

ATTITUDES TO DEMOCRACY AND MARKETS IN MALI

AFROBAROMETER SURVEY
JANUARY 2001

Respondent Number: [Office use only] Field Number:

[Supervisor use only]

Back-checked:		Back-checked by:	Coding checked by:	Commune: [Circle one]
Yes	1			Urban 1
No	2			Rural 2

[Interviewer: Fill in boxes.]

Region		Commune	
Cercle		Quartier/Village	

Household Selection Procedure

Select a household according to the walk pattern (i.e. fifth house on the right). If there is no one at home in the selected household on the first try, make at least one more trip to the household before substituting. If there is no one at home after a second call, substitute that household with the next household found in the direction of the walk pattern.

[Interviewer: Circle numbers for unsuccessful calls only.]

Unsuccessful calls Reasons for Substitution:	House 1	House 2	House 3	House 4	House 5	House 6	House 7
Refused to be interviewed	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Person selected through card procedure was never at home	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Premises empty for the survey period	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Deaf/Spoke only a foreign language	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Did not fit gender quota	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Other	6	6	6	6	6	6	6

Introduction

Good day. My name is _____. I am from PADEP, an independent research organization. I do not represent the government or any political party. We are studying the views of citizens in Mali about how the country is governed. We would like to discuss these issues with yourself, or a member of your household. Would somebody from this household be willing to answer a few questions?

[If yes]

Every person in Mali has an equal chance of being included in this study. Your household has been chosen by chance. We would now like to randomly choose an adult from within your household. Would you help us pick one?

If the interview is refused, walk away from the household and substitute that household with the fifth house found in the direction of the walk pattern.

Respondent Selection Procedure

[Interviewer: Circle the correct numbers.]

	Male	Female
Previous interview was with a:	1	2
This interview must be with a:	1	2

Please tell me the first names of all Malian citizens who presently live in this household and who are over eighteen years old. Include yourself.

Determine whether they are male or female. If this interview must be with a female, list only women's names. If this interview must be with a male, list only men's names. List the first names only of all eligible household members 18 years or older, even those not presently at home but who will return to the house that evening.

Women's Names	Men's Names
1	1
2	2
3	3
4	4
5	5
6	6
7	7
8	8
9	9
10	10

Please choose a card. The person who corresponds to the number chosen will be the person interviewed.

REMEMBER: Circle the number of the person selected. Interview the person whose name appears next to the selected number.

The person I need to speak to is [read in name] _____. Is this person presently at home?

If yes: May I please interview this person now?

If no: Will this person return here at any time today?

If no: Thank you very much. I will select another household. Substitute the next household on the walk pattern. (NOTE: YOU MUST SUBSTITUTE HOUSEHOLDS, NOT INDIVIDUALS.)

If yes: Please tell this person that I will return for an interview at [insert convenient time]. Make one return visit. If the randomly selected respondent is not present on your second visit, replace this household with the next house on the walk pattern.

If the selected respondent is not the same person that you first met, repeat Introduction:

Good day. My name is _____. I am from PADEP, an independent research organization. I do not represent the government or any political party. We are studying the views of citizens in Mali about how the country is governed. Your answers will be confidential. They will be put together with over 2000 other people we are talking to, to get an overall picture. It will be impossible to pick you out from what you say, so please feel free to tell us what you think. Are you willing to participate?

How many calls were made to the household where the interview actually took place?	1	2
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Date of interview [Interviewer: Enter day and month]					0	0
Time interview started [Interviewer: Enter hour and minute, use 24 hr. clock]					X	X

BEGIN INTERVIEW

Let us start with a few questions about yourself.

	Male	Female
1. <i>[Do not read out]</i> Interviewer: What is the respondent's gender?	1	2

	No	Yes
2. Are you the head of the household?	0	1

3. EITHER How old were you at your last birthday? OR <i>[If respondent cannot answer]</i> In which year were you born?	
<i>[EITHER: Write in age]</i> _____	
<i>[OR: Write in year born]</i> _____	
Could not determine age <i>[Enter 999 for "Don't Know"]</i> _____	
Age <i>[Office use only]</i>	PC

4. What is your home language?			
Bambara	01	Boso	10
Fulfulde	02	Kasonke	11
Senufo	03	Arabic	12
Soninke	04	Dungo	13
Malinke	05	Jula	14
Songhai	06	Fuuta Jalon	15
Dogon	07	Tadaksahak	16
Tamasheq	08	Other	17
Bomu	09		

5. What is your religion, if any?	
None	0
Islam	1
Catholic	2
Protestant (mainstream)	3
Protestant (evangelical/pentecostal)	4
African independent church	5
Traditional religion	6
Other	7

6. How much education have you had?	
No formal schooling	00
Informal schooling (including Koranic) only	01
Some primary schooling	02
Primary school completed	03
Some secondary school	04
Secondary school completed	05
Post-secondary qualifications, other than university	06
Some university, college	07
University, college completed	08
Post-graduate	09
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	10

7. What is your main occupation?			
Unemployed	00	Teacher	09
Farmer/fisherman	01	Government Worker	10
Informal Marketeer	02	NGO Worker	11
Businessperson	03	Professional	12
Clerical Worker	04	Retired	13
Artisan	05	Housewife	14
Domestic Worker	06	Student	15
Miner	07	Other [Interviewer: Specify below]	PC
Technical Worker	08		

8. Considering ALL your economic activities (that is, your main occupation plus other things you do to earn money), do you currently: [ask for each item].	No	Yes
A. buy and sell goods?	0	1
B. sell your skills or services to other people?	0	1
C. employ other people to work for you?	0	1
D. operate a bank or savings account?	0	1
E. owe money that you have borrowed for business purposes?	0	1

9. Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you gone without: [Interviewer: if "never" to Qs.9A-F, circle 9 for "not applicable" for Qs. 10A-F and go to Q.11]				
	Never	Occasionally	Frequently	Always
A. Food for your family?	0	1	2	3
B. Water for domestic use?	0	1	2	3
C. Schooling for children?	0	1	2	3
D. Medical treatment for your family?	0	1	2	3
E. Electricity in your home?	0	1	2	3
F. A cash income?	0	1	2	3

10. To whom do you usually turn when you are unable to get: [Prompt if necessary]							
	No-one	Family	Community group	Market provision	Govt provision	Illicit provision	Not applicable
A. Food for your family?	0	1	2	3	4	5	9
B. Water for domestic use?	0	1	2	3	4	5	9
C. Schooling for children?	0	1	2	3	4	5	9
D. Medical treatment?	0	1	2	3	4	5	9
E. Electricity in your home?	0	1	2	3	4	5	9
F. A cash income?	0	1	2	3	4	5	9

11. If you needed to, could you borrow as much as a week's living expenses from:					
	Definitely	Probably	Probably not	Definitely not	Don't Know
A. A bank?	1	2	3	4	9
B. A community group?	1	2	3	4	9
C. A friend or relative?	1	2	3	4	9

12. If you became seriously ill and needed some help at home, is there anyone you could count on for help?					
	Definitely	Probably	Probably not	Definitely not	Don't Know
A. In your family?	1	2	3	4	9
B. Outside your family?	1	2	3	4	9

13. How satisfied are you with:				
<i>[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]</i>	Not at all satisfied	Not very satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Very satisfied
A. your own living conditions today?	1	2	3	4
B. the condition of the Malian economy today?	1	2	3	4
C. the general situation in the country today?	1	2	3	4

14. Would you say that your own living conditions are worse, the same, or better than other Malians?	
<i>[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]</i>	
Much worse	1
Worse	2
About the same	3
Better	4
Much better	5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

15. When you look at your life today, how satisfied do you feel compared with one year ago?	
Much less satisfied	1
Slightly less satisfied	2
About the same	3
Slightly more satisfied	4
Much more satisfied	5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

16. When you look forward at your life's prospects, how satisfied do you expect to be in one year's time?	
Much less satisfied	1
Slightly less satisfied	2
About the same	3
Slightly more satisfied	4
Much more satisfied	5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

17. In your opinion, who is most responsible for the current economic conditions in Mali?	
The previous government	1
The current government	2
The IMF/World Bank	3
We, the people	4
Structural Adjustment Programme	5
Internal opposition forces	6
International economic forces	7
Other <i>[Specify]</i>	PC
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

18. In your view, what are the most important problems facing:		
<i>[Accept up to three responses for each question.]</i>		
A. you personally?		
(1)	PC	
(2)	PC	
(3)	PC	
B. the country, which government should address?		
(1)	PC	
(2)	PC	
(3)	PC	

19. How well would you say the current government is handling the following problems?	Very Badly	Fairly Badly	Fairly Well	Very Well	DK [Do not read]
A. Creating jobs	1	2	3	4	9
B. Keeping prices low	1	2	3	4	9
C. Narrowing income gaps between rich and poor	1	2	3	4	9
D. Reducing crime	1	2	3	4	9
E. Addressing educational needs	1	2	3	4	9
F. Improving health services	1	2	3	4	9
G. Assuring that all Malians have enough to eat	1	2	3	4	9
H. Preventing the spread of AIDS	1	2	3	4	9
I. Alleviating poverty	1	2	3	4	9
J. Fighting corruption in government	1	2	3	4	9

20. What is your overall assessment of the performance of the current government?	
Very bad	1
Bad	2
Neither bad nor good	3
Good	4
Very good	5
Don't know [Do not read]	9

21. How long do you think it will take: [Ask for each item]	Within two years	Within four years	Within eight years	More than eight years	Never	DK [Do not read]
A. before the government fulfills the promises it has made?	1	2	3	4	5	9
B. before your own living standards meet your expectations?	1	2	3	4	5	9

22. How often do you get news from:	Never	Less than once a month	About once a month	About once a week	Several times a week	Every day	DK [Do not read]
A. The radio?	0	1	2	3	4	5	9
B. Television?	0	1	2	3	4	5	9
C. Newspapers?	0	1	2	3	4	5	9

23. How interested are you in politics and government?	
Not interested	0
Somewhat interested	1
Very interested	2
Don't know [Do not read]	9

24. How often do you discuss politics and government with other people?	
Never	0
Sometimes	1
Often	2
Don't know [Do not read]	9

25A. Can you tell me the name of the Mayor of the Council in this area?			
_____	PC	Incorrect	0
		Correct	1
		Don't know [Do not read]	9
[Interviewer: Write in name given]			

25B. Can you tell me the name of the Deputy for this commune?			
_____	PC	Incorrect	0
		Correct	1
		Don't know [Do not read]	9
[Interviewer: Write in name given]			

25C. Can you tell me the name of the Governor of this region?			
_____	PC	Incorrect	0
		Correct	1
		Don't know [Do not read]	9
[Interviewer: Write in name given]			

25D. Can you tell me the name of the Minister of Finance?			
_____	PC	Incorrect	0
		Correct	1
		Don't know [Do not read]	9
[Interviewer: Write in name given]			

25E. Can you tell me the name of the President of the National Assembly?			
_____	PC	Incorrect	0
		Correct	1
		Don't know [Do not read]	9
[Interviewer: Write in name given]			

26. Now I am going to read out a list of voluntary organizations. For each one, could you tell me whether you are an official leader, an active member, an inactive member or not a member of that type of organization?				
	Official Leader	Active Member	Inactive Member	Not a Member
A. A religious organization (e.g. church, mosque)	3	2	1	0
B. Sport or recreation organization	3	2	1	0
C. Educational organization (e.g. PTA)	3	2	1	0
D. Trade union/farmers organization	3	2	1	0
E. Professional or business association	3	2	1	0
F. Community development association	3	2	1	0
G. Women's organization	3	2	1	0
H. Pro-democracy or human rights organization	3	2	1	0
I. Environmental association	3	2	1	0
K. Other (Specify)	3	2	1	0

I am now going to give you several pairs of statements. Please tell me which one you agree with most. Choose Statement A or Statement B. [Interviewer: Probe: ADo you agree strongly or just somewhat?@]		
27.	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
A: In discussions about politics with friends and neighbors, I can influence the opinions of others.	2	1
B: As far as politics are concerned, friends and neighbors do not listen to me.	3	4
Do not agree with either [Do not read]	5	
Don't know [Do not read]	9	

28.	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
A: The way the government operates sometimes seems so complicated that I cannot really understand what is going on.	2	1
B: I can usually understand the way that government works.	3	4
Do not agree with either <i>[Do not read]</i>	5	
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9	

29.	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
A: As a community, we are generally able to make our elected representatives listen to our problems.	2	1
B: We are usually unable to make our elected representatives listen to us.	3	4
Do not agree with either <i>[Do not read]</i>	5	
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9	

30.	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
A: In Mali today, there is not enough respect for authority.	2	1
B: We Malians should be more active in questioning the authority of our leaders.	3	4
Do not agree with either <i>[Do not read]</i>	5	
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9	

31. What, if anything, does “democracy” mean to you? <i>[Interviewer: Prompt if necessary: “When you hear the word “democracy”, what is the first thing that comes to your mind?”] [Interviewer: record answer in French]</i>	PC
(a)	
(b)	
(c)	

32. People associate democracy with many different meanings such as the ones I will mention now. In order for a society to be called democratic, how important is each of these: [Probe for strength of opinion]					
	Very Important	Important	Not Very Important	Not At All Important	DK <i>[Do not read]</i>
A. The majority rules	1	2	3	4	9
B. Anyone is free to criticize the government	1	2	3	4	9
C. Elections are held regularly	1	2	3	4	9
D. At least two political parties compete with each other	1	2	3	4	9
E. Everyone enjoys basic necessities like shelter, food and water	1	2	3	4	9
F. Jobs for everyone	1	2	3	4	9
G. Education for everyone	1	2	3	4	9
H. A small income gap between rich and poor	1	2	3	4	9

33. In your opinion, how much of a democracy is Mali today?	
Not a democracy	0
Major problems, but still a democracy	1
Minor problems, but still a democracy	2
Full democracy	3
Not applicable	8
Don't Know	9

34. Which of these three statements is closest to your own opinion?	
A. Democracy is preferable to any other form of government.	1
B. In certain situations, a non-democratic government can be preferable.	2
C. To people like me, it doesn't matter what form of government we have.	3

Now we will return to pairs of statements. Please tell me which one you agree with most. Choose Statement A or Statement B. [Interviewer: Probe: ADo you agree strongly or just somewhat?@]		
35.	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
A: It is dangerous to allow the expression of too many different points of view.	2	1
B: If people have different views than I do, they should be allowed to express them.	3	4
Do not agree with either <i>[Do not read]</i>	5	
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9	

36.	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
A: All people should be permitted to vote, even if they do not fully understand all the issues in an election.	2	1
B: Only those who are sufficiently well educated should be allowed to vote.	3	4
Do not agree with either <i>[Do not read]</i>	5	
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9	

37.	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
A: The President of Mali should be able to change the Constitution whenever he chooses.	2	1
B: In Mali, even the President should obey the Constitution.	3	4
Do not agree with either <i>[Do not read]</i>	5	
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9	

38.	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
A: In Mali, it is sometimes alright for citizens to use violence in trying to reach political goals	2	1
B: The use of violence is never justified in Malian politics	3	4
Do not agree with either <i>[Do not read]</i>	5	
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9	

39.	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
A: All members of a family should hold the same political opinions.	2	1
B: Every family member should be free to make up his or her own mind on political issues.	3	4
Do not agree with either <i>[Do not read]</i>	5	
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9	

40.	Agree Somewhat 2	Agree Strongly 1
A: Women in Mali should have equal rights and receive the same treatment as men do.		
B: Women have always been subject to traditional African law, and should remain so.	3	4
Do not agree with either <i>[Do not read]</i>	5	
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9	

41. We are now going to discuss how much you like different kinds of government. I would like you to give marks out of ten. Let us say that the best government gets 10 out of 10 and the worst government gets 1 out of 10. What mark would you give to:										
A. our present system of government with free elections and many parties?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
B. the former system of military rule?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
C. the former colonial system (that is, when the French ruled)?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
D. the old system of government by traditional rulers?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
E. the system of government that you expect Mali to have in five years time?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

42. We are going to compare our present system of government with the former system of military rule. Please tell me if the following things are better or worse now than they used to be.						
	Much Worse	Somewhat Worse	No Change	Somewhat Better	Much Better	DK <i>[Do not read]</i>
A. People are free to say what they think.	1	2	3	4	5	9
B. People can join any organization they want.	1	2	3	4	5	9
C. Each person can freely choose who to vote for without feeling pressured.	1	2	3	4	5	9
D. Ordinary people can influence what government does.	1	2	3	4	5	9
E. Everybody is treated equally and fairly by the government.	1	2	3	4	5	9
F. People have an adequate standard of living.	1	2	3	4	5	9

43. Some people say that we would be better off if the country was governed differently. What do you think about the following options?					
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Don't Know <i>[Do not read]</i>
A. We should get rid of elections so that a strong leader can decide everything.	1	2	3	4	9
B. We should have only one political party.	1	2	3	4	9
C. The army should come in to govern the country.	1	2	3	4	9
D. The most important decisions, for example on the economy, should be left to experts.	1	2	3	4	9
E. All decisions should be made by a council of traditional leaders.	1	2	3	4	9

44. Generally, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in Mali? <i>[Interviewer: Probe to see how strongly opinion is held]</i>	
Very dissatisfied	1
Somewhat dissatisfied	2
Somewhat satisfied	3
Very satisfied	4
Not applicable <i>[e.g. if DK to Q....]</i>	8
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9
Mali is not a democracy	0

Once again, please choose whether you agree with Statement A or B. <i>[Interviewer: Probe: ADo you agree strongly or just somewhat?]</i>		
45.	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
A: Our present system of elected government should be able to deal with inherited problems, even if this takes time.	2	1
B: If democracy can't produce results soon, we should try another form of government.	3	4
Do not agree with either <i>[Do not read]</i>	5	
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9	

Let's turn to your views on your fellow citizens.

46. Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you must be very careful in dealing with people?	
Most people can be trusted	1
You must be very careful	2
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

I am now going to read you a list of people. I would like to know how much you trust them to do what is right. <i>[Interviewer: Probe to see whether or not views are held strongly.]</i>					
47. How much do you trust the following people?					
	I do not trust them at all	I distrust them somewhat	I trust them somewhat	I trust them a lot	DK <i>[Do not read]</i>
A. Your relatives	1	2	3	4	9
B. Your neighbors	1	2	3	4	9
C. Someone in your own tribe	1	2	3	4	9
D. Malians from other tribes	1	2	3	4	9
E. President Konare	1	2	3	4	9

48. How much do you trust the following institutions?					
	I do not trust them at all	I distrust them somewhat	I trust them somewhat	I trust them a lot	DK <i>[Do not read]</i>
A. traditional rulers	1	2	3	4	9
B. Local Government authorities	1	2	3	4	9
C. the police	1	2	3	4	9
D. courts of law	1	2	3	4	9
E. political parties	1	2	3	4	9
F. the army	1	2	3	4	9
G. the National Assembly	1	2	3	4	9
H. the Electoral Commission (CENI)	1	2	3	4	9
I. the national broadcaster ORTM	1	2	3	4	9

49. And how much do you trust the following social institutions?					
	I do not trust them at all	I distrust them somewhat	I trust them somewhat	I trust them a lot	DK [Do not read]
A. churches	1	2	3	4	9
B. mosques	1	2	3	4	9
C. trade unions [ask urban] OR farmer organizations [ask rural]	1	2	3	4	9
D. NGOs	1	2	3	4	9
E. banks	1	2	3	4	9
F. businesses	1	2	3	4	9

50. We know that some people obey the law and others do not. In your opinion, how often do Malians break the law by engaging in the following acts?					
	Never	Occasionally	Most of the time	Always	DK [Do not read]
A. throwing rubbish in public places	0	1	2	3	9
B. disregarding traffic signs and traffic lights	0	1	2	3	9
C. selling goods without a trader's licence	0	1	2	3	9
D. not paying for services like piped water	0	1	2	3	9
E. evading income taxes	0	1	2	3	9
F. offering bribes to public servants	0	1	2	3	9

51. Have you ever heard about the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP)? [Interviewer: Prompt, if necessary: AYou know, the reforms to the economy introduced in the 1980s.@]	
No [If No, Go to Q.54]	0
Yes	1

52. What, in your opinion, is the Structural Adjustment Programme supposed to do?	PC

53. How satisfied or unsatisfied are you with the SAP?	
Very unsatisfied	1
Unsatisfied	2
Neutral	3
Satisfied	4
Very satisfied	5
Don't know [Do not read]	9
Not applicable [i.e. if not go to Q.51]	0

I am again going to give you several pairs of statements. Please tell me which one you agree with most. Choose Statement A or Statement B. [Interviewer: Probe: ADo you agree strongly or just somewhat?@]

54.	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
A: It is not wise to plan too far ahead, because many things turn out to be a matter of luck.	2	1
B: I always try to plan ahead because I feel I can make my plans work.	3	4
Do not agree with either [Do not read]	5	
Don't know [Do not read]	9	

55.		Agree Somewhat 2	Agree Strongly 1
A: People should look after themselves and be responsible for their own success in life.			
B: The government should bear the main responsibility for ensuring the well-being of people.		3	4
Do not agree with either <i>[Do not read]</i>		5	
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>		9	

56.		Agree Somewhat 2	Agree Strongly 1
A: The best way to create jobs is to encourage people to start their own businesses.			
B: The government should provide employment for everyone who wants to work.		3	4
Do not agree with either <i>[Do not read]</i>		5	
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>		9	

57.		Agree Somewhat 2	Agree Strongly 1
A: Everyone should be free to earn as much as they can, even if this leads to differences in income between people.			
B: The government should place limits on how much the rich can earn, even if this discourages some people from working hard.		3	4
Do not agree with either <i>[Do not read]</i>		5	
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>		9	

58.		Agree Somewhat 2	Agree Strongly 1
A: In rural areas, land should be owned by the community and allocated by the traditional rulers.			
B: People should be able to own their own land, including buying and selling it, even in rural areas.		3	4
Do not agree with either <i>[Do not read]</i>		5	
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>		9	

59.		Agree Somewhat 2	Agree Strongly 1
A: The government's laws, policies and rules change so often that they hurt people's economic welfare.			
B: The laws, policies and rules in this country are stable enough to allow people to plan for the economic future.		3	4
Do not agree with either <i>[Do not read]</i>		5	
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>		9	

60. I am going to read out a list of things that are important for the development of our country. In your opinion, who is responsible for providing these things? The government, private businesses, or the people themselves? Or some combination of these providers?					
	Government	Private Businesses	People	Combination	Don't Know
A. protecting the nation's borders	1	2	3	4	9
B. building your house	1	2	3	4	9
C. extending agricultural credit	1	2	3	4	9
D. producing and marketing cotton	1	2	3	4	9

	Government	Private Businesses	People	Combination	Don't Know
E. selling consumer goods	1	2	3	4	9
F. providing school and clinics	1	2	3	4	9
G. creating jobs	1	2	3	4	9
H. reducing crime	1	2	3	4	9

Once again, please choose whether you agree most with Statement A or B.

[Interviewer: Probe: A Do you agree strongly or just somewhat?@]

61.	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
A: It is better to have goods available in the market, even if the prices are high.	2	1
B: It is better to have low prices, even if there are shortages of goods.	3	4
Do not agree with either <i>[Do not read]</i>	5	
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9	

62.	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
A: It is better to have free schooling for our children, even if the quality of education is low.	2	1
B: It is better to raise educational standards, even if we have to pay school fees.	3	4
Do not agree with either <i>[Do not read]</i>	5	
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9	

63.	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
A: All civil servants should keep their jobs, even if paying their salaries is costly to the country.	2	1
B: The government cannot afford so many public employees and should lay some of them off.	3	4
Do not agree with either <i>[Do not read]</i>	5	
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9	

64.	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
A: The government should retain ownership of its factories, businesses, and farms.	2	1
B: It is better for the government to sell its businesses to private companies and individuals.	3	4
Do not agree with either <i>[Do not read]</i>	5	
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9	

65.	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
A: In order to create jobs, the government should encourage foreign companies to invest in our country.	2	1
B: The government should be wary of foreign investors because they may gain control of our national wealth.	3	4
Do not agree with either <i>[Do not read]</i>	5	
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9	

66.	Agree Somewhat 2	Agree Strongly 1
A: The costs of reforming the economy are too high; the government should therefore change its economic policies.		
B: In order for the economy to get better in the future, it is necessary for us to accept some hardships now.	3	4
Do not agree with either <i>[Do not read]</i>	5	
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9	

67.	Agree Somewhat 2	Agree Strongly 1
A: The government-s economic policies have helped most people; only a few have suffered.		
B: The government-s economic policies have hurt most people and only benefited a few.	3	4
Do not agree with either <i>[Do not read]</i>	5	
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9	

68. [If respondent chose 67B] In your opinion, which group has benefited most? Single Code.		
People close to the government		1
Foreign businesses		2
Rural dwellers		3
People in selected regions of Mali		4
<i>[If 4, Specify which region(s)]</i>	PC	
Other		5
<i>[If Other, Specify]</i>	PC	
Not applicable <i>[If respondent chose 67A]</i>		8
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>		9

69. Are you a registered voter? [Interviewer: If registered, circle 00 for "not applicable" for Q.70 and go to Q.71]		
I did not register, because I chose not to		0
I wanted to register, but I was unable to do so		1
I have registered to vote <i>[If registered, go to Q. 71]</i>		2

70. [If not registered] Why not?		
Not applicable <i>[i.e. if registered]</i>		00
Missed registration		01
Ill health		02
Absent from area		03
Registration process was not credible		04
Did not have required documents		05
Under 18 during registration		06
Not interested in voting		07
Otherwise engaged		08
Encountered difficulties during registration		09
Other		10

71. Understanding that some Malians choose not to vote, let me ask you: Did you vote: ASK FOR EACH ONE.	No	Yes
A. In the Presidential election of May 1997? <i>[Interviewer: Prompt if necessary: that is, the last elections for President.]</i>	0	1
B. In the National Assembly elections of July and August 1997? <i>[Interviewer: Prompt if necessary: that is, the last elections for Parliament.]</i>	0	1
C. In the municipal elections of 1988 or 1999?	0	1

72. What in your opinion is a Deputy to the National Assembly supposed to do?

PC

73. In your opinion, how honest or dishonest were the Presidential elections of May 1997?

Very Dishonest	Somewhat Dishonest	Quite Honest	Very Honest	DK [Do not read]
1	2	3	4	9

74. Since the last election, how satisfied have you been with the performance of:

	Very unsatisfied	Somewhat unsatisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Very satisfied	NA (D only)	DK [dnr]
A. your Deputy in the National Assembly?	1	2	3	4		9
B. the Governor of this region?	1	2	3	4		9
C. the Mayor for this council are a?	1	2	3	4		9
D. any judge or lawyer you have encountered?	1	2	3	4	0	9
E. political parties?	1	2	3	4		9
F. The President of the Republic?	1	2	3	4		9

75. I will read out a list of things that people sometimes do as citizens. Please tell me how often you, personally, have done any of these things during the last five years.

	Never	Only once	Sometimes	Often
A. attended a community meeting	0	1	2	3
B. got together with others to raise an issue	0	1	2	3
C. attended an election rally	0	1	2	3
D. worked for a political candidate or party	0	1	2	3
E. signed a petition	0	1	2	3
F. wrote a letter to a newspaper	0	1	2	3
G. attended a demonstration	0	1	2	3

76. During the last five years, how often have you contacted any of the following persons for help to solve a problem?

	Never	Only once	Sometimes	Often
A. a traditional ruler	0	1	2	3
B. a Local Government Councilor	0	1	2	3
C. a National Assembly representative	0	1	2	3
D. A State Assembly representative	0	1	2	3
E. an official of a government ministry	0	1	2	3
F. a political party official	0	1	2	3
G. a religious leader	0	1	2	3
H. some other influential person	0	1	2	3

77. On those occasions that you contacted a leader or attended a community meeting, what was your main reason for doing so?	
To get a job or advance my career	1
To get help for a personal or family matter	2
To have a chance to work with others	3
To help unify our community	4
To do my duty as a citizen	5
To help bring services or opportunities to our community	6
Not applicable	0
Other <i>[Specify]</i>	PC

Please say whether you agree or disagree with the following statements. There are no right or wrong answers. Just tell me what you think.					
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	DK <i>[dnr]</i>
78A. Our constitution expresses the values and aspirations of the Malian people.	1	2	3	4	9
78B. Our government exercises power in a way that is acceptable to the citizens of this country.	1	2	3	4	9
78C. Our government has the right to make decisions that all people have to abide by, whether or not they agree with them.	1	2	3	4	9

79. What would you do if the government took any of the following actions:							
	Support the government	Nothing	Contact an elected representative	Support an opposition party	Join a protest or boycott	Other <i>[Specify below]</i>	DK <i>[Do not read]</i>
A. told you which religion you had to follow	8	0	1	2	3		9
B. stopped you from traveling freely within the country	8	0	1	2	3		9
C. shut down newspapers that criticized the government	8	0	1	2	3		9
D. dismissed judges who ruled against the government	8	0	1	2	3		9
E. suspended the National Assembly and canceled the next elections	8	0	1	2	3		9
<i>[If Other, Specify]</i>						PC	

80A. In your opinion, how easy or difficult is it to obtain the following services? <i>[Interviewer: If: "easy" to Qs.80A,A-E, circle 8 for "not applicable" for Qs.80B, A-E and go to Q81]</i>					
	Very Easy	Easy	Difficult	Very difficult	DK
A. A birth certificate for a child	1	2	3	4	9
B. a place in primary school for a child	1	2	3	4	9
C. a voter registration card for yourself	1	2	3	4	9
D. an electricity connection for your home	1	2	3	4	9
E. a telephone connection (including cell phone)	1	2	3	4	9

80B. For those services that are difficult to obtain, is this due to their high cost or the long time it takes to get them, or both?					
	High cost	Long time	Both	NA	DK
A. A birth certificate for a child	1	2	3	8	9
B. a place in primary school for a child	1	2	3	8	9
C. a voter registration card for yourself	1	2	3	8	9
D. an electricity connection for your home	1	2	3	8	9
E. a telephone connection (including cell phone)	1	2	3	8	9

Please say whether you agree or disagree with the following statements. There are no right or wrong answers. Just tell me what <u>you</u> think.					
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	DK [dnr]
81A. In this country, you must be very careful of what you say or do with regard to politics.	1	2	3	4	9
81B. The best way to get ahead in this life is to have contacts with important people in high places.	1	2	3	4	9
81C. Politicians and civil servants are trying their best to look after the interests of people like me.	1	2	3	4	9
81D. Rather than protecting his friends, the President will fight corruption wherever he finds it.	1	2	3	4	9
81E. Bribery is not common among public officials in Mali.	1	2	3	4	9
81F. The President-s region of the country gets more government services than any other region.	1	2	3	4	9
81G. Corruption was a worse problem under the old military government than these days.	1	2	3	4	9

82. How often, if ever, have you been required to give a bribe, a gift, a favor or anything else in return for getting something you were entitled to?	
Never [If never, go to Q.89]	0
Once	1
A few times	2
Often	3

83. Please tell me how common or rare you think corruption is within each of the following groups or organizations.					
	Very Common	Fairly Common	Fairly Rare	Very Rare	DK [dnr]
A. Elected leaders	1	2	3	4	9
B. Civil servants	1	2	3	4	9
C. The police	1	2	3	4	9
D. Customs agents	1	2	3	4	9
E. Judges	1	2	3	4	9
F. Malian businessmen	1	2	3	4	9
G. Foreign businessmen	1	2	3	4	9
H. Teachers	1	2	3	4	9
I. Churches	1	2	3	4	9
J. Women's organizations	1	2	3	4	9
K. Political Parties	1	2	3	4	9
L. Trade Unions	1	2	3	4	9
M. NGOs	1	2	3	4	9

84. In the past two years, have you or anyone else you know:				
<i>[Interviewer: Circle all that apply]</i>	No, no-one	Friend or acquaintance	Family member	Yes, self
A. been attacked or robbed when moving about in public?	0	1	2	3
B. had your/their home broken into and had something stolen?	0	1	2	3

85. What should a person do who is waiting for a government permit if a government official says "just be patient" ?	
Don't worry, just wait, the permit will come	1
Offer a tip or a gift to the official	2
Use connections to influential people	3
Write a letter to the head office	4
Do what you want without the permit	5
Do nothing because nothing can be done	6
Don't know	9
Other <i>[Specify]</i>	PC

86. Compared with the past, do you presently feel less safe or more safe when you go walking about alone?	
Much less safe	1
Somewhat less safe	2
About the same	3
Somewhat more safe	4
Much more safe	5

Let us close with a few final questions about yourself.

87. We have spoken to many Malians and they have all described themselves in different ways. Some people describe themselves in terms of their language, ethnic group, religion, or gender and others describe themselves in economic terms, such as working class, middle class, or a farmer. Besides being Malian, which specific group do you feel you belong to first and foremost?	
<i>[Interviewer: Enter respondents exact response, in French, on the line below]</i>	PC

88. Here are a series of things people might say about how they see their group in relation to other Malians. There are no right or wrong answers. We are simply interested in <u>your</u> opinions. Please tell me whether you disagree or agree with these statements. <i>[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]</i>						
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	DK <i>[Do not read]</i>
A. You feel proud to be a _____.	1	2	3	4	5	9
B. It makes you proud to be called a Malian.	1	2	3	4	5	9
C. People who were not born in this country should be allowed to become Malian citizens.	1	2	3	4	5	9

89. Let us suppose that you had to choose between being a Malian and being a _____. Which of these two groups do you feel most strongly attached to?	
Malian	1
Identity group	2
Don't know	9

90. Are _____s [respondent's identity group] economic conditions worse, the same as, or better than other groups in this country? [Probe for strength of opinion]	
Much worse	1
Worse	2
About the same	3
Better	4
Much better	5
Don't know [Do Not Read]	9

91. In your opinion, how often are _____ [respondent's identity group] treated unfairly by the government?	
Always	1
Most of the time	2
Some of the time	3
Almost never	4
Never	5
Don't know [Do Not Read]	9

92. Do you feel close to any political party?	
<i>[If No, circle 0 for Q.93, and Go to Q.94]</i>	
No	0
Yes	1

93. [If Yes] Which one?	
Not applicable	0
Alliance for Democracy (ADEMA)	1
Block of Alternative for the Renewal of Africa (BARA)	2
Democratic and Social Convention (CDS)	3
Movement for the Independence, Renaissance and Integration of Africa (MIRIA)	4
National Congress for Democratic Initiative (CNID)	5
Party for Democracy and Progress or (PDP)	6
Party for National Renewal (PARENA)	7
Rally for Democracy and Labor (RDT)	8
Rally for Democracy and Progress (RDP)	9
Sudanese Union/African Democratic Rally (US/RDA)	10
Union of Democratic Forces for Progress (UFDP)	11
Union for Democracy and Development (UDD)	12
Other [Specify]	PC
Don't know [Do not read]	9

94. Roughly how much money do you (and your spouse together) earn per month?	
None	0
Less than 10,000 fcfa	1
10,001 – 50,000 fcfa	2
50,001 – 100,000 fcfa	3
100,001 – 200,000 fcfa	4
200,001 – 300,000 fcfa	5
300,001 – 400,000 fcfa	6
400,001 – 500,000 fcfa	7
More than 500,000 fcfa	8

95. How would you describe your financial situation during the past year? Did you save money, spend all your income, spend some of your own savings, or borrow money? Single Code Only.	
Save	1
Spend Income (i.e., break even)	2
Spend Savings	3
Borrow	4
Spend Savings and Borrow	5

96. On a scale of 1-10, where 1 is "poor" and 10 is "not poor", what number would you give your own household?		
<i>Enter number</i>		

97. On an average day, roughly how much time do you spend on the following activities:					
	Spend no time	Less than 1 hour	1-2 hours	3-5 hours	More than 5 hours
A. Working to earn money	0	1	2	3	4
B. Working to produce food	0	1	2	3	4
C. Doing household work	0	1	2	3	4
D. Taking care of children	0	1	2	3	4
E. Caring for other household members	0	1	2	3	4

98. On an average day, how much is your daily routine affected by feeling tired, stressed or sick?	
Not at all	0
A little	1
A lot	2

99. Do you know a close friend or relative who has died of AIDS?	
No	0
Yes	1
Will not say	2
Don't Know	9

100. Who do you think sent us to do this interview?		
<i>PC</i>		

Thank you so much. Your answers have been very helpful. Please be assured that they will remain confidential.

Time Interview Ended [Interviewer: Enter hour and minute.]					X	X
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END INTERVIEW

Contextual Data

[Interviewer: The following items should be completed after the interview is ended.]

101. Cercle/district			
Abeibara	1	Kita	26
Ansongo	2	Kolokani	27
Bafoulabé	3	Kolondiéba	28
Bamako	4	Koro	29
Banamba	5	Koulikoro	30
Bandiagara	6	Koutiala	31
Bankass	7	Macina	32
Baraouli	8	Ménaka	33
Bla	9	Mopti	34
Bougouni	10	Nara	35
Bourem	11	Niafunké	36
Diéma	12	Niono	37
Dioïla	13	Nioro	38
Diré	14	San	39
Djenné	15	Ségou	40
Doentza	16	Sikasso	41
Gao	17	Tenenkou	42
Goundam	18	Tessalit	43
Gourma-Rarhous	19	Tin-Essako	44
Kadiolo	20	Tombouctou	45
Kangaba	21	Tominian	46
Kati	22	Yanfolila	47
Kayes	23	Yélimané	48
Kéniéba	24	Yorosso	49
Kidal	25	Youwarou	50

102. In what language was the interview conducted?			
Bambara	1	Soninke	4
Peul	2	Tamasheq	5
Songhai	3	French	6

103. In what type of shelter did the respondent live?	
Non-traditional (formal house)	1
Traditional house	2
Temporary structure on own plot	3
Temporary structure in backyard	4
Flat in block of flats	5
Single room in larger dwelling structure	6
Other	9

104. Was the roof made of: [One response only]	
Metal, tin, zinc	1
Tiles	2
Shingles	3
Thatch	4
Plastic sheets	5
Asbestos	6
Multiple materials	7
Could not see/could not tell	9

105. Roughly how much of the last 10km. of your journey were spent on these different sorts of roads? [Circle all that apply]	Length of journey spent on each road			
	0 kms	<5kms	5 - 9 kms	All
Graded sand/dirt roads	0	1	2	3
Ungraded dirt roads	0	1	2	3
Off road	0	1	2	3
Tarred or concrete roads	0	1	2	3

106.	No, no-one	Spouse	Children only	A few others	Small crowd
Were there any other people immediately present who might be listening during the interview?	0	1	2	3	4

107. Did the respondent check with others for information to answer any question?	
No	0
Yes	1

108. Do you think anyone influenced the respondent's answers during the interview?	
No	0
Yes	1

109. What proportion of the questions do you feel the respondent had difficulty answering?	
None	0
Few	1
Some	2
Most	3
All	4

110. Interviewer: Do you come from a rural or urban area?	
Urban	1
Rural	2

111. Interviewer: What is your gender?	
Male	1
Female	2

Interviewer: Do you have any other comments on the interview?

<p>Interviewer: I hereby certify that this interview was conducted in accordance with instructions received during training. All responses recorded here are those of the respondent who was chosen by the appropriate selection method.</p> <p>Signature: _____ Date: _____</p>
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