



# Public Attitudes Towards Transition in Zimbabwe

11 December 2009



# Overview

This survey assesses public attitudes on:

- Living conditions
- Inclusive Government
- Elections
- Constitutional reform
- Political violence
- Transitional justice

# Methodology

- 1200 Zimbabweans aged 18 or older surveyed
- Random selection using a multistage, stratified, probability sample to represent national adult population
- Face-to-face interviews in language of respondent's choice in all 10 provinces
- Fieldwork conducted September 4 to 16, 2009 by Mass Public Opinion Institute
- Survey designed by Prof. Michael Bratton of Michigan State University and Afrobarometer and by MPOI

# Party Preference

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

ZANU-PF 12%

MDC-T 55%

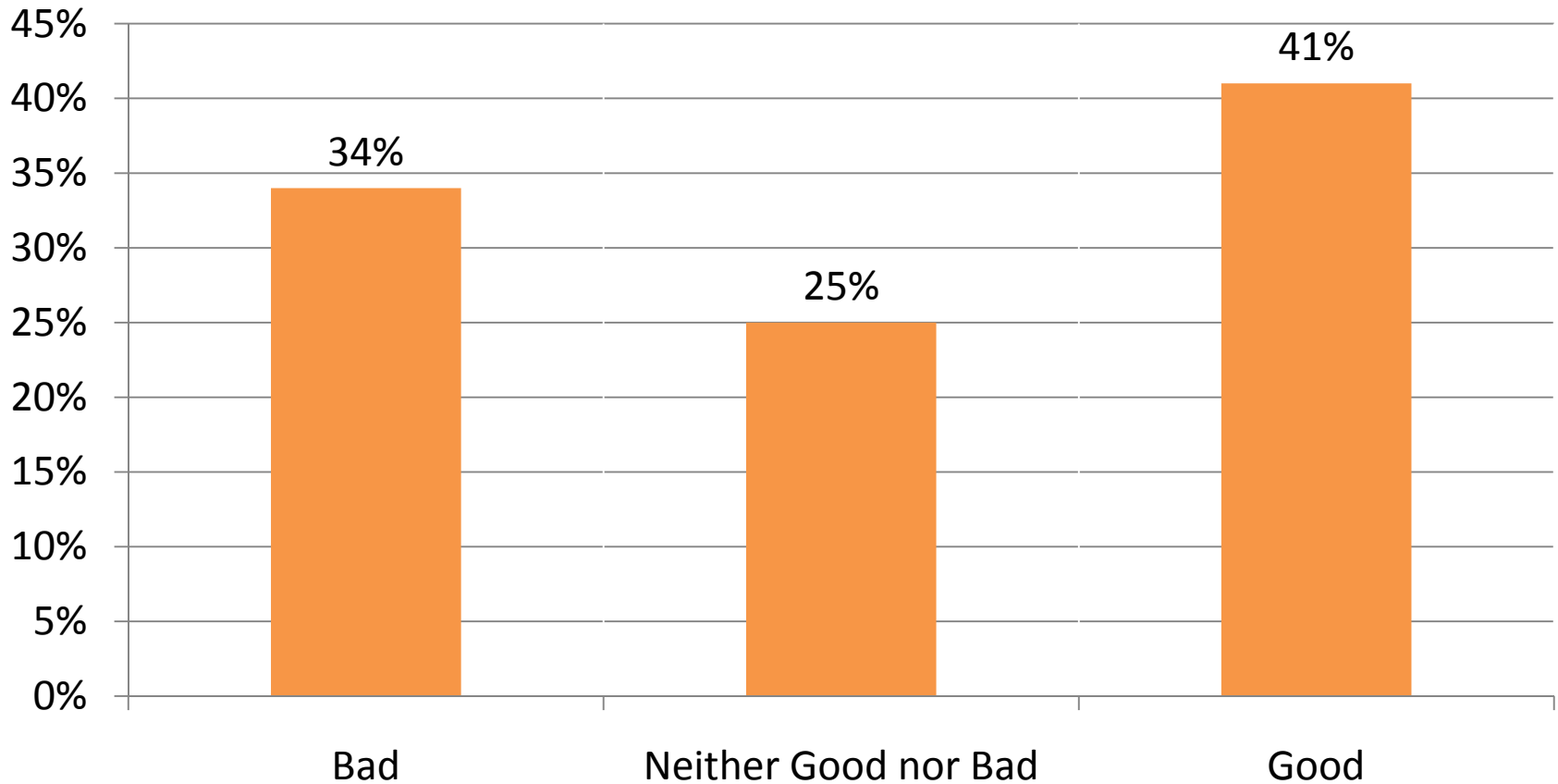
Other\* 33%

\* Includes "refused to answer," "would not vote," "don't know," and MDC-M

# Living Conditions

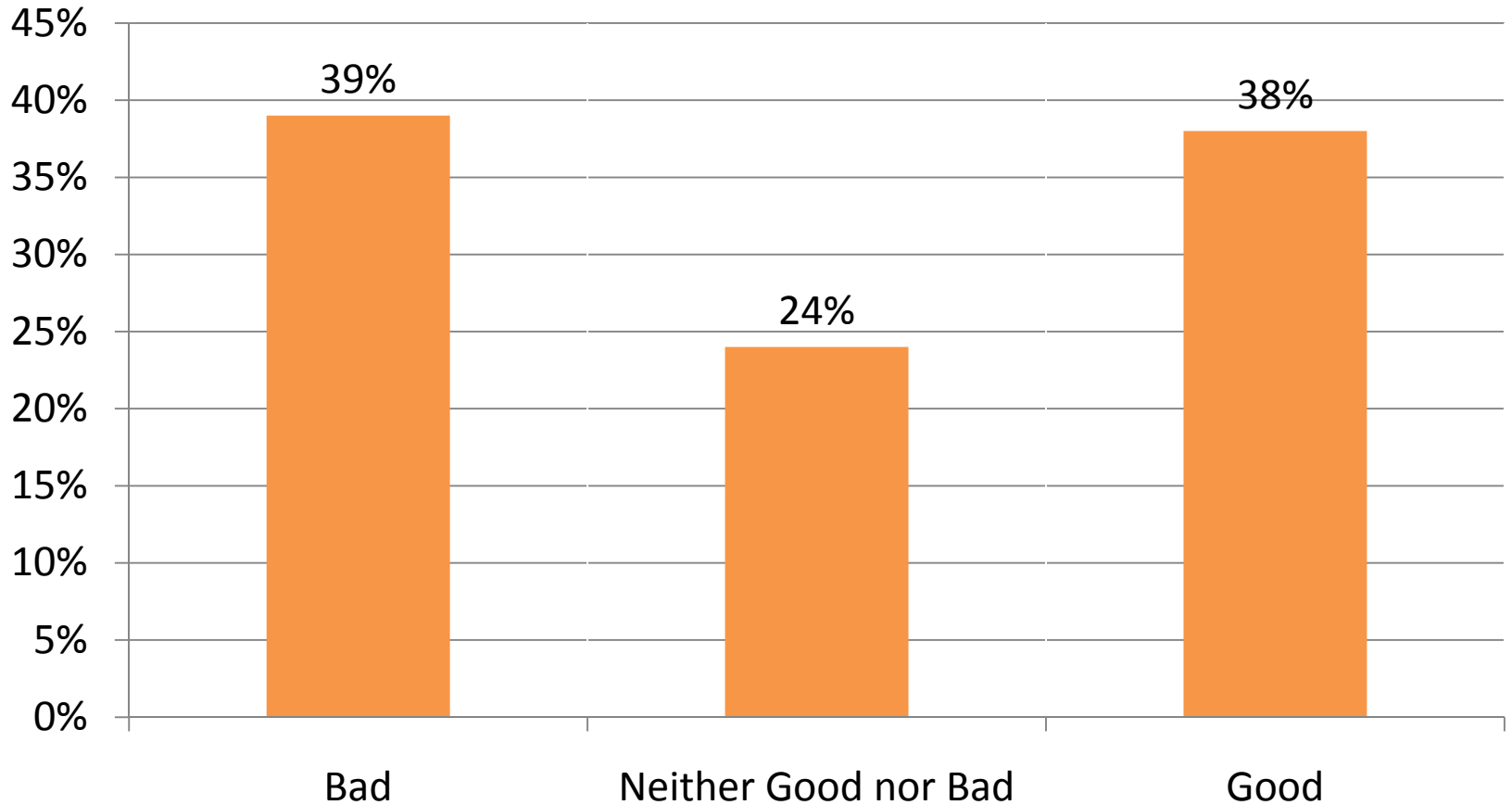
# Country's Economic Condition

In general, how would you describe the present economic condition in this country?

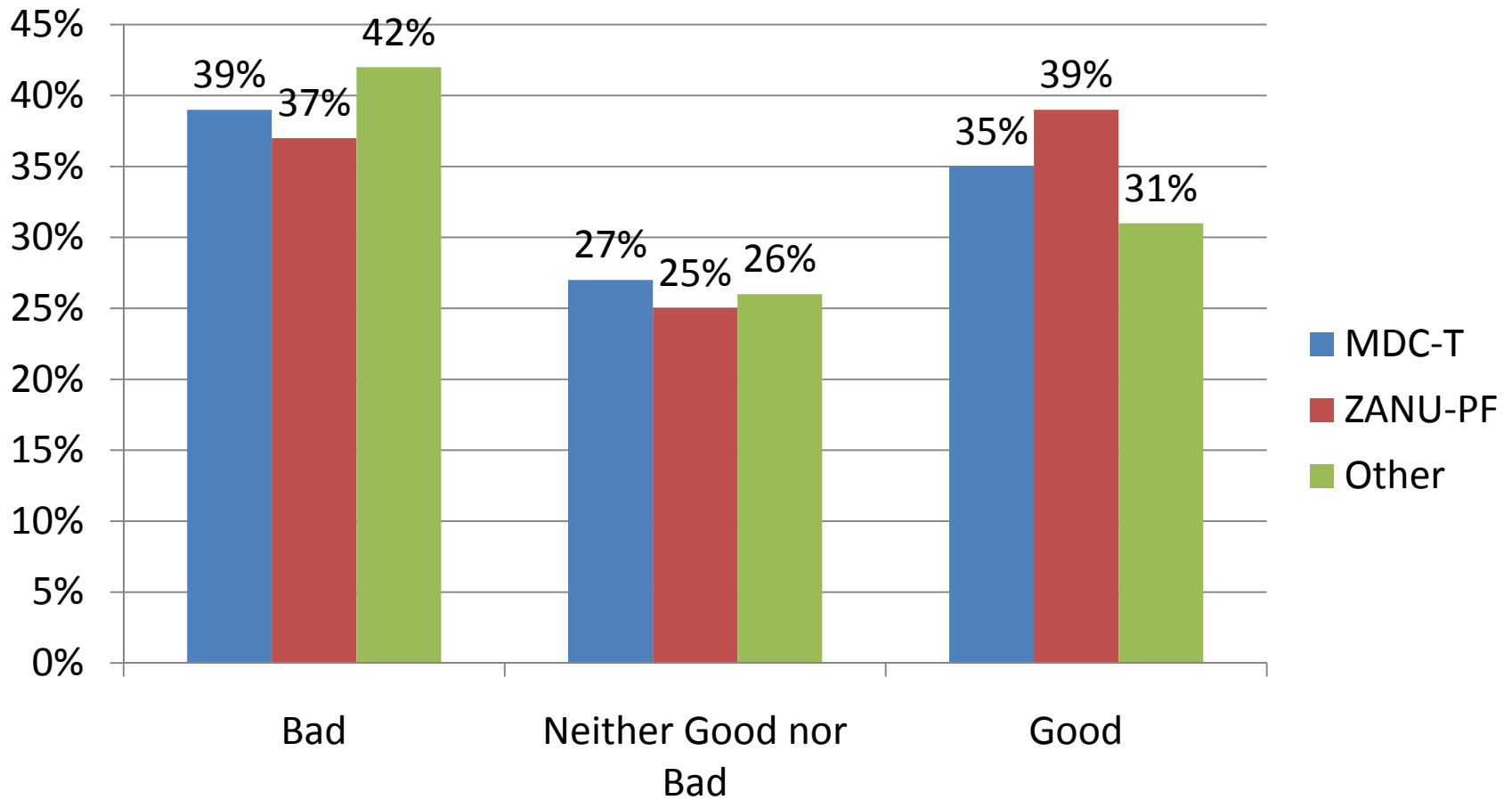


# Your Living Conditions

How would you describe your present living conditions?

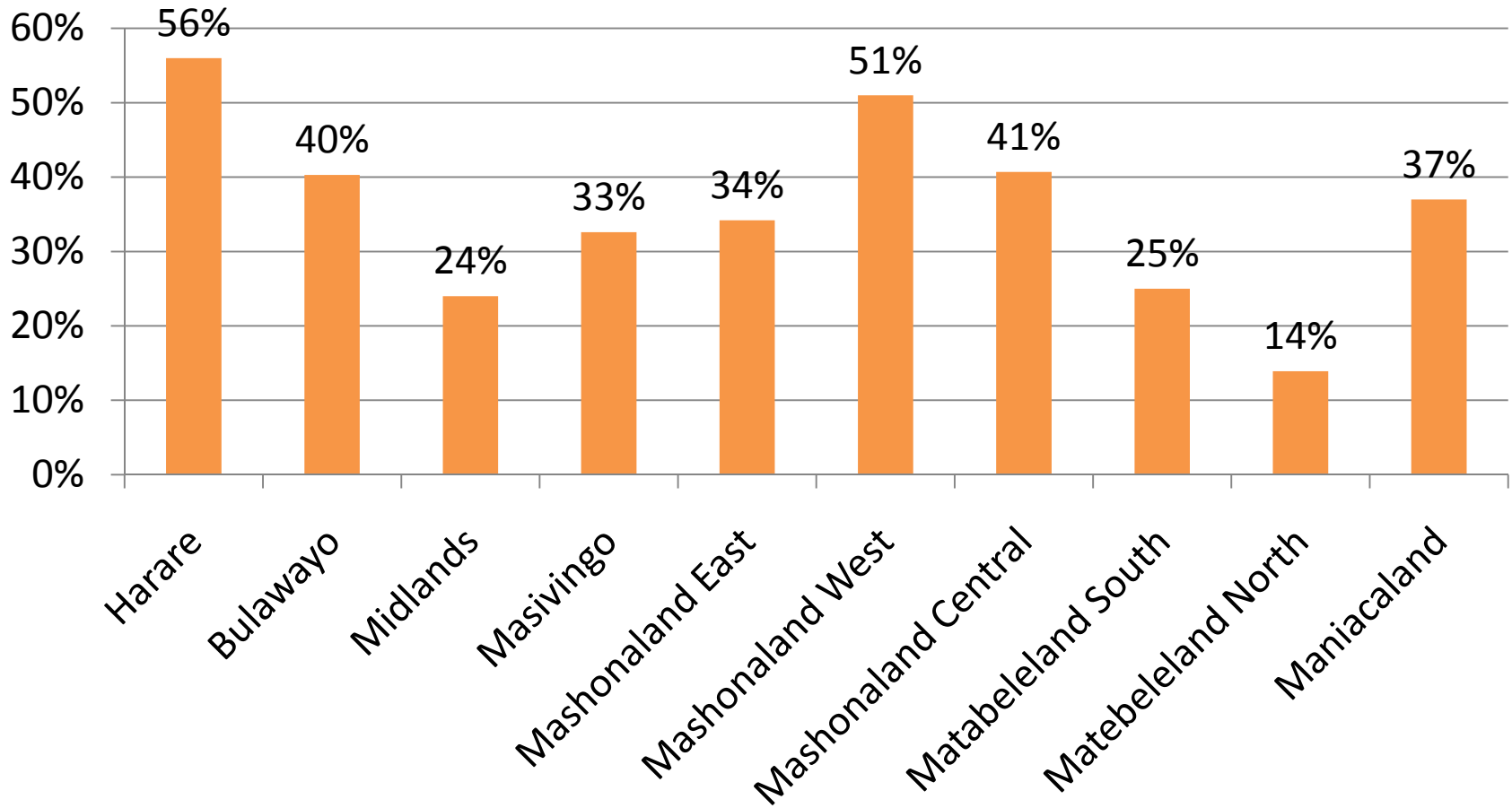


# Your Living Conditions by Party



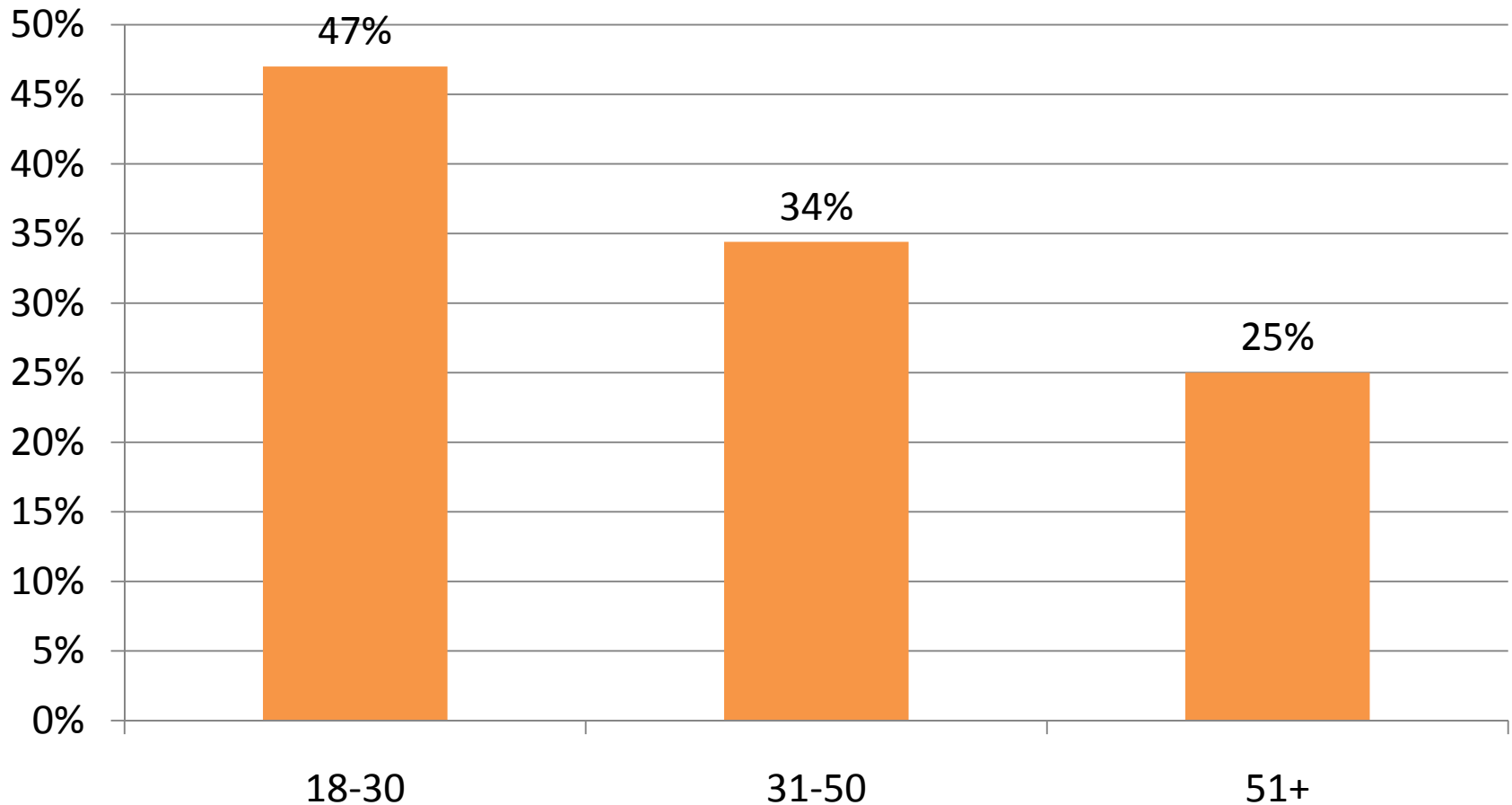
# Good Living Conditions by Province

Percentage who said their own present living conditions are “fairly good” or “very good”



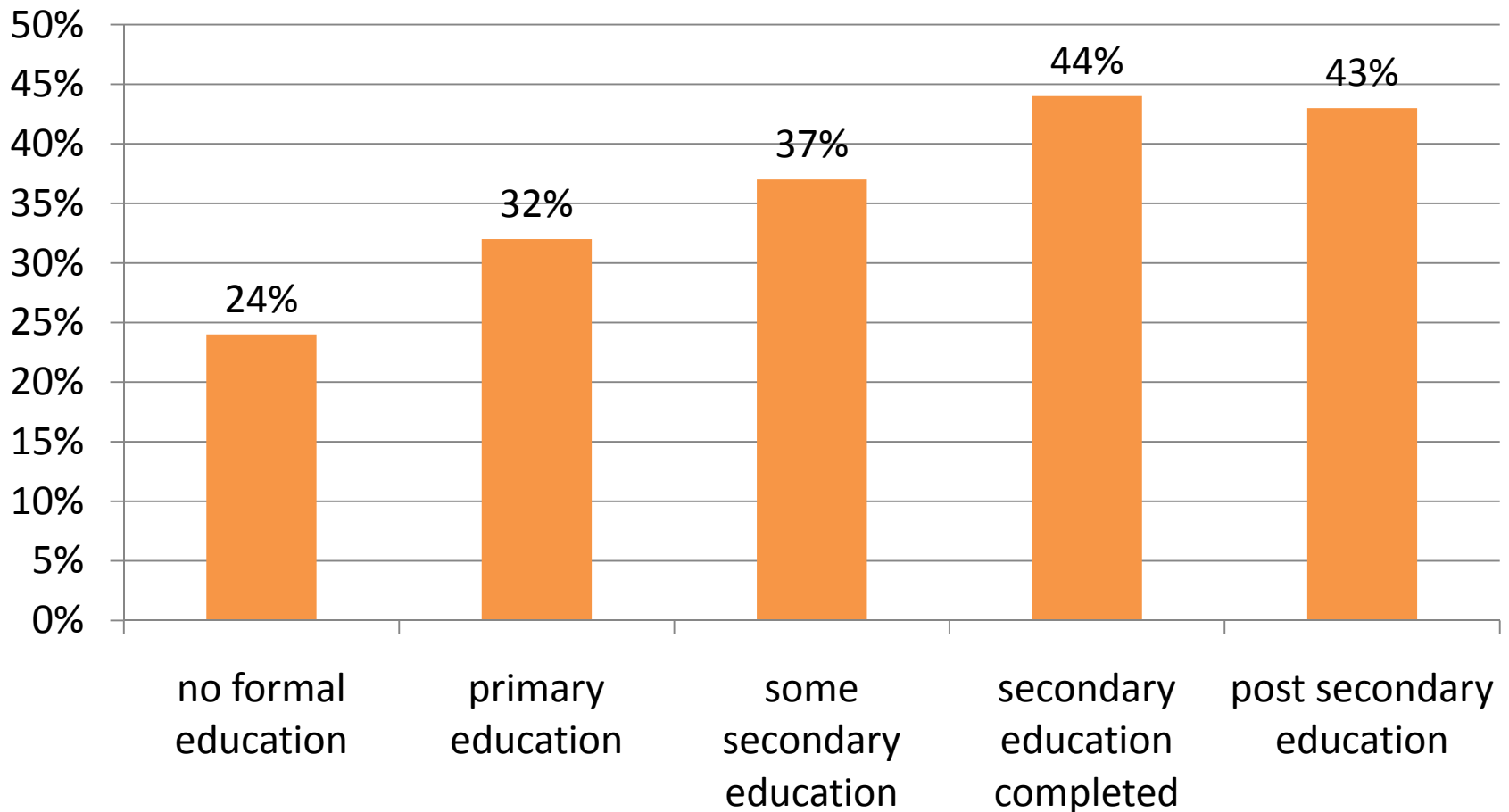
# Good Living Conditions by Age

Percentage who said their own present living conditions are “fairly good” or “very good”



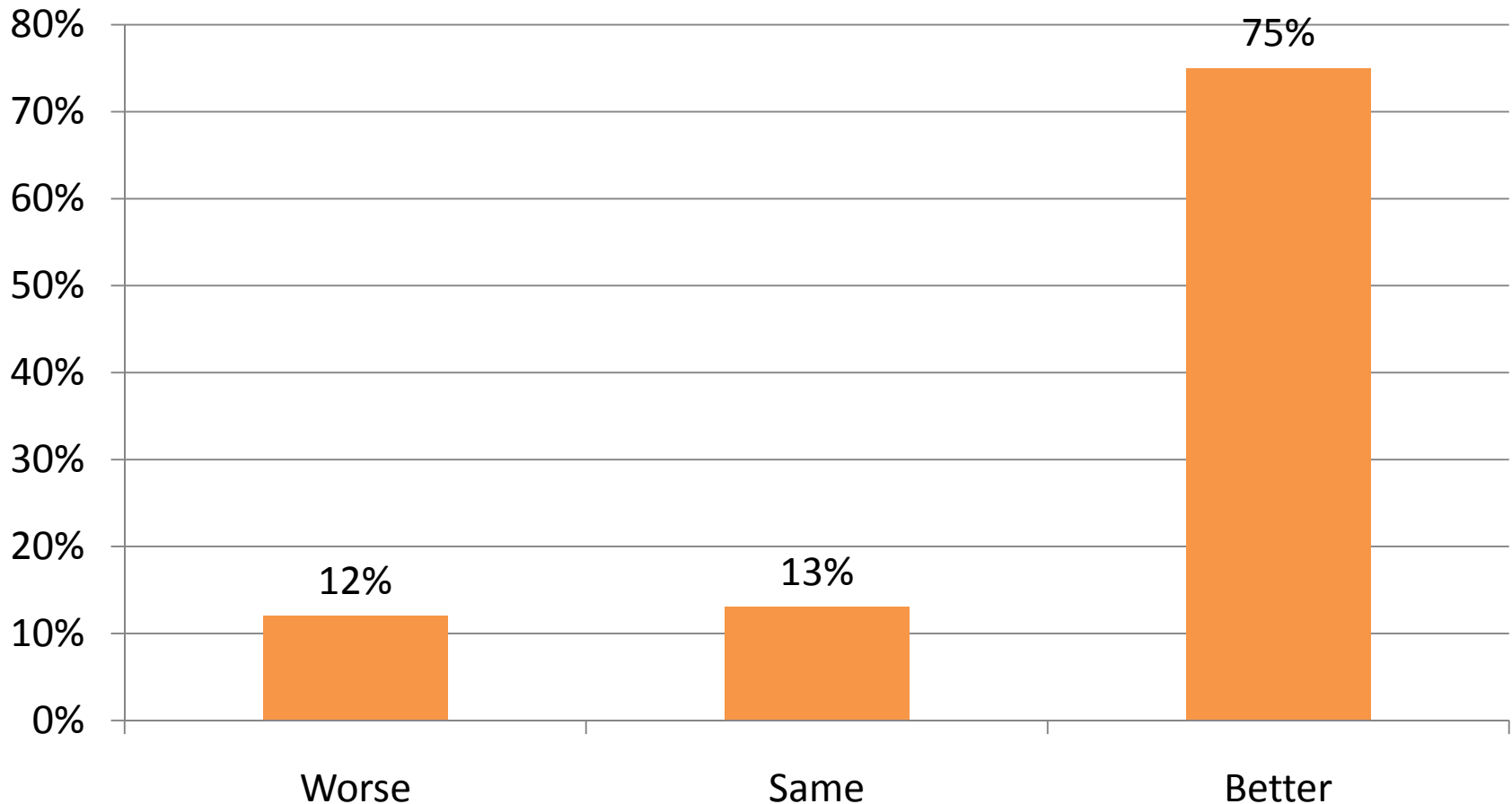
# Good Living Conditions by Education

Percentage who said their own present living conditions are “fairly good” or “very good”

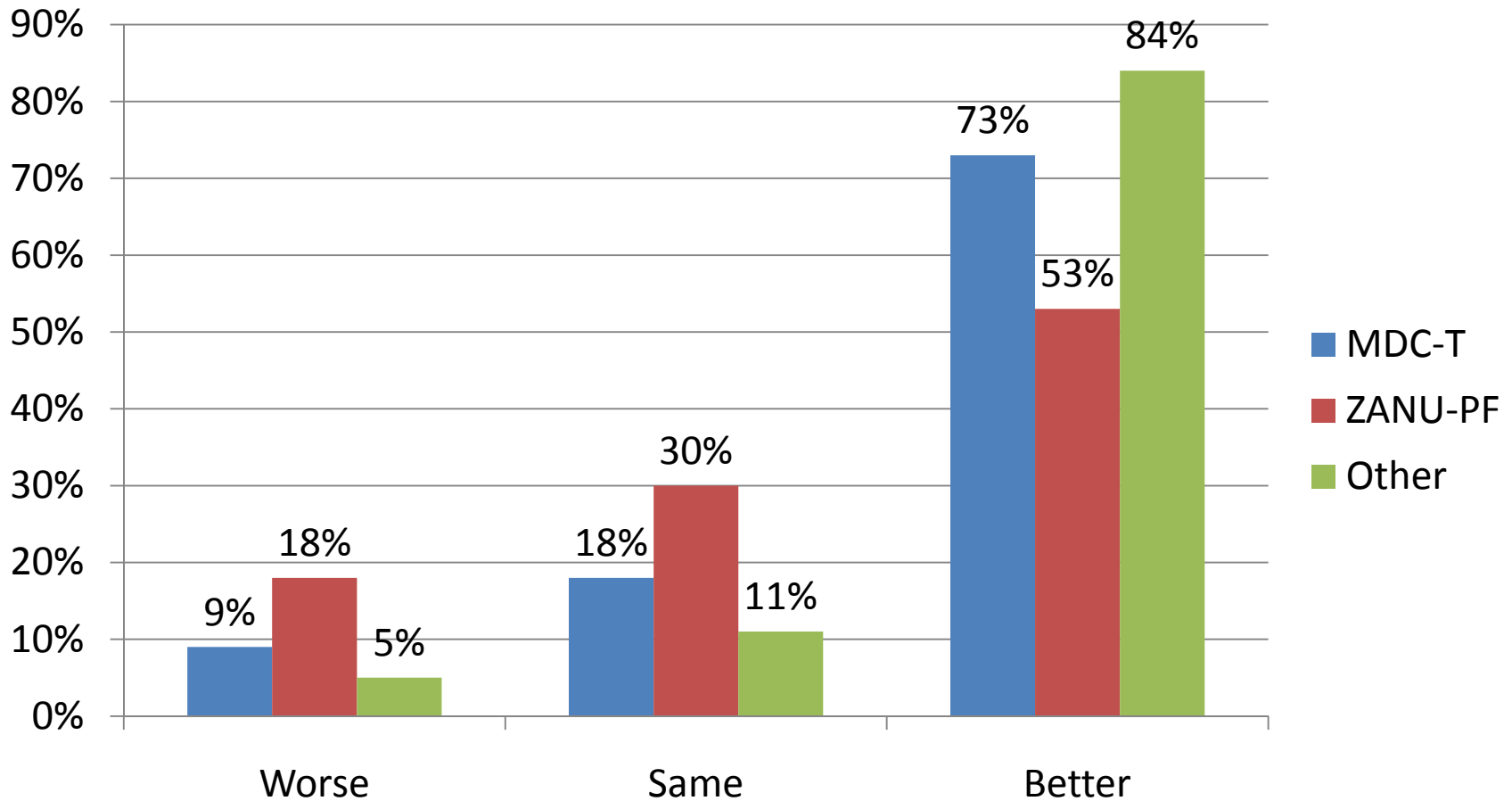


# Change in Economic Conditions

Looking back, how would you rate economic conditions in Zimbabwe compared to twelve months ago?

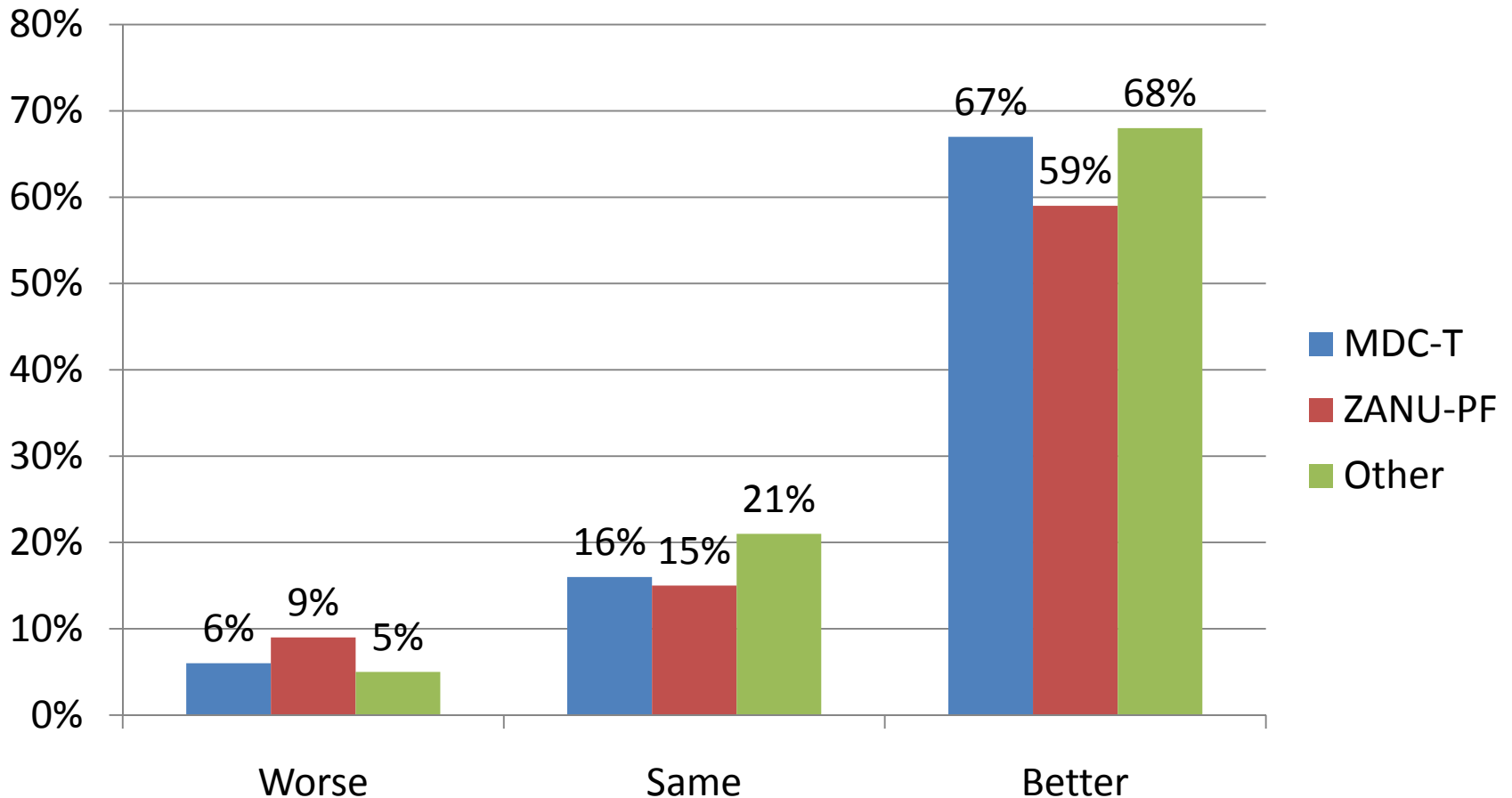


# Change in Economic Conditions by Party



# Anticipated Change in Living Conditions

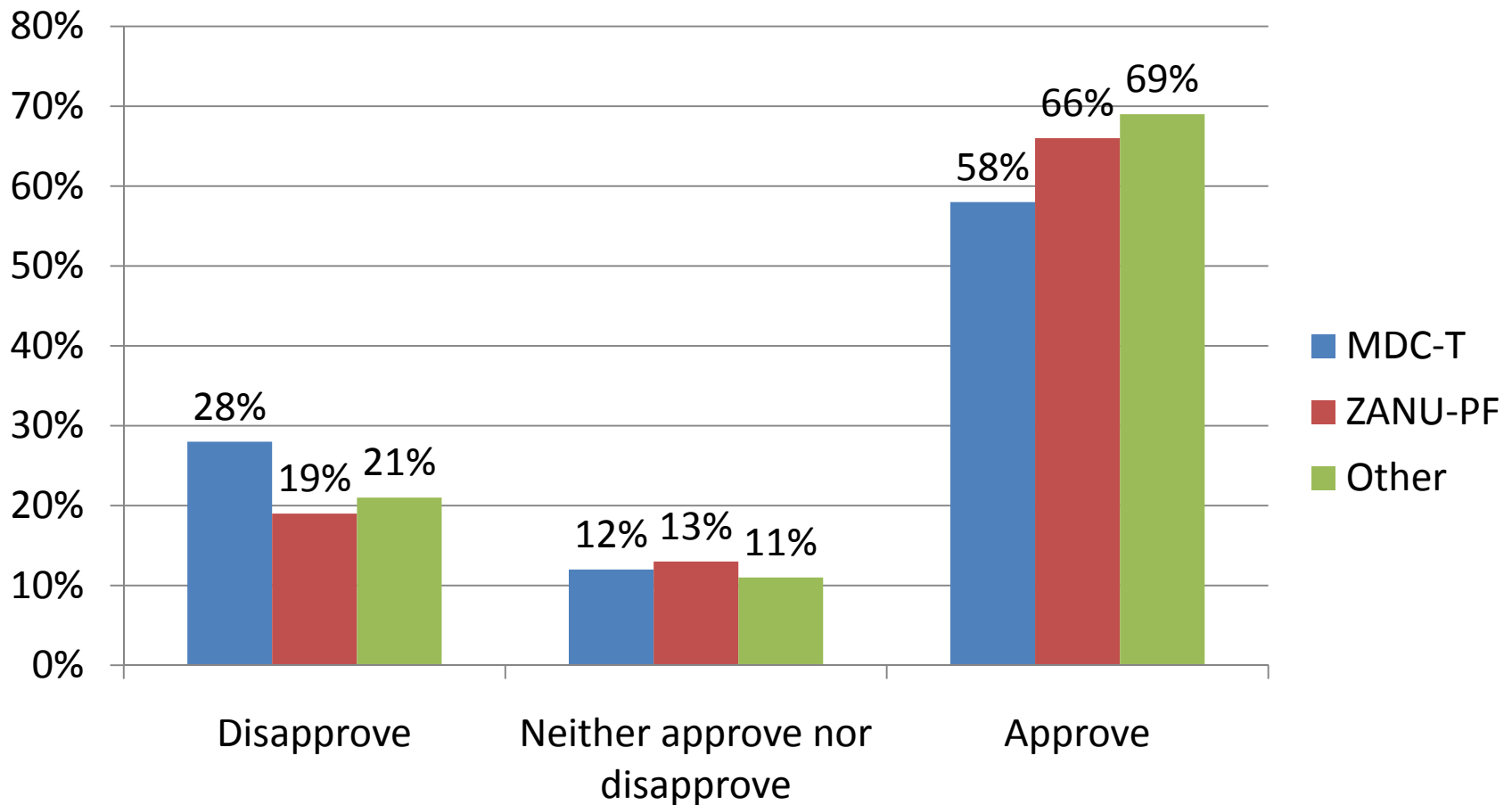
Do you expect your own living conditions to be better or worse in twelve months time?



# Inclusive Government

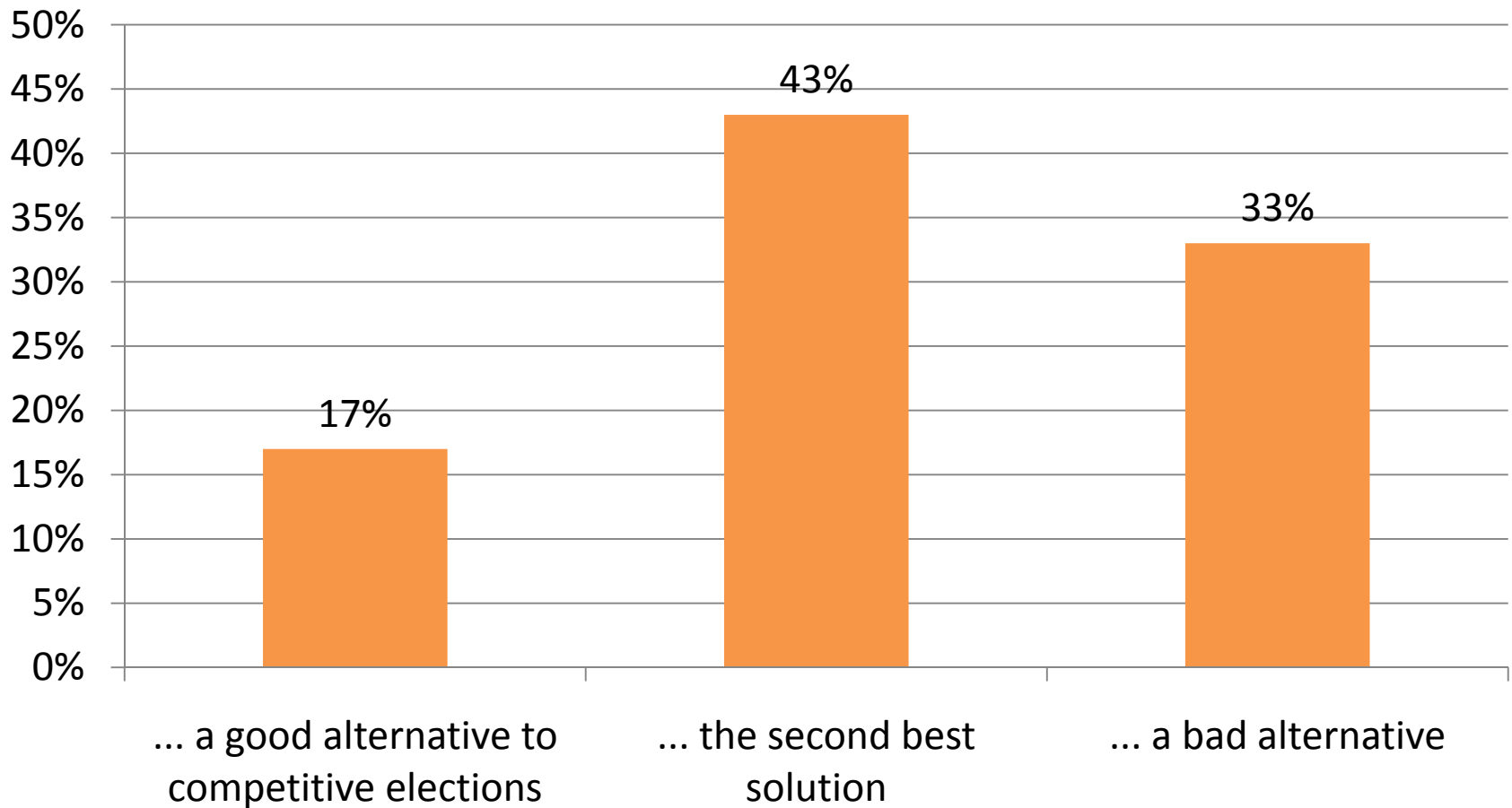
# Views on Inclusive Government

Broadly speaking, do you approve or disapprove of the agreement among Zimbabwe's political leaders to share power and to enter an Inclusive Government?

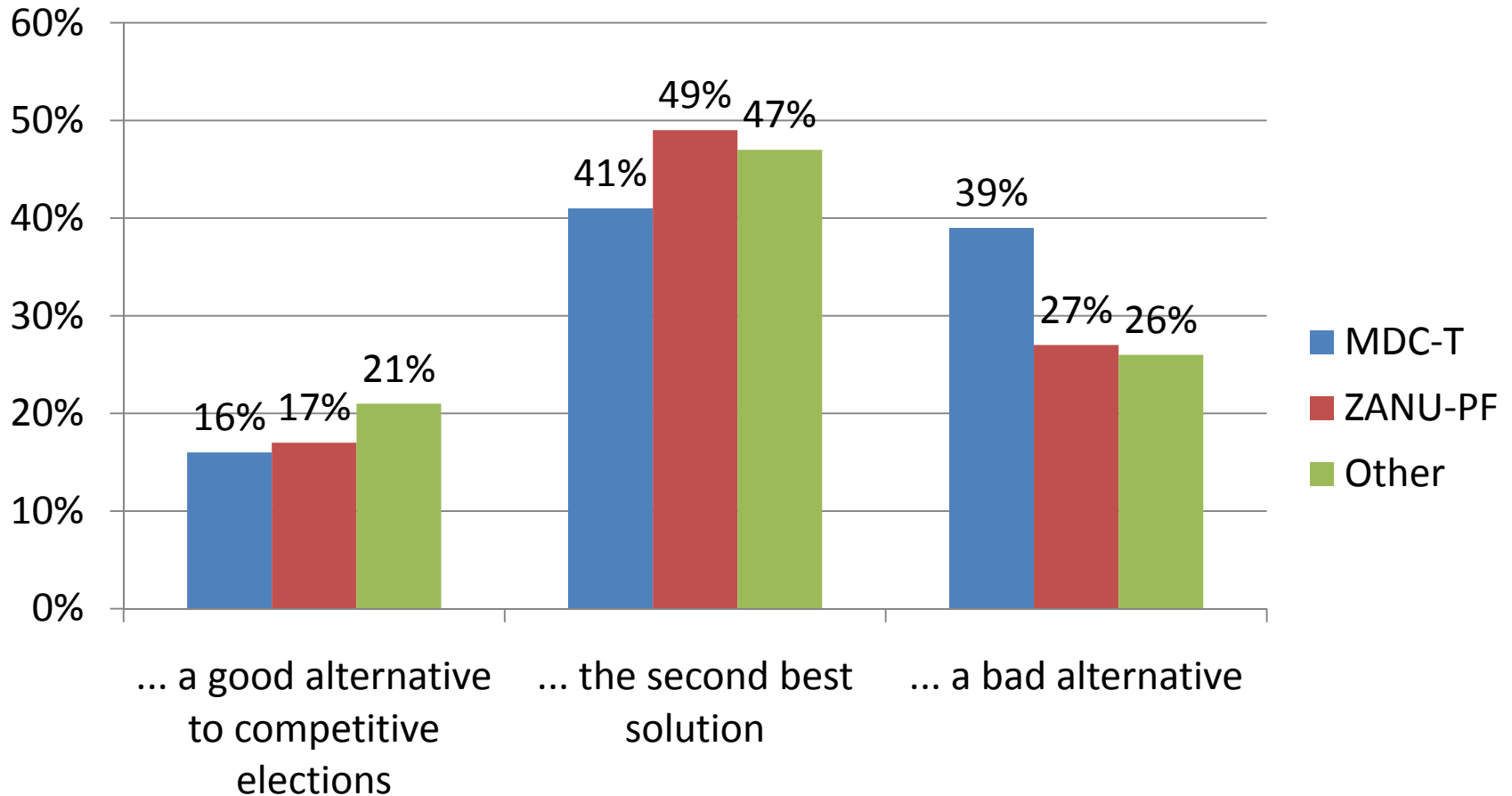


# Power Sharing

Which of the following descriptions of power sharing comes closest to your view? Power sharing is...



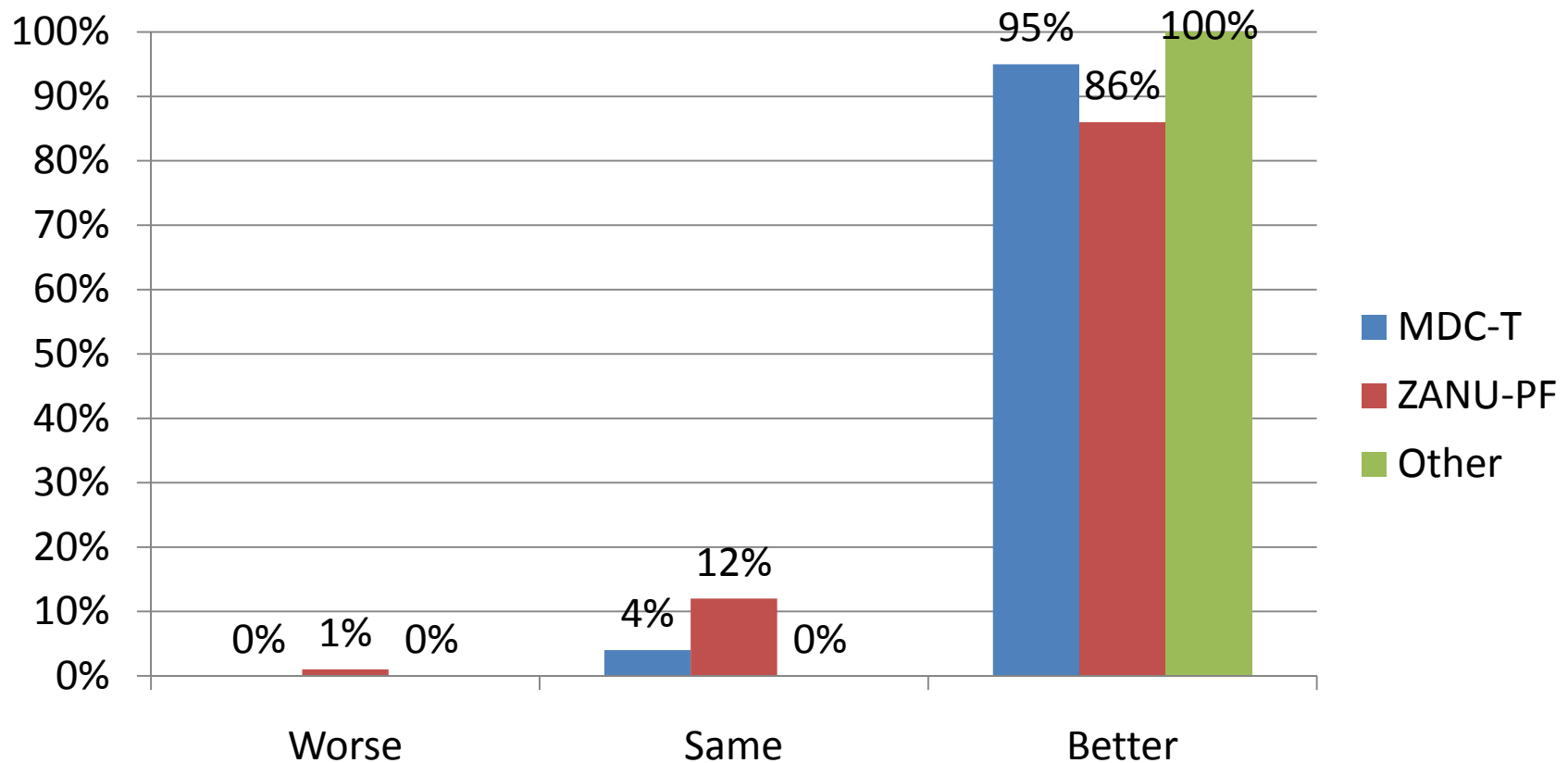
# Power Sharing by Party



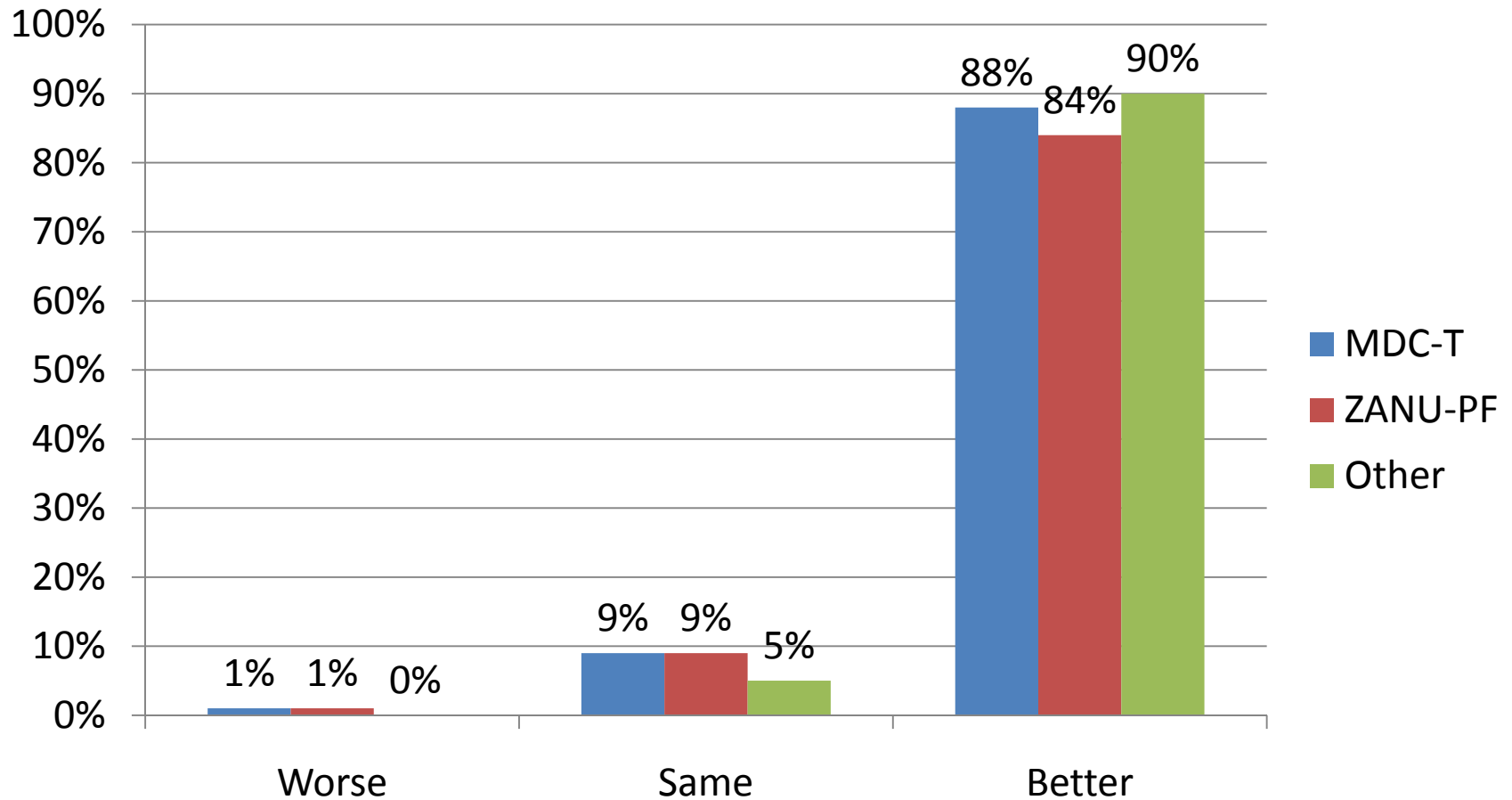
# Inclusive Government's Performance in...

How do you compare the performance of the Inclusive Government with the previous ZANU-PF government with regard to:

## ... Making Consumer Goods Available

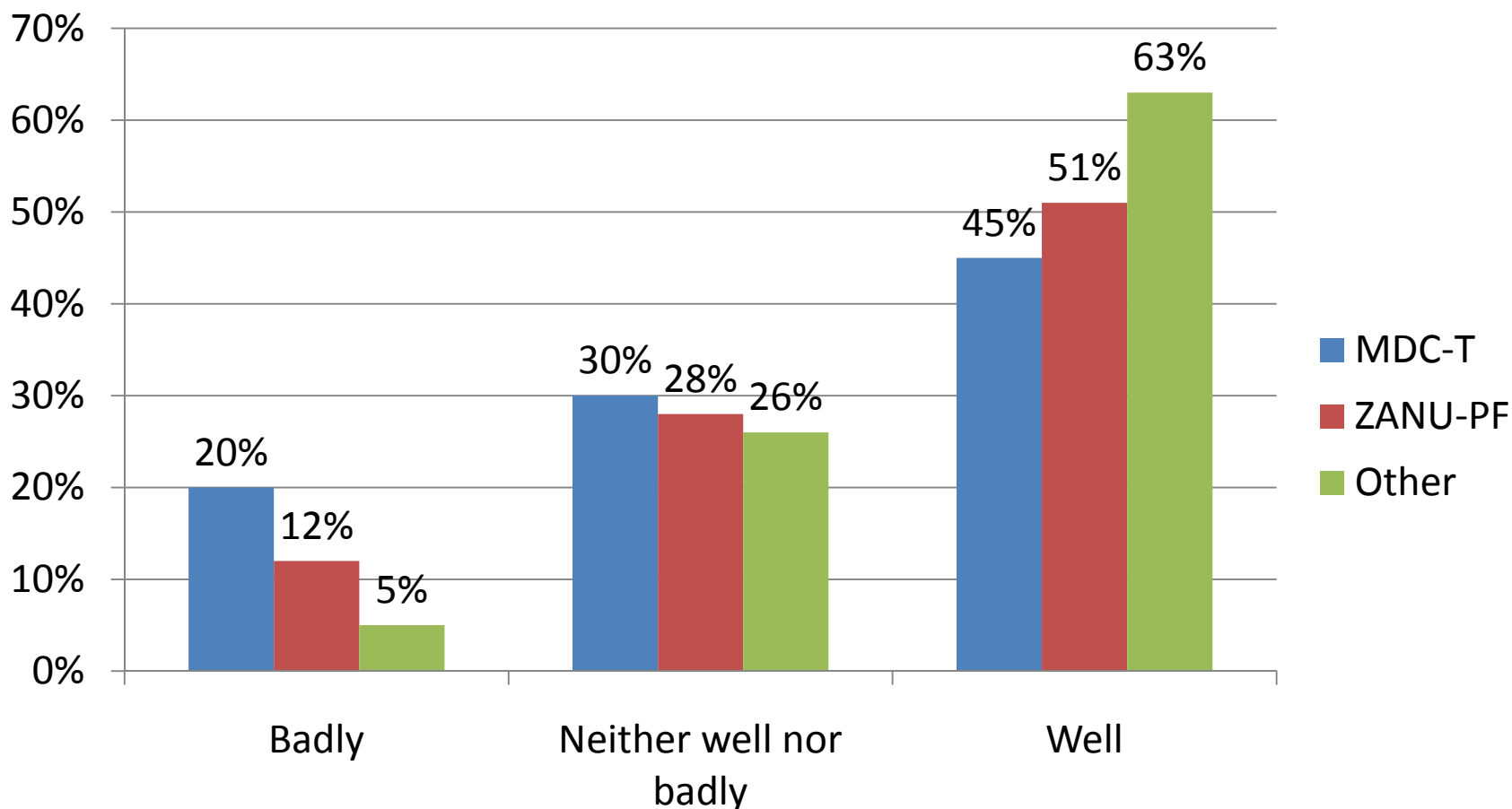


# ... Reducing Political Violence



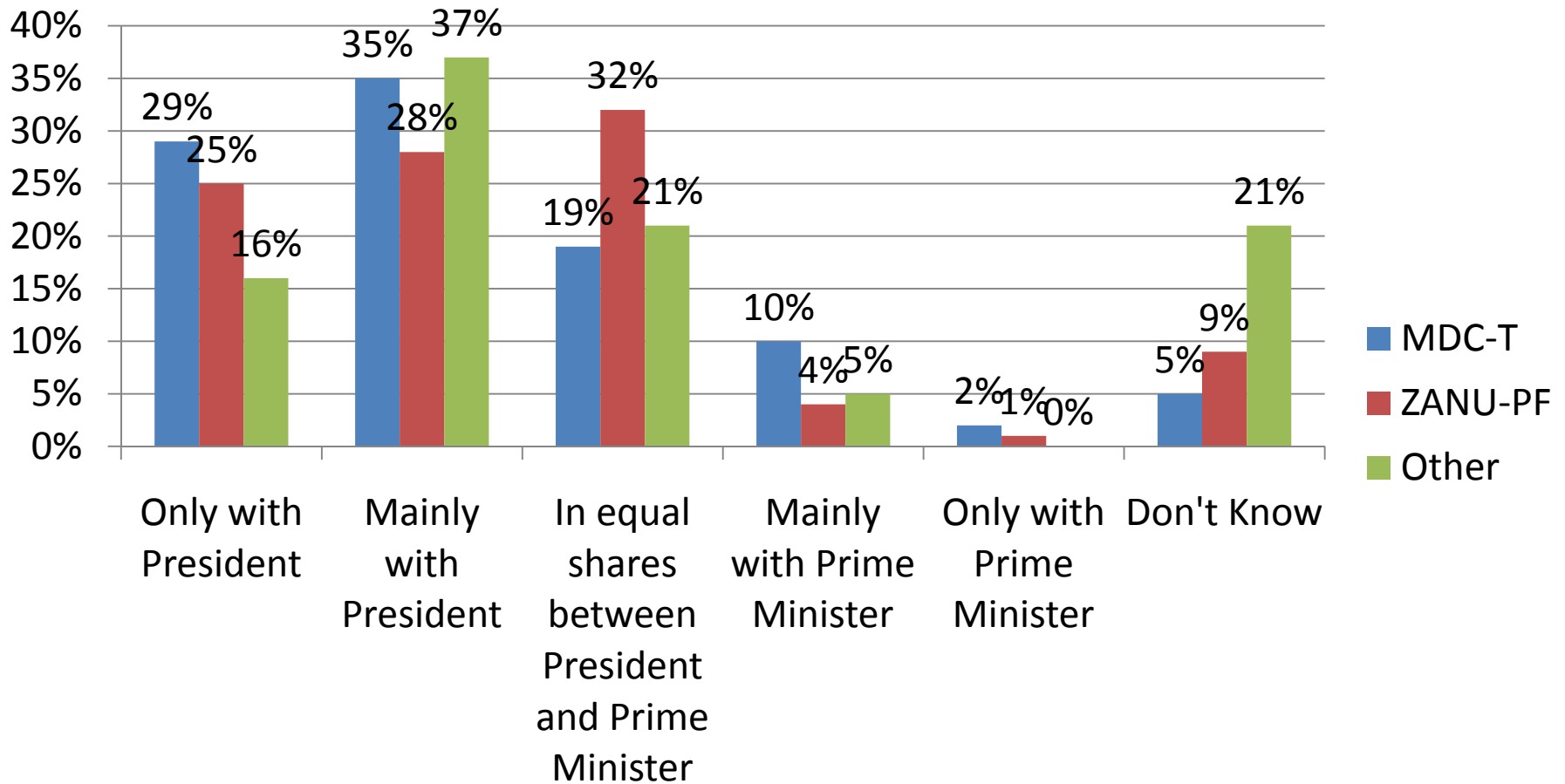
# Cooperation in Inclusive Government

In your view, how well or badly are the three parties in the Inclusive Government working together?



# Who Has Power?

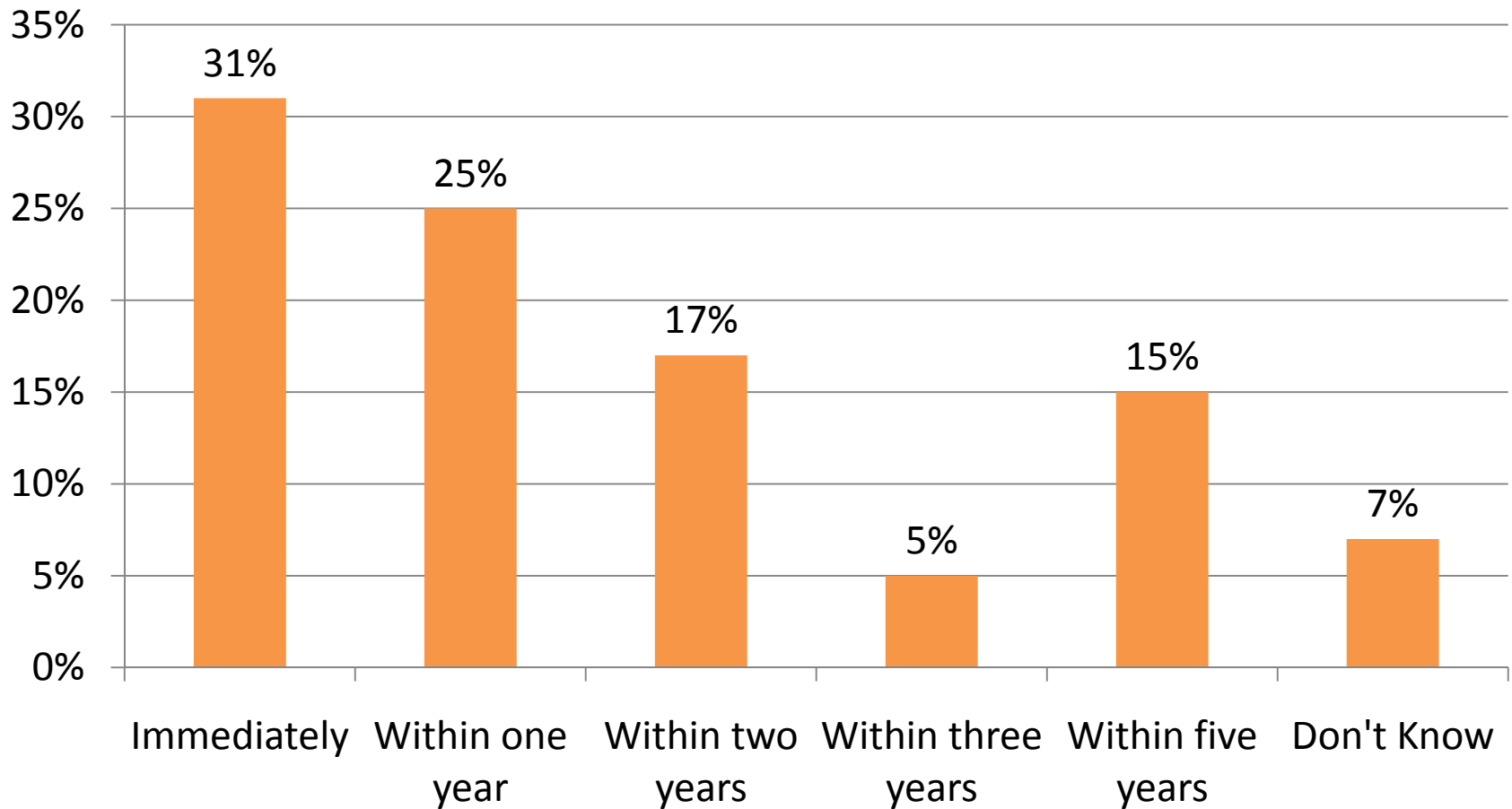
In your opinion, where does political power reside in Zimbabwe's Inclusive Government?



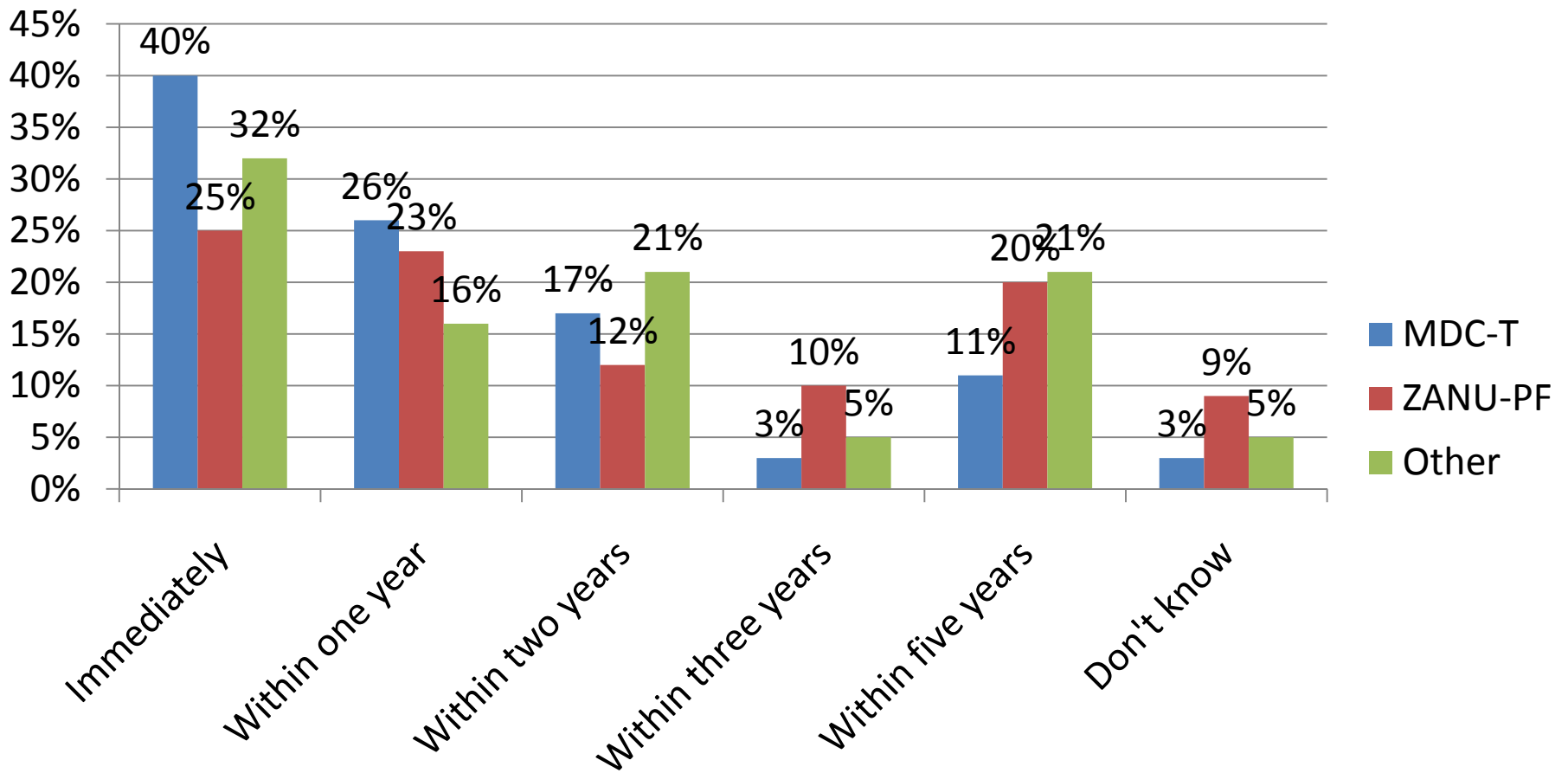
# Elections

# When Next Elections?

In your opinion, when should the next presidential and parliamentary elections be held?

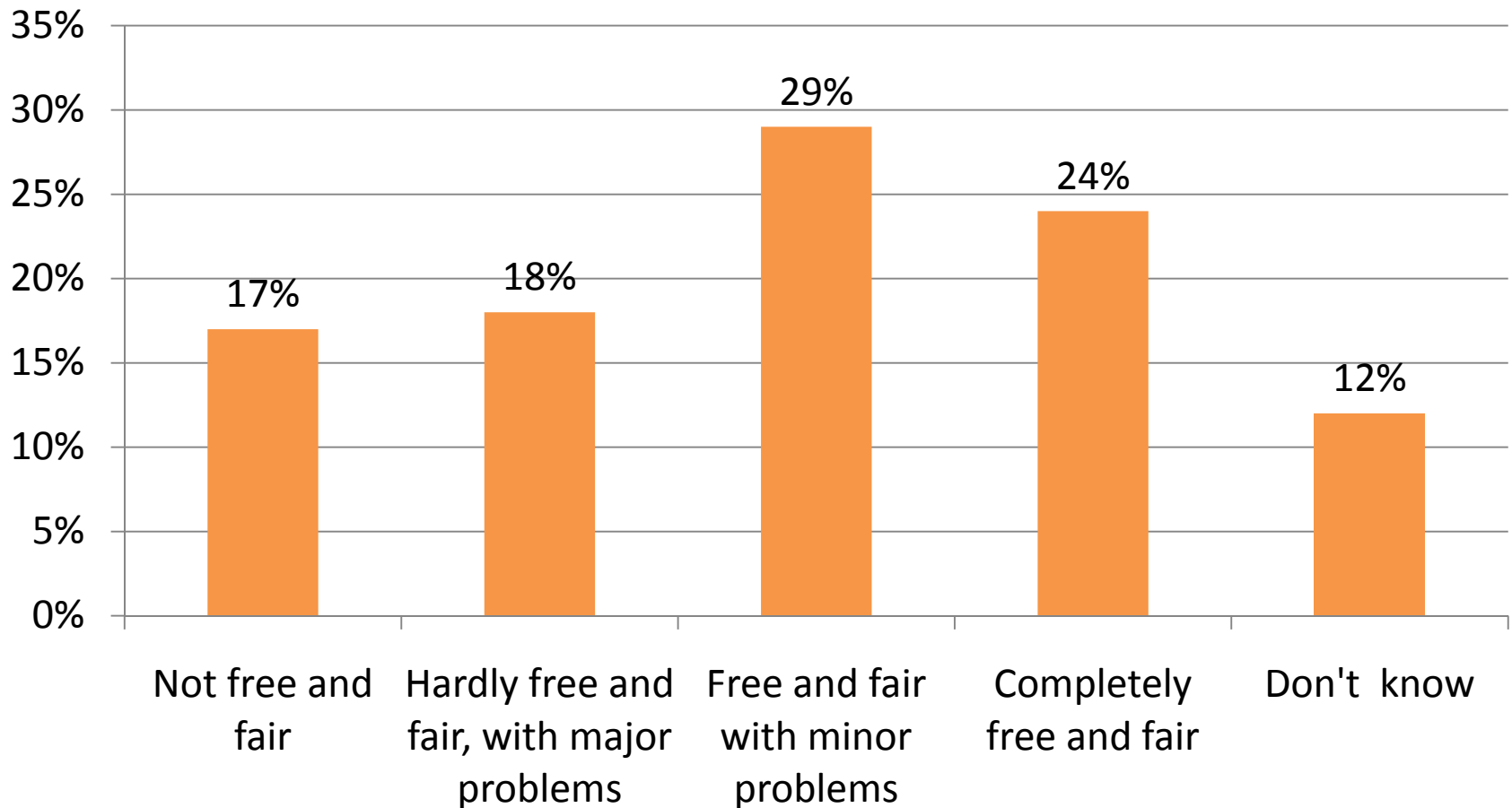


# When Next Elections? by Party Preference

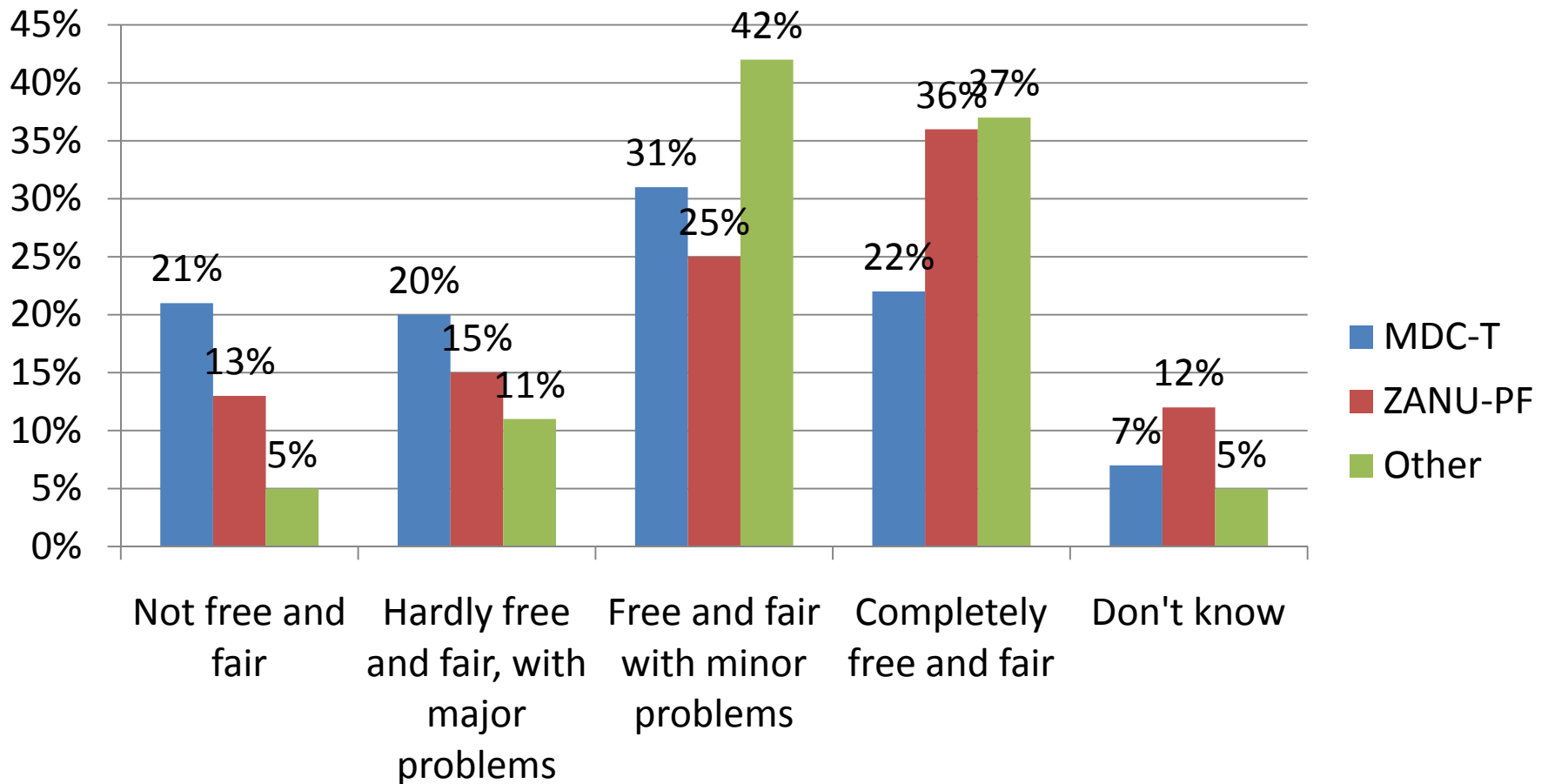


# Free and Fair Elections?

How free and fair do you expect the next general elections to be?



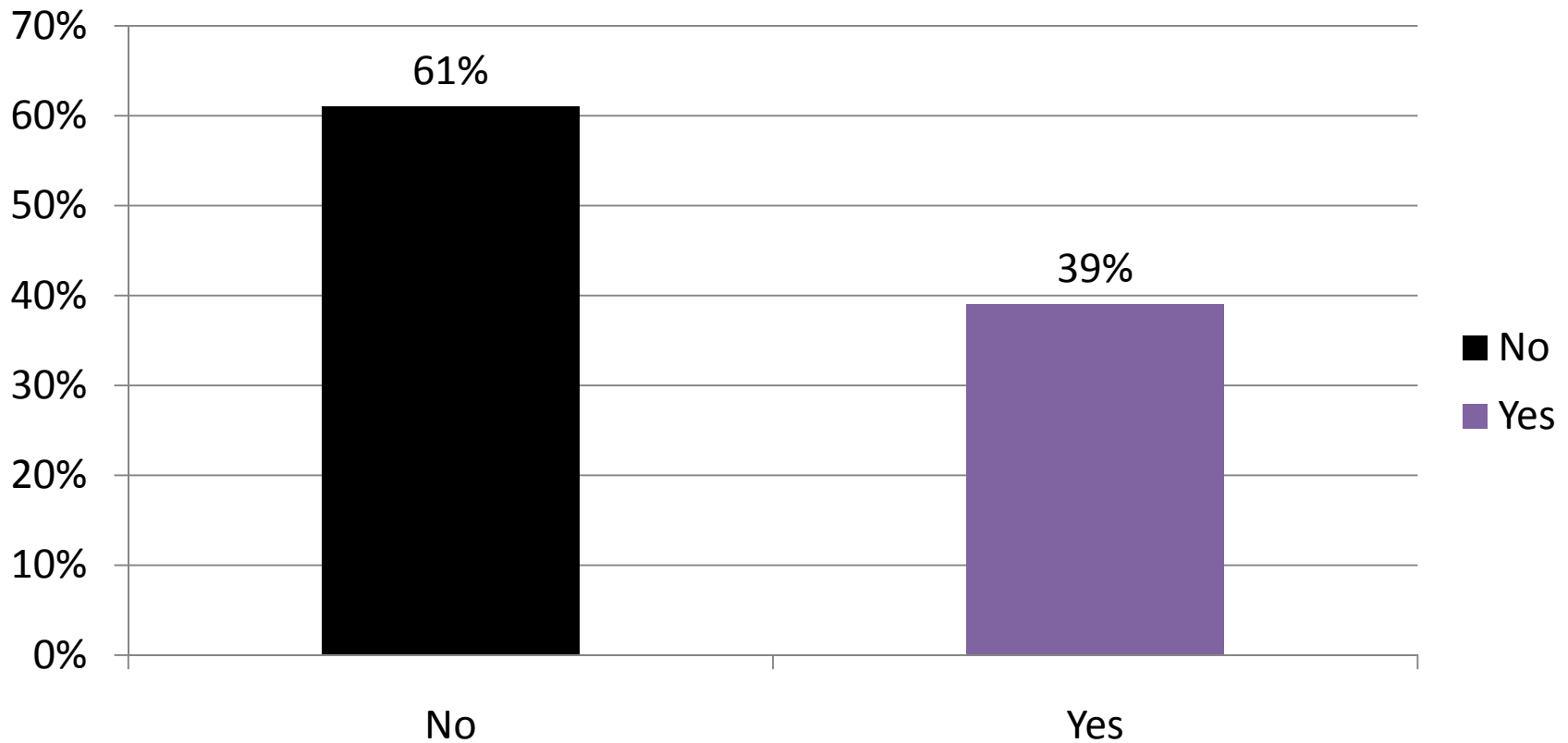
# Free and fair elections? by Party



# Constitutional Reform

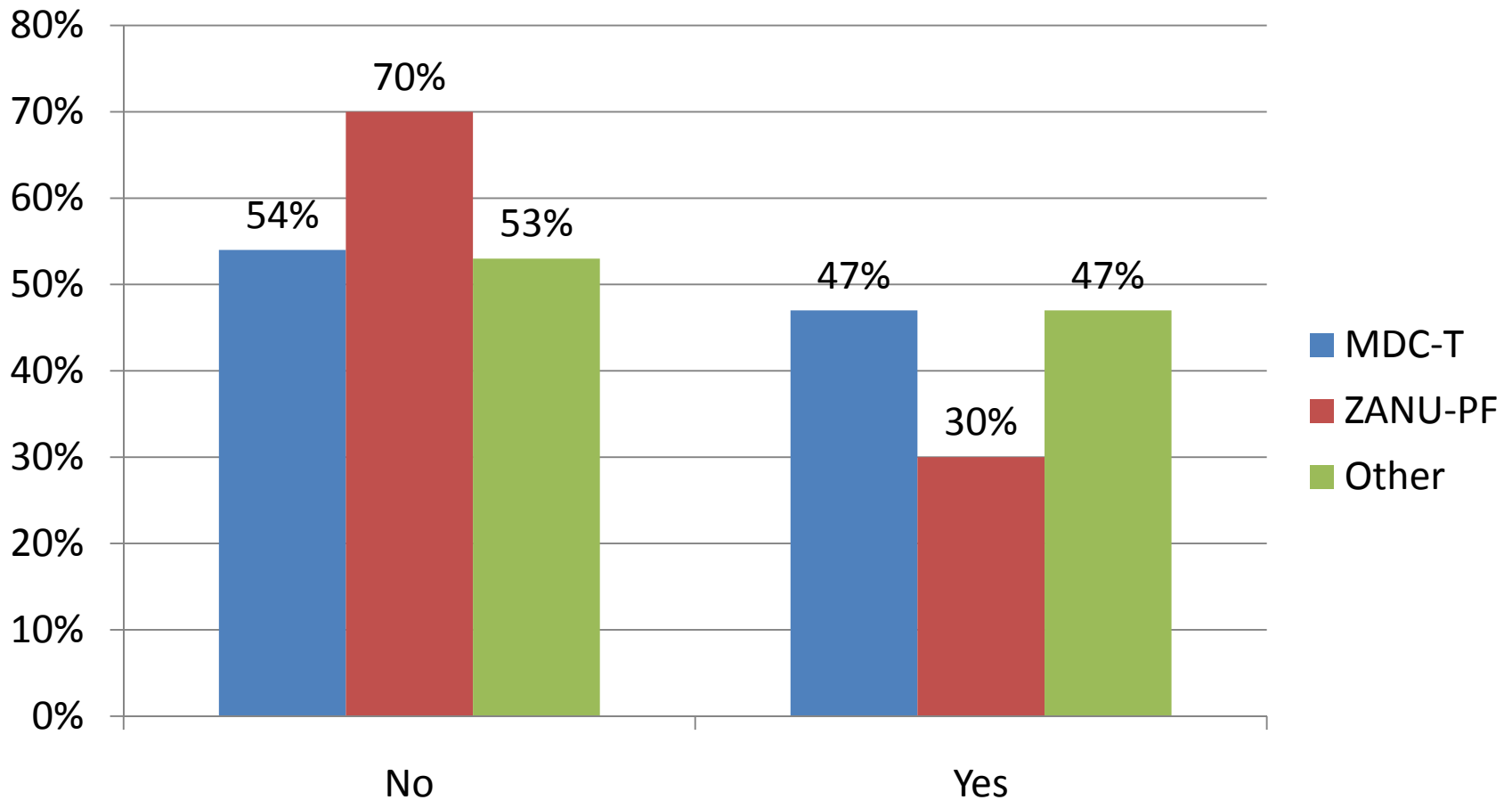
# Have you ever heard of the Constitution of Zimbabwe?

Overall



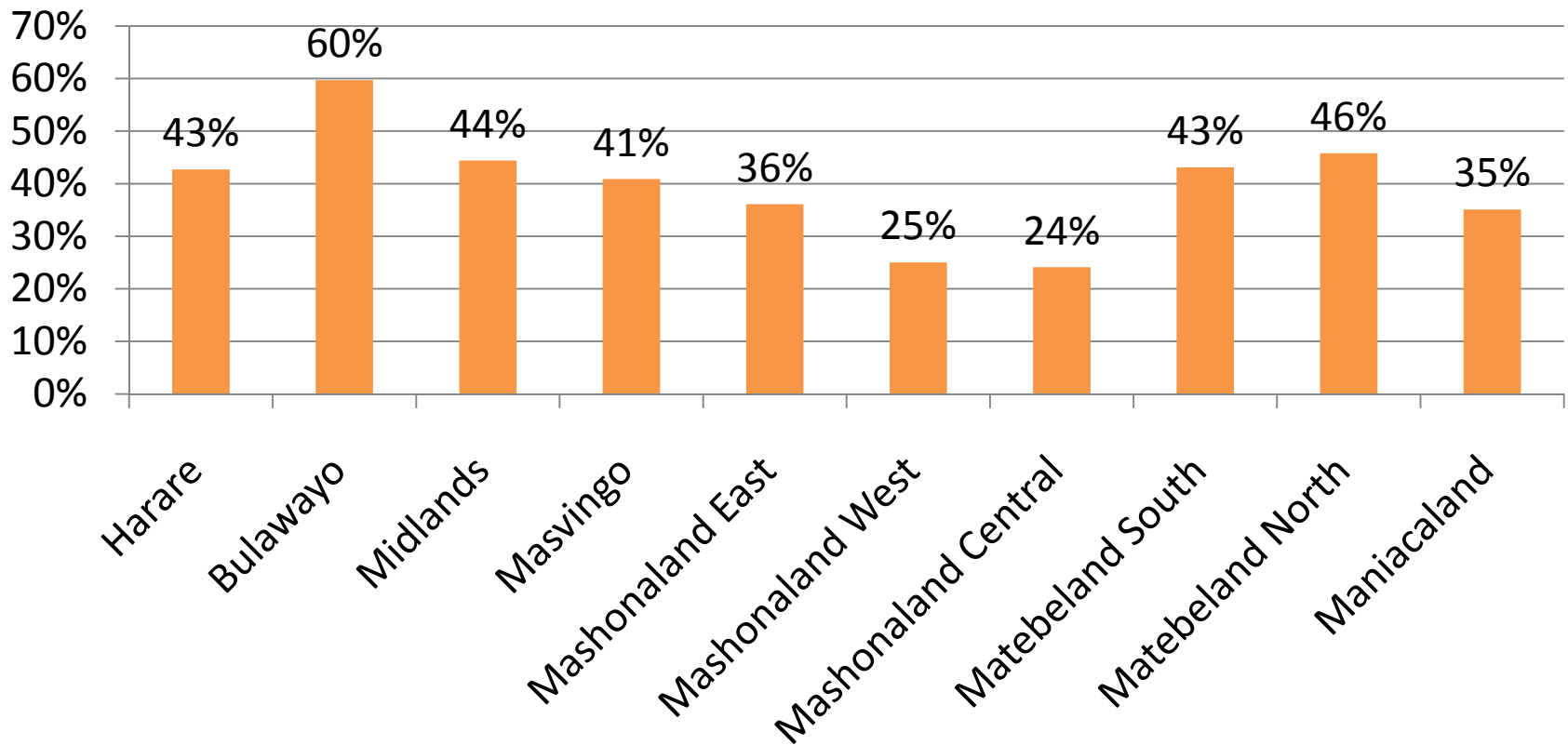
# Heard of the Constitution – by Party

Percentage who said they have heard of the Constitution of Zimbabwe

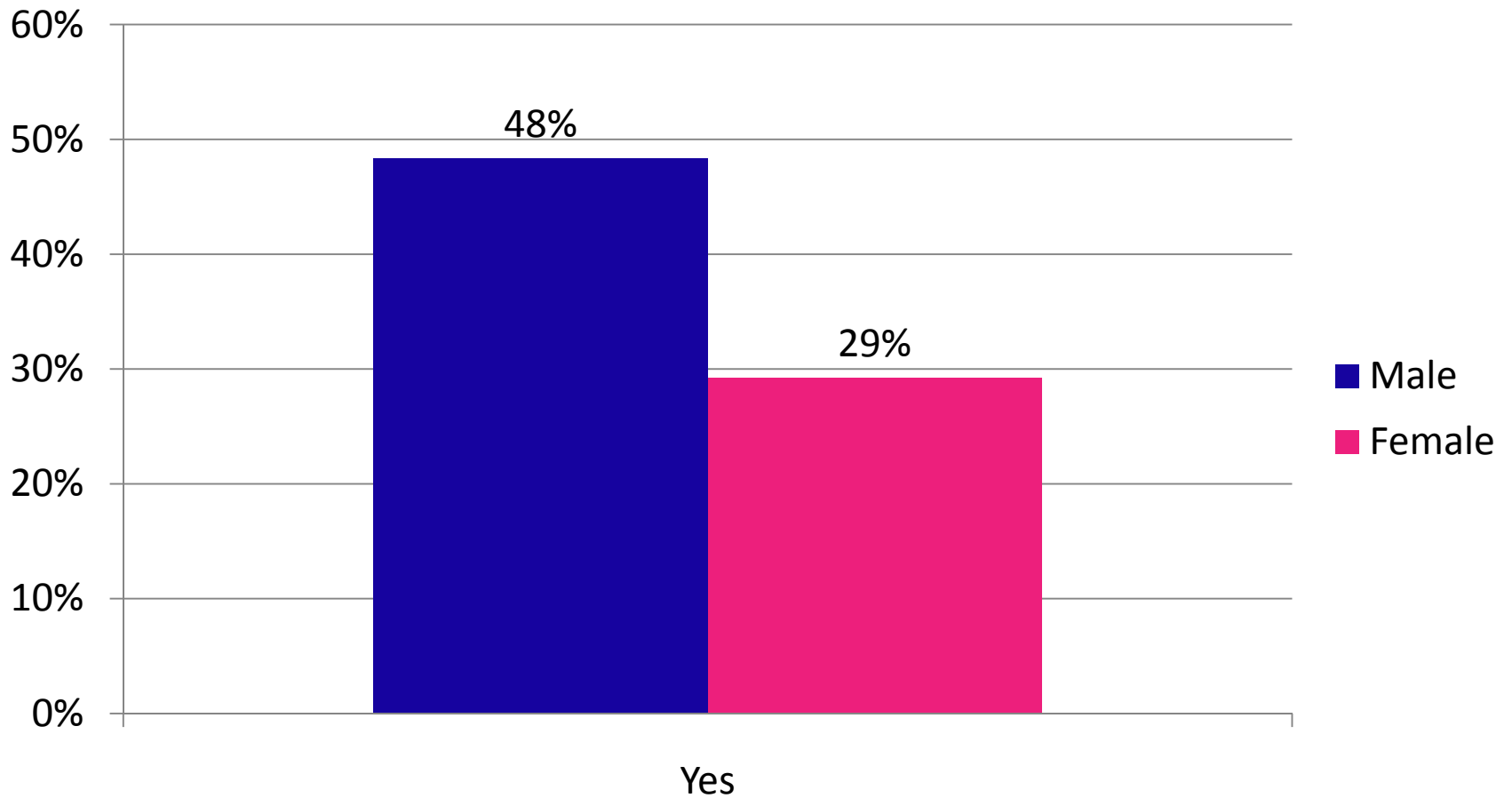


# Heard of the Constitution by Province

YES

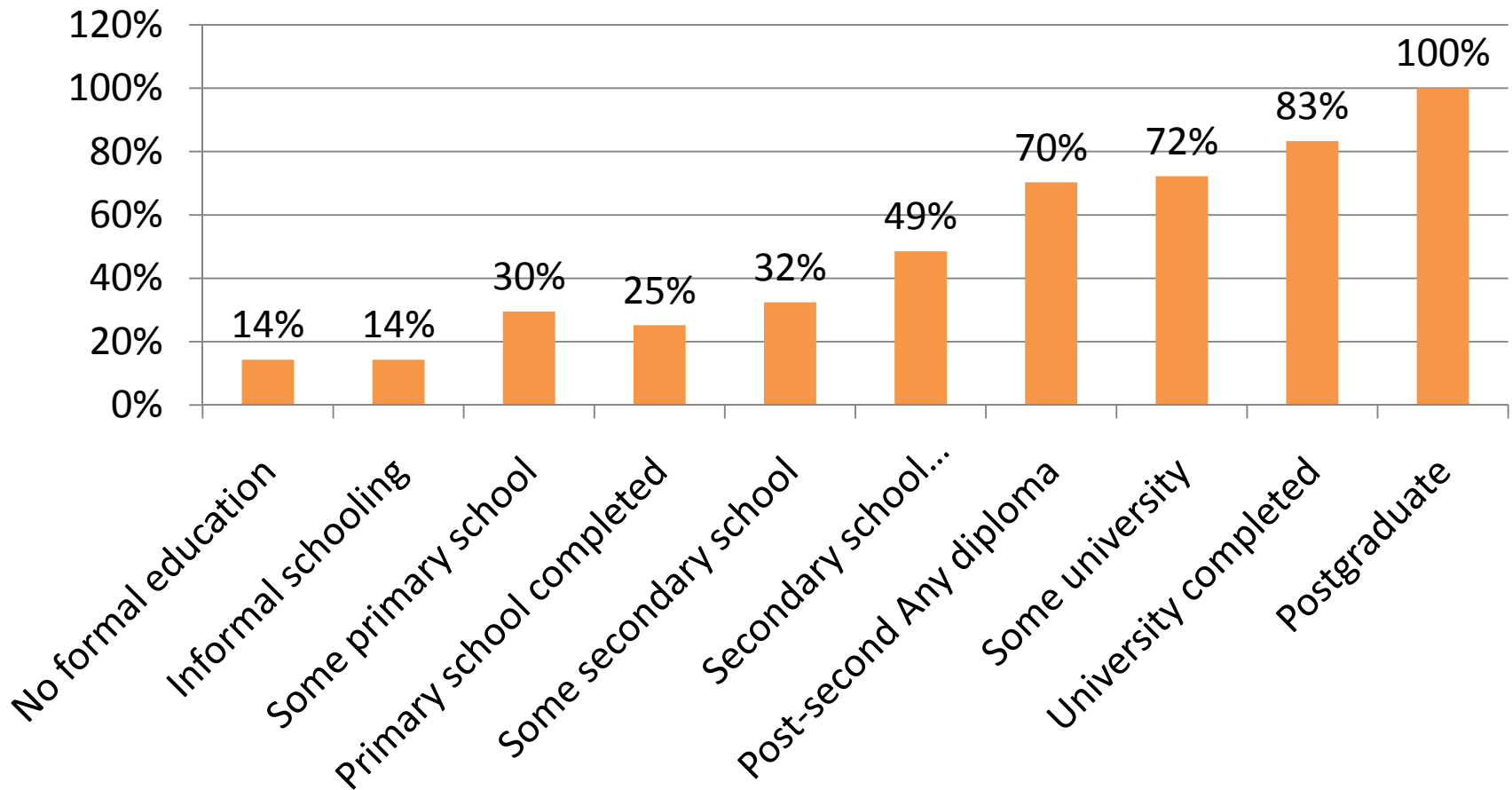


# Heard of the Constitution by Gender



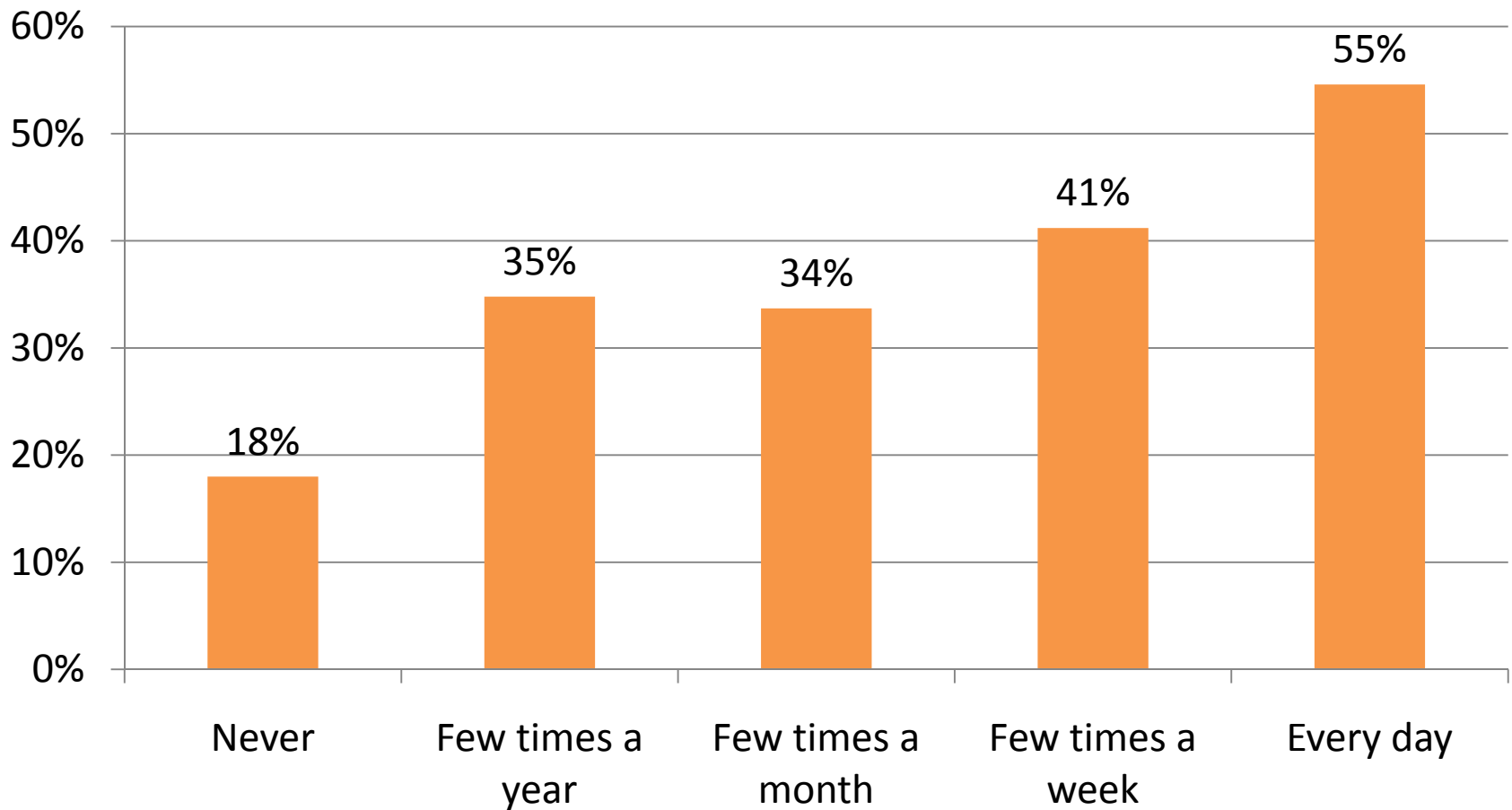
# Heard of the Constitution by Education Level

Yes



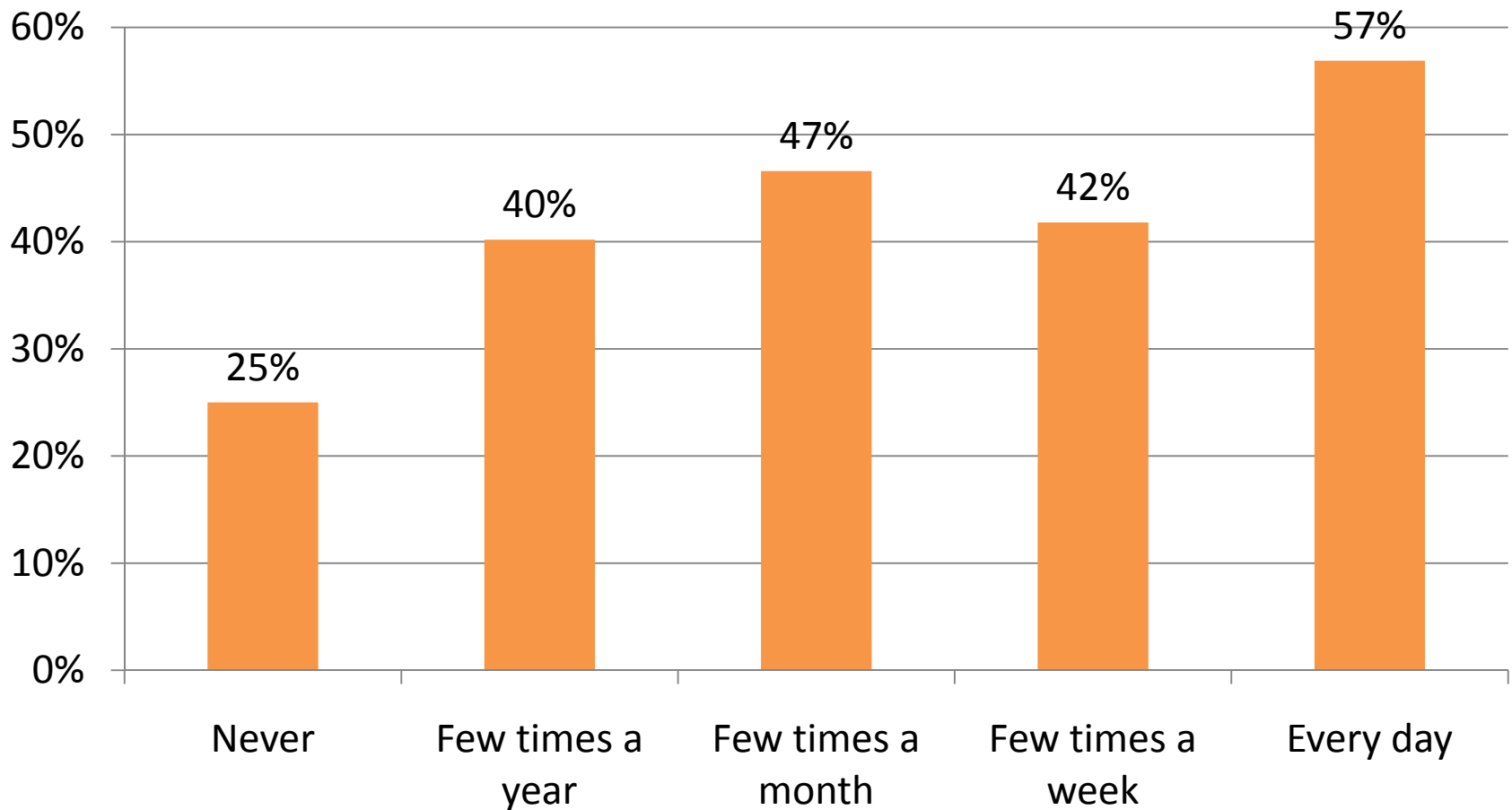
# Heard of the Constitution by Radio Listeners

by how often do you get your news from radio



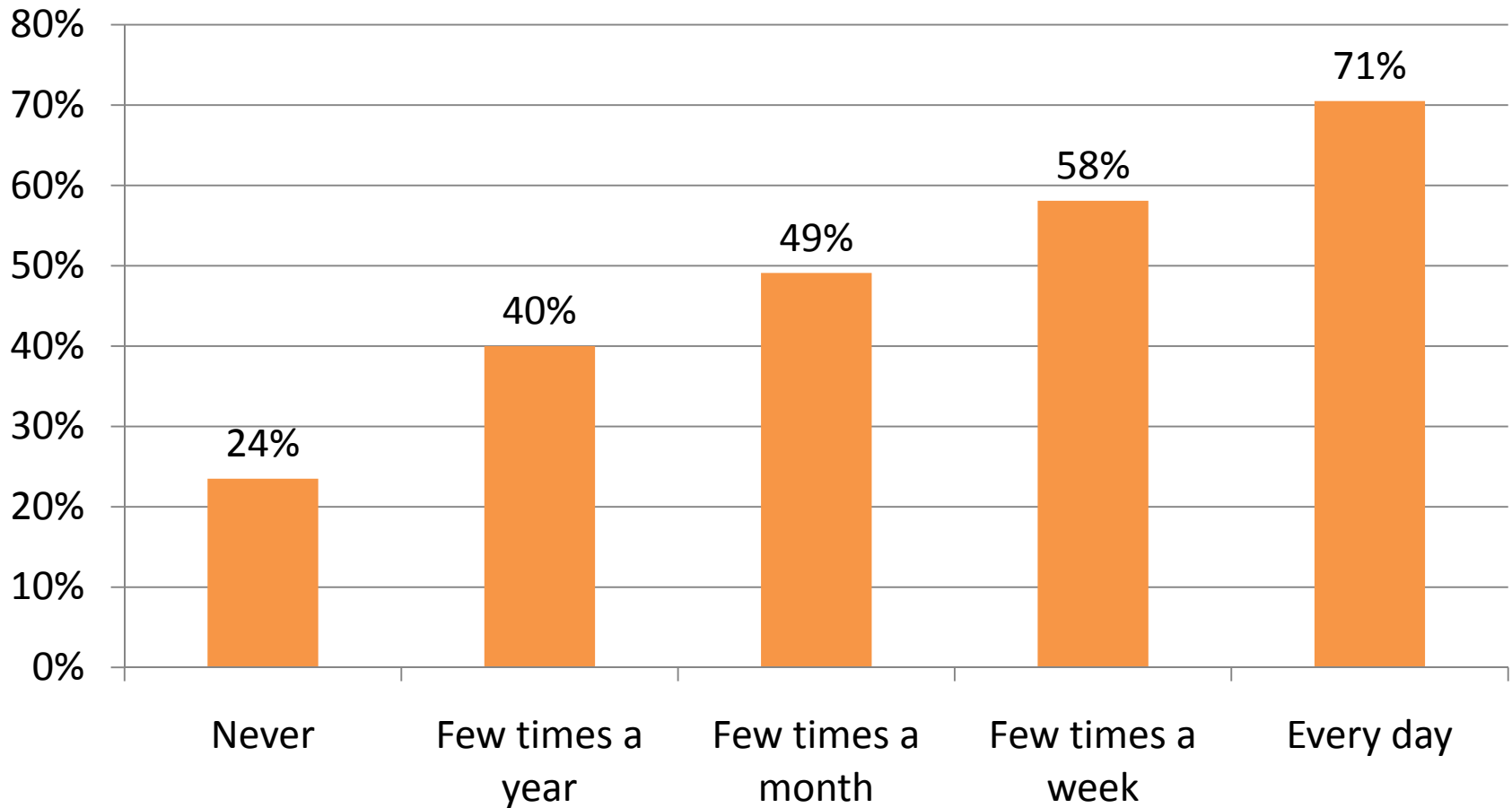
# Heard of the Constitution by Television Viewers

by how often do you get your news from television



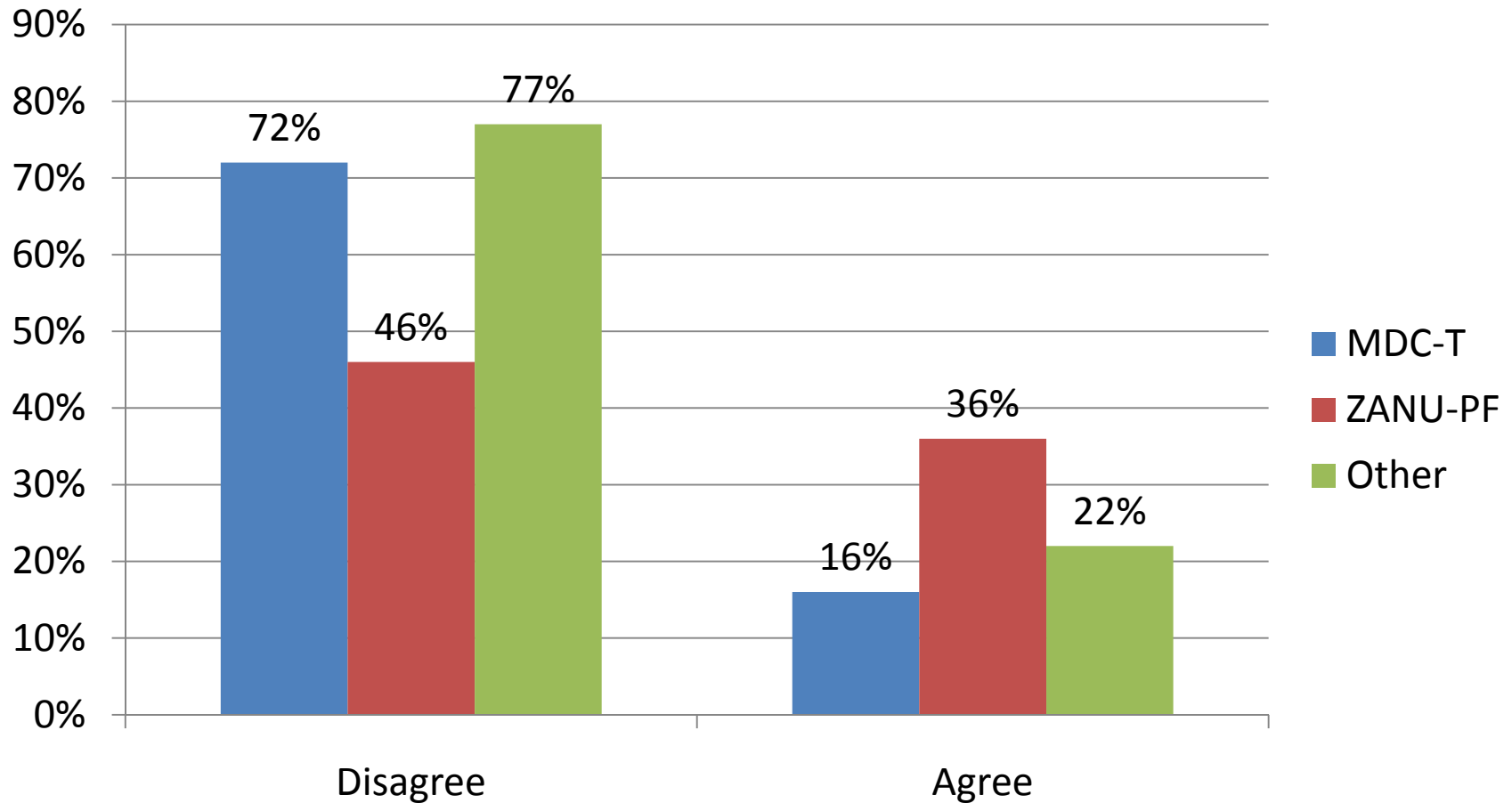
# Heard of the Constitution by Newspaper Readers

by how often do you get your news from newspapers



# Views on Current Constitution

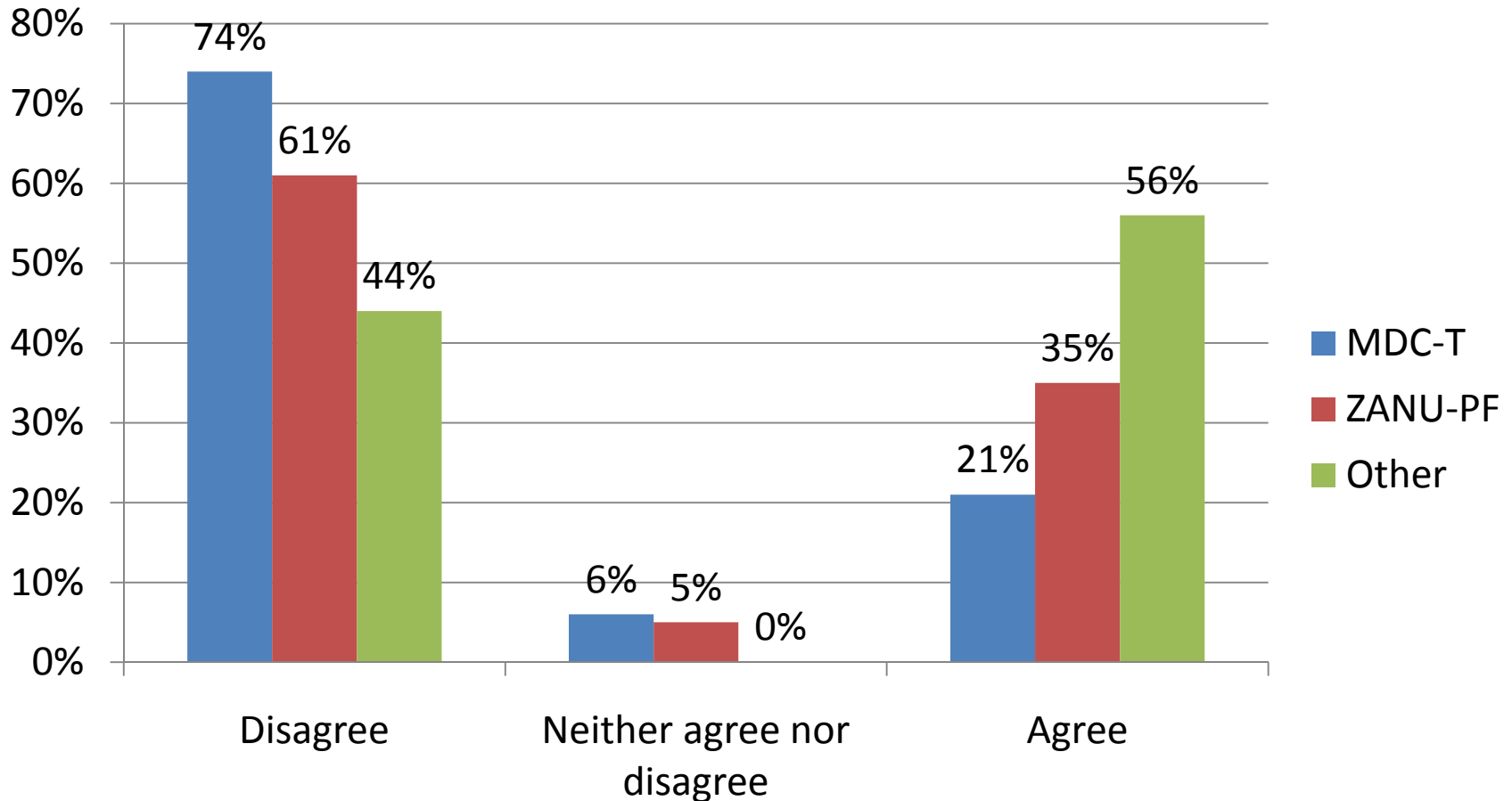
Do you agree or disagree that our current Constitution expresses the values and aspirations of the Zimbabwean people?\*



\* Among respondents who have heard of the Constitution.

# Desired Input in Making the Constitution

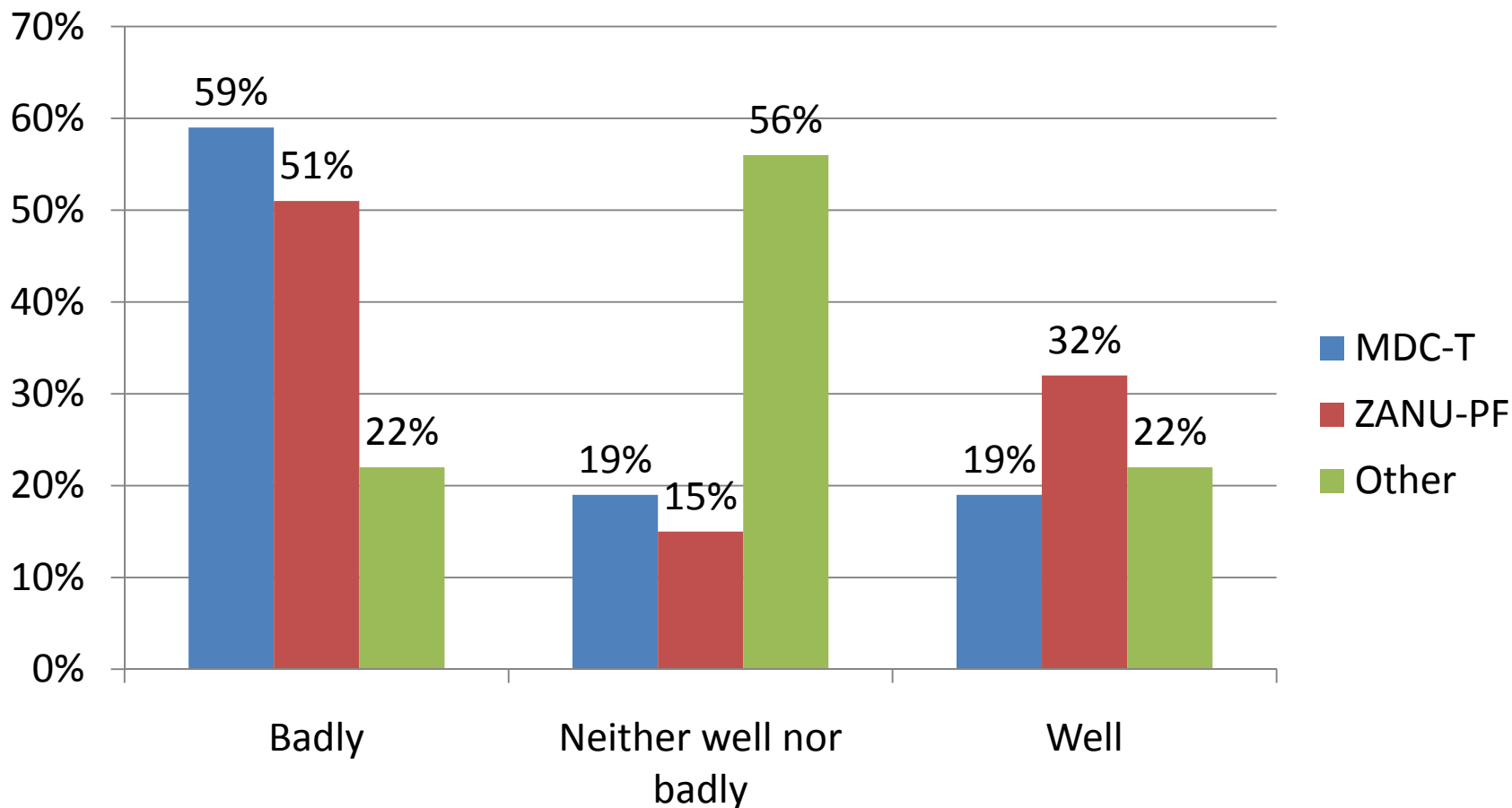
Do you agree or disagree that the task of making the Constitution should be left to qualified people, like lawyers and parliamentarians?\*



\* Among respondents who have heard of the Constitution.

# Actual Input in Making the Constitution

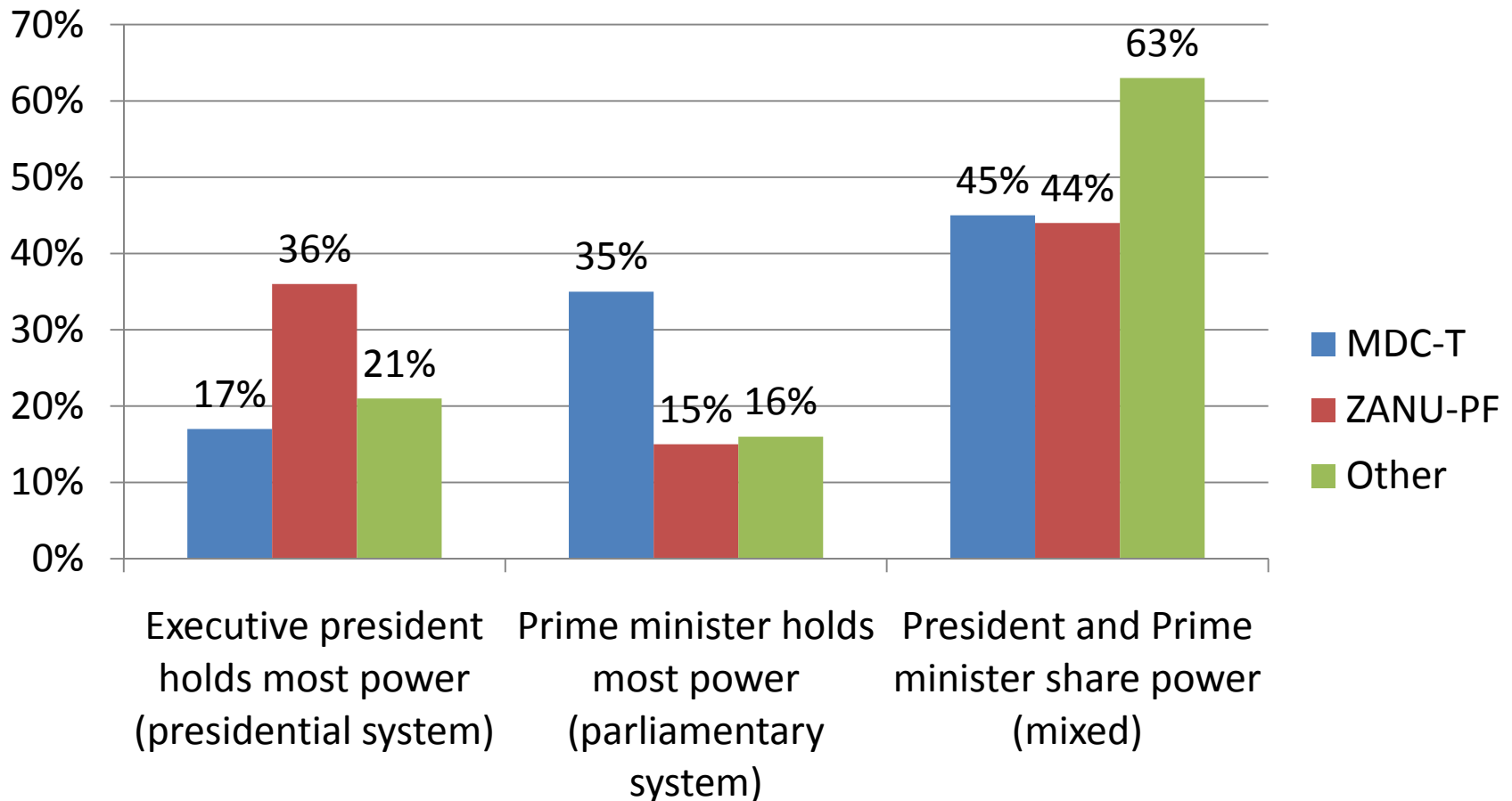
How well or badly is the Inclusive Government doing in asking ordinary people what they think about constitutional reform?\*



\* Among respondents who have heard of the Constitution.

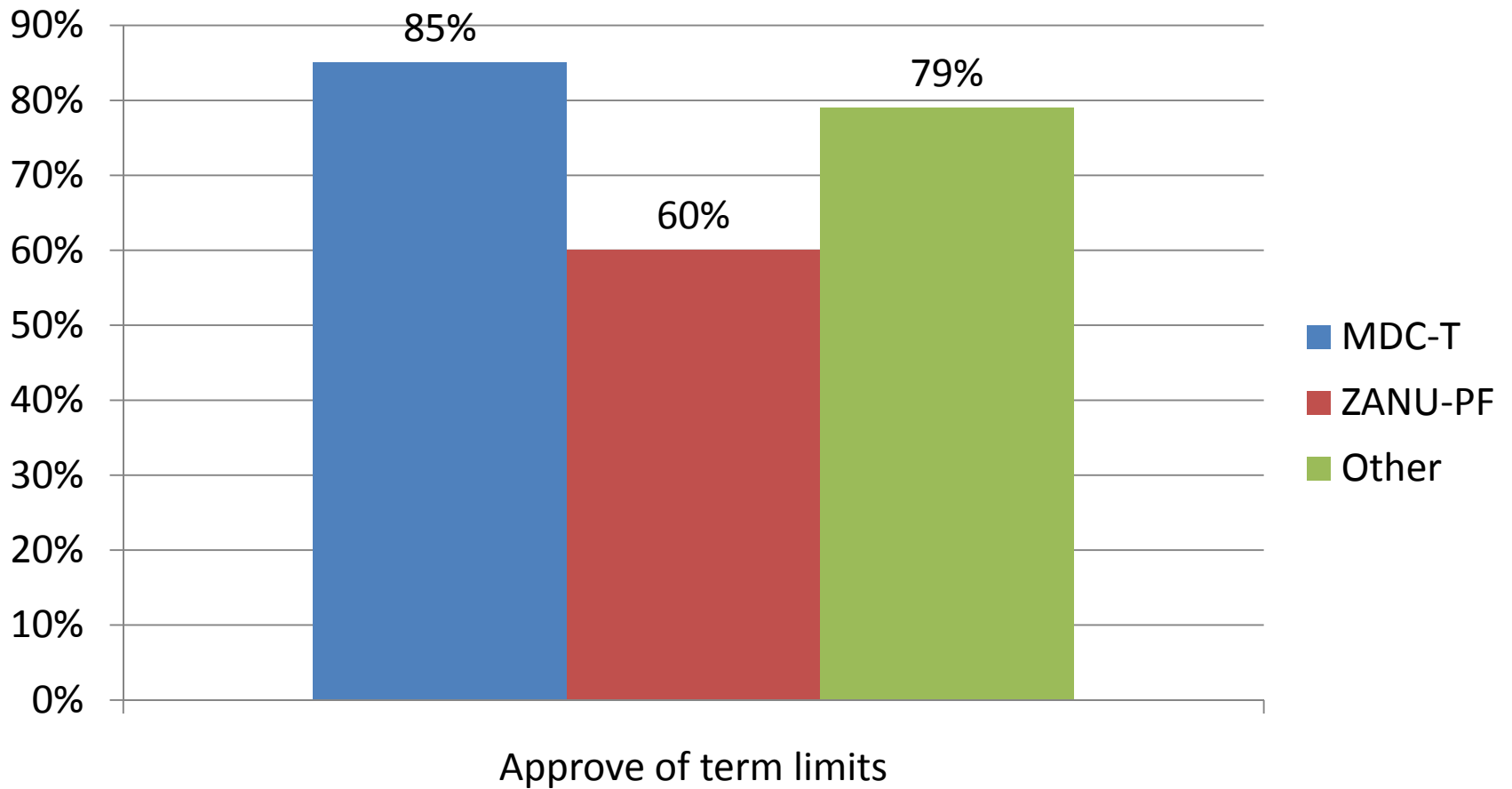
# Views on Executive Power

In your opinion, what sort of system of executive power should be adopted in the Constitution of Zimbabwe?



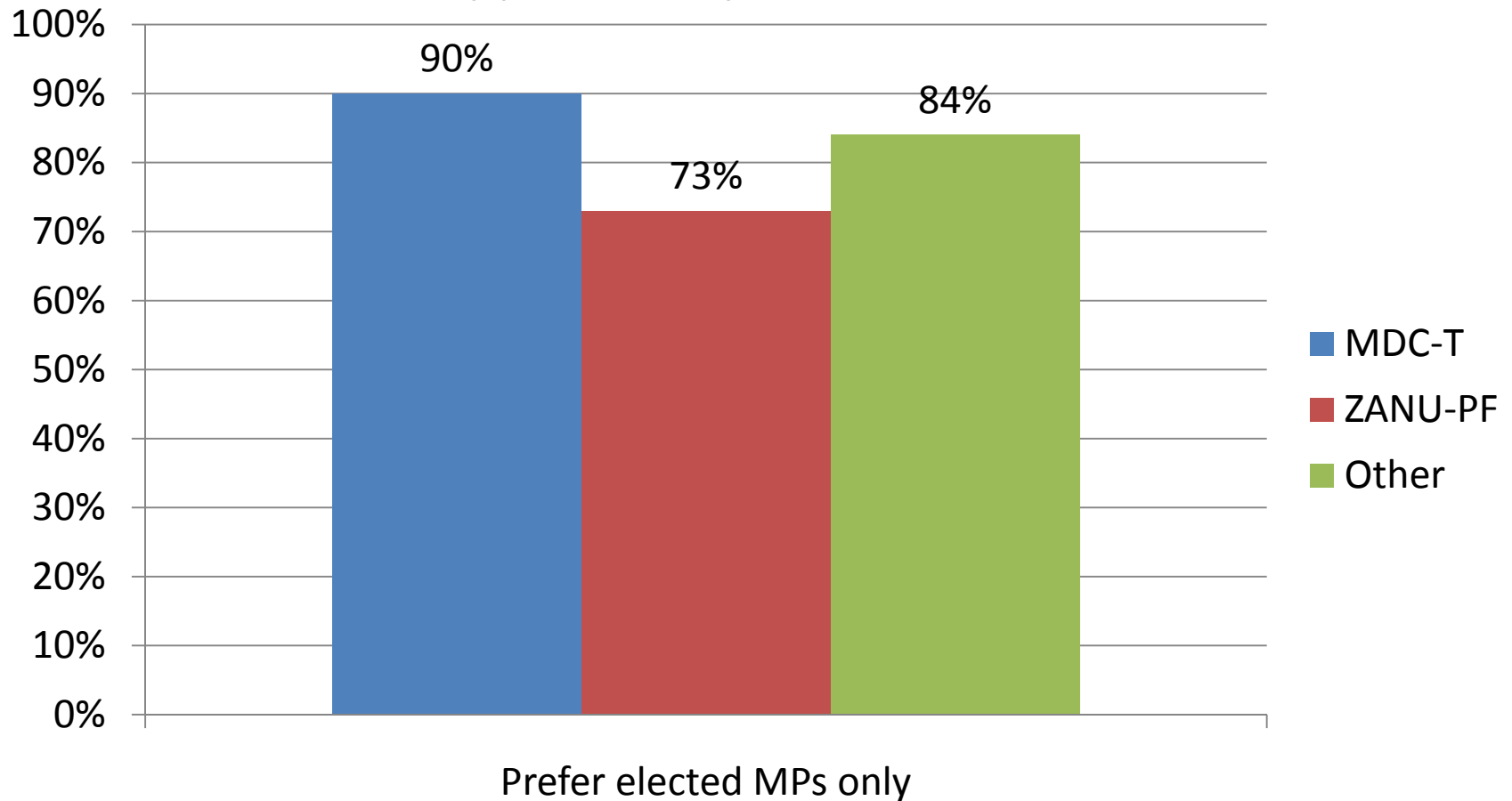
# Term Limits

Percentage who prefer to limit the president to two terms than to have no constitutional term limit



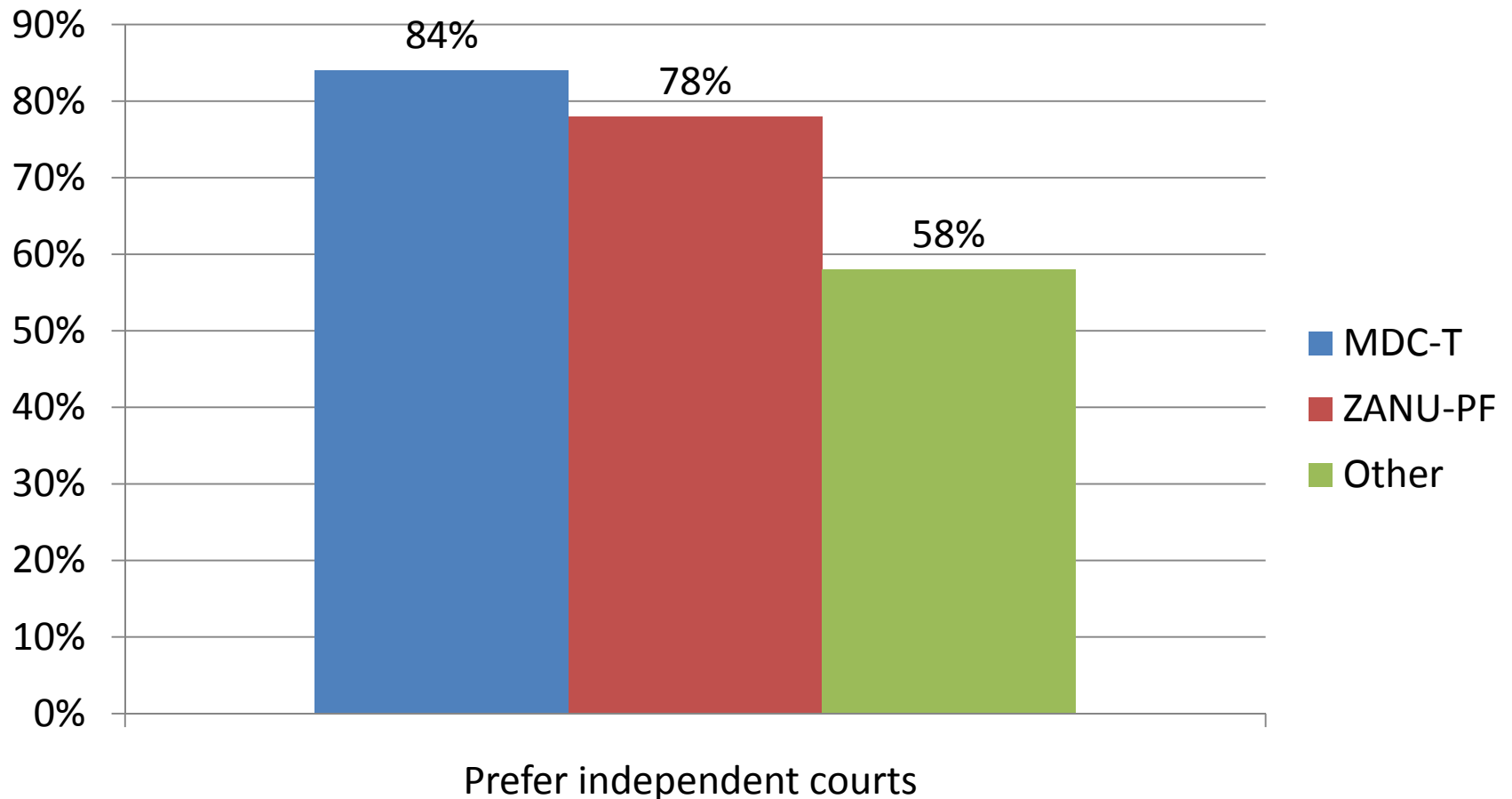
# Elected MPs

Percentage who prefer elected MPs only than some MPs appointed by the President



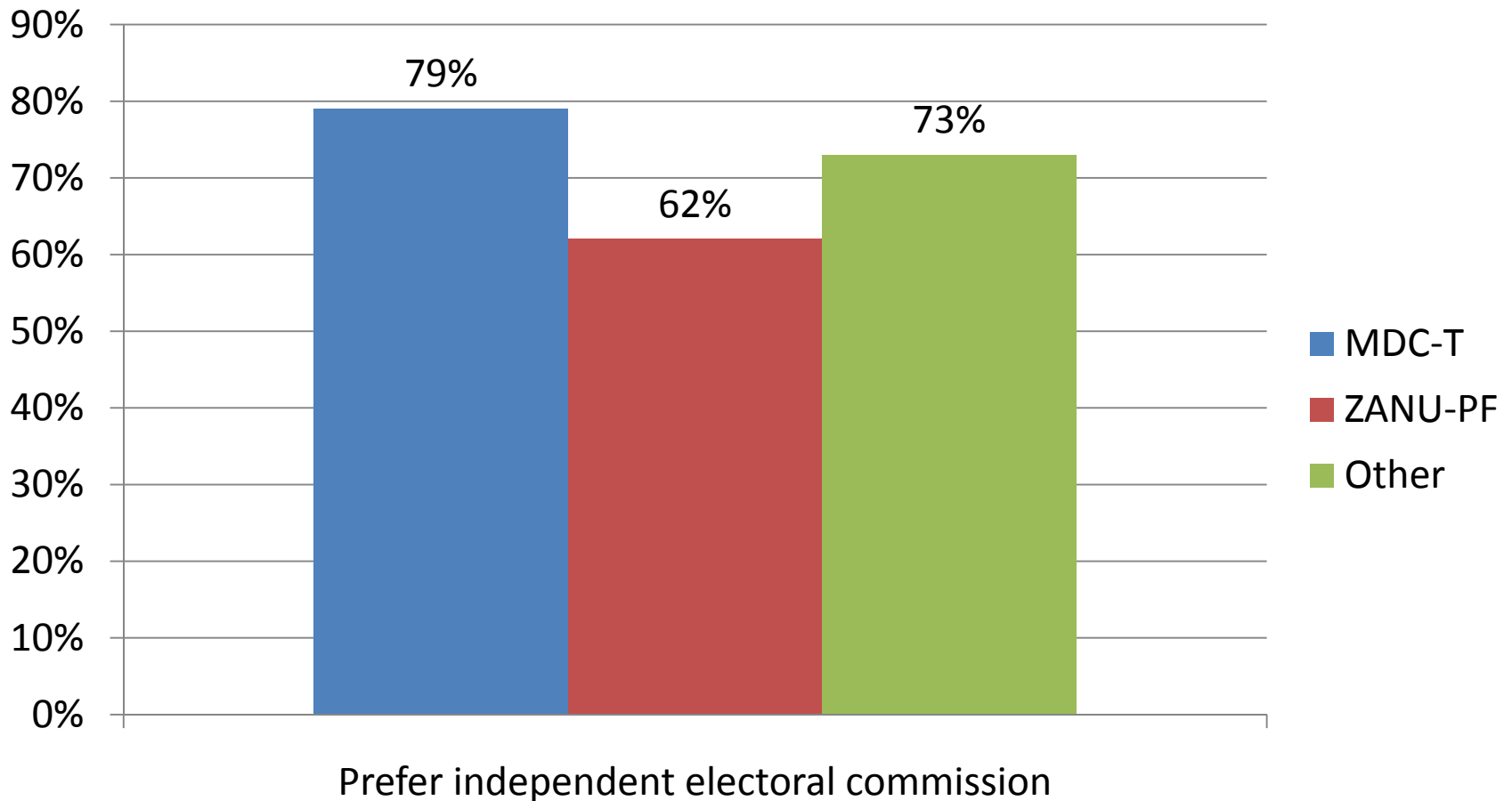
# Independent Judiciary

Percentage who prefer independent courts than government appointment of judges



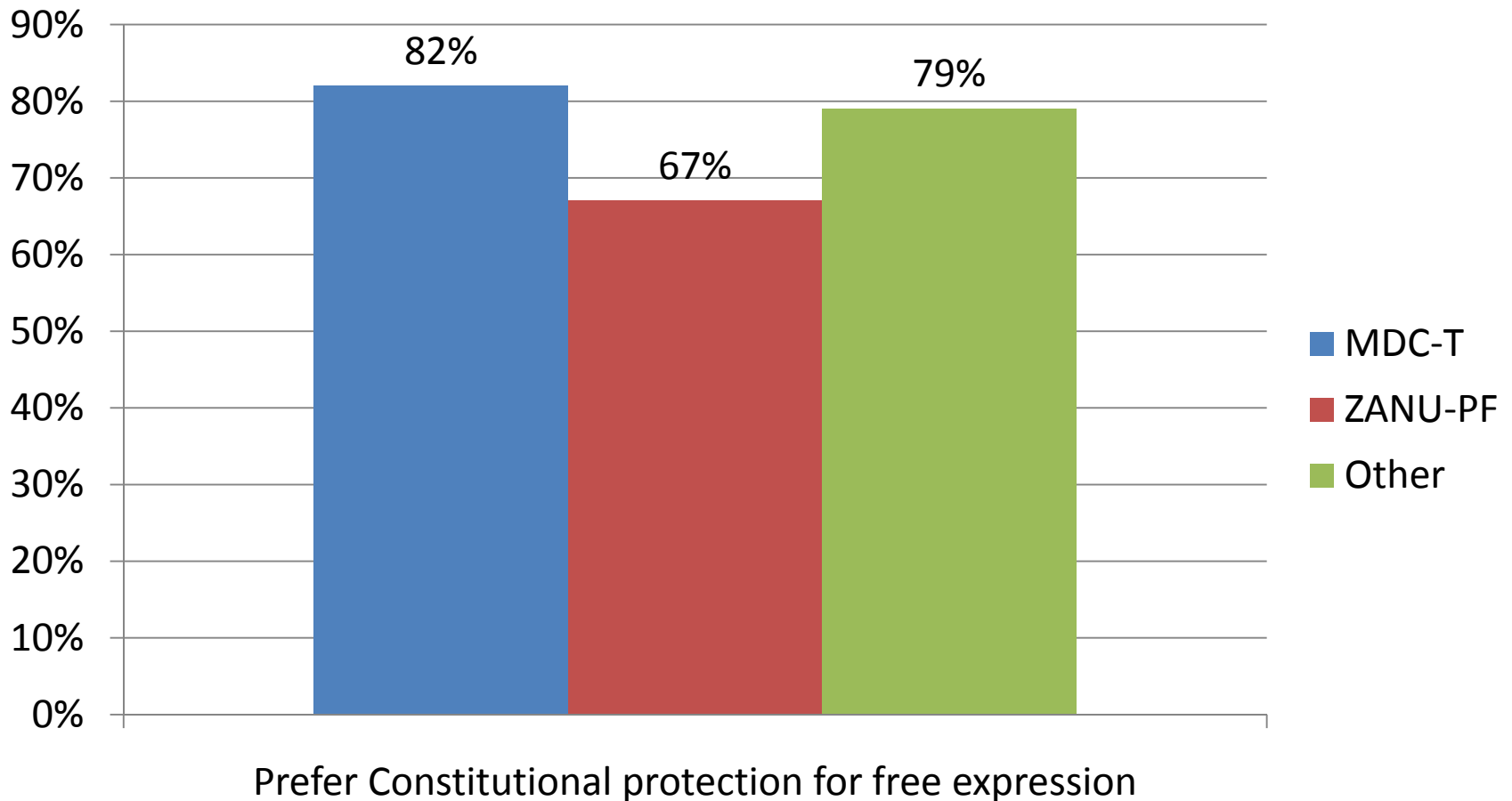
# Independent Electoral Commission

Percentage who prefer an independent electoral commission than a government agency to run elections



# Free Expression

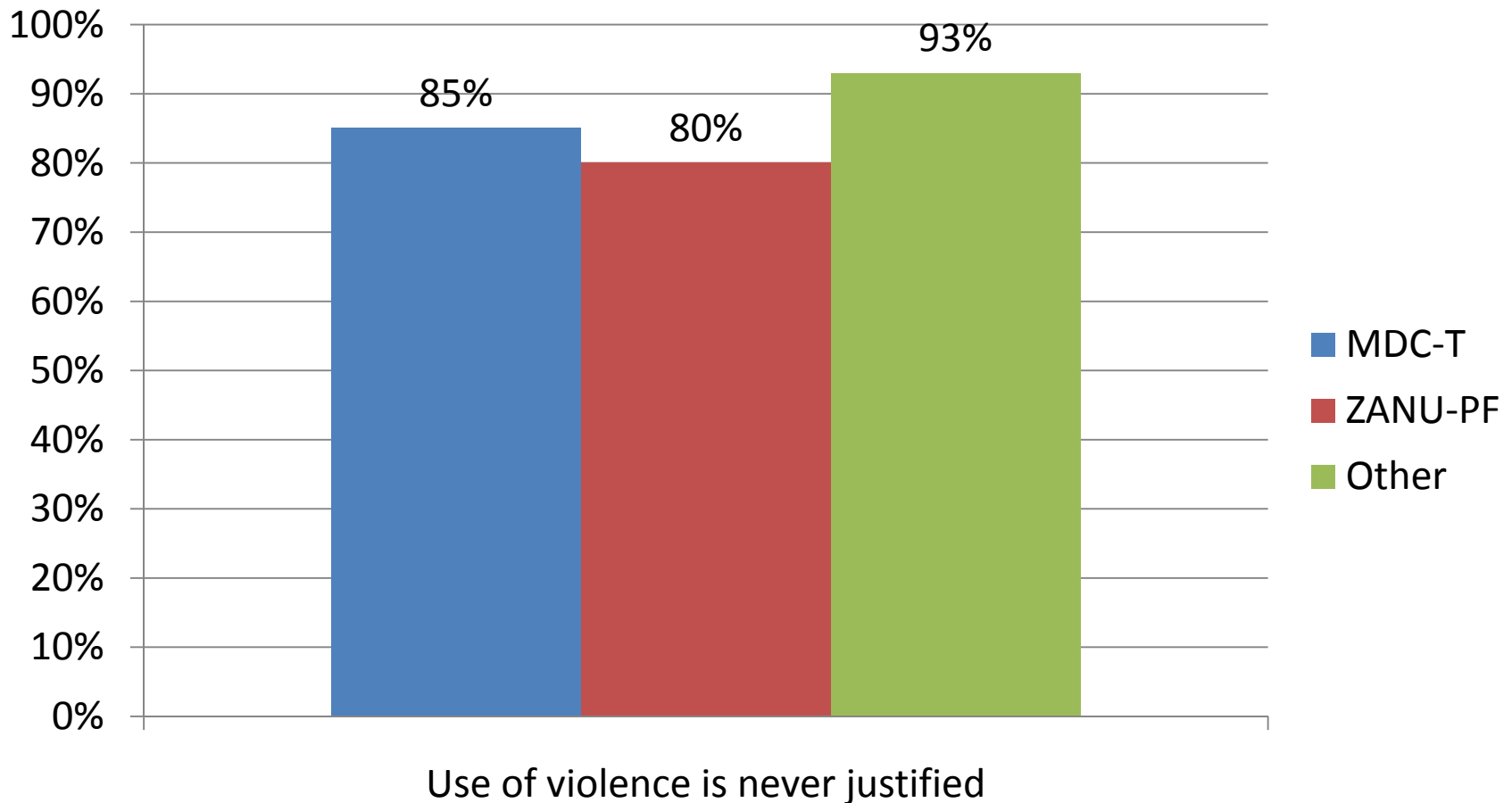
Percentage who prefer Constitutional protection for free expression than Constitutional limits on free expression



# Political Violence

# Can Violence Be Justified?

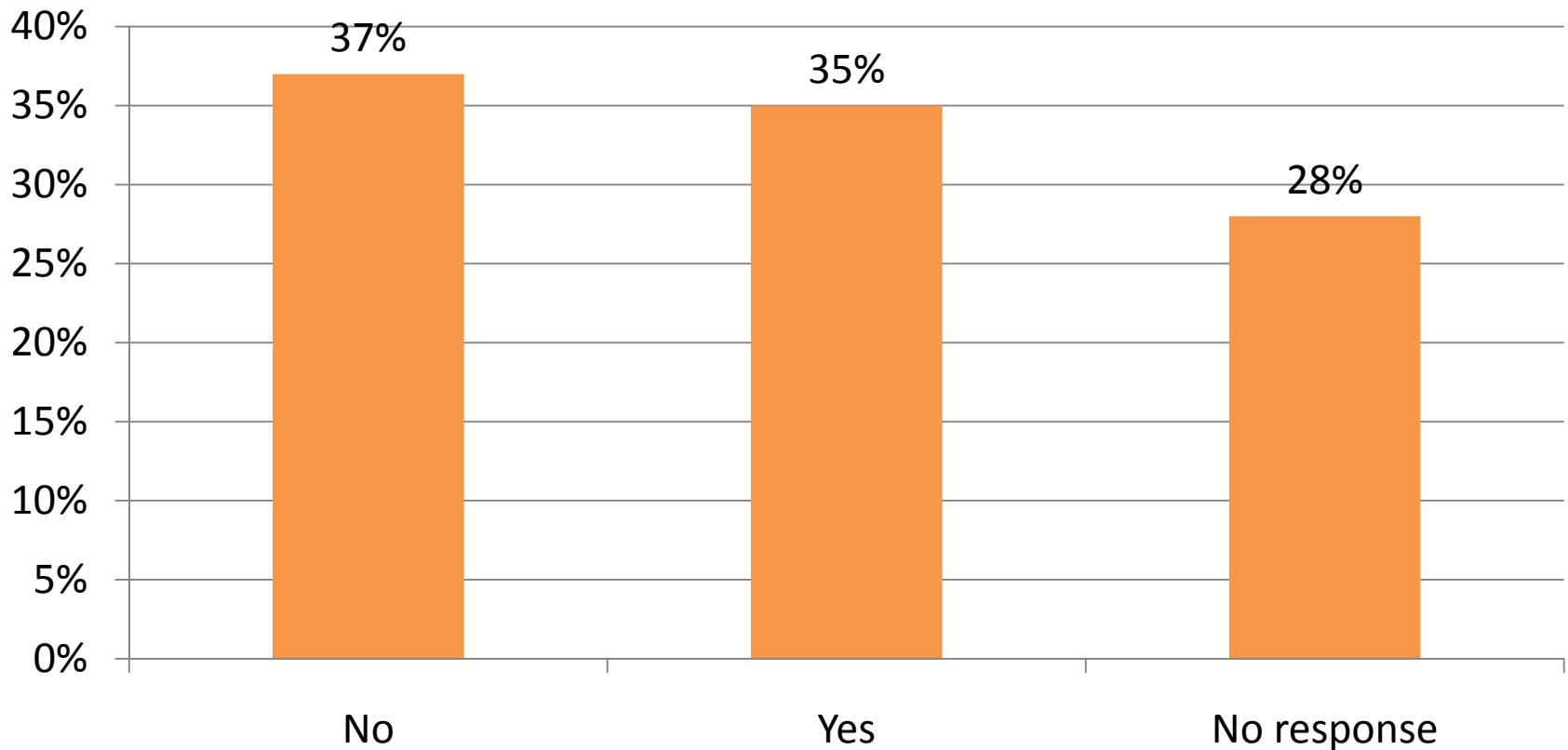
Percentage who chose statement, “the use of violence is never justified in Zimbabwean politics” over “in this country, it is sometimes necessary to use violence in support of a just cause.”



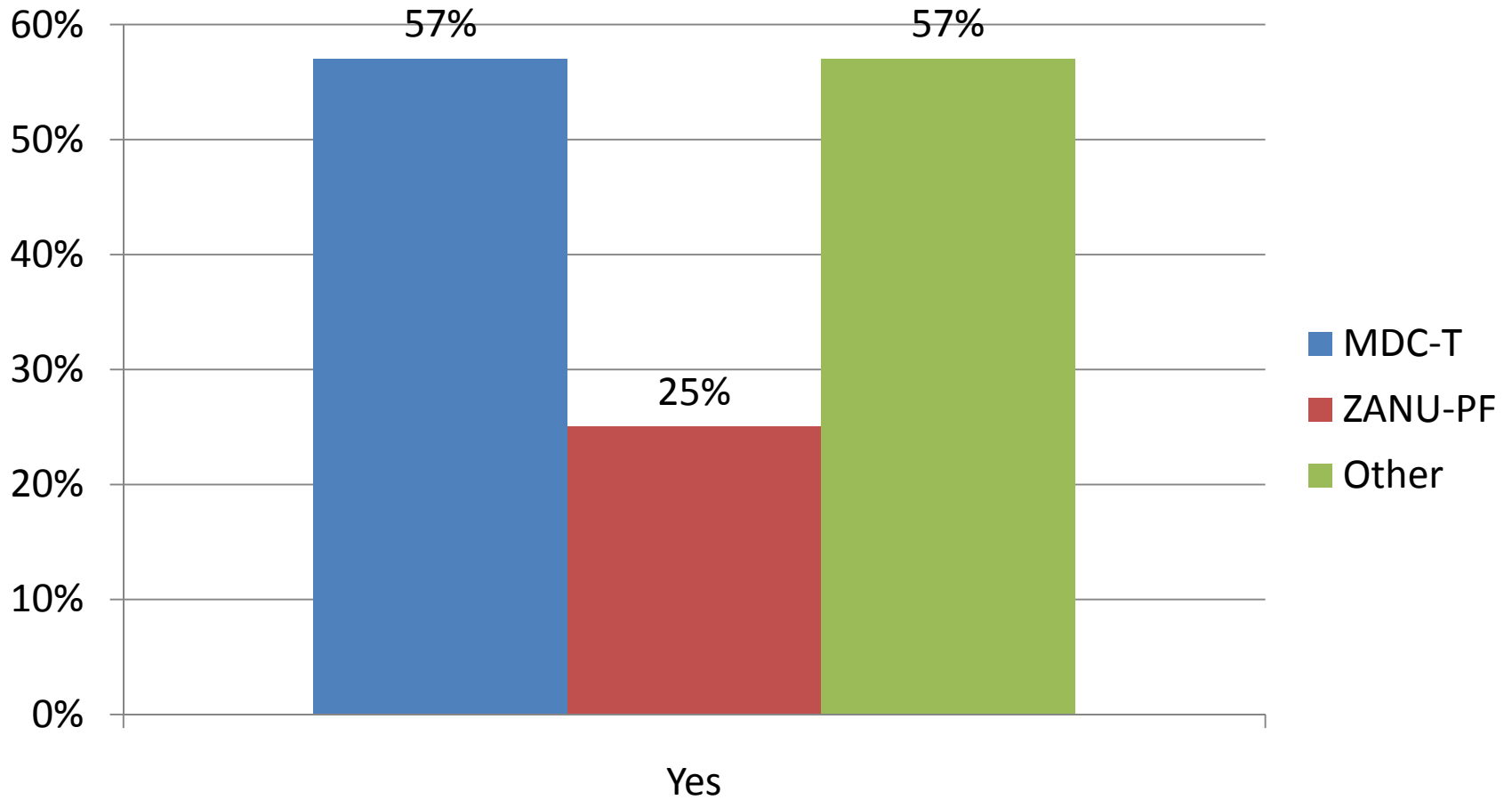
# Victim of Violence

Since independence in 1980 ... were you personally ever affected  
[by] politically motivated ...

## Intimidation, threat or harassment?

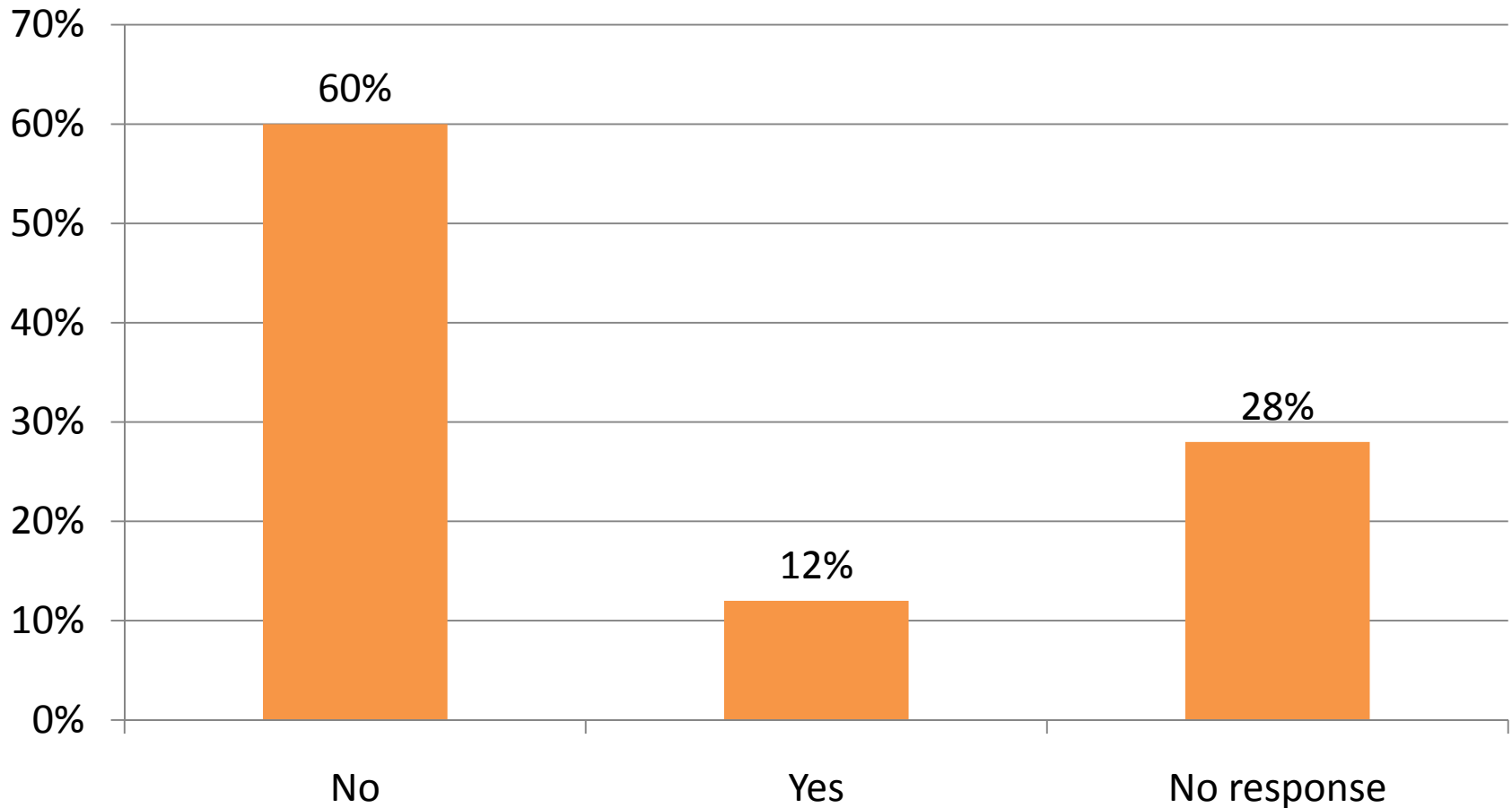


# Victim of intimidation, threat or harassment – by Party



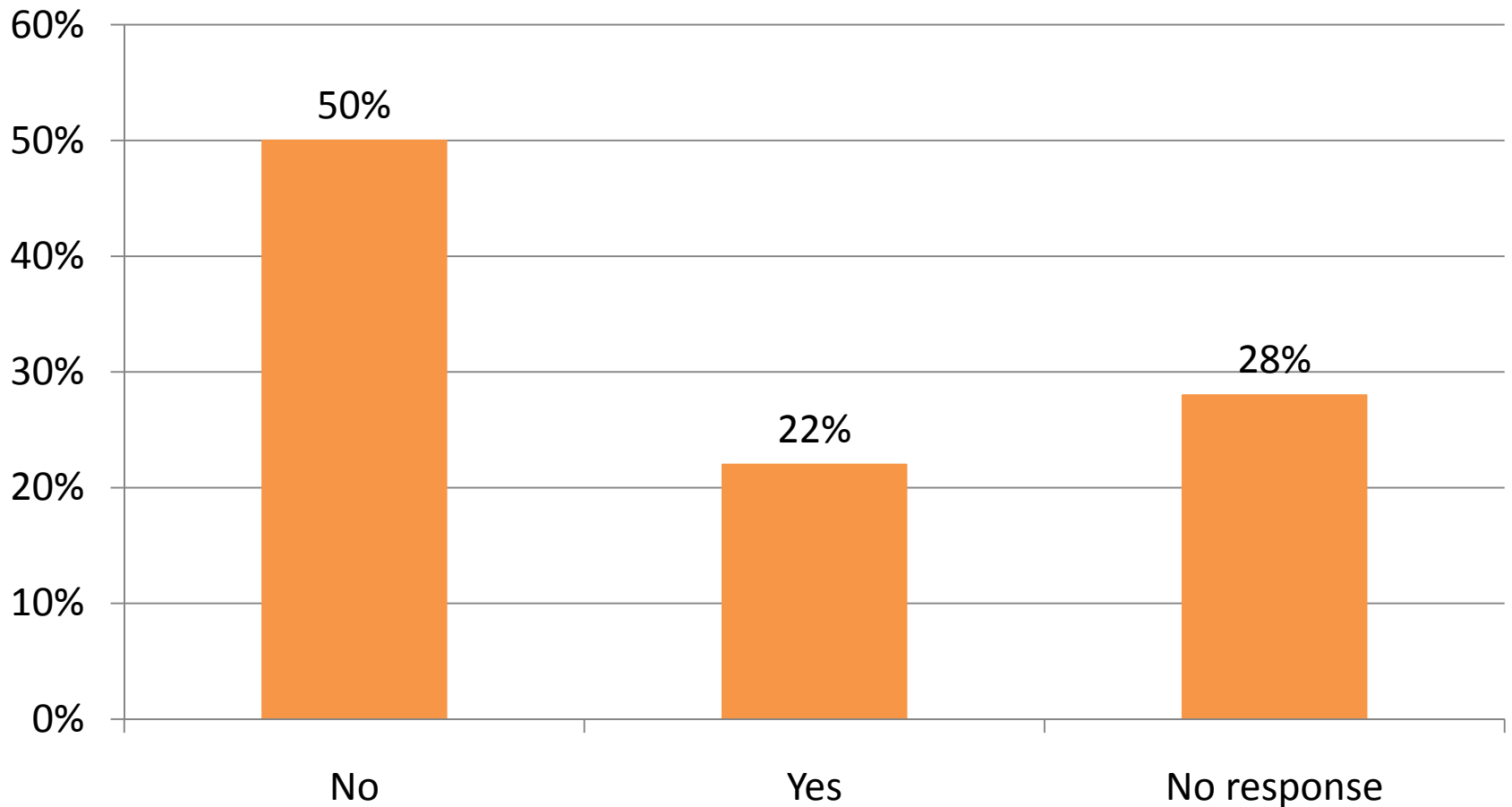
# Personal Injury

Since independence in 1980 ... were you personally ever affected [by] politically motivated personal injury (including physical assault, sexual assault or torture)?



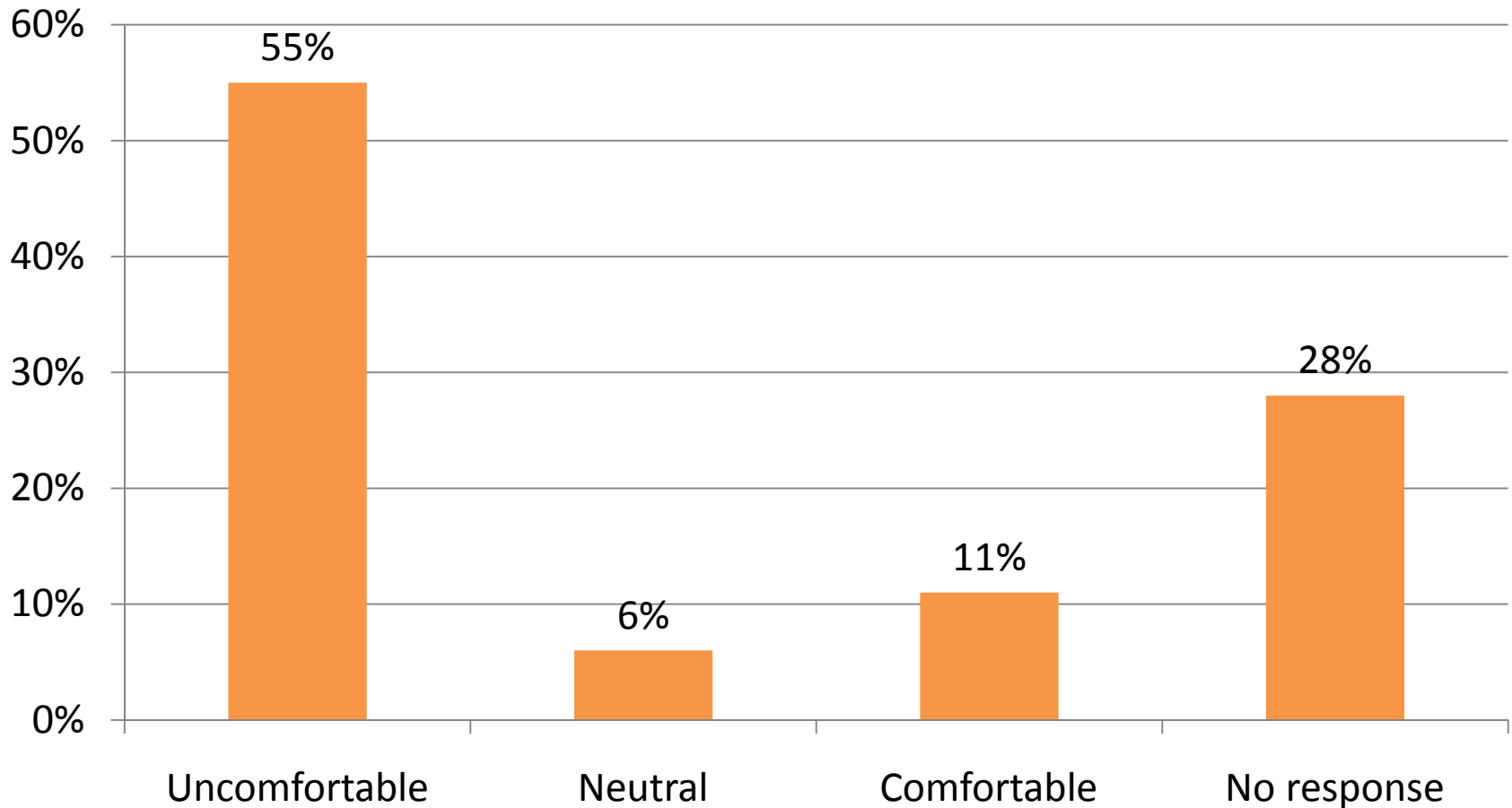
# Family Affected by Personal Injury

Were *members of your family* ever affected [by] politically motivated personal injury (including physical assault, sexual assault or torture)?



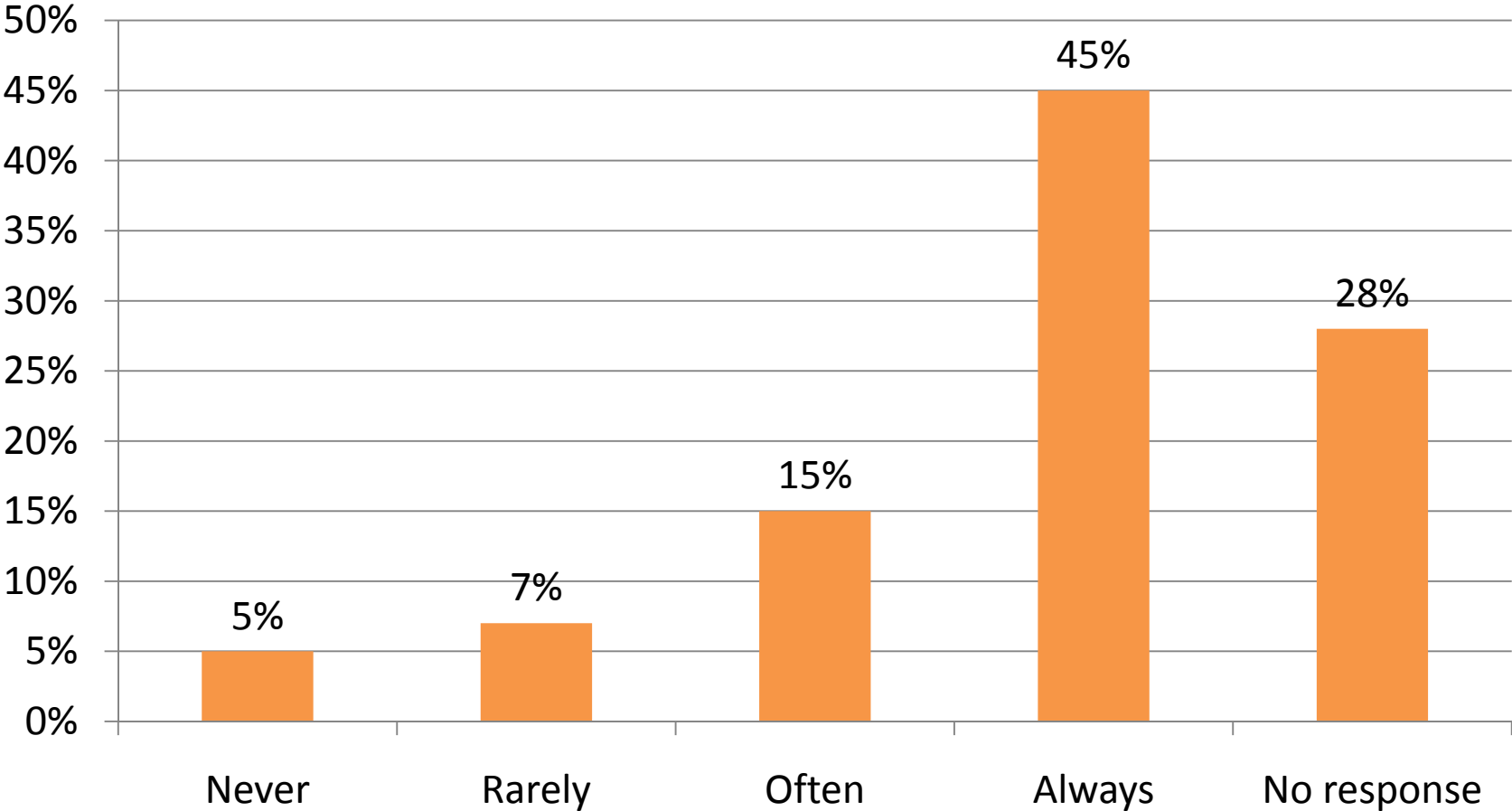
# Attitude toward Perpetrators

How comfortable would you feel in the presence of former perpetrators of political violence living in the same community?

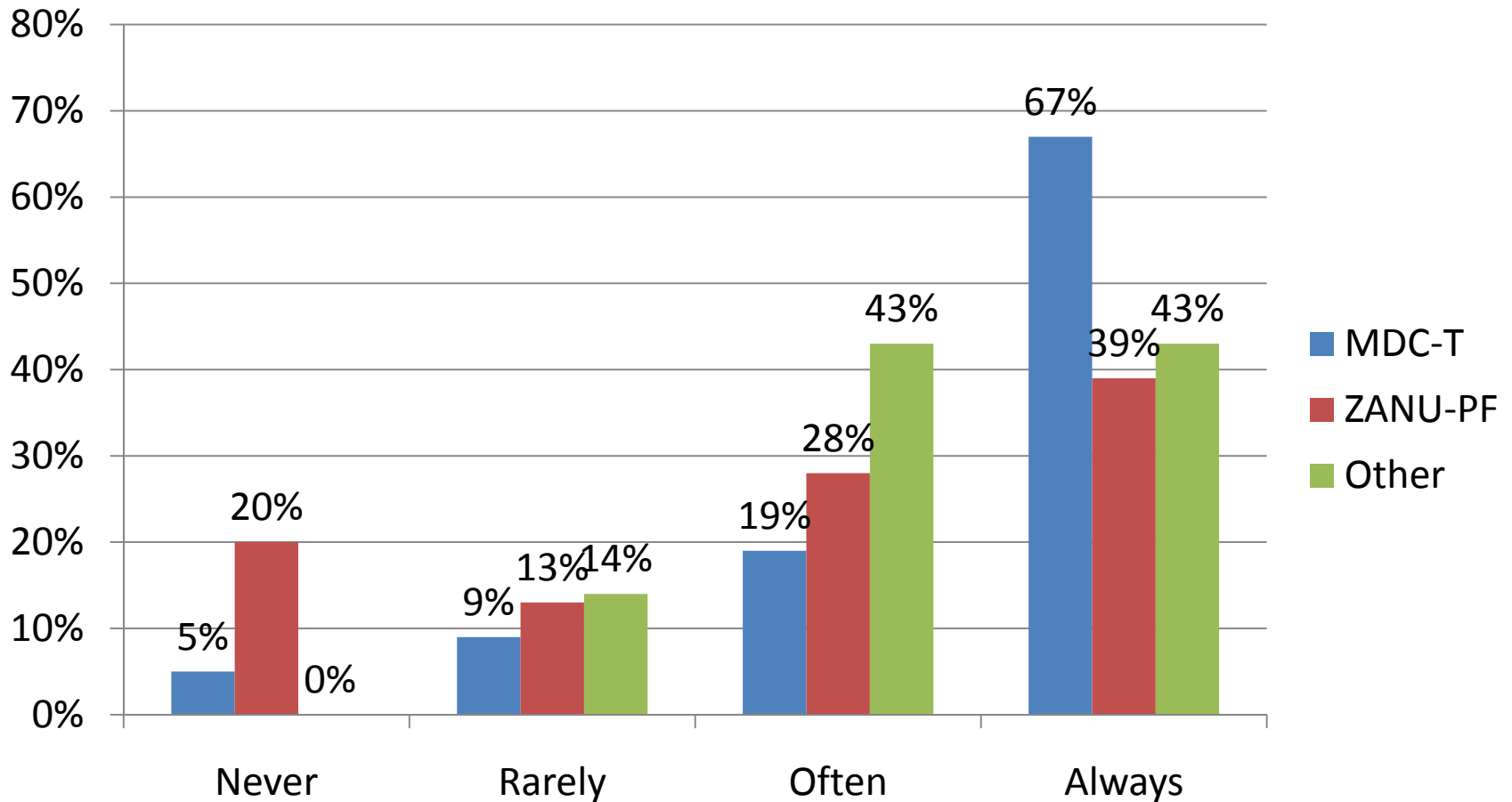


# Fear of Intimidation in Elections

In this country, how often do people have to fear political intimidation during election campaigns?



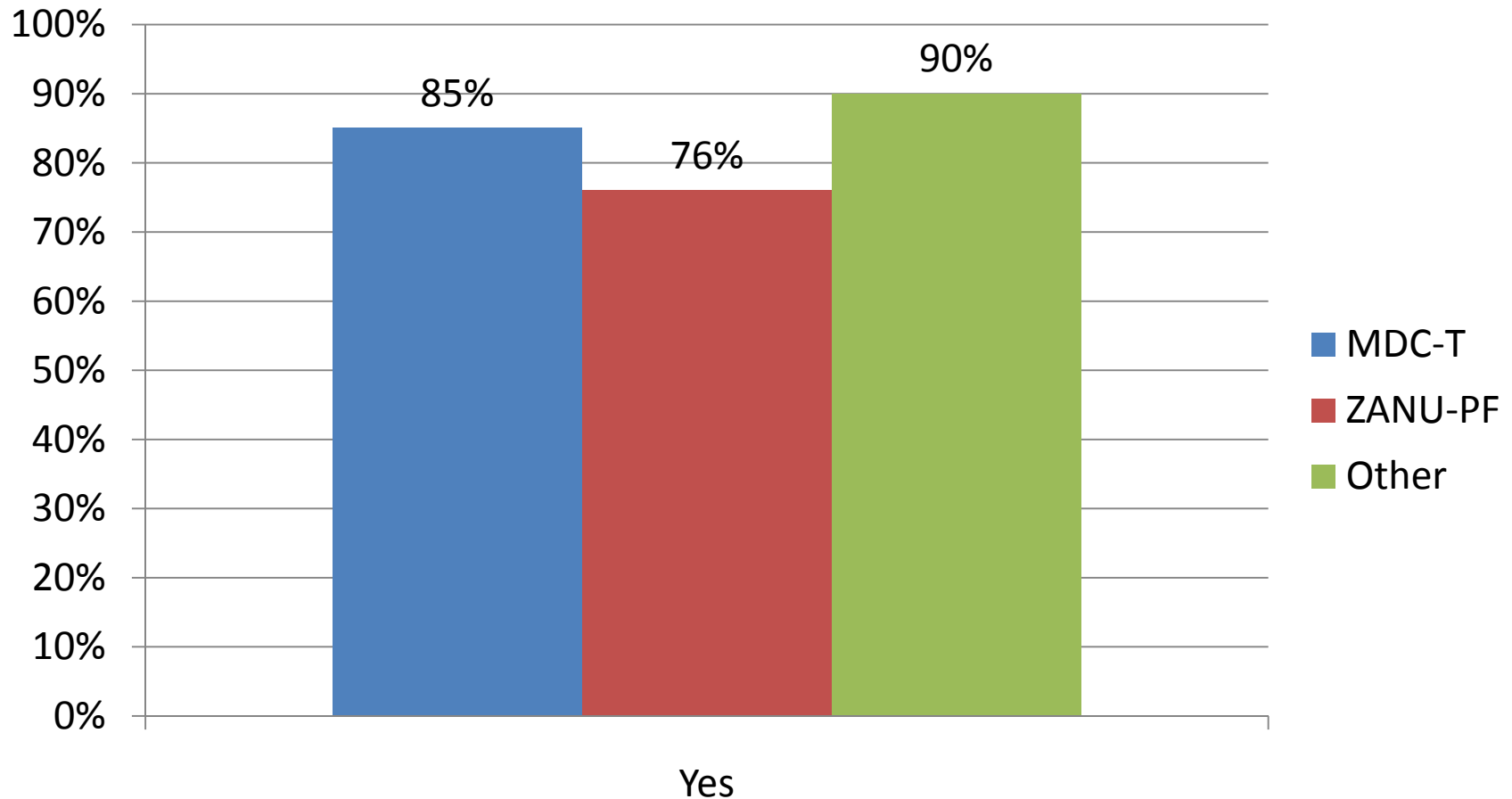
# Fear of Intimidation in Elections by Party



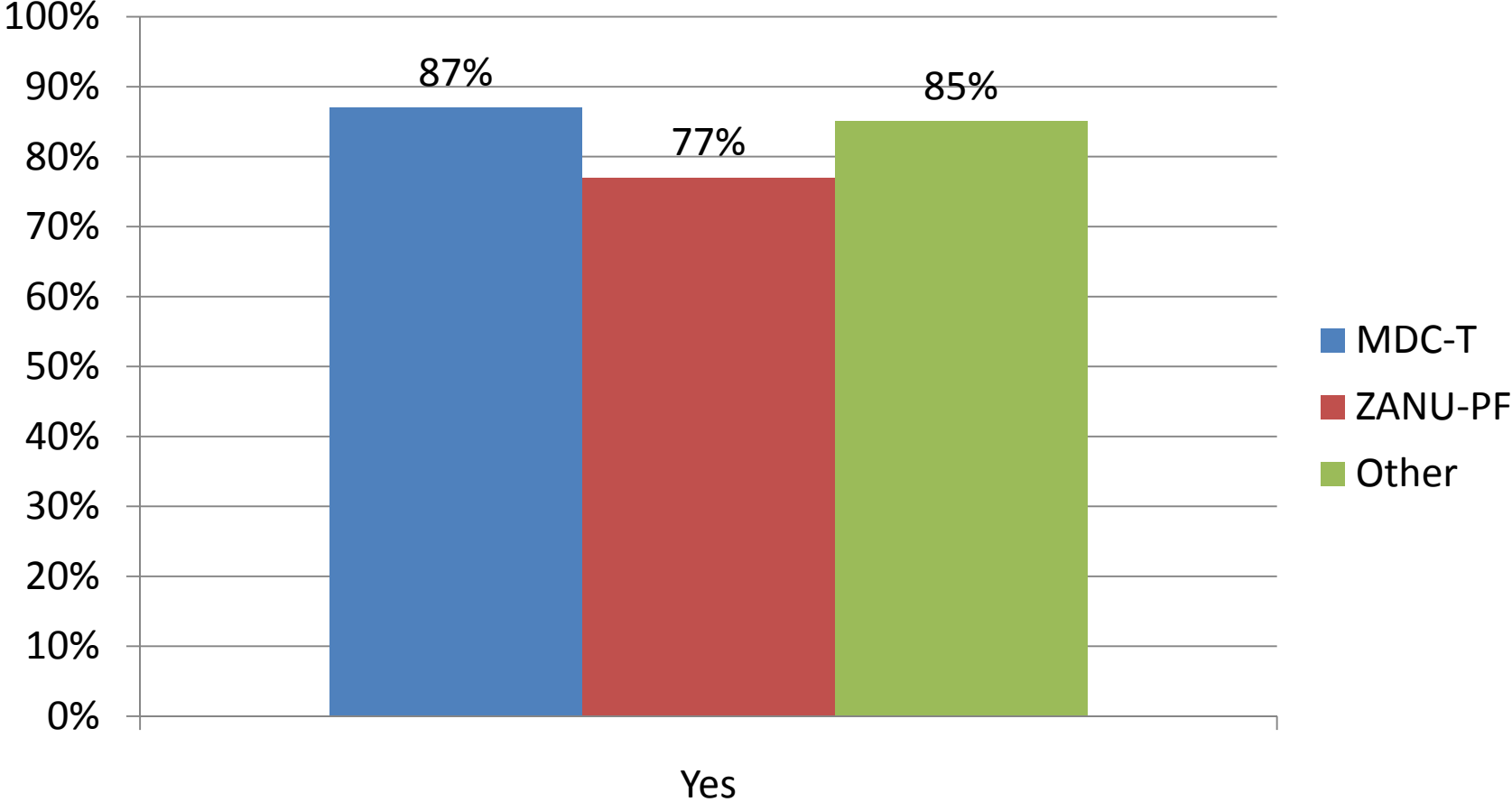
# Transitional Justice

# Investigate Murders?

Understanding that investigations may not be able to consider everything, what sort of political crimes should be included? **Murder?**

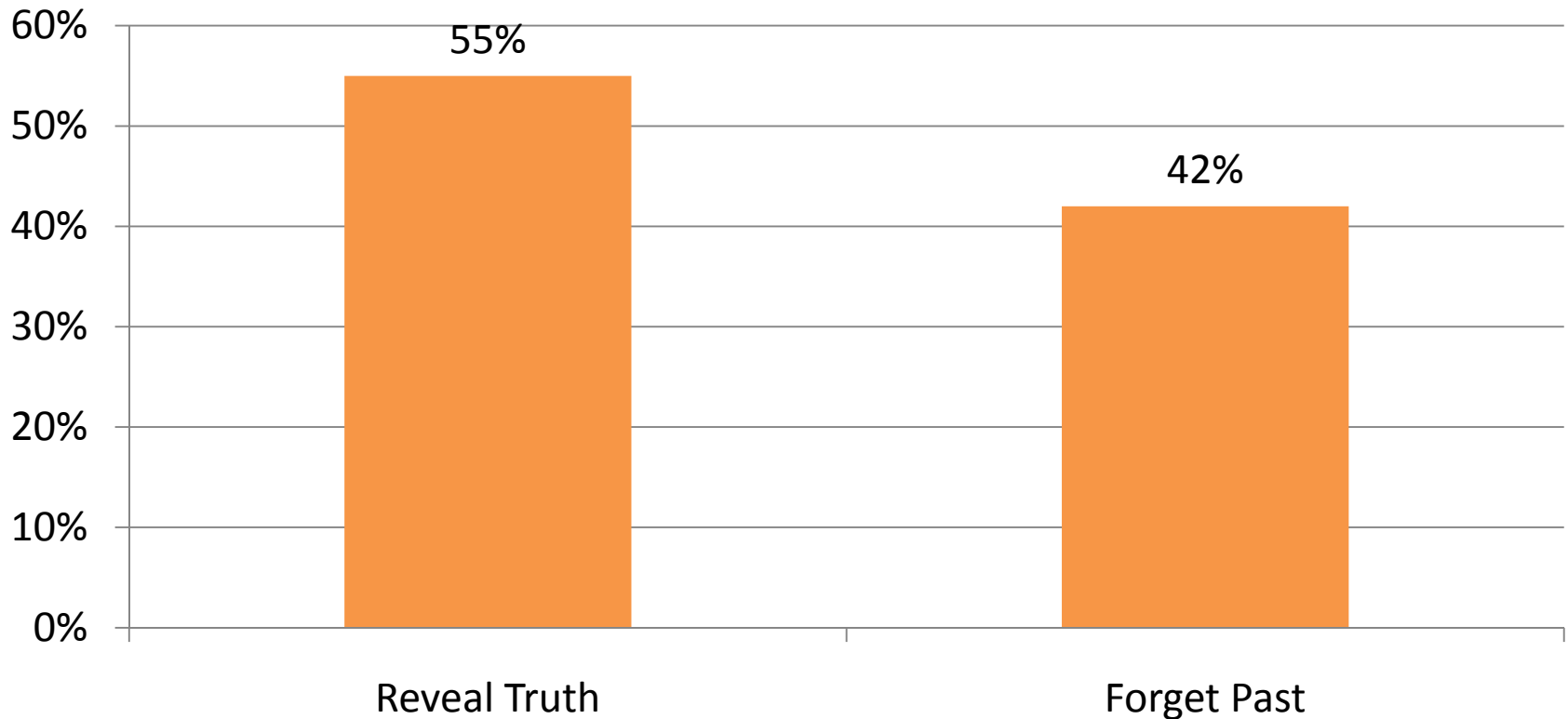


# Investigate Assault, Rape and Torture?

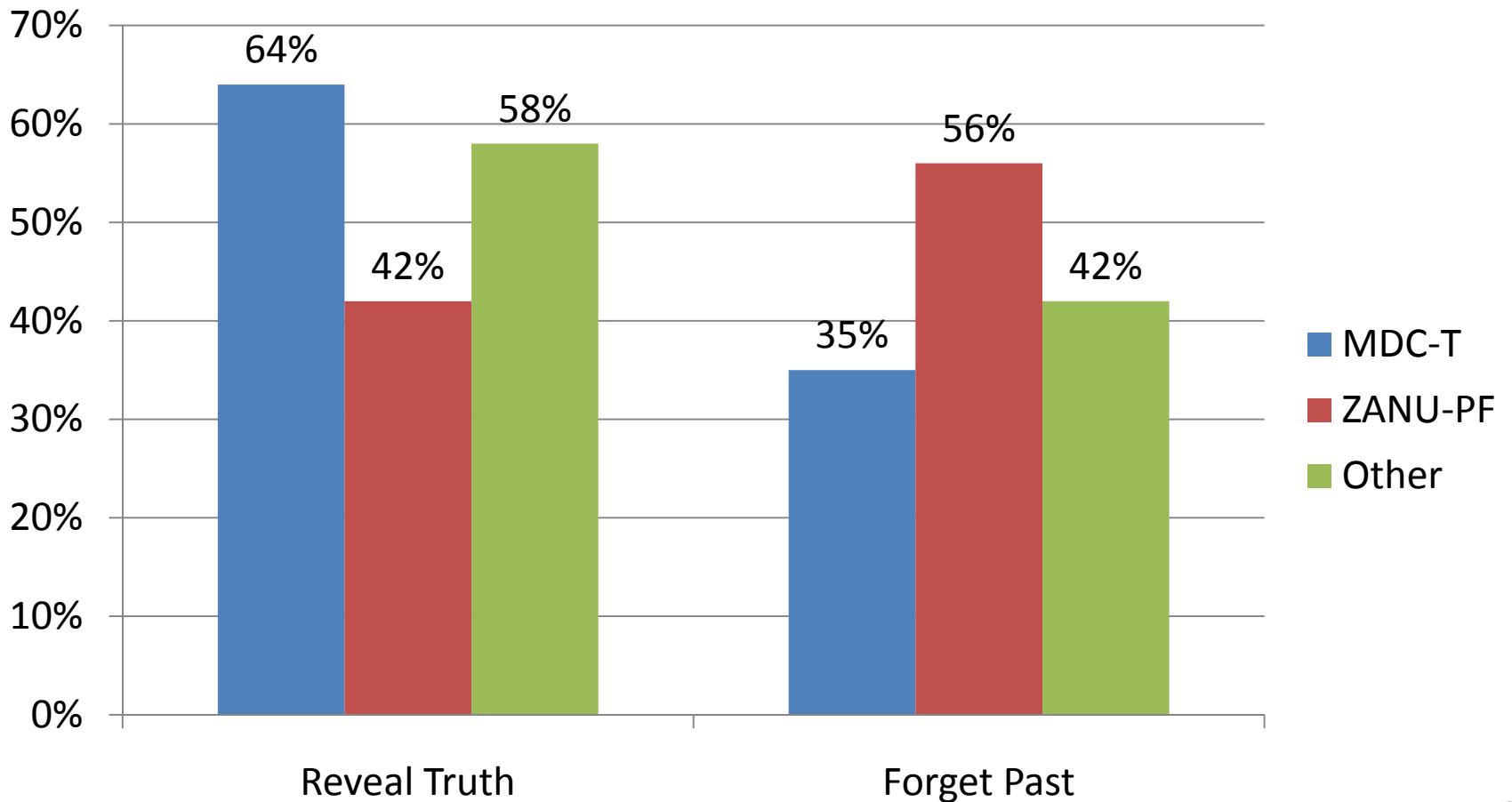


# Reveal Truth or Forget?

Which is closest to your view: (1) Revealing the truth about what happened in the past is necessary in order for Zimbabwe to move forward; or (2) In order for our country to make progress, it would be best to forget what happened in the past.

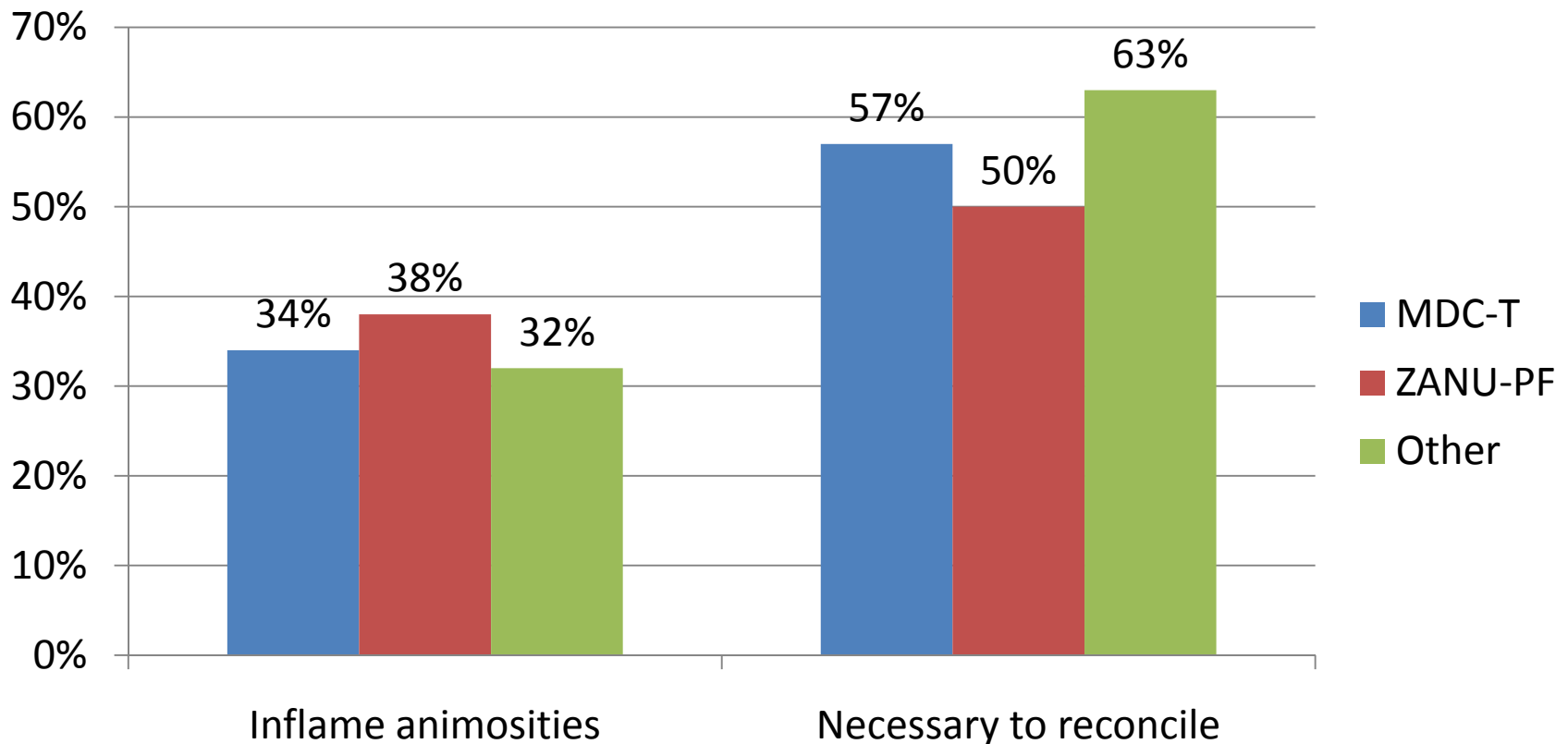


# Reveal Truth or Forget? by Party



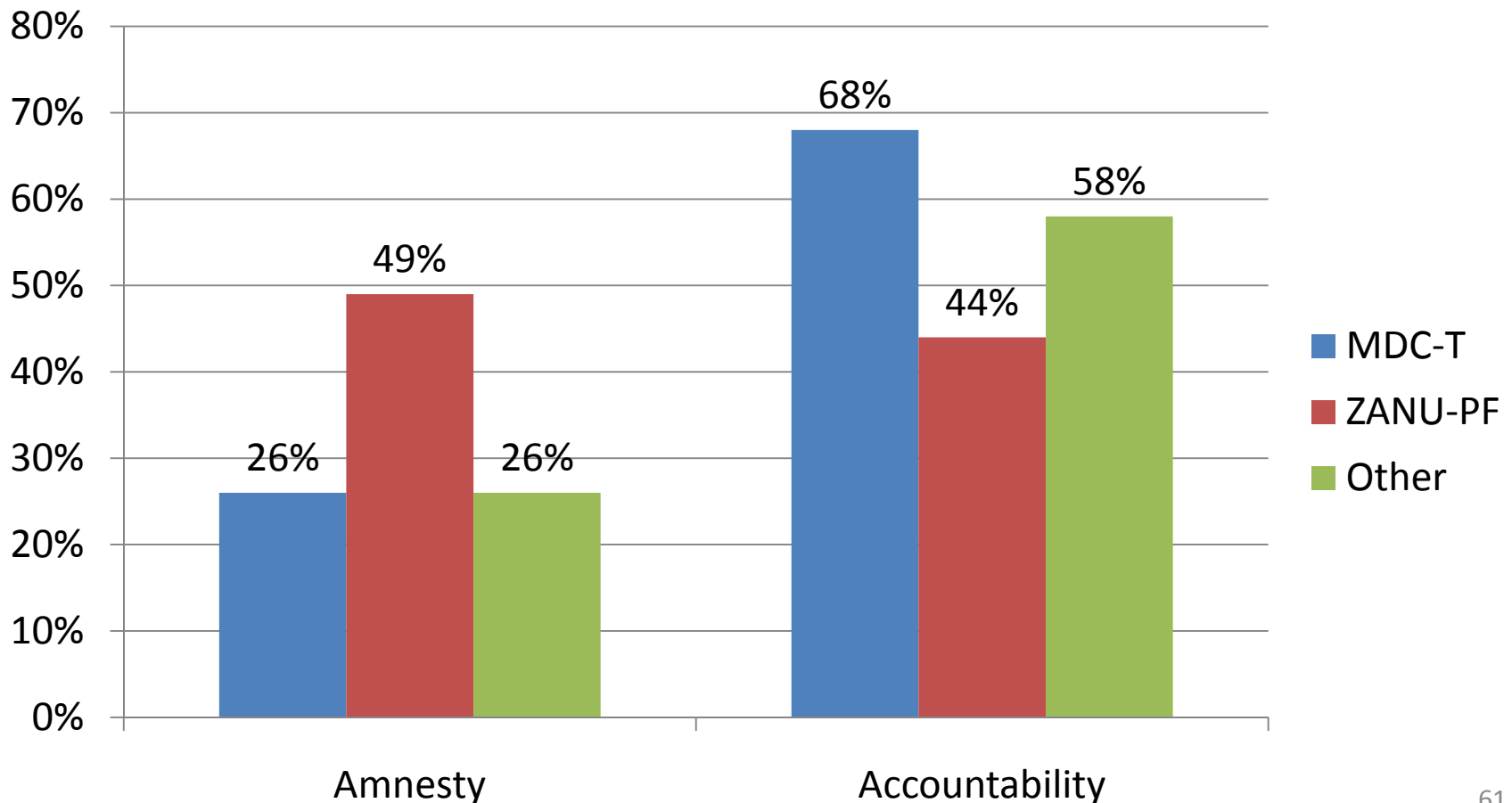
# Consequences of Telling Truth

Choose statement “Telling the truth about past political crimes”  
(1) “... will only inflame old political animosities” or (2) “... is necessary before political adversaries in Zimbabwe can ... reconcile with one another”



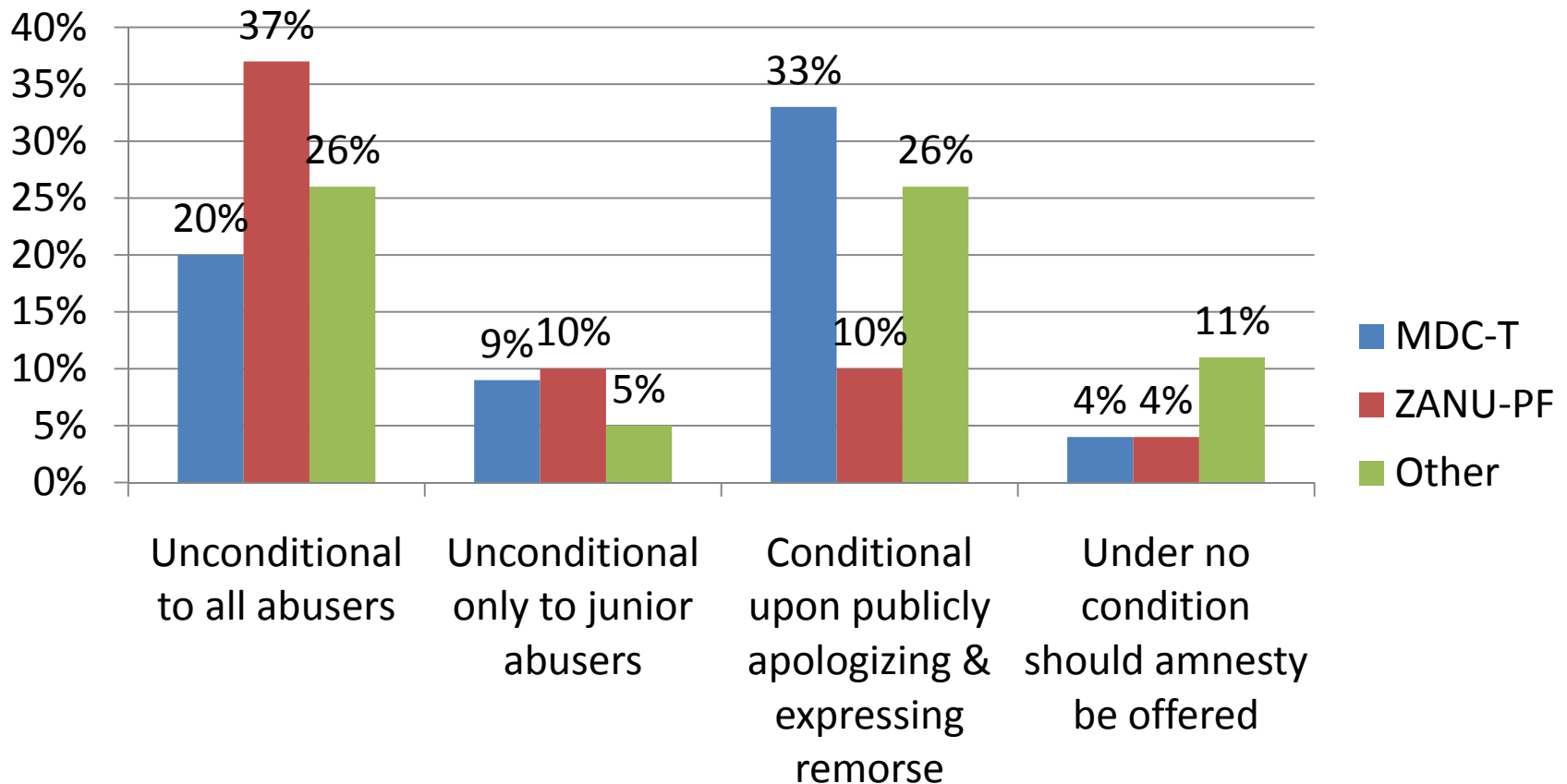
# Amnesty or Accountability?

Choose “Those who are responsible for past political crimes”  
(1) “... should be granted amnesty” or (2) “... should be held  
accountable; they should face consequences for what they  
have done.”



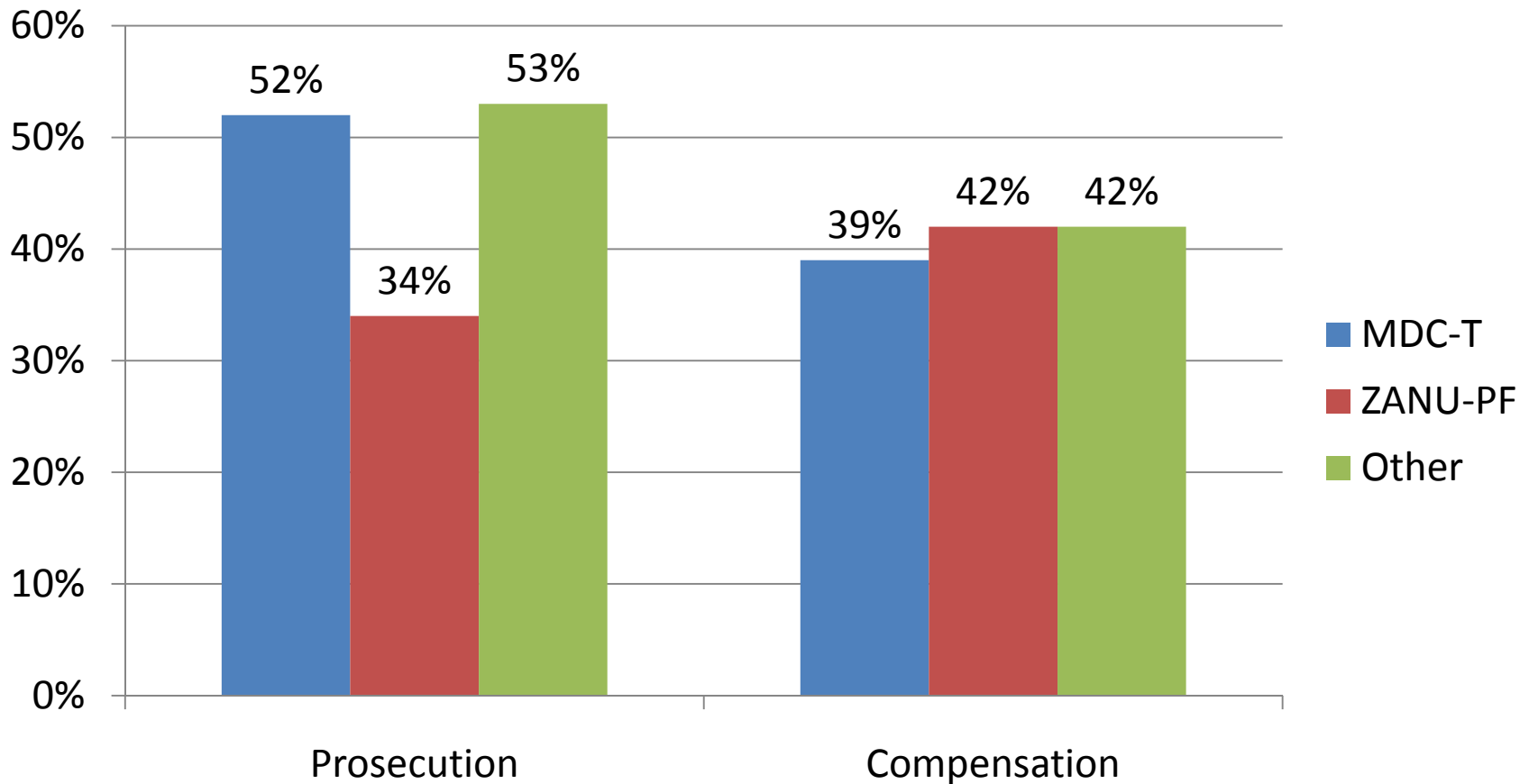
# Conditions for Amnesty

There are various conditions under which amnesty could possibly be provided. If you could choose only one of the following options for amnesty, what would it be?



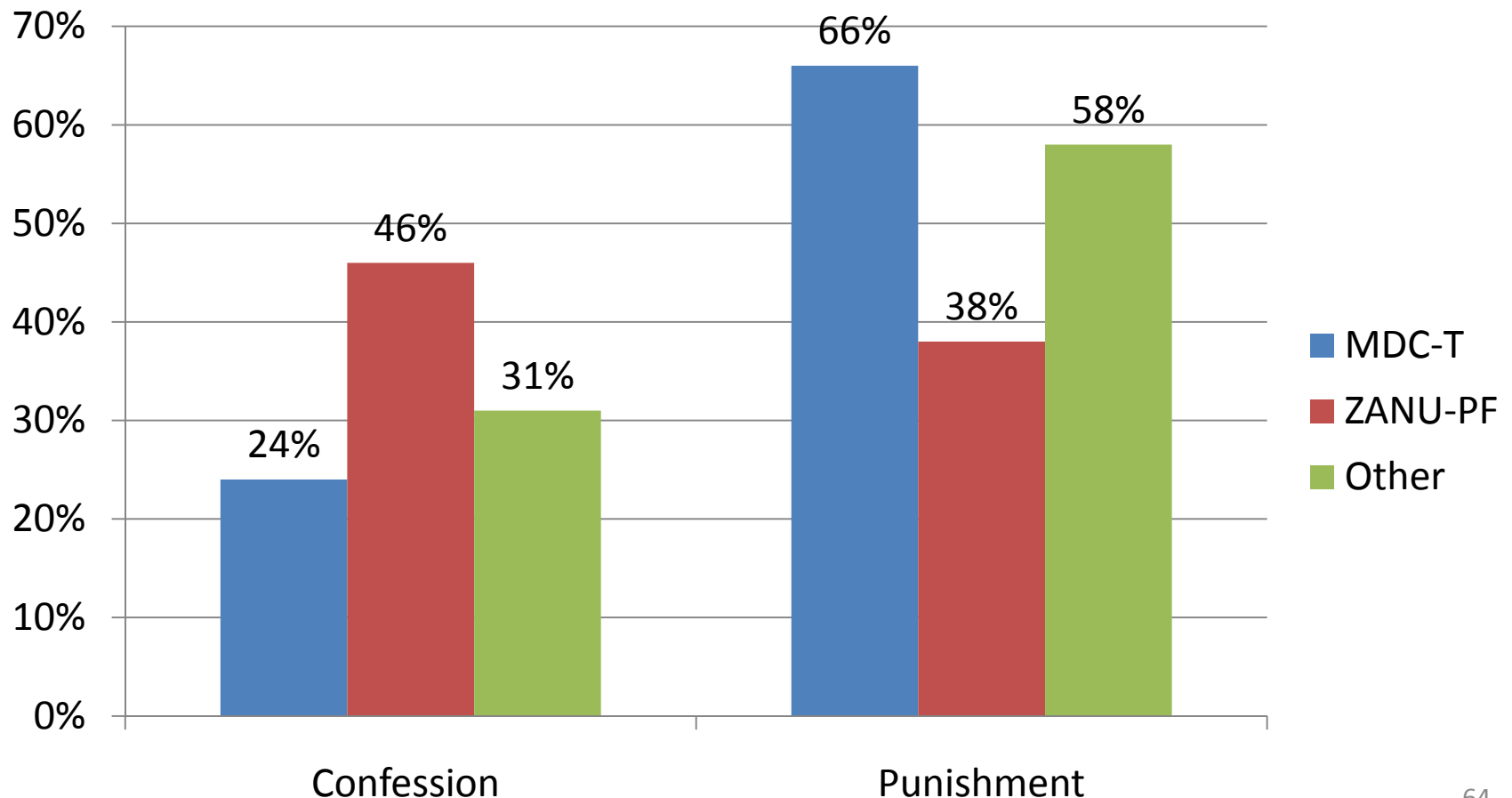
# Prosecution or Compensation?

Choose “To obtain justice for victims of political violence, it is most important” (1) “... for perpetrators to face criminal prosecution in a court of law” or (2) “... for the victims of political crimes to be compensated for their losses.”

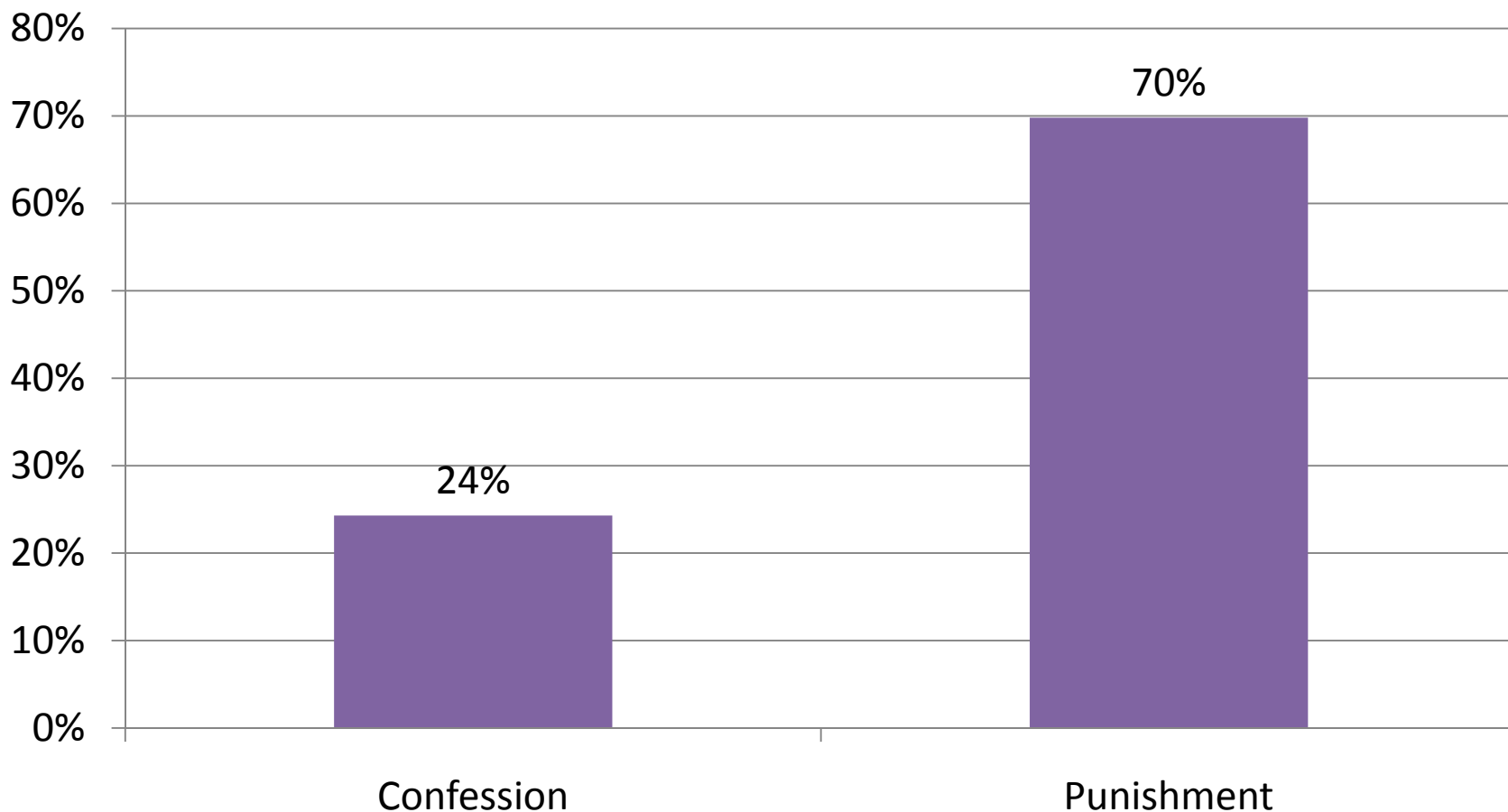


# Confessions or Punishment?

Choose: (1) “As a condition for any amnesty, perpetrators should simply be required to confess to their political crimes” or (2) “Truth telling is not enough; there must be a means to punish persons responsible for political crimes.”



# Confessions or Punishment? by Victim of Intimidation/Harassment



# Summary of Key Findings

- 3 in 4 respondents say their economic conditions have improved in past year
- Most respondents consider power sharing a second best solution (43%) or a bad alternative to competitive elections (33%)
- 73% want elections within the next two years
- A majority (53%) expect the next elections to be generally free and fair

# Key Findings: Constitution; Violence

- 61% of respondents have never heard of the Constitution
- Large majorities of ZANU-PF supporters favor presidential term limits (60%) and independent judiciary (78%)
- 4 in 5 ZANU-PF supporters say violence is never justified
- 35% of respondents have suffered political intimidation, threat, or harassment since 1980

# Key Findings: Transitional Justice

- Partisan differences are significant: MDC supporters prefer to reveal the truth about political crimes than to forget the past (64% to 35%) while ZANU-PF supporters prefer the opposite (by 56% to 42%)
- Similarly, MDC favors punishment (66%) over amnesty (24%) for perpetrators who confess, while ZANU-PF supporters favor amnesty (46%) over punishment (38%)
- Victims of political intimidation or harassment favor punishment over amnesty by 70% to 24%