

# AFROBAROMETER ROUND 8

## THE QUALITY OF DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE IN BOTSWANA

Document revised: 26 July 2019

| Respondent Number        |   |   |  |  | Fieldworker Number |   |   |  |  | Field Number:                    |  |  |  |  |
|--------------------------|---|---|--|--|--------------------|---|---|--|--|----------------------------------|--|--|--|--|
| B                        | O | T |  |  | B                  | O | T |  |  |                                  |  |  |  |  |
| <i>[Office Use Only]</i> |   |   |  |  |                    |   |   |  |  | <i>[Allocated by Supervisor]</i> |  |  |  |  |

|                        |  |
|------------------------|--|
| <b>GPS COORDINATES</b> |  |
|------------------------|--|

|                                    |   |
|------------------------------------|---|
| <b>PSU/EA:</b> <i>[Circle one]</i> |   |
| Urban                              | 1 |
| Semi-urban                         | 3 |
| Rural                              | 2 |

*[Interviewer: Select appropriate code for District. Write names for Town / Village and EA number in the boxes.]*

|                         |     |                |     |
|-------------------------|-----|----------------|-----|
| Administrative District |     |                |     |
| Barolong                | 140 | Kgatleng       | 153 |
| Central Bobonong        | 141 | Kweneng East   | 154 |
| Central Boteti          | 142 | Kweneng West   | 155 |
| Central Mahalapye       | 143 | Lobatse        | 156 |
| Central Serowe/Palapye  | 144 | Ngamiland East | 157 |
| Central Tutume          | 145 | Ngamiland West | 158 |
| Chobe                   | 146 | Ngwaketse      | 159 |
| Francistown             | 147 | Ngwaketse West | 160 |
| Gaborone                | 148 | North East     | 161 |
| Ghanzi                  | 149 | Selibe Phikwe  | 162 |
| Jwaneng                 | 150 | South East     | 163 |
| Kgalagadi North         | 151 | Sowa           | 164 |
| Kgalagadi South         | 152 |                |     |
|                         |     |                |     |
| Locality name           |     |                |     |
| Town/Village name       |     |                |     |
| EA number               |     |                |     |

|                          |                                    |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <b>Constituency name</b> |                                    |
| <b>Municipality name</b> | <b>Not applicable for Botswana</b> |

| EA-SVC. Are the following services present in the primary sampling unit / enumeration area? | Yes | No | Can't determine |
|---|-----|----|-----------------|
| A. Electricity grid that most houses can access   | 1   | 0  | 9               |
| B. Piped water system that most houses can access   | 1   | 0  | 9               |
| C. Sewage system that most houses can access  | 1   | 0  | 9               |
| D. Mobile phone service   | 1   | 0  | 9               |
| E. Borehole or tubewell   | 1   | 0  | 9               |

| <b>EA-FAC. Are the following facilities present in the primary sampling unit / enumeration area or in easy walking distance?</b> | Yes | No | Can't determine |
|--|-----|----|-----------------|
| A. Post office   | 1   | 0  | 9               |
| B. School (private or public or both)  | 1   | 0  | 9               |
| C. Police station  | 1   | 0  | 9               |
| D. Health clinic (private or public or both)   | 1   | 0  | 9               |
| E. Market stalls (selling groceries and / or clothing)   | 1   | 0  | 9               |
| F. Bank, money transfer point, mobile banking services or ATM  | 1   | 0  | 9               |
| G. Is there any kind of paid transport, such as a bus, taxi, moped, or other form, available on a daily basis?                   | 1   | 0  | 9               |

| <b>EA-SEC. In the PSU / EA, did you (or any of your colleagues) see:</b>                   | Yes | No | Don't know |
|--|-----|----|------------|
| A. Any police officers or police vehicles?   | 1   | 0  | 9          |
| B. Any soldiers or army vehicles?  | 1   | 0  | 9          |
| C. Any roadblocks set up by police or army?  | 1   | 0  | 9          |
| D. Any customs checkpoints?  | 1   | 0  | 9          |
| E. Any roadblocks or booms set up by private security providers or by the local community? | 1   | 0  | 9          |

| <b>EA-ROAD. Thinking of the journey here:</b>  | Earth | Gravel | Stone | Muram | Paved/Tarred | Concrete |
|--|-------|--------|-------|-------|--------------|----------|
| A. Was the road at the start point in the PSU / EA:  | 1     | 2      | 3     | 4     | 5            | 6        |
| B. What was the most common surface of the road over the last 5 kilometers before arriving at the start point of the PSU / EA? | 1     | 2      | 3     | 4     | 5            | 6        |

| <b>EA-ROAD-C Thinking of the journey here:</b>   | Impassable | Very poor | Poor | Fair | Good | Very good |
|--|------------|-----------|------|------|------|-----------|
| What was the condition of the road in the last 5 km before reaching the start point of the PSU / EA? Was the road in excellent or good condition and easy to traverse, or was it in poor or very poor condition, that is, difficult to traverse due to potholes, waterlogging, or other issues, or was it impassable at any point (e.g. due to a collapsed bridge, fallen tree, flooding, etc.)? | 1          | 2         | 3    | 4    | 5    | 6         |

### Household Selection Procedure

*Interviewer: It is your job to select a random (this means any) household. A household is a group of people who currently eat together from the same pot.*

*Start your walk pattern from the start point that has been randomly chosen by your Field Supervisor. Team members must walk in opposite directions to each other. If A walks toward the sun, B must walk away from the sun; C and D must walk at right angles to A and B.*

*Use a 5 / 10 interval pattern to select a household. That is, walking in your designated direction away from the start point, select the 5<sup>th</sup> household for the first interview, counting houses on both the right and the left (and starting with those on the right if they are opposite each other). Once you leave your first interview, continue on in the same direction, this time selecting the 10<sup>th</sup> household, again counting houses on both the right and the left. If the settlement comes to an end and there are no more houses, turn at right angles to the right and keep walking, continuing to count until finding the 10th dwelling.*

*Interviewer: If a call is unsuccessful, use the table below to record your progress until you make a successful call. Circle a code number for unsuccessful calls only.*

| NOCALL   | NOCALL_1       | NOCALL_2       | NOCALL_3       | NOCALL_4       | NOCALL_5       | NOCALL_6       | NOCALL_7       |
|--|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Reasons for Unsuccessful Calls   | Household<br>1 | Household<br>2 | Household<br>3 | Household<br>4 | Household<br>5 | Household<br>6 | Household<br>7 |
| Refused to be interviewed  | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              |
| Person selected was never at home after at least two visits                | 2              | 2              | 2              | 2              | 2              | 2              | 2              |
| Household / Premises empty for the survey period after at least two visits | 3              | 3              | 3              | 3              | 3              | 3              | 3              |
| Not a citizen / Spoke only a foreign language                              | 4              | 4              | 4              | 4              | 4              | 4              | 4              |
| Deaf / Did not speak a survey language                                     | 5              | 5              | 5              | 5              | 5              | 5              | 5              |
| Did not fit gender quota   | 6              | 6              | 6              | 6              | 6              | 6              | 6              |
| No adults in household   | 7              | 7              | 7              | 7              | 7              | 7              | 7              |
| Other<br>[Specify]   | 8              | 8              | 8              | 8              | 8              | 8              | 8              |
| Not applicable   | 9997           | 9997           | 9997           | 9997           | 9997           | 9997           | 9997           |

*If no one is at home (i.e. premises empty) after two visits, substitute with the very next household. If the interview is refused, use an interval of 10 to select a substitute household, counting houses on both the right and the left.  
When you find a household with someone home, please introduce yourself using the following script. You must learn this introduction so that you can say it exactly as it is written below.*

**Good day. My name is \_\_\_\_\_. I am from the Star Awards and Afrobarometer, independent research organisations. I do not represent the government or any political party. We are studying the views of citizens in Botswana about how the country is governed and how the economy is managed. We would like to discuss these issues with a member of your household. Every person in the country has an equal chance of being included in this study. All information will be kept confidential. Your household has been chosen by chance. We would like to choose an adult from your household. Would you help us pick one?**

*Note: The person must give his or her informed consent by answering positively. If participation is refused, walk away from the household and record this in the above table on "Reasons for Unsuccessful Calls." Substitute the household using an interval of 10 households. If consent is secured, proceed to Respondent Selection.*

**Respondent Selection Procedure**

Interviewer: **Within** the household, the tablet will select a random (this means any) individual. This individual becomes the interview Respondent. The tablet will guide you to alternate interviews between men and women.

Note that "First Interview" should ONLY be used for your very first interview on the first day of fieldwork, NOT your first interview every day.

|   | First interview | Male | Female |
|---|-----------------|------|--------|
| PREVINT. Previous interview was with a: | 0               | 1    | 2      |
| THISINT. This interview must be with a: |                 | 1    | 2      |

**Please tell me the first names and ages of all males / females [select correct gender] who currently live in this household. I only want the names of males / females [select correct gender] who are citizens of Botswana and who are 18 years and older.**

If this interview must be with a female, list only women's names. If this interview is with a male, list only men's names. List all eligible household members of this gender who are 18 years or older, even those not currently at home but who will return to the house at any time that day. Include only citizens of Botswana

| Women's Names | Men's Names |
|---------------|-------------|
| 1             | 1           |
| 2             | 2           |
| 3             | 3           |
| 4             | 4           |
| 5             | 5           |
| 6             | 6           |
| 7             | 7           |
| 8             | 8           |
| 9             | 9           |
| 10            | 10          |

Please record the total number of adults (men and women) in the household who are citizens of Botswana. Enter a two-digit number.

|   |  |  |
|---|--|--|
| ADULT_CT. Total number of adult citizens in the household |  |  |
|---|--|--|

The person I need to speak to is [insert name] \_\_\_\_\_. Is this person currently at home?

|         |  |
|---------|--|
| If yes: | <b>May I please interview this person now?</b>   |
| If no:  | <b>Will this person return here at any time today?</b>   |
| If no:  | <b>Thank you very much. I will select another household. Substitute with the next household to the right and repeat the respondent selection procedure. (NOTE: YOU CAN ONLY SUBSTITUTE HOUSEHOLDS, NOT INDIVIDUALS.)</b> |
| If yes: | <b>Please tell this person that I will return for an interview at [insert convenient time]. If this respondent is not present when you call back, replace this household with the next household to the right.</b>       |

If the selected respondent is not the same person that you first met, repeat Introduction:

Good day. My name is \_\_\_\_\_. I am from the Star Awards and Afrobarometer, independent research organisations. **I do not represent the government or any political party.** We are studying the views of citizens in Botswana about how the country is governed and how the economy is managed. We would like to discuss these issues with you.

To ALL respondents:

**Your answers will be confidential.** They will be put together with 1200 other people we are talking to, to get an overall picture. It will be impossible to pick you out from what you say, so please feel free to tell us what you think. This interview will take about 45 minutes. There is no penalty for refusing to participate. Do you wish to proceed? *[Proceed with interview only if answer is positive.]*

*[If respondent agrees to proceed, add:]* **We can do this interview in Setswana or English . Please, tell me which language you would like to use.** *[If interviewer does not speak selected language, then make an appointment for later in the day with a member of the team who speaks that language.]*

*Note: The person must give his or her informed consent by answering positively. If participation is refused, walk away from the household and record this in the above table on "Reasons for Unsuccessful Calls." Substitute the household using an interval of 10 households. If consent is secured, proceed with the interview after recording number of calls and current date and time.*

| <b>CALLS</b>   | Circle number |   |
|--|---------------|---|
| How many calls were made to the household where the interview actually took place? | 1             | 2 |

| <b>DATEINTR</b>  | Day | Month | Year |
|--|-----|-------|------|
| Date of interview <i>[Interviewer: Enter day, month, and year]</i> |     |       |      |

| <b>STRTIME</b>  | Hour | Minute |
|---|------|--------|
| Time interview started <i>[Interviewer: Enter hour and minute, using 24-hour clock]</i> |      |        |

*Interviewer: If a respondent firmly refuses to answer any question, write "refused" in the answer space and continue to the next question*

## BEGIN INTERVIEW

Let's begin by recording a few facts about yourself.

|   |  |  |  |     |  |  |
|---|--|--|--|-----|--|--|
| <b>1. How old are you?</b>  |  |  |  |     |  |  |
| <i>[Interviewer: Don't know = 999] [Interviewer: If respondent is aged less than 18, select "Respondent is under 18 years old" and use the tablet to select another respondent of the same gender from this household. If there are no other respondents of the correct gender in this household, continue to the next household in the direction of the walk pattern.]</i> |  |  |  |     |  |  |
| <b>Respondent is under 18 years old</b>   |  |  |  | 997 |  |  |

|  |     |                         |           |  |  |  |
|--|-----|-------------------------|-----------|--|--|--|
| <b>2. What is the primary language you speak in your home now?</b> |     |                         |           |  |  |  |
| English  | 1   | Sebirwa                 | 147       |  |  |  |
| Setswana   | 140 | Sengologa               | 148       |  |  |  |
| Sesarwa  | 141 | Seyeyi                  | 149       |  |  |  |
| Sekgalagadi  | 142 | Afrikaans/Seburu        | 150       |  |  |  |
| Sesubia  | 143 | Sekgothu                | 151       |  |  |  |
| Ikalinga/Sekalaka  | 144 |                         |           |  |  |  |
| Seherero   | 145 | Other <i>[Specify]:</i> | Post code |  |  |  |
| Sembukushu   | 146 | Don't know              | 9999      |  |  |  |

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <b>3. Let's start with your general view about the current direction of our country. Some people might think the country is going in the wrong direction. Others may feel it is going in the right direction. So let me ask YOU 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?</b> |   |
| Going in the wrong direction  | 1 |
| Going in the right direction  | 2 |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>   | 9 |

|   |           |             |                      |            |          |                         |
|---|-----------|-------------|----------------------|------------|----------|-------------------------|
| <b>Let's discuss economic conditions.</b>                               |           |             |                      |            |          |                         |
| <b>4. In general, how would you describe: <i>[Read out options]</i></b> |           |             |                      |            |          |                         |
|   | Very good | Fairly good | Neither good nor bad | Fairly bad | Very bad | Don't know <i>[DNR]</i> |
| <b>A. The present economic condition of this country?</b>               | 5         | 4           | 3                    | 2          | 1        | 9                       |
| <b>B. Your own present living conditions?</b>                           | 5         | 4           | 3                    | 2          | 1        | 9                       |

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <b>5. How often, if ever, are people like you treated unfairly by the government based on your economic status, that is, how rich or poor you are? <i>[Read out options]</i></b> |   |
| Never  | 0 |
| Sometimes  | 1 |
| Often  | 2 |
| Always   | 3 |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>  | 9 |

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <b>6A. Looking back, how do you rate economic conditions in this country compared to 12 months ago? <i>[Read out options]</i></b> |   |
| Much worse  | 1 |
| Worse   | 2 |
| Same  | 3 |
| Better  | 4 |
| Much better   | 5 |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>   | 9 |

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <b>6B. Looking ahead, do you expect economic conditions in this country to be better or worse in 12 months' time? [Read out options]</b> |   |
| Much worse   | 1 |
| Worse  | 2 |
| Same   | 3 |
| Better   | 4 |
| Much better  | 5 |
| Don't know [Do not read]   | 9 |

|  |       |                    |               |            |        |                  |
|--|-------|--------------------|---------------|------------|--------|------------------|
| <b>7. Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or anyone in your family gone without: [Read out options]</b> |       |                    |               |            |        |                  |
|  | Never | Just once or twice | Several times | Many times | Always | Don't know [DNR] |
| A. Enough food to eat?   | 0     | 1                  | 2             | 3          | 4      | 9                |
| B. Enough clean water for home use?  | 0     | 1                  | 2             | 3          | 4      | 9                |
| C. Medicines or medical treatment?   | 0     | 1                  | 2             | 3          | 4      | 9                |
| D. Enough fuel to cook your food?  | 0     | 1                  | 2             | 3          | 4      | 9                |
| E. A cash income?  | 0     | 1                  | 2             | 3          | 4      | 9                |

|   |       |                    |               |            |        |                  |
|---|-------|--------------------|---------------|------------|--------|------------------|
| <b>8. Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or anyone in your family: [Read out options]</b> |       |                    |               |            |        |                  |
|   | Never | Just once or twice | Several times | Many times | Always | Don't know [DNR] |
| A. Felt unsafe walking in your neighbourhood?   | 0     | 1                  | 2             | 3          | 4      | 9                |
| B. Feared crime in your own home?   | 0     | 1                  | 2             | 3          | 4      | 9                |

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <b>9. When you get together with your friends or family, would you say you discuss political matters: [Read out options]</b> |   |
| Frequently   | 2 |
| Occasionally   | 1 |
| Never  | 0 |
| Don't know [Do not read]   | 9 |

|  |                 |               |               |                 |                  |  |
|--|-----------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|------------------|--|
| <b>10. In this country, how free are you: [Read out options]</b> |                 |               |               |                 |                  |  |
|  | Not at all free | Not very free | Somewhat free | Completely free | Don't know [DNR] |  |
| A. To say what you think   | 1               | 2             | 3             | 4               | 9                |  |
| B. To join any political organization you want                   | 1               | 2             | 3             | 4               | 9                |  |
| C. To choose who to vote for without feeling pressured           | 1               | 2             | 3             | 4               | 9                |  |

|   |       |               |               |                         |                     |                  |
|---|-------|---------------|---------------|-------------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| <b>11. Here is a list of actions that people sometimes take as citizens. For each of these, please tell me whether you, personally, have done any of these things during the past year. [If Yes, read out options 2-4]. If not, would you do this if you had the chance? [For No, read out options 0 and 1]</b> |       |               |               |                         |                     |                  |
|   | YES   |               |               | NO                      |                     | Don't know [DNR] |
|   | Often | Several times | Once or twice | Would if had the chance | Would never do this |                  |
| A. Attended a community meeting   | 4     | 3             | 2             | 1                       | 0                   | 9                |
| B. Got together with others to raise an issue   | 4     | 3             | 2             | 1                       | 0                   | 9                |
| C. Participated in a demonstration or protest march   | 4     | 3             | 2             | 1                       | 0                   | 9                |

|  |       |           |             |       |                  |  |
|--|-------|-----------|-------------|-------|------------------|--|
| <b>12. During the past year, how often have you contacted any of the following persons about some important problem or to give them your views? [Read out options]</b> |       |           |             |       |                  |  |
|  | Never | Only once | A few times | Often | Don't know [DNR] |  |
| A. A local government councillor   | 0     | 1         | 2           | 3     | 9                |  |
| B. A member of Parliament  | 0     | 1         | 2           | 3     | 9                |  |
| C. A political party official  | 0     | 1         | 2           | 3     | 9                |  |
| D. A traditional leader  | 0     | 1         | 2           | 3     | 9                |  |

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <b>Let's talk about the last national election held in 2014.</b>  |   |
| <b>13. People are not always able to vote in elections, for example, because they weren't registered, they were unable to go, or someone prevented them from voting. How about you? In the last national election held in 2014, did you vote, or not, or were you too young to vote? Or can't you remember whether you voted?</b> |   |
| I did not vote  | 0 |
| I was too young to vote   | 1 |
| I can't remember whether I voted  | 2 |
| I voted in the election   | 3 |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>   | 9 |

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <b>14. On the whole, how would you rate the freeness and fairness of the last national election, held in 2014? Was it:</b><br><i>[Read out options]</i> |   |
| Completely free and fair  | 4 |
| Free and fair, but with minor problems  | 3 |
| Free and fair, with major problems  | 2 |
| Not free and fair   | 1 |
| Do not understand question <i>[Do not read]</i>   | 8 |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>   | 9 |

|  |    |     |                            |
|--|----|-----|----------------------------|
| <b>15. Thinking about the last national election in 2014:</b>                          |    |     |                            |
|  | No | Yes | Don't know<br><i>[DNR]</i> |
| <b>A. Did you attend a campaign rally?</b>   | 0  | 1   | 9                          |
| <b>B. Did you work for a candidate or party?</b>                                       | 0  | 1   | 9                          |
| <b>C. Did any representative of a political party contact you during the campaign?</b> | 0  | 1   | 9                          |

|  |           |  |  |      |
|--|-----------|--|--|------|
| <b>15D. <i>[If yes to Q15C]</i> If someone from a political party contacted you, which party were they from? <i>[Do not read options. Code from response. If more than one party made contact, select all parties that made contact]</i></b> |           |  |  |      |
| Botswana Congress Party (BCP)  |           |  |  | 140  |
| Botswana Democratic Party (BDP)  |           |  |  | 141  |
| Botswana Movement For Democracy (BMD)  |           |  |  | 142  |
| Botswana National Front (BNF)  |           |  |  | 143  |
| Botswana People's Party (BPP)  |           |  |  | 144  |
| Marx Engels Lenin Stalin (MELS)  |           |  |  | 145  |
| Umbrella for Democratic Change (UDC)   |           |  |  | 146  |
| Other <i>[Specify]:</i> _____  | Post code |  |  |      |
| Not applicable <i>[respondent answered 0=No on Q15C]</i>   |           |  |  | 9997 |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>  |           |  |  | 9999 |

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <b>16A. During the last national election campaign in 2014, how often did the media provide fair coverage of all candidates? <i>[Read out options]</i></b> |   |
| Never  | 0 |
| Sometimes  | 1 |
| Often  | 2 |
| Always   | 3 |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>  | 9 |

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <b>16B. During the last national election in 2014, how often, if ever, did a candidate or someone from a political party offer you something, like food, a gift, or money, in return for your vote? <i>[Read out options]</i></b> |   |
| Never   | 0 |
| Once or twice   | 1 |
| Several times   | 2 |
| Often   | 3 |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>   | 9 |



| 17. In the last national election in 2014, how often did each of the following things happen? <i>[Read out options]</i> |       |             |       |                            |
|---|-------|-------------|-------|----------------------------|
|   | Never | A few times | Often | Don't know<br><i>[DNR]</i> |
| A. People's votes were not accurately counted or not fairly reflected in the results?                                   | 0     | 1           | 2     | 9                          |
| B. People voted more than once?   | 0     | 1           | 2     | 9                          |

| 17C. How likely do you think it is that powerful people can find out how you voted, even though there is supposed to be a secret ballot in this country? <i>[Read out options]</i> |   |
|--|---|
| Not at all likely  | 0 |
| Not very likely  | 1 |
| Somewhat likely  | 2 |
| Very likely  | 3 |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>  | 9 |

| 17D. During the last national election campaign in 2014, how much did you personally fear becoming a victim of political intimidation or violence? <i>[Read out options]</i> |   |
|--|---|
| Not at all   | 3 |
| A little bit   | 2 |
| Somewhat   | 1 |
| A lot  | 0 |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>  | 9 |

| 18. During the last national election in 2014, did you witness: <i>[Read out options]</i>          |    |     |  |
|--|----|-----|--|
|  | No | Yes | Don't know /<br>Can't remember<br><i>[DNR]</i> |
| A. Police or soldiers, rather than election officials, assisting some people to cast their ballot? | 0  | 1   | 9  |
| B. Anyone from the security forces or a political party trying to intimidate voters?               | 0  | 1   | 9  |

| 18C. With regard to the last national election in 2014, to what extent do you think the results announced by the Independent Electoral Commission accurately reflected the actual results as counted? <i>[Read out options]</i> |   |
|---|---|
| Completely accurate   | 4 |
| Mostly accurate, but with some minor discrepancies  | 3 |
| Not very accurate, with major discrepancies   | 2 |
| Not accurate at all   | 1 |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>   | 9 |

Let's talk for a moment about the kind of society you would like to have in this country. 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?]*

| 19A.   |                             |  |   |
|--|-----------------------------|--|---|
| Statement 1: The government should be able to ban any organisation that goes against its policies. |                             | Statement 2: We should be able to join any organisation, whether or not the government approves of it. |   |
| Agree very strongly with Statement 1<br>1  | Agree with Statement 1<br>2 | Agree with Statement 2<br>3  | Agree very strongly with Statement 2<br>4 |
| Agree with neither <i>[Do not read]</i>  |                             |  | 5   |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>  |                             |  | 9   |

|  |                             |  |   |
|--|-----------------------------|--|---|
| <b>19B.</b>  |                             |  |   |
| <b>Statement 1: The media should have the right to publish any views and ideas without government control.</b> |                             | <b>Statement 2: The government should have the right to prevent the media from publishing things that it disapproves of.</b> |   |
| Agree very strongly with Statement 1<br>1  | Agree with Statement 1<br>2 | Agree with Statement 2<br>3  | Agree very strongly with Statement 2<br>4 |
| Agree with neither <i>[Do not read]</i>  |                             |  | 5   |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>  |                             |  | 9   |

|  |                     |            |  |         |                  |                            |
|--|---------------------|------------|--|---------|------------------|----------------------------|
| <b>20. There are many ways to govern a country. Would you disapprove or approve of the following alternatives?</b><br><i>[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion.]</i> |                     |            |  |         |                  |                            |
|  | Strongly disapprove | Disapprove | Neither approve nor disapprove<br><i>[DNR]</i> | Approve | Strongly approve | Don't know<br><i>[DNR]</i> |
| <b>A. Only one political party is allowed to stand for election and hold office.</b>   | 1                   | 2          | 3  | 4       | 5                | 9                          |
| <b>B. The army comes in to govern the country.</b>   | 1                   | 2          | 3  | 4       | 5                | 9                          |
| <b>C. Elections and Parliament are abolished so that the president can decide everything.</b>  | 1                   | 2          | 3  | 4       | 5                | 9                          |

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <b>21. Which of these three statements is closest to your own opinion?</b> <i>[Read out statements. Read the question in the language of the interview, but always read "democracy" in [English]. Translate "democracy" into local language only if respondent does not understand the term in the official language.]</i> |   |
| <b>Statement 1: Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government.</b>   | 3 |
| <b>Statement 2: In some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable.</b>  | 2 |
| <b>Statement 3: For someone like me, it doesn't matter what kind of government we have.</b>  | 1 |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>  | 9 |

|   |                             |   |   |
|---|-----------------------------|---|---|
| <b>Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.</b><br><i>[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion: Do you agree or agree very strongly?]</i> |                             |   |   |
| <b>22.</b>  |                             |   |   |
| <b>Statement 1: It is more important to have a government that can get things done, even if we have no influence over what it does.</b>   |                             | <b>Statement 2: It is more important for citizens to be able to hold government accountable, even if that means it makes decisions more slowly.</b> |   |
| Agree very strongly with Statement 1<br>1   | Agree with Statement 1<br>2 | Agree with Statement 2<br>3   | Agree very strongly with Statement 2<br>4 |
| Agree with neither <i>[Do not read]</i>   |                             |   | 5   |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>   |                             |   | 9   |

|   |                             |  |   |
|---|-----------------------------|--|---|
| <b>23.</b>  |                             |  |   |
| <b>Statement 1: In order for our country to do well, we should listen more to the wisdom of our elders.</b> |                             | <b>Statement 2: In order for our country to do well, we should listen more to fresh ideas from young people.</b> |   |
| Agree very strongly with Statement 1<br>1   | Agree with Statement 1<br>2 | Agree with Statement 2<br>3  | Agree very strongly with Statement 2<br>4 |
| Agree with neither <i>[Do not read]</i>   |                             |  | 5   |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>   |                             |  | 9   |

|   |                             |   |   |
|---|-----------------------------|---|---|
| <b>24.</b>  |                             |   |   |
| <b>Statement 1: We should choose our leaders in this country through regular, open, and honest elections.</b> |                             | <b>Statement 2: Since elections sometimes produce bad results, we should adopt other methods for choosing this country's leaders.</b> |   |
| Agree very strongly with Statement 1<br>1   | Agree with Statement 1<br>2 | Agree with Statement 2<br>3   | Agree very strongly with Statement 2<br>4 |
| Agree with neither <i>[Do not read]</i>   |                             |   | 5   |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>   |                             |   | 9   |

|  |                             |   |   |
|--|-----------------------------|---|---|
| <b>25.</b>   |                             |   |   |
| <b>Statement 1: Political parties create division and confusion; it is therefore unnecessary to have many political parties in Botswana.</b> |                             | <b>Statement 2: Many political parties are needed to make sure that Batswana have real choices in who governs them.</b> |   |
| Agree very strongly with Statement 1<br>1  | Agree with Statement 1<br>2 | Agree with Statement 2<br>3   | Agree very strongly with Statement 2<br>4 |
| Agree with neither <i>[Do not read]</i>  |                             |   | 5   |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>  |                             |   | 9   |

|   |                             |   |   |
|---|-----------------------------|---|---|
| <b>26.</b>  |                             |   |   |
| <b>Statement 1: Our elected officials should listen to constituents' views and do what they demand.</b> |                             | <b>Statement 2: Our elected leaders should follow their own ideas in deciding what is best for the country.</b> |   |
| Agree very strongly with Statement 1<br>1   | Agree with Statement 1<br>2 | Agree with Statement 2<br>3   | Agree very strongly with Statement 2<br>4 |
| Agree with neither <i>[Do not read]</i>   |                             |   | 5   |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>   |                             |   | 9   |

|  |                             |   |   |
|--|-----------------------------|---|---|
| <b>27.</b>   |                             |   |   |
| <b>Statement 1: Our elected leaders need to focus on empowering our most capable citizens.</b> |                             | <b>Statement 2: Our elected leaders should focus on helping people who have been left behind by economic and social change.</b> |   |
| Agree very strongly with Statement 1<br>1  | Agree with Statement 1<br>2 | Agree with Statement 2<br>3   | Agree very strongly with Statement 2<br>4 |
| Agree with neither <i>[Do not read]</i>  |                             |   | 5   |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>  |                             |   | 9   |

|  |                             |  |   |
|--|-----------------------------|--|---|
| <b>28</b>  |                             |  |   |
| <b>Statement 1: Experts with specialized education or skills are needed to help make the most important decisions for our country.</b> |                             | <b>Statement 2: The people and their elected representatives know what is best; they do not need the advice of experts to run the country.</b> |   |
| Agree very strongly with Statement 1<br>1  | Agree with Statement 1<br>2 | Agree with Statement 2<br>3  | Agree very strongly with Statement 2<br>4 |
| Agree with neither <i>[Do not read]</i>  |                             |  | 5   |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>  |                             |  | 9   |

|   |                             |  |   |
|---|-----------------------------|--|---|
| <b>29.</b>  |                             |  |   |
| <b>Statement 1: Parliament should ensure that the president explains to it on a regular basis how his government spends taxpayers' money.</b> |                             | <b>Statement 2: The president should be able to devote his full attention to developing the country rather than wasting time justifying his actions.</b> |   |
| Agree very strongly with Statement 1<br>1   | Agree with Statement 1<br>2 | Agree with Statement 2<br>3  | Agree very strongly with Statement 2<br>4 |
| Agree with neither <i>[Do not read]</i>   |                             |  | 5   |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>   |                             |  | 9   |

|  |                             |   |   |
|--|-----------------------------|---|---|
| <b>30.</b>   |                             |   |   |
| <b>Statement 1: Since the president was elected to lead the country, he should not be bound by laws or court decisions that he thinks are wrong.</b> |                             | <b>Statement 2: The president must always obey the laws and the courts, even if he thinks they are wrong.</b> |   |
| Agree very strongly with Statement 1<br>1  | Agree with Statement 1<br>2 | Agree with Statement 2<br>3   | Agree very strongly with Statement 2<br>4 |
| Agree with neither <i>[Do not read]</i>  |                             |   | 5   |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>  |                             |   | 9   |

|   |                             |  |   |
|---|-----------------------------|--|---|
| <b>31.</b>  |                             |  |   |
| <b>Statement 1: Whichever party or group wins elections should be able to pursue the policies they prefer, without needing to compromise with others.</b> |                             | <b>Statement 2: In a democracy, it is important to make compromises between the preferences and needs of different groups.</b> |   |
| Agree very strongly with Statement 1<br>1   | Agree with Statement 1<br>2 | Agree with Statement 2<br>3  | Agree very strongly with Statement 2<br>4 |
| Agree with neither <i>[Do not read]</i>   |                             |  | 5   |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>   |                             |  | 9   |

|  |                             |   |   |
|--|-----------------------------|---|---|
| <b>32.</b>   |                             |   |   |
| <b>Statement 1: A government that enjoys the support of the people should be free to do whatever the people want, even if it is outside the law.</b> |                             | <b>Statement 2: The actions of any government, no matter how popular it is, must always follow the law.</b> |   |
| Agree very strongly with Statement 1<br>1  | Agree with Statement 1<br>2 | Agree with Statement 2<br>3   | Agree very strongly with Statement 2<br>4 |
| Agree with neither <i>[Do not read]</i>  |                             |   | 5   |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>  |                             |   | 9   |

|  |                             |   |   |
|--|-----------------------------|---|---|
| <b>33.</b>   |                             |   |   |
| <b>Statement 1: The news media should constantly investigate and report on government mistakes and corruption.</b> |                             | <b>Statement 2: Too much reporting on negative events, like government mistakes and corruption, only harms the country.</b> |   |
| Agree very strongly with Statement 1<br>1  | Agree with Statement 1<br>2 | Agree with Statement 2<br>3   | Agree very strongly with Statement 2<br>4 |
| Agree with neither <i>[Do not read]</i>  |                             |   | 5   |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>  |                             |   | 9   |

|  |                             |  |   |
|--|-----------------------------|--|---|
| <b>34.</b>   |                             |  |   |
| <b>Statement 1: The Constitution should limit the president to serving a maximum of two terms in office.</b> |                             | <b>Statement 2: There should be no constitutional limit on how long the president can serve.</b> |   |
| Agree very strongly with Statement 1<br>1  | Agree with Statement 1<br>2 | Agree with Statement 2<br>3  | Agree very strongly with Statement 2<br>4 |
| Agree with neither <i>[Do not read]</i>  |                             |  | 5   |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>  |                             |  | 9   |

|  |  |  |     |
|--|--|--|-----|
| <b>35A. Should there be a minimum age for candidates for president?</b>                              |  |  |     |
| No, no minimum   |  |  | 0   |
| Yes, should be a minimum   |  |  | 1   |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>  |  |  | 9   |
| <b>35B. [If yes] What should the minimum age be?</b>   |  |  |     |
| Not applicable <i>[If response to Q35A was 0=No or 9=Don't know (tablet will do automatic skip)]</i> |  |  | 997 |
| Enter age  |  |  |     |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>  |  |  | 999 |

|  |  |  |     |
|--|--|--|-----|
| <b>35C. Should there be a maximum age for candidates for president?</b>                              |  |  |     |
| No, no maximum   |  |  | 0   |
| Yes, should be a maximum   |  |  | 1   |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>  |  |  | 9   |
| <b>35D. [If yes] What should the maximum age be?</b>   |  |  |     |
| Not applicable <i>[If response to Q35C was 0=No or 9=Don't know (tablet will do automatic skip)]</i> |  |  | 997 |
| Enter age  |  |  |     |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>  |  |  | 999 |

**Now let us speak about the political system in this country.**

**36. In your opinion, how much of a democracy is Botswana today?** *[Read out options. Accept only one option. Read the question in the language of the interview, but always read "democracy" in [English]. Translate "democracy" into local language only if respondent does not understand the term in the official language.]*

|   |   |
|---|---|
| A full democracy  | 4 |
| A democracy, but with minor problems  | 3 |
| A democracy, with major problems  | 2 |
| Not a democracy   | 1 |
| Do not understand question / Do not understand what "democracy" is <i>[Do not read]</i> | 8 |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>   | 9 |

**37. Overall, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in Botswana? Are you:** *[Read out options. Only one option to be chosen. Read the question in the language of the interview, but always read "democracy" in [English]. Translate "democracy" into local language only if respondent does not understand the term in the official language.]*

|  |   |
|--|---|
| Very satisfied?                                  | 4 |
| Fairly satisfied?                                | 3 |
| Not very satisfied?                              | 2 |
| Not at all satisfied?                            | 1 |
| Botswana is not a democracy <i>[Do not read]</i> | 0 |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>                  | 9 |

**38. How much of the time do you think the following try their best to listen to what people like you have to say?** *[Read out options]*

|   | Never | Only sometimes | Often | Always | Don't know<br><i>[DNR]</i> |
|---|-------|----------------|-------|--------|----------------------------|
| <b>A. Members of Parliament</b>               | 0     | 1              | 2     | 3      | 9                          |
| <b>B. Members of local government council</b> | 0     | 1              | 2     | 3      | 9                          |
| <b>C. Traditional leaders</b>                 | 0     | 1              | 2     | 3      | 9                          |

**39. For each of the following statements, please tell me whether you disagree or agree.** *[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]*

|  | Strongly disagree | Disagree | Neither agree nor disagree<br><i>[DNR]</i> | Agree | Strongly agree | Don't know<br><i>[DNR]</i> |
|--|-------------------|----------|--|-------|----------------|----------------------------|
| <b>A. The tax authorities always have the right to make people pay taxes.</b>  | 1                 | 2        | 3  | 4     | 5              | 9                          |
| <b>B. Information held by public authorities is only for use by government officials; it should not have to be shared with the public.</b> | 1                 | 2        | 3  | 4     | 5              | 9                          |

**40. In your opinion, how often, in this country:** *[Read out options]*

|  | Always | Often | Rarely | Never | Don't know<br><i>[DNR]</i> |
|--|--------|-------|--------|-------|----------------------------|
| <b>A. Does competition between political parties lead to violent conflict?</b> | 3      | 2     | 1      | 0     | 9                          |
| <b>B. Does the president ignore the courts and laws of this country?</b>       | 3      | 2     | 1      | 0     | 9                          |
| <b>C. Does the president ignore Parliament and just do what he wants?</b>      | 3      | 2     | 1      | 0     | 9                          |
| <b>D. Do people have to be careful of what they say about politics?</b>        | 3      | 2     | 1      | 0     | 9                          |
| <b>E. Are people treated unequally under the law?</b>                          | 3      | 2     | 1      | 0     | 9                          |
| <b>F. Do officials who commit crimes go unpunished?</b>                        | 3      | 2     | 1      | 0     | 9                          |
| <b>G. Do ordinary people who break the law go unpunished?</b>                  | 3      | 2     | 1      | 0     | 9                          |

| <b>41. How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say? [Read out options]</b> |            |               |          |       |                                    |
|---|------------|---------------|----------|-------|------------------------------------|
|   | Not at all | Just a little | Somewhat | A lot | Don't know/<br>Haven't heard [DNR] |
| A. The president  | 0          | 1             | 2        | 3     | 9                                  |
| B. Parliament   | 0          | 1             | 2        | 3     | 9                                  |
| C. Independent Electoral Commission or IEC  | 0          | 1             | 2        | 3     | 9                                  |
| D. Your local government council  | 0          | 1             | 2        | 3     | 9                                  |
| E. The ruling party   | 0          | 1             | 2        | 3     | 9                                  |
| F. Opposition political parties   | 0          | 1             | 2        | 3     | 9                                  |
| G. The police   | 0          | 1             | 2        | 3     | 9                                  |
| H. The Botswana Defence Force or BDF  | 0          | 1             | 2        | 3     | 9                                  |
| I. Courts of law  | 0          | 1             | 2        | 3     | 9                                  |
| J. The Botswana Unified Revenue Service or BURS   | 0          | 1             | 2        | 3     | 9                                  |
| K. Traditional leaders  | 0          | 1             | 2        | 3     | 9                                  |
| L. Religious leaders  | 0          | 1             | 2        | 3     | 9                                  |

| <b>42. How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption, or haven't you heard enough about them to say? [Read out options]</b> |      |              |              |             |                                    |
|--|------|--------------|--------------|-------------|------------------------------------|
|  | None | Some of them | Most of them | All of them | Don't know/<br>Haven't heard [DNR] |
| A. The president and officials in his office   | 0    | 1            | 2            | 3           | 9                                  |
| B. Members of Parliament   | 0    | 1            | 2            | 3           | 9                                  |
| C. Civil servants  | 0    | 1            | 2            | 3           | 9                                  |
| D. Members of your local government council  | 0    | 1            | 2            | 3           | 9                                  |
| E. Police  | 0    | 1            | 2            | 3           | 9                                  |
| F. Judges and magistrates  | 0    | 1            | 2            | 3           | 9                                  |
| G. Tax officials, like officials from the Botswana Unified Revenue Service-BURS  | 0    | 1            | 2            | 3           | 9                                  |
| H. Traditional leaders   | 0    | 1            | 2            | 3           | 9                                  |
| I. Religious leaders   | 0    | 1            | 2            | 3           | 9                                  |

| <b>43A. In your opinion, over the past year, has the level of corruption in this country increased, decreased, or stayed the same? [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion.]</b> |   |
|--|---|
| Increased a lot  | 1 |
| Increased somewhat   | 2 |
| Stayed the same  | 3 |
| Decreased somewhat   | 4 |
| Decreased a lot  | 5 |
| Don't know [Do not read]   | 9 |

| <b>43B. In this country, can ordinary people report incidents of corruption without fear, or do they risk retaliation or other negative consequences if they speak out?</b> |   |
|---|---|
| Can report without fear   | 0 |
| Risk retaliation or other negative consequences   | 1 |
| Don't know [Do not read]  | 9 |

| 44. Now I would like to talk to you about experiences that some people have in accessing certain essential government services.  |                  |           |               |             |                  |                  |
|--|------------------|-----------|---------------|-------------|------------------|------------------|
|  | No               |           | Yes           |             | Don't know [DNR] |                  |
| <b>A. In the past 12 months, have you had contact with a public school?</b>  | 0                |           | 1             |             | 9                |                  |
|  | No contact [DNR] | Very easy | Easy          | Difficult   | Very difficult   | Don't know [DNR] |
| <b>B. [If respondent answered 1=Yes to part A, ask parts B and C. If respondent answered 0=No, 8=Refused or 9=Don't know to part A, select 7=NA for parts B and C and continue to part D (tablet will do an automatic skip).] How easy or difficult was it to obtain the services you needed from teachers or school officials? [Read out options]</b> | 7                | 1         | 2             | 3           | 4                | 9                |
|  | No contact [DNR] | Never     | Once or twice | A few times | Often            | Don't know [DNR] |
| <b>C. And how often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour for a teacher or school official in order to get the services you needed from the schools? [Read out options]</b>   | 7                | 0         | 1             | 2           | 3                | 9                |
|  | No               |           | Yes           |             | Don't know [DNR] |                  |
| <b>D. In the past 12 months, have you had contact with a public clinic or hospital?</b>  | 0                |           | 1             |             | 9                |                  |
|  | No contact [DNR] | Very easy | Easy          | Difficult   | Very difficult   | Don't know [DNR] |
| <b>E. [If respondent answered 1=Yes to part D, ask parts E and F. If respondent answered 0=No, 8=Refused or 9=Don't know to part D, select 7=NA for parts E and F and continue to part G (tablet will do an automatic skip).] How easy or difficult was it to obtain the medical care you needed? [Read out options]</b>                               | 7                | 1         | 2             | 3           | 4                | 9                |
|  | No contact [DNR] | Never     | Once or twice | A few times | Often            | Don't know [DNR] |
| <b>F. And how often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour for a health worker or clinic or hospital staff in order to get the medical care you needed? [Read out options]</b>   | 7                | 0         | 1             | 2           | 3                | 9                |
|  | No               |           | Yes           |             | Don't know [DNR] |                  |
| <b>G. In the past 12 months, have you tried to get an identity document like a birth certificate, driver's license, passport or voter's card, or permit from government?</b>   | 0                |           | 1             |             | 9                |                  |
|  | No contact [DNR] | Very easy | Easy          | Difficult   | Very difficult   | Don't know [DNR] |
| <b>H. [If respondent answered 1=Yes to part G, ask parts H and I. If respondent answered 0=No, 8=Refused or 9=Don't know to part G, select 7=NA for parts H and I and continue to part J (tablet will do an automatic skip).] How easy or difficult was it to obtain the document you needed? [Read out options]</b>                                   | 7                | 1         | 2             | 3           | 4                | 9                |
|  | No contact [DNR] | Never     | Once or twice | A few times | Often            | Don't know [DNR] |
| <b>I. And how often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour for a government official in order to get the document you needed? [Read out options]</b>   | 7                | 0         | 1             | 2           | 3                | 9                |

|  | No                  | Yes       |               |             | Don't know<br>[DNR] |                     |
|--|---------------------|-----------|---------------|-------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| <b>J. In the past 12 months, have you requested assistance from the police?</b>  | 0                   | 1         |               |             | 9                   |                     |
|  | No contact<br>[DNR] | Very easy | Easy          | Difficult   | Very difficult      | Don't know<br>[DNR] |
| <b>K. If respondent answered 1=Yes to part J, ask parts K and L. If respondent answered 0=No, 8=Refused or 9=Don't know to part J, select 7=NA for parts K and L and continue to part M (tablet will do an automatic skip). How easy or difficult was it to obtain the assistance you needed? [Read out options]</b>   | 7                   | 1         | 2             | 3           | 4                   | 9                   |
|  | No contact<br>[DNR] | Never     | Once or twice | A few times | Often               | Don't know<br>[DNR] |
| <b>L. And how often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour for a police officer in order to get the assistance you needed? [Read out options]</b>  | 7                   | 0         | 1             | 2           | 3                   | 9                   |
|  | No contact<br>[DNR] | Never     | Once or twice | A few times | Often               | Don't know<br>[DNR] |
| <b>M. In the past 12 months, how often have you encountered the police in other situations, like at checkpoints, during identity checks or traffic stops, or during an investigation? [Read out options]</b>   |                     | 0         | 1             | 2           | 3                   | 9                   |
| <b>N. If respondent answered 0=Never, 8=Refused or 9=Don't know to part M, select 7=NA for part N and continue to Q45 (tablet will do an automatic skip). Otherwise ask: How often, if ever did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour for a police officer in order to avoid a problem during one of these encounters? [Read out options]</b> | 7                   | 0         | 1             | 2           | 3                   | 9                   |

**Now let us talk about the tax system in this country.**

**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?]*

**45.**

**Statement 1: It is better to pay higher taxes if it means that there will be more services provided by government.**

**Statement 2: It is better to pay lower taxes, even if it means there will be fewer services provided by government.**

|   |                             |                             |   |
|---|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|---|
| Agree very strongly with Statement 1<br>1 | Agree with Statement 1<br>2 | Agree with Statement 2<br>3 | Agree very strongly with Statement 2<br>4 |
| Agree with neither [Do not read]          |                             |                             | 5   |
| Don't know [Do not read]                  |                             |                             | 9   |

**46. Based on your experience, how easy or difficult is it to do each of the following? [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]**

|  | Very easy | Easy | Difficult | Very difficult | Don't know<br>[DNR] |
|--|-----------|------|-----------|----------------|---------------------|
| <b>A. To find out what taxes and fees you are supposed to pay to the government?</b> | 1         | 2    | 3         | 4              | 9                   |
| <b>B. To find out how government uses the revenues from people's taxes and fees?</b> | 1         | 2    | 3         | 4              | 9                   |



|  |   |
|--|---|
| <b>46C. Do you think that the amount of taxes that ordinary people in Botswana are required to pay to the government is too little, too much, or about the right amount?</b> <i>[Probe for strength of opinion.]</i> |   |
| Far too little   | 1 |
| Somewhat too little  | 2 |
| About the right amount   | 3 |
| Somewhat too much  | 4 |
| Far too much   | 5 |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>  | 9 |

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <b>46D. Do you think that the amount of taxes that rich people in Botswana are required to pay to the government is too little, too much, or about the right amount?</b> <i>[Read out options]</i> |   |
| Far too little   | 1 |
| Somewhat too little  | 2 |
| About the right amount   | 3 |
| Somewhat too much  | 4 |
| Far too much   | 5 |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>  | 9 |

|   |                   |          |  |       |                |                            |
|---|-------------------|----------|--|-------|----------------|----------------------------|
| <b>47. Do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?</b> <i>[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]</i>                  |                   |          |  |       |                |                            |
|   | Strongly disagree | Disagree | Neither agree nor disagree<br><i>[DNR]</i> | Agree | Strongly agree | Don't know<br><i>[DNR]</i> |
| <b>A. Government should make sure small traders and other people working in the informal sector pay taxes on their businesses.</b>              | 1                 | 2        | 3  | 4     | 5              | 9                          |
| <b>B. It is fair to tax rich people at a higher rate than ordinary people in order to help pay for government programs to benefit the poor.</b> | 1                 | 2        | 3  | 4     | 5              | 9                          |
| <b>C. The government usually uses the tax revenues it collects for the well-being of citizens.</b>  | 1                 | 2        | 3  | 4     | 5              | 9                          |

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <b>47D. In your opinion, how often, in this country, do people avoid paying the taxes that they owe the government?</b> <i>[Read out options]</i> |   |
| Always  | 3 |
| Often   | 2 |
| Rarely  | 1 |
| Never   | 0 |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>   | 9 |

| 48. In your opinion, what are the most important problems facing this country that government should address? [Do not read options. Code from responses. Accept up to three answers. If respondent offers more than three options, ask "Which three of these are the most important?" If respondent offers one or two answers, ask "Anything else?"] |           |                          |                          |                          |
|--|-----------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
|  |           | 1 <sup>st</sup> response | 2 <sup>nd</sup> response | 3 <sup>rd</sup> response |
| <b>Economics</b>   |           |                          |                          |                          |
| Management of the economy  |           | 1                        | 1                        | 1                        |
| Wages, incomes, and salaries   |           | 2                        | 2                        | 2                        |
| Unemployment   |           | 3                        | 3                        | 3                        |
| Poverty / Destitution  |           | 4                        | 4                        | 4                        |
| Rates and taxes  |           | 5                        | 5                        | 5                        |
| Loans / Credit   |           | 6                        | 6                        | 6                        |
| <b>Food / Agriculture</b>  |           |                          |                          |                          |
| Farming / Agriculture  |           | 7                        | 7                        | 7                        |
| Agricultural marketing   |           | 32                       | 32                       | 32                       |
| Food shortage / Famine   |           | 8                        | 8                        | 8                        |
| Drought  |           | 9                        | 9                        | 9                        |
| Land   |           | 10                       | 10                       | 10                       |
| <b>Infrastructure</b>  |           |                          |                          |                          |
| Transportation   |           | 11                       | 11                       | 11                       |
| Communications   |           | 12                       | 12                       | 12                       |
| Infrastructure / Roads   |           | 13                       | 13                       | 13                       |
| <b>Government services</b>   |           |                          |                          |                          |
| Education  |           | 14                       | 14                       | 14                       |
| Housing  |           | 15                       | 15                       | 15                       |
| Electricity  |           | 16                       | 16                       | 16                       |
| Water supply   |           | 17                       | 17                       | 17                       |
| Orphans / Street children / Homeless children  |           | 18                       | 18                       | 18                       |
| Services (other)   |           | 19                       | 19                       | 19                       |
| <b>Health</b>  |           |                          |                          |                          |
| Health   |           | 20                       | 20                       | 20                       |
| AIDS   |           | 21                       | 21                       | 21                       |
| Sickness / Disease   |           | 22                       | 22                       | 22                       |
| <b>Governance</b>  |           |                          |                          |                          |
| Crime and security   |           | 23                       | 23                       | 23                       |
| Corruption   |           | 24                       | 24                       | 24                       |
| Political violence   |           | 25                       | 25                       | 25                       |
| Political instability / Political divisions / Ethnic tensions  |           | 26                       | 26                       | 26                       |
| Discrimination / Inequality  |           | 27                       | 27                       | 27                       |
| Gender issues / Women's rights   |           | 28                       | 28                       | 28                       |
| Democracy / Political rights   |           | 29                       | 29                       | 29                       |
| War (international)  |           | 30                       | 30                       | 30                       |
| Civil war  |           | 31                       | 31                       | 31                       |
| <b>Other responses</b>   |           |                          |                          |                          |
| Climate change   |           | 33                       | 33                       | 33                       |
| Nothing / No problems  |           | 0                        |                          |                          |
| Other (1 <sup>st</sup> response)<br>[Specify] _____  | Post Code |                          |                          |                          |
| Other (2 <sup>nd</sup> response)<br>[Specify] _____  | Post Code |                          |                          |                          |
| Other (3 <sup>rd</sup> response)<br>[Specify] _____  | Post Code |                          |                          |                          |
| No further reply   |           |                          | 9996                     | 9996                     |
| Don't know   |           | 9999                     |                          |                          |

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <b>49A. If the government decided to make people pay more taxes in order to support programs to help young people, would you support this decision or oppose it? [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion.]</b> |   |
| Strongly oppose  | 1 |
| Somewhat oppose  | 2 |
| Neither support nor oppose [Do not read]   | 3 |
| Somewhat support   | 4 |
| Strongly support   | 5 |
| It depends (e.g., on size of the increase) [Do not read]   | 6 |
| Don't know [Do not read]   | 9 |

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <b>49B. If the government could increase its spending on programs to help young people, which of the following areas do you think should be the highest priority for additional investment? [Read out options]</b> |   |
| Job creation   | 1 |
| Education  | 2 |
| Jobs training  | 3 |
| Business loans   | 4 |
| Social services for youth, for example to improve health and prevent drug abuse?   | 5 |
| None of the above / Some other program [Do not read]   | 0 |
| Government should not increase it's spending on programs to help young people [Do not read]  | 6 |
| Don't know [Do not read]   | 9 |

**Now let's speak about the performance of the present government of this country.**

**50. How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say? [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]**

|   | Very badly | Fairly badly | Fairly well | Very well | Don't know/Haven't heard enough [DNR] |
|---|------------|--------------|-------------|-----------|---------------------------------------|
| <b>A. Managing the economy</b>  | 1          | 2            | 3           | 4         | 9                                     |
| <b>B. Improving the living standards of the poor</b>                        | 1          | 2            | 3           | 4         | 9                                     |
| <b>C. Creating jobs</b>   | 1          | 2            | 3           | 4         | 9                                     |
| <b>D. Keeping prices stable</b>   | 1          | 2            | 3           | 4         | 9                                     |
| <b>E. Narrowing gaps between rich and poor</b>                              | 1          | 2            | 3           | 4         | 9                                     |
| <b>F. Reducing crime</b>  | 1          | 2            | 3           | 4         | 9                                     |
| <b>G. Improving basic health services</b>                                   | 1          | 2            | 3           | 4         | 9                                     |
| <b>H. Addressing educational needs</b>                                      | 1          | 2            | 3           | 4         | 9                                     |
| <b>I. Providing water and sanitation services</b>                           | 1          | 2            | 3           | 4         | 9                                     |
| <b>J. Fighting corruption in government</b>                                 | 1          | 2            | 3           | 4         | 9                                     |
| <b>K. Maintaining roads and bridges</b>                                     | 1          | 2            | 3           | 4         | 9                                     |
| <b>L. Providing a reliable supply of electricity</b>                        | 1          | 2            | 3           | 4         | 9                                     |
| <b>M. Preventing or resolving violent conflict</b>                          | 1          | 2            | 3           | 4         | 9                                     |
| <b>N. Addressing the needs of young people</b>                              | 1          | 2            | 3           | 4         | 9                                     |
| <b>O. Protecting rights and promoting opportunities for disabled people</b> | 1          | 2            | 3           | 4         | 9                                     |

**51. 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? [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]**

|  | Not applicable [DNR] | Strongly disapprove | Disapprove | Approve | Strongly approve | Don't know/Haven't heard enough [DNR] |
|--|----------------------|---------------------|------------|---------|------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <b>A. President Mokgweetsi Masisi</b>              |                      | 1                   | 2          | 3       | 4                | 9                                     |
| <b>B. Your member of Parliament</b>                |                      | 1                   | 2          | 3       | 4                | 9                                     |
| <b>C. Your elected local government councillor</b> |                      | 1                   | 2          | 3       | 4                | 9                                     |
| <b>D. Your traditional leader</b>                  | 7                    | 1                   | 2          | 3       | 4                | 9                                     |

| 52. Who should be responsible for: <i>[Read out options]</i>            |                          |                                      |                       |            |                     |                         |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|------------|---------------------|-------------------------|
|   | The president/ executive | Parliament/ local government council | Their political party | The voters | No one <i>[DNR]</i> | Don't know <i>[DNR]</i> |
| A. Making sure that, once elected, members of Parliament do their jobs? | 0                        | 1                                    | 2                     | 3          | 4                   | 9                       |
| B. Making sure that, once elected, the president does his or her job?   | 0                        | 1                                    | 2                     | 3          | 4                   | 9                       |

| 53. Think about how elections work in practice in this country. How well do elections: <i>[Read out options]</i> |           |      |               |                 |                         |
|--|-----------|------|---------------|-----------------|-------------------------|
|  | Very well | Well | Not very well | Not at all well | Don't know <i>[DNR]</i> |
| A. Ensure that representatives to Parliament reflect the views of voters?  | 3         | 2    | 1             | 0               | 9                       |
| B. Enable voters to remove from office leaders who do not do what the people want?                               | 3         | 2    | 1             | 0               | 9                       |

| 53C. How often do you think that communities that do not vote for the ruling party suffer negative consequences, such as lack of government support for local services or development projects? <i>[Read out options]</i> |   |
|---|---|
| Never   | 0 |
| Rarely  | 1 |
| Sometimes   | 2 |
| Often   | 3 |
| Always  | 4 |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>   | 9 |

| 54. In any society, people will sometimes disagree with one another. These disagreements occasionally escalate into physical violence. Please tell me whether, in the past two years, you have ever personally feared any of the following types of violence. <i>[If yes]</i> Have you actually personally experienced this type of violence in the past two years? |       |                               |                        |                         |
|---|-------|-------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
|   | NO    | YES                           |                        |                         |
|   | Never | Feared, but didn't experience | Feared and experienced | Don't know <i>[DNR]</i> |
| A. Violence among people in your neighbourhood or village?  | 0     | 1                             | 2                      | 9                       |
| B. Violence at a political rally or public protest?   | 0     | 1                             | 2                      | 9                       |
| C. <b>Not asked in Botswana</b>   |       |                               |                        |                         |

| Now let us talk about the media and how you get information about politics and other issues. |           |                    |                     |                        |       |                         |
|--|-----------|--------------------|---------------------|------------------------|-------|-------------------------|
| 55. How often do you get news from the following sources? <i>[Read out options]</i>          |           |                    |                     |                        |       |                         |
|  | Every day | A few times a week | A few times a month | Less than once a month | Never | Don't know <i>[DNR]</i> |
| A. Radio   | 4         | 3                  | 2                   | 1                      | 0     | 9                       |
| B. Television  | 4         | 3                  | 2                   | 1                      | 0     | 9                       |
| C. Print newspapers  | 4         | 3                  | 2                   | 1                      | 0     | 9                       |
| D. Internet  | 4         | 3                  | 2                   | 1                      | 0     | 9                       |
| E. Social media such as Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp or others                                | 4         | 3                  | 2                   | 1                      | 0     | 9                       |

| 56. In your opinion, how free is the news media in this country to report and comment on the news without censorship or interference by the government? <i>[Read out options]</i> |   |
|---|---|
| Completely free   | 3 |
| Somewhat free   | 2 |
| Not very free   | 1 |
| Not at all free   | 0 |
| Don't know <i>[DNR]</i>   | 9 |

**57. Please tell me how often, in this country, you think people from each of the following groups spread information that they know is false? [Read out options]**

|   | Never | Rarely | Sometimes | Often | Don't know/<br>Haven't heard<br>[DNR] |
|---|-------|--------|-----------|-------|---------------------------------------|
| <b>A. Government officials</b>              | 0     | 1      | 2         | 3     | 9                                     |
| <b>B. Politicians and political parties</b> | 0     | 1      | 2         | 3     | 9                                     |
| <b>C. News media and journalists</b>        | 0     | 1      | 2         | 3     | 9                                     |
| <b>D. Social media users</b>                | 0     | 1      | 2         | 3     | 9                                     |
| <b>F. Activists and interest groups</b>     | 0     | 1      | 2         | 3     | 9                                     |

**Let's talk about whether the government should be able to limit the sharing of news, information, or opinions on radio and TV, in newspapers, or on the internet and social media.**

**58. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree that the government should be able to limit or prohibit sharing of:**  
[Probe for strength of opinion]

|   | Strongly disagree | Disagree | Neither agree nor disagree<br>[DNR] | Agree | Strongly agree | Don't know<br>[DNR] |
|---|-------------------|----------|-------------------------------------|-------|----------------|---------------------|
| <b>A. News or information that is false</b>   | 1                 | 2        | 3                                   | 4     | 5              | 9                   |
| <b>B. News, information, or opinions that the government disapproves of</b>   | 1                 | 2        | 3                                   | 4     | 5              | 9                   |
| <b>C. News, information, or opinions that criticize or insult the president</b>                                       | 1                 | 2        | 3                                   | 4     | 5              | 9                   |
| <b>D. Hate speech, that is, news, information, or opinions designed to attack or vilify certain groups in society</b> | 1                 | 2        | 3                                   | 4     | 5              | 9                   |

**59A. Have you heard about social media, for example, Facebook, Twitter, and WhatsApp?**

|            |   |
|------------|---|
| No         | 0 |
| Yes        | 1 |
| Don't know | 9 |

**[If yes] Regardless of whether you personally use social media yourself, please tell me whether you agree or disagree that social media:** [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion] [If answer to Q59A was 0=No or 9=DK, select 7 = NA for all parts B-F and continue to Q60 (tablet will do an automatic skip)]

|  | Not applicable | Strongly disagree | Disagree | Neither agree nor disagree<br>[DNR] | Agree | Strongly agree | Don't know<br>[DNR] |
|--|----------------|-------------------|----------|-------------------------------------|-------|----------------|---------------------|
| <b>B. Makes people more informed about current events?</b>                             | 7              | 1                 | 2        | 3                                   | 4     | 5              | 9                   |
| <b>C. Makes people more likely to believe false news?</b>                              | 7              | 1                 | 2        | 3                                   | 4     | 5              | 9                   |
| <b>D. Helps people have more impact on political processes?</b>                        | 7              | 1                 | 2        | 3                                   | 4     | 5              | 9                   |
| <b>E. Makes people more intolerant of those who have different political opinions?</b> | 7              | 1                 | 2        | 3                                   | 4     | 5              | 9                   |

**59F. [If yes on Q59A] Overall, do you think that the effects of social media on society are mostly positive, mostly negative, or haven't you heard enough to say? [Read out options/Probe for strength of opinion]**

|  |   |
|--|---|
| Very positive  | 5 |
| Somewhat positive  | 4 |
| Neither positive nor negative [DNR]  | 3 |
| Somewhat negative  | 2 |
| Very negative  | 1 |
| Not applicable [if response on Q59A was 0=No or 9=DK (tablet will do an automatic skip)] | 7 |
| Don't know / Haven't heard enough [DNR]  | 9 |

|   |                             |  |   |
|---|-----------------------------|--|---|
| <b>Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.</b><br><i>[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion: Do you agree or agree very strongly?]</i> |                             |  |   |
| <b>60.</b>  |                             |  |   |
| <b>Statement 1: Unrestricted access to the Internet and social media helps people to be more informed and active citizens, and should be protected.</b>   |                             | <b>Statement 2: Information shared on the Internet and social media is dividing Batswana, so access should be regulated by government.</b> |   |
| Agree very strongly with Statement 1<br>1   | Agree with Statement 1<br>2 | Agree with Statement 2<br>3  | Agree very strongly with Statement 2<br>4 |
| Agree with neither <i>[Do not read]</i>   |                             |  | 5   |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>   |                             |  | 9   |

|   |                             |   |   |
|---|-----------------------------|---|---|
| <b>Now let's talk about how our country should relate to other countries in Southern Africa and in the world.</b>   |                             |   |   |
| <b>Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.</b><br><i>[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion: Do you agree or agree very strongly?]</i> |                             |   |   |
| <b>61.</b>  |                             |   |   |
| <b>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.</b>                                     |                             | <b>Statement 2: In order to protect their own citizens, governments should limit the cross-border movement of people and goods.</b> |   |
| Agree very strongly with Statement 1<br>1   | Agree with Statement 1<br>2 | Agree with Statement 2<br>3   | Agree very strongly with Statement 2<br>4 |
| Agree with neither <i>[Do not read]</i>   |                             |   | 5   |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>   |                             |   | 9   |

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <b>62. 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? <i>[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion.]</i></b> |   |
| Very easy   | 4 |
| Easy  | 3 |
| Difficult   | 2 |
| Very difficult  | 1 |
| Never try <i>[Do not read]</i>  | 7 |
| Don't know / Haven't heard enough <i>[Do not read]</i>  | 9 |

|   |                             |   |   |
|---|-----------------------------|---|---|
| <b>Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.</b><br><i>[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion: Do you agree or agree very strongly?]</i> |                             |   |   |
| <b>63.</b>  |                             |   |   |
| <b>Statement 1: It is important that as an independent nation, we finance development from our own resources, even if it means paying more taxes.</b>   |                             | <b>Statement 2: We should use external loans for the development of the country, even if it increases our indebtedness to foreign countries and institutions.</b> |   |
| Agree very strongly with Statement 1<br>1   | Agree with Statement 1<br>2 | Agree with Statement 2<br>3   | Agree very strongly with Statement 2<br>4 |
| Agree with neither <i>[Do not read]</i>   |                             |   | 5   |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>   |                             |   | 9   |

|  |                             |  |   |
|--|-----------------------------|--|---|
| <b>64A.</b>  |                             |  |   |
| <b>Statement 1: When other countries give loans or development assistance to Botswana, they should enforce strict requirements on how the funds are spent.</b> |                             | <b>Statement 2: When other countries give Botswana loans or development assistance, they should allow our government to make its own decisions about how to use the resources.</b> |   |
| Agree very strongly with Statement 1<br>1  | Agree with Statement 1<br>2 | Agree with Statement 2<br>3  | Agree very strongly with Statement 2<br>4 |
| Agree with neither <i>[Do not read]</i>  |                             |  | 5   |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>  |                             |  | 9   |

|  |                             |   |   |
|--|-----------------------------|---|---|
| <b>64B.</b>  |                             |   |   |
| <b>Statement 1: When other countries give loans or development assistance to Botswana, they should enforce strict requirements to make sure our government promotes democracy and respects human rights.</b> |                             | <b>Statement 2: Even if other countries give Botswana loans or development assistance, our government should make its own decisions about democracy and human rights.</b> |   |
| Agree very strongly with Statement 1<br>1  | Agree with Statement 1<br>2 | Agree with Statement 2<br>3   | Agree very strongly with Statement 2<br>4 |
| Agree with neither [Do not read]   |                             |   | 5   |
| Don't know [Do not read]   |                             |   | 9   |

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <b>65A. To your knowledge, does China give loans or development assistance to our country's government, or haven't you had a chance to hear about this?</b> |   |
| No  | 0 |
| Yes   | 1 |
| Don't know  | 9 |

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <b>65B. [If yes on Q65A] Do you think that our government is required to repay China for the loans and development assistance it provides to Botswana, or haven't you heard enough to say?</b> |   |
| No   | 0 |
| Yes  | 1 |
| Not applicable [If response to Q65A was 0=No or 9=DK (tablet will do an automatic skip)]   | 7 |
| Don't know / Haven't heard enough [DNR]  | 9 |

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <b>65C. [If yes on Q65A] Do you think our government has borrowed too much money from China, or haven't you heard enough to say?</b> |   |
| No   | 0 |
| Yes  | 1 |
| Not applicable [If response to Q65A was 0=No or 9=DK (tablet will do an automatic skip)]   | 7 |
| Don't know / Haven't heard enough [DNR]  | 9 |

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <b>65D. [If yes on Q65A] When the government of China gives loans or development assistance to Botswana, do you think they put more requirements or fewer requirements on our government compared to other donor countries, or haven't you heard enough to say? [Probe for strength of opinion]</b> |   |
| Far fewer requirements  | 0 |
| Somewhat fewer requirements   | 1 |
| About the same number of requirements   | 2 |
| Somewhat more requirements  | 3 |
| Many more requirements  | 4 |
| Not applicable [If response to Q65A was 0=No or 9=DK9 (tablet will do an automatic skip)]   | 7 |
| Don't know / Haven't heard enough [DNR]   | 9 |

|  |                             |  |   |
|--|-----------------------------|--|---|
| <b>Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.</b><br>[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion: <b>Do you agree or agree very strongly?</b> ] |                             |  |   |
| <b>66.</b>   |                             |  |   |
| <b>Statement 1: In order to develop, our country must rely on trade with the rest of the world, including by opening our borders to foreign imports.</b>   |                             | <b>Statement 2: In order to develop, our country must rely on local production and protect local producers from foreign competition.</b> |   |
| Agree very strongly with Statement 1<br>1  | Agree with Statement 1<br>2 | Agree with Statement 2<br>3  | Agree very strongly with Statement 2<br>4 |
| Agree with neither [Do not read]   |                             |  | 5   |
| Don't know [Do not read]   |                             |  | 9   |

|  |                             |   |   |
|--|-----------------------------|---|---|
| <b>67.</b>   |                             |   |   |
| <b>Statement 1: The government should only allow citizens and companies of our own country to trade in consumer goods, even if this means we will have fewer goods or higher prices.</b> |                             | <b>Statement 2: The government should continue to permit foreigners and foreign corporations to set up retail shops in this country to ensure we have a wide choice of low-cost consumer goods.</b> |   |
| Agree very strongly with Statement 1<br>1  | Agree with Statement 1<br>2 | Agree with Statement 2<br>3   | Agree very strongly with Statement 2<br>4 |
| Agree with neither [Do not read]   |                             |   | 5   |
| Don't know [Do not read]   |                             |   | 9   |

|   |                             |  |   |
|---|-----------------------------|--|---|
| <b>68.</b>  |                             |  |   |
| <b>Statement 1: Communities are stronger when they are made up of people from different ethnic groups, races, or religions.</b> |                             | <b>Statement 2: Communities are stronger when they are made up of people who are similar to each other, that is, people from the same ethnic group, race, or religion.</b> |   |
| Agree very strongly with Statement 1<br>1   | Agree with Statement 1<br>2 | Agree with Statement 2<br>3  | Agree very strongly with Statement 2<br>4 |
| Agree with neither <i>[Do not read]</i>   |                             |  | 5   |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>   |                             |  | 9   |

|  |  |           |      |
|--|--|-----------|------|
| <b>69A. In your opinion, which of the following countries, if any, would be the best model for the future development of our country, or is there some other country in Africa or elsewhere, that should be our model? <i>[Read out options]</i></b> |  |           |      |
| United States  |  |           | 1    |
| China  |  |           | 2    |
| Britain  |  |           | 3    |
| South Africa   |  |           | 5    |
| Ethiopia   |  |           | 6    |
| We should follow our own country's model <i>[Do not read]</i>  |  |           | 7    |
| None of these / There is no role model <i>[Do not read]</i>  |  |           | 0    |
| Other country <i>[Specify]:</i> _____<br><i>[Do not read]</i>  |  | Post code |      |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>  |  |           | 9999 |

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <b>69B. How much influence do you think China's economic activities in Botswana have on our economy, or haven't you heard enough to say? <i>[Read out options]</i></b> |   |
| A lot  | 3 |
| Some   | 2 |
| A little   | 1 |
| None   | 0 |
| Don't know / Haven't heard enough <i>[Do not read]</i>   | 9 |

|  |               |                   |                               |                   |               |                         |
|--|---------------|-------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------|---------------|-------------------------|
| <b>70. In general, do you think that the economic and political influence of each of the following organizations on Botswana is mostly positive, mostly negative, or haven't you heard enough to say? <i>[Probe for strength of opinion]</i></b>                     |               |                   |                               |                   |               |                         |
|  | Very negative | Somewhat negative | Neither positive nor negative | Somewhat positive | Very positive | Don't know <i>[DNR]</i> |
| <b>A. African Union</b>  | 1             | 2                 | 3                             | 4                 | 5             | 9                       |
| <b>B. SADC</b>   | 1             | 2                 | 3                             | 4                 | 5             | 9                       |
| <b>C. United Nations agencies</b>  | 1             | 2                 | 3                             | 4                 | 5             | 9                       |
| <b>And what about the following countries? Do you think that the economic and political influence of each of the following countries on Botswana is mostly positive, mostly negative, or haven't you heard enough to say? <i>[Probe for strength of opinion]</i></b> |               |                   |                               |                   |               |                         |
|  | Very negative | Somewhat negative | Neither positive nor negative | Somewhat positive | Very positive | Don't know <i>[DNR]</i> |
| <b>D. Britain</b>  | 1             | 2                 | 3                             | 4                 | 5             | 9                       |
| <b>E. China</b>  | 1             | 2                 | 3                             | 4                 | 5             | 9                       |
| <b>F. United States</b>  | 1             | 2                 | 3                             | 4                 | 5             | 9                       |
| <b>G. Regional superpower, i.e. South Africa</b>   | 1             | 2                 | 3                             | 4                 | 5             | 9                       |



|   |           |  |  |   |
|---|-----------|--|--|---|
| <b>71. In thinking about the future of the next generation in our country, which of these international languages, if any, do you think is most important for young people to learn? [Read out options]</b> |           |  |  |   |
| English   |           |  |  | 1 |
| French  |           |  |  | 2 |
| Portuguese  |           |  |  | 3 |
| Arabic  |           |  |  | 4 |
| Chinese   |           |  |  | 5 |
| Kiswahili   |           |  |  | 6 |
| Other [Specify] [DNR] _____   | Post code |  |  |   |
| None of these / No international language needed [Do not read]  |           |  |  | 0 |
| Don't know [Do not read]  |           |  |  | 9 |

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <b>72A. Have you heard about climate change, or haven't you had the chance to hear about this yet?</b>  |   |
| No  | 0 |
| Yes   | 1 |
| Don't know  | 9 |
| <b>72B. [If 1=yes to Q72A] Do you think climate change is making life in Botswana better or worse, or haven't you heard enough to say? [Interviewer: probe for strength of opinion]</b> |   |
| Much better   | 1 |
| Somewhat better   | 2 |
| Neither / No change / About the same [Do not read]  | 3 |
| Somewhat worse  | 4 |
| Much worse  | 5 |
| Not applicable [If response on Q72A was 0=No or 9=DK (tablet will do an automatic skip)]  | 7 |
| Don't know / Haven't heard enough [Do not read]   | 9 |

Let's talk for a moment about the kind of society you would like to have in this country. Some people say that, in order to enjoy security from violence in our society, we must limit the amount of freedom that citizens are allowed to enjoy. Others say that political liberty is too important to sacrifice and must always be maintained, even if it threatens the security of the country.

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?**]

|   |                             |   |   |
|---|-----------------------------|---|---|
| 73.   |                             |   |   |
| <b>Statement 1: Even if faced with threats to public security, people should be free to move about the country at any time of day or night.</b> |                             | <b>Statement 2: When faced with threats to public security, the government should be able to impose curfews and set up special roadblocks to prevent people from moving around.</b> |   |
| Agree very strongly with Statement 1<br>1   | Agree with Statement 1<br>2 | Agree with Statement 2<br>3   | Agree very strongly with Statement 2<br>4 |
| Agree with neither [Do not read]  |                             |   | 5   |
| Don't know [Do not read]  |                             |   | 9   |

|  |                             |  |   |
|--|-----------------------------|--|---|
| 74.  |                             |  |   |
| <b>Statement 1: Government should be able to monitor private communications, for example on mobile phones, to make sure that people are not plotting violence.</b> |                             | <b>Statement 2: People should have the right to communicate in private without a government agency reading or listening to what they are saying.</b> |   |
| Agree very strongly with Statement 1<br>1  | Agree with Statement 1<br>2 | Agree with Statement 2<br>3  | Agree very strongly with Statement 2<br>4 |
| Agree with neither [Do not read]   |                             |  | 5   |
| Don't know [Do not read]   |                             |  | 9   |

|  |                             |  |   |
|--|-----------------------------|--|---|
| 75.  |                             |  |   |
| <b>Statement 1: Freedom of religion and worship are absolute, meaning that government should never limit what is said in a place of worship.</b> |                             | <b>Statement 2: Government should have the power to regulate what is said in places of worship, especially if preachers or congregants threaten public security.</b> |   |
| Agree very strongly with Statement 1<br>1  | Agree with Statement 1<br>2 | Agree with Statement 2<br>3  | Agree very strongly with Statement 2<br>4 |
| Agree with neither [Do not read]   |                             |  | 5   |
| Don't know [Do not read]   |                             |  | 9   |

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <b>76A-BOT. Have you heard the reports about the misappropriation of funds from the National Petroleum Fund, or NPF, by some senior politicians and government officials or haven't you had the chance to hear about this yet?</b> |   |
| No [skip to Q77-BOT]   | 0 |
| Yes  | 1 |
| Don't know [Do not read] [skip to Q77-BOT]   | 9 |

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <b>76B-BOT. [If "yes" to Q76A-BOT, ask:] How concerned are you with the misappropriation of funds from the National Petroleum Fund or NPF? [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]</b> |   |
| Not applicable [ haven't heard about the misappropriation of funds at NPF] DNR  | 7 |
| Not at all concerned  | 0 |
| Not very concerned  | 1 |
| Somewhat concerned  | 2 |
| Very concerned  | 3 |
| Don't know [Do not read]  | 9 |

| <b>76C-BOT</b> [If “yes” to Q76A-BOT, ask:] <b>How likely do you think that those accused of, misappropriating funds from the National Petroleum Fund or NPF will be prosecuted in a court of law?</b> [Interviewer: Read out options] |   |
|--|---|
| Not applicable [ haven’t heard about the misappropriation of funds at NPF] DNR   | 7 |
| Not at all likely  | 1 |
| Not very likely  | 2 |
| Somewhat likely  | 3 |
| Very likely  | 4 |
| Don’t know [Do not read]   | 9 |

| <b>76D-BOT.</b> [If “yes” to Q80A-BOT, ask:] <b>How likely do you think that those accused will be imprisoned if found guilty?</b> [Interviewer: Read out options] |   |
|--|---|
| Not applicable [ haven’t heard about the misappropriation of funds at NPF] DNR   | 7 |
| Not at all likely  | 1 |
| Not very likely  | 2 |
| Somewhat likely  | 3 |
| Very likely  | 4 |
| Don’t know [Do not read]   | 9 |

| <b>77-BOT.</b> Please tell me whether you disagree or agree with the following statements. [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion] |                   |          |                                  |       |                |                  |
|---|-------------------|----------|----------------------------------|-------|----------------|------------------|
|   | Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Neither disagree nor agree [DNR] | Agree | Strongly Agree | Don't know [DNR] |
| <b>A.</b> A woman seeking abortion should be free to decide without having to seek permission from anyone.                              | 1                 | 2        | 3                                | 4     | 5              | 9                |
| <b>B.</b> Circumcision should be made compulsory as one of the ways of reducing HIV transmissions.                                      | 1                 | 2        | 3                                | 4     | 5              | 9                |

**78-BOT. Please tell me whether you disagree or agree with the following statements. [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion].**

|   | Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Neither disagree nor agree [DNR] | Agree | Strongly Agree | Don't know [DNR] |
|---|-------------------|----------|----------------------------------|-------|----------------|------------------|
| <b>A. To increase the number of women in Parliament, a number of seats should be reserved for women</b>   | 1                 | 2        | 3                                | 4     | 5              | 9                |
| <b>B. The fall out between the current and the immediate past president is likely to affect the economic stability of the country</b>                             | 1                 | 2        | 3                                | 4     | 5              | 9                |
| <b>C. The fall out between the current and the immediate past president is likely to affect the political stability of the country</b>                            | 1                 | 2        | 3                                | 4     | 5              | 9                |
| <b>D. Politicians and senior public servants should be disallowed from participating in public tenders in order to reduce cases of corruption in procurement.</b> | 1                 | 2        | 3                                | 4     | 5              | 9                |

|  |                   |          |                                  |       |                |                  |
|--|-------------------|----------|----------------------------------|-------|----------------|------------------|
| <b>Now I would like to get your views about the rights and liberties of people involved in same sex relationships.</b>   |                   |          |                                  |       |                |                  |
| <b>79-BOT. For each of the statements below, please tell me whether you disagree or agree. [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion by asking: <i>Do you agree or agree very strongly?</i>]</b> |                   |          |                                  |       |                |                  |
|  | Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Neither Agree Nor Disagree [DNR] | Agree | Strongly Agree | Don't Know [DNR] |
| A. I would not mind having someone in a same-sex relationship as a co-worker in my workplace.  | 1                 | 2        | 3                                | 4     | 5              | 9                |
| B. I would not mind having someone in a same-sex relationship as my supervisor in my workplace.  | 1                 | 2        | 3                                | 4     | 5              | 9                |
| C. I would not mind having someone in a same-sex relationship as a member in my religious community.   | 1                 | 2        | 3                                | 4     | 5              | 9                |

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <b>80-BOT. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statement: The political opposition in Botswana presents a viable alternative vision and plan for the country. [interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]</b> |   |
| Strongly disagree  | 1 |
| Disagree   | 2 |
| Neither agree nor disagree [Do not read]   | 3 |
| Agree  | 4 |
| Strongly agree   | 5 |
| Don't know [DNR]   | 9 |

| Let's go back to talking about you.  |     |  |           |
|--|-----|--|-----------|
| <b>81. What is your ethnic community, cultural group or tribe?</b> Do NOT read options. Code from response] [If respondent does not identify any group on this question – that is, IF they REFUSE to answer (9998), DON'T KNOW (9999) or mention "Motswana only (9990)"– then select 7=Not applicable for Q82A and Q82B and continue to Q82C (tablet will do an automatic skip)] |     |  |           |
| Mokgatla   | 140 | Mokhurutshe  | 154       |
| Mokwena  | 141 | Mmirwa   | 155       |
| Mongwato   | 142 | Mongologa  | 156       |
| Mongwaketse  | 143 | Modamara   | 157       |
| Motlokwa   | 144 | Mombukushu   | 158       |
| Moherero   | 145 | Molete   | 159       |
| Morolong   | 146 | Motswapong   | 160       |
| Mosarwa  | 147 | Mothharo   | 161       |
| Mokalaka/Mokalanga   | 148 | Mothaping  | 162       |
| Mosubeya   | 149 | Mokgothu   | 163       |
| Motawana   | 150 | Motswana only, or "doesn't think of self in those terms" | 9990      |
| Mokgalagadi  | 151 | Refused to answer  | 9998      |
| Moyeyi/Moyei   | 152 | Don't know   | 9999      |
| Mohurutshe   | 153 | Other [Specify]: _____                                   | Post code |

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <b>82A. How often, if ever, are _____s [R's ethnic group] treated unfairly by the government?</b> [Read out options] [If response to Q81 was 9990=Motswana only, 9998=Refused, or 9999=DK, select 7 = Not applicable for Q82A and Q82B and continue to Q82C (tablet will do an automatic skip)] |   |
| Never   | 0 |
| Sometimes   | 1 |
| Often   | 2 |
| Always  | 3 |
| Not applicable [Do not read]  | 7 |
| Don't know [Do not read]  | 9 |

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <b>82B. Let us suppose that you had to choose between being a Motswana and being a _____ [R's ethnic group]. Which of the following statements best expresses your feelings?</b> [If response to Q81 was 9990=Motswana only, 9998=Refused or 9999=DK, select 7=Not applicable for Q82B and continue to Q82C (tablet will do an automatic skip)] |   |
| I feel only Motswana  | 5 |
| I feel more Motswana than _____ [insert R's ethnic group]   | 4 |
| I feel equally Motswana and _____ [insert R's ethnic group]   | 3 |
| I feel more _____ [insert R's ethnic group] than Motswana   | 2 |
| I feel only _____ [insert R's ethnic group]   | 1 |
| Not applicable [Do not read]  | 7 |
| Don't know [Do not read]  | 9 |

| 82. Do you feel comfortable: [Read out options]                 |    |     |  |                     |
|---|----|-----|--|---------------------|
|   | No | Yes | Not applicable<br>[DNR; Use only if respondent volunteers e.g. that they do not speak their mother tongue, or that they do not have a traditional or cultural dress] | Don't know<br>[DNR] |
| <b>C. Speaking your mother tongue in public?</b>                | 0  | 1   | 7  | 9                   |
| <b>D. Wearing your traditional or cultural dress in public?</b> | 0  | 1   | 7  | 9                   |

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <b>83. Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you must be very careful in dealing with people?</b> |   |
| Most people can be trusted  | 1 |
| Must be very careful  | 0 |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>   | 9 |

|  |       |               |               |            |                         |
|--|-------|---------------|---------------|------------|-------------------------|
| <b>84. In the past year, how often, if ever, have you personally been treated unfairly by other Batswana based on: <i>[Read out options]</i></b> |       |               |               |            |                         |
|  | Never | Once or twice | Several times | Many times | Don't know <i>[DNR]</i> |
| <b>A. Your economic status, that is, how rich or poor you are</b>  | 0     | 1             | 2             | 3          | 9                       |
| <b>B. Your religion?</b>   | 0     | 1             | 2             | 3          | 9                       |
| <b>C. Your ethnicity?</b>  | 0     | 1             | 2             | 3          | 9                       |

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <b>85. Batswana are very diverse. They come from different religions, ethnic groups, political parties, and economic and social backgrounds. Overall, would you say that there is more that unites all Batswana as one people, or more that divides them? <i>[Probe for strength of opinion]</i></b> |   |
| Much more that unites us   | 4 |
| Somewhat more that unites us   | 3 |
| Somewhat more that divides us  | 2 |
| Much more that divides us  | 1 |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>  | 9 |

|   |                  |                  |                |               |               |                         |
|---|------------------|------------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|-------------------------|
| <b>86. For each of the following types of people, please tell me whether you would like having people from this group as neighbours, dislike it, or not care: <i>[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]</i></b> |                  |                  |                |               |               |                         |
|   | Strongly dislike | Somewhat dislike | Would not care | Somewhat like | Strongly like | Don't know <i>[DNR]</i> |
| <b>A. People of a different religion?</b>   | 1                | 2                | 3              | 4             | 5             | 9                       |
| <b>B. People from other ethnic groups?</b>  | 1                | 2                | 3              | 4             | 5             | 9                       |
| <b>C. Homosexuals?</b>  | 1                | 2                | 3              | 4             | 5             | 9                       |
| <b>D. Immigrants or foreign workers?</b>  | 1                | 2                | 3              | 4             | 5             | 9                       |
| <b>E. People who support a different political party?</b>   | 1                | 2                | 3              | 4             | 5             | 9                       |

|   |       |      |                |      |                         |
|---|-------|------|----------------|------|-------------------------|
| <b>Now let's talk about traditional leaders and their role in politics and government in this country.</b>                    |       |      |                |      |                         |
| <b>87. How much influence do traditional leaders currently have in each of the following areas: <i>[Read out options]</i></b> |       |      |                |      |                         |
|   | A lot | Some | A small amount | None | Don't know <i>[DNR]</i> |
| <b>A. Governing your local community</b>  | 4     | 3    | 2              | 1    | 9                       |
| <b>B. Allocating land</b>   | 4     | 3    | 2              | 1    | 9                       |
| <b>C. Influencing how people in their communities vote</b>  | 4     | 3    | 2              | 1    | 9                       |
| <b>D. Solving local disputes</b>  | 4     | 3    | 2              | 1    | 9                       |

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <b>87E. Do you think that the amount of influence traditional leaders have in governing your local community should increase, stay the same, or decrease? <i>[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion.]</i></b> |   |
| Increase a lot   | 5 |
| Increase somewhat  | 4 |
| Stay the same  | 3 |
| Decrease somewhat  | 2 |
| Decrease a lot   | 1 |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>  | 9 |

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <b>88. Which of these three statements is closest to your own opinion? [Read out statements. Only one option to be chosen.]</b> |   |
| <b>Statement 1: Traditional leaders mostly look out for what is best for the people in their communities.</b>                   | 3 |
| <b>Statement 2: Traditional leaders mostly serve the interests of politicians and government officials.</b>                     | 2 |
| <b>Statement 3: Traditional leaders mostly look out for their own personal interests.</b>                                       | 1 |
| Do not agree with any of these statements [DNR]   | 0 |
| Don't know [Do not read]  | 9 |

|  |                             |   |                                      |
|--|-----------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|
| <b>Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.</b><br>[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion: <b>Do you agree or agree very strongly?</b> ] |                             |   |                                      |
| <b>89A.</b>  |                             |   |                                      |
| <b>Statement 1: Traditional leaders have a better grasp of political issues than ordinary people; they should give their people advice about how to vote.</b>                                      |                             | <b>Statement 2: Traditional leaders should stay out of politics and leave people to make their own decisions about how to vote.</b> |                                      |
| Strongly agree with Statement 1<br>1   | Agree with Statement 1<br>2 | Agree with Statement 2<br>3   | Strongly agree with Statement 2<br>4 |
| Agree with neither [Do not read]   |                             |   | 5                                    |
| Don't know [Do not read]   |                             |   | 9                                    |

|  |                             |   |   |
|--|-----------------------------|---|---|
| <b>89B.</b>  |                             |   |   |
| <b>Statement 1: Traditional leaders are mostly in competition with elected leaders for resources, power and influence.</b> |                             | <b>Statement 2: Traditional leaders mostly work in cooperation with elected leaders to get things done.</b> |   |
| Agree very strongly with Statement 1<br>1  | Agree with Statement 1<br>2 | Agree with Statement 2<br>3   | Agree very strongly with Statement 2<br>4 |
| Agree with neither [Do not read]   |                             |   | 5   |
| Don't know [Do not read]   |                             |   | 9   |

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <b>90. Some people think that because traditional leaders are not elected, they are bad for democracy, but other people think that traditional leaders can work together with elected leaders to make democracy work better. What about you? Do you think that traditional leaders strengthen democracy, weaken democracy, or don't make a difference?</b> |   |
| Strengthen democracy   | 3 |
| Don't make a difference  | 2 |
| Weaken democracy   | 1 |
| Don't know [DNR]   | 9 |

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <b>91A. Do you feel close to any particular political party?</b> |   |
| No (does NOT feel close to ANY party)                            | 0 |
| Yes (feels close to a party)                                     | 1 |
| Refused to answer  | 8 |
| Don't know [Do not read]   | 9 |



**91B.** [Interviewer: if “Yes” to Q91A] **Which party is that?** [If answer to Q91A was “No,” “Don’t know,” or “Refused to answer,” this question will be automatically skipped and coded as 9997 = Not applicable.] [Do not read options. Code from response]

|  |           |  |  |  |
|--|-----------|--|--|--|
| Alliance for Progressives (AP)   | 140       |  |  |  |
| Botswana Congress Party (BCP)  | 141       |  |  |  |
| Botswana Democratic Party (BDP)  | 142       |  |  |  |
| Botswana Movement For Democracy (BMD)  | 143       |  |  |  |
| Botswana National Front (BNF)  | 144       |  |  |  |
| Botswana People’s Party (BPP)  | 145       |  |  |  |
| Botswana Patriotic Front (BPF)   | 146       |  |  |  |
| Marx Engels Lenin Stalin (MELS)  | 147       |  |  |  |
| Real Alternative Party (RAP)   | 148       |  |  |  |
| Umbrella for Democratic Change (UDC)   | 149       |  |  |  |
| Other [Specify]: _____   | Post code |  |  |  |
| Not applicable [ONLY if response to Q91A was “No,” “Don’t know,” or “Refused to answer”] | 9997      |  |  |  |
| Refused to answer [i.e. answered “Yes” to Q91A, but will not identify party]             | 9998      |  |  |  |
| Don’t know   | 9999      |  |  |  |

**92. Which of these things do you personally own? [If “No,” ask]: Does anyone else in your household own one?**

|                                | Yes<br>(personally owns) | Someone<br>else in household<br>owns | No one in<br>household owns | Don’t know<br>[DNR] |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------|
| A. Radio                       | 2                        | 1                                    | 0                           | 9                   |
| B. Television                  | 2                        | 1                                    | 0                           | 9                   |
| C. Motor vehicle or motorcycle | 2                        | 1                                    | 0                           | 9                   |
| D. Computer                    | 2                        | 1                                    | 0                           | 9                   |
| E. Bank account                | 2                        | 1                                    | 0                           | 9                   |
| F. Mobile phone                | 2                        | 1                                    | 0                           | 9                   |

**92G.** [If “Yes” to personally owning a mobile phone] **Does your phone have access to the internet?**

|  |   |
|--|---|
| No (Does not have Internet access)                     | 0 |
| Yes (Has Internet access)                              | 1 |
| Not applicable (does not personally have mobile phone) | 7 |
| Don’t know [Do not read]                               | 9 |

**92. How often do you use: [Read out options]**

|                    | Every day | A few times a<br>week | A few times a<br>month | Less than<br>once a month | Never | Don’t know<br>[DNR] |
|--------------------|-----------|-----------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|-------|---------------------|
| H. A mobile phone? | 4         | 3                     | 2                      | 1                         | 0     | 9                   |
| I. The Internet?   | 4         | 3                     | 2                      | 1                         | 0     | 9                   |

| <b>93A. What is your main source of water for household use? [Do not read. Code from response]</b> |    |
|--|----|
| Piped water into dwelling  | 1  |
| Piped water into yard, plot or compound  | 2  |
| Public tap or standpipe  | 3  |
| Tubewell or borehole   | 4  |
| Protected dug well   | 5  |
| Unprotected dug well   | 6  |
| Protected spring   | 7  |
| Unprotected spring   | 8  |
| Rainwater collection   | 9  |
| Bottled water  | 10 |
| Purchased from a cart with a small tank or drum  | 11 |
| Purchased from a tanker truck  | 12 |
| Surface water, like a river, dam, lake, pond, stream, canal or irrigation channel                  | 13 |
| Other  | 95 |
| Don't know   | 99 |

| <b>93B. Do you have a toilet, water closet or latrine available for your use? [If yes] Is it inside your house, inside your compound, or outside your compound, or is there none available?</b> |   |
|---|---|
| No, none available  | 0 |
| Yes, inside the house   | 1 |
| Yes, inside the compound  | 2 |
| Yes, outside the compound   | 3 |
| Don't know [Do not read]  | 9 |

| <b>94A. [Interviewer: If it is 100% clear that there is no electricity supply to the home, e.g. in an unserved rural area, do not ask this question. Just select 0=No electricity supply and continue to Q94C.] Do you have an electric connection to your home from Botswana power corporation?</b> |   |
|--|---|
| No   | 0 |
| Yes  | 1 |
| Don't know   | 9 |
| <b>94B. [If yes to Q94A] How often is electricity actually available from this connection?</b>   |   |
| Never  | 1 |
| Occasionally   | 2 |
| About half of the time   | 3 |
| Most of the time   | 4 |
| All of the time  | 5 |
| Not applicable [Do not read; if response to Q94A was 0=No or 9=DK (tablet will do an automatic skip)]  | 7 |
| Don't know [Do not read]   | 9 |

|   |    |
|---|----|
| <b>94C. Does your house use electric power from any source other than Botswana power corporation?</b>                           |    |
| No  | 0  |
| Yes   | 1  |
| Don't know  | 9  |
| <b>94D. [If yes to Q94C] What is the source of the electricity for this connection? [Read out options]</b>                      |    |
| Batteries or power bank   | 1  |
| Generator   | 2  |
| Solar panels  | 3  |
| Wind power  | 4  |
| Hydro power   | 5  |
| Biogas  | 6  |
| Other [Do not read]   | 95 |
| Multiple sources [Do not read]  | 96 |
| Not applicable [Do not read; if response to Q94C was 0=No or 9=DK (tablet will do automatic skip)]                              | 97 |
| Don't know [Do not read]  | 99 |
| <b>94E. [If yes to Q94C] Is the electricity source owned by your household, or does it come from outside of your household.</b> |    |
| Owned by household  | 1  |
| Owned outside of household  | 2  |
| Get power from sources both within and outside of household [Do not read]   | 3  |
| Not applicable [Do not read; if response to Q94C was 0=No or 9=DK (tablet will do automatic skip)]                              | 7  |
| Don't know [Do not read]  | 9  |

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <b>95A. Do you have a job that pays a cash income? [If yes, ask:] Is it full time or part time? [If no, ask:] Are you currently looking for a job?</b> |   |
| No (not looking)   | 0 |
| No (looking)   | 1 |
| Yes, part time   | 2 |
| Yes, full time   | 3 |
| Don't know [Do not read]   | 9 |

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <b>95B. [If respondent answered "No (not looking)", "No (looking)", or 9=DK to Q95A, select 7=Not applicable for this question and continue to Q95C (tablet will do an automatic skip). Otherwise ask:] If you have paid employment, that is, regular employment for which you receive something like an hourly wage or a regular salary, are you required to pay an income tax, that is, a tax deducted from your wages by your employer? [Read out options]</b> |   |
| No, am not required to pay  | 0 |
| Yes, am required to pay   | 1 |
| Not applicable [Do not read]  | 7 |
| Don't know [Do not read]  | 9 |

| <b>95C. What is your main occupation? [If unemployed, retired, or disabled, ask:] What was your last main occupation? [Do not read options. Code from responses.]</b> |           |  |      |
|---|-----------|--|------|
| Never had a job   |           |  | 0    |
| Student   |           |  | 1    |
| Housewife / Homemaker   |           |  | 2    |
| Agriculture / Farming / Fishing / Forestry  |           |  | 3    |
| Trader / Hawker / Vendor  |           |  | 4    |
| Retail / Shop   |           |  | 5    |
| Unskilled manual worker (e.g. cleaner, laborer, domestic help, unskilled manufacturing worker)  |           |  | 6    |
| Artisan or skilled manual worker (e.g. trades like electrician, mechanic, machinist, or skilled manufacturing worker)   |           |  | 7    |
| Clerical or secretarial   |           |  | 8    |
| Supervisor / Foreman / Senior manager   |           |  | 9    |
| Security services (police, army, private security)  |           |  | 10   |
| Mid-level professional (e.g. teacher, nurse, mid-level government officer)  |           |  | 11   |
| Upper-level professional (e.g. banker / finance, doctor, lawyer, engineer, accountant, professor, senior-level government officer)                                    |           |  | 12   |
| Other [Specify]: _____  | Post code |  |      |
| Don't know [Do not read]  |           |  | 9999 |

| <b>95D. [If respondent has an occupation, i.e. responses on Q95C other than 0=Never had a job, 1=Student, 2= Housewife / Homemaker, ask:] Do you work for yourself, for someone else in the private sector or the non-governmental sector, or for government? [Read out options]</b> |   |
|--|---|
| Works for self   | 1 |
| Private sector   | 2 |
| Non-governmental organisation or civil society sector  | 3 |
| Government   | 4 |
| Not applicable [i.e. if answer to Q95B was 0=never had a job, 1= student, or 2=homemaker (tablet will do an automatic skip)]   | 7 |
| Don't know [Do not read]   | 9 |

| <b>96A. What is the main way that decisions are made about how to use any money that you have or earn, for example from a job, a business, selling things or other activities?[Interviewer: Read out options]</b> |   |
|---|---|
| You make the decisions yourself   | 1 |
| Your spouse makes the decisions   | 2 |
| You make the decisions jointly with your spouse   | 3 |
| You make the decisions jointly with other family members  | 4 |
| Other family members make the decisions without you   | 5 |
| None of the above / Some other response [DNR]   | 6 |
| Not applicable / No earnings [DNR]  | 7 |
| Don't know [Do not read]  | 9 |

| <b>96B. Who is the head of this household, that is, the person who has primary responsibility for making decisions on behalf of the household? [Interviewer: Do not read options. Code from responses]</b> |    |
|--|----|
| You [respondent]   | 1  |
| Respondent's spouse  | 2  |
| Respondent's father  | 3  |
| Respondent's mother  | 4  |
| Respondent's son   | 5  |
| Respondent's daughter  | 6  |
| Respondent's grandfather   | 7  |
| Respondent's grandmother   | 8  |
| Another male relative  | 9  |
| Another female relative  | 10 |
| Someone else   | 11 |
| More than one person [DNR]   | 12 |
| Don't know [Do not read]   | 99 |

|   |    |
|---|----|
| <b>96C.</b> <i>[If respondent is not the head of household, i.e. if the response to 96B was NOT 1=You [respondent] or 99=Don't know, ask:] What is the main occupation of the head of the household? [If unemployed, retired, or disabled, ask:] What was his or her last main occupation?] [Do not read options. Code from responses.]</i> |    |
| Not applicable <i>[If respondent is head of household (tablet will do automatic skip)]</i>  | 97 |
| Never had a job   | 0  |
| Student   | 1  |
| Housewife / Homemaker   | 2  |
| Agriculture / Farming / Fishing / Forestry  | 3  |
| Trader / Hawker / Vendor  | 4  |
| Retail / Shop   | 5  |
| Unskilled manual worker (e.g. cleaner, laborer, domestic help, unskilled manufacturing worker)  | 6  |
| Artisan or skilled manual worker (e.g. trades like electrician, mechanic, machinist, or skilled manufacturing worker)   | 7  |
| Clerical or secretarial   | 8  |
| Supervisor / Foreman / Senior manager   | 9  |
| Security services (police, army, private security)  | 10 |
| Mid-level professional (e.g. teacher, nurse, mid-level government officer)  | 11 |
| Upper-level professional (e.g. banker / finance, doctor, lawyer, engineer, accountant, professor, senior-level government officer)  | 12 |
| Other   | 95 |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>   | 99 |

|   |    |
|---|----|
| <b>97. What is your highest level of education?</b> <i>[Code from answer. Do not read options]</i>          |    |
| No formal schooling   | 0  |
| Informal schooling only (including Koranic schooling)   | 1  |
| Some primary schooling  | 2  |
| Primary school completed  | 3  |
| Intermediate school or some secondary school / high school  | 4  |
| Secondary school / high school completed  | 5  |
| Post-secondary qualifications other than university, e.g. a diploma or degree from a polytechnic or college | 6  |
| Some university   | 7  |
| University completed  | 8  |
| Post-graduate   | 9  |
| Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>   | 99 |

| <b>98A. What is your religion, if any? [Interviewer: Code from answer. Do not read options.]</b>          |           |  |      |
|---|-----------|--|------|
| None  |           |  | 0    |
| <b>CHRISTIAN GROUPS / DENOMINATIONS</b>   |           |  |      |
| Christian only (i.e. respondent says only "Christian" without identifying a specific sub-group)           |           |  | 1    |
| Roman Catholic  |           |  | 2    |
| Orthodox  |           |  | 3    |
| Coptic  |           |  | 4    |
| <b>Protestant - Mainline</b>  |           |  |      |
| Anglican  |           |  | 5    |
| Lutheran  |           |  | 6    |
| Methodist   |           |  | 7    |
| Presbyterian  |           |  | 8    |
| Baptist   |           |  | 9    |
| Quaker / Friends  |           |  | 10   |
| Mennonite   |           |  | 11   |
| Dutch Reformed  |           |  | 30   |
| Calvinist   |           |  | 31   |
| <b>Protestant - Non-mainline</b>  |           |  |      |
| Evangelical   |           |  | 12   |
| Pentecostal (e.g. "born again" and / or "saved")  |           |  | 13   |
| Independent (e.g. "African Independent Church")   |           |  | 14   |
| Church of Christ  |           |  | 32   |
| Zionist Christian Church  |           |  | 33   |
| <b>Others</b>   |           |  |      |
| Jehovah's Witness   |           |  | 15   |
| Seventh-day Adventist   |           |  | 16   |
| Mormon  |           |  | 17   |
| <b>MUSLIM GROUPS / DENOMINATIONS</b>  |           |  |      |
| Muslim only (i.e. respondent says only "Muslim" without identifying a specific sub-group)                 |           |  | 18   |
| <b>Sunni</b>  |           |  |      |
| Sunni only (i.e. respondent says only "Sunni" or "Sunni Muslim" without identifying a specific sub-group) |           |  | 19   |
| Ismaeli   |           |  | 20   |
| Mouridiya Brotherhood   |           |  | 21   |
| Tijaniya Brotherhood  |           |  | 22   |
| Qadiriya Brotherhood  |           |  | 23   |
| <b>Shia</b>   |           |  |      |
| Shia  |           |  | 24   |
| <b>OTHER</b>  |           |  |      |
| Traditional / Ethnic religion   |           |  | 25   |
| Hindu   |           |  | 26   |
| Bahai   |           |  | 27   |
| Agnostic (Do not know if there is a God)  |           |  | 28   |
| Atheist (Do not believe in a God)   |           |  | 29   |
| Jewish  |           |  | 34   |
| Other [Specify]: _____  | Post Code |  |      |
| Refused   |           |  | 9998 |
| Don't know  |           |  | 9999 |

**98B. How often, if ever, are \_\_\_\_\_s [R's religious group] treated unfairly by the government?** [Read out options]  
 [If respondent did not identify any religion on Q98A – that is, IF they said 0=None, 9998=Refused, or 9999=Don't know – then select 7 = Not applicable for Q98B and continue to Q99. (tablet will do automatic skip)]

|                              |   |
|------------------------------|---|
| Never                        | 0 |
| Sometimes                    | 1 |
| Often                        | 2 |
| Always                       | 3 |
| Not applicable [Do not read] | 7 |
| Don't know [Do not read]     | 9 |

**99. If National Assembly elections were held tomorrow, which party's candidate would you vote for?** [Do not read options. Code from response]

|                                       |           |  |  |
|---------------------------------------|-----------|--|--|
| Alliance for Progressives (AP)        | 140       |  |  |
| Botswana Congress Party (BCP)         | 141       |  |  |
| Botswana Democratic Party (BDP)       | 142       |  |  |
| Botswana Movement For Democracy (BMD) | 143       |  |  |
| Botswana National Front (BNF)         | 144       |  |  |
| Botswana People's Party (BPP)         | 145       |  |  |
| Botswana Patriotic Front (BPF)        | 146       |  |  |
| Marx Engels Lenin Stalin (MELS)       | 147       |  |  |
| Real Alternative Party (RAP)          | 148       |  |  |
| Umbrella for Democratic Change (UDC)  | 149       |  |  |
| Other [Specify]: _____                | Post Code |  |  |
| Would not vote                        | 9997      |  |  |
| Refused to answer                     | 9998      |  |  |
| Don't know                            | 9999      |  |  |

**100. Just one more question: Who do you think sent us to do this interview?** [Do not read options. Code from response.]

|  |    |
|--|----|
| No one   | 0  |
| "Afrobarometer" or Star Awards [i.e. the correct response]   | 1  |
| Research company / organisation / programme [but not AB or Star Awards]  | 2  |
| Non-government or religious organisation   | 3  |
| University / School / College  | 4  |
| Private company  | 5  |
| Media  | 6  |
| Political party or politician  | 7  |
| Government (including any government official, government agency or ministry, or any other part of government named by the respondent) | 8  |
| International organisation or another country  | 9  |
| God  | 10 |
| Other  | 95 |
| Refused to answer  | 98 |
| Don't know   | 99 |

**THANK YOU VERY MUCH. YOUR ANSWERS HAVE BEEN VERY HELPFUL.**

**END INTERVIEW -- DON'T FORGET TO COMPLETE NEXT SECTION**

**ALL SUBSEQUENT QUESTIONS SHOULD BE ANSWERED BY THE INTERVIEWER AFTER THE INTERVIEW IS CONCLUDED**

|  |      |         |
|--|------|---------|
|  | Hour | Minutes |
| <b>ENDTIME.</b> Time interview ended [Interviewer: Enter hour and minute, using 24-hour clock] |      |         |

|   |  |  |
|---|--|--|
| <b>LENGTH.</b> For Office Use: Duration of interview in minutes |  |  |
|---|--|--|

**101. Respondent's gender**

|        |   |
|--------|---|
| Male   | 1 |
| Female | 2 |

| 102. Respondent's race?         |   |  |      |
|---------------------------------|---|--|------|
| Black / African                 | 1 | South Asian (Indian, Pakistani, etc.)          | 5    |
| White / European                | 2 | East Asian (Chinese, Korean, Indonesian, etc.) | 6    |
| Coloured / Mixed race           | 3 | Other [ <i>Specify</i> ]                       | 9995 |
| Arab / Lebanese / North African | 4 | Don't know                                     | 9999 |

| 103. What was the primary language used in the interview? |   |                                 |                  |
|---|---|---------------------------------|------------------|
| English   | 1 | Setswana                        | 140              |
|   |   | Other [ <i>Specify</i> ]: _____ | Post code: _____ |

| 104. In what type of shelter does the respondent live? |   |
|--|---|
| Non-traditional / Formal house                         | 1 |
| Traditional house / Hut                                | 2 |
| Temporary structure / Shack                            | 3 |
| Flat in a block of flats                               | 4 |
| Single room in a larger dwelling structure or backyard | 5 |
| Hostel in an industrial compound or farming compound   | 7 |
| Other  | 8 |

| 105. What was the roof of the respondent's home or shelter made of? |    |
|---|----|
| Metal, aluminum, tin, or zinc                                       | 1  |
| Tiles   | 2  |
| Shingles  | 3  |
| Thatch or grass   | 4  |
| Plastic sheets  | 5  |
| Asbestos  | 6  |
| Multiple materials  | 7  |
| Concrete  | 8  |
| Some other material   | 9  |
| Could not tell / Could not see                                      | 10 |

| 106. Were there any other people immediately present who might be listening during the interview? |   |
|---|---|
| No one  | 1 |
| Spouse only   | 2 |
| Children only   | 3 |
| A few others  | 4 |
| Small crowd   | 5 |

| 107.   | Yes | No |
|--|-----|----|
| A. Did the respondent check with others for information to answer any question?  | 1   | 0  |
| B. Do you think anyone influenced the respondent's answers during the interview? | 1   | 0  |
| C. Were you approached by community and / or political party representatives?    | 1   | 0  |
| D. Did you feel threatened during the interview?                                 | 1   | 0  |
| E. Were you physically threatened during the interview?                          | 1   | 0  |

| 108. What proportion of the questions do you feel the respondent had difficulty answering? |   |
|--|---|
| All  | 4 |
| Most   | 3 |
| Some   | 2 |
| Few  | 1 |
| None   | 0 |





| 117. Interviewer's ethnic group/tribe: |     |  |                 |
|--|-----|--|-----------------|
| Mokgatla                               | 140 | Mokhurutshe  | 154             |
| Mokwena                                | 141 | Mmirwa   | 155             |
| Mongwato                               | 142 | Mongologa  | 156             |
| Mongwaketse                            | 143 | Modamara   | 157             |
| Motlokwa                               | 144 | Mombukushu   | 158             |
| Moherero                               | 145 | Molete   | 159             |
| Morolong                               | 146 | Motswapong   | 160             |
| Mosarwa                                | 147 | Motlharo   | 161             |
| Mokalaka/Mokalanga                     | 148 | Motlhaping   | 162             |
| Mosubeya                               | 149 | Mokgothu   | 163             |
| Motawana                               | 150 | Motswana only, or "doesn't think of self in those terms" | 9990            |
| Mokgalagadi                            | 151 | Refused to answer  | 9998            |
| Moyeyi/Moyei                           | 152 | Don't know   | 9999            |
| Mohurutshe                             | 153 | Other [Specify]: _____                                   | Post code _____ |

| 118. Interviewer's highest level of education   |   |
|---|---|
| Primary school completed  | 3 |
| Some secondary school / high school   | 4 |
| Secondary school / High school completed  | 5 |
| Post-secondary qualifications other than university, e.g. a diploma or degree from a polytechnic or college | 6 |
| Some university   | 7 |
| University completed  | 8 |
| Post-graduate   | 9 |

| 119. Which Botswana languages do you speak? [Tick all that apply] |     |                        |                 |
|---|-----|------------------------|-----------------|
| English   | 1   | Sebirwa                | 147             |
| Setswana  | 140 | Sengologa              | 148             |
| Sesarwa   | 141 | Seyeyi                 | 149             |
| Sekgalagadi   | 142 | Afrikaans/Seburu       | 150             |
| Sesubia   | 143 | Sekgothu               | 151             |
| Ikalanga/Sekalaka   | 144 |                        |                 |
| Seherero  | 145 |                        |                 |
| Sembukushu  | 146 | Other [Specify]: _____ | Post code _____ |

## SIGNATURE

120. INTERVIEWER: Do you have any other comments on the interview? For example, did anything else significant happen during the interview?

|                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| No                   | 0 |
| Yes: [Explain] _____ | 1 |
| _____                |   |
| _____                |   |

121. **INTERVIEWER:** I hereby certify that this interview was conducted in accordance with instructions received during training. All responses recorded here are those of the respondent who was chosen by the appropriate selection method.

INTERVIEWER SIGNATURE: \_\_\_\_\_

122. **SUPERVISOR:** Do you have any other comments on the interview? For example, did anything else significant happen during the interview?

|                             |   |
|-----------------------------|---|
| No                          | 0 |
| Yes: <i>[Explain]</i> _____ | 1 |
| _____                       |   |
| _____                       |   |

123. **SUPERVISOR:** I hereby certify that this interview was conducted in accordance with instructions given to interviewers during training. All responses have been checked for completeness and accuracy. The information about the EA on the first page is based on observations I personally made in an area chosen by the appropriate sampling method.

SUPERVISOR SIGNATURE: \_\_\_\_\_

**[Supervisor Use Only]**

|                                |   |
|--------------------------------|---|
| <b>Household back-checked?</b> |   |
| Yes                            | 1 |
| No                             | 2 |