Discussion Paper

Governance for Sustainable Development

Integrating Governance in the Post-2015 Development Framework

March 2014
Although the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) did not include a goal or targets on governance, the Millennium Declaration, adopted by the world’s leaders in 2000, recognized the vital link between good governance, development and human rights. Based on over a decade of experience with development progress and challenges, there are now widely accepted arguments that governance should play a stronger role in the post-2015 development agenda: effective governance institutions and systems that are responsive to public needs deliver essential services and promote inclusive growth, while inclusive political processes ensure that citizens can hold public officials to account. In addition, good governance promotes freedom from violence, fear and crime, and peaceful and secure societies that provide the stability needed for development investments to be sustained. Women are crucial partners in all these processes. Hence, governance enables the achievement of a range of critical development objectives. At the same time, as many surveys and much citizen action demonstrate, effective and accountable governance is also seen by many as an important end in itself.

Since the MDGs, many Member States have entered into global or regional agreements that involve commitments to improve governance, as well as human rights, peacebuilding, rule of law and transparency. Examples of such commitments include: the African Peer Review Mechanism, the g7+ Peacebuilding and State-building goals in the New Deal, The UN Convention against Corruption (UNCAC), the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative, the Universal Periodic Review Mechanism of the Human Rights Council, the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance, the Inter-American Democratic Charter and the Istanbul programme of Action for the Least Developed Countries. Mongolia and a few other countries have also added an extra “MDG 9” on Good Governance. These agreements and country initiatives have promoted efforts to systematically track and measure governance goals and targets and confirm that such goals and targets are integral to the overall development vision of many countries.

The ongoing discussions around a post-2015 development framework are based on a recognition that current development challenges are more complex than they were 15 years ago. For development to be sustainable - economically, socially and environmentally – and equitable, a new approach is needed that addresses the political, as well as the technical, aspects of development solutions.

Improved governance across many dimensions is a key part of this new approach. Governance is broader than institutions and includes relations between state and people. It provides the mechanisms through which collaboration can be generated across sectors. It also addresses some of the fundamental obstacles to sustainable development including exclusion and inequality.

“The Millennium Declaration[‘s]… core values of human rights, the rule of law and democratic governance… remain as valid as ever, both as fundamental for defining a life in dignity for all human beings, and as an enabling framework for efforts to expand the benefits of human progress to all….”

Source: Accelerating Achievement of the MDGs by Ways and Means of Economic and Social Rights, (UNDP 2012)
There is growing acceptance that the “one-size-fits-all” models of governance do not work and that there are diverging pathways towards more inclusive political and economic institutions. In addition to the quality of governance at national and sub-national levels, there is also now greater attention to global governance issues. The repercussions of the international financial crisis, the effects of climate change, the spill-over from intra-state conflict and impact of international crime, terrorism and illicit financial flows have raised attention to the importance of cross-border governance issues, in a world that is increasingly interconnected and more interdependent.

While this paper focuses on governance at the national level (relevant in all countries), improving governance is important at national, regional and global levels. Areas that require attention in the context of the broader post-2015 process include representation and voice of developing countries in international financial institutions, making the rules governing access to markets and technology more fair and equitable, taking steps to curb illicit financial flows, and strengthening global cooperation around migration.

The strongest endorsement of the importance of governance as a development outcome for the post-2015 agenda came from a series of national and global consultations, including a global survey that engaged the perspectives of nearly 2 million people:

‘People call for a new agenda built on human rights and universal values of equality, justice and security. Better governance underpins many of their calls.’ (A million voices: The world we want: Presentation of the report’s key messages)

Given the centrality of governance to people’s vision of a post-2015 development framework, this discussion paper aims to (1) provide evidence of the link between governance and development and (2) analyse some of the leading positions on how best to integrate governance and the rule of law into the post-2015 development framework.

**Governance and Sustainable Development**

In July 2012, Member States reaffirmed good governance as a foundation for development:

**Democracy, good governance and the rule of law** at the national and international levels, as well as an enabling environment, are essential for sustainable development including sustained and inclusive economic growth, social development, environmental protection and the eradication of poverty and hunger (General Assembly resolution 66/288).

Perspectives from many people coming out of surveys, like ‘My World’ and consultations on ‘The World We Want’, show that the quality of governance has a profound effect on sustainable development. A majority of the people consulted voted for ‘an honest and responsive government’ among their top priorities.

Deficits in the controls on power and the exercise of authority lie at the core of development challenges, including weak state capacity, social and political violence, conflict over natural
resources, stresses on citizen security, and environmental sustainability. The quality of governance plays a defining role in supporting the pillars outlined in ‘Realizing the Future We Want for All’\textsuperscript{1}, which advocates for an approach to the post-2015 development framework that is based on: (1) inclusive social development; (2) inclusive economic development; (3) environmental sustainability; and (4) peace and security.

\begin{quote}
‘Inequality and poverty are not accidents of fate. They are the results of policy decisions and power relationships which are discriminatory, exclusionary and unjust’. 
\textit{(Participant in the global consultations on governance for the post-2015 agenda)}
\end{quote}

The post-2015 development framework, therefore, needs to identify and address the multiple drivers of exclusion and inequality within political, economic and social systems, and support the means to foster inclusiveness and equality.

**Underpinnings of good governance**

To ascertain whether governance is ‘good’, actors look at the mechanisms that promote it, the processes used, and the outcomes achieved.

Mechanisms of good governance can include transparent, democratic institutions as well as efficient and effective public services.

Governance processes refer to the quality of participation necessary “to ensure that political, social and economic priorities are based on a broad consensus in society and that the voices of the excluded, poorest and most vulnerable are heard in decision-making.”\textsuperscript{2}

The outcomes of good governance could be peaceful, stable and resilient societies, where services are delivered and reflect the needs of communities, including the voices of the most vulnerable and marginalized.

Accountability is a key theme running through and underpinning many aspects of governance – both vertically, from government to people, and horizontally between parts of the state, such as the executive and the judiciary. Sustainable development will require that public officials account for actions taken in the public’s name and with public resources.

Internationally agreed normative frameworks, including human rights standards and principles, underpin the mechanisms and processes of governance. These include a range of concrete actions, such as urging institutions to carry out \textit{gender-responsive planning and budgeting processes},\textsuperscript{3} or adopt preventive policies, such as the establishment of anti-corruption bodies and enhanced transparency in the financing of election campaigns (UN Convention against Corruption).

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\textsuperscript{1} Report to the Secretary General by the UN System Task Team on the Post-2015 Development Agenda, June 2012.  
\textsuperscript{2} Governance for Sustainable Development, UNDP, 2005  
\textsuperscript{3} The 2011 UN General Assembly resolution on women in development (A/RES/66/216)
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**Accepting divergence**

Recent social uprisings and calls for change around the world have also contributed to the perception that excessive authority practiced outside of internationally accepted standards has negative consequences on development. In the longer-term, this risks building up or exacerbating tensions in the relationship between state and society, which can lead to instability and, in the worst case, violent conflict.

It is widely acknowledged that a single model of governance cannot and should not be imposed. Governance varies across contexts and cultures, and has evolved in response to a number of socio-cultural and economic factors. Where some countries have made great gains in health or education, but seen only modest growth in income, there are other countries that have failed to make progress in life expectancy despite strong economic performance. Recent events and the experience of many countries that have faced internal conflict confirm that progress on human development indicators, without meaningful people’s participation and equal opportunities for all, can lead to violent uprisings. The new consensus, replacing the Washington consensus of the 1980s, is to accept divergence in the way countries develop and improve their systems of governance, but reaffirm the global norms and standards agreed upon by member states.

The challenge in integrating governance into the post-2015 development framework is thus to translate multiple and diverse governance systems into concrete and measurable global development goals and targets.

**Governance in practice**

In practice, improving governance requires action in a wide range of areas, not all of which can be addressed at once, and not all can be the subject of a global consensus. The evidence is discussed below.

**Effective, responsive and accountable state institutions**

State capacity, or the ability of states to form and implement policy across the whole of their territory, is an essential prerequisite for sustainable human development. Many studies have demonstrated the importance of state capacity. For example, there is a causal link between the quality of public administration and economic growth. Conversely, weak states are more prone to conflict and civil war. However, capacity for sustainable development is not just about efficient administration; it also requires states to be responsive to the needs and demands of people, and the separate needs and rights of women and men, as well as being capable of administering, coordinating and mobilising

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4 There is an enormous diversity of governance and economic pathways towards human development, revealed in UNDP report ‘The Wealth of Nations’


6 Journal of Peace Research, Special issue on state capacity and civil war, May 2010; 47 (3)
collaborative action to address an increasingly interconnected and complex development agenda. Multi-stakeholder engagement with institutions including parliaments, courts, auditor-generals, ombudsmen, anti-corruption agencies, human rights commissions, civil society, media, and representatives of women’s groups, is required in order to help shape policy, ensure accountability and hold state institutions to account for their performance and the quality of services delivered.

**Openness and transparency – public access to information**

Openness and transparency are essential to achieve sustainable development. There is evidence that informed citizens and the private sector are better able to engage in developing policy; they are better collaborators and partners with government on service delivery, and also better able to hold governments to account, leading to improved development outcomes. Transparency in government behaviour sends strong signals to citizens and investors, and evidence shows that the more information a government releases, the greater the investment and subsequent affect on growth. There is also evidence that transparency in budget, expenditure and procurement processes lead to increases in service delivery. Transparency also has an intrinsic value (endorsed in various international conventions), namely, that citizens have a right to know how revenue and resources are being used in their name.

As seen in the commitment from a number of governments who have signed up to the Open Government Partnership (OGP) and the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI), there is a degree of consensus emerging on the importance of openness and transparency, and a number of proposals for goals and targets for post-2015 have been made in this regard. In particular, the extractive industries and disclosure of budgetary information by both state and private sectors have been a focus of attention. The HLP suggested a target: “Guarantee the public’s right to information and access to government data.” This could include information on the use of natural resources requiring corporate disclosure.

**Addressing corruption and curbing illicit financial flows**

There is a wealth of evidence that corruption is a major hindrance to sustainable development, with a disproportionate impact on the poor and marginalized populations. Corruption is bad for health and education outcomes, equity, rule of law, and foreign investment. It is also an international problem: USD$1 trillion of illicit flows are estimated to leave annually from the developing world; USD$11.5 trillion of assets are considered to be owned by individuals in off-shore banks, resulting in an estimated annual loss of USD$250 billion in tax revenue.

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Conversely, there is evidence that anti-corruption and wider transparency and accountability policies are associated with improved development outcomes such as education, health and water. Transparency International, for example, finds that good performance on anti-corruption initiatives and the rule of law is linked with higher youth literacy rates and lower maternal mortality rates.11

With UNCAC now ratified by 168 member states, demonstrating the commitment of State Parties, the existence of other regional anti-corruption conventions and many protests against corruption around the world, there is a growing awareness and consensus on the importance of addressing corruption and illicit financial flows through global and regional cooperation and the setting of standards. For example, the OECD countries have shown their commitment for automatic exchange of tax and financial information to combat global tax evasion and money laundering. The HLP proposed, “Reduce bribery and corruption and ensure officials can be held accountable,” though some have argued this should be expanded to include accountability of the private sector.

Justice and the Rule of Law

The rule of law is a principle of governance and is critical for sustainable development. It has been shown that countries adhering to the rule of law have higher levels of growth and investment through the protection of property rights.12 In addition, it can promote equity, gender equality, and inclusion through, for example, the protection of legal identity and more equitable access to resources for both women and men. Effective rule of law frameworks, together with implementation, help prevent and mitigate violent crime, resolve grievances, and protect citizens; all key elements to contain violent conflict. Some studies suggest that a conservative estimate of the economic costs of lost production, due to high levels of crime and violence, ranges from 2 to 3 percent of GDP.13 It can also promote more sustainable and equitable management of natural resources through, for example, protecting the rights of indigenous peoples to land and other communal resources.

Rule of law has also featured strongly in proposals for goals and targets. Specifically, recommendations have focused on improving equitable access to justice to enable people, in particular the poor and marginalized groups, to claim rights and services, as well as to peacefully settle disputes. With over 243 million children under the age of 5 without birth registration,14 there has also been an emphasis on ensuring that all persons have the benefit of legal protection and can exercise the basic rights of citizenship, such as access to services and participation in society through legal identity. In view of the close linkages between rule of law and the aims of poverty eradication, enhancing food security and promoting sustainable cities, emphasis has been given to protecting property and land use rights. Targets in these areas might include: provision of free and universal legal identity, including universal birth registration; increasing the share of women, men and communities with secure rights to land, property or other assets; and ensuring independent, accessible and responsive justice institutions.

Participation in decision-making

Participation is both a right, and a means to more sustainable development. When communities are actively engaged in their own development processes, project outcomes will be better targeted to local needs and results will be more sustainable. One study, for example, found that participatory budgeting in Brazilian municipalities between 1990-2004 led to greater spending on health and sanitation and reduced infant mortality rates. Socio-economic well-being will be improved, and so too will the legitimacy of the development process itself. Participation in policy development and the design of development interventions by communities and the society at large, in any society or community, enhances trust between those who decide, those who implement the decisions, and the population at large. Furthermore, inclusive participation through consensus and dialogue facilitate and galvanize the development and implementation of policies and reforms, and are crucial for promoting equity and strengthening the cohesiveness of societies. One of the major findings of various national and thematic consultations on the post-2015 development agenda is the need for strong participatory monitoring mechanisms by non-state actors (e.g. communities, youth and women’s networks, civil society networks, etc.) to hold government accountable.

Political participation, freedom of association, freedom of speech and freedom of the press, are also fundamental human rights and are widely seen as development objectives. Strengthening the rule of law (formal and informal) and the justice sector is key to ensuring that women’s indivisible human rights are protected and that they have access to justice. National parliaments and assemblies have played critical roles in many countries in support of the MDGs, and, in light of their law-making, budgeting and oversight functions, could play an even greater role in ensuring accountability of governments post-2015, and the shift to sustainable development. Ombudsman offices and national audit agencies could further contribute to sound governance and administrative accountability systems. There have been many calls, not least from parliamentarians, for a governance goal to include targets on political and civil rights including, freedom of expression and access to information.

Curbing violence and combating transnational organized crime

Globalisation has given rise to unprecedented growth in the volume of trade and movement of goods, persons and money across boundaries and borders. This has created considerable economic growth and prosperity, but all too often for the benefit of the few and the further disenfranchisment of many. Globalisation has also outpaced mechanisms for national, regional and global governance, giving rise to opportunities for transnational organised crime to thrive. The annual turnover of this kind of crime is thought to be USD$870 billion, the largest proportion of which comes from illicit drugs, which account for half of transnational organised crime’s proceeds. Human trafficking has become a global

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16 See, for example, the survey published at the Inter-parliamentary Assembly, Quito, March 2013, in which 80% of parliamentarians called for governance as a stand alone goal. http://www.ictparliament.org/node/10429
business, disproportionally affecting women.

Illicit flows present enormous challenges for sustainable human development, as well as peace and personal safety, through exacerbating already profound issues like corruption, violence, poverty, exploitation and conflict. Tackling these issues will require simultaneous attention to the demand driving the illicit markets for drugs or human trafficking, which are complex development challenges in their own right – including requiring attention to forced labour, the commercial sex industry and the needs of drug users - as well as action against supply chains.

Regional and international cooperation to investigate, prosecute and adjudicate cases have reinforced legal frameworks, particularly at regional and international levels. Far greater coherence is necessary of the service delivery bringing social, health and justice measures together. Criminal justice mechanisms should be strengthened in line with international human rights standards and principles as well introducing strategies and policies aimed at preventing crime, rehabilitating and supporting the recovery of addicts, and protecting victims.

Violence against women and girls is also pervasive. Globally, 1 in 3 women experience physical and/or sexual violence from a partner. A state’s ability to address these issues relies, at least in part, upon integrated service delivery from a range of public institutions, including through the provision of health, social and justice services.

**Addressing governance priorities for post-2015**

The nature of the goals for the post-2015 agenda is not yet certain, but the range of governance related challenges are clear, as is the rationale for increased attention to governance. However, a shift to sustainable development will require a new approach in a range of governance areas, for example:

**Planning for the long-term:** The core of sustainable development is meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. There is thus a need to develop institutions that promote inter-generational equity. However, the governing institutions, and thus political incentives, in most states emphasise and encourage a short-term approach. As the High Level Panel on Global Sustainability put it, “there are few incentives to put [sustainable development] into practice when our policies, politics and institutions disproportionally reward the short-term.”

**Integrating the different dimensions of sustainable development policy:** Sustainable human development requires finding synergies and coherence between what have been largely separate goals under the MDGs. However, planning institutions and processes in most countries still work along sectoral lines. Balancing the needs of environmental protection and development, in particular, has proved difficult.

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18 Recent analysis by the World Health Organisation and the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine (2013).
Innovation and collaboration: It is widely argued that hierarchical, government-driven approaches to development are unsuitable for the complex, multi-sectoral challenges of sustainable development. The explosive growth in the use of ICTs in the south, notably mobile phones, is also rapidly opening up new forms of engagement between citizen, state and the private sector and new forms of monitoring and evaluation. These developments put a high premium on the capacity of the public sector to innovate and collaborate with people and businesses - skills many government institutions often lack.

**Approaches to Integrating Governance into the Post-2015 Agenda**

An important lesson from the MDGs has been the need for clear and measurable goals, targets and indicators; they are especially important given that governance is a complex concept in a multi-faceted post-2015 development agenda:

For governance to have a credible place in the post-2015 agenda, goals and targets must be well-understood, based on sound evidence as to their relevance, and politically feasible. Weak or badly conceived goals and targets - for either a stand-alone goal or cutting across sectoral goals - will not drive the post-2015 agenda forward.

There are three broad options emerging from recent discussions in the OWG: a stand-alone governance and rule of law goal; an additional specific goal on peaceful societies; and governance as an enabler that is referenced in accompanying text, and is “mainstreamed” across other targets. The three options are discussed below.

- **A stand-alone governance (and rule of law) goal and targets**

There have been many proposals for a stand-alone governance goal. Most notable was the High Level Panel’s proposal of ‘good governance and effective institutions’. The discussions of the OWG are not conclusive, but focus area 19 in the recommendations of the OWG co-chairs (on “Peaceful and non-violent societies and capable institutions”) covers a similar range of ideas, although broadened to also cover aspects of promoting peace. It covers many of the ideas proposed by various states, parliamentarians, and civil society actors concerned with this topic.
Focus area 19. Peaceful and non-violence societies and capable institutions

“Creating peaceful, non-violent and inclusive societies, based on respect for all human rights including the right to development, is a cornerstone for sustainable development. Equality within and between countries is a key determinant of peaceful, non-violent and inclusive societies. Some areas that could be considered include effective, accountable and transparent institutions; provision of public services for all; improvement of transparency in public finances management; fighting corruption in all its forms; improved public access to information; inclusive participatory decision-making; strengthening local governments; strengthening of civil society; freedom of media association and speech; strengthening rule of law at all levels; curbing illicit financial flows; combating organized crime; reduction of crime, violence, abuse, exploitation including against children and women; provision of legal identity, provision of property, use and access to rights for all persons; providing access to independent and responsive justice systems.”

*(Proposal by the Open Working Group Co-Chairs)*

As yet, there has been no discussion in the OWG on targets. But many of the areas listed by the OWG could be turned into meaningful, measurable and actionable targets. “Fighting corruption,” for example, could be turned into a target on reducing the number of people or companies that report paying a bribe, or an increase in the number of convictions for corruption. “Provision of public services” could be turned into a target on access that would both promote equity in development outcomes and provide a proxy for effective institutions. “Improvement of transparency in public finances,” already a commitment by many states through the Open Government Partnership, could be turned into targets on publication of financial information or meeting freedom of information requests. “Provision of legal identity” could be turned into a target on increasing the proportion of under 5’s currently unregistered, etc.

**Strengths and weaknesses:**

A goal on governance would signal to people the importance of governance as an outcome of sustainable development, and not just an enabler; it would direct the attention of world leaders to a core element of the future that people all over the world would like to see. And it would put improving governance at the heart of country development plans, thus making those plans more likely to be achieved.

A goal with a set of far-reaching targets would also ensure that the inter-linkages between governance, rule of law, peace and security would be highlighted.

On the other hand, there is also a strong view that a stand-alone governance goal, without mainstreaming governance into the other goals, would not address how governance underpins sustainable development overall.
• A stand-alone goal and targets on peaceful societies

The HLP also proposed a goal on peaceful and stable societies. Such a goal on peace and security has drawn both support and opposition from some member states. While some agree to the importance of peace and security, they advocate that it should not be included in a development framework. The proposals made by the co-chairs of the Open Working Group include a focus area on peaceful and non-violent societies, which includes rule of law and addressing violence and organised crime, but does not refer to peacebuilding post-conflict. Nonetheless, in the response from Member States on the recommendations made by the co-chairs, some countries stressed the need for a separate goal on peace and security as a pre-condition for sustainable development.

In the recommendations of the OWG co-chairs, on “Peaceful and non-violent societies and capable institutions,” Focus area 19 does not indicate whether or not the areas listed would be covered under one or several goals. Focus area 19, however, does cover aspects of promoting peace. Ideas on how to translate this into concrete targets include: reducing the number of violent deaths; reducing the number of refugees; reducing organised crime, including illicit arms transfer and trafficking; enhancing the legitimacy, accountability, and capacity of security forces, police and judiciary; and ensuring universal access to justice.

Strengths and weaknesses

A specific goal on peace and security would signal the importance of stable societies for development and direct the attention of world leaders to an important element of the future that people want: to live in a safe environment, free from fear. It would also signal that ‘peaceful and stable societies’ is not just a laudable objective for post-conflict and fragile societies, but applies to all societies, developed and developing alike.

Given the links between rule of law, justice and security, the challenge for a specific peace and security goal, in addition to a governance goal, is that it could create areas of duplication/contestation on rule of law, which many also see as an essential component of a governance goal and targets.

• Mainstream governance across other development goals

Governance (and rule of law, peace and security) could be incorporated – or mainstreamed - across the goals, which would require clarifying and agreeing on what elements of governance would be necessary to achieve all or specific post-2015 goals. For instance, there could be elements that could be general such as legitimate and transparent institutions; transparent legal frameworks; and/or inclusive participation. These elements could then be applied across the goals through incorporating specific targets and indicators related to governance.

There could also be issues that apply to certain goals in particular. For instance, the Global Thematic Consultations on Inequalities argued that the root causes of inequalities lie within governance systems. Similarly, on environmental sustainability, the importance of access to justice and accountability for the protection and enforcement of environmental rights was noted.
**Strengths and weaknesses**

Mainstreaming governance across the sustainable development agenda would ensure that governance is considered in relation to a range of different sectors, potentially breaking down a ‘siloh’-based approach. However, this approach would not necessarily draw attention to governance overall, rather specific elements. There is also a risk that the essence of governance is reduced to the capacity of state and non-state institutions to deliver on the different goals and targets, rather than directing the overall sustainable development process. It would also risk undervaluing the importance of governance as an end of development, and not just an enabler.

For many in favor of including governance in the new framework, the ideal solution would lie in agreeing on a stand-alone governance goal, and possibly also a goal on peaceful and stable societies, while also mainstreaming good governance across the other goals.

- **Measurement considerations**

The Secretary-General signaled that a deficit in accountability was a cause of slow progress on the MDGs. By introducing a consultative and bottom-up approach to identifying issues and themes, the post-2015 development framework could function as an accountability tool at the national and international levels.

While there is some concern on the difficulties of measuring a governance goal, a series of technical working sessions convened by the UN, as well as the statistical annex for the TST brief on peace and governance have confirmed that significant progress has been made on measurability.\(^\text{19}\)

As with the MDGs, ownership of the measurement process for governance would need to rest at the country-level, not with international indexes. Much progress has already been made here, and a number of states are already reporting on the governance commitments they have made, such as the UN Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC) or the Open Government Partnership (OGP). The **Strategy for the Harmonization of Statistics in Africa** (ShaSa) initiative, whereby a number of National Statistics Offices came together to harmonise and develop methods to measure governance commitments under the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance, is a good example of what can be done. It has also recently been agreed that Cape Verde, a leading actor in ShaSa, will chair a group of interested states working with the Statistics Commission on developing peace and governance statistics.

Measuring governance, rule of law, peace and security needs a wide variety of approaches and data sources, regardless of whether the post-2015 development agenda includes governance (and peace and security) as (a) stand-alone goal(s), or incorporates these issues across other goals. This would include qualitative and quantitative measurement methods in order to collect numerical data and

narrative accounts, and the use of administrative data, public surveys, expert surveys and perception surveys. Given the amount of data available with civil society and the private sector, both government and non-government sources would need to be consulted.

The capacity of statistical agencies, at the national and sub-national level, remains an issue that requires attention, and for which substantive assistance would need to be available. The final measurement framework needs to clearly outline the layers and levels of accountability, consider ownership and data sovereignty, and link to national measurement systems.