

FINAL TECHNICAL REPORT / RAPPORT TECHNIQUE FINAL OGP IDRC FINAL TECHNICAL REPORT 2018-2019

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**A Feminist Approach to Open Government:
Investing in Gender Equality to Drive Sustainable Development**

Open Government Partnership

**Final Technical Report to
International Development Research Centre**

Objective 2: Global Report

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Executive Summary

OGP was holding an underutilized treasure trove of information and analysis produced by member governments, civil society organizations, the Independent Reporting Mechanism, the Support Unit, and partner organizations. We were also undertaking cutting-edge research on the frontiers and the impacts of [open government](#). None of these disparate materials had been drawn together into a single, cohesive narrative to establish the direction and credibility of OGP or to incentivize collective ambition for a race-to-the-top around key policy areas.

The *OGP Global Report: Democracy Beyond the Ballot Box*, developed and published with support from the International Development Research Centre and other funders, captures both the individual and collective work of a truly unique network of citizen champions. This report—the first of its kind—provides an honest assessment of nearly a decade of open government reforms and strategy. Importantly, the lessons highlighted in the report serve as a critical resource for any reformer or activist seeking to advance the frontiers of open government. The report assesses the successes and shortcomings of OGP action plans so far, with special attention paid to policies in civic space, control of corruption, public services, access to information (including open data), and fiscal transparency. The report examines commitment and implementation of policies in these areas across OGP membership, including at the national level.

The overall objective of the *Global Report* was to centralize essential resources for open government reformers. The report highlights evolving practices, identifies constraints, and suggests solutions that can strengthen implementation in OGP action plans. To that end, the report provides easy-to-use country-by-country reporting, with which government officials and members of civil society can identify areas for improvement of open government policies and can identify other countries and organizations from whom they can learn. Additionally, OGP, its donors, and researchers are able to use digital tools to track cross-country progress and identify needs and potential leaders. This also can serve a fundamental role in monitoring and addressing progress and roadblocks as well as holding the partnership publicly accountable for results.

This report covers the second objective of the program proposal, the Global Report (originally named the State of Open Government). The first and third objectives will be covered in a separate report from Results for Development.



Research Problem

The promise of democracy is often defined by the ballot box, where citizens determine who will represent their interests in government. That promise, however, too often fails to translate to the reality of people's daily lives. In far too many countries, citizens perceive their elected governments to be disconnected and unresponsive to their needs, or corrupt and captured by special interests.

In this context, authoritarianism is on the rise again. The current wave is different—it is more gradual and less direct than in past eras. Today, challenges to democracy come less frequently from vote theft or military coups; they come from persistent threats to activists and journalists, the media, and the rule of law.

The threats to democracy are coming from outside of the electoral process and our response must be found there too. Both the problem and the solution lie “beyond the ballot box.” This is the unique mission of the Open Government Partnership (OGP) – a simple, yet strategic way for civil society and reformers in governments to join forces, commit to reforms to open up government, and together ensure that our public institutions work for citizens, and not for themselves.

In the eight years since OGP's founding, 79 countries and a growing number of local governments—representing more than two billion people—along with thousands of civil society organizations have joined the Partnership. Collectively, they have made more than 3,800 reform commitments in more than 100 biennial action plans.

But questions remain: Are these commitments impactful? Do they target our society's most pressing challenges? Are they resulting in a more collaborative, accountable way of governing? And, importantly, are they helping to protect democracy between elections?

To address these questions, OGP released its first comprehensive assessment of the state of open government. The OGP Global Report provides a thorough review of progress made by OGP member countries in the first eight years of the partnership. Specifically, this publication synthesizes OGP's data and findings with relevant third-party data into one flagship campaign and suite of products. Objectives included:

- **Visibility:** Build global awareness of OGP values and the partnership's role, as well as country performance, especially to high-level actors and politicians;
- **Close the gaps:** Create compelling incentives to close the ambition and implementation gaps at the national level;
- **Comparability:** Provide a means by which OGP may begin to benchmark its impact in key policy areas and by which countries may compare themselves with one another and compare Action Plans over time;
- **Collective action:** Cultivate a sense of shared ownership and accountability for cross-cutting reforms in priority areas for all OGP countries;



- **Context and achievement:** Demonstrate and highlight many of the most ambitious and high-impact commitments as well as members who are leaders in specific areas and those who have room for improvement.
- **Practical tools:** Products will function as direct tools to inform and frame discussion for OGP Support Unit teams and partners working at the global, thematic, and country levels.

In determining its findings, the report examines a vast amount of the world's governance data, across multiple dimensions of democracy and openness, specifically looking at three areas of progress and next steps:

1. **Collective results:** Focuses on OGP countries' progress as a collective based on aggregate indicators of openness. The report reviews evidence on the impact of open government to determine whether openness leads to better socio-economic outcomes.
2. **Priority policy areas:** The report takes deep dives into selected themes or dimensions of open government. For this first global report, the selected themes are:
 - a. **Civic space**, which constitutes a vital priority for OGP countries amid the backsliding noted above;
 - b. **Anti-corruption**, where open contracting and beneficial ownership transparency are emerging areas in which OGP countries can advance from innovation to norms (as has been the case regarding access to information, asset disclosure, and open budgeting);
 - c. **Public service delivery**, especially education, water and sanitation, and health, which can deliver tangible impact in the lives of citizens, but also constitute emerging areas to continue to be nurtured and deepened.
3. **Member pages:** Provide stories of individual member countries' progress across their OGP action plans and against key indicators of openness, as measured by third-party indicators. The report summarizes key aspects of OGP member performance. Many OGP members do not know how they are performing relative to their peers in OGP and more broadly on implementing open government policies. The report uses IRM findings and credible third-party datasets to assess whether OGP members are contributing to more open government in selected policy dimensions. In addition to the data on civic space, anti-corruption, and open data related to open service delivery, the member pages include two additional policy dimensions:
 - a. **Open policy-making**, which includes data on general consultations and lawmaking as well as open rules and regulations;
 - b. **Fiscal openness**, which includes transparency of budget and fiscal information, participation in budget and fiscal policy, and oversight of budget and fiscal policies.

Together, the main sections of the report enable two key user pathways:



1. **Inspiring reformers:** The member pages help local reformers identify open government achievements and challenges in their jurisdiction. After identifying areas for growth, reformers can then leverage the policy area sections, which provide examples of innovations from other countries—as well as emerging standards and maturity models—to develop ambitious commitments in key areas of open government.
2. **Identifying key actors and reforms:** Conversely, the policy area sections help issue-specific organizations identify the OGP entities that are playing a leadership role in their field, as well as those that would benefit from new reforms. From there, the Member Pages enable these users to find specific actions that they can support or advocate for.



Progress Towards Milestones

The project was broken into four phases:

1. **Conceptual work and stakeholder engagement:** Research team reached out to stakeholders in thematic areas and working across OGP to get their advice on where and how to focus our research.
2. **Production:** The team drafted the content for the final report and products to be used by the teams.
3. **Publication and quality control:** Specific products were developed for colleagues in partner organizations and the Support Unit.
4. **Outreach and uptake activities:** The report was launched at the Ottawa Summit and promoted at international meetings of reformers and national launch events in OGP countries.

The first phase was completed in early 2019 and drafting finished in February. These activities are described in the two interim technical reports. In April 2019 the research team had a few additional conversations, following up after the consultation phase, with a few OGP members about their member pages and the report globally. These included the governments of Spain, Scotland, Finland, Germany, and Buenos Aires.

The production phase continued through the end of May, including:

- Working with a substantive editor for consistency in tone and messaging and a copy-editor to review the text;
- Translating the text into Spanish and French;
- Working with graphic designers to lay out the narrative sections as well as the individual member pages;
- Working closely with web designers to finalize the web tools;
- Sending the combined report as well as individual sections to print.

The Global Report was published in two volumes:

- “Collective Results”: OGP countries’ progress as a collective is examined based on aggregate indicators of openness and priority policy areas.
- “Member Pages”: stories of individual OGP member’s progress across their OGP action plans and against key indicators of openness, as measured by third-party indicators.
- Additionally, copies of the Executive Summary, specific policy area sections, and individual member pages were printed to be distributed at side meetings and OGP Summit sessions.



Outreach and uptake activities began in the lead-up to the OGP Global Summit in Ottawa at the end of May 2019. The team presented at the OGP Steering Committee meeting on May 9th to provide members with a sneak peak of some of the findings of the report.

Chief of Research Joseph Foti was part of a major plenary panel at the OGP Academy on May 27th in partnership with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He shared some insights from the report with the academics attending the event and distributed some copies of the report to attendees. It was an opportunity for the team to engage with some attendees on topics that were included in the report. One hundred forty-six people from thirty OGP countries and ten non-OGP countries registered for the event.

The team participated in a session at Point of Contact Day on May 28th. This was a side meeting during the week of the OGP Global Summit, where the team spoke with government representatives and showed them how to access the report findings, data, and visualization tools. The team also heard feedback about the usability of the report. We met with fifteen governments at that gathering, including Colombia, Jalisco, Denmark, Tunisia, North Macedonia, Austin, Canada, Mongolia, and Nigeria.

The Global Report was officially launched at the OGP Summit in Ottawa on May 31st. The team participated in two sessions: The first was a morning plenary session where Joseph Foti discussed the shifting geopolitics of democracies and shared how open government reforms are having an impact. The second session was an afternoon workshop where the team led small group discussions on how to use the report. Specifically, participants learned about global findings and discussed trends in the areas of civic space, anti-corruption, and public services. Three guest speakers who had worked on the data used in the report joined the conversations in small groups: Alisha Evangelides from the World Justice Project, Jamison Crawell from Open Data Watch, and Tim Davies, who spoke about the Open Data Barometer.

On June 27-28, Joseph Foti attended and presented at the *6th Global Conference on Transparency Research* in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. This was an opportunity to create awareness of the report and to share some interesting findings with the international community.

Writing for the subsequent modules of the greater Global Report project started at the end of May and has continued through the end of August. The first of these examines Access to Justice. There is growing momentum to link justice with open government at the international and national levels. The estimated publication date for this module is September or October 2019. Our consultant leading on the writing, Maha Jweied, also attended the OGP Global Summit and met with important stakeholders. The team will continue to work on this throughout the summer.

The second covers Extractives. The goal is to map out whether OGP countries are using OGP to accelerate or enhance their Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI) status. By synthesizing OGP and EITI information, EITI board members, OGP staff, advocates, and country Points of Contact can more precisely identify where investment of time, money, and OGP Action Plans can get higher-impact results. The team is working with the EITI Secretariat on the concept and use cases. Publication is expected in September or October 2019.



Synthesis of Research Results and Development Outcomes

Research results

The report reviews evidence of the impact of open government to determine whether openness leads to better socio-economic outcomes. Research focused on the economic impact of transparency indicates steady progress. There is evidence that improved transparency in relevant policies is strongly correlated with better economic results. This includes higher foreign direct investment, greater volume of bilateral trade, and improved credit ratings. Open data helped to generate more than €52 billion for the European Union in 2018. Additionally, nearly 75,000 jobs are estimated to have been created as a result of the re-use of open data in 2016. A study of G20 countries found that the global economic value-add of open data is US\$2.6 trillion.

Moreover, research conducted as part of this report on the long-term impact of free association, free and independent media, and government engagement with citizens—referred to as “diagonal accountability”—finds that they are also associated with improved socio-economic outcomes, including infant mortality, life expectancy, years of education, economic growth (when elections are also strong), and less inequality.

Notably, the evidence shows that openness works best when it is part of a broader ecosystem of accountability and government capacity, and even better when there are stronger elections and checks-and-balances. Democratic institutions are mutually reinforcing. Where electoral systems are stronger, civil society and a free press are more effective at informing voters. In turn, voters are more likely to increase pressure on elected officials for results. Additionally, openness has a stronger effect in middle- and higher-income countries and when the civil service is competent and impartial.

The report also identifies individual and shared areas for improvement. OGP countries and their partners are well positioned to address the challenges ahead. The report’s analysis of progress and challenges across OGP countries provides an opportunity to expand the frontiers of open government. Future progress can best be realized through improved country-level actions, the advancement of key policy areas, and the building of collective, innovative partnerships both within countries and across borders. These are the actions that can be taken now to ensure that citizen voices are not limited to election day and that democracy does indeed fulfill its promise.

OGP Works

The most profound transformations that openness brings to governments are often measured in decades, rather than months or years. Nonetheless, we are able to look at early results using the data assembled for this report. Reflecting a database of dozens of indicators from third-party sources across five policy dimensions (civic space, anti-corruption initiatives, open policymaking, access to information, and fiscal openness), this report compared the forty-two countries that have been in OGP for more than five years to non-OGP countries. In each of the five policy domains and all twelve subdomains, OGP countries earned higher scores than non-OGP countries.

In addition, a comparison of eligibility requirements of countries that have been in OGP for more than five years with non-OGP countries shows:



- OGP countries started and finished with high scores in the four eligibility areas necessary to join the partnership: fiscal openness, access to information, asset disclosure, and civic participation.
- There was global convergence around passing access-to-information laws and asset disclosure.
- There was global divergence around open budget requirements. While almost all OGP countries earned perfect scores in this area between 2017 and 2018, many other countries around the world regressed.
- A troubling parallel downturn in civil liberties exists among both OGP and non-OGP countries. As a percentage change, OGP countries have declined less in relative terms than the non-OGP average and they may be “outperforming a bear market” for openness. However, the backsliding still represents a fundamental threat to open government, which OGP countries must proactively tackle through their Action Plans.



Methodology and Process of Developing the Report

Comparison without ranking

OGP does not rank its participants, and this project was not intended to create a new index. Nonetheless, the Articles of Governance and the Steering Committee call for easy comparison across time and countries. The State of Open Government Initiative sought to enable comparisons to enable cross-country learning without creating another index in an already crowded space.

Benchmarking for collective ambition

There are many governance research data sources, each with its own focus, but efforts to turn that data into credible actions are often uneven or continue idiosyncratically depending on each data producer's networks, political opportunities, and funding. At the same time, OGP countries often make public declarations of priorities, but there has not been adequate follow-up as yet. Beginning in 2016 with OGP's Strategic Refresh and the Paris Declaration on Open Government, there has been significant support for OGP to act more proactively as a platform for reformers to push forward new norms of open government in priority areas. These include:

- Elite corruption
- Civic space
- Public service delivery
- Public participation in policymaking
- Public participation and accountability in service delivery

Yet OGP action plans do not always address challenges and gaps in the above-mentioned policy areas or other policy areas unique to their domestic context where there is a strong need for open government reforms. Many retain strong strains of e-government (rather than open government), and, to take a specific example, many anti-corruption efforts focus on petty corruption rather than grand corruption or wholesale theft of state resources.

OGP remains a voluntary initiative and not a standard-setting organization, meaning that no one can “force” a reform into an Action Plan. Nonetheless, a comparison of how OGP countries are doing on these collectively identified issues provides a baseline comparison and perhaps something of a “lighthouse” or “nudge” effect to move OGP countries from innovations to norms and from norms to implemented reforms.

Selecting the dimensions of open government

While it is tempting to chase after the dozens of important issues that rise up the OGP agenda, in order to maximize OGP's impact, the Global Report needed to feature a core set of themes. It is critical to note that three initial themes (and their attendant subthemes) will be available in the print version of the report, but that other thematic “modules” will be released on a rolling basis following the initial launch.



In an effort to have a fair and transparent method for arriving at the selected dimensions featured in the report, the OGP Global Report team applied four criteria:

1. **Recurring:** The topics are referenced in core, publicly-endorsed OGP documents, including the Paris Declaration, Eligibility Requirements and Values Check, Open Government Declaration, and OGP Strategy.
2. **Room for impact:** OGP can clearly make a difference as a platform or accelerant.
3. **Data availability:** There is reliable, useful, and useable third-party data available for OGP countries.
4. **Universal relevance:** The topic is relevant across the diverse membership of OGP.

The selected dimensions underwent review by OGP staff, funders, and OGP senior management in 2018 before their inclusion in this report. They have three important characteristics:

1. **Informative purpose:** In the spirit of OGP, the selected dimensions are not meant to prescribe action or communicate that entities are required to work in these areas.
2. **Subject to change:** The selected dimensions could change in the next edition of the report due to changes in data availability or shifting priorities.
3. **Subset of OGP reforms:** By design, the dimensions are not exhaustive or representative of the diverse set of reforms included in OGP action plans.

It was through his process that the three policy areas featured in the report were selected.

Public and expert consultations

In September 2018, the OGP Global Report team held 12 public consultations on each of the sub-dimensions featured in the report. The consultations were promoted through social media, OGP email lists, and the OGP website. Invitations were also sent directly to government points of contact for OGP. As part of an “open door” policy, the team also spoke with civil society experts, government officials, donors, the OGP steering committee, and anyone who requested a meeting. In all, more than one hundred people from civil society and government, working at both the local and national levels around the world, contributed comments. The feedback from the consultations was published on the Global Report page of the OGP website.

Review process

In addition to OGP staff members, external partners reviewed the report before its publication. In January 2019, government points of contact received a draft of their member page for commenting and fact-checking. In February 2019, several issue experts provided comments and feedback on the Priority Areas for Reform section. These experts are listed in the Acknowledgements section of the report. In March 2019, the draft report was circulated among the members of the Governance & Leadership Sub-Committee of the OGP Steering Committee.

About the Data in the Report



This report features both OGP data, collected by OGP’s Independent Reporting Mechanism (IRM), and data published by respected partner organizations. All data was drawn from pre-existing, publicly available sources. While the data was adapted for the purposes of this publication, OGP did not carry out any original data collection to produce this report. For more information about how the IRM conducts its reporting, see “Annex A: About the Independent Reporting Mechanism” in the first volume of the Global Report.

Data selection process

The OGP Global Report team created a census of all potential third-party data sources for each of the sub-dimensions featured in the report. Data advisors provided initial guidance during this process. These advisors are listed in the Acknowledgements section of the report.

Data priorities

The OGP Global Report team used a list of defined criteria to select the datasets that are featured in the report. While it was not possible to use only datasets that met all of the criteria, the team selected datasets that met as many of the following priorities as possible:

1. **Relevance:** Accurately describes performance in the policy area or at least serves as an effective proxy;
2. **Coverage:** Covers most OGP countries, or at least covers a representative subset of UN-recognized countries;
3. **Recency:** Published in 2018 and data was collected as close to then as possible;
4. **Reliability:** Uses a clear method, which includes surveys, expert coders, or a review of primary sources; codings are justified or otherwise explained;
5. **Transparency:** Links to primary source documents and underlying data that explain the top-level scores;
6. **Future editions:** Strong signals that data will be updated in the future;
7. **Actionability:** Is easily interpretable and has concrete policy implications.

About the Member Pages

The member pages provide readers with a comparative snapshot of achievements, progress, and areas for improvement for all OGP members. The pages display data from OGP’s Independent Reporting Mechanism as well as from respected partner organizations. There are four main sections for each member page, each described in the sections that follow:

1. Key policy areas and highlights
2. OGP process information
3. Action Plan performance
4. Selected dimensions of open government

Additional details regarding the specific data sources and indicators used to put together the member pages is located in the Methods section in [Volume II of the Global Report](#).



Visualization tools

The team developed several major visualization tools which are mainstreamed into the OGP website.

For each OGP member:

- **Key commitment performance data:** Rates of completion, percent of starred and exemplary commitments; a breakdown of binding constraints for improving commitments is included showing specificity, relevance to open government, potential impact, and completion.
- **Key process data:** Levels of public participation, existence of multi-stakeholder processes, and openness of OGP processes.
- **Selected dimensions of open government:** A match between commitment performance in OGP Action Plans and third-party indicators to identify areas of strength and potential improvement.

For reformers looking to identify which countries might be strong candidates for leadership, investment, or growth, for ten policy areas, there is a visualization tool that allows users to sort between countries with high levels of achievement, those with strong OGP commitments but significant need for work, and those which might consider commitments in future OGP action plans.



Project Outputs

The first edition of the Global Report was published in two volumes on May 31, 2019. The first volume includes a letter from the CEO, Sanjay Pradhan, an executive summary, collective results analysis, and policy area analysis. The second volume contains all the member pages along with a detailed methods section on the use of data in the report. Additional thematic modules are currently being developed and will be published as subsequent stand-alone sections. The Report is not just a “big book,” but is also entirely modular in both print and digital formats. It will be mainstreamed into OGP’s work in 2019 and 2020. Products can be broken into the following categories:

1. **Print products.** OGP published the work with a modular approach, with a single executive summary book, policy area modules, and individual member pages. This makes the work customizable for each audience; easier to print and share; and allows for more efficient and directed communication.
2. **Digital assets.** Digital assets target a variety of audiences. On the OGP website there is a landing page for the overall Global Report campaign as well as the ability to click through to view findings within the specific sections of the report, such as collective results and policy areas. Additionally, the following pages have been updated to reflect findings, case studies, and specific data resulting from the report:
 - a. **Member page refresh.** OGP’s member pages have been updated with simplified data around co-creation, action plan performance, and collective ambition. The visualizations are derived from structured data; they are interactive and machine readable. [Liberia’s member page](#) is a great example.
 - b. **Policy areas page update.** OGP’s policy area pages will contain new information and targeted resources as featured in the Global Report. The [page for Open Contracting](#) categorizes members by OGP performance considerations which can be sorted by type of consideration and region.
 - c. **Stories.** Content from the report on major innovations in policy areas are also being published and shared. La Libertad, a local member of OGP in Peru, has a great story about [the importance of open data in water planning](#).
3. **Data assets.**
 - a. **Database.** As usual, all OGP databases are freely open to the public for analysis. The Global Report database combines OGP databases with external data produced by organizations working on open government. It includes summary statistics at the national level, OGP performance in key policy areas, OGP process details, and related OGP commitments.
 - b. **Visualization tools.** OGP worked with developers to create visualization tools to represent data on member and policy pages that would be easy to understand and provide direct links to source data. The visualizations are prominently displayed on all member pages.



The digital assets produced as part of this project will continue to be updated regularly. This includes the data and visualizations available as part of the [policy area pages](#) and [member pages](#) on the OGP website. As required by IDRC's Open Access Policy, all digital project outputs are available online, free of charge at the point of use, and licensed by the creative commons attribution license. Additionally, all [underlying data](#) from the project is accessible to all users (advanced and basic) and is machine readable.



Problems and challenges

Data Gaps

The OGP Global Report team identified existing data gaps for several of the selected dimensions of open government. Although proxies were used to address them in the report, the gaps are listed below, both to acknowledge the limitations of the existing data and to signal to partners and funders that datasets in these policy areas would enable more accurate assessments of real-world performance:

1. **Beneficial ownership:** The Financial Secrecy Index used in this report is an excellent resource for assessing progress on beneficial ownership transparency reforms, but there is limited coverage of OGP countries. Other global datasets that track beneficial ownership transparency are not as rigorous or do not set as high a standard for openness in this field.
2. **Open policymaking:** Although open policymaking is one of the five dimensions of open government selected for this report, there is a lack of global data on legislative aspects of this topic, particularly as it relates to lobbying, ethics, and participation in lawmaking. Although various regional datasets exist, they have not yet reached scale. This report uses datasets that measure the quality of general consultations as proxies.
3. **Right to information (RTI):** The Right to Information Rating is an excellent source of information on the quality of legal RTI regimes. However, there is a lack of global data on the functioning of right to information regimes, including metadata such as the number of requests by agency, appeals, and reasons for refusal. This report uses expert survey data as a proxy for the operation of RTI systems.
4. **Public services:** There is a general lack of systematized data on the actual governance of public services, including levels of public participation in governance mechanisms. For this reason, this report focuses only on open data related to public services, which cannot serve as a proxy for the quality of governance.
5. **Gender disaggregation:** With a few notable exceptions (V-Dem, GLAAS, and ODIN, see below), very little of the data provides gender-specific indicators, gender-disaggregated averages or, where appropriate, meta-data on the collection of gender-disaggregated statistics. This limits the ability to detect gender differentiations and effects of open government reforms.

Time Lag

The data series that fed into the original report, published in May 2019, is limited in time. This is because the world of governance data is constantly evolving. The IRM, in addition, releases dozens of reports annually. As a consequence, the original publication only covers data released



up to December 31, 2018. This date was chosen as it was the final date for all new Action Plans in 2018. Digital versions of this report and member pages will be available online and will continue to be updated, ideally, twice annually.



Administrative Reflections and Recommendations

The current IDRC project only funds the Global Report for one year; however, each report requires an eighteen-month process. OGP would encourage IDRC to support an expanded budget to support a second iteration that is to be delivered in 2021.

Conclusion

This OGP's final report on this grant from the IDRC. The project was a clear success as the high quality of the Global Report attests. Moving forward, we will continue to promote the Report as an essential tool for OGP members to assess their progress and take actions to ensure that citizen voices are not limited to election day and that democracy does indeed fulfill its promise. We are grateful to the International Development Research Centre for the financial support that made this transformative research possible.

