

# Public opinions on governance in Africa

Unpacking the divergence  
between perception  
and non-perception data



This research brief is part of the two-year dissemination of the Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG) (2024-2026), which will include the publication of research briefs, IIAG Insights, guest blogs and contributions. Following the release of the 2024 IIAG, readers have shown strong interest in better understanding the public perceptions of Africa's citizens on governance - in particular, why in some cases these perceptions diverge from non-perception data (such as official and expert assessments). This brief focusses on further unpacking the divergences appearing in the 2024 IIAG between Africa's citizen's opinions and non-perception data, both being key to provide a comprehensive assessment of the governance performance, and to invite reflexion on why these differences exist. This piece includes contributions from Joseph Asunka, CEO of Afrobarometer and an IIAG Expert Panel member.



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## Public perceptions on governance are key

Following the release of the 2024 IIAG, the decline in all but one public perception indicator even when corresponding indicators showed progress between 2014 and 2023 raised questions among media and MIF Council members.

As part of our two-year dissemination of the 2024 IIAG findings, this research brief aims to unpack the critical questions on the divergence between perception and non-perception indicators.

In this case, public perception is strictly referring to the Afrobarometer survey data while non-perception includes all other indicators based on official and expert assessment data.

While it may seem alarming that public opinions on governance in Africa are diverging from non-perception, this brief will show that this does not indicate there is an issue with the data but rather it highlights the value of having both data types which makes the IIAG a much greater resource for measuring governance performance.

This research brief also incorporates insights from a survey conducted with MIF's Now Generation Network (NGN) members, offering a perspective on the specific views of young people across Africa.

Published since 2007, the IIAG assesses governance performance in 54 African countries using available data over the latest 10-year period. It provides a framework and dashboard for any interested audience to assess the delivery of public goods and services and public policy outcomes in African countries.

The IIAG constitutes the most comprehensive dataset measuring African governance, providing specific scores and trends at African continental, regional, and national level, on a whole spectrum of thematic governance dimensions, from security to justice to rights and economic opportunity to health.

The data for the 2024 IIAG comes from 49 data sources, from which 322 variables, clustered into 96 indicators, are collected.

Data on citizens' perceptions are sourced from Afrobarometer Surveys, the continent's leading provider of public opinion data. These face-to-face interviews offer unique insights into the lived experiences and governance satisfaction of individuals – perspectives that cannot be fully captured by national statistical offices or expert evaluations. This is key both to complement data and to bring nuance and provide a full picture of all aspects of an issue.

Since its inception, Afrobarometer has made remarkable strides in increasing country survey coverage which currently comprises 39 out of 54 African countries. MIF has been supporting Afrobarometer since 2011, with their perceptions data forming part of the IIAG.

A core principle of the Foundation's approach is the integration of citizens' perceptions with official data and expert assessments. This aligns with the Foundation's citizen-centric definition of governance: *"The provision of political, social, economic, and environmental public goods and services that every citizen has the right to expect from their government, and that a government has the responsibility to deliver to its citizens."*

## According to the 2024 IAG, 50% of perception indicators diverge from their respective sub-category trend

The 2024 IAG, covering the 2014-2023 decade, reveals a divergence between public perceptions and non-perception (expert assessment and official) governance data across Africa. Of the 14 sub-categories with an Afrobarometer-sourced public perception indicator, seven perception indicators (50%) present a different trajectory to their sub-category at the African average level. These are: *Anti-Corruption, Public Administration, Business & Labour Environment, Infrastructure, Health, Education and Social Protection & Welfare*.

On the other hand, the remaining seven sub-categories follow a similar trajectory to the overall trend of their sub-category: *Security & Safety, Rule of Law & Justice, Accountability & Transparency, Participation, Rights, Inclusion & Equality and Women's Equality*.

As the graph below illustrates, all but one public perception indicators follow a negative trend between 2014 and 2023. *Public Perception of Female Leadership* is the only one showing improvement (+14.5), and it is also the highest scoring at 66.7 (out of 100.0). The most declined indicator is *Public Perception of Economic Opportunities* (-12.4) which also happens to be the lowest scoring at 24.9.

Even for the aforementioned seven thematic areas for which perception and non-perception trends are aligned at the African average level, this paper shows mismatches are still present at the country-level. Going beyond the continental average is crucial, especially when examining public opinion based perception data which is intrinsically linked to country-level context.

The following analysis will look closely at five sub-categories: *Security & Safety, Participation, Women's Equality, Business & Labour Environment and Social Protection & Welfare*. The findings from these selected sub-categories provide a variety of narratives. A full list of the indicators and sources under each sub-category is provided at the end of this piece.

### Perception trends at the

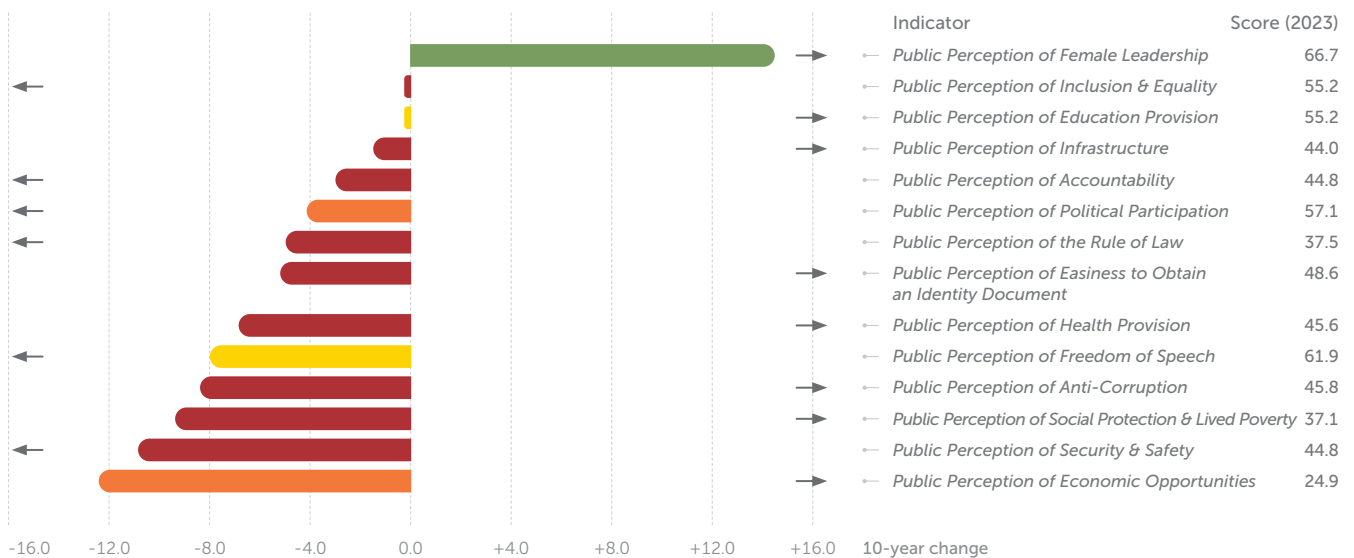
**continental level:** Nine of the 14 public perception indicators are following increasing deterioration trajectories, meaning that they have deteriorated over the decade with the pace of decline even increasing since 2019.

Although *Public Perception of Economic Opportunities* and *Public Perception of Political Participation* have also deteriorated between 2014 and 2023, the pace of their decline has slowed since 2019.

*Public Perception of Freedom of Speech* and *Public Perception of Education Provision* have deteriorated since 2014 but started to improve since 2019.

*Public Perception of Female Leadership* is the only perception indicator to follow a positive path over the decade, even if, the pace of improvement has slowed down since 2019.

## Africa: IAG public perception indicators, 2023 score, 10-year change & trend (2014-2023)



Trend

● Increasing Improvement ● Slowing Improvement ● Warning Signs ● Bouncing Back ● Slowing Deterioration ● Increasing Deterioration

→ Trajectory of the respective sub-category

Source: MIF

## Security & Safety

### Both public perception and non-perception Security & Safety indicators have deteriorated

*Public Perception of Security & Safety* is measured through four Afrobarometer questions about citizens' trust in police and military, their feeling of safety in their neighbourhood, and the government's handling of crime. To compare citizens' opinions with other variables in *Security & Safety*, we used the average of *Absence of Armed Conflict*, *Absence of Violence against Civilians*, *Absence of Forced Migration*, *Absence of Human Trafficking & Forced Labour*, and *Absence of Crime*. Both *Public Perception of Security & Safety* and the non-perception indicators have declined between 2014 and 2023.

While both perception and non-perception indicators have declined on average on the continent, divergences appear at country level. *Public Perception of Security & Safety* has declined in 28 of 36 Afrobarometer countries over the decade 2014-2023, and risen in eight (including Kenya with only a very slight change of +0.6). The non-perception indicators have dropped in 31 countries, although including 13 with only minor deteriorations ranging between -0.2 and -1.9. Conversely, the average of non-perception *Security & Safety* indicators has remained stagnant in one country and only improved in four, albeit marginally with changes ranging between +0.9 and +3.7 since 2014.

Most importantly, the countries with deteriorations or increases do not always match up. Specifically, we note diverging trends in **Côte d'Ivoire**, **Gabon** and **Gambia** where *Public Perception of Security & Safety* has deteriorated despite slight improvements in non-perception data. **Zimbabwe** is an adjacent case in which perception has deteriorated starkly (-27.6) while non-perception data remained stagnant. On the other hand, in **Benin**, **Kenya**, **Madagascar**, **Morocco**, **Sierra Leone** and **Tanzania**, perceptions have improved between 2014 and 2023 despite small deteriorations in non-perception *Security & Safety* indicators.

### Unsurprising trends in countries affected by conflict

Six of the nine heavily deteriorated countries in the average of the *Security & Safety* non-perception indicators (i.e. experiencing double-digit negative changes since 2014 due to civil war, coups, political unrest or terrorism) also show substantial deteriorations in public perceptions: **Burkina Faso**, **Cameroon**, **Niger**, **Nigeria**, **Sudan** and **Uganda**.

### Notable cases: Eswatini, Ethiopia and Mali

**Ethiopia** and **Mali** present interesting examples of countries affected by conflict. Both perception and non-perception indicators have declined since 2014. However, despite the severity of the security situation, their respective *Public Perception of Security & Safety* only fell by -2.0 and -2.7. In **Eswatini**, the phenomenon is the other way round: while non-perception of *Security & Safety* data only dropped by -1.1 in the last decade, the country registered the largest perception decline of all 36 available countries.

### Change of power: initial support for the 2020 coup in Mali likely contributed to more favourable perceptions

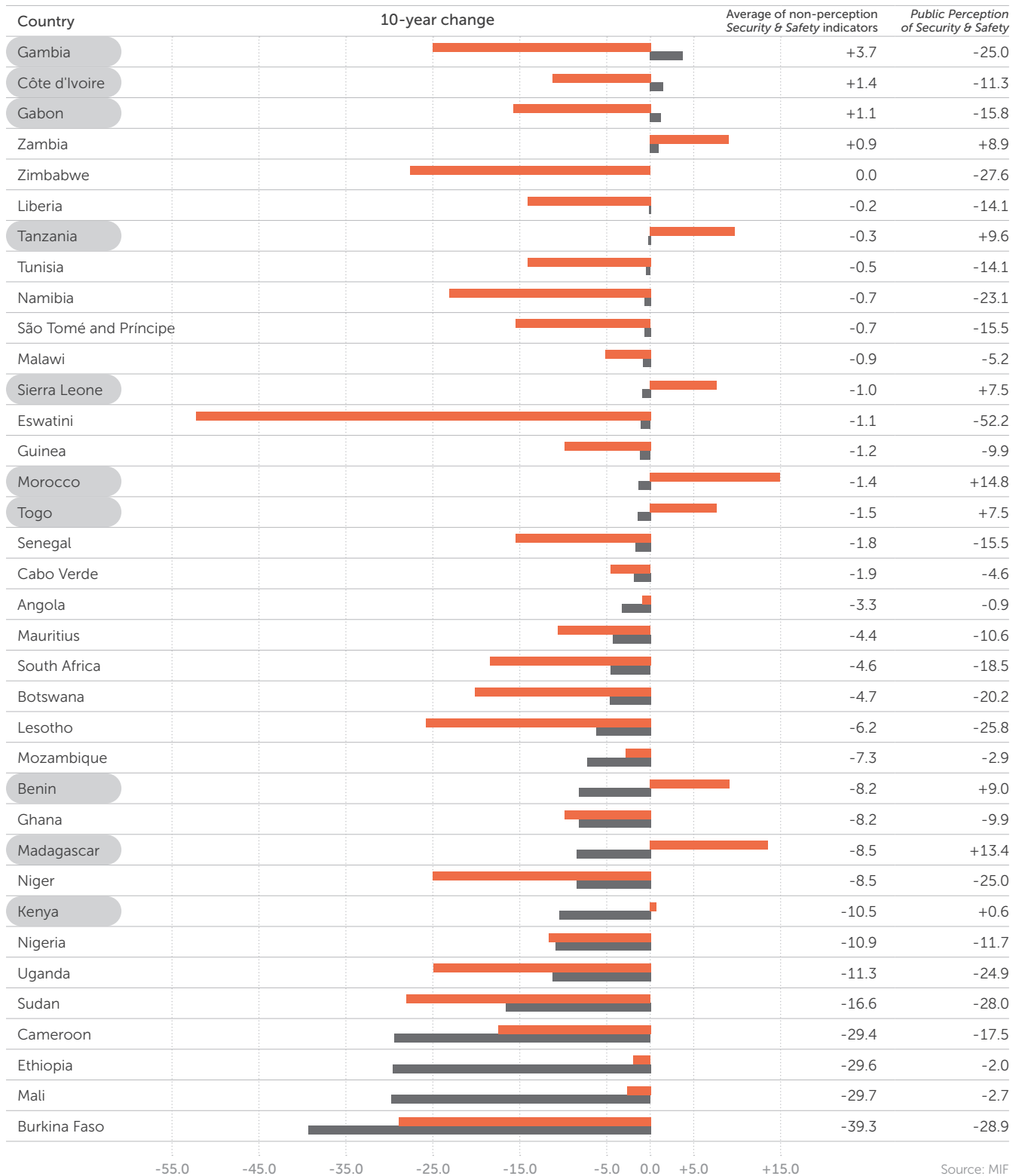
In **Mali**, initial support for the 2020 military coup, which ousted President Keita amid allegations of corruption and election fraud, may have contributed to more favourable public perceptions of the security situation. Trust in the police and military constitutes an important portion of *Public Perception of Security & Safety*, and following the coup, citizens' perceptions of security improved, even if the actual situation did not.

Perception scores had been steadily declining between 2014 and 2020 but began to rise in 2021, coinciding with the country's military coups. Moreover, the sub-indicator *Public Trust in the Police & Military* saw a notable increase of +9.6 points since 2014, with the most substantial improvement occurring post-coup in 2021.



**Public Perception of Security & Safety plummets in 28 of 36 Afrobarometer survey countries, with 10 registering diverging trends**

Afrobarometer survey countries: average of non-perception Security & Safety indicators\* and Public Perception of Security & Safety, 10-year changes (2014-2023)



\* The non-perception Security & Safety indicators include Absence of Armed Conflict, Absence of Violence against Civilians, Absence of Forced Migration, Absence of Human Trafficking & Forced Labour and Absence of Crime.

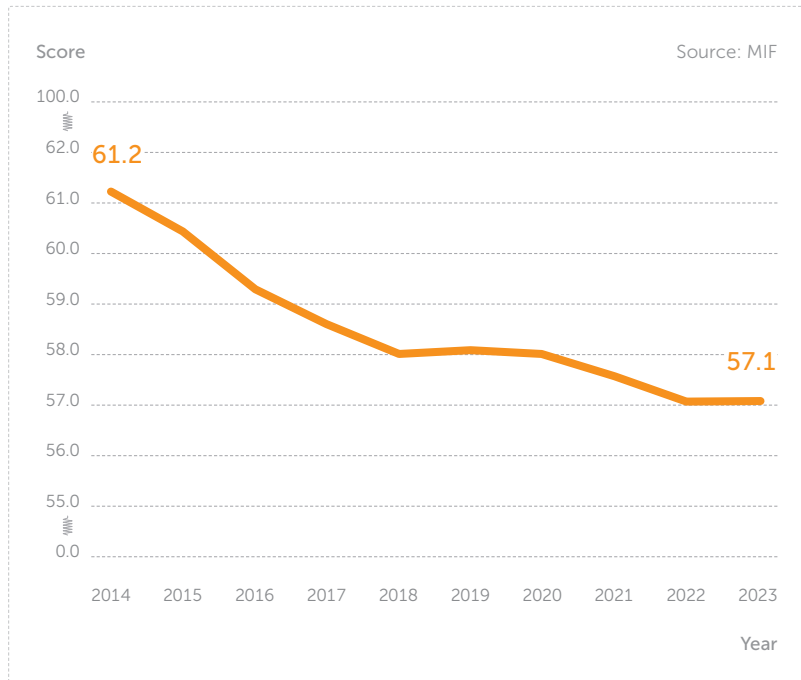
■ Public Perception of Security & Safety  
 ■ Average of non-perception Security & Safety indicators  
 ● Opposing trends

## Participation

### Falling Public Perception of Political Participation

*Public Perception of Political Participation*, the indicator measuring citizens' opinions on the freeness and fairness of their last election, their ability to vote in the last election and their opinion on political pluralism, has declined by -4.1 points across Africa.

#### Africa: Public Perception of Political Participation scores (2014-2023)



Public Perception of Political Participation declined by -4.1 between 2014 and 2023

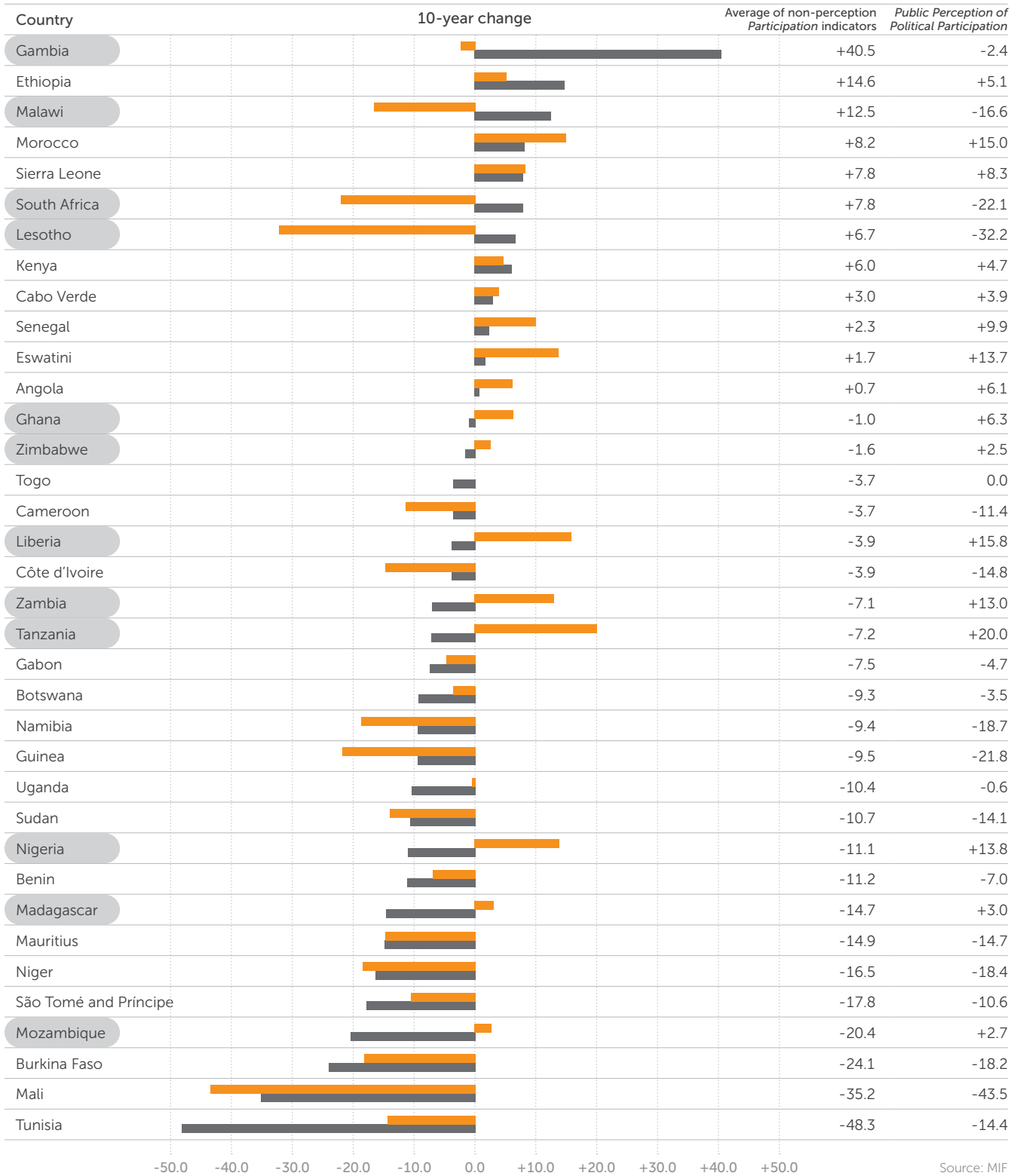
Tanzania is the top-ranked and most improved country for Public Perception of Political Participation

Notably, 12 countries show opposing 10-year trajectories in public perceptions compared to corresponding non-perception indicators, while 23 countries follow the same trajectory (either both improving or both declining).

Meanwhile, **Tanzania** has seen substantial improvements in *Public Perception of Political Participation* (+20.0 points), even as non-perception indicators declined. In contrast, **Gambia** records impressive growth in non-perception indicators while seeing a drop in public perception (-2.4).

12 countries register opposing 10-year changes between perception and selected non-perception indicators, while 23 countries are aligned

Afrobarometer survey countries: average of selected non-perception *Participation* indicators & *Public Perception of Political Participation*, 10-year changes\* (2014-2023)



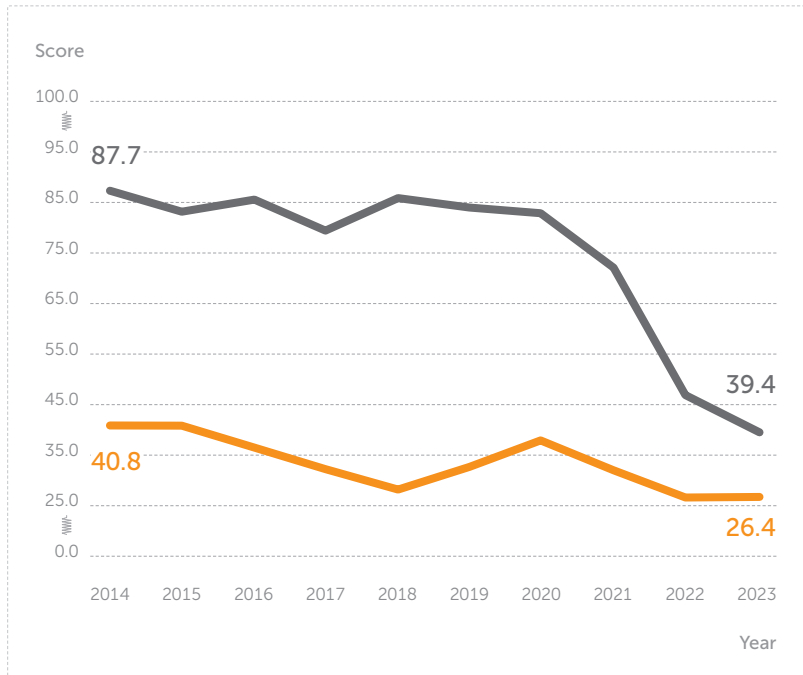
\* The non-perception *Participation* indicators include *Democratic Elections* and *Political Pluralism*.

- *Public Perception of Political Participation*
- Average of selected non-perception *Participation* indicators
- Opposing trends

**Tunisia’s sharp declines are aligned**

Tunisia has seen sharp declines in both political participation perception (-14.4) and non-perception indicators, largely due to the political crisis that followed President Kais Saied’s power consolidation or self-coup in 2021.

**Tunisia: average of selected non-perception indicators\* & Public Perception of Political Participation scores (2014-2023)**



Tunisia’s elections are less free and fair in 2023 compared with 2014, a trend corroborated by falling *Public Perception of Political Participation*

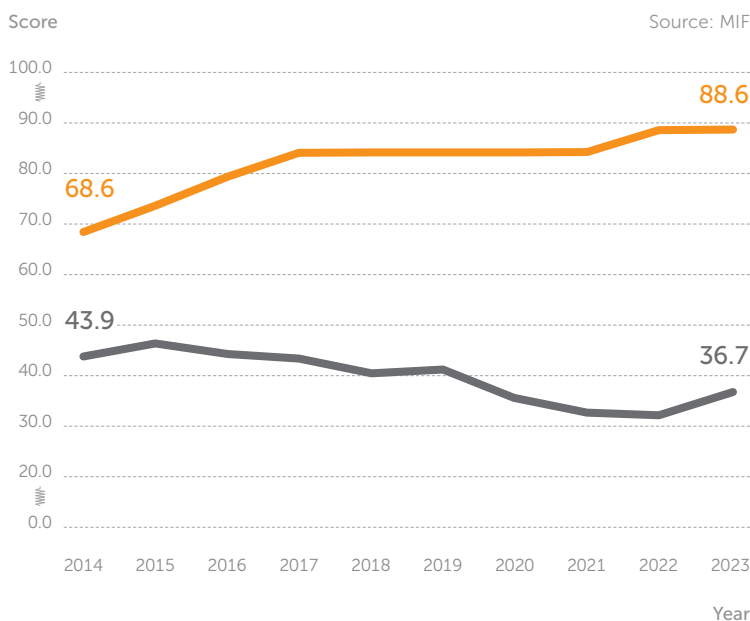
\* The non-perception *Participation* indicators include *Democratic Elections* and *Political Pluralism*.

— Public Perception of Political Participation  
 — Average of selected non-perception indicators

Source: MIF

**Change of power: Tanzania top-ranked and most improved in Public Perception of Political Participation, declines over decade in selected non-perception indicators**

**Tanzania: average of selected non-perception indicators\* & Public Perception of Political Participation scores (2014-2023)**



*Public Perception of Political Participation* has been soaring in Tanzania which has led the country to become the most improved between 2014 and 2023. There were sharp rises in scores in 2017 and again more recently in 2021, correlating with the change of government which occurred in 2021, potentially driven by optimism for the new administration.

Tanzania has been highlighted by Afrobarometer in the past for having positive patterns of public opinion that differ from those observed in other African countries. For example, Tanzanians historically demonstrate the highest levels of political interest, leading to the perception that they are more 'uncritical citizens' compared to others in Africa, as they tend to separate their trust in the good intentions of institutions from assessing performance, a perspective shaped by their history of relatively benign socialist rule.

Source: MIF

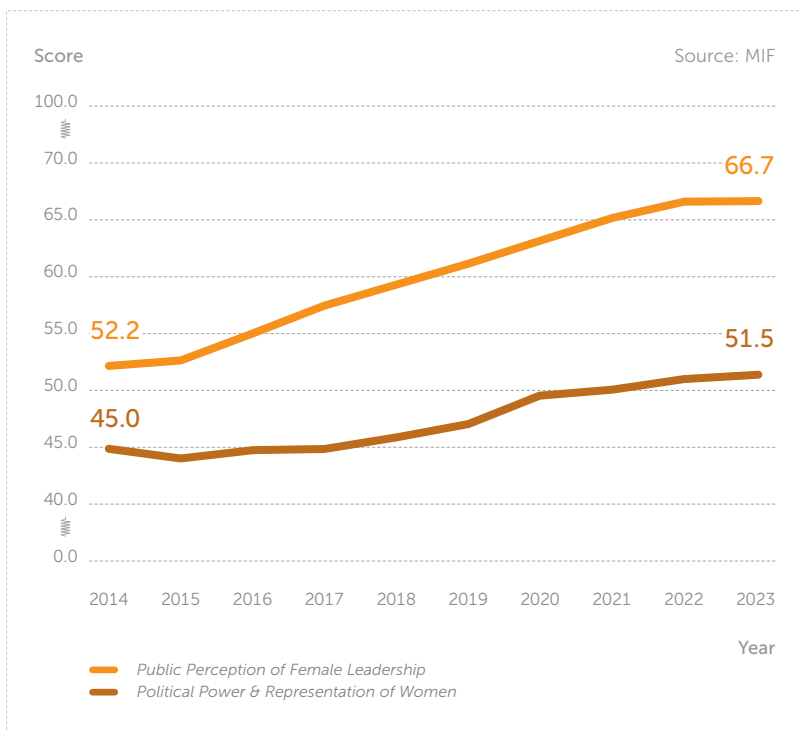
## Women's Equality

### A positive trajectory for perception of female leadership

A positive trajectory is registered in the perception of female leadership in Africa. *Public Perception of Female Leadership* has seen the only positive ten-year change (+14.5) of all perception indicators. This indicator measures the extent to which citizens believe women should have the same chance of being elected to political office as men. Its corresponding non-perception indicator *Political Power & Representation of Women* also improved between 2014 to 2023. This showcases the overwhelming progress across Africa for women's political leadership.

### Public Perception of Female Leadership has progressed alongside Political Power & Representation of Women in the 10-year period

Africa: *Public Perception of Female Leadership* and *Political Power & Representation of Women* scores (2014-2023)



Twenty-one countries have registered improvements in both *Public Perception of Female Leadership* and *Political Power & Representation of Women* between 2014 and 2023, with 11 countries diverging.

For the countries with diverging trends, five are progressing in the non-perception indicator which measures the proportion of women in political positions while declining in the public opinion on female leadership: Morocco, Côte d'Ivoire, Tunisia, Gabon and Namibia. The second most improved country over the decade in *Political Power & Representation of Women* is Morocco, yet *Public Perception of Female Leadership* there has declined over the same period (-4.9).

The opposite is true for six countries where instead public opinion drives progress while the numbers of women in office falls: Sudan, Malawi, Uganda, Liberia, Zimbabwe and Nigeria.

Both the *Public Perception of Female Leadership* and *Political Power & Representation of Women* have shown progress between 2014 and 2023

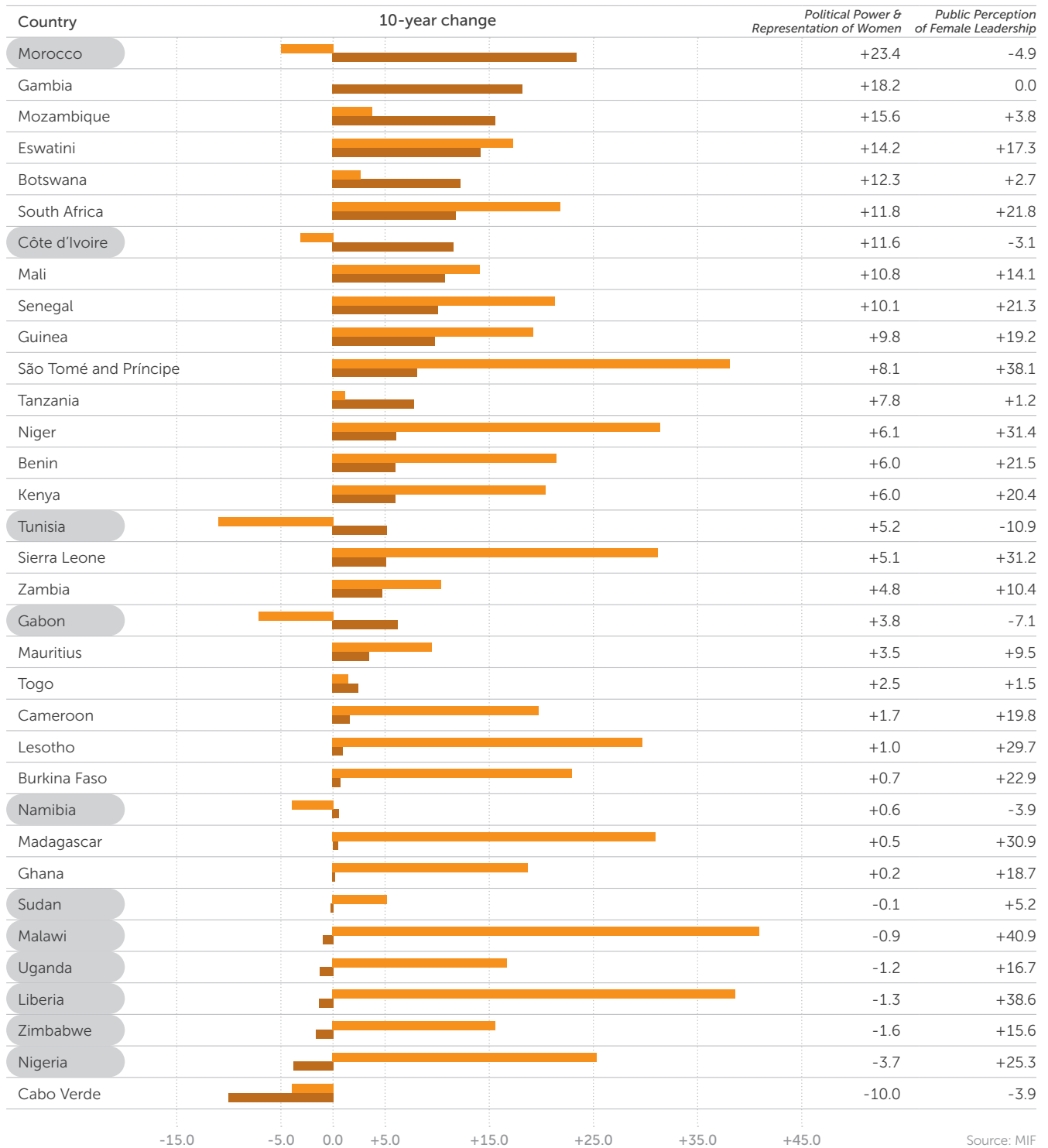
With a score of 66.7 in 2023, *Public Perception of Female Leadership* is the highest scoring of all IIAG perception indicators

Despite improving in *Political Power & Representation of Women*, perception of female leadership in Gambia has remained unchanged

Morocco is the second most improved country for the *Political Power & Representation of Women* indicator, yet it declines in *Public Perception of Female Leadership*

Twenty-one countries have progressed in both *Public Perception of Female Leadership* and *Political Power & Representation of Women* between 2014 and 2023

Afrobarometer survey countries\*: *Political Power & Representation of Women* and *Public Perception of Female Leadership*, 10-year changes\* (2014-2023)



\* For this public perception variable, data is not available for Ethiopia and Angola, bringing the total number of surveyed countries to 34.

■ *Public Perception of Female Leadership*  
■ *Political Power & Representation of Women*  
 Opposing trends

## Business & Labour Environment

### **Public Perception of Economic Opportunities records the largest decline of all perception-based indicators**

Overall, *Public Perception of Economic Opportunities* has deteriorated by -12.4 points over the decade, the largest decline of all perception-based indicators in the entire IIAG. This has been driven by double-digit declines in the two underlying sub-indicators, *Satisfaction with Employment Creation* (-10.8) and *Satisfaction with Country's Present Economic Condition* (-14.1).


### **Economic Opportunity: prominent divergences between perception and non-perception**

How citizens perceive economic opportunity showcases substantial divergences between non-perception and public perception indicators. The indicator *Public Perception of Economic Opportunities* ranks as the third lowest within the IIAG, with a score of 24.9 at the continental average level. Many African citizens do not feel that their governments provide adequate economic opportunities despite how well their country may have performed in other non-perception indicators within the *Business & Labour Environment* sub-category and *Foundations for Economic Opportunity* category more broadly.


The following chart shows that in general, the majority of countries registered a negative ten-year change for *Public Perception of Economic Opportunities*. Some countries experienced especially severe declines in perception indicators, with *Gambia* declining by -51.2 and *Namibia* by -51.5. Only *Zambia* recorded a substantial positive change of +33.1.

Gambia and Namibia are the most declined countries for the *Public Perception of Economic Opportunities* indicator


Zambia records the largest positive change (+33.1) in the *Public Perception of Economic Opportunities* indicator



*Public Perception of Economic Opportunities* is the indicator to register the largest decline (-12.4) of all perception indicators



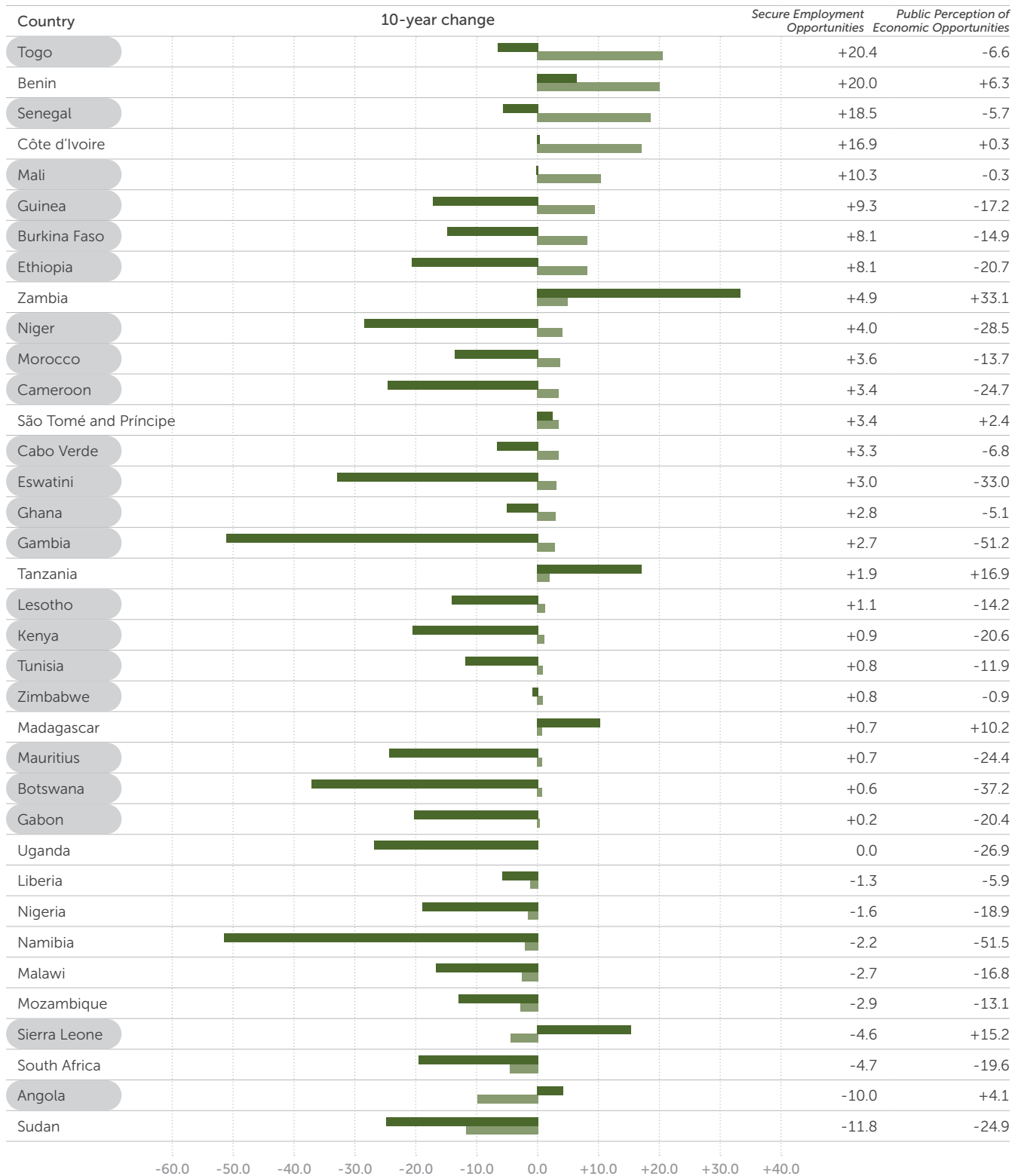
Deterioration in perception of economic opportunities is mostly driven by the *Satisfaction with Country's Economic Condition* sub-indicator (-14.1)



With a score of 24.9, *Public Perception of Economic Opportunities* ranks as the third lowest IIAG indicator (out of 96)

## Twenty-two countries are on opposing trajectories in *Secure Employment Opportunities* and *Public Perception of Economic Opportunities*

Afrobarometer survey countries: *Secure Employment Opportunities* and *Public Perception of Economic Opportunities*, 10-year changes (2014-2023)



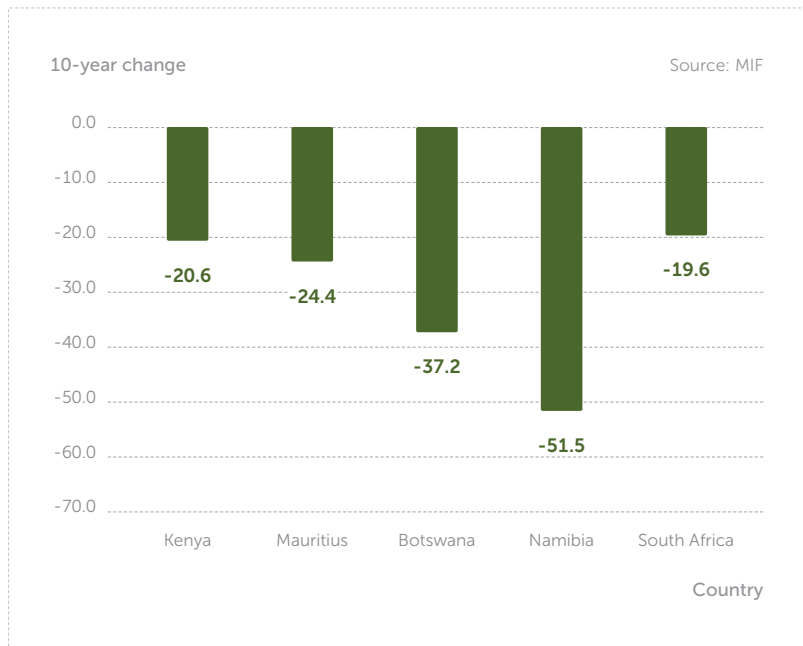
■ Public Perception of Economic Opportunities ■ Secure Employment Opportunities ● Opposing trends

Source: MIF



## Highest achievers see large deterioration in economic opportunities perceptions

Selected African countries: *Public Perception of Economic Opportunities*, 10-year changes (2014-2023)



Interestingly, five countries which perform relatively well in the IAG register large declines in the ten-year changes of *Public Perception of Economic Opportunities*. These countries are ranked in the top ten for *Overall Governance*, and four of them (save Kenya) are also ranked in the top ten for *Secure Employment Opportunities*.

### Zambia and Tanzania's considerable progress in citizens' perceptions

Zambia and Tanzania are outliers, showing positive changes of +33.1 and +16.9 points in *Public Perception of Economic Opportunities* despite relatively small progress in the corresponding non-perception indicator.



Top-ranked countries in *Overall Governance*, register large declines in the *Public Perceptions of Economic Opportunities* indicator




Tanzania is the second most improved country for the *Public Perception of Economic Opportunities* indicator

## Social Protection & Welfare

### **Public Perceptions of Social Protection & Lived Poverty is the most declined indicator within Social Protection & Welfare**

Within the *Social Protection & Welfare* sub-category, the *Public Perception of Social Protection & Lived Poverty* was the most declined indicator, falling by 9.4 points, in spite of the sub-category improving slightly at the continental average level.

The following chart shows that *Public Perception of Social Protection & Lived Poverty* has deteriorated between 2014 and 2023 in 27 out of 36 countries. Only nine countries recorded a positive change in *Public Perception of Social Protection & Lived Poverty*. Sierra Leone, Tanzania, Liberia, and Zambia were among the few with notable improvements. This highlights the fact that most surveyed African citizens perceive their governments to be providing less social protection.



**Public Perception of Social Protection & Lived Poverty is the most declined indicator (-9.4) within the *Social Protection & Welfare* sub-category**

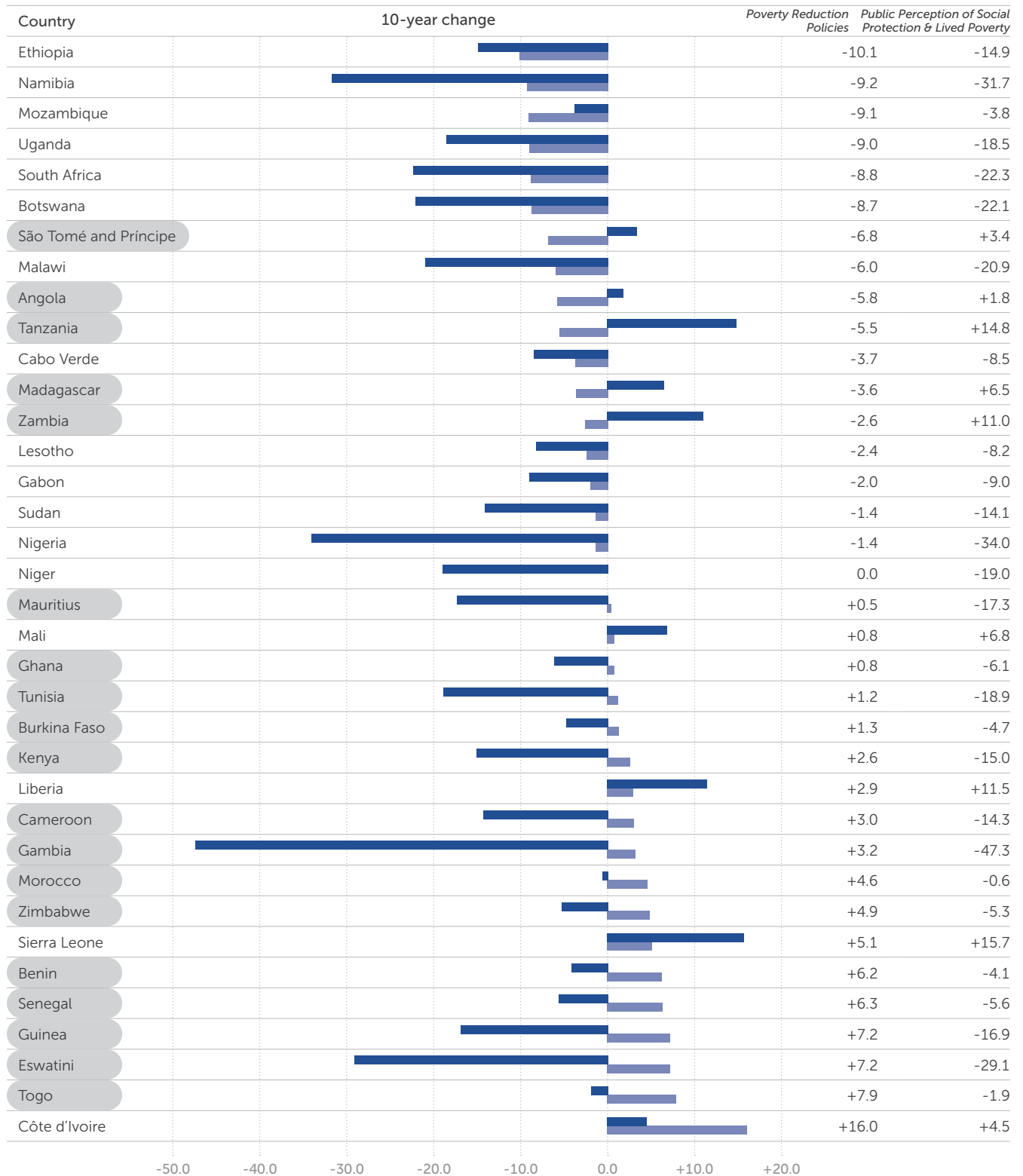
***Public Perception of Social Protection & Lived Poverty* has deteriorated between 2014 and 2023 in 27 out of 36 countries**

**Only nine countries recorded a positive change in *Public Perception of Social Protection & Lived Poverty***

**Sierra Leone, Tanzania, Liberia, and Zambia have progressed the most in *Public Perception of Social Protection & Lived Poverty***

## Twenty-seven countries have deteriorated in the indicator *Public Perception of Social Protection & Lived Poverty*

Afrobarometer survey countries: *Poverty Reduction Policies* and *Public Perception of Social Protection & Lived Poverty*, 10-year changes (2014-2023)

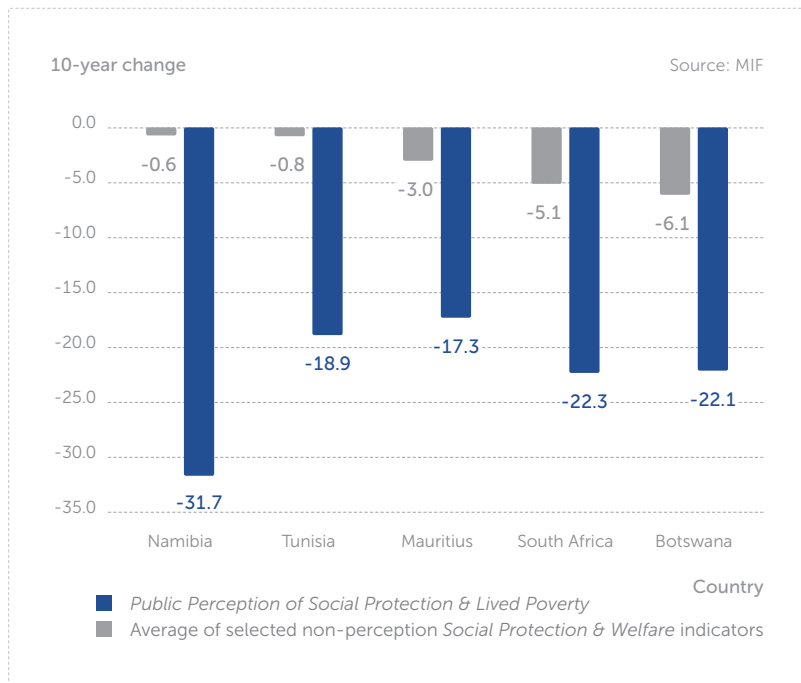


■ *Public Perception of Social Protection & Lived Poverty* ■ *Poverty Reduction Policies* ● Opposing trends

Source: MIF

Similar trends hold true for other critical priorities such as lived poverty – even high achieving countries in *Overall Governance* register large declines

Selected African countries: average of selected non-perception *Social Protection & Welfare* indicators\* and *Public Perception of Social Protection & Lived Poverty*, 10-year changes (2014-2023)



\* The non-perception *Social Protection & Welfare* indicators include *Food Security* and *Poverty Reduction Policies*.

The above chart contains an average of two non-perception *Social Protection & Welfare* indicators and ten-year changes compared to *Public Perception of Social Protection & Lived Poverty*. All five of the countries in the above chart feature in the top ten for *Overall Governance*, four of them are in the top ten for *Poverty Reduction Policies* and three of them are in the top ten for *Food Security*. Similar to other sub-categories, we observe that higher achieving countries report greater ten-year declines in the perception indicator.

High performing countries in *Overall Governance*, register large declines in *Public Perception of Social Protection & Lived Poverty*

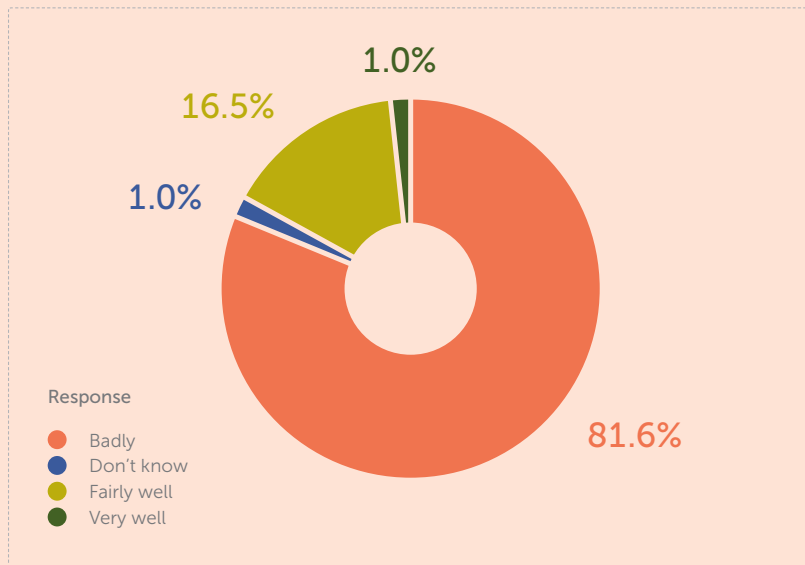
### MIF Now Generation Network survey results

In October 2024, over 100 NGN members provided their opinions on the progress of the 16 IIAG sub-categories in their countries and the state of overall governance in Africa. Similar to the IIAG public perception findings, the feedback shows a largely negative opinion of all sub-categories except for *Women’s Equality* where 80.6% of members believe women and men in Africa should have equal leadership opportunities. Within the *Participation* sub-category, almost half (49.5%) of NGN members are critical of the freedom and fairness of elections in their country. Furthermore, in terms of *Rights* 63.1% of members think there is a low degree of freedom of speech in their respective countries.

#### NGN members are largely dissatisfied with the state of the business and labour environment

Most NGN members think that given its vast resources, the continent is yet to fully maximise its potential in terms of economic growth and provision of opportunities for its people. This is why an overwhelming majority of 81.6% of respondents are dissatisfied with the mitigation of unemployment in their countries.

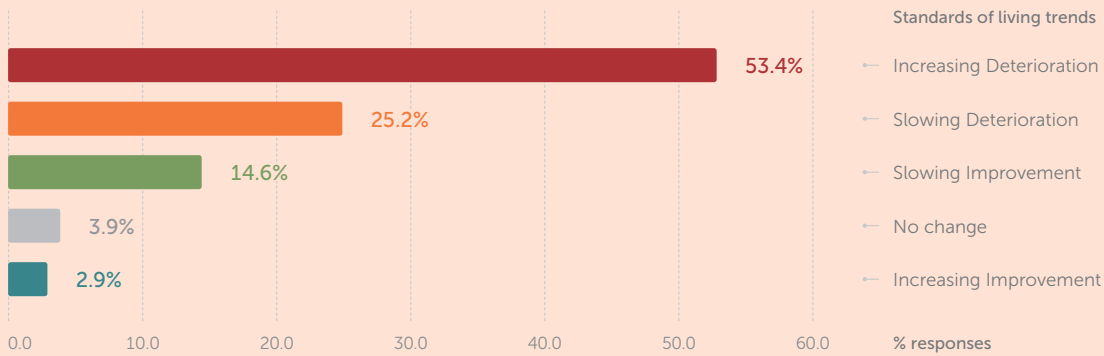
NGN feedback: How well are the responsible authorities in your country handling the issue of unemployment?



### A similarly negative outlook on the levels of social protection and welfare

In total, 78.6% of NGN respondents view the standards of living of the poor in their countries as deteriorating.

### NGN feedback: How would you rate the living standards of the poor in your country?



### What can explain this mismatch?

The following provides potential explanations for the observed divergence (either at the African average or country level) between perception and non-perception indicators outlined across five sub-categories: *Security & Safety*, *Participation*, *Women's Equality*, *Business & Labour Environment*, and *Social Protection & Welfare*. These discrepancies can be driven by diverse factors such as limitations of the data, the different angles with which each type of data investigates an issue, the external environmental bias, the high expectation bias and self-censorship.

#### Limitations of the data

One of the reasons why a mismatch may be seen between perception and non-perception indicators is the representativeness of data. Afrobarometer surveys are nationally representative including findings from respondents from across a country.

On the other hand, with expert assessment data there is often an absence of sufficiently granular information and a bias towards the capital and urban centres, which can make it difficult for governments to address spatial inequality. Inequalities widen within low- and middle-income countries as their overall poverty rates experience sharp declines.

The strong inclination towards national-level averages risks masking sub-national variations such as hotspots of deprivation in rich countries and pockets of affluence in poor countries.

#### A multifaceted assessment

Perception and non-perception data provide a multifaceted assessment of governance through the variety of questions posed by both types of data on the same topic. Combined they provide a wider picture of governance from

different angles which can manifest as a divergence in trend. While non-perception data largely focusses on absolute figures, Afrobarometer survey questions are a mix of 'experiential' (how citizens experience governance) and 'attitudinal' (what citizens believe or expect).

The non-perception indicator, *Secure Employment Opportunities*, measures the absence of working poverty and vulnerable employment. While the corresponding perception indicator draws on citizens lived experience and satisfaction with job creation and their country's economic situation.

For the *Public Perception of Female Leadership*, the question posed to citizens is based on their personal beliefs on the whether women should have equal chances into political leadership as men. In this particular question, not only is personal belief captured but also the expectations of respondents. The corresponding non-perception indicator in this case measures the proportion of women in government positions.

Given the different angles by which perception and non-perception data examine governance performance, it is understandable trends can diverge and this can be seen as the complementarity of the data.

### Higher expectations and priority bias

According to academic literature, citizens in more developed countries tend to evaluate their governments less favourably despite these countries performing relatively well. This phenomenon is linked to increased access to media and information, exposing citizens to global best practices (Favero & Kim, 2021). Consequently, citizens are more aware of gaps in their services compared to international standards, making them more critical of government performance.

Kim and Favero (2021) differentiate between normative and predictive expectations. Normative expectations, focussing on how things should be, negatively affect satisfaction levels, while predictive expectations, based on realistic outcomes, have less impact. In developed countries, citizens often rely on normative expectations, leading to heightened criticism when experiences fall short of idealised standards.

Public opinion surveys reveal citizens' priorities through their expressed opinions. A higher degree of priority in one area could reveal greater dissatisfaction. For instance, those who prioritise health may be more critical of their country's health services as opposed to less prioritised areas.

Furthermore, the IIAG perception indicators are based on a varying numbers of Afrobarometer questions and integrated across different levels. For example, *Public Perception of Female Leadership* relies on a single question, while *Public Perception of Inclusion & Equality* includes multiple variables.

High expectations bias is evident in indicators like *Perception of Economic Opportunities* versus *Secure Economic Opportunities*. For instance, **Botswana** saw a minor ten-year improvement in *Secure Employment Opportunities* but a substantial drop (-37.2) in *Public Perception of Economic Opportunities*. Similar trends in **Mauritius** reflect how high citizen expectations often lead to greater dissatisfaction.

### The external environment bias

A country's political, security or media environment can influence citizens' opinions and specifically trust in state institutions. Political events such as coups can sway public opinion as was seen in the case of Mali, where the coup was seen as stopping a spiral of decline. A recent election can have a

### Citizens engaging in self-censorship

In less open societies, where public opinion is closely monitored, respondents may engage in self-censorship, adjusting their answers to align with those they believe the government wants to hear. Even when surveys are conducted independently, 'sponsor misperception', i.e. the respondents' belief that the government is behind a survey, can install concern (Isani & Schlipphak, 2023). Furthermore, citizens may express more favourable attitudes toward the government and are less likely to report corruption if they 'fear the state'.

Afrobarometer surveys take place in various political environments with different levels of personal freedoms. However, while the impact of self-censorship is acknowledged, Afrobarometer does not conduct surveys in countries in which it feels citizens are not open to share their views.

similar effect as in Zambia where change of leadership was seen as positive and euphoric. The external environmental impact on a country is not limited to a domestic context but can be global. For instance, global events such as COVID-19 and economic decline can both shape perceptions. In fact, these global narratives can shape expert assessment data just as much as public perception.

Research using Afrobarometer data has shown that countries experiencing internal violence exhibit lower trust in the state (Hutchison & Johnson, 2011). Studies in **Mali** have demonstrated how perceptions of the president worsened after rebel attacks in 2008 (Gates & Justesen, 2020). Similarly, in **Liberia**, perceptions of security correlate positively with trust in the government (Nomikos & Stollenwerk, 2024), indicating that feelings of insecurity in conflict situations have a blanket negative impact on trust in a country's leadership.

Because the IIAG uses violent events as an indicator of *Security & Safety*, it is worthwhile to look for the impact of violent events on trust in the government in other sub-categories. For instance, countries like **Burkina Faso**, **Cameroon**, **Ethiopia**, **Gabon**, **Guinea** and **Niger** show large declines in *Public Perception of Economic Opportunities* over the last decade, despite positive developments in non-perception indicators like *Secure Employment Opportunities*. The negative impact of ongoing conflicts, violence, and recent coups likely influences citizens' overall perception of their government, even in non-security-related areas.

In **Niger**, for example, while *Poverty Reduction Policies* and *Decent Housing* have shown no change, *Public Perception of Social Protection & Lived Poverty* has declined by -19.0 points since 2014. The Sahel conflict, rising cost of living, and the 2023 coup likely influenced citizens' perceptions of the government's ability to provide social protection, even though the underlying non-perception indicators remained stable.

Additionally, public opinion and narratives are based on knowledge and awareness of issues in which the media landscape plays a decisive role. Afrobarometer conducts surveys in various media environments, with substantial differences between private and state-controlled media. In democracies, social media can amplify dissatisfaction with government, while in more autocratic environments, exposure to critiques can enhance perceptions of free speech and improve trust in governance (Porumbesco, 2017 and Gao et al., 2024).

Lastly, survey answers are influenced by participants' willingness to share their experiences, as well as by memory gaps or knowledge biases (Potter & Hepburn, 2005). Afrobarometer provides respondents with the option to forego answering questions when they are unfamiliar with the subject matter however this may still skew responses.



# Afrobarometer captures both perceptions and the lived experiences of citizens

*Joseph Asunka, CEO of Afrobarometer*

The public attitude data from Afrobarometer captures both perceptions and the lived experiences of citizens. To this end, the lived reality of people may not always align with official statistics and expert assessments. Take the case of electricity coverage: the national grid in a country could achieve 100% coverage; i.e. the physical infrastructure for electricity provision is available and visible nationwide. But citizens may only get electricity a few hours a day. The same applies to health clinics or hospitals. These facilities may be available in a community but may lack healthcare workers or drugs.

In both cases, official statistics and expert evaluations may present a positive picture (e.g. amount of public spending in electricity or healthcare provision); yet what citizens actually experience may be very different. When asked to rate how government is handling electricity provision or healthcare, citizens will report their lived experiences. If they get only two hours of electricity a day and there are no drugs when they visit their community clinic, they are more likely to rate government performance poorly, even if the infrastructure is available and may appear in official statistics and experts' evaluations as strong performance. These gaps may help to explain why public perception data diverge from official statistics and expert evaluations.

As noted in the analysis in this piece, these gaps should be viewed as important signals for the attention of government and development stakeholders. While government may be investing heavily in public service provision, how citizens experience the investments may be completely different. This is why it is important to combine data on the lived experiences of citizens and those from official statistics and expert evaluations when making policy decisions. The gaps, where they exist, should prompt deeper investigation to understand the source of the gaps, which will ultimately lead to improved quality of public policies. Afrobarometer provides lived experience data on a regular basis for close to 75% of the continent's population and we hope that this data will be used consistently in public policy and development decision-making on the continent.

We would like to thank the Afrobarometer team for working closely with the MIF research team throughout the production of this research brief in which they provided invaluable contribution and feedback. Together we hope to continue the dialogue on the importance of data, of any kind, whether perception or non-perception based in Africa.

## Conclusion

The divergence between public perceptions and non-perception indicators underscores the importance of integrating expert assessment and official data, on one hand, and public perception data, on the other, to create a comprehensive picture of governance performance. As seen across key IIAG sub-categories such as *Security & Safety*, *Participation*, and *Business & Labour Environment*, factors like environment, higher citizen expectations, and the impact of violent or sudden crises are likely to shape public perceptions significantly. Additionally, the limitations in data, the multifaceted assessment, the environmental bias and expectations of citizens further contribute to the mismatch.

Understanding these discrepancies requires a nuanced approach, one that not only improves data coverage and addresses methodological concerns but also acknowledges the intricate relationship between governance, citizens' lived experiences and their expectations. For policymakers and researchers, understanding these dynamics is crucial in accurately gauging governance quality and implementing effective reforms. Ultimately, understanding the gap between perception and non-perception data will lead to better governance outcomes, as it encourages governments to be more responsive to citizen concerns and needs.

We will continue to examine questions around the relationship between perception and non-perception data throughout our two-year dissemination cycle of the 2024 IIAG. As the impetus for this research brief was in response to the initial interest by media and MIF Council members on the trends of public perceptions, we hope many more in the following two years will engage with this topic to inform further conversation.

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## IIAG non-perception indicator definitions & sources

### SECURITY & RULE OF LAW

#### SECURITY & SAFETY

Absence of Armed Conflict (ACLEDE/UCDP)	This indicator measures the number of violent events in both state-based and non-state-based conflicts as well as the number of non-state-based armed conflicts within a country's territory.
Absence of Violence against Civilians (ACLEDE/PTS)	This indicator measures the number of violent events against civilians committed by government forces and non-state actors, as well as the levels of political violence in a country.
Absence of Forced Migration (IDMC/UNHCR)	This indicator estimates the total stock of internally displaced persons (IDPs) and the number of refugees fleeing a country.
Absence of Human Trafficking & Forced Labour (ENACT/V-DEM)	This indicator assesses the extent to which human trafficking activity and forced labour are prevalent in a country.
Absence of Crime (ENACT/WHO)	This indicator assesses the extent of organised crime in a country and the homicide rate.

#### RULE OF LAW & JUSTICE

Executive Compliance with the Rule of Law (V-DEM/WJP)	This indicator assesses the extent to which the executive respects the constitution, the government complies with decisions by the courts and transitions of power are subject to the law.
Impartiality of the Judicial System (AFIDEP/V-DEM)	This indicator assesses the extent to which the judicial system is impartial, based on the independence of the courts, the autonomy of judges and the appointment of judges.
Judicial Processes (V-DEM/WJP)	This indicator assesses the extent to which justice is accessible and affordable, due process of law and rights of the accused are guaranteed, trials are timely, and justice is effectively enforced.
Equality before the Law (FH/WJP)	This indicator assesses the extent to which there is equality before the law and that civil and criminal justice systems are impartial and free of discrimination.
Law Enforcement (AFIDEP/WEF/WJP)	This indicator assesses the extent to which the police are reliable and subject to effective misconduct investigations and sanctioning as well as to which extent the criminal investigation and prosecutorial system is functional.
Property Rights (BS/V-DEM/WJP)	This indicator assesses the extent to which private property rights are guaranteed and enjoyed by citizens.

#### ACCOUNTABILITY & TRANSPARENCY

Institutional Checks & Balances (BS/V-DEM/WJP)	This indicator assesses the extent to which there is a separation of powers and government powers are checked upon and limited by both the legislature and the judiciary as well as the extent to which public office holders are being sanctioned for abuse of office.
Absence of Undue Influence (AFIDEP/BS/FH)	This indicator assesses the extent to which the elected government has the effective power to govern and that the government and the legislature determine the policies without undue influence from veto powers, as well as the extent to which civil servants' work is not compromised by political interference.
Civic Checks & Balances (BS/V-DEM/WJP)	This indicator assesses the extent to which effective citizen complaint mechanisms exist and that citizens have the right to petition and to civic engagement as well as the extent to which cooperative associations, interest groups and civil society organisations (CSOs) are being consulted in policy making.
Disclosure of Public Records (AFIDEP/IBP/WJP)	This indicator assesses the extent to which budget information is made publicly available in a timely manner, public officials and civil servants disclose their assets, and laws and judicial information are publicised.
Accessibility of Public Records (AFIDEP/UNDESA/WJP)	This indicator assesses the extent to which different sorts of information of interest to the public, political party financing information and financial records associated with natural resources exploitation are accessible, the extent to which citizens have the right to request reliable and high-quality information, as well as the scope and quality of online services provided by the government.

#### ANTI-CORRUPTION

Anti-Corruption Mechanisms (AFIDEP/BS)	This indicator assesses the extent to which there is an anti-corruption policy in place contributing to the containment of corruption, there is a functioning and independent anti-corruption body and corruption allegations are being investigated.
Absence of Corruption in State Institutions (V-DEM/WJP)	This indicator assesses the extent to which corruption is absent in the judiciary, the legislature and the executive.
Absence of Corruption in the Public Sector (V-DEM/WEF/WJP)	This indicator assesses the extent to which there are no illegal diversions of public funds and public sector employees (including the police and the military) do not engage in bribery, embezzlement or theft, as well as the extent to which administrative processes are free from bribery.
Public Procurement Procedures (AFIDEP/WJP)	This indicator assesses the extent to which there are competitive bidding procedures for public procurement, government procurement is free from corruption and companies found guilty of violating the law are excluded from participating in future bidding.
Absence of Corruption in the Private Sector (WB/WEF)	This indicator assesses the extent to which individuals/companies do not engage in corrupt activities to conduct business.

## PARTICIPATION, RIGHTS & INCLUSION

### PARTICIPATION

Freedom of Association & Assembly (AFIDEP/FH)	This indicator assesses the extent to which citizens can associate and assemble freely.
Political Pluralism (AFIDEP/V-DEM)	This indicator assesses the extent to which political parties are free to operate and have equal access to state-owned media and public financing for campaigns.
Civil Society Space (AFIDEP/V-DEM)	This indicator assesses the extent to which civil society and non-governmental organisations are free to establish and operate and are free from repression and persecution.
Democratic Elections (AFIDEP/CDD-Ghana/V-DEM)	This indicator assesses the extent to which elections are free and fair and the extent to which election monitoring bodies and agencies are independent and have operating capacity, including for reporting.
Deliberative & Participatory Governance (V-DEM)	This indicator assesses the extent to which political elites provide public, reasoned and common good considerations prior to policy changes, acknowledge and respect counterarguments, as well as the extent to which there is a wide range of consultation at elite levels when policy changes are being considered.

### RIGHTS

Personal Liberties (FH/V-DEM/WJP)	This indicator assesses the extent to which citizens enjoy freedom of movement, personal social freedoms and the right to privacy.
Freedom of Expression & Belief (FH/V-DEM/WJP)	This indicator assesses the extent to which citizens enjoy freedom of expression, academic freedom and freedom of religion and belief.
Media Freedom (AFIDEP/RSF/V-DEM)	This indicator assesses the extent to which the legislative framework and the political, economic and sociocultural context allow journalists to do their work freely, as well as the extent to which there are abuses against media and against journalists in connection with their work.
Digital Freedom (AFIDEP/DSP&V-DEM/V-DEM)	This indicator assesses the extent to which there are no internet and social media shutdowns, internet users' privacy and data are being protected as well as the extent to which people are free to express themselves online and there is no limited access to online content.
Protection against Discrimination (AFIDEP)	This indicator assesses the extent to which there are official functioning mechanisms to protect citizens against ethnic, religious and sexual orientation-based discrimination.

### INCLUSION & EQUALITY

Equal Political Power (V-DEM)	This indicator assesses the extent to which political power is distributed by socioeconomic position, sexual orientation, social group and urban-rural location.
Equal Political Representation (FH/IPU/V-DEM)	This indicator assesses the extent to which various segments of the population have political rights and electoral opportunities and to what extent disadvantaged social groups and youth (of or under 40 years old) are represented in the legislature.
Equal Civil Liberties (V-DEM)	This indicator assesses the extent to which the enjoyment of civil liberties is equal by region, income level, social group, political group and urban-rural location.
Equal Socioeconomic Opportunity (AFIDEP/V-DEM)	This indicator assesses the extent to which state jobs and business opportunities are equally accessible regardless of income level, social group or urban-rural location, as well as the extent to which there are institutions and programmes dedicated to the socioeconomic integration of youth.
Equal Access to Public Services (V-DEM)	This indicator assesses the existence of equal access to basic public services regardless of socioeconomic position, social group, political group and urban-rural location.

### WOMEN'S EQUALITY

Political Power & Representation of Women (AFIDEP/IPU/V-DEM)	This indicator assesses the extent to which political power is distributed by gender and measures the proportion of women in the executive, in the legislature and in the highest branch of the judiciary.
Rights & Civil Liberties for Women (V-DEM/WB)	This indicator assesses the extent to which women enjoy the same level of civil liberties and property rights as men, are free to participate in civil society organisations and the extent to which women's civil society organisations are free to operate.
Socioeconomic Opportunity for Women (AFIDEP/V-DEM)	This indicator assesses the extent to which state jobs and business opportunities are equally open regardless of gender and the extent to which women receive equal pay, benefits and treatment as men in the workplace.
Access to Public Services for Women (V-DEM)	This indicator assesses if gender is an important cleavage in society for the distribution of basic public services, such as order and security, primary education, clean water, and healthcare.
Laws on Violence against Women (WB)	This indicator assesses the extent to which there are laws and regulations on violence against women by assessing whether there is legislation specifically addressing domestic violence, there is legislation on sexual harassment in employment, there are criminal penalties or civil remedies for sexual harassment in employment, whether the law is free of legal provisions that require a married woman to obey her husband, and whether a woman can obtain a judgment of divorce in the same way as a man.

## FOUNDATIONS FOR ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

### PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Civil Registration (AFIDEP)	This indicator assesses the extent to which birth and death certificates are available within 30 days free of charge.
Capacity of the Statistical System (AFIDEP/ODW/V-DEM/WB)	This indicator assesses the capacity of a country's statistical system and measures the extent of statistical data coverage and openness, the independence of national statistics offices as well as government's cyber security capacity.
Effective Administration (AfDB/AFIDEP/V-DEM/WB)	This indicator assesses the extent to which there is an effective and professional public administration.
Tax & Revenue Mobilisation (AfDB/UNU-WIDER/WB)	This indicator measures a country's taxation capacity and assesses the efficiency of its revenue mobilisation.
Budgetary & Financial Management (AfDB/WB)	This indicator assesses the extent to which there is a comprehensive and credible budget linked to policy priorities, effective financial management systems, and timely and accurate accounting and fiscal reporting.

### BUSINESS & LABOUR ENVIRONMENT

Regional Integration (AfDB/AfDB&AUC/UNCTAD)	This indicator assesses the extent of the government's development of regional integration, the extent of a country's intra-African trade as well as the visa openness towards other African countries.
Economic Diversification (OEC/UNCTAD)	This indicator assesses the extent to which there is a diversification of exports and the extent of a country's economic complexity.
Business & Competition Regulations (AfDB/BS/WB)	This indicator assesses the extent to which a country's regulatory environment helps private businesses and the extent to which safeguards are enforced to protect competition.
Access to Banking Services (IMF/WB)	This indicator measures the extent to which the population has access to bank branches, ATMs and financial institution accounts as well as the usage of mobile money services.
Labour Relations (AFIDEP/WEF)	This indicator assesses the extent to which labour-employer relations are generally cooperative, a country's compliance with collective labour rights, as well as the extent to which workers are free to organise into trade unions.
Secure Employment Opportunities (ILO/WB)	This indicator measures the extent to which employed persons are not living in poverty and are not in vulnerable employment.

### INFRASTRUCTURE

Transport Network (AfDB/WEF)	This indicator assesses the quality, coverage and efficiency of a country's transport network including road, rail and air infrastructure.
Access to Energy (WB/WHO)	This indicator measures the extent to which a country's population has access to electricity and clean cooking fuels.
Mobile Communications (ITU)	This indicator measures the extent to which mobile phones and mobile internet are accessible and affordable.
Internet & Computers (Cable/ITU/WB)	This indicator measures the share of households with a computer and internet access, as well as broadband internet pricing, internet speed and internet security.
Shipping & Postal Network (UNCTAD/UPU)	This indicator assesses a country's integration level into global liner shipping networks as well as its performance in postal development.

### RURAL ECONOMY

Rural Land & Water Access (IFAD)	This indicator assesses the extent to which people who live in rural areas have access to land and water.
Rural Market Access (IFAD)	This indicator assesses the extent to which existing agricultural input markets and produce markets are reliably providing value for money to smallholders for inputs and the highest proportion of the retail price for produce.
Rural Economy Support (IFAD)	This indicator assesses the extent to which government strategies foster rural development and investment as well as the extent to which policy and legal frameworks create an enabling environment for the provision of rural financial services and provide access to public or private extension services for smallholder farmers.
Rural Representation & Participation (IFAD)	This indicator assesses the extent to which people who live in rural areas can organise into autonomous groups and have representation and power in policy-making processes.

## HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

### HEALTH

Access to Healthcare (V-DEM/WHO)	This indicator estimates how much households spend on health directly out of pocket and assesses the extent to which basic high-quality healthcare is guaranteed to all.
Access to Water & Sanitation (WHO&UNICEF)	This indicator measures the availability of drinking water, of handwashing facilities as well as the use of improved sanitation facilities.
Control of Communicable Diseases (UNAIDS/WHO)	This indicator measures the absence of malaria and tuberculosis deaths, the extent to which the HIV-positive population receive antiretroviral treatment and children receive vaccines against measles, diphtheria, tetanus toxoid, pertussis and hepatitis B.
Control of Non-Communicable Diseases (IHME)	This indicator measures the years of healthy life lost due to metabolic risks and the death rate due to non-communicable diseases.
Child & Maternal Health (IGME/MMEIG/UNDESA/ UNICEF&WHO&WB)	This indicator measures the probability of child mortality and the prevalence of stunting among children under the age of five years old, as well as the annual number of maternal deaths and the proportion of women of reproductive age using modern contraceptive methods.
Health Quality (WHO)	This indicator measures countries' compliance with three out of 13 WHO International Health Regulations, namely Health Human Resources, Health Services Provision as well as Health Emergency Management.

### EDUCATION

Equality in Education (V-DEM/UNESCO)	This indicator measures the gender parity ratio in primary and lower secondary education and assesses the extent to which high quality basic education is guaranteed to all citizens.
Education Enrolment (UNESCO)	This indicator measures the percentage of students enrolled from pre-primary to tertiary education over the corresponding eligible official school-age population for each level of education.
Education Completion (UNESCO)	This indicator measures the completion rate at primary and secondary education levels.
Human Resources in Education (UNESCO)	This indicator measures the average number of pupils per qualified teacher at primary level of education and the percentage of teachers in primary education who have received the minimum standard of training required for teaching.
Education Quality (BS/WB/WEF)	This indicator assesses the extent to which education policy is successful in delivering high quality education and supports research and development, as well as the extent to which the education system meets the needs of a competitive economy and the number of expected years of learning-adjusted years of schooling.

### SOCIAL PROTECTION & WELFARE

Social Safety Nets (AFIDEP/BS)	This indicator assesses the extent to which social safety nets exist to compensate for social risks of the market economy, including social safety nets for the elderly, those with an illness or health conditions, and the unemployed.
Poverty Reduction Policies (AfDB/BS/WB)	This indicator assesses the extent to which socioeconomic factors are not a barrier to participation in society, while also assessing the social protection, labour and welfare policies that guarantee a minimum level of welfare and ensure access to quality health and education services.
Socioeconomic Inequality Mitigation (AfDB/FFP/WB/WID.World)	This indicator assesses the extent to which there is equity of public resource use and income equality as well the extent to which there is no structural economic inequality.
Decent Housing (CAHF/UN-Habitat&UNDESA)	This indicator measures the share of the urban population living in slum households, as well as the affordability of the cheapest newly built urban housing constructed by formal developers.
Food Security (FAO)	This indicator measures the adequacy of food supply in terms of calories and the variability of food supply as well as the prevalence of moderate or severe food insecurity and undernourishment.

### SUSTAINABLE ENVIRONMENT

Promotion of Environmental Sustainability (AfDB/BS/WB)	This indicator assesses the extent to which economic policy considers environmental concerns and the government's environmental policies foster sustainability and pollution management.
Enforcement of Environmental Policies (WEF/WJP)	This indicator assesses the extent to which environmental laws and regulations are effectively enforced.
Air Quality (HEI&IHME)	This indicator measures the absence of air pollution both outside and inside the household.
Sustainable Use of Land & Forests (FAO/WB/WRI)	This indicator measures the extent to which land, soil and forests are used sustainably.
Land & Water Biodiversity Protection (ENACT/WB/Yale & Columbia)	This indicator measures the extent to which terrestrial biomes and marine areas are protected as well as the extent to which flora and fauna are not illegally exploited.

## IIAG perception indicator definitions & sources

### SECURITY & RULE OF LAW

#### SECURITY & SAFETY

Public Perception of Security & Safety (AFR)	This indicator assesses the extent to which citizens feel safe walking in their neighbourhood, public trust in the police and military, as well as the extent to which citizens are satisfied with how the government is doing at reducing crime.
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#### RULE OF LAW & JUSTICE

Public Perception of the Rule of Law (AFR)	This indicator assesses the extent to which citizens feel that the head of the executive does not ignore the courts and laws, as well as the extent to which citizens feel that they are treated equally under the law.
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#### ACCOUNTABILITY & TRANSPARENCY

Public Perception of Accountability (AFR)	This indicator assesses the extent to which citizens feel that the head of the executive does not ignore parliament, as well as the extent to which citizens feel that officials who commit crimes are punished.
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#### ANTI-CORRUPTION

Public Perception of Anti-Corruption (AFR)	This indicator assesses the extent to which citizens feel that the head of the executive, members of parliament and the police are not involved in corruption, the extent to which citizens feel that they do not need to bribe government officials in exchange of administrative services, as well as citizens' satisfaction with how well the government is handling fighting corruption.
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### PARTICIPATION, RIGHTS & INCLUSION

#### PARTICIPATION

Public Perception of Political Participation (AFR)	This indicator assesses whether citizens were able to vote in the last national election as well as the extent to which citizens think that political pluralism is beneficial.
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#### RIGHTS

Public Perception of Freedom of Speech (AFR)	This indicator assesses the extent to which citizens feel free to say what they think.
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#### INCLUSION & EQUALITY

Public Perception of Inclusion & Equality (AFR)	This indicator assesses the extent to which citizens feel their ethnic group is treated fairly by the government as well as the extent to which citizens would dislike having as neighbours people of a different ethnic group, different religion or different sexual orientation.
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#### WOMEN'S EQUALITY

Public Perception of Female Leadership (AFR)	This indicator assesses the extent to which citizens believe women should have the same chance of being elected to political office as men.
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### FOUNDATIONS FOR ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

#### PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Public Perception of Easiness to Obtain an Identity Document (AFR)	This indicator assesses citizens' perceptions of how easy it is to obtain the identity documents they need.
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#### BUSINESS & LABOUR ENVIRONMENT

Public Perception of Economic Opportunities (AFR)	This indicator assesses the extent to which citizens feel the government is doing well at creating jobs as well as citizens' perceptions of the country's present economic condition.
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#### INFRASTRUCTURE

Public Perception of Infrastructure (AFR)	This indicator assesses the extent to which citizens are satisfied with how the government is doing at maintaining roads and bridges and at providing a reliable supply of electricity.
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### HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

#### HEALTH

Public Perception of Health Provision (AFR)	This indicator assesses the extent to which citizens are satisfied with how the government is doing at improving basic health services and at providing water and sanitation services, as well as citizens' perceptions of how easy it is to obtain the medical care they need.
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#### EDUCATION

Public Perception of Education Provision (AFR)	This indicator assesses the extent to which citizens are satisfied with how the government is doing at addressing educational needs as well as citizens' perceptions of how easy it is to obtain the public school services they need.
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### SOCIAL PROTECTION & WELFARE

Public Perception of Social Protection & Lived Poverty (AFR)	This indicator assesses citizens' lived poverty in terms of food, water and cooking fuel deprivation, citizens' perceptions of their present living conditions, as well as the extent to which citizens are satisfied with how the government is doing at improving the living standards of the poor.
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Note: While the IIAG has 16 sub-categories, only 14 non-perception indicators are listed here due to the fact that two IIAG sub-categories, *Rural Economy* and *Sustainable Environment*, do not contain an Afrobarometer-sourced data yet.



## Acronyms of data sources

ACLED	Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project	UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
AfDB	African Development Bank		
AFIDEP	African Institute for Development Policy	UNDESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
AFR	Afrobarometer	UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
AUC	African Union Commission		
BS	Bertelsmann Stiftung	UN-Habitat	United Nations Human Settlements Programme
Cable	Cable.co.uk	UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
CAHF	Centre for Affordable Housing Finance in Africa		
CDD-Ghana	Ghana Center for Democratic Development	UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
Columbia	Center for International Earth Science Information Network Earth Institute, Columbia University	UNU-WIDER	United Nations University - World Institute for Development Economics Research
DSP	Digital Society Project	UPU	Universal Postal Union
ENACT	ENACT Africa	V-DEM	Varieties of Democracy Institute
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations	WB	World Bank
FFP	Fund for Peace	WEF	World Economic Forum
FH	Freedom House	WHO	World Health Organization
HEI	Health Effects Institute	WID.World	World Inequality Database
IBP	International Budget Partnership	WJP	World Justice Project
IDMC	Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre	WRI	World Resources Institute
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development	Yale	Yale Center for Environmental Law & Policy
IHME	Institute for Health Metrics and Evaluation		
ILO	International Labour Organization		
IMF	International Monetary Fund		
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union		
ITU	International Telecommunication Union		
ITUC	International Trade Union Confederation		
ODW	Open Data Watch		
OEC	Observatory for Economic Complexity		
PTS	Political Terror Scale		
RSF	Reporters sans frontières (Reporters Without Borders)		
UCDP	Uppsala Conflict Data Program		
UN IGME	United Nations Inter-agency Group for Child Mortality Estimation		
UN MMEIG	United Nations Maternal Mortality Estimation Inter-agency Group		
UNAIDS	Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS		







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