



The Program on Governance
and Local Development

The Local Governance Performance Index (LGPI) in Malawi: Selected Findings on Livelihood

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Executive Summary

Malawi is one of the poorest countries in the world, with a gross national income per capita of just 747 U.S. dollars.¹ Nearly 51 percent of the population resides below the national poverty line.² Many of the country's citizens—given their reliance on subsistence agriculture, exposure to frequent climate shocks, and lack of a robust social safety net—are trapped in a cycle of poverty. This report draws on data from the Local Government Performance Index (LGPI)—a heavily clustered, multidimensional, experience-based survey implemented in Malawi from March 24 to April 27, 2016—to highlight the challenges Malawians face on a daily basis, as well as the coping mechanisms people have developed to deal with those challenges.

Living Conditions

While a majority of Malawian citizens regularly experience hardship, the LGPI shows that Malawians' living conditions vary significantly depending on where they live, with differences between rural and urban areas being particularly pronounced. For instance, the LGPI shows that overall, 18 percent of Malawians have electricity (grid or solar) in their homes. Only 6 percent of rural residents have electricity. Furthermore, 11 percent of Malawians have water piped into their homes; the proportion of rural residents with piped water is just 2 percent. Finally, the LGPI also shows that over half of all Malawians (52 percent) reported not having enough food in the week preceding the survey, while 17 percent did not have enough drinking water. There is significant regional variation on these indicators, though it is interesting to note that they do not always mirror each other (places with a high degree of food shortage don't necessarily have water shortages, and vice versa).

Safety and Security

The LGPI also indicates that a sizable number of Malawians fear for their personal safety. While 13 percent of Malawians say they feel “somewhat” or “very” unsafe walking in their neighborhoods during the day, 45 percent feel unsafe in neighborhoods at night. In addition, 18 percent of Malawians have been crime victims in the past year, with theft and burglary being the

¹ 2011 U.S. dollars, adjusted for purchasing power parity.

² Poverty headcount ratio as of 2010 according to World Bank World Development Indicators. Available at <http://data.worldbank.org/country/malawi>.

most commonly reported crimes. Notably, Malawians are equally likely to be crime victims in rural and urban areas and across levels of asset ownership. This is true for crime in general, as well as for specific types of crime (for example, property crime is no more likely in urban than in rural areas).

A Communal Society, with Some Divisions

The LGPI shows Malawian communities to be tight-knit. For example, 57 percent of Malawians say they visit one another's homes or visit on the street frequently; Malawians also report attending ceremonies such as weddings and funerals in villages on a regular basis. People frequently help one another with things ranging from taking care of children to participating in local development projects. The vast majority of Malawians (80 percent) say they feel "somewhat" or "very" obligated to help their neighbors and other residents of their village, even if it costs them a day of work. This strong sense of community may reflect the fact that 80 percent of rural residents live in the same district in which they were born. In spite of such high rates of cohesion, Malawian communities sometimes experience disputes—most commonly land or nonviolent domestic disputes.

Mistrust and Avoidance of State Institutions

Malawians are relatively unlikely to turn to state institutions when it comes to seeking help for the challenges they face. They are more likely to turn to friends, their village heads, or their own relatives. Many crimes go unreported, and crime victims are fairly unlikely to go to the police—just slightly more than one in five (22 percent) people who were the victim of a crime report having gone to the police for help. When it comes to land or water disputes, people are most likely to turn to their village head for assistance, whereas, for divorce or custody battles, they are more likely to turn to their own relatives.

Furthermore, 62 percent of Malawians feel that they are eligible for government subsidies (e.g., fertilizer) but have been unable to obtain them. In addition, 44 percent of Malawians report that *kudziwana*, or personal connections, are "very useful" or "essential" for obtaining access to public services, such as agricultural subsidies and better schools, in spite of the fact that the majority of Malawians (66 percent) think that using such connections is a bad thing.

Finally, 8 percent of Malawians indicate that they or a member of their family have been a victim of corruption by a local official in the past two years. However, nearly three-quarters (74 percent) of these respondents did not report local acts of corruption, citing fear of retribution and sensing that nothing would be done.

Political Participation

The LGPI indicates that 83 percent of Malawians voted in the most recent (2014) general election. In addition, over half of all Malawians (58 percent) say that the national government has performed well since the 2014 elections. Such high levels of political participation could reflect the clientelistic nature of Malawian politics. For instance, 60 percent of Malawians report that candidates in their community hand out gifts or money, or promise access to government services, during election time. Over two-thirds of all respondents say that it is “somewhat” or “very” important that their ethnic group elects a representative to parliament for their constituency. This reflects the fact that the majority of respondents think that members of parliament respond more quickly to people who are either members of their ethnic group or who are from their village or neighborhood.

1. Introduction

Daily life for the average Malawian is characterized by an array of challenges. Given their reliance on subsistence agriculture, exposure to frequent climate shocks, and lack of a robust social safety net, many of the country's citizens are trapped in a cycle of poverty. In response to these challenges, Malawians have developed a variety of coping mechanisms, primarily of an interpersonal nature. While there is some regional variation, the majority of Malawians report helping one another and engaging in mutually beneficial collective action on a regular basis. This reflects the fact that Malawian communities tend to be cohesive. It also reflects widely held perceptions that citizens must rely on each other, and not the state, when it comes to providing social insurance. That said, Malawians participate in formal politics at a high rate.

This report examines Malawian living conditions and coping mechanisms, and it proceeds as follows. The next section outlines the general development challenges that Malawi faces. Section 3 describes the political and administrative context. Section 4 introduces the Local Government Performance Index (LGPI), the survey instrument on which the findings of this report are based.¹ Section 5 presents LGPI findings on living conditions, as well as perceptions of safety and security. Section 6 illustrates the solutions and coping mechanisms that Malawians employ in the face of daily challenges. Section 7 depicts Malawians' perceptions of and interactions with the state, and Section 8 concludes.

2. Development Challenges

Malawi is one of the poorest countries in the world, ranking 173 out of 188 countries and territories in the Human Development Index (a multidimensional measure of human development).² Gross national income per capita is just 747 U.S. dollars.³ Nearly 51 percent of

¹ All numbers presented in the narrative, figures, and tables are calculated based on survey design and post-stratification weighting, and numbers are weighted percentages and counts. The narrative, figures, and tables in the report may convey percentages that do not add up to 100, because item non-response is included in the calculations. Where very few respondents have answered a question, the weighted number of respondents is presented, rather than the percentage.

² This statistic and others in this paragraph (unless otherwise noted) are from United Nations Development Programme's "Work for Human Development: Briefing Note for Countries on the 2015 Human Development Report—Malawi." Available at: http://hdr.undp.org/sites/all/themes/hdr_theme/country-notes/MWI.pdf.

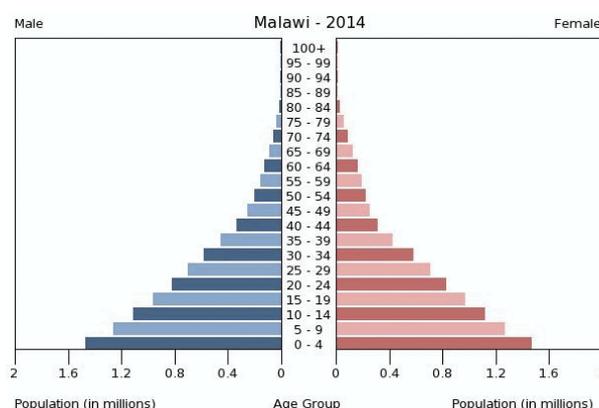
³ 2011 U.S. dollars, adjusted for purchasing power parity.

the population resides below the national poverty line,⁴ and an estimated 12 percent of the population is classified as ultra poor (those suffering from chronic hunger most of the year).⁵ Malawi has made progress with respect to a variety of development indicators in the past three decades (for instance, life expectancy at birth has increased from 44.8 years in 1980 to 62.8 in 2014), but the country’s level of development is well below average for sub-Saharan Africa. Moreover, a young, fast-growing population; geographic and climatic conditions; and poor infrastructure compound Malawi’s development challenges.

2.1 Population

Malawi has the 12th-fastest-growing population in the world, with an annual growth rate of 3.2 percent.⁶ Government initiatives have succeeded in reducing average fertility rates from 6.7 births per woman in 1992 to 4.4 births per woman in 2015.⁷ However, given Malawi’s young population, population-growth rates are unlikely to slow dramatically even as birth rates decline. Over 46 percent of the population is under the age of 15.⁸ (In comparison, just 16 percent of the European Union’s total population is in this age group.)⁹

Population Pyramids for Malawi and Sweden¹⁰



⁴ Poverty headcount ratio as of 2010 according to World Bank World Development Indicators. Available at <http://data.worldbank.org/country/malawi>.

⁵ Malawi National Statistics Office. “Integrated Household Panel Survey 2010-2013.” 2014. Available at http://www.nsomalawi.mw/images/stories/data_on_line/economics/ihs/IHPS_2013/IHPS_Report.pdf.

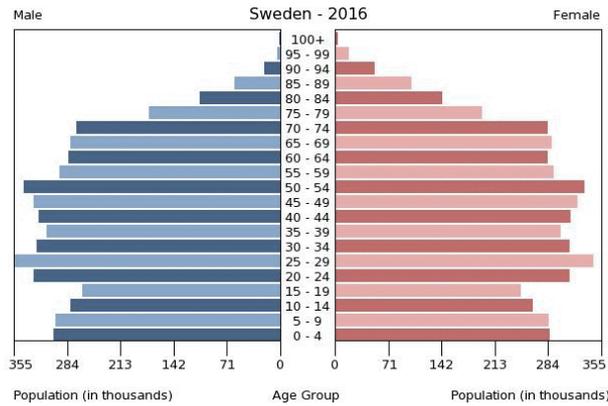
⁶ The World Bank, World Development Indicators. 2012. “Population Growth (Annual %).” Retrieved from http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.GROW?year_high_desc=true.

⁷ The Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) Program. “Malawi: Demographic and Health Survey.” 2016. Retrieved from <https://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/PR73/PR73.pdf>.

⁸ Malawi National Statistics Office. “Integrated Household Panel Survey 2010–2013.” 2014.

⁹ Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). 2016. “Young Population.” Retrieved from <https://data.oecd.org/pop/young-population.htm - indicator-chart>.

¹⁰ The charts are from the IndexMundi demographics databank. Retrieved from http://www.indexmundi.com/sweden/age_structure.html and http://www.indexmundi.com/malawi/age_structure.html.



Malawi also has one of the most ethnically diverse populations in the world. The Chewa is the largest ethnic group in the country, with over 33 percent of the population, followed by the Lomwe, who account for 18 percent. The five largest ethnic groups compose over 86 percent of the total population.¹¹ English is the country’s official language, but Chichewa is the most widely spoken language. This rich ethnic diversity has resulted in an ethnic fractionalization score of 0.83. Worldwide, only 13 countries have higher scores.¹²

Despite this ethnic diversity, cultural differences between ethnic groups within Malawian society are not particularly large. Malawi scores 0.29 for cultural fractionalization, making it one of Africa’s more culturally homogenous societies, similar to Mozambique (0.29) and Mauritania (0.27).¹³ The vast majority (87 percent) of Malawians are Christian; 12 percent are Muslim.¹⁴

The most notable cultural differences regard matrilineal and patrilineal systems. Eighty-one percent of Malawi’s ethnic groups are matrilineal, 16.3 percent are patrilineal, and 2.7 percent, comprising mostly expatriate settlers, are undetermined.^{15,16} Lineage systems are distinguished

¹¹ National Statistical Office (NSO) and ICF International. 2016. Malawi Demographic and Health Survey 2015–16. Zomba, Malawi, and Rockville, Maryland. NSO and ICF International.

¹² Fearon, James. 2003. “Ethnic and Cultural Diversity by Country.” *Journal of Economic Growth* 8: 195–222.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ National Statistical Office (NSO) and ICF International. 2016. Malawi Demographic and Health Survey 2015–16. Zomba, Malawi, and Rockville, Maryland. NSO and ICF International.

¹⁵ Lineage systems are commonly determined by ethnicity, but there are a few exceptions. The Ngoni ethnic group, which makes up 11.5 percent of the population, follows different lineage traditions depending on location. The Jere Ngonis of Mzimba District in northern Malawi have embraced the patrilineal traditions, as well as the language, of the Tumbuka ethnic group in northern Malawi. The Maseko Ngoni of central and southern Malawi, meanwhile, are matrilineal.

¹⁶ Berge, Erling, Daimon Kambewa, Alister Munthali, and Henrik Wiig. 2014. "Lineage and Land Reforms in Malawi: Do Matrilineal and Patrilineal Landholding Systems Represent a Problem for Land Reforms in Malawi?" *Land Use Policy* 41: 61–69.

primarily by the definition of the place that a newly married couple and their offspring identify as home. In the patrilineal traditions, a newly married woman joins her husband in his home village, the offspring identify their father's village as their home, and land is inherited through the male lineage. By contrast, the typical matrilineal family establishes its home in the mother's village, the children of the offspring call their mother's village home, and land is passed on through the female offspring.¹⁷ The majority of ethnic groups within the central and southern regions tend to follow matrilineal traditions; groups in the north (including the dominant Tumbuka ethnic group) are generally patrilineal.¹⁸

Malawi is densely populated, with 183 inhabitants per square kilometer—significantly higher than the continental average of 42.¹⁹ Only 16 percent of Malawians (2.8 million) live in urban areas, primarily in one of Malawi's four main cities: Lilongwe, Blantyre, Mzuzu, or Zomba. The annual net migration of working-age Malawians moving to cities and towns from rural areas stands at 14,000. Eighty-four percent of the country's population lives in rural areas.²⁰ Households in the southern region tend to be smaller than those in the north; in 2013, the average household size in Malawi was 4.9 persons, with those in the south at 4.7 and in the north at 5.3.²¹ (For comparison, the average Swedish household has fewer than two people.²²)

Most of the rural population depends on agriculture for its livelihood. Malawi has only 21,200 square kilometers of arable land,²³ the distribution of which is highly skewed. Thirteen percent of the country's total land is held by about 30,000 private estates (producing crops for export), while 69 percent of the land is cultivated by smallholder farms (producing for consumption). Subsistence farmers generally have small parcels of land; 58 percent have less than one hectare

¹⁷ Note, however, that some among the Chewa ethnic group, which is matrilineal, practice virilocality (*chitengwa*) by settling in the husband's home.

¹⁸ The Sena ethnic group, based in Chikwawa and Nsanje, the two southernmost districts of Malawi, are, however, patrilineal.

¹⁹ World Bank. 2016. "Population Density." Retrieved from:

http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/EN.POP.DNST?year_high_desc=true.

²⁰ World Bank. 2016. "Malawi Urbanization Review: Leveraging Urbanization for National Growth and Development." Available at <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/913881468045241225/pdf/P146675-MalawiUrbanizationReview-Final-withCover.pdf>.

²¹ Malawi National Statistics Office. 2014. "Integrated Household Panel Survey 2010–2013."

²² OECD. 2011. "Doing Better for Families". Available at <http://www.oecd.org/els/soc/doingbetterforfamilies.htm>.

²³ Malawi has 55,720 square kilometers of agricultural land, of which, 38 percent is classified as arable land. FAO. 2013. Malawi: BEFS Country Brief. Available at: <http://www.fao.org/energy/36344-02a1af0b958d1fb2c240782302c947837.pdf>.

for farming, and 11 percent are nearly landless.²⁴ (For more on land-ownership, see the “Local Governance Performance Index (LGPI) in Malawi: Selected Findings on Land.”)

2.2 Climatic and Geographic Challenges

Conditions are made more precarious given that Malawi frequently suffers from floods, drought, and earthquakes. Between 1979 and 2010, natural disasters there have directly affected almost 22 million people and resulted in the deaths of nearly 2,600 people.²⁵ During 2014–2015 alone, heavy rains directly affected an estimated 1.1 million people,²⁶ displacing 230,000 and leaving 106 dead.²⁷ Similarly, a drought in 2005 left more than one-third of the country experiencing food shortages.²⁸

The natural disasters have adverse economic effects. Droughts can cost the country up to 1 percent of its annual GDP, and the loss of arable land and damage to irrigation infrastructure—just two ramifications of heavy rain—can cost the country 0.7 percent of its annual GDP.²⁹ Livelihood shocks (e.g., drought or flood) make it hard to cope with smaller shocks, such as minor changes in rainfall patterns.³⁰

Deforestation is a serious problem, as well. The country lost over half of its 4.4 million hectares of forest cover between 1973 and 1991, and the net deforestation rate remains at over 36,000 hectares a year.³¹ Deforestation is a particularly difficult problem; over 84 percent of homes use firewood as their main source of cooking fuel,³² which puts further strain on Malawi’s forest

²⁴ USAID, 2010. USAID Country Profile, Property Rights and Resource Governance Malawi. Available at: https://www.land-links.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/USAID_Land_Tenure_Malawi_Profile.pdf

²⁵ Government of Malawi. 2015. “National Disaster Risk Management Policy.” Available at http://www.ifrc.org/docs/IDRL/43755_malawidrpm2015.pdf.

²⁶ Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. 2015. *Humanitarian Bulletin*. Available at http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/ocha_rosa_humanitarian_bulletin_issue18_may2015.pdf.

²⁷ Government of Malawi. 2015. “Malawi 2015 Floods Post Disaster Needs Assessment Report.” Available at <http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Malawi-2015-Floods-Post-Disaster-Needs-Assessment-Report.pdf>.

²⁸ United Nations Development Programme. 2007. “Famine in Malawi: Causes and Consequences.” Available at http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/menon_roshni_2007a_malawi.pdf.

²⁹ Global Facility for Disaster Reduction and Recovery. 2013. “Malawi: Country Program Update.” Available at <http://www.gfdrr.org/sites/gfdrr.org/files/Malawi.pdf>.

³⁰ Charman, Andrew. 2013. “Social Protection and Labour Markets in Malawi: The Centrality of Agriculture.” *UNDP: Social Protection, Growth and Employment: Evidence from India, Kenya, Malawi, Mexico and Tajikistan*.

³¹ Government of Malawi. 2011. “Economic Valuation of Sustainable Natural Resource Use in Malawi.” Available at http://www.mw.undp.org/content/dam/malawi/docs/environment/Economic_Valuation_of_Sustainable_Natural_Resources_Use_in_Malawi.pdf.

³² Malawi National Statistics Office. 2014. “Integrated Household Panel Survey 2010–2013.”

reserves.³³ Concerns about deforestation have led the government to reduce earlier efforts to turn forestland into farmland in an effort to expand agricultural production, with efforts instead being put into rehabilitating forests through replanting programs.

Malawi's major geographic asset is that it is home to one of the world's great freshwater systems. Lake Malawi is the ninth-largest lake in the world, containing nearly 7 percent of the world's total available surface freshwater.³⁴ The lake is an excellent source of water and helps to provide the country with a valuable supply of nutrition. It has been estimated that around 70 percent of the country's dietary animal protein comes from fish mainly sourced from Lake Malawi.³⁵

2.3 Infrastructure

Malawi has limited infrastructure, which exacerbates social and economic problems and slows development. Sixty-three percent of households use a pit latrine, and only 3.3 percent of homes have access to a flush toilet. Eighty-seven percent of households now get their drinking water from an improved source, but 47 percent of households still spend over 30 minutes each day collecting their drinking water. Some 46 percent of households have access to a mobile phone, although fewer than 6 percent of the population use the internet. Nearly 74 percent of the country's population still lives more than 2 kilometers from an all-season road.³⁶

One of Africa's 14 landlocked countries, sandwiched between Tanzania, Zambia, and Mozambique, Malawi faces high transport costs and reduced export potential. Over 90 percent of Malawi's international freight occurs on roads,³⁷ and the distance between Malawi's capital city, Lilongwe, and the closest major port in neighboring Mozambique, Beira, is almost 1,000 kilometers by road. Instability in Mozambique—including a brutal 16-year civil war—has severely hindered Malawi's access to outside markets.

³³ Only 9 percent of homes have access to electricity, and only 33 percent of homes are within 100 meters of an electricity source. Solar power is negligible; only 3.4 percent of homes own solar panels.

³⁴ International Lake Environment Committee Foundation. 2006. "Lake Malawi: Experience and Lessons Learned Brief." Available at http://www.worldlakes.org/uploads/16_lake_malawi_nyasa_27february2006.pdf.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ All the statistics listed in this paragraph are from the Malawi National Statistics Office's Integrated Household Panel Survey 2010–2013, the DHS Program's Malawi: Demographic and Health Survey, and the World Bank's (2011) Malawi's Infrastructure: A Continental Perspective, available at: <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/151641468089370729/pdf/WPS5598.pdf>

³⁷ World Bank. 2011. Malawi's Infrastructure: A Continental Perspective.

With a fast-growing population, climatic shocks, and limited infrastructure, the Government of Malawi has difficulty meeting citizens' basic needs. Almost half (47 percent) of Malawians are food-energy deficient, meaning that their regular diet fails to provide them with the minimum dietary energy required to lead an active and healthy life.³⁸ Food insecurity is most pronounced in the south of the country, but it is also prevalent in the central districts of Lilongwe and Mchinji. Reliance on subsistence agriculture traps many Malawian families in a cycle of poverty, since poor households cannot invest in the inputs required to boost yields, and poor farmers typically sell any surplus soon after harvest in order to earn income and repay debts. This exposes farmers to fluctuating market prices and means they cannot benefit from selling when prices rise.³⁹

3. The Political and Administrative Context

In Malawi, patronage and centralization of power around the president significantly shape the allocation of public resources and the distribution of services. Malawi's history can be divided into four historical periods: the precolonial era (prior to 1891), the colonial era (1891–1961), the postcolonial one-party era (1961–1993), and the democratic multiparty era starting in 1994. However, 73 years of authoritarian colonial rule and 30 years of authoritarian one-party government dominate Malawi's political history and shape governance in Malawi today.

3.1 Malawi's Democracy

After decolonization, the post-independence period in Malawi witnessed a relentless centralization of power under the country's first president, Hastings Kamuzu Banda. Neither opposition politics nor independent civil-society organizations were allowed. The Malawi Congress Party, the single, ruling party, controlled all aspects of political life, and no democratic elections took place between 1961 and 1994.

In a 1993 referendum, Malawians voted for a multiparty political system, and the following year peaceful, transitional elections took place. A new constitution, adopted on May 18, 1995, reflected liberal democratic norms and included a progressive bill of rights. In terms of political organization, the new constitution established Malawi as a multiparty republic administered by a

³⁸ World Food Programme 4. 2012. "Comprehensive Food Security and Vulnerability Analysis (CFSVA) and Nutrition Assessment." Retrieved from <http://documents.wfp.org/stellent/groups/public/documents/ena/wfp253658.pdf>.

³⁹ Ibid.

three-branched government. A president, elected by popular vote for a five-year term, heads the executive branch, serving as both head of state and head of the government, and is assisted by cabinet members. The legislative branch consists of the National Assembly, a unicameral body of representatives elected by popular vote to serve for five years. The judicial branch consists of a Supreme Court of Appeal and a High Court. (The president appoints the chief justice, while other High Court judges are appointed on the advice of the Judicial Service Commission.⁴⁰) Universal suffrage is set at 18 years of age. Between 1994 and 2015, Malawi held five successful parliamentary and presidential elections (1994, 1999, 2004, 2009, and 2014), although local government elections were postponed repeatedly and took place only in 2000 and 2014.

The establishment of democracy in Malawi raised hopes of good democratic governance that would translate into effective management of the economy for growth and poverty reduction; however, 22 years down the line, the initial promises and goals of the national democracy project remain elusive. A number of political parties have emerged since democratization, but they remain highly personalized identities, acting as vehicles for the election of their leaders rather than offering something closer to a collective national good. All political parties that have come to power have forged settlements within which the political elites and those well connected to the political establishment have benefited at the expense of national development.⁴¹ This has significantly shaped the ability of public officials to formulate and carry out policies in accordance with the public interest, where “public interest” is heavily constrained by the requirement to service patronage networks of one kind or another.

Alongside the local government system operates a traditional system of hereditary chiefs that is regulated by the Chiefs Act of 1997. Chiefs have been a core part of the social fabric of Malawi since precolonial times; each village has a village head, with tiered levels of traditional authority above this. Thus a group village head presides over a cluster of villages, and traditional authorities bring together groupings of group village heads. The role of traditional leaders remains ambiguous, but chieftainship has been a notable feature of rural areas of Malawi. The 2014 election saw the re-introduction of local government councilors, offices that had been vacant

⁴⁰ CIA World Factbook 2007, available at: <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0147596707000741>

⁴¹ Tenthani, Kizito, and Blessings Chinsinga. 2016. “Political Parties, Political Settlement and Political Development,” in Dan Banik and Blessings Chinsinga (eds). *Political Transition and Inclusive Development in Malawi: The Democratic Dividend*. London: Routledge: 35–56.

since 2005, causing a political and administrative vacuum that increased the importance of the functions that chiefs perform for both their subjects and the state. In the urban and peri-urban areas, hereditary chiefs also exist, and their role in these jurisdictions remains a contested terrain. Over the years, other nonhereditary leaders, known as block leaders or town chiefs, have emerged as a result of political and economic circumstances, as townships have grown and people have moved to them to live and work. The local-governance vacuum created by the postponement of local elections has also resulted in the increased importance of block leaders, as they are selected by communities to address problems arising from rapid and relatively unplanned urbanization.

The historical legacy of strong presidents and chiefdoms shapes politics today. Politics is characterized by patterns of “big man” rule, the distribution of patronage, and divergence of formal and informal rules. Decisions commonly flow from the center outward along vertical, ethno-regional channels, underpinned by the patronage power held locally, often by traditional authorities such as village chiefs. This significantly shapes the allocation of public resources and distribution of services.

3.2 The Public Administration

The public administration in Malawi operates at three levels. The first includes government ministries and departments that oversee public programs at the national level. The second level of operations is the regional one. Administratively the country is divided into three regions: Northern, Central, and Southern. The majority of government ministries and departments have offices at the regional level that link the national offices and the district government administrations.

At the third level of the hierarchy is the district-level public administration. Of Malawi’s 28 districts, only seven have sections that are categorized as urban areas. These are Blantyre, Zomba, Lilongwe, Kasungu, Mangochi, Luchenza, and Mzuzu. The rest are classified as rural areas. Government services at this level are facilitated by local governments, which bring together an administrative arm made up of technocrats and a political arm comprising elected councillors and members of Parliament. These services are supported by various subdistrict structures that are meant to facilitate the participation of the grassroots in local decision-making. In the rural areas they are known as Area or Village development committees, while in the urban areas they are known as Ward and Community development committees.

3.3 Welfare Support

Both the government of Malawi and the country's many foreign-aid donors (which supply nearly 40 percent of the country's budget⁴²) have invested in programs meant to alleviate poverty and promote development.

The most prominent poverty-alleviation program is the Farm Input Subsidy Programme (FISP), which aims to ensure food security by increasing agricultural productivity. Since its inception in 2005, the FISP has targeted approximately 1.5 million rural smallholders, or about half the farmers in Malawi.⁴³ Identifying the intended beneficiaries is challenging. In practice, eligibility is frequently determined by local leaders, but because they do not always all apply the same criteria, this leads to inconsistent targeting across districts and over time. Evaluations of the FISP show that resource-poor farmers are frequently less likely to receive subsidies⁴⁴—a point of contention that is borne out in the survey described below.

In addition to the FISP, the government sponsors a variety of public works programs (PWP), which provide regular payments to individuals in exchange for work.⁴⁵ These programs aim at decreasing chronic or shock-induced poverty and providing social protection. Most PWPs in Malawi rely on self-targeting. Wages are set to be equal or below market wages for unskilled labor, to ensure that projects attract only people with few other income-generating opportunities. District coverage varies, but the majority of districts benefit from at least three PWPs, and around 1.2 million Malawians work in one of the PWPs for at least some days each year.⁴⁶ Other state-sponsored initiatives that have achieved widespread coverage include an unconditional cash-transfer program, which is targeted at households that are both ultra poor and labor constrained and is implemented by the Ministry of Gender, Children, Disability, and Social Welfare, and school feeding programs supported by the government, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and the World Food Programme.⁴⁷

⁴² Ministry of Finance (Malawi), 2011, 19.

⁴³ Arndt, Channing, Karl Pauw, and James Thurlow. 2016. "The Economy-Wide Impacts and Risks of Malawi's Farm Input Subsidy Program." *American Journal of Agricultural Economics* 98(3): 962–980.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ PWPs in Malawi are implemented by the European Union, the World Bank, the Local Development Fund, and the World Food Programme, in cooperation with the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development. Pellerano, Luca, and Florian Juergens. N.d. "Social Protection in Malawi: Assessment Based National Dialogue Brief." Irish Aid/International Labor Organization.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

The government and donors have made significant efforts to improve infrastructure. For instance, during the 2000s, the Malawi government spent nearly 4 percent of Malawi's GDP on improving roads.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, in 2010 it was estimated that the country needed to spend around \$600 million annually to improve infrastructure in all areas (transportation, power, water resources, and information and communications technology) if it was to provide the services required for sustainable and inclusive growth.⁴⁹

4. The Local Governance Performance Index

The analysis presented in this report draws from the Local Governance Performance Index (LGPI),⁵⁰ implemented in Malawi from March 24 to April 27, 2016. The LGPI provides a new approach to the measurement, analysis, and improvement of local governance. The tool aims to help countries collect, assess, and benchmark detailed information concerning issues of local and public-sector performance and service delivery to citizens and businesses. The goals are to provide information to help pinpoint, diagnose, and foster discussion among citizens, policymakers, and the development community regarding areas of need; help formulate policy recommendations; provide a benchmark for assessing policy implementation; and allow us to examine the factors driving good governance and quality service provision.

The LGPI has several distinctive features. First, the core instrument includes batteries on health, education, security, voice, and participation, as well as other metrics of governance and service delivery, permitting us to examine and compare relationships between governance and outcomes across sectors. Second, we focus on behavioral measures. Individuals are asked, for instance, if they have direct experience with health clinics, schools, and other services. The survey further probes experiences of those who accessed these services, asking about the quality of service delivery, whether they have experienced problems, from whom they've sought help if they have experienced problems, and what the outcomes of the process have been. These data provide a detailed map of citizens' experiences with governance and service delivery, and permit an in-

⁴⁸ Foster, Vivien, and Maria Shkaratan. 2011. "Malawi's Infrastructure: A Continental Perspective." World Bank.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ The Local Governance Performance Index (LGPI) in Malawi was made possible by generous support from a number of sources. The Program on Governance and Local Development (GLD) initially designed and piloted the LGPI in Tunisia with generous funding from the Moulay Hicham Foundation and Yale University. The survey was revised and fielded in Malawi with support from the Swedish Research Council and the Norwegian Research Council.

depth assessment of institutional quality and capacity. Third, the LGPI employs a methodology of heavily clustering surveys at the village level. This allows for explicit measures of local variation in governance and outcomes that are undetectable in most surveys, which are usually representative only at the national level. Finally, the LGPI captures satisfaction with and expectations about local services, as well as state and non-state actors, making it possible to compare citizens' experiences with their levels of satisfaction and trust in these actors.

The survey was fielded in 15 of Malawi's 28 districts, spanning all three administrative regions. Within each region, traditional authorities (TA) or, in urban areas, local council wards were randomly selected for the study. A total of 18 traditional authorities and four urban wards, from three regional strata, were selected according to the principle of probability proportional to size (Table 1).

Region/Stratum	District	Traditional Authority
Northern	Chitipa	Mwaulambya
	Rumphi	Mwankhunikira
	Mzimba	Chindi Kampingo Sibande Mtwalo
	Nkhata Bay	Kabunduli
	Mzuzu	Viphya ward
Central	Kasungu	Simlemba
	Lilongwe	Area 25 ward Area 36 ward
	Dedza	Pemba Tambala
	Ntcheu	Kwataine
Southern	Balaka	Kalembo
	Blantyre	Kapeni
	Blantyre	Namiyango ward
	Chikwawa	Chapananga Ngabu
	Mangochi	Jalasi
	Mulanje	Mabuka
	Nsanje	Mbenje
	Zomba	Mwambo

Table 1: Traditional authorities and local government wards included in the 2016 LGPI Malawi survey.

In each TA, four enumeration areas (EAs)⁵¹ were randomly sampled using PPS sampling. A similar PPS sampling was used to select four EAs in the local government wards in Malawi's four main cities. The EA boundaries were carefully plotted and exported to an application that was installed on tablets that were used to collect data in the field. These maps ensured that enumerators collected data only within designated areas and did not stray outside of those areas by mistake. In each enumeration area, a team of field-workers was tasked with randomly selecting a total of four villages (or blocks in the urban EAs) in which to conduct household interviews. To ensure a sufficient number of interviews, the teams were required to conduct up to 22 interviews per village, yielding an average of 88 interviews per EA and 352 interviews per TA or ward.

Fieldwork teams randomly selected households within each village/ward. Upon entry into a village/ward, the field teams were instructed to find out from local leaders the number of households in the village/ward. They divided the number of households by 22 to determine the walk pattern, identifying the *n*th household for interview. In each household, respondents were chosen randomly from among those over 18 years old using the Kish selection grid. There are 8,114 complete interviews, approximately 369 in each of the 22 traditional authorities and local government wards. The survey was implemented by the Institute of Public Opinion and Research (IPOR) under the oversight of Dr. Boniface Dulani, IPOR's senior partner and a lecturer at the University of Malawi. Fifty-five interviewers recruited by IPOR conducted interviews in Chichewa, Chitumbuka, and English. Responses were entered on tablets running SurveyToGo software.

5. Community Conditions

The LGPI data provide a wealth of insights regarding daily life for Malawian citizens. This section focuses on living conditions (asset ownership, access to infrastructure, and basic human needs) and perceptions of safety and security.

5.1 Living Conditions

As a first attempt at understanding variation in Malawians' living conditions, we construct an asset index that takes into account household ownership of items such as motor vehicles, mobile

⁵¹ Enumeration areas are geographic areas designed for census taking. They have no other administrative role.

phones, radios, and bicycles.⁵² A unique feature of the LGPI is its ability to generate representative estimates at a very finely grained level. We can therefore see that asset ownership varies significantly across different parts of the country. Figure 1 depicts the distribution of districts in terms of their average score on the asset index.

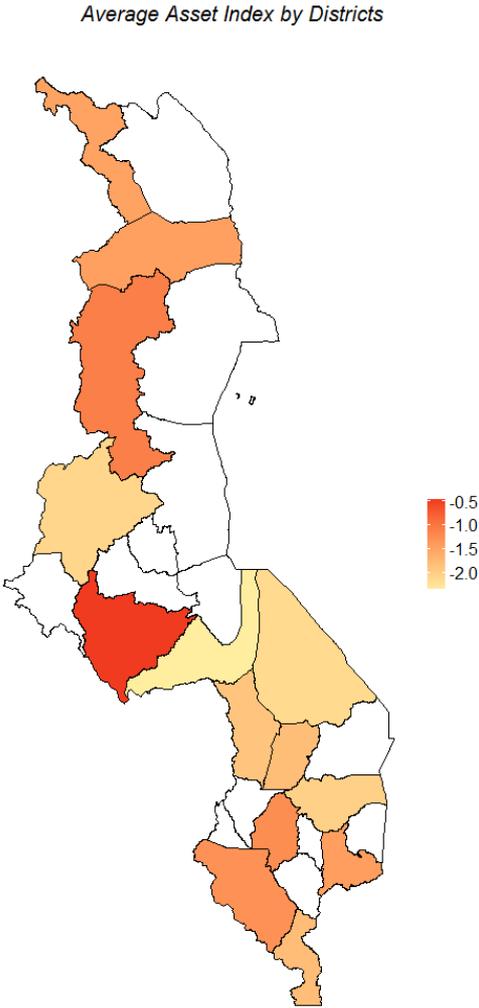


Figure 1

We see that asset ownership is significantly higher in urban areas than in rural. For instance, 95 percent of households in the Kanengochi district of Lilongwe (and the capital of Malawi) score in

⁵²The asset index was created by performing a multiple correspondence analysis on four assets a household could possibly possess: motor vehicle, mobile telephone, radio, and bicycle. The higher the value, the more assets a household possesses.

the top quartile of the asset index, while 96 percent of households in Gayo village in Northern Mzimba district score in the bottom quartile.⁵³ Figures 2 and 3 show how these villages compare to others in their TA or ward. (Kanengo is located in Area 25 ward; Gayo is in Chindi TA.)

Villages by Asset Index in Area 25

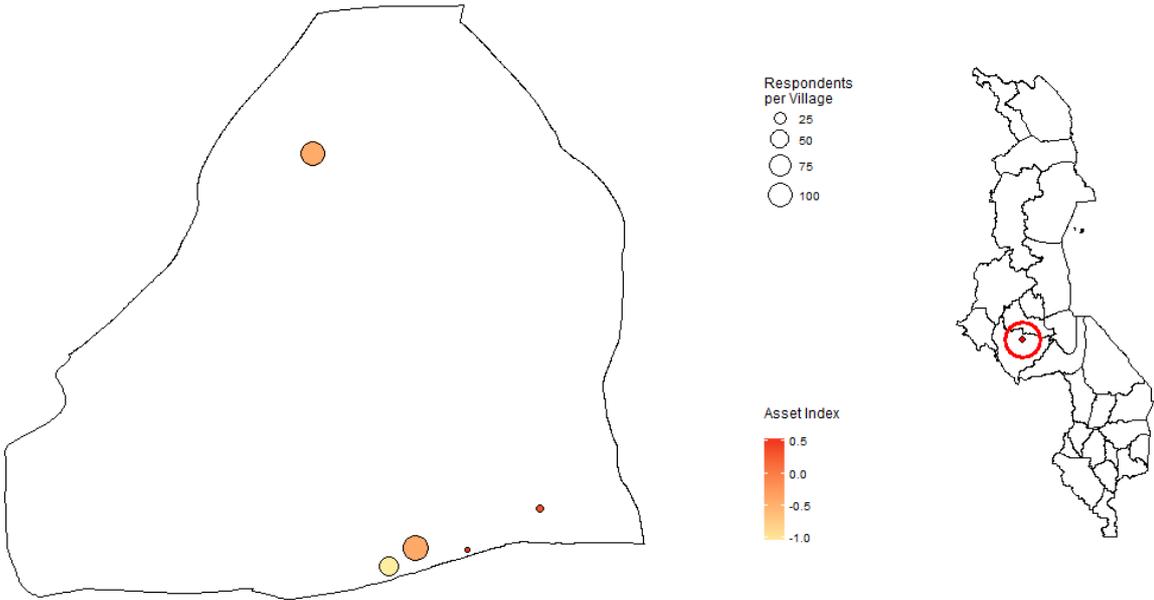


Figure 2

⁵³ This variable is the categorical version of the MCA1d asset index. The population is equally divided into four quartiles; the higher the number of the quartile, the more assets a household possesses.

Villages by Asset Index in TA Chindi

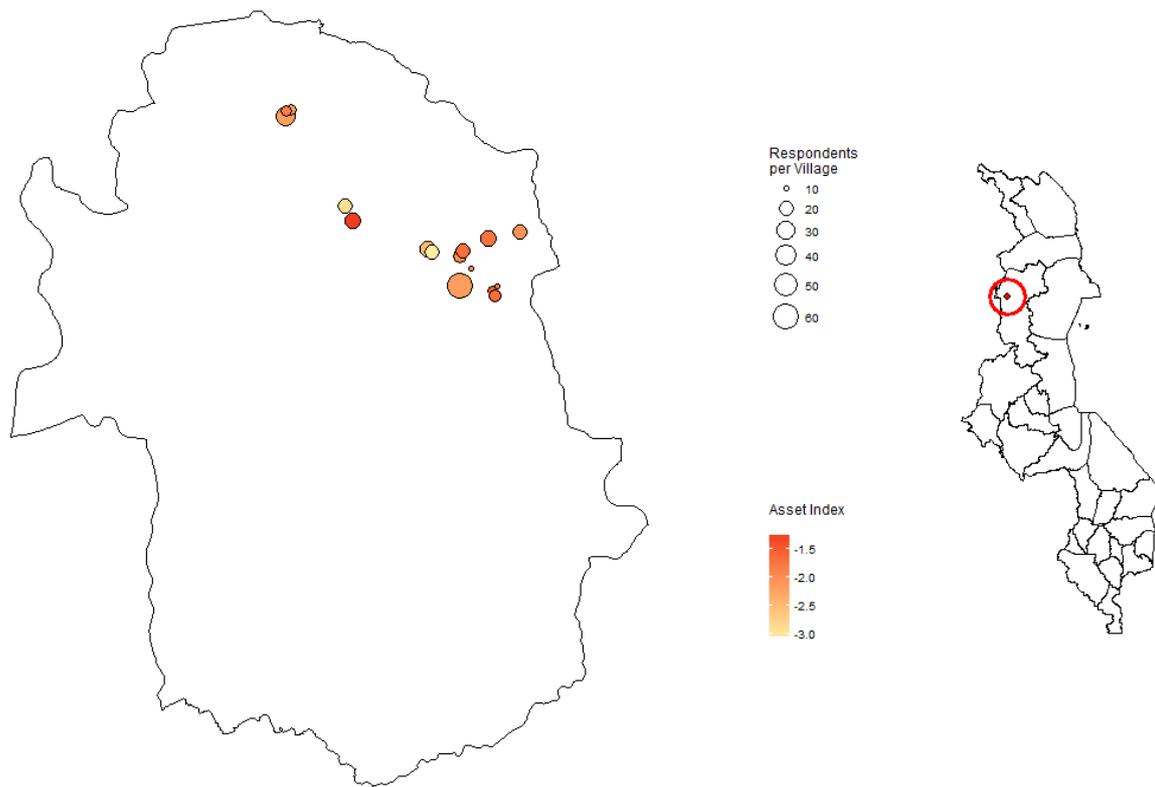


Figure 3

The urban–rural poverty divide is reflected in housing conditions, with 34 percent of rural residents residing in houses with metal roofs, compared to 94 percent of their urban counterparts doing so.⁵⁴

Access to infrastructure represents an additional relevant indicator of living conditions. The LGPI finds that just 18 percent of Malawians have electricity in their homes.⁵⁵ If we restrict the sample to rural residents, the proportion with electricity falls to 6 percent. Access to clean water represents another challenge. Just 11 percent of residents have water piped into their homes,

⁵⁴ All proportions based on entire sample (not just those who agreed to answer the question), unless otherwise indicated.

⁵⁵ This reflects enumerators’ observations (responses to Question ID 55/q38), not the respondents’ answers, and comprises both respondents connected to the electrical grid and those with solar power. When respondents were asked directly if they had electricity (Question ID 450/q428), 16 percent indicated that they did. This aligns with the proportion of households that enumerators indicated had electricity in the house in the post-interview debriefing (Question ID 714/q682). Note that this is considerably higher than the proportion of the population with electricity in 2012, which was 9.8 percent, according to the World Bank (<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/EG.ELC.ACCS.ZS>).

while 56 percent use unimproved sources.⁵⁶ Rural residents are much less likely to have access to piped water (only 2 percent), and are more likely to rely on unimproved sources (73 percent). Finally, just 29 percent of Malawians report that the road closest to their house is paved.⁵⁷ There is a fair amount of regional variation when it comes to living near a paved road. For instance, just 1.5 percent of the residents of Nkhata Bay district in Northern Malawi report that the road closest to their house is paved, while 66 percent of the residents of the Southern Zomba district live in close proximity to a paved road.

As a final indicator of living conditions, we consider self-reported deprivation. The LGPI indicates that 52 percent of Malawians reported not having enough food in the week preceding the survey. The fact that Malawians regularly experience food shortages suggests challenges with respect to implementation and impacts of the Farm Input Subsidy Programme described above. In addition, 17 percent of Malawians reported not having enough water in the week preceding the survey. Overall, 13 percent of Malawians report going without both food and water in the past week.

Note that there is considerable geographic variation in self-reported deprivation, though this does not map clearly onto the observed geographic variation in access to infrastructure. (This reflects the fact that self-reported deprivation appears not to be significantly correlated with living in close proximity to a paved road.) For instance, just 12 percent of Nkhata Bay residents report not having had enough food in the previous week, a considerably smaller proportion than the 76 percent of Zomba residents who report the same degree of deprivation. In addition, going without food and going without water do not always follow the same geographical patterns, though the two are significantly correlated. Returning to the two districts discussed above, note that 33 percent of Nkhata Bay residents reported not having enough water in the week preceding the survey, compared to just 12 percent of Zomba residents. Overall, people who report going without food or water are significantly more likely to have fewer assets. In addition, people who report going without food are significantly more likely to reside in rural areas. Going without

⁵⁶ We generated this statistic by constructing a variable that takes on the value of 1 if respondents indicated getting drinking water from either an open water well or river/lake water, following the World Health Organization/UNICEF Joint Monitoring Programme classifications (<http://www.wssinfo.org/definitions-methods/watsan-categories/>). Note that it is considerably higher than the statistics cited above. This could have to do with the classification of open water wells. According to WHO/UNICEF, “protected dug wells” are “improved” sources, while “unprotected dug wells” are “unimproved.” The distinction between “open water well” and “covered well” in the survey may have been less clear.

⁵⁷ This reflects enumerator’s response to a question about the road closest to the respondent’s house (Question ID 715). It includes responses indicating road is either paved or made of concrete.

water is equally likely in urban and rural areas, however. Figures 4 and 5 depict regional variation in reported deprivation in greater detail.

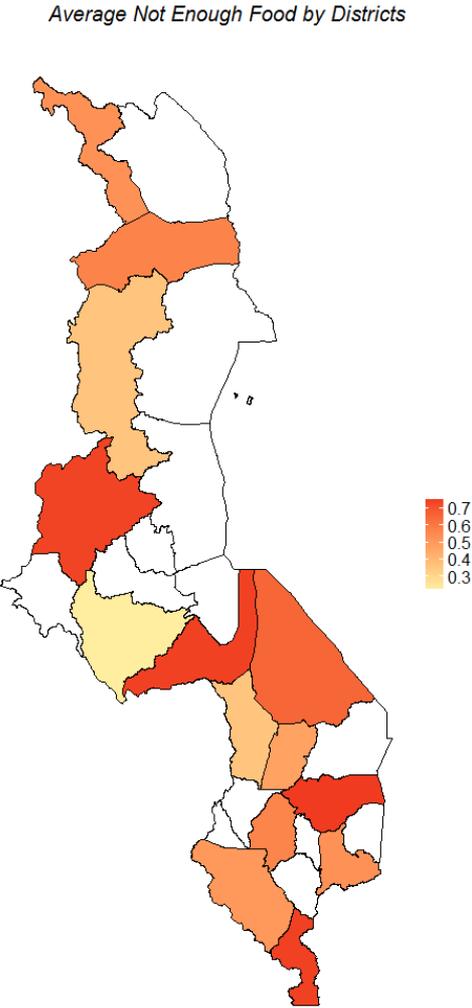


Figure 4

Average Not Enough Water by Districts

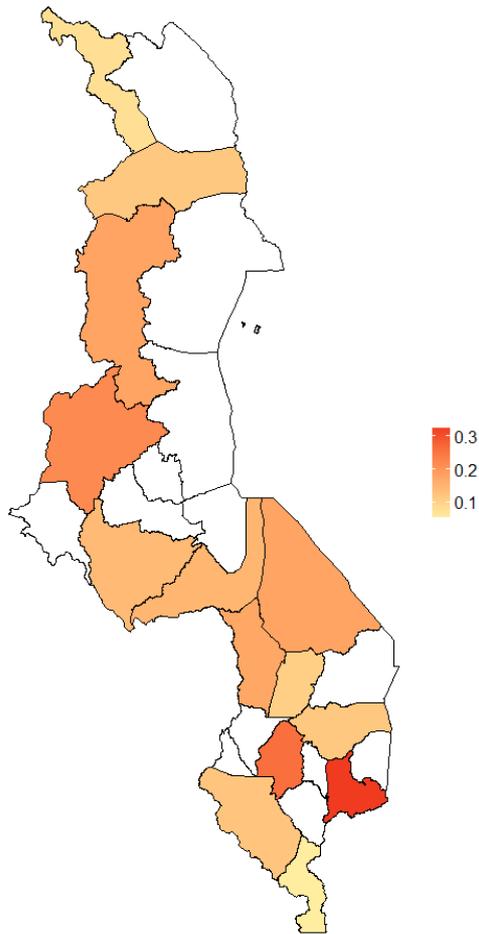


Figure 5

5.2 Safety and Security

Despite Malawi being dubbed “the warm heart of Africa,” the LGPI suggests that a substantial number of the country’s residents fear for their personal safety. Figure 6 depicts the proportion of Malawians reporting that they feel “somewhat” or “very unsafe” in different parts of their communities. Note that while just 13 percent of Malawians say they feel somewhat or very unsafe walking in their neighborhoods during the day, 45 percent say they feel unsafe walking in their neighborhoods at night. Notably, perceptions of personal safety do not vary substantially across urban and rural residents. This reflects in part the fact that there is a considerable amount of variation within each subpopulation

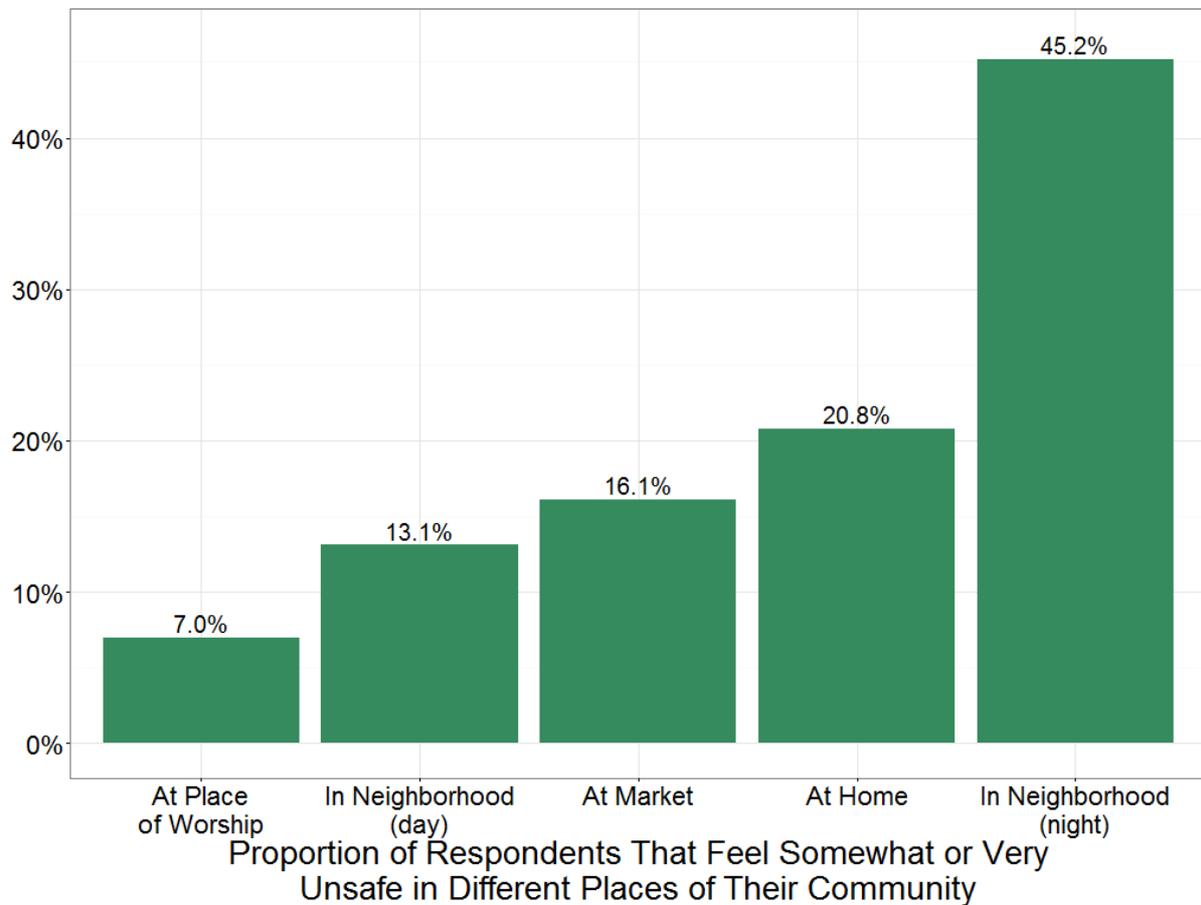


Figure 6

Nearly one in five Malawians (18 percent) reports having been the victim of crime in the past 12 months. Figure 7 depicts the crimes that Malawians say have been committed against them. The most commonly reported crime is theft or burglary, with 12 percent reporting that they were a victim in the past year. Note that Malawians are equally likely to be a victim of crime in rural and urban areas—and that the likelihood of specific crimes also does not appear to vary with rurality. Crime victimhood also does not vary significantly with asset ownership.

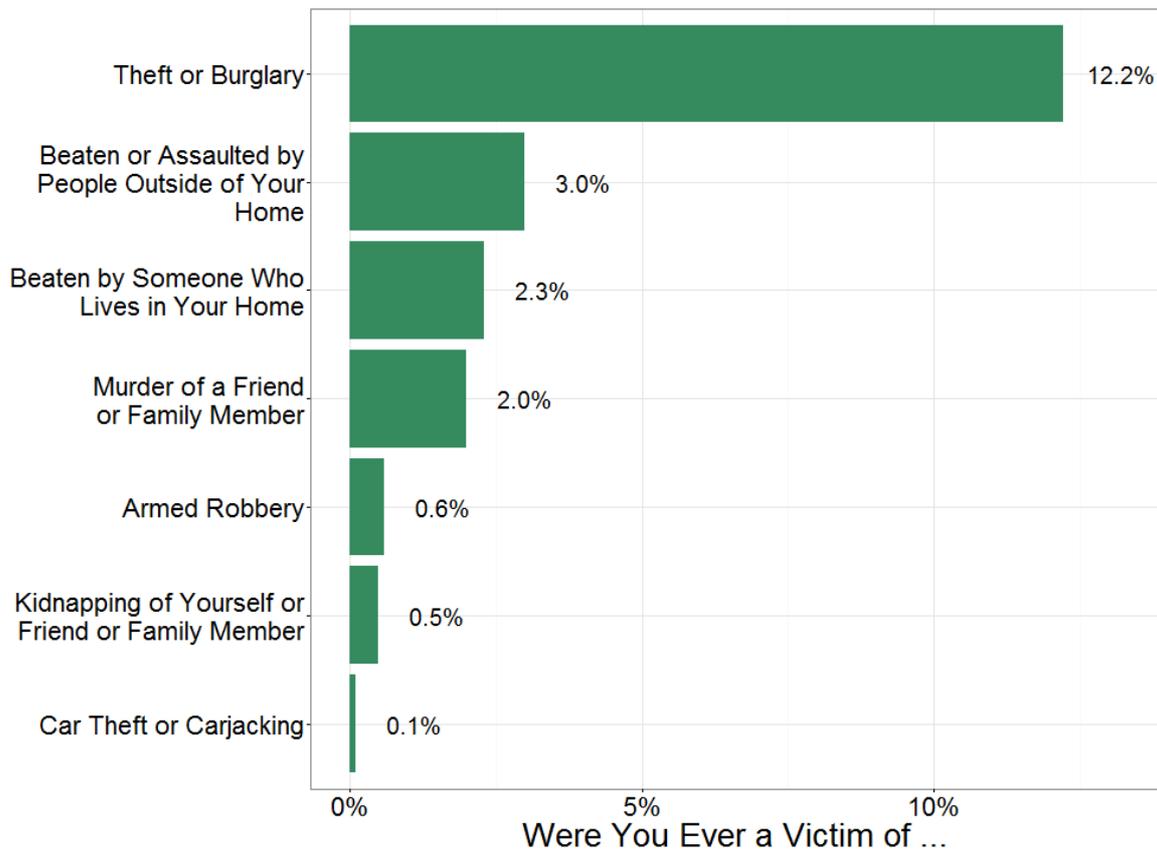


Figure 7

6. Solutions and Coping Mechanisms

The preceding section suggests that the average citizen of Malawi is no stranger to hardship. How do Malawians deal with the challenges they encounter in their daily lives? The following sections show that people employ a range of strategies. Their coping mechanisms reflect the fact that Malawi is a fairly communal society, where personal channels are often more reliable than official ones.

6.1 A Communal Society, with Some Divisions

The survey suggests that social relations in Malawi exhibit similar patterns to those across sub-Saharan Africa, which are frequently characterized by high degrees of “communing” and

“contacting” behavior.⁵⁸ For instance, over half of all Malawians (57 percent) report that people in their villages or neighborhoods often visit one another’s homes or visit on the street. In addition, Malawians report attending ceremonies or events such as weddings and funerals in their villages on a frequent basis, as depicted in Figure 8.

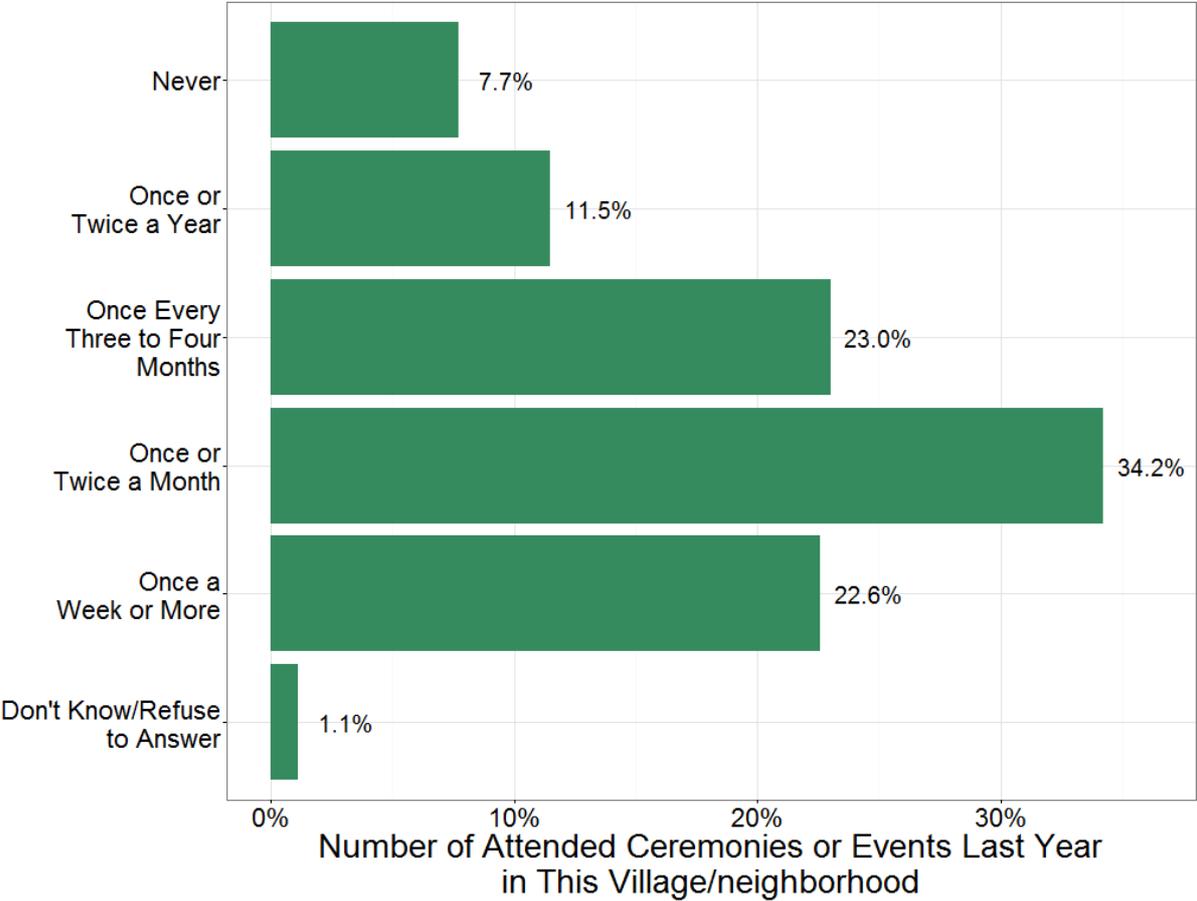


Figure 8

Furthermore, the majority of Malawians (73 percent) say that in their villages, most people know one another. Not only this, but they frequently help one another with various things, including taking care of children and participating in local development projects, as shown in Figure 9.

⁵⁸ See, e.g., Bratton, Michael. 1999. “Political Participation in a New Democracy: Institutional Considerations from Zambia.” *Comparative Political Studies* 32(5): 549–588.

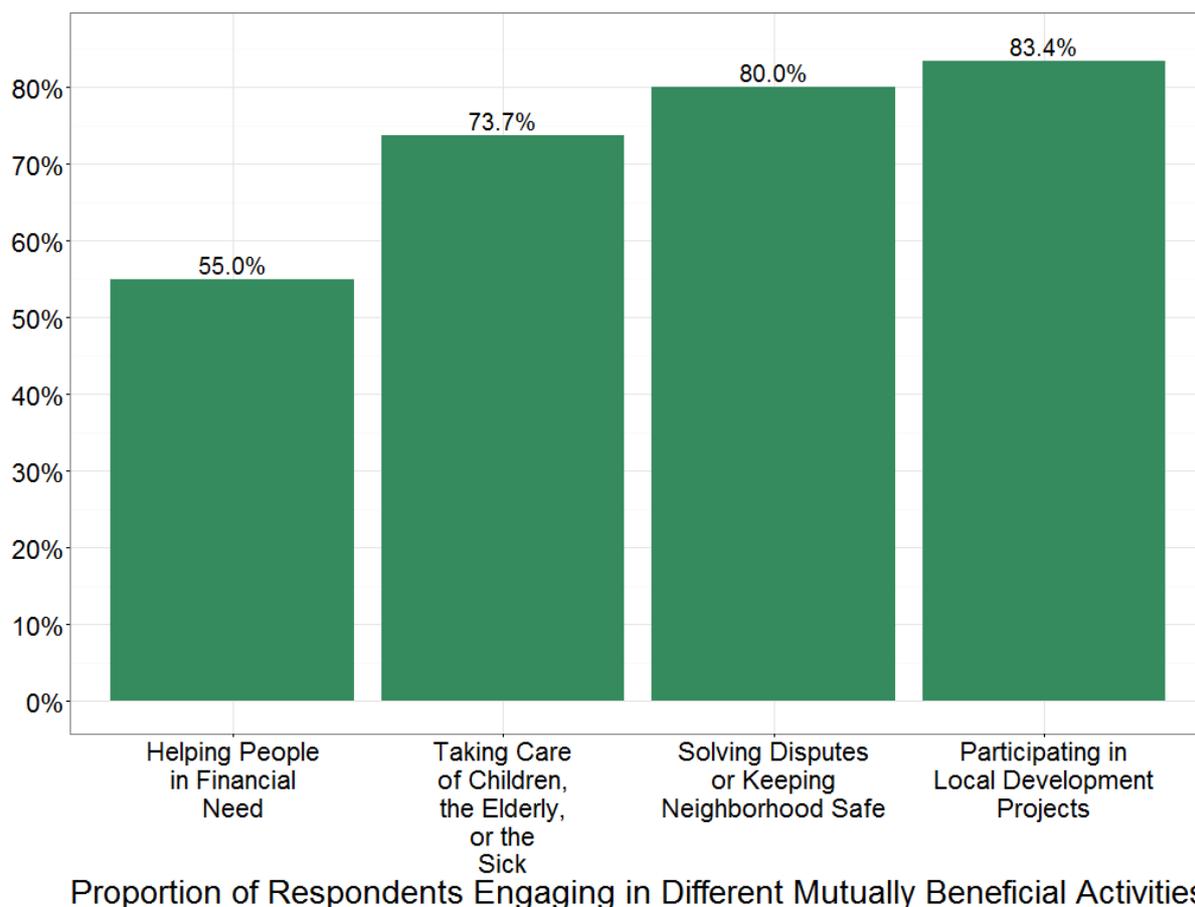


Figure 9

Two out of every five Malawians (40 percent) report helping one another in the ways shown in Figure 7 on a weekly basis or more frequently.⁵⁹ Notably, people’s propensity to help their neighbors does not vary significantly by age, level of education, urban/rural status, or wealth quartile. In addition, the vast majority of Malawians (80 percent) report that they are “somewhat” or “very obligated” to help their neighbors and other residents of their village, even if it costs them a day of work.

The proportion of residents who engage in such socially beneficial collective action is high across the board, but there is some notable regional variation. For instance, 93 percent of Zomba district’s residents report that they participate in local development projects, but the proportion falls to 57 percent for the residents of Lilongwe district. This could reflect better provision of public services (or greater ability to turn to the private market) in the capital city and surrounding areas, which would reduce the need for self-help. In general, Malawians residing in urban areas

⁵⁹ Collapsed responses for people who say they and their neighbors help one another on a weekly and a daily basis.

Malawian communities tend to be cohesive in spite of fairly high rates of internal migration. The LGPI shows that just over half of all Malawians surveyed (57 percent) live in the same traditional authority (TA) or town where they were born. This reflects a higher rate of internal migration than the average for sub-Saharan Africa.⁶⁰ Unsurprisingly, the extent of internal migration varies significantly between urban and rural areas. While 63 percent of urban residents were born in a district other than the one in which they reside, just 20 percent of rural residents do not live in the district of their birth.

Even in cohesive communities, disputes can arise. In particular, Malawians report conflicts between households centering around land (26 percent) and non-violent domestic disputes (15 percent).⁶¹

6.2 Social Assistance and Welfare

Beyond their neighbors, where do Malawians turn for help? The LGPI indicates a variety of local institutions that help low-income households meet their daily needs. The most frequently cited are NGOs and local civil society organizations (53 percent), family members (31 percent), and religious organizations (28 percent). When it comes to seeking help, Malawians report turning most frequently to a friend (31 percent), followed by the village head⁶² (15 percent) and relatives (12 percent).⁶³

The fact that Malawians are more likely to rely on personal than official channels of assistance likely reflects the inability of the state to provide adequate assistance, combined with a widespread belief that state officials do not always apply welfare-eligibility criteria in a fair and consistent manner. For instance, 62 percent of Malawians feel that they are eligible for government subsidies (e.g., fertilizer) but have been unable to obtain them. Sixty-seven percent of Malawians say that there are many families in their village who are eligible for subsidies but have

⁶⁰ See, e.g., Table 7 in Bell, Martin, and Elin Charles-Edwards. 2013. “Cross-National Comparisons of Internal Migration: An Update of Global Patterns and Trends.” United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division. Technical Paper No. 2013/1.

⁶¹ These frequencies reflect responses to: “People often have disputes or conflicts that can require assistance to resolve. What is the most important reason people in this village/neighborhood have disputes that involve more than one household?” The proportions given reflect responses classified by enumerators as either “Land” or “Domestic disputes/infidelity (nonviolent disputes).”

⁶² Block head in urban areas.

⁶³ This collapses requests for help across various categories, including charity, help with problems at a child’s school, etc.

been unable to obtain them. At the same time, 43 percent report that there are many households that receive subsidies but are not poor. Perhaps not surprisingly, a significantly greater proportion of rural residents than urban (62 percent vs. 49 percent) say they are eligible for subsidies but have not been able to obtain them. Similarly, respondents at the lowest income quartile are significantly more likely to report that they have been unable to obtain subsidies than are respondents at the highest income quartile (69 percent vs. 49 percent).

Furthermore, 44 percent of Malawians report that *kudziwana*, or personal connections, are “very useful” or “essential” for obtaining access to public services, such as agricultural subsidies, better schools, etc. This is in spite of the fact that the majority of Malawians (66 percent) think that using *kudziwana* is a bad thing. In addition, when it comes to accessing public services, nearly one-third of all Malawians report that a person’s home village (29 percent) or tribe or ethnic background (28 percent) is more important than a person’s experience and professional qualifications. The fact that people consider *kudziwana* to be more important than their home village or ethnicity suggests that connections obtained through schooling or politics can be more important than regional or ethnic ties.

6.3 Crime and Dispute Resolution

The LGPI indicates that Malawians’ responses to crimes committed against them, and the strategies they pursue to resolve disputes, depend on the nature of the crime or dispute in question. For instance, when it comes to thefts or burglaries, people are more likely to seek help from their village head⁶⁴ (27 percent of Malawians), whereas people whose friends or family members have been murdered are more likely to turn to the police (38 percent).

It is also worth noting that many crimes go unreported. For instance, 44 percent of victims of theft or burglary do not turn to anyone for help. A similar proportion of domestic-abuse incidents go unreported.

In general, crime victims are fairly unlikely to go to the police—just slightly more than one in five (22 percent) people who were the victim of a crime report having gone to the police for help. The proportion is significantly smaller for rural residents than urban dwellers (19 percent vs. 32 percent), likely reflecting differences in accessibility.

⁶⁴ Block head in urban areas.

Patterns of dispute resolution also display variation. For instance, in the case of land or water disputes, people are most likely to turn to their village head.⁶⁵ When it comes to divorce or custody battles, people are more likely to turn to their own relatives. (A slightly smaller proportion turn to their spouses’ relatives.) This reflects the fact that there are strong informal mechanisms for addressing family disputes in Malawi without bringing in family outsiders.

6.4 Perceived Impact of Different Actors by Sector

A unique feature of the LGPI is that it allows us to compare patterns of accountability across different public goods and functions of the state. For instance, Figure 11 compares who people perceive to have the most impact on education, local economic development, health services, public safety, and water supply.⁶⁶

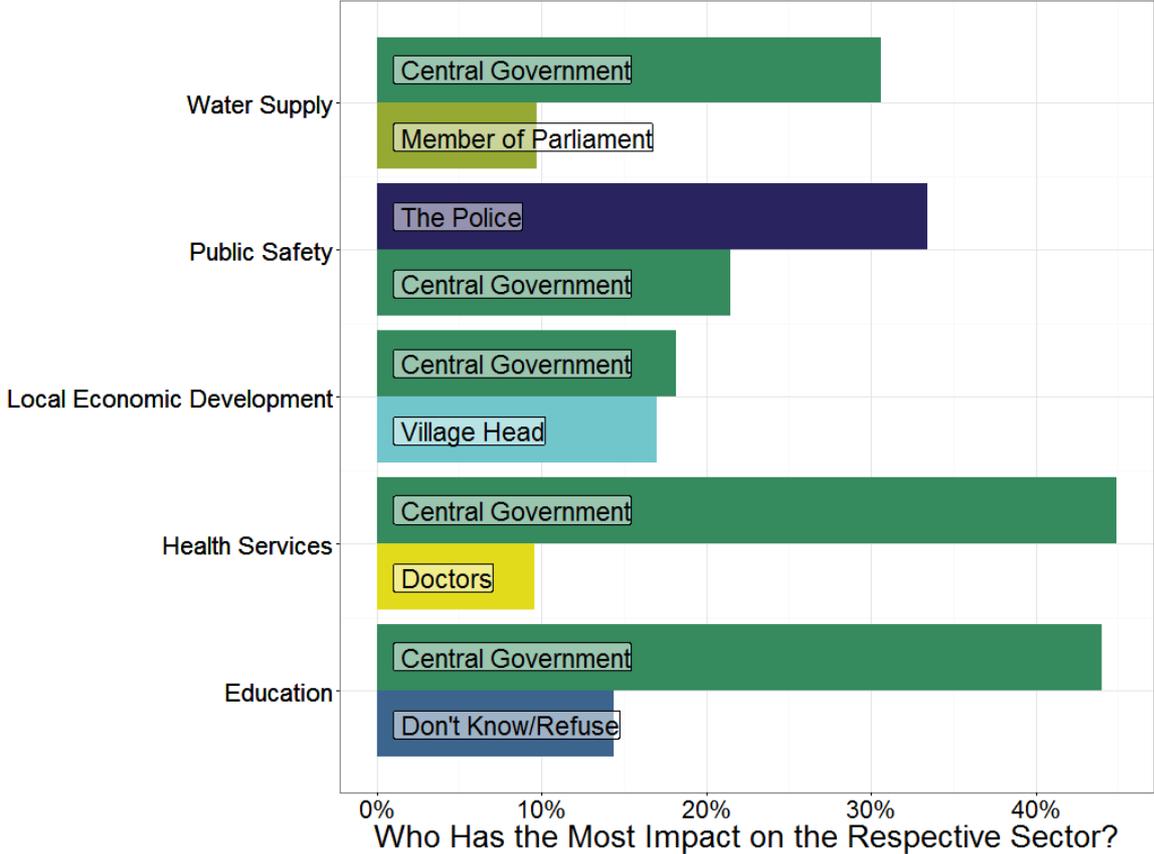


Figure 11

⁶⁵ Block head in urban areas.
⁶⁶ The bars labeled “Central government” collapse respondents who indicated that the “central government (general)” had the most impact with those who indicated that a central government ministry (health, education, etc.) or the president had the most impact.

We see that Malawians are more likely to think central government institutions can influence public-service provision, whereas local leaders are given more credit in terms of their ability to influence local economic development. There are no significant differences among urban and rural residents, with the exception of water supply, where urban residents tend to perceive water boards as having the most impact.

7. Role of the State

As noted above, Malawians frequently express a preference for appealing to unofficial rather than official channels, possibly reflecting a low sense of external efficacy. This section explores that possibility in greater detail, examining Malawians' perceptions of the police, their experiences with corruption, and their propensity to participate in politics.

7.1 Police

The preceding discussion indicates that when it comes to crime and dispute resolution, large numbers of Malawians do not go to the police. As we see in Figure 12, this reflects widely held perceptions that the police do not respond quickly and are not honest. (That being said, the majority of respondents say the police can solve security problems, and that they respond quickly. The ability to capture such a disconnect between perceptions and behavior is a particular strength of the LGPI.)

It is therefore not surprising that only 6 percent of Malawians report having sought help from a police officer in the past year. Of those who did seek help, 62 percent report that the police officer solved their problem. However, 16 percent reported that they had to pay for this help. Of those who had to pay, the vast majority (89 percent) believed the money went to the police officer individually rather than into government coffers, and 96 percent considered the payment to be a bribe. There is no significant difference in the experience with police for urban and rural dwellers.

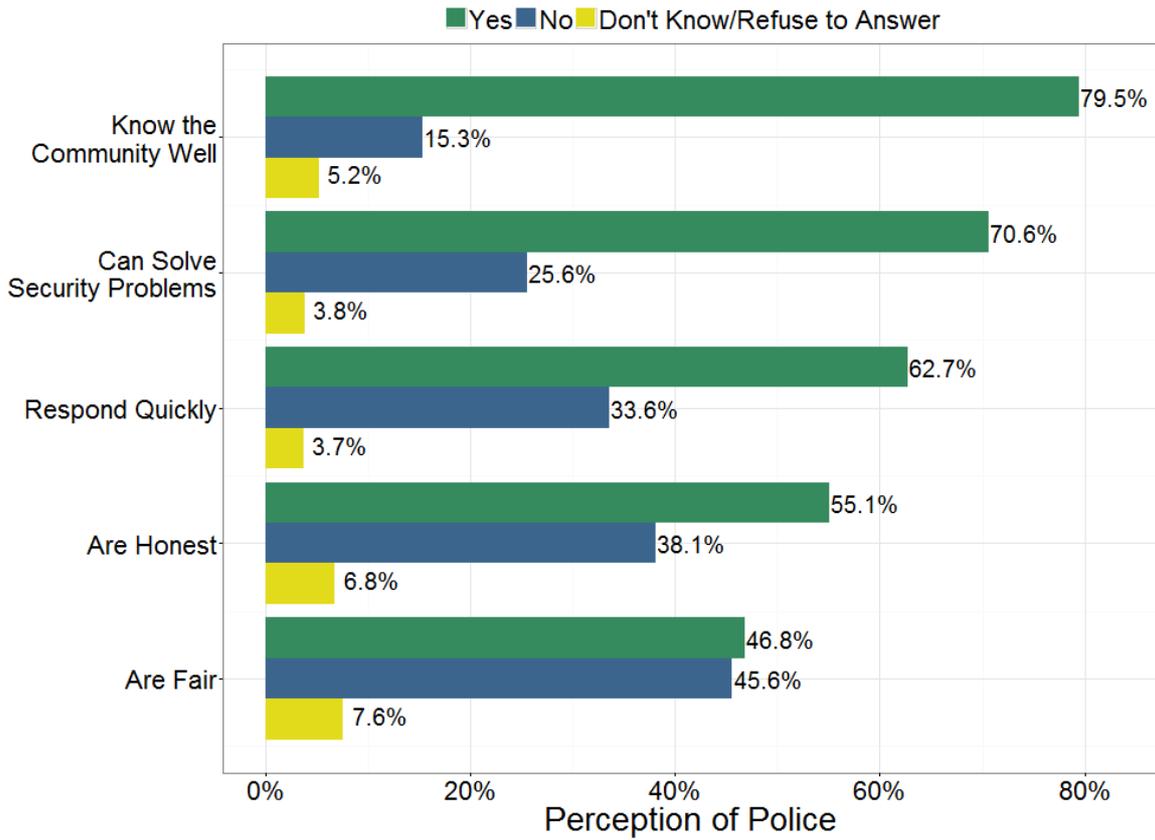


Figure 12

7.2 Corruption

The LGPI suggests that Malawians’ experiences with police corruption are not unique to that institution. For instance, 8 percent of Malawians indicate that they or members of their families have been a victim of corruption by a local official in the past two years. In addition, 3 percent report that they have been a victim of corruption by a national-level official over the same time period. However, nearly three-quarters (74 percent) of Malawians did not report local acts of corruption.⁶⁷ Figure 13 depicts the main reasons people give for failing to report acts of corruption.

⁶⁷The survey did not ask people about their responses to corruption by national-level officials.

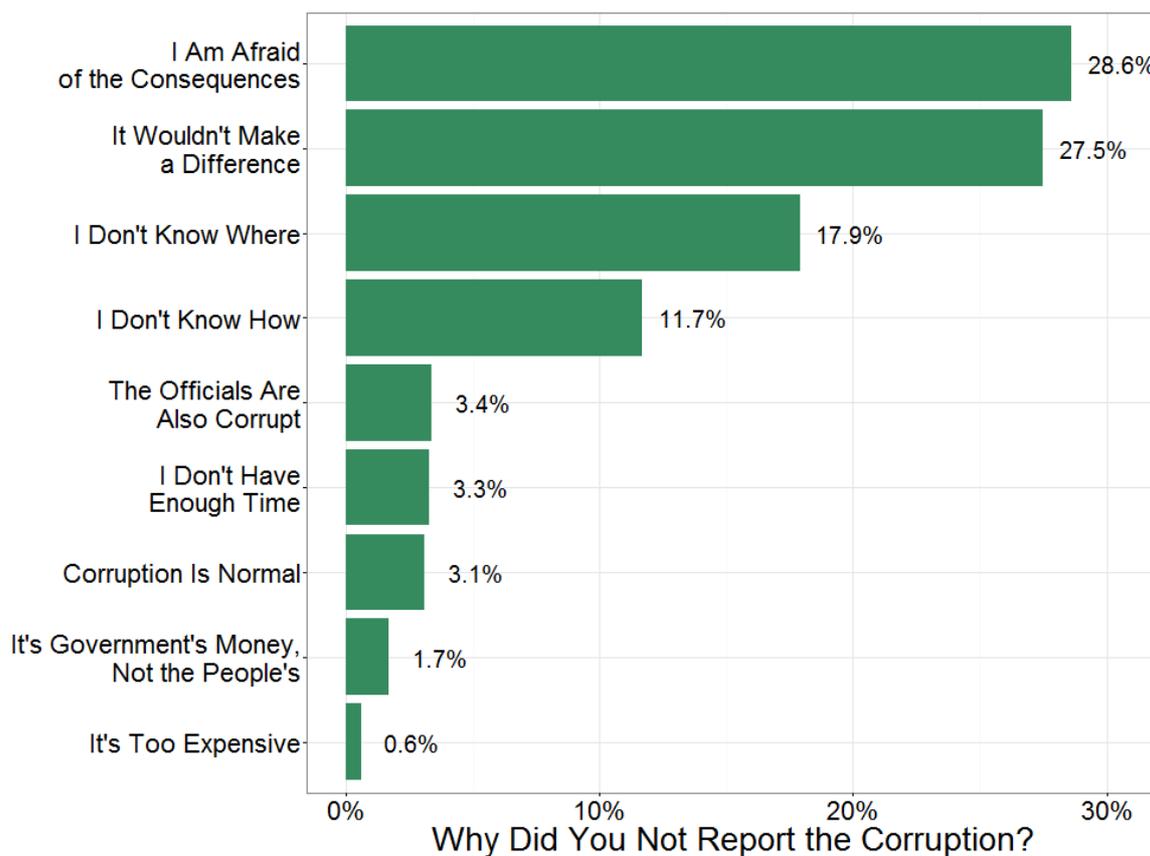


Figure 13

We see that the most commonly cited reasons for failing to report instances of corruption are fear and a sense that nothing would be done. That being said, the majority (64 percent) of Malawians say that when there is a corruption case on in their village, the national government takes it seriously.⁶⁸

7.3 Political Participation

Another way that Malawians engage with state institutions is by participating in politics. The LGPI indicates that 83 percent of Malawians voted in the most recent general election, in 2014.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Collapses responses of those indicating the national government would deal with the case “quite seriously” or “very seriously.”

⁶⁹ Note that this is considerably higher than the official voter turnout rate of 70 percent, which is based on the proportion of registered voters. If we subset the LGPI data to registered voters, the reported turnout rate rises to 91 percent. This likely reflects social-desirability bias.

In addition, over half of all Malawians (58 percent) say that the national government has performed well since the 2014 elections.⁷⁰

High levels of political participation could reflect the clientelistic nature of Malawian politics. For instance, 60 percent of Malawians report that candidates in their community hand out gifts or money, or promise access to government services, during election time. In addition, more than one in every five respondents (22 percent) says that they have personally received gifts, food, or money from a candidate. Interestingly, however, 90 percent of respondents say that accepting money, gifts, or food from a candidate does not mean that they are obligated to vote for that candidate. Still, 55 percent of Malawians report having voted for the candidate or candidates who gave them such a handout. (Of course, if all politicians in a constituency are engaged in vote-buying, voters will necessarily end up voting for a candidate who gave them a gift, even if they did not feel obligated to do so.)

Beyond handouts at election time, 9 percent of respondents report that they, a friend, or one of their family members received help from a candidate to solve a personal problem, such as help with finding a job, receiving medical care, education, accessing government services, solving disputes, or similar issues. Over half (53 percent) of Malawians who received such help voted for the candidate or candidates who gave it to them.

Finally, over two-thirds of all respondents (71 percent) say that it is “somewhat” or “very important” that their ethnic group elects a representative to Parliament for their constituency. Three out of every four respondents (75 percent) also say that it is important that their village elects a representative to Parliament. This reflects the fact that the majority of respondents think that MPs respond more quickly to people who are either members of their ethnic group (56 percent agree⁷¹ with such a statement) or who is from their village/neighborhood (59 percent agree).

⁷⁰This question was asked of a nationally representative subset of 1,187 survey respondents. Note that this is considerably higher than the proportion saying they approved of the president or the National Assembly in the most recent (2014–2015) Afrobarometer survey, though that question referred to the previous administration.

⁷¹Collapses “somewhat agree” and “strongly agree” responses.

8. Conclusion

The LGPI paints a detailed picture of daily life in Malawi and shows that hardship is not uncommon for the average citizen. That said, the challenges that Malawians face vary considerably across and within districts. For instance, while some communities face widespread food shortages, others rarely complain of this hardship. Similarly, having to go without enough drinking water is much more common in some areas than others. Malawians employ a variety of coping mechanisms to deal with such challenges. Their strategies reflect the fact that Malawi is a fairly communal society, where people are more likely to seek assistance from their neighbors and other non-state actors (religious and civil-society organizations) than from state institutions. This reflects prevailing beliefs that state institutions do not always act in the average Malawian's best interest—whether by engaging in corruption or failing to follow official eligibility criteria.

The LGPI also sheds light on the clientelistic nature of Malawian politics—vote-buying is a fairly frequent occurrence, and personal ties often matter more than merit when it comes to obtaining a job or access to public services. Clientelism does not deter people from participating in politics, however. Malawians turn out to vote at a high rate and over half rate government performance favorably. This suggests that the ability of Malawians to compel state response to improve their livelihoods may be limited

Appendix

Table numbers are corresponding to Figure numbers.

Figure 1. Average Asset Index by Districts

National average: Mean = -1.508163 Std.Error = 0.0500556 CI1 = -1.612931 CI2 = -1.403396

district	Mean	Std.E	CI1	CI2	In Comparison with National Mean
Lilongwe	-0.4562619	0.1211272	-0.709784	-0.2027398	Higher
Mzimba	-1.075748	0.3518203	-1.812117	-0.3393797	Not Significantly Different
Blantyre	-1.241204	0.3682655	-2.011993	-0.4704155	Not Significantly Different
Chikwawa	-1.292971	0.0627	-1.424204	-1.161739	Not Significantly Different
Nkhatabay	-1.363527	0.0875127	-1.546693	-1.180361	Not Significantly Different
Mulanje	-1.421695	0.0351199	-1.495202	-1.348189	Not Significantly Different
Rumphi	-1.444279	0.1185512	-1.692409	-1.196148	Not Significantly Different
Chitipa	-1.488164	0.1091871	-1.716696	-1.259633	Not Significantly Different
Nsanje	-1.793326	0.1284614	-2.062199	-1.524453	Not Significantly Different
Balaka	-1.796276	0.0337258	-1.866865	-1.725687	Lower
Ntcheu	-1.872503	0.0529981	-1.98343	-1.761577	Lower
Zomba	-2.031168	0.0507806	-2.137453	-1.924883	Lower
Kasungu	-2.092033	0.0416115	-2.179126	-2.004939	Lower
Mangochi	-2.136741	0.0394349	-2.219279	-2.054203	Lower
Dedza	-2.371685	0.1565813	-2.699414	-2.043957	Lower

Figure 2. Villages by Asset Index in Area 25

District average: Mean = -0.4562619 Std.Error = 0.1211272 CI1 = -0.709784 CI2 = -0.2027398

village_algorithm	Mean	Std.E	CI1	CI2	In Comparison with District Mean
Kanengo Police	0.5002642	0.1951821	0.0917434	0.908785	Higher
Lilongwe TTC	0.3691594	0.0724441	0.2175321	0.5207868	Higher
Area 25A	-0.4185939	0.090499	-0.6080105	-0.2291774	Not Significantly Different
Area 25B	-0.4332733	0.0669407	-0.5733819	-0.2931648	Not Significantly Different
Area 25C	-0.5907507	0.0604329	-0.7172383	-0.4642632	Not Significantly Different
Dzena	-1.096333	0.0417992	-1.183819	-1.008846	Lower

Figure 3. Villages by Asset Index in TA Chindi

District average: Mean = -1.075748 Std.Error = 0.3518203 CI1 = -1.812117 CI2 = -0.3393797

village_algorithm	Mean	Std.E	CI1	CI2	In Comparison with District Mean
Chitowo Kumwenda	-1.239416	0.118244	-1.486903	-0.9919282	Not Significantly Different
Thom Chirambo	-1.526199	0.2127784	-1.97155	-1.080849	Not Significantly Different
Tizamwa	-1.661238	0.1910507	-2.061111	-1.261364	Not Significantly Different
Katuwa Nyasulu	-1.682404	0.1920395	-2.084347	-1.280461	Not Significantly Different
Beleji	-1.72256	0.3979751	-2.555531	-0.8895884	Not Significantly Different
Vavera Bota	-1.853923	0.055601	-1.970298	-1.737549	Not Significantly Different
Mdikangulu	-1.865086	0.1111106	-2.097643	-1.632528	Not Significantly Different
Chimbizga Gondwe	-2.011289	0.0510849	-2.118211	-1.904367	Lower
Mkandawire	-2.019349	0.0528818	-2.130032	-1.908666	Lower
Katona Jumbo	-2.039902	0.0746727	-2.196194	-1.88361	Lower
Alifeyo Mphepo	-2.173439	0.1373876	-2.460994	-1.885883	Lower
Bundi	-2.180833	0.1165276	-2.424728	-1.936938	Lower
Mabongo Nyirenda	-2.299524	0.0699761	-2.445986	-2.153063	Lower
Chimkungule	-2.475351	0.0970394	-2.678456	-2.272245	Lower
Chimujithe	-2.915695	0.0687498	-3.059591	-2.7718	Lower
Gayo	-3.077609	0.0638269	-3.2112	-2.944018	Lower

Figure 4. Average not Enough Food by Districts

National average: Mean = 0.5159293 Std.Error = 0.0261878 CI1 = 0.4611176 CI2 = 0.5707409

district	Mean	Std.E	CI1	CI2	In Comparison with National Mean
Zomba	0.7553147	0.0131663	0.7277575	0.782872	Higher
Dedza	0.7443144	0.0457978	0.6484585	0.8401703	Higher
Nsanje	0.7439055	0.0454926	0.6486883	0.8391227	Higher
Kasungu	0.7379925	0.0132998	0.7101557	0.7658293	Higher
Mangochi	0.6565199	0.0170371	0.6208608	0.692179	Higher
Rumphi	0.5704198	0.0162635	0.5363798	0.6044597	Not Significantly Different
Blantyre	0.5669163	0.0958585	0.3662821	0.7675505	Not Significantly Different
Mulanje	0.530896	0.0160661	0.4972692	0.5645227	Not Significantly Different
Chitipa	0.5280441	0.0328166	0.4593582	0.5967301	Not Significantly Different
Chikwawa	0.5055245	0.0256933	0.4517479	0.5593012	Not Significantly Different
Balaka	0.4776401	0.0145668	0.4471513	0.5081288	Not Significantly Different
Mzimba	0.3672888	0.092244	0.1742198	0.5603578	Not Significantly Different
Ntcheu	0.3651296	0.0116909	0.3406603	0.3895989	Lower
Lilongwe	0.2323796	0.0094396	0.2126224	0.2521369	Lower
Nkhatabay	0.1207845	0.0149399	0.089515	0.1520541	Lower

Survey question:

q429_1 In the last week, have you ... not had enough food?

(0) No; (1) Yes; (98) Don't Know/Refuse to answer

Figure 5. Average Not Enough Water by Districts

National average: Mean = 0.1679518 Std.Error = 0.0231757 CI1 = 0.1194445 CI2 = 0.2164591

district	Mean	Std.E	CI1	CI2	In Comparison with National Mean
Mulanje	0.3303604	0.0118476	0.3055631	0.3551577	Higher
Blantyre	0.2645473	0.0495118	0.1609178	0.3681768	Not Significantly Different
Kasungu	0.2219732	0.013292	0.1941528	0.2497936	Not Significantly Different
Mzimba	0.1782701	0.053454	0.0663896	0.2901506	Not Significantly Different
Mangochi	0.1779747	0.006205	0.1649876	0.1909618	Not Significantly Different
Ntcheu	0.1738352	0.0071993	0.158767	0.1889034	Not Significantly Different
Dedza	0.1478724	0.07299	-0.0048976	0.3006423	Not Significantly Different
Lilongwe	0.1410853	0.0735409	-0.0128376	0.2950082	Not Significantly Different
Chikwawa	0.1228848	0.0228176	0.075127	0.1706426	Not Significantly Different
Zomba	0.1162883	0.0129461	0.0891917	0.1433848	Not Significantly Different
Rumphi	0.1150794	0.0099938	0.0941622	0.1359966	Not Significantly Different
Balaka	0.1037773	0.0078881	0.0872673	0.1202874	Not Significantly Different
Chitipa	0.075056	0.0116138	0.0507482	0.0993639	Lower
Nsanje	0.050003	0.0114519	0.0260339	0.0739721	Lower
Nkhatabay	0.0032671	0.0012705	0.0006079	0.0059263	Lower

Survey question:

q429_2 In the last week, have you ... not had enough drinking water?

(0) No; (1) Yes; (98) Don't Know/Refuse to answer

Figure 6. Proportion of Respondents That Feel Somewhat or Very Unsafe in Different Places of Their Community

	Percent (weighted)/ No. of Respondents	Yes	No	Total
Feel Unsafe at Home	Percent (weighted)	20.8	79.2	100.0
	No. of Respondents	1520	6580	8100
Feel Unsafe at Market	Percent (weighted)	16.1	83.9	100.0
	No. of Respondents	1114	6986	8100
Feel Unsafe in Neighborhood (day)	Percent (weighted)	13.1	86.9	100.0
	No. of Respondents	929	7171	8100
Feel Unsafe in Neighborhood (night)	Percent (weighted)	45.2	54.8	100.0
	No. of Respondents	3317	4783	8100
Feel Unsafe at Place of Worship	Percent (weighted)	7.0	93.0	100.0
	No. of Respondents	533	7567	8100

Survey questions:

q59_1. Taking care of children, the elderly, or the sick

(0) No; (1) Yes; (98) Don't Know/Refuse to answer

q59_2. Helping people in financial need

(0) No; (1) Yes; (98) Don't Know/Refuse to answer

q60_1. Ensuring security by helping solve disputes or keeping the neighborhood safe from crime

(0) No; (1) Yes; (98) Don't Know/Refuse to answer

q60_2. Participating in local development projects (building roads, building schools and clinics)

(0) No; (1) Yes; (98) Don't Know/Refuse to answer

Figure 7. Were you ever a victim of...

	Percent (weighted)/ No. of Respondents	Yes	No	Don't know/ Refuse to answer	Total
Armed Robbery	Percent (weighted)	0.6	99.4	0.0	100.0
	No. of Respondents	37	7635	1	7673
Beaten by Someone Who Lives in Your Home	Percent (weighted)	2.3	97.6	0.0	100.0
	No. of Respondents	199	7472	2	7673
Beaten or Assaulted by People Outside of Your Home	Percent (weighted)	3.0	96.9	0.0	100.0
	No. of Respondents	211	7459	3	7673
Car Theft or Car Jacking	Percent (weighted)	0.1	99.9	0.1	100.0
	No. of Respondents	6	7663	4	7673
Kidnapping of Yourself or Friend or Family Member	Percent (weighted)	0.5	99.5	0.0	100.0
	No. of Respondents	34	7638	1	7673
Murder of a Friend or Family Member	Percent (weighted)	2.0	98.0	0.0	100.0
	No. of Respondents	148	7523	2	7673
Theft or Burglary	Percent (weighted)	12.2	87.8	0.0	100.0
	No. of Respondents	894	6778	1	7673

Survey questions:

q59_1. Taking care of children, the elderly, or the sick

(0) No; (1) Yes; (98) Don't Know/Refuse to answer

q59_2. Helping people in financial need

(0) No; (1) Yes; (98) Don't Know/Refuse to answer

q60_1. Ensuring security by helping solve disputes or keeping the neighborhood safe from crime

(0) No; (1) Yes; (98) Don't Know/Refuse to answer

q60_2. Participating in local development projects (building roads, building schools and clinics)

(0) No; (1) Yes; (98) Don't Know/Refuse to answer

Figure 8. Number of Attended Ceremonies or Events Last Year in This Village/neighborhood

Number of Attended Ceremonies or Events Last Year in This Village/neighborhood	Percentage (weighted)	Respondents
Never	7.7	489
Once or twice a year	11.5	893
Once every three to four months	23.0	1825
Once or twice a month	34.2	2777
Once a week or more	22.6	1666
I don't know/Refuse to answer	1.1	70
Total	100.0	7720

Survey question:

q54. Thinking about the last year, how many times did you attend ceremonies or events such as weddings, funerals, and other ceremonies. in this village/neighborhood

(1) Never; (2) Once or twice a year; (3) Once every three to four months; (4) Once or twice a month; (5) Once a week or more; (98) I don't know/Refuse to answer

Figure 9. Proportion of Respondents Engaging in Different Mutually Beneficial Activities

	Percent (weighted)/ No. of Respondents	Yes	No	Don't know/ Refuse to answer	Total
Taking Care of Children, the Elderly, or the Sick	Percent (weighted)	73.7	24.9	1.4	100.0
	No. of Respondents	2938	886	37	3861
Helping People in Financial Need	Percent (weighted)	55.0	43.8	1.2	100.0
	No. of Respondents	2165	1666	30	3861
Solving Disputes or Keeping Neighborhood Safe	Percent (weighted)	80.0	19.1	0.9	100.0
	No. of Respondents	3125	688	23	3836
Participating in Local Development Projects	Percent (weighted)	83.4	15.4	1.2	100.0
	No. of Respondents	3318	485	33	3836

Survey questions:

q59_1. Taking care of children, the elderly, or the sick

(0) No; (1) Yes; (98) Don't Know/Refuse to answer

q59_2. Helping people in financial need

(0) No; (1) Yes; (98) Don't Know/Refuse to answer

q60_1. Ensuring security by helping solve disputes or keeping the neighborhood safe from crime

(0) No; (1) Yes; (98) Don't Know/Refuse to answer

q60_2. Participating in local development projects (building roads, building schools and clinics)

(0) No; (1) Yes; (98) Don't Know/Refuse to answer

Figure 10. Average Participation in Local Development Projects by Districts

National average: Mean = 0.8440989 Std.Error = 0.0179191 CI1 = 0.8065939 CI2 = 0.8816039

district	Mean	Std.E	CI1	CI2	In Comparison with National Mean
Balaka	0.9798199	0.0057291	0.9678288	0.991811	Higher
Chikwawa	0.975728	0.0205222	0.9327746	1.018681	Higher
Ntcheu	0.9685595	0.0038163	0.960572	0.976547	Higher
Nsanje	0.9409505	0.0104912	0.9189922	0.9629089	Higher
Zomba	0.9374052	0.0090732	0.9184147	0.9563957	Higher
Kasungu	0.9263486	0.0080598	0.9094792	0.9432179	Higher
Chitipa	0.9216078	0.0093478	0.9020426	0.941173	Higher
Nkhatabay	0.917559	0.0212914	0.8729956	0.9621223	Not Significantly Different
Dedza	0.8866075	0.0224236	0.8396743	0.9335406	Not Significantly Different
Rumphi	0.8830015	0.0123201	0.8572152	0.9087877	Not Significantly Different
Mulanje	0.8739508	0.0136031	0.8454792	0.9024224	Not Significantly Different
Mzimba	0.8650522	0.0279719	0.8065063	0.9235981	Not Significantly Different
Blantyre	0.7635494	0.0525906	0.6534759	0.8736228	Not Significantly Different
Mangochi	0.7562315	0.0186671	0.7171609	0.7953021	Lower
Lilongwe	0.6120666	0.071999	0.4613709	0.7627623	Lower

Survey question:

q60_2. Do you and your neighbors help each other with... Participating in local development projects (building roads, building schools and clinics)?

(0) No; (1) Yes; (98) Don't Know/Refuse to answer

Figure 11. Who has the most Impact on the respective Sector?

Sector	Who has the most impact	Percent (weighted)
Education	Central government	44
	Don't know/Refuse	14.4
	Teachers	7.6
	Community/citizens	6.0
	No one	5.2
	Other	5.0
	Member of parliament	4.6
	Village head	3.9
	PTO (parent teacher organization)	1.7
	NGOs/Local CSOs	1.4
	Men	1.3
	Local government (general)	0.9
	Local Council	0.8
	Village development committee	0.8
	Traditional authority	0.7
	Women	0.7
	Religious leader or organization	0.6
	Group village head	0.3
	The police	0.1
	State welfare office	0.1
Doctors	0.1	
Business person or organization	0.0	
Water boards	0.0	
Health Services	Central government	44.9
	Doctors	9.6
	Don't know/Refuse	9.4
	Community/citizens	7.3
	Member of parliament	5.8
	Village head	5.6
	Other	5.6
	No one	3.7
	Local Council	2.0
	Local government (general)	1.0
	Village development committee	1.0
	Men	1.0
	Group village head	0.7
	Traditional authority	0.7
	NGOs/Local CSOs	0.7
	Women	0.7
	Religious leader or organization	0.3
	The police	0.1
	Business person or organization	0.0
	State welfare office	0.0
Teachers	0.0	
Water boards	0.0	

Sector	Who has the most impact	Percent (weighted)
Local Economic Development	Central government	18.2
	Village head	17.0
	Member of parliament	15.7
	Don't know/Refuse	9.1
	Community/citizens	9.0
	Local government (general)	6.9
	Local Council	6.6
	No one	4.7
	Other	2.9
	Village development committee	2.7
	Traditional authority	2.0
	Group village head	1.9
	NGOs/Local CSOs	1.2
	Men	0.8
	Women	0.5
	Religious leader or organization	0.3
	The police	0.1
	Business person or organization	0.1
	State welfare office	0.1
	PTO (parent teacher organization)	0.1
Teachers	0.1	
Doctors	0.0	
Water boards	0.0	
Public Safety	The police	33.4
	Central government	21.5
	Village head	10.5
	Community/citizens	9.5
	Don't know/Refuse	7.4
	Other	4.0
	No one	3.9
	Member of parliament	2.9
	Men	1.3
	Local Council	1.1
	Group village head	1.1
	Local government (general)	0.8
	Traditional authority	0.8
	Village development committee	0.8
	NGOs/Local CSOs	0.4
	Doctors	0.3
	Religious leader or organization	0.1
	Women	0.1
	Business person or organization	0.0
	State welfare office	0.0
Teachers	0.0	
Water boards	0.0	
Water Supply	Central government	30.6
	Member of parliament	9.7

Sector	Who has the most impact	Percent (weighted)
	Village head	9.6
	Community/citizens	8.9
	Don't know/Refuse	8.0
	Water boards	7.9
	No one	5.5
	Local Council	4.4
	Other	3.7
	Village development committee	3.1
	Local government (general)	2.7
	NGOs/Local CSOs	1.7
	Women	1.0
	Group village head	0.9
	Traditional authority	0.6
	Doctors	0.5
	Men	0.5
	Religious leader or organization	0.2
	The police	0.1
	State welfare office	0.1
	Business person or organization	0.0
	PTO (parent teacher organization)	0.0
	Teachers	0.0

Survey questions:

q57 Who do you believe currently has the most impact on EDUCATION (primary and secondary schools)?
 Central government (general); (2) Local government (general); (3) President; (4) Ministry of Education; (5) Ministry of Health; (6) Ministry of Home Affairs and Internal Security; (7) Ministry of Defense; (8) Ministry of Agriculture, irrigation, and water development; (9) Local Council; (10) Village head; (11) Group village head; (12) Traditional authority; (13) Member of parliament; (14) The police; (15) NGOs/Local CSOs; (16) Business person or organization; (17) Religious leader or organization; (18) State welfare office; (19) PTO (parent teacher organization); (20) Teachers; (21) Doctors; (22) Community/citizens; (23) Village development committee; (24) Water boards; (25) Men; (26) Women; (27) Other government ministry; (28) Other; (29) No one; (98) Don't Know/Refuse

q57 Who do you believe currently has the most impact on LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT?
 (1) Central government (general); (2) Local government (general); (3) President; (4) Ministry of Education; (5) Ministry of Health; (6) Ministry of Home Affairs and Internal Security; (7) Ministry of Defense; (8) Ministry of Agriculture, irrigation, and water development; (9) Local Council; (10) Village head; (11) Group village head; (12) Traditional authority; (13) Member of parliament; (14) The police; (15) NGOs/Local CSOs; (16) Business person or organization; (17) Religious leader or organization; (18) State welfare office; (19) PTO (parent teacher organization); (20) Teachers; (21) Doctors; (22) Community/citizens; (23) Village development committee; (24) Water boards; (25) Men; (26) Women; (27) Other government ministry; (28) Other; (29) No one; (98) Don't Know/Refuse

q576. Who do you believe currently has the most impact on HEALTH SERVICES (clinics and hospitals)?
 (1) Central government (general); (2) Local government (general); (3) President; (4) Ministry of Education; (5) Ministry of Health; (6) Ministry of Home Affairs and Internal Security; (7) Ministry of Defense; (8) Ministry of Agriculture, irrigation, and water development; (9) Local Council; (10) Village head; (11) Group village head; (12) Traditional authority; (13) Member of parliament; (14) The police; (15) NGOs/Local CSOs; (16) Business person or organization; (17) Religious leader or organization; (18) State welfare office; (19) PTO (parent teacher organization); (20) Teachers; (21) Doctors; (22) Community/citizens; (23) Village development committee; (24) Water boards; (25) Men; (26) Women; (27) Other government ministry; (28) Other; (29) No one; (98) Don't Know/Refuse

q577. (Who do you believe currently has the most impact) and on PUBLIC SAFETY?
 (1) Central government (general); (2) Local government (general); (3) President; (4) Ministry of Education; (5) Ministry of Health; (6) Ministry of Home Affairs and Internal Security; (7) Ministry of Defense; (8) Ministry of Agriculture, irrigation, and water development; (9) Local Council; (10) Village head; (11) Group village head; (12) Traditional authority; (13) Member of parliament; (14) The police; (15) NGOs/Local CSOs; (16) Business person or organization; (17) Religious leader or organization; (18) State welfare office; (19) PTO (parent teacher organization);

(20) Teachers; (21) Doctors; (22) Community/citizens; (23) Village development committee; (24) Water boards; (25) Men; (26) Women; (27) Other government ministry; (28) Other; (29) No one; (98) Don't Know/Refuse
 q578. (Who do you believe currently has the most impact) and on the WATER SUPPLY?

(1) Central government (general); (2) Local government (general); (3) President; (4) Ministry of Education; (5) Ministry of Health; (6) Ministry of Home Affairs and Internal Security; (7) Ministry of Defense; (8) Ministry of Agriculture, irrigation, and water development; (9) Local Council; (10) Village head; (11) Group village head; (12) Traditional authority; (13) Member of parliament; (14) The police; (15) NGOs/Local CSOs; (16) Business person or organization; (17) Religious leader or organization; (18) State welfare office; (19) PTO (parent teacher organization); (20) Teachers; (21) Doctors; (22) Community/citizens; (23) Village development committee; (24) Water boards; (25) Men; (26) Women; (27) Other government ministry; (28) Other; (29) No one; (98) Don't Know/Refuse

Figure 12. Perception of the Police

	Percent (weighted)/ No. of Respondents	Yes	No	Don't Know/ Refuse to Answer	Total
Can Solve Security Problems	Percent (weighted) No. of Respondents	70.6 5515	25.6 1930	3.8 227	100.0 7672
Respond Quickly	Percent (weighted) No. of Respondents	62.7 5059	33.6 2385	3.7 228	100.0 7672
Are Honest	Percent (weighted) No. of Respondents	55.1 4482	38.1 2710	6.8 480	100.0 7672
Know the Community Well	Percent (weighted) No. of Respondents	79.5 6120	15.3 1196	5.2 356	100.0 7672
Are Fair	Percent (weighted) No. of Respondents	46.8 3815	45.6 3327	7.6 530	100.0 7672

Survey questions:

q59_1. Taking care of children, the elderly, or the sick

(0) No; (1) Yes; (98) Don't Know/Refuse to answer

q59_2. Helping people in financial need

(0) No; (1) Yes; (98) Don't Know/Refuse to answer

q60_1. Ensuring security by helping solve disputes or keeping the neighborhood safe from crime

(0) No; (1) Yes; (98) Don't Know/Refuse to answer

q60_2. Participating in local development projects (building roads, building schools and clinics)

(0) No; (1) Yes; (98) Don't Know/Refuse to answer

Figure 13. Why Did You Not Report the Corruption?

	Percent (weighted)/ No. of Respondents	Yes	No	Don't Know/ Refuse to Answer	Total
Corruption Is Normal/Everyone Does It	Percent (weighted) No. of Respondents	3.1 14	90.4 333	6.5 25	100.0 372
I Am Afraid of the Consequences	Percent (weighted) No. of Respondents	28.6 116	64.8 231	6.5 25	100.0 372
I Don't Have Enough Time to Report It	Percent (weighted) No. of Respondents	3.3 12	90.2 335	6.5 25	100.0 372
I Don't Know How to Report It	Percent (weighted) No. of Respondents	11.7 40	81.8 307	6.5 25	100.0 372
I Don't Know Where to Report It	Percent (weighted) No. of Respondents	17.9 65	75.6 282	6.5 25	100.0 372
It's Government's Money, Not the People's, So It's Not My Problem	Percent (weighted) No. of Respondents	1.7 1	91.7 346	6.5 25	100.0 372
It's Too Expensive to Report	Percent (weighted) No. of Respondents	0.6 5	92.9 342	6.5 25	100.0 372
Nothing Will Be Done / It Wouldn't Make a Difference	Percent (weighted) No. of Respondents	27.5 103	66.0 244	6.5 25	100.0 372
The Officials to Whom I Would Report Are Also Corrupt	Percent (weighted) No. of Respondents	3.4 20	90.0 327	6.5 25	100.0 372

Survey questions:

(q59_1. Taking care of children, the elderly, or the sick

(0) No; (1) Yes; (98) Don't Know/Refuse to answer

q59_2. Helping people in financial need

(0) No; (1) Yes; (98) Don't Know/Refuse to answer

q60_1. Ensuring security by helping solve disputes or keeping the neighborhood safe from crime

(0) No; (1) Yes; (98) Don't Know/Refuse to answer

q60_2. Participating in local development projects (building roads, building schools and clinics)

(0) No; (1) Yes; (98) Don't Know/Refuse to answer