



## **Uganda 2011 Elections: Campaign Issues, Voter perceptions and Early voter intentions**

Results for the most recent  
Afrobarometer Survey (Nov – Dec 2010)



## The AFROBAROMETER

- A comparative series of national public opinion surveys that measure public attitudes toward democracy, governance, the economy and market reform, leadership, identity and other issues
- Three key objectives:
  - 1) Produce **scientifically reliable data** on public opinion in Africa
  - 2) Strengthen **institutional capacity** for survey research in Africa
  - 3) **Disseminate and apply results** (to decision makers, policy advocates, civic educators, journalists, researchers, donors, and ordinary Africans)

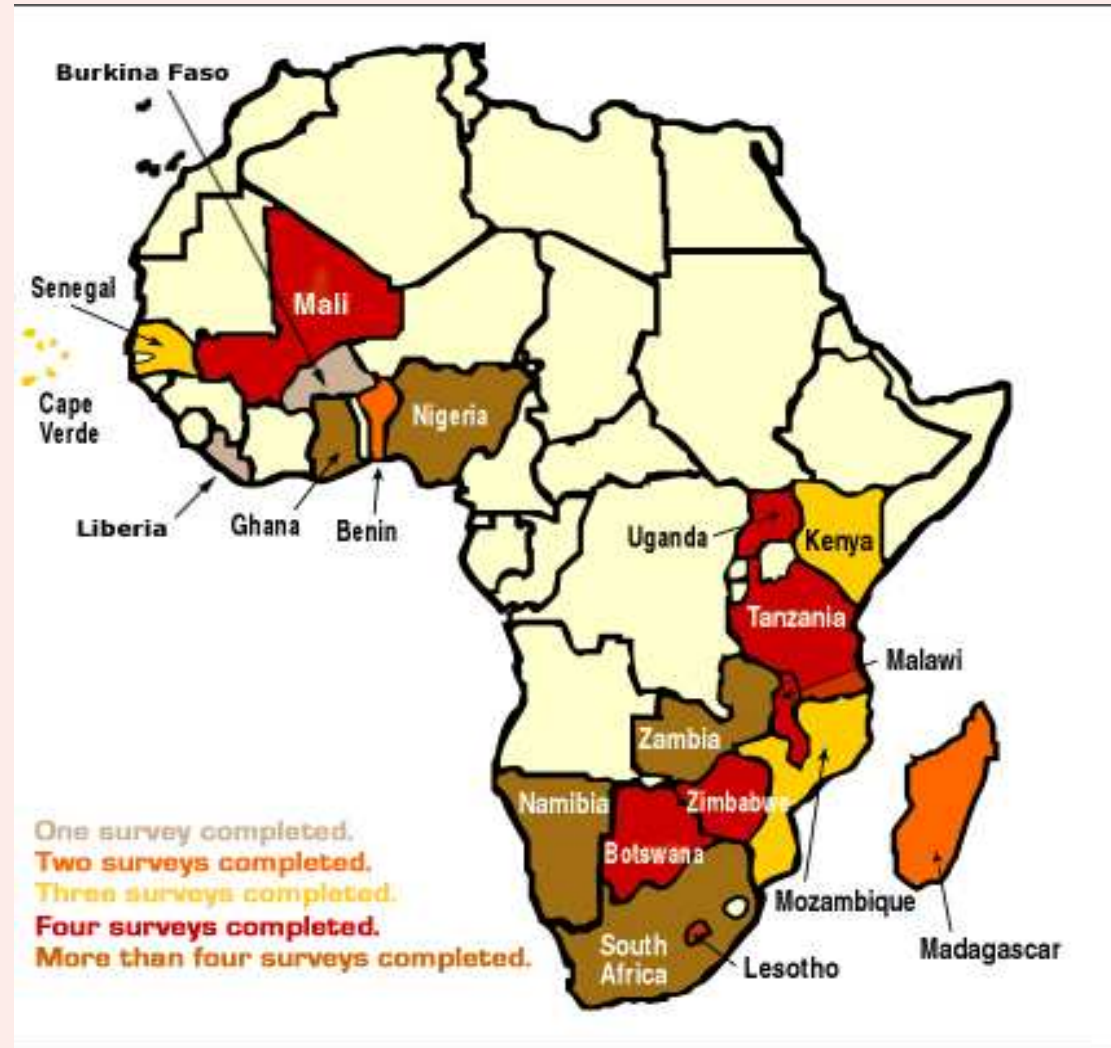


# Afrobarometer Coverage

- Round 1, 1999-2001, 12 countries
  - Southern Africa: Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Namibia, South Africa, Zambia, Zimbabwe
  - West Africa: Ghana, Mali, Nigeria
  - East Africa: Tanzania, Uganda
- Round 2, 2002-2003, 16 countries
  - Cape Verde, Kenya, Mozambique, Senegal
- Round 3, 2005-2006, 18 countries
  - Benin, Madagascar
- Round 4, 2008-2009, 20 countries
  - Burkina Faso, Liberia



## Coverage of Afrobarometer Surveys, 1999-2009





## Afrobarometer Methodology

- Respondents are all adult (18+) citizens of Uganda
- Nationally representative sample distributed with probability proportionate to population size
  - **Random** selection of
    - Enumeration Areas
    - Households
    - Respondent within household
    - Every adult has an equal chance of selection
- Face-to-Face interviews in the language of the respondent's choice
- Rigorous double-blind translation process that ensures that equivalence of meaning is maintained across languages



## Afrobarometer R4.5 in Uganda

- Nationally representative sample size of 2000 adults, based on UBOS 2002 census data and related 2010 projections
- Interviews over 19 days between 18<sup>th</sup> November to 6<sup>th</sup> December 2010
- Survey reached 71% of Uganda's districts across all administrative regions reaching both urban and rural areas
- 9 local language translations: Luganda, Runyankole-Rukiga, Runyoro-Rutooro, Lugbara, Alur, Luo, Ateso, Akirimojong and Lumasaba.
- Overall margin of error is +/- 2.5
- Funded by the Deepening Democracy Programme (DDP)



**Table 1: Sample Breakdown**

<b>Afrobarometer Round 4.5 Uganda Survey Demographic Breakdown</b>			
		<b>Un-weighted</b>	<b>Weighted</b>
Gender	Male	50	50
	Female	50	50
Locale	Urban	14	14
	Rural	86	86
Region	Central	20	22
	West	24	26
	North	22	22
	East	27	25
	Kampala	6	6
Age	18-24	25	25
	25-34	32	33
	35-44	23	23
	45-54	11	11
	55-64	4	4
	65-74	2	2
	75 and older	1	1
	Don't know	0	0
Education	No formal education	14	14
	Primary	41	39
	Secondary	34	35
	Post-secondary	11	12
	Don't know	0	0
Religion	Christian	88	87
	Muslim	11	12
	Other	1	1



## Objectives of the survey (Why now?)

- To assess public perceptions, opinions and attitudes towards democracy and other issues of national and public interest and how these are fairing in the present electoral environment
- To generate scientifically reliable data to aid various stakeholders in making informed decisions and engaging in the ongoing electoral process





# Presentation Outline

- Summary overview of results
- Mapping the current political and electoral landscape
  - Trends
  - Perceptions of the current electoral environment
  - Expectations and fears
  - Voting intentions (early indications)



# Summary overview of results

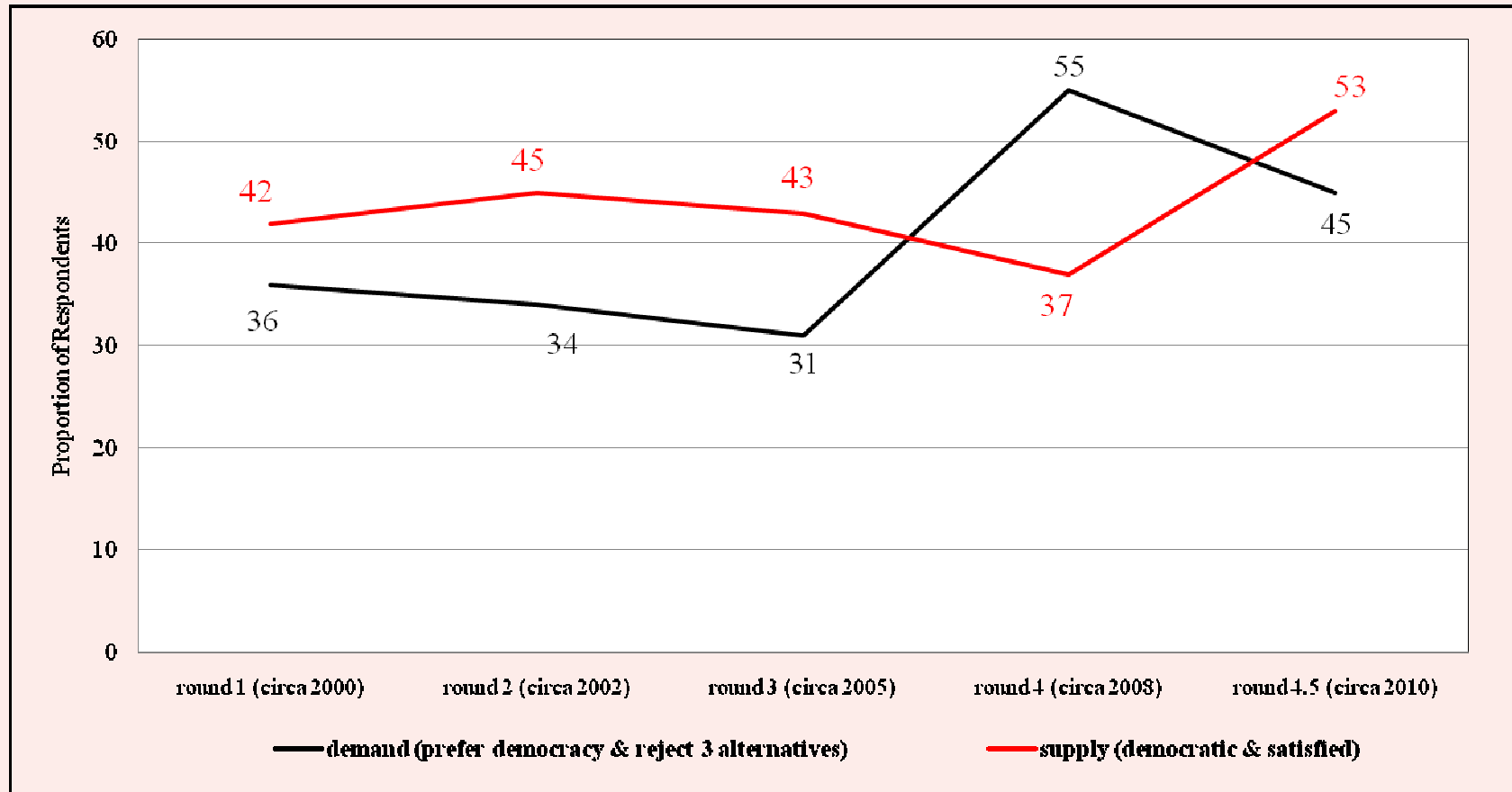
- Preference for Democracy remains high
- Perception of the supply of democracy has increased
- High electoral participation and engagement
- Widespread concerns about likelihood of violence
- Opposition has lost ground; people rallying around the government

# Mapping the current political and electoral landscape

Evolution of political opinions and attitudes (trends over time)



# Figure 1: Demand for and Supply of Democracy in Uganda Over Time

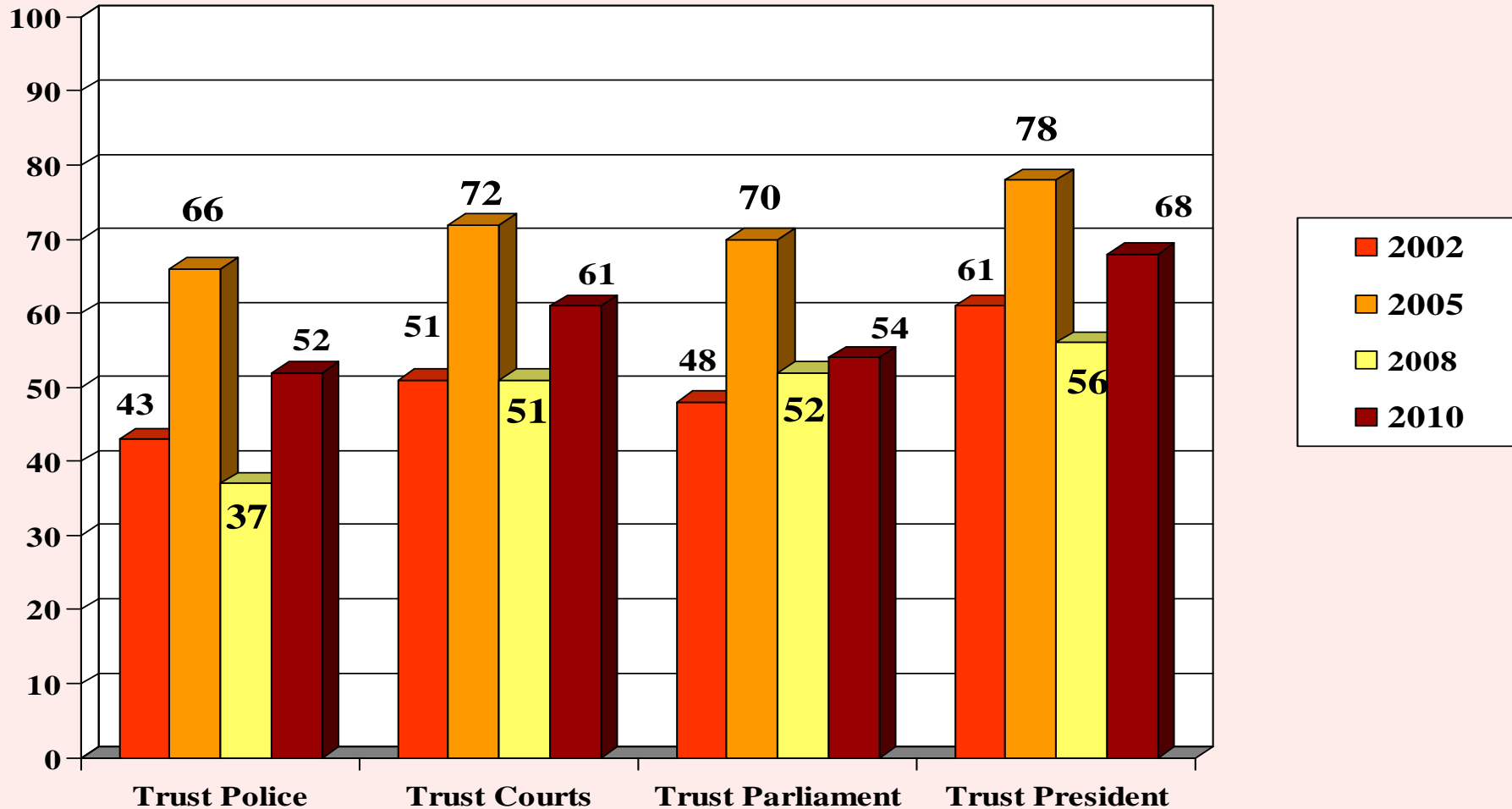


\*Supply Side: (q29) In your opinion how much of a democracy is Uganda today? (q30) Overall, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in Uganda?

\*Demand Side: (q21) Which of these three statements is closest to your opinion? (q20) there are many ways to govern a country. Would you disapprove or approve of the following alternatives: a) one-party, b) army governs and c) strong man rule.



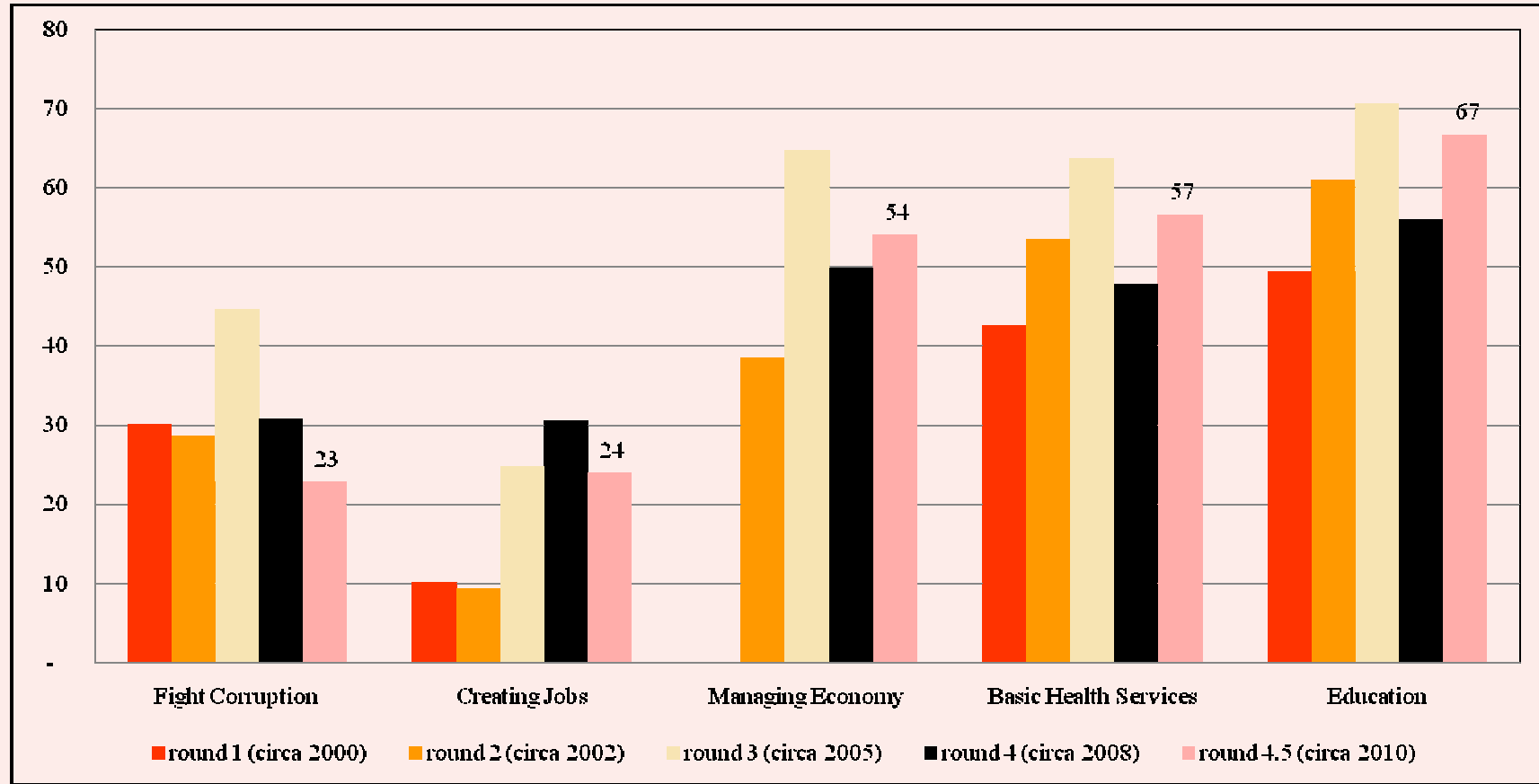
Figure 2: Trust in State Institutions, 2000-2010 (percent trusting “somewhat” or “a lot”)



\*How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say? (Q34).



**Figure 3: Views on Government Handling of Some Key Issues Over Time**  
(proportion saying Very/Fairly Well)



How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say (Q38)

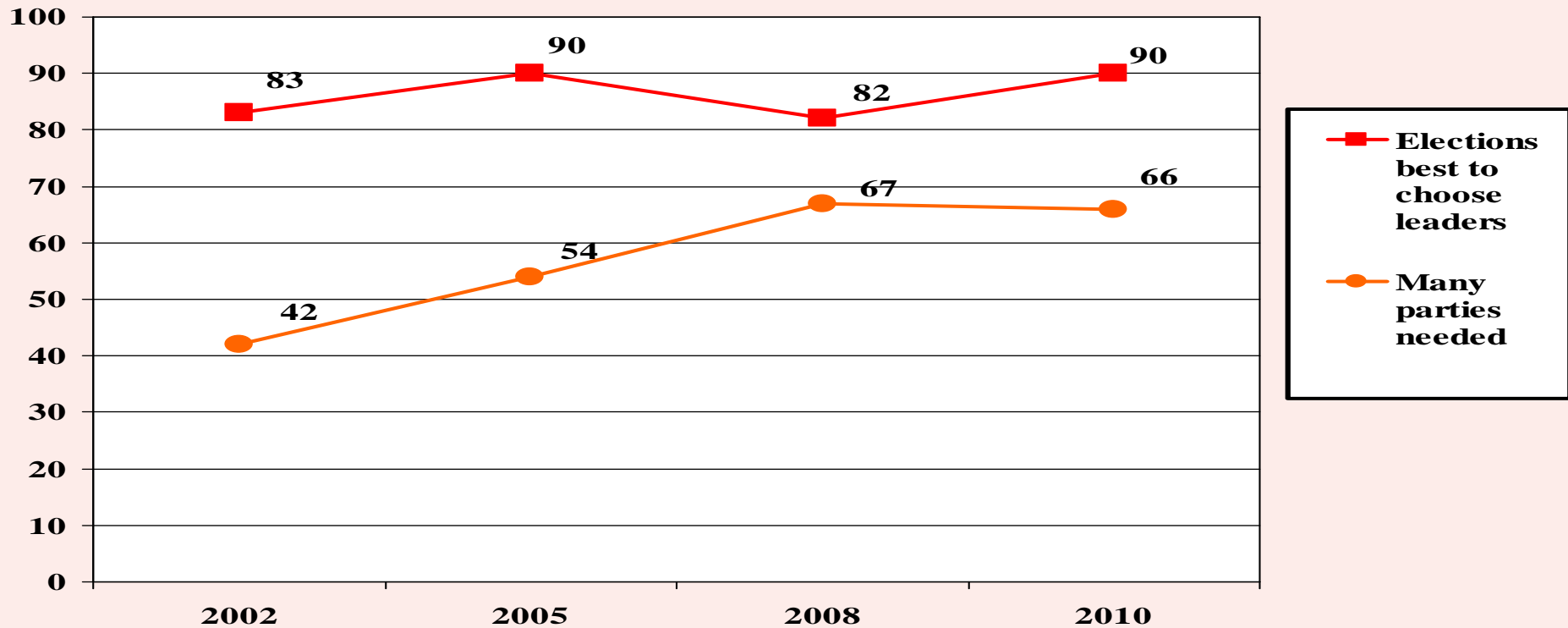
- \*Managing the Economy
- \*Improve basic health services
- \*Fighting corruption in government
- \*Creating Jobs
- \*Addressing educational needs

# **Elections Attitudes and Evaluations (Past, Present and Future Expectations)**

General attitudes towards elections



# Figure 4: Preference for Elections and Multiparty Competition, 2002-2010



Which of these statements is closest to your own opinion: (Q22 and Q23)

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

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

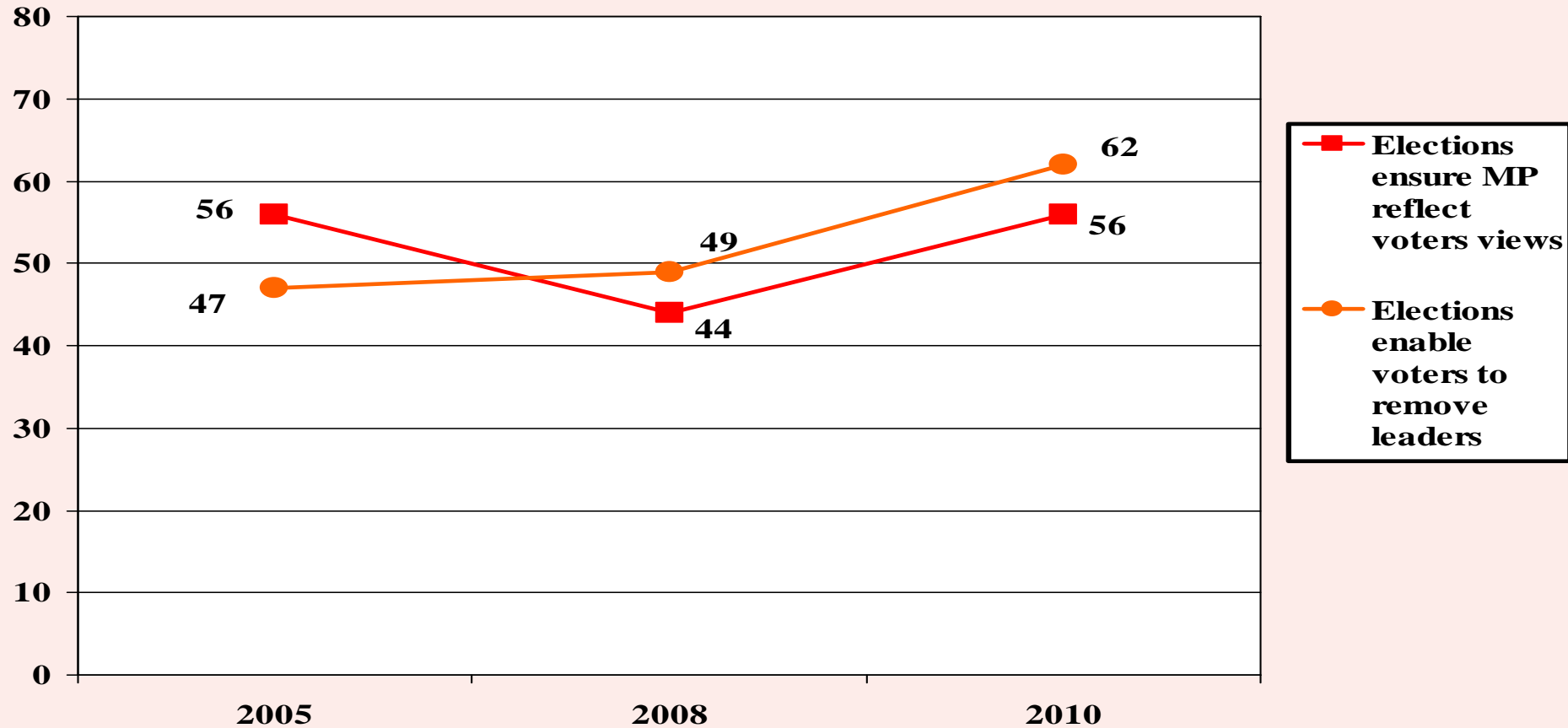
A. Political parties create division and confusion; it is therefore unnecessary to have many political parties in Uganda.

B. Many political parties are needed to make sure that Ugandans have real choices in who governs them.





# Figure 5: Election Efficacy, 2005-2010



Think about how elections work in practice in this country. How well do elections:

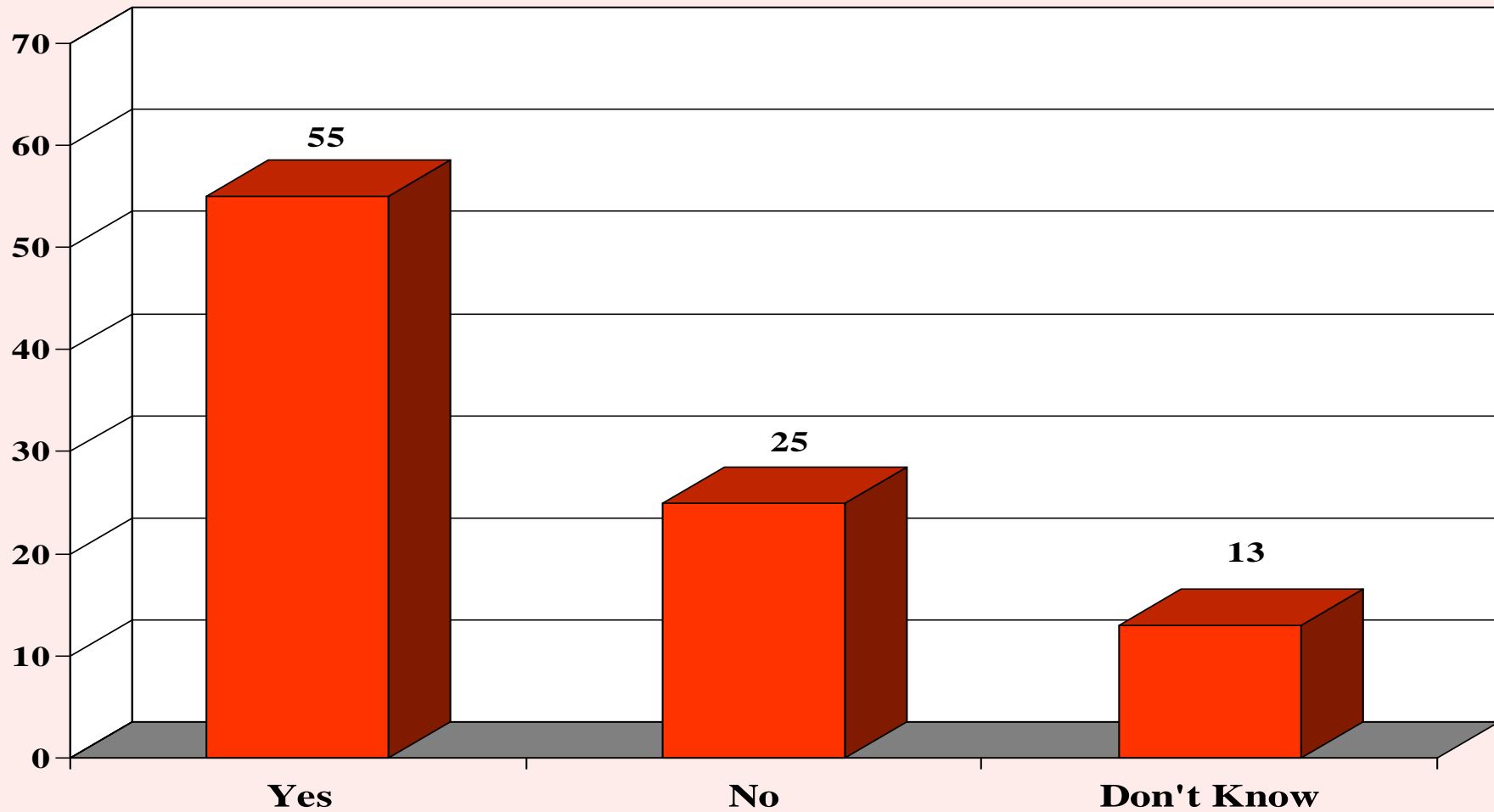
\*ensure that the Members of Parliament reflect the views of voters. (Q46a)

\*enable voters to remove from office leaders who do not do what the people want. (Q46b)

# **The Electoral Commission**



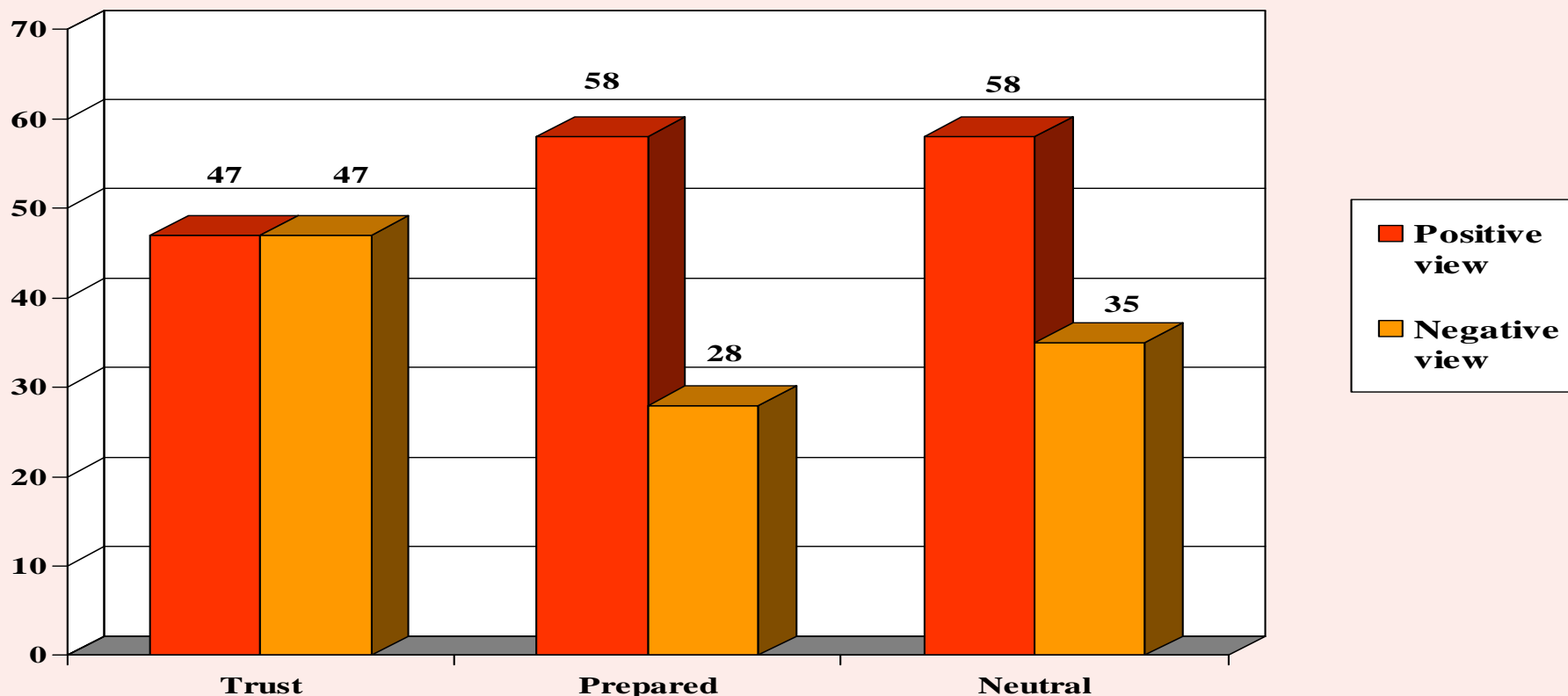
# Figure 6: Adequacy of Existing Electoral Laws



In your opinion, are the existing electoral laws sufficient to ensure clean, free and democratic elections? (Q54)



# Figure 7: Perceptions of the Electoral Commission of Uganda, 2011



\*How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: the Electoral Commission of Uganda? (Q34c)

\*In your opinion, how well prepared is the Electoral Commission of Uganda for the 2011 elections? (Q52)

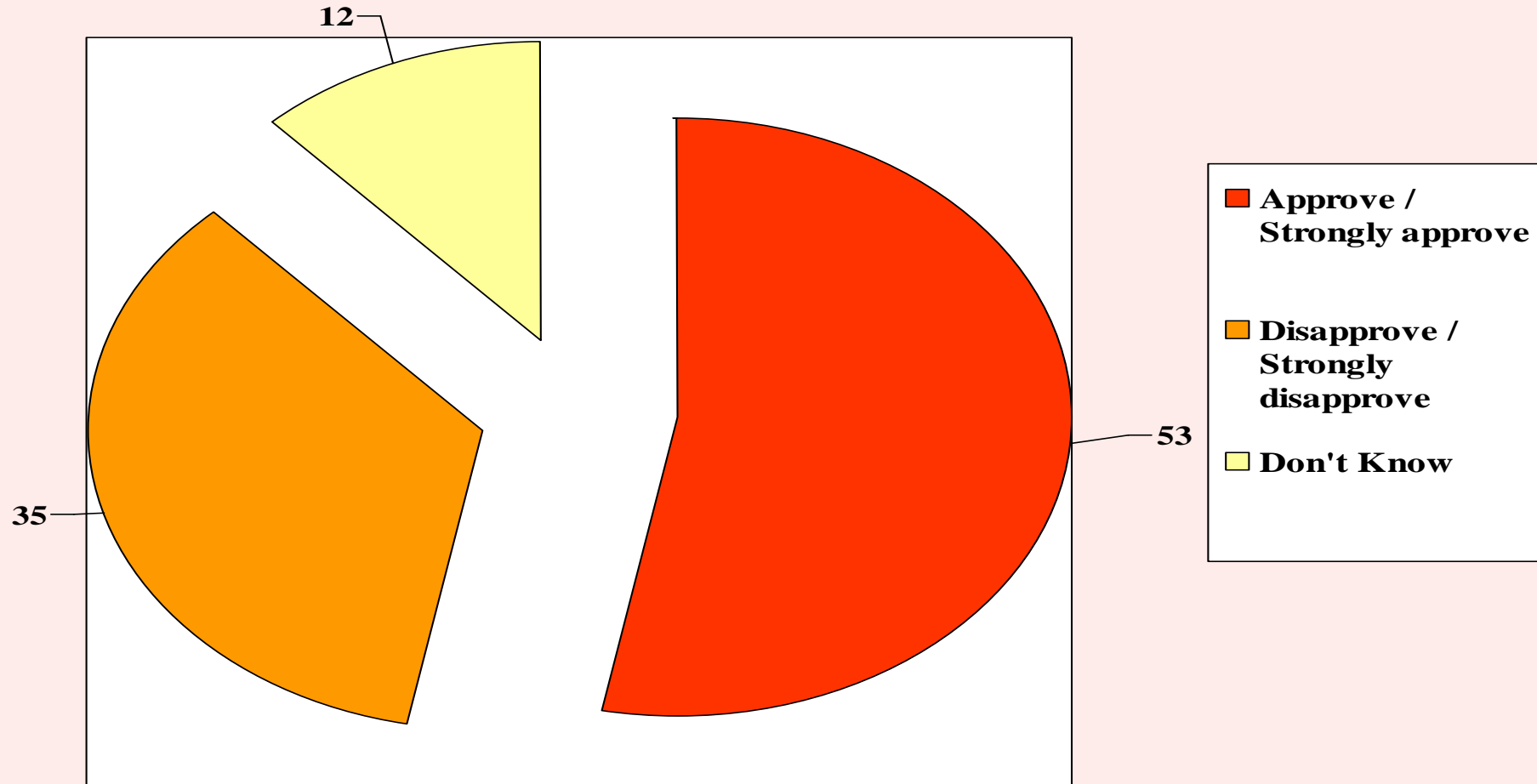
\*Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2. (Q55)

A: The Electoral Commission of Uganda performs its duties as a neutral body guided only by law.

B: The Electoral Commission of Uganda makes decisions that favour particular people, parties or interests.



# Figure 8: Performance of the EC Chairman

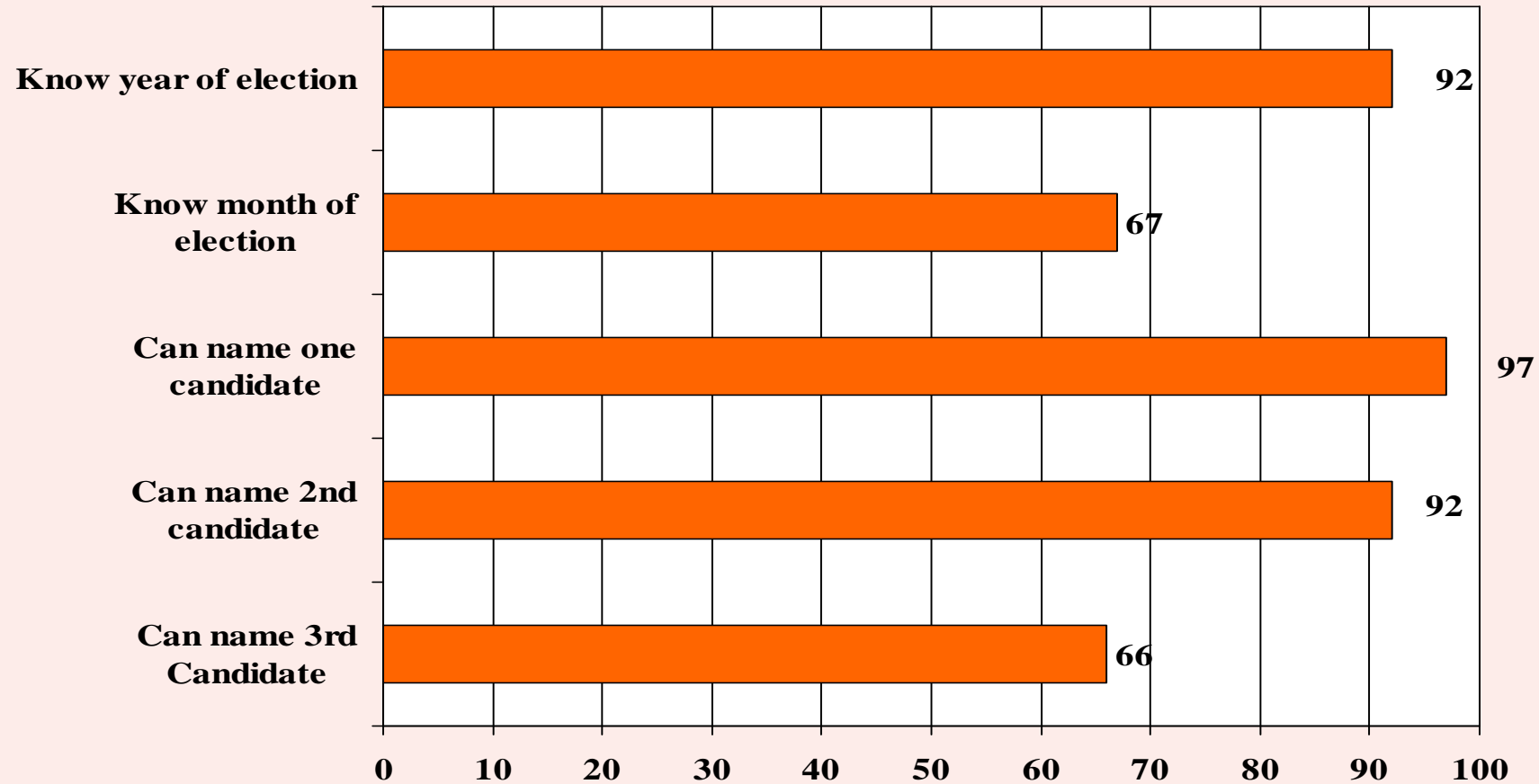


Do you approve or disapprove of the way that the following people have performed their jobs over the past 12 months, or haven't you heard enough about them to say? (Q41e)

# **Voter Awareness and Information Access**



## Figure 9: Election Knowledge



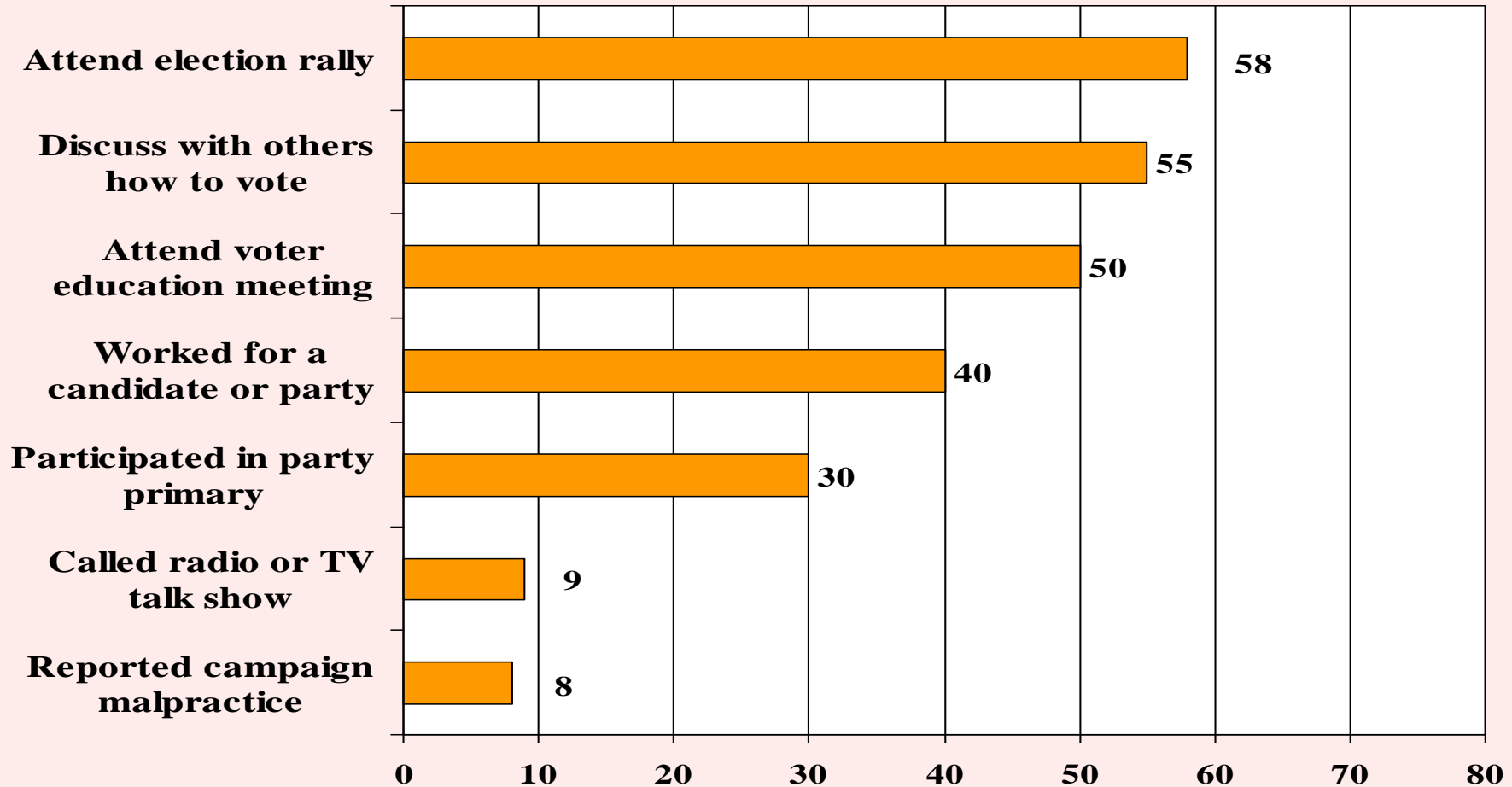
Can you tell me:

\*The year and month in which the next presidential and parliamentary elections will be held. (Q28a)

\*The names of at least three candidates who are running for president in the upcoming presidential election. (Q28b)



# Figure 10: Electoral Participation

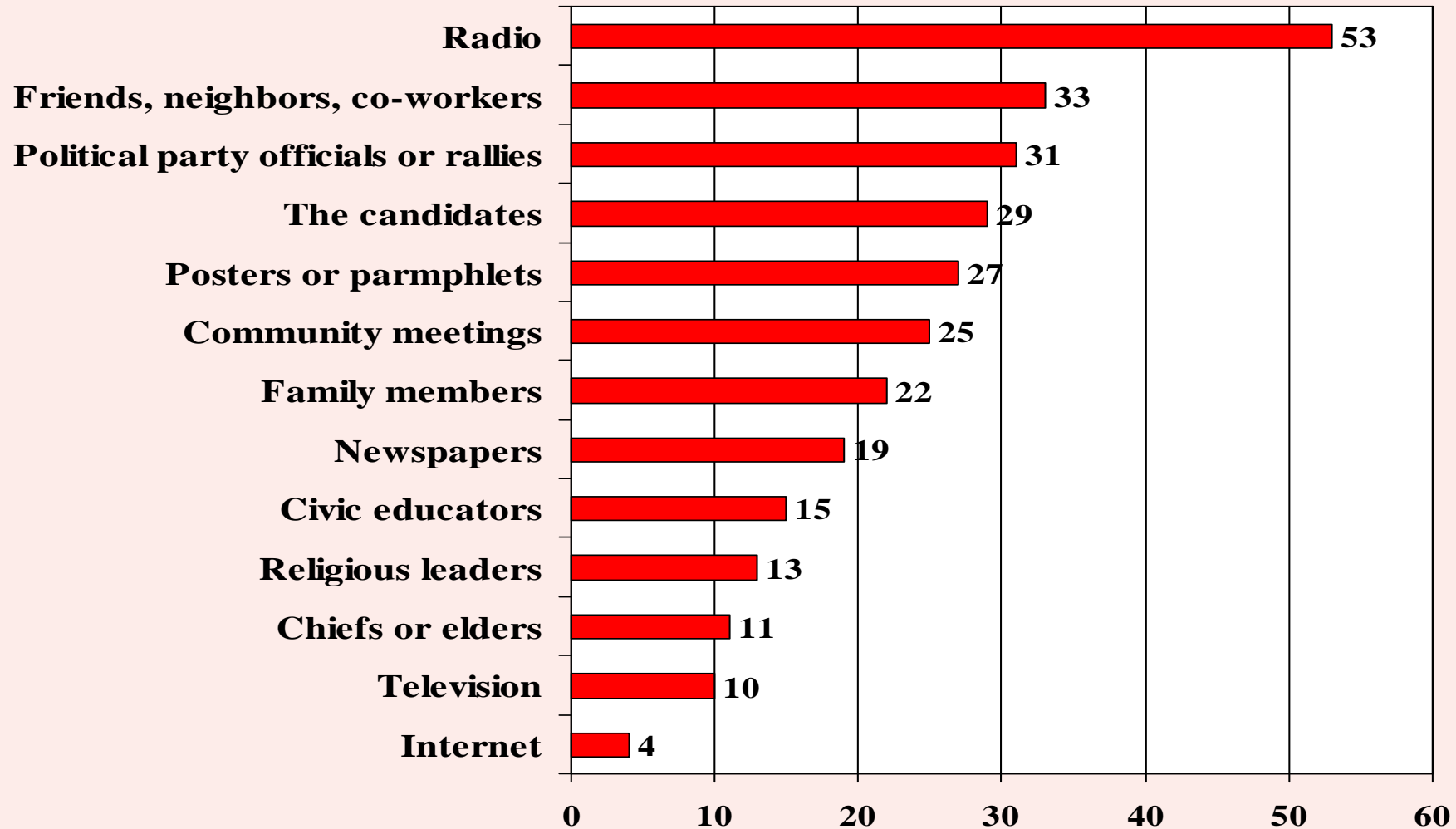


Here is a list of actions that people sometimes take as citizens. For each of these, please tell me whether you, personally, have done any of these things during the past year. (Q19)





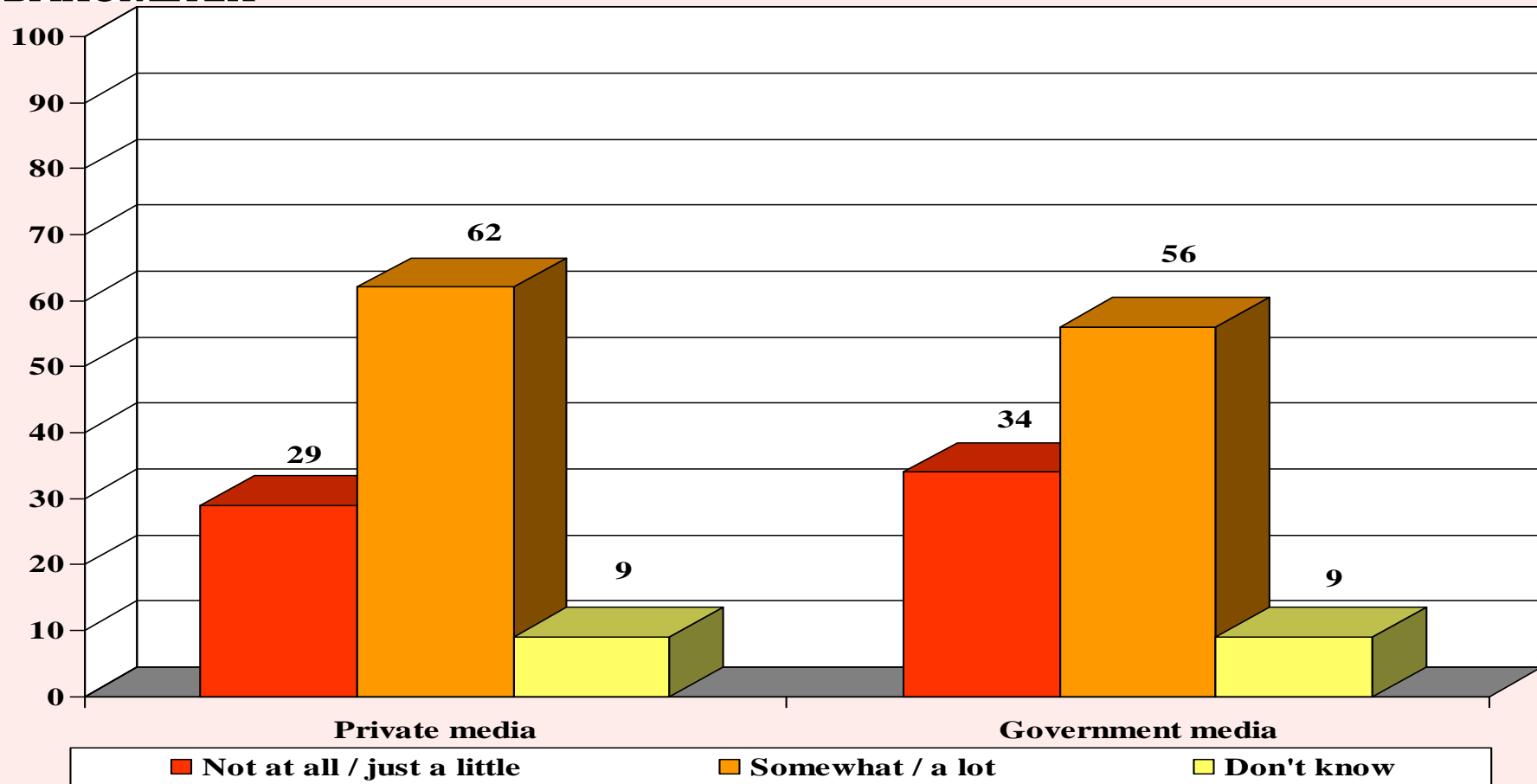
Figure 11: Sources of Election Information (percent “a lot”)



How much information on the forthcoming elections have you received from the following sources? (Q57)



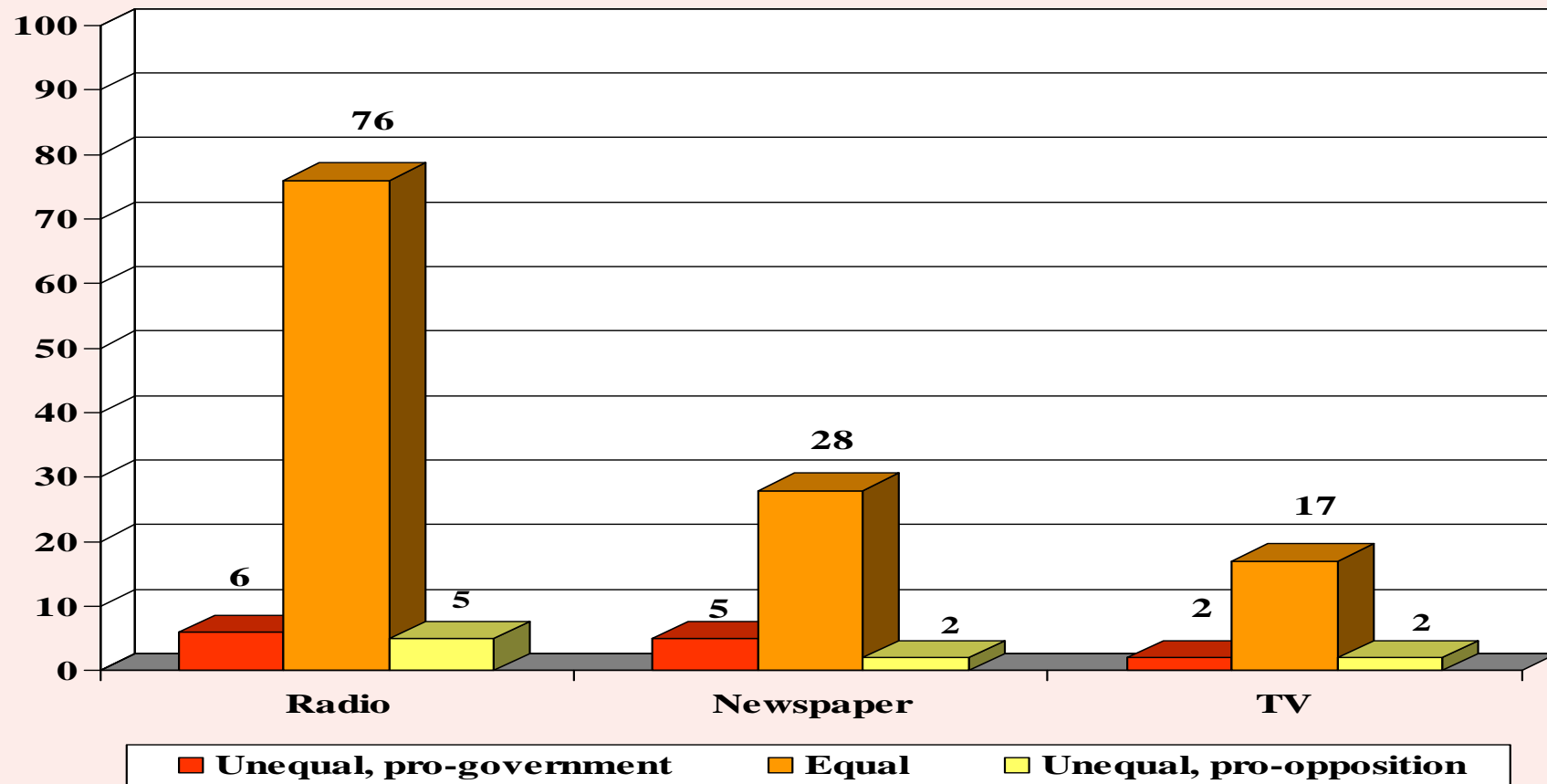
# Figure 12: Trust in Media



How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say:  
\*private newspapers and radio stations? (Q34j)  
\*government newspapers and radio stations? (Q34k)



# Figure 13: Perceived Media Neutrality

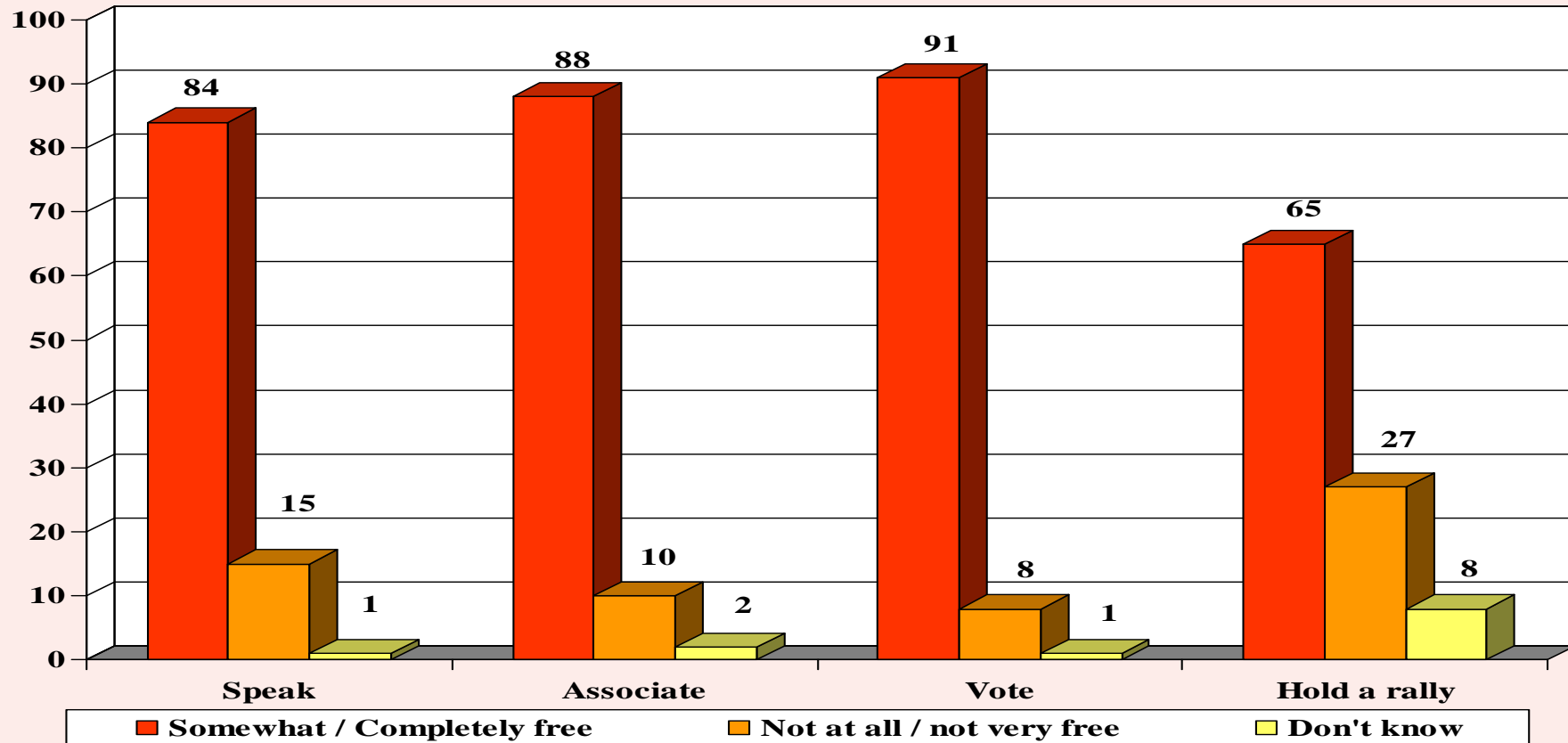


[After naming respondent's most frequently read, listened to or watched media sources: Thinking of the [newspaper that you most frequently read / the radio station that you listen to most frequently / the TV stations that you watch most frequently], in your opinion, does this [source] give equal or unequal coverage to different candidates in the forthcoming elections? (q60a,b,c)

# **Expectations & Fears**



# Figure 14: Extent of Freedoms, 2011

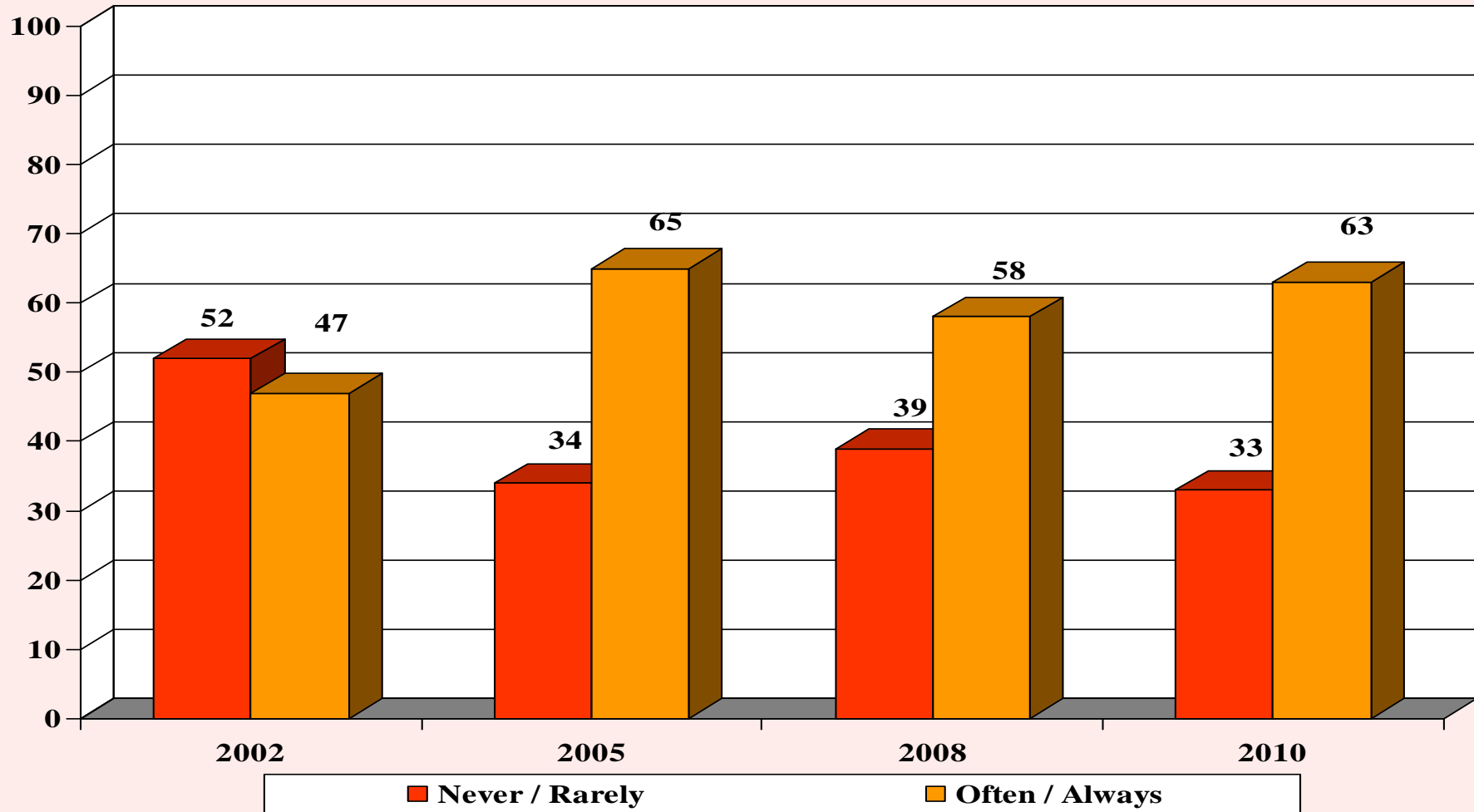


In this country, how free are you:

- to say what you think? (Q12a)
- to join any political organization you want? (Q12b)
- to choose who to vote for without feeling pressured? (Q12c)
- to hold a political rally? (Q12d)



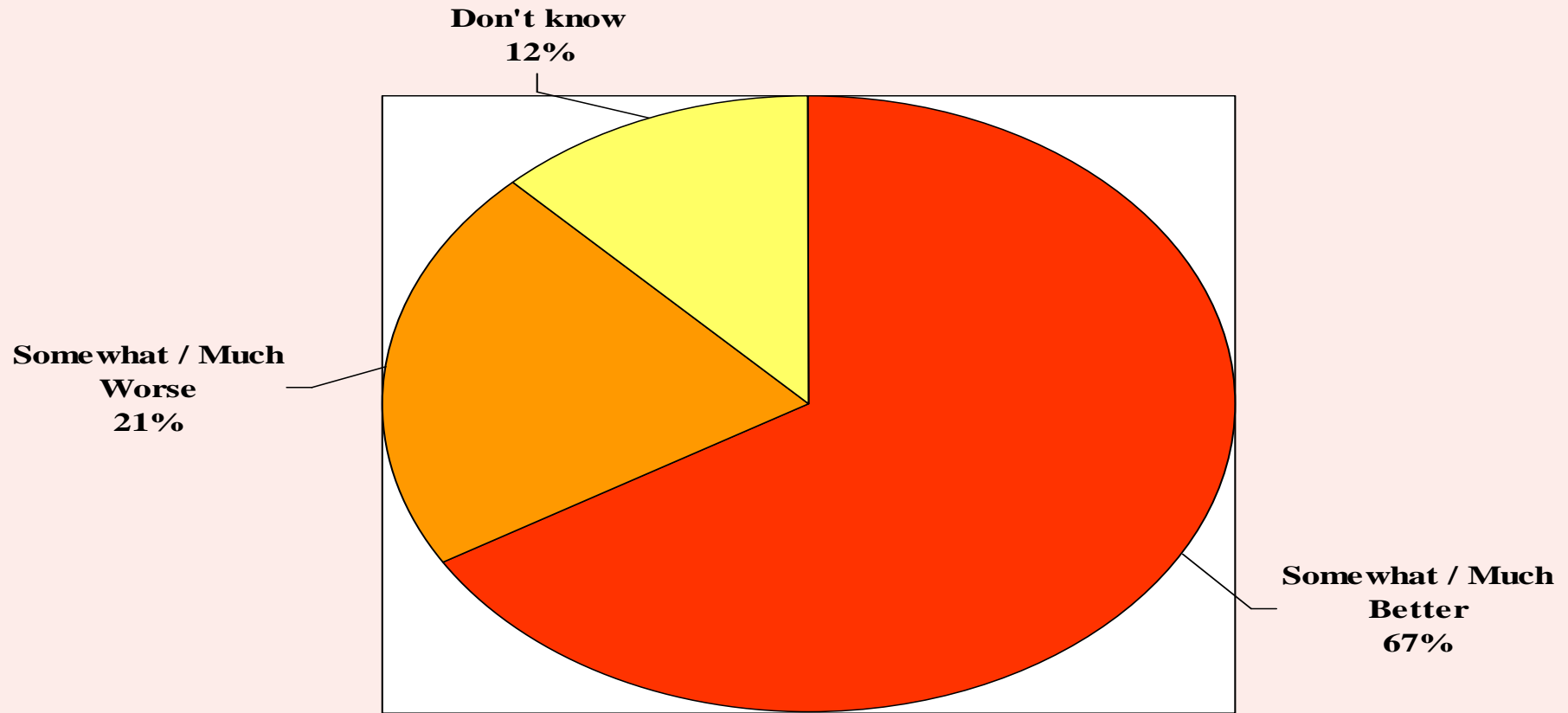
Figure 15: Careful What You Say About Politics, 2000-2010



In this country, how often do people have to be careful of what they say about politics? (Q33)



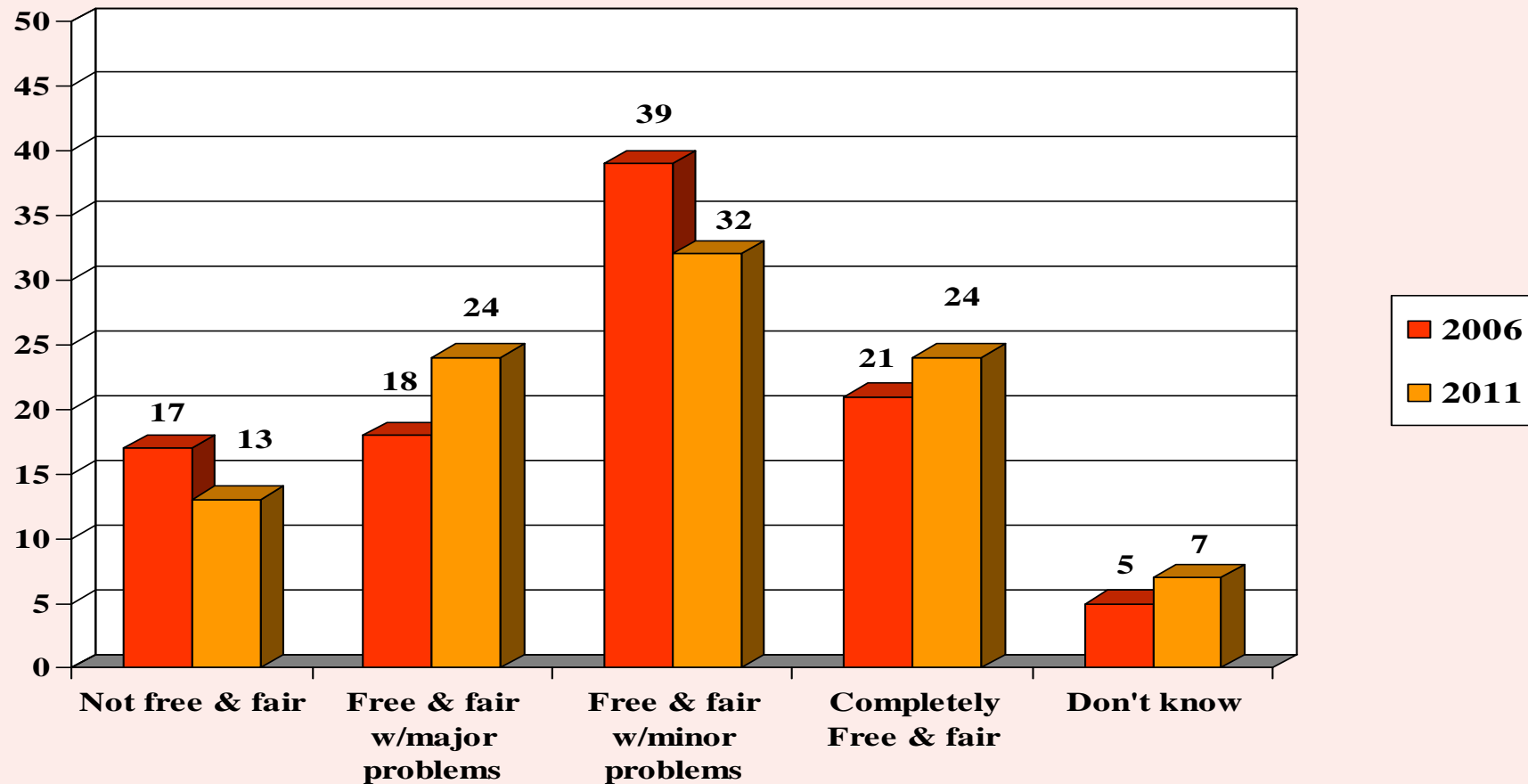
Figure 16: Comparing Election Quality, 2011 vs. 2006



In your opinion, do you think the organization of the 2011 presidential and parliamentary elections will be better or worse than the 2006 elections? (Q56)



# Figure 17: Elections Free & Fair, 2011 vs. 2006



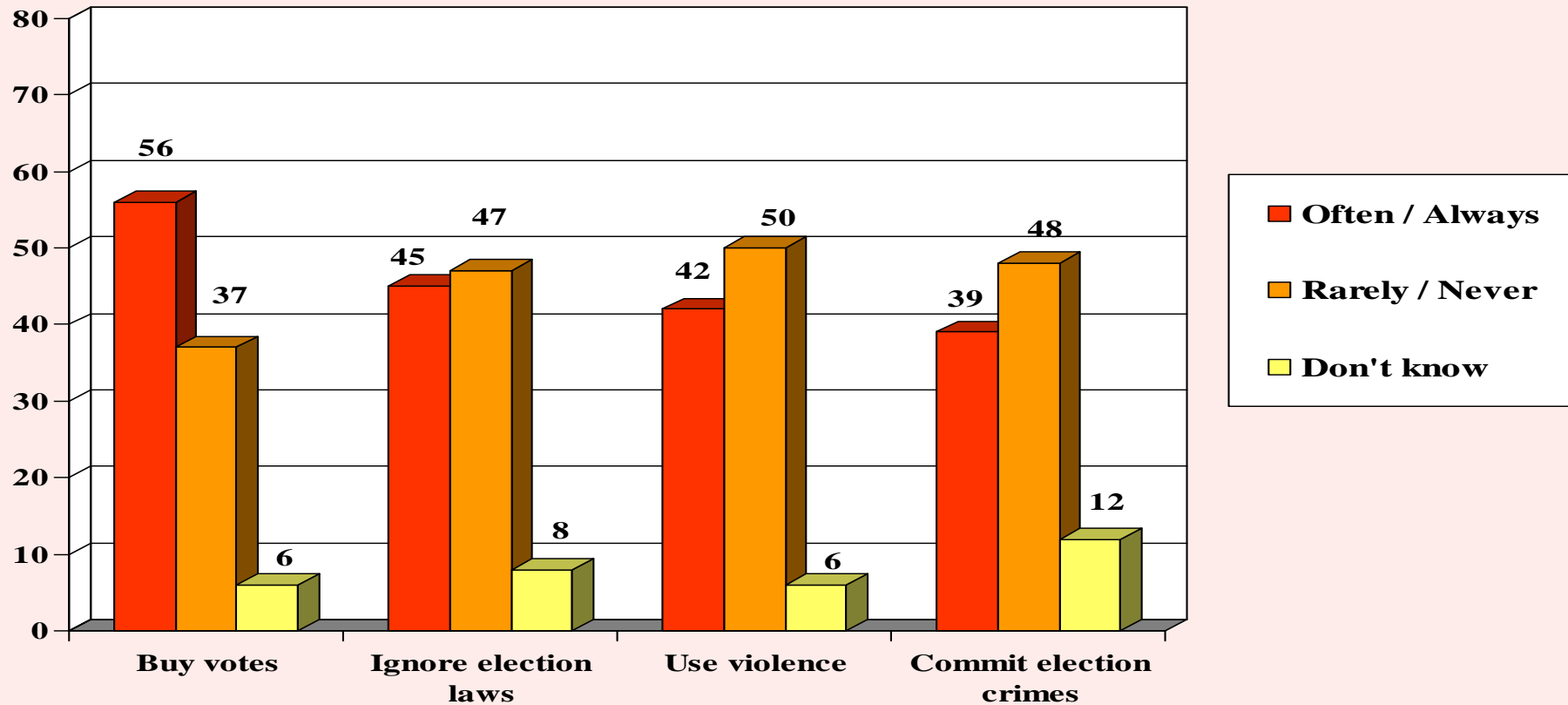
On the whole, how would you rate the freeness and fairness of the last national election, held in 2006? (Q42)

On the whole, how free and fair do you expect the forthcoming 2011 national election to be? (Q61)





# Figure 18: Frequency of Electoral Malpractices, 2011



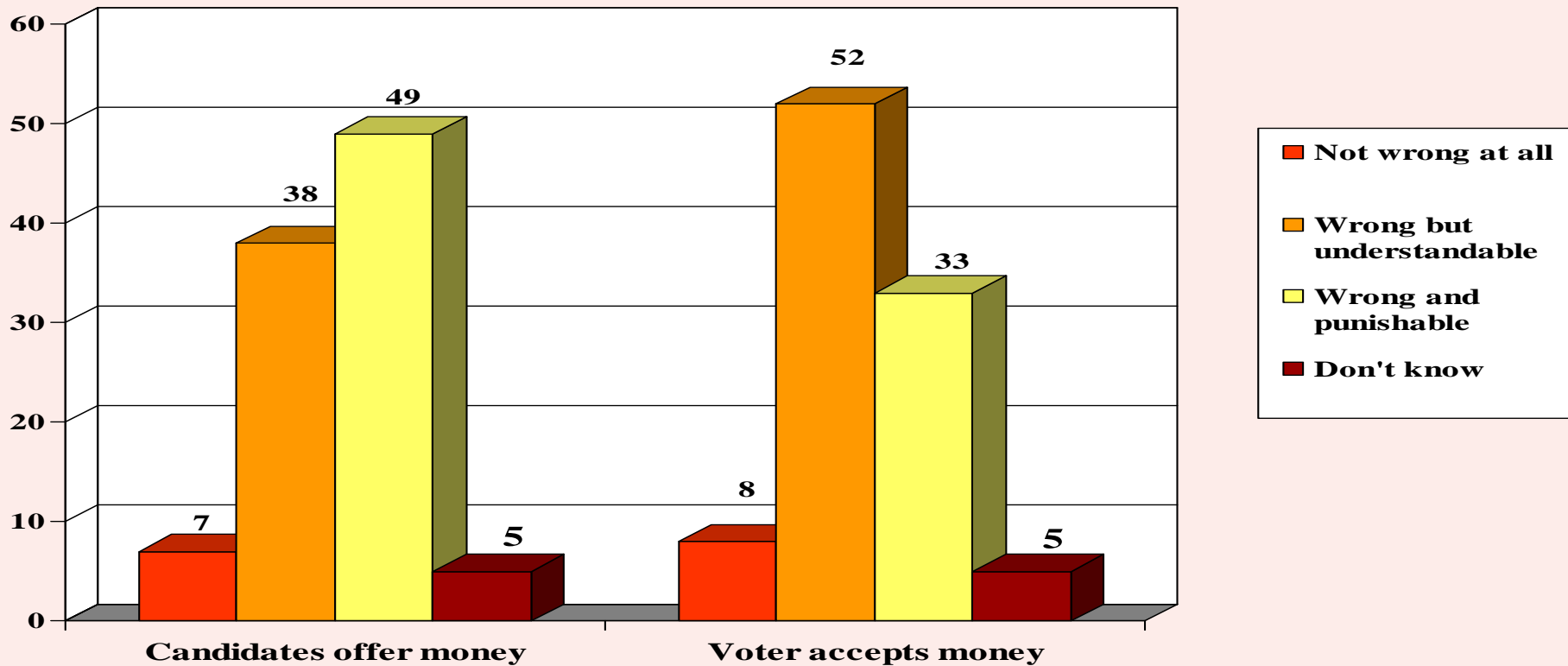
In your opinion, how often during elections in this country:

- do political parties or candidates buy votes? (Q47b)
- do political parties and candidates ignore election laws? (Q47a)
- do political parties or candidates use violence? (Q47c)
- do election officials commit election crimes? (Q47d)

**Vote Buying and Intimidation (attitudes, perceptions  
and practices)**



# Figure 19: Is Vote Buying/Selling Wrong?



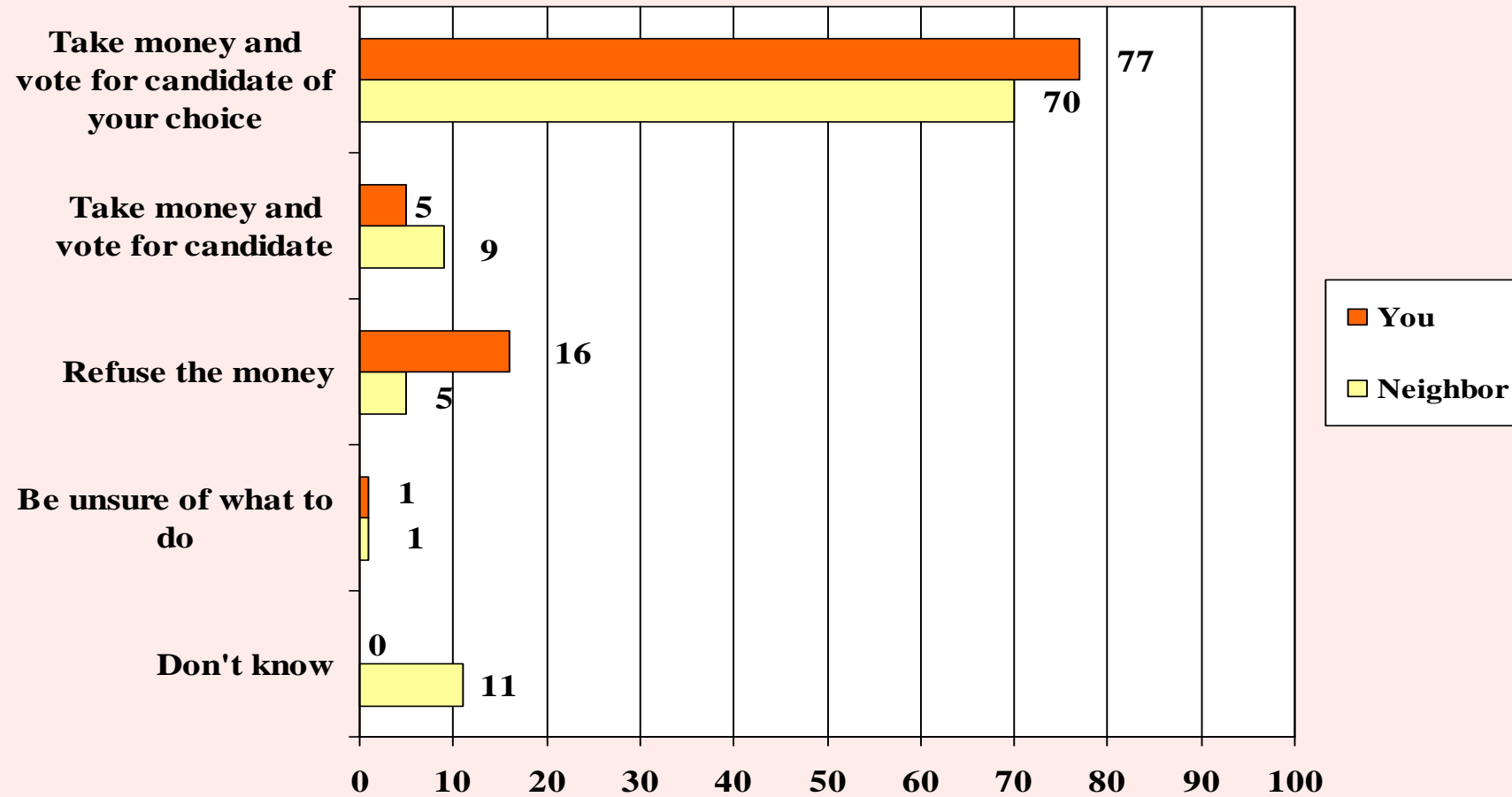
In some places in Uganda, candidates for political office or people from political parties sometimes offer money to voters in return for their vote. Do you think it is not wrong at all, wrong but understandable, or wrong and punishable for:

a candidate or party official to offer money in return for a vote? (Q67a)

a voter to accept money in return for his or her vote? (Q67b)



# Figure 20: Response to Vote Buying



If a candidate or party official offered YOU money for YOUR vote in the 2011 elections, what would you do? (Q68)

And what about other people in your neighbourhood or village? If a candidate or party official offered them money for their votes in the 2011 elections, what would they do? (Q69)

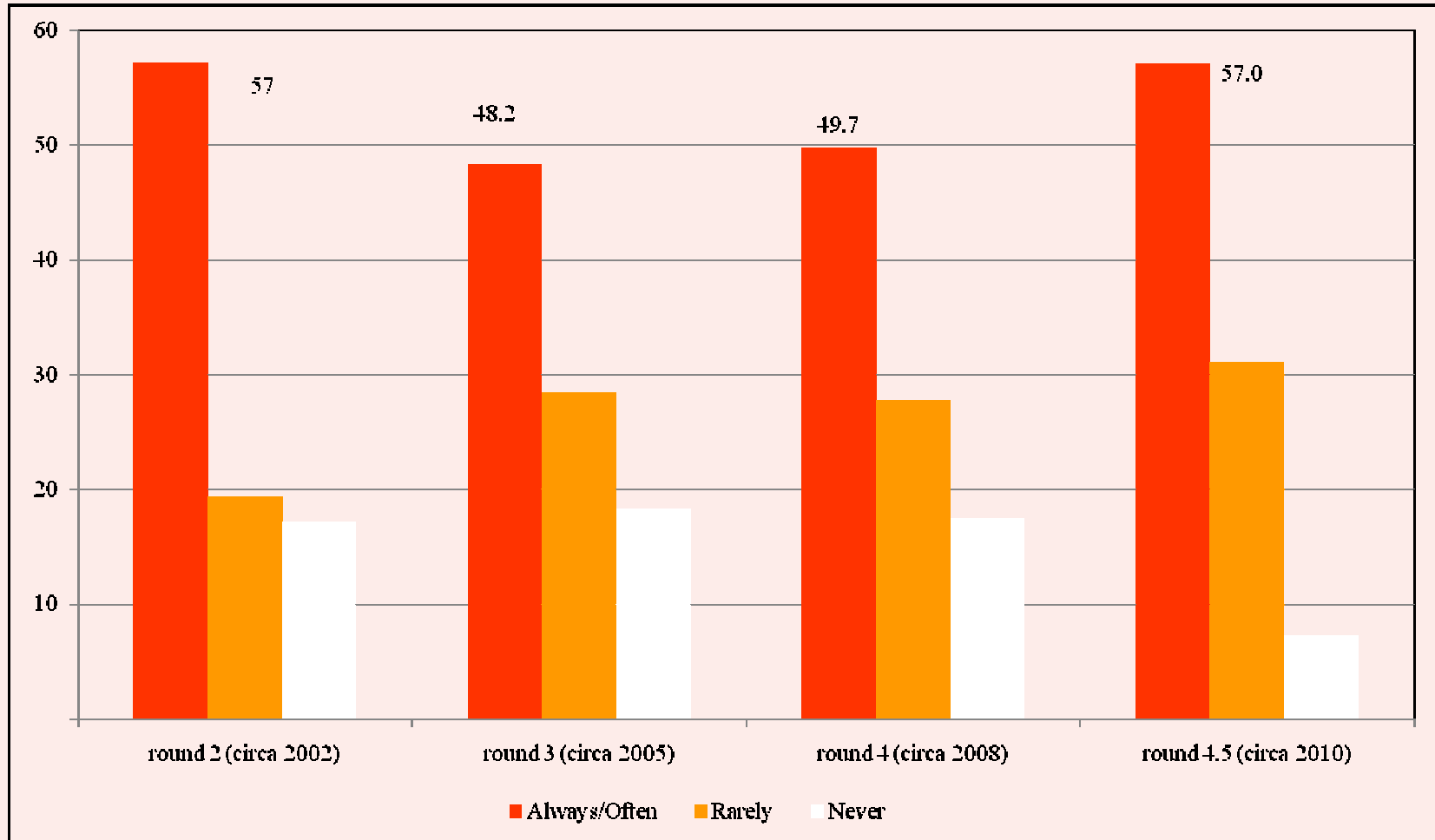


## Vote Buying Offers – 2011

- 83% say they have never been offered anything for their vote in the current campaign, compared to 15% who received offers
- The majority (just over half) of offers were of money, about one quarter were household items, and the remainder were food, alcohol or jobs
- The vast majority of the offers came from the NRM, with FDC, DP and UPC jointly making up the verysmall remaining share.



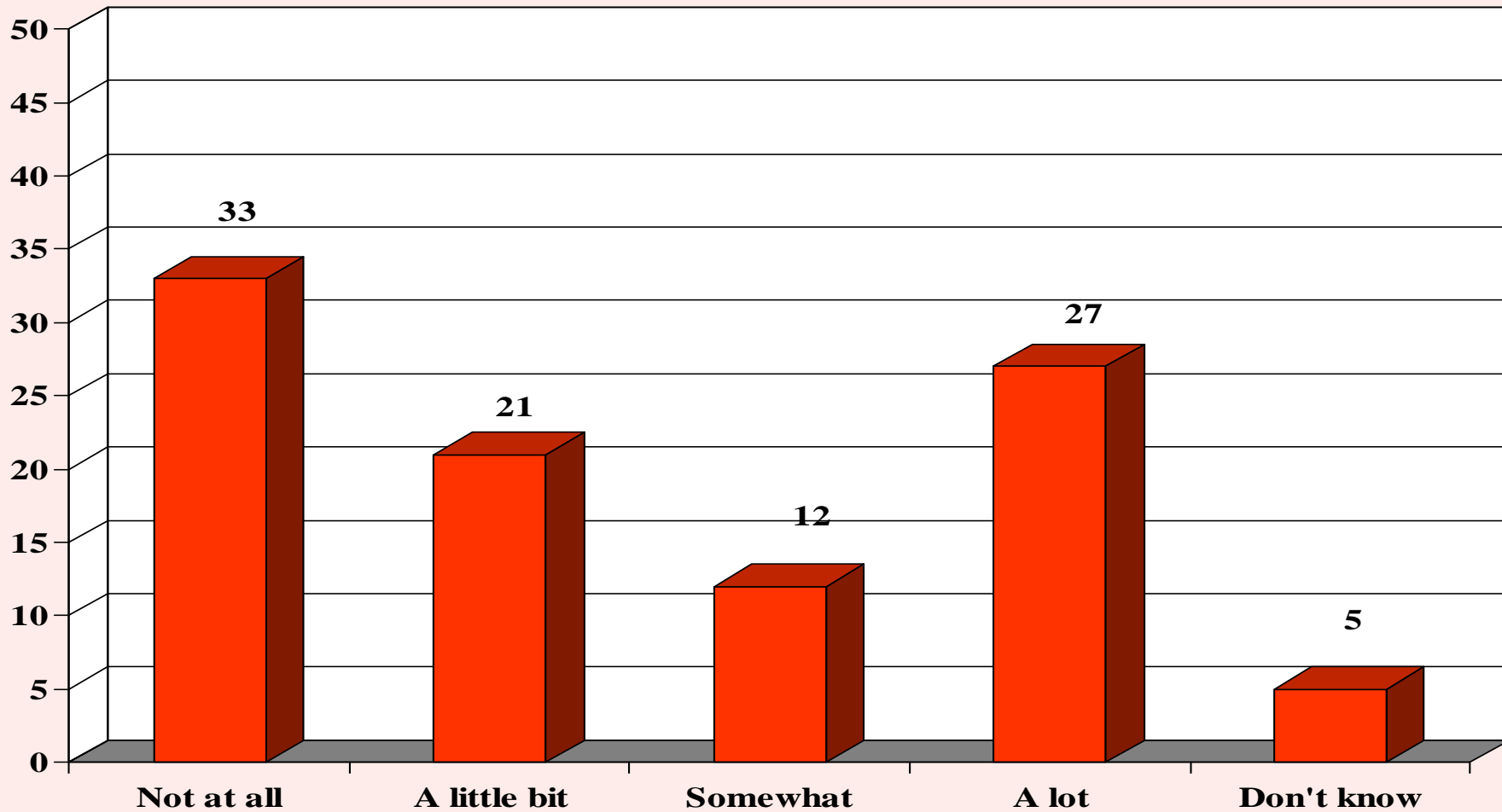
## Figure 21: Does competition between political parties lead to violence? Views over time



\*In your opinion, How often, in this country, does competition between political parties lead to violent conflict?.(Q32a)

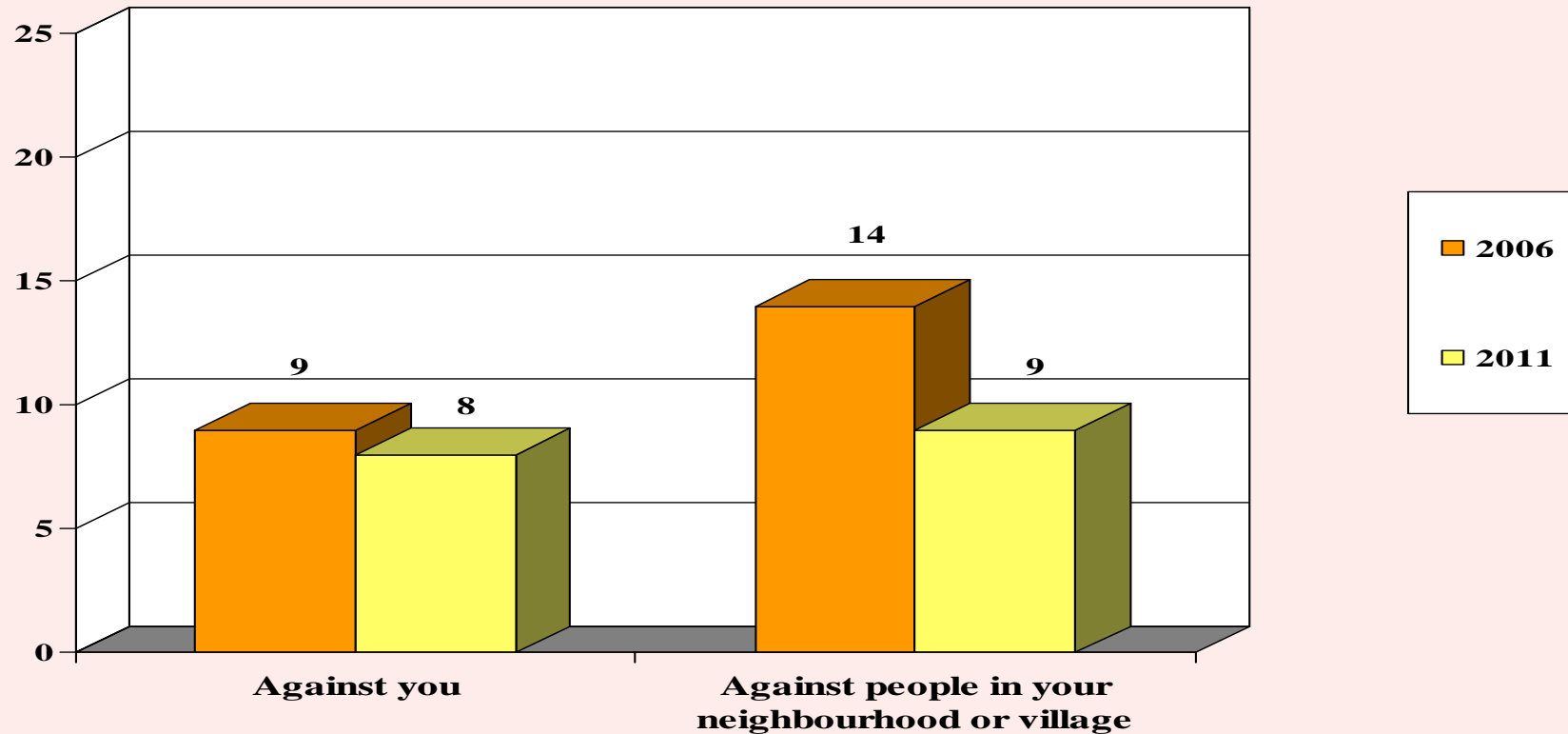


# Figure 22: Fear of Electoral Intimidation or Violence?



During the current campaign for the 2011 elections, how much do you personally fear becoming a victim of political intimidation or violence? (Q74)

## Figure 23: Threats of Violence



*How often, if ever, has anyone threatened negative consequences to you in order to get you to vote a certain way:*

*during the 2006 elections? (Q76a)*

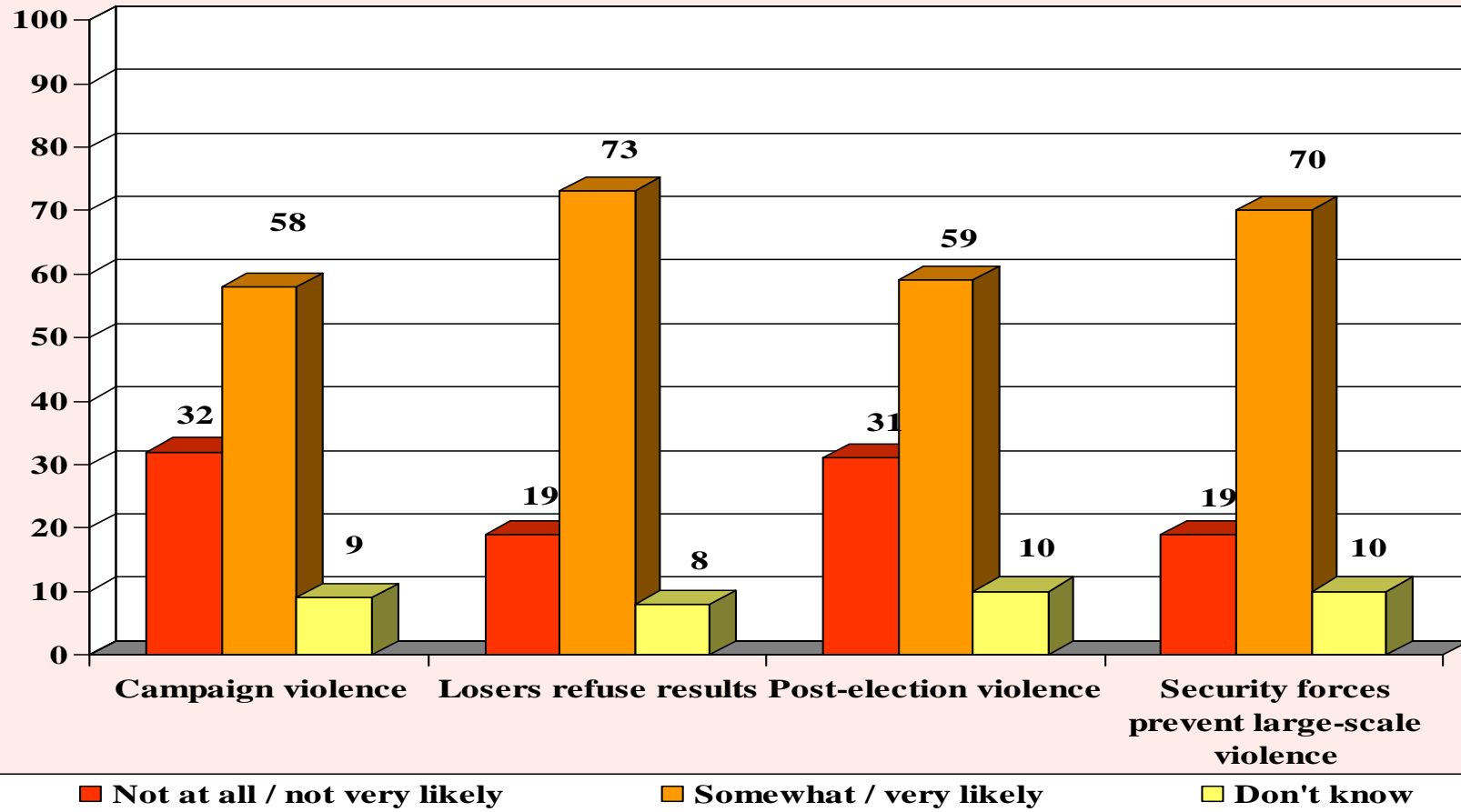
*during the current campaign for the 2011 elections? (Q76b)*

*How often, if ever, has anyone threatened negative consequences to people in your neighbourhood or village in order to get them to vote a certain way:*





# Figure 24: Likelihood of Violence



In your view, how likely is it:

that there will be violence during the election campaign? (Q82a)

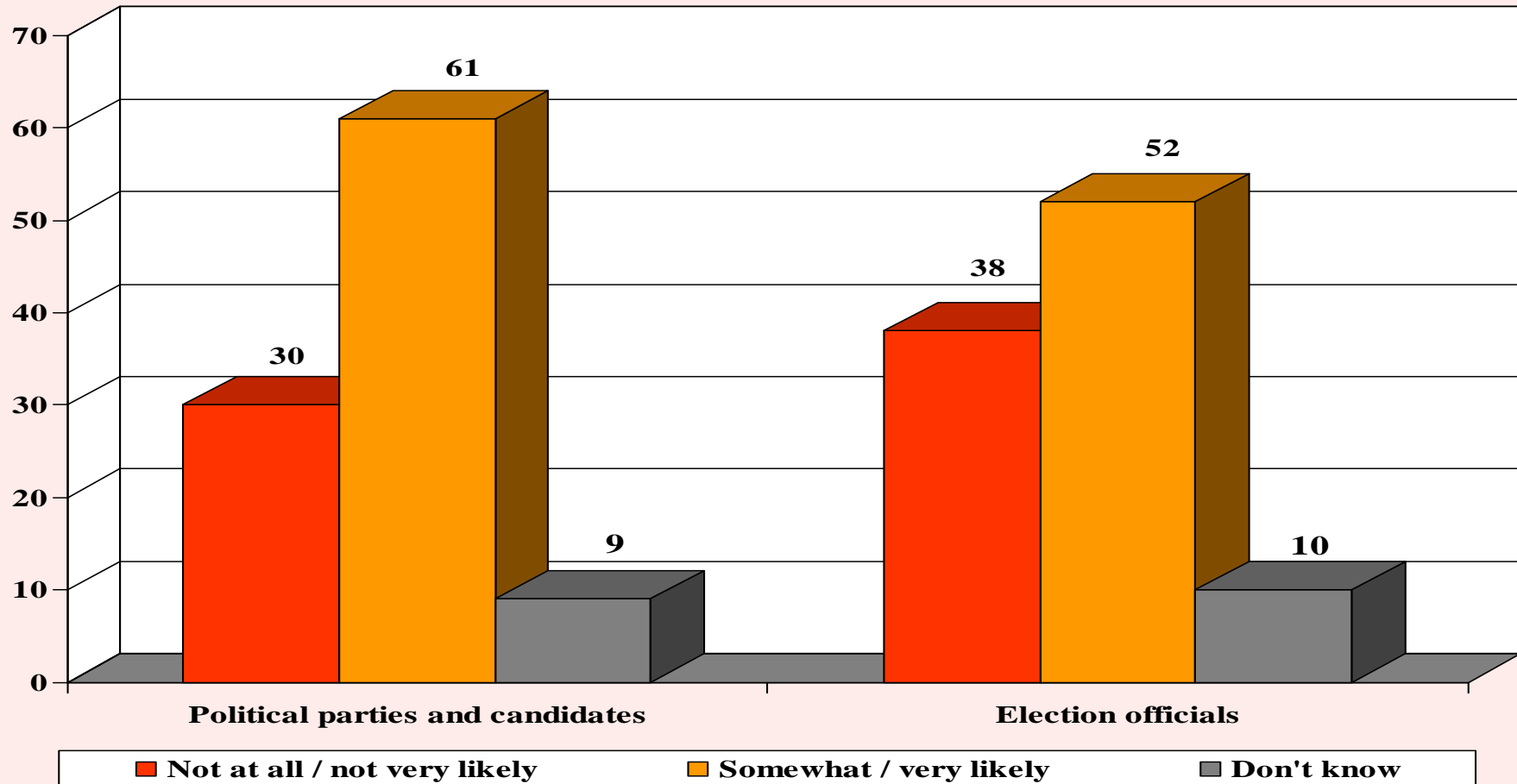
that losers will refuse to accept the official election results? (Q82b)

that there will be violence after the announcement of election results? (Q82c)

that the security agencies will be able to prevent large-scale outbreaks of violence? (Q82d)



# Figure 25: Punishment for Electoral Crimes



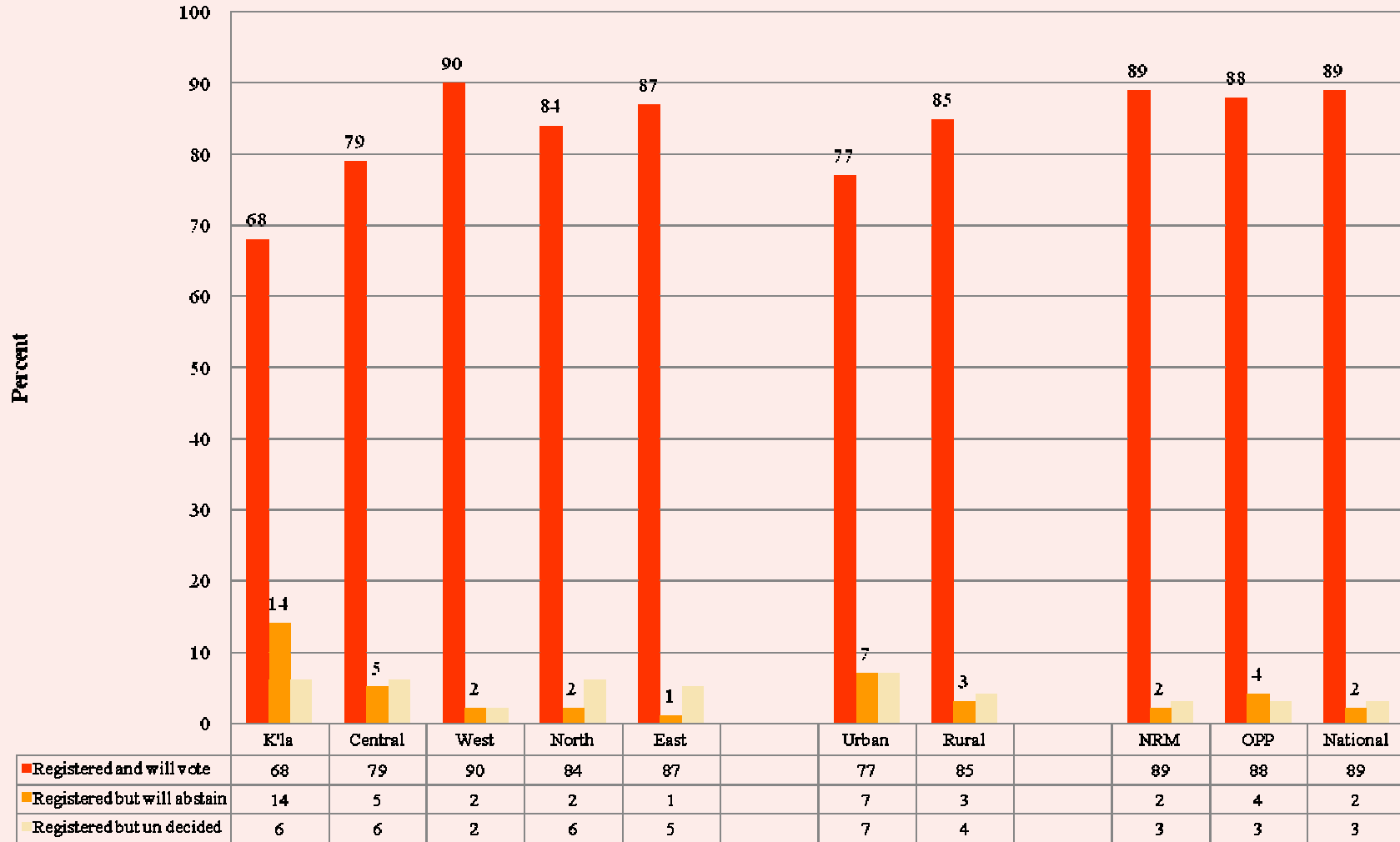
In this country, how likely do you think it is:  
that political parties and candidates who commit election crimes will be punished? (Q48a)  
*that election officials who commit election crimes will be punished? (Q48b)*

**Voter Intentions: *What voters want and intend to do***  
***(Early Indications)***



# Figure 26: Plans to Vote in 2011

Figure 33: Intention to vote in the next elections

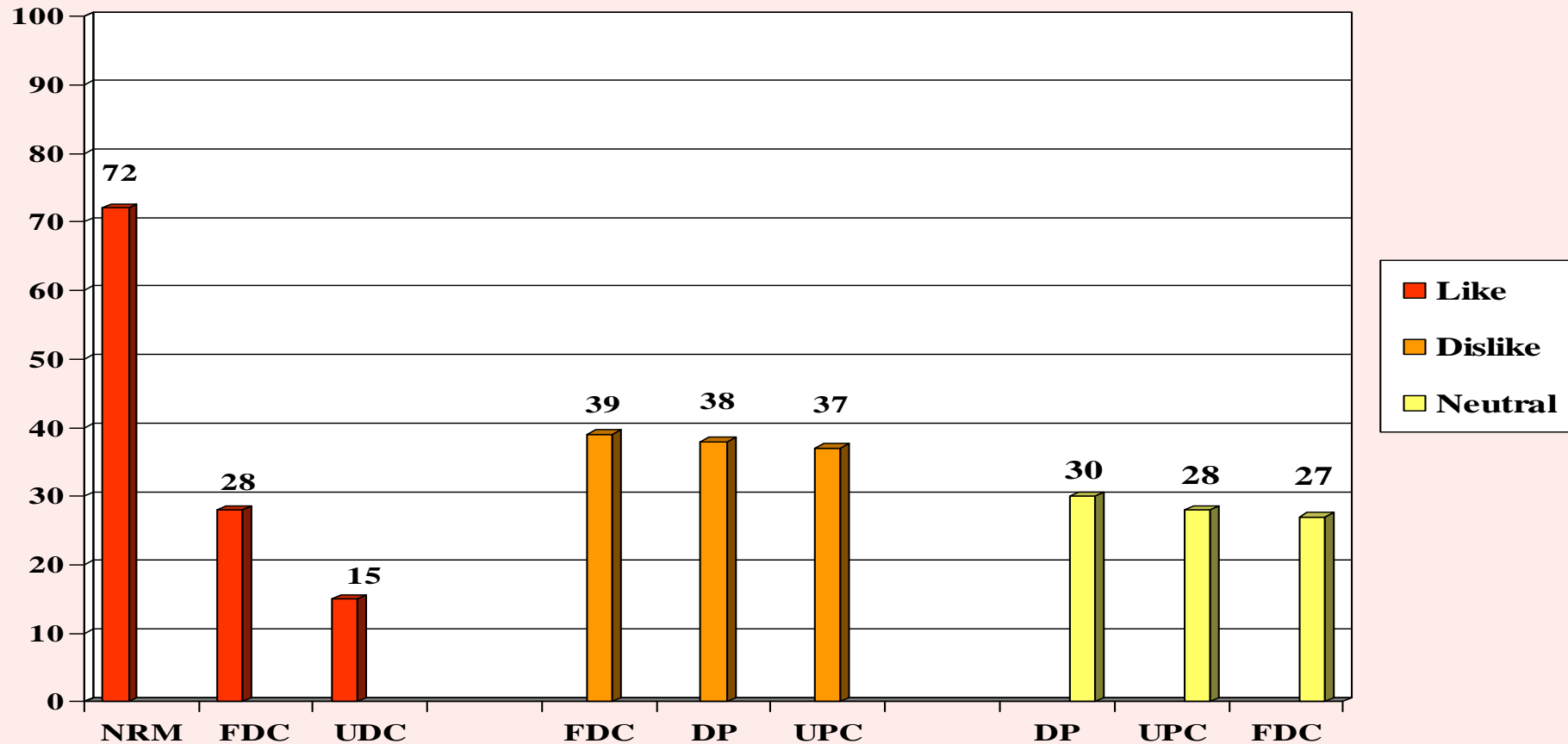


# Table 1: Electoral Issues

	National Priorities									
	K'la	Central	West	North	East	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	National
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<i>Maintaining order in the nation</i>	16	29	20	12	20	16	21	19	20	20
<i>Growing the Economy</i>	21	17	13	10	12	19	13	14	14	14
<i>Fighting Corruption</i>	24	13	27	13	13	25	20	22	20	21
<i>Building Infrastructure</i>	6	5	15	12	12	7	11	11	11	11
<i>Equitable access to resources and opportunities</i>	10	8	8	4	4	8	6	7	6	6
<i>Improving public services such as education and health</i>	22	26	16	38	38	25	27	27	29	28
	<b>Question: <i>If you had to choose, which one of the following things is most important</i></b>									



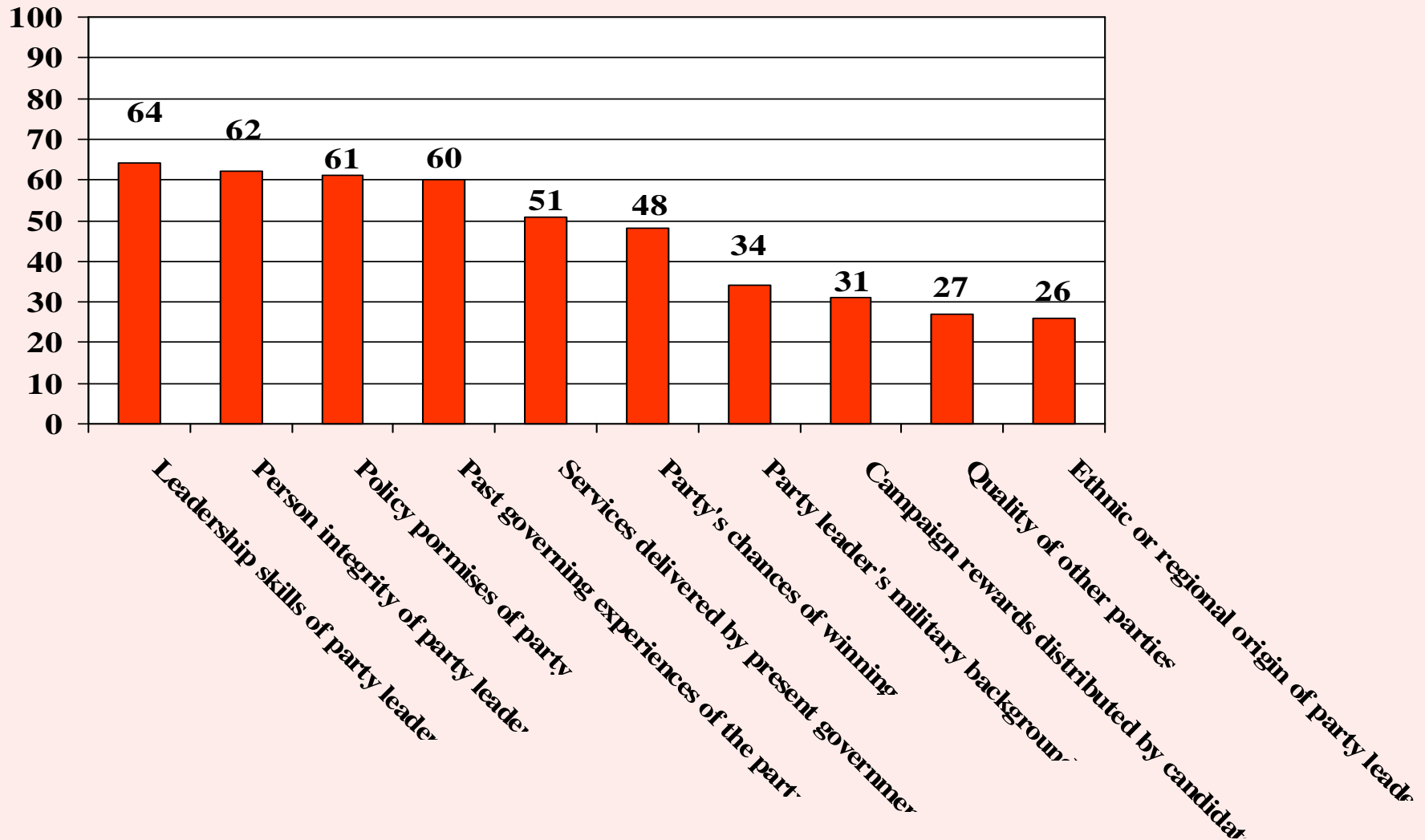
# Figure 27: Voter Assessments of Political Parties



What do you think about each of the political parties participating in the forthcoming elections. After I read the name of a political party, please say whether you strongly dislike, dislike, feel neutral about, like, or strongly like that party. If I come to a party you haven't heard of or your feel you do not know enough about, just say so.? (Q71)



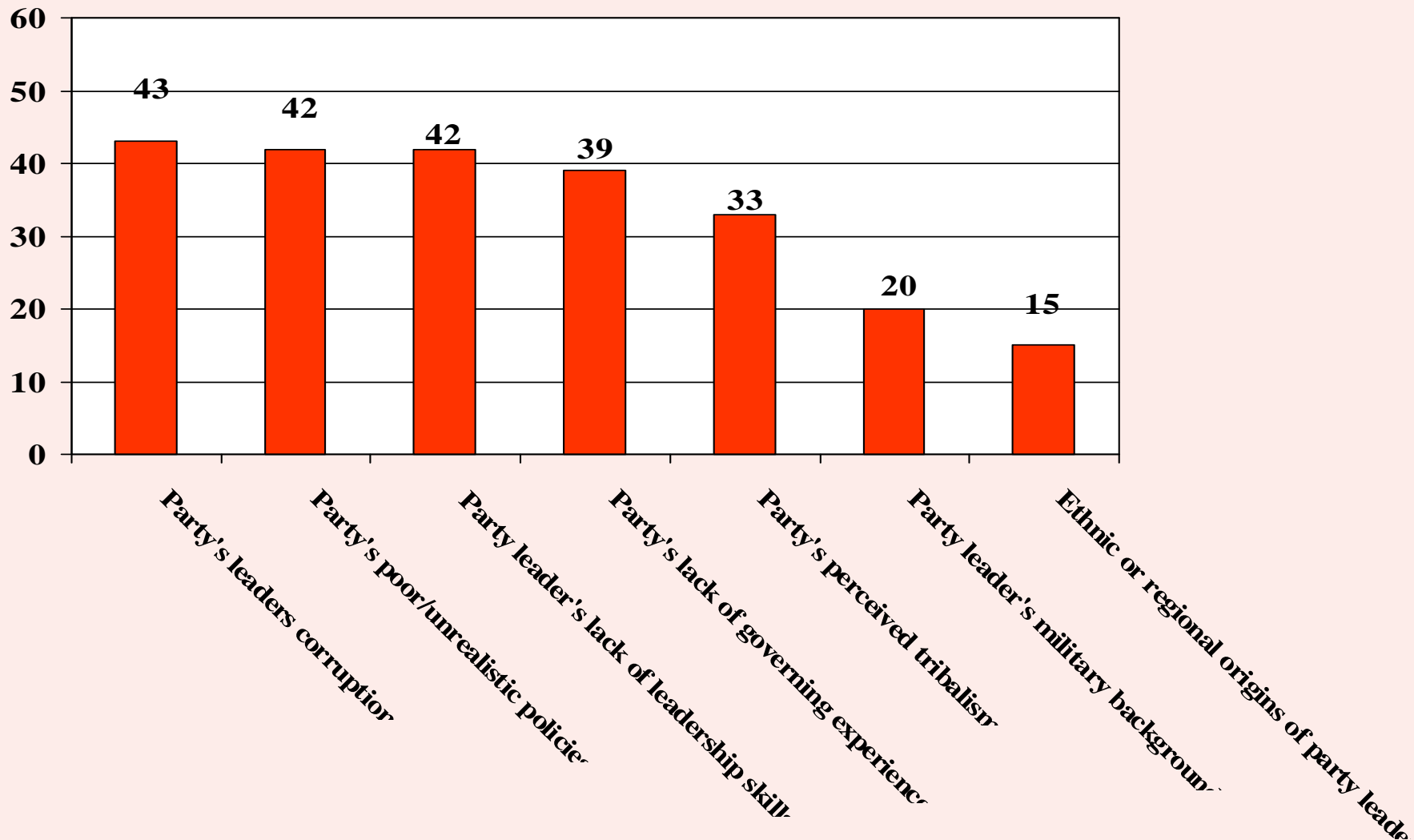
# Figure 28: Factors Influencing Preference for a Party



In deciding which party you like most, how much do you think of or consider the following factors? (Q72)



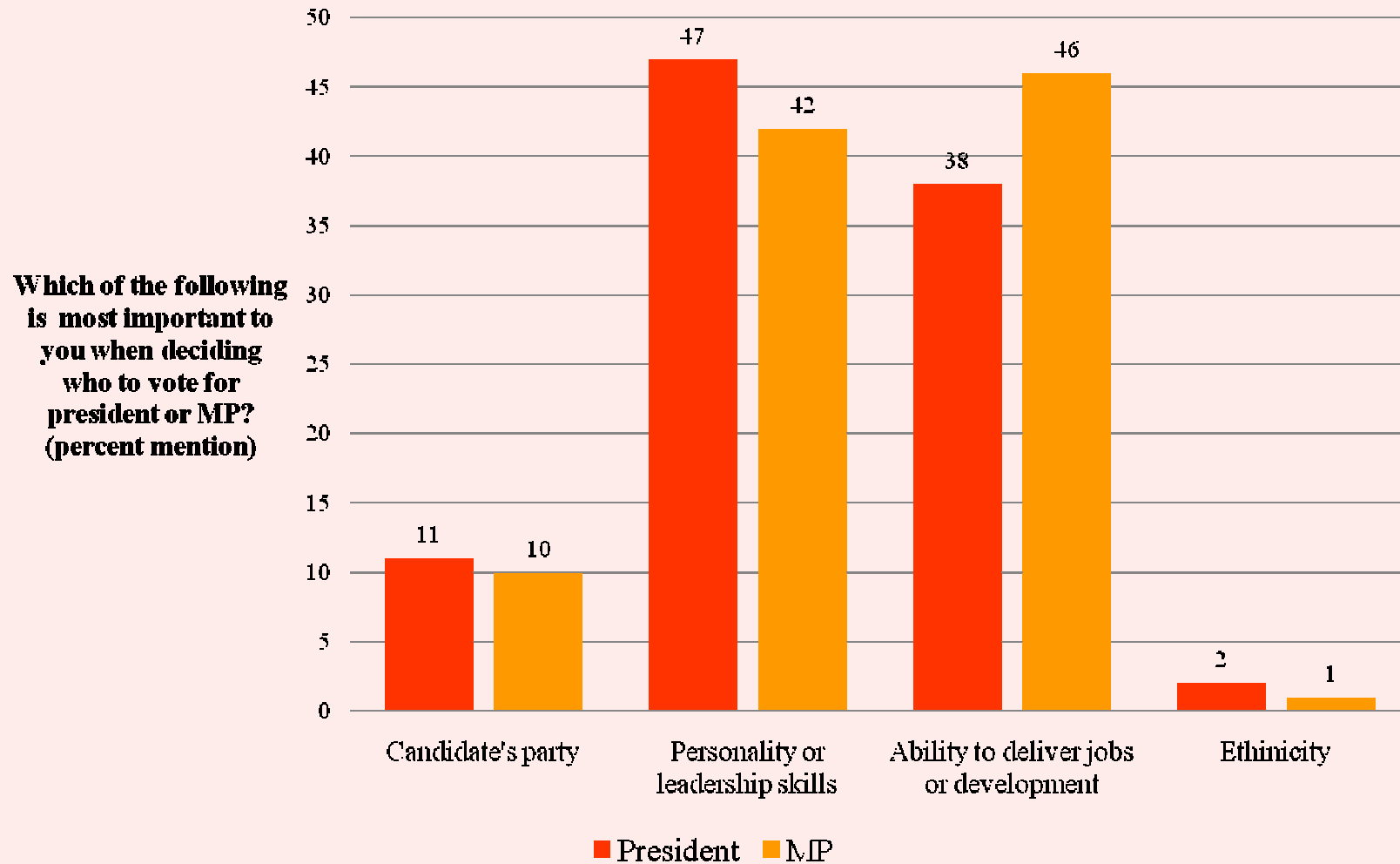
# Figure 29: Factors Influencing Party Rejection



In deciding which party you most dislike, how much do you think of or consider the following factors? (Q72)

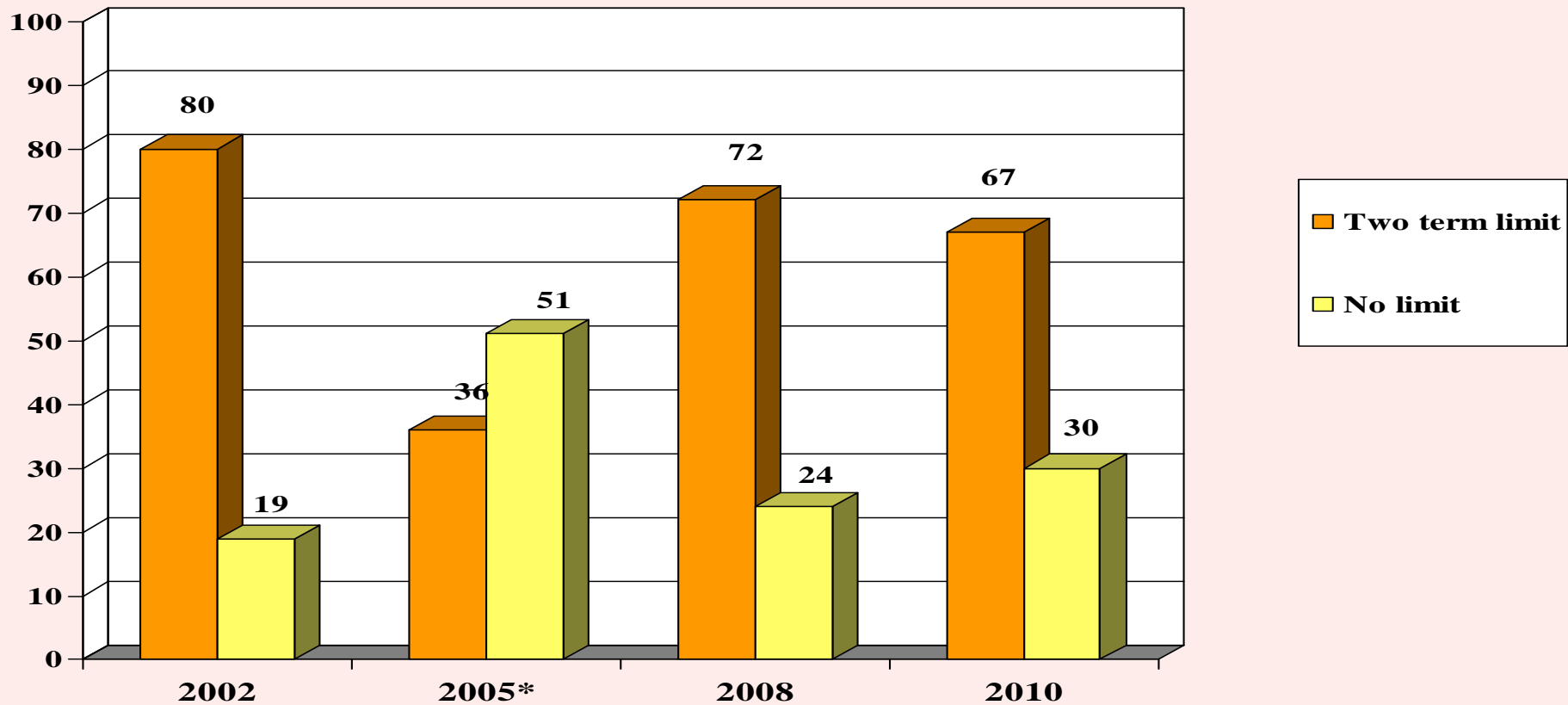


**Figure 38: Factors influencing vote choice for President and MP**





# Figure 31: Preference for Term Limits

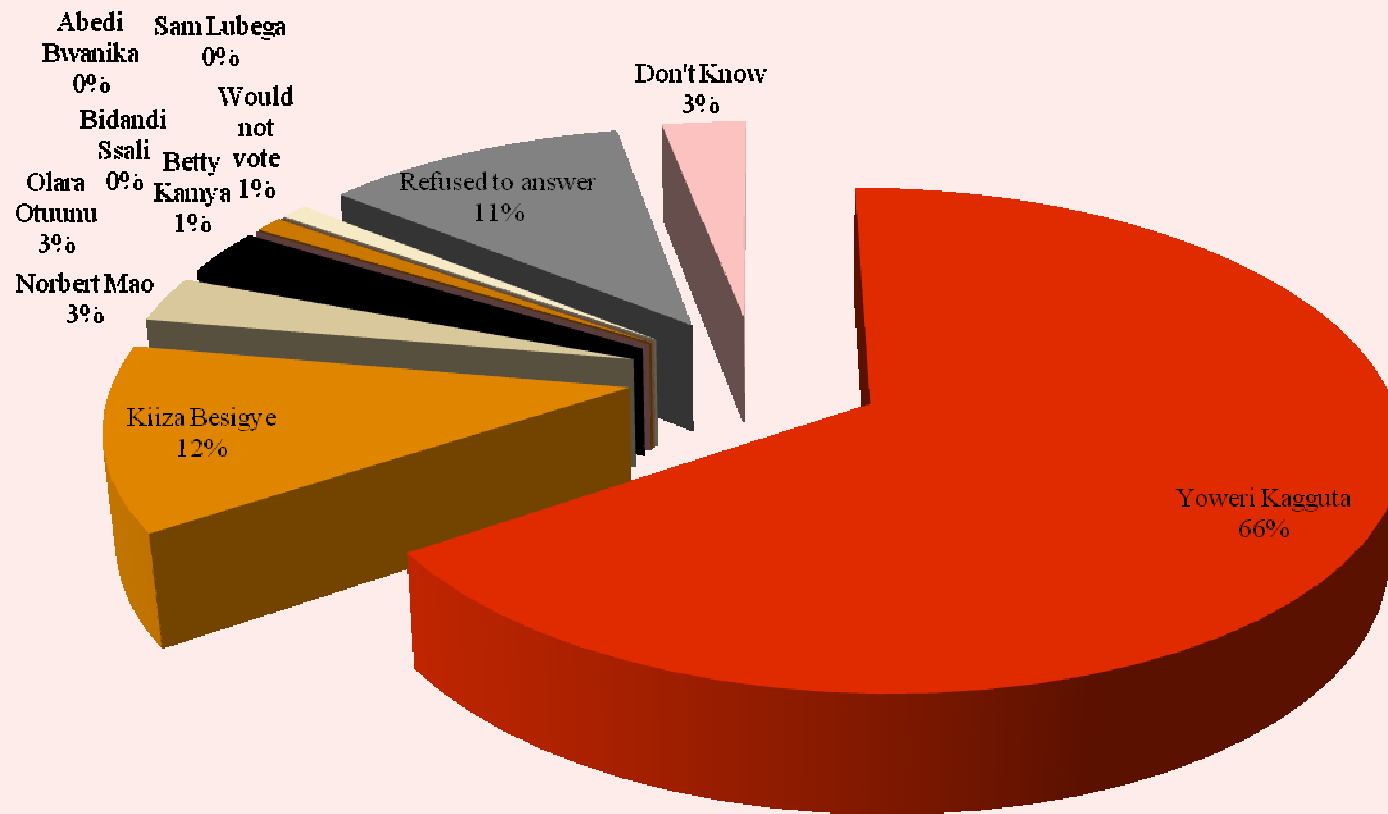


Which of these statements is closest to your own opinion: (Q26)

- A. The constitution should limit the president to serving a maximum of two terms in office.
- B. There should be no constitutional limit on how long the president can serve.

\*In 2005, respondents were asked whether they agreed (=no limit) or disagreed (=two term limit) with the proposed amendment to the constitution removing term limits.

**Figure 39: If elections where held tomorrow who would you vote for president?**

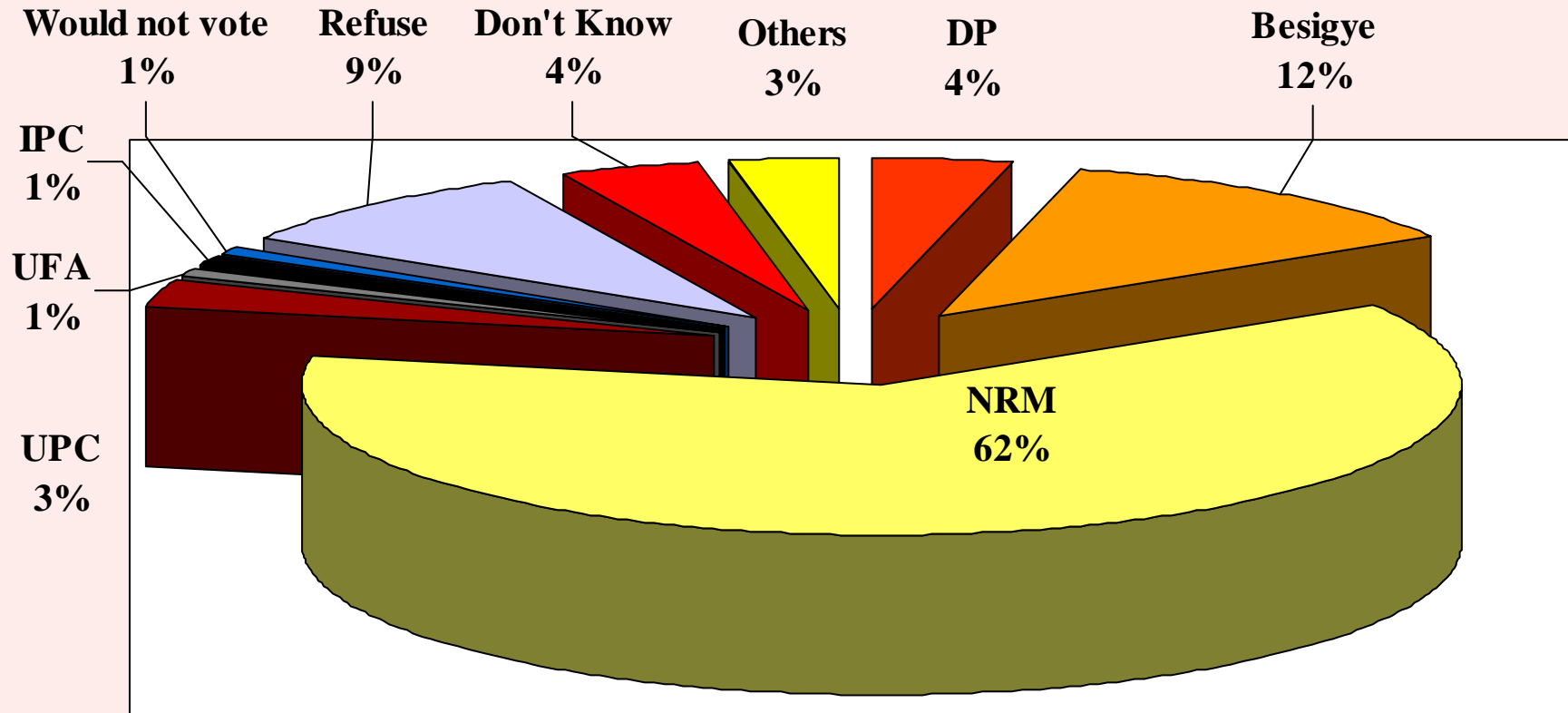


## Table 2: Voting Intentions

	National Av.	REGION					RESIDENCE		GENDER		PARTY AFFIL	
		Kampala	Central	West	North	East	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	NRM	OPP
Yoweri Kaguta	65	44	59	83	59	64	50	68	63	67	95	6
Kiiza Besigye	12	15	12	11	11	13	14	12	14	10	1	57
Norbert Mao	3	8	8	0	2	1	6	3	4	2	0	14
Olara Otuunu	3	1	0		11	1	3	3	4	2	0	14
Bidandi Ssali	0	2	1			0	1	0	1	0	0	1
Betty Kamywa	1	1	1	1	2		1	1	1	1	0	3
Abedi Bwanika	0		0			0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sam Lubega	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Would not vote	1	6	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	0	1
Refused to answer	11	18	13	4	12	15	18	10	9	14	3	3
Don't Know	3	6	3	1	4	4	3	3	3	3	1	1

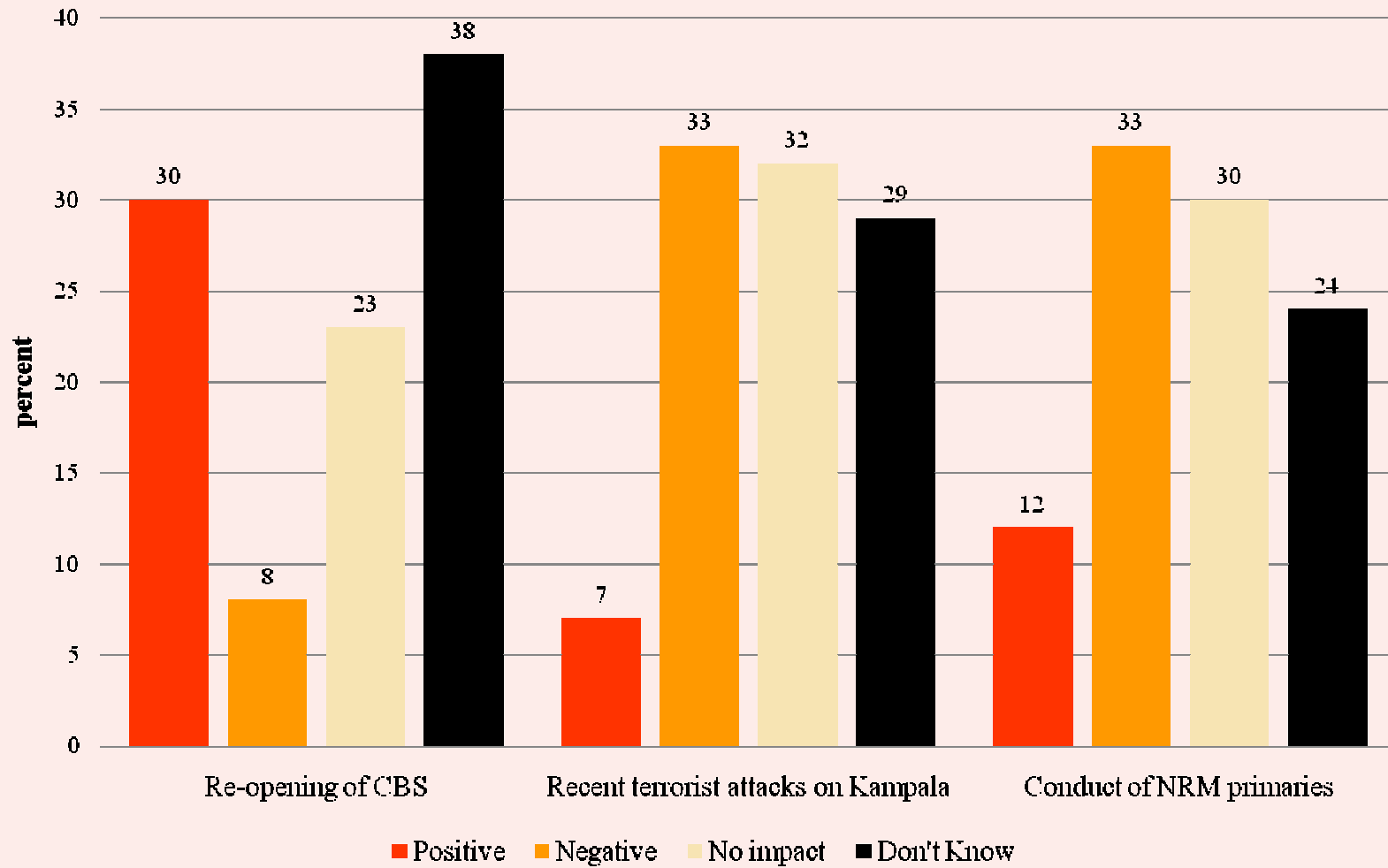


# Figure 33: Parliamentary Vote if Elections Held Tomorrow



If an election were held tomorrow, which party's candidate would you vote for in the parliamentary election? (Q89)

**Figure 42: Potential impact of recent past events on NRM election prospects**



**Figure 43: Potential impact of recent past events on FDC election prospects**

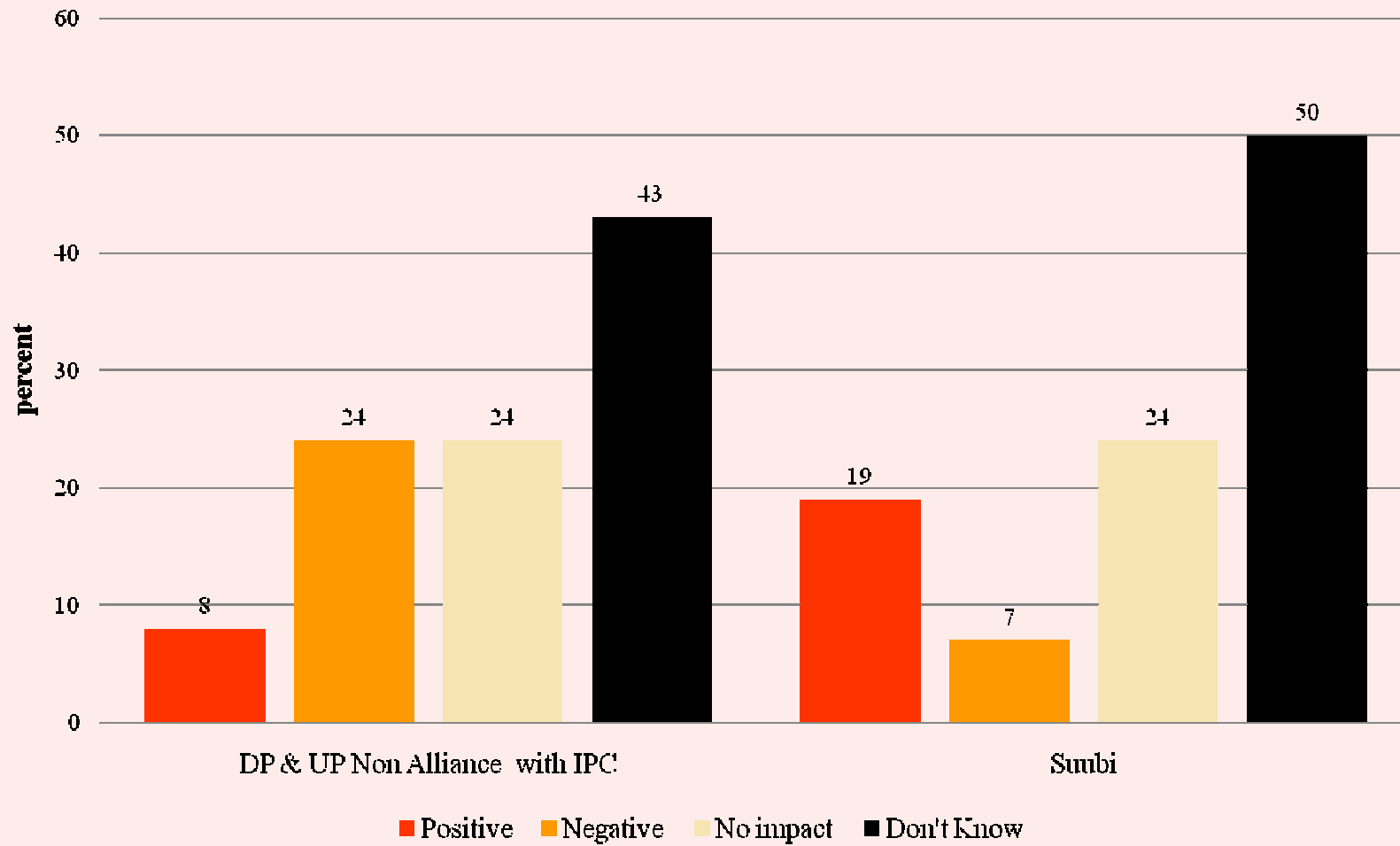
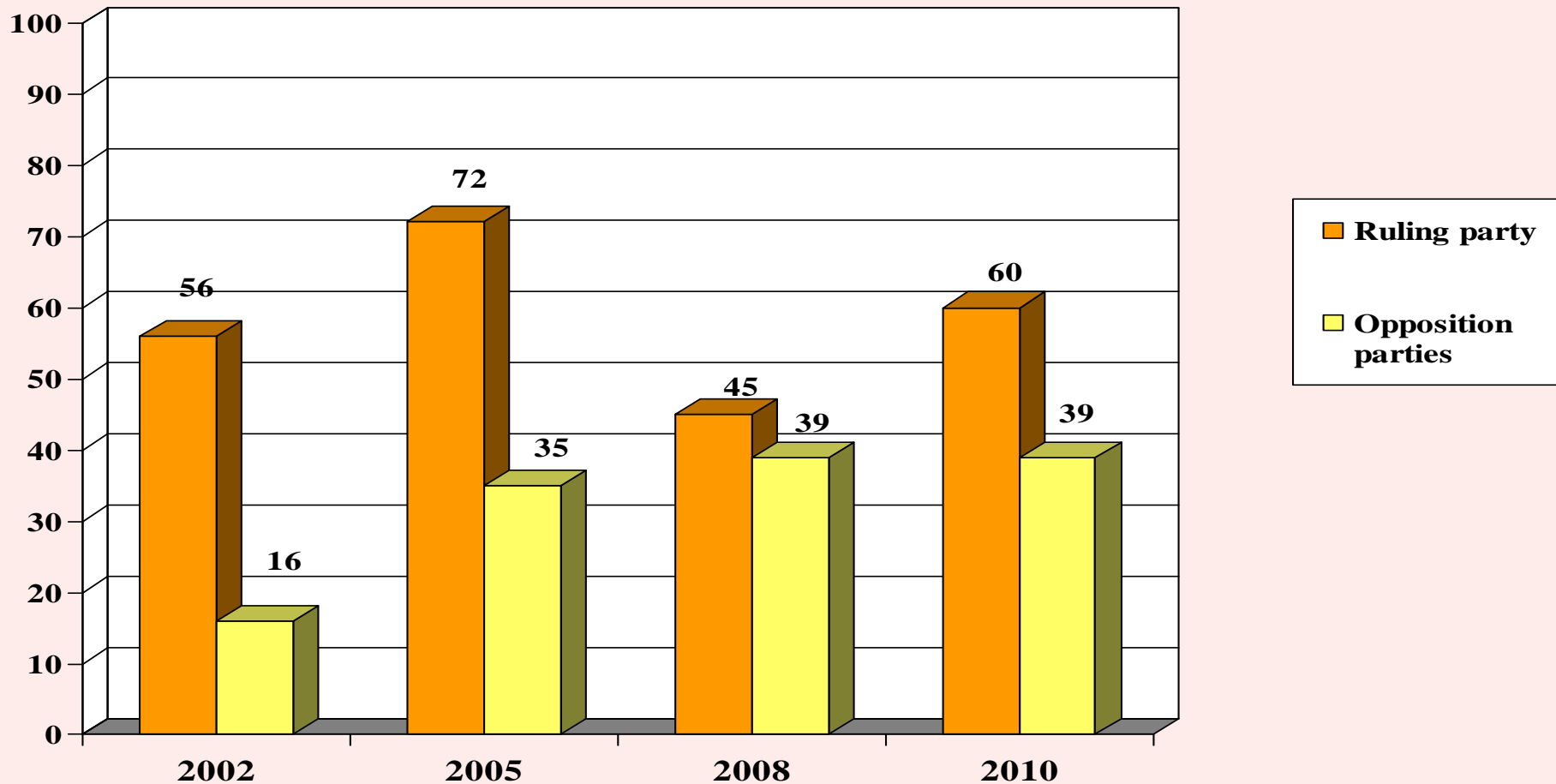




Figure 36: Trust in Parties, 2000-2010  
(percent trusting “somewhat” or “a lot”)

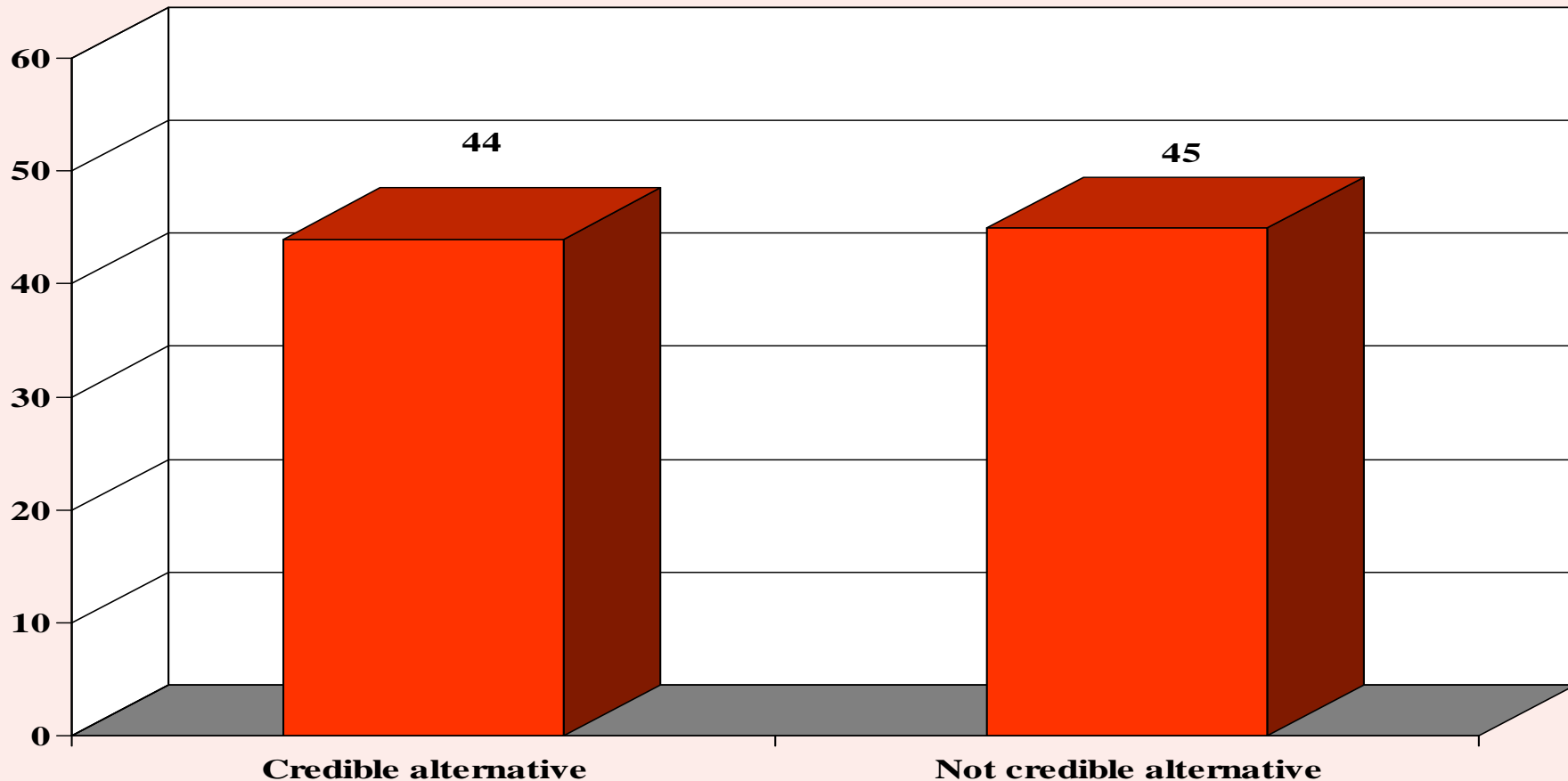


How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say?  
(q34e q34f)





# Figure 37: Opposition Presents a Credible Alternative



Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2. (Q92)  
A: The opposition has presented a convincing alternative vision and plan for Uganda.  
B: The opposition has not shown that it has the plans to solve the country's problems.



For more information and publications, see the  
Afrobarometer website at:

[www.afrobarometer.org](http://www.afrobarometer.org)