

Democratic Development: A Comprehensive Concept of Comparative Assessment

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Forthcoming: *International Journal of Social Economics*
Please cite accordingly

Abstract

Purpose: Existing attempts to assess national development and processes of democratization suffer from conceptual and measurement challenges. This paper proposes a comprehensive concept of democratic development and develops a more inclusive concept of democracy to provide a common set of categories to evaluate its depth and quality.

Design/methodology/approach: In order to measure the depth and health of democracy, democratic development incorporates four categories of human progress, each measured by multiple variables. The four categories deemed important for human progress are general development, democratic health, democratic inclusiveness, and human capital. Components of democratic development incorporate existing measures of political and economic development to create a comprehensive and accessible measure of democratic development.

Findings: Our comparative tables based on multiple goals of development clearly reveal that neither the GDP index nor the HDI are adequate measures of development. Democratic development can be more fully captured by four perspectives: development, democratic inclusiveness, democratic health, and human capital, providing a framework to measure progress

in reform, democracy, and development, from public agencies up to the national level. This concept incorporates aspects and orientations of the capabilities approach to create a concept that is amenable to use as a self-assessment tool and as a basis for comparison of development, broadly conceived.

Practical Implications: This inclusive concept is particularly well suited for analyzing citizen satisfaction and democratic stability.

What is original/value of paper: Rather than focusing on singular measures, the approach presented here offers a balanced set of measures aimed at providing a comprehensive view of the gamut of democratic and economic development processes relative to existing models that is more appropriate for self-assessment/ planning purposes than traditional measures, which may be more appropriate for statistical modelling purposes.

Keywords: Conceptual paper, development, democracy

Introduction

Measuring national development is a difficult process. Existing attempts to assess national development and processes of democratization suffer from conceptual and measurement challenges. This has led to a literature that is, in general, either excessively focused on economic development or democratic procedure without connection to the capabilities of those institutions to expedite economic and political development of citizens.

This paper proposes a comprehensive concept of democratic development. Examining the causal relationship between economic growth and democratization is not the point of this paper. Other concepts focusing solely on economic development or political processes are necessary and desirable for many analytic purposes, especially pertaining to questions of causality between the two. However, a concept that can be used to assess the depth of development on both political and economic arenas or to serve as a self assessment tool is also useful. In this paper we develop a more inclusive concept of democracy to provide a common set of categories to evaluate its depth and quality.

A comprehensive measure of democratic performance on political, economic, and social issues may help assess the strength, longevity, and resilience of particular democracies. The goal in this model is to present a concept that can be used for evaluative purposes. As Collier and Adcock emphasize, choices about concepts are “most productive when they focus on specific arguments about the goals and context of research” (Collier and Adcock 1999: 561). In terms of a concept that is amenable for use in a large cross-national large or to examine the relationship between aspects of political or economic development, a thin procedural based definition may suffice. However, in terms of understanding citizen satisfaction, democratic stability, and the like, a deeper and broader concept is necessary. As Sartori stresses, “what makes democracy

possible should not be mixed up with what makes democracy more *democratic*” (Sartori 1987:156).¹

The balanced approach to assessing national development proposed by this paper attempts to modify the capabilities approach and to extend it by including issues related to agency and democracy. Our approach captures a diversity of economic and political measures to allow comparative evaluations of development across countries. Although economic or human capital development need not necessarily be limited to democratic polities, we have chosen to focus on democracies, consistent with some attention to notions of what a political system should aim to achieve. Assessment without aspiration is not instructive. Democratic development incorporates four components that are necessary to create a robust democracy. We assess democratic development according to achievement in four areas: development, democratic health, democratic inclusiveness, and human capital.

Problems with Existing Models of Economic Development

The present work considers development to be inclusive of both political and economic progress. Economic progress is not captured by measuring gross domestic or national product or growth rates alone, but needs to address issues of inclusiveness and breadth of the economic growth. For example, Argentina in the early 1900's had one of the highest per capita incomes in the world but this was irrelevant if you were not part of the top 10% of the population. Development should not just increase the overall pie but the size of the slice each group of the economy receives.

Current measures of economic development include overall growth rates, growth rates measured in purchasing power parity, Human Development Index (HDI), and independent measures of inequality such as Gini coefficients. Based on the preferences of policymakers,

different measures tell different stories. To remedy the failure of GDP to capture purchasing power inequality and to allow cross-country comparisons, purchasing power parity (PPP) equivalents were constructed. However, growth rates based on constant dollar values often mask the distribution of wealth.

Growth rates can increase dramatically but still fail to raise the overall well being of the general population. Other measures were constructed to address the fact that income alone is not a sufficient measure of development. The Physical Quality of Life Index is a composite score of life expectancy, infant mortality, and literacy. The problem is that this measure reveals more about the quantity as opposed to the quality of life. Sen claims “insofar as it (wealth maximization as a measure of development) neglects other crucial factors, such as public care and social organization, which also contribute to well being and freedom of individuals, the approach is deeply limited and defective” (Anand and Sen 2000: 2031). Sen, in his capabilities approach, worked to broaden the definition of development to include well being and freedom (Sen 1985).

Two scholars, Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum, have pushed for a more comprehensive attempt at conceptualizing development based on human capabilities and functionings. Sen developed an approach that stresses the importance of entitlements, capabilities, and functionings in the definition of well-being (Sen 1985). “Entitlements represent ‘command over commodities.’ Capabilities represent a person’s real opportunities to do, and to be, in the context of a given society, or simply the ‘freedom to achieve various lifestyles.’ To address the actual outcomes or achievements of what a person does or is, Sen coined the term ‘functionings’” (Pressman and Summerfield 2002: 429-430). Sen moves away from the role of GDP and what people can spend to a broader definition of well being which includes how people

live (Des Gasper 2002). Peter Evans in his examination of Sen's work expands on how the capabilities approach defines development in terms of the "elimination of oppression and the provision of facilities like basic education, health care, and safety nets"(Evans 2002:52).

Sen also focused on the importance of agency in determining development (Sen 1985). Sen in *Development as Freedom* states, "Individuals live and operate in a world of institutions. Our opportunities and prospects depend crucially on what institutions exist and how they function. Not only do institutions contribute to our freedoms, their roles can be sensibly evaluated in light of their contributions to our freedom" (Sen 1999). Evans cites Sen's argument that "choices about those allocations and growth strategies must be 'democratic,' not just in the 'thin' sense of having leadership succession determined by regular electoral process, but in the 'thick' sense of messy and continuous involvement of the citizenry in the setting of economic priorities" (Evans 2002: 55). Failure of traditional measures of development to encompass agency factors limits their ability to fully describe and evaluate the development of countries and the progress of individuals who live in those countries.

Martha Nussbaum creates a deliberately open ended list of basic human functions by asking what the important functions in human life are and what the social and political institutions are doing about them. Her list is called the "thick vague theory of the good," alluding to the theory of John Rawls. She states "the list is 'vague' and this is deliberately so and in a good sense, for, as we shall go on to see it admits of much multiple specification in accordance with varied local and personal conceptions." She claims, "without the guidance offered by such a list, what we often get in public policy is precise wrongness" (Nussbaum 1992: 215). Her list of basic human functions is divided up into two categories: (1) capabilities and limits and (2) thresholds, composed of the capacity to function and the capacity to function well

in a good life. The list includes the following: mortality, human body and bodily needs, pleasure/pain, cognitive capacity, early infant development, practical reason (i.e. planning and management of one's life if possible), affiliation with other humans, relatedness to other species and nature, humour and play, and separateness. From this basic list, Nussbaum urges that public policy be oriented to providing citizens with the capability to function well in regard to these features of human life (Nussbaum 1992: 216-221). Nussbaum's list does not include political or administrative development.

The Human Development Index (HDI) was developed to address the issues raised by Sen. It is a composite measure of life expectancy, literacy, schooling, and per capita GDP as measured using purchasing power parity. This measure attempts to capture three aspects of development: longevity, knowledge, and income. HDI, however, fails to consider issues of inequality and condenses multiple indicators into one index. Countries ranked according to HDI would have Sweden measuring the highest and Mozambique as the lowest.

Both the traditional development measures and the functionings approach have limitations. Tilak (1992) criticizes current measures of development because they lack measures of poverty and/or distributional inequality such as Gini coefficients. Thus, three critical problems in the traditional indices of economic development remain: they are unidimensional; they fail to examine how lack of development may affect the component variables; and they focus on economic progress in developing countries relative to developed countries. McIlwaine and Moser (2003) argue to expand the notion of "livelihood security" to include human security. They argue that violence and physical safety are major concerns of the poor, even more so than poverty, and should be included in the measurement of development. A more comprehensive measure of development or human progress is necessary.

Moreover, as Des Gasper has pointed out, “to be operational, simplified versions are needed, and capabilities approach provides the basis for a workable alternative set of proxies and indicators that surpass mainstream economics” (Des Gasper 2002: 458). Des Gasper identifies five key areas that must be addressed in the creation of development indicators. They are empowerment, opportunities, sustainability of freedoms, community membership, and security. Other scholars, such as Apthorpe stress development of indicators of social structure and institutions (Apthorpe 1997). Even with agreed upon concepts, a central criticism of the capabilities approach is that relevant measures must be chosen and the vector of functionings must be devised (Fleurbaey 2002). Multiple indicators are available. The United Nations through the *Human Development Report* publishes multiple indicators in an attempt to capture these concepts. However, in addition to questions of the creation of appropriate indicators, the comprehensiveness of the concept can be questioned. As Stewart and Deneulin claim, “Sen tends to avoid issues of political economy, which results in an apparent (and knowing Sen it can only be apparent) naiveté in his treatment of both democracy- as already noted earlier- and modern capitalism” (Stewart and Deneulin 2002: 66).

Problems of Existing Models of Democracy

Similarly, the definition and measurement of democracy is plagued by many problems due to challenges of measurement and conceptualization. There is no definitive definition of democracy. As Kathleen Schwartzman (1998: 161) states, “the debate over the essence of democracy has in no way been resolved in the wave literature.” In terms of conceptualization, there are difficulties due to the lack of conceptual underpinnings, teleological assumptions based on the achievement of advanced industrial nations, issues of multidimensionality vs. unidimensionality, and issues of a binary vs. continuous concept (Bollen 1990, Paxton 2000,

Waylen 1994, Bollen and Jackman 1989, Coppedge and Reicke 1990, Sartori 1987, Dahl 1989, Collier and Adcock 1999). Clearly, there is a long history of controversy concerning the measurement of liberal democracy (May 1973, Bollen 1980, Bollen 1986, Vanhalen 1990, Inkeles 1991, Bollen and Paxton 2000, Munck 2001).

The conventional wisdom within the study of democracy is to conceptualize democracy based on procedural aspects of democracy and/ or political liberties (Collier and Levitsky 1997, Munck and Verkuilen 2002, Bollen and Paxton 2000). This approach is heavily influenced by the work of Robert Dahl (1971) and his seven institutions of polyarchy: elected officials, free and fair elections, inclusive suffrage, the right to run for public office, freedom of expression, existence and availability of alternate information, associational autonomy.² Among the procedural definitions, the debate revolves around adjectives (Collier and Levitsky, 1997). According to Frances Hagopian, “as studies of the state evolve beyond being primarily concerned about capacity (a concern of the 1960s) and efficiency (the concern of the 1990s), they should consider whether the state itself is democratic” (Hagopian 2000: 904). Scholars debate how thin or thick the definition should be. Although the advantages and disadvantages of a minimalist, subminimalist, liberal, and electoral democracy, are discussed, rarely does the debate progress to a discussion of deepening the concept beyond proceduralism to incorporate social or economic aspects.

The most tightly focused procedural definition is Schumpeter’s. According to him, a “competitive struggle for the people’s vote” (Schumpeter 1947, 269) signifies democracy. Beyond this minimum, scholars disagree about what additional attributes should be included as part of the minimal standard for democracy (Collier and Levitsy 1999,433; O’Donnell and Schmitter 1986; Di Palma 1990, 28; Huntington 1991,9, Przeworski et al. 2000). A drawback of

minimalist positions is that they may include authoritarian regimes if they have elections, even if they are not free (Mainwaring, Brinks, and Pérez-Liñán. 2001, 41-42).

Because of concern of including authoritarian or semi-authoritarian regimes when using a minimalist definition, some advocate including other aspects of procedural democracy, such as civil liberties or an expanded notion of accountability. Without these basic protections, elections can be easily subverted (Mainwaring, Brinks, and Pérez-Liñán. 2001, 43). Scholars such as Mainwaring, Brinks, and Pérez-Liñán. 2001, Bollen and Paxton 2000, and Diamond 1999, and O'Donnell and Schmitter 1986, utilize this style of concept. For example, in the influential work, *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule*, O'Donnell and Schmitter focus on a definition of democracy that builds upon a procedural minimum, including free and fair elections, universal suffrage, political and civil liberties, to define democracy (O'Donnell and Schmitter 1986:8). The inclusion of other attributes leads to a further differentiation of the concept, such as concepts of hybrid regimes, electoral democracy, semi-democracy, semi-authoritarianism, etc. (Karl 1995, Diamond 2002, Schedler 2002). Karl (1995) includes aspects such as insufficient control over the military, deficiencies in the rule of law, extensive disenfranchisement, and ineffective checks and balances are incorporated into the differentiation of regimes. Scholars such as Schmitter and Karl (1991), O'Donnell (1998), O'Donnell (1994), and O'Donnell (2001) argue for inclusion of elements of horizontal accountability.

The challenge of broadening the concept of democracy is that, just as minimalist definitions may include authoritarian regimes, broad concepts of democracy may contain attributes of unrelated concepts. Even the incorporation of the popular Freedom House indicators as part of political rights (Diamond 1999), can leave scholars vulnerable to the following critique.

Most constructors of indices subscribe to a procedural definition of democracy and thus avoid the problem of maximalist definitions. The only exception in this regard is Freedom House (2000), which severely restricts the analytical usefulness of its index due to the inclusion of attributes such as 'socioeconomic rights,' 'freedom from gross socioeconomic inequalities,' 'property rights,' and 'freedom from war' (Gastil, 1991, pp. 32-33; Ryan, 1994, pp. 10-11), which are more fruitfully seen as attributes of some other concept (Munck and Verkuilen 9).

Certainly, in some cases, it is desirable to be able to analyze the relationships between procedural democracy and other factors, such as economic growth or inequality. Many scholars, both within and outside of the traditions of modernization theory or political development, have focused on the possible interrelations among the different aspects or measures of democracy and economic development. This theme has a long tradition in the 19th century (See Lipset 1992:2), in the 20th century including the works of Weber (1906), Schumpeter (1950), Moore (1966), Skocpol (1979), Berger (1986, 1992) and Stephens (1993). In this tradition, the emergence of democracy is in part a result of a transition to a market economy. More recently, scholars have conducted statistical analyses to examine the precise relationships between them (Przeworski et al., 1995, Helliwell 1994, Barro 1996, Arat 1988, Londregan and Poole 1996, Przeworski and Limongi 1997). Other work has focused on the relationship between socioeconomic variables and human rights or freedom (for example, Chalmers 1990, Huntington 1991, Lipset et al. 1993, Inkeles 1991, Bollen and Jackman 1985, and Cutright 1963).

In these cases, a minimalist definition would be appropriate. Because of the desire to study interactions and causality, scholars such as Munck and Verkuilen warn of the dangers of a broad or maximalist definition.

On one hand, the sheer overburdening of a concept may decrease its usefulness by making it a concept that has no empirical referents. The inclusion of the notion of social justice as an attribute of democracy is an example. On the other hand, even if a concept is defined in such a way that empirical instances can be found, maximalist definitions tend to be so over-burdened as to be of little analytical use. For example, if a market-based economic system is seen as a defining attribute of democracy, the link between markets

and democracy is not left as an issue for empirical research (Munck and Verkuilen 9 See also Alvarez, Cheibub, Limongi, and Przeworski 1996, 18-20).

In fact, most scholars separate political democracy from social or economic concerns. As Kenneth Bollen states the “distribution of wealth, work place ‘democracy’, or the health of the population are not part of the concept. These are important in their own right and should not be confounded with national levels of political democracy” (Bollen 1990, 12-13). Similarly, Schmitter and Karl (1991) separate issue of equity or “social democracy” from their analysis of democracy. As Michael Coppedge warns, “One should not go further into the territory of social and economic democracy and collective citizenship rights, which in my opinion would cross the line into maximalism” (Coppedge 2002, 37).

In general, development concerns are omitted within procedural definitions of democracy. Democracy may become only a set of rules without a corresponding emphasis on quality. Huber, Rueschemeyer, and Stepan (1997) partially address this limitation by introducing participatory and social dimensions to their formal model of democracy.

Others have developed democratic indices to serve as a self-assessment tool for the quality of democracy in a particular country. For example, Boyle, Weir, Beetham and Klug (1993) developed a self assessment for the United Kingdom. They built their assessment around two principles: popular control and political equality. They examine four dimensions through a thirty question survey. The four dimensions are free and fair elections, a democratic society, civil and political rights, and open and accountable government. In addition to problems of creating an equivalent survey in a cross-national study, they acknowledge difficulties in applying this to developing nations and new democracies because it would not necessarily take into account any “stage-like character of democracy’s development” (Beetham 1999: 169). As Moore (1996) demonstrated, there may be different paths to democracy.

More fundamentally, many scholars are hesitant to incorporate normative aspects into their concepts. For example, Samuel Huntington states, “Fuzzy norms do not yield useful analysis” (Huntington 1991: 9). In a similar vein, Giuseppe Di Palma has stated that the democratic ideal should be separate “from the idea of social progress” if it is to survive (Di Palma 1990: 23). Although much of the field tries to eschew any normative dimensions in analysis, some prominent scholars, such as Robert Keohane, have recognized a duty for political scientists to ask these types of questions. “We need to reflect on what we, as political scientists, know that could help actors in global society design and maintain institutions that would make possible the good life in our descendents. ... What normative standards should institutions meet, and what categories should we use to evaluate institutions according to those standards?” (Keohane 2001:1).

Indeed, a focus on procedure alone may quickly produce skeptics among citizens. For example, the increasing disillusionment with democracy, thinly understood, is a growing problem in Latin America (Latinobarómetro 2002). Democracy involves much more than just regular, free elections. The incorporation of social progress, inclusion, and distributional issues are essential to move democracy beyond procedure and development beyond growth. The goal of this paper is to present a balanced set of measures that evaluates democracies according to more than just procedural aspects, incorporates development aspects, and moves beyond typologies and toward assessment, without defining democratic development as the advanced industrial democracy status quo. There are both theoretical and practical reasons for doing so. Theoretically, assessment implies goals and aims. Practically, a measure that moves beyond procedure is more compatible with citizen expectations.

Deepening Democracy and Broadening Development

Promoting an inclusive political community, developing human capital, and improving accountability are necessary components of a healthy democracy. First, without meaningful access to democratic institutions, democracy becomes “thin” for many groups in society. Practically, as Andres Schedler points out, “the idea of democracy has become so closely identified with elections that we are in danger of forgetting that the modern history of representative elections is a tale of authoritarian manipulations as much as it is a saga of democratic triumphs” (Schedler 2002). The social, economic and political mobility of women, indigenous peoples, and minorities is essential to achieve a deepening of democracy and to avoid democracy being equated only with elections.

Second, there is a need to focus on developing human capital. Every citizen should be provided an opportunity to access basic educational services for the purposes of individual capabilities development. Without such improvement and growth opportunities, many citizens may be willing to trade procedural democracy for another form of rule that delivers opportunity and goods. Democracy as a means is not the ultimate end. Third, a high quality public administration needs to be created with a professional civil service. This civil service needs both the independence and authority necessary to make professional decisions but must also be democratically accountable to the citizens of a country (Ratliff 1999, Campos and Root 1996: 88, 92).

Developing human capital and promoting accountability are essential to both developing and developed democracies. Historically, again, for example, in Latin American countries, many citizens have lacked meaningful access to or influence on the public policies chosen. Increasingly, in the United States, a growing majority of U.S. citizens doubt their ability to influence the direction of public policy (Flanigan and Zingale 1998: 14). Popular

disillusionment, charges of corruption, persistent inequality, and low levels of political efficacy can plague both established and new democracies alike.

Invoking a notion of “health” when assessing development implies some ultimate basis of assessment. Nussbaum’s capabilities do not include political variables. Sen focuses more upon individual freedom. In general, the capabilities approach looks at the state as being a means to the development of the capabilities of the citizens. The concept of democratic development has a special emphasis on political integration, broad economic development, and security. The concept provides a uniform self-assessment framework, based on comparative performance. When describing a democracy as failing, it implies more than just corrupted elections.

Why A Comprehensive Concept Is Necessary

The question is whether one variable can represent the general level of development or whether a more comprehensive scorecard is necessary to assess development. For each variable, countries are ranked from 1 being the most developed to 23 as the least developed. Traditional overall development measures, such as the Human Development Index (HDI) and Gross Domestic Product Index (GDPI), are compared to each set of measures. If in fact, the subset of indices to do not vary from the traditional measures, then the use of GDPI or HDI is sufficient for discussing relative rankings. If, however, the measures show a difference from the traditional measures, a broader measure is necessary to capture the relative levels of development.

Insert Figure 1 here

Figure 1 shows that the GDPI and the HDI are closely correlated; however, there is significant variation at the country level. The United States and Germany, for example, rank much higher in income than human development; while, Sweden and Norway rank higher in human development than income. Figure 1 reveals the need for a broader measure.

Democratic Development

In terms of democratic development, it is necessary to ask, what is the best possible result? In order to measure the depth and health of democracy, democratic development incorporates four categories of human progress, each measured by multiple variables. The four categories deemed important for human progress are general development, democratic health, democratic inclusiveness, and human capital. Components of democratic development incorporate existing measures of political and economic development to create a comprehensive and accessible measure of democratic development.

Insert Figure 2 here

Figure 2 illustrates four major areas needed to better identify a country's overall state of democratic development. For each area, readily available indices are used as proxy measures.

The concept of democratic development is normative. As such, it is designed to function as both a tool of comparative analysis and as system of guidance. We do not create composite indices to rank countries because the individual indicators reveal more about areas in which improvement is needed. For a measure of development that attempts to serve as a self-assessment tool, this is important. Moreover, creating an index implies that an area in which a country is substandard can be compensated for by another area in which it is better than average, reaching the same level of achievement. As Nussbaum pointed out, these are non-substitutable goods. To select applicable cases, we utilize the minimalist definition provided by Schumpeter (1950:269) "institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of competitive struggle for the people's vote." However, this is only to define the universe of potentially applicable cases.

Development. Using solely economic growth rates as a proxy for development is problematic because income and consumption are not always positively correlated and because income growth is not evenly distributed. Development means more than just economic growth; it also includes the reduction of inequality. Growth rates based on constant dollar values often mask the distribution of wealth both within countries and among them. To address concerns about comparability across countries, purchasing power parity was developed. Purchasing power parity uses the United States as a benchmark and then estimates the dollar equivalent of a general consumer basket of goods in each country. For example if the United States had a per capita GDP in terms of purchasing power parity of \$24,000 and Mexico \$8,000 it would imply that the average American was three times better off than the average Mexican. In many countries, per capita GDP in terms of purchasing power parity is significantly higher than standard per capita GDP values. Within countries, growth rates can increase dramatically but not raise the overall well being of the general population. To this end, GDP per capita growth rates, measured by purchasing power parity, are supplemented with additional development indicators, such as unemployment and gross domestic investment. To capture inequality, the GINI index, the percentage of children under the age of five who are malnourished, education index and the ratio of richest to poorest are analyzed. Finally, development without security is unsustainable. To measure security, levels of civil strife and violence need to be examined, by using PIOOM's five stages of conflict.

Insert Table 1 here

Table 1 reveals that security and level of development are related for the more developed countries but not necessarily for the less developed countries. The most developed countries, ranked by the GDP index, have the highest levels of security and the lowest levels of conflict

according to PIOOM. Among the less developed countries, there is more variation. For example the three least developed countries of Bolivia, Ghana and Zimbabwe are relatively safer compared to some higher ranked countries, such as Mexico and Colombia.

Insert Figure 3 here

Figure 3 demonstrates a large degree of variation of countries according to traditional measures. Part of the HDI is the Education Index, which combines rates of adult literacy with ratios of combined primary, secondary and tertiary education gross enrolment. This measure is compared to the ratio of income of the richest 10% to the poorest 10%, and the Gini index, which also measures inequality. Variation exists among the developed and less developed countries — implying a less definite relationship between equity and income. The social democracies have the highest ranking in terms of equity. In the case of equity, neither the GDP index nor the HDI are adequate measures of development if equity is a goal. The discrepancy between GDP and HDI rankings suggest a need to develop a broader concept.

The previous discussion demonstrates that countries with high ratings in terms of traditional economic measures, such as GDP and HDI, do not necessarily enjoy low levels of inequality or high levels of security. Likewise, poor countries in terms of GDP or HDI, do not always suffer from severe inequality or low levels of security.

Democratic Inclusiveness. Our aim is to capture the depth and breadth of participation. To what extent have women and racial and ethnic minorities been included positions of authority, in civil society, the civil service, and the government? What legal and extra legal barriers to participation exist?

The Minorities at Risk project provides readily available measures of access to power of minority groups, political discrimination, and political restrictions.

Insert Table 2 here

Table 2 illustrates how democratic inclusiveness varies within countries, when disaggregated to the group level. Even in countries with relatively high HDI ranking, minority groups can suffer significant discrimination. In this table, relative HDI rankings of our selected countries (1 being the best and 23 the worst) are presented alongside some variables from the Minorities at Risk database. Access to Power represents intergroup differentials in political status on a scale of 0-2, with 0 being no differential and 2 being a significant differential. The Political Discrimination Index, based on the 1980-2000, provides a general coding of public and social policies in erasing or promoting political inequalities. It is based on a scale of 0-4, with 0 being no discrimination and 4 being exclusionary with repressive policies. Despite overall high HDI rankings, countries such as Switzerland, Australia, and the United Kingdom contain groups that face significant challenges of discrimination, access, and inclusion.

Integration of women is captured by the Gender Empowerment Measure or (GEM). The GEM is composed of male/female shares of parliamentary seats, male/female shares of professions, and male/female shares of earned income. GEM is a measure of women's political progress at the national or federal level. The gender related development index (GDI) is also included. The GDI measures observed gaps between men and women in relation to life expectancy, education, and income (Bardhan and Klasen 1999).

Insert Figure 4 here

Figure 4 reveals the relative rankings of countries for the Gender-related Development Index (GDI) and the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM). The GDI and GEM rankings are compared to GDP index and HDI. While for some countries the rankings are highly correlated such as Zimbabwe, Turkey, India, and Colombia; variation does exist in the more developed

countries. This illustrates that for women in less developed countries their situation is as bad the rest of the population; however, in many developed countries their relative situation is worse.

Democratic Health. A well functioning democracy needs transparency, individual liberties, and popular support. Transparency in public agencies leads to reduced corruption and more quality representation as it works to eliminate clientelism. This aspect is well addressed by the Corruption Perception Index of Transparency International. To participate freely, political and civil rights need to be protected. Freedom House's indexes assess the depth of political liberties and civil rights. Although there is a great deal of debate about the advantages and disadvantages of using these indicators, the Corruption Perception Index (Seligson 2002, Lancaster and Montinola 2001) and the Freedom House measures (Scoble and Wiseberg 1981, Banks 1986, Gastil 1990, McHenry 2000), they are arguably the best available indicators for evaluating recent trends in corruption and liberties. Popular support for democracy is also important to democratic health. This component is captured in the World Values survey, especially by the following questions: "Democracy may have problems but it's better than any other form of government" and "Having a democratic political system is ...(very good to very bad)".

Insert Figure 5 here

Figure 5 demonstrates that citizen support for a democratic system is not merely a reflection of a high GDP or HDI. When comparing rankings, both India and Turkey over perform relative to their GDP or HDI rankings. On the other hand, Australia, Mexico and Poland have democratic support levels lower than their GDP or HDI rankings.

Similar variation is evident in the comparison of development measures with freedom rankings.

Insert Figure 6 here

Figure 6 suggests that GDP index and HDI may be adequate proxies for democratic/economic health among the developed countries. However Table 3 suggests that they are not for the developing countries.

Insert Table 3 here

Table 3 presents a lack of relationship between corruption and freedom, as defined by Freedom House, among all countries other than the most developed. In the middle range, Mexico and Poland are free, Colombia is partly free, while Egypt is not free. At the bottom end, India and Bolivia are defined as free, while Zimbabwe is not.

Human Capital. To the end of capturing the development of each citizen, illiteracy, educational attainment, and government investment in education are presented. Illiteracy is best represented by examining the rates of illiteracy of people over the age of fifteen. Both upper and lower levels of educational attainment are captured by looking at the percent of the cohort who persists in school up to fifth grade and tertiary school enrolment. Finally, government investment can be measured as the percent of GDP in education expenditures.

Insert Figure 7 here

Figure 7 illustrates that measures of human capital are not simply a reflection of the traditional measures of GDP or HDI. Sweden ranks in the top five in all categories other than GDP, whereas the United States lags in life expectancy and infant mortality despite leading in GDP and literacy. Similarly, Bolivia has better rates of literacy and educational than may otherwise be expected given their traditional development rankings.

Conclusion

Democratic development measures how well democracies have developed their polities, economically and politically. This inclusive concept incorporates and transcends previous attempts at measuring economic and political development and is particularly well suited for analyzing citizen satisfaction and democratic stability. In this paper, we evaluate democracies according to more than just procedure, incorporate development aspects, and move beyond typologies and toward assessment. Our comparative tables based on multiple goals of development clearly reveal that neither the GDP index nor the HDI are adequate measures of development. Democratic development can be more fully captured by four perspectives: development, democratic inclusiveness, democratic health, and human capital, providing a framework to measure progress in reform, democracy, and development, from public agencies up to the national level. Rather than focusing on singular measures, the approach presented here offers a balanced set of measures aimed at providing a comprehensive view of the gamut of democratic and economic development processes relative to existing models. This comprehensive concept is more appropriate for self-assessment/ planning purposes than traditional measures, which may be more appropriate for statistical modelling purposes.

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¹ The debate on the concept of consolidation is lengthy and is not addressed here.

² More recently, see Kenneth Bollen, "Liberal Democracy: Validity and Method Factors in Cross-National Measures" *AJPS* Vol 37 No. 4 (November 1993) 1207-1230, p. 1208 and Foweraker and Krznaric (2001) who compare the quality of democracy with twenty-one performance indicators to create a new database of liberal democratic performance covering forty countries from 1970-1998.

Table 1: Comparison of Development and Security Measures

Country	GDP index	HDI Rank	PIOOM
United States	1	6	1
Iceland	2	2	1
Norway	3	1	1
Canada	4	5	1
Switzerland	5	8	1
Australia	6	4	1
Germany	7	11	1
Japan	8	7	1
Sweden	9	3	1
United Kingdom	10	9	1
France	11	10	1
Spain	12	12	1
Costa Rica	13	14	1
Poland	14	13	1
Mexico	15	15	3
Colombia	16	16	5
Tunisia	17	17	3
Turkey	17	18	3
Egypt	19	20	3
India	20	21	4
Bolivia	21	19	2
Ghana	22	22	2
Zimbabwe	23	23	3

Sources: World Bank and PIOOM2001/2002 MAP

Table 2: Comparison of Measures of Democratic Inclusiveness

Country	Group	HDI (ranking)	Access to Power	Political Discrimination Index	Political Restrictions Index
Australia	Aborigines	4	2	1	0
Bolivia	Indigenous Highland Ppls	21	2	1	0
	Lowland Indigenous Ppls		2	1	1
Canada	French Canadians	5	0	0	0
	Quebecois		0	0	0
	Indigenous Peoples		2	1	0
Colombia	Blacks	16	2	3	1.5
	Indigenous Peoples		2	1	2
Costa Rica	Antillean Blacks	14	2	1	0
Egypt	Copts	22	2	3	1.5
France	Basques	10	0	0	0
	Bretons		0	-99	-99
	Corsicans		0	0	0
	Muslim (Noncitizens)		2	4	4
	Roma		2	3	0
Germany	Turks	11	2	1	2.5
Ghana	Ashanti	24	2	0	0
	Ewe		2	0	0
	Mossi-Dagomba		2	2	0
India	Assamese	23	0	1	0
	Bodos		2	1	0
	Kashmiris		2	3	3.5
	Mizos		2	0	0
	Muslims		2	3	0
	Nagas		2	2	0
	Santals		2		
	Scheduled Tribes		2	1	0
	Sikhs		2	0	0
	Tripuras		2	4	0
Japan	Koreans	7	2	4	5.5
Mexico	Mayans	15	2	1	1.5
	Other Indigenous Peoples		2	1	2
	Zapotecs		2	3	2
Spain	Basques	12	0	0	0
	Catalans		2	0	0
	Roma		2	2	0.5
Switzerland	Jurassians	8	0	0	0
	Foreign Workers		2	4	5
Turkey	Kurds	19	2	4	2.5
UK	Scots	9	0	0	0
	Afro-Caribbeans		2	1	0
	Asians		2	1	0
	Catholics In N. Ireland		2	1	0.5

Table 2: Comparison of Measures of Democratic Inclusiveness

Country	Group	HDI (ranking)	Access to Power	Political Discrimination Index	Political Restrictions Index
USA	African-Americans	6	0	1	0
	Native Americans		0	1	0
	Native Hawaiians		0	0	0
	Hispanics		2	1	0
Zimbabwe	Ndebele	26	0	2	1
	Europeans		2	0	0

Table 3: Corruption and Freedom Rankings

Country	Corruption Perception Index 2003 (10 highly clean, 0 highly corrupt)	CPI 2003 rank (1 cleanest)	Political Rights (1 free, 7 not free)	Civil Liberties (1 free, 7 not free)	Freedom House Classification
Australia	8.8	8	1	1	free
Bolivia	2.3	106	2	3	free
Canada	8.7	11	1	1	free
Colombia	3.7	59	4	4	partly free
Costa Rica	4.3	50	1	2	free
Egypt	3.3	70	6	6	not free
France	6.9	23	1	1	free
Germany	7.7	16	1	1	free
Ghana	3.3	70	2	3	free
Iceland	9.6	1	1	1	free
India	2.8	83	2	3	free
Japan	7	21	1	2	free
Mexico	3.6	64	2	2	free
Norway	8.8	8	1	1	free
Poland	3.6	64	1	2	free
Spain	6.9	23	1	1	free
Sweden	9.3	6	1	1	free
Switzerland	8.8	8	1	1	free
Tunisia	4.9	39	6	5	not free
Turkey	3.1	77	3	4	partly free
United Kingd	8.7	11	1	1	free
United States	7.5	18	1	1	free
Zimbabwe	2.3	106	6	6	not free

Figure 1: Comparison of GDP and HDI

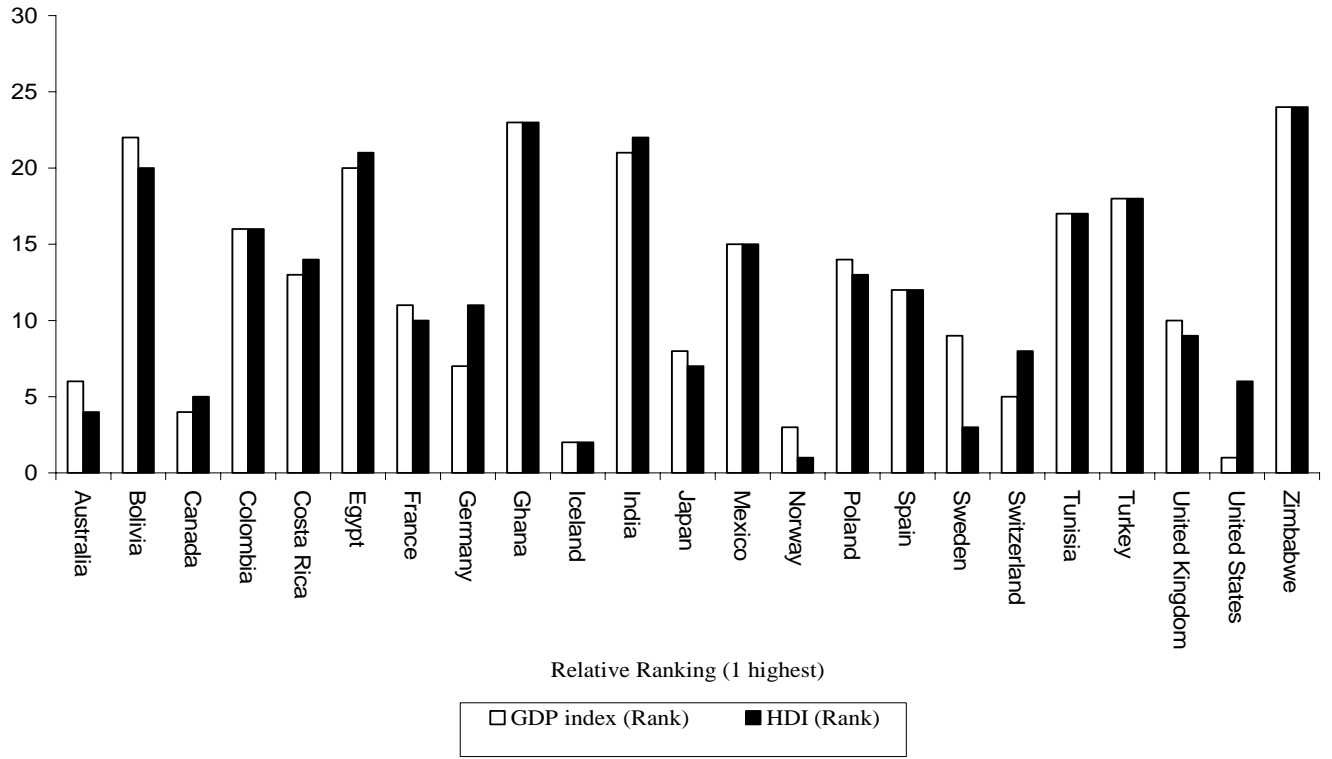


Figure Two
The Democratic Development Scorecard

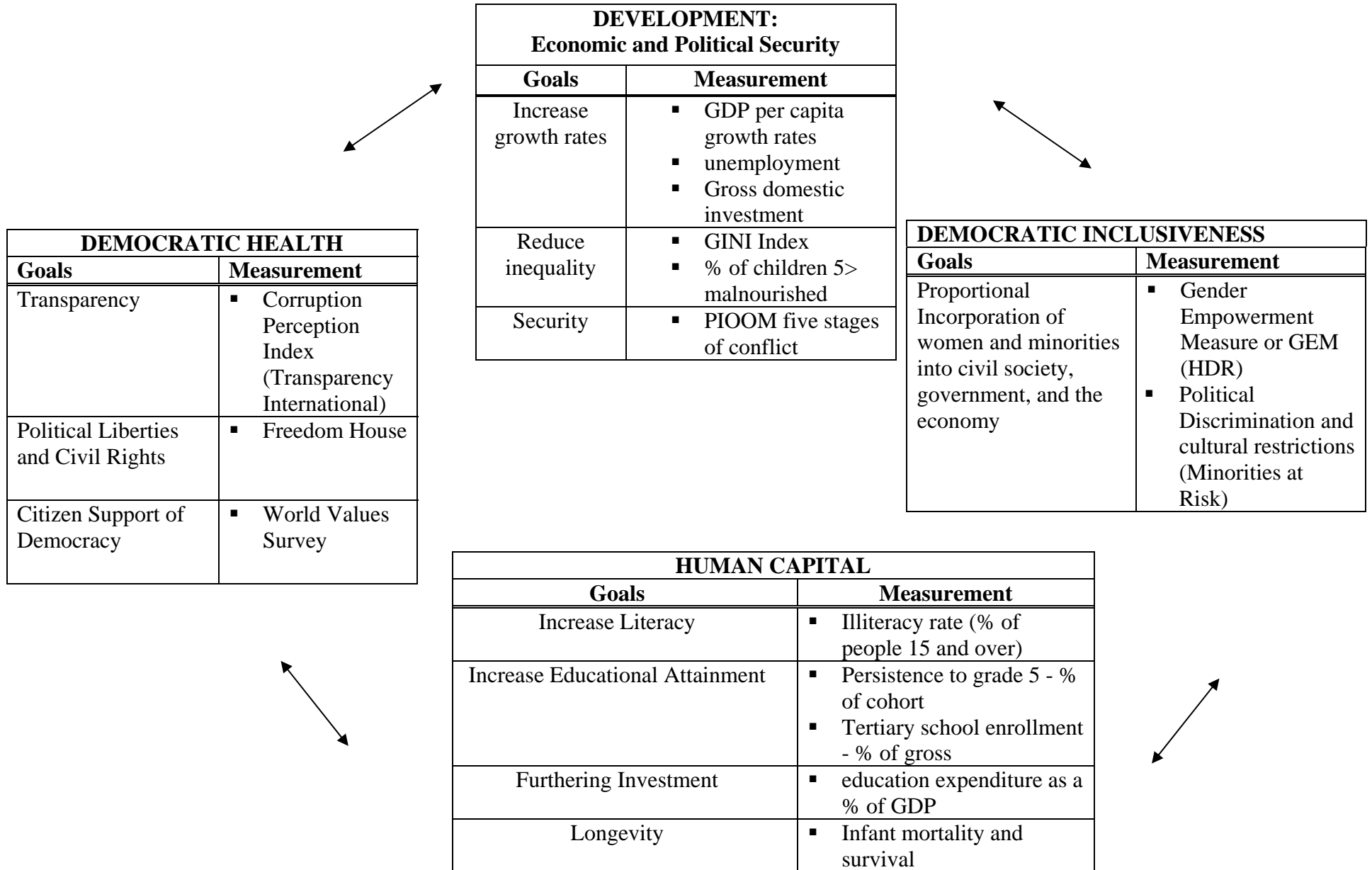


Figure 3: Comparison of Development Measures

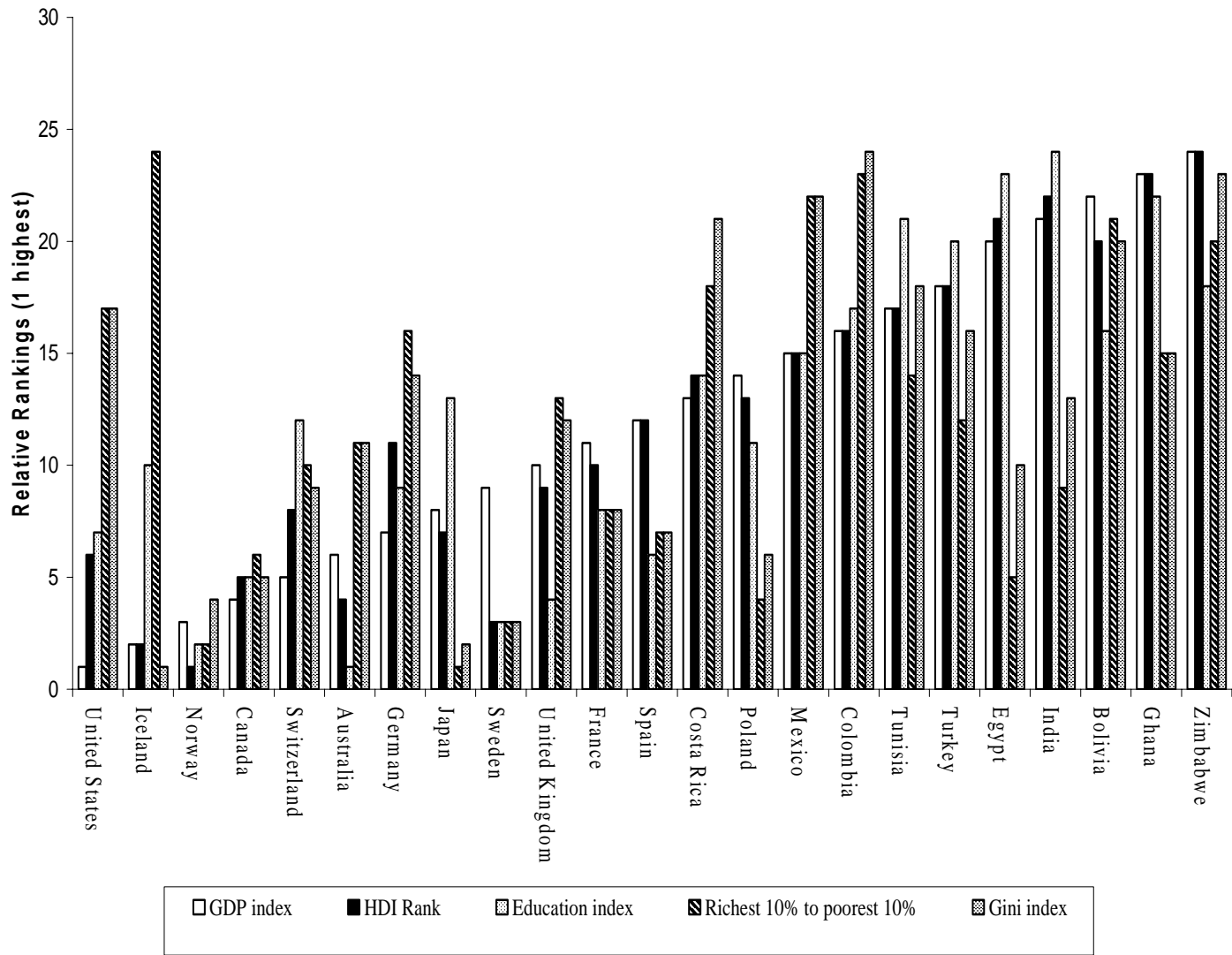


Figure 4: Comparison of Gender Inclusiveness Measures

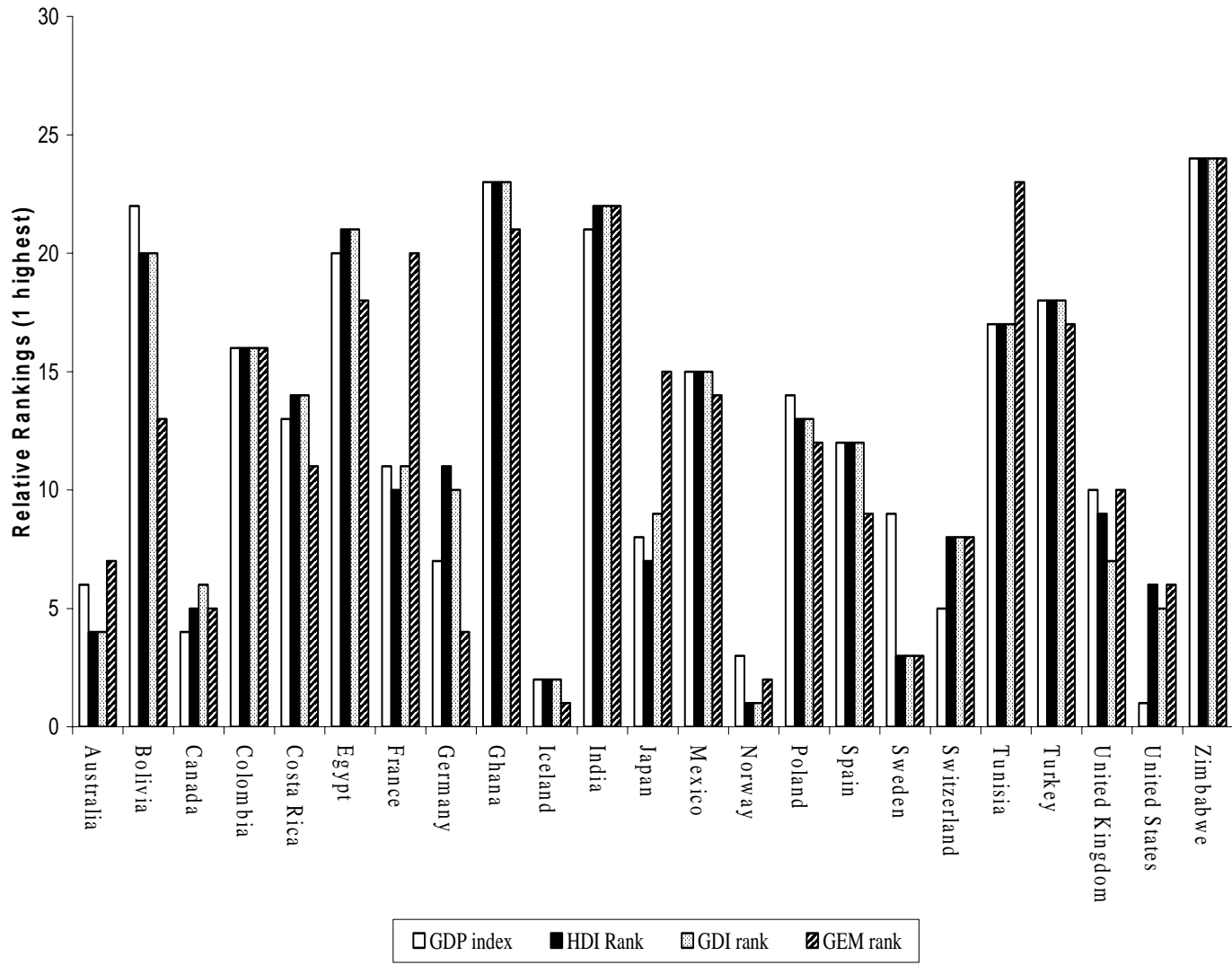


Figure 5
Comparison Democratic Health Measures

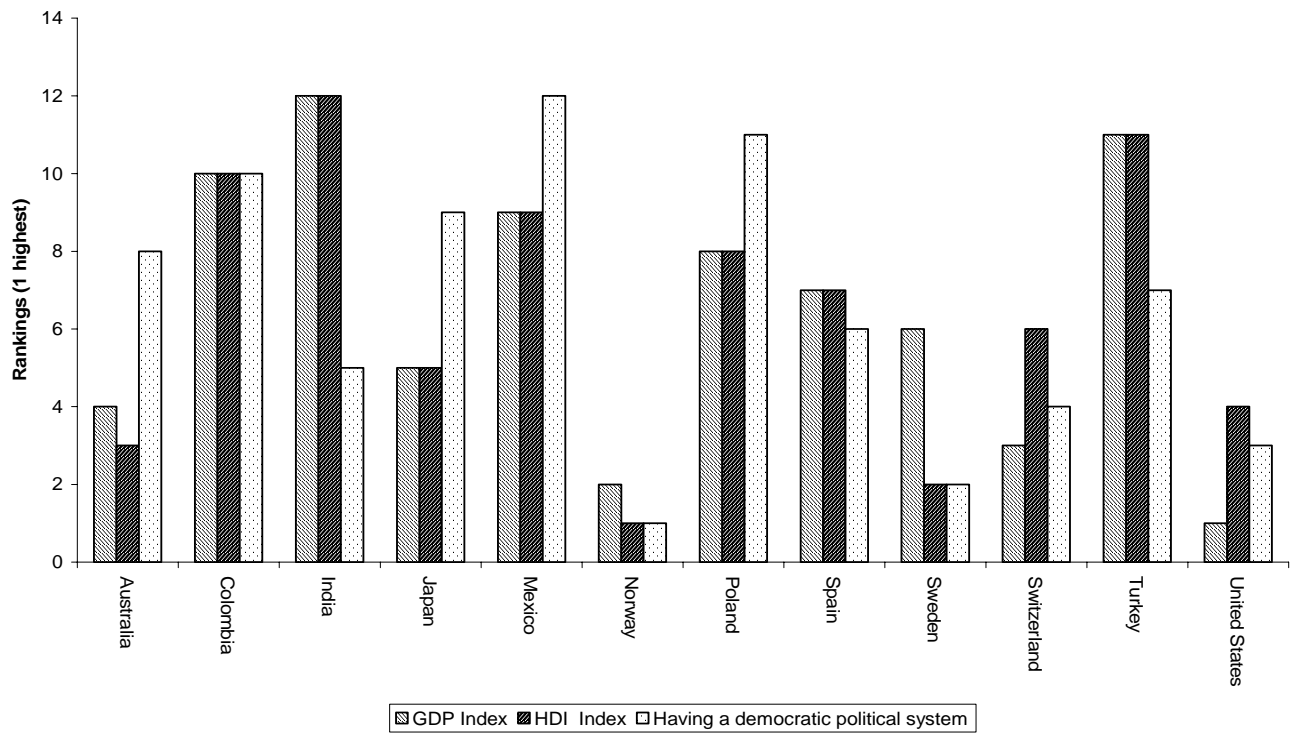


Figure 6: Comparison of Development Measures with Freedom House

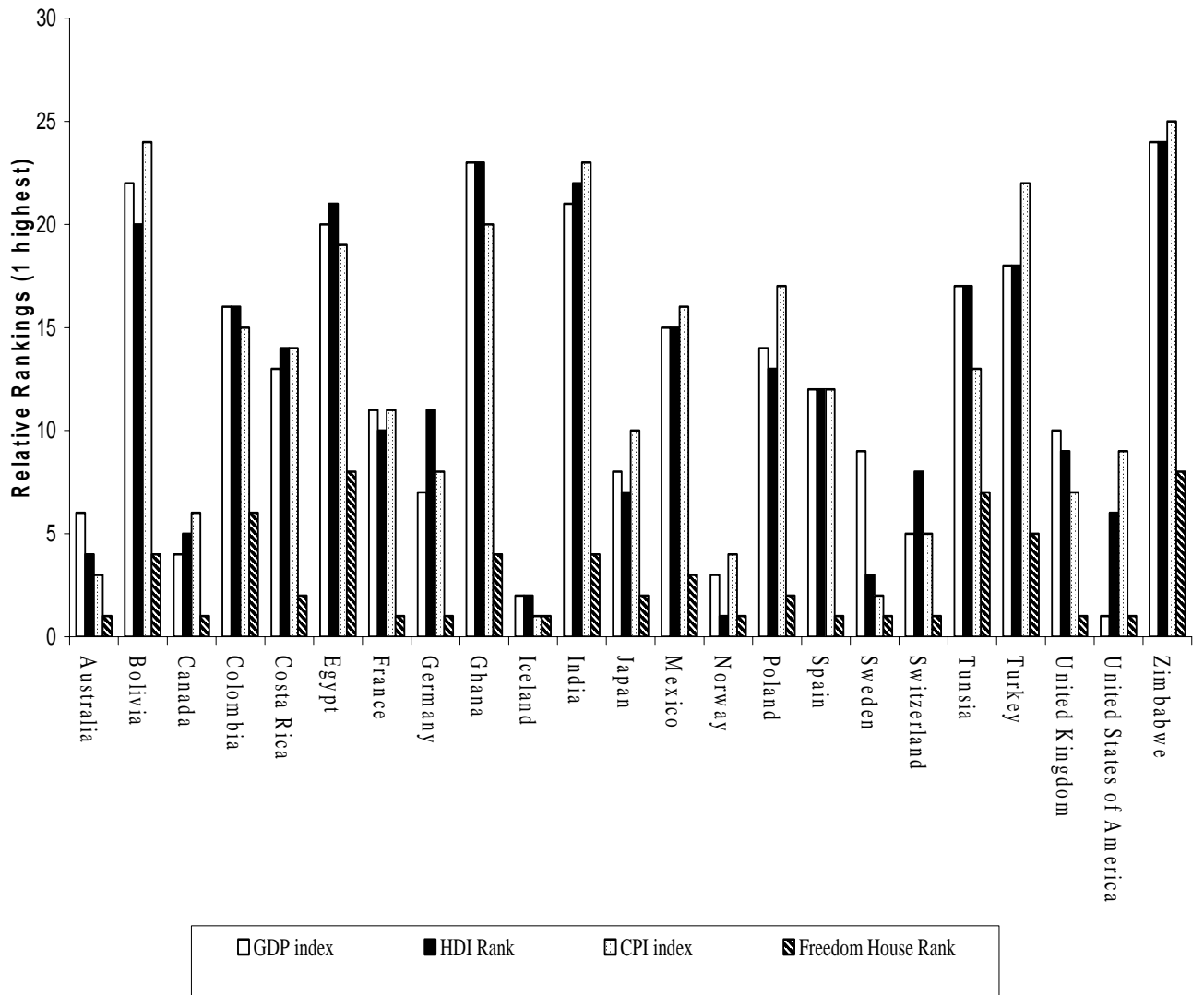


Figure 7: Comparison of Human Capital Measures

