Validating and prioritising available indicator(s) for SDG 16.7.2: "Proportion of population who believe that decision-making is inclusive and responsive"

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May 2017

Summary and recommendation

Indicator 16.7.2 of SDG Goal 16, the "Proportion of population who believe decision-making is inclusive and responsive (by sex, age, disability and population group)", is to be measured by perception data from comparable in-country sample surveys. However, its abstract, social-scientific wording requires breakdown into one or more accessible and specific survey questions.

Decision-making in society is not only "downwards", for example decisions affecting citizens taken by their national or local representatives or the public service; but also "upwards", notably in citizens' electoral decisions about who is to represent them in government. And these both relate to decision-making "horizontally" between citizens and civil-society organisations.

This document explores existing survey questions on such issues that might serve as a basket of indicators, or as indicator-pairs, specifically for 16.7.2 as distinct from the other Goal 16 targets.

Popular perceptions of such issues have been extensively tapped in long-established comparative cross-country sample surveys such as Afrobarometer (AfB) and the World Values Survey (WVS); and even by national statistical offices, most recently those participating in the African statisticians' SHaSA-GPS project. These surveys contain "the types of question" which, according to the Stiglitz-Sen-Fitoussi Commission, "have proved their value… and should be included in larger scale surveys undertaken by official statistical offices." Are such questions sound, and which ones will best do the job?

Firstly, examples relevant to decision-making are found to be *reliable*, in that similarly worded items yield comparable results for countries in common between AfB and WVS, and also the SHaSA-GPS programme; and they have *face validity*, in being comprehensible to ordinary citizens.

Secondly, exploratory statistical analysis of AfB yields a selection of grouped questions that maps onto the decision-making model, including those salient to the "upward" and "downward" components of 16.7.2. The question-groups turn out to offer both *convergent validity* among their cognate questions, and *construct validity* in their empirical correlation with an overall Goal 16 outcome.

With this reassurance, AfB is taken as the prime database for the third stage of this enquiry, because of its closely applicable question formulations. The selection of a limited "basket" of survey questions proves to be sensible, in that salient items emerge that are relevant to 16.7.2 as distinct from other Goal 16 targets. Moreover, certain *pairs* of question items drawn from the basket, one each to cover responsiveness and inclusiveness, prove to be almost as efficacious as the whole basket. The recommendations are accordingly as follows:

> To measure 16.7.2 on "responsive and inclusive decision-making" with only two survey-based perception items, workable options are to pair "trust in the local authority" with either "trust in the electoral authority" or "feeling free to vote without feeling pressured".

> If a basket of four items is admitted, then the above three choices may be complemented with "members of parliament listen to what people like you have to say".

1. Introduction: the provenance of 16.7.2, and the challenges it faces

> "The opportunities for political voice and the degree of responsiveness of the political system depend on the institutional features of each country, such as the presence of a functioning democracy, universal suffrage, free media, and civil society organisations." Stiglitz, Sen et al., 2009[1]

Although the venerable precepts of governance, democracy and human rights had featured large in the Millennium Declaration, a corresponding goal and targets were not ultimately included in the Millennium Development Goals of 2000. However, by September 2014, the Open Working Group (OWG) of the UN General Assembly (set up after the Rio Conference on Sustainable Development two years previously) firmly recommended that among the prospective global Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) there should be included a Goal 16 "to promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels."[2]

The fifteen-year sequence of developments leading to that decision – including crucial support from the Secretary General's High Level Panel – is summarised in the report to the UN Statistical Commission in March 2015 that set up the Praia City Group on Governance Statistics.[3] Soon afterwards the OWG laid down the constituent targets for each of the SDGs, followed by an initial review of possible indicators conducted by the UNDP's Virtual Network.[4] Since then a series of consultations undertaken by the UNSC's specially constituted Inter-Agency Expert Group on the SDGs (IAEG) has intensively debated and sought to prioritise specific indicators for Goal 16.

In particular, Target 16.7 of the SDGs is "Ensure responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision-making at all levels".[5] It has been assigned two indicators in the intensive deliberations and consultations undertaken hitherto by the IAEG:[6]

> "16.7.1: Proportions of positions... in public institutions... compared to national distributions.
>
> "16.7.2: Proportion of population who believe decision-making is inclusive and responsive, by sex, age, disability and population group."

Whereas 16.7.1 is to be measured by data from administrative sources, 16.7.2 is to be measured with data from one or more perception questions from sample-surveys. An international expert Task Group, convened by UNDPs' Oslo Governance Centre, has been constituted to take forward the deliberations on this indicator. This document is a contribution to its work.

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[1] Stiglitz, Joseph F., Sen, Amartya *et al.* (2009). *Report by the Commission on the Measurement of Economic Performance and Social Progress.* www.stiglitz-sen-fitoussi.fr.

[2] UN (2014). "Report of the Open Working Group of the General Assembly on Sustainable Development Goals" (New York: UN, A68/970).

[3] UN (2015). "Report of Cabo Verde on governance, peace and security statistics" (New York: UN, E/CN.3/2015/17).

[4] Milante, Gary (2016). *Goal 16 – The Indicators We Want: Virtual Network Sourcebook on Measuring Peace, Justice and Effective Institutions* (New York: UNDP).

[5] UN General Assembly (2016). "Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development" (Document A/Res/70/).1

[6] UN Statistical Commission, "Tier Classification for Global SDG Indicators 21 September 2016", http://unstats.un.org/sdgs/meetings/iaeg-sdgs-meeting-04/.

The IAEG-SDG has classified 16.7.2 as "Tier III", i.e. an "Indicator for which there is no established methodology and standards or methodology/standards are being developed/tested."[7] In similar vein, an OECD submission on 16.7.2, prepared for the Task Group, contends that "The indicator as it is formulated is not possible to compute. Significant definitional work is required building on existing cross country surveys."[8]

The response to these challenges may be structured with UNECE's analysis of Goal 16, which asserts that it lacks: a *conceptual framework* clarifying the "scope and dimensions" of the terms; a *statistical framework*, that "brings together a conceptual framework relating to the variable of interest, the measurement instruments required for quantifying it", etc.; and *good-quality measures* "that could be used to populate these frameworks."

These three distinctions broadly shape what this document seeks to remedy – conceptually, methodologically, and by an empirical examination of available and apposite survey measures. It thereby aims to indicate the considerable practical progress that has already been achieved and how it may be practically built upon.

2. "Inclusive and responsive decision-making": a conceptual framework

> "In 2000… civil and political rights were often excluded. We treasured what we measured — and perhaps that was the wrong way round. It seems to me we should measure what we treasure." Navi Pillay, United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, Johannesburg, 2013[9]

In later sections a selection of available, well-precedented survey-based questions are assessed that may in practice constitute the indicator(s) implied by 16.7.2. To identify candidate indicators – and differentiate them from cognate indicators that will be the province of other targets such as 16.3 on justice, 16.6 on accountable institutions, and 16.10 on fundamental freedoms – we first need to consider, in general, "Who in society *decides* about what?" and "How well does it happen?"

A partial start, directly focussed on SDG16 concerns, is provided by the *In-depth review of governance statistics in the UNECE/OECD region*, prepared by the UN Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE).[10] Its definition of governance is apposite: "the formal and informal arrangements that determine how *public decisions* are made and how public actions are carried out from the perspective of maintaining a country's constitutional values"[11] The document is thus focussing on "public institutions serving the common good of a community of people", spanning the legislative, executive and judicial branches. So its concern is primarily with top-down decisions by politicians, referred to the public service in the form of statutes, regulations and policies, for implementation "downwards" to citizenry.

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7   UN Statistical Commission, *Tier classification, op. cit.*

8   OECD (2016). "PRAIA City Group Metadata input" (Paris: 07.07.2016, mimeo).

9   http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/GlobalDevelopmentPost2015.aspx.

10 United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) (2016). *In-depth review of governance statistics in the UNECE/OECD region* (Document ECE/CES/BUR/2016/OCT/2).

11 OECD (2011). *Policy Framework for Investment: User's ToolkitI*, Ch. 10, "Public governance", p.2.

This is not to say that the document overlooks the citizenry. It distinguishes between "principles, processes, and outcomes", i.e. what is expected from public institutions, how they perform their role, and why it is important. Sample surveys of citizens are to be the primary source for outcomes (and indeed may contribute to measuring principles and progress), with questions on citizens' sense of political efficacy, civic engagement, satisfaction with services, and trust – the area that the OECD[12] is presently concentrating upon.

This is a substantial input. But its key definition and thus its indicator focus are too narrow. It casts citizens more as observers and beneficiaries than as agents; and so it interprets 16.7.2 to mean "the more similar are the distributions of decision-makers and of the general population, the better the performance of the country considered". It thereby neglects the important instances when the general population, or at least the adults among them, *are* the decision makers,[13] whether *en masse* in local and national elections or in civic engagements.

Citizen participation is central to modern analytical theories of *democracy.* They begin with Dahl's emphases on free and fair elections informed by widely available information, and citizens' freedom of expression and association, as essential to the conceptualization of "decision making".[14] The emphasis here is on citizens as agents, actively resolving their political preferences and directing them "upwards" in electoral choices to direct who are to be the representatives, and what are to be the policies, which will orient the administrative decisions on implementation on their behalf. Indeed, "crucially, free and fair elections enable citizens to toss out of office governments that are dishonest or incompetent",[15] and those that are unresponsive and unaccountable. Decision-making is thus central to democratic governance and the electoral endeavour: "Where few take part in decisions there is little democracy; the more participation there is in decisions, the more democracy there is."[16]

Even so, this view of democratic process, often termed "representative democracy", has been plausibly criticised as too "thin".[17] It under-emphasises the manifold groupings in modern societies seeking to influence both the upward decisions of voters and the downward decisions of their representatives, in line with their own respective concerns: notably political parties with their policy programmes, but also trade unions, business associations, and interest- or identity-focussed groupings such as environmental lobbies or ethnic caucuses. This is "thick" (or

[12] OECD (2016). "Submission on tier iii indicators for Goal 16 of the 2030 Agenda" (Paris: OECD), p.10.

[13] *Loc. cit*. In addition to describing the OECD's own work on trust, its submission does eventually mention, as possible supplementary information, items on political efficacy: for example, "How often do you feel you are able to have a say within the general community, on issues that are important to you?", in the Australian General Social Survey the Background Questionnaire of the OECD Programme for Assessment of Adult Competencies (which asks "To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: People like me don't have a say about what the government does") and in the comparative European Social Survey (which asks several questions on this issue).

[15] Plattner, Marc (2013). "Reflections on governance", *Journal of Democracy*, 24:4, pp. 17-28.

[16] Verba, Sidney and Norman Nie (1972). *Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality* (New York: Harper & Row).

[17] Coppedge, Michael (2005). "Defining and measuring democracy", International Political Science Association: Committee on Concepts and Methods, Working Paper Series, No. 2; Kekic, Laza (2007). "The Economist Intelligence Unit's index of democracy." *The Economist* 21, pp. 1-11.

participatory, or strong) democracy;[18] and it importantly extends "downwards" governance and "upward" electoral democracy with a *horizontal* dimension of reciprocal participation and empowerment between citizens and civil society organization.

Parallel to this elaboration, attention was increasingly paid to the *quality* of these processes. Citizens and civil-society organisations expect to exercise the "positive" freedoms of opinion, association, and the right to information; and be protected by "negative" freedoms, viz. freedom from personal harm and political harassment or persecution. And at "the top", national or local leaders and their officials – in parliament, courts, bureaucracies, information services, the army etc., all with varying degrees of autonomy or accessibility – are held accountable[19] through a plethora of formal and informal channels, such as consultations, petitions and protests.[20]

Thus unpacked, decision-making in "thick democracy" spans not only the decision-making downwards of governance and upwards of electoral process that are most relevant to 16.7.2, but also decision-making that is relevant to the other t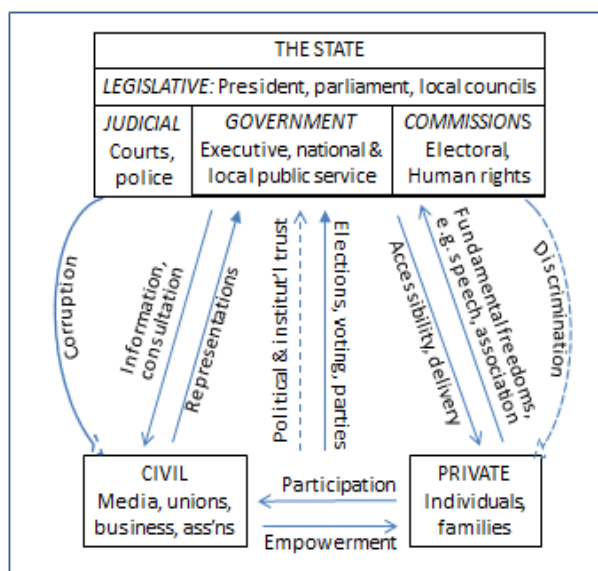argets of Goal 16, including "horizontal" citizen-society participation and the institutionalisation (or lack thereof) of fundamental freedoms and institutional accountabilities. These multiple inter-relationships are illustrated in Figure 1, by the solid arrows.

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

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 pervasively engaged in them. They may report having perceived or experienced them as thus 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.

One thus sees that, for the comprehensive answer to the opening questions of "Who in society decides about what?" and "How well does it happen?" the framework comprises about a dozen components, some directly applicable to the "responsive" and "inclusive" attributes of target 16.7.2, and others suitable for take-up under other Goal 16 targets. Happily, all the relationships

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[18] Van Deth, Jan W. (1997), "Introduction: Social Involvement and Democratic Politics", in JanW. van Deth (ed.), *Private Groups and Public Life. Social Participation, Voluntary Associations and Political Involvement in Representative Democracies* (London: Routledge), pp. 1-23.

[19] Mulgan, Richard (2000). "'Accountability': an ever expanding concept?", *Public Administration*, 78:3.

[20] Tembo, Fletcher (2012). "Citizen voice and state accountability: towards theories of change that embrace contextual dynamics", Project Briefing No. 73 (London: ODI). https://www.odi.org/resources/docs/7602.pdf.

have been efficiently and repeatedly canvassed in reputable comparative sample surveys, to be considered in the next section. Given their tight inter-relationship, as illustrated in Figure 1, they are taken forward in conjunction, and those applicable to 16.7.2 will be separated out below.

3. Sources and survey questions for operationalising target 16.7.2

This section aims briefly to identify, and understand the rationale of, noteworthy instances of comparative sample surveys – global and regional, and in some instances conducted by national statistical offices – that furnish question items which are suitable for, *inter alia*, possible indicators of decision-making. The next section will then statistically assess and prioritize selections of such indicators for their validity, reliability and salience to the decision-making of 16.7.2, and how they are distinct from the other targets of Goal 16 that are the responsibility of other lead agencies.

The UNECE was correct to remark, of the phrasing of 16.7.2, that "the concept of 'decision-making' and its quality (i.e. 'inclusive and responsive)… would require further specifications (e.g. in terms of the various types of decision-making that respondents should consider)."[21] These are indeed fairly abstract social-scientific concepts expressed in a specialised vocabulary, which most survey respondents would have had no reason to encounter. Respondents' beliefs have to be tapped indirectly through more specific questions expressed in everyday colloquial vocabulary.[22] This is not unusual in social science. For example, the influential concept of alienation is frequently explored empirically by asking respondents whether they feel that they understand what is going on politically, and whether they feel they can make a difference.[23]

This challenge of formulating questions accessibly to tap abstruse underlying phenomena is also unsurprising *elsewhere* in official statistics. For instance, in labour-force surveys, respondents are put through a sequence of questions to clarify, indirectly, whether they are "not employed", "unemployed" or "employed", in line with specifications continually being refined under the auspices of the International Labour Organisation. But with few exceptions (some of which will be mentioned briefly below) the domain of governance indicators is only starting to be canvassed broadly in official statistics, apropos Goal 16, together with this challenge of operationalisation. So the firm encouragement of the Stiglitz-Sen-Fitoussi Commission is worth placing on record, on how national statistics offices could well proceed:

> "Despite the persistence of many unresolved issues, these subjective measures provide important information about quality of life. Because of this, the types of question that have proved their value within small-scale, unofficial surveys should be included in larger scale surveys undertaken by official statistical offices."[24]

Recently, the UNECE has tabulated chief contenders among the "unofficial surveys" to inform Goal 16. It notes that that most of the endeavours it mentions suffer from "low response rates, rely on

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[21] OECD (2016). "Submission…". *Op.cit.*

[22] A.N. Oppenheim, A.N. (1992). *Questionnaire Design, Interviewing and Attitude Measurement*, Ch. 10 "Questionnaire wording" (London: Pinter).

[23] For example, the World Values Survey, to be discussed, puts to respondents "Some people feel they have completely free choice and control over their lives, while other people feel that what they do has no real effect on what happens to them", and asks them to place themselves on a scale between these extremes.

[24] Stiglitz, Sen et al., *op. cit*; para. 119.

inadequate sampling frames, and on minimal resources for survey development and cognitive testing".[25] In considering the reliability and validity of survey-based perception questions, this document concentrates on two surveys that escape the UNECE's strictures. Their per-country samples may indeed be small, but that has been the trade-off of covering many countries, which no national statistician has to confront.

The first survey is AfroBarometer (AfB),[26] initiated two decades ago by the University of Cape Town and subsequently managed by the Department of Political Science at Michigan State University, in partnership with five African research-centres. The harmonised datasets for its iterations since 2001 are freely available on the web, as are more than a hundred analytic papers. The results from its fifth round of surveys, on which this document draws, spanned thirty-four sub-Saharan countries. (A sixth round has been completed in field.) The twenty questions applicable to the framework of Figure 1, often with several cognate variants, are captured in column 3 of Table 1 of Appendix A.

The applicable question-range of the second survey, the World Values Survey (WVS), covers fewer of the dimensions of our overall framework; but the country-coverage is worldwide.[27] Founded in 1981 and centred in Stockholm, it also publishes its harmonised datasets on the web. These have been the basis of over a thousand publications in twenty languages, and the website displays twenty recent books. This document draws on the published data of the sixth round, which spanned fifty six countries. (The seventh round has lately been released.) Its twenty-six applicable questions are in column 2 of Table 1.

The surveys were chosen for four reasons: firstly, because properly curated datasets and metadata are freely available to the public on the web; secondly, because they were developed by highly qualified and published senior academics, cognisant of the relevant social scientific literature; thirdly because the instruments have been implemented in several rounds, allowing for improvement and comparison; and lastly because their rich publications demonstrate how governance indicator questions actually behave, disaggregate, predict etc. in comparative contexts. For these same reasons their data has increasingly been taken into account in the better-known "expert" assessments such as the Democracy Index of *The Economist*'s Intelligence Unit (EIU) globally, and the Ibrahim Index of African governance, in their careful annual secondary analyses.[28] The community of official statistics could well accelerate its cautious procedures by learning from and building upon them, as Stiglitz-Sen-Fitoussi urge.

A third data-source is important to consider because, uniquely, it is produced by national statistics offices. This is the Strategic Harmonisation of Statistics for Africa (SHaSA), a project of the community of Africa's national statistician. SHaSA's first work-stream, officially led by the Africa Union Commission's Statistics Division and with UNDP and academic support, has been to develop

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[25] OECD (2016). *In-Depth Review of Governance Statistics in the UNECE/OECD Region* (Paris: OECD), para. 72ff and Table 6.

[26] www.afrobarometer.org/

[27] www.worldvaluessurvey.org/

[28] www.eiu.com/democracy2015; www.mo.ibrahim.foundation/iiag/.

a cost-efficient approach for official statistics to measure and monitor governance, peace and security. Commencing in 2013, harmonised modules on governance, peace and security (GPS) were developed in an extended collaboration among national statistical office representatives from all five of the continent's regions, academic advisers, AfroBarometer, and others. The modules are designed to be administered as add-ons to other household surveys, thus minimising cost. The questionnaire design drew substantially on previous experiences of measuring GPS with African and Andean national statistical offices,[29] and many of the AfB question formulations were also incorporated into the GPS-SHaSA instruments for comparability and international legitimacy. By the end of 2015 nine countries had conducted the new GPS-SHaSA surveys, some more than once; seven had published tabulations, and five had issued analytic reports (in English, French and Arabic).

A three-country report, illustrated the comparative use of the results in governance-related domains, was distributed to the IAEG in mid-2015.[30] (A five-country report has subsequently been compiled for the UNDP.) For the purposes of this document, these data allow a unique empirical insight into a vexed question of reliability, viz. whether the conducting of GPS surveys *by the national statistical office, as against by an academic or commercial enterprise,* compromises the results when identically-worded questions are used. There are of course numerous advantages of NSO implementation; large sample sizes permitting subnational analysis and greater disaggregation, financial sustainability, potentially standardized methodology, etc.

It should also be noted that other, imaginative and varied approaches to measuring governance and democracy have long been conducted, analysed and reported by national statistical offices in many other countries: such as the multi-stakeholder development by Mongolia of an extra Millennium Development Goal, MDG-9 on governance; local governance assessment tools in Vietnam, the Philippines and India; and so on.[31]

Finally, the World Justice Project should be mentioned.[32] It has for several years both conducted urban sample surveys and canvassed expert opinion, now in more than a hundred countries worldwide. In addition to covering all three dimensions of decision- making in its treatment of governance and democracy, it offers a special focus on rule of law and civil and criminal justice. Since the results that are published on the web represent a hybrid of citizen surveys with the opinions of in-country stakeholders, they have not been canvassed in this paper.

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[29] 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.

[30] Orkin, Mark, Razafindrakoto, Mireille, and Roubaud, Francois (2015). "Governance, peace and security in Burundi, Mali and Uganda: Comparative NSO survey data for measuring SDG Goal 16": nopoor.eu/download/ file/fid/923.

[31] Hydén, Goran and Samuel, John (eds) (2011). *Making the State Responsive: Experience with Democratic Governance Assessments* (New York: UNDP).

[32] See worldjusticeproject.org/rule-of-law-index.

4.   Statistically assessing and prioritising questions

"If we take in our hand any volume … let us ask, Does it contain any abstract reasoning concerning quantity or number? No. Does it contain any experimental reasoning concerning matter of fact and existence? No. Commit it then to the flames: for it can contain nothing but sophistry and illusion." David Hume (1748)[33]

It was seen in section 1 that decision-making is a pervasive and important ingredient of both governance and democracy. As captured in Figure 1 at the end of section 2, citizens (and the organizations in which they participate) are "downwardly" affected by their political representatives' policy decisions, implemented via the administrative decisions of the public service and regulated by law, i.e. the province of governance. Individually, they "upwardly" decide upon their representatives in electoral process, i.e. the province of "thin" democracy. These elements of decision-making provide the organising conceptual schema for 16.7.2.

But citizens also engage "horizontally" in decision-making in civil society organisations, which in turn are also in upward and downward interaction with the state – the province of "thick democracy". 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. These additional elements, it is evident, are the province of 16.6, accountable institutions; 16.3, rule of law; 16.10, fundamental freedoms; 16.5, anti-corruption, and 16.b, anti-discrimination.

The elements of 16.7.2, plus the other elements of Goal 16, are together extensively covered by numerous questionnaire items in three of the surveys identified in part 2: Afrobarometer (AfB), World Values Survey (WVS), and the NSO-implemented SHaSA surveys. The applicable and comparable survey questions are set out in Table 1 in the Appendix. In section 4.2 they are assessed for primarily for *reliability*, using basic descriptive statistics. In section 4.3, more powerful techniques are applied to establish their *validity*; and concurrently to establish empirically which questions in combination may serve as defensible operationalisations of 16.7.2, as distinct from questions which prove to be more applicable to the other targets of Goal 16.

4.1   Methodological approach

The sequence of analysis below is structured by the definitions of reliability and validity provided in the exhaustive OECD report, *Guidelines for the Measuring of Subjective Wellbeing*.[34] *Reliability* reflects "the extent to which a measure yields consistent results". *Validity*, by contrast, is the extent to which an indicator actually captures the underlying concept that it purports to measure".[35]

The OECD further distinguishes three types of *validity*.[36] In Section 3 the paper touched upon the first, *face validity*: "Do respondents and/or data users understand what they are asked to report and do they judge that the items are appropriate?" It was noted that the terminology of 16.7.2

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[33] Hume, David (1777) [1748]. *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding* (London: A. Millar), Section XII.

[34] OECD (2013). *Guidelines on Measuring Subjective Wellbeing* (Paris: OECD).

[35] *Ib.*, p. 13.

[36] OECD (2016). *In-Depth Review, op. cit,* p.31, n. 29.

itself is indeed both technical and far-reaching, and in Section 2 that its sense is multidimensional: making it unacceptable as a survey question in itself. It is thus unsurprising that, as the OECD remarks in recommending its choice of trust as an operationalisation, that "Questions of this type have not been routinely collected through large-scale household surveys."[37]

But the use of trust is certainly not the only potentially face-valid option, though it certainly warrants inclusion in comparative scrutiny. The surveys we are considering have translated the dozen-odd *aspects* of decision-making, as differentiated in Section 2 and Figure 1, into the evidently more colloquial and specific questions shown in Table 1. These have been applied on successive occasions across many countries, and widely analysed and reported. So we may, pending specialised testing of their question formulations, take this as grounds that the items meet the requirement of face validity.

The other two kinds of validity, as defined in the OECD *Guidelines,* are *convergent validity*: "Does the measure correlate well with the other measures of the same underlying concept?" and *construct validity*: "Does… the measure have the expected relationship with the factors determining the underlying concept being measured, and with outcomes thought to be influenced by the measure in question?"

With these defined criteria in hand, we take up the issue of reliability in two ways in section 4.2 below; and construct validity, with convergent validity as a corollary, in section 4.3.

4.2   Reliability

The essential issue here is to what extent the same question (or nearly so) comes up with the same result, when asked by two different surveys in a given country. We are able to consider this in two ways.

The first comparison is between two sample surveys, WVS and AfB. In the global portfolio of WVS there are seven countries from Africa that are also found in AfB: Algeria, Egypt, Ghana, Nigeria, South Africa, Tunisia and Zimbabwe. They were surveyed within the same three-year period,[38] with only one exception.

One sees in Table 2 below, extracted from the larger table in the Appendix, that several questions are posed very similarly in the two surveys. The first three questions mentioned move from the general to the very specific: democracy, free and fair elections, and then poll violence. The fourth question changes register, and queries trust in a public institution – as we lately noted, the OECD's

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[37]   OECD (2016). "Submission on Tier III indicators", *op. cit.*, p.10.

[38]   The dates of survey implementation were as follows:

	2011	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**
Afrobarometer	South Africa	Ghana, Zimbabwe	Algeria, Egypt, Nigeria, Tunisia	
World Value Survey	Ghana, Nigeria, Zimbabwe	Egypt	South Africa, Tunisia	Algeria

recommendation for operationalising 16.7.2. Our illustrative choice, trust in courts, is one of the variants that research has shown to be salient.[39]

Table 2: Four closely similar questions from WVS and AfB

		WVS		AfB
Panel (a)	V141	How democratically is this country being governed today?	Q42	In your opinion how much of a democracy is South Africa today?
Panel (b)	V228F	How often in this country's elections are election officials fair?	Q28	On the whole, how would you rate the freeness and fairness of the last national election?
Panel (c)	V228H	How often in this country's elections are voters threatened with violence at the polls?	Q54	During election campaigns in this country, how much do you personally fear becoming a victim of political intimidation or violence?
Panel (d)	V114	How much confidence do you have in the courts?	Q59J	How much do you trust the courts of law?

The response categories for both surveys were recalculated to a common scale for all items from 1=strongly disagree to 4=strongly agree. The results are shown in Figure 2, with mean values displayed for convenience rather than four percentages per item.

Consider Panel (a) as an example, on the perception of whether the country is governed democratically. The AfB scores are shown by square markers, the WVS by round ones.
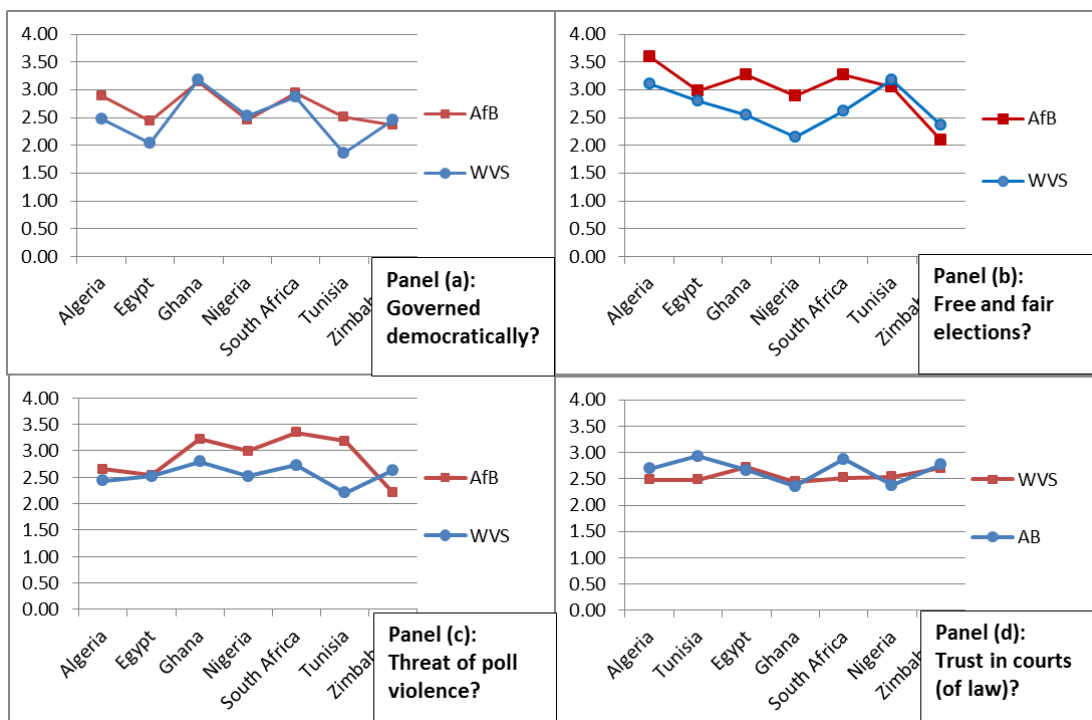

Figure 2: Responses to closely similar questions in WVS and AfB, for six countries

[39] Rothstein, B. (2013). "Corruption and social trust: Why the fish rots from the head down", *Social Research Quarterly*, 80:4.

Remarkably, one sees in Panel (a) that – from separate surveys with their independent by-country samples taken one or two years apart – the mean scores[40] are nevertheless close for four countries: Ghana, Nigeria, South Africa and Zimbabwe. AfB reports a somewhat more optimistic result for Algeria and Ghana, and appreciably more optimistic for Tunisia.

Panel (c) is nearly as encouraging, on the threat of experiencing violence at the polls. The mean scores are close for three countries: Egypt, Tunisia and Zimbabwe. And the *relative* mean scores is similar for the other four countries, shown by the roughly parallel pattern of the lines.

Panel (b) shows a similar parallel pattern, with close scores on two of the countries and more optimistic scores from AfB on the others except for Zimbabwe. The discrepancy for Tunisia, one unit on the scale from 1 to 4, is the largest – indeed the largest discrepancy on any of the panels. This may be translated into percentage terms as an approximate benchmark. The corresponding percentage of "agree plus strongly agree" is approximately 51% WVS, and 64% on AfB. Noting that the respective margins of error would be ± 4% and ± 3% for the sample sizes, and given two quite separate comparative survey enterprises, it is reassuring that this is the largest discrepancy across all the common countries for the four illustrative questions.

Panel (d), on trust in the law courts, has the highest number of close mean scores, five out of seven countries. However, it benefits from the fact that trust, as a measure, evidently shows less inter-country variation.

The second way of interrogating reliability is between results for identical questions applied by the AfB survey, and by two of the NSOs participating in GPS-SHaSA from whom data is publicly available, namely Uganda and Côte d'Ivoire. With the effects of different wording eliminated, the issue here is whether results are be compromised when government rather than civil society is known by respondents to be conducting the survey. This potential limitation is of great social and political import,[41] if the 16.7.2 questions – and indeed the survey items included as indicators for other Goal 16 targets – are to be taken into official statistics, and the surveys conducted by national statistical offices (NSOs), with the methodological advantages mentioned in section 3.

AfB assisted in the consultations that formulated the GPS-SHaSA. There are fully twelve questions in common between the surveys conducted by AfB and by the two GPS-SHaSA NSOs. The major categories of governance and democracy in the Appendix are usefully represented by the following questions: electoral choice, fundamental freedoms, and civil liberty; and accountable institutions and trust. Therefore these questions are capturing most aspects of the decision-making framework of Figure 1.

The outcome is shown in Figure 3. The panels use polar charts to compare the means scores from the twelve identically phrased questions from the in-country survey conducted by AfB on the one

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[40]   With the sample sizes all in excess of 1000, two-sample t-tests unsurprising show that these four means per country are *statistically* different at p<.05. The substantive differences are less striking.

[41]   Joplin, Janis (1970). "Mercedes Benz": https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Qev-i9-VKlY&list=RDQev-i9-VKlY#t=18.

hand (the single line), and on the other hand the GPS SHaSA surveys (the thin double line) conducted by the Uganda NSO in Panel (a) and by the Côte d'Ivoire NSO in Panel (b).[42]

Attending first to Panel (a), one notices first the similarity between the overall profiles as measured by the two surveys. This is quite a subtle indication of reliability. Indeed, a non-parametric test of the correlation between the two series is significant.[43]

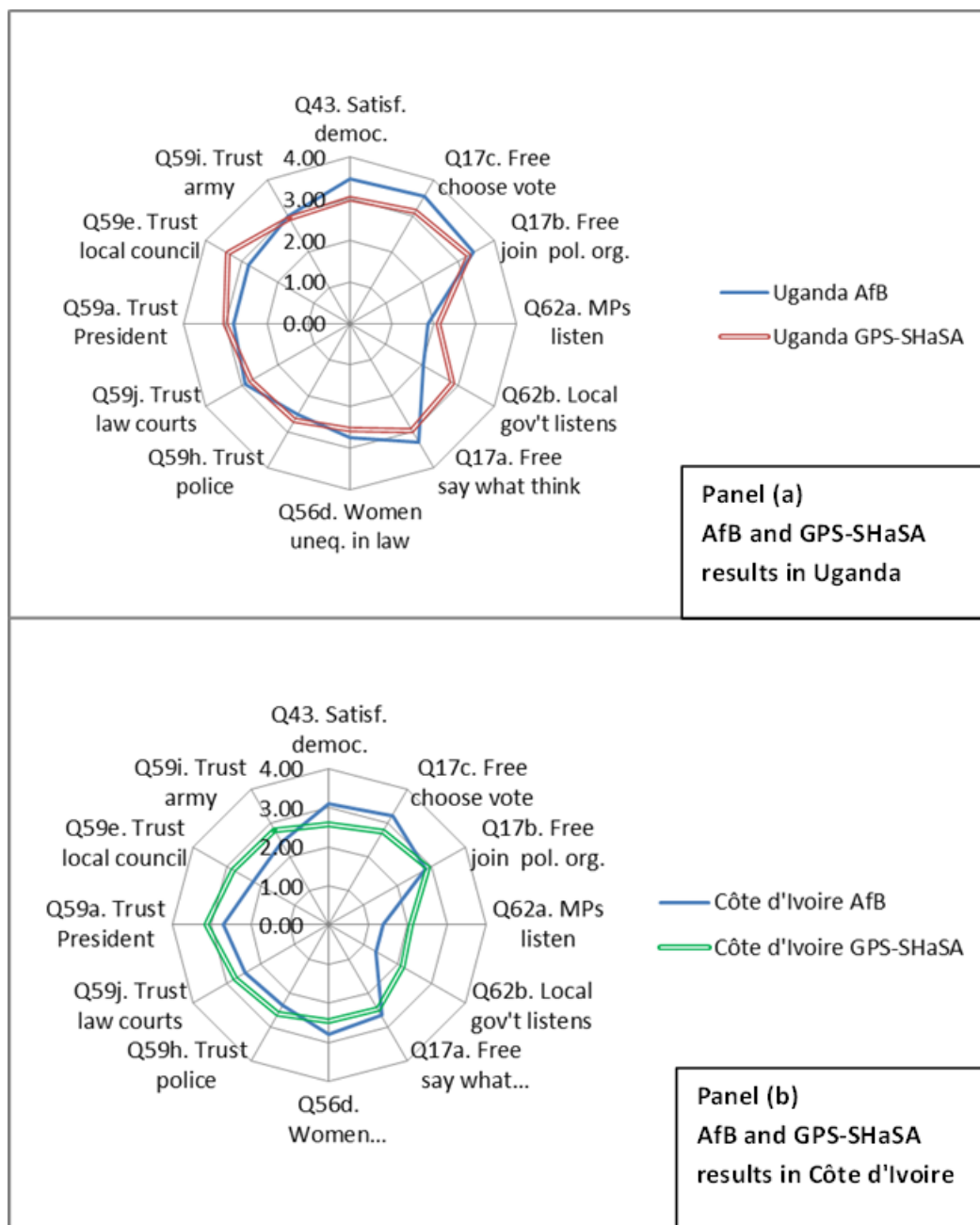**Figure 3: Responses to twelve closely similar questions, asked in Uganda and Côte d'Ivoire by both Afrobarometer and the country national statistical offices**

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[42] An analogous comparison is offered by Razafindrakoto and Roubaud, "Les modules Gouvernance...", *op. cit.*, using fewer questions but displaying the distributions across the four answer categories instead of the mean scores.
[43] Spearman's rho=0.687, =.0.014.

Second, most of the trust items match closely; but, as we noticed earlier, this is helped by the trust scores lying within a relatively limited range. Thirdly, where the two profiles do differ most is that trust (Q59E) and perceived responsiveness (Q62B) of the local council are noticeably higher for the government-administered survey. Conversely levels of perceived political and civil fundamental freedoms rate higher in the AfB survey. These might seem to indicate a social-desirability bias; at the same time, respondents are unabashed about expressing less enthusiasm for MPs' responsiveness.

When one contrasts Côte d'Ivoire in Panel (b) with Uganda, one sees that the overall size of both polygons is smaller, signalling appreciably lower overall citizen ratings of the twelve aspects of governance or democracy according to either survey. Local government and MPs alike are seen as less responsive, especially on the AfB survey. Trust levels are also generally lower in the AfB, including for the President.

By contrast, the perceived level of gender inequality is much the same in both countries, and registers slightly higher in both cases on AfB. As one would expect from the greater differences in profile in Cóte d'Ivoire, the non-parametric measure of association is not significant.[44]

There is an interesting reason for the lack of striking differences between academic- and NSO-conducted surveys. Towards the end of their interview AfB asked respondents who they thought had sent the interviewer. Half of respondents in SHaSA countries in any case thought it was the government.[45]

The two kinds of demonstrations above, unusual in having similar or identical questions to compare, suggest a welcome degree of reliability: notwithstanding entirely independent field exercises, variously administered by devolved academic agencies in-country, or NSOs. Together with the variety of aspects conceptually relevant to decision-making that can be brought systematically into empirical consideration, this powerfully affirms the inclusion of a perception-based survey indicator for 16.7.2 (and indeed for targets that have not been assigned one). The differences between the results, while warranting attention – especially for pointers of possible improvement – are of less concern, to the extent that a single instrument may be envisaged that will be applied across all countries and sustained.

4.3 Construct and convergent validity

Recall that in the previous section, 4.2, using several comparisons we uncovered the reliability among the different survey sources, i.e. the reassurance convergence among them on similar question items. We may thus focus with some confidence in the analysis that follows on one such source, the social-scientific Afrobarometer (AfB); which has the essential advantage of a comprehensive suite of relevant questions, which have been used successfully in previous rounds, and applied most lately to thirty-four countries with a wide variation in democratization.[46]

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[44] Spearman's rho=0.336, p>.05.

[45] Razafindrakoto and Roubaud, "Les modules Gouvernance…", *op. cit.*

[46] On *The Economist's* four-point scale, from full democracies, flawed democracies, hybrid regimes and authoritarian regimes, there were 1, 9, 13 and 11 countries respectively in AfB.

This section will first consider whether the data from survey questions in Table 1 in the Appendix (as candidates from which to extract operationalisations specifically relevant to 16.7.2) correlate significantly with each other *and* with an intended "outcome", the latter measured for this exercise by a plausible surrogate variable. Thereby we shall first be covering convergent validity, as defined earlier, before also covering construct validity through prioritizing among a "basket" of indicators on an empirical basis.

The applicable technique is called exploratory structural equation modelling.[47] The hope is that, among the statistically significant variables, groups of items emerge that are salient to the upward (inclusive) and downward (responsive) attributes of 16.7.2, while being evidently distinct from items salient to the other targets of Goal 16. Such items would provide evidence-based options for consideration for 16.7.2, while aligning with the conceptually-driven categories of decision-making captured in Table 1.

A prior word is necessary about the pragmatic choice of "outcome". Methodologically, the testing of construct validity requires the invoking of a relevant outcome variable. This is an important reminder that the indicators being sought are, above all, to be fit for purpose, namely jointly to constitute the measure of target 16.7, and thereby to contribute to the monitoring of progress on Goal 16 (which itself is intended to contribute in turn to the monitoring and advancing of sustainable development). Statistically, this requires that the indicators are sensibly correlated with the intended outcome.[48]

Given, the argument in section 2 about the varieties of decision-making in society, and the reassuring convergence above among different survey sources, the outcome measure for Goal 16 is well captured by Afrobarometer Q43 (shown in Table 1): "Overall, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in this country?"

Applying the modelling technique to the twenty-four variables from AfB (shown in the Appendix and summarised in Figure 1), together with the specified outcome, yields Table 3 below. It is revealing in two ways. Firstly, it shows that the indicator questions satisfy the demand for congruent validity, in the sensible grouping of like indicators and their comparable loadings onto the respective underlying constructs. Secondly, the groupings intimate possible *alternatives* for particular indicator questions, where one, albeit slightly less strong, might be preferable over another for policy reasons.[49]

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[47] A simple approach, after extracting a manageable pooled sub-sample of the AfB country datasets, might have been stepwise regression on the applicable AfB variables, However, this has the risk that salient variables, that one may wish to consider on conceptual grounds, may be mechanically eliminated by less relevant variables that are hardly more significant. Exploratory structural equation modelling (ESEM) corrects for this by keeping all the variables in contention while they are grouped in relation to the outcome as well as to each other. Only then are items identified to be discarded from the respective groups, and groups identified that may not be significantly related to the outcome (Muthén, Linda K. and Muthén, Bengt O. (2012), *Mplus User's Guide Version 7* (Los Angeles, Muthén and Muthén)). 4, 5 and 6 factor solutions were compared, and the 4-factor was most revealing. Finally, as a check, the same technique is applied to WVS's weighted global selection of countries, but its range of relevant variables is much more limited.

[48] See, for example, Johan Galtung, *Theory and Methods of Social Research* (Londo: Allen and Unwin, 1967).

[49] Cf "It is not the items themselves that are critically important, but the regions of the space; and … any of the numerous possible combinations of items that effectively tap a heterogeneous set of regions can provide the desired accounting…" Frank M. Andrews and Stephen B. Withey, *Social Indicators of Wellbeing* (Springer, 1976).

Table 3: Groupings and sub-groupings of AfB candidates for indicator questions

Grouping	Coeff.	Variable	Group coeff.
Trust (political), responsiveness, service delivery	0.539	Trust local government council	0.31
	0.413	Trust President	
	0.328	Trust electoral authority	
	0.449	Local gov't councillors listen to people like you	
	0.424	Members of Parliament listen to people like you	
	0.414	Local government keeping community clean	
	0.370	Local government handling road maintenance	
Fund. free-doms	0.942	How free to join any political organization?	0.219
	0.823	How free to vote for without feeling pressured?	
	0.745	How free to say what you think?	
Discrim-ination, rule of law	0.724	Officials who commit crimes go unpunished?	0.167
	0.585	People be careful of what they say about politics?	
	0.566	Women treated unequally by police and courts?	
	0.431	People treated unequally under the law?	
Trust (institut-ional)	0.904	Trust the army	0.103
	0.812	Trust the police	
	0.790	Trust the courts of law	

Four groupings of variables that are broadly relevant to decision-making turn out to be significant, with containing various question-items of different strength. The topmost, strongest grouping spans seven questionnaire items, four of which are directly relevant to the "responsive" and "inclusive" attributes of 16.7.2: perceptions of trust in local government, and in the electoral authority; and perceptions that local government councillors, or national representatives, are responsive.

In the next-strongest grouping, three items covering "bottom up" aspects of decision making, one is directly relevant to 16.7.2: freedom to vote without feeling pressured. The other two groupings contain decision-related items relevant to other targets (16.3, 16.5, 16.10 and 16.b) and are accordingly not dealt with further here.

We next focus *only* on these five indicators that are relevant to 16.7.2. Regressing them stepwise with the outcome shows that four of them remain statistically significant, as shown in Table 4. In order of strength they are: trust in the electoral authority, freedom to vote unpressured, trust in the local authority, and responsive members of parliament or national assembly.[50]

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[50] This is shown by the column of "standardized coefficients", representing the correlation strength of each item *ceteris paribus* with the chosen outcome.

Table 4: Significant questionnaire items relevant to "responsive and inclusive decision-making"

	Stand'd. coeff.	Correl'n coeff.	% Var'n explained
Q59C How much do you trust: Electoral authority	0.22		
Q17C How free are you to choose who to vote for without feeling pressured?	0.12		
Q59E How much do you trust: Local authority	0.12	0.36	12.80
Q62A Members of Parliament listen to what people like you have to say?	0.08		

These four questionnaire items have been sifted statistically by the extent to which they jointly function as an "indicator" of Goal 16, i.e. they actually correlate with it, as connoted by construct validity. In other words, taken in conjunction as a "basket", they together constitute a plausible measure for target 16.7.2.[51]

It may envisaged that the "inclusive" and "responsive" attributes of decision-making each have to be captured by only one item. Which two items, *taken in conjunction,* will fare best empirically, in indicating Goal 16? Table 5 shows how well the four options for pairs cover the two attributes.

Table 5: Relative strength of Item-pairs relevant to both "responsive" and "inclusive" attributes

	Stand'd. coeff.	Correl'n coeff.	% Var'n explained
Q59C How much do you trust: Electoral authority	0.25	0.34	11.40
Q59E How much do you trust: Local authority	0.13		
Q59C How much do you trust: Electoral authority	0.30	0.32	10.10
Q62A Members of Parliament listen to what people like you have to say?	0.08		
Q17C How free are you to choose who to vote for without feeling pressured?	0.13	0.28	8.00
Q59E How much do you trust: Local authority	0.24		
Q17C How free are you to choose who to vote for without feeling pressured?	0.15	0.20	4.00
Q62A Members of Parliament listen to what people like you have to say?	0.12		

One sees that the the strongest choice would be to canvass both "inclusive" and "responsive" by a question phrased in terms of trust: trust in the electoral authority, and trust in the local authority.[52] Note that *these two items on their own are nearly as efficacious as the basket of four items in Table 4* (i.e. the last column shows that they account for 11.4% of the variance in the outcome variable, close to the 12.8% accounted for by four-item basket.) Moreover, the second or third pairings of items are nearly as good: by pairing trust in the electoral authority with responsiveness of MPs, or pairing trust in the local authority with feeling unpressured in voting.[53]

Unfortunately the more restricted range of applicable questions in WVS does not allow corroboration of these pairwise indications. WVS round 6 covers elections extensively, but the

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[51] Each item is scaled, for example, 1=Not at all free, 2=Not very free, 3=Somewhat free, 4=Completely free, or equivalent. An easy and transparent index would be to report an average, also running from 1 through 4.

[52] This is shown by the best "correlation coefficient" of 0.34 for these two items, corresponding to their accounting for, or "explaining" 11.4% of the variance in the outcome. The latter is moderate, but not untypical in considering such contingently related phenomena.

[53] Indeed, the third option may be preferred over the second, because both ingredient correlations coefficients are less disparate.

trust items do not correspond to those furnished for 16.7.2 by AfB; and the issue of responsiveness of representatives will only be covered in round 7. However, as noted earlier, the Afrobarometer displays good reliability and convergent validity, and the countries cover a good spread of democratization. So the above results are usefully indicative for discussion.

5. Validated, prioritised perception options for a 16.7.2 question-pair or a "basket"

It was seen in section 2 that responsiveness of representatives and sound elections are conceptually grounded in social-scientific conceptions of downward and upward and decision-making. Section 3 showed that the eliciting of perceptions in surveys has been firmly recommended by notable authorities such as the Stiglitz-Sen-Fitoussi Commission and its OECD predecessor. And in practice it is well precedented in a variety of long-established and soundly conducted surveys by academics and foundations, and – in the case of Africa – by a the SHaSA-GPS collaboration among national statistical offices.

Drawing on the Afrobarometer, World Values Surveys, and SHaSA-GPS as instances, it was seen in section 4.2 that identical or closely similar questionnaire items applicable to decision-making were reliable, in yielding workably similar results. Section 4.3 applied the UNECE framework for types of validity, to show that such perception-based questionnaire items have face validity, in that they are demonstrably comprehensible to potential survey respondents; convergent validity, in that they cohere conceptually with each other; and construct validity, in that they actually do correlate empirically with the sort of goal which they are intended to monitor.

In particular, having thus validated the Afrobarometer suite of questions – spanning fifty thousand respondents in thirty-four countries with a wide spread of democratization – section 4.3 drew upon it to sift out a prioritised basket of four questionnaire items to serve as an indicator for target 16.7.2 on decision-making that is perceived as "responsive and inclusive". Some pairwise options of just two questionnaire items were identified that are nearly as efficacious.

To indicate 16.7.2 on "responsive and inclusive decision-making" with only two survey-based perception items, workable options are to pair "trust in the local authority" with either "trust in the electoral authority" or "feeling free to vote without feeling pressured".

If a "basket" of four items is admitted, then the above three may be complemented with "members of parliament listen to what people like you have to say".

These arrangements of reliable and valid perception-based questionnaire items – applicable in cross-country comparative surveys – satisfy the prescient expectations of the Stiglitz-Sen-Fitoussi Commission quoted at the very outset of this document.[54] They constitute options for discussion, for the measuring of responsive and inclusive decision-making, i.e. indicator 16.7.2 of target 16.7, in the latter's role of contributing to the monitoring of Sustainable Development Goal 16.

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[54] *Op. cit.* at n.1.

	APPENDIX: TABLE 1 – QUESTION COMPARISONS FROM SELECTED SURVEYS							
KEY A: "Thin" democracy - Electoral choice; B: "Thick" democracy – Fundamental freedoms; C: "Thick" democracy – Civil liberties; D: Governance – Institutional arrangements; E: Governance - Trust								
CATG	COMPONENT	WORLD JUSTICE PROJECT (WJP)		WORLD VALUES SURVEY (WVS)		AFROBAROMETER (AfB)		GPS-SHaSA
A0						Q43	Overall, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in this country?	Q3	Overall, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in this country?
				V141	How democratically is this country being governed today? (Scale from 1 to 10)	Q42	In your opinion how much of a democracy is South Africa today?		
A1	Elections (free & fair, regular)	GPP15	In [COUNTRY], people can vote freely without feeling harassed or pressured.	V228A	How often in this country's elections are votes counted fairly?	Q17C	In this country how free are you to choose who to vote for without feeling pressured?	Q2b-E	People can cast their vote freely, without being intimidated
				V228F	How often in this country's elections are election officials fair?	Q28	On the whole, how would you rate the freeness and fairness of the last national election?		
				V228G	How often in this country's elections do rich people buy elections?				
A2	Parties (strength, ideology)	GPP13	In [COUNTRY], political parties can freely express opinions against government policies and actions without fear of retaliation.	V228B	How often in this country's elections are opposition candidates prevented from running?				
A3	Contestation (competition, turnover)			V228I	How often in this country's elections are voters offered a genuine choice?			Q18A	To what degree do you think the national government takes the concerns of opposition parties into account?
A4	Individual political freedom - join, vote	GPP84	In [COUNTRY], people can freely join any (unforbidden) political organization they want	V228D	How often in this country's elections are voters bribed?	Q17B	In this country how free are you to join any political organization you want?	Q2b-D	People are free to join any political party
				V228H	How often in this country's elections are voters threatened with violence at the polls?	Q54	During election campaigns in this country, how much do you personally fear becoming a victim of political intimidation or violence?		
						Q56A	How often, in this country do people have to be careful of what they say about politics?		

B1	Freedom of association	GPP64	Have you attended a community meeting during the past 12 months?	V87	Have done any of these forms of political action. Might you? Would you never? Attend a peaceful demonstration	Q26A	Have you personally attended a community meeting during the past year?		
		GPP82	In [COUNTRY], people can freely attend community meetings.	V86	Have done any of these forms of political action. Might you? Would you never? Join in boycotts	Q26B	Have you personally got together with others to raise an issue, during the past year?	Q2b-H	People may join any organisation they wish without government interference
		GPP83	In [COUNTRY], people can freely join together with others to draw attention to an issue or sign a petition	V85	Have done any of these forms of political action. Might you? Would you never? Sign a petition			Q23a	Have you taken part in a protest in the last 12 months, such as signing a petition?
B2	Freedom of expression	GPP63	In [COUNTRY], people can freely express opinions against the government	V62	Which of the following is most important? And next most important? Protecting freedom of speech.	Q17A	In tjhis country how free are you to say what you think?	Q2b-A	Are people are free to say what they think in this country?
B3	Right to non-discrimination	GPP67 -74	Which of the following characteristics would place someone at a disadvantage with the local police? A poor person/female/different ethnic group/different religion/foreigner/homosexual			Q56B	How often, in this country are women treated unequally by the police and courts?	Q5a-A-J	In this country, do you think there is discrimination related to ace-ethnic group/language-dialect/religion/regional origin/nationality/poverty-wealth/sex-gender/disability/political affiliation/homosexuality
		GPP85	Thinking about the last 12 months, have you felt discriminated against in [COUNTRY] when looking for a job, or when you're at work?			Q56D	How often, in this country are people treated unequally under the law?	Q2b-C	People are treated equally by the police and in courts of law
						Q85A	How often in this country are people of your ethnic group treated unfairly by the government?	Q65p	How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the empowering of wome?
B4	Right to information:	GPP45	If you properly request access to public information held by a government agency, how likely do you think it is that the agency will grant it?			Q75B	Based on your experience, how easy or difficult is it to to find out how government uses the revenues from people's taxes?		

C1	Freedom of association	GPP12	In [COUNTRY], civil society organizations can freely express opinions against government policies and actions without fear of retaliation.						
C2	Media independence	GPP10	In [COUNTRY], the media (TV, radio, newspapers) can freely expose cases of corruption by high-ranking government officers without fear of retaliation.	V228C	How often in this country's elections does TV news favor the governing party?	Q53	In this country, how effective is the news media in revealing government mistakes and corrruption?	Q2b-B	Are newspapers and other media free to publish without fear of being shut down?
		GPP53	In [COUNTRY], the media (TV, radio, newspapers) can freely express opinions against government policies and actions without fear of retaliation.	V228E	How often in this country's elections do journalists provide fair coverage of elections?				
C3	Other fundamental rights			V142	How much respect is there for individual human rights nowadays in this country?			Q1	Are human rights respected in this country?
		GPP81	In this [COUNTRY], religious minorities can freely and publicly observe their holy days and events					Q2b-G	People are free to practise their faith without persecution
								Q2b-F	People may choose where to live and work without restriction
D1	Devolution: national, regional, local government							Q18c	To what degree do you think the national government takes the concerns of local government into account?
D2	Accessibility of representatives, gov't consultation arrangements	GPP57	In practice, people in this neighborhood can get together with others and present their concerns to members of Congress.			Q62A	How much of the time do you think Members of Parliament try their best to listen to what people like you have to say?	Q8A	How often do you think the following listen to people like you: Members of Parliament
		GPP59	In practice, people in this neighborhood can get together with others and present their concerns to local government officials.			Q62B	How much of the time do you think local government councillors try their best to listen to what people like you have to say?	Q8B	How often do you think the following listen to people like you: Local elected officials

		GPP60	How well or badly you think your local government is consulting traditional, civil, and community leaders before making decisions.					Q8C-D	How often do you think Leaders of community organisations / traditional leaders listen to people like you:
								Q17	Do you think that politicians respond to the population's concerns and needs?
D3	Accountable officials: complaints, feedback,	GPP65	Could you please tell us how well or badly you think your local government is providing effective ways to make complaints about public services?					Q9a	How well do you think your local authority is handling reporting back to the people?
D3		GPP106	During the last year, did you submit any complaint about the services provided by the different government agencies in your country? How effective was the complaint process in terms of getting your problem resolved?					Q18B	To what degree do you think the national government takes the concerns of non-governmental organizations/civil society into account?
D4	Uncorrupt officials	GPP14	In [COUNTRY], local government officials are elected through a fair process.			Q56F	How often, in this country do officials who commit crimes go unpunished?	Q13	In the past 12 months, have you had to give money or to offer a gift to a civil servant?
D4		GPP24	How many officers working in local government do you think are involved in corrupt practices?			Q60C	How many government officials do you think are involved in corruption?	Q15B	How effectively is the government handling the fight against corruption
D5	Dissem'n of gov't info.	GPP31	In practice, the basic laws of [COUNTRY] are explained in plain language, so that people can understand them.					Q11	How much information is provided by national government to citizens on government decisions?
D6	Executive limits, rule of law	GPP75	How often would you say that: In [COUNTRY], the basic rights of suspects are respected by the police					Q2b-I	The rights of people are equally respected, by government officials\s
		GPP1	Please assume that one day the President decides to adopt a policy that is clearly against the Constitution: How likely is the National Congress/Parliament to be able to stop the President's illegal actions? And the courts?						

D7	Autonomy of judiciary and legislature	GPP3	In your opinion, most judges decide cases according to: (a) What the government tells them to do (b)What powerful private interests tell them to do What the law says							
D8	Effective delivery of services					Q66A	How well or badly would you say your local government is handling the maintenance of local roads	Q9c	How well do you think your local authority is handling delivery of local services?
						Q66D	How well or badly would you say your local government is handling keeping the community clean		
E1	Trust in institutions				**How much confidence do you have in the following organizations?**		**How much do you trust each of the following?**		**How much do you trust them?**
E2				V110	The press	Q59M	Indep.newspapers (not in data-set)		
E3						Q59K	TV- government (not in data-set)	Q7bH	State media
E4				V111	Television	Q59L	TV - indpendent (not in data-set)		
E5				V118	The civil service			Q7bA	Public servants (in general)
E6				V113	The police	Q59H	The police	Q7bC	Police
E7				V114	The courts	Q59J	The courts of law	Q7bB	Judges/magistrates/the courts
E8						Q59A	The President	Q7bK	The President (Q14H is P.M.)
E9									Cabinet Ministers
E10						Q59E	Local government council	Q7bM	Locally elected officials (Mayor)
E11				V108	The churches				
E12				V109	The armed forces	Q59I	The army	Q7bJ	The army