



Concepts Matter: Delineating Democracy, Governance and Human Rights

Dr Todd Landman, Centre for Democratic Governance,
Department of Government, University of Essex, United Kingdom



Concepts Matter: Delineating Democracy, Governance and Human Rights

© International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance 2009

International IDEA publications are independent of specific national or political interests. Views expressed in this publication do not necessarily represent the views of International IDEA, its Board or its Council members.

Applications for permission to reproduce or translate all or any part of this publication should be made to:

International IDEA
SE -103 34 Stockholm
Sweden

Layout by: Bulls Graphics

Concepts Matter: Delineating Democracy, Governance and Human Rights

Abstract

During the latter years of the 20th century, international development assistance and foreign policy have increasingly become linked to questions of democracy, governance and human rights in partner countries. Efforts by the international community to link foreign and aid policy to domestic political and legal conditions ought to rest on clear conceptual understandings and definitions of democracy, governance and human rights. Yet, at present, it appears that considerable conceptual confusion remains within the EU and among other international donor agencies. The three concepts tend to be used inconsistently and/or interchangeably in ways that make policymaking in this area difficult to implement, assess, evaluate and improve. This paper provides a conceptual map and glossary of terminology that: (a) defines the three main concepts; (b) delineates their main differences; and (3) assesses the degree to which they overlap. The definition, delineation and assessment are complemented with graphic depictions to aid the discussion.

Summary of Recommendations

Definitions should clearly demarcate the boundaries of concepts, show how they are distinctive and show how some of their features can be shared. Such conceptual clarity is a necessary first step for foreign and aid policy in this issue area. This need for clarity goes beyond the academic and should be linked to the formulation of policy in ways that provide clear guidance on the types of policy outcomes that are desired, as well as guidance on the types of indicators used to measure, assess and evaluate them.

1. Introduction

During the latter years of the 20th century, international development assistance and foreign policy have increasingly become linked to questions of democracy, governance

and human rights in partner countries.¹ Now more than ever donor countries and agencies, as a key feature of their foreign and aid policies, are focusing on the domestic political conditions, institutional arrangements and legal regimes within partner countries. Separately, or in parallel, foreign and aid policies have focused on establishing and maintaining democracy, enhancing and improving governance, and the promotion and protection of human rights both as a *means to an end* (e.g. economic growth with equity) or as *ends in themselves* (e.g. as based on strong normative commitments to a set of values or as providing political stability, security and improvement in human well-being). The 2005 OECD Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness places institutional capacity, systems of governance, accountability and integrity in public life at the centre of aid partnerships. Moreover, democracy, governance and human rights feature as key objectives and necessary components across a wide range of European Union (EU) commitments and policy initiatives, particularly in its Common Foreign and Security Policy, its development policy and its economic, financial and technical cooperation with partner countries.

Efforts by the international community to link foreign and aid policy to domestic political and legal conditions ought to rest on clear conceptual understandings and definitions of democracy, governance and human rights. Clear conceptual definitions provide the foundation for setting policy objectives and measurable policy deliverables, the progress and implementation of which can be assessed and evaluated in the short and long term. The EU, like other significant governmental and inter-governmental actors, requires such definitions in its efforts to mainstream democracy, governance and human rights into its policies. Yet, at present, it appears that considerable conceptual confusion remains within the EU and among other international donor agencies. The three concepts of democracy, governance and human rights tend to be used inconsistently and/or interchangeably in ways that make policymaking in this area difficult to implement, assess, evaluate and improve. As part of the International IDEA initiative *Democracy in Development: Global Consultations on the EU's Role in Democracy Building*, this paper makes a contribution to EU policymaking in this area by providing a conceptual map and glossary of terminology that: (a) defines the three main concepts; (b) delineates their main differences; and (c) assesses the degree to which they overlap. The definition, delineation and assessment are complemented with graphic depictions to aid the discussion.

2. Democracy

Of the three concepts under consideration here, democracy is arguably the oldest. It was first formulated in the work of Aristotle, whose notion of 'polity' most closely matches the modern conception of democracy. While Aristotle's notion of polity refers to the 'good' form of *rule by the many*, modern conceptions of democracy are based on the fundamental ideas of *popular sovereignty* and *collective decision-making*, in which rulers are in some way held accountable by those they rule. Beyond this basic consensus, many variations on what is otherwise a highly contested concept, or 'democracy with adjectives' (Collier and Levitsky 1999), have been in use by the international community

¹ The term 'partner country' is preferred over the more pejorative term 'recipient' and is consistent with the language and intent of the 2005 Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness: Ownership, Harmonisation, Alignment, Results, and Mutual Accountability, see <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/11/41/34428351.pdf>

to formulate foreign and aid policies. These definitions can be grouped broadly into procedural democracy, liberal democracy and substantive democracy, the delineation of which largely rests on the variable incorporation of different rights and protections alongside the general commitment to popular sovereignty and collective decision-making.

Definitions can be grouped broadly into procedural democracy, liberal democracy and substantive democracy, the delineation of which largely rests on the variable incorporation of different rights and protections alongside the general commitment to popular sovereignty and collective decision-making.

Procedural Democracy

Procedural definitions of democracy draw on the seminal work of Robert Dahl, *Polyarchy*, (Dahl 1971) and include the dimensions of *contestation* and *participation*. Contestation captures the *uncertain peaceful competition* necessary for democratic rule – a principle which presumes the legitimacy of a significant and organized opposition, the right to challenge incumbents, protection of the twin freedoms of expression and association, the existence of free and fair elections, and a consolidated political party system. The focus on contestation has motivated much foreign policy and aid policy in ways that have led to the ‘electoral fallacy’, or an overenthusiasm among certain policymakers for successful elections as a key indicator for the existence of stable democracy. Participation, on the other hand, captures the idea of popular sovereignty, which presumes the protection of the right to vote as well as the existence of universal suffrage. The history of suffrage suggests that this is a right that has been achieved as a result of long and widespread social struggle, certainly among Western democracies, while new democracies have enshrined, at least formally, universal suffrage in their new, or resurrected, constitutions at moments of transition.

Table 1. Procedural Democracy

Contestation (uncertain peaceful competition)		Participation (popular sovereignty)	
Legitimacy of opposition	Right to challenge incumbents	Universal suffrage	Right to vote
Freedom of expression	Free and fair elections		
Freedom of association	Consolidated party system		

Source: adapted from Dahl (1971)

Liberal Democracy

Liberal definitions of democracy preserve the notions of contestation and participation found in procedural definitions, but add more explicit references to the protection of certain human rights. These rights were traditionally understood as citizenship rights, but with the advent of the contemporary law on and practice of human rights have become largely understood as human rights. Definitions of liberal democracy thus contain an *institutional* dimension and a *rights* dimension (see Foweraker and Krznaric 2000). The institutional dimension captures the idea of popular sovereignty, and includes notions of accountability, constraint of leaders, representation of citizens and

universal participation in ways that are consistent with Dahl's model outlined above. The rights dimension is upheld by the rule of law, and includes civil, political, property and minority rights. The protection of these rights provides a particular set of guarantees that guard against the threat of a 'tyranny of the majority' and have their provenance in the 1776 US Declaration of Independence and the 1789 French Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen.

Table 2. Liberal Democracy

Institutional dimension (popular sovereignty)		Rights dimension (rule of law)	
Accountability	Restraint	Civil rights	Property rights
Representation	Participation	Political rights	Minority rights

Source: Adapted from Foweraker and Krznaric (2000)

Substantive Democracy

Substantive definitions of democracy maintain the institutional and rights dimensions found in liberal models of democracy but expand the types of rights that ought to be protected, including social and economic rights. Such an expanded form of democracy includes the provision of social and economic welfare and the progressive realization of economic and social rights. Conceptually, those who advocate a pure liberal model of democracy argue that including such social dimensions mixes *intrinsic* and *extrinsic* features of democratic performance, since it is possible for non-democratic regimes to provide social and economic welfare as well as the realization of associated rights. This has long been the argument of socialist regimes, particularly those of the former Communist countries of Eastern Europe. Proponents of human rights, on the other hand, argue that the sharp distinction between categories of rights is false, since the exercise of one category of rights is related to the other category of rights, and both sets are required for full experience of democratic rule. For example, access to health, education and welfare will have an impact on an individual's ability to participate in

Table 3. Substantive Democracy

Institutional dimension (popular sovereignty)		Rights dimension (rule of law)	
Accountability	Restraint	Civil rights	Property rights
Representation	Participation	Political rights	Minority rights
		Economic rights	Social rights

Source: adopted and expanded from Foweraker and Krznaric (2000)

the democratic process through voting, acquiring political information and having the personal capacity and capabilities for critical engagement in the political system.

These different conceptions of democracy are significant and go well beyond the academic because policymakers have typically used implicit models and definitions in their work in formulating policies. For example, the United States draws on its contrasting experiences of democracy promotion. On the one hand, it helped to rebuild Europe after the Second World War through the Marshall Plan and attempted to support democracy in Latin America through the Alliance for Progress and related aid packages. This peaceful extension of aid and support has continued in the post-Cold War period, where US aid is extended to civil society and political party organizations in transitional societies in an effort to build democracy from the ground up in ways that will generate stable democratic institutions and regular multi-party competitive electoral processes. On the other hand, the USA has had a history of interventionism, ostensibly on behalf of democracy, especially in Latin America, since the turn of the 20th Century. This general policy option received increased support in the current era from the neo-conservatives in the Administration of US President George W. Bush, who were committed to the idea that large-scale social and political change could be achieved through concerted effort, even if such effort requires armed intervention (see Fukuyama 2006).

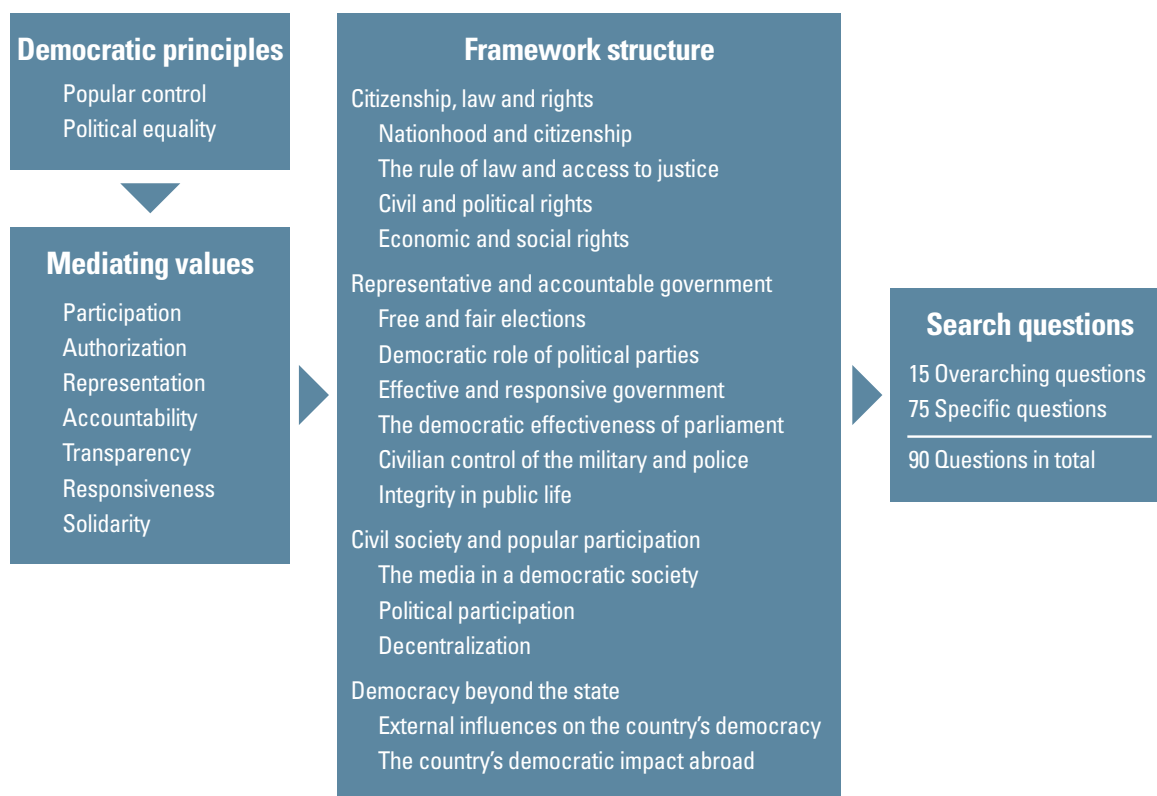
A European approach that has developed in parallel with the evolution of the EU, the process of European integration and the end of the Cold War perceives a need to 'channel the post-Communist European elites' strong desire to join the EU into a grand project of state reconstruction and establish clear limits on domestic political behaviour' (Kopstein 2006: 91). The focus for democracy building has been not civil society but the state and its many institutions, where political order is in many ways preferred over freedom, at least for the initial period of transition. The passage and assimilation of EU law (*aquis communautaire*), coupled with monitoring, evaluation and progress reports from the EU, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), the North Atlantic Treaty Organizations (NATO) and the Council of Europe, maintain a constant level of vigilance over institution-building as a means for providing the foundation for long term democratic stability in those countries that wish eventually to become EU member states.

This difference in emphasis has led to an ongoing debate about the 'sequences' that are necessary to build democracy in partner countries (see Carothers 2007). The USA tends to use more procedural and liberal definitions of democracy in its policymaking, while Europe, because of its history and its development of a welfare states, develops policy that is more in line with the definition of substantive democracy provide above. There is thus a link between how a country conceptualizes democracy and the way it seeks to build democracy through engagement with and in partner countries.

The focus for democracy building has been not civil society but the state and its many institutions, where political order is in many ways preferred over freedom, at least for the initial period of transition.

The USA tends to use more procedural and liberal definitions of democracy in its policymaking, while Europe, because of its history and its development of a welfare states, develops policy that is more in line with the definition of substantive democracy provided above.

Figure 1. International IDEA Democracy Assessment Framework



Source: Assessing the Quality of Democracy; An Overview of the International IDEA Framework (2008)

3. International IDEA and Democracy

International IDEA has in many ways followed the European approach to democracy building, but maintains a more dynamic position that sees democracy as an ongoing process in all countries that cannot be imported or exported, but *supported*. To this end, its *Handbook on Democracy Assessment* and the revised edition, *Assessing the Quality of Democracy: A Practical Guide*, adopt a wide and substantive definition of democracy that is built on fundamental principles and mediating values. The fundamental principles are *popular control* over decisions and decision-makers and equality of respect and voice between citizens in the exercise of that control (IDEA 2008: 23. See also Figure 1) – two principles that are closely related to if not synonymous with popular sovereignty and collective decision-making. The realization of these two principles is made possible through seven mediating values: participation, authorization, representation, accountability, transparency, responsiveness and solidarity. These principles and values are used in an assessment framework which comprises four main elements: (1) citizenship, law and rights; (2) representative and accountable government; (3) civil society and popular participation; and (4) democracy beyond the state. This framework draws on various democratic and rights traditions, but in its fullest expression is in line with the substantive definition of democracy outlined above as it maintains a

commitment to democratic institutions and all categories of human rights, including economic and social rights. Unlike other conceptions of democracy, the framework affords space to the external relations of democratic states and includes the question of the international impact of democracies as well as the influence of international factors on democracy itself.

4. Governance

Like democracy, governance is a term with a long historical provenance. The attraction and evolution of the concept since the 1980s have been linked to its importance for development and its 'apolitical' nature. It refers to the ways in which societies are governed and can remain suitably technocratic for policymakers in international donor agencies and governments. The Commission on Global Governance provides a useful starting point by defining governance as: 'the sum of the many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, manage their common affairs. It is the continuing process through which conflicting or diverse interests may be accommodated and co-operative action may be taken' (see Weiss 2000: 796).

Court (2002: 5) defines governance as the 'formation and stewardship of the formal and informal rules that regulate the public realm, the arena in which state as well as economic and societal actors interact to make decisions.'

Kaufmann et al (1999a: 1) define it broadly as:

the traditions and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised. This includes: (1) the process by which governments are selected, monitored and replaced; (2) the capacity of the government to effectively formulate and implement sound policies; and (3) the respect of citizens and the state for the institutions that govern economic and social interactions among them.

The concept of 'good governance' emerged in the late 1980s and early 1990s, primarily in the World Bank which was concerned about the ways in which governance influenced economic performance (see World Bank 1992). The economic dimension of good governance has variously included public sector management, organizational accountability, the rule of law, transparency in decision-making and access to information. The idea was taken on board by the OECD and the EU and integrated into their requirements for development assistance. It was later expanded by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) to incorporate a more political dimension that includes government legitimacy, government accountability, government competence and the protection of human rights through the rule of law.

- Despite these three general understandings of the concept, international donors still use different aspects of governance, which are combined and modified in various ways. Examples include:
- The World Bank: governance is about the ways in which power is exercised over the management of economic and social resources (Weiss 2000: 797). Related regional banks, such as the Asian Development Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank and the African Development Bank, adopt similar language.

- The UNDP: governance is defined more broadly and more deeply in a more holistic definition that includes values, policies and institutions found within the state, civil society and the private sector (UNDP 2007: 1).
- The European Commission: good governance is defined as ‘the transparent and accountable management of all a country’s resources for its equitable and sustainable economic and social development’ (European Commission 1998) and as comprising six components: human rights, democratization, the rule of law, the enhancement of civil society and public administration reform (including decentralization) (Draft EC Good Governance Manual, version created 04/02/2003).
- EuropeAid: governance concerns the state’s ability to serve the citizens. It refers to the rules, processes and behaviour by which interests are articulated, resources are managed and power is exercised in society (EuropeAid 2004: 5).
- The International Monetary Fund: governance encompasses all aspects of the way a country is governed, including its economic policies and regulatory framework (IMF 2003).
- The OECD: governance is ‘the use of political authority and exercise of control in society in relation to the management of its resources for social and economic development’ (OECD 1995).

Donor countries have followed suit with various definitions of governance. Table 4 provides several examples of definitions that have been adopted by various OECD donor countries.

Like democracy, it is clear that there is not yet a harmonized definition of governance in use across donors, but the concept now comprises an economic and political dimension, and it is safe to say that three broad types of definition have emerged that give varying degrees of weight to these dimensions. These are: (1) *governance*, which is the most neutral, concentrates on the economic dimension and refers to sound public financial management; (2) *good governance*, which retains the economic dimension but adds elements from the political dimension, including accountability and transparency in decision-making, and the rule of law, especially the protection of property rights and respect for contracts; and (3) *democratic governance*, which retains the economic and political dimensions from good governance, but adds elements of democracy (especially horizontal and vertical accountability) and respect for human rights (civil, political, economic, social and cultural). Table 5 brings together these three definitions and the ways in which they combine the two dimensions, where it is clear that democratic governance has the most overlap with the substantive definition of democracy outlined above.

Table 4. Country Conceptions of Governance and Good Governance

Country	Definition of (Good) Governance
Australia	Good governance is 'competent management of a country's resources and affairs in a manner that is open, transparent, accountable, equitable and responsive to people's needs' (AusAid 2000: 3).
Austria	Good governance is 'transparent and accountable management of human, natural, economic and financial resources for the purposes of equitable and sustainable development' (ADC 2006: 5).
Canada	"'Good' governance is the exercise of power by various levels of government that is effective, honest, equitable, transparent and accountable.' (CIDA 1999: 21).
Denmark	'the way countries/societies/organizations organize to protect human rights; to elect governments, appoint office bearers and promote accountability; to provide conflict resolution and social and other services to the people through a public sector' (DANIDA 2004: 1).
Finland	Governance: sub-sector dealing with administrative reforms or as a 'cross-cutting issue'; 'Democratic governance' is often used synonymously with 'good governance' or 'governance' (MOFA Finland 2001: 50).
Germany	'Strengthening good governance – meaning democratization, the rule of law, anti-corruption measures and the participation of civil society' (BMZ 2002: 6-7).
Ireland	'Governance relates to the way in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development.' (IrishAid 2007).
Netherlands	Rules and agreements between a government, its citizens and enterprises. (MOFA Netherlands)
Sweden	'the exercise of executive power on the basis of the rule of law, responsibility, openness, integrity and efficiency . . . accountability and transparency of public authorities and the relationship between public authorities and citizens' (Sida 2003: 27).
Switzerland	'exercise of economic, political and administrative authority at all levels in a country' (SDC website).
United Kingdom	'the use of power and authority and how a country manages its affairs'; Relationships between citizens and the state reflected in political and economic institutions and organizations; Tackling material deprivation and powerlessness (DfID 2007: 6).
USA (USAID)	'ability of government to develop an efficient, effective, and accountable public management process that is open to citizen participation and that strengthens rather than weakens a democratic system of government' (USAID 1998: 19).

Table 5. Governance, Good Governance and Democratic Governance

	Economic dimension		Political dimension	
Governance	Sound public sector management	Organizational accountability		
Good governance	Sound public sector management Rule of law, contracts and property rights	Organizational accountability Transparency and freedom of information	Government competence	Government accountability
Democratic governance	Sound public sector management Rule of law, contracts and property rights	Organizational accountability Transparency and freedom of information	Government competence Government legitimacy	Government accountability Rule of law and human rights (civil, political, economic, social and cultural)

5. Human Rights

Human rights, in their modern manifestation, are a collection of individual and group rights that establish certain entitlements for rights holders and corresponding legal obligations for duty bearers to uphold those rights, while the relationship between rights holders and duty bearers is meant to be one of constraint, tolerance, accountability and respect. While human rights and the development of international and national systems for their protection are relatively new, the fuller notion of *rights* has a long history in normative political theory and the struggle for rights is grounded in the comparative political sociology of the modern state, particularly with respect to these processes in Europe. Despite the largely European and Western origins of the idea of rights, the human rights movement has sought to make human rights universally applicable, indivisible, inter-related and mutually reinforcing in ways that leave no modern state free from the potential and real constraints of international human rights law and practice.

In contrast to democracy and governance, there is in some sense greater academic and global consensus on the content of human rights. Such consensus emerges in the international human rights law found in the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the subsequent conventions, six of which are regarded as the ‘core’ human rights treaties (see Table 6), and each of which has a monitoring body to oversee its implementation (Treaty Bodies). The international protection of human rights is further enhanced and complemented by the development of protection mechanisms at the regional levels: the Council of Europe’s 1951 European Convention on Human Rights, the Organization of American States’ 1969 American Convention on Human Rights, and the African Union’s 1981 African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights. Efforts are being made to establish similar instruments for the Asian system.

Table 6. International Human Rights Instruments

Instrument		Date
1.	United Nations Charter	1945
1.	Universal Declaration on Human Rights	1948
1.	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights	1966
1.	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights	1966
1.	International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination	1969
1.	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women	1981
1.	Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment	1984
1.	Convention on the Rights of the Child	1989

The international law of human rights and its associated jurisprudence (in particular through the General Comments of the various Treaty Bodies) have made great strides in clarifying the content of human rights in ways that have not been done for the concepts of democracy and governance. Academically, there is general consensus on the normative content of human rights, but less on their philosophical foundations or on

prioritization and their symbiotic relationships. Normative and political philosophy have not yet found unshakeable foundations for the existence of human rights, a quest that has included appeals to human nature, the existence of God and deontological sources (Mendus 1995; Ingram 1994). While there continues to be much academic debate about the alleged primacy of civil and political rights over economic, social and cultural, at the inter-governmental level this debate was resolved at the World Conference on Human Rights, Vienna, 1993, which recognized all human rights as being ‘universal, indivisible and interdependent and interrelated’ (Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, 1993, paragraph 5).

While there continues to be much academic debate about the alleged primacy of civil and political rights over economic, social and cultural, at the inter-governmental level this debate was resolved at the World Conference on Human Rights, Vienna, 1993, which recognized all human rights as being ‘universal, indivisible and interdependent and interrelated’.

Figure 2. The Categories and Dimensions of Human Rights

Dimensions of human rights				
Categories of human rights		Respect No interference in the exercise of the right	Protect Prevent violations from third parties	Fulfil Provision of resources and the outcomes of policies
		1 Torture, extra-judicial killings, disappearances, arbitrary detention, unfair trials, electoral intimidation, disenfranchisement	2 Measure to prevent non-state actors from committing violations, such as militias, uncivil movements, or private sector firms and organisations.	3 Investment in judiciaries, prisons, police forces, electoral authorities, and resource allocations to ability.
	Economic, social and Cultural	4 Ethnic, racial, gender, or linguistic discrimination in health, education, and welfare, and resource allocations below ability.	5 Measures to prevent non-state actors from engaging in discriminatory behaviour that limits access to services and conditions.	6 Progressive realisation Investment in health, education and welfare, and resource allocations to ability.

Source: Adapted from UNDP (2006: 5) and Landman (2006: 8–18).

Beyond these developments, the international instruments establish *categories* and *dimensions* of human rights that ought to be protected. The categories are well known and range across civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights. The notion of *dimensions*, however, has evolved from understanding human rights in ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ terms, to ‘generations’ of rights, to a more useful formulation that comprises the separate dimensions of *respect*, *protect* and *fulfil*, which arise from the legal obligations of states parties to international human rights instruments. The obligation to *respect* human rights requires the state and all its organs and agents to abstain from carrying out, sponsoring or tolerating any practice, policy or legal measure violating the integrity of individuals or impinging on their freedom to access resources to satisfy their needs. It also requires that legislative and administrative codes take account of guaranteed rights. The obligation to *protect* requires the state and its agents to prevent the violation

of rights by other individuals or non-state actors. Where violations do occur, the state must guarantee access to legal remedies. The obligation to *fulfil* involves issues of advocacy, public expenditure, governmental regulation of the economy, the provision of basic services and related infrastructure, and redistributive measures. The duty of fulfilment comprises those active measures necessary for guaranteeing opportunities to access entitlements (see UNDP 2006: 4). Combining these categories and dimensions produces a simple matrix of the 'scope' of human rights (see Figure 2).

In addition to the normative development of human rights and the proliferation of legal instruments for their protection, there is an increasing demand for the mainstreaming of human rights into all aspects of donor activity. For the United Nations, this demand has led to the formulation of the UN Common Understanding on the Human Rights-based Approach to Development, which commits all UN agencies to:

1. The realization of human rights.
2. The use of human rights standards and human rights principles in guiding development cooperation and programming.
3. Capacity building for both 'duty bearers' to meet their legal obligations and 'rights holders' to claim their rights.

Of particular interest is the idea of human rights 'principles' as opposed to standards, which are already laid out in international law. These principles are:

1. universality and inalienability;
2. indivisibility;
3. interdependence and interrelatedness ;
4. equality and non-discrimination;
5. participation and inclusion;
6. accountability and the rule of law;

The six principles draw on the normative evolution of human rights and are crucial to how human rights can be promoted, protected and fulfilled through development cooperation activities with partner governments. Moreover, they provide an important set of conceptual and practical links to democracy and governance.

6. Conclusions

It is clear from this brief overview that much progress has been made with clarifying and delineating the different definitions, dimensions and normative content of the concepts of democracy, governance and human rights. It is also clear that there is a significant degree of overlap between and among the three concepts, where each has its core set of features and a shared set of features with the other two corresponding concepts. The core features of democracy are popular sovereignty and collective decision-making. The core features of governance are sound public sector management and organizational

accountability. The core features of human rights are the state's obligation to respect, protect and fulfil individual and collective rights as found in relevant international law. The degree of overlap and sharing of features is a function of the types of definitions that are used for each of the three concepts. Table 7 shows the core features of each concept and the main ways in which some of their features are shared. It is clear from the table that procedural democracy shares fewer features with human rights than liberal democracy or substantive democracy, and hence is considered a 'thin' definition of democracy. Democratic governance shares more features of democracy and human rights than either governance or good governance. Finally, certain categories of human rights appear in different definitions of democracy and governance, while key human rights principles, such as participation, non-discrimination and accountability, draw on core features from democracy and governance.

Table 7. Core and Shared Features of Democracy, Governance and Human Rights

Concept	Core Features	Shared Features
Democracy	Popular sovereignty Collective decision-making	Procedural democracy shares political rights Liberal democracy shares civil and political rights Substantive democracy shares civil, political, social, economic, and cultural rights
Governance	Sound public sector management Organizational accountability	Good governance shares some rights protections Democratic governance shares some core features of democracy and all human rights protections
Human Rights	State obligations to respect, protect and fulfil civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights	The right to take part in the public affairs of government is shared with democracy Varying degrees of rights protections shared with democracy and governance Human rights principles of participation, non-discrimination and accountability shared with democracy and governance.

This delineation of the three concepts and their relative degree of overlap demonstrates the many ways in which policymakers in donor countries and donor agencies can confuse and conflate the concepts in ways that produce inconsistency, which in turn can have a direct bearing on the aims and objectives of foreign policy and aid policy.

Definitions should clearly demarcate the boundaries of concepts, show how they are distinctive and show how some of their features can be shared. Such conceptual clarity is a necessary first step for foreign and aid policy in this issue area. This need for clarity goes beyond the academic and should be linked to the formulation of policy in ways that provide clear guidance on the types of policy outcomes that are desired, as well as guidance on the types of indicators used to measure, assess and evaluate them (see Landman and Häusermann 2003; Landman and Carvalho 2009).

References

- Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID), *Australian Aid: Promoting Growth and Stability*, A White Paper on the Australian Government's Overseas Aid Program (Canberra: Australian Government AusAID, 2006), available at <<http://www.ausaid.gov.au/publications/pdf/whitepaper.pdf>>
- , *Good Governance: Guiding Principles for Implementation* (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 2000), available at <http://www.ausaid.gov.au/publications/pdf/good_governance.pdf>
- , 'Governance', at <<http://www.ausaid.gov.au/keyaid/gover.cfm>>
- Austrian Development Cooperation (ADC), *Good Governance: Policy Document* (Vienna: Austrian Development Cooperation, 2006), available at <http://www.ada.gv.at/up-media/2380_policy_document_good_governance_web.pdf>
- Austrian Foreign Ministry, 'Austrian Cooperation', available at <<http://www.bmeia.gv.at>>
- Austrian Parliament *Federal Act on Development Cooperation (2002), including its Amendment (2003)*, available at <http://www.bmeia.gv.at/up-media/269_joint_act.pdf>
- Belgian Technical Cooperation (BTC) *Democratic Governance: The Key to Development* (Brussels: BTC), available at <<http://www.btcctb.org>>
- BMZ *Good Governance in German Development Cooperation*, A BMZ Position Paper, BMZ Special no. 50, available at <<http://www.bmz.de/en/service/infothek/fach/spezial/spezial050/90.pdf>>
- Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) *Government of Canada Policy for CIDA on Human Rights, Democratization and Good Governance* (Quebec: CIDA, 1999), available at <[http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/INET/IMAGES.NSF/vLUIImages/HRDG2/\\$file/HRDG-Policy-e.pdf](http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/INET/IMAGES.NSF/vLUIImages/HRDG2/$file/HRDG-Policy-e.pdf)>
- Carothers, T., 'How Democracies Emerge: The "Sequencing Fallacy"', *Journal of Democracy*, 18/1(2007), pp. 12–27.
- Collier, D. and Levitsky, S., 'Democracy with Adjectives: Conceptual Innovation in Comparative Research', Research Note: *World Politics*, 49/3(1999), pp. 430–451.
- Cooperazione Italiana allo Sviluppo, 'Italian Development Cooperation', available at <<http://www.cooperazioneallosviluppo.esteri.it/pdgcs/inglese/intro.html>>
- Court, J. (2002), 'Opportunities and Challenges in Assessing Governance and Human Rights: Findings from a Survey of 16 Developing and Transition Countries', Paper prepared for the Seminar on Human Rights and Statistics, Brussels 27–29 November 2002.
- Dahl, R. A., *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1971).
- UK Department for International Development (DfID), *Governance, Development and Democratic Politics: DfID's Work in Building More Effective States* (London: DfID, 2007), available at <<http://www.dfid.gov.uk/pubs/files/governance.pdf>>

- Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Good Governance (including Economic Governance)', available at <<http://www.minbuza.nl/en/developmentcooperation/Themes/poverty,Good-governance.html>>
- , 'Policy and Budget: Main Goals of Dutch Foreign Policy', available at <http://www.minbuza.nl/en/ministry,policy_and_budget#a2>
- EuropeAid, *Handbook on Promoting Good Governance in EC Development and Co-operation* (Draft) (Brussels: EuropeAid Cooperation Office, European Commission, 2004), available at <http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/projects/eidhr/pdf/themes-gg-handbook_en.pdf>
- European Commission, *Annual Report 2006 on the European Community's Development Policy and the Implementation of External Assistance in 2005* (Brussels: European Commission/EuropeAid Co-operation Office, 2006), available at <http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/reports/europeaid_annual_report_2006_full_version_en.pdf>
- , *European Governance: A White Paper*, Brussels 25 July 2001, COM(2001) 428
- , 'Strengthening Europe's Contribution to World Governance: White Paper on Governance', Report of Working Group No. 5, 2001, available at http://ec.europa.eu/governance/areas/group11/report_en.pdf
- Federal Ministry for European and International Affairs, Austria *Three Year Programme on Austrian Development Policy 2006–2008*, Revised version 2006, available at <http://www.bmeia.gv.at/up-media/3977_3_year_programme_2006_2008.pdf>
- Foweraker J. and Krznicaric, R., 'Measuring Liberal Democratic Performance: A Conceptual and Empirical Critique' *Political Studies*, 45/3 (2000), pp. 759–787
- Foweraker, J. and Landman, T., 'Constitutional Design and Democratic Performance', *Democratization*, 9/2 (2002), pp. 43–66
- Fukuyama, F. *After the Neocons: American at the Crossroads* (Profile Books, 2006).
- Gallie, W.B., Essentially Contested Concepts, *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*, 51(1956), pp. 167–198
- Gaynor, K. and Jennings, M., 'Towards Poverty Reduction: Mainstreaming Strategy 2007–2009' (Dublin: IrishAid, Department of Foreign Affairs, 2007), available at <<http://www.irishaid.gov.ie/article.asp?article=1037>>
- The Icelandic International Development Agency (ICEIDA), *Iceland's Policy on Development Cooperation 2005–2009*, Policy Paper 1/2005 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Iceland), available at <<http://www.mfa.is/publications/>>
- , 'Highlights of the New Policy', available at <<http://www.iceida.is/english/iceida/Development-Policy/nr/80>>
- , 'New Policy and Plan of Operations', available at <<http://www.iceida.is/english/iceida/Development-Policy/nr/78>>
- Inter-American Development Bank (IADB) *Annual Report 2006*, available at <<http://www.iadb.org/exr/ar2006/index.cfm>>

- , *Poverty Reduction and Promotion of Social Equity: Strategy Document* (Washington, DC: IADB, 2003), available at <<http://www.iadb.org/Publications/index.cfm>>
- , ‘Institutional Strategy’, available at <http://www.iadb.org/exr/pic/viiI/institutional_strategies.cfm>
- International IDEA, *Handbook on Democracy Assessment* (Stockholm: International IDEA, 2002).
- International IDEA, *Assessing the Quality of Democracy: A Practical Guide* (Stockholm: International IDEA, 2008).
- International Monetary Fund (IMF), *Annual Report of the Executive Board for the Financial Year ended April 30, 2006* (Washington, DC: IMF, 2006), available at <<http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/ar/2006/eng/index.htm>>
- , *The IMF and Good Governance: A Factsheet*, IMF External Relations Department, 2003, available at <<http://www.imf.org/external/np/exr/facts/gov.htm>>
- , *Good Governance: The IMF’s Role* (Washington, DC: IMF, 1997), available at <<http://www.imf.org/EXTERNAL/PUBS/FT/EXRP/GOVERN/govern.pdf>>
- IrishAid, Department of Foreign Affairs ‘Governance’, 2007 available at <http://www.irishaid.gov.ie/development_governance.asp>
- Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) ‘Governance’, available at <<http://www.jica.go.jp/english/global/gove/index.html>>
- Kopstein, J., ‘The Transatlantic Divide Over Democracy Promotion’, *Washington Quarterly*, 29/2(2006), pp. 85–98.
- Landman, T., *Studying Human Rights* (London: Routledge, 2006).
- Landman, T. and Häusermann, J., ‘Map-Making and Analysis of the Main International Initiative Measuring Democracy, Good Governance, and Human Rights’, report prepared for Eurostat, 2003.
- Landman, T. and Carvalho, E., *Measuring Human Rights* (London: Routledge, 2009).
- McCullagh, J., ‘Accounting for Irish Development Assistance: Partnership, Poverty Reduction, Governance, National Governments’, IrishAid, 2003, available at <<http://www.irishaid.gov.ie/article.asp?article=331>>
- Ministry for Foreign Affairs for Finland, ‘Development Policy’, Government Resolution 5 Feb. 2004, available at <<http://formin.finland.fi/public/default.aspx?contentid=84297&nodeid=15457&contentlan=2&culture=en-US>>
- , *Thinking Strategically About Democracy Assistance: A Handbook on Democracy, Human Rights and Good Governance Assistance in Finnish Development Cooperation* (Helsinki: Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Department for International Development Cooperation, 2001), available at <<http://formin.finland.fi/public/default.aspx?contentid=69184&nodeid=34606&contentlan=2&culture=en-US>>
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the Republic of Hungary, *Hungarian International Development Policy*, 2006, available at <http://www.mfa.gov.hu/kum/en/bal/foreign_policy/international_development/documents.htm>

- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic, *International Development Cooperation of the Czech Republic* (Prague: Institute of International Relations and Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic, 2006), available at <<http://www.czechembassy.org/servis/Soubor.asp?ID=22603>>
- Danida, *Danida Support to Good Governance: Some Issues and Challenges Regarding Analysis and Planning* (Copenhagen: Technical Advisory Services, 2004), available at <<http://amg.um.dk/en/menu/PoliciesAndStrategies/Cross-Cutting+Issues/HumanRights/HumanRightsDemocracyPage.htm>>
- , *A World of Difference: The Government's Vision for New Priorities in Danish Development Assistance 2004–2008* (Copenhagen: Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2003), available at <http://www.um.dk/NR/rdonlyres/44C6C9FF-55FF-4661-AF8F-668172F16C7C/0/a_world_of_difference.pdf>
- , *Strategy for Denmark's Development Policy* (Copenhagen: Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs /Danida, 2000), at <<http://www.um.dk/Publikationer/Danida/English/DanishDevelopmentCooperation/DenmarksDevelopmentPolicyStrategy/index.asp>>
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs, France, *French International Cooperation* (DgCID, 2005), available at <<http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/IMG/pdf/DGCID2005-Strategie-Ang-BD.pdf>>
- , *Framework Partnership Document France-Kenya, 2006–2010*, available at http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/country-files_156/kenya_209/france-and-kenya_5393/framework-partnership-document-france-kenya-2006-2010_9099.html#sommaire_14
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland, *Polish Aid Programme Administered by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland* (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland, 2007), available at <http://www.polishaid.gov.pl/files/dokumenty_publicacje/POLISH_AID_PROGRAMME_2007_1.pdf>
- , ‘Strategy for Poland’s Development Cooperation’ Adopted by the Council of Ministers on 21 October 2003, available at <http://www.polishaid.gov.pl/files/dokumenty_publicacje/Strategy%20for%20Polands%20Development%20Cooperation.pdf>
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Sweden *Shared Responsibility: Sweden's Policy for Global Development*, Government Bill 2002/03:122 (Stockholm: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2003), available at <<http://www.regeringen.se/sb/d/3428/a/24520>>
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Turkey, ‘Synopsis of the Turkish Foreign Policy’, available at <<http://www.mfa.gov.tr/MFA/ForeignPolicy/Synopsis/SYNOPSIS.htm>>
- New Zealand Agency for International Development (NZ Aid), *Policy Statement: Towards a Safe and Just World Free of Poverty* (Wellington: NZ Aid, 2002), available at <<http://www.nzaid.govt.nz/library/docs/nzaid-policy-statement.pdf>>
- , ‘Leadership and Governance’, available at <<http://www.nzaid.govt.nz/what-we-do/leadership-and-governance.html>>

Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (Norad), *Good Governance*, Norad Factsheet extracted from Norad Annual Report 2003, available at <http://www.norad.no/items/2645/38/0821427681/Norad2003_GodtStyresetett.pdf>

Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 'Final ODA Data for 2005', available at <<http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/52/18/37790990.pdf>>

– , 'DAC [Development Assistance Committee] Peer Review: Portugal', 2006, available at <<http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/2/12/36780494.pdf>>

– , 'DAC Peer Review: New Zealand', 2005, available at <<http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/37/8/34964327.pdf>>

– , 'DAC Peer Review: Switzerland', 2005, available at <<http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/9/59/35297586.pdf>>

– , 'DAC Peer Review: France', 2004, available at <<http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/31/40/32556778.pdf>>

– , 'DAC Peer Review: Italy', 2004, available at <<http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/21/43/33954223.pdf>>

– , 'Development Co-operation Review: Greece', 2004, available at <<http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/25/19/2076414.pdf>>

– , 'Development Co-operation Review: Spain', 2002, available at <<http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/3/59/2084353.pdf>>

– , 'Switzerland: Pre-print of the DAC Journal', 1/4(2000), available at <<http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/9/28/33663450.pdf>>

– , 'Japan: Development Co-operation Review, 1999', available at <http://www.oecd.org/document/18/0,3343,en_2649_34603_16796754_1_1_1_1,00.html>

– , 'Spain: Development Co-operation Review, 1998', available at <http://www.oecd.org/document/2/0,3343,en_2649_34603_2087362_1_1_1_1,00.html>

– , 'DAC Members' Websites', available at <http://www.oecd.org/linklist/0,3435,en_2649_33721_1797105_1_1_1_1,00.html>

– , 'Participatory Development and Good Governance', Development Co-Operation Guidelines Series, OECD, 1995.

Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) *Sida at Work: A Guide to Principles, Procedures and Working Methods* (Stockholm: Sida, 2005), available at <<http://www.sida.se/publications>>

– , *Digging Deeper: Four Reports on Democratic Governance in International Development Cooperation Summary* (Stockholm: Sida Division for Democratic Governance, 2003), available at <<http://www.sida.se/publications>>

Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC), *Governance as a Transversal Theme: An Implementation Guide* (Berne: SDC, 2007), available at <http://162.23.39.120/dezaweb/ressources/resource_en_156840.pdf>

– , *Governance: Creating Better Framework Conditions*, available at <<http://www.deza.ch/en/Home/Themes/Governance>>

United Nations Development Programme, *Indicators for a Human Rights-Based Approach to UNDP Development Programming: A User's Guide* (Oslo: Oslo Governance Centre, 2006)

United States Agency for International Development (USAID), *Democracy and Governance: A Conceptual Framework* (Washington, DC: USAID Center for Democracy and Governance, 1998), available at <http://www.usaid.gov/our_work/democracy_and_governance/publications/pdfs/pnacd395.pdf>

Weiss, T., Governance, Good Governance and Global Governance: Conceptual and actual challenges, *Third World Quarterly*, 21/5 (2000), pp. 795–814

World Bank, *Development and Good Governance* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 1992)

– , *Reforming Public Institutions and Strengthening Governance: A World Bank Strategy* (Washington, DC: Public Sector Group, Poverty Reduction and Economic Management (PREM) Network, World Bank, 2000), available at <<http://www1.worldbank.org/publicsector/Reforming.pdf>>

– , ‘World Bank Lending by Theme and Sector’, in *Annual Report 2006* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2006), available at <<http://go.worldbank.org/TN6IMOHNV0>>

– , *Strengthening World Bank Group Engagement on Governance and Anticorruption* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2007), available at <<http://www.worldbank.org/html/extdr/comments/governancefeedback/gacpaper-03212007.pdf>>

– , ‘What is our Approach to Governance?’, available at <http://go.worldbank.org/MKOG258V0>

About the Author

Dr Todd Landman is Professor of Political Science at the Department of Government, University of Essex, UK. He is also Director of the Centre for Democratic Governance, University of Essex.

Dr Landman has carried out numerous international consultancy assignments for inter-governmental organisations, governments, and international non-governmental organisations in the areas of development, democracy, and human rights. He is an author of numerous books, articles, reports, review essays, book notes, and other publications. He reviews manuscripts for numerous peer-reviewed journals and is on the editorial board of *Human Rights and Human Welfare* and *The Journal of Latin American Studies*.