

# The 1964 Barotseland Agreement and the National Constitutional Making Process: What Do Zambians Think?

## Results from the Afrobarometer Round 5 Survey in Zambia

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# Background to the Afrobarometer Surveys



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# What is the Afrobarometer?

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

## Country Coverage: 1999-2012

- **Round 1, 1999-2001, 12 countries**
  - *Southern Africa: Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Namibia, South Africa, Zambia, Zimbabwe*
  - *West Africa: Ghana, Mali, Nigeria*
  - *East Africa: Tanzania, Uganda*
  
- **Round 2, 2002-2003, 16 countries**
  - *Cape Verde, Kenya, Mozambique, Senegal*
  
- **Round 3, 2005-2006, 18 countries**
  - *Benin, Madagascar*
  
- **Round 4, 2008-2009, 20 countries**
  - *Burkina Faso, Liberia*
  
- **Round 5, 2011-2013, up to 35 countries**
  - *Algeria, Burundi, Cameroon, Cote d'Ivoire, Egypt, Guinea, Mauritius, Morocco, Niger, Togo, Tunisia, Sierra Leone, Sudan*

# Country Coverage Round 5: 2011-2013



## Who is the Afrobarometer?

→ A Pan-African Network of survey researchers and analysts.

- In each country there is a *National Partner* responsible for survey implementation. In Zambia, the National Partner is RuralNet Associates Ltd.
- Four *Core Partners* have been providing technical assistance and Network management:

- *Center for Democratic Development (CDD), Ghana*
- *Institute for Democracy in South Africa (Idasa), South Africa*
- *Institute for Development Studies (IDS), University of Nairobi, Kenya*
- *Institute for Empirical Research in Political Economy (IREEP), Benin*

# Who is the Afrobarometer?

- Two *Support Units* for capacity building and quality assurance
  - *Michigan State University*
  - *University of Cape Town*
- Round 5 *Core Funders* include
  - *DFID*
  - *SIDA*
  - *USAID*
  - *Mo Ibrahim Foundation*

# Survey Methodology

- Nationally representative sample of adult citizens
  - *all respondents are randomly selected*
  - *every adult citizen has an equal and known chance of being selected*
- Face-to-face interviews in the language of the respondent's choice
- Standard survey instrument across all countries for comparability
- The survey interviewed 1200 adult Zambians; A sample of this size yields results with a margin of error of +/- 3% at a 95% confidence level.
- Field work for Round 5 in Zambia was conducted between 14 January and 8 February in 2013.
- Afrobarometer's work in Zambia is coordinated by RuralNet Associates and field work was carried out by Mr. Stephen Tembo as National Investigator and Mr. Fison Mujenja as Co-National Investigator.



An enumerator conducts an interview with a farmer in Choongo West, Monze.

Mean Age	35.7
Gender	
Male	36.1
Female	35.7
Location	
Urban	32.3
Rural	35.5
Education	
None	4%
Primary	39%
Secondary	46%
Higher	11%

# Survey Demographics Cont'd

Province	Percentage
Lusaka	19%
Central	10%
Copperbelt	17%
Eastern	12%
Luapula	7%
Northern	8%
North-Western	5%
Southern	12%
Western	7%
Muchinga	5%

# Afrobarometer Round 5 **Zambia**

## Survey Results:

The 1964 Barotseland Agreement –  
What do Zambians Think?

## The 1964 Barotseland Agreement – What do Zambians Think?

### Key Findings

- The majority of Zambians are of the view that the Government of Republic of Zambia should not honor the 1964 Barotseland Agreement.
- There is little difference in this view between rural areas and urban areas.
- Those in support of the Agreement are largely from the Western Province.

## Key Findings

- The Barotseland Agreement was signed on 18 april 1964 between Kenneth David Kaunda, then Prime Minister of Northern Rhodesia and Sir Mwanawina Lewanika the third , then Litunga of Barotseland.
- In the recent past, this agreement has generated a lot of public interest.
- There is a perception by some members of public that the Zambian government has abrogated the provisions of the agreement.
- In April, the National Constitution Convention failed to reach an agreement on the matter and referred the matter to the President
- In our research, we presented the following statement to the respondents and asked them for their strength of agreement:
- **Government should honor the 1964 Barotseland Agreement**

## Government should honor the 1964 Barotseland Agreement

Strongly Disagree	54%
Disagree	17%
Neither Agree Nor Disagree	3%
Agree	10%
Strongly Agree	9%
Don't know	6%

## Government should honor the 1964 Barotseland Agreement

	Urban Zambia	Rural Zambia
Strongly Disagree	55%	54%
Disagree	21%	15%
Neither Agree Nor Disagree	2%	3%
Agree	11%	10%
Strongly Agree	9%	9%
Don't know	3%	9%

## Government should honor the 1964 Barotseland Agreement

	Female	Male
Strongly Disagree	51%	58%
Disagree	17%	17%
Neither Agree Nor Disagree	3%	2%
Agree	9%	11%
Strongly Agree	10%	8%
Don't know	8%	4%

## Government should honor the 1964 Barotseland Agreement

Province	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Don't know
Lusaka	53%	23%	2%	11%	6%	6%
Central	49%	32%	2%	7%	3%	8%
Copperbelt	59%	16%	4%	8%	6%	7%
Eastern	77%	6%	1%	3%	4%	9%
Luapula	68%	14%	0%	7%	1%	10%
Northern	5%	57%	25%	1%	6%	2%
North-Western	67%	3%	0%	25%	3%	1%
Southern	29%	15%	10%	21%	19%	6%
Western	26%	10%	1%	14%	47%	1%
Muchinga	60%	22%	0%	5%	10%	3%

# Afrobarometer Round 5 **Zambia**

## Survey Results:

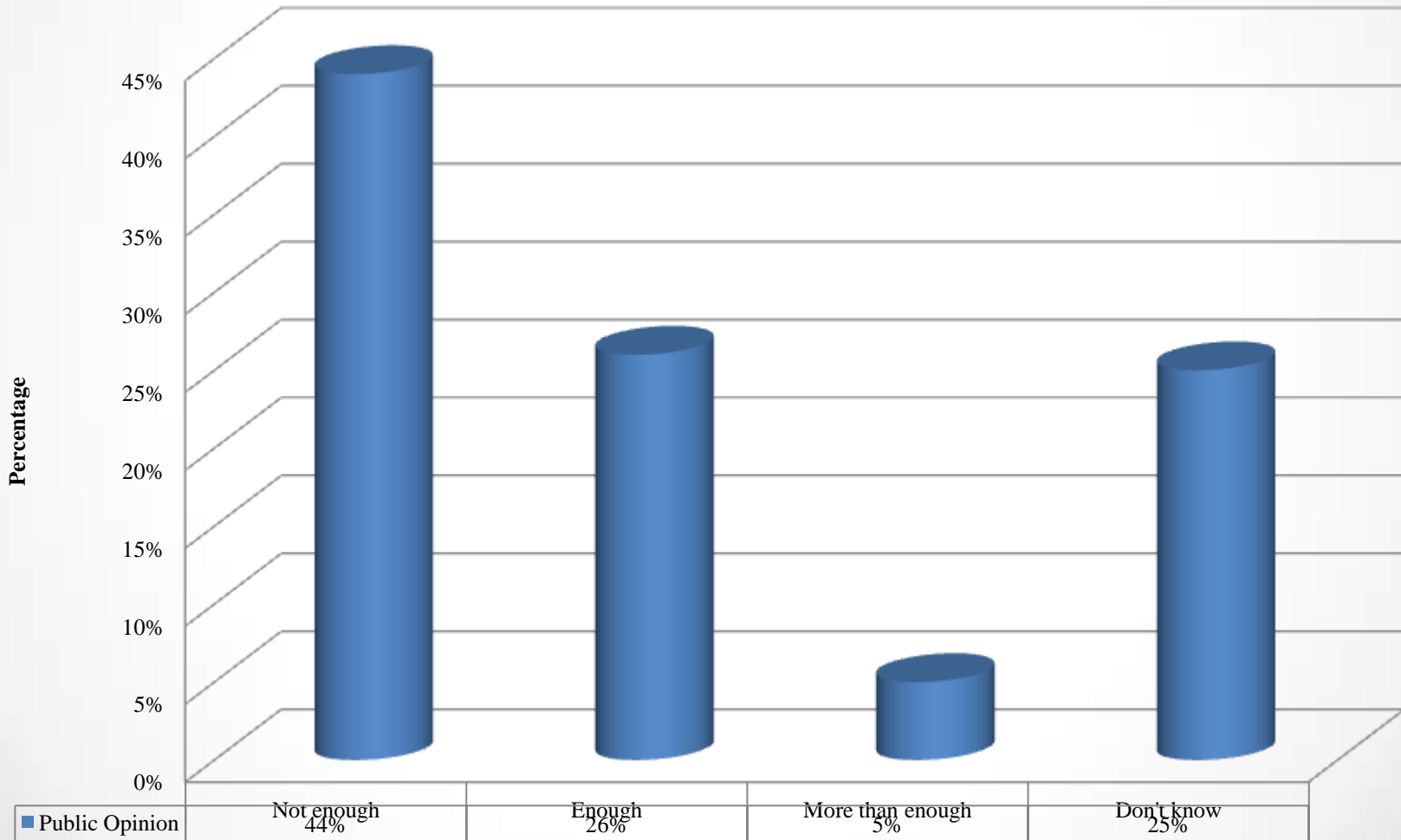
The constitutional Making Process:  
Participatory or Hijacked?

# The constitutional Making Process: Participatory or Hijacked?

## Key Findings

- Crafting a national constitution is complex and daunting task.
- Zambia has made several attempts to craft a constitution that would “stand the test of time”, with little success.
- The reason for failure is that the party in power hijack the process and fails to respect the will of the majority.
- We asked the people of Zambia for their opinion on how participatory the constitution making process has been thus far.

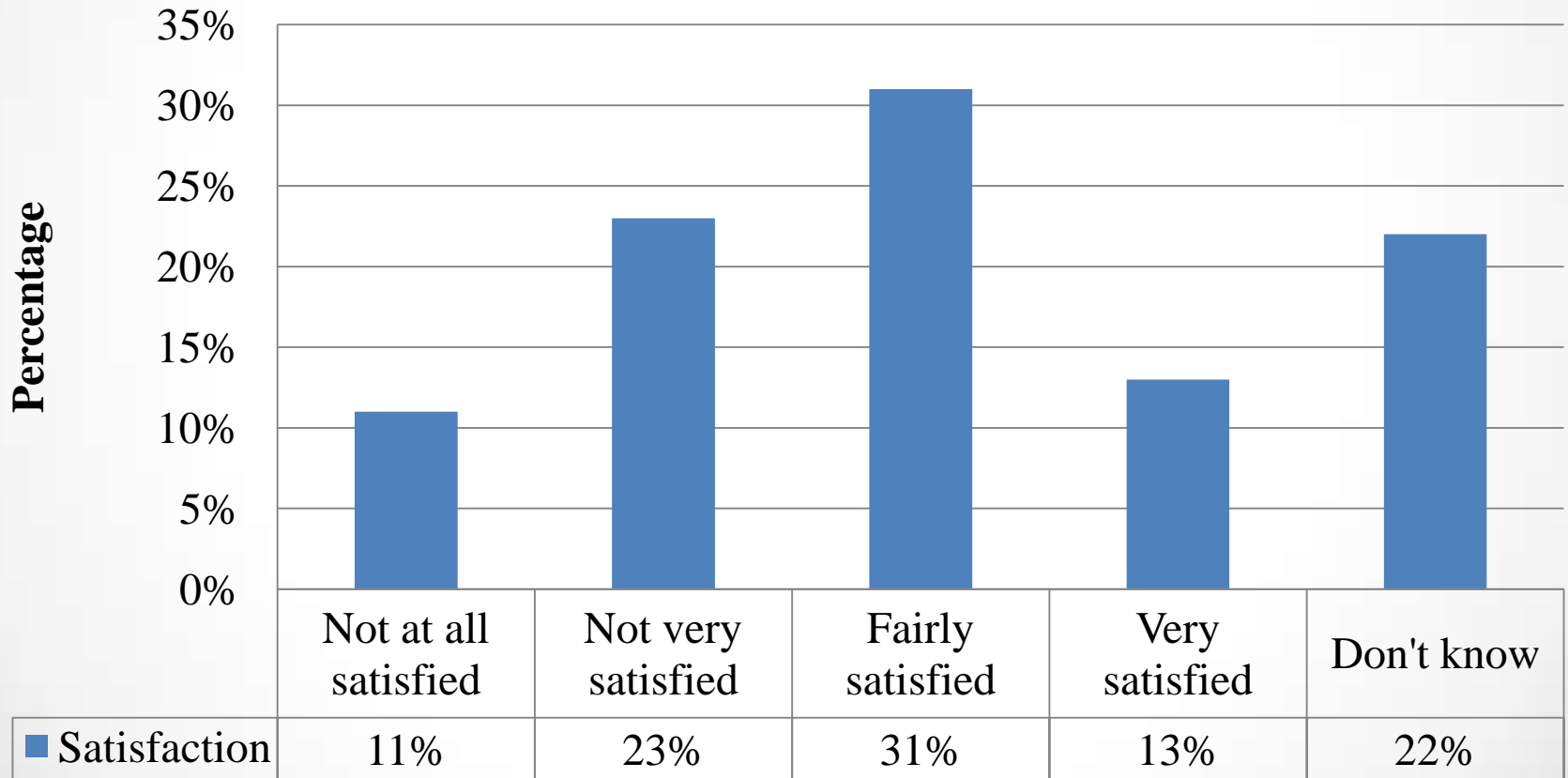
## Public Consultation on New Constitution



# Topic # 2

## Key Findings

### Satisfaction with Constitution Making Process



# Conclusions

- We have seen that the majority of Zambians are against the 1964 Barotseland agreement, even though strong voices in support of the matter can still be heard in Western Province.
- We have also seen that Zambians are fairly satisfied with the current constitutional making process, even though they doubt the extent of public consultations.

## Next Release Event

- The next release of results will take place in about 3 weeks and will focus on public perceptions on the performance of the PF Government.



# AFRO BAROMETER

For more information and publications, please contact **RuralNet Associates** on +260 1 293529/292821/292814 or [ruralnet@ruralnet.co.zm](mailto:ruralnet@ruralnet.co.zm) and visit the Afrobarometer website at: [www.afrobarometer.org](http://www.afrobarometer.org) or follow us on Facebook (coming soon) and Twitter (@afrobarometer).