



**Performance of elected leaders, opposition parties;  
Elections; Zimbabwe's foreign relations; and migration  
in Southern Africa**

**Findings from Afrobarometer Round 6 Survey in  
Zimbabwe**



21 May 2015  
Bulawayo, Zimbabwe

# At a glance

- **Performance of elected leaders** : A majority approves of the performance of President Robert Mugabe.
- **Public opinion on opposition parties** : Opinion split on whether opposition political parties offer viable alternatives; opposition parties and politicians urged to accept defeat and cooperate with government to help it develop the country.
- **Elections**: A majority of Zimbabweans want regular, open and honest elections.
- **Zimbabwe's foreign relations** : South Africa seen as the best development model for Zimbabwe, while China is regarded as the country with most influence on the country.



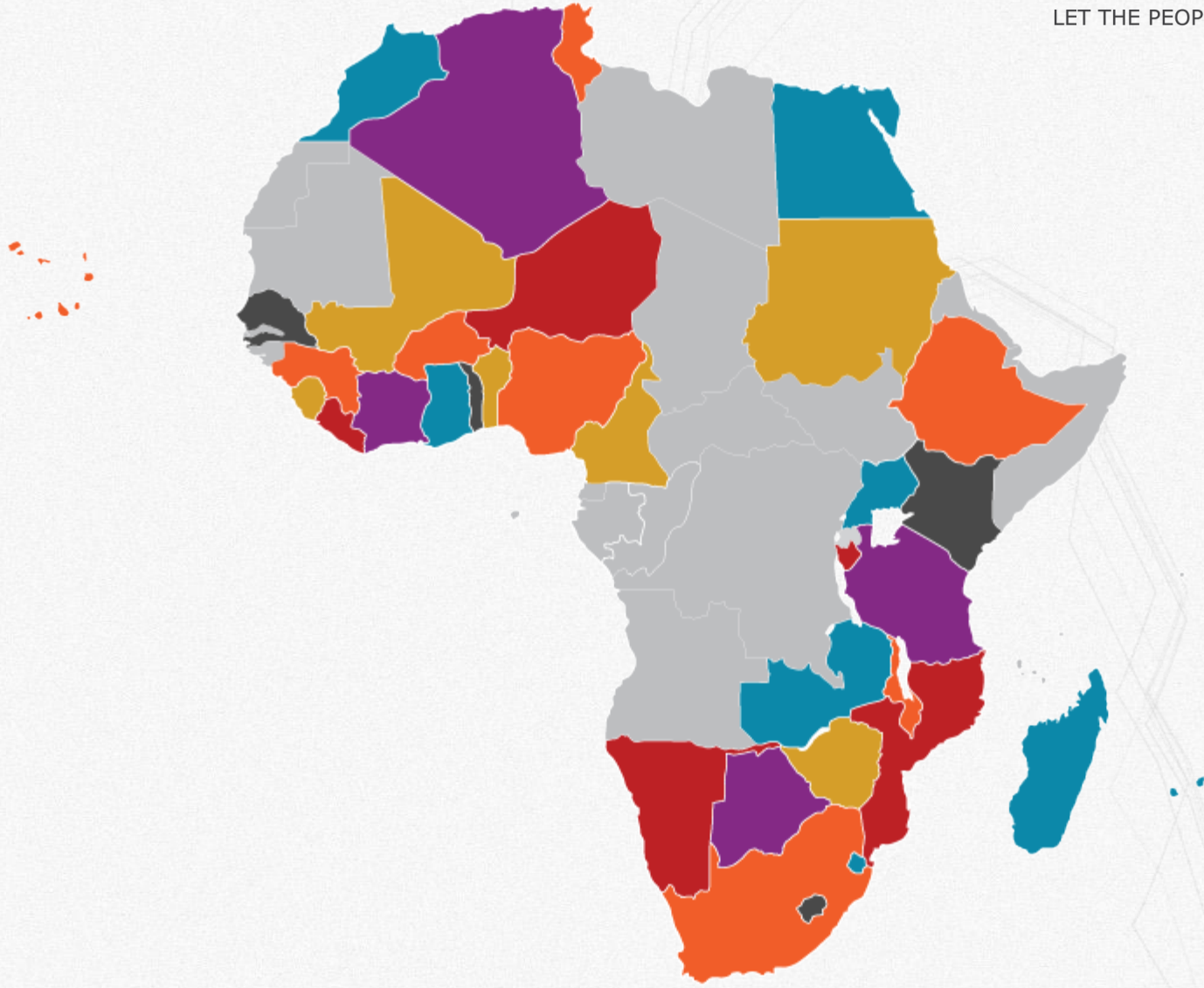
# What is Afrobarometer?



- An African-led, non-partisan survey research project that measures citizen attitudes on democracy and governance, the economy, civil society, and other topics.
- Started in 12 countries in 1999, expanded to 35 African countries in Round 5 (2011-2013).
- **Goal:** To give the public a voice in policymaking by providing high-quality public opinion data to policymakers, policy advocates, civil society organizations, academics, news media, donors and investors, and ordinary Africans.
- National Partners in each country conduct the survey. In Zimbabwe, Afrobarometer Round 6 survey was conducted by the Mass Public Opinion Institute (MPOI)



# Where Afrobarometer works



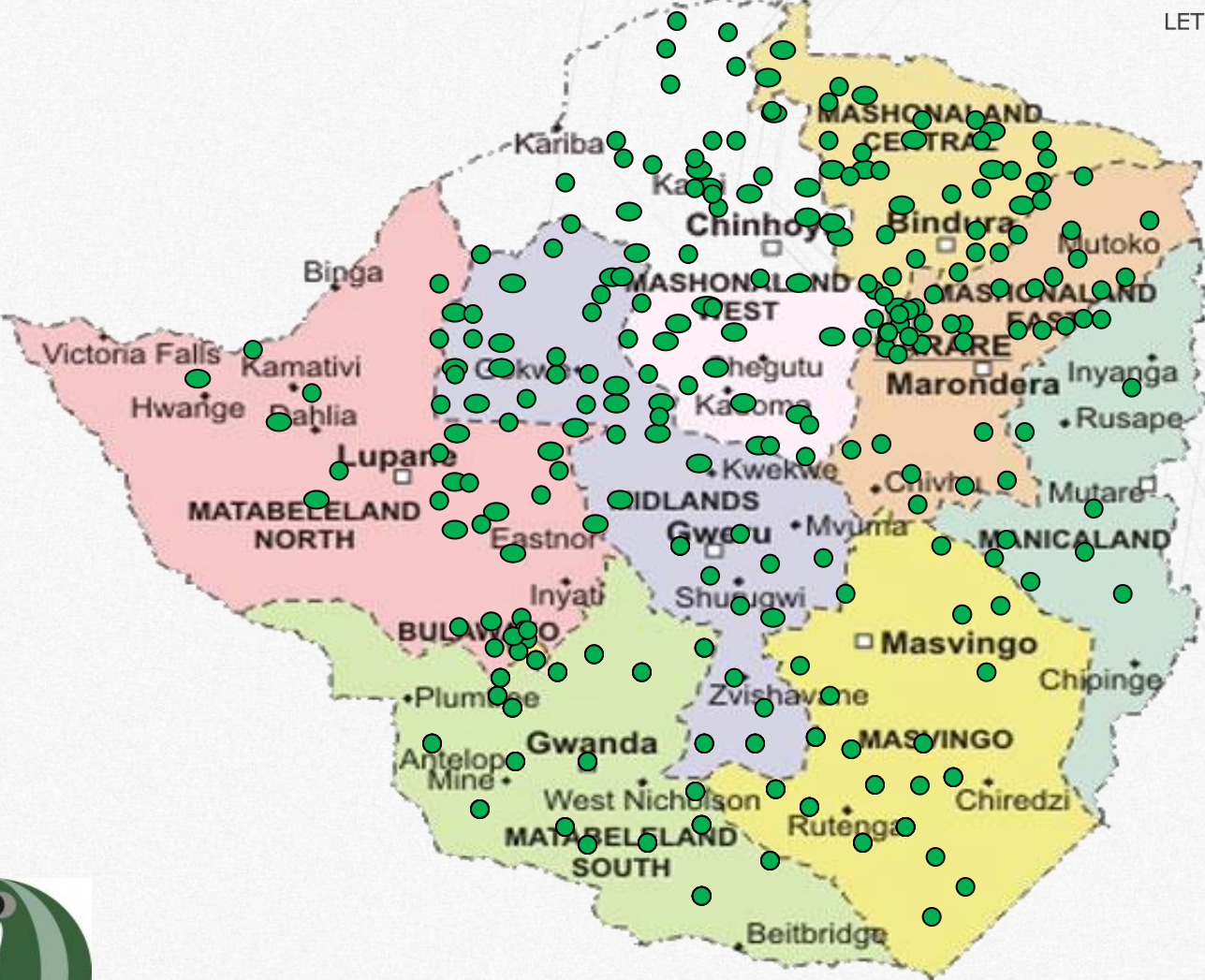
# Methodology



- Nationally representative sample of adult citizens
  - All respondents are *randomly* selected.
  - Sample is distributed across provinces and urban/rural areas in proportion to their share in the national population.
  - Every adult citizen has an *equal* chance of being selected.
- Face-to-face interviews in the language of the respondent's choice.
- Standard questionnaire allows comparisons across countries and over time.
- Sample size in Zimbabwe of **2,400** adult citizens yields a margin of error of +/-2% at a **95%** confidence level.
- Fieldwork for Round 6 in Zimbabwe was conducted between **16** and **29 November 2014**.



# Enumerator map



# Survey demographics

		Unweighted	Weighted
<b>Gender</b>			
	Male	50	50
	Female	50	50
<b>Location</b>			
	Urban	37	37
	Rural	63	63
<b>Province</b>			
	Harare	19	19
	Bulawayo	6	6
	Midlands	12	12
	Masvingo	10	10
	Mashonaland East	10	10
	Mashonaland West	11	12
	Mashonaland Central	9	9
	Matabeleland South	5	5
	Matabeleland North	5	5
	Manicaland	13	13
<b>Education</b>			
	No formal education	7	7
	Primary	23	23
	Secondary	56	55
	Post-secondary	14	14
<b>Religion</b>			
	Christian	89	89
	Muslim	0	0
	Other	10	10



# Results







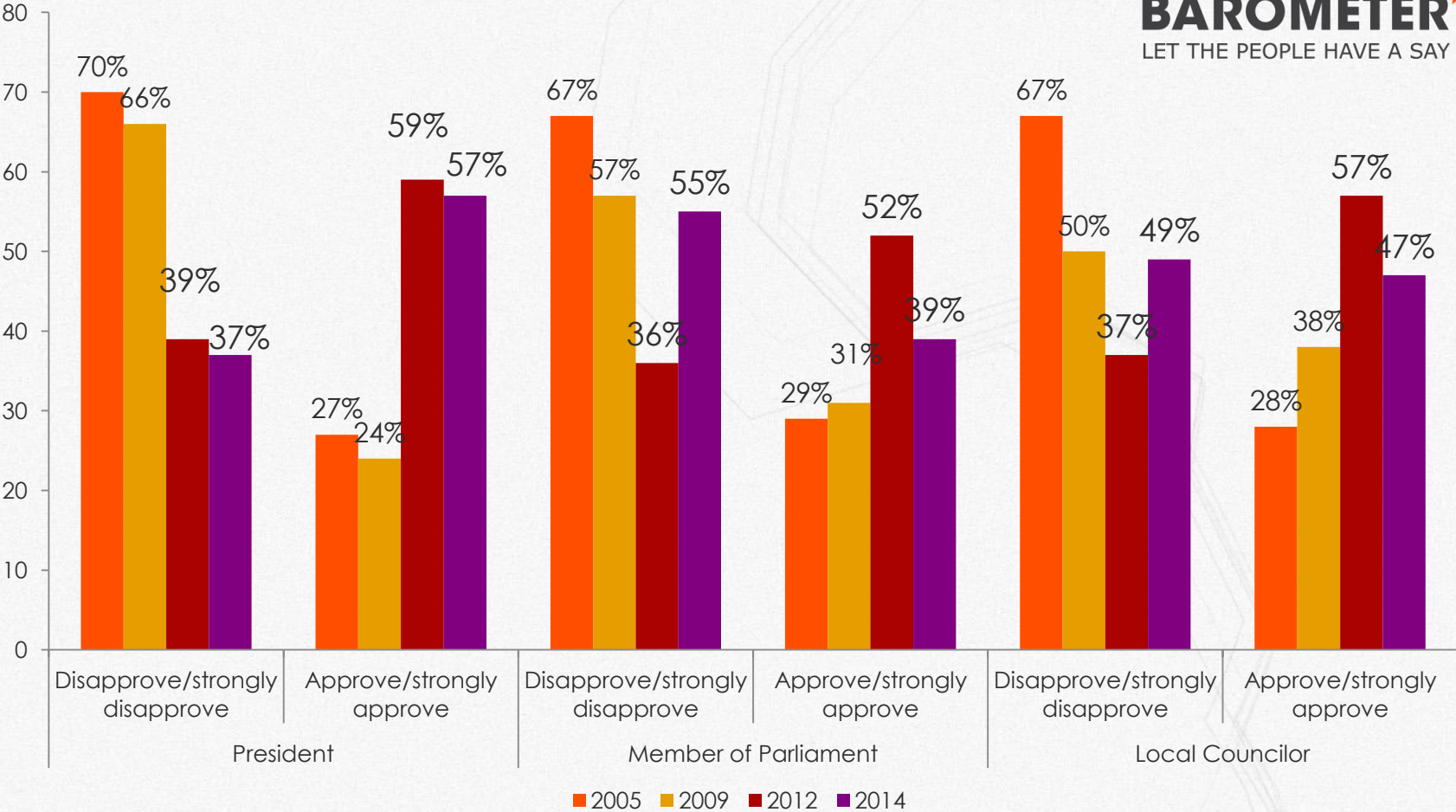
# Performance of elected leaders



# Key findings

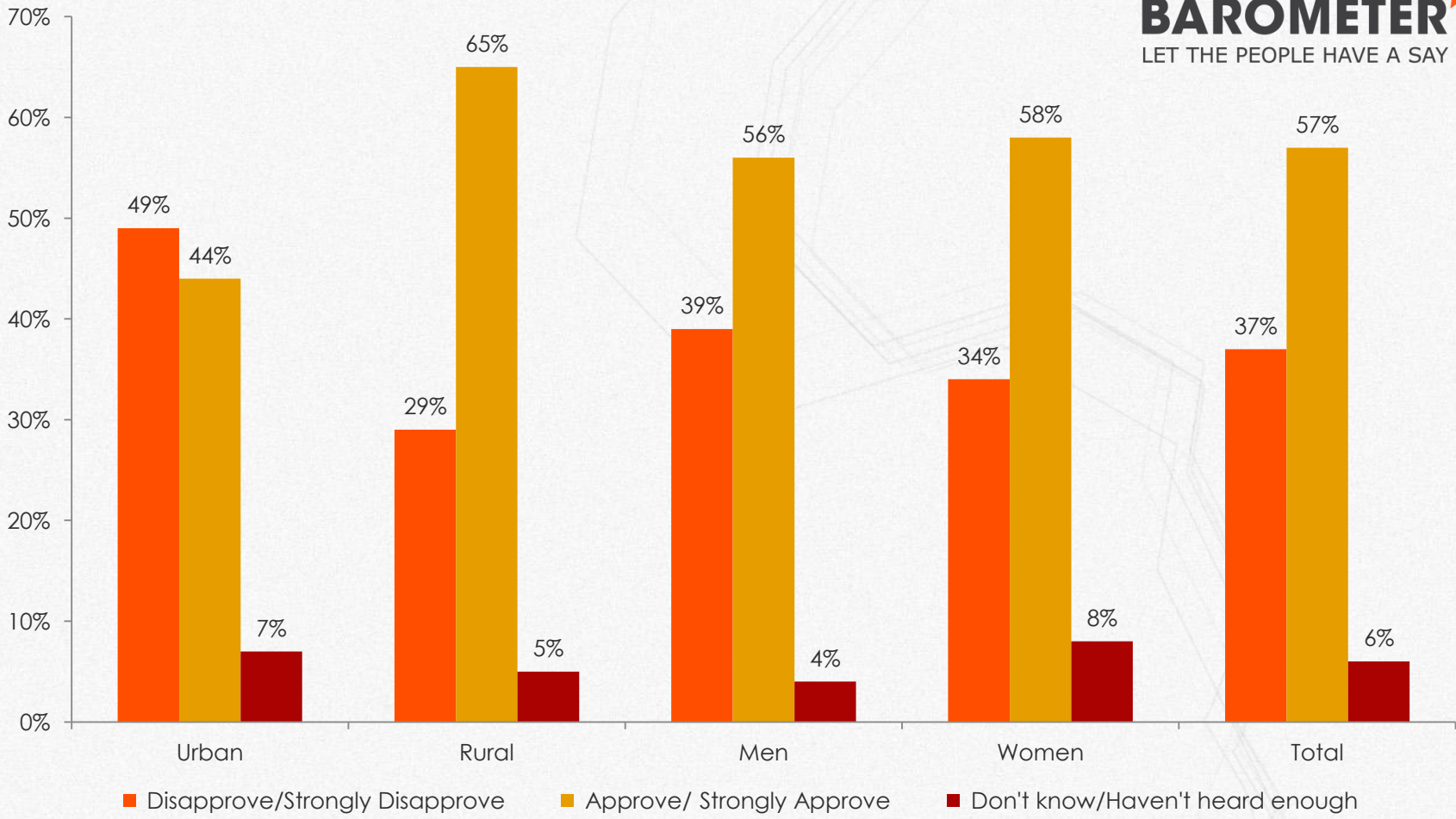
- A majority of Zimbabweans approve of President Mugabe and traditional leaders' performance
- Majority disapprove of the performance of MPs and elected local government councilors over the past 12 months.

# Performance of elected leaders (2005-2014)



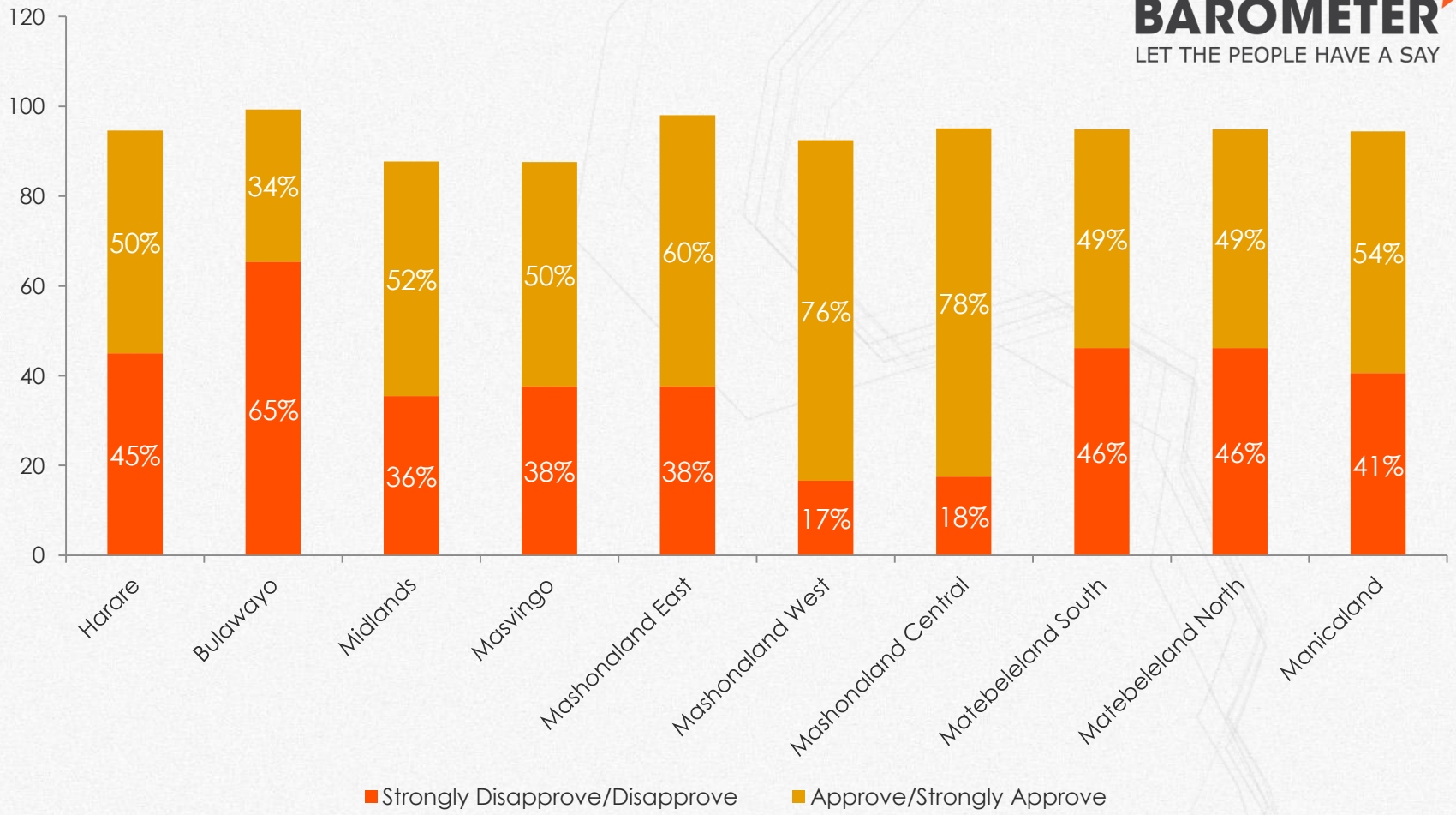
• Question : Do you approve or disapprove of the way that the following people have performed their jobs over the past 12 months, or haven't you heard enough about them to say:

# President Robert Mugabe's performance by location and gender.



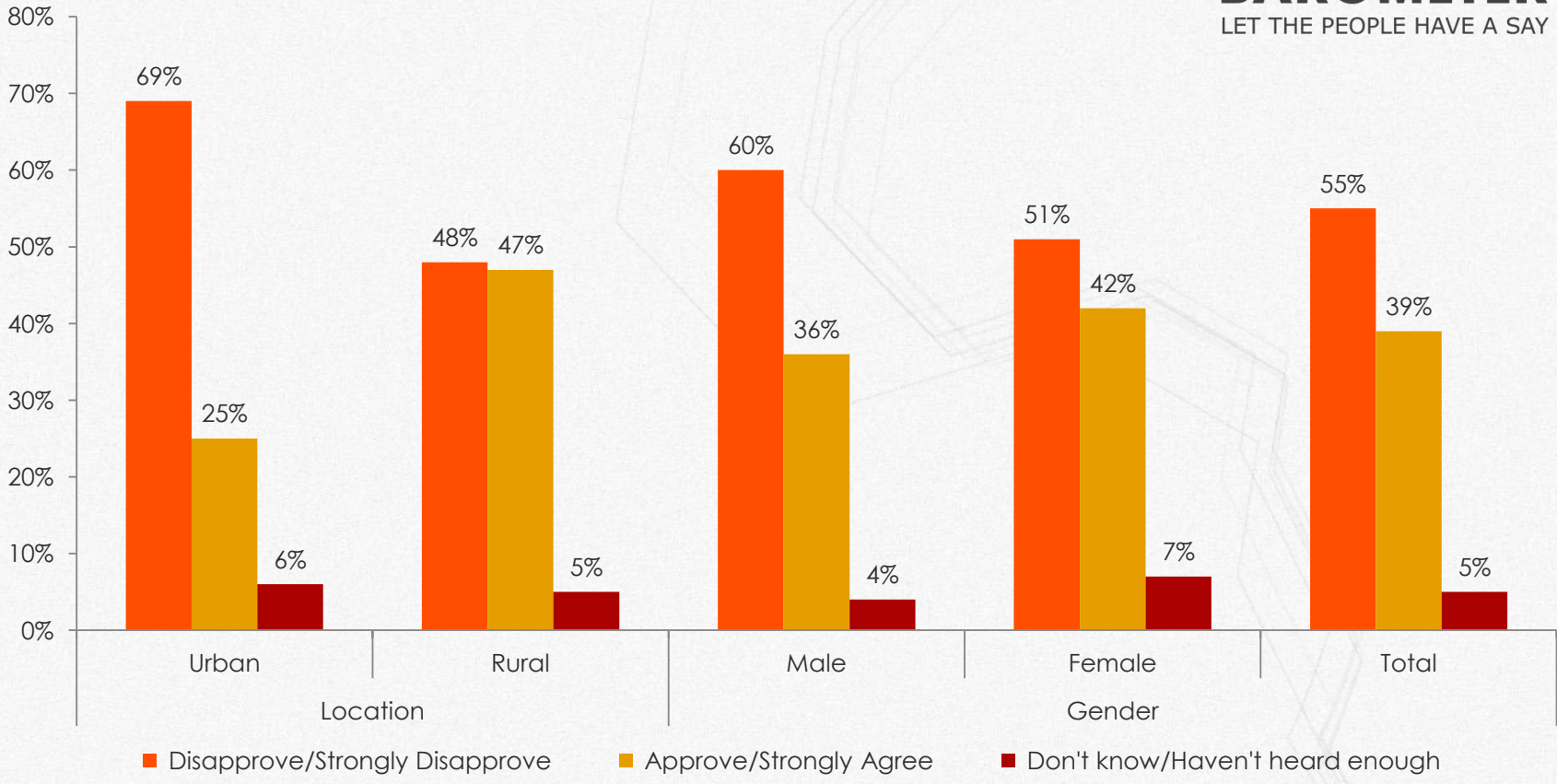
**Question:** Do you approve or disapprove of the way that the following people have performed their jobs over the past 12 months, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: President Robert Mugabe?

# President's performance by province



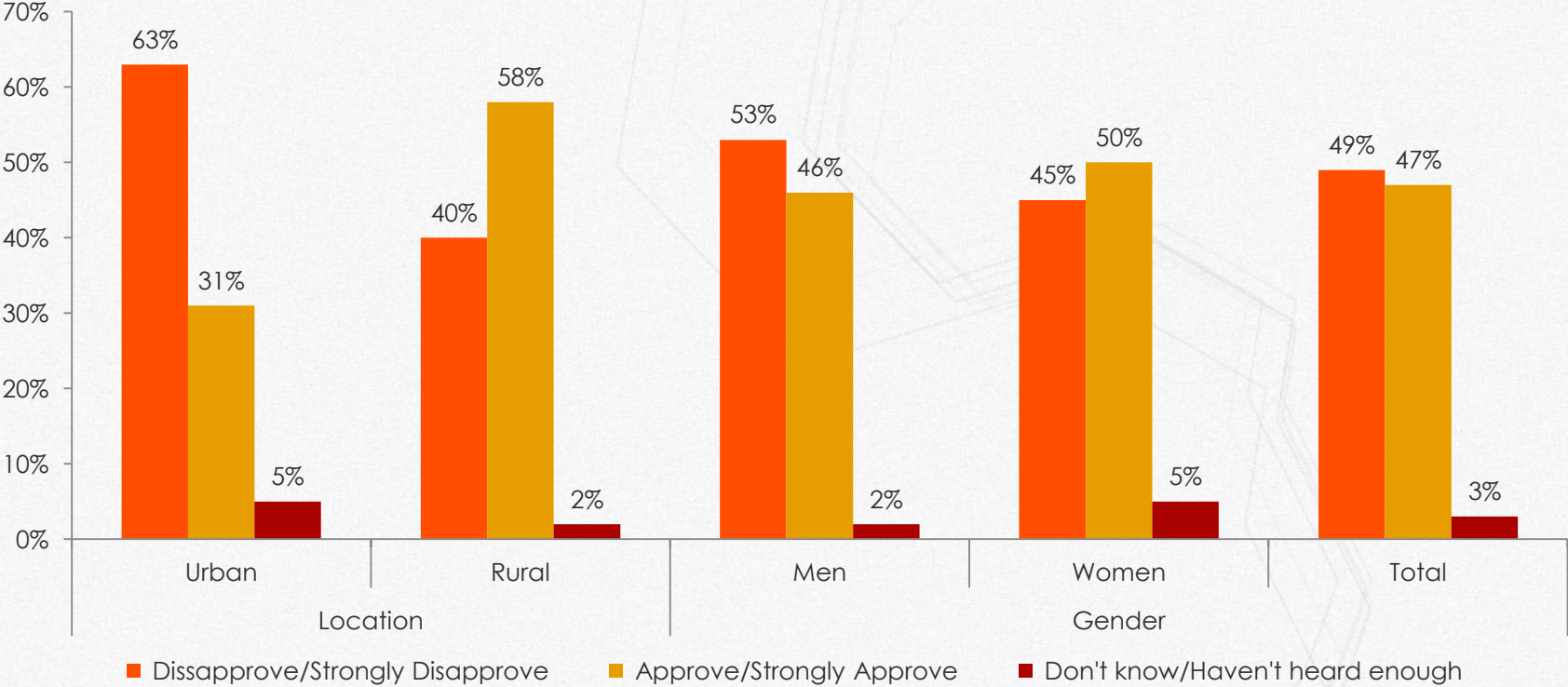
**Question :** Do you approve or disapprove of the way that the following people have performed their jobs over the past 12 months, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: President

# Performance of MPs by location and gender.



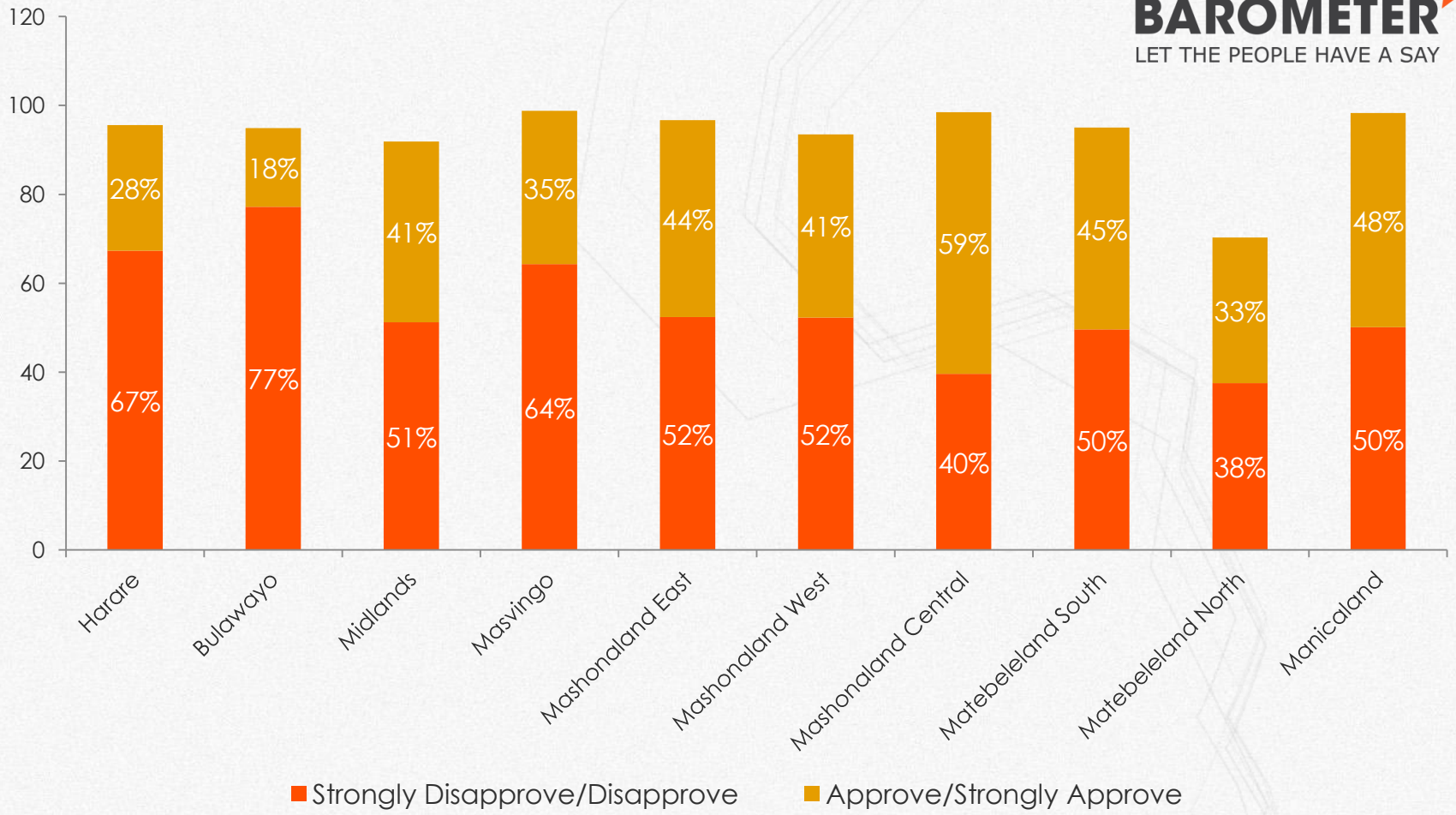
**Question:** Do you approve or disapprove of the way that the following people have performed their jobs over the past 12 months, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: Your Member of Parliament?

# Performance of local government councillors by location and gender



**Question:** Do you approve or disapprove of the way that the following people have performed their jobs over the past 12 months, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: Your elected local government councillor?

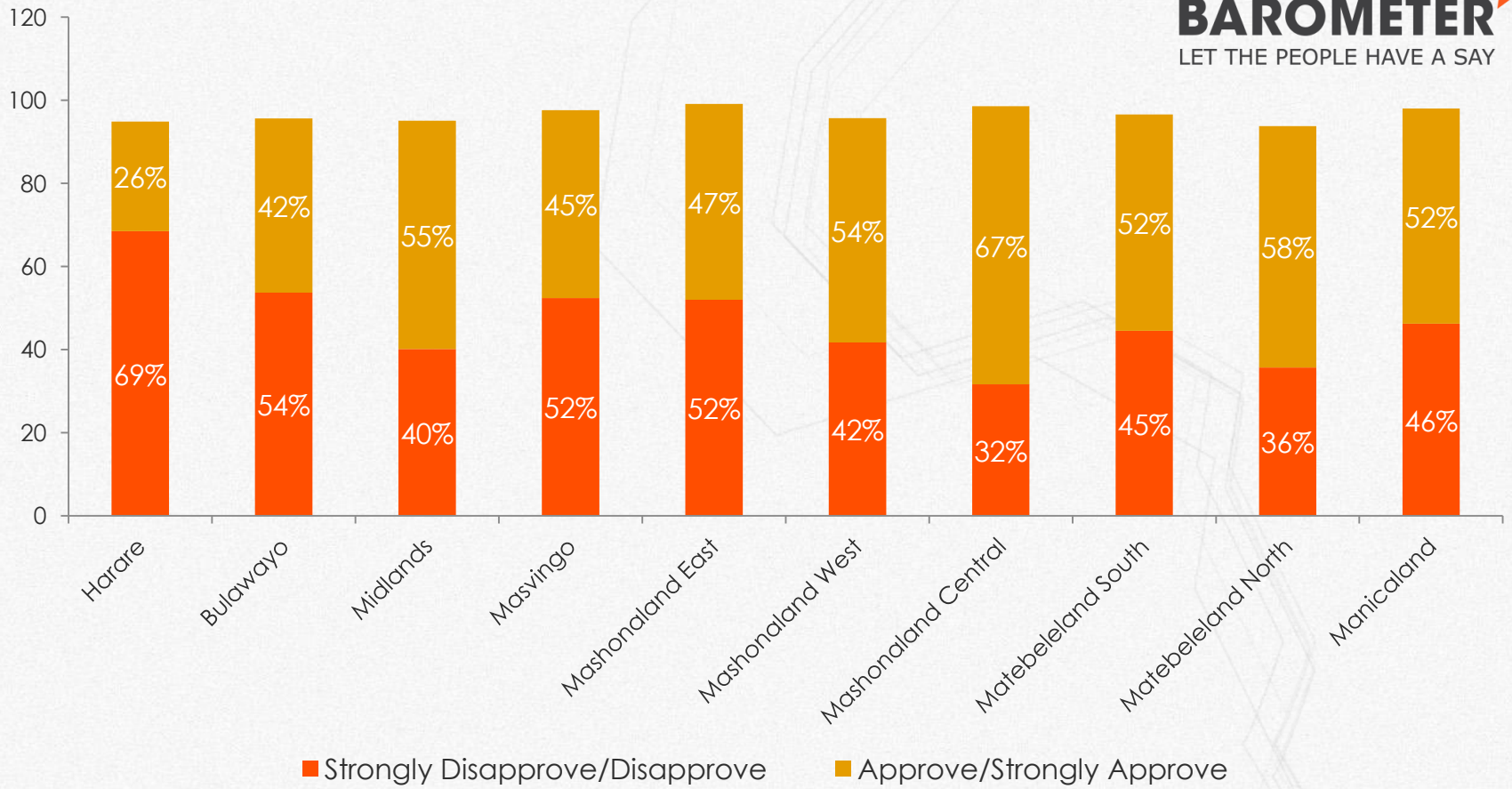
# Evaluation of the performance of MPs by province



• **Question :** Do you approve or disapprove of the way that the following people have performed their jobs over the past 12 months, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: MP



# Performance of local government councilor by province



• **Question :** Do you approve or disapprove of the way that the following people have performed their jobs over the past 12 months, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: local government councilor



# Public Opinion on Opposition Political Parties

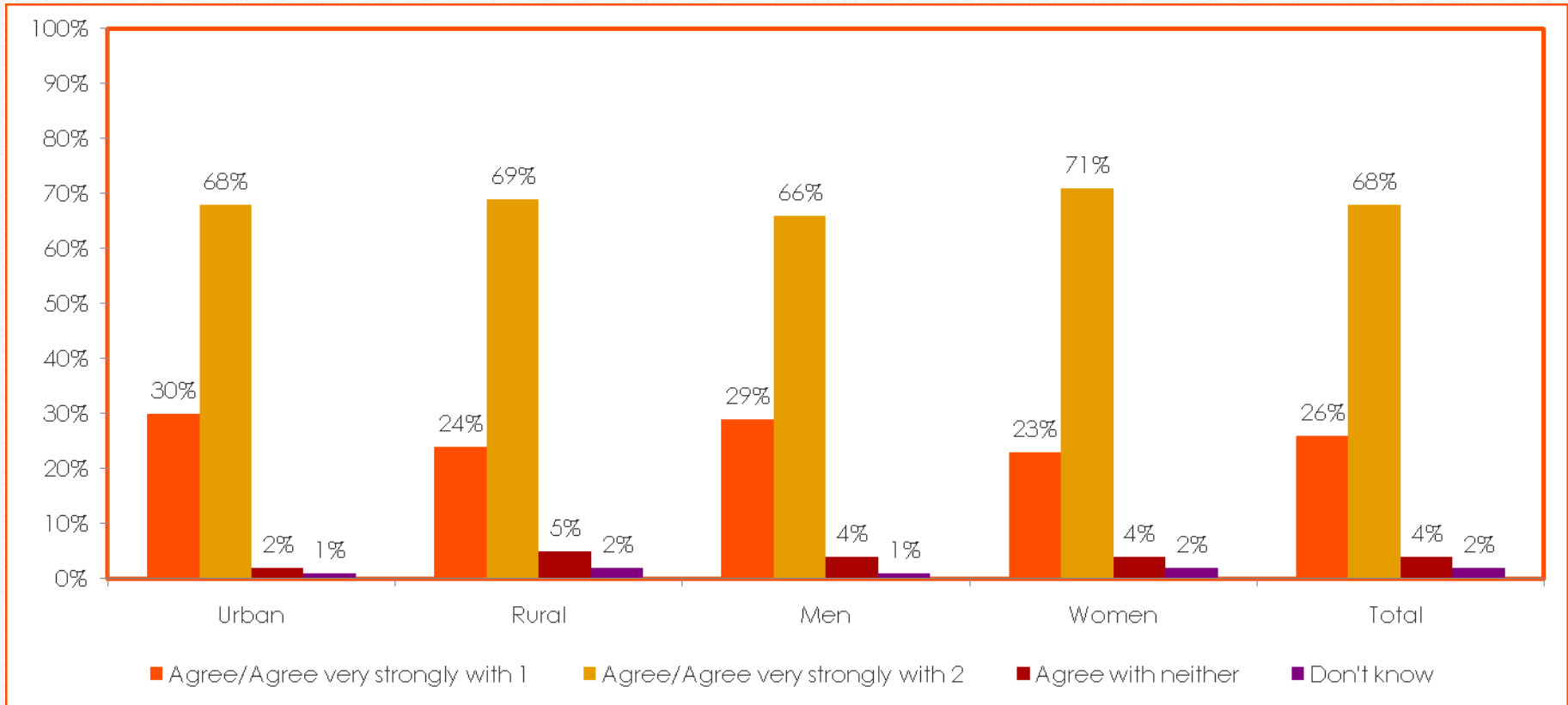


# Key findings



- Zimbabweans think that once an election is over, opposition parties and politicians should accept defeat and cooperate with government to help it develop the country.
- A plurality of adult Zimbabweans thinks that the opposition is often/always silenced by the government and that 'sometimes' opposition candidates are prevented from running for office
- Zimbabweans see economic and development policies, the honesty or integrity of party leaders and the experience of party leaders as the most important differences between the ruling party and opposition parties in the country.
- Opinion is divided on whether the political opposition in Zimbabwe presents a viable alternative vision and plan for the country.

# Role of opposition parties after losing elections



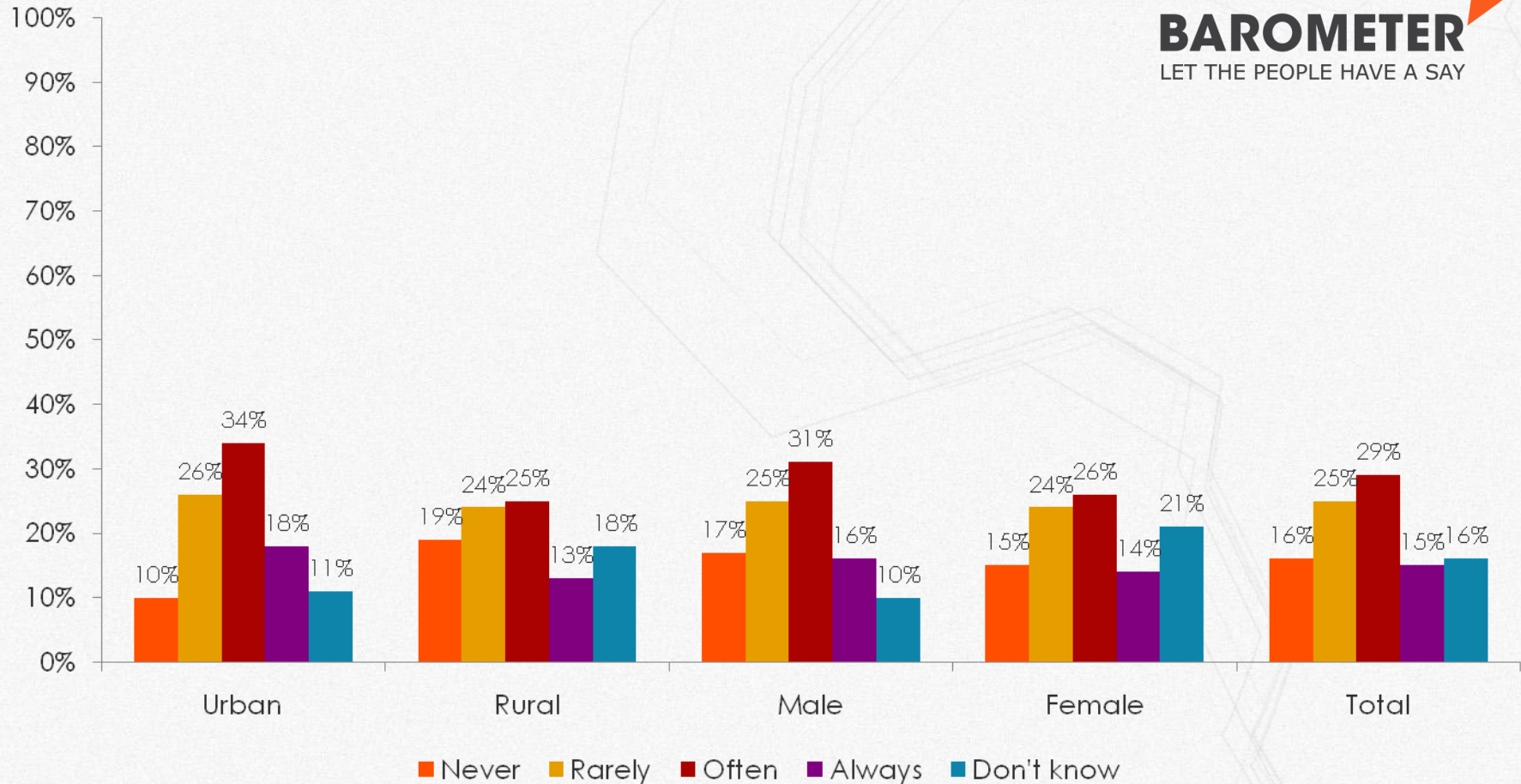
- **Question:** Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.  
*[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion: Do you agree or agree very strongly?]*
- **Statement 1:** After losing an election, opposition parties should monitor and criticize the government in order to hold it accountable.
- **Statement 2:** Once an election is over, opposition parties and politicians should accept defeat and cooperate with government to help it develop the country.

# Role of opposition parties after losing elections by province

	Agree/ Agree very strongly with 2	Agree/ Agree very strongly with 1	Agree with neither	Don't know
Bulawayo	88%	12%	1%	
Matabeleland North	88%	10%	2%	
Mashonaland West	77%	18%	4%	1%
Mashonaland Central	71%	24%	3%	2%
Harare	70%	29%	1%	1%
Manicaland	67%	28%	1%	4%
Matabeleland South	64%	31%		5%
Midlands	64%	30%	6%	1%
Mashonaland East	62%	27%	9%	2%
Masvingo	49%	40%	10%	1%
<b>Average</b>	<b>70%</b>	<b>25%</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>2%</b>

- **Question:** Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.  
*[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion: Do you agree or agree very strongly?]*
- **Statement 1:** After losing an election, opposition parties should monitor and criticize the government in order to hold it accountable.
- **Statement 2:** Once an election is over, opposition parties and politicians should accept defeat and cooperate with government to help it develop the country.

# How often opposition parties silenced by government



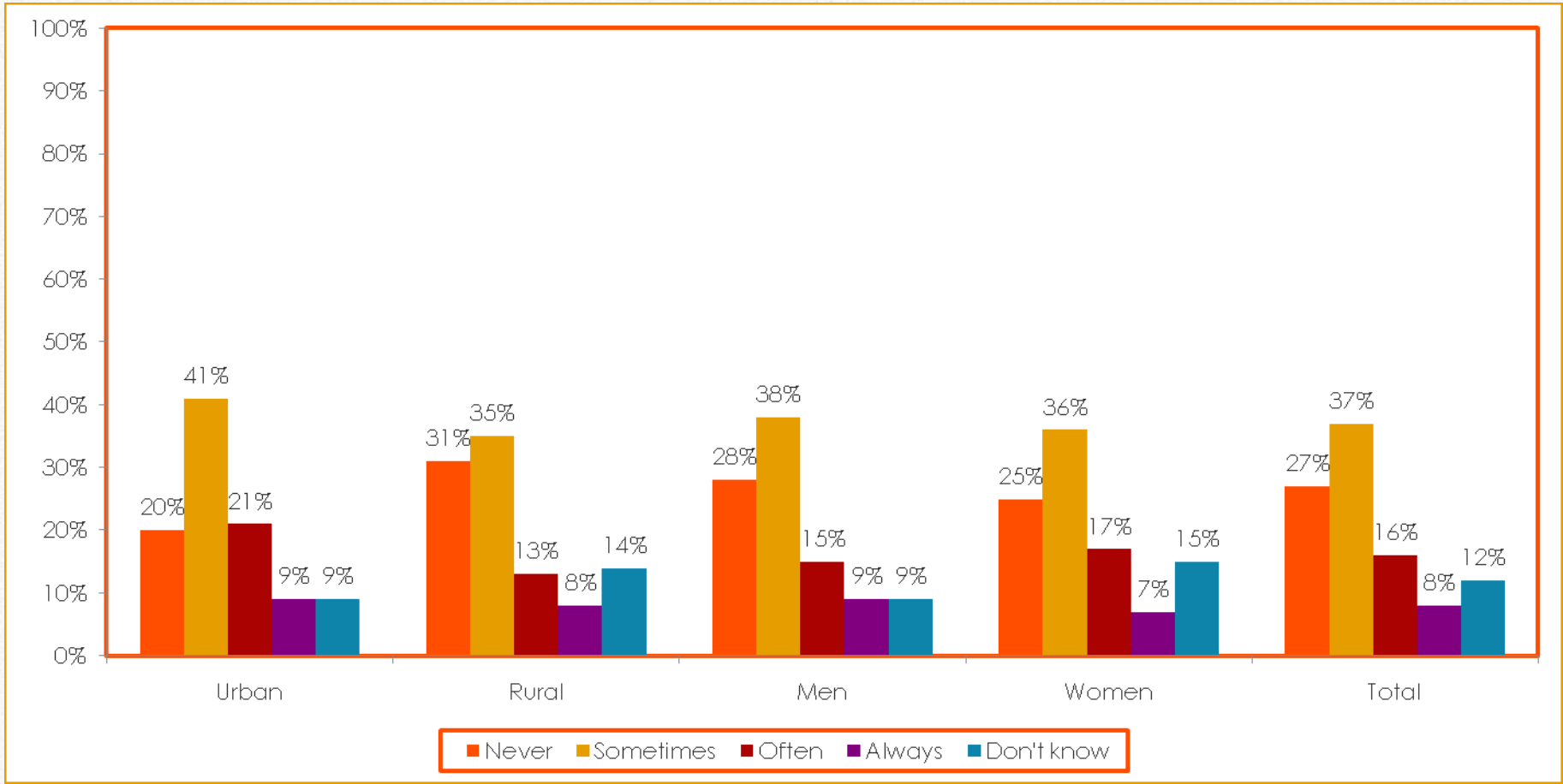
- **Question:** In your opinion, how often, in this country: *[Read out options]*
- d) Are opposition parties or their supporters silenced by the government?

# How often opposition parties silenced by government

	Often/Always	Rarely	Never	Don't know
Bulawayo	58	22	13	7
Harare	52	30	11	7
Masvingo	46	36	13	5
Mashonaland East	45	25	13	17
Manicaland	45	23	15	17
Midlands	40	12	26	23
Mashonaland West	39	30	18	14
Matebeleleland South	39	9	23	29
Mashonaland Central	36	27	17	20
Matebeleleland North	26	19	17	38
Average	43%	23%	17%	17%

- **Question:** In your opinion, how often, in this country: *[Read out options]*
- d) Are opposition parties or their supporters silenced by the government?

# Opposition prevented from running in elections



- **Question:** In your opinion, how often do the following things occur in this country's elections? *[Read out options]*
- b) Opposition candidates are prevented from running for office



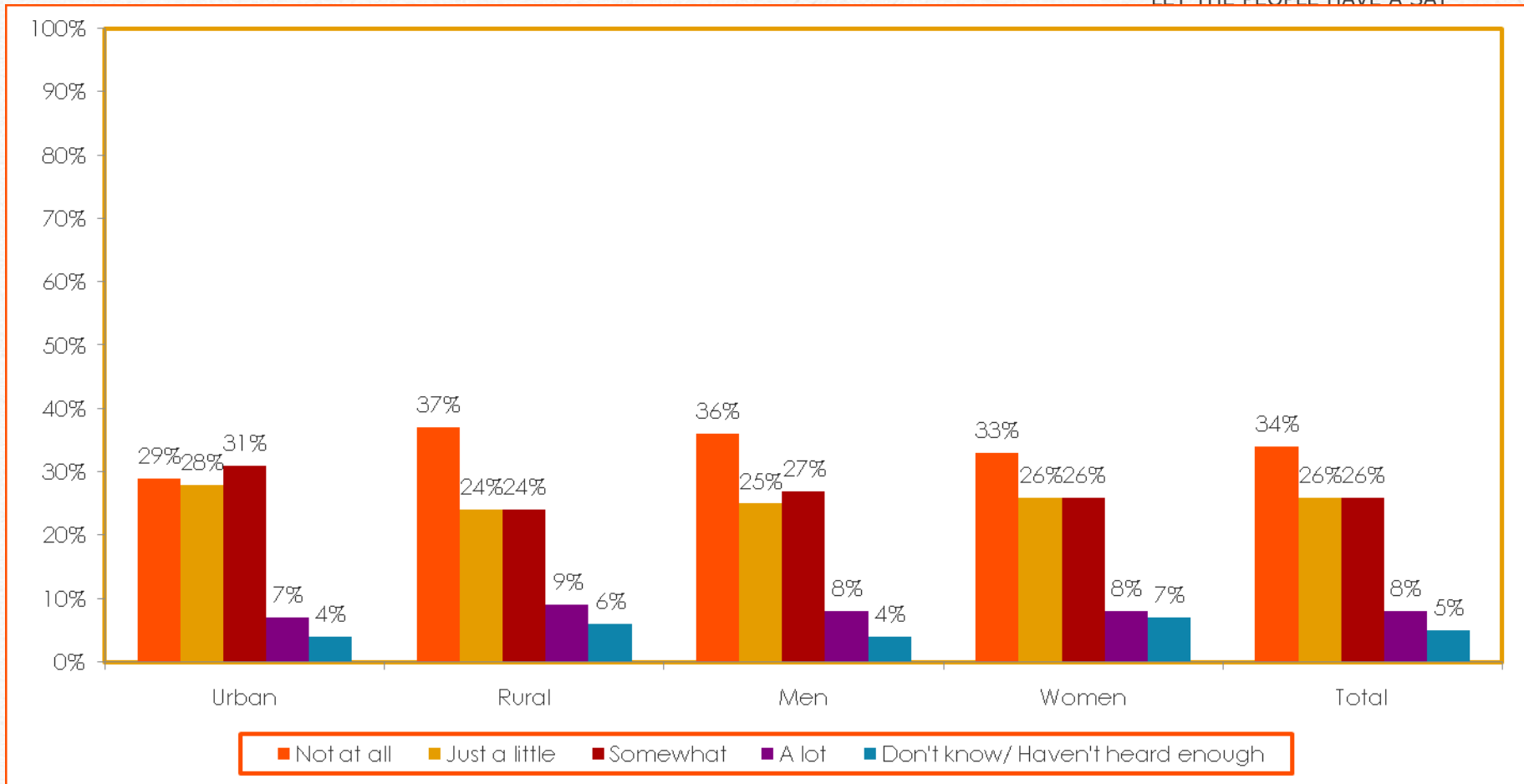
# Opposition prevented from running in elections by province



	Often/Always	Sometimes	Never	Don't know
Harare	36	37	21	7
Masvingo	33	39	25	3
Bulawayo	24	50	22	4
Matebeleland South	24	25	29	22
Manicaland	22	35	30	13
Midlands	22	35	30	14
Mashonaland Central	22	29	32	17
Mashonaland East	18	42	30	11
Mashonaland West	18	45	25	13
Matebeleland North	12	29	29	31
<b>Average</b>	<b>24%</b>	<b>37%</b>	<b>27%</b>	<b>12%</b>

- **Question:** In your opinion, how often do the following things occur in this country's elections? [Read out options]
- b) Opposition candidates are prevented from running for office

# Trust in opposition political parties



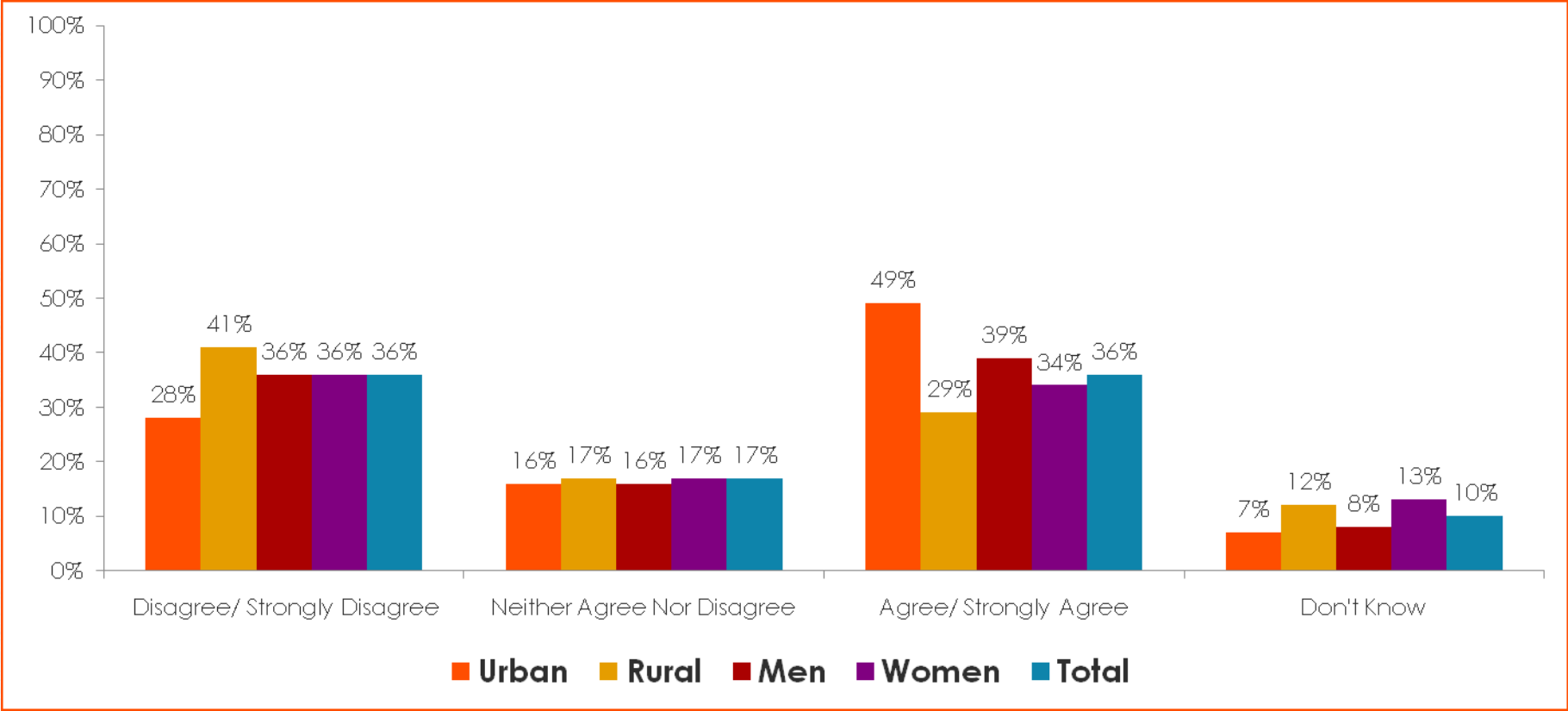
- **Question:** How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say?  
[Read out options]
- g) Opposition Political Parties

# Main difference between ruling and opposition parties

	Urban	Rural	Men	Women
Their economic and development policies	34%	26%	30%	27%
There is no difference	17%	12%	15%	13%
The honesty or integrity of party leaders	15%	17%	17%	15%
The experience of party leaders	13%	16%	16%	14%
The personalities of party leaders	8%	9%	8%	9%
The ethnicity of party leaders or members	3%	1%	2%	2%
The regional identity of party leaders or members	1%	1%	1%	2%
The religion of party leaders or members	1%	2%	1%	2%
None of these / Some other answer	2%	3%	2%	2%
Don't know	6%	13%	7%	13%

• **Question:** Which of the following do you see as the most important difference between the ruling party and opposition parties in Zimbabwe? [Read out options.]

# Political opposition is a viable alternative



- **Question:** Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statement: The political opposition in Zimbabwe presents a viable alternative vision and plan for the country. [Probe for strength of opinion]

# Political opposition is viable alternative



	Disagree/ Strongly Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree/ Strongly Agree	Don't Know
Harare	33	11	51	6
Bulawayo	29	21	49	2
Midlands	34	17	37	12
Masvingo	34	28	30	7
Mashonaland East	41	18	34	7
Mashonaland West	52	15	25	9
Mashonaland Central	45	9	31	15
Matebeleland South	39	16	32	13
Matebeleland North	32	23	26	19
Manicaland	25	18	39	19
<b>Average</b>	<b>36%</b>	<b>17%</b>	<b>37%</b>	<b>10%</b>

- Question:** Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statement: The political opposition in Zimbabwe presents a viable alternative vision and plan for the country. *[Probe for strength of opinion]*

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# Issues on elections

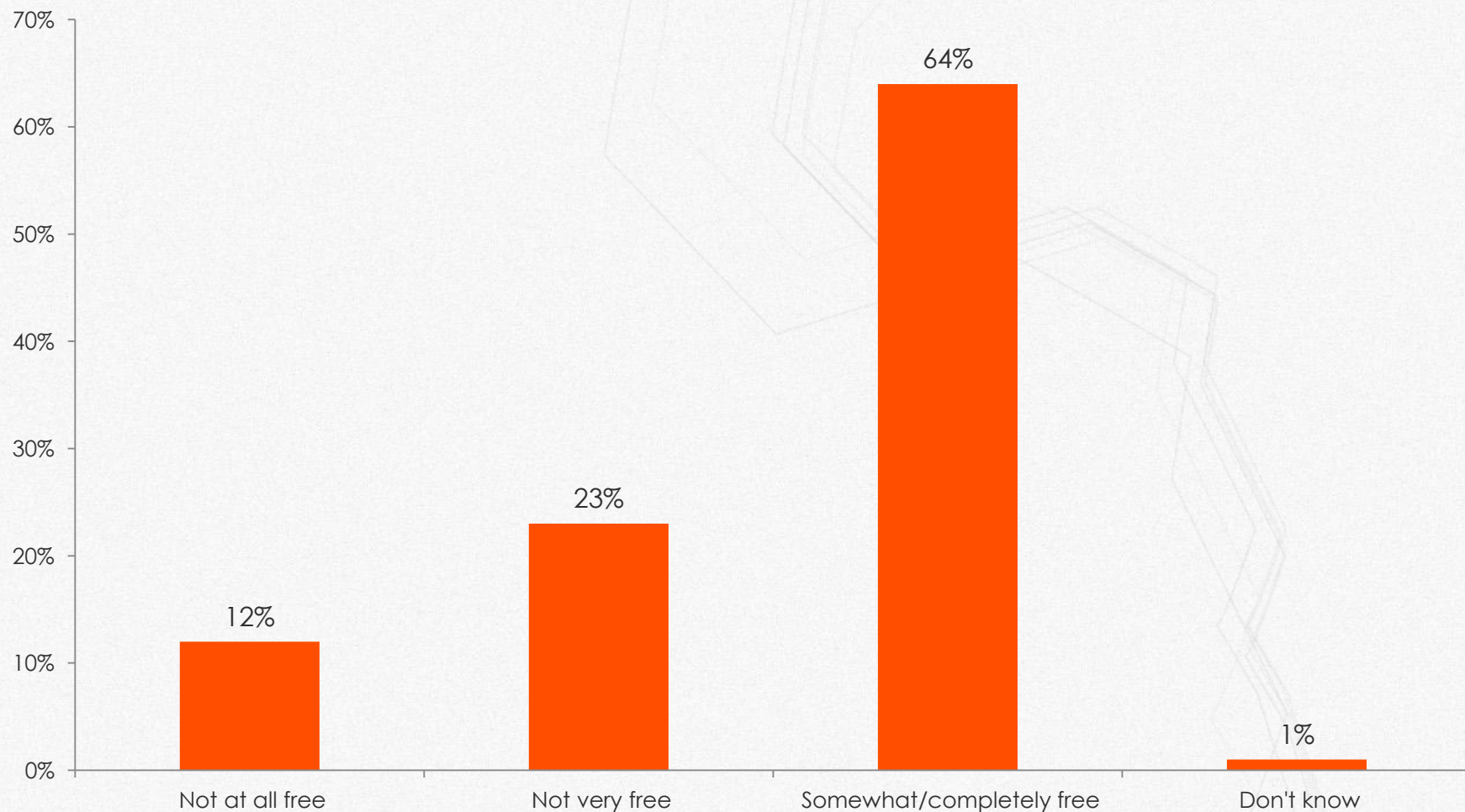


# Key findings



- A majority of Zimbabweans feel the country should choose its leadership through regular, open and honest elections.
- Participation in election-related activities except attending campaign rallies is generally low.
- A majority of Zimbabweans generally feel close to a political party.

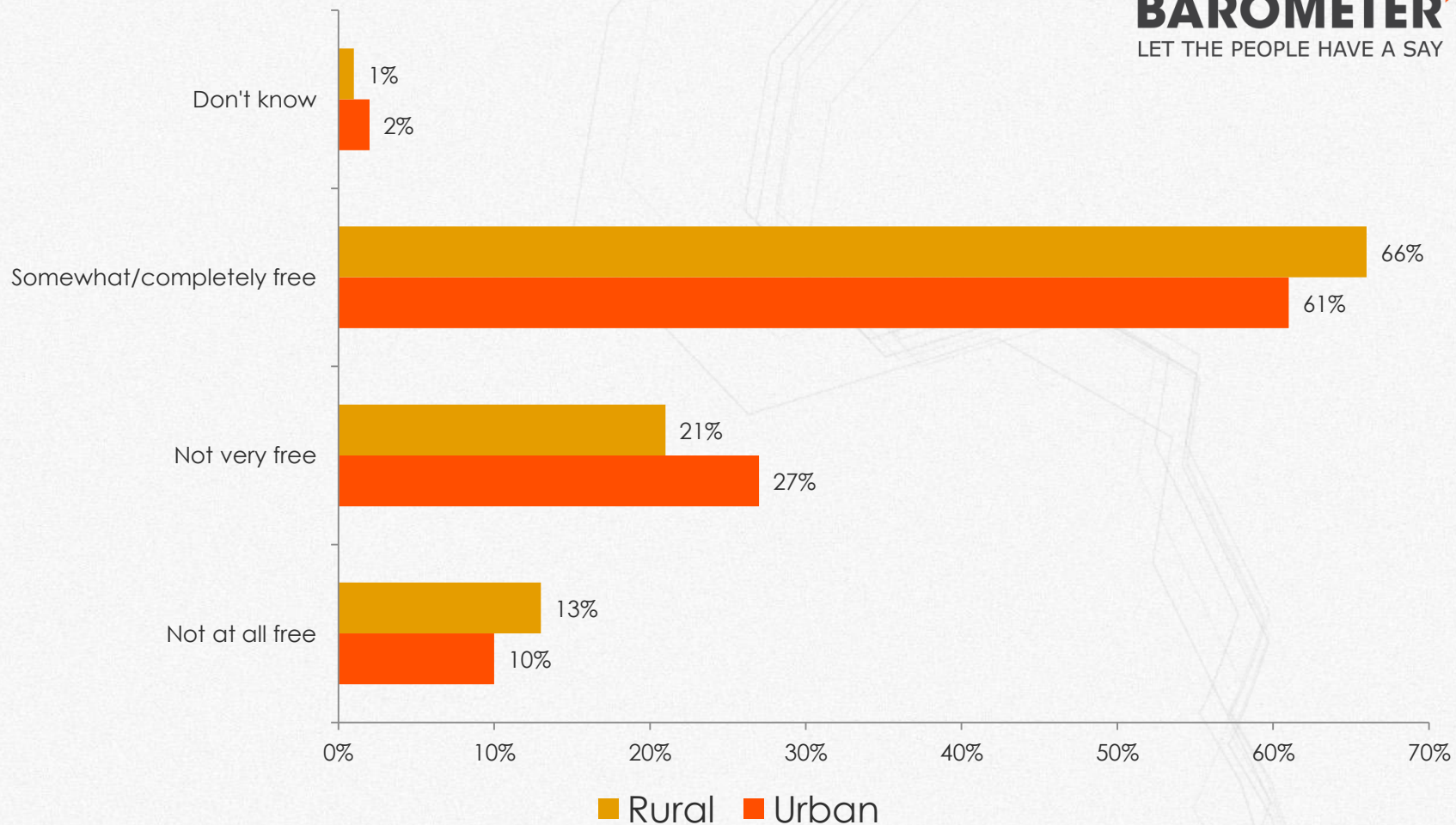
# Perceptions of freedom to choose who to vote for without feeling pressured



- **Question :** In this country, how free are you: to choose who to vote for without feeling pressured?

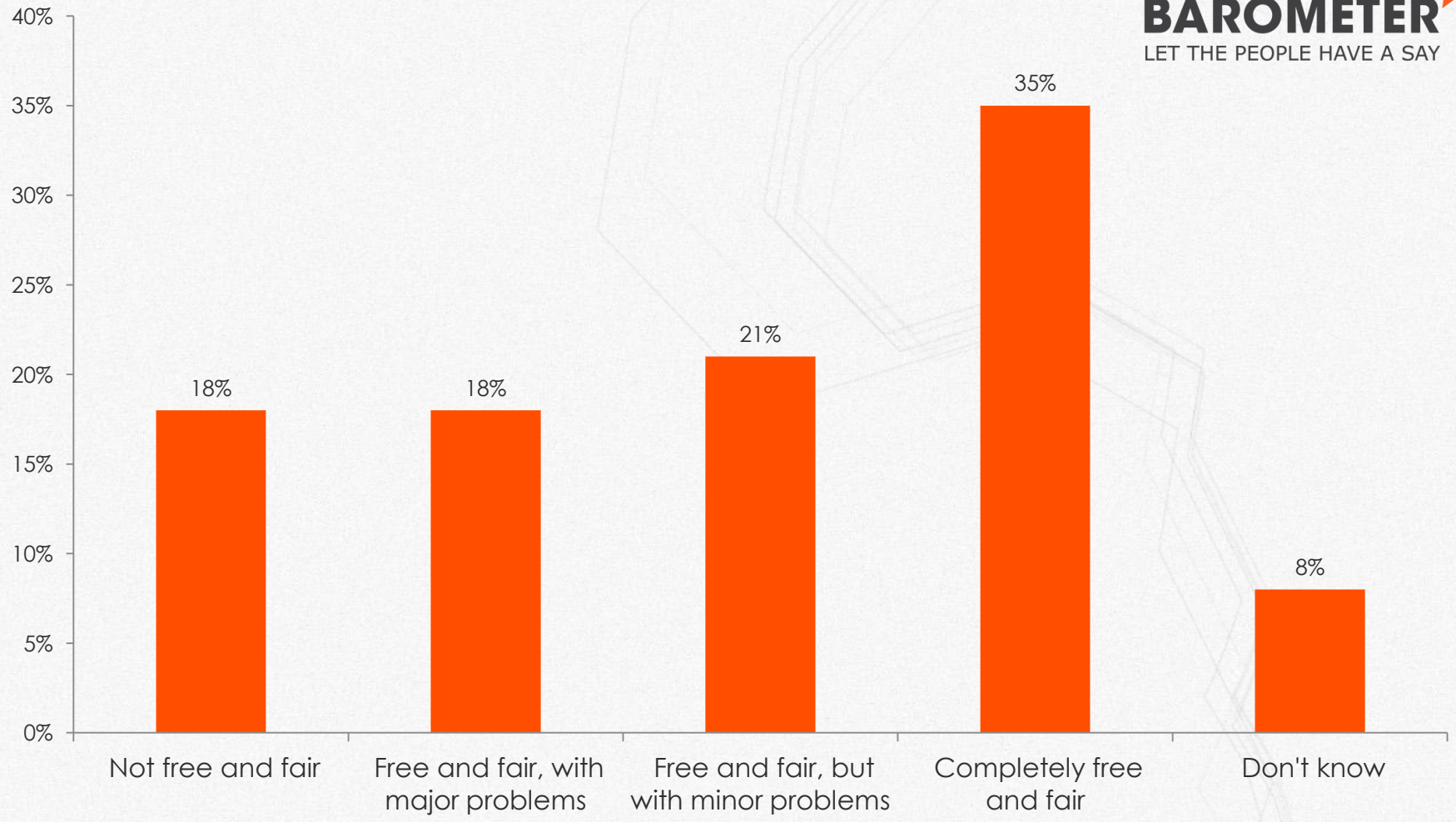


# Perceptions of freedom to choose who to vote for without feeling pressured



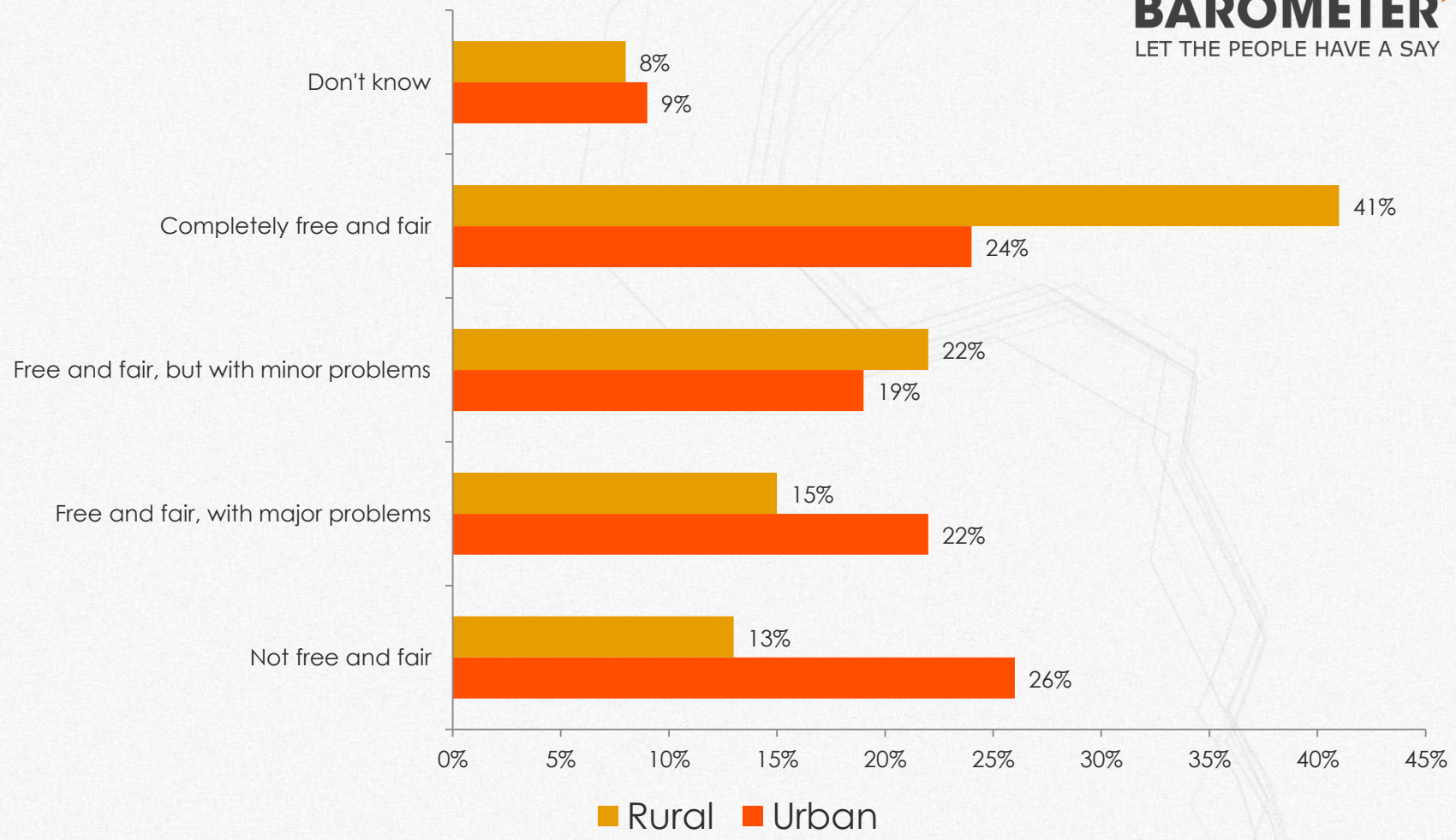
- **Question :** In this country, how free are you: to choose who to vote for without feeling pressured?

# Freeness or fairness of July 2013 elections



• **Question :** On the whole, how would you rate the freeness and fairness of the last national election, held in July 2013?

# Freeness or fairness of July 2013 elections



- **Question :** On the whole, how would you rate the freeness and fairness of the last national election, held in July 2013?

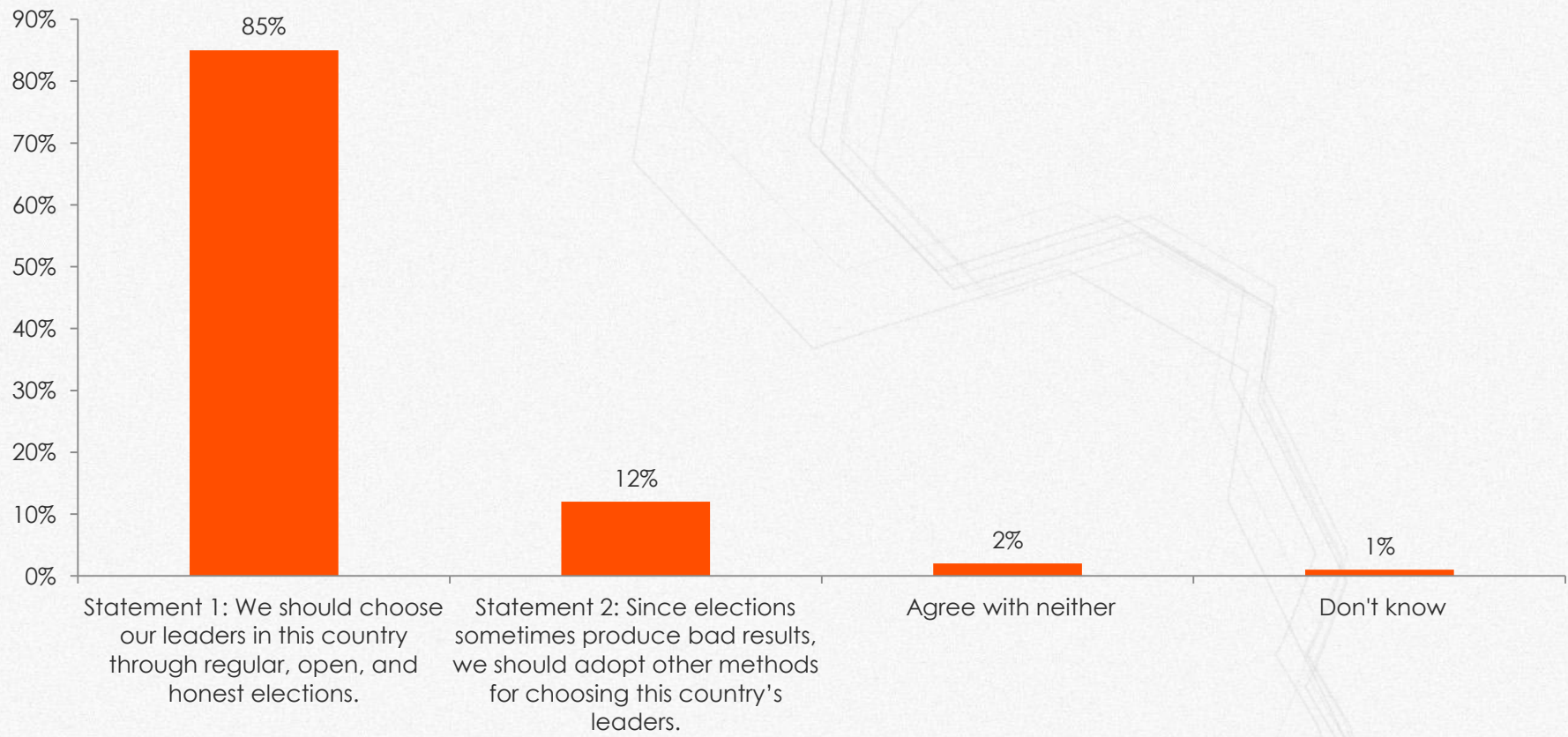
# Participation in election related activities



	Yes	No
Attend a campaign rally?	49%	51%
Attend a meeting with a candidate or campaign staff?	24%	76%
Try to persuade others to vote for a certain presidential or legislative candidate or political party?	16%	84%
Work for a candidate or party?	7%	93%

- **Question :** Thinking about the last national election in July 2013 did you:

# Preferred way to choose leaders



**Question :** 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.

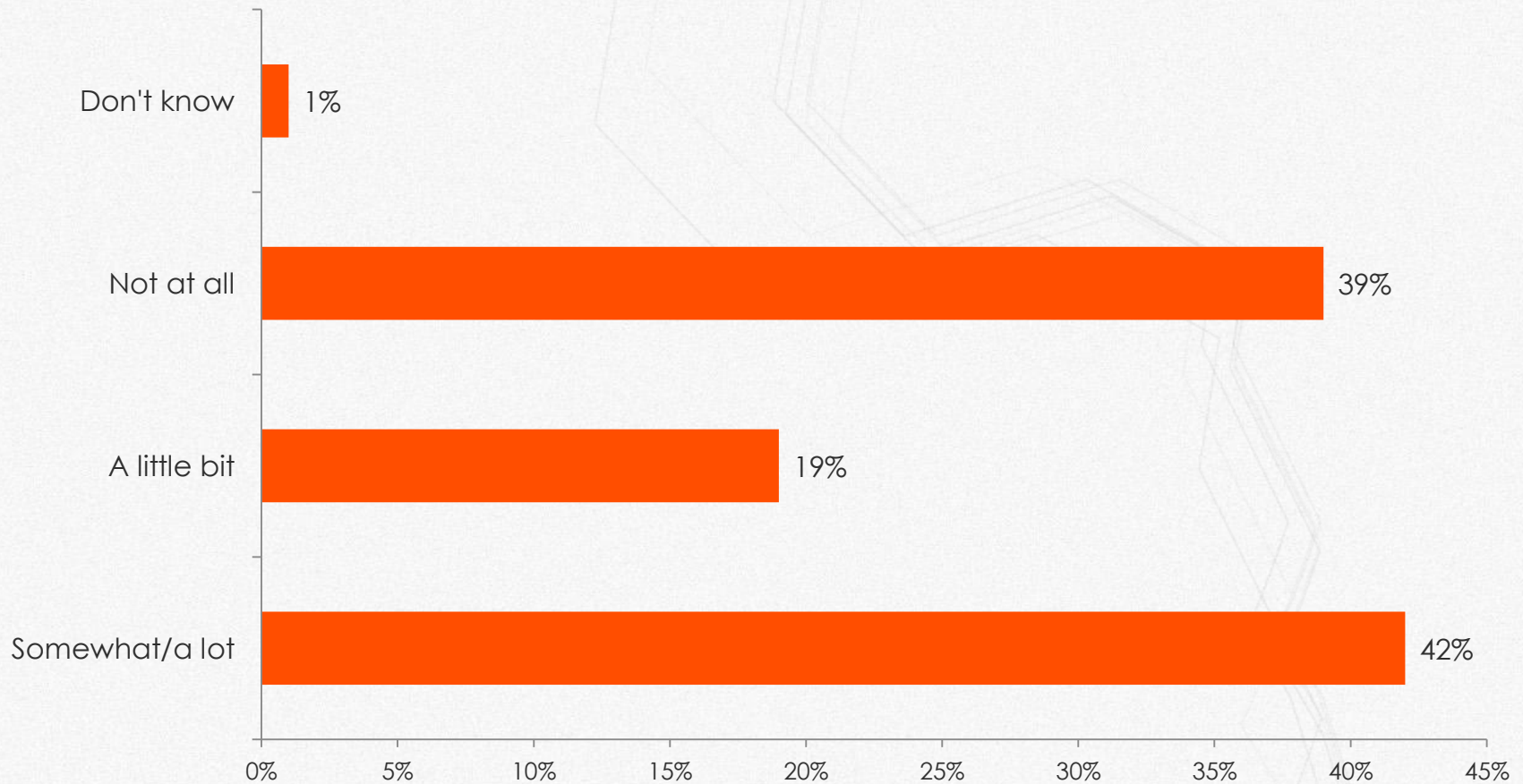
**Statement 2:** Since elections sometimes produce bad results, we should adopt other methods for choosing this country's leaders.

**Public opinion on vote counting, media coverage of candidates, bribery, choice in elections and threats of violence at polls**

	<b>Never</b>	<b>Sometimes</b>	<b>Often</b>	<b>Always</b>	<b>Don't know</b>
Votes are counted fairly	20%	33%	17%	22%	7%
The media provides fair coverage of all candidates	20%	37%	17%	10%	15%
Voters are bribed	20%	34%	21%	13%	12%
Voters are offered a genuine choice in the elections	12%	36%	23%	23%	6%
Voters are threatened with violence at the polls	26%	35%	22%	12%	6%

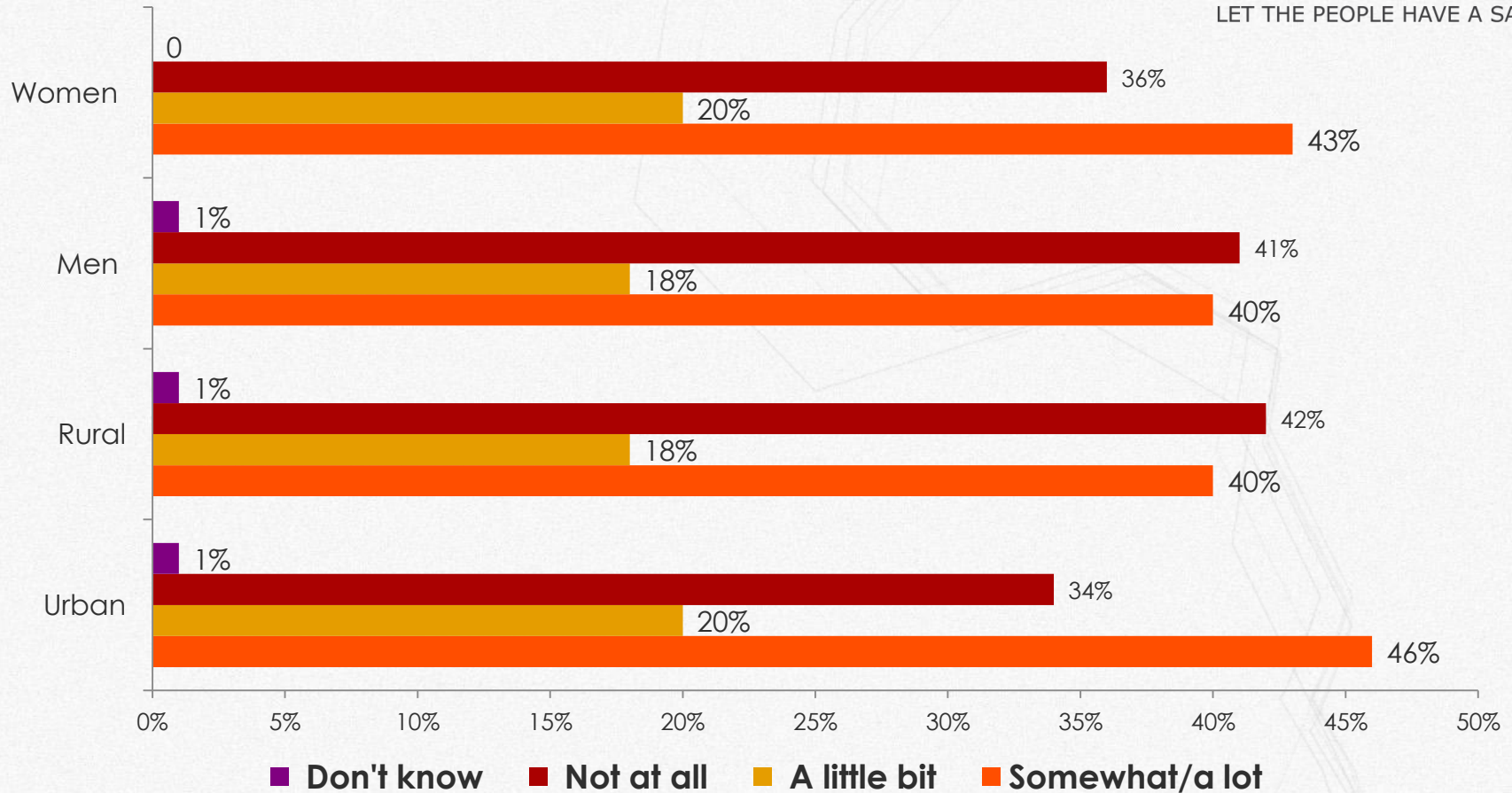
**Question :** In your opinion, how often do the following things occur in this country's elections?

# Fear of becoming a victim of political intimidation or violence by gender and location



- **Question :** During election campaigns in this country, how much do you personally fear becoming a victim of political intimidation or violence?

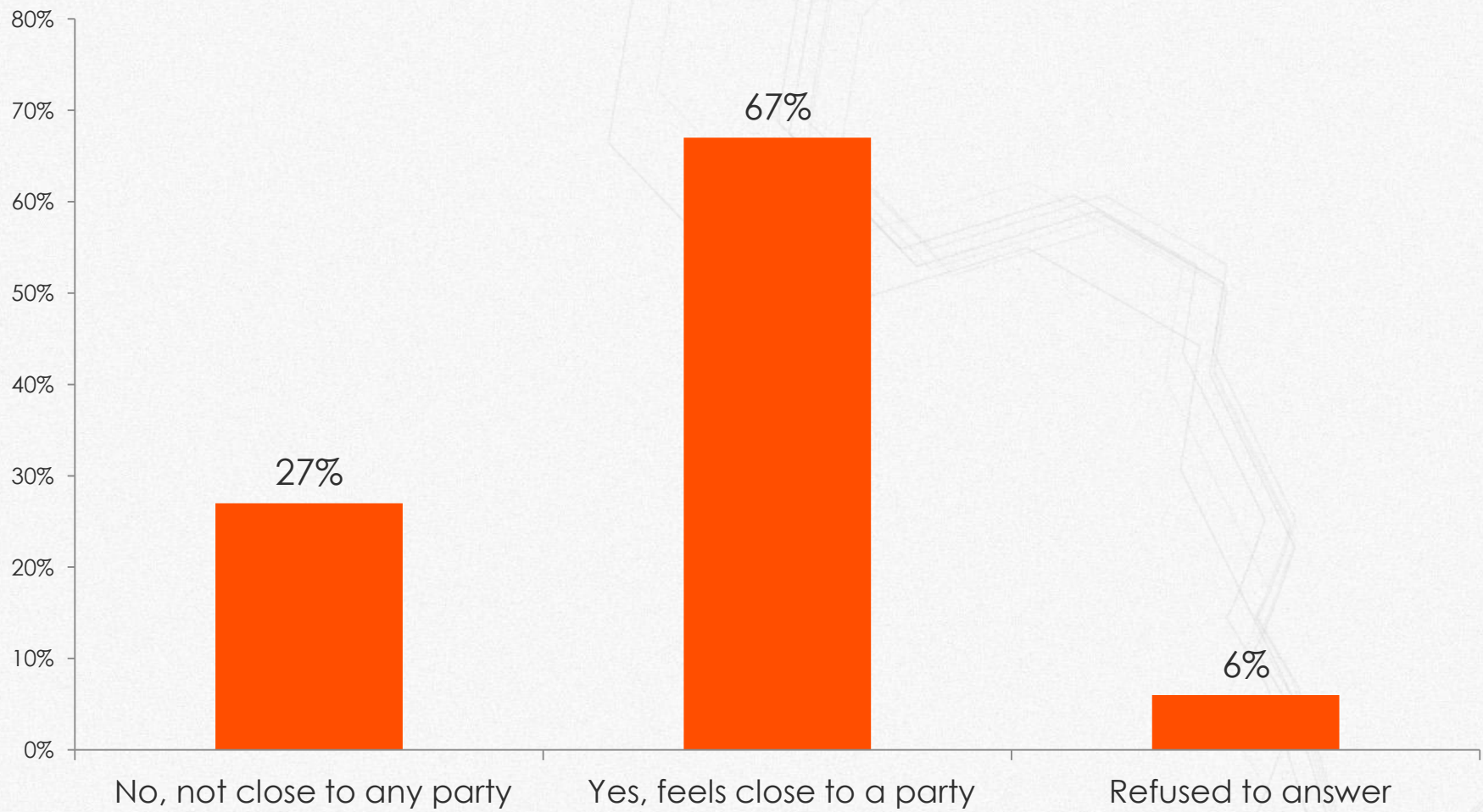
# Fear of becoming a victim of political intimidation or violence by gender and location



- **Question :** During election campaigns in this country, how much do you personally fear becoming a victim of political intimidation or violence?

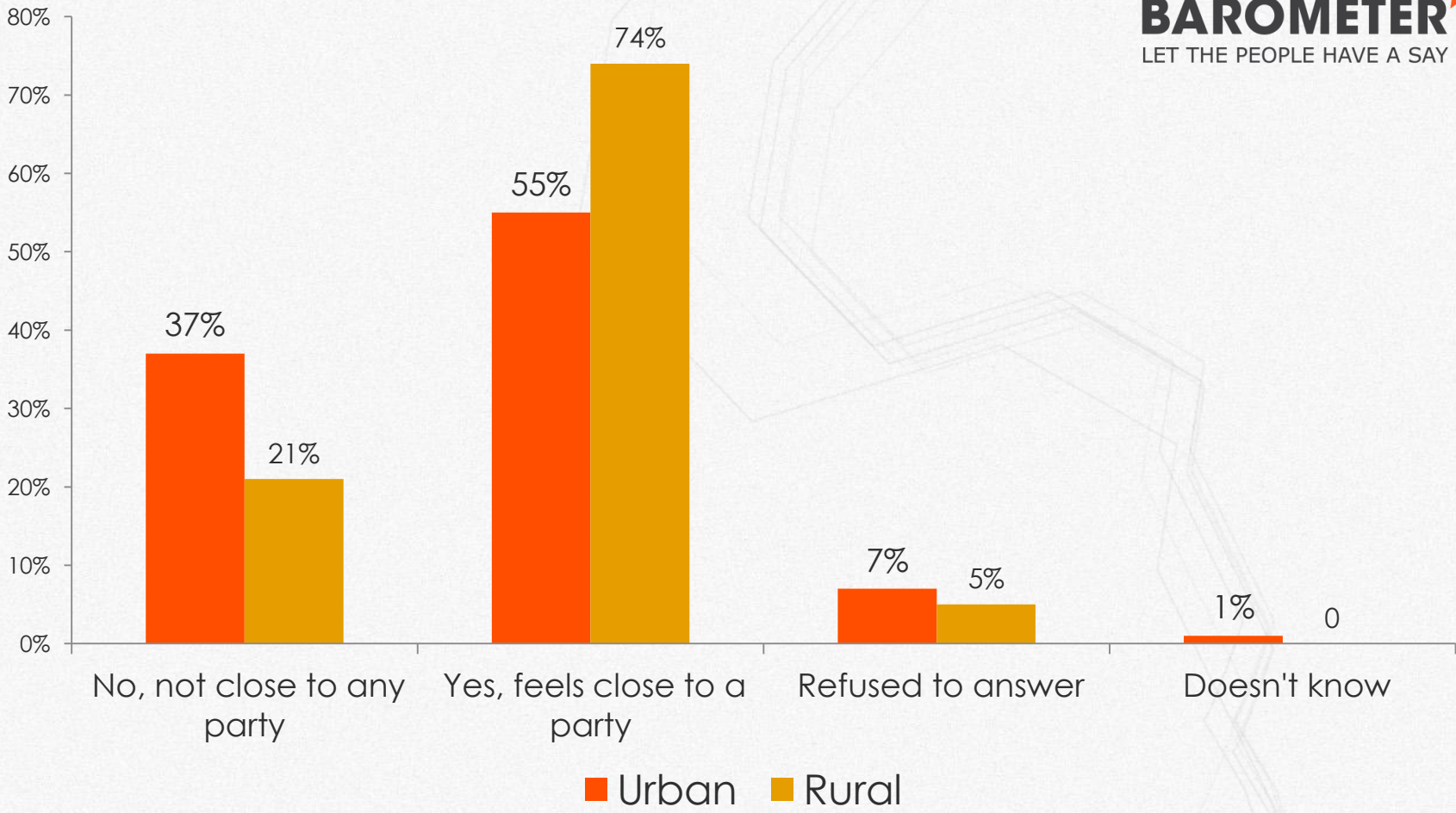


# Feeling of closeness to a political party



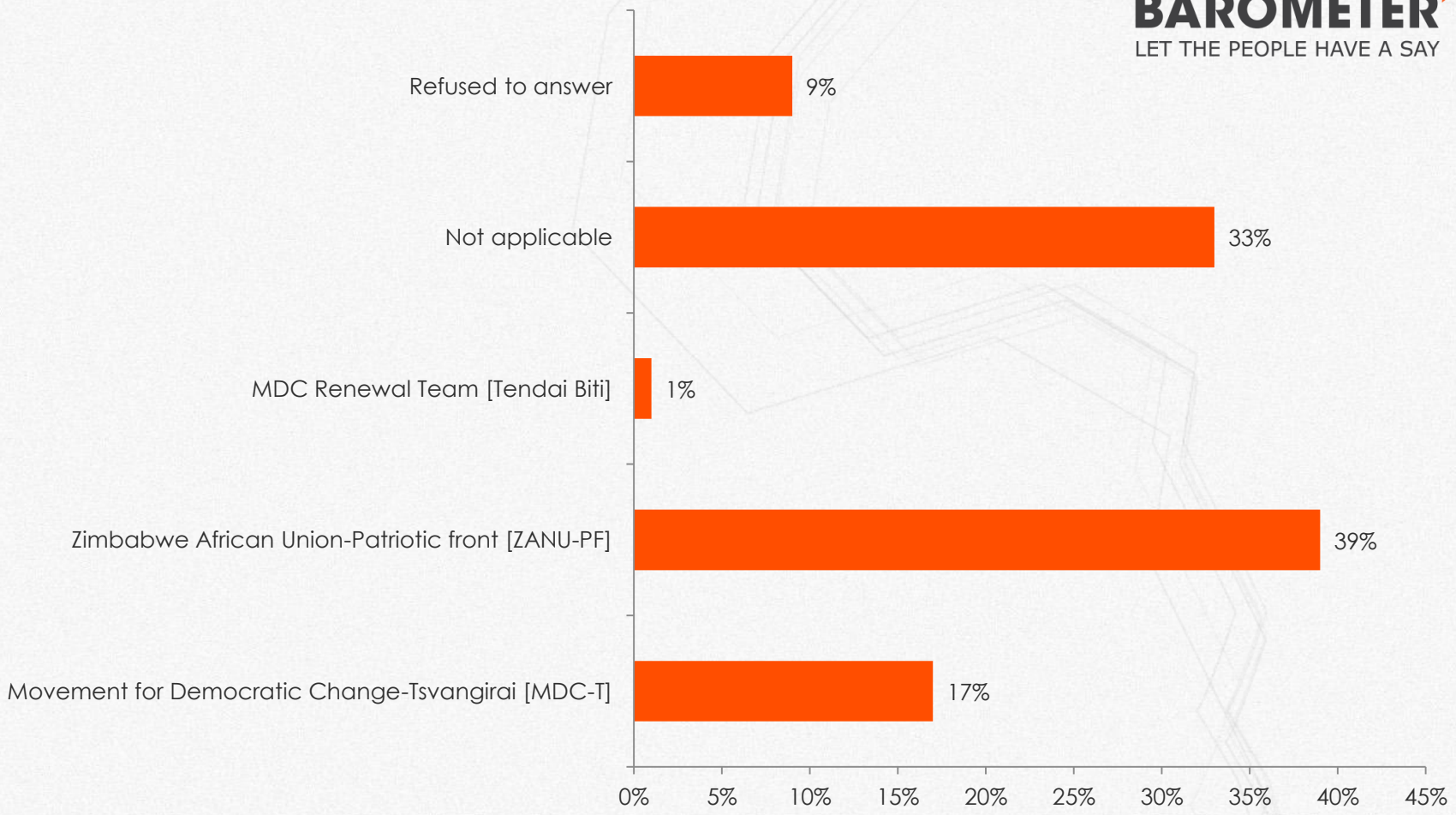
**Question :** Do you feel close to any particular political party?

# Feeling of closeness to a political party by location



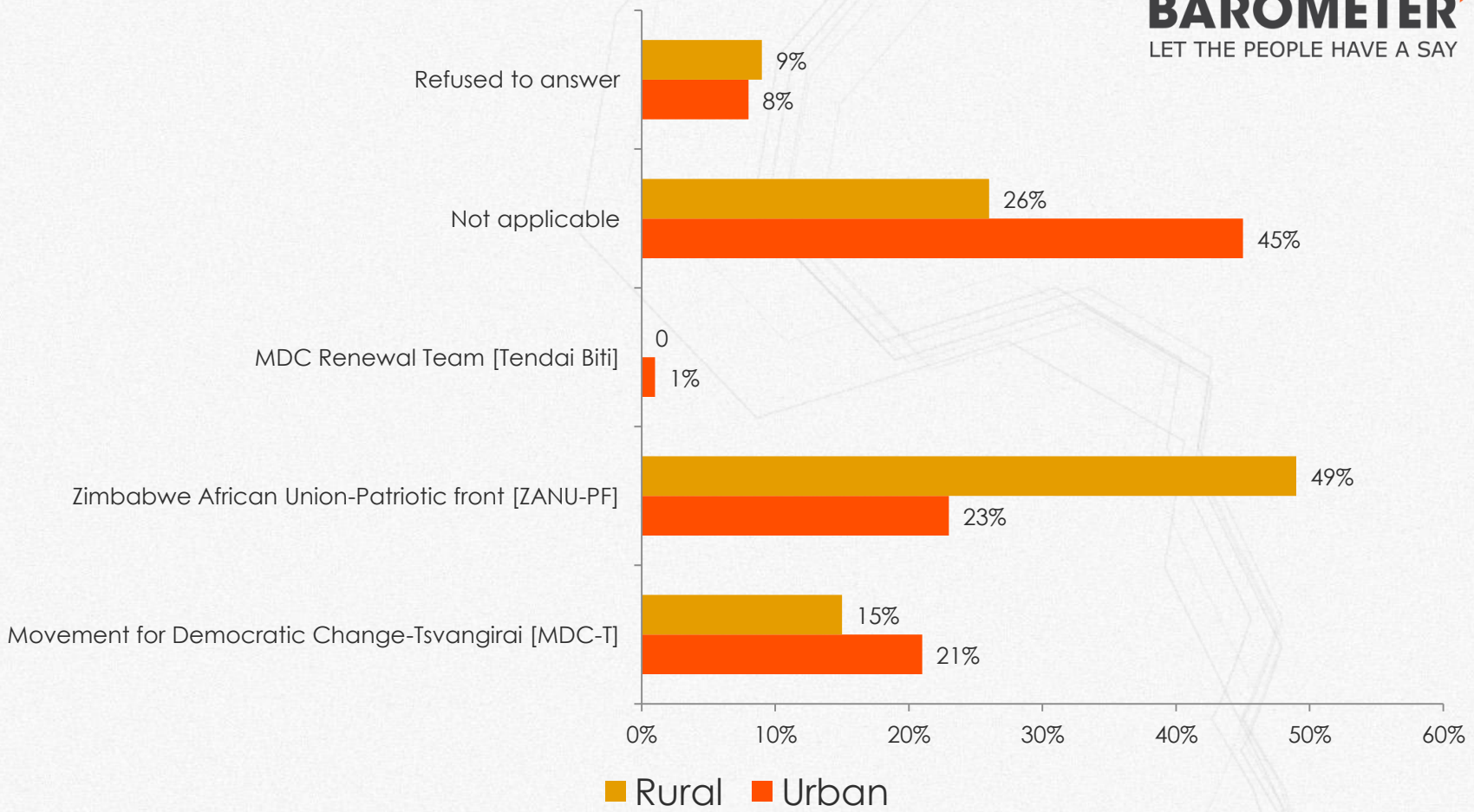
• **Question :** Do you feel close to any particular political party?

# Party closeness



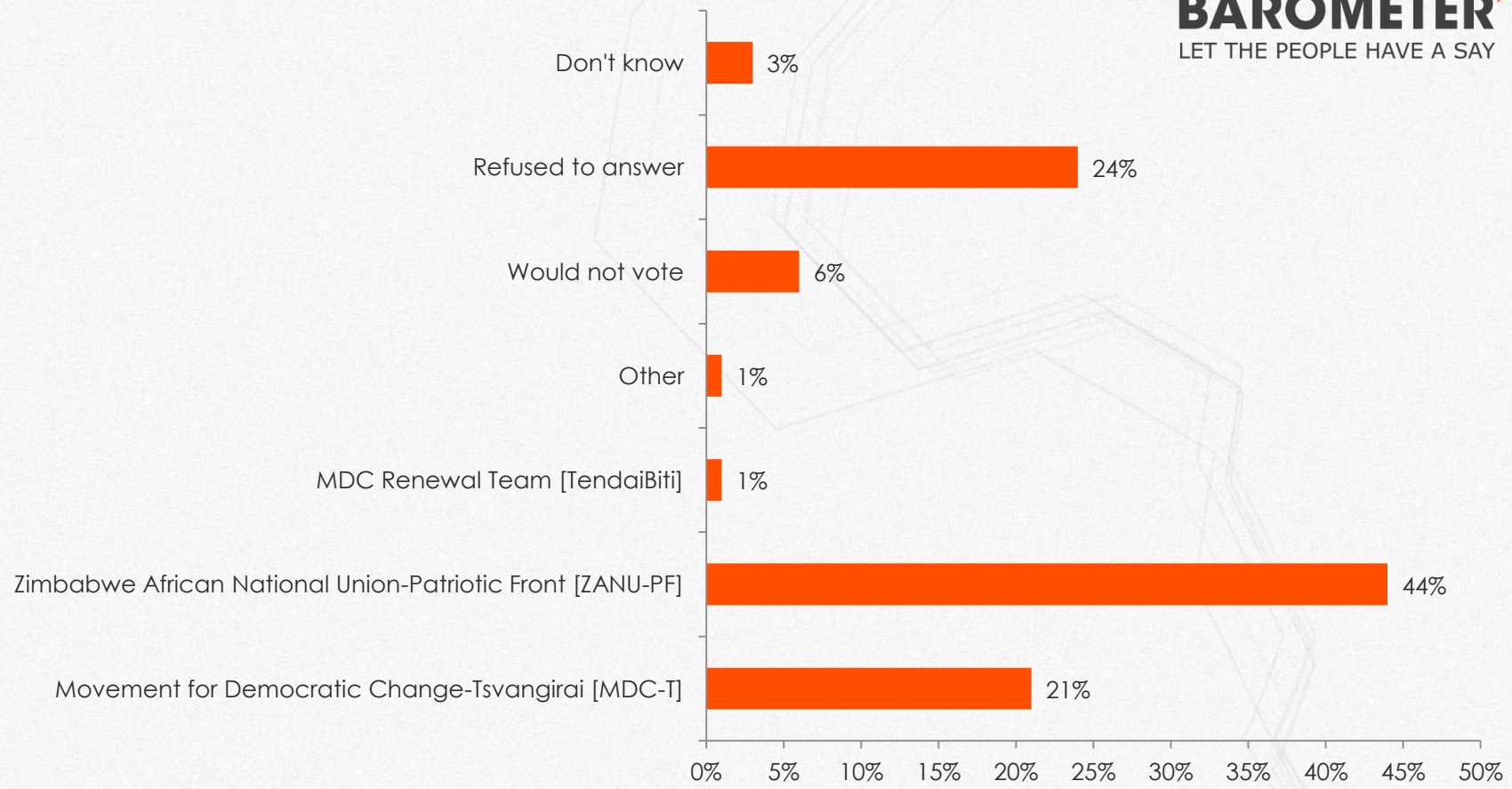
• **Question :** [If "Yes" to Q90A] Which party is that?

# Party respondent feels close to by location



• **Question :** [If "Yes" to Q90A] Which party is that?

# Voting intentions



• **Question :** If presidential election swere held tomorrow, which party's candidate would you vote for?

# Voting intentions by gender and location



	Urban	Rural	Men	Women
Movement for Democratic Change-Tsvangirai [MDC-T]	26%	17%	22%	19%
Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front [ZANU-PF]	29%	54%	44%	45%
MDC Renewal Team [Tendai Biti]	1%	-	1%	-
Other	1%	-	1%	-
Would not vote	9%	4%	6%	5%
Refused to answer	29%	20%	22%	26%
Don't know	3%	4%	3%	4%

- **Question :** If presidential elections were held tomorrow, which party's candidate would you vote for?



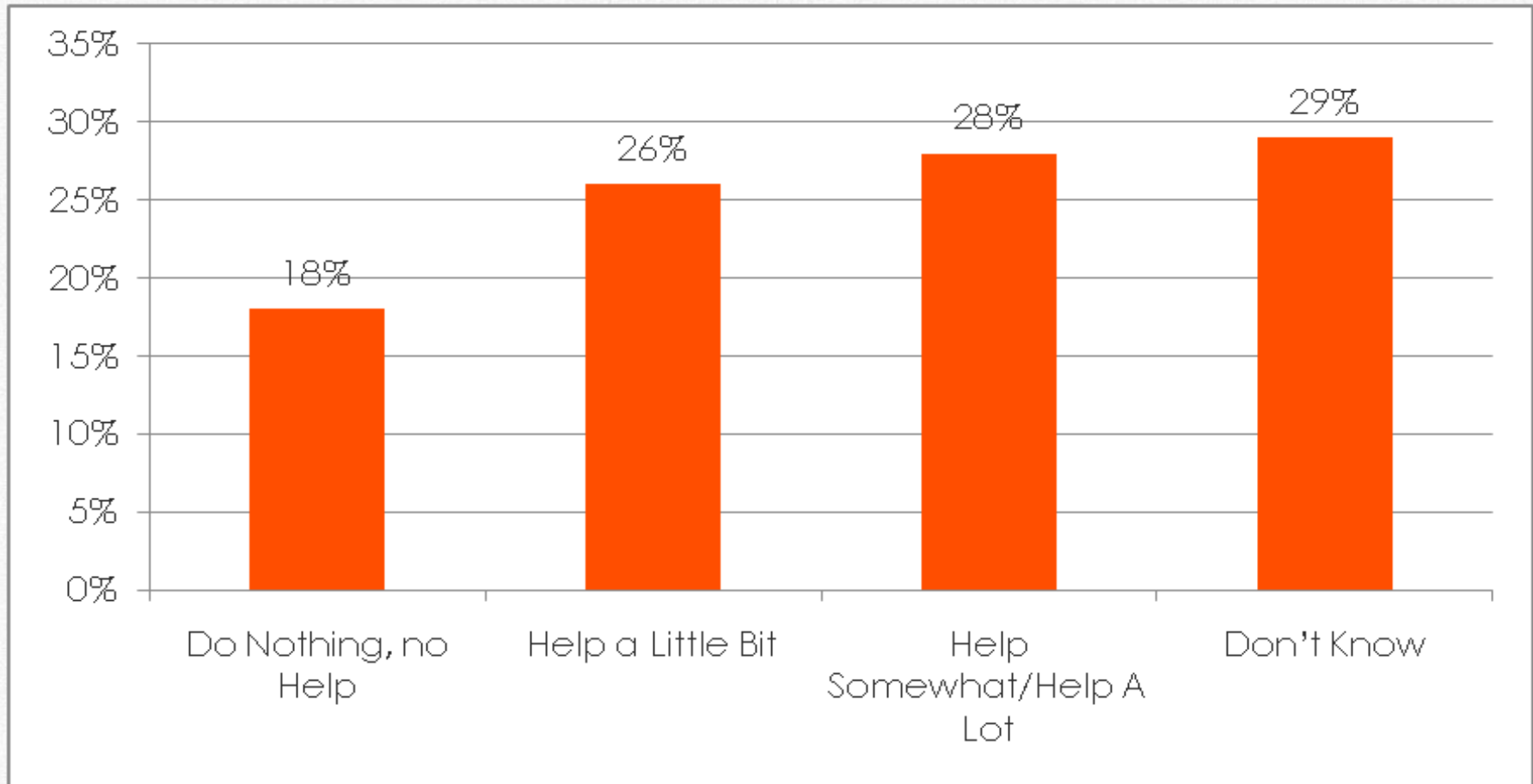
# Zimbabwe's relations with other countries

# Key findings

- Less than a third of adult Zimbabweans think the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) helps Zimbabwe “somewhat” or “a lot”.
- Less than a quarter of respondents think that the African Union (AU) helps Zimbabwe “somewhat” or “a lot”.
- South Africa, the United States and China, in that order, are seen as models for the future development of Zimbabwe.

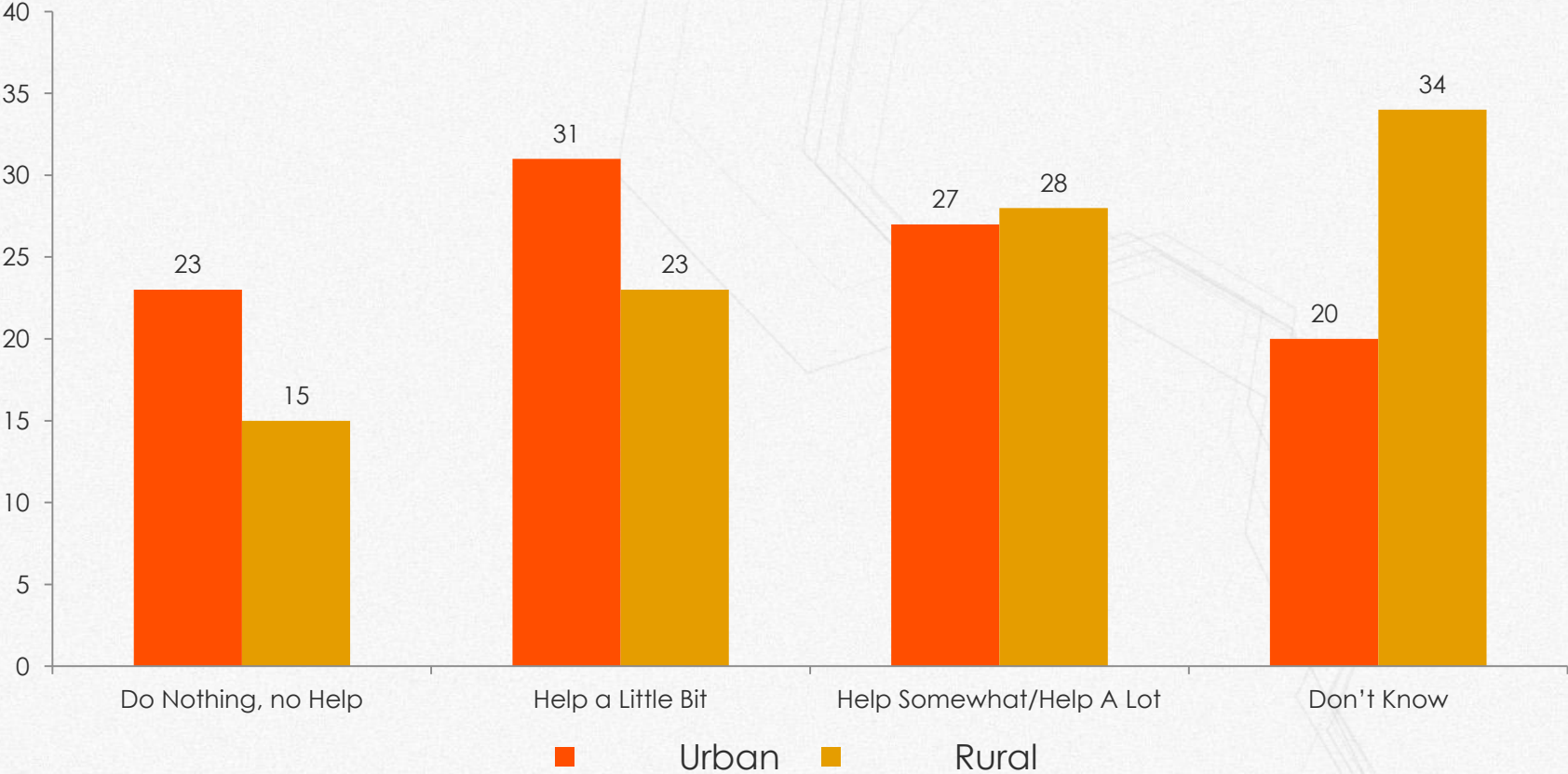


# Perceptions of SADC's help to Zimbabwe



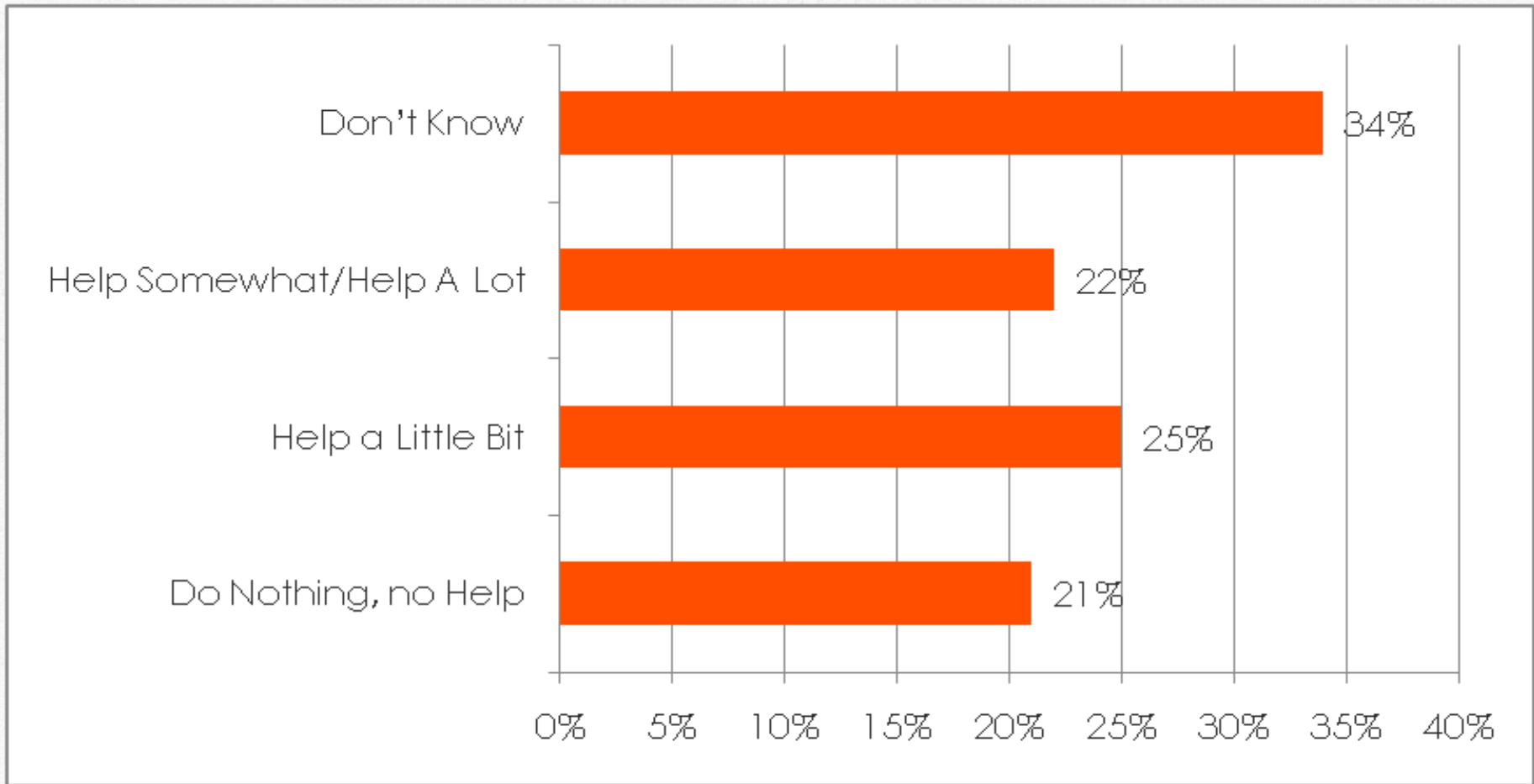
- **Question :** In your opinion, how much do each of the following do to help your country, or haven't you heard enough to say-SADC?

# Perceptions of SADC's help to Zimbabwe by location



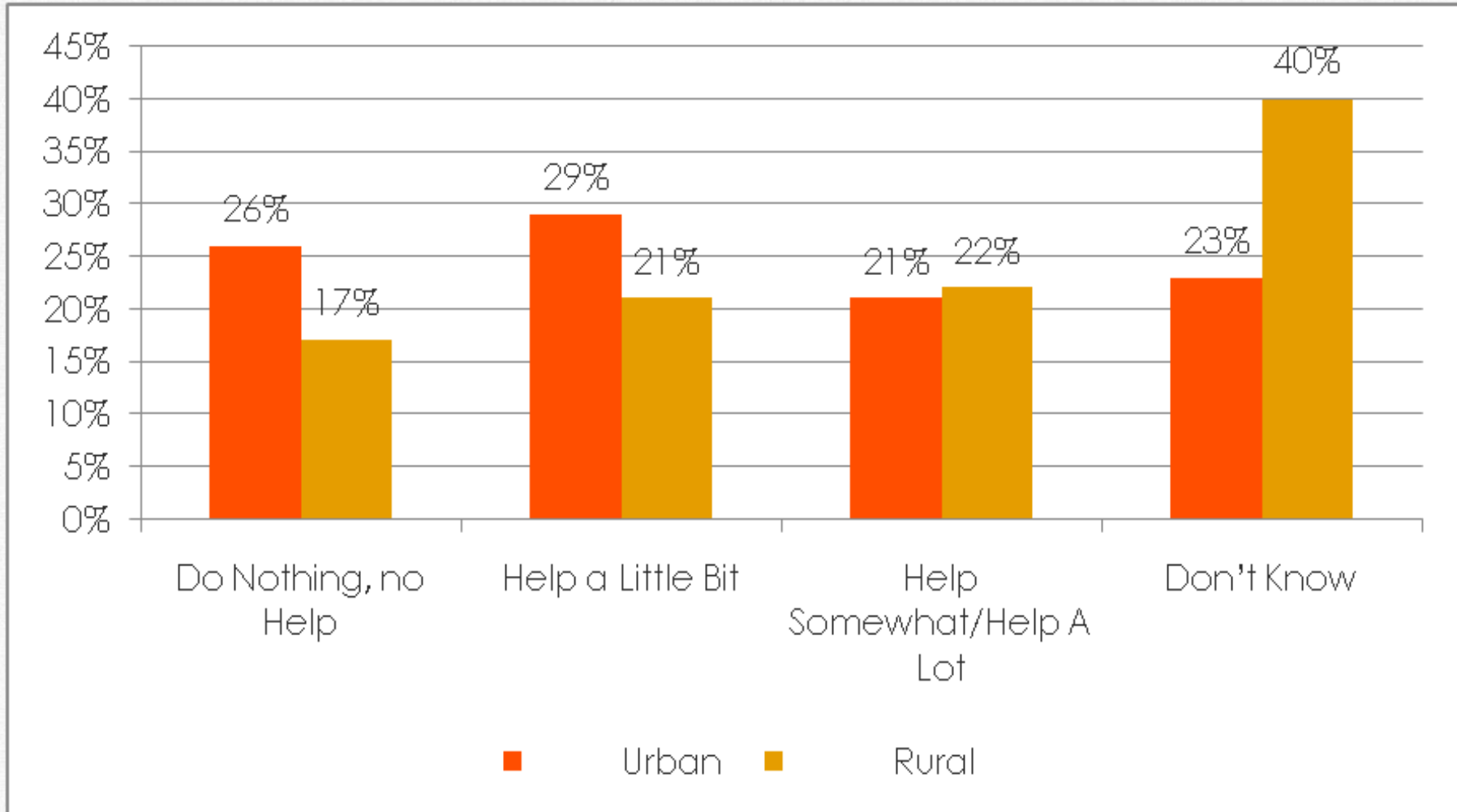
• **Question :** In your opinion, how much do each of the following do to help your country, or haven't you heard enough to say -SADC?

# Perceptions of AU's help to Zimbabwe



**Question :** In your opinion, how much do each of the following do to help your country, or haven't you heard enough to say-African Union?

# Perceptions of the AU's help to Zimbabwe by location



- **Question :** In your opinion, how much do each of the following do to help your country, or haven't you heard enough to say-African Union?

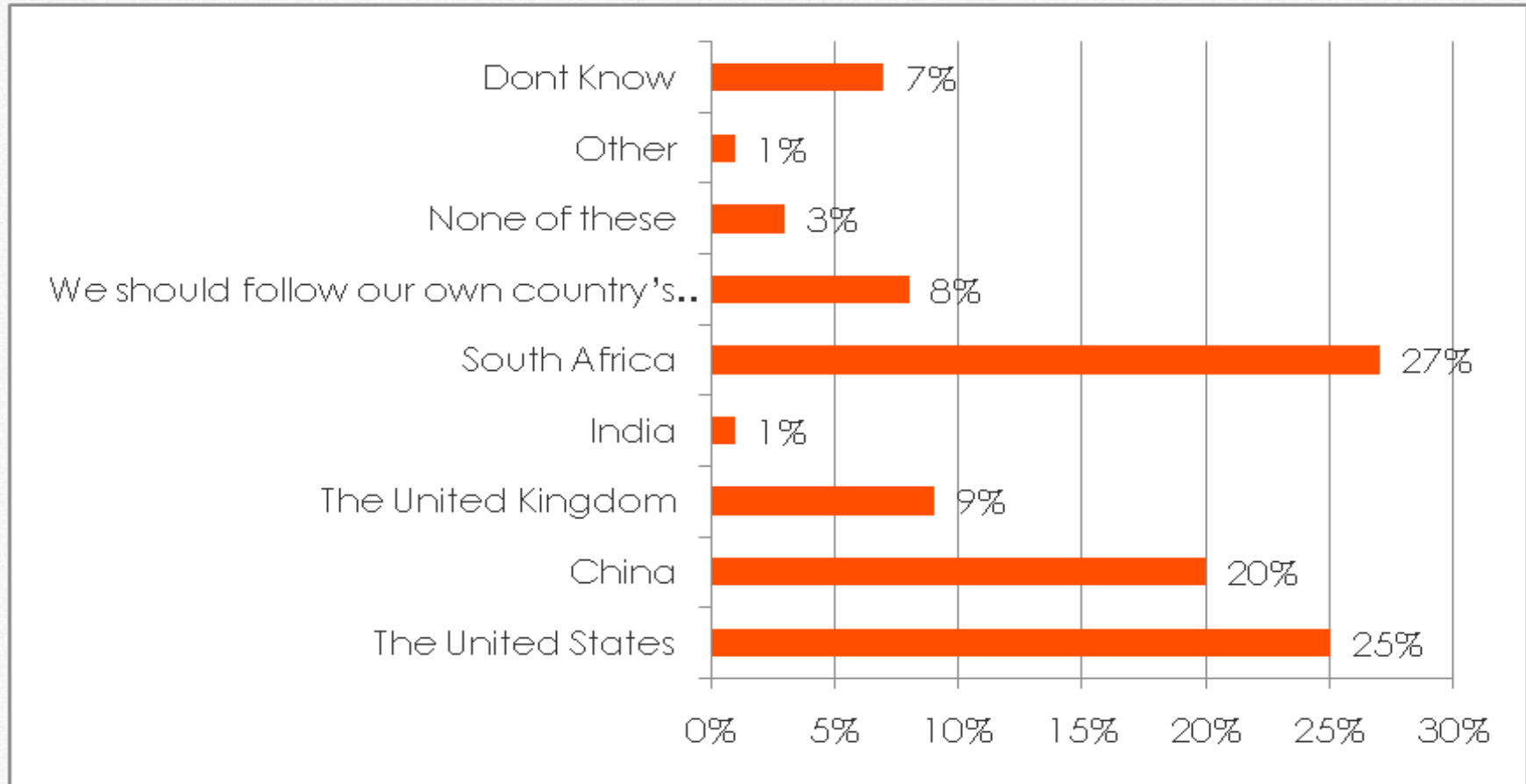
# Perceptions of the AU's help to Zimbabwe by province



	Do nothing, No help	Help a bit	Help Somewhat /help a lot	Don't know
Manicaland	30%	17%	31%	22%
Mashonaland Central	20%	28%	24%	28%
Masvingo	15%	24%	24%	36%
Matabeleland North	2%	8 %	22%	76%
Midlands	16%	21%	22%	42 %
Harare	30%	38 %	19 %	17%
Mashonaland West	13%	24%	21 %	42%
Matabeleland South	26%	13%	21%	40%
Bulawayo	18%	26 %	18%	39 %
Mashonaland East	22%	32%	15 %	31 %

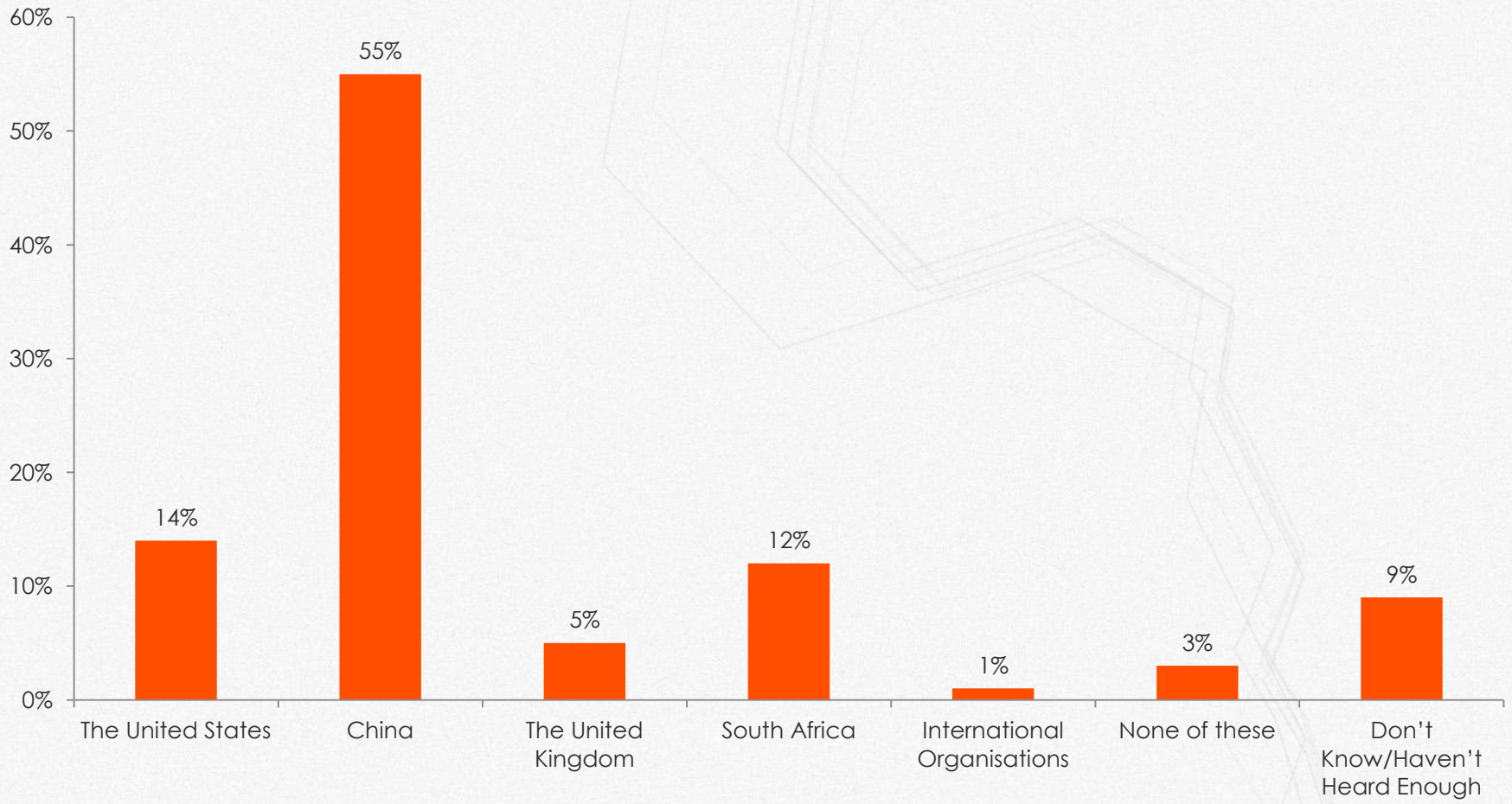
- **Question** : In your opinion, how much do each of the following do to help your country, or haven't you heard enough to say-African Union?

# Perceptions of the best model for Zimbabwe's development



**Question :** In your opinion, which of the following countries, if any, would be the best model for the future development of our country?

# Perceptions of country with most influence on Zimbabwe



• **Question :** Which of the following has the most Influence on Zimbabwe, or haven't you heard enough to say?

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**BAROMETER**  
LET THE PEOPLE HAVE A SAY

# Views on Foreign Migration





# Key findings



- A plurality agrees that people living in Southern Africa should be able to move freely across international borders in order to trade or work in other countries .
- Less than half of the adult population believes that it is easy for people in Southern Africa to cross international borders in order to work or trade in other countries.

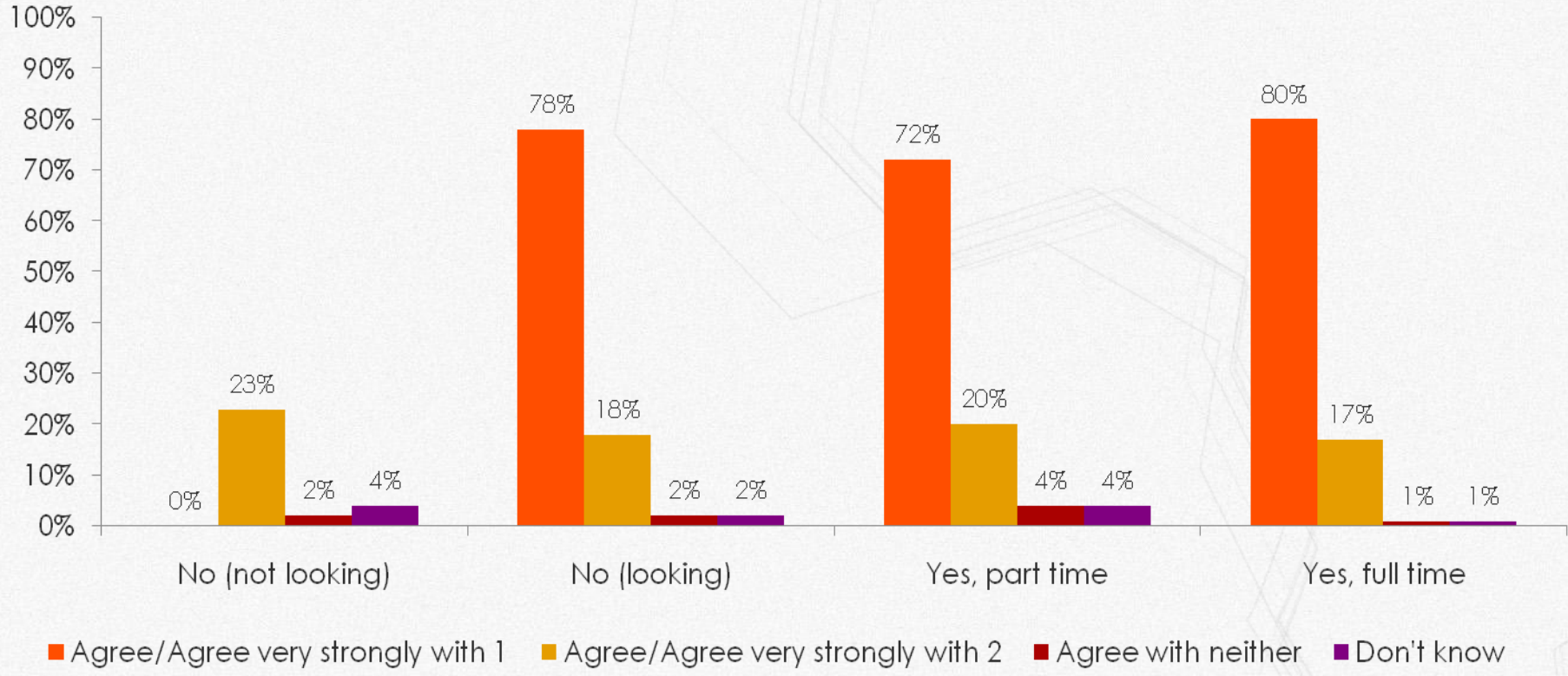
# Views on foreign migration by province



	Agree/agree very strongly with 1	Agree/agree very strongly with 2	Agree with neither	Don't know
Bulawayo	84%	14%	2%	-
Midlands	83%	16%	1%	1%
Harare	80%	20%	-	-
Mashonaland Central	79%	17%	1%	4%
Mashonaland West	77%	22%	0%	1%
Matabeleland South	77%	6%	-	1%
Masvingo	72%	22%	3%	3%
Mashonaland East	67%	25%	6%	2%
Manicaland	63%	22%	5%	10%
Matabeleland North	55%	36%	3%	6%
<b>Average</b>	<b>75%</b>	<b>21%</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>3%</b>

- **Question:** Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2. [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion: Do you agree or agree very strongly?]
- **Statement 1:** People living in Southern Africa should be able to move freely across international borders in order to trade or work in other countries.
- **Statement 2:** Because foreign migrants take away jobs, and foreign traders sell their goods at very cheap prices, governments should protect their own citizens and limit the cross-border movement of people and goods'

# Perceptions of foreign migration by employment status



- **Question:** Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.
- **Statement 1:** People living in Southern Africa should be able to move freely across international borders in order to trade or work in other countries.
- **Statement 2:** Because foreign migrants take away jobs, and foreign traders sell their goods at very cheap prices, governments should protect their own citizens and limit the cross-border movement of people and goods'

# Views on crossing international borders by province



	Difficult/very difficult	Easy/very easy	Never try	Don't know
Matabeleland South	62%	23%	12%	3%
Harare	55%	36%	7%	4%
Mashonaland Central	52%	41%	3%	5%
Bulawayo	51%	48%	2%	1%
Midlands	51%	25%	8%	16%
Masvingo	51%	30%	10%	9%
Matabeleland North	45%	38%	2%	14%
Manicaland	44%	32%	14%	10%
Mashonaland East	38%	28%	17%	18%
Mashonaland West	35%	52%	3%	10%
<b>Average</b>	<b>48%</b>	<b>36%</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>9%</b>

**Question:** In your opinion, how easy or difficult is it for people in Southern Africa to cross international borders in order to work or trade in other countries, or haven't you heard enough to say? [Interviewer: Probe for the strength of opinion.]



# Conclusions



# Conclusions



- Close to three out of five adult Zimbabweans approve of President Robert Mugabe's performance over the past 12 months, MPs are rated negatively over the same review period.
- Zimbabweans want leadership changes through regular open and honest elections.
- Zimbabweans think that once an election is over, opposition parties and politicians should accept defeat and cooperate with government to help it develop the country.
- Many Zimbabweans believe that regional organisations like the SADC and the African Union do not do much to help Zimbabwe.
- Although South Africa is seen as the country which represents the best development model for Zimbabwe, China is the country that is perceived as having the most influence on Zimbabwe.
- Close to half of Zimbabweans supports the view that people living in Southern Africa should be able to move freely across international borders to work in other countries.

Thank you

