

Roads to Democracy and Governance

民主的な国づくりへの支援に向けて

—— ガバナンス強化を中心に ——

[要約版]



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Japan International Cooperation Agency**

Foreword

With the collapse of the Cold War system and globalization, we are presently progressing toward a worldwide movement for democratization, liberalization and marketization. Concurrently, a democratic system increases citizen participation in development and governance, and reduce the unrest among the populace due to State political persecution, disputes, and wars, as well as hunger. It also creates a situation where the populace can exercise their will. Further, this situation is an indispensable framework for ensuring the mid and long term stability of the State and the advancement of development. The international community has decided to actively increase the opportunities for supporting democratization, especially in the developing world. At the G-8 summit meeting, a commitment to democracy and to the efforts necessary to achieve democratization was made. Japanese government located a promotion of democratization as one of the fundamental principles of development assistance at a Cabinet Meeting in Japan in 1992.

This study investigated how democratization in the developing world should be supported with these principles in mind. Analytically, democratization was divided into three fundamental elements: a democratic political system; institutions which make democracy work (governance); and a socio-economic foundation for democracy. Then, an analysis was made of the issues and current conditions of democratization in the regions of East and South East Asia, South West Asia, Central and South America, and Africa. On the basis of these observations, proposals for the future implementation of democracy assistance were undertaken. Analysis was undertaken according to each region, as the history, present conditions and issues of democratization vary from region to region. Furthermore, because conditions vary according to country, even between countries in the same region, further extensive classifications of countries were undertaken, and investigations carried out to establish what should be the priorities of assistance. Improvements in governance have also been analyzed in terms of a “governance index” using investigative data from such donor institutions as the World Bank.

In this study, based on regional analysis and on the various types of international support involved, proposals for the future implementation of democracy assistance are considered, as well as a prioritizing of the issues. First, it was necessary to define precisely the terms we use to describe the process. The definitions of the terms ‘democracy’ and ‘governance’ have varied greatly from one donor country to another, and from one period of time to another. However, all donor countries share a common definition of their role in that they create an ‘essential institutions and capacity for both government and civil society so as to ensure sustainable development.’ With this definition in mind, it is essential that an investigation is made into what sort of framework, and what efforts are needed, for each country. In addition to an understanding the characteristics of each country in relation to democratization, it is also very constructive to consider the various classifications of each country. The main classifications can be considered to be: ‘support for reconstruction’ (in post-conflict countries); ‘support for political institutions’ (in countries putting together a democratic system and putting reforms in place); ‘support for strengthening governance’ (in countries that have a democratic political system that does not function sufficiently well); ‘focus on poverty reduction’ (in countries that have a serious poverty problem, and where social stability and its development are most important), and ‘support for preventing any recurrence or intensification of conflict’ (in countries plagued by internal conflicts). The way forward from this point is to consider and evaluate relevant experience in the field of democratization, and to arrange a program of development aims in the light of the ongoing conditions of democracy and governance in the developing world. Building on relevant experience and knowledge, it is essential to investigate further the expected course of any proposed plan to implement an effective democracy assistance policy.

This study was carried out by the study group chaired by Professor Ikuo Iwasaki of the Faculty of International Development, Takushoku University. Contributions and suggestions were also received from experts from outside the study group. I would like to offer our sincerest gratitude to all of those that have collaborated on this study.

This report is a summary edition of the main study report in Japanese. I

believe that its proposal is very useful for effective democracy assistance.

March 2002

Keiichi Kato
Managing Director
Institute for International Cooperation
Japan International Cooperation Agency

Preface

This report is the product of a collaborative effort by the Study Group on Democracy Assistance organized by the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA). The study was carried out in the six months between September 2001 and March 2002.

Democratization is defined as the conversion of a non-democratic political system to a democratic system or at least the effort to bring that system closer to being democratic. Democracy assistance is defined as the support of efforts which have the intention of bringing a democratic structure to the developing world. In the 1990s, progress had been made in many of the developing countries regarding democratization. However, the necessity for continued democratization has not faded away. There are still many countries with non-democratic institutions, as well as those that have democratic structures that do not function effectively.

In order to achieve an acceleration of democratization, support from developed countries, international organizations, and the individual country itself, is absolutely vital. This study group tries to devise an appropriate assistance policy for the developing countries where a democracy is strongly desired and whose democratization level achieved so far is still not sufficient. This policy should be carried out going with the developing countries' political situations, and progress of democratization, based on a tendency of assistance policy that has been done by Japan, Western countries and international organizations.

With these goals in mind, this study group is made up of political researchers, experts in the field of democracy assistance, and JICA staffs who are concerned with democracy assistance. The study group's procedure first concentrates on investigation and analysis of the political construction of regions such as Asia, Central and South America, and the current state of progress towards democratization. Secondly, the study group intensively discusses the question of what sort of democracy assistance is essential and desirable.

It is not always the case that if a political system outwardly appears democracy, then it is good. Only if institutions which make democracy function effectively (governance of government as well as civil society) and has a socio-economic

foundation to support it, then finally, democratization has a real meaning. For this reason, the study group considers the fundamental elements of democratization to be (1) a democratic political system, (2) institutions which make democracy work, and (3) a socio-economic foundation for democracy.

The study group has investigated the current conditions and issues of democratization based on these three fundamental elements, as well as support policies. At the same time, as the construction of society, political conditions, and economic situations differ from region to region in the developing world, the study group has classified regions of various countries using several indices. The study group then considered each situation to determine which of the three elements needed special emphasis and prioritizing.

Presently, the developing countries, where there have been many problems, have made efforts and also have accepted various supports toward political stability, social harmony, and economic development. It goes without saying that democracy assistance is one of these supports. One cannot think that a democratization takes place in one step, and that social harmony and the strengthening of the economic foundation can take a long period of time. I believe this proposal will be useful information for the developing countries, as well as the people who are concerned with aid to ascertain precisely what needs to be done. This is at the very least a step in the right direction.

March 2002

Ikuo Iwasaki
Chairperson
The Study Group on
Democracy Assistance

Abbreviations

A	ADB	Asian Development Bank
	APEC	Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation
	ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
	ASDS	Agricultural Sector Development Strategy
	ASP	Agricultural Sector Program
	AU	African Union
B	BA	Bureaucratic Authoritarianism
	BHN	Basic Human Needs
C	CAS	Country Assistance Strategy
	CDF	Comprehensive Development Framework
	CG	Consultative Group
	CO	Community Organization
	CPI	Corruption Perceptions Index
D	DAC	Development Assistance Committee
	DDC	District Development Committee
E	EAC	East African Community
	EC	European Commission
	ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
	EDDI	education for Development and Democracy Initiative
	EO	Executive Outcomes
	EPLF	Eritrean People's Liberation Front
	EU	European Union
F	FEALAC	Forum for East Asia and Latin America Cooperation
	FTAA	Free Trade Area of the Americas
G	G8	Group of Eight
	GAP	Governance Action Plan
	GDP	Gross Domestic Product
	GIS	Geographic Information Systems
	GNP	Gross National Product
H	HIPC	Heavily Indebted Poor Country
I	IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
	ICRG	International Country Risk Guide

	ICT	information and communication technology
	IDA	International Development Association
	IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
	IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
	IGR	Institutional and Governance Reviews
	IMF	International Monetary Fund
	IT	information technology
J	JBIC	Japan Bank for International Cooperation
	JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
K	KANU	Kenya African National Union
L	LGP	Local governance Program
	LLDC	Least among Less Developed Country
	LTTE	Tamil Tiger Terrorists
M	MTEF	Mid-Term Expenditure Framework
N	NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
	NAI	New African Initiative
	NEPAD	The New Partnership for Africa's Development
	NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
	NORAD	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
	NPO	Non-Profitable Organization
O	OAS	Organization of American States
	OAU	Organization of African Unity
	ODA	Official Development Assistance
	OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
P	PDD	Partnership for Democratic Development Initiative
	PDDP	Participatory District Development Programme
	PDF	Pakistan Development Forum
	PER	Public Expenditure Reviews
	PKF	Peace-Keeping Force
	PKO	Peace-Keeping Operations
	PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
R	RAA	Refugee Affected Area
	RDS	The Rural Development Strategy

S	SADC	Southern African Development Community
	SLFP	Sri Lankan Freedom Party
	SP	Sector Program
T	TICAD II	Tokyo International Conference on African Development II
U	UCM	Union Coordinating Meeting
	UDC	Union Development Center
	UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
	UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
	UNTAET	United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor
	USAID	The United States Agency for International Development
V	VDC	Village Development Committee

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Outline of the Study

1. Background and Aims of the Study

With the end of the Cold War, there was a steady development of movements towards democratization, liberalization and marketization throughout the world. Developing a foundation of democracy encourages citizen participation in development and governance, not to mention only the enhancement and protection of human rights. These are extremely important elements in securing mid to long term stability of the State and the advancement of development. This is the basis on which the international community has made efforts to increase the provision of democracy assistance, especially in the developing world. At a summit meeting of the leading advanced nations (the G8 summit), commitment to democracy and a support policy in relation to efforts to achieve democratization was set out.

Through its Official Development Assistance (ODA) program, Japan has now come actively to support the movements of democratization, and the establishment of market economies in the developing world. These fundamental concepts were made clear in the Japan's ODA Charter adopted by the Cabinet Meeting in 1992. However, in comparison with countries such as the U.S. and Scandinavian countries that have tackled the issues of democratic governance through public-private partnership since the 1970s, Japan is still on its threshold. We are in search for approaches to support democratization.

For this reason, this study analyses the issues and present conditions of the developing world in terms of democratization. Centering around the work of the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), the track record of Japan's efforts in relation to democratization, as well as the trends of international democracy assistance are reviewed. On those bases, the study aims to propose desirable direction of Japan's democracy assistance.

2. Study Methodology

For the purposes of this study, a study group was organized centered around experts specializing in the political science of each of the relevant regions of Asia, Central and South America, and Africa. There was also a taskforce made up of

JICA officials who dealt with the democracy assistance within each region. These two groups formed a study group and had a series of discussions. (Refer to the ‘Study Group’). For each region the current conditions for democratization were analyzed. Based on the analysis of each region, and on the analysis of the trends of international cooperation, each study group, with additional comments received from experts¹ outside of the study group, proposed a recommendation for the future democracy assistance.

This report is a summary edition of the main study report in Japanese, completed in March 2002.

3. Structure of the Report

This report is composed of the following chapters. Chapter 1 presents the analytical framework of democracy assistance in this study. Then, it summarizes current state and issues of democratization in the following regions: East/Southeast Asia, Southwest Asia, Central and South America, and Africa, and considers desirable assistance measures for democracy.

Chapter 2 analyzes trends in aid for democracy and governance, comparing the assistance policies and characteristics of major donors, such as World Bank, UNDP, USAID, Japan, which support democratization.

Chapter 3 highlights basic views of democracy assistance, and recommends JICA’s important assistance measures for democracy, categorizing developing countries by their states of democratization.

【Authors】

Chapter 1 A Framework for Considering Democratization

Ikuo Iwasaki

The analysis by region is the summary of the papers by the following authors:

East/Southeast Asia: Nobuyoshi Kai, Shingo Naganawa and Masatoshi Teramoto

¹ Professor Junji Nakagawa of the Institute of Social Science, the University of Tokyo, and joint author of *ODA Taikou no Seiji Keizai-gaku* [Political Economy of ODA Charter] (1999) contributed his deep knowledge in the area of democracy assistance policy. Assistant Professor Kensuke Masujima of the Department of International Legal Studies, Dokkyo University, Course Leader of the “JICA Seminar on Democracy and Governance for African Countries”, offered opinions on democracy assistance.

Southwest Asia: Takako Hirose and Kenzo Iwakami

Central and South America: Shigeo Osonoi and Shintaro Akiyama

Africa: Takehiko Ochiai, Yasuyo Kawamura and Tomohiro Seki

Chapter 2 Trends in International Aid for Democracy and Governance

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Chapter 3 Roads to Democracy and Governance

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Chapter 1

A Framework for Considering Democratization

1.1 Why Democratization?

1.1.1 The Spread of Democratization in the Developing World

During the second half of the 1980s, the phenomenon described by Samuel Huntington as the “The Third Wave of Democratization¹” spread widely throughout the world. During this period, many developing countries changed from authoritarian political systems to democratic systems. Initially, this wave of democratization began in the Southern European nations of Spain, Portugal and Greece. From here, it spread to the former Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, Central and South America, Africa, and finally to the Far East. The political conditions within the various developing countries up until this spread of democracy can be approximately summarized as follows. During the 1970s, Asia was known for its developmental dictatorships. As a result of the focus placed on development by these ruling authoritarian systems, a high economic growth rate was able to be maintained. The World Bank referred to this phenomenon as the “East Asian Miracle”. However, in 1986, there was an eruption of national discontent exemplified by the collapse of the dictatorial regime of Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines. Once this system had been eradicated during the “Yellow Revolution”, the democratization movement spread to many countries. In Central and South America during the 1970s, authoritarian systems of military government were dominant. Economic development was made a priority in these systems to the same extent as it was in East Asia. However, in contrast to the situation in East Asia, there was a failure to fulfil the public commitment to economic growth, even after the switch to a democratic political

¹ Huntington, S.P. (1992)

system had been brought about by the democratization movement. Following the achievement of independence in African countries during the 1960s, democratic systems were put into place. However, a large degree of political instability was brought about where the political situation was complicated by an admixture of opposing tribes and by neo-patrimonialism. As a result of this, many African nations adopted a single party rule system. However, once the third wave of democratization reached Africa, many nations converted to a multi-party system.

It was by this kind of route that the political structures of many nations of the developing world were converted to democracies. It would seem that large proportions of the populace in many of the developing countries had a strong desire for democracy. It soon became very difficult to obtain public support for political systems and leaders that embraced any ideology that did not fall within the realm of democracy. However, it did not follow that all dictatorial administrations, military governments, or authoritarian systems collapsed. Nor did it follow that all movement towards democracy met with success. As with the Tiananmen Square incident of June 1989 that took place in China, many movements met with tragic ends due to oppression imposed by the government and the military. Furthermore, even if a country adopts a democratic political system, it may not function effectively. There is also the issue that the introduction of a democratic political system in the developing world does not mean that the various existing problems relating to politics and socio-economics will automatically be resolved. On the contrary, there were in fact many situations where the stable establishment that was in place before democratization somehow broke down, bringing about political instability, social disorder, and economic stagnation. A commonly occurring problem in the developing world, besides establishing and advancing the ideology of democracy, is how to make it function in a successful manner.

1.1.2 The Aims of Democratization

From the outset, it is important to consider what is meant by the term 'democratization' and, indeed, what the most fundamental features of a democracy are. It goes without saying that democratization is the process of converting any

particular political system into one rooted in the ideals of democracy, or at the very least steering it towards that political orientation. More concretely, it is the process of changing a military government, a one party rule system, an authoritarian government, or a Communist government, into a democratic political system². In this regard, there can be no doubt that democratization is desired among groups such as political leaders; political parties; civic campaigners; the general public; donor countries; international organizations and political researchers. However, the problem arises that there is not always a common perception of what exactly constitutes democracy, or, indeed, how this goal should be achieved. At present in some parts of the developing world, certain politicians are setting out their own, rather subjective theories of democracy. These politicians are having political debates with Western countries and international organizations on the subject. One of the reasons why disagree is that they have different views on the definition of democracy.

At this point, the intention is not to ponder upon what a democracy is, nor to conduct an examination into various theories of democracy. Nor is it to consider the differences that exist between Western countries and the developing world in terms of their methods of applying democratic principles to their own political systems. We believe that there is a wide scope for democracy to provide political stability, social harmony, and economic improvement in the developing world. It is from this angle that we intend to provide a clear statement of what the true fundamentals of democracy are. There are various possible interpretations. However, we consider that ‘respect for fundamental human rights such as political freedom’ and ‘political participation’ are the basic elements of democracy. Furthermore, we consider that for these two elements to have any real significance in the developing world, ‘development’ needs to take place. The reasons for this are outlined below.

Firstly, let us consider respect for fundamental human rights. This is applied in many different ways and includes not only political freedom, but also the right to an acceptable socio-economic standard of life. Hence, one can also say that political freedom is one of the fundamental conditions necessary for a democratic system of governance. If this is respected, then a democratic society

² Iwasaki, I. (1997)

including such features as a non-repressive government and the administration of regular elections can reasonably be expected. However, if the populace is not guaranteed the right to a minimum standard of socio-economic existence, then assurance of political freedom is without effective meaning. Without doubt, the respect of fundamental human rights relating to all factors concerning both politics and socio-economics is essential.

Secondly, political participation. The populace is entitled to enjoy fundamental human rights, and to have them guaranteed by the State. This statement, on its own, is however simply too passive and static – it is not sufficient merely to have a right. It is necessary actively to exercise that right so that the situation can be classified as ‘active and dynamic’ political participation. The two elements must both be in force – only if the populace not only have their human rights respected, but also are active in exercising these rights can there be real political participation. When this occurs, a mutual complementary relationship between these two elements takes on a real meaning.

It can be said that ‘development’ is a means by which requirements of these two elements can be fulfilled so that they can function together effectively. In Western countries where they have stable societies and have achieved a stable economic standard of living, if political freedom and respect for fundamental human rights are guaranteed, in time the population will make independent effort to participate in politics. However, if one considers the actual conditions within the developing world, in order for the population to exercise these rights, a fixed economic standard and an overhaul of the infrastructure of society is essential. For human beings, in the situation where the requirement for a minimum socio-economic standard is not satisfied, then even if the concepts of respect for fundamental human rights, and political participation are being advocated, they are nothing more than empty promises – castles in the air. When a minimum standard of socio-economic conditions is guaranteed, then these promises can finally come to take on real meaning.

1.1.3 The Requirements of Democratization

Why should democratization include these elements? The meaning of this question becomes clear if one considers the hopelessness for any system that is

not rooted in democracy. History so far has taught us that there is a tendency in undemocratic systems such as military governments, authoritarian regimes, and dictatorial systems to repress popular political freedom, disregard fundamental human rights, and restrict political freedom for various reasons of avoiding the break up of society, national crises, and threats to national security, while achieving efficient development. One of the fundamental requirements that should be guaranteed for the populace by the political system is to have the freedom to e.g. criticize the set-up of the nation and government, or to hold different opinions to those of national leaders without persecution. This can be expected to become a reality in a democratic system that guarantees political freedom and places a strong emphasis on political participation.

Moreover, it is the State that must make efforts to create an environment whereby a minimum standard of socio-economic life is assured, as well as respect for fundamental human rights including the right to an acceptable standard of life. History has proven that these conditions are most likely to be guaranteed successfully in a democratic system.

So, does it follow that democracy has been achieved if an authoritarian regimes or military government adopts democratic institutions? It has previously been proposed that in the wake of the third wave of democratization, many countries in the developing world came to have democratic systems. This changing of an undemocratic system to a democratic one is known as a 'transition'. However, this does not represent the completion of the democratization process. This transition can only be considered as the first step towards democracy. The second step is, following the 'consolidation' of democratic institutions, to create an environment and system that will allow it to function successfully³. On this point, developing countries are confronted with various problems and tasks, and one can definitely not yet say that democracy is functioning effectively in all cases. While there are still countries that have the task of achieving the first stage of democratization, presently the main task in hand is the second stage of democratization.

Following the collapse of the Cold War system, Western nations and international organizations state that political democracy and economic

³ Linz, J.J. and Stepan, A. (1996)

liberalization (market economies) should be the aim of many countries throughout the world, and are indispensable conditions for the developing countries to achieve development. Considering how this applies to the developing world it is necessary to consider the situation from the perspectives of both theory and practice. There is the viewpoint that, theoretically, the combination of “an undemocratic system and development (economic growth)” as found in the developmental dictatorships of East Asia is not necessarily incompatible⁴. The fact is that there is no real consensus of opinion regarding the significance of the link between democratization and liberalization. However, from the point of view of the actual conditions of development in developing countries, one can say that democratization and liberalization are both desperately needed. For example, even though under an undemocratic system a good rate of growth might be achieved, albeit for a short period of time, there is commonly a pattern of political and economic collapse, as well as (all too frequently) corruption and the bribery of politicians. In addition, if the State is all-powerful, the reality is that there is a very high risk that the distribution of the benefits of economic growth will be grossly distorted, resulting in atrophy of the self-motivation of the people and enterprises involved in development, and the lack of any consciousness of being part of a national movement. If one considers these points, one can realize why, in the developing world, a process of development of democratization and liberalization which makes the citizen the main focus, and thereby awakens self-motivation in individuals and enterprises is greatly preferable.

1.2 The Three Main Elements of Democratization

What are the elements that constitute democratization? What sort of institutions can be put in place to achieve a democratic system? It is generally thought that these questions are answered by the following three elements – a democratic political system, institutions which make democracy work, and an effective socio-economic foundation for democracy. This is the framework for considering effective democracy assistance, not for analysing the specific system that allow democracy to function effectively.

⁴ Iwasaki, I. (1994)

Figure 1.1 Analytical Framework for Assistance for Democracy and Governance

The Purpose of Democratization

**The Guarantee of Fundamental Human Rights such as Political Freedom, and the Encouragement of Political Participation.
The Construction of a Political and Social System which Accelerate Participatory Development**

The Fundamental Elements of Democratization

Democratic Political System		Institutions Which Make Democracy Work (Improvement of Government and Civil Society Governance)	
Requirements	Examples of Support	Requirements	Examples of Support
1) Construction of an open style of politics based on political freedom and participation (e.g. multi-party election system).	1) Support to consolidate a democratic political system.	Improvement in the Balance of State Power 1) A mutual 'check and balance' mechanism for the separation of the three branches of power. Strengthening of Parliament and legal training. 2) Guarantee of freedom of political party activity (especially for the opposition party). 3) A 'check and balance' mechanism to increase the level of accountability of the government administration (political policies, assessment of industry, audits, freedom of information). 4) A 'check and balance' mechanism (or competition) for each section of government following the decentralization. 5) Encouragement of citizen participation/activity - provision of information/liberal media to the populace.	1) Support to improve the capability of members of parliament and legislative bodies, and legal training. 2) Support to create a legal system that guarantees freedom of political party activity. 3) Support to raise the level of assessment of administration, ensuring information disclosure, consolidation of a contract system and the introduction of an audit system, improving inspection organizations. 4) Accelerating the decentralization. 5) Increasing the provision of information through e.g. publicity and ICT, consolidating a system of local referenda and public hearings, consolidating a legal system to guarantee freedom of expression and broadcasting, journalist training support, consolidating a basis of telecommunications and broadcasting, acceleration of ICT education.
2) Construction, enforcement, and continuous improvement of a fair election system.	2) Support to:- - consolidate an election system - enforce elections - improve the level of election management.		
3) Establishment and reinforcement of a separation of the three branches of power - Administration system - Legislative system - Judicial system	3) Support to consolidate a system involving the separation of the three branches of power to construct and improve:- - Administration system - Legislative system - Judicial system		
4) The construction of various legal systems to guarantee fundamental human rights.	4) Support to consolidate the legal systems that must guarantee fundamental human rights.		
		Increasing the capability and awareness of government 1) Improvement in the establishment of law and order. 2) Improvement of administration capability (establishment and improvement in the delivery of appropriate policies). 3) Following the decentralization, the apportioning of local government roles by central government. 4) Improvement in the functioning of administration services for civil society organizations	1) Anti-corruption support (e.g. education of officials). 2) Support to improve the capability of administration in planning and budgeting, Support for development projects involving people of the region, support for the creation of a communication system between government and community. 3) Support to strengthen the ability of local administration. 4) Support for local citizens organizations.
		Mechanism for regulating fairly the interests of social groups 1) The construction of a political party system that reflects the will of the citizens 2) A mechanism to regulate the interests of citizens and civil society organizations, and private organizations.(construction of administrative litigation, arbitration and intermediation organizations). 3) Guarantee of access to administration of justice 4) The application of impartial law (improvement in the ability of the administration of justice and the police force).	1) Encouragement of political interaction, support for decentralization. 2) Support for the consolidation of a system to regulate interests. 3) Support for the consolidation of systems such as administration of justice aid, for the consolidation of government-regulated systems to protect human rights. 4) Modernization of administration of justice support, Support for the improvement of police capability and police administration.
		Citizen empowerment 1) Raising the level of citizen awareness. 2) Raising the level of citizen participation. 3) Securing access to administration of justice and administration services.	1) Support for the advancement of civil education. 2) Support for regional development. Support for the empowerment of societies and marginalized populations such as women and minority. 3) Support for the consolidation of a system for the administration of justice and for government – action to ensure the creation of a regulated system to protect human rights.
A Socio-Economic Foundation for Democracy			
Requirements		Examples of Support	
1) Establishment of peace, law and order.		1) Support for maintenance of public order, for peace education, and for the reintegration of discharged soldiers and refugees into the society.	
2) A sufficient minimum level of basic human needs (elementary education, promotion of adult literacy training and primary health care, improvement of accessibility of basic public services).		2) Support for basic education and for basic hygiene/sanitation (including support to consolidate these systems).	
3) Economic stability (strengthening the capability of government in the administration of macro-economics, consolidation of a market environment)		3) Regional economic support, support to establish a macro-economic policy, to consolidate a legal system for a market economy, and to encourage small to medium enterprises.	

Source: Produced by Kanako Adachi based on discussions of the Study Group.

1.2.1 A Democratic Political System

Specifically, democratic political system involves the construction of a legal system that guarantees fundamental human rights, the granting and respect of political rights such as universal adult suffrage, and the guarantee of political freedoms such as freedom of speech, freedom of publication, and freedom of association. The acceptance of these ideas as fundamental by all of the political parties, so guaranteeing freedom of all forms of political activity, including a fair and well-managed election system, is also necessary for a democratic system. What this effectively amounts to is that the basis of a democratic system is a guarantee of national political participation and an open style of politics, as well as a just and liberal election system that is enforced at fixed intervals. Also, there must be a separation of the three powers – administration, legislation, and judicature; this, again, is a fundamental, required condition for a successful democratic system.

1.2.2 Institutions Which Make Democracy Work

The basic outline of a democratic political system as given above is rather limited in scope. Indeed, in order for democracy to become a substantial force, it is necessary to have appropriate institutions in place to allow it to function. These institutions are in effect a way of programming the system of State and society— or ‘Governance’ as it is more generally known. Institutions that allow democracy to function can be considered to have four main aspects: (1) improvement in the balance of State power, (2) increasing the capability and awareness of government, (3) a mechanism to regulate fairly the interests of social groups, and (4) citizen empowerment (Figure 1.1).

(1) Improvement in the Balance of State Power

Generally, as there is a tendency in the developing world for the administration to be the strongest and most dominant of the three branches of political power, it is essential, through the strengthening of Parliament and the cultivation of the legal profession to devise a ‘checks and balances’ mechanism to impose certain to ensure that no one branch has more power than any other. If freedom of political party activity, especially that of the opposition party, is

guaranteed not just formally but substantially, it can be expected that measures will be in place to prevent the administration from taking too much control. Measures that increase government accountability, the construction of a checks and balances mechanism within the administration (achieved through the decentralization of authority), and the establishment of a system to check the administration by the populace are all essential functions that the scheme must achieve. Further requirements for promoting democracy include: the construction by government of an effective system to cultivate the democratic consciousness of the people; freedom of expression and the establishment of a political environment that guarantees the freedom of operation of broadcasting and all forms of mass media; and increasing the level of access to information through various forms of media including ICT (Information and Communication Technology).

(2) Improvement of Government Awareness and Capability

The institutions of the administrative and legal system as well as the machinery to enforce it are known as governance. The improvement of government awareness and capability is equal to that of the overall quality of governance, which is the fundamental function of government. It is vitally important to strengthen governance. In order to be successful, this will require efforts by the government itself such as maintaining the executive organizations, creating politically neutral bureaucratic organizations, improving the effectiveness of the police, educating people in the administration, establishing law and order, introducing measures to prevent bribery and corruption, and establishing education aimed at improving the quality of administrative capacity.

(3) A Mechanism to Regulate Fairly the Interests of Social Groups

An overhaul of the mechanism to ensure that there is fair regulation of the interests of civil society, an overhaul of the justice system and its application, and the construction of a political party system that reflects the opinion of the populace are all considered as examples of the elements that contribute to the strengthening of governance.

(4) Citizen Empowerment

By making concerted efforts to increase the awareness and capability of the populace, the government substantially increases the opportunity of the populace to participate in administrative and political affairs. Utilizing this participation effectively and acquiring the ability to check government administration is included within the scope of citizen empowerment. It is thought that for this to work, strengthening of social groups, or in other words, strengthening of the civil society is required. This is largely achieved through the efforts of the social groups themselves. For these civil society groups the important issue is not just the demand for appropriate administration management of government, but to achieve a mutual level of awareness and respect. With this as a basis, political society can mature, and one can expect the improvement of the social 'soil' that enables democracy to grow so well. Education has an important role to carry out so that the populace can acquire this type of consciousness and attitude. This can be accomplished through a practical use of neutral forms of media.

1.2.3 A Socio-Economic Foundation for Democracy

Even if democracy is desired, and a political system is in place to allow it to function, one still cannot say that this is sufficient. Democracy should be supported by a socio-economic foundation, namely social harmony and economic growth. This foundation can be achieved through the establishment of peace, economic stability, and Basic Human Needs (BHN).

In countries subject to disputes and civil war arising from differences in e.g. race, religion, or political ideology, or in countries where even physical existence is in a state of crisis due to wars with foreign countries over territorial disputes, even to discuss democratization is virtually meaningless. For this reason, it is essential to prevent or solve such disputes, or bring them speedily to conclusion and, following this, quickly to drive forward the revival of the country.

Stability of the economy is also one of the foundations to enable democracy to function effectively. If the national economy should become bankrupt as a result of e.g. economic mistakes by the government, or shortcomings in policy, the populace would need to protect their own interests in a survival situation. If basic human needs such as a minimum required level of food, shelter, sanitation/

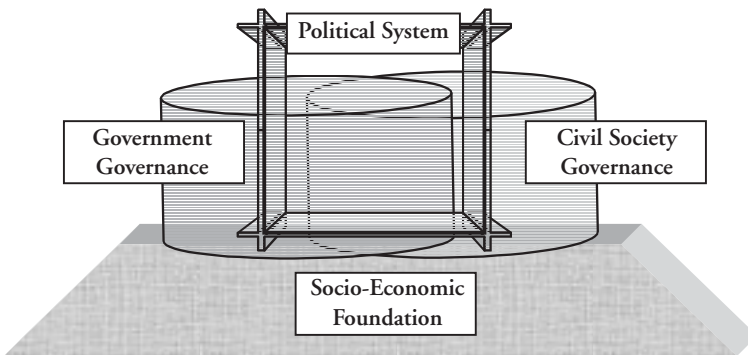
hygienic conditions, and education are not met, whether as a result of disaster, food shortage, unemployment, or conflict, it does not matter how much the ideology of democracy is advocated, its persuasive power is very weak. Thus the resolution of disputes, and stable economic conditions are necessary for the sustainability of democracy.

As explained above, each of the three elements of democratization (a democratic political system, institutions which make democracy work, and a socio-economic foundation) do not function individually, but in a mutually connected organic relationship (Figure 1.2). If even one element is lacking, democratization will not be successful, and so it is necessary when dealing with a system of democracy assistance to always keep in mind the mutual reciprocal relationship of these three elements.

1.3 Current Conditions, Problems and Characteristics of Democratization as Classified by Region

The stages of democratization vary greatly from country to country, and from region to region. It is therefore necessary to conduct a detailed investigation of the history, patterns and current degrees of democratization from nation to nation in order to consider an appropriate democracy assistance. However, as it

Figure 1.2 The Relationship of the Three Main Elements of Democratization



Source: Produced by Kanako Adachi based on discussions of the Study Group.

would be impossible to analyze every single country in this study report, we have dealt primarily with the four areas in which Japan provide a lot of assistance (East/ Southeast Asia, Southwest Asia, Central/South America, and Africa) and made an analysis of the problems, patterns, and appropriate democracy assistance in those areas.

1.3.1 East/Southeast Asia: From a Developmental Dictatorship to a Democratic Political System

In this report, ‘East Asia’ includes Japan, South Korea, China, and Taiwan, while ‘Southeast Asia’ refers to the ten participating nations of ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations). As a result of the focus placed on development by the authoritarian systems in these countries, great progress was made, ensuring that a general characteristic of this region is the achievement of relatively high economic growth. These systems are known as ‘developmental dictatorships’, ‘developmental systems’, or developmental States⁵. The leaders of these countries advocated a rather alternative relationship between ‘development (economic growth) and democracy’, even sacrificing political freedoms so as to prioritize the advancement of development. In many of these countries, groups and organizations that are critical of the government such as opposition parties, student movements, labor unions, and the mass media have been suppressed. Furthermore, with the help of a biased election system, the party in power is able to hold onto political power for a long period of time. The military dictatorships of Korea, the national one party rule system of Taiwan, the Suharto military regime in Indonesia, the dictatorial regime of Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines, the one party rule of the People’s Action Party in Singapore, and the political administration of Mahathir bin Mohamad in Malaysia are all representative of this situation⁶.

However, in about 1990 when the third wave of democratization spread, a democracy movement emerged in this region. The purpose of the movement was to push the authoritarian regimes, one party rule systems, and military governments that suppressed political freedom towards changing into civil

⁵ Iwasaki, I. (2001)

⁶ Iwasaki, I. (1998)

governments with multi-party systems. This democracy movement was a result of both domestic and foreign elements. The domestic elements were concerned with economic growth, the rise of new social groups, and the amplification of mainly middle class voices seeking political participation. The foreign elements were various Western countries, spearheaded by the U.S., pressing for democratization. Beginning with the Philippines, the movement for democracy spread in a chain reaction through Korea, Taiwan, China, Myanmar, Thailand, and Indonesia, with many nations converting their political systems to embrace democracy. However, parts of the region retained their authoritarian regimes as political leaders maintained their faith in the existing political system and institutions which had been successful in bringing economic growth to the country. The differences in approach to democracy in the West and in Asia have led to the coining of the term “Asian-style Democracy”⁷. The advantages and disadvantages of the Asian style of democracy have been long debated, but one looks at the situation, the reality is that democracy as it occurs in Asia, is a very diverse ideology.

Although there are many countries in East Asia that have achieved a high rate of economic growth, there are few nations that have made democratization a primary focus. The fact of the matter is that the political system to facilitate the functioning of democratization – or in other words, the governance of many countries in East Asia and Southeast Asia is inadequate for that purpose. These countries can be divided into two groups according to their problems. The first group consists of those countries in which economic development has been furthered under an authoritarian system, and where although the overall democratic profile of governance remains rather low, the aim of the country is to change to a combination of a democracy with effective governance. The second group of nations needs to consolidate and strengthen the foundation of governance that is already in place.

We can divide them into two groups according to how far they have democratized. In the first group are the countries that have adopted a democratic political system, but have an insufficient economic foundation for it to function effectively. The second group contains those countries that have not yet made

⁷ Iwasaki, I. (1997)

Table 1.1 Classification of East Asia and South East Asia

		Institutions (especially governance) that enable democracy to work	
		Democratic governance is a key issue.	The construction and strengthening of basic governance is a key issue.
Socio-Economic Foundation for Democracy	Converted to a democratic political system, but has an insufficient socio- economic foundation.	Thailand, The Philippines	Indonesia
	Not yet converted to a democratic system – Socio- economic foundation is insufficient.	Vietnam, China	Myanmar, Laos
		Cambodia, East Timor (currently experiencing a period of reconstruction)	

Source: Produced by Nobuyoshi Kai.

the switch to democracy, and have an insufficient economic foundation. In this latter group of countries, comprehensive support is essential for democratization to occur.

1.3.2 Southwest Asia: Focussing on Institution Building, Governance and an Economic Foundation

Due to the fact that almost all nations in Southwest Asia were colonies of Great Britain, a British style system of parliamentary democracy was introduced following independence. Countries in this region can be divided into three groups. The first group consists of India and Sri Lanka, where democratic political systems have persisted. Even though both countries have often been faced with political crises, no coup d'état has taken place. The second group consists of

nations where, although a democratic political system is in place, the overall political climate is unstable. These include Bangladesh and Nepal. The third group consists only of Pakistan which, despite having a democratic political system in place, has a frequently recurring problem of bribery and corruption which has brought about economic chaos and social instability. Following a coup d'état in Pakistan, the military seized political power⁸. The military government had been in control for the best part of the half-century that has passed since independence was achieved. Thus, it is evident that even in Southwest Asia, there are many variations concerning the practical application of democracy. In India, democracy has been continuing for as long as half a century making it worthy of being labeled as “the world’s most democratic state⁹.”

There are various problems in Southwest Asia that includes India as well. If one is to look at how well the systems of Southwest Asia conform to the fundamental elements of democracy, one can say that these systems are relatively democratic. There are many countries that, despite having a democratic system in place, are unstable as a result of differences in race and religion. This has been the cause of corruption in party politics, as well as delaying the systematization of a legal structure and administrative organs of the State. As a result of this, the consolidation of a system that would establish effective political administration, prevent the breakdown of bureaucracy, advance political capability, and strengthen governance has become fundamentally important.

Furthermore, the economic base of almost every nation in Southwest Asia is too weak to support democracy. For example in 1998 about 522 million people in Southwest Asia lived below the absolute poverty line (US\$1-a-day per capita). This amounts to about 40% of the population. The illiteracy rate is also very high compared with that of other nations. In 1999, the adult illiteracy rate for adults was as high as 34% for men, and 58% for women¹⁰. In Southwest Asia, it is essential that assistance focuses on strengthening the economic foundation, strengthening the governance of State, and driving forward development.

⁸ The general election was carried out in Pakistan in 2002.

⁹ Hirose, T. (2001)

¹⁰ World Bank (2001)

Table 1.2 Classification of South West Asia

Type	Country	Democratic Political System	Institutions which make Democracy Work	Socio-Economic Foundation for Democracy
Transfer of Control from Military Power to Civil Government.	Pakistan.	Enforcement of general elections leading towards a transfer in control to a civil government.	Decentralization of power, reform of the administration of justice, civil service reform, police reforms, increased government accountability.	
Established Democratic Political System.	India, Sri Lanka.	System is almost settled and in order.	Lack of political awareness, developmental issues relating to a federal system and local governmental autonomy.	Poverty reduction, racial conflicts.
Unstable Civil Government.	Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan.		Corruption/bribery, Strengthening of civil society, Developing a federal system and local governmental autonomy.	Poverty Reduction Military conflict (Nepal).

Source: Produced by Kyoko Kuwajima based on a presentation of Kenzo Iwakami.

1.3.3 Central and South America: Insufficient Governance and Political Awareness, a Weak Economic Foundation and Inequality—The Importance of a Global Governance System

Out of all the developing countries, those in Central and South America have the longest history of democracy. However, even though democracy was established in this region, one cannot say that it has been functioning well, and there continues to be various problems. In the first half of the 1960s, as pioneered in East Asia, the pre-eminent type of government in this region was an authoritarian system run by military leaders, advocating the importance of economic development. This is known as Bureaucratic Authoritarianism (BA)¹¹. However, in contrast to what happened in East Asia, there was a failure to accelerate economic growth under BA. Due to increasing resistance from within these countries in response to severe military dictatorships that disregarded human rights, and influenced by the third wave of democratization, in the second half of the 1980s, a switch to a democratic system of government took place.

Presently, various countries in this region, powered by the continuous assistance from the Organization of American States (OAS), are driving forward with democratization. There are now very few countries in the region with undemocratic systems such as military or authoritarian governments. Also, in the majority of countries, the fundamental elements of democracy and appropriate legal structures are well maintained. However, there still remains problems such as the excessive use of political power (as was the case with the former political administration of Alberto Fujimori in Peru), and also the possibility of coups d'état in various countries (such as Haiti). There is also the criticism that democracy which do not function is “Delegative Democracies”.

Democratization still remains important in Central and South America, and there are many problems associated with its implementation in this region. One of these problems is that, even if the fundamental elements of democracy are conformed to, this is not sufficient to ensure that a country has a functioning democratic system, because the political system may not allow it to function, or

¹¹ O'Donnell, G. (1973)

Table 1.3 Classification of Democratization Support in Central and South America

Type of Support	Partnership		Strengthen Governance		PRSP Support		Reconstruction		Social Development	
Country	Costa Rica, Uruguay, Chile.		Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, Panama, Dominican Republic, Peru, Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Paraguay.		Bolivia, Honduras.		Nicaragua, Guatemala, El Salvador.		Haiti.	
	Present Conditions	Needs	Present Conditions	Needs	Present Conditions	Needs	Present Conditions	Needs	Present Conditions	Needs
Democratic System.	①	Low	②	Low	②	Low	②③	High	③	Medium
Political system that enables democratization to function.	②	Low	③	High	③	High	③	High	④	Medium
Socio-economic foundation to support democratization.	①	Low	②	Medium	④	High	③④	Medium	④	High

① ② ③ ④ Level of adjustment of e.g. political system, governance and society. ① High ←————→ ④ Low

High, Medium, Low: Level of emphasis on cooperation.

In Caribbean where many countries that come under the British commonwealth of nations, support for governance and democratization can be the basic assistance for democracy.

Source: Produced by Shigeo Osonoi and Shintarou Akiyama.

indeed the 'soil' of the socio-economic system may not be fertile enough to support it. In other words, even if the separation of the three branches of power, a democratic legal system, and a liberal election system are all guaranteed by law and constitution, the problem is that the government lacks the capacity to put these things into practice, and has a very low awareness of the need to fulfil obligations towards the populace and towards democracy. Another problem is that there are many countries in this region that have a very weak socio-economic foundation with which to support democratization. Especially in Central and South America there is also the problem that the native inhabitants are socially excluded. It is clear that the exercise of political power according to the ideology of democracy, the strengthening of State governance, the rising of awareness of democracy among the populace, and the driving forward of development so as to correct these deficiencies are all extremely important.

1.3.4 Africa: Neo-Patrimonialism and the Outbreak of Conflicts – A Weak Economic Foundation

Following independence in the 1960s, Africa became divided up into about 50 'New Nations'. One can divide it into the four regions of East, West, Central, and South Africa. The democratization movement in Africa is commonly seen as occurring in three distinct periods. The first period was around 1960 with the start of democracy that came about following independence. The second period was around 1980 when the dictatorial administrations of several nations collapsed. The final period was around 1990 when many nations converted from a one party rule system to one with multiple parties. In Africa during the 1960s, in the period when colonization was overthrown, a democratic system was accepted but, in many countries, the differences in race and language brought about a destabilization of the political situation, which in turn led to the frequent occurrence of coups d'état, which led to military governments and one party rule systems. However, once the third wave of democratization took place, the dictatorial administrations in many countries collapsed, with multi-party rule systems taking their place. At present there are about 40 nations that can be classified as having multi-party rule systems. For several decades, there have been great changes made in the political systems of this region. However, it

Table 1.4 Classification of Africa

	Type of Support	Country	Assistance Requirements
Bilateral Assistance	Reconstruction (Countries with conflicts)	Angola, Republic of the Congo, Burundi, Somalia.	Emergency humanitarian aid to preserve the socio-economic foundation until the end of the conflict.
	(Post-conflict countries)	Sierra Leone, Liberia.	Construction of a democratic system.
	PRSP Support.	Tanzania, Senegal, Uganda, and others.	Strengthening of governance and consolidation of socio-economic foundation through planning and implementing PRSP.
	Strengthen governance.	Cape Verde, Gabon, Republic of the Ivory Coast.	Poverty reduction and strengthening of governance.
Multilateral Assistance	Regional Partnership.		Acceleration of democratization according to the efforts of such institutions as AU, ECOWAS, SADC.

Source: Produced by Takehiko Ochiai.

cannot be said that the ideology of democracy has taken root.

Presently, although many African nations now have a democratic system in place, there remain many problems. Firstly, as a result of the differences in race and religion, many countries are locked in internal conflict. The question of how to advance the recovery and progress of these countries is critically important.

Secondly, even in nations where there are no conflicts one still cannot say that democracy is functioning well due to the still deeply rooted political culture/ ideology of neo-patrimonialism which involves government leaders using public funds for private gain. A serious problem is that even if there were a democratic political system, institutions which make democracy work are almost completely lacking. In more concrete terms, there are many nations that have flaws in the

State administration system, deficient governance, and even a deficiency in cooperation on the part of the populace.

Thirdly, as national income is low as a result of the stagnation of economic development, the economic foundation is extremely weak. In short, in Africa, all key elements required for democratization are deficient. It is clear that comprehensive support is essential focusing on an overhaul of the State administration system, a strengthening of governance, stabilizing of society and economic development.

1.4 What Kinds of Supports Are Required for Democratization?

Even though they are collectively referred to as ‘developing countries’, the level of political stability, the stage of economic development, and the level of social integration all vary significantly from country to country. As has already been pointed out, conversion to a democratic system is desirable for all nations. Therefore, it is very important that the people who support the improvement of society and the economic development of developing countries, give adequate consideration to the approach to democratization to ensure that it takes place effectively. Up to this point, the aims and fundamental elements of democratization have been examined along with the diverse realities that occur in the developing world. However, this examination is only preparation for considering concrete democracy assistance. If we do not move to considering an appropriate supports for democracy, and how to implement it in an effective way, then we will end up with simply an analysis of present conditions. Finally, let us consider a basic outline to deal with the question of how it is possible to achieve democracy assistance that has real meaning.

Firstly, we should consider which countries we give democracy assistance. For example, in which regions of which countries should democratization be supported? Should it be in all developing countries? Should support be made available in just one part of a country? Also, even if a country from the developing world does not want democracy assistance, should we who consider democratization to be of the utmost importance, enforce all policies and measures at our disposal to give support to put the country on the road to democracy?

Furthermore should we only support countries that want democratization?

On this point, consider the following: firstly, we consider it essential to have a basic outline of what sort of democratization is desirable, and, based on this, a comprehensive support policy. However, secondly, with regards to the enforcement of the support policy, as a rule, we should respect views of recipient countries. One cannot reasonably expect effective democratization with enforcement. In the first place, the political structure of a country is something that should be subjectively decided on by the people of the country. Democratic system should not be enforced from outside the country. Because of this, democracy assistance should take place in countries the wish for it – or in other words, a “request-based approach”. However, thirdly, to countries where we consider democratization to be essential, we must take every opportunity to continue to send out the message of the connection between democratization and political stability, economic growth, and social harmony. It is important to ensure that developing countries realize the importance of democratization.

Next we should consider the content and methods of democracy assistance to consider. It goes without saying that Japan is not the only country supporting democratization. Commensurate efforts are continually made by various Western nations and international organizations. So in what way should all of these donors cooperate with each other? Even now, there are occasionally differences of opinion amongst those countries that provide support regarding the priorities and enforcement methods of democratization. However, the basic idea behind democracy assistance is common to all the countries and organizations providing that assistance. It goes without saying that for effective assistance donors should cooperate rather than work independently. Therefore, we should seek as far as possible to create a donor network to examine a cooperative democracy assistance. In this light, it is very important that Japan recognizes the ‘comparative advantage’ of different aspects of its assistance, and allocates support accordingly. It is frequently the case that democracy assistance from various Western nations does lead to the realization of a democratic political system. However, as far as we are concerned, a democracy is not a working system without institutions that allow it to function, and a socio-economic foundation. Japan is deeply concerned with the support of development in developing countries, especially those in

Asia, and well understands the importance of a institutions which make democracy work and a solid socio-economic foundation. For this reason, in terms of 'comparative advantage', out of the three aforementioned fundamental elements of democratization, Japan should lay emphasis on supporting the second element – governance, and the third element, which is the construction of a socio-economic foundation. Indeed, in recent years other donors have also come to put an emphasis on the strengthening of governance.

Finally, we should consider how to combine democracy assistance with economic assistance. In other words, if a country that we consider to be undemocratic does not want democratization, should we apply conditionality with regards to economic development by e.g. stemming the flow of economic assistance or imposing sanctions? Presently there are various forms of assistance that are being carried out in relation to developing countries. This assistance can conveniently be divided into two groups – development assistance with the aim of socio-economic development, and democracy assistance with the aim of advancing democracy. One can say each of these two forms of assistance takes place with different criteria and aims. The intention of democracy assistance is to create a democratic system, with no direct link to economic support. For this reason, for those countries that take no steps towards democratization we can make efforts only to advocate democratization as contributing to the stabilization of the socio-economic foundation, and economic support should be cut off. However, the fact is that in the practical operation and administration of assistance, these two types of assistance form an indivisible relationship. It is therefore thought that appropriate institutions/organizations such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs must make the final decision of whether to force a linkage between democracy assistance and economic assistance.

So, from the general principles as outlined above, what sort of democracy assistance strategy should we be able to create? The basic procedure of this can be thought of as follows. Even though they are referred to by the collective term 'developing countries', there are within this group many different political conditions, degrees of economic development, constructions of society and issues. There are still countries with undemocratic systems, countries that have tentatively switched to democratic systems, countries that are engaged in conflict, and

countries where the basic structure of the State must be reconstructed following the end of a conflict. The stages of economic development can be divided into high, medium and low growth countries. For this reason, it is essential that any strategy for democracy assistance must reflect the specific circumstances and characteristics of each country. It is thought that the most effective method of settling on a democracy assistance policy is firstly to classify developing countries according to indices such as the degree of political stability, level of economic development, characteristics of the construction of society, or the intensity of any conflict within the area.

Secondly, the main support strategy must be considered in terms of the classifications of the three fundamental elements of democratization. In terms of the whole developing world, out of the three fundamental elements of democratization, emphasis should be put on strengthening institutions which make democracy work. Japan has experience in the field of supporting the improvement of capability and expertise of government. Using this experience, we believe that in the future we should ensure that a system of checks and balances is established, working for the benefit of both government and populace, to improve the political expertise on the part of government, and to ensure the citizen participation.

The ultimate goal of democratization in the developing world, by creating a democratic political system, is to remove various sources of instability such as the following: situations where there is possible political oppression by the State of the populace; where lives could be lost as a result of conflict or war; instability as a result of starvation; and situations whereby a minimum standard of socio-economic life for human beings is not achieved. This goal further includes people being able to lead a safe and secure life, and the creation of an environment whereby the population has freedom of self-expression. To achieve this purpose, support and assistance must be directed towards the construction of social, political and administrative structure that conform to the ideals of political participation and respect for fundamental human rights, and participatory development. In this respect, it is not sufficient simply to have 'systematic democracy assistance' if this does not incorporate the improvement and progress of socio-economic standards. Nor is it sufficient to just have 'assistance to

strengthen State governance' or 'development support', as these do not incorporate the guarantee of political freedoms or the respect of fundamental human rights. One should in fact pay close attention to the mutual complementary relationship between these types of support. Also, one cannot deny that there are differences between the theory and practice of democracy assistance. As far as possible, it is desirable that it is based on the needs identified by the actual situation and circumstances of the developing countries.

So, with this approach to democratization, is it possible to run the process smoothly, and improve the political and economic conditions of developing countries in a short period of time? If democracy assistance constructs and strengthens only a democratic political system including e.g. the establishment of law and a constitution that guarantees political freedom, the freedom to create political parties, and fair and regular elections, then provided that there are difficult problems along the way, it is thought that the time taken to realize and implement this is not in fact very long. It has been pointed out that around 1990, in various nations in Africa, the conversion from a dictatorship to a multi-party system was achieved in a very short space of time.

However, if, as we believe, we perceive democratization as including the strengthening of institutions which make democracy work and the construction of a socio-economic foundation for democracy, as well as the creation of a democratic political system, then the whole assistance process becomes more and more complicated, requiring more and more time to implement. The ultimate aim of democracy assistance is, through the creation of a democratic system, to bring about the situation whereby there is a drastic improvement and advancement in the political circumstances of the people, economic conditions, and the social environment of the developing countries. Hence, with suitably multidirectional long-term assistance and effort, the seeds of democratization can come to bear fruit.

Chapter 2

Trends in International Aid for Democracy and Governance

In discussions of official development assistance (ODA) since the 1990s, almost all donor countries and institutions have focused on democracy and good governance as a basis of legitimacy of rendering assistance. Democracy and governance have come to be seen as preconditions for sustainable development and as important political, social, and cultural elements affecting the outcome and efficiency of aid.

As reflected in the statement that “democracy, human rights and good governance are indispensable components of development” in the Economic Communiqué of the 1996 Lyon Summit, it is now broadly accepted that the lack of democracy and good governance are at the root of economic stagnation and poverty.

2.1 Democracy and Governance in the Development Assistance Committee (DAC)

In the Orientation Paper¹² adopted in 1993 by the OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development), the four elements of participatory development, democratization, human rights, and governance are summarized as the “Participatory Development and Good Governance Issue” (PD/GG Issue). The principles of respect for local initiative, efforts for efficiency and sustainability of development through concerns over PD/GG, and partnership between governments, civil society, NGOs, and donors were emphasized. Three aspects of governance were distinguished: (1) the political system, (2) the way in which power is exercised through the use of economic and social resources of a given country, and (3) the capacity of government to formulate and implement policies

¹² Published in 1995 under the title, DAC, OECD (1995) “Participatory Development and Good Governance,” Development Cooperation Guideline Series.

and to discharge government functions. In the DAC Ad Hoc Working Group on PD/GG, five items were identified as important issues: the rule of law in justice and legislation, public sector management, decentralization, human rights, and participation. Discussions have been held on the lessons learned through previous aid operations, as well as paths towards the improvements of these areas¹³. Starting in May 2001, the Working Group on PD/GG was integrated with the Capacity Building Group, and the “DAC Network on Good Governance and Capacity Development (GOVNET)” began. GOVNET has taken up for discussion the four areas of preventing corruption, technical cooperation reform, public sector reform, and human rights/democratization.

In the “DAC Development Partnership Strategy: Shaping the 21st Century: The Contribution of Development Cooperation,” adopted by the DAC in 1996, seven economic, social, and environmental development goals were put forward. It also suggests that the peoples and governments of developing and industrialized countries, NGOs, and others make joint efforts toward achieving these goals. Good governance in the form of effective, accountable, democratic government that is capable of respecting human rights and the rule of law, was seen as essential to achieve these goals. This concept was integrated in the “Millennium Development Goals” agreed to at the UN Millennium Summit in 2000.

2.2 Background to the Issues of Democracy and Governance in Development Assistance

The reasons why so much weight was given by the donor community in the 1990s to democracy and governance can be summarized by the following two points. First, the “Structural Adjustment Programs” (widely applied by the World Bank to developing countries in the 1980s) did not produce the expected results in Sub-Saharan Africa, and attention was turned to political and governmental factors, centering on the perceived lack of political leadership, inefficiency of public sectors, inadequacy of administrative competence, and the lack of transparency and adequacy in policy decision making on the part of developing

¹³ In 1997, eight lessons and proposals were identified in the summary of discussions by this working group, including aid coordination, transparency of assistance methods, need for long term view, etc. (DAC, OECD (1997a). Also DAC, OECD (1997b).

countries¹⁴. Another factor was that many bilateral donors, needing domestic support for development assistance after the Cold War, sought to justify such aid in terms of democracy and good governance in place of the ideology once prevalent under the Cold War¹⁵.

2.3 Trends in Democracy Assistance (Direct and Indirect Support)

Typical methods for the support of democracy and governance include direct approaches such as support for democratic institution building and specific activities to improve governance, as well as indirect support in the form of persuading developing countries with “political conditionality” attached to aid¹⁶.

2.3.1 Trends in Indirect Support

For the most part, all donor countries and institutions consider the level of democracy, the human rights situation, and governance-related issues of any developing country when determining whether to increase or decrease assistance amounts, or whether to start, stop, or resume assistance. Based on these considerations, they then employ policies to promote human rights, democratization, and good governance, and to prevent movement in the opposite direction. The donors have different opinions, however, on which political and governance aspects should be emphasized¹⁷. It is quite common for a country to

¹⁴ World Bank (1990), World Bank (2000)

¹⁵ IDS (1993), Nelson, J.M. (1992) Burnell’s interpretation is that in bilateral aid, likelihood of opposition is low given the low cost of supporting democratization, making it easy to assert the legitimacy of assistance (Burnell, P. (2000)).

¹⁶ The words “direct assistance” and “indirect assistance” here follow the distinction made in the talk given to this study group by Prof. Junji Nakagawa at the University of Tokyo.

¹⁷ In Japan, this corresponds to the four principles of assistance described in the ODA Charter adopted by the Cabinet in 1992, but the wording there is soft: “attention should be paid to trends in recipient countries.” There are no bilateral donors that have exhibited a clear linkage between democratization/human rights and aid in their assistance policies, or who have identified specific criteria for doing so. The reality is that judgments about attaching conditions are made by each donor in accordance with specific circumstances. Discretionary policies have been adopted by Japan, the UK and the US, from the standpoint of economic relations and security guarantees with various developing countries, and by France, particularly in its political and economic relations with former colonies (Diamond, L. (1995), Shimomura, Y., et al. (1999), Crawford, G. (2001)).

have conflicting elements in its policies, such as the adoption of a democratic system alongside the continued repression of human rights. Decisions as to what sort of support is required will vary depending on which aspects are evaluated and what level of priority is attached to each.

The intent of indirect assistance is to promote gradual democratization using the ‘carrot and stick’ method. However, there has been much discussion on this subject leading to suggestions that conditionality has not led to significant progress in political reform. In light of the differences in response from country to country, the legitimacy of conditionality itself may be questioned. Moreover, even though short-term effects may be achieved in political liberalization through the enactment of fair, multi-party elections, and further abuses may be limited in countries with severe human rights violations, there are still many obstacles to overcome in order to attain sustained democratic progress. Furthermore, prior to the consideration of these issues comes the very basic problem of the inadequacy of resources within the donor community to supply the “carrot” for democratization¹⁸.

A greater variety of approaches to conditionality have come into play since the second half of the 1990s. Donors have emerged who, rather than cutting off aid or using other measures to sanction countries in which democracy does not take hold or governance is not improved, stress a selective conditionality (selectivity) by demonstratively selecting countries to assist and restricting aid for specific purposes¹⁹. The “Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper: PRSP,” which is requisite for measures associated with debt relief for highly indebted poverty-stricken countries, is being implemented with a “flexible conditionality” which is wider and more unified in scope. While it may be too early to judge the real effects of the PRSP program, it does incorporate institutionalized efforts toward partnership with developing countries based on donor coordination, and toward dialogue between developing country governments and civil society, beginning

¹⁸ Diamond (1995) and others

¹⁹ The World Bank, based on the argument that aid money is effective when applied with good policies and institutions, holds that aid should be selectively directed toward countries who practice good policies and have large numbers of poor people (World Bank (1998)). An argument has also emerged in the DAC since 2000 for distinguishing between good and poor development performers.

with NGOs, and institutionalization of decentralization as part of the democratic process²⁰.

2.3.2 Trends in Direct Support

In reviewing democracy assistance trends using DAC statistics in the area of “Government and Civil Society”, we see that spending began to increase in the second half of the 1980s and continued to grow through the 1990s. The US heads the list for bilateral democracy assistance, followed by Norway, Canada, Germany, UK, and Sweden. US expenditures reached \$670 million in 1998-2000, and accounted for 1/3 to 1/2 of all bilateral assistance over the past 10 years (Table 2-1). The World Bank (IBRD), IDA, and IDB take the lead in terms of technical cooperation by international financial institutions²¹.

Looking at the data by target region, we see that Africa accounts for up to 30 to 40% of bilateral aid. While Central/South America now takes the second largest share, there has been a shift since the mid-1990s from Central/South America toward Asia (including Central Asia) and Central/Eastern Europe, which is to say toward countries moving to a market economy (Table 2-2). Asia (including Central Asia) has been increasing its share from international financial institutions since the second half of the 1990s, but Africa remains the main target of assistance (Table 2-3)²².

Looking at the breakdown of democracy assistance on a 1999 commitment basis, aid for civil society development was the largest category, with the US supplying approximately half of that aid. This is followed by support for economic development policy and planning, administrative and judicial sectors, and other public sector management reforms.

The donors are not necessarily aligned in their interpretation of “governance”

²⁰ There are yet more connections between the argument for selectivity and PRSP measures. Economic and social policies and action plans directed toward poverty reduction are being put forward. It is anticipated that donors will provide continuous fiscal support if the developing country manages public finance appropriately and appropriate monitoring and evaluation can be performed – the “carrot” and “stick” coming together as one.

²¹ Based on the DAC Creditor Reporting System

²² As aid figures in the DAC Online Database are currently under construction, we have used commitment-basis figures for region-by-region data (Tables 2-3, 3-4) and detailed data by democratization assistance sub-fields (Table 2-5).

Table 2.1 Government and Civil Society: Trends of Assistance from Specific Donor Countries (1980-2000)
(Units : Millions of dollars)

Year	DAC Nations Subtotal	Multilateral Assistance Subtotal	Total	USA	Japan*	Canada	Holland	Germany	Norway	Sweden	Australia	UK	France
1973	267	-	267	43	2	2	7	37	1	5	35	31	96
1974	225	-	225	-	6	-	5	34	1	6	54	23	87
1975	184	-	184	19	5	8	7	10	1	0	27	1	98
1976	111	-	111	17	9	32	8	16	1	1	1	6	15
1977	137	-	137	-	5	21	11	44	1	4	2	19	24
1978	239	-	239	14	8	40	17	45	1	1	5	81	22
1979	334	-	334	52	76	10	13	88	1	5	3	40	37
1980	264	-	264	64	9	9	15	100	1	4	7	37	12
1981	312	-	312	24	14	19	10	81	1	5	11	24	116
1982	468	-	468	44	18	14	8	115	1	2	16	19	221
1983	399	-	399	78	12	15	14	65	1	4	13	19	163
1984	634	7	641	135	15	20	13	95	1	5	27	16	290
1985	573	-	573	133	26	15	10	97	2	9	8	18	195
1986	886	-	886	114	31	8	15	135	12	7	17	23	402
1987	971	24	996	279	46	11	21	132	0	12	24	28	288
1988	679	-	679	190	53	10	19	127	1	70	45	42	70
1989	1,005	872	1,877	213	61	43	14	111	10	22	26	41	416
1990	1,734	906	2,641	709	120	29	20	166	2	81	40	68	455
1991	1,380	735	2,122	709	58	9	47	132	8	41	23	77	147
1992	1,710	1,095	2,813	675	176	106	99	120	7	76	71	144	136
1993	1,294	987	2,287	635	102	20	19	169	4	87	19	111	75
1994	1,425	-	1,425	436	118	11	67	176	31	75	35	120	238
1995	1,726	210	1,937	424	258	75	41	232	59	106	69	76	232
1996	1,457	75	1,532	288	110	118	68	184	41	154	71	85	167
1997	1,082	128	1,218	300	88	54	42	122	44	72	54	76	44
1998	1,915	153	2,072	791	94	120	58	162	70	144	78	137	55
1999	1,979	56	2,038	594	117	133	59	126	147	120	140	88	55
2000	2,204	657	2,865	610	177	168	163	155	141	122	119	112	89

Source: DAC data base (Disbursements of ODA) Table1

*The JICA figures for governance assistance in the fields of 'General Development Programs', 'General Administration', 'Statistics', 'Information/Publicity', and 'Surveying/Cartography' are included in the DAC statistics under the classification 'Governance and Civil Society'. As development study projects for Surveying/Cartography, and support to market economies are included the overall totals for this classification have increased since the 1990s.

Table 2.2 Government and Civil Society: Value of Bilateral (DAC nations) Assistance by Region (Commitment Base)
(1990-2000) (Units : Millions of Dollars)

	Total	Asia	(%)	Oceania	(%)	Central/South America	(%)	Middle East	(%)	Africa	(%)	Europe	(%)
1990	773	50	6	5	1	339	44	7	1	374	48	0	0
1991	625	110	18	4	1	350	56	5	1	146	23	1	0
1992	508	43	8	4	1	222	44	5	1	201	40	1	0
1993	408	57	14	6	2	157	39	11	3	170	42	2	0
1994	681	147	22	4	1	207	30	33	5	266	39	14	2
1995	3,195	1,734	54	3	0	262	8	1,255	39	1,031	32	14	0
1996	1,469	368	25	44	3	274	19	74	5	599	41	47	3
1997	1,152	320	28	31	3	275	24	80	7	376	33	39	3
1998	1,472	468	32	53	4	245	17	102	7	482	33	117	8
1999	1,933	572	30	62	3	282	15	63	3	518	27	257	13
2000	2,339	622	27	52	2	308	13	88	4	771	33	387	17

Source: DAC Database, "Creditor Reporting System, ODA/OA Commitments" Forms1, Aggregated by DAC5 Sectors.

Table 2.3 Government and Civil Society: Value of Multilateral Assistance by Region (Commitment Base)
(1990-2000) (Units : Millions of Dollars)

	Total	Asia	(%)	Oceania	(%)	Central/South America	(%)	Middle East	(%)	Africa	(%)	Europe	(%)
1990	162	22	14	0	0	2	1	11	7	131	81		0
1991	445	30	7	1	0	122	28		0	290	65		0
1992	50		0	0	0	0	1		0	46	91		0
1993	48		0	0	0	0	0		0	44	92		0
1994	140	10	7	0	0	44	31		0	80	58	4	3
1995	207	140	68	0	0	11	6		0	45	22		0
1996	757	107	14	6	1	354	47	11	1	263	35	8	1
1997	603	76	13	30	5	88	15	11	2	326	54		0
1998	874	297	34	47	5	77	9		0	379	43	63	7
1999	1,167	173	15	2	0	84	7	55	5	711	61	161	14
2000	2,131	429	20	2	0	107	5	30	1	1,544	72	18	1

Source: DAC Database, "Creditor Reporting System, ODA/OA Commitments" Forms1, Aggregated by DAC5 Sectors

or in the scope of their support for democracy and governance, and their approaches to aid vary significantly (Table 2.4). Approaches to democracy assistance change with the times, but such assistance is generally on the increase.

Beginning with the establishment of the ODA Charter that was passed by the Cabinet in 1992, Japan has initiated new efforts to support elections and the building of legal systems. However, its record in supporting democracy and governance is not large among major bilateral donors. Still, Japan should carefully build on its experience in and lessons from aid with a focus on government institutional capacity building, to which JICA has always given high priority. Issues that have arisen in Japan’s experience of aid that demand further consideration in the future are listed in Box 2-1.

Table 2.4 Comparison of Japan, US, World Bank, and UNDP Assistance for Democracy and Governance

	Definition of Governance	Assistance Target Area
Japan	The ODA Charter states that the purpose of ODA is “to help ensure the efficient and fair distribution of resources and ‘good governance’ in developing countries through developing a wide range of human resources and socioeconomic infrastructure, including domestic systems, and through meeting the basic human needs (BHN), thereby promoting the sound economic development of the recipient countries.”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Based on support and partnership in self-help efforts by the developing country • Know-how and human resource development for the creation and operation of systems of law, government, police, administration, governance, elections, mass media, etc.
US	Means for achieving “sustainable democracy.” (USAID (1998))	Includes the four elements of rule of law, election process, civil society, and governance (government systems).
World Bank	“the process by which authority is exercised in the management of a country’s economic and social resources;” “the capacity of governments to design, formulate, and implement policies and discharge functions.” (World Bank (1994))	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public sector management • Accountability • Legal framework for development • Transparency and free flow of information
UNDP	“Exercise of economic, political, and administrative authority to manage a country’s affairs at all levels.” An important element of sustainable human development and by all means for the advancement of social integration and public well-being. (UNDP (1997a, b))	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Targets the entire scope of nation, civil society, and the private sector. • Governing institutions. Five priority areas: public and private sector management, decentralization and local governance, civil society organizations, countries in strife/economic crisis, and countries in transition.

Source: Produced by Kyoko Kuwajima.

Box 2-1 Specific Issues to Be Considered in Japanese Assistance for Democracy and Governance

1. Since 1997, Japan has held “Seminar on Democracy and Governance” for legislators from both ruling and opposition parties in countries with democratic orientations, where it has introduced Japanese democratic institutions, and provided a venue for discussion. The goal of this work has been more to communicate Japan’s message of democracy assistance and to offer a venue for discussion than to transfer knowledge about particular institutions or mechanisms. More consideration is needed of what specific results such seminars should seek to achieve and what programs would be effective to that end.
2. Among governance support projects, most typical are those in support for civil law-making that begun in 1997 in Cambodia and Vietnam. The drafting process has been unique, requiring time to reflect local conditions and to build understanding among officials in the target country. Further accumulation of such experience and lessons is anticipated.
3. While not counting in the “governance” tally, Japan’s support for government organizational and technical capacity building has traditionally been the area of technical cooperation to which the greatest attention has been given. To further strengthen government service functions, work has been directed to the introduction of tools, such as “maternal and child health care handbooks” in the health sector, for example, so as to improve communication between service providers and citizens and raise awareness. In addressing urban environmental problems, aid efforts have involved local governments, citizens, and enterprises. Such mechanisms to bring together grass roots and government appear to be effective against poverty and environmental problems and perhaps as a way to support effective governance. A further review of results and experience is needed.

Source: Produced by Kyoko Kuwajima.

2.4 Issues and Prospects of Assistance for Democracy and Governance (Including a Review of Governance Indicators)

In the 1990s, assistance for democracy and governance came to be viewed with even greater importance and increased in scale. Calls for effective and improved democracy assistance grew during this period. A report summarizing aid experience to date was issued by the DAC in 1997. Researchers undertook an analysis of US democracy assistance and other reviews of the field.

In general, these reports suggest as a common theme that assistance for democracy and governance should improve the organizational and institutional capacities of both government machinery and private/civil society organizations in a mutually complementary and comprehensive way. As a general lesson, it is clear that very careful thought must be given to the particulars of the political and social realities of each country. At the same time, attention has been drawn to the importance of aid strategy, to the political will of the developing country itself, and to the need for an indigenous drive to democratize²³. Some have pointed out limitations of assistance by individual donors and the importance of coordinating aid. Due to the fact that individual programs tend to be carried out respectively by donors, it is not in fact possible to grasp the full impact of democratization by analysing the effects in one particular country. No method has yet been established to comprehensively and objectively assess what the needs and issues of any particular country are. Nor has a method been established to formulate an appropriate 'prescription' according to the governance conditions of the country in question.

There is still plenty of room for debate as to whether democracy and governance in a developing country can be holistically evaluated in a way that both the developing country and the assisting countries/institutions will find convincing, and whether joint prescriptions are realistic or effective. It would seem that the priorities for the international community will, for the foreseeable future, be to understand the conditions and problems of democracy and governance in developing countries and to formulate indicators for determining assistance priorities, points to keep in mind, outcomes, and impacts.

Existing indicators on democracy and governance include the Freedom House Country Ratings, the International Country Risk Guide (ICRG) Risk Rating often used by the World Bank, and the Corruption Perception Index published by Transparency International. According to DAC, these indicators are of too general a nature to provide the necessary information to lead to concrete

²³ Additionally, democratic reform often stumbles when a developing country's political leaders perceive that their personal interests are harmed by such reform (Burnell, P. (2000), etc.). In "Assessing Aid," published in 1998, the World Bank said that "conditionality is unlikely to bring about lasting reform if there is no strong domestic movement for change."

governance improvement strategies, and tend to be refused by the developing countries. A search has begun for second generation indicators which go beyond these first generation indicators. In current proposals for second generation indicators, good governance revolves around two axes: “checks and balances” (constraints) meant to motivate governments to respond to their citizens’ expectations so as to encourage accountability, and “capability,” to indicate a certain level of governmental performance. A four-dimensional approach is used to consider how to formulate prescriptions to improve governance in response to actual conditions²⁴. To advance from here to a blueprint for assistance for democracy and governance would seem to require a review of whether the same data can be collected in each developing country, what should be the basis for objectivity, and how the data should be analyzed.

As basic elements, however, these indicators can help in understanding the overall picture of current situations, as well as e.g. measuring trends toward democracy in the broad sense of governance through effective and efficiently functioning government, and restraining government arbitrariness through the separation of the three powers and the monitoring of citizens, and the private sector. The movement within the DAC to develop second generation indicators which approach administrative governance from the two aspects of constraint and capability suggests a way to improve effectiveness of government capacity building that is JICA’s major strength.

²⁴ Knack, S., Kugler, M. and Manning N. (2000)

Chapter 3

Roads to Democracy and Governance

- Proposals for Democracy Assistance of JICA -

This study group, having reviewed the basic framework for democratization, went on to examine current realities and issues associated with democratization in each region, as well as trends in democratization and governance assistance by major donors. We summarize below the major implications and issues for JICA in its efforts to review and improve appropriate democracy assistance.

3.1 How Does Democracy Assistance Fit into the Development Assistance Framework?

- (1) As was summarized in Chapter 1, democratization is important because a democratic regime provides an indispensable framework for ridding a nation of the afflictions of political suppression, war and conflicts, and hunger; for providing minimum standard of socio-economic life, and for creating environments in which each individual can realize his or her innate potential. It is also important because the results of an undemocratic development process are not sustainable. Therefore, the establishment of sustainable development requires the promotion of respect for basic human rights and political participation and the building of political, administrative, and social structures appropriate to participatory development – in other words, democratization.
- (2) Since the 1990s the donor community, centered on the DAC, has viewed democracy, human rights, governance, and participation as the four indispensable elements of democracy assistance. Assistance has covered problems with the political process such as political participation,

performance problems such as management of public policy and public projects, and integration and legitimacy of social and economic policy. Participation, accountability, transparency, open government, and the role of public awareness have been stressed as common values. The targets of assistance have ranged widely, encompassing political actors such as central governments (including all three branches), local governments (including all three branches), political parties, pressure groups and citizen groups which represent and express public sentiment, and educational groups involved in education and training. There is also diversity in the way that the major donors position democracy and governance in their aid programs – spreading them as a universal value (US); placing importance on the values, mechanisms, and capabilities needed for human development (UNDP); or emphasizing the mechanisms and capabilities required to realize the fruits of development (World Bank). Donors themselves are evolving these definitions over time and within specific contexts. So, while there is some commonality between all donors, approaches may change depending on the dimensions of the debate and the actors targeted. It is therefore important that we first clarify the position of democracy assistance within the context of Japanese aid.

- (3) For JICA, whose goal is to promote the economic and social development of developing countries, it would seem reasonable to position democracy assistance in terms of the “essential institutions and capacity for both government and civil society so as to ensure sustainable development” as a working definition from the philosophies of the major donors described in (2) above. This study group divided the constituent elements of democratization into three parts, in keeping with the summary in “Analytical Framework for Assistance for Democracy and Governance” (Fig. 1-1): a democratic political system, institutions which make democracy work (governance), and socio-economic foundation for democracy. It is important when considering the requirements for democracy assistance on a country-by-country basis to keep in mind the basic question of what are “essential institutions and capacity for both government and civil society so

as to ensure sustainable development”? In Chapter 2, we summarized the recent debate in the DAC regarding governance indicators in terms of the two axes of government capability (capacity) and checks and balances (constraints). An emphasis on the monitoring and restraint of government functions should become an important pillar of JICA’s work in democracy assistance, along with support for improving government and citizen capacity so as to promote the adoption and execution of appropriate policies.

- (4) The debate in the aid community does not focus only on how to effectively advance democracy and governance, but also on the awareness that good governance (incorporating an effective and accountable democratic government, the respect for human rights, and the rule of law) is indispensable in order to achieve the benefits of national administration and development. This debate also relates to the discussion of selecting target assistance countries and fields based on a review of governance evaluation indicators for the promulgation of effective and strategic assistance, respect for the developing country’s autonomy in its own development (ownership), the importance of aid coordination between donors, and particularly on the premise that assistance will not yield results when democracy and governance conditions are poor.

3.2 A Basic Approach to Democracy Assistance

(1) Cooperation Suited to the Particulars of the Developing Country

- In this study group we have analyzed the current state of democratization in the regions of East/Southeast Asia, Southwest Asia, Central and South America, and Africa, dividing the basic elements of democratization into the three components of a democratic political system, institutions which make democracy work (governance), and socio-economic foundation for democracy, in keeping with the summary laid out in Chapter 1. The state of democratic political systems differs depending on political circumstances, economic and social starting conditions, and historical factors. There is a

great diversity of cases, including countries that require building or rebuilding of systems, countries that have institutional underpinnings but are experiencing problems in implementing these systems, and countries in which instabilities must be addressed by social development and reducing levels of poverty. Naturally, specific democratization policies require not only the appropriate application of expertise and methods in which Japan has strengths, but also a consideration of what kind of support is appropriate for the particular conditions and characteristics of the target country.

- There are two methods generally adopted for democracy assistance: direct assistance methods, which support democratic institution building and activities directed at improving governance, and indirect assistance, which encourages improvement efforts by the developing country through “political conditionality”. The latter is a subject for the political judgement by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but as a study group we would like to emphasize that building or improving democratic political systems requires an autonomous awareness on the part of each developing country with respect to democratization (which is to say a political philosophy and an inherent awareness by the mass populace). It is therefore more important in terms of indirect support to project the principles of assistance in the ODA Charter as Japan’s clear message about democracy and governance, namely that we will provide assistance in ways that promote democratization, and will consider democratization when giving assistance, rather than to stress conditionality, in which the rendering of assistance is linked to democracy and governance status. There are limits to how much impact indirect support alone can have on the democratization of developing countries.
- Direct support methods for promoting democratization and improving governance may include attention to democratic institution building and governance improvement within development assistance programs already underway, in addition to specific support activities. On the first point, given Japan’s accumulated experience in assisting with government capability improvement, and given the need for mechanisms to increase the

sustainability of cooperation, Japan will have a comparative advantage in promoting projects that improve government administrative capability and include checks and balances through citizen participation. Whether the project is a specific democracy assistance project or a measure to support democratization within a conventional project, it is important to appeal to both the target government and the residents and citizens who will be beneficiaries. Coordination between domestic and outside NGOs and citizen groups is also important. Specific approaches to projects are discussed in (2) below.

(2) Categories of Democracy Assistance

In the present study, we considered categories of democratization and support menus to accompany these categories in our analysis of region-by-region democratization conditions. Reflecting the results of this consideration, we propose that assistance needs to be organized and understood using broad categories, and that concrete measures need to be considered when planning future democracy assistance. It is obviously necessary to consider the target country's autonomy, Japan's relationship with the country, and compatibility with other donor's assistance policies holistically. Below we list six categories of support needs, depending on the developing country's circumstances.

1) Support for Reconstruction (In Post-Conflict Countries)

Comprehensive support is needed for all three elements: a democratic political system, institutions which make democracy work (governance), and socio-economic foundation for democracy. Post-conflict countries are in a special situation: they have a positive intention to democratize (with respect to the autonomous will to democratize) as discussed in (1) above. They also must establish socio-economic foundations in parallel with setting up democratic political systems, whilst satisfying popular demands for peace as quickly as possible. It is important for Japan to cooperate rapidly in the required areas, making sure that the peace dividend is paid early, and to urgently push for democracy assistance so that the course of democratization is not reversed, clearly linking direct and indirect assistance. At the same time, planning must be

undertaken with the subject country to support democratization and social and economic development with a middle and long term perspective²⁵.

Cooperation projects to date have included seminars on democracy and governance in Japan aimed at legislators from governing and opposition parties, and monitoring and assisting in the implementation of general elections in East Timor and Cambodia (dispatching experts, supplying vehicles and other equipment, etc.). East Timor is an example of broad NGO participation and cooperation aimed at reconstruction. What can be seen in this process is a strengthening of the capacity of intermediary organizations such as NGOs who came into contact with beneficiaries and the organization of beneficiaries, and the beneficiaries themselves. Support for refugee resettlement and rural development took the form of a tripartite cooperation with ASEAN countries, and was distinguished by its regional settings. Cooperation projects are currently being considered for Afghanistan.

2) Support for Democratic Institutions (In Countries Building or Reforming a Democratic Political System)

Countries that are attempting to build and reform basic systems such as judicial, legislative, and administrative institutions need support which will increase the credibility of these institutions, such as the enactment of basic laws, training of legal professionals, strengthening of deliberative bodies, and civil service systems, etc.

Cooperation undertaken to date includes support for enacting civil law in Vietnam and Cambodia. It must be noted that the relevant authorities in the target country were involved in the part of the assistance process dealing with the establishment of laws. The need for legal system reform and its economic and social importance thereof were discussed and agreed upon through a series of dialogue and workshops. An issue for future assistance will be the legislation, legal profession training support, citizen legal consciousness-raising, and legal aid needed to enforce the laws based on the local culture. It will also be important in the future to support the strengthening of various parliamentary functions, as

²⁵ For more on the philosophy and guiding principles of peace-building development assistance, see Institute for International Cooperation, JICA (2001).

is being done with the parliament-focused seminars for Tajikistan, or for Indonesia.

3) Support for Strengthening Governance (In Countries That Have a Democratic Political System That Does Not Function Sufficiently Well)

What is needed in countries where democratic political systems exist but do not adequately function is to strengthen various systems – i.e. governance improvement. While review is required based on each country's needs, out of the definitions given for governance in Chapter 1, it is the capacity building of relevant government departments and the strengthening of checks and balances which are essential for establishing a fair and efficient government. Government and civil society capacity development reflecting beneficiary needs, as well as transparency through disclosure of information, better evaluation and monitoring functions within government, and better distribution of administrative information will all be required.

Many projects for the improvement of government capability have been conducted to date. Cooperation for the improvement of administrative functions at the sectoral line ministries and at the local government levels, in particular, is an area of Japanese strength. Building in mechanisms for the contributions of beneficiaries and by strengthening checks and balances should be treated as a pivotal function of governance. The issue of expanding the authority and improving the capabilities of local governments, which are closer to stakeholders is already gathering steam among several countries, and some problems are already being addressed. Projects for government capacity enhancement will merit attention from the two aspects of building democratic check and balance mechanisms and the improvement of service²⁶.

²⁶ Includes projects oriented toward networking between local administrators, local colleges and universities, education and training organizations, and citizen groups, as well as projects that seek to improve service by advancing the supply of information to beneficiaries. An example of such a project is the shellfish aquaculture project going on in the Puerto Montt region of Chile. A third-sector style public enterprise handles prefectural fisheries promotion and marine resource management. This public enterprise manages organization of local fishermen and joint shellfish resource management, and product quality control and market adaptation, as well as promulgating aquaculture technology in remote regions and distributing income.

4) Support for Poverty Reduction (In Countries That Have a Serious Poverty Problem, and Where Social Stability and Its Development Are Most Important)

In poverty reduction assistance (which gives weight to social development) emphasis is primarily placed on raising educational and literacy levels, sanitation, and other measures to improve basic living environment and human capacity. Such improvements is brought about not only by improvements in public service itself, but also lead to long term higher awareness and recognition, organizational improvements among residents, an improved status of women, and to enhanced rational expectation and voices of beneficiaries. Such cooperation should be viewed as assistance for consolidating democracy²⁷.

Communication between beneficiaries and governments is needed to reflect rational expectations and opinion. It is also important to provide access to government information. The role of a free and neutral media is important, but tools for communication between beneficiaries and the government which come about through institutional devices (such as the “maternal and child health care handbook” project underway in Indonesia) are also important and should be given priority in the future.

5) Support for Preventing Any Recurrence or Intensification of Conflict (In Countries Plagued by Internal Conflicts)

Military and political effort is needed to deal with conflicts in the first place, but support is needed to increase the awareness of people involved in politics and government in order to avoid conflict. It is also important to help rebuild judicial and legislative systems, and carry out fair trials. At the same time, it is important to work toward conflict prevention through development assistance for poverty reduction and universal education.

²⁷ In the poverty reduction project in Sulawesi, Indonesia, for example, the focus is to promote decentralization and bottom-up regional development –what might be termed democratic regional development. The objective is to build systems and capabilities to draft and execute regional development plans based on research of resident needs. This is very different from the mode in which poverty reduction funds used to be distributed from the top (Institute for International Cooperation, JICA (1997)).

Some examples of such peace-building assistance are the previously mentioned refugee resettlement, rural development (in cooperation with ASEAN countries), community development for self-sufficiency of discharged soldiers, demining operations, and the reintegration of land-mine victims into society as was undertaken in Cambodia. To assist in building mechanisms for the fair resolution of disputes, a program to build transparent and impartial police administrations was begun in Indonesia and is now expanding to several other regions, and merits attention in the future. The introduction²⁸ of the Koban system, which was previously implemented in Singapore, is now planned for East Timor and El Salvador. Technical assistance to build criminal identification and communications infrastructure, together with efforts to build citizen police forces in which citizens participate in their own protection, have already spread widely and accumulated significant experience, and should be further deployed in the future.

It is conversely also possible for development assistance aimed at a particular region or community to intensify conflicts, and implications for peace must be considered when giving aid in order to avoid negative effects of development assistance.

6) Assistance through Regional Organizations

In areas that have strong regional cooperation organizations showing a commitment to democratization, such as the Organization of American States (OAS) in Central and South America or the European Union (EU) in Europe, democratization in member states can be promoted through the assistance of such regional organizations. Regional organizations such as the Africa Union (AU) in Africa and the Southern African Development Community (SADC), whose functions and roles have been limited to date, may become important partners in the future, and a search for regional democracy assistance opportunities should be worthwhile.

Given that dialogue with citizens, participatory development, and governance improvement are built into the policy and implementation process for countries

²⁸ National Police Agency (1987)

identified as targets in Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers, it will also be important to promote democracy and governance through support for these measures.

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民主的な国づくりへの 支援に向けて

ガバナンス強化を中心に

2003年3月

国際協力事業団
国際協力総合研修所

序 文

冷戦構造の崩壊やグローバリゼーションなどを背景とした昨今の世界の大きな流れの中で、世界各地で民主化、自由化、市場経済化に向けての動きが着実に進展しています。民主的な体制は、統治と開発への国民参加を促進すると同時に、国家からの政治的迫害や戦争や紛争、飢餓による不安を国民から取り除き、国民が個々の資質を発揮できる環境を作り出すために不可欠な枠組みであり、かつ国家の中長期的な安定と開発促進にとって重要な要素となっています。このような認識の下、国際社会、特に開発途上国における民主化への動きを積極的に支援しようという気運も高まっており、主要先進国首脳会議においても民主主義へのコミットメントや民主化への努力に対する支持が確認されています。わが国も1992年に閣議決定した政府開発援助大綱の中で「民主化促進」を援助実施に関する原則の1つとして位置づけています。

本調査研究ではこのような状況を踏まえ、開発途上国の民主化をどのように支援していくべきかを検討致しました。具体的には民主化を「民主的な制度」「民主化を機能させるシステム(政府と市民社会のガバナンス)」「民主化の社会・経済基盤」の3つの構成要素からなると考え、この3つの側面から東アジア・東南アジア、南西アジア、中南米、アフリカの各地域における民主化の現状と課題を分析し、今後の民主化支援のあり方を提案しています。地域別の分析を行っているのは、地域によって民主化の歴史や現状、課題が異なるためです。さらに、同じ地域でも国によって状況が異なるため、地域の中でも大きく国を類型化して、類型ごとにどのような支援のニーズが高いかを検討致しました。また、民主化・ガバナンス支援の国際的な動向について現状と課題を分析し、世界銀行等のドナーが中心となって進めているガバナンス指標検討の動きについても紹介しています。

本調査研究では、このような地域別の分析と国際的な支援動向を踏まえ、今後の民主化支援のあり方について提言を行い、今後取り組むべき課題を整理しています。民主化支援を行うにあたって、まず考え方を整理しました。

民主化・ガバナンスの定義はドナーや時代によって変わっていますが、現在いずれのドナーにも共通する定義として、民主化・ガバナンスを「開発の成果を持続させるために、政府と国民の双方において必要な仕組みと能力」と捉え、この定義に従って、国ごとに何が「開発成果を持続させるための仕組みと能力」なのかを検討することが肝要です。また、民主化に関する国の特性を把握する上では国を類型化して考えることが有効です。主な類型としては「復興支援型(紛争後の復興期にある国)」「制度整備型(民主的制度の構築と改革を行っている国)」「ガバナンス強化型(民主的制度はあるが十分に機能していない国)」「貧困対策重視型(貧困が深刻であり社会的安定と社会開発が最重要課題となっている国)」「紛争拡大・再発の予防支援型(国内紛争が多発している国)」などが考えられます。今後取り組むべき課題としては、民主化・ガバナンス分野での援助経験の蓄積と整理や途上国のマクロ的な民主化・ガバナンスの現状評価と開発成果との関係の整理があります。このような経験や知見の蓄積から効果的な民主化支援のあり方についてさらに検討を深めていく必要があります。

本調査研究の実施及び報告書の取りまとめにあたっては、拓殖大学国際開発学部の岩崎育夫教授を座長とする研究会を設置し検討を重ねるとともに、研究会委員以外の有識者の方にもご示唆を頂きました。本調査研究にご尽力いただいた関係者のご協力に対し心より感謝申し上げます。

本報告書は調査研究報告書の要約版です。報告書が民主化支援を効果的に実施していくための参考となれば幸いです。

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国際協力事業団
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所長 加藤 圭一

座長緒言

本報告書は、2001年9月～2002年3月までの半年間、国際協力事業団により組織された「民主化支援のあり方(基礎調査)」研究会の成果である。

民主化とは、非民主的な政治体制を民主主義体制へと換えること、あるいはそれに近づける努力をすることであり、民主化支援とは、開発途上国が民主主義体制に近づこうとする努力を支援することである。1990年代になると多くの開発途上国で民主化の進展がみられたが、これをもって民主化の必要性が薄れたということとはできない。非民主的体制の国がまだあるし、民主的体制に移行した国でもそれがうまく機能しているとはいえないからである。

民主化の促進には当該国の主体的努力に加え、先進諸国や国際機関の支援も必要とされている。本研究会の基本的立場は、開発途上国の政治・経済・社会にとり民主主義体制が望ましいが、まだ民主化が不十分である、そのために、これまでの日本や欧米諸国や国際機関の民主化支援動向を踏まえながら、開発途上国の政治状況や民主化の進捗状況に則して適切な民主化支援策を考えてみる、ということにある。この基本的スタンスの下で、委員として開発途上国の政治研究者や地域研究者、及び日本や欧米諸国や国際機関の民主化支援動向に関する専門家、そしてタスクフォースとして実際に民主化支援に携わっている国際協力事業団職員が参加することで、委員会の特徴をもたせた。研究会の進め方は、前半は、アジア、中南米、アフリカなど地域ごとの政治構造や民主化の進捗状況について検討や議論を行い、これを受けて後半では、どのような民主化支援が必要で望ましいのかについて集中的な議論を行った。

民主化は制度を整えればよいというものではなく、民主化を機能させるシステム(政府及び市民社会のガバナンス)や民主化を支える社会経済基盤があってはじめて意味のあるものになる。そのため、本研究会では民主化の構成要素を 民主的制度、民主化を機能させるシステム、民主化を支える

社会経済基盤、と考え、これらの構成要素に基づいて民主化の現状と課題及び支援策を検討した。その際、開発途上国の政治状況や経済状況、社会構造が地域や国ごとに違っているため、研究会では地域諸国を幾つかの指標を使って類型化し、それぞれの類型ごとに3つの要素のうちでどれに重点や優先順位を置いたらよいか考えた。

現在、開発途上国は数多くの困難な問題を抱えており、政治安定、社会調和、経済発展に向けた主体的努力や様々な支援がなされているが、いうまでもなく民主化支援はその一つをなすものである。本研究会の我々の提言によって、開発途上国の民主化が一気に進み、社会調和や経済基盤の強化も短期間で実現するとは考えないが、提言が開発途上国と、その支援に関わる様々な人々の参考となり、かつ、その実現に向かう確かな一歩となれば幸いである。

2002年3月

民主化支援のあり方(基礎調査)研究会

座長 岩崎育夫

略 語 表

A	ADB	Asian Development Bank	アジア開発銀行
	APEC	Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation	アジア・太平洋経済協力閣僚会議
	ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations	東南アジア諸国連合
	ASDS	Agricultural Sector Development Strategy	農業分野開発戦略
	ASP	Agricultural Sector Program	農業セクタープログラム
	AU	African Union	アフリカ連合
B	BA	Bureaucratic Authoritarianism	官僚制権威主義体制
	BHN	Basic Human Needs	ベーシック・ヒューマン・ニーズ
C	CAS	Country Assistance Strategy	世銀国別援助戦略
	CDF	Comprehensive Development Framework	包括的開発枠組み
	CG	Consultative Group	支援国会合
	CO	Community Organization	地域組織
	CPI	Corruption Perceptions Index	汚職・腐敗度指数
D	DAC	Development Assistance Committee	OECD 開発援助委員会
	DDC	District Development Committee	郡開発委員会
E	EAC	East African Community	東アフリカ共同体
	EC	European Commission	欧州委員会
	ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States	西アフリカ諸国経済共同体
	EDDI	education for Development and Democracy Initiative	開発と民主化のための教育イニシアティブ
	EO	Executive Outcomes	エグゼクティブ・アウトカムズ社
	EPLF	Eritrean People's Liberation Front	エリトリア人民解放戦線
	EU	European Union	欧州連合
F	FEALAC	Forum for East Asia and Latin America Cooperation	東アジア・ラテンアメリカ協力フォーラム
	FTAA	Free Trade Area of the Americas	米州自由貿易地域
G	G8	Group of Eight	先進8ヶ国
	GAP	Governance Action Plan	統治実行計画
	GDP	Gross Domestic Product	国内総生産
	GIS	Geographic Information Systems	地理情報システム
	GNP	Gross National Product	国民総生産
H	HIPC	Heavily Indebted Poor Country	重債務国
I	IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development	国際復興開発銀行

	ICRG	International Country Risk Guide	インターナショナル・カン トリー・リスク・ガイド社
	ICT	information and communication technology	情報通信技術
	IDA	International Development Association	国際開発協会
	IDB	Inter-American Development Bank	米州開発銀行
	IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development	政府間開発機構
	IGR	Institutional and Governance Reviews	組織制度的状況の分析
	IMF	International Monetary Fund	国際通貨基金
	IT	information technology	情報技術
	J	JBIC	Japan Bank for International Cooperation
	JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency	国際協力事業団
K	KANU	Kenya African National Union	ケニア・アフリカ全国同盟
L	LGP	Local governance Program	地方ガバナンスプログラム
	LLDC	Least among Less Developed Country	後開発途上国
	LTTE	Tamil Tiger Terrorists	タミル・イーラム解放の虎
M	MTEF	Mid-Term Expenditure Framework	中期支出枠組書
N	NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement	北米自由貿易協定
	NAI	New African Initiative	新アフリカ・イニシアティブ
	NEPAD	The New Partnership for Africa's Development	アフリカ開発のための新パート ナーシップ
	NGO	Non-Governmental Organization	非政府組織
	NORAD	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation	ノルウェー開発協力庁
	NPO	Non-Profitable Organization	非政府組織
O	OAS	Organization of American States	米州機構
	OAU	Organization of African Unity	アフリカ統一機構
	ODA	Official Development Assistance	政府開発援助
	OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development	経済協力開発機構
P	PDD	Partnership for Democratic Development Initiative	民主的発展のためのパートナ シップ・イニシアティブ
	PDDP	Participatory District Development Programme	参加型地域開発プログラム
	PDF	Pakistan Development Forum	パキスタン開発フォーラム
	PER	Public Expenditure Reviews	公共支出レビュー
	PKF	Peace-Keeping Force	国連平和維持軍

	PKO	Peace-Keeping Operations	国連平和維持活動
	PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper	貧困削減戦略ペーパー
R	RAA	Refugee Affected Area	難民受入地域
	RDS	The Rural Development Strategy	地方開発戦略
S	SADC	Southern African Development Community	南部アフリカ開発共同体
	SLFP	Sri Lankan Freedom Party	スリ・ランカ自由党
	SP	Sector Program	セクタープログラム
T	TICAD II	Tokyo International Conference on African Development II	第2回東京アフリカ開発会議
U	UCM	Union Coordinating Meeting	ユニオン連絡調整会議
	UDC	Union Development Center	ユニオン活性化センター
	UNDP	United Nations Development Programme	国連開発計画
	UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees	国連難民高等弁務官事務所
	UNTAET	United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor	国連東ティモール暫定統治機構
	USAID	The United States Agency for International Development	米国国際開発庁
V	VDC	Village Development Committee	村落開発委員会

調査研究の概要

1. 調査研究の背景と目的

冷戦構造の崩壊に伴い、世界各地で民主化、自由化、市場経済化に向けての動きが着実に進展している。民主主義の基盤強化は、統治と開発への国民参加を促すと共に、人権の擁護・促進につながり、国家の中長期的な安定と開発促進にとって極めて重要な要素となっている。こうした中、国際社会においては特に開発途上国における民主化への動きを積極的に支援していく気運が高まっており、主要先進国首脳会議(G8サミット)においても民主主義へのコミットメントや民主化への努力に対する支持が確認されている。

わが国も従来よりODAを通じて開発途上国の民主化や市場経済化の動きを積極的に支援してきており、その基本的考え方を1992年に閣議決定した政府開発援助大綱(通称ODA大綱)の中でも明らかにしている。しかしながらわが国の取り組みは、1970年代から民主化に対応するための援助のあり方についてガイドラインを策定し、官民一体となって民主的ガバナンスに取り組んできた米国や北欧諸国などに比較して十分とはいいがたく、民主化を重要課題と認識しているものの、どのように民主化支援を実施していくかについては模索中である。

そのため、本調査研究では民主化に関する途上国の現状と課題を分析し、国際協力事業団(Japan International Cooperation Agency: JICA)を中心としたわが国の民主化に関する協力実績及び国際的な民主化支援の動向を把握した上で、今後のわが国の民主化支援のあり方について提言を行うことを目的とした。

2. 実施体制と調査方法

本調査研究はアジア、中南米、アフリカの各地域の政治学を専門とする外部有識者を中心とした委員及び各地域への支援を担当するJICA職員からな

るタスクフォースで研究会を設置し、議論を重ねた(「委員・タスクフォース一覧」参照)。各地域の民主化の現状と国際的支援については当該地域を専門とする委員とJICA職員が組になって政治と援助の両面から分析を行い、地域別の提言を導き出した。これらの地域別の分析と国際的な民主化支援動向の分析を基に今後の民主化支援のあり方について研究会委員以外の外部有識者¹のコメントも頂きつつ研究会で検討を行い、提言をとりまとめた。

本報告書は2002年3月に完成した調査研究報告書の要約版である。

3. 報告書構成

この報告書は3章から構成されている。第1章では本研究会における民主化支援の考え方を整理している。また、東アジア・東南アジア、南西アジア、中南米、アフリカの各地域における民主化の現状や課題を要約し、どのような民主化支援策が望ましいのかについて考察を行っている。第2章では開発援助における民主主義やガバナンスの位置づけや援助動向を分析するとともに、民主化支援を行っている主要ドナー(世界銀行、国連開発計画、米国国際開発庁、日本)の支援の方針や特徴を比較した。第3章では民主化支援の考え方を整理した上で途上国を類型化し、JICAにとって重要と思われる支援策を提言している。

【執筆者】

第1章 民主化を考える枠組み 岩崎育夫

注) 地域別の分析は下記の執筆者の原稿を基に要約したものである。

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南西アジア 広瀬崇子、岩上憲三

¹ 「ODA大綱の政治経済学」の共著者であり民主化支援の政策面に知見の深い東京大学社会科学研究所 中川淳司教授及びJICAのアフリカ民主化セミナーでコースリーダーをされている獨協大学国際関係法学科 増島建 助教授からわが国の民主化支援のあり方についてご意見を頂いた。

中南米 遅野井茂雄、秋山慎太郎

アフリカ 落合雄彦、川村康予、関智宏

第2章 ガバナンスを軸にした民主化支援動向 桑島京子

第3章 今後の民主化支援のあり方について 桑島京子、佐原隆幸

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第1章 民主化を考える枠組み

1 - 1 なぜ民主化なのか

1 - 1 - 1 開発途上国における民主化の動き

1980年代後半に、ハンチントン(Samuel Huntington)がいう「民主化の第3の波」(Third Wave of Democratization)が世界各地に波及すると、多くの開発途上国で権威主義体制から民主主義体制への移行が起こった。そもそも民主化の第3波は、スペイン、ポルトガル、ギリシャの南欧諸国に始まり、その後、ソ連・東欧、中南米、アフリカ、そしてアジアへと波及したものである。この民主化運動前後の時期における途上国の政治状況は、おおよそ次のように画くことができる。1970年代のアジアは、開発独裁として知られる、開発を正統性に掲げた権威主義体制が支配的で、世界銀行(World Bank)が「東アジアの奇跡」(East Asian Miracle)と呼んだ高い経済成長はこの政治体制の下で進められた。しかし、1986年にフィリピンで腐敗したマルコス(Ferdinand Marcos)独裁政権に対する国民の不満が爆発し、「黄色い革命」でそれが崩壊すると、民主化運動が次々と他の国々に伝播していった。中南米でも1970年代は、東アジアと同様に開発を掲げた軍政の権威主義体制が支配的だったが、東アジアと違い公約に掲げた経済成長の達成に失敗し、そこへ民主化運動が起こり民主主義体制への移行が起こったのである。アフリカは1960年代の独立後は民主主義体制で出発したが、部族対立やネオ・パトリモニアルな政治文化が政治不安を招いたため一党独裁の国が多くなったが、民主化の第3の波が波及すると、多くの国が複数政党制へと移行したのである。

このように、開発途上国の多くの国が民主主義体制へと移行しており、途

¹ Huntington, S.P.(1992)

上国においても国民が民主主義を志向しているといえる。統治者も民主主義以外の政治体制で支配を正当化することや国民の支持を得ることが難しくなっている。しかし、独裁政権、軍政、権威主義体制が終焉・消滅したわけではないし、すべての民主化運動が成功したわけでもない。1989年6月に中国で発生した「天安門事件」のように、政府と軍の弾圧で悲劇的終幕を迎えたものも少なくない。また、民主主義体制に移行したとはいえ、それがうまく機能しているかは別の問題であり、開発途上国が直面する政治・社会経済の様々な問題や課題がすべて解決したわけではない。それどころか現実には、民主化以前にはまがりなりにも確保されていた秩序が崩壊し、政治不安定、社会混乱、経済停滞に陥った国も少なくない。開発途上国では、民主化をさらに進めて民主主義を定着させ、それをうまく機能させることが共通の課題なのである。

1 - 1 - 2 民主化の目的

そもそも民主化とは何であり、どのような民主化が必要なのだろうか。改めていうまでもないが、民主化とは、ある政治体制を民主主義体制に変える、あるいはその方向へと導くことである。現実の政治体制に即していえば、軍政、一党独裁体制、権威主義体制、共産主義体制を民主的な体制へと変えることである。この点で、政治指導者、政党、市民運動家、一般国民、支援国、国際機関、政治研究者などの中で民主化が望ましいことに異論はないが、問題は、では民主化が向かうべき民主主義とはどのようなものかという点になると必ずしも共通認識がないことである。現在、開発途上国の一部の政治家が独特の民主主義論を唱え²、欧米諸国や国際機関との間で論議が起こっているが、これは民主主義の捉え方の違いに一因がある。

ここでは民主主義とは何かについて、多様な民主主義論の検討や、欧米諸国と開発途上国では民主主義の捉え方が違うのかといった問題を考えること

² 岩崎育夫(1997)

が目的ではない。我々は、途上国の政治安定、社会調和、経済改善に民主化が寄与するところが大きいと考えるが、この立場から民主主義の中味を明確にしておくことが目的である。何が民主主義かについて様々な解釈がありうるが、我々は「政治的自由などの基本的人権の尊重」と「政治参加」の2つが基本要素であり、それにこの2つを意味あるもとのするための途上国における重要な要件が「開発」であると考えている。その理由は以下による。

第1の基本的人権の尊重。これは広い意味で捉えており、単に政治的自由だけでなく、社会経済的な生存権も含んでいる。政治的自由は民主主義政治の基本要件といえるもので、これが尊重されたならば、抑圧のない政治や定期的選挙の実施など民主的な社会が期待できる。しかし、たとえ政治的自由が保障されたとしても、国民の最低限の社会的生存権が保障されていないならば意味がなく、政治、社会経済の広い領域における基本的人権の尊重が重要なのである。

第2の政治参加。基本的人権の尊重は国民が国家から権利を与えられた、保障されたという、いわば「受動的で静態的な」要件でしかなく、単に権利を持っているだけでは不十分である。それを積極的に行使することが必要であり、それが「能動的で動態的な」政治参加である。この2つは、国民が基本的人権を尊重され、それを自ら積極的に行使して政治参加を行うことで相互に意味を持つ相互補完関係にある。

これに対して開発は、この2つが十全に機能するための条件とも手段ともいえるものである。というのは、社会が安定し一定の経済水準に到達している先進国では、政治的自由や基本的人権の尊重が保障されたならば、後は国民の主体的努力による政治参加を待たばよいかもしれない。しかし開発途上国の実態を考えると、国民がこれらの権利を行使するには、一定の経済水準や社会インフラの整備が必要とされる。人間として最低限の社会経済生活が満たされていない状態で基本的人権の尊重や政治参加を説いてもそれは絵に描いた餅に過ぎず、開発を通じて最低限の社会経済生活が保障された時に意

味をもってくるからである。

1 - 1 - 3 民主化の必要性

なぜ、このような内容の民主主義体制へと向かう民主化が必要なのだろうか。これは、なぜ民主主義体制以外では駄目なのか考えてみるとその意義が明らかになる。軍政であれ、権威主義体制であれ、独裁体制であれ非民主的な体制は、国家危機、安全保障への脅威、社会の分裂回避、効率的開発のためなど理由は様々だが、国民の政治的自由の抑圧、基本的人権の無視、あるいは政治参加を制限するか否定する傾向にあることは、これまでの歴史が教えるところである。政治体制との関連で国民が保障されるべき基本要件の1つは、国家体制や政府の政策を批判した、国家指導者と違った思想を持っている、などの理由で迫害されないことにあるが、これは政治的自由の保障や政治参加に重きを置く民主主義体制でのみ実現が期待できる。他方、国家は国民が最低限の社会経済生活を営める環境づくりに努め、生存権を含む基本的人権を尊重しなければならないが、これも民主主義体制の下で最もよく保障されることが期待できることは歴史が教えるところである。

それでは、軍政や権威主義体制から民主的な体制へと移行したならば民主化は達成されたのだろうか。先に途上国では民主化の第3の波により民主的体制の国が多くなったと述べたが、非民主的体制から民主的体制へと変わることは「体制移行」と呼ばれる。しかしこれが民主化のすべてではない。この体制移行が民主化の第1段階だとすると、第2段階がある。それが民主主義の「定着」であり、うまく機能するためのシステムや環境づくりである³。この点では、途上国は様々な問題や課題に直面しており、民主主義がうまく機能しているとは決していうことはできない。いまだ第1段階の民主化が課題の国もあるが、現在は第2段階のこれが民主化の主要課題なのである。

なお、冷戦体制の崩壊後は国際機関や欧米諸国を中心に、政治的民主化と

³ Linz, J.J. and Stepan, A.(1996)

経済的自由化(市場経済化)が、世界のあらゆる国にとり望ましい政治経済体制である、開発途上国が開発を推進する上でも、不可欠の条件であると主張されている。これが途上国にも該当するかは、理論と実態の両面から考えてみる必要がある。理論的には、東アジアの開発独裁を引き合いに「非民主的体制と開発(成長)」は矛盾しないとする見方があるなど⁴、民主化と自由化の有意な連関性について必ずしも意見の一致がないのが実態である。しかし途上国の開発の実態的経験からすると、民主化と自由化が望ましいといえることができる。例えば、非民主的体制下の開発は短期的には成果を上げたにしても、政治権力者の腐敗と汚職が起りやすく、政治経済崩壊に繋がるのが一般的パターンであった。また国家が強大なため、成長の配分が歪められる危険性が高く、開発における国民や企業の自発性も乏しく、国民不在の開発となる傾向が極めて強いのも事実である。これらを考えると、開発途上国でも国民を主体とし、個人や企業の自発性を引き出す民主化と自由化が望ましいと考えられる。

1 - 2 民主化の3つの構成要素

民主化はどういった要素で構成され、どのような制度体系や仕組みを作り上げたならば民主主義体制の実現へと向かうのだろうか。次の3つ、すなわち民主的な制度、民主化を機能させるシステム、民主化を支える社会・経済基盤がそうだと考えられる。なおこれは、民主主義がどのような仕組みで機能しているのかという政治システム分析視点ではなく、開発途上国の民主化にはどのような支援策が必要かという実務的視点からみたものである。

1 - 2 - 1 民主的な制度

最も基礎的なものが民主的な制度である。具体的には、基本的人権を保障した法制度の整備、国民の選挙権や被選挙権など政治的権利の付与と尊重、

⁴ 岩崎育夫(1994)

言論・出版・結社など政治的自由の保障、これを基盤にした政党や政治活動の自由の保障、自由で公平な選挙制度とその運営などがこれにあたる。つまり、国民の政治参加や開かれた政治システムを保障する法制度が構築され、その上で公正で自由な選挙が定期的実施され適切に運営されていることが、民主的制度の根幹を成す。また、司法・立法・行政の三権分立体制の確立も民主的制度の基本的要件に含まれる。

1 - 2 - 2 民主化を機能させるシステム

とはいえ、上記の民主的な制度を単に形式に止まることなく実質的なものにするには、それを機能させるシステムが必要である。それが国家や社会の制度を動かす「ソフト」であり、一般的にガバナンスと呼ばれるものである。民主化を機能させるシステムは大きく、国家権力バランスの改善、政府の意識・能力の向上、社会集団の公平な利害調整メカニズム、市民のエンパワメント、の4領域に分けられる(図1-1を参照)。

国家権力バランスの改善

一般的に開発途上国では、三権のうち行政権力が肥大化・強大化する傾向が強いので、議会の強化や法曹の育成を通じた三権相互のチェック・アンド・バランスを図ることが重要である。形式的だけでなく実質的にも政党活動(とりわけ野党)の自由が保障されたならば、これも行政権力の行き過ぎのチェック機能となることが期待できる。政府の説明責任を向上させる措置、地方分権化を通じた行政内部のチェック・アンド・バランス体制の構築、市民による行政チェック機能の確立もこれに重要な役割を果たせよう。また、政府が国民に民主主義意識を高める教育を行うことも機能的なシステムづくりに寄与でき、表現の自由や放送の自由を保障してマスコミが自由に活動できる環境を作ること、IT(Information and Communication Technology: 情報通信技術)を普及させて国民のメディアや民主主義を促進する情報へのアクセ

図1-1 民主化支援のあり方 分析の枠組み

<民主化の目的> 政治的自由などの基本的人権の尊重及び政治参加を促進し、また参加型の開発の推進にも適した政治・行政・社会を構築する

<民主化の構成要素>

【民主的な制度】		【民主化を機能させるシステム(政府と市民社会のガバナンス改善)】	
具体的内容(イメージ)	支援方法例	具体的内容(イメージ)	支援方法例
1)政治的自由と参加に基づいた開かれた政治システムの構築(複数政党制等)	1)民主的な政治システムの整備支援	国家権力バランスの改善にかかわるもの 1)三権分立のための三権間の相互のチェック・アンド・バランス(議会の強化、法曹の育成) 2)政党活動の自由の保障(特に野党) 3)行政府内の説明責任を向上させるためのチェック・アンド・バランス(政策・事業評価、監査、情報公開) 4)地方分権化による各レベルの政府間のチェック・アンド・バランス(あるいは競争) 5)市民・民間の参加の促進(市民等への情報提供、自由なメディア、市民活動)	1)立法府職員や議員の能力向上支援、法曹の育成
2)選挙制度の構築・改善、公正な選挙の実施	2)選挙制度整備支援 選挙実施支援 選挙管理能力強化支援 選挙に関する啓蒙活動支援		2)政党活動の自由に関する法制度支援 3)行政の評価能力向上支援、情報公開支援、調達・契約制度や会計検査の導入のための制度整備支援、監視機関の能力向上支援、住民による監視システムの構築支援 4)地方分権化促進支援(地方分権化を促進する制度や予算の策定・整備支援)
3)三権分立の確立・強化 ・行政制度の確立・強化 ・立法制度の確立・強化 ・司法制度の確立・強化	3)三権分立に関する制度整備支援 ・行政制度構築/改善支援 ・立法制度構築/改善支援 ・司法制度構築/改善支援		5)広報やIT等を通じた情報提供促進支援、住民投票や公聴会等の制度整備支援、表現・放送の自由を保障する法の整備支援、ジャーナリスト養成支援、情報通信・放送基盤整備支援、IT教育促進支援
4)基本的人権を保障する諸制度の構築	4)基本的人権を保障する法制度の整備支援		政府の意識・能力の向上にかかわるもの 1)規律の向上 2)行政能力の向上(政策策定・デリバリー能力の向上) 3)地方分権化による中央政府・地方政府間の役割分担 4)市民組織による行政サービスの補完機能の向上 社会集団の公平な利害調整メカニズムにかかわるもの 1)市民の意見を反映した政党制度の構築 2)市民や市民組織、民間組織間の利害調整のためのメカニズム(行政訴訟、調停・仲介組織機構) 3)司法へのアクセスの確保 4)公正な法の適用(司法・市民警察の能力向上) 市民のエンパワメントにかかわるもの 1)市民の意識向上 2)市民の能力向上 3)行政サービス、司法へのアクセスの確保
		【民主化を支える社会・経済基盤】	
具体的内容(イメージ)		支援方法例	
1)平和構築		1)治安維持支援、平和教育支援、帰還兵士・帰還民の社会復帰支援	
2)最低限のベーシック・ヒューマン・ニーズの充足(初等教育、成人識字教育の普及促進、プライマリー・ヘルス・ケアの促進、基礎的社会サービスへのアクセス改善)		2)基礎教育支援(制度整備支援含む)、基礎保健・衛生支援(制度整備支援含む)	
3)経済の安定(格差を生まない開発、政府のマクロ経済管理能力の強化、市場環境の整備)		3)地域経済支援、マクロ経済政策策定支援、市場経済の法制度整備支援、中小企業振興支援	

出所：研究会の議論を基に足立作成。

スを高めることなどはその一策であろう。

政府の意識・能力の向上

政府の行政・法体系の制度化及びそれを執行する能力がガバナンスと呼ばれるが、政府の意識・能力向上はガバナンス改善の中核分野ともいえるもので、政府はガバナンスの基本的能力を持ち、それをさらに強化することが肝要である。これは行政機構の整備、政治中立的な官僚機構の創出、警察能力の改善・向上、行政機関で働く人々の専門家意識教育、規律の向上、腐敗や汚職の防止措置、行政能力向上のための教育など、政府自らの努力によるところが大きい。

社会集団の公平な利害調整メカニズム

この分野では、市民社会団体間の利害調整を行うメカニズムの整備、司法制度の整備とその適切な運用、市民の意見を反映する政党システムの構築などが、その強化に寄与すると考えられる。

市民のエンパワメント

これは、市民の意識や能力を向上することで、具体的には国民が行政参加や政治参加の機会を拡大する努力、それを有効に活用して政府行政をチェックする能力を身につけることなどがこれにあたる。そのためには社会団体の強化、すなわち市民社会(Civil Society)の強化が役に立つと思われる。これも市民社会団体自らの努力に負うところが大きいが、市民社会団体は、政府に適切な行政運営を要求し行動を監視するだけでなく、相互に尊重しあう意識を持つことも大切である。これによって政治社会が成熟し民主主義がうまく機能する社会的土壌の形成が期待できるからである。国民がこのような意識や態度を身につけるには教育が重要な役割を果たすが、中立的メディアの活用はその役に立とう。

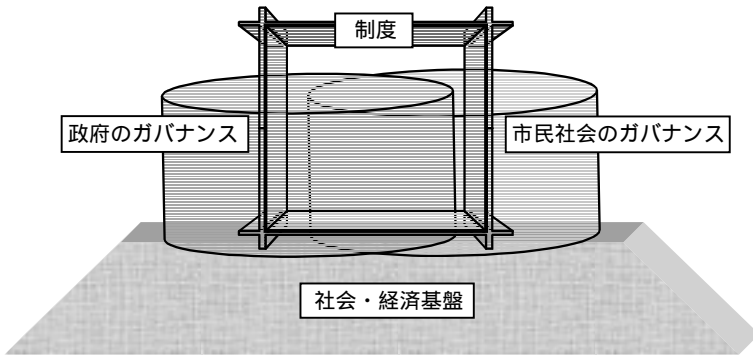
1 - 2 - 3 民主化を支える社会・経済基盤

民主的な制度が整い、それを機能させるシステムがあれば、もう十分だということではできない。政治文化が民主主義と整合的であること、社会調和が保たれ安定していること、経済が民主化を促進する状態にあることも重要で、これが民主化を支える社会・経済基盤である。これを創出・強化する方策は様々に考えられるが、主なものに平和の構築、経済の安定、ベーシック・ヒューマン・ニーズ(Basic Human Needs: BHN)の充足が挙げられる。

民族や宗教、政治イデオロギーなどの違いを原因に紛争や内戦状態にある国、あるいは領土紛争を原因に他国と戦闘状態にある国は物理的生存の危機状態にあり、そのような状況で民主化を語ってもほとんど意味がない。そのため、紛争の予防、紛争状態の解決、紛争終結後のすばやい復興を進めることが必要なのである。経済の安定も同じ理由によるもので、政府の経済失策や無策などを原因に国民経済が破綻したならば、国民は自分の生活を守るだけで精一杯な状態に陥るため、安定的な経済状態の創出も民主化が機能するための重要基盤の1つなのである。BHNも同様で、災害、飢餓、失業、紛争などを原因に食糧、住居、保健・衛生、教育など人間生活に必要な最低限の条件が充足されていないならば、どんなに民主化の意義を説いても説得力は弱い。それゆえ、その充足も欠かせないのである。

以上に説明した、民主的な制度、民主化を機能させるシステム、民主化を支える社会・経済基盤は、それぞれ別々に機能するのではなく相互に密接な有機的関係にある(図1 - 2 参照)。このうち1つでも欠けたならば民主化がうまくいかないわけで、民主化支援に際しては3つの相互補完関係を常に念頭においておく必要がある。

図1 - 2 民主化の3つの構成要素の関係



出所：研究会の議論を基に足立作成。

1 - 3 地域別の民主化の現状・特徴・課題

民主化の状況は地域や国によって異なり、民主化支援を行うにあたっては1つ1つの国の民主化の歴史、現状、課題を詳細に検討する必要がある。しかし、この調査研究ですべての国について分析を行うことは困難であるため、本調査研究ではわが国の支援実績の多い4つの地域(東アジア・東南アジア、南西アジア、中南米、アフリカ)を取り上げ、地域別の民主化の現状や課題を分析した。

1 - 3 - 1 東アジア、東南アジア：権威主義開発体制から民主化へ

本報告書では東アジアは、日本、韓国、中国、台湾などを指し、東南アジアはASEAN(Association of Southeast Asian Nations)加盟10カ国を指している。この地域の特徴は開発を正統性に掲げた権威主義体制の下で開発が進められ、比較的、高い経済成長を達成したことにある。これが開発独裁とか開発体制とか開発主義国家と呼ばれるものだが⁵、これらの国々の政治指導者は「開発(成長)と民主主義」は二者択一の関係にあると唱え、政治的自由を犠牲

⁵ 岩崎育夫(2001)

にしてでも開発を優先させてきた。多くの国で野党、学生運動、労働組合、マスコミなど政府に批判的な政治社会集団が抑圧され、他方では、政府与党が党派的な選挙制度の力を借りて選挙で圧勝し、長期政権が維持された。韓国の朴・全の軍事独裁政権、台湾の国民党一党独裁、インドネシアのスハルト(Suharto)軍事政権、フィリピンのマルコス独裁政権、シンガポールの人民行動党(People's Action Party)一党支配、マレーシアのマハティール(Mahathir bin Mohamad)政権は、その代表的なものである⁶。

しかし、1990年前後に民主化の第3の波が波及すると民主化運動が起こり、運動の目標は、開発促進を理由に政治的自由を抑圧してきた軍政、権威主義体制、一党優位制から、民政や複数政党制へと変えること、及び政治的自由の回復に置かれた。この民主化運動は国内要素と国外要素の結合で起こり、国内要素が成長に伴って新たに台頭した社会集団、中間層を軸にした政治参加を求める声の拡大、国外要素がアメリカを先頭にする欧米諸国の民主化圧力であった。フィリピンを端緒に、韓国、台湾、中国、ミャンマー、タイ、インドネシアと民主化運動が連鎖的に発生し、多くの国が民主的体制へと移行したのである。とはいえ一部の国では依然として権威主義体制が続き、政治指導者も経済成長に伴う自国の政治文化や社会的価値への自信も加わってか、欧米社会とアジア社会の違いを理由に「アジア型民主主義論」(Asian-style Democracy)を唱えている⁷。その是非を巡り議論が起こったが、この事実はアジアにおける民主化の多様な道を語っている。

東アジアは高度成長を遂げた国が多いが、民主化が課題となっている国は少なくない。東アジア・東南アジアの多くの国では民主化を機能させるシステム、具体的にはガバナンスが不十分な状態にある。これらの国は課題の内容から2つのグループに分かれる。1つは権威主義体制の下で経済開発を進めた国であり、政府のガバナンス能力は低くはないが、それを民主主義と整

⁶ 岩崎育夫(1998)

⁷ 岩崎育夫(1997)

合的なガバナンスへと変えることが課題である国、もう一つは基本的なガバナンスの整備・強化が課題になっている国である。社会・経済基盤の強化が必要な国も少なくなく、これも民主化の進展度との関連で2つのグループに分かれる。一つが、民主的体制に移行したとはいえ経済基盤が十分でない国、もう一つが、民主的体制への移行がまだで、かつ経済基盤も不十分な国である。後者グループの国では包括的な民主化支援が必要とされている。

表1 - 1 東アジア、東南アジアの類型化

		民主化を機能させるシステム(特にガバナンス)の課題	
		民主主義と統合的なガバナンスに変えることが必要	基本的なガバナンスの整備・強化が課題
経済基盤 民主化の社会・	民主的体制に移行したが、社会・経済基盤が十分でない	タイ、フィリピン	インドネシア
	民主的体制への移行がまだで、かつ社会・経済基盤も不十分	ヴェトナム、中国	ミャンマー、ラオス
		(復興型)カンボディア、東チモール	

出所：甲斐作成。

1 - 3 - 2 南西アジア：制度整備やガバナンス、経済基盤に課題

南西アジアのほとんどの国は英国の植民地であったことから、独立後は英国型の議会制民主主義が導入された。しかし現在、民主主義体制のあり方は3つのグループに分かれている。第1グループが、インドとスリ・ランカで、民主主義体制が続いている国である。両国はしばしば政治危機に直面したがクーデタは一度も起こっていない。第2グループが、民主的体制とはいえ不安定な状態にある国で、バングラデシュとネパールがこれにあたる。第3グループが、民主的体制ながらも汚職や腐敗が頻発して経済混乱や社会不安を招き、クーデタが発生して軍が政権を握るパキスタン⁸である。同国は独立

⁸ 2002年10月にパキスタンでは選挙が実施され、民主体制に移行した。

表 1 - 2 南西アジアの類型化

類型	国名	民主的な制度	民主化を機能させるシステム	民主化を支える社会・経済基盤
軍事政権から民政移管へ	パキスタン	民政移管に向けた総選挙の実施	地方分権、司法改革、公務員制度改革、警察改革、透明性・説明責任	
民主主義が定着	インド、スリ・ランカ	制度はほぼ整っている	政治意識の不足、連邦制と地方自治の発展課題	民族紛争、貧困削減
不安定な民政	バングラデシュ、ネパール、ブータン		汚職・腐敗、市民社会の強化、連邦制と地方自治の発展課題	貧困削減、武力闘争（ネパール）

出所：岩上の発表を基に桑島作成。

から半世紀近く経つが軍政の期間の方が長い。このように南西アジアでも民主主義の現状は多様であるが、インドで民主主義体制が半世紀も続き、「世界最大の民主主義国家⁹⁾と形容されることは注目に値する。なぜ民主主義がインドに定着したのか、その理由を探ることは他の開発途上国の民主化第1章 民主化を考える枠組みに大いに参考となる。

とはいえ、インドも含め南西アジアも様々な問題を抱えている。民主化の構成要素に即していえば、民主的制度は比較的整備されており、非民主的体制の国は軍政下のパキスタンだけだが、民主的体制とはいえ民族や宗教の違いを原因とした紛争が多発し、政治的に不安定な国が少なくない。これは政党政治の腐敗や汚職、国家の行政組織や法体系の制度化の遅れなどにその一因がある。そのため、国家の行政体系の整備、官僚の腐敗の防止や能力向上など制度整備やガバナンス強化が重要課題となっている。また、南西アジアのほとんどの国は民主化を支える経済基盤が弱い。例えば1998年現在で1日1ドル以下の貧困層の約半数にあたる約5億2,200万人が南西アジアに居住しており、これは南西アジアの人口の約40%にあたる。非識字者の割合も他地

⁹⁾ 広瀬崇子(2001)

域に比べて高く、1999年現在の成人非識字率は男性34%、女性58%となっている¹⁰。南西アジアでは、国家のガバナンス強化と開発の推進を通じた経済基盤の強化が重要課題なのである。

1 - 3 - 3 中南米：ガバナンスと意識の不足、経済基盤・格差の課題、グローバルガバナンス機能の重要性

開発途上国の中で中南米は民主主義の歴史が最も古い、しかし民主主義が定着した、うまく機能している、ということはず、現在でも様々な問題を抱えている。この地域では東アジアに先駆けて1960年代前半に開発を正統性に掲げた軍主導の権威主義体制が登場したが、これが官僚制権威主義体制(Bureaucratic Authoritarianism: BA)と呼ばれるものであった¹¹。しかし、同体制は東アジアと違って成長の促進に失敗、そこへ人権を無視した過酷な軍事独裁に対する国内からの批判の高まりと民主化の第3波の波及で、1980年代後半に民主主義体制への移行が起こったのである。現在では地域諸国が包括的に参加する米州機構(Organization of American States: OAS)を軸に民主化の推進が行われており、軍政や権威主義体制など非民主的体制の国は数えるほどでしかない。また、大半の国で民主主義の基本的制度や法体系も整備されている。とはいえ、ペルーのフジモリ(Alberto Fujimori)前政権のように強権的手法で政治運営を行う政権があるし、一部の国ではクーデタが発生する(ハイチ)などの問題がある。また、民主的制度があってもそれが機能していない実態に対して「委任型民主主義(Delegative Democracy)などという批判もある。

中南米でも民主化は依然として重要な課題である。民主化の構成要素に即していえば、1つは、民主的な制度がある程度十分だとしても、それを機能させるシステム、それを支える社会・経済土壌が成熟しているとはいえない

¹⁰ World Bank(2001)

¹¹ O'Donnell, G.(1973)

表1 - 3 中南米における民主化支援の類型化

類型	パートナーシップ		ガバナンス強化支援		PRSP 支援		復興支援		社会開発支援	
	現状	ニーズ	現状	ニーズ	現状	ニーズ	現状	ニーズ	現状	ニーズ
国名	コスタ・リカ ウルグアイ チリ		メキシコ、アルゼン ティン、ブラジル、 パナマ、ドミニカ共 和国、ペルー、コロ ンビア、ヴェネズエ ラ、エクアドル、パ ラグアイ		ボリヴィア ホンデュラス		ニカラグア グアテマラ エル・サルヴァドル		ハイティ	
民主的な制度		低		低		低		高		中
民主化を機能させ るシステム		低		高		高		高	×	中
民主化を支える社会・ 経済基盤		低		中	×	高	×	中	×	高

×：制度、ガバナンス、社会基盤等の整備度 高 ← → × 低、

高 中 低：協力の重点度

なお、英連邦に属する国が多いカリブ海諸国についても、ガバナンス支援が民主化支援の基本となるべきであろう。

出所：遅野井・秋山作成。

ことである。すなわち三権分立、民主的な法制度、自由な選挙制度などが憲法や法律に明記されていても、政府がそれを保障して実行するガバナンス能力に欠け、国民も民主主義のルールを遵守する意識が弱いという問題がある。もう1つは、民主化を支える社会・経済基盤が脆弱な国や格差が問題となっている国が少なくないことである。特に中南米では先住民が社会的弱者として阻害されているという問題がある。民主的な制度、それを機能させるシステム、社会経済基盤のうち、中南米では第2と第3の要素が未だ不十分な状態にあり、民主的ルールに則った政権交替、国家のガバナンス強化、国民の間に民主主義意識を高めること、格差を是正する開発の推進などが必要とされている。

1 - 3 - 4 アフリカ：紛争の勃発とネオ・パトリモニアリズム、経済基盤の弱さ

アフリカは1960年代前後に独立した「若い国家」群からなる地域で50近い国を抱える。アフリカは一般的には東アフリカ、西アフリカ、中部アフリカ、南部アフリカの4つの地域に区分されるが、民主化の動きはアフリカ共通に見られ、3つの時期に区分できる。第1期が、1960年前後の独立にともない民主主義体制で出発した時期、第2期が、1980年前後のいくつかの国で独裁政権が崩壊した時期、そして第3期が、1990年前後の多くの国が一党独裁から複数政党制へと転換した時期である。アフリカでは1960年代の脱植民地化時代に民主主義体制が受容されたが、多くの国で民族や言語の違いを原因に政治的不安定化を招来するとクーデタが頻発し、軍政や一党独裁体制への移行が起こった。しかし民主化の第3波が波及すると、今度は一気に独裁政権が崩壊して多くの国が複数政党制へと移行し、現在は複数政党制に分類できる国の数は40近くにも及んでいる。わずか数十年の間に政治体制の大変動を繰り返してきたわけだが、民主主義はいまだ根付いてはいない。

現在、アフリカの多くの国が民主的な体制下にあるとはいえ、様々な問題

がある。第1に、そもそも民族や宗教の違いに起因する紛争国が少ないため、これらの国ではいかに復興を進めるかが重要である。第2に、紛争が起こっていない国でもアフリカ社会に特有な支配者が国家機構や国民を私物化するネオ・パトリモニアル(neo-patrimonialism)の政治文化が今でも根強いため、民主主義がうまく機能しているとはいえないことである。民主的な制度があるにしても、それを機能させるシステムに欠けていることが深刻な問題なのである。具体的には、国家の行政体系の不備やガバナンスの欠如、国民の側も協調性が欠如している国が少ない。第3に、経済開発が停滞して国民所得が低いため経済基盤も極めて弱いことである。要するにアフリカでは、民主化の構成要素のいずれも不十分であり、国家の行政体系の整備やガバナンス向上、経済開発や社会の安定に焦点をあてた包括的支援が必要とされている。

表1 - 4 アフリカの類型化

	類型	対象国	支援ニーズ
二国間	紛争復興支援型 (紛争中の国)	アンゴラ、コンゴ民主共和国、ブルンディ、ソマリア	紛争終結まで人道緊急援助による社会経済基盤の維持
	(紛争後の国)	シエラ・レオーネ、コンゴ、リベリア	民主的体制の構築
	PRSP 支援型	タンザニア、セネガル、ウガンダ、その他	PRSP策定・実施を通じ、ガバナンス強化と社会経済基盤整備
	ガバナンス強化支援型	カーボ・ヴェルデ、ガボン、象牙海岸	貧困削減を含む広範な開発ニーズに対応しつつ、ガバナンスを強化
多国間	地域機構パートナーシップ型		AU、ECOWAS、SADC等との協力による民主化促進

出所：落合作成。

1 - 4 どのような民主化支援策が望ましいのか

開発途上国といっても政治安定度、経済発展段階、社会統合度は国によってかなり違うが、いかなる国も民主的体制へと向かうことが望ましいことは既に指摘した。それゆえ開発途上国の経済開発援助や社会改善支援に努力している人々も、それを効果的に行うには民主化の促進を考えることが大切なのである。これまで、民主化の目的、民主化の基本要素、開発途上国の多様な実態を検討してきたが、これは具体的な民主化支援策を考えるための準備作業でしかなく、適切な民主化支援策を考え、それを効果的に実行に移さなければ、単なる現状分析で終わってしまう。最後に、どのようにすれば効果的で意味のある民主化支援ができるのか、そのための基本的原則を考えてみよう。

まず、民主化支援の対象国の問題である。民主化支援はどの地域のどの国に対して行われるべきか、すべての開発途上国なのか、それとも一部の国なのか、また、途上国が民主化支援を望まなくとも、我々が、民主化が必要と考えたならばあらゆる方策や手段を行使してでも民主化に向けた支援をすべきなのか、それとも民主化を望む国に支援対象を限定すべきなのだろうか。この点については次のように考える。第1に、我々はどのような民主化が望ましいのかの基本的原則と、それに基づいた包括的支援策メニューを持つ必要がある。しかし第2に、支援策の実施においては、相手国の意向を尊重することを原則にすべきである。強制によっては効果的な民主化を期待できないし、そもそも政治体制はその国の国民が主体的に決めるべきものであって外部から民主的体制を強制すべきものではないからである。そのため民主化支援は「要請主義」、すなわち、民主化支援を希望する国に対して行うべきであろう。とはいえ第3に、民主化が必要であると我々が考える国に対しては、あらゆる機会を捉えて民主化の推進が結局は政治安定、経済発展、社会調和につながるのだ、というメッセージを送り続け、途上国に民主化の重要性に気づいてもらうよう働きかけることも重要である。

次に、支援内容と方法の問題である。いうまでもなく民主化支援は日本だけでなく欧米諸国や国際機関も同様の努力を継続的に行っているが、これらの組織との協調はどうあるべきだろうか。現在でも時折、民主化の優先順位やその実施方法を巡って支援国の間で意見の相違が起こっているが、しかし民主化支援という基本的考えはすべての支援国や機関に共通するものだし、それをもって効果的に行うには単独よりも複数機関が協調して行うのが望ましいことはいうまでもない。それゆえ、他の支援機関や政府との連携を密にし、可能な限り協調的な支援策を模索すべきである。その際には、民主化支援における日本の「比較優位」を認識し、それをもって重点的に支援することが重要だと思われる。欧米諸国の民主化支援は、しばしば民主的な政治体制の実現を強調する傾向にあったが、我々は、民主化は制度だけでなく、それを機能させるシステム、それを支える社会・経済基盤からなると考えるものである。開発途上国、とりわけアジアの開発支援に深く関与してきた日本は民主化を機能させるシステムや社会基盤の重要性をよく理解できる立場にある。そのため日本の比較優位は、民主化の構成要素のうち、とりわけ第2のガバナンス支援と第3の社会・経済基盤の構築に重点を置いたものにあると考えられる。この点では、近年、他ドナーの民主化支援もガバナンス強化に力点を置くものとなっていることから、日本が果たす役割は大きいであろう。

最後に、民主化支援と経済援助との関連をどうするかという問題である。すなわち我々が非民主的と考える国が民主化を望まない場合、経済援助の停止や制裁など、経済支援をコンディショナリティとして使うべきか、という問題がある。現在、開発途上国に対して様々な援助が行われているが、社会経済開発を目的にする開発援助と、民主化促進を目的にする民主化支援に便宜的に分けることができる。もちろん実際には、2つは不可分な相互補完関係にあるが、原理的にはそれぞれ違った論理と目的のもとで行われるものである。この立場からすると、民主化支援は民主的な体制を創出することが目

的であり、直接的には経済支援とリンクするものではない。そのため民主化に消極的な国に対しては、民主化が社会経済基盤の安定化に寄与することを説く努力を続けることに止め、経済支援とは切り離すべきであろう。とはいえ、実際の援助の実施や運営においては2つが不可分の関係にあることも事実で、民主化支援と経済援助をリンケージさせるか否かの最終的判断は、外務省等の総合的見地から判断できる機関や主体に委ねるべきだと思われる。

それでは、以上の基本原則からどのような民主化支援策が作られるべきだろうか。その基本的な手順は次のように考えられる。開発途上国といっても、政治状況、経済発展段階、社会構造や課題はかなり違っており、いまだ非民主的体制の国、一応民主的体制に移行した国、紛争状態にある国、紛争がようやく終焉して国家の基礎的制度を構築しなければならない国など様々である。経済発展段階にしても、高度成長国、中成長国、低成長国に分かれる。そのため具体的な民主化支援策は、各国の実態や特殊性に対応したものが必要なことはいまでもなからう。民主化支援策の策定に際しては、第1に、地域内の国々を政治安定度、経済発展度、社会構造の特徴、あるいは紛争度などの指標を使って類型化する、第2に、民主化の3つの構成要素に即して類型ごとの重点的支援策を考える、という方法が最も実効性が高いと思われる。開発途上国総体としていえば、民主化の構成要素のうち、民主化を機能させるシステムの強化に重点がおかれるべきであろう。わが国は政府側の能力向上を支援してきた経験があるが、このような経験を活かしつつ今後は政府と住民の双方に働きかけ、政府側の行政能力向上と住民参加によるチェック・アンド・バランスを推進していくべきと考える。

開発途上国への民主化支援の最終目的は、民主的体制を創出することで、国民が国家から政治的迫害を受けるかもしれないという不安、戦争や紛争によって生命を失うかもしれないという不安、飢餓からの不安、人間としての最低限の社会経済生活を送ることができないという不安など、様々な不安の根源を除去し、安心して生活ができ、自分の資質を十分に発揮できる環境を

創り出すことにある。基本的人権の尊重や政治参加、住民参加型開発に適合的な政治・行政・社会を構築することへの支援はそのためのものである。その際、社会経済生活の改善や向上を置き去りにした「制度的な民主化支援」だけでは不十分だし、他方では、政治的自由の保障や基本的人権の尊重を忘れた「国家のガバナンス強化支援」や「開発支援」だけでも不十分である。この2つは相互補完関係にあることに留意すべきである。また、民主化支援においては支援する側の論理や事情があることを否定できないが、可能な限り途上国の実態や実情、それにニーズを踏まえたものにするのが望ましい。

それでは、この立場に立った民主化支援はスムーズに行われ、開発途上国の政治経済状態が短期間でうまく改善されるのだろうか。もし民主化支援が、政治的自由を保障した憲法や法律の制定、政党結成の自由の容認、公正な定期的選挙の実施など、民主的制度の整備や強化だけならば、その過程で困難な問題が生じるにせよ、実現にさほど時間はかからないと思われる。1990年前後にアフリカ諸国で独裁体制から複数政党制への移行が短期間で達成されたことは、これを示している。しかし我々が考えるように、民主化支援の対象領域を民主的制度だけでなく、それを機能させるシステムの強化、それを支える社会・経済基盤の構築にまで拡げて捉えるならば、支援過程はより複雑でより長い時間が必要とされよう。繰り返しになるが民主化支援の最終目的は、民主的体制の創出を通じて開発途上国の人々の政治的境遇、経済状態、社会環境の改善や向上を図ることにあるわけで、多面的で継続的な忍耐強い支援が要求され、そのような努力の末にのみ実りある民主化が実現するのであろう。

第2章 ガバナンスを軸にした民主化支援動向

1990年代以降の政府開発援助(ODA)を巡る議論においては、ほとんどの援助国・機関が民主化・ガバナンスの確保を援助の正当性の根拠におき、民主化やガバナンスは、持続的開発のための前提条件として、また、援助の効果、効率に影響する重要な政治、社会・文化的要素として捉えられ、重視されるようになってきた。

1996年のリヨン・サミット経済宣言においても、「民主主義、人権、及び良い統治は、開発の不可欠な要素である」との文言が盛り込まれるなど、開発の停滞と貧困の根底には民主主義やガバナンスの欠如があるという認識が共有されるようになっている。

2 - 1 開発援助委員会(DAC)における民主主義やガバナンスの位置づけ

OECD(経済協力開発機構)の開発援助委員会(DAC)が1993年に採択したオリエンテーション・ペーパー¹²においては、参加型開発、民主化、人権、ガバナンスの4つの要素を合わせて、「参加型開発とグッド・ガバナンスの課題(PD/GG issue)」として整理し、援助を行う上でのローカル・イニシアティブの尊重、PD/GGの分野を通じた開発の効率と持続性への留意、政府・市民社会・NGO・ドナー協調等の原則を強調した。グッド・ガバナンスの3つの主要な側面として、(1)政治体制、(2)ある国の経済的・社会的資源の活用の際しての、権力の行使のあり方、(3)政策の立案・実施や行政運営の能力、の3点が採り上げられた。1994年より設置されたDAC「PD/GG・特別作業部会」

¹² 次のタイトルで1995年に刊行されている。DAC, OECD(1995)「Participatory Development and Good Governance」Development Co-operation Guideline Series.

では、司法・立法等における法の支配、公的部門マネジメント、分権化、人権、参加の5つを重点課題として、これらへの援助を通じた教訓と改善の方向性が議論されてきた¹³。2001年5月より、PD/GG部会は、能力開発に関する部会と統合されて、「グッド・ガバナンスと能力開発非公式ネットワーク (GOVNET)」が発足し、汚職防止、技術協力改革、公共部門改革、人権・民主化の4分野を取り上げて議論している。

DACが1996年に採択した「21世紀に向けて - 開発協力を通じた貢献 (“ DAC Development Partnership Strategy: Shaping the 21st Century: The Contribution of Development Co-Operation ”)」では、経済、社会、環境の側面での7つの開発目標を掲げ、その達成に向けて、途上国、先進国の政府、国民、非政府組織 NGO 等が共同の努力を振り向けることを提唱した。これらの目標達成は、効果的で、説明責任を果たしうる民主的な政府、人権の尊重、法制度の遵守等で表されるところのグッド・ガバナンスにかかっているとされた。このコンセプトは、2000年の国連ミレニアムサミットにおいてその導入が合意された「国連ミレニアム目標 (Millennium Development Goals)」に受け継がれている。

2 - 2 開発援助において民主化・ガバナンスが重視されるようになった主たる背景要因

1990年代の開発援助コミュニティにおいて、民主化・ガバナンスを重視するようになった背景要因としては、次の2点に集約される。まず、1980年代において、世界銀行が途上国に対して広範に導入した「構造調整プログラム」は、サブサハラ・アフリカ諸国では期待通りの成果を見せず、途上国側の政治的リーダーシップの欠如、公的部門の非効率さ、行政運営能力の不足、政策決定のプロセスが不透明かつ不適正であること等に原因があるとして、政

¹³ この特別作業部会の議論の総括として、1997年には、援助協調、支援方法の透明性、長期的視野の必要性等の8つの教訓・提言を取りまとめた (DAC, OECD(1997a))。その他に DAC, OECD(1997b)。

治・行政的要因に目を向けるようになったことである¹⁴。そして、冷戦終結後、欧米のドナー諸国においては、開発援助に対する国内世論の理解と支持を得るためには、東西イデオロギーに代わる、新たな援助戦略として、民主化やグッド・ガバナンスに援助の正当性を求めるようになったことがある¹⁵。

2 - 3 ドナーの民主化支援動向(直接的支援と間接的支援)

民主化支援は、民主的な機構の構築を支援したり、具体的なガバナンス改善のための活動を支援したりする直接的支援のほかに、援助に「政治的コンディショナリティ」を付して、途上国側の改善努力を慫慂する間接的支援の二つの方法が採られるのが一般的である¹⁶。

2 - 3 - 1 間接的支援の動向

いずれのドナー国・機関も、程度の差はあれ、援助額の増減や、あるいは新規開始、停止、再開等の判断にあたって、途上国の民主化や人権の状況、ガバナンス関連状況を重要な要件とすることで、途上国における人権状況等の改善や民主化の進展、ガバナンスの改善等の政治的変革を促し、また、逆行する動きを防ごうとする政策をとっている。他方、重視する要素はドナーごとに違いが見られ、政治、行政のどの面をどの程度、より重視するかについても一様ではない¹⁷。一つの国のなかで、民主的な政治制度は導入された

¹⁴ World Bank(1990) , World Bank(2000)

¹⁵ IDS(1993) , Nelson, J.M.(1992)なお、Burnell は、二国間援助において、民主化支援は、コストが低いわりに反対が出にくいので、援助の正当性を主張しやすいと解釈している。

¹⁶ 直接的支援、間接的支援の用語は、本研究会における東京大学の中川淳司氏の講演での区分に従った。

¹⁷ 日本については、1992年に閣議決定された「政府開発援助大綱(ODA大綱)」で示された援助4原則がこれに当たるが、「途上国の動向に注意を払う」という緩やかな表現となっている。ちなみに、二国間ドナーのなかで、援助方針等において、民主化、人権等の状況と援助とに明確なリンケージをもたせることや、その基準を明示しているドナーはならず、実際のところ、条件付けの運用については、ドナーごとに状況に応じた判断がなされることが多い。日英米については、各途上国との経済関係、安全保障の観点から、また、特にフランスは旧植民地との政治経済関係から、裁量をもって運用している点も指摘されている(Diamond, L.(1995) , 下村他(1999) , Crawford, G.(2001))。

が、人権の抑圧は改善されていないといったような複数の状況が併存するのが一般的でもあり、どの局面を評価するか、その優先順位によっても、判断は変わってくる。

間接的支援は、「あめ」と「むち」の作用によってじっくりと民主化の促進をはかることが本来の意図であるが、政治改革へのコンディショナリティははかばかしい成果を見せていないという議論が多い。対象国によって対応にばらつきがあると見られる場合には、コンディショナリティ自体の正当性を問われることにもなる。また、複数政党制による公正な選挙の実現を通じて政治的自由化を促進し、人権侵害の深刻な国に対して、さらなる侵害行動を抑制する等、短期的には効果を上げることはできても、その後の持続的な民主的進展をもたらすには大きな限界がある。そもそも、援助コミュニティ自身に、民主化の進展に対する「あめ」としての援助資源が十分でないという問題も深刻である¹⁸。

1990年代後半以降の動きとしては、コンディショナリティの考え方も多様化してきている。民主化の定着やガバナンスの改善が進まない国に対して、援助の停止等の制裁措置を図ることよりも、明示的に援助を受けるべき国を選別し、援助の対象分野もより絞り込んでいく、選別的なコンディショナリティ(selectivity)を主張するドナーが出てきている¹⁹。また、重債務貧困国(Highly Indebted Poverty Stricken Countries)の債務救済措置とからめて策定が義務づけられている「貧困削減戦略ペーパー(Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper: PRSP)」は、より広範囲で統一的に適用される「柔らかなコンディショナリティ」の形で導入されているものである。PRSP策定による実質的成果を見るにはまだ時間が浅いとはいえ、ドナー協調に基づく途上国とのパートナー

¹⁸ Diamond, L.(1995)他。

¹⁹ 世界銀行は、援助資金は良い政策、良好な制度のもとで効果を発揮するとの論点のもとに、援助は、良い政策をとる、貧困人口の多い国に選択的に振り向けるべきであるとしている(World Bank(1998))。DACにおいても、2000年以降、開発のグッド・パフォーマンスとプア・パフォーマンスを選別して援助を検討しようとする議論が出てきている。

シップとともに、民主主義の一つのプロセスとして、途上国政府とNGOをはじめとする市民社会との対話や、分権化を制度化しようとする試みが組み入れられている²⁰。

2 - 3 - 2 直接的支援の動向

DAC統計の“Government and Civil Society”分野の数値を用いて民主化支援動向を俯瞰してみると、実績額は1980年代半ばから増大し、90年代を通じて増加傾向を保っている。二国間援助としては、米国を筆頭に、ノルウェー、カナダ、ドイツ、英国、スウェーデンが上位を占めている。1998-2000年においては、米国の実績は年間約6.7億ドルに達しており、米国の実績は過去10年を通じ、二国間援助全体の1/3から1/2を占めている(表2 - 1参照)。一方、国際金融機関による技術協力については、世銀IBRD、IDA、IDBが上位を占めている²¹。

援助対象地域別に見ると、二国間ドナーでは、アフリカが約3割から4割を占める他、中南米が二番目のシェアを占めてきたが、1990年代半ば以降は、中南米からアジア(中央アジアを含む)及び中東欧地域、すなわち市場経済移行国へのシフトが見られる(表2 - 2)。国際機関では、90年代後半にアジア(中央アジアを含む)がシェアを増やしたが、基本的にアフリカが主対象となっている(表2 - 3)²²。

民主化支援の内容を見ると、1999年のコミットメント・ベースでは、市民社会育成支援が最も多く、米国がその支援の約半分を差し向けている。次い

²⁰ 選別論と、PRSPの策定の動きは、さらに結びついており、PRSPにおいて、貧困削減に向けた経済、社会政策と行動計画が明示され、途上国側が適切に公共資金管理を行い、適切なモニタリング・評価のもとに実行できれば、ドナーによる継続的な財政的支援が行われることが想定されており、いわば「あめ」と「むち」が一体化している。

²¹ DAC Creditor Reporting System に基づく。

²² DACオンライン・データベースでは実績値データを作業中であるため、地域別データ(表2 - 3、3 - 4)及び民主化支援のサブ分野ごとの詳細データ(表2 - 5)については、コミットメント・ベースの数値を使用している。

表2 - 1 Government and Civil Society 分野のドナー別援助動向(1980-2000)

(単位:百万ドル)

	DAC 諸国 小計	多国間援助 小計	合計	米国	日本 (注)	カナダ	オラ ンダ	ドイツ	ノルウ エー	スウェー デン	オースト ラリア	英国	フラン ス
1980	264	-	264	64	9	9	15	100	1	4	7	37	12
1981	312	-	312	24	14	19	10	81	1	5	11	24	116
1982	468	-	468	44	18	14	8	115	1	2	16	19	221
1983	399	-	399	78	12	15	14	65	1	4	13	19	163
1984	634	7	641	135	15	20	13	95	1	5	27	16	290
1985	573	-	573	133	26	15	10	97	2	9	8	18	195
1986	886	-	886	114	31	8	15	135	12	7	17	23	402
1987	971	24	996	279	46	11	21	132	0	12	24	28	288
1988	679	-	679	190	53	10	19	127	1	70	45	42	70
1989	1,005	872	1,877	213	61	43	14	111	10	22	26	41	416
1990	1,734	906	2,641	709	120	29	20	166	2	81	40	68	455
1991	1,380	735	2,122	709	58	9	47	132	8	41	23	77	147
1992	1,710	1,095	2,813	675	176	106	99	120	7	76	71	144	136
1993	1,294	987	2,287	635	102	20	19	169	4	87	19	111	75
1994	1,425	-	1,425	436	118	11	67	176	31	75	35	120	238
1995	1,726	210	1,937	424	258	75	41	232	59	106	69	76	232
1996	1,457	75	1,532	288	110	118	68	184	41	154	71	85	167
1997	1,082	128	1,218	300	88	54	42	122	44	72	54	76	44
1998	1,915	153	2,072	791	94	120	58	162	70	144	78	137	55
1999	1,979	56	2,038	594	117	133	59	126	147	120	140	88	55
2000	2,204	657	2,865	610	177	168	163	155	141	122	119	112	89

出所: DAC data base(Disbursements of ODA)Table1

(注)例えば、JICAのガバナンス支援実績については、「開発計画一般」、「行政一般」、「統計」、「情報・広報」、「測量・地図」にかかわる事業実績をDAC統計のGovernment and Civil Society区分に組み入れており、市場経済化支援や、測量・地図作成にかかわる開発調査実績を加えているため、同区分での実績値自体は90年代に入り大きくなってきている

表2 - 2 Government and Civil Society 分野の二国間(DAC 諸国)地域別援助額(コミットメント・ベース)

(1990-2000)(百万ドル)

	合計	アジア	(%)	大洋州	(%)	中南米	(%)	中東	(%)	アフリカ	(%)	欧州	(%)
1990	773	50	6	5	1	339	44	7	1	374	48	0	0
1991	625	110	18	4	1	350	56	5	1	146	23	1	0
1992	508	43	8	4	1	222	44	5	1	201	40	1	0
1993	408	57	14	6	2	157	39	11	3	170	42	2	0
1994	681	147	22	4	1	207	30	33	5	266	39	14	2
1995	3,195	1,734	54	3	0	262	8	1,255	39	1,031	32	14	0
1996	1,469	368	25	44	3	274	19	74	5	599	41	47	3
1997	1,152	320	28	31	3	275	24	80	7	376	33	39	3
1998	1,472	468	32	53	4	245	17	102	7	482	33	117	8
1999	1,933	572	30	62	3	282	15	63	3	518	27	257	13
2000	2,339	622	27	52	2	308	13	88	4	771	33	387	17

出所 : DAC Database, " Creditor Reporting System, ODA/OA Commitments "Forms1, Aggregated by DAC5 Sectors

表2 - 3 Government and Civil Society 分野の多国間地域別援助額(コミットメント・ベース)

(1990-2000)(百万ドル)

	合計	アジア	(%)	大洋州	(%)	中南米	(%)	中東	(%)	アフリカ	(%)	欧州	(%)
1990	162	22	14	0	0	2	1	11	7	131	81		0
1991	445	30	7	1	0	122	28		0	290	65		0
1992	50		0	0	0	0	1		0	46	91		0
1993	48		0	0	0	0	0		0	44	92		0
1994	140	10	7	0	0	44	31		0	80	58	4	3
1995	207	140	68	0	0	11	6		0	45	22		0
1996	757	107	14	6	1	354	47	11	1	263	35	8	1
1997	603	76	13	30	5	88	15	11	2	326	54		0
1998	874	297	34	47	5	77	9		0	379	43	63	7
1999	1,167	173	15	2	0	84	7	55	5	711	61	161	14
2000	2,131	429	20	2	0	107	5	30	1	1,544	72	18	1

出所 : DAC Database, " Creditor Reporting System, ODA/OA Commitments "Forms1, Aggregated by DAC5 Sectors

で経済・開発政策 / 計画支援、行政部門や司法部門支援などの政府部門に対する改善支援が大きくなっている。

各ドナーのガバナンスの概念の捉え方と、民主化・ガバナンスの改善に向けた支援の内容・範囲は必ずしも一様ではなく、援助の取り組み方においてもかなりのバリエーションがある。民主化支援の内容・範囲は、時代とともに少しずつ変容し、広がりも見せている。

日本は、1992年に閣議決定した「政府開発援助大綱(ODA Charter)」の制定を始め、援助においても、選挙支援や法制度整備支援などの新しい取り組みを始めてきたが、民主化・ガバナンス分野の援助実績は二国間ドナーのなかで大きいとはいえない。しかしながら、JICAが元来重視してきた政府機関の能力向上を中心として、援助の教訓と課題を慎重に蓄積していく時期にある。日本の経験として、今後留意すべき事項をBOX2-1に挙げておく。

表2 - 4 日、米、世界銀行、UNDPの民主化・ガバナンス支援の比較

	定義	支援の対象分野
日本	ODA大綱では「広範な人づくり、国内の諸制度を含むインフラストラクチャー及びBHNの整備等を通じて、これらの国における資源配分の効率と構成や「良い統治」の確保を図り、その上に健全な経済発展を実現すること」がODAの目的であるとしている。	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ・途上国の自助努力への支援とパートナーシップが基本 ・法律、行政、警察、統治、選挙、マスコミ等の分野の制度の創設と運用に関するノウハウ、人材育成
USAID	「持続可能な民主主義の構築」を達成するための手段。	法の支配、選挙プロセス、市民社会、ガバナンス(政府の機能)の4つを含む。
世界銀行	「国の社会経済的資源を管理する上で、権力が行使される過程(制度、仕組み、慣習)」 「政策を計画・策定・施行するための政府の運営能力」	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ・公的部門マネジメント ・説明責任 ・開発のための法的枠組み ・透明性と情報公開
UNDP	「国家が社会統合を進め、国民の幸福を確実なものとするため、あらゆるレベルと手段によって国家運営の上での、経済的、政治的、行政的な権力の行使」 「持続可能な人間開発の重要な要素。」	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ・国家、市民社会、民間部門全てを対象。 ・政府組織・制度。公共セクターマネジメント、分権化、市民社会の強化、紛争・経済危機にある国、移行国の5分野。

出所：桑島作成。

BOX 2-1 日本の援助のなかで留意すべきと思われる事項

1. 新たな取り組みとして、1997年より、「民主化セミナー」を開催し、民主化を指向する国々の与野党の議員を招聘して、日本の民主的機構制度につき紹介し、議論をする場を設けている。ねらいは、特定の組織制度について知識移転することよりも、日本からの民主化支援のメッセージを伝え、議論の場を提供することにあるが、こうした研修事業の具体的な成果目標をどこにおくか、そのための有効なプログラムはどうあるべきか、さらなる検討に値する。
2. ガバナンス支援として、まとまったプロジェクトとして実施されているのは、1997年より、カンボディア、ヴェトナム等で取り組んでいる、民法関連法整備支援である。相手国事情を加味しつつ、相手国担当官の理解促進に時間をかけた起草プロセスは、独自の特色を示している。この経験と教訓の蓄積が期待されよう。
3. ガバナンス実績にはカウントされていないが、技術協力においては、伝統的に、政府機関の組織的、技術的な能力向上支援に最も力を入れてきている。特に、政府のサービス機能の強化においては、例えば、保健セクターにおいては、母子手帳などツールによって、サービスの改善と、サービス機関と住民との間のコミュニケーションの円滑化と意識向上につながる制度導入を図ってきており、都市環境問題への取り組みにおいても、地方自治体と市民、企業を巻き込んだ支援が行われている。こうした草の根と政府を結び仕組みづくりは、貧困対策や環境対策のための効果的な支援であるとともに、有効なガバナンス支援として打ち出しうるのはないかと思われ、実績と経験の整理がさらに必要である。

出所：桑島作成。

2 - 4 民主化支援の課題と展望(ガバナンス指標検討の動きを含めて)

1990年代は、民主化・ガバナンスに対する援助が重視され、拡大した10年であった。この間に、民主化支援の有効性とさらなる改善を求める声も大きくなってきた。DACにおいても、1997年には、これまでの援助の経験をとりとまとめた報告書が出されており、米国の民主化支援の分析など、研究者による民主化支援のレビューもなされてきている。

これらを概観すると、ドナー共通の課題として、民主化・ガバナンス分野への支援は、国の政府機構、民間・市民組織の双方の組織的制度的能力を相互補完的かつ包括的に向上させるものであるべきであるが、各国の政治社会

状況に基づいて、個別に慎重に検討されるべしとの一般的教訓が抽出できる。同時に、援助の戦略性、途上国自身の政治的意思の重要性、民主化プロセスの内発性が必要であると指摘されてきている²³。戦略性の模索においては、個別のドナーによる援助の限界と援助協調の重要性を指摘する声がある。実際の援助は、個別プログラムがドナー主導で実施されることが多いことから、一国レベルでの民主化のマクロなインパクトまでは把握できないのが現状である。ある国のガバナンス状況を統一的にかつ客観的に診断し、有効な処方箋をつくっていく手法も確立していない。

途上国と援助国・機関の双方が納得しうる形で、途上国の一国全体の民主化・ガバナンス状況を包括的に評価しうるのか、共同の処方箋づくりは現実的に有効なのか、については、まだまだ議論の余地が残されている。国際社会の取り組みとしては、当面は、あくまで途上国の民主化・ガバナンス分野の現状と問題点の把握と、支援の優先順位や留意点、成果及びインパクトを見いだすための指標の検討が先決と思われる。

民主化・ガバナンスに関連する指標としては、従来より、Freedom Houseの民主化指標を始め、世銀の使用している International Country Risk Guide (ICRG) や、Transparency International による Corruption Perception Index などがある。DACにおいては、これらは、大括りかつ一般的な指標であり、国ごとのガバナンス状況を概観することはできても、ここから、具体的なガバナンス改善策は引き出し得ず、途上国側にも受け入れられにくいとして、これらの第一世代指標を越えた、第二世代指標を模索し始めた。

第二世代指標の現段階での検討試案によれば、グッド・ガバナンスを、政府が国民の期待に耳を傾けるような動機付け(説明責任を促す)の意味での「チェック・アンド・バランス(constraints)」と、政府が基本的規律のもとに

²³ 他にも途上国の政治リーダーが、民主的な改革は自らの利益を損ねると認識すると、改革は頓挫することが多いとされる(Burnell, P.(2000)など)。世界銀行は、1998年に発表した「Assessing Aid」のなかで、コンディショナリティをもってしても、「国内的に変化させようという動きがない限り、持続的な改革はもたらされない」としている。

一定の行政パフォーマンスを示しうる「能力(capability)」の二つの軸で捉え、実態に応じたガバナンス改善の処方箋が検討できるよう、4つの次元から整理しようとしている²⁴。ここから民主化支援やガバナンス支援の青写真が浮かび上がらせるためには、各途上国で共通的に収集しうるかどうかの普遍性、データの収集可能性、客観性などの基準の検討と分析手法の開発が必要であろうと思われる。しかしながら、効果的・効率的に機能する政府という観点からのガバナンス、ならびに、三権の機能や、市民や民間部門によるチェック・アンド・バランスによって政府の恣意性を抑制し、説明責任を高めるといった広い意味での民主化傾向を測るための基本的要素について、その全体像と相互関係を探る糸口を与えている。チェック・アンド・バランスと能力の二つの側面から行政的ガバナンスを捉えようとするDACでの第二世代指標検討の動きは、日本が得意としてきた政府機関の能力向上が成果を生むには、どのようなチェック・アンド・バランスの作用を配慮すべきか、また、どのような側面での能力構築が必要となるかを考えていく一つの手がかりとなるであろう。

²⁴ Knack, S., Kugler, M. and Manning, N.(2000)

第3章 今後の民主化支援のあり方について

- 民主化支援に関する JICA 事業への提言 -

本研究会では、民主化を考える基本的枠組みの検討を行った上で、各地域別の民主化の現状と課題、主要ドナーによる民主化・ガバナンス分野における支援の動向を概観してきた。以上を踏まえ、今後 JICA が適切な民主化支援を検討・改善していくにあたり、重要と思われるインプリケーションならびに課題を次に整理したい。

3 - 1 開発援助のなかで、民主化支援をどう捉えるか

- (1) 第1章において整理されたように、民主化が重要なのは、民主的体制が、国家からの政治的迫害や、戦争や紛争、飢餓からの不安を国民から取り除き、人間として最低限必要な経済社会生活を充足し、各人の資質を發揮できる環境を創り出すために、欠くべからざる枠組みであって、民主的でない開発のプロセスとその成果は持続しないと考えるからである。このため、開発途上国にとって、持続的な開発の推進のためには、基本的な人権の尊重や政治参加を促進し、参加型の開発の促進に適合した政治・行政・社会を構築していくこと、すなわち、民主化を進めていくことが必要な所以である。
- (2) 1990年代以降、DACを中心とした援助コミュニティにおいては、民主化支援にあたって、民主主義、人権、ガバナンス、参加の4つの要素をあわせて、開発の成果を上げるために不可欠な前提として議論してきた。援助の内容は、政治参加等の政治プロセスの問題、公共政策や公的事業のマネジメント等のパフォーマンスの問題、社会経済政策の包摂性

(integration)や正当性といった政策プロセスの問題にまたがっている。また、共通の価値観としては、参加、アカウンタビリティ、透明性、開かれた政府、市民意識の役割等が強調されてきており、援助の対象アクターとしては、中央政府(三権を含む)、地方政府(三権を含む)、政党組織や、意思を代表して表明する圧力団体・市民団体などの政治的なアクター、教育や訓練にかかわる教育団体など多岐に亘る。各主要ドナーの援助における民主化・ガバナンス分野の位置づけとしても、普遍的価値として普及させる(米)、人間開発に必要な価値観、仕組み、能力として重視する(UNDP)、開発の成果を発現させるために必要な仕組み、能力として重視する(世界銀行)というように多様であり、ドナー自体も、時代によって、あるいは、そのときのコンテキストで定義を進化させてきている。このように、民主化支援は、各ドナー共通の領域が存在しながらも、議論の次元や対象アクターによって切り口が変わりうる。このため、まず、日本の援助としての民主化支援の位置づけを明確にしておくことが必要である。

- (3) 途上国の経済社会開発の促進を事業目標とするJICAにおいては、上記(2)で挙げた主要ドナーの考え方のうち、いずれのドナーにも共通する定義として、民主化・ガバナンスを、「開発の成果を持続させるために、政府と国民の双方において必要な仕組みと能力」として捉えて、民主化支援を位置づけることが妥当であろう。本研究では、「民主化を考える枠組み」における整理(図1-1の分析枠組み図)に沿って、民主化の構成要素を、民主的な制度、民主化を機能させるシステム(すなわちガバナンス)、民主化を支える社会・経済基盤の3つに分けて捉えることとしたが、国ごとに必要な民主化支援の内容を検討する際には、まず、「開発の成果を持続させるために、政府と国民の双方において必要な仕組みと能力」が何かという視点を基本において検討することが重要であ

る。第2章で取り上げたDACにおける最近のガバナンス指標を巡る議論では、ガバナンスを、開発の成果を上げるための政府の能力(Capacity)と政府に対するチェック・アンド・バランス(Constraints)の2つの軸で整理しており、JICA事業においても、政府や国民の能力向上を支援する視点とともに、適切な政策の策定・実施が促進されるよう、政府の機能を監視・抑制する視点を組み入れていくことも民主化支援の重要な柱の1つとなるであろう。

- (4) なお、援助コミュニティの議論としては、民主化やガバナンスの改善をどう効果的に進めるか、という論点のみならず、そもそも国家運営、開発運営の実を上げるためには、効果的で、説明責任を果たしうる民主的な政府、人権の尊重、法制度の遵守等で表されるところのグッド・ガバナンスが不可欠だとの問題意識がある。また、効果的な援助戦略策定のための途上国のガバナンス評価指標の検討、開発における途上国の主体性(オーナーシップ)の尊重、ドナー間の援助協調の重要性、特に、民主化・ガバナンス状況が芳しくない援助の効果は上がらないとの前提に立った、援助対象国・分野の選別論にも結びついている。

3 - 2 民主化支援の基本的考え方

(1) 途上国ごとの特性に応じた協力を行う

本研究会では、第1章における整理に基づき、民主化の構成要素を、民主的な制度、民主化を機能させるシステム(すなわちガバナンス)、民主化を支える社会・経済基盤の3つに分けて、東アジア・東南アジア、南西アジア、中南米、アフリカの各地域を事例にとり、民主化の現状を分析した。各途上国のおかれた政治状況、経済的社会的初期条件、歴史的経緯によって、民主的制度の現状は様々であり、制度自体の構築または

再構築の必要な国、制度的基盤はあっても、制度の実効性に問題を抱える国、制度構築とともに、貧困の軽減や社会開発を通じ社会の不安定要素を解決していくべき国など、大きな多様性がある。当然ながら、具体的な民主化支援策は、日本が得意とする分野や方法に力を入れるとしても、各国の実態や特殊性に対応した支援を検討することが重要である。

民主化支援は、民主的な機構の構築を支援したり、ガバナンス改善のための活動を支援したりする直接的支援のほかに、援助に「政治的コンディショナリティ」を付して、途上国側の改善努力を促す間接的支援の二つの方法が採られるのが一般的である。後者は外務省の政策判断事項となるが、研究会としては、民主的な制度の構築や改善は、あくまで民主化に対する各途上国の主体的意思(すなわち、政策意思と大衆の内発的な意識)が必要である点を強調しておきたい。従って、間接的支援については、民主化やガバナンス状況を援助供与に結びつけるコンディショナリティに重きを置くよりも、日本が民主化を促進するような援助を行う、援助にあたっては民主化に配慮するといった、日本の民主化・ガバナンスに対する明確なメッセージとしてODA大綱にある援助原則を打ち出すことが重要と考える。間接的支援のみで途上国の民主化に具体的なインパクトを与えることには、もとより限界があるからである。

民主化促進・ガバナンス改善のための直接的支援の方法としては、具体的な民主化支援活動を行うことに加えて、従来より行っている開発援助案件において、民主的制度の構築やガバナンス改善への配慮を組み込むことが考えられる。後者については、わが国の援助が、政府側の能力向上を支援することに経験を蓄積してきたことから、協力の持続性を高めるための仕組みを取り入れるという観点からも、政府側の行政能力の向上と、住民側の参加によるチェック・アンド・バランスを盛り込んだ

案件の推進を、わが国に比較優位のある民主化支援として捉えるべきであろう。なお、具体的な民主化支援案件であっても、従来型案件における民主化への配慮であっても、政府と受け手である住民、市民の双方への働きかけをあわせて行うことが重要なポイントとなる。内外の NGO や市民団体などとの連携が重要である。民主化支援案件の取り組み方については、(2)において具体的に述べる。

(2) 民主化支援のための類型化を検討する

本調査研究では、地域別の民主化の現状を分析するにあたり、民主化の類型化とその類型に沿った支援メニューの検討を行った。この検討結果を踏まえ、今後の民主化支援の計画づくりにあたっては、大括りの類型化をもって支援ニーズを整理・把握し、具体的施策を検討していくことを提案する。民主化支援の内容は、あくまで、相手国の主体性、日本の相手国との関係、他のドナー援助の方針との整合性をもって総合的に考えることが必要であるが、途上国の現状に応じて、以下のような6種類の支援ニーズが考えられよう。

復興支援型(紛争後の復興期にある国)

民主的な制度、民主化を機能させるシステム(すなわちガバナンス)、民主化を支える社会・経済基盤の3つの要素すべてに対し、総合的な支援が必要である。紛争終結後の国は、(1)で議論した民主化への主体的意思の点では、積極的な民主化志向を有し、また、民主的制度の整備とともに、社会・経済基盤の整備を同時並行させ、かつ早急に平和の実感と充足を満たさなければならぬ特殊な状況にあるといえる。このため、必要な部分に迅速な協力をを行い、早期に平和の配当をもたらすよう配慮し、間接的支援と直接的支援のリンクを意識して民主化を逆行させないよう、日本としても民主化への積極的支援をアピールすることが重要である。同時に、当該国と共同で、中長期

的視点にたった、民主化支援と社会・経済開発支援を計画していくことが必要であろう²⁵。

これまでの協力実績では、与野党議員等を対象とした本邦における民主化セミナーや、東ティモールやカンボディア等における総選挙の監視や実施支援(専門家派遣、車両等機材供与)などが行われている。東ティモールではNGOの広範な参加を実現しつつ復興支援への協力を展開している事例がある。その過程で受益者に接触するNGOの能力強化、あるいは受益者自身の組織化等、仲介組織と受益者自身の能力形成の進展が見られる。カンボディアにおける難民再定住・農村開発支援は、ASEAN各国との三角協力の形をとり、地域的な支援体制が採られたことに特徴があった。アフガニスタンに対しても、今後積極的な協力が検討されている。

制度整備型(民主的制度の構築と改革を行っている国)

司法・立法・行政等の基本的な制度の構築と改革に取り組んでいる国に対しては、基本法の制定、法曹人材の育成、議会機能の強化、公務員制度の充実など、制度への信頼性を増すような支援が必要である。

これまでの協力実績では、ヴェトナムやカンボディア等への民法整備支援の事例がある。法整備支援においては、支援の過程で先方の関係当局の参加を得て、対話と合意を重ねつつ、法制度改正の必要性、経済・社会にもたらす重要性を議論し、合意を重視するやり方をとってきたことに特徴がある。現地の社会文化に即した法の執行を確保するためには、立法化、法曹の育成支援、市民の法意識の向上、法律扶助などの面が今後の援助の課題となる。また、タジキスタン向けの国会運営に焦点をあてた民主化セミナーや、インドネシア向けに検討されている議員研修のように、今後は、議会の各種機能の強化支援にも力を入れていくことが重要であろう。

²⁵ 平和構築に関する開発援助、平和配慮の考え方については、国際協力事業団国際協力総合研修所(2001b)を参照。

ガバナンス強化型(民主的制度はあるが、十分に機能していない国)

民主的制度はあるが、十分に機能していない国に対しては、民主主義を機能させるための各種システムの強化、すなわちガバナンスの改善が必要である。第1章で定義したガバナンスのうち、どの側面に着目するかについては、国ごとのニーズを踏まえて検討する必要があるが、公正で効率的な政府機能の強化のためには、当該政府部局の能力向上に加えて、チェック・アンド・バランスの強化が必須である。特に受益者のニーズを反映した開発を促進するような行政能力の向上、情報公開などによる透明性の向上など、政府、市民社会の双方の能力向上と、政府内の評価・監視機能の向上、行政の情報化の推進などをあわせて検討することが重要であろう。

これまでも、多くの政府機関の能力向上への協力が行われてきている。特に、セクター別省庁や地方レベルの行政機能の改善に関わる協力は、日本の得意とする分野でもあり、受益者の関与の仕組みを組み入れ、チェック・アンド・バランスを強化することによって、ガバナンスの中核機能の1つとして捉えていく必要があろう。さらに、より利害関係者に近い地方政府の権限の拡大と能力向上の課題は、既に多くの国で具体的な動きとなっており、問題点にも直面している現状にあるが、チェック・アンド・バランスによる民主的な仕組みづくりとサービス改善の積極的な2つの側面から、より注目すべきと思われる²⁶。

貧困対策重視型(貧困が深刻であり、社会的安定と社会開発が最重要課題となっている国)

社会開発に重きを置く、貧困対策重視型の援助においては、まず、教育や

²⁶ 地方行政官・地方大学・教育訓練機関・市民団体間のネットワーク形成を志向する案件、さらには受益者への積極的な情報提供を促進し行政サービス改善を目指す案件を含む。このような案件の中に、例えばチリ・プエルモン地区で行われている貝類養殖案件が挙げられる。県の水産振興及び水産資源管理行政の一端を第三セクター方式の公社が担い、この公社が地域漁民の組織化、貝類の協働資源管理と、製品の品質管理と市場化、増養殖の技術普及の奥地展開、収益の配分を行っている。

識字レベル、保健衛生の向上等の基本的な生活環境整備及び生活能力の向上が重点である。こうした改善は、行政サービス自体の改善のみならず、長期的には人々の意識や認識の向上、住民の組織的な能力の向上、女性の地位の向上を通じ、サービス受益者としての期待の合理性の向上と声の拡大にもつながる点で、民主化の定着に必要な協力として位置づけていくことが重要である²⁷。

なお、合理的な期待や声の反映のためには、受益者と行政との間のコミュニケーションの手段が必要であり、行政側の情報にアクセスできるようにすることも重要である。自由かつ中立的なメディアの役割は重要であろうが、インドネシアで行われている母子手帳プロジェクトのような、制度的な工夫による受益者・行政間のコミュニケーションのツールも重要であり、かつ、今後とも重視すべき点と思われる。

紛争拡大・再発の予防支援型(国内紛争が多発している国)

紛争への対処は、一義的には軍事的・政治的努力が必要であるが、紛争を回避するための体制としては、政治・行政関係者の民主化・人権に関する意識の向上、司法・立法制度の再構築、公正な裁判の実施などへの支援が重要である。同時に、経済・社会開発への支援を通じた貧困の削減や教育の普及などの開発援助を通じて紛争予防に取り組むことが重要である。

こうした平和構築支援の実績としては、カンボディアにおける前述の難民再定住・農村開発支援(ASEAN各国との三角協力)、退役軍人自立支援のための村落振興支援、対人地雷除去のための支援、被災者の社会復帰への支援などが行われている。また、公正な利害調整メカニズムを支援する一環とし

²⁷ 例えば、インドネシア・スラウェシ貧困対策プロジェクトはその実施にあたり、分権化とボトムアップ型地域開発を促進することを中心とする、いわば民主的な地域開発のシステムづくりを志向する案件である。住民ニーズの調査に基づく地域開発計画の作成・実行を可能にするシステムづくりと能力形成を行うことが目的である。貧困対策資金を上から配布するという形とは大きく異なっている(国際協力事業団国際協力総合研修所(1997))。

ての透明で公正な警察行政の構築については、インドネシアをはじめ、既に多くの地域で協力が展開されており、今後とも注視していく事例であると考えられる。過去にシンガポールで実施された交番制度の導入²⁸について、今後東ティモールやエル・サルヴァドル等で展開することとなっている。鑑識や通信インフラの強化という技術的な側面とあわせて、市民が参加して治安を守る市民警察の仕組みについては、その広がりや蓄積も相当レベルに達していることから今後の戦略的な展開も含めて評価していくことが望まれる。

なお、特定の地域、コミュニティを対象とした開発援助が、逆に紛争を助長することもあり得るため、開発援助の負の影響を回避するための平和配慮も必要である²⁹。

国際協調による支援型

中南米における米州機構(OAS)や、欧州におけるEUなど、民主化へのコミットメントを明示する有力な地域協力機構が存在している地域においては、こうした地域機構への支援を通じて加盟国の民主化を促進することも考えられる。また、アフリカにおけるアフリカ連合(AU)、南部アフリカ開発共同体(SADC)など、地域機構としての機能と役割はこれまで限定的であったが、今後、重要なパートナーとして台頭してくる可能性もあり、地域的な民主化支援を模索することも検討に値しよう。

また、貧困削減戦略ペーパー(PRSP)の策定対象国においては、策定及び実施プロセスのなかに、市民との対話、参加型開発、ガバナンス改善が組み入れられていることから、この策定支援と実施への支援を通じて民主化・ガバナンスの促進を図ることも重要であろう。

²⁸ 警察庁編(1987)

²⁹ 平和構築に関する開発援助、平和配慮の考え方については、国際協力事業団国際総合研修所(2001b)参照。

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