Results from the Afrobarometer Round 5 Survey in Zimbabwe

27 November 2012





www.afrobarometer.org www.mpoi.net



What is the Afrobarometer?



- The Afrobarometer (AB) is a comparative series of public opinion surveys that measure public attitudes toward democracy, governance, the economy, leadership, identity, and other related issues.
- The AB is an independent, non-partisan, African-based network of researchers.
- The first round of surveys took place in 1999-2001 in 12 countries. The Network is now conducting "Round 5" surveys in up to 35 countries during 2011-2012.
- **Purpose**: To measure popular perspectives on the social, political, and economic environments in each country where it is implemented and across Africa.
- **Goal**: To give the public a *voice* in policy making processes by providing high-quality public opinion data to policy-makers, policy advocates and civil society organizations, academics, media, donors and investors, and ordinary Africans.



Country Coverage: 1999-2012



- > Round 1, 1999-2001, 12 countries
 - Southern Africa: Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Namibia, South Africa, Zambia, Zimbabwe
 - West Africa: Ghana, Mali, Nigeria
 - East Africa: Tanzania, Uganda
- > Round 2, 2002-2003, 16 countries
 - Cape Verde, Kenya, Mozambique, Senegal
- > Round 3, 2005-2006, 18 countries
 - Benin, Madagascar
- > Round 4, 2008-2009, 20 countries
 - Burkina Faso, Liberia
- > Round 5, 2011-2012, 35 countries
 - Burundi, Cameroon, Mauritius, Niger, Togo, Sierra Leone, Mali, Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea, South Sudan, Ethiopia, Sudan, Lybia, Tunisia, Morocco.



R5 Coverage



- ➤ An additional 15 countries for a total of 35 countries, including 4 in North Africa
 - New countries include: Burundi, Cameroon, Mauritius, Niger, Togo, Sierra Leone, Mali, Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea, South Sudan, Ethiopia, Sudan, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco.
 - Surveys already completed in 13 countries (including Zimbabwe) by end of August 2012
 - Survey preparations ongoing in all remaining 22 countries



Country Coverage: 1999-2012







Who is the Afrobarometer?



A Pan-African Network of survey researchers and analysts.

- In each country there is a *National Partner* responsible for survey implementation. In Zimbabwe, the National Partner the Mass Public Opinion Institute (MPOI).
- Four *Core Partners* provide technical assistance and Network management:
 - Center for Democratic Development (CDD), Ghana
 - Institute for Democracy in South Africa (Idasa), South Africa
 - o Institute for Development Studies (IDS), University of Nairobi, Kenya
 - o Institute for Empirical Research in Political Economy (IREEP), Benin
- Two Support Units for capacity building and quality assurance
 - Michigan State University
 - University of Cape Town
- Round 5 *Core Funders* include
 - DFID
 - SIDA
 - USAID
 - Mo Ibrahim Foundation

Survey Methodology



- Nationally representative sample of adult citizens
 - all respondents are randomly selected
 - every adult citizen has an equal and known chance of being selected

Face-to-face interviews in the language of the respondent's choice

Standard survey instrument across all countries for comparability

The survey interviewed (successfully) 2 400 adult Zimbabweans; a sample of this size yields results with a margin of error of +/- 2% at a 95% confidence level.

Field work for Round 5 in Zimbabwe was conducted between 16 and 30 July in 2012 (6th in a series of surveys held since first round 1999).

Afrobarometer's work in Zimbabwe is coordinated by MPOI and the field work carried out by MPOI



ABR5 Survey in Zimbabwe



- Sampling frame (2011 projected population figures)
- Sample universe: Citizens aged 18 years or older, excluding institutions for example; police camps, and military barracks
- Cluster size: 8 interviews per Enumeration Area (EA)
- Respondent selection: gender quota filled by alternating interviews between males and females
- Survey languages (Ndebele, Shona and English)





Afrobarometer Round 5 Zimbabwe Survey Results:

Topic 1: Economic Conditions



Key Findings on Economic Conditions



Four in 10 (42%) of the survey respondents feel that the country's macro-economic conditions are bad.

A plurality of survey respondents (43%) are also of the view that their personal economic conditions are bad.

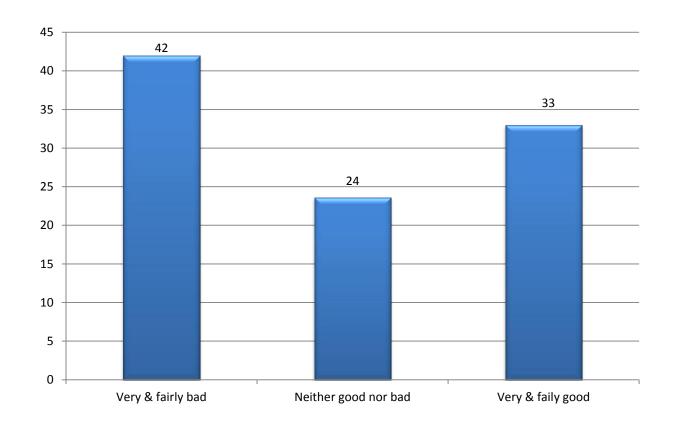
The proportion of respondents who felt that their personal economic conditions were bad is much greater in the rural areas (47%) than in the urban areas (34%)

A plurality of survey respondents (34%) don't see any difference between their own living conditions and those of fellow Zimbabweans, whereas a third (33%) believe that their own lives are better than that of their colleagues.



Present macro-economic condition of the country



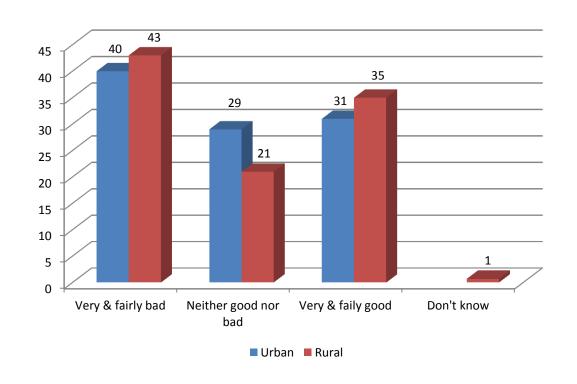


In general how would you describe: the present economic condition of this country



Present macro-economic condition of the country, by POR





In general how would you describe: the present economic condition of this country



Present macro-economic condition of the country by Province



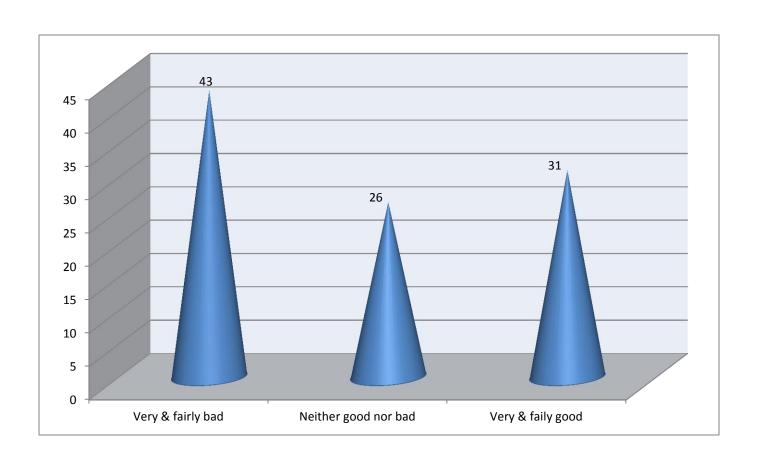
	Very & Fairly	Neither good	Very & Fairly	Don't know
	bad	nor bad	good	
Harare	36	27	34	0
Bulawayo	51	32	17	0
Midlands	54	19	24	2
Masvingo	57	15	26	1
Mashonaland East	37	13	50	0
Mashonaland West	29	34	37	0
Mashonaland Central	28	13	57	2
Matebeleland South	39	23	38	0
Matebeleland North	42	28	31	0
Manicaland	50	30	20	0

In general how would you describe: the present economic condition of this country



Personal living conditions



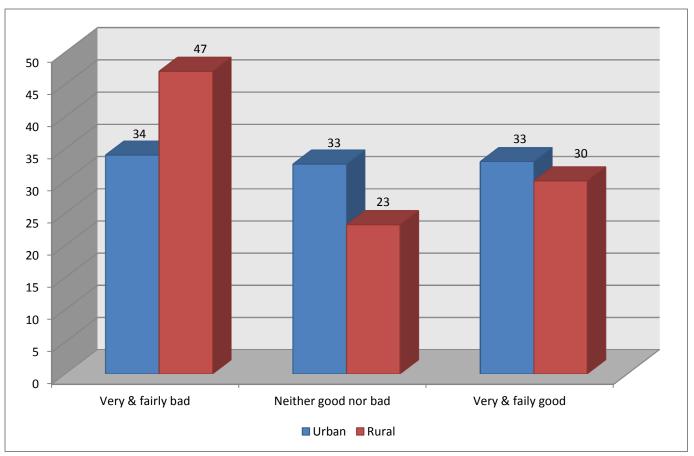


In general how would you describe your own present living conditions



Personal living conditions, by POR





In general how would you describe your own present living conditions



Personal living conditions by POR



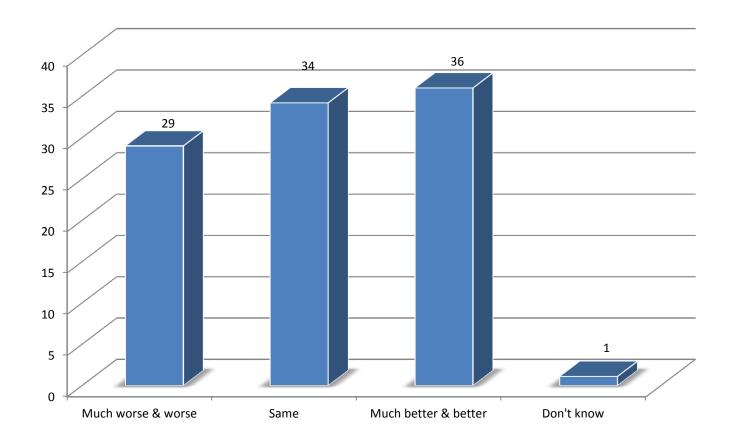
	Very & Fairly Bad	Neither good nor bad	Very & Fairly Good
Harare	35	31	34
Bulawayo	35	44	22
Midlands	48	24	28
Masvingo	63	17	20
Mashonaland East	35	25	41
Mashonaland West	29	35	36
Mashonaland Central	41	17	43
Matebeleland South	49	18	34
Matebeleland North	42	24	35
Manicaland	51	28	21

In general how would you describe: the present economic condition of this country?



Own living conditions versus other Zimbabweans



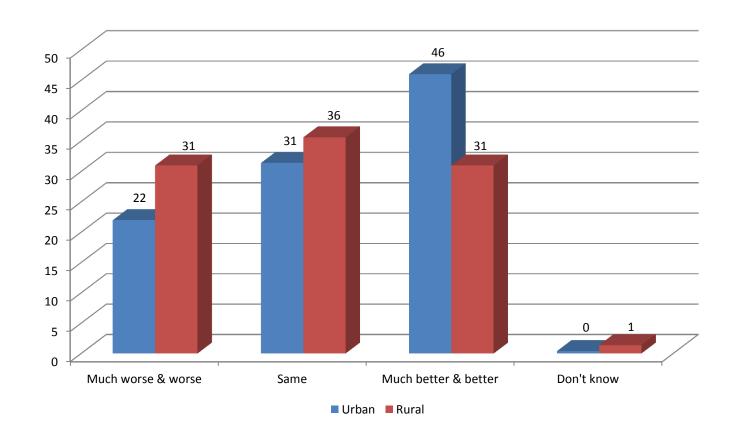


In general, how do you rate your living conditions compared to those of other Zimbabweans



Own living conditions versus other Zimbabweans by POR





In general, how do you rate your living conditions compared to those of other Zimbabweans



Own living conditions versus other Zimbabweans; by POR



	Worse/much	Same	Better/much	Don't know
	worse		better	
Harare	20	23	56	1
Bulawayo	34	45	21	-
Midlands	33	39	26	3
Masvingo	44	31	25	-
Mashonaland East	25	29	46	-
Mashonaland West	23	31	45	1
Mashonaland Central	28	32	39	1
Matebeleland South	34	39	26	2
Matebeleland North	25	45	26	4
Manicaland	24	38	39	-

In general, how do you rate your living conditions compared to those of other Zimbabweans





Afrobarometer Round 5 Zimbabwe Survey Results:

Topic 2: Present & Past Economic Conditions



Key Findings on Present & Past Economic Conditions

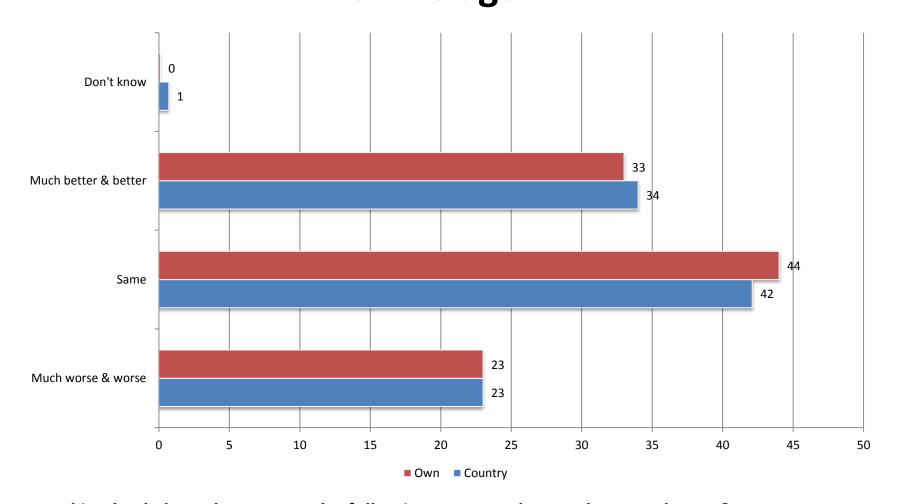


• A plurality of respondents find present country's economic and own living conditions the same as they were 12 months ago. The same trend in public evaluation of the economy has also been observed across place of residence (POR), gender and political party affiliation



Macro economic & own living condition compared to 12 months ago

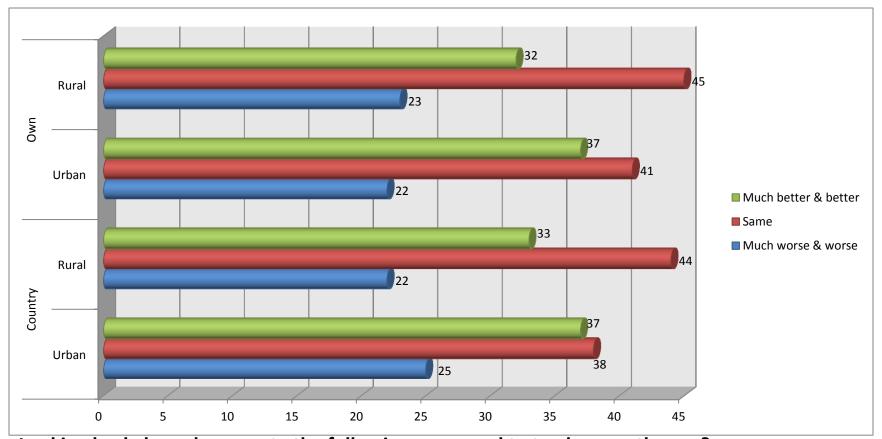






Macro economic & own living condition compared to BAR 12 months ago, by POR

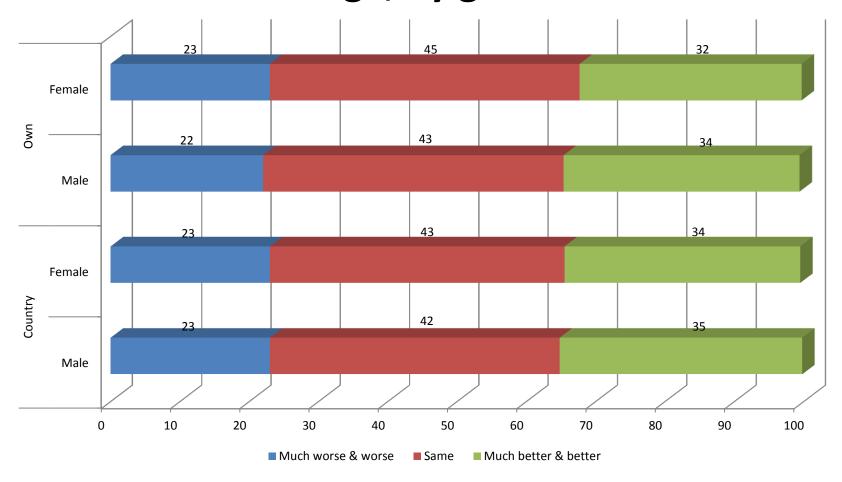






Macro economic & own living condition compared to 12 months ago, by gender

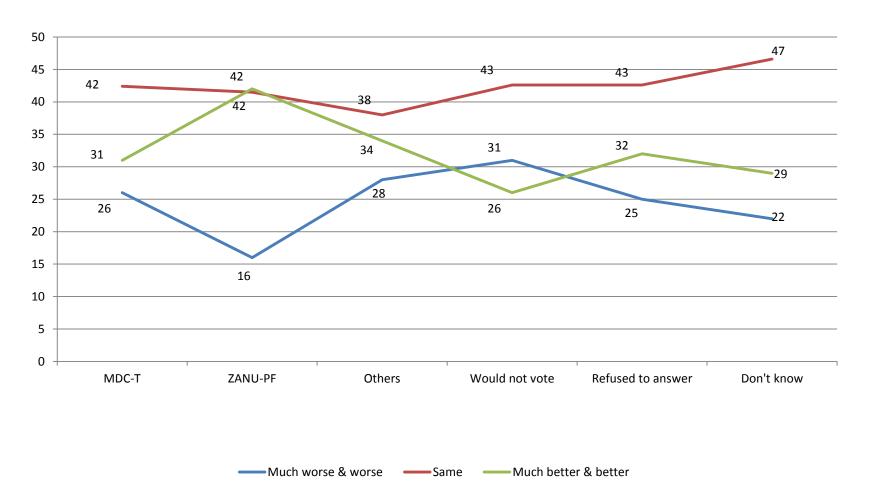






Macro economic condition compared to 12 months ago, by party affiliation









Afrobarometer Round 5 Zimbabwe Survey Results:

Topic 3: Future Projection of the Economy



Key Findings on Future Projection of the Economy

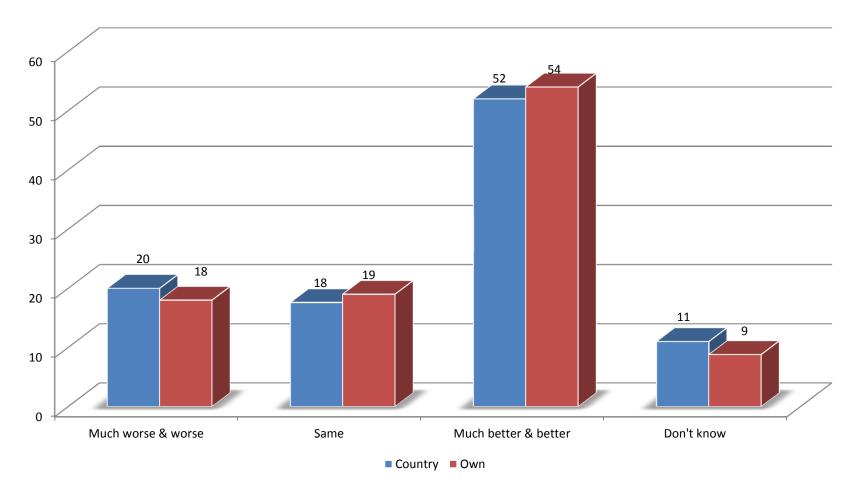


 Though Zimbabweans see a stagnation in the country's present economy and own living conditions, they still express great hope that things will improve in the future



Macro economic and own living conditions in 12 months time





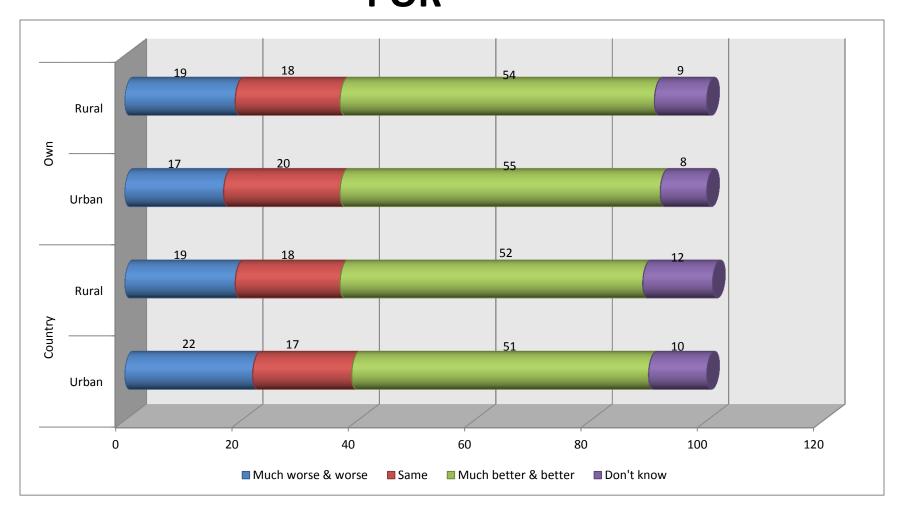
Looking ahead, do you expect the following to be better or worse?

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Macro economic and own living condition in 12 months time, by POR



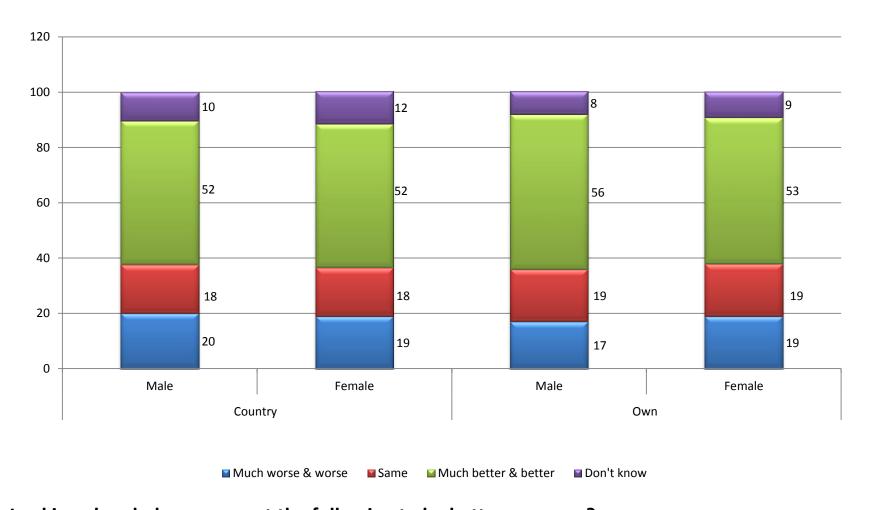


Looking ahead, do you expect the following to be better or worse?



Macro economic condition in 12 months time, by gender





Looking ahead, do you expect the following to be better or worse?





Afrobarometer Round 5 Zimbabwe Survey Results:

Topic 4: Overall direction of the country



Key Findings on Overall Direction of the country

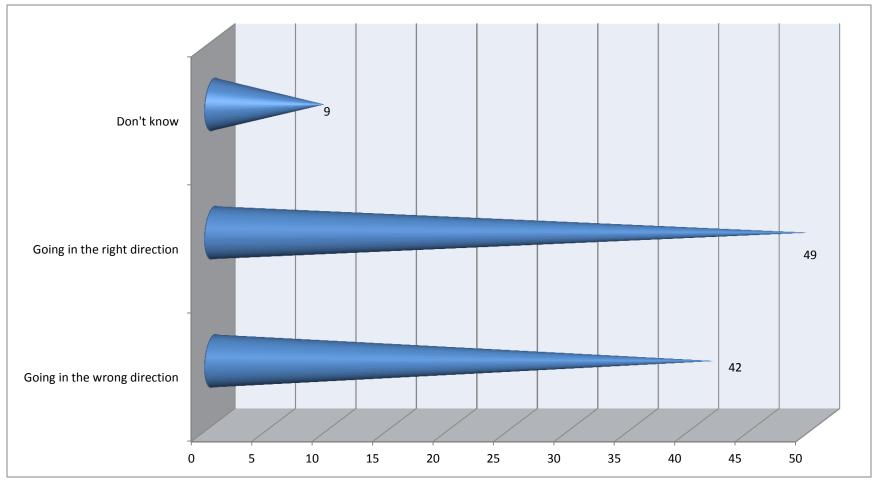


- Generally, more Zimbabweans (about half) think the country is going in the right direction than those who say it is heading in the wrong direction.
- Nonetheless, party affiliation has a significant effect on public perception on the overall direction of the country



Overall direction of the country





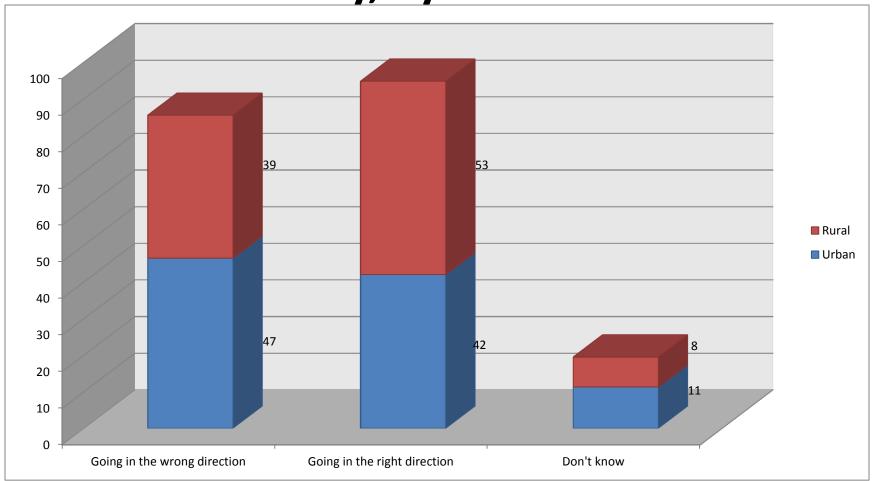
What about the overall direction of the country? Would you say that the country is going in the wrong direction or going in the right direction?

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Overall direction of the country, by POR



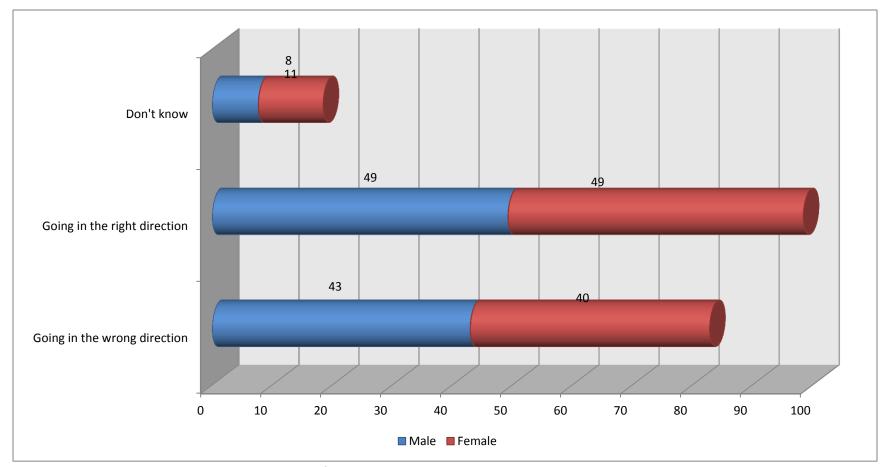


What about the overall direction of the country? Would you say that the country is going in the wrong direction or going in the right direction?



Overall direction of the country, by gender



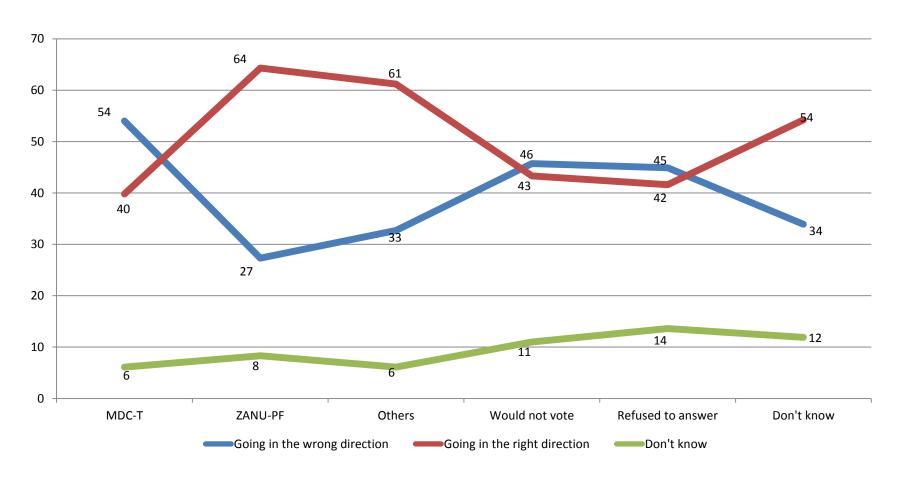


What about the overall direction of the country? Would you say that the country is going in the wrong direction or going in the right direction?



Overall direction of the country, by party affiliation





What about the overall direction of the country? Would you say that the country is going in the wrong direction or going in the right direction?

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Afrobarometer Round 5 Zimbabwe Survey Results:

Topic 5: Incidence of Lived Poverty



Key Findings on Incidence of Lived Poverty

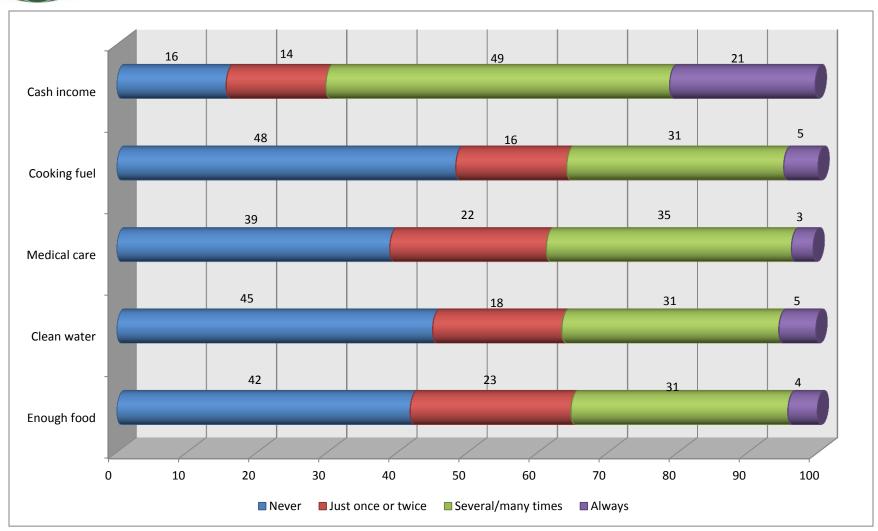


- Results indicate that a substantial proportion of ordinary Zimbabwean citizens are still having difficulties in accessing clean water, medicines, cash income, enough food to eat and fuel to cook
- Cash income, like in previous surveys, still ranks as the major challenge



Incidence of Lived Poverty





Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or anyone in your family:



Incidence of Lived Poverty, by POR



			Several & many			
		Never	Just once or twice	times	Always	
	Urban	61	19	19	1	
Food	Rural	32	25	37	6	
	Urban	33	18	43	7	
Water	Rural	51	19	26	4	
	Urban	49	18	30	3	
medical care	Rural	34	24	38	3	
	Urban	25	15	52	9	
cooking fuel	Rural	60	16	21	3	
	Urban	27	22	40	11	
cash income	Rural	10	11	54	26	

Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or anyone in your family:





Afrobarometer Round 5 Zimbabwe Survey Results:

Topic 7: Transitional Justice



Key Findings on Transitional Justice



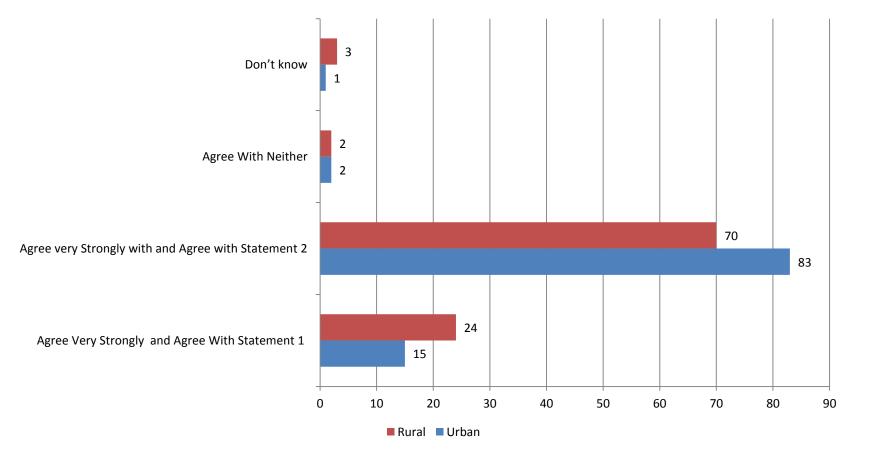
- An overwhelming majority of Zimbabweans (75%) are in favour of holding accountable those who are guilty of past political crimes compared to giving them amnesty (21%)
- More respondents from the urban areas (83%) are in support of holding perpetrators of political crimes accountable compared to those in the rural areas (70%) who share the same sentiments
- More ZANU-PF supporters (39%) are in favour of granting amnesty to political crime perpetrators compared to other political parties
- By a slight majority, Zimbabweans (52%) share the view that trying perpetrators of political crime in a Zimbabwean court of law would be the best option of holding them accountable for their crimes.

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Amnesty vs. Accountability for political crimes by POR





Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2. Statement 1. Those who are responsible for past political crimes should be granted amnesty, which means that they would never be prosecuted.

Statement 2. Those who are responsible for past political crimes should be held accountable; they should face consequences for what they have done.



Amnesty vs. Accountability, by Party Affiliation



	Agree / Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1	Agree / Agree Very Strongly with Statement 2	Agree With Neither	Don't know
MDC-T	10	90	1	0
ZANU-PF	39	57	2	2
MDC-M	0	100	0	0
MKD	39	62	0	0
ZAPU-Dabengwa	20	80	0	0
MDC-N	0	100	0	0
Others	25	58	8	8
Would Not Vote	13	84	1	2
Refused to Answer	15	78	4	2
Don't Know	23	66	3	9

Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.

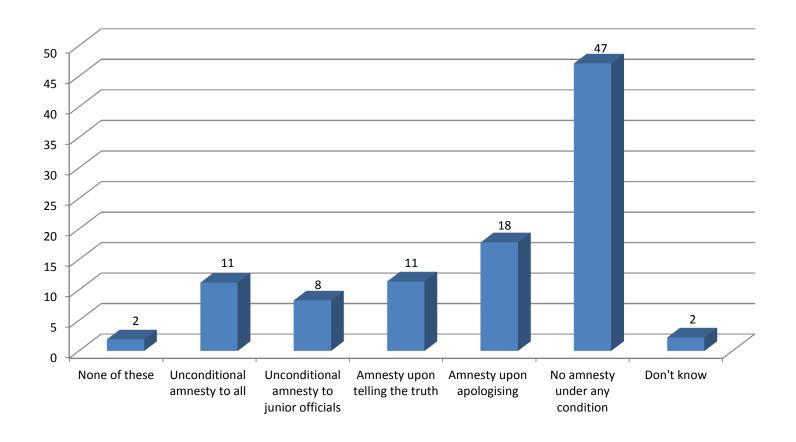
Statement 1. Those who are responsible for past political crimes should be granted amnesty, which means that they would never be prosecuted.

Statement 2. Those who are responsible for past political crimes should be held accountable; they should face consequences for what they have done.



Conditions for Amnesty



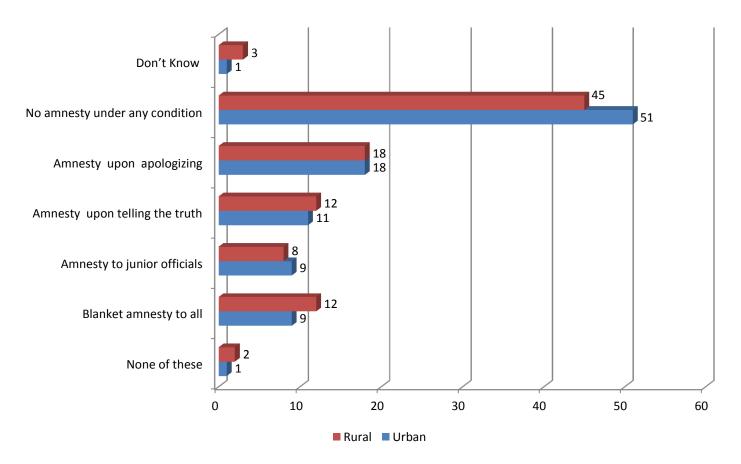


Let us consider amnesty. There are various conditions under which amnesty for political crimes could possibly be provided. If you could choose only one of the following options for amnesty, what would it be?



Conditions of Amnesty, by POR



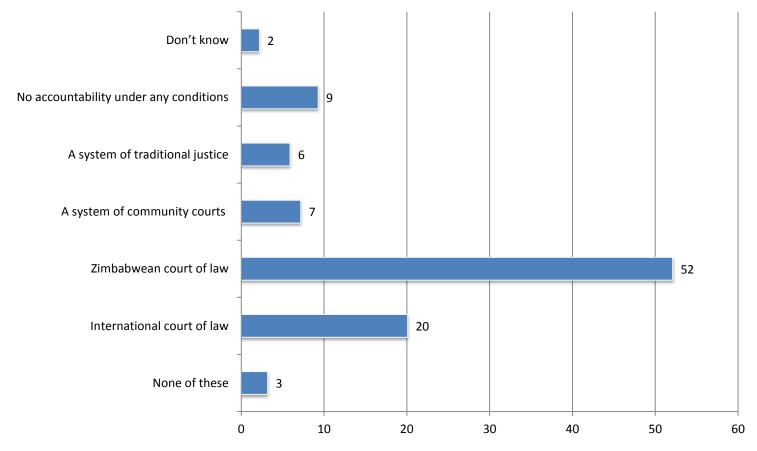


Let us consider amnesty. There are various conditions under which amnesty for political crimes could possibly be provided. If you could choose only one of the following options for amnesty, what would it be?



Options for Accountability



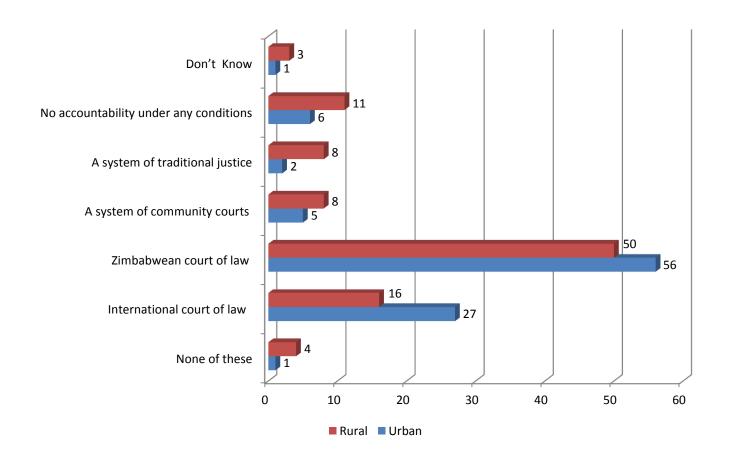


Now let us consider accountability. There are various ways that individuals who are responsible for past political crimes can be held accountable. If you could choose only one of the following options, what would it be?



Options for Accountability by POR





Now let us consider accountability. There are various ways that individuals who are responsible for past political crimes can be held accountable. If you could choose only one of the following options, what would it be?



Options for Accountability by Province



	None of these	International Court of Law	Zimbabwean Court of Law	A system of Community Court	A system of Traditional Justice	No Accountability under any conditions	Don't Know
Harare	2	14	21	10	14	13	2
Bulawayo	0	0	3	12	7	10	6
Midlands	17	11	10	7	9	13	8
Masvingo	2	9	8	2	5	16	15
Mash East	4	14	12	10	10	8	11
Mash West	4	11	15	17	12	8	6
Mash Central	15	20	7	11	11	7	26
Mat South	7	5	10	10	12	5	6
Mat North	26	6	10	13	8	7	21
Manicaland	22	11	6	9	13	13	0

Now let us consider accountability. There are various ways that individuals who are responsible for past political crimes can be held accountable. If you could choose only one of the following options, what would it be?





Afrobarometer Round 5 Zimbabwe Survey Results:

Topic 7: Support for Democracy



Key Findings on Support for Democracy

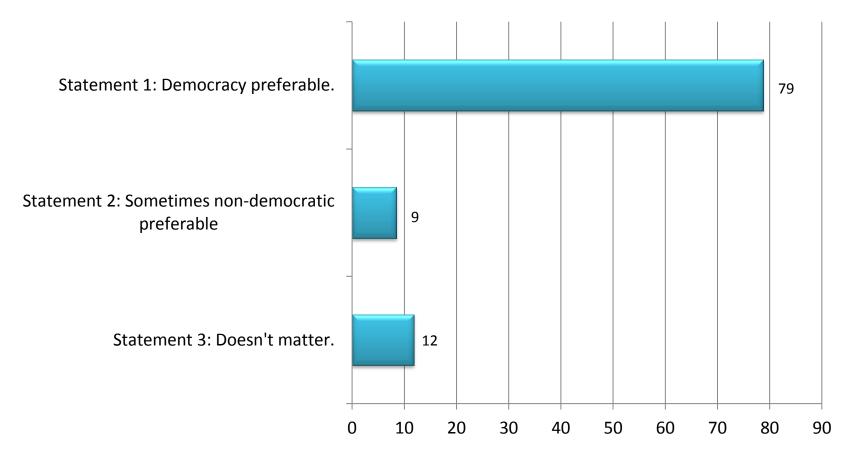


 Regardless of age, gender, province and political party affiliation, Zimbabweans find democracy preferable to any other kind of government.



Support for Democracy





Which of the following statements is closest to your view:

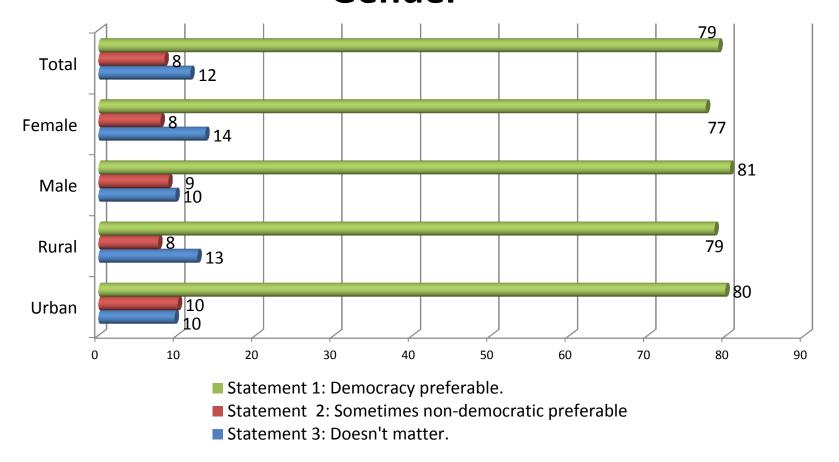
Statement 1: Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government.

Statement 2: In some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable.



Support for Democracy, by POR & Gender





Which of the following statements is closest to your view:

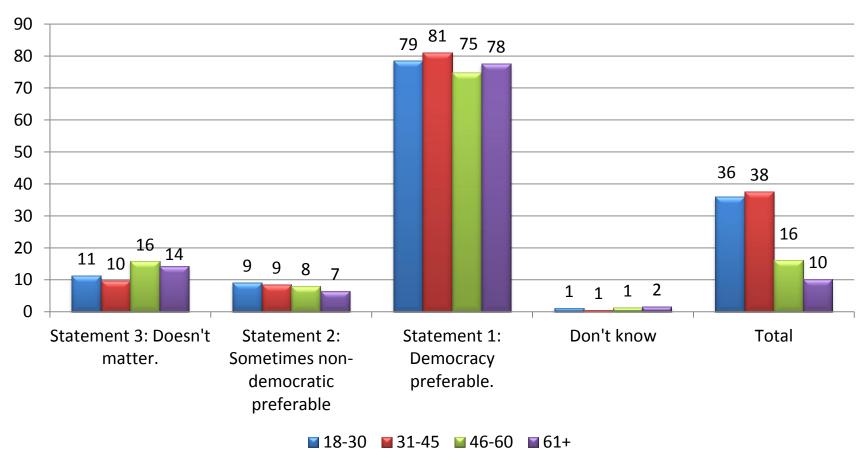
Statement 1: Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government.

Statement 2: In some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable.



Support for Democracy, by Age





Which of the following statements is closest to your view:

Statement 1: Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government.

Statement 2: In some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable.





Support for Democracy, by Province

		• , •			
		Statement 2: Sometimes	Statement 1:		Total
	Statement 3: Doesn't	non-democratic	Democracy		
	matter.	preferable	preferable.	Don't know	
Harare	14	21	65	0	13
Bulawayo	7	2	91	_	8
Midlands	16	5	76	3	11
Masvingo	19	7	73	0	11
Mashonaland East	9	10	81		10
Mashonaland West	12	9	79	0	11
Mashonaland Central	7	7	85	2	10
Matebeleland South	16	6	76	2	7
Matebeleland North	8	5	87	1	8
Manicaland	8	7	85	0	11

Which of the following statements is closest to your view:

Statement 1: Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government.

Statement 2: In some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable.



Support for Democracy, by Voting Intentions

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		Statement 2:		
		Sometimes non-	Statement 1:	
	Statement 3:	democratic	Democracy	
	Doesn't matter.	preferable	preferable.	Total
MDC-T	7	6	87	30
ZANU-PF	14	14	70	33
MDC-M	-	-	100	0
MKD	8	15	77	1
ZAPU-Dabengwa	20	20	60	0
MDC (N)	-	7	93	1
Others	-	8	92	1
Would not vote	15	10	73	9
Refused to answer	13	4	83	24
Don't know	16	9	74	2

Which of the following statements is closest to your view:

Statement 1: Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government.

Statement 2: In some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable.





Afrobarometer Round 5 Zimbabwe Survey Results:

Topic 8: Choosing Leaders Through Elections vs. Other Methods



Key Findings on Choosing Leaders Through Elections vs. Other Methods

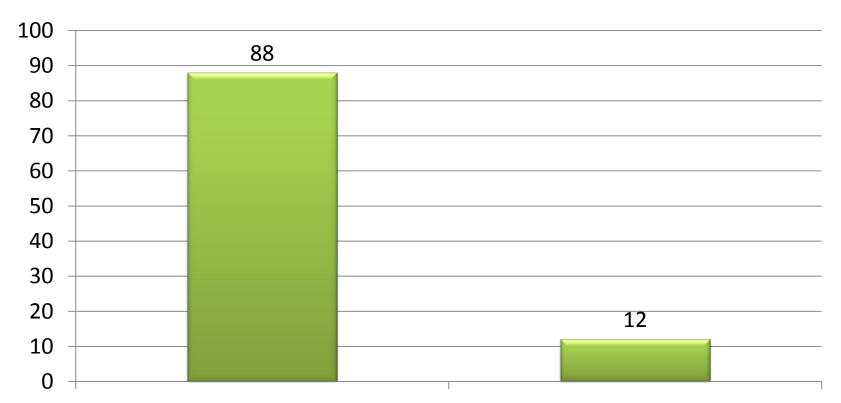


 Views of Zimbabweans converge on the need for leaders in this country to be chosen through regular, open and honest elections



Choose Leaders Through Elections vs. Other Methods





Agree & Agree very strongly with 1 Agree & Agree very strongly with 2

Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.

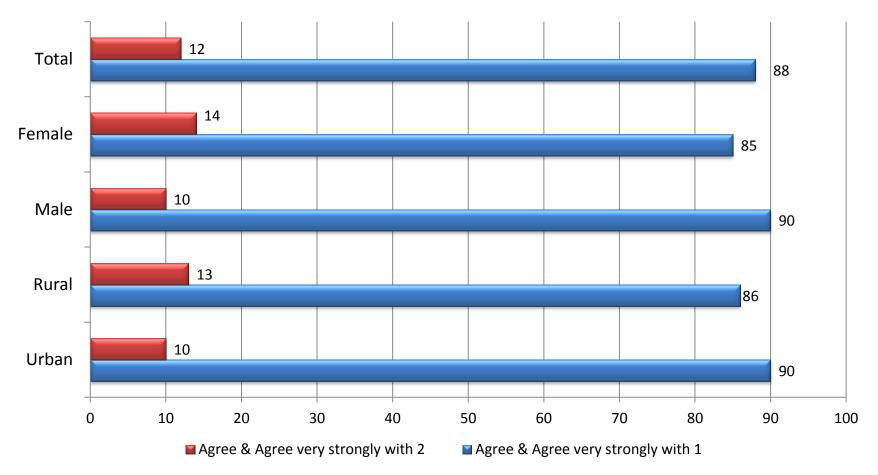
Statement 1: We should choose our leaders in this country through regular, open and honest elections.

Statement 2: Since elections sometimes produce bad results, we should adopt other methods for choosing this country's leaders.



Choose Leaders Through Elections vs. Other Methods, POR & Gender





Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2. Statement 1: We should choose our leaders in this country through regular, open and honest elections.

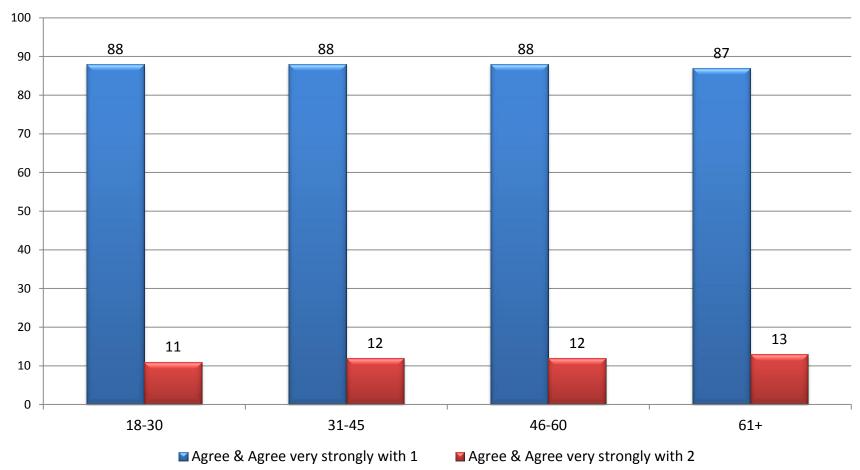
Statement 2: Since elections sometimes produce bad results, we should adopt other methods for choosing this country's leaders.

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Choose Leaders Through Elections vs. Other Methods, by Age





Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2. Statement 1: We should choose our leaders in this country through regular, open and honest elections.

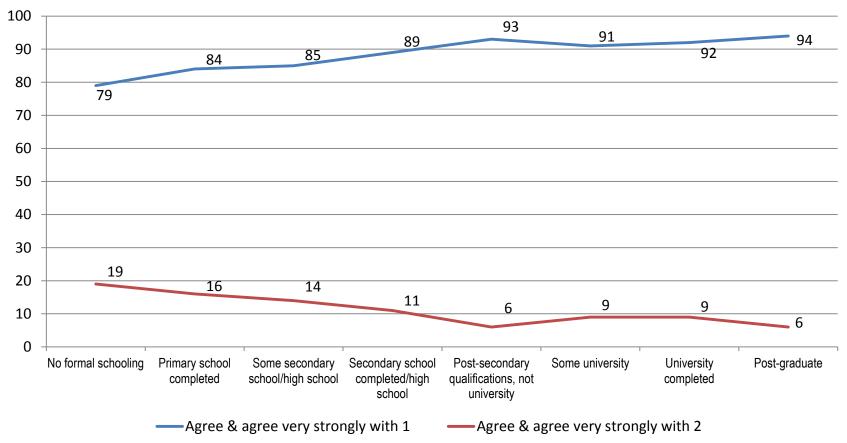
Statement 2: Since elections sometimes produce bad results, we should adopt other methods for choosing this country's leaders.

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Choose Leaders Through Elections vs. Other Methods, by Education





Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.

Statement 1: We should choose our leaders in this country through regular, open and honest elections.

Statement 2: Since elections sometimes produce bad results, we should adopt other methods for choosing this country's leaders.



Choose Leaders Through Elections vs. Other Methods, Province



Harare	Agree & Agree very strongly with 1 88	Agree & Agree very strongly with 2	Total 13
Bulawayo	93	6	8
Midlands	86	13	11
Masvingo	84	16	11
Mashonaland East	93	7	10
Mashonaland West	87	12	11
Mashonaland Central	92	7	10
Matebeleland South	70	26	7
Matebeleland North	96	4	8
Manicaland	85	15	11

Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.

Statement 1: We should choose our leaders in this country through regular, open and honest elections.

Statement 2: Since elections sometimes produce bad results, we should adopt other methods for choosing this country's leaders.



Choose Leaders Through Elections vs. Other Methods, by party affiliation



	Agree & Agree	Agree & Agree	
	very strongly with 1	very strongly with 2	Total
MDC-T	91	9	30
ZANU-PF	81	18	33
MDC-M	100	-	0
MKD	100	-	1
ZAPU-Dabengwa	100	-	0
MDC (Ncube)	86	14	1
Others	92	14	1
Would not vote	88	11	9
Refused to answer	90	9	24
Don't know	88	7	2

Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.

Statement 1: We should choose our leaders in this country through regular, open and honest elections..

Statement 2: Since elections sometimes produce bad results, we should adopt other methods for choosing this country's leaders.





Afrobarometer Round 5 Zimbabwe Survey Results:

Topic 9: Extent of Democracy





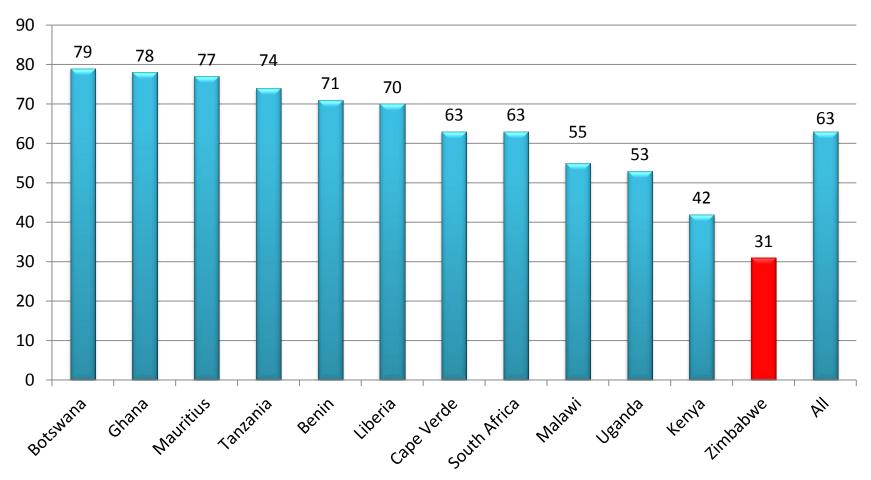
Key Findings on Extent of Democracy:

 In the main, the majority of the respondents are of the opinion that Zimbabwe is not a democracy or that it is a democracy but with major problems.



Extent of Democracy, 2012 – Comparative

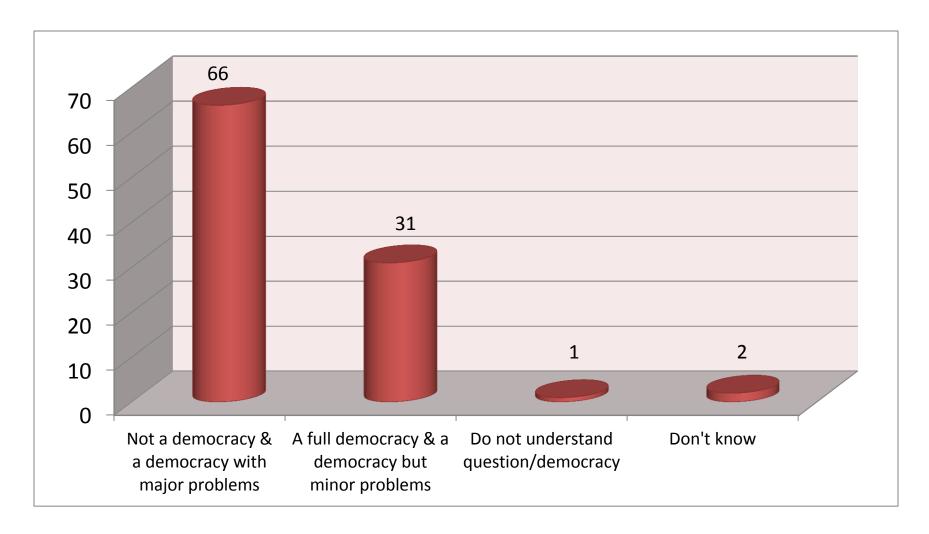






Extent of Democracy



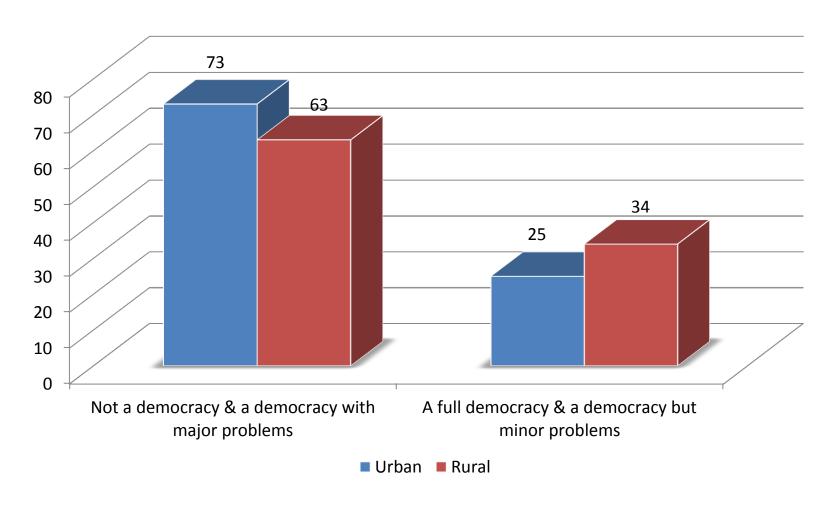


In your opinion how much of a democracy is Zimbabwe today?



Extent of Democracy: Rural vs. Urban





In your opinion how much of a democracy is Zimbabwe today?



Extent of Democracy, by Province



	Not a democracy or a democracy with major problems	A full democracy ora democracy with minor problems	Do not understand question/democracy	Don't know
Harare	60	38	1	0
Bulawayo	89	8	1	2
Midlands	76	16	5	4
Masvingo	73	25	1	2
Mashonaland East	60	38	0	2
Mashonaland West	60	40	0	
Mashonaland Central	52	45	2	1
Matebeleland South	62	32	2	5
Matebeleland North	69	28	3	1
Manicaland	66	33		2

In your opinion how much of a democracy is Zimbabwe today?



Extent of Democracy, by Age & Gender



	18-30	31-45	46-60	61+	Male	Female
Not a democracy or a democracy with major problems	69	68	64	55	68	64
A full democracy or a democracy with minor problems	28	32	32	39	30	32
Do not understand question/democracy	2	1	2	3	1	2
Don't know	2	1	3	3	2	2

In your opinion how much of a democracy is Zimbabwe today?





Afrobarometer Round 5 Zimbabwe Survey Results:

Topic 10: Satisfaction with Democracy



Key Findings on Satisfaction with Democracy:



 Results show that Zimbabweans are not satisfied with the state of democracy in their country. But level of satisfaction with state of democracy differs sharply with one's political party affiliation and place of residence.



Satisfaction with Democracy, by Party Affiliation



	Zimbabwe is	Not very	Fairly	Don't Know
	not a	satisfied &	satisfied &	
	Democracy	not at all	very satisfied	
		satisfied		
MDC-T	11	76	12	1
ZANU-PF	4	32	62	2
MDC-M	-	100	0	_
MKD	15	77	8	-
ZAPU-Dabengwa	40	40	20	-
MDC-N	15	77	8	-
Others	9	73	18	-
Would not vote	11	62	20	7
Refused to answer	10	66	21	3
Don't know	10	53	37	-
Total	9	58	31	2

Overall, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in Zimbabwe? Are you:



Satisfaction with Democracy, by Gender & POR



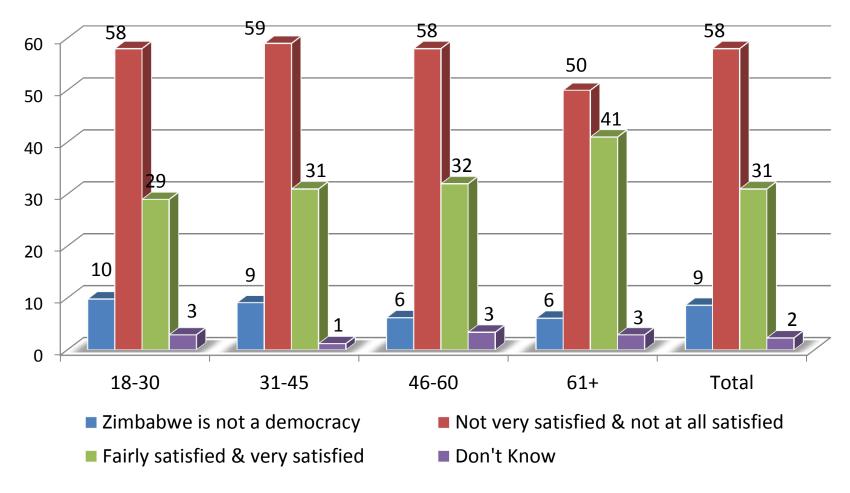
	Male	Female	Urban	Rural	Total
Zimbabwe is not a democracy	10	8	10	8	9
Not very satisfied & not at all satisfied	58	58	66	54	58
Fairly satisfied & very satisfied	31	32	22	36	31
Don't Know	2	3	2	3	2

Overall, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in Zimbabwe? Are you:



Satisfaction with Democracy, by Age





Overall, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in Zimbabwe? Are you:



Conclusions



- Generally, Zimbabweans feel that the country's macro-economic conditions are very bad or fairly bad
- Despite dissatisfaction with the progress of the economy, Zimbabweans expressed hope that things will improve in the near future.



Conclusions cont.



 A majority of Zimbabweans are in favour of bringing perpetrators of political crimes to book and this opinion cuts across gender, education, place of residence and even political affiliation



Conclusions cont.



- Zimbabweans overwhelmingly support the need for leaders in this country to be chosen through regular, open and honest elections
- Across all walks of life, Zimbabweans find democracy preferable to any other kind of government
- Generally, a majority of the respondents are of the opinion that Zimbabwe is not a democracy or is a democracy with major problems



Conclusions cont.



 Generally, Zimbabweans are not satisfied with the state of democracy in their country. More urban than rural respondents are not satisfied. More ZANU-PF sympathisers are satisfied with the state of democracy compared to supporters of other parties.







For more information and publications, please contact the Mass Public Opinion Institute (MPOI – www.mpoi.net) and visit the Afrobarometer website at: