Human Rights and Development Assistance/Co-operation: Considerations for the Republic of Cyprus.

WHAT IS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE/CO-OPERATION FOR THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS? THE DISCUSSION WILL GIVE RECOMMENDATIONS FOR HOW THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS SHOULD ENACT POLICIES ON DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE WITH REGARDS TO HUMAN RIGHTS, IN ORDER TO BE CONSISTENT WITH THE REPUBLIC'S CAPABILITIES AND GOALS. IN ADDITION, MANY OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS WILL ALSO HAVE SOME VALUE TO OTHER COUNTRIES WITH NEW DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS.

Human Rights and Development Assistance

In May 2004, ten new countries joined the European Union: the Czech Republic, Cyprus, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia. Since this main enlargement, two additional countries have joined the EU, Bulgaria and Romania. As per the adhesion requirements for entering into the European Union, the new member states agreed to create development assistance programs, which are a standard operational procedure for developed countries. At the same time though, development assistance programs are an important and high-profile part of EU and member states' foreign policy; each member state having a great deal of flexibility in terms of how their development assistance programs are implemented. The new development assistance programs that have been created by the 2004 expansion of the European Union and their implications to human rights policies is the central thrust of this policy paper.

There is no obvious relationship between human rights and foreign policy, as Donnelly (2003: 155) rightly points out. As a matter of fact, there are solid arguments against having human rights as a part of a country's foreign policy calculus (Donnelly 2003: 155-159). Despite the reasoning for avoiding the inclusion of a human rights component in foreign policy, it has become standard practice among the advanced industrial countries, to incorporate human rights considerations into foreign policy decisions. Thus, human rights become a component of development assistance programs. These policies are also "moving targets" that are evolving, as are the frameworks within which development assistance programs operate.
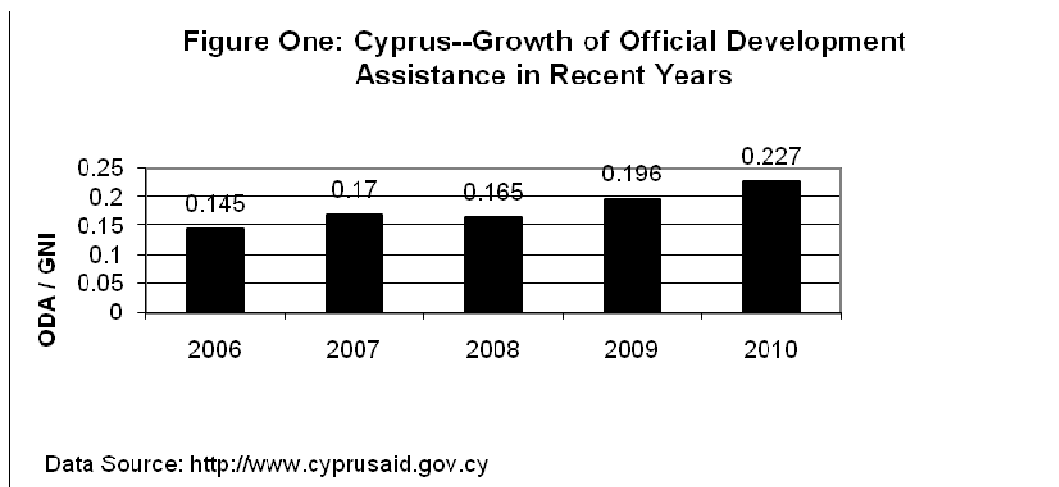
This paper, presents how the Republic of Cyprus' development assistance policy came into being and how it incorporates human rights into decisions regarding the allocation of development assistance. It also aspires to making recommendations as to how the Republic of Cyprus could incorporate human rights in a more effective way, promoting human rights through its development assistance program.

Cyprus and its Current Development Assistance Program

With its adhesion to the European Union, the Republic of Cyprus made quite a rapid transition from being a net recipient to becoming a net donor of development assistance. Although the current structure of development assistance only developed as an outcome of membership negotiations with the European Union, there is some history behind Cyprus' dedication to supporting development in other countries. In 1994, the Republic of Cyprus had launched the "Technical Assistance Scheme for Foreign Countries", a scheme that continues to this day and whose objective is to invite foreign nationals to come to Cyprus to study in order to gain technical skills that they can bring back to their home countries to enhance the local development process. Other development-related schemes funded by the government of the Republic of Cyprus, included the funding of projects of the Greek Orthodox Church of Cyprus, the Cyprus Red Cross and the Volunteer Doctors of Cyprus.

The new structure of development assistance took its form in 2005 with the Council of Ministers' decision to establish CyprusAid as Cyprus' development assistance arm. CyprusAid is not a formal organization and it would be best described as a funding administration office. It is administered by the Planning Bureau and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and as such, it has quite a different organizational framework than most other major donor countries (for example, USAID, DANIDA, Irish Aid, SIDA).

While it is a rather new project for the Republic of Cyprus, the funds devoted to development assistance are substantial by Cypriot standards. Figure One below illustrates Cyprus' development assistance as a percent of its GNI, demonstrating at the same time that, while the figures may appear low in comparison to the international benchmark of 0.7%, they also show a fairly steady rate of growth, suggesting that in a few years Cyprus may reach levels equivalent to those of other members of the Development Assistance Committee of the OECD. In fact, 2010 figures show that Cyprus' percent contribution is roughly on par with that of the USA and Japan, although it lags far behind Luxembourg, Sweden, Denmark, Norway and the Netherlands.

Figure One: Cyprus--Growth of Official Development Assistance in Recent Years

Data Source: http://www.cyprusaid.gov.cy

While the level of development assistance provided is not unreasonably low when accounted as a percentage of the size of Cyprus' economy, it is nonetheless restrained by its small size. Thus, the limited funding that the Republic of Cyprus can and will contribute will also have a limited impact on those types of projects that require, for example, long-standing and substantial assistance packages. To the contrary of the impact that countries like Japan and the USA can have with their substantial levels of assistance (as a percent of their economies) and the magnitude of projects that they can undertake. Further accounting for the fact that CyprusAid has recently been set up and it still has a lot of ground to cover in terms of experience, organization and know-how, partnering with other countries and using delegated cooperation is currently the way to go for an efficient and effective development aid.

What this means is that the Republic of Cyprus actively partners with other donor countries in projects that need additional contributions. This is a win-win situation for Cyprus as well, as it benefits from keeping management and other costs low, thus making the use of resources more efficient. A down side however is that Cyprus does not have "ownership" of development projects. Nevertheless this dominant approach differentiates Cyprus from other countries in their allocation and implementation of development assistance.

The funding of projects is thus decided by two main factors: geographical proximity and similitude of a project's needs to Cyprus' sectors of the economy. Thus, projects in nearby places such as the Palestinian Authority,

Lebanon, Egypt, as well as sub-Saharan Africa are favored. Projects in East Asia and the Americas are almost completely avoided. Furthermore, CyprusAid mostly supports sectors of the economy in which it has know-how such as, education, health, environment, and infrastructure.

Human Rights Development Assistance in Cyprus

Evaluating and understanding the impact that Cyprus' development assistance has on human rights it can firstly be noted that a great deal of emphasis is placed on social and economic rights (i.e. second generation rights)[1]. This may be due to Cyprus' recent development, the limitations of its available funding, or merely a cultural preference that stems from the belief that social and economic rights are the primary building blocks for development upon which political and civil rights may later be founded. What is worth mentioning is that while human rights are often identified in Cyprus with rights pertaining to refugees and the displaced, CyprusAid's does not seem to search for refugee-related issues to support, although invariably development assistance in Palestine leads to support of refugee populations.

It could be argued however that Cyprus' perception of human rights is somewhat vague and, as the literature on CyprusAid conveys, it is largely linked to the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals. From that, one can extract that social and economic development is Cyprus' funding priority, since political goals are largely overlooked by the Millennium Development Goals. Still, the project "Good Governance for Enhanced Post-War Reconstruction," in Lebanon is probably an exception, as it deals with creating more effective governance.

Putting more emphasis on second generation rights (social and economic rights) may not only be a cultural preference for Cyprus, but a realistic fact due to the limited resources it can dedicate. It has been proven that modest investments may bring substantial returns in development in a short period of time (for example, the building of a school or a project to enable a population to have clean drinking water), but have little impact in the development of an environment conducive to supporting and protecting civil rights. Nonetheless, there is an additional benefit from supporting social and economic rights, in that there is probably less cultural resistance encountered locally, as no objections or opposition would be anticipated against projects for the improvement of daily living conditions, such as the construction of schools, creation of sanitation, clean water systems and the like. On the contrary, supporting political and/or civil issues may be met with resistance, since it may be perceived as a form of cultural imperialism.

The Changing Framework of Development Cooperation

The recent creation of the European Consensus on Development and the establishment of the European Development Fund, serving as mechanisms for providing aid for development cooperation, have had an important impact on the way EU member states allocate their development assistance funding.

The European Consensus on Development (ECD), a joint declaration signed in 2005 by the European Commission, the European Parliament, and the Council created a shared vision on international development (Carbone 2009) for the EU and its member states. It also outlined a set of common principles by which development aid would be implemented, with a view to improve coordination and harmonization. There are two parts to it, with the first part involving a commitment to reduce global poverty, the major thrust of the

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[1] For a full discussion of the categorization of human rights, see the appendix.

Millennium Development Goals. The second part involves a commitment for particular attention to be given to the following areas:

- "trade and regional integration;
- the environment and the sustainable management of natural resources; infrastructures;
- water and energy;
- rural development, agriculture, and food security;
- governance, democracy, human rights and support for economic and institutional reforms;
- prevention of conflicts and of state fragility;
- human development; and social cohesion and employment." (EU 2011)

The consensus also allows member states a great deal of leeway. Human rights and the related concepts of "good governance" and "democracy" play an important role in the definition of the consensus of states. However, these concepts are only part of the consensus. What is noteworthy is that the consensus does not fully define what is meant by "human rights", "good governance" and "democracy," thereby giving member states considerable flexibility in terms of pursuing development aid goals.

It should also be noted, however, that the aim of the ECD is to support and increase democracy, human rights, and governance structures (Carbone 2009, p. 2), meaning the provision of active support for concrete steps towards these notions in the least-developed countries. The ECD also retains a punitive aspect of the human rights/development assistance nexus in its policy, to be able to deal with a recipient state's conduct if deemed unacceptable (Carbone 2009, p. 2).

The Republic of Cyprus can then independently decide the human rights it wishes to defend. Cyprus has agreed to the consensus, binding all EU member states, even though it requires the allocation of resources in each of the many areas agreed to as goals. One could argue that there is a tendency in Cyprus, to adopt European approaches in a rather uncritical manner, (Ioannou 2008-9 and Ioannou and Kentas 2011). However, the opportunity to choose which human rights will be supported and promoted in Cyprus' development assistance policies should not be undermined, as it does not contradict the ECD in whatsoever.

As far as the European Development Fund (EDF) is concerned, it constitutes the other major European organizational framework in which Cyprus must operate. The EDF is an instrument of pooled funding, largely intended to providing EU aid for development cooperation in the ACP countries (Africa, Caribbean, and the Pacific), as well as other overseas countries and territories (OCT). The pooling of funding enables the EU to make more substantial investments and targeted funding of projects, so that it can promote its concurrent aims and achieve greater results. In this regard, projects to be funded are decided at a European Commission level, thus Cyprus' participation means that development assistance allocations will increasingly be made in Brussels and CyprusAid will have less of a voice in terms of which projects it will fund.

Recommendations

To assist CyprusAid in its vision to support human rights and development through its funding the following actions are recommended:

- Persist on social and economic goals to prevail as funding predilections;
- Endorse specific subset of goals within the Millennium Development Goals , which may add to the continuity of support even beyond the 2015 deadline;
- Enhance Cyprus-based NGOs in their undertakings related to development, so that their goals are consistent and in-line with the Millennium Development Goals;
- Create a reporting mechanism that will guide administrators to make the relationship between funding projects and human rights more explicit;

- Participate in refugee-related issues on a larger scale.

The Republic of Cyprus has the opportunity to make a significant contribution in the international arena and to advocate for the values it wishes to inspire the developing world. However, to succeed in this endeavour a lot of reflection and a clear strategy are needed. While the willingness to defend human rights in as vast of a scale as possible is incontestable, the developing world seems to be of greater need of second generation rights, i.e. putting more emphasis on social and economic rights. Focusing on the most basic of "basic needs" is beneficial in that the risk of being received with resistance or a feeling of cultural imperialism from the population of the countries where the development aid is allocated is minimized.

Further to specifying Cyprus' preferred areas of development assistance (economic and social rights, with a focus on the Millennium Development Goals), an enhancement would be to determine specific sub-components of larger projects where Cyprus could dedicate its funding. For example, Cyprus might opt to work for the improvement of clean water access or female literacy improvement. Specifying funding targets would make funding decisions more effective as they would be directly linked to the set priorities, allowing Cyprus to attain more expertise in the particular areas and internationally excel. Thus, projects dealing with solar cooking to encourage female literacy could be supported, for example, and CyprusAid could be the patron of that particular kind of innovative and specific type of development assistance. Consequently, CyprusAid may be sought out by other development aid bodies to contribute its know-how and expertise in a number of other international development projects. However, it should be reminded that delegated cooperation may make this a bit difficult to implement in practice.

What is further needed are NGOs that are visible in Cyprus and in Brussels and that deal with innovative and effective development issues that are linked with the Millennium Development Goals. It is also essential that Cyprus-based NGOs become visible in the international funding community and that they can compete for funds from the European Union, as well as be potential recipients of funding from CyprusAid. The current NGDO Platform "The Development" may well serve as a basis for further expansion in the international arena, as it is a platform which aims at bringing together NGOs from all over Europe and the world, so that expertise, know-how and practices are constructively exchanged on international development. Consequently, more effective work, advocacy and results may be achieved.

Once Cyprus gains a more visible role in international development, it will also have the necessary experience to be able to advocate projects that serve its visions and strategies. Its development assistance would then be allocated with more concerted objectives, allowing thus for the dedication of resources in areas, and mostly specific projects, that satisfy targeted outcomes, as for example the support of particular human rights. As a result, CyprusAid will become more visible in the local and international civil society gaining support, but also creating a dialogue which can prove valuable for the current and future work performed.

Finally, it seems that refugee-related issues could be made an explicit part of CyprusAid's human rights policy. While many Cypriots can relate to refugee issues, there doesn't seem to be an explicit link with CyprusAid's support of relevant projects. However, more awareness building could result in the public being more supportive of development assistance projects. Inherently, the same holds true with every development project pursued. Thus, a clear perspective of what is being targeted and to what level it relates to Cyprus' foreign policy is essential before the public's involvement and support are achieved.

Conclusion

The Republic of Cyprus is, in many ways, in a good position to settle on its priorities regarding human rights. It has a policy, it has a framework, and it has a good set of potential and actual partners. By continuing to focus on social and economic rights in delegated cooperation in a geographically strategic and concentrated area, substantial gains can be made, despite the size of the investments. What is further needed is to incite more

contribution from the civil society in Cyprus, as well as to increase the visibility of Cyprus and Cyprus-based NGOs internationally on development issues.

Appendix

Conceptualizing, Measuring Human Rights, and the Human Rights/Development Assistance Nexus

Conceptualising Human Rights

"Human rights" is a fairly recent concept and it dates back to the end of World War Two. There are many societies that have perceptions of human relations that may resemble concepts of "human rights" (Donnelly 2003: 71-88) but that are, at the same time, indications that the way the concept of "human rights" is used in the political discourse is an outgrowth of a particularly Western social vision.

Global consensus on human rights is explicitly expressed in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights[2]. As indicated in the declaration, human rights consist of many different aspects and thus some contradictions may befall. For example, Article Five of the Universal Declaration states that "No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment". While Article Twenty-four states "Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay." These two examples of human rights are distinctly different from each other and suggest a multi-dimensionality in terms of how human rights are perceived and understood. Thus, it is suggested that there exist three different contexts within which human rights may be viewed (Table Two below), a generation categorization, a positive/negative analysis and an evaluation of human rights as a function of policies/practices/conditions.

Table Two: Three Conceptualizations of Human Rights

	Categories
Three Generations	• First Generation (political and civil rights) • Second Generation (social and economic rights) • Third Generation (group rights)
Positive/Negative	• Positive Rights (state provides the right) • Negative Rights (state does not interfere with the right)
Policies/Practices/Conditions	• Policies (state policies) • Practices (state practices) • Conditions (society practices, independent of state actions)

To begin with, there is a discussion of the generations of human rights, a conceptualization first suggested by Karel Vasak. For Vasak, human rights could be categorized as a tricotomy and each segment of the tricotomy is named in terms of the chronological order in which it entered into political discourse as a concept. The first generation of human rights is the political and civil rights. It includes those rights that evolved out of the enlightenment and liberal movement in Europe and that recognized the equal worth of all humans (originally, of course, thought of as only pertaining to white males) and thus granted individuals rights such as freedom of speech and expression, freedom of movement, and voting rights, among other

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[2] There are other international agreements on human rights that have followed this important declaration, including the International Covenant on Political and Civil Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

things. This first generation of rights deals with those types of political and civil rights that liberal societies have best been able to provide to their citizens.

The second generation of rights deals with social and economic rights. Examples of second generation rights include, among others, the right to medical care, housing and education. They are largely reflective of 19th and 20th century labour movements and their struggles in western countries. They imply that the state must provide citizens with these rights to ensure that all have the "basics" of life or at least a minimal of social and economic equality.

The third generation of rights has evolved fairly recently and includes rights that are indicated in the Stockholm Declaration of 1972. Essentially, a distinction between individual and group rights is made, beyond the basic political, civil, and socio-economic rights covered by the first two generations of rights. Examples of the third generation rights include gay rights, the right to development, etc.

A very different perception of rights spurs out of a "positive/negative" dichotomy, (Donnelly 2003: 30-31). Positive rights allude to state involvement and provision to its citizens. For example, housing or medical care would be viewed as positive, since some organizational framework has to be in place for people to actually enjoy these rights. Negative rights on the other hand, imply that in order for citizens to relish their rights, there should be no state involvement. For instance, for a religious minority to experience their right to practice their faith openly, the state would merely need to permit the group to practice, without any other engagement.

A very different, but useful, conceptualization of human rights was developed by Cingranelli (1997). The idea is the delineation of human rights policies, practices, and conditions. What is meant is that human rights policies are proclamations of governmental bodies, as opposed to human rights practices being the actual application. It could be, for instance, that governmental policy does not to permit slavery, while forced labour may be permitted within the confines of the state's borders by governmental authorities. Contrarily, societal practices that are largely autonomous from governmental regulation and which may refer to cultural, religious or other customs may not necessarily conform to human rights. For example, female genital mutilation (also known as "female circumcision") has not been ended merely by an authority decree but continues as it has for centuries within families. Thus delineation of policies, practices, and conditions is useful in that it allows for an analytical view of the risks and the dangers threatening the human rights, and allow for the initiation of change towards a desired direction.

There is a great deal of other language used to describe or categorize human rights. Another common approach is the "basic human needs" or "basic needs" approach. What this is, in essence, is a subset of what could be considered second generation rights (social and economic rights). These are the rights that are most basic and linked with human survival and would include things such as access to drinking water, housing, clothing, medical care and food. This subset of rights is so necessary that its absence can result in demise.

Measuring Human Rights

There are three major on projects that attempt to measure the level of human rights application, in measures available to the public. Table Three below highlights some relevant information about each of them. What is noteworthy is that each of these measures evaluated human rights from a first generation of rights perspective. Thus, if human rights are perceived as first generation rights, these measures are the most available and used in social sciences and policy research.

Table Three: Three Major Measurements of Human Rights

	Nature of Measurement Scale	Organization/Website
Freedom House Measures	Two Scales, one for Political Rights and One for Civil Liberties. Scales from 7 (worst practice) to 1 (best practice).	http://www.freedomhouse.org
Terror Scale	One dimensional scale, measuring the extent to which the Scale from 5 (worst practice) to 1 (best practice).	http://www.politicalterrorscale.org
CIRI Measures	Multidimensional scales, including state practice of torture, "disappearances", etc. Scale from 0 (worst practice) to 2 (best practice).	http://ciri.binghamton.edu/

The Freedom House measures of human rights are part of an ongoing project (the Annual Survey of Freedom) that began in the early 1970s. In this project, all the countries and territories of the world are measured in two dimensions, political rights and civil liberties. Political rights are probably what most people would understand as a measure of how democratic a country is and civil liberties are probably what most people would understand as a measure of first generation human rights. The data for both is measured in ranges of "one to seven", with "seven" indicating the worst practices and "one" indicating the best practices.

The Terror Scale is a measure that is an aggregate figure measuring the extent to which states rely on the rule of law or coercion. The data for countries on this scale is assessed with points of "one to five", "five" reflecting worst practices and "one" reflecting best practices. "Five" would then denote a state in which "Terror has expanded to the whole population. The leaders of these societies place no limits on the means or thoroughness with which they pursue personal or ideological goals." The Terror Scale is highly influential and has been used in high-profile publications (see for example, Apodaca and Stohl 1999, Poe and Tate1994).

The CIRI dataset is a bit different, since it does not view human rights as one-dimensional[3]. Instead, the CIRI dataset measures various constituent aspects of human rights. For example, there is a separate measure for torture, "disappearances", and many other dimensions of human rights. The strength of this dataset is that it does not treat human rights as a monolith, but views human rights as a concept that is based upon many different dimensions that may change over time and that may be different from country to another. There have been a number of publications that have been influential and that have been based upon these data, including the Governance Matters Project of the World Bank and other works (see for example, Cingranelli and Richards 1999).

All-in-all, these three major quantitative measures of human rights dominate the academic field of human rights and are influential in policy circles. All three measures have in common the fact that they are largely based upon US State Department reporting. While each of these three measures is largely dependent on this sole document, they are often bolstered by other sources, mostly Amnesty International's reporting on human rights. Unsurprisingly, there are investigations underway to determine whether there is significant bias in the State Department's reporting (see for example, Poe et al 2001).

What is also noteworthy is that these three major quantitative measures of human rights are focused on first generation considerations of human rights. If other perceptions of human rights are to be considered, there are other ways of measuring them. For example, there are ways of measuring social and economic rights and

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[3] The details are discussed in Cingranelli and Richards (2010).

basic needs, such as the UN's HDI (Human Development Index) and other social and economic measures reflecting the health and well-being of a population.

Human Rights Development Assistance

Human rights policies were first inserted into foreign policy considerations with a view to influencing development assistance flows but have evolved a great deal over recent decades. The first country to use the phrase "human rights" and explicitly link them to its foreign policy was the United States under President Jimmy Carter in the 1970s. There are practical, ethical, and cultural reasons for the incorporation of a human rights element in the foreign policy of the US. At the end of the Vietnam War, a war in which the US generally failed to discriminate between combatants and civilians, such a policy would show to the world that the US would take into consideration the rights of the individual, and thus return to a more ethical and sensitive foreign policy. There is also a strong cultural reason for which the US embraced human rights as an aspect of its foreign policy, the fact that rights were a central property of its founding myth (Donnelly 2003: 161). Following this revolution in terms of explicitly linking human rights considerations into foreign policy, other countries followed suit and the evolution of such policies continues (Blanton and Cingranelli 2010). For example, only recently, in December 2011, the US added "gay rights" as a category of rights that it would seriously consider in its foreign policy (Myers and Cooper 2011).

The choice to incorporate human rights into foreign policy seems to be a function of the evolving international establishment of human rights, meaning that countries seem to adopt human rights to one degree or another, according to international norms. Thus, human rights have been integrated into many countries' foreign policy considerations simply because it is part of the standard operational procedure of states. However, the keenness for adopting such policies and the centrality of human rights policies seems to emanate from various other cultural aspects such as self-image, the desired international image, and, as Donnelly (2003: 161-162) points out, the founding myth.

In terms of human rights and its specific application to development assistance allocations, there is a rich history and a rapid development since its first incorporation into a country's foreign policy in 1974. In 1974, the US Congress amended the Foreign Assistance Act to include Section 502B, referred to as the "Humphrey-Cranston Amendment." The wording of this original stipulation meant that assistance could be granted only to those countries that did not exhibit patterns of gross violations of human rights (Apodaca 2005). However, Congress did permit some exceptions. In the event that there were "extraordinary circumstances" the President could submit a detailed explanation of the circumstances, explaining why these circumstances should permit the US to give assistance to a state that did not respect human rights.

Table Four below outlines the funding possibilities that this original legal framework promoted for the relationship between human rights and development assistance. Essentially, this approach has accepted a lot of criticism and that leads to an understanding why this putative vision of the relationship between human rights and development assistance has been largely overshadowed by more modern and sophisticated approaches. A criticism, which largely applies to the case of the US, is that such a law is only applicable to documented assistance, since the US has such a large black budget, the opaque funds could continue to flow, regardless of the human rights record of the recipient state. Another criticism is that this approach does not really lead to improving human rights practices or conditions in the recipient country, since the recipient, according to the legislation, becomes un-fundable (unless the President can illustrate a convincing "extraordinary circumstance"). Finally, the problem is that this approach is highly static, not allowing the funding state to bypass official state channels.

Table Four: Punitive Vision of Human Rights and Development Assistance

		Extraordinary circumstances exist?	
		Yes	**No**
Human Rights Record	**Yes**	Funding Possible	Funding Possible
Acceptable?	**No**	Funding Possible. But the President must submit to Congress a detailed explanation of the "extraordinary circumstances".	No Funding Possible

The Humphrey-Cranston Amendment was a massive boost for the academic study of human rights. Following the implementation of the amendment, there was a massive movement in academic circles to determine whether there was, in fact, a true relationship between allocations of development assistance and human rights. Early researchers looked into a direct relationship, running regressions to determine if allocations were indeed related to human rights (see for example: Carleton and Stohl 1985, Carleton and Stohl 1987, Mitchell and McCormick 1988, Stohl et al 1984, Webster 1996). Cingranelli and Paquarello (1985) took into account the "gatekeeper" stage in the analysis, that is the dichotomous consideration that the potential recipient had adequate human rights practices to enable allocations of funds. Most subsequent studies of the relationship between assistance and human rights also adopted this approach (see, for example, Poe 1992, Poe and Sirirangsi 1994, Poe and Meemek 1995, Blanton 2000, Blanton 2005, Barrett 2004). Indeed, there have been reviews of the literature that has dealt with the issue and bibliographies compiled to illustrate the extent of the research done on this topic (see for example: Blanton and Cingranelli 2010, Webster and Cingranelli 1996).

The modern human rights practices of donors who have embraced human rights tend not to merely have a punitive vision. For example, while many states still give large amounts for country-to-country" or "government-to-government" assistance, states often choose to bypass governments that are deemed to be unacceptable development assistance partners, due to the recipient state's human rights practices. In practice this means that donors may still have substantial assistance programs to states that are gross violators of human rights, the funds however will be allocated to NGOs or other types of institutions that will work on development projects for the society. Donor states do often fund NGOs with a mission to promote human rights, or at least a dimension of it, and thus, this investment may lead to a more positive human rights situation in the recipient state in the long run.

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Written by: Dr. Craig Webster (University of Nicosia)

Edited by: Fotini Paleologou

About the Author

Craig Webster is an Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Nicosia in Cyprus. He studied Government and German Literature at St. Lawrence University in New York State, where he was inducted into Phi Beta Kappa. He later received his MA and Ph.D. in Political Science from Binghamton University in New York State and his MBA from Intercollege in Cyprus. He has published widely on topics related to tourism, public opinion analysis, and comparative foreign policy. His research interests include human rights, the political economy of tourism, public opinion analysis, and comparative foreign policy. He is the Editor-in-Chief of Tourism Today and Co-Editor of The Cyprus Review. He has also served as a consultant to the World Bank on human rights data.