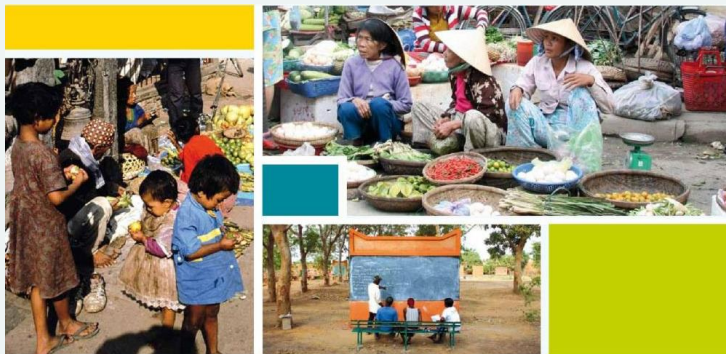


nopoor final conference

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Elites, democracy and governance: the nexus between the ordinary citizen and the public authorities in Madagascar



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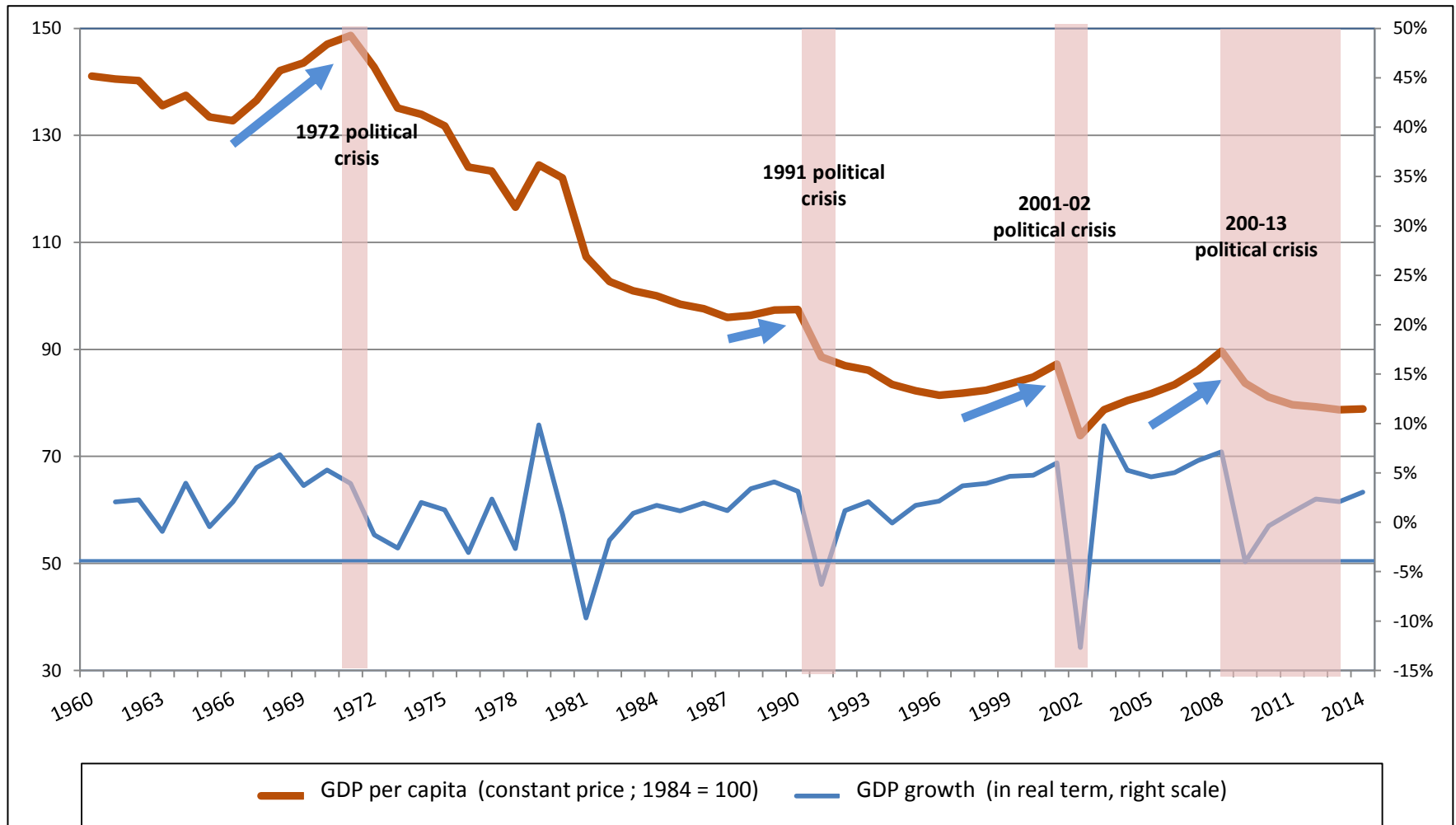


nopoor
Enhancing Knowledge for
Renewed Policies against Poverty



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Madagascar's long-term economic trajectory: a true puzzle



- → **an enigma**: a downward trend since independence
- → **a paradox**: each time it showed the first signs of an economic take-off, this was reversed a few years later by a major political crisis.

Motivation: How to explain Madagascar's economic underperformance?

Some structural constraints : social fragmentation, atomised population & the atrophy of intermediary bodies → a high concentration of power in the hands of a few elites

→ **The key role of elites?**

Methodology for an empirical analysis

A unique statistical survey on the elites in Madagascar (ELIMAD) in 2012-2014

Survey sample : **1,000 elite members** : people who hold or have held “important” positions and/or have a level of responsibility in different spheres of power:

- 1- Government (minister, principal private secretary or permanent secretary)
- 2- Elected office (National Assembly, Senate, city hall, etc.)
- 3- Political party
- 4- Public institution (administration; non-political position)
- 5- The army (paramilitary police, police, army, etc.)
- 6- Enterprises (public or private)
- 7- Civil society
- 8- Religious institution
- 9- International organisation

+ **Mirror survey** connected with ELIMAD in 2013 on a sample of 1,200 ordinary citizen → Comparison of their opinions and values.

Who are the elite groups in Madagascar?

The elites' main sociodemographic characteristics

In %	Age & gender & education				
	Under 45 years	46 to 60 years	Over 60 years	Women	Higher education
Elites	28.1	51.5	20.4	20.5	96.7
Population	63.8	24.2	12.0	49.7	3.0

	Status group			
	Andriana & assimilated	Hova	Others	Total
Elites	51.5 %	12.3	36.2	100
Population	1.5 %	2.6	95.9	100

	Ethnic group			
	Merina	Betsileo	Others	Total
Elites	63.9	10.7	25.4	100
Population	32.4	19.0	58.6	100

a mature, graduate, male population

- Average age: 52 years. Just 20% are women and 96% have graduated from higher education.
- Predominance (64%) of the *Merina* ethnic group (from the region around the capital)
- 52% of the elite population are **descendants of Andriana** (nobility in the days of the kingdom).

Who are the elite groups in Madagascar?

- 52% of the elite population are **descendants of *Andriana*** (nobility in the days of the kingdom).

More than a century after the abolition of the principle of status groups,

- For nearly 30% of the elites members: status groups still important to them personally
 - For nearly 50% : they were still important to society
- Descendants of the *Andriana* most frequently say that this system with the status group is important to them (39%) and to society (59%).
- the symbolic ranking system still prevails, at least to the elites' minds

Elite opinions of the importance of the status groups

Status groups are important	Status group of origin			Gender		Age	Total
	Andriana	Hova	Others	Men	Women	<45	
To you	39.4	19.5	18.0	27.6	35.6	24.9	29.2
To society	58.6	46.3	38.1	47.4	58.5	48.0	49.7

Strategies to access the spheres of power and remain in power

Elite social reproduction: a growing phenomenon?

The family-based elite social reproduction mechanism is well established.

Nearly half (46%) of the elites have at least one parent who is (or was) a member of the elites.

→ This phenomenon is more marked among the younger generations.

- either individuals with non-elite ascendants take more time to attain positions of responsibility
- Or this reproduction phenomenon is growing over time

%	At least one parent a member of the elites	Both parents members of the elites
Under 35 years	63.3	27.9
36-45 years	59.8	18.1
46-55 years	44.4	5.4
56-65 years	35.9	4.2
Over 65 years	38.7	2.8
Total	46.1	9.1

Strategies to access the spheres of power and remain in power

“Straddling” positions of power → to expand and diversify the spheres of influence?

The elites’ trajectory to analyse the extent to which they simultaneously hold positions of responsibility in the different spheres of power.

Concurrent positions over time	
Involved in present in:	%
At least 2 spheres	48.7
At least 3 spheres	19.9
At least 4 spheres	6.8
One sphere only	44.4
No spheres	6.9

Concurrent positions over time/career	
Involved in past or present in	%
At least 2 spheres	84.4
At least 3 spheres	64.5
At least 4 spheres	40.7
At least 5 spheres	21.7
At least 6 spheres	10.7

Strategies to access the spheres of power and remain in power

Elite network structure and size

The elites have at least one elite contact (*a person in a position of responsibility whom they can call directly*)

→ 82% have a contact who has (or has had) responsibilities in a public institution.

→ 85% have acquaintances who hold or have held a government position

Importance of elite network by level of power

Level of power	Average number of connections in the elite network				
	Nb connections	Nb close and very close	Nb spheres	Nb connections with at least weekly contact	Nb connections who have helped at least once
Level 1 (top)	15.8	13.8	6.2	3.1	12.5
Level 2	13.6	12.1	5.6	2.1	10.9
Level 3	10.9	9.5	5.2	1.3	8.3
Level 4 (bottom)	7.3	6.4	4.3	1.1	5.7
Total	15.0	13.1	6.0	2.7	11.9

Social capital → open the door to the highest ranking positions of power?

The higher an individual on the ladder of power, the richer his or her network

→ Two-way causality? The network is both a source and a result in the process of getting on, staying on and climbing the power ladder

The elites' stated values and representations

→ Elite : mixed attitude to democratic principles

Elite opinions of democratic principles

% of those who feel that:	Political sphere	Economic sphere	Public institutions	Others	Total Elites	Ordinary citizen
Democracy is preferable to any other form of government	64.7	45.8	52.7	55.2	54.9	41.4
A non-democratic system may be preferable in certain circumstances	28.7	45.3	37.2	34.3	36.2	9.3
Type of government does not matter	5.1	5.9	6.5	8.5	6.4	26.2

→ For 26% of the ordinary citizen, the type of government does not matter (expect nothing (any longer) from government

→ 82% of those who believe the form of government to be important look to democracy

→ which is the case with just 60% of the elites.

→ a higher proportion of the elites ready to accept a non-democratic regime.

The elites' stated values and representations

Elite opinions of the main obstacles to development

The following situations form obstacles to development (%)	Political sphere	Economic sphere	Public institutions	Others	Total Elites	Ordinary citizen
Poor leadership	98.5	98.7	98.5	99.0	98.7	82.8
People's attitudes	81.8	87.9	86.6	86.7	85.6	64.2
Weight of the past (colonisation)	65.1	61.9	64.3	71.8	65.5	26.1
Foreign interventions	67.4	59.7	63.6	64.5	63.9	32.2
Poor natural resources	28.8	27.7	27.4	24.9	27.3	45.5

→ “poor leadership”: the main obstacle to Madagascar’s long-run development

- Are the elites really taking the blame for playing a negative role ?
- implicit idea that “poor leaders” are always the others?

→ But for the elites, obstacles : “people’s attitudes”, colonisation, donors, foreign firms
a good way to play down their responsibilities

The elites' stated values and representations

Main priority for Madagascar as seen by elites and the rest of the population

%	Political sphere	Economic sphere	Public institutions	Others	Total Elites	Ordinary citizen
Maintaining order	37.7	38.9	43.9	25.6	37.3	27.9
Improving conditions for the poor	25.7	32.6	23.6	33.5	28.4	51.9
Protecting rights and freedom of speech	18.1	15.5	11.8	19.2	15.9	10.0
Giving people more say in decisions	13.4	7.5	13.2	15.8	12.4	7.4
Others	5.1	5.4	8.1	5.9	6.0	3.9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

- “improving living conditions for the poor” is by far the top priority for the ordinary citizen
 - For the elites, “maintaining order” is the first priority
- Only 28% place poverty reduction at the top of the country’s political agenda.

Policy implications

The elites in M/car form a group largely disconnected from the majority of the population. With a strategy to access the highest hierarchical positions.

- the majority of the elites are from the old aristocracy – social reproduction mechanism
- the elites' straddling of the different spheres of power.
- The use of social capital made up of a rich network

➤ Discrepancy between the elite class's positions and the wishes of the vast majority of the people is indicative of the divisions between these two groups.

Maintaining order counts the most for the elites → social order?

➤ By maintaining the social order unchanged, the elites have basically protected their status

➔ need to foster the creation of intermediary bodies which would give more voice to citizens

➔ Create/institutionalize space for dialogue to narrow the divide elites/population

➔ Results from scientific research can fuel the democratic debate in this space

