Securing Legitimacy:
Examining Indicators of State Legitimacy in Afghanistan

Nina Sabarre, Sam Solomon, Timothy Van Blarcom

D3 Systems

May 16, 2013

D³ Systems
designs • data • decisions
GLOBAL RESEARCH SINCE 1985

D3 Systems and ACSOR

- D3 Systems is an international research firm specializing in conflict and post-conflict environments
- D3 and BBSS founded the Afghan Center for Socio-Economic and Opinion Research (ACSOR) in 2003
- Afghan Futures is a series of quantitative studies fielded on behalf of D3 Systems from 2011 to 2012

Afghan Futures Wave 3

- Measures public opinion of general living conditions, performance of the central government, reconciliation with the Taliban, and recent events in Afghanistan

- Fieldwork conducted April 11-18, 2012

- Sample: n =2,039 Afghans, age 18+

D³ Systems
designs • data • decisions
GLOBAL RESEARCH SINCE 1985

Presentation Outline

- Research Question
- Survey Methodology
- Hypothesis
- Key Findings
- Future Research

What is State Legitimacy?

"A state is more legitimate the more that it is treated by its citizens as rightfully holding and exercising political power" (Gilley 2006)

Research Question

- What variables captured in the questionnaire influence Afghans' perceptions of state legitimacy?

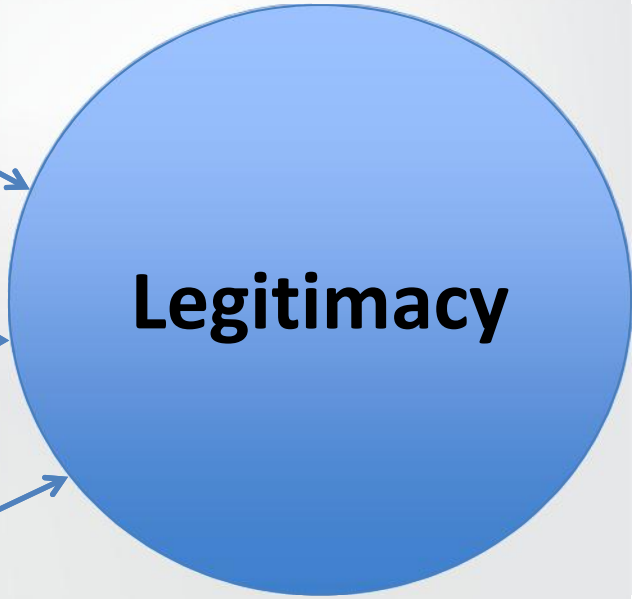
- Of these variables, which have significant impact?

Operationalizing State Legitimacy

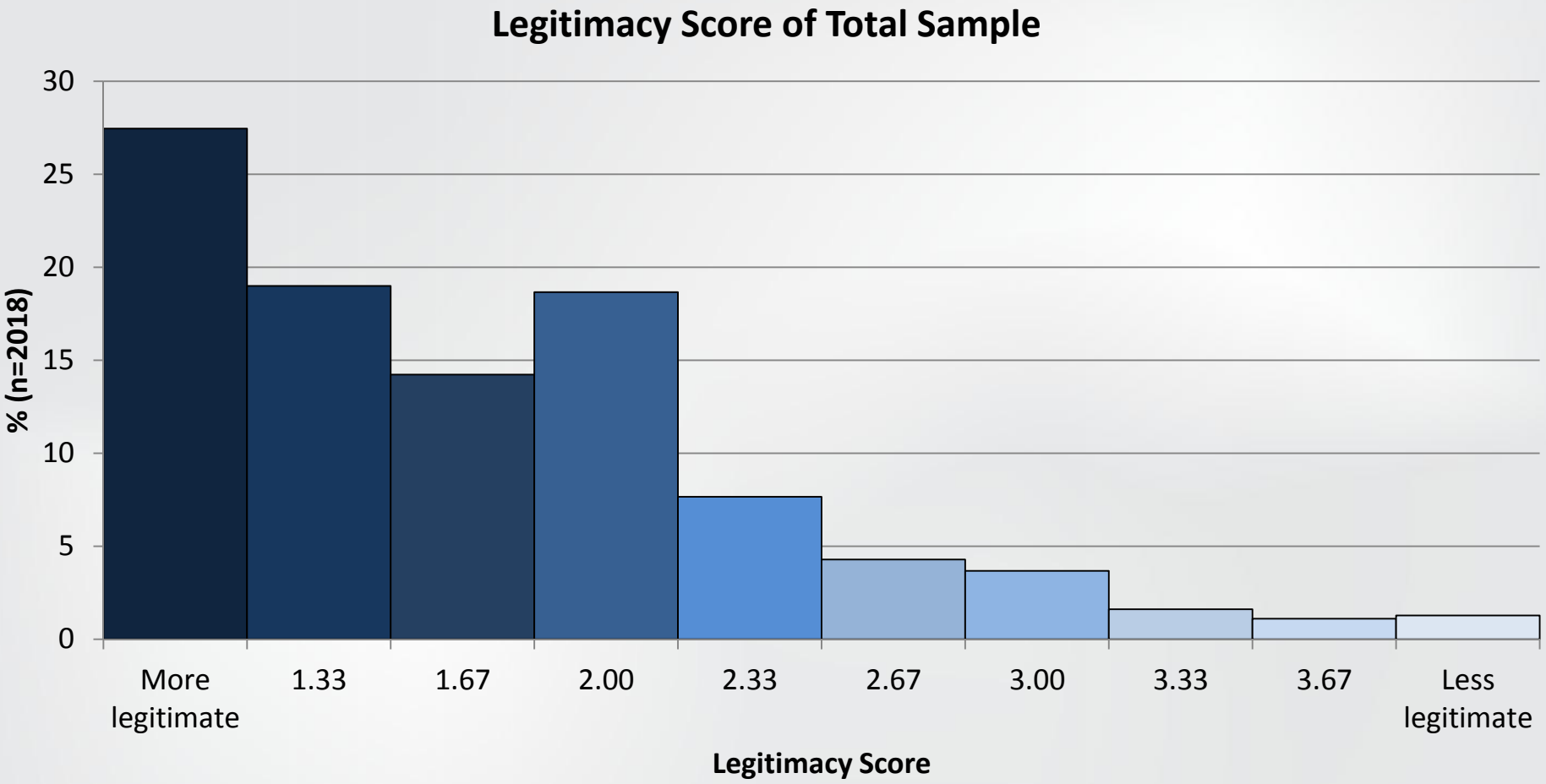
Do you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of the central government in Kabul?

What would you say is the level of support for the central government led by Hamid Karzai among the people in the area?

Please tell me how confident you are in the ability of the central government led by Hamid Karzai to provide security and stability in your area?



Operationalizing State Legitimacy



D³ Systems
designs • data • decisions
GLOBAL RESEARCH SINCE 1985

Considerations

- Fragmented structure of Afghan politics
- Historical significance of the current government
- Social desirability bias
- Requisites of successful insurgency

Sampling Methodology

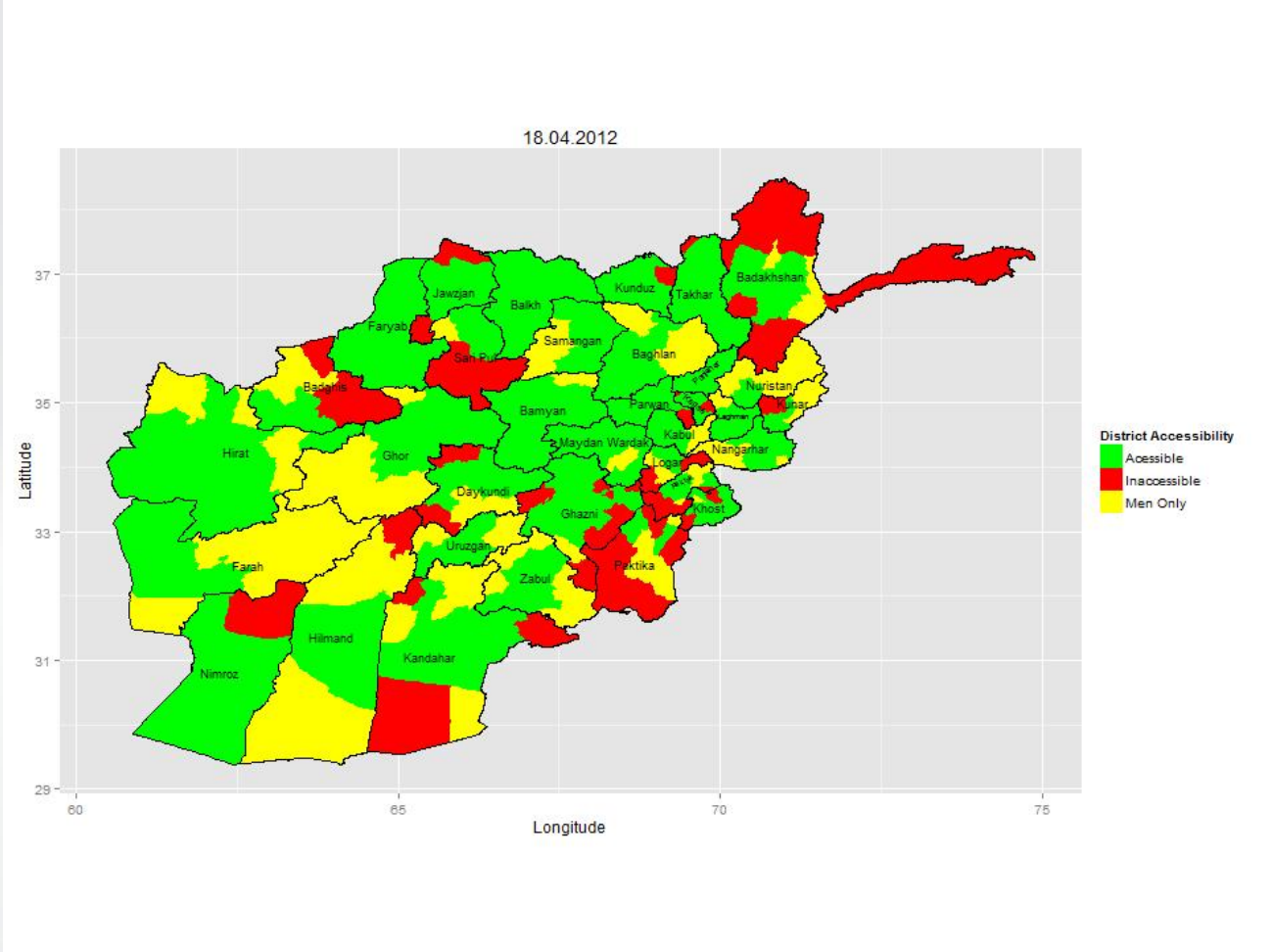
- Multi-stage PPS sample
- Phase one: Stratification by urbanity and province
- Phase two: Probability sample of districts within provinces
- Phase three: Simple random sample of settlements within districts
- Phase four: Random walk to select households, Kish grids to select respondents

Data Collection

- Field teams across all 34 of Afghanistan's provinces
- Gender matching
- Replacement of sampling points / districts
- High response rate

D³ Systems
designs • data • decisions
GLOBAL RESEARCH SINCE 1985

Accessibility Tracker



Sample vs. National Demographics

Region	National	Sample
Central/Kabul	19%	19%
Eastern	10%	10%
South Central	15%	15%
Western	12%	12%
Northern	29%	29%
Central Hazarajat	8%	8%
Ethnicity		**Sample**
Pashtun		40%
Tajik		36%
Hazara		9%
Uzbek		10%
Other		5%
Gender		**Sample**
Male		51%
Female		49%

Data Analysis

- Bivariate analysis was done by means comparisons
- All relationships presented are significant at the 95% level of confidence according to ANOVA tests

Hypothesis

Security situation is a key indicator of state legitimacy.

As Afghan respondents' security situation gets worse, respondents perceive the central government as less legitimate.

Operationalizing Security Situation

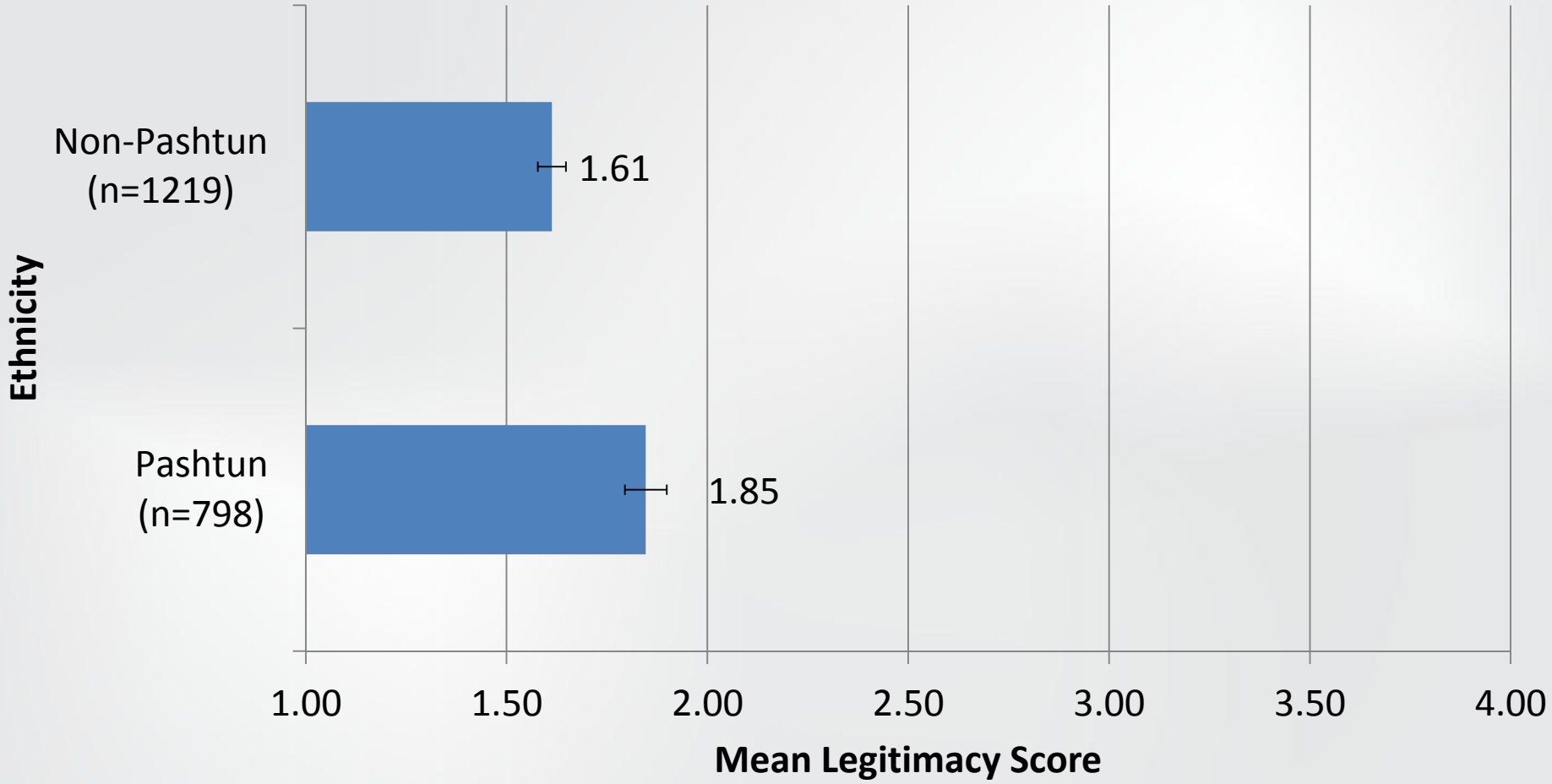
Q2a. I would like to ask you about today's conditions in the village/neighborhood where you live. Would you rate the security situation as very good, somewhat good, somewhat bad or very bad in your area?

1. Very good
2. Somewhat good
3. Somewhat bad
4. Very bad
98. Refused (vol.)
99. Don't know (vol.)

Key Variables

- Ethnicity
- Political Attitudes
- Security Situation

Ethnicity

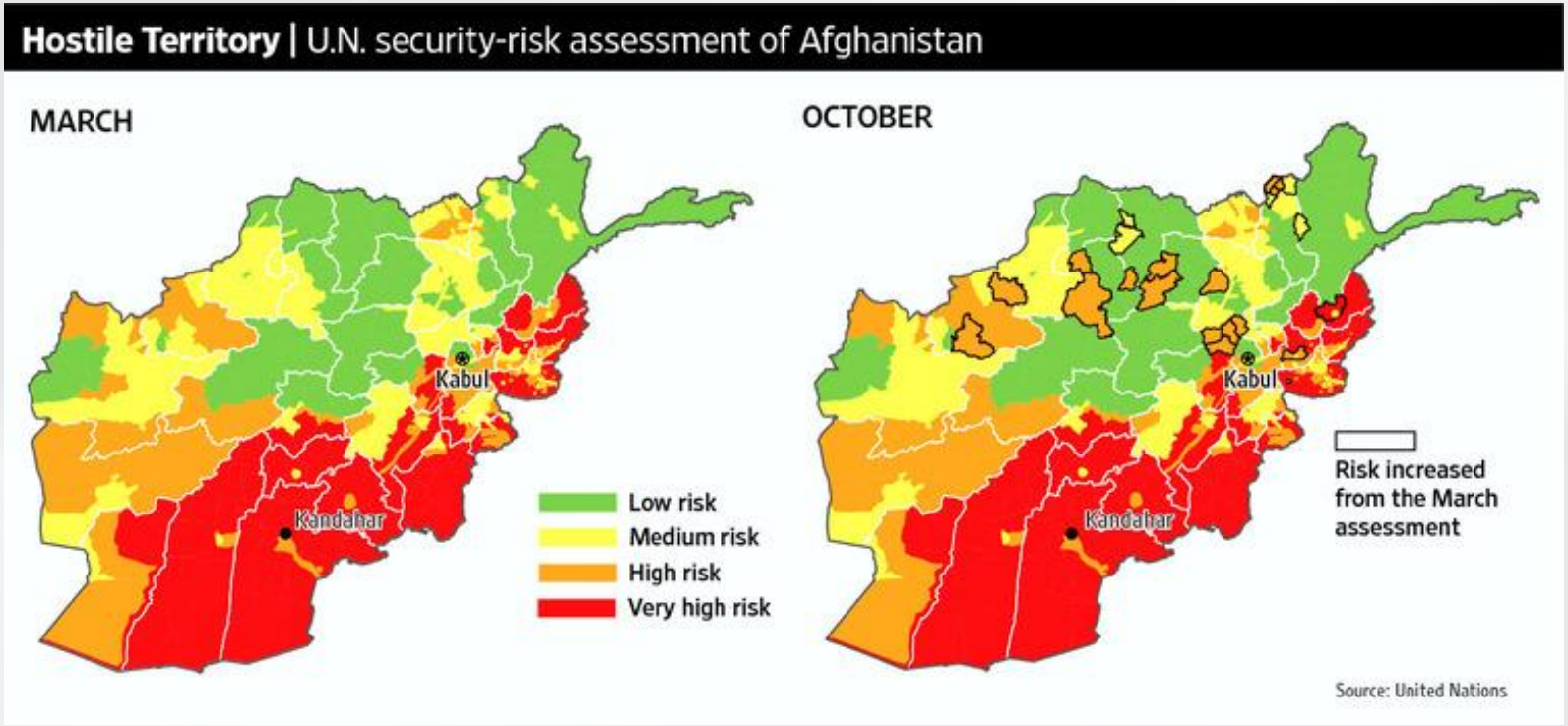


D³ Systems
designs • data • decisions
GLOBAL RESEARCH SINCE 1985

Map of Ethnicity

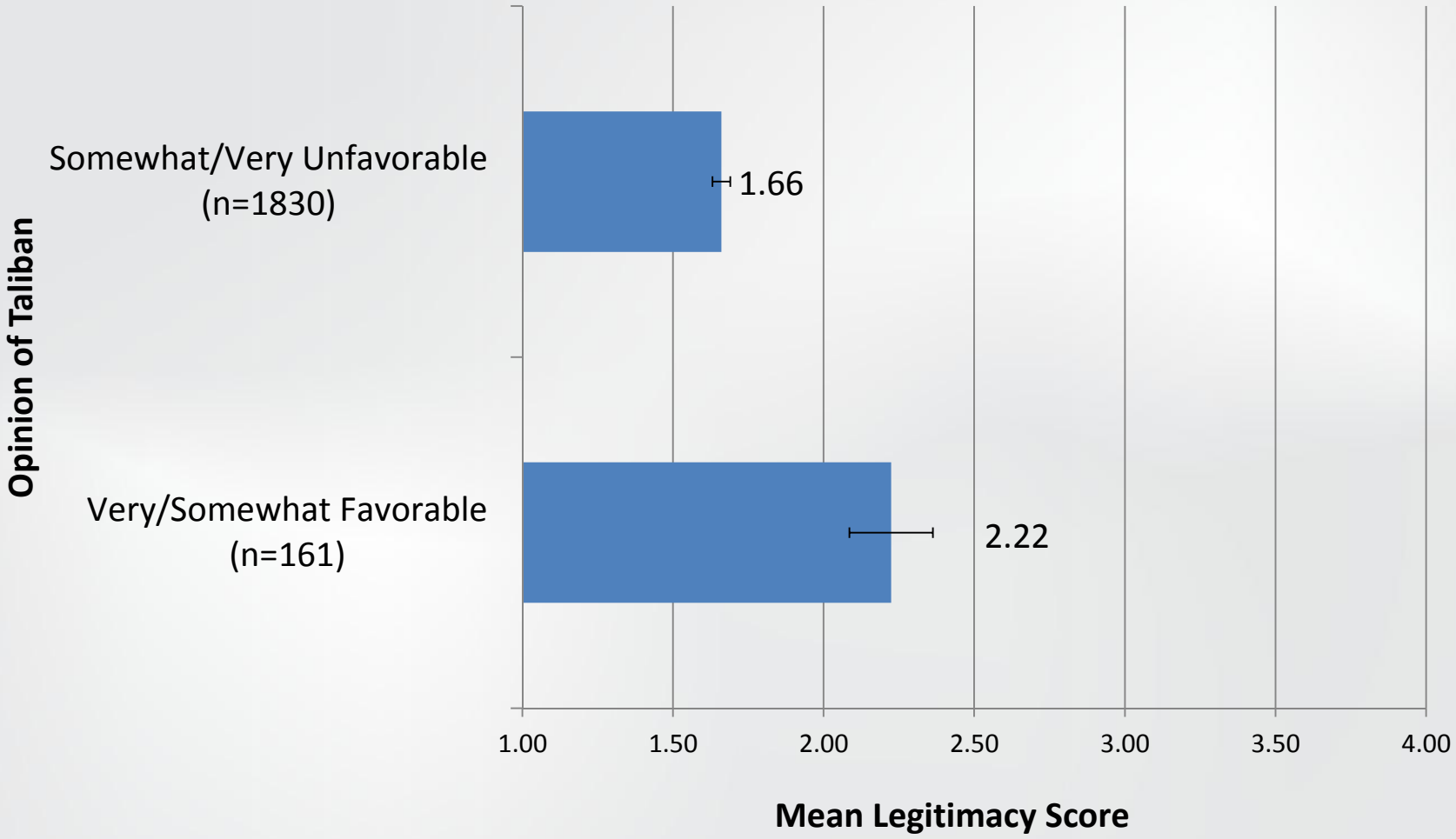
Source: Hope for Afghanistan website

Hostile Territories in Afghanistan

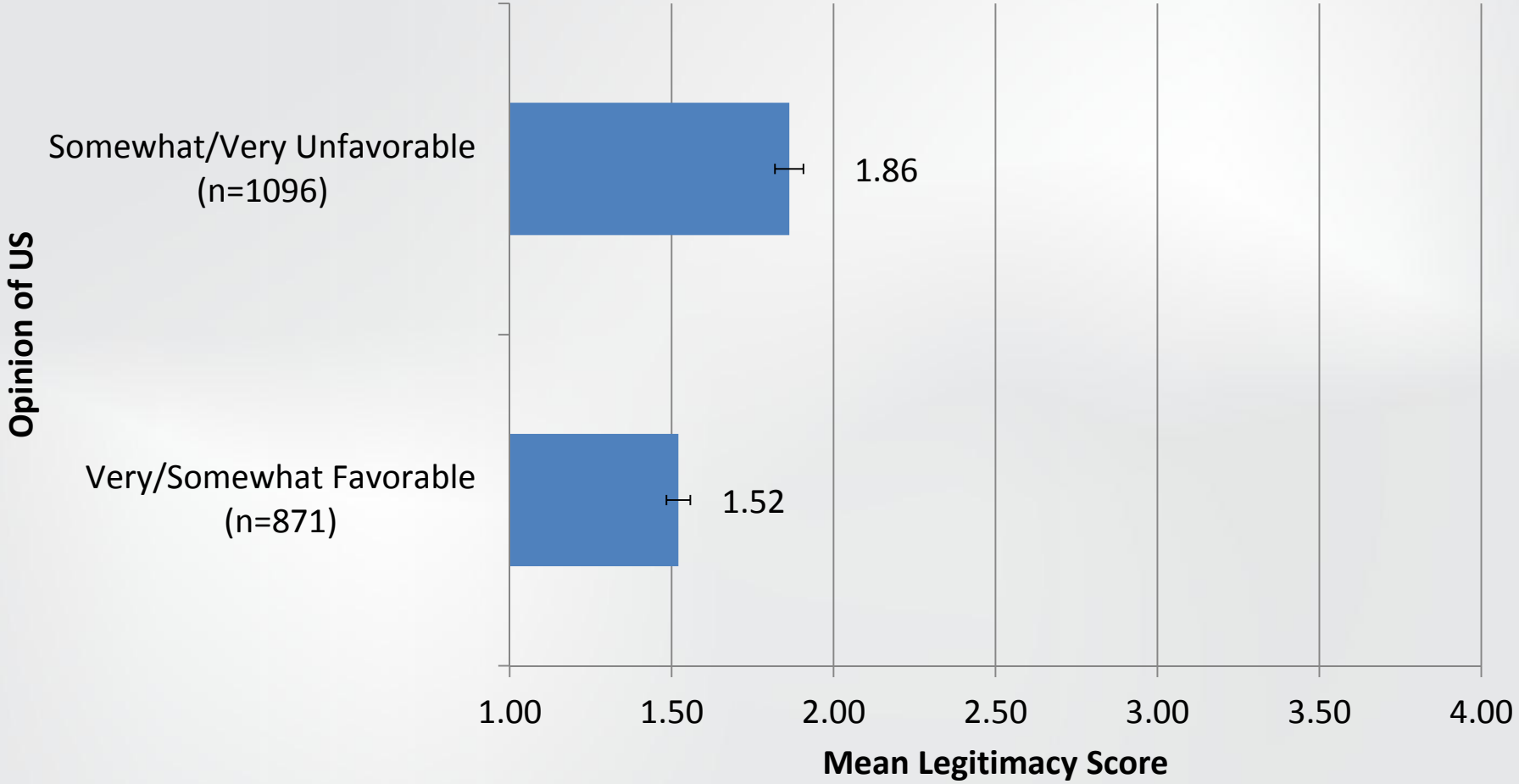


Source: United Nations 2010 Accessibility Maps

Political Attitudes

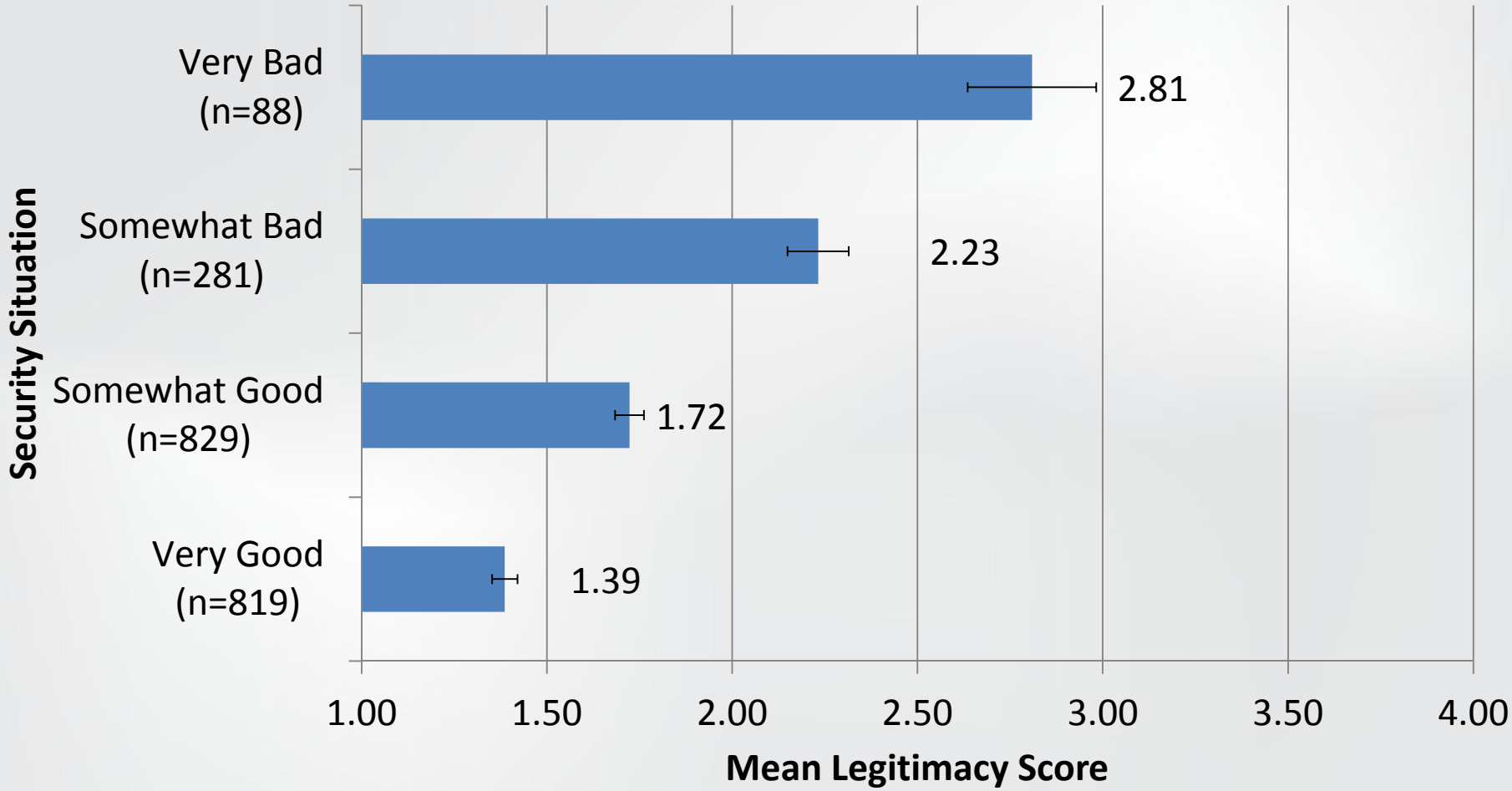


Political Attitudes

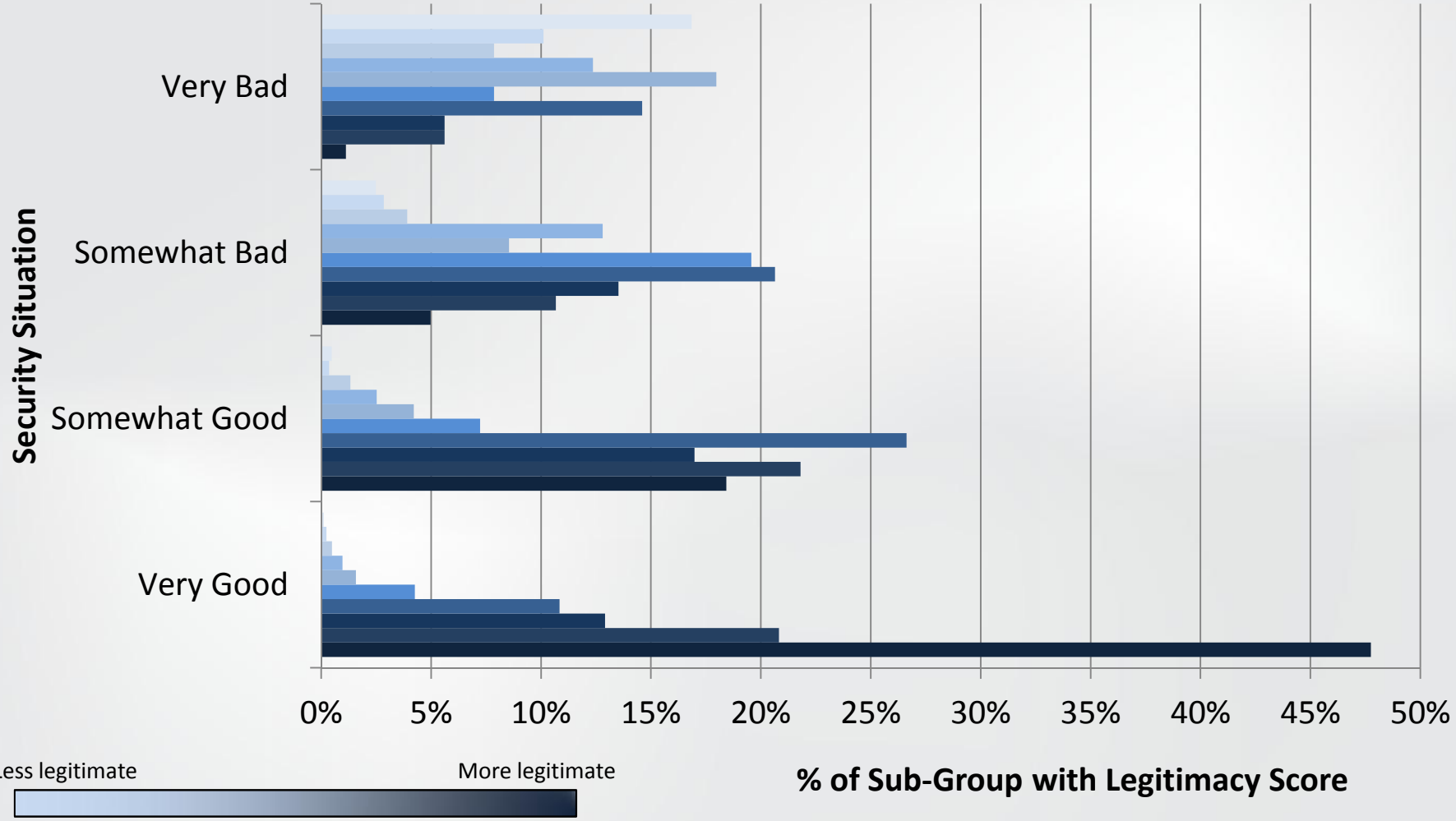


D³ Systems
designs • data • decisions
GLOBAL RESEARCH SINCE 1985

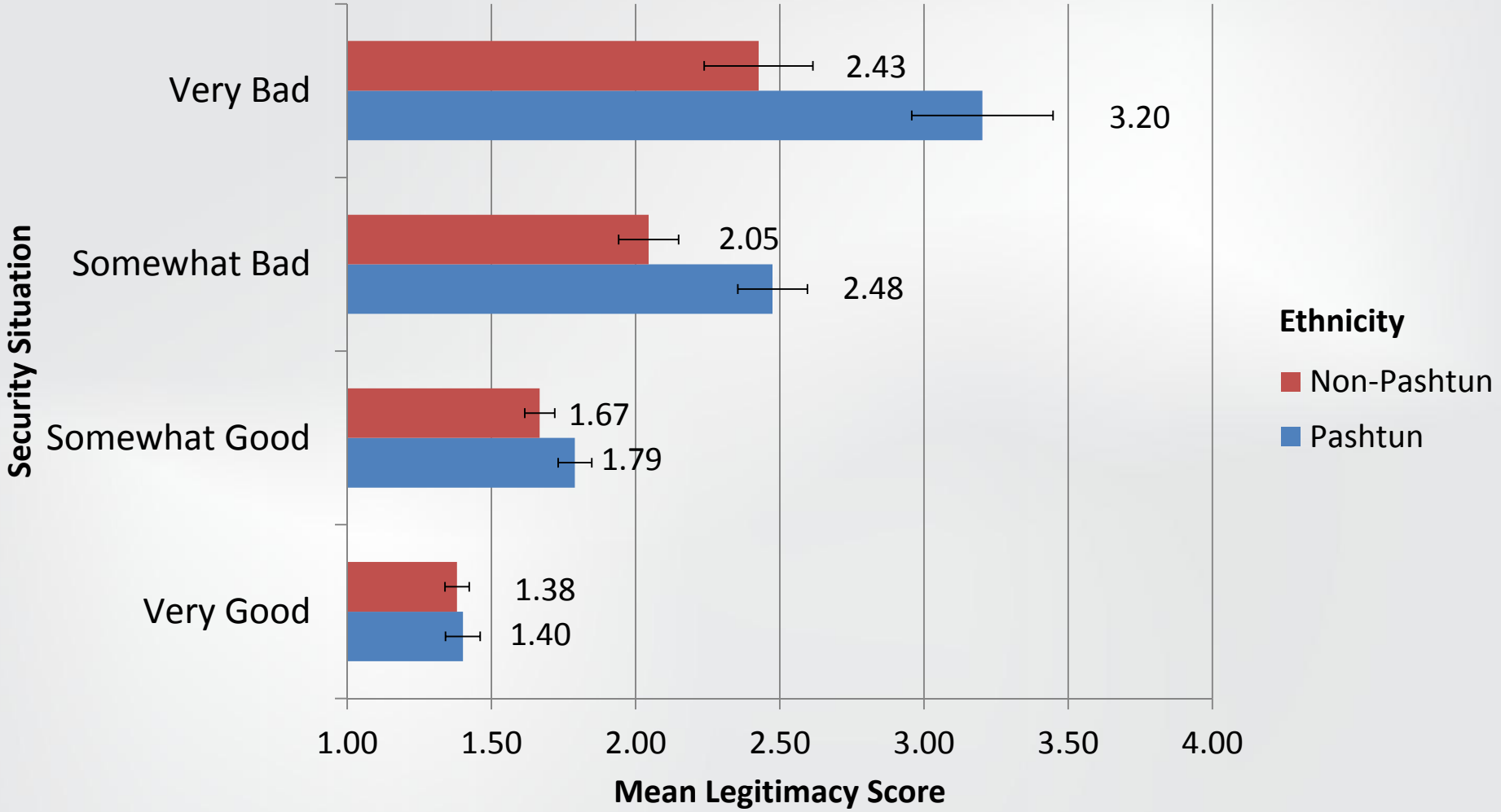
Security Situation



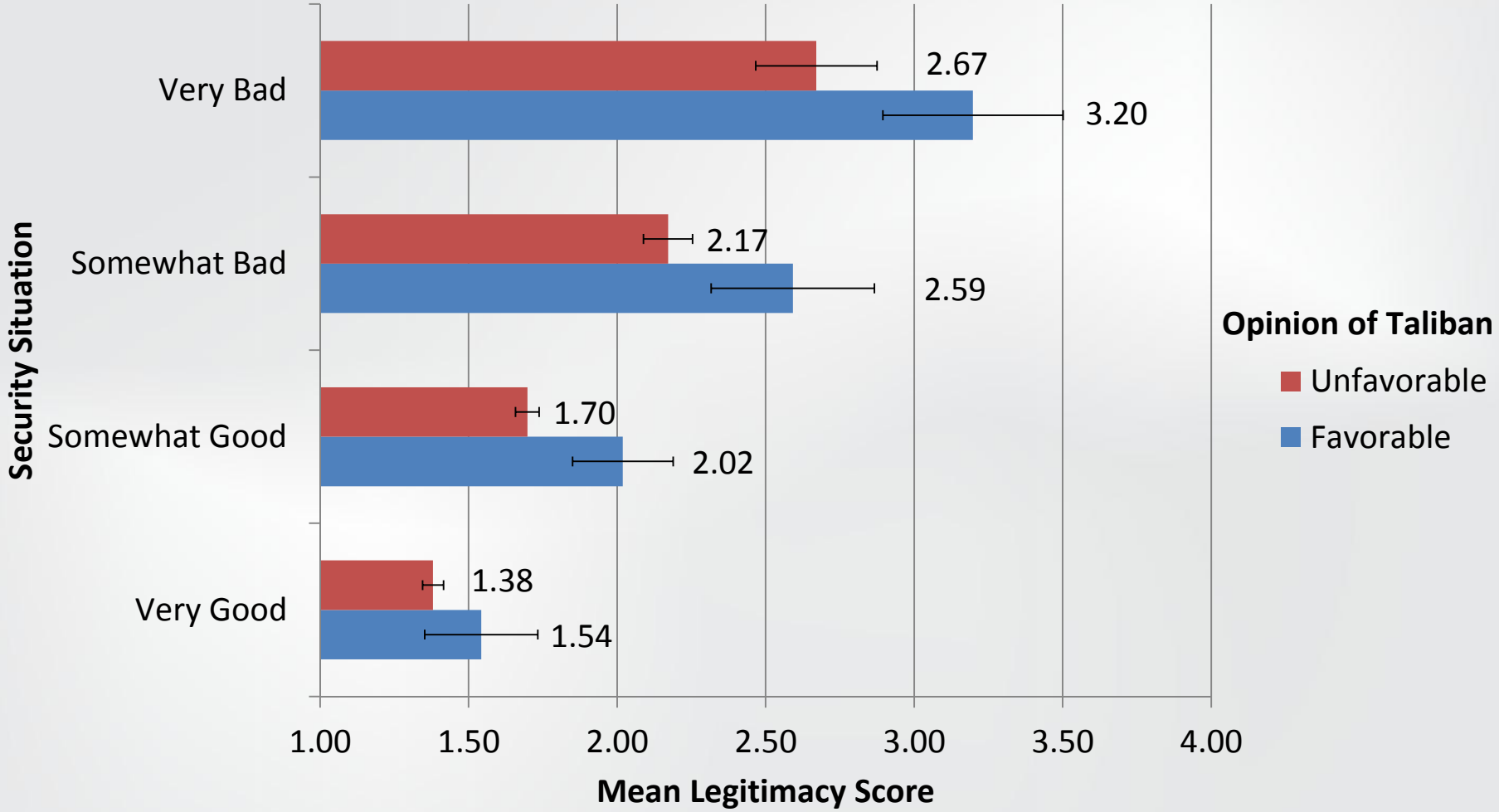
Security Situation



Security Situation



Security Situation



Future Research

- Develop more nuanced metrics of perceptions of state legitimacy
- Further operationalize security situation
  - "In the past six months, have you or anyone you know witnessed or experienced…?"
- Conduct supplementary research
  - Focus groups
  - Longitudinal study

For Further Information

Please contact:

D3 Systems, Inc.

703.388.2450

www.d3systems.com

Nina Sabarre

Nina.Sabarre@d3systems.com

Samuel Solomon

Samuel.Solomon@d3systems.com