

DIALOGUE

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Editorial

Measuring the new dimensions of development (institutions, governance, social and political participation) poses a serious challenge in terms of public statistics and policy-making. This issue of Dialogue presents the lessons drawn from household surveys on governance, democracy and poverty reduction carried out with DIAL's support in sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America, and shows that these components can be measured in a reliable way. Far from replacing them, this approach adds essential elements to the existing international databases and, for the first time, provides precious data to inform and guide public policy-making.

Many results have already been obtained. For instance, active policies helped reduce petty corruption in Madagascar after the 2002 crisis; it is also clear that international experts often overestimate the levels of corruption suffered by local populations; that even the poorest populations massively support the principles of democracy, despite the State's shortcomings; and finally, that the poorest people in Peru do not vote less than the rest of society through lack of interest but because they lack identity documents. These results were discussed during the concluding workshop of the METAGORA project (in which DIAL is a partner) held at the OECD in Paris from 28 to 30 November. In a view to widening its activities in this area, DIAL also joined the AFROBAROMETER network in 2005. In partnership with the National Institute of Statistics (INSTAT) and a private agency (COEF-Ressources), DIAL coordinated a national survey in Madagascar. The sessions organized in Antananarivo at the end of October to present the results to the authorities and to the general public were a great success and received wide media coverage.

DIAL took part in the 3rd conference organized by the Agence Française de Développement (AFD) and the European Development Network (EUDN) network on the topic "Financing Development: What are the Challenges in Expanding Aid Flows?" in the workshop on "Donor Coordination and the Uses of Aid". This question is particularly relevant as the promotion of programme aid and budgetary aid has increased the need for coordination between donors and introduced new constraints in the use of aid. DIAL researchers also took an active part in the academic conference that preceded the public conference.

Finally, DIAL is pleased to announce that its website has undergone an extensive overhaul and invites you to visit it on <http://www.dial.prd.fr>.



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**GOVERNANCE, DEMOCRACY AND POVERTY REDUCTION:
Lessons drawn from household surveys in sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America**

Following the relative failure of structural adjustment policies in the developing countries, there is a growing international consensus today about the importance of both the content of economic policies and the process by which they are implemented, particularly in the light of new international poverty reduction strategies (PRSP and HIPC initiatives; Cling, Razafindrakoto and Roubaud, 2003). New factors such as governance, ownership and participation are now becoming core elements of development programmes (World Bank, 2000).

These elements are more than just instrumental (democracy contributes to good governance, which itself promotes growth and curbs inequality). They are constituent elements of the population's well-being (UNDP, 2002). The World Development Report 2006 (World Bank, 2005) provides more arguments promoting these new dimensions, through the recognition for the first time that political processes and institutions play a fundamental role in virtuous development circles. As a consequence, empowerment becomes one of the two pillars (with the reduction of market imperfections) not only of poverty reduction strategies but also of equal opportunities policies, both at national and international level.

At the same time, the development research agenda has been extended to take into account the interactions between four major dimensions: growth, distribution (of income and assets), the quality of institutions (especially public institutions) and the type of political system or, more generally, society's system of values (Feng, 2003; Inglehart and Welzel, 2005; PNUD, 2004). Current indicators and aggregates therefore endeavour to incorporate these aspects in order to measure and evaluate development strategies.

Indicators orientated towards the definition of public policies

It was to address this major challenge shared by Metagora that two regional institutions (AFRISTAT and the Secretariat General of the Andean Community) and thirteen National

Statistics Institutes (NSIs) in Africa and Latin America decided to work in partnership with DIAL to explore the possibilities of using official household surveys as a tool for measuring and monitoring these new development aspects. Based on the experience acquired by the MADIO project in Madagascar since 1995 – a project that has tested and improved the survey system by identifying the most relevant questions – three specific modules (*Multiple Dimensions of Poverty, Governance and Democracy*) were developed and appended to the *1-2-3 Survey* on employment, the informal sector and poverty. The survey was conducted in seven WAEMU economic capitals (Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, Niger, Senegal and Togo) and in Madagascar from 2001 to 2004 (Razafindrakoto and Roubaud, 2005a). The modules were also applied in four Andean countries (Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru) from 2002 to 2005 (Herrera, Razafindrakoto and Roubaud, 2005). In Latin America, the modules were grafted onto the main household survey conducted by each NSI as part of the official statistics system. The surveys covered a representative sample of over 35,000 adults accounting for 21,000 households in the eight African cities. Over 50,000 people were interviewed in the four Latin American countries, with a national and regional level of statistical inference.

The success of the operations from both a methodological point of view (governance and democracy can be measured reliably) and analytic standpoint (the findings can be used to inform public policies) prompted an ownership process with two countries deciding to permanently incorporate this type of survey into their national statistical information system. INSTAT in Madagascar now carries out the survey annually while the INEI in Peru conducts the operation on an ongoing basis using own resources to assess the temporal dynamics (monthly, quarterly and annual) of the indicators studied. Other countries such as Benin, Côte d'Ivoire and Mali are also considering conducting the surveys on a regular basis.

As a complement to the survey tool of households in the areas of *Governance* and *Democracy*, a survey of experts was conducted in the eight African countries. A total of 300 specialists from the South and the North responded to this *Mirror Survey* (researchers, development specialists, decision-makers, high-ranking public officials, politicians, etc.). Its aim was to compare the general public's responses with those of the experts on questions common to both studies (Razafindrakoto and Roubaud, 2005b). In 2004, this work has become a component on the Metagora international project conducted by the OECD. The purpose of this project is to propose methods for measuring human rights, democracy and governance.

Promising methodology and lessons

Although still tentative, these initiatives are already producing conclusive and promising outcomes in terms of both methodological lessons and significant results. In this domain, the general lessons that can be drawn from this research program are the following:

- The approach offers all the recognised advantages of a statistical household survey: transparent measurement procedures, representativeness of collected information and quantification of phenomena, providing benefits such as the ability to compare indicators across different time periods.
- The wealth of the collected information allows for in-depth policy-oriented analyses, which would be impossible using other methods. These analyses are more useful to the development of specific policies than the aggregate indicators on governance and democracy available from international databases. There is also a broad consensus today that the two approaches are more complementary than competitive (Kaufmann, Kraay and Mastruzzi, 2005).
- While collecting both objective (behaviour and actual experiences) and subjective data (perception and satisfaction) on poverty, governance and democracy, we consider the possibility of monitoring and comparing the two basic aspects of these phenomena.
- Moreover, these two aspects can be combined with classic variables

concerning the individuals and households' socio-economic characteristics (income, occupation, gender, age, ethnic group, etc.). The findings can hence be disaggregated and specific population group characteristics and disparities highlighted, focusing in particular on the cases of the most disadvantaged and those who suffer the most from discrimination. This approach therefore allows for indicators to compare the situations (or perceptions) of men and women, poor and rich, and even different ethnic groups.

- In Peru and Ecuador, subnational representativeness means that regional indicators can be produced (spatial disaggregation). This is of particular relevance to steering existing decentralisation processes and assisting local democracy and governance.
- Furthermore, this approach to simultaneously conduct the same surveys in different countries opens up new and interesting possibilities for international comparability.

1. Measure governance and democracy in a robust and reliable way. An evaluation of the surveys conducted and related studies clearly shows that it is possible to develop indicators to evaluate how well the institutions and democracy are working, and to measure the extent of support for policies among the general public. These indicators are generally easier to collect than traditional socio-economic indicators such as monetary poverty. The non-response rate for questions on governance and democracy is generally lower than the non-response rate observed for questions on income.

A scientific comparison with other international initiatives (*Afrobarometer* and *Latinobarómetro*, *African Governance Project*) has been conducted during international seminars. It reveals a close convergence of findings in the common fields – confirming the robustness of the proposed indicators – and the areas in which the different instruments complement each other. The close involvement of National Statistics Institutes (which both reinforces their internal capacities and makes the results a public good as part of the official statistical system) in the measurement of governance and democracy, the accuracy of

the estimators and the intrinsic link with traditional economic indicators, particularly poverty, are major assets of our approach. Also, the wide diversity of political contexts, in terms of freedoms and rights, in which the surveys were conducted, shows that the approach can be implemented in a wide range of developing countries, extending well beyond the scope of just the new democracies. Furthermore, in countries that have experienced huge political upheaval (e.g. Côte d'Ivoire, Madagascar and Togo in Africa; Ecuador and Bolivia in Latin America), the survey provides a better insight into the nature of the problems, and could probably be used for the implementation of targeted preventive measures before the identified tensions degenerate into open conflict (Roubaud, 2003).

2. An approach which strengthens democracy. The process for setting up the surveys constitutes one of the tool's main advantages. The Peruvian case is an emblematic example: national ownership of the survey under the joint co-ordination of the INEI, the Ministry of Finance and the Prime Minister's Cabinet; broad-based civil society participation in the design of the questionnaire and data analysis; institutionalisation of the survey revision process over time; and possibilities for South-South co-operation for Peruvian experts to help other countries in the region. Downstream, experience has shown that there is often more demand for governance and democracy indicators than traditional socio-economic indicators – as shown by the high public and media turnout at events to announce findings in the countries under study (Madagascar, Mali, Peru, etc.). Furthermore, by providing food for thought for public debate on policies and the major development issues, this type of survey helps strengthen democracy, reveal the wishes of the public and empower 'voiceless' sectors of the population.

For the first time, a time and space monitoring of policies

On the analytical front, initial analyses of the surveys are shedding new light on phenomena which had hitherto received little (if any) attention:

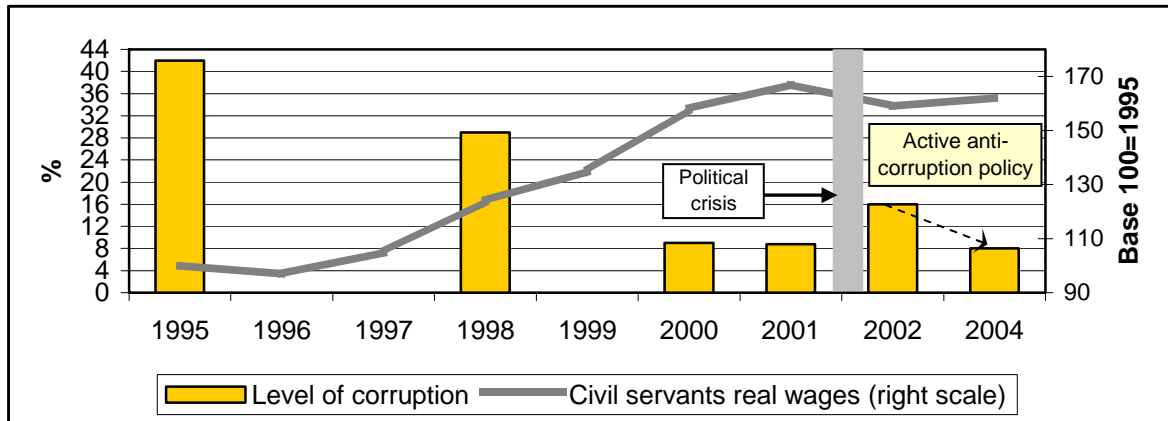
- a massive support among African citizens –

and particularly among the poorest people – for the principles of democracy, in contrast to received wisdom and despite profound gaps of varying size from one country to another in the extent to which civil and political rights are respected – such as freedom of expression, electoral transparency or equality before the law;

- the profound discredit of the political class, whose role in the crisis in Côte d'Ivoire has been particularly damaging;
- the urgent 'need for State' clearly and strongly expressed by the poorest groups on both continents;
- the widespread nature of petty corruption, although proactive policies have been effecting substantial reductions in this respect;
- the lack of reliability of surveys which poll the opinions of experts, that are most widespread reference sources of international institutions and donors (who use this information in particular to decide on allocation of development aid);
- the disillusion with decentralisation policies at the local level as the reforms are being implemented;
- the level and the dynamics of social and political participation, which is affected by the failings of the state, which especially affect the poorest.

1. A better understanding of the dynamics of corruption. We will illustrate the interest of the approach by presenting a few selected examples among numerous results. In the first place, on the corruption issue, the availability of a long series of data (covering nearly ten years) for the Madagascan capital means that the development of corruption can be tracked and a first assessment made of the impact of public policies addressing corruption. Three major facts emerge: a sharp downturn in petty corruption in the second half of the 1990s obtained in a context of rising civil servants' wages; the political crisis in Madagascar in 2002 that translated into the public institutions falling apart, had a negative impact on corruption; conversely, active anti-corruption policies has lead the incidence of petty corruption to be reduced by half.

Figure 1: Civil servants' wages and effect on corruption in Madagascar from 1995 to 2004

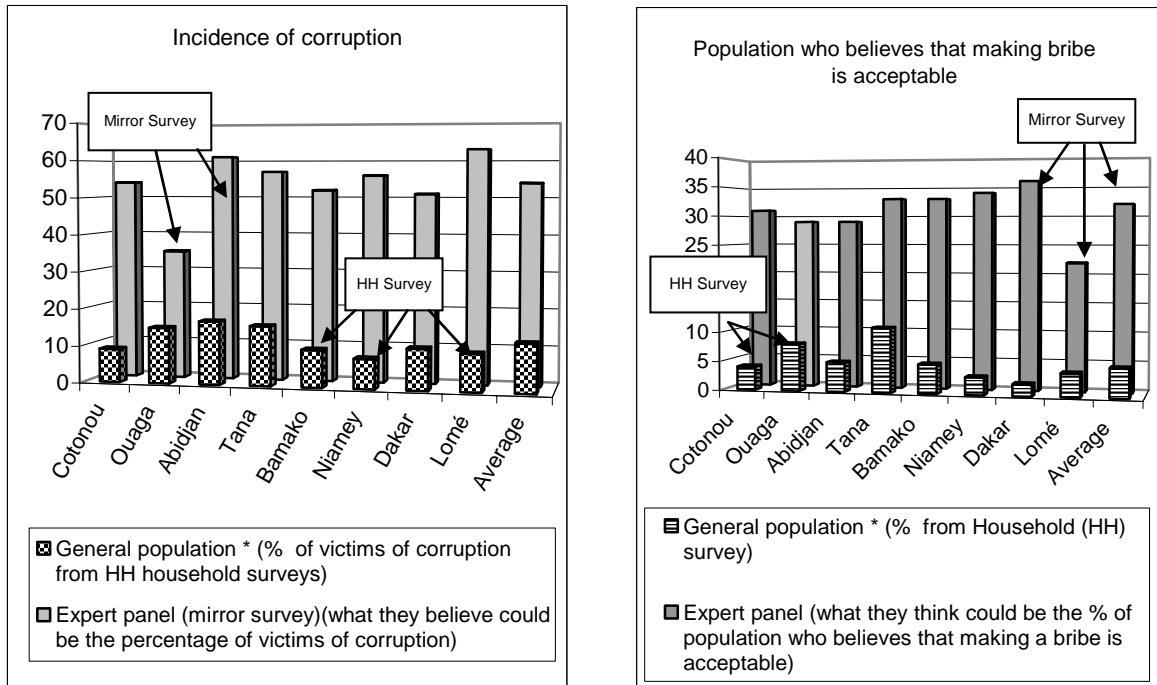


Sources: 1-2-3 Surveys, Governance module, 1995-2004, DIAL/INSTAT/MADIO.

In second place, the weakness of expert's surveys becomes evident when the results from the mirror-survey and the household surveys are confronted. Not only the experts' opinions systematically overestimate the incidence of this phenomenon but also the country ranking that comes out of their answers is unlinked to the reality. This result is all the more

worrisome that most of the international data bases on governance (Transparency International's CPIA, World Bank's KKZ indicators) are constructed from experts' opinions and these indicators play a growingly important role in the allocation of the public development aid.

Real incidence of petty corruption and the experts' perceptions in French-speaking Africa



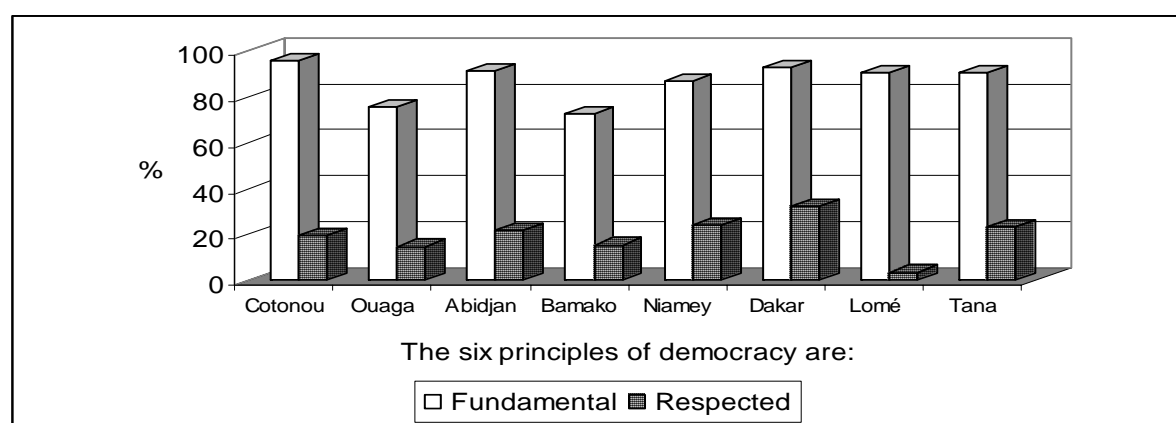
Sources: 1-2-3 Surveys, Governance module, 2001/2003, National Statistical Institutes, AFRISTAT, DIAL (35,594 persons interviewed; 4,500 on average in each country); Mirror survey (246 experts surveyed; 30 experts on average in each country), DIAL.

2. A massive adhesion to democratic values even by the poorest population...

In the political domain, the surveys highlight the massive support for democracy, even from the poorest individuals in both continents. The meaning of the term "democracy" for ordinary citizens is very close as that prevails in historical democracies, which plaid in favour

of a universalist concept of democracy in both the North and the South. Conversely, if the principles of democracy are unanimously considered as fundamental, the way in which they are implemented raises a problem. The situation varies considerably from one country to the other but everywhere free and transparent elections and overall the equality before the law are less often respected.

Respect for the basic principles of democracy by country



Sources : 1-2-3 Surveys, Democracy module, 2001/2003, National Statistical Institutes, AFRISTAT, DIAL. The 6 principles considered are: freedom of elections, freedom of speech and the press, political freedom (choice of political party), equality before the law, freedom of worship and freedom to travel.

3. ...in spite of shortcomings of the state.

Our last example focuses on the political exclusion of the most underprivileged population and reveals in a concrete way a weaker electoral participation, mostly due to central government shortcomings. Thus, the rate of non-participation decreases sharply as the income rises. It falls from 20% for the poorest quartile to less than 10% for the richest. This phenomenon is explained not by distrust or the expression of discouragement

with the political system but is mainly due to the inadequacy of the public institutions responsible for the electoral register and the national identity register. The absence of ID documents not only prevents individuals from exercising their fundamental right to vote, but it also reduces the citizens' access to economic opportunities. Without a national ID document, it is not possible to obtain a loan, conduct land transactions, travel abroad, etc.

Reasons for not voting by income quartile (Peru)

Why didn't you vote?	Quartile I	Quartile II	Quartile III	Quartile IV	Total
High transportation cost	2.1%	2.6%	3.2%	0.7%	2.3%
Was far from the polling station	9.7%	9.5%	11.1%	18.0%	11.1%
Did not have an election card	63.1%	64.6%	55.0%	35.9%	57.9%
Was not registered	11.5%	12.3%	7.4%	4.5%	9.9%
To vote is pointless	2.0%	0.6%	1.3%	3.2%	1.7%
Other	11.5%	10.5%	21.9%	37.7%	17.2%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
% of non voters	19.7	14.6	10.3	7.8	13.1

Source: ENAHO, Democracy module, 2003-2004, INEI, CAN, DIAL, METAGORA. Note: Municipal elections held in November 2002. Quartile I is the poorest, quartile IV the richest.

This pilot experiment opens up a number of important prospects. In the very short term, it builds on the existing databases by producing a certain number of results: the main findings of the surveys designed to be widely disseminated on the ground (at national level, but also at regional level when the survey so permits); in-depth academic analyses. In the medium term, the aim is to consolidate the method. On the one hand, the survey should be repeated in other geographic areas (inclusion of new countries) and especially rolled out over time. The launch of time series (already underway in Madagascar and Peru) will lay the foundations for a fully-fledged system to track governance and democracy indicators. On the other hand, in terms of policy processes, the methods for institutionalising this mechanism within the official statistical data systems should be improved. Such a programme should give rise to these types of surveys and indicators being systematically included in the national development strategy monitoring and assessment systems. More generally speaking, it will enable international recommendations to be formulated for measuring governance and democracy by means of surveys, especially as part of the National Strategies for the Development of Statistics promoted by PARIS21 and backed by the United Nations (PARIS21 Secretariat, 2004).

In addition to their specific interest for each country and the possibilities of South-South co-operation, such statistical surveys on governance and democracy finally make it reasonably feasible, for the first time, to hope that methodological transfers will not take the traditional road from North to South, but will travel from South to North.

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Working papers released in 2005

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Agence Française de Développement (AFD). Jean-Pierre Cling, discutant « World Development Report, Equity and Development ». (Paris, 13 September).

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- 3rd academic conference. Communication by Marcel Fafchamps and Flore Gubert « *The Formation of Risk Sharing Networks in Rural Philippines* ». (Paris, 12-13 December 2005).
- Conference « Financing Development: What are the Challenges in Expanding Aid Flows? ». Jean-Pierre Cling discutant for A. Bigsten « *Donor Coordination and the Uses of Aid* ». (Paris, 14 December).

Association Française de Sciences Economiques (AFSE). 54th Annual Conference. (Paris, 15-16 September). Communications by :

- Lisa Chauvet and Paul Collier « *Policy Turnarounds in Failing States* » ;
- Philippe De Vreyer and Gilles Spielvogel « *Spatial externalities between Brazilian municipios and their neighbours* ».

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- Agnès Adjamagbo, Philippe Antoine, Donatien Béguy and Fatou Binetou Dial « *Interactions entre événements familiaux et parcours professionnel des femmes à Dakar et à Lomé* » ;
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Campus ATD-Quart Monde. (Paris, 5-10 September). Communications by Sandrine Mesplé-Somps « *Le débat actuel sur les facteurs de développement en Afrique* » and « *Programme de lutte contre la pauvreté et stratégie de croissance au Sénégal ; les deux politiques se complètent-elles ?* ».

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Ecole Normale Supérieure (ENS). Paris Jourdan Lunch seminar. (Paris, 18 October). Communications by :

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- Anne Olivier « *Evaluation de l'impact sur les ménages de la hausse du tarif de l'eau à Manaus (Brésil)* ».

European Economic Association (EEA). XXth Congress. Communication by Denis Cogneau and Michael Grimm « *The measurement of income distribution when demographics are correlated with income* ». (Amsterdam, Pays-Bas, 24-27 August).

European Regional Science Association. 45th Congress. Communication by Philippe De Vreyer and Gilles Spielvogel « *Spatial externalities between Brazilian municipios and their neighbours* ». (Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam, Nederland, 23-27 August).

International Sociological Association. International Conference Cities As Social Fabric: Fragmentation And Integration. Communication by Jean-Michel Wachsberger « *Le quartier à Antananarivo : enfermement ou support ?* ». (Paris, 30 June – 2 July).

International Union for the Scientific Study in Population (UIESP). XXVth International Congress of Population. (Tours, 18-23 July). Communications by :

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Recherches féministes dans la francophonie plurielle. 4th congress. Communication by Fatou Binetou Dial « *Le divorce dans les différentes catégories sociales à Dakar* ». (Ottawa, Canada, 5-10 July).

Réseau Afrobaromètre, COEF-Ressources, DIAL. Dissemination meetings on Afrobarometer 2005 enquiry's results at Madagascar. « Points de vue de la population sur la situation économique, la gouvernance et la démocratie » (Antananarivo, Madagascar, 25-27 October). Communications by Mireille Razafindrakoto, Laetitia Razafimamonjy, Désiré Razafindrakoto, François Roubaud and Léonard Wantchekon : « *Perception de la population de la situation économique et des performances du gouvernement* » ; « *Gouvernance et corruption : perceptions et réalités* » ; « *Démocratie : Adhésion et fonctionnement* » ; « *Accès aux services publics et conditions économiques* ».

Society for the Study of Economic Inequality (ECINEQ). First Meeting. (Palma de Majorque, Baléares, 20-22 July). Communications by :

- Denis Cogneau and Jérémie Gignoux « *Earnings inequalities and educational mobility in Brazil over two decades* » ;
- Charlotte Guénard and Sandrine Mesplé-Somps « *Measuring inequalities: do the surveys give the real picture? Study of two surveys in Côte d'Ivoire and Madagascar* » ;
- Javier Herrera, Mireille Razafindrakoto and François Roubaud « *Pauvreté subjective et objective en Afrique et en Amérique Latine : Une approche comparative* » ;
- Christophe Nordman and François Roubaud « *Reassessing the Gender Wage Gap: Does Labour Force Attachment Really Matter? Evidence from Matched Labour Force and Biographical Surveys in Madagascar* ».

UNESCO and Human Development and Capability Association (HDCA). 5th international conference on the Capability Approach. Knowledge and Public Action : Education, Responsibility, Collective Action, Equity. Communication by Denis Cogneau « *About international distributive justice in a world of nations* ». (Paris, 11-14 September).

University of Alicante. VI Jornadas de Economía Laboral. Communication by Christophe Muller and Christophe Nordman « *Which Human Capital Matters for Rich and Poor's Wages? Evidence from Matched Worker-Firm Data from Tunisia* ». (Alicante, Espagne, 11-13 July).

University of Göttingen. Symposium on Poverty, Inequality and Policy in Latin America. Ibero-America Institute for Economic Research. (Göttingen, Allemagne, 14-16 July). Communications by :

- Denis Cogneau and Jérémie Gignoux « *Earnings inequalities and educational mobility in Brazil over two decades* » ;
- Philippe De Vreyer and Gilles Spielvogel « *Spatial externalities between Brazilian municipios and their neighbours* » ;
- Philippe De Vreyer, Javier Herrera, Sandrine Mesplé-Somps « *Consumption growth and spatial poverty traps: an analysis of the effect of social services and community infrastructures on living standards in rural Peru* » ;
- Javier Herrera, Mireille Razafindrakoto and François Roubaud « *Pauvreté subjective et objective en Afrique et en Amérique Latine : Une approche comparative* » ;
- Phillippe Leite « *Race Discrimination or Inequality of Opportunities: The Brazilian Case* ».

University of Oxford. Seminar on Labour Economics. Department of Economics. Communication by Rosa Fernandez and Christophe Nordman « *Are there Pecuniary Compensations for Working Conditions in the UK?* ». (Oxford, Great Britain, 10 November).

University of Tartu. International Conférence on Educational Economics. Communication by Christophe Muller and Christophe Nordman « *Which Human Capital Matters for Rich and Poor's Wages? Evidence from Matched Worker-Firm Data from Tunisia* ». (Tartu, Estonia, 26-28 August).

Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung. Conference on « Governance in Räumen begrenzter Staatlichkeit ». Communication by Lisa Chauvet and Paul Collier « *Alternatives to Godot: Turnarounds in Failing States* ». (Berlin, Germany, 22-23 September).