

# Table of Contents

Acknowledgements.....	9
List of Abbreviations .....	11
List of Tables and Figures.....	15
<b>1    Introduction.....</b>	<b>17</b>
1.1 The Puzzle of Mixed Results for International Agencies.....	17
1.2 Research Gap – Impact Variances and the “Black Box” of International Agencies .....	24
1.3 Key Concepts – Democratization, Democracy, and Democracy Promotion.....	27
1.4 Analytical Dimensions – Strategies of International Democracy Theory.....	29
1.5 Impact Evaluation in a New Light – Addressing Variance in International Agencies .....	32
1.6 Selection of Cases – The UNDP and the EC in Rwanda .....	34
1.7 Outlook on Results.....	37
1.8 Outline of the Content – A Road Map .....	39
<b>2    State of the Art – International Agencies         in External Democracy Promotion .....</b>	<b>43</b>
2.1 Democracy Promotion, the Global Value of Democracy and its Criticism .....	43
2.2 Ambivalent Developments and the Responses of International Agencies .....	46
2.3 International Agencies, Evaluations and the Meanings of Democracy.....	48
2.4 Summary .....	53
<b>3    Analytical Framework – External Actors         and Democracy Dimensions .....</b>	<b>54</b>
3.1 An Eclectic and Interdisciplinary Perspective on External Democracy Promotion .....	54

3.2	Approaches in Democracy Theory.....	56
3.3	A Broad-Based Analytical Approach – Building Democracy Dimensions .....	61
3.3.1	Multi-Party Elections.....	61
3.3.2	Institutionalization .....	64
3.3.3	Rule of Law .....	67
3.3.4	Economic Development.....	70
3.3.5	Civil Society and Political Culture .....	72
3.4	Summary .....	76
<b>4</b>	<b>Methodological Framework – Conducting Evaluation Research for External Democracy Promotion.....</b>	<b>79</b>
4.1	Building Bridges – Impact Evaluation, International Agencies and Variances.....	79
4.2	Evaluation – Definition, Concepts and Criteria .....	80
4.3	Evaluation Challenges and Limits of External Democracy Promotion.....	83
4.4	Conceptualizing a Comparative Multi-Actor Impact Evaluation.....	87
4.4.1	Political Context .....	88
4.4.2	Strategies and Relationships of Involved Actors .....	90
4.4.3	Monitoring Fields .....	91
4.4.4	Indicators .....	92
4.4.5	Guiding Questions .....	96
4.5	Evaluations and Case Studies of International Agencies .....	98
4.6	Sample of Sources – A Triangulation of Data and Interpretation Tools .....	101
4.7	Summary .....	106
<b>5</b>	<b>The UNDP and the EC in Democracy Promotion – Roles, Democracy Definitions, Priorities and Strategies of the Actors.....</b>	<b>108</b>
5.1	Old and New Ways – The UNDP's and the EC's Democracy Promotion Approaches.....	108
5.2	The UNDP and the EC in Contrast to Other International Agencies .....	108

5.3	The UN and the Responsibility of the UNDP for External Democracy Promotion .....	111
5.3.1	The UNDP as an Actor in Democracy Promotion.....	111
5.3.2	The UNDP's Definition of Democracy and Priorities .....	117
5.3.3	The UNDP's Democracy Promotion Strategies .....	124
5.4	The EU and the Responsibility of the EC for External Democracy Promotion .....	128
5.4.1	The EC as an Actor in Democracy Promotion.....	128
5.4.2	The EC's Definition of Democracy and Priorities.....	132
5.4.3	The EC's Democracy Promotion Strategies .....	138
5.5	The UNDP and the EC – Similarities and Differences in the Roles, Democracy Definitions, Priorities and Strategies of the Actors .....	142
<b>6</b>	<b>The Empirical Analysis – Case Studies of the UNDP and the EC in Rwanda.....</b>	<b>146</b>
6.1	Analyzing and Tracing Variances in the Impact of the UNDP and the EC .....	146
6.2	Political Context – National Developments and Past Democracy Promotion.....	147
6.2.1	The UNDP and the EC in Rwanda before the Genocide .....	147
6.2.2	The UNDP's and the EC's Engagement in the Transition Phase.....	152
6.2.3	Summary.....	155
6.3	Strategies and Relationships of Involved Actors – Opening the Box of Actors .....	156
6.3.1	Similarities and Differences between International Agencies .....	156
6.3.2	The UNDP – Democracy Promotion as Inclusive Participation .....	158
6.3.3	The EC – Democracy Promotion as a Market and Value Oriented Approach .....	165
6.3.4	The Addressee – Rwanda as a Recipient State .....	171
6.3.5	Synthesis of Strategies and Relationships of Involved Actors.....	173

6.4	Monitoring Fields – The UNDP’s and the EC’s Impact on the Democracy Dimensions .....	175
6.4.1	Multi-Party Elections.....	176
6.4.2	Institutionalization .....	195
6.4.3	Rule of Law .....	213
6.4.4	Economic Development.....	233
6.4.5	Civil Society and Political Culture .....	252
6.5	Summary – Results of Variances in the Impact of the UNDP and the EC in Rwanda .....	280
<b>7</b>	<b>Summary, Conclusion and Outlook – Explaining Variances in the Impact among International Agencies.....</b>	<b>283</b>
7.1	Mixed Results for International Agencies in Democracy Promotion.....	283
7.2	Possible Paths and Answers – Evaluations and Variances in the Impact among Actors .....	284
7.3	A Concept of Variances – Principles, Form and Quality of Democracy Promotion .....	288
7.4	Empirical Links and Discussion of the Factors Influencing Variances in the Impact.....	290
7.5	Democracy Promotion Approaches and Multiple Meanings of Democracy .....	307
7.6	Implications for Further Research.....	310
7.7	Conclusion and Outlook for Future External Democracy Promotion.....	313
<b>Literature.....</b>	<b>316</b>	
Monographs, Anthologies, Analyses, Articles.....	316	
UN and EU Documents, Declarations, Reports, Strategy Papers .....	333	
Interviews.....	337	
Web-Sources.....	338	
Index .....	345	