5. Counting What Counts: Africa's Seminal Initiative on Governance, Peace and Security Statistics

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Abstract
This paper documents the practical experience of eleven African national statistical offices that tested and eventually institutionalized a methodology for producing official harmonized statistics in governance, peace and security statistics between 2012 and 2017. This took place whilst the rest of the world was still debating the rationale for including this new domain in the next global development agenda. The paper documents Africa's successful GPS-SHaSA experiment in the context of the continent's long-standing desire to "achieve political sovereignty through data autonomy". The paper also presents some strategic advantages of the GPS-SHaSA methodology, provides illustrations using selected targets of Africa's Agenda 2063 and Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 16 on how the four types of data generated by the methodology can inform policymaking. Finally, the paper identifies methodological, institutional, financial and communicational investments necessary for a sustainable GPS statistical production by NSOs in Africa and beyond.

Key words: *Measurement, Indicators, Harmonized, Sustainable Development Goals, Agenda 2063, Household Surveys.*

Abstrait
Ce document présente l'expérience pratique de onze instituts nationaux de statistique africains qui ont testé et finalement institutionnalisé une méthodologie pour produire des statistiques harmonisées officielles dans les statistiques de gouvernance, paix et sécurité entre 2012 et 2017. Ceci a eu lieu alors que le reste du monde discutait encore pour inclure ce nouveau domaine dans le prochain agenda de développement mondial. Le document présente l'expérience réussie du GPS-SHaSA en Afrique dans le contexte de la volonté de longue date du continent de "parvenir à la souveraineté politique par l'autonomie des données". Le document présente également certains avantages stratégiques de la méthodologie GPS-SHaSA, fournit des illustrations en utilisant des cibles sélectionnées de l'Agenda 2063 et de l'Objectif de développement durable (ODD) 16 sur la manière dont les quatre types de données générées par la méthodologie peuvent

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éclairer l'élaboration des politiques. Enfin, le document identifie les investissements méthodologiques, institutionnels, financiers et communicationnels nécessaires pour une production statistique GPS durable par les Instituts Nationaux de Statistique (INS) en Afrique et au-delà.

Mots clés : *Mesure, Indicateurs, Harmonisés, Objectifs de développement durable, Agenda 2063, Enquêtes auprès des ménages.*

1. AN AFRICAN PARADOX

Very few people are aware that some African statistical offices had long been producing official statistics on governance well before European statistical offices did. Madagascar first published a comprehensive set of governance statistics in 1995, followed by seven Francophone West African countries in the first half of 2000, several of which — notably Mali and Benin — have been doing periodic updates since then[4].

It was not until 2013 that Eurostat began experimenting with governance-related questions in its core EU survey module on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC) applied by national statistical offices (NSOs) across the European Union[5]. The Quality of Life Expert Group, mandated in 2012 by EU Directors of Social Statistics to develop multi-dimensional measures of quality of life, concluded in its final report that with respect to "Governance and Basic Rights", several topics continue to be "difficult for official statistics to approach" (European Union, 2017). While these topics — namely, satisfaction with public services, discrimination, and voice and accountability — are yet to feature in Eurostat's survey modules, they are routinely measured by a dozen African statistical offices. They may well be measured continent-wide in the near future, as according to the African

4 The periodic repetition of governance surveys by some African countries is all the more striking because, according to the Mo Ibrahim Foundation, only half of Africa's population live in a country that has conducted more than two comparable surveys in the past 10 years (Mo Ibrahim Foundation, 2016).

5 The EU Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC) survey, notably its *ad hoc* module 2013 on subjective well-being, included three survey questions on trust (in the legal system, the political system and the police), and the EU-SILC ad hoc module 2013 on social and cultural participation included one question on "active citizenship" (i.e. participation in activities of a political party or local interest group, participation in a public consultation, signing a petition, writing a letter to a politician or to the media, participation in a demonstration, etc.). (See http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/income-and-living-conditions/data/ad-hoc-modules).

Union's second edition of the *Strategy for the Harmonization of Statistics in Africa* (AU, UNECA, AfDB, 2017).

Africa, regarded by some as a continent doomed to perpetual crisis and bad governance, is the world leader in measuring progress on governance.

This paper aims to shed light on this apparent paradox by showing that the adoption by African Heads of States in 2011 of an official commitment to harmonized official statistics on governance, peace and security (GPS) was the culmination of two decades of efforts to reclaim data sovereignty. We examine the motivations that led eleven African statistical offices, from 2012 to 2017, to pilot-test (and for some, to institutionalize) a methodology for producing official statistics in an emerging domain.

Given that world leaders have adopted SDG 16 on Peaceful, Just and Inclusive Societies, a review of the SHaSA methodology on Governance, Peace and Security Statistics (GPS-SHaSA), developed by the community of African statisticians, is timely. Insights and lessons emerging from this African experience will benefit national statisticians worldwide, as preparations for reporting on Goal 16 take effect.

Amongst several such insights, three are of particular relevance to ongoing efforts to establish a global monitoring mechanism on SDG 16. First, the conclusive results of the GPS-SHaSA pilot in Africa prove that nationally produced survey-based statistics on GPS that are comparable across countries *are* feasible. Second, the high diversity amongst participating countries — including post-conflict settings such as Mali's, countries-in-crisis such as Burundi (at the time), "new" democracies such as Tunisia, and top-ranking democracies like Cape Verde — shows that NSOs in both transitional and consolidated democracies are politically, financially and methodologically capable, and willing, to produce GPS statistics. Third, the GPS-SHaSA dataset demonstrates the policy value of combining administrative and survey data sources.

The first section of this article, which takes a historical perspective, puts into context Africa's successful GPS-SHaSA experiment within the continent's commitment to achieve political sovereignty through data autonomy. The second section presents some strategic advantages of the GPS-SHaSA methodology, as we illustrate how the four types of data generated by the GPS-SHaSA instruments can inform policymaking, using an example on the 'free and fair elections' target of Africa's Agenda 2063, and on the 'no discrimination' target of the world's 2030 Agenda for Sustainable

Development. The third section analyzes the political and institutional contexts of national pilots and the strategies applied by NSOs to secure the buy-in of their political leadership and to create broad-based demand for GPS statistics in their respective countries. The final section identifies methodological, institutional, financial and communicational investments necessary for the sustainable production of GPS statistics by NSOs.

2. THE GPS-SHASA ORIGINS

Africa's bold decision to embark on a continent-wide statistical program on governance, peace and security is best understood in the broader context of various commitments over the past fifteen years to reclaim sovereignty through data autonomy, especially in the highly strategic domain of governance and peace.

2.1 Inviting citizens' feedback: The African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM)

When the AU created the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) in 2002 as part of the African Renaissance initiative, it wanted to set a new stage for managing its own development agenda and for finding "African solutions to African problems". To this end, a homegrown governance evaluation system was needed, which would allow countries to come together as equals, to engage in peer reviews and to share lessons learnt and best practices amongst themselves.

Established in 2003 as a voluntary mechanism for African countries to self-assess on governance, the APRM was pioneering in at least two respects (APRM/NEPAD, 2003). First, the APRM's self-assessment questionnaire was structured around adherence to a set of continental and regional standards and codes for democratic, economic and corporate governance. This was a bold assertion of African sovereignty at a time when a mushrooming industry of international rating and ranking indices were basing their assessment of individual countries' performance on externally determined criteria of 'good' governance (Arndt et al., 2006).

Second, the APRM's invitation of people's participation in the evaluation of governance was a daring experiment. When developing their self-assessment report, states had to gather the perspectives of a broad range of non-state actors, including ordinary citizens. While such efforts may have been imperfect, they were, nonetheless, "a powerful political and moral symbol" (Corrigan et al., 2017: 11) of Africa's adhesion to the idea that governance

reform needed to be informed by the experience of ordinary citizens. In this regard, the APRM established an important precedent: it formalized public participation in governance assessment processes, and helped popularize the idea that without it, the legitimacy and credibility of governance evaluations may suffer.

2.2 Including GPS in official statistics: the SHaSA

African Heads of States adopted the SHaSA in 2011 to accelerate the African integration agenda — a process which "requires quality statistics — statistics that are accurate, objective, timely, consistent, harmonized i.e. comparable across time and space, and produced efficiently and regularly" (AU et al., 2011). The SHaSA was first and foremost a response to African frustrations with the fact that "statistics are produced using methodologies that do not always reflect African realities […], partly because international statistical references and standards do not always take into account continental specificities (i.e. the nature of African economies, the cultural habits of local populations, etc.)" (AU et al., 2011). Underpinning the SHaSA was also the realization that sound national statistics reinforce a country's sovereignty. This idea was subsequently championed by the Mo Ibrahim Foundation's 2012 report, which lamented the paucity of African data and advocated for statistical autonomy within African countries, and affirms data autonomy as integral to political sovereignty.[6]

The SHaSA was also adopted at a time when international governance indices were harshly criticized for the subjectivity inherent in the selection and interpretation of the data used in their construction. Their lack of transparency and comparability over time, and their limited use for policymakers who struggled to find what action to take based on a single composite score, were also frown upon (Arndt et al., 2006). These well-known biases and limitations of international governance indicators made it imperative for national statistical systems to start generating their own data. As explained by Zakari Mwangi, Director-General of Kenya's National Bureau of Statistics: "Governance in Kenya is being assessed by some twenty organizations — and not one of them is Kenyan! This proliferation of externally-led, uncoordinated data-collection drives not only marginalizes our national statistical agencies but also creates confusion by applying different methods to measure the same things" (Mwangi cited in UNDP, 2017). It is in this context that the methodological approach proposed by the SHaSA Group on GPS statistics was unanimously adopted by the Committee of Directors-General of African NSOs at its first annual meeting after the adoption of the SHaSA,

6 The Mo Ibrahim Foundation also started investing in nationally generated data sources for its index that year, in a partnership with the Afrobarometer and Global Integrity.

in 2012, in Yamoussoukro. Shortly after, twenty[7] NSOs responded to the AU Statistics Division's call for expressions of interest in the piloting of the GPS-SHaSA instruments.

At their subsequent annual meeting in 2013 in Johannesburg, Directors-General formally requested the GPS-SHaSA Group to "secure funding for a regional project to support NSOs in the institutionalization of GPS data collection across the continent" (AUSTAT, 2013). On the eve of the adoption of Agenda 2063 — The Africa We Want, the continent's new development framework for the next fifty years, the Directors-General also underlined the timeliness of the GPS-SHaSA initiative, and welcomed it as a direct contribution towards Agenda 2063's vision of "a more united and strong Africa, […] a global power to reckon with […], speaking with one voice" (AU, 2013). Rooted in pan-Africanism and setting the road towards an "African Renaissance", Agenda 2063 further legitimized the GPS-SHaSA endeavor, consolidated statisticians' buy-in and triggered a race to the top in the tightly knit community.

2.3 Advocating for GPS data sovereignty globally: The African position on the post-2015 agenda

African Heads of State once again demonstrated Africa's leadership in governance monitoring when the Open Working Group on SDGs considered relegating issues on governance and peace to a set of cross-cutting development enablers in the preamble of the new development agenda (as was done in the Millennium Declaration adopted in 2000). Africa's common position on the post-2015 Agenda (AU/UNECA, 2014), which included a stand-alone pillar on 'Peace and Security'[8] addressing a broad range of governance issues (AU/UNECA, 2014), was a game changer in at least three respects. First, as Cling et al. (2018) point out, it was instrumental to the global consensus on SDG 16, despite the strong opposition of a powerful faction in the Group of 77 — led by China, India and Russia.[9] Second, by championing the inclusion of a dedicated goal

7 The twenty countries that officially expressed interest to the African Union in piloting the GPS-SHaSA instruments in 2013 were the following: Benin, Burundi, Cameroon, Cape-Verde, Chad, Congo-Brazzaville, Democratic Republic of Congo, Gabon, Guinea-Conakry, Côte d'Ivoire, Kenya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Niger, Senegal, Seychelles, Togo, Tunisia and Uganda.

8 This 'Peace and Security Pillar' underlined the importance of "addressing the root causes of conflict" through tackling a broad range of governance issues such as reducing social inequality, exclusion and discrimination and encouraging democratic practices (AU/UNECA, 2014).

9 Cling et al. (2018: 5) explain that "the countries most reticent to this SDG [on Governance and Peace] (China, India and Russia) found themselves increasingly isolated, to the point where they had to comply with the majority, notably following the change in

on governance and peace in the 2030 Agenda, with corresponding targets and indicators, African member states were also signalling to the world their confidence in the measurability of such a goal. This confidence was largely derived from their own recent experiments in this area, notably through the APRM and the GPS-SHaSA initiative,[10] which were showcased at various high-level events[11] leading to the adoption of the final 2030 Agenda in September 2015. Third, the AU's advocacy for the adoption of governance and peace as a stand-alone goal further promoted "GPS data sovereignty" across the continent — and indeed, across the world — since the adoption of the goal would then require countries to produce *national* statistics to report on progress.

3. THE GPS-SHASA METHODOLOGY AND ITS POLICY RELEVANCE

Below, we briefly describe the main features and advantages of the harmonized statistical instruments developed by the SHaSA Group on GPS, and field-tested by eleven pilot countries between 2013 and 2017. We illustrate, using examples, the policy relevance of statistics generated by these instruments and their suitability for reporting on SDG 16 and on Aspirations 3 (on good governance) and 4 (on peace and security) of Agenda 2063.

3.1 Strategic advantages of the GPS-SHaSA methodology

The GPS-SHaSA methodology includes four instruments: two survey modules (two one-page questionnaires, one on governance and the other on peace and security, for a total of around 60 questions) and likewise, two administrative data collection instruments (again, one schedule of

position of African countries". They further note that Africa's assertive stand contributed to "tip[ing] the scale" (p.5) in the politics of SDG16.

10 "It became obvious during the debates that the positions of African countries were based on their experience using household surveys in the context of the GPS-SHaSA programme" (Cling et al., 2018: 12). For instance, during subsequent negotiations on the selection of indicators for SDG 16, Africa once again asserted its leadership when expressing support for survey-based indicators, citing conclusive results from the GPS-SHaSA experience, despite serious reservations of several developed countries about the use of survey data for the measurement of governance, because of a lack of experience in this area and the general belief that NSOs should not get involved in this area.

11 For instance, the Joint UNDP/AU High-Level Event on SDG16 and the GPS-SHaSA – "Towards Regional and National Statistical Capacities for Measuring Peace, Rule of Law and Governance: An Agenda for the Post-2015 Sustainable Development Goals Framework", June 11-12, 2014, at the African Union Commission Addis Ababa, Ethiopia; and the Joint UNDP/AU High-Level Event on SDG16 and GPS-SHaSA, New York, December 2014.

administrative items on governance, and the other on peace and security). Additionally, supporting methodological tools[12] were developed — among them, an interviewer training manual, metadata sheets to guide the collection of administrative data, survey results tabulation plans, as well as indicator matrices classifying GPS-SHaSA indicators by theme and sub-themes, and showing the complementarity of survey-based and administrative data.

The deeply entrenched ownership of the methodological design process by the dozen or so African statisticians constituting the SHaSA Group on GPS is perhaps the most distinctive feature of this initiative (Razafindrakoto and Roubaud, 2015). At various steps in the process, expert inputs were invited and subsequently debated within the Group — notably from the Afrobarometer, the Mo Ibrahim Foundation, the Small Arms Survey, UNODC and UN Women. This strong ownership of the methodology within the GPS-SHaSA Group translated into a similarly strong endorsement by the Committee of Directors General of African NSOs throughout the data production cycle, including at the (critical) publication stage.

The scientific provenance of the governance survey methodology that the SHaSA Group adopted for GPS contributed significantly to creating the confidence level required for its swift adoption by the broader community of African statisticians. By 1995, the national statistical office of Madagascar (INSTAT), assisted by the French research institute IRD-DIAL, was already pioneering survey-based measurements on democratic governance (Herrera et al., 2007). INSTAT developed a compact module on governance questions that could be appended to household surveys, often donor-funded for such purposes as health or agriculture. Based on this successful initiative, the IRD-DIAL researchers simultaneously replicated the approach in seven Francophone West African countries in the first half of 2000, and in seven countries of the Andean community in South America in the second half of the year. Subsequent scientific analyses of these initiatives demonstrated the reliability of the governance indicators produced, thanks to the established rigorous standards of the NSOs and to the large samples they could undertake. The utility of such indicators to policymakers, researchers and civil society, and the country ownership over the data production process, also represented real value-added over externally generated international indices on governance (Razafindrakoto and Roubaud, 2005; Herrera et al., 2007; Giang et al., 2011). These features contributed to the retention of this approach for the survey component of the GPS-SHaSA methodology in 2012. The combination of survey modules and administrative data collection instruments provided five main strategic advantages.

12 These methodological tools were available in English, French and Portuguese.

3.1.1 Combining survey data and administrative sources to get a complete picture

Conducting surveys may be operationally easier in developing countries, relative to maintaining up-to-date administrative records[13]. Nonetheless, the GPS-SHaSA methodology was deliberately designed to show the links between 'inputs' — capabilities and efforts by the state to be inclusive, accountable and effective in managing public affairs, best measured through administrative sources — and 'outcomes' — notably, the lived experiences of citizens and their trust in institutions, best measured through survey data. The SHaSA Group on GPS argued that investing in administrative data collection systems on governance and peace was no less important, even if the investments required are more consequential.[14] In Côte d'Ivoire, for instance, administrative statistics were used to help contextualize survey data on people's trust in the courts of justice. When pairing levels of trust with the ratio of judges per 100,000 people, taking into account budgetary allocations to legal aid services and the proportion of defendants who had legal representation in courts, policymakers were able to identify some of the reasons why people in different regions of the country were more or less satisfied with court services (UNDP, 2017).

3.1.2 The imperative of capturing people's "voice" when assessing GPS

When monitoring GPS, the very nature of the issues at stake — how peaceful and inclusive are societies, how just and accountable are institutions — makes it especially important to integrate people's voices into GPS measurements. In other words, the measurement approach used to monitor official commitments to improve governance needs to be true to these commitments' inherent values and principles, such as the accountability of the state to its citizens. It is in this context that the GPS-SHaSA methodology placed strong emphasis on the use of survey-based evidence to capture peoples' assessment of governance practices and peace dynamics in day-to-day life. As a senior advisor to the GPS-SHaSA pilot initiative remarked, "For the

13 Only half of GPS-SHaSA pilot countries tested the administrative data collection instruments, namely Kenya, Cote d'Ivoire, Malawi, Cape Verde and Burundi, while all eleven of them tested the survey modules.

14 This consideration was also shared by Directors-General. At their 2016 annual meeting in Cote d'Ivoire, some Directors noted that. "while much progress has been made on the survey component of the GPS-SHaSA methodology, the importance of also investing in administrative statistics should not be underestimated: the assessment of the 'demand' side […] needs to be complemented by an assessment of the 'supply side' […]. The more extensive investments required to establish administrative data collection systems in ministries and agencies (in time, in human resources, technologically and financially) should not deter the STG 1 from moving forward on this front while continuing its excellent survey work" (Laberge, 2016: 3).

vast majority of people — the uneducated, low-income laborers living in rural areas who rarely get a chance to participate in national policymaking, except for casting a ballot once every four or five years, but even that may turn out to be useless — for the vast majority of these people, participating in a governance survey represents a rare chance to have their voice heard by power-holders, particularly in countries where civil society or other intermediary bodies are poorly organized" (UNDP, 2017).[15]

3.1.3 Leveraging the statistical advantages of using nationally representative household surveys

Piggybacking survey modules on a large support survey allows for the precise identification of the population groups — women, university graduates, northerners, urbanites, the unemployed, the poorest quintile, young people, etc. — most affected by the dysfunctions of governance systems. This is a major advantage of working with NSOs, compared with other types of organizations running governance surveys on smaller samples. The Afrobarometer surveys, for instance, are run on samples of approximately 2,400 respondents and as such have considerably higher margins of sampling error than GPS-SHaSA surveys, which have sample sizes that can go up to 40,000 households (see Table 1).

As shown in Table 1, GPS-SHaSA modules in most pilot countries were grafted on general living conditions surveys or labor force surveys. In all countries, GPS-SHaSA survey modules were administrated to a representative sample of adults (above 18 years of age) randomly selected from the support survey.[16]

Attaching GPS survey modules to large-sample official surveys offers the added advantage of mobilizing other socio-economic variables available in the support survey to investigate interactions between measures of governance and broader measures of development outcomes, such as health-related data collected by a demographic and health survey, or food security data collected by a living conditions survey.

15 Quote by Mark Orkin, Senior Advisor to GPS-SHaSA, former Statistician-General, Statistics South Africa, and Associate Fellow, Department of Social Policy and Intervention, Oxford University

16 The selection of adults for the GPS-SHaSA survey was carried out at two levels. A first selection was done at the household level: in 40 percent of pilot countries, only a subset of the households sampled by the support survey were selected for the GPS-SHaSA modules. A second selection was done at the individual level: in 70 percent of pilot countries, only a subset of all adults living in a household were surveyed (in most cases, only one adult per household was randomly selected, using a variety of methods such as the Kish Grid, the nearest birthday, cards, etc.).

Table 1. Overview of sampling strategies applied to the GPS-SHaSA survey modules

	Pilot Countries					Other Countries (Self-starters)					
	Cam-eroon	Cape Verde	Kenya	Malawi	Tunisia	Benin	Burundi	Côte d'Ivoire	Mada gascar	Mali	Uganda
Support Survey											
Name of the Survey	ECAM 4	IMC	GATS	WMS	GPD	EMICoV	ECVMB	ENV	P1-E123	EMOP	UNGBS
Type of Survey	HLS/123	HLS/123	Specific	HLS/123	GoV	HLS/123	HLS /123	HLS/123	HLS/123	HLS/123	GoV
Number of PSUs	1,024	n.a.	Test	699	298	911	415	1 068	220	911	375
Nb. of HH (theor.)	12,848	9,918	Pilot	12,700	4,470	22,080	7,128	12,816	4,020	5,466	3,750
Nb. of HH (final)	10,303	8,804	-	14,198	n.a.	21,402	7,006	n.a.	4,020	n.a.	n.a.
GPS-SHaSA Modules											
Year of Survey	2014	2013	2013	2015	2014	2015	2013-14	2015	2015	2014-15	2013
Universe	Adult	Adult	Adult	Adult	Adult	Adult	Adult	Adult	Adult	Adult	Adult
Nb. of HH (from S. S.)	50%	50%	-	All	All	All	All	25%	All	All	33%
Nb. of ind. (from HH)	1	n.a.	1	1	All	All	All	1	All	<3	1
Nb. of ind. (final)	5,102	3,771	74	14,198	10,600	39,991	13,116	3,082	7,166	13,835	1,036

Sources: GPS-SHaSA modules, 2013-2015, NSOs; authors' calculations.

Note: The Kenya National Bureau for Statistics (KNBS) was only able to test the GPS-SHaSA survey modules on a small sample of 74 individuals, as the donor funding the larger support survey declined the NSO's request to graft the GPS-SHaSA modules to that survey.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to elaborate on the robustness of the GPS-SHaSA survey results already discussed at length in Razafindrakoto and Roubaud (2015). Their analysis (based on a review of measurement and sampling errors in national GPS-SHaSA datasets, and on a review of the internal and external consistency of survey results) concludes that GPS-SHaSA survey results are robust and reliable, in some cases of higher statistical quality even than traditional survey-based statistics on the labor force, living conditions or demographics. Importantly, GPS-SHaSA results produced by national statistical agencies were found not to differ significantly from those of the Afrobarometer survey, produced by a research network (Razafindrakoto and Roubaud, 2015; Calvo et al., 2018). This finding refutes the view that governance cannot be reliably measured through surveys run by public institutions, due to their assumed lack of independence. As Razafindrakoto, Senior Advisor to GPS-SHaSA, explains: "The Afrobarometer survey, at the end, asks respondents who they think is running this survey. Even if it is clearly mentioned by enumerators in their introduction that the survey is conducted by a non-governmental research outfit, more than half of the respondents still assume that the survey is run by the government. So, if Afrobarometer survey results are seen as independent and impartial even if most respondents think it is run by the government, then why would similar surveys run by public institutions such as NSOs be any less reliable?" (Razafindrakoto cited in UNDP, 2017).

3.1.4 Meeting the pan-African harmonization objective while respecting national specificities

Survey questions were drawn from a variety of past or ongoing surveys with proven robustness. The surveys include the democratic governance survey module developed by IRD-DIAL in the early 2000s, the well-established Afrobarometer survey of national public attitudes in Africa on democracy and governance, and standardized victimization surveys (UNODC/UN-ECE, 2010). In keeping with the pan-African harmonization objective of the SHaSA, the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance (AU, 2007) — the foremost pan-African normative framework on governance signed by 45 African member states to date — was used to define the thematic scope of the instruments and flesh out their substantive content. Out of the numerous options available, questions were also selected for their resonance with diverse national contexts across the continent, as well as for their analytical relevance.

While the core GPS-SHaSA modules must be applied *verbatim* in each survey to ensure the comparability of data across countries over time, the GPS-SHaSA methodology encourages countries to add a few questions on

other aspects of governance and peace that were not addressed in the core questionnaire but may be important in a given national context. Uganda, Tunisia, Benin, Madagascar, Tunisia and Uganda added country-specific questions when they piloted the core survey modules.

3.1.5 The sine qua non consideration: Sustainability of the methodological approach

The primary concern of African statisticians involved in the design of the GPS-SHaSA survey methodology was keeping the methodology as 'light' as possible. Concise survey modules tend to generate higher quality data, as the respondent's full attention can be mobilized when interview time is kept to a minimum. The material, financial, and human resources required for implementation can determine the feasibility, reliability and sustainability of a survey. In this regard, the 'add-on' modular survey technique makes good economic sense, in that it saves cash-strapped African NSOs the cost of setting up additional, stand-alone surveys on GPS. The use of regularly conducted socio-economic surveys as vehicles for the GPS modules also helped ensure from the outset that GPS surveys would get repeated periodically — another critical feature for establishing time series on GPS statistics with which meaningful observations can be extracted for policy formulation.

3.2 The policy relevance of GPS-SHaSA indicators for monitoring SDG 16 and Africa's Agenda 2063

Monitoring progress on 17 SDG global goals and 20 African goals is no small feat. For efficiency's sake, the monitoring frameworks for both Agendas had to reduce the number of indicators to one or two 'catch-all' proxies per target. Yet, there is a broad consensus[17] that reliance on single, standalone indicators can produce misleading assessments on progress in meeting any particular target. On the other hand, indicator baskets[18] combining different types of (perception-based, experience-based and administrative-record-based) indicators enhance the evaluation of the effectiveness of a policy response by shedding light on a range of factors impacting and impacted by a certain issue. Importantly, the use of indicator baskets can reduce the tendency of

17 See SDG16 Data Initiative, 2017; Bertelsmann Stiftung & Sustainable Development Solutions Network, 2017; Transparency International, 2017; Institute for Economics and Peace, 2016.

18 'Indicator baskets' typically combine experience-based indicators to monitor the actual occurrence of a phenomenon, 'input' and 'output' indicators – often drawn from administrative records – to track concrete steps taken to address the problem, as well as public perceptions indicators to see whether the public feels that an improvement is truly occurring, or what their attitudes are towards certain issues.

states to improve performance on a few indicators without implementing real change in people's lives.

Recent independent efforts to monitor progress on SDG 16 using a basket-approach have drawn from a wide range of data sources — a time-consuming process for the entity having to quality assure this data produced by third parties before aggregating it. In this regard, the GPS-SHaSA methodology offers a substantial advantage. It centralizes data collection in national statistical offices, where the vetting, integration and quality assurance of various types of survey-based and administrative data can be performed by experts in statistical methods and standards.

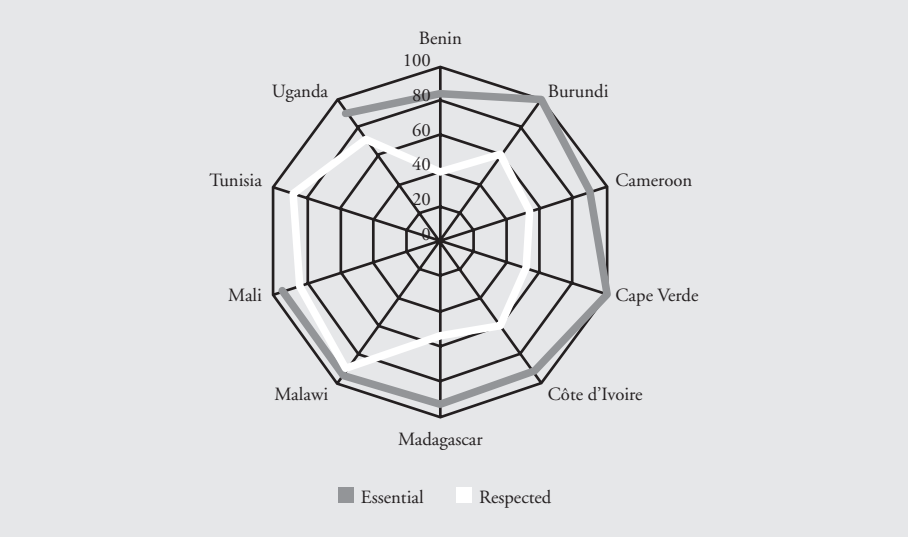
To illustrate the value of applying a basket-approach to measuring targets under Agenda 2030 and Agenda 2063, we present in this section a few results from selected GPS-SHaSA pilot countries that produced both survey-based and administrative data. As explained by Ben Paul Mungyereza, the Executive Director of the Uganda Bureau of Statistics: "It's a myth that policymakers are not interested in, or distrust, data because it's based on citizen perceptions rather than on 'real' experiences or other 'objective' information. The fact of the matter is, regardless of whether a government institution is actually a hotbed of nepotism (for example), the popular perception that it is one is probably more important than the actual state of affairs—because this perception shapes citizens' behaviour and attitudes towards the government" (Mungyereza cited in UNDP, 2017).

In this section, we demonstrate how four types of data generated by the GPS-SHaSA instruments — perception data tracking people's own assessments and appreciations, experience data measuring people's experiences and behaviors, data on the values and norms they hold, and data from administrative sources compiled by various governmental entities — can be combined to produce rich policy insights. This will be illustrated through actual applications of the basket-approach for monitoring Agenda 2063's target on 'free and fair elections' and Agenda 2030's target on 'non-discrimination'.

3.2.1 Monitoring Agenda 2063's target on "Free and Fair Elections"

While the global monitoring framework for SDG 16 deliberately omitted reference to elections, this core aspect of democratic governance is addressed in a dedicated target under Africa's Agenda 2063 Priority Area 1 on "Democratic Values and Practices are the Norm," which states that by 2023, at least 70 percent of the public should perceive elections as free, fair and transparent.

Figure 1. Free and fair elections: Do you consider it as "essential"? Is it "respected" in this country?

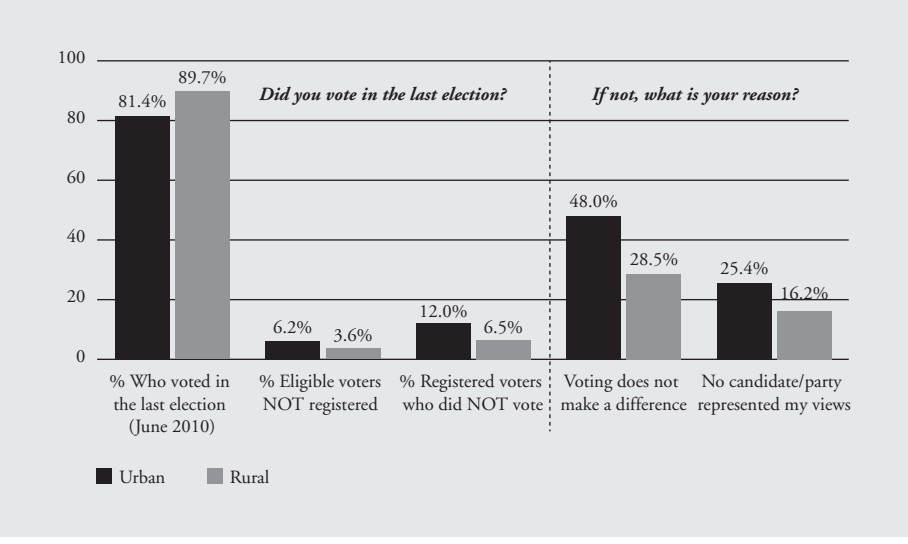


Sources: GPS-SHaSA modules, 2013-2015, NSOs, various countries; authors' calculations.

Note: Tunisia did not include "free and fair elections" amongst the "key characteristics of democracy" listed for this question.

As illustrated by Figure 1 above, there is generally a wide gap (except in Malawi and to a lesser extent Mali) between the level of popular aspirations (the extent to which people say that free and fair elections are "an essential characteristic of democracy") and people's perception of the extent to which elections are indeed free and fair in their country. Such measures can be utilized by policymakers to 'localize' global or continental targets, taking into account national circumstances, as envisaged by both Agendas. For instance, the AU 2023 target of at least 70 percent of the population finding elections as free and fair might not be a realistic target in countries such as Benin, Cote d'Ivoire and Madagascar where this figure currently stands at 40 percent or less.

Figure 2. Voting behavior in Burundi: Did you vote in the last election? If not, why? (Urban vs. rural populations)



Source: GPS-SHaSA module, 2014, ISTEEBU, Burundi; authors' calculations.

Note: The GPS-SHaSA survey took place before the elections cycle of 2015-16.

In the left panel, Figure 2 uses experience-based data from the GPS-SHaSA survey module to depict the voting behavior of Burundians in the 2010 elections, and reveals a higher electoral participation rate in the rural population. The panel on the right uses perception data to draw policymakers' attention to possible explanations for the lower electoral turnout rate in urban areas: nearly half of urban Burundians who did not vote felt that "voting does not make a difference", and one in four felt that no candidate or party represented their views.

Table 2 below applies the four-dimensional basket approach introduced above to the cases of Burundi and Cote d'Ivoire to illustrate how the four types of data generated by the GPS-SHaSA instruments can be used to examine the electoral climate in any given country, and help inform policy.

While people's perception of the freeness of the 2010 elections in both countries is almost the same (60 percent in Burundi and 62 percent in Cote d'Ivoire), the voter turnout in Cote d'Ivoire is significantly lower than in Burundi. This observation is validated by two types of data: a 5-point difference between the two countries in experimental survey-data ("Did you vote in the last election?") and a seven-point difference in the electoral roll

tallies of both countries. To investigate possible reasons behind the lower voter turnout in Cote d'Ivoire, three factors can be examined. First, Table 2 shows a much lower level of satisfaction with democracy in Cote d'Ivoire (56 percent) than in Burundi (76 percent), a variable which may generate a certain level of voter apathy. Second, less than a third (31 percent) of the population in Cote d'Ivoire feels that politicians take their concerns into account. When comparing Members of Parliament and traditional leaders based on their ability to "listen to people like them", parliamentarians elected through the ballot box scored 30 points lower than traditional leaders.

Third, 92 percent of Ivoirians consider the principle of "free and fair elections" as essential to a democracy's effective functioning, compared to 98 percent of Burundians. This could be explained, at least in part, by the generally negative views held by Ivoirians about electoral practices and elected officials. This is an important point for policymakers to ponder on, as people's perceptions can ultimately affect their adherence to certain norms and values (including their relative "preference" for democratic regimes over other types of more authoritarian regimes) if their aspirations are consistently frustrated by day-to-day experiences.

Burundi's higher voter turnout and considerably higher level of satisfaction with democracy are only part of the story. Policymakers also need to pay attention to much more negative views held by urban populations (a 20-point gap with rural populations, compared to an 8-point gap in Cote d'Ivoire). Policymakers intending to understand the possible factors fueling such feelings of dissatisfaction amongst urban populations in Burundi will note the 33-point difference between urban populations saying that parliamentarians (23 percent) and traditional leaders (56 percent) "pay particular attention to people like themselves". Other elements of response are in the large share of voters who did not vote because "voting does not make a difference" (33 percent in Burundi compared to 7 percent in Cote d'Ivoire) or because no candidate or party represented their views (18 percent in Burundi compared to 8 percent in Cote d'Ivoire).

Table 2. Four-dimensional indicator basket to monitor Agenda 2063 target on "Free and Fair Elections"

Agenda 2063 Target 2023: "At least 70% of the public perceive election to be free, fair and transparent by 2020" Comparative illustration for Burundi and Cote d'Ivoire			
Data type	**GPS-SHaSA indicators**	**Data for Burundi**	**Data for Cote d'Ivoire**
1. Perceptions	% of population saying that the principle of free and fair elections is respected in the country	60% (urban: 42.1% vs. rural: 62.3%)	61.9% (urban: 58% vs. rural: 65.9%)
	% of population saying they did NOT vote because: (1) Voting does not make a difference; (2) No candidate / party represented their views	32.5% 18.1%	6.8% 8%
	% of population saying that politicians take into account citizens' concerns	36% (urban: 30.8% vs. rural: 36.6%)	29.8% (urban: 30.4% vs. rural: 29.2%)
	% of population saying that: (1) Members of Parliament (2) Traditional leaders listen to people like themselves	21.5% (urban: 23.1% vs. rural: 21.3%) 65.7% (urban: 56.4% vs. rural: 66.9%)	30.5% (urban: 27.2% vs. rural: 33.8%) 60.8% (urban: 56.7% vs. rural: 65%)
	% of population saying that they are satisfied with how democracy works in their country	76.2% (urban: 59.8% vs. rural 78.3%)	56.4% (urban: 51.5% vs. rural: 61.5%)
2. Experiences	% of population saying that they voted in the last general election	88.8%	83.5%
3. Norms/ values	% of population indicating that free and fair elections is an essential characteristic of democracy	98%	91.9%
4. Administrative sources	Proportion of registered voters who voted during the last presidential elections	90.5% (2010)	83.7% (first round, 2010) 81.1% (second round, 2010)

3.2.2 Monitoring SDG Target 16.B on Non-Discrimination

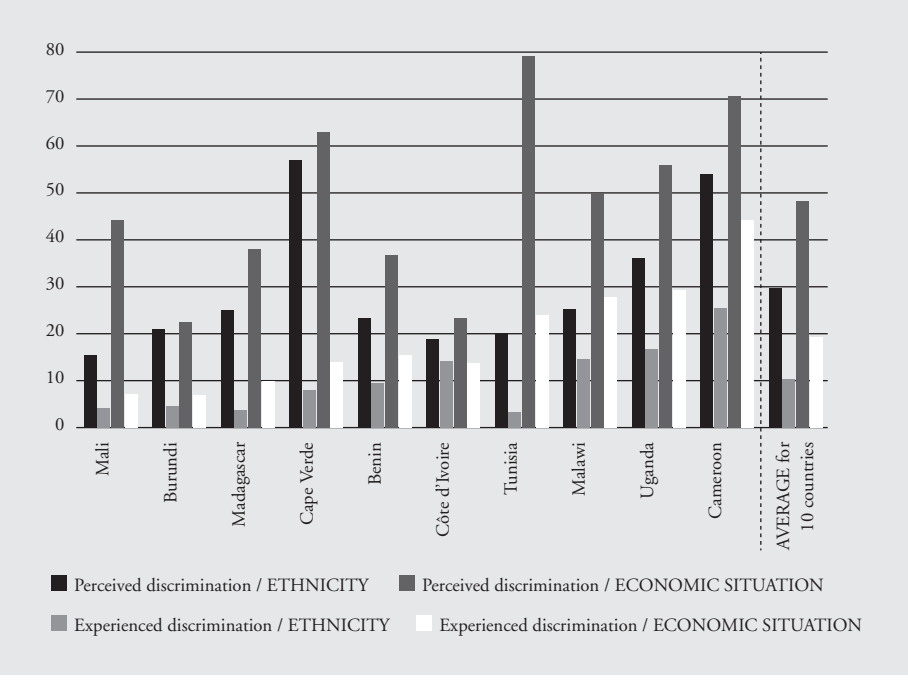
Global indicator 16.b.1 (Proportion of population reporting having personally felt discriminated against or harassed in the previous 12 months on the basis of a ground of discrimination prohibited under international human rights law) does not measure the actual incidence of discrimination and harassment occurring in a given population. Rather, this indicator measures the proportion of the population having identified (subjectively) that they had been discriminated against and/or harassed, and willing to disclose this information to data collectors. Africa's Agenda 2063 also has a focus on human rights and a national target[19] for 2023 that requires the monitoring of discrimination.

In at least three respects, the four-dimensional indicator baskets that can be assembled with GPS-SHaSA data (Table 3) provide richer data on discriminatory patterns than the use of global indicator 16.b.1 in isolation.

First, GPS-SHaSA survey data make it possible to distinguish between ten different types of discrimination — ethnicity, sex, language, religion, regional origin, foreign origin, economic situation (poverty), disability, political affiliation and homosexuality. Second, the GPS-SHaSA survey modules allow for the monitoring of perceptions of discrimination alongside lived experiences of discrimination. Figure 3 reveals much higher levels of *perceived* discrimination, when compared with *experienced* discrimination. This observation is fairly consistent across the ten pilot countries (Cote d'Ivoire being a notable exception), with gaps between these two types of measures found to be widest in Cape Verde and Tunisia, for poverty-based discrimination. Important policy insights can be gained from these large differences between measures of perception and actual experience. For instance, such gaps can arise from inadequate communication between the state and citizens. Policymakers should pay attention to high levels of perceived discrimination, whether or not they reflect reality, because perceptions drive behavior — people perceiving widespread discrimination are more likely to adopt discriminatory practices themselves, thus fueling a sort of self-fulfilling prophecy (UNDP, 2017).

19 Situated under Priority Area 2, this target states: "At least 70% of the people perceive the entrenchment of the culture of respect for human rights, the rule of law and due process."

Figure 3. Perceived and experienced discrimination: Ethnicity vs. economic situation



Sources: GPS-SHaSA Module, NSOs, various countries; authors' calculations.

Note: The questions are formulated as follow: "People are sometimes discriminated against on various grounds. In this country, do you think there is discrimination related to [this characteristic]? In the past 12 months, have you ever been victim of discrimination due to [this characteristic]?"

Third, the Peace & Security component of the GPS-SHaSA methodology allows for the specific investigation of discrimination perpetrated by security forces. As shown in Table 3, the markedly higher perceptions on discrimination by security forces in Cote d'Ivoire (26 percent, compared to 17 percent in Burundi) correlate with higher levels of experiences of discrimination by security forces in Cote d'Ivoire (17 percent, compared to 5 percent in Burundi). Policymakers looking for advice on how to tackle this issue need to take into account contrasting scenarios in the two countries in terms of *where* such discriminatory practices by security forces are most prevalent. While in Burundi self-reported experiences of discrimination are mainly concentrated in urbans areas (8 percent in urban areas vs. a lower national average of 5 percent), the opposite holds true in Cote d'Ivoire (only 12 percent in the capital Abidjan vs. a national average of 17 percent). Policymakers

would also need to pay attention to the administrative data collected on "the proportion of security personnel prosecuted over the total number of reported cases of misconduct". Data provided by Cote d'Ivoire show that, while some level of prosecution was taking place in 2014 for misbehaving military personnel (69 percent of reported cases were prosecuted) and gendarmerie personnel (31 percent of reported cases were prosecuted), no police personnel was prosecuted for misconduct that year — even though people typically interact more frequently with the police than with the military.

Table 3. Four-dimensional indicator basket to monitor SDG target 16.B "Promote and enforce non-discriminatory laws and policies for sustainable development"[20]

Indicator 16.b.1: Proportion of population reporting having personally felt discriminated against or harassed in the previous 12 months on the basis of a ground of discrimination prohibited under international human rights law Comparative illustration for Burundi and Cote d'Ivoire			
Data type	**GPS-SHaSA indicator**	**Burundi**	**Cote d'Ivoire**
Perceptions	% of population saying that the principle of non-discrimination is respected in the country	79.8%	55.2%
	% of population saying that there is discrimination due to[20]:		
	(1) Ethnicity	20.9%	18.9%
	(2) Religion	13.2%	13.2%
	(3) Region	18.5%	14%
	(4) Gender	16.3%	9.2%
	(5) Economic situation	22.5%	(23.4%
	% of population saying that some people are discriminated against by public security services	16.9%	25.6%

20 Other dimensions of discrimination explored by this question in the governance survey module include: Language/dialect, being foreign, disability, political affiliation, and sexual orientation.

Indicator 16.b.1: Proportion of population reporting having personally felt discriminated against or harassed in the previous 12 months on the basis of a ground of discrimination prohibited under international human rights law Comparative illustration for Burundi and Cote d'Ivoire			
Data type	**GPS-SHaSA indicator**	**Burundi**	**Cote d'Ivoire**
Experiences	% of population saying that they have been a victim of discrimination due to: (1) Ethnicity (2) Religion (3) Region (4) Gender (5) Economic situation	(1) Ethnicity: 4.5% (2) Religion: 2.4% (3) Region: 3.1% (4) Gender: 2.4% (5) Economic situation: 7%	(1) Ethnicity: 14.1% (2) Religion: 9.4% (3) Region: 8.8% (4) Gender: 6% (5) Economic situation: 13.7%
	% of population saying that they have been discriminated against by public security services on the basis of at least one type of discrimination	4.8% (Urban areas: 8.1%)	17,1% (Abidjan: 11.6%; other urban areas: 20.1%)
Norms/ values	% of respondents indicating that 'Absence of discrimination' is an essential characteristic of democracy	98.4%	83.4%
Administrative sources	% of fifteen core international and African conventions [+ regional conventions as relevant] on governance and human rights which were: (1) ratified AND enacted in national legislation (2) for which a first compliance report (at a minimum) was submitted to treaty bodies to report on implementation	(1) 78% (2014) (2) 67% (2014)	(1) 53.3% (2014) (1) 0%[21] (2014)

21 Error in interpretation: 0% indicates the proportion of these conventions for which a progress report was submitted during the year (2014) the GPS-SHaSA data collection took place — whereas the indicator aims to measure the proportion of conventions for which a progress report has been submitted — at any point in time since their adoption/ ratification (which is what the figure of 67 percent for Burundi represents.)

Indicator 16.b.1: Proportion of population reporting having personally felt discriminated against or harassed in the previous 12 months on the basis of a ground of discrimination prohibited under international human rights law Comparative illustration for Burundi and Cote d'Ivoire			
Data type	**GPS-SHaSA indicator**	**Burundi**	**Cote d'Ivoire**
	Proportion of security personnel prosecuted over total number of reported cases of misconduct	Data not available	Military personnel: 69% (2014) Gendarmerie personnel: 31% (2014) Police personnel: 0% (2014)

4. THE GPS-SHASA INITIATIVE IN DIVERSE INSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXTS

A variety of motivations prompted national statistical agencies to embark on GPS statistical production, each national context presenting a unique configuration of challenges and opportunities. In this section, we analyze the political and institutional contexts in which national pilots took place, and we investigate a number of factors which may have facilitated NSOs' entry in an area traditionally seen as sensitive in most African countries.

4.1 A variety of national scenarios

4.1.1 NSOs with no previous experience with GPS statistics

Lack of experience with GPS statistics was in no way a barrier to entry for neophytes. In countries where the production of GPS statistics was a new venture, the leadership of statistical offices essentially adopted one of two strategies.

First, in countries where a government entity had previously requested some type of governance data, the statistical agency could conveniently refer to this earlier request to introduce the GPS-SHaSA pilot. In Uganda, for example, the Ministry of Public Service had asked the Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS) for data to help address the scourge of corruption and abuse of public office in service delivery. In response to this request, UBOS partnered with the School of Statistics and Planning of Makerere University to map existing governance data producers in Uganda amongst government, civil society and research institutes, and to assess the quality of existing data sources (UBOS, 2014). By the time the GPS-SHaSA survey modules were

brought to the attention of the Director General of UBOS, the statistical office had already designed (with support from UNDP) its own "National Baseline Survey" on governance to collect data on the specific concerns raised by the Ministry. On realizing the importance of the harmonization objectives underpinning the GPS-SHaSA modules, the DG promptly secured additional funding from UNDP to attach the GPS-SHaSA modules to the (Uganda-specific) Baseline Survey. With its specific component on peace and security, the GPS-SHaSA questionnaire offered a useful complement to the Baseline Survey on governance, especially in view of remaining tensions in the North of Uganda. The piloting of the GPS-SHaSA modules in Uganda enabled the NSO to go beyond addressing the initial specific request of the Public Service Ministry. Equipped with the GPS-SHaSA questionnaire, UBOS was able to embrace a larger ambition — supplying policymakers "measurable governance indicators to inform the National Development Plan, the Uganda Vision 2040, the East African Community Integration Agenda, the African Union Vision 2063, and the post-2015 Sustainable Development Goals" (UBOS, 2014).

In the second category, where no pre-existing government request could be leveraged to "justify" the launch the GPS-SHaSA pilot in the country, statistical agencies had to be more opportunistic in creating demand for GPS data from the political leadership. In Burundi, for instance, the NSO (which reports to the *Ministère à la Présidence Chargé de la Bonne Gouvernance et du Plan*, a ministry responsible for good governance) introduced the GPS-SHaSA pilot as a monitoring tool aligned with existing official commitments on governance found in various national planning frameworks. In the preface to the first national report on GPS statistics, the Director-General of the NSO invoked the country's national vision, Vision Burundi 2025, which describes governance as a critical lever for economic development and for the improvement of citizens' living conditions (ISTEEBU, 2014). Reference to such official commitments to governance proved to be an effective strategy for statisticians operating in young democracies to secure the buy-in of politicians who would otherwise be averse to the type of democratic accountability enabled by nationally representative surveys on governance that translate people's voice in unambiguous numbers.

Other NSOs capitalized on ongoing efforts by the executive branch to establish national governance monitoring systems to introduce the GPS-SHaSA pilot. Empowered by the recent adoption of the GPS-SHaSA methodology by the African community of statisticians, these NSOs demanded roles in such national governance monitoring systems, invoking their credentials as public institutions formally entrusted with the mandate to produce official

statistics on all major areas of citizens' lives, including governance. This was the case in Malawi where initial plans to establish a national monitoring system for the Democratic Governance Sector Strategy (Government of Malawi, 2012) had assigned overall responsibility for this system to an executive entity in the Office of the President and Cabinet. Similarly, in Tunisia, the NSO introduced GPS-SHaSA instruments to officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ofice of the President and Cabinet, which was at the helm of a UNDP-supported initiative (UNDP, 2016) to demonstrate the measurability of SDG 16 through national data collection systems. The critical role played by the Tunisian statistical agency in demonstrating the feasibility of reporting on SDG 16 through (GPS-SHaSA-inspired) survey-based indicators had significant ripple effects at the global level — the feasibility of the GPS-SHaSA approach beyond Sub-Saharan Africa had now caught the attention of the international community.[22]

4.1.2 NSOs with some prior experience with GPS statistics

In contrast to the first group of NSOs attempting to produce GPS statistics for the first time, others had an existing record of accomplishment in this area. These statistical agencies had, to some degree, already secured the blessings of the political leadership. They saw their participation in the GPS-SHaSA initiative as a way of consolidating or complementing ongoing efforts to produce governance statistics.

The statistical office of Cote d'Ivoire, for instance, established in 2007 a dedicated department on governance statistics *(Département de l'Organisation de l'Information pour la Gouvernance)*, which regularly publishes governance statistics, compiled mainly from survey data on perceptions and experiences of corruption. A request by the *Haute Autorité pour la Bonne Gouvernance* (National Commission on Good Governance) for a broader range of governance statistics to help inform the Commission's annual report on governance led the NSO to a test of the GPS-SHaSA instruments and the expansion of the scope of its governance statistics beyond corruption. Similarly, the Kenyan statistical bureau used the GPS-SHaSA pilot as a stepping stone to the conversion of its Crime and Justice Statistics Unit[23] into a fully-fledged Governance Statistics Section, which now publishes a wide range of governance statistics (*albeit* from administrative data sources only) in the Annual Economic Survey and the Statistical Abstracts. This

22 UNDP and selected governments, High-Level Side-Event SDG 16 Pilots, Participation by Tunisia, 2015.

23 When Kenya's Vision 2030 was launched in 2008, with a strong focus on tackling crime and improving security across the country, the government requested the Kenyan National Bureau of Statistics to start producing statistics on crime, justice and security.

was also the case in Cape Verde where a Justice and Security Statistics Unit had been created in 2011, at a time when security concerns ranked high on the national agenda. The GPS-SHaSA survey modules enabled the Cape Verdean statistical agency to supplement existing administrative data collection with survey data, and to widen the range of reported issues beyond justice and security.

In Benin, the (self-funded) GPS-SHaSA pilot was launched in the wake of the publication of the 2014 Mo Ibrahim Index, which showed a decline[24] in the country's overall governance performance since 2011 (Mo Ibrahim Index, 2014). As explained by a statistician seconded to the Prime Minister's Office, the opportunity to take part in the GPS-SHaSA pilot came just when the political leadership in Benin was questioning the validity of external 'expert' perceptions making up a large part of the Mo Ibrahim Index. In this context, the GPS-SHaSA survey provided a welcome countervailing approach to the use the country's own data to 'cross-check' the declining trends recorded in the Mo Ibrahim Index.

Finally, the Cameroonian NSO, mindful of the limited appetite for GPS statistics shown by authorities in previous years, presented the GPS-SHaSA pilot as an opportunity to further consolidate the country's leadership position in Central Africa (and long-standing reputation as a regional pole of statistical excellence) by being the first GPS-SHaSA pilot in the subregion. A peer from the statistical office of the neighboring Republic of Congo remarked at the launching event that Brazzaville was hoping to follow soon "Yaoundé's pioneering example".[25]

4.2 Hedging sensitivities by adopting a 'big-tent' approach

4.2.1 National validation workshops

The NSOs implemented the GPS-SHaSA pilots in close consultation with numerous government actors, civil society organizations, academia and research institutions. Their intention was to foster broad-based ownership of the initiative, and to create a bottom-up demand for GPS statistics. In the words of Dorcas Nabukwasi, a Ugandan statistician, "the perception that people had of [the Ugandan Bureau of Statistics] was greatly enhanced when they started to see it as an institution in tune with their daily struggles and aspirations; suddenly, the numbers started to make sense to them" (Nabukwasi cited in UNDP, 2017).

24 Benin registered a deterioration of -0.2 in its Mo Ibrahim Index score between 2014 and 2011. See http://static.moibrahimfoundation.org/u/2015/10/02201305/03_Benin.pdf.

25 The GPS-SHaSA pilot was launched in Yaoundé, Cameroon, in August 2013.

Most countries launched the pilot by hosting a 'National Validation Workshop' where the GPS-SHaSA methodology was presented to all stakeholders. Such events brought together likely users of GPS statistics — including the country's political leadership, parliamentarians, relevant ministries, departments and agencies, oversight institutions such as anti-corruption commissions and audit institutions, civil society and academia — and data producers in relevant government entities. All actors had the opportunity to propose amendments or additions to the four data collection instruments to better suit the local context.[26] More advanced peers from other pilot countries sometimes also attended to share their experience with national stakeholders.[27] Experience-sharing by other pilot NSOs with a broad national audience proved to be an effective way to establish the scientific credibility of the GPS-SHaSA methodology and to build national confidence around its feasibility, while at the same time building a strong team spirit amongst pilot NSOs.

4.2.2 Multi-stakeholder "Steering Committees on GPS Statistics"

As a direct outcome of these validation workshops, several pilot countries established multi-stakeholder "Steering Committees on GPS Statistics" (known by other names in different countries). These committees were mandated to keep potential users of GPS statistics engaged throughout the process, thus increasing the likelihood of the use of GPS-SHaSA statistics by the institutions represented on such committees. Coordinated by the NSO, the membership of these committees included both statistical focal points in relevant government entities and representatives from civil society and academia.[28] In Uganda, for instance, the School of Statistics and Planning of Makerere University was a key member of the Technical Sub-Committee on Governance Statistics, and played a critical role in training survey enumerators.

26 In Cameroon, for instance, a question was added on linguistic discrimination against the Anglophone community, and a new sub-question on the elderly was added to a question on victimization, to capture abuses perpetrated against older women accused of practicing witchcraft. In Kenya, additional indicators on natural resource governance were added to the administrative data collection instrument.

27 For instance, a Malian statistician took part in Tunisia's validation workshop, and a Cape Verdean statistician contributed to validation workshops in Malawi and Cameroon.

28 For example, the Technical Sub-Committee on Governance Statistics established by the Ugandan Bureau of Statistics included representatives from the School of Statistics and Planning of Makerere University, civil society organizations, the media, the Electoral Commission, the National Human Rights Commission, the Office of the Prime Minister, the National Planning Authority, institutions from the Justice, Law and Order Sector, and development partners such as the UN and DFID (UBOS, 2014).

Steering committees also acted as guarantors of methodological rigor throughout the process, which was essential for GPS statistics to advertise themselves as reliable and trustworthy. In Malawi, for instance, the Committee performed a quality assurance function at three levels — Committee members verified the accuracy of the questionnaire translation into the two national languages, Chichewa and Tumbuka. They also contributed to the training of enumerators and integrated teams of senior statisticians to observe interviews during fieldwork (UNDP, 2017).

Regarding administrative data collection, Committee members served as a critical interface with their respective institution: they were responsible for assessing data availability and quality, as well as for securing the full collaboration of their agency in sharing the requested data within agreed timeframes. They also helped identify specific capacity-building needs in their respective agencies to enhance data collection practices, which the NSO would then address through targeted training. The Cape Verde NSO was particularly effective in this regard: "cooperation protocols"[29] between the statistical office and various government entities[30] became the order of the day. The protocols stipulated the format and frequency of data-sharing with the NSO, and reiterated the strict application of rules on information confidentiality.

The Kenyan Bureau of Statistics was particularly successful in establishing a Technical Working Group on GPS statistics comprising of representatives from as many as thirty government entities[31]. This Working Group was fur-

29 In view of the high interest generated by the Cape Verdean experience, a 'sample protocol' (UNDP/AUC/INECV, Sample Collaboration Protocol for GPS-SHaSA Administrative Data Production, 2013, available in French and English) was designed and made available in both French and English to other pilots, as a tested model to help formalize collaboration between NSOs and relevant government entities. In most other pilot countries however, NSOs' efforts to implement such protocols were halted due to a lack of sufficient financial resources to implement the elaborate capacity-building plans elaborated in such protocols.

30 At the time of the GPS-SHaSA pilot, the Cape Verde statistical office had formalized such protocols with the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Prosecutor's Office, the Superior Council for the Judiciary, and the Judicial Police.

31 The Kenya Technical Working Group on GPS Statistics included representatives from the following 30 institutions: the Kenya Police Service, the Judiciary, the Kenya Prisons service, the Probation and Aftercare Services, the Public Prosecution, the Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission, the National Registration Bureau, the Independent Electoral & Boundaries Commission, the Immigration department, the Children Service Department, the National Assembly, the Institute of Development Studies, University of Nairobi, the National Environment Management Authority, the Kenya Wildlife Service, the Law Society of Kenya, the Office of the Attorney General, the National Gender and

ther subdivided into three subcommittees — on criminal justice statistics, governance and security statistics, and environmental governance statistics (a Kenya-specific addition). The Working Group met on a quarterly basis to assess progress in data collection, and was particularly effective in facilitating the design of new data collection protocols to help harmonize data collection practices within sectors (between the courts and the police, for instance) and to increase data-sharing amongst institutions. The Working Group also developed a joint annual work plan, which empowered individual members to integrate specific data collection activities in the work program of their own institution (KNBS, 2014).

5. LOOKING AHEAD: WHAT IT TAKES TO INSTITUTIONALIZE GPS STATISTICS

Institutionalizing the production of GPS statistics at country-level will require at least four types of investments — institutional, methodological, financial and communicational. The specific actions, finances and skill sets required across these four domains were fleshed out in the five-year work plan and budget tabled by the SHaSA Group on GPS statistics at the annual meeting of the Committee of Directors General of Statistics in Yamoussoukro, in 2012 (AU, 2012). Below are the details, supplemented by lessons emerging from pilot experiences.

There is a consensus among all eleven NSOs that piloted the GPS-SHaSA instruments on the need to institutionalize expertise on GPS statistics within the NSO — for instance, by creating a dedicated unit on GPS statistics rather than relying on a few statisticians scattered across other departments. The production of GPS statistics is a new area for most African NSOs, and requires staff properly trained on the subject matter and working full-time on this agenda, especially to cultivate the strong institutional partnerships needed across government to collect administrative statistics. Merely nominating a 'GPS focal point' (as was the case during the pilot phase), with pre-existing responsibilities and insufficient time to dedicate to this new area, is unlikely to lead to sustainable results.

At a methodological level, the institutionalization of GPS statistics will require the permanent integration of GPS-SHaSA survey modules in a dedicated household survey (such as a living conditions survey or a labor

Equality Commission, the Ministry of Defense, the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights, the Communication Commission of Kenya, the Monitoring and Evaluation Directorate, Ministry of Devolution & Planning, and the National Crime Research Centre.

force survey) to be conducted regularly. For some NSOs, the piggybacking strategy for the survey modules proved challenging. Ironically, the intended cost-saving advantages using the same approach sometimes failed, as the more fundamental challenge of securing sufficient funding for the support survey turned out to be a challenge. This was an issue in Cote d'Ivoire where the two surveys considered as candidate support surveys for attaching the GPS modules were repeatedly postponed due to insufficient funding. In Kenya, the NSO failed to convince the donor funding the candidate support survey to attach the GPS modules to it. Some countries therefore considered running the GPS survey modules independently, with national resources. Although this alternative approach would reduce the sample size, it would help ensure the regularity of the surveys over time. However, the piggybacking tactic continues to be the most feasible in most countries. In Uganda, for instance, the statistical office has selected from the GPS-SHaSA survey modules a small subset of questions to be integrated in the largest household survey run by the NSO every three years.

Financial needs are a lingering concern, not only for data collection activities, but also for investment in the requisite institutional architecture within NSOs and in data-producing government entities. The needs are particularly acute for administrative data collection. All five countries (Burundi, Cape Verde, Cote d'Ivoire, Kenya and Malawi) that tested the administrative data collection instruments confirmed the feasibility of the exercise. Among the five is Burundi, which according to the World Bank indicator of statistical capacity, has the least developed statistical system amongst all pilot countries, yet could still measure 80 percent of GPS-SHaSA administrative indicators (ISTEEBU, 2017). These five countries, nonetheless, called for the deployment of an extensive training program for statistical units in government agencies.

Most NSOs observed that the main challenge is not that ministries or agencies refuse to share data, but rather that data are unavailable, or of poor quality.[32] This is due to low budgetary allocations to monitoring, evaluation and statistical production across government agencies. It is therefore no small feat that some pilot countries, such as Kenya, successfully leveraged the GPS-SHaSA initiative to secure new budgetary allocations towards the production of GPS statistics (the Kenyan police, for instance, secured funding for the statistical office to help create statistical units in police establishments across the country). The establishment or improvements of fully-fledged statistical units in GPS-related ministries and agencies is a

32 For example, the Kenyan pilot noted incomplete datasets, arithmetic errors, manual processing of data in the field leading to various errors, etc. (KNBS, 2014).

potential practical solution to high staff turnover, which deprives NSOs of their focal points in ministries after having invested considerable time and efforts in building their capacity.

Finally, the sustainability of GPS statistical production hinges on the effective dissemination of results and conversion of data into policy-relevant findings. In Cape Verde, for instance, the appetite for GPS data in government entities is explained by the active role played by public servants and government officials in analyzing survey results. Instead of analyzing these results behind closed doors, the Cape Verde statistical office organized GPS-SHaSA retreats where government agencies and civil society organizations mingled in sector-wide working groups and examined datasets from the viewpoint of their own policy interests. At the heavily publicized launch in the National Assembly, the people's 'voices' were conveyed unaltered to their elected representatives, in a powerful show of direct democracy. A few days later, the GPS-SHaSA survey caught people's attention again when the President of Cape Verde, at the country's 39th independence anniversary, raised concerns about some democratic shortcomings unveiled by the survey, notably in relation to popular perceptions of the unequal treatment of citizens before the law (UNDP, 2017).

The dissemination of GPS-SHaSA survey results had equal impact on the more fragile settings of Mali and Burundi. For instance, the Director General of the Malian NSO was invited to present results in Parliament and, similarly, the Burundian statistical agency was invited to present results to senior decision-makers in government. In both cases, these presentations resulted in explicit government requests that the NSO repeat the survey to allow for the tracking of trends. Drawing exclusively from national resources, the Malian statistical office has implemented four rounds of the GPS-SHaSA annually since 2014, and the modules are now an integral part of the annual living conditions survey. With both countries invested in vast peacebuilding efforts, the use of GPS-SHaSA data for 'early warnings' of potential flashpoints was found to be particularly valuable. In Burundi, provincial governors specifically requested the statistical agency to disaggregate results by province to reveal regional discrepancies on various aspects of governance, and to guide peacebuilding interventions.

Beyond the mere publication of GPS-SHaSA datasets, NSOs have highlighted the need to encourage independent research institutions to mine the datasets and to produce accessible policy briefs and data summaries on issues of public interest. However, concerns about the lack of a 'data culture' in government agencies continue to loom large over the prospects for GPS data uptake

by policymakers. This further highlights the important ambassadorial role played by individual members of Steering Committees on GPS Statistics, who can communicate on the initiative in their respective institution, and help identify ahead of time where the demand is for GPS data among their peers. The more in tune with country-specific policy priorities is the GPS statistical production cycle in any given country, the greater the chances that GPS data will find their way into decision-making fora.

6. CONCLUSION

The year 2017 started with the AU Assembly of Heads of State and Government entrusting the APRM with an expanded mandate "to play a monitoring and evaluation role for the African Union Agenda 2063 and the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals Agenda 2030" (AU, 2017). In January 2018, the Assembly of African Heads of States and Government adopted the SHaSA II — Africa's expanded Strategy for the Harmonization of Statistics for the period 2017-2026 — which reiterates the vital importance of GPS statistics charting Africa's trajectory towards the 2063 horizon.

This renewed emphasis on the APRM as an Africa-owned mechanism for self-assessment, combined with a renewed commitment to harmonize statistical production across the continent, offers an ideal conjunction of political will and technical means to help propel the institutionalization of GPS statistics across the continent. It is also a unique opportunity for Africa to reaffirm her global leadership role in promoting a nationally owned, scientifically robust and policy-useful approach to governance monitoring.

Taking advantage of the groundwork laid by the African community of statisticians, the APRM could collaborate with NSOs to generate the data needed to report on SDG 16 and on Aspirations 3 and 4 of Agenda 2063. The GPS-SHaSA instruments also offer tested and proven solutions to the challenges of the earlier APRM experiment, by addressing some of its earlier shortcomings. These include the bias towards urban, more highly educated elites (because of the lack of a mechanism to capture a nationally representative sample of people's voices) and the absence of a 'light' monitoring methodology to enable regular and cost-effective tracking of progress over time (Corrigan et al., 2017).

The African statistical community may well be challenging the adage that "not everything that counts can be counted, and not everything that can be

counted counts." Eleven African countries demonstrated that governance, peace and security 'count' in their national context (so much so that six of these countries self-financed the piloting of the GPS-SHaSA methodology, and have since continued to regularly produce GPS statistics), and contrary to common wisdom, that it *can* be 'counted'. Concerted action by a critical mass of countries is now required to demonstrate the feasibility of mainstreaming GPS statistical production in the work program of the global statistical community. Fifty-five African countries could turn the tide.

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