



Report

How to finance universal access to people-centred justice: scaling up local innovation to leave no-one behind

Clare Manuel and Marcus Manuel

September 2023



Taking people-centred justice to scale: investing in what works to deliver SDG 16.3 in lower-income countries



CHARLES STEWART
MOTT FOUNDATION®

Readers are encouraged to reproduce material for their own publications, as long as they are not being sold commercially. ODI requests due acknowledgement and a copy of the publication. For online use, we ask readers to link to the original resource on the ODI website. The views presented in this paper are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of ODI or our partners.

This work is licensed under CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

How to cite: Manuel, C. and Manuel, M. (2023) How to finance access to people-centred justice: leaving no-one behind. ODI Report. London: ODI (<https://odi.org/en/about/our-work/taking-people-centred-justice-to-scale-investing-in-what-works-to-deliver-sdg-163-in-lower-income-countries/>).

Acknowledgements

The authors thank the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation for funding this paper.

The authors are very grateful to peer reviewers Dr Pilar Domingo, Swati Mehta, Dr Alejandro Ponce and David Steven for their comments and insights, which have enriched the paper, alongside quality assurance from Dr Kathryn Nwajiaku-Dahou, copyediting from Jane Lanigan (editors4change Ltd) and support from Maegan Rodricks and Elaine Antwi.

About this publication

This is the seventh paper in the series ‘Taking people-centred justice to scale: investing in what works to deliver SDG 16.3 in lower-income countries’ (<https://odi.org/en/about/our-work/taking-people-centred-justice-to-scale-investing-in-what-works-to-deliver-sdg-163-in-lower-income-countries/>). The research project focuses on practical, cost-effective and realistic ways to deliver sustainable justice services at scale and offers lessons both for lower-income countries and donor programming. The project runs until September 2023.

About the authors

Marcus and Clare Manuel are both ODI Senior Research Associates. Clare Manuel is a lawyer and was previously a founding director of The Law & Development Partnership and member of the UK Government’s Legal Service. She is now founding director of a digital dispute resolution start-up in the UK and runs a free legal advice clinic in north London. Marcus Manuel is an economist and was previously a regional director for the United Kingdom’s Department for International Development (DfID) and a deputy director at the UK’s Treasury.

Contents

Acknowledgements / i

Contents / iii

Acronyms / iv

Executive summary / 1

1 Introduction / 5

1.1 Background / 5

1.2.1 Unit costs of front-line justice services in lower-income countries and level of justice service coverage / 5

1.2.2 Domestic financing for justice / 6

1.2.3 Aid to justice / 6

1.3 Report overview / 6

2 Scaling up people-centred justice services / 8

2.1 Introduction / 8

2.2 The emerging vision of people-centred justice / 8

2.2.1 'Frugal innovation' / 9

2.3 The goal of universal coverage – scaling up / 9

2.3.1 Justice as a service / 9

2.4 Emerging multilateral justice coordination architecture / 10

2.5 Key priorities for global action: development of people-centred services, finance and data / 10

3 'Basic' and 'front-line' services / 12

3.1 Introduction / 12

3.2 'Basic', people-centred justice services / 12

3.3 Front-line people-centred justice services / 13

3.3.1 Quality and impact of services / 14

3.4 Economies of scale / 15

3.5 More examples of cost-effective services / 16

3.6 Conclusion / 16

4 People-centred justice gaps and financing sources / 17

4.1 Introduction / 17

4.2 The finance gap for a basic, people-centred justice service / 17

4.3 The front-line justice service gap: level of justice service coverage / 19

4.4 The people-centred justice service and finance gap / 22

4.5 Options for addressing the people-centred justice finance gap in lower-income countries and for funding cost-effective front-line services / 23

- 4.5.1 Domestic revenues / 23
- 4.5.2 Overseas development assistance / 24
- 4.5.3 Private sector investment / 24
- 4.5.4 User-pays models / 25
- 4.6 Conclusion / 25

5 Data / 27

- 5.1 Introduction / 26
- 5.2 (1) Justice needs surveys / 26
- 5.3 (2) Level of justice service coverage – front-line services / 27
- 5.4 (3) Unit costs and cost-effectiveness / 27
- 5.5 (4) Cost-benefit analysis / 28
- 5.6 (5) Quality of services / 28
- 5.7 Conclusion / 29

6 Conclusion and recommendations / 30

- 6.1 Conclusion / 30
- 6.2 Recommendations for the Justice Action Coalition and other interested countries to take forward financing for people-centred justice / 30
 - 6.2.1 Recommendations on justice aid / 30
 - 6.2.2 Recommendations on domestic financing of people-centred justice / 31
 - 6.2.3 Recommendations on people-centred justice data / 31

References / 32

Display items

Boxes

Box 1 Relationship between number of people with an unmet justice need and number of unmet justice service needs / 21

Tables

Table 1 Percentage coverage of major providers of paralegal support relative to percentage of unsentenced detainees / 15

Figures

Figure ES1 Relative costs of a universal basic, people-centred justice system in lower-income countries / 1

Figure ES2 The front-line justice service gap: percentage of needs for legal advice, assistance and informal dispute resolution services for communities and individuals being met / 2

Figure 1 Composition and relative costs of the elements of a basic, people-centred justice service in lower-income countries / 13

Figure 2 Malawi village mediators supported by Paralegal Advisory Service Institute – unit costs by district (2017–2022) / 15

Figure 3 Per person costs of a ‘basic’ justice system in lower-income countries, compared with the costs of basic (‘primary’) education and health / 17

Figure 4 Lower-income countries are spending more proportionately on justice than OECD countries / 18

Figure 5 The finance gap for basic, people-centred justice services in lower-income countries / 19

Figure 6 The front-line justice service gap: percentage of needs for legal advice, assistance and informal dispute resolution services for communities and individuals being met / 21

Figure 7 The front-line justice service gap: percentage of unsentenced detainees given legal advice and assistance each month / 22

Acronyms/Glossary

ADR	alternative dispute resolution
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EU	European Union
HiIL	Hague Institute for Innovation of Law
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LIC	low-income country
LMIC	lower middle-income country
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OECD DAC	OECD Development Assistance Committee
PASI	Paralegal Advisory Service Institute (Malawi)
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
UMIC	upper middle-income country
UNDP	UN Development Programme
USAID	US Agency for International Development
WHO	World Health Organization
WJP	World Justice Project

Executive summary

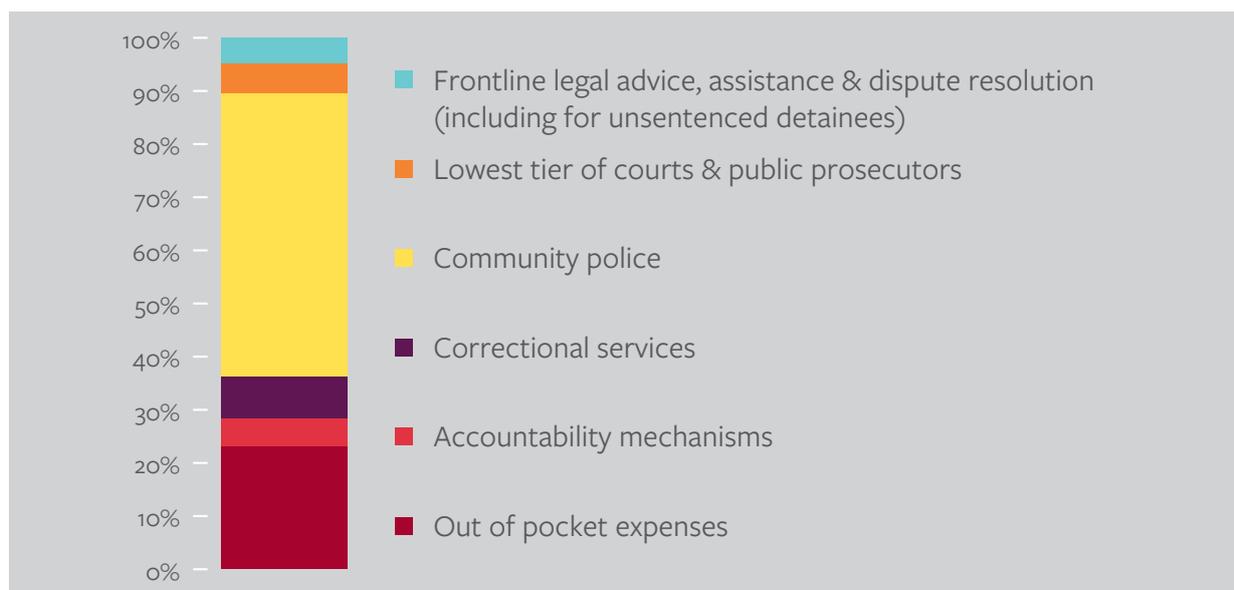
This report brings together the findings of ODI’s work on ‘taking people-centred justice to scale: investing in what works to deliver Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 16.3 in lower-income countries’. Research findings have been published in a series of policy briefs covering four key issues for financing universal access to people-centred justice in lower-income countries: (1) the unit costs of front-line people-centred justice services; (2) the level of coverage of front-line people-centred justice services; (3) domestic financing for justice; and (4) aid to justice.

There is a global justice gap. 1.5 billion people are unable to solve their justice problems. This can be addressed. Universal access to basic, people-centred

justice services is affordable, costing \$34 per person in lower-income countries, compared to \$41 for education and \$76 for health. The cost of giving people access to front-line legal advice, assistance and informal dispute resolution services is even cheaper: just \$1.7 per person.

ODI research reveals 25 examples in 12 lower-income countries of innovative, locally developed approaches that are providing cost-effective front-line legal advice, assistance and informal dispute resolution services. The services (in Bangladesh, Democratic Republic of Congo, Haiti, Kenya, Malawi, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Solomon Islands, Somalia, South Sudan, Tajikistan and Uganda) are provided by both government and civil society.

Figure ES1 Relative costs of a universal basic, people-centred justice system in lower-income countries



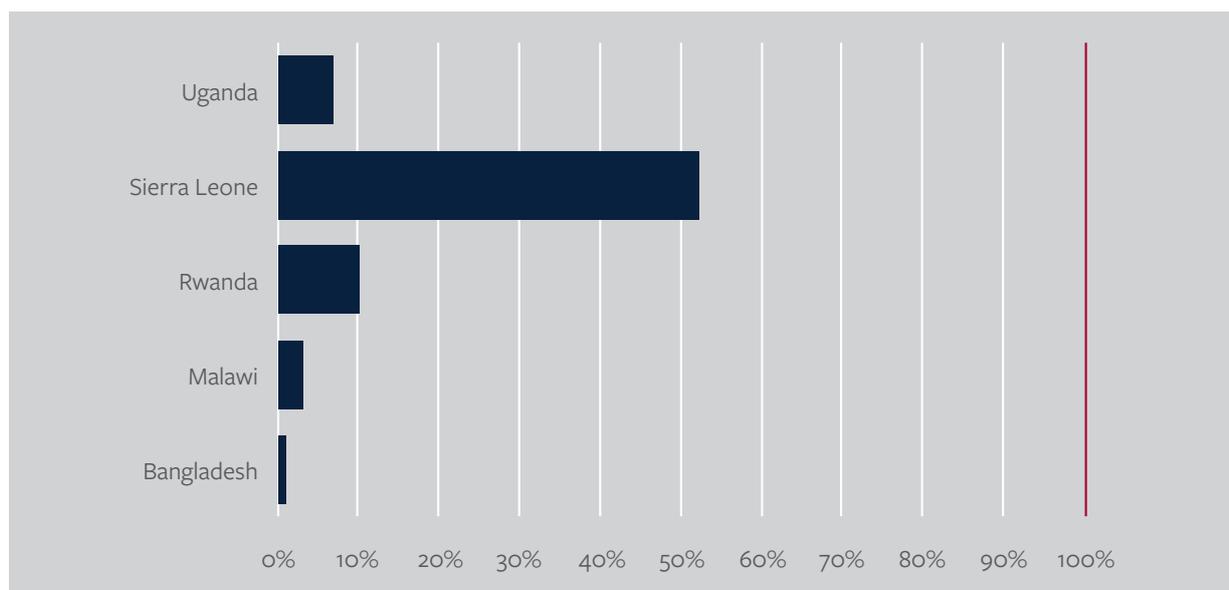
Source: ODI analysis, 2023

Local, ‘frugal’, innovative approaches are key to cost-effectiveness. Justice service organisations’ frugal innovative approaches mean they can achieve unit costs at or below ODI’s ‘affordable benchmarks’ of \$20 per case in low-income countries and \$50 in lower middle-income countries. Affordable unit costs are achieved by local innovation: approaches that begin with people and their needs, are context-specific, and are developed on a low-cost basis from the start. Examples include community-based paralegals, mobile legal aid clinics, village courts, village mediation, alternative dispute resolution centres and telephone call-in centres. Scaling up services reduces unit costs.

Universal access to front-line services would have a transformational impact in delivering **SDG 16.3 target of universal access to justice**. Providing legal advice, assistance and informal dispute resolution services to communities and individuals, as well as targeted assistance to unsentenced detainees, relates directly to key SDG 16.3 indicators. Indicator 16.3.2 *is unsentenced detainees as a proportion of overall prison population and 16.3.3 is proportion of the population who have experienced a dispute in the past two years and who accessed a formal or informal dispute resolution mechanism, by type of mechanism*.

These cost-effective approaches urgently need to be scaled up. In only one country are they meeting more than 10% of the need for such services (see Figure ES2). Coverage in other service sectors – education and health – is at least 50% and often over 90%.

Figure ES2 The front-line justice service gap: percentage of needs for legal advice, assistance and informal dispute resolution services for communities and individuals being met



Source: ODI analysis, 2023

Lower-income countries already attach high priority to financing justice, allocating it on average 7% of domestic revenue, compared with a 4% average in Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries. But even if lower-income countries maximise their taxation efforts, they would still not be able to afford the costs of a basic justice service. Low-income countries cannot afford even half the costs. Lower-income countries are also unlikely to be able to sustain current high levels of allocations to justice in the longer term.

Where funding is made available, scaling up is possible, with coverage in Sierra Leone reaching 52%. And with scale comes impact. Malawi's Paralegal Advisory Service Institute's low-cost and efficient model reaches 96% of unsentenced detainees every month, resulting in Malawi consistently achieving unsentenced detention rates of below 20%, well under the African average of 50%, and even below the OECD average of 24%.

The total amount of aid to justice is declining, in the last 10 years falling from 2.9% to just 1.4% of all aid. Only 20% of justice aid goes to low-income countries. Meeting the financing gap for front-line justice services in lower-income countries would require a shift in the priorities of justice donors within their justice sector spending – in terms of what they fund (more emphasis on front-line services) and where they fund (more aid targeted on lower-income countries).

A shift in justice aid is key to providing universal access to front-line legal advice, assistance and informal dispute resolution service in lower-income countries. There may be some, limited, scope for lower-income

countries to target more of their justice spending on front-line services. Significant funding from other sources is unlikely to materialise in the short to medium term.

At ODI's benchmark unit costs, it would cost \$249 million per year to bridge the front-line justice service gap in all low-income countries. This is 8% of total justice aid spending and would provide access to front-line legal advice, assistance and informal dispute resolution services to communities and individuals, as well as legal advice and assistance to all unsentenced detainees. The costs of measuring the impact in all low-income countries would be \$1 million a year – 0.03% of total justice aid.

Scaling up access to people-centred justice rests on the notion that providing access to justice to address people's everyday justice problems should be regarded as a service, like health or education. There are lessons to be learnt from other service sectors that have scaled up service delivery in lower-income countries. In the light of these, ODI's recommendations for the newly formed Justice Action Coalition (a new justice sector global coordination architecture) and other interested countries are as follows.

Recommendations on justice aid:

- Donor member countries of the Justice Action Coalition agree to target 10% of their current justice aid to front-line justice services in lower-income countries where services achieve or have the potential to achieve benchmark unit costs. Within this total, 0.1% of justice aid should be ringfenced to assess need (through justice/legal needs surveys) and measure the impact of interventions in all lower-income countries.

- Donor member countries develop appropriate funding mechanisms for coordinated, results-based funding for scaled up, front-line people-centred justice services in lower-income countries (potentially initially on a pilot basis in two or three lower-income countries).
- Donor member countries agree to recommend that the OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) changes its definitions and codes to incorporate reporting on aid to front-line justice services (as health and education have done in relation to ‘primary’ services).

Recommendations on domestic financing of people-centred justice:

- Member countries of the Justice Action Coalition agree to undertake public expenditure reviews of the justice sector to assess level of expenditure on front-line people-centred justice, and the scope to reallocate resources to front-line services.
- Member countries develop and publish disaggregated justice budgets, identifying the proportion spent on basic justice and front-line services.

Recommendations on people-centred justice data:

- Justice Action Coalition member countries and partners agree to provide open data on the cost-effectiveness of front-line justice services.
- The Justice Action Coalition works with the Copenhagen Consensus Centre¹ and BRAC University to develop methodological guidelines on cost-benefit analysis of people-centred justice services in lower-income countries.
- Member countries and partners agree to submit impact evaluations of justice interventions to the global Justice Data Observatory.²

1 See: Copenhagen Consensus Centre homepage (<https://copenhagenconsensus.com/>).

2 See: Justice Data Observatory program at the American Bar Foundation (www.americanbarfoundation.org/program/justice-data-observatory/).

1 Introduction

1.1 Background

This report brings together the findings of ODI's work on 'taking people-centred justice to scale: investing in what works to deliver SDG 16.3 in lower-income countries', a two-year research project funded by the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, with support from Pathfinders for Peaceful, Just and Inclusive Societies, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Research findings have been published in a series of policy briefs, which between them cover four key issues for financing universal access to people-centred justice in low-income countries: (1) the unit costs of front-line justice services (Manuel et al., 2022; Manuel and Manuel 2023); (2) the level of people-centred justice service coverage and the level of unmet justice service needs (Manuel and Manuel, 2023); (3) domestic financing for justice (Manuel et al., 2023); and (4) aid to justice (Manuel et al., 2022; Manea et al., 2023). In addition, ODI published a complementary policy brief on the role of customary and informal justice in delivering people-centred justice in lower-income countries (Denney and Domingo, 2023).

ODI's research focused on lower-income countries and aimed to address the

knowledge divide between these countries and OECD/upper middle-income countries³ on justice needs and the financing of people-centred justice approaches. The specific aim was to uncover and highlight replicable examples of people-centred justice services in lower-income countries that have gone to scale, or have the potential to do so, and to consider how such services could be scaled up and funded.

1.2 Methodology

1.2.1 Unit costs of front-line justice services in lower-income countries and level of justice service coverage

ODI's research into the unit costs of front-line justice services involved gathering original data on costs and numbers of cases handled from 25 front-line justice service providers in 12 lower-income countries⁴ (Manuel and Manuel, 2023). Data from management information systems was supplemented from published and unpublished performance reports, and interviews/ correspondence with service providers and their funders. In two instances, data on case numbers and costs was obtained from academic studies, followed up with interviews with the authors.

3 'Lower income' refers to countries that are classified by the World Bank, as at May 2023, as being either low income or lower-middle income. Low-income economies are defined as those with a gross national income per person of \$1,085 or less in 2021; lower middle-income economies are those with a gross national income per person between \$1,086 and \$4,255. For more details, see: <https://datahelpdesk.worldbank.org/knowledgebase/articles/906519-world-bank-country-and-lending-groups>

4 ODI consulted with major justice donors, international justice organisations and civil society organisations, as well as justice experts, for recommendations on the best examples of organisations from lower-income countries providing quality front-line justice services cost-effectively.

Using data from justice/legal needs surveys (WJP, 2023),⁵ ODI developed a methodology to translate the number of respondents stating they had legal needs into numbers of justice problems/cases requiring external assistance.⁶ Comparing numbers of such justice problems/cases with data obtained from service providers on the numbers of cases they were handling, enabled ODI to estimate the level of community-based justice service coverage in the lower-income countries considered, and thus the gap in front-line justice services.

There were significant data challenges in obtaining data on both costs and numbers of cases, summarised in Section 1.3 of Manuel and Manuel (2023). Therefore, the unit costs and levels of justice service coverage reported should be regarded as indicative estimates and as a first attempt to undertake cross-country analysis on cost-effectiveness and service coverage in lower-income countries.

1.2.2 Domestic financing for justice

ODI's research into domestic financing for justice (Manuel et al., 2023) similarly faced significant data challenges. The analysis spanned all countries, not just lower-income ones, with data from International Monetary Fund (IMF) reports of government spending on justice under the Classification of the Functions of Government (COFOG) classification 'public order, law and safety'. With only a minority of lower-income countries complying with their commitment

to report budget data to the IMF (29% of low-income countries and 43% of lower middle-income countries), ODI undertook original research and obtained data on all low-income and lower middle-income countries from publicly available budget documents. As a result, data coverage jumped to 75% for low-income countries and 81% for lower middle-income countries. ODI was thus able to compare levels of spend on justice across low-income, middle-income and OECD countries. Drawing on previous research on the cost of a basic justice system (Manuel et al., 2019), together with ODI research on the potential for lower-income countries to increase their taxes (Evans et al., 2023), ODI reviewed the affordability of a basic justice system across all country income groups.

1.2.3 Aid to justice

Finally, ODI's annual research into trends in aid to justice (Manuel et al., 2022; Manea et al., 2023) drew on OECD DAC and International Aid Transparency Initiative data on overseas development assistance.

1.3 Report overview

Section 2 provides an overview of trends and developments in the justice sector relating to scaling up people-centred justice services. Sections 3, 4 and 5 then draw together the various strands of research into three key issues relating to scaling up: Section 3 considers front-line justice services as a

5 See: the World Justice Project's online atlas of justice/legal needs surveys (<https://worldjusticeproject.org/our-work/research-and-data/atlas-legal-needs-surveys#:~:text=The%20Atlas%20of%20Legal%20Needs%20Surveys%20is%20an%20interactive%20map,foundations%2C%20and%20other%20research%20institutions>).

6 These are 'non-trivial' cases in line with OECD and Hague Institute for Innovation of Law methodology (OECD and Open Society Foundations, 2019; HiiL, n.d.)

component of a basic justice system; Section 4 looks at the size of the gap in the provision of front-line justice services and considers how scaled services to close the gap could be financed; and Section 5 sets out ODI's proposals for key metrics required for scaling up. The report ends with Section 6 providing some brief conclusions and recommendations for the Justice Action Coalition and other interested countries.

2 Scaling up people-centred justice services

2.1 Introduction

This section first examines the emerging international vision that not only does justice need to change so that it is ‘people centred’, but that Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 16.3’s promise of ‘equal access to justice for all’ requires a very significant scaling up of accessible, people-centred justice services. The section then provides an overview of the developing multilateral architecture that has the potential to deliver this.

2.2 The emerging vision of people-centred justice

The Justice for All report (Task Force for Justice, 2019) provided a vision for people-centred justice, building on the growing consensus that access to justice is not only about legal needs and remedies, but also about understanding people’s justice needs and problems and enhancing their abilities to prevent and resolve justice problems (Glenn, 1999; Sandefur, 2019; Task Force on Justice, 2019; Achinonu et al., 2023). Donors and implementors of aid programmes are beginning to adopt this approach. For instance, the US Agency for International Development’s (USAID) new Rule of Law Policy embraces people-centred justice (USAID, 2023). Meanwhile, a recent evaluation of the UN Development Programme’s (UNDP) access to

justice programming recommends that UNDP should measure the success of its justice programmes by ‘the ability of people to resolve and prevent their justice problems’ (UNDP IEO, 2023: 64, 68).

There has been thinking about what people-centred justice looks like in practice (see, for example, OECD, 2019; 2021; Hiil, 2021; IDLO and Global Women’s Institute, 2022). People-centred justice starts with people, rather than institutional reform at the centre. It is context specific and local, recognising that ‘just outcomes’ may look different to different people, solving people’s justice problems on their own terms and in ways that makes sense to them (Conteh et al., 2022; Farrow and Currie, 2023⁷). Some may wish to preserve social harmony and others may seek to establish the truth, implying different pathways to justice. People-centred justice is likely to have a strong focus on informal systems (including customary and traditional systems), as well as formal ones, and to involve non-state actors as well as government, with solutions to justice problems being calibrated to the seriousness and difficulty of the problem (see, for example, Denney and Laws, 2019; IDLO, 2019; 2021; Denney and Domingo, 2023; Cross, 2023; UNDP IEO, 2023: xiii and 9–19; USAID, 2023). It is user-friendly and may provide a range of mechanisms, giving people choice about routes to finding solutions to their

7 See: concluding comments and reflections on the work of paralegals in Sierra Leone, Kenya and South Africa.

justice problems (Chopra and Isser, 2012: 353; Griggs, 2016: 6; Okech, 2017;⁸ Ruiz-Chiriboga, 2020: 69; Conteh et al., 2022).

2.2.1 ‘Frugal innovation’

ODI has suggested that ‘frugal innovation’ is key to the cost-effective delivery of people-centred justice (Manuel and Manuel, 2023). Frugal innovation was pioneered by BRAC in Bangladesh. The approach is highly local and begins with the problems faced by people and communities. Services are locally designed, inclusive, flexible, affordable and appropriate to context. Importantly, they are designed from the outset to be low cost and therefore scalable (Radjou et al., 2012; Prabhu, 2022). A key source of cost savings in many countries is through the use of paralegals and community-based volunteers (for example, village mediators), although the precise nature of the service will vary depending on the context.

This kind of approach has been successfully adopted in the health sector, with the training of traditional birth attendants and the development of community-based health workers.

2.3 The goal of universal coverage – scaling up

There is growing recognition that to achieve universal access to justice, there needs to be a reset in the level of ambition and adoption of cost-effective models able to solve unmet justice problems at scale, moving from ‘justice

for the few to justice for all’ (Task Force on Justice, 2019: 96–97; HiiL, 2020; Achinonu et al., 2023).

2.3.1 Justice as a service

Scaling up access to people-centred justice rests on the contested notion that justice can be regarded as a service, like health or education (DIFD, 2016: 74; Cox, 2018). However, donors’ justice programming has multiple and often confused objectives (Domingo, 2016). Justice institutions clearly have a key role to play beyond providing justice services to address people’s everyday justice problems. Justice systems are also concerned with broader issues of the rule of law, good governance, human rights and accountability. Addressing these issues through institutional reform and capacity development is a long-term and highly political endeavour requiring complex, nuanced strategies (Heaven et al., 2022). It has been suggested that reform is a long-term, potentially generational endeavour (World Bank, 2011: 10; Heaven et al., 2022). Overviews of donor programming over the past 20 to 30 years conclude that while justice programming focused on institutional reform and capacity development may have succeeded in what it set out to achieve at the output level, there are few examples of sustained, significant outcomes and impacts (see ICAI, 2015, for a review of UK justice programming; Manuel and Manuel, 2018: Section 3.2, for synthesis of a range of reviews and evaluations; Manuel and Manuel, 2023; Achinonu et al., 2023).

8 Unlike the other papers cited, Okech (2017) sees multiple routes to justice as being potentially negative, based on research in Uganda suggesting that unintegrated formal and informal justice systems lead to confusion and potential conflict between the state and cultural systems.

Institutional reform is not only a long-term endeavour, but evidence suggests it is unlikely to ‘trickle down’ to improved service delivery on the ground (although it may achieve other objectives) (Cox, 2018; Stewart, 2022). On the other hand, there is growing evidence that, although justice may be seen as a politically contentious sector (Achinonu et al., 2023: 11), front-line services addressing people’s everyday justice problems through legal advice, assistance and dispute resolution, can provide people with access to justice, even in politically oppressive and conflict-affected contexts (see Manuel and Manuel, 2022: Section 3.2 iv, for a review of the evidence). There is a growing body of examples of scalable people-centred justice services operating in a range of challenging contexts, including local, innovative and cost-effective people-centred front-line services (Manuel and Manuel, 2023) and the Hague Institute for Innovation of Law’s (Hiil) Justice Gamechangers.⁹ There are lessons to be learnt from other sectors, such as health, about the need to shift the balance of resources from centralised institutional reform and capacity development to front-line services in order to achieve scaled-up, nationwide service delivery (see, for example, World Health Organization, 2018).

2.4 Emerging multilateral justice coordination architecture

The justice sector has more than 20 years’ experience from other sectors, such as health and education, on how services can be successfully scaled up. A key lesson is the importance of multilateral action through

coordinated and inclusive mechanisms at the political and technical levels (Manuel and Manuel, 2018). SDG 16.3 has galvanised coordinated multilateral action in the justice sector. Building on the Task Force for Justice, the Justice Action Coalition,¹⁰ established in 2022, provides a platform for a new justice sector global coordination architecture, including governments, civil society, the private sector, professionals and academia (Achinonu et al., 2023).

On the donor side, all major bilateral justice donors have since 2022 been meeting at quarterly roundtables hosted by Pathfinders for Peaceful, Just and Inclusive Societies, ODI and the Dutch Government, focusing on delivering people-centred justice at scale in lower-income countries.

2.5 Key priorities for global action: development of people-centred services, finance and data

At the Justice Action Coalition ministerial meeting in June 2023, as well as political alignment, Justice Action Coalition members committed to: (1) supporting strategies for people-centred justice services; (2) mobilising resources, including funding; and (3) improving justice sector data and evidence (Justice Action Coalition, 2023a).

The rest of this paper considers aspect of these three commitments in turn, focusing on lower-income countries. It argues that lower-income countries are being left behind in relation both funding and data (issues (2) and

9 Hiil Justice Dashboard, The Gamechangers (<https://dashboard.hiil.org/the-gamechangers/>).

10 Pathfinders for Peaceful, Just and Inclusive Societies, Justice Action Coalition (www.sdg16.plus/justice-action-coalition/).

(3)). At the same time, ODI research suggests that a 'quiet revolution' has been taking place in relation to issue (1) with the development in lower-income countries of innovative, localised low-cost people-centred justice services that have the potential to scale up to deliver nationwide services.

3 Basic' and 'front-line' services

3.1 Introduction

This section develops the discussion in Section 2 on people-centred justice, and justice as a service. It first looks at the concept of 'basic', people-centred justice services. It then moves on to consider one key component of a basic justice service: the provision of 'front-line' legal advice, assistance and dispute resolution services.

3.2 'Basic', people-centred justice services

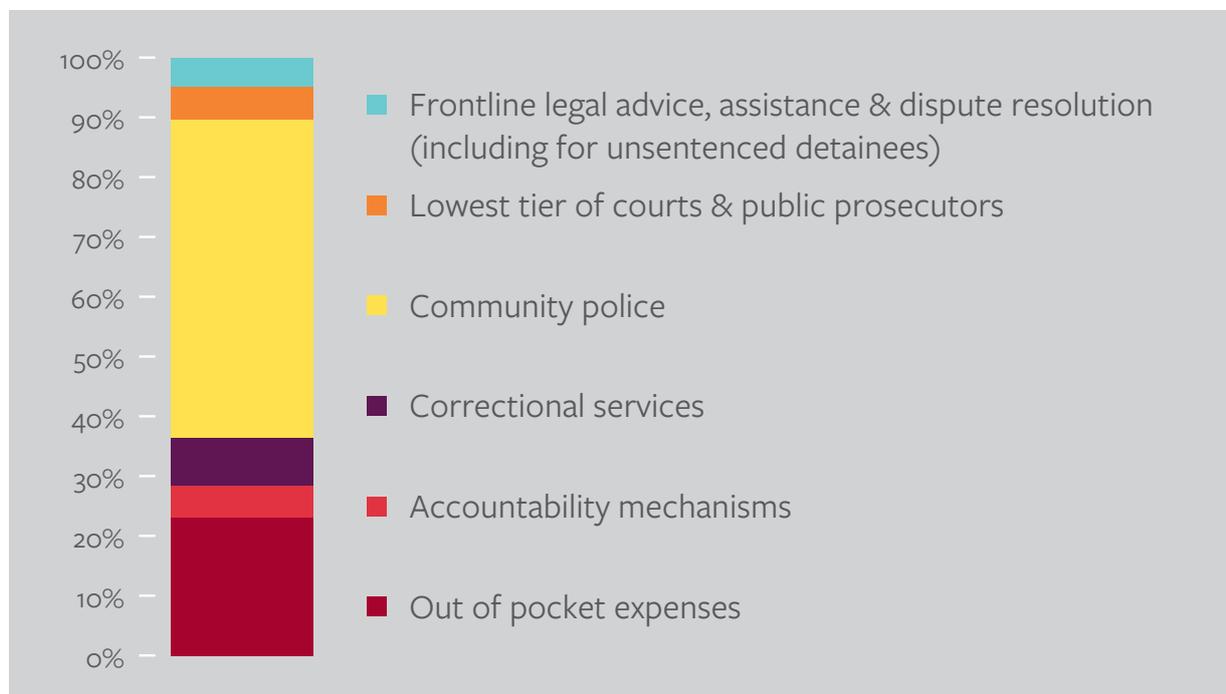
The starting point for ODI's work on financing people-centred justice services was to explore what a 'basic' ('primary') national justice service might look like and how much it would cost (Manuel et al., 2019). This was based on the approach taken in the health and education sectors, especially over the 20 years since the adoption of the Millennium Development Goals. The aim in those sectors was to ensure that everyone, in both rural and urban areas, had access to at least a basic/'primary' level of services. The World Health Organization (WHO) sees primary healthcare as the foundation for universal care (WHO, 2023):

As a foundation for and way to move towards [universal health care], WHO recommends reorienting health systems using a primary health care (PHC) approach. PHC is the most inclusive, equitable, cost-effective and efficient approach It enables universal, integrated access to health services as close as possible to people's everyday environments....

ODI's conceptualisation of a basic justice service was exploratory and intended as a starting point

for discussion and further research. A people-centred approach was taken, rather than costing a conventional 'business as usual' justice model (Manuel et al., 2019: Section 2.1). Hence, ODI's framing of a 'basic' justice service included customary, informal and alternative justice systems, recognising that only the most serious disputes, conflicts and grievances require formal mechanisms such as civil courts and the formal criminal justice system. The approach embraced preventative and resolute components and services addressing different types of problems. Innovative approaches were built in, including, for example, community-based accountability mechanisms. ODI recognised the need for new mechanisms to resolve justice problems, and also the potential to improve people's interactions with and the functioning and efficiency of the formal system. When considering formal, core justice services, ODI focused only on community-level services (for example, community police and the lowest-tier of more formal courts), and based costings on international norms (for example, UN ratios for police numbers). ODI's detailed methodology, including reasoning for including the various components of a basic justice system, is set out in Manuel et al., 2019, especially Annex B. The approach was the first attempt to cost SDG 16.3 and provides a starting point for further research.

Figure 1 Composition and relative costs of the elements of a basic, people-centred justice service in lower-income countries



Source: Data and analysis in Manuel et al., 2019

3.3 Front-line people-centred justice services

ODI's further research (Manuel et al., 2022; Manuel and Manuel 2023) focused on 'front-line' services, which account for just 5% of the total costs of a basic justice system in lower-income countries (Figure 1). 'Front-line services' does not have an agreed definition. ODI takes such services to mean: (1) legal advice, assistance and informal dispute resolution services for communities and individuals, which may relate to civil, criminal¹¹ or administrative justice; together with (2) legal advice and assistance for a particularly marginalised group, vulnerable to human rights abuses – that is, unsentenced detainees.¹²

The reason for this research focus is that community-based services directly address people's justice problems uncovered in legal/justice needs surveys. Access to front-line services providing legal advice and assistance can be the gateway to solving justice problems through the formal system or may provide an informal alternative. Services are highly local, context specific and strongly people centred, and have a direct impact on communities and individuals. Delivery models are innovative, enabling early intervention so that problems are less likely to escalate, and their interactions with the broader justice system have the potential to improve it (see, for example, Griggs, 2013: 6–7).

11 Where those assisted are victims of crime.

12 Those who are accused of being perpetrators of crime.

Particularly when providing legal advice and assistance to unsentenced detainees, front-line services address human rights issues, with detention beyond a ‘reasonable time’ being a human rights abuse.¹³ Nearly 12 million people are imprisoned globally, nearly one-third of these unsentenced. Delays in trials and sentencing result in prison over-crowding: in nearly 80% of countries in Africa, the prisoners outnumber the official prison capacity, in most cases by more than 150%, with resulting risks of damage to health and rehabilitation prospects (UNODC, n.d.; UNODC, 2021).

Front-line services offer the potential of direct impact on SDG 16.3, and on indicators 16.3.2 unsentenced detainees as a proportion of overall prison population and 16.3.3 proportion of the population who have experienced a dispute in the past two years and who accessed a formal or informal dispute resolution mechanism, by type of mechanism.

ODI analysed 25 front-line service providers across 12 lower-income countries (Bangladesh, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Haiti, Kenya, Malawi, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Solomon Islands, Somalia, South Sudan, Tajikistan and Uganda) (Manuel and Manuel, 2023). Service providers included both government and civil society, depending on the context. They included community-based paralegals, mobile legal aid clinics, village courts, village mediation, alternative dispute resolution (ADR) centres and telephone call-in centres. Justice problems addressed included land disputes, gender-based violence, family issues, community disputes and human rights abuses. Services included giving specific legal advice (as opposed to general legal information); resolving disputes through ADR;

and legal representation in the formal courts. Many involved a mix of paralegals, overseen by fully-trained lawyers.

The analysis validated earlier research (LDP, 2015; Manuel and Manuel, 2021; Manuel et al., 2022), suggesting that front-line services are highly cost-effective, with benchmark unit costs of \$20 a case in low-income countries and \$50 a case in lower middle-income countries. Achieving these benchmark costs makes these front-line services affordable, estimated to cost a total of \$249 million a year across all low-income countries.

3.3.1 Quality and impact of services

ODI’s research focused on cost-effectiveness rather than service quality, but noted that there is good evidence from other sources of the quality and impact of the services considered (Manuel and Manuel, 2023: Section 2.3). The most striking example is in relation to providing legal advice and assistance to unsentenced detainees. As can be seen from Table 1, the result of Malawi’s Paralegal Advisory Service Institute (PASI) scaling up its highly efficient model is that it is supporting 96% of unsentenced detainees in the country. Remarkably, since PASI began operating, the unsentenced detention rate has been sustained at below 20% for 15 years, well below the African average of about 50% and even below the OECD average of 24%. This is a strong indicator of the quality of the service provided.

13 Including under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 1966 (UN General Assembly).

Table 1 Percentage coverage of major providers of paralegal support relative to percentage of unsentenced detainees

Country	Service provider	Detainees supported each month as % of pre-trial detainees in prisons	Percentage of prisoners that are pre-trial detainees*
Bangladesh	Ten local non-governmental organisations (NGOs)	4%	76%
Malawi	Paralegal Advisory Service Institute	96%	18%
Uganda	Paralegal Advisory Service	12%	55%

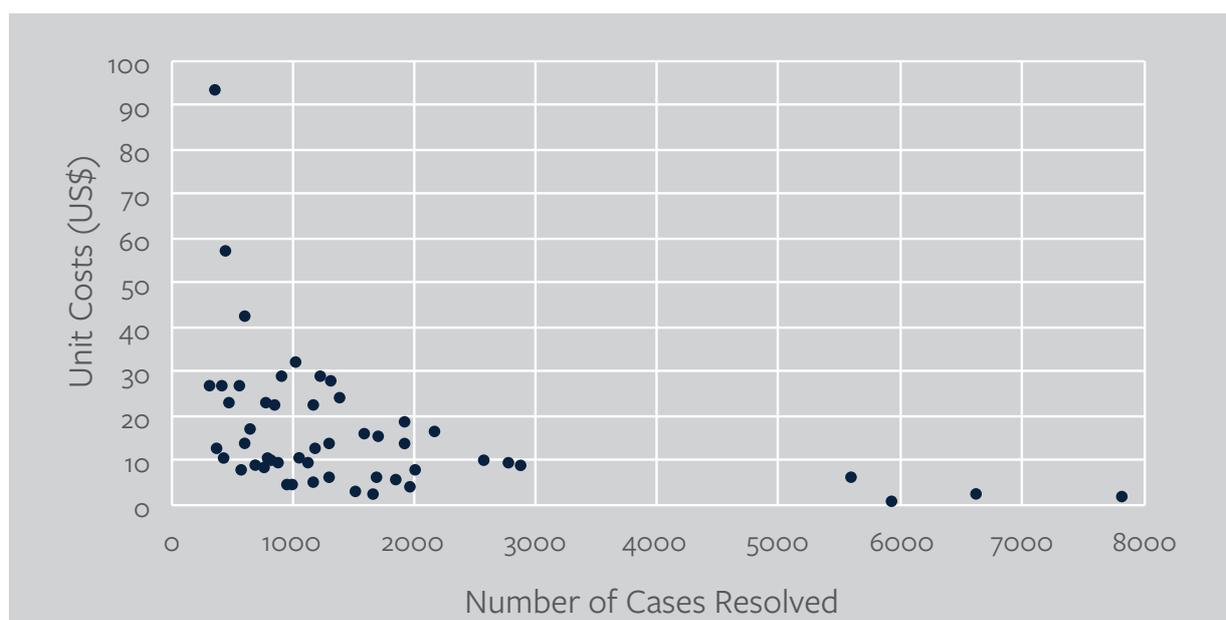
Note: * Downloaded from: www.prisonstudies.org/ All figures are in year of programme
Source: Manuel and Manuel, 2023

3.4 Economies of scale

ODI's research provides evidence from front-line justice service providers that when they are able to scale up their services and economies of scale begin having an effect, unit costs go down. This creates a 'virtuous circle', enabling low enough unit costs to allow services to be

scaled up nationwide. Figure 2 shows how PASI's unit costs for community-based paralegals vary between districts where they are handling only a few cases a year (over \$90 a case) to districts where they are handling nearly 8,000 cases a year (below \$5 a case). See Manuel and Manuel, 2023: Section 4.2 for further evidence and discussion on economies of scale.

Figure 2 Malawi village mediators supported by Paralegal Advisory Service Institute – unit costs by district (2017–2022)



Source: Manuel and Manuel, 2023: PASI data for all districts and years, 2017–2000

3.5 More examples of cost-effective services

The scope of the research project enabled ODI to analyse data from 25 front-line service providers across 12 lower-income countries. Earlier research, literature reviews and stakeholder discussions strongly suggest that there are many more examples of cost-effective, scalable, front-line people-centred justice services. Promising examples include community paralegal services in Tanzania and Zambia; Bataka Courts in Uganda; Ukraine's Community Legal Aid Centres (LDP, 2015: Annex II, 70); community-based justice in Moldova (Open Society Foundations, n.d. a), and legal assistance officers in Indonesia (Open Society Foundations, n.d. b).

3.6 Conclusion

ODI's research has highlighted justice entrepreneurs, both government and civil society, in lower-income countries who are delivering cost-effective, people-centred justice to communities and individuals. Their approaches are both localised and innovative. As discussed in the next section, the key constraint preventing them from scaling up and providing 100% national coverage is funding.

4 People-centred justice gaps and financing sources

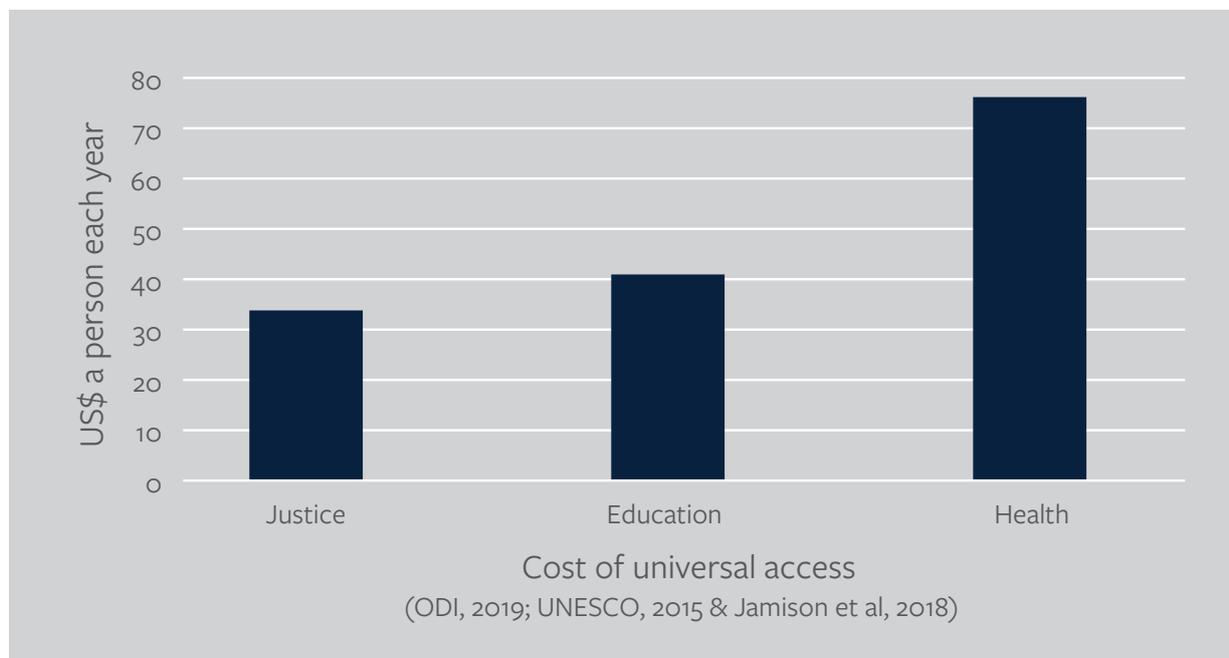
4.1 Introduction

This section considers two justice gaps in lower-income countries: (1) the financing gap for a basic, people-centred justice service; and (2) the gap in front-line justice service provision. It then moves on to consider potential resources that could be mobilised to address these gaps, including new sources of external funding.

4.2 The finance gap for a basic, people-centred justice service

ODI has estimated the costs of the various elements of a basic, people-centred justice service across all country income groups. For lower-income countries, the cost of such a basic service is \$34 per person per year.¹⁴ This compares favourably with education (\$41) and health (\$76) (see Figure 3) (Manuel et al., 2019). The cost of giving people access to front-line legal advice, assistance and informal dispute resolution services is even cheaper – just \$1.7 per person per year.

Figure 3 Per person costs of a ‘basic’ justice system in lower-income countries, compared with the costs of basic education and health



Source: Manuel et al., 2019 (drawing on UNESCO (2015) for education and Jamison et al. (2018) for health)

¹⁴ Calculated as the average of \$20 in a low-income country and \$48 in a lower middle-income country.

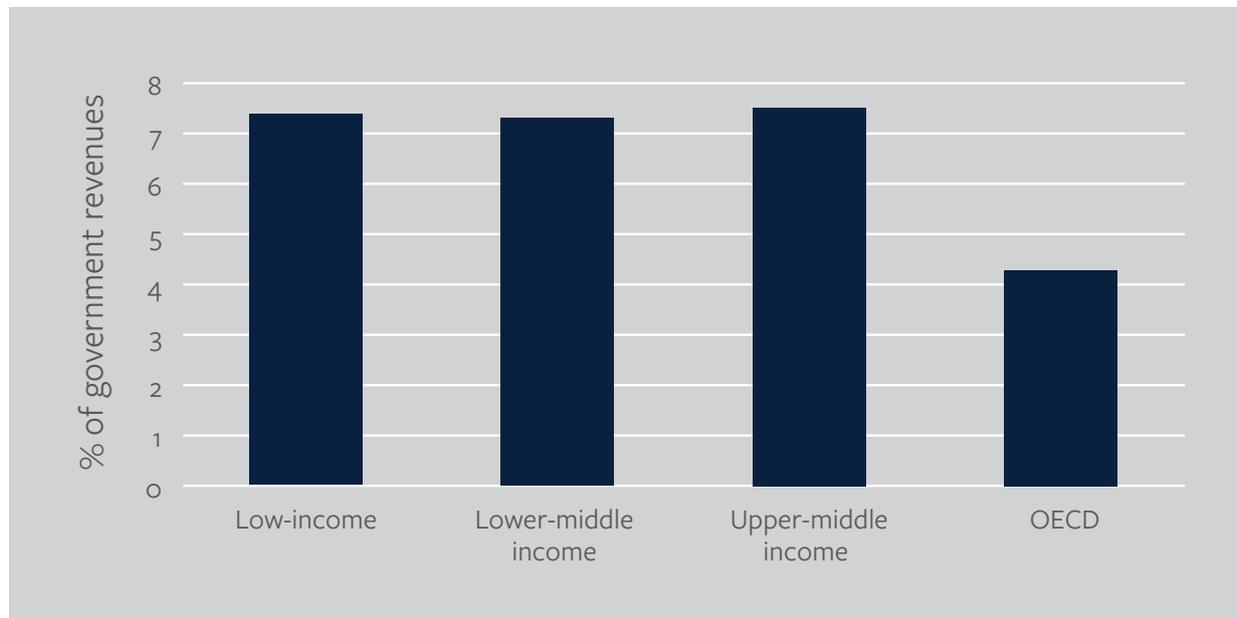
ODI's analysis of domestic financing for the justice sector highlights the extent of the justice financing gap in lower-income countries. The analysis uses data reported to the International Monetary Fund,¹⁵ together with ODI's new analysis of publicly available budget documents for all lower-income countries (for full details of this analysis, see Manuel et al., 2023). As Figure 4 shows, lower-income countries are 'over-spending' on justice in the sense that they are allocating on average over 70% more proportionately of their domestic resources to the justice sector than OECD countries do.¹⁶

ODI has compared the amount countries are spending domestically on the justice sector with ODI's costings for a basic justice system

(discussed in Section 3.2). As Figure 5 shows, lower-income countries are unable to fund the costs of even a basic justice system from their own resources, and this remains the case even if they maximise the domestic taxes they collect. Higher-income countries are in a very different situation: they can easily provide basic justice services in their countries, with OECD DAC countries able to afford to fund a basic system three times over.

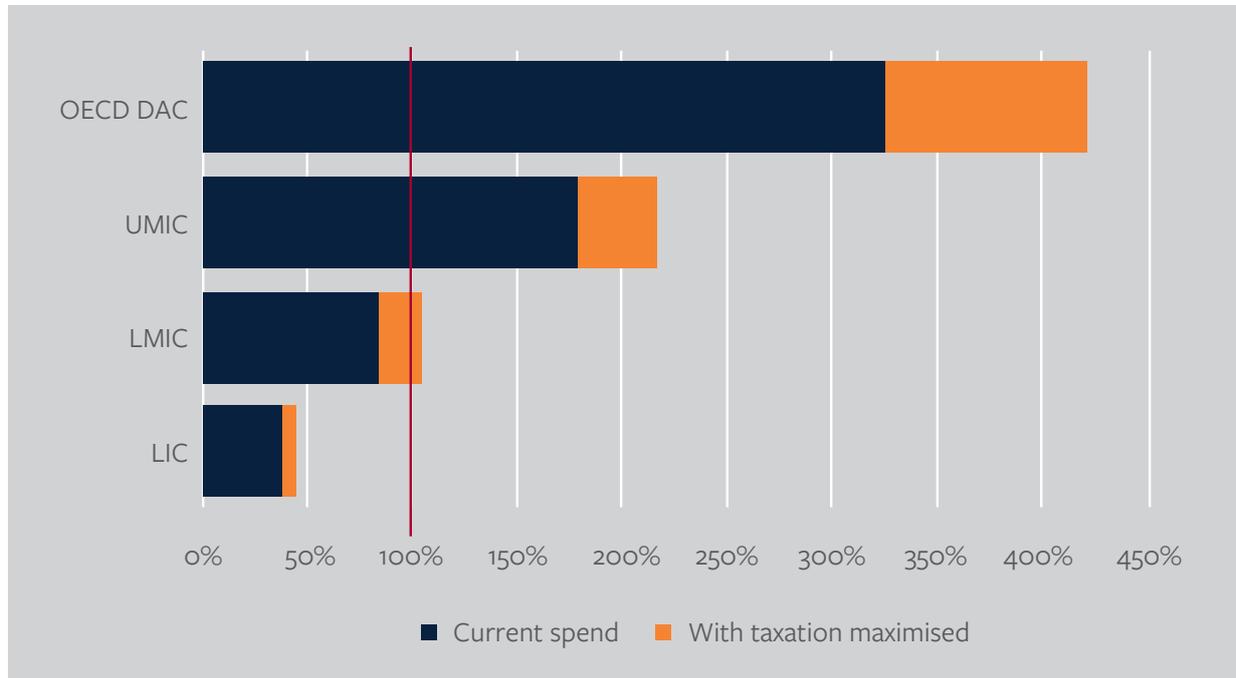
It is unlikely that lower-income countries will be able to sustain their relatively high levels of justice expenditure in the long term, with pressure for increased allocations from social sectors such as health, education and welfare payments.

Figure 4 Lower-income countries are spending more proportionately on justice than OECD countries



Source: Manuel et al., 2023

- 15 Using Classification of the Functions of Government definition of the justice sector ('public order, law and safety').
- 16 The reasons for the relatively high proportion of spending on justice in lower-income countries are discussed in Manuel et al. (2023: Section 4.3).

Figure 5 The finance gap for basic, people-centred justice services in lower-income countries

Note: UMIC=upper middle-income countries; LMIC=lower middle-income countries; LIC=low-income countries
Source: Manuel et al., 2023

4.3 The front-line justice service gap: level of justice service coverage

As well as estimating the financing gap for basic justice services in lower-income countries, ODI has undertaken new analysis on the level of coverage of front-line justice services. Access to front-line services, providing legal advice, assistance and informal dispute resolution, is a key element of a basic justice system, and often the gateway into it. ODI has estimated the level of coverage of these kinds of services for communities and the general population, and also coverage of legal advice and assistance for unsentenced detainees.

There are currently two complementary approaches to estimate the level of unmet justice needs of a general population (as opposed to the specific needs of unsentenced detainees), which provide different insights on the justice gap:

- **Number of people with an unmet justice/legal need:** the World Justice Project's (WJP) overall global headline figure is 1.5 billion people with an unmet justice need over two years (WJP, 2019; 2023). This is based on survey evidence of the number of people who state they have a criminal, civil or administrative justice problem they

cannot solve. WJP scales this in line with the total population of the country concerned, giving a global estimate of 49% of people with severe and non-severe justice problems they cannot solve each year.¹⁷

- **Number of unmet justice service needs:** ODI uses the same WJP survey evidence on numbers of respondents with legal needs (severe and non-severe), screens out non-severe cases (that is, those that do not tend to require legal assistance) and then scales this by the number of households in the country concerned¹⁸ to derive an estimate of the number of ‘cases’ requiring legal advice, assistance or dispute resolution services each year. ODI then compares this with the number of cases that providers of legal advice, assistance and dispute resolution are handling each year. Based on this methodology, ODI’s estimate is that in a year, typically 90% of justice problems in lower-income countries that require legal advice, assistance or dispute resolution are not being addressed.

Box 1 provides further details on the methodology and the data challenges faced. More research is needed on the underlying survey data from justice/legal needs surveys that could enable more accurate estimates of case numbers, as well on assembling a more complete set of service providers. In the meantime, ODI’s methodology provides a consistent cross-country tool to assess the relative level of serviced and un-serviced

cases. It highlights the extraordinary progress in providing front-line justice services made by the largely government-funded Sierra Leone Legal Aid Board, compared with the very low level of service provision in other lower-income countries (see Figure 6). Typical coverage rates of only 10% for front-line justice services compare with coverage in other service sectors in lower-income countries: health service coverage is 50%¹⁹ (SDG 3.8.1) while in education, the net primary enrolment rate is 84%.²⁰

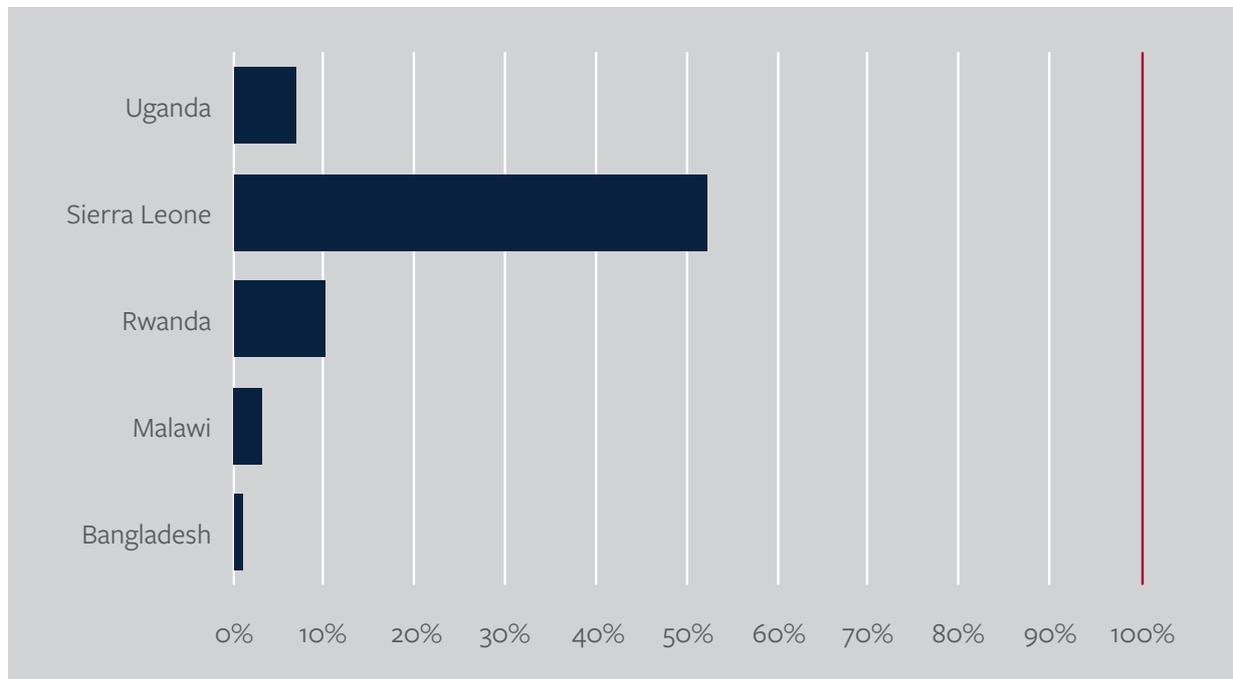
17 WJP also notes from its survey evidence that in 7 out of 10 countries, 62% of the population who needed access to a dispute resolution mechanism, did not find it (WJP, 2023).

18 Using UN data on total population and household size.

19 World Bank, World Development Indicators (<https://databank.worldbank.org/source/world-development-indicators/Series/SH.UHC.SRVS.CV.XD>).

20 World Bank Data, ‘School enrollment, primary’ (<https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.PRM.NENR>).

Figure 6 The front-line justice service gap: percentage of needs for legal advice, assistance and informal dispute resolution services for communities and individuals being met



Source: ODI analysis, 2023

Box 1 Relationship between number of people with an unmet justice need and number of unmet justice service needs

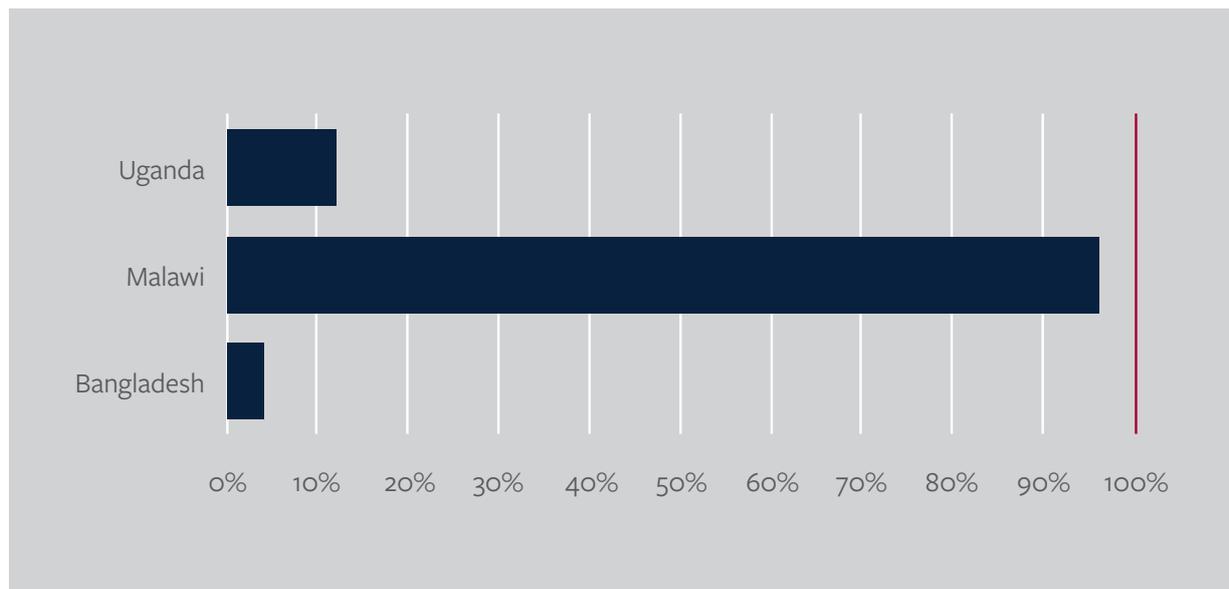
In assessing the justice gap, WJP's focus is on people's experience of injustice (49% of people with severe and non-severe justice problems they cannot solve each year). ODI's focus is in the gap in service provision for severe needs (90% of service needs are unmet each year).

ODI's higher figure may be due to an under-estimate of the number of cases being handled by service providers, as ODI did not have data from all service providers in each country considered. However, ODI's 90% figure may be an under-statement of need, due to a possible under-estimate of the number of justice service needs/cases each year. This is because, in the absence of underlying data, ODI assumes that survey respondents reporting justice needs have a single need, whereas in fact some respondents may have experienced a co-occurrence of needs (WJP, 2023). However, the relationship between survey evidence and number of cases is complex and could result in over-estimates of case numbers, as well as under-estimates. For example, a community land dispute could affect many members of a community who could each report that they experienced an unmet justice need, but those needs could be reflected in a single legal case.

ODI has also considered the level of coverage of legal advice and assistance services for unsentenced detainees. Figure 7 shows the level of coverage in three

lower-income countries analysed by ODI. As discussed in Section 3.3, Malawi's scaled up and efficient model shows what can be achieved (see Table 1).

Figure 7 The front-line justice service gap: percentage of unsentenced detainees given legal advice and assistance each month



Source: ODI analysis, 2023

4.4 The people-centred justice service and finance gap

ODI's estimates of unmet justice service needs relates only to front-line services, which account for just 5% of the costs of a basic justice system (see Figure 1). However, the evidence is that front-line justice services can be provided highly cost-effectively, at or below \$20 a case in low-income countries and \$50 a case in lower middle-income countries (Manuel and Manuel, 2023). Based on these benchmark unit costs, ODI estimates that it would cost \$249 million per year to bridge the front-line justice service gap in all low-income countries; that is, to provide access to front-line legal advice, assistance and informal dispute resolution services to communities

and individuals, as well as legal advice and assistance to all unsentenced detainees. This amount (\$249 million per year) is 8% of the total justice aid budget (see Manea et al., 2023).

Providing universal access to legal advice, assistance and front-line dispute resolution services (including legal advice and assistance to all unsentenced detainees) would be a major step forward. There are strong arguments for addressing this aspect of a basic justice system as a priority, in light of ODI's evidence of cost-effectiveness and emerging evidence of impact and value for money through cost-benefit analysis (see Section 5.5). However, focusing on addressing the finance gap for front-line services leaves the remaining 95% of the cost of just a basic justice system severely

under-funded in lower-income countries. This is the part of the formal system that provides the most direct services to communities, including the lowest level of formal courts and community-level policing. There may be potential to improve the efficiency and cost-effectiveness of these services. For example, the HiiL has suggested innovations such as ‘one-stop-shops’ for criminal justice; apps informing the police of crime hot-spots; and public defender offices (HiiL, 2020: 99, 136). However, with low-income countries’ basic justice systems so severely under-funded, it is difficult to see how these kinds of innovations could overcome the absence of adequate basic core services. For example, low-income countries have less than a third of the front-line community police officers in relation to population numbers of OECD countries, and under half the United Nations (UN) target ratio for police to population (Manuel et al., 2019).

The next section looks at options for addressing the finance gap for a basic justice system in lower-income countries and within that, for addressing the 5% of the costs attributable to provide universal access to front-line legal advice, assistance and informal dispute resolution services.

4.5 Options for addressing the people-centred justice finance gap in lower-income countries and for funding cost-effective front-line services

4.5.1 Domestic revenues

As discussed above, in lower-income countries there is no scope to increase funding to the justice sector from public funds. Indeed, it is unlikely that these countries can maintain

their current levels of allocations to the justice sector in the longer term. However, it is worth considering the extent to which existing domestic funds are targeted at providing a universal basic justice system and within that, are flowing to front-line services.

In the absence of further, detailed research, there is currently limited information on allocations within domestic justice budgets. In general, justice budgets appear to be influenced by justice institutions and the interests of elites: HiiL has noted that there are few incentives to invest in new services or procedures (HiiL, 2020: 86), while in the UK, it is marginalised and vulnerable groups that have felt the impact of cuts in legal aid most heavily (Makinson, 2021). However, there are examples of lower-income country governments allocating domestic resources to new, innovative front-line people-centred services. The Government of Sierra Leone’s consistent funding over a seven-year period of the Legal Aid Board, with its mix of paralegals and lawyers providing front-line services, provides a stand-out example (Manuel and Manuel, 2023).

As well as being cognisant of the political economy (Domingo et al., forthcoming), marshalling evidence to show that a significant reallocation of resources to basic/front-line services works and is cost-effective is likely to assist in discussions on domestic resource allocation. This was the experience in the health sector, as donors engaged with lower-income countries and made the case for a shift from spending on hospitals in capital cities to funding primary nationwide healthcare to communities instead (for example, World Bank, 1993; Jamison et al., 2013). A useful starting point to improve the effectiveness of justice budgeting would be to look at proven budget approaches in other relevant sectors

– such as social welfare expenditure incidence assessments (that enable better targeting of funding), as well as more recent innovative approaches such as well-being budgeting.

4.5.2 Overseas development assistance

ODI's latest analysis of aid data (Manea et al., 2023) highlights that justice is not a priority for donors. Total aid to all sectors has increased by more than 50% over the past decade, yet justice aid has decreased by 27% over the same period. This is still the case even when aid categorised as 'human rights' and 'ending violence against women and girls' is added to disbursements for 'legal and judicial development' (i.e., for the core justice sector). Unlike the health and education sectors, there is currently no breakdown in the aid data to show the amount of justice aid targeted at basic or front-line services.

Only a few donors are involved in justice, with the United States (US) and European Union (EU) accounting for more justice aid than the rest of the justice donors put together. Ninety (90)% of justice aid goes to middle-income countries and is increasingly targeted at the specialised areas of human rights and violence against women and girls (which now account for nearly 60% of justice aid), rather than to support countries' core justice services.

Providing direct funding to basic justice services or within those, to front-line services, presents challenges for donors. However, there are examples of donors funding justice services, including the Law and Order Trust Fund for Afghanistan; the EU's general and sector budget support for justice, including in

South Africa, Rwanda and Georgia (EC, 2011; for South Africa, Lawson, 2014); and Cordaid's innovative small-scale results-based financing model in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (Manuel and Manuel, 2023). UNDP's strategic plan demonstrates the potential of flexible instruments, modalities and funding (UNDP, 2021).

There is also scope for justice donors to learn from other service-delivery sectors (such as health and education) where donor funding has successfully targeted front-line services for decades (see Manuel and Manuel, 2018 for a review of lessons).

4.5.3 Private sector investment

A justice service is a public good. But private sector investment can have a role to play. Some aspects of justice services (for example, money claims) offer business opportunities and potentially a direct return to investors, this being the basis of the new Innovating Justice Fund.²¹ New thinking on commercially viable business architectures with up-front focus on unit costs, has the potential to increase the chances of profitable investments (Simanis et al., 2023).

As far as broader justice services are concerned, social impact bonds/partnerships are mechanisms developed to bring in private funding from social/impact investors to fund some aspects of public services. This involved outcome-based contracts, with investors being repaid if measurable outcomes are achieved. There is at least one example of this approach in the justice sector: the UK's Peterborough Prison Project (Mair, 2017). Cordaid's successful results-based funding of police services in DRC also points to the

21 Hiil, 'Innovating Justice Fund' (www.hiil.org/innovating-justice-fund/).

potential value of outcome/results-based approaches in the justice sector (Manuel and Manuel, 2023: 22). However, the design of social impact bonds and results-based programmes is challenging and the take-up of social impact bonds in other sectors has proved more limited than originally anticipated. After more than 10 years, the cumulative investment in social impact bonds is only \$700 million,²² corresponding to less than 0.05% of global aid flows over the same period.

4.5.4 User-pays models

Users are already making a financial contribution for justice services by paying for legal services, court fees and other out-of-pocket expenses (see Figure 1). It has been asserted that most people are willing to pay for justice services and are not discouraged by fees (Hiil, 2020: 118). However, it is much less clear that this is the case in lower-income countries and for people living in poverty. Examples of ‘user and loser fees’ for front-line justice services are discussed in Manuel and Manuel (2023: 54). Here, service providers interviewed were concerned about the impact fees would have on access. Overall, the case for user fees for services such as health and education has been, and remains, a contested issue.²³

4.6 Conclusion

ODI’s research has contributed to an understanding of the size of the justice gap in lower-income countries – in terms of both funding basic services and also the gap in coverage of key front-line services providing legal advice, assistance and informal dispute resolution. The good news is that the innovative, local, cost-effective models highlighted in ODI’s research are affordable: funding these kinds of services across all low-income countries would cost 8% of the current aid budget. However, front-line service providers in lower-income countries say that the binding constraint preventing them from scaling up services is funding (Manuel and Manuel, 2023; see also LEN, 2021)

The other elements of a basic justice service (including appropriate numbers of community police and lowest-tier judges) remain unaffordable for lower-income countries. As with other services in these countries, external funding is required. Key to attracting more resources to the sector (from existing and new donors, as well potentially the private sector) is to demonstrate that investing in justice works: that is, that it delivers results and is cost-effective. Metrics required to make an investment case and measure what works are discussed in the next chapter.

22 Social Finance, ‘Impact Bonds’ (www.socialfinance.org.uk/what-we-do/social-impact-bonds#). See also Edwards, S (2023) ‘How results-based financing failed to live up to the hype’. Devex, 9 February (www.devex.com/news/how-results-based-financing-failed-to-live-up-to-the-hype-104643?).

23 For an introduction into how the debate in the health sector has shifted over time, see: Rowden, R. (2013) ‘The ghosts of user fees past: exploring accountability for victims of a 30-year economic policy mistake’ *Health and Human Rights Journal* 15(1) (www.hhrjournal.org/2013/10/the-ghosts-of-user-fees-past-exploring-accountability-for-victims-of-a-30-year-economic-policy-mistake/); University of Birmingham (2019) ‘The World Bank’s advocacy of user fees in global health, c.1975–1990’ (www.birmingham.ac.uk/schools/social-policy/departments/health-services-management-centre/events/2019/10/world-banks-advocacy-of-user-fees.aspx and www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3750575/).

5 Data

5.1 Introduction

The justice sector lacks basic metrics to guide investment decisions and make a business case to invest in justice (Chapman et al., 2021; OECD, 2021; 2022: 25; HiiL, 2022, a and b; Manuel and Manuel, 2023; Achinonu et al., 2023; Padilla-Vasques, 2023). The Justice Action Coalition’s Declaration of June 2023 commits members to concrete actions to develop metrics for people-centred justice, measure results and produce evidence (Justice Action Coalition, 2023a). The American Bar Foundation’s Justice Data Observatory²⁴ and the World Bank’s Global Partnership on Access to Justice and Rule of Law mark encouraging moves away from data fragmentation and towards a more open approach.

Learning from decades of experience from other service sectors about what kinds of data are key to support services going to scale, and based on ODI’s research on financing for justice, this section sets out what ODI considers to be the five priority issues for metrics on justice. The metrics discussed are required to make a robust case for increased investment in justice, enabling better investment decisions and improving learning about what works.

Quantitative evidence on the scale of the problem:

1. Legal/justice needs survey data (particularly from lower-income countries, where data is currently very limited) (providing information on the demand side);
2. Level of justice service coverage (providing information on the supply side).

Quantitative and qualitative evidence on what works on the supply side:

Data on a range of services from service providers (government and civil society) on:

3. cost-effectiveness analysis – unit costs;
4. cost-benefit analysis;
5. quality of services.

5.2 (1) Justice needs surveys

Justice needs surveys have provided much-needed data about the scale of the problem in justice service delivery, along with the types of needs that people are facing. The health sector’s experience of scaling up service delivery shows that understanding the scope of global needs is the starting point for addressing those needs. The UN Children’s Fund (UNICEF), WHO, the World Bank and UN all work with national authorities to combine national census data with internationally

24 For details, see American Bar Foundation (2023) ‘ABF’s access to justice research initiative receives grant from International Development Research Center to support a new global justice data observatory’ (www.americanbarfoundation.org/abfs-access-to-justice-research-initiative-receives-grant-from-the-international-development-research-center-to-support-a-new-global-justice-data-observatory/).

funded, globally standardised, targeted surveys, which are regularly undertaken, such as country demographic and health surveys. These together provide a rich data set with granular details of needs.

Surveys are expensive to undertake, and in the justice sector the vast majority have been in higher-income countries. In lower-income countries most have been undertaken by WJP and HiiL.²⁵ Consideration needs to be given to how to reduce the cost (for example, linking justice needs surveys into other national surveys) and how to fund more surveys in lower-income countries. ODI estimates that conducting a justice needs survey in every low-income country every three years would cost \$1 million (0.03% of justice aid). The costs to cover all lower-income countries would be \$3 million a year (0.1% of justice aid).

As with the health sector, globally standardised methodologies and indicators would be helpful – for example, presenting data on justice needs on a standard, annual basis (rather than as needs experienced in a range of timeframes between two and five years). It would also be helpful to have greater disaggregation of data and more detail on specific justice needs.

5.3 (2) Level of justice service coverage – front-line services

Strategies to scale up justice services require data on the size and nature of the gap in service provision. ODI's methodology, discussed in Section 4.3 above, provides a first attempt at estimating levels of service

coverage. More research and development of the methodology is needed, particularly on the relationship between the number of people stating they have a justice problem and the number of justice service needs/cases each year. Better data collection on number of cases being handled by service providers is also required, such as that provided by the Legal Aid Service Providers Network's²⁶ (LASPNET) centralised data collection system in Uganda.

5.4 (3) Unit costs and cost-effectiveness

An accurate assessment of costs is critical in determining whether an intervention can be replicated and scaled up, and is essential for deciding how scarce resources can best be used. Because resources are limited, looking simply at impacts without analysing costs has been compared to 'one hand clapping' (Gaarder and Linn, 2023). However, it is rare for impact evaluations to include data on costs (Brown and Tanner, 2019). ODI's research on the unit costs of a range of front-line service providers backs up the assessment that impact evaluations of justice interventions tend not to consider costs (Manuel and Manuel, 2023).

ODI's analysis of unit costs was initial and exploratory only, with data and methodological challenges that require further exploration (Manuel and Manuel, 2023, especially Annex B). Despite the challenges, understanding the unit costs of services and thus assessing their cost-effectiveness is critical to scaling up people-centred justice services.

25 It is welcome that HiiL has recently updated surveys in two lower middle-income countries: Nigeria (HiiL, 2023a) and Tunisia (HiiL, 2023b).

26 LASPNET homepage (www.laspnet.org/index.php).

5.5 (4) Cost–benefit analysis

There is increasing evidence about the costs of unmet justice needs for individuals and society, including unchallenged human rights abuses, increased risk of conflict, and economic and social costs (see, for example: Naraya et al., 2000; Commission on Legal Empowerment of the Poor, 2008; World Bank, 2011: 10; United Nations and World Bank, 2018; Task Force on Justice, 2019; OECD, 2020; Weston, 2022).

Cost–benefit ratios should be understood in light of the Copenhagen Consensus Center’s²⁷ ratings of ‘phenomenal’, where benefits generated are worth at least 15 times the cost; ‘good’, where the benefits are worth 5 to 15 times more than the costs; and only ‘fair’, where benefits are up to 5 times the amount invested (Lomborg, 2014).

There is emerging evidence that investing in justice can deliver high returns on investment, with new thinking about the negative impact of lack of access to justice. For example, evidence from the Netherlands includes a new methodology to quantify the negative impact on mental and physical health. The analysis of three justice interventions comes out at an impressive benefit-to-cost ratio of nearly 15:1²⁸ (Ecorys, 2022).

There is still very limited academically robust quantitative data on the costs versus the benefits of particular interventions in the justice sector in lower-income countries. The

issue is discussed in some detail in Manuel and Manuel (2023: Section 2.6). As well as increasing the number of cost–benefit studies of a range of justice services, there is an urgent need for the justice sector to learn from methodological developments in other sectors about how to undertake this kind of analysis in lower-income countries, particularly in relation to estimating the benefits. The Copenhagen Consensus Center and BRAC University²⁹ – which have particular expertise in this kind of work in lower-income countries, where issues of equity and equality in assessing benefits are particularly acute – could be of assistance here. Their collaboration on the cost–benefit of village courts in Bangladesh (Hossain and Zaman, 2016), discussed in Manuel and Manuel, 2023), is one of only two academically robust cost–benefit analyses relating to justice interventions in lower-income countries and assessed the benefit-to-cost ratio to be 18:1. The Copenhagen Consensus Center’s 2014 literature review of cost–benefit studies relating violence reducing interventions, suggested such interventions would constitute a highly effective use of development aid (Hoeffler and Fearon, 2014).³⁰

5.6 (5) Quality of services

Better, open information is required on the quality of interventions – that is, on what works. A good starting point would be open access to independent impact evaluations of justice

27 Copenhagen Consensus Center homepage (copenhagenconsensus.com/).

28 An extrapolated estimate, covering 29 justice problems, implies an extraordinary benefit-to-cost ratio of 80:1 (which is above the best development interventions in the world – child immunisation).

29 BRAC University homepage (www.bracu.ac.bd/).

30 Task Force on Justice (2019) estimated that increasing a country’s capacity to deliver core justice functions and provide increased access to justice would give a 16:1 return on financial investment in terms of reduced conflict costs. It notes that the costs have been estimated conservatively and are likely to be an under-estimate.

interventions. HiIL (2022a; 2022b) has done some useful thinking on how to evaluate what works in terms of different kinds of justice interventions (including, for example, advising, dispute resolution, representing). Some interventions may be more effective than others in different contexts.

Survey data on satisfaction levels can be useful: for example, survey data in Canada suggests that 46% of people whose justice problems were resolved felt the outcome was unfair (Farrow et al., 2016). Comparisons between satisfaction levels following formal dispute resolution mechanisms and less formal ones may be revealing, with evidence from Sierra Leone, for example, on the perceived advantages of customary and informal justice mechanisms over more formal mechanisms (Conteh et al., 2022).

Finally, data on needs, usage and outcomes enables assessments of quality. For example, persistent low levels of unsentenced detainees in Malawi (see Table 1 above) point to the effectiveness of PASI's prison paralegal approach. And levels of attendance at legal advice clinics could potentially be used as indicators of quality,³¹ as in the health sector in relation to health centres (see Section 3.3.3 of Manuel and Manuel, 2023, for further details).

5.7 Conclusion

This section has suggested five key areas of focus for the justice sector in terms of metrics. A change of culture within the sector is needed, with a much greater willingness to share and be open with data. This also involves

a much greater engagement with quantitative data and analysis, including the development of a cadre of justice economists and statisticians and use of techniques such as cost-effectiveness and cost-benefit analysis, along with better standardisation of methodologies and metrics. As with other service sectors, there also needs to be a willingness to invest in gathering data on key metrics, particularly in lower-income countries that are currently being left behind in this respect.

31 This would just be one indicator of quality. More detailed analysis is also needed, recognising that service quality is experiential, and will depend on wider inequalities.

6 Conclusion and recommendations

6.1 Conclusion

ODI research has shown both the scale of the justice service gap in lower-income countries and the potential to take immediate steps to address that gap, through funding front-line services. The evidence is that frugal, innovative, locally developed front-line services have the potential to fill the justice service gap cost-effectively.

Ensuring every country has at least a basic justice system seems to be a reasonable aspiration for the international community, in line with SDG 16.3. The costs are below those of providing access to a basic education or health system (Figure 3). In common with what has occurred in other service sectors, scaling up justice services in lower-income countries to achieve universal access to a basic service requires significant reallocation of aid away from institutional reform and capacity development and towards funding services. From among the various components of a basic justice system (Figure 1), priority should be given to those aspects that show evidence of cost-effectiveness, impact and value for money. ODI's research has presented evidence that front-line services providing legal advice, assistance and informal dispute resolution (5% of the total costs of a basic justice system) fall into this category.

While overseas development assistance is key to meeting the justice finance gap in lower-income countries, there is some potential for private sector investors to contribute and make a financial return from justice problems. However, in lower-

income countries, experience with user-pays models for services suggests that user fees are problematic and limit access. Similarly, people with justice problems in lower-income countries have limited ability to pay to have their problems resolved. New vehicles, such as social/ development investment bonds could complement the funding of core justice services, but after more than 10 years are still in their infancy, accounting for less than 0.05% of global aid flows across all sectors.

Addressing the data gap in lower-income countries is also key if these countries are not to be left behind. This, too, will require partnerships between lower-income countries and donors.

6.2 Recommendations for the Justice Action Coalition and other interested countries to take forward financing for people-centred justice

6.2.1 Recommendations on justice aid

- Donor member countries of the Justice Action Coalition agree to target 10% of their justice aid to front-line justice services in lower-income countries where services achieve or have the potential to achieve benchmark unit costs. Within this total, 0.1% of justice aid should be ringfenced to assess need (through justice/legal needs surveys) and measure the impact of interventions in all lower-income countries.
- Donor member countries develop appropriate funding mechanisms for

coordinated, results-based funding for scaled-up, front-line people-centred justice services in lower-income countries (potentially initially on a pilot basis in two or three such countries).

- Donor member countries agree to recommend that OECD DAC changes its definitions and codes to incorporate reporting on aid to front-line justice services (as health and education have done in relation to ‘primary’ services).

6.2.2 Recommendations on domestic financing of people-centred justice

- Member countries of the Justice Action Coalition agree to undertake public expenditure reviews of the justice sector to assess level of expenditure on front-line people-centred justice and the scope to reallocate resources to front-line services.
- Member countries develop and publish disaggregated justice budgets, identifying proportion spent on basic justice and front-line services.

6.2.3 Recommendations on people-centred justice data

- Justice Action Coalition member countries and partners agree to provide open data on the cost-effectiveness of people-centred justice initiatives they invest in, promote or are associated with.³²

- Member countries and partners further develop methodology to estimate level of justice service coverage.
- Member countries and partners work with the Copenhagen Consensus Centre and BRAC University to develop methodological guidelines on cost–benefit analysis of people-centred justice services in lower-income countries.
- Member countries and partners agree to submit impact evaluations of justice interventions to the Global Justice Data Observatory.

32 Examples could include: WJP’s World Justice Challenge (<https://worldjusticeproject.org/world-justice-challenge>); Justice Action Coalition’s examples of Good Practices on People-Centered Justice (Justice Action Coalition, 2023b); members of the Grassroots Justice Network convened by Namati (<https://namati.org/network/>); and examples of HiiL’s Gamechangers (<https://dashboard.hiil.org/the-gamechangers>).

References

- Achinonu, K., Adeniran, A., de Langen, M. and Steven, D.** (2023) From justice for the few to justice for all: a model for high-ambition action to deliver the SDGs. New York: United National Foundation (<https://unfoundation.org/what-we-do/issues/sustainable-development-goals/a-model-for-people-centered-justice/>).
- Brown, E and Tanner, J** (2019) Integrating value for money and impact evaluations: issues, institutions and opportunities. Policy Research Working Paper 9041. Washington DC: World Bank Group, Independent Evaluation Group.
- Chapman, P. et al.** (2021) Grasping the justice gap: opportunities and challenges for people-centered justice data. Working Paper. New York and Washington DC: Pathfinders for Peaceful, Just and Inclusive Societies and World Justice Project (<https://worldjusticeproject.org/our-work/publications/working-papers/grasping-justice-gap#:~:text=Billions%20of%20people%20face%20critical,to%20delivering%20justice%20for%20all>).
- Chopra, T. and Isser, D.** (2012) 'Access to justice and legal pluralism in fragile states: The case of women's rights' Hague Journal on the Rule of Law 4: 337–358.
- Commission on Legal Empowerment of the Poor** (2008) Making the law work for everyone, vol. 1. New York: Commission on Legal Empowerment of the Poor and United Nations Development Programme (www.un.org/ruleoflaw/files/Making_the_Law_Work_for_Everyone.pdf).
- Conteh, F.M., Jones, Y.M., Conteh, S., Mbawa, H. and Ibrahim, A.F.** (2022) The costs and benefits of community-based justice in Sierra Leone. Freetown, Sierra Leone: the Centre for Alternative Policy Research and Innovation (www.idrc.ca/en/project/scaling-access-justice-research-collaboration).
- Cox, M.** (2018) Reimagining law and justice assistance. London: Agulhas. (<https://agulhas.co.uk/2018/12/03/reimagining-law-justice-assistance-marcus-cox/>).
- Cross, M.** (2023) 'News focus: Holistic vision for online dispute resolution' Law Society Gazette 9, June (www.lawgazette.co.uk/news-focus/news-focus-holistic-vision-for-online-dispute-resolution/5116284.article).
- Denney, L. and Domingo, P.,** (2023) Taking people-centred justice to scale: the role of customary and informal justice in advancing people-centred justice. London: ODI (<https://odi.org/en/publications/taking-people-centred-justice-to-scale-the-role-of-customary-and-informal-justice-in-advancing-people-centred-justice/>).
- Denney, L., and Laws, E.,** (2019) Diverse pathways to Justice for All: supporting everyday justice providers to achieve SDG 16.3. The Hague: Cordaid (<https://odi.org/en/publications/diverse-pathways-to-justice-for-all-supporting-everyday-justice-providers-to-achieve-sdg-163/>).
- DfID – UK Department for International Development** (2016) Eliminating world poverty: building our common future. London: DfID (https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/229029/7656.pdf).
- Domingo, P.** (2016) Rule of law, politics and development: the politics of rule of law reform. London: ODI (<https://odi.org/en/publications/rule-of-law-politics-and-development-the-politics-of-rule-of-law-reform/>).

- Domingo, P., Pellini, A., Jones, I., Manuel, M., Manuel, C., Sandhar, J., Lavalley, S., Manea, S., Sharma, A., Putra, A., Arifianti, E. and Damayana, G.** (forthcoming) The political economy of domestic resourcing of access to civil justice/legal aid needs. London: ODI
- EC – European Commission** (2011) Thematic evaluation of European Commission support to justice and security system reform. Final Report, Volume 1, Main Report. Evaluation for the European Commission. Brussels: European Commission.
- Ecorys** (2022) Societal cost benefit analysis of the innovation potential in the justice domain. Summary report. Rotterdam: Ecorys.
- Edwards, S.** (2023) ‘How results-based financing failed to live up to the hype’. Devex, 9 February (www.devex.com/news/how-results-based-financing-failed-to-live-up-to-the-hype-104643).
- Evans, M., Manuel, M., McNabb, K., Kamninga, T. and Manea, S.** (2023) Financing social assistance in lower-income countries post-Covid-19: an exploration of realistic options. ODI Working Paper. London: ODI (www.odi.org/en/publications/financing-social-assistance-in-lower-income-countries-post-covid-19-an-exploration-of-realistic-options/).
- Farrow, T. and Currie, A.** (2023) Exploring community-based services, costs and benefits for people-centred justice. Osgoode Legal Studies Research Paper No. 4441894. Toronto: Canadian Forum on Civil Justice (https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=4441894).
- Farrow, T., Currie A., Aylwin, N., Jacobs, L., Northrup, D. and Moore, L.** (2016) Everyday legal problems and the cost of justice in Canada: overview report. Toronto: Canadian Forum on Civil Justice
- Gaarder, M. and Linn, J.F.** (2023) ‘Upping the game: adding cost to impacts’ *Journal of Development Effectiveness* 15(1) (www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/19439342.2023.2171062).
- Glenn, H.** (1999) *Paths to justice*. Oxford, UK: Hart Publishing.
- Griggs, R.A.** (2013) ‘Findings and recommendations from evaluating the criminal justice pilot project at Kanengo and Mangochi police stations, 1 October 2009 to 30 September 2012’. New York: Open Society Justice Initiative.
- Griggs, R.** (2016) Evaluation of the Village Mediation Programme. Technical assistance to the 10th EDF Democratic Governance Programme in Malawi, short term experts mission Nr 07-11. Munich: Bureau for Institutional Reform and Democracy GmbH
- Heaven, C., Rocha Menocal, A., von Billerback, S. et al.** (2022) From elite bargains to (more) open and (more) inclusive politics. University of Reading Research Report (<https://centaur.reading.ac.uk/103927/>).
- HiiL** (2020) Charging for justice. SDG 16.3 trend report 2020. The Hague: HiiL (<file:///C:/Users/cmanuel/Downloads/HiiL-report-Charging-for-Justice-3.pdf>).
- HiiL** (2021) Delivering justice, rigorously. A guide to people-centred justice programming. The Hague: HiiL (<https://dashboard.hiil.org/trend-report-2021-delivering-justice/>).
- HiiL** (2022a) ‘How to figure out “what works” in people-centred justice?’ HiiL Policy Brief. The Hague: HiiL (<https://dashboard.hiil.org/what-works-in-people-centred-justice-policy-brief/>).
- HiiL** (2022b) ‘How to figure out “what works” in people-centred justice?’ HiiL Background Paper. The Hague: HiiL (<https://dashboard.hiil.org/what-works-in-people-centred-justice-policy-brief/background-paper/>).

- HiiL** (2023a) Justice needs and satisfaction in Nigeria. The Hague: HiiL (www.hiil.org/research/justice-needs-and-satisfaction-in-nigeria/#:~:text=Approximately%2081%25%20of%20Nigerians%20experience,deemed%20fair%20or%20very%20fair).
- HiiL** (2023b) Justice needs and satisfaction in Tunisia. The Hague: HiiL (www.hiil.org/research/justice-needs-and-satisfaction-in-tunisia/).
- HiiL** (n.d.) 'Justice Dashboard – methodological note' (<https://dashboard.hiil.org/justice-dashboard-methodology/>).
- Hoeffler, A. and Fearon, J.** (2014) Conflict and violence assessment paper: benefits and costs of the conflict and violence targets for the post-2015 development agenda. Copenhagen: Copenhagen Consensus Center (https://copenhagenconsensus.com/sites/default/files/conflict_assessment_-_hoeffler_and_fearon.pdf).
- Hossain, M.S. and Zaman, N.** (2016) Cost–benefit study on implementing village courts in union parishads of Bangladesh: Bangladesh priorities. Copenhagen: Copenhagen Consensus Center (www.copenhagenconsensus.com/sites/default/files/hossain_village_courts.pdf).
- ICAI – Independent Commission for Aid Impact** (2015) Review of UK development assistance for security and justice. London: ICAI (<https://icai.independent.gov.uk/wp-content/uploads/ICAI-Report-UK-Development-Assistance-for-Security-and-Justice..pdf>).
- IDLO – International Development Law Organization** (2019) Navigating complex pathways to justice: engagement with customary and informal justice. Rome: IDLO (www.idlo.int/sites/default/files/pdfs/publications/IDLO-Policy-and-Issue-Brief-Customary-and-Informal-Justice-Feb2019-LR.pdf).
- IDLO** (2021) Navigating complex pathways to justice: community paralegals and customary and informal justice. Rome: IDLO (www.idlo.int/sites/default/files/handout_paralegals_and_cij_for_final.pdf).
- IDLO and Global Women’s Institute** (2022) Survivor-centred justice for gender-based violence in complex situations. IDLO and Global Women’s Institute, Washington DC: George Washington University.
- Justice Action Coalition** (2023a) 'Mid-way through the 2030 Agenda: translating ambitions into actions through people-centered justice'. Outcome Document from ministerial meeting of the Justice Action Coalition, 19 June 2023 (https://cic.nyu.edu/wp-content/uploads/2023/06/Outcome-Documents-Ministerial-16-June_English-1.pdf).
- Justice Action Coalition** (2023b) Good practices and commitments on people-centered justice. New York: Pathfinders for Peaceful, Just and Inclusive Societies, New York University Center for International Cooperation (<https://cic.nyu.edu/wp-content/uploads/2023/06/Justice-Action-Coalition-Good-Practices-and-Commitments-on-People-Centered-Justice-June-2023.pdf>).
- Jamison, D.T., Summers, L.H., Alleyne, G., Arrow, K.J., Berkley, S., Binagwaho, A., Bustreo, F., Evans, D., Feachem, R.G., Frenk, J. and Ghosh, G.** (2013) 'Global health 2035: a world converging within a generation' *The Lancet* 382(9908): 1898–1955 ([www.thelancet.com/journals/lancet/article/PIIS0140-6736\(13\)62105-4/fulltext](http://www.thelancet.com/journals/lancet/article/PIIS0140-6736(13)62105-4/fulltext)).
- Lawson, A.** (2014) Synthesis of budget support evaluations: analysis of the findings, conclusions and recommendations of seven country evaluations of budget support. Oxford: Fiscus Public Finance Consultants, Ltd.

- LDP – The Law & Development Partnership** (2015) Developing a portfolio of financially sustainable, scalable basic legal service models. London: LDP (www.idrc.ca/sites/default/files/sp/Documents%20EN/resources/bls-briefing-paper-en.pdf).
- LEN – Legal Empowerment Network** (2021) 2021 Annual Network Survey results. Washington, DC: Namati ([file:///C:/Users/cmanuel/Downloads/2021%20Annual%20Survey%20Results%20\(external\).pdf](file:///C:/Users/cmanuel/Downloads/2021%20Annual%20Survey%20Results%20(external).pdf)).
- Lomborg, B.** (2014) *Prioritizing the World*. Copenhagen: Copenhagen Consensus Center.
- Mair, V.** (2017) ‘Investors in Peterborough prison bond, the world’s first social impact bond, to get 3% return’. *Responsible Investor* (www.responsible-investor.com/peterborough-sib/#:~:text=Overall%2C%20the%20SIB%2C%20which%20raised,to%20a%20national%20control%20group).
- Makinson, R.** (2021) ‘LASPO: how a near-decade of legal aid cuts has affected Britain’s most vulnerable’. *Lawyer Monthly* (www.lawyer-monthly.com/2021/08/laspo-how-a-near-decade-of-legal-aid-cuts-has-affected-britains-most-vulnerable/).
- Manea, S., Manuel, C. and Manuel, M.** (2023) ‘Justice aid update, 2023’. ODI Policy Brief. London: ODI.
- Manuel, C. and Manuel, M.** (2022) ‘Justice aid update and lessons from latest evaluations of donor programming’. ODI Policy Brief. London: ODI (<https://odi.org/en/publications/justice-aid-update-and-lessons-from-latest-evaluations-of-donor-programming/>).
- Manuel, M. and Manuel, C.** (2018) *Achieving equal access to justice for all by 2030: lessons from global funds*. ODI Working Paper. London: ODI (www.odi.org/publications/11161-achieving-equal-access-justice-all-2030-lessons-global-funds).
- Manuel, M. and Manuel, C.** (2021) *People-centred justice for all: a route to scaling up access to justice advice and assistance in low-income countries*. ODI Research Report. London: ODI (<https://odi.org/en/publications/people-centred-justice-for-all/>).
- Manuel, M. and Manuel, C.** (2023) “‘Small is beautiful, but scale is necessary’: front-line justice services in lower-income countries with the potential to scale-up’. ODI Policy Brief. London: ODI (<https://odi.org/en/publications/small-is-beautiful-but-scale-is-necessary-front-line-justice-services-in-lower-income-countries-with-the-potential-to-scale-up/>).
- Manuel, M., Manuel, C. and Desai, H.,** (2019) *Universal access to basic justice: costing SDG 16.3*. ODI Working Paper 554. London: ODI (www.odi.org/publications/11347-universal-access-basic-justice-costing-sustainable-development-goal-163).
- Manuel, C., Manuel, M. and Stewart, S.** (2022) ‘Advancing SDG 16.3 by investing in prison paralegals to cut the number of unsentenced detainees in low-income countries’. ODI Policy Brief. London: ODI (<https://odi.org/en/publications/advancing-sdg-1632-by-investing-in-prison-paralegals-to-cut-the-number-of-unsentenced-detainees-in-low-income-countries/>).
- Manuel, M., Manuel, C., Manea, S. and Nagaria, D.** (2023) *Domestic financing for justice: who spends most on justice?* London: ODI (www.odi.org/en/publications/domestic-financing-for-justice-who-spends-most-on-justice/).
- Naraya, D., Patel, R., Schafft, K., et al.** (2000) *Voices of the poor: can anyone hear us?* New York: Oxford University Press (www.participatorymethods.org/sites/participatorymethods.org/files/can%20anyone%20hear%20ous_Narayan.pdf).
- OECD** (2019) *Equal access to justice for inclusive growth: putting people at the centre*. Paris: OECD

- OECD** (2020) Building a business case for access to justice. Paris: OECD Publishing (www.oecd.org/gov/building-a-business-case-for-access-to-justice.pdf).
- OECD** (2021) Framework and good practice principles for people-centred justice. Paris: OECD
- OECD** (2022) Session Notes from OECD Riga Global Access to Justice Roundtable 2022, 21 September, Riga, Latvia.
- OECD and Open Society Foundations** (2019) Legal needs surveys and access to justice. Paris: OECD Publishing (<https://doi.org/10.1787/g2g9a36c-en>).
- Okech, A.** (2017) 'Policy brief comparing state and traditional land justice systems in Uganda'. Kampala: Land and Equity Movement (<https://idl-bnc-idrc.dspacedirect.org/bitstream/handle/10625/57247/IDL-57247.pdf>).
- OSF – Open Society Foundations** (n.d. a) 'Community justice: Moldova'. Everywhere Justice: Delivering Community Justice Services at Scale. New York: OSF (www.opensocietyfoundations.org/publications/everywhere-justice-delivering-community-justice-services-scale).
- OSF** (n.d. b) 'Indonesia: access to justice through legal assistance officers'. Everywhere Justice: Delivering Community Justice Services at Scale. New York: OSF (www.opensocietyfoundations.org/publications/everywhere-justice-delivering-community-justice-services-scale).
- Padilla-Vasquez, P.** (2023) 'Q&A: The case for financing people-centred justice'. UN Foundation Blog: emerging issues (<https://unfoundation.org/blog/post/qa-the-case-for-financing-people-centered-justice/>).
- Prabhu, J.** (2022) 'Frugal innovation is key to advancing the UN's global goal for education. Inter-Press Service News Agency. IPS UN Bureau. (ipsnews.net/2022/08/frugal-innovation-key-advancing-uns-global-goal-education/?utm_source=feedly&utm_medium=rss&utm_campaign=frugal-innovation-key-advancing-uns-global-goal-education).
- Radjou N., Prabhu J. and Ahuja, S.** (2012) Jugaad innovation: think frugal, be flexible, generate breakthrough growth. Hoboken, New Jersey: Jossey-Bass.
- Ruiz-Chiriboga, O.** (2020) 'Choosing the most favorable venue: forum shopping, shopping forums, and legal pluralism in Ecuador' *Mexican Law Review* 12(2): 53–86.
- Sandefur, R.L.** (2019) 'Access to what?' *Daedalus* 148(1): 49–55. Massachusetts: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press (<https://direct.mit.edu/daed/article/148/1/49/27247/Access-to-What>).
- Simanis, E., Manuel, T., Khater, M., Palmer, E. and Bergmann, J.** (2023) The business architecture: the hidden code of industry disruption. Working Paper. Cambridge: YNOT Institute, Queens College, Cambridge.
- Stewart, S.** (2022) The relationship between justice and equality. New York: Pathfinders for Peaceful, Just and Inclusive Societies and New York University Center on International Cooperation (<https://cic.nyu.edu/resources/the-relationship-between-justice-and-equality/>).
- Task Force on Justice** (2019) Justice for all. New York, NY: Pathfinders for Peaceful, Just and Inclusive Societies (www.justice.sdg16.plus/report-old2022).
- United Nations/World Bank** (2018) Pathways for peace, inclusive approaches for preventing violent conflict. Washington, DC: World Bank (<https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/28337>).

- UNDP** (2021) Strategic Plan 2022–2025. New York: UNDP (www.undp.org/publications/undp-strategic-plan-2022-2025).
- UNDP IEO – Independent Evaluation Office** (2023) Evaluation of UNDP support to access to justice. New York: UNDP Independent Evaluation Office (<http://web.undp.org/evaluation/evaluations/thematic/a2j.shtml#:~:text=The%20evaluation%20of%20UNDP%20support,and%20sustainability%20of%20UNDP%20offer>).
- UN General Assembly** (1966) International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 16 December, United Nations, Treaty Series, Vol. 999: 171 (www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/internationalcovenant-civil-and-political-rights).
- UNODC – UN Office on Drugs and Crime** (2021) Data matters, Report. Vienna: UNODC (www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/statistics/DataMatters1_prison.pdf).
- UNODC** (n.d.) ‘Unsentenced detainees as proportion of overall prison population’ (<https://dataunodc.un.org/sdgs>).
- USAID’s Center for Democracy, Human Rights and Governance** (2023) Rule of Law Policy: a renewed commitment to justice, rights, and security for all. Washington DC: USAID (www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/2023-04/USAID%20ROL%20Policy%20508%20230406.pdf).
- Weston, M.** (2022) The benefits of access to justice for economies, societies and the social contract: a literature review. New York: Pathfinders for Peaceful, Just and Inclusive Societies.
- WHO** (2018) A vision for primary health care in the 21st century: towards universal health coverage and the Sustainable Development Goals. Geneva: WHO and the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) (www.who.int/publications/i/item/WHO-HIS-SDS-2018.15).
- WHO** (2023) ‘Universal health coverage (UHC)’. WHO Fact Sheet. Geneva: WHO ([www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/universal-health-coverage-\(uhc\)](http://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/universal-health-coverage-(uhc))).
- WJP** (2019) Measuring the justice gap: a people-centered assessment of unmet justice needs around the world. Washington DC: WJP.
- WJP** (2023) WJP justice data graphical report, Part 1. Washington DC: WJP (https://worldjusticeproject.org/sites/default/files/documents/WJP-JusticeDataGR-Part1-2023_compressed.pdf).
- World Bank** (1993) World Development Report 1993: investing in health. New York: World Bank (<https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/5976>).
- World Bank** (2011) World Development Report 2011: conflict, security, and development. Washington DC: World Bank (<https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/4389>) License: CC BY 3.0 IGO).