



**A review and testing of available indicators for SDG 16.7.2:
“Proportion of population who believe that decision-making is
inclusive and responsive”**

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Introduction

SDG global indicator 16.7.2 is one of two indicators under target 16.7 – “Ensure responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision-making at all levels”. Indicator 16.7.1¹ focuses on representation of population groups in public institutions (drawing from administrative data sources), while SDG 16.7.2 complements this indicator with a focus on responsiveness and inclusiveness of decision-making as perceived by the population (drawing from population surveys). It is implicit in indicator 16.7.2 that “decision-making” refers to decision-making in the public governance realm (and not all decision-making).

Intrinsically, the ability to participate in society as full citizens, to have a say in the framing of policies and to dissent without fear are essential freedoms. Instrumentally, political voice can provide a corrective to public policy: it can ensure the accountability of officials and public institutions, reveal what people need and value, and call attention to significant deprivations. Political voice also reduces the potential for conflicts and enhances the prospect of building consensus on key issues, with pay-offs for economic efficiency, social equity, and inclusiveness in public life.²

Conceptual framework for study

An earlier analytical paper³ on SDG 16.7.2 prepared for the first Expert Group Meeting in May 2017 provided a framework for understanding the key concepts of “responsive and inclusive decision-making” and its importance and place within SDG 16. The paper then examined relevant survey questions in several long-established comparative cross-country sample surveys such as Afrobarometer (AfB) and the World Values Survey (WVS), and in countries participating in the SHaSA-GPS⁴ project to test for and help select a basket of indicators that best address the intention of SDG 16.7.2, namely people’s ability to participate in and influence governing processes. Annex 2 extends this analysis. Underlying this is the recognition that decision-making is both “downwards” (people are affected by the decisions made by their political representatives implemented via the administrative decisions of the public service and regulated by law) and “upwards” (citizens “upwardly” decide upon their representatives through the electoral process).

These elements of decision-making provide the organizing conceptual schema⁵ for 16.7.2 (see figure 1 below). Citizens also engage “horizontally” in decision-making in civil society organisations, which in turn are also in upward and downward interaction with the state. These various processes are enabled and protected by individual and civil liberties; and their workings in practice may be inclusive and impartial; or, on the contrary, corrupt and discriminatory.

¹ SDG indicator 16.7.1: “Proportions of positions (by sex, age, persons with disabilities and population groups) in public institutions (national and local legislatures, public service, and judiciary) compared to national distributions”

² See OECD, “Final report of the expert group on quality of life indicators”, 2017

³ “*Validating and prioritising available indicator(s) for SDG 16.7.2: Proportion of population who believe that decision-making is inclusive and responsive*”, May 2017, Prepared for UNDP Oslo Governance Centre by Mark Orkin PhD, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, National statistician of South Africa, 1995-2000.

⁴ Strategy for the Harmonization of Statistics in Africa (SHaSA) – Technical Working Group on Governance, Peace and Security (GPS) Statistics

⁵ Loc. cit.

Given that the intended instruments to measure 16.7.2 are sample surveys, the evidence to be assessed of these inter-relationships is through the reports of citizens who are engaged in them. They may report having perceived or experienced these relationships as worthy of trust; but alternatively as discriminating against them and their groupings on various grounds, or as corrupt, requiring favours or bribes to obtain services. These considerations, also covered in other targets of Goal 16, are reflected in Figure 1 by the dashed arrows.

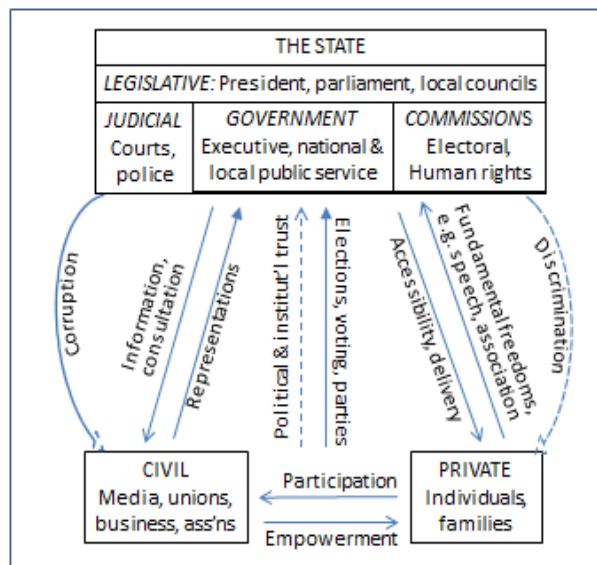


Figure 1: Aspects of responsible and inclusive decision-making in the social-scientific literature

The framework in Figure 1 comprises about a dozen components, some directly applicable to the “responsive” and “inclusive” attributes of target 16.7.2. All of these relationships have been repeatedly canvassed in reputable comparative sample surveys as well as in surveys administered by NSOs (some of which are included in this study).

The variety of relationships depicted above – downward, upward and horizontal – can be simplified into two areas of focus that help to narrow down the range of measures to draw from for reporting on SDG 16.7.2. These are:

1. People’s ability to *participate* in decision-making (‘inclusive decision-making’) and;
2. Decision-makers *giving attention* to people’s well-being and their views, and *taking action* on that basis (‘responsive decision-making’).

This study therefore proposes the following conceptual framework to guide the selection of candidate survey questions for SDG indicator 16.7.2:

1. Decision-making is *inclusive* of citizens (with a focus on participation)

‘Inclusive decision-making’ can be assessed by looking at experiences and/or subjective assessments:

A. Experiences of inclusive decision-making

- Voted in national and/or local elections
- Used national and/or local formal participation channels
(e.g. *In the past 12 months, have you attended any meetings held by your [provincial/communal authorities]?*)
- Joined activities of civic groups
(e.g. *Have you, over the last 12 months, participated in: activities of a political party or local interest group / in a public consultation / signed a petition / wrote a letter to a politician or to the media / participated in a demonstration?*)

- Contacted decision-makers (i.e. personal initiative)
(e.g. *During the last 12 months, have you contacted a politician, government or local government official?*)
- B. Subjective assessments of inclusive decision-making**
- Subjective assessments of ‘free and fair elections’
(e.g. *In this country how free are you to choose who to vote for without feeling pressured?*)
 - Subjective assessments of ‘inclusive decision-making’ in general
(e.g. *How well or badly you think your local government is consulting traditional, civil, and community leaders before making decisions?*)

2. Decision-making is *responsive* to citizens (with a focus on response)

‘Responsive decision-making’ can be broken into ‘decision-makers listen’ and ‘decision-makers act’.

A. Level 1: Decision-makers ‘listen’

(e.g. *How much of the time do you think Members of Parliament / local government councillors try their best to listen to what people like you have to say?*)

B. Level 2: Decision-makers ‘act’

(e.g. *How much would you say that the political system in [country] allows people like you to have an influence on politics [or ‘on what the government does’]?)*

Key methodological considerations

Exclusion of expert-based composite indices

First, the study recommends excluding indicators based on expert assessments (such as V-Dem’s Deliberative Component Index or Equal Access Index, or the Democracy Index of *The Economist’s* Intelligence Unit) to respect the prioritization of national sources established by the SDG indicator framework. However several of the individual indicators that make up expert-based composite indices are found in similar forms in population survey questions, and may appear in the mapping in Annex 1.

Statistically assessing and prioritizing candidate survey questions

Rather than making a purely ‘debate-based choice’ among various wording options, this study proposes also to take account of statistical indications regarding which survey questions are significant predictors of a composite outcome of relevance to target 16.7. **These indications use “overall satisfaction with the way democracy works in this country” (a common survey question in regional and global population surveys on governance⁶) as a regression outcome measure** representing the intended contribution of target 16.7 to SDG 16. The bearing of the statistical indications on the possible question formulations is taken up in detail below.

⁶ E.g. *How democratically is this country being governed today?* (World Values Survey, 7th round) and *“In your opinion, how much of a democracy is [country] today?”* (Afrobarometer and Latinobarometro, round 2016/18)

Questions on trust should feature under SDG 16

Questions on trust are found to be good ‘predictors’ of satisfaction with democracy and therefore should feature under SDG 16.

To assess the extent of inter-survey variability of results on eight indicative survey questions relevant to 16.7.2, a composite dataset of four regional Barometers (namely the African, Asian, Latino- and Arab-Barometers) was compared with the World Values Survey dataset, using means-testing and confidence intervals (Annex 2.1). Beyond showing that there is surprising little inter-survey variability in survey results, especially for specified questions and in countries where survey controls would appear to be more consistent, this analysis also confirmed that trust-based survey items are particularly robust from the viewpoint of inter-survey reliability.

This study is aware that a proposal to add trust indicators to monitor target 16.6 (“Develop effective, accountable and transparent institutions at all levels”) has been adopted by the UN Statistical Commission in 2016, and that a process for discussing this proposal will soon be underway, starting in 2018. While this consultative process has not yet been initiated, it is hoped that the three institutional trust questions recommended by the OECD in its recently published *Guidelines on Measuring Trust* (2017) – namely trust in Parliament, in the police and in the civil service – will indeed be adopted by the IAEG as official SDG indicators under target 16.6. These three trust-based measures are those for which the OECD found “the strongest evidence for their validity and relevance”.

Additionally, this study’s analysis of inter-survey variability has shown acceptable congruence on, especially, the question of “trust in the police” irrespective of whether the question is administered by a regional Barometer or by the WVS. (The congruence was less for “trust in Parliament”. “Trust in the civil service” was not available for comparison.)

Most importantly, when the two-stage regression-based exploration described in Annex 2.3 was applied to the OECD’s chosen trust variables, *within* each of five comparative surveys involved, “trust in Parliament” and “trust in the police” performed strongly as a pair in predicting “satisfaction with democracy”, especially in rounds 6 (2012) and 8 (2016) of the European Social Survey. The results are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Strength of OECD's "trust in Parliament" and "trust in the police" indicators² as predictors of "satisfaction with democracy", in multi-country comparative surveys¹

Comparative survey	Abbrev.	Date	Trust in Parliament	Standardized B	Other significant "trust" variable ²	Standardized B	Rsq. of model
European Social Survey R6	ESS6	2012-13	Trust in country's parliament (trstprl)	0.411	Trust in the police (trstplc)	0.220	0.307
European Social Survey R8	ESS8	2016-17	Trust in country's parliament (trstprl)	0.488	Trust in the police (trstplc)	0.173	0.348
World Values Survey R6	WVS	2012	Confidence in Parliament (V117)	0.223	Confidence in the police ²	0.095	0.076
Afrobarometer R5	AfB	2012-13	How much do you trust the Parliament? (Q59Bn)	0.241	How much do you trust the police (Q59Hn)	0.142	0.108
Afro-, Arab-, Asian & Latino Barometers ³	Gbar	2009	Trust in Parliament (tru_pan)	0.375	Trust in the police (tru_pon)	0.134	0.168

1. For each survey, a simple linear regression was run between the potential predictors and an outcome representing Goal 16. The outcome variable used for all surveys except WVS is closely akin to "Overall, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in this country?" (e.g. AfB Q43). For WVS it is "How democratically is this country being governed today?" (V141). Then a further regression was run with the items of "Trust/confidence" in Parliament, the police, and the civil service (when asked see n.2). Their predictive strength is shown by the "B" coefficients, in standardized form for comparability within each survey. "Rsq." indicates the proportion of variance they jointly explain. Comparisons across surveys should be judicious.

2. Only WVS included an option "Confidence in the civil service." It was not significant ($p > 0.05$, $B = 0.005$).

3. Data for selected variables from four Barometers, for the rounds near 2009, have been conveniently collated and published with translations.

Given the OECD's own extensive research in their *Guidelines on Measuring Trust*⁷, and the above empirical indications regarding their predictive force for the "satisfaction with democracy" outcome, this study would emphasise two critical considerations:

1. Should the OECD bundle of three trust-based survey questions (on parliament, police and civil service) *not* be adopted by the IAEG under target 16.6, it will be important for some of these trust-based items to find their way under 16.7, as component indicators for 16.7.2. With its focus on "inclusive and responsive decision-making", trust in parliament would sit particularly well under 16.7.2.
2. The two other trust-based survey questions canvassed in this study as possible indicators of "satisfaction with democracy" – namely trust in the electoral authority and trust in local authorities – are not included in OECD's bundle of three, and as such will be considered below alongside other survey questions compiled in Annex 1.

Politically sensitive survey items and self-censorship

In a third piece of empirical analysis, this study tested the claim made in recently published research⁸ that due to fear of the government (and to respondents' belief that the government is administering the survey), there is systematic upward bias for questions regarding the citizen-state relationship (such as 16.7.2), and more so in autocratic than democratic countries.

To further investigate this claim, the "survey-sponsor effect" was assessed on twelve candidate indicators (selected for their relevance to 16.7.2 or their correlation with the "satisfaction with democracy" outcome

⁷ OECD, *Guidelines on Measuring Trust* (Paris: OECD, November 2017), at <http://www.oecd.org/publications/oecd-guidelines-on-measuring-trust-9789264278219-en.htm>.

⁸ See "The Authoritarian Trust Bias: Politically Sensitive Survey Items and Self-Censorship", by Marcus Tannenber, V-Dem Institute, June 2017.

measure), across three levels of democracy (i.e. autocracies, hybrid regimes and near democracies). The published research and our analysis use AfroBarometer, because it includes the key question on who the respondents think is running the survey. Eight trust-based survey questions and four others were included in this analysis, as seen in the panel of graphs in [Annex 2.2](#).

The findings are detailed in [Annex 2.2](#). The survey-sponsor effect in the countries covered by the AfB survey varies appreciably across the questions. Expectedly, when looking at the total sample of some 40,000 people across approximately 30 Afrobarometer countries, the issue of who the respondent thinks is sponsoring the survey was generally found to make a statistically significant difference.⁹ The biggest discrepancy is for “trusting the President”, and marginally less for “trusting Parliament”, in the case of autocracies. It amounts to a worst-case difference of 0.3 on the scale of 1 to 4 used by AfB.

The analysis is useful, towards the indicator-choice argument below, in revealing which indicators have the most negligible sponsor effects. Thus one would favour questions where for the triangles and circles overlap, or nearly, such as:

- *How free are you to choose to vote?*
- *Do MPs listen to what people like you have to say?*
- *Trust in the tax department* (AfB doesn't carry the OECD's "Trust in the civil service" question, so this could be a surrogate)
- *Trust in the electoral authority* and *trust in the elected local government council* appear to have roughly the same sponsor-effect.

Well-known caveats with survey-based perception indicators

Finally, a methodological caveat that applies to all perception-based survey indicators, and as such is not specific to 16.7.2: populations in different countries may have very different thresholds for saying “Strongly agree” or “Agree”. Expectations may be lower in some countries than in others, thus making comparisons across countries inherently problematic. The same problem may also occur over time: when expectations change, levels can go up and down without anything changing in reality.

And thus the long-term aim will be to apply agreed survey questions over time, for reliable in-country comparisons and the possibility of observing and explaining between-country differences – just as has been advanced over the last half-century for measures of GDP or employment between more and less industrialised vs. subsistence-agriculture countries.

⁹ It is important to keep in mind that statistical significance, which licenses inference from the sample-based result to the parent population, is a necessary but not sufficient condition for a notable *effect size*. Furthermore, it may be that with a more typical sample that would be used in any one country, the survey-sponsor effect may not be significant for the somewhat more politically sensitive instances, especially as one moves from autocracy to democracy. This warrants further research.

Building a pair of indicators for SDG 16.7.2

Keep in mind the conceptual framework introduced earlier:

1. Decision-making is *inclusive* of citizens (focus on participation)

A. Experiences of inclusive decision-making

- Voted in national and/or local elections
- Used national and/or local formal participation channels
- Joined activities of civic groups
- Contacted decision-makers (i.e. personal initiative)

B. Subjective assessments of inclusive decision-making

- Subjective assessments of ‘free and fair elections’
- Subjective assessments of ‘inclusive decision-making’ in general

2. Decision-making is *responsive* to citizens (focus on response)

A. Level 1: Decision-makers ‘listen’

B. Level 2: Decision-makers ‘act’

Also keep in mind the empirical analyses performed on candidate survey questions from several comparative surveys, as described in [Annex 2.3](#), to assess the extent to which they contribute towards a “satisfaction with democracy” outcome. The results of these analyses are shown in Table 2 for “non-trust” options. (The three “trust” options recommended by the OECD were dealt with earlier.)

We examine here two key considerations for discussion in building a basket of indicators for operationalizing SDG indicator 16.7.2. Our starting assumption is that a basket of indicators for 16.7.2 should include at least one question on ‘inclusive decision-making’ and one question on ‘responsive decision-making’. These two considerations are as follows:

1. With regards to ‘inclusive decision-making’ (first dimension of 16.7.2), is there a need for both experience *and* subjective assessment questions?
2. With regards to ‘responsive decision-making’ (second dimension of 16.7.2), which survey questions best predict “satisfaction with democracy”?

For each one of these considerations, some observations are offered starting on p. 11 below as inputs for the discussion.

Table 2 – “Non-trust options” for candidate survey items for 16.7.2

Table 1: Indicators respectively relevant to "inclusive" and "responsive" decision-making in SDG16.7.2 that are the strongest predictors of "satisfaction with democracy", drawn from sets of potentially relevant variables in in multi-country comparative surveys ¹							
Comparative survey	Abbrev.	Date	Inclusive	Standard-ized B	Responsive	Standard-ized B	Rsq. of model
European Social Survey R6	ESS6	2012-13	National elections are free and fair (fairelc)	0.136	Government changes policies in response to what most people think (chpldmc)	0.157	0.374
European Social Survey R8	ESS8	2016-17	Taken part in lawful public demonstration last 12 months (pbldmn)	0.06	Political system allows people to have influence on politics (psppipla)	0.383	0.146
World Values Survey R6	WVS	2012	Free and fair election (V228A and V228I) ²	0.212	---	---	0.047
Afrobarometer R5	AfB	2012-13	Freeness and fairness of the last national election? (Q28)	0.328	Members of Parliament listen to what people like you have to say? (Q62A)	0.099	0.122
Afro-, Arab-, Asian & Latino Barometers ⁴	Gbar	2009	Free and fair elections (fr_fr)	0.375	---	---	0.150

1. For each survey, a simple linear regression was run between the potential predictors and an outcome representing Goal 16. The outcome variable used for all surveys except WVS is closely akin to "Overall, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in this country?" (e.g. AfB Q43). For WVS it is "How democratically is this country being governed today?" (V141). Then a further regression was done with only the best "inclusive" and (if available) the best "responsive" item. Their predictive strength is represented by the "B" coefficients, shown in standardized form for comparability within each survey. "Rsq." indicates the proportion of variance they jointly explain. Comparisons across surveys should be interpreted judiciously.

2. This WVS item is the mean score on the two strongest of ten very detailed electoral items asked by WVS, viz. "V228A How often in [country's] elections are votes are counted fairly " and "V228I How often in [country's] elections are voters are offered a genuine choice in the elections".

3. The suites of variables in WVS R6, and also Gbar, did include a suitable option for "Responsive".

4. Data for selected variables from four Barometers, for the rounds near 2009 , have been conveniently collated and published with translations.

1. With regards to ‘inclusive decision-making’ (first dimension of 16.7.2), is there a need for both experience and subjective assessment questions?

Regression analyses gave some insight into the relative predictive strength of people’s *experiences* of inclusive decision-making.

- First, a regression analysis run on the Afrobarometer dataset (Annex 2.3) shows that questions belonging to the first sub-category “Used national and/or local formal participation channels”, such as “Have you personally attended a community meeting during the past year?”, do not correlate significantly ($p > .05$) with “satisfaction with democracy”. (Thus one must not attend to the correlation coefficient shown.) It may also be noted that such an indicator could provide a perverse incentive to governments to start organizing a multitude of community meetings for their “performance” on such an indicator to improve – with little change in the actual inclusiveness and responsiveness of decision-making, which is the real focus of target 16.7.
- Second, one can see from the regression analysis run on datasets of the European Social Survey’s core questionnaires from rounds 6 (2012) and 8 (2016) (Annex 2.3, p. 34) that questions pertaining to the sub-category “Joined activities of civic groups” (such as “Worked in political party or action group in the last 12 months” or “Took part in lawful public demonstration in the last 12 months”) were statistically significant, but correlate weakly with “satisfaction with democracy” (regression

coefficients are 0.012 and 0.025 respectively for the two above-mentioned questions in Round 8; similarly weak in Round 6).

- Thirdly, and again using the European Social Survey dataset, we note that survey questions falling in the sub-category of “Contacted decision-makers” (i.e. personal initiative), although significant, also correlated weakly with the democracy-satisfaction outcome: the question “Contacted politician or government official in the last 12 months” has a coefficient of 0.011 in Round 8 and 0.018 in Round 6.
- As for the first sub-category “Voted in national and/or local elections”, it was not significant ($p > .05$) in the Afrobarometer dataset. One could also argue that a national electoral commission would likely produce similar voter turnout figures, and as such this type of survey question may not be the most useful amongst other options.
- Overall, one can therefore conclude that experience-based questions on “inclusive decision-making” do not appear to be adequate predictors of “satisfaction with democracy” and as such may not be prioritized for 16.7.2.

However, survey questions enquiring about people’s *subjective* assessment of the inclusiveness of decision-making appear to be more strongly correlated with “satisfaction with democracy”.

- Subjective assessments of free and fair elections” are found to be appreciably stronger predictors of “satisfaction with democracy” when looking at the ESS regression analysis (coefficient of 0.136 in Round 6, coming in 4th position). The correlation is even stronger when running the regression on the AfB dataset, where the question “On the whole, how would you rate the freeness and fairness of the last national election?” has a coefficient of 0.163 and offers the greatest predictive power for the democracy-satisfaction outcome, coming in first position. It is useful to keep in mind also that the similar question (also from AfB) “How free are you to choose who to vote for without feeling pressured” recorded a mild sponsor-effect (Annex 2.2), with a good slope.
- Alternatively, “trust in the electoral authority” is a potential proxy for people’s subjective assessment of how inclusive is decision-making. It correlated at 0.072 with “satisfaction with democracy” in the Afrobarometer dataset, 6th in the list.
- Subjective assessments of “inclusive decision-making” in general also make for potentially viable candidates. The ESS regression analysis shows that the question “How much would you say the political system in [country] allows people like you to have a say in what the government does?” is a fairly strong predictor, in 6th position of Round 8 (coefficient of 0.090).

Overall, one may conclude, based on the indicative empirical evidence presented above and in Annex 2.3, that for the first dimension of ‘inclusive decision-making’, experience-based indicators are weaker predictors of “satisfaction with democracy” than subjective assessments. It may therefore be recommended that for this first dimension of 16.7.2, a subjective question only is chosen.

2. With regards to ‘responsive decision-making’ (second dimension of 16.7.2), which survey questions best predict “satisfaction with democracy”?

- Both types of questions – assessing the extent to which “decision-makers listen” (level 1) and the extent to which “decision-makers act” (level 2) – show viable correlations with “satisfaction with democracy”.
- In terms of “decision-makers listen”, the AfB question “How much of the time do you think Members of Parliament try their best to listen to what people like you have to say?”, while not strongly correlated in the overall AfB list, presents a strong slope as well as low sponsor-effect (Annex 2.2). This question on MPs is also found to do somewhat better than a related question on local government officials: “How much of the time do you think local government councillors try their best to listen to what people like you have to say?”.
- In terms of “decision-makers act, the question “*How much would you say that the political system in [country] allows people like you to have an influence on politics?*” in the ESS’s Round 8 has the third-strongest regression coefficient (0.108), right after two trust-based survey items. To simplify its formulation, this question could be rephrased as “*...have an influence on what the government does*” (see similar formulations currently in use by NSOs in Annex 1).
- The question “*Please tell me how often you think the government in [country] today changes its planned policies in response to what most people think?*” from Round 6 of the ESS does even better (coefficient is 0.157). Such a formulation unwisely presumes some knowledge on the part of respondents, so one or other of the ESS8 formulations is preferable. Moreover, people can have “influence” in many ways which may not all lead to actual changes in policies.¹⁰ In this vein, it is also worth noting from the mapping (Annex 1) that similarly to the formulation used in the ESS Round 8, other NSOs (see Mexico, Colombia, Myanmar) also tend to use the word “influence”.

¹⁰ It would be useful also to find out from ESS why this particular formulation (asking about ‘changes in policies’) was no longer used after Round 6 (2012).

Following the two-stage statistical approach described in Annex 2.3, the items finally adduced above were carried into pairwise regression analyses with the “satisfaction with democracy” outcome, for each of the five comparative surveys being used. The results are seen in Table 3 below.

Table 3 – Pairwise regression analyses of identified candidate survey items with “satisfaction with democracy”

Table 2: Indicators respectively relevant to "inclusive" and "responsive" decision-making in SDG16.7.2 that are the strongest predictors of "satisfaction with democracy", drawn from sets of potentially relevant variables in in multi-country comparative surveys ¹							
Comparative survey	Abbrev.	Date	Inclusive	Standard-ized B	Responsive	Standard-ized B	Rsq. of model
European Social Survey R6	ESS6	2012-13	National elections are free and fair (fairelc)	0.136	Government changes policies in response to what most people think (chpldmc)	0.157	0.374
European Social Survey R8	ESS8	2016-17	Taken part in lawful public demonstration last 12 months (pblldmn)	0.06	Political system allows people to have influence on politics (psppipla)	0.383	0.146
World Values Survey R6	WVS	2012	Free and fair election (V228A and V228I) ²	0.212	---	---	0.047
Afrobarometer R5	AfB	2012-13	Freeness and fairness of the last national election? (Q28)	0.328	Members of Parliament listen to what people like you have to say? (Q62A)	0.099	0.122
Afro-, Arab-, Asian & Latino Barometers ⁴	Gbar	2009	Free and fair elections (fr_fr)	0.375	---	---	0.150

1. For each survey, a simple linear regression was run between the potential predictors and an outcome representing Goal 16. The outcome variable used for all surveys except WVS is closely akin to "Overall, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in this country?" (e.g. AfB Q43). For WVS it is "How democratically is this country being governed today?" (V141). Then a further regression was done with only the best "inclusive" and (if available) the best "responsive" item. Their predictive strength is represented by the "B" coefficients, shown in standardized form for comparability within each survey. "Rsq." indicates the proportion of variance they jointly explain. Comparisons across surveys should be interpreted judiciously.

2. This WVS item is the mean score on the two strongest of ten very detailed electoral items asked by WVS, viz. "V228A How often in [country's] elections are votes are counted fairly" and "V228I How often in [country's] elections are voters are offered a genuine choice in the elections".

3. The suites of variables in WVS R6, and also Gbar, did include a suitable option for "Responsive".

4. Data for selected variables from four Barometers, for the rounds near 2009 , have been conveniently collated and published with translations.

It is seen that the necessary variable pair exists *verbatim* in one of the surveys: Round 6 of the ESS gives a clear indication, showing roughly equal regression coefficients when the predictors of “free and fair elections” (inclusive decision-making) and “government changes policies” (responsive decision-making) are paired. This yields an impressive R-squared for the model of 0.374, the proportion of variance explained.

Round 8 of ESS lacks the “free and fair election” variable, but shows a reassuringly strong coefficient for the preferred wording of the responsiveness variable, “influence on politics”.

Conversely, Afrobarometer lacks the “influence on politics” formulation, but shows another reassuringly strong coefficient for the inclusion variable “free and fair election”. It is coupled with the “MPs listen” variable instead, which does not fare as strongly as the foregoing, so that the variance explained is comparatively poor.

Based on the above arguments and statistical indications, this study proposes a basket of two survey questions to measure SDG indicator 16.7.2 (i.e. one survey question on ‘inclusive decision-making’, and another on ‘responsive decision-making’).

Proposal

One question on ‘inclusive decision-making’ (subjective assessment of elections)

- *On the whole, how would you rate the freeness and fairness of the last national election? Or similar questions such as How free are you to choose who to vote for without feeling pressured? Or How much do you trust the electoral authority? (Afrobarometer + others)*

One question on ‘responsive decision-making’ (Level 2: decision-makers ‘act’)

- *How much would you say that the political system in [country] allows people like you to have an influence on politics? (European Social Survey + others)*

Two observations are called for:

- To keep the use of technical jargon to a minimum (“political system”, “politics”), the formulation of the second question on “responsive decision-making” could be simplified as follows (similar to the question used by the Mexican NSO in Annex 1): *“How much would you say that people like you have influence over what the government does?”*
- Also for the second dimension on “responsive decision-making”, the recommendation to select a question pertaining to the sub-category “decision-makers act” (Level 2) arises from a concern that questions pertaining to the other sub-category (Level 1: “decision-makers listen”) may not do justice to the spirit of the current indicator language. For one can understand “responsive” to mean that a response or action is expected on the part of decision-makers after inviting citizen participation – beyond just “listening”. However, it has been seen in Table 2 that the question *“How much of the time do you think Members of Parliament try their best to listen to what people like you have to say?”*, in the sub-category “decision-makers listen” (Level 1), may be an adequate, if less strong, predictor of “satisfaction with democracy”.

Annex 1: Mapping of existing/relevant survey questions at global, regional and national levels

Decision-making is inclusive of citizens		
A. <u>Experiences</u> of inclusive decision-making		
Source	Questions	Response modalities
Voted in national and/or local elections		
European Social Survey (Round 8 – 2016)	Did you vote in the last [country] national election in [month/year]?	Yes/no/not eligible to vote
Afrobarometer (2016/18)	Understanding that some people were unable to vote in the most recent national election in May 2014, which of the following statements is true for you? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> You were not registered to vote You decided not to vote You could not find the polling station You were prevented from voting You did not have time to vote You did not vote because you could not find your name in the voters' register Did not vote for some other reason 	Yes/no
Used national and/or local formal participation channels		
Afrobarometer	Have you personally attended a community meeting during the past year?	Yes/No
Colombia NSO (Survey on political culture 2015)	The political constitution refers to some 'citizen participation mechanisms' that citizens can use to be heard and to participate in decision-making at national, departmental, district, municipal and local levels. From the following list of participation mechanisms, which ones have you used or which ones have you heard about: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Revocation of the mandate (Revocatoria del mandato) 	Yes/No (used/heard about)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Citizen-initiated legislation • Referendum • Plebiscite • Popular consultation (at national, departmental, district, municipal or local level) • Town meeting 	
South Africa NSO (Citizen Satisfaction Survey 2015)	During the past 12 months, have you attended any consultative meeting, such as Imbizos or Public Hearings, with the Provincial Government?	Yes/No
Viet Nam NSO (PAPI Survey 2016)	In the past 12 months, have you attended any meetings held by your provincial/commune/ward People’s Council representatives?	Yes/no
	Did you provide any comment on your commune’s budget?	Yes/no
	Did you have an opportunity to comment on the district land plan before it was released?	Yes/no
Colombia NSO (Survey on political culture 2015)	<p>There are ‘citizen participation spaces’ that citizens can use to participate and monitor the effectiveness and transparency of public policies, plans, programs and projects at national, departmental, municipal, district or local level. From the following list of ‘citizen participation spaces’, which ones have you used or which ones do you know about:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Committees for social accountability over health and other public services • Committees for community participation in the provision of health services • Public hearings and consultations • Forums on civil rights (veedurias ciudadanas) • National, departmental, district and municipal councils for youth or youth platforms • Councils or municipal committees for rural development • Municipal Councils of Culture or the Environment • Territorial Planning Councils • Boards of Education (national, departmental or municipal) • Women's councils or committees • Other 	Yes/no (used/know about)
Social Cohesion and Reconciliation (SCORE) Index , by UNDP-ACT and the Centre for	<p>Thinking about your everyday life, how often do you:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attend the meetings or events organised by local authorities? 	Once or twice a week/ Once or twice a month/ Once or twice a year/ less than once a year/ never

Sustainable Peace and Democratic Development (SeeD)		
Viet Nam NSO (PAPI Survey 2016)	Did you or household members participate in decision-making to initiate the construction / renovation of a public work project over the past year? Did you provide inputs in the design of the project?	Yes/No
Cameroon NSO (ECAM 4)	Was at least one member of your household involved or consulted for any of these community projects? (Construction or rehabilitation of a school / health centre / road / well / etc.)	Yes/No
Kenya NSO (APRM household survey 2014)	Have you ever participated in the identification/design/implementation or monitoring of any projects/activities funded by the county government?	Yes/No
Joined activities of civic groups		
Afrobarometer	Have you personally got together with others to raise an issue, during the past year?	Yes/No
European Social Survey (Round 8 – 2016)	There are different ways of trying to improve things in [country] or help prevent things from going wrong. During the last 12 months, have you done any of the following? Have you: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • worked in a political party or action group? • worked in another organisation or association? • worn or displayed a campaign badge/sticker? • signed a petition? • taken part in a lawful public demonstration? • boycotted certain products? • posted or shared anything about politics online, for example on blogs, via email or on social media such as Facebook or Twitter? 	Yes/No
Australia NSO's 4th General Social Survey	In the last 12 months have you been actively involved in any of these civic or political groups or taken part in an activity they organised? Examples of civic or political groups: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trade union, professional / technical association • Political party • Civic group or organisation • Environmental or animal welfare group • Human and civil rights group • Body corporate or tenants' association 	Yes/No

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consumer organisation 	
Eurostat , EU-SILC ad hoc module 2015 ('Active citizenship')	<p>Have you, over the last 12 months, participated in:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • activities of a political party or local interest group • in a public consultation • signed a petition • wrote a letter to a politician or to the media • participated in a demonstration? <p>(N.B. Attending meetings connected with these activities is included as well as active participation via internet e.g. petition, letter, etc.)</p>	Yes/No
World Values Survey	<p>Have done any of these forms of political action. Might you? Would you never?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attend a peaceful demonstration • Join in boycotts • Sign a petition 	Yes/No
Social Cohesion and Reconciliation (SCORE) Index , by UNDP-ACT and the Centre for Sustainable Peace and Democratic Development (SeeD)	<p>Thinking about your everyday life, how often do you:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participate in activities or events of a political party? • Participate in discussions, activities or events of a volunteer association, NGO/Civil Society Organization or charity? • Participate in public demonstrations supporting causes you believe in? 	Once or twice a week/ Once or twice a month/ Once or twice a year/ less than once a year/ never
Contacted decision-makers (i.e. personal initiative)		
Gallup World Poll (used in Sustainable Governance Indicators, published for 41 EU and OECD countries)	Have you done any of the following in the past month: voiced your opinion to a public official?	Yes/no
European Social Survey (Round 8 – 2016)	There are different ways of trying to improve things in [country] or help prevent things from going wrong. During the last 12 months, have you contacted a politician, government or local government official?	Yes/No
Afrobarometer	<p>During the past year, how often have you contacted any of the following persons about some important problem or to give them your views?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A Member of Parliament • A Member of County Assembly • An official of a government agency • A political party official • Traditional leaders 	Never/only once/a few times/often
Palestinian NSO (Governance survey 2008)	Is it easy for you, if you try, to approach the [PLC members] who represent your electoral area?	I tried and managed to approach them / I tried but failed to approach them / I haven't tried

		but I think it is hard to approach them / I haven't tried but I think it is easy to approach them
Norway Agency for Public Management and eGovernment (Biennial Difi citizen survey)	Have you done any of the following in the last 12 months? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contacted a municipal politician about a matter of concern to you? • Contacted a municipal employee about a matter of concern to you? 	Yes/No
Colombia NSO (Survey on political culture 2015)	To solve any type of problem that affects you or your community, in the last year: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Have you asked for help from any civic leader or political leader? 	Yes/No
B. <u>Subjective assessments</u> of inclusive decision-making		
Subjective assessments of 'free and fair' elections <i>(Note: NSO questions on this topic mirror these global/regional questions and therefore are not listed here to minimize redundancy.)</i>		
European Social Survey (Round 8 – 2016)	Please tell me to what extent you think the following statement applies in [country]: National elections in [country] are free and fair.	Scale of 0-10 (0 means you think the statement does not apply at all and 10 means you think it applies completely)
World Justice Project (Rule of Law Index)	In practice, in [COUNTRY], people can vote freely without feeling harassed or pressured.	Strongly disagree / disagree / agree / strongly agree
World Values Survey	How often in this country's elections are votes counted fairly?	Always/often/sometimes/never
	How often in this country's elections are election officials fair?	
	How often in this country's elections do rich people buy elections?	
	How often in this country's elections are voters offered a genuine choice?	
	How often in this country's elections are voters bribed?	
Afrobarometer	In this country how free are you to choose who to vote for without feeling pressured? (2016/18)	Not at all free/not very free/somewhat free/completely free
	On the whole, how would you rate the freeness and fairness of the last national election? (2016/18)	Not free and fair/free and fair, with major problems/free and fair, but with minor problems/completely free and fair
	In your opinion, during this country's elections how often are opposition candidates prevented from running for office? (2016/18)	Always/often/sometimes/never

	<p>In your opinion, how often do the following things occur in this country's elections? (2014/15)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Votes are counted fairly. • Voters are bribed. • Voters are offered a genuine choice in the elections. • Voters are threatened with violence at the polls. • Voters are threatened with violence at the polls. 	
Subjective assessments of 'inclusive decisions-making' in general		
European Social Survey (Round 8 – 2016)	How much would you say the political system in [country] allows people like you to have a say in what the government does?	Not at all/ Very little/Some/A lot/A great deal
World Values Survey (WVS-7)	[In your country, do you feel there is a need to] give people more say in important government decisions?	Not specified
Rule of Law Index (2016) – World Justice Project	How well or badly you think your local government is consulting traditional, civil, and community leaders before making decisions?	Very badly/Badly/Well/ Very well
Social Cohesion and Reconciliation (SCORE) Index , by UNDP-ACT and the Centre for Sustainable Peace and Democratic Development (SeeD)	<p>To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • My local authority promotes public participation through meetings and consultations. • Apart from elite influencers and financial backers, no other citizens have any opportunity to contribute to decision making. 	Strongly Disagree / Somewhat Disagree / Somewhat agree / Strongly agree
Mexico NSO (INEGI, Survey on political culture and citizen practices, ENCUP 2008)	<p>In your opinion, [do you agree that]:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People like you have nothing to say about what the government does. • Politics is sometimes so complicated that people like you do not understand what is happening. • Voting is the only way that people like you have to give an opinion about what the government does. 	Yes, I agree/Neither agree nor disagree/ Disagree
	In your opinion, are we closer to a) a government that imposes itself, or b) a government that consults?	a) or b)
AU/SHaSA questionnaire on Governance, Peace and Security (2015)	<p>How well do you think your local authority is handling the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reporting back to the people • Consulting traditional / community leaders 	Very badly/Badly/Well/ Very well
Kenya NSO (APRM household survey 2014)	In your opinion, to what extent are local associations (social, political & economic) consulted by: County government? National government?	Very well / Well / Moderately / Badly / Very Badly / No
South Africa NSO (Citizen Satisfaction Survey 2015)	Please indicate to what extent you agree with the following statements regarding the performance of your local municipality:	Strongly disagree/ Disagree/Somewhat agree/ Agree/Strongly agree

	The Municipality/Provincial Government (2 questions) consults citizens about the services they need.	
	How satisfied are you with the opportunities that you have for consultation on Provincial Government affairs?	Very dissatisfied/ Dissatisfied/ Somewhat satisfied/ Satisfied/Very satisfied
Norway Agency for Public Management and eGovernment (Biennial Difi citizen survey)	To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following assertions about the Norwegian public sector (at central government, municipal or county level): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The public sector consults with its users when services and service options are being developed. 	Totally disagree/partly disagree/neither agree nor disagree/partly agree/totally agree
Decision-making is <u>responsive</u> to citizens' views		
A. <u>Level 1</u>: Decision-makers 'listen'		
Afrobarometer	How much of the time do you think Members of Parliament / local government councillors try their best to listen to what people like you have to say?	Always/often/sometimes/never
AU/SHaSA questionnaire on Governance, Peace and Security (2015)	How often do you think the following listen to people like you: Members of Parliament / Local elected officials	Always/often/sometimes/never
	To what degree do you think the national government takes the concerns of the following groups into account: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Opposition parties Non-governmental organizations/civil society organisations Local authorities Private sector 	Not at all / Rarely / Often / Completely
Social Cohesion and Reconciliation (SCORE) Index , by UNDP-ACT and the Centre for Sustainable Peace and Democratic Development (SeeD)	To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The central authorities in [capital city] represent my views. The local council / local authorities in my region represent my views. Politicians in [capital city] only care about their party interests rather than the interest of the communities they represent. 	Strongly Disagree / Somewhat Disagree / Somewhat agree / Strongly agree
Norway Agency for Public Management and eGovernment (Biennial Difi citizen survey)	How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the way the Storting politicians (i.e. elected MPs) listen to citizens' viewpoints?	From 'very dissatisfied' (-3) to 'very satisfied' (3)
	How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the way local politicians listen to citizen's viewpoints in your municipality?	

	To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following assertions about the Norwegian public sector (at central government, municipal or county level): Listens to citizens' opinions	
Mexico (National Electoral Institute, National Survey on the Quality of Citizenship , ENCC 2015)	Do you agree or disagree? Politicians care a lot about what people like me think	Strongly agree/somewhat agree/neither agree nor somewhat disagree/strongly disagree
B. <u>Level 2:</u> Decision-makers 'act'		
AU/SHaSA questionnaire on Governance, Peace and Security (2015)	Do you think that politicians respond to the population's concerns and needs?	Strongly agree/agree/disagree/strongly disagree
South Africa NSO (Adaptation of GPS-SHaSA questionnaire)	How often do you think [various authorities] listen and act on issues that communities raise? List of authorities: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • leaders of community organisations/traditional leaders • local elected officials/councillors • government (national, provincial or local) officials members of national parliament 	Always/often/sometimes/never
European Social Survey (Round 8 – 2016)	How much would you say that the political system in [country] allows people like you to have an influence on politics?	Not at all/Very little/Some/A lot/A great deal
European Social Survey (Round 6 – 2012)	Please tell me how often you think the government in [country] today <i>changes</i> its planned policies in response to what most people think? [OR: please tell me how often you think the government in [country] today <i>sticks</i> to its planned policies regardless of what most people think?]	Scale 1-10 (never – always)
Mexico (NSO, Ipsos and National Electoral Institute)	To what extent do you think the citizens can influence government decisions? (<i>National Survey on Political Culture & Citizenship Competencies – ENCUP 2012, run by Ipsos</i>)	A lot/little/never
	Do you agree or disagree with this statement: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People like me have influence over what the government does. (<i>National Electoral Institute, National Survey on the Quality of Citizenship , ENCC 2015</i>) 	Strongly agree/Somewhat agree/ Neither agree nor disagree/Somewhat disagree/Strongly disagree

	Before making a decision, how much attention do you think the government pays to what people think? (<i>INEGI, National Survey on Political Culture & Citizenship Competencies – ENCUP 2008</i>)	A lot/some/little/no attention
Colombia NSO (Survey on political culture 2015)	How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Voting is the only way to influence government 	On a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 means you totally disagree and 5 means you fully agree
Myanmar NSO (2017)	Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with this statement: I have no influence on what the Government does	Strongly agree/Somewhat agree/ Neither agree nor disagree/Somewhat disagree/Strongly disagree

Examples of additional ‘diagnostic questions’ for countries wanting to investigate WHY people feel that decision-making is not inclusive and/or responsive

Possible causes	NSOs	Survey questions	Response modalities
People lack knowledge/understanding about the functioning of decision-making mechanisms	Mexico NSO	In your opinion, [do you agree that] <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Politics is sometimes so complicated that people like you do not understand what is happening? 	Yes, I agree/Neither agree nor disagree/ Disagree
	Kenya APRM household survey 2014)	Do you have any knowledge of how planning and budgeting is carried out at the county level?	Yes/No
Freedom of Assembly and Freedom of Expression are not respected, which prevents people from taking part in meetings (from organizing) and from expressing their views	Rule of Law Index (2016) – World Justice Project	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In [COUNTRY], people can freely attend community meetings • In [COUNTRY], people can freely join together with others to draw attention to an issue or sign a petition • In practice, people in this neighborhood can get together with others and present their concerns to members of Congress / local government officials • In [COUNTRY], people can freely express opinions against the government • In [COUNTRY], civil society organizations can freely express opinions against government policies and actions without fear of retaliation. 	Strongly Agree/Agree/Disagree/Strongly Disagree

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In practice, people in this neighborhood can get together with others and present their concerns to members of Congress / to local government officials. 	
	Afrobarometer / GPS-SHaSA (2015)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In this country how free are you to join any political organization you want? • How often, in this country do people have to be careful of what they say about politics? • In this country how free are you to say what you think? 	
People don't feel respected by public officials	Afrobarometer 2016	In general, when dealing with public officials, how much do you feel that they treat you with respect?	Not at all/a little bit/somewhat/a lot
Officials are not doing enough to seek people's participation in local development projects	Kenya NSO (APRM household survey 2014)	<p>What in your opinion should be done to promote the participation of the community in development projects?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Community sensitization. b. Community mobilization e.g baraza c. Involvement of the community in identification of projects d. Involving the community in decision-making e. Involve the community in the budgeting process f. Ensure the community is involved in project implementation g. Involvement in monitoring and evaluation h. Other (Specify) 	(Tick all that apply)

Annex 2: Technical Note

Background¹¹

Indicator 16.7.2, “Proportion of population who believe decision-making is *inclusive* and *responsive* (by sex, age, disability and population group)” of SDG16 has two components, to be measured by comparable in-country sample surveys. This Technical Note forms Annex 2 to the document “A review and testing of available indicators for SDG 16.7.2” by the UNDP’s Oslo Governance Centre. It statistically examines two issues regarding the sound measurement of the two components, and a third issue, regarding how to make some sort of evidence-based choice of the two components among numerous options already in use in official and academic governance surveys.

The one measurement issue is whether survey-based results are reliable, in the technical sense of whether use of the same (or nearly the same) question-form in different survey endeavours yields results that are acceptably similar, i.e. for monitoring 16.7.2 with typically-sized survey samples. Towards informing considered choice of particular items, Annex 2.1 illustrates the extent of the phenomenon by choosing two contrasting countries from each of the four regional Barometer surveys in 2009, and – using appropriate statistical measures – comparing their results for a dozen illustrative questions – with those from a contemporary round of World Values Survey.

A particular version of the reliability issue is whether survey-based results are affected by respondents’ thinking that the survey has been conducted by government, and being less inclined to give answers critical of government: perhaps more so in autocratic than in democratic societies. This will be increasingly salient as more national statistical offices conduct governance surveys to monitor Goal 16.¹² A question for testing the issue has been posed in AfroBarometer, and lately analysed by Tannenberg.¹³ Annex 2.2 seeks to identify questions that may be least affected by the problem.

Finally: to be useful, an indicator must not merely describe, it must *indicate*, i.e. it must be demonstrably correlated with the outcome whose monitoring it is intended to contribute. Thus, a key requirement for the two components of indicator 16.7.2 is that, taken together, they correlate with Goal 16, represented for testing purposes by an apt overall indicator. In Annex 2.3, this key requirement is tested, for a range of questions and wording relevant to 16.7.2, drawn from existing suites of questions used in five different cross-country surveys: the World Values Survey, two slightly differing sets of questions in the European Social Survey, the Afrobarometer, and a more limited set of questions harmonized and published for the Asian, Arab and Latino Barometers as well.

¹¹ The analysis is by Mark Orkin, mark.orkin@gmail.com, +27 83 310 3100.

¹² Ten national statistical offices in Africa under the GPS-SHaSA programme, have been administering harmonized instruments on governance and on peace and security, and publishing the results, as has Peru for a number of years. See Razafindrakoto M., Roubaud F. (2015), « Les modules Gouvernance, Paix et Sécurité dans un cadre harmonisé au niveau de l’Afrique (GPS-SHaSA): développement d’une méthodologie d’enquête statistique innovante », *Statéco* No. 109, pp.122-158 ; and Orkin, M., Razafindrakoto, M., and Roubaud, F. (2015). “Governance, peace and security in Burundi, Mali and Uganda: Comparative NSO survey data for measuring SDG Goal 16”: nopoer.eu/download/file/fid/923.

¹³ Tannenberg, M. (June 2017), “The Authoritarian Trust Bias: Politically Sensitive Survey Items and Self-Censorship” (Gothenburg, Sweden: V-Dem Institute).

Annex 2.1: Assessing inter-survey reliability – Comparing eight questions from four regional Barometers and World Values Survey

To what extent may results vary when a particular survey question is asked in a particular country, but within different survey endeavours?

In an African context, Razafindrakoto and Roubaud¹⁴ make some comparisons among results from the GPS-SHaSA surveys on governance, peace and security with those from Afrobarometer, and note that “the distribution of responses is very close”. They also demonstrate how, given the sample-survey data, one may attach confidence intervals to the point estimates for any question, and observe that these are not “structurally different from those observed for conventional socio-economic variables”. But they do not appear to connect the two considerations. The key question is whether, for typical governance questions asked in the same way in two different survey endeavours, the differences do or do not fall within the requisite confidence limits, i.e. are or are not statistically indistinguishable. This more stringent question is tackled below.

The OECD, with its focus on “trust” questions,¹⁵ exhaustively reviews the literature regarding the reliability of questions regarding trust of particular societal institutions, sometimes invoking a pair of questions on interpersonal trust that are widely used as baselines. It rightly notes the important distinction between “‘cultural impact’, i.e. genuine sources of variance [in trust measurement] between cultures, and ‘cultural bias’, i.e. inter-cultural differences stemming from measurement artefacts”... and also that none of the available approaches “has yet convincingly distinguished between [them]”!¹⁶ The OECD cautiously concludes that the worth of institutional trust measurement has hitherto not been *disproved*. And so it ultimately suggests a “core” module, canvassing trust of three institutions: Parliament, the police, and the civil service (as well as the baseline question).

In the interim, however, pragmatic guidance is needed towards choosing, from among the trust-based and non-trust alternatives, just two items for the inclusive and responsive components of 16.7.2. The exercise below first identified eight typical governance-related questions that were asked in closely similar ways in the World Values Survey (WVS) and in a selection of questions common to the four regional Barometers (Gbar) made available for 2009.¹⁷ The questions in common included the items on trust of Parliament and of police from the OECD core module (and version of both interpersonal trust items).¹⁸ For non-trust items, four other typical governance items were selected, to serve as surrogates in discussing non-trust items. Then two contrasting countries were chosen from each of the regional Barometer surveys that were also available in the WVS. Merging of the two datasets allowed t-tests with 99% confidence intervals,¹⁹ showing whether the mean score on a question, from WVS or GBar, fell within the confidence interval of the overall mean.

In the tables below, instances are shown **in bold** where the two surveys diverged significantly, i.e. where the mean results for one or both of the surveys fell outside the confidence intervals for the overall mean. The point values for the respective surveys are graphed, for convenient comparison.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*

¹⁵ OECD, *Guidelines on Measuring Trust* (Paris: OECD, November 2017), at <http://www.oecd.org/publications/oecd-guidelines-on-measuring-trust-9789264278219-en.htm>.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 167-169.

¹⁷ <http://www.jdsurvey.net/gbs/AnalizeIndex.jsp>

¹⁸ In interpretation of the results, it should be allowed that WVS refers to “confidence” in the institutions, and the Barometers to “trust”.

¹⁹ Given the demanding comparison, compared say to an experiment with Psycho 101 undergraduates at the University of Arizona, the somewhat larger CIs afforded by the 99% was considered fair.

Table A2.1: Significance of mean differences for eight governance questions across eight countries

GHANA	Afro- Barometer	WVS	Mean	[Lower CI	Upper CI]
Trust in Parliament	3.04	2.79	2.92	2.82	3.02
Trust in Police	2.90	2.58	2.74	2.64	2.84
Interpersonal Trust	1.16	1.09	1.12	1.09	1.15
Trust Neighbours	2.72	2.73	2.73	2.64	2.82
Interest in Politics	3.02	2.48	2.75	2.64	2.86
Partic'n in Democr.	1.92	1.92	1.92	1.89	1.95
Strong Leader	3.51	3.27	3.39	3.30	3.48
Army to Govern	3.44	3.42	3.43	3.34	3.52

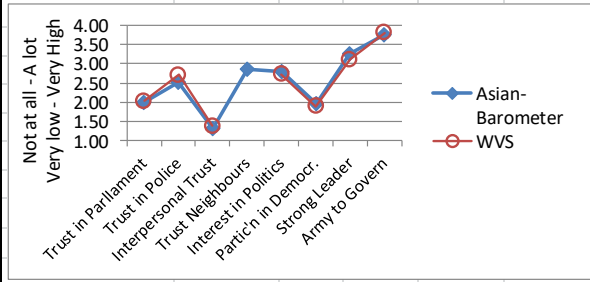
MALI	Afro- Barometer	WVS	Mean	[Lower CI	Upper CI]
Trust in Parliament	3.18	2.65	2.92	2.82	3.02
Trust in Police	3.19	2.91	3.05	2.95	3.15
Interpersonal Trust	1.23	1.17	1.20	1.16	1.24
Trust Neighbours	3.15	3.18	3.16	3.08	3.24
Interest in Politics	2.96	2.81	2.88	2.78	2.98
Partic'n in Democr.	1.94	1.76	1.85	1.81	1.89
Strong Leader	3.24	2.33	2.79	2.69	2.89
Army to Govern	3.17	2.59	2.88	2.77	2.99

BRAZIL	Latino- Barometer	WVS	Mean	[Lower CI	Upper CI]
Trust in Parliament	2.01	1.89	1.95	1.86	2.04
Trust in Police	2.23	2.28	2.25	2.16	2.34
Interpersonal Trust	1.04	1.09	1.06	1.03	1.09
Trust Neighbours	2.56	2.48	2.52	2.43	2.61
Interest in Politics	2.94	2.35	2.65	2.55	2.75
Partic'n in Democr.	1.87	1.82	1.85	1.81	1.89
Strong Leader	3.62	2.27	2.95	2.86	3.04
Army to Govern		2.84			

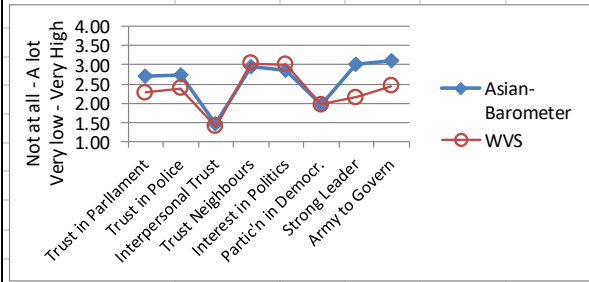
URUGUAY	Latino- Barometer	WVS	Mean	[Lower CI	Upper CI]
Trust in Parliament	1.91	2.34	2.13	2.03	2.23
Trust in Police	2.43	2.51	2.47	2.36	2.58
Interpersonal Trust	1.37	1.28	1.33	1.28	1.38
Trust Neighbours	3.07	2.98	3.03	2.93	3.13
Interest in Politics	2.79	2.09	2.44	2.33	2.55
Partic'n in Democr.	1.77	1.82	1.79	1.74	1.84
Strong Leader	3.29	2.74	3.01	2.91	3.11
Army to Govern		3.41			

Table A2.1 (continued)

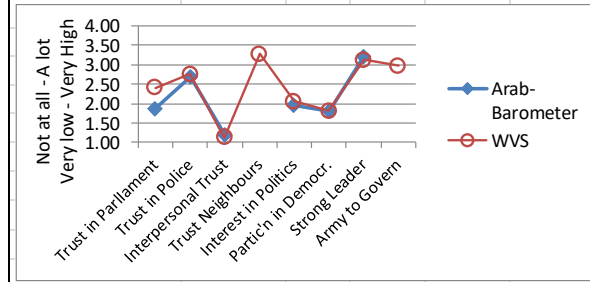
JAPAN	Asian- Barometer	WVS	Mean	[Lower CI	Upper CI]
Trust in Parliament	2.00	2.03	2.02	1.94	2.10
Trust in Police	2.52	2.71	2.61	2.53	2.69
Interpersonal Trust	1.31	1.39	1.35	1.30	1.40
Trust Neighbours	2.86				
Interest in Politics	2.80	2.73	2.77	2.69	2.85
Partic'n in Democr.	1.97	1.90	1.94	1.91	1.97
Strong Leader	3.26	3.12	3.19	3.09	3.29
Army to Govern	3.75	3.81	3.78	3.72	3.84



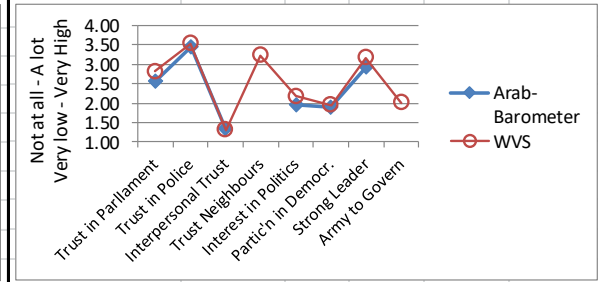
THAILAND	Asian- Barometer	WVS	Mean	[Lower CI	Upper CI]
Trust in Parliament	2.71	2.28	2.50	2.43	2.57
Trust in Police	2.74	2.39	2.56	2.49	2.63
Interpersonal Trust	1.46	1.42	1.44	1.39	1.49
Trust Neighbours	2.96	3.04	3.00	2.93	3.07
Interest in Politics	2.86	3.00	2.93	2.86	3.00
Partic'n in Democr.	1.97	1.98	1.97	1.95	1.99
Strong Leader	3.00	2.16	2.58	2.50	2.66
Army to Govern	3.11	2.45	2.78	2.70	2.86



MOROCCO	Arab- Barometer	WVS	Mean	[Lower CI	Upper CI]
Trust in Parliament	1.87	2.41	2.14	2.03	2.25
Trust in Police	2.68	2.75	2.72	2.61	2.83
Interpersonal Trust	1.20	1.13	1.16	1.12	1.20
Trust Neighbours		3.28			
Interest in Politics	1.96	2.05	2.00	1.90	2.10
Partic'n in Democr.	1.80	1.82	1.81	1.77	1.85
Strong Leader	3.20	3.13	3.16	3.05	3.27
Army to Govern		2.98			



JORDAN	Arab- Barometer	WVS	Mean	[Lower CI	Upper CI]
Trust in Parliament	2.56	2.82	2.69	2.57	2.81
Trust in Police	3.44	3.54	3.49	3.41	3.57
Interpersonal Trust	1.34	1.31	1.33	1.28	1.38
Trust Neighbours		3.24			
Interest in Politics	1.97	2.18	2.07	1.97	2.17
Partic'n in Democr.	1.89	1.96	1.93	1.90	1.96
Strong Leader	2.92	3.17	3.05	2.95	3.15
Army to Govern		2.02			



The eight panels present numerous relevant comparisons.²⁰ For present purposes of guiding indicator choices, the following may be noted:

- For the 57 statistical comparisons drawn (one or two questions were not asked in some of the countries), in 34 instances, a majority, there are no significant differences between the mean scores for the WVS versus the applicable regional Barometer. Given the imperfections of comparison, and two quite independent survey endeavours, this is reassuring.
- This reassurance is supported by the results for the OECD's benchmark items on abstract interpersonal trust. Only in one instance, Ghana, was there was a significant difference between the WVS and the GBar scores, and it was marginal. The expectedly modest cross-country variation (1.03-1.39 on the mean) is evidently an instance of "cultural impact" rather than bias. This was also true of interpersonal trust of neighbours, when asked.
- The two institutional-trust questions were both asked in all eight countries. Trust in police had more close matches than trust in Parliament (5 vs 3 in 8); and it varied across a greater range (2.23-3.54 vs 1.86-2.82), boding well for its salience as a trust-based predictor.
- Among non-trust questions, participation in democracy fared well (5 in 8 close matches), and was marginally close in two more. But its narrow range (1.79-1.95) may limit its salience as a predictor. Much the same was true of interest in politics.
- Some topics may be more robust across surveys than others. For instance, the issue of support for strong leadership had even fewer close matches than trust in Parliament, with only 2 in 8 close matches across the countries; and its discrepancies in Mali, Brazil, Uruguay and Thailand were prominent.²¹ The Barometers scored higher than WVS in all four instances. May it be that its respondents were giving socially desirable answers, thinking it was a government effort? This will be discussed in the next section.
- The number of close matches between the results from two surveys was notably high in some countries and low in others. There may be differences in the quality of survey practice among countries, perhaps related to local exigencies such as conflict. This would be equally applicable to any other survey-based indicators such as unemployment.

In sum: (a) Questions posed via "trust" in institutions tend to be the more reliable across surveys; (b) Differences across surveys may generally be less for some less charged topics than others, which can usefully inform the choice of measures; (c) Differences that may be *statistically* significant (i.e. license inference to the parent population) given the large sample size may be *substantively* modest, and manageable, for the purpose of monitoring indicator 16.7.2. (d) (a) In some countries there are negligible differences between the results from the different surveys, for most of the similar-worded questions being considered, and despite the variety of governance topics - indicating the viability of cross-country surveys and the importance of good-quality survey practice.

Annex 2.2: The survey-sponsor effect on illustrative indicators items, for three levels of democracy

The question of reliability, as considered above, has a particular aspect that is especially relevant to measuring governance through surveys: whether respondents might be more cautious in answering

²⁰ Because the experiment was not searching for significant differences, a conventional Bonferroni or Hochberg correction for "false positives" from the multiplicity of tests was not considered necessary

²¹ Whether the army should govern was omitted in 4 of the surveys, so is not considered further.

questions about the authorities if they think the survey is being conducted by government; and whether this bias may be more severe in autocratic than democratic contexts.

In their comparison of Afrobarometer results with those from GPS-SHaSA surveys, Razafindrakoto and Roubaud compare several kinds of “democratic principles” (human rights, e.g. freedom of speech or religion) across five African countries. They report that in the thirty-three comparable instances, the Afrobarometer results are higher than the GPS-SHaSA results as often as they are lower (or else not significantly different). They conclude that, although the comparisons are necessarily imperfect, “the assumption that surveys conducted by the statistics authority would be systematically more favorable to government institutions, or the parties in power, is more ideological than scientific”.²²

An opposite conclusion is reached by Tannenbergs²³ in a recent, exhaustively quantified statistical analysis. He takes advantage of a question explicitly introduced early on by Afrobarometer,²⁴ “By the way: Who do you think sent us to do this interview?”²⁵ Using the pooled 5th round Afrobarometer sample (Afb5) of some 40,000 respondents, he tests the effect of this “sponsor question” on seven outcomes of increasing “sensitivity” – ranging trusting a neighbor, through trusting the police, to thinking the president is corrupt – while simultaneously differentiating between democratic and autocratic societies. The outcomes have also been dichotomized for analytic convenience.²⁶

Tannenbergs finds that “respondents who believe the government to sponsor the survey will inflate their answer on a politically sensitive question like trust in the president or prime minister. This effect is large in countries at low levels of Electoral Democracy, and decreases with higher democracy scores.” The effect is evident but less strong for the less sensitive questions, such as trust of the police or preference for democracy; and absent for the a-political item of interpersonal trust.

This demonstration is very plausible. But how harmful is it in practice for our present purpose of identifying an “inclusive” and a “responsive” component for monitoring indicator 16.7.2? The panel of twelve graphs seeks to answer this challenge, from an analysis that considers *how great in practice* is the effect (i) when using a familiar and typical scale rather than a dichotomy, (ii) for outcomes, variously relevant to 16.7.2, that are mainly intermediately “sensitive”, (iii) and with a more familiar three-way categorisation into autocratic, hybrid, and near-democratic dispensations.²⁷ Additionally the output is rendered in diagrams familiar to users, in Figure A2.1.

²² *Op. cit.* at p.19.

²³ *Op. cit.*

²⁴ Tannenbergs notes, “I am not aware of any other survey that includes a similar question which is why I have only been able to test my proposition in the African context”.

²⁵ Although enumerators introduced themselves as from “an independent research organization”, in the 5th round of Afb 56 percent believed that the survey was sponsored by the government.

²⁶ Tannenbergs’s analysis is multi-level, with appropriate control variables at the levels of individual (e.g. age, sex, education, interest in politics) and country (e.g. GDP), and tests for interactions. The division of countries into autocracies or democracies used a composite of V-dem measures.

²⁷ For (i), the original four-part scale of the Afb variables was retained. For simplicity, (iii) was readily achieved using by categorising the 29 countries in Afb5 into the familiar *Economist’s* aggregate democracy index.

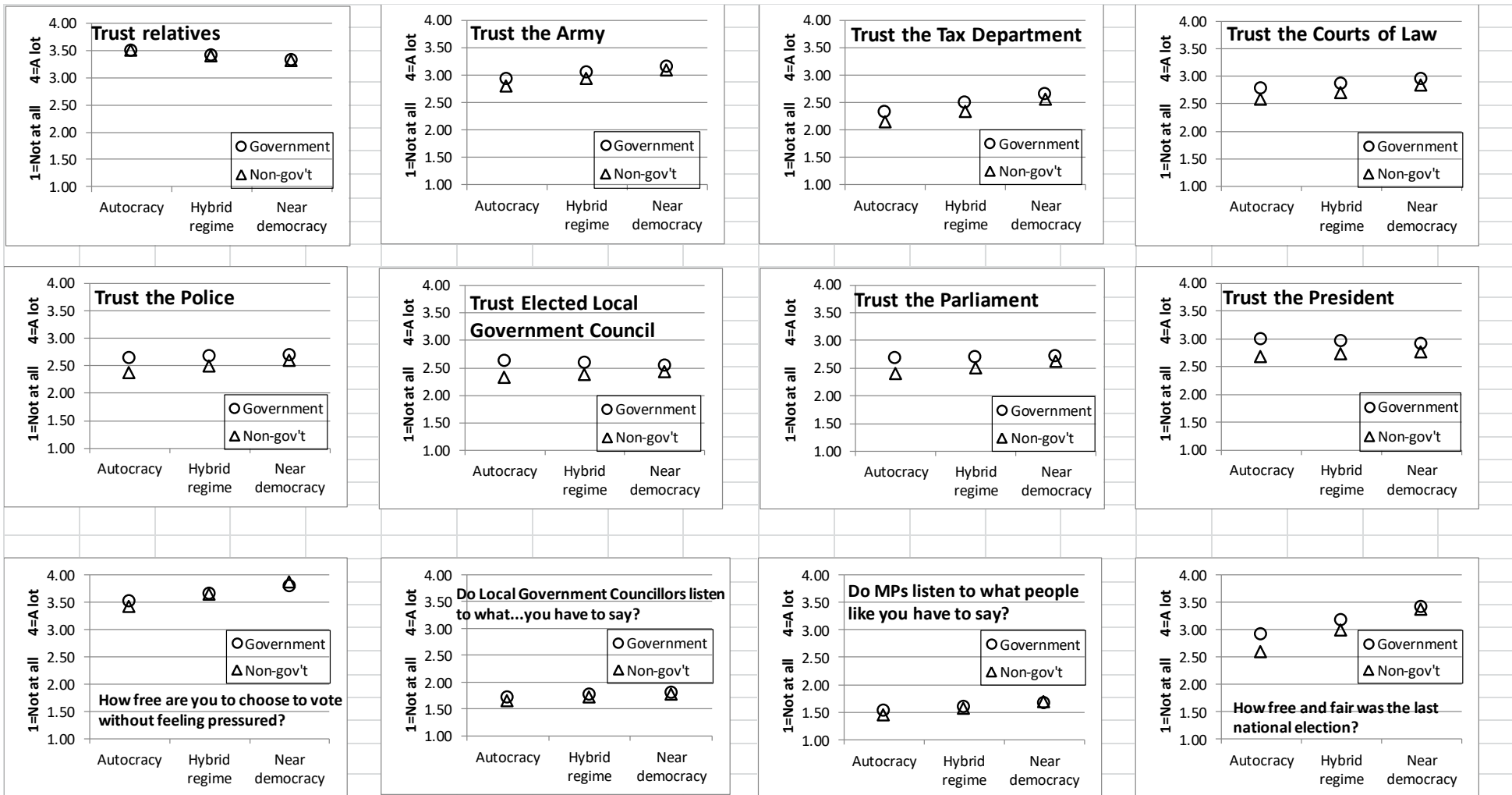


Figure A2.1: The “sponsor effect” on trust- and non-trust outcome variables, for autocratic, hybrid and near-democratic dispensations

The method used was simplified,²⁸ for the purpose of achieving understandable but sensible estimates. Using the pooled sample, linear regressions at respondent level were run on the chosen outcomes in turn, with predictors being the “sponsor” dichotomy, the dispensation trichotomy, and their interaction. No control variables were invoked, so the predicted effects of the “sponsor” variable on the outcome will, if anything, be exaggerated. For the huge sample of approximately 40,000, as used by Tannenberg, both predictors are highly statistically significant in all twelve instances (except that the sponsor-predictor is not significant for “Trust of relatives” – which is expected, since it is the only entirely a-political outcome). The interaction is also significant in each instance, implying that the slopes of the two lines are different, strictly speaking – though, as is seen, the difference is usually slight.

All this means that the sponsor effect is indeed at work – i.e. respondents do somewhat “boost” their trust answers on questions involving authorities, and this effect increases as one moves from near democracies through hybrids to autocracies.²⁹

But how serious is this for measurement in practice, and does the seriousness alter for different candidate questions for 16.7.2? The simplified diagrams are invaluable for seeing the patterns... and also for assessing the size of the sponsor effects involved. The top two rows cover results of trust questions, arranged intuitively in order of increasing political “sensitivity”. Take the second panel, “Trust in the army.” The triangles, representing trust levels for respondents who believed the survey was non-government, almost entirely overlap with the circles, representing respondents who believed that survey was a government activity; but the triangles are all marginally higher. So there is a sponsor “boost”, at work, and it is indeed ever-so-slightly greater as one moves leftwards on the graph from democracy towards autocracy. But the difference is relatively small. It is 0.08 units on a scale of 1 to 4 in a near democracy, increasing to 0.14 in an autocracy.³⁰

The three instances to the right of the second row are more “politically sensitive”, offering the largest effects. Consider “Trust in the Parliament”. The “boost” in this outcome, for those who believe the survey is being done by the government, is 0.11 points in a near-democracy, rising to 0.30 units in an autocracy, on a scale of 1 to 4. The latter is a “boost” of ten percent, which is more appreciable. The “boost” for Trust in the Police” in an autocracy is slightly less, 0.27.

But there is a second requisite for indicator selection – the slope of the lines (not drawn in) running through the triangles or circles. The steeper the slope, the stronger the correlation between the two variables, i.e. the better will the level of trust in the chosen institution, as between countries, predict their level of democracy. In other words, it will be a better indicator. Combining this criterion with minimizing the sponsor effect, an optimal – if unexciting – choice would appear to be “Trust in the tax department”, for which there is quite a strong slope and a comparatively modest sponsor effect.

The bottom row may be assessed similarly. The trade-offs between the two criteria become clear. “Do councillors listen” suffers negligible sponsor effect, but also has only a modest slope. The same is true for “Do MPs listen”. Whereas, “How free and fair was the last election?” has a healthy slope – but also a comparatively large sponsor effect. A good choice on both criteria, in this row of options, might be “How free are you to choose to vote without feeling pressured?”, which displays a healthy slope and negligible sponsor-effect,

²⁸ The one simplification, seeking to avoid the complications of ordinal regression, was to use linear regression with a four-category outcome. This is defensible alternative to Tannenberg’s compromise of dichotomising the outcome for a logistic regression. The other simplification was to treat the autocracy-hybrid-near democracy variable as a scale rather than two separate dummy variables, for easy display.

²⁹ Many of the effects are small, and only significant in huge sample of 40,000. Which of them will survive in smaller, typical in-country samples, as compared in SDG monitoring, is a matter for further research.

³⁰ The tiny amounts are of course not read off the graph, but calculated by inserting the regression coefficients into the regression equation. The latter are obtainable from the author.

Annex 2.3: Simple regression analyses of survey questions from five comparative surveys, to help identify items relevant to 16.7.2

The main thrust of the substantive document has been conceptual: start with a consideration of the key aspects of governance, focus on the place within it of inclusive and responsive decision-making – the two specified components of indicator 16.7.2 – and then digest likely candidate survey questions for consideration, from an overview of how these components have been canvassed in a wide range of surveys, some comparative and some within-country. The next challenge is to choose rationally among the numerous possible question-pairs – that, taken together, will measure inclusive and responsive decision-making – from among the numerous plausible options suggested by the digest.

The approach adopted, recorded below in this Annex, has been simple, intended as an aide to bring candidate survey question variables into discussion more than as final arbiter. It encourages consideration of variables that, in addition to being conceptually akin to one or other of the two components of 16.7.2, are also being potentially salient as *indicators* - in that they might correlate better than competing options with an outcome variable representing Goal 16 as a whole.

The preference has been to focus on possible question-forms that are in use in well-precedented comparative surveys. Taking a given survey, e.g. the European Social Survey Round 6, (ESS6), the first step is to conduct a regression between the range of conceptually governance-related predictors that it makes available (some closely, others more distantly, related to inclusive and responsive decision-making) and the outcome variable representing Goal 16 as a whole. In ESS6 the latter asks “How satisfied are you with the way democracy works in [country]?” (Closely similar questions have been included in the comparative surveys being considered to facilitate this sort of investigation.) These simple regressions are, of course, subject to all the limitations ably summarised, for example, in the OECD’s document, that should not be taken lightly.³¹ In particular, a variable may crowd out a more suitably worded cognate; so the list should be used imaginatively, and the rankings circumspectly.

The second step has proceeded in one of two ways. For non-trust candidate questions, one initially extracts the strongest predictors akin to one and the other component of 16.7.2, and sees how they fare, as a pair of predictors, in a regression with the outcome. Next-strongest options for one or other, and both, item may be tried. And so on. Since, however, this is how the two components of 16.7.2 are expected to function, considering their predictive strengths in conjunction, and the variance they jointly explain, may serve as a useful consideration among others. The two steps were then repeated for the other comparative survey datasets being consulted.

The other version of the second step was used for the “trust” form of variables. The comparative surveys each carry several of these. Rather than consider them *ab initio*, the mini-regression on the outcome included as predictors the two (sometimes three) instances that have been recommended by the OECD – trust in the Parliament, the police, and the civil service – to see how they fared against the outcome in the given data set.

The results of the five step-one regressions on the five surveys are included below, in small print, for the record, for the reader to see which strong-ish predictors, conceptually akin to the two “inclusive”

³¹ *Op. cit.*: “Regression coefficients can be affected if the independent variables in the equation are strongly correlated amongst themselves... Furthermore, if several measures of the same driver are included in the model, their intra-correlations can crowd one another out, to the limit case where an otherwise relevant driver can fail to reach significance and hence be overlooked....” Questions 54 and 17 in the Afrobarometer list on p. 34 are an example. More: “[E]stimates will be affected by endogeneity problems when the variable of interest is correlated with the model error term, an issue that is often referred to as the ‘omitted variable problem’.... (p. 175)

and “responsive” components of 16.7.2., were taken into consideration for step two. The results of step two, for non-trust and trust question-forms, are summarized in two tables in the main text.

Table A2.2: Regression tables of five comparative surveys against “How satisfied with democracy”

AfroBarometer Round 5			World Values Survey R6			European Social Survey R6		
Rsq. 0.292	Std. coeffs		Rsq. .174	Std. coeffs		Rsq. 0.374	Std. coeffs	
	Beta	Sig.		Beta	Sig.		Beta	Sig.
Q28n Freeness and fairness of the last national election?	.163	.000	Respect is there for individual human rights	.262	0.000	trstlgn Trust in the legal system	.172	.000
Q59An How much do you trust:The President	.144	.000	Confidence: The government	.142	.000	trstpriN Trust in country's parliament	.159	.000
Q53n How effective is the news media in revealing govt mistakes and corruption?	.108	.000	V228ElecMin (2-item summary)	.123	.000	chpldmcN Government changes policies in response to what most people think	.157	.000
Q17An How free are you to say what you think?	.106	.000	Confidence: Parliament	.072	.000	fairelcN National elections are free and fair	.136	.000
Q56Bn Women treated unequally by the police and courts?	.078	.000	Political action: Signing a petition	.058	.000	trstprtN Trust in political parties	.111	.000
Q59Cn How much do you trust: Electoral authority	.072	.000	Political action: Attending peaceful demonstrations	-.048	.000	trstplcN Trust in the police	.103	.000
Q60Cn How many government officials do you think are involved in corruption?	.057	.000	Confidence: The Civil service	-.044	.000	trstpltN Trust in politicians	.061	.000
Q66An How local government is handling the maintenance of local roads	.056	.000	Confidence: Political Parties	.034	.000	pbldmnr Taken part in lawful public demonstration last 12 months	-.036	.000
Q56Fn Officials who commit crimes go unpunished?	.053	.000	Political action: Joining in boycotts	-.024	.000	gvexpdcN The government explains its decisions to voters	-.030	.000
Q17Bn How free are you to join any political organization you want?	.042	.000	Confidence: Labour Unions	-.022	.000	wrkorgR Worked in another organisation or association last 12 months	.028	.000
Q54n During election fear becoming a victim of political intimidation or violence?	.041	.000	Confidence: The press	.020	.001	bctprdR Boycotted certain products last 12 months	.021	.000
Q59Hn How much do you trust: The police	.032	.000	Confidence: The courts	-.016	.008	contpltR Contacted politician or government official last 12 months	-.018	.001
Q56An People have to be careful of what they say about politics?	.029	.000	Confidence: The Churches	-.014	.004	sgnptitR Signed petition last 12 months	.017	.003
Q56Dn People treated unequally under the law?	-.029	.000	Confidence: The police	.004	.501	wrkprtyR Worked in political party or action group last 12 months	-.016	.003
Q62An Members of Parliament listen to what people like you have to say?	.029	.000	Confidence: Television	.001	.879	badgeR Worn or displayed campaign badge/sticker last 12 months	.007	.222
Q66Dn How local government is handling keeping the community clean	.023	.000	Confidence: The armed forces	-.001	.906	votedirN Citizens have the final say on pol. issues by voting ... in referendums	-.001	.807
Q59Bn How much do you trust the Parliament?	.018	.020				dspplvtN Voters discuss politics with people they know before dec'g how to vote	-.001	.816
Q62Bn Local government councillors listen to what people like you have to say?	.016	.030	a. Dependent Variable: How democratically governed - Gp			a. Dependent Variable: How democratically governed - Gp		
Q59In How much do you trust: The army	.012	.100	European Social Survey R8			Global Bar. (Afro, Arab-, Asian, Latino-)		
Q27n Did you vote in the last election? Dich.	.010	.081	Rsq 0.413	Beta	Sig.	Rsq 0.269	Beta	Sig.
Q26Bn Have you personally got together with others to raise an issue... past year?	-.009	.224	Trust in country's parliament	.232	.000	fa_fr Free and fair elections	.156	.000
Q59Jn How much do you trust: The courts of law	.005	.470	Trust in the legal system	.135	.000	tru_co Trust in the Courts	.093	.000
Q59En How much do you trust: Local authority	-.003	.643	Political system allows people to have influence on politics	.108	.000	tru_pp Trust in Political parties	.090	.000
Q26An Have you personally attended a community meeting during the past year?	-.003	.710	Trust in politicians	.103	.000	tru_pr Trust in Prime Minister or president	.083	.000
Q17Cn How free are you to choose who to vote for without feeling pressured?	-.001	.854	Trust in political parties	.101	.000	tru_ec Trust in the election commission	.075	.000
a. Dependent Variable: Q43n Overall, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in this country?			Political system allows people to have a say in what government does	.090	.000	tru_ng Trust in the national government	.066	.000
			Trust in the police	.072	.000	tru_mi Trust in the military	.062	.000
			Posted or shared anything about politics online last 12 months	.032	.000	conta_b2 Contacted elected officials or legislative representatives at any level	.049	.000
			Able to take active role in political group	-.031	.000	tru_lg Trust in local government	.039	.003
			Taken part in lawful public demonstration last 12 months	.025	.000	conta_b3 Contacted traditional leaders/community leaders	.036	.001
			Worked in political party or action group last 12 months	.012	.013	tru_tv Trust in television	-.035	.013
			Contacted politician or government official last 12 months	.011	.017	tru_pa Trust in Parliament	.034	.027
			Worked in another organisation or association last 12 months	-.009	.065	conta_B1n Contacted government officials	-.030	.006
			Signed petition last 12 months	.009	.077	czpowerb People have the power to change a government they don't like	.023	.019
			Boycotted certain products last 12 months	.001	.858	tru_po Trust in the police	.023	.100
			Worn or displayed campaign badge/sticker last 12 months	.000	.986	organ Participation in voluntary organizations	-.009	.403
			a. Dep. Var.: How satisfied with the way democracy works in country			tru_np Trust in newspaper	-.006	.681
						demons Take part in demonstrations or protests	-.005	.623
						a. Dependent Variable: satis Satisfaction with democracy		