# AFRQ <br> BAROMETER 

LET THE PEOPLE HAVE A SAY

## Summary of Results

Afrobarometer Round 6
Survey in Zambia, 2014
Compiled by:
RuralNet Associates Ltd


## Afrobarometer Round 6 <br> Summary of Results for Zambia, 2014

Afrobarometer is a pan-African, non-partisan research network that conducts public attitude surveys on democracy, governance, economic conditions, and related issues in more than 30 countries in Africa. Five rounds of surveys were conducted between 1999 and 2013, and Round 6 surveys are being carried out in 2014-2015. Afrobarometer conducts face-to-face interviews in the language of the respondent's choice with nationally representative samples of between 1,200 and 2,400 respondents.

Afrobarometer is produced collaboratively by social scientists from across Africa Coordination is provided by the Center for Democratic Development (CDD) in Zambia, the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR) in South Africa, the Institute for Development Studies (IDS) at the University of Nairobi in Kenya, and the Institute for Empirical Research in Political Economy (IREEP) in Benin. Michigan State University (MSU) and the University of Cape Town (UCT) provide technical support to the network.

The Afrobarometer National Partner in Zambia, RuralNet Associates Ltd, interviewed a nationally representative, random, stratified probability sample of 1,200 adult Zambians from 1 to 31 October 2014. A sample of this size yields results with a margin of error of $+/-3 \%$ at a $95 \%$ confidence level. Previous surveys have been conducted in Zambia in 1999, 2002, 2005, 2009 and 2012. The Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR) provided technical backstopping for the survey. Technical details of the survey, including descriptions of stratification and household selection, translation languages, and related information, can be found in the survey Technical Information Form that follows.

Below is an outline of the survey findings from all the questions posed to respondents. We also present the findings by some critical demographics such as gender and place of residence (urban-rural).

Core support for Afrobarometer Rounds 5 and 6 has been provided by the UK's Department for International Development (DFID), the Mo Ibrahim Foundation, the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), and the World Bank.

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## Survey Overview The Quality of Democracy and Governance in Zambia Afrobarometer Round 6, 2014-2015

| Dates of Fieldwork: | 1 to31October, 2014 |
| :---: | :---: |
| Sample size: | 1,200 |
| Sampling frame: | 2010 Zambia Population and Housing Census |
| Sample universe: | Citizens age 18 years or older, excluding institutions |
| Sample design: | Nationally representative, random, clustered, stratified, multistage area probability sample |
| Stratification: | Province,ward (for rural areas only) and urban-rural location |
| Stages: | PSUs (from strata), start points, households, respondents |
| PSU selection: | Probability proportionate to population size (PPPS) |
| Cluster size: | Eight households per PSU |
| Household selection: | Randomly selected start points, followed by walk pattern using 5/10 interval |
| Respondent selection: | Gender quota filled by alternating interviews between men and women; respondents of appropriate gender listed, after which household member draws a numbered card to select individual. |
| Weighting: | Weighted to account for individual selection probabilities |
| Margin of error: | +/-3\% with 95\% confidence level |
| Fieldwork by: | RuralNet Associates Ltd |
| Survey Languages: (Official translations) | English, Bemba, Kaonde, Lozi, Nyanja/Chewa, and Tonga. |
| Main researchers: | FisonMujenja, Victor Kanyense and MulimaNyambe. |
| Outcome rates: | Contact rate: $100.0 \%$ <br> Cooperation rate: $99.4 \%$ <br> Refusal rate: $0.3 \%$ <br> Response rate: $99.4 \%$ |
| EA Substitution Rate: | 0\% |

Note: All figures in the following tables are percentages, rounded to whole numbers. Due to rounding, columns may not add up to exactly $100 \%$. Also note that a reported figure of " 0 " indicates that at least one response, but less than $0.5 \%$ of all responses, were in this category, whereas a dash ("-") or blank cell indicates that there were no responses in this category. For Questions 1 through 100, weighted frequency distributions are reported.

## Demographic distribution of the sample

## Gender

|  | Male | $50 \%$ | $50 \%$ |
| :--- | :--- | ---: | ---: |
|  | Female | $50 \%$ |  |
| Location | Unweighted | Weighted | Unweighted |
|  | Urban | $43 \%$ | $40 \%$ |
|  | Rural | $57 \%$ | $60 \%$ |

Province

|  | Unweighted | Weighted | Unweighted |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Lusaka | $19 \%$ | $17 \%$ |
|  | Central | $10 \%$ | $10 \%$ |
|  | Copperbelt | $16 \%$ | $15 \%$ |
|  | Eastern | $11 \%$ | $12 \%$ |
|  | Luapula | $7 \%$ | $8 \%$ |
|  | Northern | $8 \%$ | $8 \%$ |
|  | North-Western | $5 \%$ | $6 \%$ |
|  | Southern | $11 \%$ | $12 \%$ |
|  | Western | $7 \%$ | $7 \%$ |
|  | Muchinga | $5 \%$ | $5 \%$ |

Education

|  | Unweighted | Weighted | Unweighted |
| :--- | :---: | ---: | ---: |
|  | No formal education | $8 \%$ | $9 \%$ |
|  | Primary | $35 \%$ | $34 \%$ |
|  | Secondary | $43 \%$ | $43 \%$ |
|  | Post-secondary | $13 \%$ | $13 \%$ |

Religion

|  | Unweighted | Weighted | Unweighted |
| :--- | :---: | ---: | ---: |
|  | Christian | $93 \%$ | $92 \%$ |
|  | Muslim | $0 \%$ | $0 \%$ |
|  | Other | $7 \%$ | $8 \%$ |

Q1. How old are you?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| $18-25$ | 36 | 26 | 29 | 31 | 30 |
| $26-35$ | 33 | 29 | 28 | 32 | 30 |
| $36-45$ | 17 | 22 | 20 | 21 | 20 |
| $46-55$ | 4 | 11 | 9 | 8 | 8 |
| $56-65$ | 6 | 7 | 8 | 6 | 7 |
| Over 65 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 2 | 3 |
| Don't know | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |

Q2. Which Zambian language is your home language?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| English | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Bemba | 31 | 26 | 29 | 28 | 28 |
| Nyanja | 10 | 4 | 7 | 6 | 7 |
| Tonga | 10 | 16 | 13 | 14 | 14 |
| Lozi | 8 | 8 | 9 | 8 | 8 |
| Chewa | 5 | 8 | 5 | 9 | 7 |
| Nsenga | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Tumbuka | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 |
| Kaonde | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Luvale | 1 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2 |
| Namwanga | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| Lunda | 4 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 |
| Bisa | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Nkoya |  |  |  |  |  |
| Mambwe | 3 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Lenje | 1 |  |  |  |  |
| Ngoni | 2 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 3 |
| Soli | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| lla |  | 1 |  | 1 | 1 |
| Ushi | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Chokwe | 1 |  | 1 |  |  |
| Mbunda |  |  |  |  |  |
| Kunda |  | 1 | 1 |  | 1 |
| Lala | 2 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 3 |
| Lamba | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| Lungu | 1 |  | 1 |  |  |
| Nyika |  |  |  |  |  |
| Senga | 1 |  |  | 1 |  |
| Tokaleya |  | 1 |  | 1 | 1 |
| Tabwa |  |  |  |  |  |
| Other | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Don't know |  |  |  |  |  |

Q3. 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?

|  | Urban |  | Rural | Male | Female |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Going in the <br> wrong direction | 55 | 65 | 58 | 65 | Total |
| Going in the <br> right direction | 40 | 32 | 39 | 31 | 35 |
| Don't know | 5 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 3 |

Q4A. In general, how would you describe: The present condition of this country?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Very bad | 26 | 32 | 29 | 30 | 30 |
| Fairly bad | 25 | 28 | 24 | 30 | 27 |
| Neither good | 9 | 8 | 10 | 7 | 9 |
| nor bad | 31 | 23 | 27 | 25 | 26 |
| Fairly good | 7 | 7 | 8 | 6 | 7 |
| Very good |  |  |  |  |  |

Q4B. In general, how would you describe: Your own present living conditions?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Very bad | 22 | 28 | 27 | 24 | 25 |
| Fairly bad | 21 | 27 | 24 | 25 | 25 |
| Neither good <br> nor bad | 11 | 9 | 9 | 10 | 10 |
| Fairly good | 37 | 7 | 27 | 31 | 30 |
| Very good | 2 | 8 | 8 | 7 | 31 |
| Don't know | 1 |  | 2 | 7 |  |

Q5. In general, how do you rate your living conditions compared to those of other Zambians?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Much worse | 13 | 17 | 14 | 16 | 15 |
| Worse | 21 | 27 | 25 | 23 | 24 |
| Same | 25 | 21 | 23 | 21 | 22 |
| Better | 31 | 26 | 27 | 29 | 28 |
| Much better | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 |
| Don't know | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 |

Q6. Looking back, how do you rate economic conditions in this country compared to $\mathbf{1 2}$ months ago?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Much worse | 16 | 21 | 20 | 18 | 19 |
| Worse | 26 | 25 | 24 | 27 | 26 |
| Same | 21 | 18 | 19 | 19 | 19 |
| Better | 24 | 22 | 23 | 23 | 23 |
| Much better | 11 | 10 | 11 | 10 | 11 |
| Don't know | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2 |

Q7. Looking ahead, do you expect economic conditions in this country to be better or worse in 12 months' time?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Much worse | 18 | 16 | 16 | 17 | 17 |
| Worse | 15 | 13 | 13 | 15 | 14 |
| Same | 15 | 14 | 16 | 13 | 15 |
| Better | 23 | 20 | 22 | 20 | 21 |
| Much better | 16 | 15 | 17 | 14 | 15 |
| Don't know | 14 | 21 | 16 | 20 | 18 |

Q8A. Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or anyone in your family: Gone without enough food to eat?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Never | 48 | 42 | 42 | 47 | 44 |
| Just once or <br> twice | 24 | 19 | 21 | 20 | 21 |
| Several times | 20 | 27 | 26 | 23 | 8 |
| Many times | 7 | 8 | 8 | 2 | 8 |
| Always | 1 | 3 | 3 |  | 2 |
| Don't know |  |  |  |  |  |

Q8B. Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or anyone in your family: Gone without enough clean water for home use?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Never | 54 | 51 | 49 | 55 | 52 |
| Just once or <br> twice | 12 | 10 | 10 | 12 | 11 |
| Several times | 20 | 20 | 21 | 19 | 20 |
| Many times | 9 | 11 | 12 | 8 | 10 |
| Always | 5 | 7 | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| Don't know |  |  |  |  |  |

Q8C. Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or anyone in your family: Gone without medicines or medical treatment?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Never | 50 | 36 | 40 | 44 | 42 |
| Just once or <br> twice | 16 | 19 | 18 | 18 | 18 |
| Several times | 17 | 26 | 23 | 22 | 12 |
| Many times | 12 | 14 | 15 | 3 | 13 |
| Always | 3 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 4 |
| Don't know | 2 |  |  | 12 | 1 |

Q8D. Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or anyone in your family: Gone without enough fuel to cook your food?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Never | 58 | 70 | 65 | 65 | 65 |
| Just once or <br> twice | 17 | 10 | 13 | 13 | 13 |
| Several times | 16 | 13 | 14 | 14 | 14 |
| Many times | 6 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 1 |
| Always | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Don't know | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 |  |

Q8E. Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or anyone in your family: Gone without a cash income?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Never | 29 | 15 | 21 | 21 | 21 |
| Just once or <br> twice | 22 | 13 | 15 | 18 | 17 |
| Several times | 25 | 30 | 29 | 28 | 28 |
| Many times | 18 | 27 | 23 | 24 | 23 |
| Always | 5 | 14 | 11 | 10 | 10 |
| Don't know |  |  |  |  |  |

Q8F. [Regarding the most intense (highest) code circled on Q8A-E, i.e., if the respondent went without any item in Q8A-E "always" or "many times" or "several times":] When you say you went without [insert item] [insert frequency], would you say this occurred: about once every two or three months, about once a month, two or three times a month, about once a week, several times a week, or every day?

|  | Urban |  | Rural | Male | Female |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| About once <br> every two or <br> three months | 8 | 10 | 9 | 10 | Total |
| About once a <br> month | 13 | 8 | 12 | 9 | 9 |
| Two or three <br> times a month | 14 | 26 | 20 | 22 | 10 |
| About once a <br> week | 9 | 7 | 7 | 8 | 21 |
| Several times a <br> week | 16 | 20 | 20 | 18 | 8 |
| Everyday | 9 | 10 | 10 | 9 | 19 |
| Not applicable | 27 | 15 | 19 | 21 | 10 |
| Don't know | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |

Q9. How often, if at all, do you or anyone in your household receive money remittances from friends or relatives living outside of the country?

|  | Urban |  | Rural | Male | Female |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Never | 85 | 92 | 88 | 90 | Total |
| Less than once <br> a year | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| At least once a <br> year | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 |
| At least every 6 <br> months | 1 |  | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| At least every 3 <br> months | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| At least once <br> a month | 6 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 1 |
| Don't know | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |

Q10A. Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or anyone in your family: Felt unsafe walking in your neighbourhood?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never | 48 | 61 | 59 | 52 | 56 |
| Just once or <br> twice | 16 | 13 | 11 | 17 | 14 |
| Several times | 18 | 17 | 18 | 17 | 18 |
| Many times | 7 | 4 | 4 | 6 | 5 |
| Always | 10 | 5 | 7 | 6 | 7 |
| Don't know | 1 |  |  | 1 | 1 |

Q10B. Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or anyone in your family: Feared crime in your own home?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never | 64 | 66 | 68 | 63 | 65 |
| Just once or <br> twice | 12 | 12 | 11 | 13 | 12 |
| Several times | 12 | 12 | 13 | 11 | 12 |
| Many times | 6 | 5 | 4 | 6 | 5 |
| Always | 6 | 4 | 4 | 6 | 5 |
| Don't know |  |  |  |  |  |

Q11A. During the past year, have you or anyone in your family: Had something stolen from your house?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| No | 65 | 71 | 68 | 69 | 69 |
| Yes, once | 16 | 13 | 14 | 14 | 14 |
| Yes, twice | 9 | 8 | 9 | 8 | 9 |
| Yes, three or <br> more times | 10 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 |
| Don't know |  |  |  |  |  |

Q11B. During the past year, have you or anyone in your family: Been physically attacked?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| No | 86 | 92 | 89 | 90 | 89 |
| Yes, once | 9 | 6 | 7 | 7 | 7 |
| Yes, twice | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| Yes, three or <br> more times | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 2 |
| Don't know |  |  |  |  |  |

Q12A. How often do you get news from the following sources: Radio?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never | 16 | 20 | 13 | 24 | 18 |
| Less than once <br> a month | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| A few times a <br> month | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| A few times a <br> week | 22 | 24 | 24 | 23 | 23 |
| Every day | 54 | 47 | 55 | 45 | 50 |
| Don't know |  |  |  |  |  |

Q12B. How often do you get news from the following sources: Television?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never | 23 | 63 | 48 | 47 | 47 |
| Less than once <br> a month | 1 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| A few times a <br> month | 3 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 5 |
| A few times a <br> week | 14 | 9 | 11 | 11 | 11 |
| Every day | 59 | 17 | 33 | 34 | 33 |
| Don't know |  | 1 |  |  |  |

Q12C. How often do you get news from the following sources: Newspapers?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never | 39 | 76 | 60 | 63 | 61 |
| Less than once <br> a month | 9 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 6 |
| A few times a <br> month | 14 | 8 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| A few times a <br> week | 19 | 6 | 13 | 10 | 11 |
| Every day | 19 | 2 | 10 | 8 | 9 |
| Don't know | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 |

Q12D. How often do you get news from the following sources: Internet?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never | 66 | 87 | 76 | 81 | 79 |
| Less than once <br> a month | -3 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| A few times a <br> month | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 |
| A few times a <br> week | 8 | 3 | 6 | 4 | 5 |
| Every day | 17 | 3 | 10 | 7 | 9 |
| Don't know | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |

Q12E. How often do you get news from the following sources: Social media such as Facebook or Twitter?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never | 69 | 89 | 80 | 82 | 81 |
| Less than once <br> a month | 1 |  | 1 |  | 1 |
| A few times a <br> month | 4 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| A few times a <br> week | 6 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Every day | 16 | 3 | 9 | 7 | 8 |
| Don't know | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 |

Q13. How interested would you say you are in public affairs?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Not at all <br> interested | 27 | 23 | 20 | 29 | 24 |
| Not very <br> interested | 20 | 18 | 18 | 19 | 19 |
| Somewhat <br> interested | 18 | 21 | 20 | 19 | 20 |
| Very <br> interested | 34 | 38 | 40 | 32 | 36 |
| Don't know | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |

Q14. When you get together with your friends or family, would you say you discuss political matters?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never | 34 | 36 | 31 | 40 | 35 |
| Occasionally | 46 | 46 | 48 | 44 | 46 |
| Frequently | 18 | 17 | 20 | 15 | 17 |
| Don't know | 1 | 1 |  | 1 | 1 |

Q15A. In this country, how free are you: To say what you think?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Not at all free | 7 | 8 | 7 | 8 | 8 |
| Not very free | 16 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 15 |
| Somewhat free | 17 | 13 | 15 | 14 | 15 |
| Completely <br> free | 59 | 65 | 63 | 62 | 62 |
| Don't know |  | 1 |  | 1 |  |

Q15B. In this country, how free are you: To join any political organization you want?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Not at all free | 8 | 6 | 5 | 8 | 7 |
| Not very free | 11 | 10 | 11 | 10 | 10 |
| Somewhat free | 10 | 11 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Completely <br> free | 69 | 72 | 72 | 70 | 71 |
| Don't know | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 |

Q15C. In this country, how free are you: To choose who to vote for without feeling pressured?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Not at all free | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Not very free | 5 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 |
| Somewhat free | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 |
| Completely <br> free | 83 | 81 | 83 | 81 | 82 |
| Don't know | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 |

Let's talk for a moment about the kind of society you would like to have in this country.
Q16. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2. Statement 1: Government should be able to ban any organization that goes against its policies.
Statement 2: We should be able to join any organization, whether or not the government approves of it.

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree very <br> strongly with 1 | 18 | 14 | 17 | 15 | 16 |
| Agree with 1 | 17 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 15 |
| Agree with 2 | 34 | 31 | 33 | 31 | 32 |
| Agree very <br> strongly with 2 | 27 | 36 | 33 | 32 | 33 |
| Agree with <br> neither | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| Don't know | 2 | 4 | 2 | 5 | 3 |

Q17. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2. Statement 1: The media should have the right to publish any views and ideas without government control. Statement 2: The government should have the right to prevent the media from publishing things that it considers harmful to society.

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree very <br> strongly with 1 | 32 | 34 | 34 | 32 | 33 |
| Agree with 1 | 24 | 23 | 25 | 21 | 23 |
| Agree with 2 | 17 | 18 | 16 | 19 | 18 |
| Agree very <br> strongly with 2 | 23 | 20 | 21 | 21 | 21 |
| Agree with <br> neither | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Don't know | 2 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 4 |

Q18. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.
Statement 1: Men make better political leaders than women, and should be elected rather than women. Statement 2: Women should have the same chance of being elected to political office as men.

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree very <br> strongly with 1 | 16 | 21 | 22 | 15 | 19 |
| Agree with 1 | 7 | 9 | 8 | 8 | 8 |
| Agree with 2 | 23 | 26 | 25 | 25 | 25 |
| Agree very <br> strongly with 2 | 52 | 42 | 42 | 50 | 46 |
| Agree with <br> neither | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Don't know | 1 | 1 |  | 1 | 1 |

Q19A. Now I am going to read out a list of groups that people join or attend. For each one, could you tell me whether you are an official leader, an active member, an inactive member, or not a member: A religious group that meets outside of regular worship services?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Not a member | 28 | 24 | 26 | 25 | 26 |
| Inactive <br> member | 12 | 11 | 12 | 10 | 11 |
| Active member | 53 | 55 | 53 | 56 | 55 |
| Official leader | 6 | 9 | 8 | 8 | 8 |
| Don't know |  |  |  |  |  |

Q19B. Now I am going to read out a list of groups that people join or attend. For each one, could you tell me whether you are an official leader, an active member, an inactive member, or not a member: Some other voluntary association or community group?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Not a member | 78 | 56 | 63 | 65 | 64 |
| Inactive <br> member | 4 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 6 |
| Active member | 15 | 31 | 25 | 24 | 24 |
| Official leader | 3 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| Don't know | 1 |  |  |  |  |

Q20A. 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 not, would you do this if you had the chance? Attended a community meeting.

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| No, would <br> never do this | 23 | 7 | 12 | 15 | 13 |
| No, but would <br> do if had the <br> chance | 47 | 30 | 35 | 38 | 37 |
| Yes, once or <br> twice | 12 | 11 | 11 | 12 | 12 |
| Yes, several <br> times | 14 | 41 | 34 | 27 | 30 |
| Yes, often | 4 | 10 | 8 | 7 | 8 |
| Don't know | 1 |  |  | 1 | 1 |

Q20B. 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 not, would you do this if you had the chance? Got together with others to raise an issue.

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| No, would <br> never do this | 30 | 14 | 19 | 22 | 20 |
| No, but would <br> do if had the <br> chance | 45 | 38 | 39 | 42 | 40 |
| Yes, once or <br> twice | 9 | 12 | 10 | 12 | 11 |
| Yes, several <br> times | 12 | 28 | 25 | 5 | 21 |
| Yes, often | 3 | 7 | 6 | 2 | 6 |
| Don't know | 2 | 1 | 1 | 18 | 1 |

Q21. Understanding that some people were unable to vote in the most recent national election in 2011, which of the following statements is true for you?

You were too young to vote
You were not registered to vote
You voted in the elections
You decided not to vote
You could not find the polling station
You were prevented from voting
You did not have time to vote
You did not vote because you could not find your name in the voters' register

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| You were not registered to vote | 12 | 8 | 7 | 12 | 10 |
| You voted in the elections | 54 | 62 | 64 | 54 | 59 |
| You decided not to vote | 7 | 8 | 7 | 9 | 8 |
| You could not find the polling station |  | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| You were prevented from voting |  |  |  | 1 |  |
| You did not have time to vote | 4 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| You did not vote because your name not in the register | 1 | 1 |  | 1 | 1 |
| Did not vote for some other reason | 7 | 8 | 6 | 10 | 8 |
| You were too young to vote | 14 | 6 | 10 | 9 | 10 |
| Don't know / Can't remember | 1 |  |  | 1 | 1 |

Q22. On the whole, how would you rate the freeness and fairness of the last national election, held in 2011. Was it:

Completely free and fair
Free and fair, but with minor problems
Free and fair, with major problems
Not free and fair

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Not free and <br> fair | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Free and fair, <br> with major <br> problems | 11 | 9 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Free and fair, <br> but with minor <br> problems | 22 | 18 | 19 | 21 | 20 |
| Completely <br> free and fair | 57 | 60 | 61 | 56 | 59 |
| Do not <br> understand the <br> question |  | 7 | 5 | 1 | 7 |
| Don't know | 6 |  |  | 8 | 7 |

Q23A. Thinking about the last national election in 2011, did you: Attend a campaign rally?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| No | 68 | 57 | 55 | 67 | 61 |
| Yes | 32 | 43 | 44 | 33 | 39 |
| Don't know |  |  |  |  |  |

Q23B. Thinking about the last national election in 2011, did you: Attend a meeting with a candidate or campaign staff?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| No | 79 | 74 | 71 | 81 | 76 |
| Yes | 20 | 26 | 28 | 19 | 24 |
| Don't know |  |  |  |  |  |

Q23C. Thinking about the last national election in 2011, did you: Try to persuade others to vote for a certain presidential or legislative candidate or political party?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| No | 83 | 86 | 83 | 87 | 85 |
| Yes | 16 | 14 | 17 | 13 | 15 |
| Don't know |  |  |  |  |  |

Q23D. Thinking about the last national election in 2011, did you: Work for a candidate or party?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| No | 88 | 85 | 83 | 89 | 86 |
| Yes | 11 | 14 | 16 | 10 | 13 |
| Don't know |  |  |  |  |  |

Q24A. During the past year, how often have you contacted any of the following persons about some important problem or to give them your views: A local government councillor?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |


| Never | 80 | 63 | 64 | 75 | 70 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Only once | 7 | 11 | 11 | 8 | 10 |
| A few times | 7 | 15 | 14 | 9 | 12 |
| Often | 5 | 11 | 10 | 7 | 8 |
| Don't know | 1 |  |  | 1 |  |

Q24B. During the past year, how often have you contacted any of the following persons about some important problem or to give them your views: A Member of Parliament?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never | 91 | 82 | 84 | 87 | 86 |
| Only once | 2 | 8 | 7 | 4 | 6 |
| A few times | 4 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Often | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3 |
| Don't know | 1 |  | 1 |  | 1 |

Q24C. During the past year, how often have you contacted any of the following persons about some important problem or to give them your views: An official of a government agency?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never | 91 | 87 | 88 | 90 | 89 |
| Only once | 3 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 4 |
| A few times | 3 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 4 |
| Often | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| Don't know | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |

Q24D. During the past year, how often have you contacted any of the following persons about some important problem or to give them your views: A political party official?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never | 90 | 87 | 85 | 91 | 88 |
| Only once | 3 | 5 | 6 | 3 | 5 |
| A few times | 3 | 5 | 6 | 3 | 4 |
| Often | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Don't know | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |

Q24E. During the past year, how often have you contacted any of the following persons about some important problem or to give them your views: Traditional leaders?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never | 85 | 50 | 59 | 69 | 64 |
| Only once | 5 | 8 | 7 | 7 | 7 |
| A few times | 4 | 17 | 14 | 10 | 12 |
| Often | 3 | 24 | 19 | 12 | 16 |
| Don't know | 3 |  | 1 | 1 | 1 |

Q24F. During the past year, how often have you contacted any of the following persons about some important problem or to give them your views: Religious leaders?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never | 57 | 41 | 46 | 48 | 47 |
| Only once | 10 | 9 | 9 | 10 | 10 |
| A few times | 13 | 19 | 16 | 17 | 17 |
| Often | 18 | 31 | 28 | 24 | 26 |
| Don't know | 1 |  | 1 |  | 1 |

Q25A. Thinking of the last time you contacted any of these leaders. Did you go: Alone or with a group?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Alone | 22 | 20 | 23 | 19 | 21 |


| With a group | 26 | 47 | 41 | 37 | 39 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Not applicable | 48 | 28 | 31 | 41 | 36 |
| Don't know |  |  |  |  |  |

Q25B. Thinking of the last time you contacted any of these leaders. Did you go: To discuss a community problem or a personal problem?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Missing | 4 | 4 | 5 | 3 | 4 |
| Community <br> problem | 27 | 45 | 41 | 35 | 38 |
| Personal <br> problem | 21 | 22 | 22 | 21 | 21 |
| Not applicable | 48 | 28 | 31 | 41 | 36 |
| Don't know |  |  |  |  |  |

Q26A. For each of the following actions, please tell me whether you think it is something a good citizen in a democracy should always do, never do, or do only if they choose: Vote in elections.

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never do | 6 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| Do only if they <br> choose | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 |
| Always do | 76 | 81 | 80 | 78 | 79 |
| Don't know | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 |

Q26B. For each of the following actions, please tell me whether you think it is something a good citizen in a democracy should always do, never do, or do only if they choose: Avoid criticizing the government.

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never do | 36 | 28 | 30 | 32 | 31 |
| Do only if they <br> choose | 30 | 29 | 29 | 30 | 30 |
| Always do | 29 | 40 | 38 | 32 | 35 |
| Don't know | 5 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 4 |

Q26C. For each of the following actions, please tell me whether you think it is something a good citizen in a democracy should always do, never do, or do only if they choose: Complain to government officials when public services are of poor quality.

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never do | 11 | 5 | 7 | 8 | 7 |
| Do only if they <br> choose | 18 | 24 | 20 | 23 | 21 |
| Always do | 68 | 70 | 71 | 67 | 69 |
| Don't know | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |

Q26D. For each of the following actions, please tell me whether you think it is something a good citizen in a democracy should always do, never do, or do only if they choose: Request personal assistance like help with school fees or funeral expenses from elected leaders.

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Never do | 23 |  | 19 | 21 | 20 | 20 |


| Do only if they <br> choose | 32 | 32 | 30 | 34 | 32 |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Always do | 42 | 47 | 46 | 43 | 45 |
| Don't know | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 |

Q26E. For each of the following actions, please tell me whether you think it is something a good citizen in a democracy should always do, never do, or do only if they choose: Pay taxes they owe to government.

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Never do | 12 | 12 | 11 | 13 | 12 |
| Do only if they <br> choose | 11 | 13 | 13 | 12 | 12 |
| Always do | 70 | 62 | 66 | 64 | 65 |
| Don't know | 6 | 13 | 10 | 11 | 11 |

Q26F. For each of the following actions, please tell me whether you think it is something a good citizen in a democracy should always do, never do, or do only if they choose: Agree with the majority of people in his or her community on political issues.

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never do | 21 | 14 | 15 | 18 | 17 |
| Do only if they <br> choose | 37 | 38 | 35 | 40 | 38 |
| Always do | 38 | 44 | 45 | 37 | 41 |
| Don't know | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |

Q27A. Here is a list of actions that people sometimes take as citizens when they are dissatisfied with government. For each of these, please tell me whether you, personally, have done any of these things during the past year. If not, would you do this if you had the chance: Joined with others in your community to request action from government?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| No, would <br> never do this | 30 | 13 | 17 | 23 | 20 |
| No, but would <br> do if had the <br> chance | 50 | 52 | 51 | 52 | 51 |
| Yes, once or <br> twice | 7 | 11 | 11 | 8 | 9 |
| Yes, several <br> times | 10 | 19 | 17 | 14 | 16 |
| Yes, often | 2 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 1 |
| Don't know | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 |  |

Q27B. Here is a list of actions that people sometimes take as citizens when they are dissatisfied with government. For each of these, please tell me whether you, personally, have done any of these things during the past year. If not, would you do this if you had the chance: Contacted the media, like calling a radio program or writing a letter to a newspaper?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| No, would | 31 | 20 | 22 | 26 | 24 |


| never do this |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| No, but would <br> do if had the <br> chance | 56 | 71 | 65 | 66 | 65 |
| Yes, once or <br> twice | 6 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 5 |
| Yes, several <br> times | 5 | 3 | 6 | 3 | 4 |
| Yes, often | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Don't know | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |

Q27C. Here is a list of actions that people sometimes take as citizens when they are dissatisfied with government. For each of these, please tell me whether you, personally, have done any of these things during the past year. If not, would you do this if you had the chance: Contacted a government official to ask for help or make a complaint?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| No, would <br> never do this | 27 | 16 | 18 | 23 | 21 |
| No, but would <br> do if had the <br> chance | 60 | 64 | 62 | 62 | 62 |
| Yes, once or <br> twice | 6 | 8 | 9 | 6 | 7 |
| Yes, several <br> times | 5 | 9 | 8 | 6 | 2 |
| Yes, often | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 7 |
| Don't know | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 |  |

Q27D. Here is a list of actions that people sometimes take as citizens when they are dissatisfied with government. For each of these, please tell me whether you, personally, have done any of these things during the past year. If not, would you do this if you had the chance: Refused to pay a tax or fee to government?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| No, would <br> never do this | 70 | 59 | 63 | 65 | 64 |
| No, but would <br> do if had the <br> chance | 17 | 25 | 23 | 22 | 22 |
| Yes, once or <br> twice | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Yes, several <br> times | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Yes, often | 1 | 1 | 1 | 10 | 1 |
| Don't know | 7 | 12 | 10 | 10 |  |

Q27E. Here is a list of actions that people sometimes take as citizens when they are dissatisfied with government. For each of these, please tell me whether you, personally, have done any of these things during the past year. If not, would you do this if you had the chance: Participated in a demonstration or protest march?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| No, would <br> never do this | 70 | 59 | 63 | 65 | 64 |


| No, but would <br> do if had the <br> chance | 17 | 25 | 23 | 22 | 22 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Yes, once or <br> twice | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Yes, several <br> times | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Yes, often | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 10 |
| Don't know | 7 | 12 | 10 | 10 | 10 |

Q28A. There are many ways to govern a country. Would you disapprove or approve of the following alternatives? Only one political party is allowed to stand for election and hold office.

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Strongly <br> disapprove | 67 | 60 | 63 | 62 | 63 |
| Disapprove | 17 | 19 | 19 | 18 | 18 |
| Neither <br> approve nor <br> disapprove | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Approve | 7 | 12 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Strongly <br> approve | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 4 |
| Don't know | 2 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 3 |

Q28B. There are many ways to govern a country. Would you disapprove or approve of the following alternatives? The army comes in to govern the country.

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Strongly <br> disapprove | 75 | 68 | 70 | 71 | 71 |
| Disapprove | 17 | 21 | 20 | 18 | 19 |
| Neither <br> approve nor <br> disapprove | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Approve | 3 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| Strongly <br> approve | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 |
| Don't know | 1 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 |

Q28C. There are many ways to govern a country. Would you disapprove or approve of the following alternatives? Elections and Parliament are abolished so that the president can decide everything.

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Strongly <br> disapprove | 67 | 65 | 66 | 65 | 66 |
| Disapprove | 21 | 21 | 20 | 22 | 21 |
| Neither | 2 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 2 |


| approve nor <br> disapprove |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Approve | 4 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 4 |
| Strongly <br> approve | 2 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Don't know | 3 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 4 |

Q29. What, if anything, does "democracy" mean to you?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Understood <br> "democracy" | 77 | 60 | 74 | 59 | 66 |
| Required local <br> language <br> translation | 14 | 23 | 17 | 22 | 19 |
| Did not <br> understand the <br> word or <br> question | 9 | 18 | 10 | 19 | 14 |

Q30. Which of these three statements is closest to your own opinion?
Statement 1: Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government.
Statement 2: In some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable.
Statement 3: For someone like me, it doesn't matter what kind of government we have.

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| STATEMENT 1: <br> Democracy <br> preferable | 76 | 73 | 79 | 70 | 74 |
| STATEMENT 2: <br> Sometimes <br> non- <br> democratic <br> preferable | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| STATEMENT 3: <br> Doesn't matter | 8 | 11 | 7 | 12 | 10 |
| Don't know | 10 | 10 | 7 | 13 | 10 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |

Q31. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2. 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.
Statement 2: It is more important for citizens to be able to hold government accountable, even if that means it makes decisions more slowly.

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree very | 28 | 21 | 26 | 22 | 24 |


| strongly with 1 |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree with 1 | 19 | 16 | 15 | 19 | 17 |
| Agree with 2 | 26 | 27 | 26 | 28 | 27 |
| Agree very <br> strongly with 2 | 23 | 32 | 30 | 27 | 29 |
| Agree with <br> neither | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Don't know | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |

Q32. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2. Statement 1: We should choose our leaders in this country through regular, open, and honest elections. Statement 2: Since elections sometimes produce bad results, we should adopt other methods for choosing this country's leaders.

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree very <br> strongly with 1 | 59 | 56 | 61 | 53 | 57 |
| Agree with 1 | 24 | 24 | 25 | 23 | 24 |
| Agree with 2 | 6 | 10 | 6 | 11 | 9 |
| Agree very <br> strongly with 2 | 8 | 8 | 7 | 9 | 8 |
| Agree with <br> neither | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Don't know | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 |

Q33. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2. Statement 1: Political parties create division and confusion; it is therefore unnecessary to have many political parties in Zambia.
Statement 2: Many political parties are needed to make sure that Zambians have real choices in who governs them.

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree very <br> strongly with 1 | 14 | 14 | 15 | 13 | 14 |
| Agree with 1 | 12 | 13 | 12 | 13 | 12 |
| Agree with 2 | 30 | 29 | 29 | 31 | 30 |
| Agree very <br> strongly with 2 | 41 | 43 | 43 | 41 | 42 |
| Agree with <br> neither | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Don't know | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |

Q34. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2. Statement 1: Parliament should ensure that the president explains to it on a regular basis how his government spends taxpayers' money.
Statement 2: The president should be able to devote his full attention to developing the country rather than wasting time justifying his actions.

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree very | 34 | 33 | 36 | 31 | 33 |


| strongly with 1 |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree with 1 | 27 | 26 | 26 | 27 | 26 |
| Agree with 2 | 15 | 16 | 14 | 17 | 15 |
| Agree very <br> strongly with 2 | 19 | 21 | 20 | 21 | 20 |
| Agree with <br> neither | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Don't know | 3 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 3 |

Q35. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2. Statement 1: After losing an election, opposition parties should monitor and criticize the government in order to hold it accountable.
Statement 2: Once an election is over, opposition parties and politicians should accept defeat and cooperate with government to help it develop the country.

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree very <br> strongly with 1 | 14 | 19 | 19 | 15 | 17 |
| Agree with 1 | 13 | 11 | 12 | 11 | 12 |
| Agree with 2 | 29 | 29 | 27 | 30 | 29 |
| Agree very <br> strongly with 2 | 42 | 40 | 40 | 41 | 41 |
| Agree with <br> neither | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Don't know | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |

Q36. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2. Statement 1: The news media should constantly investigate and report on government mistakes and corruption.
Statement 2: Too much reporting on negative events, like government mistakes and corruption, only harms the country.

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree very <br> strongly with 1 | 46 | 39 | 45 | 38 | 42 |
| Agree with 1 | 23 | 25 | 22 | 26 | 24 |
| Agree with 2 | 13 | 17 | 14 | 17 | 15 |
| Agree very <br> strongly with 2 | 12 | 17 | 15 | 15 | 15 |
| Agree with <br> neither | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Don't know | 4 | 2 | 2 | 2 |  |

Q37. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2. Statement 1: Members of Parliament represent the people; therefore they should make laws for this country, even if the president does not agree.
Statement 2: Since the president represents all of us, he should pass laws without worrying about what Parliament thinks.

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree very | 36 | 34 | 38 | 32 | 35 |


| strongly with 1 |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree with 1 | 30 | 32 | 31 | 32 | 32 |
| Agree with 2 | 15 | 16 | 13 | 18 | 16 |
| Agree very <br> strongly with 2 | 8 | 12 | 11 | 9 | 10 |
| Agree with <br> neither | 4 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Don't know | 6 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 4 |

Q38. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2. 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.
Statement 2: The president must always obey the laws and the courts, even if he thinks they are wrong.

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree very <br> strongly with 1 | 17 | 16 | 17 | 16 | 16 |
| Agree with 1 | 15 | 13 | 14 | 14 | 14 |
| Agree with 2 | 35 | 34 | 34 | 35 | 34 |
| Agree very <br> strongly with 2 | 28 | 34 | 31 | 31 | 31 |
| Agree with <br> neither | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Don't know | 4 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 |

Q39. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2. Statement 1: The Constitution should limit the president to serving a maximum of two terms in office. Statement 2: There should be no constitutional limit on how long the president can serve.

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree very <br> strongly with 1 | 56 | 48 | 54 | 49 | 52 |
| Agree with 1 | 24 | 30 | 26 | 30 | 28 |
| Agree with 2 | 9 | 9 | 10 | 9 | 9 |
| Agree very <br> strongly with 2 | 8 | 10 | 9 | 10 | 9 |
| Agree with <br> neither | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Don't know | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 |

Q40. In your opinion, how much of a democracy is Zambia today?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Not a <br> democracy | 2 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 2 |
| A democracy, <br> with major | 24 | 24 | 23 | 24 | 24 |


| problems |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| A democracy, <br> but with minor <br> problems | 39 | 31 | 35 | 34 | 34 |
| A full <br> democracy | 28 | 32 | 33 | 28 | 31 |
| Do not <br> understand <br> question <br> /democracy | 2 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 2 |
| Don't know | 4 | 8 | 4 | 9 | 6 |

Q41. Overall, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in Zambia?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| The country is <br> not a <br> democracy |  |  |  |  |  |
| Not at all <br> satisfied | 9 | 8 | 8 | 9 | 8 |
| Not very <br> satisfied | 25 | 23 | 24 | 23 | 24 |
| Fairly satisfied | 33 | 29 | 32 | 29 | 31 |
| Very satisfied | 26 | 30 | 30 | 27 | 29 |
| Do not know | 6 | 10 | 5 | 12 | 9 |

Q42A. For each of the following statements, please tell me whether you disagree or agree: The courts have the right to make decisions that people always have to abide by.

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Strongly <br> Disagree | 13 | 11 | 15 | 9 | 12 |
| Disagree | 14 | 11 | 13 | 12 | 12 |
| Neither Agree <br> Nor Disagree | 4 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 4 |
| Agree | 42 | 44 | 42 | 44 | 43 |
| Strongly Agree | 24 | 26 | 24 | 26 | 25 |
| Don't Know | 3 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3 |

Q42B. For each of the following statements, please tell me whether you disagree or agree: The police always have the right to make people obey the law.

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Strongly <br> disagree | 13 | 11 | 15 | 9 | 12 |
| Disagree | 14 | 11 | 13 | 12 | 12 |
| Neither agree <br> nor disagree | 4 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 4 |
| Agree | 42 | 44 | 42 | 44 | 43 |
| Strongly agree | 24 | 26 | 24 | 26 | 25 |
| Don't know | 3 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3 |

Q42C. For each of the following statements, please tell me whether you disagree or agree: The tax authorities always have the right to make people pay taxes.

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Strongly <br> disagree | 8 | 9 | 11 | 7 | 9 |
| Disagree | 13 | 10 | 11 | 11 | 11 |


| Neither agree <br> nor disagree | 6 | 4 | 3 | 7 | 5 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree | 43 | 45 | 42 | 46 | 44 |
| Strongly agree | 25 | 20 | 24 | 20 | 22 |
| Don't know | 5 | 11 | 8 | 8 | 8 |

Q43. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.
Statement 1: It is important to obey the government in power, no matter who you voted for.
Statement 2: It is not necessary to obey the laws of a government that you did not vote for.

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree very <br> strongly with 1 | 61 | 61 | 64 | 59 | 61 |
| Agree with 1 | 27 | 26 | 22 | 30 | 26 |
| Agree with 2 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 4 | 5 |
| Agree very <br> strongly with 2 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| Agree with <br> neither | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Don't know | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 |

Q44. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2. Statement 1: Citizens must pay their taxes to the government in order for our country to develop.
Statement 2: The government can find enough resources for development from other sources without having to tax the people.

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree very <br> strongly with 1 | 44 | 29 | 36 | 34 | 35 |
| Agree with 1 | 22 | 23 | 20 | 25 | 22 |
| Agree with 2 | 14 | 20 | 18 | 18 | 18 |
| Agree very <br> strongly with 2 | 14 | 20 | 19 | 16 | 18 |
| Agree with <br> neither | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Don't know | 4 | 6 | 5 | 6 | 5 |

Q45A. In your opinion, how often, in this country: Does the news media abuse its freedoms by printing or saying things it knows are not true?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never | 20 | 23 | 23 | 21 | 22 |
| Rarely | 38 | 32 | 36 | 32 | 34 |
| Often | 22 | 21 | 21 | 21 | 21 |
| Always | 11 | 8 | 10 | 9 | 9 |
| Don't know | 8 | 16 | 10 | 16 | 13 |

Q45B. In your opinion, how often, in this country: Does competition between political parties lead to violent conflict?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never | 14 | 17 | 18 | 14 | 16 |
| Rarely | 28 | 27 | 26 | 29 | 27 |
| Often | 29 | 29 | 27 | 31 | 29 |
| Always | 24 | 20 | 24 | 19 | 22 |


| Don't know | 5 | 6 | 4 | 7 | 6 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

Q45C. In your opinion, how often, in this country: Does the president ignore the courts and laws of this country?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never | 46 | 39 | 42 | 41 | 41 |
| Rarely | 22 | 24 | 25 | 23 | 24 |
| Often | 12 | 11 | 12 | 11 | 12 |
| Always | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 |
| Don't know | 13 | 18 | 13 | 18 | 16 |

Q45D. Are opposition parties or their supporters silenced by the government?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never | 33 | 34 | 35 | 33 | 34 |
| Rarely | 26 | 21 | 24 | 22 | 23 |
| Often | 20 | 17 | 16 | 20 | 18 |
| Always | 11 | 12 | 14 | 10 | 12 |
| Don't know | 10 | 14 | 11 | 15 | 13 |

Q45E. Does the president ignore Parliament and just do what he wants?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never | 50 | 46 | 49 | 45 | 47 |
| Rarely | 20 | 19 | 18 | 20 | 19 |
| Often | 8 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 |
| Always | 5 | 6 | 5 | 6 | 6 |
| Don't know | 17 | 20 | 17 | 20 | 19 |

Q46. In this country, how effective is the news media in revealing government mistakes and corruption?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Not at all <br> effective | 7 | 8 | 9 | 6 | 7 |
| Not very <br> effective | 22 | 18 | 21 | 19 | 20 |
| Somewhat <br> effective | 32 | 24 | 28 | 26 | 27 |
| Very effective | 34 | 39 | 35 | 38 | 37 |
| Don't know | 6 | 11 | 6 | 11 | 9 |

Q47A. Think about how elections work in practice in this country. How well do elections: Ensure that the representatives to the National Assembly reflect the views of voters?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Not at all well | 13 | 7 | 10 | 9 | 10 |
| Not very well | 34 | 25 | 29 | 28 | 28 |
| Well | 26 | 33 | 31 | 30 | 30 |
| Very well | 16 | 24 | 22 | 20 | 21 |
| Don't know | 10 | 11 | 9 | 13 | 11 |

Q47 B. Think about how elections work in practice in this country. How well do elections: Enable voters to remove from office leaders who do not do what the people want?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Not at all well | 10 | 8 | 9 | 9 | 9 |
| Not very well | 27 | 19 | 22 | 22 | 22 |
| Well | 30 | 29 | 31 | 29 | 30 |


| Very well | 23 | 33 | 30 | 29 | 29 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Don't know | 10 | 10 | 8 | 12 | 10 |

Q48A. In your opinion, how often do the following things occur in this country's elections? Votes are counted fairly.

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never | 9 | 9 | 9 | 10 | 9 |
| Sometimes | 44 | 37 | 42 | 37 | 39 |
| Often | 12 | 13 | 12 | 13 | 13 |
| Always | 30 | 36 | 33 | 34 | 33 |
| Don't know | 5 | 6 | 5 | 6 | 6 |

Q48B. In your opinion, how often do the following things occur in this country's elections? Opposition candidates are prevented from running for office.

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never | 47 | 46 | 47 | 46 | 46 |
| Sometimes | 27 | 27 | 28 | 25 | 27 |
| Often | 11 | 9 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Always | 6 | 8 | 6 | 8 | 7 |
| Don't know | 9 | 11 | 9 | 11 | 10 |

Q48C. In your opinion, how often do the following things occur in this country's elections? The media provides fair coverage of all candidates.

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never | 15 | 14 | 14 | 14 | 14 |
| Sometimes | 41 | 32 | 36 | 35 | 36 |
| Often | 17 | 15 | 16 | 15 | 16 |
| Always | 20 | 26 | 25 | 23 | 24 |
| Don't know | 7 | 12 | 8 | 13 | 10 |

Q48D. In your opinion, how often do the following things occur in this country's elections? Voters are bribed.

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never | 22 | 27 | 26 | 25 | 25 |
| Sometimes | 35 | 33 | 35 | 33 | 34 |
| Often | 13 | 12 | 14 | 11 | 13 |
| Always | 25 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 22 |
| Don't know | 6 | 6 | 4 | 8 | 6 |

Q48E. In your opinion, how often do the following things occur in this country's elections? Voters are offered a genuine choice in the elections.

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never | 10 | 9 | 11 | 7 | 9 |
| Sometimes | 26 | 22 | 24 | 23 | 24 |
| Often | 15 | 11 | 12 | 14 | 13 |
| Always | 45 | 51 | 49 | 48 | 49 |
| Don't know | 4 | 7 | 4 | 7 | 6 |

Q48F. In your opinion, how often do the following things occur in this country's elections? Voters are threatened with violence at the polls.

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never | 42 | 45 | 44 | 44 | 44 |
| Sometimes | 31 | 32 | 31 | 33 | 32 |
| Often | 11 | 8 | 10 | 8 | 9 |
| Always | 10 | 8 | 8 | 9 | 9 |


| Don't know | 5 | 6 | 5 | 7 | 6 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

Q49. During election campaigns in this country, how much do you personally fear becoming a victim of political intimidation or violence?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| A lot | 25 | 20 | 20 | 25 | 22 |
| Somewhat | 10 | 9 | 10 | 9 | 9 |
| A little bit | 25 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 22 |
| Not at all | 38 | 48 | 46 | 42 | 44 |
| Don't know | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |

Q50. Do you think that the leaders of political parties in this country are more concerned with serving the interests of the people, or more concerned with advancing their own political ambitions, or haven't you heard enough to say?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| More to serve <br> their own <br> political <br> ambitions - <br> strongly agree | 35 | 48 | 44 | 43 | 43 |
| More to serve <br> their own <br> political <br> ambitions - <br> agree | 30 | 21 | 24 | 25 | 25 |
| Neither agree <br> nor disagree | 6 | 11 | 13 | 12 | 5 |
| More to serve <br> the people - <br> agree | 14 | 4 |  |  |  |
| More to serve <br> the people - <br> strongly agree | 12 | 13 | 14 | 11 | 12 |
| 9 Don't know | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 |

Q51A. In your opinion, how often, in this country: Do people have to be careful of what they say about politics?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never | 20 | 22 | 20 | 22 | 21 |
| Rarely | 20 | 18 | 21 | 16 | 19 |
| Often | 15 | 15 | 12 | 18 | 15 |
| Always | 44 | 44 | 45 | 43 | 44 |
| Don't know | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |

Q51B. In your opinion, how often, in this country: Are people treated unequally under the law?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never | 23 | 27 | 27 | 25 | 26 |
| Rarely | 26 | 24 | 24 | 25 | 25 |
| Often | 25 | 21 | 22 | 24 | 23 |
| Always | 21 | 23 | 23 | 21 | 22 |
| Don't know | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 4 |

Q51C. In your opinion, how often, in this country: Do officials who commit crimes go unpunished?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never | 27 | 29 | 29 | 27 | 28 |
| Rarely | 23 | 23 | 24 | 22 | 23 |
| Often | 23 | 22 | 22 | 24 | 23 |
| Always | 20 | 21 | 21 | 21 | 21 |
| Don't know | 6 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 |

Q51D. In your opinion, how often, in this country: Do ordinary people who break the law go unpunished?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never | 47 | 55 | 53 | 50 | 52 |
| Rarely | 20 | 18 | 17 | 20 | 18 |
| Often | 8 | 7 | 7 | 8 | 8 |
| Always | 22 | 19 | 21 | 20 | 20 |
| Don't know | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |

Q52A. How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: The president?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Not at all | 18 | 18 | 17 | 19 | 18 |
| Just a little | 27 | 24 | 24 | 26 | 25 |
| Somewhat | 14 | 14 | 13 | 15 | 14 |
| A lot | 38 | 42 | 43 | 38 | 41 |
| Don't know/ <br> Haven't heard <br> enough | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |

Q52B. How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: Parliament?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Not at all | 24 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 22 |
| Just a little | 30 | 29 | 29 | 30 | 30 |
| Somewhat | 18 | 14 | 15 | 17 | 16 |
| A lot | 25 | 33 | 32 | 27 | 30 |
| Don't know/ <br> Haven't heard <br> enough | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2 |

Q52C. How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: The Electoral Commission?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Not at all | 20 | 19 | 17 | 22 | 19 |
| Just a little | 28 | 28 | 27 | 29 | 28 |
| Somewhat | 21 | 14 | 17 | 17 | 17 |
| A lot | 27 | 33 | 35 | 27 | 31 |
| Don't know/ | 3 | 6 | 4 | 6 | 5 |


| Haven't heard <br> enough |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

Q52D. How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: Zambia Revenue Authority?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Not at all | 24 | 18 | 20 | 21 | 20 |
| Just a little | 28 | 27 | 26 | 29 | 27 |
| Somewhat | 16 | 15 | 15 | 15 | 15 |
| A lot | 25 | 27 | 29 | 25 | 27 |
| Don't know/ <br> Haven't heard <br> enough | 7 | 13 | 11 | 10 | 10 |

Q52E. How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: Your local government council?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Not at all | 30 | 26 | 27 | 28 | 28 |
| Just a little | 31 | 30 | 31 | 30 | 31 |
| Somewhat | 17 | 13 | 15 | 14 | 14 |
| A lot | 18 | 27 | 24 | 22 | 23 |
| Don't know/ <br> Haven't heard <br> enough | 4 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 4 |

Q52F. How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: The ruling party?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Not at all | 25 | 20 | 20 | 24 | 22 |
| Just a little | 29 | 31 | 32 | 28 | 30 |
| Somewhat | 18 | 14 | 14 | 18 | 16 |
| A lot | 27 | 33 | 32 | 28 | 30 |
| Don't know/ <br> Haven't heard <br> enough | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 |

Q52G. How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: Opposition political parties?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Not at all | 31 | 27 | 29 | 28 | 29 |
| Just a little | 31 | 31 | 33 | 29 | 31 |
| Somewhat | 19 | 17 | 16 | 18 | 17 |
| A lot | 15 | 19 | 18 | 17 | 18 |
| Don't know/ <br> Haven't heard <br> enough | 4 | 5 | 3 | 6 | 5 |

Q52H. How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: The police?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Not at all | 31 | 23 | 25 | 27 | 26 |
| Just a little | 27 | 25 | 27 | 25 | 26 |
| Somewhat | 18 | 12 | 14 | 15 | 15 |
| A lot | 23 | 38 | 33 | 31 | 32 |


| Don't know/ <br> Haven't heard <br> enough | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

Q521. How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: The army?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Not at all | 16 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 14 |
| Just a little | 23 | 19 | 18 | 23 | 21 |
| Somewhat | 17 | 12 | 12 | 15 | 14 |
| A lot | 40 | 53 | 52 | 43 | 47 |
| Don't know/ <br> Haven't heard <br> enough | 4 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 4 |

Q52J. How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: Courts of law?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Not at all | 18 | 12 | 13 | 15 | 14 |
| Just a little | 29 | 24 | 23 | 28 | 26 |
| Somewhat | 19 | 16 | 18 | 17 | 18 |
| A lot | 31 | 46 | 45 | 35 | 40 |
| Don't know/ <br> Haven't heard <br> enough | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 |

Q52K. How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: Traditional leaders?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Not at all | 18 | 9 | 12 | 14 | 13 |
| Just a little | 26 | 20 | 22 | 23 | 23 |
| Somewhat | 17 | 15 | 16 | 15 | 16 |
| A lot | 33 | 54 | 48 | 43 | 46 |
| Don't know/ <br> Haven't heard <br> enough | 6 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 3 |

Q52L. How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: Religious leaders?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Not at all | 15 | 8 | 11 | 10 | 10 |
| Just a little | 22 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 19 |
| Somewhat | 18 | 14 | 15 | 15 | 15 |
| A lot | 43 | 61 | 55 | 53 | 54 |
| Don't know/ <br> Haven't heard | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 |

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enough
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Q53A. How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: The president and officials in his office?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| None | 10 | 16 | 13 | 14 | 14 |
| Some of them | 53 | 52 | 53 | 52 | 52 |
| Most of them | 19 | 16 | 17 | 17 | 17 |
| All of them | 10 | 9 | 11 | 8 | 10 |
| Don't know/ <br> Haven't heard <br> enough | 8 | 7 | 6 | 9 | 7 |

Q53B. How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: Members of Parliament?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| None | 6 | 13 | 11 | 10 | 10 |
| Some of them | 54 | 47 | 52 | 48 | 50 |
| Most of them | 21 | 24 | 22 | 24 | 23 |
| All of them | 14 | 9 | 11 | 11 | 11 |
| Don't know/ <br> Haven't heard <br> enough | 5 | 7 | 5 | 7 | 6 |

Q53C. How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: Government officials?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| None | 6 | 13 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Some of them | 53 | 51 | 52 | 51 | 52 |
| Most of them | 23 | 24 | 24 | 23 | 23 |
| All of them | 13 | 6 | 9 | 9 | 9 |
| Don't know/ <br> Haven't heard <br> enough | 4 | 6 | 4 | 7 | 6 |

Q53D. How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: Local government councillors?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| None | 9 | 13 | 12 | 11 | 11 |
| Some of them | 47 | 51 | 50 | 49 | 50 |
| Most of them | 26 | 21 | 23 | 22 | 23 |
| All of them | 14 | 9 | 11 | 11 | 11 |
| Don't know/ <br> Haven't heard <br> enough | 5 | 6 | 4 | 7 | 6 |

Q53E. How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: Police?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| None | 5 | 8 | 5 | 8 | 7 |
| Some of them | 36 | 40 | 41 | 35 | 38 |
| Most of them | 32 | 28 | 30 | 30 | 30 |
| All of them | 23 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 21 |
| Don't know/ | 3 | 4 | 2 | 5 | 4 |


| Haven't heard <br> enough |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

Q53F. How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: Tax officials, like Ministry of Finance officials or local government tax collectors?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| None | 9 | 11 | 12 | 9 | 10 |
| Some of them | 47 | 45 | 46 | 46 | 46 |
| Most of them | 23 | 19 | 21 | 21 | 21 |
| All of them | 12 | 9 | 11 | 10 | 10 |
| Don't know/ <br> Haven't heard <br> enough | 8 | 16 | 10 | 15 | 13 |

Q53G. How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: Judges and magistrates?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| None | 13 | 13 | 14 | 11 | 13 |
| Some of them | 49 | 49 | 49 | 49 | 49 |
| Most of them | 20 | 19 | 18 | 20 | 19 |
| All of them | 12 | 10 | 12 | 10 | 11 |
| Don't know/ <br> Haven't heard <br> enough | 6 | 9 | 6 | 9 | 8 |

Q53H. How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: Traditional leaders?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| None | 19 | 26 | 23 | 23 | 23 |
| Some of them | 50 | 49 | 50 | 49 | 49 |
| Most of them | 13 | 14 | 15 | 13 | 14 |
| All of them | 10 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 7 |
| Don't know/ <br> Haven't heard <br> enough | 8 | 6 | 5 | 8 | 6 |

Q53I. How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: Religious leaders?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| None | 25 | 36 | 32 | 31 | 32 |
| Some of them | 51 | 46 | 48 | 49 | 48 |
| Most of them | 11 | 10 | 11 | 11 | 11 |
| All of them | 7 | 3 | 6 | 3 | 5 |
| Don't know/ <br> Haven't heard <br> enough | 5 | 4 | 3 | 6 | 4 |

Q53J. How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: Business executives?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| None | 11 | 15 | 15 | 11 | 13 |
| Some of them | 46 | 43 | 46 | 43 | 45 |
| Most of them | 22 | 20 | 19 | 22 | 21 |
| All of them | 11 | 11 | 12 | 11 | 11 |
| Don't know/ <br> Haven't heard <br> enough | 8 | 11 | 8 | 12 | 10 |

Q54. In your opinion, over the past year, has the level of corruption in this country increased, decreased, or stayed the same?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Increased a lot | 41 | 45 | 45 | 41 | 43 |
| Increased <br> somewhat | 12 | 11 | 10 | 13 | 12 |
| Stayed the <br> same | 18 | 15 | 17 | 16 | 16 |
| Decreased <br> somewhat | 18 | 18 | 20 | 16 | 18 |
| Decreased a <br> lot | 7 | 5 | 5 | 7 | 6 |
| Don't know | 4 | 6 | 3 | 5 |  |

Q55A. In the past 12 months, have you had contact with a public school? [lf yes] How easy or difficult was it to obtain the services you needed from teachers or school officials?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Very easy | 9 | 14 | 11 | 13 | 12 |
| Easy | 18 | 15 | 19 | 14 | 16 |
| Difficult | 11 | 7 | 8 | 10 | 9 |
| Very difficult | 5 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 5 |
| No contact | 56 | 59 | 57 | 60 | 58 |
| Don't know |  |  |  |  |  |

Q55B. In the past 12 months, have you had contact with a public school? [If yes] 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?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Missing | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Never | 35 | 35 | 36 | 34 | 35 |
| Once or Twice | 6 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 3 |
| A Few times | 1 |  |  | 1 | 1 |
| Often | 56 | 59 | 57 | 60 | 1 |
| No contact | 5 |  |  | 58 |  |
| Don't know |  |  |  |  |  |

Q55C. In the past 12 months, have you had contact with a public clinic or hospital? [If yes] How easy or difficult was it to obtain the medical care you needed?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Very Easy | 16 | 20 | 19 | 18 | 18 |
| Easy | 25 | 26 | 23 | 27 | 25 |
| Difficult | 18 | 18 | 19 | 17 | 18 |
| Very Difficult | 11 | 7 | 8 | 10 | 9 |
| No contact | 30 | 29 | 30 | 29 | 30 |

Q55D. In the past 12 months, have you had contact with a public clinic or hospital? [If yes] 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?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never | 64 | 65 | 65 | 65 | 65 |
| Once or Twice | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| A Few times | 2 |  | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Often |  | 29 |  |  |  |
| No contact | 30 | 30 | 29 | 30 |  |

Q55E. 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 a permit from government? [If yes] How easy or difficult was it to obtain the document you needed?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Very Easy | 5 | 5 | 4 | 6 | 5 |
| Easy | 10 | 5 | 8 | 6 | 7 |
| Difficult | 9 | 4 | 7 | 4 | 6 |
| Very Difficult | 7 | 5 | 6 | 79 | 5 |
| No contact | 69 | 81 | 74 | 77 |  |
| Don't Know |  |  |  |  |  |

Q55F. 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 a permit from government? [If yes] 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?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never | 23 | 16 | 21 | 17 | 19 |
| Once or Twice | 5 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| A Few times | 1 |  | 1 |  | 1 |
| Often | 1 |  | 1 |  | 1 |
| No contact | 69 | 81 | 74 | 79 | 77 |
| Don't know |  |  |  |  |  |

Q55G. In the past 12 months, have you tried to get water, sanitation, or electric services from government? [If yes] How easy or difficult was it to obtain the document you needed?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Very Easy | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| Easy | 10 | 3 | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| Difficult | 6 | 5 | 6 | 4 | 5 |
| Very Difficult | 4 | 4 | 5 | 3 | 4 |
| No contact | 76 | 87 | 82 | 84 | 83 |
| Don't Know | 1 |  |  |  |  |

Q55H. In the past 12 months, have you tried to get water, sanitation, or electric services from government? [If yes] 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?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never | 21 | 11 | 16 | 14 | 15 |
| Once or Twice | 1 |  | 1 |  | 1 |
| A Few times |  | 1 | 1 |  | 1 |
| Often | 76 | 87 |  | 82 | 84 |
| No contact | 1 |  |  |  | 83 |
| Don't know |  |  |  |  |  |

Q55I. In the past 12 months, have you requested assistance from the police? [If yes] How easy or difficult was it to obtain the assistance you needed?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Very Easy | 4 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Easy | 13 | 8 | 12 | 9 | 10 |
| Difficult | 11 | 6 | 8 | 8 | 8 |
| Very Difficult | 5 | 5 | 7 | 3 | 5 |
| No contact | 67 | 78 | 70 | 77 | 73 |
| Don't Know |  |  |  |  |  |

Q55J. In the past 12 months, have you requested assistance from the police? [lf yes] 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, or to avoid a problem like passing a checkpoint or avoiding a fine or arrest?
Q55K. In the past 12 months, have you had contact with the courts? [If yes] How easy or difficult was it to obtain the assistance you needed from the courts?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never | 23 | 18 | 23 | 16 | 20 |
| Once or Twice | 7 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| A Few times | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Often | 1 | 1 | 1 |  | 1 |
| No contact | 67 | 78 | 70 | 77 | 73 |
| Don't know |  |  |  |  |  |

Q55L. In the past 12 months, have you had contact with the courts? [If yes] And how often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour for a judge or court official in order to get the assistance you needed from the courts?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Very Easy | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Easy | 5 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 5 |
| Difficult | 3 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 3 |
| Very Difficult | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| No contact | 87 | 90 | 88 | 89 | 88 |
| Don't know | 1 |  |  | 1 |  |

Q56. If you ever paid a bribe for any of the services discussed above, did you report any of the incidents you mentioned to a government official or someone in authority?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | ---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Missing | 4 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 4 |
| No | 11 | 5 | 7 | 7 | 7 |
| Yes | 5 |  | 2 | 3 | 2 |
| Not Applicable | 80 | 92 | 87 | 87 | 87 |

Q57A. [If yes on 56] Which of the following happened the most recent time that you reported a bribery incident? Authorities took action against the government officials involved.

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Missing | 4 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 4 |
| No, didn't <br> happen | 4 |  | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Yes, <br> happened | 1 |  |  | 1 | 1 |
| Not Applicable | 91 | 97 | 94 | 94 | 94 |

Q57B. [If yes on 56] Which of the following happened the most recent time that you reported a bribery incident? You suffered retaliation or other negative consequences as a result of reporting the incident.

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Missing | 4 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 4 |
| No, didn't <br> happen | 4 |  | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Yes, happened | 1 |  |  |  | 94 |
| Not Applicable | 91 | 97 | 94 |  | 94 |
| Don't know |  |  |  |  |  |

Q58. Some people say that many incidents of corruption are never reported. Based on your experience, what do you think is the main reason why many people do not report corruption when it occurs?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Most people do <br> report incidents <br> of corruption | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| People don't <br> have enough <br> time to report it | 4 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 |
| People don't <br> know where to <br> report it | 9 | 11 | 10 | 10 | 10 |


| People don't know how to report it | 5 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nothing will be done / It wouldn't make a difference | 18 | 14 | 17 | 14 | 15 |
| It's too expensive to report | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 3 |
| Corruption is normal / Everyone does it | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| People are afraid of the consequences | 29 | 38 | 34 | 35 | 34 |
| The officials where they would report to are also corrupt | 11 | 3 | 8 | 5 | 6 |
| It's <br> government's money, so it's not our problem |  |  |  |  |  |
| They would implicate themselves as bribe-givers | 3 | 4 | 2 | 5 | 4 |
| Corruption is too difficult to prove | 4 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| Other | 4 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Don't know | 4 | 8 | 5 | 7 | 6 |

Q59A. How much of the time do you think the following try their best to listen to what people like you have to say: Members of Parliament?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never | 42 | 50 | 47 | 47 | 47 |
| Only <br> Sometimes | 33 | 28 | 31 | 29 | 30 |
| Often | 10 | 10 | 11 | 9 | 10 |
| Always | 9 | 9 | 8 | 10 | 9 |
| Don't know | 5 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 4 |

Q59B. How much of the time do you think the following try their best to listen to what people like you have to say: Local government councillors?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never | 39 | 41 | 40 | 41 | 40 |


| Only <br> Sometimes | 31 | 31 | 33 | 29 | 31 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Often | 12 | 13 | 12 | 14 | 13 |
| Always | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 |
| Don't know | 6 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 4 |

Q60. In your opinion, what are the most important problems facing this country that government should address?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nothing/ no <br> problems |  |  |  |  |  |
| Management of <br> the economy | 7 | 5 | 7 | 4 | 6 |
| Wages, incomes <br> and salaries | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 |
| Unemployment | 24 | 10 | 17 | 15 | 8 |
| Poverty/destitution | 6 | 8 | 5 | 1 | 7 |
| Rates and Taxes | 1 |  | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Loans / credit | 1 | 12 | 9 | 10 | 9 |
| Farming/agriculture | 5 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 3 |
| Food | 3 |  |  |  |  |



Q60, 2nd response

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Missing | 1 | 1 |  | 2 | 1 |
| Management of the <br> economy | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Wages, incomes <br> and salaries | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Unemployment | 9 | 4 | 7 | 5 | 5 |
| Poverty/destitution | 6 | 5 | 6 | 1 | 6 |
| Rates and Taxes | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Loans / credit | 1 | 10 | 9 | 6 | 1 |
| Farming/agriculture | 5 | 6 | 5 | 1 | 8 |
| Food <br> shortage/famine | 5 | 1 |  | 6 |  |
| Drought |  |  |  | 1 |  |


| Land | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Transportation | 2 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 |
| Communications |  | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Infrastructure / roads | 6 | 7 | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| Education | 14 | 16 | 14 | 17 | 15 |
| Housing | 1 |  | 1 |  |  |
| Electricity | 4 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 3 |
| Water supply | 8 | 11 | 11 | 9 | 10 |
| Orphans/street children/homeless children | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Services (other) | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Health | 15 | 12 | 12 | 15 | 13 |
| AIDS |  | 1 |  | 1 |  |
| Sickness / Disease | 1 | 1 |  | 1 | 1 |
| Crime and Security | 1 |  | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Corruption | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Political violence |  |  |  |  |  |
| Political instability/ ethnic tensions |  |  | 1 |  |  |
| Discrimination/ inequality |  |  |  |  |  |
| Gender issues / women's rights |  |  |  |  |  |
| Democracy/political rights |  |  |  |  |  |
| Agricultural marketing | 2 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 3 |
| Other | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| No further reply | 5 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 4 |

Q60, 3rd Response

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Missing | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Management of <br> the economy | 4 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Wages, incomes <br> and salaries | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| Unemployment | 6 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 |
| Poverty/destitution | 1 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 3 |
| Rates and Taxes | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Loans / credit | 4 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 7 |
| Farming/agriculture | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Food <br> shortage/famine |  |  |  |  |  |


| Drought |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Land | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Transportation | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Communications |  | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Infrastructure / roads | 5 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 5 |
| Education | 12 | 12 | 11 | 14 | 12 |
| Housing | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Electricity | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Water supply | 8 | 9 | 10 | 8 | 9 |
| Orphans/street children/homeless children | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Services (other) |  |  |  |  |  |
| Health | 14 | 16 | 16 | 15 | 15 |
| AIDS | 1 |  |  | 1 | 1 |
| Sickness / Disease |  | 1 |  |  |  |
| Crime and Security | 5 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 3 |
| Corruption | 4 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 3 |
| Political violence |  |  |  |  |  |
| Political instability/ ethnic tensions |  |  |  |  |  |
| Discrimination/ inequality |  |  |  |  |  |
| Gender issues / women's rights |  |  |  |  |  |
| Civil war |  |  |  |  |  |
| Agricultural marketing | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2 |
| Other | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| No further reply | 12 | 10 | 11 | 11 | 11 |

Q61A. Thinking of the problem you mentioned first, in your opinion, how well or badly would you say the current government is handling this problem, or haven't you heard enough to say?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Very badly | 36 | 43 | 41 | 40 | 40 |
| Fairly badly | 26 | 26 | 25 | 27 | 26 |
| Fairly well | 31 | 22 | 26 | 26 | 26 |
| Very well | 4 | 6 | 6 | 4 | 5 |
| Not applicable | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Don't know | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 |

Q61B. In your opinion, is there any other political party that could do a better job in solving this problem?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Missing | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| No | 52 | 52 | 54 | 51 | 52 |
| Yes | 29 | 30 | 31 | 28 | 30 |
| Not applicable | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 |


| Don't know | 16 | 14 | 12 | 17 | 15 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |

Q62. Which of the following do you see as the most important difference between the ruling party and opposition parties in Zambia?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| There is no difference | 22 | 24 | 22 | 24 | 23 |
| The honesty or integrity of party leaders | 20 | 14 | 19 | 14 | 17 |
| The religion of party leaders or members | 5 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 3 |
| Their economic and development policies | 26 | 28 | 27 | 27 | 27 |
| The experience of party leaders | 8 | 13 | 10 | 11 | 11 |
| The ethnicity of party leaders or members | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| The personalities of party leaders | 5 | 4 | 6 | 3 | 5 |
| The regional identity of party leaders or members | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| None of these / Some other answer | 4 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 4 |
| Don't know | 8 | 9 | 6 | 11 | 9 |

Q63A. Looking at the ruling and opposition political parties in this country, which would you say is most able to address each of the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say: Controlling prices?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Ruling party | 85 | 86 | 86 | 84 | 85 |
| Opposition <br> party or parties | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| Neither of them | 7 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 5 |
| Don't know / <br> Haven't heard <br> enough | 2 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 4 |

Q63B. Looking at the ruling and opposition political parties in this country, which would you say is most able to address each of the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say:
Creating jobs?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Ruling party | 86 | 89 | 91 | 85 | 88 |
| Opposition <br> party or parties | 4 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 5 |
| Neither of them | 8 | 4 | 4 | 6 | 5 |


| Don't know / <br> Haven't heard <br> enough | 2 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 2 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

Q63C. Looking at the ruling and opposition political parties in this country, which would you say is most able to address each of the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say: Improving basic health services?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Ruling party | 88 | 90 | 91 | 87 | 89 |
| Opposition <br> party or parties | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Neither of them | 6 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 4 |
| Don't know / <br> Haven't heard <br> enough | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |

Q63D. Looking at the ruling and opposition political parties in this country, which would you say is most able to address each of the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say:
Fighting corruption in government?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Ruling party | 77 | 83 | 83 | 79 | 81 |
| Opposition <br> party or parties | 12 | 9 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Neither of them | 8 | 5 | 5 | 8 | 7 |
| Don't know / <br> Haven't heard <br> enough | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2 |

Q64. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statement: The political opposition in Zambia presents a viable alternative vision and plan for the country.

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Strongly <br> disagree | 19 | 16 | 17 | 17 | 17 |
| Disagree | 20 | 15 | 17 | 17 | 17 |
| Neither agree <br> nor disagree | 9 | 13 | 12 | 12 | 12 |
| Agree | 24 | 25 | 23 | 26 | 24 |
| Strongly agree | 19 | 19 | 22 | 16 | 19 |
| Don't know | 9 |  | 13 |  | 9 |

Q65A. If the government of this country could increase its spending, which of the following areas do you think should be the top priority for additional investment?

## Education

Infrastructure, like roads and bridges
Security, like the police and military
Health care
Agricultural development
Energy supply

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| None of the <br> above | 1 |  | 1 |  | 1 |
| Education | 51 | 43 | 43 | 49 | 46 |


| Infrastructure, <br> like roads and <br> bridges | 11 | 13 | 13 | 12 | 13 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Security, like <br> the police and <br> military | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| Healthcare | 18 | 16 | 17 | 16 | 16 |
| Agricultural <br> development | 13 | 22 | 20 | 17 | 18 |
| Energy supply | 3 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| Don't Know / <br> Can't <br> remember |  |  |  |  |  |

Q65B. And which would be your second priority?

| None of the <br> above | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 19 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Education | 17 | 19 | 17 | 9 | 18 |
| Infrastructure, <br> like roads and <br> bridges | 10 | 13 | 5 | 4 | 12 |
| Security, like <br> the police and <br> military | 6 | 3 | 32 | 40 | 5 |
| Healthcare | 41 | 32 | 22 | 18 | 36 |
| Agricultural <br> development | 16 | 23 | 6 | 5 | 20 |
| Energy supply | 5 | 7 | 1 | 2 | 6 |
| Don't know / <br> Can't <br> remember | 2 |  |  |  | 1 |

Q65C. If the government decided to make people pay more taxes or user fees in order to increase spending on public health care, would you support this decision or oppose it?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Strongly <br> oppose | 40 | 39 | 40 | 39 | 39 |
| Somewhat <br> oppose | 12 | 10 | 10 | 11 | 11 |
| Neither support <br> nor oppose | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 4 |
| Somewhat <br> support | 12 | 11 | 12 | 211 | 11 |
| Strongly <br> support | 25 | 22 | 26 | 7 | 23 |
| It depends | 3 | 6 | 5 | 6 | 5 |
| Don't know | 3 | 7 | 5 | 5 |  |

Q66A. How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say: Managing the economy?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Very badly | 31 | 31 | 30 | 33 | 31 |
| Fairly badly | 22 | 26 | 24 | 25 | 24 |
| Fairly well | 37 | 30 | 35 | 31 | 33 |
| Very well | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 |


| Don't <br> know/Haven't <br> heard enough | 3 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 4 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

Q66B. How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say: Improving the living standards of the poor?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Very badly | 42 | 44 | 44 | 43 | 43 |
| Fairly badly | 24 | 24 | 24 | 24 | 24 |
| Fairly well | 28 | 22 | 24 | 24 | 24 |
| Very well | 4 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Don't <br> know/Haven't <br> heard enough | 2 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 3 |

Q66C. How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say: Creating jobs?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Very badly | 44 | 45 | 43 | 46 | 45 |
| Fairly badly | 25 | 24 | 24 | 25 | 24 |
| Fairly well | 24 | 22 | 24 | 21 | 22 |
| Very well | 5 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| Don't <br> know/Haven't <br> heard enough | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |

Q66D. How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say: Keeping prices down?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Very badly | 56 | 54 | 54 | 55 | 55 |
| Fairly badly | 25 | 28 | 26 | 28 | 27 |
| Fairly well | 15 | 10 | 13 | 11 | 12 |
| Very well | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2 |
| Don't <br> know/Haven't <br> heard enough | 2 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 4 |

Q66E. How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say: Narrowing gaps between rich and poor?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Very badly | 51 | 53 | 52 | 53 | 52 |
| Fairly badly | 26 | 24 | 25 | 25 | 25 |
| Fairly well | 16 | 13 | 15 | 13 | 14 |
| Very well | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Don't <br> know/Haven't <br> heard enough | 4 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 5 |

Q66F. How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say: Reducing crime?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Very badly | 27 | 26 | 28 | 25 | 26 |
| Fairly badly | 21 | 21 | 20 | 23 | 21 |
| Fairly well | 39 | 34 | 35 | 36 | 36 |
| Very well | 11 | 11 | 12 | 11 | 11 |
| Don't <br> know/Haven't <br> heard enough | 2 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 5 |

Q66G. How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say: Improving basic health services?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Very badly | 23 | 24 | 22 | 25 | 24 |
| Fairly badly | 20 | 20 | 21 | 20 | 20 |
| Fairly well | 40 | 38 | 38 | 39 | 39 |
| Very well | 15 | 15 | 16 | 14 | 15 |
| Don't <br> know/Haven't <br> heard enough | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |

Q66H. How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say: Addressing educational needs?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Very badly | 22 | 23 | 21 | 24 | 23 |
| Fairly badly | 19 | 23 | 22 | 21 | 22 |
| Fairly well | 41 | 37 | 39 | 37 | 38 |
| Very well | 15 | 14 | 15 | 14 | 15 |
| Don't <br> know/Haven't <br> heard enough | 3 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3 |

Q661. How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say: Providing water and sanitation services?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Very badly | 30 | 38 | 35 | 34 | 35 |
| Fairly badly | 26 | 23 | 23 | 26 | 24 |
| Fairly well | 33 | 29 | 31 | 30 | 30 |
| Very well | 10 | 8 | 10 | 8 | 9 |
| Don't <br> know/Haven't <br> heard enough | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |

Q66J. How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say: Ensuring everyone has enough to eat?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Very badly | 44 | 49 | 46 | 48 | 47 |
| Fairly badly | 29 | 25 | 28 | 26 | 27 |
| Fairly well | 19 | 15 | 17 | 17 | 17 |
| Very well | 5 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 5 |
| Don't <br> know/Haven't <br> heard enough | 3 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 4 |

Q66K. How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say: Fighting corruption in government?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Very badly | 38 | 41 | 41 | 38 | 40 |
| Fairly badly | 24 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 22 |
| Fairly well | 25 | 24 | 25 | 25 | 25 |
| Very well | 9 | 6 | 8 | 7 | 7 |
| Don't <br> know/Haven't <br> heard enough | 3 | 7 | 5 | 6 | 6 |

Q66L. How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say: Maintaining roads and bridges?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Very badly | 15 | 26 | 22 | 22 | 22 |
| Fairly badly | 12 | 13 | 13 | 13 | 13 |
| Fairly well | 32 | 35 | 32 | 36 | 34 |
| Very well | 39 | 23 | 32 | 28 | 30 |
| Don't <br> know/Haven't <br> heard enough | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |

Q66M. How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say: Providing a reliable supply of electricity?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Very badly | 21 | 44 | 36 | 33 | 35 |
| Fairly badly | 16 | 18 | 17 | 19 | 18 |
| Fairly well | 40 | 25 | 29 | 33 | 31 |
| Very well | 20 | 8 | 15 | 10 | 13 |
| Don't <br> know/Haven't <br> heard enough | 2 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 3 |

Q67A. What about local government? I do not mean the national government. I mean your municipal or local government council. How well or badly would you say your local government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: Maintaining local roads?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Very badly | 29 | 47 | 42 | 37 | 40 |
| Fairly badly | 15 | 19 | 17 | 17 | 17 |
| Fairly well | 32 | 22 | 24 | 28 | 26 |
| Very well | 23 | 9 | 14 | 14 | 14 |
| Don't <br> know/Haven't <br> heard enough | 2 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 3 |

Q67B. What about local government? I do not mean the national government. I mean your municipal or local government council. How well or badly would you say your local government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: Maintaining local marketplaces?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Very badly | 29 | 48 | 41 | 39 | 40 |
| Fairly badly | 21 | 21 | 20 | 21 | 21 |
| Fairly well | 34 | 18 | 23 | 25 | 24 |
| Very well | 14 | 5 | 9 | 8 | 9 |
| Don't <br> know/Haven't <br> heard enough | 2 | 8 | 6 | 6 | 6 |

Q68A. Do you approve or disapprove of the way that the following people have performed their jobs over the past 12 months, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: President?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Strongly <br> disapprove | 12 | 20 | 16 | 18 | 17 |
| Disapprove | 15 | 20 | 20 | 17 | 18 |
| Approve | 43 | 31 | 34 | 38 | 36 |
| Strongly <br> approve | 21 | 24 | 24 | 21 | 23 |
| Don't <br> know/Haven't <br> heard enough | 8 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 6 |

Q68B. Do you approve or disapprove of the way that the following people have performed their jobs over the past 12 months, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: Your Member of Parliament?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Strongly <br> disapprove | 26 | 32 | 32 | 27 | 30 |
| Disapprove | 30 | 32 | 31 | 31 | 31 |
| Approve | 28 | 22 | 23 | 26 | 24 |
| Strongly <br> approve | 10 | 10 | 10 | 9 | 10 |
| Don't <br> know/Haven't <br> heard enough | 7 | 4 | 3 | 7 | 5 |

Q68C. Do you approve or disapprove of the way that the following people have performed their jobs over the past 12 months, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: Your elected local government councillor?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Strongly <br> disapprove | 23 | 23 | 23 | 22 | 23 |
| Disapprove | 30 | 29 | 31 | 28 | 30 |
| Approve | 26 | 29 | 26 | 29 | 27 |
| Strongly <br> approve | 10 | 16 | 14 | 13 | 14 |


| Don't <br> know/Haven't <br> heard enough | 11 | 4 | 5 | 8 | 6 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

Q68D. Do you approve or disapprove of the way that the following people have performed their jobs over the past 12 months, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: Your traditional leader?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Strongly <br> disapprove | 14 | 12 | 13 | 13 | 13 |
| Disapprove | 20 | 15 | 18 | 16 | 17 |
| Approve | 30 | 39 | 35 | 36 | 35 |
| Strongly <br> approve | 11 | 27 | 22 | 19 | 21 |
| Don't <br> know/Haven't <br> heard enough | 25 | 6 | 12 | 16 | 14 |

Q69A. Who should be responsible for: Making sure that, once elected, Members of Parliament do their jobs?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| The president / <br> executive | 24 | 27 | 27 | 25 | 26 |
| The Parliament <br> / local council | 11 | 14 | 13 | 13 | 13 |
| Their political <br> party | 8 | 3 | 5 | 6 | 5 |
| The voters | 50 | 52 | 51 | 52 | 51 |
| No one | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Don't know | 4 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 3 |

Q69B. Who should be responsible for: Making sure that, once elected, local government councillors do their jobs?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| The president / <br> executive | 10 | 16 | 14 | 13 | 14 |
| The Parliament <br> / local council | 19 | 21 | 22 | 19 | 20 |
| Their political <br> party | 11 | 6 | 7 | 9 | 8 |
| The voters | 54 | 53 | 53 | 53 | 53 |
| No one | 2 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 2 |
| Don't know | 3 | 3 | 2 | 3 |  |

Q69C. Who should be responsible for: Making sure that, once elected, the president does his job?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| The president / <br> executive | 11 | 11 | 13 | 9 | 11 |
| The Parliament <br> /local council | 19 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 17 |
| Their political <br> party | 9 | 8 | 7 | 9 | 8 |


| The voters | 55 | 59 | 58 | 57 | 57 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| No one | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Don't know | 4 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 3 |

Q70A. Based on your experience, how easy or difficult is it to do each of the following: To find out what taxes and fees you are supposed to pay to the government?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Very easy | 8 | 3 | 6 | 4 | 5 |
| Easy | 16 | 11 | 13 | 13 | 13 |
| Difficult | 27 | 24 | 25 | 25 | 25 |
| Very difficult | 19 | 23 | 24 | 19 | 21 |
| Don't Know | 30 | 39 | 31 | 40 | 35 |

Q70B. Based on your experience, how easy or difficult is it to do each of the following: To avoid paying the income or property taxes that you owe to the government?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Very easy | 7 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 4 |
| Easy | 11 | 7 | 9 | 9 | 9 |
| Difficult | 28 | 22 | 27 | 22 | 24 |
| Very difficult | 18 | 25 | 23 | 22 | 22 |
| Don't have to <br> pay taxes | 5 | 9 | 8 | 7 | 8 |
| Don't Know | 32 | 33 | 28 | 37 | 33 |

Q71A. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statement: Ordinary people can make a difference in the fight against corruption.

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Strongly <br> disagree | 25 | 22 | 22 | 25 | 23 |
| Disagree | 14 | 15 | 14 | 15 | 15 |
| Neither agree <br> nor disagree | 4 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 5 |
| Agree | 29 | 28 | 28 | 29 | 29 |
| Strongly agree | 25 | 24 | 28 | 20 | 24 |
| Don't know | 3 | 6 | 4 | 6 | 5 |

Q71B. What is the most effective thing that an ordinary person like you can do the help combat corruption in this country?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nothing / <br> Ordinary <br> people cannot <br> do anything | 17 | 19 | 18 | 18 | 18 |
| Refuse to pay <br> bribes | 26 | 23 | 20 | 27 | 24 |
| Report | 33 | 34 | 36 | 31 | 33 |


| corruption <br> when you see <br> or experience it |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Vote for clean <br> candidates | 8 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 |
| Speak out <br> about the <br> problem | 5 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 3 |
| Talk to friends <br> and relatives <br> about the <br> problem | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3 |
| Sign a petition | 1 | 4 |  |  |  |
| Join or support <br> an organization <br> that is fighting <br> corruption | 4 |  | 5 | 3 | 3 |
| Participate in <br> protest <br> marches | 1 |  |  |  |  |
| Other | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 4 |
| Don't know | 4 | 8 | 5 | 1 |  |

Q72. In the last five years, how often, if ever, have you or anyone in your family been directly involved in an administrative, civil, or criminal case that has come before a government court or tribunal as a claimant, as a respondent or defendant, or as a witness?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never | 86 | 87 | 87 | 86 | 87 |
| Once | 11 | 10 | 9 | 12 | 10 |
| Twice | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Three or more <br> times | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Don't know / <br> Can't <br> remember$\quad 1$ | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |  |

Q73A. Have you encountered any of these problems in your experience with government courts in the past five years: You were unable to pay necessary costs and fees?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 |
| Once or Twice | 4 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| A Few times | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Often | 1 | 1 | 1 | 88 | 1 |
| No experience <br> with <br> government <br> courts in last 5 <br> years | 85 | 88 |  | 86 | 87 |
| Don't know | 1 |  |  |  | 1 |

Q73B. Have you encountered any of these problems in your experience with government courts in the past five years: You could not understand the legal processes and procedures?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Missing |  |  |  |  |  |
| Never | 10 | 7 | 9 | 8 | 8 |
| Once or Twice | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| A Few times | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Often |  | 88 | 89 | 86 | 1 |
| No experience <br> with <br> government <br> courts in last5 <br> years | 86 |  |  | 1 | 88 |
| Don't know | 1 |  |  |  | 1 |

Q73C. Have you encountered any of these problems in your experience with government courts in the past five years: You could not obtain legal counsel or advice?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Missing |  |  | 8 | 9 |  |
| Never | 10 | 8 | 8 | 2 | 9 |
| Once or Twice | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| A Few times |  | 1 |  | 86 | 1 |
| Often | 86 | 88 | 89 | 1 | 88 |
| No experience <br> with <br> government <br> courts in last 5 <br> years | 1 |  | 1 |  | 1 |
| Don't know |  |  |  |  |  |

Q73D. Have you encountered any of these problems in your experience with government courts in the past five years: The judge or magistrate did not listen to your side of the story?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never | 8 | 9 | 8 | 9 | 8 |
| Once or Twice | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| A Few times | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Often | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| No experience <br> with <br> government <br> courts in last 5 <br> years | 86 | 88 | 89 | 86 | 88 |


| Don't know | 1 |  | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

Q73E. Have you encountered any of these problems in your experience with government courts in the past five years: There were long delays in handling or resolving the case?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never | 7 | 7 | 6 | 7 | 7 |
| Once or Twice | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| A Few times | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Often | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 |
| No experience <br> with <br> government <br> courts in last 5 <br> years | 86 | 88 | 89 | 86 | 88 |
| Don't know | 1 |  |  | 1 | 1 |

Q74. Sometimes people do not take a case to the government courts, even if they think they have a legitimate complaint and deserve justice. In your opinion, what would be the most important reason that people like yourself would not take a case to court? And what would be the second most important reason?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Most people <br> do take cases <br> to court | 1 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2 |
| They cannot <br> find a lawyer | 5 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| Lawyers are <br> too expensive | 20 | 11 | 16 | 14 | 15 |
| Absence of <br> legal aid <br> services / <br> absence of <br> free legal help | 4 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 |
| Court costs are <br> too expensive | 6 | 8 | 6 | 8 | 7 |
| Judges, <br> prosecutors or <br> court officials <br> will demand <br> money | 7 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| People don't <br> have enough <br> time to go to <br> court | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 6 |


| The distance to the courts is too far | 1 | 5 | 3 | 4 | 4 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| They don't speak the language spoken in the court |  | 1 | 1 |  | 1 |
| They don't know their legal rights and remedies | 3 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| They don't know how to take a case to court | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| They think the processes are too complex | 6 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 6 |
| They expect the case to take too long | 4 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 4 |
| They think the judges and court officials are incompetent | 1 |  | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| They do not expect fair treatment | 6 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| They do not think the judges or courts are independent | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Don't trust the courts | 5 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 5 |
| The courts favor the rich / powerful | 6 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 6 |
| They prefer to go to traditional leaders / local council | 2 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 4 |
| They settle outside of court | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Fear | 1 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| They forgave/pitied the offender | 4 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 4 |
| Other | 4 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 4 |
| Don't know | 5 | 8 | 6 | 8 | 7 |

Q74: second most important reason

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| They cannot | 1 | 1 | 1 |  | 1 |


|  | find a lawyer |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Lawyers are too expensive | 5 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 |
| Absence of legal aid services / absence of free legal help | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| Court costs are too expensive | 7 | 7 | 6 | 8 | 7 |
| Judges, <br> prosecutors or court officials will demand money | 6 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| People don'† have enough time to go to court | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| The distance to the courts is too far | 4 | 7 | 7 | 5 | 6 |
| They don't speak the language spoken in the court | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| They don't know their legal rights and remedies | 5 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 4 |
| They don't know how to take a case to court | 4 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 3 |
| They think the processes are too complex | 4 | 5 | 4 | 6 | 5 |
| They expect the case to take too long | 5 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 4 |
| They think the judges and court officials are incompetent | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| They do not expect fair treatment | 6 | 6 | 5 | 7 | 6 |
| They do not think the judges or courts are independent | 4 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 |
| Don't trust the courts | 4 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 4 |
| The courts favor the rich / | 5 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 5 |


| powerful |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| They prefer to <br> go to <br> traditional <br> leaders / local <br> council | 1 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| They settle <br> outside of court |  |  |  |  |  |
| Fear | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| They <br> forgave/pitied <br> the offender |  | 1 | 2 |  |  |
| Other | 3 | 2 | 28 | 29 | 2 |
| No further <br> Answer | 26 | 30 | 28 | 28 |  |

Q75A. I am now going to ask you about a range of different actions that some people take. For each of the following, please tell me whether you think the action is not wrong at all, wrong but understandable, or wrong and punishable: Not paying for the services they receive from government?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Not wrong at all | 11 | 10 | 12 | 10 | 11 |
| Wrong but <br> understandable | 33 | 32 | 31 | 33 | 32 |
| Wrong and <br> punishable | 45 | 42 | 45 | 41 | 43 |
| Don't know | 11 | 16 | 12 | 16 | 14 |

Q75B. I am now going to ask you about a range of different actions that some people take. For each of the following, please tell me whether you think the action is not wrong at all, wrong but understandable, or wrong and punishable: Not paying the taxes they owe on their income?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Not wrong at all | 7 | 5 | 7 | 4 | 6 |
| Wrong but <br> understandable | 29 | 30 | 30 | 29 | 30 |
| Wrong and <br> punishable | 51 | 47 | 49 | 48 | 49 |
| Don't know | 13 | 18 | 14 | 18 | 16 |

Q76. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.
Statement 1: People living in Southern Africa should be able to move freely across international borders in order to trade or work in other countries.
Statement 2: Because foreign migrants take away jobs, and foreign traders sell their goods at very cheap prices, governments should protect their own citizens and limit the cross-border movement of people and goods.

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree very <br> strongly with 1 | 24 | 25 | 26 | 24 | 25 |
| Agree with 1 | 25 | 18 | 21 | 20 | 21 |
| Agree with 2 | 23 | 23 | 21 | 25 | 23 |
| Agree very <br> strongly with 2 | 21 | 23 | 24 | 20 | 22 |


| Agree with <br> neither | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Don't know | 5 | 9 | 6 | 9 | 7 |

Q77. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2. Statement 1: The governments of each country in Southern Africa have a duty to try to guarantee free elections and prevent human rights abuses in other countries in the region, for example by using political pressure, economic sanctions, or military force.
Statement 2: Each country in this region should respect the independence of the other countries and allow them to make their own decisions about how their country should be governed.

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree very <br> strongly with 1 | 12 | 14 | 13 | 13 | 13 |
| Agree with 1 | 18 | 16 | 17 | 17 | 17 |
| Agree with 2 | 37 | 34 | 35 | 36 | 35 |
| Agree very <br> strongly with 2 | 27 | 25 | 27 | 24 | 26 |
| Agree with <br> neither | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Don't know | 4 | 10 | 6 | 9 | 8 |

Q78. 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?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Very difficult | 17 | 20 | 21 | 17 | 19 |
| Difficult | 22 | 21 | 21 | 22 | 22 |
| Easy | 32 | 17 | 21 | 25 | 23 |
| Very easy | 12 | 13 | 15 | 10 | 13 |
| Never try | 8 | 12 | 11 | 10 | 10 |
| Don't know | 9 | 17 | 12 | 16 | 14 |

Q79A. In your opinion, how much do each of the following do to help your country, or haven't you heard enough to say: SADC?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Do nothing, no <br> help | 5 | 6 | 7 | 5 | 6 |
| Help a little bit | 18 | 12 | 16 | 12 | 13 |
| Help somewhat | 15 | 11 | 12 | 22 | 13 |
| Help a lot | 32 | 20 | 27 | 48 | 24 |
| Don't know | 30 | 51 | 37 | 42 |  |

Q79B. In your opinion, how much do each of the following do to help your country, or haven't you heard enough to say: African Union?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Do nothing, no <br> help | 7 | 6 | 8 | 5 | 7 |
| Help a little bit | 17 | 12 | 16 | 13 | 14 |
| Help somewhat | 14 | 12 | 11 | 17 | 13 |
| Help a lot | 29 | 17 | 26 | 50 | 22 |
| Don't know | 32 | 52 | 39 | 44 |  |

Q80A. In your opinion, which of the following countries, if any, would be the best model for the future development of our country:United States, China, Former Colonial Power, i.e., UK, India, South Africa?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |


| Do nothing, no <br> help | 4 | 6 | 6 | 4 | 5 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Help a little bit | 17 | 10 | 14 | 11 | 13 |
| Help somewhat | 10 | 8 | 8 | 9 | 9 |
| Help a lot | 41 | 29 | 35 | 32 | 34 |
| Don't know | 28 | 47 | 36 | 43 | 40 |

Q80B. Which of the following do you think has the most influence on Zambia], or haven't you heard enough to say: United States, China, Former Colonial Power, i.e., UK, India, South Africa, international organizations like the United Nations or the World Bank?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| None of these | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| United States | 26 | 22 | 25 | 22 | 23 |
| China | 33 | 31 | 36 | 27 | 32 |
| Former colonial <br> power | 9 | 7 | 7 | 8 | 8 |
| India | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 18 |
| South Africa | 18 | 17 | 16 | 7 | 2 |
| We should <br> follow our own <br> country's <br> model | 6 | 6 | 4 | 17 |  |
| Other | 1 | 2 | 2 | 11 | 6 |
| Don't know | 4 | 12 | 6 |  | 2 |

Q81A. How much influence do you think China's economic activities in Zambia have on our economy, or haven't you heard enough to say?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| None of these have much influence | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| United States | 18 | 16 | 18 | 15 | 17 |
| China | 55 | 42 | 49 | 45 | 47 |
| Former colonial power | 5 | 5 | 4 | 6 | 5 |
| India | 1 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 2 |
| South Africa | 7 | 9 | 8 | 9 | 8 |
| International organizations | 3 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 4 |
| Some other country or organization |  | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Don't know / Haven't heard enough | 7 | 18 | 12 | 16 | 14 |

Q81B. In general, do you think that China's economic and political influence on Zambia is mostly positive, or mostly negative, or haven't you heard enough to say?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| None | 4 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| A little | 11 | 10 | 10 | 11 | 10 |
| Some | 14 | 13 | 12 | 14 | 13 |
| A lot | 65 | 59 | 66 | 57 | 62 |
| Don't know / <br> Haven't heard <br> enough | 6 | 12 | 7 | 13 | 10 |

Q81C. Which of the following factors contributes most to positive images of China in Zambia or haven't you heard enough to say: China's support for Zambia in international affairs, China's policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of African countries, China's investment in infrastructure or other development in Zambia, China's business investment, the cost of Chinese products, or an appreciation of the Chinese people, culture, and language?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Very negative | 5 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 7 |
| Somewhat <br> negative | 6 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 4 |
| Neither positive <br> nor negative | 7 | 8 | 7 | 8 | 7 |
| Somewhat <br> positive | 28 | 20 | 20 | 26 | 23 |
| Very positive | 48 | 50 | 75 | 44 | 49 |
| Don't know / <br> Haven't heard <br> enough | 6 | 12 | 7 | 12 | 10 |

Q81D. Which of the following factors contributes most to negative images of China in Zambia, or haven't you heard enough to say: China's extraction of resources from Africa, land grabbing by Chinese individuals or businesses, China's willingness to cooperate with undemocratic rulers in Africa, Chinese economic activities taking jobs or business from Zambians, the quality of Chinese products, the behavior of Chinese citizens in Zambia?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| None of these | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| China's support <br> for the country <br> in international <br> affairs | 7 | 4 | 6 | 5 | 5 |
| Non- <br> interference in <br> the internal <br> affairs of <br> African <br> countries | 4 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 3 |
| China's <br> investment in <br> infrastructure in <br> the country | 60 | 61 | 62 | 59 | 60 |
| China's | 14 |  |  |  |  |


| business <br> investment |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| The quality or <br> cost of Chinese <br> products | 10 | 8 | 8 | 10 | 9 |
| An <br> appreciation of <br> the Chinese <br> people, culture <br> and language | 1 |  |  | 1 |  |
| Some other <br> factor | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Don't know / <br> Haven't heard <br> enough | 4 | 8 | 4 | 9 | 7 |

81E. In your opinion, does China's economic development assistance to Zambia do a good job or a bad job of meeting the country's needs, or haven't you heard enough to say?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Very bad job | 9 | 6 | 6 | 8 | 7 |
| Somewhat bad <br> job | 6 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 4 |
| Neither good <br> nor bad job | 10 | 7 | 9 | 8 | 8 |
| Somewhat <br> good job | 32 | 30 | 30 | 32 | 31 |
| Very good job | 38 | 38 | 40 | 36 | 38 |
| China doesn't <br> give <br> development <br> assistance to <br> the country | 1 | 15 | 10 | 1 | 11 |
| Don't know / <br> Haven't heard <br> enough | 4 |  |  |  |  |

Q82A. How much time should yourMember of Parliament spend in this constituency to visit the community and its citizens?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never / It is not <br> necessary | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| At least once a <br> year | 5 | 7 | 5 | 7 | 6 |
| At least once a <br> month | 38 | 49 | 48 | 42 | 45 |
| At least weekly | 23 | 13 | 27 | 17 | 17 |
| Should stay <br> here all of the <br> time | 27 | 26 | 2 | 4 | 26 |
| Don't know | 4 | 2 | 27 | 3 |  |

Q82B. How much time does your Member of Parliament spend in this constituency?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never | 46 | 56 | 53 | 51 | 52 |


| At least once a <br> year | 16 | 20 | 20 | 17 | 18 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| At least once a <br> month | 13 | 12 | 12 | 13 | 13 |
| At least weekly | 10 | 4 | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| He $/$ She is here <br> almost all of <br> the time | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 4 |
| Don't know | 11 | 4 | 5 | 8 | 6 |

Q82C. Members of Parliament have different responsibilities. Which of the following do you think is the most important responsibility of your Member of Parliament, or haven't you heard enough to say?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| None of these | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| Deliver jobs or <br> development | 23 | 20 | 2 | 21 |  |
| Monitor the <br> president and <br> his government | 2 | 3 | 68 | 67 | 3 |
| Listen to <br> constituents <br> and represent <br> their needs | 63 | 70 | 5 | 5 | 67 |
| Make laws for <br> the good of the <br> country | 7 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 5 |
| Don't know | 2 | 3 |  |  |  |

Q83A. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree very <br> strongly with 1 | 14 | 11 | 12 | 11 | 12 |
| Agree with 1 | 12 | 10 | 10 | 11 | 10 |
| Agree with 2 | 34 | 30 | 31 | 32 | 32 |
| Agree very <br> strongly with 2 | 31 | 39 | 39 | 33 | 36 |
| Agree with <br> neither | 3 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 2 |
| Don't know | 6 | 9 | 7 | 9 | 8 |

Q83B. Which of the following is your primary source for obtaining news about deliberations in the National Assembly?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| None of the <br> Above | 4 | 8 | 5 | 8 | 6 |
| Social media |  | 1 | 1 |  | 1 |
| Internet | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Newspaper | 4 | 11 | 2 | 30 | 2 |
| Television | 46 | 65 | 62 | 49 | 25 |
| Radio | 41 |  |  | 56 |  |


| Don't know/Do <br> not follow |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| National <br> Assembly <br> deliberations | 4 | 14 | 9 | 11 | 10 |

Q84A. Now let us discuss the use of physical punishment in this country. For each of the following statements, please tell me whether you agree or disagree: Husbands should have the right to use physical punishment on their wives as a way of disciplining them?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Strongly agree | 5 | 4 | 6 | 4 | 5 |
| Agree | 4 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 5 |
| Neither agree <br> nor disagree | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Disagree | 17 | 23 | 21 | 20 | 20 |
| Strongly <br> disagree | 70 | 65 | 65 | 69 | 67 |
| Don't know | 2 |  | 1 | 1 | 1 |

Q84B. Now let us discuss the use of physical punishment in this country. For each of the following statements, please tell me whether you agree or disagree: Parents should have the right to use physical punishment on their children as a way of disciplining them?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Strongly agree | 9 | 13 | 11 | 11 | 11 |
| Agree | 22 | 24 | 23 | 23 | 23 |
| Neither agree <br> nor disagree | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Disagree | 19 | 18 | 18 | 19 | 19 |
| Strongly <br> disagree | 44 | 40 | 42 | 41 | 41 |
| Don't know | 1 |  | 1 | 1 | 1 |

84C. Now let us discuss the use of physical punishment in this country. For each of the following statements, please tell me whether you agree or disagree: Teachers should have the right to use physical punishment on their pupils as a way of disciplining them?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Strongly agree | 5 | 9 | 8 | 7 | 7 |
| Agree | 15 | 17 | 15 | 17 | 16 |
| Neither agree <br> nor disagree | 4 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 4 |
| Disagree | 22 | 21 | 22 | 20 | 21 |
| Strongly <br> disagree | 51 | 49 | 48 | 51 | 50 |
| Don't know | 2 |  | 1 | 1 | 1 |

Q85A. Let us talk for a moment about the challenges in the acquisition of land in our country. In your opinion, which of the following is the greatest challenge for individuals wishing to acquire land in Zambia today?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| None of these | 3 | 10 | 7 | 7 | 7 |
| Traditional <br> Leaders that <br> favour certain <br> groups of <br> people | 10 | 19 | 17 | 14 | 15 |
| Difficulties in <br> getting title <br> documents | 13 | 14 | 14 | 13 | 13 |
| Unscrupulous <br> sellers | 16 | 13 | 14 | 14 | 14 |
| Land is too <br> Expensive | 48 | 31 | 37 | 39 | 38 |
| Land scarcity | 6 | 9 | 8 | 8 | 8 |
| Don't <br> know/Haven't <br> heard enough <br> to say | 3 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 4 |

Q85B.Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.

Statement 1: Chiefs are custodians of the traditional land in their chiefdoms and should therefore have the right to sell it.
Statement 2: Land belongs to all the people of Zambia and chiefs should have no right to sell traditional land in their chiefdoms.

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree very <br> strongly with 1 | 14 | 13 | 13 | 14 | 13 |
| Agree with 1 | 14 | 13 | 14 | 13 | 13 |
| Agree with 2 | 32 | 26 | 27 | 29 | 28 |
| Agree very <br> strongly with 2 | 34 | 46 | 43 | 39 | 41 |
| Agree with <br> neither | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Don't know | 4 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 2 |

Q86. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2. [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion: Do you agree or agree very strongly?]
Statement 1: Street vendors provide a convenient service to buyers and should therefore be allowed to continue trading on the country's streets. Statement 2: Street vending contributes to littering and other social evils on our streets and should therefore be banned.

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree very <br> strongly with 1 | 20 | 21 | 20 | 21 | 20 |


| Agree with 1 | 17 | 17 | 16 | 17 | 17 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree with 2 | 24 | 23 | 25 | 22 | 24 |
| Agree very <br> strongly with 2 | 35 | 34 | 36 | 33 | 34 |
| Agree with <br> neither | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Don't know | 2 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 3 |

Q87. What is your ethnic community, cultural group, or tribe?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Bemba | 31 | 25 | 26 | 28 | 27 |
| Nyanja | 5 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| Tonga | 11 | 16 | 14 | 14 | 14 |
| Lozi | 8 | 7 | 9 | 7 | 8 |
| Chewa | 5 | 9 | 6 | 9 | 7 |
| Nsenga | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Tumbuka | 3 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 3 |
| Kaonde | 3 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Luvale | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3 |
| Namwanga | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| Lunda | 4 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Bisa | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Nkoya |  | 1 |  | 1 | 1 |
| Mambwe | 3 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Lenje | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Ngoni | 3 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 4 |
| Soli | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| lla |  | 1 | ग | 1 | 1 |
| Ushi | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Chokwe | 1 |  | 1 |  |  |
| Mbunda |  |  |  | 1 |  |
| Kunda | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Lala | 2 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 3 |
| Lamba | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| Lungu | 1 |  | 1 |  |  |
| Nyika |  |  |  |  |  |
| Senga | 1 |  |  | 1 |  |
| Tokaleya |  | 1 |  | 1 |  |
| Tabwa |  |  |  |  |  |
| National identity only, or "doesn't think of self in those terms" |  |  |  |  |  |
| Others | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Refused |  |  |  |  |  |

Q88A. How often, if ever, are [R's ethnic group] treated unfairly by the government?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never | 69 | 64 | 66 | 66 | 66 |
| Sometimes | 15 | 14 | 15 | 15 | 15 |
| Often | 3 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 3 |


| Always | 7 | 10 | 10 | 8 | 9 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Not applicable |  |  |  |  |  |
| Don't know | 4 | 7 | 5 | 7 | 6 |

Q88B. Let us suppose that you had to choose between being a Zambianand being a [R's ethnic group]. Which of the following statements best expresses your feelings:
I feel only Zambian?
I feel more Zambian than $\qquad$ [insert R's ethnic group]?
I feel equally Zambian and [insert R's ethnic group]?
I feel more [insert R's ethnic group] than Zambian?
I feel only [insert R's ethnic group]?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I feel only <br> (ethnic group) | 4 | 4 | 5 | 3 | 4 |
| I feel more <br> (ethnic group) <br> than (national <br> identity) | 7 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 |
| I feel equally <br> (national <br> identity) and <br> (ethnic group) | 49 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 |
| I feel more <br> (national <br> identity) than <br> (ethnic group) | 5 | 6 | 5 | 6 | 6 |
| I feel only <br> (national <br> identity) | 30 | 29 | 30 | 29 | 30 |
| Not applicable |  | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 |

Q89A. 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: People of a different religion?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Strongly dislike | 9 | 10 | 9 | 10 | 9 |
| Somewhat <br> dislike | 4 | 6 | 6 | 4 | 5 |
| Would not care | 29 | 30 | 30 | 29 | 29 |
| Somewhat like | 14 | 14 | 13 | 16 | 14 |
| Strongly like | 43 | 40 | 42 | 40 | 41 |
| Don't know | 1 |  |  | 1 |  |

Q89B. 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: People from other ethnic groups?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Strongly dislike | 5 | 9 | 7 | 9 | 8 |
| Somewhat <br> dislike | 5 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 7 |
| Would not care | 29 | 27 | 27 | 29 | 28 |


| Somewhat like | 16 | 17 | 16 | 17 | 16 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Strongly like | 44 | 38 | 43 | 38 | 41 |
| Don't know | 1 |  |  |  |  |

Q89C. 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: Homosexuals?

| Strongly dislike | 87 | 85 | 86 | 86 | 86 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Somewhat <br> dislike | 6 | 7 | 7 | 5 | 6 |
| Would not care | 4 | 6 | 4 | 6 | 5 |
| Somewhat like | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Strongly like | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Don't know | 1 |  | 1 |  |  |

Q89D. 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: People who have HIV/AIDS?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Strongly dislike | 5 | 10 | 9 | 7 | 8 |
| Somewhat <br> dislike | 2 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 4 |
| Would not care | 39 | 42 | 40 | 42 | 41 |
| Somewhat like | 15 | 12 | 14 | 12 | 13 |
| Strongly like | 37 | 29 | 32 | 33 | 32 |
| Don't know | 1 | 1 |  | 1 | 1 |

Q89E. 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: Immigrants or foreign workers?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Strongly dislike | 15 | 24 | 18 | 23 | 20 |
| Somewhat <br> dislike | 12 | 15 | 16 | 12 | 14 |
| Would not care | 30 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 |
| Somewhat like | 18 | 12 | 15 | 14 | 15 |
| Strongly like | 23 | 18 | 20 | 19 | 20 |
| Don't know | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 |

Q90A. Do you feel close to any particular political party?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| No, not close to <br> any party | 40 | 38 | 35 | 43 | 39 |
| Yes, feels close <br> to a party | 50 | 54 | 58 | 47 | 52 |
| Refused to <br> answer | 6 | 6 | 6 | 7 | 6 |
| Don't know | 3 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 2 |

Q90B. [If "Yes" to Q90A] Which party is that?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Alliance for Democracy and Development (ADD) |  | 1 | 1 |  | 1 |
| Forum for Democracy\& Development (FDD) | 1 |  |  | 1 |  |
| Heritage Party (HP) |  |  |  |  |  |
| Movement for <br> Multiparty <br> Democracy <br> (MMD) | 5 | 8 | 7 | 7 | 7 |
| National Restoration Party (NAREP) | 2 |  | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Patriotic Front (PF) | 28 | 22 | 29 | 20 | 24 |
| United National Independence Party (UNIP) | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| United Party for National Development (UPND) | 11 | 15 | 14 | 12 | 13 |
| Zambians for Empowerment \& Development (ZED) |  |  |  |  |  |
| Other |  |  |  |  |  |
| Not applicable | 49 | 46 | 42 | 53 | 47 |
| Refused to answer | 2 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| Don't know |  |  |  |  |  |

Q91A. Which of these things do you personally own: Radio?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| No, don't own | 24 | 29 | 24 | 29 | 27 |
| Yes, do own | 75 | 71 | 75 | 70 | 73 |
| Don't know |  |  |  |  |  |

Q91B. Which of these things do you personally own: Television?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| No, don't own | 35 | 67 | 56 | 52 | 54 |
| Yes, do own | 64 | 33 | 44 | 47 | 46 |
| Don't know |  |  |  |  |  |

Q91C. Which of these things do you personally own: Motor vehicle or motorcycle?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| No, don't own | 83 | 86 | 83 | 86 | 84 |
| Yes, do own | 16 | 14 | 16 | 13 | 14 |
| Don't know | 1 |  | 1 | 1 | 1 |

Q91D. Which of these things do you personally own: Mobile phone?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| No, don't own | 16 | 34 | 24 | 29 | 27 |
| Yes, do own | 84 | 66 | 75 | 70 | 73 |
| Don't know |  |  |  |  |  |

Q92A. How often do you use: Mobile phone?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never | 10 | 24 | 17 | 21 | 19 |
| Less than once <br> a month |  | 1 |  | 1 |  |
| A few times a <br> month | 1 | 5 | 5 | 2 | 3 |
| A few times a <br> week | 6 | 11 | 8 | 10 | 9 |
| Everyday | 82 | 58 | 71 | 65 | 1 |
| Don't know |  | 1 |  | 68 |  |

Q92B. How often do you use: The Internet?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never | 63 | 84 | 71 | 80 | 76 |
| Less than once <br> a month | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| A few times a <br> month | 5 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| A few times a <br> week | 9 | 6 | 9 | 5 | 7 |
| Everyday | 19 | 3 | 11 | 8 | 9 |
| Don't know | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 |

Q93A. Please tell me whether each of the following are available inside your house, inside your compound, or outside your compound: Your main source of water for household use?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Inside the <br> house | 21 | 3 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Inside the <br> compound | 45 | 37 | 39 | 41 | 40 |
| Outside the <br> compound | 34 | 60 | 51 | 49 | 50 |
| Don't know |  |  |  |  |  |

Q93B. Please tell me whether each of the following are available inside your house, inside your compound, or outside your compound: A toilet or latrine?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| No latrine | 1 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2 |
| Inside the <br> house | 21 | 4 | 11 | 11 | 11 |
| Inside the <br> compound | 61 | 73 | 70 | 67 | 68 |
| Outside the <br> compound | 16 | 20 | 17 | 19 | 18 |
| Don't know |  |  |  |  |  |

Q94. Do you have an electric connection to your home from the mains? [If yes] How often is the electricity actually available?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| No mains <br> electric supply <br> or connection <br> to the home | 24 | 74 | 56 | 53 | 55 |
| Never | 5 | 11 | 8 | 9 | 8 |
| Occasionally | 13 | 2 | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| About half of <br> the time | 6 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 4 |
| Most of the <br> time | 36 | 6 | 15 | 8 | 17 |
| All of the time | 16 | 4 | 9 | 8 | 8 |
| Don't know |  |  |  |  |  |

Q95. Do you have a job that pays a cash income? [If yes] Is it full-time or part-time? [If no] Are you presently looking for a job?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| No (not <br> looking) | 33 | 47 | 36 | 47 | 42 |
| No (looking) | 32 | 26 | 30 | 27 | 28 |
| Yes, part time | 13 | 10 | 13 | 10 | 11 |
| Yes, full time | 21 | 17 | 21 | 16 | 18 |
| Don't know | 1 |  | 1 | 1 | 1 |

Q96A. What is your main occupation? (If unemployed, retired, or disabled) What was your last main occupation?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never had a job | 15 | 16 | 13 | 18 | 16 |
| Student | 18 | 6 | 12 | 10 | 11 |
| Housewife / homemaker | 11 | 11 | 1 | 20 | 11 |
| Agriculture / farming / fishing / forestry | 5 | 37 | 29 | 20 | 24 |
| Trader / hawker / vendor | 10 | 2 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Retail / Shop | 4 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 |
| Unskilled manual worker | 12 | 11 | 13 | 9 | 11 |
| Artisan or skilled manual worker | 5 | 3 | 6 | 1 | 4 |
| Clerical or secretarial | 2 |  |  | 2 | 1 |
| Supervisor / <br> Foreman / <br> Senior <br> Manager | 2 |  | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Security services | 2 | 1 | 2 |  | 1 |
| Mid-level professional | 5 | 8 | 7 | 7 | 7 |
| Upper-level professional | 2 |  | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Other | 6 | 2 | 5 | 3 | 4 |
| Don't know |  |  |  |  |  |

Q96B. Do you work for yourself, for someone else in the private sector or the non-governmental sector, or for government?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Works for self | 30 | 55 | 46 | 45 | 46 |
| Private sector | 18 | 10 | 16 | 10 | 13 |
| Non <br> Governmental <br> Organizations/ <br> civil society <br> sector | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Government | 9 | 8 | 10 | 8 |  |
| Not applicable | 39 | 25 | 26 | 35 | 1 |
| Don't know | 1 |  |  | 30 |  |

Q97. What is your highest level of education?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |


| No formal schooling | 4 | 11 | 6 | 10 | 8 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Informal schooling only |  | 1 | 1 |  | 1 |
| Some primary schooling | 10 | 22 | 15 | 19 | 17 |
| Primary school completed | 15 | 19 | 17 | 18 | 17 |
| Some secondary school / high school | 28 | 26 | 28 | 26 | 27 |
| Secondary school / high school completed | 22 | 13 | 18 | 15 | 17 |
| Post-secondary qualifications, other than university | 15 | 8 | 11 | 10 | 10 |
| Some university | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| University completed | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Postgraduate |  |  |  |  |  |

Q98A. What is your religion, if any?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| None | 2 |  | 1 |  | 1 |
| Christian only | 21 | 12 | 15 | 16 | 15 |
| Roman Catholic | 20 | 21 | 23 | 19 | 21 |
| Anglican | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Lutheran |  |  |  |  |  |
| Methodist | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Presbyterian | 2 |  | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Baptist | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 |
| Quaker / Friends |  |  |  |  |  |
| Evangelical | 3 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3 |
| Pentecostal | 12 | 6 | 7 | 10 | 9 |
| Independent | 1 | 5 | 3 | 4 | 4 |
| Jehovah's Witness | 4 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 4 |
| Seventh Day Adventis† | 12 | 18 | 16 | 15 | 15 |
| Muslim only |  |  |  |  |  |
| Dutch <br> Reformed | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Church of Christ | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Zionist Christian Church |  |  |  |  |  |
| United Church of Zamia | 5 | 6 | 5 | 6 | 5 |
| New Apostolic | 2 | 7 | 6 | 4 | 5 |
| Christian Missions in Many Lands | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Other | 4 | 7 | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| Refused |  |  |  |  |  |
| Don't know |  |  |  |  |  |

Q98B. People practice their religion in different ways. Aside from weddings and funerals, how often do you personally engage in religious practices like prayer, reading a religious book, or attending a religious service or a meeting of a religious group?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| A few times a <br> year | 4 | 3 | 5 | 2 | 3 |
| About once a <br> month | 6 | 6 | 7 | 6 | 6 |
| About once a <br> week | 34 | 37 | 38 | 38 | 36 |
| A few times a <br> week | 34 | 32 | 8 | 9 | 33 |
| About once a <br> day | 11 | 7 | 10 | 10 | 9 |
| More than <br> once a day | 7 | 1 | 1 |  | 10 |
| Respondent <br> has no religion |  |  | 1 |  |  |
| Don't know |  |  |  |  |  |

Q99. If presidential election were held tomorrow, which party's candidate would you vote for?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Alliance for Democracy and Development (ADD) |  | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Forum for Democrasy\& Development (FDD) | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Heritage Party (HP) |  |  |  |  |  |
| Movement for <br> Multiparty <br> Democracy <br> (MMD) | 7 | 12 | 9 | 10 | 10 |
| National Restoration Party (NAREP) | 4 |  | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| Patriotic Front (PF) | 36 | 32 | 37 | 31 | 34 |
| United National Independence Party (UNIP) | 1 | 1 |  | 1 | 1 |
| United Party for National Development (UPND) | 16 | 23 | 22 | 18 | 20 |
| Other |  | 1 |  | 1 | 1 |
| Would not vote | 10 | 4 | 7 | 7 | 7 |
| Refused to answer | 14 | 15 | 13 | 16 | 15 |
| Don't know | 10 | 10 | 9 | 11 | 10 |

Q100. Just one more question: Who do you think sent us to do this interview?

|  | Urban | Rural | Male | Female | Total |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| No one | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Afrobarometer | 23 | 12 | 18 | 15 | 17 |
| Research Company | 7 | 4 | 6 | 4 | 5 |
| Nongovernment or religious organization | 9 | 12 | 11 | 10 | 11 |
| University / School/ College | 1 |  | 1 |  |  |
| Private company | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Media | 1 |  |  |  |  |
| Political party or politician | 4 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Government | 36 | 51 | 42 | 47 | 45 |
| International organization or another country | 1 |  |  |  |  |
| God |  |  |  |  |  |
| Other | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| Refused to answer |  | 1 | 1 |  | 1 |
| Don't know | 12 | 15 | 13 | 14 | 14 |

