



Poverty, Democracy and the Role of the State

Attitudes and Perceptions of the Poor in West
African Countries and Madagascar

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IRD / DIAL

IAOS-IASS Joint Conference, Amman, December, 2004

DIAL

Développement et
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internationale

Attitudes and perceptions of the poor on the role of the state and on democracy

Why a study on this issue?

⇒ **Participation / Empowerment** (reinforcing civil society capacities)

⇒ Reveal the “*Voice of the poor*”

⇒ *Ownership (policy-making process)*

⇒ **Interactions between governance, democracy and economic policy** → **Development**

(Improvement of household living conditions)

→ **Impact on the effectiveness and the efficiency of poverty reduction strategies**

Attitudes and perceptions of the poor on the role of the state and on democracy

Capital cities of 8 poor countries

in one of the poorest region (Sub-Saharan Africa)

Bénin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Madagascar, Mali, Niger, Sénégal, Togo

Two questions related to the double transition process in which countries are engaged today

→ economic transition = liberalisation

→ political transition = democratisation

⇒ **Are the poor in favour of economic liberalisation and the new role of the state?**

⇒ **Less support of the poor to democratic values?**

We will address these two issues in parallel in our study

Attitudes and perceptions of the poor on the role of the state and on democracy

In brief, what does say the literature on these issues?

Cross-section country analysis

- ⇒ **Negative correlation between level of poverty and attitudes in favour of democracy and in favour of economic liberalisation**
- ⇒ **Mutual reinforcement of the two process : economic and political liberalisation**

→ **The difficulty to implement democracy and market-economy have the same causes in poor countries**

Three types of arguments are usually given:

- **Cultural values in poor countries**
(traditional values are not compatible with democratic principles and with market-economy principles)
- **Poor (or poor countries) have a tendency to resist to any reforms**
- **« instrumental » argument: bad economic performance considered by the population as the results of the double transition process (democratisation and liberalisation)**

Attitudes and perceptions of the poor on the role of the state and on democracy

Globally,

Analysis based on HH surveys / opinion polls invalidate these arguments

⇒ **Negative correlation between level of poverty and support to market-economy**

⇒ **But the poor are strongly in favour of democracy as the rest of the population**

→ **We found the same results :**

No systematic resistance of the poor to reform or innovation with tests of their robustness

- the same findings for 3 different years in Antananarivo (1995,1998, 2003) (even if a change in the composition of the poor population)
- the same conclusions for all of the capital cities in the study, except Dakar.

Attitudes and perceptions of the poor on the role of the state and on democracy

Further results of our study

- ⇒ The low level of education or information is not sufficient to explain the attitudes of the poor against economic liberalisation
 - ⇒ The state (in spite of its shortcomings) is considered to be more capable of guaranteeing the equality of opportunities than the market
 - ⇒ Those who have less confidence in the state, those who were victims of malfunctions of some public institutions (corruption, absenteeism, etc.) tend to be against democracy
- **Need to reinforce state institution (reliability & efficiency)**
- to take into account the “need for the state” of the poor
 - to consolidate the democratic process

Data and Methodology

The study draws on the thematic modules of the *1-2-3 household surveys* : an original tool for monitoring poverty and for measuring governance and democracy (**35 000 persons interviewed; 4500 for each country in average**)

→ Surveys conducted by National Statistical Offices of each country, with the technical assistance and under the coordination of AFRISTAT and DIAL.

One of the pilot activities of the METAGORA Project

Qualitative modules on Governance and Democracy (=opinion polls) grafted onto conventional household quantitative survey (the 1-2-3 survey on employment, informal sector, consumption and poverty).

⇒ Advantages of statistical household surveys: **transparency, representativeness of the information collected, quantification of the phenomenon.**

→ **an innovative and effective way of hearing and relaying the "voice of the poor",**

→ **so that they can affect decision-making and influence policy (empowerment)**

Data and Methodology

The 1-2-3 survey (with the thematic modules):

→ combination and monitoring of **3 types of information**:

- *subjective issues*, the domain of opinion polls (assessment of the working of democracy and the State, level of support for policies, perception of discrimination, value systems),
- *objective facts on social practices and behaviour* (access to public services, political involvement, incidence of corruption etc.)
- *conventional socio-economic characteristics* (gender, age, education, employment, income, consumption etc.).

→ multiple possibilities to break down the information according to different category of households or individuals.

Methodology

Two types of techniques :

→ *Multiple correspondence analysis (MCA)*

in order to define

- **A poverty indicator** (Composite indicator integrating multiple dimensions of poverty : income poverty, capital assets, access to public services, subjective poverty)
- **Indicators on attitudes** of individuals towards democracy and liberalisation
 - . Level of support to democratic values
 - . Level of satisfaction concerning the working of democracy in the country
 - . Level of support to economic liberalisation
 - . Level of satisfaction / confidence in the working of the state

→ *Econometric regressions: multivariate analysis*

In order to explore simultaneously explanatory factors of attitudes (support & satisfaction) towards democracy and market-economy.

1. Answer the question: « Do the poor think differently? »
2. Which characteristics of individuals can explain their attitudes towards democracy and liberalisation in poor countries

Methodology

Multiple correspondence analysis (MCA)

Considering different questions (with different modalities)

→ positions of individuals in a multi-dimensional space (« global poverty space » or « global democracy space »)

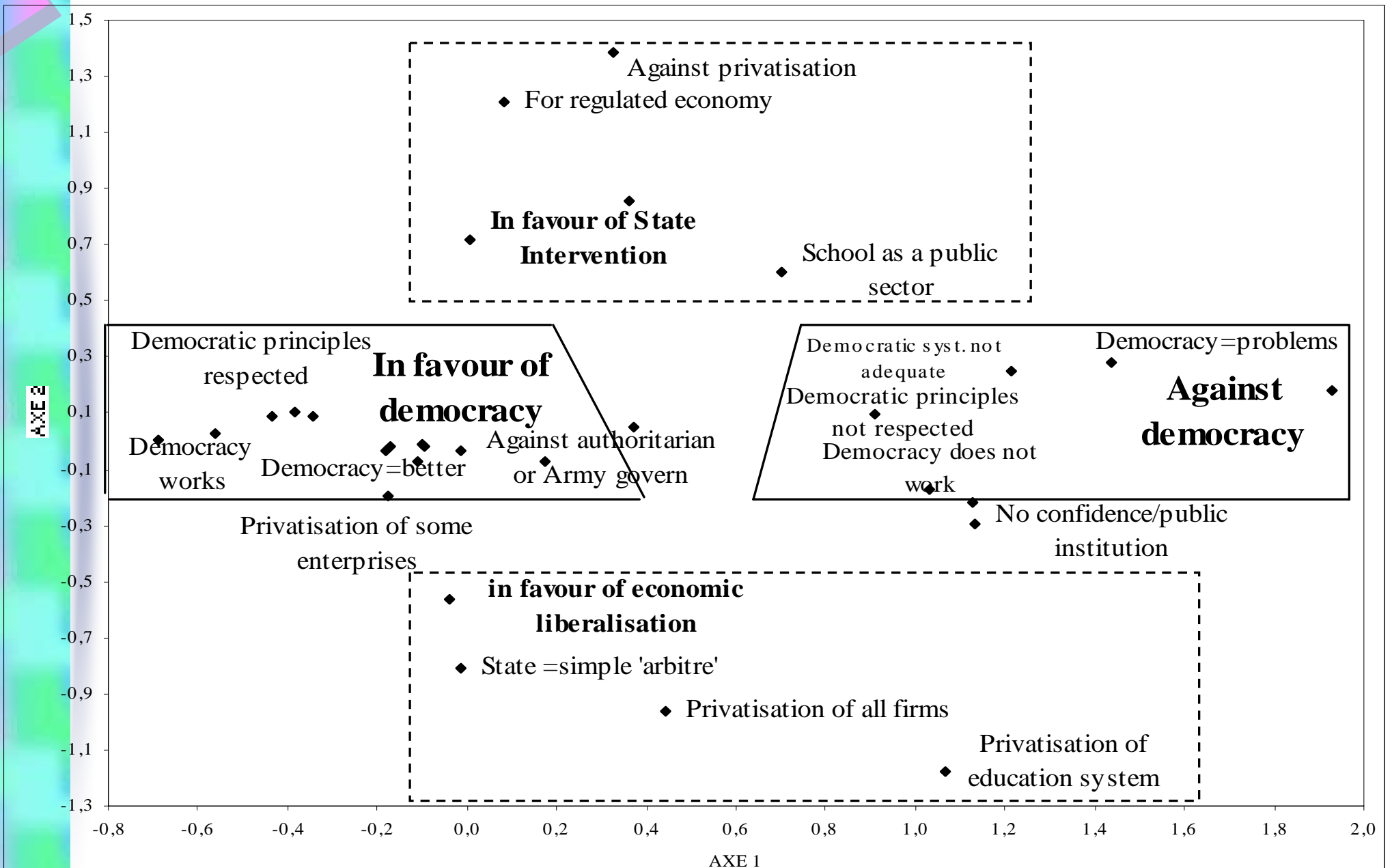
→ the first (or the first two) factorial axis (the most discriminating), provides for example : → a clear opposition between poverty and non-poverty, in all its forms
→ Opposition between those in favour and against of democracy, drawing on different questions on this topic

☞ Coordinates of individuals in these axis

→ an indicator (with a continuous scale) of:

- . Level of support to democratic values
- . Level of satisfaction concerning the working of democracy in the country
- . Level of support to economic liberalisation
- . Level of satisfaction / confidence in the working of the state

Diagram of Democracy & market economy space Antananarivo, 2003 (Multiple Correspondence Analysis)



Some first results

Support to democratic values → A strong support

<i>Percentage</i>	Abidjan	Bamako	Cotonou	Dakar	Lomé	Niamey	Antana -narivo
In favour of democracy	92,6	75,8	95,3	91,4	90,2	70,7	92,0
Democracy is working	57,5	56,0	70,5	77,4	10,8	48,3	72,6

Economic libéralisation versus State intervention → Mixed

(%)	Abidjan	Bamako	Cotonou	Dakar	Lomé	Niamey	Antananarivo
Economic libéralisation + private initiative	44,6	29,8	51,5	22,2	63,2	31,3	43,5
State intervention + Regulated Economy	19,5	33,7	25,0	45,8	16,3	44,5	30,3
Mixed – Ambiguous position	35,9	36,5	23,5	32,0	20,5	24,2	26,2
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Sources : 1-2-3 household surveys, qualitative modules, conducted by National Statistical Office and coordinated by DIAL/AFRISTAT, Authors' own calculations

Some first results

Correlation Matrix between the poverty indicator and attitudes towards democracy and liberalisation (Antananarivo)

	(a) In favour of econ. libéralisation	(b) Confidence in the State / Working of administration	(c) In favour of democracy	(d) Working of the democracy	Poverty indicator
(a) In favour of econ. libéralisation	1				
(b) Confidence in the State / Working of administration	0,00	1			
(c) In favour of democracy	0,05*	0,34*	1		
(d) Working of the democracy	0,05*	0,19*	0,00	1	
Poverty Indicator	- 0,14*	- 0,04*	- 0,04*	0,02	1
Level of education	0,12*	-0,03	0,01	- 0,08*	- 0,58*

Sources : 1-2-3 household surveys, qualitative modules, National Statistical Office
 Authors' own calculations

Some first results

Correlation Matrix between the poverty indicator and attitudes towards democracy and liberalisation (Abidjan)

	(a) In favour of econ. libéralisation	(b) Confidence in the State / Working of administration	(c) In favour of democracy	(d) Working of the democracy	Poverty indicator
(a) In favour of econ. libéralisation	1				
(b) Confidence in the State / Working of administration	0.00	1			
(c) In favour of democracy	- 0.13*	0.20*	1		
(d) Working of the democracy	- 0.20*	0.29*	- 0.00	1	
Poverty Indicator	- 0.06*	- 0.00	- 0.07*	- 0.01	1
Level of education	0.05*	- 0.04*	0.09*	0.01	- 0.34*

Sources : 1-2-3 household surveys, qualitative modules, National Statistical Office
 Authors' own calculations

Results of Econometric regressions (Multivariate analysis)

Antananarivo

	In favour of economic libéralisation	Confidence in the State / Working of administration	In favour of democracy	Satisfaction/ Working of the democracy
Level of poverty	-0,07 (3,37)***	-0,06 (3,02)***	-0,02 → ns (1,27)	-0,03 (1,66)*
Level of education	0,10 → ns (1,42)	-0,21 (3,19)***	-0,07 (1,07)	-0,21 (3,98)***
Follow the news regularly (media)	0,09 (3,47)***	0,01 (0,45)	0,03 (1,30)	-0,02 (1,18)

Bamako

	In favour of econ. libéralisation	Confidence in the State / Working of administration	In favour of democracy	Satisfaction/Working of the democracy
Level of poverty	-0,04 (2,68)***	-0,02 (1,64)	-0,02 → ns (1,49)	-0,03 (2,77)***
Level of education	0,03 → ns (1,00)	-0,20 (5,75)***	0,10 (2,84)***	-0,11 (4,32)***
Follow the news regularly (media)	-0,03 (1,49)	0,01 (0,74)	0,06 (3,19)***	-0,06 (4,41)***

Sources : 1-2-3 household surveys, Authors' own calculations

👉 The state and democracy (instead of market) are more able to guarantee equality of opportunities in poor countries

Antananarivo

	In favour of economic libéralisation	Confidence in the State / Working of administration	In favour of democracy	Satisfaction/Working of the democracy
In favour of the reduction of inequality	-0,06 (2,18)**	-0,04 (1,38)	-0,02 (0,67)	0,03 (1,24)
In favour of “meritocratic” system	-0,05 (1,01)	0,11 (2,45)**	0,22 (4,98)***	-0,01 (0,21)

Bamako

	In favour of econ. libéralisation	Confidence in the State / Working of administration	In favour of democracy	Satisfaction/Working of the democracy
In favour of the reduction of inequality	0,03 (1,01)	0,13 (4,61)***	0,07 (2,44)**	0,03 (1,43)
In favour of “meritocratic” system	-0,07 (1,88)*	0,15 (3,83)***	0,18 (4,68)***	-0,05 (1,85)*

☞ **Victims of the malfunctions of some institutions**
→ Less confidence in the State → Against democracy

Antananarivo

	In favour of econ. libéralisation	Confidence in the State / Working of administration	In favour of democracy	Satisfaction/Working of the democracy
Victims of corruption	0,06 (2,06)**	-0,04 (1,37)	-0,06 (2,39)**	-0,03 (1,56)
Victims of absenteeism of civil servants	-0,10 (3,39)***	-0,05 (1,82)*	-0,06 (2,16)**	-0,08 (3,46)***
Predominance of ethnic identity prior to national one	0,12 (3,94)***	-0,11 (3,60)***	-0,24 (8,62)***	0,09 (3,99)***

Bamako

	In favour of econ. libéralisation	Confidence in the State / Working of administration	In favour of democracy	Satisfaction/Working of the democracy
Victims of corruption	-0,09 (3,73)***	-0,16 (6,33)***	-0,10 (3,86)***	0,00 (0,04)
Victims of absenteeism of civil servants	0,02 (0,99)	-0,23 (9,44)***	-0,04 (1,60)	-0,05 (2,67)***
Predominance of ethnic identity prior to national one	-0,03 (2,06)**	0,03 (1,60)	-0,05 (2,65)***	0,00 (0,24)

Sources : 1-2-3 household surveys, Authors' own calculations

☞ **Confidence in the State** ⇔ **In favour of democracy**

Correlation matrix of residuals

Antananarivo

	(a) In favour of econ. libéralisation	(b) Confidence in the State / Working of administration	(c) In favour of democracy	(d) Satisfaction/ Working of the democracy
(a) In favour of econ. libéralisation	1			
(b) Confidence in the State / Working of administration	-0,02	1		
(c) In favour of democracy	0,05	0,30	1	
(d) Working of the democracy	0,05	0,17	-0,02	1

Bamako

	(a) In favour of econ. libéralisation	(b) Confidence in the State / Working of administration	(c) In favour of democracy	(d) Satisfaction/Working of the democracy
(a) In favour of econ. libéralisation	1			
(b) Confidence in the State / Working of administration	0,01	1		
(c) In favour of democracy	0,19	0,26	1	
(d) Working of the democracy	0,05	0,13	-0,02	1

To conclude :

Still at an exploratory stage

Ultimately, we show that:

- an adequate monitoring system can help to explore “the voice of the poor”, their attitudes
- The poor are in favour of the welfare state
- It is not due only to their lack of instructions
- The poor are in favour of democratic principles
- Attitudes towards democracy are linked to the confidence in the state institutions (which must be reinforced)