

# Assessing and Analysing Governance in India: Evidence from a New Survey

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## Abstract

As part of the World Governance Survey (WGS) project, a comprehensive assessment of governance at the national level in India was conducted in 2001. 177 experts from four states – Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Delhi and Kerala – completed a questionnaire providing their ratings and comments to 30 indicators of governance. The findings do suggest that even in a country of the diversity and complexity of India it is feasible and valuable to carry out such governance assessments. Nevertheless, due to some methodological challenges, findings are indicative rather than conclusive. The survey does highlight some bright spots, including high levels of freedom of expression and association; high levels of political competition; a respected bureaucracy; and a military that accepts its subordination to civilian government. However, there was an overarching concern that policy-making is rather divorced from the people – especially the poorest members of society. Democracy in India is more impressive in form than substance. More specifically, the survey found that corruption was the most important governance challenge in the country.

## 1. Introduction

The quality of governance is an issue of increasing concern in countries around the world, both developed and developing. The UN Secretary-General has stated, “good governance is perhaps the single most important factor in eradicating poverty and promoting development.” However, a lack of systematic data, both over time within countries as well as between countries around the world, ensures that fundamental questions remain to be answered adequately. How can we best measure governance? How does governance performance differ across time and space? Which are the most critical issues of governance?

By undertaking a set of systematic, comprehensive assessments of governance at the national level, the goal of the World Governance Survey (WGS) was to provide some further insight into these issues.<sup>2</sup> Using a cohesive framework and questionnaire, governance assessments were undertaken in 16 developing and transitional societies, representing 51% of the world’s population. We believe that experience of the project indicates the ability to generate valid and valuable data – despite the contested nature of the governance concept and the considerable methodological problems in collecting data on this set of issues. The project had three main achievements. First, it developed a comprehensive framework and process-oriented set of indicators for assessing governance that were acceptable across the world.

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<sup>1</sup> The author is co-director, with Goran Hyden, of the World Governance Survey project. I have benefited greatly from interactions with Goran Hyden and Ken Mease, Senior Advisor to the project. I am very grateful to Monica Blagescu for excellent research assistance. The usual disclaimer applies. Contact: [court@hq.unu.edu](mailto:court@hq.unu.edu).

<sup>2</sup> The project was carried out in partnership with local institutions in assessment countries – and with generous support from UNU and UNDP. A full background discussion of the conceptualization used in this project is available in Goran Hyden and Julius Court, “Governance and Development: Sorting Out the Basics”, United Nations University, World Governance Assessment Project Working Paper No. 1, February 2001.

Second, it developed and tested a new approach to collecting governance data at the national level. (Our approach is novel for comparative work in that it draws assessments from a cross-section of local experts within each of these societies.) Third, it provided a useful insight into the governance challenges and responses in countries around the world. A preliminary analysis is contained in two papers, one assessing the methodology used and the other reporting on the findings.<sup>3</sup>

For the other countries in the project, one set of surveys was carried out from the capital city. A national coordinator selected a panel of experts to complete the assessment exercise in each country. The panel comprised of well informed persons (WIPs) with extensive experience of the governance realm (e.g. parliamentarians, researchers, lawyers, bureaucrats, etc); around 35 people were interviewed per country. Given the size, complexity and diversity of India however, we decided to carry out surveys in three other regions in India to compare the results to the Delhi-based survey. These surveys were undertaken in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar and Kerala in May-July 2001. The focus remains on governance at the national level. The details of the four assessments are contained in reports by each of the coordinators, providing a very rich discussion of the situation in their own right. They assess the data collection and the credibility of the findings, note major differences in the ratings between dimensions of governance and changes over time, and make suggestions on how to improve the survey process. These reports will be posted on the project website.

This paper concentrates on presenting an outline of the exercise, an assessment of the methodological implications and the main findings. It is organized as follows: the second section outlines how the assessment exercises were completed and discusses some of the associated challenges; the third section compares the findings from the different exercises and highlights some methodological implications; the fourth section outlines some of the changes over time; the fifth section comments on the aggregate scores from India. The final part briefly draws some conclusion for the task of conducting similar governance assessments.

## **2. Data**

### ***Data Collection***

A coordinator was identified to implement the survey in each state. State coordinators were divided between the heads of local research and policy institutes working on governance issues and senior researchers located at local universities. The senior researchers were mostly political scientists. The country coordinators were paid to deliver thirty-five completed questionnaires and to prepare a report. In addition, they were required to transcribe the open-ended comments and enter the results of the completed surveys into an Excel spreadsheet.

The survey was administered to experts or well-informed persons (WIPs) which included people working in the government, business, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), parliament, legal professions, international organizations, the civil service, academia, religious organizations, and the media. These were selected by the country coordinator based

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<sup>3</sup> For details please see Monica Blagescu, Julius Court, Goran Hyden, Ken Mease and Keiko Suzuki, "Assessing and Analyzing Governance," United Nations University, World Governance Assessment Project Background Paper No. 2, August 2001; and Julius Court and Goran Hyden, *Towards a World Governance Assessment: Preliminary Findings* (with G. Hyden), United Nations University, WGS Working Paper No. 3, August 2001.

on instructions to select a cross-section of people who were experienced in, and informed on, governance issues. The WGS was administered in English. The study also used face-to-face interviews, faxes, and emails.

The survey was conducted in four parts of India (for details please refer to the State Reports):

*Andhra Pradesh* – The State of Andhra Pradesh is well known for having a dynamic state government and for initiating an innovative Information Technology based on development strategy. However, literacy remains at around 50% and the urban share of population remains under 40%. (Professor J. George coordinated the Andhra Pradesh assessments.)

*Bihar* – Bihar is seen as India’s poorest and, on most identifiable parameters, worst governed State. The State’s population is estimated at almost 83 million with the lowest literacy rate and per capita income in the country. Bihar is characterized by high levels of political violence, a deep “criminalization” of the political leadership, and continuous low intensity conflicts between various caste and sectarian groups. Arbitrary political interference in the institutions and processes of governance, the pursuit of personal and partisan interests, and a deep erosion of the rule of law are pervasive features of administration in the State. (Dr. Ajai Sahni coordinated the Bihar assessments.)

*Delhi* – Delhi gained statehood at the end of 1993 and has an estimated population of 9.4 million. The capital, New Delhi, is the political heart of the country. It contains the Supreme Court and both houses of parliament - the Lok Sabha or House of the People and the upper house or Rajya Sabha (Council of States). The Delhi area also contains concentrations of the high-growth industry and attracts significant foreign investment. (Professor Niraja Jayal coordinated the Delhi assessments.)

*Kerala* - Kerala has the highest literacy rate in the country. Its Human Development Indices are comparatively high amongst the other Indian states. It is a reform-oriented state, with an active, critical, vocal and highly politicised public, and a number of citizen watchdog organisations. The press, which has considerable freedom, plays an important role in governance. Public involvement in governance has had an unexpected fall-out – that of emphasis being given more to short-term policies because a Government is often voted out of office in the next elections. Its multi-religious society is marked by tolerance, though communal feelings are sometimes artificially whipped up for narrow political reasons. (The Institute of Conflict Management in New Delhi coordinated the Kerala assessments.)

### ***The Questionnaire***

The framework for data collection and analysis adopts a comprehensive view of governance and disaggregates the governance realm into six arenas:

- I. *civil society*, or the way citizens raise and become aware of political issues;
- II. *political society*, or the way societal interests are aggregated in the political process;
- III. *government*, or the stewardship by the executive of the system as a whole;
- IV. *bureaucracy*, or how policies are implemented;
- V. *economic society*, or the relationship between the state and the market; and
- VI. *judiciary*, or how disputes are settled.

Within each arena, we set out indicators based on some widely held “principles” of good governance; these include *participation, fairness, transparency, efficiency, decency, and accountability*. The questionnaire consists of thirty indicators, each using the same five-point response scale. Respondents are asked to rate various issues concerning governance as either very high, high, moderate, low, or very low; the higher the score, the better. Measures have a minimum value of 30 and a maximum value of 150. The survey tries to start to track changes over time by asking concretely what the situation was like five years ago and at present. In addition, respondents were invited to provide qualitative comments; thus the approach also generates very rich qualitative data. See Appendix 1 for the full questionnaire used in the survey.

### ***WIP Coverage by State***

The questionnaire was submitted to different groups of experts knowledgeable about governance issues in 4 states. While it would have been desirable to have an even balance across groups, we aimed for a rough balance between state and non-state respondents (with between 20%-40% from the state). This is important because evidence from our global survey suggests that WIPs in government, parliament and the civil service tend to rate the state of governance a little higher than other WIP groups such as NGOs, business, international organizations, the media, and academia (which are more critical of governance). Within the Indian states, Bihar had more than 40% in the state group, while Andhra Pradesh had 24%. This is important to consider when assessing the findings from the two states.

*Table 1: Number of Experts Interviewed for Each Group in Each State*

<b>WIP Group</b>	<i>Andhra Pradesh</i>	<i>Bihar</i>	<i>Delhi</i>	<i>Kerala</i>	<i>(Total)</i>
Government and Civil Service	7	21	10	14	52
Legislature	4	4	3	2	13
Legal	5	7	3	2	17
Business	3	4	4	3	14
NGO	6	3	3	4	16
Academia	14	13	7	7	41
Media	0	2	3	0	5
Other	7	0	4	8	19
<b>TOTAL</b> (% of which state)	<b>46</b> (24)	<b>54</b> (46)	<b>37</b> (35)	<b>40</b> (35)	<b>177</b> <b>(37)</b>

[Note: State defined as government, civil service and legislature.]

### ***Possible Data Problems***

A previous paper provides an outline and assessment of the various ways of collecting data on governance and the rationale for adopting the well-informed-person (WIP) approach.<sup>4</sup> It also assesses how the WIP approach worked in the various countries and raised issues of

<sup>4</sup> Blagescu et al., *op. cit.*, 2001.

methodological concern. While not repeating all the issues here, it needs to be mentioned that such approach bears certain limitations. It must be reiterated that the findings are based on the subjective opinions of the experts surveyed. The validity of the overall cross-country survey is demonstrated in that the aggregate scores for the 16 countries in the WGS have a very robust correlation (0.84) with the country scores in the Kaufmann et al work on aggregate governance indicators.<sup>5</sup> It was not possible to specifically test the validity for the Indian states in this survey given the lack of data with which to compare our findings (and low number in the sample). However, the coordinators do outline that the approach has worked quite well overall.

The coordinators also highlighted some issues specific to the India case:

*The Data Collection Exercise* – The experience of data collection among the states was mixed in a number of ways. Perhaps because of the governance problems of the state, the Bihar coordinator noted “*The process of data collection, however, proved surprisingly difficult ... the actual levels of resistance were much higher than expected, and extended to virtually every professional group.*” In Delhi, it depended on the governance group. “*Experts from the government, academia, the media and the non-governmental sector were more responsive than those from politics, the law and business, many of whom simply claimed being too busy.*”

*Questionnaire* – There is naturally much more complexity than the surveys could capture for the Indian context. As the Kerala coordinator noted: “Its vast size, its many ethnic, cultural, religious and economic diversities make it a country which defies generalisations.” Although they cannot accurately represent the full complexity, the coordinators agreed that surveys at the national level can provide pointers and general trends with the caveat that they should not lead to stereotyping. With this caveat, there was the general view that the questionnaire seems to depict the main points reasonably.

*WIP Groups* – An exact balance between different groups of WIPs was not possible to achieve. Although the balance varied by state, we did achieve a rough balance overall. This is important because different groups of WIPs tend to rate governance differently. Whereas government officials and civil servants tend to systematically rate governance more highly (and at a similar level), NGOs and academics tend to rate performance more modestly (at a similar level to each other).

*Time Frame* – The answers to most questions in India suggest no significant change over the past five years. Indeed, many experts noted that the five-year comparison is too short a period given the specific historical and political circumstances in India. Some have suggested at least a ten-year or even twenty-year frame to assess differences.

The general methodological challenges encountered and the specific issues highlighted above should be kept in mind when interpreting the results presented here or obtained from applying these data to future studies. However, the perception was that the data collected was valid. The Bihar coordinator noted: “*the relative pattern of responses, in terms of internal trends and connections between various parameters, are consistent.*”

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<sup>5</sup> D. Kaufmann, A. Kraay, and P. Zoido-Lobaton, “Aggregating Governance Indicators”, *World Bank Working Paper*, Washington D.C., The World Bank, 1999.

### 3. Comparing the Findings of the Different Assessment Exercises

India demonstrates a significant decentralization of power between the Central Government and the State Governments. Although the WGA is designed to assess governance at the national level, a wide range of crucial functions that impact on the lives of the general public – including, for example, policing and public order – fall under the authority of State governments. There are wide disparities in the quality of governance as well as in the standards of living between States as a result of this constitutional set-up and due to historical, geographical and socio-cultural factors. It would be expected, therefore, that the responses to various questions in the survey would be deeply influenced by these disparities. As outlined in the introduction, providing an answer to this question was the main point of undertaking the additional assessments in different parts of India. The findings, presented below, are interesting and surprising in terms of the rather similar responses given to the questions.

The questionnaire was organized so as to assess different aspects of the political process. This section will report on how the WIPs in different parts of India assess governance in their respective states. It is organized so that it gives a composite profile of each arena. Given the methodological challenges, we tend not to focus on comparing the ratings for individual questions across countries unless there are issues where the comments by the WIPs and country coordinators in different states clearly reflect the differences in numerical ratings. The findings reported here are only preliminary and not meant to state definite conclusions about the state of governance in India. The data are based on subjective perceptions, not objective indicators. These findings also have to be viewed as tentative in light of the methodological challenges outlined.

*Table 2: Comparing Perceptions of Governance across India: Current Ratings for Arenas*

<b>Region</b>	<i>civil society</i>	<i>political society</i>	<i>government</i>	<i>bureaucracy</i>	<i>economic society</i>	<i>judiciary</i>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Andhra Pradesh	3.18	2.96	3	3.1	2.95	2.96	3.03
Bihar	3.30	3.1	2.8	3.16	2.97	3.05	3.07
Delhi	3.31	3.16	3.3	3.37	3.18	3.07	3.25
Kerala	3.34	3.06	3.11	3.21	2.87	2.95	3.12
<i>Average</i>	<i>3.28</i>	<i>3.07</i>	<i>3.05</i>	<i>3.21</i>	<i>2.99</i>	<i>3.01</i>	<i>3.11</i>
<i>Difference hi-low</i>	<i>0.16</i>	<i>0.20</i>	<i>0.50</i>	<i>0.27</i>	<i>0.31</i>	<i>0.12</i>	<i>0.22</i>

There are a number of general observations that stand out. The first is that WIPs in all four surveys give roughly similar ratings at the aggregate levels. The average rating for the country was “moderate” for all regions, with a range from 3.03 in Andhra Pradesh to 3.25 in Delhi. It does seem surprising that the variation is not more pronounced given the vastly different nature of the regions where the survey was undertaken. This seems to indicate that WIPs are looking beyond local circumstances to give roughly similar governance ratings at the national level.

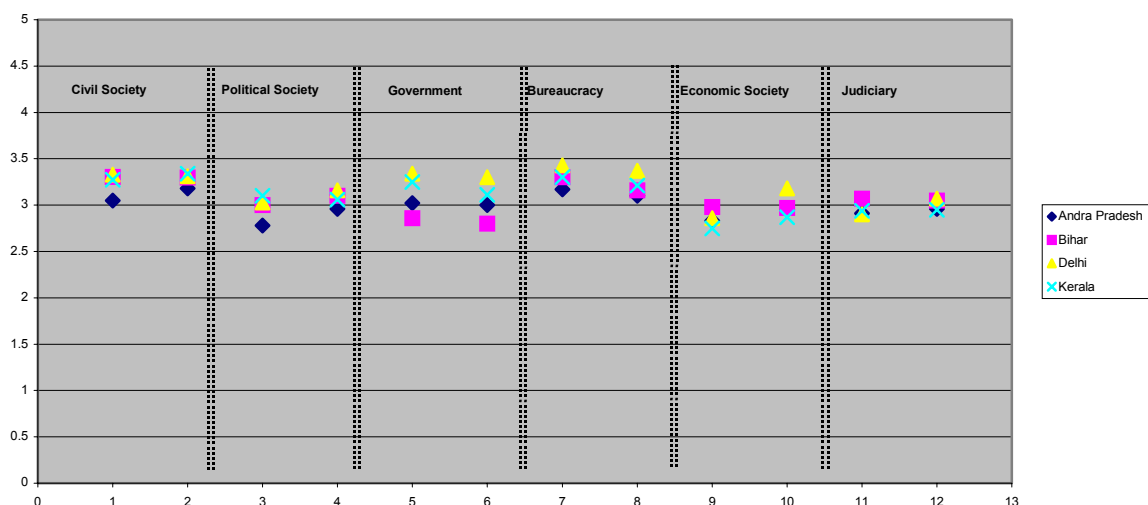
Second, the ratings are relatively similar for many of the arenas – particularly civil society, political society and the judiciary – but with a larger disparity in ratings for the bureaucracy and economic society.

Third, the ratings for the government differ the most markedly – see chart below. This difference is generated by a very high rating for Delhi – likely due to high self-evaluations by bureaucrats and government officials there – contrasting with a very low rating of the government by WIPs in Bihar.

Another important finding that emerges from the chart is that the capital city, Delhi, does give the highest average rating. Delhi WIPs consistently give higher perceptions of governance, essentially for all arenas, than the WIPs in other states. This does point to the importance of also collecting data from experts in other parts of the country not just the capital.

It was also surprising that governance in all the arenas except the government was rated higher by WIPs in Bihar than those in Andhra Pradesh (AP). Bihar is the poorest state (and a very politically troubled state) and AP one of the richest and most open. There are a number of possible issues. The coordinator for Bihar speculated that perhaps respondents in Bihar wanted “to put their best foot forward.” It is also important to note that over 40% of the respondents from Bihar were from the state – and they tend to rate governance better. The reverse is the case in AP: the assessment panel in AP consisted of a large proportion of academics and NGOs. The coordinator estimated that 62 % if the respondents had given an indication of “activism” and would be more critical of the governance realm.

*Chart 1: Comparing Arena Averages for 5 years Ago and Now*



Note: 1 = civil society 5 years ago, 2 = CS now; 3 = political society 5 years ago, 4 = PS now, 5 = government 5 years ago; 6 = government now; 7 = bureaucracy 5 years ago, 8 = bureaucracy now; 9 = economic society 5 years ago, 10 = economic society now; 11 = judicial system 5 years ago, 12 = judicial system now.

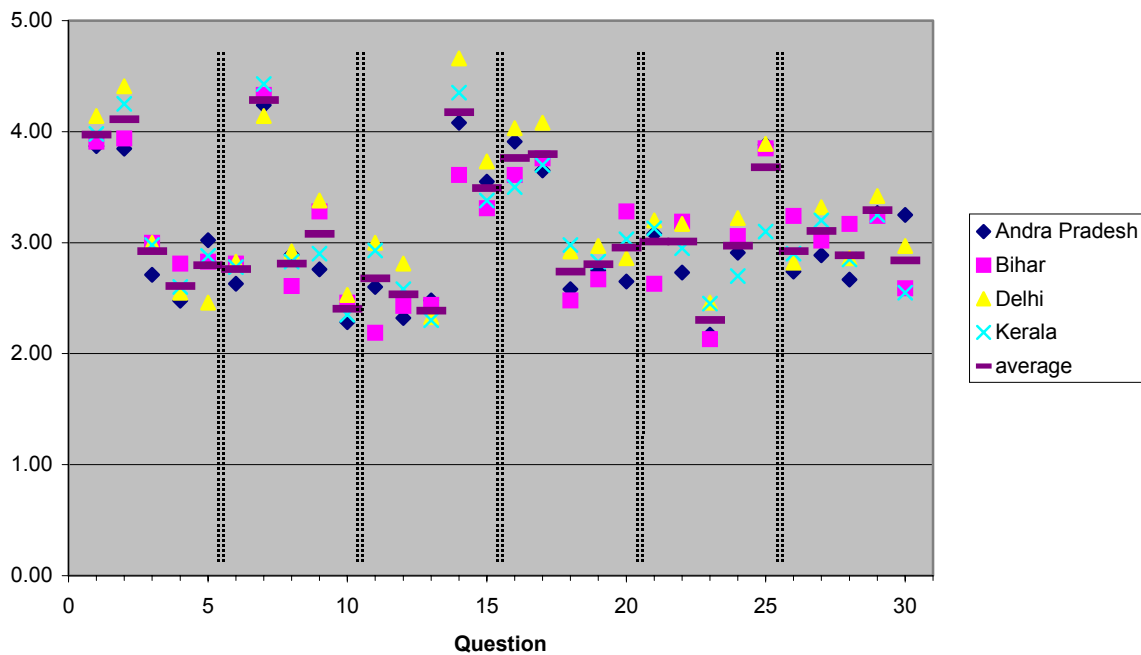
In addition to the points above, one further issue that does emerge from Chart 1 is that there is rather little change over time. This reinforces the point made by all the coordinators that India is a stable democracy and that 5 years is not a suitable time frame for assessing changes in perceptions in the country. It is worthwhile noting that Delhi does seem to register some significant changes over the last 5 years, particularly in the economic society arena (reflecting liberalization) but also in the political society and judiciary scores.

Next, it is worthwhile looking at the current findings for specific questions. Chart 2 (below) shows the average rating for each question by WIPs in the four regions assessed in India. The average of the four regions for each question is given for indicative purposes. The vertical double lines divide the questions into each arena (1-5 for Civil Society, 6-10 for Political Society, etc). There are a number of interesting observations that can be noted here.

The first is that WIPs in all four regions give roughly similar ratings for many of the questions. This is despite the fact that questions within an arena may have very different average responses. For example, within the civil society dimension experts in all four regions agree that freedom of expression (Question 1) is “high” (score of c4.00) in India, whereas they also agree that there is “moderate” (score of c3.00) discrimination in politics (Question 3). There are some medium-large differences, but, overall, the pattern seems to indicate again that WIPs are looking beyond local circumstances to give roughly similar governance ratings at the national level for many of the questions. There is certainly much to be done, but, given the expected disparity in conditions, this is an important finding in terms of methodology.

Reflecting the discussion above, there are some important qualifications. Again, this Chart supports the finding that respondents in Delhi systematically rate governance issues at the national level higher than respondents from other regions. There is more nuance in the picture, but the clear conclusion is that it is important to undertake surveys in different parts of the country not just the capital city.

*Chart 2: Comparing Perceptions across India: Current Ratings for Each Question*



The difference between average ratings of the government arena was noted above and the detailed chart helps to explain why. The main reason is that there is a major difference between the perceptions of experts in Delhi and Bihar regarding the subordination of the military to civilian government (Question 14). While Delhi scores 4.66, Bihar rates it over a full point lower at 3.61. A similar pattern is exhibited in the major difference in perceptions regarding the issue of government commitment to the personal security of citizens (Question



11). This is almost certainly explained by the violence that characterizes politics and society in Bihar. It is interesting to note, however, that it is particularly in this arena that Bihar rates governance much lower than the other regions.

Respondents were also asked to make assessments of how the situation five years ago relates to the present governance situation for each of the 30 questions. Below are the main trends over time in the data.

*Table 3: Trends over Time*

<b>Region</b>	<b>5 years ago</b>	<b>Present</b>	<b>Change</b>
Andhra Pradesh	2.97	3.03	0.06
Bihar	3.08	3.07	-0.01
Delhi	3.18	3.25	0.07
Kerala	3.10	3.09	-0.01
<i>Average</i>	<i>3.08</i>	<i>3.11</i>	<i>0.03</i>

The main point to note is that all regions report very small changes over the last 5 years – two of the regions report a positive change while the other two report a negative change. But the extent of change at the aggregate level is really too small to draw any significant conclusion.

The composite regional averages do hide some different patterns. Compare, for example, the averages by arena for Kerala and Bihar. In Kerala, the declines for three arenas (Political Society, Executive and Bureaucracy) offset improvements in the other three arena. For Bihar, declines in Executive and Bureaucracy arenas offset a rise in Political Society. But, the main point again here is the rather small nature of the changes.

#### **4. Aggregate Scores for India**

There is a massive literature on the topic of governance in India. On one hand, India has been a constitutional democracy since Independence with a clear division of power between the executive, the legislature and an independent judiciary as well as with a decentralization of power between the Central Government and the State Governments. On the other hand, however, there is an extensive literature that outlines many problems of inefficiency, corruption and troubled politics.

Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to highlight a few illustrative examples from the literature where the collected data from the project should provide insights into how a society in political transition deals with governance challenges. The discussions would be based on both quantitative and qualitative data generated by the assessment process. Three sets of issues are mentioned here in way of setting a scene for a detailed discussion of the project findings that follows.

A *first* theme is the increasing importance of non-state organizations as actors in the governance realm. India has seen a “gradual popular political awakening” since the late

1960s.<sup>6</sup> The findings reported here highlight that this process has continued in interesting ways, but that it certainly remains gradual. There has been no political mobilization by the poorest communities in India (see below).

Manor and Segal highlight a *second* theme – as another of the “grand themes that dominate India’s recent political history” – namely the seeming regeneration of the political institutions in the 1990s after their earlier decay.<sup>7</sup> However, although there are some interesting developments, the evidence in our survey does not point to such a clear conclusion in this regard. Rather the surveys point to little overall regeneration – with probably as many setbacks as advances.

*Third*, India and has been involved in economic reform and liberalization processes that have important implications for governance. Recent research on India has naturally concentrated on the shift towards a market economy and the rise of new socio-economic groups. Jayal and Pai<sup>8</sup> highlight this as one of the most significant recent developments in Indian society and politics. The findings of our survey certainly reinforce that there are important developments here – but that the implications are not yet fully apparent.

A *fourth* issue concerns the legal and judicial arena. This is an oft-studied issue and was also one of the main themes of one of the few studies directly comparing governance in India with that of China.<sup>9</sup> Of particular note in India, the WGS project pointed to a number the perceived success, of *Lok Adalats* (People's Courts) and new community dispute-resolution mechanisms.

The rest of this section reports on the aggregate findings of the four WGS assessments in India. It draws on the average ratings and comments provided by all 177 WIPs (37% of whom were from the “state”, the rest from “society”). This does not provide a wholly representative national sample, given that it was undertaken in only four of India’s regions. Given the diversity of India, it is also important to note that surveys at the national level cannot accurately represent each local reality. However, the aggregate findings do reflect the views of a large number of governance experts from very different parts of the country. They are intended to point to general issues and trends.

### ***Overall Ratings***

This section compares the perceived quality of each arena as well as the average score for the country over time. There are a number of interesting observations that emerge from Chart 3 and Table 4. The first point is that the aggregate rating for the country was given as “moderate” with a current average of 3.09, with little change over the last 5 years. Despite its longstanding history of democracy, these findings reflect that India also faces broad problems concerning the legitimacy and efficiency of the governance realm.

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<sup>6</sup> Manor, J. and Segal, G., 1998, “Taking India Seriously” in *Survival*, Vol. 40 No. 2, pp 53-70. Jayal and Pai, *op cit*, also highlight this point.

<sup>7</sup> Manor and Segal, *op cit*.

<sup>8</sup> Jayal, N. G. and Pai, S., eds, 2001, *Democratic Governance in India: Challenges of Poverty, Development and Identity*, New Delhi: Sage.

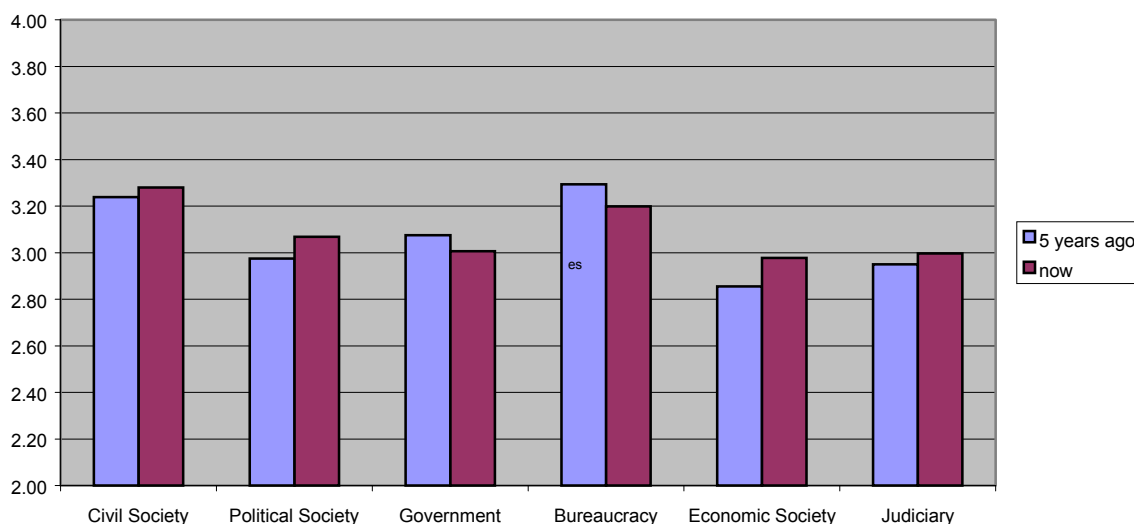
<sup>9</sup> Dethier, J., ed., 2001, *Governance, Decentralization and Reform in China, India and Russia*, Boston: Kluwer.

The next point to notice is that WIPs end up giving roughly similar average ratings for all six arenas. The range for current ratings is from 3.28 for civil society to 2.98 for economic society – with four arenas very close to the moderate (3.0) rating. Civil society scores highest, reflecting the widespread perception regarding the relative strength of associational life in India. Economic society scores lowest, a reflection of a history of strong state regulation of the market.

Table 4: Average Score for India: Comparing Ratings for Arenas

Arena	<i>civil society</i>	<i>political society</i>	<i>government</i>	<i>bureaucracy</i>	<i>economic society</i>	<i>judiciary</i>	<b>Average</b>
5 Years ago	3.24	2.98	3.07	3.29	2.86	2.95	<b>3.06</b>
Now	3.28	3.07	3.01	3.20	2.98	3.00	<b>3.09</b>

Chart 3: Comparing Current Ratings of Governance Arenas in India



Four of the arenas show improvements over the last 5 years. Economic society reports the most significant improvement, almost certainly a reflection of closer state-economy relations since India embarked upon a liberalization programme in 1991. Interestingly, both the government and bureaucracy exhibit drops in perceptions, although the latter still remains relatively highly rated compared to other arenas.

Niraja Jayal, the coordinator of the Delhi survey, provides the most concise and helpful analysis of the governance realm in India:

*“India has managed to sustain a reasonably vibrant democracy and civil society. Elections are frequent and, for the most part, free and fair. While procedural aspects of democratic governance have been largely sustained, the substantive aspects remain elusive. As such, public institutions are inaccessible to large numbers of people – notably the poor and the illiterate – and their agendas remain captives of dominant social groups.*

*Though approximately 30% of India's population still subsists below a rather sparsely defined "poverty line", it has largely failed to use these rights to make demands upon the political system ... Despite a promising institutional context, India's structures of governance seem to have remained ineffectual in fulfilling the basic needs of the citizens.*

### **Comparing Within Arenas<sup>10</sup>**

This section is organized to give a composite profile of each arena in India. It concentrates on the perceived quality of indicators within each arena and any outlying or interesting cases. It is important to differentiate at the level of indicators since an aggregate analysis at the level of arenas often hides a substantial variation in perceptions within each arena. Question-specific analysis often highlights important details.

#### Civil society

The set of indicators here concerns the rules that guide public involvement in the political process. The section focuses on the conditions under which citizens can express their opinions, organize themselves for collective action, compete for influence, have an input into policy, and fulfill their own obligations as citizens by adhering to the rules set for the conduct of public affairs. The results of the India surveys are contained in Table 5.

*Table 5: The Governance-Related Quality of Civil Society*

Freedom of Expression		Freedom of Association		Discrimination in politics		Government open to public input		Citizen respect for rules	
~5yrs	Now	~5yrs	Now	~5yrs	Now	~5yrs	Now	~5yrs	Now
3.70	3.95	4.09	4.08	2.90	2.90	2.47	2.63	3.03	2.82

There are a number of interesting, and divergent, issues that emerge from the WIP ratings. The first point is that freedom of expression and freedom of association score well, with the former showing marked improvement over the last 5 years. The civil liberties and political rights of citizens are seen to be generally respected. As Jayal notes, *"The press is extremely vigilant, sometimes even more than the Opposition."*

However, WIPs note that discrimination in politics remains relatively entrenched. Constitutional guarantees and perceived freedoms clearly do not prevent significant political discrimination along lines of caste, class, language, religion, region or gender. As one WIP notes: *"Caste and gender issues are very profound in politics."*

Similarly, despite the existence of civil freedoms, there is a general impression that government is *not* open to public input into policy. Governments simply do not provide an environment in which such input is facilitated. As one WIP from Delhi laments: *"Government tends to be secretive and conservative in consulting citizens on policy issues."*

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<sup>10</sup> This section reflects the approach used in Working Paper 3, Court and Hyden, 2001, *op. cit.* For comparative data on the international trends, please refer to that paper.

This suggests that civil society and state live a rather separate life, with governments continuing to set the policy agenda much on their own.

The disjuncture between state and civil society (and the persistence of discrimination) may also explain the relatively weak respect for rules of decision-making that are reported in our study. Citizens may be more inclined to break these rules—or find ways around them—if they experience that their own input into public policy is ignored. In this regard it is interesting to note that these findings for India are similar to the general characteristics found in many of the other 22 countries.

### Political Society

This is the arena where public preferences and private interests are supposed to be reconciled and aggregated into policy. The focus here is on the representativeness, influence and accountability of legislators. The findings are reported in Table 6.

*Table 6: The Governance-Related Quality of Political Society*

Representativeness of legislature		Competition for political power		Fair aggregation of public preferences		Impact of legislative branch		Accountability of legislators	
~5yrs	Now	~5yrs	Now	~5yrs	Now	~5yrs	Now	~5yrs	Now
2.70	2.76	3.89	4.29	2.79	2.80	3.02	3.08	2.48	2.41

A few scores do stand out in this table. The first is the relatively low score for the representativeness of the legislature. While this has increased marginally, many respondents did not think the legislature was even “moderately” representative of society. Many point to the lack of representation by religious minorities or women. In particular, the percentage of women in Parliament is estimated at 8%.

Perhaps the most outstanding point is the high score for competition for political power – the current rating of 4.29 is the highest for any indicator in the survey! This indicates that political pluralism is certainly present in India and commentators note that this is something positive in many ways. There has also been a substantial increase over the last 5 years. Commentators link this to the proliferation of regional and caste-based political parties in recent years.

The third point is that the current scores for fair aggregation of public preferences and impact of the legislative branch are over a point below that of competition for political power. It is clear that the existence of competition for power does not seem to translate into either fair aggregation of public preferences or efficient policy-making (there are moderate scores for the impact of the legislative branch). As Jayal explains, “*the articulation of sectional interests represented by each of these (new parties) brings about stalemate, instead of new policies acceptable to everyone.*” Many commentators also note the weak ideological distinctions between political parties.

Fourth – and very noticeable – is the low score for the accountability of legislators. The current score of 2.41 is 1.88 points below the score for competition for power. Comments by respondents indicate as a serious problem that legislators tend to be more accountable to their

parties than to the public. Elections happen every 5 years and commentators note the insensitivity of legislators to public aspirations between elections. As one WIP comments, “*The promises made in election manifestos remain mostly on paper.*” Another notes that, “*Politicians are bought and sold like commodities.*” Again, this is further evidence that policy-making is rather divorced from the people and their interests.

### The Executive

This section reports on how government is assessed in terms of its stewardship of society. Included here are issues like the extent to which government is concerned about ensuring the personal security of citizens and freedom from want, as well as the military’s subordination to civilian government. The findings are reported in Table 7.

*Table 7: The Governance-Related Quality of the Executive*

Ensuring personal security		Ensuring freedom from want		Able to make tough decisions		Civil-military relations		Peaceful resolution of conflicts	
~5yrs	Now	~5yrs	Now	~5yrs	Now	~5yrs	Now	~5yrs	Now
2.82	2.62	2.55	2.51	2.41	2.36	4.11	4.10	3.48	3.45

There are a few issues that merit special comment here. First, a fall in all indicators in this arena (though some are minor) does indicate there is a widespread view that government stewardship has worsened over the last 5 years. The one score that dropped the most markedly was regarding the ability of government to ensure personal security. This does reflect numerous comments about the increase in violence, organized crime and terrorism in some regions over the last decade.

With the high levels of poverty and illiteracy that characterize much of the population and the modest gains over time, there remains a lack of confidence in the government’s commitment to improving the standards of living among citizens, i.e. “ensuring freedom from want.” Some respondents took the question to mean that there was commitment in terms of public statements, but noted there was very little real action on the ground. Others questioned whether the problem is one of lack of commitment or rather a lack of resources to make a difference. Regardless of the definition, the rating remains low, with many commentators also noting that developmental efforts are hampered by corruption.

The data also indicates a very low score regarding the ability of government to make tough decisions in the national interest. This is one of the lowest scores of all indicators. This partly reflects that recent years have been an era of coalition politics in India, in which no single party has enjoyed a majority. One respondent noted that, “*Coalition government has led to poor decision-making in terms of tough long-term decisions.*” As important, however, it appears that the nature of India’s democracy provides no encouragement to make tough decisions. Reflecting numerous comments, one WIP noted, “*leaders shy away from decisions which might affect their fortunes in the short run.*”

One of the most striking findings for this arena was the strong perception that the military is subordinate to a civilian government. This reflects a deeply rooted tradition that the Armed

Forces are strictly professional and accept complete civilian control. One WIP called it “*one of the brightest aspects of Indian governance.*”

### The Bureaucracy

The framework for implementing policy is clearly very important. How the day-to-day management of government operations are structured affects how effective government is seen to be. In this section, therefore, we are interested in assessing the quality of governance as it relates to the bureaucracy. The findings are reported in Table 8.

*Table 8: The Governance-Related Quality of the Bureaucracy*

Scope for expert policy advice		Meritocracy in recruitment		Accountability of civil servants		Transparency in civil service		Equal access to public services	
~5yrs	Now	~5yrs	Now	~5yrs	Now	~5yrs	Now	~5yrs	Now
3.80	3.75	3.96	3.79	2.84	2.71	2.97	2.77	2.90	2.97

Both in international comparison and compared to the ratings for other arenas within India, the bureaucracy scores relatively well. The Indian civil service has a reputation of being the backbone of the government. It is clear in our findings (and from the comments), that Indian WIPs do recognize the bureaucracy’s input into policy (current score of 3.75). It was a widely held view that “*civil servants are an important part of the policy making process.*”

It was also very much the view that recruitment is largely on the basis of merit criteria (current score of 3.79) although reservations are also made for scheduled castes and tribes. While such affirmative action was seen to be important in terms of fairness, a number of WIPs commented that meritocracy had been harmed to some degree. This indicator also exhibits a significant deterioration over the last 5 years, which WIPs have tended to attribute to the increase in “*political interference in appointments.*”

Many WIPs believe that bureaucrats are not really accountable; the accountability indicator received a very low score. This is largely because civil service positions have security of tenure and because the processes of holding bureaucrats accountable are complicated and time consuming. While institutions do exist – Audits, Vigilance Commission, Ombudsman – they exhibit little control. So too, commentators note that neither the judiciary nor public monitoring organizations have had much influence.

It is also significant to look at the changes over the last 5 years. There has been a fall in four of the five indicators in this dimension – and for the indicators for meritocracy, transparency and accountability of the bureaucracy, this fall has been quite substantial. In contrast, and surprisingly so, there was an improvement in the rating for access to public services – a small rise from 2.90 to 2.97. It is also surprising that the score is near moderate given the diversity in state situations as outlined previously and the serious economic and social inequality in

India.<sup>11</sup> The comments of many experts were along the lines that: “*Standards are good in urban areas. In rural areas, the rich and powerful corner most of the public services.*”

### Economic Society

This term refers to the interface between state and market. All governments regulate and oversee the market to some degree and also provide public goods (to varying degrees) that may not be produced by the market alone. The way the relations between the public and private sectors are structured is important. The findings are reported in Table 9.

*Table 9: The Governance-Related Quality of Economic Society*

Respect for property rights		Equal application of regulations		Corrupt transactions		Consultation on policy		International economic issues	
~5yrs	Now	~5yrs	Now	~5yrs	Now	~5yrs	Now	~5yrs	Now
3.12	2.96	2.99	2.99	2.28	2.29	2.71	2.97	3.18	3.67

The clearest issue that emerges here is the high rate of “corrupt transactions.” Remaining just under 2.3, the score for the issue of corruption is the lowest of all the indicators in the India survey. It is clear that WIPs believe that obtaining a business license is associated with paying bribes. Government officials do not hesitate to ask for a “piece of the cake” when business transactions are being negotiated. There are multiple comments of a general character to suggest that bribery is quite common in the transactions between government and the private sector.<sup>12</sup> As one WIP dejectedly put it: “*Right from birth to death nothing happens without bribery and corruption. People can neither live nor die with dignity.*”

On the issue of globalization, we asked respondents how much the government accounts for the new international rules of trade, finance and technology into formulating policy. Several respondents have rightly commented that this question contains references to too many things in one. Moreover, it only asks whether governments have taken these issues into consideration in formulating policy, not necessarily in implementing policy.

These shortcomings notwithstanding, respondents had a relatively high appreciation of government’s consideration of international economic issues in making policy. There has also been a rapid rise over the last five years, from 3.18 to a current score of 3.67. Substantive comments by the respondents support the perception that there is approval for the economic liberalization policies implemented since 1991 – events that many in the country see as a turning point. This does not mean that respondents are blind to the potential adverse effects of globalization. Several make references to the challenges that these new policies pose to the poorer segments of society.

The findings point to varied implications for India’s business community. As one WIP notes: “*India was and still is a mixed economy, with the state gradually beginning to disengage*

<sup>11</sup> In answering the question, it is possible that there was some confusion between the equal availability of public services on paper and the inequality of access in reality. But, this does not negate the surprise that there was an increase in ratings for this issue, when all the others declined.

<sup>12</sup> A number of commentators note that liberalization has meant “*the number of activities for which licenses are needed are reducing.*” However, these sentiments are not reflected in the ratings.



*itself from a number of commercial activities.*” On one hand, there is certainly a better relationship between the state and private sector, which had been antagonistic previously. The findings point to a significant improvement in consultations on policy between government and business. The increased consideration of international economic issues is seen as necessary and thus also as largely positive. But, on the other hand, the findings strongly indicate that corruption remains the biggest problem – and there has been essentially no improvement over the last five years. Also, worryingly, respect for property rights was seen to decline over the last 5 years.

### The Judiciary

This is typically referred to as the third branch of government. Societies produce their own dispute or conflict solving institutions, the most important being the courts that resolve conflicts of both a civil (between private parties) and public nature. In this survey we gathered data on how easily members of the public have access to justice, how transparently justice is being administered, how accountable judges are, how open national rights regimes are to international legal norms, and the scope for non-judicial forms of conflict resolution. The findings are reported in Table 10.

*Table 10: The Governance-Related Quality of the Judiciary*

Access to justice		Transparency in judicial process		Accountability of judicial officials		Incorporation of international legal norms		Non-judicial process of conflict resolution	
~5yrs	Now	~5yrs	Now	~5yrs	Now	~5yrs	Now	~5yrs	Now
2.99	2.95	3.15	3.06	2.99	2.90	3.02	3.28	2.60	2.80

Since the judiciary in India has the authority to adjudicate on the constitutionality of any law passed by the Parliament, it does play a particularly important role in the context of this survey. In the past, the judiciary was seen as the most respected branch of government in India, but its image has undergone steady erosion. Overall, the rating for the judiciary in our survey was lower than for the other arenas except economic society. There was a slight improvement for the arena as a whole, but the individual indicators show divergent trends. The ratings for access to justice, transparency and accountability had worsened somewhat, but were offset by significant increases in the ratings for incorporation of international legal norms and use of non-judicial processes.

While many noted that the higher courts in India were impressive, on the whole there was widespread dissatisfaction with the Indian justice system. There are three main types of critical comments. One is that “money buys justice”. The rich have easier access to justice, due to the legitimate costs involved as well as to corrupt payments. The second set of comments refers to the slow processing of cases. “Justice delayed is justice denied” is a proposition that virtually all of the respondents agree with and highlight as a critical problem. One WIP commented that: *“Although in theory justice is accessible to all, because of the enormous delay and the high costs involved, virtually only those with massive resources are able to get real justice.”* Along similar lines another noted that: *“People can hardly afford the legal expenses, delays make justice almost unavailable and legal aid to poor is a farce in reality.”* Thirdly, there were many comments about corruption in the police and their

ineffectiveness in providing security for citizens. A commentator notes that: *“Policing is woefully inadequate and dependent entirely on influence and pressures.”*

It is interesting to look at the community justice institutions for resolving conflicts that are not or cannot be taken to court. This form of local justice did not rate particularly well for India (in international comparison) but there has been a marked improvement over the last 5 years. Reporting on the surveys in Delhi, Jayal notes that, *“Since justice at the higher levels is both delayed and expensive, the poor have little real recourse to it. They are therefore largely dependent upon lower courts, where corruption and stalling by lawyers and middlemen is increasingly rampant. Public Interest Litigation has proved to be a useful innovation, but it also has limitations. Lok Adalats (People's Courts) and other dispute-resolution mechanisms are increasingly necessary, and some efforts are being made to evolve these.”* The perception of the WIPs certainly indicates that these community mechanisms appear to be improving and deserve further support.

A special comment is warranted here on the question dealing with the incorporation of international human rights norms. The survey only asked respondents to comment on the extent to which these norms from various international conventions have been adopted. They were generally ready to admit that this process has been ongoing in recent years, but many respondents also pointed out that this incorporation has taken place “on paper” only. We recognize, therefore, that the high scoring recorded on this question probably does not reflect the *de facto* situation in India.

## **5. Conclusion**

Attempting systematic, comprehensive, empirical assessments of national governance is a relatively new endeavor and much of what has been done in this project is without precedent. The research certainly presented us with significant challenges, yet a lot has been learnt from the exercise. The findings do suggest that there is great merit in this type of work, although they also point to the need for improvements in design.

The extra assessments in India were specifically undertaken to establish the viability of carrying out a full-scale governance assessment in a country of great diversity and complexity and they have been very useful in helping to answer this question. Overall, the findings do suggest that such an exercise is feasible and that it would be valuable in helping us to better understand the processes of governance. A key conclusion is that great diversity within a country does not present a major problem to assessing governance at the national level. For most issues, WIPs in very diverse parts of the country gave relatively similar assessments of governance at the national level. There were also certainly specific issues where this was not the case for India and where state issues affected the expert's views significantly, but it was surprising that the number of such cases was relatively low. Although the figures are very small, it also does seem that respondents in Delhi tend to rate governance slightly higher than respondents in other parts of the country. While this is not statistically significant, it does seem prudent to conduct surveys nationally rather than just to focus on experts in the capital city alone.

Although due to methodological challenges the findings are indicative rather than conclusive, the aggregate results of the assessment exercises in India do point to some interesting issues. India's governance realm certainly has some bright spots. These include:

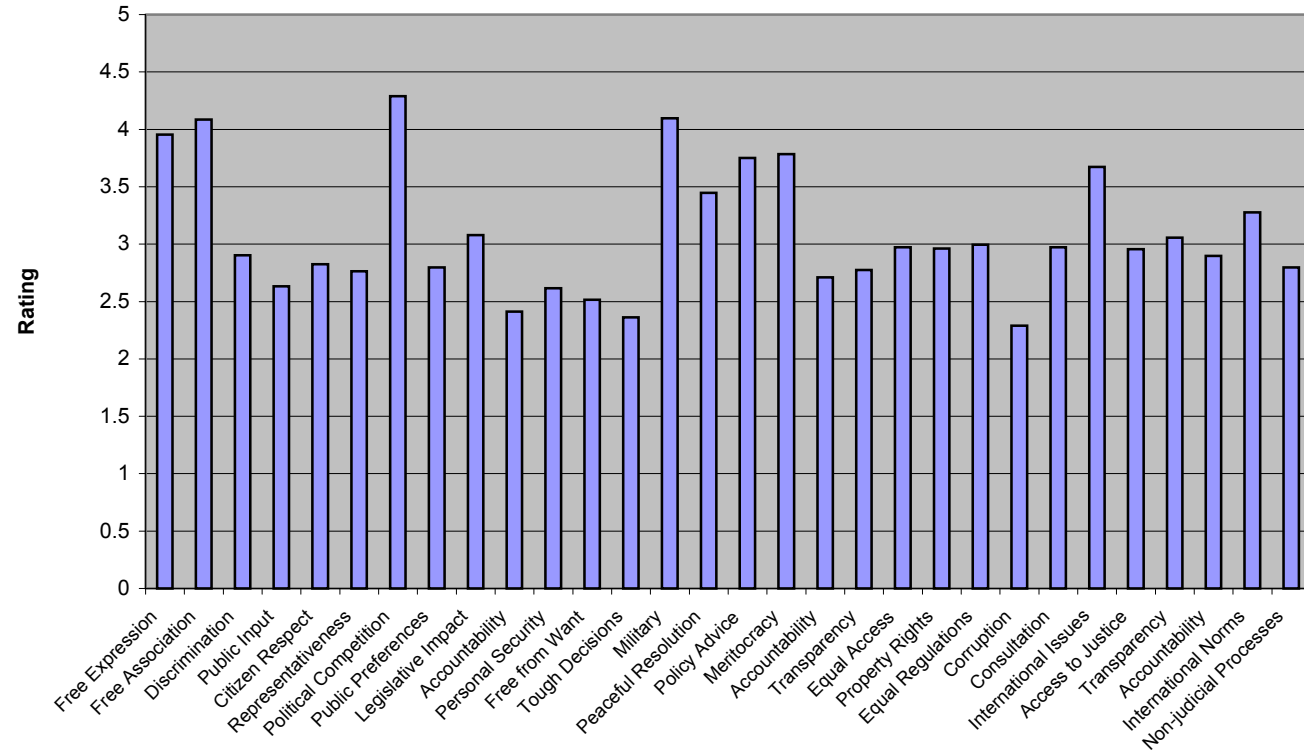
- High levels of freedom of expression and association;
- High levels of political competition, with increasing number of political parties;
- The bureaucracy remains relatively well rated overall, although there is concern that standards are falling;
- The military accepts its subordination to civilian government.

The findings also pointed to some governance challenges in India. In particular, the policy priorities reflect an overarching concern that policy-making is rather divorced from the people and their interests; policy does not reflect public preferences. The government is not open to public inputs and there is very low accountability of legislators to the public. While democracy is widely seen to exist in form (with free and fair elections on a regular basis), in substance it is perceived as much more stunted.

There were also a number of specific policy priorities based on the findings of the exercise. First, it was very clear that corruption remains the number one challenge to business. Second, there is a need to improve access to justice – making justice more timely and less costly. In this regard the Lok Adalats (People's Courts) and other community mechanisms seem to be improving and could be further encouraged.

\* \* \* \* \*

### Appendix: Current Governance Ratings for India



## **Appendix 1: Governance Perceptions Questionnaire**

This survey is the pilot phase of a project to get systematic information on governance for countries around the world. This pilot survey is being conducted in over 40 countries by the United Nations University (UNU) and local partner institutions around the world. The ultimate goal is to better understand what aspects of governance matter most and to provide informed policy advice in this area.

In order that we can make effective comparisons over time and across countries, the survey instrument is a pre-coded, multiple-choice questionnaire. It is important to answer all the questions. Your answers should reflect your experience and perceptions of governance for your country.

We are well aware that these standard questions cannot capture the full complexity of governance issues. Therefore, in addition to indicating which standard answer comes closest to describing your case, please provide additional comments to better explain the situation in your country. Also please add comments if there have been important changes in governance contexts over the last five years, noting the date and nature of these changes. We will take these comments into account when we analyze the findings.

The questionnaire should be filled in by an expert who has extensive experience and can answer questions on the main dimensions of governance in the respective country for the past 5 years. Such an expert should be able to fill in the questionnaire in a maximum of 1 hour. Please contact the country coordinator if you would like further clarification on the aims of the project or regarding specific questions.

Note: The information obtained will be treated with the strictest confidence.

Coordinator's Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Country: \_\_\_\_\_

Name of Expert: \_\_\_\_\_

Position of Expert:

Government	<input type="checkbox"/>	Parliament	<input type="checkbox"/>	Civil Service	<input type="checkbox"/>
Business	<input type="checkbox"/>	Legal	<input type="checkbox"/>	Academia	<input type="checkbox"/>
NGO	<input type="checkbox"/>	International Org.	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other _____	<input type="checkbox"/>

Experience with \_\_\_\_\_  
governance issues: \_\_\_\_\_

Please send me a copy of the country findings. (Provide address below)

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Please return all documents to:

Governance Survey - United Nations University  
5-53-70 Jingumae, Shibuya-ku, Tokyo, T 150-8925 JAPAN  
Tel: 81 3 3499 2811; Fax: 81 3 3499 2810; Email: [court@hq.unu.edu](mailto:court@hq.unu.edu)

The questionnaire comprises 30 questions and is divided into 6 parts.

Part I: covers the extent of participation in the political process.

Part II: covers the way interests in society are aggregated in the political process.

Part III: covers government stewardship of the system as a whole.

Part IV: covers policy implementation, particularly the bureaucracy.

Part V: covers the relationship between the state and the market.

Part VI: covers dispute resolution, particularly the judiciary.

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PART I: PARTICIPATION IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS

**1. To what extent do citizens have the freedom of expression?**

*This indicator tries to capture the formal and informal rules that affect people's opportunities to seek, receive and impart information. This indicator would also cover how well the media or other formal or informal channels reflect the views of others than those in power or dominant groups.*

		<b>5 years ago</b>	<u>Now</u>
(5)	very high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(4)	high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(3)	moderate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(2)	low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	very low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_

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**2. To what degree do citizens have the freedom of peaceful assembly and association?**

*This indicator tries to capture the degree of restrictions to people's opportunities to participate peacefully in the public realm – to join associations or to gather in public. It also includes the right that no-one is compelled to belong to an association.*

		<b>5 years ago</b>	<u>Now</u>
(5)	very high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(4)	high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(3)	moderate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(2)	low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	very low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_

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**3. To what extent is there discrimination in politics?**

*As a governance issue, the level of discrimination is an important indicator of the potential for different groups to enter the political process. Here we refer to distinction according to race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.*

		<b>5 years ago</b>	<u>Now</u>
(1)	very high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(2)	high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

- |     |          |                          |                          |
|-----|----------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| (3) | moderate | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (4) | low      | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (5) | very low | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

**4. To what extent do governments facilitate public discussion on major shifts in policy?**

*For governments to formulate effective policies there will need to be mechanisms for consultation with different groups in society. Mechanisms to promote participation include consultations with citizens groups, public forums or referendums, for example.*

- |     |           | <b>5 years ago</b>       | <u>Now</u>               |
|-----|-----------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| (5) | very high | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (4) | high      | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (3) | moderate  | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (2) | low       | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (1) | very low  | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

**5. To what extent do citizens respect the system of rule-making?**

*The support (or lack of it) that citizens provide for the public realm is an important governance issue. Indicators of responsibilities to society would include issues such as payment of taxes, turning out to vote and not committing crime, for example.*

- |     |           | <b>5 years ago</b>       | <u>Now</u>               |
|-----|-----------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| (5) | very high | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (4) | high      | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (3) | moderate  | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (2) | low       | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (1) | very low  | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

**We would appreciate any further comments on the issues affecting participation in the political process. What are some priorities for reform in your country? What important issues does the questionnaire not cover?**

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

PART II: INTEREST AGGREGATION IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS

**6. To what extent is the legislature representative of society?**

This would cover, for example, the degree to which the legislature contains women or minority groups.

		<b>5 years ago</b>	<u>Now</u>
(5)	very high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(4)	high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(3)	moderate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(2)	low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	very low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**7. To what degree is there real competition for political power?**

Competition is often between political parties. But it need not only be the case. For example, there are examples where there is only one party but the level of competition is high within that party. Competition is essentially non-existent in a dictatorship.

		<b>5 years ago</b>	<u>Now</u>
(5)	very high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(4)	high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(3)	moderate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(2)	low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	very low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**8. To what extent does the policy-making process fairly reflect public preferences?**

*Ideally, interest aggregation implies being able to fairly accommodate competing preferences into public policy. The contrasting situation would be if the views of certain groups were excluded or if policy was primarily formulated in the interests of dominant groups.*

		<b>5 years ago</b>	<u>Now</u>
(5)	very high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(4)	high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(3)	moderate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(2)	low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	very low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**9. To what extent does the legislative function affect policy content?**



*On one hand, the legislature may play a decisive role in shaping policy. In contrast, it might only play a rubber stamping function.*

		<b>5 years ago</b>	<u>Now</u>
(5)	very high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(4)	high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(3)	moderate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(2)	low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	very low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

**10. To what extent are legislators accountable to the public?**

For many countries, this will refer to the effectiveness of the electoral system. But there could be other ways that legislators might be accountable to the public.

		<b>5 years ago</b>	<u>Now</u>
(5)	very high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(4)	high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(3)	moderate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(2)	low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	very low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

**We would appreciate any further comments on the issues affecting interest aggregation in the political process. What are some priorities for reform in your country? What important issues does the questionnaire not cover?**

\_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

**PART III: GOVERNMENT STEWARDSHIP**

**11. To what extent is the government committed to ensuring the personal security of citizens?**

There is a wide range of threats to personal security that governments can influence. These include fear of torture, arbitrary detention, crime, ethnic conflict and domestic violence, for example.

		<b>5 years ago</b>	<u>Now</u>
(5)	very high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(4)	high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(3)	moderate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(2)	low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	very low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**12. To what extent is the government committed to ensuring an adequate standard of living for citizens?**

Equally important is the issue of how government promotes basic economic and social development. This includes issues such as the right to work and the right to social security, for example.

		<b>5 years ago</b>	<u>Now</u>
(5)	very high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(4)	high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(3)	moderate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(2)	low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	very low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**13. To what extent are leaders encouraged to make tough decisions that are in the national interest?**

Long-term reforms may be necessary for a country but may have drawbacks in the short term. In contrast, short-term populist measures may be harmful in the long run.

		<b>5 years ago</b>	<u>Now</u>
(5)	very high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(4)	high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(3)	moderate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(2)	low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	very low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**14. To what extent does the military accept its subordination to a civilian government?**

*On one hand, the military may play a professional role without engaging in politics. At the other extreme, the military might be entrenched in power. Or the military may exercise influence by infiltrating the political realm in other ways.*

		<b>5 years ago</b>	<u>Now</u>
(5)	very high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(4)	high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(3)	moderate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(2)	low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	very low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**15. To what extent is the government committed to peaceful resolution of internal conflicts?**

*An emphasis on peaceful resolution of conflicts within countries is important for personal security as well as for national stability and economic development. Alternatively, governments may incite or use conflict for reasons that are harmful to the security and life of individual citizens.*

		<b>5 years ago</b>	<u>Now</u>
(5)	very high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(4)	high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(3)	moderate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(2)	low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	very low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_  
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**We would appreciate any further comments on the issues affecting overall stewardship of the governance realm. What are some priorities for reform in your country? What important issues does the questionnaire not cover?**

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**PART IV: POLICY IMPLEMENTATION, ESPECIALLY THE BUREAUCRACY**

**16. To what extent are higher civil servants part of the policy-making process?**

*The extent to which power is given to specialized agencies to formulate policy indicates a strong role for bureaucrats. The existence of deep layers of political appointments in the bureaucracy would indicate a lesser role.*

		<b>5 years ago</b>	<u>Now</u>
(5)	very high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(4)	high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(3)	moderate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(2)	low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	very low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_  
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**17. To what extent is there a merit-based system for recruitment into the civil service?**

*The degree of merit in the rules guiding recruitment has long been regarded as a key issue for successful policy implementation, regulation and provision of services. This could include a specific exam, the need to have objective entry requirements or an independent body on public service employment.*

		<b>5 years ago</b>	<u>Now</u>
(5)	very high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(4)	high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(3)	moderate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(2)	low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	very low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_  
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**18. To what extent are civil servants accountable for their actions?**

The degree of accountability of civil servants - for corruption or other forms of misuse of public office - is an important indicator of governance. Audits, ombudsman institutions, public censure or courts, if effective, are mechanisms of how civil service accountability can be exercised.

		<b>5 years ago</b>	<u>Now</u>
(5)	very high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(4)	high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(3)	moderate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(2)	low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	very low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_  
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**19. To what extent are there clear decision-making processes in the civil service?**

*Clear rules could reduce or eliminate the risk of misuse of public office whereas unclear rules could encourage it. The rules could be in the form of a code of conduct, informal systems or the presence of laws that make official documents open to the public.*

		<b>5 years ago</b>	<u>Now</u>
(5)	very high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(4)	high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(3)	moderate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(2)	low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	very low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_  
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**20. To what extent is there equal access to public services?**

*The state may make extra effort to ensure equal access to public services, in remote areas or marginalized groups. In contrast, certain groups or regions may not have any access to services.*

		<b>5 years ago</b>	<u>Now</u>
(5)	very high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(4)	high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(3)	moderate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(2)	low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

(1) very low

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_

**We would appreciate any further comments on the issues affecting policy implementation, particularly the bureaucracy. What are some priorities for reform in your country? What important issues does the questionnaire not cover?**

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**PART V: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE STATE AND THE MARKET.**

**21. To what extent do persons in public office promote respect for property rights?**

*Those in positions of public authority have a vital role in ensuring that property rights, whether private, common or public, are respected. This would include not directly appropriating property and by providing protection from crime or other threats to property.*

		<b>5 years ago</b>	<u>Now</u>
(5)	very high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(4)	high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(3)	moderate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(2)	low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	very low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_

**22. To what extent are economic regulations applied equally to firms in the economy?**

*Applying and enforcing regulations equally is important for the business climate. The other extreme is where regulations are applied in an ad hoc manner or where special treatment is given to cronies of those in power.*

		<b>5 years ago</b>	<u>Now</u>
(5)	very high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(4)	high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(3)	moderate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(2)	low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	very low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_

**23. To what extent is obtaining a business license associated with corrupt transactions?**

*The issue here is whether a business license can be obtained in a straightforward and transparent manner or does it involve a number of other transactions that go contrary to the stated rules and regulations.*

		<b>5 years ago</b>	<u>Now</u>
(1)	very high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(2)	high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(3)	moderate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(4)	low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(5)	very low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_  
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**24. To what extent is there consultation on policy between public and private sector actors?**

*Issues relevant here include, among others, the existence and nature of consultation committees and whether firms or business associations are systematically consulted about potential changes in economic policy.*

		<b>5 years ago</b>	<u>Now</u>
(5)	very high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(4)	high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(3)	moderate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(2)	low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	very low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_  
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**25. To what extent does the government take the new rules of global trade, finance and technology flows into account when formulating policy?**

*International economic interactions (trade, finance and technology flows) have become an increasingly significant factor in national development. The challenge is how to manage these processes so as to enhance the benefits and reduce the negative effects upon people.*

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(5)	very high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(4)	high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(3)	moderate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(2)	low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	very low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_  
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**We would appreciate any further comments on the issues affecting the relationship between the state and the market. What are some priorities for reform in your country? What important issues does the questionnaire not cover?**

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**PART VI: DISPUTE RESOLUTION, PARTICULARLY THE JUDICIARY**

**26. To what extent is there equal access to justice for citizens?**

Legal aid and other services may make the judicial arena a more even playing field for all citizens. In contrast, citizens may be prevented from going to court for security, financial or other reasons.

		<b>5 years ago</b>	<u>Now</u>
(5)	very high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(4)	high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(3)	moderate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(2)	low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	very low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_

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**27. To what extent are there clear decision-making processes in the judicial system?**

*If procedures are clear and are systematically followed, it is likely to make the role that the judiciary plays more respected. Decision-making includes not just what happens in the courtroom but all other aspects associated with a legal case, including for example the way evidence is collected.*

		<b>5 years ago</b>	<u>Now</u>
(5)	very high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(4)	high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(3)	moderate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(2)	low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	very low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_

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**28. To what extent are judicial officials accountable for their actions?**

Decisions may not be made in an objective manner, due to reasons of political interference or corruption for example. Mechanisms such as appeal, judicial review and special inquiries, if effective, are examples of how legal service accountability can be exercised.

		<b>5 years ago</b>	<u>Now</u>
(5)	very high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(4)	high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(3)	moderate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(2)	low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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|-----|----------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| (1) | very low | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
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Comments: \_\_\_\_\_

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**29. To what extent are international legal norms in the human rights field being incorporated into the national rights regime?**

*Partly at stake here is whether governments sign and ratify international human rights conventions. More important, however, is the degree to which the legal profession incorporates the agreed international norms into the national legal system.*

- |     |           | <b>5 years ago</b>       | <u>Now</u>               |
|-----|-----------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| (5) | very high | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (4) | high      | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (3) | moderate  | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (2) | low       | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (1) | very low  | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_

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**30. To what extent are non-judicial processes in place for fair resolution of conflicts?**

*Conflicts arise at different levels and societies develop varied institutional arrangements to cater for these eventualities. The extent and importance of such arrangements, through NGOs or community groups for example, is an important governance concern.*

- |     |           | <b>5 years ago</b>       | <u>Now</u>               |
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| (5) | very high | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
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| (3) | moderate  | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (2) | low       | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (1) | very low  | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_

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**We would appreciate any further comments on the issues affecting dispute resolution, especially the judiciary. What are some priorities for reform in your country? What important issues does the questionnaire not cover?**

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**OTHER GENERAL COMMENTS**



