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If time permits there may be opportunity for further questions at the end of the presentation.

There will be polls included in this presentation, you will have 1 minute per question to respond.

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WIDER Webinar 23 June | Eva-Maria Egger and Ricardo Santos | UNU-WIDER

Discussant: Tilman Brück | IGZ, ISDC and NRI

Chair: Finn Tarp | University of Copenhagen

COVID-19 and Africa's lockdown dilemma



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Africa's lockdown dilemma: high poverty and low trust

Eva-Maria Egger, Patrícia Justino, Sam Jones,
Ivan Manhique & Ricardo Santos



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Opinion poll:

1. "Do you think strict lockdowns are the appropriate response to Covid-19 in sub-Saharan Africa?" – Yes, No or localized yes.
 2. "How high is the risk for social unrest in SSA if strict lockdown is introduced" – High, medium, low or none.
-

Lockdown to protect... but are countries ready?

- Is lockdown an option for low-income countries? Challenged by
 - poor living conditions
 - high levels of economic informality and urban un(der)employment
- Virus containment and lockdown pose a *collective action problem*. Trust in the government and others can help overcome it.
- If full lockdown cannot be the answer, can higher trust offset this? If not, what are the risks of social unrest?
- In this study, we assess the level of “*lockdown readiness*” in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) and analyze how it relates to trust and risks of social unrest using Afrobarometer data from 2019 for 30 countries.



Data: Afrobarometer wave 7, 2019

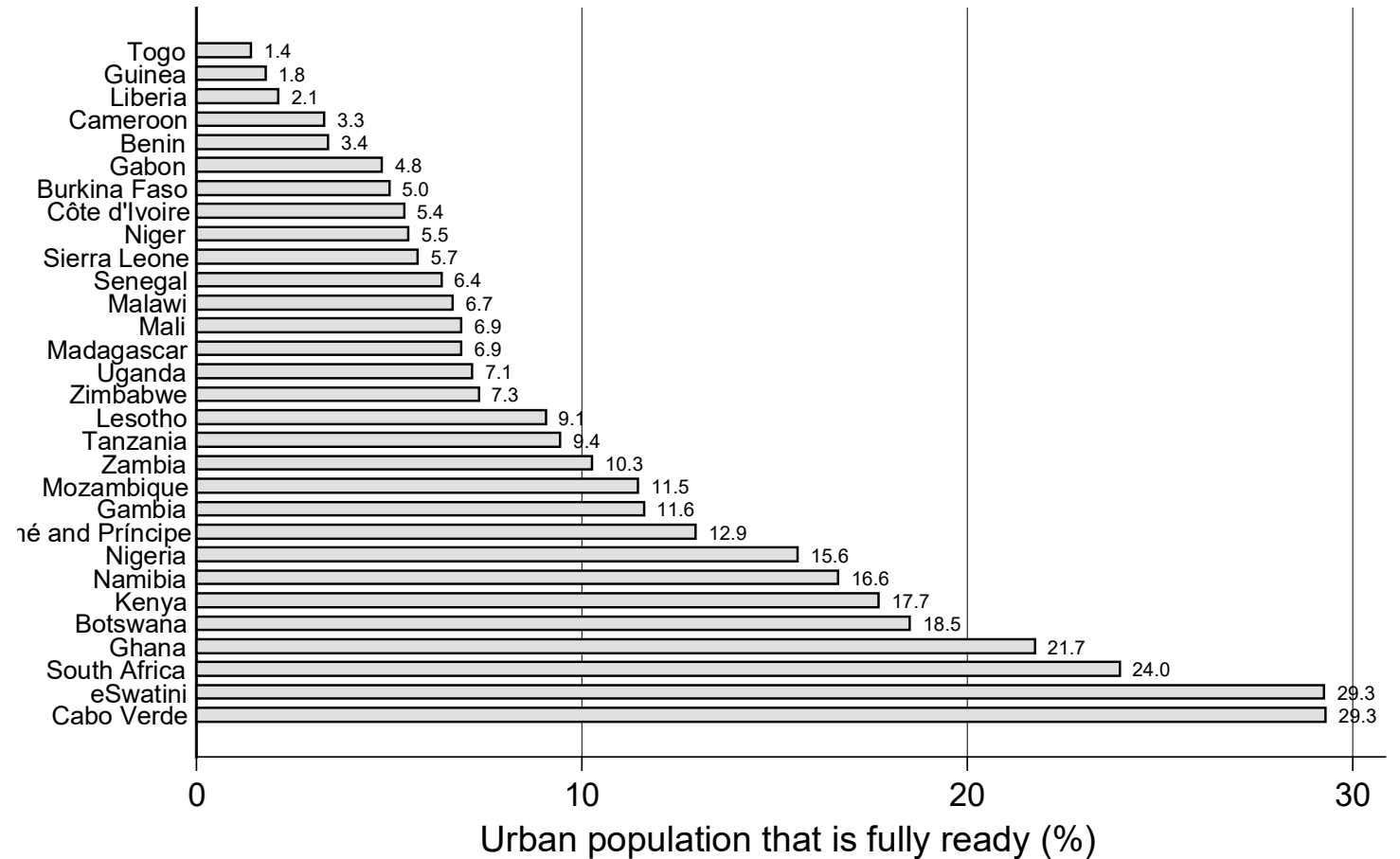
- Public attitude surveys on democracy, governance, the economy and society
 - 37,696 people in 30 countries
 - Variables of interest: housing conditions, employment, cash flow, trust, risk of social unrest
 - Other data: World Development Indicators (GDP)
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A measure of lockdown readiness

- Definition: “Lockdown readiness” is the ability of households to stay at home and avoid public spaces without irreversible damage to their health and welfare.
- Five components:
 1. safe drinking water
 2. basic sanitation
 3. a source of reliable energy
 4. a means of information or communication (e.g., a mobile phone)
 5. a form of employment that provides sufficient income not to go without cash on a frequent basis.
- Components 1-3: “Partially ready”
- Components 1-5: “Fully ready”

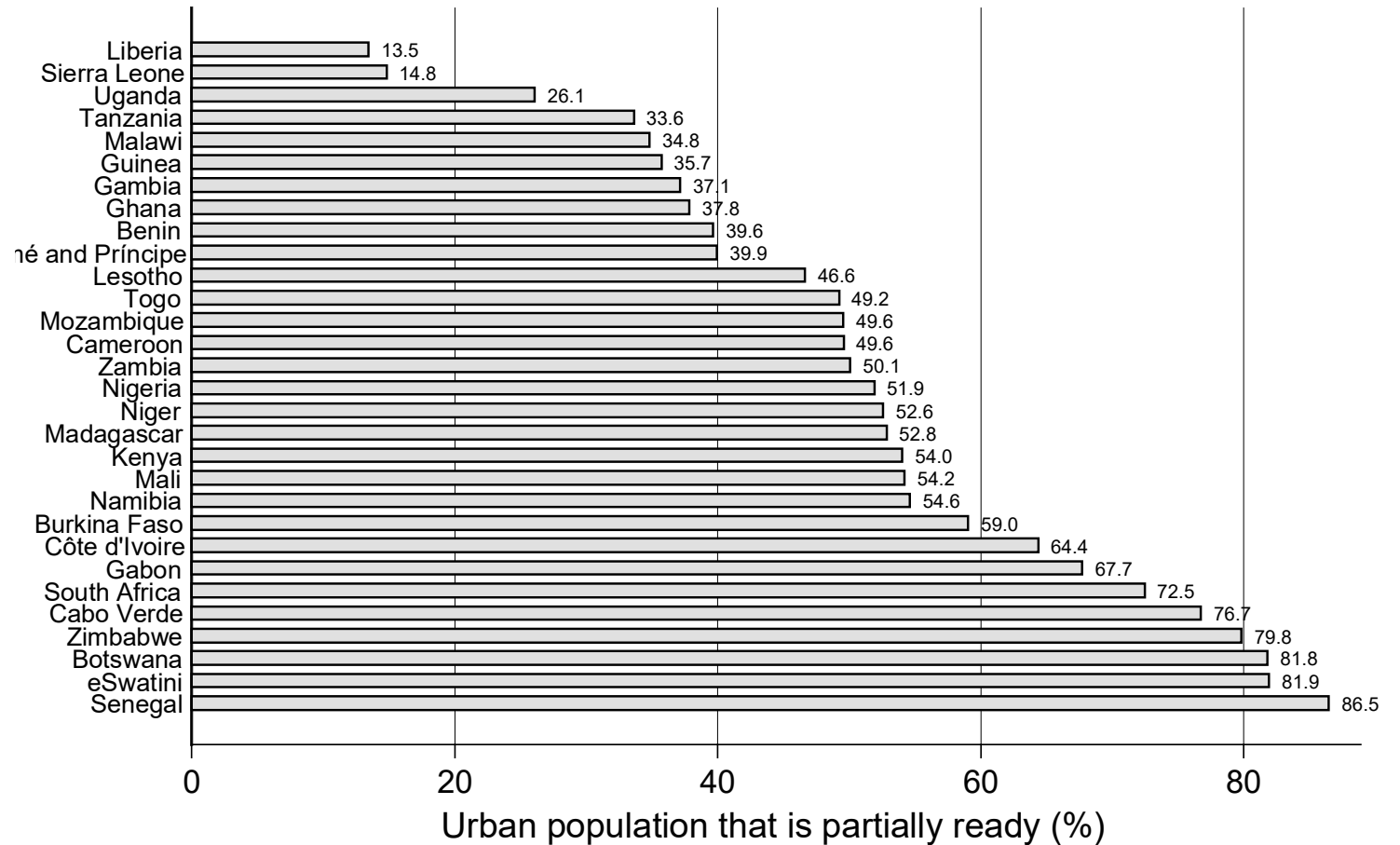
Less than 30% of urban households are fully ready

- Only 6.8 percent of all households are fully ready; 12.2 percent in urban areas, 2.5 percent in rural areas.
- For urban areas, this varies from as low as 1.4 percent in Togo to 29.3 percent in Cabo Verde.

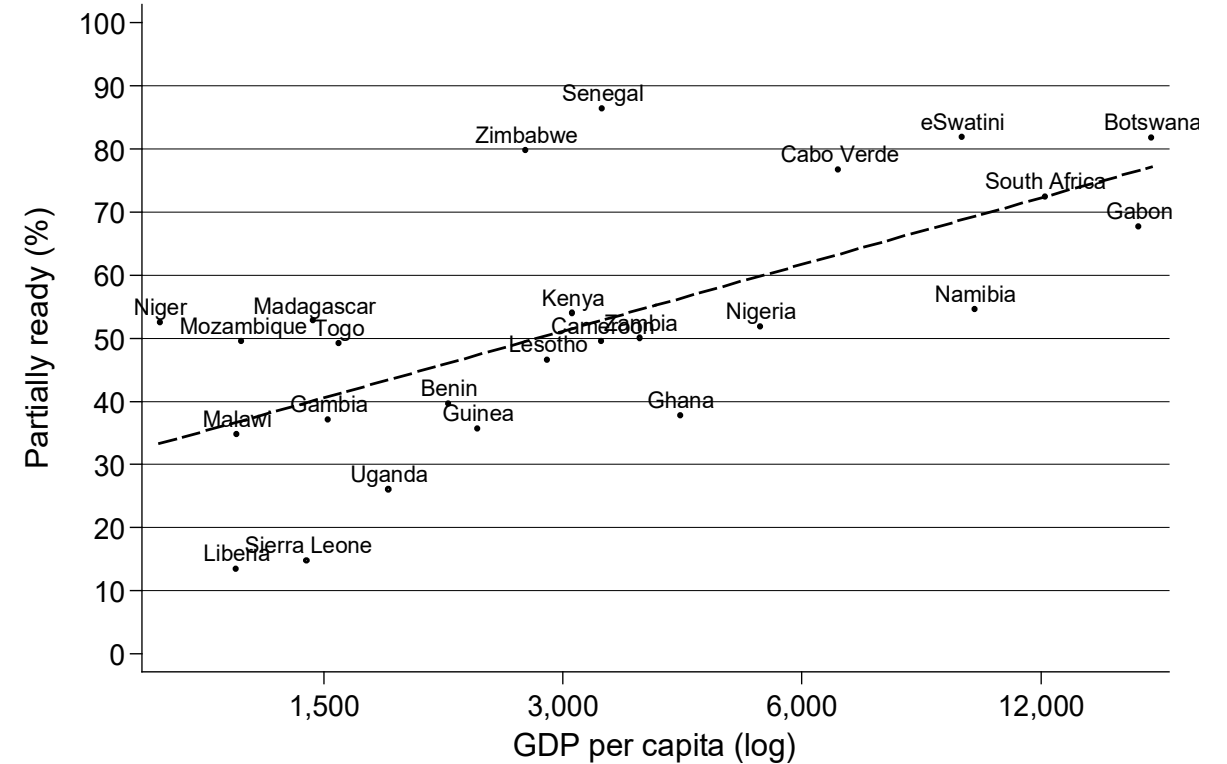
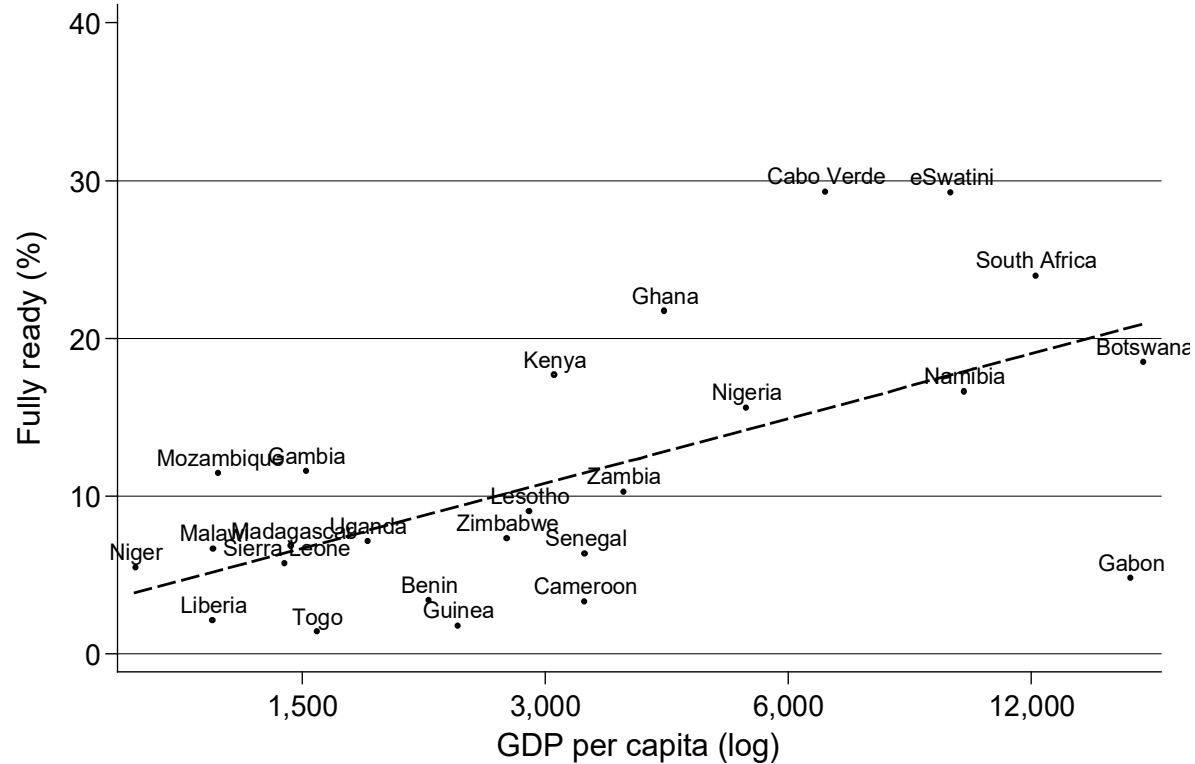


... relatively more are partially ready.

- Relatively more households have access to basic services in their homes, but on average still only 30 percent.
- At country level, partial readiness in urban areas ranges from 13.5 percent in Liberia to as high as 86.5 percent in Senegal.



Lockdown readiness is related to GDP, but it is not measuring exactly the same thing.



Trust, lockdown and risk of social unrest

- We first consider relationship between trust and readiness, then assess the risk of social unrest.
- Two dimensions of trust:
 - Institutional (vertical) trust: Latent variable constructed from answers to questions about trust in the president, the parliament, the police and traditional leaders.
 - Community (horizontal) trust: Based on the answer to the question: ‘when a vendor sells you grains, how sure are you that you get the correct amount in change?’
- Associativism: capacity of communities for collective action (proxied with latent variable of membership in groups, participation in meetings)



Trust & Readiness

log-linear model, akin to a multi-way contingency table

Positive and significant correlation between:

- full readiness and institutional trust
- full readiness and community trust (mostly driven by the 'low income' group)

| | (1) Simple | (2) Full interaction | (3) By income group Low | (4) High |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------|
| Fully ready | 0.002*** (0.001) | 0.159*** (0.015) | 0.176*** (0.016) | 0.303*** (0.051) |
| Institutional trust | 0.497** (0.144) | 0.908 (0.121) | 0.880 (0.116) | 0.691** (0.114) |
| Associativism | 0.224*** (0.065) | 0.866 (0.083) | 0.830* (0.083) | 0.668*** (0.082) |
| Community trust | 0.836 (0.427) | 1.007 (0.145) | 1.107 (0.146) | 1.132 (0.279) |
| Income group | 0.864 (0.971) | 1.177 (0.149) | | |
| Fully ready # Institutional trust | | 1.234** (0.132) | 1.196 (0.133) | 1.217 (0.274) |
| Fully ready # Associativism | | 1.134 (0.095) | 1.134 (0.095) | 1.065 (0.116) |
| Fully ready # Community trust | | 1.180* (0.112) | 1.190* (0.124) | 0.819 (0.175) |
| All other interactions | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Country dummies | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Observations | 2,727 | 2,727 | 1,462 | 1,265 |
| Pseudo log-likelihood | -9349.7 | -9631.3 | -4466.1 | -4957.8 |
| AIC | 18769.4 | 19300.7 | 8956.3 | 9937.7 |

Notes: Significance levels * p<.10, ** p<.05, *** p<.01; Coefficients are log odd ratios.



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Lockdown readiness, trust and social unrest:

logit models (odds ratios)

Potential for social unrest seems higher in areas with lower readiness and lower trust, and in urban areas.

| | Participation in protest | | | Government is narrowing income gap | | | Curfew is better than free movement | | |
|---|--------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| | Pooled | Rural | Urban | Pooled | Rural | Urban | Pooled | Rural | Urban |
| Institutional trust | 0.817*** (0.017) | 0.809*** (0.024) | 0.825*** (0.024) | 1.671*** (0.027) | 1.629*** (0.036) | 1.723*** (0.042) | 1.106*** (0.015) | 1.072*** (0.019) | 1.150*** (0.022) |
| Associativism | 1.651*** (0.033) | 1.611*** (0.047) | 1.711*** (0.048) | 1.062*** (0.016) | 1.055*** (0.021) | 1.074*** (0.025) | 1.015 (0.013) | 1.010 (0.018) | 1.018 (0.020) |
| Community trust | 0.922* (0.043) | 0.837*** (0.055) | 1.014 (0.066) | 1.163*** (0.038) | 1.192*** (0.052) | 1.113** (0.057) | 0.968 (0.028) | 0.967 (0.037) | 0.976 (0.043) |
| Number of ready dimensions | 0.981 (0.019) | 1.014 (0.029) | 0.917*** (0.024) | 1.039*** (0.015) | 1.045** (0.020) | 1.052** (0.023) | 1.030** (0.012) | 1.039** (0.017) | 1.040** (0.018) |
| Urban area | 1.363*** (0.065) | | | 0.954 (0.032) | | | 0.920*** (0.027) | | |
| Individual controls (Age, sex, education) | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Country dummies | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Observations | 38,831 | 21,579 | 17,252 | 38,831 | 21,579 | 17,252 | 38,831 | 21,579 | 17,252 |
| Pseudo R-squared | 0.094 | 0.089 | 0.101 | 0.081 | 0.072 | 0.101 | 0.055 | 0.048 | 0.067 |

Notes: Significance levels * p<.10, ** p<.05, *** p<.01; Coefficients are log odd ratios. Weighted by country population.

Conclusion

- Is lockdown an option for countries in sub-Saharan Africa?
- And what role does trust play in the fight against Covid-19?
- What are the risks of social unrest?

Opinion poll results:

1. "Do you think strict lockdowns are the appropriate response to Covid-19 in sub-Saharan Africa?"
 2. "How high is the risk for social unrest in SSA if lockdown is introduced"
-

Conclusion

- Findings suggest that especially in poorer countries people are not only least prepared for a lockdown, but their trust in government is low and the risk for social unrest higher, especially in urban areas.
- Social protection policies, e.g. in form of cash or food transfers, can release some of the burden poor families face, enable some measures of social distancing, and might even reduce the risk of conflict (Taydas and Peksen, 2012; De Juan and Bank, 2015; Justino and Martorano, 2018).
- Silver lining: If governments prove effective in handling the crisis, public trust in government could increase as a consequence (Flückiger, Ludwig, and Sina Önder 2019).



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• Thank you

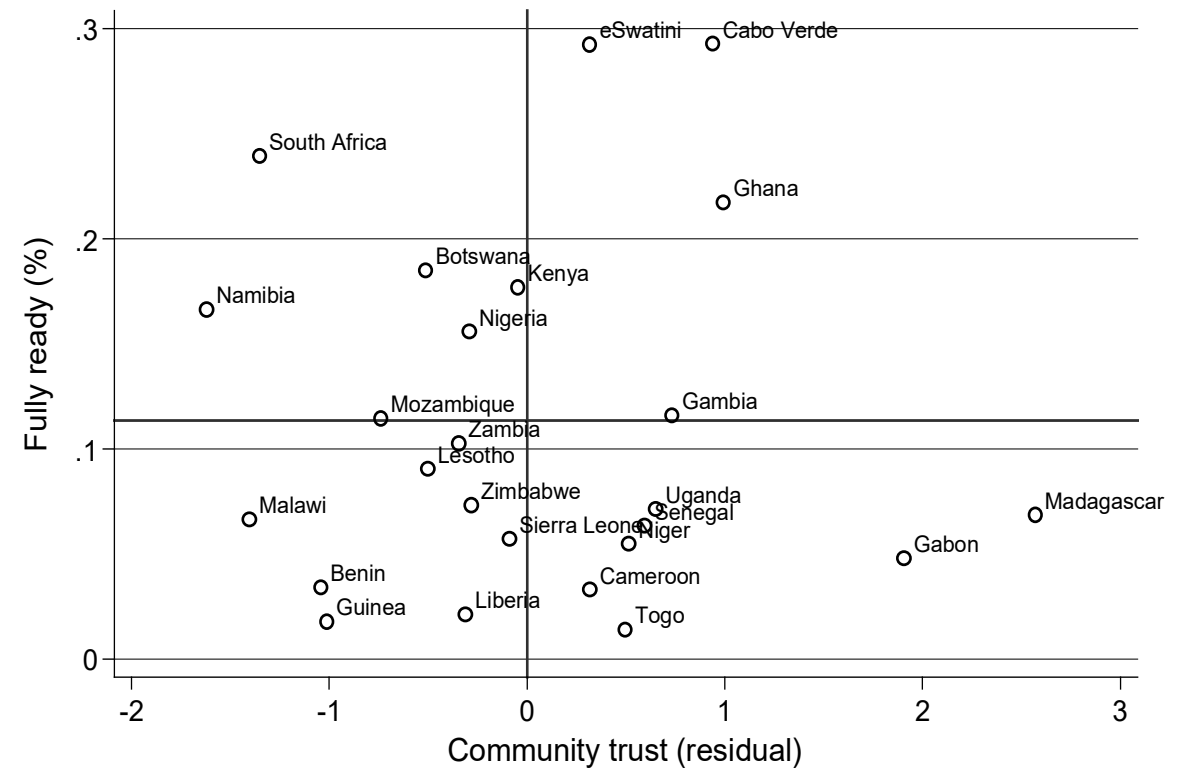
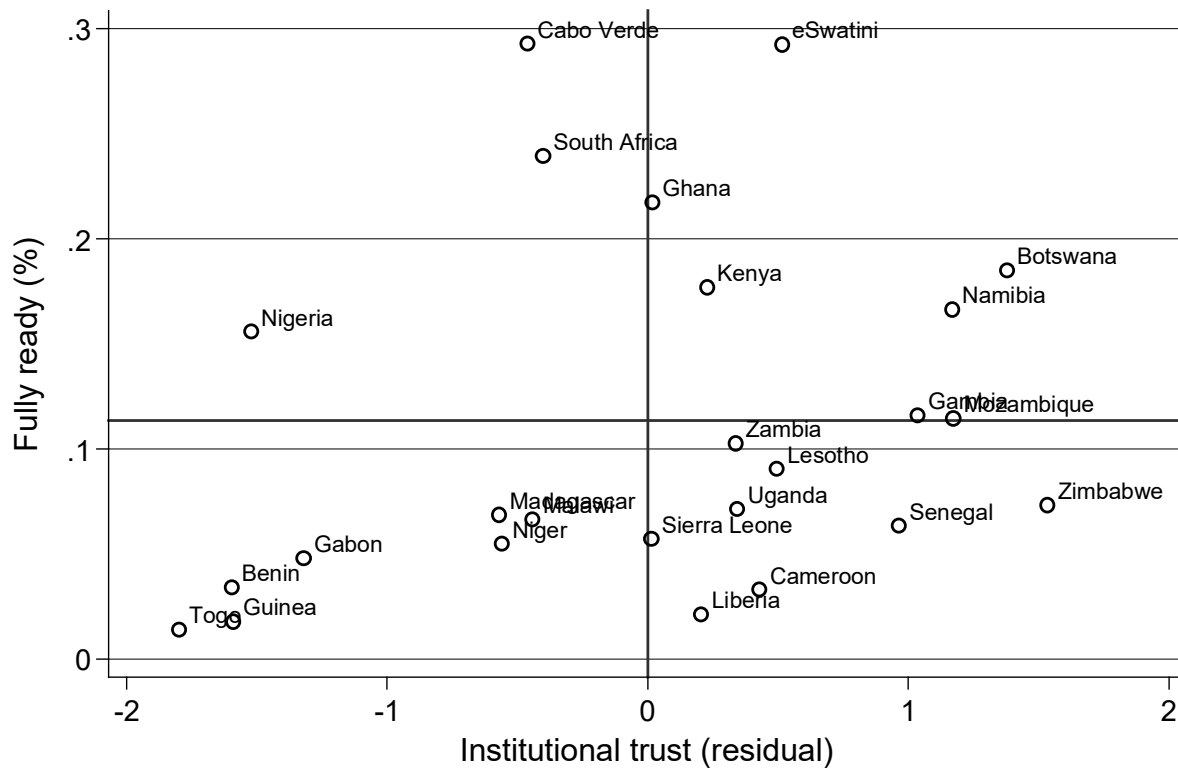
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Institutional trust is lower where readiness is low.

- Community trust could off-set low readiness in some countries, but where trust levels are low, lockdown could stir up discontent.



| | Mean | SD | Urban | Rural | Country min | Country max |
|--|--------|-------|-------|-------|-------------|-------------|
| (a) Descriptive statistics | | | | | | |
| Age | 30.7 | 11.8 | 29.9 | 31.3 | 27.6 | 33.4 |
| Female (%) | 50.7 | 50.0 | 50.5 | 50.9 | 49.5 | 52.6 |
| Years of education | 7.2 | 4.6 | 8.8 | 5.9 | 2.5 | 10.5 |
| (b) Lockdown readiness "inputs" | | | | | | |
| Access to clean water (%) | 41.4 | 49.3 | 61.9 | 25.0 | 11.8 | 86.1 |
| Access to sanitation (%) | 68.1 | 46.6 | 81.8 | 57.1 | 41.7 | 92.9 |
| Access to electricity (%) | 50.8 | 50.0 | 78.3 | 28.8 | 13.5 | 91.3 |
| Access to phone (%) | 88.3 | 32.1 | 95.1 | 82.8 | 54.6 | 98 |
| Not cash constrained (%) | 14.2 | 35.0 | 19.8 | 9.8 | 1 | 39.7 |
| (c) Lockdown readiness | | | | | | |
| Fully ready (%) | 6.8 | 25.2 | 12.2 | 2.5 | 0.6 | 24.6 |
| Partially ready (%) | 30.0 | 45.8 | 52.4 | 12.1 | 6.5 | 72.1 |
| Number of dimensions | 2.6 | 1.4 | 3.4 | 2.0 | 1.4 | 3.8 |
| (d) Trust | | | | | | |
| Institutional trust | 0.8 | 99.2 | -16.6 | 14.8 | -74 | 57.3 |
| Community trust (%) | 24.1 | 42.8 | 22.2 | 25.6 | 12.9 | 33.8 |
| Associativism | 1.1 | 100.2 | -19.0 | 17.2 | -62 | 44.3 |
| (e) Social unrest potential | | | | | | |
| Participated in protest (%) | 10.4 | 30.5 | 12.3 | 8.8 | 2.4 | 27.4 |
| Government narrows income gap (%) | 22.4 | 41.7 | 21.7 | 23.0 | 5.9 | 38.9 |
| Agree to curfew (%) | 61.2 | 48.7 | 58.9 | 62.9 | 38.9 | 83.4 |
| Observations | 38,838 | | | | | |

