Assessing the Quality of Democracy

A Practical Guide

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Foreword: the state of democracy

Democracy is the predominant form of government in the world today. For the greater part of the world democracy has been a rare or recent phenomenon, but successive waves of democracy throughout the 20th century meant that by the new millennium more countries were governed through democratic than through non-democratic forms of rule. Various attempts to enumerate democracies in the world agree that more than 60 per cent of all countries today have in place at least some form of minimal democratic institutions and procedures. The Community of Democracies lists more than 100 countries while the United Nations International Conference on New or Restored Democracies (ICNRD) has grown in depth, breadth and importance since it was inaugurated in 1988 as a forum for global democratic development. Increasingly, governmental, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations emphasize that democracy is an end in itself, as well as an important means to other ends, such as economic development, poverty reduction and greater protection of internationally recognized human rights.

There have been many explanations for the remarkable growth, spread and pace of democratization. Internal explanations focus on major socio-economic transformations; mobilization by social movements and civil society organizations; class alliances, challenges and revolutions ('coloured' or otherwise); and elite agreements and concessions. External explanations focus on the defeat of an incumbent regime in war; the role of 'contagion' from democratization processes in neighbouring states; the diffusion of democratic values through processes of globalization and various forms of international intervention, including support for civil society groups and nascent political party organizations, state building, institutionalization, and the specification of criteria for appropriate and acceptable forms of democratic rule; and armed intervention to depose existing regimes and construct democracy by force.

A crucial element in mapping, explaining and encouraging this growth in democracy has been the need for valid, meaningful and reliable ways to measure and assess democratic progress and the quality of democracy itself. Scholars and practitioners have adopted a number of strategies to measure democracy, including categorical measures, scale measures, objective measures and hybrid measures of democratic practices, as well as perceptions of democracy based on mass public opinion surveys. In certain instances, measures have been developed for particular needs and then used for other purposes, while in other instances general measures of democracy have been developed for a wide range of applications by the academic and policy community. The quest for comparability and broad geographical and historical coverage, however, has meant a certain sacrifice of these measures' ability to capture the context-specific features of democracy, while the turn to good governance, accountability and aid conditionality among leading international donors has created additional demand for measures of democracy that can be used for country, sector and programme-level assessments.

In response to these many developments and the proliferation of democracy measures, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA) has developed an alternative framework for democracy assessment that moves away from country ranking and external judgement to comprehensive assessment based on national assessment teams led by governments or civil society and academic institutions. The framework combines a commitment to the fundamental principles of democracy, the mediating values that are related to these principles, and a range of questions about democratic performance. There is scope in the framework for using existing measures while at the same time incorporating much more context-specific information on the quality of democracy that can then be linked to domestic processes of democratic reform. Its use across new and old democracies as diverse as Mongolia and Italy, Bangladesh and Kenya, Peru and Australia has shown that it works, and demand continues for the framework to be applied in new and challenging contexts around the world.

After the successful application of its democracy assessment framework in over 20 countries, International IDEA, along with the UK-based Democratic Audit, the Human Rights Centre at the University of Essex in the United Kingdom, and the larger 'State of Democracy' network, has drawn on the lessons, built further on the strengths of the framework, and incorporated these into the thoroughly revised framework contained here. *Assessing the Quality of Democracy: A Practical*

Guide includes all the normative principles and practical elements of the framework, experiences from those countries that have used the framework, and the ways in which democracy assessment can be linked to the process of democratic reform.

The assessment framework outlined here upholds International IDEA's fundamental principles in supporting democracy worldwide:

- Democratization is a process that requires time and patience.
- Democracy is not achieved through elections alone.
- Democratic practices can be compared but not prescribed.
- Democracy is built from within societies.
- Democracy cannot be imported, or exported, but supported (International IDEA 2005: 12).

This Guide provides a robust package of materials that are grounded in many years of experience and practical application in old and new democracies across the world. This volume is complemented by another, entitled *Assessing the Quality of Democracy: An Overview*, which provides an introduction to the framework, including its fundamental democratic principles, its mediating values, the assessment search questions, examples of its application around the world, the typical steps in carrying out an assessment, and its value as a tool for promoting democratic reform. Both volumes should prove highly attractive to grass roots democracy activists, civil society organizations, reform-minded actors in political society and in government, and those international donor agencies and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations that are committed to building democracy for the future.

Preface

Democracy has spread and taken root in many parts of the world in the past three decades. While the performance and quality of these democracies differ, more people than ever before are governed by elected representatives. The democratic form of government has thus achieved global dominance. Regimes that have so far failed to usher in a democratic dispensation lack legitimacy. Citizens in such countries continue to demonstrate their aspirations for freedom, dignity and the opportunity to elect governments of their choice through engagement in various forms of struggle – regardless of the risks they may encounter in doing so.

While 'transitional moments' such as the first democratic elections or the departure of an authoritarian government can be formative moments of democracy, historical evidence shows that the building of democracy and the consolidation of democratic institutions are long and complex processes. Along this road it becomes essential to assess the performance of democratic institutions and the quality of democratic processes.

Various institutions have developed and continue to develop measures and tools for gauging democratic performance and quality. Since 2000, International IDEA has contributed to this field through the development of the State of Democracy (SoD) assessment methodology outlined in this Guide. International IDEA is guided by the premise that democracy is a universal value and aspiration. However, it is also an inherently local political process that must be supported through context-sensitive approaches which are anchored on local leadership and local ownership of democracy-building processes. This principle underpins International IDEA's approach to democracy building generally and to the SoD assessment methodology in particular.

In this guide we set out a democracy assessment methodology that puts the responsibility for evaluating the quality of democracy in the hands of citizens and others who reside in the country being assessed. Notwithstanding the invaluable role played by external actors in supporting democratization processes in various countries, it is our conviction that sustainable democracy can only be achieved if those who are affected by its daily practice are the people who ultimately pass judgement on its strengths and weaknesses, and that they are the ones who determine priority areas for reform. The SoD assessment methodology is a tool for citizens to use in undertaking these tasks. It is a global public good that presents an opportunity for citizens of countries with developing and developed economies, and of new and old democracies, to take charge of and contribute in meaningful ways to bettering the performance and quality of their democracies.

Since the methodology was launched in 2000, a network of its users has developed in different parts of the world. The lessons and experiences they shared with us have greatly enriched this Guide. Others seeking to undertake a democracy assessment using the methodology stand to benefit from lessons learned so far in the application of the methodology in different contexts. Importantly, they will be better informed about how to plan and implement SoD assessments in ways that maximize the possibility of the findings being used and linked to actual reform.

In putting together this guide, International IDEA seeks to provide a user-friendly knowledge resource for those seeking to improve the quality of their democracies. At a time when the debate on democracy and governance assessment is very much on the radar screen of development agencies, bilateral and multilateral organizations, and national actors, International IDEA offers a methodology for 'self-assessment' which has so far been applied in no fewer than 20 countries in different parts of the world. For those engaged in democracy assistance, the SoD methodology provides an opportunity for such assistance to be informed by locally defined priorities for democratic reform.

Vidar Helgesen
Secretary-General
International IDEA

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Acronyms and abbreviations

ACDA	Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (USA)
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women, 1979
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CSCE	Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe
DAC	Development Assistance Committee (OECD)
DFID	Department for International Development (UK)
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EU	European Union
EUMAP	EU Monitoring and Advocacy Programme (OSI)
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
ICAC	Independent Commission against Corruption (Hong Kong)
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 1966
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1966
IDASA	Institute for Democracy in South Africa
International IDEA	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IIDH	Interamerican Institute for Human Rights (Instituto Interamericano de Derechos Humanos)
IKNOW	International Knowledge Network (of Women in Politics)
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMER	International Migration and Ethnic Relations (Bergen, Norway)
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
NDI	National Democratic Institute for International Affairs
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGO	non-governmental organization
OAS	Organization of American States
OAU	Organization of African Unity
ODIHR	Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (OSCE)
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

OHCHR	Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
OSF	Open Society Forum
OSI	Open Society Institute
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SoD	State of Democracy (methodology)
TASC	Think Tank for Action on Social Change (Ireland)
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDAW	United Nations, Division for the Advancement of Women
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCHR	United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UNTS	United Nations Treaty Series
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WHO	World Health Organization

Part 1

Democracy assessment: explaining the method

Democracy assessment: explaining the method

[1] Every person is entitled to live their life in dignity and free from fear, with a fair share in their country's resources and an equal say in how they are governed. Democracy is an attractive form of government because its principles embrace these human needs and desires and can often deliver them in reality. And the more experience people have of living in a democracy, as the democracy assessment in South Asia found (see Part 3), the more they support democracy.

[2] The democratic ideal in and of itself seeks to guarantee equality and basic freedoms; to empower ordinary people; to resolve disagreements through peaceful dialogue; to respect difference; and to bring about political and social renewal without convulsions. The principle of 'popular rule', or rule by popularly elected representatives, is at the heart of this ideal, but it also has different and overlapping meanings for different people within and between nations and regions. Broadly, for people around the world it means popular control over elected rulers, equal rights and liberties, political freedom and freedom from want, the rule of law, justice and security, but with differing emphases. Thus, in countries in South Asia, equality of outcomes and community rights are a significant aspect of what people want from democracy; in Western Europe, political freedom and the rule of law are valued, although social rights also figure largely.

[3] But these democratic ideals are easier to endorse in principle than to realize in practice. There is no such thing as a perfect democracy. Democracy is not an all-or-nothing affair, but rather a shifting continuum. Countries are more or less democratic overall, and more or less democratic in the various aspects of their political and social life.

[4] The International IDEA democracy assessment framework gives groups of people in any one country a mirror with which they can assess the quality of their democracy and which will help them answer, in brief,

the apparently simple questions 'How democratic are our country and its government?' and 'What are the strengths of our democracy, and what are its weaknesses?'. Yet these questions in turn raise others. How do we know exactly what we should be assessing, and by what criteria should we judge it as democratic? To answer these questions, the framework offers a clear conception of representative democracy and its core principles, and an understanding of how these principles may be realized through institutional, political and social practices.

There is no such thing as a perfect democracy. Democracy is not an all-or-nothing affair, but rather a shifting continuum.

[5] Since 2000, no fewer than 20 countries around the world – as different as Mongolia and Italy, Bangladesh and Kenya, Peru and Australia – have used the framework for democracy assessment to evaluate how well their democracies are working, to raise popular consciousness and to identify areas where they can be improved. Some assessments were pilot schemes promoted by International IDEA to test the viability of the assessment framework (Bangladesh, El Salvador, Italy, Kenya, Malawi, New Zealand, Peru, South Korea). Later ones have been initiated entirely from within the countries concerned, although by widely differing agencies – academic institutes, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and think tanks, and even governments themselves (Mongolia, the Netherlands). Some have been full assessments, as in the United Kingdom (UK), some a series of investigative reports, as in Australia, some a patient assembly of reports as funds become available, as in the Philippines; some have drawn heavily on extensive polling, as in the South Asia study of Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. Some assessment teams have sought to measure the changing strengths of their democracy over time. In the UK, Democratic Audit has carried out three assessments since 1998 and is committed to a further assessment in the next few years; Latvia will be conducting a smaller assessment exercise to monitor progress since its first in 2005.

[6] There are striking differences between the countries in which assessments have taken place, which suggests that the methodology has a universal application. The countries range in size from India, the world's largest democracy, to El Salvador, in experience of democracy from New Zealand to Mongolia, and in level of economic development from European nations such as the Netherlands to Malawi in sub-Saharan Africa. Mongolia is a sparsely populated land with a largely nomadic way of life; the Netherlands is a densely populated

modern state. Australia and India are federal states; the rest are unitary states. The modes of funding and costs of the 17 projects so far have varied enormously (see Part 3 for a detailed analysis). But all the assessment projects share a common core. They have all adhered to the basic proposition that the only people who can have legitimacy in assessing the quality of their country's democracy are citizens of that country, and that country ownership of the assessment is necessary for it to be able to influence the course of democratic progress and reform.

The International IDEA democracy assessment methodology has a universal application.

[7] In Annex A, 'Other ways of assessing democracy', we compare the IDEA framework with other methodologies for assessing democracy current in the world today and explain the essential differences in principle and practice between them. The International IDEA framework is, in brief, the only one to insist that only those who know a country's culture, traditions and aspirations are properly qualified to assess its democracy. The purpose of International IDEA's SoD assessment programme is to put the future of democracies around the world in the hands of their own citizens.

[8] The main features of the International IDEA approach may be summarized as follows.

- Only citizens and others who live in the country being assessed should carry out a democracy assessment, since only they can know from experience how their country's history and culture shape its approach to democratic principles.
- A democracy assessment by citizens and residents of a country may be mobilized by government or external agencies only under strict safeguards of the independence of the assessment.
- The prime purpose of democracy assessment is to contribute to public debate and consciousness raising, and the exercise ought to allow for the expression of popular understanding as well as any elite consensus.
- The assessment should assist in identifying priorities for reform and monitoring their progress.
- The criteria for assessment should be derived from clearly defined democratic principles and should embrace the widest range of democracy issues, while allowing assessors to choose priorities for examination according to local needs.

- The assessments should be qualitative judgements of strengths and weaknesses in each area, strengthened by quantitative measures where appropriate.
- The assessors should choose benchmarks or standards for assessment, based on the country's history, regional practice and international norms, as they think appropriate.
- The assessment process should involve wide public consultation, including a national workshop to validate the findings.
- Old as well as new democracies can and should be subject to a similar framework of assessment.

Only those who know a country's culture, traditions and aspirations are properly qualified to assess its democracy.

The assessment framework

[9] We stated above that the answer to the apparently simple question 'How democratic are our country and its government?' required first that we start with a clear conception of democracy and its core principles, and an understanding of how these principles may be embodied in institutional, political and social practices.

[10] First, then, what is democracy? If we examine the main currents of theorizing about democracy from the ancient Greeks onwards; if we pay attention to what those claiming to struggle for democracy have been struggling for; if, in particular, we have regard for the objections of opponents of democracy throughout the ages, then a relatively clear and consistent set of ideas emerges. Democracy is a *political* concept, concerning the collectively binding decisions about the rules and policies of a group, association or society. Such decision making can be said to be *democratic* to the extent that it is subject to the controlling influence of all members of the collectivity considered as equals.

[11] The key democratic principles are those of *popular control* and *political equality*. These principles define what democrats at all times and in all places have struggled for – to make popular control over public decision making both more effective and more inclusive; to remove an elite monopoly over decision making and its benefits; and to overcome obstacles such as those of gender, ethnicity, religion, language, class, wealth and so on to the equal exercise of citizenship rights.

[12] These two principles are most fully realized in small groups or associations where everyone is guaranteed an effective equal right to speak and vote on rules and policies in person. In larger associations, and especially at the level of a whole society, practical considerations of time and space demand that collective decisions be taken by designated agents or representatives acting on behalf of the rest. For most people, then, democracy is realized in the first instance not as direct popular control over public decision making, but as control over the decision makers who act in their place. How effective that control is and how equally distributed it is between individual citizens, and between different groups of citizens, according to their numbers, are key criteria for determining how democratic a system of representative government actually is, whether at national, regional or local level.

[13] Where does freedom or liberty fit into these two principles? It should be evident that there can be no ongoing popular control or influence over public decision making unless people are able to speak their minds freely, to debate openly with others, to associate freely with them, to receive and impart information without hindrance, and to have the means and the confidence to undertake and share in these activities. Popular liberties have been recognized as integral to the democratic principles of the recognized body politic since democracy's early days in ancient Athens. In this sense, therefore, liberty is entailed by the idea of democracy, and does not have to be 'added on' as something extra to it; nor is it even a uniquely modern political concept (although the growing emphasis in democratic ideals on economic, social and cultural rights is a modern concept).

The key democratic principles are those of **popular control** *and* **political equality.** *For most people, democracy is realized in the first instance not as direct popular control over public decision making, but as control over the decision makers who act in their place.*

[14] These two principles, then, of popular control and political equality, form the guiding thread of a democracy assessment. The more they are present, the more democratic we can judge a system of public decision making to be. As they stand, however, these principles are too general to serve as a precise assessment tool.

[15] In order to see how we get from them to the institutional procedures of representative government, and to a set of more precise criteria by

which they can be assessed, we need to consider how far these principles shape and inform the institutions and procedures of representative government. Here we define what we call the '*mediating values*' through which people have sought to give effect to these principles in a country's institutional arrangements and practice. These mediating values are set out in Table 1.1.

The first column of the table lists the main mediating values that derive from our two democratic principles. The second column sets out what is required for these values to be made effective in practice. The third column lists the typical institutions through which these requirements can be met in a system of representative government. Together they build up the main features of our democracy assessment framework.

To consider how far the principles of popular control and political equality shape and inform the institutions and procedures of representative government, we need to define what are here called the 'mediating values' *through which people have sought to give effect to these principles in a country's* institutional arrangements and practice.

Table 1.1. Democratic principles and mediating values

Basic principles:
- *popular control* over public decision making and decision makers
- *equality* of respect and voice between citizens in the exercise of that control

Mediating values	Requirements	Institutional means of realization
Participation	• Rights to participate • Capacities/resources to participate • Agencies for participation • Participatory culture	• Civil and political rights system • Economic, social and cultural rights • Elections, parties, NGOs • Education for citizenship
Authorization	• Validation of constitution • Choice of office holders/ programmes • Control of elected over non-elected executive personnel	• Referendums • Free and fair elections • Systems of subordination to elected officials
Representation	• Legislature representative of main currents of popular opinion • All public institutions representative of social composition of electorate	• Electoral and party system • Anti-discrimination laws • Affirmative action policies
Accountability	• Clear lines of accountability, legal, financial, political, to ensure effective and honest performance; civil service and judicial integrity	• Rule of law, separation of powers • Independent auditing process • Legally enforceable standards • Strong powers for scrutinizing legislation
Transparency	• Government open to legislative and public scrutiny and debate	• Parliament as a forum for national debate • Freedom of information laws • Independent media
Responsiveness	• Accessibility of government to electors and different sections of public opinion in policy formation, implementation and service delivery	• Systematic, open and accessible procedures and channels of public consultation • Effective legal redress • Local government close to people
Solidarity	• Tolerance of diversity at home • Support for democratic governments and popular struggles for democracy abroad	• Civic and human rights education • International human rights law • UN and other agencies • International NGOs

Mediating values

[16] The list of mediating values is largely self-explanatory.

- Without citizen *participation* and the rights, the freedoms and the means to participate, the principle of popular control over government cannot begin to be realized.
- The starting point of participation is to *authorize* public representatives or officials through free and fair electoral choice, and in a manner which produces a legislature that is *representative* of the different tendencies of public opinion.
- If different groups of citizens are treated on an equal footing, according to their numbers, then the main public institutions will also be *socially representative* of the citizen body as a whole.
- The *accountability* of all officials, both to the public directly, and through the mediating institutions of parliament, the courts, the ombudsman and other watchdog agencies, is crucial if officials are to act as agents or servants of the people rather than as their masters.
- Without openness or *transparency* in government, no effective accountability is possible.
- *Responsiveness* to public needs, through a variety of institutions through which those needs can be articulated, is a key indication of the level of controlling influence which people have over government.
- Finally, while equality runs as a principle through all the mediating values, it finds particular expression in the *solidarity* which citizens of democracies show to those who differ from themselves at home, and towards popular struggles for democracy abroad.

[17] Much more could be said about each of these mediating values. Perhaps it will be sufficient here to clarify the distinction between the ideas of *accountability* and *responsiveness*, since they are frequently confused. Accountability involves office holders being required to account for actions they have taken *after* they have taken them (ex post), with the realistic prospect of appropriate sanctions being applied in the event of misconduct, negligence or failure. Responsiveness, on the other hand, involves having systematic procedures for consulting public opinion and relevant interests *before* policy or legislation is decided (ex ante), so that its content will reflect the views of those affected by it. Both responsiveness and accountability are necessary for effective popular control over government.

Democratic institutions

[18] The third column of Table 1.1 then sets out the institutions that provide the means to realize these mediating values. The list in this

column presents examples and is not exhaustive. And it will be observed that some institutions serve, or may serve, to realize more than one value. Thus the electoral process serves to realize the values of participation, authorization, representation and accountability simultaneously, and it is therefore against all these criteria that it can be judged. Similarly, the associational life of what is called 'civil society', including political parties, NGOs and other associations, contributes to a number of different values, and again it is consequently against a number of different criteria that it can be assessed. From the other side, a value such as participation also underpins the accountability and responsiveness of the process of government, and so ensures the interconnectedness of different elements in the assessment framework. If these complexities are understood, as well as the basic logic of the progression from key principles, through mediating values and their requirements, to institutional processes, then the account of the assessment framework that follows below should be readily understood. Our aim is to construct the assessment framework around a coherent narrative of democracy, rather than as a random set of items put together without explanation.

[19] Democracy, then, begins with a set of principles or 'regulative ideals', and only then come the institutional arrangements and procedures through which these principles are realized. Although these arrangements and procedures form the subject of our assessment, as in the framework set out below, the criteria against which they are to be assessed are the core principles themselves, and the mediating values of accountability, representativeness, responsiveness and so on. It is these that determine how democratic we should judge our institutional arrangements to be.

What the framework assesses

[20] The full assessment framework is set out in Part 2 of this guide, which contains first the criteria (or search questions) that are used to systematize the assessment process, and then the full four-pillar framework itself. Here we describe and explain the framework (see Table 1.2).

Table 1.2. The assessment framework: an overview

1. Citizenship, law and rights	2. Representative and accountable government	3. Civil society and popular participation	4. Democracy beyond the state
1.1. Nationhood and citizenship *Is there public agreement on a common citizenship without discrimination?* **1.2. The rule of law and access to justice** *Are state and society consistently subject to the law?* **1.3. Civil and political rights** *Are civil and political rights equally guaranteed for all?* **1.4. Economic and social rights** *Are economic and social rights equally guaranteed for all?*	**2.1. Free and fair elections** *Do elections give the people control over governments and their policies?* **2.2. The democratic role of political parties** *Does the party system assist the working of democracy?* **2.3. Effective and responsive government** *Is government effective in serving the public and responsive to its concerns?* **2.4. The democratic effectiveness of parliament** *Does the parliament or legislature contribute effectively to the democratic process?* **2.5. Civilian control of the military and police** *Are the military and police forces under civilian control?* **2.6. Integrity in public life** *Is integrity in the conduct of public life assured?*	**3.1. The media in a democratic society** *Do the media operate in a way that sustains democratic values?* **3.2. Political participation** *Is there full citizen participation in public life?* **3.3. Decentralization** *Are decisions taken at the level of government which is most appropriate for the people affected?*	**4.1. External influences on the country's democracy** *Is the impact of external influences broadly supportive of the country's democracy?* **4.2. The country's democratic impact abroad** *Do the country's international policies contribute to strengthening global democracy?*

Citizenship, law and rights

[21] Democracy starts with the citizen, and the subject of the first pillar of the framework is the rights of the citizen and the ability of the state to guarantee equal rights of citizenship to all through its constitutional and legal processes. This starting point is made more complex in a globalized world by the presence in many countries of non-citizens – migrant workers, refugees, asylum seekers and so on – whose rights are often severely restricted or denied. The guarantee of *civil and political rights* needs no special justification in a democracy assessment, since these rights are manifestly necessary for participation in the political process in association with others. To include *economic and social rights*, however, is more contestable (and especially so in the case of non-citizens). Many political scientists take the view that democracy is about the *processes* of public decision making, rather than its *outcomes*, and that the delivery of economic and social rights is only one possible outcome of government, which is contested between different political parties in their policy programmes. Our view, in contrast, is that the inclusion of an economic and social rights audit is justifiable in terms of both process and outcome. As regards process, it is a necessary condition for the exercise of civil and political rights that people should be alive to exercise them and should have the capacities and resources to do so effectively. At the same time, people do – rightly – judge the quality of a democracy in terms of its ability to secure them the basic economic and social rights on which a minimally decent human life depends. If democracy cannot deliver better outcomes in this respect than authoritarianism, why should they support it? Such considerations have been especially strongly urged by our partners in the South in discussions about the content of the assessment framework.

The guarantee of **civil and political rights** *needs no special justification in a democracy assessment, since these rights are manifestly necessary for participation in the political process in association with others. In our view, it is also justifiable to include* **economic and social rights.**

Representative and accountable government

[22] If the first pillar of democracy is the guarantee of basic human rights to citizens and non-citizens, the second comprises the institutions of representative and accountable government. The sections here include

the familiar agenda of the electoral process, the political party system, the role of the parliament or legislature and other institutions in securing the integrity and accountability of government officials, and civilian control over the military and police forces. A separate section is devoted to integrity in public life, on the ground that the trustworthiness of public officials is an issue of central concern to all democracies and their citizens.

Civil society and popular participation

[23] The third pillar of our assessment framework is devoted to what is conventionally called 'civil society'. Democratic institutions depend for their effective functioning both on guaranteed rights upheld by the legal process and on an alert and active citizen body. Key elements contributing to the latter are independent and pluralistic media of communication, and a vigorous network of voluntary associations of all kinds, through which citizens can act to manage their own affairs and influence public policy. The vigour of associational life is in turn an important condition for securing the responsiveness of government policy, and ensuring that the delivery of public services meets the needs of the population, especially at the most local level.

Democracy beyond the state

[24] The fourth pillar concerns the international dimensions of democracy. Its rationale is that countries do not form isolated units but are mutually interdependent, especially in their degree of democratic progress. So it is entirely relevant to consider how far the external profile of a country's policy is supportive of democracy abroad. Ideally, in any global survey of democracy, the democratic character of the key international institutions, such as the World Bank and the United Nations (UN), should also be the subject of assessment, alongside that of individual countries. For reasons of space this cannot be undertaken here. However, we have included considerations of how far a country's internal policy is determined by unaccountable external powers in our assessment framework at this point. Again, this has been especially urged in contributions from experts in the South.

[25] In federal systems of government, these international aspects may be more clearly relevant at the federal than the level of the individual state. Any assessment of countries with a federal structure will depend on the precise distribution of functions and powers between the different levels. Although assessing such countries, whether at federal or state level, or some combination of the two, will be more

complicated than assessing a unitary state, our framework is applicable to both levels, and can readily be adjusted to the circumstances of the particular country.

In countries with a federal structure, the International IDEA framework is applicable to both the federal and the state levels, and it can readily be adjusted to the circumstances of the particular country.

[26] The complete framework, with the full list of assessment questions for each section, is contained in Part 2 of the guide. Even a cursory glance will reveal that it constitutes a substantial agenda of enquiry, which may be quite discouraging to undertake. Various possibilities are open to minimize the difficulty. One is to enlist a team of assessors with different types of expertise, as the assessment team in Latvia did, and to arrange an appropriate division of labour between them. Another is to go for a 'broad but shallow' approach which will address the full agenda but in a more impressionistic manner. A third is to select particular sections for assessment, in view of their significance in terms of current debate or priority of concern, or even in the light of the resources available, as the Philippines assessment has done. These and other strategies will be discussed more fully in the section on the assessment process below. But it is worth pointing out here that in the Philippines Edna Estefania Co was able to establish her rolling programme of assessments by taking advantage of the fact that individual sections of the framework have been constructed so that they form self-contained units of assessment (albeit in such a way that their location within an overall account of democracy and its components can be readily identified and understood).

[27] This assessment framework, in conclusion, is one that can be used for both old and new democracies alike. This conclusion is based on the belief that democracy is a universal value that, as we have seen, incorporates a variety of perspectives and values within and between different nations and regions. However, many of the institutions and procedures created in the West over many generations of democratic struggle to subject the modern state to popular control, and to make that control more equal and inclusive, have a value for the new democracies as well, while the assessment process is enriched by the distinctive experience and perspectives of those engaged in establishing systems of democratic government for the first time. We hope that these perspectives are sufficiently reflected in our assessment

framework. In any case the framework is open to further modification to suit local conditions. We all need to learn from each other's experience. As democrats, we confront similar problems wherever we are, and similar resistances to making government representative, accountable or responsive, even if these are more acute in some places than others. And we are all engaged in processes of democratization, whether these are understood as an original institutionalization and consolidation of democratic procedures, or as their necessary reassertion and renewal in the face of decline.

The framework is flexible. It can be used for old and new democracies alike, and reflects the experiences of both. Individual sections have been constructed so that they form self-contained units of assessment, and it is open to modification to suit local conditions.

The different elements of assessment

[28] The process of democracy assessment should begin with a full account of those cultural, political and economic aspects of the country and its history that have to be taken into account in order to provide an intelligible context for understanding the character of its democratic condition. We have not provided a checklist of these contextual aspects, as they will vary enormously from one country to the next. But assessors could well begin by asking themselves 'what is the basic information about the country that is necessary for a reader to make sense of our answers to the assessment questions?'. This introduction will also provide an opportunity to answer the question 'why are we conducting an assessment, and why now?'.

[29] Once this introductory task has been accomplished, we move to the main work of addressing each section of the assessment framework. The framework in Part 2 is divided into four different analytical components or rows: (a) the assessment questions; (b) what to look for; (c) generalized sources; and (d) standards of good practice. The four sections in Table 1.3 provide an example of these distinctive elements at work. They need to be distinguished, as they represent analytically separate elements of the assessment process. Each of these is explained in turn below.

Table 1.3. The assessment framework: four elements

Assessment question	1.1.1. How inclusive is the political nation and state citizenship of all who live within the territory?	
What to look for (criteria questions)		
1) Laws: examine laws governing citizenship, eligibility, methods and timescale for acquiring it; any distinctions between partial and full citizenship, between men and women in the acquisition of citizenship.	*2) Practice:* examine how fairly and impartially the laws are applied in practice.	*3) Negative indicators:* investigate data on exclusions, second-class citizenship, discrimination in the acquisition of citizenship, etc.
Generalized sources		

Global sources

Amnesty International, *Annual Report*, <http://www.amnesty.org>

Boyle, K. and Sheen, J., *Freedom of Religion and Belief: A World Report* (London: Routledge, 1997)

Civil Rights group, <http://civilrights.org/>

Country reports to the UN Human Rights Committee and Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, <http://www.ohchr.org>

Davies, John and Gurr, Ted Robert (eds), *Preventive Measures: Building Risk Assessment and Crisis Early Warning Systems* (Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998)

Department of Political Science, University of Kansas, *Kansas Event Data System*, <http://web.ku.edu/keds/index.html>

Engendering Development – World Bank, <http://www.worldbank.org/gender/prr/draft.html>

Freedom House, *Annual Report*, <http://www.freedomhouse.org> *Freedom in the World*

Governance and Social Development Resource Centre, UK Department for International Development (DFID), Database on social exclusion, <http://www.gsdrc.org>

(cont'd)

Africa and the Middle East

Africa Action, <http://www.africaaction.org>

Centre for Arab Unity Studies, <http://www.caus.org.lb/Home/index.php>

(cont'd)

Americas

Andean Jurists, <http://www.cajpe.org.pe>

Center for Latin American Studies, Georgetown University, Political Database of the Americas, <http://pdba.georgetown.edu/>

(cont'd)

Asia

Alliance for Reform and Democracy in Asia, <http://www.asiademocracy.org/>

Asian Human Rights Commission, <http://www.ahrchk.net/index.php>

(cont'd)

Europe

Adum, Resources on protection of minority languages in EU countries, <http://www.adum.info/adum/>

Balkan Human Rights web pages, <http://cm.greekhelsinki.gr>

(cont'd)

Standards of good practice

Criteria questions 1) and 2) have the following suggested standards:

For 1): UN Conventions on Refugees and Statelessness:

UN Conference of Plenipotentiaries on the Status of Refugees and Stateless Persons, *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees*, April 1954

UN General Assembly, *Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness*, December 1975; *Declaration on Territorial Asylum*, December 1967

(cont'd)

For 1) and 2): UN Conventions on Minorities:

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* 2001;
Declaration of the Principles of International Cultural Co-operation, 1966;
Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice, November 1978

(cont'd)

Indigenous peoples

International standards

International Labour Organization (ILO), *Convention concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries*, No. 169, 1991

UN, *Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, 1994

(cont'd)

Regional standards

African Commission on Human and People's Rights, *Resolution on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples' Communities in Africa*, 2000

OAS, *American Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, 2002, 2003;
Declaration of the Inter-American Human Rights Commission on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 1995

The assessment questions

[30] The first element comprises the questions that drive the assessment process and determine what we should be looking for. As is indicated above, these are set out separately at the start of Part 2 of the guide for ease of reference. The search questions share four distinctive features.

[31] The first is that they are all quite broadly framed so as to provide room for all relevant issues, some of which cannot be precisely identified in a general framework. We recommend that assessors consider each search question in the light of row 2 (what to look for) to ensure that a particular issue of concern to their assessment is appropriately placed.

[32] Second, the assessment questions are phrased in the comparative mode: how inclusive…? how equal…? how representative…? how impartial…? how accountable…? how effective…? and so on. This is because democracy is not an all-or-nothing affair, which a country either has or does not have. Rather it is a matter of degree – of

the extent to which the democratic principles and mediating values are realized in practice. What counts as 'to a good degree', and the concept of an appropriate comparator, are considered below. For the moment it is sufficient to emphasize that democracy is a continuum, and that the questions for assessment are phrased comparatively.

The democracy assessment questions are phrased in the comparative mode: how inclusive…? how equal…? how representative…? how impartial…? how accountable…? how effective…? They entail a judgement about what is better or worse in democratic terms.

[33] A third feature of the assessment questions is that they each address a different aspect of the thematic area, or a different mediating value in respect of which it can be assessed. It follows that a country may perform better in some areas than in others, or better in some respects than in others. Not all the democratic values or practices necessarily fit neatly together. An electoral system may produce a highly representative legislature, but one that is also less clearly accountable to its electorate. A legislature may have strong checking powers over the executive, but the executive may have difficulty in achieving the policy programme on which it was elected. Government may be highly responsive to the public, but some sections of the public may have disproportionate influence over it. And so on. The form of the questions enables such distinctions to be readily drawn, and so encourages more complex or nuanced judgements to be made.

[34] Fourth, the questions are all phrased in such a way that a more positive answer would indicate a better outcome from a democratic point of view. In other words, they all 'point in the same direction' along the democratic continuum. As such, they also entail a judgement about what is better or worse in democratic terms. Such judgements have already been justified explicitly by reference to the key principles and mediating values outlined earlier. One advantage of this directional uniformity is that the framework can easily be constructed as a questionnaire for preliminary use for training or educational purposes. A sample section is set out in questionnaire form in Annex B.

What to look for

[35] The second row in the framework has sometimes been overlooked by assessors, but it plays a flexible and important part in complementing the search questions by indicating the types of issue that they cover and outlining the kinds of data that are needed to help answer the questions. Typically, they are structured in terms, first, of the legal position; then of how effectively the law is implemented in practice; then of any positive or negative indicators which are relevant to the question. So, for example, in answering a question about the freedom of assembly, we would need to know what rights are guaranteed in the country's laws and constitution, and any legal restrictions on their exercise. We would then need to know how effectively these rights are upheld in practice, and how any restrictions are interpreted, and at whose discretion. Finally, we would need to examine data on meetings or assemblies refused permission, or disrupted officially or unofficially, on levels of violence, injuries or deaths incurred, and so on, and to assess their incidence and significance in relation to those that have been allowed and held peacefully. A regrettably common feature of many countries is that rights that look perfectly secure in legal or constitutional terms are not upheld in practice. In other words, there is a significant gap between the de jure protection and de facto realization of such rights. The list of data suggested in the second section enables the assessment process to probe systematically behind the formal legal or constitutional position, and to examine how government is actually experienced in the everyday life of the citizens.

Generalized sources

[36] The third section provides a list of suggested sources for the data required in the second section. At this point it is important to register the first of many caveats about our framework. The most useful sources for each question are likely to be those compiled in the country concerned – government statistics, opinion surveys, NGO investigations, academic analyses, and so on. To list all of these for every country in the world would be an impossible undertaking. We have itemized those sources that contain information either on most countries in a region, or globally. Although these require continual updating, they can provide a useful reference point. However, we do not pretend that they are a substitute for in-country sources, or that they are necessarily the most reliable, even when they come from a prestigious institution. Most have their own biases, which may well be Western ones, and they should therefore be treated with some caution. Most assessors in practice will want to use sources of data that are already in the public

domain, and judging their reliability is an important part of the assessment process, and important for its legitimacy.

Standards of good practice

[37] The final row concerns standards of good practice. Here, an even stronger reservation is in order. The issue of what are appropriate standards against which a given country's performance should be assessed is a contestable one, and must be a matter for decision by assessors in the country concerned. What counts as a good standard of performance in respect of each item for assessment? Who should we be comparing ourselves with to determine this? Is it some point in our country's own past, or the level attained by comparable countries in our situation, or some international standard beyond both? In this row we have made the best compilation we can of possible international standards and examples of good practice to serve as a point of reference. However, we do not want it to pre-empt discussion of which comparators are most appropriate for any given country assessment. To assist this discussion we have set out a full range of possible comparators in Table 1.4, with the rationale for each indicated, and also some of their methodological difficulties. A brief review of these will be useful at this point.

What are appropriate standards against which a given country's performance should be assessed? This must be a matter for decision by assessors in the country concerned. What counts as a good standard of performance in respect of each item for assessment? Who should we be comparing ourselves with to determine this? Is it some point in our country's own past, or the level attained by comparable countries in our situation, or some international standard beyond both?

[38] First are *internally generated* standards. These have the great merit of local legitimacy. They can either look back, to some point in the country's recent past, from which progress (or regression) can be charted. Or they can be determined on the basis of popular expectations about the standards of democratic performance, for which there may be evidence from survey data, from participatory poverty analyses, or from scenario-based planning surveys. Or the government's own targets for the delivery of its policies or services may be used as a reference point. Or there can be a combination of all three.

Table 1.4. Possible comparators for standard setting

	Comparator	Rationale	Methodological difficulties
A. Internally generated benchmarks	The country's past	It is important to chart a country's capacity to progress, or the dangers of regression.	Which point in a country's past to select as a benchmark and why
	Popular expectations of performance	In a democracy, the people provide the appropriate measure of what should be expected from government.	How to determine popular expectations. The possibility of depressed expectations
	Government-set targets	Governments should be assessed against their own performance claims.	Governments have an interest in setting low targets that are easily attainable.
B. Externally derived standards	Comparator countries	Comparison with other countries can provide a useful measure of performance, and guide good practice especially where:	Inadequately standardized data collection and differences of context may make comparison between countries unreliable. Such comparisons may carry little legitimacy internally.
	Regional	they are close neighbours or culturally similar;	
	Economic ranking	they are at similar levels of economic development;	
	Time since democratic transition	similar periods of time have elapsed since the end of authoritarian rule;	
	Size/diversity	they experience similar problems or opportunities of size or diversity;	
	Good practice	they show examples of good practice that works.	
	International standards	Bodies such as the UN possess widespread legitimacy and have long experience of authoritative standard setting in many fields.	Not all international bodies carry the same authority, nor are all international standards equally recognized.

[39] *External* standards can be derived through comparison with similarly placed countries, whether regionally, economically, or in terms of size

or of the timing of the democratic transition. Or the assessment can refer to international standards of good practice as these are set out in United Nations and other international treaties, or as developed by authoritative bodies such as the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU). It is the international standards that we have brought together in our fourth row, because they are the only ones that can be generalized; but we would emphasize that they are only one of a number of different possible bases for standard setting.

[40] Assessors may in fact choose to use a number of different assessment standards, or to employ different ones for different sections of the framework. Thus using government-set targets may be appropriate in the field of economic and social rights, while allowing popular expectations of performance to set the standard for access to justice or the conduct of elected representatives. This must be a matter for country-based decision. Two general points are worth making, however.

Assessors choose to use a number of different assessment standards or to employ different ones for different sections of the democracy assessment framework.

[41] The first is that the purpose of the assessment is to identify strengths as well as weaknesses, and to chart progress as well as to identify what most needs improving. An unrelieved diet of bad news is simply debilitating. So a combination of looking back to a reference point in the past, from which improvement can be charted, with a future-oriented standard or benchmark which helps identify what still has to be done, may well have merit. Like athletes in training who use past performance to measure their progress as well as a national or international standard to provide a target to aim for, a democracy assessment can also employ benchmarks of both kinds.

[42] The second point to make is that we cannot avoid taking a position on relevant standards or benchmarks if we are engaged in a democracy assessment. What position we take will determine both what data we look for in answering a given question and how we present it. 'Letting the facts speak for themselves' does not relieve us from making a judgement, even if this is only done by implication. So, for example, if our question is about public access to government information, then the examples of government non-disclosure that

we draw attention to in any findings will depend on a prior conception we have of what count as legitimate exceptions from the norm of disclosure (to protect privacy, say, or national security, or commercial confidentiality), and what do not – as well as, of course, whether the government manipulates such categories to withhold information which could properly be released.

We cannot avoid taking a position on relevant standards or benchmarks if we are engaged in a democracy assessment.

Charting the process of the assessment

[43] The purpose of this section is to explore the assessment process itself and to identify the kinds of choices that have to be made in each of its stages. The basic assumptions guiding our account are that the primary, though by no means the only, purpose of a democracy assessment is to contribute to public debate and consciousness raising, and that the appropriate people to undertake an assessment are the citizens of the country concerned.

Legitimizing the assessment

[44] The starting point should be the coming together of a group of people committed to the idea of a democracy assessment in their country, some of whom may become involved in the assessment process itself. We could call this group the 'steering group', which will take responsibility for raising funds for the project and overseeing its execution. At two key points at least, this group will need to call in the help of a much larger body of people, which is representative of civil society in its different aspects, and may also include sympathetic individuals from government and the public sector. These people are required first, at the start of the project, to discuss the issues that will serve to guide the focus and direction of the assessment, and to help launch the enterprise; and, second, towards the end, to discuss the preliminary findings of the assessment, to suggest improvements, and to prepare the ground for it to be disseminated as widely as possible. The more representative this wider body is, the greater the legitimacy the resulting assessment will have, and the greater will be the chance of its influencing public debate and the policy process itself. Key mem-

bers of this body might be identified and brought in from the first meeting to act as a standing advisory group available for consultation throughout the assessment process.

The initiators of democracy assessment will need the help of a much larger body of people that is representative of civil society in its different aspects, and may include sympathetic individuals from government and the public sector. These people are required to discuss the issues that will guide the focus and direction of the assessment, help launch the enterprise, discuss the preliminary findings, suggest improvements and prepare the ground for the assessment to be disseminated as widely as possible. The more representative this wider body is, the greater the legitimacy the resulting assessment will have, and the greater will be the chance of it influencing public debate and the policy process itself.

[45] It is worth giving further consideration to the issue of how to enhance the legitimacy of a democracy assessment. Since conducting such an assessment necessarily entails *assessing*, or making judgements (even if the judgements are positive as well as critical), a common question asked is 'By what or whose authority are you doing this?'. Anyone who is likely to be offended by critical aspects of the assessment will be inclined to question the credentials of the assessors by claiming that they have 'axes to grind' or that they are identified with a narrow group of disaffected or oppositional elements in the country's politics. Alternatively, if the assessment is thought to be too soft on known deficiencies, the assessors run the risk of being typecast as 'loyalists' or supporters of the government. Their legitimacy is thus an important issue.

[46] Two different ways of increasing the legitimacy of the assessment can be distinguished, both of which are required.

The legitimacy of the assessors is an important issue. Anyone who is likely to be offended by critical aspects of the assessment will be inclined to question the credentials of the assessors, or they run the risk of being typecast as 'loyalists' or supporters of the government. It is essential to choose assessors whose professionalism and objectivity are beyond question, and the assessment should have a broad social and political base.

[47] The first is *professional*: the enterprise should be systematic, rigorous, and conducted according to the highest possible standards in terms of the quality of data used, the verification of sources, and so on. In this context it is essential to choose assessors whose professionalism and objectivity are beyond question. A comparative knowledge of good and bad practice in the different aspects of democratic government is also important. It is here that external or international experts with experience of conducting such assessments elsewhere can make a positive contribution, by giving added professional legitimacy to the work.

[48] The second form of legitimacy is *political*: the assessment should have a broad social and political base, through the wider consultative body, which should be referred to for advice on potentially contentious issues around the focus, priorities and benchmarks of the assessment, and for comment on its findings. This body should be as widely representative as possible, and some care may be required in selecting members to make up a body that is representative of potential stakeholders without being too unwieldy. A consultative body should be socially representative, in terms of gender, ethnicity and so on, as well as representative of different political viewpoints. People who are publicly recognized as having independent voices will prove particularly valuable in such a context, as they will help to ensure the objectivity of the assessment process.

[49] A key point to make is that every group of assessors, however well qualified, should involve the public and other interested parties as fully as possible in their inquiries and deliberations from the very beginning, and conduct the assessment in a wholly transparent way. A number of benefits derive from the early adoption of an inclusive and transparent process. One is that constant public involvement and scrutiny should broaden the sweep of issues and information that the group takes into account and lessen the dangers of bias and accusations of bias. A second is that public involvement and knowledge will broaden the 'ownership' of the project beyond the immediate group of assessors. Finally, the earlier the process of information and consultation begins, the more effective will be the final dissemination of the findings, and the greater the readiness to take them seriously.

Every group of assessors, however well qualified, should involve the public and other interested parties as fully as possible. Public involvement and scrutiny should broaden the sweep of issues and information, lessen the dangers of bias and accusations of bias, and broaden the 'ownership' of the project.

[50] Focus groups, consultative workshops or deliberative polls are all means by which a wider public can become included in the project. Focus groups are especially useful for soliciting the views and experience of identifiable groups or minorities within wider society, as well as for obtaining views on specific issues. The South Asia study made extensive use of opinion polling in the five nations it assessed, as well as dialogues and case studies (see Box 1.1). In the UK, Democratic Audit has also collaborated closely in a regular series of polls on democracy issues commissioned by a major trust, framing and interpreting the majority of the questions asked. In Ireland a survey of public attitudes to democracy and the rule of law was undertaken at the outset of the assessment process, and its remarkable findings provided considerable publicity for the launch of the assessment. Such initiatives, if they can be afforded, can do much to legitimize and sharpen the conclusions of democracy assessments. It is also possible to make use of existing polls, but care should be taken about the built-in assumptions of the pollsters, any potential bias in the framing of questions, the sample size and similar questions.

Key stages of the assessment process

[51] It is now time to turn to the assessment process itself, and explore more fully what is involved. In what follows we have selected three key stages of the process for analysis in turn: (a) the initial decisions which will set the direction for the assessment as a whole, and which might form the agenda for a consultative workshop; (b) the process of data collection, analysis and organization, which forms the core of the assessment; and (c) the convening of a national workshop to consider the report and its provisional findings.

Preliminary decisions for the assessment process

[52] A programme of issues to be discussed and decisions to be taken at an early stage of the assessment process, say at an orientation workshop with a consultative group, is set out in Figure 1.1. Many of the issues are in practice interconnected, such that decisions on one will constrain or complement choices on others. Most obviously, if financial resources are modest and there is little chance of additional sources of income being available for the project, this will have implications throughout the decisional process. For purposes of analytical clarity, however, we have separated the issues into discrete decisions, and arranged them into a logical sequence, or 'decision tree', to serve as a guide. We discuss each issue briefly in turn below.

Box 1.1.
Mobilizing a pluralist approach: the State of Democracy in South Asia Project

The State of Democracy in South Asia study deliberately chose a strategy of using a plurality of methods. This was not only because what was being attempted was a comparative study of five democracies – Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka – at various stages of democratic development and contending with different internal forces, but also because of the firm belief that a single method would only give a partial picture and, a limited reading of a complex reality. A single method is bound to be deficient.

The epistemic starting point of the study was the assumption that we must simultaneously use both qualitative and quantitative approaches to give a more comprehensive account of the working of democracy in South Asia. The challenge would be to integrate the findings of the different approaches and present a coherent story. This was done with some difficulty. The study adopted four research pathways: (a) a cross-section attitudinal survey; (b) dialogues; (c) qualitative assessments similar to the State of Democracy framework; and (d) case studies, because each gave us an insight into a different slice of political reality.

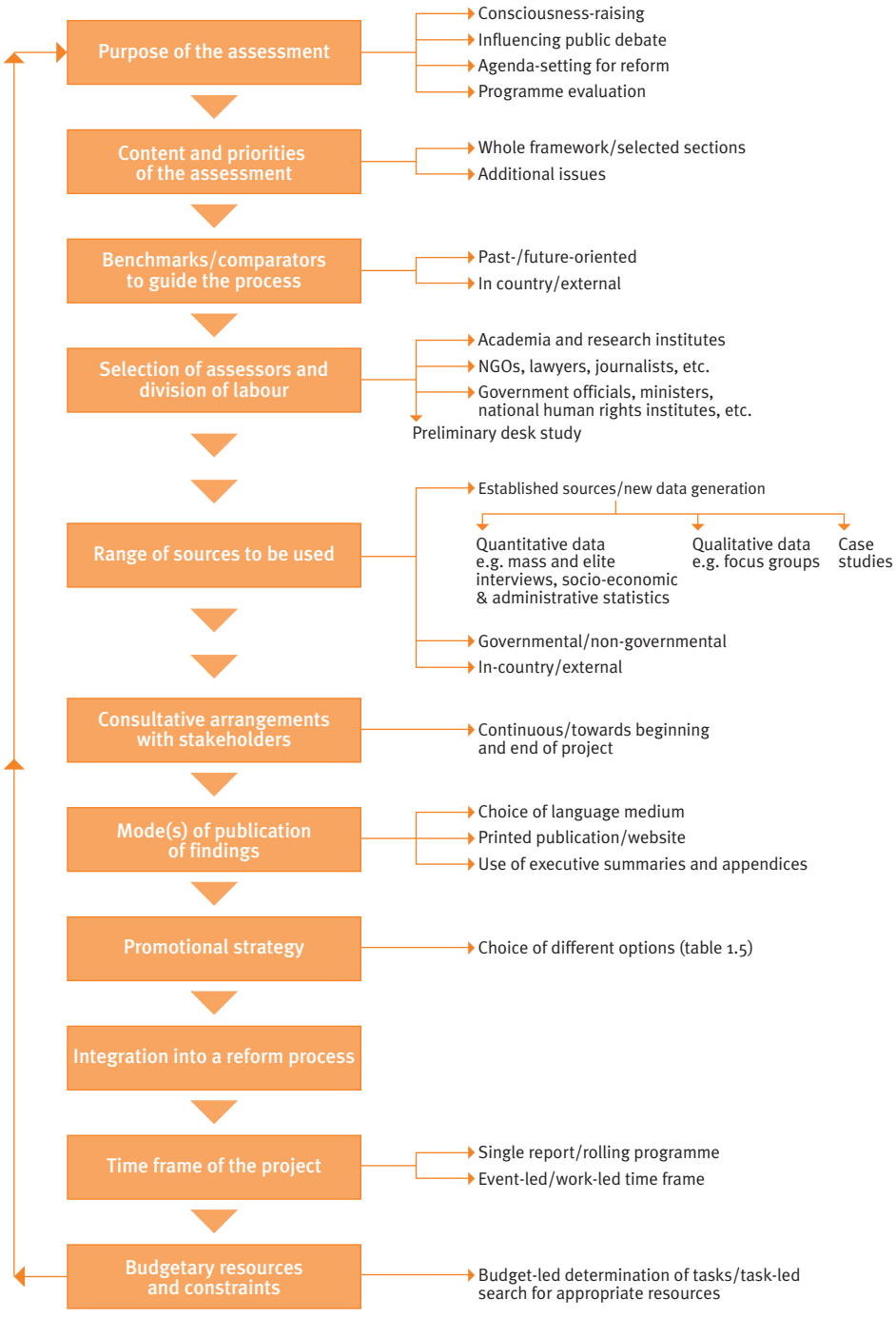
The cross-sectional *survey* of citizen's attitudes on issues of politics in South Asia, which was the principal pathway, sought to investigate citizens' views on a range of issues such as the meaning of democracy, trust in institutions, levels of activity, human security, etc. This produced a huge data set of the attitudes and perceptions of different sections of the population on democracy in South Asia.

The *dialogues* sought to elicit the views of people from civil society organizations and political movements on the working of democracy in South Asia. Since such activists have to continuously campaign and mobilize they have a different view of accountable power and popular control. These views are necessary to complement the aggregate picture emerging from the cross-sectional survey. The dialogues give a more cynical reading of the working of democracy (see the quotations in Box 3.1).

The *qualitative assessment* was based on the template developed by International IDEA whereby experts were asked to respond to questions that were given to them. The same methodology of the democracy assessment of the State of Democracy framework was followed.

The *case studies* commissioned were intended to give an in-depth account of some aspects of the working of democracy in South Asia, particularly those considered as 'inconvenient facts'. These refer to the puzzles and paradoxes that emerge as each country tries both to domesticate and to become domesticated by democracy. These intensive studies serve as theoretical challenges – hence the 'inconvenient facts' – to global debates on democracy since it is not quite clear whether they constitute an advance towards or a retreat from the process of deepening democracy.

Figure 1.1. Preliminary decisions for the assessment



(a) The Purpose of the assessment

[53] The options set out here are not mutually exclusive, as it is perfectly possible to incorporate an agenda-setting or programme-evaluation dimension into a wider goal of influencing public debate about the state of democracy in the country. However, it is important at the outset to come to a clear and agreed understanding of the main aims of the assessment, as this will help justify it to a wider public, including possible funding bodies. Decisions here will also help shape much of what follows. In particular, the timescale of the project is likely to depend on its precise purpose. Thus the broader purpose of influencing public debate about the country's democracy might well suggest orienting publication of the results to the election calendar or other significant national occasion to which the assessment can contribute. A more specific reform purpose might require focusing the assessment more narrowly on a constitutional reform process with a timetable already established for public consultation. And evaluating reforms that are already under way might involve adapting to a review timetable which has already been officially set.

[54] These examples are only suggestive. What is important is to recognize the integral link between the purpose of the assessment, its possible content, and its mode and timetable of publication. A further point to make here is that, as regards a possible reform agenda, it is better to use a democracy assessment to identify priorities for reform, or to clarify the principles to guide such reform, than to set out precise proposals or blueprints for change. The disadvantage of the latter is that the assessment process as a whole may become discredited in the eyes of those who do not agree with specific proposals for reform being made, even if otherwise they would be sympathetic to its larger purpose. So, for example, an assessment might well draw attention to the deficiencies of a First Past The Post (FPTP) electoral system, from a democratic point of view, in the context of a given country. But it should stop short of recommending some specific alternative which might prove much more contentious, not least because all electoral systems have some disadvantages. Specific reform proposals could form a supplementary agenda for research, but should be kept separate from the assessment itself (see the section 'from assessment to reform' below, paras 110–11).

(b) The content and priorities of the assessment

[55] We have already acknowledged that the assessment framework we have developed is very extensive, and may seem discouragingly large at first sight. Its advantage lies precisely in its completeness, and in the way in which the different aspects of a country's democratic life

can be located in the context of the whole. It may well be that the expertise and information required to answer the questions already exist in the country, and that the main problem lies in identifying it and bringing it together. Thus a legal expert might well be able to access the data relevant to the section on the rule of law quite readily, a human rights lawyer the section on civil and political rights, an electoral analyst the section on free and fair elections, and so on. So what appears a formidable task at first sight becomes more manageable once it is broken down into its component sections, as the Advanced Social and Political Research Institute (ASPRI) found for its assessment of Latvia. But it remains a large and complex task to pull it all together.

[56] The experience that International IDEA has developed through piloting the assessment framework with in-country experts suggests that a group of three or four people, each with different expertise, and working with research assistance, requires a minimum of six months to complete a preliminary assessment that covers the whole framework. However, this involves using existing data and sources, and means that some questions can be answered more fully than others. Generating new data, say, through opinion surveys, or through consultative benchmarking with consumer groups, or through other forms of research, would extend the time and cost considerably. Much depends, therefore, on the depth to which the issues are to be investigated.

A group of three or four people, each with different expertise, and working with research assistance, requires a minimum of six months to complete a preliminary assessment that covers the whole framework. Generating new data by means of consultative benchmarking with consumer groups or other forms of research would extend the time and cost considerably.

[57] If the cost in time and resources of undertaking the whole assessment proves prohibitive, then a number of possibilities suggest themselves, all involving *selection* of some kind. One is to select those issues or sections that are most salient to public concern and political debate, and to concentrate on those. If this approach is adopted, it is important that the selection be made explicitly, and in the context of the framework as a whole, so that it is possible to see how the assessment is to be

located within the overall context of the country's democratic life. If this sense of overall context is lost, there is a danger that any resulting assessment will appear partial and one-sided. It should also be remembered that one purpose of a democracy assessment may be to raise the profile of issues which have so far escaped public attention.

[58] A second strategy is that of the 'rolling programme', with different issues and sections undertaken successively as time and resources permit. This was the approach adopted by the first Democratic Audit of the UK and in the Philippines. In the UK, Democratic Audit began by investigating the state of citizens' rights, before proceeding to an audit of the country's central political institutions, with the findings of each published in separate volumes. These large studies were complemented by the interim publication of original research papers on more specific issues with a reform focus, which helped bring the auditing process to public attention before the fuller studies were completed. In the Philippines, the assessment received piecemeal funding to carry out assessments on each of the four main pillars of the framework, thereby allowing a complete assessment to be carried out over a longer period of time.

[59] In Australia, the assessment has been built up with a series of research projects on issues judged particularly salient for the country's democracy, including political finance, the representation of minorities, how well Australian democracy serves women, and many others.

If the cost in time and resources of undertaking the whole assessment is prohibitive, it is possible to concentrate on those issues or sections that are most salient in public concern and political debate, or to undertake different sections of the framework successively.

[60] Whichever of these approaches is adopted, the important thing is that any selection that is required should be consonant with the identified purpose, proposed timescale and anticipated impact of the assessment. These goals will naturally depend on country-specific considerations, for which generalizations are difficult to make. By the same token, there may well be some distinctive issues or questions that call for investigation, which are not fully covered in our assessment framework. Adding questions or adapting them to the conditions or

priorities of the individual country must be a matter for local discretion, although the advantage of maintaining comparability with assessments being conducted elsewhere should also be recognized.

Some country-specific considerations or questions, which are not fully covered in our assessment framework, may call for additional investigation. Adding or adapting questions to the conditions or priorities of the country must be a matter for local discretion.

(c) Benchmarks or comparators to guide the process

[61] The importance of being clear about possible benchmarks or comparators against which a country's level of democracy might appropriately be assessed has been discussed above, and the different possibilities are set out and explained in Table 1.4. We have also emphasized the advantage of combining both a backward-looking frame of reference, to chart possible progress, and a present- or future-oriented standard, to identify levels of attainment. Here we discuss possible practical difficulties associated with the different choices.

[62] The purpose of selecting a *reference point in the country's past* is to provide a sense of historical perspective to what is otherwise a contemporary snapshot without any context, as well as to assess possible progress. Two practical problems present themselves. The first is how to select an appropriate time-point for reference; the second, how to make an effective comparison in the absence of any systematic assessment having been conducted for the earlier period in question. These problems are much less acute for the new democracies: the point of transition from a previous authoritarian regime provides an obvious reference point. There is also likely to be considerable public agreement on what the defects of that regime were, to provide a basis for assessing change. Finally, there will probably already be a programme of constitutional and public sector reform under way, and there may be ample material for assessing its effectiveness. For longer-established democracies, the selection of a past reference point may be somewhat arbitrary, and its logic therefore less compelling, unless there has been a clear moment of substantial political or constitutional change in the recent past.

Benchmarks or comparators have to be selected against which a country's level of democracy can appropriately be assessed. These may be a reference point in the country's past, or other internal or external **target standards.**

[63] The selection of *target standards* as the comparator often proves more controversial. As is suggested above, *domestic* benchmarks are likely to have greater legitimacy than external ones, especially for newly established democracies. Using popular expectations of government performance would seem an entirely appropriate standard for a democracy assessment, but there are some practical difficulties. One is that clear evidence of such expectations may not exist in the public domain, and the cost in time and resources of collecting new survey data, conducting focus group discussions or other participatory exercises, is high. When collected, the evidence from public opinion may be ambiguous or uncertain, especially on issues such as the inner workings of government, say, as compared with the delivery of public services. However, the collection of evidence about popular expectations of government in appropriate areas could form a very useful product of a democracy assessment, especially when coupled with people's own assessment of the extent to which their expectations are actually met in practice.

[64] A complementary strategy to the above, which is also much cheaper, is to identify *official targets* for areas of public life, which can be used as possible benchmarks. Most constitutions contain statements of rights and responsibilities, and it is entirely appropriate to investigate how far these are realized in practice. Governments themselves set standards or targets for many areas of public life – standards for the conduct of public officials, or for the practice of open government; future targets for the improvement of health and education or the reduction of poverty; citizens' charters for the delivery of public services; goals and mission statements of all kinds. Again, identifying these and relating them systematically to the assessment framework can itself be a useful part of the assessment process. Moreover, no benchmark can have greater legitimacy than assessing institutions against their own self-proclaimed standards, even if these are merely intended for declamatory or public-relations effect.

[65] The usefulness of *externally derived* standards, by contrast, depends very much on how far these are likely to be endorsed by domestic public opinion. If there are natural regional or other comparators, to

which a country's people will usually relate, then their comparative attainment in different areas could be used to establish a standard of good practice for domestic assessment. Where neighbours are regarded with hostility, on the other hand, such a course may simply prove counterproductive. A familiar practical difficulty with comparative tables is that of standardization: data may be collected in quite different ways in different countries, and differences of context and significance may render them less truly comparable.

[66] Similar qualifications apply to the international standards and examples of good practice that we have collected in row 4 of our assessment framework. Not all of these have been developed by official international or regional bodies of which the country being assessed may be a member. Nor do such standards necessarily command legitimacy in the country itself. However, where the standards are long-established and are widely recognized internationally or regionally they constitute a valuable resource. What is needed is a sensitive application of them that acknowledges such contextual circumstances as the time frame of the country's democratic evolution and its level of economic development. A useful starting point is to identify which of the main international or regional conventions identified in our fourth row a country has signed up to, and with what reservations or qualifications. This process will at least establish where the country stands officially with regard to the standards that the respective conventions seek to uphold.

[67] As is explained above, there are more firmly accepted international standards for some sections of our framework than others, for example, covering human rights in all their aspects, refugees and asylum seekers, social and environmental targets, and some others. Agreement on standards for political institutions is mostly a long way off, although many states' legislatures have signed up to the IPU's declaration of standards for free and fair elections. However, it is a distinctive feature of the current international scene that all kinds of bodies, international, regional and national, both official and civil society-based, are engaged in developing standards for all aspects of public life; and it can be expected that some of these will gain increasing international acceptance over the coming years.

Internal target standards are likely to have greater legitimacy than external ones. They include popular expectations of government performance (if evidence exists), statements of rights and responsibilities contained in the constitution, and official targets.

[68] In conclusion, and in the light of what we might describe as an uneven patchwork of different kinds of benchmarks or standards, we would expect that agreement on these will evolve over the course of the assessment, and be clearer for some sections and issues than others. The important thing at the outset, however, is to be aware of the range of options available, and their respective implications, as a matter for early discussion.

(d) Selection of assessors and division of labour

[69] As already discussed, a democracy assessment will need to call on a variety of different kinds of expertise to cover the different sections of the framework. Between them the assessors will need to cover human rights, legal affairs, social and labour issues, the media and public opinion, as well as the more institutional aspects of politics and public participation. The team of assessors ought to be an interdisciplinary group, which might include lawyers, journalists and academics working in the social sciences.

[70] Listing all the desirable qualities of assessors runs the risk of postulating some super-heroic norm for our prospective group! It goes without saying that they will need professional experience in data collection and analysis. At the same time, conducting a democracy assessment is different from producing a standard academic or journalistic article, and involves a readiness to identify the strengths and weaknesses of the country's democratic life within an explicitly evaluative framework, and to do so with sufficient detachment and impartiality to avoid charges of bias and with sufficient writing skills to make the report accessible.

The usefulness of externally derived standards will depend very much on how far these are likely to be endorsed by domestic public opinion. Not all internal standards command legitimacy in the country itself; a country may not have signed the relevant conventions; and in general agreement on standards for political institutions is a long way off. The international standards in some sections of the International IDEA framework are more generally accepted than those in other sections.

[71] The process adopted by International IDEA for some of its pilot assessments was to use researchers experienced in its methodology to

undertake a preliminary desk assessment using country-based as well as international sources, so as to provide a starting point for the in-country experts. Desk studies were also prepared for the Mongolian assessment. They helped to identify gaps in information on the country that needed to be addressed and complemented the full range of outputs for the assessment project (see Part 3). It is important to note that as a preliminary sifting device desk studies have generally proved useful to the in-country assessors, but they are not a substitute for their own judgement and expertise. Dividing the assessment into two stages in this way is neither necessary nor always desirable.

(e) The use of sources

[72] The use of sources is discussed more fully in the next section (see paras 78–88). Here it is sufficient to note a couple of issues that merit preliminary discussion within a consultative group. The first is whether the resources available will permit new research into public opinion of the kind that is typically quite expensive, whether involving opinion surveys, consultative forums or other research. The usefulness of these to the assessment, both for identifying public expectations and for gauging popular assessment of government or regime performance in specific areas, has already been indicated. A preliminary review of what is already available in the public domain would make a useful contribution to such a discussion.

[73] A further contribution that a consultative group could make to the discussion of possible sources would be to identify from their own contacts and experience those agencies, organizations or individuals already engaged in data collection and analysis in areas relevant to the democracy assessment. It may well be the case that there are campaigning groups or organizations based in the country which already keep systematic data on human rights violations, prison conditions, the incidence of corruption, the harassment of journalists and so on which could provide an invaluable source of information alongside official statistics and academic investigations. Identifying such organizations and linking them where appropriate to the assessment process would offer an additional resource to the project.

(f) Consultative arrangements with stakeholders

[74] The importance of involving a wider consultative group of stakeholders at the beginning of the assessment process, and benefiting from their comments on a draft of the report and its conclusions towards the end, has already been stressed. Whether this group, or some of

its members, should have a standing advisory role throughout must be a matter of judgement, according to the expected timescale of the project, and whether significant decisions affecting focus, content or funding are likely to have to be made as the work progresses.

(g) Publication and promotion

[75] The issues to be considered under this heading are reviewed in paragraphs 96–108. The essential point to make here is that it pays to give careful consideration at the outset of the project to the questions of who the target readership or readerships of the assessment may be, what form or forms of publication are appropriate for this anticipated readership, whether translation will be required, and so on. Choice of publisher or publishing outlet and a promotional strategy can then also be planned at an early stage. As well as publishing the report in hard copy, modern dissemination strategies also involve publication on a website (with links as far as possible), email distribution, and brief popular summaries in hard copy and electronic form. Such strategies require forward planning.

(h) Timescale and financial resources

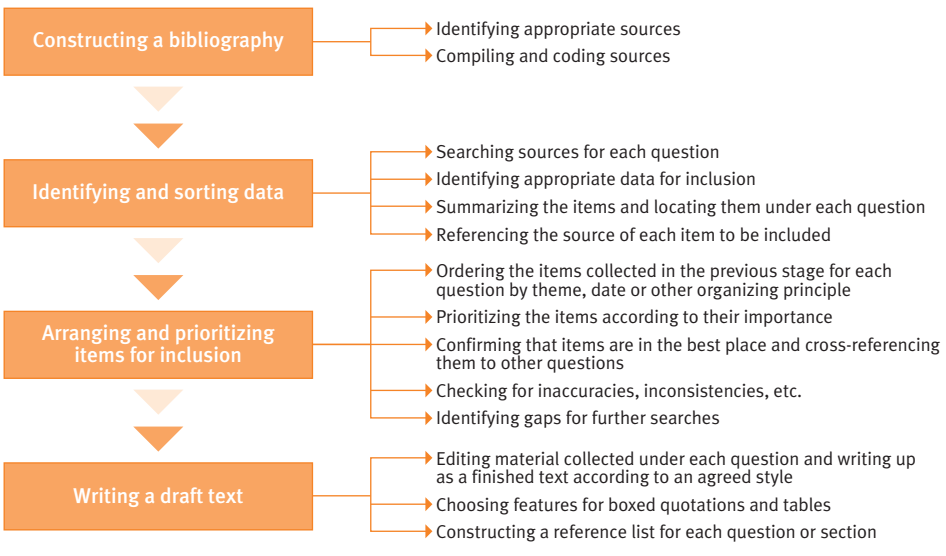
[76] The decision on a timescale for the project will largely depend on decisions already made on a number of the issues identified above. Even if the assessment is not directed towards a clearly defined future moment in the country's constitutional or political evolution, potential funding sources will expect a realistic deadline for completion of the programme of work. And the resources obtained will in turn condition the extent or coverage of the assessment, or the depth to which it can probe. An initial exploration of these resourcing considerations may well have to be undertaken prior to a wider consultative meeting. Indeed, the programme of decisions to be taken in the formative stage of the project may better be understood as an evolving or iterative process, in view of their interconnectedness, rather than as the agenda for a single meeting. However, it is important that all the issues should be subject to consultation and made the focus of a workshop with potential stakeholders in the project, so that the project can benefit from their experience and contacts, and the issues can be tested against the widest possible range of viewpoints.

It is important that all the issues should be subject to consultation and made the focus of a workshop with potential stakeholders in the project, so that the project can benefit from their experience and contacts, and the issues can be tested against the widest range of viewpoints.

Data collection, analysis and organization

[77] This section concerns the core process of a democracy assessment, and offers guidance on data collection and analysis. Most assessors will develop their own method of working, and there is no one correct method for proceeding in what is inevitably a time-consuming and sometimes laborious activity. However, Figure 1.2 itemizes the stages and tasks that we have found useful in conducting an assessment. Again, each stage is discussed briefly in turn.

Figure 1.2. Stages in data collection and analysis



(a) Constructing a bibliography

[78] The simplest way of constructing a bibliography is to take each section of the framework in turn, using standard bibliographical searches and other information to hand about likely sources. Academic books and articles are useful for their quality of analysis. Online sources from government departments, official statistical services, polling

organizations, NGOs, news reports, and so on, tend to be more up to date. Our experience is that most sources will be specific to one section of the framework, although they will most likely be relevant to more than one question within it. So it makes good sense to construct the bibliography on a sectional basis, with coding for specific questions where appropriate. Cross-referencing to other sections or questions is a relatively straightforward matter. When the exercise has been completed once, it will become clear which sections or questions are less well covered, and where a more concentrated further round of searching may be required. Adding further items to the bibliography is likely to be an ongoing process throughout the assessment.

[79] Two features of our assessment framework will be of assistance in this stage. Row 2 of the framework sets out the typical data required for answering each question, and thus provides pointers to possible sources. So, for example, many begin with the state of the law, which suggests that the country's constitution, its bill of rights and more specific legal codes will be necessary sources. Investigating how the law is implemented in practice, on the other hand, is likely to require the use of less official sources of information, such as NGO reports or academic studies. Sometimes an official report, say, from the legislature or ombudsman's office, on implementation of the law can throw light on whole areas of government practice.

[80] Row 3 of the framework identifies international or regional sources covering more than one country, organized by section and question. They are the ones we have ourselves found useful, and they are organized in a way that is precisely geared to the assessment process and its requirements. Many tend to be written from a Western perspective, however, and in any case they are no substitute for country-specific sources, to which they should be seen as a potentially valuable complement, rather than as an alternative.

[81] Assessing the reliability of different sources is obviously an important task, but depends on local knowledge and experience, and it is impossible to generalize about it. The value of official sources, for example, may well depend on whether the statistical office is genuinely independent of government or is merely another arm of the government's propaganda machine. Past experience will be an essential guide in this context.

(b) Identifying and sorting data

[82] This stage comprises the painstaking work of reading and, identifying relevant data or evidence and filing or recording it under the

appropriate question. Again it makes sense to proceed on a section-by-section basis, since most of the sources will contain material that is relevant to more than one question (although rarely to more than one section). An important point to bear in mind is that few, if any, of the sources used will be structured towards answering the assessment questions, since they will have been compiled or written for quite different purposes. So the data will need to be 'dug out' from the sources, and a lot of irrelevant material either ignored or discarded.

[83] In identifying what is relevant, the main search questions of row 1 of the assessment framework obviously provide the chief guide, supplemented by two further search tools. Row 2 of the framework provides a systematic account of the data relevant to answering each question, and is particularly helpful at this point. Any decisions already taken about benchmarks, whether past attainments, present standards or future targets, provide what can be described as the fine-tuning for the search process.

[84] What sort of data will the assessor be looking for? Anything which throws light on the general condition of the body politic in the relevant area, or which is symptomatic of its condition, is germane. This may be a brief summary by an authoritative expert, the findings of a report, official or unofficial, a statistical table, a legal judgement, an opinion survey, a newspaper or media investigation, some key event or series of events or experiences which typifies a more general condition, or any combination of these. At this stage the more kinds of evidence that can be collected, the better.

[85] It is clear, and has been so from the various experiences in using the framework around the world, that a mixture of qualitative and quantitative data should be collected and analysed. Historical, legal and contextual information provides important background for establishing a baseline assessment of democracy. Qualitative data on people's experiences of democracy, their perceptions, and areas in need of reform can be collected through a variety of means, including in-depth interviews, participant observation, focus groups, national reflective workshops and conferences. Quantitative data collection and analysis can complement the qualitative work, where numerous indicators across the rows of the framework can be collected to provide a descriptive mapping of democracy. These can be used for 'second order' analysis that seeks to identify explanatory factors that account for the patterns observed in the descriptive analysis. If the data are available, such analysis can identify the broad contours in the democratic experience as well as examine significant differences in that experience

across different social demographic categories, such as age, gender, income, occupation, geographical location, race, ethnicity, religious affiliation and indigenous identity.

A mixture of qualitative and quantitative data should be collected and analysed.

[86] The goal of combining qualitative and quantitative methods is to provide as rich and robust a portrait of the democratic experience as possible within the resource constraints of any one assessment project. It is also possible that carefully selected quantitative data can provide a 'snapshot' to illuminate a whole area of public life. For example, figures of the size of the prison population compared with the supposed prison capacity, of the proportion of prisoners awaiting trial, of the average time taken to bring a case to court – all these can give a rapid insight into the state of a country's criminal justice system.

[87] Two pieces of cautionary advice are worth giving here. First, avoid making a judgement about the answer to a given question before looking for the data and in this way predetermining the selection of data. Most answers will involve evidence that points to a mixed state of affairs, neither wholly good nor wholly bad, and assessors should try to keep an open mind until the bulk of the relevant data has been collected. The second caution is more elementary: make sure that all verbatim extracts from other sources are placed within quotation marks, so that they do not end up in a finished draft as if they are an original text.

[88] The product of this stage of the assessment might thus be a substantial

Avoid making a judgement about the answer to a given question before looking for the data. Most answers will involve evidence that points to a mixed state of affairs.

list of items collected under each question, of very different kinds, with the sources of each identified, and cross-referenced to other questions to which they might also be relevant. They may well be in no particular order and contain much overlap and duplication. But better more than less at this stage. By now it should also be clear where substantial gaps in the record occur, and where new research might be commissioned for the most urgent issues, if funding permits.

(c) Arranging and prioritizing the items

[89] This is the stage of arranging the material collected so that it provides a clear picture, or tells a coherent story, even if it is a complex one. It is a good idea at this point to go back to the original question and remind yourself what would count as a relevant answer to it. Then it is a matter of arranging the items in an appropriate order, whether it be of thematic type, order of significance, or historical priority, according to what seems best for the particular question and in the light of the overall focus of the assessment. This stage may well overlap with the start of writing a draft text, since arranging material in order is itself part of the process of 'telling a story' which will link the discrete items of data or evidence together. One way of thinking of an answer to the assessment questions is as a brief summarizing judgement, with the evidence arranged so that it supports, expands or explains the judgement in a systematic way.

[90] Two issues are likely to emerge at this stage, if not before. The first is that there may well be inconsistencies, as well as duplication, between the different sources from which data have been collected, and further investigation will be needed to resolve any possible contradiction. A second issue concerns continuing gaps in the evidence, for which further sources may still need to be identified.

(d) Writing a draft report

[91] If the above stages have all been carried out, writing the report should not prove unduly onerous. Presumably by now a decision will have been taken on the form and length of a finished draft, although both may need to be modified in the light of the material assembled. It makes for easier reading to avoid long unbroken chunks of text, which may be varied with tables, summaries, quotations, exemplary events or experiences, and so on, to complement a more discursive account.

(e) Setting the report in context

[92] It will be important at this point to consider the kind of introduction the report will need. How will you explain and justify the assessment process to the potential reader? What information is needed to make the assessment intelligible in the context of the country's distinctive character and present condition? This information will almost certainly include a discursive summary of the country's recent process of democratic development, and of any features in the country's

political traditions and culture that may have given the process its distinctive trajectory and help explain its current condition. An introductory narrative of this kind will also help provide a justification for conducting a democracy assessment at this particular juncture.

[93] Other items that might be included in an introduction to the report are basic facts about the country's current political system, and leading socio-economic and human development indicators, if these are not already included in the relevant sections of the assessment.

Convening a national workshop

[94] A key point in the assessment process is the convening of a national workshop to discuss the draft report and its provisional findings in order to improve its content and presentation. Although this event could be confined to professional and academic experts, it will have much more impact if it is widened to include leading public figures, government and party officials, and representatives of human rights and other campaigning organizations, as well as media personnel and sympathetic figures from neighbouring countries. A wider body of this kind, representative of political society as a whole, will subject the findings to a more searching test and improve the analysis and its presentation, and also enable the findings to reach a much wider audience and give them much greater legitimacy.

A key point in the assessment process is the convening of a national workshop to discuss the draft report and its provisional findings.

[95] Workshops undertaken by International IDEA in countries selected for our pilot study have included in their membership such figures as the chairmen of the official and unofficial constitutional review bodies (Kenya); party delegates and leading diplomats (Malawi); senior representatives from the police and human rights organizations (El Salvador); the clerk of Parliament and the chief electoral commissioner (New Zealand); and a regional prosecutor and a senior journalist (Italy). The two international conferences organized by the Mongolians included a variety of international and national stakeholders who provided reflection and advice on the design, implementation and follow-up activities of the assessment. The proceedings of the workshops for the pilot studies as well as those in Mongolia aroused substantial public interest and were widely reported in the national

press. In many cases the quality of comment and discussion by participants led to significant revision and improvement of the assessment report. For an example of a successful workshop, see Box 1.2.

Box 1.2.
Report on the Kenya Democracy Workshop

The workshop, opened by the Swedish ambassador to Kenya, Ms Inga Björk-Klevby, was attended by about 45 people, including members of Parliament, academics, lawyers, representatives of national NGOs, local representatives of government and international organizations.

The first session was devoted to a debate on the constitutional reform process, at which leading representatives of the two alternative review bodies – the civil society-based Ufungamano, and the official parliamentary forum – presented the arguments for their respective organizations. The rest of the seminar was taken up with an audiovisual presentation of the key findings of the report, and a discussion organized around nine key questions advanced by Professor Njuguna Ng'ethe, the report's principal investigator:

- What conception of democracy is implied or implicit in this particular comparative framework of democracy assessment?
- Is this conception useful for the Kenyan situation?
- Is this conception legalistic, institutional, political, economic, and social, and how are these different aspects weighted in the framework?
- Can the framework capture the dynamics of change or can it only take a static snapshot of the 'state of democracy'?
- Does the comparative framework adequately balance the elements within the democratic process?
- How are these components of the democratic process implicitly or subsequently weighted, and what is the resulting utility of this ranking?
- What is the nature of the epistemology underlying this framework? E.g., would an 'ordinary' citizen generate the same democratic 'menu', or a more utilitarian one?
- Is it useful to be comparative?
- What are the real determinants of democratization and are these captured by the framework?

The workshop was fully reported in the next day's press, and the organizers gave interviews for both radio and television. A key issue discussed at the conclusion of was how to disseminate the findings more widely, including linkages with existing civic education projects.

The Workshop was organized by the Series on Alternative Research in East Africa Trust (SAREAT) and International IDEA and held at the Norfolk Hotel, Nairobi, on 22 June 2000.

Democratic Audit in the UK held a workshop on a recent report on the country's counter-terrorism laws and strategy which benefited from a wide-ranging and diverse composition, including a former senior judge, a high-ranking intelligence official, human rights lawyers, leading politicians from the three largest parties, defence lawyers, representatives of relevant NGOs and national journalists.

Strategies for making democracy assessments public

[96] The ultimate aim of a democracy assessment is to give a country's society a thorough analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of its democratic arrangements for people to consider and (if possible) act on. So the final report has to be widely disseminated and promoted to ensure that its findings are fully debated. One of the major benefits of adopting the transparent and inclusive strategy that we recommend above for the process of democracy assessment is that it provides a public platform from which to disseminate and promote these findings. The earlier the process of information and consultation begins, the more effective will be the final dissemination of the findings. The interested parties and the wider public will be better prepared to understand, assimilate and, as necessary, act on the findings if they have already been informed and involved in shaping them.

[97] The job of disseminating information on a subject like democracy is often a difficult one for groups to undertake. Moreover, almost any group undertaking a democracy analysis is likely to be constrained by limited resources. None has the kind of promotional resources that a major commercial company can mobilize. The assessors' own circumstances and resources will vary considerably, as will the conditions in the countries they are assessing. Many groups of assessors will be attached to academic institutions without practical experience of promotional campaigns and with only very limited opportunities for direct access to the public or to NGOs, which may well have more promotional experience.

[98] In many countries, state control of the media deliberately constrains coverage. Consequently, public interest in analysis of a political system is rarely strong, except where tyranny, misrule, persecution of minorities and corruption have inspired desire for change towards a more democratic polity. Then it can emerge, even where state control of the media is very strong and intimidation of journalists is common.

[99] The difficulties of communication in poorer countries with largely rural and illiterate populations, usually with no or limited access to

the print or electronic media, are frequently – and rightly – stressed. But there are also immense difficulties in more developed societies with more educated populations and diverse media sources. In such countries, attempts to raise questions of the quality of democracy, human rights abuse, discrimination and so on tend to be drowned out in the clamour of commercial and entertainment matter on most media. Moreover, modern media tend to be interested in politics only at the level of the major political figures and their activities rather than at that of detailed analysis of political arrangements. This trend is intensified by the emphasis on 'personalities' in the commercial and entertainment worlds. Across the spectrum of countries, the state and major interests are usually able to dominate communications and block or downplay messages which they find unpalatable.

In many countries, even where the media are free and communications are good, the job of disseminating information on a subject like democracy is often difficult. No assessment group has the kind of promotional resources that a major commercial company can mobilize. The state and major interests are usually able to dominate communications and block or downplay messages which they find unpalatable. It is essential for assessment groups to adopt realistic strategies for getting their messages across.

[100] It is therefore essential for assessment groups to adopt realistic strategies for getting their messages across. As we argue above, the earlier they seek to inform and involve outsiders in their processes and the more transparent these processes are, the stronger their hold on public interest will be. The wider the range of those who are involved, the more likely it is that people will regard their findings as broadly representative and relevant. They can begin by issuing information on the assessment task that they are undertaking and inviting comments on and contributions to their work through press releases, leaflets, conferences (not necessarily their own) and, if possible, an interactive website of their own. It is useful at an early stage to try to establish a constructive relationship with journalists from the most sympathetic media outlets. An example of how to do this, and of a practical media strategy more generally, is provided from the experience of the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA), an organization which aims to promote democracy in South Africa (see Box 1.3).

Box 1.3.
A media strategy for raising democratic awareness

IDASA employs different tactics in trying to get a message across, depending on who it wants to inform or influence. If it wants to increase public awareness, it uses a mixture of media to inform people – through radio first of all, using African-language radio stations and their own Democracy Radio programme, and then through either South African television or mainstream newspapers such as *The Sowetan* or the *Sunday Times*.

If IDASA wants to speak to those in power and to influence the opinion-forming class, it tends to use the English-language radio (SAFm) and *Business Day*, a serious and highly respected newspaper. IDASA has established good working relationships with SAFm and the political staff of *Business Day*, which makes it more likely that its press releases and information will be followed up.

IDASA's media experience has taught it how to 'package' an issue as a media story and to identify the appropriate 'hook' – that is, an event or report on which IDASA has relevant data and views. IDASA realizes that it does not have the resources to reach out to the whole population of South Africa, especially given the diversity of socio-economic, ethnic and cultural groups that are to some extent reflected in the demography of the media and their range. So choosing the right media and the right outlets for any given message is critical.

Instead of seeking to reach the whole population or 'wider society', IDASA concentrates on serving 'civil society' – that is, the policy-making, opinion-forming and active elements in society, and sympathetic and interested groups within these active elements. It operates a 'niche' marketing strategy. When lobbying, it targets such 'niche' groups as its links to wider communities and the population as a whole. Its media strategies, described above, are its main routes for informing and influencing these key groups and recruiting friendly organizations and individuals within them.

Source: Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA)

[101] These first stages will not make a very wide impact. The aim should be to inform and involve interested parties – scholars, journalists, lawyers, public officials, politicians and other people of influence – with the underlying purpose of using them, in turn, to pass the information on and raise wider interest. This kind of 'ripple effect' is usually the most any group could hope for, and the IDASA media strategy is a model for this way of operating. It targets the media that are most appropriate for the groups it is aiming at and the messages it wants to get across.

[102] The most likely weaknesses for any assessment group attempting to promote its work and findings are, as is stated above, the limited resources at hand and its inexperience in using the media. If it is possible to recruit an experienced journalist or public relations officer, this should be done, even in a voluntary capacity. However, the great strength of a group will generally lie in its collective expertise and knowledge. Issuing individual reports, briefing journalists and submitting articles for publication are all ways of building up a reputation for expertise in the media.

[103] During its work the group should therefore seek to develop and sustain interest and involvement by publishing reports of preliminary inquiries or findings; holding seminars or conferences; submitting articles to journals, newspapers and magazines; publishing and updating information on its findings, if this is available; and encouraging others to contribute. Table 1.5 summarizes the different forms of product, means of dissemination and potential audiences for the democracy assessment.

Publication and media strategies

[104] Publication and media strategies are interconnected and should be considered and planned for together – the main aim being to reach as wide an audience as possible through the media and the distribution of a book or report, with a significant secondary aim of influencing policy makers and opinion leaders. The more relevant and policy-oriented an assessment is, the easier it will be to attract attention. To begin with, it is usually possible to engage political and academic circles in a country. With the pilot IDEA studies, for example, we were able to ensure that the initial findings of the assessment teams were subjected to scrutiny and comment by informed outsiders at a specially convened seminar and were revealed to the public gaze, if only to a limited degree, through the Internet. The final assessments were then published as printed reports and the body of information and argument on which these reports were based was placed on the Internet.

Engaging the media

[105] It is important to plan well in advance for the release of the final report. All manner of media events can be organized around the report. The national workshops mentioned above are only one means of disseminating the findings. Another may well be a speech by a single highly-respected individual, or a simple press conference. If a commercial publisher is involved, it will usually have some resources for publicity and experience of book launches. The report should be written with some thought as to its reception. Above all, the report should

be written in simple and accessible terms. It should not be too long. Its contents and direction should bear in mind popular preoccupations and interests. Democracy is vital to most people's well-being, but is often discussed or argued over in a relatively abstract way. Make sure that any democracy assessment addresses popular concerns and shows how democratic advance is relevant to those concerns.

Table 1.5. Different modes of disseminating the findings

Product	Content/format	Medium	Audience
Full report, hard copy	Full assessment	Publication in English and in-country language/s	Elite: opinion formers in government and the media, political parties and experts
Full report, electronic copy	Full assessment plus linkages and data archive	World Wide Web: significant portals and listings	Elite Internet users, international interested parties and opinion formers
Executive summary/ press release	Aggregated executive summaries (all sections)	Press conference	Urban, literate, journalists and government
Academic conference and conference documents	Full assessment as background paper, conference report papers from participants	Conference pack and online postings and papers	Academics, policy makers and students
Extracts by section (specialist interest)	Executive summaries and specific sections	Sector- and interest-specific journals and in-house magazines; specialists	Interest-specific, such as educators, health workers, media, local government officials etc.
Extracts by section, (popular issues)	Derivative popular texts around current affairs	Popular magazines and newspapers	Literate, educated
Questionnaires, civic education summaries, classroom kits	Cartoon, non-textual or basic language, video or audio	Community voluntary organizations, churches, NGOs, schools, community centres, libraries (gatekeepers)	General, including the illiterate or poor
Interviews and features by radio and TV personnel	Verbal and visual summaries	Radio and TV	General, including the illiterate and poor

[106] It is important to issue a media notice of the report that bears these issues in mind. A media notice or press release should go to all the media, print and broadcast. It should be brief and to the point. Do not try to summarize the whole report, except perhaps as a final paragraph. Instead, go for the key points or most controversial or surprising findings and highlight these. If there is strong public interest in a particular political issue, relate the findings to that issue. Furthermore, it is no good just sending out press releases. Think first about the best day of the week to release the information and which of the media that day will be likely to follow up the notice. Decide which are the best media outlets for reaching the audience that you want. If possible, prepare certain journalists in advance. Try to obtain the fax numbers or email addresses that get to the right people. Always follow up a press release with a polite telephone inquiry to ask whether it has been received and noticed; too often, it will otherwise simply go unread and unnoticed, or rejected. Such an inquiry gives you the chance to 'sell the story'. We have frequently found that a polite reminder can gain media attention that the initial press release has failed to engender.

[107] The natural course is to go for a 'big bang' release of a report or document, but it is possible to vary this approach considerably. A democracy assessment will usually raise a variety of key issues, and each of these can be raised independently during the course of the work and after the release of the final document, for example, in interim reports, articles in specialist magazines, television or radio current affairs programmes or interviews, evidence to official bodies, evidence to political parties, attendance at other seminars and conferences, and leaflets addressed to a variety of audiences. All these and other means can be used to promote and disseminate the findings of a democracy assessment. It is also important to think carefully about the media chosen. Who reads this or that newspaper? Is television tightly controlled? Are radio stations the rural population's main source of information? Is that or this columnist, reporter or radio producer more sympathetic and interested than others? Examples of the different dissemination strategies used by a variety of country assessment teams are given in Part 3 (see paras 146–9). The experience of the UK Democratic Audit can be summarized here by way of example (see Box 1.4).

[108] One or two lessons from this experience may be relevant to others. First, the idea of choosing topics that will be of interest for separate publication early on, and which will provide 'hooks' for media attention, is a good way of publicizing the whole enterprise. Second, the choice of publisher is a key question. You need to consider at what price the publisher will market the country report; how good the publisher's

Box 1.4.
Dissemination experience from the UK Democratic Audit

Democratic Audit has published three national assessments of UK democracy: 'audits' of political and civil rights and governing arrangements, in 1998 and 1999, and a third full assessment using the IDEA framework in 2002. The first two were published as academic books and were bound by the conventions and economics of publishing, resulting in costly books. The publisher put hardly any resources into their dissemination, and that was targeted to the academic community and not the wider public. However, Democratic Audit did publish and invite debate on the criteria by which the assessors were to proceed through the broadsheet press and current-affairs television executives. The very idea of a 'democratic audit' was enough to arouse interest, and the fact that this was an academic enterprise with a university base gave it sufficient legitimacy in journalists' eyes. The 2002 assessment, in contrast, was more popularly produced and published, with a provocative cover and catchy title, and the first print run of 2,000 copies sold out. For all three assessments the audit also undertook its own dissemination strategy, and was able to obtain a high level of exposure on BBC and other radio programmes.

As the audit had continuous funding from a UK trust, the assessors have also had the means to publish interim reports on particular issues – notably on the accountability of parastatal agencies, the UK electoral system, far-right political parties, and counter-terrorism legislation – as well as a book on economic and social rights. These activities have bolstered its profile in the media and with an interested but limited public. The reports were all promoted with press releases and media appearances. The reports on parastatal agencies attracted a great deal of interest from the print and electronic media – so much so that the audit cooperated with a commercial television channel to produce a special documentary on such agencies. Learning from this experience, Democratic Audit now publishes brief popular summaries of its books and reports for circulation to MPs and other influential groups, and holds expert seminars to discuss and disseminate the findings. It also places PDFs on its own and other websites to give further exposure to its work.

distribution network is at getting the report to a wide audience; what languages it will be published in, and so on. It may in certain circumstances be better to choose self-publication. Third, if you can persuade prominent politicians, journalists and others to debate your findings, you will almost certainly generate publicity. Finally, most newspapers publish reviews of books, so it is worth targeting the books editors to ask for a review. Depending on resources, groups can seek to consult the public through opinion surveys, conferences, media interviews and articles. Even consulting other experts on aspects of its continuing work is a valuable, if small-scale, way towards dissemination.

[109] A group of assessors will need to adopt a media strategy very early on to ensure that it is able to disseminate its findings effectively. The media, imperfect though they may be, are the principal means by which all actors in civil society can inform and influence public opinion. However, no group can hope to reach all sections of society through one medium on its own – the national press, a television station or a specialist journal. Usually, only governments and major commercial organizations can achieve a wide dissemination of information to a country's population. Groups should therefore identify their main targets for particular aspects of their findings and cultivate and employ the specific media most likely to reach those groups. For the most part, they should aim for opinion formers, interest groups and other active elements. Their greatest weaknesses are likely to be limited resources and inexperience in dealing with the media. Their greatest strength will be the knowledge base that they can assemble through their work and its objectivity and relevance to the concerns of their society and country.

From assessment to reform

[110] Throughout this account we have stressed that a democracy assessment is not an end in itself but a means to assist a democratic reform process by providing the systematic evidence, argument and comparative data on which reforms might be based. The influence of an assessment, whether in whole or part, whether as a full assessment or as thematic research projects, may work *directly*, through its influence on relevant government ministers and officials, or *indirectly*, by strengthening the pressure from campaigning groups and key organizations. Or the influence may be more *diffuse*, through its broader informational and educational effect on a wider public.

Assessment groups should identify their main targets for particular aspects of their findings and cultivate and employ the specific media most likely to reach those groups. For the most part, they should aim for opinion formers, interest groups and other active elements. Their greatest weaknesses are likely to be limited resources and inexperience in dealing with the media. Their greatest strength will be the knowledge base they can assemble through their work and its objectivity and relevance to the concerns of their society and country.

[111] This means that publication of the assessment findings should not necessarily be regarded as a final step. The assessment will usually remain relevant to a country's politics for some time to come, and be an ongoing point of reference for campaigning. Moreover, it could well form the basis for a further and separate stage, which is that of working up specific reform proposals, perhaps in association with relevant campaigning groups and experts in key areas identified by the assessment. Part 4 of the guide examines this further stage in more detail, using experience from assessments carried out to date.

Part 2

The framework

The framework

[112] Part 1 has shown that the assessment framework is based on the two core principles of *popular control* over public decision making and decision makers, and *equality* of respect and voice between citizens in the exercise of that control. It is from these two core principles that our seven *mediating values*, *requirements for those values* and the *institutional means for their realization* are derived (see Table 1.1). This combination of core principles, values, requirements and means has in turn been used to generate the list of general *overarching questions* and more specific *search questions* that ought to be answered when carrying out a democracy assessment.

[113] This part of the Guide outlines the elements of the framework as they relate to the search questions by providing guidance on *relevant data*, *generalized sources* and *standards of good practice*.

[114] The search questions are framed in such a way that they elicit answers measuring and assessing the relative degree to which the values and principles of democracy have been realized and the degree to which the institutional means have contributed to that realization. For example, the search questions ask:

- How far…?
- To what extent…?
- How inclusive…?
- How much…?
- What measures have been taken…?
- How free…?

[115] These questions are phrased in ways that allow the assessment team to examine the variation in democratic features, institutions, practices and perceptions in ways that are broken down according to the columns and rows of the framework. They ask for the assessment to

provide a sense of the degree of realization, which can vary from very little to highly significant.

For example, in section 1.3, the overarching question asks,

'Are civil and political rights equally guaranteed for all?'

The first search question asks

'1.3.1. How free are all people from physical violation of their person, and from fear of it?'

The relevant data for this particular search question may include indicators in the de jure protection of personal integrity rights, including relevant international (e.g. the ratification of the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, ICCPR) and national (e.g. the national constitution) legal documents, and the de facto realization of such rights, including the implementation of rights protections, events data on actual incidences of personal integrity rights violations over time, interval scale data on the protection of personal integrity rights, crime statistics, and survey data on perceptions of personal integrity protections in the country.

Examples of the relevant sources for these types of data include the annual reports on human rights published by governmental and non-governmental organizations (e.g. the US State Department, Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch), and academic databases of violations of personal integrity rights (e.g. the 'Political Terror Scale' or <http://www.humanrightsdata.com>). Examples of good practice include particular articles from international human rights treaties, such as the ICCPR, the first and second optional protocols to the ICCPR, and the 1984 Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment.

Using the different rows of the framework, the assessment team can move from the overarching question to the 'row one' search question, 'row two' relevant data, 'row three' generalized sources, and 'row four' standards of good practice. In this way, each search question is supported by data gathered from sources that reflect standards of good practice, and each search question generates a robust profile that is linked to the mediating values and underlying principles of the framework.

[116] This part of the Guide provides the complete list of overarching and search questions and the complete framework.

The search questions

1.	**Citizenship, law and rights**
1.1.	**Nationhood and citizenship** ***Overarching question: Is there public agreement on a common citizenship without discrimination?***
1.1.1.	How inclusive is the political nation and state citizenship of all who live within the territory?
1.1.2.	How far are cultural differences acknowledged, and how well are minorities and vulnerable social groups protected?
1.1.3.	How much consensus is there on state boundaries and constitutional arrangements?
1.1.4.	How far do constitutional and political arrangements enable major societal divisions to be moderated or reconciled?
1.1.5.	How impartial and inclusive are the procedures for amending the constitution?
1.1.6.	How far does the government respect its international obligations in its treatment of refugees and asylum seekers, and how free from arbitrary discrimination is its immigration policy?
1.2.	**Rule of law and access to justice** ***Overarching question: Are state and society consistently subject to the law?***
1.2.1.	How far is the rule of law operative throughout the territory?
1.2.2.	To what extent are all public officials subject to the rule of law and to transparent rules in the performance of their functions?
1.2.3.	How independent are the courts and the judiciary from the executive, and how free are they from all kinds of interference?
1.2.4.	How equal and secure is the access of citizens to justice, to due process and to redress in the event of maladministration?
1.2.5.	How far do the criminal justice and penal systems observe due rules of impartial and equitable treatment in their operations?
1.2.6.	How much confidence do people have in the legal system to deliver fair and effective justice?
1.3.	**Civil and political rights** ***Overarching question: Are civil and political rights equally guaranteed for all?***
1.3.1.	How free are all people from physical violation of their person, and from fear of it?

1.3.2.	How effective and equal is the protection of the freedoms of movement, expression, association and assembly?
1.3.3.	How secure is the freedom for all to practise their own religion, language or culture?
1.3.4.	How free from harassment and intimidation are individuals and groups working to improve human rights?
1.4.	**Economic and social rights** ***Overarching question: Are economic and social rights equally guaranteed for all?***
1.4.1.	How far is access to work or social security available to all, without discrimination?
1.4.2.	How effectively are the basic necessities of life guaranteed, including adequate food, shelter and clean water?
1.4.3.	To what extent is the health of the population protected, in all spheres and stages of life?
1.4.4.	How extensive and inclusive is the right to education, including education in the rights and responsibilities of citizenship?
1.4.5.	How free are trade unions and other work-related associations to organize and represent their members' interests?
1.4.6.	How rigorous and transparent are the rules on corporate governance, and how effectively are corporations regulated in the public interest?
2.	**Representative and accountable government**
2.1.	**Free and fair elections** ***Overarching question: Do elections give the people control over governments and their policies?***
2.1.1.	How far is appointment to governmental and legislative office determined by popular competitive election, and how frequently do elections lead to change in the governing parties or personnel?
2.1.2.	How inclusive and accessible for all citizens are the registration and voting procedures, how independent are they of government and party control, and how free from intimidation and abuse?
2.1.3.	How fair are the procedures for the registration of candidates and parties, and how far is there fair access for them to the media and other means of communication with the voters?
2.1.4.	How effective a range of choice does the electoral and party system allow the voters, how equally do their votes count, and how closely does the composition of the legislature and the selection of the executive reflect the choices they make?

2.1.5. How far does the legislature reflect the social composition of the electorate?

2.1.6. What proportion of the electorate votes, and how far are the election results accepted by all political forces in the country and outside?

2.2. The democratic role of political parties

Overarching question: Does the party system assist the working of democracy?

2.2.1. How freely are parties able to form and recruit members, engage with the public and campaign for office?

2.2.2. How effective is the party system in forming and sustaining governments in office?

2.2.3. How far are parties effective membership organizations, and how far are members able to influence party policy and candidate selection?

2.2.4. How far does the system of party financing prevent the subordination of parties to special interests?

2.2.5. To what extent do parties cross ethnic, religious and linguistic divisions?

2.3. Effective and responsive government

Overarching question: Is government effective in serving the public and responsive to its concerns?

2.3.1. How far is the elected government able to influence or control those matters that are important to the lives of its people, and how well is it informed, organized and resourced to do so?

2.3.2. How effective and open to scrutiny is the control exercised by elected leaders and their ministers over their administrative staff and other executive agencies?

2.3.3. How open and systematic are the procedures for public consultation on government policy and legislation, and how equal is the access for relevant interests to government?

2.3.4. How accessible and reliable are public services for those who need them, and how systematic is consultation with users over service delivery?

2.3.5. How comprehensive and effective is the right of access for citizens to government information under the constitution or other laws?

2.3.6. How much confidence do people have in the ability of government to solve the main problems confronting society, and in their own ability to influence it?

2.4. The democratic effectiveness of parliament
Overarching question: Does the parliament or legislature contribute effectively to the democratic process?

2.4.1. How independent is the parliament or legislature of the executive, and how freely are its members able to express their opinions?
2.4.2. How extensive and effective are the powers of the parliament or legislature to initiate, scrutinize and amend legislation?
2.4.3. How extensive and effective are the powers of the parliament or legislature to oversee the executive and hold it to account?
2.4.4. How rigorous are the procedures for approval and supervision of taxation and public expenditure?
2.4.5. How freely are all parties and groups able to organize within the parliament or legislature and contribute to its work?
2.4.6. How extensive are the procedures of the parliament or legislature for consulting the public and relevant interests across the range of its work?
2.4.7. How accessible are elected representatives to their constituents?
2.4.8. How well does the parliament or legislature provide a forum for deliberation and debate on issues of public concern?

2.5. Civilian control of the military and police
Overarching question: Are the military and police forces under civilian control?

2.5.1. How effective is civilian control over the armed forces, and how free is political life from military involvement?
2.5.2. How publicly accountable are the police and security services for their activities?
2.5.3. How far does the composition of the army, police and security services reflect the social composition of society at large?
2.5.4. How free is the country from the operation of paramilitary units, private armies, warlordism and criminal mafias?

2.6. Integrity in public life
Overarching question: Is the integrity of conduct in public life assured?

2.6.1. How effective is the separation of public office from the personal business and family interests of office holders?
2.6.2. How effective are the arrangements for protecting office holders and the public from involvement in bribery?
2.6.3. How far do the rules and procedures for financing elections, candidates and elected representatives prevent their subordination to sectional interests?

2.6.4.	How far is the influence of powerful corporations and business interests over public policy kept in check, and how free are they from involvement in corruption, including overseas?
2.6.5.	How much confidence do people have that public officials and public services are free from corruption?

3. Civil society and popular participation

3.1. The media in a democratic society

Overarching question: Do the media operate in a way that sustains democratic values?

3.1.1.	How independent are the media from government, how pluralistic is their ownership, and how free are they from subordination to foreign governments or multinational companies?
3.1.2.	How representative are the media of different opinions and how accessible are they to different sections of society?
3.1.3.	How effective are the media and other independent bodies in investigating government and powerful corporations?
3.1.4.	How free are journalists from restrictive laws, harassment and intimidation?
3.1.5.	How free are private citizens from intrusion and harassment by the media?

3.2. Political participation

Overarching question: Is there full citizen participation in public life?

3.2.1.	How extensive is the range of voluntary associations, citizen groups, social movements etc. and how independent are they from government?
3.2.2.	How extensive is citizen participation in voluntary associations and self-management organizations, and in other voluntary public activity?
3.2.3.	How far do women participate in political life and public office at all levels?
3.2.4.	How equal is access for all social groups to public office, and how fairly are they represented?

3.3. Decentralization

Overarching question: Are decisions taken at the level of government that is most appropriate for the people affected?

3.3.1.	How independent are the sub-central tiers of government from the centre, and how far do they have the powers and resources to carry out their responsibilities?

3.3.2.	How far are these levels of government subject to free and fair electoral authorization, and to the criteria of openness, accountability and responsiveness in their operation?
3.3.3.	How extensive is the cooperation of government at the most local level with relevant partners, associations and communities in the formation and implementation of policy, and in service provision?

4. Democracy beyond the state

4.1. External influences on the country's democracy

Overarching question: Is the impact of external influences broadly supportive of the country's democracy?

4.1.1.	How free is the country from external influences which undermine or compromise its democratic process or national interests?
4.1.2.	How equitable is the degree of influence exercised by the government within the bilateral, regional and international organizations to whose decisions it may be subject?
4.1.3.	How far are the government's negotiating positions and subsequent commitments within these organizations subject to effective legislative oversight and public debate?

4.2. The country's democratic impact abroad

Overarching question: Do the country's international policies contribute to strengthening global democracy?

4.2.1.	How consistent is the government in its support for, and protection of, human rights and democracy abroad?
4.2.2.	How far does the government support the UN and agencies of international cooperation, and respect the rule of law internationally?
4.2.3.	How extensive and consistent is the government's contribution to international development?
4.2.4.	How far is the government's international policy subject to effective parliamentary oversight and public influence?

The assessment framework

1. Citizenship, law and rights

1.1. Nationhood and citizenship

Overarching question: Is there public agreement on a common citizenship without discrimination?

Assessment question	1.1.1. How inclusive is the political nation and state citizenship of all who live within the territory?	
What to look for (criteria questions)		
1) Laws: examine laws governing citizenship, eligibility, methods and timescale for acquiring it; any distinctions between partial and full citizenship, between men and women in the acquisition of citizenship.	*2) Practice:* examine how fairly and impartially the laws are applied in practice.	*3) Negative indicators:* investigate data on exclusions, second-class citizenship, discrimination in the acquisition of citizenship, etc.

Generalized sources

Global sources

Amnesty International, *Annual Report*, <http://www.amnesty.org>

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Civil Rights group, <http://civilrights.org/>

Country reports to the UN Human Rights Committee and Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, <http://www.ohchr.org>

Davies, John and Gurr, Ted Robert (eds), *Preventive Measures: Building Risk Assessment and Crisis Early Warning Systems* (Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998)

Department of Political Science, University of Kansas, Kansas Event Data System, <http://web.ku.edu/keds/index.html>

Engendering Development – World Bank, <http://www.worldbank.org/gender/prr/draft.html>

Africa and the Middle East

Africa Action, <http://www.africaaction.org>

Centre for Arab Unity Studies, <http://www.caus.org.lb/Home/index.php>

Islamic and Middle Eastern Law Materials on the Internet, <http://www.soas.ac.uk/Centres/IslamicLaw/Materials.html>

Mediterranean Development Forum, thematic programme on considering gender in institutional reform, <http://info.worldbank.org/etools/mdfdb/index.asp>

Middle East Network Information Center site (MENIC)

NomadNet, <http://www.netnomad.com>

Open Society Justice Initiative, Africa Citizenship and Discrimination Audit, <http://www.justiceinitiative.org>

Permanent Observer Mission of the Organization of the Islamic Conference to the United Nations, <http://www.un.int/oic/>

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Governance and Social Development Resource Centre, UK Department for International Development (DFID), database on social exclusion, <http://www.gsdrc.org>

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Humana, C., *World Human Rights Guide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992)

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International Constitutional Law (ICL) Project, <http://www.oefre.unibe.ch/law/icl/>

Journal of Ethnic and Racial Studies; *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights*; *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*

Library of Congress, *Area Handbook Series*, <http://www.loc.gov/index.html>

Linguapax, <http://www.linguapax.org>

Minorities at Risk Project, 1999 *Dataset* and *Codebook* (profiles the rights and prospects of 260 major ethnic groups), <http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/inscr/mar/>

Minority Rights Group International, <http://www.minorityrights.org>; and *1997 World Directory of Minorities* (Harlow: Longman, 1997)

Poe, S., Tate, C. N. and Keith, L. C., 'Repression of Human Rights to Personal Integrity Revisited: A Global Cross-National Study Covering the Years 1976–1993', *International Studies Quarterly*, 43 (1999), pp. 291–313

Reports of the United Nations Working Group on Minorities;
State party reports;
Reports of the UN Commission on Human Rights Committees and on Human Rights Working on the human rights of migrants;
Reports of the Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Women in Africa, African Commission on Human and People's Rights;
Reports of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations/Communities in Africa, African Commission on Human and People's Rights, <http://www.achpr.org>

Schulze, K. E. et al. (eds), *Nationalism, Minorities and Diasporas: Identities and Rights in the Middle East* (London: Tauris, 1996)

Segal, R., *The Black Diaspora* (London: Faber & Faber, 1995)

Southern Africa Research and Development Centre, <http://www.sardc.net/sd/sd_info.htm>

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), *Arab Human Development Report 2005: Empowerment of Arab Women* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), <http://hdr.undp.org>

Union Interafricaine des Droits de l'Homme, <http://www.multimania.com/uidh/>

Americas

Andean Jurists, <http://www.cajpe.org.pe>

Center for Latin American Studies, Georgetown University, Political Database of the Americas, <http://pdba.georgetown.edu/>

Center for World Indigenous Studies, <http://www.cwis.org>

Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, <http://www.indigenista.org>

Inter-American Commission on Women, <http://www.oas.org/cim/default.htm>

Lingua Món, Casa de Les Llengües (House of Languages), <http://www10.gencat.net/www.linguamon.cat/>

Nativeweb, <http://www.nativeweb.org>

Organization of American States (OAS), Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, <http://www.cidh.oas.org>;
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Criteria questions 1) and 2) have the following suggested standards:

For 1): UN Conventions on Refugees and Statelessness:

UN Conference of Plenipotentiaries on the Status of Refugees and Stateless Persons, *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees*, April 1954

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Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice, November 1978

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Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, November 1965;
Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious or Linguistic Minorities, 1992;
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Assessment question	**1.1.2. How far are cultural differences acknowledged, and how well are minorities and vulnerable social groups protected?**	
What to look for		
1) Laws: examine laws governing recognition and rights of minorities, including indigenous peoples; if the government has signed the UN and regional declarations on minorities, whether legislation conforms to their standards.	***2) Practice:*** examine the effectiveness of procedures for protecting minority rights in practice.	***3) Negative indicators:*** investigate data on systematic discrimination in different areas of public life; on electoral support for political parties or programmes which deny common citizenship or advocate racial or cultural supremacy; on intra-communal conflict or violence.
Generalized sources		
Global sources *See 1.1 above and* *Country reports* to the UN Human Rights Committee, UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, and UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, <http://www.ohchr.org> Eldis Gateway to Development Information, database on older persons, children and young people, women and other vulnerable groups, <http://www.eldis.org/>	***Human rights*** American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS), *Directory of Human Rights Sites on the Internet*, <http://shr.aaas.org/dhr.htm> Asian Human Rights Commission, <http://www.ahrchk.net/index.php> Balkan Human Rights web pages, <http://cm.greekhelsinki.gr> DIANA: An International Human Rights Database, <http://www.law.uc.edu/Diana> Droits et Démocratie, Centre international des droits de la personne et du développement	

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démocratique, (English, French and Spanish), <http://www.ichrdd.ca>

Interamerican Institute for Human Rights (IIDH) (English and Spanish), <http://www.iidh.ed.cr>

Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, <http://www.indigenista.org>

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Inter-American Commission on Women, <http://www.oas.org/cim/default.htm>

Journal of Ethnic and Racial Studies; *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights*; *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*

Mercator, Linguistic Rights and Legislation, <http://www.ciemen.org/mercator/index-gb.htm>

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Reports of the Working Group on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in Africa, African Commission on Human and People's Rights;

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Santiago de Compostela Declaration of the International PEN Club

South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), *Social Charter*, 2004, articles 6 and 7

Southern African Development Community (SADC), *Protocol on Culture, Information and Sport*, 2000, articles 9–15

Assessment question	1.1.3. How much consensus is there on state boundaries and constitutional arrangements?
What to look for	
1) Positive indicators: examine survey data on satisfaction with existing territorial boundaries and constitutional arrangements.	*2) Negative indicators:* examine data on incidence of dissent over territory or constitution; on support for separatist or autonomy-seeking parties; on conflict or violence relating to the same.
Generalized sources	
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International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, <http://www.prio.no>

International Relations and Security Network, <http://www.isn.ethz.ch>

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Sivard, R. L., *World Military and Social Expenditure* (Washington, DC: World Priorities, various years, incl. 1993)

Smith, D., *The Penguin Atlas of War and Peace* (London: Penguin, 2003)

Henry L. Stimson Center (peacekeeping, arms control, foreign policy), <http://www.stimson.org/newpubs.cfm>

Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), <http://www.sipri.org/>; for comprehensive data on military expenditure see <http://first.sipri.org>

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Assessment question	**1.1.4. How far do constitutional and political arrangements enable major societal divisions to be moderated or reconciled?**	
What to look for		
1) Laws: examine any special constitutional, electoral or other arrangements encouraging cross-community cooperation, power-sharing, etc.	***2) Practice:*** examine the effectiveness of their working in practice.	***3) Negative indicators:*** *see 1.1.2 and 1.1.3 above.*

Generalized sources

General sources	*Public databases*
Civil Society International, <http://www.civilsoc.org/>	Adum, Resources on protection of minority languages in EU countries, <http://www.adum.info/adum/>
Committee documents of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, <http://assembly.coe.int/ ASP/Committee/PACECommitteesInfoListing_E.asp>	'A Line in the Sand', <http://www.hanksville.org/sand/>. This site concerns problems associated with cultural and intellectual property and ownership. The focus is particularly on the representation of Native Americans.
Institute for European and Latin American Relations	Centre for the Comparative Study of Culture, Development and the Environment (CDE), <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/development/>
International Knowledge Network of Women in Politics (IKNOW Politics), <http://www.iknowpolitics.org/>	Center for Latin American Studies, Georgetown University, Political Database of the Americas, <http://pdba.georgetown.edu/>
National Conference of State Legislatures, <http://www.ncsl.org>	Center for World Indigenous Studies Fourth World Documentation Project (FWDP), <http://www.cwis.org/fwdp/>
Nordic Council, <http://www.norden.org>	International Constitutional Law, <http://www.oefre.unibe.ch/law/icl/>
OAS, <http://www.oas.org>	Internet Centre Anti-Racism Europe (I CARE). The site features two useful and easy-to-
Permanent Observer Mission of the Organization of the Islamic Conference to the United Nations, <http://www.oicun.org/>	
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Reports of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations/Communities in Africa, African Commission on Human and People's Rights, <http://www.achpr.org>

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IPU, *Handbook for Parliamentarians. Refugee Protection: A Guide to International Refugee Law*, 2001, <http://www.ipu.org>

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European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, Protocol No. 7, 1984;
European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, 1992;
Declaration on National Minorities, 1993;
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Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society, 2005

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Convention Governing Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa, 1969;
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Declaration of La Paz on Decentralization and on Strengthening Regional and Municipal Administrations and Participation of Civil Society, 2001

General Assembly of the Conference of European Stateless Nations (CONSEU), *Universal Declaration of the Collective Rights of Peoples*, Barcelona, 1990

Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, *Role of Parliament in Conflict-affected Countries*, 2004, <http://www.cpahq.org/activities/ParliamentarySeminars/roleofparliamentnconflict/>

Assessment question	1.1.5. How impartial and inclusive are the procedures for amending the constitution?
What to look for	
1) Laws: examine legal procedures for amending the constitution, including consultative, legislative and voting arrangements.	*2) Practice:* examine their operation over the recent past, including the number of constitutional amendments.
Generalized sources	
Country-specific sources to be used Agence de la Francophonie, Délégation Générale à la Coöpération Juridique et Judiciare, <http://www.francophonie.org> Center for Latin American Studies, Georgetown University, Political Database of the Americas, <http://pdba.georgetown.edu/> Constitutional Amendments Initiative, Constitution Project, <http://www.constitutionproject.org> Some documents available through International Constitutional Law (ICL), <http://www.oefre.unibe.ch/law/icl/> IPU database, <http://www.ipu.org/parlit-e/parlitsearch.asp> Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR), <http://www.icpsr.umich.edu> National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), Program on Constitutional Reform, <http://www.ndi.org>	

Assessment question	1.1.6. How far does the government respect its international obligations in its treatment of refugees and asylum seekers, and how free from arbitrary discrimination is its immigration policy?	
What to look for		
1) Laws: examine legislation on immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers, and its conformity to relevant treaty standards, including rights of appeal.	*2) Practice:* examine whether procedures for the treatment of applicants are fair, impartial and independent, and whether practice conforms to international obligations.	*3) Negative indicators:* investigate incidence of discriminatory treatment of immigrants or refugees on grounds of race, gender or other non-relevant characteristics; of detention without due process; of maltreatment; of other denial of human rights, including of the children of affected persons.

Generalized sources

Amnesty International, *Annual Report*, appendix VI, signatories and ratifications of the *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees*, 1951; *Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees*, 1967, pp. 382–90

Center for Latin American Studies, Georgetown University, Political Database of the Americas, <http://pdba.georgetown.edu/>

Country reports to the UN Human Rights Committee, Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, and Committee on Migrant Workers, <http://www.ohchr.org>

Forced Migration Projects, 1999 (initiative of the Soros Institute), <http://www2.soros.org/fmp2/index.html>

Human Rights Watch, country reports on refugee treatment and status;
Uncertain Refuge: International Failures to Protect Refugees, HRW, 9/1 (1997)

International Crisis Group, country reports, <http://www.crisisweb.org>

IMER (Bergen, Norway), <http://www.svf.uib.no/sfu/imer/>

International Ombudsman Centre for the Environment and Development, <http://www.omced.org/>

International Committee of the Red Cross, <http://www.icrc.org>

OneWorld.net, *The Migration Guide*, <http://www.oneworld.org>

'Refugee Rights', *Interights Bulletin*, 11/2 (1997), <http://www.interights.org>

Reports of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on the Human Rights of Internally Displaced Persons;
Reports of the Special Rapporteur on the Human Rights of Migrants, <http://www.ohchr.org>

Reports of the Special Rapporteur on Refugees, Asylum Seekers, and Internally Displaced Persons in Africa, African Commission on Human and People's Rights, <http://www.achpr.org>

UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), *RefWorld*, information on refugees worldwide, <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/>;
UNHCR, *The State of the World's Refugees 2006: Human Displacement in the New Millennium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)

United States Committee for Refugees, *World Refugee Survey*, Washington DC (annual), <http://www.refugees.org/>

Standards of good practice

UN General Assembly, *Convention and Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees*, 1951;
Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness, December 1975;
International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and Members of their Families, 1990;
Declaration on Territorial Asylum, December 1967;
Statute of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, December 1950

UN, *Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees*, October 1967

UN Conference of Plenipotentiaries on the Status of Refugees and Stateless Persons, *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees*, April 1954;
Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons, June 1960

UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, *General Comment No. 22. Article 5 on Refugees and Displaced Persons*, 1996

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ILO Convention concerning Migrations in Abusive Conditions and the Promotion of Equality of Opportunity and Treatment of Migrant Workers, June 1975 IPU and UNDAW, *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and its Optional protocol: Handbook for Parliamentarians*, 2003, <http://www.ipu.org> *Support of Parliaments for the Rights of Refugees and Persons Displaced by War and Occupation, and Assistance with a view to their Repatriation, and for International Cooperation to Develop and Implement Strategies to Combat the Criminal Activity of People-Smuggling*, Resolution of the 103rd Inter-Parliamentary Conference, Amman, 5 May 2000 OAU *Convention Governing Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa*, 1969

1.2. Rule of law and access to justice

Overarching question: Are state and society consistently subject to the law?

Assessment question	1.2.1. How far is the rule of law operative throughout the territory?	
What to look for		
1) Laws: examine legal arrangements governing the adjudication and enforcement of the law throughout the territory, including customary law where relevant.	***2) Practice:*** examine the effectiveness of the procedures and personnel responsible for law adjudication and enforcement.	***3) Negative indicators:*** investigate evidence of areas, groups or individuals (a) above or beyond the law (territorial enclaves, mafia, drugs cartels), and (b) outside its protection (vulnerable sections of the population).

Generalized sources

General sources

Canadian Security Intelligence Service, Transnational Criminal Activity, <http://www.csis-scrs.gc.ca/en/priorities/transnational.asp>

Center for Latin American Studies, Georgetown University, Political Database of the Americas, <http://pdba.georgetown.edu/>

Center for Strategic and International Studies, Transnational Threats Project, <http://www.csis.org/tnt/>

Drugs

Human Rights Watch, *World Report 1998*, pp. 460–2, section on drugs and human rights; *Punishment and Prejudice: Racial Disparities in the War on Drugs*, <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2000/usa/>

UNODC, *World Drug Report 2006*, New York, 2005, <http://www.unodc.org>

Economic

Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation forum 21 Pacific Rim countries, <http://www.apec.org/>

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Country reports to the UN Human Rights Committee, <http://www.ohchr.org>

European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control, affiliated with the United Nations (HEUNI), <http://www.heuni.fi/>

Governance and Social Development Resource Centre, UK DFID, database on justice, <http://www.gsdrc.org>

Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research, Department of Political Science, University of Heidelberg, <http://www.hiik.de/start/index.html.en>

Institute for Security Studies based in South Africa, <http://www.iss.co.za/>

Institute for War and Peace Reporting, Caucasus Reporting Service, <http://iwpr.net>

International Center for Peace and Development, <http://www.icpd.org/>

International Crisis Group, Crisiswatch database, <http://www.crisisgroup.org>

International IDEA, *Democracy and Deep-rooted Conflict: Options for Negotiators* (Stockholm: International IDEA, 1998)

International Institute for Strategic Studies, <http://www.iiss.org/>; for comprehensive data on military expenditure, updated, <http://first.sipri.org/index.php>

International Peace Academy, <http://www.ipacademy.org/>

International Society for Military Law and the Law of War, based at the Palais de Justice in Brussels, <http://www.soc-mil-law.org/>

Jane's military database, <http://www2.janes.com>

Mediterranean Development Forum, <http://info.worldbank.org/etools/mdfdb/index.asp>

Michigan State University Library, Criminal Justice Resources: Organized Crime, <http://www.lib.msu.edu/harris23/crimjust/orgcrime.htm>

Nathanson Centre for the Study of Organized Crime and Corruption, <http://www.yorku.ca/nathanson/>

Control Risks Group Ltd, *Country Risk Forecasts* and *Worldwide Risk Ratings* (subscription), <http://www.crg.com>

Kane, T., Holmes, K. R. and O'Grady, M. A., *2007 Index of Economic Freedom* (Washington, DC: Heritage Foundation and *Wall Street Journal*, 2006), <http://www.heritage.org>

Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, <http://www.forumsec.org.fj/>

Political Risk Services, *International Country Risk Guide Time Series Data 1982–1995* (College Park, Md: IRIS Centre, University of Maryland, 1998)

Research Guide to International Law on the Internet, <http://www.spfo.unibo.it/spolfo/ILGUIDE.html>

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OAS Permanent Council, Special Committee on Transnational Organised Crime, <http://www.oas.org> Sivard, R. L., *World Military and Social Expenditure* (Washington, DC: World Priorities, various years, incl. 1993) Henry L. Stimson Center (peacekeeping, arms control, foreign policy), <http://www.stimson.org/newpubs.cfm> Terrorism Research Center, <http://www.terrorism.com/> UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), <http://www.unodc.org/ unodc/ crime_prevention.html> United Nations Integrated Regional Intelligence Network (IRIN), <http://www.irinnews.org/ United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute, <http://www.unicri.it/> *Reports* of the UN Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances, <http://www.unhchr.ch> ACDA, *World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers* (annual); and various country-specific studies World Movement for Democracy, documents and database of organizations working on rule of law, <http://www.wmd.org/>	
Standards of good practice	
International standards UN General Assembly, *International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism*, 1999; *International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism*, 2005; *United Nations Convention against Corruption*, 2003; *United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime*, 2000; *United Nations Declaration on Crime and Public Security*, 1996;	***Regional standards*** Council of Europe, *Convention on Cybercrime*, 2001; *Criminal Law Convention on Corruption*, 1999 and *Civil Law Convention on Corruption*, 1999; *Convention on Laundering, Search, Seizure and Confiscation of the Proceeds from Crime and on the Financing of Terrorism*, 2005; *Convention on the Prevention of Terrorism*, 2005 OAS, *Inter-American Convention against Corruption*, 1996;

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Vienna Declaration on Crime and Justice: Meeting the Challenges of the Twenty-First Century, 2000;
Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, 2000

World Bank, *Guidelines on Insolvency Regimes*, 2001, <http://www.worldbank.org/gild>

World Intellectual Property Organization (various conventions covering rights to industrial and artistic property), <http://www.wipo.org>

International Accounting Standards Committee (IASC), *International Accounting Standards (IAS)* and *International Financial Reporting Standards (IFRS)*, <http://www.iasb.org>

International Federation of Accountants (IFAC), *International Standards on Auditing (ISA)*, <http://www.ifac.org/Guidance/>

Committee on Payment and Settlement Systems (CPSS), *Core Principles for Systematically Important Payment Systems: Report of the Task Force on Payment System Principles and Practices*, Bank for International Settlements, Switzerland, 2001, <http://www.bis.org>

Financial Action Task Force (FATF), *The Forty Recommendations of the Financial Action Task Force*, 2003 (on market integrity), <http://www.fatf-gafi.org>

Action to Combat the Consumption and Illicit Trafficking of Drugs and Organised Crime, Resolution unanimously adopted by the 100th Inter-Parliamentary Conference, Moscow, 11 September 1998

Fighting Terrorism, an International Phenomenon which Threatens Democracy and Human Rights as well as International Peace and Security and which hampers Development; Measures needed on the National and International Levels to Prevent Acts of Terrorism, Resolution by the 95th Inter-Parliamentary Conference, Istanbul, 19 April 1996

Inter-American Convention against the Illicit Manufacture and Trafficking in Firearms, Ammunitions, Explosives and Other Related Materials;
Model Regulations for the Control of the International Movement of Firearms, their Parts and Components and Ammunition, 1997

African Union, *African Union Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption*, 2003;
Convention for the Elimination of Mercenaries in Africa, 1977;

Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution, June 1993;
OAU, Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism, 1999

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), *Principles of Corporate Governance*, 2004

SADC, *Protocol on Combating Illicit Drugs*, August 1996

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Good Governance Practices that Promote Human Rights, Seminar organized by UNDP and OHCHR, Seoul, 15–16 September 2004, Panel 1 on Promotion of the Rule of Law, <http://www.ohchr.org/english/issues/development/governance/compilation/forside_02.html> Wisse, E., 'Promoting Democracy: An International Exploration of Policy and Implementation Practice', Netherlands Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations, Department of Constitutional Matters and Legislation, 2006, <http://www.oecd.org>	

Assessment question	**1.2.2. To what extent are all public officials subject to the rule of law and to transparent rules in the performance of their functions?**	
What to look for		
1) Laws: examine rules, codes of conduct etc. governing the performance of public officials, elected and non-elected; and their transparency.	*2) Practice:* examine the independence and effectiveness of procedures for their enforcement in practice, including successful prosecutions.	*3) Negative indicators:* investigate data on exclusions, loopholes, impunities, etc.; on executive use of exceptional or emergency powers; on personal relations systematically determining decisional outcomes.
Generalized sources		
Global sources		***Regional sources***
Freedom House, *Freedom in the World 2006: The Annual Survey of Political Rights and Civil Liberties*, Freedom House, 2005, <http://www.freedomhouse.org> Indigenous Peoples' Law and Legal Issues, <http://www.nativeweb.org> International Centre for Criminal Law Reform and Criminal Justice Policy (Canada), <http://www.icclr.law.ubc.ca/> International Commission of Jurists, *ICJ Review* (annual), <http://www.icj.org> IPU, <http://www.ipu.org>		AfriMAP, database on the 'justice sector', <http://www.afrimap.org> Andean Commission of Jurists, <http://www.cajpe.org.pe> Center for Latin American Studies, Georgetown University, Political Database of the Americas, <http://pdba.georgetown.edu/> Commonwealth Law Ministers' Meeting, Independence of the Judiciary Working Group, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, April 1996 (data on procedures for judicial appointment in the Commonwealth states surveyed)

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Human Rights First, <http://www.humanrightsfirst.org>

Przeworski, A., Alvarez, M. E., Cheibub, J. A, and Limongi, F., *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950–1990* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)

Transparency International, country reports, <http://www.transparency.org>

UNODC Crime Programme, <http://www.unodc.org>

United Nations Online Network in Public Administration and Finance (UNPAN), international, regional and country-specific documents and databases on ethics, transparency and accountability, public finance and public resources, and governance systems and institutions, <http://www.unpan.org>

Reports of the United Nations Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights on the independence of judges and lawyers, <http://www.unhchr.ch>

World Movement for Democracy, documents and database of organizations working on transitional justice and rule of law, <http://www.wmd.org/>

For all other corruption-related sources see section 2.5.

EUMAP, programme on corruption and anti-corruption policy, <http://www.eumap.org/>

Mediterranean Development Forum, thematic programme on rule of law and judicial reform, <http://info.worldbank.org/etools/mdfdb/index.asp>

Open Society Justice Initiative, Program on Anticorruption, <http://www.justiceinitiative.org>

Tenth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, Vienna, 10–17 April 2000, <http://www.uncjin.org/Documents/10thcongress/10thcongress.html>

Standards of good practice

International standards

UN Committee on Civil and Political Rights, *General Comment No. 13. Article 14 (Administration of Justice)*, 1984

UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, *General Comment No. 31. General Recommendation XXXI on the Prevention of Racial Discrimination in the Administration and Functioning of the Criminal Justice System*, 2005

UN Crime Prevention and Control Division, *Draft International Code of Conduct for Public Officials*

Regional standards

Charter for the Public Service in Africa, 2001, Third Pan African Conference of Public Service Ministers, Windhoek, Namibia, February 2001

European Union, Directorate General for Research, *Measures to Prevent Corruption in EU Member States*, Paper JURI 101 EN, March 1998

OAS, *Inter-American Convention against Corruption*, 1996

African Union, *African Union Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption*, 2003

(cont.)	
Parliamentary Action to Fight Corruption and the Need for International Co-operation in this Field, Resolution by the 94th Inter-Parliamentary Conference, Bucharest, 13 October 1995	***Country standards*** Barbados Government, *Parliamentary (Privileges, Immunities and Powers) Act*, 1964 Malawian Government, *Corrupt Practices Act*, 1995, section 1995 Papua New Guinea Government, *Organic Law on the Duties and Responsibilities of Leadership*, 1975 South African Government, *Code of Conduct for Elected Members of the ANC*, 1994 South Australian Department of the Premier and Cabinet, 'South Australia Code of Conduct for Ministers', extract from the *Cabinet Handbook*, 1994 Uganda Law Reform Commission, National Integrity System Workshop, Mukono, Uganda, *Mukono Integrity Declaration*, 1995 UK House of Commons, Committee on Standards in Public Life (the Nolan Committee), *First Report*, 2 vols, Cm 2850 I and II (London: HMSO, May 1995)

Assessment question	**1.2.3. How independent are the courts and the judiciary from the executive, and how free are they from all kinds of interference?**	
What to look for		
1) Laws: examine rules governing the appointment, tenure and operation of the judiciary, magistrature, etc.	***2) Practice:*** examine the effectiveness of procedures governing judicial independence in practice.	***3) Negative indicators:*** investigate data on executive manipulation of, interference with or disregard of the judicial process.
Generalized sources		
Use general sources as in section 1.1 and above. ***Global sources*** Centre for the Independence of Judges and Lawyers (CIJL), *CIJL Yearbook*,		***Regional sources*** Andean Commission of Jurists, <http://www.cajpe.org.pe>

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International Commission of Jurists. The *Yearbook* contains articles and documents relevant to the independence of the judiciary and the legal profession;
International Commission of Jurists, *Attacks on Justice: The Harassment and Persecution of Judges and Lawyers 2002*, 2002, <http://www.icj.org>

Country reports to the UN Human Rights Committee, <http://www.ohchr.org>

Freedom House, *Freedom in the World 2006: The Annual Survey of Political Rights and Civil Liberties*, Freedom House, 2005, <http://www.freedomhouse.org>

A Global Forum on Fighting Corruption: Safeguarding Integrity Among Justice and Security Officials, <http://www.state.gov/www/global/narcotics_law/global_forum/appendix2.html>

International Law Commission, <http://www.un.org/law/ilc/index.htm>

Open Society Justice Initiative, Program on Anticorruption;
Program on Criminal Justice and Public Security;
Program on Legal Capacity Development, all at <http://www.justiceinitiative.org>

UN list of International Human Rights Instruments, including those on judicial process, <http://www.ohchr.org/english/law/>

United Nations Online Network in Public Administration and Finance (UNPAN), international, regional and country-specific documents and databases on ethics, transparency and accountability, and public finance and public resources, <http://www.unpan.org>

Reports of the United Nations Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights on the independence of judges and lawyers, <http://www.unhchr.ch>

Wallace, J. C., 'Resolving Judicial Corruption while Preserving Judicial Independence: Comparative Perspectives', *California Western International Law Journal*, 28/2 (1998), pp. 341–51

Center for Latin American Studies, Georgetown University, Political Database of the Americas, <http://pdba.georgetown.edu/>

Commonwealth Law Ministers' Meeting, Independence of the Judiciary Working Group, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, April 1996 (data on procedures for judicial appointment in surveyed Commonwealth states)

EUMAP, programme on 'judicial capacity', <http://www.eumap.org/>

Mediterranean Development Forum, thematic programme on rule of law and judicial reform, <http://info.worldbank.org/etools/mdfdb/index.asp>

Standards of good practice	
International standards	***Regional standards***
UN, *Basic Principles on the Independence of the Judiciary*, 1985; *UN Basic Principles on the Role of Lawyers*, 1990, <http://www.ohchr.org/english/law/> International Bar Association, *General Principles of Ethics for Lawyers*, 1995; *IBA Standards for the Independence of the Legal Profession*, 1990 *Bangalore Principles of Judicial Conduct*, 2002, adopted by the Judicial Group on Strengthening Judicial Integrity as revised at the Round Table Meeting of Chief Justices held in The Hague, November 2002 Wisse, E., 'Promoting Democracy: An International Exploration of Policy and Implementation Practice', Netherlands Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations, Department of Constitutional Matters and Legislation, 2006, <http://www.oecd.org>	African Commission on Human and People's Rights, *Principles and Guidelines on the Right to Fair trial and Legal Assistance in Africa*, 2001; *Resolution on the Respect and the Strengthening of the Independence of the Judiciary*, 1996; *Resolution on the Right to Fair Trial and Legal Aid in Africa*, 1996; *Resolution on the Right to Recourse and Fair Trial*, 1992; *Resolution on Prisons in Africa*, 1995 Commonwealth Law Ministers and regional senior judges, *Lusaka Statement on Government Under the Law*, 1993 ***Country standards*** Constitution Unit, *Constitutional Watchdogs*, Briefing Paper, Department of Political Science, University College, London, March 1997 *Declaration of Principles of Judicial Independence Issued by the Chief Justices of the Australian States and Territories* UK Cabinet Office/Management and Personnel Office, *The Judge Over Your Shoulder: Judicial Review of Administrative Decisions* (London: HMSO, 1987); *Report of the Commission on the Conduct of Referendums* (Chair: Sir Patrick Nairn), Electoral Reform Society and Constitution Unit, 1996

Assessment question	1.2.4. How equal and secure is the access of citizens to justice, to due process and to redress in the event of maladministration?	
What to look for		
1) Laws: examine laws governing (a) due process and fair trial; and (b) redress in the event of maladministration or official breaches of the law. If the government has ratified the	***2) Practice:*** examine the effectiveness of their operation in practice; ease of access by all social groups to legal representation, legal aid, ombudsman or equivalent;	***3) Negative indicators:*** investigate evidence of: systematic discrimination or inequalities in legal protection; failures or miscarriages of justice; use of secret or special

relevant UN and regional conventions, examine whether the laws conform to their standards.	speed of bringing cases to trial and completion.	tribunals; detentions without trial; abuse or torture in detention; oppressive or inhuman punishments; death rates in custody, disproportionate social composition of prison population, etc.

Generalized sources

Global sources	*Regional sources*
Amnesty International, *Annual Reports*, appendices VI and VII: ratification, signatures to international (VI) and regional (VII) principle Human Rights Treaties (listed in 'possible standards') Also separate country audits in *Annual Reports* for incidence of violations, <http://www.amnesty.org>	AfriMAP, database on the 'justice sector', <http://www.afrimap.org>
Cook, R. J. (ed.), *Human Rights of Women: National and International Perspectives* (Philadelphia, Pa: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), appendix A on ratifications of covenants and treaties affecting women	American Bar Association, Standing Committee on Judicial Independence, <http://www.abanet.org/judind/home.html>
Human Rights First, <http://www.humanrightsfirst.org>	Balkan Human Rights web pages, <http://cm.greekhelsinki.gr>
'Access to Justice', *Interights Bulletin*, 10/2 (1996); 'Prisoners' Rights', *Interights Bulletin*, 11/4 (1997), <http://www.interights.org>	Human Rights Watch, country reports and summaries in annual reports, <http://www.hrw.org/>
International Commission of Jurists, *ICJ Review* (annual), <http://www.icj.org>	Inter-American Commission on Women, <http://www.oas.org/cim/default.htm>
UNIFEM, <http://www.unifem.org>	Mediterranean Development Forum, thematic programme on considering gender in institutional reform, <http://info.worldbank.org/etools/mdfdb/index.asp>
UNDAW, <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/index.html>	Open Society Justice Initiative, Program on Criminal Justice and Public Security; Program on Legal Assistance for Indigent Persons; Program on Legal Capacity Development, <http://www.justiceinitiative.org>
UN Treaty Database, <http://untreaty.un.org/>	*Reports* of the Special Rapporteur on Prisons and the Condition of Detention in Africa, African Commission on Human and People's Rights, <http://www.achpr.org>
US State Department *Country Reports*, <http://www.state.gov>	*Reports* of the Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Women in Africa, African Commission on Human and People's Rights, <http://www.achpr.org>
Working Group on Arbitrary Detention and of the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions, *Reports*, <http://www.ohchr.org>	*Reports* of the Special Rapporteurship on the Rights of Women, Inter-American Commission on Human Rights,

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World Movement for Democracy, documents and database of organizations working on transitional justice and rule of law, <http://www.wmd.org/>

<http://www.cidh.oas.org/women/Default.eng.htm>

Stokke, H. and Tostensen, A. (eds), *Human Rights in Developing Countries Yearbook 1999–2000: The Millennium Edition* (London/Boston and The Hague: Kluwer Law International, 2001)

UNDP, *Decentralized Governance Monograph: A Global Sampling of Experiences*, UNDP Management Development and Governance Division, 1999, <http://magnet.undp.org> and <http://www.undp.org/governance/>

(indirect) UnionWeb, Labour Union websites, <http://www.unionwebservices.com/esources>

University of Tasmania, Public Law Database, <http://www.utas.edu.au/ library/info/subj/publawguide.html>

Standards of good practice

International standards

UN, *ICCPR*, articles 7, 9(1), 9(3) and 14(3);
Universal Declaration of Human Rights, articles 10 and 11(1);
Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power, 1995;
Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law, 2005;
Basic Principles on the Independence of the Judiciary, 1985;
Basic Principles on the Role of Lawyers, 1990;
Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials, 1979;
Body of Principles for the Protection of all Persons under any form of Detention or Imprisonment, 1988;
Guidelines on the Role of Prosecutors, 1990;
Standard Minimum rules for the Treatment of Prisoners, 1977;
United Nations Rules for the Protection of Juveniles Deprived of their Liberty, 1990;

Regional standards

African Commission on Human and People's Rights, *Principles and Guidelines on the Right to Fair trial and Legal Assistance in Africa*, 2001;
Resolution on the Respect and the Strengthening of the Independence of the Judiciary, 1996;
Resolution on the Right to Fair Trial and Legal Aid in Africa, 1996;
Resolution on the Right to Recourse and Fair Trial, 1992;
Resolution on Prisons in Africa, 1995

OAU, *African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights*, 1981;
Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, 2003, article 8

African Union, *Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa*, 2004

Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly, *Recommendation 1615 (2003): The Institution of Ombudsman*, 2003, <http://assembly.coe.int/Documents/AdoptedText/ta03/EREC1615.htm>

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United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Administration of Juvenile Justice ('The Beijing Rules'), 1985, <http://www.ohchr.org/english/issues/judiciary/standards.htm>;

United Nations Principles relating to the Status of National Institutions (Paris Principles), 1993

UN Committee on Civil and Political Rights, *General Comment No. 13. Article 14 (Administration of Justice)*, 1984

UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, *General Comment No. 31. General Recommendation XXXI on the Prevention of Racial Discrimination in the Administration and Functioning of the Criminal Justice System*, 2005

UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, *General Comment No. 10. Children's Rights in Juvenile Justice*, 2007

UNDP, *Access to Justice: Practice Note*, 2004, <http://www.pogar.org/publications/other/un/accesstojustice-e.pdf>

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Transparency International, *The Office of the Ombudsman: Basic Principles*

Arusha Workshop on National Integrity, *Arusha Integrity Pledge*, 1995

Christopoulos, D. and Hormovitis, D. (eds), *The Ombudsman Institution in South-eastern Europe*, 2003, <http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/untc/unpan014896.pdf>

Commonwealth Law Ministers, *Lusaka Statement on Government Under the Law*, 1992, endorsed by Commonwealth law ministers (1993)

NDI, *The Role and Effectiveness of the Ombudsman Institution*, 2005, <http://www.accessdemocracy.org/library/1904_gov_ombudsman_ 080105.pdf>

Ombudsman Information Network, *European Countries' Ombudsmen*, 2005, <http://www.anticorruption.bg/ombudsman/eng/readnews.php?id=2901&lang=en&t_style=tex&l_style=default>

Assessment question	1.2.5. How far do the criminal justice and penal systems observe due rules of impartial and equitable treatment in their operations?
What to look for	
1) Practice: assess the effectiveness and accountability of both formal and informal or non-state legal processes and procedures.	***2) Negative indicators:*** assess incidence of abuse of prisoners by gender, ethnic or class category. Deaths and injury in custody, breaches of due process.

Generalized sources

Global sources	*Regional sources*
Country reports to the UN Human Rights Committee and Committee on the Rights of the Child, <http://www.ohchr.org>	AfriMAP, database on the 'justice sector', <http://www.afrimap.org>
'Global Bibliography of Prison Systems', May 1998, <http://www.uncjin.org/country/GBOPS/gbops.html>	Asian–African Legal Consultative Organization, <http://www.aalco.org/>
'International Centre for Prison Studies, <http://www.prisonstudies.org/>	Asian Human Rights Commission, <http://www.ahrchk.net/>
Penal Reform International, <http://www.penalreform.org>	Center for Latin American Studies, Georgetown University, Political Database of the Americas, <http://pdba.georgetown.edu/>
Prisoners' Rights', *Interights Bulletin*, 11/4 (1997), <http://www.interights.org>	Derechos – Human Rights, <http://www.derechos.org/>
Reports of the UN Commission on Human Rights Committee of Civil and Political Rights; together with submissions to the Committee by NGOs;	Mauer, M., *America Behind Bars: US and International Use of Incarceration, 1995* (Washington, DC: Sentencing Project, 1997), <http://www.sentencingproject.org/>
Reports of the Special Rapporteur of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary detentions, executions, etc., listed at <http://www.ohchr.org>	Mediterranean Development Forum, thematic programme on rule of law and judicial reform, <http://info.worldbank.org/etools/mdfdb/index.asp>
US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), *World Factbook*, 2006, <http://www.odci.gov/cia/publications/factbook>	Open Society Justice Initiative, Program on Legal Assistance for Indigent Persons; Program on Legal Capacity Development, <http://www.justiceinitiative.org>
Walmsley, R., *World Prison Population List*, UK Home Office, Research Development and Statistics Directorate, Research findings #234, 2004, <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk>	Partridge, B., 'Prisons in the East', 1998, <http://www.rferl.org/specials/prisons/>
	Reports of the Special Rapporteur on Prisons and the Condition of Detention in Africa, African Commission on Human and People's Rights, <http://www.achpr.org>
	SPACE (Annual Penal Statistics of the Council of Europe), Council of Europe, *Council of Europe Annual Penal Statistics*, various years, SPACE/Council of Europe (Strasbourg)

Standards of good practice

International standards	*Regional standards*
UN, *Basic Principles for the Treatment of Prisoners*, December 1990, resolution 45/111;	African Commission on Human and People's Rights, *Principles and Guidelines on the Right to Fair Trial and Legal Assistance in Africa*, 2001;

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Basic Principles on the Role of Lawyers, 1990, <http://www.ohchr.org/english/issues/judiciary/standards.htm>;
Body of Principles for the Protection of All Persons under Any Form of Detention or Imprisonment, resolution 43/173, 9 December 1988;
Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, 1987;
Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Being Subjected to Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, 1975;
Model Strategies and Practical Measures on the Elimination of Violence against Women in the Field of Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice, 1997;
Rules for the Protection of Juveniles Deprived of their Liberty, December 1990;
United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Administration of Juvenile Justice (The Beijing Rules), 1985

First United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, *Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners*, Geneva, 1955, and approved by the Economic and Social Council by its resolution 663 C (XXIV) of 31 July 1957 and 2076 (LXII) of 13 May 1977

UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, *General Comment No. 31. General Recommendation XXXI on the Prevention of Racial Discrimination in the Administration and Functioning of the Criminal Justice System*, 2005

UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, *General Comment No. 10. Children's Rights in Juvenile Justice*, 2007

UNODC, *Criminal Justice Assessment Toolkit*, 2007, <http://www.eldis.org>

Resolution on the Respect and the Strengthening of the Independence of the Judiciary, 1996;
Resolution on the Right to Fair Trial and Legal Aid in Africa, 1996;
Resolution on the Right to Recourse and Fair Trial, 1992;
Resolution on Prisons in Africa, 1995

Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), *Treaty on Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters*, 2004

Council of Europe, *European Convention on Mutual Assistance in Criminal Matters*, 1959, *Additional Protocol*, 1978 and *Second Additional Protocol*, 2001

OAS, *Inter-American Convention on Mutual Assistance in Criminal Matters*, 1992 and *Optional Protocol*, 1993

OAU, *African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights*, 1981

SADC, *Protocol on Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters*, October 2002

Assessment question	1.2.6. How much confidence do people have in the legal system to deliver fair and effective justice?

What to look for

Positive and negative indicators: assess public opinion surveys and evidence of confidence in the legal and penal systems.

Generalized sources

Requires local data and opinion polling.
Afro Barometer, <http://www.afrobarometer.org/>;
Asian Barometer, <http://www.asianbarometer.org/>;
East Asia Barometer, <http://eacsurvey.law.ntu.edu.tw/>;
Euro Barometer, <http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/index_en.htm>;
Latino Barometer, <http://www.latinobarometro.org/>

Bratton, M., Chu, Y.-H., Lagos, M. and Rose, R., 'The People's Voice: Trust in Political Institutions', in International IDEA, *Ten Years of Supporting Democracy Worldwide* (Stockholm: International IDEA, 2005), <http://www.idea.int/publications/anniversary/upload/Inlay_senttoprint_30May05.pdf>

Centre for the Study of Public Policy, University of Aberdeen, <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/cspp/>

Développement Institutions & Analyses de Long terme (DIAL), Household surveys on democracy and human rights, <http://www.dial.prd.fr/>

Thompson, G. and Conley, S., 'Guide to Public Opinion Poll Websites: Polling Data from Around the World', *College & Research Libraries News*, 67/9 (October 2006), <http://www.ala.org>

Indirect testimonies at:
UN Committee on Civil and Political Rights and Special Rapporteur reports, listed at <http://www.ohchr.org>

Wallace, J. C., 'Resolving Judicial Corruption while Preserving Judicial Independence: Comparative Perspectives', *California Western International Law Journal*, 28/2 (1998), pp. 341–51

1.3. Civil and political rights

Overarching question: Are civil and political rights equally guaranteed for all?

Assessment question	1.3.1. How free are all people from physical violation of their person, and from fear of it?	
What to look for		
1) Laws: examine laws governing (a) the official use of the means of violence; (b) violence between civil persons; (c) physical abuse within the home. If the government has ratified relevant conventions, examine whether the laws conform to their standards (and throughout sections 1.3 and 1.4).	*2) Practice:* examine how effectively the laws are enforced in practice; procedures for redress or compensation; effectiveness of systems for protecting women and children against violence, including provision of refuges, etc.; existence, independence and effectiveness of a Human Rights Commission (and throughout sections 1.3 and 1.4).	*3) Negative indicators:* investigate data on incidence of official or officially condoned violence; of civil murder, assault, rape, and the physical abuse of women and children.

Generalized sources

Global sources

Action Without Borders, <http://www.idealist.org/>

American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS), Science and Human Rights Program, <http://shr.aaas.org/aaashran/>

American Society of International Law (ASIL), *Guide to Electronic Resources for International Law: Human Rights*, <http://www.asil.org/resource/Home.htm>

Anti-Slavery International, <http://www.antislavery.org>

Carter Center, <http://www.cartercenter.org>

Center for Human Rights and Humanitarian Law, Washington College of Law, <http://www.wcl.american.edu/humright/center/>

Cingranelli-Richards (CIRI) Human Rights Data Project, <http://www.humanrightsdata.org>

Regional sources

Alliance for Reform and Democracy in Asia, <http://www.asiademocracy.org/>

Asian Human Rights Commission, <http://www.ahrchk.net/index.php>

Balkan Human Rights web pages, <http://cm.greekhelsinki.gr>

British Helsinki Human Rights Group, <http://www.bhhrg.org/>

Center for Latin American Studies, Georgetown University, Political Database of the Americas, <http://pdba.georgetown.edu/>

Droits et Démocratie, Centre international des droits de la personne et du développement démocratique (English, French and Spanish), <http://www.ichrdd.ca>

Equality Now, <http://www.equalitynow.org>

European Research Centre on Migration and Ethnic Relations, <http://www.uu.nl/uupublish/onderzoek/onderzoekcentra/ercomer/24638main.html>

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ConflictNet and PeaceNet, <http://www.jca.apc.org/~y-okada/igc/conflictnet/ and <http://www.igc.org/igc/peacenet/index.html>

Conflict Resolution in the Field from the Transnational Foundation for Peace and Future Research, <http://www.transnational.org/links/conf_resolution.html>

Country reports to the UN Human Rights Committee and Committee against Torture, and Committee on Migrant Workers, <http://www.ohchr.org>

DIANA: An International Human Rights Database, <http://www.law.uc.edu/Diana>

Giffard, C., *The Torture Reporting Handbook* (Colchester: Essex University Human Rights Centre and UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 2000). A reference guide for those wishing to take action internationally in response to allegations

Governance and Social Development Resource Centre, UK DFID, database on human rights, <http://www.gsdrc.org>

Human Rights Internet, <http://www.hri.ca>

Human Rights Watch (HRW), country reports and summaries in annual reports, <http://www.hrw.org>. Also HRW books, e.g. *Slaughter Among Neighbors: The Political Origins of Communal Violence*, 1998, and *The Human Rights Watch Global Report on Women's Human Rights*, 1998

International Center for Research on Women, Research on violence against women, <http://www.icrw.org/>

Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, <http://www.internal-displacement.org/>

International Council on Human Rights Policy, *Performance and Legitimacy: National Human Rights Institutions. Main Report*, 2004, <http://www.ichrp.org>

IPU, *World Directory of Parliamentary Human Rights Bodies*, IPU Secretariat, 2004

Human Rights Asia Pacific, <http://art.qut.edu.au/humanrights>

Human Rights Watch, 'Protectors or Pretenders? Government Human Rights Commissions in Africa', in *Human Rights Watch Annual Report 2001*, 2001, <http://www.hrw.org>

IIDH, *Directorio de organizaciones de derechos humanos de Centroamérica y Panamá* and *El Sistema Interamericano de Protección de los Derechos Humanos. Aspectos Institucionales y Procesales* (3rd rev. edn, 2004) <http://www.iidh.ed.cr>

Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, *Access to Justice for Women Victims in the Americas*, OEA/Ser.L/V/II, Doc. 68, OAS, General Secretariat, 2007, <http://www.cidh.oas.org>

Inter-American Commission on Women, <http://www.oas.org/cim/default.htm>

OSCE, Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), *Preventing Torture: A Handbook for OSCE Fieldstaff*, 1999, <http://www.osce.org/odihr/>

Red Solidaria por los Derechos Humaos (REDH), <http://www.redh.org/>

Reports of the Special Rapporteur on Extra-judicial, Summary or Arbitrary Executions in Africa, African Commission on Human and People's Rights

Reports of the Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Women in Africa, African Commission on Humanand People's Rights, <http://www.achpr.org>

Reports of the Special Rapporteurship on the Rights of Women, Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, <http://www.cidh.oas.org/women/Default.eng.htm>

South Asia Human Rights Documentation Centre, <http://www.hri.ca/partners/sahrdc/>

(cont.)

National Human Rights Institutions Forum, <http://www.nhri.net/>

Political Terror Scale, data from 1980–2005, available from Prof. Mark Gibney's homepage, <http://www.unca.edu/politicalscience/images/Colloquium/faculty-staff/gibney.html>

'Racism and Related Intolerance', *Interights Bulletin*, 13/3 (2005), <http://www.interights.org>

Reports of the Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, Summary or Arbitrary Executions;
Special Rapporteur on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution, and Child Pornography;
Working Group on Arbitrary Detention;
Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances;
Reports of the Special Rapporteur on Contemporary Forms of Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance;
Reports of the Special Rapporteur on Torture, and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment;
Reports of the Special Rapporteur on Trafficking of Persons, Especially in Women and Children;
Reports of the Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women, Its Causes and Consequences, <http://www.ohchr.org>

UNIFEM, <http://www.unifem.org>

UNHCHR, *National Institutions for the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights*, Fact Sheet No. 19, <http://www.unhchr.ch>

UNDAW, <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/index.html>

United Nations Online Network in Public Administration and Finance (UNPAN), international, regional and country-specific documents and databases on public social and economic policies and public finance and resources, <http://www.unpan.org>

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University of Minnesota Human Rights Library, <http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/index.html>

US State Department, *Country Report on Human Rights Practices* (annual), <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/>

Witness, promoting use of online and video technologies to track human rights violations, <http://www.witness.org/>

World Movement for Democracy, documents and database of organizations working on human rights, <http://www.wmd.org/>

Standards of good practice

International standards

UN General Assembly, *Convention against Torture and Other Cruel Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment*, 1984;
International Convention for the Protection of all Persons from Enforced Disappearance, 2006;
ICCPR, articles 6(1) and 7;
Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) 1979, articles 1 and 3;
Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989, articles 3, 19, 23, 24, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, and 40;
Convention on the Rights of the Child: Optional Protocol on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography, 2000;
Universal Declaration of Human Rights, article 5;
Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, 1993;
National Institutions for the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights (Paris Principles), UN General Assembly Res. 48/134, 1993;
Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law, 2005

UN Committee on Civil and Political Rights, *General Comment No. 8. Article 9 (Right to Liberty and Security of Persons)*, 1982;

Regional standards

African Commission on Human and People's Rights, *Resolution on Guidelines and Measures for the Prohibition and Prevention of Torture, Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment in Africa*, 2002;
Resolution on the Respect of International Humanitarian Law and Human and People's Rights, 1993;
Resolution on Guidelines and Measures for the Prohibition and Prevention of Torture, Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment in Africa ('Robben Island Guidelines'), 2002

Council of Europe, *European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms*, 1950, articles 2, 3, and 4;
European Convention on the Exercise of Children's Rights, 1996

OAS, *Inter-American Convention on the Forced Disappearance of Persons*, 1994;
Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence against Women, 'Convention of Belem do Para', 1994;
Inter-American Convention to Prevent and Punish Torture, 1985

First OAU Ministerial Conference on Human Rights, *Declaration and Plan of Action*, April 1999, <http://www.iss.co.za>;

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General Comment No. 14. Article 6 (Right to Life), 1984;
General Comment No. 18. Non-discrimination, 1989;
General Comment No. 20. Article 7 (Prohibition of Torture or Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment), 1992;
General Comment No. 21. Article 10 (Humane Treatment of Persons Deprived of Liberty), 1992;
General Comment No. 24. Reservations to the Covenant or Optional Protocols or Declarations under Article 41 of the Covenant, 1994;
General Comment No. 28. Article 3 (Equality of Rights Between Men and Women), 2000;
General Comment No. 29. Article 4 (Derogations During a State Emergency), 2001;
General Comment No. 31. The Nature of the General Legal Obligation Imposed on State Parties, 2004

UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, *General Recommendation No. 6. Effective National Machinery and Publicity*, 1988;
General Recommendation No. 14. Female Circumcision, 1990;
General Recommendation No. 19. Violence against Women, 1992
General Recommendation No. 20. Reservations, 1992

UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, *General Comment No. 17. Establishment of National Institutions to Facilitate Implementation of the Convention*, 1993

UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, *General Comment No. 2. The Role of National Human Rights Institutions*, 2002;
General Comment No. 8. The Right of the Child to Protection from Corporal Punishment and Other Cruel and Degrading Forms of Punishment, 2006

UN, *Model Strategies and Practical Measures on the Elimination of Violence against Women in the Field of Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice*, 1997

OAU, *African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child*, 1990, articles 5, 14, 15, 16, 17, 21, 22, 27, 28, and 29;
African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, 1986, articles 4 and 5;
Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, 2003, articles 4 and 5

African Union, *Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa*, 2004

Final Conclusions, Subregional Workshop on the Application of International Human Rights Standards by the National Courts of the Mercosur Countries, Bolivia and Chile, Montevideo, Uruguay, 22–25 October 2001, <http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu6/montconc.htm>

National Human Rights Institutions and Legislatures: Building an Effective Relationship: The Abuja Guidelines, March 2004

Commonwealth Secretariat, *National Human Rights Institutions: Best Practice*, 2001

NDI, *Parliamentary Human Rights Committees*, 2004, <http://www.accessdemocracy.org/library/1905_gov_parlhrscommittees_080105.pdf>

MacDonald, F. and Thomson, E., *The Scottish Human Rights Commission: Analysis of Consultation Responses*, 2004, <http://www.scotland.gov.uk>

UK Parliament, Joint Committee on Human Rights, *Sixth Report: The Case for a Human Rights Commission*, 2003, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/>

And several regional documents mentioned above in 1.2

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Promoting Greater Respect and Protection of Human Rights in General and in Particular for Women and Children, Resolution by the 96th Inter-Parliamentary Conference (Beijing, 20 September 1996);

Fourth World Conference on Women, *Beijing Platform for Action*, September 1995, Strategic Objectives and Actions on Violence against Women and on Human Rights of Women

Good Governance Practices that Promote Human Rights, Seminar organized by UNDP and OHCHR, Seoul, 15–16 September 2004, Panel 1 on Promotion of the Rule of Law, <http://www.ohchr.org/english/issues/development/governance/compilation/forside_02.html>

IPU, *Handbook for Parliamentarians Eliminating the Worst Forms of Child Labour: A Practical Guide to ILO Convention* No. 182, 2002, <http://www.ipu.org>;

Strengthening Parliament as a Guardian of Human Rights: The Role of Parliamentary Human Rights Bodies, Seminar for Chairpersons and Members of Parliamentary Human Rights Bodies, 2004, <http://www.ipu.org/splz-e/hr04.htm>;

Parline Database: Specialized Parliamentary Bodies, 2005, <http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/Instanceadvanced.asp>

IPU and UNDAW, *Handbook for Parliamentarians: The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and its Optional Protocol*, 2003, <http://www.ipu.org>

IPU and United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), *Handbook of Child Protection*, 2004, <http://www.ipu.org>

Amnesty International, *Combating Torture: A Manual for Action*, 2006, <http://www.eldis.org>;

National Human Rights Institutions: Amnesty International's Recommendations for Effective Protection and Promotion of Human Rights, 2001, <http://www.amnesty.org>

(cont.)	
International Budget Project, *Dignity Counts: A Guide to Using Budget Analysis to Advance Human Rights*, International Human Rights Internship Program and International Budget Project, 2004 International Council on Human Rights Policy, *Assessing the Effectiveness of National Human Rights Institutions*, 2005, <http://www.ichrp.org>	

Assessment question	**1.3.2. How effective and equal is the protection of the freedoms of movement, expression, association and assembly?**	
What to look for		
1) Laws: examine the legislation securing these freedoms, including the extent of any limitations, exceptions, derogations, etc.	***2) Practice:*** examine the effectiveness and impartiality of the procedures for securing these freedoms in practice, especially for unpopular or minority groups or opinions, or those involved in lawful opposition to the government.	***3) Negative indicators:*** investigate the incidence of restrictions on movement or travel; of censorship, official and informal; of associations banned or intimidated; of peaceful assemblies prohibited or dispersed; of surveillance or phone-tapping of political or civil activists.
Generalized sources		
In addition to civil and political rights sources already mentioned: Article 19, Global Campaign for free expression, <http://www.article19.org/> *Country reports* to the UN Human Rights Committee, Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, and Committee on the Rights of the Child, <http://www.ohchr.org> Digital Freedom Network, <http://www.dfn.org> Global Internet Liberty Campaign, <http://www.gilc.org> Humana, C., *World Human Rights Guide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), esp. questions 1–3 Human Rights Watch, *Annual Report 1998*, pp. 462–5 on Internet monitoring by governments, filtering and surveillance; *Silencing the Net: The Threat to Freedom of Expression On-line*, 1998 Institute for Global Communications, <http://www.igc.org> International Freedom of Expression Exchange, <http://www.ifex.org> International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission (IGLHRC), <http://www.iglhrc.org>		

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Reports of the Inter-American Special Rapporteur for Freedom of Expression, <http://www.cidh.org/Relatoria/index.asp?lID=1>

Open Society Justice Initiative, Program on Freedom of Information and Expression, <http://www.justiceinitiative.org>

Reporters Without Borders, <http://www.rsf.org/>

Reports of the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities, <http://www.osce.org/hcnm/>

Reports of the UN Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of the Right to Freedom of Opinion and Expression;
Reports of the Independent Expert on Minority Issues, <http://www.ohchr.org>

Reports of the Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression in Africa, African Commission on Human and People's Rights, <http://www.achpr.org>

TOL – Transitions online, Central and Eastern Europe, <http://www.tol.cz/>

UnionWeb, <http://www.unionwebservices.com/resources>

United Nations Online Network in Public Administration and Finance (UNPAN), international, regional and country-specific documents and databases on ethics, transparency and accountability, <http://www.unpan.org>

World Association of Newspapers (WAN), France, <http://www.wan-press.org/>

World Press Freedom Committee (WPFC), USA, <http://www.wpfc.org>

For freedom of information sources see criteria code 2.3.5. For media sources in general see section 3.1.

Standards of good practice

These rights in general: available from <http://www.unhchr.ch/html/intlinst.htm>
UN, *ICCPR*, articles 19, 21 and 22;
Universal Declaration of Human Rights, article 13(1) and 13(2)

On freedom of expression: *ICCPR*, article 19

As they relate to groups:
ILO Convention No. 29. Forced Labour, 1930;
ILO Convention No 105. Abolition of Forced Labour, 1957;
ILO Convention No. 135. Workers' Representatives Convention, 1973
ILO Convention No. 141. Rural Workers' Organisations, 1975;
ILO Convention No. 151. Labour Relations (Public Service) Convention, 1981

UN Committee on Civil and Political Rights, *General Comment No. 10. Article 19 (Freedom of Opinion)*, 1983

Regional standards

African Commission on Human and People's Rights, *Declaration of Principles on Freedom of Expression in Africa*, 2002;
Resolution on Freedom of Expression, 2001;
Resolution on the Right to Freedom of Association, 1992

Council of Europe, *European Social Charter*, 1961 (article 5, Right of Assembly);
European Convention on Human Rights, 1950, articles 10, 11 and 12

ECOWAS, *Protocol A/P.1/5/79 Relating to Free Movement of Persons, Residence and Establishment*, 1979

OAU, *African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights*, 1986, articles 9, 10, 11, and 12;
African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, 1990, articles 7, 8, and 9

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Joint Declaration by the UN, OAS and OSCE Mandates on Freedom of Expression, 2005;
Joint Declaration by the UN, OAS, OSCE and ACHPR Special Mandates on Freedom of Expression, 2006, <http://www.article19.org>

Article 19, 'Defining Defamation: Principles on Freedom of Expression and Protection of Reputation', 2000, <http://www.article19.org/pdfs/standards/definingdefamation.pdf>

IPU, *Seminar for Chairpersons and Members of Parliamentary Human Rights Bodies on Freedom of Expression, Parliament and the Promotion of Tolerant Societies: Summary and Recommendations Presented by the Rapporteur of the Seminar*, 2005, <http://www.ipu.org/splz-e/sfe/conclusions.pdf>

Article 19, *Johannesburg Principles on National Security, Freedom of Expression, and Access to Information*, 1995

On movement
UN General Assembly, *Promotion of Equality of Opportunity and Treatment of Migrant Workers*, 1990;
International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families, 1990

UN Committee on Civil and Political Rights, *General Comment No. 27. Article 12 (Freedom of Movement)*, 1999

On association and assembly
ILO Convention No. 87. Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise, 1948;
ILO Convention No. 98. Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining, 1951

Irish, L., Kushen, R. and Simon, K., *Guidelines for Laws Affecting Civic Organizations* (New York: Open Society Institute, 2004)

OAS, *Inter-American Declaration of Principles on Freedom of Expression*, approved by the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights during its 108th regular session, 2002

SADC, *Protocol on the Facilitation of Movement of Persons*, August 2005

European Parliament, Resolution, 8 February 1994, on Recognition of Same Sex Couples

Assessment question	1.3.3. How secure is the freedom for all to practise their own religion, language or culture?	
What to look for		
1) Laws: examine laws governing religious observance, language use and other forms of cultural expression or activity; if there is an official religion or dominant language, the status of other religions, languages, etc.	*2) Practice:* examine the impartiality of legal implementation in practice.	*3) Negative indicators:* investigate evidence of compulsory religious membership; of lack of availability of schooling in the mother tongue; of exclusions or discrimination on the grounds of religion, language, etc.

Generalized sources

Global sources

Centre for the Comparative Study of Culture, Development and the Environment (CDE), <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/development/>

Center for World Indigenous Studies, <http://www.cwis.org>

The Chronicle, <http://www.chronicleworld.org/>

Country reports to the UN Human Rights Committee, Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, and Committee on the Rights of the Child, <http://www.ohchr.org>

'Freedom of Religion or Belief', *Interights Bulletin*, 11/3 (1997), <http://www.interights.org>

Humana, C., *World Human Rights Guide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992)

I CARE; Internet Centre Anti-Racism partnership between United for Intercultural Action, the Magenta Foundation and Duo A, <http://www.icare.to>. The site features two useful and easy-to-search databases: (1) the United Database (1,500 addresses of anti-racism, migrant and refugee organizations in Europe); and (2) Crosspoint (over 1,500 links to websites of anti-racism organizations in over 100 countries).

IPU, *World Directory of Parliamentary Human Rights Bodies*, IPU Secretariat, 2004

Regional sources

Adum, Resources on protection of minority languages in EU countries, <http://www.adum.info/adum/>

Asian Human Rights Commission, <http://www.ahrchk.net/index.php>

Balkan Human Rights web pages, <http://cm.greekhelsinki.gr>

European Centre for Minority Issues, <http://www.ecmi.de>

European Research Centre on Migration and Ethnic Relations, <http://www.uu.nl/uupublish/onderzoek/onderzoekcentra/ercomer/24638main.html>

Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, <http://www.indigenista.org>

'A Line in the Sand', <http://www.hanksville.org/sand/>. This site concerns problems associated with cultural and intellectual property and ownership. The focus is particularly on the representation of Native Americans.

Lingua Món, Casa de Les Llengües (House of Languages), <http://www10.gencat.net/www.linguamon.cat/>

Mercator, Linguistic Rights and Legislation, <http://www.ciemen.org/mercator/index-gb.htm>

Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, *Reports* of the Special Rapporteurship on

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O'Brien, J. and Palmer, M., *The State of Religion Atlas* (London and New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993)

Reports of the Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Religion or Belief;
Reports of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on the Human Rights of Internally Displaced Persons;
Reports of the Independent Expert on Minority Issues, <http://www.ohchr.org>

Universal Black Pages, <http://www.ubp.com>

University of Minnesota Human Rights Library, <http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/index.html>

Migrant Workers and their Families, <http://www.cidh.oas.org/Migrantes/defaultmigrants.htm>;
The Human Rights Situation of the Indigenous People in the Americas, 2000, <http://www.cidh.oas.org/Indigenas/TOC.htm>

Reports of the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities, <http://www.osce.org/hcnm/>

Permanent Observer Mission of the Organization of the Islamic Conference to the United Nations, <http://www.oicun.org/>

Reports of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations/Communities in Africa, African Commission on Human and People's Rights, <http://www.achpr.org>

Standards of good practice

International standards

UN General Assembly, *Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination*, 1965;
ICCPR, 1966, article 18;
Declaration on the Elimination of all Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination based on Religion or Belief, 1981;
Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities, 1992

UN Committee on Civil and Political Rights, *General Comment No. 22. Article 18 (Freedom of Thought, Conscience or Religion)*, 1993

IPU, *Handbook for Parliamentarians. Refugee Protection: A Guide to International Refugee Law*, 2001, <http://www.ipu.org>;
Strengthening Parliament as a Guardian of Human Rights: The Role of Parliamentary Human Rights Bodies, Seminar for Chairpersons and Members of Parliamentary Human Rights Bodies, 2004, <http://www.ipu.org/splz-e/hr04.htm>;
Parline Database: Specialized Parliamentary Bodies, 2005, <http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/Instanceadvanced.asp>

Regional standards

African Commission on Human and People's Rights, *Resolution on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples' Communities in Africa*, 2000

Council of Europe, *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*, 1992;
European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, 1950, article 9 and associated Protocol;
Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society, 2005

OAU, *African [Banjul] Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights*, 1986, 06/17/81, article 8;
Convention Governing Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa, 1969, articles 1 and 4;
African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, 1990, article 9

OAS, *Inter-American Declaration of Principles on Freedom of Expression*, approved by the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights during its 108th regular session, 2002

NDI, *Parliamentary Human Rights Committees*, 2004, <http://www.accessdemocracy.org/library/1905_gov_parlhrscommittees_080105.pdf>

(cont.)	
IPU and UNDAW, *Handbook for Parliamentarians: The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and its Optional Protocol*, 2003, <http://www.ipu.org>	*And others as listed in 1.1.2*

Assessment question	1.3.4. How free from harassment and intimidation are individuals and groups working to improve human rights?	
What to look for		
1) Laws: see under 1.3.2.	***2) Positive indicators:*** investigate number of and support for human rights NGOs; and whether NGOs have contributed to the reporting processes under human rights conventions.	***3) Negative indicators:*** investigate data on incidence of harassment and intimidation of human rights workers and NGOs, especially women's and minority groups.

Generalized sources

Amnesty International, <http://www.amnesty.org>

Barrett, D. B. (ed.), *World Christian Encyclopedia: A Comparative Study of Churches and Religion in the Modern World, AD 1900–2000* (Nairobi and New York: Oxford University Press, 1982)

Country reports to the UN Human Rights Committee, <http://www.ohchr.org>

Defending Women Defending Rights.org, <http://www.defendingwomen-defendingrights.org/>

Euro-Mediterranean Foundation of Support to Human Rights Defenders, <http://www.emhrf.org>

Frontline, Defenders of Human Rights Defenders, <http://www.frontlinedefenders.org/>

Human Rights First, <http://www.humanrightsfirst.org>

Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, *Report on the Situation of Human Rights Defenders in the Americas*, OEA/Ser.L/V/II.124, Doc. 5 rev. 1, 2006, <http://www.cidh.oas.org/countryrep/Defenders/defenderstoc.htm>

Reports of the Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Human Rights Defenders, African Commission on Human and People's Rights, <http://www.achpr.org>

Reports of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Human Rights Defenders, <http://www.ohchr.org>

On languages (general):
Gordon, Raymond G. Jr (ed.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, 15th edn (Dallas, Tex.: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 2005), <http://www.ethnologue.com>

Gunnemark, E. V., *Countries, Peoples and Their Languages: The Geolinguistic Handbook* (Gothenberg: Geolingua, 1991)

(cont.)		
For cultural autonomy see sources in 1.1.2. *As above plus:* Human Rights Watch, *Annual Reports*, country section reports on harassment and violence against rights activists, <http://www.hrw.org> Hurights Osaka, <http://www.hurights.or.jp/>		
Standards of good practice		
International standards		***Regional standards***
UN General Assembly, *Declaration on the Right and Responsibility of Individuals, Groups and Organs of Society to Promote and Protect Universally Recognized Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, 'Declaration on Human Rights Defenders'*, 1998; As above in *ICCPR*, 1966		African Commission on Human and People's Rights, *Resolution on the Protection of Human Rights Defenders in Africa*, 2004 OAS General Assembly, *Human Rights Defenders in the Americas: Support for the Individuals, Groups and Organizations of Civil Society working to Promote and Protect Human Rights in the Americas*, 2000

1.4. Economic and social rights

Overarching question: Are economic and social rights equally guaranteed for all?

Assessment question	**1.4.1. How far is access to work or social security available to all, without discrimination?**	
What to look for		
1) Laws: examine legal protection of the right to earn a living in a chosen occupation without discrimination, and the right to social security in the absence of such an occupation.	***2) Practice:*** examine effectiveness of policies for employment; for access to land or other means of livelihood; for equal opportunities and equal pay; for security of employment and minimum wage; for vocational guidance; for preventing forced labour or servitude.	***3) Negative indicators:*** investigate data on unemployment; on discrimination in access to work and at the place of work; on the incidence of forced labour or servitude, including of children.
Generalized sources		
Global sources		***Regional sources***
Anti-Slavery International, <http://www.antislavery.org/>, incl. papers and evidence to the UN Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery		AfriMAP, database on the public services, <http://www.afrimap.org>

(cont.)

Country reports to the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, <http://www.ohchr.org>

Foreign Labour Statistics, US Bureau of Labor Statistics, <http://stats.bls.gov/fls/>

Governance and Social Development Resource Centre, UK DFID, database on human rights, <http://www.gsdrc.org>

Holzmann, R. et al., *Old-age Income Support in the 21st Century: An International Perspective on Pension Systems and Reform* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2005)

Human Rights for Workers (special emphasis on China, Vietnam and other Asian countries), <http://www.senser.com/index.htm>

IGCNET (incl. Womens Net), <http://www.igc.org>

Institute of Social Studies (labour relations), <http://www.iss.nl/>

'Implementing Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in Practice', *Interights Bulletin*, 13/2 (2005), <http://www.interights.org>

ILO, *Yearbook of Labour Statistics* (annual);
ILO conventions also available at <http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/other/dfat/treaties>
In addition to ILO conventions (which provide only the text of an agreement), look at CEARC recommendations (body charged with overseeing implementation): see ILOLEX via <http://www.ilo.org>

IPU, *World Directory of Parliamentary Human Rights Bodies*, IPU Secretariat, 2004

LabourNet, <http://www.labournet.net/>

Institute for Employment Studies (IES), <http://www.employment-studies.co.uk/>

Overseas Development Institute, Research on social protection, <http://www.odi.org.uk>

Sachs, J., *Globalization and Employment* (Geneva: ILO, 1996), <http://www.ilo.org>

Australian Council for Educational Research (comparative labour force economics), <http://www.acer.edu.au/>

Center for Latin American Studies, Georgetown University, Political Database of the Americas, <http://pdba.georgetown.edu/>

Centre for Asia Pacific Social Transformation Studies, <http://www.capstrans.edu.au/>

Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, <http://www.indigenista.org>

OECD, Local Economic and Employment Development Programme (LEED), 'Best Practice' in local development and job creation, <http://www.oecd.org>

Red Solidaria por los Derechos Humaos (REDH), <http://www.redh.org/>

Reports of the Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Women in Africa, African Commission on Human and People's Rights;
Reports of the Working Group on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in Africa, African Commission on Human and People's Rights, <http://www.achpr.org>

Reports of the Special Rapporteurship on Migrant Workers and their Families, Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, <http://www.cidh.oas.org/Migrantes/defaultmigrants.htm>;
Reports of the Special Rapporteurship on the Rights of Women, Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, <http://www.cidh.oas.org/women/Default.eng.htm>

(cont.)

Reports of the UN Special Rapporteur on the Human Rights of Migrants, <http://www.ohchr.org>

UNDAW, <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/index.html>

UNIFEM, <http://www.unifem.org>

United Nations Online Network in Public Administration and Finance (UNPAN), international, regional and country-specific documents and databases on public social and economic policies, <http://www.unpan.org>

World Bank, documents on labour and income, <http://www.worldbank.org>

World Movement for Democracy, documents and database of organizations working on promoting labour rights, <http://www.wmd.org/>

Links to national trade unions from:

Canadian International Labour Network (with international links), <http://labour.ciln.mcmaster.ca>

Canadian Institute for Health Information (CIHI), <http://www.cihi.com/>

Centre for Institutional Reform and the Informal Sector (IRIS), <http://www.iris.umd.edu/>

US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), *World Factbook* (annual), <https://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/index.html>

International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, <http://www.icftu.org/>; and *Free Labour World*, Brussels (serial)

International Monetary Fund (IMF), *Debt Initiative for the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPCs)*: *Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers* (PRSPs are a requirement for countries applying to the IMF for debt relief), <http://www.imf.org/external/np/prsp/prsp.asp>

Political Resources.net, Labour and trade union organizations links to web pages, <http://www.politicalresources.net>

UNDP, *Poverty Report 2000* (esp. Country Profiles and chapters 5 and 6), 2000, <http://www.undp.org/povertyreport/>

World Bank, *Comprehensive Development Framework*, 2000, <http://www.worldbank.org/cdf/>;
Policy Programme Options for Urban Poverty Reduction: A Framework for Action at the Municipal Level, *Vol. 1*, 1996/09/01, Urban Management Programme Discussion Paper 16030 from World Bank World Development Sources;
World Bank Group, Policy Research Working Papers, <http://www.worldbank.org>;
World Bank, *Poverty Reduction Strategy Sourcebook*, 2000, <http://www.worldbank.org/poverty/strategies/sourctoc.htm>;
World Bank, World Development Sources, <http://www-wds.worldbank.org>, for good practice on poverty reduction, e.g. Tanzania, Bolivia, Mozambique

Standards of good practice

International standards

UN General Assembly, *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)*, 1966, articles 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11;
Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), 1979, articles 10, 11, and 14;
Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989, articles 26, 27 and 32;
Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, 2006, article 27;
Promotion of Equality of Opportunity and Treatment of Migrant Workers, 1990

ILO Convention No. 29. Forced Labour, 1930;
ILO Convention No. 105. Abolition of Forced Labour, 1959;
ILO Convention No. 100. Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951;
ILO Convention No. 111. Discrimination in Respect of Employment and Occupation Entry, 1960;
ILO Convention No. 118. Equality of Treatment (Social Security) Convention, 1962;
ILO Convention No. 121. Employment Injury Benefits Convention, 1964;
ILO Convention No. 122. Employment Policy Convention, 1966;
ILO Convention No. 131. Minimum Wage Fixing with Special Reference to Developing Countries, 1972;
ILO Convention No. 156. Workers with Family responsibilities Convention, 1981;
ILO Convention No. 157. Maintenance of Social Security Rights Convention, 1982 and later *Convention concerning the Establishment of an International System for the Maintenance of Rights in Social Security*, 1986;
ILO Convention No. 159. Vocational Rehabilitation and Employment (Disabled Persons) Convention, 1983;
ILO Convention No. 168. Employment Promotion and Protection against Unemployment Convention, 1988;
ILO Convention No. 183. Maternal Protection Convention, 2000;
Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work and its Follow-up, adopted by the

Regional standards

African Commission on Human and People's Rights, *Resolution on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in Africa*, 2004

African Platform for Action, 1994, adopted by the Fifth Regional Conference on Women, Dakar, Senegal, November 1994

African Union, *Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa*, 2004

Council of Europe, *European Code of Social Security (Revised)*, 1990;
European Convention on Human Rights, 1950, article 4, prohibition of forced or compulsory labour;
European Convention on the Legal Status of Migrant Workers, 1977;
European Convention on Social Security, 1972;
Revised European Social Charter, 1996 (full text, Protocols and Revisions, chart of signatories and ratifications), <http://conventions.coe.int/>

European Union, *Memorandum of Understanding for European SMEs, Open Access to Electronic Commerce*, <http://europa.eu.int/ISPO/ecommerce/MoU/>

OAS, *Additional Protocol to the American Convention on Human Rights in the Area of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*, Protocol of San Salvador, OAS Treaty Series No. 69 (1988), articles 3, 6, 7, 8, and 9;
Declaration of Margarita, CIDI, High-level Meeting on Poverty and Social Inclusion, 2003

OAU, *Constitution of the Association of African Trade Promotion Organizations*, 1974;
OAU, *African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child*, 1990, articles 15, 20, and 26;
African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, 1986, article 15;
African Union, *Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa*, 2003, articles 2 and 13

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International Labour Conference at its 86th Session, 18 June 1998, <http://www.ilo.org/dyn/declaris/DECLARATIONWEB.INDEXPAGE>

United Nations Economic and Social Council, *Draft optional protocol to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*, 1997

UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, *General Comment No. 9. The Domestic Application of the Covenant*, 1998;
General Comment No. 10. The Role of National Human Rights Institutions in the Protection of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1998;
General Comment No. 16. The Equal Right of Men and Women to the Enjoyment of all Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (Art. 3), 2005;
General Comment No. 18. The Right to Work (Art. 6), 2005

UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, *General Recommendation No. 13. Equal Remuneration for Work of Equal Value*, 1989;
General Recommendation No. 16. Unpaid Women Workers in Rural and Urban Family Enterprises, 1991

UN, *Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: Handbook for National Human Rights Institutions*, Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE), 2005, <http://www.eldis.org>

OHCHR, *Human Rights and World Trade Agreements: Using General Exception Clauses to Protect Human Rights* (New York and Geneva: UN, 2005), <http://www.ohchr.org/english/issues/globalization/trade/index.htm>

Fourth World Conference on Women, *Beijing Platform for Action*, September 1995, Strategic Objectives and Actions on Human Rights of Women

IPU, *Strengthening Parliament as a Guardian of Human Rights: The Role of Parliamentary Human Rights Bodies*, Seminar for Chairpersons and Members of

Maastricht Guidelines on Violations of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, Maastricht, 22–26 January 1997, <http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/instree/Maastrichtguidelines_.html>

SADC, *Protocol on Culture, Information and Sport*, August 2000, article 10

NDI, *Parliamentary Human Rights Committees*, 2004, <http://www.accessdemocracy.org/library/1905_gov_parlhrscommittees_080105.pdf>

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Parliamentary Human Right Bodies, 2004, <http://www.ipu.org/splz-e/hr04.htm>; Parline Database: Specialized Parliamentary Bodies, 2005, <http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/Instanceadvanced.asp> IPU and UNDAW, *Handbook for Parliamentarians: The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and its Optional Protocol*, 2003, <http://www.ipu.org> International Budget Project, *Dignity Counts: A Guide to Using Budget Analysis to Advance Human Rights*, International Human Rights Internship Program and International Budget Project, 2004	

Assessment question	1.4.2. How effectively are the basic necessities of life guaranteed, including adequate food, shelter and clean water?	
What to look for		
1) Laws: examine legal entitlements to social security, housing, sanitation and clean water, and the corresponding duties of provision.	*2) Practice:* examine the adequacy of procedures and resources to provide the above rights.	*3) Negative indicators:* investigate data on undernourishment, homelessness, mortality, etc., especially among vulnerable groups among the population.

Generalized sources	
General sources	*Regional sources*
British Library for Development Studies (BLDS) Bibliographic Database, searchable web version of the BLDS depository library of the UN, South Pacific Commission and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), <http://blds.ids.ac.uk/blds/> Comparative Research Programme on Poverty (CROP), <http://www.crop.org/> *Country reports* to the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against	Africa South of the Sahara: Selected Internet Resources – Human Rights, <http://www-sul.stanford.edu/depts/ssrg/africa/hurights.html> AfriMAP, database on public services, <http://www.afrimap.org> Alliance for Reform and Democracy in Asia, <http://www.asiademocracy.org/> Australian Development Gateway, International and Asia–Pacific-specific resources on water and sanitation, <http://www.developmentgateway.com.au>

(cont.)

Women, and Committee on the Rights of the Child, <http://www.ohchr.org>

Eldis Gateway to Development Information, database on food security and on the Millennium Development Goals, <http://www.eldis.org/>

Hansen, S.A., *Thesaurus of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: Terminology and Potential Violations* (Washington, DC: American Association for the Advancement of Science, 2000)

HUD USER, *State of the Cities*, 2000, <http://socds.huduser.org/>

Institute for Children and Poverty, <http://www.homesforthehomeless.com/>

International Budget Project, Research theme on applied budget analysis and economic, social and cultural rights, <http://www.internationalbudget.org>

International Center for Research on Women, Research on nutrition and food security, <http://www.icrw.org/>

International Fund for Agricultural Development (rural poverty knowledgebase), <http://www.ifad.org/>

International Institute for Sustainable Development, <http://www.iisd.org/>

Kane, T., Holmes, K.R. and O'Grady, M. A., *2007 Index of Economic Freedom* (Washington, DC: Heritage Foundation and *Wall Street Journal*, 2006), <http://www.heritage.org>

Multilaterals Project, <http://fletcher.tufts.edu/multilaterals.html>

National Bureau of Economic Research, Penn World Tables, <http://pwt.econ.upenn.edu/>

Oxfam Policy Papers, <http://www.oxfam.org/en/policy/>

Segal, R., *The Black Diaspora* (London: Faber & Faber, 1995)

Physicians for Human Rights, <http://physiciansforhumanrights.org/>

Centre for World and Indigenous Studies, <http://www.cwis.org/>

ECOWAS, social and economic indicators, <http://www.ecostat.org/>

Groupe d'Études et de Recherches sur la Démocratie et le Développement Economique et Social (Research Group on the Democratic, Economic and Social Development of Africa) (GERDDES), <http://www.gerddes.org/>

Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA), papers, <http://www.idasa.org.za/>

Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, <http://www.indigenista.org>

Luxembourg Income Study database, <http://www.lisproject.org/>

Shack Dwellers International in Africa and Slum Dwellers International in Asia network, <http://www.sdinet.org> and <http://www.utshani.org.za/>

Southern Africa Research and Documentation Centre, <http://www.sardc.net/>

Reports of the Special Rapporteurship on the Rights of Women, Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, <http://www.cidh.oas.org/women/Default.eng.htm>;

Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, *The Human Rights Situation of the Indigenous People in the Americas*, 2000, <http://www.cidh.oas.org/Indigenas/TOC.htm>

United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP), <http://www.unescap.org>

Reports of the Working Group on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in Africa, African Commission on Human and People's Rights;

Reports of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations/Communities in Africa, African Commission on Human and People's Rights, <http://www.achpr.org>

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Overseas Development Institute, Research on water resources and related issues, <http://www.odi.org.uk> UN, *Update on the Nutrition Situation* (Geneva: UN, various years); Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), <http://apps.fao.org>; UNDP, <http://www.undp.org>; UNESCO, *Statistical Yearbook*; UN Habitat, <http://www.unhabitat.org>; UNICEF, *Progress of Nations*, 2000, socio-economic indicators, countries ranked by well-being of the children, <http://www.unicef.org>; UNICEF-World Health Organization (WHO), *Global Water and Sanitation Assessment Reports*, <http://www.who.int/water_saniotation_health/globalassessment/global/TOC.htm>; United Nations Statistics Division, <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/default.htm> UN Millennium Development Goals, <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/> University of Minnesota Human Rights Library, <http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/index.html> *Reports* of the UN Special Rapporteur on Adequate Housing as a Component of the Right to an Adequate Standard of Living; Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food, <http://www.ohchr.org> USAID Famine Early Warning System, <http://www.fews.net/>; USAID, Office of US Foreign Disaster Assistance, *Reports Index*, <http://www.usaid.gov/our_work/humanitarian_assistance/disaster_assistance/> World Bank, documents on water supply and sanitation; World Bank, *WDR 2007: Development and the Next Generation* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2006), tables 2, 3, A1–A8 on poverty, inequality, education and health, <http://www.worldbank.org>; World Bank – World Development Sources, <http://www-wds.worldbank.org>;	WWW Virtual Library: Public Health is also part of the Asian Studies WWW Virtual Library, <http://www.ldb.org/vl/index.htm> and <http://coombs.anu.edu.au/WWWVL-AsianStudies.html>

(cont.)

World Bank Living Standards Measurement Study, <http://www.worldbank.org/lsms/>

WHO, *World Health Statistics* (annual)

World Movement for Democracy, documents and database of organizations working on human rights, <http://www.wmd.org/>

Standards of good practice

International standards

UN General Assembly, *Convention on the Rights of the Child* 1989, articles 6, 24 and 27, <http://www.unicef.org/crc/text.htm>;
Declaration on Social Progress and Development, 1969;
Declaration on the Right to Development, 1986;
ICESCR, 1966, articles 11 and 12;
Global Strategy for Shelter to the Year 2000, A/RES/43/181, December 1988;
Universal Declaration on the Eradication of Hunger and Malnutrition, adopted on 16 November 1974 by the World Food Conference convened under General Assembly Resolution 3180 (XXVIII) of 17 December 1973 and endorsed by General Assembly Resolution 3348 (XXIX) of 17 December 1974

UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, *General Comment No. 4. The Right to Adequate Housing (Art. 11 (1))*, 1991;
General Comment No. 7, The Right to Adequate Housing: Forced Evictions (Art. 11 (1)), 1997;
General Comment No. 12. The Right to Adequate Food, 1999;
General Comment No. 15. The Right to Water (Arts 11 and 12), 2005

United Nations Economic and Social Council, *Draft optional protocol to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*, 1997

FAO, *Voluntary Guidelines to Support the Progressive Realization of the Right to Adequate Food in the Context of National Food Security*, annex I of the Report of the 30th Session of the Committee on World Food Security (WFS), Rome, 20–23 September 2004

Regional standards

Council of Europe, *European Convention on the Exercise of Children's Rights*, 1996;
Revised European Social Charter, 1996 (full text, Protocols and Revisions, chart of signatories and ratifications), <http://conventions.coe.int/>

OAS, *Additional Protocol to the American Convention on Human Rights in the Area of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*, Protocol of San Salvador, OAS Treaty Series No. 69, 1988, articles 10 and 12;
Declaration of Margarita, CIDI, High-level Meeting on Poverty and Social Inclusion, 2003;
Declaration of Santa Cruz de la Sierra and Plan of Action for the Sustainable Development of the Americas, 1996

OAU, *African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child*, 1990, article 14;
African Union, *Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa*, 2003, articles 15 and 16;
Constitution of the Association of African Trade Promotion Organizations, 1974

Maastricht Guidelines on Violations of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, Maastricht, 22–26 January 1997

General standards

Bangalore Declaration and Plan of Action, 2000

Compilation of General Comments and General Recommendations Adopted by Human Rights Treaty Bodies, UN document HRI\GEN\1\ Rev. 1 at 53, 1994

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UNDP, Bureau for Development Policy (good practice), <http://magnet.undp.org>, <http://www.undp.org/governance/> and <http://www.undp.org/policy/> UN Millennium Development Goals, Goal 1, <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/> *Policies and Strategies to Ensure the Right to Food in this Time of Globalization of the Economy and Trade Liberalization*, Resolution by the 96th Inter-Parliamentary Conference (Beijing, 20 September 1996) UN, *Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: Handbook for National Human Rights Institutions*, Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE), 2005, <http://www.eldis.org>	International Commission of Jurists on economic, social and cultural rights), *A Compilation of Essential Documents*, Geneva, ICJ-Centre for the Independence of Judges and Lawyers (CIJL), 1997, <http://www.icj.org>

Assessment question	**1.4.3. To what extent is the health of the population protected, in all spheres and stages of life?**	
What to look for		
1) Laws: examine legislation protecting the health and safety of people as workers, consumers, residents and travellers; the extent of the right to health and other personal care; the corresponding duties of provision.	***2) Practice:*** examine the adequacy of procedures and personnel to enforce regulations on health and safety; and the effectiveness of delivery of health and other care, including equality of access to services.	***3) Negative indicators:*** investigate statistics on death and injury in different circumstances; comparative life expectancy among different social groups; incidence of disease and disablement of different kinds.
Generalized sources		
Global sources		***Regional sources***
Amnesty International, Bibliography of documents and standards on health and human rights, <http://web.amnesty.org/pages/health-index-eng> Carter Center, <http://www.cartercenter.org> Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, *Country reports*, <http://www.cdc.org>		African Development Bank, *Gender, Poverty and Environmental Indicators on African Countries*, Vol. VII (Tunis: African Development Bank, Statistics Division, Development Research Department, 2006), <http://www.afdb.org> AfriMAP, database on the public services, <http://www.afrimap.org>

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Center for Public Health and Human Rights, Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health, <http://www.jhsph.edu/humanrights/index.html>

Center for Reproductive Rights, <http://www.reproductiverights.org/>

Comparative Research Programme on Poverty (CROP), <http://www.crop.org>

Countdown 2015. Sexual and Reproductive Health for All, International Conference on Population and Development (IPCD) at Ten, database of indicators on sexual and reproductive health, <http://www.countdown2015.org>

Country reports to the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, and Committee on the Rights of the Child, <http://www.ohchr.org>

Eldis Gateway to Development Information, database on the Millennium Development Goals, health, health systems, and HIV/AIDS, <http://www.eldis.org/>

Global Development Network, <http://www.gdnet.org/>

Hansen, S. A., *Thesaurus of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: Terminology and Potential Violations* (Washington, DC: American Association for the Advancement of Science, 2000)

Health and Human Rights: An International Journal, published by Francois-Xavier Bagnoud Center for Health and Human Rights, <http://www.hsph.harvard.edu/fxbcenter/journal.htm>

'HIV/AIDS and Human Rights', *Interights Bulletin*, 15/2 (2007), <http://www.interights.org>

IGCNET (incl. PeaceNet, EcoNet and Womens Net), <http://www.igc.org>

Australian Development Gateway, International and Asia–Pacific-specific resources on health (HIV/AIDS, alcohol, tobacco and drugs, disabilities, disease control, maternal and child health, mental health, nutrition, reproductive health, etc.), <http://www.developmentgateway.com.au>

Child Research Net (special focus Japan and Asia) plus CRN Navigator links to child-related sites, <http://www.childresearch.net/>

Daniels, N. et al., 'Benchmarks of Fairness for Health Care Reform: A Policy Tool for Developing Countries', *Bulletin of the World Health Organization*, 78/6 (2000), pp. 740–50

ECOWAS, social and economic indicators, <http://www.ecostat.org/>

Groupe d'Études et de Recherches sur la Démocratie et le Développement Economique et Social (Research Group on the Democratic, Economic and Social Development of Africa) (GERDDES), <http://www.gerddes.org/>

Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, <http://www.indigenista.org>

Open Society Mental Health Initiative, <http://www.osmhi.org/>

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Reports of the Special Rapporteur on Prisons and the Condition of Detention in Africa, African Commission on Human and People's Rights;
Reports of the Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Women in Africa, African Commission on Human and People's Rights;
Reports of the Working Group on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in Africa, African Commission on Human and People's Rights,
all at <http://www.achpr.org>

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Institute for Children and Poverty, <http://www.homesforthehomeless.com>

International Center for Research on Women, Research on HIV/AIDS, adolescent health, and reproductive health and population, <http://www.icrw.org/>

International Society for Health and Human Rights, <http://www.ishhr.org/>

International Society for the Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect, Cornell University, <http://child.cornell.edu/ispcan/ispcan.html>

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Overseas Development Institute, Research on HIV/AIDS, <http://www.odi.org.uk>

Physicians for Human Rights, <http://physiciansforhumanrights.org/>

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UNAIDS Epidemic updates and reports, <http://www.unaids.org/epidemic_update>;
Commission on Human Rights, <http://www.cidh.oas.org/women/Default.eng.htm>;
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UNDP, *HIV/AIDS and Development in South Asia 2003* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), <http://hdr.undp.org>

West African Health Organisation, database of health policies, indicators and documents, <http://www.waho.ecowas.int/>

WWW Virtual Library: Public Health is also part of the Asian Studies WWW Virtual Library, <http://www.ldb.org/vl/index.htm> and <http://coombs.anu.edu.au/WWWVL-AsianStudies.html>

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United Nations Statistics Division, <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/default.htm>;
UN Millennium Development Goals, <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/>

World Bank, *WDR 2007: Development and the Next Generation* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2006), tables 2, 3, A1–A8 on poverty, inequality, education and health, <http://www.worldbank.org>;
World Bank, World Development Sources, <http://www-wds.worldbank.org>;
World Bank Living Standards Measurement Study, <http://www.worldbank.org/lsms/>

World Health Organization (WHO), *World Health Statistics* (annual), <http://www.who.int>

Standards of good practice

International standards

UN, *ICESCR*, 1966, article 12;
Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others, 1951;
Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989, article 24, <http://www.unicef.org>;
Declaration of Commitment on HIV/AIDS, 2001;
Principles of Medical Ethics relevant to the Role of Health Personnel, particularly Physicians, in the Protection of Prisoners and Detainees against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment 1982;
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Action to Combat HIV/AIDS in View of its Devastating Human, Economic and Social Impact, Resolution unanimously adopted by

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Council of Europe, *Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings*, 2005;
European Convention on the Exercise of Children's Rights, 1996;
Revised European Social Charter, 1996 (full text, Protocols and Revisions, chart of signatories and ratifications), <http://conventions.coe.int/>;
European Charter of Rights of the Child 1992;
European Convention on Social and Medical Assistance, 1953

OAU, *African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child*, 1990, article 14;
African Union, *Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa*, 2003, article 14

OAS, *Additional Protocol to the American Convention on Human Rights in the Area of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*,

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UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, *General Recommendation No. 15. Women and AIDS*, 1990;
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OHCHR, *Human Rights and World Trade Agreements: Using General Exception Clauses to Protect Human Rights* (New York and Geneva: UN, 2005), <http://www.ohchr.org/english/issues/globalization/trade/index.htm>

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WHO, *Declaration of Alma-Ata*, adopted at the International Conference on Primary Health Care, Alma Ata, USSR, 1978

IPU, *Handbook for Parliamentarians Eliminating the Worst Forms of Child Labour: A Practical Guide to ILO Convention No. 182*, 2002;
Handbook for Legislators on HIV/AIDS, Law and Human Rights, 1999, <http://www.ipu.org>;
Strengthening Parliament as a Guardian of Human Rights: The Role of Parliamentary Human Rights Bodies, Seminar for Chairpersons and Members of Parliamentary

'Protocolof San Salvador', OAS Treaty Series No. 69, 1988, article 10;
OAS, *Declaration of Margarita*, CIDI, High-level Meeting on Poverty and Social Inclusion, 2003

SAARC, *Social Charter*, 2004, article 4

SADC, *Protocol on Health*, August 1999

NDI, *Parliamentary Human Rights Committees*, 2004, <http://www.accessdemocracy.org/library/1905_gov_parlhrscommittees_080105.pdf>

UK DFID Health Resource Centre, *Resource Guide on Drug Regulation in Developing Countries*, 2004, <http://www.dfidhealthrc.org/>

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Human Rights Bodies, 2004, <http://www.ipu.org/splz-e/hr04.htm>;
Parline Database: Specialized Parliamentary Bodies, 2005, <http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/Instanceadvanced.asp>

Disabled persons

UN General Assembly, *Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities*, 2006, articles 16 and 25;
Declaration on the Rights of Disabled Persons, 1975;
Declaration on the Rights of Mentally Retarded Persons, 1971;
Principles for the Protection of Persons with Mental Illness and the Improvement of Mental Health Care, December 1991;
Standard Rules on the Equalization of Opportunities for Persons with Disabilities, 1993

ILO Convention No. 159. Vocational Rehabilitation and Employment (Disabled Persons) Convention, 1983

OAS, *Inter-American Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Persons with Disabilities*, 1999

UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, *General Comment No. 5: Persons with Disabilities*, E/C.12/1994/13, 1994

UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, *General Recommendation No. 18. Disabled Women*, 1991

UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, *General Comment No. 9. The Rights of Children with Disabilities*, 2006

Older persons

UN General Assembly, *Implementation of the International Plan of Action on Ageing and Related Activities*, A/RES/46/91, 1991;
Proclamation on Ageing, A/RES/47/5, adopted in 1992 on the tenth anniversary of the adoption of the International Plan of Action on Ageing;
United Nations Principles for Older Persons, 1991

ILO Convention No. 102. Social Security (Minimum Standards), 1955;
ILO Convention No. 128. Invalidity, Old-Age and Survivors' Benefits Convention, 1969;
ILO Convention No. 162. Recommendation concerning Older Workers, 1980

United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, *General Comment No. 6. The Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights of Older Persons*, E/C.12/1995/16/Rev.1, 1995

World Assembly on Ageing at Vienna, *International Plan of Action on Ageing*, 1982, endorsed by the UN General Assembly 1982

Assessment question	1.4.4. How extensive and inclusive is the right to education, including education in the rights and responsibilities of citizenship?

What to look for

1) Laws: examine legal entitlements to schooling, including age limits, standards, etc., and the corresponding duties of provision; also any requirements to provide civic education.	*2) Practice:* examine the extent to which procedures, public resources and trained personnel are sufficient to deliver education rights for all without discrimination or exclusion on grounds of gender or other status.	*3) Negative indicators:* investigate illiteracy rates; systematic inequalities in participation rates or educational experience between different social groups; typical cost of schooling compared with average earnings.

Generalized sources

Data sources as in 1.4.2 and 2.1.2. Further website resources:

Global sources

Civic Education, <http://www.civiced.org/>

CIVITAS: Civnet – International Resource for Civic Education and Civil Society, <http://civitas.org.uk>

Commonwealth of Learning, <http://www.col.org/>

Country reports to the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, and Committee on the Rights of the Child, <http://www.ohchr.org>

Education International, <http://www.ei-ie.org>

Eldis Gateway to Development Information, database on education and the Millennium Development Goals, <http://www.eldis.org/>

'Empowering the Next Generation: Securing the Right to Education', *Interights Bulletin*, 15/4 (2007), <http://www.interights.org>

Global Campaign for Education, <http://www.campaignforeducation.org/>

Human Rights Education Associates (HREA), <http://www.hrea.org/>

International Literacy Institute, <http://www.literacyonline.org/ili.htm>

Regional sources

Africa Education, <http://www.AfricaEducation.org>

African Development Bank, *Gender, Poverty and Environmental Indicators on African Countries*, Vol. VII, Statistics Division, Development Research Department, African Development Bank, 2006, <http://www.afdb.org>

AfriMAP, database on the public services, <http://www.afrimap.org>

British Library for Development Studies (BLDS) Bibliographic Database, searchable web version of the BLDS depository library of the UN, South Pacific Commission and GATT, <http://blds.ids.ac.uk/blds/>

Distance Education Database, <http://www-icdl.open.ac.uk>

ECOWAS, social and economic indicators, <http://www.ecostat.org/>

EUMAP, programme on access to education for Roma, <http://www.eumap.org/>

IIDH, *Manual de educación en derechos humanos*, 1999, <http://www.iidh.ed.cr>

Pacific Resources for Education and Learning, <http://www.prel.org>

Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, <http://www.indigenista.org>

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Open Learning Foundation, <http://www.olf.ac.uk/>

Reports of the Special Rapporteur on the Right to Education, <http://www.ohchr.org>

Right to Education Project, documents and web resources on the right to education, <http://www.right-to-education.org/>

UNESCO, <http://www.unesco.org>; UNESCO education databank at the International Bureau of Education, with country profiles, <http://www.ibe.unesco.org/countries/countrydossiers.htm>; official sources by country, <http://www.ibe.unesco.org/countries/WDE/WorldDataE.htm>; issues of innovation and civic education details, <http://databases.unesco.org/IBE/IBEDOCS/>

UN Millennium Development Goals, <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/>

Reports of the UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Education, <http://www.ohchr.org>

University of Minnesota Human Rights Library, <http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/index.html>

World Bank, documents on education, <http://www.worldbank.org>

Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, *Reports* of the Special Rapporteurship on the Rights of Women, <http://www.cidh.oas.org/women/Default.eng.htm>;
The Human Rights Situation of the Indigenous People in the Americas, 2000, <http://www.cidh.oas.org/Indigenas/TOC.htm>

UK Qualifications and Curriculum Authority, *Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools*, Final Report of the Advisory Group on Citizenship, 22 September 1998, <http://www.qca.org.uk>

US National Association for Bilingual Education (NABE), <http://www.nabe.org>

US National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, <http://www.ncbe.gwu.edu/>

Working Group on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in Africa, African Commission on Human and People's Rights, *Reports*, <http://www.achpr.org>

Standards of good practice

International standards

UN General Assembly, *ICESCR*, 1966, article 13;
Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989, articles 28 and 29;
Declaration on Social and Legal Principles Relating to the Protection and Welfare of Children, with Special Reference to Foster Placement and Adoption Nationally and Internationally, 1986;
Declaration on the Promotion Among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding Between Peoples, 1965;
United Nations Rules for the Protection of Juveniles Deprived of their Liberty, December 1990;
Resolution on Education for All, 1997

UNESCO, *Convention against Discrimination in Education*, May 1962;

Regional standards

African Platform for Action, 1994, adopted by the Fifth Regional Conference on Women, Dakar, Senegal, November 1994

African Union, *Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa*, 2004

Council of Europe, *European Convention on the Exercise of Children's Rights*, 1996

ECOWAS, *Protocol A/SP1/12/01 on Democracy and Good Governance Supplementary to the Protocol relating to the Mechanism For Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security*, 2001, articles 29–30

OAS, *Additional Protocol to the American Convention on Human Rights in the Area*

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Protocol Instituting a Conciliation and Good Offices Commission to be Responsible for Seeking a Settlement of Any Disputes which May Arise Between States Parties to the Convention against Discrimination in Education, October 1968;

Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education Relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, November 1974;

ILO Convention No. 90. Night Work of Young Persons (Industry) Convention (Rev.), 1948;

ILO Convention No. 140. Paid Educational Leave Convention, 1974;

Minimum Age Convention, 1973;

Workers with Family Responsibilities Convention, 1981;

Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 2000

UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, *General Comment No. 11. Plans of Action for Primary Education*, 1999;

General Comment No. 13. The Right to Education (Art. 13), 1999

World Declaration on Education for All, adopted at the World Conference on Education for All, Jomtein, Thailand, 1990

UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, *General Recommendation No. 3. Education and Public Information Programmes*, 1987

UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, *General Comment No. 1. The Aims of Education*, 2001

UN Millennium Development Goals, Goals 2 and 3, <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/>

Good Governance Practices that Promote Human Rights, Seminar organized by UNDP and OHCHR, Seoul, 15–16 September 2004, Panel 2 on Strengthening the Delivery of Services Contributing to the Realization of Human Rights, <http://www.ohchr.org/english/issues/development/governance/compilation/forside_02.html>

of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 'Protocol of San Salvador', OAS Treaty Series No. 69, 1988, article 13;

OAS, *Declaration of Margarita*, CIDI, High-level Meeting on Poverty and Social Inclusion, 2003

OAU, *African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights*, 1981, on education in human rights, article 25;

African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, 1990, article 11

African Union, *Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa*, 2003, article 12

SAARC, *Social Charter*, 2004, article 5

SADC, *Protocol on Education and Training*, September 1997

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IPU and UNDAW, *Handbook for Parliamentarians: The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and its Optional Protocol*, 2003, <http://www.ipu.org>	

Assessment question	1.4.5. How free are trade unions and other work-related associations to organize and represent their members' interests?	
What to look for		
1) Laws: examine legal protection for trade unions, their independence from employers and government, and their right to organize, bargain collectively and represent members' interests.	*2) Practice:* examine how effectively legal rights are protected in practice; the levels of trade union recognition and membership; the extent of their consultative role at work and more widely.	*3) Negative indicators:* investigate data on refusals of union recognition, harassment of trade union officials and members, blacklisting, etc.

Generalized sources

Canadian International Labour Network (with international links), <http://labour.ciln.mcmaster.ca>

Center for Institutional Reform and the Informal Sector (IRIS), University of Maryland, <http://www.iris.umd.edu/>

Country reports to the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, Committee on Migrant Workers, and Committee on the Rights of the Child, <http://www.ohchr.org>

Employment Market Analysis and Research (EMAR), <http://www.dti.gov.uk/employment/research-evaluation/index.html>

ENTERWeb: Enterprise Development Website, <http://www.enterweb.org/>

Global Business Dialogue on Electronic Commerce, <http://www.gbde.org/>

Human Rights for Workers (special emphasis on China, Vietnam and other Asian countries), <http://www.senser.com/index.htm>

IGCNET (incl. Womens Net), <http://www.igc.org>

ILO, *Yearbook of Labour Statistics* (annual)

International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, <http://www.icftu.org>;
International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, *Free Labour World*, Brussels (serial)

LabourNet, <http://www.labournet.net/>

Political Resources.net, Labour and trade union organizations links to web pages from <http://www.politicalresources.net>

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Reports of the Special Rapporteurship on Migrant Workers and their Families, Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, <http://www.cidh.oas.org/Migrantes/defaultmigrants.htm>
Reports of the UN Special Rapporteur on the Human Rights of Migrants, <http://www.ohchr.org>
Reports of the Working Group on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in Africa, African Commission on Human and People's Rights, <http://www.achpr.org>
UNIFEM, <http://www.unifem.org/>
US Central Intelligence Agency, *World Factbook* (annual)
Standards of good practice
As 1.4.4 above, and principally ***International standards*** UN *ICESCR*, 1966, article 8; *Convention on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and Members of their Families*, 1990 *ILO Convention No. 29. Forced Labour*, 1930; *ILO Convention No. 87. Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise*, 1948; *ILO Convention No. 98. Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining*, 1949; *ILO Convention No 105. Abolition of Forced Labour*, 1957; *ILO Convention No 122. Employment Policy Convention*, 1964; *ILO Convention No. 135. Convention concerning Protection and Facilities to be Afforded to Workers' Representatives in the Undertaking*, 1973; *ILO Convention concerning Migrations in Abusive Conditions and the Promotion of Equality of Opportunity and Treatment of Migrant Workers*, June 1975; *ILO Convention No. 141. Rural Workers' Organisations*, 1975; *ILO Convention No. 151. Convention concerning Protection of the Right to Organize and Procedures for Determining Conditions of Employment in the Public Service*, 1981; *ILO Convention No. 154. Convention concerning the Promotion of Collective Bargaining*, 1983 ***Regional standards*** Council of Europe, *Revised European Social Charter*, 1996, article 6, Trade Union Rights; *European Convention on Human Rights*, 1950, article 4, prohibition of forced or compulsory labour; *European Convention on the Legal Status of Migrant Workers*, 1977

Assessment question	**1.4.6. How rigorous and transparent are the rules on corporate governance, and how effectively are corporations regulated in the public interest?**	
What to look for		
1) Laws: examine laws regulating corporate governance and financing, including the public disclosure	*2) Practice:* examine the effectiveness of procedures for corporate regulation, including the sufficiency and competence	*3) Negative indicators:* investigate the incidence of significant failures or biases in the government regulation of

of corporate accounts; laws on protection of health and safety at work; laws on consumer and environmental protection.	of monitoring personnel; the existence and effectiveness of independent watchdog bodies; procedures for redress.	business and finance; incidence of mishaps, injuries etc. due to corporate negligence; prosecutions under the relevant legislation.

Generalized sources

Australian APEC Study Centre, Monash University, resources on regulation of finance, <http://www.apec.org.au/>

Business and Human Rights Resource Centre, <http://www.business-humanrights.org>

Blagescu, M. and Lloyd, R., *2006 Global Accountability Report: Holding Power to Account* (London: One World Trust, 2006), <http://www.oneworldtrust.org>

Corporate Governance, extensive links on all aspects of corporate governance, <http://www.corpgov.net/links/links.html>

Corporate Governance, World Bank, <http://rru.worldbank.org/Themes/CorporateGovernance/>

Corporate Information, <http://www.corporateinformation.com/>

Corporate Watch UK, <http://www.corporatewatch.org>; and Corporate Watch (US), tracking the practices of specific companies, <http://www.corpwatch.org/>

Critical Perspectives on Accounting (Journal), <http://www.elsevier.com>

Directorate for Financial and Enterprise Affairs (DAF) unit in the OECD which, among other things, is responsible for corporate governance initiatives, <http://www.oecd.org/daf/>

Economic Research Forum, database of data sources in Middle East and North African countries, <http://www.erf.org.eg/index.html>

Edgar Database of Corporate Information, Securities and Exchange Commission reports for US corporations, <http://www.sec.gov/edgar.shtml>

Eldis Gateway to Development Information, database on corporate social responsibility, <http://www.eldis.org/>

Encyclopedia about Corporate Governance, <http://www.encycogov.com/>

European Corporate Governance Institute, <http://www.ecgi.org/>

Findlaw, a specialized search engine for resources on legislation in any country, <http://www.findlaw.com>

Global Reporting Initiative, <http://www.globalreporting.org>

Global Witness, on the links between natural resources, conflict and corruption, <http://www.globalwitness.org/>

Reports of the Independent Expert on the effects of economic reform policies and foreign debt on the full enjoyment of human rights, particularly economic, social and cultural rights, <http://www.ohchr.org>

Journal of Corporate Finance, <http://www.elsevier.com>

Mediterranean Development Forum, thematic programme on strengthening responsible corporate citizenship in the businesses of the region, <http://info.worldbank.org/etools/mdfdb/index.asp>

Multinational Monitor, <http://www.multinationalmonitor.org>

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Multinational Resource Centre, <http://resourcesfirst.org>

Political Institutions and Global Environmental Change, Consortium for International Earth Science Information Network (CIESIN), <http://www.ciesin.org/TG/PI/PI-home.html>

Publish What You Pay coalition, <http://www.publishwhatyoupay.org>

Revenue Watch Institute, <http://www.revenuewatch.org/>

Rights and Accountability in Development (RAID, Africa), <http://www.raid-uk.org/>

Reports of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Human Rights and Transnational Corporations and Other Business Enterprises, <http://www.ohchr.org>

SADC, Programme on Trade, Industry, Finance and Investment, <http://www.sadc.int/english/tifi/index.php>

Stanford Center for Economic Policy Research at Stanford University, corporate governance papers, <http://www-cepr.stanford.edu/>

Third World Network, <http://www.twnside.org.sg>

'Trade and Human Rights', *Interights Bulletin*, 13/4 (2005), <http://www.interights.org>

United Nations Centre on Transnational Corporations, <http://unctc.unctad.org>;
United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), <http://www.unctad.org>

UN Global Compact, <http://www.unglobalcompact.org/>

United Nations Online Network in Public Administration and Finance (UNPAN), international, regional and country-specific documents and databases on public social and economic policies, ethics, transparency and accountability, and public finance and public resources, <http://www.unpan.org>

West African Monetary Institute, <http://www.wami-imao.org/>

World Bank, research programme on finance and private-sector research, and database on banking, finance and investment, <http://www.worldbank.org>

World Movement for Democracy, documents and database of organizations working on corporate governance, <http://www.wmd.org/>

World Resources Institute, concerned with environmental sustainability (and related policies in corporate governance), <http://www.wri.org/>

Standards of good practice

General standards	*On macro policy and data transparency*
United Nations Centre for Transnational Corporations, investment guidelines	IMF, *Code of Good Practices in Fiscal Transparency*, 2001 (updated); *Code of Good Practices on Transparency in Monetary and Financial Policies*, 1999; *Special Data Dissemination Standard/ General Data Dissemination Standard*, <http://dsbb.imf.org/Applications/web/sddshome/>
UN Global Compact, *A Guide for Integrating Human Rights into Business Management*, OHCHR and Business Leaders Initiative on Human Rights (BLIHR), 2006, <http://www.unglobalcompact.org/>	

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United Nations Sub-Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights, *Norms on the Responsibilities of Transnational Corporations and Other Business Enterprises with Regard to Human Rights*, Resolution 2003/16, UN document E/CN.4/Sub.2/2003/L.11 at 52, 2003

New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), *Declaration on Democracy, Political, Economic and Corporate Governance*, 2005

OECD, *Convention on Combating Bribery of Foreign Public Officials in International Business Transactions*, 1997; *Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises*, 2000; *OECD Principles On Corporate Governance*, 2004

Commonwealth Association for Corporate Governance (CACG), *CACG Guidelines: Principles for Corporate Governance in the Commonwealth: Towards Global Competitiveness and Economic Accountability*, 1999

Independent Commission against Corruption (ICAC), Hong Kong, *Corporate Code of Conduct*, 1996

Standards from the Financial Stability Forum, <http://www.fsforum.org>, contained in the *Compendium of Standards* (over 65 in total)

OHCHR, *Human Rights and World Trade Agreements: Using General Exception Clauses to Protect Human Rights* (New York and Geneva: UN, 2005), <http://www.ohchr.org/english/issues/globalization/trade/index.htm>

World Bank, Collection of Principles of Best Practice on Corporate Governance, <http://rru.worldbank.org/PapersLinks/Codes-Best-Practice/>

South Africa Commission for Gender Equality, *Best Practice Guidelines for Creating a Culture of Gender Equality in the Private Sector*, 1998, <http://www.eldis.org>

Transparency Charter for International Financial Institutions, 2006, <http://www.article19.org>

UNCTAD, *Guidance on Good Practices in Corporate Governance Disclosure*, 2006, <http://www.eldis.org>

On institutional and market infrastructure

World Bank, *Guidelines on Insolvency Regimes*, April 2001

Committee on Payment and Settlement Systems (CPSS), *Core Principles for Systematically Important Payment Systems*, December 1999

Financial Action Task Force (FATF), *The Forty Recommendations of the Financial Action Task Force*, 2003 (updated) (on market integrity), <http://www.fatf-gafi.org>

International Accounting Standards Committee (IASC), *International Accounting Standards (IAS)* (periodical)

International Federation of Accountants (IFAC), *International Standards on Auditing (ISA)* (periodical)

2. Representative and accountable government

2.1. Free and fair elections

Overarching question: Do elections give the people control over governments and their policies?

Assessment question	2.1.1. How far is appointment to governmental and legislative office determined by popular competitive election, and how frequently do elections lead to change in the governing parties or personnel?	
What to look for		
1) Laws: examine legislation governing appointment to executive and legislative office, and the frequency and timing of elections.	*2) Practice:* examine the impartiality of the procedures for implementing the legislation.	*3) Negative indicators:* investigate data on key political offices not subject to electoral authorization or accountability and on party turnover in office; extent to which a party retains control of government and its patronage (a) across the territory, (b) over time.

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Governance and Social Development Resource Centre, UK DFID, database on elections, <http://www.gsdrc.org>

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Africa Action, <http://www.africaaction.org>

Association of African Election Authorities, <http://www.ifes.org/afrassoc/index.htm>

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Center for Latin American Studies, Georgetown University, Political Database of the Americas, <http://pdba.georgetown.edu/>

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Midgett, D., *Eastern Caribbean Elections 1950–1982*, Development Series No. 13 (Iowa City: Centre for Development Studies, Institute of Urban and Regional Research, University of Iowa, 1983)

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International Elections Guide, <http://www.electionguide.org/>

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Electoral System Design: The New International IDEA Handbook (Stockholm: International IDEA, 2005), and corresponding database of electoral systems design, <http://www.idea.int/esd/index.cfm>;
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Voter Turnout from 1945 to 1997: A Global Report on Political Participation (Varberg, 1997)

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Political Database of the Americas, <http://pdba.georgetown.edu>

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ICCPR, 1966, article 25

Declaration of Principles for International Election Observation, 7 July 2005

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Assessment question	**2.1.2. How inclusive and accessible for all citizens are the registration and voting procedures, how independent are they of government and party control, and how free from intimidation and abuse?**	
What to look for		
1) Laws: examine legislation on electoral registration and voting procedures for inclusiveness; non-discrimination on grounds of gender, race, ethnicity, etc.; ease of access, security and independence of supervision.	*2) Practice*: examine the adequacy of procedures, resources and personnel to ensure that the right to vote is secured for all in practice; the degree of separation of electoral supervision from the governing party or parties.	*3) Negative indicators:* investigate data on voter exclusions, the ratio of registered to eligible voters, intimidation of voters or candidates, and vote buying; malpractice in registration, voting or ballot counting; evidence of bias in the operation or personnel of the electoral commission.
Generalized sources		
Requires in-country sources. ***Some general resources*** Alianza Civica, <http://www.alianzacivica.org.mx/>		***Some civic education resources*** APSANET: Teaching Political Science, <http://www.apsanet.org/section_168.cfm>

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World Movement for Democracy, documents and database of organizations working on increasing women's participation in politics, <http://www.wmd.org/>

Civic Education, <http://www.civiced.org/>

CIVITAS: Civnet – International Resource for Civic Education and Civil Society, <http://civitas.org.uk>

ELDIS Gateway to Development Information, sources on participation, <http://www.eldis.org/participation/index.htm>

ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education, <http://www.eric.ed.gov/ERICWebPortal/Home.portal>

International Bureau of Education (UNESCO), <http://www.ibe.unesco.org/>; including databanks with country profiles, issues of innovation and civic education, details at <http://databases.unesco.org/IBE/IBEDOCS/>; and official sources by country from <http://www.ibe.unesco.org/countries/WDE/WorldDataE.htm>

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Commissioner of Canada Elections, *Investigators' Manual*, 2004

Ghanaian Electoral Commission, *Voter Registration Official's Manual*, 1995

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Assessment question	**2.1.3. How fair are the procedures for the registration of candidates and parties, and how far is there fair access for them to the media and other means of communication with the voters?**	
What to look for		
1) Laws: examine legal regulations governing the registration of candidates (especially women and minorities) and parties, and their freedom to campaign and to communicate with the electors; rules governing election expenditure by candidates and parties; rules governing media reporting of elections.	***2) Practice:*** examine the even-handedness in practice of access for candidates and parties to the means of communication with voters; the balance in media coverage of elections; the independence of the public media from government or governing party control; access by independent candidates to the electorate.	***3) Negative indicators:*** investigate data on exclusions from registration, official and informal obstructions on campaigning, and inequalities in access to campaign finance, to the media, to other means of communication with the voters.
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NDI, *NDI Handbook: How Domestic Organizations Monitor Elections. An A to Z Guide* (Washington, DC: NDI, 1995)

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Assessment question	2.1.4. How effective a range of choice does the electoral and party system allow the voters, how equally do their votes count, and how closely do the composition of the legislature and the selection of the executive reflect the choices they make?

What to look for

1) Laws: examine legislation on the form of electoral system, constituency boundaries, etc.	*2) Practice:* examine how the electoral system works in practice to affect voter choice, equality between voters, voter turnout and the political composition of the legislature and executive.	*3) Negative indicators:* investigate data on deviation from proportionality, arbitrary relation between votes and seats won, and limited range of parties represented in the legislature.

Generalized sources

Global sources

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UNDAW, <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/index.html>

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African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, *Constitutional Rights Project and Civil Liberties Organisation v. Nigeria*, Comm. No. 102/93, 1998, para. 50 on the respect to be accorded to the results of free and fair elections to render the right to vote meaningful

Assessment question	2.1.5. How far does the legislature reflect the social composition of the electorate?	
What to look for		
1) Laws: examine any legislation seeking to remedy the under-representation of women, minorities or marginalized social groups in the legislature.	*2) Practice:* examine the adequacy of legal and other measures (by legislators, parties, selectorates) to remedy the under-representation of social groups in the legislature, including hours and conditions of work in the legislature itself.	*3) Negative indicators:* investigate data on the social composition of the legislature, including variation between parties, and changes over time.

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Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers. A Revised Edition (Stockholm: International IDEA, 2005);
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IPU online database of all national parliaments and proportion of women members, <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm>;

Pressure groups

Center for Women's Global Leadership, <http://www.cwgl.rutgers.edu/>

Organizations promoting women's political participation in parliaments (addresses available at <http://www.idea.int/gender/>):
Association of West European Parliamentarians for Africa (AWEPA);
Center for Asia–Pacific Women in Politics (CAPWIP);
Gender and Youth Affairs Division Commonwealth Secretariat;
IPU;
Organization of Women Parliamentarians from Muslim Countries;
Parliamentarians for Global Action (PGA);
South Asian Network for Political Empowerment of Women (SANPEW)

International IDEA links page to women's websites, <http://www.idea.int/gender/ inc>:
Feminist Majority Foundation Online <http://www.feminist.org/>;
Global Fund for Women, <http://www.globalfundforwomen.org/cms/>;
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UN Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women (OSAGI), Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *Women in Elections: Guide to Promoting the Participation of Women in Elections* (New York: UN, 2005), <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/>

and National Minorities, 2000, <http://www.venice.coe.int/docs/2000/CDL-INF(2000)004-e.asp>

Foundation on Inter-Ethnic Relations, *The Lund Recommendations on the Effective Participation of National Minorities in Public Life and Explanatory Note*, 1999, <http://www.osce.org/documents/hcnm/1999/09/2698_en.pdf>

OSCE, ODIHR, 'Guidelines to Assist National Minority Participation in the Electoral Process', 2001, <http://www.osce.org/item/13589.html?ch=129>

The Commonwealth, *Gender-sensitizing Commonwealth Parliaments*, 2001, <http://www.cpahq.org/uploadstore/docs/gendersensitizingcwparliaments.pdf>

Assessment question	2.1.6. What proportion of the electorate votes, and how far are the election results accepted by all political forces in the country and outside?

What to look for

Indicators: investigate data on voter turnout over time, especially turnout of women and minorities; on effect of compulsory voting legislation if enforced; on rejections of the electoral process or its results by significant political forces; and on electoral and post-electoral violence.

Generalized sources

International IDEA, *Voter Turnout since 1945: A Global Report* (Stockholm: International IDEA, 2002); Voter Turnout website, <http://www.idea.int/vt/index.cfm>

LeDuc, L., Niemi, R. G. and Norris, P. (eds), *Comparing Democracies: Elections and Voting in Global Perspective* (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage, 1996)

Reynolds, A., *Electoral Systems and Democratization in Southern Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999)

Thompson, G. and Conley, S., 'Guide to Public Opinion Poll Websites: Polling Data from Around the World', *College & Research Libraries News*, 67/9 (October 2006), <http://www.ala.org>

In terms of pre- and post-electoral violence, see sources in 1.1.3, 1.1.4 and 1.3.1.

Standards of good practice

International standards

Goodwin-Gill, G. S., *Codes of Conduct for Elections* (Geneva: IPU, 1998);
Goodwin-Gill, G. S., *Free and Fair Elections*, new expanded edn (Geneva: IPU, 2006) [model code covering all aspects of the election process], pp. 160–6

International IDEA, *Code of Conduct for the Ethical and Professional Administration of Elections*, 1997;
Code of Conduct for the Ethical and Professional Observation of Elections, 1997;
Electoral Management Design: The International IDEA Handbook (Stockholm: International IDEA, 2006);
Electoral System Design: The New International IDEA Handbook (Stockholm: International IDEA, 2005)

Regional standards

European Commission for Democracy through Law (Venice Commission), *Code of Good Practice in Electoral Matters: Guidelines and Explanatory Report*, adopted by the Venice Commission at its 51st and 52nd sessions, 2002

2.2. The democratic role of political parties

Overarching question: Does the party system assist the working of democracy?

Assessment question	2.2.1. How freely are parties able to form and recruit members, engage with the public and campaign for office?	
What to look for		
1) Laws: examine legal requirements for forming and registering political parties, and any restrictions on their activity and organization.	*2) Positive indicators:* investigate data on the number of political parties, their geographical distribution, membership (including membership from non-traditional groups like women, minorities, youth, etc.), and organization.	*3) Negative indicators:* investigate obstacles to party formation and activity, and evidence of harassment of party members and officials. *See also 2.1.3 above.*
Generalized sources		
A qualitative issue for in-country teams. The following may be of help:		
Berglund, S. and Dellenbrant, J. A. (eds), *The New Democracies in Eastern Europe: Party Systems and Political Cleavages* (Aldershot: Elgar, 1994)		
Budge, I. and Keman, H., *Parties and Democracy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993)		
Center for Latin American Studies, Georgetown University, Political Database of the Americas, <http://pdba.georgetown.edu/>		
Governance and Social Development Resource Centre, UK DFID, database on political parties, <http://www.gsdrc.org>		
Heard, A., 'Political Parties around the World', <http://polisci.nelson.com/introparty.html>		
International IDEA Conference, Towards Sustainable Development in Southern Africa, Botswana, 8–10 May 2000; International IDEA, Database on National Legislation and Regulation of Political Parties, <http://www.political-parties.org>; Database of Political Party Reports, <http://www.idea.int/parties/country_reports.cfm>; Database on Political Finance Laws and Regulations, <http://www.idea.int/parties/finance/introduction.cfm>; *Legal Regulation of Political Parties in Latin America* (in Spanish), IDEA and Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2006; for more on International IDEA's databases and documents on political parties see <http://www.idea.int/parties/index.cfm>		
INTUTE: Social sciences database, information on political parties by country, databases and reports, <http://www.intute.ac.uk/socialsciences/>		
Janda, K., Database of Party Laws, <http://www.ndi.org>		
Longman's Current Affairs Series (political parties):		

(cont.)

Coggins, J. and Lewis, D. S., *Political Parties of the Americas and the Caribbean* (Harlow and Detroit, Mich.: 1992);
East, R. and Joseph, T., *Political Parties of Africa and the Middle East* (Harlow and Detroit, Mich.: 1993);
Lewis, D. S. and Sagar, D. J., *Political Parties of Asia and the Pacific* (Harlow and Detroit, Mich.: 1992);
Szajkowski, B., *New Political Parties of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union* (Harlow and Detroit, Mich.: 1991)

NDI, Program on Women and Political Parties Assistance and Program on Political Party Development, <http://www.ndi.org>

Political Resources.net, number of parties names and links to home pages, <http://www.politicalresources.net>

Reilly, B. and Nordlund, P., *Political Parties in Conflict-prone Societies: Regulation, Engineering and Democratic Development* (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2008)

Statesman's Yearbook 1996/97

Webb, P., Farrell, D. and Holliday, I. (eds), *Political Parties in Advanced Industrial Democracies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002)

Win With Women Global Initiative, <http://winwithwomen.ndi.org/>

Standards of good practice

International standards

Austin, R. and Tjernström, M. (eds), *Funding of Political Parties and Election Campaigns*, Handbook series (Stockholm: International IDEA, 2003), <http://www.idea.int/publications/funding_parties/upload/full.pdf>

Breth, E. and Quibell, J. (eds), *Best Practices of Effective Parties: Three Training Modules for Political Parties* (Washington, DC: NDI, 2003)

Goodwin-Gill, G. S., *Codes of Conduct for Elections* (Geneva: IPU, 1998);
Goodwin-Gill, G. S., *Free and Fair Elections*, new expanded edn (Geneva: IPU, 2006) [model code covering all aspects of the election process], pp. 160–6

International IDEA, *Code of Conduct: Political Parties Campaigning in Democratic Elections* (Stockholm: International IDEA, 1999);
International Electoral Standards: Guidelines for Reviewing the Legal Framework of Elections (Stockholm: International IDEA, 2002)

Norris, P., 'Building Political Parties: Reforming Legal Regulations and Internal Rules',

Regional standards

African Union, *Charter on Democracy, Elections and Good Governance*, 2007

European Commission for Democracy through Law (Venice Commission), *Code of Good Practice in Electoral Matters: Guidelines and Explanatory Report*, adopted by the Venice Commission at its 51st and 52nd Sessions, 2002

The Commonwealth, *Commonwealth (Latimer House) Principles on the Three Branches of Government*, 2002, <http://www.cpahq.org/CommonwealthPrinciplesonThree Arms ofGovernment_pdf_media_public.aspx>

Country standards

Australian Election Commission, *Funding and Disclosure Handbook for Political Parties*, Commonwealth of Australia, 2004

(cont.)	
Report commissioned by International IDEA, 2004 The Hague Conference on Political Parties, 24–25 April 2001, <http://archive.idea.int/> Win With Women Global Initiative, *Strengthen Political Parties Global Action Plan*, NDI, 2003	

Assessment question	2.2.2. How effective is the party system in forming and sustaining governments in office?
What to look for	
1) Positive indicators: examine evidence from the recent past of the capacity of governments to construct stable coalitions of party support.	*2) Negative indicators:* examine evidence of frequent changes of government between elections, short terms in office, or minor parties switching support without public justification.
Generalized sources	
Databases as above and additionally *International Directory of Government*, *1995* (London: Europa Publications, 1995) *Statesman's Yearbook 1996/97*	
Standards of good practice	

Assessment question	2.2.3. How far are parties effective membership organizations, and how far are members able to influence party policy and candidate selection?	
What to look for		
1) Laws: examine internal party rules on membership rights and responsibilities.	*2) Positive indicators:* examine evidence of membership activity within parties: numbers, part played in selecting candidates and leaders, in campaigning, and in policy revision.	*3) Negative indicators:* absence of the data in Parts 1 and 2
Generalized sources		
Democracy Projects Database at the Westminster Foundation for Democracy, and the Internet Tools Resources links page, <http://www.ned.org/dbtw-wpd/textbase/projects-search.htm>		

(cont.)
IKNOW Politics, <http://www.iknowpolitics.org/>
Longman's Current Affairs Series (political parties): Coggins, J. and Lewis, D. S., *Political Parties of the Americas and the Caribbean* (Harlow and Detroit, Mich.: 1992); East, R. and Joseph, T., *Political Parties of Africa and the Middle East* (Harlow and Detroit, Mich.: 1993); Lewis, D. S. and Sagar, D. J., *Political Parties of Asia and the Pacific* (Harlow and Detroit, Mich.: 1992); Szajkowski, B., *New Political Parties of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union* (Harlow and Detroit, Mich.: 1991)
Heard, A., 'Political Parties Around the World', <http://polisci.nelson.com/introparty.html>
National Endowment for Democracy: information concerning political parties can be found at <http://www.ned.org/research/demresources/orgs-political.html>
Political Resources.net, listing of parties on the web, <http://www.politicalresources.net/>
Standards of good practice
Breth, E. and Quibell, J. (eds), *Best Practices of Effective Parties: Three Training Modules for Political Parties* (Washington, DC: NDI, 2003)
Norris, P., 'Building Political Parties: Reforming Legal Regulations and Internal Rules', Report commissioned by International IDEA, 2004
Scarrow, S., *Political Parties and Democracy in Theoretical and Practical Perspectives: Implementing Intra-Party Democracy* (Washington, DC: NDI, 2005), <http://www.accessdemocracy.org/library/1951_polpart_scarrow_110105.pdf>

Assessment question	**2.2.4. How far does the system of party financing prevent the subordination of parties to special interests?**	
What to look for		
1) Laws: examine legislation on party funding, including openness to public inspection.	***2) Practice:*** examine the extent to which the arrangements work in practice to prevent the subordination of parties to special interests.	***3) Negative indicators:*** investigate evidence of party or government bias in policy, legislation or patronage towards party funders.
Generalized sources		
Ashlagbor, S., 'Party Finance Reform in Africa: Lessons Learned from Four Countries: Ghana, Kenya, Senegal and South Africa', NDI, 2006, <http://www.ndi.org>		
Austin, R. and Tjernström, M. (eds), *Funding of Parties and Election Campaigns*, Handbook series (Stockholm: International IDEA, 2003), <http://www.idea.int/publications/funding_parties/upload/full.pdf>		

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Bryan, S. and Baer, D. (eds), *Money in Politics: A Study of Party Financing Practices in 22 Countries* (Washington, DC: NDI, 2005), <http://www.accessdemocracy.org/library/1848_polpart_moneyinpolitics_010105_full_text.pdf>

Center for Latin American Studies, Georgetown University, Political Database of the Americas, <http://pdba.georgetown.edu/>

Governance and Social Development Resource Centre, UK DFID, database on political finance, <http://www.gsdrc.org>

International Directory of Government (London: Europa Publications, 1995)

International IDEA conference research papers, <http://www.idea.int/idea_work/22_s_africa/index.htm>;
Database on Political Finance Laws and Regulations, <http://www.idea.int/parties/finance/introduction.cfm>

Janda, K., Database of Party Laws, <http://www.ndi.org>

Johnston, M., *Political Parties and Democracy in Theoretical and Practical Perspectives: Political Finance Policy, Parties, and Democratic Development*, NDI, 2005, <http://www.accessdemocracy.org/library/1949_polpart_johnston_110105.pdf>

Katz, R. and Mair, P., 'Changing Models of Party Organisation and Party Democracy: The Emergence of the Cartel Party', *Party Politics*, 1 (1995)

Moneyandpolitics.net, <http://www.moneyandpolitics.net/>

United Nations Online Network in Public Administration and Finance (UNPAN), international, regional and country-specific documents and databases on public finance and public resources, <http://www.unpan.org>

World Movement for Democracy, documents and database of organizations working on political finance, <http://www.wmd.org/>

See 2.6.3.

Standards of good practice

See 2.6.3.

International standards

Austin, R. and Tjernström, M. (eds), *Funding of Parties and Election Campaigns*, Handbook series (Stockholm: International IDEA, 2003), <http://www.idea.int/publications/funding_parties/upload/full.pdf>

Breth, E. and Quibell, J. (eds), *Best Practices of Effective Parties: Three Training Modules for Political Parties* (Washington, DC: NDI, 2003)

Regional standards

Global Coalition for Africa, Political Committee, *The Role and Functioning of Parliaments in*

Country standards

Australian Election Commission, *Funding and Disclosure Handbook for Political Parties*, Commonwealth of Australia, 2004

Canadian Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing, *Reforming Electoral Democracy*, Final Report, 1991 (the Lortie Report)

UK House of Commons, Committee on Standards in Public Life (the Neil Committee), *The Funding of Political Parties in the United Kingdom*, Fifth Report, Cm 4057 I & II (appendix 1 to Vol. I,

(cont.)	
Africa, Issues Paper, <http://www.gcacma.org/PoliticalCommittee.htm>, section on Political Parties and Campaign Finance Open Society Justice Initiative, *Monitoring Election Campaign Finance: A Handbook for NGOs*, 2004, <http://www.justiceinitiative.org> Centre for Transnational and Post-Conflict Governance, Training in Detection and Enforcement (TIDE), *Enforcing Political Finance Laws: Training Handbook*, USAID, 2005, <http://www.moneyandpolitics.net>	'International Survey of Best Practice on Political Funding: Germany, Sweden, Canada, USA'), (London: The Stationery Office, 1998) South African Government, *Code of Conduct for Elected Members of the ANC*, 1994 UK House of Commons, Home Affairs Committee, *Funding of Political Parties: Second Report*, *Session 1993/94* Cm 301 (London: HMSO, 1994)

Assessment question	2.2.5. To what extent does support for parties cross ethnic, religious and linguistic divisions?
What to look for	
1) Indicators: examine the level and distribution of the support for the different parties across communal divisions.	
Generalized sources	
Afro Barometer, <http://www.afrobarometer.org/> Asian Barometer, <http://www.asianbarometer.org/> East Asia Barometer, <http://eacsurvey.law.ntu.edu.tw/> Euro Barometer, <http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/index_en.htm> Latino Barometer, <http://www.latinobarometro.org/>	
Standards of good practice	
OAU, Ministerial Review Meeting on the Calabashes of the Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa, *Memorandum of Understanding on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa*, articles I (n) and III (23), July 2002	

2.3. Effective and responsive government

Overarching question: Is government effective in serving the public and responsive to its concerns?

Assessment question	2.3.1. How far is the elected government able to influence or control those matters that are important to the lives of its people, and how well is it informed, organized and resourced to do so?
What to look for	
1) Positive indicators: examine the effectiveness of governments in carrying out their policy and legislative programmes.	***2) Negative indicators:*** examine evidence of policy areas outside the control of elected government; of subordination to external institutions in the determination of policy, legislation or government expenditure.
Generalized sources	
See 4.2.2, and the following: ***Global sources*** Ali Salma Hasan, *Report of 1997 International IDEA Democracy Forum: Ideas for Democracy* (Stockholm: International IDEA, 1997) Banks, A. and Muller, C. (eds), *Political Handbook of the World 1998* (New York: CSA Publications, 1998) Doha Development Agenda, Trade Capacity Building Database, <http://tcbdb.wto.org/> Eldis Gateway to Development Information, database on financial policy, <http://www.eldis.org/> International Budget Project, Open Budget Initiative 2006, <http://www.openbudgetindex.org/> IPU, *Human Rights of Parliamentarians* (Committee of IPU), <http://www.ipu.org/iss-e/hr-law.htm>; Study Committee II: Parliamentary, Juridical and Human Rights Questions (IPU), <http://www.ipu.org/strct-e/comtees.htm#C2> Lane, J., Mckay, D. and Newton, K., *Political Data Handbook, OECD Countries*, 2nd edn (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1996)	***Regional sources*** African Development Bank, *African Development Report 2005: Africa in the Global Trading System* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) Barometer public opinion surveys: Afro Barometer, <http://www.afrobarometer.org/>; Asian Barometer, <http://www.asianbarometer.org/; East Asia Barometer, <http://eacsurvey.law.ntu.edu.tw/>; Euro Barometer, <http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/index_en.htm>; Latino Barometer, <http://www.latinobarometro.org/> Center for Latin American Studies, Georgetown University, Political Database of the Americas, <http://pdba.georgetown.edu/> German Social Science Infrastructure Services (GESIS), International Social Survey Programme (ISSP), provides survey data for 38 countries from 1983 onwards, <http://www.gesis.org/en/data_service/issp/index.htm> Hansard Society for Parliamentary Government, 'Making the Law: The Report of the Hansard Society Commission on the Legislative Process', 1993

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Parliamentary and Presidential Elections around the World, <http://www.psr.keele.ac.uk/election.htm>

Przeworski, A., Alvarez, M. E., Cheibub, J. A. and Limongi, F., *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950–1990* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)

United Nations Online Network in Public Administration and Finance (UNPAN), international, regional and country-specific documents and databases on governance systems and institutions, and ethics, transparency and accountability, <http://www.unpan.org>

van der Hulst, Marc, *The Parliamentary Mandate*, IPU, 2000, <http://www.ipu.org/english/Books.htm#Mandate>. A global comparative study based on the analysis of information supplied by over 130 parliamentary chambers. Focuses on the nature, duration and exercise of the parliamentary mandate, offering a comparative analysis of worldwide practice in this field. Also addresses the issue of the legal and material resources available or that should be made available to the parliamentarians in the performance of their mandate.

Vanhanen, T., *Prospects of Democracy: A Study of 172 Countries* (London: Routledge, 1997)

World Bank, Research programme on finance and private-sector research, and database on banking, finance and investment, <http://www.worldbank.org>;
World Bank, *Reports* on the observance of standards and codes (ROSCs) on fiscal transparency, <http://www.worldbank.org/ifa/rosc.html>

World Movement for Democracy, documents and database of organizations working on transparency, accountability and access to information, <http://www.wmd.org/>

IDASA, public opinion surveys, <http://www.idasa.org.za>

Virtual Parliamentary Forum of the Americas, Inter-Parliamentary Forum of the Americas, <http://www.e-fipa.org/VP/about_vp_en.htm>

World Bank, *Nongovernmental Organizations in World Bank-supported Projects: A Review*, Vol. 1, publication 19061, 1999;
Participatory Development and the World Bank: Potential Directions for Change, Vol. 1, World Bank Discussion Paper WDP183, 1992

Standards of good practice
International standards
Charter for the Public Service in Africa, 2001, Third Pan African Conference of Public Service Ministers, Windhoek, Namibia, February 2001
The Commonwealth, *Commonwealth (Latimer House) Principles on the Three Branches of Government*, 2002, <http://www.cpahq.org/CommonwealthPrinciplesonThreeArmsofGovernment_pdf_media_public.aspx>
Ensuring Lasting Democracy by Forging Close Links between Parliament and the People, Resolution adopted without a vote by the 98th Inter-Parliamentary Conference, Cairo, 15 September 1997
Financial Accounting Foundation – governmental Accounts Standards Board, <http://www.fasb.org>
International Budget Project, *Dignity Counts: A Guide to Using Budget Analysis to Advance Human Rights*, International Human Rights Internship Program and International Budget Project, 2004; *Follow the Money: A Guide to Monitoring Budgets and Oil and Gas Revenues*, Center for Policy Studies and International Budget Project, 2004
IPU, *Parliament and Democracy in the Twenty-first Century: A Guide to Good Practice*, 2006; *Handbook: Parliament, the Budget and Gender*, 2004, <http://www.ipu.org>
Wisse, E., 'Promoting Democracy: An International Exploration of Policy and Implementation Practice', Netherlands Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations, Department of Constitutional Matters and Legislation, 2006, <http://www.oecd.org>
Country standards
Australian Prime Minister, *A Guide on Key Elements of Ministerial Responsibility* (Canberra: Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, 1998)

Assessment question	2.3.2. How effective and open to scrutiny is the control exercised by elected leaders and their ministers over their administrative staff and other executive agencies?	
What to look for		
1) Laws: examine rules governing the discretion or immunity of administrative personnel; ministerial access to information; performance agreements between ministers and departmental heads; the independence and accountability of executive and executive-appointed agencies.	*2) Practice:* examine the effectiveness of the political control exercised by ministers over their administrative staff in practice.	*3) Negative indicators:* investigate evidence of bureaucratic obstruction, lack of accountability, etc.

Generalized sources

Global sources

Governance and Social Development Resource Centre, UK DFID, database on civil service reform, <http://www.gsdrc.org>

Information Systems for Public Sector Management, School of Environment and Development, University of Manchester, Working Papers, <http://www.sed.manchester.ac.uk/idpm/>

International City/County Management Association, <http://www.icma.org/>

IPU, *Relations between Majority and Minority Parties in African Parliaments*, Parliamentary Seminar, 1999

PublicNet is a World Wide Web community created for everybody interested in the public sector and its management: <http://www.publicnet.co.uk/>

United Nations Online Network in Public Administration and Finance (UNPAN), international, regional and country-specific documents and databases on ethics, transparency and accountability, <http://www.unpan.org>

World Bank, Civil Service Reform Study, e.g. Klitgaard, R., 'Cleaning Up and Invigorating the Civil Service', World Bank, Washington, DC, 1996 (mimeo);
World Bank central public sector site, <http://0-www1.worldbank.org.library.vu.edu.au/publicsector/> (can be used for a number of the following questions)

World Movement for Democracy, documents and database of organizations working on transparency, accountability and access to information, <http://www.wmd.org/>

Regional sources

Global Coalition for Africa, Political Committee, *The Role and Functioning of Parliaments in Africa*, Issues Paper, <http://www.gcacma.org/PoliticalCommittee.htm>

Public Law Active Research Project, University of Tasmania, <http://www.foi.law.utas.edu.au/active/intro.html>; covers freedom of information, parliament and administrative review, and comparative administrative law – ombudsmen. Mainly a collection of academic papers and analysis rather than source materials

Public Law Gateway database based at the University of Tasmania, <http://www.foi.law.utas.edu.au/active/index.html>

Subramaniam, V. (ed.), *Public Administration and the Third World: An International Handbook* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1990)

Standards of good practice

See 2.6.1 and 2.6.2.

Assessment question	2.3.3. How open and systematic are the procedures for public consultation on government policy and legislation, and how equal is the access for relevant interests to government?

What to look for

1) Laws: examine legal requirements for public consultation in different areas of government activity, including requirements for openness.	*2) Practice:* examine how inclusive and transparent procedures for consultation are in practice.	*3) Negative indicators:* investigate systematic exclusions from consultative processes, formal and informal; government bias in the consultation or treatment of relevant interests; incidence of organized protest against government policy. *See 2.6.4.*

Generalized sources

Global sources

Blagescu, M. and Lloyd, R., *2006 Global Accountability Report: Holding Power to Account* (London: One World Trust, 2006), <http://www.oneworldtrust.org>

C2D – Research and Documentation Centre on Direct Democracy, <http://c2d.unige.ch>

Center for Civil Society Studies, Johns Hopkins University Institute for Policy Studies, *The Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project and the UN Nonprofit Handbook Project*, <http://www.jhu.edu/~ccss/about.html>

Gender Responsive Budget Initiatives, <http://www.gender-budgets.org>

International Budget Project, *Related Websites – by Topic Area: Gender, Youth and Development*, 2006, <http://www.internationalbudget.org>;
International Budget Project, Open Budget Initiative 2006, <http://www.openbudgetindex.org/>

Krafchik, W., *Can Civil Society Add Value to Budget Decision-making? A Description of Civil Society Budget Work*, International Budget Project (no date), <http://www.internationalbudget.org/resources/library/civilsociety.pdf>

Participation Power and Social Change team at the Institute of Development Studies,

Regional sources

Action Research on Web, Faculty of Health Sciences, University of Sydney, <http://www2.fhs.usyd.edu.au/arow/>

International Centre for Learning and Promotion of Participation and Democratic Governance (PRIA), <http://www.pria.org/>

NGO Information Centre, <http://www.ngo.or.jp/>

Office for Public Management, <http://www.opm.co.uk>

Salih, M. (ed.), *African Parliaments: Between Governance and Government* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005)

UK Local Government and Democracy, <http://www.icele.org> and <http://www.communities.gov.uk>

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University of Sussex, <http://www.ids.ac.uk/ids/particip/index.html>

Participatory Initiatives, University of Guelph, <http://www.oac.uoguelph.ca>

UNDAW, <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/index.html>

UNDP and Civil Society Organizations, <http://www.undp.org/partners/cso/>

UNIFEM, <http://www.unifem.org>

Union of International Associations, NGO websites from the searchable website (derivative from their Yearbook of International Associations), <http://www.uia.org/extlinks/pub.php>

World Bank, *Nongovernmental Organizations in World Bank-supported Projects: A Review* (Vol. 1), publication 19061, 1999;

Reports on the observance of standards and codes (ROSCs) on fiscal transparency, <http://www.worldbank.org/ifa/rosc.html>

Standards of good practice

International standards

UNDP, *Empowering People: A Guide to Participation*, 1998; Civil Society Organizations and Participation Programme

World Bank, *The World Bank Participation Sourcebook*, 1996, <http://www.worldbank.org/wbi/sourcebook/sbhome.htm>;

Participatory Development and the World Bank: Potential Directions for Change Vol. 1, World Bank Discussion Paper WDP183, 1992

ACE project, *Citizen Initiatives*, Focus on Direct Democracy, 2004, <http://focus.at.org/direct-democracy/citizen-initiatives>

Zimmerman, J., *Citizen Initiative*, ACE Project, 2001, <http://www.aceproject.org/main/english/es/esc01b.htm>

Regional standards

Council of Europe, *Council of Europe Recommendation No. R(80) 2 concerning the Exercise of Discretionary Powers by Administrative Authorities*, 11 March 1980;

Council of Europe Resolution (77) 31 on the Protection of the Individual in Relation to the Acts of Administrative Authorities, 28 September 1977

OAS, *Declaration of La Paz on Decentralization and on Strengthening Regional and Municipal Administrations and Participation of Civil Society*, 2001

Commonwealth law ministers and regional senior judges, *Lusaka Statement on Government Under the Law*, 1993

Inter-American Development Bank, *Resource Book on Participation*, 1996, <http://www.iadb.org/exr/english/POLICIES/participate/index.htm>

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	Country standards Constitution Unit, *Constitutional Watchdogs*, Briefing paper, March 1997 South African Government, *Constitutional Right to Fair, Open and Competitive Public Procurement*, 1994 UK Cabinet Office/Management and Personnel Office, *The Judge Over Your Shoulder: Judicial Review of Administrative Decisions* (London: HMSO, 1987); *Report of the Commission on the Conduct of Referendums* (Chair: Sir Patrick Nairn) (London: Electoral Reform Society and Constitution Unit, 1996) *See 1.2.2, 2.6.1 and 2.6.2.*

Assessment question	**2.3.4. How accessible and reliable are public services for those who need them, and how systematic is consultation with users over service delivery?**	
What to look for		
1) Laws: examine requirements on public service providers to set open standards or targets for service delivery, and to consult with clients over their formulation and implementation; procedures for complaint and redress.	***2) Practice:*** examine the effectiveness of procedures in practice to ensure the responsiveness of public service providers.	***3) Negative indicators:*** investigate data on levels of complaint or dissatisfaction expressed with the respective service.
Generalized sources		
AfriMAP, documents and data on public services, <http://www.afrimap.org> Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management (APPAM), <http://www.appam.org> The Commonwealth, Governance Unit, <http://www.thecommonwealth.org> Governance and Social Development Resource Centre, UK DFID, database on service delivery, <http://www.gsdrc.org> Group of Eight industrialized countries (G8), *Democracy and Government On-line Services: Contributions from Public Administrations Around the World*, United States, 1999, <http://siyaset.bilkent.edu.tr/gol-democracy/> London School of Economics (LSE) Public Policy Group, <http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/LSEPublicPolicy/>		

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OECD, web pages on Public Finance and Regulatory Management and Reform, <http://www.oecd.org>

Public Service Delivery Network, <http://www.ncvo-vol.org.uk/Networks/index.asp>

Support for Improvement in Governance and Management in Central and Eastern European Countries (SIGMA), OECD, <http://www.oecd.org>

Information on UK Local Government and Democracy at International Centre of Excellence for Local eDemocracy (ICELE) at <http://www.icele.org> and on Communities and Local Government at <http://www.communities.gov.uk>

United Nations Online Network in Public Administration and Finance (UNPAN), international, regional and country-specific documents and databases on public finance and public resources, <http://www.unpan.org>

See also 1.4.

Standards of good practice

ICCPR, 1966, article 25

Charter for the Public Service in Africa, 2001, Third Pan African Conference of Public Service Ministers, Windhoek, February 2001

The Commonwealth, *Better Local Services: Improving Local Government Delivery through Innovation and Partnerships*, Report of the Asia–Pacific Regional Symposium held in Kuala Lumpur, July 2005, <http://www.thecommonwealth.org>

Holzer, M., Renning-Raines, A. and Yu, W., *Research and Information Resources for Public Administration*, 2005, <http://spaa.newark.rutgers.edu/>

Overseas Development Institute (ODI), *Targets, Voice and Choice: Options for Improving Public Service Delivery*, Lunchtime Meeting Series, autumn 2004, <http://www.odi.org.uk>

South African Government, Green Paper *Transforming Public Service Delivery*, 1996, <http://www.info.gov.za/greenpapers/1996/transformingpublic.htm>

UK Government, The Charter Mark criteria to assess service and delivery to users, <http://www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/chartermark/criteria/>

United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), *Best Practices in the Participatory Approach to Delivery of Social Services*, 2004, <http://www.uneca.org>

Assessment question	**2.3.5. How comprehensive and effective is the right of access for citizens to government information under the constitution or other laws?**	
What to look for		
1) Laws: examine legislation securing the right of public access to government	***2) Practice:*** examine the operation of the laws in practice, and the accessibility	***3) Negative indicators:*** examine the use of secrecy laws to protect executive abuse

information, including limitations, exclusions, etc.; legislation on official secrecy, and on official immunity from investigation or criticism.	of government information to the public.	or embarrassment; significant failures of disclosure.

Generalized sources

On freedom of information
Global sources

Article 19, UK, <http://www.article19.org>

Democracy and Government On-line Services, contributions from public administrations around the world, <http://siyaset.bilkent.edu.tr/gol-democracy/>

Freedominfo.org, <http://www.freedominfo.org/>

Index on Censorship (London, monthly), <http://www.indexonline.org/>

Institute for War and Peace Reporting, London, <http://www.iwpr.net>

Reporters sans frontières (RSF), France, <http://www.rsf.org>

Reuters Foundation, UK, <http://www.foundation.reuters.com>

Thomson Foundation, UK, <http://www.thomsonfoundation.org.uk/>

United Nations Online Network in Public Administration and Finance (UNPAN), international, regional and country-specific documents and databases on ethics, transparency and accountability, <http://www.unpan.org>

World Movement for Democracy, documents and database of organizations working on transparency, accountability and access to information, <http://www.wmd.org/>

Regional sources

Canadian Journalists for Free Expression (CJFE), Canada, <http://www.cjfe.org>

Cartoonists Rights Network (CRN), USA, <http://www.cagle.com/crn/>

Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), USA, <http://www.cpj.org>

European Newspapers' Publishers Association, Belgium, <http://www.enpa.be>

Freedom Forum, USA, <http://www.freedomforum.org>

Freedom of Expression Project (CEE), Romania

Group of Seven industrialized countries (G7) Information Society Government Online Project, Report which examines 17 initiatives by member governments of the G7 grouping to provide public access to official government information via the Internet which were in operation in 1996: <http://www.open.gov.uk/govoline/front.htm>

Inter American Press Association (IAPA), USA, <http://www.sipiapa.org>

International Freedom of Expression eXchange, Canada, <http://www.ifex.org>

International Journalism Network, <http://www.ijnet.org>

Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA), Namibia, <http://www.misanet.org>

Media Resistance, Belgium, <http://www.mediaresistance.org>

Network for the Defence of Independent Media in Africa (NDIMA), Kenya, <http://www.freemediafoundation.org/>

Open Society Justice Initiative, Program on Freedom of Information and Expression, <http://www.justiceinitiative.org>

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Pacific Islands News Association (PINA), Fiji Islands, <http://www.pinanius.com/>

Pacific Media Watch, <http://www.pmw.c2o.org/>

Standards of good practice

See 1.2.2, 2.6.1 and 2.6.2.

International standards

Article 19, *A Model Freedom of Information Law*, 2001, <http://www.article19.org/pdfs/standards/modelfoilaw.pdf>;
The Johannesburg Principles on National Security, Freedom of Expression, and Access to Information, 1995;
The Public's Right to Know: Principles on Freedom of Information Legislation, 1999

Mendel, T., *Parliament and Access to Information: Working for Transparent Governance*, 2005, <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/WBI/Resources/Parliament_and_Access_to_Information_with_cover.pdf>

NDI, *Transparent Government: Developing Public Access to Government Information*, 2005, <http://www.accessdemocracy.org>

Regional standards

Inter-American Court of Human Rights, *Marcel Claude Reyes and Others v. Chile*, 2007 – affirmed the existence of the right of access to information

The Commonwealth, *Model Freedom of Information Act*, 2003, <http://www.thecommonwealth.org/shared_asp_files/uploadedfiles/{AC090445-A8AB-490B-8D4B-F110BD2F3AB1}_Freedom of Information.pdf>

Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, *Recommendations for an Informed Democracy*, 2003, <http://www.cpahq.org/uploadstore/docs/Perth.pdf>

OAS, AG/RES. 1932 (XXXIII-O/03), *Access to Public Information: Strengthening Democracy*, 2003, <http://www.oas.org/juridico/english/ga03/agres_1932.htm>

Open Society Justice Initiative, *Ten Principles on the Right to Know*, 2005, <http://www.justiceinitiative.org/Principles/index>

SADC, *Protocol on Culture, Information and Sport*, 2000, articles 17–23

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Belize Government, *Freedom of Information Act*, 1994

Irish Government, *Administrative Procedures Act and Freedom of Information 'Sunshine' Act*, 1998; Freedom of Information Documentation available from <http://www.irlgov.ie>

New South Wales Government, *Whistleblowers Protection Act*, 1994

Queensland Government, *Freedom of Information Bill*, 1991

Swedish Government, *Freedom of the Press Act*, 1766

(cont.)
Ugandan Government, Extract from the 1995 Constitution of Uganda US Government, *Performance and Results Act*, P.L. 103-62, August 1993 United States, *Federal Advisory Committee Act*, 1974

Assessment question	2.3.6. How much confidence do people have in the ability of government to solve the main problems confronting society, and in their own ability to influence it?
What to look for	
1) Negative and positive indicators: examine survey data on levels of public satisfaction and dissatisfaction with their system of government; and on their degree of confidence in their own ability to influence government and public life in general.	
Generalized sources	
Afro Barometer, <http://www.afrobarometer.org/> Asian Barometer, <http://www.asianbarometer.org/> East Asia Barometer, <http://eacsurvey.law.ntu.edu.tw/> Euro Barometer, <http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/index_en.htm> Latino Barometer, <http://www.latinobarometro.org/> Centre for the Study of Public Policy, University of Aberdeen, 'Barometer Surveys' – surveys of public opinion in post-communist societies (and Korea), <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/cspp/>; Various publications on the indicators of regime support and trust in post-communist societies, full publications list and the Search Europe Electronically on Concepts (SEEC) database, <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/cspp/> Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, *Parliament and the People: The Reality and the Public Perception*, <http://www.cpahq.org> Kaase, M., *Beliefs in Government* (Oxford: Oxford University Press and European Science Foundation, 1998)	

2.4. The democratic effectiveness of parliament

Overarching question: Does the parliament or legislature contribute effectively to the democratic process?

Assessment question	2.4.1. How independent is the parliament or legislature of the executive, and how freely are its members able to express their opinions?	
What to look for		
1) Laws: examine the legal basis for parliamentary or legislative autonomy from the executive, including control over its own staffing, budget, timetable, legal advice, right of recall, etc. Examine the legal protection afforded to members in the performance of their duties, including their freedom of expression and movement.	*2) Practice:* examine how effectively these legal rights are protected in practice.	*3) Negative indicators:* investigate evidence of systematic reliance on the executive for anything essential to the functioning of parliament or legislature; any significant restrictions on members' freedom, whether from government, parliament or party, which prevent them fulfilling their responsibilities to the electorate.
Generalized sources		
Governance and Social Development Resource Centre, UK DFID, database on effective legislatures, <http://www.gsdrc.org> IPU, Parline Database, <http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/parlinesearch.asp> Norris, P., 'Building Political Parties: Reforming Legal Regulations and Internal Rules', Report commissioned by International IDEA, 2004 Salih, M. (ed.), *African Parliaments: Between Governance and Government* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005) Scarrow, S., *Political Parties and Democracy in Theoretical and Practical Perspectives: Implementing Intra-Party Democracy* (Washington, DC: NDI, 2005), <http://www.accessdemocracy.org/library/1951_polpart_scarrow_110105.pdf>		
Standards of good practice		
Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, *Latimer House Guidelines for the Commonwealth*, 1998, <http://www.cpahq.org> Beetham, D., *Parliament and Democracy in the Twenty-First Century: A Guide to Good Practice* (Geneva: IPU, 2006) Indian Government, *Provisions as to Disqualification on Ground of Defection (Crossing the Floor Legislation)*, Tenth Schedule to Constitution of India added by the 52nd Amendment Act, 1985, and subsequently amended by the 91st Amendment Act, 2003 NDI, *Strengthening Legislative Capacity in Legislative–Executive Relations*, 2000, <http://www.accessdemocracy.org> USAID, *Handbook on Legislative Strengthening*, 2000, <http://www.usaid.gov>		

Assessment question	2.4.2. How extensive and effective are the powers of the legislature to initiate, scrutinize and amend legislation?	
What to look for		
1) Laws: examine the rules governing legislation: consultation, initiation, scrutiny, amendment; the time allocated to the legislative process; rules on delegated legislation.	*2) Practice:* examine the effectiveness of procedures for legislative scrutiny in practice.	*3) Negative indicators:* investigate data on hasty, ill-considered legislation; consultation insufficient or ignored; use of the guillotine; gagging of criticism.

Generalized sources

Global sources

Banks, A. and Muller, C. (eds), *Political Handbook of the World 1998* (New York: CSA Publications, 1998)

International Directory of Government (London: Europa Publications, 1995)

IPU, *Constitutional and Parliamentary Information* (biannual);
Human Rights of Parliamentarians (Committee of IPU), <http://www.ipu.org/iss-e/hr-law.htm>;
Parliaments of the World: A Comparative Reference Compendium (Aldershot: Gower, 1986);
Parline Database, <http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/parlinesearch.asp>;
Parlit Database, online database of parliamentary information from <http://www.ipu.org/parlit-e/parlitsearch.asp>;
Study Committee II: Parliamentary, Juridical and Human Rights Questions, <http://www.ipu.org/strct-e/comtees.htm#C2>

Lane, J., Mckay, D. and Newton, K., *Political Data Handbook, OECD Countries*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996)

Laundy, P., *Parliaments in the Modern World* (Aldershot: Dartmouth Pub. Co. Ltd., for the IPU, 1989)

Przeworski, A., Alvarez, M. E., Cheibub, J. A. and Limongi, F., *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-*

Regional sources

Ali Salma Hasan, *Report of 1997 International IDEA Democracy Forum: Ideas for Democracy* (Stockholm: International IDEA, 1997)

Bergougnous, Georges (head of the Legal Department of the French Constitutional Council), *Presiding Officers of National Parliamentary Assemblies*, 2000 (covers 150 chambers' responses), <http://www.ipu.org/english/Books.htm#Mandate>

Center for Latin American Studies, Georgetown University, Political Database of the Americas, <http://pdba.georgetown.edu/>

Hansard Society for Parliamentary Government, 'Making the Law: The Report of the Hansard Society Commission on the Legislative Process', 1993

IDASA, public opinion surveys, <http://www.idasa.org.za>

Neher, C. and Marlay, R., *Democracy and Development in Southeast Asia* (Boulder, Colo. Westview Press, 1996)

Salih, M. (ed.), *African Parliaments: Between Governance and Government* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005)

Vanhanen, T., *Prospects of Democracy: A Study of 172 Countries* (London: Routledge, 1997)

Virtual Parliamentary Forum of the Americas, Inter-Parliamentary Forum of the Americas, <http://www.e-fipa.org/VP/about_vp_en.htm>

(cont.)

Being in the World, 1950–1990 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)

United Nations Online Network in Public Administration and Finance (UNPAN), international, regional and country-specific documents and databases on ethics, transparency and accountability, <http://www.unpan.org>

Standards of good practice

International standards

Ensuring Lasting Democracy by Forging Close Links between Parliament and the People, Resolution adopted without a vote by the 98th Inter-Parliamentary Conference, Cairo, 15 September 1997

IPU and UNDP, *Ten Years of Strengthening Parliaments in Africa, 1991–2000: Lessons Learnt and the Way Forward*, 2003, <http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/africa2000_en.pdf>

UNDP, *Parliamentary Development Practice Note*, 2003, <http://www.undp.org/governance/docs/ParlPN_ENGLISH.pdf>

USAID, *Handbook on Legislative Strengthening*, 2000, <http://www.usaid.gov/our_work/democracy_and_governance/publications/pdfs/pnacf632.pdf>

Beetham, D., *Parliament and Democracy in the Twenty-First Century: A Guide to Good Practice* (Geneva: IPU, 2006)

NDI, *Committees in Legislatures: A Division of Labor*, 1996, <http://www.accessdemocracy.org/library/030_ww_committees.pdf>

Wisse, E., 'Promoting Democracy: An International Exploration of Policy and Implementation Practice', Netherlands Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations, Department of Constitutional Matters and Legislation, 2006, <http://www.oecd.org>

Regional standards

Global Coalition for Africa, Political Committee, *The Role and Functioning of Parliaments in Africa*, Issues Paper, <http://www.gcacma.org/PoliticalCommittee.htm>

Harris, I., *Towards the Evolution of an Effective Parliamentary Administration in West Africa*, Association of Secretaries General of Parliaments, 2005, <http://www.asgp.info/documents/Geneva_2005/1st_conference_Nigerian.pdf>

Reports from a Seminar on Parliamentary Administrations and Legislative Cooperation, Organized by ECPRD and the Italian Chamber of Deputies, 2003, <http://de.camera.it/files/pdf/dossier.pdf>

Country standards

Hansard Society for Parliamentary Government, 'Making the Law: The Report of the Hansard Society Commission on the Legislative Process', 1993

Munyenyembe, R. T. C. (Hon. speaker of the National Assembly of Malawi), 'The Parliament: Making Democracy Work', Paper presented at the Southern Africa After Elections Regional Conference, University of Namibia, 1995

Namibian Parliament, 'Consolidating Parliamentary Democracy in Namibia', 1995

Zimbabwe, Parliament of, 'Strengthening Parliamentary Democracy in Zimbabwe', Foundation Report, Parliamentary Reform Commission, May 1998

Assessment question	2.4.3. How extensive and effective are the powers of the legislature to oversee the executive and hold it to account?	
What to look for		
1) Laws: examine laws governing legislative scrutiny of the executive, its personnel, policy and operations, including powers of disclosure and sanction.	*2) Practice:* examine the effectiveness of the scrutiny procedures in practice; the independence of government information and statistical services; the access of legislators to non-governmental expertise; the role and effectiveness of parliamentary committees; media coverage of legislative activity.	*3) Negative indicators:* exclusions from the scrutiny process, inadequate powers of investigation or sanction, record of significant failures.
Generalized sources		
Banks, A. and Muller, C. (eds), *Political Handbook of the World 1998* (New York: CSA Publications, 1998) Global Centre for Information and Communication Technology in Parliament, <http://www.ictparliament.org/> Inter-American Development Bank, 'Political Parties, Legislatures, and Presidents', in *Economic and Social Progress in Latin America*, *2006 Report*, 2006 (chapter 3), <http://www.iadb.org/res/ipes/2006/chapter3.cfm> IPU, *Constitutional and Parliamentary Information* (biannual); *The Parliamentary Mandate* (Geneva: IPU, 2000); Parline Database, <http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/parlinesearch.asp> Public Law Gateway database based at the University of Tasmania, <http://www.foi.law.utas.edu.au/active/index.html> Salih, M. (ed.), *African Parliaments: Between Governance and Government* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005) United Nations Online Network in Public Administration and Finance (UNPAN), international, regional and country-specific documents and databases on ethics, transparency and accountability, <http://www.unpan.org> University College London, Department of Political Science, Constitution Unit, 'Constitutional Watchdogs', Briefing Paper, March 1997 World Movement for Democracy, documents and database of organizations working on transparency, accountability and access to information, <http://www.wmd.org/>		
Standards of good practice		
See 2.4.2, and ***International standards*** UNDP, *Parliamentary Development Practice Note*, 2003, <http://www.undp.org/governance/docs/ParlPN_ENGLISH.pdf>	***Regional standards*** OECD, 'Relations between Supreme Audit Institutions and Parliamentary Committees', 2002, <http://appli1.oecd.org/olis/2002doc.nsf/linkto/ccnm-gov-sigma(2002)1>	

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NDI, *The Role and Effectiveness of the Ombudsman Institution*, 2005;
Strengthening Legislative Capacity in Legislative–Executive Relations, 2000;
Committees in Legislatures: A Division of Labor, 1996, <http://www.accessdemocracy.org>

Pelizzo, R., Stapenhurst, R. and Olson, D. (eds), *Trends in Parliamentary Oversight* (Washington, DC: World Bank Institute, 2004), <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/WBI/Resources/TrendsinParliamentaryOversight-FINAL.pdf>

Pelizzo, R. and Stapenhurst, R. (eds), *Legislatures and Oversight* (Washington, DC: World Bank Institute, 2004), <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTPARLIAMENTARIANS/Resources/Legislatures_and_Oversight.pdf>

USAID, *Handbook on Legislative Strengthening*, 2000, <http://www.usaid.gov/our_work/democracy_and_governance/publications/pdfs/pnacf632.pdf>

Gay, O. and Winetrobe, B., *Parliamentary Audit: The Audit Committee in Comparative Context. A Report to the Audit Committee of the Scottish Parliament*, 2003, <http://www.scottish.parliament.uk/business/committees/historic/audit/reports-03/aur03-legacy-02.htm>

Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, *Administration and Financing of Parliament: A Study Group Report*, 2005, <http://www.cpahq.org/AdministrationandFinancingofParliamentStudyGroupReport_pdf_media_public.aspx>;
Study Group on the Administration and Financing of Parliament: Key Recommendations, 2005, <http://www.cpahq.org/Theadministrationandfinancingof Parliaments_pdf_media_public.aspx>

Global Coalition for Africa, Political Committee, *The Role and Functioning of Parliaments in Africa*, Issues Paper, <http://www.gcacma.org/PoliticalCommittee.htm>

Harris, I., *Towards the Evolution of an Effective Parliamentary Administration in West Africa*, Association of Secretaries General of Parliaments, 2005, <http://www.asgp.info/documents/Geneva_2005/1st_conference_Nigerian.pdf>

Reports from a Seminar on Parliamentary Administrations and Legislative Oooperation, organized by ECPRD and the Italian Chamber of Deputies, 2003, <http://de.camera.it/files/pdf/dossier.pdf>

Country standards

Munyenyembe, R. T. C. (Hon. speaker of the National Assembly of Malawi), 'The Parliament: Making Democracy Work', Paper presented at the Southern Africa After Elections Regional Conference, University of Namibia, 1995

Parliamentary Reform Commission, 'Strengthening Parliamentary Democracy in Zimbabwe', Foundation Report, Parliament of Zimbabwe, May 1998

UK House of Commons, Liaison Committee, *Shifting the Balance: Select Committees and the Executive*, First Report of the Liaison Committee, session 1999/2000, HC 300 (London: The Stationary Office, 2000)

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	UK House of Commons, Procedure Committee, *The Working of the Select Committee*, session 1989/90, HC 19 (London: HMSO, 1990) UK House of Commons, Public Service Committee, *Ministerial Accountability and Responsibility*, session 1995/96, HC 313 (London: HMSO, 1996) *Report on Parliamentary Oversight and Accountability*, prepared by Hugh Corder, Saras Jagwanth and Fred Soltau, Faculty of Law, University of Cape Town, July 1999, <http://www.pmg.org.za/bills/oversight&account.htm>, hosted by the Parliamentary Monitoring Group, South Africa (accessed 5 July 2000)

Assessment question	**2.4.4. How rigorous are the procedures for approval and supervision of taxation and public expenditure?**	
What to look for		
1) Laws: examine laws governing taxation and public expenditure, including the scope of executive discretion, measures against tax evasion.	*2) Practice:* examine the effectiveness of the scrutiny process for public finances, including the independence of auditing and accounting bodies; effectiveness of the tax collection system.	*3) Negative indicators:* investigate incidence of fraud, malpractice, lack of transparency in public expenditure; levels of tax evasion, including parallel markets.

Generalized sources	
Global sources	***Regional sources***
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International Political Economy Network, <http://www.isanet.org/sections/ipe/>

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World Bank, *Reports* on the observance of standards and codes (ROSCs) on fiscal transparency, <http://www.worldbank.org/ifa/rosc.html>

World Movement for Democracy, documents and database of organizations working on transparency, accountability and access to information, <http://www.wmd.org/>

(US) Bureau of Economic Research (NBER) Project on Exchange Rate Crises in Emerging Market Countries, <http://www.nber.org/crisis/>

OECD, web pages on Public Finance and Regulatory Management and Reform, <http://www.oecd.org>

Pacific-Basin Finance Journal, a forum for the publication of academic research on the capital markets of the Asia–Pacific countries, <http://www.elsevier.com>

Salih, M. (ed.), *African Parliaments: Between Governance and Government* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005)

UK Evaluation Society site, <http://www.evaluation.org.uk/>. (Members represent a range of inquiry fields including social services, economic development, education, science and technology, and healthcare management and policy.)

Standards of good practice

The 12 core standards from the Financial Stability Forum (<http://www.fsforum.org>), contained in the *Compendium of Standards* (over 65 in total), apply

On financial regulation and supervision

Basel Committee on Banking Supervision (BCBS), *Core Principles of Effective Banking Supervision*, 2006

Financial Accounting Foundation – governmental Accounts Standards Board, <http://www.fasb.org>

On macro policy and data transparency

IMF, *Code of Good Practices in Fiscal Transparency*, 2001;

Code of Good Practices on Transparency in Monetary and Financial Policies, 1999;

Special Data Dissemination Standard/General Data Dissemination Standard, <http://dsbb.imf.org/Applications/web/dsbbhome/>

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International Association of Insurance Supervisors (IAIS), *Insurance Supervisory Principles* (on insurance supervision), <http://www.iaisweb.org>

International Organization of Securities Commissions (IOSCO), *Objectives and Principles of Securities Regulation*, <http://www.iosco.org>

Association of Secretaries General of Parliaments, 'The Parliamentary Budget', in C*onstitutional and Parliamentary Information*, No. 161, 1991, <http://www.asgp.info/Publications/CPI-English/1991_162_01-e.pdf>;

'The Administrative and Financial Autonomy of Parliamentary Assemblies', in C*onstitutional and Parliamentary Information*, No. 177, 1999, <http://www.asgp.info/Publications/CPI-English/1999_177_02-e.pdf>

NDI, 'Legislatures and the Budget Process: An International Survey', Legislative Research Series, 2003, <http://www.accessdemocracy.org>

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NDI, *Legislatures and the Budget Process: An International Survey*, 2003, <http://www.accessdemocracy.org/library/1651_gov_budget_093103.pdf>

Santiso, C., *Budget Institutions and Fiscal Responsibility: Parliaments and the Political*

On institutional and market infrastructure

World Bank, *Guidelines on Insolvency Regimes*, 2001

Committee on Payment and Settlement Systems (CPSS), *Core Principles for Systematically Important Payment Systems*, 2001

Financial Action Task Force (FATF), *The Forty Recommendations of the Financial Action Task Force*, 2003 (on market integrity), <http://www.fatf-gafi.org>

International Accounting Standards Committee (IASC), *International Accounting Standards (IAS)* and *International Financial Reporting Standards (IFRS)*, <http://www.iasb.org>

International Federation of Accountants (IFAC), *International Standards on Auditing (ISA)*, <http://www.ifac.org/Guidance/>

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Economy of the Budget Process in Latin America, World Bank Institute, 2005, <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/WBI/Resources/Budget_Institutions_and_fiscal_responsibility_FINAL.pdf> Wehner, J., *Back from the Sidelines? Redefining the Contribution of Legislatures to the Budget Cycle* (Washington, DC: World Bank Institute, 2004), <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTPARLIAMENTARIANS/Resources/Back_from_the_Sidelines_Joachim_Wehner.pdf>		

Assessment question	2.4.5. How freely are all parties and groups able to organize within the parliament or legislature and contribute to its work?	
What to look for		
1) Laws: examine the legal or constitutional basis for parties and other groups to organize within the legislature and contribute to its work, paying attention to the role of minority/opposition parties and self-organizing groups such as women's groups, etc.	***2) Practice:*** examine the range of opportunities afforded to minority or opposition parties to initiate debates, introduce legislation, contribute to committee work, and so on. Do they have a meaningful role, and are they able to influence agendas and outcomes?	***3) Negative indicators:*** investigate evidence of official obstructions, intimidation, refusal of access to information, etc.
Generalized sources		
Agence de la Francophonie with the Banque Internationale d'Information sur les Etats Francophones, <http://www.francophonie.org/> Foweraker, J. and Landman, T., *Citizenship Rights and Social Movements* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) IKNOW Politics, <http://www.iknowpolitics.org/> *International Directory of Government* (London: Europa Publications, 1995) Salih, M. and Nordlund, P., *Political Parties in Africa: Challenges for Sustained Multiparty Democracy* (Stockholm: International IDEA, 2007); Stojarová, Vera, Sedo, Jakub, Kopecek, Lubomír and Chytilek, Roman, *Political Parties in Central and Eastern Europe: In Search of Consolidation* (Stockholm: International IDEA, 2007); Suri, K. C. et al., *Political Parties in South Asia: The Challenge of Change* (Stockholm: International IDEA, 2007)		

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IPU, Parliamentary Seminar, *Relations between Majority and Minority Parties in African Parliaments*, Report of a seminar that took place in Libreville (Gabon) on 17–19 May 1999, <http://www.ipu.org>; *The Parliamentary Mandate*, 2000; *Workshop on Multi-Party Government*, Suva, Fiji, 26–28 May 1998, on the workings of multi-party cabinets, <http://www.ipu.org>
See also 2.1.5.
Standards of good practice
Fourth World Conference on Women, *Beijing Platform for Action*, September 1995, Strategic Objectives and Actions on Women in Power and Decision Making
IPU, *Guidelines on the Rights and Duties of the Opposition in Parliament*, 1999, <http://www.ipu.org/splz-e/gabon.htm>
The Commonwealth, *Commonwealth (Latimer House) Principles on the Three Branches of Government*, 2002, <http://www.cpahq.org/CommonwealthPrinciplesonThreeArmsofGovernment_pdf_media_public.aspx>; *The Role of the Opposition*, Report of a workshop on the rights and responsibilities of the opposition, <http://www.thecommonwealth.org>
Refah Partisi (The Welfare Party) and Others v. Turkey, 13 February 2003, Judgement, European Court of Human Rights, on the role of political parties in opposition to promote freedom of expression and ensuring pluralism through non-violent means
Dias, M., 'Fig Leaves or Guardians of Democracy: The Role of Opposition Parties', Paper presented at the Southern Africa After Elections Regional Conference, University of Namibia, 1995
See also 2.1.5.

Assessment question	2.4.6. How extensive are the procedures of the parliament or legislature for consulting the public and relevant interests across the range of its work?
What to look for	
1) Laws: examine the legal basis for the responsibility of parliament or legislature to consult the public, both individually and through representative organizations, in legislation, commissions of enquiry, committee investigations, etc.	*2) Practice:* investigate how far such consultations are systematic, transparent and inclusive in practice. Is the public sufficiently notified in advance? Are the procedures for making submissions user-friendly?
Generalized sources	
C2C, Research Centre on Direct Democracy, <http://c2d.unige.ch/>	
E-Studies, database of legislation and activities of the European Parliament, <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/activities/expert/eStudies.do>	

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International Budget Project, research theme on transparency and participation in the budget process, <http://www.internationalbudget.org>

IPU, *Regional Seminar for English-speaking African Parliaments*, *22–24 May 2000*, *Nairobi (Kenya)*, 2000, <http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/nairobi_en.pdf>;
Regional Seminar for ASEAN+3 Parliaments, *23 to 25 July 2002*, *Manila (Philippines)*, 2002, <http://www.ipu.org/PDF/publications/manila02_en.pdf>;
Regional Seminar for parliaments of South-west Asia, *26 to 28 May 2003*, *Colombo (Sri Lanka)*, 2004, <http://www.ipu.org/PDF/publications/colombo_en.pdf>

Kurtz, K., 'Legislatures and Citizens: Communications Between Representatives and Their Constituents', produced for USAID G/DG by the National Conference of State Legislatures and the Research Foundation of the State University of New York, Albany, NY, 1997

Olson, D., *Democratic Legislative Institutions: A Comparative View* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe Inc., 1994)

Salih, M. (ed.), *African Parliaments: Between Governance and Government* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005)

Standards of good practice

Beetham, D., *Parliament and Democracy in the Twenty-First Century: A Guide to Good Practice* (Geneva: IPU, 2006)

UNDP, *The Legislature and Constituency Relations* (no date), <http://www.undp.org/governance/docs/Parl-Pub-constrelat.htm>

UNDP and NDI, *Strengthening Parliamentary Involvement in the Poverty Reduction Strategy Process and the Millennium Development Goals: Parliamentary Civic Collaboration for Monitoring Poverty Reduction Initiatives*, Parliaments and Poverty Series Toolkit No. 2, 2004;
UNDP and NDI, *Strengthening Parliamentary Involvement in the Poverty Reduction Strategy Process and the Millennium Development Goals: Legislative Public Outreach on Poverty Issues*, Parliaments and Poverty Series Toolkit No. 3, 2004;
UNDP and NDI, *Guidebook on Strengthening the Representative Capacity of Legislatures*, 2001, <http://www.accessdemocracy.org>

IPU, UNDP, World Bank Institute and UNIFEM, *Handbook: Parliament, the Budget and Gender*, 2004, <http://www.ipu.org/PDF/publications/budget_en.pdf>

World Bank, *The World Bank Participation Sourcebook*, 1996, <http://www.worldbank.org/wbi/sourcebook/sbhome.htm>;
World Bank, *Participatory Development and the World Bank: Potential Directions for Change, Vol. 1*, World Bank Discussion Paper WDP183, 1992

Hansard Society for Parliamentary Government, 'Making the Law: The Report of the Hansard Society Commission on the Legislative Process', 1993

Krafchik, W., *Can Civil Society Add Value to Budget Decision-making? A Description of Civil Society Budget Work* (no date), International Budget Project, <http://www.internationalbudget.org/resources/library/civilsociety.pdf>

NDI and Namibian Parliament, *Public Participation in the Legislation Process*, 2001, <http://www.accessdemocracy.org/library/1408_na_publicpart_093101.pdf>;
NDI, *Constituency Handbook for Elected Representatives in Namibia*, 2002, <http://www.accessdemocracy.org/library/1376_na_constituencyhdbk.pdf>

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Scottish Executive, *Involving Civil Society in the Work of Parliaments*, Scottish Office, 2000 Chiwandamira, L., Overland, L. and Gilbert, S., *The Power Is the People's: Citizen Participation in Parliamentary Processes in Lesotho*, Lesotho Parliament and IDASA, 2006; Overland, L., Chiwandamira, L. and Gilbert, S., *The Power Is the People's: Citizen Participation in Parliamentary Processes in Zambia*, Zambian Parliament and IDASA, 2006, <http://www.eldis.org> *See also 2.3.3.*

Assessment question	2.4.7. How accessible are elected representatives to their constituents?	
What to look for		
1) Laws: examine requirements on elected representatives to be available to their constituents, and the level of facilities provided for them to perform this service.	***2) Practice:*** examine the accessibility in practice of elected representatives to their constituents.	***3) Negative indicators:*** investigate data on levels of dissatisfaction expressed with representatives.
Generalized sources		
C2C, Research Centre on Direct Democracy, <http://c2d.unige.ch/> *Country-specific sources to be used. General sources that could be of help*: IPU, <http://www.ipu.org> Kurtz, K., 'Legislatures and Citizens: Communications Between Representatives and Their Constituents', Produced for USAID G/DG by the National Conference of State Legislatures and the Research Foundation of the State University of New York, Albany, NY, 1997 NDI, <http://www.ndi.org/> Olson, D., *Democratic Legislative Institutions: A Comparative View* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe Inc., 1994)		
Standards of good practice		
Beetham, D., *Parliament and Democracy in the Twenty-First Century: A Guide to Good Practice* (Geneva: IPU, 2006) Searing, D., 'The Role of the Good Constituency Member and the Practice of Representation in Great Britain', *Journal of Politics*, 1985, pp. 348–81 UNDP, 'A Concept Paper on Legislatures and Good Governance', Based on a paper prepared by J. K. Johnson and R. T. Nakamura for UNDP, 1999; 'The Legislature and Constituency Relations', <http://www.undp.org> UNDP and NDI, *Guidebook on Strengthening the Representative Capacity of Legislatures*, 2001, <http://www.accessdemocracy.org>		

Assessment question	2.4.8. How well does the parliament or legislature provide a forum for deliberation and debate on issues of public concern?

What to look for

Examine the effectiveness of the parliament or legislature as a deliberative forum on issues of public importance, taking into account such issues as adequate time for debate, the inclusiveness of viewpoints and arguments, level of attendance, etc.

Generalized sources

Center for Latin American Studies, Georgetown University, Political Database of the Americas, <http://pdba.georgetown.edu/>

Governance and Social Development Resource Centre, UK DFID, database on effective legislatures, <http://www.gsdrc.org>

IPU, *Constitutional and Parliamentary Information* (biannual);
Human Rights of Parliamentarians (Committee of IPU), <http://www.ipu.org/iss-e/hr-law.htm>;
Parliaments of the World: A Comparative Reference Compendium (Aldershot: Gower, 1986);
Parline Database, <http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/parlinesearch.asp>;
Parlit Database, online database of parliamentary information, <http://www.ipu.org/parlit-e/parlitsearch.asp>

Standards of good practice

Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, *Latimer House Guidelines for the Commonwealth*, 1998, <http://www.cpahq.org>

Global Coalition for Africa, Political Committee, *The Role and Functioning of Parliaments in Africa*, Issues Paper, <http://www.gcacma.org/PoliticalCommittee.htm>

IPU and UNDP, *Ten Years of Strengthening Parliaments in Africa, 1991–2000: Lessons Learnt and the Way Forward*, 2003, <http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/africa2000_en.pdf>

Beetham, D., *Parliament and Democracy in the Twenty-First Century: A Guide to Good Practice* (Geneva: IPU, 2006)

2.5. Civilian control of the military and police

Overarching question: Are the military and police forces under civilian control?

Assessment question	2.5.1. How effective is civilian control over the armed forces, and how free is political life from military involvement?	
What to look for		
1) Laws: examine laws governing civilian control and accountability of the armed forces, including any immunities enjoyed.	*2) Practice:* examine the effectiveness of procedures for civilian control and accountability in practice.	*3) Negative indicators:* investigate data on coups d'etat, military regimes; on military personnel, present or former, occupying significant political office; on areas of political decision making subject to military control or veto; on conflicts between civilian authorities and the military.

Generalized sources

Global sources

Amnesty International, *Conscientious Objection to Military Service* (London: Amnesty International, January 1991)

Andrade, J., *World Police and Paramilitary Forces* (New York: Stockton Press, 1985)

Carnovale, Marco, 'NATO Partners and Allies: Civil–Military Relations and Democratic Control of the Armed Forces', 1997, <http://www.nato.int/docu/review/1997/9702-9.htm>

Centre for Civil–Military Relations (CCMR), Belgrade, <http://www.ccmr-bg.org>

Center for Comparative and International Studies (Switzerland), <http://www.cis.ethz.ch>

Center for Security Studies and Conflict Research, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology, <http://www.fsk.ethz.ch>

Eldis Gateway to Development Information, database on conflict and security, <http://www.eldis.org/>

Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, <http://www.dcaf.ch/index.htm>

Africa and the Middle East

African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD), <http://www.accord.org.za>

Africa Center for Strategic Studies, <http://www.africacenter.org/>

Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research (ECSSR), <http://www.ecssr.ac.ae>

Americas

Canadian Foundation for the Americas (FOCAL), <http://www.focal.ca>

Canadian Institute of International Affairs (CIIA), <http://www.ciia.org>

Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies (CISS), <http://www.ciss.ca>

Centro de Estudios Estratégicos (Secretaría de Asuntos Estratégicos), Brazil

Centro de Investigación para la paz (Fundación Hogar del Empleado), <http://www.fuhem.es/portal/areas/paz/>

Fundación Foro del Sur, Argentina, <http://www.forosur.com.ar>

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Global Facilitation Network for Security Sector Reform, <http://www.ssrnetwork.net>

Institute for Security Studies (ISS), <http://www.iss.co.za>

Institute for War and Peace Reporting, <http://www.iwpr.net>

International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), <http://www.iiss.org>

International Peace Research Institute, Oslo (PRIO), <http://www.prio.no>

International Society for Military Law and the Law of War, based at the Palais du Justice in Brussels, <http://www.soc-mil-law.org/>

Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society, <http://www.iusafs.org/>

NDI, Research programme on civilian oversight of the armed forces and the police, <http://www.ndi.org>

Official Academic Institutions and University Organizations (Institut des Hautes Etudes de Défense Nationale), <http://www.ihedn.fr>

Partnership for Democratic Governance and Security (PDGS), <http://www.pdgs.org.ar>

Post-Soviet Armies Newsletter, <http://www.psan.org/>

Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), <http://www.sipri.org>

Transnational Foundation for Peace and Future Research, <http://www.transnational.org>

Núcleo de Estudos Estratégicos (NEE), Universidade Estadual de Campinhas, Brazil, <http://www.unicamp.br/nee>

Seguridad Estratégica Regional en el 2000 (Ser en el 2000), Argentina, <http://www.ser2000.org.ar>

Asia

Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies (IPCS), India, <http://www.ipcs.org>

Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS), Malaysia, <http://www.isis.org.my>

Europe

Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management, Germany, <http://www.berghof-center.org>

Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC), <http://www.bicc.de>

British American Security Information Council (BASIC), <http://www.basicint.org>

Caucasian Institute for Peace, Democracy and Development (CIPDD), Georgia, <http://www.cipdd.org>

Center for Peace, Conversion and Foreign Policy of Ukraine, <http://cpcfpu.org.ua/en/>

Center for Peace, Non-violence and Human Rights, Croatia, <http://www.centar-za-mir.hr/engonama.php>

Civil–Military Relations in Central and Eastern Europe, Internet Resource Centre, <http://www.bris.ac.uk/Depts/GRC/CMR/Default.htm>

Groupe de Recherché et d'information sur la paix et la sécurité, Belgium, <http://www.grip.org>

Institute of International Relations 'Prague' (IIR), Czech Republic, <http://www.iir.cz/>

Institut Français des Relations Internationales, <http://www.ifri.org>

Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael', <http://www.clingendael.nl>

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	OSCE, *The OSCE Handbook*, 3rd edn, 2000, <http://www.osce.org> Peace Research and European Security Studies, Germany, <http://www.afes-press.de>
Standards of good practice	
Regional standards ECOWAS, *Protocol relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention*, *Management*, *Resolution*, *Peace Keeping and Security*, 1999; *Protocol A/SP1/12/01 on Democracy and Good Governance Supplementary to the Protocol relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention*, *Management*, *Resolution*, *Peacekeeping and Security*, 2001, articles 19–24 OAU, *Declaration on the Framework for an OAU Response to Unconstitutional Changes in Government*, AHG Decl. 5 (XXXVI), 2000 Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE), *Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE)*, November 1990; *Agreement on Adaptation of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe*, November 1990; *Concluding Act of the Negotiation on Personnel Strength of Conventional Armed Forces in Europe*, Helsinki, 1992; *Final Act of the Conference of the States Parties to the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe*, November 1990; *Report of the CSCE Meeting of Experts on Peaceful Settlement of Disputes*, Valletta 1991; Open Skies Treaty Born, H. and Leigh, I., *Handbook on Making Intelligence Accountable* (Geneva: Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, 2005); Born, H. and Leigh, I., *Handbook on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms of Armed Forces Personnel* (Geneva: Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, 2007)	

Assessment question	**2.5.2. How publicly accountable are the police and security services for their activities?**	
What to look for		
1) Laws: examine laws governing the operation and accountability of the police and security services, including regulations on the use of force, the treatment of suspects, invasions of privacy, complaints procedures, etc.	***2) Practice:*** examine the effectiveness of procedures for ensuring the public accountability of the police and security services, and for ensuring that they do not exceed their legal powers.	***3) Negative indicators:*** investigate data on deaths and injury to suspects or those exercising their lawful civil and political rights; on systematic biases in the treatment of citizens; on abuses of power of all kinds. *See also 1.2.4 and 1.3.1.*

Generalized sources

Alderson, J., *Principled Policing* (Winchester: Waterside Press, 1998)

Black and Asian Police Association, <http://www.bapagmp.co.uk/>

Centre for Crime and Justice Studies, Justice Links, <http://www.kcl.ac.uk/depsta/rel/ccjs/justicelink/index.html>

Centro de Estudios de Guatemala (CEG)

Crawshaw, R., Cullen, S. and Williamson, T., *Human Rights and Policing*, 2nd rev. edn (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, 2006);

Crawshaw, R. and Holmström, L., *Essential Cases on Human Rights for the Police* (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, 2006);

Crawshaw, R. and Holmström, L., *Essential Texts on Human Rights for the Police* (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, 2001)

Goldsmith, A. and Lewis, C. (eds), *The Civilian Oversight of Policing* (Portland, Or.: Intl Specialized Book Service Inc., 2000)

Governance and Social Development Resource Centre, UK DFID, database on crime and policing, <http://www.gsdrc.org>

Instituto de Estudios Internacionales, Universidad de Chile, <http://mordor.seci.uchile.cl/facultades/estinter/>

International Centre for Security Analysis (ICSA), <http://www.kcl.ac.uk/orgs/icsa/>

International Police Association, e-mail list of National Sections, <http://www.ipa-iac.org>

International Relations and Security Network (ISN), <http://www.isn.ethz.ch/>

International Union of Police Associations, <http://www.iupa.org>

Interpol, <http://www.interpol.int>

Kulmala, Marko, 'A Guide to Information Warfare', <http://www.futurewar.net>

Kurian, G. T., *World Encyclopedia of Police Forces and Penal Systems* (New York: Facts on File, 1989)

Law Enforcement Gays and Lesbians International (LEGAL International), <http://members.aol.com/legalint/>

NDI, Research programme on civilian oversight of the armed forces and the police, <http://www.ndi.org>

Open Society Justice Initiative, Program on Criminal Justice and Public Security, <http://www.justiceinitiative.org>

Partnership for Democratic Governance and Security, <http://www.pdgs.org/>

Police Accountability, Promoting Civilian Oversight in Southern Africa, <http://www.policeaccountability.co.za>

Rauch, J. and van der Spuy, E., *Police Reform in Post Conflict Africa: A Review* (Pretoria: IDASA, 2006)

VERA Institute of Justice, <http://www.vera.org/>

Standards of good practice

UN General Assembly, *Community Policing*, Resolution 34/169, 12 December 1979

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Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials, 1985
ECOWAS, *Protocol Relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention*, *Management*, *Resolution*, *Peace Keeping and Security*, 1999; *Protocol A/SP1/12/01 on Democracy and Good Governance Supplementary to the Protocol relating to the Mechanism For Conflict Prevention*, *Management*, *Resolution*, *Peacekeeping and Security*, 2001, articles 19–24
Strengthening National Structures, *Institutions and Organizations of Society which Play a Role in Promoting and Safeguarding Human Rights*, Resolution adopted by the 92nd Inter-Parliamentary Conference, Copenhagen, 17 September 1994
Interpol, *Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officers* and *Code of Ethics for Law Enforcement Officers*, <http://www.interpol.int>
NDI, *Democratic Oversight of Police Forces: Mechanisms for Accountability and Community Policing*, 2005, <http://www.accessdemocracy.org>

Assessment question	2.5.3. How far does the composition of the army, police and security services reflect the social composition of society at large?	
What to look for		
1) Laws: examine legislation relevant to the social composition of the armed forces, police and security services, including provision for exclusions. *See also 3.2.3 and 3.2.4.*	*2) Practice:* examine how recruitment and promotion procedures work in practice to affect the social composition of the relevant service, including the operation of internal complaints procedures.	*3) Negative indicators:* investigate evidence of social groups significantly under-represented in the respective services, including in higher grades; of systematic bias, discrimination or maltreatment of particular social groups within their ranks.
Generalized sources		
Black and Asian Police Association, <http://www.bapagmp.co.uk>		
International Police Association, e-mail list of national sections, <http://www.ipa-iac.org>		
International Union of Police Associations, <http://www.iupa.org/>		
Law Enforcement Gays and Lesbians International (LEGAL International), <http://members.aol.com/legalint/>		
Standards of good practice		
Convention on the Rights of the Child: Optional Protocol on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict, 2000		
Independent Commission on Policing for Northern Ireland (the Patten Commission), *A New Beginning: Policing in Northern Ireland* (Norwich, 1999)		

Assessment question	2.5.4. How free is the country from the operation of paramilitary units, private armies, warlordism and criminal mafias?

What to look for

1) Negative indicators: investigate evidence of areas of territory or social life subject to the operation of groups using extra-legal violence; incidence of death, injury or intimidation at their hands. *See also 1.2.1.*

Generalized sources

Andrade, J., *World Police and Paramilitary Forces* (New York: Stockton Press, 1985)

Canadian Security Intelligence Service, *Transnational Criminal Activity*, Backgrounder No. 10, <http://www.csis-scrs.gc.ca/en/newsroom/backgrounders/backgrounder10.asp>

Centre for International Crime Prevention (CICP), <http://www.unodc.org/unodc/crime_cicp.html>

Eldis Gateway to Development Information, database on conflict and security, <http://www.eldis.org/>

European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control, affiliated with the United Nations (HEUNI), <http://www.heuni.fi/>

Global Organised Crime Project, <http://www.csis.org/goc/>

International Crisis Group *country reports*, <http://www.icg.org>

Michigan State University Library, *Criminal Justice Resources: Organized Crime*, <http://www.lib.msu.edu/harris23/crimjust/orgcrime.htm>

Terrorism Research Center, <http://www.terrorism.com>

United Nations Crime and Justice Information Network, <http://www.uncjin.org/>

US Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Organized Crime*, <http://www.fbi.gov/hq/cid/orgcrime/ocshome.htm>

World Bank, research programme on conflict, <http://www.worldbank.org>

Standards of good practice

International standards

UN General Assembly, *Convention against Transnational Organized Crime*, 2000, and its *Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air and Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children,* 2000 and *Protocol against the Illicit Manufacturing of and Trafficking in Firearms, Their Parts and Components and Ammunition*, 2001;

Convention on the Rights of the Child: Optional Protocol on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict, 2000

Regional standards

Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), *Manila Declaration on the Prevention and Control of Transnational Crime*, 1998

Council of Europe, *Convention on Laundering, Search, Seizure and Confiscation of the Proceeds from Crime and on the Financing of Terrorism*, 2005;

Convention on the Prevention of Terrorism, 2005

ECOWAS, *Declaration of a Moratorium on Importation, Exportation and Manufacture of Light Weapons in West Africa*, 1998

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Fourth World Conference on Women, *Beijing Platform for Action*, September 1995, Strategic Objectives and Actions on Women and Armed Conflict International IDEA, *Democracy and Deep-rooted Conflict: Options for Negotiators* (Stockholm: International IDEA, 1998)	OAS, *Commitment of Mar del Plata*, Second Inter-American Conference on Terrorism, 1998; *Declaration of Lima to Prevent, Combat and Eliminate Terrorism*, 1996; *Declaration of San Salvador on Strengthening Cooperation in the Fight against Terrorism*, 2003 OAU, *Bamako Declaration on an African Common Position on the Illicit Proliferation, Circulation and Trafficking of Small Arms and Light Weapons*, 2000; *Convention for the Elimination of Mercenaries in Africa*, 1977; *OAU Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism*, 1999; African Union, *Non-Aggression and Common Defence Pact*, 2005; *Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa*, 2003, article 11 SADC, *Protocol on Control of Firearms, Ammunition and Other Related Materials*, July 2002

2.6. Integrity in public life

Overarching question: Is the integrity of conduct in public life assured?

Assessment question	2.6.1. How effective is the separation of public office from the personal business and family interests of office holders?	
What to look for		
1) Laws: examine regulations governing the separation of public office from the private interests and connections of office holders, including declarations of interest, conflicts of interest, etc.	***2) Practice:*** examine the effectiveness and independence of the procedures for the above.	***3) Negative indicators:*** investigate evidence of systematic connections between office-holders and private interests involved with government; personal favouritisms; failures to declare interests or conflicts of interest; 'revolving door' appointments.

Generalized sources

Global sources

Anti-Corruption Knowledge Center, World Bank, *An Annotated Bibliography*, <http://www.worldbank.org/wbi/governance/bib.html>

Anti-Corruption Resource Centre, database on reports and literature, organizations, toolkits, websites, etc., <http://www.u4.no/index.cfm>

Association of Certified Fraud Examiners, <http://www.acfe.com>

Center for Public Integrity, <http://www.publicintegrity.org>

Coalition for International Justice

Corruption Online Research and Information System (CORIS), Transparency International, <http://www.corisweb.org/>

Governance and Social Development Resource Centre, UK DFID, database on public financial management and accountability, <http://www.gsdrc.org>

Heidenheimer, A. J. et al. (eds), *Political Corruption: A Handbook*, 4th edn (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 1997)

IPU, <http://www.ipu.org>

Management and Governance Network (Magnet), UNDP, <http://magnet.undp.org/>

NDI, Programme on public integrity, <http://www.ndi.org>

Overseas Development Institute, Research on governance and corruption, <http://www.odi.org.uk>

Respondanet, an anti-corruption database (in English and Spanish), <http://www.respondanet.com>

Standing Committee on International Legal Practice, 'Report: Survey of Law on Bribery of Public Officials', 1996 (mimeo);
Standing Committee on International Legal Practice, *Resolution of the Council on the International Bar Association*, 1996 (mimeo)

Africa and the Middle East

African Development Bank, *African Development Report 2001: Fostering Good Governance in Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001)

African Parliamentarians Network against Corruption (APNAC), <http://www.apnacafrica.org>

Doig, A. et al., 'Measuring "Success" in Five African Anti-corruption Commissions: The Cases of Ghana, Malawi, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia', U4, Anti-corruption Resource Centre, 2005, <http://www.u4.no>

Open Society Justice Initiative, Program on Anti-Corruption, <http://www.justiceinitiative.org>

Southern African Information Portal on Corruption (IPOC), <http://www.ipocafrica.org/>

Americas

Indiana University, *Proceedings of the Conference on Civil Service Systems In Comparative Perspective*, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind., 5–8 April 1997, <http://www.indiana.edu/~csrc/csrc.html>

Nathanson Centre for the Study of Organized Crime and Corruption, *Organized Crime Web Links*, <http://www.yorku.ca/nathanson/Links/links.htm#Corruption>

OAS Anti-corruption database (in Spanish only), <http://www.oas.org/juridico/spanish/redesinteramericanas/institu/instituciones.htm>

Asia

ADB OECD Anti-Corruption Initiative for the Asia Pacific, Anti-Corruption Resource Database, <http://www1.oecd.org/daf/asiacom/index.htm>

Asia–Pacific Group on Money Laundering, <http://www.apgml.org/>

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UNDP, *Corruption and Good Governance*, Discussion Paper 3 (New York: Management, Development and Governance Division, UNDP, 1997)

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World Movement for Democracy, documents and database of organizations working on transparency, accountability and access to information, <http://www.wmd.org/>

Australian APEC Study Centre, Monash University, resources on regulation of finance, <http://www.apec.org.au/>

Australian Development Gateway, International and Asia–Pacific-specific resources on anti-corruption, <http://www.developmentgateway.com.au>

Open Society Justice Initiative, Program on Freedom of Anti-Corruption, <http://www.justiceinitiative.org>

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Council of Europe and European Union, OCTOPUS Programme, <http://www.coe.int>;
Council of Europe, Group of States against Corruption (GRECO), <http://www.coe.int/t/dg1/Greco/Default_en.asp>

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Public Sector Corruption: An International Survey of Prevention Measures, OECD, 1999, <http://www.oecd.org>;
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UNODC, *The Global Programme Against Corruption: UN Anti-Corruption Toolkit*, 3rd edn, Vienna, 2004, <http://www.unodc.org>

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Code of Good Practices on Transparency in Monetary and Financial Policies, 1999

Interpol, *Global Standards to Combat Corruption in Police Forces/Services*, <http://www.interpol.int>

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ADB OECD Anti-Corruption Initiative for the Asia Pacific, *Anti-Corruption Action Plan*, <http://www1.oecd.org/daf/asiacom/index.htm>

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African Union, *Convention on Prevention and Combating Corruption*, 2003

Asian Development Bank, *Anti-Corruption Policies in Asia and the Pacific*, 2004;
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Pakistani Government, *National Anti-Corruption Strategy*, 2002

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Code of Conduct for Elected Members of the ANC, 1994

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Trinidad and Tobago Integrity Commission, Extract from the Constitution of Trinidad and Tobago, 1980
UK House of Commons, Committee on Standards in Public Life (the Neil Committee), *The Funding of Political Parties in the United Kingdom*, Fifth Report, Cm 4057 I & II (London: The Stationery Office, 1998)
UK Government, *Raising Standards and Upholding Integrity: The Prevention of Corruption* (London: The Stationery Office, 2000), <http://www.official-documents.gov.uk/>

Assessment question	**2.6.2. How effective are the arrangements for protecting office holders and the public from involvement in bribery?**	
What to look for		
1) Laws: examine laws against corruption in the government and the public services, where appropriate against relevant international and regional conventions.	*2) Practice:* examine the effectiveness and independence of the procedures and penalties for enforcing anti-corruption legislation in different areas of public life: governments, especially procurement policy, the judiciary, law enforcement agencies, customs and excise, and other public services. Examine the rigour of accounting and auditing procedures. Examine evidence of civil society involvement in anti-corruption work and publicity.	*3) Negative indicators:* investigate the known incidence of bribery in cash or kind, petty and major; elite and public perceptions of corruption and experience of its incidence; other corruption indicators.
Generalized sources		
Global sources		*Regional sources*
Corruption Online Research and Information System (CORIS), Transparency International, <http://www.corisweb.org/>		ADB OECD Anti-Corruption Initiative for the Asia Pacific, Anti-Corruption Resource Database, <http://www1.oecd.org/daf/asiacom/index.htm>
Global Organization of Parliamentarians against Corruption, <http://www.gopacnetwork.org/>		African Parliamentarians Network Against Corruption, <http://www.parlcent.ca/africa/APNAC/index_e.php>
International Budget Project, Research theme on transparency and Participation in the budget process, <http://www.internationalbudget.org>;		Anti-Corruption Network for Europe and Eurasia, <http://www.nobribes.org>

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EUMAP, programme on corruption and anti-corruption policy, <http://www.eumap.org/>

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Pieth, M., Low, L. and Cullen, P. J., *The OECD Convention on Bribery: A Commentary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007)

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Transparent Agents and Contracting Agencies (TRACE), <http://www.traceinternational.org/>

UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *Public Service Ethics in Africa*, ST/ESA/PAD/SER.E/23, UNDP Regional Bureau for Africa, 2001, <http://www.unpan.org/EthicsWebSite/inc/reportpg.htm>

US Information Agency, *Bribery and Corruption*, <http://usinfo.state.gov/ei/economic_issues/bribery_and_corruption.html>;
'Corruption: An Impediment to Development', *Economic Perspectives*, Electronic Journal of the US Information Agency, 3/5 (November 1999), <http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/ites/1198/ijee/ejtoc.htm>

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UN General Assembly, *International Code of Conduct for Public Officials*, A/RES/51/59, 12 December 1996

Parliamentary Action to Fight Corruption and the Need for International Co-operation in this Field, Resolution by the 94th Inter-Parliamentary Conference, Bucharest, 13 October 1995

Global Organization of Parliamentarians against Corruption, *Controlling Corruption: A Parliamentarian's Handbook*, 2005, <http://www.gopacnetwork.org/Docs/CCH FINAL Aug 05 ENG.pdf>

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Code of Conduct for Public Officials, 2000;
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African Union, *Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance*, 2007

OECD, *Criminal Law Convention on Corruption*, 1999;
Commentaries on the Convention on Combating Bribery of Officials in International Business Transactions, 1997;
Public Sector Corruption: An International Survey of Prevention Measures, 1999;
Revised Recommendation of the Council on Combating Bribery in International Business Transactions, 1997

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European Union, Directorate General for Research, *Measures to Prevent Corruption in EU Member States*, Legal Affairs Series JURI 101 EN, 1996

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Assessment question	**2.6.3. How far do the rules and procedures for financing elections, candidates and elected representatives prevent their subordination to sectional interests?**	
What to look for		
1) Laws: examine laws on the financing of elections, expenditure of candidates and the expenses of elected representatives, including limits, disclosure, sanctions, etc. *See also 2.1.3 and 2.2.4.*	***2) Practice:*** examine how fairly and effectively the regulations are applied in practice.	***3) Negative indicators:*** investigate data indicating significant dependence of elected officials on special interests, including their policy and legislative record.
Generalized sources		
ACE Electoral Knowledge Network, <http://www.aceproject.org/> International Anti-Corruption Conferences, Transparency International, <http://ww1.transparency.org/iacc/index.html> IPU, *Constitutional and Parliamentary Information* (biannual); Parline Database, <http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/parlinesearch.asp> Management and Governance Network (Magnet), UNDP, <http://magnet.undp.org/> OECD, web pages on Public Finance and Regulatory Management and Reform, <http://www.oecd.org> Respondanet: Americas' Accountability/Anti-Corruption Project (Latin American-based, in Spanish), <http://www.respondanet.com/english/index.htm> Sulemanji, S. and Qureshi, H., 'Roles for International Organizations in the Fight against Corruption', Paper presented at the XIIIth International Congress of the International Society of Social Defense, Lecce, Italy, 28–30 November 1996 Transparency International, <http://www.transparency.org> World Bank, Civil Service Reform Study, e.g. Klitgaard, R., 'Cleaning Up and Invigorating the Civil Service', World Bank, Washington, DC, 1996 (mimeo); (ad hoc) *Country Assistance Strategy Papers* World Movement for Democracy, documents and database of organizations working on transparency, accountability and access to information, <http://www.wmd.org/>		

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UN General Assembly, *International Code of Conduct for Public Officials*, A/RES/51/59, 12 December 1996
Council of Europe, Committee of Ministers, *Recommendation No. R (2003) 4 on Common Rules against Corruption in the Funding of Political Parties and Electoral Campaigns*
European Court of Auditors, 'Special Report 8/98 on the Commission's Services Specifically Involved in the Fight against Fraud, with the Commission's Replies', *Official Journal of the European Communities*, C230, 22 July 1998
OAU, *General Convention on Privileges and Immunities of the OAU*, 1965; *Additional Protocol to the OAU General Convention on Privileges and Immunities*, 1980
OECD, *Public Sector Corruption: An International Survey of Prevention Measures*, OECD, 1999, <http://www.oecd.org>
Open Society Justice Initiative, *Monitoring Election Campaign Finance: A Handbook for NGOs*, 2004, <http://www.justiceinitiative.org>
Centre for Transnational and Post-Conflict Governance, Training in Detection and Enforcement (TIDE), *Enforcing Political Finance Laws: Training Handbook*, USAID, 2005, <http://www.moneyandpolitics.net>
UK House of Commons, Committee on Standards in Public Life (the Neil Committee), *The Funding of Political Parties in the United Kingdom*, Fifth Report, Cm 4057 I & II 1998 (London: The Stationery Office, 1998)

Assessment question	2.6.4. How far is the influence of powerful corporations and business interests over public policy kept in check, and how free are they from involvement in corruption, including overseas?	
What to look for		
1) Laws: examine regulations governing the transparency of corporate relations with government, appointment procedures for public executive and advisory bodies, etc.	*2) Practice:* examine the effectiveness of procedures for maintaining the independence of government policy and implementation from subordination to corporate interests.	*3) Negative indicators:* investigate incidence of 'capture' of government departments, agencies or policy by corporate interests; significant failures or biases in the government regulation of business and finance. *See also 1.4.6.*
Generalized sources		
As above, plus		
African Development Bank, *African Development Report 2001: Fostering Good Governance in Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001)		
Australian APEC Study Centre, Monash University, resources on regulation of finance, <http://www.apec.org.au/>		

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Bamrud, J., 'The Other Face of Business in Latin America', *Latin Trade*, September 1996, pp. 34–41

Business and Human Rights Resource Centre, <http://www.business-humanrights.org>

Business Anti-Corruption Portal, <http://www.business-anti-corruption.dk>

CorporateWatch, UK, investigative site, <http://www.corporatewatch.org.uk>

Davies, R., 'Political Corruption: A Collection of Links on Politics and Political Corruption in Relation to Financial Scandals', <http://www.ex.ac.uk/~RDavies/arian/scandals/political.html>

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Multinational Investment Guarantee Authority (MIGA), World Bank, <http://www.miga.org/>

OAS Permanent Council, Special Committee on Transnational Organized Crime, <http://www.oas.org>

Sciulli, N., 'Competitive Tendering and Contracting in the Public Sector: Costing Concepts and Issues', European Accounting Association 21st Annual Congress, University of Antwerp, 6–8 April 1998

United Nations Centre for Transnational Corporations, <http://unctc.unctad.org>

United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), <http://www.unep.org>

United Nations Global Compact, <http://www.unglobalcompact.org>

United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO), <http://www.unido.org>

United Nations Online Network in Public Administration and Finance (UNPAN), international, regional and country-specific documents and databases on ethics, transparency and accountability and on public finance and public resources, <http://www.unpan.org>

World Bank, research programme on finance and private-sector research, <http://www.worldbank.org>

World Movement for Democracy, documents and database of organizations working on transparency, accountability and access to information, <http://www.wmd.org/>

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International standards

UN General Assembly, *UN Convention against Corruption*, 2003

International Chamber of Commerce, Investment guidelines, <http://www.iccwbo.org/policy/trade/>

International Finance Corporation (IFC), Environment Division, *Doing Better*

Regional standards

ADB OECD Anti-Corruption Initiative for the Asia Pacific, *Anti-Corruption Action Plan*, <http://www1.oecd.org/daf/asiacom/index.htm>

Council of Europe, *Criminal Law Convention on Corruption*, 1999 and *Civil Law Convention on Corruption*, 1999

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Business Through Effective Public Consultation and Disclosure: A Good Practice Manual (Washington, DC: IFC, 1998) World Bank, Civil Service Reform Study, e.g. Klitgaard, R., 'Cleaning Up and Invigorating the Civil Service', World Bank, Washington, DC, 1996 (mimeo) *Good Governance Practices that Promote Human Rights*, Seminar organized by UNDP and OHCHR, Seoul, 15–16 September 2004, Panel 4 on Combating Corruption in Public and Private Sectors, <http://www.ohchr.org/english/issues/development/governance/compilation/forside_02.html> World Bank, Collection of Principles of Best Practice on Corporate Governance, <http://rru.worldbank.org/PapersLinks/Codes-Best-Practice/> *Transparency Charter for International Financial Institutions*, 2006, <http://www.article19.org>	NEPAD, *Declaration on Democracy, Political, Economic and Corporate Governance*, 2005 OAS, *Caracas Convention*, 1996; *Inter-American Convention against Corruption*, 1996 OECD, *Commentaries on the Convention on Combating Bribery of Officials in International Business Transactions*, 1997; *Convention on Combating Bribery of Foreign Public Officials in International Business Transactions*, 1997; *Criminal Law Convention on Corruption*, 1999; *OECD Principles On Corporate Governance*, 2004 European Union, *Public Procurement Framework*, 1998, <http://ec.europa.eu/internal_market/publicprocurement/legislation_en.htm> OECD, *Recommendation on Bribery in International Business Transactions*, 1994 St. George's House, Windsor, Al Albait Foundation and Arab Thought Forum in Amman, *An Interfaith Declaration: A Code of Ethics on International Business for Christians, Muslims and Jews*, 1993 ICAC, Hong Kong, Corruption Prevention Department, *Best Practice Packages*, <http://www.icac.org.hk/eng/prev/prev_dept_7.html>

Assessment question	2.6.5. How much confidence do people have that public officials and public services are free from corruption?
What to look for	
1) Positive and negative indicators: assess opinion poll surveys and other relevant indicators of public confidence in the integrity of public officials and services.	
Generalized sources	
Afro Barometer, <http://www.afrobarometer.org/> Asian Barometer, <http://www.asianbarometer.org/> East Asia Barometer, <http://eacsurvey.law.ntu.edu.tw/> Euro Barometer, <http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/index_en.htm>; Latino Barometer, <http://www.latinobarometro.org/>	

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Bratton, M., Chu, Y.-H., Lagos, M. and Rose, R., 'The People's Voice: Trust in Political Institutions', in International IDEA, *Ten Years of Supporting Democracy Worldwide* (Stockholm: International IDEA, 2005), <http://www.idea.int/publications/anniversary/upload/Inlay_senttoprint_30May05.pdf>
Centre for the Study of Public Policy, University of Aberdeen, <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/cspp/>
Développement Institutions et Analyses de Long terme (DIAL), Household surveys on democracy and human rights, <http://www.dial.prd.fr/>
Transparency International, Corruption Perceptions Index, Global Corruption Barometer, Regional and national surveys and indices, <http://www.transparency.org/>
World Bank, Worldwide Governance Research Indicators Dataset, <http://www.worldbank.org>

3. Civil society and popular participation

3.1. The media in a democratic society

Overarching question: Do the media operate in a way that sustains democratic values?

Assessment question	**3.1.1. How independent are the media from government, how pluralistic is their ownership, and how free are they from subordination to foreign governments or multinational companies?**	
What to look for		
1) Laws: examine legislation on media ownership and operation, including cross-ownership, editorial independence, laws on defamation and freedom of information and expression, rules governing the broadcast media, either public or private, etc.	***2) Practice:*** examine how effectively any legislation is enforced, the government's public relations arrangements and tolerance of media criticism, citizen access to the Internet and modern forms of communication, etc.	***3) Negative indicators:*** investigate data on concentration of media ownership, foreign ownership, government or party ownership, dominance or manipulation of the media; investigate intimidation or obstruction of media outlets or workers.
Generalized sources		
See 2.3.5. ***Global sources*** Article 19, <http://www.article19.org>		***Africa and the Middle East*** Africa South of the Sahara, 'Media and Mass Communication' (website links), Stanford

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Campaign for Communication Rights in the Information Society (CRIS), <http://www.crisinfo.org/>

Commonwealth Press Union, <http://www.cpu.org.uk/>

Christians, C. G. et al., *Media Ethics: Cases and Moral Reasoning*, 7th edn (New York: Allyn & Bacon, 2005), <http://campus.arbor.edu/media_ethics7/index.html>

World Reference Atlas (London and New York: Dorling Kindersley, various edns), media censorship indicators, media ownership in country reports

Foreign Policy, *The List: Powerful Media Moguls*, October 2006, <http://www.foreignpolicy.com>

Herman, E. and McChesney, R., *The Global Media* (London: Cassell, 1997)

Human Rights Watch with the US Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, 'Threats to Press Freedoms: A Report for the Free Media Seminar', 1998

International Association for Women in Radio and Television, <http://www.iawrt.org/>

International Center for Journalists, Media Laws from various countries, <http://www.icfj.org/>

International Federation of Journalists, <http://www.ifj.org/>

International Press Institute (IPI), <http://www.freemedia.at/cms/ipi/>; *World Press Freedom Review* (annual), <http://www.freemedia.at/cms/ipi/freedom.html> (regional overviews and 165 country reports)

International Women's Media Foundation, <http://www.iwmf.org/>

Mediachannel.org, links to journalism and broadcasting sites in South and South-East Asia, Central Asia, Asia–Pacific, the Middle East, Africa, Central and South America, North America and Europe, <http://www.mediachannel.org/links/links-frameset.html>

University Library, <http://www-sul.stanford.edu/africa/media.html>

Institute for the Advancement of Journalism, South Africa, <http://www.iaj.co.za/>

Journalism for the Journalists of Southern Africa, <http://www.journalism.co.za/>

Partners for Media in Africa, <http://www.gret.org/mediapartner/>

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Center for Latin American Studies, Georgetown University, Political Database of the Americas, <http://pdba.georgetown.edu/>

Chenoweth, N., *Virtual Murdoch: Reality Wars on the Information Highway* (London: Secker & Warburg, 2001)

Hoffmann-Riem, W., *Regulating Media: The Licensing and Supervision of Broadcasting in Six Countries* (New York: Guilford, 1996)

Inter American Press Association, <http://www.sipiapa.org/default.cfm>

News Corporation, *Annual Reports*, <http://www.newscorp.com/investor/Annual_Reports.html>

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Asia

Asian Media Information and Communication Centre, <http://www.amic.org.sg/>

International Federation of Journalists, Asia Pacific, <http://www.ifj-asia.org/>

South Asian Journalists Association (SAJA), <http://www.saja.org>

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Bertrand, C., *La Déontologie des médias*, 2nd edn (Paris: PUF Que Sais-Je, 1999)

EUMAP, programme on media policy, <http://www.eumap.org/>

European Journalism Center (EJC), *Organising Media Accountability* (Maastricht: EJC, 1997);

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Media Diversity Institute, <http://www.media-diversity.org>

Organization of News Ombudsmen (ONO), <http://www.newsombudsmen.org>

Political Risk Services (PRS), *Political Risk Yearbook* (New York: PRS, 1995), section on media/status of the press

Poynter Online, Bibliographies on media credibility, media ethics, world press, etc., <http://www.poynter.org>

Staple, G. C. (ed.), *Telegraphy 1993: Global Telecommunications Traffic Statistics and Commentary* (Washington, DC: Telegeography Inc., 1993)

Steven, P., The No-Nonsense Guide to Global Media (New York: Verso, forthcoming)

UNDP, Human Development Report (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), table 19, p. 226: number (per 1,000) of daily newspapers, radios, television sets, telephone mainlines, mobile telephones, personal computers and (per 10,000) Internet hosts

UNESCO, Statistical Yearbook (annual)

World Association of Newspapers (ex-FIEJ), <http://www.wan-press.org>

World Association of Press Councils (WAPC), <http://www.wanewscouncil.org/World.htm>

World Movement for Democracy, documents and database of organizations working on media and access to information, <http://www.wmd.org/>

European Media Landscape, <http://www.ejc.nl/>

European Newspaper Publishers' Association, <http://www.enpa.be/>

Reports of the OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media, <http://www.osce.org/fom/>

Standards of good practice

African Union, *Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance*, 2007, articles 17 and 27

Joint Declaration by the UN, OAS and OSCE Mandates on Freedom of Expression, 2005, <http://www.article19.org>

Article 19, *A Model Public Service Broadcasting Law*, 2005;
Access to the Airwaves: Principles on Freedom of Expression and Broadcast Regulation, 2002;
Guidelines for Election Broadcasting, 2005 Elections in Iraq;

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Broadcasting Policy and Practice in Africa, 2003; *Freedom and Accountability: Safeguarding Free Expression Through Media Self-Regulation*, 2005; *International Standards for the Media: Briefing Notes on Basic Principles of Journalism*, 2005, all at <http://www.article19.org> Asian journalists' codes of ethics, <http://www.medialaw.com.sg/ethics/jcode.htm> (for 7 countries) EthicNet, Databank for European Codes of Journalism Ethics (for 37 countries), <http://www.uta.fi/laitokset/tiedotus/ethicnet/index.html> Gaber, I., Barbar, B. and Ledger, F., *Live from Africa: A Handbook for African Radio Journalists* (London: Institute for War and Peace Reporting (IWPR), 2006), <http://www.eldis.org> International Center for Journalists, codes of ethics from various international and national organizations, <http://www.icfj.org/> Sonnenberg, U. (ed.), *Organising Media Accountability: Experiences in Europe* (Maastricht: European Journalism Centre, 1997), <http://www.ejc.nl> UK National Union of Journalists, Code of Conduct, <http://www.gn.apc.org/media/nujcode.html> USAID, 'The Role of Media in Democracy: A Strategic Approach', USAID, 1999, <http://www.usaid.gov> von Dewall, G., *Press Ethics: Regulation and Editorial Practice* (Düsseldorf: European Institute for the Media, 1997)

Assessment question	**3.1.2. How representative are the media of different opinions and how accessible are they to different sections of society?**	
What to look for		
1) Laws: examine regulations and procedures governing public service broadcasting, media standards and complaints.	***2) Practice:*** investigate data on distribution within the population of the means of access to different media, including the Internet; on the range and variety of types of programme, publications etc., especially relating to public affairs.	***3) Negative indicators:*** investigate the incidence of media censorship, official and unofficial; of significant bias or distortion in news and current affairs presentation; disproportionate representation of social groups among media professionals. *See also 1.3.2 and 2.1.3.*
Generalized sources		
American Society of Newspaper Editors, *Newsroom Employment Census*, 2004, <http://www.iwmf.org> Centre for Media Freedom Middle East and North Africa, *Women's Rights and the Arab Media*, 2000, <http://www.iwmf.org>	***The 'new media'*** Advisory Network for African Information Strategies (ANAIS) International Development Research Centre, Canada, <http://www.panasia.org>	

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European Journalism Center, *European Media Landscape*, <http://www.ejc.nl/>

Federation of African Media Women, *Employment Patterns in Media Organizations in Southern Africa*, SADC, 1998, <http://www.iwmf.org>

Isis International Media, *The State of Women and Media in Asia: An Overview*, 1999, <http://www.iwmf.org>

Media and Communications Studies, UK, University of Aberystwyth, <http://www.aber.ac.uk>

Media Diversity Institute, <http://www.media-diversity.org>

Media Entertainment and Arts Alliance, *Women in the Media Survey* (status of women in the Australian media), 1996, <http://www.iwmf.org>

Media Institute of Southern Africa and Gender Links, *Gender and Media Baseline Study*, 2003, <http://www.iwmf.org>

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UN Program Evaluation and Communication Research Unit, *World Media Handbook 1992–94* (New York: UN Department of Public Information, 1994)

International Institute of Development Communication, project on African web access at City University, London, UK, <http://www.iicd.org/>

'KnowNet Weaver', <http://www.knownetweaver.org>

McChesney, R. W., 'The New Global Media: It's a Small World of Big Conglomerates', *The Nation*, 29 November 1999, <http://www.thenation.com>

Nath, V., 'Heralding ICT Enabled Knowledge Societies', 2000, <http://www.vikasnath.org/>

Networks & Development Foundation (FUNREDES), Dominican Republic, network for Central America and the Caribbean, <http://www.funredes.org/mistica>

Palmer, M. and Tunstall, J., *Media Moguls* (London: Routledge, 1991)

Poynter Online, Bibliographies on media credibility, media ethics, new media, world press, etc., <http://www.poynter.org>

Shah, A., *Media Conglomerates, Mergers, Concentration of Ownership*, 2006, <http://www.globalissues.org>

Shedden, D., 'New Media Bibliography', 2006, <http://poynteronline.org>

Various innovative projects and potential resources from <http://www.stockholmchallenge.se/>
For example, Drik, a photographic resource centre and image bank, <http://www.drik.net>;
DrumNet (Kenya) commercial networking, <http://www.drumnet.org>;
Haitian Research and Development Network (REHRED) promoting ICT to the poor, providing information and encouraging democracy;
Kgautswane ICT Centre, 'new' media creating livelihoods in a deep rural setting, <http://www.pgw.org/telisa/>;

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World Association for Christian Communication, *Who Makes the News? Global Media Monitoring Project 2000*, 2000, <http://www.iwmf.org>	Neighborhood Information Units (NIU), Santafe de Bogota, Colombia, <http://www.colnodo.apc.org>; Reinforcement of Women's Position in Decision Processes, Senegal, Promoting women's greater representation in political and administrative proceedings, <http://www.famafrique.org>; SISCOM, Costa Rica, ICT for Communities and Municipalities; Web of Information for Development (WIDE), Brazil

Standards of good practice

UN General Assembly, *Convention on the International Right of Correction*, August 1962

Fourth World Conference on Women, *Beijing Platform for Action*, September 1995, Strategic Objectives and Actions on Women and the Media

African Charter on Broadcasting, 2001

Declaration of Windhoek on Promoting an Independent and Pluralistic African Press, 1991, adopted at the Seminar on Promoting an Independent and Pluralistic African Press, Namibia, 1991

Article 19, *Access to the Airwaves: Principles on Freedom of Expression and Broadcast Regulation*, 2002; *Broadcasting Pluralism and Diversity*, 2006;
International Standards for the Media: Briefing Notes on Basic Principles of Journalism, 2005, both at <http://www.article19.org>

Bromley, M. and Sonnenberg, U. (eds), *Reporting Ethnic Minorities and Ethnic Conflict: Beyond Good or Evil* (Maastricht: European Journalism Centre, 1998), <http://www.ejc.nl>

Devilette, S. (ed.), *Handbook for Bloggers and Cyber Dissidents*, Reporters Without Borders, 2005, <http://www.eldis.org>

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International Center for Journalists, code of ethics from various international and national organizations, <http://www.icfj.org/>

Media Diversity Institute, country-specific reporting manuals, manuals on reporting HIV/AIDS, trafficking in women, and other issues;
Media Monitoring Manual, 2002, <http://www.media-diversity.org>

One World.Net, *Capacity Building Guide*, <http://uk.oneworld.net/guides/capacitybuilding>

Pact Tanzania, 'Media Guide: Ways for Civil Society to Engage with the Media', Advocacy Expert Series, 2006, <http://www.eldis.org>

Partal, V., King, C. and Belot, A., *Connecting Citizens: Innovative Practices*, *Vols 1 and 2* (Maastricht: European Journalism Centre, 2005), <http://www.ejc.nl>

Williams, T., *Gender for Journalists: Toolkit*, Commonwealth Press Union/International Institute for Communication and Development, 2006, <http://www.eldis.org>
Good practice documentation as in 3.1.1 above

Assessment question	3.1.3. How effective are the media and other independent bodies in investigating government and powerful corporations?

What to look for

1) Positive indicators: examine the incidence of reports which expose malpractice or cause justifiable embarrassment to office holders or powerful corporations.	***2) Negative indicators:*** examine the extent to which the media are dependent for their information on official government or corporate channels.

Generalized sources

See 1.4.6.

Adbusters Media Foundation, <http://www.adbusters.org>

Article 19, *Pressure, Politics and the Press: The State of Media Freedom in Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine*, 2003, and other documents and resources, <http://www.article19.org>

Campaign for Communication Rights in the Information Society (CRIS), <http://www.crisinfo.org/>

Corporate Watch, UK <http://www.corpwatch.org.uk>

EUMAP, programme on media policy, <http://www.eumap.org/>

Freelance Futures: World Survey on the Social and Economic Status of Freelance Journalists, Final Report, International Labour Organization, December 1999, <http://www.ifj.org>

Iggers, J., *Good News, Bad News: Journalism Ethics and the Public Interest* (New York: Worldview Press, 1998)

Index on Censorship, London (monthly), <http://www.indexonline.org>

International Press Institute, *World Press Freedom Review*, <http://www.freemedia.at/cms/ipi/freedom.html> (regional overviews and country reports)

Jensen, C., *20 Years of Censored News* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 1997)

Multinational Monitor, <http://multinationalmonitor.org>

Poynter Online, Bibliographies on media credibility, media ethics, new media, world press, etc., <http://www.poynter.org>

Seib, P., *Campaigns and Conscience: The Ethics of Political Journalism* (Westport, Ct: Praeger, 1994)

Société française des sciences de l'information et de la communication (SFSIC), <http://www.sfsic.org>

Standards of good practice

Windhoek Charter on Broadcasting in Africa, 2001

Windhoek Declaration on Promoting an Independent and Pluralistic African Press, Seminar on Promoting an Independent and Pluralistic African Press, 1991

Article 19, *A Model Public Service Broadcasting Law*, 2005;
Broadcasting Policy and Practice in Africa, 2003;
Broadcasting Pluralism and Diversity, 2006;
International Standards for the Media: Briefing Notes on Basic Principles of Journalism, 2005,
all at <http://www.article19.org>

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Bouchet, N. and Kariithi, N. K., *Parliament and the Media: Building an Informed Society* (Washington, DC: World Bank Institute, Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, 2003), <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/WBI/Resources/wbi37228BouchetKariithiWEB.pdf>
Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, *Parliament and the Media*, 2005, <http://www.cpahq.org/topics/parliamentmedia/>
World Bank, *Strengthening the Media as Watchdog*, 2004 *And other documents as above. See also 1.3.2, 1.4.6 and 2.3.5.*

Assessment question	3.1.4. How free are journalists from restrictive laws, harassment and intimidation?
What to look for	
*1) **Laws:*** examine laws which significantly limit journalistic freedom.	***2) Negative indicators:*** investigate the incidence of harassment, intimidation or obstruction of journalists, including death or injury. *See also 1.3.1 and 1.3.2.*
Generalized sources	
As above, and Amnesty International, <http://www.amnesty.org> Article 19, *Pressure, Politics and the Press: The State of Media Freedom in Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine*, 2003, and other documents and resources, <http://www.article19.org> Bratton, M., Chu, Y.-H., Lagos, M. and Rose, R., 'The People's Voice: Trust in Political Institutions', in International IDEA, *Ten Years of Supporting Democracy Worldwide* (Stockholm: International IDEA, 2005), <http://www.idea.int/publications/anniversary/upload/Inlay_senttoprint_30May05.pdf> Campaign for Communication Rights in the Information Society (CRIS), <http://www.crisinfo.org/> Centre for the Study of Public Policy, University of Aberdeen, <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/cspp/> Charter 88, <http://www.charter88.org.uk> Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), *Press Freedom Online*, <http://www.cpj.org>; *Attacks on the Press in 1999*, <http://www.cpj.org/attacks99/pages_att99/bookorder99.html> Commonwealth Press Union, <http://www.cpu.org.uk/> Cookson, R. et al., *Exiled Journalists in Europe* (Bristol: Mediawise, 2006) Digital Freedom Network, <http://www.dfn.org/> Freedom Forum, <http://www.freedomforum.org/> *Index on Censorship*, London (monthly), <http://www.indexonline.org> International Center for Journalists, Media Laws from various countries, <http://www.icfj.org/> International Press Institute links page, <http://www.freemedia.at>	

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International PEN, *Writers in Prison Committee: Case List* (London: International PEN, annual)
Poynter Online, Bibliographies on media credibility, media ethics, new media, world press, etc., <http://www.poynter.org>
Radio Free Asia, <http://www.rfa.org/english/>
Reporters sans Frontiers, <http://www.rsf.org/>
Standards of good practice
International Federation of Journalists (IFJ), *Declaration of Principles on the Conduct of Journalists*, adopted by the 1954 World Congress of the IFJ, amended by the 1986 World Congress
Article 19, *A Model Public Service Broadcasting Law*, 2005; *Access to the Airwaves: Principles on Freedom of Expression and Broadcast Regulation*, 2002; *Broadcasting Policy and Practice in Africa*, 2003; *Comparative Study of Laws and Regulations Restricting the Publication of Electoral Opinion Polls*, 2003; *Freedom and Accountability: Safeguarding Free Expression Through Media Self-Regulation*, 2005; *Broadcasting Pluralism and Diversity*, 2006, all at <http://www.article19.org>
As above

Assessment question	**3.1.5. How free are private citizens from intrusion and harassment by the media?**	
What to look for		
1) Laws: examine privacy laws and codes of media practice.	***2) Practice:*** examine their effectiveness in practice; procedures for redress in the event of complaint.	***3) Negative indicators:*** incidence of complaints
Generalized sources		
As above		
American Journalism Review, <http://www.ajr.org>		
Bernier, Marc-François, *Ethique et déontologie du journalisme* (Quebec: Presses de l'université Laval, 1994)		
Christians, C. and Traber, M. (eds), *Communication Ethics and Universal Values* (London: Sage, 1997)		
Cooper, T. W., *Television and Ethics: A Bibliography* (Boston, Mass.: G.K. Hall, 1988)		
Cornu, D., *Ethique de l'information* (Paris: PUF Que Sais-Je, 1997)		
François-Xavier, Alix, *Une Ethique pour l'information* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1997)		
Gordon, A. D. and Kittross, J. M., *Controversies in Media Ethics*, 2nd edn (New York: Addison Wesley, 1999)		

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International Center for Journalists, Media Laws from various countries, <http://www.icfj.org/>

MacDonald, B. and Petheram, M., *Keyguide to Information Sources in Media Ethics* (London: Mansell, 1998)

MediaWise, database of international and country-specific codes of conduct for the media, <http://www.presswise.org.uk/>

Nordenstreng, K. (ed.), *Reports on Media Ethics in Europe* (Tampere: University of Tampere, 1995)

Organization of News Ombudsmen (ONO), <http://www.newsombudsmen.org>

Riboreau, G., *Déontologie du journalisme radiophonique* (Paris: RFI, 1997)

SPG-SDX, National Ethics Committee, *Journalism Ethics Report* (Chicago: Society of Professional Journalists, annual)

World Association of Press Councils (WAPC), <http://www.wanewscouncil.org/World.htm>

Standards of good practice

UN General Assembly, *Convention on the International Right of Correction*, August 1962

International Federation of Journalists (IFJ), *Declaration of Principles on the Conduct of Journalists*, adopted by 1954 World Congress of the IFJ, amended by the 1986 World Congress

Article 19, *A Model Public Service Broadcasting Law*, 2005;
Freedom and Accountability: Safeguarding Free Expression Through Media Self-Regulation, 2005;
International Standards for the Media: Briefing Notes on Basic Principles of Journalism, 2005,
all at <http://www.article19.org>

International Center for Journalists, Code of Ethics from various international and national organizations, <http://www.icfj.org/>

Juusela, P., *Journalistic Codes of Ethics in the CSCE Countries* (Tampere: University of Tampere, 1991)

Ugandan Journalists Association, *Code of Professional Conduct*

3.2. Political participation

Overarching question: Is there full citizen participation in public life?

Assessment question	3.2.1. How extensive is the range of voluntary associations, citizen groups, social movements etc. and how independent are they from government?	
What to look for		
1) Laws: examine regulations governing the registration, governance, financing and membership of voluntary associations, NGOs and self-management organizations.	*2) Positive indicators:* investigate data on the range and distribution of voluntary associations, their fields of activity, public impact, etc.	*3) Negative indicators:* investigate the incidence of subordination to government or governing parties, to foreign agencies or interests; the proportion of income not derived from members' contributions. *See also 1.3.2, 2.2.3, 2.3.5 and 2.4.6.*

Generalized sources

Global sources

Association for Research on Nonprofit Organisations and Voluntary Action (ARNOVA), online journals and occasional papers, <http://www.arnova.org>

Blagescu, M. and Lloyd, R., *2006 Global Accountability Report: Holding Power to Account* (London: One World Trust, 2006), <http://www.oneworldtrust.org>

Charities Aid Foundation, <http://www.charitynet.org>

Eldis Gateway to Development Information, database on participation, <http://www.eldis.org/>

Global directory of non-profit community organizations, <http://www.idealist.org/>

Governance and Social Development Resource Centre, UK DFID, database on participation, <http://www.gsdrc.org>

NDI, programme on citizen participation, <http://www.ndi.org>

UNDP, *Decentralized Governance Monograph: A Global Sampling of Experiences*, Management Development and Governance Division, UNDP, 1999, <http://magnet.undp.org>;

Regional sources

Africa South of the Sahara: Selected Internet Resources, <http://www-sul.stanford.edu/depts/ssrg/africa/guide.html>

AfriMAP, database on political participation, <http://www.afrimap.org>

American Council for Voluntary International Action, <http://interaction.org>

Australian Development Gateway, International and Asia–Pacific-specific resources on civil society organizations, <http://www.developmentgateway.com.au>

British Library for Development Studies (BLDS) Bibliographic Database, searchable web version of the BLDS depository library of the UN, South Pacific Commission and GATT, <http://blds.ids.ac.uk/blds/>

C2D Direct Democracy, <http://c2d.unige.ch/>

Center for Latin American Studies, Georgetown University, Political Database of the Americas, <http://pdba.georgetown.edu/>

Hansard Society for Parliamentary Government, 'Making the Law: The Report of the Hansard Society Commission on the Legislative Process', London, 1993

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Participatory Local Governance: LIFE's Method and Experience 1992–1997, MDGD Technical Advisory Paper I, Local Initiative Facility for Urban Development, Management Development and Governance Division, UNDP, 1997;
A Guide to Civil Society Organisations Working on Democratic Governance, 2005, <http://www.undp.org/partners/cso/>

United Nations Online Network in Public Administration and Finance (UNPAN), international, regional and country-specific documents and databases on governance systems and institutions, <http://www.unpan.org>

World Bank, documents on governance, civil society and participation, <http://www.worldbank.org>

Monitoring and Evaluation (MandE), excellent archive of participation, evaluation and NGO service provision, <http://www.mande.co.uk>

NGO Information Centre, <http://www.ngo.or.jp/>

Office for Public Management, <http://www.opm.co.uk>

Asian Development Bank, Operations Evaluation Department, 'Special Evaluation Study on the Involvement of Civil Society Organisations in Asian Development Bank Operations', 2006, <http://www.eldis.org>

Pacific Islands Association of Non-governmental Organisations (PIANGO), <http://www.piango.org/>

Pan American Development Foundation, programme on strengthening communities and civil society, <http://www.padf.org>

Standards of good practice

UN General Assembly, *ICESCR*, 1966, article 8

Council of Europe, *Council of Europe Recommendation No. R(80) 2 concerning the Exercise of Discretionary Powers by Administrative Authorities*, 11 March 1980;
Council of Europe Resolution (77) 31 on the Protection of the Individual in Relation to the Acts of Administrative Authorities, 28 September 1977

UN Committee on Civil and Political Rights, *General Comment No. 25. The Right to Participate in Public Affairs, Voting Rights and the Right to Equal Access to Public Service*, 1996

UNDP, *UNDP and Civil Society Organisations: A Toolkit for Strengthening Partnerships*, 2006;
UNDP and Civil Society Organisations: Partners in Development, 2003, <http://www.undp.org/partners/cso>

Better Regulation Task Force, UK, *Better Regulation for Civil Society: Making Life Easier for Those Who Help Others*, November 2005, <http://www.brc.gov.uk>

CIVICUS and MDGs Campaigning Toolkit for Civil Society Organisations engaged in the Millennium Development Goals, <http://www.civicus.org>

Court, J., Mendizabal, E., Osborne, D. and Young, J., *Policy Engagement: How Civil Society Can Be More Effective* (London: Research and Policy in Development (RAPID), Overseas Development Institute (ODI), 2006);
Start, D. and Hovland, I., *Tools for Policy Impact: A Handbook for Researchers* (London: RAPID, ODI, 2004), <http://www.odi.org.uk>

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Involve, *People and Participation: How to Put Citizens at the Heart of Decision-making*, 2005, <http://www.eldis.org>

Irish, L. E., Kushen, R. and Simon, K. W., *Guidelines for Laws Affecting Civic Organizations*, 2nd edn (New York: OSI, 2004), <http://www.soros.org/resources/articles_publications/publications/lawguide_20040215>

Ramalingam, B., *Tools for Knowledge and Learning: A Guide for Development and Humanitarian Organisations* (London, Research and Policy in Development (RAPID), Overseas Development Institute, 2006), <http://www.eldis.org>

Thomas, L., *Capacity Building for Local NGOs: A Guidance Manual for Good Practice*, Progressio, 2005, <http://www.eldis.org>

One World.Net, *Capacity Building Guide*, <http://uk.oneworld.net/guides/capacitybuilding>

Wisse, E., 'Promoting Democracy: An International Exploration of Policy and Implementation Practice', Netherlands Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations, Department of Constitutional Matters and Legislation, 2006, <http://www.oecd.org>

Assessment question	**3.2.2. How extensive is citizen participation in voluntary associations and self-management organizations, and in other voluntary public activity?**

What to look for

1) Positive and negative indicators: investigate data on membership of voluntary associations, self-management organizations, etc.; and on citizen involvement in other forms of voluntary public activity.

Generalized sources

Global sources	*Regional sources*
Association for Research on Nonprofit Organisations and Voluntary Action (ARNOVA), online journals and occasional papers, <http://www.arnova.org>	American Council for Voluntary International Action, <http://interaction.org>
Blagescu, M. and Lloyd, R., *2006 Global Accountability Report: Holding Power to Account* (London: One World Trust, 2006), <http://www.oneworldtrust.org>	C2D Direct Democracy, <http://c2d.unige.ch/>
Eldis Gateway to Development Information, excellent sources on participation, including 'good practice' manuals from major international organizations, <http://www.eldis.org/>	Center for Latin American Studies, Georgetown University, Political Database of the Americas, <http://pdba.georgetown.edu/>
Idealist.org: Action without Borders, global directory of non-profit community organizations, <http://www.idealist.org/>	Grameen Bank, Economic participation by micro-credit schemes, <http://www.grameen.com>
	Monitoring and Evaluation (MandE); some assessment of range can be gleaned from <http://www.mande.co.uk>
	Permanent Observer Mission of the Organization of the Islamic Conference to the United Nations, <http://www.oicun.org/>

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UN Department of Public Information, Non-Governmental Organizations (DPI.NGO), <http://www.un.org/dpi/ngosection/index.asp>

UNDP, *Decentralized Governance Monograph: A Global Sampling of Experiences,* Management Development and Governance Division, UNDP, 1999, <http://magnet.undp.org>;
A Guide to Civil Society Organisations Working on Democratic Governance, 2005, <http://www.undp.org/partners/cso/>

Union of International Associations, NGO websites (derivative from their *Yearbook of International Associations*), <http://www.uia.org/extlinks/pub.php>

World Movement for Democracy, documents and database of organizations working on political and civic participation of youth, <http://www.wmd.org/>

Russian and East European Institute, Indiana University, Nonprofit Organizations/NGOs, <http://www.iub.edu/~reeiweb/placement/jobnonprof.shtml>

UnionWeb, <http://www.unionweb.co.uk>; (many sub-national organizations, especially in the USA, e.g. demsouth@all4democracy.org; projectsouth@igc.apc.org; horizon@horizoninstitute.org; <http://www.vote.smart.org/>; mengle@publicampaign.org;
Democracy for All Canadians, dfac@angelfire.com;
non-US, e.g. Accion Zapatista, Colombia Support Network, Contact Centre etc.;
UK, e.g. Integrated Communities and Sustainable Regeneration project, <http://www.goldsmiths.ac.uk/cucr/html/res3.html>

Standards of good practice

OAU, *Charter on Popular Participation*, 1990

UN Committee on Civil and Political Rights, *General Comment No. 25. The Right to Participate in Public Affairs, Voting Rights and the Right to Equal Access to Public Service*, 1996

CIVICUS and MDGs Campaigning Toolkit for Civil Society Organisations engaged in the Millennium Development Goals, <http://www.civicus.org>

Court, J., Mendizabal, E., Osborne, D. and Young, J., *Policy Engagement: How Civil Society Can Be More Effective* (London: RAPID, ODI, 2006);
Start, D. and Hovland, I., *Tools for Policy Impact: A Handbook for Researchers* (London: RAPID, ODI, 2004), <http://www.odi.org.uk>

Involve, *People and Participation: How to Put Citizens at the Heart of Decision-making*, 2005, <http://www.eldis.org>

One World.Net, *Capacity Building Guide*, <http://uk.oneworld.net/guides/capacitybuilding>

Pact Tanzania, 'Media Guide: Ways for Civil Society to Engage with the Media', *Advocacy Expert Series*, 2006, <http://www.eldis.org>

Ramalingam, B., *Tools for Knowledge and Learning: A Guide for Development and Humanitarian Organisations* (London: RAPID, ODI, 2006), <http://www.eldis.org>

Thomas, L., *Capacity Building for Local NGOs: A Guidance Manual for Good Practice*, Progressio, 2005, <http://www.eldis.org>

World Bank, *Participatory Evaluation: Tools for Managing Change in Water and Sanitation (Vol. 1)*, World Bank Technical Paper WTP207, 1994

Assessment question	3.2.3. How far do women participate in political life and public office at all levels?	
What to look for		
1) Laws: examine laws on gender discrimination in public life; if the government has ratified CEDAW, how far legislation conforms to its standards.	*2) Practice:* examine the effectiveness of procedures for implementing the relevant legislation, including affirmative action policies.	*3) Positive and negative indicators:* investigate data on women's participation in political and public office at all levels; in political parties; in voluntary associations and their management. *See 1.1.2, 2.1.5 and 2.5.3.*

Generalized sources

Major resources for statistical data

Ahooja-Patel, K., 'Gender Distance among Countries', *Economic and Political Weekly*, February 1993

Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, numbers of women in parliaments, <http://www.cpahq.org/>

Cook, R. J. (ed.), *Human Rights of Women* (Philadelphia, Pa: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994)

Eldis Gateway to Development Information, database on participation, <http://www.eldis.org/>

Human Rights Watch, *The Human Rights Watch Global Report on Women's Human Rights*, 1998

Inglehart, R. and Norris, P., 'Gender Gaps in Voting Behaviour in Global Perspective', *International Journal of Political Research*, September 2000

International IDEA, Global Database of Quotas for Women, <http://www.quotaproject.org>;
Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers. A Revised Edition (Stockholm: International IDEA, 2005)

IKNOW Politics, <http://www.iknowpolitics.org/>

IPU, online database of all national parliaments and proportion of women members, <http://www.ipu.org>;
Women in Parliaments: 1945–1995, Reports and Documents Series, No. 23, 1995;

Pressure groups

Center for Women's Global Leadership, <http://www.cwgl.rutgers.edu/>

International IDEA links page to women's websites, <http://www.idea.int/gender/inc>:
Feminist Majority Foundation Online, <http://www.feminist.org/>;
Global Fund for Women, <http://www.globalfundforwomen.org/cms/>;
International Women's websites, <http://research.umbc.edu/~korenman/wmst/links_intl.html>;
Muslim Women pages, <http://www.jannah.org/>;
NDI, <http://www.ndi.org/globalp/women/women.asp>;
Network of East-West Women, <http://www.neww.org/>;
UN Commission on the Status of Women, <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/>

Organizations promoting women's political participation in parliaments (addresses available from <http://www.idea.int/gender/>)
Association of West European Parliamentarians for Africa (AWEPA);
Center for Asia–Pacific Women in Politics (CAPWIP);
Gender and Youth Affairs Division, Commonwealth Secretariat;
IPU;

(cont.)	
Women in Politics: World Bibliography, IPU, various NDI, Program on Women's Participation, <http://www.ndi.org> World Bank, documents on governance, civil society and participation, <http://www.worldbank.org>	NDI; Organization of Women Parliamentarians from Muslim Countries; Parliamentarians for Global Action (PGA); SADC; South Asian Network for Political Empowerment of Women (SANPEW)
Standards of good practice	
International standards	***Regional standards***
UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, *General Recommendation No. 23. Women in Political and Public Life*, 1997 *UN Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)*, 1979 *ILO Convention No. 100. Equal Remuneration*, 1951; *ILO Convention No. 111. Discrimination (Employment and Occupation)*, 1958; *ILO Convention on the Political Rights of Women*, 1952 *Parliamentary Action for Women's Access to and Participation in Decision-Making Structures aimed at Achieving True Equality for Women*, Resolution by the 93rd Inter-Parliamentary Conference, Madrid, 1 April 1995 UNDP, *Women and Political Participation and Good Governance: 21st Century Challenges*, UNDP, 2004 Wassenaar, N., *Incorporating Gender into Your NGO: A Manual on Gender Mainstreaming Within Organisations*, Network Learning, 2006, <http://www.eldis.org> One World.Net, *Capacity Building Guide*, <http://uk.oneworld.net/guides/capacitybuilding>	African Union, *Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa*, 2004 *Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa*, 2003 OSCE, ODIHR, *Handbook for Monitoring Women's Participation in Elections*, OSCE/ODIHR, 2004, <http://www.osce.org> Pact Tanzania, 'Gender Mentoring: A Guide for Strengthening Equality in Communities', *Advocacy Expert Series*, 2006, <http://www.eldis.org>

Assessment question	3.2.4. How equal is access for all social groups to public office, and how fairly are they represented within it?	
What to look for		
1) Laws: examine laws on discrimination against other social groups in the light of any relevant UN or regional conventions ratified by the government.	***2) Practice:*** examine the effectiveness of procedures for implementing the relevant legislation, including affirmative action policies.	***3) Positive and negative indicators:*** investigate data on the participation of relevant social groups in political and public office at all levels. *See also 2.5.3*.

Generalized sources

Some information on women in the sources above, plus:

Indiana University, *Proceedings of the Conference on Civil Service Systems in Comparative Perspective*, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind., 5–8 April 1997, <http://www.indiana.edu/~csrc/csrc.html>

IPU, *Constitutional and Parliamentary Information* (biannual)

Monitoring and Evaluation (MandE), excellent archive of participation, evaluation and NGO service provision, <http://www.mande.co.uk>

United Nations Online Network in Public Administration and Finance (UNPAN), international, regional and country-specific documents and databases on governance systems and institutions, <http://www.unpan.org>

WWW Virtual Library: Public Health is also part of the Asian Studies WWW Virtual Library, <http://www.ldb.org/vl/index.htm> and <http://coombs.anu.edu.au/WWWVL-AsianStudies.html>

Standards of good practice

UN Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), 1979
Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 1965;
Convention on the Political Rights of Women, 1952

Charter for the Public Service in Africa, 2001, Third Pan African Conference of Public Service Ministers, Windhoek, Namibia, February 2001

African Union, *Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa*, 2003

UN Committee on Civil and Political Rights, *General Comment No. 25. The Right to Participate in Public Affairs, Voting Rights and the Right to Equal Access to Public Service*, 1996

3.3. Decentralization

Overarching question: Are decisions taken at the level of government that is most appropriate for the people affected?

Assessment question	3.3.1. How independent are the sub-central tiers of government from the centre, and how far do they have the powers and resources to carry out their responsibilities?	
What to look for		
1) Laws: examine the legal status, responsibilities and powers of local and regional government, including financial provision and discretion.	*2) Practice:* examine the extent to which local and regional government in practice are able to carry out their responsibilities independent of central supervision.	*3) Negative indicators:* investigate data on central government control over local discretion.

Generalized sources

Global sources

Center for International Earth Science Information Network, Columbia University, *The Online Sourcebook on Decentralization and Local Development*, <http://www.ciesin.org/decentralization/SB_entry.html>

Governance and Social Development Resource Centre, UK DFID, database on decentralization, <http://www.gsdrc.org>

Indiana University, *Proceedings of the Conference on Civil Service Systems In Comparative Perspective*, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind., 5–8 April 1997, <http://www.indiana.edu/~csrc/csrc.html>

International Union of Local Authorities (IULA)

NDI, programme on local government, <http://www.ndi.org>

UNDP, *Decentralized Governance Monograph: A Global Sampling of Experiences*, Management Development and Governance Division, 1999, <http://magnet.undp.org>

UN Habitat, Global Campaign for Urban Governance, <http://www.unhabitat.org>

United Nations Online Network in Public Administration and Finance (UNPAN), international, regional and country-specific

Regional sources

British Library for Development Studies (BLDS) Bibliographic Database, searchable web version of the BLDS depository library of the UN, South Pacific Commission and GATT, <http://blds.ids.ac.uk/blds/>

Center for Latin American Studies, Georgetown University, Political Database of the Americas, <http://pdba.georgetown.edu/>

European Local Government Officers, Database of European Town Halls, <http://www.elgo.co.uk>

Mediterranean Development Forum, Thematic Programme on Local Governance and Community Empowerment, <http://info.worldbank.org/etools/mdfdb/index.asp>

OECD, *National Accounts 1960–1994*, *Vol. 1: Main Aggregates*, and *National Accounts 1960–1994*, *Vol. 2: Detailed Tables* (Paris: OECD, 1996)

Public Management Newsletter, from SIGMA/OECD (Support for Improvement in Government and Management in Central and Eastern European Countries, joint initiative of the OECD/Centre for Cooperation with the Economies in Transition (CCET) and the EU PHARE programme)

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documents and databases on governance systems and institutions, <http://www.unpan.org>

World Movement for Democracy, documents and database of organizations working on strengthening local governance, <http://www.wmd.org/>

See more general resources at 3.3.2 and 3.3.3.

Schaeffer, M., *Municipal Budgeting* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2000)

Subramaniam, V. (ed.), *Public Administration and the Third World: An International Handbook* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1990)

The Territories of the Russian Federation (London: Europa Publications, 2000), section on organization of government

UK Economic and Social Research Council, Participation projects at REGARD database, <http://www.regard.ac.uk>

Standards of good practice

African Union, *Charter on Popular Participation*, 1990

Council of Europe, *European Charter of Local Self-Government*, Strasbourg, 15.X.1985, part I, articles 1–11, <http://conventions.coe.int/>

OAS, *Declaration of La Paz on Decentralization and on Strengthening Regional and Municipal Administrations and Participation of Civil Society*, 2001

International IDEA, *Democracy at the Local Level: The International IDEA Handbook on Participation, Representation, Conflict Management and Governance*, International IDEA Handbook series No. 4 (Stockholm: International IDEA, 2001), <http://www.idea.int>

Geyer, Y., *How Local Government Works*, Handbook Series for Community Based Organisations (Pretoria: IDASA, USAID and PACT, 2007), <http://www.idasa.org.za>

Indian Federal Parliament, *73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments*, 1992

UK House of Commons, *The Conduct of Local Authority Business: Report of the Inquiry into the Conduct of Local Authority Business* (the Widdicombe Inquiry), Cm 9797 (London: HMSO, 1986)

Assessment question	**3.3.2. How far are these levels of government subject to free and fair electoral authorization, and to the criteria of openness, accountability and responsiveness in their operation?**

What to look for

1) Laws: examine legislation requiring the electoral authorization of local and regional government, and openness and accountability in the conduct of their affairs.	***2) Practice:*** examine the extent to which electoral arrangements are free and fair, and the openness and accountability of government are secured in practice.	***3) Negative indicators:*** investigate evidence of weak democratic legitimacy; low turnout in elections; secrecy of government; weak public accountability.

Generalized sources

Global sources

Ali Salma Hasan, *Report of 1997 International IDEA Democracy Forum: Ideas for Democracy* (Stockholm: International IDEA, 1997)

Burki, S. J., Perry, G. and Dillinger, W., *Beyond the Center: Decentralizing the State* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 1999)

Eldis Gateway to Development Information, excellent sources on participation, including 'good practice' manuals from major international organizations from <http://www.eldis.org/>

Indiana University, *Proceedings of the Conference on Civil Service Systems In Comparative Perspective*, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind., 5–8 April 1997, <http://www.indiana.edu/~csrc/csrc.html>

Kaase, M., *Beliefs in Government* (Oxford: Oxford University Press and European Science Foundation, 1998)

Rosenbaum, A. and Svensson, A., *Report of the United Nations Global Forum on Innovative Policies and Practices in Local Governance, Gothenburg, Sweden, 1996*, 1996

UN Department of Public Information, Non-Governmental Organizations (DPI.NGO), <http://www.un.org/dpi/ngosection/index.asp>

World Bank, *Peru: Public Expenditure Review*, World Bank Report # 13190-PE (Washington, DC: World Bank, 1994), esp. chapter 4

World Movement for Democracy, documents and database of organizations working on strengthening local governance, <http://www.wmd.org/>

Regional sources

Bahl, R., *Intergovernmental Transfers in Developing and Transition Countries: Principles and Practice* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2000)

Center for Latin American Studies, Georgetown University, Political Database of the Americas, <http://pdba.georgetown.edu/>

Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, 'Parliament and the People: The Reality and the Public Perception', <http://www.cpahq.org>

European Local Government Officers, database of European town halls, <http://www.elgo.co.uk>

Mediterranean Development Forum, thematic programme on local governance and community empowerment, <http://info.worldbank.org/etools/mdfdb/index.asp>

Public Law Active Research Project, University of Tasmania, <http://www.foi.law.utas.edu.au/active/intro.html>

Standards of good practice

Regional standards

Council of Europe, *Council of Europe Recommendation No. R(80) 2 concerning*

Country standards

Jordanian Government, *Draft Statute of the Purchases Supreme Authority*, 1994

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the Exercise of Discretionary Powers by Administrative Authorities, 11 March 1980; *Council of Europe Resolution (77) 31 on the Protection of the Individual in Relation to the Acts of Administrative Authorities*, 28 September, 1977; *European Charter of Local Self-Government*, Strasbourg, 15.X.1985, Part I, articles 1–11, <http://conventions.coe.int/> OAS, *Declaration of La Paz on Decentralization and on Strengthening Regional and Municipal Administrations and Participation of Civil Society*, 2001 Commonwealth Law Ministers, *Lusaka Statement on Government Under the Law*, 1993; *East and Southern Africa*, *Usa River Communiqué*, 1995 Scott, T., *Decentralization and Human Development: Findings and Recommendations from a Review of National Human Development Reports*, Human Development Report Office, UNDP, 2006, <http://www.eldis.org>	New South Wales Government, *Whistleblowers Protection Act*, 1994 South African Government, *Constitutional Right to Fair, Open and Competitive Public Procurement*, 1994; *Public Prosecutor Act*, 1994 Ugandan Government, 'Right to Administrative Fairness in Uganda', Extract from the *1995 Constitution of Uganda* ICAC, Hong Kong, Corruption Prevention Department, *Best Practice Packages*, <http://www.icac.org.hk/eng/prev/prev_dept_7.html> UK House of Commons, *The Conduct of Local Authority Business: Report of the Inquiry into the Conduct of Local Authority Business* (the Widdicombe Inquiry), Cm 9797 (London: HMSO, 1986); UK Government, *The Civil Service: Taking Forward, Continuity and Change*, Cm 2748 (London: HMSO, 1995)

Assessment question	**3.3.3. How extensive is the cooperation of government at the most local level with relevant partners, associations and communities in the formation and implementation of policy, and in service provision?**	
What to look for		
1) Laws: examine requirements on local and regional government to consult relevant partners, communities, electorates, client groups, in policy and service provision; and to set standards or targets for service provision.	***2) Practice:*** examine the range of mechanisms employed in consultation, their inclusiveness and effectiveness in practice.	***3) Negative indicators:*** investigate the incidence of expressed dissatisfaction with local and regional government services; lack of standards or targets in service provision; failure to meet the standards set.

Generalized sources	
Global sources	***Regional sources***
ActionAid International, <http://www.actionaid.org>	Action Research on Web, Faculty of Health Sciences, University of Sydney, <http://www2.fhs.usyd.edu.au/arow/>

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Eldis Gateway to Development Information, excellent sources on participation, including 'good practice' manuals from major international organizations, <http://www.eldis.org/>

FAO, Sustainable Development Department, People section, <http://www.fao.org/waicent/faoinfo/sustdev/pedef_en.htm>

Gold Project (on grass-roots participation), Publications, <http://www.goldproject.ac.uk/public/documents/otherpublications/>

Kornai, J., *The Citizen and the State: Reform of the Welfare System*, Discussion Paper No. 32 (Washington, DC: World Bank, August 1996)

Morduch, J. J. and Klibanoff, P., *Decentralization, Externalities and Efficiency*, Working Paper # 85 (Washington, DC: Institute for Policy Reform, February 1994)

Participation Power and Social Change team at the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, <http://www.ids.ac.uk/ids/particip/index.html>

Participatory Initiatives, University of Guelph, <http://www.oac.uoguelph.ca>

UNDP and Civil Society Organisations, <http://www.undp.org/partners/cso/>

Union of International Associations, NGO websites from the searchable website (derivative from their *Yearbook of International Associations*), <http://www.uia.org/extlinks/pub.php>

World Movement for Democracy, documents and database of organizations working on strengthening local governance, <http://www.wmd.org/>

Ashoka: Innovators for the Public (resources for social entrepreneurship), <http://www.ashoka.org>

Bergdall, T. D., *Methods for Active Participation: Experiences in Rural Development from East and Central Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994)

Holt Ruffin, M., McCarter, J. and Upjohn, R., *The Post-Soviet Handbook: A Guide to Grassroots Organizations and Internet Resources in the Newly Independent States* (Washington, DC: Center for Civil Society International, 1996)

InterAction: American Council for Voluntary International Action, <http://www.interaction.org>

Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, *The Human Rights Situation of the Indigenous People in the Americas*, 2000, <http://www.cidh.oas.org/Indigenas/TOC.htm>

International Centre for Learning and Promotion of Participation and Democratic Governance (PRIA), <http://www.pria.org/>

International Institute for Rural Reconstruction (IIRR), the Philippines, <http://www.iirr.org/>

Mediterranean Development Forum, thematic programme on local governance and community empowerment, <http://info.worldbank.org/etools/mdfdb/index.asp>

NGO Information Centre, <http://ngo.or.jp/>

Shack Dwellers International in Africa and Slum Dwellers International in Asia network, <http://www.sdinet.org> and <http://www.utshani.org.za/>

Society for Research and Initiatives for Sustainable Technologies and Institutions (SRISTI), <http://www.sristi.org>

Reports of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations/Communities in Africa, African Commission on Human and People's Rights, <http://www.achpr.org>

Standards of good practice	
International standards	*Regional standards*
UNDP, *Empowering People: A Guide to Participation*, UNDP Civil Society Organisations and Participation Programme, 1998 International Union of Local Authorities (IULA)/ UTO Unity Congress, *Declaration on the Community Agenda*, Rio de Janeiro, 2001 World Bank, *The World Bank Participation Sourcebook*, 1996, <http://www.worldbank.org/wbi/sourcebook/sbhome.htm> Rietbergen-McCracken, J. and Narayan, D., *Participation and Social Assessment: Tools and Techniques* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 1998) Simon, Karla W., *Principles of Regulation for the Not-for-Profit Sector*, International Center for Not-for-Profit Law, 1998, <http://www.icnl.org>	Association of Caribbean Electoral Officials, *San Juan Declaration on the Political Rights of Persons with Disabilities*, 1998, <http://www.electionaccess.org> Council of Europe, *Charter of Local Self-Government*, <http://conventions.coe.int/> OAS, *Declaration of La Paz on Decentralization and on Strengthening Regional and Municipal Administrations and Participation of Civil Society*, 2001; *Inter-American Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Persons with Disabilities*, 1999 Inter-American Development Bank, *Resource Book on Participation*, 1996, <http://www.iadb.org/exr/english/POLICIES/participate/index.htm>

4. Democracy beyond the state

4.1. External influences on the country's democracy

Overarching question: Is the impact of external influences broadly supportive of the country's democracy?

Assessment question	4.1.1. How free is the country from external influences which undermine or compromise its democratic process or national interests?
What to look for	
1) Laws: examine the extent to which a country is able to pursue national planning and development strategy unhindered by intervention by or conditionality to foreign lenders or business, according to article 1 of the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*.	***2) Negative indicators:*** examine the evidence of external interventions and dependencies, economic, military, environmental, cultural, which damage a country's interests or democratic processes; the extent of aid dependency and international indebtedness; adverse effects of foreign companies operating in the territory; the degree of foreign control of the media and other forms of cultural production. *See also 2.3.1 and 3.1.1.*

Generalized sources

General sources

Bodansky, D., Brunnee, J. and Hey, E. (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of International Environmental Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)

BRIDGE Programme, Institute for Development Studies, University of Sussex, Resources on Gender and Trade, <http://www.bridge.ids.ac.uk>

Brown, E., *Structural Adjustment: Theory, Practice and Impacts* (London: Routledge, 2000)

Coudouel, A., Dani, A. and Paternostro, S. (eds), *Poverty and Social Impact Analysis of Reforms: Lessons and Examples from Implementation* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2003)

Diplo Online, with tools on diplomacy and databases on embassies' websites, <http://www.diplomacy.edu>

Eldis Gateway to Development Information, database on aid and debt, trade policy, and the World Bank and the IMF, <http://www.eldis.org/>

Global Policy Forum, <http://www.globalpolicy.org/>

Governance and Social Development Resource Centre, UK DFID, database on aid instruments and aid effectiveness, <http://www.gsdrc.org>

Gwartney, J. and Lawson, R. with Easterly, W., *Economic Freedom of the World: 2006 Annual Report*, Fraser Institute, 2006, <http://www.freetheworld.com>

Henry L. Stimson Center (peacekeeping, arms control, foreign policy), <http://www.stimson.org>

Human Rights Watch, reports on multinational corporations (MNCs) and host countries

International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), <http://www.iiss.org/>; for comprehensive data on military expenditure see Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), <http://first.sipri.org/index.php>

Regional sources

Debt statistics available from the Bank for International Settlements and the OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC)

African Development Bank, *African Development Report 2004: Africa in the Global Trading System* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)

Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), Statistics, <http://www.aseansec.org/>

ECOWAS, external trade indicators, <http://www.ecostat.org/>

Economic Research Forum, database of data sources in Middle East and North African countries, <http://www.erf.org.eg/index.html>

OAS Permanent Council, Special Committee on Transnational Organised Crime, <http://www.oas.org>

OECD, *Development Co-operation* (annual)

SADC, Programme on Trade, Industry, Finance and Investment, <http://www.sadc.int/english/tifi/index.php>

UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), <http://www.eclac.cl/>

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International Institute for Sustainable Development (IISD), *Environment and Trade: A Handbook*, 2nd edn, UNEP and IISD, 2005 <http://www.iisd.org>

IMF, *Balance of Payments Manual*, 5th edn (Washington, DC: IMF, 1993);
Government Finance Statistics Yearbook, system derivative of UN classification standards;
International Financial Statistics (annual);
IMF Working Papers, <http://www.imf.org>

International Ombudsmen Centre for the Environment and Development (OMCED), <http://www.omced.org/>

Inter-Parliamentary Forum of the Americas, Virtual Parliament, <http://www.e-fipa.org>

Jane's military database, <http://www2.janes.com>

Kane, T., Holmes, K. R. and O'Grady, M. A., *2007 Index of Economic Freedom* (Washington, DC: Heritage Foundation and *Wall Street Journal*, 2006), <http://www.heritage.org>

Network Wizards, Menlo Park, California, (on internet accessibility)

Overseas Development Institute, Research on trade and finance, <http://www.odi.org.uk>

Reports of the UN Secretary-General to the UN Security Council;
UN Security Council resolutions on select countries, <http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/>

Sivard, R. L., *World Military and Social Expenditure* (Washington, DC: World Priorities, various years)

Reports of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Human Rights and Transnational Corporations and other Business Enterprises;
Reports of the Independent Expert on the effects of economic reform policies and foreign debt on the full enjoyment of human rights, particularly economic, social and cultural rights, <http://www.ohchr.org>

UNESCO, International Telecommunication Union questionnaires

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UN International Computing Centre, <http://www.unicc.org>

United Nations Online Network in Public Administration and Finance (UNPAN), international, regional and country-specific documents and databases on public finance and public resources, and public social and economic policies, <http://www.unpan.org>

ACDA, *World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers* (annual); and various country-specific studies

World Bank, *Global Development Finance 1998* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 1998);
World Debt Tables (annual);
World Development Report (WDR), military expenditure as % of GDP, official development assistance in USD per capita and as % of GNP;
Reports on the observance of standards and codes (ROSCs) on payments and settlements, <http://www.worldbank.org/ifa/rosc.html>;
World Bank, International Trade Division, <http://www.worldbank.org/research/trade/>

World Trade Organization (WTO), <http://www.wto.org>

Standards of good practice

UN *ICCPR*, 1966, article 1;
ICESCR, 1966, article 1;
Declaration on the Right to Development, 1986, articles 1 and 5

OAU, *African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights*, 1981, articles 20, 21 and 23

OECD, *Criminal Law Convention on Corruption*, 1999

UNDP and NDI, *Strengthening Parliament Involvement in the Poverty Reduction Strategy Process and the Millennium Development Goals*, 2004, <http://www.undp.org/governance/docs/parl_other/Parl%20-%20Guides%20-%20parlthandbooks.htm>

UNEP Industry and Environment (UNEP IE), *Technical Report No. 29*, Paris, 1995 (travel industry/tourism and host community 'codes of conduct')

International Parliamentarians' Petition (IPP) for Democratic Oversight of the IMF and World Bank, <http://www.ippinfo.org/>

IMF, *Good Governance: The IMF's Role*, 1997, <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/exrp/govern/govern.pdf>

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IPU, *Parliamentary Involvement in International Affairs*, 2005, <http://www.ipu.org/splz-e/sp-conf05/involvement-rpt.pdf>

Chutikul, K., 'Options for a Parliamentary Dimension of the WTO', Discussion paper presented to the Parliamentary Conference on the WTO, IPU, 2003, <http://www.ipu.org/splz-e/trade03/2c.pdf>

Hubli, S. and Mandaville, A., *Parliaments and the PRSP Process* (Washington, DC: World Bank Institute, 2004), <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/WBI/Resources/wbi37231HubliMandavilleweb.pdf>

Weir, S., 'Not in Our Name: Making Foreign Policy Democratic', Democratic Audit, Federal Trust and One World Trust, 2007, <http://www.oneworldtrust.org>

Wren, C. and Hammer, M., *Parliamentary Oversight of the International Financial Institutions (IFIs): The Experience of the UK and the World Bank* (London: One World Trust, 2007), <http://www.oneworldtrust.org>

Assessment question	**4.1.2. How equitable is the degree of influence exercised by the government within the bilateral, regional and international organizations to whose decisions it may be subject?**
What to look for	
1) Laws: identify the main regional and international organizations of which the country is a member. Examine the rules governing representation and decision making in these organizations, and their representativeness relative to the size of the country in global terms.	***2) Positive and negative indicators:*** (a) *bilateral*. Examine how far bilateral relations in the economic, political, security or other fields may be subject to undue pressure, unilateral conditionalities, or terms which infringe international codes of good practice. (b) *regional*. Examine the rules and practices of the relevant regional organizations, as to whether the country is treated equally and fairly with other partners in their negotiation and decision procedures. Do the same for (c) the international organizations of which the country is a member.
Generalized sources	
Global sources	***Regional sources***
Chutikul, K., 'Options for a Parliamentary Dimension of the WTO', Discussion paper presented to the Parliamentary Conference on the WTO, IPU, 2003, <http://www.ipu.org/splz-e/trade03/2c.pdf>	AccountAbility: Institute of Social and Ethical AccountAbility, <http://www.accountability21.net/>

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Eldis Gateway to Development Information, database on trade policy, and on the World Bank and the IMF, <http://www.eldis.org/>

Gallagher, P., Low, P. and Stoler, A., *Managing the Challenges of WTO Participation: 45 Case Studies* (Geneva: WTO, 2005)

Global Exchange, links on the World Bank and the IMF, <http://www.globalexchange.org/campaigns/wbimf/links.html>

Global Policy Forum, <http://www.globalpolicy.org/>

Gwartney, J. and Lawson, R. with Easterly, W., *Economic Freedom of the World: 2006 Annual Report*, Fraser Institute, 2006, <http://www.freetheworld.com>

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IMF Working Papers, <http://www.imf.org>

Keele Guide to International Affairs and Transnational Issues on the Internet, <http://www.keele.ac.uk/depts/por/irbase.htm>

Maren, M., *The Road to Hell: The Ravaging Effects of Foreign Aid and International Charity* (New York: Free Press, 1997)

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New Internationalist magazine, <http://www.newint.org/>

Oxfam Policy Papers, <http://www.oxfam.org/en/policy/>

African Development Bank, *African Development Report 2000: Regional Integration in Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000)

Australian APEC Study Centre, Monash University, resources on trade, environment and regulation of finance, <http://www.apec.org.au/>

C2D Direct Democracy, <http://c2d.unige.ch/>

Dialogue for Democratic Development: Renewing the ACP–EU Partnership for the 21st Century, Conference organized by International IDEA in collaboration with the Commission of the European Communities and the ACP Secretariat, 23–25 November, 1998, Stockholm, <http://archive.idea.int/lome/sitemap.html>

Economic Reconstruction and Development in South East Europe, <http://www.seerecon.org/>

Europa Directory of International Organizations (London: Europa Publications, May 2000), <http://www.europapublications.co.uk>

Global Coalition for Africa, <http://www.gcacma.org/>

International Reform Monitor: Social Policy, Labour Market Policy, Industrial Relations (OECD-based), <http://www.reformmonitor.org>

Inter-Parliamentary Forum of the Americas, Virtual Parliament, <http://www.e-fipa.org>

Latin American Integration Association (ALADI), <http://www.aladi.org/>

Mediterranean Development Forum, <http://info.worldbank.org/etools/mdfdb/index.asp>

OECD, *Development Co-operation* (annual)

South Centre: An Intergovernmental Organization of Developing Countries, <http://www.southcentre.org/>

Southern African Research and Documentation Centre, <http://www.sardc.net>

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Relief Web, Financial Tracking Database for Complex Emergencies (FTS), <http://www.reliefweb.int/arfts/index.html>, including the ECHO 14-point donor reporting conventions and humanitarian assistance procedures

UN Commission on Global Governance

UNIFEM, <http://www.unifem.org/>

World Bank, *Global Development Finance 1998* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 1998)

UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), <http://www.eclac.cl/>

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Euroguide, <http://www.euroguide.org/>

Global Exchange, links on the World Bank and the IMF, <http://www.globalexchange.org/campaigns/wbimf/links.html>

Hansen, S. A., *Thesaurus of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: Terminology and Potential Violations* (Washington, DC: American Association for the Advancement of Science, 2000)

IDASA, papers, <http://www.idasa.org.za/>

Multilaterals Project, <http://fletcher.tufts.edu/multilaterals.html> (texts of international multilateral conventions and other instruments)

United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP), <http://www.unescap.org>

World Bank Sources, <http://www-wds.worldbank.org>

Standards of good practice

International standards

UN General Assembly, *Declaration on the Right to Development*, 1986;
Declaration on Social Progress and Development, 1969

ILO Conventions Nos 29, 87, 98, 100, 105, 111, 113, 182

UN Global Compact Network, <http://www.unglobalcompact.org>

UN International Development Targets as requested of the Secretary-General by the General Assembly in Resolution 53/192, 1999, para. 60

Regional standards

The Commonwealth, *The Harare Declaration*, 1991

Travers, D., *European Affairs Committees: The Influence of National Parliaments on European Policies*, European Centre for Parliamentary Research and Documentation, 2002, <http://www.ecprd.org/Doc/publica/OTH/European Affairs Committees.pdf>

OECD, DAC, *Shaping the 21st Century: The Contribution of Development Co-operation*, May 1996, <http://www.oecd.org/dac>

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Assessment question	**4.1.3. How far are the government's negotiating positions and subsequent commitments within these organizations subject to effective legislative oversight and public debate?**
What to look for	
1) Laws: examine the legal basis for parliamentary or legislative oversight of the government in relations with bilateral, regional and international organizations, and its role in confirming subsequent treaty and other commitments.	***2) Practice:*** examine how the parliament or legislature is practically organized for these tasks, e.g. through dedicated committees; whether it has sufficient time, information and expertise to influence government negotiating positions. How open is the government to NGOs and other organized publics influencing its negotiating positions?

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Weir, S., 'Not in Our Name: Making Foreign Policy Democratic', Democratic Audit, Federal Trust and One World Trust, 2007, <http://www.oneworldtrust.org>

4.2. The country's democratic impact abroad

Overarching question: Do the country's international policies contribute to strengthening global democracy?

Assessment question	4.2.1. How consistent is the government in its support for, and protection of, human rights and democracy abroad?

What to look for

Positive and negative indicators: examine the impact of the government's policies, favourable and adverse, on the progress of democracy and the protection of human rights (economic, social, cultural, civil and political) in other countries with which it has dealings, or which are affected by its policies.

Generalized sources

General sources

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C2D Direct Democracy, <http://c2d.unige.ch/>

Commission on Global Governance

Democracy Coalition Project, *Human Rights Council Report Card: Government Positions on Key Issues*, <http://www.demcoalition.org/2005_html/undem_offic.html>; similar scorecards also available for voting in the UN General Assembly

Europa Directory of International Organizations (London: Europa Publications, May 2000), <http://www.europapublications.co.uk>

Global Policy Forum, <http://www.globalpolicy.org/>

Henry L. Stimson Center (peacekeeping, arms control, foreign policy), <http://www.stimson.org>

IPU, *Democracy: Its Principles and Achievement* (Geneva: IPU, 1998);
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International Peace Academy, <http://www.ipacademy.org/>

Reports of the UN Secretary-General to the UN Security Council;
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Center for International Policy, Demilitarization for Democracy, <http://www.ciponline.org/>

Latin American Integration Association (ALADI), <http://www.aladi.org>

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Open Society Justice Initiative, Program on International Justice, <http://www.justiceinitiative.org>

Reports of the Special Rapporteurship on the Rights of Women, Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, <http://www.cidh.oas.org/women/Default.eng.htm>

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UN Treaty Database, <http://untreaty.un.org/>

World Movement for Democracy, documents and database of organizations working on cross-border assistance to democrats in closed societies and countries in transition, <http://www.wmd.org/>

Standards of good practice

International standards

UN, *Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May be Deemed to be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects (Convention on Conventional Weapons)*, 1980 and four protocols (voluntary);

Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction (Biological Weapons Convention), 1972;

Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling and Use of Chemical Weapons and on Their Destruction (The Chemical Weapons Convention), 1993, monitor: the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW);

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Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, 1970;

Geneva Conventions, 1949;

Genocide Convention, 1948;

International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism, 2005;

International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism, 1999;

United Nations Register of Conventional Arms, 1992

Regional standards

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Model Regulations for the Control of the International Movement of Firearms, their Parts and Components and Ammunition, 1997

OAU, *Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism*, 1999

European Union, *EU Programme for Preventing and Combating Illicit Trafficking in Conventional Arms*, adopted by the COARM working group of the Council of the European Union, 1997

League of Arab States, *Arab Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism*, 1998

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Assessment question	**4.2.2. How far does the government support the UN and agencies of international cooperation, and respect the rule of law internationally?**
What to look for	
1) Laws: examine the country's ratification of UN and regional human rights treaties, and its membership of UN agencies.	***2) Positive and negative indicators:*** examine the evidence on the country's support for the UN, its agencies and peacekeeping activities. Assess the level of its commitment to international and regional cooperation more generally. Identify major treaties and conventions which the country has not ratified, and any significant breaches of international law.

Generalized sources

Amnesty International, *Annual Reports*, appendices VI and VII: ratification, signatures to international (VI) and regional (VII) principal human rights treaties; also separate country audits in *Annual Report* for incidence of violations

Consortium for International Earth Science Information Network (CIESIN), Political Institutions and Global Environmental Change, <http://www.ciesin.org/TG/PI/PI-home.html>

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US State Department, *Country Reports*, <http://www.state.gov>

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OAS, *Inter-American Convention against the Illicit Production of and Trafficking in Firearms, Ammunition, Explosives and Other Related Materials of the Organization of American States*, 1997;
Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution, June 1993

OCSE, *Istanbul Summit Declaration, Charter for European Security*, 1999

(NGO-initiated)

International Action Network on Small Arms (IANSA)

Assessment question	4.2.3. How extensive and consistent is the government's contribution to international development?

What to look for

1) Laws: examine whether the country is a signatory to the *UN Convention on the Right to Development* and associated legislation and protocols. Examine whether lender and borrower governments are party to OECD (DAC), World Bank or UN economic codes of good practice in monetary transfers.	***2) Implementation:*** if an economically developed country, examine the aid budget in relation to the UN target (0.7% of GNP); the degree to which aid is subject to unilateral conditionalities or tied to domestic providers; the extent of coordination of the aid programme with other relevant government policies, including non-discriminatory immigration policy. If a country is donor-dependent, how open is the process to public debate and accountability? For all countries, examine how far the government supports their own and others' efforts to meet democratically agreed development targets such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).	***3) Positive and negative indicators:*** examine the commitment of the government to international development, quantitative and qualitative, and the effectiveness of its organization to implement this, including collaboration with partners. Look for evidence of the one-sided imposition of conditionalities, or the funding of inappropriate projects; include any adverse effects on international development of other government policies, such as agriculture, trade, finance, etc.

Generalized sources

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Corner House, <http://www.thecornerhouse.org.uk/>

Disasters Emergency Committee, <http://www.dec.org.uk/>

Eldis Gateway to Development Information, database on trade policy, World Bank and the IMF, aid and debt, climate change, globalization, etc., <http://www.eldis.org/>

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Millennium Development Goals Indicators, <http://mdgs.un.org/unsd/mdg/Default.aspx>

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Assessment question	4.2.4. How far is the government's international policy subject to effective parliamentary oversight and public influence?
What to look for	
1) Laws: examine the legal basis for parliamentary oversight of international policy, including military policy and the deployment of troops abroad.	***2) Practice:*** does the parliament or legislature have sufficient and timely information and adequate expertise for effective oversight, and is it appropriately organized for this task? Is the government open to NGOs and other organized publics influencing its policies?

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Part 3

The assessment experiences

The assessment experiences

[117] In Part 3, we pass on the experience of the teams and individuals who have conducted assessments in 20 different countries and to convey something of the enthusiasm and sense of purpose they have brought to what is inescapably a hard and complex task. As Parts 1 and 2 have shown, the International IDEA democracy assessment methodology sets out a standard methodology for assessors; however, the reports from assessors reveal a remarkably diverse range of democratic situations as between countries, approaches and techniques. All the assessments that have taken place have remained committed to the standard methodology and the central principle of local ownership of the assessment process that encompasses the research, the analysis, the consultation processes, and the identification of priorities for future reform. But, as Krishna Hachhethu, a Nepalese member of the South Asia regional assessment team, says, 'Democracy has many stories'.

[118] Therefore, while we standardize the assessment process, we neither standardize 'democracy' itself nor seek to standardize the way in which the assessment teams approach the task of assessing the quality of democracy in their country or region. The framework is designed to be flexible, allowing teams to add search questions or to adopt differing modes of consulting, communicating and analysing. Thus assessment teams have in practice largely kept within the overall framework, but have also adopted a remarkably diverse set of working methods, innovations, fund-raising initiatives and timescales, as well as engagements with governments, civil society and donors, and have learned from different experiences.

[119] The assessment methodology was invented and first applied by Democratic Audit in the UK. The methodology was developed for universal use under the direct aegis of International IDEA and then pioneered over six months in eight countries – Bangladesh, El Salvador, Italy, Kenya, Malawi, Peru, New Zealand and South Korea.

These pilot assessments covered different regions of the world and a mix of developed and developing countries in order for us to be able to test the process fully. The in-country assessments were preceded by a 'desk assessment' carried out by researchers at the University of Leeds, and nearly all of them involved a conference of outside experts and interested parties. These desk assessments drew primarily on Internet searches and standard texts, but were mainly confined to material in English. They were successful enough for us to be able to recommend a similar exercise in advance of direct in-country work. Since 2000, the assessment framework has travelled widely across regions of the world and between countries at different stages of democratization. The pilot assessments have been followed by assessment exercises in (in alphabetical order) Australia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the European Union (EU), Ireland, Latvia, Mongolia, the Netherlands, Northern Ireland (a province of the UK), the Philippines, the South Asia region (covering Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka) and the United Kingdom (the latest audit). These second-generation assessments were largely conducted independently of International IDEA, and in many cases resulted from a deliberate selection of the methodology as the most appropriate from among the many assessment methods currently used internationally. The assessment framework has also been used to provide input into other democracy and governance assessment projects, such as those initiated by the UN Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), AfriMAP, the Danish Association for International Co-operation (Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke, MS), Développement Institutions et Analyses de Long terme (DIAL, Development Institutions and Long Term Analyses), and the Italian Institute for Human Science (Istituto Italiano di Scienze Umane, SUM).

The democracy assessment framework is designed to be flexible, allowing teams to add search questions or to adopt differing modes of consulting, communicating and analysing. Assessment teams have largely kept within the overall framework, but have also adopted a remarkably diverse set of working methods, innovations, fund-raising initiatives and timescales, as well as engagements with governments, civil society and donors, and have learned from different experiences.

Democracy has many stories

[120] Krishna Hachhethu's statement that 'democracy has many stories' struck a common chord at a conference held at International IDEA in March 2007 to collect and reflect on the experiences of the 17 assessments that had taken place so far. The quotes in this section, unless otherwise indicated, are taken from the transcripts of the conference and workshops. Hachhethu argued that the founding principles of popular control and political equality should drive the process of assessment, but that assessors should be sensitive to the differing perceptions of democracy and key priorities among people across the world and in particular countries:

> In the minds of the South Asian people maybe popular control and political equality are very process-driving, whereas the future of the South Asian understanding of democracy is primarily with their livelihood, freedom and social justice. So the basic guiding thread of democracy in the South Asian report is how to balance when we are developing. The trajectory of democracy in the West and in stable democracies and developing countries is very different and [this] makes a big difference to understanding. If we ignore this part, if the people of the South Asia read a report that does not reflect their experience, their day-to-day life, it will be taken as one additional academic work. Everybody, every reader, should feel that there is some reflection of their experience and understanding.

[121] This point about the differences of the democratic trajectory and experience between countries was also reflected in a distinction central to the Mongolian assessment, between what the assessors called 'core' and 'satellite' indicators, as they explain in their report:

> The core indicators represent common values of democratic governance and satellite indicators mainly express national characteristics of democratic governance in Mongolia. Developing satellite indicators reflected the following principles:
> - National characteristics of democratic governance
> - They had to be contextually specific and grounded
> - Promote local ownership among key stakeholders
> - Strengthen the appeal for applying the framework to other countries
> - Bridge the divide between universality and particularity (*Handbook of Democratic Governance Indicators* 2006: 10).

The democratic trajectory and experience differ between countries. In South Asia people's understanding of democracy has to do primarily with their livelihood, freedom and social justice. 'The trajectory of democracy in the west and in stable democracies and developing countries is very different and [this] makes a big difference to understanding.'

[122] The South Asian quest for the meaning of democracy among the peoples of the five nations in the study highlights a significant development of the original assessment framework that happened with several of the assessment exercises – namely the use of opinion surveys and of 'dialogues' with experts to identify priorities and issues for research. The South Asian report, *State of Democracy in South Asia* (Lokniti 2008), explains that their teams used 'four pathways' to assess the quality of democracy in the five nations and to measure its relevance to the daily lives of their populations:

- 'qualitative assessments' adapted from the IDEA framework and conducted by in-country scholars;
- a thorough cross-country survey of lay opinion on the meaning of democracy, confidence in governing institutions, the status of minorities and so on;
- 'dialogues' with political and social activists to counterpose the opinions of the lay public; and
- case studies of inconvenient issues that contradicted 'democratic wisdom' to tease out the 'puzzles of democracy'.

A significant development of the original assessment framework happened with several of the assessment exercises in South Asia – the use of opinion surveys and of 'dialogues' with experts to identify priorities and issues for research. The assessments found great differences in perceptions between the politically aware and other citizens. It is not sufficient to consult and talk to the knowledgeable.

[123] The South Asian assessors found a tension between the views of the politically aware and those of other citizens – in the words of Professor Peter deSouza, between the 'elite commonsense' and 'people's commonsense'. It was to catch and reflect the multiple views and stories that the South Asian assessment employed its different methodologies. 'When we have a dialogue with the activists, or when we had a dialogue with the enlightened people, the trust in political parties and Parliament was so low, but when we went to the people with the same questions, trust in parties and Parliament exceeded 50 per cent on average … Teams need to think about these tensions in their reports'. Similarly, the Mongolian assessment held a 'mirror survey', putting the same questions to a mass sample and to elite groups. They found great differences in perceptions among parliamentarians and political elites, and between business elites and the public. Such findings are valuable in teasing out the tensions inherent in any democracy.

Box 3.1.
Excerpts from dialogues conducted for the State of Democracy in South Asia study

The army and political parties

'The Prime Minister handles the Defence Ministry. Moreover the retired Generals are joining the political parties and they also keep linkages with the forces. In the last election, eight Generals got nominations from political parties and if they are refused by one party, they are wholeheartedly welcomed by the other party. This is a very dangerous trend in democracy of our country.'

Prof. Amena Mohsin
(chair, Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka, Bangladesh)
Dialogue on Democracy in Bangladesh, Dhaka, 27–28 March 2004

Discrimination against women

'Citing her experience in electoral politics, she said that during the campaign she meets many women who cry and talk about their preferences for women candidates but during the casting of votes, their sons and husbands would do it through proxy. Referring to the political parties, she said that these parties destroy not only democracy but also families. Turning to the Naga traditional societies, she said, "In spite of the big-hearted claims, like we do not discriminate against women, they would not allow the women to be a part of the village councils. It is not that they cannot accept women leaders; they may say, "Madam, Madam" to Sonia Gandhi or to lady officers, but they will ask their women not to open their mouths. This is a double standard.'

Ms Valley Rose
(woman activist and politician, Manipur, India)
Dialogue on Democracy and People's Future, Manipur, Imphal, 26–27 February 2004

Donors and public institutions

'The donors have played a big role in making the state institutions dysfunctional. For example, they do not want to support the university departments in conducting research, but would be willing to pay hefty money to the professors if they do the research through some private NGOs. I think what is happening is that individuals are operating, donors are operating, but all at the cost of public institutions. This process is furthered with donor policies and money.'

Krishna Khanal
(political scientist, Tribhuvan University, Nepal)
Dialogue on Democracy in Nepal, Dhulikhel, 22–23 November 2003

Politics an elite game

'There are feudals, industrialists, bureaucrats and politicians in the same family. They have formed networks against peoples' rights. This is very disturbing. People are no more interested in politics, which they consider to be an elite game. People are more concerned about food, health care, employment, etc. The poverty ratio stands at 40–45 per cent. How can one think of democracy in such conditions?'

Gul Rehman
(Muttahida Labour Federation, Peshawar, North West Frontier Province, Pakistan)
Dialogue on Democracy in Pakistan, Lahore, 7–8 February 2004

Freedom from want

'Around one-third of the population of metropolitan cities is living in slums and they are denied the freedom from want and all other basic needs and rights of a human being. The majority of these slum dwellers belong to dalit and minority communities, and are living in constant threat of demolition of their huts. They are being denied even the most basic needs like water, sanitation and schooling facilities for their children. They neither have freedom from fear nor freedom from want. The democratic state, which was supposed to help them to achieve this freedom, is actively working in the direction to deny them these freedoms.'

Prof. Hassan Mansur
(president, People's Union of Civil Liberties (PUCL) Karnataka, India)
Dialogue on Democracy and Human Security, Hyderabad, 18–19 September 2004

Minorities and equality

'Reverend Rahula described two problems in granting special rights to minorities. "Firstly, it will perpetuate their second-class status. Secondly, the majority will continue to use the minorities for their advantage." Rev. Rahula suggested that the majority-minority discourse needed to be transcended. He wanted all citizens to be educated on the value of equality. He also asserted that the

majority-minority distinctions could not be erased by means of legislation. It needed to be overcome through a counter valuing discourse of equality.'

Reverend Rahula
(young Buddhist monk teaching at Peradeniya University, Sri Lanka)
Dialogue on Majorities and Minorities in Sri Lanka, Kandy, 20 September 2004
(Lokniti 2008: 72)

Democratizing political parties

'In my opinion, democracy in South Asia has not flourished and it won't until we democratise our political parties. Our political parties more or less resemble private limited companies and family trusts. Take PPP, established by Zulfiqar, inherited by Benazir, who will probably be followed by Sanam Zulfiqar. The same is true for ANP. In India, the same is happening to the Congress. We need to follow the democratic processes as in the USA and UK, where the political parties elect leaders for each term. It is not a family affair where the son should follow the father and so on. Unless an effort is made to democratize the political parties, and unless they perform their role properly, democracy will not come.'

Prof. Ahmed Zeb
(Dera Ismail Khan, North West Frontier Province, Pakistan)
Dialogue on Democracy in Pakistan, Lahore, 7–8 February 2004
(Lokniti 2008: 149)

On the constitution

'Sometimes, we say that we have a good constitution. But what's the use of this constitution if it can't protect me and tame the criminals? The criminals take me away at night and kill me in the morning and this constitution can't ensure justice. One thing is clear: either we have a good constitution, which can protect us and protect our freedom of speech, or we don't have any proper constitution.'

Abdul Awal Mintoo
(president, Federation of Bangladesh Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Bangladesh)
Dialogue on Democracy in Bangladesh, Dhaka, 27–28 March 2004.
(Lokniti 2008: 38)

Source: All the quotations except the final three are taken from unpublished transcripts of the various dialogues conducted as part of the State of Democracy in South Asia project.

[124] There is a warning here. It is not sufficient to consult and talk to the knowledgeable. Professor Suhas Palshikar, one of the leaders of the State of Democracy in South Asia project, notes that 'the dialogues held by this project have shown that the activists are radical and anti-establishment to such an extent that their assessment is at sharp variance with the general public sentiment. This distorts the nature of public debate emanating from assessments'.

Box 3.2.
Ordinary people's views on the meaning of democracy, Mongolia

Ts. 'To me, democracy is transparency. We have a lot of freedom. We say what we want to. Democracy in our country is copied very much from foreign countries. I am afraid that we may lose a lot of money by faulty promises and projects. I am afraid that through democracy we may lose our country to foreigners. We have good and bad things about democracy. What is stalling democracy are red tape, corruption and others. I believe that after democracy, my life has improved. When I became jobless, it has gone down.'

Sh. 'Democracy depends on what every person thinks about it. When I think of democracy, it is human rights and justice. Well, democracy is developing in Mongolia. But human rights are still violated and pressure on people is still there. Democracy is only beginning. In the future, it will be better.'

Kh. 'I understand democracy as freedom. And, locally, democracy is developing. Small things are also about democracy. We now have cell phones.'

Al. 'I don't know much about this. Democracy is the fact I am digging soil here.'

Source: A sample focus group: *Handbook of Democratic Governance Indicators (DGIs): Method, Process and Lessons Learned in Mongolia* (Ulaanbaatar: UNDP Mongolia and Follow-up to the Fifth International Conference on New and Restored Democracies, 2006), p. 138.

[125] TASC, the Think Tank on Action for Social Change which conducted the democracy assessment in the 'two Irelands', used a major opinion poll to provide a series of findings on democratic issues that were published with great success to gain publicity for the launch of the research programme and to set a framework of popular opinion for the assessment itself. The assessors in Latvia commissioned an opinion poll to assess 'the dynamics of society democratization', covering such issues as minority rights protection, trust in public institutions, people's ability to influence the decisions of public bodies, and political and social activism. For an example of the results, see Table 3.1.

Table 3.1. Trust in public institutions, Latvia
[Figures are percentages]

Television	66.7
Newspapers	59.9
The president	59.4
The church	59.0
The army	54.9
Local government	48.1
The police	42.5
The health care system	37.6
The trade unions	36.4
The courts	35.6
The government	25.0
The Saemia (Parliament)	22.0
The political parties	10.4

Source: Compiled from Advanced Social and Political Research Institute (ASPRI), *How Democratic is Latvia? Audit of Democracy* (Riga: University of Latvia, Commission of Strategic Analysis, 2005), pp. 225–8.

[126] Assessment teams that were unable to afford their own opinion surveys tended to make use of surveys undertaken for other purposes, even though they had no role in framing the questions. However, one advantage of using existing surveys is that they can track changing trends over time. An example from the Netherlands assessment suggests that people's confidence in democracy can decline as well as increase (see Table 3.2).

Table 3.2. Opinions about politics and social trust, the Netherlands
[Figures are percentages of number of respondents]

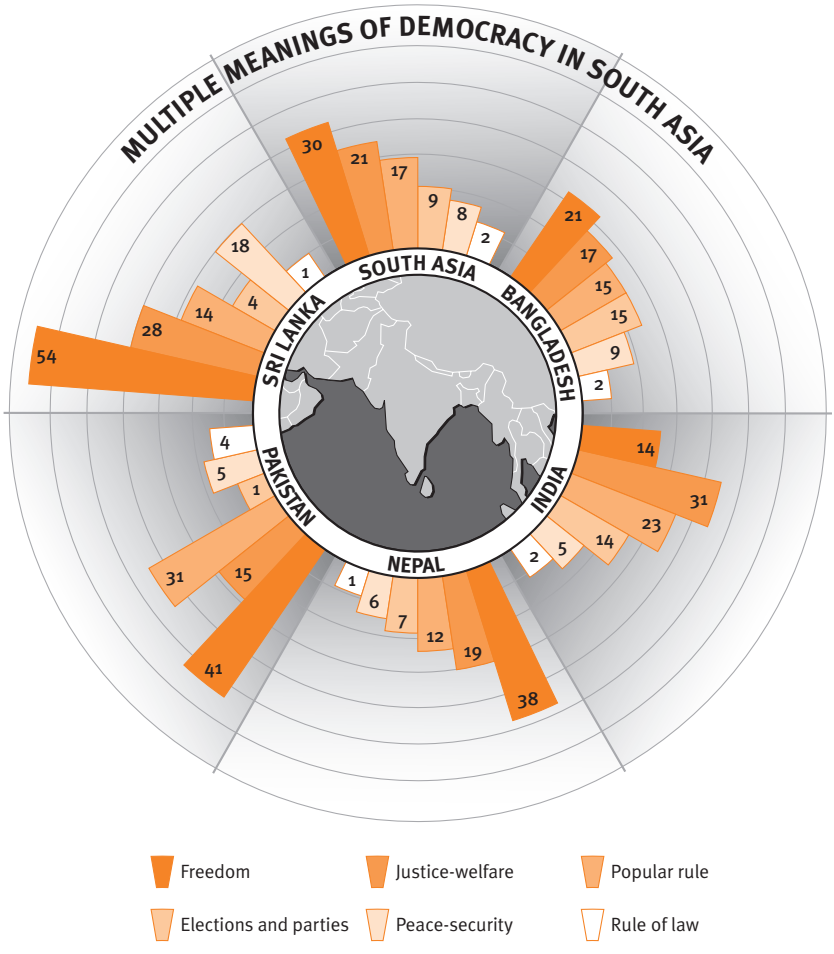
Agree with the following statement	1992	1996	2000	2002	2004
Whatever the government does, it is of little use to daily life	23	21	–	–	36
People like me have no influence whatever on what the government does	46	46	52	49	54
I don't think that members of the House and ministers care much about what people like myself think	46	42	48	46	51
When I look at politicians' actions, I think they're arrogant	–	–	–	48	55
Members of the House devote too much attention to the interests of a few rich groups instead of the general interest	57	54	58	60	64
What we need are fewer laws and institutions and more courageous and dedicated leaders	38	30	33	–	61
In general, most people are trustworthy	–	56	47	52	53

Source: Netherlands Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations, *The State of our Democracy 2006* (provisional translation) (The Hague: Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations, 2006), p. 139.

[127] Democratic Audit in the UK has collaborated with a major trust to run a longitudinal series of opinion polls on democracy issues over 15 years. The organization takes part in drawing up the questions to be asked and uses the results in its assessments and one-off reports; at a time when electoral reform was an issue, it also persuaded the trust to commission major opinion polls to calculate the outcomes of, or 're-run', the 1992 and 1997 general elections under the alternative electoral systems under consideration, asking respondents to vote on dummy ballot papers. This exercise introduced a practical and measurable element into a public debate that would otherwise have been dominated by unprovable assertions. In Australia the audit has been able to have some questions directly related to democracy issues added to the Australian Election Study (AES), conducted at the time of each federal election. As in other countries, the AES has found that voters take a less relaxed view than political elites of what is acceptable in terms of public spending.

[128] The use of opinion polling helps assessment teams to identify what people find important about democracy and to gauge how deeply a democratic culture runs in any country. The South Asian project provides a vivid example of this process. It found that ordinary citizens in South Asia have reworked the textbook 'Western' model of democracy to emphasize 'the idea of people's rule, political freedom, equality of outcomes and community rights'. Its report illustrates the findings across the five nations with a striking diagram (see Figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1. Multiple meanings of democracy in South Asia
[Figures are percentages of responses]



Source: Lokniti: Programme for Comparative Democracy, *State of Democracy in South Asia* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 26, reproduced by kind permission.

These findings make an interesting comparison with the results of a survey conducted for the assessment in the Republic of Ireland (see Table 3.3).

Table 3.3. Perceptions of the most important feature of democracy, Ireland
[Figures are percentages of respondents selecting what they think is the most important feature of democracy]

A more equal society	Strong and stable government	The rule of law	Voting for a government in elections	A free market economy	No opinion
38	29	16	10	5	2

Source: Clancy, Paula, Hughes, Ian and Brannick, T., *Public Perspectives on Democracy in Ireland* (Dublin: Democratic Audit Ireland Project, Think Tank for Action on Social Change (TASC), 2005), p. 2.

Democracy assessments: origins, funding and form

[129] The origins, funding and form of assessments differ greatly. The pilot assessments funded by International IDEA were all university-based and most of the non-International IDEA assessments so far – nine individual country assessments and the South Asian regional assessment – have their roots in universities, but there have been wide variations in the funding and the process. The Australian National University won large grants from the Australian Research Council in 2001 and 2004 for its continuing assessment process; the Advanced Social and Political Research Institute (ASPRI) at the University of Latvia received state funding from Latvia's Commission of Strategic Analysis for its full-scale democracy audit. At the other end of the scale, the assessment carried out by John Henderson at the University of Canterbury in Christchurch, New Zealand, was 'under-resourced' and had to confine itself to an 'academic exercise' with a single report-back seminar; and Edna Estefania Co, who leads the assessment

There have been wide variations in the funding of the assessments and in the process. The pilot assessments were all university-based and most of the non-IDEA assessments so far have their roots in universities. Some have been well funded; some have been under-resourced. Some have been government-led and some have tied the government into the reform process. One was a classic 'stocktaking exercise' designed to establish what had been achieved by various donor-led democratization projects.

process at the National College of Public Administration and Governance at the University of the Philippines, is carrying out ad hoc assessments section by section, governed by local priorities and the changing agendas of donor organizations. According to Edna Co, 'Donor agendas ebb and flow and it's quite problematic for carrying out a full programme, as some parts of the framework are politically sensitive. For example, civilian control of the military is a bit too sensitive, and so is the section on democracy beyond the state because USAID, the biggest donor, is very wary on this subject'. Three assessments – in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Ireland and the UK – sprang from civil society, the first two of them funded by international donor organizations, and the third by two UK charitable trusts.

[130] The assessments in the Netherlands and Mongolia were government-led, although the Dutch assessment was funded wholly by the government, whereas the UNDP's Oslo Governance Centre provided technical assistance and various international donors supplied the funds for the Mongolian exercise. Originally, it was felt that state-led assessments were liable to be biased towards the executive and contravened a golden rule that all assessments should be citizen-led. But the assessments in Mongolia, the Netherlands and Latvia (which was in a sense state-sponsored) seem to have been carried out without inappropriate intervention. Indeed, as Todd Landman, who took part in the Mongolian assessment, reports, 'the Mongolian experience was an eye-opener because the government was very open to all sorts of information, analysis and critical comments and reflections from civil society, human rights bodies and international donors'. The experience has also tied the government into the reform process. The Latvian team gained further legitimacy for their work as it became possible to argue abroad, 'You see, this country is democratic because they have this critical report of themselves'. (In the same way, Edna Co is able to use the assessment framework in a politically sensitive nation because it is 'an internationally recognized methodology'.) In the Netherlands, Maarten Prinsen experienced no constraints on the assessment – 'I am a civil servant for more than 21 years, so I know how it works in government' – and indeed ministers and his department shared in highlighting aspects of the report and disseminating its findings widely.

[131] The assessments that came about independently of IDEA seem generally to have been undertaken out of a perceived need to 'take stock' of the country's responses to in-country needs and, on occasion, to a crisis. The most dramatic of these was probably the democracy assessment undertaken by the government in the Netherlands. It was provoked by the conjunction of two political murders – of the film-maker

Theo van Gogh and the politician Pim Fortuyn – by radicals, threats against other opinion leaders and politicians, major electoral shifts from the major to smaller political parties, and the rejection of the EU constitution in a referendum in 2005. Maarten Prinsen, the senior state official who took the initiative, explains that 'There was a big difference between the politicians and the thoughts of the people. All these things were the basis of the decision to have a comprehensive overview of what's happening in our democracy in the Netherlands'.

[132] The one-year assessment process in Bosnia and Herzegovina was a classic 'stocktaking exercise' designed to establish what had been achieved by various donor-led democratization projects in the ten years after the end of the war. The assessment, funded by the Open Society Forum (OSF), had three main objectives: to identify the strengths and weaknesses of democratic practice in the country; to identify priorities for reform; and to provoke public debate on how effective Bosnian democracy was. The Australian assessment grew out of the 100th anniversary of the founding of the nation's federation. Marian Sawer, leader of the assessment, said:

> There was a lot of celebration around our democratic heritage – the fact that we are one of the oldest democracies in the world, the first country to vote itself into existence, the first country in which women could both vote and stand for Parliament. But it was quite clear that it was time we took a really hard look at ourselves; we needed to problematise a lot of our political practices that departed a long way from democratic principles … basically, we had to de-stabilise the celebration that was going on and get people to talk seriously about what was defective in our democracy.

[133] In the Irish case, TASC's major donor, Atlantic Philanthropies, was coincidentally initiating a major programme on human rights that aimed to bring about concrete and sustainable social change in Ireland (both the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland) within a relatively short time frame of 15 years or so. TASC saw the assessment as an opportunity to create benchmarks against which it could measure the achievement of the programme objectives. For TASC itself, taking on the challenge was a way of demonstrating and asserting the contribution that NGOs could make in a polity with few such independent bodies.

[134] Democratic Audit in the UK was inspired by the damage that the repressive policies of the Thatcher governments were believed to be

doing to political freedom and by concern about the absence of effective checks and balances on government power; the Liberal Democrat peer, Lord (Trevor) Smith, founder of the audit, said that the charitable trust that set it up took the view that 'the free-market government was carrying out audits of practically everything else, we thought that we should "audit" our democracy itself'.

Coordinating the assessments

[135] There have been as many differing arrangements for carrying out assessments as there have been projects. However, the breadth of the investigations necessary to conduct full assessments has generally obliged the projects to involve a wide range of contributors. The norm seems to be that projects generally have a small core of people who coordinate the research and draft reports together with a wider set of experts, who have often been recruited from outside the institution carrying out the assessment and who usually seem to work independently of each other. For example, the Democratic Audit of Australia currently has a core team of seven people, but draws heavily on the academic institutions of Australia for its great range of discussion papers and 'focused audit' reports. The comparative dimension is strengthened by contributions from experts in Canada, New Zealand and the USA on the regulation of political finance and from Professor Olof Petersson in Sweden on the regulation of opinion polls.

The breadth of the investigations needed for full assessments has generally obliged the projects to involve a wide range of contributors. Projects generally have a small core of people who coordinate the research and draft reports together with a wider set of experts, often recruited from outside the institution carrying out the assessment and usually working independently of each other.

[136] For its most recent assessment of democracy in the UK in 2001, Democratic Audit had a small core team of two editors and two researchers, drawing together contributions from 26 academics, journalists, lawyers and interest group experts (some of whom contributed voluntarily). The Latvian project worked through a single coordinator, with teams of two people each jointly investigating the 14 sections of the original assessment framework. In all 25 people contributed to the assessment, from 12 different institutions, including the European Parliament. Mongolia's democracy assessment was undertaken by a team of eight social science researchers housed by the Institute of Philosophy,

Sociology and Law at the Mongolian Academy of Sciences, generally viewed as leading experts in their academic fields. Each researcher was assigned an area of responsibility to analyse relevant international and national research documents, official reports and data published by organizations as part of their responsibilities. The Bosnian assessment, a one-year exercise, involved 16 researchers and eight other team members. They decided that they would rather carry out the assessment 'step by step' rather than complete the full 14 sections in one go. The Irish audit had a core team of four writers/editors and three researchers with 15 contributors and drew on academic and civil society partnerships with, for example, the National Women's Council of Ireland (who ran a gender check) and Amnesty International (Ireland) on human rights. TASC also held a series of expert round tables to evaluate the draft findings of each section. The whole enterprise was preceded by an independent and high-level Irish Commission which held public hearings across the island and consulted widely in Ireland and Northern Ireland; after reporting and making recommendations in 2005, members of the Commission continued to act as a Standing Advisory Committee to the audit. Dino Djipa, who, as research director of Prism, the social research company hired by the OSF, conducted the Bosnian survey, found that the framework presented 'a challenge of capacity' in terms of the breadth of expertise required; the ability of researchers to understand and implement the methodology; their diversity and the varying depths of their commitment and analyses; their writing styles; and the task of coordinating their work. 'The important message as far as the OSF is concerned, is that the internal and external capacity for such a demanding project should have been evaluated with more caution and less enthusiasm.' Yet he also recorded that various authorities had found the assessment to be a 'cornerstone' for future assessment, 'precious and instructive' and valuable for training purposes ('although reading it will give you a systematic sweat').

The framework in some cases has presented a challenge of capacity in terms of the breadth of expertise required, researchers' ability to understand and implement the methodology, and the task of coordinating their work. The internal and external capacity for such a demanding project should be carefully evaluated.

[137] Maarten Prinsen described graphically how the Dutch assessment was conducted:

At the ministry, we did it ourselves, we formed a small team of some trainees, a few students, and a left-over civil servant who had nothing else to do and applied to join. We used NGOs, especially scientific institutions, who collect data on politics, political parties, etc, in the Netherlands, and some government bodies relevant to some subjects. In the end, especially in the end, a lot of civil servants gave inputs on state of our legislation and implementation. For example, I got a set of 35 comments by our secret service. All read, of course, the chapter of human rights … Afterwards we finalised our report, we didn't have a draft with a workshop because the workshop would be too big because the assessment covers such a large field, so many subjects, and there wouldn't be enough time to discuss it all. So we finalised the report after a few internal debates with a few colleagues and gave it to our two ministers at that time, the Minister of the Interior and the Special Minister for Government Reform. They highlighted eight topics (see Box 3.3).

Box 3.3.
Announcing the State of Our Democracy report in the Netherlands

'Mr Atzco Nicolai and Mr Johan Remkes initiated a nationwide debate concerning the quality of democracy in the Netherlands. This debate will be based on the report "The State of our Democracy 2006" ... The report makes it clear that in general the democratic values in the Netherlands are well kept. Also according to international standards the quality of our democracy stands firmly ... However, the ministers Nicolai and Remkes also indicated eight weak points for a policy agenda, which they consider to be "untamed" problems:

- Social cohesion and integration of the "new Dutch"
- Free expression of (political) opinion in danger?
- The uncertain role of political parties
- Displacement of political arenas: independent governing bodies, quangos, public office holders and informal links not liable to democratic control
- Political and administrative complexity
- "Drama democracy" and policy accumulation
- Fitting European decision making into Dutch democracy
- Decreasing confidence in politicians.

Concerning these points the ministers want to stimulate and/or initiate debate in the Dutch society. To this aim the ministers pose the question whether the state of the Dutch democracy has been adequately described in the 2006 report, and whether the above mentioned points of concern require the development of new policies.'

Source: Netherlands Ministry of the Interior, Press release, 11 December 2006.

[138] The choice of comparators can contribute to the workload – sometimes unavoidably, as in the case of Australia. As Australia is a federal state, the Australian Democratic Audit has been obliged to conduct a comparative assessment across nine internal jurisdictions, looking for best (and worst) practice in all areas, from freedom of information to the conduct of Parliament and the standards of electoral administration. It also tracks processes whereby, as Marian Sawer points out, public decision making has been moving from parliaments and public debates into intergovernmental forums where decisions take place behind closed doors. The Australian audit treats Canada, New Zealand and the United Kingdom as 'comparator democracies', taking advantage of the audits that have already taken place in these countries and of good practice where it is emerging. The Irish audit was initially designed to measure democracy and human rights across a still-divided

Box 3.4.
Party systems and social diversities in South Asia

"The electoral system in South Asia was not designed to address the issue of diversities. Each of the countries in the region, in part because of their common history as part of the British empire, adopted a parliamentary form of government with a simple plurality (first past the post) system of elections, though Sri Lanka subsequently shifted to a presidential system with proportional representation in elections, a system otherwise considered more suitable to represent diversities. What is significant is that neither the FPTP nor the PR systems produced the expected outcomes, either a two-party system in the former or a multi-party system in the latter. Instead electoral coalitions have come up in which dominant parties need the support of a number of smaller parties to secure a majority. Party systems in the region have found a way to address both regional and social diversities ...

With region, religion, caste and ethnicity constituting the dominant factors defining the social base, South Asia not only seems to have entered a phase of the ethnicisation of politics with each party claiming sectional support, but has also necessitated the emergence of coalition politics. While the emergence of ethnicity based parties appears to redefine ideologies and marginalise policy issues from the electoral arena, they have no doubt brought parties closer to popular aspirations and made it easy for citizens to identify with political parties. Similarly, while the rise of coalition politics has brought greater instability, it has also provided a mechanism for reconciling the competing claims of parties that represent different social constituencies.'

Source: Lokniti: Programme for Comparative Democracy (2008) State of Democracy in South Asia (New Delhi: OUP), pp. 82-3.

Ireland, both in the Republic and in Northern Ireland. The idea was that a parallel assessment might contribute to rapprochement between the two polities on the island and enhance democracy in both by identifying 'mutual lessons' and possible common democracy-related projects. The original intention was to integrate the two assessments in the final report(s), but constraints of time and resources made this impossible. However, the exercise was conducted in the same way using similar sources and approaches, and two distinct reports provide a wealth of comparable raw data. The South Asian project also, of course, has a built-in comparative framework, in terms of both popular and elite opinion and the subjective assessment process. This has enabled the assessors to identify common features between the countries as well as significant differences.

[139] The UK audit uses data and information from EU member states and Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries as comparators, mostly on economic and social conditions (for a special report on economic and social rights), but also for example on freedom of information regimes and counter-terrorism measures. Comparative work puts a strain on the research resources of assessment teams where it is not available in appropriate form from secondary sources. A degree of caution is needed in the use of quantitative international data as benchmarks since they frequently embody qualitative assumptions and practices that cast poorer countries in particular in a negative light: for example, the Human Development Index weights economic growth unduly for such nations, and Transparency International's corruption index rests too heavily on the perceptions of small samples of Western business executives.

Putting the democratic messages across

[140] There is considerable variety in the balance of the actual outputs between full assessments, special reports, partial audits and monitoring or follow-up reports, and in the ways in which they are published and disseminated. Most of the projects published a single volume reporting on a full assessment, with the South Asian team also publishing separate country reports and considering plans to publish the case studies and 'dialogues' separately. Publishing full assessments in one book brings problems. As Dino Djipa and others have said, there is a 'challenge of awareness' because they are 'complex and extensive documents that really don't appeal to the wider public'. In Bosnia, he says, 'it was perceived that the notion of democracy is taken really for granted, too abstract, too far from the wider public immediate concerns'. Maarten Prinsen agrees. The Dutch report was published

on the Internet and as a book, with a press release, but he felt that it dealt with 'so many different aspects of democracy, it was too much for journalists to take up, even a focus on eight points was too much'. Stuart Weir, from the UK, says that it is inevitably difficult for commentators and the media fully to grasp the findings of assessments that deal with such broad and interconnected issues regarding the quality of their democracy – especially as the very idea of democracy is generally contested. Also full assessments tend to produce very long books. However, he feels that it is important to try to conduct full assessments every four or five years because the longitudinal perspective makes major questions and trends more visible over time and strengthens the case for reforms. Democratic Audit has conducted three major audits – the first on political freedom and civil and political rights, the second on political power and democratic control, the third a full 14-section audit – and now plans a 'monitoring audit' (six years after the last) to assess progress on key questions as political power in the UK shifts. Both the OSF in Bosnia and the Latvian team have plans for a full follow-up assessment in two to four years' time, and the Latvians are now preparing a monitoring report because 'events in Latvia are going in an interesting direction', as Juris Rozenvalds said. 'The report will have bullet points, to show where democracy is going up, where it is going down, and so on, accessible to the broad public.'

There is considerable variety in the actual outputs, between full assessments, special reports, partial audits and monitoring or follow-up reports, and in the ways in which they are published and disseminated. Most of the projects have published a single volume reporting on a full assessment, but these do not appeal to the wider public and it is difficult for commentators and the media fully to grasp the findings of assessments that deal with such broad and interconnected issues. Different methods have been used to make the results of the comprehensive assessments more digestible. Specialist, focused reports may have more impact than the full audit.

[141] Different methods have been used to make the results of the comprehensive assessments more digestible for those who find a large book unmanageable. For the Mongolian assessment, five national experts were selected to 'score' the assessment findings on a five-point scale from 5 (most democratic) to 1 (least democratic), and the results were published together in tabular form (see Table 3.4).

Table 3.4. Expert indicator scores for citizenship, law and rights, Mongolia

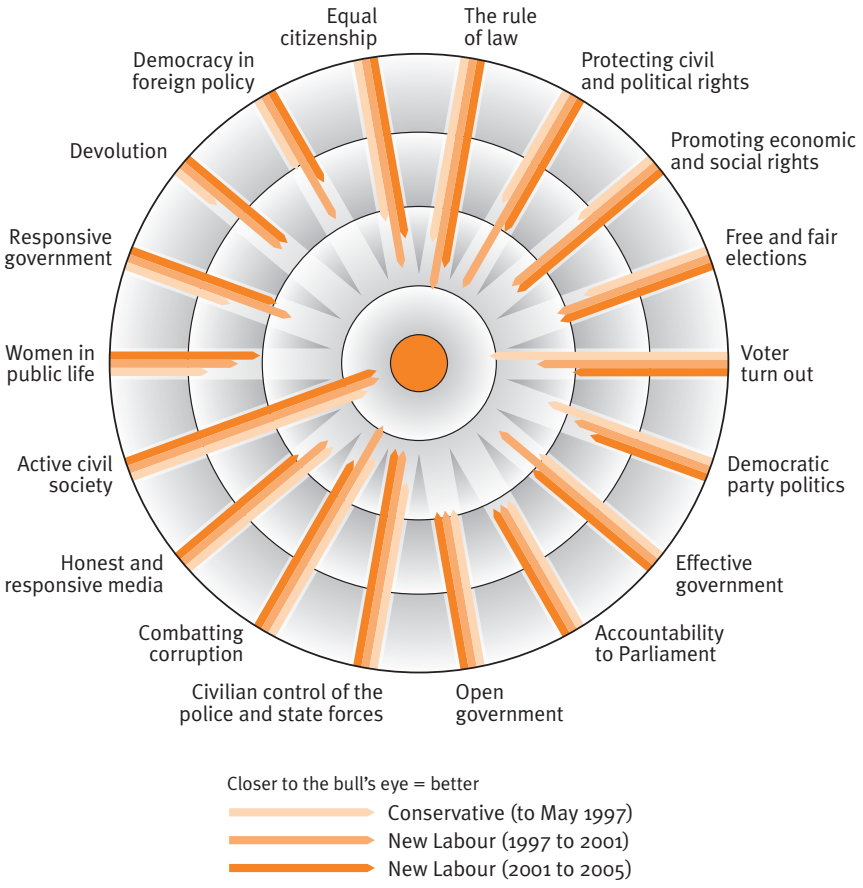
Core indicators	Average score by Mongolian experts
Nationhood and citizenship Is there public agreement on a common citizenship without discrimination?	4.0
Rule of law and access to justice Are state and society consistently subject to the law?	3.0
Civil and political rights Are civil and political rights equally guaranteed for all?	2.2
Economic and social rights Are economic and social rights equally guaranteed for all?	2.6
Average score for core indicators	**2.95**
Satellite indicators	
To what extent is equality in civil and socio-economic rights secured for migrants?	2.6
To what extent do effects of social traditions and personal interests support the process of ensuring equality of rights?	2.4
Average score for core and satellite indicators	**2.8**

Source: Handbook of Democratic Governance Indicators (DGIs): Method, Process and Lessons Learned in Mongolia (Ulaanbaatar: UNDP Mongolia and Follow-up to the Fifth International Conference on New and Restored Democracies, 2006), p. 62.

[142] At the end of each of the 14 sections or chapters of the Latvian assessment a similar table was constructed for each question, the results being marked on a scale from 'very good' to 'good', 'satisfactory', 'poor' and 'very poor'. There then followed a brief item on the 'best feature' for that section, then the 'most serious problem' and finally a 'suggested improvement'. Taken together, these provide a quick snapshot of the democratic condition in the country. In the latest UK audit, the findings from each section were summarized together at the end of the book in bullet-point form, and these were in turn edited for publication as a separate pamphlet. An interesting innovation for this pamphlet was the construction of a bull's-eye figure, to show at a

glance a comparison of democratic progress between each section, and over time, between successive audits (see Figure 3.2).

Figure 3.2. The UK DA target



Source: Beetham, David, Byrne, Iain, Ngan, Pauline and Weir, Stuart, *Democracy under Blair: A Democratic Audit of the United Kingdom*, 2nd edn (London: Politico's, 2002), reproduced by kind permission.

[143] Another strategy is to produce specialist reports as stepping stones towards a complete assessment. Marian Sawer, from Australia, says that their focused reports have more impact than their full audit 'because it is easier for people to get their minds around the focused audits'. She reports that the influence of the reports has been felt particularly in areas such as electoral administration, political funding and women's equality.

Box 3.5.
How well does Australian democracy serve Australian women?

The aim of this focused audit has been to consider the extent to which Australian democracy has promoted the equality of men and women, or gender equality for short. Gender equality is understood here as a complex goal that requires governments to address both equality of opportunities and sex-based differences. The diversity of Australian women's lives adds further complexity, necessitating that a gender-equal democracy must discriminate neither against nor between women . . .

[In addressing these principles] the report considers a number of key issues in the provision of gender equality, specifically:

- the legislative framework that is intended to eliminate discrimination against women;
- the history and current functioning of the policy machinery that was developed in order to monitor the impact of public policy on women;
- the level of representation of women in Australia's parliaments, on public sector boards, in local government and in the judiciary; and
- the degree to which women's non-governmental organizations are consulted with, have access to, and are supported in their relationships with government . . .

On the whole, the picture that emerges from this assessment is not positive. Whereas Australia was once a leader in the global struggle for gender equality, the report makes clear that in recent years Australia has resiled from this commitment and many of the achievements of an earlier period have now been undone. This is most obviously true with regard to the dismantling of women's policy machinery and the silencing of the women's non-governmental sector. While the body of legislation designed to protect women from discrimination remains substantially intact, it is evident that on its own the legislative framework is inadequate to ensure a substantial political equality between women and men measured against the indicators outlined above.

Source: Maddison, Sarah and Partridge, Emma, *How Well does Australian Democracy Serve Australian Women?* (Canberra: Australian National University, Democratic Audit of Australia, 2007), pp. xiii–xiv.

[144] Democratic Audit in the UK also publishes 'focused reports' on particular issues, such as the accountability of quasi-governmental bodies, electoral reform, the conduct of foreign policy and far-right political parties, partly to raise awareness about these issues and the audit's work in general, partly as research exercises that can later feed into full audits. Stuart Weir says, 'The report on quasi-governmental bodies, which are very numerous and influential in the UK and have major executive and public service functions, had a major impact in

the media and with the public, and led to a significant reassessment by government of their role and accountability. In fact, both government and parliamentary committees have used our methodology for assessing the accountability and openness of these essentially non-democratic agencies'. Other reports have also had a very real impact, such as a recent report assessing Britain's anti-terrorist legislation from the standpoint of human rights and its impact on community relations (see Box 3.6).

Box 3.6.
Terrorism, community and human rights

We have concentrated on government laws and practice that diminish or remove protections of the liberty of the individual and the right to fair trial. But the restrictions on freedom of speech and association can have a "chilling" effect on individuals as they watch their words or change their behaviour to avoid suspicion, and on society at large as they diminish the space for democratic debate around issues that are best publicly resolved. ... What is likely is that debates within the Muslim communities that need to be had will be constrained, as a Bangladeshi woman in one of our focus groups describes, while the more malevolent "preachers of hate" will retreat out of sight and their views will become more difficult to challenge. At the same time, necessary engagement between the majority and minority communities will also be constrained and the normal processes of integration will be slowed or narrowed ...

As we have argued throughout this report, a continued commitment to the rule of law and respect for human rights is integral to a successful counter-terrorism strategy. We can only defend the democratic and open way of life if we demonstrate a continuing commitment to its values and practice in the way we actually combat terrorism.

Source: Blick, Andrew, Choudhury, Tufyal and Weir, Stuart, *The Rules of the Game: Terrorism, Community and Human Rights* (York: Joseph Rowntree Reform Trust, 2006), pp. 66–7.

[145] The Philippines project has adopted the framework as a 'permanent monitoring tool', but for the reasons explained above Edna Co who leads it has been obliged to carry out assessments of sections of the framework instead of a full assessment. So far she and colleagues have completed a report on free and fair elections and the democratic role of political parties, funded and published by the German Friedrich Ebert-Stiftung, a report on economic and social rights funded by Christian Aid and a report on political corruption. The reports have been very timely and apt in terms of the political and democratic

circumstances in the Philippines and it is a tribute to Edna's persistence that so much has been achieved.

Box 3.7.
The challenge of corruption in the Philippines

Much leeway in the use of discretion and authority effectively holds the state capture to narrow interests, as happened during Marcos' authoritarian rule, and in large scale graft and corruption in the post-Marcos era. The enforcement of rules has been uneven and arbitrary, and centred on personalities. A transactional culture of fixing the rules, of negotiating around them and skirting them has developed. Such shortcuts inform citizens in their own dealings with the cumbersome bureaucratic procedures.....

The efforts to curb corruption are visible in the laws, executive orders and anti-corruption bodies, of which there are many in the Philippines. However, the continuing challenge is for these mechanisms to be seriously enforced and executed. The other acute concern is the extent to which citizens and officials are committed to institutionalizing the rules so that they become part of the social norms. And, finally, Filipinos look up to their leaders as exemplars of integrity and have a hard time of it finding them. Embedding rules into social norms and institutions, and showing leadership by example are strategic challenges that society has to work on, even without support from external donors. Donors, including development banks, pour aid into the creation of strategies and mechanisms to battle corruption. However, unless anti-corruption projects are truly owned by the Filipino people and an anti-corruption culture develops, there is little hope of sustaining these remedial strategies.

Source: Lim, Millard, Jayme-Lao, Maria, Juan, Lilibeth and Co, Edna, *Philippine Democracy Assessment: Minimizing Corruption* (Manila: Ateneo University Press, 2007), pp. 175–6.

Dissemination

[146] The most high-profile exercise in dissemination has probably been that in the Netherlands, where the audit had considerable government backing in terms of both political will and resources. After an internal review, the report was handed over to two ministers – the minister for the interior and the special minister for government reform – who highlighted eight topics and drafted a side letter to the report. The report was then published, with a press release, in book form and on the Internet and was taken up by the large newspapers. Copies were distributed not only to the media but also to NGOs (250 of them), government bodies and other interested parties. The queen of the Netherlands then happened to choose one of the eight topics –

violence and threats against politicians and opinion leaders – in her Christmas address on television to the Dutch public. Her intervention created a major media debate around the topic. The government organized a series of public debates on the report with members of the general public, and not with experts, on freedom of speech, government structures, the media and politics, citizenship and trust. 'The debate on citizenship and integration was the most popular of all', says Maarten Prinsen. 'No minister attended but I was there with a few colleagues and more than 200 people came, also people with headscarves.' The government finally organized a big conference including more than 550 people, with two ministers present, and then published a small book on the future of Dutch democracy.

[147] Other assessment teams have had to proceed with far fewer resources, but the pattern has been at least to publish a report in book form and electronically on a website, to release the findings to the press and to organize a public presentation or debate, sometimes – as in Ireland and the United Kingdom – inviting well-known ministers, politicians, public officials and experts to take part and attract a wider audience. The UK-based Democratic Audit now also publishes popular and eye-catching leaflets, summarizing the main findings, which are also posted on the audit's website and sent to politicians and other opinion leaders by email.

[148] There are several success stories. Five hundred copies of the Latvian report were published in Latvian and sold out, a considerable achievement in a small country. The Latvian team plan to publish the report shortly in English and it has also been published on the Internet. To emphasize the importance of democracy to Latvia, 'at least one copy was sent to every Latvian embassy outside the country'. The audit team also engaged in debates with almost every faction in Parliament and with the political and academic elite. As Marian Sawer has said, focused reports can gain considerable public attention. For example, the Australian audit published a report on how well Australian democracy was serving women. More than 300 people attended its launch in Canberra – 'which is a lot of people for Canberra' – and it won a great deal of media coverage and attention. In Mongolia, 500 copies of the report in Mongolian and 1,000 copies (of a shorter version) in English were published in addition to 3,000 brochures and other materials that were distributed to stakeholders across Mongolia. This was accompanied by a follow-up international conference, attended by representatives of 12 countries and 23 international organizations, and other events throughout the country to publicize the findings.

[149] Many teams are able to maintain websites to give longer life to their findings. The website of the Australian audit is a very well organized archive of all their reports and discussion papers, along with news and reports on democratic events in comparator nations. All the reports and papers are downloadable as well as being available in print form. The audit draws attention to new reports and papers and democratic developments through a large email network that includes many journalists and politicians. In Bosnia, the OSF has set up a website, the Pulse of Democracy, 'to give the opportunity to a lot of people – not only the researchers – to talk about issues of democracy', says Dino Djipa. 'Basically, they have taken five different topics addressed in the assessment and have invited different people to write short articles around them. They want to use the website to initiate a wider discussion.' Similarly, Democratic Audit is going into partnership with OpenDemocracy, a website on global democratic and human rights issues, to run a blog focused on the UK where the audit will publish instalments of the forthcoming audit of the UK for people to comment on before the report is finalized.

Many assessment teams are able to maintain websites to give longer life to their findings.

Engaging the public

[150] These efforts to disseminate the findings of the assessments are of course designed to try to engage the general public as well as the country's political class in public debate on how to improve a country's democracy. It seems that the government-led assessment in the Netherlands came very close to achieving this kind of breakthrough. The dramatic political murders of two well-known public figures and the popular rejection of the EU constitution in a referendum raised consciousness among the people, as well as inspiring the assessment, and thus made media coverage and public debate more likely. Most assessment teams have neither the resources and public standing of the Dutch Government nor the 'benefit' of the specific circumstances that made the assessment particularly salient and relevant.

[151] The other assessment teams have given much thought to the questions of how to make the assessments relevant to the everyday concerns of

the people and how to achieve a wider public debate. The teams in South Asia and in Bosnia and Herzegovina were especially preoccupied about the gap between expert assessment and popular experience. Dino Djipa, from Bosnia and Herzegovina, explains the central difficulty that the OSF assessment there faced. The Bosnian assessment team had three objectives – to assess the strengths and weaknesses of their democracy; to identify priorities for reform; and to provoke public debate on how effective democracy was in practice. The assessment won praise for its quality from the expert community, but on the third objective, Dino Djipa says they achieved only partial success:

> Such complex and extensive assessment really doesn't appeal to the wider public. It was perceived that the notion of democracy is taken really for granted and too abstract; and that the wider public immediate concerns are really somehow irrelevant to democracy. People are really concerned about their economic situation, unemployment, low salaries, and these kinds of things; and the key challenge is how to explain to them to what degree these problems are connected with the way democracy works. And there is a problem of also the political culture, or the lack of political culture or tradition of democracy in the country.

In his view, the assessment process had to engage more deeply with the concerns and experience of ordinary people if there were to be a genuine breakthrough to a wider debate about the quality of a country's democracy. As in all the assessments, the OSF engaged experts for the assessment in Bosnia and Herzegovina – inevitably, given the complexity of the issues involved. But for Dino Djipa, this raised problems about the principle of 'local ownership'.

> How was the notion of local ownership perceived in terms of its relation to citizens? To what degree are we really citizens? In the context of this assessment, it means a completely different thing: to what degree did ordinary citizens contribute to this whole assessment; in a way what did we learn from them how they see how democracy works in Bosnia Herzegovina? Because most of this analysis is based really on the work of the experts in the different fields. Okay, for example, they have addressed the issue of reviewing the results of different public opinion polls, let's say, conducted by different organisations about different issues. But there was no effort to systematically work with the citizens, to learn from them what they really experience and how they really see some of these problems.

The media did not help to bridge the gap. They were obsessed by numbers and not by the analysis. 'They were mostly interested in the results of the survey of experts we conducted using this questionnaire, and very nice coloured charts used in the presentation.'

[152] In Ireland, TASC also found that its 650-page report was too rich and dense to encourage people to engage with its findings. It sent copies to the 166 new members of Parliament in June 2007, and to civil servants and others, but feared that they would go onto shelves and stay there. However, TASC learned that many people who did make the effort to engage with the material found it rewarding and it is now to promote the report as a valuable desktop reference book for use by politicians, civil servants, journalists and civil society. It has commissioned a short brochure for people active in public policy issues who may not be interested in democracy as such, but who could benefit from the report's data, analysis and judgements on matters of concern to them. The 166 members of Parliament will get a second chance to make use of the audit report.

Assessment teams have given much thought to the question of how to make the assessments relevant to the everyday concerns of the people, achieve a wider public debate, and bridge the gap between expert assessment and popular experience.

Engaging *with* the public

[153] An equal share in social and economic provision is clearly one of the principal benefits that people expect from democracy, but it is something that our assessments tend to deal with at an analytical and aggregate level rather than at an experiential and individual level. Peter deSouza suggests that democracy assessments can measure the 'transaction costs' of citizens' experience of claiming benefits or services from the state more fully. As he stated at a workshop,

> The democratic state, of all states is under an obligation to recognise the equal claims of all citizens. This means that it must make every effort to have in place institutions and policies that meet the needs of its citizens equally. It must not

> discriminate or favour but must respond to the claims made on it in terms of the merit of those claims. We know in practice, however, that this is an ideal picture of the democratic state and that the actual state that we face and meet everyday is not remotely like this. It has deficits, distortions and deviations. The citizen has to be prepared to expend some costs when transacting with the state. In a democratic state such costs are supposed to be lower as compared to the transaction costs incurred in non-democratic states.

If these 'transaction costs' were to be measured alongside other aspects of democratic performance, then the assessments would be engaging with matters of real significance to people generally, and doing so could make the significance of democracy to everyday lives more evident and real to people. In addition to seeking to engage people with their evaluation of the quality of their democracy, assessors might also engage more fully *with* people if they reported on the popular experience of what their democracy actually delivers or does not deliver to them. In this way, democracy assessment must include and try to capture the experiences of the citizen of democracy at the everyday level as well as in more macro 'performance' terms.

[154] Peter deSouza identifies five areas at least where the citizen has to enter into transactions with the state:

(1) *the protection of the citizen's life and liberty*, where people must deal with agencies such as the police and the army;
(2) *the redress of wrongs*, where people must engage with bureaucracy and the courts;
(3) *the provision of documentation*, such as voter identity cards, ration cards and so on, which are central to establishing citizenship and hence rights;
(4) *regulation*, where the state's function is to permit or to proscribe either individual or collective activity such as changes to dwellings, zoning and so on, for the common good; and
(5) *the provision of welfare and development*, including services such as health, education, water and electricity that are essential for people's well-being.

We can add to or subtract from this list, as deSouza says. The search questions, of course, should lead assessors to analyse all these areas of state responsibility in a democracy, but the point is to go further and to measure the 'costs' for citizens in domains where they have to

enter into a transaction with the state to get what is a just entitlement that the state either has promised or is duty bound to provide. But what actually happens when people make a claim on the state (e.g. for a pension or medical care in a government hospital, or filing a police complaint) or when the state engages with them (e.g. investigating or charging people for possible criminal or terrorist activity, or enrolling them for military service)? Would people rather internalize a cost than make a claim on the state? What frustrations lie in store? Will public servants demand a bribe or public services take a damagingly long time to provide a legitimate entitlement? Even in so-called 'developed democracies', the idea of measuring transaction costs remains relevant (see e.g. Thakur 2007).

[155] Peter deSouza therefore suggests that democracies can be assessed more deeply by measuring the transaction costs to the citizen. A set of transaction costs could be aggregated; an index of such costs may perhaps be assembled using people's perceptions of the ease or difficulty of getting legitimate claims attended to. The concept could take into account the citizen's frustration with the state or could be developed to allow for interstate comparison. The literature on 'transaction costs' in public choice economics could perhaps be imported into our debates on democracy measurement. In Peter deSouza's view, transaction costs are a better measure of democracy than those that focus on institutions, such as those of the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) and Freedom House; these, he says, 'have no place for citizen experiences since they are made often from some Archimedean vantage point that is too sanitised and perhaps too elite'.

[156] The innovative application of the International IDEA assessment methodology in Mongolia, South Asia and Australia, among other countries, has moved in the direction of measuring citizens' experiences of democracy in addition to formal institutional performance. 'Focused audits' on the experience of migrants in Australia and case studies on 'inconvenient facts' such as the perpetuation of social exclusion through elementary education in India (undertaken as part of the South Asian assessment) are exemplary in this regard. This has had the effect of increasing stakeholder involvement and ownership in the assessment exercise; and it has also focused national and local attention on the findings and proved useful in jump-starting debates about reform. It is hoped that the assessment methodology will continue to generate this widespread engagement with the processes of democracy.

The lessons are clear

[157] Consideration of the many different experiences with democracy assessment examined in this part of the guide demonstrates a clear set of interrelated lessons that ought to be of significance to future democracy assessments around the world.

- First, it is important to recognize the diversity of the democratic stories that emerge from specific assessments while continuing to work within the democracy assessment framework.
- Second, assessment teams need to work creatively with available funding and capacity on the ground in ways that allow a democracy assessment to move forward.
- Third, teams should develop systems for national coordination of the assessment even though different responsibilities may be carried out by a diverse set of stakeholders.
- Fourth, coordination does not stop with the assessment itself but must be translated into the overall 'house language' of the process and presented in ways that get the democratic message across to the full range of potential audiences.
- Fifth, the message can be broadcast through a variety of different forms of dissemination, as the experiences in this section of the guide have shown.

Above all, democracy is about people being in control of the decisions and decision makers that affect their lives. Thus, any democracy assessment must both *engage* the public and engage *with* the public in ways that capture their imagination for a better life and their aspirations for what a high-quality democracy can deliver.

Part 4

From assessment to reform: influencing the democratic process

From assessment to reform: influencing the democratic process

[158] Part 1 of the Guide introduced the main purpose and structure of the democracy assessment framework. Part 2 provided the full assessment framework, complete with the search questions, what to look for, generalized sources, and national, regional and international standards of good practice. Part 3 reflected many of the experiences of applying the framework in a variety of different country contexts, covering large and small states, federal and unitary systems, old and new democracies, and advanced industrial and less-developed societies. These different experiences have shown that the framework works, that it is flexible and adaptable to the contextual specificities of a wide range of countries, that it has contributed to public debate and raised awareness, and that it has allowed for the expression of popular understanding and elite consensus, and in many cases the identification of reform priorities and ways in which to monitor the achievement of democratic progress. It has also shown that, despite the existence of a common framework of assessment, democracy itself has many 'different stories', whether in its foundation and development or its response to the unending challenges. The effectiveness of the assessment framework as illustrated in Part 3 provides a significant test of its value.

[159] This final part of the guide builds on the link between the assessment process, assessment outputs, and the development of a democratic reform agenda. One of the main purposes of individual country assessments by in-country assessors has always been to make a contribution to the democratization process itself. The comparative experiences of applying the framework suggest that there are *different potential audiences* for the product of a democracy assessment and that there are *long-term and short-term effects* of an assessment, each of which can be linked to developing strategies for reform.

[160] Over the years, the different audiences for democracy assessments have included citizens and domestic stakeholders in the private and

public sector, as well as international stakeholders from intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, primarily but not exclusively in the donor community. Many of these stakeholders have been actively involved in the assessment, while others have been exposed to the final outputs through large public events, official speeches, media interviews, book launches and ongoing consultative processes. The long-term and short-term effects have included such milestone achievements as contributing to the public debate about or discourse on democracy; enriching civic education within and outside the academic world; developing consensus around a reform agenda; and influencing specific reforms and/or reform agents, as well as evaluating the effectiveness of such reforms.

[161] These achievements have varied across the range of countries. Perhaps one of the most significant examples of the link between democracy assessment and democratic reform is illustrated in the case of Mongolia, where the government enacted a Ninth Millennium Development Goal which specifies a set of targets for upholding all human rights found in the Universal Declaration, to uphold and inculcate democratic principles and values, and to combat corruption. In Mongolia all major stakeholders took part in various aspects of the assessment, while the key elements of the National Plan of Action have begun to be institutionalized through additional support from the international community. In contrast to other contexts, where the democracy assessment is one of many voices in the national debate, in Mongolia it was the *only* voice in the debate. But this voice was given its fullest expression, where all forms of critical reflection about the nature and quality of Mongolian democracy were given space and received widespread national and international attention.

The different audiences for democracy assessments have included citizens and domestic stakeholders in the private and public sector, as well as international stakeholders from intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, primarily but not exclusively in the donor community. Many have been actively involved in the assessment. The long-term and short-term effects have included contributing to the public debate about or discourse on democracy; enriching civic education within and outside the academic world; developing consensus around a reform agenda; and influencing specific reforms and/or reform agents, as well as evaluating the effectiveness of such reforms.

[162] In similar fashion, the Dutch assessment was government-led. The final report was disseminated through a variety of strategies to reach as wide an audience as possible. The final report was sent to 250 NGOs, government bodies, journalists and the queen, who used one of the eight topics from the report in her Christmas speech. In addition, major public debates were held on the eight topics, including freedom of speech, the structure of government, the media, and citizenship. A final large conference was held with ministers present, who outlined significant steps for the future. The new Dutch Government (in 2007) set out three broad reforms in the light of the assessment, including a 'charter for responsible citizenship', technical changes to the constitution, and a pledge to reduce the complexity of government processes more generally.

[163] In the light of these specific examples, this part of the guide addresses ways in which to think about an assessment as an effective means to communicate a particular story about democracy that has been forged through a process of national consensus. This story ought to be communicated to as diverse and broad an audience as possible and should lead to the formulation of concrete proposals for democratic reform that draw on the findings of the assessment in ways that are based on local ownership of the reform agenda. It is clear from the experiences of applying the assessment framework that assessment teams have moved beyond the set of search questions and have used the framework as a useful tool for critical reflection within the country that is being assessed. A domestic team of assessors and stakeholders based in the country of the assessment provides the empirical basis for answering the questions while reflecting on the democratic achievements and deficits for the period being assessed, *as well as identifying the obstacles to democratic reform that may exist*. In this way, the assessment is crucial for celebrating democratic achievements while revealing critical gaps in the lived democratic experience of the country and obstacles in need of attention through proposals for reform to move the democratic agenda forward.

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Achievements and challenges

[164] The original set of pilot studies in Bangladesh, El Salvador, Italy, Kenya, Malawi, New Zealand, Peru and South Korea provided important lessons for how the framework can be applied to old, new and restored democracies and how common comparative inferences could be drawn from their assessment experiences. The original studies showed that there are a number of notable democratic achievements that can be made early during a period of transition and consolidation, and similar achievements have been evident in the subsequent country assessments detailed in Part 3. The assessments have shown that it has been relatively easy to:

- obtain a broadly agreed constitution with a bill of rights;
- establish some sort of office of ombudsmen and/or a public defender;
- hold free elections and establish universal suffrage;
- support the revival of local government; and
- ensure the protection of basic freedoms such as party association, press, speech and assembly.

It has been more difficult to establish:

- the effective inclusion of minorities and women's participation;
- equal access to justice and protection of the right to life;
- meaningful intra-party democracy;
- control of executives;
- a reduction in private influence and private interests in the public sphere; and
- a significant role for opposition parties

and in many ways these remain precarious.

[165] While this is not an exhaustive list of the challenges faced by these countries (for further challenges, see Table 4.1), the main gaps identified between early constitutional and institutional achievements, on the one hand, and longer-term problems that erode the democratic quality of life, on the other hand, are consonant with popular commentaries on and critical analyse of democratic underachievement beyond the countries that have undergone the kind of assessments outlined in this guide (see e.g. Diamond 1999; Zakaria 2003; O'Donnell et al. 2004; Carothers 2007a).

[166] These popular commentaries are critical about two key things: (a) an overemphasis on elections (the 'electoral fallacy') at the cost

of examining other key dimensions of democracy and (b) the false logic of democratic 'sequencing' (see Rustow 1970; Carothers 2007a). While elections are important and feature prominently in the assessment framework, the many other dimensions of the framework show that elections are but one facet of the democratic experience, where questions of rights, inclusion, the media and political parties, among other things, must sit alongside the holding of regular elections. Democratic sequencing sees the development of democracy as a set of necessary steps in which the state and the rule of law are stabilized *before* democracy is introduced fully. A recent critique of this sequential approach (Carothers 2007a, 2007b; see also Fukuyama 2007; Mansfield and Snyder 2007; Berman 2007) cautions against the sequential logic to the process of democratization and argues that democracies and the democrats that inhabit them are best placed to bring about democratic reform and that their efforts to do so often *precede* rather than *follow* any interventions from the international community, and even in those instances where this is not the case, the power of outside intervention in democracy promotion is overrated.

[167] This view is largely compatible with the types of lesson that have been learned by applying the assessment framework across such a diverse set of countries, which – unlike the various debates on democratic sequencing – has included established democracies, as well as new and restored democracies. The new democrats of Mongolia forged a competitive electoral system in which real alternation of power has taken place, and where all major stakeholders have become engaged in state reform and strengthening the rule of law. In the Netherlands, popular rejection of the EU constitution and two prominent political assassinations initiated an assessment that revealed the need to revisit issues of Dutch citizenship and the complexity of government itself in representing the needs and democratic aspirations of the population. In South Asia, the State of Democracy project sought to locate democracy in the context of that region of the world in order to discover what South Asians think about democracy and how they have adapted its very idea. The project showed that across the region democratic 'preconditions' (Karl 1990) are not necessary for the installation of democracy and that democracy has not yet been able to address questions of poverty.

[168] These different examples suggest that the framework, in addition to being equally applicable to such a diverse range of country contexts, is equally useful in generating concrete proposals for democratic reform, the success of which relies heavily on the agents of the assessment and their ability to provide the broad conditions of ownership

for key stakeholders who have the capacity and opportunity to drive the reform process. In terms of the assessment framework and within IDEA's general orientation towards democracy as an ongoing and evolving process, it is expected that democracy is not an 'all or nothing affair', so that certain features may be better developed than others, and the assessment of the quality of democracy necessarily requires a multidimensional approach that can provide a more nuanced and contextually-specific 'performance profile'. Moreover, the assessment framework lends itself well to the identification of possible explanations for the gaps between achievements and remaining challenges, which in turn can lead to the formulation of a democratic reform agenda.

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Context, influence, audience and outputs

[169] The potential for initiating, implementing and sustaining significant democratic reforms, however, must be seen as a function of four larger factors that need to be taken into consideration. The four factors are:

- the contexts in which the assessments were carried out;
- the types of influence that the assessment made possible;
- the audience to which the assessment was directed; and
- the types of output that were produced.

These factors can act alone or in combination to affect the type of democratic reform possible, both in the short term and in the longer term.

Context

[170] Across the experiences, the context of the assessment varied greatly across the main *agent* of the assessment (government, civil society or an academic institution), the relative *openness of the political process to reform*, and the relative *voice the assessment had* in the public domain and popular political discourse. Differences across these contextual

features of each assessment will have (and have had) an impact on the degree to which democratic reform is possible and on the character of the assessment itself. Government endorsement adds official legitimacy to the exercise but may affect perceptions of its independence and validity. Openness to reform means that the assessment proposals will be better received and the reform process itself will be easier to initiate, implement and maintain. In similar fashion, if an assessment achieves a dominant position in public discourse on the state of democracy and the need for reforms then it will necessarily feed more readily into a reform agenda based on the findings of the assessment.

The main agent of the assessment

[171] The original model for democracy assessment was based on the experience of Democratic Audit in the UK. Research for the three main volumes in which the findings were first published was carried out at the Human Rights Centre at the University of Essex, with significant additional input from academics from other UK universities (e.g. University College London, Oxford University, and the London School of Economics). This model was used in the first eight pilot studies, which were conducted through collaboration between International IDEA and an academic institution in each country, with desk studies prepared by academics based at the University of Leeds. The Australian Democratic Audit and the Philippine Democracy Assessment – based, respectively, at the Australian National University and the National College of Public Administration and Governance at the University of the Philippines – also follow this model. The UK, Australian and Philippine examples are ongoing sets of activities and produce a variety of different outputs (see below), while the other examples outlined in Part 3 have so far been single projects, with varying degrees of follow-up activity and/or institutional reform initiatives.

[172] As Part 3 demonstrates, considerable variation exists in the subsequent assessments that have been carried out, ranging from government-led to civil society-led. In Mongolia and the Netherlands, the government was the main agent for the assessment. In the Mongolian case, civil society, the media and the academic world had a greater role throughout the assessment than they did in the Netherlands. In Mongolia the academic sector provided the core empirical research on the development of democratic governance indicators (with desk studies prepared by the University of Essex) and civil society engaged in producing a civil society index (with assistance from Civicus). The two major international conferences held in Ulaanbaatar included representatives from the government, the parliament and civil society

(which also included representatives from the media). In contrast, in the Netherlands, the Interior Ministry was largely responsible for conducting the assessment, the results of which were then disseminated through the main debates about and the distribution of the final report, which received media coverage and responses from NGOs and other civil society organizations. In both cases, having the government as the main agent of the assessment has led to reform proposals, the reform agenda being arguably more extensive in the case of Mongolia given the many challenges that country faces, having emerged from a prolonged period of communist rule.

[173] The democracy assessment in Latvia was carried out by the Latvia Commission of Strategic Analysis and the University of Latvia. The commission was established in April 2004 under the auspices of the president and comprises well-known Latvian scholars. Thus the Latvian project falls somewhere in between the primarily government-led examples of Mongolia and the Netherlands, where government sponsorship has added legitimacy to the enterprise compared to those carried out by civil society organizations, think tanks and academic institutions.

[174] The assessments in 'the two Irelands', South Asia and Bosnia were primarily led by non-governmental agents. The Democratic Audit of Ireland has been carried out by a think tank, TASC. The South Asian project was coordinated by the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS), an autonomous social science research institution based in New Delhi. The Bosnian assessment was sponsored by the Open Society Forum and carried out by an independent research team. In each of these cases, substantial reports have been published leading to varying degrees of media coverage and responsiveness from the general public, while in Bosnia the assessment led to the establishment of a website – 'The Pulse of Democracy' – as a tool for disseminating further the results of the assessment and increasing awareness of ongoing democratic challenges.

[175] Quite apart from identifying the main agent for the assessment, however, there is the additional issue, particularly in deeply divided societies, surrounding the ideological or political affiliation of the agent, the composition of the assessment team, and the representativeness of the team. Clearly, an assessment team should be broadly based and inclusive of all major stakeholders and different sets of interests. As is outlined in Part 1, a team that is too narrow or one that is unbalanced or biased in some way can affect the legitimacy of the assessment and ultimately the possibility for reform. The institutionalization of

reform is a long process, which involves creating broad consensus among key political actors, as well as developing the supportive political culture that is needed if democracy is to last in the case of new or restored democracies and to deepen in the more established democracies. As Juris Rozenvalds observed after completing the Latvian assessment, 'there is no democracy without democrats'. Although many observers have made the same observation, this comment captures Rustow's (1970) notion of 'democratic habituation', which can take a generation or two to become deeply embedded into the political culture of a new democracy.

The relative openness of the political process

[176] The second contextual factor that will have an impact on the degree to which an assessment can lead to substantive reform is the relative openness of the political process. Assessments have been carried out for very different reasons at very different times in the political development and evolution of the individual countries that have been assessed. For the more established democracies, the impulse to carry out an assessment is often associated with some sort of crisis of governability, popular dissatisfaction or disquiet about the political status quo, or some sort of 'trigger' event, such as a significant change in government, a critical election, or some other significant disruption. These events offer significant political opportunities for the democratic reform agenda to begin to form and an assessment or democratic 'stocktaking' provides a useful means to initiate the reform process.

[177] As Part 3 has shown, in the three established democracies of the UK, the 'two' Irelands and the Netherlands, significant events led to a new demand for assessment of and critical reflection on the quality of democracy. In the UK, Democratic Audit has framed its work between the latter years of the Thatcher era – the background against which *Political Power and Democratic Control in Britain* (Weir and Beetham 1998) and *The Three Pillars of Liberty* (Klug, Starmer and Weir 1996) are set – and the electoral success and dominance of New Labour – the context for the third book, *Democracy Under Blair* (Beetham, Byrne, Ngan and Weir 2002). The Dutch assessment was a response to growing questions about the national culture in the light of the proposed EU constitution and about national citizenship after two high-profile killings. For Australia, the Democratic Audit used the moment of the centenary celebrations to launch a long-term investigation into Australian democracy. For the two Irelands, the peace process and ongoing Stormont talks served as a catalyst (and

bottleneck) to the parallel democracy assessments completed in 2007 under the rubric *Power to the People?* (Hughes, Clancy, Harris and Beetham 2007; and Wilford, Wilson and Claussen 2007).

[178] For the new democracies, the moment of transition from authoritarian rule has been an important milestone and many of the assessments have been carried out after some time has passed since the transition. The Mongolians combined a reflective look at their democracy since the transition in the early 1990s with their role as chair of the Fifth International Conference on New and Restored Democracies. The Philippines continues to work on sections of the assessment framework as and when funding becomes available, but the impulse for the assessment has come from the Marcos era and the continued political upheaval. For Latvia, the negotiations on accession to the EU brought a variety of reforms mandated by the Copenhagen Criteria and provided the opportunity for a democracy assessment. For Bosnia, international donor interest in assessing achievements in democratization ten years after the war prompted the assessment, which had three main objectives: (a) the identification of the strengths and weaknesses of current democratic practices, (b) the identification of priorities for reform, and (c) to provoke public debate on the effectiveness of democracy in practice. The South Asian assessment combined the long-term experience with democracy in India with the more recent experiences in the region, most notably the popular rejection of monarchical rule and the call for democracy in Nepal.

Openness to reform means that the assessment proposals will be better received and the reform process itself easier to initiate, implement and maintain.

Public space

[179] The next contextual factor that affects the probability of an assessment leading to significant reform involves the relative public presence the assessment achieves. In advanced industrial democracies there are 'multiple points of entry' – a plurality of social groups, different interests, bases of political support, and civil society organizations, as well as large print media outlets, television and radio stations, wide penetration of the Internet, academic commentary, and other forms of opinion-shaping activities and outlets. In contrast,

new democracies in transitional economies or less-developed countries will tend to have concentrated media outlets or media monopolies, fewer academic specialists, less active or underdeveloped civil society organizations, and in many cases concentrated areas of political power and deep patron–client networks, which on their own or in combination can limit the degree to which a democracy assessment will lead to reform. The relative voice that an assessment achieves may therefore be a function of the combination between the main agent of the assessment and the public space in which it is operating.

[180] Such a combination thus creates a trade-off for any country contemplating a democracy assessment. On the one hand, government-led assessments may have more formal voice, but they need to be careful to ensure that they are representative, valid and legitimate exercises that include broad representation of key stakeholders. On the other hand, society-led or academic assessments achieve a certain autonomy, independence and validity, but may well have to compete for control of the public space in communicating their work and will need to achieve some consensus with government actors in order to bring about a reform process. In Mongolia, the government-led assessment occupied most of the public space and was the main voice for democratic reform, while in the Netherlands the Interior Ministry needed to mobilize the national media and hold public debates on the main findings of the assessment. Assessments in transitional or less-developed countries may also want to attract international attention in order to gain some form of externally validated voice to bring about democratic reform, which leads to more general questions about the types of audience for which assessments are being carried out.

Types of audience, output and impact

[181] As this discussion indicates, there are many potential audiences for a democracy assessment, which will necessarily vary according to the purpose of the assessment, the conditions under which it was carried out, the agents that undertook it and the type of political conditions prevailing at the time it was completed. These audiences include national stakeholders within government and in political, civil and economic society. But they may well include audiences outside the country, including other countries wishing to carry out their own assessments and the international donor community, which has increasingly emphasized a link between the quality of governance, economic growth and poverty reduction. Part 3 has shown how the different assessment experiences produced a variety of significant outputs, including book-length reports, national conferences and debates, media

events, short reports on parts of the framework or specific issue areas, policy analysis, new data sets with individual and aggregate level indicators, advocacy documents, and proposals for and the enactment of new legislation, such as the Charter for Responsible Citizenship in the Netherlands and Mongolia's enacting of the Ninth Millennium Development Goal.

The audiences for a democracy assessment may include national stakeholders, within government and in political, civil and economic society, and audiences outside the country, including other countries wishing to carry out their own assessments and the international donor community.

[182] The overall combination of the purpose, agent, context, audience and outputs of any assessment is linked to its potential impact. Assessments can have direct influence on policy makers and other political elites – as in the cases of the Netherlands, Mongolia and Latvia, and to a lesser extent in Ireland and the UK. Assessments can also strengthen constituencies, NGOs and civil society organizations that can mobilize and add pressure for democratic reform. Many assessments can have a longer-term cultural impact through raising awareness and becoming mainstreamed through educational curricula at secondary school level, as well as within the university system.

Assessments can also strengthen constituencies, NGOs and civil society organizations that can mobilize and add pressure for democratic reform.

Areas for reform

[183] These different dimensions of the assessment process (agent, context, openness of the political process, audiences, outputs and impact) create different opportunities and areas for democratic reform. We categorize these areas into three main types: (a) institutional reform, (b) resource-based reform, and (c) long-term cultural shifts. It is important that these are not seen in any way as mutually exclusive, but rather as complementary and as forming a holistic approach to improving the quality of democracy in the medium-to-long term. The

reforms suggested here by no means offer a panacea for democracy's ills across all political contexts, but they are linked to the framework as key areas of reform that will help a country realize more fully the two principles that lie at the heart of the framework.

Institutional reforms

[184] It is clear from the assessments that have been carried out that significant institutional reform is essential to improving the quality of democracy. These reforms are based on enhancing vertical and horizontal accountability mechanisms in ways that prohibit the centralization of power or prevent power and decision making being exercised without real oversight. Across different institutional arrangements (e.g. unitary and federal systems, presidential and parliamentary systems, and proportional and majoritarian systems), the assessment experiences have shown that it is important that institutional mechanisms are in place for maintaining independent forms of representation and accountability. (The Dutch assessment has led to calls for the establishment of a Directorate General for Governance and Democracy.) Institutional oversight requires real power backed with constitutional or statutory authority to oversee and control actions of government that can have a deleterious impact on human rights, including civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights. For example, popular institutional solutions include the establishment of national human rights institutions, electoral commissions, anti-corruption bodies and ombudsman offices, as well as more traditional legislative and judicial powers of oversight that have evolved over long periods of time in the more established democracies. For transitional societies there is an additional demand for institutional solutions that

Popular institutional reforms include the establishment of national human rights institutions, electoral commissions, anti-corruption bodies and ombudsman offices, and more traditional legislative and judicial powers of oversight. For transitional societies there is an additional demand for institutional solutions that confront authoritarian legacies, the military 'reserve domains' of power and the use of emergency powers within national constitutions. There should also be institutional solutions to enhance the participation and inclusion of all groups, including minority groups and women.

confront authoritarian legacies (at a formal and legal level and at a cultural and practical level), the so-called military 'reserve domains' of power (e.g. in Bangladesh and Pakistan), and the use of emergency powers within national constitutions. Moreover, there should also be institutional solutions to enhance the participation and inclusion of all groups, including minority groups and women.

Resource-based reforms

[185] The framework includes consideration of economic and social rights alongside civil and political rights. The assessment experiences have shown that political and legal equality must be complemented by the means for realizing social equality: the persistence of social and economic inequality constrains the ability of large numbers of people to take part in the public affairs of the country. The fulfilment of economic and social rights is often criticized for placing a heavy burden on the fiscal capacity of governments, but programmes that enhance the protection of civil and political rights also entail such a burden. All rights depend in some degree on tax revenues and government spending. Interestingly, one of the 'inconvenient truths' of the South Asian study was that there is a broad perception among mass publics that democracy has not yet been able to reduce poverty. The South Asia report argues: 'South Asia needs to evolve an alternative approach to thinking about democratic reforms. This approach would respond to the promise of democracy. … It [needs] to prioritise the challenge of accommodating minority interests and aspirations, … re-invigorat[e] politics … [through] a radical re-working of political institutions and the state' (Lokniti 2008: 152–3).

Political and legal equality must be complemented by the means for realizing social equality: the persistence of social and economic inequality constrains the ability of large numbers of people to take part in the public affairs of the country.

Long-term cultural shifts

[186] As is alluded to above, in order for democracy to become 'the only game in town' (Linz and Stepan 1996: 5), there is a longer-term need for the kind of reforms that promote and develop a broader political

culture that is supportive of democracy. The Bosnian and Latvian assessment experiences made this point very clearly, and in many ways showed that new and restored democracies face a somewhat harder challenge in this regard. The Pulse of Democracy website set up by the OSF in Bosnia was a parallel and initially unrelated way of raising awareness of developing democracy. For Latvia, Juris Rozenvalds is sanguine about the cultural impact of the assessment: 'this country is democratic because they have [a] critical report of themselves…'.

[187] In Bangladesh, one of the original pilot studies and part of the South Asia study had to work against a background of ongoing military interventions in the political sphere which the public in general backed, which suggests a weak attachment at best to democracy and democratic principles. The South Asia assessment argues that 'an affirmation of democracy does not lead to the negation of authoritarian alternatives, so support for democracy is thin' (Lokniti 2008: 12–13).

[188] In the Netherlands, the government has sought to formulate an interconnected package of measures to guarantee, reinforce and – where necessary – renew democracy, together with the results of the Citizen's Forum (Burgerforum) and the National Convention (Nationale Conventie), among other initiatives. On 5 October 2006 the National Convention made proposals for the establishment of a national political system that could contribute to the restoration of confidence between the citizen and politics and also serve as a constitution for the 21st century. In Australia, many of the audit outputs form part of the curricula for university students. As Marian Sawer observes, 'students cut their teeth on *our* assessments of Australian political practices when learning about Australian politics'.

There is a longer-term need for the kind of reforms that promote and develop a broader political culture that is supportive of democracy. The institutionalization of reform is a long process, which involves creating broad consensus among key political actors, as well as developing the supportive political culture that is needed. The new and restored democracies face a somewhat harder challenge in this regard.

[189] All in all, it is clear that institutional, resource-based and cultural reforms demand varying degrees of attention and time, and a wide range

of different actors in order to build a broader, deeper and better democratic future. This guide has made it clear throughout that democracy assessment must be comprehensive, inclusive and forward-looking in ways that draw on the democratic achievements, are grounded in the many different contexts in which democracy flourishes, and require the support of all citizens within the country that has been assessed. Democracy assessment engages all levels of society as well as key international actors in an effort to build and strengthen democratic institutions, democratic society and democratic culture in ways that reflect the needs of the population governed within the democracy itself. In this way, democracy is not exported or imported, but supported.

Table 4.1. Typical achievements and challenges drawn from the pilot studies

Section of framework	Achievements	Challenges
1. Citizenship, law and rights		
1.1. Nationhood and citizenship	Democratic constitution established	Broadly based inclusion of all sectors of society Elimination of authoritarian legacies
1.2. Rule of law and access to justice	De facto separation of judiciary from executive	Access to justice for all Inefficient processing of cases Criminal elements and corruption
1.3. Civil and political rights	Bill of rights Office of ombudsman, public defender, or equivalent	National emergency rights derogations Low public regard for police Poor conditions of detention Violence against women
1.4. Economic and social rights	Government focused on economic development Shift in international community to poverty reduction and debt relief	Limited fiscal capacity of states to guarantee basic rights Increasing gap between rich and poor Liberalization without regulation

Section of framework	Achievements	Challenges
2. Representative and accountable government		
2.1. Free and fair elections	Competitive elections Establishment of independent electoral commissions Improved and inclusive voter registration Voters exercise their electoral rights	Official and unofficial electoral harassment and intimidation Unequal access for parties to the media Possible vulnerability of constituency-based electoral systems Socially unrepresentative electoral candidates
2.2. The democratic role of political parties	Freedom for parties to form, recruit and campaign	Fragmentation of party representation Personal party politics Limited internal party democracy Party finance problems
2.3. Effective and responsive government	Realistic threat of removal for most governments Some legislative oversight of executive Citizen redress possible Some independent media	Executive dominance Pork-barrel politics Reporting delays Limited role for opposition parties Weak freedom of information legislation
2.4. The democratic effectiveness of parliament[a]		
2.5. Civilian control of the military and police	Clear procedures for civilian control of military Public service reforms	Removing military from previous zones of conflict Strengthening the accountability of the security services to parliament Ensuring the police serve the whole community Making services more socially representative
2.6. Integrity in public life[b]	Establishment of an anti-corruption commission Increased reporting of corruption from civil society and the general public	Addressing rent-seeking behaviour and culture Strengthening anti-corruption bodies

Section of framework	Achievements	Challenges
3. Civil society and popular participation		
3.1. The media in a democratic society	Free independent print media Relaxing state media monopoly	Continued government control of the media Private media monopoly Official and unofficial harassment of journalists Trivialization of media content
3.2. Political participation	Active civil society organizations (CSOs) Effective role for CSOs Encouragement for self-help	Donor dependency of CSOs Lack of CSO accountability Low participation of women
Government responsiveness[c]	Adoption of consultative mechanisms	Preferential access for the wealthy Sense of powerlessness among general public
3.3. Decentralization	Revival of elected local government Greater responsiveness to local citizens Cooperation with local partners for delivery of services	Inadequate and unequal resource base at local level Lack of trained personnel Limited fiscal decentralization
4. Democracy beyond the state[d]		
4.1. External influences on the country's democracy	Incorporation of international treaties into domestic legislation	Subordination to international financial institutions Unequal representation of countries from the global South in international organizations Chronic border disputes
4.2. The country's democratic impact abroad	Support for UN peacekeeping missions Generosity towards refugees	

Source: Adapted from International IDEA, *The State of Democracy: Democracy Assessments in Eight Nations Around the World* (The Hague: Kluwer Law International, 2002), pp. 100–103.

[a] This element was not in the original framework.

[b] In the original framework, this item was entitled 'Minimising Corruption'.

[c] This item has been consolidated into a different section of the new framework.

[d] In the original framework, this item appeared as a single question.

Annex A
Other ways of assessing democracy

We have described the principles and purposes of our framework for democracy assessment. Our framework is not the first such attempt at assessing the quality of democracy and freedom in countries around the world. The distinctive features of our approach can most readily be appreciated by comparison with other approaches. These are set out in Table A.1, which identifies five different types of assessment framework. We categorize the five approaches in the following ways – by what issues and themes they investigate, who carries them out and for what purpose, their geographical coverage and their respective methodologies. The table also gives examples of the agencies, countries and bodies that carry them out.

This is not an exhaustive list, and there are obvious overlaps between the types listed. Thus, for example, there is a strong thematic overlap between the first four in the table, all of which predominantly include civil and political rights in their assessment. But this similarity should not obscure crucial differences of purpose between them that feed into their respective methodologies. Thus, the first category, human rights surveys, aim to identify where individual countries stand in a global comparison; the second, governance assessments, uses assessment to select and monitor aid projects in given countries; the third, democracy indices, are concerned to explore empirical relationships between democracy and other significant variables; the fourth, democratic audits, are primarily concerned to raise consciousness and the level of public debate about democracy issues; and the fifth, economic and social assessments, provide a tool for externally funded economic or social investment.

Our approach is set out at the bottom of the table for comparison. Of the five types surveyed, our approach has most in common with the democratic audits, from which it has evolved. That is to say, the primary purpose of our assessment methodology is to help raise public

consciousness about democracy issues in particular countries, to assess the quality of democracy, to identify where it is strong and where it is weak, and to identify reforms.

Since we are sceptical about outsiders sitting in judgement on a country's democracy, often from a position of presumed superiority, we take the view that the right people to conduct such assessments are the citizens of the country involved, a principle which is now increasingly being recognized internationally. Not least, only they know the history and culture of their country – an important base for understanding its approach to and arrangements for democracy. In some instances, it may be appropriate – and in many cases it can add legitimacy to an assessment – if the government is involved (as in the case of Mongolia and the Netherlands: see Part 3). Much will depend on the government's motives and the independence of the assessment. In Zimbabwe, for example, President Robert Mugabe's government established a major survey of the people's democratic aspirations to shoulder aside a popular initiative and to take control of the process. Mugabe then rejected the conclusions of his own official inquiry.

Thus, safeguards will be an essential prerequisite for such assessments. For example, government assessments should allow the assessors, as our methodology demands, to define for themselves which aspects of democracy and which criteria should be chosen for investigation, as well as which benchmarks or standards might be appropriate for use in the assessment.

Other frameworks tend to predetermine these key issues of method, and these issues are often neither explicitly recognized nor discussed. In the International IDEA process, they are exposed to debate and choice, while the flexibility of the framework makes it sensitive to the contextual specificities of individual countries under assessment. To identify such choices, and what is involved in them, is one of the key purposes of this Guide.

We have, however, gone beyond the original idea and practice of a democratic audit in a number of ways, which involve incorporating elements from some of the other types of assessment. Extending the idea of democratic audit to newly established democracies required us to expose the original criteria and methods employed for the UK audits to a process of international assessment and criticism. As a result, the framework now includes sections on economic and social rights and the international dimensions of democracy that were not in the original framework. It also treats more seriously and acutely the

processes of assessment and the choice of standards or comparators to be used. As well as the body of economic and social assessments, we have also drawn on the experience of project-led governance assessments in our methodology.

Furthermore, anyone attempting to construct lists of possible sources for relevant data, whether international, regional or country-specific, is bound to be indebted to the sources and findings developed by the profession of political science and by international NGOs. In these different ways we attempt to draw on the best of existing assessment work, while also maintaining our distinctive approach.

Table A.1. Comparing assessment frameworks

Type of assessment	Who carries it out?	What it covers	Purpose	Geographical coverage	Methodology	Selected examples
1. Human rights surveys	International NGOs and governments	Civil and political rights; economic social and cultural rights	Identify where countries stand in a global comparison	Global	Quantitative or qualitative comparison between countries	Freedom House[1] Humana Index[2] Human Rights Watch[3] Amnesty International[4] US State Dept.[5] CIRI Human Rights Data Project[6]
2. Governance assessments	Government aid agencies	Electoral democracy, accountable government, the rule of law	Means to select and monitor aid projects	New democracies	Country-specific assessments against agency-derived indicators	CIDA[7] DFID[8] USAID[9] EU[10] Millennium Challenge Account[11] APRM[12]
3. Democracy indices	Social and political scientists	Civil and political rights, electoral democracy	Explore empirical relationships between democracy and other variables (e.g. economic development and conflict)	Some global, some new democracies	Aggregate quantitative indicators (dichotomous or polychotomous)	Lipset[13] Diamond[14] Hadenius[15] M Moore[16] Kaufman et al.[17] Przeworski et al.[18] Polity IV[19] Bertelsmann Transformation Index[20] EIU[21]
4. Democratic audits	Joint civil society initiatives	Civil and political rights, electoral democracy, accountable government	Raising consciousness about democracy and its condition	Old democracies	Country-specific qualitative assessment by citizens	Canada[22] Sweden[23] UK[24] Australia[25] Denmark[26] Netherlands[27] EU[28]
5. Economic and social assessments	International agencies and governments	Economic and social indicators	Guide to externally funded economic and social investment	Global	Quantitative indicators to assess comparative performance	UNDP[29] World Bank[30] Social Watch[31]
International IDEA democracy assessment	National and international civil society, and governments	Full range of political and social democracy	Enhance public debate; identify and evaluate reform priorities	Global	Country-specific qualitative assessments by in-country experts	Transparency International[32] International IDEA-sponsored

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Annex B
The democracy assessment questionnaire

Example

You are invited to tick one of the boxes in answer to each question in the accompanying list. The classifications are:

VH = very high;
H = high;
M = middling or ambiguous;
L = low;
VL = very low.

As an example, under question 2.1, if you consider that there are serious abrogations of the rule of law, for example, the existence of areas or groups above or beyond the reach of the law, or outside its protection in your country, then you might tick 'L' or 'low' for your assessment of the degree to which the rule of law is operative.

The numbering of the boxes corresponds to the relevant questions on the lists. For each section you are then asked to specify what you consider a) the best feature, and b) the most serious problem in your country from a democratic point of view; then c) to suggest what you think might be done to improve this problem.

2.0 The rule of law and access to justice

Are state and society consistently subject to the law?

2.1 How far is the rule of law operative throughout the territory?

2.2 To what extent are all public officials subject to the rule of law and to transparent rules in the performance of their functions?

2.3 How independent are the courts and the judiciary from the executive, and how free are they from all kinds of interference?

2.4 How equal and secure is the access of citizens to justice, to due process and to redress in the event of maladministration?

2.5 How far do the criminal justice and penal systems observe due rules of impartial and equitable treatment in their operations?

2.6 How much confidence do people have in the legal system to deliver fair and effective justice?

	VH	H	M	L	VL
2.1					
2.2					
2.3					
2.4					
2.5					
2.6					

Best feature .....
Most serious problem .....
Suggested improvement .....

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Annex D
About the authors

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Annex E
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Annex F
About International IDEA

What is International IDEA?

The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA) is an intergovernmental organization that supports sustainable democracy worldwide. Its objective is to strengthen democratic institutions and processes. International IDEA acts as a catalyst for democracy building by providing knowledge resources, expertise and a platform for debate on democracy issues. It works together with policy makers, donor governments, UN organizations and agencies, regional organizations and others engaged in the field of democracy building.

What does International IDEA do?

Democracy building is complex and touches on many areas including constitutions, electoral systems, political parties, legislative arrangements, the judiciary, central and local government, and formal and traditional government structures. International IDEA is engaged with all of these issues and offers to those in the process of democratization:

- knowledge resources, in the form of handbooks, databases, websites and expert networks;
- policy proposals to provoke debate and action on democracy issues; and
- assistance to democratic reforms in response to specific national requests.

Areas of work

International IDEA's notable areas of expertise are:

- *Constitution-building processes.* A constitutional process can lay the foundations for peace and development, or plant seeds of conflict.

International IDEA is able to provide knowledge and make policy proposals for constitution building that is genuinely nationally owned, is sensitive to gender and conflict-prevention dimensions, and responds effectively to national priorities.

- *Electoral processes.* The design and management of elections has a strong impact on the wider political system. International IDEA seeks to ensure the professional management and independence of elections, adapt electoral systems, and build public confidence in the electoral process.
- *Political parties.* Political parties form the essential link between voters and the government, yet polls taken across the world show that political parties enjoy a low level of confidence. International IDEA analyses the functioning of political parties, the public funding of political parties, their management and their relations with the public.
- *Democracy and gender.* International IDEA recognizes that if democracies are to be truly democratic, then women—who make up over half of the world's population—must be represented on equal terms with men. International IDEA develops comparative resources and tools designed to advance the participation and representation of women in political life.
- *Democracy assessments.* Democratization is a national process. International IDEA's State of Democracy methodology allows people to assess their own democracy instead of relying on externally produced indicators or rankings of democracies.

Where does International IDEA work?

International IDEA works worldwide. It is based in Stockholm, Sweden, and has offices in Latin America, Africa and Asia.