

**AFRO**  **10**  *years*  
**BAROMETER**

# The Afrobarometer

Presentation to  
World Bank Annenberg Executive Course in  
Communication and Governance Reform

22 July 2011



# Purpose

- A comparative series of national public attitude surveys in Africa on Democracy, Markets and Civil Society
- Social scientific project dedicated to accurate and precise measurement of nationally representative samples of publics
- Insert our results into the hands of national, regional and continental elected representatives, government officials, civil society leaders and donors through direct presentations or through the news media, or other publications
- Ultimately, advancing democracy in Africa by promoting the voice of public opinion

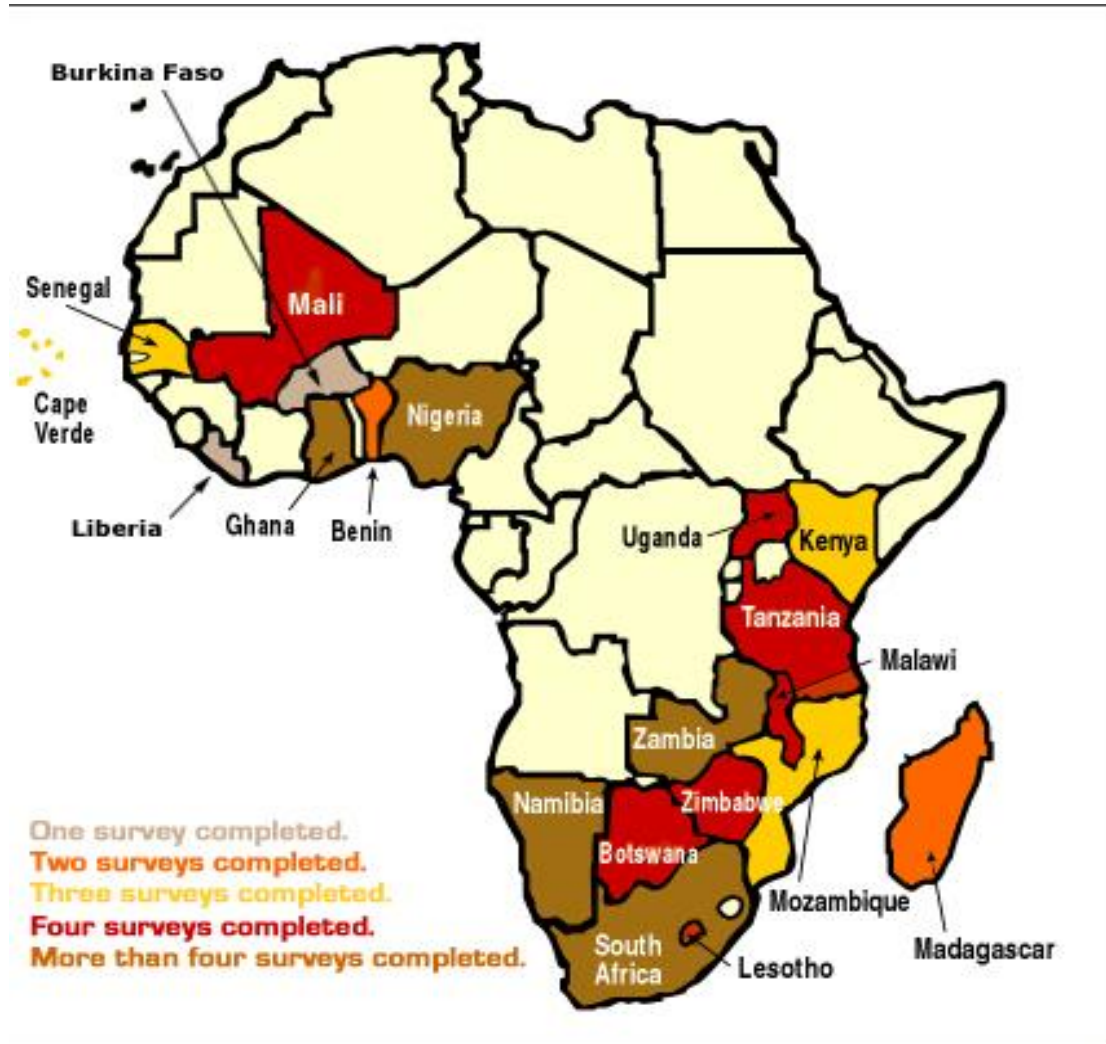
# Who, Where and When?

- Over the past ten years, Afrobarometer has:
- Interviewed over 105,000 Africans over the past ten years
- In 20 “reforming” Sub-Saharan African countries (generally, multi party regimes that have had a founding democratic election, or a re-democratizing election)

# Who, Where and When?

- **Round 1** (12 countries, mid-1999 to mid 2001)
  - in West Africa: Ghana, Mali, Nigeria
  - in East Africa: Uganda and Tanzania
  - in Southern Africa: Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Namibia, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe
- **Round 2** (16 countries, mid 2002-late 2003)
  - Zimbabwe , early 2004
  - Adds Cape Verde, Kenya, Mozambique, and Senegal
- **Round 3** (18 countries, 2005)
  - Adds Madagascar and Benin
- **Round 4** (20 countries, 2008)
  - Zimbabwe, later 2009
  - Adds Burkina Faso and Liberia
- Plus **additional surveys** in Namibia (2001), South Africa (2004), Nigeria (2001, 2007)

# Coverage of Afrobarometer Surveys, 1999-2009



# Afrobarometer Network

- **3 Core Partners**
  - Institute for Democracy in South Africa (Idasa)
  - Centre for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana)
  - Institute for Empirical Research in Political Economy (IREEP)
- **20 National Partners** (NGO, public, private)
  - Other Individual and Institutional Research Associates
- **Support Units**
  - Michigan State University
  - University of Cape Town
- **Regular Workshops**
  - To discuss policies and protocols and appoint committees to produce concentrated pieces of work like draft questionnaires or revisions of survey methodologies
- **Summer School / Capacity Building**
  - To build Network skills in scientific analysis, including social statistics, report writing and relevant literature

# Who Supports It?

- Round 4
  - Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA)
  - Royal Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (RDMFA / DANIDA)
  - Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA)
  - U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID)
  - UK Department for International Development (DFID)

# Who Has Supported It?

- Previous Rounds
  - Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs (NMFA)
  - Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
  - World Bank
  - African Development Bank
  - Royal Dutch Embassy in Namibia
  - Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation
  - Trocaire Regional Office for Eastern Africa
  - Michigan State University
  - U.S. National Science Foundation
  - Konrad Adenauer Stiftung

# Sampling

- Random sample of 1200 citizens (18 or older)  
2400 in South Africa and Nigeria
- Sample proportionate to population
  - Stratified by urban/rural and regional strata as per latest Census projection
  - Weighting process used to ensure that sample is proportionate to population
- Multi Stage random sampling
  - Random selection of enumerator areas using PPS
  - 8 interviews per enumerator area
  - Random selection of households in enumerator area using random starting point
  - Random selection of respondents
  - 50/50 gender quota
- Nationally representative sample
- Sampling error of +/- 3 percentage points at 95% CI

# Interviewing

- Personal, face-to-face interviews
- Questionnaires translated in to local languages
- Interviewers fluent in local languages

# Which Attitudes?

- Consolidation of Democracy
- Quality of Democracy
- Quality of Governance
- Markets
- Quality of Life

# Consolidation of Democracy

- Demand
  - Preference for democracy
  - Rejection of non democratic alternatives
- Supply
  - Extent of democracy
  - Satisfaction with democracy

# Quality of Democracy

- Demand and Supply for
  - Rule of Law
  - Rights
  - Equality
  - Citizenship and Participation
  - Accountability
  - Responsiveness

# Quality of Governance

- Legitimacy
- Trustworthiness
- Policy Performance
- Job Performance
- Corruption
  - Perceptions and Victimization
- Service Delivery
  - Use, Satisfaction With State Services

# Markets

- Demand for Market Reform
  - Support for policy elements of structural adjustment
- Supply of Market Reform
  - Has the economy improved as a result of the reform process?

# Civil Society

- Civil Society Affiliations
- National and Social Identity
- Equality of Treatment
- Violence

# Quality of Life

- Lived Poverty
- Crime and Security
- Public Health and AIDS

# Supply of Democracy

**1) Extent of Democracy** – In your opinion, how much of a democracy is (your country) today?

A full democracy

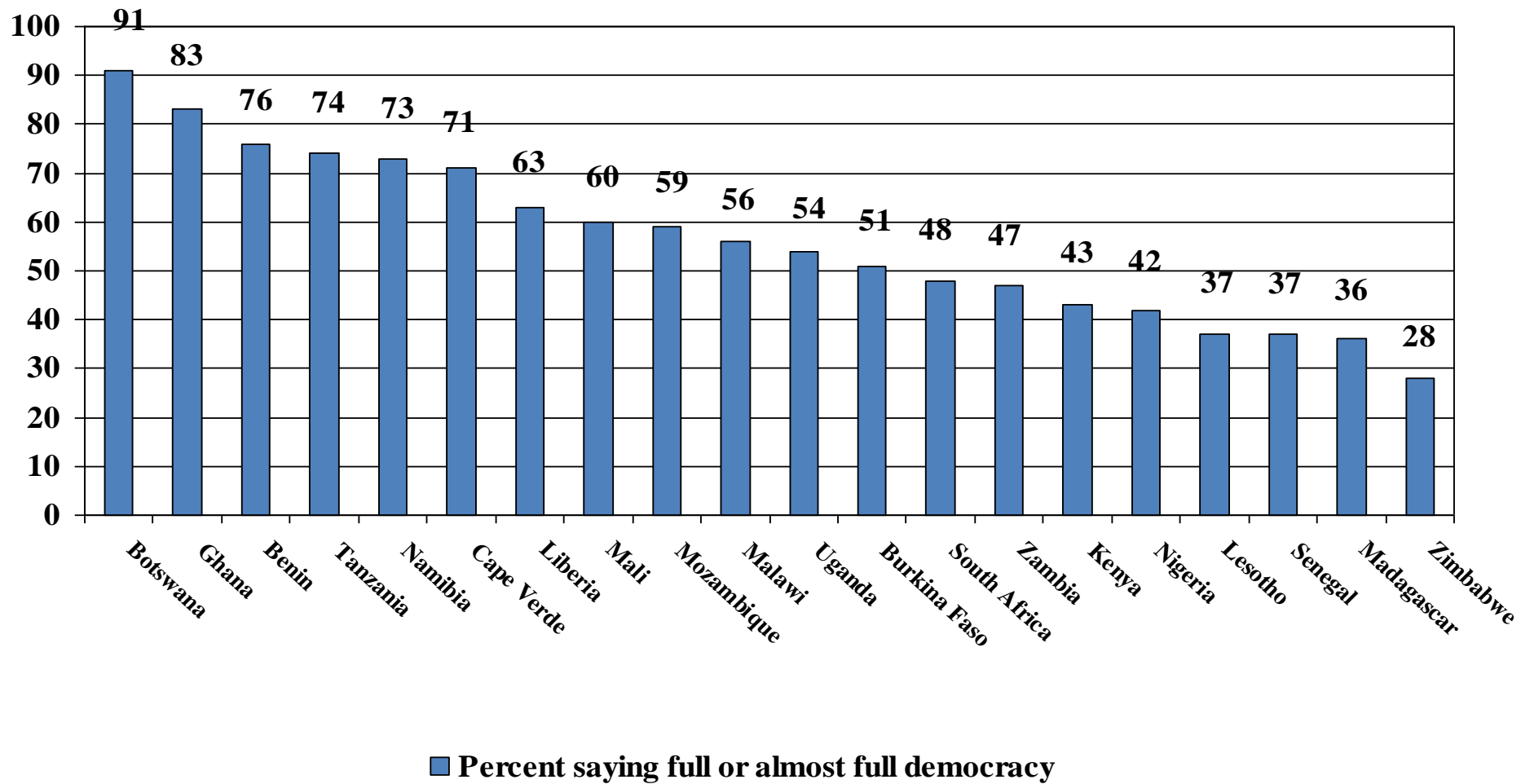
A democracy, but with minor problems

A democracy, with major problems

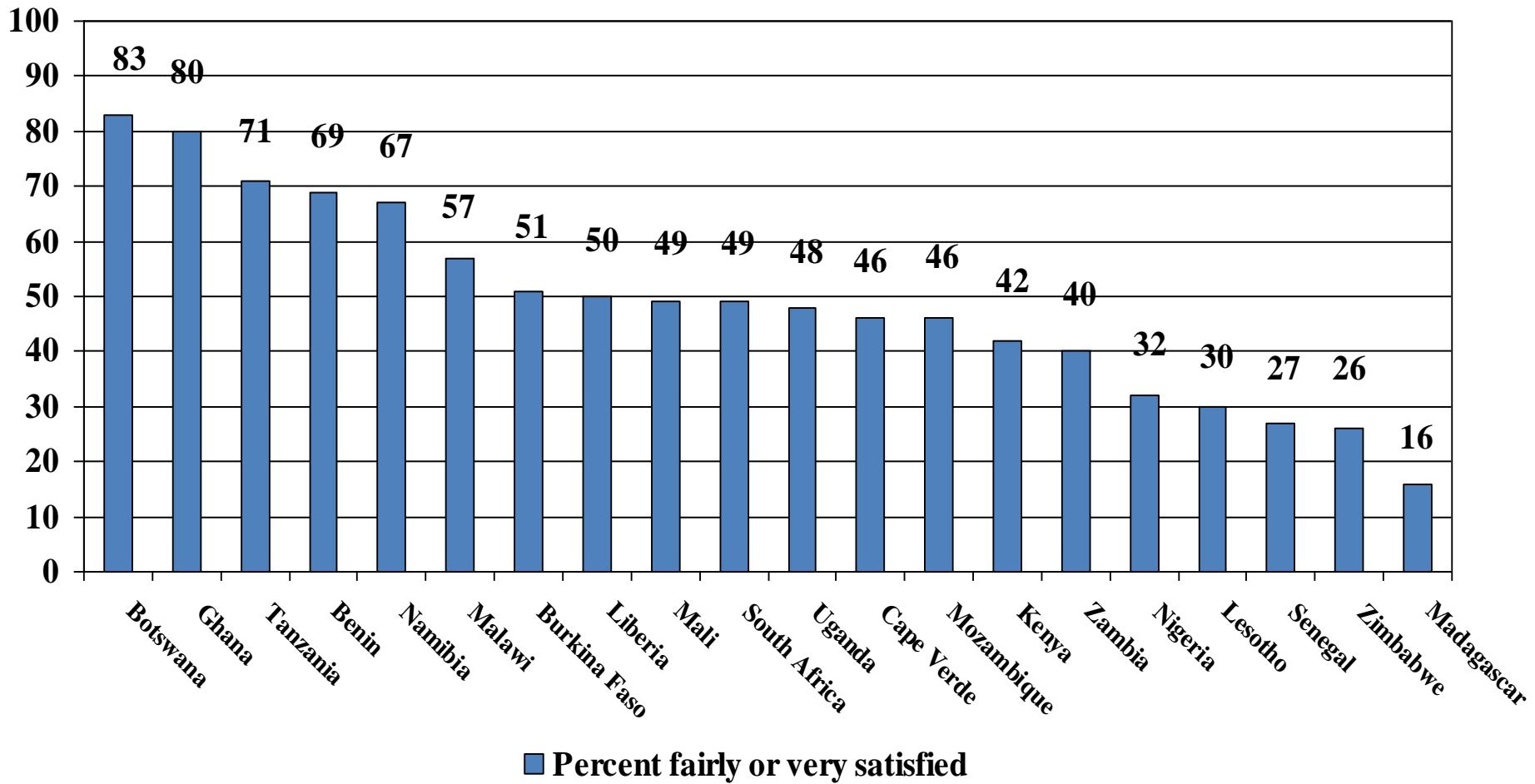
Not a democracy

**2) Satisfaction with Democracy** – Overall, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in (your country)?

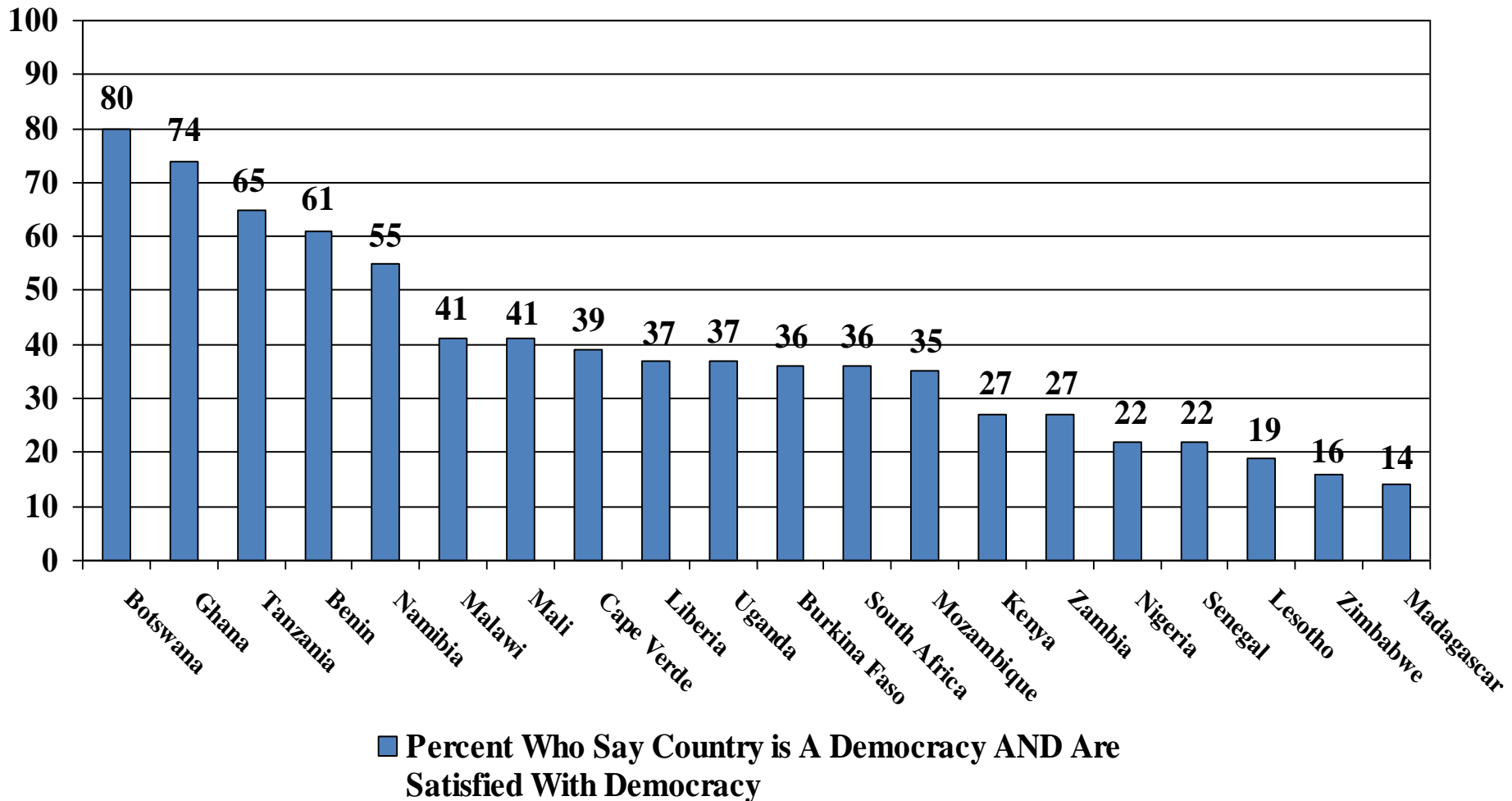
**Figure 1: Perceived Extent of Democracy, 2008**



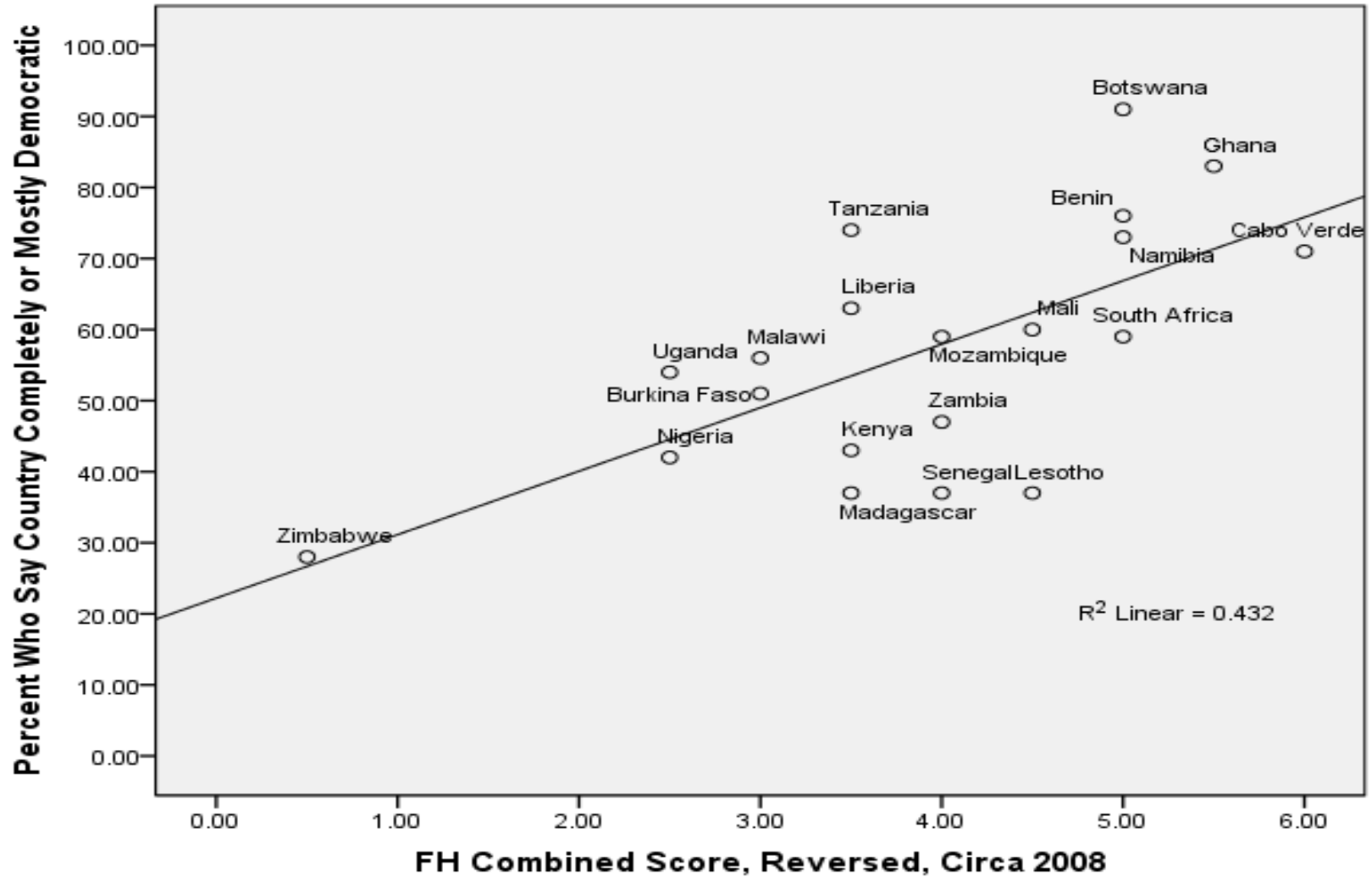
**Figure 2: Satisfaction with Democracy, 2008**



**Figure 3: Perceived Supply of Democracy, 2008**



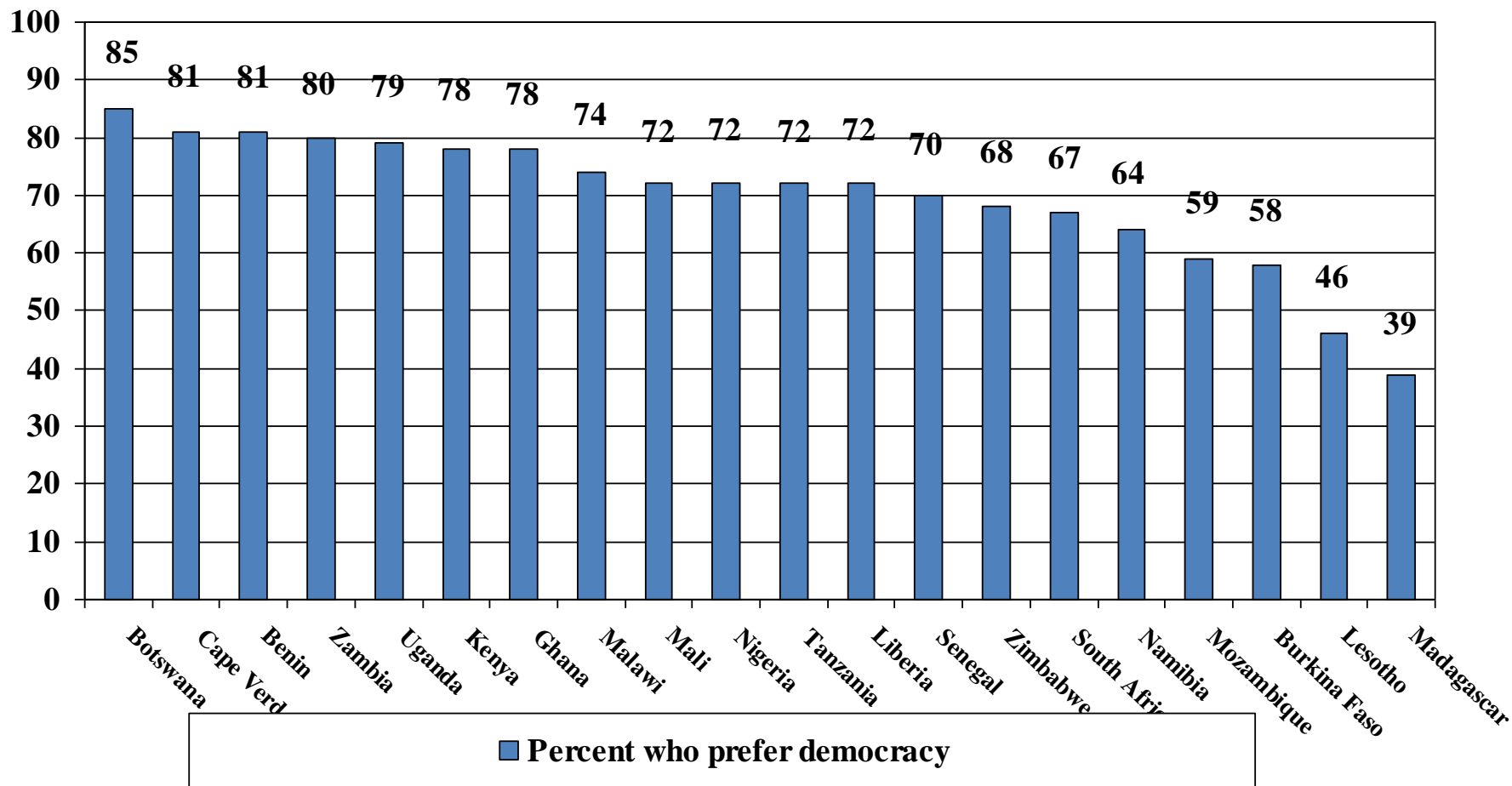
**Figure 4: Public Perceptions and Freedom House Ratings Compared**



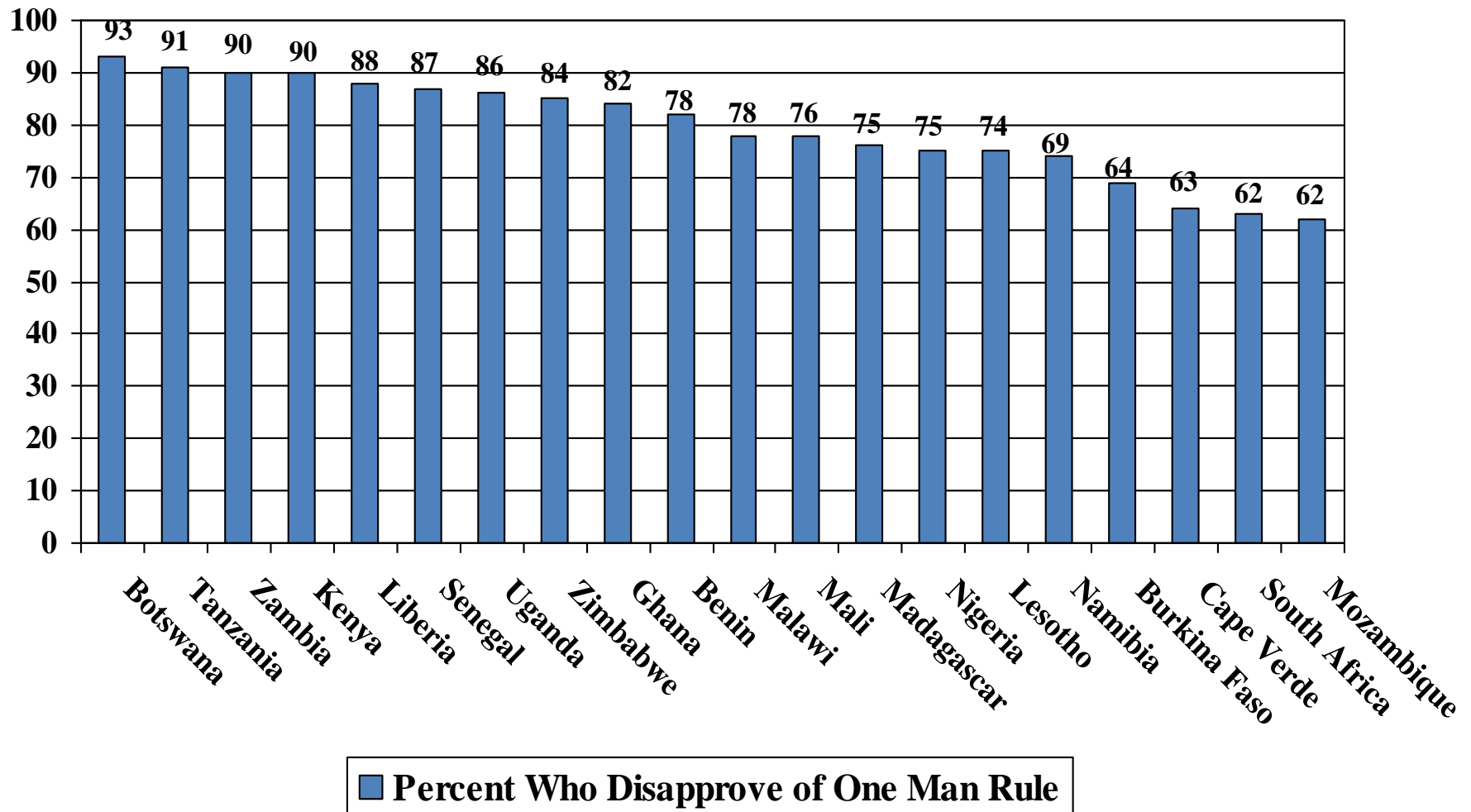
# Demand for Democracy

- **Support for Democracy** –
  1. Which of these three statements is closest to your own opinion?
    - a. Democracy is preferable to any other form of government
    - b. In certain situations, a non democratic government can be preferable.
    - c. To people like me, it doesn't matter what form of government we have.
  
- **Rejection of Authoritarian Alternatives** – Some people say we would be better off if we had a different system of government. Would you approve or disapprove of:
  2. One party rule
  3. Military government
  4. Presidential dictatorship

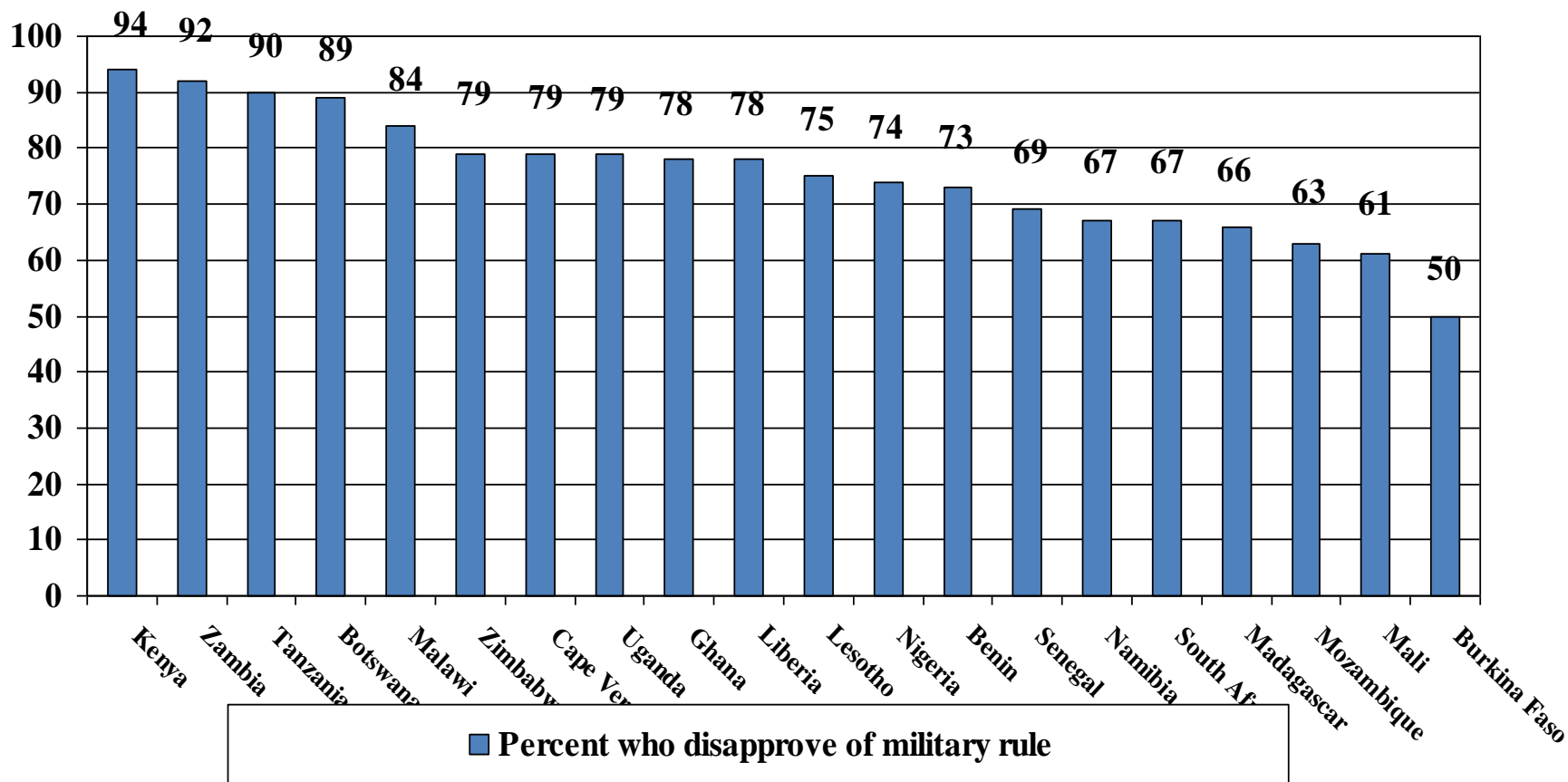
**Figure 5: Support for Democracy, 2008**



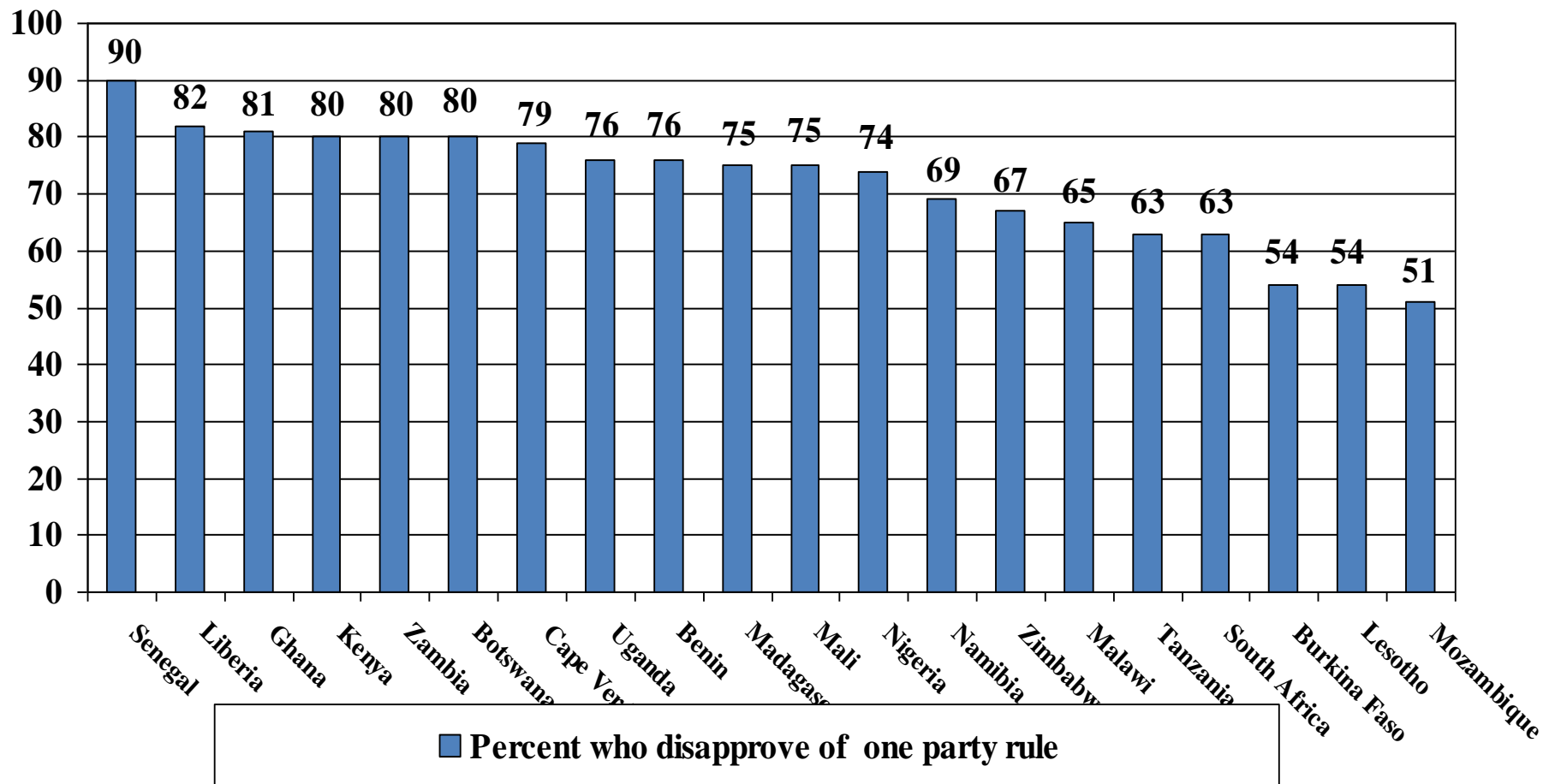
**Figure 6: Rejection of One-Man Rule, 2008**



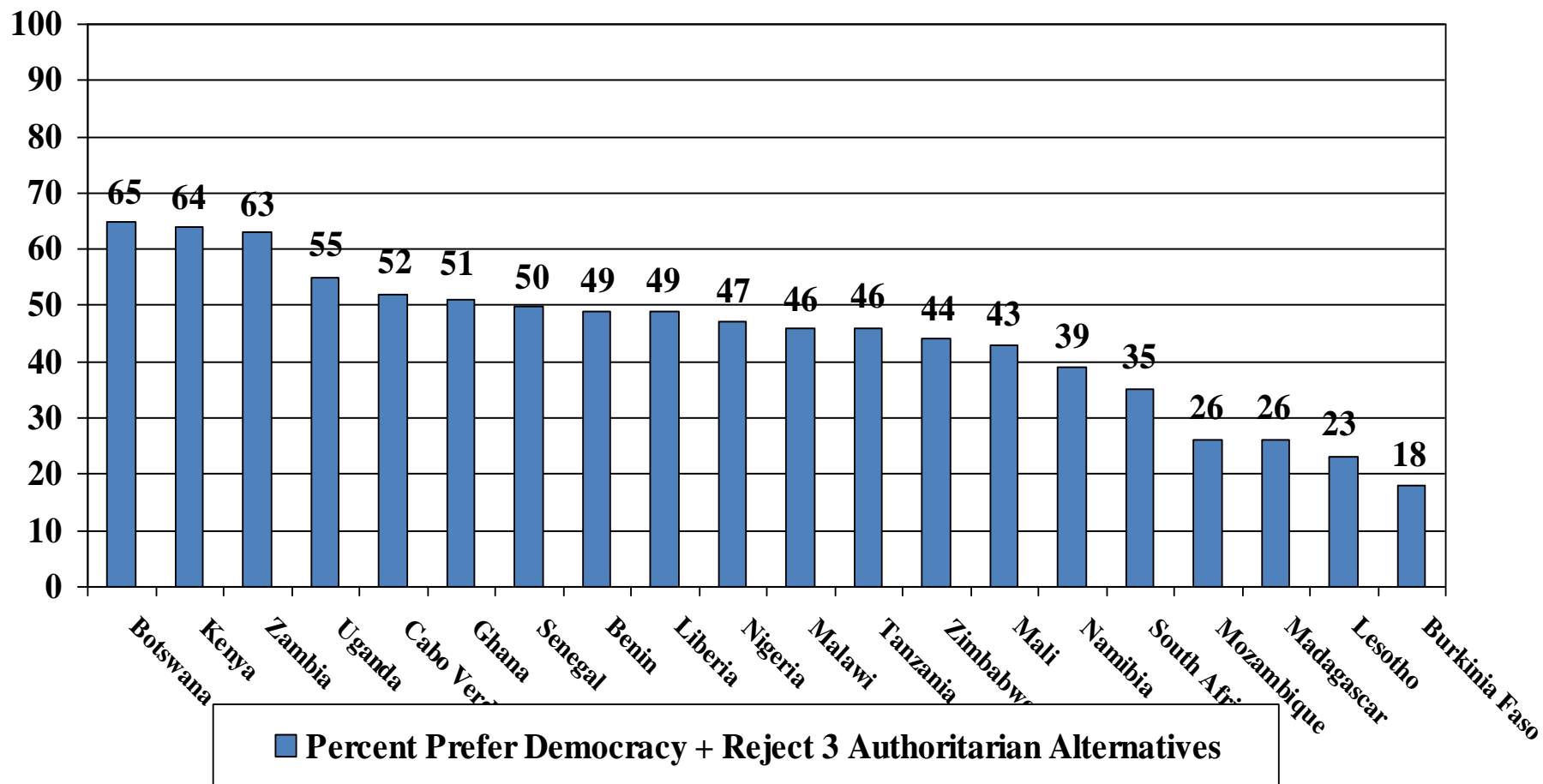
# Figure 7: Rejection of Military Rule, 2008



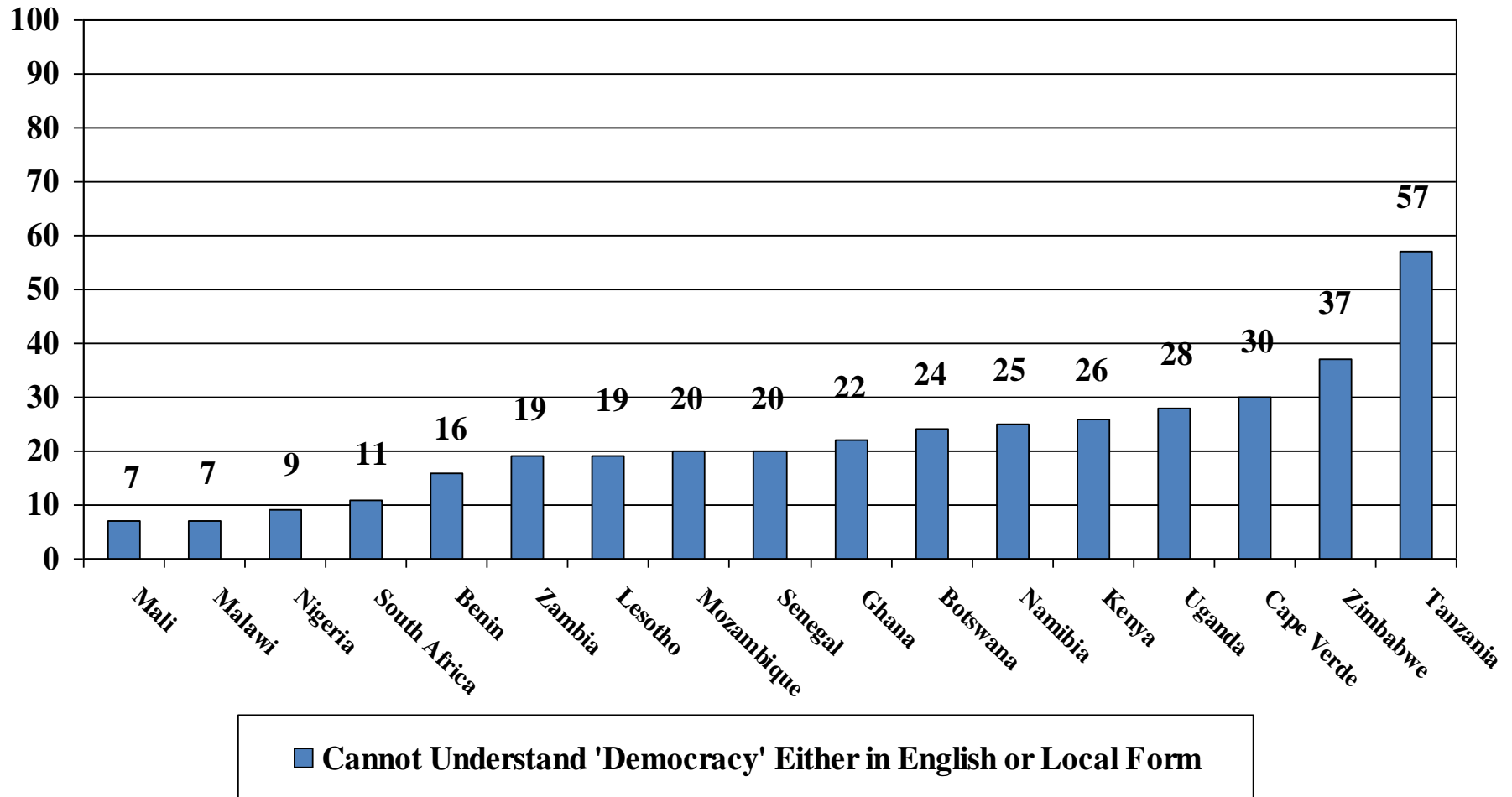
# Figure 8: Rejection of One-Party Rule, 2008



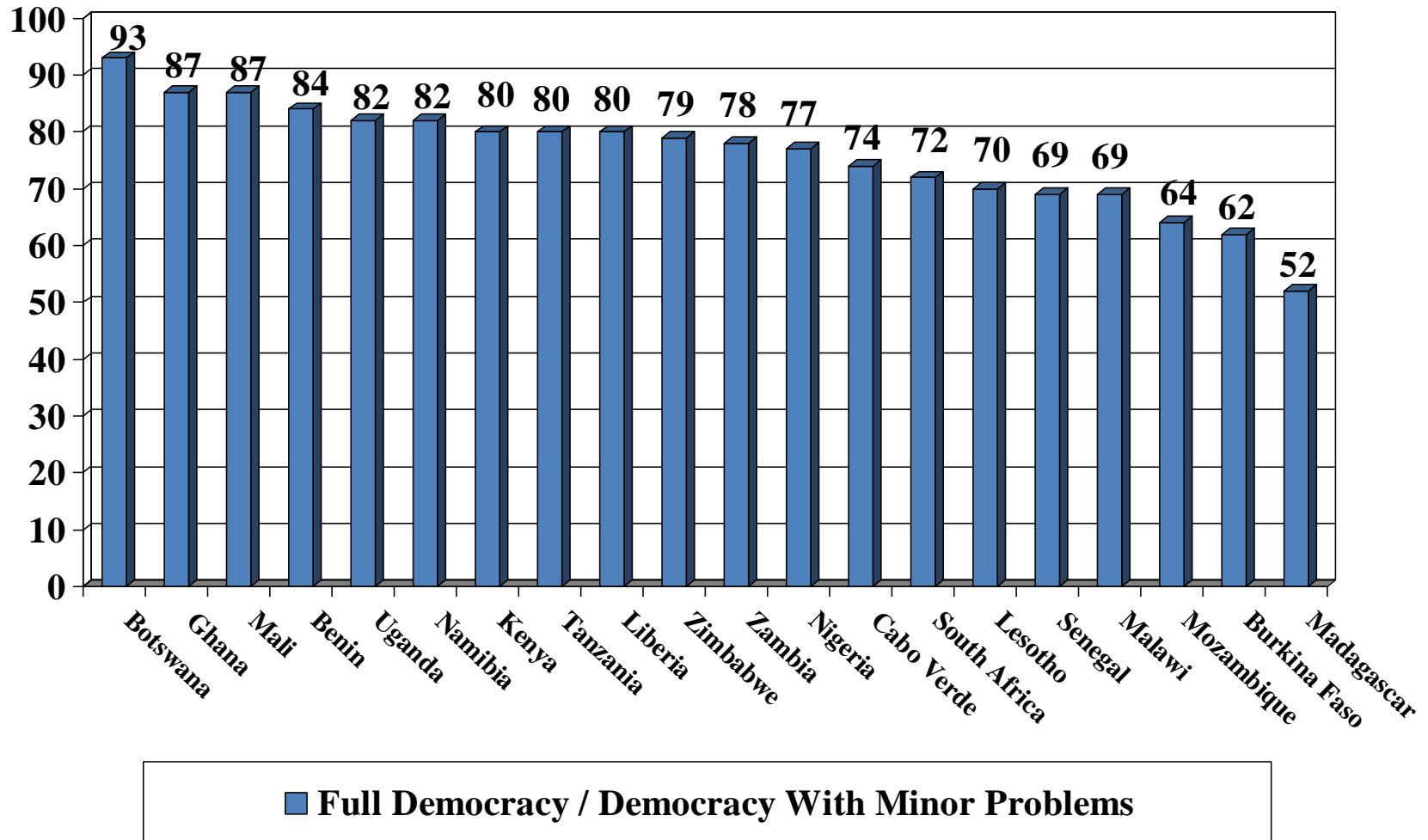
# Figure 9: Demand for Democracy, 2008



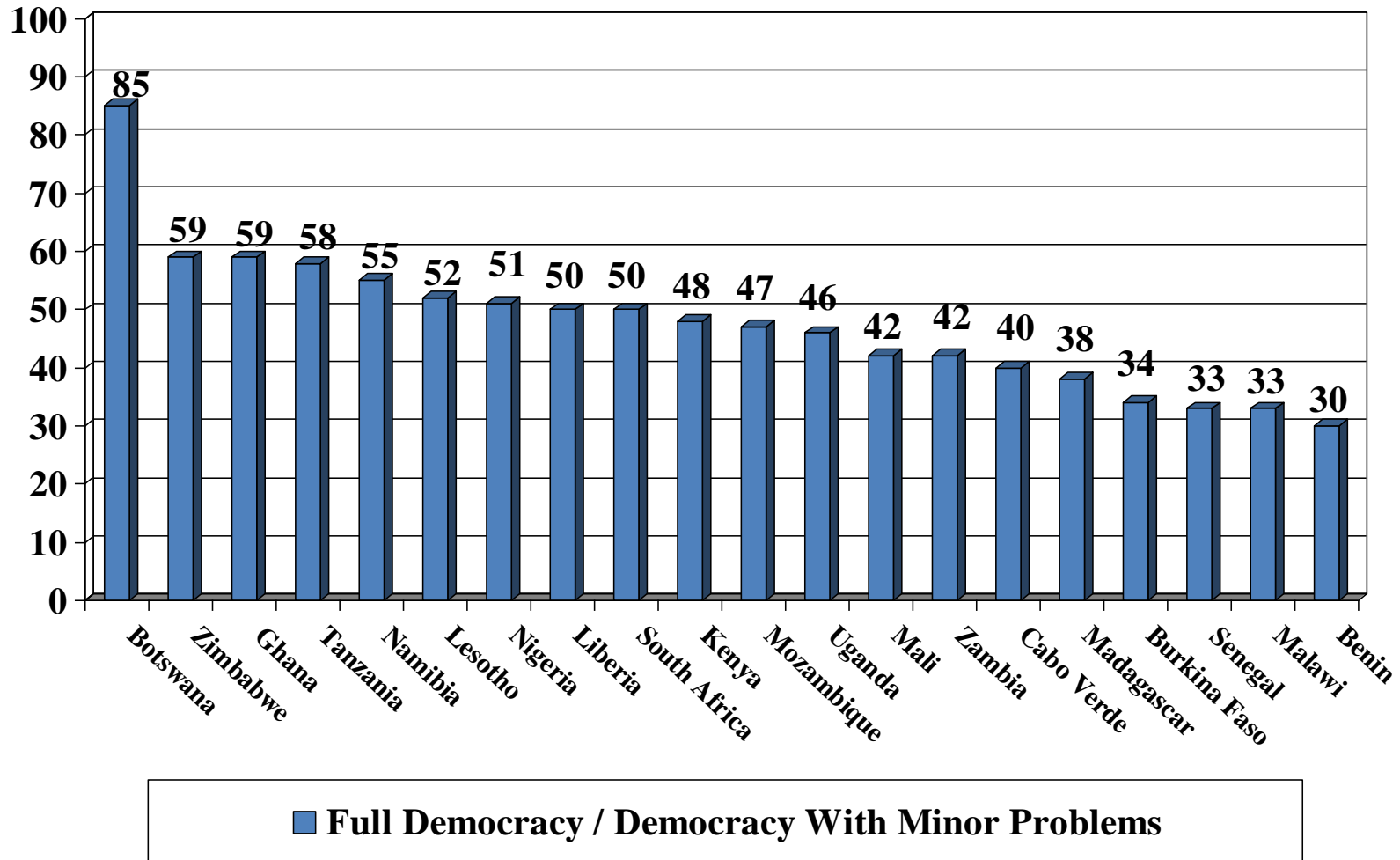
**Figure 10: Ability to Define the Word “Democracy,” 2005**



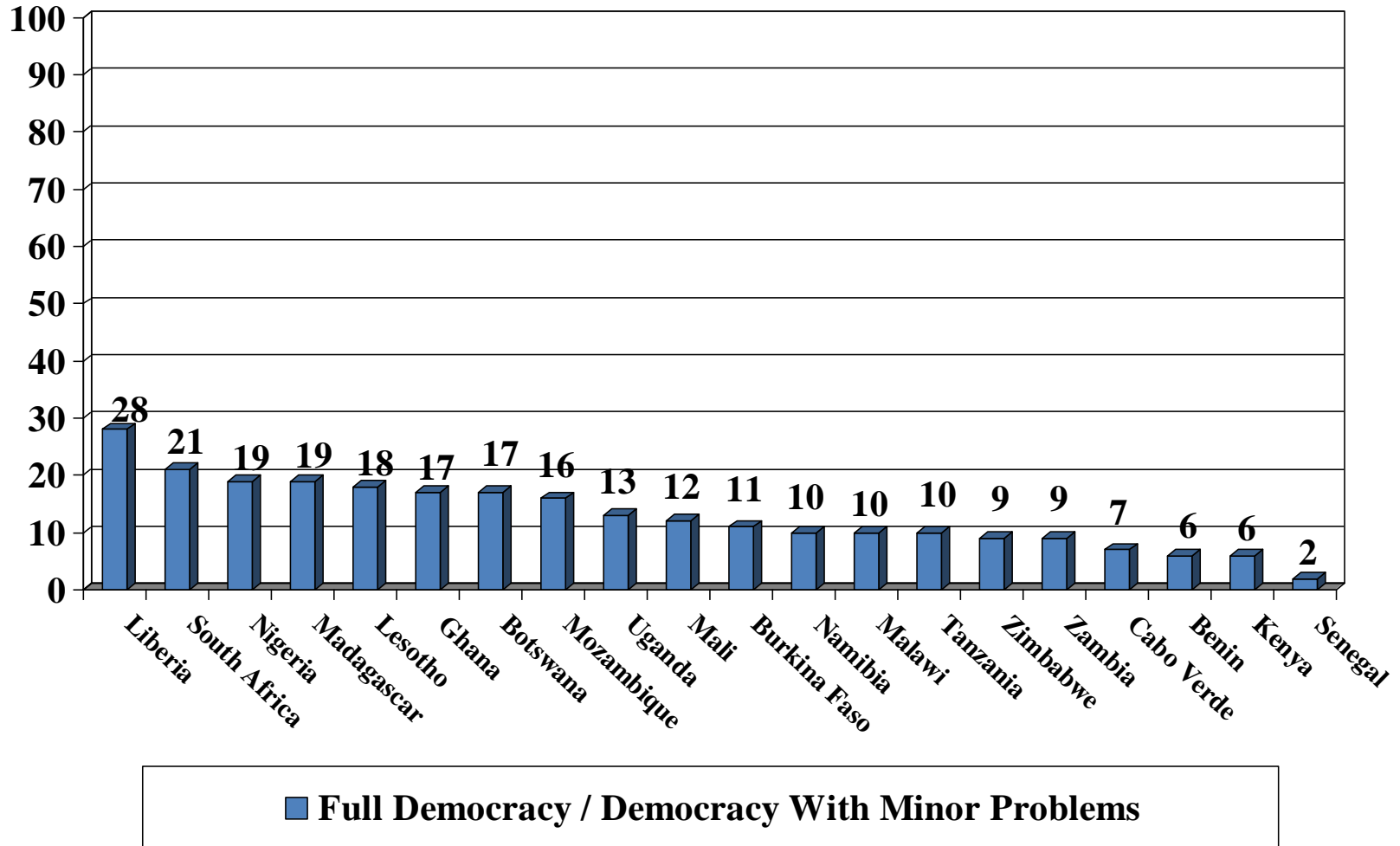
**Figure 11: A Country With Regular Multi Party Elections, Freedom To Speak and Vote, Occasional Electoral Turnover (2008)**



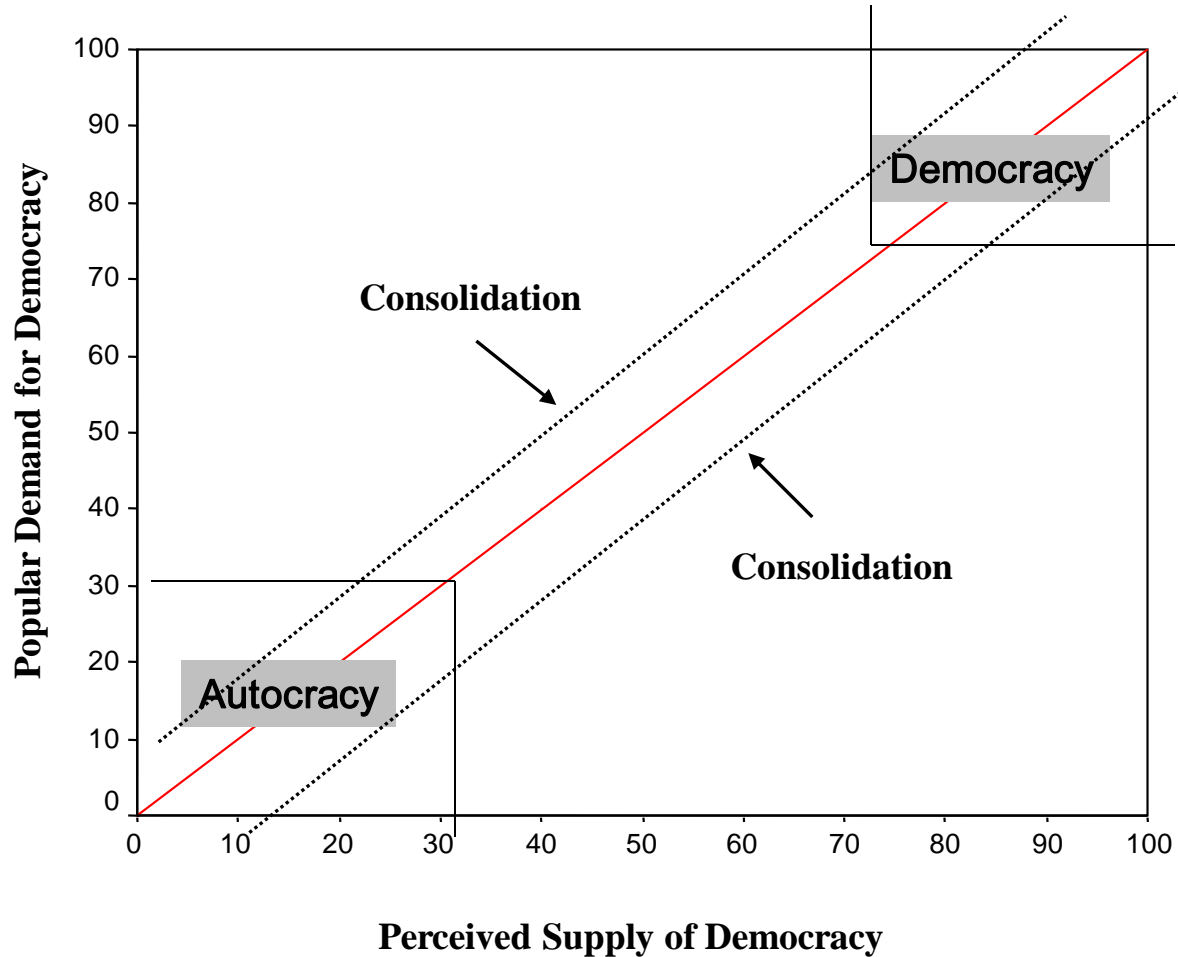
**Figure 12: A Country With Regular Elections *With Dominant Party*,  
Freedom To Speak and Vote, *No Electoral Turnover As of Yet*  
(2008)**



**Figure 13: A Country With Regular Elections With Dominant Party, People Speak and Vote For Opposition With Fear, Opposition Too Weak To Ever Win (2008)**

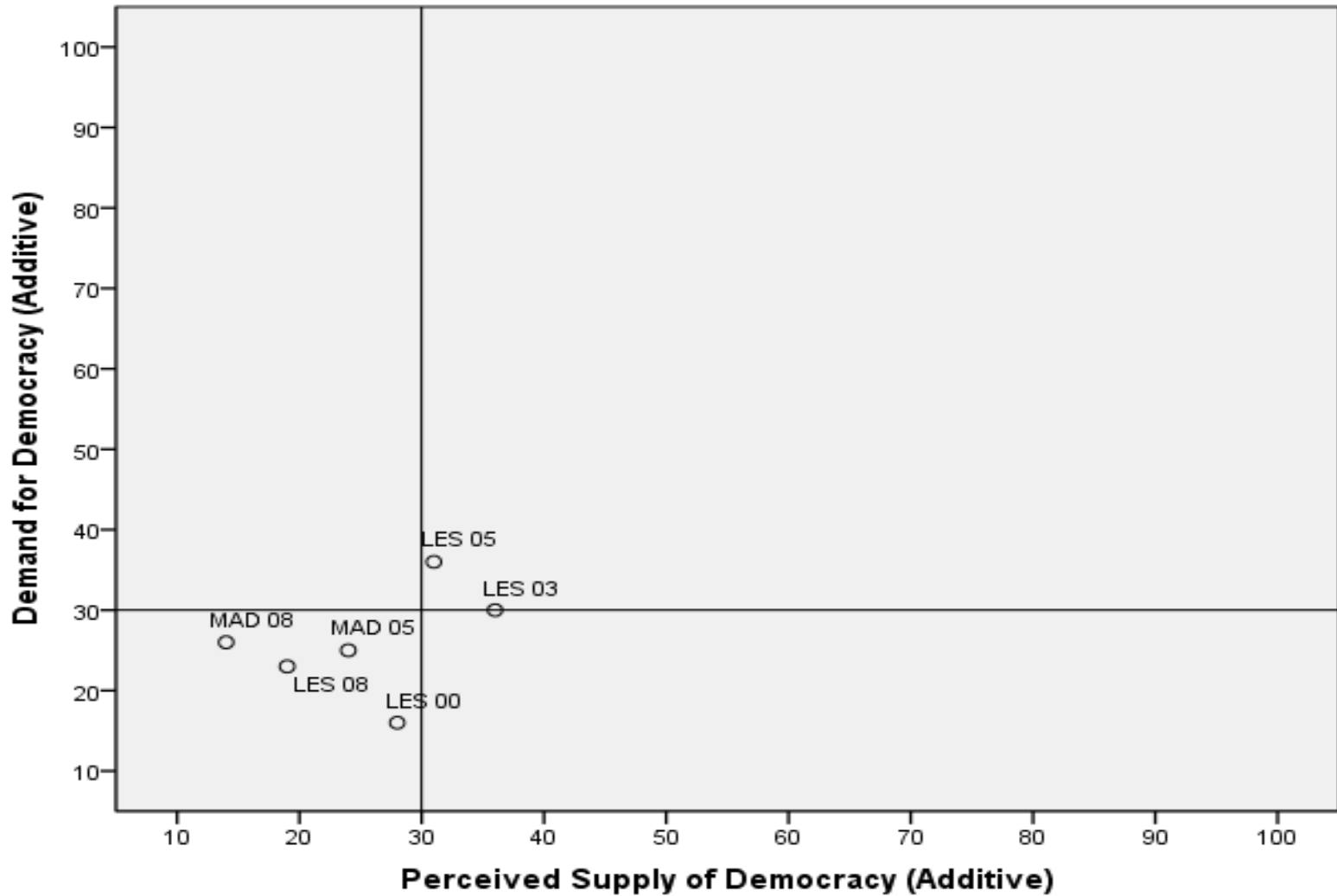


**Figure 14. Consolidation of Political Regimes**

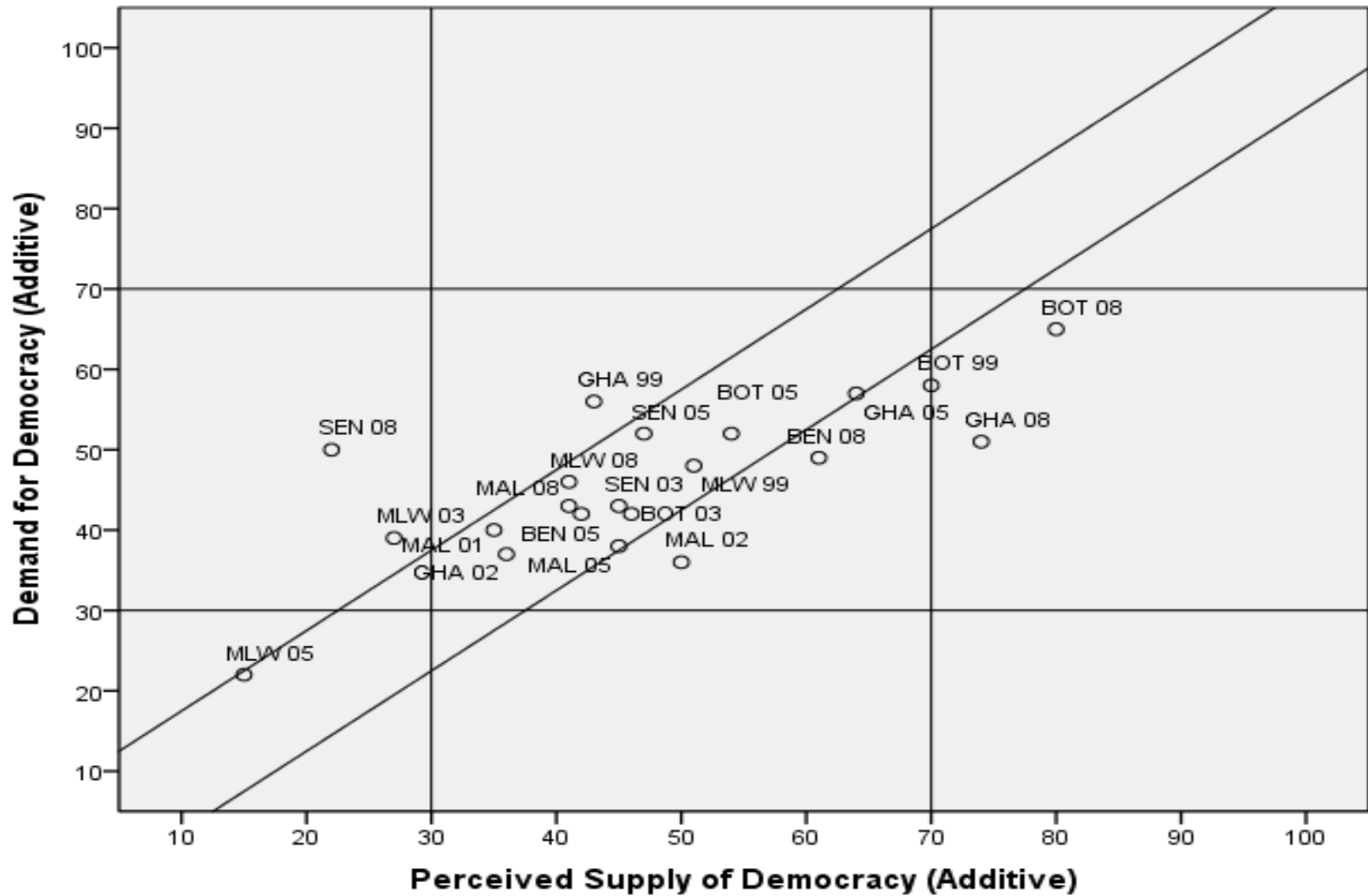


- Assumptions:
1. Intercept line (red) represents consolidated regime (equilibrium of demand and supply)
  2. Dotted lines represent margin of sampling error around survey point estimates
  3. Equilibrium at 70 percent or higher represents democracy
  4. Equilibrium at 30 percent or lower represents autocracy
  5. Points off intercept line represent unconsolidated regimes

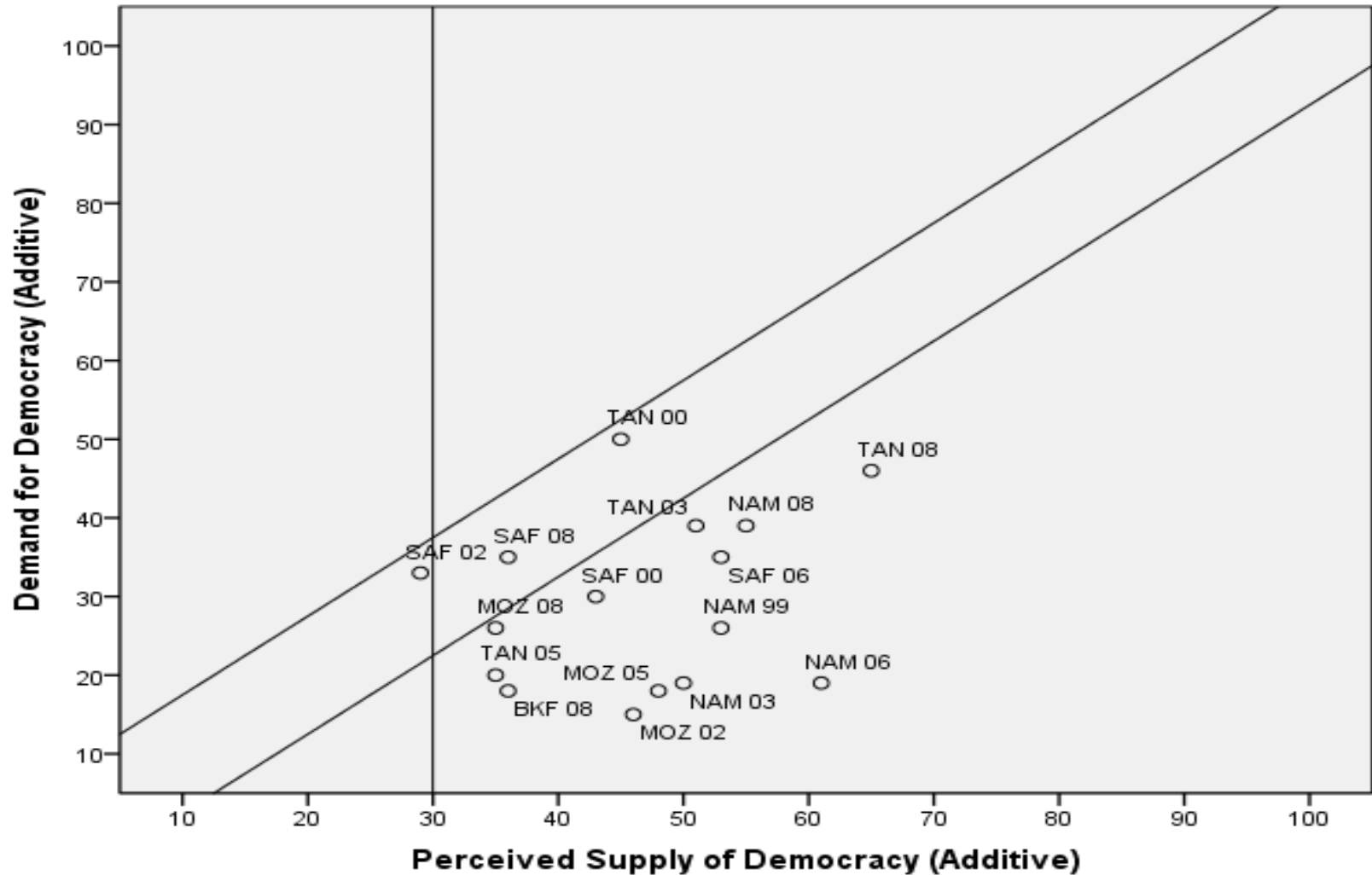
**Figure 15: Autocracies (Lesotho, Madagascar)**



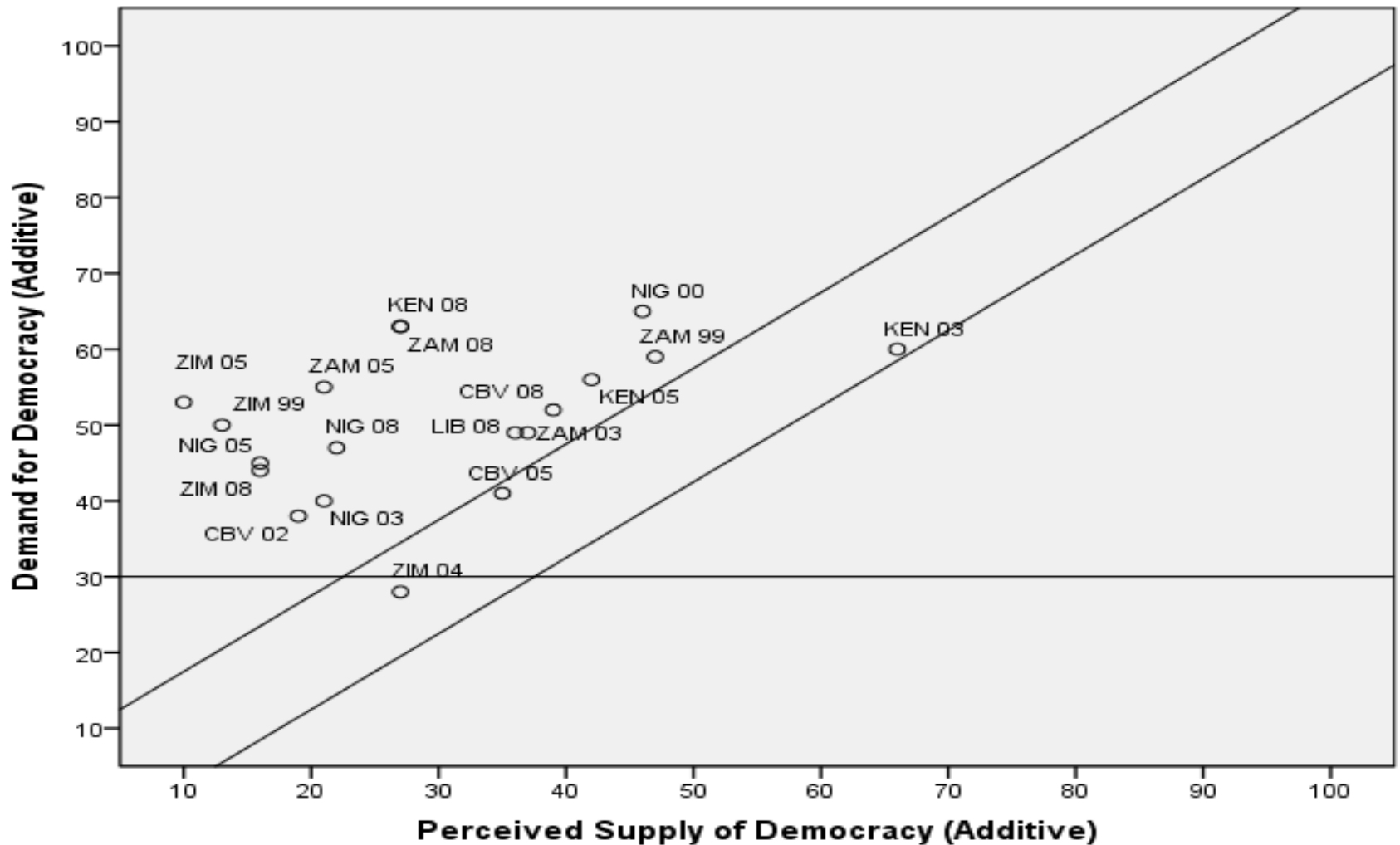
**Figure 16: Equilibrium Hybrid Regimes  
(Benin, Botswana, Ghana, Malawi, Mali, Senegal)**



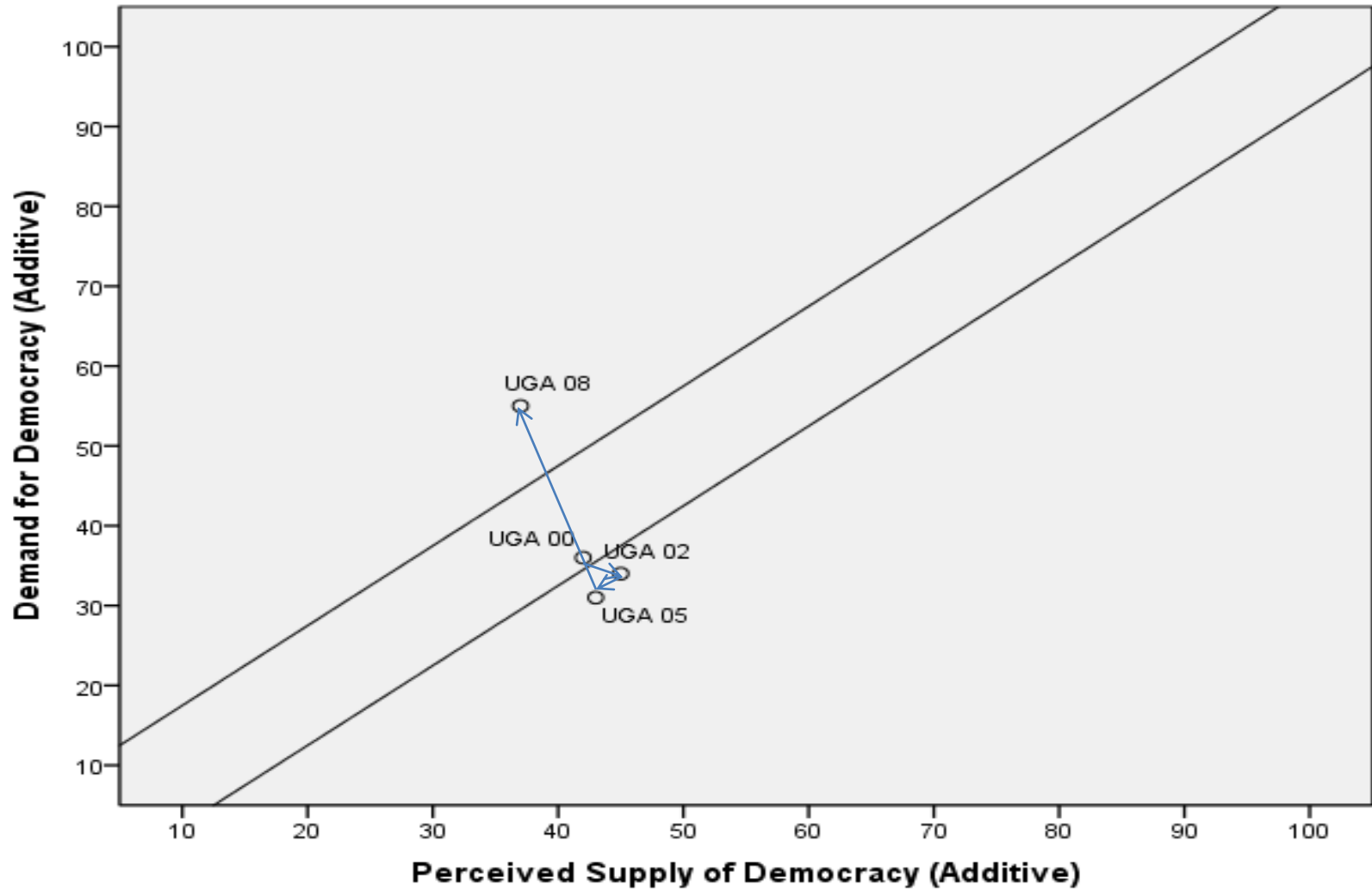
**Figure 17: Supply-Led Hybrid Regimes  
(Burkina Faso, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Tanzania)**



**Figure 18: Demand-Led Hybrid Regimes**  
**(Cabo Verde, Liberia, Kenya, Nigeria, Zambia, Zimbabwe)**



**Figure 19: Uganda**



# Key Findings

1. Structure (e.g. poverty) and culture have little influence on attitude formation
2. Popular demand for democracy depends on
  - The development of cognitive skills
  - The availability of political information
  - How people understand democracy
3. The perceived supply of democracy depends on
  - the delivery of desired goods, especially political ones
  - good governance, more so than “the politics of the belly”
4. The dominant political legacies of African countries provide the contexts within which public attitudes form and develop (history matters).

# Key Findings

5. No role for economic delivery. At least for now, no need to to “hard things” such as transform the economy, reduce poverty, rapidly accelerate delivery of services
6. Focus on the relatively “simple things” like
  - convening free and fair elections
  - upholding rights and liberties
  - Reducing corruption

# Policy Implications

- 1) Demand-Supply Gaps = *Opportunities* / Entry Points
- 2) *Programming* Implications, e.g.,:
  - i. Supply > Demand → Demand side interventions, e.g., civic education, advocacy training
  - ii. Demand > Supply → Supply side interventions, e.g., election quality, human rights, rule of law, institutional strengthening/transparency/responsiveness
- 3) Recognize *continuing fluidity* (in positive **and** negative directions) – Most countries are still in flux, consolidation is elusive
- 4) Uganda not clearly in one quadrant or other. Need to pay attention to both sides

# Policy Implications

1. Because history matters, analysts need to **know country context** intimately
2. To boost popular **demand** for democracy:
  - invest in mass cognitive skills (basic education, functional literacy)
  - promote independent sources of political information (radio, newspapers)
  - teach adults what democracy is, what public institutions do, what are citizen rights and responsibilities (civic education)
3. To increase the **supply** of democracy:
  - protect free speech, open elections (as basic needs, popular benchmarks)
  - maintain focus on effective governance (delivery of public services) support anti-corruption efforts (for both technical and popular reasons)

See

[www.afrobarometer.org](http://www.afrobarometer.org)

for more information and  
publications

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