

Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies (MEDAC)

**Democratic Transitions: Perspectives and
Case Studies**

Edited by Omar Grech

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Democratic Transitions: Perspectives and Case Studies

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Democratic Transitions: Perspectives and Case Studies

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Contributors

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Colm Regan is a civil society activist with extensive experience in human rights and development education.

PREFACE

by Professor *Stephen Calleya*, Director MEDAC

Since the end of the Cold War the Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies (MEDAC) has established itself as a centre of excellence in diplomatic studies with a particular reference to issues pertaining to the Mediterranean. More than 600 graduates and thousands of diplomats, academics, policy makers and civil societal representatives have participated in the MEDAC programmes, conferences, workshops and summer schools. MEDAC has therefore provided a platform where an open and constructive debate and dialogue on the international relations of the Mediterranean can regularly take place.

It is in this context that MEDAC has been actively engaged in contributing to the historic developments that have been unfolding since the commencement of the Arab Uprisings in 2011. Citizens in each of the Arab countries where revolutions have taken place were all united in wanting to remove the shackles of their respective authoritarian regimes. While the outcome of each case study remains uncertain, it is clear that democratic transitions will only prove successful if all stakeholders remain committed and engaged to the cause. The end goal of a better, fairer and more tolerant society for future generations must be a guiding light to all those participating in the ongoing struggle that requires continuous sacrifices.

In March 2012 MEDAC organized the postgraduate seminar entitled “Democratic Transitions: Perspectives and Case Studies”. This seminar publication highlights the complex nature of democratic transitions and offers insight into the long and winding road that the peoples in the Mediterranean countries in transition will have to experience along this journey.

For more than a decade the Human Dimension Programme at MEDAC has been a driving force when it comes to raising awareness about the democratic deficit that has plagued the countries along the southern shore of the Mediterranean. This includes providing coherent analysis on the obstacles that hinder freedom of expression, the rule of law, human rights and gender equality in countries located in the Mediterranean. At this critical juncture in the transformation of contemporary Euro-Mediterranean relations MEDAC will continue to strive to ensure that all stakeholders in such democratic transitions are provided with an opportunity to make their voices heard when it comes to the shaping the future direction of their country.

Introduction

by *Omar Grech, Editor*

The postgraduate seminar on Democratic Transitions: Perspectives and Case Studies was organised by the Human Dimension Programme of the Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies in March 2012. The seminar sought to reflect on the challenges of democratic transitions in the context of the Arab Uprisings of 2011 within a broader context of democratisation and human rights. The seminar was thus inspired by the events in North Africa but was not intended to focus exclusively on these events. Instead the seminar approached the issue of democratic transition by reflecting on the trends in democratization (Colm Regan), the relationship between democracy and rights (Omar Grech) and two case studies: one on South Africa (Tom Lodge) and one on Tunisia (Bechir Chourou). The case studies were selected with a view to assess democratic transition in two very different cases both in terms of time, geography and context. The South African democratization process has been ongoing for more than a decade and was the result of one of the great human rights campaigns of the 20th century. By contrast the Tunisian attempt at democratization is a very recent one and it came about in a rather unexpected way as Bechir Chourou explains in his introduction.

Colm Regan considers a number of issues relating to democratization commencing with a brief historical reference to the growth of democracy (including the role of women therein) and in particular more recent trends and patterns in the spread of democracy. He concludes that while broadly there is cause for optimism in terms of the spread of democracy there are reservations as to the spread of freedom. Thus Regan immediately raises an interesting distinction between democracy and freedom and the notion of 'illiberal democracy'. This is a theme to which Grech returns in slightly different terms in his contribution. Regan also refers to a number of challenges associated with democratic transitions. In particular he highlights the difficulty in defining what constitutes democracy as the literature veers between narrow and broad definitions. Finally, Regan also considers the role of civil society in democratic transitions and emphasises the important role that civil society may and should play in democratic processes. In his contribution **Omar Grech** elaborates on the risk (alluded to by Regan) that may be associated with majoritarian democracy. The threat that a potential 'tyrannous majority' poses to minorities is considered while possible solutions to this risk are identified in constitutionally protected rights and also in alternative democratic models based on consensus rather than simple majority.

Tom Lodge provides an overview of the transition in South Africa from apartheid to democracy. After providing a historical context he assesses the key factors that led to the 1994 settlement including the strong commitment to human rights as evidenced by the entrenchment of the Bill of Rights in the South African constitution. Lodge then considers the issue of South African democracy where the African National Congress (ANC) has been the dominant party since the democratic transition. He concludes that so far it appears that the ANC has broadly respected democratic principles and its electoral success is due to persuasion rather than coercion. The final part of Lodge's contribution attempts to chart three possible scenarios for South Africa's democratic future.

Bechir Chourou is not overly optimistic in assessing the very early days of the Tunisian democratic transition. He neatly encapsulates his hypotheses in his title: Democracy between Stalling and Collapsing. Chourou provides an overview of the developments in Tunisia since the deposition of Ben Ali with a strong emphasis on the October 23rd elections. While still too early to arrive at any definite conclusion as to the prospects for Tunisia Chourou points out that the economic problems Tunisia is facing and the political fragmentation currently in place are obstacles that need to be overcome quickly. His early assessment on the behaviour of political parties is not entirely positive. This contribution ends with the Sisyphian metaphor of Tunisia pushing the democratic rock up a steep hill.

It may be argued that this metaphor illustrates vividly the key point made by all the contributions to this small volume. Democratic transitions are hard work and the dangers of reversion or collapse are always present. Regan and Grech in different contexts stressed the dangers of illiberal democracies (or tyrannous majorities). Lodge and Chourou highlighted the continuing challenges of democratization in both old and new democratic transitions. The emerging picture is not negative but it does contain shades of grey interspersed with brighter colours.

**Democratic Transitions:
Trends, Patterns, Challenges**

Colm Regan

Introduction

We live in a time of infinite possibility where change and transition have become the norm for the vast majority of the world's population. In the past five decades, we have witnessed profound change; the ending of the pernicious Apartheid state in South Africa; the collapse of hard line communism and its associated repression(s); the emergence of widespread support for the women's movement worldwide and for the rights of women; a massive upsurge in basic literacy, health and nutrition and a revolution in information and communications. Today, the proportion of people unable to realise their basic physical needs is smaller than at any previous time in history and our capacity to meet such needs has never been greater.

Yet, we also live in a time where inequality is greater than ever before; where the percentage of people with exponentially more than they need (or could ever productively use) is also greater; where much of science and progress is harnessed for the benefit and control of a small minority and where, despite the explosion of information and communication, our 'understanding of the world and our place in it' remains deficient. It seems that 'the more we come together, the more we grow apart'. On the one hand, recent history has highlighted the actual scale and depth of increased democratic transition worldwide while also illustrating its profound limitations and elitism.

An example illustrates the point. The estimated cost of saving the lives of the 529,000 women who die annually (and unnecessarily) from complications during pregnancy, childbirth or immediately after is US \$1.2 billion; a cost equivalent to less than that of just one single Stealth

Bomber. The research, engineering and skill embodied in that one stealth bomber could readily and economically save those lives but it does not – they are simply not a priority; such a ‘democratic transition’ is not a priority.

A second example relates to events in Syria today. On March 27th, 2012, UN Special Co-ordinator for the Middle East peace process, Robert Serry reported to the UN Security Council that the death toll since March 2011 (when the Syrian Uprising began) had reached 9,000 recorded deaths.¹ Estimates for unrecorded deaths by Syrian human rights groups report, at least, similar numbers. The UN estimates that there are now some 10,000 Syrian refugees in Lebanon and a further 11,000 in makeshift camps along the Turkish border with all the attendant challenges of food insecurity, poor accommodation and unhygienic sanitary conditions.² It is important that while we analyse and debate the nature of the current democratic transition struggle in Syria and more broadly in the Arab World, we also remember that the human cost of transition is very considerable.

In what follows, the focus is on three key issues:

- Democratic transitions: is there cause for optimism in the long view?
- Democracy and ‘freedom’: – what are the recent trends and patterns?
- Some key challenges: democracy – divergent views; the challenge of quantifying and measuring change and what is the role of civil society in the context of democracy and change?

Long-term trends and patterns – grounds for optimism?

While there is considerable debate and disagreement as to how to define, measure and analyse democracy, the long-term evidence as regards key components of the transition towards greater democracy suggests grounds for considerable optimism, at least formally. In 1900, there were no countries with governments elected through universal adult suffrage; in 2012, there are 117 such countries representing 60% of all countries

worldwide.³ Paralleling the expansion of formal electoral democracy has been the expansion of sovereign states. As illustrated in Table 1 below, in 1900, there were only 55 sovereign countries and 13 empires but by 2000 that figure had dramatically increased to 192 and of those countries, 113 had been part of colonial and imperial systems and a further 33 parts of other states. Some 55.8% of world population lived under some form of monarchy (with 36.6% under absolutist monarchical rule) and a further 30.2% lived under colonial and imperial domination.⁴

At the beginning of the 20th century, only some 5% of the world's people had the right to democratically elect leaders in competitive elections, while women were denied the right to vote (and in some countries ethnic and racial minorities and the poor were also denied the right). Today, despite fluctuating patterns, the proportion of adults who can democratically elect their leaders exceeds 60%. This progress is all the more startling given that in the twentieth century more citizens were killed by their own governments than by foreign armies; despite the wars of 1914-1918 and 1939-1945, ongoing regional conflicts and inter-state wars and the deaths of millions in the Holocaust and the terror regimes of Stalin, Mao and Pol Pot.⁵ While the debate on the exact extent and impact of such formal democracy raises many fundamental questions, the growth of democratically elected governments remains a critical dimension in the recognition and observance of human rights.

Table 1: the growth of 'democracy'⁶

	1900	1950	2000
Number of Sovereign States	55	80	192
Number of States Governed by Colonial or Imperial States	55	43	virtually none
Percentage of World Population in Democracies	12.4	31	58.2 (+5% in 'restricted democracies')

In awarding the 2011 Nobel Peace Prize to Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Leymah Gbowee and Tawakkul Karman, the Norwegian Nobel Committee noted:

*'We cannot achieve democracy and lasting peace in the world unless women obtain the same opportunities as men to influence developments at all levels of society.'*⁷

In this, they echoed the centrality of women's rights in the transition to meaningful democracy and the importance of such democracy in human development and human rights as outlined in the UNDP Human Development Report for 1995:

*'One of the defining movements of the 20th century has been the relentless struggle for gender equality, led mostly by women, but supported by growing numbers of men. When this struggle finally succeeds-as it must-it will mark a great milestone inhuman progress. And along the way it will change most of today's premises for social, economic and political life.'*⁸

From 1792 when British activist and author Mary Wollstonecraft offered a systematic analysis for the equality of the sexes in her book "A Vindication of the Rights of Women" to today when only six countries continue to deny women the right to vote (Bhutan, Lebanon, Brunei, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and the Vatican City), the struggle for women's rights has been central to political life internationally. Today, despite being hugely under-represented, women make up an average of 19.5% of members of parliament worldwide; from a high of 42% in the Nordic countries, 20.8% in Europe, 22.6% in the Americas to a low of 11.3% in Arab states.⁹In many other key areas such as education and health, access to jobs and livelihoods, women have made 'unprecedented gains' and more countries than ever now guarantee women and men equal rights under the law in areas such as property ownership, inheritance, and marriage. As noted by the World Development Report 2012:

*'In all, 136 countries now have explicit guarantees for the equality of all citizens and non-discrimination between men and women in their constitutions.'*¹⁰

This progress has created a legal and political platform upon which the women's movement and its supporters can begin to translate the ideal of equality into practical realities at family, community, national and international levels.

A third important area related directly to democratic transition is that of adult literacy and, again, there are grounds for considerable optimism despite the ongoing challenge of achieving universal basic adult literacy as is illustrated in Table 2 below. In his 1994 documentary series, historian and journalist Gwynne Dyer argued that whenever literacy rates in any given society reach over 50%, it then takes approximately three generations for that society to become effectively democratic.¹¹ This is all the more so when a key emphasis is on the education of women and, in particular young girls.

Over the past 20 years, both the adult literacy rate and gender parity have improved significantly: the literacy rate grew from 76% in 1990 to 83% in 2008 and the Gender Parity Index (GPI, see endnote 13) from 0.84 to 0.90 (see Figure 1)¹². Progress was particularly significant in Northern Africa, where the adult literacy rate increased by 20%, and in Eastern and Southern Asia, with an increase of 15%. In Northern Africa and Southern Asia less than half of all adults were literate in 1990, less than in any other region. In 2008, the lowest literacy rates were recorded in Southern Asia and sub-Saharan Africa, with 62% and 63%, respectively. Nonetheless, sub-Saharan Africa managed to increase the share of adults with basic reading and writing skills by 9% between 1990 and 2008. In the remaining regions, the increase in the adult literacy rate over the past two decades was as follows:

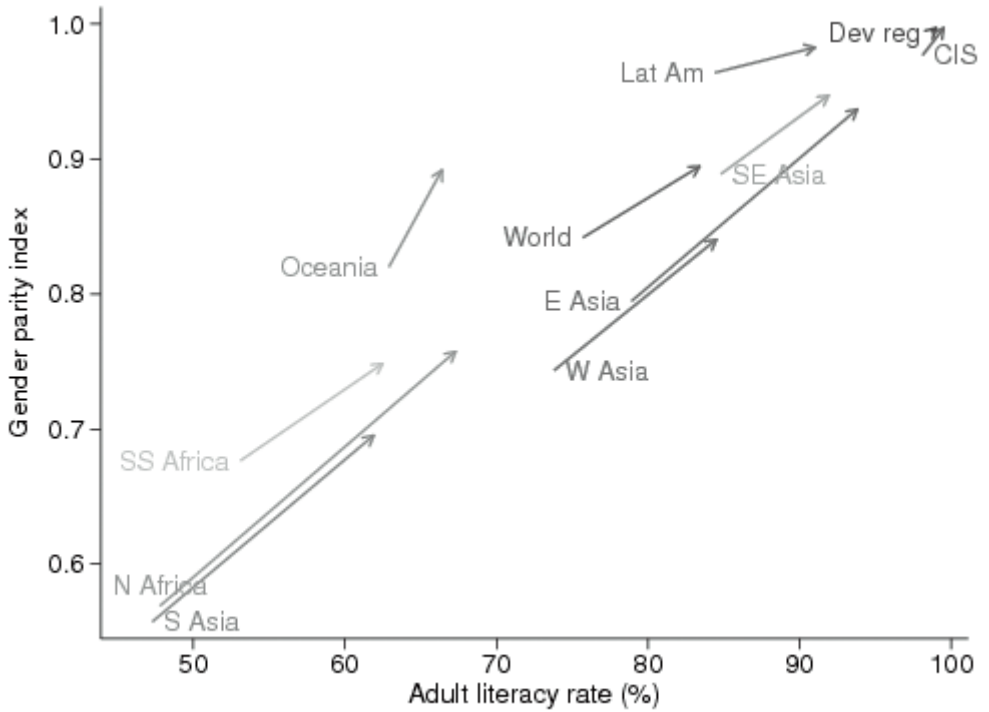
- Western Asia 11%
- South-Eastern Asia 9%
- Latin America and the Caribbean 7%
- Oceania 4%

- CIS 1%
- Developed regions 0.3%.

The rate of increase in the developed regions and in the CIS countries was negligible because both regions had already reached near-universal adult literacy in 1990. Literacy rates are also high in Eastern Asia, South-Eastern Asia, and Latin America and the Caribbean; in all three regions more than 9 out of 10 adults are able to read and write.

More importantly, gender parity also improved in all regions, with Northern Africa again showing the biggest increase, from 0.57 in 1990 to 0.76 in 2008, followed by Eastern Asia and Southern Asia, where the GPI increased by 0.14 in the same period.¹³ In spite of this Southern Asia continues to exhibit relatively high gender disparity in adult literacy, with a GPI of 0.70. The UNESCO Institute of Statistics reports similar disparities in sub-Saharan Africa (0.75) and Northern Africa (0.76).¹⁴ Despite this trend, in 2008, 796 million adults aged 15 years or older - 17% of all adults worldwide - still lacked basic reading and writing skills and 64% of them were women.

The diagram opposite: Adult literacy rate and gender parity, 1990-2008



Friedrich Huebler, huebler.blogspot.com, September 2010

Figure 1: Adult literacy rate and gender parity, 1990-2008

Table 2: Adult literacy rate and gender parity, 1990/2008

Region	Adult Literacy Rate 1990 and 2008			
	Total	Male	Female	GPI
Developed regions	98.7	99	98.4	0.99
	99	99.2	98.9	1.00
CIS	98.1	99.4	97.1	0.98
	99.5	99.7	99.4	1.00
Eastern Asia	78.9	87.7	69.7	0.80
	93.8	96.8	90.7	0.94
South-Eastern Asia	84.8	90.0	80.0	0.89
	91.9	94.5	89.5	0.95
Southern Asia	47.3	60.1	33.5	0.56
	61.9	73.2	50.9	0.70
Western Asia	73.8	84.2	62.6	0.74
	84.5	91.5	76.9	0.84
Northern Africa	47.8	60.8	34.6	0.57
	67.3	76.7	58.1	0.76
Sub-Saharan Africa	53.1	63.7	43.1	0.68
	62.5	71.6	53.6	0.75
Latin America and the Caribbean	84.4	85.9	82.8	0.96
	91.0	91.9	90.3	0.98
Oceania	62.9	68.9	56.5	0.82
	66.4	70.2	62.6	0.89
World	75.7	82.2	69.2	0.84
	83.4	88.2	78.9	0.90

Recent trends and patterns – grounds for reservations

Despite the positive evidence presented above, the 2009 Freedom in the World survey reported continued erosion of freedom worldwide, with setbacks in Latin America, Africa, the former Soviet Union, and the Middle East.¹⁶

The number of electoral democracies has now decreased every year since 2005 and while ‘free’ countries still outnumber those that are ‘not free’, the current 116 ‘free’ is the lowest number of such regimes since 1995. The ending of the Cold War and the subsequent collapse of the communist

regimes appeared to demonstrate the failure of the only alternative to liberal democracy. Despite the failure of many post-communist regimes to sustain the transition to democracy, liberal democracy was seen as the only sustainable political system and constituted the 'end point of mankind's ideological evolution'¹⁷ although recent economic trends have, once again, highlighted the weaknesses of such liberal democracies. In parallel, the early 1970's had witnessed significant growth in locally-driven demands for democracy and for democratic reforms in developing countries in the context of corrupt and ineffective post-colonial regimes. This trend began with the collapse of dictatorships in Portugal, Spain, and Greece; the growth of the EEC and EU; the replacement of military and one-party regimes in Latin America; the emergence of, albeit limited but increasingly effective democracy in many African states.

According to Freedom House (2009) in 1975 the number of countries that were '*not free*' exceeded those that were '*free*' by 50% but by 1985 the growth in '*free*' countries meant that they outnumbered the '*not free*' and by 2007 twice as many countries were '*free*' as were '*not free*'.¹⁸ Many countries that are '*formally*' democratic (with contested elections) are characterised by weak or poor government, high crime rates, widespread government corruption, seriously inadequate and mismanaged social services, lack of transparency and high levels of unaccountability and were thus characterised by Fareed Zakaria as '*illiberal democracies*'.¹⁹ Many '*illiberal*' democracies have remained so for over a decade with little sign of improvement in rights, security, stability, and economic growth and with signs of a slowing down or reversal of democratisation. States such as Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, Venezuela and Thailand, have experienced the curtailment of democratic institutions, the spread of one-party rule and increasingly authoritarian government.

Democratic transitions: some key challenges

The postulated benefits of democracy in transitional societies has been effectively summarised by Goldstone as follows:²⁰

- Democracy would increase democratic accountability; enhance public

engagement; improve the policy environment and reduce corruption (or, at least its more traditional as distinct from modern forms)

- It would increasingly provide legitimacy to governments that had previously relied on a combination of coercion and patronage
- Popular participation in inclusive regimes would help end discrimination, the base of power for previous regional, ethnic or religious struggles
- History suggested that democratic states (even those with diverse historical and cultural backgrounds) did not engage in warfare against other democratic states; this would reduce international conflicts²¹
- Democratic regimes are more likely to invest in public goods and services that benefit the broader population rather than a privileged elite; in turn, this would increase economic growth, reduce vulnerability and potentially inequality
- The promotion of women's rights and human rights are associated with democracy thus improving the general climate of human security
- More recently, in the wake of US interventionism in Iraq and Afghanistan, the appeal of democratically elected government would help diminish the appeal of 'terrorist' groups.

However, the above cited perceived benefits of democracy are characterised by a number of significant weaknesses and internal contradictions as noted by a wide variety of authors.²² One of the key political and academic debates inevitably revolves around what precisely constitutes democracy and democratic leadership – the literature remains significantly divided. One major school of thought (and policy) highlights a simple and narrow definition of democracy and focuses essentially (but by no means exclusively as the literature debates highlight) on the electoral process arguing that a democracy is a country in which the top political leadership and most legislators are chosen by competitive elections open to all (or nearly all) adult citizens.²³ In this view, the key challenge in effecting the transition to democracy is the organising of 'free and fair democratic elections' and the acceptance of a constitution.

An alternative school of thought emphasises a more complex and broader definition with a strong focus on the functionality of democratic institutions; not just competitive elections but, inter-alia freedom of speech and assembly plus transparency, accountability, representativeness, political equality, rule of law, a vibrant and independent civil society, institutionalised political parties, free media, etc.²⁴ However, this broader definition, while compelling offers another set of challenges and debates; what precisely constitutes the ‘*rule of law*’ or a ‘*vibrant civil society*’? This also implies that if it is possible to ‘measure’ democracy (as does Freedom House). Second, even if effective measurement is possible, at what point do we define a state as ‘free and democratic’ or ‘not free and undemocratic’?

The task of quantifying democracy (e.g. Freedom House or Polity IV²⁵) poses yet additional difficulties; for example, it is relatively easy to classify states where the prime of all elements of democracy are visible or where they are lacking but this is not particularly helpful in transitional circumstances and contexts. What elements in the definition and measurement should be given greater weight or importance – an independent and autonomous judiciary or an effective and responsive legislature; the scope of electoral participation or limitations on executive power; political equality or social equality in access to services etc.; how much weight should be attached to a functioning and representative civil society? These are just some of the intractable debates and challenges.

Democracy: a role for civil society?

Much of the literature and debate on democracy highlights the constitutional, legal, political and executive components and frequently views that issue of effective civil society engagement as a secondary factor. Given my own background in civil society (and, particularly in its educational role), I want to outline some of the key parameters of a role for civil society in democratic transition.²⁶

The literature on the nature and potential role of civil society has increased dramatically in recent decades with a number of studies outlining a

number of typologies and frameworks.²⁷ These authors identify a number of common features that characterise the approach, underlying values and political, social and development roles of civil society organisations including:

- Providing varying degrees of protection for citizens - this basic function of civil society can encompass the literal protection of the lives, freedom and property of individuals and communities against lives, freedom, and property against attacks and the abuse of power by the state or other authorities.
- Monitoring and accountability - this role consists of monitoring and highlighting the activities and behaviour of central or local powers, state apparatuses, and government in general, especially in the context of holding them accountable. Such monitoring can refer to human rights, public spending, corruption, health, education etc. and highlights the principle of the separation of powers.
- Advocacy and public communication- a key test of the effectiveness of civil society is its ability to represent and articulate the interests and needs of groups in society, particularly those of marginalised, excluded or silenced groups. In parallel with this role is the capacity and opportunity to use diverse means of communication in order to bring such interests and needs to the public arena, thereby providing a voice for the often voiceless and consequently fuelling and stimulating public debate. This role has greatly increased in recent decades in areas such as environmental concerns, issue specific campaigns (e.g. landmines) and, crucially, women's rights.
- Education or socialisation - traditionally, civil society in its diversity has contributed significantly to the formation and development (as well as the practice of) democratic values and dispositions in the public at large. Values such as human dignity, human rights, equality, social justice, tolerance, reconciliation etc. remain central to the ethos and agenda of civil society. In this way, democracy is ensured not only by legal institutions but also by dispositions and habits of society at large.

- Building community – civil society at its best builds social capital, strengthens bonds across society, helps reduce social tensions and build social cohesion.
- Facilitating dialogue and, oftentimes, mediation between citizens and the state – independent civil society (and, more specifically its constituent organisations play the role of balancing (and negotiating with) the power of the state and its representative structures and individuals at various levels.
- Service delivery – civil society has increasingly (and controversially)²⁸ increased its role in service delivery, either on behalf of, or in place of, the state in areas such as shelter, health, education and human development. This has occurred in very different circumstances and contexts where the state can be either strong or weak.

In conclusion, it is worth noting the comment by Amartya Sen (whose work has deeply shaped our thinking and assessment of freedom) who insisted that the ‘*atrocities of poverty*’ will not correct itself:

‘Quiet acceptance – by the victims and by others – of the inability of a great many people to achieve minimally effective capabilities and to have basic substantive freedoms acts as a huge barrier to social change. And so does the absence of public outrage at the terrible helplessness of millions of people... We have to see how the actions and inactions of a great many persons together lead to this social evil, and how a change of our priorities – our policies, our institutions, our individual and joint actions – can help to eliminate the atrocities of poverty.’²⁹



(Endnotes)

- 1 Charbonneau and Nichols, Reuters, March 27, 2012
- 2 Reuters, April 10, 2012
- 3 Puddington, A. (2012): *Freedom in the World 2012: The Arab Uprisings and their Global Repercussions*, Washington, Freedom House
- 4 Karatnycky, A. (2000): A Century of Progress, *Journal of Democracy*, 11.1, 187-200; Goldstone, J. (2010): *Representational Models and Democratic Transitions in Fragile and Post-Conflict States*; World Development Report Background Paper, World Bank
- 5 Power, S. (2002): *A Problem from Hell: America in the Age of Genocide*, New York, Basic Books; Human Security Project (2010): *Human Security Report 2009/2010: The Causes of Peace and the Shrinking Costs of War*, Vancouver
- 6 Karatnycky, A. (2000)
- 7 http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/2011/press.html
- 8 UNDP (1995) *Human Development Report: Gender and Human Development*, New York, Oxford University Press: 1
- 9 InterParliamentary Union, December 2011 figures, <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm>
- 10 World Bank 2012 *World Development Report: Gender Equality and Development*, Washington
- 11 Dyer, G. (1994): *The Human Race: Is the western model of global development sustainable in a finite environment?* Pennsylvania, Bullfrog Films
- 12 UNDP (1995)
- 13 The Gender Parity Index (GPI) measures the ratio of female over male literacy rates; a GPI between 0.97 and 1.03 is usually considered gender parity. At GPI values below 1, women are disadvantaged and at GPI values above 1, men are disadvantaged. If a country or region reaches universal literacy, with male and female literacy rates of 100%, the GPI would equal 1 by definition. This is the case in the developed regions and in the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States, both of which are near universal literacy.
- 14 Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics, Data Centre, September 2010, see <http://huebler.blogspot.com/2010/09/lit.html>

- 15 ibid.
- 16 Freedom House (2009) *Freedom in the World*, Washington,
see <http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/freedom-world-2009>
- 17 Fukuyama, F. (1992): *The End of History and the Last man*, London,
Penguin
- 18 There is very considerable debate as to the underlying values,
definition and measurement of ‘free’ and ‘not free’ states according to Freedom
House which itself has been the subject of significant criticism for its close
association with US interests and agendas in particular regions worldwide; for
its assessment of ‘freedom’ in countries such as Cuba and Russia and for its
assessment and analysis of key aspects of Islam (for a useful summary, see
<http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2001/ngo432.doc.htm>)
- 19 Zakaria, F. (1997): *The Rise of Illiberal democracies*, Foreign Affairs,
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- 20 Goldstone (2010), pp 2-3
- 21 on this see Human Security Report 2009/2010
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- 23 see, for example, Schumpeter, J. (1975): *Capitalism, Socialism, and
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- 24 see, for example, Sen, A. (1999): *Development as Freedom*, Oxford
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Freedom House (2009); Diamond, L. and Morlino, L. (eds., 2005): *Assessing the
Quality of Democracy*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University
- 25 Polity IV is the latest version of the most widely used data resource
for studying democracy and regime change, it is a project of the Vienna-based

Center for Systemic Peace,

see <http://systemicpeace.org/polity/polity4.htm>

26 These observations are made principally in the context of over a decade of engagement in the peace process in Northern Ireland where a seriously truncated role for civil society gave primacy to the formal, institutionalised political process rather than to the broader societal peace process have generated a legacy of significant difficulties as regards areas such as, for example, implementing a Bill of Rights (an integral and legal component of the transition process in Northern Ireland).

27 see, for example Korten (1990); Yankelovich, D. (1991): *Coming to Public Judgment: Making Democracy Work in a Complex World*, Syracuse University Press; Edwards (2004); Paffenholz, T. (ed. 2010): *Civil Society and Peacebuilding: A Critical Assessment*, Lynne Rienner, Boulder

28 see Regan, C. (2012, forthcoming): Too much problem solving and not enough mischief making. *Community Development in Ireland: issues and challenges*, Africanus 42:1

29 Amartya Sen, Preface in: Green, D. (2008): *From Poverty to Power*, Oxfam International