



# Ethiopians' views on federalism and the Constitution

Highlights of Afrobarometer Round 8 survey findings

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**ABCON - Research & Consulting**

Social, marketing & opinion researchers

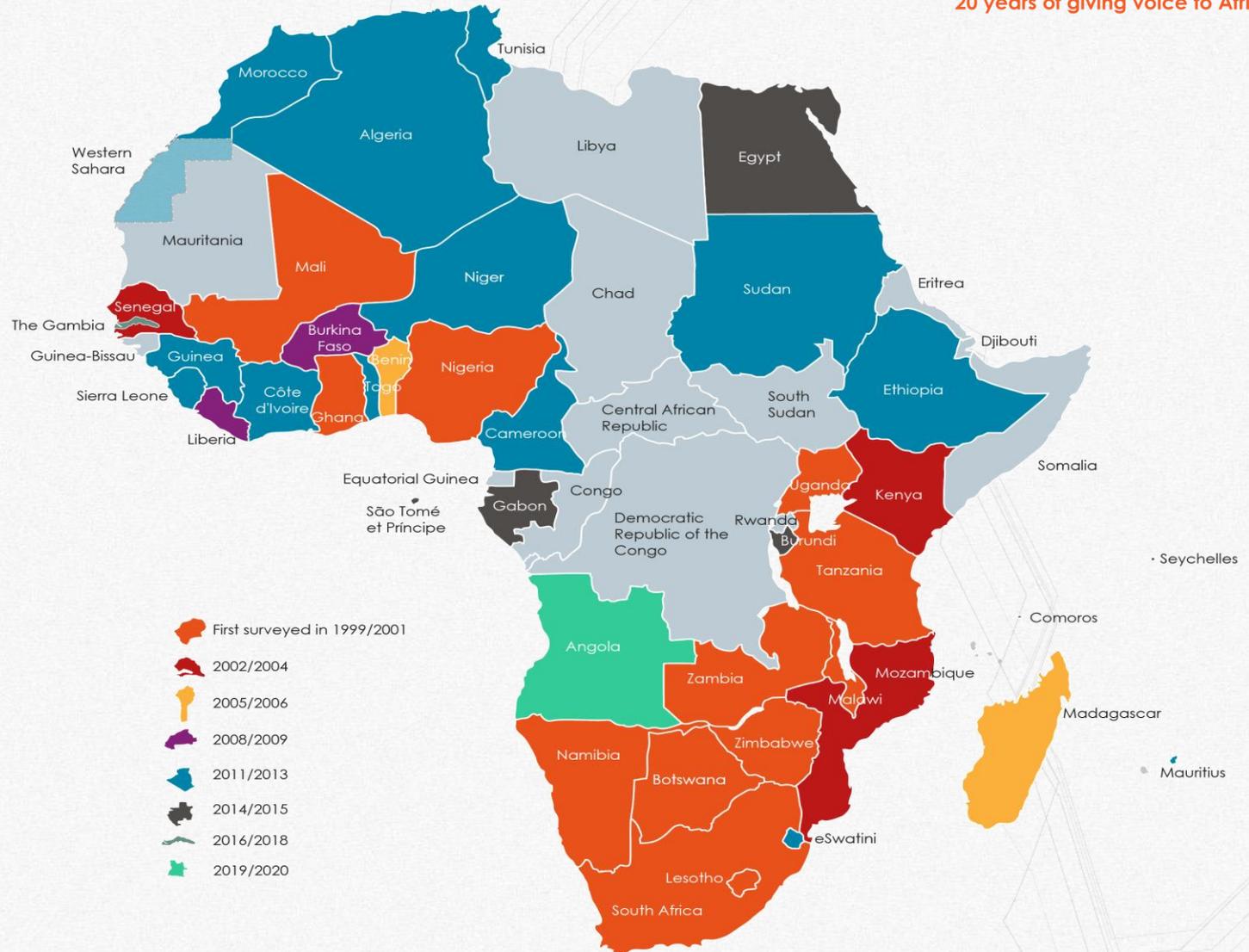


# What is Afrobarometer?



- A pan-African, nonpartisan survey research network that provides reliable data on African experiences and evaluations of democracy, governance, and quality of life. Started in 12 African countries in 1999. Round 8 surveys in 2019/2020 are planned in at least 35 countries.
- 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.
- A national partner in each country conducts the survey. In Ethiopia, Afrobarometer Round 8 survey was conducted by ABCON – Research & Consulting.

# Where Afrobarometer works



# Survey topics covered in R8



- Country's overall direction and most important problems
- Economic life
  - *(Including a battery of questions measuring extent of poverty experienced by the people and generating **Lived Poverty Index (LPI)**, AB's innovative contribution to understanding of poverty)*
- Development and international relations
- Democracy and politics
  - a) Measures of demand and supply of democracy
  - b) Freedoms
  - c) Citizenship and participation
  - d) Rule of law
- Elections
- Institutions and leaders (extent of trust and job performance)
  - a) Government officials and elected political leaders
  - b) Traditional leaders
- Corruption
- Public services

# Survey topics in R8 (cont.)

- Taxation
- Identity and society
  - a) Crime and security
  - b) Climate change
- Media and access to information
- Youth

## Country-specific topics

These cover issues that are topical or have currency in Ethiopia only. In light of the debates that have been going on since the reform, the following issues were covered in R8:

- a) The Constitution and its most controversial provisions
- b) Federal vs. unitary form of government
- c) The 6<sup>th</sup> national election

# Methodology

- **Nationally representative sample** of adult citizens
  - ❑ All respondents are *randomly* selected.
  - ❑ Sample is distributed across nine regional states, two city administrations (AA & DD) and further disaggregated by 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 that allows comparisons across countries and over time.
- Sample size in Ethiopia of 2,400 adult citizens yields a margin of error of +/-2 percentage points at a 95% confidence level.
- Fieldwork for Round 8 in Ethiopia was conducted between 27 December 2019 and 26 January 2020.

# Sample design and selection

## Sample design

- Afrobarometer uses clustered, stratified, multi-stage probability sample design.
- The sample is designed as a representative cross-section of all citizens of voting age.
- **Goal** is to give every adult citizen an equal chance of being selected.
- How do we achieve this?
  - By applying random selection method at every stage of sampling.
  - By strictly applying sampling with probability proportional to population size (PPS).
- Cluster design is 8 interviews per cluster and 300 clusters or enumeration areas, hence a sample size of 2,400.
- Sample size is determined at +/-2-percentage-point margin of error at 95% confidence interval.

# Perennial question

## Can we really talk about the attitudes of millions of Ethiopians with a sample of just 2,400 people?

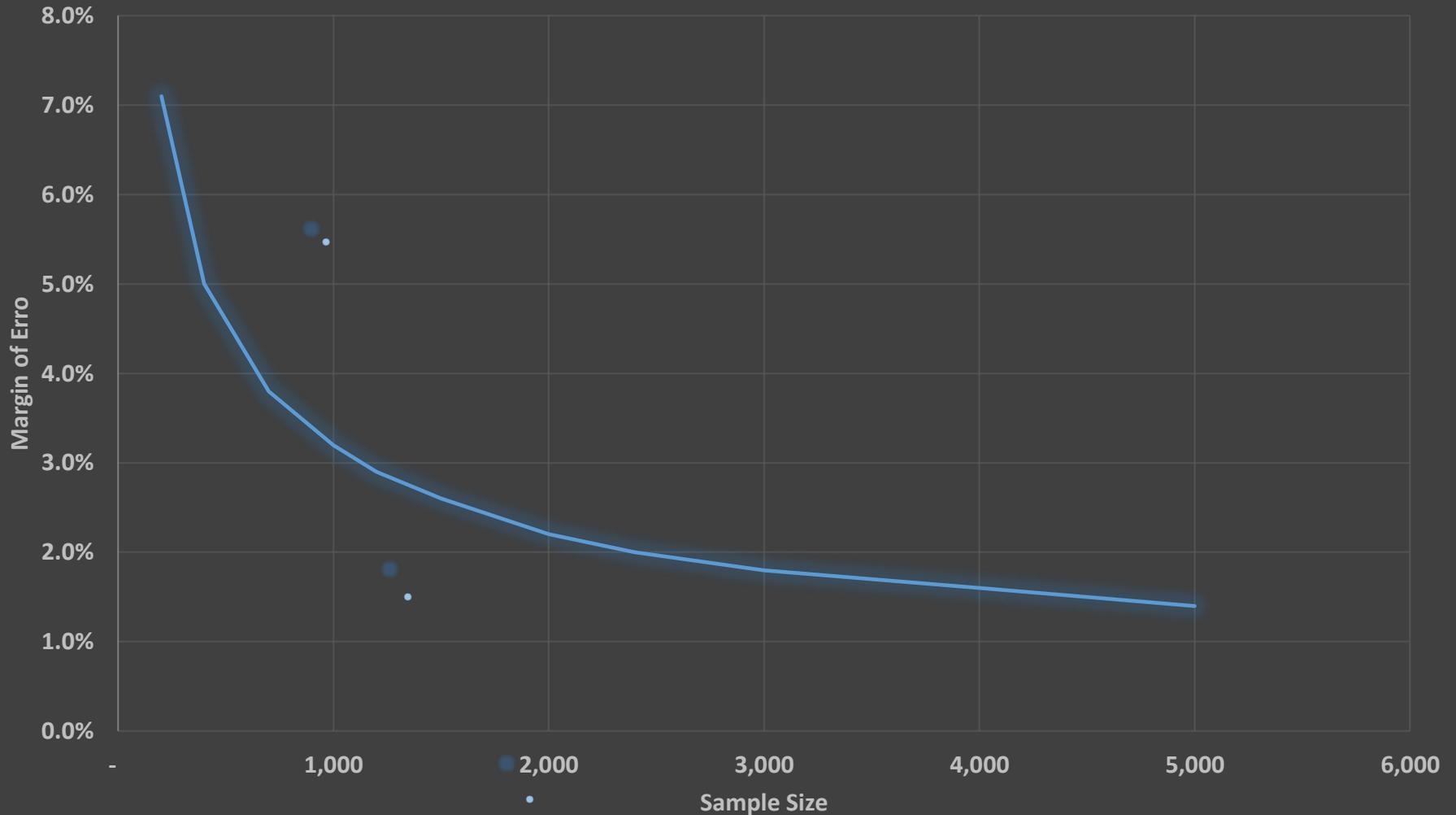
- Population parameter: Attitudes of millions of adults on a certain issue, say, federalism.
  - The true value is unknown in most cases unless census is taken or the entire population is surveyed. Taking a census is impractical for most studies.
- Inferences about population are therefore made from a sample.
- Sampling error: Every estimate based on a sample contains some level of uncertainty, regardless of the sample size – 2,400, 24,000, 240,000, or 2.4 million.
- How close do we need our survey estimates to be to the true value? What size of margin of error are we willing to accept?

# Sample size and precision of estimates

Sample size (n)	Margin of error (in percentage points)	Gain
200	7.1	
400	5.0.....	2.1
700	3.8.....	1.2
1,000	3.2.....	0.6
1,200	2.9.....	0.3
1,500	2.6.....	0.3
2,000	2.2.....	0.4
2,400	2.0.....	0.2
3,000	1.8.....	0.2
4,000	1.6.....	0.2
5,000	1.4.....	0.2

# Sample size and precision

Relationship: Sample size and margin of error



# Level of precision chosen by Afrobarometer

- The precision accepted by Afrobarometer in the Ethiopia survey is a margin of error of +/-2 percentage points at 95% confidence interval for a sample of 2,400.
- What does this mean?
  - If our sample survey, for example, shows that 40% of adult Ethiopians reject federalism, what it means is that we are 95% certain that between 38% and 42% of adults (40% +/-2 percentage points) reject federalism.
  - In other words, if we were to take the 2,400 sample survey 100 times, in 95 of those surveys, the result would be within the 40%+/- 2 range (i.e. in the range from 38% to 42%).

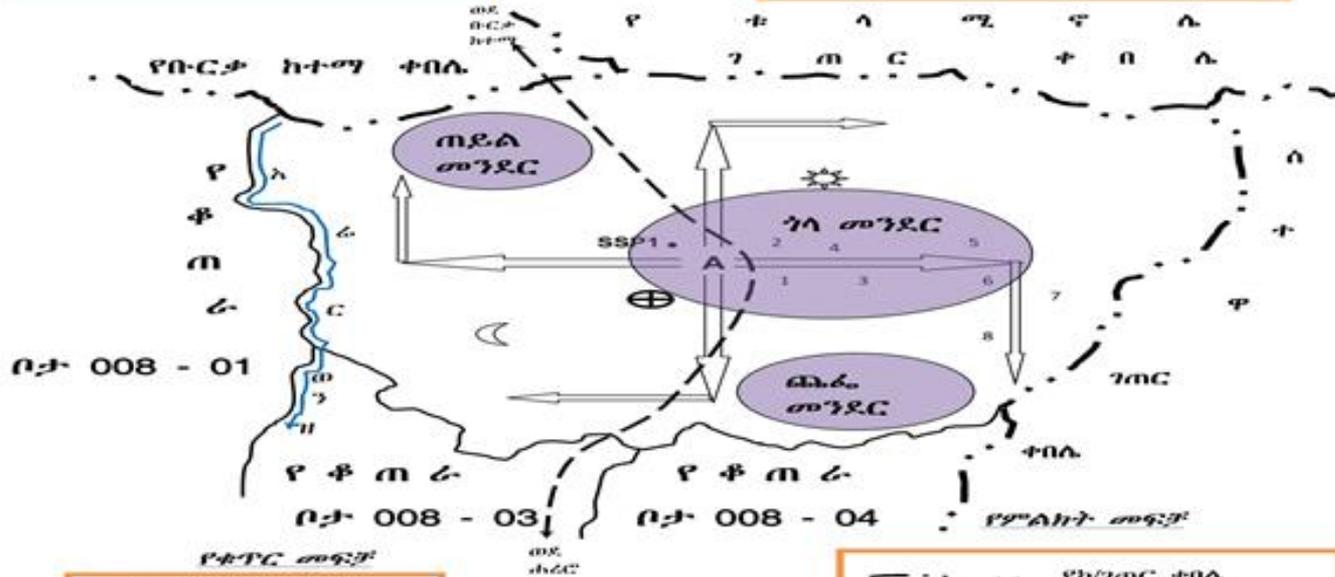
# How was the sample selected?

- **The sample was selected in multiple stages**
  - **Stage 1:** Selection of rural and urban clusters or enumeration areas.
    - Sampling frame available at CSA (a complete list of clusters in the country). This is the latest prepared for the upcoming census.
    - Sorted out by rural and urban location for nine regions and two city administrations.
    - Randomly selected 300 enumeration areas (2,400/8 interviews per cluster) using PPS (probability proportional to population size).
  - **Stage 2:** Selection of households using random walk patterns on a digital map provided by the CSA.
    - Sampling starting point (SSP) is randomly selected.
    - From the SSP, four interviewers walk in four different directions and stop at intervals of 5 houses (an interval of 10 households in case of refusal).

# Random walk pattern: Digital map of clusters

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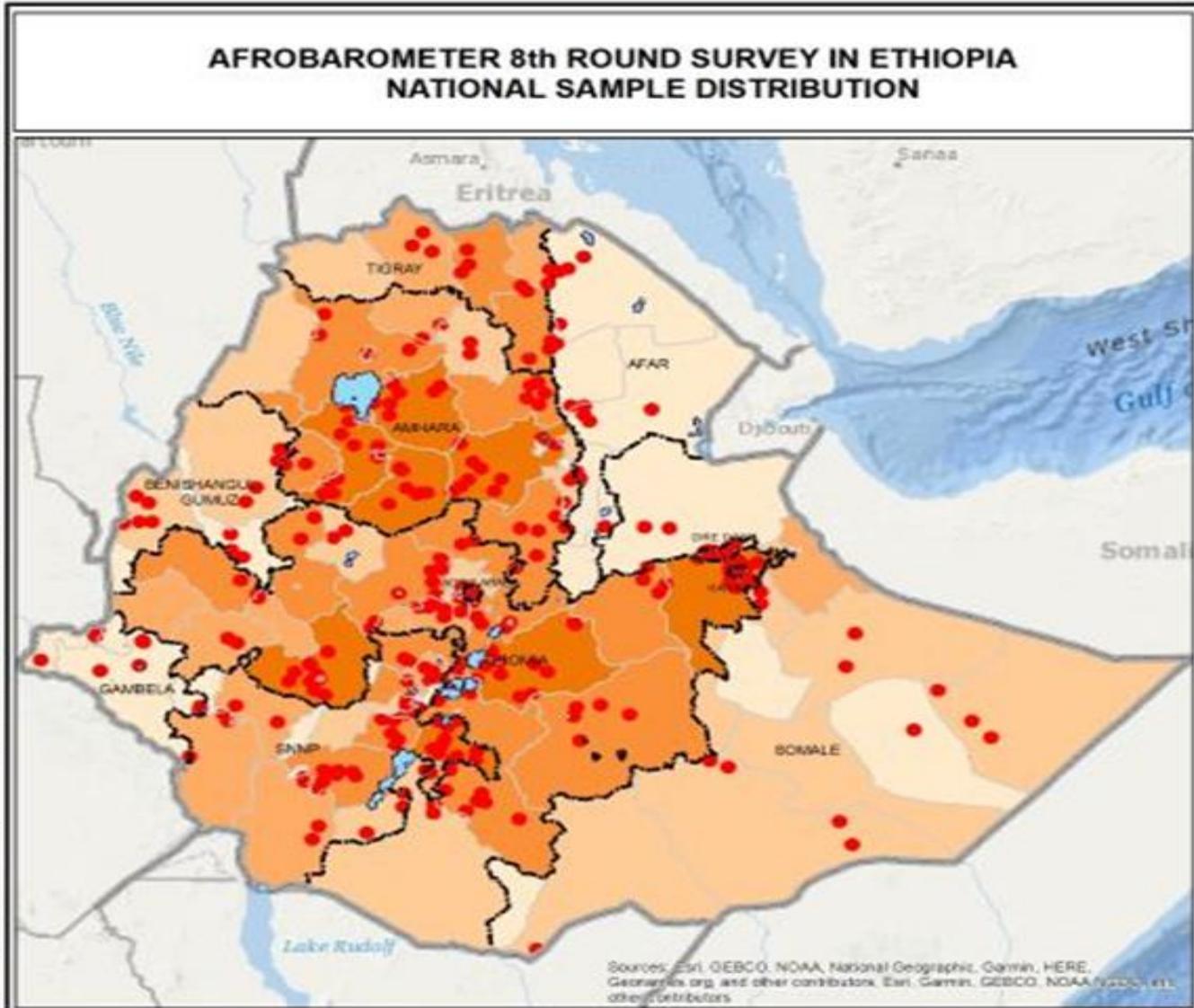
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- **Stage 3:** Selection of men and women respondents
  - Once at the selected household, interviewers list male and female members of the household who are 18 years and above.
  - Kish-grid type roster is used to list eligible members.
  - The tablet program then randomly selects a respondent.
  - If a man is selected in the first household, a woman is selected in the next.
- **This way, the AB sample offers estimates from a representative sample:**
  - The characteristics of the population are reflected in the sample: Urban and rural areas in nine regions, two city administrations, men and women, adults of all age groups, etc.
  - The sample is **RANDOMLY** selected at every stage of sampling from stage 1 to 3.
  - Every adult has an equal and known chance (i.e. calculable, non-zero chance) of being selected.

# Distribution of the sample

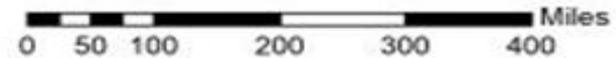


## Legend

- Sample Points
- International Boundary
- - - Region Boundary
- Zone Boundary
- Water Body
- AFAR Region Name

## Total Population

- 28050 - 310935
- 310936 - 719230
- 719231 - 1122175
- 1122176 - 2407805
- 2407806 - 4761630



# Field work and data management



- **Electronic data collection method:** Using tablets in the field and server at University of Cape Town.
- **The Survey To Go application** allows
  - Real-time monitoring of proper application of walk pattern.
  - Monitoring of routes by the Data Management Team at University of Cape Town and University of Nairobi (Afrobarometer's Core Partner for East Africa).
- Internal consistency and reliability of data were ensured through state-of-the-art programming and coding.
- Interviews were monitored in real time.
- 80 field personnel (16 supervisors, 64 enumerators) were deployed throughout the country.

# Caveat

- The results of the Afrobarometer survey are the opinions of ordinary adult citizens who are included in the survey by **random selection**.
- They are not, therefore, opinions of the elites, politicians, interest groups or activists, etc. unless, of course, as citizens of the country they are randomly selected.

# Survey demographics

<b>Gender</b>		<b>%</b>
	Men	50
	Women	50
<b>Residence</b>		<b>%</b>
	Urban	21
	Rural	79
<b>Age</b>		<b>%</b>
	18-35	59
	36-45	20
	46-55	11
	>55	10
<b>Education</b>		<b>%</b>
	No formal education	42
	Primary	38
	Secondary	12
	Post-secondary	8
<b>Religion</b>		<b>%</b>
	Christian	63
	Muslim	36
	Other	1



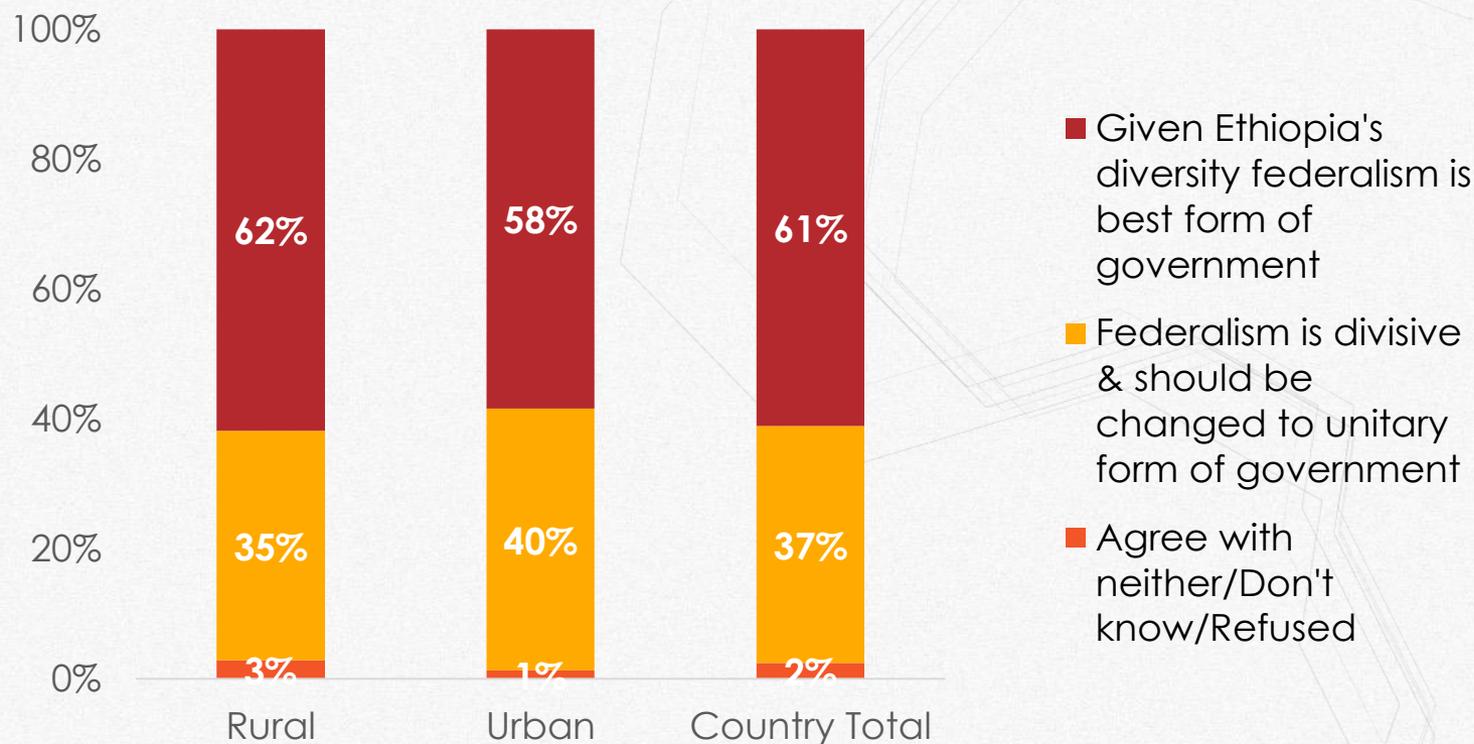


# Views on federalism

# Key findings

- Six out of 10 Ethiopians (61%) prefer a federal over a unitary system of government.
  - Almost four out of 10 (37%) see federalism as too divisive and favour a shift to a unitary form of government.
- If a federal system of government is maintained, Ethiopians are split as to what it should look like:
  - About half (49%) say federalism should continue to be based on regions defined by ethnicity, while the other half (48%) say the regions should be based on geography, not on where different ethnic groups live.
  - Urban residents are more likely to favour a geographic basis (54% vs. 44%), while residents in rural areas, which tend to be less ethnically diverse, are more likely to prefer the current ethnicity-based definition (51% vs. 47%).

# Should Ethiopia remain federal or change to a unitary form of government? | Ethiopia | 2020



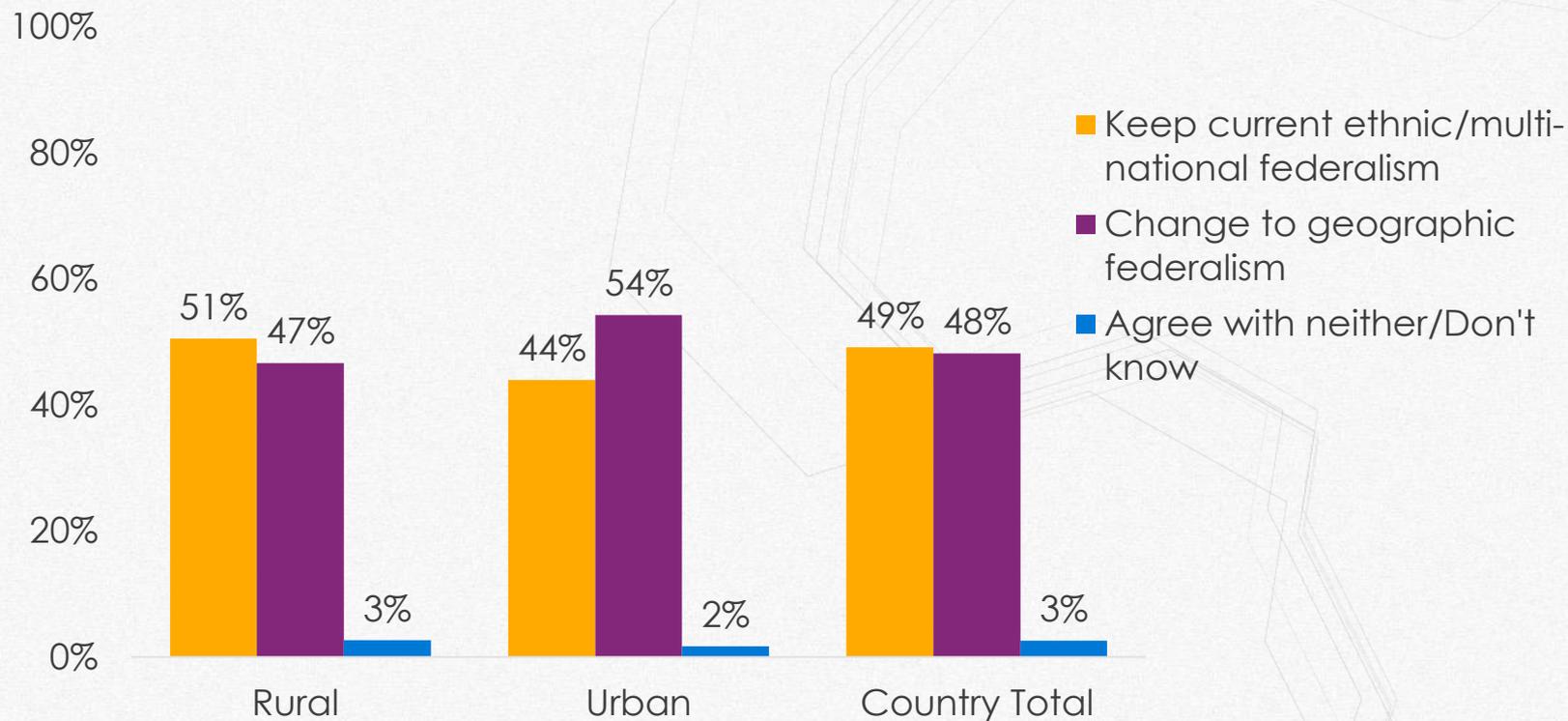
**Respondents were asked:** Which of the following statements is closest to your view?

**Statement 1:** Because of Ethiopia's diversity, some type of federalism with independent regional governments is still the best form of government for the country.

**Statement 2:** Federalism is too divisive and leads to conflicts; Ethiopia should change to a unitary government in which the central government has more authority in decision-making.

(% who "agree" or "agree very strongly" with each statement)

# Type of federalism: multi-national/ethnic vs. geographic | Ethiopia | 2020



**Respondents were asked:** Which of the following statements is closest to your view?

**Statement 1:** If Ethiopia remains a federal system, then the current system of ethnic federalisms, where regions are defined based on ethnic groups, should be kept.

**Statement 2:** If Ethiopia remains a federal system, it should change to a system where regions are based only on geographic features of the country, not on where different ethnic groups live.

(% who “agree” or “agree very strongly” with each statement)

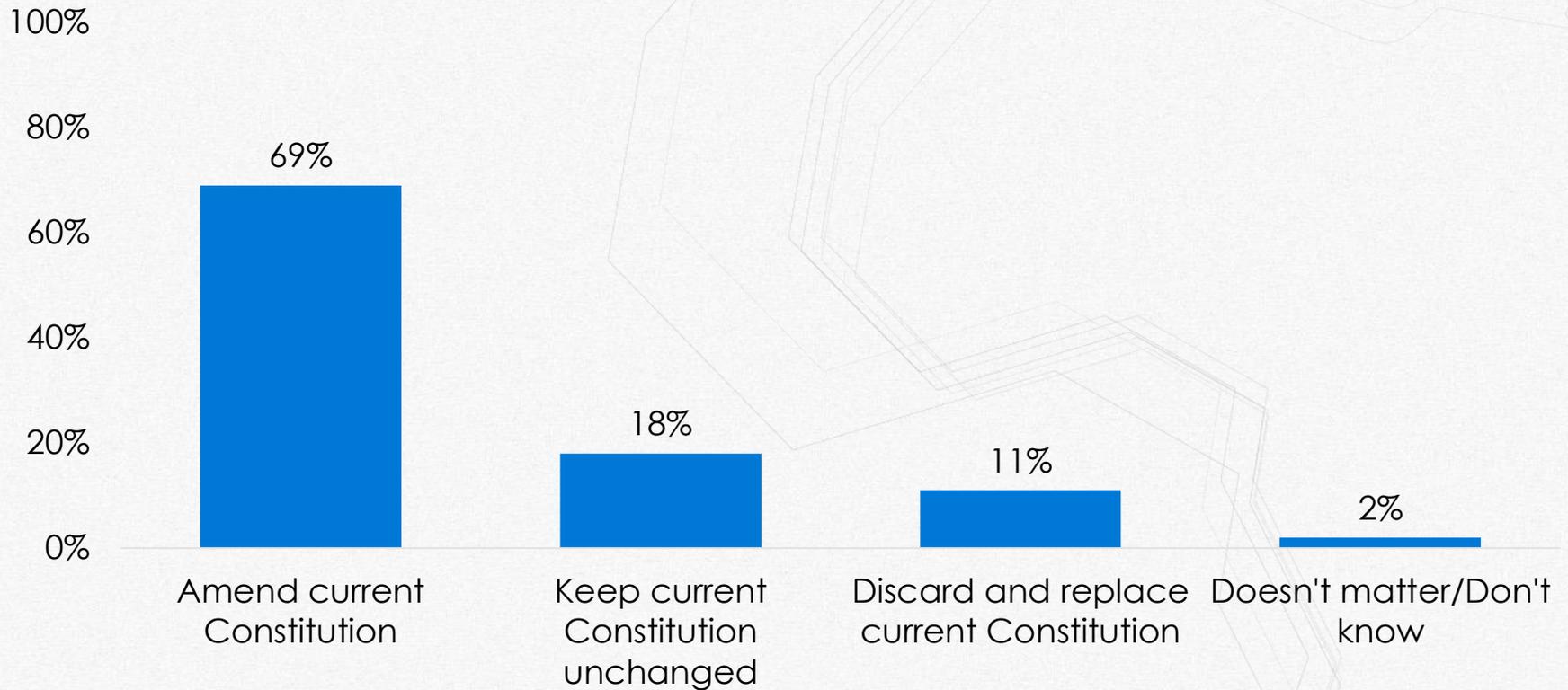


# Views on the Constitution

# Key findings

- Seven out of 10 Ethiopians (69%) support amending the Constitution, while only 11% want it to be discarded or replaced and 18% say it should be kept unchanged.
- Proposed constitutional amendments favoured by a majority of survey respondents include:
  - Designating additional working languages for the federal government (73%).
  - Limiting the prime minister to serving a maximum of two terms (68%).
  - Establishing a Constitutional Court separate from the House of Federation, which currently vested with the power to interpret the Constitution.
- Ethiopians are divided concerning the best timing for the constitutional review:
  - One-third (34%) say it should take place before the next national election, while similar proportions want it to happen soon after the election (33%) or at least a year after the election (29%).
- An overwhelming majority (92%) of Ethiopians say ordinary citizens should be consulted during the constitutional review process.

# Should Ethiopia's Constitution be kept as it is, amended, or replaced? | Ethiopia | 2020



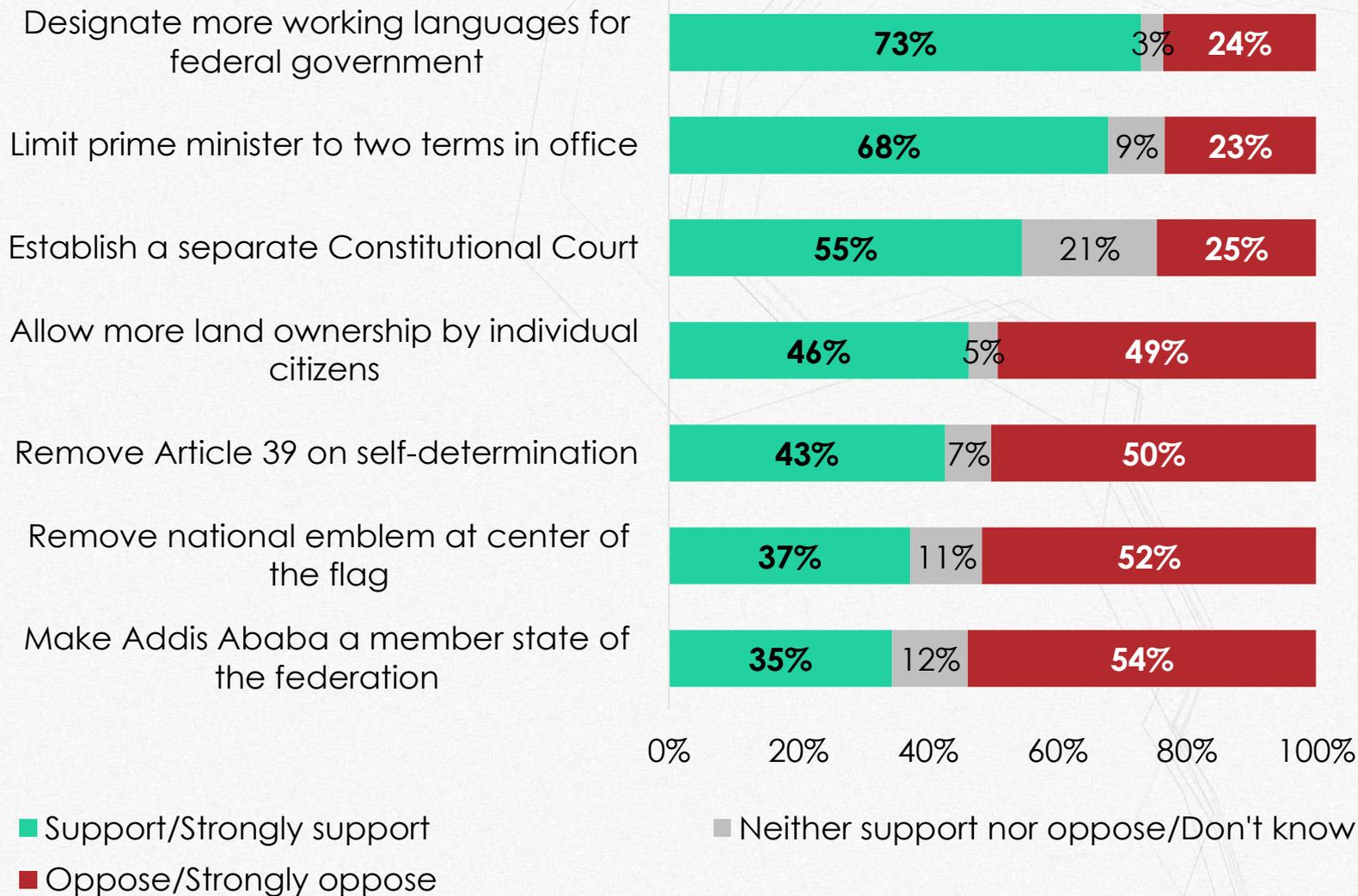
**Respondents were asked:** Which of these statements is closest to your view?

**Statement 1:** The current Constitution of Ethiopia should be kept as it is; there is no need for changes or reforms.

**Statement 2:** The country's current Constitution should be kept, but it should be amended to meet the needs of the current time.

**Statement 3:** The current Constitution should be discarded and replaced with a new Constitution

# Support or opposition to proposed constitutional amendments | Ethiopia | 2020



# Respondents were asked

*A number of proposals have been made about how Ethiopia should amend or replace some provisions in the current Constitution. Would you support or oppose each of the following proposed changes to the Ethiopian Constitution, or haven't you heard enough to say?*

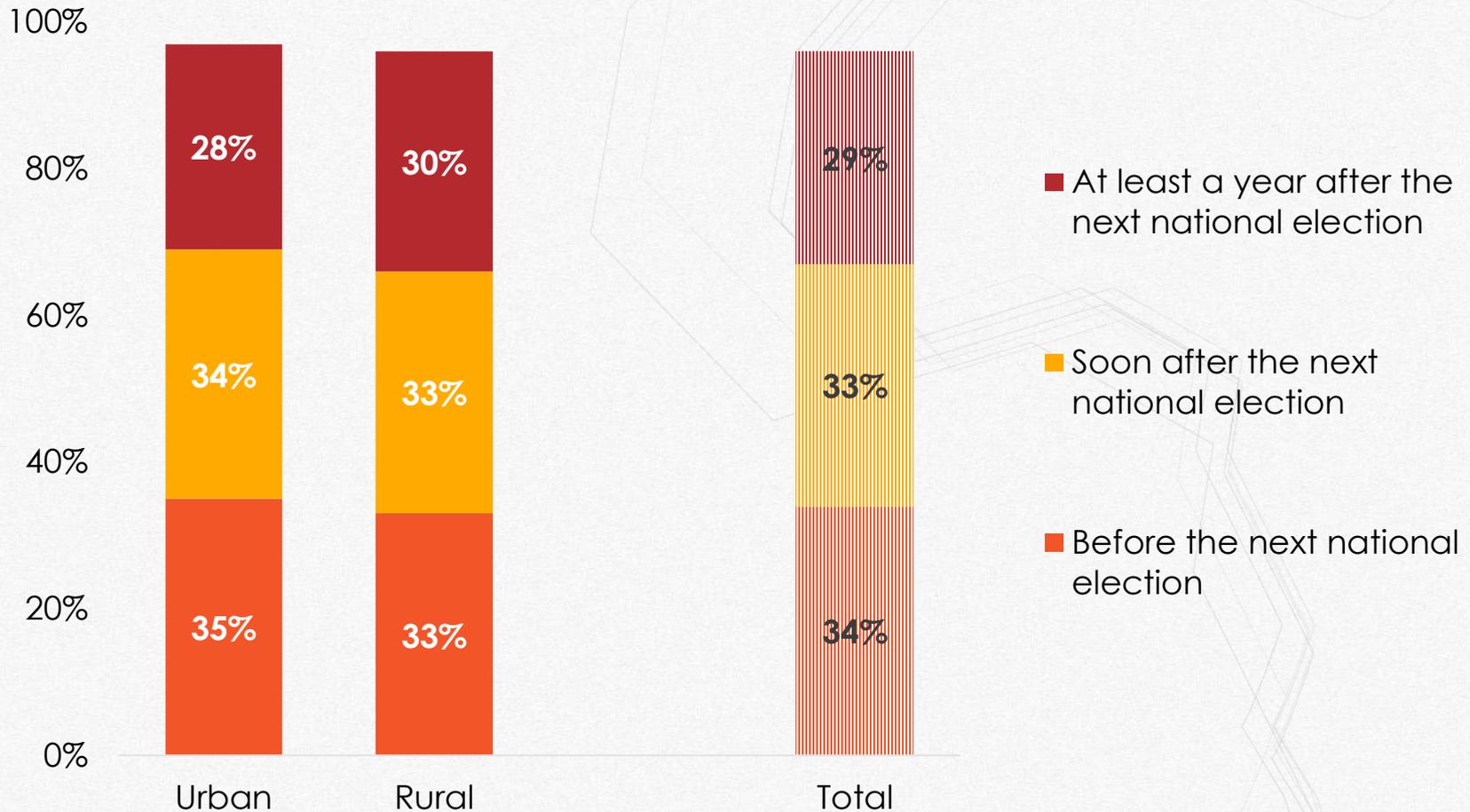
- Article 39, which ensures the rights of nations, nationalities, and peoples to self-determination, secession, and establishment of their own regional state government should be removed.*
- The provision that all land should be owned by the state should be changed or removed to allow more ownership rights for individual citizens.*
- The national emblem at the center of the Ethiopian flag should be removed.*
- Other languages in addition to Amharic should be designated as working languages of the federal government.*
- Constitutional Court that is separate from the House of Federation should be established.*
- Addis Ababa should be made a member state in the federation.*

*Which of the following statements is closest to your view?*

*Statement 1: The Constitution should limit the prime minister to serving a maximum of two terms in office.*

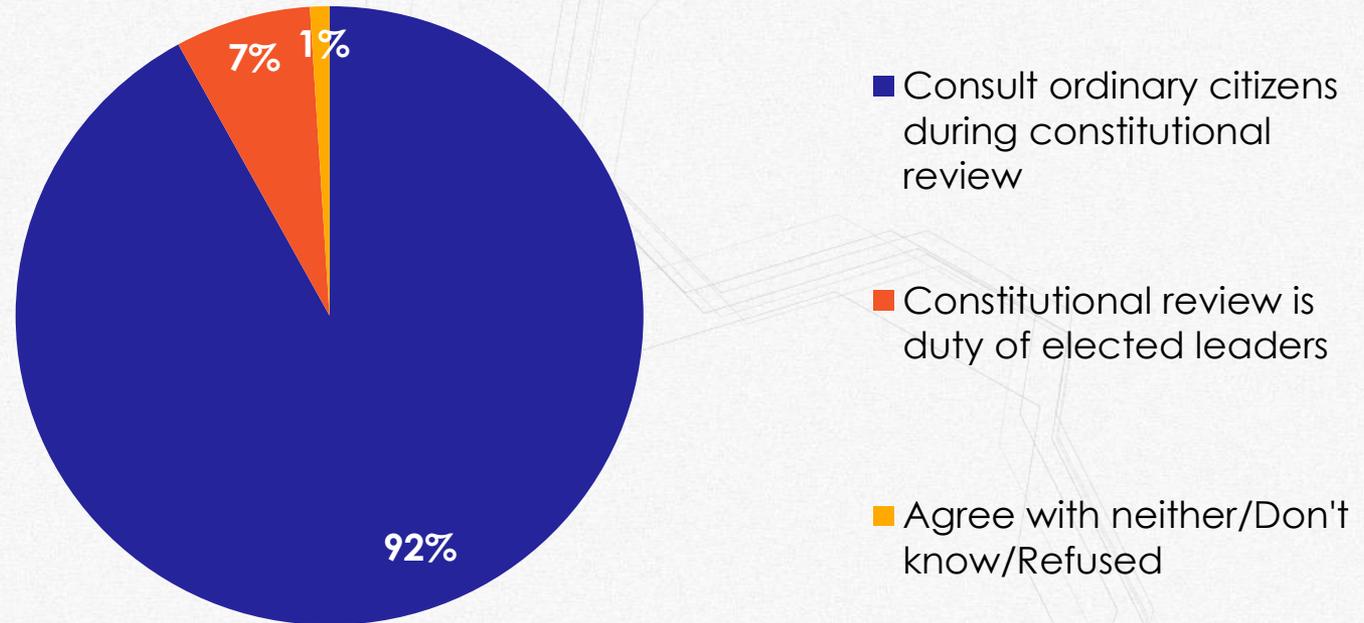
*Statement 2: There should be no constitutional limit on how long the prime minister can serve*

# Time for constitutional review | by urban-rural residency | Ethiopia | 2020



**Respondents were asked:** *If the Constitution is to be amended or reviewed, when do you think this process should take place?*

# Should constitutional review involve consultation with ordinary citizens or be left to elected political leaders? | Ethiopia | 2020



**Respondents were asked:** Which of the following statements is closest to your view?

Statement 1: If a constitutional review process takes place to revise or replace the current Ethiopian Constitution, it should include consultation with ordinary Ethiopians.

Statement 2: Amendment or replacement of the Ethiopian Constitution is the duty of elected political leaders; there is no need to consult ordinary Ethiopians.

(% who “agree” or “agree very strongly” with each statement)

**Thank you**

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