



Policy Brief No. 1

After a Decade of Growth in Africa, Little Change in Poverty at the Grassroots

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New data from Round 5 of the Afrobarometer, collected across an unprecedented 34 African countries between October 2011 and June 2013,¹ demonstrates that “lived poverty” remains pervasive across the continent. This data, based on the views and experiences of ordinary citizens, counters projections of declining poverty rates that have been derived from official GDP growth rates. For the 16 countries where these questions have been asked over the past decade, we find little evidence for systematic reduction of lived poverty despite average GDP growth rates of 4.8% per year² over the same period. While we do see reductions in five countries (Cape Verde, Ghana, Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe), we also find increases in lived poverty in five others (Botswana, Mali, Senegal, South Africa and Tanzania). Overall, then, despite high reported growth rates, lived poverty at the grassroots remains little changed. This suggests either that growth is occurring, but that its effects are not trickling down to the poorest citizens (in fact, income inequality may be worsening), or alternatively, that actual growth rates may not match up to those being reported. The evidence also suggests, however, that investments in infrastructure and social services are strongly linked with lower levels of lived poverty.

¹ Afrobarometer surveys are based on nationally representative samples. These 34-country results therefore represent the views of approximately three-quarters (76%) of the continent’s population. Countries included in Round 5 are: Algeria, Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Cote d’Ivoire, Egypt, Ghana, Guinea, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritius, Morocco, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Sudan, Swaziland, Tanzania, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. Results from a 35th country, Ethiopia, will be available shortly. The total number of respondents in the 34 countries was 51,605.

Interviews are conducted face-to-face in the language of the respondent’s choice. Previous rounds of the Afrobarometer were conducted in 1999-2001 (Round 1, 12 countries), 2002-2003 (Round 2, 16 countries), 2005-2006 (Round 3, 18 countries), and 2008-2009 (Round 4, 20 countries). For further information visit www.afrobarometer.org

² Unless otherwise noted, all economic growth rates reported are annual averages calculated for the decade from 2002-11 based on data from African Development Bank available at <http://www.afdb.org/en/knowledge/statistics/>. Liberia growth rates are calculated for the period from 2004-2011. Somalia is excluded.

Key Findings

- With only two years to go before the 2015 Millennium Development Goal benchmark year, roughly one in five Africans still experiences frequent ('many times' or 'always') deprivation with respect to their most basic needs for food (17%), clean water (21%), and medicines and medical care (20%). Approximately half experience at least occasional shortages. Slightly fewer suffer from inadequate access to cooking fuel (13% frequently go without).
- More than twice as many (44%) regularly lack a cash income which might enable them to meet these basic needs, and a full three-quarters (76%) report going without cash at least once in the previous year.
- People in Burundi, Guinea, Niger, Senegal and Togo experienced the highest average levels of lived poverty, while those living in Algeria and Mauritius experienced the lowest.
- People living in countries undergoing or emerging from conflicts appear to be particularly vulnerable to lived poverty, especially food shortages. Five of the seven countries that experience the highest levels of nutritional deprivation – Burundi, Liberia, Madagascar, Sierra Leone and Niger – are all emerging from recent conflicts. And the two worst performers in North Africa – Egypt and Sudan – have recently faced internal conflicts as well.
- Comparing regional experiences of lived poverty, we find that both West and East Africans encounter the most shortages, while North Africans experience the lowest levels of deprivation.
- Across 16 countries where data is available over the past decade, the average experience of lived poverty has hardly changed. There have been real over-time decreases in Cape Verde, Ghana, Malawi and Zambia. And the formation of the Government of National Unity in Zimbabwe in 2008 also appears to have generated a "peace dividend" in the past five years that translated into a more recent, but substantial reduction of lived poverty in that country. However, these instances of poverty reduction have been matched by increases in Botswana, Mali, Senegal, South Africa and Tanzania over the past decade.
- The data show significant correlations between access to electrical grids, piped water, and other basic services in communities and lower levels of lived poverty. Higher levels of formal education also correlate with sharply lower experiences of deprivation.

Measuring Lived Poverty Using Survey Data in Africa

Poverty is measured in a number of different ways. At the national level, all countries produce national accounts data to calculate their Gross National Income, which is used to summarize national wealth and the total state of the economy. However, the capacity of many African countries' national statistics systems to generate these numbers has recently been criticized.³

At the personal or household level, national statistical offices also conduct large household surveys to measure income, expenditure, assets and access to services, which are then used to calculate national poverty lines and place individuals above or below that line. The Millennium Development Goal that focused on reducing the number of people living on less than \$1.25 a day is a good example. However, such surveys are expensive and conducted infrequently in many African countries. Other development organizations, such as the United Nations, collect data on the consequences of poverty such as the proportion of people who use improved drinking water sources or sanitation services, or the proportion of underweight children under five, in a given country.

As a contribution to the debate about poverty in Africa, the Afrobarometer offers the Lived Poverty Index (LPI), an experiential measure that consists of a series of survey questions that measure how frequently people actually go without basic necessities during the course of a year. It measures a portion of the central core of the concept of poverty that is not well captured by existing measures, and thus offers an important complement to official statistics on poverty and development. Because people are the best judges of their own interests, respondents are best placed to tell us about their quality of life, though they might not be able to do it with a great deal of precision. If Amartya Sen is right and the value of one's standard of living lies in the living itself, an experiential measure of shortages of the basic necessities of life takes us directly to the central core of what the concept of poverty is all about.⁴

The Afrobarometer asks respondents: *Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or your family gone without enough: food to eat; clean water for home use; medicines or medical treatment; enough fuel to cook your food; a cash income?* A range of response options are offered, starting with *never* for those that experienced no shortages, to *just once or twice, several times, many times* and *always*. Because these questions are asked in all Afrobarometer countries, we are able to monitor not only shifts in the levels and nature of poverty over time, but also to compare experiences across countries and regions.

³ Morton Jerven, *Poor Numbers: How We Are Misled By African Development Statistics and What To Do About It* (London: Cornell University Press, 2013).

⁴ Amartya Sen, *Development As Freedom* (New York: Anchor Books, 1999).

The Nature and Severity of Poverty in Africa as of 2012

Recent evidence suggesting that African countries are registering the fastest economic growth rates globally has led many to predict that the continent is on the verge of a development renaissance.⁵ While there is compelling evidence in support of Africa's strong economic performance, questions about whether this growth is contributing to the reduction of poverty remain highly contested. Some analysts contend that relatively high economic growth rates, which averaged 4.8% per annum over the last decade, have contributed to corresponding declines in the proportion of Africans living below the poverty line from 51% in 2005 to 39% in 2012.⁶ Others counter that there is no solid evidence that this strong economic growth is contributing to meaningful reductions in poverty levels.⁷ Still others question whether the high growth rates being reported may themselves be illusory.⁸ Afrobarometer's measures of lived poverty shed light on this debate, suggesting that doubts about the extent of progress achieved in the fight against poverty are well founded.

The data reveal that significant numbers of Africans still fail to meet their most basic needs, and many of them fall short on a regular basis. Majorities report facing shortages in medicine and medical services (53% at least once in the past year) and food (50%). Just under a majority experience at least occasional shortages of clean water (49%), and four-in-ten go without cooking fuel (42%). More troubling is the intensity of the problem: roughly one in five encounter *frequent* shortages (going without "many times" or "always" in the past year) with respect to water (22%), medicines (20%) and food (17%). Not surprisingly, shortages are especially acute in rural areas, where 21% experienced regular food shortages, 24% went without medical care, and 26% lacked access to water, compared to just 11%, 13% and 15% of urban dwellers, respectively.

The most commonly cited form of deprivation remains access to cash income, with a full three-quarters (76%) reporting that they went without cash at least once in the previous year.⁹ While cash income is not in itself a basic need, access to it can enable citizens to purchase their basic

⁵ See Pascal Lamy, "Africa is the growth continent for the 21st Century," Speech by the World Trade Organization Director General, University of Nairobi, 22 May 2013. Available online at:

http://www.wto.org/english/news_e/sppl_e/sppl283_e.htm accessed 23 September 2013

⁶ African Development Bank Group, 2013, Annual Development Effectiveness Review 2013: Towards sustainable growth for Africa, Tunis: ADB Group.

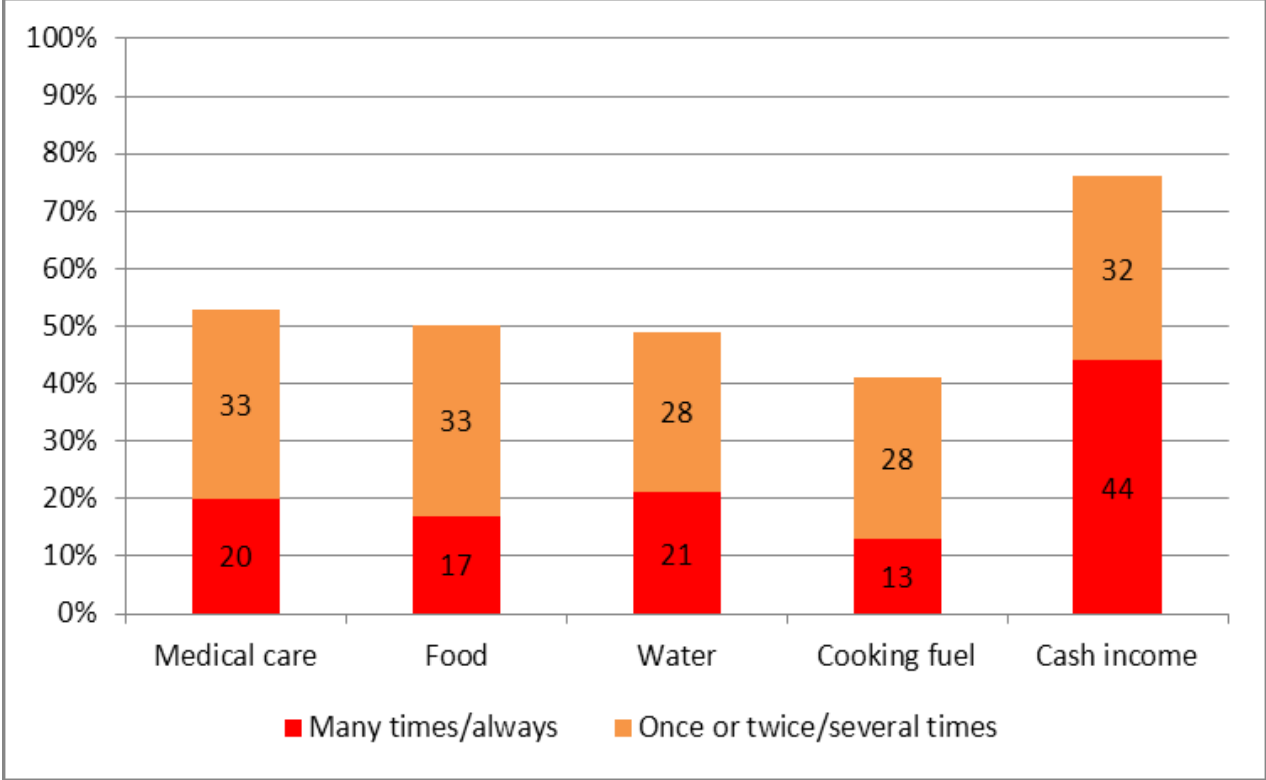
⁷ NEPAD, 2012, *Africa's decade of change: Reflections on 10 years of NEPAD*, Johannesburg: NEPAD

⁸ Jerven, *Poor Numbers*.

⁹ See Afrobarometer (2004), "Lived Poverty in Africa: Desperation, Hope and Patience", Afrobarometer Briefing paper No. 11; Robert Mattes and Michael Bratton, (2009), "Poverty Reduction, Economic Growth and Democratization in Sub-Saharan Africa," Afrobarometer Briefing Paper No. 68; and Robert Mattes (2008), "The material and political bases of lived poverty in Africa: insights from the Afrobarometer," Afrobarometer Working Paper No. 98.

and non-basic needs. Income shortages therefore have many spillover effects on individuals' lives. The fact that three-quarters of Africans report having gone without cash income at least once in the previous year therefore poses a major development challenge, as many adults on the continent cannot afford to buy resources for immediate use or invest in assets.

Lived poverty across 34 African countries, 2011-2013

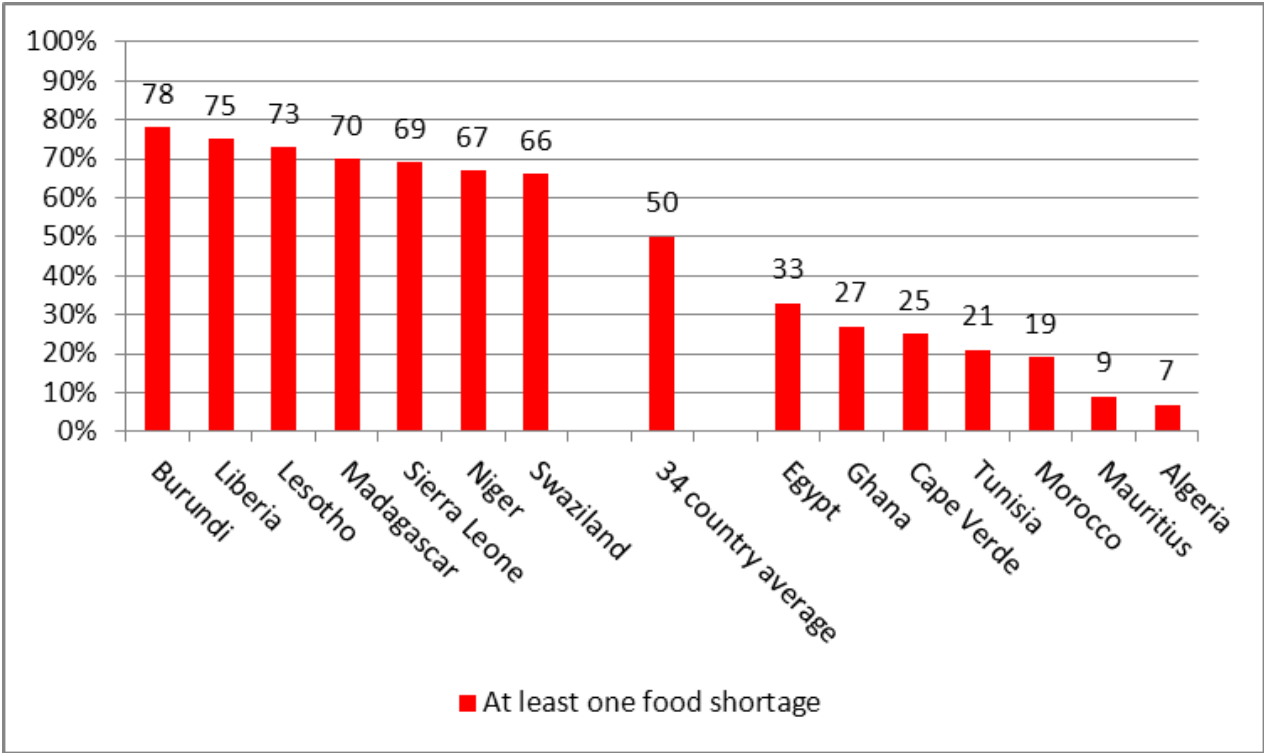


Overall averages, however, hide substantial country differences across the continent. For instance, at least two thirds of all citizens experienced food shortage at least once in Burundi (78%), Liberia (75%), Lesotho (73%), Madagascar (70%), Sierra Leone (69%), Niger (67%) and Swaziland (66%). In contrast, one-third or fewer faced the same problem in Egypt (33%), Ghana (27%), Cape Verde (25%), Tunisia (21%), Morocco (19%), Mauritius (9%), and Algeria (7%). Similar patterns prevail with respect to shortages of water and medical treatment.

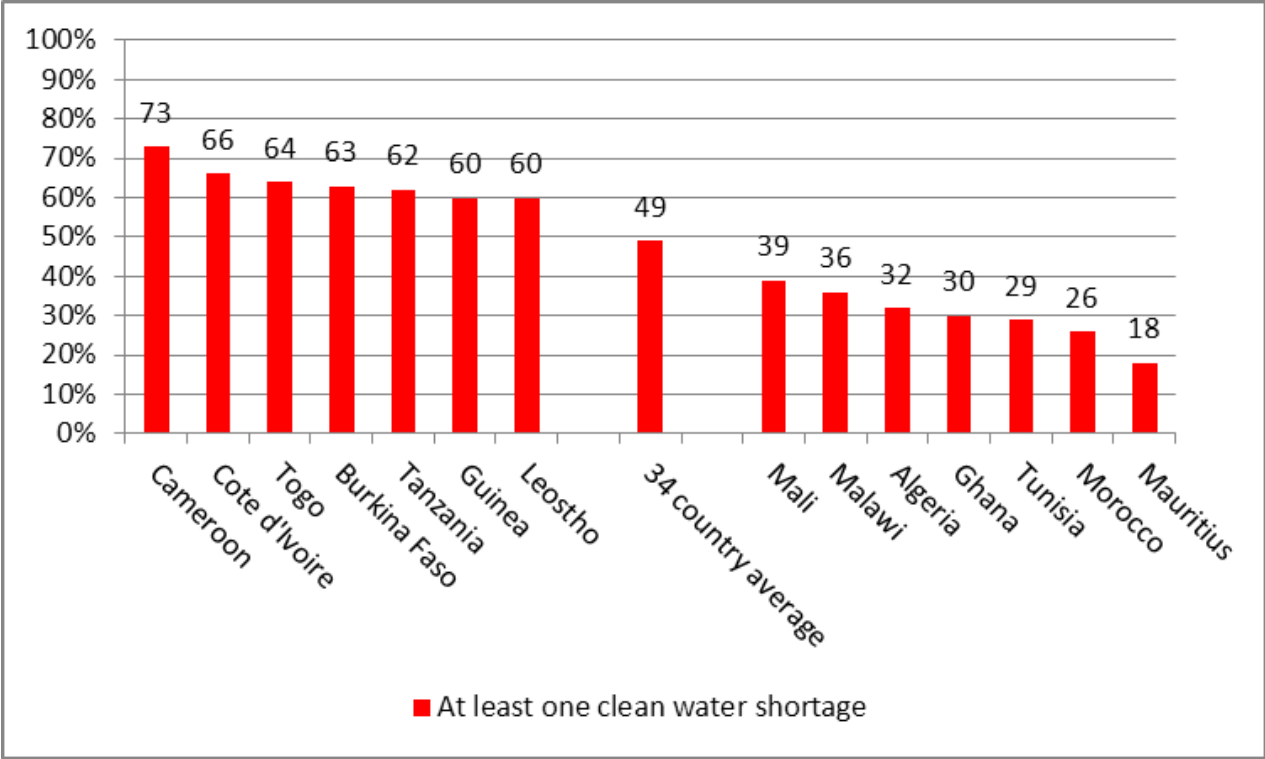
While access to clean water remains a lingering challenge for many African citizens, the extent of deprivation again varies widely. At least six-in-ten went without in Cameroon, Cote d'Ivoire, Togo, Burkina Faso, Tanzania, Guinea and Lesotho. But less than four-in-ten experienced shortages of clean water in Mali, Malawi, Algeria, Ghana, Tunisia, Morocco, and Mauritius.

Similarly, while between two-thirds and three-quarters of all citizens say they went without necessary medicine or medical treatment at least once in Guinea, Tanzania, Liberia, Uganda, Sierra Leone, Senegal, Cote D'Ivoire, the figures were below 40% in Botswana, South Africa, Tunisia, Cape Verde, Ghana, and Algeria. In Mauritius, a mere 5% went without, reflecting the country's position as one of a very small group of African countries that has invested heavily in health service provision, providing free health care access to the population.

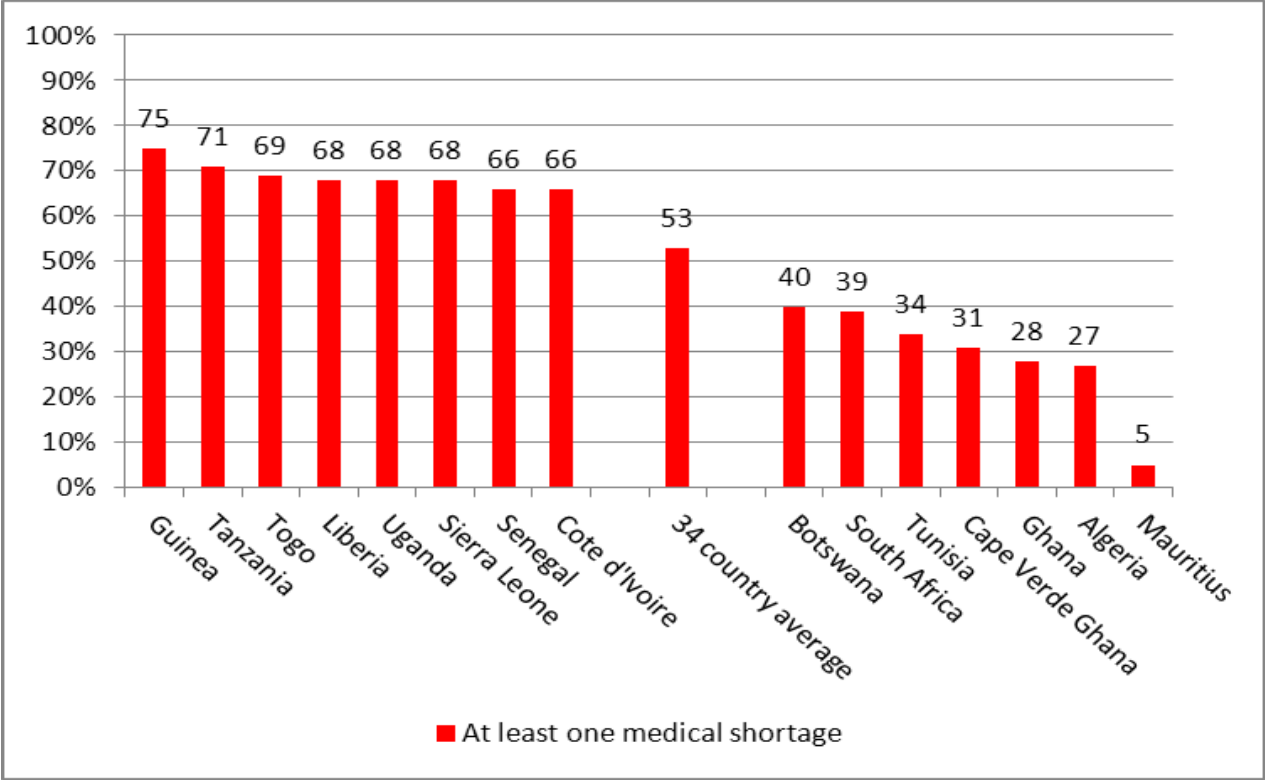
Highest and lowest levels of food shortages, 2011-2013



Highest and lowest levels of water shortages, 2011-2013



Highest and lowest levels of medical shortages, 2011-2013



The Lived Poverty Index (LPI)

The responses to this set of Afrobarometer questions can be combined to calculate an average score for each individual respondent, and for each country, that captures overall levels of “lived poverty.” The Lived Poverty Index (LPI) score ranges along a five point scale from 0 (which can be thought of as no lived poverty) to 4 (which would reflect a constant absence of all basic necessities).¹⁰

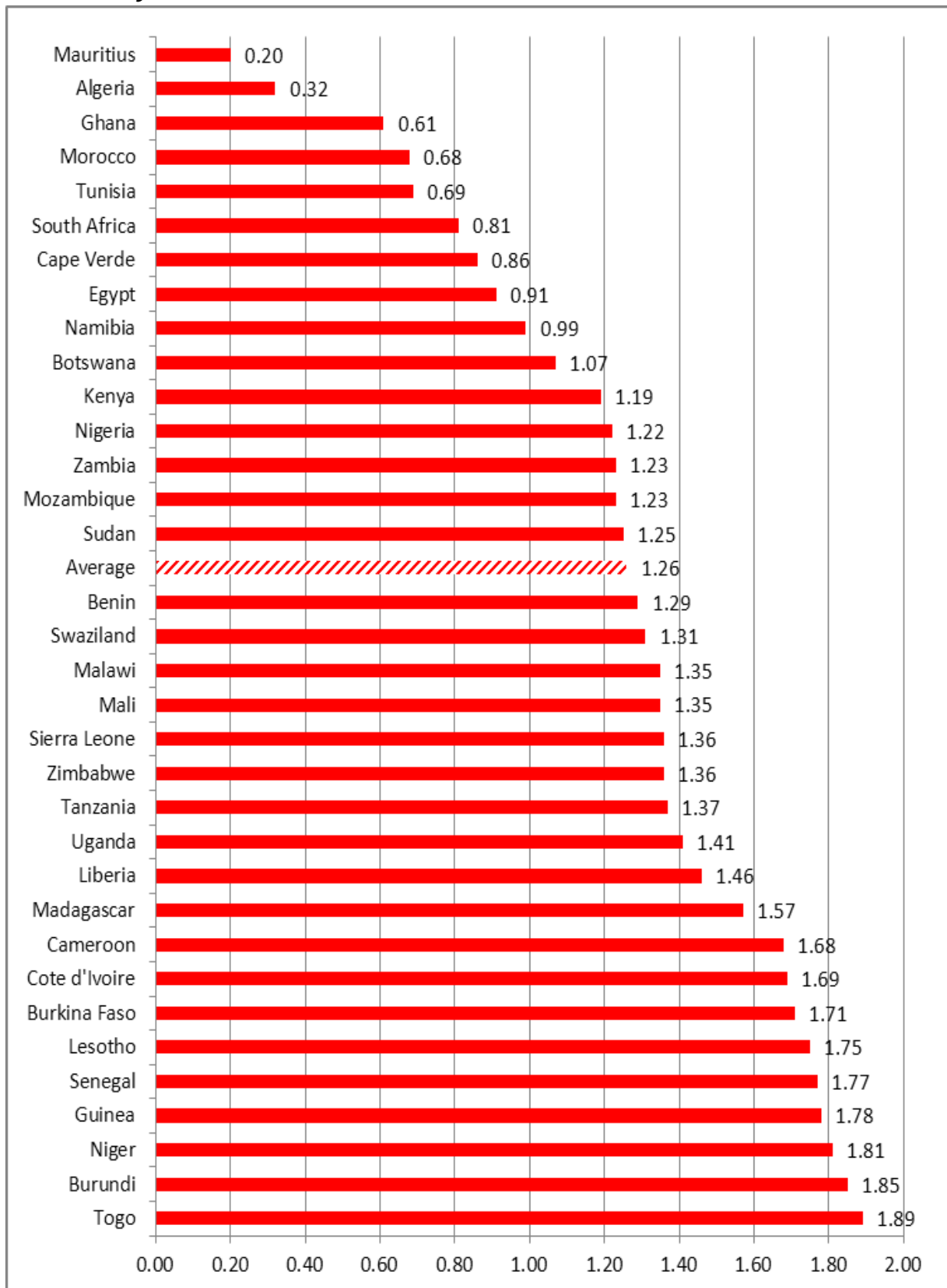
The mean level of lived poverty score across all 34 countries in 2012 is 1.26 (on the scale of 0 to 4). However, there is significant cross-national variation around that mean. At their worst, average scores in Togo (1.89), Burundi (1.85), Niger (1.81), Guinea (1.78), and Lesotho (1.77) suggest that the average person in these countries experiences shortages across all basic necessities “several” times in a year.

At their best, the LPI scores in Mauritius (0.20) and Algeria (0.32) mean that the typical person in those countries “never” goes without any basic necessities.

In general, it is evident that West African countries are clustered at the bottom of the scale, while North African countries dominate at the top. A comparison of average LPI scores by region confirms that these apparent regional differences are real: average lived poverty is highest in both West Africa (1.47) and East Africa (1.46), and lowest in North Africa (0.77), with Southern Africa (1.17) about halfway in between. It is telling, however, that the two worst performing North African countries, Sudan and Egypt, have been embroiled in internal political conflicts. Because this is the first Afrobarometer survey in these countries, the data cannot show whether poverty has led to the conflicts, or has gotten worse as a result of the discord.

¹⁰ Previous research has demonstrated that this scale has impressive internal validity and reliability that is strong and consistent across all country samples and across all survey rounds. See R. Mattes, 2008 “The Material and Political Bases of Lived Poverty in Africa: Insights from the Afrobarometer,” in V. Moller, D. Huschka and A. Michalos, eds, *Barometers of Quality of Life Around the Globe: How are We Doing?* Springer Science Business Media B.V., pp.161-186.

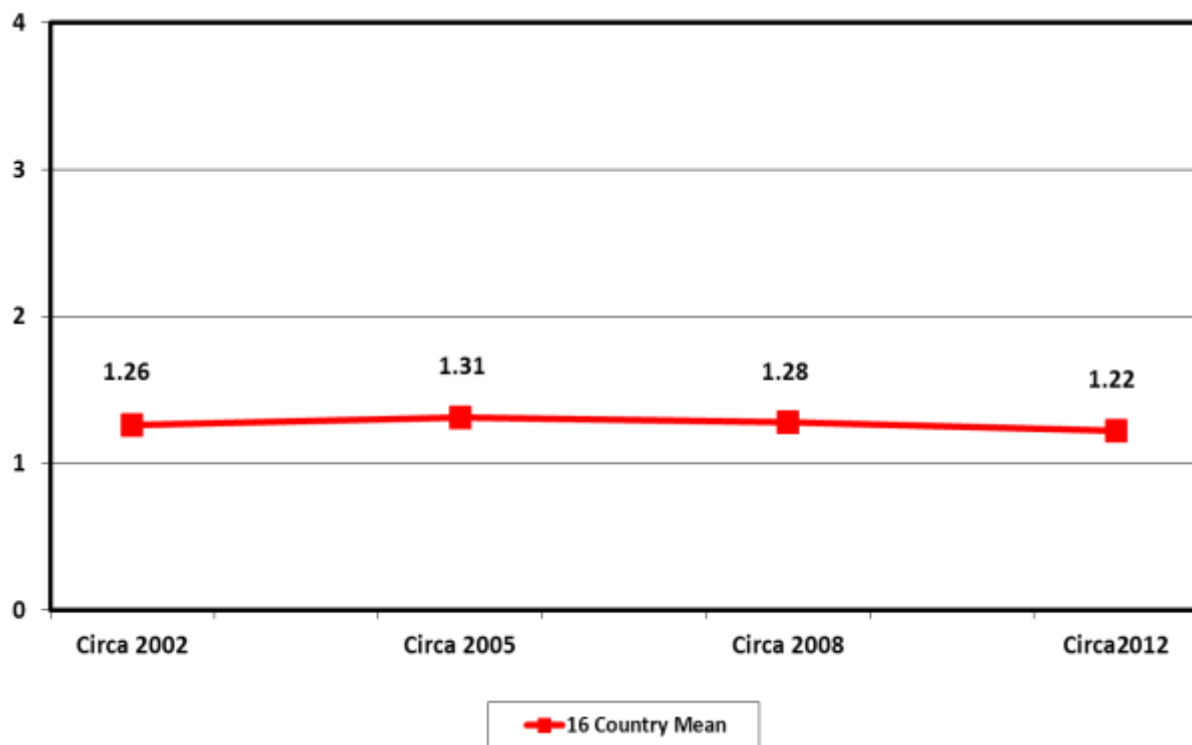
Lived Poverty Index, 2011-2013



Trends in Lived Poverty, 2002-2012 (16 countries)

The Lived Poverty questions have been asked in exactly the same way over the past decade in 16 countries, so the data can track changes in the experience of poverty over this time.¹¹ Taken as a group, there is a very slight decrease in the experience of poverty across this set of countries: the LPI increased from 1.26 in 2002 to 1.31 in 2005, but then fell slowly, and marginally, to 1.22 in 2012. On its face, this might suggest that the adoption by many African countries of various anti-poverty interventions in recent years has thus far failed to have a substantial effect in ameliorating the everyday experience of poverty.

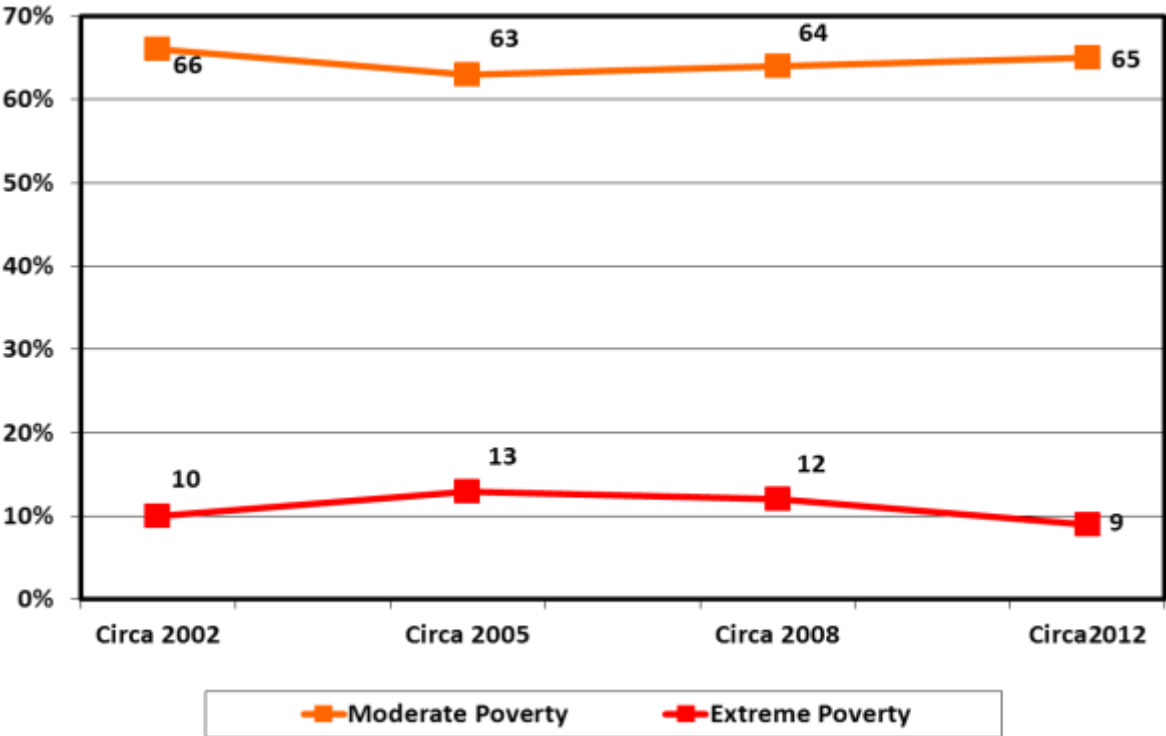
Changes in lived poverty (2002-2012), 16 countries



To further scrutinize the results, Afrobarometer classifies LPI scores into three poverty categories: very low or no lived poverty, with LPI scores of less than 0.50; moderate lived poverty, with scores from 0.5 to 2.5; and extreme lived poverty, with scores of 2.5 and above. Overall, two thirds (65%) of citizens in these 16 countries fall into the moderate poverty category; another one in ten (9%) experience extreme poverty. These average figures remain essentially unchanged since 2002, when they were 66% and 10%, respectively.

¹¹ The 16 countries covered in Round 2 were: Botswana, Cape Verde, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, South Africa, Senegal, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Changes in degree of extreme poverty (2002-2012), 16 countries



National Experiences of Lived Poverty Reduction, 2002 and 2012

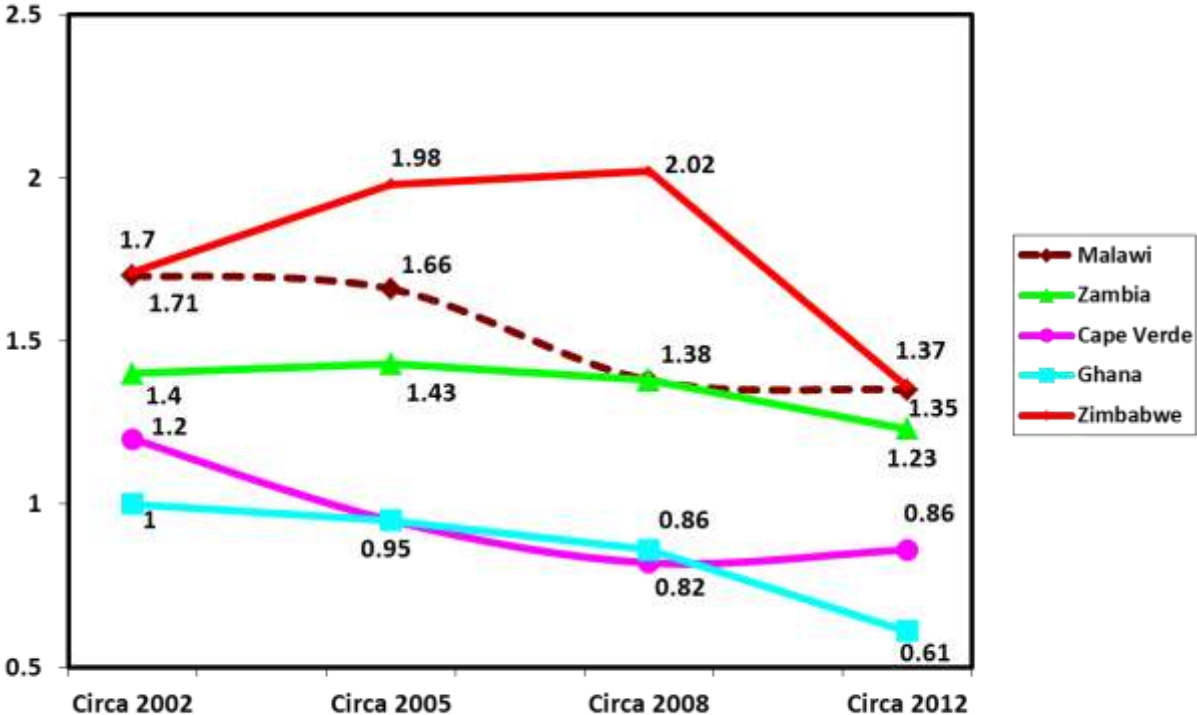
However, the overall stability produced by pooling these 16 countries masks some important overtime changes *within* countries: *successful poverty reduction* in several countries is counterbalanced by *increases* in lived poverty in others.

The largest visible decline occurred in Ghana, where the LPI fell from 1.00 in 2002 to 0.61 in 2012, followed by Malawi, which saw a decline from 1.70 to 1.35 during the same period. Expressed in population percentages, this means that the total proportion of adult Ghanaians living in moderate or extreme poverty fell by 24 percentage points, from 69% to 45%, between 2002 and 2012. In Malawi the decline was a smaller but still important nine percentage points, from 93% to 84%. There were also clear downward shifts in Cape Verde and Zambia over this same period. Reported economic growth rates in these countries over the last decade range from 5.7% per annum in Malawi to 6.8% annually in Ghana.

There was also a substantial decline over the last four years in Zimbabwe. During that country’s prolonged political crisis, lived poverty increased substantially, from 1.71 in 2002 to 2.02 in 2008.

Following the disputed and highly flawed 2008 election, a government of national unity was put into place, and the previous opposition party, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), gained control of the Ministry of Finance. One apparent result of this “peace dividend” was a rapid fall in lived poverty from 2.02 to 1.36.

Decreasing lived poverty (2002-2012), 0-4 scale

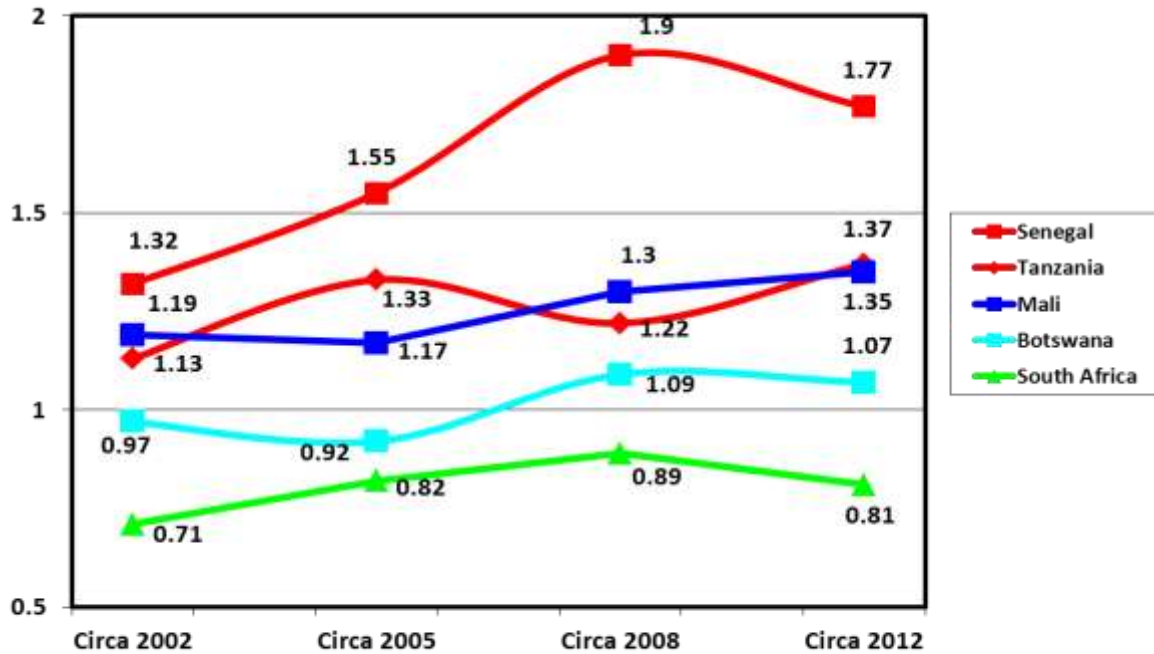


At the same time, lived poverty has *increased* significantly in five countries. The largest increase was observed in Senegal, rising from 1.32 in 2002 to 1.77 in 2012. Tanzania increased from 1.13 to 1.37 over the same period. There were smaller, but real increases in lived poverty in Botswana, Mali¹² and South Africa. This is despite the fact that these countries reportedly enjoyed very similar rates of economic growth to those observed in the countries mentioned above, ranging from 3.6% annually in South Africa to 7.0% per annum in Tanzania.¹³

¹² The Round 5 survey in Mali excluded three northern regions of Gao, Kidal and Timbuktu due to the political crisis and ongoing insecurity. Thus, for purposes of comparability, all figures reported for Mali from both Round 5 and earlier rounds are calculated excluding these regions.

Lived poverty remained stable, or otherwise displayed trendless fluctuations over the last decade in the other six countries.

Increasing lived poverty (2002-2012), 0-4 scale



The Roots of Lived Poverty

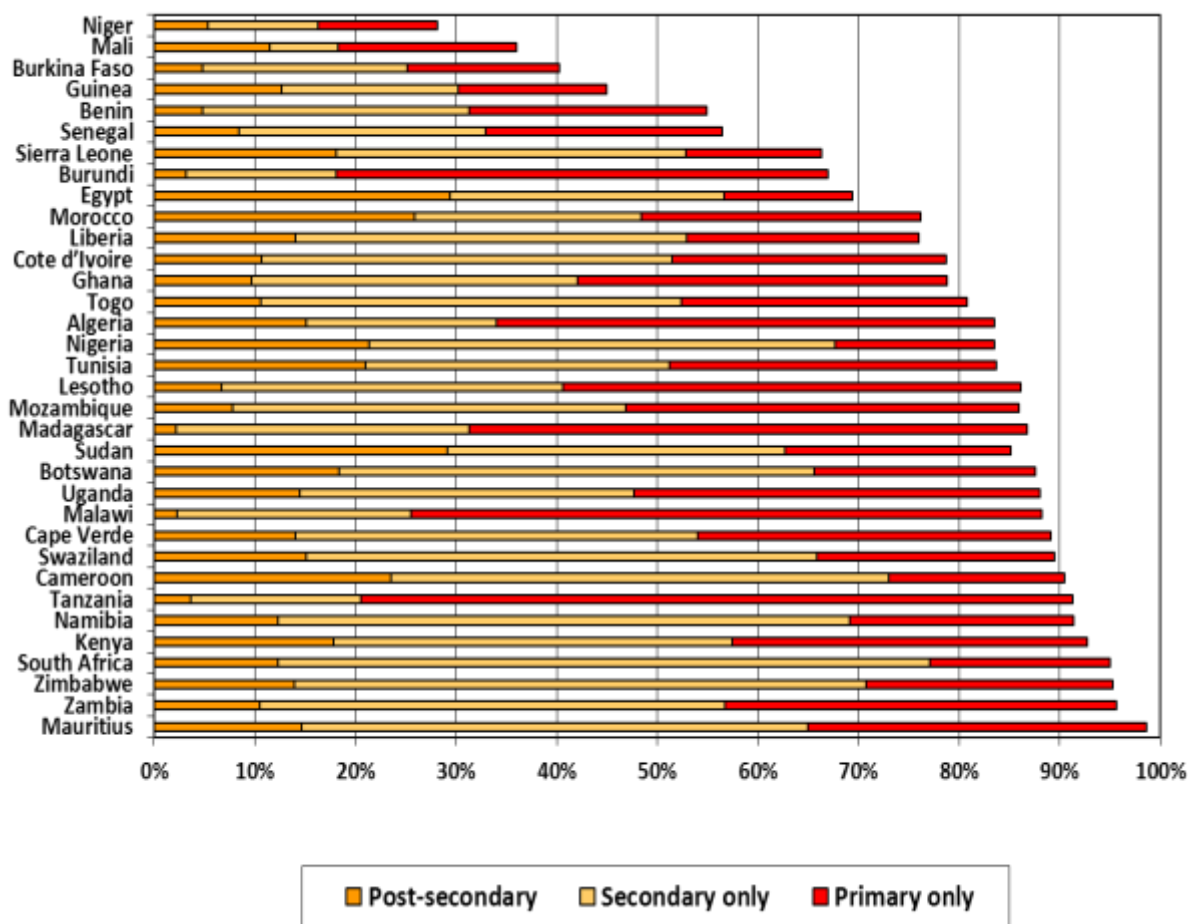
Previous research on the LPI data has shown that the two most important drivers of lived poverty were formal education and the extent to which individuals have access to basic development infrastructure in their immediate area of residence.¹⁴

With surveys across a much wider range of African countries, Afrobarometer re-examined this finding. The analysis shows that across 34 countries, individual lived poverty scores indeed fall sharply as education level increases, from 1.62 among those with no formal schooling, to 0.87 among those with post-secondary education.¹⁵ Thus, the relatively low levels of education in West African states such as Niger, Mali, Burkina Faso and Guinea help account for the high levels of poverty in those countries.

¹⁴ Mattes, "The Material and Political bases of Lived Poverty in Africa."

¹⁵ Eta = .247, p=.000.

Formal education, 2011-2013



Source: Afrobarometer Round 5

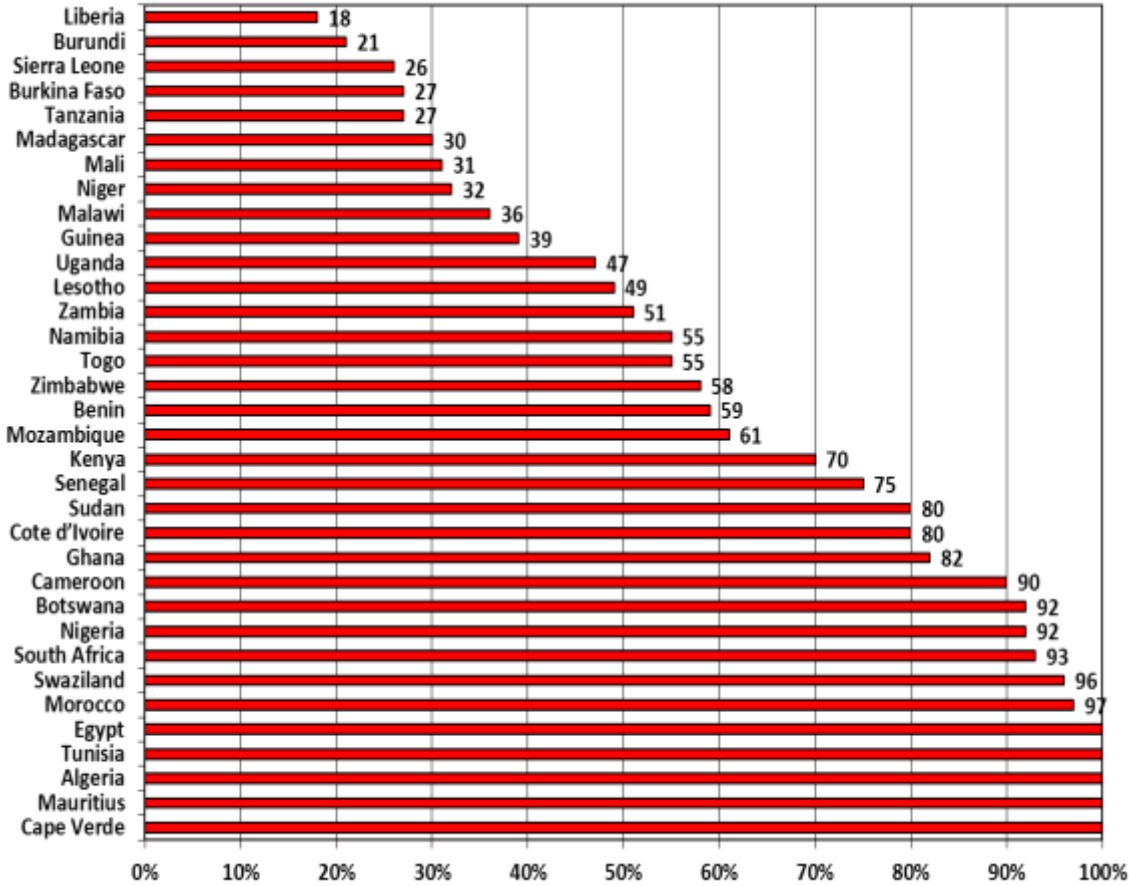
Individual poverty scores also vary sharply according to whether or not key services are present in the respondent's community. The average LPI is 1.05 in census enumeration areas that have an electricity grid, but 1.64 where there is none.¹⁶ Similarly, it is 1.08 where piped water services are available, versus 1.53 where they are not.¹⁷ States have done a far worse job of extending electricity grids in West and East Africa than in other parts of the continent.

These simple correlations strongly suggest that the availability of key infrastructural services (electricity and water, paved roads, sewage systems and health clinics) has a major influence on the experience of lived poverty.

¹⁶ Eta = .297, p=.000.

¹⁷ Eta = .230, p=.000.

Electricity grid within primary sampling area, 2011-2013



Source: Afrobarometer Round 5

The Political Consequences of Lived Poverty?

Data on lived poverty also provide an important opportunity to re-examine the ongoing debate about whether poor people make poor democrats and are likely to participate less in politics.¹⁸ Consistent with previous studies, we find that the effects of poverty on democracy and political participation are mixed. On one hand, Africa’s poorest people are less likely to demand democracy (and reject authoritarian alternatives), and less likely to be satisfied with democracy, compared to the better off, although the effects on demand are very modest¹⁹. On the other hand, lived poverty does not appear to be a major hindrance to political participation. In fact, the continent’s poorest citizens tend to be more active participants in political and civic affairs than their better off counterparts. Despite expressing somewhat less interest in politics, they are

¹⁸ Seymour Martin Lipset, (1963), *Political Man: The Social basis of Politics*, New York: Anchor Books
¹⁹ Support for democracy: Pearson’s r = -.029, p=.000; Satisfaction with the way democracy works: Pearson’s r = -.108, p=.000.

more likely to attend community meetings, join with others to raise issues, and participate in campaign meetings.²⁰ Thus while lived poverty may slightly reduce demand for democracy, it does not appear to be preventing the poor from participating fully in the socio-political life of their countries.

Conclusion

Afrobarometer data on lived poverty provide an important basis for testing widespread assumptions and claims about the effects of the continent's recent economic growth on poverty reduction. While economic data suggests that African countries may be making important strides in achieving and sustaining high growth rates, survey data from 34 countries shows that there is a disconnect between reported growth and the persistence, in both frequency and severity, of poverty among ordinary citizens. Meeting their basic daily needs remains a major challenge for a majority of Africans, even at a time when their countries are reporting impressive economic gains. While several countries demonstrate progress in reducing the experience of poverty, there are as many where lived poverty has increased. These findings suggest that either economic growth is not trickling down to average citizens and translating into poverty reduction (and in fact, is instead leading to growing income inequality), or that there is reason to question whether reported growth rates are actually being realized. In either case, it is evident that African governments need to focus as much attention on poverty reduction efforts as they are on growing their economies. The evidence suggests that investments in education and infrastructure may be among the most effective ways to extend economic gains to the continent's poorest citizens.

²⁰ Attend community meetings: Pearson's $r = .195$, $p = .000$; Join with others to raise issues: Pearson's $r = .169$, $p = .000$; Participate in campaign meetings: Pearson's $r = .114$, $p = .000$.

Annex: Full Results by Country

Experience of food shortages across 34 African countries, 2011-2013 (%)

Country	Never	Once or Twice/ Several Times	Many Times/ Always	Don't Know
Algeria	93	7	0	0
Benin	51	36	13	0
Botswana	49	35	16	0
Burkina Faso	45	29	25	0
Burundi	22	41	37	0
Cameroon	44	34	21	1
Cape Verde	75	20	5	0
Cote d'Ivoire	42	36	22	0
Egypt	67	27	5	0
Ethiopia	<i>forthcoming</i>			
Ghana	73	20	6	0
Guinea	38	32	30	0
Kenya	43	44	13	0
Lesotho	27	35	37	0
Liberia	25	55	21	0
Madagascar	30	41	29	0
Malawi	52	30	18	0
Mali	47	28	26	0
Mauritius	91	8	1	0
Morocco	80	16	3	0
Mozambique	48	36	16	0
Namibia	47	42	10	0
Niger	33	31	36	0
Nigeria	39	50	10	0
Senegal	47	30	24	0
Sierra Leone	31	48	21	0
South Africa	63	30	7	0
Sudan	55	29	15	1
Swaziland	34	47	19	0
Tanzania	45	43	13	0
Togo	43	30	27	0
Tunisia	79	14	7	0
Uganda	44	42	14	0
Zambia	52	38	10	0
Zimbabwe	42	42	16	0
Average	50	33	17	0

Experience of water shortages across 34 African countries, 2011-2013 (%)

Country	Never	Once or Twice/ Several Times	Many Times/ Always	Don't Know
Algeria	68	30	2	0
Benin	53	29	19	0
Botswana	58	30	12	0
Burkina Faso	38	25	37	0
Burundi	43	23	34	0
Cameroon	27	29	43	0
Cape Verde	52	25	23	0
Cote d'Ivoire	34	27	39	0
Egypt	55	32	12	1
Ethiopia	<i>forthcoming</i>			
Ghana	70	21	8	0
Guinea	40	27	33	0
Kenya	55	33	12	0
Lesotho	40	26	33	0
Liberia	43	35	22	0
Madagascar	42	24	34	0
Malawi	64	14	22	0
Mali	61	18	21	0
Mauritius	82	14	4	0
Morocco	74	21	5	0
Mozambique	51	31	18	0
Namibia	60	30	10	0
Niger	46	19	35	0
Nigeria	42	42	16	0
Senegal	50	29	22	0
Sierra Leone	42	43	15	0
South Africa	60	29	11	0
Sudan	43	32	23	1
Swaziland	47	29	24	0
Tanzania	38	37	25	0
Togo	36	23	41	0
Tunisia	71	16	13	0
Uganda	45	37	18	0
Zambia	46	30	24	0
Zimbabwe	45	38	17	0
Average	51	28	21	0

Experience of medicine or medical care shortages across 34 African countries, 2011-2013
(%)

Country	Never	Once or Twice/ Several Times	Many Times/ Always	Don't Know
Algeria	73	26	1	0
Benin	42	41	16	0
Botswana	59	30	9	1
Burkina Faso	38	36	26	0
Burundi	44	35	21	0
Cameroon	37	34	28	1
Cape Verde	68	22	9	1
Cote d'Ivoire	33	36	30	1
Egypt	48	37	15	0
Ethiopia	<i>forthcoming</i>			
Ghana	72	22	6	0
Guinea	25	33	42	0
Kenya	46	43	11	0
Lesotho	42	34	23	2
Liberia	31	39	29	0
Madagascar	41	34	25	0
Malawi	38	32	29	0
Mali	54	27	20	0
Mauritius	96	4	1	0
Morocco	52	28	20	0
Mozambique	47	34	18	1
Namibia	55	38	6	0
Niger	36	29	35	0
Nigeria	45	44	11	0
Senegal	34	33	33	0
Sierra Leone	32	43	25	1
South Africa	60	31	8	0
Sudan	45	32	22	1
Swaziland	52	36	11	1
Tanzania	29	49	22	0
Togo	30	30	39	0
Tunisia	66	19	15	0
Uganda	32	44	24	0
Zambia	42	36	21	0
Zimbabwe	39	44	17	1
Average	47	33	20	0

Experience of cooking fuel shortages across 34 African countries, 2011-2013 (%)

Country	Never	Once or Twice/ Several Times	Many Times/ Always	Don't Know
Algeria	79	21	0	0
Benin	64	26	10	0
Botswana	51	39	10	0
Burkina Faso	47	34	19	0
Burundi	37	31	33	0
Cameroon	45	40	14	0
Cape Verde	66	25	9	0
Cote d'Ivoire	59	27	14	0
Egypt	46	38	15	1
Ethiopia	<i>Forthcoming</i>			
Ghana	78	18	4	0
Guinea	68	22	9	1
Kenya	55	35	9	0
Lesotho	43	28	29	0
Liberia	64	17	13	5
Madagascar	57	31	12	0
Malawi	61	22	17	0
Mali	69	16	14	0
Mauritius	92	7	1	0
Morocco	72	24	5	1
Mozambique	62	29	8	1
Namibia	71	22	6	0
Niger	58	27	16	0
Nigeria	38	47	14	1
Senegal	34	34	32	0
Sierra Leone	64	20	16	0
South Africa	62	30	8	1
Sudan	40	34	24	1
Swaziland	60	30	11	0
Tanzania	58	34	8	0
Togo	51	31	18	0
Tunisia	66	25	9	0
Uganda	47	39	14	0
Zambia	61	30	9	0
Zimbabwe	48	31	20	0
Average	58	28	13	0

Experience of cash income shortages across 34 African countries, 2011-2013 (%)

Country	Never	Once or Twice/ Several Times	Many Times/ Always	Don't Know
Algeria	65	33	2	0
Benin	9	50	41	0
Botswana	25	36	39	0
Burkina Faso	5	23	72	0
Burundi	5	19	76	0
Cameroon	12	33	55	1
Cape Verde	39	31	29	1
Cote d'Ivoire	8	32	60	0
Egypt	50	32	17	1
Ethiopia	<i>forthcoming</i>			
Ghana	49	32	19	0
Guinea	5	29	66	0
Kenya	19	36	45	0
Lesotho	9	20	71	0
Liberia	21	29	48	1
Madagascar	11	29	59	0
Malawi	12	32	57	0
Mali	14	22	64	0
Mauritius	80	17	3	0
Morocco	49	36	15	1
Mozambique	19	33	47	2
Namibia	25	41	33	0
Niger	6	24	70	0
Nigeria	27	46	27	1
Senegal	7	21	72	0
Sierra Leone	28	32	40	1
South Africa	44	34	22	0
Sudan	34	33	30	2
Swaziland	15	38	47	0
Tanzania	11	43	46	0
Togo	5	18	77	0
Tunisia	64	22	14	0
Uganda	13	44	42	0
Zambia	18	39	42	0
Zimbabwe	16	38	46	0
Average	24	32	44	0

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