

# AFROBAROMETER ROUND 5

## THE QUALITY OF DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE

Document revised: 12 July 2012

Respondent Number					Fieldworker No.					Data Entry Clerk No.					Field Number:			
Z	I	M			Z	I	M			Z	I	M						
<i>[Office Use Only]</i>															<i>[Allocated by Supervisor]</i>			

<i>[Supervisor Use Only]</i>									
<b>Household back-checked?</b>			Questionnaire checked by:					<b>PSU/EA: [Circle one]</b>	
Yes	1		<i>[Supervisor signature]</i>					Urban	1
No	2							Rural	2

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

Region/Province	District	Town/Village	EA Number	
Harare	860			
Bulawayo	861			
Midlands	862			
Masvingo	863			
Mashonaland East	864			
Mashonaland West	865			
Mashonaland Central	866			
Matebeleland South	867			
Matebeleland North	868			
Manicaland	869			

*THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS ARE TO BE FILLED IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE FIELD SUPERVISOR*

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

EA-FAC. Are the following services present in the primary sampling unit / enumeration area or in easy walking distance?	Yes	No	Can't determine
A. Post office	1	0	9
B. School	1	0	9
C. Police Station	1	0	9
D. Health Clinic	1	0	9
E. Market Stalls (selling groceries and/or clothing)	1	0	9

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

EA-ROAD. Thinking of the journey here:	Yes	No
A. Was the road at the start point in the PSU / EA paved / tarred / concrete?	1	0

### Household Selection Procedure

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

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

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

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

NOCALL	NOCALL_1	NOCALL_2	NOCALL_3	NOCALL_4	NOCALL_5	NOCALL_6	NOCALL_7
Reasons for Unsuccessful Calls	Household 1	Household 2	Household 3	Household 4	Household 5	Household 6	Household 7
Refused to be interviewed	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Person selected was never at home after at least two visits	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Household/Premises empty for the survey period after at least two visits	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Not a citizen/Spoke only a foreign language	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Deaf/Did not speak a survey language	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Did not fit gender quota	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
No adults in household	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
Other (specify) _____	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
Not Applicable	997	997	997	997	997	997	997

If no one is at home (i.e., premises empty) after two visits, substitute with the very **next** household. If the interview is refused, use an interval of 10 to select a substitute household, counting houses on both the right and the left.

When you find a household with someone home, please introduce yourself using the following script. You must learn this introduction so that you can say it exactly as it is written below.

**Good day. My name is \_\_\_\_\_ . I am from the Mass Public Opinion Institute (MPOI), an independent research organization. I do not represent the government or any political party. We are studying the views of citizens in Zimbabwe about how the country is governed and how the economy is managed. We would like to discuss these issues with a member of your household. Every person in the country has an equal chance of being included in this study. All information will be kept confidential. Your household has been chosen by chance. We would like to choose an adult (i.e. someone 18 years or older) from your household. Would you help us pick one?**

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

### Respondent Selection Procedure

Interviewer: **Within** the household, it is your job to select a random (this means any) individual. This individual becomes the interview Respondent. **In addition, you are responsible for alternating interviews between men and women.** Circle the correct code below.

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

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

**Please tell me the names (pseudo names only) of all males / females [select correct gender] who presently live in this household. I only want the names of males / females [select correct gender] who are citizens of Zimbabwe and who are 18 years and older.**

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

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

<b>ADULT_CT.</b> Total number of adult citizens in the household		
--	--	--

Take out your deck of cards with pseudo names for the respective gender. Present them face-down so that the names cannot be seen. Ask the person who is selecting respondents to pick any card, by saying:

**Please choose a card. The person who corresponds to the pseudo name chosen will be the person interviewed.**

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

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

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

**Good day. My name is \_\_\_\_\_.** I am from the Mass Public Opinion Institute (MPOI), an independent research organization. I DO NOT REPRESENT THE GOVERNMENT OR ANY POLITICAL PARTY. We are studying the views of citizens in Zimbabwe about how the country is governed and how the economy is managed. We would like to discuss these issues with you.  
 To ALL respondents:  
**Your answers will be confidential. They will be put together with 1200 other people we are talking to, to get an overall picture. It will be impossible to pick you out from what you say, so please feel free to tell us what you think. This interview will take about 45 minutes. There is no penalty for refusing to participate. Do you wish to proceed?** [Proceed with interview only if answer is positive].

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

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

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

<b>STRTIME</b>	Hour	Minute
Time interview started [Interviewer: Enter hour and minute, use 24 hr. clock]		

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

### BEGIN INTERVIEW

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

<b>1. How old are you?</b> [Interviewer: Enter three digit number. Don't Know = 999] [Interviewer: If respondent is aged less than 18, stop interview and use cards to randomly draw another respondent in the same household]			
---	--	--	--

**2. Which Zimbabwean language is your home language?** [Interviewer: Prompt if necessary: *That is, the language of your group of origin.*]

English	1	Venda	867
SiNdebele	860	Kalanga	868
Shona	861	Tonga	869
ZeZuru	862		
Korekore	863		
Karanga	864		
Manyika	865	Other [Specify]:	Post code
Ndau	866	Don't know	9999

Let's discuss economic conditions.

**3. In general, how would you describe:** [Read out options]

	Very good	Fairly Good	Neither good nor bad	Fairly Bad	Very Bad	Don't know [DNR]
<b>A. The present economic condition of this country?</b>	5	4	3	2	1	9
<b>B. Your own present living conditions?</b>	5	4	3	2	1	9

**4. In general, how do you rate your living conditions compared to those of other Zimbabweans?** [Read out options]

Much worse	1
Worse	2
Same	3
Better	4
Much better	5
Don't know [Do not read]	9

**5. Looking back, how do you rate the following compared to twelve months ago?** [Read out options]

	Much worse	Worse	Same	Better	Much Better	Don't know [DNR]
<b>A. Economic conditions in this country?</b>	1	2	3	4	5	9
<b>B. Your living conditions?</b>	1	2	3	4	5	9

**6. Looking ahead, do you expect the following to be better or worse?** [Read out options]

	Much Worse	Worse	Same	Better	Much Better	Don't know [DNR]
<b>A. Economic conditions in this country in twelve months time?</b>	1	2	3	4	5	9
<b>B. Your living conditions in twelve months time?</b>	1	2	3	4	5	9

**7. What 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?**

Going in the wrong direction	1
Going in the right direction	2
Don't know [Do not read]	9

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

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

10. During the past year, have you or anyone in your family: <i>[Interview: If the respondent answers yes, follow by asking: Did this happen once, twice, or three or more times?]</i>					
	No	Yes			Don't Know [DNR]
		Once	Twice	Three or more times	
A. Had something stolen from your house?	0	1	2	3	9
B. Been physically attacked?	0	1	2	3	9

10C. <i>[If respondent answered "Yes" to either question Q10A or Q10B, ask:] Was any such incident reported to the police?</i>	
No	0
Yes	1
Not Applicable <i>[i.e., Respondent answered 0=No or 9=DK to both Q10A and Q10B] [Do not read]</i>	7
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

11. Some people say that many crimes are never reported to the police. Based on your experience, what do you think is the main reason that many people do not report crimes like thefts or attacks to the police when they occur? <i>[Interviewer: Do not read options. Code from response.]</i>	
Most people do report crimes to the police	0
People don't have enough time to report crimes	1
No police or police station in the area / police station too far	2
Police don't listen or care	3
Police would have demanded money or a bribe to help	4
Police wouldn't have been able to do anything	5
Police may be involved in the robbery or assault	6
Victim feared reprisal from attacker	7
Victim too ashamed or embarrassed	8
Crime was reported to some other authority like local government or traditional leaders	9
Other <i>[specify]</i> _____	Post Code
Don't know	9999

12. If you were a victim of crime in this country, who, if anyone, would you go to first for assistance? [Interviewer: DO not read options. Code from response.]			
The police			1
A security service or security company that you pay for			2
A traditional leader or traditional court			3
A street committee or local security organization			4
A powerful local person or local gang			5
You would personally take revenge			6
You would join with others to take revenge			7
Your own family or friends			8
The family of the perpetrator			9
Other [specify] _____	Post Code		
None of these / no effective assistance available			0
Don't know			9999

13. How often do you get news from the following sources? [Read out options]						
	Every day	A few times a week	A few times a month	Less than once a month	Never	Don't know [DNR]
<b>A. Radio</b>	4	3	2	1	0	9
<b>B. Television</b>	4	3	2	1	0	9
<b>C. Newspapers</b>	4	3	2	1	0	9
<b>D. Internet</b>	4	3	2	1	0	9

14. How interested would you say you are in public affairs? [Interviewer: Prompt if necessary: <b>You know, in politics and government?</b> ] [Read out options]	
Very interested	3
Somewhat interested	2
Not very interested	1
Not at all interested	0
Don't know [Do not read]	9

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

16. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me cannot really understand what is going on. [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]	
Strongly agree	1
Agree	2
Neither agree nor disagree [Do not read]	3
Disagree	4
Strongly disagree	5
Don't know / Don't understand [Do not read]	9

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

<b>Lets talk for a moment about the kind of society you would like to have in this country.</b>			
<b>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?]</b>			
<b>18.</b>			
<b>Statement 1: Once in office, elected leaders are obliged to help their home community or group first.</b>		<b>Statement 2: Since elected leaders should represent everyone, they should not do anything that favours their own group over others.</b>	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither [Do not read]			5
Don't know [Do not read]			9
<b>19.</b>			
<b>Statement 1: Government should be able to ban any organization that goes against its policies.</b>		<b>Statement 2: We should be able to join any organization, whether or not the government approves of it.</b>	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither [Do not read]			5
Don't know [Do not read]			9
<b>20.</b>			
<b>Statement 1: The media should have the right to publish any views and ideas without government control.</b>		<b>Statement 2: The government should have the right to prevent the media from publishing things that it considers harmful to society.</b>	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither [Do not read]			5
Don't know [Do not read]			9
<b>21.</b>			
<b>Statement 1: The government is like a parent. It should decide what is good for us.</b>		<b>Statement 2: The government is like our employee. We are the bosses and should tell government what to do.</b>	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither [Do not read]			5
Don't know [Do not read]			9
<b>22.</b>			
<b>Statement 1: Men make better political leaders than women, and should be elected rather than women.</b>		<b>Statement 2: Women should have the same chance of being elected to political office as men.</b>	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither [Do not read]			5
Don't know [Do not read]			9
<b>23.</b>			
<b>Statement 1: In our country, women should have equal rights and receive the same treatment as men do.</b>		<b>Statement 2: Women have always been subject to traditional laws and customs, and should remain so.</b>	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither [Do not read]			5
Don't know [Do not read]			9

<b>24.</b>			
<b>Statement 1: If funds for schooling are limited, a boy should always receive an education in school before a girl.</b>		<b>Statement 2: If funds for schooling are limited, a family should send the child with the greatest ability to learn.</b>	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

<b>Let's turn to your role in the community.</b>					
<b>25. 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.</b>					
	Official Leader	Active Member	Inactive Member	Not a Member	Don't Know <i>[DNR]</i>
<b>A. A religious group that meets outside of regular worship services</b>	3	2	1	0	9
<b>B. Some other voluntary association or community group</b>	3	2	1	0	9

<b>26. 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. <i>[If Yes, read out options 2-4]. If not, would you do this if you had the chance? [For No, read out options 0 and 1]</i></b>						
	YES			NO		Don't know <i>[DNR]</i>
	Often	Several times	Once or twice	Would if had the chance	Would never do this	
<b>A. Attended a community meeting</b>	4	3	2	1	0	9
<b>B. Got together with others to raise an issue</b>	4	3	2	1	0	9
<b>C. Refused to pay a tax or fee to government</b>	4	3	2	1	0	9
<b>D. Attended a demonstration or protest march</b>	4	3	2	1	0	9
<b>E. Used force or violence for a political cause</b>	4	3	2	1	0	9

<b>27. With regard to the most recent national election in March 2008, which statement is true for you? <i>[Read out options]</i></b>	
You were too young to vote	8
You were not registered to vote	0
You voted in the elections	1
You decided not to vote	2
You could not find the polling station	3
You were prevented from voting	4
You did not have time to vote	5
You did not vote because you could not find your name in the voters' register	6
Did not vote for some other reason	7
Don't Know / Can't remember <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

<b>27A_ZIM. With regard to the most recent national Presidential run-off election held in June 2008 which statement is true for you? <i>[Read out options]</i></b>	
You were too young to vote	8
You were not registered to vote	0
You voted in the elections	1
You decided not to vote	2
You could not find the polling station	3
You were prevented from voting	4
You did not have time to vote	5
You did not vote because you could not find your name in the voters' register	6
Did not vote for some other reason	7
Don't Know / Can't remember <i>[Do not read]</i>	9



<b>28. On the whole, how would you rate the freeness and fairness of the last national election, held in March 2008. Was it: [Read out options]</b>	
Completely free and fair	4
Free and fair, but with minor problems	3
Free and fair, with major problems	2
Not free and fair	1
Do not understand question [Do not read]	5
Don't know [Do not read]	9

<b>28A_ZIM. On the whole, how would you rate the freeness and fairness of the last national Presidential runoff election, held in June 2008. Was it: [Read out options]</b>	
Completely free and fair	4
Free and fair, but with minor problems	3
Free and fair, with major problems	2
Not free and fair	1
Do not understand question [Do not read]	5
Don't know [Do not read]	9

<b>29. Thinking about the last national election in March 2008, did you:</b>			
	No	Yes	Don't know [DNR]
<b>A. Attend a campaign meeting or rally?</b>	0	1	9
<b>B. Try to persuade others to vote for a certain presidential or legislative candidate or political party?</b>	0	1	9
<b>C. Work for a candidate or party?</b>	0	1	9

<b>30. During the past year, how often have you contacted any of the following persons about some important problem or to give them your views? [Read out options]</b>					
	Never	Only once	A few times	Often	Don't know [DNR]
<b>A. A local government councilor</b>	0	1	2	3	9
<b>B. A Member of Parliament</b>	0	1	2	3	9
<b>C. An official of a government agency</b>	0	1	2	3	9
<b>D. A political party official</b>	0	1	2	3	9

<b>31. There are many ways to govern a country. Would you disapprove or approve of the following alternatives? [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion.]</b>						
	Strongly Disapprove	Disapprove	Neither Approve Nor Disapprove [DNR]	Approve	Strongly Approve	Don't know [DNR]
<b>A. Only one political party is allowed to stand for election and hold office.</b>	1	2	3	4	5	9
<b>B. The army comes in to govern the country.</b>	1	2	3	4	5	9
<b>C. Elections and Parliament are abolished so that the President can decide everything.</b>	1	2	3	4	5	9

[Interviewer: In the section that follows, which asks questions about democracy, always read the question in the language of the interview, but always read "democracy" in English. Translate "democracy" into local language only if respondent does not understand the term in the official national language. Be sure to ask ALL questions of ALL respondents, even if they have difficulty understanding the term "democracy".]

<b>32. Which of these three statements is closest to your own opinion? [Read out statements. Only one option to be chosen. Read the question in the language of the interview, but always read "democracy" in English. Translate "democracy" into local language only if respondent does not understand English term.]</b>	
<b>STATEMENT 1: Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government.</b>	3
<b>STATEMENT 2: In some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable.</b>	2
<b>STATEMENT 3: For someone like me, it doesn't matter what kind of government we have.</b>	1
Don't know [Do not read]	9

Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2. [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion: <b>Do you agree or agree very strongly?</b> ]			
<b>33.</b>			
<b>Statement 1: It is more important to have a government that can get things done, even if we have no influence over what it does.</b>		<b>Statement 2: It is more important for citizens to be able to hold government accountable, even if that means it makes decisions more slowly.</b>	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither [Do not read]			5
Don't know [Do not read]			9
<b>34.</b>			
<b>Statement 1: We should choose our leaders in this country through regular, open and honest elections.</b>		<b>Statement 2: Since elections sometimes produce bad results, we should adopt other methods for choosing this country's leaders.</b>	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither [Do not read]			5
Don't know [Do not read]			9
<b>35.</b>			
<b>Statement 1: Political parties create division and confusion; it is therefore unnecessary to have many political parties in Zimbabwe.</b>		<b>Statement 2: Many political parties are needed to make sure that Zimbabweans have real choices in who governs them.</b>	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither [Do not read]			5
Don't know [Do not read]			9
<b>36.</b>			
<b>Statement 1: Parliament should ensure that the President explains to it on a regular basis how his government spends taxpayers' money.</b>		<b>Statement 2: The President should be able to devote his full attention to developing the country rather than wasting time justifying his actions.</b>	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither [Do not read]			5
Don't know [Do not read]			9
<b>37.</b>			
<b>Statement 1: Opposition parties should regularly examine and criticize government policies and actions.</b>		<b>Statement 2: Opposition parties should concentrate on cooperating with government and helping it develop the country.</b>	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither [Do not read]			5
Don't know [Do not read]			9
<b>38.</b>			
<b>Statement 1: The news media should constantly investigate and report on government mistakes and corruption.</b>		<b>Statement 2: Too much reporting on negative events, like government mistakes and corruption, only harms the country.</b>	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither [Do not read]			5
Don't know [Do not read]			9

<b>39.</b>			
<b>Statement 1: Members of Parliament represent the people; therefore they should make laws for this country, even if the President does not agree.</b>		<b>Statement 2: Since the President represents all of us, he should pass laws without worrying about what Parliament thinks.</b>	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

<b>40.</b>			
<b>Statement 1: Since the President was elected to lead the country, he should not be bound by laws or court decisions that he thinks are wrong.</b>		<b>Statement 2: The President must always obey the laws and the courts, even if he thinks they are wrong.</b>	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

<b>41.</b>			
<b>Statement 1: The Constitution should limit the President to serving a maximum of two terms in office.</b>		<b>Statement 2: There should be no constitutional limit on how long the President can serve.</b>	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

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

<b>42. In your opinion how much of a democracy is Zimbabwe today? [Read out options. Accept only one option. Read the question in the language of the interview, but always read "democracy" in English. Translate "democracy" into local language only if respondent does not understand term in official language.]</b>	
A full democracy	4
A democracy, but with minor problems	3
A democracy, with major problems	2
Not a democracy	1
Do not understand question /do not understand what 'democracy' is <i>[Do not read]</i>	8
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

<b>43. Overall, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in Zimbabwe? Are you: [Read out options. Only one option to be chosen. Read the question in the language of the interview, but always read "democracy" in English. Translate "democracy" into local language only if respondent does not understand the English term.]</b>	
Very satisfied	4
Fairly satisfied	3
Not very satisfied	2
Not at all satisfied	1
Zimbabwe is not a democracy <i>[Do not read]</i>	0
Do not know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

<b>44. Many things may be desirable, but not all of them are essential characteristics of democracy. If you have to choose only one of the things that I am going to read, which one would you choose as the most essential characteristic of democracy?</b>	
Government narrows the gap between the rich and the poor.	1
People choose government leaders in free and fair elections.	2
Government does not waste any public money.	3
People are free to express their political views openly.	4
None of these <i>[Do not read]</i>	8
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

<b>45. And here is another list. Which one of these things would you choose as the most essential characteristic of democracy?</b>	
Government ensures law and order.	1
Media is free to criticize the things government does.	2
Government ensures job opportunities for all.	3
Multiple parties compete fairly in elections.	4
None of these <i>[Do not read]</i>	8
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

<b>46. On a scale between 0 and 10, where 0 means completely undemocratic and 10 means completely democratic, where would you place each of the following, or haven't you heard enough to say? [Interviewer: For each part, enter a two-digit number between 00 and 10. For "Don't know / haven't heard enough" enter 99.]</b>		
<b>A. Our country today?</b>		
<b>B. Our country ten years ago, in 2002?</b>		
<b>C. Our country under colonialism (Ian Smith regime)</b>		
<b>D. And on the same scale, where would you want our country to be in the future?</b>		

<b>47. On the same scale, where 0 means completely undemocratic and 10 means completely democratic, where would you place each of the following countries, or haven't you heard enough to say? [Interviewer: For each part, enter a two-digit number between 00 and 10. For "Don't know / haven't heard enough" enter 99.]</b>		
<b>A. People's Republic of China</b>		
<b>B. United States of America</b>		
<b>C. South Africa</b>		
<b>Zimbabwe</b>		
<b>E. Britain, you know, the United Kingdom or UK.</b>		

<b>48. For each of the following statements, please tell me whether you disagree or agree? [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]</b>						
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree <i>[DNR]</i>	Agree	Strongly Agree	Don't Know <i>[DNR]</i>
<b>A. The courts have the right to make decisions that people always have to abide by.</b>	1	2	3	4	5	9
<b>B. The police always have the right to make people obey the law.</b>	1	2	3	4	5	9
<b>C. The tax authorities always has the right to make people pay taxes.</b>	1	2	3	4	5	9

<b>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?]</b>			
<b>49.</b>			
<b>Statement 1: It is important to obey the government in power, no matter who you voted for.</b>		<b>Statement 2: It is not necessary to obey the laws of a government that you did not vote for.</b>	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

<b>50.</b>			
<b>Statement 1: Citizens must pay their taxes to the government in order for our country to develop.</b>		<b>Statement 2: The government can find enough resources for development from other sources without having to tax the people.</b>	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

<b>51.</b>			
<b>Statement 1: It is better to pay higher taxes, if it means that there will be more services provided by government.</b>		<b>Statement 2: It is better to pay lower taxes, even if it means there will be fewer services provided by government.</b>	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

<b>52. In your opinion, how often, in this country: <i>[Read out options]</i></b>					
	Always	Often	Rarely	Never	Don't know <i>[DNR]</i>
<b>A.</b> Does the news media abuse its freedoms by printing or saying things it knows are not true?	3	2	1	0	9
<b>B.</b> Does competition between political parties lead to violent conflict?	3	2	1	0	9
<b>C.</b> Does the President ignore the courts and laws of this country?	3	2	1	0	9
<b>C_Zim.</b> Does the Prime Minister ignore the courts and laws of this country?	3	2	1	0	9
<b>D.</b> Are opposition parties or their supporters silenced by the government?	3	2	1	0	9
<b>E.</b> Does the President ignore parliament and just do what he wants?	3	2	1	0	9

<b>53. In this country, how effective is the news media in revealing government mistakes and corruption? <i>[Read out options]</i></b>	
Very effective	3
Somewhat effective	2
Not very effective	1
Not at all effective	0
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

<b>54. During election campaigns in this country, how much do you personally fear becoming a victim of political intimidation or violence? <i>[Read out options]</i></b>	
Not at all	3
A little bit	2
Somewhat	1
A lot	0
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

<b>55. How likely do you think it is that powerful people can find out how you voted, even though there is supposed to be a secret ballot in this country? [Read out options]</b>	
Not at all likely	0
Not very likely	1
Somewhat likely	2
Very likely	3
Don't know [Do not read]	9

<b>56. In your opinion, how often, in this country: [Read out options]</b>					
	Always	Often	Rarely	Never	Don't know [DNR]
<b>A. Do people have to be careful of what they say about politics?</b>	3	2	1	0	9
<b>B. Are people treated unequally under the law?</b>	3	2	1	0	9
<b>C. Are women treated unequally by traditional leaders?</b>	3	2	1	0	9
<b>D. Are women treated unequally by the police and courts?</b>	3	2	1	0	9
<b>E. Are women treated unequally by employers?</b>	3	2	1	0	9
<b>F. Do officials who commit crimes go unpunished?</b>	3	2	1	0	9
<b>G. Do ordinary people who break the law go unpunished?</b>	3	2	1	0	9
<b>H. Do people obtain household services, like water or electricity, without paying for them?</b>	3	2	1	0	9
<b>I. Do people avoid paying the taxes that they owe the government?</b>	3	2	1	0	9

<b>57. Let me ask you again about the most essential characteristics of democracy. If you have to choose only one of the things that I am going to read, which one would you choose as the most essential characteristic of democracy?</b>	
The legislature closely monitors the actions of the President	1
Government provides basic necessities, like food, clothing and shelter, for everyone	2
People are free to form organizations to influence government and public affairs	3
Public services, such as roads, water or sewerage, work well and do not break down	4
None of these [Do not read]	8
Don't know [Do not read]	9

<b>58. And here is another list. Which one of these things would you choose as the most essential characteristic of democracy?</b>	
People are free to take part in demonstrations and protests	1
Politics is clean and free of corruption	2
The court protects ordinary people if the government mistreats them	3
People receive aid from government, such as food parcels, when they are in need	4
None of these [Do not read]	8
Don't know [Do not read]	9

59. How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say? [Read out options]					
	Not at all	Just a little	Somewhat	A lot	Don't know/ Haven't heard [DNR]
A. The President	0	1	2	3	9
A_Zim. The Prime Minister	0	1	2	3	9
B. Parliament	0	1	2	3	9
C. The Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC)	0	1	2	3	9
D. Zimbabwe Revenue Authority (ZIMRA)	0	1	2	3	9
E. Your Local Government Council	0	1	2	3	9
F. ZANU-PF after the Inclusive Government	0	1	2	3	9
F1_ZIM. MDC-T after the Inclusive Government	0	1	2	3	9
F2_ZIM. MDC-N after the Inclusive Government	0	1	2	3	9
G. Opposition political parties	0	1	2	3	9
H. The Police	0	1	2	3	9
I. The Army	0	1	2	3	9
J. Courts of law	0	1	2	3	9

60. How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption, or haven't you heard enough about them to say? [Read out options]

	None	Some of them	Most of them	All of them	Don't know/ Haven't heard [DNR]
A. The President and Officials in his Office	0	1	2	3	9
A_ZIM. The Prime Minister and Officials in his office	0	1	2	3	9
B. Members of Parliament	0	1	2	3	9
C. Government officials	0	1	2	3	9
D. Local government councilors	0	1	2	3	9
E. Police	0	1	2	3	9
F. Tax Officials, like the Zimbabwe Revenue Authority.	0	1	2	3	9
G. Judges and Magistrates	0	1	2	3	9

61. In the past year, how often, if ever, have you had to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour to government officials in order to: [Read out options.]

	No experience with this in past year [DNR]	Never	Once or Twice	A Few Times	Often	Don't know [DNR]
A. Get a document or a permit?	7	0	1	2	3	9
B. Get water or sanitation services?	7	0	1	2	3	9
C. Get treatment at a local health clinic or hospital?	7	0	1	2	3	9
D. Avoid a problem with the police, like passing a checkpoint or avoiding a fine or arrest?	7	0	1	2	3	9
E. Get a place in a public primary school for a child?	7	0	1	2	3	9
F. And during the last election in March 2008, how often, if ever did a candidate or someone from a political party offer you something, like food or a gift or money, in return for your vote?		0	1	2	3	9

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

	Never	Only Sometimes	Often	Always	Don't know [DNR]
A. Members of Parliament	0	1	2	3	9
B. Local government councilors	0	1	2	3	9

**63. In your opinion, what are the most important problems facing this country that the Inclusive Government (IG) should address?** [Do not read options. Code from responses. Accept up to three answers. If respondent offers more than three options, ask "Which three of these are the most important?" If respondent offers one or two answers, ask "Anything else?"]

	1 <sup>st</sup> response	2 <sup>nd</sup> response	3 <sup>rd</sup> response
<b>Economics</b>			
Management of the economy	1	1	1
Wages, incomes and salaries	2	2	2
Unemployment	3	3	3
Poverty/destitution	4	4	4
Rates and Taxes	5	5	5
Loans / credit	6	6	6
<b>Food / Agriculture</b>			
Farming/agriculture	7	7	7
Agricultural marketing	32	32	32
Food shortage/famine	8	8	8
Drought	9	9	9
Land	10	10	10
<b>Infrastructure</b>			
Transportation	11	11	11
Communications	12	12	12
Infrastructure / roads	13	13	13
<b>Government Services</b>			
Education	14	14	14
Housing	15	15	15
Electricity	16	16	16
Water supply	17	17	17
Orphans/street children/homeless children	18	18	18
Services (other)	19	19	19
<b>Health</b>			
Health	20	20	20
AIDS	21	21	21
Sickness / Disease	22	22	22
<b>Governance</b>			
Crime and Security	23	23	23
Corruption	24	24	24
Political violence	25	25	25
Political instability/political divisions/ ethnic tensions	26	26	26
Discrimination/ inequality	27	27	27
Gender issues / women's rights	28	28	28
Democracy/political rights	29	29	29
War (international)	30	30	30
Civil war	31	31	31
<b>Other responses</b>			
Other (i.e., some other problem)	9995	9995	9995
Nothing/ no problems	0		
No further reply		9996	9996
Don't know	9999		
Other (1 <sup>st</sup> response) Specify _____	Post Code		
Other (2 <sup>nd</sup> response) Specify _____	Post Code		
Other (3 <sup>rd</sup> response) Specify _____	Post Code		



<b>64. Taking the problem that you mentioned first [Interviewer: remind respondent of first problem identified], how likely do you think it is that the Inclusive Government will solve this problem within the next five years? [Read out options]</b>	
Very likely	3
Somewhat likely	2
Not very likely	1
Not at all likely	0
Not applicable [Only if respondent answered 999=Don't know or 0=Nothing, no problems on Q63]	7
Don't know [Do not read]	9

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

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

	Very Badly	Fairly Badly	Fairly Well	Very Well	DK / Haven't heard enough [DNR]
A. Managing the economy	1	2	3	4	9
B. Improving the living standards of the poor	1	2	3	4	9
C. Creating jobs	1	2	3	4	9
D. Keeping prices down	1	2	3	4	9
E. Narrowing gaps between rich and poor	1	2	3	4	9
F. Reducing crime	1	2	3	4	9
G. Improving basic health services	1	2	3	4	9
H. Addressing educational needs	1	2	3	4	9
I. Providing water and sanitation services	1	2	3	4	9
J. Ensuring everyone has enough to eat	1	2	3	4	9
K. Fighting corruption in government	1	2	3	4	9
L. Resolving violent conflict between communities	1	2	3	4	9
M. Combating HIV/AIDS	1	2	3	4	9
N. Maintaining roads and bridges	1	2	3	4	9
O. Providing a reliable supply of electricity	1	2	3	4	9
P. Empowering women	1	2	3	4	9
Q_Zim. Resolving political violence	1	2	3	4	9

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

	Very Badly	Fairly Badly	Fairly Well	Very Well	Don't know/ Haven't heard enough [DNR]
A. Maintaining local roads	1	2	3	4	9
B. Maintaining local market places	1	2	3	4	9
C. Maintaining health standards, for example in restaurants and food stalls	1	2	3	4	9
D. Keeping our community clean, for example, by refuse removed	1	2	3	4	9
E. Managing the use of land	1	2	3	4	9

**67. Based on your experience, how easy or difficult is it to obtain the following services from government? Or do you never try and get these services from government? [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion.]**

	Very Difficult	Difficult	Easy	Very Easy	Never Try	Don't Know [DNR]
A. An identity document, such as a birth certificate, driver's license, passport or voter's card	1	2	3	4	5	9
B. Household services like piped water, electricity or telephone	1	2	3	4	5	9
C. Help from the police	1	2	3	4	5	9
D. A place in a public primary school for a child	1	2	3	4	5	9
E. Medical treatment at a public clinic or hospital	1	2	3	4	5	9

**68. Have you encountered any of these problems with your local public schools during the past 12 months?** [Read out options.] [Interviewer: For parts B-F, either ALL parts of the question should be coded as 7=No experience with schools, or NONE of the parts should be coded as 7.]

	No experience with public schools in last 12 months [DNR]	Never	Once or Twice	A Few Times	Often	Don't Know [DNR]
A. Services are too expensive / unable to pay	7	0	1	2	3	9
B. Lack of textbooks or other supplies?	7	0	1	2	3	9
C. Poor teaching?	7	0	1	2	3	9
D. Absent teachers?	7	0	1	2	3	9
E. Overcrowded classrooms?	7	0	1	2	3	9
F. Poor conditions of facilities?	7	0	1	2	3	9

**69. Have you encountered any of these problems with your local public clinic or hospital during the past 12 months?** [Read out options.] [Interviewer: For parts B-F, either ALL parts of the question should be coded as 7=No experience with clinics, or NONE of the parts should be coded as 7.]

	No experience with public clinics in last 12 months [DNR]	Never	Once or Twice	A Few Times	Often	Don't Know [DNR]
A. Services are too expensive / unable to pay	7	0	1	2	3	9
B. Lack of medicines or other supplies?	7	0	1	2	3	9
C. Lack of attention or respect from staff?	7	0	1	2	3	9
D. Absent doctors?	7	0	1	2	3	9
E. Long waiting time?	7	0	1	2	3	9
F. Dirty facilities?	7	0	1	2	3	9

**70. Do you or anyone in this household receive any of the following:**

	No	Yes	Don't know [DNR]
A. Free visits or medicines from a public or government-run health clinic or hospital?	0	1	9
B. Food for children from a government-run school feeding programme?	0	1	9

**71. Do you approve or disapprove of the way that the following people have performed their jobs over the past twelve months, or haven't you heard enough about them to say?** [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]

	Strongly Disapprove	Disapprove	Approve	Strongly Approve	Don't know/ Haven't heard enough [DNR]
A. President Robert Mugabe	1	2	3	4	9
A1_Zim Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai	1	2	3	4	9
B. Your Member of the House of Assembly	1	2	3	4	9
B-ZIM Your Senator	1	2	3	4	9
C. Your elected local government councilor	1	2	3	4	9

**72. Who should be responsible for:** [Read out options]

	The President / Executive	The Parliament / Local Council	Their Political Party	The Voters	No One [DNR]	Don't know [DNR]
A. Making sure that, once elected, Members of Parliament do their jobs?	0	1	2	3	4	9
B. Making sure that, once elected, local government councilors do their jobs?	0	1	2	3	4	9
C. Making sure that, once elected, the President does his job?	0	1	2	3	4	9
D-ZIM. Making sure that, once elected, the Prime Minister does his job?	0	1	2	3	4	9

73. Regardless of whether you are able to pay them, are you required to pay each of the following, or haven't you been able to find out about this?				
	No, I am not required to pay	Yes, I am required to pay	Not applicable	Don't know / Haven't had a chance to find out [DNR]
A. Value added tax on the food or goods that you buy from shops or traders	0	1		9
B. License fees to local government, for example, for a bicycle, cart, business or market stall	0	1		9
C. Property rates or taxes	0	1		9
D. If you have paid employment, are you required to pay an income tax, that is, a tax deducted from your wages by your employer? [Interviewer: If respondent does not have paid employment, circle 7=NA]	0	1	7	9
E. If you are self employed, are you required to pay a tax on the earnings from your business or job? [Interviewer: If respondent is not self employed, circle 7=NA]	0	1	7	9

74. In the last year, how often have powerful people or groups other than government, such as criminals or gangs, made people in your community or neighbourhood pay them money in return for protecting them, their property or their businesses? [Read out options]	
Never	0
Only once	1
A few times	2
Often	3
Don't know [Do not read]	9

75. Based on your experience, how easy or difficult is it to do each of the following? [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]						
	Very Easy	Easy	Difficult	Very difficult	Don't have to pay taxes [DNR]	Don't Know [DNR]
A. To find out what taxes and fees you are supposed to pay to the government?	1	2	3	4		9
B. To find out how government uses the revenues from people's taxes and fees?	1	2	3	4		9
C. To avoid paying the income or property taxes that you owe to government?	1	2	3	4	7	9

76. 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 wrong at all	Wrong but understandable	Wrong and punishable	Don't Know [DNR]
A. Not paying for the services they receive from government	1	2	3	9
B. Not paying the taxes they owe on their income	1	2	3	9

77. What do you think is the main reason that some people avoid paying government the taxes and fees that they owe? [Interviewer: Do not read out options. Code from response.]			
People don't avoid paying			0
The tax system is unfair			1
The taxes are too high			2
People cannot afford to pay			3
The poor services they receive from government			4
Government does not listen to them			5
Government wastes tax money			6
Government officials steal tax money			7
They know they will not be caught			8
Other [specify]: _____	Post code		
Don't know			9999

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?]			
<b>78.</b>			
<b>Statement 1: The use of violence is never justified in Zimbabwean politics today.</b>		<b>Statement 2: In this country, it is sometimes necessary to use violence in support of a just cause.</b>	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither [Do not read]			5
Don't know [Do not read]			9

78A1. In your opinion, how much does the African Union do to help this country, or haven't you heard enough to say? [Read out options]	
Do nothing, no help	0
Help a little bit	1
Help somewhat	2
Help a lot	3
Don't know [Do not read]	9

Let us shift the discussion to the ongoing debate in Zimbabwe about indigenization, the process by which foreign-owned companies are required to surrender 51% of their shares to Black Zimbabweans. 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?]			
<b>79_ZIM.</b>			
<b>Statement 1: Indigenizing the economy by taking over foreign-owned companies is the most effective way of empowering all Zimbabweans.</b>		<b>Statement 2: Creating jobs would be a more effective way of empowering all Zimbabweans than taking over ownership of businesses.</b>	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither [Do not read]			5
Don't know [Do not read]			9

80_ZIM. Do you agree or disagree with the proposed constitutional provision to devolve power, from the central government to governments at a sub-national level, such as a local or provincial government, or haven't you heard enough to say? [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion.]	
Strongly agree	1
Agree	2
Neither agree nor disagree [Do not read]	3
Disagree	4
Strongly disagree	5
Don't know / Haven't heard enough [Do not read]	9

<b>Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.</b> [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion: <b>Do you agree or agree very strongly?</b> ]			
<b>81_ZIM.</b>			
<b>Statement 1: The armed forces liberated Zimbabwe from colonialism; they must therefore continue to be actively involved in the country's politics.</b>		<b>Statement 2: The armed forces are for the external defence and security of Zimbabwe; they must not be involved at all in the country's politics.</b>	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree with Statement 2 3	Agree very strongly with Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither [Do not read]			5
Don't know [Do not read]			9

<b>82_ZIM.</b>			
<b>Statement 1: Local Zimbabwean civic organizations and non-government Organizations or NGOs are doing a lot to help the people of this country.</b>		<b>Statement 2: Local Zimbabwean civic organizations and Non-government Organizations or NGOs only advance the individual interests of their leaders; they do not do much to help the people of this country.</b>	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree with Statement 2 3	Agree very strongly with Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither [Do not read]			5
Don't know [Do not read]			9

<b>83A_ZIM.</b>			
<b>Statement 1. Those who are responsible for past political crimes should be granted amnesty, which means that they would never be prosecuted.</b>		<b>Statement 2. Those who are responsible for past political crimes should be held accountable; they should face consequences for what they have done.</b>	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree with Statement 2 3	Agree very strongly with Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither [Do not read]			5
Don't know [Do not read]			9

<b>83B_ZIM. Let us consider amnesty. There are various conditions under which amnesty for political crimes could possibly be provided. If you could choose only one of the following options for amnesty, what would it be? [Read options] [Choose one]</b>	
Unconditional or "blanket" amnesty to <i>all</i> abusers, including senior leaders who issued orders to commit violent acts	1
Unconditional amnesty <i>only</i> to junior officials, that is, those who were simply following orders	2
Amnesty conditional upon perpetrators publicly telling the truth about their crimes	3
Amnesty conditional upon perpetrators publicly apologizing and expressing remorse to victims	4
Under <i>no</i> conditions should <i>any</i> form of amnesty be offered	5
None of these [Do not read]	0
Don't Know [Do not read]	9

**83C\_ZIM. Now let us consider accountability. There are various ways that individuals who are responsible for past political crimes can be held accountable. If you could choose only one of the following options, what would it be? [Read options] [Choose one]**

Trying them in an international court of law	1
Trying them in a Zimbabwean court of law	2
Creating a system of community courts to try them	3
Having them face a system of traditional justice, for example, through chiefs and elders	4
Under no conditions should any form of accountability be attempted	5
None of these [Do not read]	0
DK [Do not read]	9

**Let's go back to talking about you.**

**84. What is your ethnic community, cultural group or tribe? Do NOT read options. Code from response] [If respondent does not identify any group on this question – that is, IF they REFUSE to answer (9998), DON'T KNOW (9999) or mention "Zimbabwean only (9990)" – then circle 7 = Not Applicable for Q85A and Q85B and continue to question Q85C.]**

Ndebele	860	Venda	867
Shona	861	Kalanga	868
ZeZuru	862	Tonga	869
Korekore	863	Zimbabwean only, or "doesn't think of self in those terms"	9990
Karanga	864	Refused to answer	9998
Manyika	865	Don't know	9999
Ndau	866	Other [Specify]: _____	Post code _____

**85A. How often are \_\_\_\_\_s [R's Ethnic Group] treated unfairly by the government? [Read out options] [If respondent did not identify any group on Q84 – that is, IF they REFUSED to answer (9998), DIDN'T KNOW (9999), or said "Zimbabwean only" (9990) – then circle 7 = Not Applicable for questions Q85A and Q85B and continue to question Q85C.]**

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

**85B. Let us suppose that you had to choose between being a Zimbabwean and being a \_\_\_\_\_ [R's ETHNIC GROUP]. Which of the following statements best expresses your feelings? [If respondent did not identify any group on Q84 – that is, IF they REFUSED to answer (9998), DIDN'T KNOW (9999), or said "Zimbabwean only" (9990) – then circle 7 = Not Applicable for questions 85A and 85B and continue to question 85C.]**

I feel only Zimbabwean	5
I feel more Zimbabwean than _____ [insert R's ethnic group]	4
I feel equally Zimbabwean and _____ [insert R's ethnic group]	3
I feel more _____ [insert R's ethnic group] than Zimbabwean	2
I feel only _____ [insert R's ethnic group]	1
Not applicable [Do not read]	7
Don't know [Do not read]	9

**85C. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statement: It makes you proud to be called a Zimbabwean. [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion.]**

Strongly disagree	1
Disagree	2
Neither agree nor disagree	3
Agree	4
Strongly Agree	5
Don't know [Do not read]	9

86. In your opinion, which of the following people have a right to be a citizen of Zimbabwe? A citizen would have the right to get Zimbabwean passport and to vote in Zimbabwean elections if they are at least 18 years old.			
	Yes	No	Don't know [DNR]
A. A person born in Zimbabwe with one Zimbabwean and one non Zimbabwean parent?	1	0	9
B. A person born in Zimbabwe with two non- Zimbabwean parents?	1	0	9
C. The wife of a Zimbabwean man, even if she was born outside of Zimbabwe?	1	0	9
D. The husband of a Zimbabwean woman, even if he was born outside of Zimbabwe?	1	0	9
E. A person who came from another country, but who has lived and worked in Zimbabwe for many years, and wishes to make Zimbabwe his or her home?	1	0	9
F. A person who wishes to hold dual citizenship, that is, to be a citizen both of Zimbabwe and some other country?	1	0	9

Let's turn to your views on your fellow citizens.	
87. Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you must be very careful in dealing with people?	
Most people can be trusted	1
Must be very careful	0
Don't know [Do not read]	9

88. How much do you trust each of the following types of people? [Read out options]					
	Not at all	Just a little	Somewhat	A lot	Don't know [DNR]
A. Your relatives	0	1	2	3	9
B. Your neighbours	0	1	2	3	9
C. Other people you know	0	1	2	3	9

89A. Do you feel close to any particular political party?	
No (does NOT feel close to ANY party)	0
Yes (feels close to a party)	1
Refused to answer	8
Does not know [Do not read]	9

89B. [Interviewer: if "Yes" to Q89A] Which party is that? [If answer to Q89A was "No," "Don't Know," or "Refused to answer," circle 9997 = Not applicable.]	
Movement for Democratic Change-Tsvangirai [MDC-T]	860
Zimbabwe African Union-Patriotic Front [ZANU-PF]	861
Movement for Democratic Change-Mutambara [MDC-M]	862
Mavambo.Kusile.Dawn. (MKD)	863
Zimbabwe African Patriotic Union-Dabengwa [ZAPU-Dabengwa]	864
Movement for Democratic Change-Ncube [MDC-N]	865
Other [Specify]: _____	Post code
Not applicable [ONLY if response to Q89A was "No," "Don't Know," or "Refused to answer"]	9997
Refused to answer [i.e., answered "Yes" to Q89A, but will not identify party]	9998
Don't know	9999

90. Which of these things do you personally own?			
	No (Don't own)	Yes (Do Own)	Don't know [DNR]
A. Radio	0	1	9
B. Television	0	1	9
C. Motor Vehicle, Car or motorcycle	0	1	9

<b>91. How often do you use: [Read out options]</b>						
	Every day	A few times a week	A few times a month	Less than once a month	Never	Don't know [DNR]
<b>A. A computer?</b>	4	3	2	1	0	9
<b>B. The internet?</b>	4	3	2	1	0	9

<b>92. Do you ever use a mobile phone? If so, who owns the mobile phone that you use most often? [Read out options]</b>	
No, I never use a mobile phone	0
Yes, I use a mobile phone that I own	1
Yes, I use a mobile phone owned by someone else in my household	2
Yes, I use a mobile phone owned by someone outside my household	3
Don't know [Do not read]	9

<b>93. How often do you normally use a mobile phone to: [Read out options]</b>						
	Never	Less than one time per day	One or two times per day	Three or four times per day	Five or more times per day	Don't know [DNR]
<b>A. Make or receive a call?</b>	0	1	2	3	4	9
<b>B. Send or receive a text message or SMS?</b>	0	1	2	3	4	9
<b>C. Send or receive money or pay a bill</b>	0	1	2	3	4	9

<b>94. How many mobile phones are owned in total by members of your household, including yourself?</b>	
[Interviewer: Enter two digit number. Don't Know = 99]	

<b>95. Please tell me whether each of the following are available inside your house, inside your compound, or outside your compound: [Read out options]</b>						
	None, no latrine available [DNR]	Inside the house	Inside the compound	Outside the compound	Don't know [DNR]	
<b>A. Your main source of water for household use</b>		1	2	3	9	
<b>B. A toilet or latrine</b>	0	1	2	3	9	

<b>96. Do you have a job that pays a cash income? [If yes, ask:] Is it full-time or part-time? [If no, ask:] Are you presently looking for a job?</b>	
No (not looking)	0
No (looking)	1
Yes, part time	2
Yes, full time	3
Don't know [Do not read]	9

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



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

99. If a presidential election were held tomorrow, which party's candidate would you vote for? [Do not read options. Code from response]			
Movement for Democratic Change-Tsvangirai [MDC-T]			860
Zimbabwe African National Union- Patriotic Front [ZANU-PF]			861
Movement for Democratic Change-Mutambara [MDC-M]			862
Mavambo.Kusile.Dawn. [MKD]			863
Zimbabwe African people's Union-Dabengwa [ZAPU-Dabengwa]			864
Movement for Democratic Change-Ncube [MDC-N]			865
Other [Specify]: _____	Post Code		
Would not vote			9997
Refused to answer			9998
Don't know			9999

100. Just one more question: Who do you think sent us to do this interview? [Do not read options. Code from response.]	
No one	0
<b>Government</b>	
Inclusive Government (IG)	1
National / Union Government	2
Provincial / Regional Government	3
Local Government	4
President's / Prime Minister's Office	5
Parliament / National Assembly	6
Government Census / Statistics Office	7
National Intelligence/Secret Service	8
Education or Social Affairs Department	9
Tax or Finance Department / Ministry	10
Health Department / Ministry	11
Other Government Department / Ministry	12
Constitutional Commission	13
National Electoral Commission	14
National Planning Commission	15
Public Utility Company	16
<b>Private</b>	
NGO	17
Political Party / Politicians	18
Research Company / Organization / Programme (including the Afrobarometer National Partner)	19
Newspapers / Media	20
University / School / College	21
Private company	22
International Organization	23
God or a Religious Organization	24
Other	995
Refused to answer	9998
Don't know	999

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

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

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

	Hour	Minutes
ENDTIME. Time interview ended [Interviewer: Enter hour and minute, use 24 hr. clock]		

LENGTH. For Office Use: Duration of interview in minutes		
--	--	--

<b>101. Respondent's gender</b>	
Male	1
Female	2

<b>102. Respondent's race?</b>			
Black / African	1	South Asian (Indian, Pakistani, etc.)	5
White / European	2	East Asian (Chinese, Korean, Indonesian, etc.)	6
Coloured / Mixed race	3	Other	95
Arab / Lebanese / North African	4		

<b>103. What was the primary language used in the interview?</b>			
English	1	Ndebele	860
		Shona	861
			Codes
		Other <i>[Specify]:</i>	Post code

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

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

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

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

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

**109. Which questions did the respondent have trouble answering?** [Identify up to three. If the respondent had trouble with less than three, enter "000" in the boxes.]

A. First question			
B. Second question			
C. Third question			

<b>110. What was the respondent's attitude toward you during the interview?</b>			
<b>A. Was he or she</b>	1 Friendly	2 In between	3 Hostile
<b>B. Was he or she</b>	1 Interested	2 In between	3 Bored
<b>C. Was he or she</b>	1 Cooperative	2 In between	3 Uncooperative
<b>D. Was he or she</b>	1 Patient	2 In between	3 Impatient
<b>E. Was he or she</b>	1 At ease	2 In between	3 Suspicious
<b>F. Was he or she</b>	1 Honest	2 In between	3 Misleading

*INTERVIEWER DETAILS*

<b>111. Interviewer Name</b> [Write in]					
<b>112. Interviewer's Number</b>	Z	I	M		
<b>113. Interviewer's Age</b>					

<b>114. Interviewer's gender</b>	
Male	1
Female	2

<b>115. Do you come from a rural or urban area?</b>	
Rural	1
Urban	2

<b>116. Interviewer's home language:</b>			
English	1	Venda	867
Ndebele	860	Kalanga	868
Shona	861	Tonga	869
Zezuru	862		
Korekore	863		
Karanga	864		
Manyika	865		
Ndau	866	Other [Specify]: _____	Post code

<b>117. Interviewer's highest level of education</b>	
Primary school completed	3
Some secondary school / high school	4
Secondary school / high school completed	5
Post-secondary qualifications, other than university e.g. a diploma or degree from a polytechnic or college	6
Some university	7
University completed	8
Post graduate	9

**SIGNATURE PAGE**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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