UNIVERSIDAD DE QUINTANA ROO

DIVISIÓN DE CIENCIAS POLÍTICAS Y HUMANIDADES

TRANSLATION AND TRANSLATION ANALYSIS
OF THE ARTICLE: The Quality of Democracy

MONOGRAFIA

en la modalidad de Traducción
para obtener el grado de
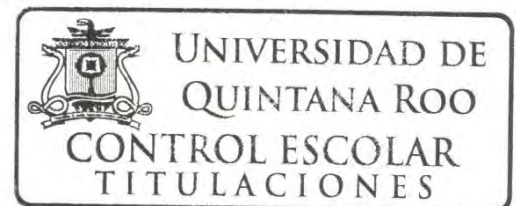Licenciada en Lengua Inglesa

PRESENTA
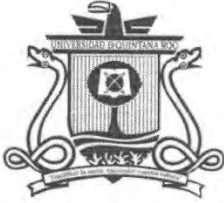Lorena Espinoza Sotero

Supervisores:
Dra. Caridad Macola Rojo

Dra. Edith Hernández Méndez

M. A. Sonia Teresita Sansores Valencia

Chetumal, Quintana Roo, Abril 2018

UNIVERSIDAD DE QUINTANA ROO

División de Ciencias Políticas y Humanidades

Translation and Translation Analysis of the article: The Quality of Democracy.

Presenta: **Lorena Espinoza Sotero**

Trabajo monográfico elaborado bajo la supervisión del comité del programa de Licenciatura y aprobado como requisito para obtener el grado de:

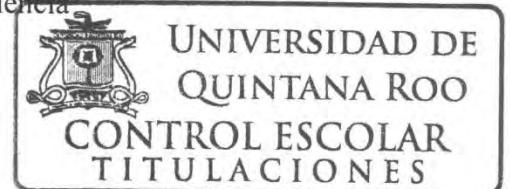**LICENCIADA EN LENGUA INGLESA**

COMITÉ DE MONOGRAFÍA

Asesor: _____
Dra. Caridad Macola Rojo

Asesor : _____
Dra. Edith Hernández Méndez

Asesor : _____
M. A. Sonia Teresita Sansores Valencia

Chetumal, Quintana Roo, México, Abril de 2018

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements

First of all, I am grateful to God for giving me all the required strength, wisdom and good health in order to carry out this monographic work.

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I would also like to thank my parents Antonio Espinoza and Clemencia Sotero for their support, advice, encouragement and unconditional love and each of my brothers and sisters who make my life happier. There are some other important people to mention; my friends who motivate me in getting this project done and my brother in law, whose words and advice have helped me a lot.

Introduction

Translation is an art as well as a medium for communication. Translation is the process of transferring a written text from one language into another: translating an original work into another language helps people of other cultures to understand a variety of topics of their interest.

A translator plays an important role in the field of communication since he or she should be able to convey written information in another language preserving the original meaning of the author and, at the same time, making it understandable. Without translators, relations between numerous nations would be impossible. Since ancient times, people have used the services of translators: people who master two or more languages.

During the translation process, the translator has to take into account important aspects such as the lexicon, the grammatical structures of both languages, and the cultural context of the source language text. He or she has to analyze the source text in order to determine its meaning, and then has to reconstruct the same meaning using the lexicon and grammatical structures which are appropriate in the target language and its cultural context.

The main objective of this monographic work is to translate a chapter of the working paper titled *"CDDRL; Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law"* edited, by Larry Diamond and Leonardo Morlino (2004). The title of this chapter is The Quality of Democracy and was written by the authors mentioned before.

In general, this working paper provides essential information about norms, legitimacy of democracy and brief definitions of "democracy" and "quality" separated. It also contains some procedural dimensions of democratic quality.

In particular, to understand the word *quality* focused on democracy, it is necessary to deeply define the meaning of procedure, content and result. Besides, it provides interesting information about what a good democracy is.

One of the authors of this article is Larry Diamond, a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution. He is also professor of Political Science and Sociology at Stanford University. His current scholarly research examines comparative trends in the quality and stability of democracy in developing countries. The second author is Leonardo Morlino, a professor of

Political Science at the University of Florence (Italy) and director of the Research Centre on Southern Europe. His publication includes more than a hundred articles in Italian, French, English, Spanish and German mainly on authoritarianism and democratic theory. This type of article is very important for those people who do not understand the English language but are interested in knowing and understanding what a good democracy is about.

Justification

First of all, this translation work will be really useful for Tania Libertad Caamal Cheluja, professor and researcher in the Departamento de Estudios Politicos e Internacionales of the Universidad de Quintana Roo, to use in the Master Degree Course in Social Sciences for the course Political Sociology. This translation work will also be a great help for students in the Gobierno y Gestión Pública and Relaciones Internacionales programs since most of the students are interested in this topic. The translation of this paper into Spanish, the students´ mother tongue will be very significant for them because they will be able to read it, discuss it and understand it.

This paper about "Democracy" addresses the needs of certain researchers, some government politicians and also the community in general to be able to know and understand the important characteristics of a good democracy; moreover, they will be aware of the eight dimensions aspects importance in order to have a good democracy.

Furthermore, this translation work can be used as a guide by those students who are interested in becoming translators. They can find it useful when working in a translation of this type; those future translators can find many strategies that can be helpful for them to develop their work. And also translators would be interested in just reading this article to notice how easy or complex it is and also they can find it useful to develop translation theory. Furthermore, this analysis will be useful for translation students to see what the process of translation is about and what it involves.

Undoubtedly, this paper can help many Spanish speakers to broaden and update their knowledge in the different dimensions of democratic quality since this paper is a recent work. Unfortunately, these types of papers written in English are not translated into Spanish or they take a long time to be translated, and consequently many people do not get to know them. Therefore, to translate this text is a good opportunity to spread the knowledge about this topic.

Objectives

The main aim of this monographic work is to carry out an appropriate and faithful translation from English into Spanish of the document *The Quality of Democracy,* which will convey the original idea of the writer in a translation which will be understandable and easy to read. The translation is expected to be accurate as to meaning and natural as to the target language forms used.

The second objective is to analyze the most important problems encountered in the translation work and their respective solutions. The analysis will be done by taking into account the seven techniques contributed by Vinay and Darbelnet since they allow the translator certain flexibility during the process of translating. The seven basic techniques of Jean Paul Vinay and Jean Darbelnet are; borrowing, calque, literal, transposition, modulation, equivalence and adaptation (Vinay and Darbelnet, 1958).

Theoretical framework

Translation is a powerful tool that makes communication possible in a world where a wide variety of languages exist. In this way, translation acts as a bridge that communicates people from different parts of the earth.

According to Lawrence Venuti (1995), "translation is a process by which the chain of signifiers that constitutes the source-language text is replaced by a chain of signifiers in the target language which the translator provides on the strength of an interpretation"(p. 17). In order to understand this definition, it is important to define key concepts such as; source text (ST), source language (SL), target language (TL) and target text (TT). The first one refers to the text to be translated and it is written in the source language (SL). The language that is to be translated into is called the target language and the final product is called the target text (TT) (Venuti, 2000).

According to Garcia Yerba (1997): "Traducir es enunciar en otra lengua (o lengua meta) lo que ha sido enunciado en una lengua fuente (lengua original), conservando las equivalencias semánticas y estilísticas."(p.32)

According to Garcia Yerba (1997): "Translation is to formulate into another language (target language) what was expressed in a source language (original language), keeping the semantic and stylistic equivalences." (p.32)

Orellana (1991, p.17) defines translation as "the faithful transfer of the ideas from a source language to a target language in a correct, precise and appropriate style. And if it is possible, it has to be concise".

Another good definition of translation is given by Newmark (1981, p. 7), "translation is a craft consisting in the attempt to replace a written message and/or statement in one language by the same message or statement in another language".

All definitions mentioned previously make reference to some important aspects that are essential when translating. Taking into account these definitions it can be said that translation is an art in which texts are translated into another language within a cultural and linguistic system taking into account the interpretation that the translator gives to the source text without changing or losing its meaning.

According to many theorists there are different types of translations. For example: General, literary and technical translation.

General translation refers to where there is no specific technical terminology is the simplest one, which means that the language used is simple. This type of translation allows a translator quite a lot of freedom because its source material mostly uses layman terms and ordinary, everyday speech. There is no need to understand special terminologies, and most translation work fall into this particular type (Duff, 1989).

 Literary translation is the translation of literature such as, novels, poems and so on. It is considered as one of the highest forms of translation since it involves feelings, culture, humor and other subtle elements (Jakobson, 1959).

Technical translation is a type of specialized translation involving the translation of documents produced by technical writers (owner's manuals, user guides, etc.), or more specifically, texts which relate to technological subject areas or texts which deal with the practical application of scientific and technological information. This type of translation contains a high amount of terminology that only a specialist translator could deal with (Newmark, 1988).

This translation work is a technical translation because it has the characteristics mentioned previously. In the field of translation there are three schools, which are widely recognized, the Russian, the American and the Canadian schools.

The Russian school is headed by the theorists Jacob Retsker and Shveitser (1949), who proposes three types of relationship between a source language and a target language: 1) equivalence which consists of word for word substitution, 2) variant and contextual correspondence which covers the situation from one to many correspondences between languages and 3) all other types of translational transformation that covers cases where there is one to one equivalence and no readily definable contextual correspondence in the form of a collocation (Fawcett, 1949).

The American School is headed by Malone (1988). The techniques proposed in this approach are: *matching* that is divided in*: equation* (that is like literal translation) and *substitution* (is like transposition, equivalence and adaptation); *zigzagging* is divided in *divergence and convergence* that are situations where the source language has what it is called doublets, two words meaning the same thing but often with some kind of connotative

6

difference; r*ecrescence* which is divided in a*mplification* (is like adaptation) *and reduction* (omission of information); r*epacking* is divided in *diffusion and condensation* (they express the same information in longer or shorter form). And *reordering* (reordering word sequence becomes necessary for comprehension).

The Canadian School is headed by Jean- Paul Vinay and Jean Darbelnet. They suggest seven translation techniques (as mentioned above), which are divided into two groups of translation; the direct translation and the oblique translation (Valentin, 1997).

The three schools are important in the translation field; however the Canadian method is the most accepted by the professional translators, because it is easier to apply, and in practice, the three schools may be used either on their own or combined with one or more of the others. For these reasons, this paper will be translated with the seven techniques proposed by Jean- Paul and Jean Darbelnet (the Canadian approach).

Delisle (1993) introduces some variation to the SCFA (*Stilistique Comparée du Francais et de l ' Angles*) procedures and maintains the term *procedure* for Vinay and Darbelnet´s proposal. However, for some other categories of his own, he introduces a different terminology such as translation strategies, translation errors, operation in the cognitive process of translating. In his review of Vinay and Darbelnet, he proposes simplifying the SCFA dichotomies of reinforcement / condensation and amplification/ economy and he reduces them to a single pair, *reinforcement/ economy*. The other categories he mentions are addition vs omission, paraphrase and discursive creation.

Newmark (1998) also uses the term *procedures* to classify the proposal made by the comparative linguists and by the bible translators. These are: recognized translation, functional equivalent, naturalization and translation label (this is a provisional translation, usually of a new term, and a literal translation could be acceptable). He includes the option of solving a problem by combining two or more procedures (he called these solutions doubles, triples or quadruples).

Vinay and Darbelnet (1958) reject individual words as units of translation by emphasizing that translators deal with ideas and feelings in various semantic fields, rather than individual lexemes. They define the unit of translation as "the smallest segment of the utterance whose signs are linked in such a way that they should not be translated individually" (Vinay & Darbelnet 1958 quoted in Hatim & Munday 2004: 18). On account

of this the Vinay and Darbelnet seven basic procedures" are used in this paper work and because their procedures are the most used ones when translating.

The seven basic procedures (borrowing, calque, literal, transposition, modulation, equivalence and adaptation) were classified as direct (or literal) or oblique. The first direct translations technique is borrowing, which is a procedure that involves using the same word or expression in the original text and in the translated text. This is about reproducing an expression in the original text as it is. Some examples are; *salsa* (type of dancing), *café* and *hamburger*.

The second direct translation technique is calque. For Vinay and Darbelnet (1958), calque is a special kind of borrowing whereby a language borrows an expression from another. It is a phrase borrowed from another language and translated literally word-for-word, for example; *superman, breakfast, White House* and *flyweight.*

And the third one is literal translation; literal or word for word translation is the direct transfer of a source language text into a grammatically and idiomatically appropriate target language. Some examples of literal are; *feed the cat* and *the window is open.*[1]

The oblique translation techniques are: transposition, modulation, equivalence and adaptation. The fourth translation technique is transposition. Transposition consists of the replacement of one word class with another without changing the meaning of the original message. Transposition involves moving from one grammatical category to another without altering the meaning of the text. This technique introduces a change in grammatical structure. One example of this translation is:

He lives dangerously which could be translated as: "Vive una vida azarosa" (the adverb changes into an adjective).

The fifth translation technique is modulation. Modulation consists of using a phrase that is different in the source and in the target languages to convey the same idea. It is a variation of the form of the message which is produced by a change of point of view keeping in mind the original intention and meaning of the source text. In addition, modulation is about changing the form of the text by introducing a semantic change or perspective. One example is:

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[1] These two examples in Literal translation were taken from the web site ThoughtsCo. By Richard Nordquist, June 2017)

It is easy to understand: "No es difícil de comprender".

The sixth translation technique is equivalence. It consists of representing the same situation in two texts (source and target language) using completely and different stylistic and structural methods (Vinay and Darbelnet, 1958). This is a translation procedure which uses a completely different expression to transmit the same reality. With this technique, names of institutions, interjections, idioms (it is pouring), or proverbs can be translated. For example:

"*It is raining cats and dogs*" will be translated into "*Llueve copiosamente*".

Another example of this is "*You'll never miss the water till the well runs dry*" will become "No valoras lo que tienes hasta que lo pierdes.

One more example of this is "*people who live in glass houses should not throw stones*" will be translated in "No critiques a otras personas si tú no eres perfecta".

The seventh technique is adaptation. It is used in those cases where the type of situation being described by the source language does not exist in the target language culture. Here, the translator´s task is to create a new situation that can be considered as being equivalent, keeping in mind that the register and style have to be maintained. Beside, since adaptation is a situational equivalence, according to Fawcett (1977), a complete change of the original expression has to be made to shift and fit it into another cultural environment. For example:

"*Taste this Christmas Pudding*", will be translated in "*prueba este turrón*".

Another example of this is "*yours ever*" will become " *le saluda atentamente*".[2]

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[2] (Examples were taken from A Translator´s Thoughts web by Chiara Grassilli, May 2016). Except for Equivalence examples were taken from Equivalence in Translation by Marouane Zakhir, April 2009. And Adaptation example was taken from Translation-blog Trusted Translation, August 2015).

Nida (1964) proposes three types of techniques of adjustment: additions, subtractions and alterations. They are used to adjust the form of the message to the characteristics of the structure of the target language, to produce semantically equivalent structures, to generate appropriate stylistic equivalences and to produce an equivalent communicative effect. Moreover, it is necessary to mention the Vazquez Ayora´s technical procedures. Vazquez Ayora uses the term operative technical procedures, although he sometimes refers to them as the translation method.

The previous techniques are not the only ones that can serve us during our translation. There are two other techniques which were proposed by Vazquez Ayora (1997) that can increase the level of understanding of our translated text. The first one is addition: it consists of adding the words that we need into the target language in order to make the message clearer. Addition could be made for extra linguistic reasons or because of syntactic restructuration of sentences in the target language to make it more natural. For example:

   Footnote will become *nota al pié or nota al final del texto*.

The second one is *omission*: it is used when it is necessary to omit certain information or the same appears in more than one time in our source text. It is advisable to omit terms or words that express a meaning that could be inferred from the context. For example:

   The committee has failed to act which could be translated as *La comisión no actuó*.[3]

Descriptions of the techniques and some processes that were used during the development of this translation project are shown as detailed below. The most used and common translation techniques proposed by Paul Vinay and Jean Darbelnet (1958) are described and exemplified next.

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[3] The examples given in addition and omission techniques (Vazquez Ayora) were taken from Molina, L and Hurtado, A. 2002 by Translation Technique Revisited: A Dynamic and Functionalist Approach.

BORROWING

It is the simplest of all technique and is used in order to introduce the essence of the source language culture into the translation. When a word is taken from its native language without been translated is called borrowing.

Examples:

Marta bought <u>tacos</u> yesterday ⟶

Ayer Marta compró <u>tacos</u>

<u>Mole</u> is a tradicional Mexican food ⟶

El <u>mole</u> es una comida tradicional mexicana.

CALQUE

For Vinay and Darbelnet (1958), calque is a special kind of borrowing whereby a language borrows an expression from another, but then translates literally each one of its elements. The result is either:

a) A lexical calque which respects the syntactic structure of the TL, whilst introducing a new mode of expression; or,

b) A structural calque which introduces a new construction into the language.

Examples:

Real evidence ⟶ **Evidencia real**

Football ⟶ **balón pie**

Misery ⟶ **miseria**

Week-end ⟶ **fin de semana**

Science fiction ⟶ **ciencia ficción**

LITERAL TRANSLATION

This type of translation is also called word for word translation, is the direct transfer of a SL text into a grammatically and idiomatically appropriate TL.

Examples:

The woman is working to buy a house. ⟶

La mujer está trabajando para comprar una casa.

Emmanuel is working in a cafeteria. ⟶

Emmanuel está trabajando en una cafetería.

TRANSPOSITION

This technique involves replacing one word-class with another without changing the meaning of the message. There are two types of transposition, obligatory and optional.

Examples:

Something like that ⟶ **Algo parecido.** (Obligatory)

His car is out of order ⟶ **Su carro no funciona.** (Obligatory)

The course is of interest to all of us ⟶ **El curso nos interesa a todos (nosotros).** (optional)

12

MODULATION

It is a variation of the form of the message, obtained by a change in the point of view. This technique requires extensive knowledge of the target language. There are two types of modulation, free modulation and fixed or obligatory modulation.

Examples:

I´d like you to keep it quiet ⟶ Me gustaría que no dijeras nada.

It seems not unlikely ⟶ Es muy probable.

You are wanted on the phone ⟶ Le llaman al teléfono.

Before anyone could draw breath ⟶ En un abrir y cerrar de ojos.

ADAPTATION

It is used when there is no common equivalent for a given expression, or when a situation in the source culture does not exist in the target culture. In such situations translators have to find a new situation that can be considered as being equivalent.

Examples:

Enjoy your meal ⟶ Buen provecho

He kissed his daughter on the mouth ⟶ Abrazó tiernamente a su hija

EQUIVALENCE

It is defined as the translation of idioms when two languages refer to the same situation in totally different ways. The process is creative, but not always easy.

Examples:

- **No right of way** ⟶ **prohibido el paso**
- **You are welcome** ⟶ **de nada**
- **Never judge a book by its cover** ⟶ **las apariencias engañan**
- **Men at work** ⟶ **Obras**[4]

The previous techniques are not the only ones that can serve us during our translation. There are two other techniques which were proposed by Vazquez Ayora (1977) that can increase the level of understanding of our translation text.

ADDITION

It consists of adding the words that we need into the target language in order to make it clearer. Additions could be made for extralinguistic reasons or because of syntactic reconstruction of sentences in the target language to make it more natural.

Examples:

- **I told her that life here is not interesting** ⟶ **Le dije que la vida en esta ciudad carece de interés**.
- **If any** ⟶ **Si se diera el caso.**
- **The combination made him conspicuous.** ⟶ **El conjunto le daba aspecto destacado.**
- **A problem like that.** ⟶ **Un problema de ese género.**

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[4] Some examples were taken from Upcoming Translation Event-summer (July, 2017). And a Translator´s Thought Website (May, 2016).

OMISSION

It is used when it is necessary to omit certain information or the same appears in more than one time in our source text. It is advisable to omit terms or words that express a meaning that could be inferred from the context.

Examples:

- **The committee has failed to act.** ⟶ **La comisión no actuó.**
- **To speak of a mutual convertibility from one particular language to another.** ⟶ **Hablar de una convertibilidad recíproca de una lengua a otra.**
- **The discussion was of a violent and sensitive character.** ⟶ **La discusión fue violenta y sensible.**[5]

All these techniques can be used in order to have a translation as close as possible to the original whole text. At the end of the translation analysis, we will have a wide vision about the techniques used in most of our translation. These techniques will help us to translate appropriately by facilitating the translation process.

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[5] Omission and addition examples taken from: http://tecnicasyprocesosdetraduccion.wikispaces.com. TES: the Largest Network of Teachers in the World, 2017.

Methodology

In the translation process, there are two important aspects to take into account in order to have a good translation: understanding the source text, and expressing the message in the target language without changing the original meaning of the source language.

In order to carry out this translation, first it is necessary to read the paper in order to have a general view about what the topic is. Then, it is necessary to read it again in order to identify the type of text and its genre. After that, another reading was done with the purpose of understanding the original text very well and the way in which the author wants to express the message. Doing so is really useful to express the message into the target language with the same meaning of the original language.

Besides the important stages mentioned before, there is one that is really important to take into account and it is to read articles about the topic with the purpose of getting more knowledge about it and understanding key terms used in this paper. On the other hand, to consult experts in the area is essential in order to clarify some terms that are difficult to understand in the target language to be used in the target text.

After searching for the meaning of difficult words in different resources, the translator started the first translation draft by considering the challenge on finding the appropriate words according to the context of the article. For example, the journals available on internet (The Journal of Democracy; https://www.journalofdemocracy.org/article/quality-democracy-overview) were useful for reading articles related to this work and comparing thesewords with the ones that are expressed in those articles.

It is important to mention that during the translation process, a translator can face many problems. One of them is the correct comprehension ability as well as the interpretation of the text. Another problem could be of semantic and cultural nature. Moreover, a translator often runs into some difficult terms that are not found for which not even the best dictionary can provide an accurate meaning.

In short, whatever difficulty the translator may encounter in the process, he should be able to solve it through his or her knowledge, skills, training, cultural background and expertise. And the role the supervisors play is important to mention.

Moreover, to carry out this translation different materials were consulted (bilingual and monolingual dictionaries, Spanish dictionaries, synonyms or antonyms dictionaries, online dictionaries, and linguistics dictionaries). Some of these materials are: the Illustrated Oxford Dictionary, the Oxford Advanced Learner"s Dictionary, Merriam- Webster Dictionary of Synonyms and Antonyms and the Cambridge Compact, which is a bilingual dictionary.

The guidance of specialists on translation was very much welcomed. Supervisors who are specialists on translation and linguistics proofread all the translation work so that they could identify some possible problems. They played a very important role together with the materials mentioned above.

Undoubtedly, before delivering the drafts to the supervisors, they were checked deeply and read as many times as possible in order to be sure that the message was clear and understood, just as in the target text.

Finally, the analysis of the most common problems faced in the translation process was included as well as the conclusions and translation recommendations. In addition, the phrases written in the translation analysis were analyzed according to the Vinay and Darbelnet techniques. Those phrases were presented in a chart; the first column is for the source language text (in English) and the second is for the target language text (translated into Spanish). Then under the charts there is a brief paragraph with the explanation of each techniques and the reason of their use. Collecting the whole information was useful in order to write the conclusion and visualize if the research objectives were achieved; by reading the objectives and analyzing the whole translation work but specifically the translation analysis.

CDDRL

DOCUMENTOS DE TRABAJO

La calidad de la democracia.

Larry Diamond

Leonardo Morlino

Centro para la democracia, el desarrollo y el estado de derecho.

Instituto Stanford de estudios internacionales.

Número 20

21 de septiembre de 2004

Centro para la democracia, el desarrollo

y el estado de derecho.

Instituto Standford de estudios internacionales.

Universidad Standford.

Encina Hall

Stanford, CA 94305

Teléfono; 650-724-7197

Fax: 650-724-2996

http://cddrl.standford.edu

Acerca del centro para la democracia, el desarrollo y el estado de derecho (CDDRL por sus siglas en inglés)

El CDDRL fue fundado por una generosa donación de la Fundación Bill y Flora Hewlett en Octubre de 2002 como parte del Instituto Stanford para Estudios Internacionales en la Universidad Stanford. El centro apoya estudios analíticos, investigaciones políticas relevantes, capacitación y actividades en extensión. Esto es para apoyar a países en vías de desarrollo en el diseño e implementación de políticas con el fin de fomentar el crecimiento, la democracia, y el estado de derecho.

Acerca del autor.

Larry Diamond es miembro fundador del Instituto Hoover. También es profesor de Ciencias Políticas y Sociología (como invitado especial) en la Universidad de Stanford y es coordinador del Programa de Democracia en el nuevo Centro para la Democracia, el Desarrollo y el Estado de Derecho en el Instituto Stanford para Estudios Internacionales.

Diamond es especialista en el desarrollo democrático, en los cambios en los sistemas sociales y en la política exterior de los Estados Unidos analizando lo que afecta la democracia fuera del país. Su actual investigación académica analiza las tendencias comparativas en la calidad y la estabilidad de la democracia en países en vías de desarrollo y en países post comunistas, la opinión pública sobre las nuevas democracias (especialmente en el oriente de Asia), y en el desarrollo democrático en Taiwán. También escribe y proporciona consultas sobre los esfuerzos internacionales de los Estados Unidos para promover la democracia fuera del país, y así como políticas y programas de desarrollo internacional.

Leonardo Morlino es profesor de Ciencias Políticas en la Universidad de Florencia (Italia) y director del Centro de Investigación del sur de Europa. Ha sido
profesor invitado en la Universidad de Stanford (Estados Unidos), en la Universidad Nuffield (Oxford, Reino Unido), en el Instituto de Estudios Políticos (París, Francia), en el Instituto Hoover (Estados Unidos), en el Centro de Investigaciones Avanzadas en Ciencias Sociales (Juan Marzo, Madrid, España), y en la Universidad Yale (Estados Unidos). Sus publicaciones incluyen más de cien artículos en italiano, francés, inglés, español y alemán principalmente sobre el autoritarismo y la teoría democrática. También es el autor de varios libros tales como; Cómo cambian los regímenes políticos (Madrid, 1985), *Democracy Between Consolidation and Crisis. Parties, Groups, and Citizens in Sourthen Europe* (Oxford, 1998), *Democrazie e Democratizzazioni* (Bolonia, 2003).

La calidad de la democracia.

Larry Diamond y Leonardo Morlino.

En la medida en que la democracia se ha extendido en las tres últimas décadas en la mayoría de los países del mundo, la atención analítica se ha concentrado más en explicar las características del régimen democrático que en evaluar y explicar los cambios del sistema social. Mucha de la literatura acerca de la democracia de los años 90 se interesaba en la consolidación de los regímenes democráticos.[1] En años recientes, los científicos sociales, practicantes de la democracia y agencias de ayuda han buscado la manera de desarrollar medios para enmarcar y evaluar la calidad de la democracia. Esta corriente teórica, innovación metodológica e investigación empírica tiene tres grandes motivos: primero, que la profundización de la democracia si no es un imperativo, es un bien moral; segundo, las reformas para mejorar la calidad de la democracia son esenciales si la democracia está destinada a lograr una legitimidad amplia y durable que determine su consolidación;[2] y tercero, las democracias que llevan mucho tiempo establecidas también tienen que reformarse si quieren enfrentar sus crecientes problemáticas de insatisfacción y de desilusión pública. De hecho, estas últimas tendencias – la gran disminución de confianza pública en instituciones gubernamentales y políticas, el creciente alejamiento de los ciudadanos de los partidos políticos, y las percepciones generalizadas de que los gobiernos y los políticos democráticos son cada vez más corruptos, más interesados y más indiferentes – son comunes en muchas democracias ya sean nuevas o antiguas, y esto ha llevado a investigadores distinguidos a hablar de "crisis en la democracia."[3]

En cuanto a las preguntas básicas de normas y legitimidad, la calidad de la democracia es un tema colmado de valores y por lo tanto resulta polémico. ¿Quién debe definir lo que constituye una "buena" democracia, y en qué medida es posible el concepto universal de calidad democrática? ¿Cómo se puede dirigir evitando ser paternalistas, ya que son prácticas que las democracias antiguas utilizan como modelos para evitar ser evaluadas? ¿Cómo puede la evaluación de la calidad de la democracia ir más allá de lo analítico y ser

útil para los reformadores políticos, los activistas de la sociedad civil, los donantes internacionales, y para otros que buscan la mejora de la calidad de la democracia? Estas son solo algunas de las preguntas que permean y motivan el estudio de este creciente tema de investigación.

Estos cinco ensayos temáticos que a continuación se presentan son parte del esfuerzo colaborativo, que inició en una conferencia en la Universidad de Stanford, con el fin de elaborar y perfeccionar el concepto de calidad de la democracia y aplicarlo en una serie de seis comparaciones. En el último ensayo de la presente colección, elaborado por Marc Plattner, se desarrollan comentarios de gran importancia que él ofreció en esa conferencia.[4] A cada uno de los autores de los cinco ensayos temáticos se le pidió definir y conjuntar claramente una dimensión específica de la calidad de la democracia, para explicar cómo se relaciona con otras dimensiones en nuestro marco, y así sugerir posibles indicadores para medir la dimensión, e identificar maneras en la que este elemento de la calidad democrática es alterado en el mundo real (y cómo estas alteraciones pueden ser detectadas empíricamente), y donde sea posible ofrecer recomendaciones políticas para la reforma y el mejoramiento de la calidad democrática. Como se explica posteriormente, no afirmamos que estas cinco dimensiones conceptuales - libertad, estado de derecho, rendición de cuentas vertical, capacidad de respuesta e igualdad- constituyen en su totalidad la calidad de la democracia. De hecho el sistema que resumimos posteriormente tiene ocho dimensiones- que incluyen también participación, competencia y rendición de cuentas horizontal. Otras dimensiones también podrían ser identificadas, por ejemplo, transparencia y efectividad de representación. Sin embargo los diferentes aspectos de la calidad de la democracia se superponen y, por lo consiguiente elegimos tratar los últimos dos como elementos de nuestras dimensiones esenciales. En realidad, mientras más enumeramos las diferentes dimensiones, más difícil y más compleja llega a ser el traslape.

Aquí intentamos identificar algunas de las maneras en las que los diferentes elementos de la democracia no solo se superponen, sino que dependen unos de otro s. Para identificar estas diferentes conexiones, sugerimos que la calidad de la democracia se considere como un sistema en el cual las mejoras en una dimensión pueden aportar beneficios difusas a otras (y viceversa). Al mismo tiempo, sin embargo, en ocasiones se presenta un intercambio

entre las diferentes dimensiones de la calidad de la democracia, y es imposible lograr cada una de ellas al grado máximo. Este es un aspecto en el que cada democracia tiene que elegir qué tipo de democracia se desea, tomando en cuanto los valores.

Empezamos con breves definiciones de los términos "democracia" y "calidad", y sugerimos cómo estos dos conceptos pueden integrarse en una concepción multidimensional para definir el término calidad de la democracia. En la parte principal del documento, definimos y analizamos ocho diferentes dimensiones de la calidad de la democracia. Luego reflexionamos aún más sobre las conexiones e interacciones entre ellas. Finalmente, revisamos cómo se emplean los seis estudios de caso y de qué manera contribuyen en nuestro marco analítico.

"Democracia" y "calidad"

Para analizar la calidad de la democracia, y buscar una "buena" democracia, primero debemos saber qué es democracia. La democracia requiere, por lo menos,: 1) voto universal de los adultos; 2) elecciones justas, libres, competitivas y recurrentes; 3) más de un partido político serio; y 4) fuentes de información alternativas.[5] Para que las elecciones sean verdaderamente significativas, libres y justas, debe existir un nivel de libertad civil y política que va más allá de lo electoral, que le permita a la ciudadanía expresarse y organizarse alrededor de sus creencias e intereses políticos.[6] Además, las instituciones democráticas formales deben ser soberanas; es decir no deben estar restringidas por grupos de élite o por poderes externos que no tengan que responder ante el pueblo. [7] Una vez que un sistema social reúna estas condiciones básicas, nuevos análisis empíricos pueden determinar qué tan bien se logran los tres objetivos principales de una democracia ideal: libertad política y civil, soberanía popular (control sobre las políticas públicas y sobre los funcionarios que las crean), así como igualdad política en estos derechos y deberes; además, normas más amplias de buena gobernabilidad: transparencia, legalidad y leyes responsables.[8]

Por lo tanto, en el análisis de una buena democracia se deben excluir los regímenes híbridos o "electoralmente autoritarios", los que, al no realizar elecciones libres y justas, no logran cumplir el requisito indispensable de una democracia.[9] Por definición, encontramos

muy baja calidad de democracia en las "democracias defectuosas" que son "exclusivas" y que condicionan y limitan la autonomía de los dirigentes elegidos, o "no liberales" al permitir a los grupos influyentes condicionar y limitar la autonomía de los lideres elegidos, y/o al no proteger adecuadamente los derechos civiles y el estado de derecho.[10] También suponemos que la calidad de la democracia puede ser muy deficiente en las democracias delegadas, que tienen competitividad electoral y una relativa libertad política y civil, pero cuyos funcionarios, una vez elegidos, responden mínimamente a las preferencias de los ciudadanos al estar limitados por otros organismos de gobierno y por respetar el estado de derecho.[11]

En una segunda etapa al evaluar la calidad de la democracia se necesita una clara definición de "calidad". Una encuesta del uso de este término en los sectores industriales y de *marketing* sugieren tres significados diferentes de calidad (cada uno con diferentes implicaciones para la investigación empírica):

1. *Procedimiento*: un producto de "calidad" es el resultado de un proceso exacto y controlado con métodos precisos y recurrentes, que se lleva a cabo de acuerdo con el tiempo.
2. *Contenido*: la calidad tiene injerencia en las características estructurales de un producto, tales como diseño, materiales, o funcionamiento.
3. *Resultado*: la calidad de un producto o de un servicio se relaciona indirectamente con el grado de satisfacción que un cliente tenga de este, sin tener en cuenta cómo se produce o cuál es su contenido real.

¿Qué es una democracia de "calidad"?

A partir de las definiciones anteriores, se considera una buena democracia o una democracia de calidad aquella que les brinda a los ciudadanos un alto grado de libertad, igualdad política y control popular de las políticas públicas y de los legisladores a través de un funcionamiento legal y legitimado de las instituciones estables. Por lo tanto una buena democracia es: primero, un régimen ampliamente legitimado que satisface las expectativas de gobernanza (calidad en términos de resultado) de los ciudadanos. Segundo, una buena

democracia es aquella en la que sus ciudadanos, organizaciones, y sociedades disfrutan de una amplia libertad e igualdad política (calidad en términos de contenido). Tercero, en una buena democracia, los propios ciudadanos tienen el poder soberano de evaluar si el gobierno provee la libertad y la igualdad de acuerdo con el estado de derecho. Los ciudadanos, en sus organizaciones y en sus partidos participan y compiten con el fin de que los funcionarios electos sean responsables de sus políticas y de sus acciones. Ellos también supervisan la eficiencia y la justicia en la aplicación de las leyes, así como también la eficacia de las decisiones del gobierno, y la responsabilidad política y la capacidad de respuesta de los funcionarios elegidos. Las instituciones gubernamentales también rinden cuenta de sus acciones entre sí ante la ley y la constitución (calidad en términos de procedimiento).

Teniendo en cuenta lo anterior, se identifican ocho dimensiones en los que las democracias pueden variar en términos de calidad. Las primeras cinco son procedimentales: el estado de derecho, la participación, la competencia, y rendición de cuenta, tanto vertical como horizontal. Estas dimensiones, aunque son muy relevantes en cuanto al contenido, se enfocan principalmente en las leyes y las costumbres.[12] Las dos dimensiones siguientes de variación, son esenciales por su naturaleza: el respeto por los derechos civiles y políticos, y la implementación progresiva de una mayor igualdad política (así como una igualdad social y económica subyacente). Nuestra última dimensión, la capacidad de respuesta, vincula las dimensiones procedimentales con las esenciales al evaluar hasta qué punto las políticas públicas (que incluyen leyes, instituciones y gastos) corresponden a las demandas y preferencias de los ciudadanos, sumándose a través de los procesos políticos. Estas ocho dimensiones serán explicadas a detalle más adelante.[13] Cada una puede variar de manera específica dependiendo de su expresión institucional, y de su grado de desarrollo. Recopilar y explicar esta variación requiere de indicadores que revelen cómo y en qué grado se presenta cada dimensión en los diferentes países (y en modelos diferentes de una buena democracia). Lo que resulte de la información empírica también permitirá identificar tendencias en la calidad de la democracia en los distintos países con el paso del tiempo, incluyendo la efectividad de las reformas institucionales.[14]

La naturaleza multidimensional de nuestra perspectiva teórica, y el incremento del número de evaluaciones a la democracia llevadas a cabo en distintos países, implican una noción pluralista de la calidad de la democracia. Como señalamos posteriormente, no se trata solo de vínculos densos, sino también de intercambios y tensiones entre las diferentes dimensiones de la calidad de la democracia, y las democracias difieren en el peso normativo que se le asignan a las diferentes dimensiones de la calidad democrática (por ejemplo, libertad contra calidad de respuesta). No hay una forma objetiva de identificar un solo marco de referencia como medida en la calidad de la democracia, que sea apropiado y verdadero para todas las comunidades.

La perspectiva analítica, que se propone aquí, difiere parcialmente y en cierto modo de otros estudios sobre la calidad de la democracia, tales como los de Altman y Pérez. Linan (2001) y Lijphart (1999). Ambos desarrollan una estrategia comparativa cuantitativa. Nosotros hacemos hincapié en la combinación eficaz de las medidas cualitativas y cuantitativas en el análisis empírico del fenómeno. También surge una diferencia en nuestra definición de una buena democracia y por ende en las dimensiones de variación y en los indicadores relacionados. Altman y Pérez-Linan se refieren a tres aspectos que se basan en el concepto de poliarquía de Dahl (derechos civiles, participación y competencia). Lijphart incluye indicadores como la representación de la mujer, la participación electoral, satisfacción con la democracia, y la corrupción. Estos indicadores pueden estar asociados con nuestras diferentes dimensiones (igualdad, participación, capacidad de respuesta, y estado de derecho).

Las instituciones y los mecanismos de la democracia representativa son los principales objetos de análisis de la calidad de una democracia. Esto no significa ignorar que la democracia directa es, quizá, la más pura expresión de calidad democrática, sino reconocer la experiencia real de las democracias representativas y su verdadero potencial de mejoramiento. Si el análisis tiene que concentrarse en la democracia representativa, entonces la rendición de cuentas (vertical) se convierte en una verdadera dimensión principal en tanto que le otorga a cada ciudadano y a las sociedades civiles organizadas los medios de control a los políticos y a las instituciones políticas. En una buena democracia,

esta característica atenúa las dificultades que surgen de la transición de una democracia directa a una democracia representativa.

La rendición de cuentas vertical se basa implícitamente en dos supuestos emanados de la tradición liberal que destacan la interrelación entre todas las dimensiones explicadas con anterioridad. La primera suposición es que si a los ciudadanos se les da realmente la oportunidad de evaluar la actuación del gobierno, entonces sí son capaces de hacerlo, ya que tienen sobre todo una percepción relativamente exacta de sus propias necesidades y prioridades. La segunda suposición es que los ciudadanos, ya sea solos o que formen parte de un grupo, son los únicos jueces posibles de sus propios intereses y necesidades; esto no lo puede determinar nadie más. En sentido general, aceptamos estas suposiciones, aun cuando estas son objeto de debate, y así como Dietrich Rueschemeyer menciona en su ensayo sobre igualdad, aquellos funcionarios con mayor riqueza o capital cultural tienen un poder enorme para modelar las preferencias políticas de los ciudadanos.

Los términos libertad e igualdad, de cualquier manera que se consideren, están necesariamente vinculados con la capacidad de respuesta y con la rendición de cuentas. De hecho, la libertad y la igualdad son estándares que utilizan los ciudadanos para evaluar el desempeño de sus líderes políticos y de las instituciones que ellos representan. Además, para que exista una buena democracia, es indispensable que exista un estado de derecho eficiente en parte porque garantiza, mediante el mecanismo de un sistema judicial políticamente neutral e independiente, la defensa de los derechos de los ciudadanos y un estatus equitativo de todos los ciudadanos ante la ley y en el entorno político. Como se explicará en la siguiente sección, la libertad, la igualdad, así como la rendición de cuentas son inalcanzables cuando el respeto a la ley es ineficaz o cuando los funcionarios electos no pueden gobernar con autoridad. Estos son los presupuestos fundamentales necesarios para identificar e implementar reformas que mejoren la calidad de la democracia.

Dimensiones procedimentales para la calidad de la democracia.

Ahora estamos listos para explorar de manera específica las ocho dimensiones que consideramos para la calidad de la democracia desde tres puntos de vista: la definición empírica, las condiciones para que estas dimensiones puedan subsistir y se puedan

desarrollar, y los medios por los que la democracia se puede debilitar. Empezamos en esta sección con las cinco dimensiones de procedimiento.

El estado de derecho. Como lo explica Guillermo O´Donnell, en un estado de derecho, todos los ciudadanos son iguales ante la ley, la cual se aplica de forma justa y consistente a todos los ciudadanos a través de un poder judicial independiente, y donde las propias leyes son claras, conocidas públicamente, universales, estables y no retroactivas. Estas características son fundamentales para cualquier orden civil y son un requerimiento básico para la consolidación de la democracia, junto con otras características afines de orden constitucional como lo son el control civil de lo militar y de los servicios de inteligencia y una red bien elaborada de otros organismos de rendición de cuentas horizontal que complementa el poder judicial.

En un sentido más amplio, una "buena" democracia (liberal, por naturaleza) tiene un estado de derecho que es autosustentable, fuerte, difuso y vigoroso, en los siguientes aspectos:

- La ley se ejerce para todos de manera equitativa, incluyendo a todos los funcionarios del estado; es decir, nadie está por encima de la ley.
- El estado legal es supremo en todo el país, no permite áreas dominadas por el crimen organizado, oligarquías locales, o jefes políticos que estén por encima de la ley.
- La corrupción se minimiza, se detecta y se castiga, en todas las ramas políticas, administrativas y judiciales del estado.
- La burocracia del estado es competente y eficiente en todos los niveles y aplica la ley de manera universal, así como también asume responsabilidades en caso de un error.
- La fuerza policial es profesional, eficiente, y respetuosa de la libertad y los derechos legales de cada individuo, incluyendo los derechos a tener un juicio justo.
- Los ciudadanos tienen un acceso legal y sin obstáculos al sistema de justicia, para poder defender sus derechos y de igual manera para contender demandas entre ciudadanos privados e instituciones públicas.

28

- Los casos criminales y las demandas civiles y administrativas son atendidas de forma expedita.
- El poder judicial es neutro e independiente en todos los niveles de cualquier influencia política.
- Las resoluciones de los tribunales se respetan y se hacen cumplir por otros organismos del país.
- La Constitución es suprema, y es analizada y defendida por un Tribunal Constitucional.

O´ Donnell argumenta que lo que además distingue y complementa un "estado de derecho democrático", es que el sistema legal defiende los derechos y los procedimientos políticos de la democracia, sustenta los derechos civiles de todos, y refuerza la autoridad de otros organismos de rendición de cuentas horizontal que aseguran la legalidad y la honestidad en las acciones de los funcionarios públicos.

Para algunos estudiantes de la democracia, puede ser raro empezar explicando la calidad democrática a la par con el estado de derecho, ya que la existencia   de docenas de democracias no liberales en el mundo avalan la posibilidad de unas elecciones competitivas y la participación del pueblo junto con una ilegalidad considerable y con el abuso de poder.[15] Sin embargo, el estado de derecho es la base donde se apoyan cada una de las dimensiones de la calidad de la democracia. Cuando el estado de derecho es débil la participación de los pobres y de los marginados es reprimida; las libertades individuales son frágiles y efímeras; los grupos cívicos pueden ser incapaces de organizarse y defenderse; los emprendedores y los que tienen suficientes recursos e influencias tienen mayor acceso a la justicia y poder; la corrupción y el abuso del poder proliferan debido a la incapacidad de los organismos encargados de la rendición de cuentas horizontal puesto que son incapaces de funcionar apropiadamente; la competencia política es injusta y distorsionada; las personas con derecho al voto atraviesan momentos difíciles al tratar de responsabilizar a los dirigentes; y por lo tanto, las conexiones fundamentales para poder asegurar la capacidad de respuesta democrática son distorsionadas y eliminadas.

Los aspectos mencionados con anterioridad se refieren en gran medida a la aplicación imparcial y eficiente de la ley, y a la resolución justa de algunos conflictos dentro del sistema legal. Varios indicadores pueden representar cada uno de estos aspectos, y la información relevante puede ser analizada caso por caso usando tanto técnicas cuantitativas como cualitativas. Claro está que, una evaluación minuciosa de la equidad y la eficiencia del poder judicial podrían ser costosas y casi imposibles de aplicar en un alto número de casos. Sin embargo, uno puede examinar a través de muchos casos hasta qué grado los funcionarios públicos son responsables ante la ley, o en caso contrario gozan de cierta impunidad; el alcance de la corrupción oficial medida, (a grandes rasgos y de forma imprecisa) por índices de percepciones de corrupción y distorsiones de mercado; el alcance de las violaciones de la libertad civil; el acceso de los ciudadanos a los tribunales, y la duración promedio de los procesos legales.

Son innumerables las distintas formas en las que el estado de derecho es distorsionado dentro de la democracia. Por ejemplo, los políticos pueden utilizar la ley como "arma política" en contra de sus adversarios políticos y civiles.[16] Los líderes elegidos democráticamente pueden tratar de envolver al poder judicial (en particular la corte constitucional) con políticas conservadoras. Existe una creciente tendencia entre los mismos ciudadanos o grupos económicos que interponen un recurso ante los tribunales para hacer valer sus propios intereses (oponiéndose para poder defenderse severamente contra las acciones ilegales). La cultura política también juega un papel importante al respaldar o desautorizar el estado de derecho. Un estado de derecho democrático en muchos países, no se cuenta por la difusión de actitudes culturales que considera a la ley simplemente como un impedimento para llevar a cabo sus propios intereses, lo que debe evitarse de la mejor manera posible. En muchos países, esta actitud se extiende ampliamente desde la clase baja hasta las clases empresariales y es comparada con un dicho Italiano, "fatta la legge, trovato I´inganno" (es decir, el fraude va de la mano con la ley).

Las condiciones más importantes que ayudan al desarrollo del estado de derecho son la difusión de los valores liberales y democráticos entre la gente y, especialmente entre la élite; las fuertes tradiciones burocráticas de competencia y de imparcialidad; y los medios institucionales y económicos para implementar totalmente un estado de derecho. Sin

embargo, estas condiciones no son tan comunes y son muy difíciles de crearlas partiendo de cero – lo que da lugar a la debilidad del estado de derecho en muchas democracias recién establecidas (y también en varias ya establecidas desde hace mucho tiempo). Probablemente el mejor enfoque es continuar para así aumentar la independencia, capacidad, y la autoridad de todo el sistema judicial. Pero la información sobre el desarrollo del estado de derecho es poco realista: no hay una cantidad definida de recursos de capacitación y financieros (incluyendo la gran ayuda externa) que sea suficiente a menos que los líderes democráticos demuestren voluntad política y auto control. Esto a cambio requiere de una sociedad civil movilizada y consciente, así como de instrumentos de competencia, de tal manera que los votantes puedan remover de su cargo a los funcionarios públicos que obstruyen las reformas del estado de derecho.

TRANSLATION ANALYSIS:

The analysis of this translation was made by taking into account the basic techniques by Jean Paul Vinay and Jean Darbelnet: borrowing, calque, literal, transposition, modulation, equivalence and adaptation; also those by Vazquez Ayora: addition and omission.

Taking into consideration that this translated text is a scientific text. The most common techniques that were used were: literal, modulation, transposition, addition and omission. These techniques were based on the Vinay and Darbelnet procedures and those of Vazquez Ayora.

In this chapter an analysis of the translation work will be illustrated with some examples taken from the text in English and its respective translation into Spanish will be written in a chart. Moreover, short explanations of the techniques employed, difficulties emerged and their solutions will be given here in this section. During the translation process, many unknown words were found. Some of those words or phrases were somewhat difficult to translate because they are part of a vocabulary that is used by specialists in the field of politics. In fact, examples of the problems found will be given, following the order of procedures Vinay and Darbelnet provided in their famous work Stilistique Comparée du Francais et de l " Angles (SCFA, 1958). It was the first classification of translation techniques that had a clear methodological purpose. The term they used was „procédés techniques de la traduction´.

BORROWING

Source language	Target language
A survey of the use of the term in the industrial and *marketing* sectors suggests three different meanings of quality…	Una encuesta del uso de este término en los sectores industriales y de ***marketing*** sugieren tres significados diferentes de calidad

The word **"*marketing*"** does not require to be translated because it is commonly used and understood. However, marketing has a Spanish meaning which is <u>mercadotecnia</u> but is not suitable in this sentence. If <u>mercadotecnia</u> is used instead of marketing the context of the sentence is changed. In other words, the Borrowing technique introduces the flavor of the source language (SL).

LITERAL TRANSLATION

Source language	Target language
These are only some of the questions that pervade and motivate this growing field of study…	Estas son solo algunas de las preguntas que permean y motivan el estudio de este creciente tema de investigación
We do not assert that these five conceptual dimensions fully constitute the quality of democracy"	no afirmamos que estas cinco dimensiones conceptuales constituyen en su totalidad la calidad de la democracia

In these sentences the order of each word does not change, that is the reason they are called word for word translation (literal).

In the second example there occurs the same as in the first one. As it can be seen the sentence is in negative form, but it does not affect the order of the words when translated. Both sentences were translated with the literal translation technique.

TRANSPOSITION

Source language	Target language
,but whose officials, once elected, are only minimally **<u>responsive</u>** to citizen preferences … and **<u>respectful</u>** of the rule of law.	,pero cuyos funcionarios, una vez elegidos, **responden** mínimamente a las preferencias … y **por respetar** el estado de derecho.
, freedom, equality, and even accountability are unobtainable if respect for law is ineffective or if the elected government cannot govern **authoritatively**.	, la libertad, la igualdad, así como la rendición de cuentas son inalcanzables cuando el respeto a la ley es ineficaz o cuando los funcionarios electos no pueden gobernar con **autoridad**.

In the first example the words changed are "**responsive**" and "**respectful**". "Responsive" and "*Respectful"* are adjective words in the source language and were changed into verbs in the target language, keeping the intention, the sensation and the rhythm of flavor of words. This technique was used because it was appropriate and the best one to have a clear sentence.

In the second example the word **authoritatively** is an adverb in the source language and it changed into a noun (**autoridad**) in the target language. This change it was necessary in order the sentence to be understood.

MODULATION

Source language	Target language
have a hard time holding rulers to account; and thus, linkages vital to securing democratic responsiveness	**atraviesan momentos difíciles al tratar de responsabilizar a los dirigentes;** y por lo tanto, a las conexiones fundamentales para poder asegurar la capacidad de repuesta democrática
With the above in mind, we identify eight dimensions on which democracies vary in quality.	**Teniendo en cuenta lo anterior**, se identifican ocho dimensiones en los que las democracias pueden variar en términos de calidad.

Here, a little variation of the form of the message was done. It was obtained with a change of the point of view or perspective but without changing the sense of the message. It is like saying the same thing, but in other words.

The change was needed because it this form the sentence communicates what is expected to do.

EQUIVALENCE

Source language	Target language
He is a <u>visiting professor</u> at Stanford University (USA),…	Ha sido **profesor invitado** en la Universidad de Stanford (Estados Unidos),…
director of the Research Centre on Southern Europe.	director del **Centro de Investigación del sur de Europa.**

The first example of equivalence is **"visiting professor"** which corresponds to **professor invitado**.

In the second example, it can seem as literal translation, but it is important to mention that it is the name of an institution (**Research Centre on Southern Europe**) so the equivalence technique was used.

ADAPTATION

Source language	Target language
Participation, competition, and horizontal accountability.	Participación, competencia y **rendición de cuentas horizontal.**
These conditions are not all that common and they are very difficult to create from scratch	estas condiciones no son tan comunes y son muy difíciles de **crearlas partiendo de cero**

In the first example the word **accountability** was translated as **responsabilidad** in the first time using the literal translation. However, when talking about politics, the phrase **responsabilidad horizontal** is not the correct translation. So, after reading some articles related to this work (Larry Diamon and Leonardo Morlino´s articles) it was clear the concept **"rendición de cuentas"** which refers to **"accountability".**

In the second example the phrase **"create from scratch"** at first sight it seemed as a less formal phrase, so it was necessary to make an adaptation.

ADDITION

Source language	Target language
The five thematic essays that follow are part of a collaborative effort."	Estos cinco en sayos temáticos que a continuación **se presentan** son parte del esfuerzo colaborativo
Each may vary in the specific form of its institutional expression	Cada una puede variar de manera específica **dependiendo** de su expresión institucional

"Se presentan" was added in order to have coherence in the sentence; in the second example, the word **"dependiendo"** was needed to have a logical sentence and to sound more natural in the target language.

OMISSION

Source language	Target language
We begin by offering brief definitions of the terms "democracy" and "quality"…	Empezamos con breves definiciones de los términos "democracia" y "calidad"…
The best approach is probably to proceed incrementally to build up the independence, capacity, and authority of the entire judicial system.	Probablemente el mejor enfoque es continuar para así **aumentar** la independencia, capacidad, y la autoridad de todo el sistema judicial

In the first example, the words **"by offering"** are omitted in the target language. And it does not affect the sense of the message therefore it is understood.

In the second example, the word **"incrementally"** was eliminated in order to avoid redundancy because **"build up"** also means aumentar. Thus, the sentence is clear and understood grammatically.

Notwithstanding the previous examples of the different uses of the techniques that were previously explained, there were many instances in which there had to be a combination of different techniques in order to express in Spanish the difficult language used by the authors. Examples of these are:

1) Touching as it does on basic questions of norms and legitimacy, the quality of democracy is a value-laden and hence controversial subject. (Source language)

→ **En cuanto a las preguntas básicas de normas y legitimidad, la calidad de la democracia es un tema colmado de valores y por lo tanto resulta polémico**. (Target language)

Modulation translation technique was used in **"touching as it does"** getting as a result **"En cuanto a las"** in the target language. But also, transposition technique was needed taking into account that **"Touching"** is an adjective in the source language and **"en cuanto a"** is an adverb in the target language.

In the phrase **"value-laden",** modulation technique was used too.

Literal translation was used in these parts of the sentences **"basic questions of norms and legitimacy, the quality of democracy is"…**in the target language is; **preguntas básicas de normas y legitimidad, la calidad de la democracia es…** And "and hence controversial subject" in the target language is **"y por lo tanto resulta polémico".**

2) We are now ready to explore more concretely our eight dimensions of democratic quality in three respects… (Source language)

→**Ahora estamos listos para explorar de manera específica las ocho dimensiones que consideramos para la calidad de la democracia desde tres puntos de vista.** (Target language).

The first part of the sentence **"We are now ready to explore more concretely our eight dimensions"** was translated with the literal translation technique.

But the word **"our"** was omitted (omission technique).

In order to have a clear sentence **it** was added **"que consideramos"** in the target language (Addition technique).

But in the word **"respects"** modulation technique was used, in the source language is **"puntos de vista".**

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3) …the empirical definition, the conditions for the dimensions to develop and thrive, and the means by which it is commonly subverted. (source language)

→ **la definición empírica, las condiciones para que estas dimensiones puedan subsistir y se puedan desarrollar, y los medios por los que la democracia se puede debilitar.** (Target language)

The word **"commonly"** was omitted because it was not necessary to have a clear meaning.

And also the words **"puedan"** and **"se puedan"** are essential to have a perfect translation (Addition technique).

And the word **"thrive"** in the target language is "subsistir" using modulation technique.

Finally, the word **"subverted"** was changed into **"debilitar"** in the target language, using modulation technique.

Some essential recommendations that would be important for novel translators to take into consideration are:

- Make sure to thoroughly understand the text and its characteristics.
- Investigate the topic of your translation to have a general knowledge.
- Become familiar with the vocabulary used in both languages.

CONCLUSIONS

Translating is not as easy as it is generally thought. This process requires extensive and appropriate preparation to develop a great job as a result of constant corrections and required adjustments. The act of translating a text is so interesting and challenging that it gives you a great satisfaction when you do it well as planned. The translator needs to take into account all the suitable techniques to get the most accurate translation.

First of all, I had to become familiar with the topic in general "The quality of democracy" and with those specific terminologies which I had never used before. It is not just important to write well, but also to understand the original text.

The text was not easy to translate because I had to read some other topics related to the field of politics so that I could get the general idea of my translation work. However, personally, it helped me to get a better understanding and to have more information about this specific topic.

The techniques used in this study were eight: borrowing, literal, transposition, modulation, equivalence, adaptation, addition and omission. The first six are Vinay and Darbelnet techniques and the others Vazquez Ayora´s.

It was a challenge to work on this paper, especially because I was not really familiarized with the topic, although my supervisors helped me to reach the goal of getting the expected translation.

ENDNOTES:

(Pages 84 and 85)

[1] Ver por ejemplo, Juan J. Linz y Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*: Sur de Europa, América Latina, y Europa post-comunista (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), Leonardo Morlino, *Democracy Between Consolidation and Crisis. Parties, Groups and Citizens in Southern Europe*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), y Larry Diamond, *Developing Democracy; Toward Consolidation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University press, 1999).

[2] Sin embargo, desde la perspectiva planteada por Philippe Schmitter en esta colección, y en sus otros escritos acerca de la consolidación de la democracia, la democracia puede consolidarse en cualquier nivel de calidad, siempre que los políticos y ciudadanos acepten las reglas de la competencia democrática.

[3] Max Kaase y Kenneth Newton, *Beliefs in Government* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995). El reciente trabajo clásico sobre este tema es Susan J. Pharr y Robert D. Putnam, eds., *Disaffected Democracies: What´s Troubling the Trilateral Countries* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).

[4] La conferencia acerca de la calidad de la democracia, fue organizada por nosotros dos y patrocinada por el centro Stanford de democracia, desarrollo y estado de derecho, la cual se llevó a cabo el 10 y el 11 de octubre de 2003.

[5] Por ejemplo ver, entre las múltiples fuentes posibles, a Robert Dahl, *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971).. Y a Larry

Diamond, Juan J. Linz, and Seymour Martin Lipset, " *Preface*",en Diamond, Linz, y Lipset, eds., *Democracy in Developing Countries*: Africa (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1988), p. xvi..

[7] Philippe C. Schmitter y Terry Lynn Karl, *"What Democracy is… and is not"*. En Larry Diamond y Marc F. Plattner, eds., *The Global Resurgence of Democracy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993): 45-46.

[8] Para un enfoque relacionado, ver David Beetham, "Towards a Universal Framework for Democracy Assessment," *Democratization* 11 (Abril 2004): 1-17.

[9] Larry Diamond, "Elections without Democracy: Thinking About Hybrid Regimes," y Andreas Schedler, "Elections without Democracy: The Menu of Manipulation," en *Diario de Democracia* 13 (Abril 2002): 21-35 y 36-50.

[10] W. Merkel y A. Croissant, Aurel, "Formal Institutions and Informal Rules of Defective Democracies," *Central European Political Science Review* (1) 2:31-47.

[11] O'Donnell, G."Delegative Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 5 (Enero 1994):60-62.

[12] Kitschelt, H. y sus coautores también consideran la responsabilidad como una dimensión de "procedimiento" . *Post-communist Party Systems. Competition, Representation and Inter-party Cooperation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,1999).

[13] En nuestro marco original, que guía los casos de estudio presentados no se describen la participación y la competencia como dimensiones diferentes de la calidad de la

democracia. Tampoco se separan la rendición de cuentas horizontal de la vertical. Aunque la mayoría de los casos de estudio sí consideran la rendición de cuentas horizontal y vertical como dimensiones diferentes, ellos analizan la participación y la competencia de manera más implícita, como factores que contribuyen a la rendición de cuentas vertical y/o responsabilidad.

[14] Estos se encuentran entre los propósitos de la evaluación de una democracia formal, para lo cual la IDEA Internacional ha publicado recientemente una guía. Ver *International IDEA Guide to Democracy Assessment* (New York: Kluwer Law International, 2001), disponible en http://www.idea.int/ideas_work/14_political_state.htm.

[15] Una manera empírica de clasificar un régimen como "democracia no liberal" es si esta cumple o no los requisitos de una democracia electoral, teniendo elecciones regulares, justas, libres y competitivas para elegir las principales posiciones de poder en el país, pero no califica como un país "libre" en la clasificación anual en libertades civiles y en derechos políticos por Freedom House. Con estos lineamientos se clasificaron 33 regímenes a finales de 2002. Freedom House, *Freedom in the World 2003* (New York: Freedom House, 2003), disponible en http://www.freedomhouse.org/research/index.htm.

[16] José María Maravall, "The Rule of Law as a Political Weapon," en Maravall y Adam Przeworski, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

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CDDRL
WORKING PAPERS

The Quality of Democracy

Larry Diamond
Leonardo Morlino

Center on Democracy, Development, and The Rule of Law
Stanford Institute on International Studies

50

Center on Democracy, Development,
and The Rule of Law
Stanford Institute of International Studies
Stanford University
Encina Hall
Stanford, CA 94305
Phone: 650-724-7197
Fax: 650-724-2996
http://cddrl.stanford.edu/

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CDDRL was founded by a generous grant from the Bill and Flora Hewlett Foundation in October in 2002 as part of the Stanford Institute for International Studies at Stanford University. The Center supports analytic studies, policy relevant research, training and outreach activities to assist developing countries in the design and implementation of policies to foster growth, democracy, and the rule of law.

About the Author

Larry Diamond is a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution. He is also professor of political science and sociology (by courtesy) at Stanford University and coordinator of the Democracy Program of the new Center for Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law at Stanford's Institute for International Studies.

Diamond is a specialist on democratic development and regime change and on U.S. foreign policy affecting democracy abroad. His current scholarly research examines comparative trends in the quality and stability of democracy in developing countries and postcommunist states, public opinion in new democracies (especially in East Asia), and democratic development in Taiwan. He

also writes and consults on U.S. international efforts to promote democracy abroad and on international development policies and programs.

Leonardo Morlino is the Professor of Political Science at the University of Florence (Italy) and director of the Research Centre on Southern Europe. He is a visiting professor at Stanford University (USA), Nuffield College (Oxford, UK), Institute d'études politiques (Paris, France), Hoover Institution (USA), Center for Advanced Research in Social Sciences (Juan March, Madrid, Spain), and Yale University (USA). His publications include more than hundred articles in Italian, French, English, Spanish, and German mainly on authoritarianism and democratic theory. He is also the author of several books such as Come cambian los regimenes politicos (Madrid 1985), Democracy Between Consolidation and Crisis. Parties, Groups, and Citizens in Southern Europe (Oxford, 1998), Democrazie e Deocratizzazioni (Bologna 2003).

The Quality of Democracy

By Larry Diamond and Leonardo Morlino

As democracy has spread over the past three decades to a majority of the world's states, analytic attention has turned increasingly from explaining regime transitions to evaluating and explaining the character of democratic regimes. Much of the democracy literature of the 1990s was concerned with the consolidation of democratic regimes.[1] In recent years, social scientists as well as democracy practitioners and aid agencies have sought to develop means of framing and assessing the quality of democracy. This stream of theory, methodological innovation, and empirical research has three broad motives: first, that deepening democracy is a moral good, if not an imperative; second, that reforms to improve democratic quality are essential if democracy is to achieve the broad and durable legitimacy that marks consolidation;[2] and third, that long-established democracies must also reform if they are to attend to their own gathering problems of public dissatisfaction and even disillusionment. In fact, these latter trends—the broad decline of public confidence in governmental and political institutions, the growing citizen alienation from political parties in particular, and the widespread perceptions that democratic governments and politicians are increasingly corrupt, self-interested and unresponsive—are common to many democracies, new and old, and have even led prominent researchers to speak of a "crisis of democracy."[3]

Touching as it does on basic questions of norms and legitimacy, the quality of democracy is a value-laden and hence controversial subject. Who is to define what constitutes a "good" democracy, and to what extent is a universal conception

53

of democratic quality possible? How can the effort to address avoid becoming paternalistic exercises in which the established democracies take themselves for granted as models and so escape scrutiny? How can assessments of democratic quality go beyond mere analytics and be useful to political reformers, civil society activists, international donors, and others who seek to improve the quality of democracy? These are only some of the questions that pervade and motivate this growing sub-field of study.

The five thematic essays that follow are part of a collaborative effort, launched at a conference at Stanford University, to elaborate and refine the concept of democratic quality and to apply it to a series of six paired comparisons. The concluding essay in the present collection, by Marc Plattner, develops critical comments he offered at that conference.[4] The authors of the five thematic essays were each asked to define and articulate a particular dimension of the quality of democracy, to explain how it relates to other dimensions in our framework, to suggest possible indicators for measuring the dimension, to identify ways in which this element of democratic quality is subverted in the real world (and how these subversions can be empirically detected), and to offer (where possible) policy recommendations for reform and improvement of democratic quality. As we explain below, we do not assert that these five conceptual dimensions—freedom, rule of law, vertical accountability, responsiveness, and equality—fully constitute the quality of democracy. The framework we outline below in fact has eight dimensions—including as well participation, competition, and horizontal

accountability. Others could be identified as well, for example transparency and the effectiveness of representation. The different aspects of democratic quality overlap, however, and we choose to treat these latter two as elements of our principal dimensions. In fact, the more we enumerate distinct dimensions, the denser and more complex the overlaps become.

We attempt here to identify some of the ways in which the different elements of democracy not only overlap but also depend upon one another. In identifying these different linkages, we suggest that democratic quality can be thought of as a system, in which improvement in one dimension can have diffuse benefits for others (and vice versa). At the same time however, there are sometimes trade-offs between the different dimensions of democratic quality, and it is impossible to achieve each of them to the maximum degree. This is one respect in which each democracy must make an inherently value-laden choice about what *kind* of democracy it wishes to be.

We begin by offering brief definitions of the terms "democracy" and "quality," and we then suggest how these two concepts can be integrated into a multidimensional conception of democratic quality. In the main body of the paper, we define and analyze eight different dimensions of democratic quality. We then reflect further the linkages and interactions among them. Finally, we review how the six case studies employ and illuminate our analytic framework.

"Democracy" and "Quality"

To analyze the quality of democracy, and to seek a "good" democracy, we must first know what democracy is. At a minimum, democracy requires: 1)

universal, adult suffrage; 2) recurring, free, competitive and fair elections; 3) more than one serious political party; and 4) alternative sources of information.[5] If elections are to be truly meaningful, free and fair, there must be some degree of civil and political freedom beyond the electoral arena, permitting citizens to articulate and organize around their political beliefs and interests.[6] In addition, formal democratic institutions should be sovereign in fact, that is they should not be constrained by elites or external powers that are not directly or indirectly accountable to the people.[7] Once a regime meets these basic conditions, further empirical analysis can assess how well it achieves the three main goals of an ideal democracy—political and civil freedom, popular sovereignty (control over public policies and the officials who make them), and political equality (in these rights and powers)—as well as broader standards of good governance (such as transparency, legality, and responsible rule).[8]

Thus, the analysis of a good democracy should exclude hybrid or "electoral authoritarian" regimes, which, in failing to conduct free and fair elections, fall short of an essential requirement for democracy.[9] By definition, we will find the quality of democracy quite low in *defective democracies*, which are "exclusive" in offering only limited guarantees for political rights, or "dominated" in allowing powerful groups to condition and limit the autonomy of elected leaders, and/or "illiberal" in the inadequacy of their protections for civil rights and the rule of law.[10] We can also expect the quality of democracy to be quite deficient in *delegative democracies*, which have electoral competitiveness and relative civil and political freedom, but whose officials, once elected, are only minimally responsive to citizen preferences, constrained by other agencies of government, and respectful of the rule of law.[11]

A second step in evaluating democratic quality requires a clear definition of "quality." A survey of the use of the term in the industrial and marketing sectors suggests three different meanings of quality (each with different implications for empirical research):

1. *procedure:* a "quality" product is the result of an exact, controlled process carried out according to precise, recurring methods and timing;

2. *content*: quality inheres in the structural characteristics of a product, such as its design, materials, or functioning;

3. *result*: the quality of a product or service is indirectly indicated by the degree of customer satisfaction with it, regardless of how it is produced or its actual content.

What is a "Quality" Democracy?

Starting from the definitions above, we consider a quality or good democracy to be one that provides its citizens a high degree of freedom, political equality, and popular control over public policies and policy makers through the legitimate and lawful functioning of stable institutions. A good democracy is thus first a broadly legitimated regime that satisfies citizen expectations of governance (*quality in terms of result*). Second, a good democracy is one in which its citizens, associations, and communities enjoy extensive liberty and political equality (*quality in terms of content*). Third, in a good democracy the citizens themselves have the sovereign power to evaluate whether the government provides liberty and equality according to the rule of law. Citizens and their organizations and parties participate and compete to hold elected officials accountable for their policies and actions. They monitor the efficiency and fairness of the application of the laws, the efficacy of government decisions, and the political responsibility and responsiveness of elected officials. Governmental institutions also hold one another accountable before the law and the constitution (*quality in terms of procedure*).

With the above in mind, we identify eight dimensions on which democracies vary in quality. The first five are procedural dimensions: the rule of law, participation, competition, and accountability, both vertical and horizontal. Though also quite relevant to the content, these dimensions mainly concern the rules and practices.[12] The next two dimensions of variation are substantive in nature: respect for civil and political freedoms, and the progressive implementation of greater political (and underlying it, social and economic) equality. Our last dimension, responsiveness, links the procedural dimensions to the substantive ones by measuring the extent to which public policies (including laws, institutions, and expenditures) correspond to citizen demands and preferences, as aggregated through the political process. These eight dimensions are elaborated below.[13] Each may vary in the specific form of its institutional expression, and in its degree of development. Capturing and explaining this variation requires indicators that reveal how and to what degree each dimension is present in different countries (and in different models of the good democracy). The resulting empirical data will also make it possible to track trends in the quality of democracy in individual countries over time, including the effectiveness of institutional reforms.[14]

The multidimensional nature of our framework, and of the growing number of democracy assessments being conducted in individual countries, implies a pluralist notion of democratic quality. As we note below, there are not only dense linkages but also trade-offs and tensions among the various dimensions of democratic quality, and democracies will differ in the normative weights they place

on the various dimensions of democratic quality (for example, freedom vs. responsiveness). There is no objective way of identifying a single measurement framework of democratic quality, right and true for all societies.

Our analytical framework proposed here partially differs somewhat from other studies on the quality of democracy, such as those of Altman and Perez-Linan (2001) and Lijphart (1999). Both of them develop a quantitative comparative strategy. We emphasize the virtuous combination of qualitative and quantitative measures in the empirical analysis of the phenomenon. Some difference also emerges in our definition of a good democracy and consequently in the dimensions of variation and related indicators. Altman and Perez-Linan refer to three aspects that draw on Dahl's concept of polyarchy (civil rights, participation, and competition). Lijphart includes indicators such as female representation, electoral participation, satisfaction with democracy, and corruption, and these indicators can be associated with our different dimensions (respectively, equality, participation, responsiveness, and rule of law).

The institutions and mechanisms of representative democracy are the main objects of the analysis of the quality of a democracy. This is not to ignore direct democracy as perhaps the purest expression of democratic quality, but to acknowledge the actual experience of representative democracies and their real potential for improvement. If the analysis has to be focused on representative democracies, then (vertical) accountability becomes a truly central dimension in so much as it grants individual citizens and organized actors in civil society means of

control over politicians and political institutions. In a good democracy, this feature attenuates the difficulties that emerge out of the shift from direct to representative democracy.

Vertical accountability is implicitly based on two assumptions from the liberal tradition that highlight the interconnectedness of all of the dimensions explained above. The first assumption is that if citizens are genuinely given the opportunity to evaluate the government's performance, they are in fact capable of doing so, possessing above all a relatively accurate perception of their own needs and preferences. The second assumption is that citizens, either alone or as part of a group, are the only possible judges of their own interests and needs; no third party can determine them. Generally, we accept these assumptions, though they are debatable, and as Dietrich Rueschemeyer notes in his essay on equality, those actors with more wealth and cultural capital have disproportionate power to shape citizen policy preferences.

Freedom and equality, however they are understood, are necessarily linked to accountability and responsiveness. Indeed, provision of freedom and equality is one standard by which citizens may assess the performance of their political leaders and representative institutions. In addition, an effective rule of law is also indispensable for a good democracy, in part because it guarantees, through the mechanism of a politically neutral and independent judiciary, the defense of citizens' rights and of the equal status, before the law and in the political arena, of all citizens. As the next section will explain, freedom, equality, and even

accountability are unobtainable ifrespect for law is ineffective or if the elected government cannot govern authoritatively. These are the fundamental presuppositions necessary for identifying and implementing reforms to improve the quality of democracy.

Procedural Dimensions of Democratic Quality

We are now ready to explore more concretely our eight dimensions of democratic quality in three respects: the empirical definition, the conditions for the dimension to develop and thrive, and the means by which it is commonly subverted. We begin in this section with the five procedural dimensions.

The Rule of Law. As Guillermo O'Donnell explains, under a rule of law all citizens are equal before the law, which is fairly and consistently applied to all by an independent judiciary, and the laws themselves are clear, publicly known, universal, stable, and nonretroactive. These characteristics are fundamental for any civil order and a basic requirement for democratic consolidation, along with other such cognate features of a constitutional order as civilian control over the military and the intelligence services and an elaborated network of other agencies of horizontal accountability that complement the judiciary.

More comprehensively, a "good" (or in essence, a liberal) democracy has a strong, vigorous, diffuse and self-sustaining rule of law in the following respects:

• The law is equally enforced toward everyone, including all state officials; no one is above the law.

- The legal state is supreme throughout the country, leaving no areas dominated by organized crime, local oligarchs, or political bosses who are above the law.

- Corruption is minimized, detected, and punished, in the political, administrative, and judicial branches of the state.

- The state bureaucracy at all levels competently, efficiently, and universally applies the laws and assumes responsibility in the event of an error.

- The police force is professional, efficient, and respectful of individuals' legally guaranteed rights and freedoms, including rights of due process.

- Citizens have equal and unhindered access to the justice system to defend their rights and to contest lawsuits between private citizens or between private citizens and public institutions.

- Criminal cases and civil and administrative lawsuits are heard and resolved expeditiously.

- The judiciary at all levels is neutral and independent from any political influence.

- Rulings of the courts are respected and enforced by other agencies of the state.

- The constitution is supreme, and is interpreted and defended by a Constitutional Court.

What further distinguishes and completes a "democratic rule of law," O'Donnell argues, is that the legal system defends the political rights and procedures of democracy, upholds everyone's civil rights, and reinforces the

authority of other agencies of horizontal accountability that ensure the lawfulness and propriety of official actions.

To some students of democracy, it may seem odd to begin elucidating democratic quality with the rule of law, as the presence of several dozen illiberal democracies in the world attests to the possibility for competitive elections and popular participation to co-exist with considerable lawlessness and abuse of power.[15] Nevertheless, the rule of law is the base upon which every other dimension of democratic quality rests. When the rule of law is weak, participation of the poor and marginalized is suppressed; individual freedoms are tenuous and fleeting; civic groups may be unable to organize and advocate; the resourceful and well connected have vastly more access to justice and power; corruption and abuse of power run rampant, as agencies of horizontal accountability are unable to function properly; political competition is distorted and unfair; voters have a hard time holding rulers to account; and thus, linkages vital to securing democratic responsiveness are disrupted and severed.

The above aspects concern in large measure the impartial and efficient application of the law and the fair resolution of disputes within the legal system. Various indicators can represent each and the relevant data can be analyzed on a case-by-case basis using both qualitative and quantitative techniques. Of course, a detailed assessment of judicial fairness and efficiency would be extremely expensive and practically impossible to apply to a high number of cases. However, one can examine across many cases the degree to which public officials are responsible before the law, or instead enjoy relative impunity; the extent of official

corruption, as measured (quite roughly and imprecisely to be sure) by indices of perceptions of corruption and of market distortions; the extent of civil liberties violations; the access of citizens to the court system; and the average duration of legal proceedings.

The ways in which the rule of law is subverted in a democracy are myriad. For example, politicians may use the law as a "political weapon" against their political and civic adversaries.[16] Democratically elected leaders may attempt to pack the judiciary (particularly the constitutional court) with political loyalists. There is a growing tendency among individual citizens or economic groups to resort to the courts to assert their own interests (as opposed to strictly defending against illegal actions). The political culture also plays an important role in sustaining or undermining the rule of law. A democratic rule of law is diminished in many countries by the diffuse cultural attitude that views the law merely as an impediment to realizing one's own interests, a nuisance to be circumvented in any way possible. In many countries, this attitude extends widely from the popular to the entrepreneurial classes and is captured by the Italian saying, "*fatta la legge, trovato l'inganno*" (in essence, fraud goes hand in hand with law).

The most important conditions aiding the development of the rule of law are the diffusion of liberal and democratic values among both the people and, especially, the elite; strong bureaucratic traditions of competence and impartiality; and the institutional and economic means for fully implementing a rule of law. However, these conditions are not all that common and they are very difficult to create from scratch—hence, the weakness of the rule of law in many recently

65

established democracies (and even a number of older ones as well). The best approach is probably to proceed incrementally to build up the independence, capacity, and authority of the entire judicial system. But the literature on rule of law development is sobering:No amount of training and financial resources (including generous external assistance) will suffice unless democratic leaders exhibit both political will and self-restraint. This in turn requires a mobilized and aware civil society, and efficient democratic instruments of competition so that voters can remove public officials who obstruct rule-of-law reforms.

[1] See for example Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, Latin America, and Post-Communist Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), Leonardo Morlino, *Democracy Between Consolidation and Crisis. Parties, Groups and Citizens in Southern Europe*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), and Larry Diamond, *Developing Democracy: Toward Consolidation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).

[2] From the perspective advanced by Philippe Schmitter in this collection, and in his other writings on democratic consolidation, however, democracy may become consolidated at any level of quality, so long as citizens and politicians come to accept the rules of democratic competition.

[3] Max Kaase and Kenneth Newton, *Beliefs in Government* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995). The classic recent work on this subject is Susan J. Pharr

and Robert D. Putnam, eds., *Disaffected Democracies: What's Troubling the Trilateral Countries* (Princeteon, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).

[4] The conference on the Quality of Democracy, organized by the two of us and sponsored by Stanford's Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law, was held on October 10 and 11, 2003

[5] See for example, among a myriad of possible sources, Robert Dahl, *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971)..

Larry Diamond, Juan J. Linz, and Seymour Martin Lipset, "Preface," in Diamond, Linz, and Lipset, eds., *Democracy in Developing Countries: Africa* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1988), p. xvi..

[7] Philippe C. Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl, "What Democracy is… and is not". In Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, eds., *The Global Resurgence of Democracy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993): 45-46.

[8] For a related approach, see David Beetham, "Towards a Universal Framework for Democracy Assessment," *Democratization* 11 (April 2004): 1-17..

[9] Larry Diamond, "Elections without Democracy: Thinking About Hybrid Regimes," and Andreas Schedler, "Elections without Democracy: The Menu of Manipulation," in *Journal of Democracy* 13 (April 2002): 21-35 and 36-50-

[10] W. Merkel and A. Croissant, Aurel, "Formal Institutions and Informal Rules of Defective Democracies," *Central European Political Science Review* (1) 2:31-47.

[11] Guillermo O'Donnell "Delegative Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 5 (January 1994): 60-62.

[12] Herbert Kitschelt and his co-authors also consider accountability to be a "procedural" dimension. *Post-communist Party Systems. Competition, Representation and Inter-party Cooperation* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999).

[13] Our original framework, which guided the case studies, presented did not delineate participation and competition as distinct dimensions of democracy quality, nor did it separate horizontal and vertical accountability. While most of the case studies do treat vertical and horizontal accountability as distinct dimensions, they analyze participation and competition more implicitly as contributing factors to vertical accountability and/or responsiveness.

[14] These are among the purposes of a formal democracy assessment, for which International IDEA has recently published a guide. See *International IDEA Guide to Democracy Assessment* (New York: Kluwer Law International, 2001), available at http://www.idea.int/ideas_work/14_political_state.htm.

[15] One empirical way to classify a regime as an "illiberal democracy" is if it meets the test of an electoral democracy, by having regular, free, fair, and competitive elections to fill the principal positions of power in the country, but it does not qualify as a "free" country in the annual ratings of civil liberties and political rights by Freedom House. By this measure, there were 33 such regimes at the end of 2002.

Freedom House, *Freedom in the World 2003* (New York: Freedom House, 2003), available at http://www.freedomhouse.org/research/index.htm.

[16] José María Maravall, "The Rule of Law as a Political Weapon," in Maravall and Adam Przeworski, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).