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Master's Thesis of Public Administration

**The Reform of State Governance in
Madagascar, a Prerequisite for its
Development**

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ABSTRACT

The Reform of State Governance in Madagascar, a Prerequisite for its Development

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Most of studies so far have put their focus on visible and obvious causes of poverty and delay in terms of development. Political instabilities, civil war were and, unfortunately in many cases, still are characteristics of most of developing countries, particularly in the Sub Saharan Africa region.

According to studies carried out by concerned international institutions, especially by the World Bank, in this region are indeed located poorest countries in the world. Interesting thing is that they share some common characteristics.

If so, it could be tempting to conclude that the situation of these countries has same reasons and causes as well. However, Madagascar, according the same indicators is considered as among the less developed countries in the world and where poverty is widespread and affects about tree Malagasy citizens out

of four in terms of proportion.

The situation of Madagascar appears quite strange and incoherent and raises relevant interrogations since the country practically never experienced civil war or severe conflicts and also possess an incredible potential at all levels, especially natural resources and diversity. Somehow, the geographical situation also keeps the island away from some regional tendencies that gnaw some Sub Saharan African countries.

Therefore, this study has as main purpose to identify properly the roots and the explanation of this incoherent situation so that it is focusing on a fundamental dimension involved in every perspective and every projection on development, that Madagascar clearly failed to achieve, and on which not sufficient analyses and studies seem to have not paid enough attention to governance.

Through historical approach and logical analysis of known and established facts, verified situations and tendencies along the first three Republics, the study was able to reach expected results which confirm the initial hypothesis: bad governance and mismanagement have a direct and causal relation with poverty and underdevelopment. Reforms need to be carried out at the level of governance.

Within the political system, the main element in question is the power of the president as head of the executive and arbitrary and abuses that the system itself seems to allow due to weaknesses at the level of legal framework and institutions as well. There are also other factors involved in. The most interesting part is the cultural dimension that encompasses a social and psychological acceptance of practices and deep rooted concepts in the Malagasy society like the concept of “Ray aman-dreny” and also being a

society of consensus, following the concept of “fihavanana” instead of accepting objective changes to be undertaken.

Also, through this study, evidences that mainly come from World Bank Indicators and Afrobarometer confirmed the alarming tendency regarding governance practices. Practically all the indicators don't reach the average point.

Lastly, this work ends up with a conclusion that compares the summary of the findings to the initial objectives and reaffirms the importance of improving good governance practices and also proposes some needed reforms especially at the level of legal framework that ensures an equilibrium and stability as well which are the key basis for achieving development.

Key words: Development, Governance, Good governance, Reforms

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1. Generalities

Madagascar, officially the Republic of Madagascar, is the fourth largest island in the world (592 800km²) which is located in the Indian Ocean off the coast of Southeast Africa, precisely four hundred kilometers from the Mozambique coast. The country is widely considered among the richest in terms of potentials thanks to natural biodiversity, natural resources, in particular minerals, oil, and land. In terms of biodiversity, the isolation of the country permitted nature to flourish so that Madagascar is the World's number one country regarding endemic plants and animals that cannot be found anywhere else in the world. Madagascar is referred by number of ecologists as the eighth continent because of this distinctive ecology. The tropical climate and the beauty of the island are the main characteristics that are attracting tourists and researchers as well. The characteristics of the island has even convinced producers of the firm Dreamworks Entertainment to choose Madagascar for an animated movie that relates the story of some animals who want to realize their dream to escape from a zoo park in New York city and go to Madagascar, a real paradise. Madagascar always had this iconic image of a combination of natural exotic beauty and diversity.

However, behind this image, there is a backside that is sometimes hidden by this fame. According to the World Bank, about 90% of Malagasy are living

under the poverty line with less than one USD per day. Since the independence in 1960 after sixty years of French colonization, the fifty five years of the independence have been marked by political transitions after popular protests that led to an unconstitutional alternation, several disputed elections and two military coups. Indeed, after the independence in 1960, there has been a political transition in 1972 after protests that led the president of the first Republic to resign. Between 1972 and 1975, the power has been transferred twice and the shortest rule lasted only one week with the assassination of the head of state, the Colonel RATSIMANDRAVA in 1975. Another political crisis occurred in 1991, immediately followed by two years of political transition. There has been another one in 2002 mostly caused by disputed elections. The last one in 2009 has been triggered by popular protests.

Political crises seem recurrent in this country and always have detrimental effects on the national economy and social conditions. The living standards of the population used to be particularly affected when these crises occurred.

The current situation of Madagascar raises relevant interrogations when considering its tremendous potentials and assets. Economically, Madagascar is still considered as a low income country with 10.59 billion USD of GDP estimated in 2014 by the World Bank¹. It appears that there is a seemingly incoherence between potentials and the current situation when politics are not taken into consideration. The delay of the country in terms of development and poverty must have an explanation and many point out this recurrence of

¹ <http://data.worldbank.org/country/madagascar>

political crises that have detrimental effects on the economy and undermine efforts towards economic growth and development.

Political crises of course matter in the explanation. However, it seems that they are only symptoms of deeper issues and problems. When it comes to the issue of poverty, lack of economic growth and underdevelopment, there is a common characteristic on which experts, including economists, political analysts and also sociologists seem to agree: the involvement of the state governance as a core issue in the causes of the current situation.

In fact, political instabilities directly impact the economic situation and social conditions as well. Definitely, these instabilities have always undermined all efforts for development and economic growth. But so far, there is an issue about which studies and researches seem to lack but which is relevant enough: the situation of state governance. To be direct, bad governance has been always denounced in protests that led to regime changes in Madagascar.

2. The Purpose of Research

“Good governance is the way in which power is exercised in the public management of economic and social resources for development” according to the World Bank (World Bank, Managing Development –the governance Dimension, Washington, 1996).

It is obvious that all states aspiring to development must take into account the concept of good governance. It is also said most of time that bad governance

and mismanagement keep developing countries in their current situation. Madagascar is still among those states in search of the best way to achieve its development. Obviously, such an affirmation seems true. The link between development and good governance cannot be put away.

Among five options, a study conducted in 2005² by Afrobarometer has demonstrated that "the mismanagement" is by far the most cited as the main cause of poverty. Nearly four in ten Malagasy (38%) consider it a "very important" brake on development. If we add those responding "somewhat important", in total 91% of the people denounce bad governance as the first factor of underdevelopment in Madagascar. The governance problem is not perceived as cyclical but as a structural fact affecting the country. "The mentality and behavior of the people" comes second. 72% of the population seems to consider it as mostly responsible for the country's poverty. After having branded their leaders, Malagasy seems to make a kind of mea culpa by self-charging (Collectively) a significant share of responsibility for the underdevelopment of the country.

Then comes "the weakness of the natural resources of the country", put forward by a little more than half of citizens (52%). Finally, "the weight of the past (colonial history, etc.)" and "interventions from abroad (donors, multinational firms)", respectively collect 33% and 18% of the vote.

From a general point of view, the degree of public trust in the institutions is

² Results of Afrobarometer round 3 in the year 2005 have been chosen since it was in a period of stability.

generally low. Those who claim to fully or partially trust in the President, police or the military represent half of the population. Those who seem trust the Electoral Commission and the courts represent 40%, whereas less than 30% are fully or partially trust on the tax department and the parties they are in the presidential camp and the opposition. Logically, a high level of corruption (perceived or real) should result in a phenomenon of distrust towards institutions, all the more important that corruption is widespread there.

These findings highlight the strong overlap between political and economic spheres. The necessity to not be limited to traditional economic variables must be emphasized in order to understand and enlighten the situation in Madagascar. Indeed, Malagasy people denounced overwhelmingly governance problems. The mismanagement of the rulers, corruption and political conflicts are invoked not only the causes of last crisis but more generally as the main factor blocking the development of the country.

At the end of French colonialism in Africa, the administrative structures left in place in most of the former colonies except Guinea allowed and actually led for a while normal operation of young states in their new constitutional environment. The new leaders have realized the limits of their power in such a framework; Thus, through this seemingly nationalist theories, often demagogic, control over the administration by the political led to fiscal slippage, the decline of the neutrality of the administration and decline in growth. This situation has also created new political ambitions (politics being increasingly seen as the shortest to the personal enrichment) resulted in cyclic

political instability and the default of real perspective of alternation.

So far, the delay of Madagascar in terms of development seems to be mainly caused by “bad governance” and, in general, mismanagement. The most quoted domain in this view concerns particularly the natural resources management such as the mining and forestry resources. Indeed, Madagascar is ranked at the first place among countries which have richest biodiversity and is among the top richest ones in minerals as well. Analyzed in terms of potential, both can provide an important source of income for the state. Plus, some experts think that the country has the potential to pursue its development on all fronts mostly by its own resources.

The purpose of this study is not to provide all the answers related to such a concern even though it is a practical and concrete case. Its main purpose is to establish the fact that development cannot be achieved unless needed reforms in matter of governance are carried out in this country. Its other important purpose is also to give briefly in the concluding part of the study some recommendations regarding needed reforms.

Context and background

-Various factors are involved in, particularly the political factor. It is important to remember that Madagascar, in 2014, has just returned back to normal constitutional position after five years of political transition. It is interesting to note that all major crises the country has experienced have been caused by popular protests and disapproval regarding the manner of governing.

Moreover, Madagascar's long quest for political and economic identities, which has also experienced socialism between 1970's and 1980's, also explains its current situation. Happening regularly, these crises can be described as cyclical crises. Indeed, crises occur mostly when positive signs in terms of growth and development are beginning to be visible. To solve them, especially some political changes have been made. But ultimately, the root of the problem and the key to solve it are at the level of the state governance.

Some improvements were observed during a certain period, particularly regarding public finance management. However, problems in terms of governance still remain. The lack of effective balance between the various levels of state powers and mutual control between them, weak institutions and the confusion between public and private interests, the interference of politicians in the legal framework implementation in order to preserve their personal interests and the general impunity feeling undermine all endeavor to establish conditions for efficiency, transparency and accountability of public action. As immediate and logical consequence, development in almost all terms remains unthinkable.

The configuration of the Malagasy political system is also involved in. The executive traditionally dominates the entire political system in Madagascar. We may talk about strong executive power but the case of Madagascar is quite particular. Indeed, it is not easy to distinguish the political network of the President from the role of the presidency itself. The dominant role of the presidency can be interpreted as a heritage of the old monarchical culture that

forms an important part of a certain political tradition in Madagascar. Parliament does not have an effective constraint power against presidential authority power, as it has become a marginal part of the system of presidential power in its service instead of being a major player that may control its actions. The combination of all these factors inherent in the system, for instance, reduces to undo all the efforts to implement policies that have been made by taking into account public interest and efficiency in all areas.

Performing this study seems relevant to more than one way since most research on the development of that country have mainly focused on parameters such as natural resources management, politics and economy. Of course, these issues will be briefly examined during this study since they are part of factors involved in. Focusing in particular cases and fields in terms of reform in matter of governance is of course valuable, even necessary. In fact, even in terms of governance, most of studies and researches that have been done have focused on some components of governance or only in a particular area of administration system. Settle for only such study is not sufficient to solve a problem with this magnitude. Yet it turns out that the work that must be performed is mainly at the level of state governance in general. It seems important to remind even in the beginning that areas of governance application are mainly:

- Political governance, including electoral governance, decision-making, public policy development, local democracy, etc.

- Local governance including the decentralization and devolution of Administration for local development;
- Economic governance, particularly covering the governance of natural resources (mining, forestry, cattle, etc.), governance of public finances (budget management, taxation, etc.);
- Administrative governance for better performance of public services.

In this study, we consider good governance as the best way to achieve development by proceeding in stages. That is why the research will insist on needed reforms that must be undertaken.

Therefore, we can clearly pose two concrete research questions:

1. Does “bad governance” in Madagascar cause its delay in terms of development? What are the evidences and the indicators of this direct linkage?
2. What are the reforms that should be conducted in order to solve this problem and to achieve an optimal development?

Placed in a historical perspective, bad governance is considered as the primary cause of underdevelopment in Madagascar. Indeed, all the regimes that the country had since its independence possessed all the tools and opportunities in order to make all their ambitions in terms of development and also economic ambitions moving forward. However, rulers missed to follow some rules and “good” practices. Then, the objective of development remained a “dream”.

However, not only scholars, but simple citizens agree that the way of governing should be at least “healthy”.

It seems normal at this very early stage to expect the question “in what healthy governance would it consist regarding the case of Madagascar?” Answering this question does not already mean responding to the question “what are the needed reforms?” It only aims to give a general idea of how theoretically the situation ought to be, comparing to what it is currently, at least from the institutional point of view.

Various definitions of good governance exist; we will see them in details. But to keep it as simple as possible and in order to stay in our subject, we will retain only one that says good governance is the implementation of means and pre-established standards that result in transparent and satisfactory management of a legal entity. Of course, we include State in such a definition.

- Regarding the management of the state, the principle is that the Constitution respects the separation of the three traditional powers and let flourish emerging powers: the press, civil society, etc. In Madagascar and in Africa in general, the institutional weaknesses that prevent the proper functioning of institutions come from the inadequacy of Constitutions which include only very rarely our socio-cultural realities such as communitarianism, traditional powers and beliefs, etc. The practices of the separation of powers, instead of appropriating a flexible and transparent cooperation between the

powers for the greater interest of the majority, foster collusion between the powers to give quick satisfaction to a minority. But beyond the aforementioned weaknesses, the precariousness of African Governance seems to correspond to the fragility of our standards, our structures of governance and management infrastructure.

Besides inadequate constitutional norms that we mentioned earlier in relation to the socio-cultural environment, political instability and opportunistic amendments to those standards to prevent political change constitute serious handicaps on the site of good governance and peace as well.

Beyond the fragility of standards, the absence of institutions and structures to sustain democracy and good governance practices seem to be the biggest handicap to good governance. However it seems that good governance and democracy should be distinguished from each other. Whoever works in such modules regardless of its performance in other areas eventually take the path of unhealthy behaviors. Indeed instead of developing formal structures to process and manage the socio-political and even economic activity, informal and personal relationships prevail. Informal networks seems to work well but unfortunately not for the general interest. This can be observed within working relationship and also within justice and even health, etc. Admittedly, most of these shortcomings can be attributed to limited material resources, but in matter of governance, the problem is both cultural and economic. Rulers also think that the chef has all the

powers; he distributes and gives to those who are faithful to him. He knows what is good, so he does not need to be controlled or even upset. Furthermore, there is a general tendency that after each election, “winner takes all”. The winner does his best to keep his power and to impede all balancing attempt from other political forces even though the constitution already guaranteed some rights to them. This kind of thinking remains in the subconscious of those around the executive power in Africa makes difficult to establish, strengthen public management control structures and thus governance. The structures of power which persist in their pursuit of an active operation of the institutional governance structures are quickly assimilated to the hostile opposition that ultimately should be “knocked out” no matter what means would be utilized. Indeed, using violence seems privileged by African regimes in order to make sure to keep the power.

- Another fact that should be quoted as a specific characteristic of the governance problem in Madagascar is about the capacity of the judiciary to play a role as an independent power and defender of citizens' rights. The President has a strong hold on the judiciary in general and the High Constitutional Court (HCC) in particular, as the guarantor of judicial independence; he chairs the Higher Judicial Council and appoints three of nine members of the HCC. The HCC takes into account the interests of the President. The selective application of the legal framework produces a feeling of impunity. The public has a very negative perception of the judiciary regarding

its independence, effectiveness, efficiency and transparency.

- Regarding other actors from other spheres, private sector elites are closely related with the political elite and can be considered as the engine of the political economy of Madagascar. A brief historical approach is necessary in order to get a better comprehension. The nature of the Malagasy elite has changed over the last century: there has been the class of the noble families of the Merina ethnic group, then the "big families" and then the private sector elites. This new entrepreneurial class has been formed during the last two decades; it draws its income mainly from light industry. The new entrepreneurial elite played a key role in the dominant coalition of successive governments and continue to play a significant role in the development of public decisions; a greater role than civil society or the military does. New industries, including mining, have not yet given birth to important political networks.

A shared vision for long-term effectiveness of development is often lacking. The political and financial elites are driven by short-term considerations, often personal and not through visions and goals. The incentives may differ from one elite group to another and even from an influential family to another. That means that even between them, a kind of internal rivalry remains. Some elements of the Malagasy elite tend to believe that they have an answer to the puzzle of development of the country and seem less concerned with collective well-being of the nation but still have motivations to obtain or maintain their power

in order to ensure the loyalty of their supporters and to accumulate wealth.

The elite pact plays an important role in this process. Given the strong role of elites and weak role against national powers, there is little pressure to counteract these incentives and undertake fundamental reforms in order to improve development effectiveness that may threaten the existing order. In periods of growth and moments of strong donor support, there is even less incentive to reform. Concepts as development effectiveness which in Madagascar are perceived as external ideas mostly from occident are often accepted only reluctantly. The Government seems to join reforms and undertakes a few but the underlying incentives and interests. It tends to ensure that these reforms will not go beyond the comfort zone of the elites and also that no reform that may have “bad” consequences won’t be applied in the “comfort zone” of these elites.

- The Malagasy army can be seen as a crucial partner of political networks but not as a main actor for change. Rather than dominating the state like it uses to do in other African countries, the military can be the source of changes through coalitions. The relative instability of the army is the result of a longstanding politicization, which gradually undermined its organizational capacity. But there is no military "strong men" who dominate the political landscape. It is the sign of a restricted role of the military, whose budget, by the way, represents only 1.1% of the GDP of Madagascar.

The situation of governance in Madagascar

- The administration is politicized. Politicians behave like if they owned the administrative apparatus and make it working for other interests and goals than general interest. Plus, State mechanisms are captured by individuals or groups outside the legal decision circuit but close to rulers.
- The quality of services provided by the Administration remains very poor in particular due to corporatism, the absence of a culture of dialogue, corruption and also to the lack of a genuine human resources management which is limited for the moment placement and promotion.
- Respect for the law at the local level is poorly accompanied. The main issues concern the deficit at the systematic and effective implementation of the monitoring process (jurisdictional, administrative and hierarchical).
- Local development is not promoted. There is no sustainable management of the local economy, no clarity in the management of natural resources and there remains a rooting local mafia networks in sensitive sectors (cattle, timber, forestry, mining, etc.).
- The process of de-concentration and decentralization is not effective. One illustration is the imbalance in the distribution of public expenditure. The expenses of the administration account represent 96% of total spending, the spending authorities (mainly municipalities)

only 4%, much of which is that of urban municipalities. A major source of failure of decentralization in Madagascar is the lack of transfer of resources from central government to the decentralized communities.

- Malagasy civil society has little capacity to demand reforms and greater efficiency in terms of development. Despite democratization, the deeply rooted centralization of the State leads to the fact that many associations, where they exist, do not have the means to interfere with the political sphere. About 78% of civil society organizations stay in the capital city or region, and most of them are financially dependent on their leaders who are members of the elite. They tend to be politicized. Such a situation makes them judges and protagonists as well. These two factors contribute to make them closer to the state than their constituents. The non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are the strongest elements of civil society. If they are often effective service providers, they may be politicized and sometimes have a limited sense of their responsibility towards the population.

In addition, there are obstacles to collective action, including historical and linguistic issues. These difficulties are compounded by an unfavorable environment and restricted access to information. Traditionally, citizens do not have power and are not organized to express themselves individually or collectively to demand the transparency.

- The analysis of the powers of the state and political institutions converge to show that even if presidents have made many reforms, they made them for their benefit and not for better governance. The little independence of various branches in the government affects the central balancing function between them and limitation of preeminent power of the executive. Overall, the institutions, including those which are responsible of the control, act according to personal orientation of political leaders instead of following an institutional orientation and set limits to political leaders.
- Widespread instability of major reforms, including the constitution and territorial division of the country has reduced the chances of success of the governance reforms that are supposed to be built on these bases. Whatever the importance of reforms and good intentions, if these reforms are eventually considered for a personal interest and if the institutions remain subservient to the interests of the changing political leadership, no reform can be credible for sustainable governance and has every chance to remain low. Governance reforms, therefore, have rarely been fully completed before the ruling regime has undergone transformations.
- Moreover, a vicious circle of limited accountability undermines the governance and development effectiveness. The lack of a real balance of power and control by the legislative and judicial powers and the deficiency of informal mechanisms of control and accountability within the civil society are the major causes of the weakness of

accountability in Madagascar. This is what allows loopholes in transparency and opacity level because the lack of effective official supervision leads to greater impunity. This reduces the government efficiency by affecting the delivery of public services and the efficiency of the private sector by slowing the growth of more productive or competitive companies.

In order to carry out this study properly, we must take stock of the problems and failures in terms of governance. Then it will be conducted through analysis at the level of the political and economic system, especially. It will be necessary to analyze management and governance methods adopted and recognized in the past. Data for this purpose will be obtained at the level of institutions, including especially the Committee for the Safeguarding of the Integrity (Comité pour la Sauvegarde de l'Intégrité) that is also the main national observatory in matter of governance in Madagascar.

CHAPTER 2: KEY CONCEPTS AND LITERATURE REVIEW

1. Concepts

Regarding theory, our study is mostly focusing about good governance and especially the state governance. We can find the expression “good governance” in so many fields. This study is rather focused on state governance.

According to the UNDP **governance** is ‘the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country’s affairs at all levels’, which ‘comprises mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences’(1997: 2-3).

For the OECD, **governance** is ‘the use of political authority and exercise of control in a society in relation to the management of its resources for social and economic development,’ which ‘encompasses the role of public authorities in establishing the environment in which economic operators function and in determining the distribution of benefits as well as the nature of the relationship between the ruler and the ruled’ (OECD 1995: 14).

After reviewing few definitions, we can conclude that good governance has the following classical components:

Rule of Law

Good governance requires fair legal frameworks that are enforced by an impartial regulatory body, for the full protection of all stakeholders.

Transparency

This idea of transparency means that information, especially about public affairs management, should be provided in easily understandable forms and media; that it should be freely available and directly accessible to those who will be affected by governance policies and practices, as well as the outcomes resulting therefrom; and that any decisions taken and their enforcement are in compliance with established rules and regulations.

Equity and Inclusiveness

More clearly, the organization that provides the opportunity for its stakeholders to maintain, enhance, or generally improve their well-being provides the most compelling message regarding its reason for existence and value to society.

Effectiveness and Efficiency

Good governance means that the processes implemented by the organization to produce favourable results meet the needs of its stakeholders, especially the citizen's interest, while making the best use of resources at its disposal.

Accountability

Accountability is a key tenet of good governance. Who is accountable for what should be documented in policy statements. In general, an organization is accountable to those who will be affected by its decisions or actions as well as the applicable rules of law.

Participation

Participation by both men and women, either directly or through legitimate representatives, is a key cornerstone of good governance. Participation needs to be informed and well organized, including freedom of expression and assiduous concern for the best interests of the organization and society in general.

Responsiveness

Good governance requires that organizations and their processes are designed to serve the best interests of stakeholders within a reasonable timeframe.

Consensus Oriented

Good governance requires consultation to understand the different interests of stakeholders in order to reach a broad consensus of what is in the best interest of the entire stakeholder group and how this can be achieved in a sustainable and prudent manner.

It seems important to remind that there is sometimes some confusion between

these elements of good governance and the components of democracy. We will see during our study that good governance and democracy are different.

2. Literature review

In order to make clear what our purpose is by performing this research, we inevitably need to determine what it needs to be done. The best way for that step is by analyzing briefly some important studies related to our topic that have already been done.

-In the introductory chapter of the book titled “**Sustainable development and good governance**”, written by Ginther, K., Denters, E., & Waart, P. J. I. M. (1995) , the authors already discusses about the interlinking of development and good governance, including human rights, democracy, and sensible economic and social policies as presented in the 1994 UN Agenda for Development. In general, this book highlights the principle of sustainable development as a major topic in international law embodied in the international instruments agreed upon at the UN Conference on Environment and Development in 1992. The link between good governance and development is obvious and as said before, it is difficult to think about development without good governance.

-Theories of the state and its management have been explained by Peters, Guy B. in the book **Organizing Governance, Governing Organizations** that he wrote with Campbell, Colin. Obviously, for these authors, good governance is an art which have to follow some rules. He also reviews in this book several dimensions of government structure. Government structure, governance and development are interrelated. Ideas shared by authors in this book will be very

helpful in order to identify concretely the problem of Malagasy system.

-Known as an important part that must be taken into account in analyzing and studying good governance, public opinion is also an important tool in governance evaluation. It seems that the book **“Opinion publique et bonne gouvernance a Madagascar”** tells well about the current perception of the governance in Madagascar by the public. Indeed, public opinion is one of relevant indicators in good governance evaluation. Written by JOVELIN, Emmanuel and RARIVOMANANTSOA, Lala, this book tries to describe the typical profile of bad and good ruler, and also an evaluation of good governance framework proposed by the “Governed”. This book is a valuable tool to assess the extent of changes in the life of the nation especially about governance issues.

Nowadays, politicians, journalists, political scientists refer constantly to the public. It becomes a democratic pledge. The authors insisted in showing the role of the public. It seems that, according to the democracy principles, rulers have a duty to continuously report to the public how they are using the power given by citizens by elections as a democratic process. It is an important part of good governance.

When JOVELIN and RARIVOMANANTSOA talk about crises happened in Madagascar, and if we deepen our analysis about them, they all started by a huge contestation of the public about governance. They also insisted in the fact that economic growth and development in Madagascar can be easily

achieved with a certain political will that is almost always lacking. According to their analysis, the way of governing must be reinvented. Definitely, such affirmation seems true. Fortunately (or may be unfortunately for these authors), given to this affirmation, a part of this research is to define what needs to be done in order to make this good governance effective.

-One of the most interesting articles related to our topic is titled **“L’insaisissable relation entre « bonne gouvernance » et “développement”** written by MEISEL, Nicolas - OULD AOUDIA, Jacques. The paper tries to offer tools for rethinking the role of “good governance” in development strategies.

It is already known that good governance involves transparency of public action, control of corruption, free operation of markets, democracy and the rule of law. The authors also said that along with macroeconomic stabilisation, good governance has imposed itself as a universal imperative in development policies since the 1990s.

We are tempted to wonder why the concept of good governance is important when we talk about development or economic growth.

The authors think that good governance is a universal solution to generate the trust needed for economic growth. All developing countries should adopt this tool that is formulated as a set of technical measures for the development process begins. They also try to highlight how did the emerging countries achieve their impressive economic growth and find out that they adopted the

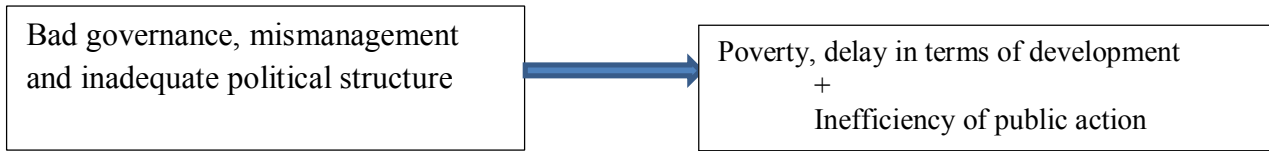
concept of good governance even in the economic field. It implies that performing research about governance reform seems relevant since it is also known that achieving development is the main goal in adopting governance reform in Madagascar.

-It is useful to remind that the political system in Madagascar still belong to the heritage from the French system after its independence in 1960. It is the same case for most of former French colonies in Africa. After spending a certain period to experience the system, African rulers in these countries, especially those who wanted to use their power more for their interest rather than for general interest, have understood that this system could easily permit them to get richer as quick as possible. Then, a set of phenomenon has appeared in these countries that can be described as “bad governance”.

We can quote the control of the administration by the political that led in fiscal slippage, the decline of the neutrality of the administration and in the long run, the decline in growth. According to ALAO Sadikou in his article **“Société civile et bonne gouvernance”** for the Delegation Peace, Democracy and Human Rights Observatory of Francophone International Organization, even if there is alternation and democratic process, the same problems still occur and all the effort for development cannot be performed well. One of the worst problems that he, like the other authors, identifies as the most factor which favour bad governance in Africa is the imbalance of powers. He thinks that reforms should be done within the political sphere and, over this, also in public administration.

ALAO also made it clear. Reforms are needed. After knowing that, by our research, our objective is to identify these reforms.

3. Research hypothesis and research methodology



As shown in the picture above, we pose the hypothesis that the main cause of the delay in terms of development is the current situation in terms of governance and also the inadequate political structure.

Governance seems to play a central role. Results whether they would be poverty, underdevelopment or, in the opposite, development and efficiency of public action depend on how public resources are utilized.

Given all the factors and parameters that we already quoted, and taking into account our goals through this study, we can show by the picture above the variables involved in.

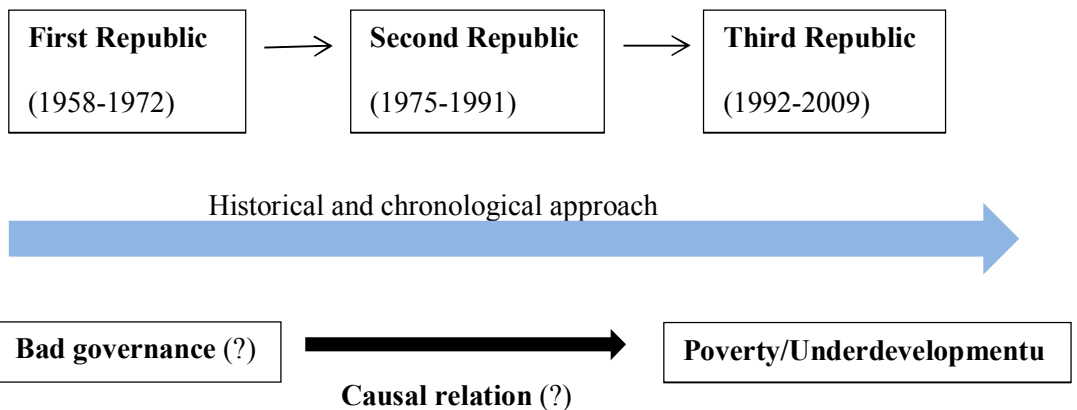
Some factors involved in the bad governance in Madagascar have already been discussed. It is not too early to have an idea of, at least, the areas in which some changes should be brought round: this study will mostly focus on political and economic governance, administrative reforms that will enhance the governance, natural resources governance, local governance, especially about decentralization effectiveness issue. Another important issue is about political ethics.

Since we already suppose (we still suppose because no advanced and

deepened research have not yet been done) that the study that we are going to perform is a causal study in which we also have an objective to find out solution for a given problem that has been already presented, it is necessary to make clear our methodology and how to find out data according to our goals.

Our purpose is to find out data that can reveal the situation of the governance in Madagascar. We have to carry out this task through a historical and chronological approach. Then, the situation during the three republics will be analysed, especially by putting an emphasis the political systems and the governance applied within them. The best way to identify the main problems in governance is to deepen our analysis and putting focus on the state of these components of the governance.

4. Analytical framework



We will pursue our objectives through analytic and logical study. In that order, we will refer to related literature especially those by political analysts and scholars. It seems valuable to remind that data that have to be found out are essentially qualitative rather than quantitative. Although they are qualitative, we may not exclude using some quantitative data especially when some situations must be reported and demonstrated through numerical evidences. Indeed, some indicators show numerous data when measuring a given variable.

Regarding literature, the main scholars that will be referred to are Professor RANJEVA Raymond and JOVELLIN Emmanuel. Their books and researches take into account governance as a main factor that cannot be ignored when talking about a development of a given country especially in Africa. Although democracy is mainly considered as a good model, good governance can be observed in some countries which do not exactly apply democracy. Then, we

can say that it is important to avoid confusion between democracy and good governance even if these concepts may share some components.

Concerning the state of development, we may exploit data provided by reports from organizations that are mainly concerned. We can quote the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund which regularly publish reports at least each year. Their reports and studies seem more than relevant. Indeed, the both organizations are focused on the application of good governance in their studies about economic growth and development especially in Africa. Their annual reports will make us able to analyse and to understand some evolutions in this issue.

Furthermore, reports and paper from the Committee for the Safeguarding of the Integrity (Le Comité pour la Sauvegarde de l'Intégrité) that is the main national observatory in matter of governance in Madagascar will be useful and practical as well. Certain organizations composing civil society also may provide some data. The most important among these organizations that should be quoted is definitely the SehatraFanaraha-masonryFiainam-pirenena (SEFAFI), the Observatory of public life in Madagascar. Exploiting those data and information seems unavoidable. Plus, they may be the more realistic and reliable because most of data and information come from organizations and associations which are able to observe situations in the field.

Regarding needed reforms, it seems that it would be mainly a personal work and personal composition. However, we must refer to scholars who already

put emphasis on reforms. But reforms that we must find out have to be adapted to the situation of Madagascar and must take into account some specifications that may characterize problems that are needed to be solved through them.

It will be valuable to know through this study some particularities of Madagascar regarding politics, economy and even institutions through mostly a historical approach. Indeed, as already mentioned, since its independence, the country went through several crises and the main issue related to them is the governance. It is important to remind that one of the purposes of this study is to clearly identify some problems as well. In order to find out the appropriated solutions, we must clearly identify as well as possible problems that have to be fixed.

The trajectory of Madagascar over a long period has been characterized by socio-political recurrent crises (in 1972, 1991, 2001 and 2009) which each time brought down regimes and interrupted the positive economic dynamics initiated. To summarize, this study aims to demonstrate that the roots of the problem is mainly located at the governance level and to propose solutions in accordance with the particular situation in this country.

CHAPTER 3: AN OVERVIEW OF TARGETED DEVELOPMENT

In terms of real development, East Asian countries have initiated since the 60's sustainable acceleration of economic growth, allowing countries like China, Singapore, Korea, Taiwan and Malaysia to outweigh their situation of underdevelopment. No other region of the world since the end of World War II has made such a breakthrough. However, there is a fact that could have been noticed regarding these countries: unlike countries like Madagascar, they didn't really follow the standard prescription from international financial institutions (especially the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund).

Indeed, since few decades, the concept of "Good governance" (control of corruption, transparency of public action, free markets, rule of law) is installed in the core of development policies that have been promoted by international financial institution. Obviously, if economic growth and development were initially the principal objectives, deepened studies are not needed to reach the conclusion that many countries failed.

Prior to a complete analysis regarding the situation of governance in Madagascar and its linkage with the current situation of underdevelopment, it appears necessary and essential for the study to first dedicate a theoretical part concerning what sort of development Madagascar, in particular, is still on its way. In other words, what kind of development the country is targeting? What are its priorities in this regard? Such a question needs to be made as clear as

possible because we will see in more details later in this part that the term development may have more than one sense as we already saw before in the conceptualization part, and has multiple dimensions as well.

After that, an analysis of the bad governance will be carried out, focusing on the case of Africa especially. It is useful to remind here that, even though some African countries, in particular those who share almost same backgrounds and history, could be diagnosed of the same form of problem regarding governance, Madagascar has its own specificities and particular factors are involved in. Then, through evidences from reports and results of some surveys, linkage and direct causal relation between bad governance / mismanagement and poverty and delay in terms of development will be analyzed and demonstrated.

What development for Madagascar?

The industrial revolution has triggered the continual process of the growth of economic activity. During the century following the publication of the book “the Wealth of Nations” written by Adam Smith, the fundamental preoccupation of the classical political economy has been focused on the development of the capitalism. Indeed, economic growth has been put at the top priorities by nations and states and governments have been involved in activities towards such objectives, but only the degree and manner of involvement were not the same.

There is also a context that needs to be taken into account when proceeding in

this analysis. After the end of Second World War, there has been the “Cold War” in which mostly ideological considerations led to many types of struggle and tensions. There were, indeed, many factors involved in. Among the most important concern especially across the so called “Third World” at that time was their “development”.

However, interesting thing is the concept of development itself. If we carry out a brief analysis of which nations could be called “developed nations” at that time, the two both main ideology and their respective schools and main authors which/who were rivals seem to agree to each other at least regarding one situation that they were be able to observe at that time. It seems that what they called developed countries were those who achieved their industrialization. Therefore, the relevant question that could be asked is “does economic growth mean development?” It is very tempting to give an affirmative answer but it would be wise to be very cautious about this concept of development.

In fact, changes occurred in this world, especially after the Cold War. A new context has appeared and new challenges came out with it. But it does not necessarily mean that we will deny that industrialization and economic growth seem to be bad at the end. The real question that needs to be asked is “Does the concept of development has a standard meaning?” “Does it depend on each country? Or does it depend on regions?”

Points raised in these questions seem not to be that pointless. In order to be

clear about what are the solutions and reforms, what are the needs must be clear as well.

1. Economic growth and development

When economists, politicians and authors, as pioneers, who belong to different disciplines have built their concept of development, what they meant by development seems exactly economic growth. At that time, the two concepts were synonyms. Indeed what have been defined development consisted in substantial economic growth which lasted for a relatively long period. Another key characteristic that contributed to define this development is the industrialization as well. From such a perspective, countries that were not industrialized at a certain level could not be called “developed”.

In order to illustrate this tendency, Walt Whitman ROSTOW, in his book “Stages of Economic Growth” which was published in the early 1960’s, defined the universal process of development on the basis of economic growth. It is useful to remind here that ROSTOW’s model is a part of the liberal economic school. His point of view appears to prioritize industrialization and consumption as main criteria. This means that development itself has remained in its economic dimension.

It is very important here to mention that many critics have been undertaken against the fact that regarding concepts of economic growth and development, in particular, there was a trend of trying to make a standard whereby all the

situation had to be referred in order to assess whether a country is developed or not. However, if, for instance, the liberalistic point of view of ROSTOW is mostly taken into consideration, it seems to make sense to criticize the lack of consideration of specificities, diversities and model different countries were opting for. The context of Cold War could also justify such a situation. Indeed, the rivalry between capitalism and socialism might have made thought appeared as propagandas.

After a while appeared the necessity to distinguish growth and development which does not necessarily have the same definition. Let's take the definition provided by Francois Perroux in his book "L'Economie du XXeme siècle" which has been published in 1964, in the page 155: "le développement est la combinaison des changements mentaux et sociaux qui rendent une nation apte à faire croître, cumulativement et durablement son produit réel global" which can be translated as the following: "development is the combination of mental and social changes which make a nation able to grow cumulatively and durably its global real product."

In fact, there is one thing on which every economists would agree to each other even if different ideologies are on the basis of their thoughts: the development implies growth. However, the development cannot remain to such a dimension which considers only "growth" as a key criterion.

The idea of growth is in the very core of the concept of development and such a fact is very logic. But this idea of growth alone cannot incorporate the other

components of what a real development is supposed to be when items which are included in the concept are considered.

The concept of development is indeed a complex phenomenon that has more than only one dimension. Even nowadays, especially for random people and those who can be qualified as non-initiated, it is still very tempting to assimilate development to economic growth only. Growth is a quantitative idea and means practically the increase of economic magnitudes. It is a part of the complex phenomenon and has an important role. It is indeed almost impossible to think about the idea of achieving development without sufficient increase of revenue in all terms. In a macro-economic view, the economic growth in general must be achieved in a certain level in order to move to another stage which is for example the redistribution of the revenue. Another form of this redistribution that the state is also generally and traditionally supposed to take care is “social welfare” through “public policies”. Further chapters will be dedicated to it later. What is important to retain is that even though growth can be perceived as a prerequisite to all efforts for development, development seems to be something far beyond the simple concept of growth.

The concept of development implies qualitative dimensions that cannot be necessarily quantified and measured. Moreover, the only economic field analysis is not able to explain and assess them. Among these qualitative dimensions, Development induces the increase of the social well-being, some structural changes and even at an advanced step, a social transformation. In

terms of well-being, it can be noticed that in so called “developed countries”, “developed society” can also be observed. What is a “developed society”? Within this study, and in order to stay in the subject, it can very simply be defined as a society who has outstripped all the characteristics and features which are observed in “developing countries” (insecurities, inequalities, tremendous unemployment rate,...). According to many analysts, guessing how developed a given country is can be done by observing and analysing its society, especially its evolution along years and decades.

Urbanisation, industrialization, increase of educated people, efficient public policies in order to fix different problems in terms of unemployment, facilities built by the government in cities, access to education and medical care...are part of what makes this social well-being. A combination of all these characteristics produces an efficient structure and system that is able to fulfil in an efficient and satisfactory way all population's needs, beginning from basic human needs to broader social needs. That is called “development”. Interesting trend that has been observed since a certain period is that experts and analysts including economists tend to reach the same conclusion that the idea of growth without development seems very irrelevant in this century in which inequalities and poverty are part of the consequences of tribulations within the global economy. Sometimes, the more there's economic growth, the bigger inequalities become.

2. Its social and cultural dimension

Semantically, there have been changes regarding the concept of development. Henceforth, the concept of development incorporates human and social dimensions as well. Its initial sense mainly included the concept of growth and economic prosperity. At an advanced stage, other features will be added and will consolidate its transformation into a multi-semantic concept. Then, nowadays, solidary development, communitarian development, human development, integrated development, ethno-development, eco-development... are being talked about.

The fact that all these expressions are attached to the word “development” proves that the concept itself must take into account all the population’s needs. It does not consider only the basic human needs nor needs in a macro-level scale. What is emphasized here is that the process of development must benefit to the population as a whole.

3. Its human dimension

According to the UNDP, the human development does not have its limits in the increase or the decrease of the national income, its objective is to create an environment in which individuals will be able to improve their potential and have a creative and productive life in accordance to their needs and interests. The UNDP also gives a particular consideration to the population which is, according to the organization, the most precious wealth of a given country.

Then, the role of development consists in expanding the possibilities of choice for each individual.

This evolution of the concept has been broadly accepted. It is accepted not only for industrialized country but also for developing country. Putting the individual in the center of the process seems today the essence of the concept itself. Such a consideration and importance of the human dimension is a strong reminder to all countries and especially developing countries which are still seeking economic growth. Indeed, the fundamental concern for most of them remains the achievement of the economic growth with the respect of classical macro-economic principles which seems not to take into consideration this human dimension that much.

According to Wes JACKSON, a biologist which has received the alternative Nobel Prize in 2000 and well known for his commitment for the environment, it appears that the economy has been put up as a priority rather than human well-being. The logic is that the economy is the mean and the well-being is the goal. It seems that there's still a popular thought that the human has to work for the economy which is in fact very wrong.

4. Sustainable development

The most known definition of the sustainable development is contained in the famous Brundtland report published in 1988: "Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the

ability of future generations to meet their own needs. It contains two concepts:

- The concept of needs, in particular the essential's needs of the world's poor, to which overriding priority should be given; and
- The idea of limitation imposed by the state of technology and social organization on the environment's ability to meet the present and future needs."

From this perspective, there are three aspects that must be taken into account:

- The social equity;
- The respect of the environment (it includes the preservation as well);
- The economic profitability.

In more clear and in more details, the idea of sustainable development encompasses the self-sufficiency of communities, the necessity of reducing the gap between standards of living, the preservation of the quality of environment. Plus, it cares about transmitting wealth from the present generation to the future ones.

This idea can be stretched to some extremes. That is why some militants even propose the idea of "decreasing". The idea behind the decreasing model is that what needs to be rethought is the entire economic model. Caring about the development seems not enough in order to reach an ideal development model in which all needs would be fulfilled and the real well-being will be achieved.

Among all these ideas, most of attentions need to be paid to the position of politicians and economists. The most important characteristic that the idea of development must contain is that it is supposed to be long-lasting, even endless. For such a reason, their point of view approves the idea that development and economic growth cannot be separated. However, within a society in which growth is the main goal, there are at least three reasons why putting growth as the top priority might be very harmful. First, by going after growth and trying hard to concentrate wealth can make the well-being an illusion. Secondly, venerating wealth would make the society focusing on the thing that has been supposed to be the mean but has been wrongly thought as the goal. Indeed, the consuming society tends to incorporate the consumption as a popular culture and the idea of competition is even at the basis of the motivation to consume among the mass. Third, it can be not only a serious source of inequality but also a factor which will increase an already existent inequality in the society.

Then, based on this idea, it appears nonsense to go after the growth for the growth itself. The argument behind this idea of decreasing model is the transformation of the way of thinking that has been wrongly driven by only economic considerations into the real and authentic concept of development which puts the individual and its well-being at the center of preoccupations. It also includes a transformation of lifestyle and economic model (according to defenders of this idea). Therefore, it implies a real cultural transformation.

5. Its political dimension

There is obviously a role that the state has to handle in the development process that encompasses economic performance and social progress as well. The role of the state cannot be separated from the development process itself. Therefore, it would be a mistake to forget the political dimension.

There has been a debate regarding the state intervention that brought neo-classical economists to disagree with any sort of state intervention and to support the “laissez-faire” in which the market has the main role for economic prosperity and development as well. Indeed, this thought had a success and it has been also demonstrated that there were significant economic performance and prosperity for countries that had followed such a way, especially during the context of “Cold War” which implied ideological struggles against communism. However, in terms of impacts, the social dimension sometimes has been completely forgotten since the economic performance has been put to the top priorities.

There were although evolutions regarding such an issue. Talking about this political dimension, it cannot be denied that there is certainly a role that the state must play. The question is that how it works concretely (?). Despite the fact that capitalism let many countries achieve their economic prosperity, there is no model which is perfect when considering all parameters. Therefore, some analysts reached a conclusion that leads us to the answer of the question previously asked, an answer on which this study is focusing on: governance.

In sum, it is relevant to emphasize the human dimension of development which is obviously its core raison d'être. But for the case of Madagascar, a sustainable and a healthy economic growth are still needed in order to afford this ultimate target. Indeed, poverty always undermines efforts for blooming and prosperous society so that it is fundamental to build the bases for such a goal and it passes by governance. As Clare Short, the former British Secretary of state for International Development, stated in her speech in Valladolid in 2007, whatever question might be asked regarding development, the answer is governance.

The Bretton Woods institutions, when rescuing developing countries which had an alarming level of poverty, put a great condition for their assistance: good governance. The issue that is being dealt with in this analysis is not about assistance. However, it is helpful to mention that many developing countries failed to reach economic development though they got assistance from international financial institutions. Therefore, it has been noticed that “bad governance” is at the roots of the evil that gnaws these countries. It is unfortunate that Madagascar is still among these countries despite its tremendous resources and potentials. It cannot be said freely without any evidences. That is why, in the following chapter, an analysis will be carried out in order to demonstrate the causal relation between the type of governance it experienced and its delay in terms of development.

CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

Bad governance and poverty in Madagascar: a causal relation

This part will be dedicated to the analysis that demonstrates that bad governance and mismanagement have mainly made Madagascar failed to achieve an optimal development. In order to have a coherent and chronological comprehension, a historical approach will be privileged.

As a reminder, Madagascar went through a political crisis from 2009 to 2013. There has been a political transition which started in March 2009 after the former President Marc RAVALOMANANA has resigned during his second mandate. The transitory regime was widely criticized by a large part of the international community. Indeed, the members of this regime composed by civilians were designated by the military board to which the former President transferred the power. It was estimated at that time that such a process was anti-democratic. A new Constitution has been validated by a referendum in December 2010 which also means a new Republic, the fourth in the history of Madagascar. The Republic of Madagascar finally returned back in a normal situation in 2014 with a new President which has been elected.

However, when talking about crisis, there might be different senses to give to such a word. If there is a certain will for prosperity, of course political stability matters, especially regarding institutions. In another sense, it can be said that there's still a crisis when the state does not play its role in the way that it needs to be performed. Even if there's a stability of institutions, these

institutions might perform mismanagement that leads to bad situations that affects mostly the population and hinders all efforts to achieve development. Before getting in depth into the analysis of the situation of Madagascar, it is useful to emphasize that the logic from which development will be considered in this study starts from the fact that the population is logically the main beneficiary and the main recipient of the results in terms of development. There is a second principle which is important enough to be reminded here in the beginning of the analysis: the state works for the population and the power which is being exercised by rulers has been lent to them by the same population which is the real owner of this power. The importance of such a principle will be seen in details in following sections.

In order to show as well as possible and in details the evidences that prove the direct causal relation with the “bad governance” and mismanagement that took place in Madagascar, this analysis will be carried out following some steps.

1. The situation of the poverty in Madagascar

Like most of developing countries, the profile of Madagascar does not differ that much from other African countries that are still on their way to achieve their own development. But there are some particularities that must be emphasized throughout this chapter in order to have a clear view of the situation. In this description, the indicators that will be utilised in order to evaluate the poverty are those recommended by the United Nations

Development Program, which are mostly focusing on education level and life conditions.

The situation of Madagascar appears ironic in more than one way. Indeed, if we just consider what the country possess in terms of natural resources, human resources (the Malagasy population is very young) and also in terms of natural environment, the level of poverty does not absolutely make sense at all. This country, given all assets it owns naturally, offers a serious perspective of rapid growth.

1.1. A widespread poverty

According to the World Bank in its report showing the indicators of development in 2014³, about 62% of the population are under the extreme poverty line and don't have enough revenue to afford foods that fulfil the minimum daily needs which is 2100 calories according to the same organism which follows the criteria recommended by the World Health Organization. The same report shows that three (3) persons out of four (4) are living with less than 2 dollars per day. According to Lars ENGSTROM, who is in charge of data in the department in charge of Africa in World Bank, this shows that Madagascar in 2014 was in the same situation as the Democratic Republic of Congo and Liberia which have been seriously suffering from grave civil wars.

³ World development indicators 2014

Table 1. Population living with less than two dollars per day

Countries	Population living with less than 2 dollars per day
Congo DRC	95
Liberia	91
Burundi	90
Madagascar	90
Tanzania	87
Zambia	84
Nigeria	84
Rwanda	82

A sample from the World Development Indicators 2014 (World Bank)

Indeed, compared to early 2000, this percentage was 76% according to the report. That simply means that the level of poverty has swollen in only ten years although Madagascar hasn't experienced civil wars unlike DR Congo for instance.

Demographically, the population of Madagascar is young. About a half of the population is under twenty (20) years old and life expectancy according to statistics provided by the UNDP is 65 years old. According to the World Bank,

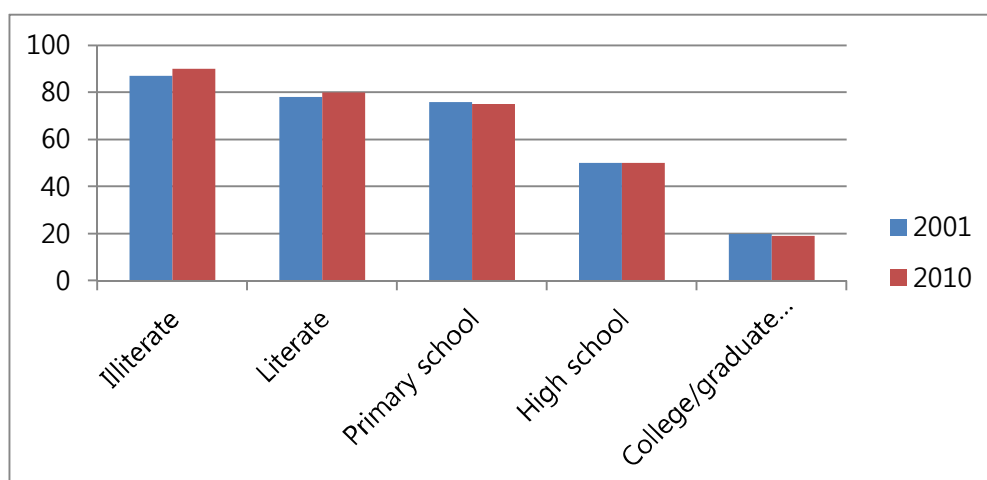
the percentage of population growth is 3% per year. The situation means that ten (10) millions of persons reached the extreme poverty between 2000 and 2011 if we consider that the population grows with a number of almost 650 000 persons each year and also since the World Bank also showed that 62% of the population are under the criteria of extreme poverty. The 2014 report of the World Bank assessing the poverty, gender and inequality also contains the same numerical evidences. Indeed, 60.5% of the population were considered living in extreme poverty in 2000.

In the same idea, this poverty mostly touches the young part of the population. It is useful to provide an explanation that matches with such a conclusion. The trend in Madagascar appears to be the big family. There's still a cultural consideration in Madagascar that considers children as a wealth. However, socio-economic realities are different and the severe situation in terms of education and in the labor market as well contributes to worsen the situation of young generations. The rate of children who drop out after being enrolled in school is still significant. The explanation behind is that parents who can afford to send their children to school in Madagascar belong to the educated class.

Table 2. Absolute poverty in correspondence to the level of education

Absolute poverty by level of education (percentage)	2001	2010
Illiterate	87%	90%

Literate	78%	80%
Primary school	76%	75%
High school	50%	50%
College/graduate school	20%	19%



Source: World Bank 2014

There is a direct relation between the level of education and the poverty. The more people are educated, the less they are poor. That is what the table above seems to prove. The logic behind is that high educated people have more chance to get a dignified work and then more means to educate their children. Anyhow, the situation of the tranche of population who didn't complete at least the primary has been seriously worsened within ten years. Based on such a conclusion, it is very worrying to see that the proportion of the population which reached a high school level of education has diminished from 15, 9% in

2001 to 11% in 2010.

Since 2001, the number of children who are supposed to go to school has decreased and the number of children who dropped out has increased. Such an alarming situation is partly due to the restriction of government expenses in education. Furthermore, due to the lack of relevant policies, the quality of education appears to be very poor. Indeed, despite the fact that community teachers are enrolled in primary school, most of time, they didn't really receive any training and are just officially appointed so that the number of teachers appears enough. Another fact that needs to be pointed out is that most rural areas are very isolated and there's no school in their neighbourhood and children have to walk a couple of miles away to reach the nearest one. Sometimes, there are simply no options and children naturally become farmers in their own area without any knowledge and follow only what they have inherited from their parents. This is due to the poor connectivity of the country.

Although there was some improvement regarding education sector, the main problems that need to be addressed still remain if we take into consideration the trend shown by the statistics. The access to high school education remains very limited for the majority of the population. The tranche which is mostly vulnerable is composed by families led by parents who didn't achieve at least secondary education. The difference in terms of incidence of poverty increases with the completion of education. It is unfortunate that the high level education in Madagascar is almost inexistent and those who can afford it

belong to the tranche of the population composed by the richest.

Socially speaking, it appears alarming that this phenomenon demonstrates the fact that the gap between rich and poor is widening and seems to lead with a serious reduction of the middle class in general. Basically, this class is composed by those who must be key actors for the progress and the development of the country in general, mostly intellectuals.

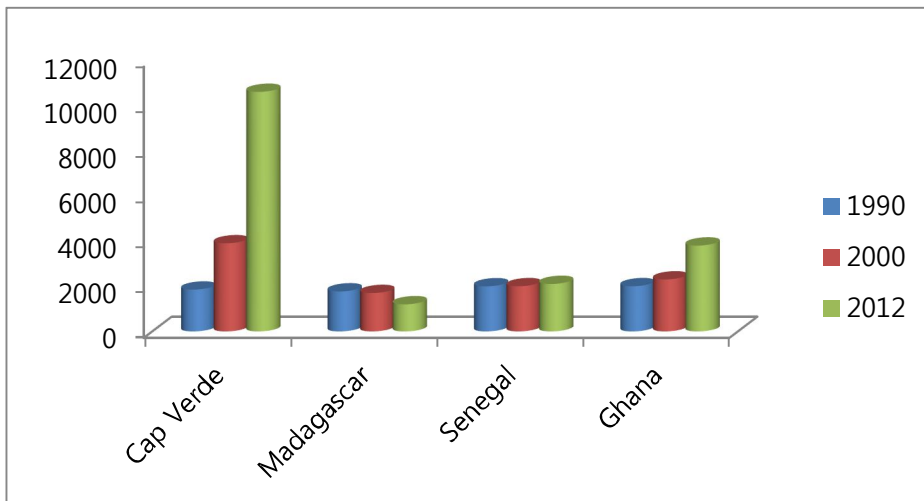
In terms of health, government expenses in Madagascar are much less than what is observed in sub-Saharan Africa according to the World Bank. This is also an indicator of poverty. What have been observed is that only those who have enough means can afford to go to health services. However, Madagascar has less percentage in terms of infant mortality compared to most of sub-Saharan African countries.

In sum, what can be noticed is that since 2001, poverty has increased in Madagascar in all terms. The main characteristic of the poverty in Madagascar is that it touches mostly rural populations in rural areas which have very poor infrastructures and are very poorly connected to interest poles. According to the World Bank, about 26% of the population couldn't have access to electricity in 2010. We have already seen the proportion of the population who don't have access in health services. The INSTAT Madagascar estimated that 20% of the population cannot access to potable water in 2013 (source: INSTAT Madagascar).

1.2. Lack of economic growth

Compared to other developing countries, especially sub-Saharan African countries to which Madagascar is generally compared, its economic growth tends to be lesser.

Chart 1. A Comparison of the evolution of GDP per capita in term of parity of purchasing power in USD



Source: World Bank indicators 2014

The economic growth of Madagascar seems to have been less than the average of the achievement of the majority of sub-Saharan African countries the last three decades. Bad economic performance has been then combined with a significant growth of the population. Proportionally, it leads to more poverty of the overall population and does not really allow any improvement of life conditions. As shown by the graph above, the GDP per capita logically decreases over years compared to other countries who have accomplished economic progress. Indeed, from 1990 to 2012, the reduction is 19%. It

simply means that Madagascar didn't follow the trend of the majority of other countries.

Only countries that have experienced mostly civil wars are in the same situation. According to the World Bank, only the Comoros did worse than Madagascar. In 2012, the GDP per capita in Comoros was still higher than in Madagascar. What allows us to say that Comoros did worse is that in 1990, the GDP per capita in Comoros was much higher than in Madagascar. Today, it is just a little bit higher.

Still in terms of comparison over these three decades, China has increased this percentage to 600%, Senegal increased to 17%, and Ghana increased to 300%. All these countries were practically in the same level in 1990 (less than 2000 USD). It seems more than logic to ask what happened to Madagascar.

There is an affirmation that cannot be denied. Although Madagascar has tremendous potential and had opportunities over years during which developing countries like China, Cap Verde or Indonesia has achieved economic growth that is not necessarily the same, it obviously missed its development. There are still potentialities and opportunities and there are lessons that need to be learned from the past.

To summarize, if we consider data collected by the World Bank and domestic data collected by the INSTAT, in terms of life conditions in particular, it appears that 75 % of the population are living in poverty in Madagascar between 2010 and 2012. In terms of number, it means that about seventeen

millions of Malagasy can be considered as poor according to the international indicators. Since 1990, the percentage of poverty has increased and seems among the highest if compared to other developing countries, especially in Africa. Since 2001, the situation of Madagascar which was already among the less advanced countries has been worsened.

In terms of extreme poverty, the percentage in Madagascar has been estimated to 60% if we take the criteria of minimal food intake which is an indicator used by the UNDP and the World Bank as well. In more details, these 60% are living with resources that don't provide the minimum of 2100 calories per day. Another dimension that needs to be considered when assessing life conditions is the access to potable water at home which was dramatically reduces over the last decades. Another fact is the poor access to the electricity. These non-monetary dimensions that evaluate life conditions are very meaningful and reflect all the problems and challenges the country is facing.

What deserves to be noticed regarding population repartition is that about 78%⁴ of the population live in the rural areas where poverty is worse and which don't have economic pole of interest. These areas are poorly connected because of poor infrastructures. Indeed, about 85% of the economy is still concentrated in the capital city, Antananarivo.

Data to which studies undertaken by the World Bank led are embarrassing even though it is the sad reality. After five decades of independence, the

⁴Statistiquesmondiales:

situation remains unfortunate with three inhabitants over five in poverty. Since 1980, the situation didn't change and, as briefly explained in the beginning part of this study, regular political crises and instabilities undo all impulses in favour of development. As an illustration, in 2002, economic sabotages done by followers of the former president Didier RATSIRAKA in order to isolate the capital city in which all the interest of his opponent Marc RAVALOMANANA were located have been considered as main reasons that the GDP of Madagascar fell by 8%. Such a domestic strife had disastrous consequences years after given the fact that the country had difficulties to recover from this crisis, in particular economically, before another one took place in 2009 that led to another political crisis during almost five years.

2. Bad governance and mismanagement

When poverty affects more than a half of the population according to international standards and indicators, it is more than legitimate to find out the reason why the situation have come to that point. Furthermore, unlike many African countries, Madagascar never experienced any civil war that seems to be the main reason why other countries like Democratic Republic of Congo or Sudan, for example, got their economy almost destroyed. In these countries, there were not only instabilities; there were even humanitarian tragedies because of internal armed conflicts. Maybe the geographical situation of Madagascar which is an island in the middle of Indian Ocean allowed the escape from the phenomenon. What needs to be mentioned is that the country has a deep rooted culture of peace which is called the “fihavanana”.

However, these fifty decades of independence have been marked by instabilities and internal crises that provoked serious consequences to its development. The first serious crisis since 1960 occurred in 1972. Then in 1975, after three years of political transition, Madagascar chose to belong to the socialist bloc. In 1991, which curiously corresponds to the collapse of the Soviet Union, another crisis led to another political transition until another president was elected in 1995 and have been impeached in 1997. No more than five years later, another crisis happened in 2002 and the latest one in 2009 followed by five years of political crisis and a transitory regime. Madagascar went back to a normal constitutional situation in 2014 with a new republic, the fourth one.

It appears that crises in Madagascar are cyclic and occur regularly. What have been noticed is that almost same reasons are behind and almost every regime ended up with popular protests that usually lead to another political crisis.

This study is focusing on proving and showing a reality that on which not enough attention and emphasis are paid. If we analyse what always leads to these popular protests, the answer seems to be mostly bad governance, mismanagement, wrong political choices and corruption, in general. It turns out that these are the roots of the poverty and the delay of development in Madagascar. There will be steps that will be followed throughout this analysis.

2.1 Historical approach: wrong political choices and related inconsistencies of the two first republics

It appears relevant to begin the analysis of this bad governance with a historical view that allows a chronological understanding before the study of the structural part of the governance properly speaking which will be focused on the third Republic. This section will be mostly focused on the first and the second Republics.

a. The first republic (1960-1972), the French footprint

The year 1972 marked a turning point in the history of the Republic. It appears necessary to make clear the context during the twelve years under the rule of Philibert TSIRANANA who founded the Republic of Madagascar and has been its first president.

The date of 26th of June 1960, that day the country recovered officially its independence after 64 years of French colonization, is definitely the most important date for Madagascar. Many sincere struggles were carried out years before this historical date and the most memorable one is undeniably the armed uprising in March 1947 which was severely repressed by the colonial power. Historical reports regarding this episode talks about a number of more than ninety thousands (90 000) killed. Professor Jean FREMIGACCI even evokes more than one hundred thousand killed in his article “La verité sur la

granderévolte de Madagascar” in the revue “L’Histoire” N.318 ⁵in March 2007.

This reflects how much Malagasy people were attached to the idea of sovereignty. In 1960, the international context, especially after the end of the Second World War, was in favour of colonies. Almost all colonial powers were seriously weakened by the War and felt more relevant to jump in another level and give their independence to their colonies, at least politically. What is interesting, in particular for the case of Madagascar, is that in many regards, it turned out that the independence was just something done in an official way. Practically, the independence itself was very contestable. On the 14th of October 1958, the Republic of Madagascar was proclaimed but, through a referendum, Madagascar chose to stay in the French community that meant France therefore continued to direct foreign policy, defense and the economy of the island, including the management of strategic raw materials. In 1960, the French community was dissolved and the majority of French colonies including Madagascar became independent.

However, no later than the day after the independence, on 27th of June 1960, The Republic of Madagascar signed cooperation agreements with France (les Accords de Coopération)⁶. There were eleven agreements which handle various matters that mostly are supposed to belong to the sovereign functions of the state. In 1972, it has been estimated that agreements regarding the

⁵ FREMIGACCI Jean, “La vérité sur la granderévolte de Madagascar”, in “l’Histoire” N.318, March 2007

⁶<http://gasikar-histo.e-monsite.com/pages/independance/republique/premiere-republique/>

economy, public finances, foreign policy, and education and even regarding national defence were seriously encroaching the sovereignty of the state that was assumed to be independent.

These agreements required the presence of technical assistant and advisors at all levels of power and they had a very strong influence over every single structure and institution of the first republic.

There is also another fact that needs to be made very clear in terms of legitimacy and politics. The “Parti Social Démocrate” (PSD) was TSIRANANA’s party and took over the “Parti des Dshérités de Madagascar” (PADESM) which were alleged to have been cooperating with the colonial power during the events of 1947. Its members were among those who, curiously, haven’t been severely repressed and were even treated with a special attention. I was noticed that many decisions which were supposed to belong entirely and exclusively to the Republic of Madagascar were actually made by the former colonial power but officially taken by Malagasy authorities.

At the roots of the revolt in 1972, mostly educational issues brought up much displeasure especially among students at that time. Explained in more technical details, all issues related to education were under the seventh cooperation agreement and its Annex Convention on education and culture. The convention had two pillars: first, the aid granted by the French Republic to the Republic of Madagascar and also the supposedly reciprocal cooperation

between the two independent states. The centrepiece of the convention was the “full validity” of Malagasy diploma in the territory of France that implies that qualifications are the same and therefore the education as well. This validity was guaranteed by the fact that entrusted to officials “whose qualifications and appointments are left to the full discretion of the French Republic and under its authority. The organization and the sanction of the examinations and competitions for obtaining diplomas and qualification titles are also under the discretion of the French Republic. Students and part of the population were concerned about the future elite. Moreover, most of managerial staff, twelve (12) years after the independence was still French. These facts are denounced by Bearisoa RAKOTONIAINA in his book “Madagascar sous la premiere République de 1960 a 1972”⁷

The debut of this movement was very meaningful and deserves to be briefly described. The protestation began with students of medical school of Befelatanana in Anatananarivo denouncing bad conditions and mismanagement which seriously worsened the studying environment. Plus, twelve years after the independence, this school in its mission properly speaking seemed to train only assistants of French doctors instead of real Malagasy doctors. As a reminder, the whole educational system built by French authorities since 1896 were based on uneven education between Frenchs (the elites) and indigenious (subalterns and assistants). This elongation of colonial practices and, even worse, allowed and fully implemented by a

⁷ RAKOTONIAINA, Bearisoa “Madagascar sous la premiere République”, , Editions JM, Paris 2014

supposed independent Malagasy government was just unacceptable for students who were aware of the role they will play as a key generation that is supposed to achieve high education on the next day of the independence. There was a feeling that the Malagasy government still takes orders directly from Paris in all issues. This is just an example and it has been selected amongst many others since it was the beginning of the protestation.

The inconsistency of the educational system with socio-economic realities in Madagascar was also one of the reasons why the protestation took place since it has been copied from the French system. One of the concerns was about labour market as well. Indeed, since for example the medical school didn't train doctors and the medical world were still dominated by Frenchs in a context of independence and in which a fresh exacerbated nationalism was still very present, protests seemed to make sense for many people and rapidly reached almost every opinion. In addition, the government simply responded by rejecting all claims and closed the medical school of Befelatanana.

There was also another fact that is related to socio-cultural issue that strengthened the feeling of injustice and even an impression of "apartheid". Facilities and schools that provided the best quality of education were located in areas that historically belonged to the "Andrianamerina" which is the caste of nobles directly related to the royal family during the monarchy. The fact is that mostly students who owned French citizenship and French students as well went to these schools. Such a situation has been perceived as unacceptable in a context of independence and in a Republic which was

supposed to promote equality of all Malagasy people.

The President TSIRANANA unfortunately made the decision to arrest about three hundred five persons in the campus of the University of Antananarivo in Ambohitsaina under the pretext that they were a threat to the national unity and were plotting in collaboration with foreign stakeholders. There were also riots in the capital city and other main cities which led to forty two deaths among protesters. He also did the mistake to send these persons to the penitentiary island of Nosy Lava where have been sent by Frenchs Malagasy people who took part of the revolution in 1947 that have been severely repressed. The sad reputation of Nosy Lava inherited from events of 1947 marked the public opinion. Furthermore, the President in a speech in May 1972 defended all his decisions. This led to a general strike in both of the public and private sectors during which the whole administrative apparatus stopped to work. The resignation of the President was claimed. On the 18th of May 1972, the President resigned and has entrusted to the General RAMANANTSOA the entire power in the form of military board.

Another motivation of this protest was also the feeling of fed up within the political system caused by the fact that the PSD seemed to handle everything in the entire political life. It demonstrates that the confiscation of the political power by the ruling party is not something recent in Madagascar. This has been also the trend in many African countries that experienced political instabilities. In Madagascar, only the AKFM (Antoko'nyKongresi'nyFahaleovantenan'iMadagasikara) which was a

communist party has been recognized officially in the opposition.

The most reliable reference from these facts have been able to be quoted in this academic research is the article “Madagascar 1972: l’autreindépendance” written by Francoise BLUM⁸.

To answer the question whether the protest was successful or a failure, it appears that what have been claimed was effectively obtained since the President has resigned and cooperation agreements with France were renegotiated. Another fact that needs to be pointed out is the acceleration of the “malagasyization”. Indeed, in addition to the discriminatory system which was denounced and fought since the beginning of the protests of 1972, the French language was used in all domains, especially education, and therefore was considered as a symbolic instrument of domination that needed to be removed. The events of 1972 boosted the nationalism in Madagascar and even led most of protesters to demand more social justice and equality. This was a part of a trigger that led the country to socialism.

Decryption

- There is a broad image of the first republic that mostly shows a counterproductive organization and governance. It turns out that the regime TSIRANANA made a certain continuity of the colonial administration in more than one regard. Despite the independence, it

⁸ BLUM Francoise. Madagascar 1972 :l’autreindépendance. Le Mouvement Social, Les Editions de l’Atelier/Editionsouvrieres, 2011, pp.61-87.

turned out that the entire political system was not only under the French influence but French people still dominated the scene in all structures and institutions, according to Bearisoa RAKOTONIAINA.

- Secondly, there was not any development policy conceived by the regime that had a long-term perspectives and visions so that it would have structured the Malagasy economy in a way that would have been adapted to its situation, specificities and objectives as well. It seemed that it was not among the priorities. Another fact is that all domains were governed by Cooperation Agreements of 1960. Unfortunately, this study is too small to analyse them in details and for a better comprehension, historical approach has been expressly chosen regarding the two first republics especially. But there was a chance to raise the Agreement concerning education in order to reveal the spirit in which they have been made and motivated the protests of 1972.

It appears that the first republic was essentially marked by the French presence even in economic activities which were not sufficiently opened to investors. The same French enterprises still dominated the spot and the economy didn't really make a significant progress.

In sum, seemingly, the first republic was only a continuity of the French presence and what seemed to lead to the events of 1972 is the fact that the Government at that time allowed such a situation. Through the "Accords de Cooperation" and government's behaviour, enlightened spirits, especially

among students, saw a dark future mostly because of the shadow of the former colonial power that still seemed to control almost every domain. That is why many Malagasy seniors don't hesitate to say that the colonization lasted actually 75 years rather than 60 years.

b. The second republic (1975-1991), the socialist revolution

Given the angle that this analysis is being undertaken, it seems that the book “Military Marxist Regimes in Africa” edited by John MARKAKIS and Michael WALLER in 1986 is the most relevant one since it describes the way the transformation of the regime directly affects every domain especially the development in Madagascar⁹.

The interesting part in the book and from which most of facts described in this section come from is the article “Madagascar: A case of Revolutionary Pragmatism”.

In order to make the situation at that time very clear, it is necessary to explain briefly the context. Ideas of nationalism and anti-colonialism dominated the Malagasy public opinion during the first part of the 1970's. A Supreme Revolution Council was created in 1975 and led by Didier RATSIRAKA. A new constitution, fundamentally inspired by socialism and the Chart of Malagasy Revolution were subject to the people decision by referendum and adopted on the 21st of December 1975 and the Democratic Republic of Madagascar was proclaimed on the 30th of December 1975¹⁰ with RATSIRAKA as a President of the Republic.

⁹MARKAKIS John, WALLER, Michael “Military Marxist Regimes in Africa”, Frank Cass and Co, New York, 1986.

¹⁰The constitution of the second Republic was approved through a referendum with 95, 57% votes in favour and the participation rate was 92, 64% (Source: Décision n° 129 CSI/D du 07 novembre 1972. J.O. n°871 du 08 novembre 1972, p.2990). These numbers clearly show how enthusiastic Malagasy people felt about the change it was looking forward.

The regime promised a rapid economic and cultural progress based on a non-alignment policy, even though the choice opted for was a socialist republic, a rigorous economic planning and an administrative decentralization as well. After the nationalization of enterprises inherited from the colonial power, main nationalist factions were pleased enough to allow the regime handle economic issues in a way it thought the better.

In a political level properly speaking, RATSIRAKA founded the “Avant-garde de la Révolution Malgache” (AREMA) in March 1976, following the model of Libya and North Korea respectively under the rule of KADHAFI and KIM Il Sung, in which he was also the secretary general. This party then dominated the political system in Madagascar.

Another important fact is that the Malagasy constitution of the second Republic stated that political activities in the Democratic Republic of Madagascar are exercised exclusively within the “Front National de Défense de la Révolution”. In reality, it turned out that the political power was going to be confiscated by the President’s party, the AREMA.¹¹

The regime RATSIRAKA could be qualified as totalitarian and authoritarian after the AREMA obtain 81% of seats in the Popular National Assembly. 8% went for the AKFM and the rest for minor parties. The same proportion was taken into account to form the government in 1976. But this is only the beginning. After all the members of the government were appointed, the

¹¹RAVALOSON Jaona, ALBERT Zafy, “Transition démocratique à Madagascar” Editions l’Harmattan; 2000; p 167

regime started to censor the press and seemed to have totally forgotten about the promise of social justice and progress. The priority seemed to be finding a way to make the AREMA dominating every domain. It is useful to emphasize that it was a regime highly centralized.

In the administrative domain, every activity had to depend on the ruling party, the AREMA, and all activities had to be done on the behalf of the party. Regarding administrative services, corruption took place since there was no choice in order to obtain any authorization, for example regarding construction, than joining the party or taking part in funding its activities. Said in a more popular and frank way, a real organized racket took place and it has been considered very normal. There was a real politicization of the administration in every level and concerning every domain¹².

Regarding the economy, the state controlled all exchanges and didn't allow further investments. The business environment in Madagascar was stifling at that time. On the other side, the international context as well was not in favour of Madagascar. Indeed, the Malagasy economy was hardly affected by the effect of the oil shock and the falling of raw materials. This situation was also combined to the poor infrastructures since all what have been inherited from the former colonial power were wasted or annihilated since the very warm protests that were driven by nationalist feelings.

¹² MARKAKIS John, WALLER, Michael "Military Marxist Regimes in Africa", Frank Cass and Co, New York, 1986: p. 105 "New ideological order"

Rapidly, the economic situation of Madagascar dropped and reached its worse point since the independence and life and social conditions followed this trend¹³. Following the life price in general, staple became very rare and very expensive. Madagascar in 1977 was classified among the poorest countries in the world. There were protests in the capital city against scarcity of food and other essential goods. The discontent increased with the worsening economic situation but the regime reacted by severe repression.

However, economic difficulties forced RATSIRAKA to resort to the IMF. At that time, reforms were demanded by the IMF, especially about policies allowing certain liberalization. That was indeed the essential condition asked by the IMF prior to any assistance to Madagascar. RATSIRAKA was very criticized by his very socialist followers accusing him to betray all the principles of the revolution that have been fought for. But the worsening situation has forced the socialist regime to make some concessions and reforms.

The general situation in the big island was tense even after some reforms were carried out. Corruption within the administration which was much politicized was the main factor that made citizens fed up of the regime. A silent but growing opposition led to protests in 1991. Among most important motivations behind these protests is the corruption that touches every state structure and institution. There was also a fed up of administration

¹³There is unfortunately no exact statistics. This affirmation is based on the combination of what have been read in articles and books related to the socialist period in Madagascar.

politicization. A pacific protest was severely repressed on the 10th of August 1991. This event led to a general mobilization against the entire socialist regime. In 1992, a new constitution was adopted and has as basis the political pluralism and democracy. Mr ZAFY Albert, the leader of the opposition and protests, officially won the presidential election on the 10th of February 1993 and was the first president of the third republic of Madagascar. That was the end of the socialist period in Madagascar.

Decryption

- The second republic was a very difficult period for Madagascar if we consider development perspectives. Culturally, the nationalism resulted from traumatism inherited from the colonial period led to a hunger of social justice at the top of what Malagasy people thought to need. The historical part of the issue of social justice also seems to have had an influence over the motivation to shift to a socialist model. Even during the monarchy, the Merina, the ethnical group to which the monarchs of Madagascar since the eightieth century belonged¹⁴, were dominating. The second republic was seen as an opportunity for a fatal blow to both of ethnical and French/indigenous division and differentiation. That seemed to be an important part of the legitimacy of the choice of socialism system. Moreover, both of western and

¹⁴The king Andrianampoinimerina had unified the entire island under the authority of the Merina kingdom between 1787 and 1800 through marital alliances or by military expedition. He was then recognized by the other seventeen ethnic groups as well as countries that later will strengthen their diplomatic relation with Madagascar as “the king of the island of Madagascar”.

socialist blocs had demonstrated their power. For those who were interested in power and more social justice rather than economic expansion and exacerbated capitalism, choosing to belong to the socialist bloc made sense. This is just the explanation of the choice of socialism regardless of the governance part that led the country to more poverty during the period of second Republic. From the cultural point of view, we will see later that the ethnical consideration had and seems to still have a non-negligible influence over the political life in general. It is useful to point out the instrumentalization of ethnic issues by the colonial power in order to strengthen their authority which geographically had its center in the capital city Antananarivo.

- As mentioned before, the second republic that had been entirely ruled by Didier RATSIRAKA is described by many authors as totalitarian and authoritarian. The socialist system was in favour of such a tendency since socialist leading countries themselves seemed to accept it. According to Jean Dubois DE GAUDUSSON, what featured this system were the existence of a dominant party and the politicization of the public life in general.

The system of unique party was also in favour of the confiscation of power by the leader and its party. Such a scenario happened in Madagascar and, from an objective view, it led to many abuses and arbitrariness done by the leaders. After

decades, that means after the end of this period, there were testimonies and articles that revealed the practice of political assassination that had a goal to eliminate very disturbing opponents or potential rivals even within the same side

- In terms of governance, such a system and such a totalitarian style didn't have much chance to work in favour of development. The priority in a socialist system is not the economic growth itself but rather the way such a goal is supposed to be achieved. In the case of Madagascar like many countries which belonged to the socialist bloc during the Cold War, there was a strong centralization and the concentration of power often led to a dictatorship. The interesting part of the dictatorship within a socialist system at that time was the existence of a cult of personality initiated by rulers themselves. At a very difficult point caused by a total disdain of the well-being of the nation and population, citizens who were seeing their life conditions rapidly degrading were wondering whether these principles had the value of their sacrifice by their leaders.
- In a planned economy like in a typical socialist country, the state controls and decides about every single aspect in the opposite of capitalist and democratic system in which on the market depends all trends and where the state does not intervene. In a world in which economic activities and economic growth were still the way to development and where economic development is a fundamental

objective in order to survive, methods carried out by socialist regime didn't work in favour of such an objective. In Madagascar, for instance, every economic activity was strongly framed by the state and the state itself controlled external exchanges. Furthermore, since rare enterprises that were still present in the country were nationalized by the regime, the state controlled all aspects of wealth creation. Within a dictatorship context, the risk that the economy mostly would work for the interests of rulers effectively occurred.

- It appears important to remind that it's not a matter of criticizing the socialist system but describing and analysing realities. From a social point of view, the situation seemed to have deteriorated. In a broad view, it has been observed that economic difficulties and strong restrictions done by the regime seriously worsened life conditions and also an increasing pauperization was observed. The middle class that was mostly composed by intellectuals has experienced difficulties and felt very frustrated. Indeed, all activities were supposed to be related to politics so that even if they were willing to work for the development achievement, their own ideas couldn't even be expressed in a system that only socialism principles were followed. Not belonging to the system was useless. Plus, with the corruption and pressures within every structure, it seemed impossible to undertake any single action in order to make changes that would solve some issues linked to poverty and development. During the second

Republic, belonging to the middle class seemed to be only being government official or taking advantage from the system through favours obtained from political involvement. This is just an illustration of the worsening situation at that time and an example of how the system went astray and didn't see other things that would really matter, especially social conditions and economic development.

- The politicization of the Administration deserves a special attention. It seems to be a bad habit in many countries especially developing countries in Africa. In the political level, as a reminder, the President TSIRANANA had his party, the PSD that was an instrument to make a marketing of the “Frenchify” of the system during the first republic. During the second Republic, every political activity must be exercised within the FNDR. Plus, the manoeuvre undertaken by the regime in order to make the party AREMA controlling the entire political life rather appeared to be a real locking of the power and the administration as well since the administration had practically the colour of the party.

Put together, all these manoeuvres and practices led to only one ultimate goal, the power, which is totally absurd for a state which was still seeking for development. An obsession for a state socialism and a power personification as well were costing a lot to every view over economic growth, development and prosperous society. These fifteen years were perceived by citizens as a waste of time since power worked only for more power.

Depicted through a historical approach, the first and the second Republics seemed to have not paid attention to the economic growth. The first Republic was willing to make Madagascar a perfect copy of the former colonial power but what have seemed to being implemented was rather making the country becoming a discounted French system. That is the reason why many authors were denouncing a neo-colonialism that was seemingly accepted by the regime that was accused of being a puppet of France that no longer could politically keep their colonies anymore. It is obvious that France still have strategical and geopolitical interests even nowadays so that there were manoeuvres carried out in order to somehow keep a certain control over countries that were colonized. Not only Madagascar experienced such an experience.

Anyhow, 1975 was a turning point for Madagascar when opting for socialism. Unfortunately, it was a starting point of fifteen years of disappointing period for Malagasy who were hoping for development and prosperity. Emphasizing socialism principles and venerating power regardless of the social costs marked the second Republic.

The third Republic has been proclaimed in 1992 and Madagascar ended its period of socialism. Poverty was mostly the reason that motivated protests against President RATSIRAKA and his regime on the 19th of August 1992 with a new constitution based on political pluralism and a form of equilibrium between the President which is elected through a universal suffrage and the National Assembly.

The following section will be focused on the period of the third Republic and will lead this study deepening more the issue of governance. The historical approach will be retained but a special attention will be paid on evidences and proofs that demonstrate the direct causal relation between bad governance that, we will see in more details, was also marking this “third period”. In order to carry out such analysis, we will rely more on evidences through reports from national/local organisms and institutions and international organisations as well.

2.2. Bad governance and poverty: roots of chronical instabilities

In this section, the historical approach will be retained for consistency in order to provide a chronological comprehension of facts. Some data, especially those which come from international organizations, showing the situation over the three last decades, are available in order to illustrate so that the third Republic is analysed in particular. Bad governance and mismanagement will be pointed out and emphasized with clear evidences.

It needs to be said that the third republic was marked by ceaseless political instability and there are factors that are involved in the reasons behind them. Also in this part will be carried out the general decryption of the main reasons that kept the country in such a situation so far. Then, it will encompass the decryption of the findings regarding the period of the two first Republics.

Indeed, it turns out that what always seems to be the immediate reason that Malagasy people is fed up by regimes that have been democratically put in place has always been the poverty and unsustainable social difficulties. But considering it as the main reason appears to be very naïve and superficial. If we analyse carefully and deeply the real causes of chronical and cyclical instabilities that experienced the country, poverty is only a symptom of the real problem and is only the emerging part of the iceberg. The entire political system is the first in question and that's also why the whole state governance needs serious reforms.

As a reminder, there are classical indicators that cover several dimensions of

governance through which the ongoing situation in a given country can be appreciated and evaluated: voice and accountability, political stability and absence of violence, government effectiveness, rule of law, regulatory quality and control of corruption. These dimensions are weighing heaviest in every development process. As stated Clare SHORT, the former British Secretary of State for International Development during a speech in Valladolid in 2002, “Whatever the development question you ask, the answer is good governance”¹⁵.

The third Republic can be divided in three periods corresponding to changes implied by the revision of the constitution of 1992. The interesting part is that each changing period also corresponds to political crisis and instability. There’s a common fact within the political system during this so called third period that is probably one of the most important to analyse: the imbalance of power and the absolutism of the President’s power regardless to what the constitution states. It is tempting to affirm from the beginning that there were always abuses, steal and hijack of power by those ones who have occupied the functions of President of the Republic. This might be true indeed and that appears to be what most of opinions agree with. However, this study aims to analyse and establish facts with evidences. Anyhow, such a situation is a part of the bad governance that affects the development in more than one way. A special attention will be paid to this particular role of the President.

¹⁵Clare SHORT delivered a speech during a conference organised by the Spanish presidency of the European Union that had the theme “Democracy and Development” in Valladolid, Spain, on the 7th of March 2002.

A. A monarch President

As said earlier before, the President TSIRANANA and his government, during the first Republic, have been accused to have only promoted French interests in the country and totally put aside every development perspective for Madagascar. To some extent, there would be people who would agree with the fact that in the early independence, there can be a sort of transition period during which the influence of the former colonizer is logically still very present. But it turned out that this shadow of the former colonial power remained and its influence was even growing since policies made and implemented by the government was directly inspired by the “Cooperation Agreements” that appeared finally to have seriously compromised the future of the country as a real independent state. Protests have been denouncing mostly the attitude of the President and the government that even took initiatives to not only implement these policies but even strengthening their implications that made the country somehow more dependent to France. It seemed that evidences that have been drawn from historical revues and testimonies were in favour of such affirmation.

During the second Republic, the regime RATSIRAKA also had its own particularity. But this time, the trend was influenced by socialist models that it wanted to copy and follow. Traumatism from mistakes done during the first Republic have pushed opinions to support the choice for a socialist model. However, this period have been very much marked by the tendency of having a “monarch president” rather than having been a useful opportunity to meet

the expectations that came from very high hopes expressed during the 1972 protests and the three years of political transition that finally ended up with the election of Didier RATSIRAKA that still holds the record of popularity at a time that a president is elected.

Actually, the last crisis that happened in 2009 is not really an isolated event. Since the independence, there was not any single alternation that came from elections. Popular protests always led to depose a current president and, sometimes, then follows a political transition. The conception of the power of the president was always somehow misunderstood even among politicians and important stakeholders that play key roles within the political system and there are several factors that need to be understood in order to explain this tendency in Madagascar from which comes a great part of the bad governance.

a. Cultural dimension: the concept of “Ray aman-dreny”

Manassé ESOAVELOMANDROSO in the book “Démocratie et développement: mirage ou espoir irraisonnable” defines and explains well this cultural dimension that is the main reason of the misunderstanding that most of Malagasy citizens have regarding the president’s power¹⁶. Since the independence in 1960, there is a political culture that uses to call the president the “Ray aman-dreny”, which can be literally translated as “The President, the father and the mother”, that is already very meaningful in terms of authority over the entire nation. It is useful to explain here the concept of “Ray aman-dreny” that is a part of the

¹⁶ ESOAVELOMANDROSO Manassé, FELTZ Gaetan, “Démocratie et développement: mirage ou espoir irraisonnable”, Editions Karthala 1995, p.378-379.

Malagasy culture that all ethnic groups in Madagascar share. Indeed the primary meaning of “Ray aman-dreny” is “parents” to which children pay the highest respect and who, not only take care of their children but has an absolute authority that, under any pretext, cannot be challenged or put in question by no one.

Then, especially from the reign of the King Andrianampoinimerina¹⁷, to the dimension of this concept was added the concept of “tsyrefesi-mandidy” which can be translated as “endless and absolute authority”. During the monarchy, the sovereign was literally the “Ray aman-drenytsyrefesi-mandidy”.

Since the independence, this conception of the president’s power has very deep roots in all levels including within the political system as well. The expression “ray aman-dreny” has even been mentioned in the constitution of 1992 (the third Republic). Such a conception seems to reinstate the original concept of a Malagasy sovereign. There have been opportunities that the role of “ray aman-dreny” that the president plays has more importance than laws. Indeed, being a “ray aman-dreny” has supposedly a meaning of absolute wisdom as well so that what says the sovereign ray aman-dreny has more importance, according to Paul OTTINO in the book “Les champs de l’ancestralité à Madagascar”¹⁸.

¹⁷As a reminder, the king Andrianampoinimerina (1787-1810), who unified the island under his authority, was the first monarch that has been internationally recognized as the sovereign of the Kingdom of Madagascar. France and the United Kingdom strengthened their diplomatic relations under his rule.

¹⁸ OTTINO Paul, “Les champs de l’ancestralité à Madagascar”, Editions Karthala 1998, p 523.

The power relationship then used to be perceived as a “parents-children” relation. Furthermore, the word “fanjakana” which designates the state was also used to designate the “kingdom” over which the “mpanjaka” (monarch) has an absolute authority. So, what has been always accepted is that the governed always waits for the ruler to take care of him and has to respect him as a ray aman-dreny. Given such a relationship, being a President Ray aman-dreny is perceived as a state, a title rather than a function, an honour rather than a responsibility. Such a conception is wrong of course.

For the case of Madagascar, this cultural part matters when explaining the part of responsibility of the president’s role in bad governance. Malagasy people, since the independence, seems to be divided between a monarchical conception of this power and real democratic aspirations that always led to protests that also always appeared to have motivations that seemingly make sense.

Culturally, this almost royal power of the president seems to make sense for the people who have the conception deep rooted in their culture, but when it comes to arbitrary and abuses, it may lead to protests. Not surprisingly, it also has been accepted that people surrounding the president make sure that this power is incontestable so that it tends to make them free of misusing this power in order to serve private interests, mostly. Therefore, it turns out that there is almost no difficulty to become a dictator in Madagascar because there is no need to use violence since the system is working in that sense once it is initiated by the president’s side.

In terms of balance and democracy in a broader view, such a way of governing always led to two main trends that open the exercise of the power to arbitrary:

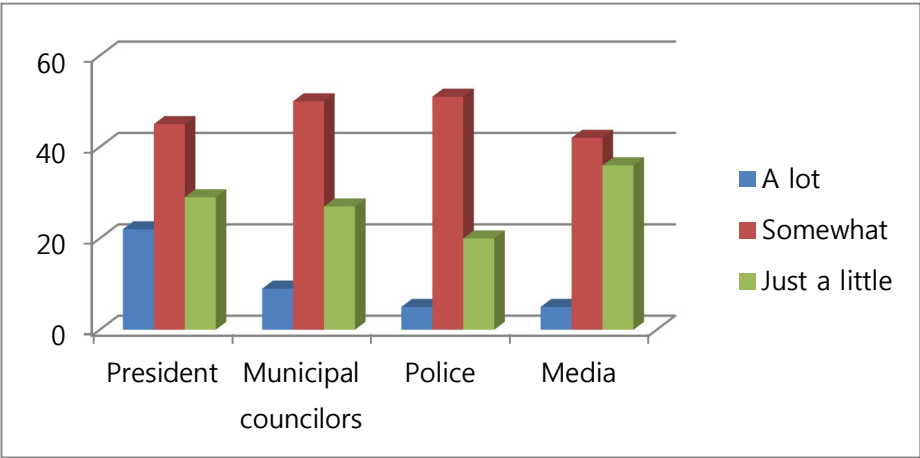
- The president never allowed other institutions playing their role as they are supposed to and he also never allowed the opposition to really exist in a sense that its voice could be heard and somehow counterbalance decisions and policies. That's seems to primary reason of protests that can be expressed only through popular manifestations¹⁹.
- This hegemony of power always leads to dissatisfaction of other key players within the political chessboard who are defending other interest of elites that have supported their position. Indeed, all the presidents, aware of the scope of such a power, neglected to develop strong and independent institutions and tried to control every mechanism and monopolize the power by using their position.

In order to demonstrate how deep rooted is this conception of the power, the following data collected from the Afrobarometer which is an independent and non-partisan research project that measures economic, social and political trends and atmosphere in African countries, in particular the sub-Saharan part, shows that the president under every circumstance still lead in terms of trust by the population.

¹⁹ GALIBERT Didier, "Les gens du pouvoir à Madagascar: État postcolonial, légitimité seterritoire, 1956-2002", KARTHALA Editions, 2009 - 575 pages.

The first chart shows the comparison of the level of trust among Malagasy institutions. Data come from the results of Afrobarometer Round 3 in 2005-2006. The context chosen is a normal context under a constitutional exercise of power and during which efforts in favour of good governance have been particularly emphasized.

Chart 2. Trust in institutions in 2005-2006



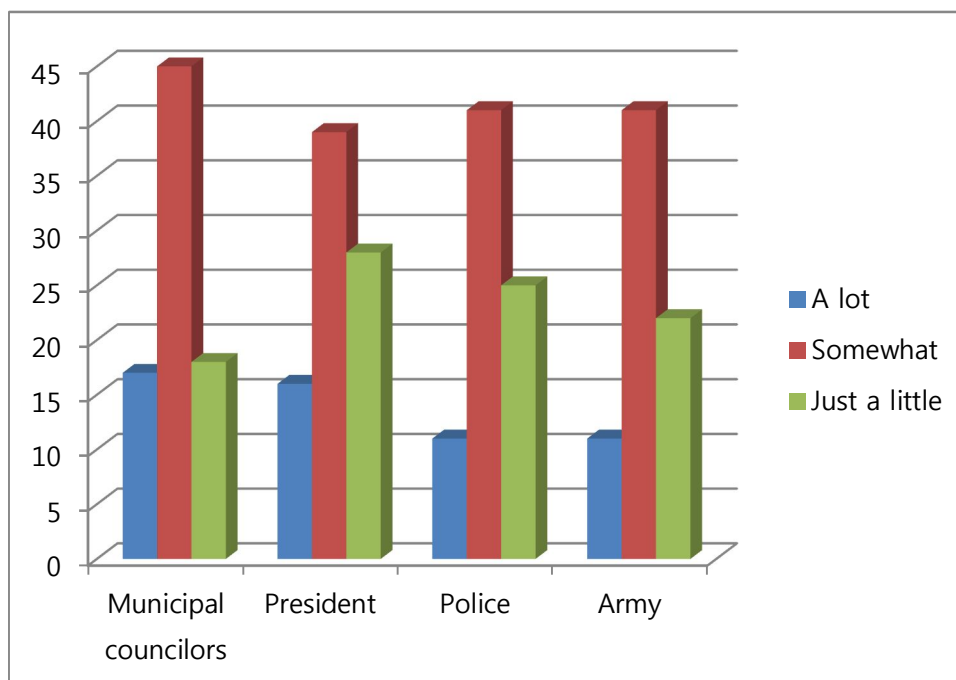
Source: Afrobarometer survey, 2005

In a normal context, given the cultural dimension that would be considered as already in favour of this tendency, the president is most trusted according to the survey. This is comprehensible.

For the second following chart, the context of political crisis, a political transition, has been chosen and during which the ruler has been accused of

coup d'Etat in 2009²⁰ and didn't have legitimacy from elections. Data come from the results of Afrobarometer Round 4, 2011-2012.

Chart 3. Trust in institutions in 2011- 2012



Source: Afrobarometer survey, 2012

The fact that the ruler doesn't have the legitimacy from elections seems to matter in such a context as shows the second chart. Indeed the trust in the head of the states decreased compared to a normal context. However, the transitory power, despite the fact that it has been widely decried inside the political system and hugely criticized outside the country, still have the trust of the population. Compared to trust in municipal councillors, the level of

²⁰Andry RAJOELINA has accessed to the power not as a President of the Republic but as a president of the "Haute Autorité de la Transition" during the events of the 17th of March 2009 that has been widely criticized by the international community and considered as a coup d'Etat.

trust in the president is still significant enough even though the fondness of Malagasy population in democracy remains very strong as well.

b. Presidential control over institutions

We already saw theoretically the scale of the president's power beginning from a cultural dimension that even made a tradition which considers this power until extreme comparison (royal power). The first trend that needs to be analysed is his control over institutions and the administration.

This is also a practice that all presidents did and seems to be an important factor that led to protests.

During the second Republic under the regime RATSIRAKA, the instrumentalization of the ruling party has permitted to the president to take the control of the institutions and administrations as well since the administrative apparatus itself was politicized and had the colour of the AREMA. The most decried by the opposition and the civil society was the case RAVALOMANANA after the crisis in 2002. As a brief reminder, Marc RAVALOMANANA accessed to the functions of President of the Republic after election protests that deposed RATSIRAKA. There are still doubts regarding the fact that he could be considered as a legally elected president but recognition came far later after he was officially proclaimed. This study cannot relate exhaustively every case. However, the system put in place in 2002 is quite classical and will be taken as an illustration.

Indeed, according to Johanna BORNSCHEIN, rather than doing manoeuvres that weaken institutions, the RAVALOMANANA system seemed to have its particularity by putting close and loyal collaborators on strategical positions in institutions²¹. Therefore, collaborators from his own company have been put as heads of these institutions so that the president was able to control all administrative mechanism. There was even a nickname attributed by to these people: “the Tiko²² boys”. It also can be noticed that heads of parties that represent other political factions but belonged to the opposition before elections in 2001 and supported him were appointed to positions that don’t have any influence of any power from the constitutions and laws. These people have done a strong political support but were relegated in a second role to play.

Such a tendency is also very decried and criticized in the current context. From political observers, the current president RAJAONARIMAMPIANINA totally put aside all the key players who were supporting him during presidential campaign and “logically” appointed close and considered as loyal people from his very young party “HeryVaovaohoa’n’iMadagasikara” in strategical positions. The political analyst and journalist Jeannot

²¹ BORNSCHEIN Johanna, “La politique de Marc Ravalomanana à Madagascar”, 2008

²²Tiko group is the food company that owns Marc RAVALOMANANA. For example, Guy RAJEMISON RAKOTOMAHARO used to be his advisor in the company from 1996 and 1999 and also worked with him during the period he was the mayor of capital city. Then RAJEMISON RAKOTOMAHARO became the President of the Senate. There are also other cases.

RAMAMBAZAFY even denounces treason and high level of nepotism²³. The parliament has as majority the political party which supported him during the presidential election in 2013 and officially declared itself belonging to the opposition. Such a configuration, combined by other factors, led to a legal attempt to remove the President that hasn't even reached half of his first term but rejected by the constitutional court. After returning back to a normal constitutional after five years of political transition which was considered as a political crisis, there was a serious threat that the president would have been removed without reaching half of the presidential term.

By doing so, those who occupied the post of the president wanted to neutralize political figures that were on their side in order to make sure that their position won't be a potential threat. However, it turns out that these presidents deprived themselves of precious and valuable political support and also missed the chance to conserve a political cohesion and equilibrium that is a part of a prerequisite for political stability.

Another case happened after the election of the first president of the third republic, Albert ZAFY. There were some disagreements between the president and the prime minister RAVONY Francisque. This showdown reached a critical point in July 1994 when a motion of censure against the government led by RAVONY done by president's partisans which has been rejected. Yet, the president ZAFY hasn't given up and organise a referendum regarding a

²³<http://jeannotramambazafy.overblog.com/2014/05/madagascar-le-pouvoir-dictatorial-de-rajaonarimampianinaa.html>

modification of the constitution that subtracts from the parliament the competence to appoint and remove the prime minister and transfers such a competence to the president.

On the 17th of September 1995, this modification was approved and transforms the parliamentary political system into a presidential political system²⁴. By doing so, the president seemed to prefer having a total control over the government even if it meant that the executive power had to face a hostile majority in the parliament. Then between 1993 and 1997, confrontations were very regular between the six successive governments during this period and the National Assembly.

Meanwhile, people surrounding the president took the opportunity to use their position in order to get some advantages serving their own interests. Many cases of embezzlement were discovered in the end of the rule of ZAFY Albert which was legally impeached through the adoption of a motion of impeachment within the National Assembly and confirmed by the constitutional court on the 5th of September 1996. ZAFY Albert didn't even complete his term.

The scope of this power grabbing usually went deep in the administrative system. Actually, the president and his surrounding and partisans don't settle for power by grabbing all strategical position and by not caring too much about political coalition and equilibrium. For instance, within ministries,

²⁴RANINDRIANORO Alain, "Contribution à l'étude sociologique de la pratique démocratique dans le contexte malgache".

secretaries, deputy secretaries and even directors that are supposed to handle very technical works are appointed according to political criteria. Such a practice always led to mismanagements and wrong decisions that consider only political interests.

c. Manipulating decentralization

Decentralization is also an interesting part of the analysis of the power grabbing. Throughout the three republics in Madagascar, successive presidents also paid a particular attention to the decentralization and local authorities in order to have a complete political control and sometimes, even a kind of personal control.

Under the first republic, the process of putting in place the urban and rural “communes” was actually a process of setting up the PSD, the party of the president TSIRANANA, within local authorities so that through political obedience, decisions made at the top level will not encounter any disagreement or any difficulty to be implemented at the local level²⁵.

This misuse of the decentralization is well described by Gabhy RAJAONESY in “L’économie politique de la décentralisation à Madagascar”²⁶.

During the second Republic, there were four levels of decentralization: the “faritany” that correspond to the six main cities in Madagascar, one hundred eleven “fraisampokontany”, one thousand two hundred “firaism-pokontany”,

²⁵RAKOTO Ignace, URFER Sylvain, “Esclavage et libération à Madagascar”, 2014

²⁶RAJAONESY Gabhy, “L’économie politique de la décentralisation à Madagascar”, Antananarivo, April 2008.

and fifteen thousand “fokontany” which are the smallest administrative unit. Under the socialist model, the president was according a formal recognition of these smallest units in order to implement a “direct democracy”.

The initial idea consisted in making the “fokontany” able to handle at its level issues that concern only each of them. There was at least goodwill to respect the principle of subsidiarity. However, what made the mechanism a real locking of the power and a perfect instrument of control over local authorities is that all of the heads of these localities were actually supposed to be appointed rather than being elected. Of course, the appointment at the level of these local authorities was “logically” following political criteria so that it was the opportunity to consolidate the power by making local authorities coloured politically with the ruling party, the AREMA at that time.

During the period of RAVALOMANANA regime, an emphasis has been put on the will to decentralize. The idea was to make the state closer to the population and make the economic development efficient by entrusting to local governments adapted programs and projects that they would implement at their levels. Another component of the motivations was also the will to enhance the participation to public affairs at a local level. In terms of governance, the idea was very charming and convincing.

However, it turned out that this was also a manoeuvre to consolidate control of the entire territory through an administrative mechanism. Indeed, the six provinces have been abolished and twenty two regions have been created.

Thus, only two levels remained: regions and communes. The idea was not in question but the mechanism rather tended to a more centralized control.

Indeed, these decentralized authorities had very poor equity. Only about five percent of the national budget was transferred for their operation. There was a political instrumentalization of subsidies and financial support from the central government. This lack of financial autonomy has serious impact on their supposedly political autonomy. Then, making decisions by themselves remained very difficult and critical. Every development initiatives remained utopic.

At the level of communes, elected mayors were under the control of chiefs of regions that mostly belong to the political obedience of the president's party²⁷. Even if there were mayors who don't belong to the ruling party, chiefs of regions made sure that top down decisions were strictly implemented without any question. Regarding these chiefs of regions, they are theoretically supposed to be elected. However they have a status of representatives of the central government which is contradictory to the logic of effective decentralization and goes against the autonomy of local authorities²⁸.

Another manoeuvre that needs to be mentioned is the mechanism improvised right after municipal elections held in 2007. Some of the results were declared

²⁷The party "Tiako I Madagasikara (TIM) has been founded by RAVALOMANANA in 2002.

²⁸RAMAMONJISOA Leon in "L'économiepolitique de la décentralisation à Madagascar", Antananarivo, April 2008.

invalids because of seemingly frauds. Then elected mayors in concerned communes were just replaced by “Special Delegation Presidents” who strangely belong to the ruling party. What is the strangest was the fact that in these communes where election results were declared invalid, most of replaced mayors that were declared having been elected in fraud belong to opposition parties²⁹.

This control over local authorities went deeper until the smallest administrative units, “fokontany”. The way the chiefs of these “fokontany” were elected was changed in order to have control through hierarchical administrative mechanism. If before, they were appointed by elected mayors after the proposal of municipal councils, then chiefs of districts, which are under the authority of the Ministry of the Interior and represent the central government, became legal authorities that appoint these chief of “fokontany”.

d. Confusion between private and public interests

The best example can be taken from the seven years of ruling of RAVALOMANANA from 2002 to early 2009. Since 2002, it was quite difficult to distinguish his political party TIM, his company TIKO and the state³⁰.

One of the controversial issues that was among reasons of the fact that he was accused of embezzlement was about the presidential airplane that was owned

²⁹ “Quel le décentralisation pour Madagascar” SEFAFI, March 2008

³⁰ RANDRIANJA Solofo, “Madagascar, le coup d’État de mars 2009”, KARTHALA Editions, 2012 - 334 pages.

officially by the group TIKO though it was purchased through the central bank of Madagascar. Moreover, MAGRO, one of the affiliated companies to the TIKO group was the headquarters of the political party TIM in some regions. This led to the politicization of economic activities of the company. Before the presidential election in 2001, these entities worked as instruments to facilitate his campaign with significant means against which not much candidates could challenge.

For instance, during the campaign for 2006 presidential elections, since the group TIKO owned helicopters, he could easily access some isolated parts of the island since the country itself is not that well connected. In such a circumstance, being able to mobilize such means constitutes a considerable asset. He also used his media company “Malagasy Broadcasting System” (TV and Radio channels) in order to increase his speaking time and was dominating all of other candidates in terms of communication since the media group had many affiliated stations spread in the island. Actually, electoral law allowed a certain speaking time in public media for each candidate. But, the same law didn’t state anything regarding private media so that that was an opportunity to dominate the campaign.

Such a scenario reminds of what happened during the second republic when being part of the party AREMA was practically compulsory for those who wanted to be active economically and politically.

Another fact that was widely denounced is the fact that some policies were

actually manoeuvres that only intended to favour the president's interests.

Seemingly, though there were many positive accomplishments done by the regime, all policies and investments had to care about the interests of the presidents and his surrounding people.

For example, thousands of kilometres of roads were built and allowed a certain economic dynamism between some regions and created more economic opportunities in regions which therefore could start to develop their own interests.

But interesting thing was that well-built and renovated roads seemed to be located only in regions where the president's company was very active. Another example is the fact that, according to "La lettre de l'Océan Indien" in the article "le groupe TIKO est bien loti", implementing the zero-rating for some products seemed to target mostly materials and products that the president's company was dealing with while other companies were regularly controlled regarding taxes.

As an illustration, a zero-rating was implemented regarding crude oil that the group treated in order to make refined oil while refined oil that most of other companies were importing was taxed at twenty percent. Furthermore, thanks to the positions of close collaborators within strategic institutions who worked for TIKO before, the company was able to grab some opportunities without participating to normal procedures. The president's positions permitted him to put aside many of his company's competitors through the use

of state's resources and mechanisms. Matthieu PELLERIN, in March 2009 said in his article "Madagascar, un conflit d'entrepreneurs" in "Politique africaine" number 113 that TIKO group has quadrupled its turnover since 2002 and RAVALOMANANA was the fourth richest politician in Africa.

In sum, if during the first republic, non-relevant policies that put aside urgent priorities and frustrated future elites led to protests, opacity, mismanagement, misuse of authority, abuse of power, abuse of positions, corruption and nepotism have characterized regimes in Madagascar mostly since the second republic. All efforts made was only targeting president's interests and his surrounding and it seems that there was enough determination to achieve some objectives that unfortunately didn't encompass general interest or didn't put it as a priority. The company TIKO has been considered as a symbol of the economic expansion in Madagascar during the rule of his owner and president of the Republic between 2002 and 2009 thanks to its success. Of course, to some extent, the company was contributing to economic growth and improves some social conditions by creating jobs and taking care of farmers, in particular, that were producing raw materials that the company needed for its activities. However, the way the regime behaved appeared to have the objective of "taking all" by using every manoeuvre and mechanism in order to "kill" other source of development made by the efforts of other companies and citizens.

B. A parliament put aside

Normally, the parliament is the power which makes laws through which policies that are supposed to work for the general interest are practically voted. That's why it is called legislative power. It is also the platform in which population's needs are formulated and expressed to the executive power. That's also why deputies are elected.

We have already mentioned about the tendency of the executive power, especially the president of the Republic to neutralize this key actor in the political system, especially for countries that have democratic ideals. Unfortunately, the parliament used to be only a mail box for passing laws and a real opposition doesn't really exist.

a. A mailbox parliament

In particular, during the second Republic, the opposition did not practically exist. Regimes during the third Republic also made sure that their party dominate the parliament in order to facilitate implementing important decisions. Thanks to such a configuration, there used to be a scenario in which the parliament, especially the National Assembly in Madagascar was just a mailbox and a registering instrument since there wasn't much debates.

An article published by the SEFAFI in 2009 seems to be relevant when trying to describe practices and manoeuvres to neutralize the parliament³¹.

³¹ « Les pratiques politiques et les moyens d'accéder au pouvoir depuis 1972. Une élection proposée par le SeFaFi », SeFaFi, 17 février 2009.

It was very much easy for the president to pass a law. It will be noticed that there was not practically any amended law during the period RAVALOMANANA. Another fact that deserves to be reported as an illustration was that between 1997 and 2002 when the president RATSIRAKA came back as a president, his party AREMA dominated the two chambers (National Assembly and the Senate). Once RAVALOMANANA took office in 2002, he removed the thirty senators that are to be designated by the president according to the constitution and who belonged to the AREMA and immediately replaced them by TIM members. Meanwhile, the National Assembly was composed by a majority of deputies from the party TIM which won the legislatures elections easily. The second fact seems quite logic because right after protests and struggles against the president RATSIRAKA, the party TIM was very popular at that time. Somehow we can talk about alternation of domination.

But manoeuvres and strategies weren't that few. It was still possible for the president to rule through decrees regarding some issues. When there's a majority in the parliament that disagrees to the president's agenda, the president always tried to find a pretext to dissolve the parliament since the constitution confers him such a possibility. The strangest and interesting fact is that deputies finally obtained some of what they were claiming since years ago before the modification of the constitution intended by the president in 2007 and regarding the validation of which the parliament had to play a fundamental role.

Still according to the SEFAFI, intimidation, complaisance and corruption are manoeuvres that has been widely used in order to control the parliament. This led to the incapacity of the parliament to exercise its devoted functions of control and real debates at its level didn't really exist. An incontestable imbalance of power took place and every decision made seemed to come from only one side and in a top down way. Done in this way, the parliament is a useless platform and there is no way to express frustrations and needs but protests.

This absence of institutional framework where debates need to take place always led to the break of legal and normal procedures and even invented structures like RAVALOMANANA himself did in 2002³²

- By designating a prime minister after proclaiming himself president of the republic. At the same time he promised to organise a referendum to confirm whether Malagasy people would confirm his legitimacy or not.
- In September 1991, two months before the signature of the Convention of Panorama that led Madagascar to a political transition, Albert Zafy was setting up a parallel government in which he proclaimed himself prime minister and created a high authority consisting of sixteen parties that played the role of National Assembly

³²BORNSCHEIN Johanna, "La politique de Marc Ravalomanana à Madagascar", 2008.

- The leader of the protesters during the events of 2009, Andry RAOELINA found the High Authority of Transition on February 2009 even though RAVALOMANANA was still president.

Even during the period of the rule of this High Authority of Transition, the opposition didn't exist as well since the National Assembly and the Senate have been dissolved. There was not an institution

In the entire history of Madagascar, there was not any single alternation that have been made through elections and that didn't bring people to popular protests³³.

C. An inexistent opposition and debate

The first character that over decades could be noticed in Madagascar is that the opposition was never able to get unified and well organized and coordinated in a normal situation. The opposition already has more difficulties to enter the parliament because of the manoeuvres mentioned above in the previous sections. The SEFAFI was also denouncing this almost inexistence of the opposition and therefore an opened debate as well³⁴.

During the second republic, while the president RATSIRAKA was very criticized by his own side, the opposition did not even manage to take this opportunity to get prepared and merge their forces for the elections in 1989. At the time that all the members of this opposition shared a same viewpoint

³³ Only the impeachment of ZAFY didn't involve popular protests

³⁴ « La démocratie et l'esprit républicain », SeFaFi, 17 octobre 2008

and were claiming constitutional changes and real pluralism, it could not form alliances, making too easy to the much criticized president to have a new term. It finally managed to unite after the elections to form the "Heryvelona"; it was an alliance for denouncing the results of the presidential elections.

This is only an example. What is meant here is that the role taken by the opposition in the political scene seems to be insignificant and within institutions, it is not much represented and doesn't have much influence over these institutions. That's the reason why during elections either it is for presidential election or legislative elections, the political offer from the opposition remains very weak and doesn't have much impact on opinions.

But the most interesting part of the existence of the opposition is about the motivation to belong to the opposition. Most of those who chose to belong to the opposition used to be surrounding of the presidents or his political support that became frustrated because of disappointment regarding expected political rewards or because of having just been put aside once the president took office. Then a real motivation for real changes that are inspired by deep and well thought convictions remain very rare. Frustration and spite mostly motivate the opposition rather than being committed for changes.

Then the stability of this opposition itself is very weak since there is no ideological cohesion and conviction so that somehow and most of time, parties in the opposition are opposing each other as well and have unpredictable behaviour regarding alliances. There is therefore a

responsibility that belongs to this opposition regarding its fragility and its incapacity to play their role. That's part of the reason why RATSIRAKA was successful and came back to the power after the impeachment of ZAFY. The opposition couldn't unite all its assets. In particular, having enough ideology coherence is important in order to keep stability in the opposition. For having lacked of this coherence and unity and not being able to propose a good enough alternative based on real convictions, the opposition was not able to take this opportunity to make real changes and avoid the return of RATSIRAKA.

Only the president's party can have a national dimension and possesses a national spread that can handle all the regions. When the third Republic was founded, it has been a real trigger for pluralism. There are almost two hundred political parties that exist officially in Madagascar. Most of them only exist through their iconic founders and don't have structures that constitute a real frame for their militants and their idea as well. They just use to work as an instrument that make its chief elected. Therefore, it seems that people vote for a person rather than for a program or for a conviction. Charism and presence in Media seems the key for being elected. A real political debate doesn't exist since the political scene use to be dominated by the ruling party.

Given their weak institutionalization, lack of party membership does not appear to be a barrier to access power and may even be an advantage as long as the candidate brings hope for change. A multitude of small parties then joined to the protest movement and form government coalitions around the

providential person who represents an opportunity window for speechless parties. This process greatly contributes to political instability because of antagonisms and rivalries that are quick to resurface since it is normal to have small divergent interests.

- That exactly happened to ZAFY Albert because his coalition was extremely unstable and had to be revised ten times. The proportional system had the effect of establishing a particularly heterogeneous legislature. In 1994, Prime Minister RAVONY no longer had a majority in parliament and his government had to resign.
- At a time that Marc RAVALOMANANA's popularity was very high, the regional political barons and former political leaders grouped around him. This is the case of Norbert RATSIRAHONANA, the former prime minister under Zafy and initially candidate who withdrew in favor of RAVALOMANANA and Manandafy RAKOTONIRINA as well, for example. Even parties who belonged to the coalition of RATSIRAKA's government coalition such as the RPSD joined him. That also was the case of former adversaries such as Alain RAMAROSON who was a rival in the election for mayor of the capital. In early 2002, almost all political parties were behind him. Soon after, many of them were already part of the opposition in the National Assembly.

The key idea that is linking these phenomena and facts to poverty is that the

political system does not work in favour of political and economic stability and serenity that are important for development.

When asked, potential investors have complained about volatile situation in Madagascar that is indeed very unpredictable that would bring them to risks that they cannot afford since laws and regulations in some parts are in favour of some interests only.

D. The inexistence of a real public debate and expression

Since the independence, it appears that all the presidents managed to make the opposition very silent and locked every possibility to public expression. The hardest part that have been most felt was during the second Republic when the regime RATSIRAKA put in place a real censorship that until 1989. During this period, the “Direction Générale de l’Information et de la Documentation” which was the structure responsible of information and intelligence, worked as a real political police that made sure that all there was no one in the opposition was not able to speak. As poverty also increased, it made the elites and intellectuals keep silent even if they were not officially in the opposition.

Even after the end of the period of socialism and when the censorship ended in 1989, a real debate never took place. Right before elections or during protests, there were real debates but rather just a sort of revelations and complaint. Debates about a real political change, programs or social projects never really happened, according to the SEFAFI, so that changes that occurred were based only on motivations behind popular protests. Events of 1972 were

the first case and other crises that led to changes and abnormal alternations never had real debates.

During the regime RAVALOMANANA, the main observatory of the public life in Madagascar, the SEFAFI, doesn't hesitate to say in his article "La démocratie et l'esprit républicain"³⁵, 17th of October 2008 that prohibition became the principle and freedom the exception. Indeed, manifestations were forbidden and members of the opposition were repressed or at least intimidated.

There is also a cultural dimension that has facilitated the predation of the ruling side and the president in particular. Being a society of consensus is also deep rooted within the Malagasy culture since a long time so that being against the power or rather against its policies or its program is often seen as "being against those who own these program or those who made these policies". Since long time ago, being against somebody and behaving accordingly is seen as bad faith. That's also why there is a hesitation to criticize even if things are objectively going wrong and critical. This comforted all the regimes when doing whatever they wanted. Thanks to this cultural perception, debates mostly consisted in restoring the consensus when there were serious disagreements rather than seeking for best alternatives.

Another oddness regarding the public life in Madagascar is the fact that the civil society that has not much impact on the political life is quite politicized

³⁵ « La démocratie et l'esprit républicain », SeFaFi, 17 octobre 2008.

and, in addition, it does not have much means and is not very much able to louder its voice. Such a phenomenon has its roots in the second Republic when political entities, instead of being formal political parties, preferred to be discrete in associations and then, infiltrated the civil society.

Regarding media, they suffer from several weaknesses that often prevent them from fulfilling their role of counterbalancing the power. There is a frequent lack of professionalism, which results in a lack of critical distance and objectivity and also to a strong politicization of the press, particularly due to the lack of overlap of sources. This is accentuated by the fact that most docile media have a better access to information, an element internalized by some journalists that are just motivated by getting information rather than having critical sense. In sum, most of them don't understand their role to play. Some media owners are also entrepreneurs and sometimes temper their journalists to avoid trouble with the regime. Many politicians have their own television channel, radio station or newspaper, which is seen as a way to convey their ideas to the public. Most of time, since their media are dominating, they are operating a real brain-washing through their ideas. New media created by political figures also use to bloom at the approach of elections.

But the biggest problem to be quoted in this area is the partiality of the public media. They use to be only political instruments that are at the disposition of politicians in position within the government and always favour the regime. Moreover, it is always very difficult for the opposition to access these public media. Still in "La démocratie et l'esprit républicain", 17th of October 2008,

the SEFAFI says that democratic debate and the pluralism of ideas and opinions left the public media and these latter seemed to abandon their status of public service as well. Most of emissions are also dedicated to the regime and to the power in place.

Remark: The constitution, a political arm

According to Professor Raymond, instrumentalization and personalization of the constitution became a regular practice in Madagascar.³⁶ The third Republic is the most interesting period regarding this part of bad governance since the constitution of 1992 that founded the third Republic has been revised and modified three times³⁷. It seems that there used to be a personalization of the constitution that is often modified in order to fit to the interests of the president mostly.

This constitution of 1992 was substantially the very opposite of the content of the socialist model. It guaranteed human and fundamental rights and put in place a regime with parliamentarism and political pluralism. These measures were adopted mostly because of lessons learned from the past and in order to prevent abuses from the executive power. It mostly aimed to set up a balance of powers and an independent justice as well. Unfortunately, when political disagreement and will for power personalization appeared because of diverse interest that the regime wanted to promote and defend, it turns out that the two

³⁶ “Madagascar, le coup d’État de mars 2009”, KARTHALA Editions, 2012 - 334 pages.

³⁷ in 1995 by ZAFY, in 1998 by RATSIRAKA and in 2006 by RAVALOMANANA

decades of the third republic are marked by the will to “presidentialize” the regime and to subordinate the legislative power.

- ZAFY was the first who made a modification in order to strengthen the power of the president and remove some of the attributions of the prime minister that were transferred to the president of the Republic.
- RATSIRAKA made another modification in 1998 that removed from the parliament the ability to control.
- RAVALOMANANA went deeper by making modifications that confers to the President of the Republic the power to govern through ordinance regarding issues that are normally regulated through laws in case of emergency.

To summarize, the system gradually went to a presidential model and all the modifications done aimed to weaken the legislative power and break off the balance of powers.

E. A dependent judicial power

This dependence of the judicial authority to the executive power has also its roots in the modified constitution. Then, gradually, it became dependent to the executive power since the president, according to the article 98 of the modified constitution in 1998, guarantees the independence of the justice and has the power to appoint and removes judges.

It also seems that the High Constitutional Court use to be in favour of the executive power in its decisions.³⁸

Another important fact is that the “Haute Cour de Justice”, the High Court of Justice, one of the most important institution mentioned in the constitution has never been put in place. This court is supposedly in charge of cases involving leading figures and heads of institutions (the president, the prime minister, presidents of the two chambers of the parliament, the president of the high constitutional court) for high treason and repeated violation and abuses of the constitution. Such a situation gives to politicians the feeling of impunity.

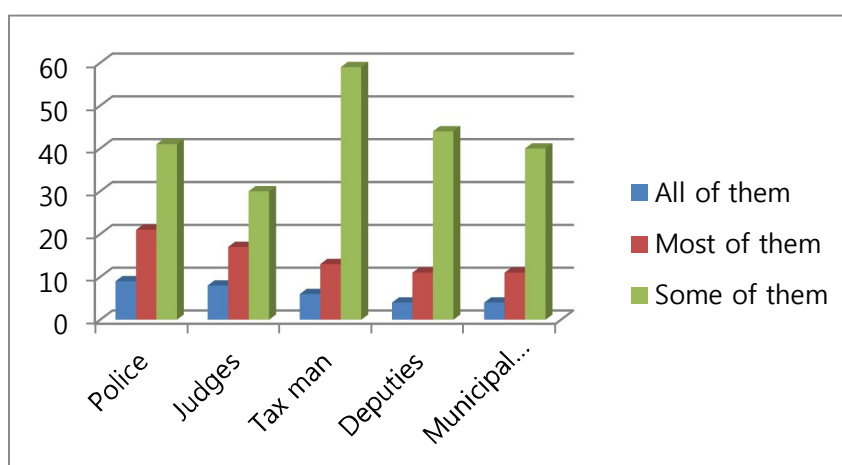
1. The control over magistrates

The first problem regarding this dependence of the justice is the fact that the magistrate's career is practically managed by the executive power. This is the very core of the problem since it can mean an overall control over their life. The mechanism is that though the “Conseil Supérieur de la Magistrature” (that

³⁸ IMBIKI Anaclet, « Réflexion sur la loi fondamentale en vigueur pendant la transition 2009-2010 à Madagascar », 25 janvier 2010.

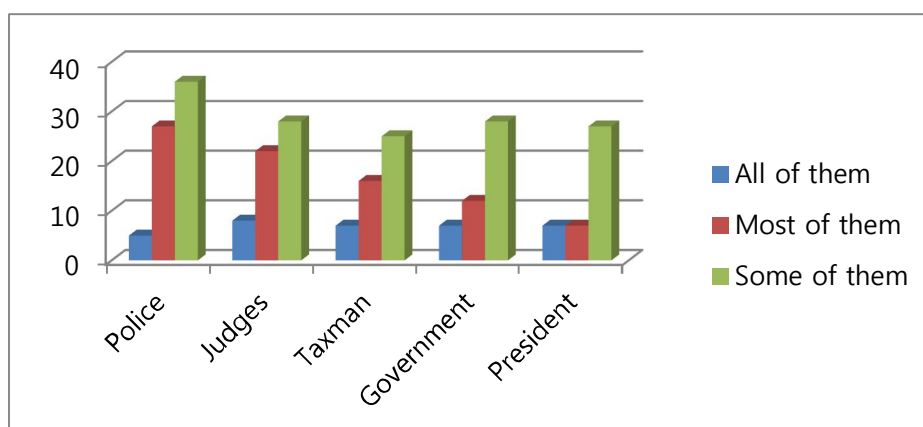
can be translated as the High Council of Judicature) is managing their career, this entity is still tied up and subordinated to the president of the Republic. Then it seems difficult to judges to go against the executive power in decisions for them to make. Furthermore, the justice is among institutions that have the most perceived corruption.

Chart 4. Corruption perception for each institution: comparison 2005-2006



Source: Afrobarometer survey, 2005 (Round 3)

Chart 5. Corruption perception for each institution: comparison 2011-2012



Source: Afrobarometer survey, 2013 (Round 5)

In these charts, we can see that judges are the most perceived as corrupted after the police. Interesting thing is that the situation didn't change that much even though circumstances are different.

The instrumentalization of the judicial power became also a regular practice that has been used by the executive power in order to eliminate potential rivalries.

2.3. Deductions from the findings

According to data from World Bank, East Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa, including Madagascar, were at the same level in terms of growth domestic product per capita. Nowadays, official statistics say that this GDP per capita in Madagascar is 1400 US dollars. For South Korea, it has been estimated to 34 400US dollars. For Zambia which can be considered as having the average in the region, it has been estimated to 3750 US dollars.

This section will focus on the evaluation of the components of good governance according to the analysis carried out in the previous chapter. In more clearly, it will be dedicated to the evaluation of the impact of their situation on poverty and especially life conditions. For this part, evidences, mostly numerical, through indicators that are utilised mainly by the World Bank are intentionally privileged.

A. Effectiveness and efficiency

There is often confusion between good governance and some components of democracy. Madagascar, more precisely the state, according to the analysis of the three republics, appears to having spent almost fifty years trying to find the best way to conduct public affairs. Experiencing socialism seemingly made the country waste all opportunities that could have been grabbed at that time while other countries were able to develop their potential and open their economy. Being faithful to its own ideology (in particular during the second

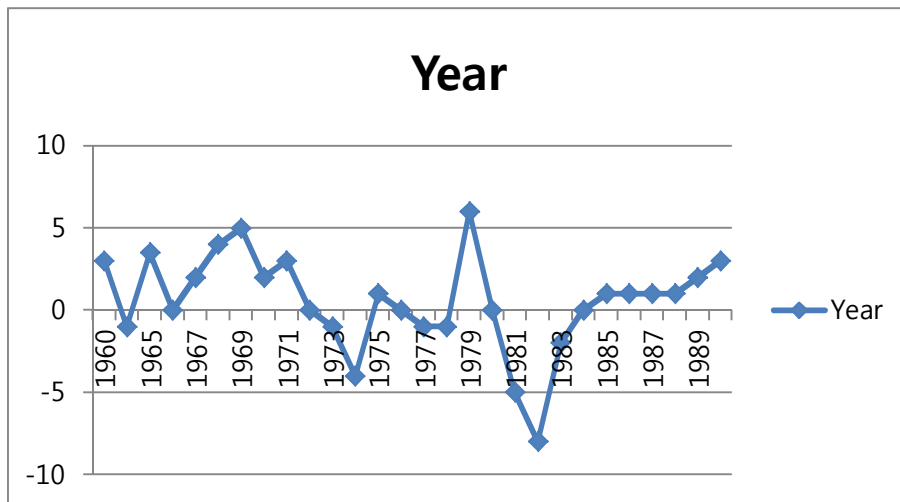
Republic) can be a virtue but refusing to face the reality seems to be a real sin for a country that seeks for its own development.

Therefore, what have been accomplished during this period and during the first Republic as well did not meet the needs of the country and its citizens.

During the second Republic, the misery and extreme poverty has been caused mainly by the over politicization of the public life in general. Indeed, when free enterprise does not exist, no single initiative in terms of economic activity is expected to bloom. All initiatives were to be taken by the state that worked only for the leaders of the regime. Unfortunately, there are no available numerical data that show such a tendency. However, impacts can be reflected by numerical evidences.

Data from a study made by the University of Sherbrooke, Canada, for their online data website “perspective Monde” can be summarized in the graph below that shows the impact on the economic growth rate of Madagascar during this period. It has been said in previous chapters that economic growth is indispensable for development.

Chart 6. Evolution of the economic growth rate during the second republic



Source: University of Sherbrooke (Perspectives Monde)

This graph shows how chaotic was the economic evolution in Madagascar and it had unfortunate social consequences, mostly pauperization. Madagascar made its worst performance between 1980 and 1984. This period corresponds to the peak of politicization of the public life and the subordinating of all activities to political belonging to the FNDR. A widespread pauperization and misery was caused by the lack of economic dynamism and the forbidding of private initiative and also the closing state to every external perspective. Meanwhile, other countries started to promote their economy through regional integration at that time.

We cannot really affirm that components of good governance were blooming during the second republic. According to studies carried out by the World Bank regarding all countries from which data could be collected, better life

conditions are the results of better governance either in a short or long term perspective. The opposite case seemed to happen during the second republic: life condition was worsened and poverty reached more households.

During this period, we can really talk about extreme poverty because fulfilling vital needs was a daily challenge for citizens. Unemployment was also a logical result of the model that has been forced to be implemented. Without allowing economic initiatives, it is difficult to even think about creating jobs. Plus, since everything that could be thought to be carried out/ undertaken was subordinated to a prior taking part to political activities, the most appropriate qualification regarding such a system is definitely an oppressive state.

During the third Republic, what has been observed is that even though there was a will to shift from a closed state and oppressive system towards an opened system and a democratic state, the personalization of the power by the president has undermined the impulse that was induced through the constitution of 1992 that was seemingly the ideal legal framework for such a purpose.

B. Voice and accountability

Another component that is an indicator of good governance is voice and accountability that captures perceptions of the extent to which a country's citizens are able to participate in selecting their government as well as freedom of expression, freedom of association and free media. This is a

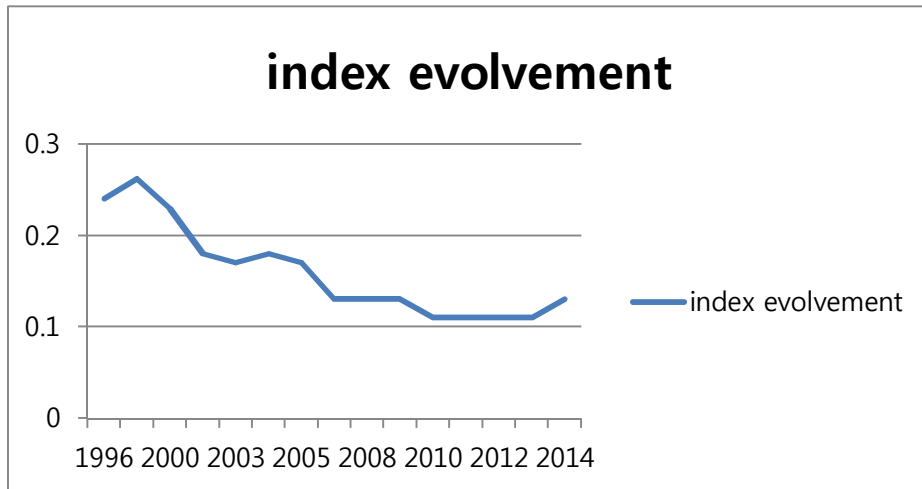
definition provided by the World Bank.

When looking back at the second Republic, tough numerical data are not available for this period, there is not much difficulty to figure out the situation regarding voice and accountability.

Indeed, freedom didn't almost exist since there was censorship. Therefore, freedom of expression didn't really exist so that opinions especially regarding politics and public life couldn't be expressed. The socialist period was also an episode in which only the state had to handle the economy. Not much private initiatives were able to result to economic dynamism. Private entrepreneurship was against socialist principles. That was the justification from leaders and authorities.

The third republic has been marked by an evolvement towards an imbalance of powers that benefits to the executive caused by manipulations and modification of the constitution. The personalization of the power by the president is mostly the main manifestation of bad governance. Tough there has been a period in which Madagascar could experience an economic flourishing thanks to changes that implied the opening economy and promotion of certain companies by the government as long as it is in the sense of leaders as well, a degradation of the index of voice and accountability has been the tendency during almost the entire period.

Chart 7. Evolution of the index of voice and accountability during the third Republic



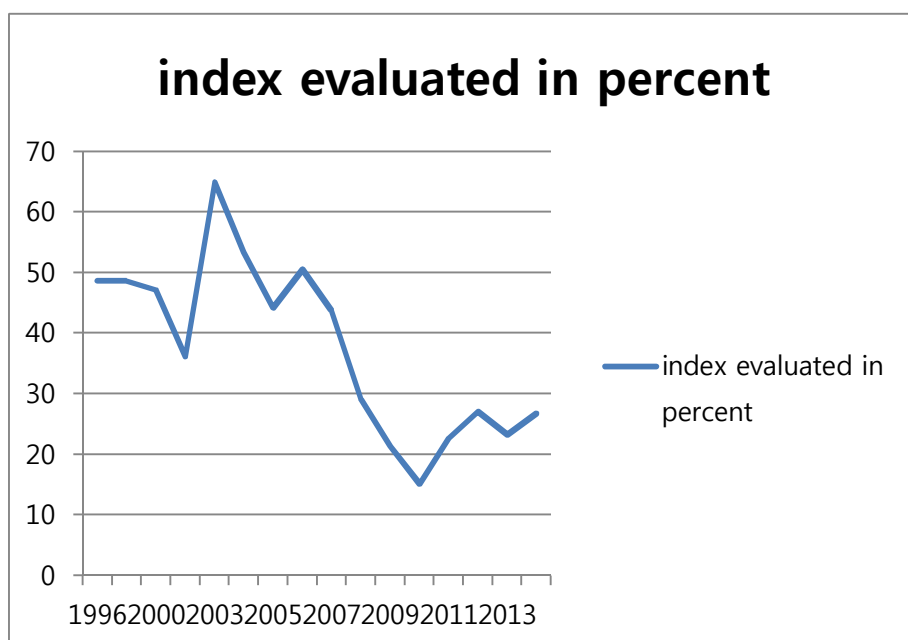
Source: Worldwide Governance Indicators 2015 (World Bank)

We already saw in previous chapter that the situation of the poverty has degraded since the beginning of the third Republic. Even if economic performance in a macro-economic vision could have been noticed during a certain period, such a characteristic appears not to be relevant enough. The one side and top down governance that does not care very much about participation and real public needs explains the degradation of life conditions.

C. Political stability and absence of violence/terrorism

As an important condition for a favourable environment for development, political stability ensures a healthy atmosphere for public life in general. Without stability combined by other factors, for example discouraging regulations, economic activities cannot bloom properly. The social consequences of such a situation are already known. The chart below describes the situation of Madagascar along twenty years.

Chart 8. Political stability and absence of violence/terrorism in Madagascar from 1996 to 2014: percentile rank



Source: Worldwide governance indicators 2015

The most noticeable instability and insecurity climate was definitely in 2002 when a post-electoral conflict occurred between the two candidates who acceded to the second turn of presidential election. What came of this episode

have been explained in previous chapters already.

Anyway the general tendency, except in 2006, period during which there was a certain economic dynamism which resulted into a public and social life quite stable and serene, is a decreasing of stability and growing insecurity caused by an increasing unwholesome general atmosphere and tensions.

Since 2009, this situation of political instability remained during the political transition which was marked by perpetual struggles between political factions, in particular during the year 2010. The climate of instability reached its worse during 2009 and 2010 during which institutions of the Republic was simply abolished and replaced by transitory institutions. Multiple abuses and misuse of authority occurred since attributions of these institutions were vague and not clear enough.

Since leaders started to personalize the power and took advantage to their positions, frustrations couldn't be expressed but by manifestations and protests, especially during the period RAVALOMANANA, according to the SEFAFI.

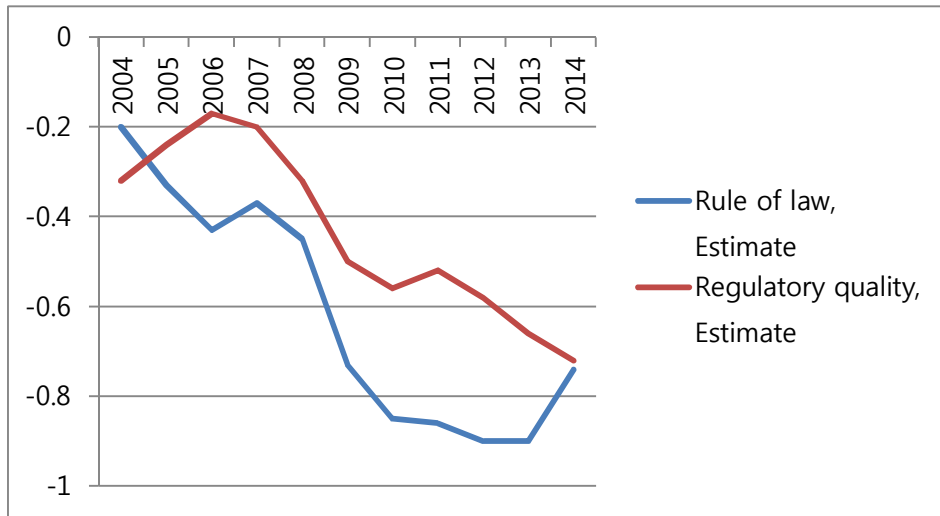
Insecurity, unfavourable general environment for investments and regular repression that is a revealing abuse of authority was also marking this period. However, the more repression and predation by the regime grew, the harder frustrations were expressed on the street. Therefore, given past experiences in Madagascar, growing protests appeared as a sign of near political instability so that finally, it was felt that the country was not really totally politically

stable because of this atmosphere. Furthermore, especially because of the economic predation of people in power after the crisis of 2002, foreign investors were very doubtful and local investors were not able to develop their potential and activities as well. Unequal benefits distribution from economic performance and a widespread gap between rich and poor has mostly been experienced during this period.

D. Regulatory quality and rule of law

Rule of law and regulatory quality are also relevant indicators that show how the country is actually governed. From researches, it seemed that arbitrary from people in power has been the practice. In order to get evidences, it is useful to measure these components.

Chart 9. Rule of law and regulatory quality estimation in Madagascar from 2004 to 2014; range: -2.5 (weak) to 2.5 (strong)



Source: World Governance Indicators: Data from World Bank and IMF

The figure above shows the situation in Madagascar the last decade. Unfortunately, data were not available before 2004. However, this shows a clear evidence of how weak are these indicators in Madagascar and seems to confirm the result of analyses in previous sections, at least regarding this period.

Indeed, if normally every citizen is to be subject to law including law makers and rulers, it turned out that those who were in power behaved in a way that laws are their property so that they could manipulate them according to their own interests. Not only the constitution was frequently modified, but laws were conceived to fit particular interests.

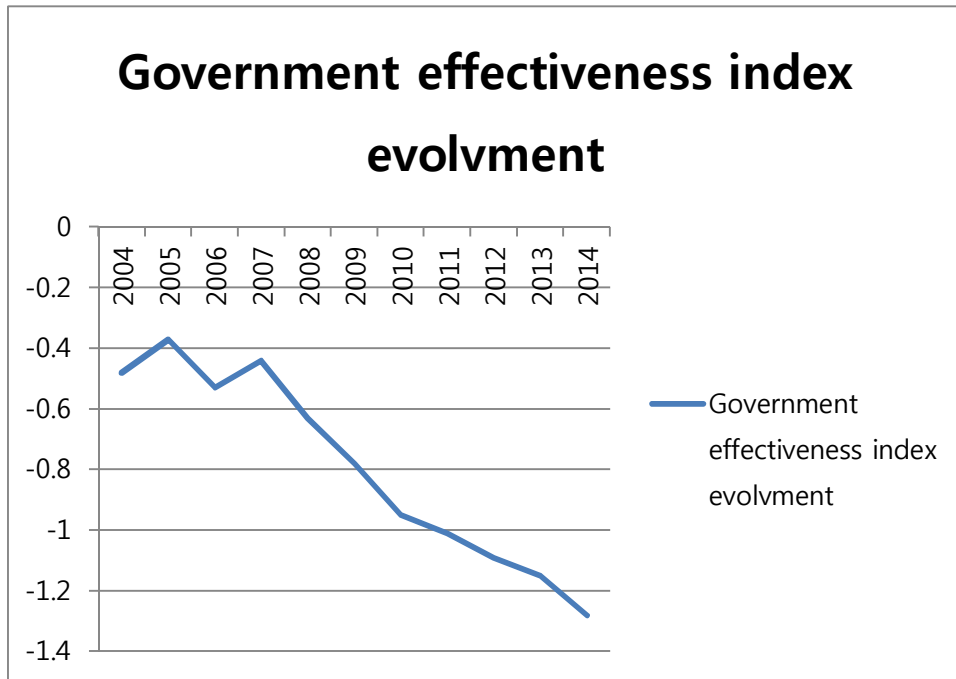
E. Government effectiveness

This is an indicator that measures the quality of public services, the quality of civil services and also its independence from political pressures, the quality of policy formulation and implementation, and the credibility of the government's commitment to its stated policies.

According to the World Bank, countries with more effective governments tend to achieve higher levels of economic growth by obtaining better credit ratings and attracting more investment, offering higher quality public services and encouraging higher levels of human capital accumulation, putting foreign aid resources to better use, accelerating technological innovation, and increasing the productivity of government spending. Efficiency in the delivery of public services also has a direct impact on poverty. Government effectiveness seems to be a quite relevant indicator.

The following figure shows an estimation of the situation of Madagascar regarding this indicator and its evolvement the last decade (data available only from 2004).

Chart 10. Government effectiveness index evolvement in Madagascar since 2004;
range: -2.5 (weak) to 2.5 (strong)



Source: World Government indicators 2015 (World Bank) and Millennium Challenge Corporation

The evolvement showed by this figure seems not to need complicated interpretation. Since 2004, Madagascar never experienced any improvement and didn't even reach the average that means the point zero in this estimation. The impact in terms of poverty logically follows this tendency.

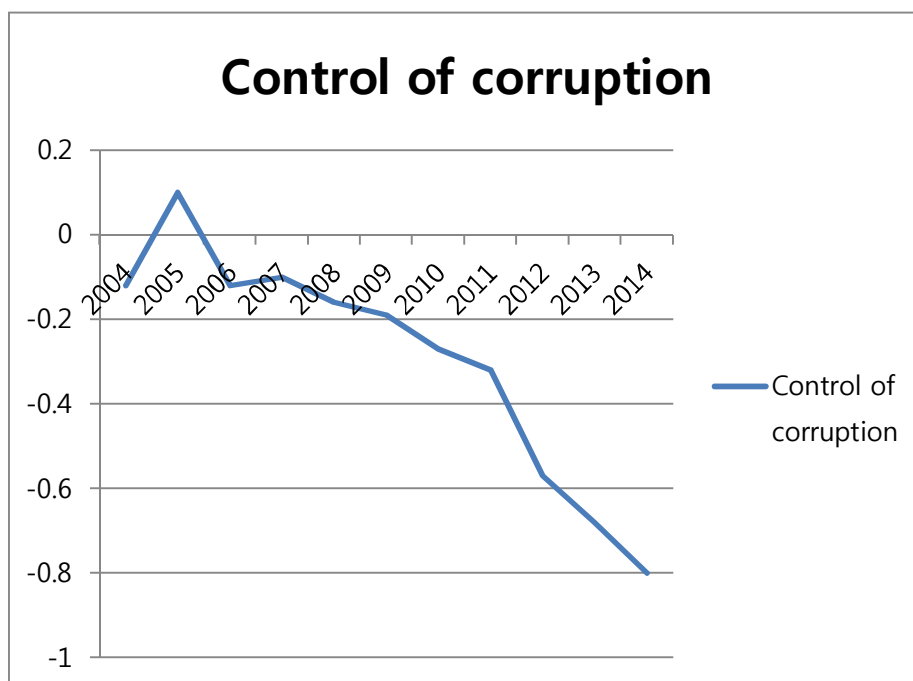
On average, countries with more effective governments have better educational systems and more efficient health care. There is evidence that countries with independent, meritocratic bureaucracies do a better job of vaccinating children, protecting the most vulnerable members of society,

reducing child mortality, and curbing environmental degradation. Countries with a meritocratic civil service also tend to have lower levels of corruption.

F. Control of corruption

Stated in a very simple way, this indicator measures the extent to which public power is exercised for private gain, “including both petty and grand forms of corruption, as well as “capture” of the state by elites and private interests. It also measures the strength and effectiveness of a country’s policy and institutional framework to prevent and combat corruption.³⁹”

Chart 11. Control of corruption in Madagascar from 2004 to 2014; range: from -2.5 (weak) to 2.5 (strong)



Source: World Bank Indicators 2015

This figure shows clearly the worsening situation of the corruption in Madagascar. Corruption hinders economic growth by increasing costs,

³⁹ According to the World Bank

lowering productivity, discouraging investment, reducing confidence in public institutions, limiting the development of small and medium-sized enterprises, weakening systems of public financial management, and undermining investments in health and education.

Corruption also increases poverty by slowing economic growth, skewing government expenditure in favour of the rich and well-connected, concentrating public investment in unproductive projects, promoting a more regressive tax system, siphoning funds away from essential public services, adding a higher level of risk to the investment decisions of low-income individuals, and reinforcing patterns of unequal asset ownership, thereby limiting the ability of the poor to borrow and increase their income.

The tendency in Madagascar was the personalization of the power by people in power that led to abuses and misuse of their authority. Furthermore, according to the fact that Madagascar is supposed to be a democratic country, previous analyses also show that there is no respect of the core principle of the democracy that the real power belong to the people.

In more clearly, through election, people are rather choosing. Citizens are choosing their servants which will do something for their well-being and for the general interest. The idea means certain discretion and the power that have these leaders is just lent by their real owners: citizens.

Once measured, these six indicators seem to confirm the direct causal relation between bad governance analysed in previous sections and the current situation of widespread poverty in Madagascar. As being the entity that has had most impacts on the development situation, there are reforms that need to be carried out in order to have healthy bases for development.

2.4 Bad governance and poverty

Regarding the case of the Madagascar, it follows most of developing countries trends. Even though these countries possess lot of potentialities, in terms of real involvement in economic growth, they are not producing enough and even what they are producing is usually mismanaged.

The connexion between bad governance and widespread poverty can be explained in various way.

There are several common characteristics that most of developing countries share when talking about their poverty. But based on observation of cases of poor countries, in parallel of all bad governance features exists poverty.

- Regarding government effectiveness, its weakness could be observed regarding the case of Madagascar. In terms of real impact in terms of poverty, it can be affirmed that such a situation has a disastrous consequences to the extent that the administrative apparels seems to be practically owned by political figures that used to make it working for private interests. Therefore, corruption is the corollary of such a situation which leads to put aside every priority that takes into consideration public and general interest. Also, in Madagascar, another problem is the lack of continuity within the administration since when instability that then is immediately followed by unconstitutional regime change occurs, the entire system seems to follow new trends that are

imposed by new regime so that in terms of policy implementation, continuity is almost never sustained because of being considered belonging to the previous regime. That is why, for example, educational system and health care are among domains that are in worst condition in Madagascar.

- Regarding corruption, the most noticeable fact in Madagascar's case, according to the analysis of facts in previous chapters, is that over years, even though there was a will to attract investments, the control of corruption has been neglected so that even business environment has been deteriorated and discouraging. Combined with perpetual climate of instability. Though there are local efforts in promoting small or middle-size enterprises, corruption always permit to hinder all attempts to make them playing a real role in the Malagasy economy so that nepotism and clientelism from executive power surrounding always put them aside.
- In terms of rule of law, the low score of Madagascar has definitely a detrimental consequence since the independence of the judicial system and the respect of laws has always been a long lasting problem that undermines progress made in favour of development by letting irrelevant and basically unfair projects being implemented. Combined with this situation, the low level of transparency and accountability also make such operations escaping from the justice. Plus, especially vulnerable population cannot rely on the system when leaders have a predatory behaviour. Finally, what seems to be perceived is that when

such facts are combined, the system itself becomes predatory with a general impunity feeling.

CHAPTER 5: RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

At this last step, it would be helpful to give a brief reminder of the initial hypothesis. This study aimed to demonstrate that there is a causal and direct relation between bad governance and poverty in Madagascar.

Given the facts and the results of the evaluation made through governance indicators, it appeared that the real roots of the poverty and underdevelopment dwell at the governance level. Recurrent instabilities are only symptoms and emerging part that is commonly visible and felt. This study has some limitations especially when evaluating the two first periods since they couldn't be evaluated in a proper way regarding governance components and the impact of their situation on development. In this final chapter will be proposed some needed reforms and recommendations regarding fields in which they need to be implemented. However, it is necessary to make clear that these recommendations are not exhaustive and don't cover every single details of the problems that have been analysed in previous chapters and sections. Furthermore, they might be seen as a redundant affirmation of what other studies have reached up. However, there are some particularities of Madagascar that needed to be taken into consideration when elaborating them so that still they deserve to be reaffirmed.

Prior to get in details in these recommendations properly speaking, it seems useful to briefly dedicate a section to a successful experience that can be taken

as an example not only in order to compare but also in order to draw lessons that can be learned in terms of good governance. As said in the beginning of the study, the Republic of Korea almost was in the same situation as Madagascar fifty years ago. Nowadays, it is undeniable that South Korea has reached not only economic development but also prosperous society.

1. Lessons from the Korean model

In terms of good governance, South Korea seems to show an example of successful case in terms of development. It would be valuable to analyse the key factors that constitute the basis of the key role of the state in having achieved and maintained its rhythm of development.

It is interesting to notice the particularity of South Korea which is a Confucian state. As a strong tradition inspired by this cultural influence, it can be affirmed that the government of South Korea has been relatively coherent, effective and competent and has a significant capability in terms of efficiency regarding policy making and implementation as well. Madagascar, unfortunately, never had such a model of bureaucracy.

Another interesting part of the Korean model can be seen through the Korean political history which is littered by existence of authoritarian governments, even dictatorship, and violent overthrows of governments as well. According to indicators of good governance, such a trend seems to be a bad sign and logically leads to bad situations including poverty. Since the late 1980's, South Korea became a functioning democracy with some tribulations though.

However, South Korea, during the Park Chung Hee era practically experienced dictatorship. It might be naïve to immediately think that what happened in Madagascar during its second Republic is a classical destiny of

countries under dictatorship. It seems that South Korea somehow experienced a “good dictatorship” to the extent that economic development was among priorities of President Park though the regime had some oppressive parts. That is the reason why this period under Park is described and considered by many scholars as a “developmental dictatorship”. The key point in this development process is the ability of Park’s regime to build strong authority structures that were capable to ensure the existence of a stable political system that could achieve and sustain a certain economic growth. Though a military coup which definitely hasn’t been a democratic way of alternation permitted to Park Chung Hee to access the power, this stability and economic growth seemed to provide to the regime a certain legitimacy since the country has never been better off before.

The consolidation process of the democratization in South Korea experienced some difficulties but the main question that deserves to be answered is that whether “good governance” has been brought with democracy or not.

When the President Rhee went into exile in 1960 after the student-led street demonstration, it might be tempting to affirm that the fact that the rule of President Rhee turned into an increasing dictatorship character was a sign for the future of the young Republic. When the Major General Park Chung Hee succeeded his military coup in 1961, most of experts agreed to the fact that it was a real dictatorship. Other relevant elements that need to be included in the reasons of the miracle of Han River are also the close government-business partnership, firm commitment to development with the support from the

government and also the ability to learn from Japan.

Another particularity to be noticed in the Korean political history is that there were six times constitutional changes since 1948. Nevertheless, it seems that there is a certain trend in Korea to prefer a presidential system. The Confucian heritage has played a significant role in this tendency. Though South Korean society became modern and prosperous, it remains strongly paternalistic and hierarchical as well with a strong belief and regard in a system in which government has the responsibility to act in order to take care of the welfare of citizens. It reminds a bit of the Malagasy cultural conception which has been traditionally devoted to the President of the Republic which is considered as a real parent who is supposed to take care of the welfare of citizens. However, it was already explained how wrong such a conception turned into by having let the President be perceived as a monarch who does whatever he wants without being accountable to anyone.

Even though the Korean experience is far away from being perfect with almost thirty years of dictatorship under the rule of Park Chung Hee and the fact that the democratization process really took place only in the beginning of the 1990's, what can be learnt from Korea is the awareness of a common benefits and common interests on which every opinion agreed and that somehow was in favour of the legitimacy of the President Park's regime especially.

It seems that the prosperity of the Korean economy which led to development

in general has been achieved thanks to a certain stability that ensured a favourable environment to sustain efforts conjugated between the government and other actors, especially the so called “chaebols” that have been supported by the government in order to make them strategic actors of Korean economic growth.

Though there were some struggles in favour of establishing democracy, the 1990’s has been marked by the consolidation of the process with democratic alternations. According to Lee Manwoo⁴⁰, the Confucian authoritarianism has strong roots in the political culture in Korea so that citizens seem to just begin to be aware of their power and their responsibility that a democratic system has given to them in choosing their leaders.

Therefore, the case of Korea can be summarized as not being a long-lasting democratic tradition and having experienced a strong dictatorship especially under President Park for almost thirty years. The economic prosperity and development might be seen as incoherent to this political history. However, there are some facts to be noticed and that are the key factor of such achievements in terms of development:

- A political stability that have been ensured by strong political structures made by a regime that have earned legitimacy through achievements and commitment for development, even though it has been under a dictatorship.
- A successful governance model within a political system that could

⁴⁰“The Odyssey of Korean Democracy. Korean Politics, 1987-1990

keep pursuing priorities and objectives regardless tribulations and struggles for power. In early 1990's started the real democratization process that was evolving in a way that alternation through elections has guaranteed legitimacy and also the existence and the ability of opposition to really exist could ensure stability.

In sum, South Korea appears having experienced good democracy with good governance after having experienced a somehow “good dictatorship” to the extent that the regime of Park Chung Hee seemed to be committed in achieving an optimal economic development and enhancing social conditions. Mostly, by letting an objective civil society exist and letting opinion be expressed, the environment for pursuing development and letting a peaceful and prosperous society flourish was able to exist in South Korea. Also thanks to information and communication technologies, making public opinion aware of realities of public and political life works in favour of political stability. Among the most important elements that need to be taken into consideration in achieving economic growth is the business environment and at the basis of which political stability is a fundamental condition.

As a comparison, according to facts that have been analysed in previous chapters, Madagascar unfortunately seemed having experienced “bad dictatorship” and “bad democracy”.

In order to formulate some recommendations, it is important to make clear in

the beginning that referring to a somehow successful example does not mean automatically copying such an example. In the case of Madagascar, some particularities must be taken into consideration so that recommendations and reforms that will be formulated have to fit to the case. Rather than adoption of solutions inspired by a successful case, we'd rather talk about "adaptation".

2. Legal and institutional framework

The main problem that have been reported and analysed regarding Madagascar was the domination of the executive power and especially the president's power. It seems that the level at which such an issue needs to be dealt with is the legal and institutional framework.

The power of the president definitely needs to be defined in a clear and a rigorous way in order to avoid temptation to make misuses and abuses and also in order to define a responsibility that he must be aware of. In that order, the constitution itself must ensure clearly a separation between the power of the president and those who belong to other institutions. Though these attributions might be clear enough, it turns out that there are mechanism that permits manipulations.

What seems to be an ideal system is a framework that ensures accountability of his actions. The original constitution of 1992 appeared to be in favour of a real democracy. But the problem is that it would have been better to include limitations regarding the possibility to revise, amend or modify such a

fundamental basis so that the system would be able to be kept guaranteeing healthy and harmonious governance. Indeed, a stability of such a legal framework is important to guarantee a certain sustainability of actions and a harmonious and dynamic political system.

Regarding balance of power, the ideal system would be able to ensure that the president would be accountable for his actions. In that order, the independence of the justice needs to be ensured by withdrawing from the president the power to have control over the judicial system. That is why the management of magistrate's careers needs to be kept away from the full control of the executive power. This encompasses every judicial institution including the constitutional court and the high court of justice which is supposed to judge eventually high treason made by heads of institutions and high authorities.

3. Reconsidering some cultural conceptions

Another issue concerns the philosophy and the conception of such a power itself. This study has been pointing out a particularity that involves a cultural dimension that is deep rooted in the Malagasy culture and that is quite against the normal way that it has to be perceived in order to make the citizens contributing to enhance its real role. The Malagasy concept of “Ray aman-dreny” needs to be relativized so that there will no longer be a misunderstanding of such a power as an absolute domination that must be

accepted.

Dealing with politics needs to be free of bias and influence of traditional or cultural conceptions. Even though Madagascar is a secular state, the conception of “President Ratsiraha” is still deep rooted in every mind so that there used to be a sort of psychological acceptance of arbitrary and misuse of this power.

Professor Raymond RANJEVA in one interview, when having been asked about the confusion regarding the executive power during the political transition between 2009 and 2014, reminded of the real perception that must be attributed to such a power and which is also the authentic and Malagasy ancestral heritage: “Ny vahoaka no tena Ratsiraha aman-dreny fa ny mpitondra dia fanilomanazavasy mialohany lalany ihany”⁴¹ which practically means that the people/citizens are the real owner of the power, leaders are only those who bring light ahead in the path.

This authentic perception also matches to democratic fundamental principle: the people are the real owner of the power that is only lent to chosen leaders in order to serve the general interest.

⁴¹ Emission spéciale TV Plus Madagascar, April 2011

4. Empowering the parliament and the civil society

The parliament of course represents the citizens. But this role needs to be made clear also regarding its relation with the executive. The role of control on the actions of the executive power needs to be guaranteed legally. One again, the importance of legal framework is pointed out. The point is that the constitution remains vague and not precise enough. Furthermore, modifications that have been made significantly reduced the power of the parliament so that it has been reduced at a level of legislative body only. However, it has to play a role regarding government actions.

Even for the role of the civil society, it is important that their rights are well guaranteed. The freedom of expression remains quite weak and very restrained in Madagascar as seen in previous chapters. Another particular point concerns public media that is traditionally directly managed by the ministry of communication. Though they are public media, it must be ensured that they can be accessed by every political force so that there would be a real chance to make the citizens aware of political and state affairs. Indeed, it contributes to transparency and accountability.

In that order, it would be better to relativize the control of the executive over public media. Also, law needs to be modified and ensure that public media are not monopolizing the diffusion to the entire territory.

5. Rule of law

This is probably the component of good governance that mostly needs to be enhanced in Madagascar. Indeed, rulers tend to consider themselves above the law so that private and general interest can be easily mixed. Definitely, justice has a core role to play. In Anglo-Saxon law tradition, the unicity of jurisdiction is considered by many jurists as a symbol of the equality under the law. In the very beginning of this study, there was a mention of the elite which tend to be favoured by the system itself. That would no longer the case if equality is properly reflected in laws. The key point of this element to be rethought is the contents of laws themselves that must ensure equality and justice and that are not targeting to favour only some categories of people. In that order, transparency needs to be improved and guaranteed so that citizens would be aware of the content of these laws. Furthermore, having well educated citizens appears to be important for such a purpose.

In sum, these recommendations might have been already mentioned in other studies, the point in this concluding part is not to repeat them. What is being targeted is actually to emphasize their importance in having a healthy and strong basis for the real objective: development.

Environment and clean and healthy governance are important in order to make the system working for the general interest.

There is also a fact that deserves to be discussed briefly in this concluding chapter. It has been seen in the very beginning of the study that Malagasy

citizens are also pointing out a certain responsibility that belong to themselves regarding the poverty in Madagascar. There is a sort of “*mea culpa*” recognizing that also the citizen is in question.

With this very young fourth Republic, hopefully leaders will take into account lessons that need to be learned from the past. The power as main objective of power always led to disastrous situations that harmed first life conditions of citizens and led to undo all efforts towards development. Plus, monopoly of power always ends up turning against its owner, and when that happens, the descent down the street is the only way to be heard and always leads to instabilities and crises.

The key point that also needs more attention is to change attitudes and general way of thinking. Sadly, the situation of education in Madagascar is quite disastrous. Successive governments seemed to not have put such a fundamental issue at a top priority and made efficient policy for its improvement. Education is one of the most important levers of development and life conditions.

As a last statement, what could be felt when performing this study is that the situation in Madagascar seems to be a manifestation of an internal state. What can be seen outside is just reflecting a sick internal state that needs to be healed.

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마다가스카르 국가 거버넌스 개혁에 대한 연구

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대부분의 기존 연구들은 빈곤과 개발 지연의 명시적 원인을 찾는데 중점을 두고 있었다. 대부분의 개발 도상국과, 특히 사하라 남부 아프리카 국가들의 경우 정치적 불안정과 내전이 여전히 주요 특징으로 자리잡고 있다. 관련 국제기구의 연구에 따르면, 특히 세계은행에 의한 연구의 경우, 사하라 남부 아프리카 지역을 세계에서 가장 가난한 지역으로 파악하고 있으며 이 지역 내 국가들이 몇몇 공통점을 가지고 있는 것으로 보고 있다. 이를 고려할 때 이 국가들의 현 상황이 유사한 원인과 이유를 가지고 있을 것이라고 결론 내리기 쉽다. 마다가스카르의 경우 저개발 국가로 분류되고 있으며 빈곤이 만연하며 전 국민의 4분의 3이 여기에 영향을 받는 것으로 나타났다.

마다가스카르의 상황은 사하라 남부 아프리카 국가들의 상황과 상이하다는 특징이 있다. 현재까지 내전을 겪은 바도 없고 심각한 내적 갈등도

없으며 자연자원과 다양성 측면에서 높은 잠재력을 가지고 있다. 섬이라는 지역적 특수성이 몇몇 사하라 남부 아프리카 국가들을 괴롭혀왔던 몇몇 지역적 경향에서 유리시키는 결과를 가져온 것이다. 따라서, 본 연구는 이와 같은 다른 상황에 대한 설명을 시도하고 원인을 파악하는 데 목적이 있다. 또한 마다가스카르가 명백하게 실패하고 있는 것으로 보이는 개발의 제 측면과 관련된 근본적 차원에 연구의 중점을 두고 있다. 여기에 대해서 현재까지 충분한 연구가 이루어지지 않았고, 특히 거버넌스에 대한 관심이 부족했던 것으로 보인다.

마다가스카르에 존재했던 첫 세 공화국에 대한 검증을 거친 사실들에 대한 논리적 분석과 역사적 접근법을 통해 본 연구는 초기 연구가설을 확인하는 연구결과에 도달할 수 있었다. 이 연구 가설은 다음과 같다: 바람직하지 않은 거버넌스와 미숙한 국정운영은 빈곤과 저개발에 직접적인 인과관계를 가지고 있다. 개혁은 거버넌스 차원에서 이루어져야 할 필요가 있다.

정치체제 내에서 주된 연구 문제는 행정부의 수반으로서 대통령이 권력을 자의적으로 행사하고 체제 자체를 남용하는 원인이 무엇인가이다. 이는 법과 제도의 수준의 취약하기 때문인 것으로 보인다. 이와 더불어 마다가스카르 사회 내에 존재하는 이러한 관행에 대한 사회적 및 심리적 용인을 포함한 문화적 차원도 중요한 요인으로 작용한다. 예를 들어 “Rah aman-dreny”와 “fihavanana” 같은 개념을 들 수 있다.

본 연구는 또한 세계은행 거버넌스 지표와 Afrobarometer가 파악한 잘못된 거버넌스 관행이 마다가스카르 내에 존재함을 입증하고 있다. 실제로

모든 지표가 평균 이하 수준인 것으로 나타났다.

마지막으로 본 연구는 연구 목표와 연구 결과의 요약을 비교하고 개발과제를 달성하기 위한 핵심 기반이자 안정과 균형을 보장하기 위한 도구로서 법체계의 개혁 필요성을 정부에 제안하는 것으로 결론을 맺고 있다.

키워드: 개발, 거버넌스, 굿 거버넌스, 개혁

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