Public Opinion, Democracy, and Market Reform in Africa

MICHAEL BRATTON Michigan State University

ROBERT MATTES University of Cape Town

E. GYIMAH-BOADI University of Ghana



ر

Contents

List of Tables and Figures	page xii
Acknowledgments	xv
Introduction	I
A Tale of Two Presidents	I
Taking Account of Adjustment	3
Setting an Agenda	5
Overview of Contents	9
PART I: FRAMEWORK	
1 Africa's Hybrid Regimes	13
A Decade of Political Reforms, 1990–2001	15
Two Decades of Economic Reform, 1982–2001	19
Dual Transitions: Compatibilities and Contradictions	23
Demand, Supply, and Regime Consolidation	26
Deriving Public Opinion	31
2 Studying Public Opinion in Africa	34
Competing Theories, Rival Hypotheses	35
Toward a Learning Approach	• 44
Survey Research in Africa	50
The Afrobarometer	53
An Appropriate Method?	55
A Quest for Comparison	59
PART II: POPULAR ATTITUDES TO REFORM	
3 Attitudes to Democracy	65
Understandings of Democracy	65
Support for Democracy	72
Rejection of Alternative Regimes	76

Contents

	Satisfaction with Democracy Wide But Shallow	81 84
	The Extent of Democracy	94
4	Attitudes to a Market Economy	97
	The Popular Development Agenda	98
	Between State and Market	104
	Awareness of Economic Reforms	112
	Support for Economic Reforms	117
	Satisfaction with Economic Reforms	122
	Economic Patience?	126
5	Economic and Political Behavior	130
	Living Standards	131
	Securing Economic Livelihoods	135
	Compliance with the Law	141
	Varieties of Political Participation	143
	Defending Democracy?	155
	From Attitudes to Behavior	157
PAF	RT III: COMPETING EXPLANATIONS	
6	The Structure of Society	163
	Demographic Determinants	164
	Varieties of Subnationalism	169
	The Burden of Poverty	176
	Structural Models	181
7	Cultural Values	185
	Self-Defined Identities	186
	Interpersonal Trust	193
	An Emergent Individualism	197
	Cultural Models	200
8	Awareness of Public Affairs	203
	The Spark of Education	204
	Exposure to Mass Media	208
	Cognitive Engagement	211
	Political and Economic Knowledge	213
	The Eye of the Beholde r	216
	Cognitive Models	219
9	Performance Evaluations	222
	Evaluating the Economy	223
	The Corruption of the State?	228
	Assessing Regime Performance	235
	Grading the Government	238
	A Representation Gap?	241
	Performance Models	246

Contents

10	Institutional Influences	2.50
	Associational Life	251
	Party Identification	256
	Political Participation	261
	Economic Participation	265
	Institutional Models	266
PAI	RT IV: EXPLAINING REFORM CONSTITUENCIES	• .•
11	Modeling Attitudes to Reform	271
	Modeling Demand for Democracy	272
	Modeling the Supply of Democracy	277
	Modeling Demand for a Market Economy	2.82
	Modeling the Supply of Economic Reform	286
	Paths to Reform: A Learning Process	289
12	Predicting Political Participation	295
	Voting	296
	Protesting	300
	Communing and Contacting	301
	Vote Choice	304
	Defending Democracy	308
	Political Participation: Cause or Effect?	309
13	Deciphering Regime Consolidation	315
-	The Effects of "Country"	316
	Demand, Supply, and Regime Consolidation (Revisited)	320
	The Consolidation of African Political Regimes	324
	The Correlates of Consolidation	327
	Economic versus Political Legacies	333
	Paths of Political Change	337
	Conclusions	343
	The Study of Africa	344
	Theories of Social Change	347
	Strategies of Development	351
Ap	pendices	
	A. Items, Constructs, and Indices	355
	B. Sampling Method	392
	C. Imputation of Data	397
No	tes	401
Ina	lex	457

.

xi