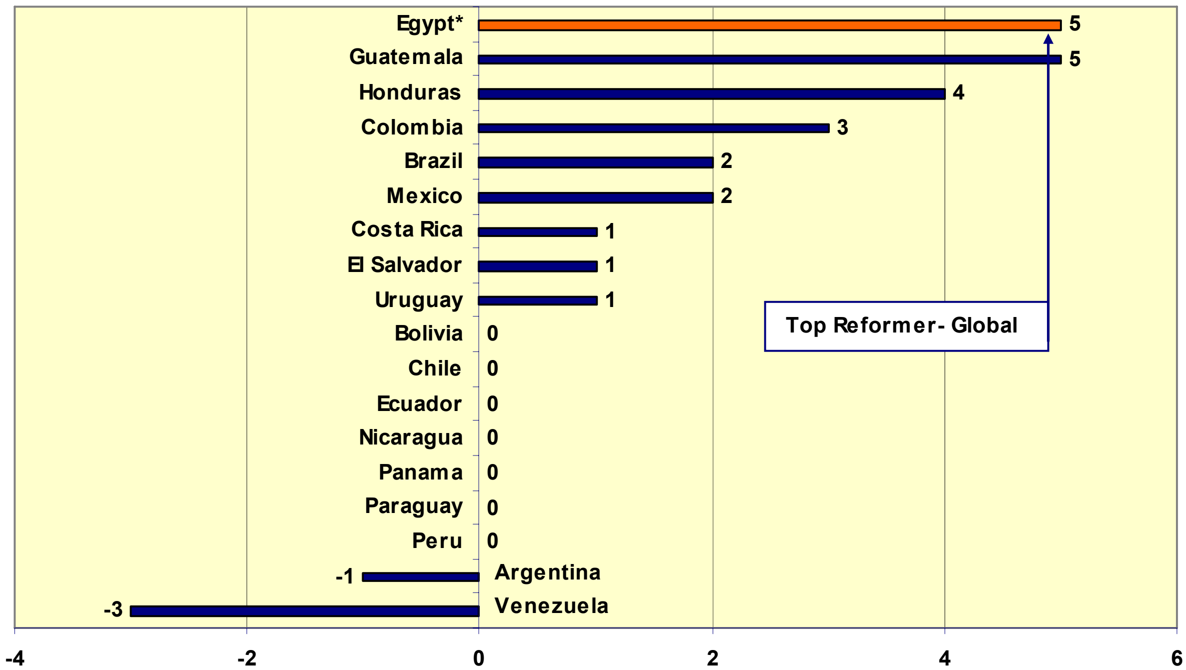
More information is available in the full report. *Doing Business 2008* presents the indicators, analyzes their relationship with economic outcomes and recommends reforms. The data, along with information on ordering the report, are available on the *Doing Business* website (http://www.doingbusiness.org).

Ranking on the ease of doing business



Note: The ease of doing business index averages economy rankings on the 10 topics covered in *Doing Business 2008.*
Source: Doing Business database.

Net number of reforms improving a set of *Doing Business* indicators



Source : Doing Business database

*The top reformer is determined on the basis of the number of reforms implemented by the economy and the change in its ranking on the ease of doing business between *Doing Business 2007* and *Doing Business 2008.*
Note: The method for counting net reforms is as follows. A value of 1 is assigned when an economy introduces a reform that improves its performance on one of the sets of *Doing Business* indicators between 2006 and 2007. For example, if an economy reforms to reduce the procedures and time to start a business and the cost to register property, it is recorded as having two reforms: one to the set of indicators on starting a business and one to the set on registering property. Negative reforms are counted similarly .To count net reforms, both positive and negative reforms are added.

Starting a business

Entry regulation

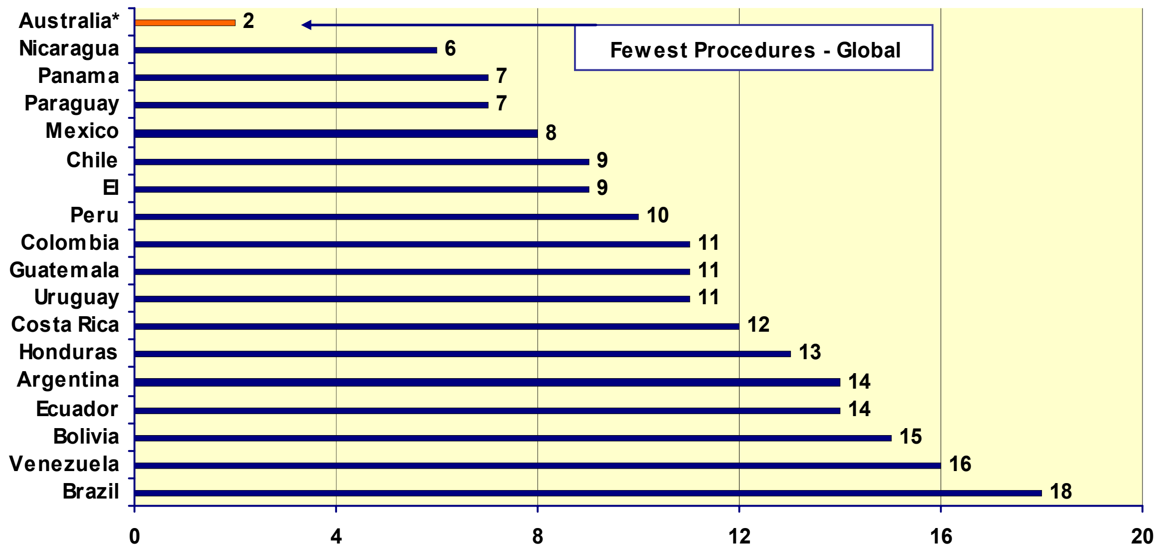
When entrepreneurs draw up a business plan and try to get under way, the first hurdles they face are the procedures required to incorporate and register the new firm before they can legally operate. Economies differ greatly in how they regulate the entry of new businesses. In some the process is straightforward and affordable. In others the procedures are so burdensome that entrepreneurs may have to bribe officials to speed the process—or may decide to run their business informally.

The data on starting a business are based on a survey and research investigating the procedures that a standard small to medium-size company needs to complete to start operations legally. These include obtaining all necessary permits and licenses and completing all required inscriptions, verifications and notifications with authorities to enable the company to formally operate. The time and cost required to complete each procedure under normal circumstances are calculated, as well as the minimum capital that must be paid in. It is assumed that all information is readily available to the entrepreneur, that there has been no prior contact with officials and that all government and nongovernment entities involved in the process function without corruption.

To make the data comparable across economies, detailed assumptions about the type of business are used. Among these assumptions are the following: the business is a limited liability company conducting general commercial activities in the largest business city; it is 100% domestically owned, with start-up capital of 10 times income per capita, turnover of at least 100 times income per capita and between 10 and 50 employees; and it does not qualify for any special benefits, nor does it own real estate. Procedures are recorded only where interaction is required with an external party. It is assumed that the founders complete all procedures themselves unless professional services (such as by a notary or lawyer) are required by law. Voluntary procedures are not counted, nor are industry-specific requirements and utility hook-ups. Lawful shortcuts are counted.

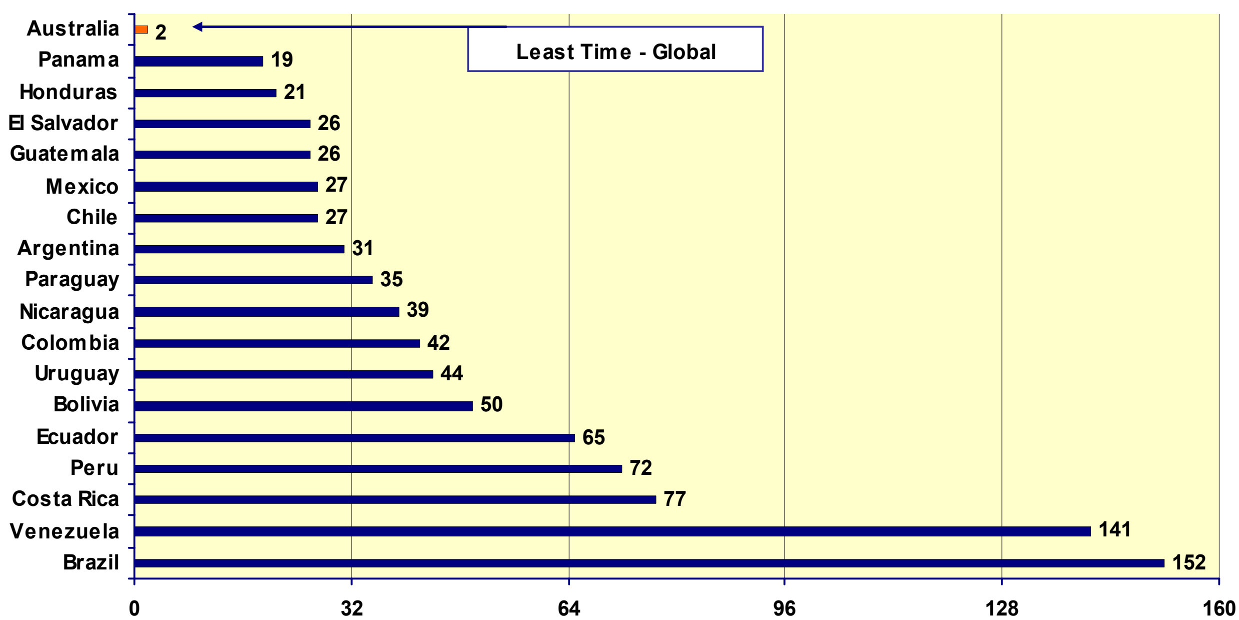
Cumbersome entry procedures are associated with more corruption, particularly in developing countries. Each procedure is a point of contact—an opportunity to extract a bribe. Analysis shows that burdensome entry regulations do not increase the quality of products, make work safer or reduce pollution. Instead, they constrain private investment, push more people into the informal economy, increase consumer prices and fuel corruption.

Procedures to start a business



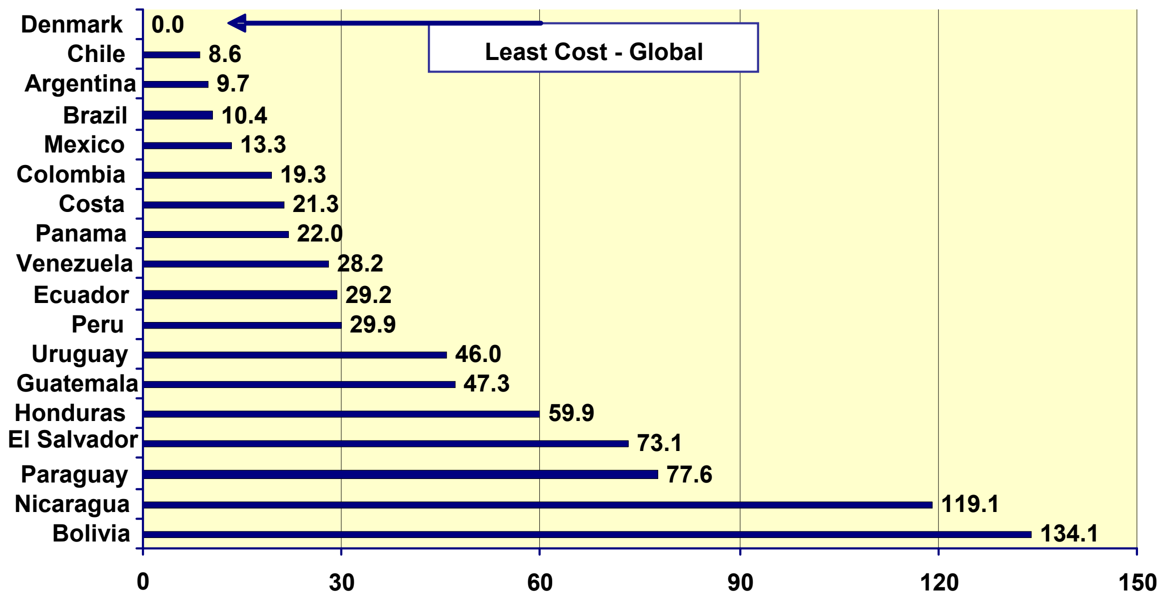
*Other economies with the fewest procedures include Canada and New Zealand.
Source: Doing Business database.

Time to start a business (days)



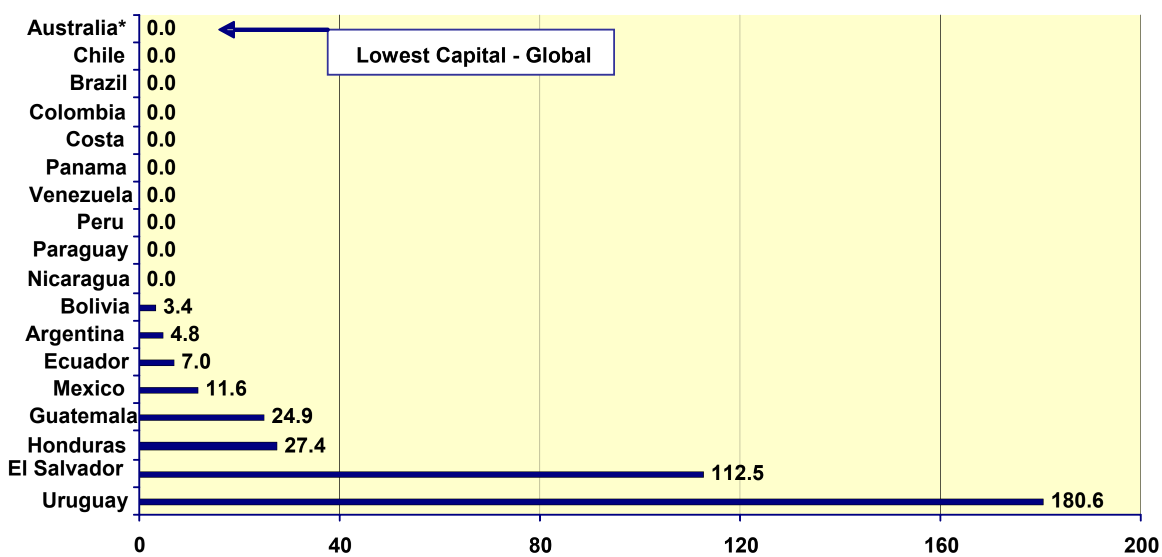
Source: Doing Business database.

Cost to start a business (% of income per capita)



Source: Doing Business database.

Minimum capital to start a business (% of income per capita)



*Other economies with no minimum capital requirements include Canada, Ireland, Israel, Mauritius, New Zealand, Puerto Rico, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, the United Kingdom and the United States.

Source: Doing Business database.

Dealing with licenses

Building a warehouse

Once entrepreneurs have registered a business, what regulations do they face in operating it? To measure such regulation, *Doing Business* focuses on the construction sector. Construction companies are under constant pressure—from government to comply with inspections and with licensing and safety regulations and from customers to be quick and cost-effective. These conflicting pressures point to the tradeoff in building regulation—the tradeoff between protecting people (construction workers, tenants, passersby) and keeping the cost of building affordable.

In many countries, especially poor ones, complying with building regulations is so costly in time and money that many builders opt out. Builders may pay bribes to pass inspections or simply build illegally—leading to hazardous construction. In other countries compliance is simple, straightforward and inexpensive—yielding better results.

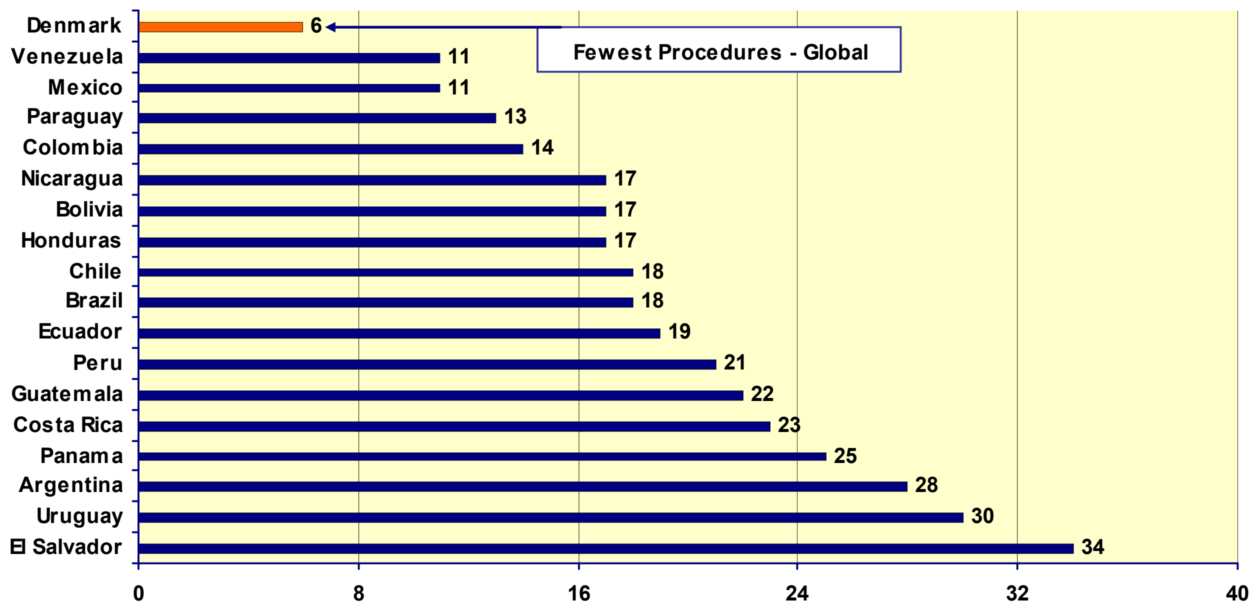
The indicators on dealing with licenses record all procedures officially required for an entrepreneur in the construction industry to build a warehouse. These include submitting project documents (building plans, site maps) to the authorities, obtaining all necessary licenses and permits, completing all required notifications and receiving all necessary inspections. They also include procedures for obtaining utility connections, such as electricity, telephone, water and sewerage. The time and cost to complete each procedure under normal circumstances are calculated. All official fees associated with legally completing the procedures are included. Time is recorded in calendar days. The survey assumes that the entrepreneur is aware of all existing regulations and does not use an intermediary to complete the procedures unless required to do so by law.

To make the data comparable across economies, several assumptions about the business and its operations are used. The business is a small to medium-size limited liability company, located in the most populous city, domestically owned and operated, in the construction business, with 20 qualified employees. The warehouse to be built:

- Is a new construction (there was no previous construction on the land).
- Has complete architectural and technical plans prepared by a licensed architect.
- Will be connected to electricity, water, sewerage (sewage system, septic tank or their equivalent) and one land phone line. The connection to each utility network will be 32 feet, 10 inches (10 meters) long.
- Will be used for general storage, such as of books or stationery. The warehouse will not be used for any goods requiring special conditions, such as food, chemicals or pharmaceuticals.
- Will take 30 weeks to construct (excluding all delays due to administrative and regulatory requirements).

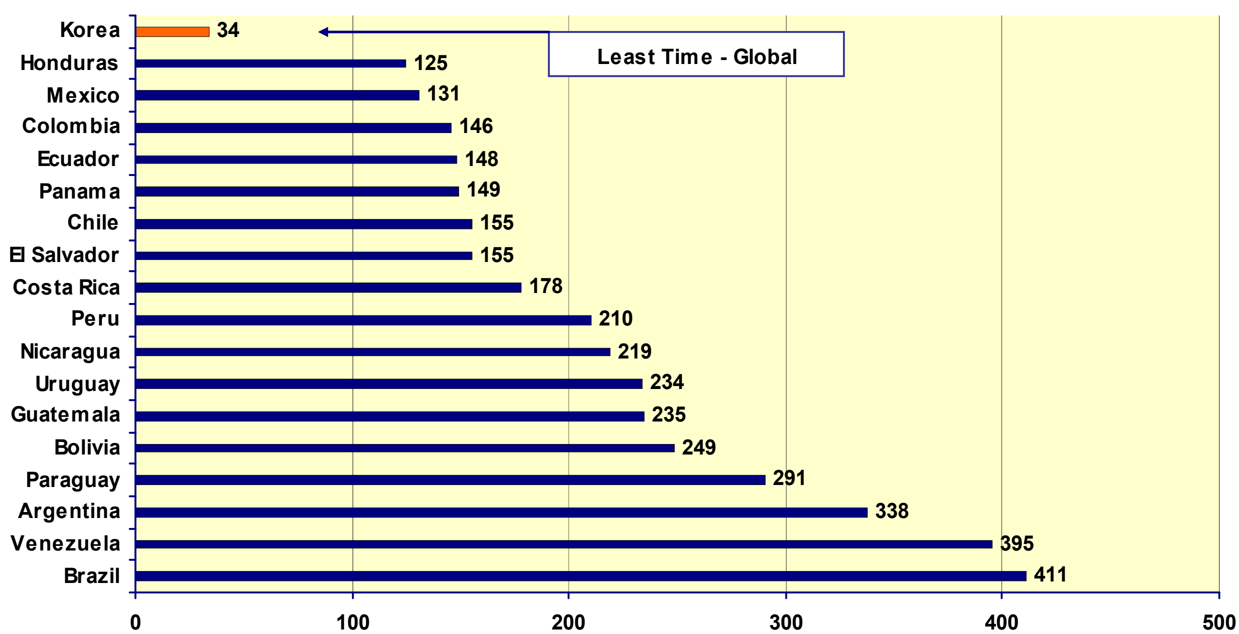
Where the regulatory burden is large, entrepreneurs move their activity into the informal economy. There they operate with less concern for safety, leaving everyone worse off.

Procedures to deal with licenses



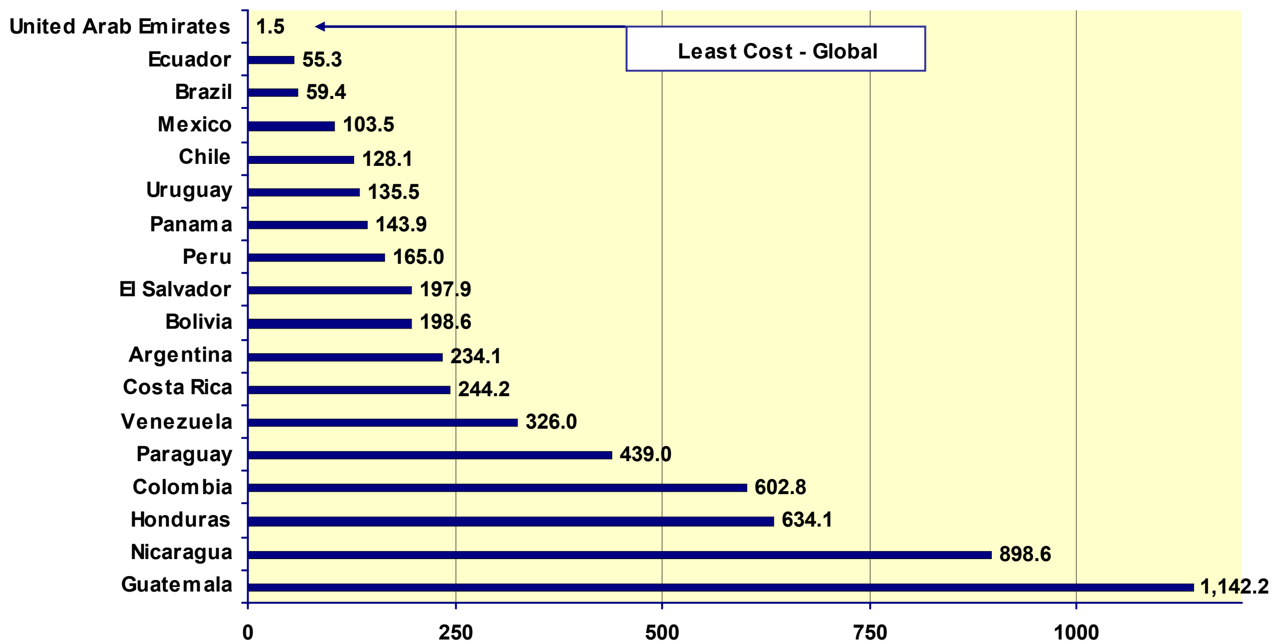
Source: Doing Business database.

Time to deal with licenses (days)



Source: Doing Business database.

Cost to deal with licenses (% of income per capita)



Source: Doing Business database.

Employing workers
Labor regulation

Every economy has established a complex system of laws and institutions intended to protect workers and guarantee a minimum standard of living for its population. This system encompasses four bodies of law: employment, industrial relations, social security and occupational health and safety laws. *Doing Business* examines government regulation in the area of employment and social security laws.

Three measures are presented: a rigidity of employment index, a nonwage labor cost measure and a firing cost measure. The rigidity of employment index is the average of three subindices: difficulty of hiring, rigidity of hours and difficulty of firing. Each index takes values between 0 and 100, with higher values indicating more rigid regulation. The difficulty of hiring index measures the flexibility of contracts and the ratio of the minimum wage to the value added per worker. The rigidity of hours index covers restrictions on weekend and night work, requirements relating to working time and the workweek, and mandated days of annual leave with pay. The difficulty of firing index covers workers' legal protections against dismissal, including the grounds permitted for dismissal and procedures for dismissal (individual and collective).

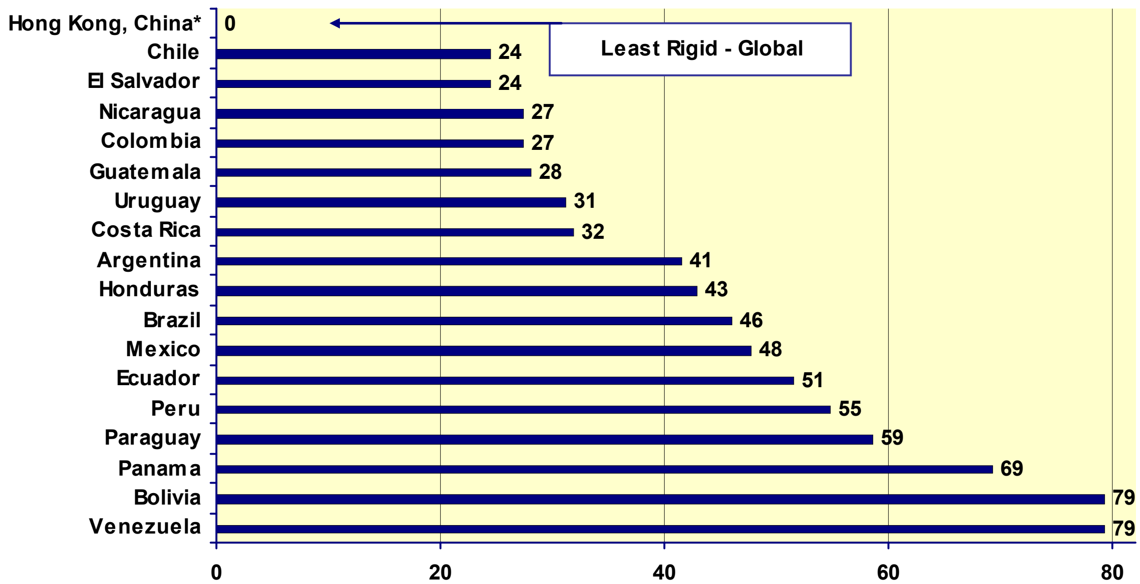
The nonwage labor cost covers all social security payments and payroll taxes associated with hiring an employee, expressed as a percentage of the worker's salary. The firing cost indicator measures the cost of advance notice requirements, severance payments and penalties due when terminating a redundant worker, expressed in weeks of salary.

The indicators on employment regulations are based on a detailed study of employment laws. Data are also gathered on the specific constitutional provisions governing the two areas studied. To ensure accuracy, both the actual laws and the applicable collective bargaining agreements are used. Finally, all data are verified and completed by local law firms through a detailed survey of employment regulations.

To make the data comparable across economies, a range of assumptions about the worker and the company are used. Assumptions about the worker include that he is a nonexecutive, full-time male employee who has worked in the same company for 20 years and is not a member of the labor union (unless membership is mandatory). The company is assumed to be a limited liability manufacturing corporation that operates in the country's most populous city, is 100% domestically owned and has 201 employees. The company is also assumed to be subject to collective bargaining agreements in countries where such agreements cover more than half the manufacturing sector and apply even to firms not party to them.

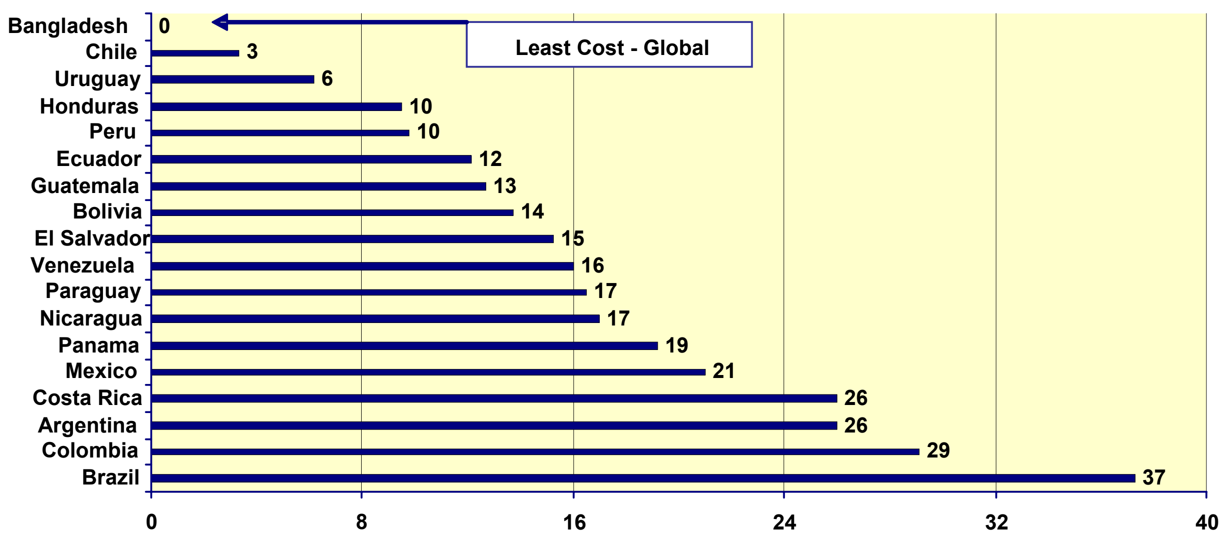
Most employment regulations are enacted in response to market failures. But that does not mean that today's regulations are optimal. Analysis across countries shows that while employment regulation generally increases the tenure and wages of incumbent workers, rigid regulations have many undesirable side effects. These include less job creation, smaller company size, less investment in research and development, and longer spells of unemployment and thus the obsolescence of skills—all of which may reduce productivity growth. Many countries err on the side of excessive rigidity, to the detriment of businesses and workers alike.

Rigidity of employment index (0–100)



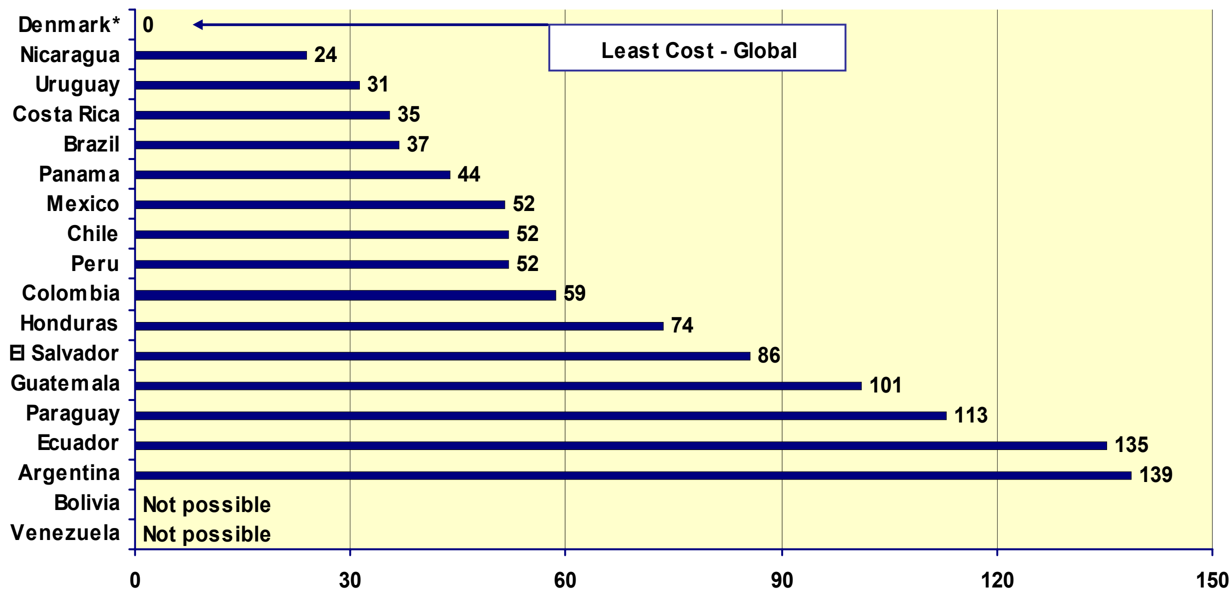
*Other economies with the least rigid labor regulation are Singapore and the United States.
Source: Doing Business database.

Nonwage labor cost (% of salary)



*Other economies with the least cost include Botswana, Ethiopia, and Maldives.
Source: Doing Business database.

Firing cost (weeks of salary)



*Other economies with the least cost include New Zealand and the United States.
Source: Doing Business database.

Registering property

Regulation of property transfers

Property registries were first developed to help raise tax revenue. Defining and publicizing property rights through registries has also proved to be good for entrepreneurs. Land and buildings account for between half and three-quarters of the wealth in most economies. Securing rights to this property strengthens incentives to invest and facilitates commerce. And with formal property titles, entrepreneurs can obtain mortgages on their home or land and start businesses.

Doing Business measures the ease of registering property based on a standard case of an entrepreneur who wants to purchase land and a building in the largest business city. It is assumed that the property is already registered and free of title dispute. The data cover the full sequence of procedures necessary to transfer the property title from the seller to the buyer. Every required procedure is included, whether it is the responsibility of the seller or the buyer or must be completed by a third party on their behalf.

Local property lawyers and officials in property registries provide information on required procedures as well as the time and cost to complete each one. For most countries the data are based on responses from both. Based on the responses, three indicators are constructed:

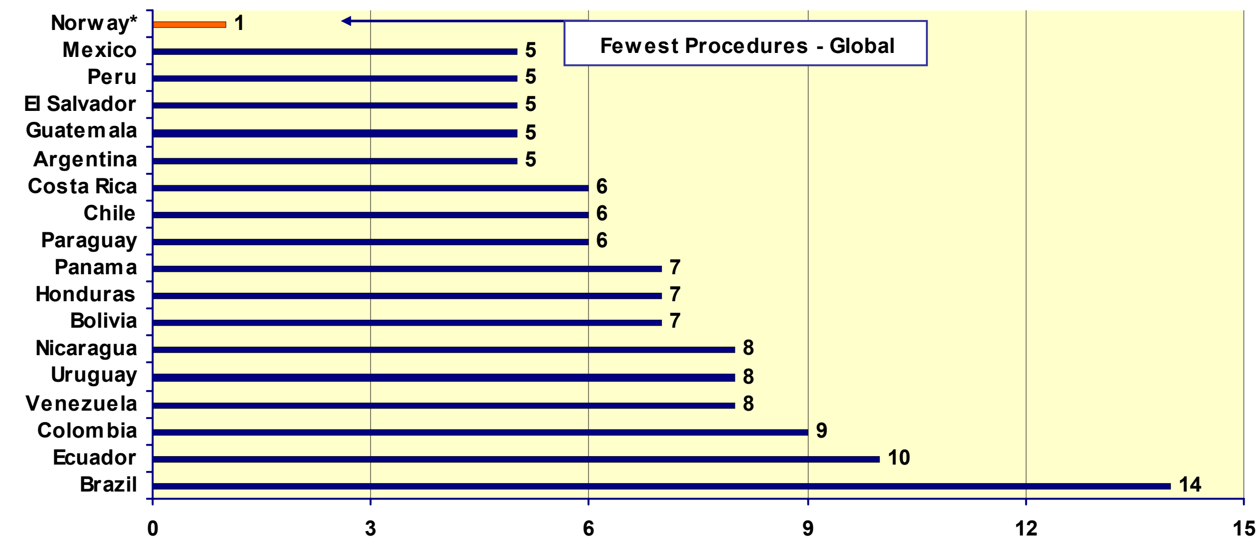
- Number of procedures to register property.
- Time to register property (in calendar days).
- Official costs to register property (as a percentage of the property value).

A large share of the property in developing countries is not formally registered, limiting financing opportunities for businesses. Recognizing this constraint, some developing country governments have embarked on extensive property titling programs. Yet bringing assets into the formal sector is of little value unless they stay there.

Many titling programs in Africa were futile because people bought and sold property informally—neglecting to update the title records in the property registry. Why? *Doing Business* shows that completing a simple formal property transfer in the largest business city of an African country costs 12% of the value of the property and takes more than 100 days on average. Worse, the property registries are so poorly organized that they provide little security of ownership. For both reasons, formalized titles quickly go informal again.

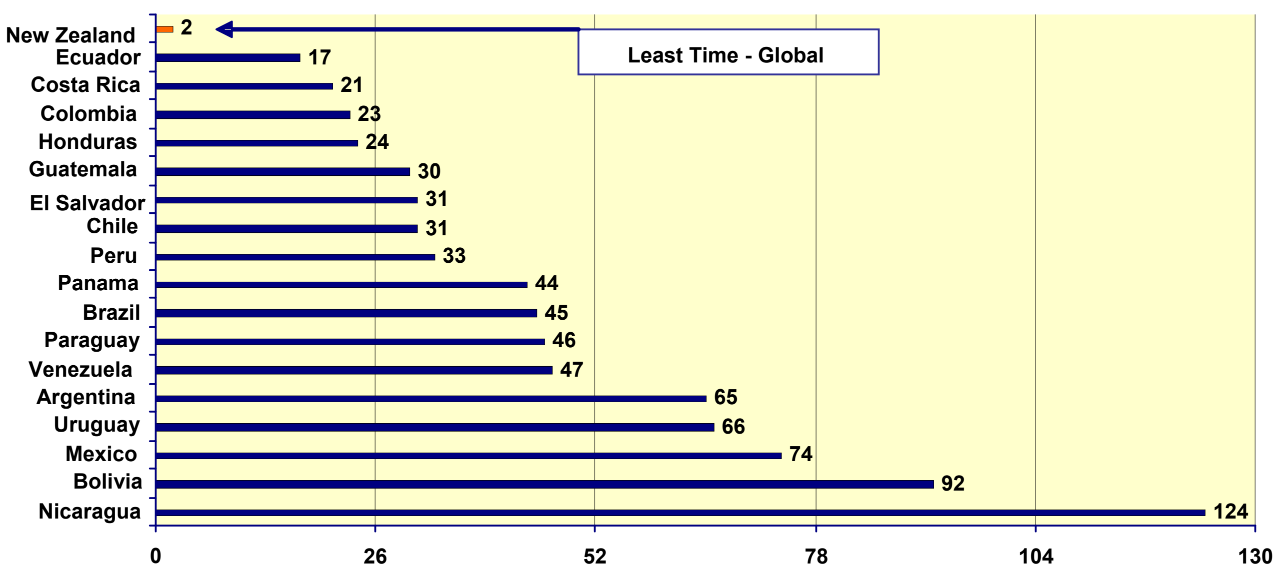
Efficient property registration reduces transaction costs and helps keep formal titles from slipping into informal status. Simple procedures to register property are also associated with greater perceived security of property rights and less corruption. That benefits all entrepreneurs, especially women, the young and the poor. The rich have few problems protecting their property rights. They can afford to invest in security systems and other measures to defend their property. But small entrepreneurs cannot. Reform can change this.

Procedures to register property



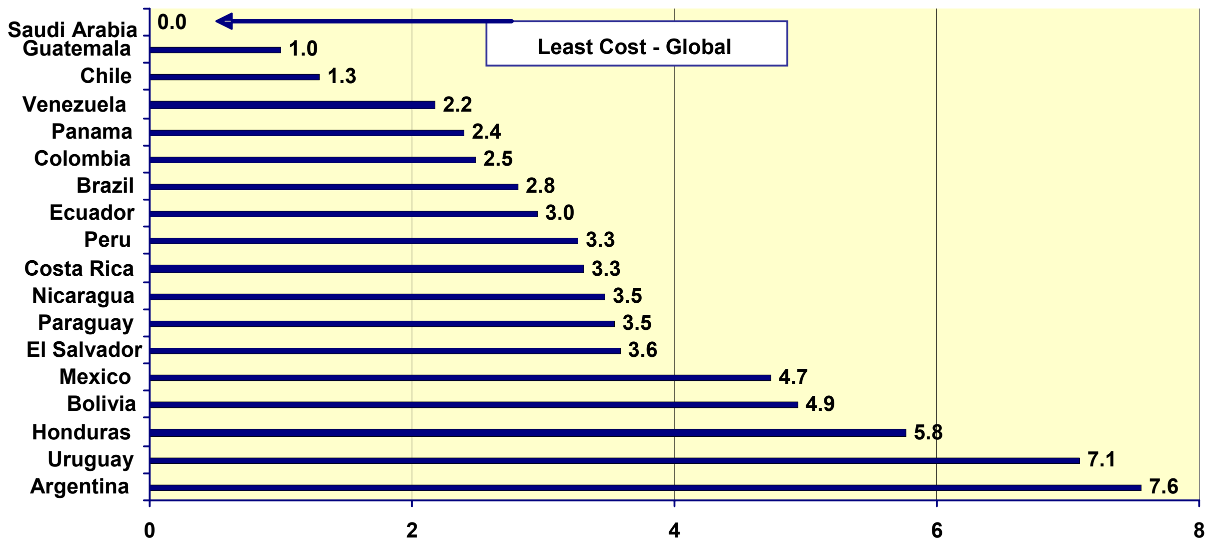
*Another economy with the fewest procedures to register is Sweden.
Source: Doing Business database.

Time to register property (days)



*Other economies with the least time to register include Sweden and Thailand.
Source: Doing Business database.

Cost to register property (% of property value)



*Another economy with the least cost to register is Bhutan.
Source: Doing Business database.

Getting credit

Credit information and legal rights

Firms consistently rate access to credit as among the greatest barriers to their operation and growth. *Doing Business* constructs two sets of indicators of how well credit markets function—one on credit registries and the other on legal rights of borrowers and lenders.

Credit registries—institutions that collect and distribute credit information on borrowers—can greatly expand access to credit. By sharing credit information, they help lenders assess risk and allocate credit more efficiently. And they free entrepreneurs from having to rely on personal connections alone when trying to obtain credit. Three indicators are constructed to measure the sharing of credit information:

- Public registry coverage, which reports the number of individuals and firms covered by a public credit registry as a percentage of the adult population.
- Private bureau coverage, which reports the number of individuals and firms covered by a private credit bureau as a percentage of the adult population.
- Depth of credit information index, which measures the extent to which the rules of a credit information system facilitate lending based on the scope of information distributed, the ease of access to information and the quality of information.

The data are from surveys of public registries and the largest private credit bureau in the country.

Effective regulation of secured lending—through collateral and bankruptcy laws—can also ease credit constraints. By giving a lender the right to seize and sell a borrower's secured assets upon default, collateral limits the lender's potential losses and acts as a screening device for borrowers. The strength of legal rights index measures 10 aspects of the rights of borrowers and creditors in collateral and bankruptcy laws, including whether:

- General rather than specific description of assets and debt is permitted in collateral agreements (expanding the scope of assets and debt covered).
- Any legal or natural person may grant or take security in assets.
- A unified registry operates that includes charges over movable property.
- Secured creditors have priority both within bankruptcy and outside it.
- Parties may agree on out-of-court enforcement of collateral by contract.
- Creditors may both seize and sell collateral out of court, no automatic stay or "asset freeze" applies upon bankruptcy, and the bankrupt debtor does not retain control of the firm.

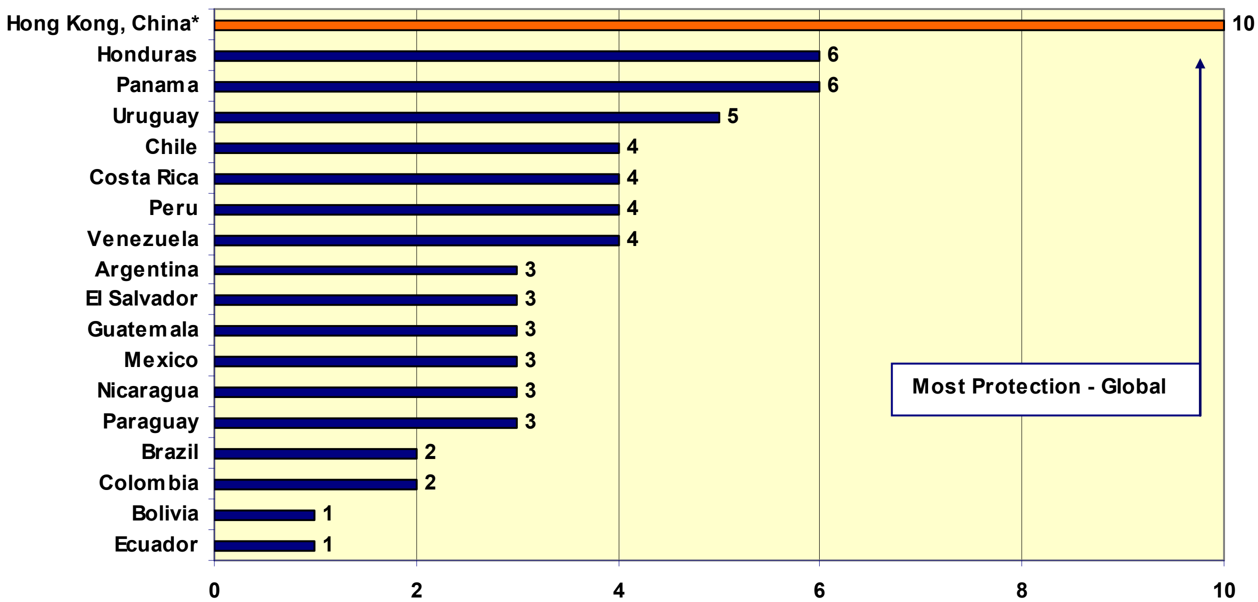
The index ranges from 0 (weak legal rights) to 10 (strong legal rights). The data were obtained by examining collateral and bankruptcy laws and legal summaries and verified through a survey of financial lawyers.

Where good-quality credit information is available and legal rights are stronger, more credit is extended. Benefits flow beyond those gaining access to credit. With better-functioning credit markets, unemployment is lower, and women and low-income people benefit the most.

Economy	Public registry coverage (borrowers /% adults)	Private bureau coverage (borrowers /% adults)	Credit Information Index **
Portugal	67.1 (highest coverage)	11.3	4
Argentina*	25.5	100.0 (highest coverage)	6
Ecuador	37.9	44.1	5
Chile	26.2	33.5	5
Peru	20.7	33.0	6
Guatemala	20.7	13.1	5
El Salvador	17.2	74.6	6
Brazil	17.1	46.4	5
Nicaragua	14.8	100.0	5
Uruguay	14.1	93.8	6
Honduras	12.7	58.0	6
Bolivia	12.1	22.6	5
Paraguay	11.0	48.7	6
Costa Rica	6.1	52.7	5
Mexico	0.0	61.2	6
Panama	0.0	41.6	6
Colombia	0.0	39.9	5
Venezuela	0.0	0.0	0

*Other economies that offer the most coverage include Australia, Canada, Iceland, Ireland, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden and the United States.
**The index measures whether either public or private credit registries have both positive information (loans outstanding, on-time repayment history) and negative information (defaults, late payments); data on both firms and individuals; data from retailers, utilities or trade creditors as well as financial institutions; more than two years of historical data; data on loans below 1% of income per capita; and legal guarantees of consumers' right to inspect their data. Higher values indicate greater information sharing.
Source: Doing Business database.

Strength of legal rights index (0–10)



*Another economy with the most protection of the rights of borrowers and lenders is the United Kingdom.
Source: Doing Business database.

Protecting investors

Corporate governance

Officials at Elf Aquitaine, France's largest oil company, awarded business deals in return for large side payments. Along with the extra cash, they got seven years in jail and a €2 million fine for abuse of power. Russian oil firm Gazprom purchased materials for new pipelines through intermediaries owned by company officers. The high cost raised eyebrows, but not court battles.

Big cases make headlines. But looting by corporate insiders occurs every day on a smaller scale, and often goes unnoticed. To document the protections investors have, *Doing Business* measures how countries regulate a standard case of self-dealing—use of corporate assets for personal gain.

The case facts are simple. Mr. James, a director and the majority shareholder of a public company, proposes that the company purchase used trucks from another company he owns. The price is higher than the going price for used trucks. The transaction goes forward. All required approvals are obtained, and all required disclosures made, though the transaction is unfair to the purchasing company. Shareholders sue the interested parties and the members of the board of directors.

Several questions arise. Who approves the transaction? What information must be disclosed? What company documents can investors access? What do minority shareholders have to prove to get the transaction stopped or to receive compensation from Mr. James? Three indices of investor protection are constructed based on the answers to these and other questions. All indices range from 0 to 10, with higher values indicating more protections or greater disclosure.

The extent of disclosure index covers approval procedures, requirements for immediate disclosure to the public and shareholders of proposed transactions, requirements for disclosure in periodic filings and reports and the availability of external review of transactions before they take place.

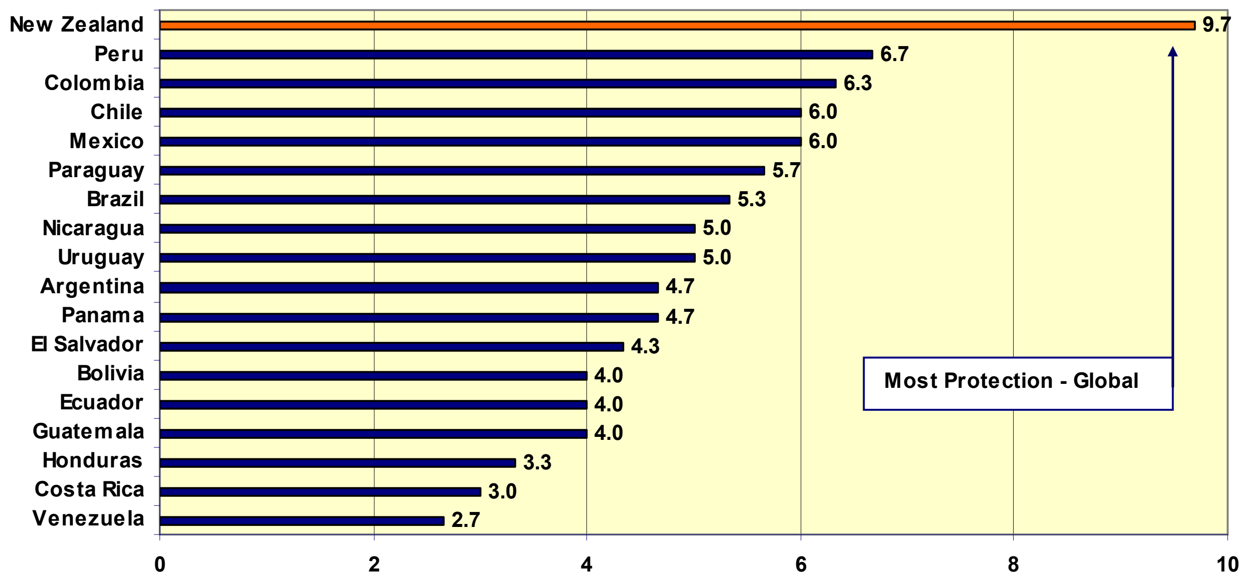
The extent of director liability index covers the ability of investors to hold Mr. James and the board of directors liable for damages, the ability to rescind the transaction, the availability of fines and jail time associated with self-dealing, the availability of direct or derivative suits and the ability to require Mr. James to pay back his personal profits from the transaction.

The ease of shareholder suits index covers the availability of documents that can be used during trial, the ability of the investor to examine the defendant and other witnesses, shareholders' access to internal documents of the company, the appointment of an inspector to investigate the transaction and the standard of proof applicable to a civil suit against the directors.

These three indices are averaged to create the strength of investor protection index. This index ranges from 0 to 10, with higher values indicating better investor protection.

If the rights of investors are not protected, majority ownership in a business is the only way to eliminate expropriation. But then investors must devote more oversight attention to fewer investments. The result: entrepreneurship is suppressed, and fewer profitable investment projects are undertaken. Where self-dealing is curbed, equity investment is higher, ownership concentration lower and trust in the business sector deeper. Investors gain portfolio diversification, and entrepreneurs gain access to cash.

Strength of investor protection index (0–10)



Source: Doing Business database.

Paying taxes

Tax payable and compliance

Taxes are essential. Without them there would be no money to fund schools, hospitals, courts, roads, water, waste collection and other public services that help businesses to be more productive. Still, there are good ways and bad ways to collect taxes.

The *Doing Business* tax survey records the effective tax that a company must pay and the administrative costs of doing so. Imagine a medium-size business, TaxpayerCo, that started operations last year. *Doing Business* asked accountants in 178 economies to review TaxpayerCo's financial statements and a standard list of transactions the company completed during the year. Respondents were asked how much tax the business must pay and what the process is for doing so.

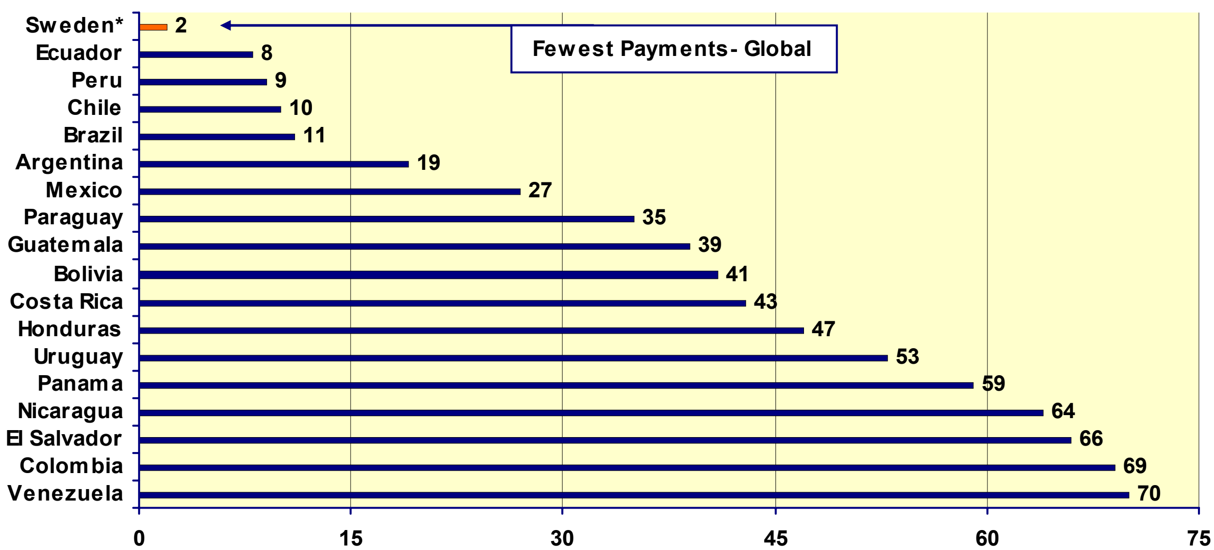
The business starts from the same financial position in each country. All the taxes and contributions paid during the second year of operation are recorded. Taxes and contributions are measured at all levels of government and include corporate income tax, turnover tax, all labor contributions paid by the company (including mandatory contributions paid to private pension or insurance funds), property tax, property transfer tax, dividend tax, capital gains tax, financial transactions tax, vehicle tax and other small taxes (such as fuel tax, stamp duty and local taxes). A range of standard deductions and exemptions are also recorded.

Three indicators are constructed:

- Number of tax payments, which takes into account the method of payment or withholding, the frequency of payment or withholding and the number of agencies involved for the standard case.
- Time, which measures the hours per year necessary to prepare, file and pay the corporate income tax, value added or sales tax and labor taxes.
- Total tax rate, which measures the amount of taxes payable by the company during the second year of operation. This amount, expressed as a percentage of commercial profit, is the sum of all the different taxes payable after accounting for various deductions and exemptions.

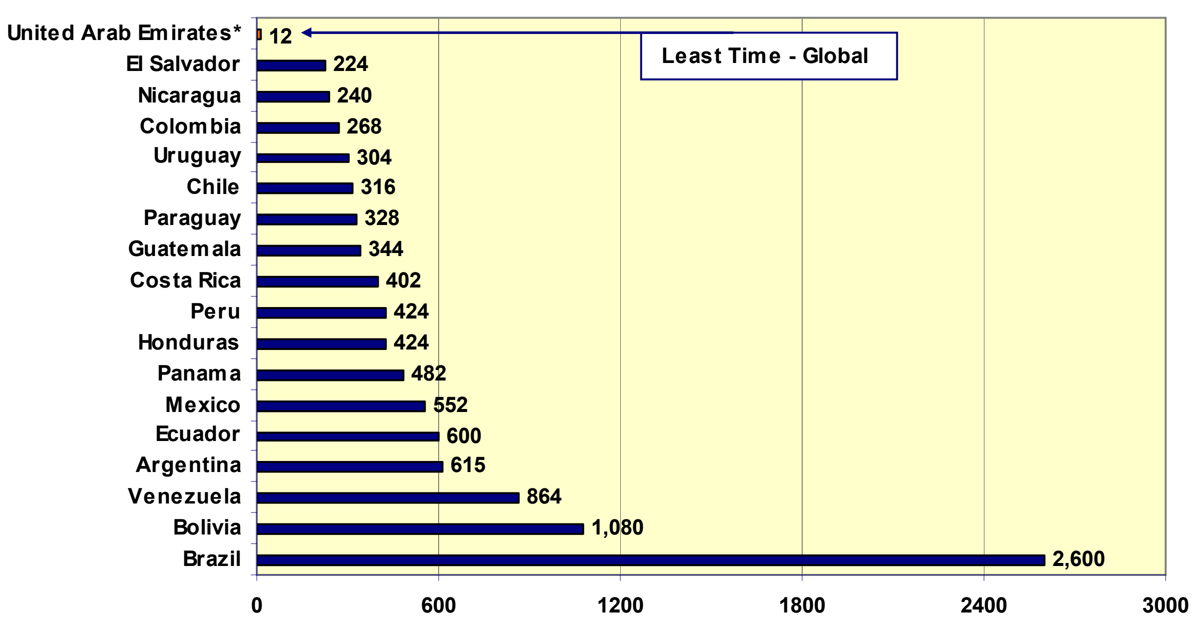
Businesses care about what they get for their taxes and contributions, such as the quality of infrastructure and social services. Poor countries tend to use businesses as a collection point for taxes. Rich countries tend to have lower tax rates and less complex tax systems. And rich countries get more from their taxes. Simple, moderate taxes and fast, cheap administration mean less hassle for businesses—and also more revenue collected and better public services. More burdensome tax regimes create an incentive to evade taxes.

Payments (number per year)



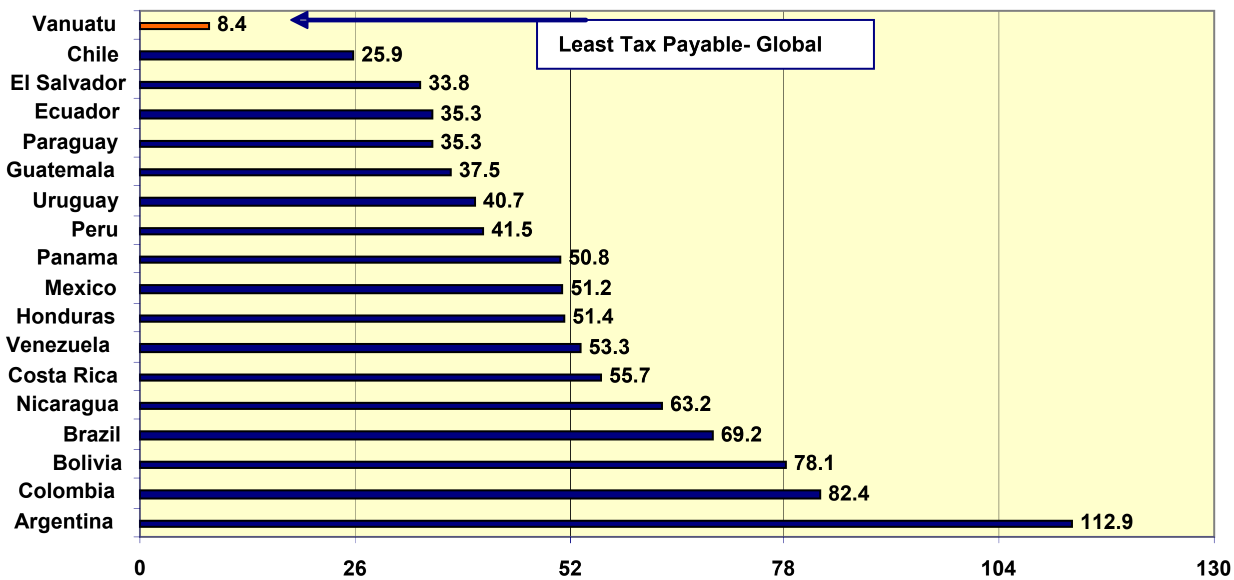
* Another economy with the fewest number of payments is Maldives.
Source: Doing Business database.

Time to pay taxes (hours per year)



* Another economy with the least time is Maldives.
Source: Doing Business database.

Total tax rate (% of profit)



Source: Doing Business database.

Trading across borders

Importing and exporting

The benefits of trade are well documented—as are the obstacles to trade. Tariffs, quotas and distance from large markets greatly increase the cost of goods or prevent trading altogether. But with faster ships and bigger planes, the world is shrinking. Global and regional agreements have brought down trade barriers. Yet Africa's share of global trade is smaller today than it was 25 years ago. So is the Middle East's, excluding oil exports. The reason is simple: many entrepreneurs face numerous hurdles to exporting or importing goods. They often give up. Others never try.

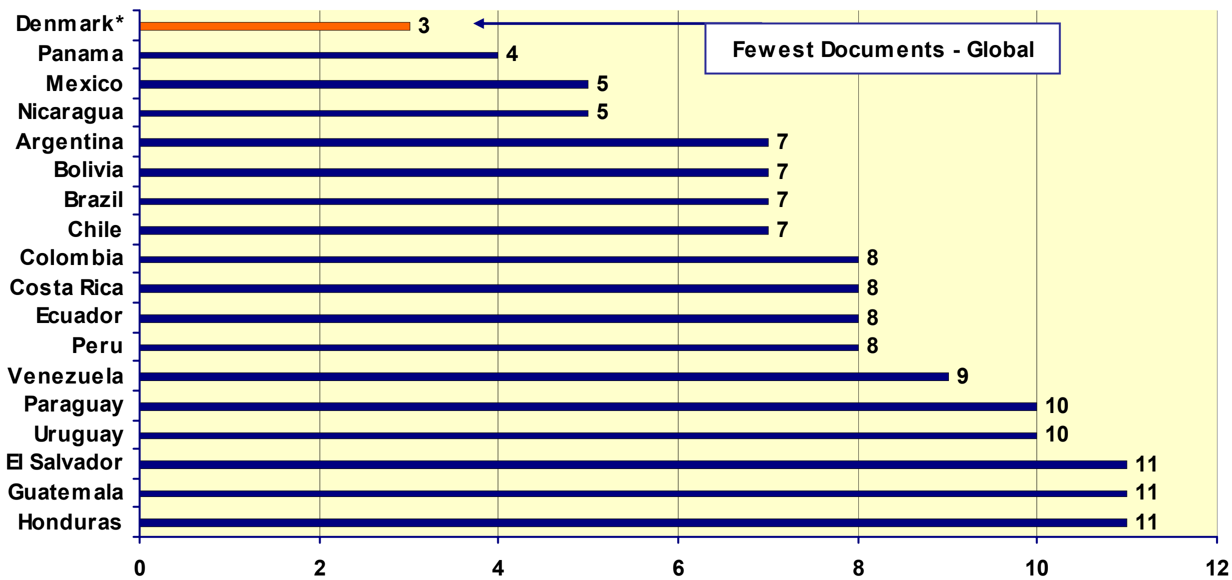
Doing Business compiles procedural requirements for trading a standard shipment of goods by ocean transport. Every official procedure—and the associated documents, time and cost—for importing and exporting the goods is recorded, starting with the contractual agreement between the two parties and ending with delivery of the goods. For importing the goods, the procedures measured range from the vessel's arrival at the port of entry to the shipment's delivery at the factory warehouse. For exporting the goods, the procedures measured range from the packing of the goods at the factory to their departure from the port of exit.

To make the data comparable across countries, several assumptions about the business and the traded goods are used. The business is of medium size, with 100 or more employees, and is located in the periurban area of the country's most populous city. It is a private, limited liability company, domestically owned, formally registered and operating under commercial laws and regulations of the country. The traded goods are ordinary, legally manufactured products, and they travel in a dry-cargo, 20-foot FCL (full container load) container.

Documents recorded include port filing documents, customs declaration and clearance documents, and official documents exchanged between the concerned parties. Time is recorded in calendar days, from start to finish of each procedure. Cost measures the fees levied on a 20-foot container in U.S. dollars. All the fees associated with completing the procedures to export or import the goods are included, such as costs for documents, administrative fees for customs clearance and technical control, terminal handling charges and inland transport. The cost measure does not include tariffs or trade taxes.

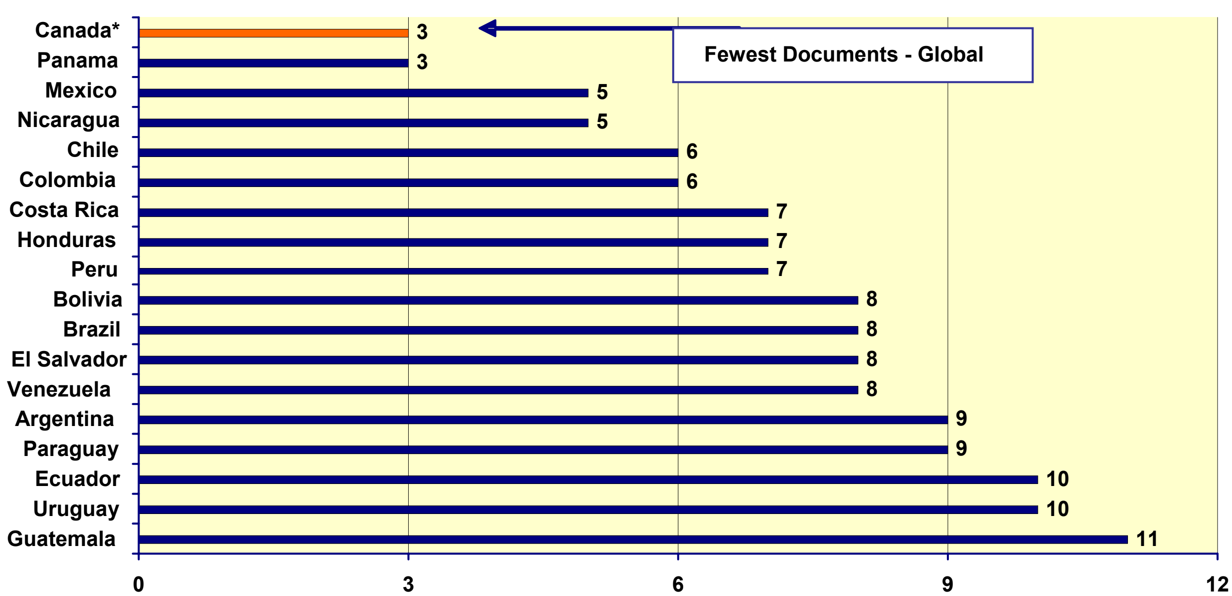
Countries that have efficient customs, good transport networks and fewer document requirements—making compliance with export and import procedures faster and cheaper—are more competitive globally. That leads to more exports—and exports are associated with faster growth and more jobs. Conversely, a need to file many documents is associated with more corruption in customs. Faced with long delays and frequent demands for bribes, many traders avoid customs altogether. Instead, they smuggle goods across the border. That defeats the very purpose in having border control of trade—to levy taxes and ensure high quality of goods.

Documents to import



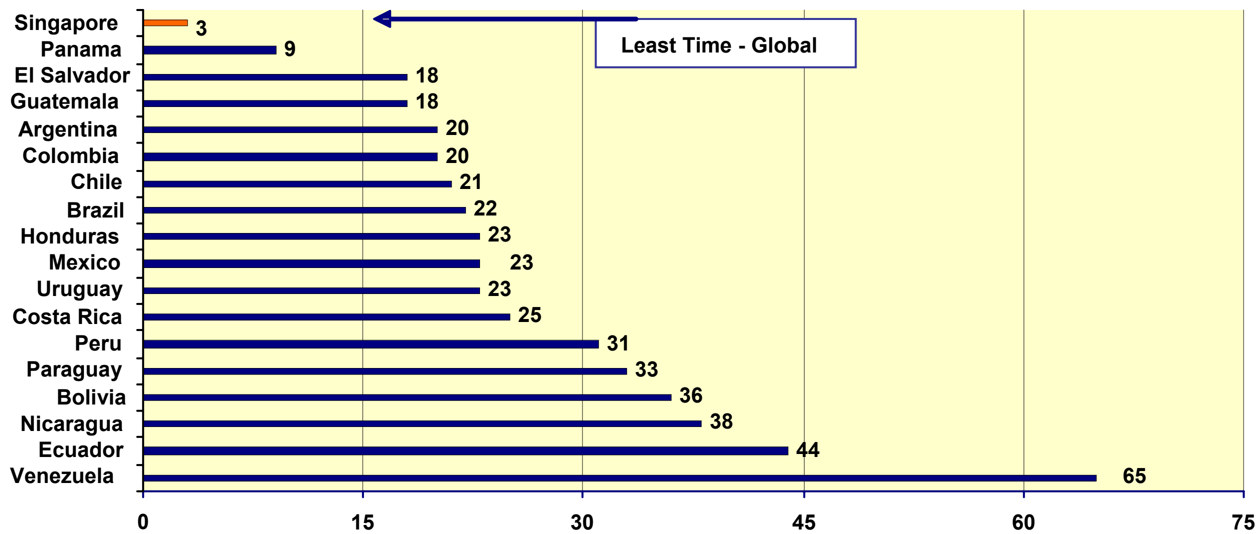
* Other economies with the fewest documents include Sweden.
Source: Doing Business database.

Documents to export



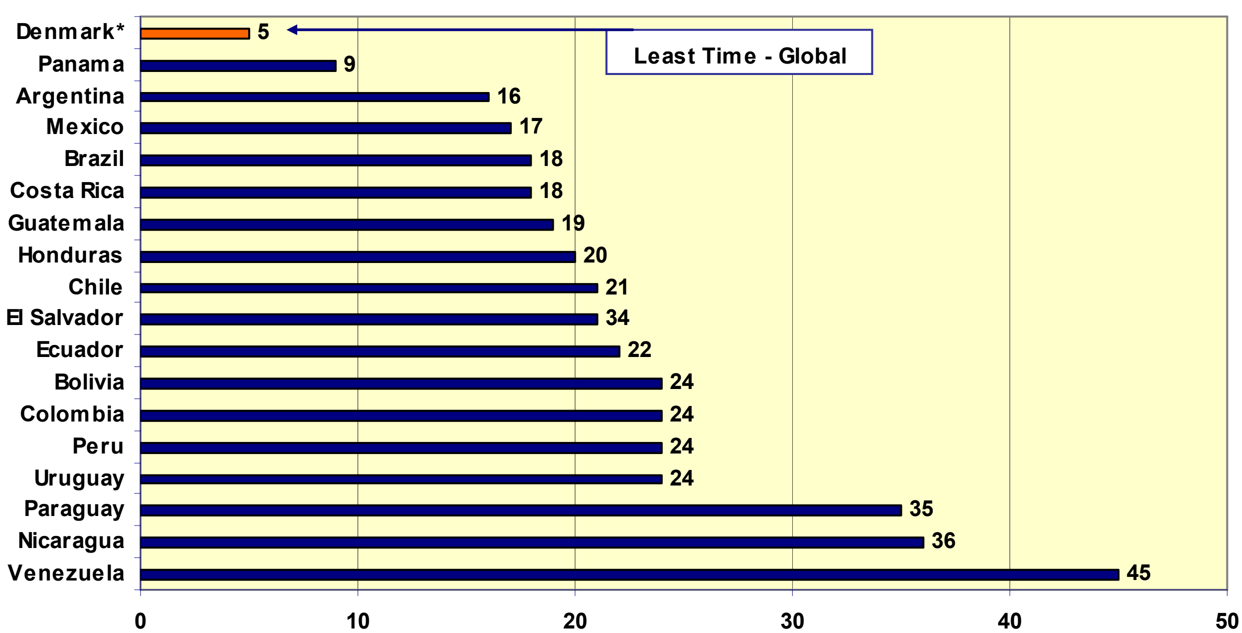
* Other economies with the fewest documents include Estonia, Panama and Micronesia.
Source: Doing Business database.

Time to import (days)



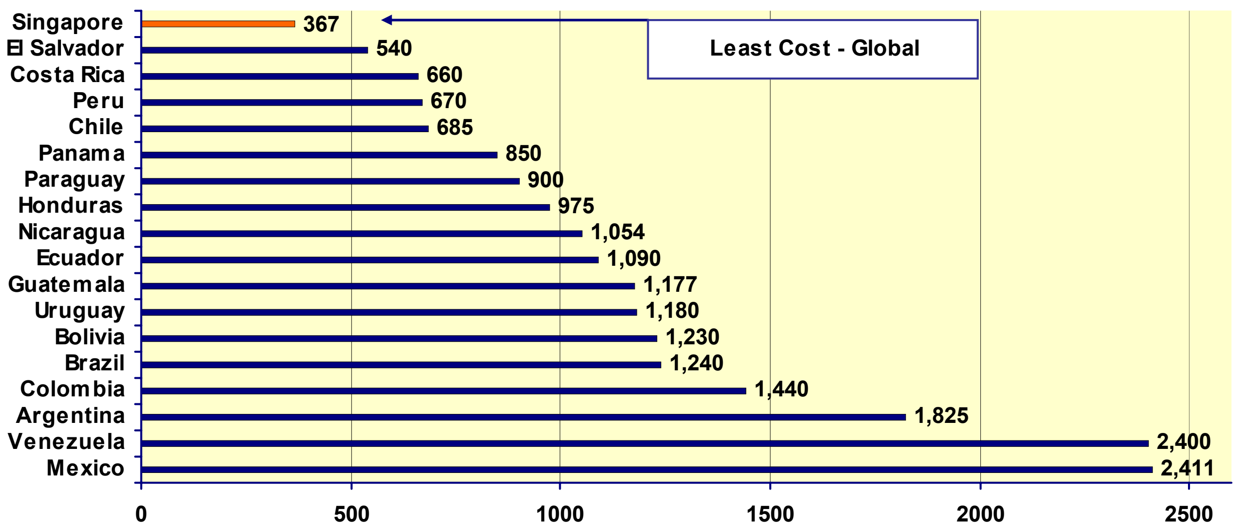
Source: Doing Business database.

Time to export (days)



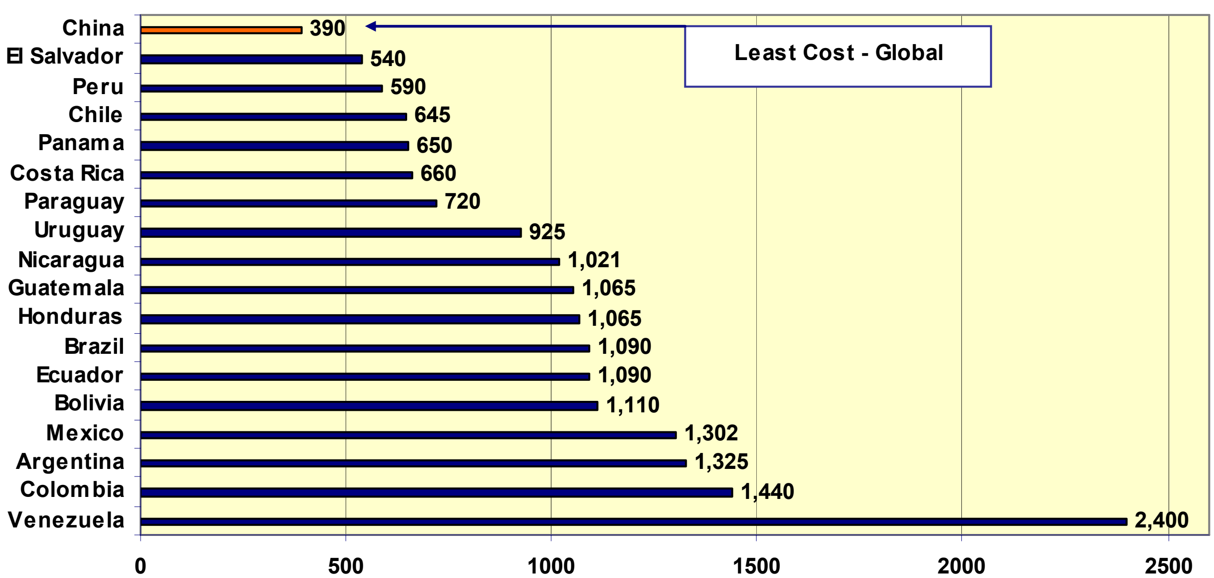
* Other economies with the fewest documents include Estonia and Singapore.
Source: Doing Business database.

Cost to import (US$ per container)



Source: Doing Business database.

Cost to export (US$ per container)



Source: Doing Business database.

Enforcing contracts
Court efficiency

Where contract enforcement is efficient, businesses are more likely to engage with new borrowers or customers. *Doing Business* tracks the efficiency of the judicial system in resolving a commercial dispute, following the step-by-step evolution of a commercial sale dispute before local courts. The data are collected through study of the codes of civil procedure and other court regulations as well as surveys completed by local litigation lawyers (and, in a quarter of the countries, by judges as well).

The dispute, between two businesses (the Seller and the Buyer) located in the country's most populous city, concerns a contract for the sale of goods. The Seller agrees to deliver the goods, worth 200% of the country's income per capita, to the Buyer.

After receiving and inspecting the goods, the Buyer concludes that their quality is inadequate. The Buyer sends the goods back without paying for them. The Seller disagrees and argues that their quality is adequate. The Seller seeks full payment from the Buyer, arguing that the goods cannot be sold to a third party because they were custom-made for the Buyer. The Seller sues the Buyer before the court in the most populous city to recover the amount due under the sales agreement (200% of the country's income per capita).

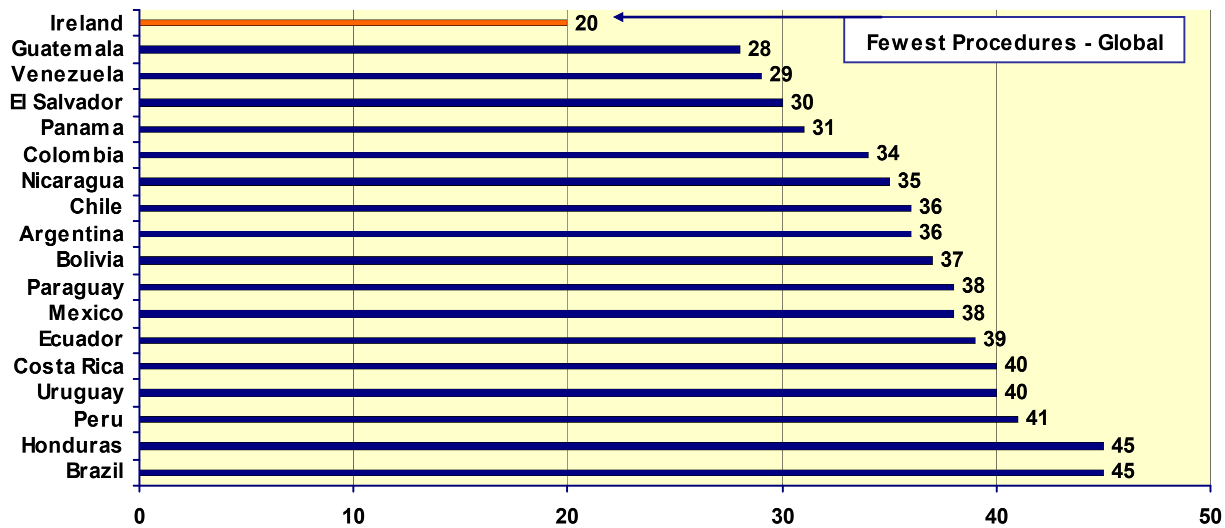
Three indicators of the efficiency of commercial contract enforcement are developed:

- Number of procedures, which includes all those that demand interaction between the parties or between them and the judge or court officer.
- Time, which counts the number of days from the moment the plaintiff files the lawsuit in court until the moment of payment. This measure includes both the days on which actions take place and the waiting periods between actions.
- Cost, which measures the official cost of going through court procedures, expressed as a percentage of the claim (assumed to be equivalent to 200% of income per capita). The cost includes court costs, enforcement costs and attorney fees where the use of attorneys is mandatory or common.

Businesses that have little or no access to efficient courts must rely on other mechanisms, both formal and informal—such as trade associations, social networks, credit bureaus or private information channels—to decide whom to do business with and under what conditions. Or they might adopt a conservative approach to business, dealing only with a small group of people linked through kinship, ethnic origin or previous dealings and structuring transactions to forestall disputes. In either case economic and social value may be lost.

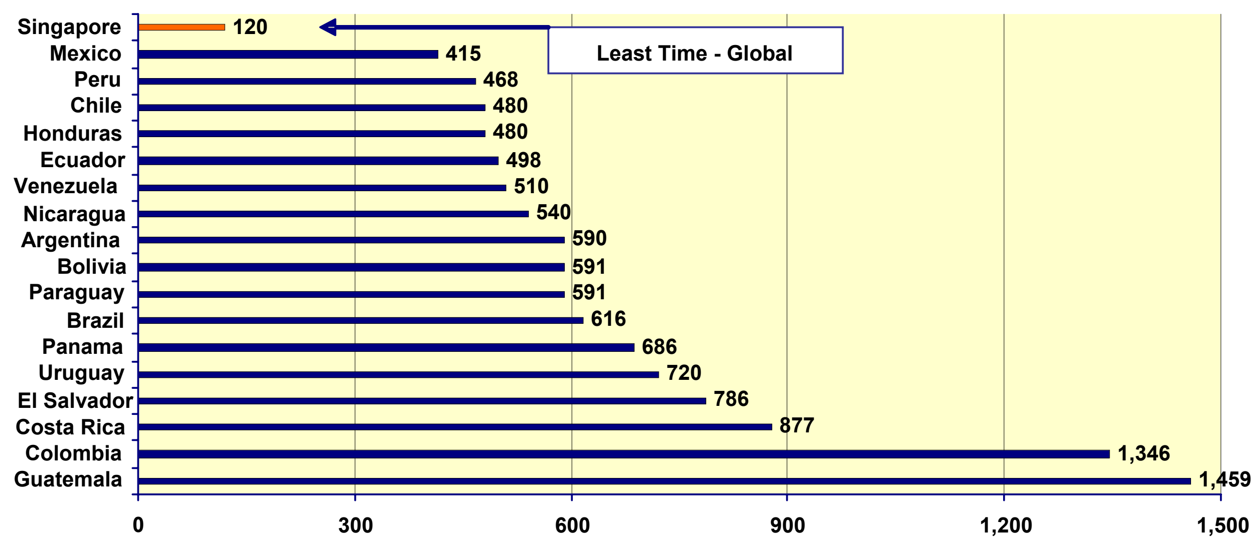
The main reason to regulate procedures in commercial dispute resolution is that informal justice is vulnerable to subversion by the rich and powerful. But heavy regulation of dispute resolution backfires. Across countries, the more procedures it takes to enforce a contract, the longer the delays and the higher the cost. The result: less wealth is created.

Procedures to enforce a contract



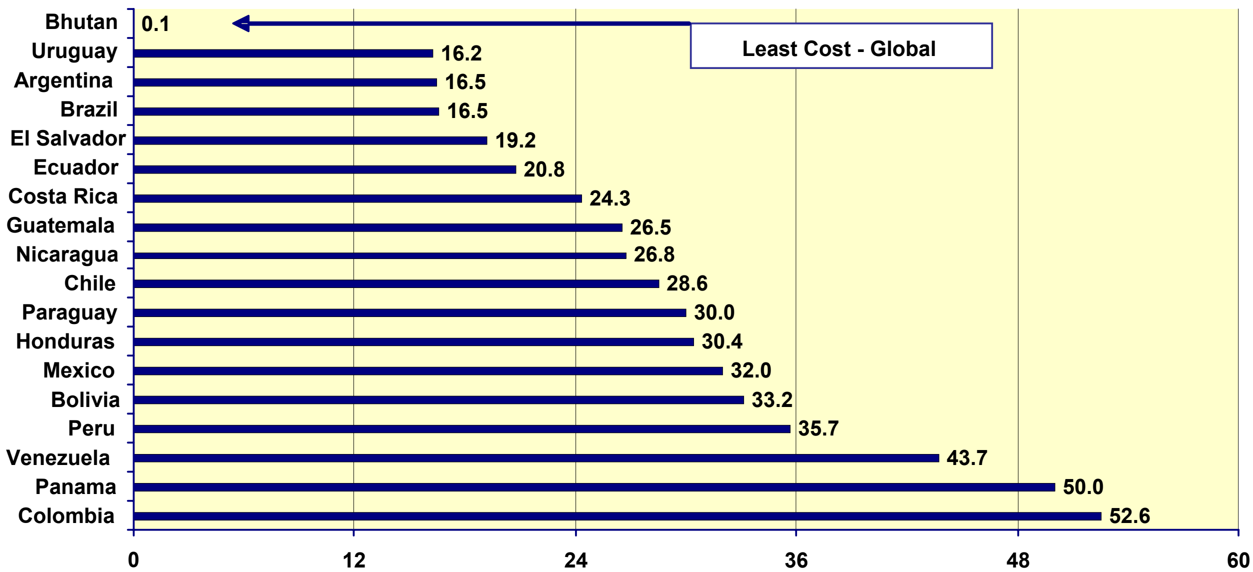
Source: Doing Business database.

Time to enforce a contract (days)



Source: Doing Business database.

Cost to enforce a contract (% of claim)



Source: Doing Business database.

Closing a business

Bankruptcy

The economic crises of the 1990s in emerging markets—from East Asia to Latin America, from Russia to Mexico—raised concerns about the design of bankruptcy systems and the ability of such systems to help reorganize viable companies and close down unviable ones. In countries where bankruptcy is inefficient, unviable businesses linger for years, keeping assets and human capital from being reallocated to more productive uses.

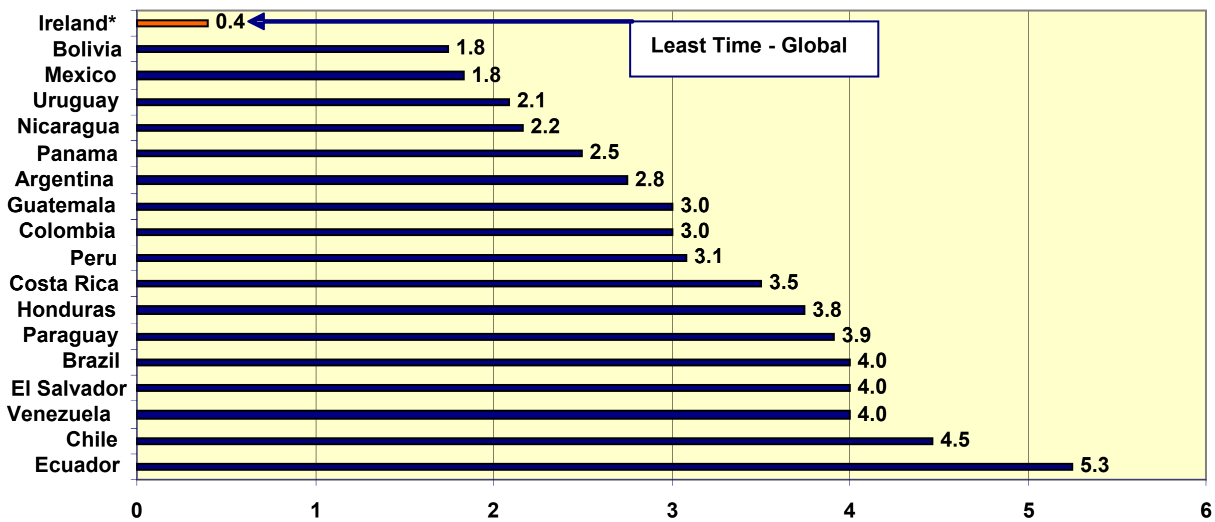
The *Doing Business* indicators identify weaknesses in the bankruptcy law as well as the main procedural and administrative bottlenecks in the bankruptcy process. In many developing countries bankruptcy is so inefficient that creditors hardly ever use it. In countries such as these, reform would best focus on improving contract enforcement outside bankruptcy.

The data on closing a business are developed using a standard set of case assumptions to track a company going through the step-by-step procedures of the bankruptcy process. It is assumed that the company is a domestically owned, limited liability corporation operating a hotel in the country's most populous city. The company has 201 employees, 1 main secured creditor and 50 unsecured creditors. Assumptions are also made about the debt structure and future cash flows. The case is designed so that the company has a higher value as a going concern—that is, the efficient outcome is either reorganization or sale as a going concern, not piecemeal liquidation. The data are derived from questionnaires answered by attorneys at private law firms.

Three measures are constructed from the survey responses: the time to go through the insolvency process, the cost to go through the process and the recovery rate—how much of the insolvency estate is recovered by stakeholders, taking into account the time, cost, depreciation of assets and the outcome of the insolvency proceeding.

Bottlenecks in bankruptcy cut into the amount claimants can recover. In countries where bankruptcy is used, this is a strong deterrent to investment. Access to credit shrinks, and nonperforming loans and financial risk grow because creditors cannot recover overdue loans. Conversely, efficient bankruptcy laws can encourage entrepreneurs. The freedom to fail, and to do so through an efficient process, puts people and capital to their most effective use. The result is more productive businesses and more jobs.

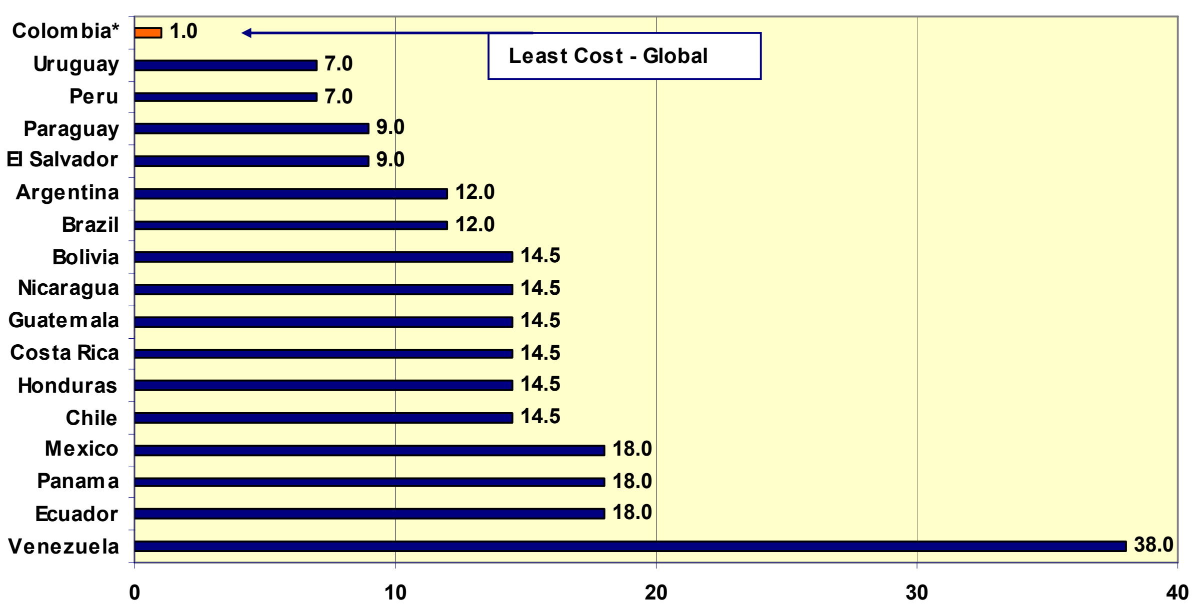
Time to go through insolvency (years)



* Another economy with the least time is Cape Verde.

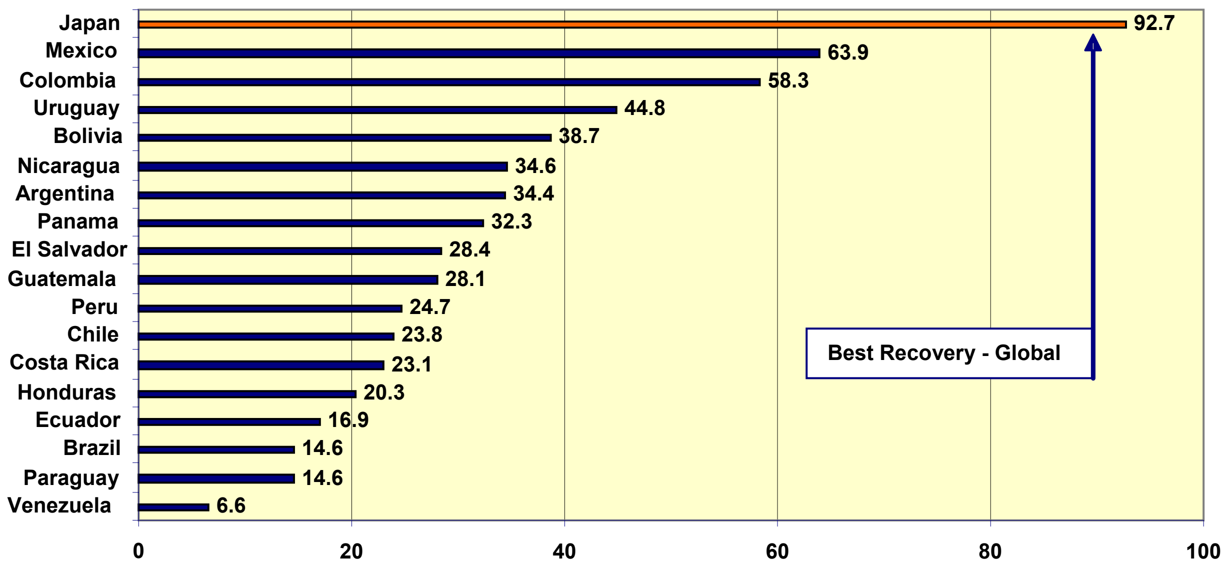
Source: Doing Business database.

Cost of insolvency (% of estate)



Source: Doing Business database.

Recovery rate (cents on the dollar)



Source: Doing Business database.

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