

EUROPEAN POLICY BRIEF

INTRODUCTION



Governance, peace and security in Burundi, Mali and Uganda. Comparative NSO data for measuring Goal 16 of the SDGs¹

This policy brief provides an evidence-based connection between two important international processes regarding governance, peace and security (GPS). The one is the measuring of GPS by national statistics offices (NSOs) in Africa, which is already reporting under the auspices of SHaSA (see box 1). The other is the recent consultations among political and technical stakeholders, supported by the UNDP and latterly the UN Statistics Division, on defining measurable indicators for the ten targets of Goal 16 – on peace, justice, and accountable institutions (see box 2 on p.2) – of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). These were due to be considered at a Special General Assembly of the UN in September 2015.



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*Enhancing Knowledge for
Renewed Policies against
Poverty*

October 2015

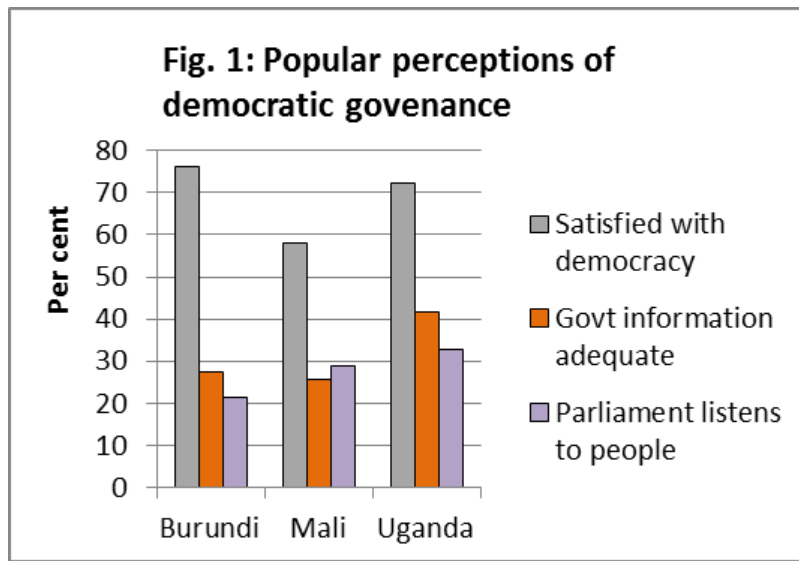
Countries whose NSOs have been early implementers of the SHaSA GPS surveys represent not only established democracies but also those emerging from transition or still turbulently engaged in it: like Uganda, Mali, and Burundi respectively, which feature in this policy brief². Many of the results bear directly on several of the indicators currently being considered for the ten targets of Goal 16. This confirms the importance, alongside other sources and kinds of data, of NSOs' monitoring Goal 16: "Without peace and good governance, all the gains made in Goals 1-15 will be wiped out. Without accountable and effective institutions of government, there will be no room for addressing systemic issues"³. The importance of these relationships emerges in the results that follow.

¹ The authors of this policy brief are Mark Orkin, Mireille Razafindrakoto and Francois Roubaud. They would like to thank Dr Yeo Dossina, Head of the AU Statistics Division, and Dr René N'Guettia Kouassi, AU Director of Economic Affairs; Mr Pali Lehohla, Statistician-General of South Africa and co-ordinator of SHaSA; Mr Robert Buluma of Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, chair of the SHaSA GPS committee; representatives from African statistics offices, plus academic and NGO stakeholders, who helped adapt the DIAL instruments; the NSOs of Burundi, Mali and Uganda for making available the anonymised data; and above all Ms Marie Laberge, previously UNDP Governance Assessment Specialist for Africa and Policy/Governance Specialist, in UNDP's Governance and Peacebuilding Directorate, whose resolute organisation and financial support carried the project from conception through design to rapid implementation. The authors thank also the NOPOOR project (European Union's 7 FP) under which the analysis has been launched. This policy brief stems from a collaborative work undertaken under the framework of the SHaSA-GPS program, institutionally and financially supported by UNDP, as well as under the NOPOOR project.

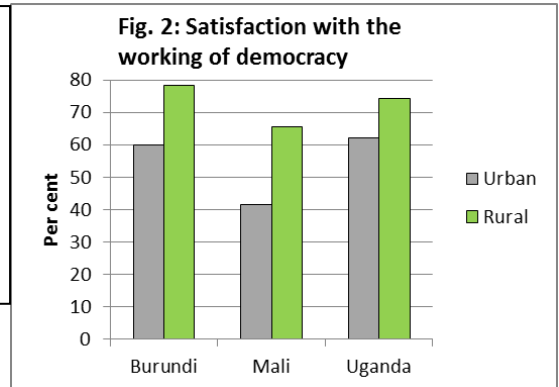
² The samples were weighted national probability samples. The sizes for Burundi, Mali and Uganda were 13,116, 13,835 and 1,036.

³ Paul Okumu, Africa Platform, *Social Watch e-Newsletter*, 214, 15 May 15, 2015.

In Fig. 1, the left-most grey bars show that In Burundi and Uganda alike, some three quarters of respondents (76% and 72% respectively) are very or fairly satisfied with the working of democracy, reflecting their past decades as multi-party states, and suggesting that the recent leadership conflict in Burundi does not arise from popular dissatisfaction with the underlying institutions of democracy⁴. In Mali, where elections were restored in 2013 following an attempted secession, the satisfaction level is somewhat lower, 60%. This overall orientation to the functioning democracy may be nuanced in several ways. When specific institutional functions are canvassed, citizens are much more critical. The brown bars in Fig. 1 show that, in Uganda, only 42% think government information is adequately or very comprehensive, and even less, some 26-27%, in Burundi and Mali. As to whether “Parliament listens to people like us”, shown by the purple bars in Fig. 1, 29-33% assent in Mali and Uganda, as against only 21% in Burundi, reflecting the post 2010-election narrowing of political activity there. Noting Targets 16.6 and 16.7 in Box 2, it seems that decision-making is more easily representative than responsive or transparent.



To what extent is decision-making uniformly inclusive? An indication is obtained by disaggregation. Regarding satisfaction with democracy, there is no significant difference by gender. However, it is appreciably lower in urban areas of all three countries, most noticeably in Mali (see Fig. 2). Regarding the adequacy of government information and the responsiveness of parliament (not graphed), perceived levels in Mali are noticeably lower than in the other two countries. The differences by gender, and also urban/rural in this case, are small.

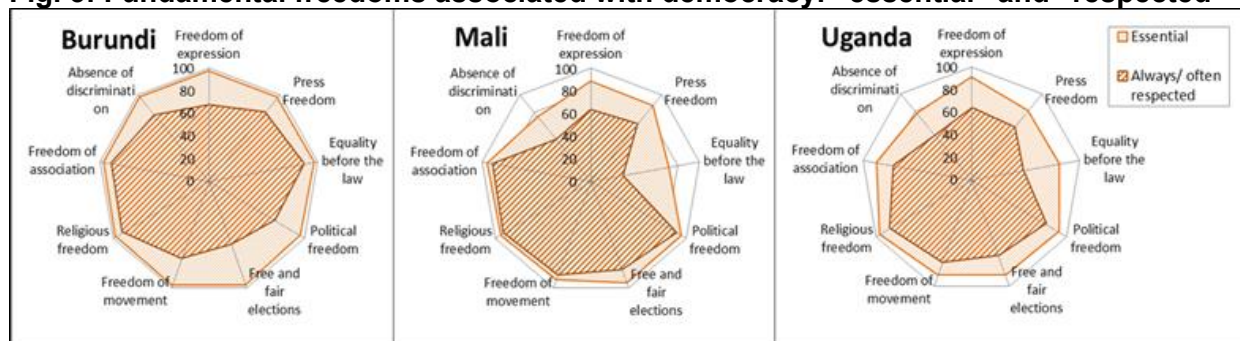


The SHaSA governance questionnaire subtly differentiates respondents’ perceptions of democracy by mentioning eight characteristics – called “fundamental freedoms” in Target 16.10 (see Box 2) – and asking respondents in each country to indicate the extent to which they are essential for them, and the extent to which they are respected⁵. For example, in the middle panel of Fig. 3, which reports on Mali, the pale-shaded outer polygon shows that nearly 80% of respondents view absence of discrimination, and also equality before the law, as essential; whereas the figures for freedom of association, religion, and movement are nearly 100%. And the inner, dark-shaded polygon shows that nearly 100% of people in Mali think that the freedoms of association, religion and movement are respected in practice. But only 49% think that non-discrimination, and only 30% think that equality, are respected in practice.

⁴ Mireille Razafindrakoto and Francois Roubaud, “La situation socio-politique au Burundi vue d'en bas : état des lieux et aspirations citoyennes pour éclairer les stratégies de sortie de crise”, mimeo, DIAL, 2015.

⁵ This particular approach draws directly on the pioneering GPS work conducted with NSOs by IRD-DIAL. See Mireille Razafindrakoto and Francois Roubaud, “Governance, Democracy and Poverty Reduction: Lessons drawn from the 1-2-3 Surveys in Francophone Africa”, *The African Statistical Journal*, 2 (May 2006) 43-82.

Fig. 3: Fundamental freedoms associated with democracy: “essential” and “respected”



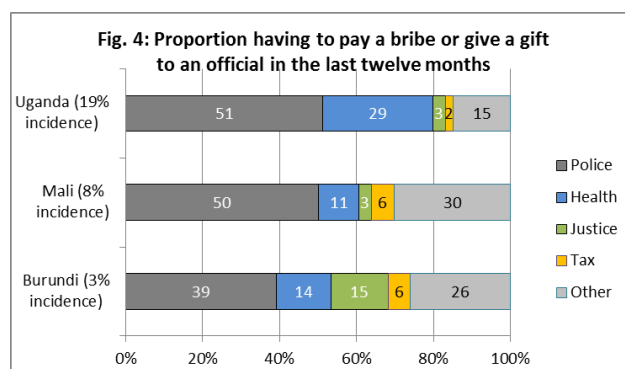
On this basis, one may notice that Uganda’s polygon “profile” is similar to, but less dramatic than, Mali’s: again, the lowest scores are for respecting in practice of non-discrimination (52%) and equality before the law (48%). But Burundi presents a strongly contrasting profile. Compared to Uganda and Mali, fewer people see free and fair elections, freedom of expression and political freedom as respected in practice (60% vs 68% and 69%); yet the proportions for equality before the law (88%) and non-discrimination (77%) are higher than in the other two countries⁶.

Among the fundamental freedoms in Target 16.10, specific mention is made of public access to information. In this regard, freedom of the press is seen to be respected in practice by 61% and 67% in Uganda and Mali, and as many as 80% in Burundi despite its lower political scores. The scores for perception as “essential” are approximately 20% more in each case.

Citizens hold political institutions to account, ideally on an informed basis, not only to sustain their rights and freedoms, but also for the effective and fair delivery of public services for the wellbeing of themselves and their families: seeking to ensure the “effective institutions” mentioned in Target 16.6. The proportions of people completely *distrusting* the public service as a whole is rather similar in Uganda and Burundi, 16% and 13% respectively; but the distrust is least in Mali, at 4%. Contrast this with Fig. 1, where Mali is presently the country most unsatisfied with democracy. This contrast, like that mentioned above between media and political freedom, affirms the necessity of multiple targets for Goal 16: depending on circumstances, positive developments in the realms of the personal, social, administrative and political may coincide, but do not necessarily do so.

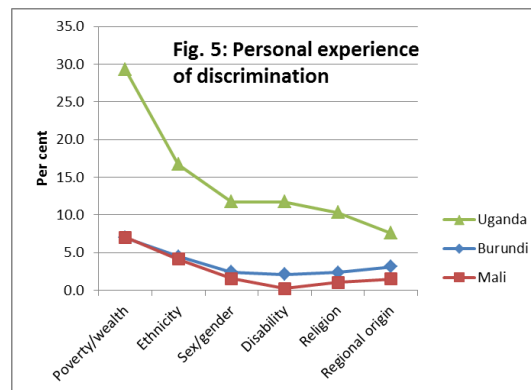
In similar vein, one might expect a distrust of public services to correlate with reported levels of corruption (directly measured as personal experience of giving a gift or bribe to a civil servant in the last twelve months). This turns out not to be the case. The incidence of petty corruption in the previous twelve months was 3%, 8% and 19% in Burundi, Mali and Uganda.

In spite of these differences of overall level there are notable similarities when respondents are questioned about separate sectors, as seen in Figure 4. Some 40-50% of respondents have had to bribe police (dark grey). Other sectors varied more: bribes required in the health system were more common in Uganda (29% - blue), and in the justice system were more common in Burundi (15% - green).

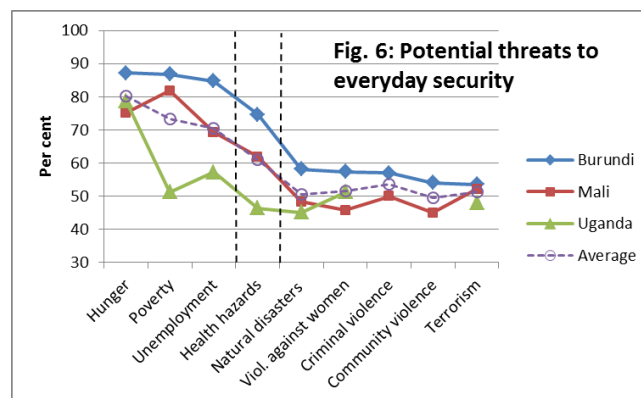


⁶ In the case of Burundi the support for the eight freedoms is uniformly near 100% because in that questionnaire the answers were offered as a “yes/no” dichotomy rather than the intended four-point scale.

Another possible source of unfairness in accessing or public services, and resulting in conflict, may be discrimination among social groupings. The surveys question country respondents on both their *perception*, and actual *experience*, of discrimination. This yields detailed information relevant to several of the Goal 16 targets on equal access and inclusiveness. Fig. 5 profiles the levels of discrimination *experienced* by respondents in the main sectors canvassed across all three countries. One notes, firstly, that the levels of experienced discrimination reported from Uganda are much higher than from the two Francophone countries. Secondly, the most reported discrimination in all countries was clearly poverty, followed by inter-group ethnicity – the other instances were all much less, and roughly equal. Thirdly, one finds that the results for *experienced* discrimination, as shown, are very highly correlated with the *perceptions* that discrimination occurs⁷. This gives some pause to the oft-expressed scepticism about perception-oriented questions, at least on this highly salient topic.



The paired SHaSA questionnaires recognize that governance and security are closely linked. From a security perspective, it emerges for each country that respondents worry most in their everyday lives about economic threats (hunger, poverty and unemployment), as seen in Fig. 6; followed by health risks. This underscores the interdependence among SDG goals. Only then come injury or death from natural disasters, and violence (criminal, community, against women, and by terrorism). Insecurity was highest in Burundi, then Mali, and least in Uganda (opposite to the order regarding discrimination). Differences were slight by gender; but rural respondents were generally less insecure than urban (with exceptions in Burundi).



The violence categorised above is mainly systemic. However, respondents' perceptions are also salient at the personal level. The surveys shed light on Target 16.1 with a question of whether respondents feel safe walking in their area alone at night. In Mali and Burundi alike, some 69% of respondents felt fairly or completely safe, but only 39% in Uganda. In all three countries women felt somewhat less safe than men, but by only a few percent. More striking was that people felt appreciably safer in rural areas in Mali, in and in urban areas in Uganda; and in Burundi there was scant difference.

⁷ This formulation is necessary for comparability because Burundi, as in footnote f, presented the question as a dichotomy.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Much longer documents would be necessary to analyse in detail these findings, and the many other findings from the surveys: in their socio-political context, as well as their wider import. But this policy brief has established a number of essential methodological points relevant to the role of NSOs in gathering GPS data, and its suitability for illuminating the targets of Goal 16, whatever the final choice of indicators for the Goal 16 targets. The analysis demonstrates that:

- Survey-based GPS results that are comparable across countries are feasible, sensible and revealing
- The range of these survey results bears on all Goal 16 targets, and on relationships with other Goals
- The variations in relationships among results confirms the importance of multiple Goal 16 targets
- NSOs in transitional as well as democratic states are interested and able to conduct GPS surveys
- Given In their add-on form, the GPS surveys can be economically and promptly administered.
- The responsibility for institutionalizing the production of governance data should fall on official NSOs. First, these institutions have the expertise: their familiarity with established statistical standards and procedures permits to guarantee the reliability of data. Second, the governance data should be conceived as a public good, similarly to other economic and social statistics, and NSOs have the official legitimacy to collect these data.

More globally, the analysis shows the relevance of survey-based indicators to monitor governance issue. Sound statistical surveys of citizens' own experiences and perceptions bring insightful and policy-relevant results.

RESEARCH PARAMETERS

Governance is a major issue in the discussion about the Post 2015 Development Agenda, as it is stipulated by the proposed 16th SDG: '*Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels*'. The main challenge is to define adequate indicators to monitor progress in this domain. Therefore, our objective is to develop statistical tools to improve the methods used to monitor and evaluate democracy and governance in the developing countries. Researchers from DIAL-IRD are involved in a working group which aims at the harmonization and the institutionalization of Governance, Peace and Security (GPS) statistics in Africa. This work is conducted with the National Statistical Offices (NSOs) of different countries in the framework of the SHaSA initiative (Strategy for the Harmonization of Statistics in Africa) jointly prepared by the African Union Commission (AUC), the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) under the umbrella of the African Statistical Coordination Committee (ASCC).

Regarding the GPS-SHaSA initiative, departing from an existing expertise derived from many years of collaboration with NSOs, on surveys methodology related to governance issues, a harmonized set of questions which allow common global approaches across countries was designed. Then, "add-on" specific modules on governance, peace and security were integrated in representative national household surveys in 10 pilot-countries in 2014. The ongoing analysis provides opportunity to discuss the reliability and the relevance of the indicators measured in the harmonized modules and to assess to what extent statistics can be comparable across times and countries in order to get insightful information.

Box 1: SHaSA, the Strategic Harmonisation of Statistics in Africa, is a programme of the community of forty national statisticians in Africa. One of its twelve work-areas is governance, peace and security (GPS), whose work programme was formally approved in Yamoussoukro in Dec. 2012. Thereafter, under the auspices of the Stats Division of the AU and with facilitation and funds from the UNDP Africa Region, representatives of national statistical offices from Africa's five regions collaborated with academic experts and international foundations to develop detailed and harmonised add-on survey-questionnaires and administrative schedules in the area of GPS. These covered the concerns of the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance, and built on earlier GPS surveys among African and Andean NSOs by the Paris-based research network DIAL. During 2013-15 the surveys have been administered by eight African countries hitherto, of which Cape Verde made a first public presentation of results in June 2014. Uganda, which published its report in September 2014, and Burundi and Mali, which have presented results, have shared their anonymised data with the authors for this brief. Other countries processing their GPS data at the time of writing (May 2015) are Cameroon, Cote d'Ivoire, Malawi, Tunisia. A further twelve African NSOs have formally committed to implement the surveys and populate the administrative schedules.

Box 2: Targets for SDG Goal 16: Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels

16.1 significantly reduce all forms of violence and related death rates everywhere • 6.2 end abuse, exploitation, trafficking and all forms of violence and torture against children • 16.3 promote the rule of law at the national and international levels, and ensure equal access to justice for all • 16.4 by 2030 significantly reduce illicit financial and arms flows, strengthen recovery and return of stolen assets, and combat all forms of organized crime • 16.5 substantially reduce corruption and bribery in all its forms • 16.6 develop effective, accountable and transparent institutions at all levels • 16.7 ensure responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision-making at all levels • 16.8 broaden and strengthen the participation of developing countries in the institutions of global governance • 16.9 By 2030 provide legal identity for all including birth registration • 16.10 ensure public access to information and protect fundamental freedoms, in accordance with national legislation and international agreements.

PROJECT IDENTITY

PROJECT NAME	Enhancing Knowledge for Renewed Policies against Poverty (NOPOOR)
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FURTHER READING	www.nopoor.eu