



Citizens' Voice Index

SECOND REPORT – FINDINGS THROUGH JULY 10TH
A NEW WAY TO TRACK PUBLIC SENTIMENT IN REAL TIME

magamba★



Orange Door Research

SUMMARY

This is a critical time in Zimbabwe, as the country prepares for upcoming elections on July 30th, 2018. Civil society organizations working on issues related to governance and human rights must navigate a rapidly evolving environment. In order to do so, it is necessary to understand how these political developments shape public opinion – especially as regards citizen engagement in the democratic process.

The Magamba Network launched a pilot project with Orange Door Research, to create a Citizens' Voice Index. The Citizens' Voice Index tracks changing public opinion on issues related to the election in real-time, using daily mobile phone surveys. These surveys started in February, and will continue through September. The results are then shared with key civil society partners – led by the Magamba Network – via a



secure online Dashboard. To date, 6,779 people have completed the daily survey.

These survey results were recently supplemented with an additional, one-off survey conducted in late June, focusing on citizen agency – i.e. to what extent do

Zimbabweans feel they can influence key events. This survey allowed us to dive deeper into some of the issues raised by the ongoing daily surveys. Overall, 500 people completed the one-off survey.

KEY SURVEY FINDINGS

- ✓ Overall, of the 6,779 people who completed the daily surveys to date, 51% believe that the situation has gotten worse over the last five years. 28% say that it has stayed the same, and 21% say that it has improved.
- ✓ According to the cumulative results of the daily survey, 45% of citizens believe that the economic situation is the most critical issue facing Zimbabwe, followed by free and fair elections (27%), addressing corruption (16%) and improving basic services (11%).
- ✓ That said, in recent weeks, as we get closer to the election, the percentage who believe that free and fair elections is the most important issue has risen. For the one-off survey conducted in June, 49% said that the economy was the most important issue, followed by free and fair elections (32%), corruption (12%) and improving basic services (5%).
- ✓ Citizens are optimistic about their ability to shape the new Zimbabwe. Overall, across both the daily survey and the one-off survey, 69% of respondents believe that they can have an influence on critical issues facing the country.
- ✓ For respondents who do believe they can influence critical issues, we asked a follow-up question in the one-off survey: what is the best way to influence the Government? 48% said by voting, 22% said by working with civil society, 20% said by interacting with public officials, 7% said by demonstrating, and 3% said by other means.
- ✓ For respondents who do not believe they can influence critical issues, we asked a follow-up question in the one-off survey: what's the main reason you don't think you can influence critical issues? 36% said because the system is corrupt, 24% said that no one cares what they think, 13% said that the elections would not be free and fair, 13% said demonstrations are ineffective, and 14% said for other reasons.
- ✓ The one-off survey also asked respondents if they would take part in a peaceful demonstration or gathering organized by civil society around a critical issue. 78% said yes, and 22% said no.
- ✓ Citizens are preparing to vote in unprecedented numbers. Across both the daily surveys and the one-off survey, 93% of respondents plan to vote in the upcoming election.
- ✓ Overall, of the 6,779 people who have completed the daily surveys to date, 27% of Zimbabweans believe that civil society best represents their interests and 27% believe that religious groups best represent their interests. This is followed by political parties (22%) and social movements (15%). 9% of respondents said that none of these groups represent their interests.
- ✓ That said, civil society groups are trusted by the majority of the population. According to the results of the one-off survey, 62% of respondents trust civil society, while 38% do not.

- ✓ Finally, the one-off survey asked respondent what they considered the most reliable and honest source of information on political issues. 30% said social media, followed by radio (21%), civil society (20%), newspapers (14%), friends and family (6%), and churches (3%). 5% said none of the above.

WHICH GROUP BEST REPRESENTS YOUR INTERESTS - BY LANGUAGE

CIVIL SOCIETY

32%

ENGLISH SPEAKERS

17%

SHONA SPEAKERS

RELIGIOUS GROUPS

29%

ENGLISH SPEAKERS

23%

SHONA SPEAKERS

POLITICAL PARTIES

20%

ENGLISH SPEAKERS

23%

SHONA SPEAKERS

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

11%

ENGLISH SPEAKERS

24%

SHONA SPEAKERS

NONE

7%

ENGLISH SPEAKERS

11%

SHONA SPEAKERS

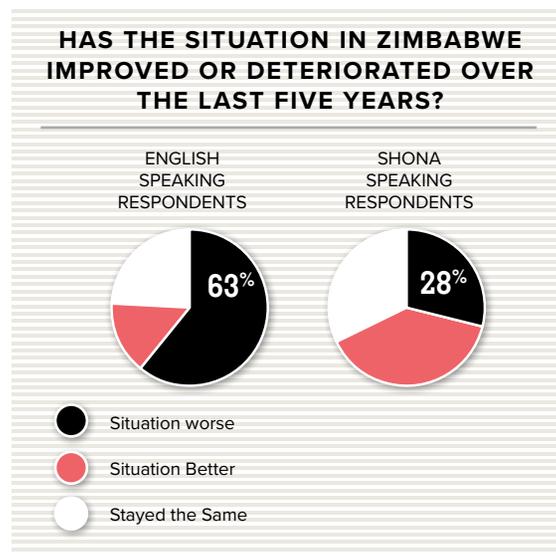
SURVEY METHODOLOGY AND DEMOGRAPHICS

Orange Door Research has conducted daily surveys in Zimbabwe since early February 2018. We collect approximately 1,200 completed surveys per month using automated SMS mobile phone surveys, at the rate of roughly 40 surveys per day. The SMS surveys are sent using random digit dialing. This allows us to create a sampling frame without access to a pre-identified target population. At scale, this allows us to reach a representative cross-section of the phone-owning population. All surveys are opt-in. We incentivize respondents by providing a small transfer of air-time credit upon completion of the survey.

We then stratify our respondent population through the survey instrument itself, to determine respondent age, education level, gender, household income, sub-national location, etc. This allows us to determine how our respondent sample differs from the population as a whole. Of the 6,700-plus people who have taken the survey so far, 64% chose to answer in English, 32% in Shona, and 4% in Ndebele. 19% of respondents are aged 15 to 24, 38% are aged 25 to 34, and 43% are aged 35 or older. To date, 58% of respondents are men, and 42% are women. We have collected survey responses from each province, proportional to that province's share of the national population.

We use Iterative Proportional Fitting to address any skew, to re-weight our survey to more accurately reflect the relevant national or sub-national demographics (i.e. to address the relative under-representation of women in the survey).

From this we can derive an accurate margin of error and sample error. The 95% confidence interval is + / - 2% per month.



KEY FINDINGS

1. Has the situation in Zimbabwe improved or deteriorated over the last five years?

Looking at the cumulative results from the daily survey (covering February through June), Overall, 50% of respondents say that it has gotten worse, 29% say that it has stayed the same, and 21% say that it has improved.

That said, there is a significant divergence between English and Shona-speaking respondents. 63% of English-speaking respondents say that the situation has gotten worse, and 14% say it has gotten better (the rest say that it has

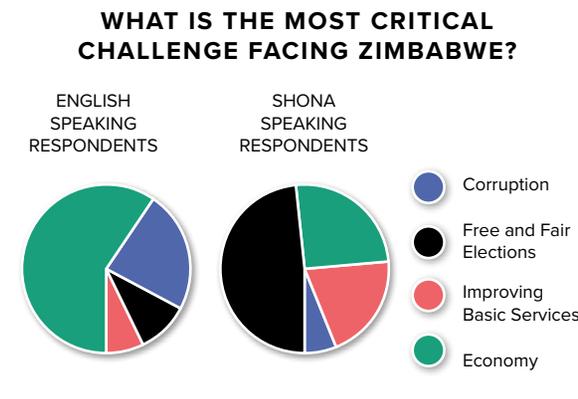
stayed the same.) By comparison, 28% of Shona respondents say the situation has gotten worse, and 37% say it has gotten better (the rest say that it has stayed the same.).

This question was not asked in the one-off survey.

2. What is the most critical issue facing Zimbabwe?

Looking at the cumulative results from the daily survey, 45% of all respondents said the most critical issue was the economic situation / jobs, followed by free and fair elections (27%), corruption (16%), and improving basic services (11%).

That said, looking at the results of the one-off survey conducted in June, it seems that people are increasingly concerned about free and fair



elections, with a 5% increase in respondents who list free and fair elections as the most critical issue, compared to the cumulative results of the daily survey (32% compared to 27%).

Looking at the language breakdown from the one-off survey, there is a significant distinction between English and Shona-speaking respondents. 58% of English speaking respondents list the economy as the main issue, compared to 21% of Shona respondents. That said, 57% of Shona-speaking respondents list free and fair elections as the main issue, compared to 12% of English-speaking respondents. The one-off survey also shows that concern about free and fair elections is a greater concern in urban areas than rural areas (39% to 30%).

3. Do you think you can influence key issues? Why or why not?

Looking at the cumulative results from the daily surveys from February through July, 69% of all respondents say yes, and 31% of all respondents say no. We found almost the exact same percentage breakdown in the June one-off survey (67% believed they could influence events, and 33% believed they could not).

CAN YOU INFLUENCE KEY ISSUES?



The largest distinction was between male and female respondents. In the daily survey, 75% of male respondents believe they can influence key issues, compared to only 60% of female respondents. We found similar results with the one-off survey: 76% of men said they believed they could influence key issues, compared to just 59% of women.

Using the one-off survey, we took a deeper look at this issue. In the one-off survey, respondents who believe they can influence events were asked a follow-up question: what is the best way to influence the Government? 48% said by voting, 22% said by working with civil society, 20% said by interacting with public officials, 7% said by demonstrating, and 3% said by other means.

Shona-speakers were far more likely than English-speakers to say voting (67% to 41%), while English speakers were more likely to say working with civil society (25% to 14%), interacting with public officials (21% to 17%) and demonstrating (8% to 2%).

Women were slightly more likely to choose voting (53% compared to 44%), while men were more likely to choose interacting with public officials (24% to 15%).

Respondents who did not believe they can influence events were asked why not. 36% said because the system is corrupt, 24% said that no one cares what they think, 13% said that the elections would not be free and fair, 13% said demonstrations are ineffective, and 14% said for other reasons.

Shona-speakers were more likely to say that “no one cares what they think” compared to English-speakers (31% to 22%), while English speakers were more likely to say that system is corrupt (38% to 31%) or that elections won’t be free and fair (14% to 9%).

Men were more likely than women to say that the system is corrupt (44% to 32%) and that no one cares what they think (27% to 22%). That said, women were more likely to say that demonstrations were not effective (18% to 5%).

Urban respondents were more likely than rural respondents to say that no one cares what they think (26% to 10%), while rural respondents were more likely than urban respondents to say that elections were not free and fair (30% to 11%).

The one-off survey also asked respondents if they would take part in a peaceful demonstration or gathering organized by civil society around a critical issue. 78% said yes, and 22% said no. There was little difference between male and female respondents: 80% of male respondents and 76% of female respondents were willing to participate in a peaceful demonstration. That said, English-speaking respondents were more willing than Shona-speaking respondents to participate in a peaceful demonstration (80% to 70%).

WOULD YOU TAKE PART IN A PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATION?



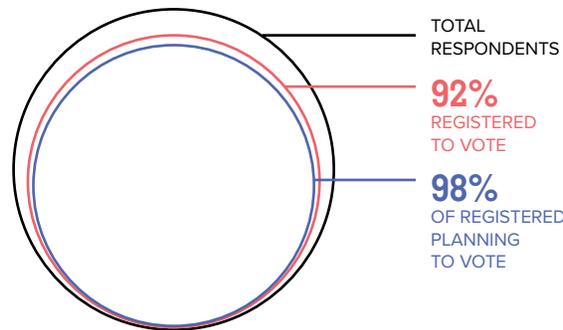
**4. Are you registered to vote?
Are you planning to vote?**

Looking at the cumulative results from the daily survey, overall 92% of respondents say they are registered to vote, and of those, 98% say they are planning to vote.

There is no significant difference between English and Shona speakers, nor between male and female respondents. There is a slight difference based on respondent age, with older respondents being more likely to be registered and more likely to vote. 88% of those aged 15 to 24 are registered, compared to 91% of those aged 25 to 34 and 94% of those aged 35 or older.

These findings are mirrored in the one-off survey from June, which found that 93% of respondents planned to vote.

ARE YOU REGISTERED TO VOTE?



5. Which group best represents your interests?

Looking at the cumulative results from the daily surveys, 27% of all respondents said religious groups and 27% said civil society and NGOs, followed by political parties (22%) and social movements (15%). 9% of respondents answered none of the above.

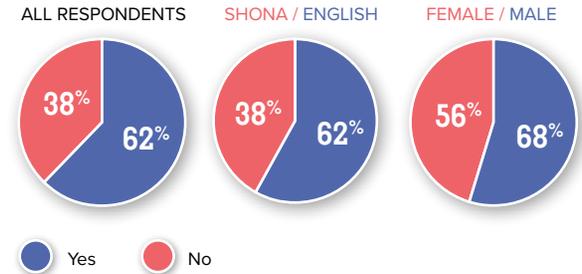
English-speakers were significantly more likely than Shona-speakers to say that civil society best represented their interests (32% to 17%). English-speakers were also more likely than Shona speakers to say that religious groups best represented their interests (29% to 23%).

That said, Shona-speakers were more likely than English-speakers to say that political parties best represent their interests (26% to 20%). Similarly, Shona-speakers were more likely than English speakers to say that social movements best represent their interests (23% to 11%).

Older respondents were slightly more likely to say that religious groups best represented their interests.

32% of female respondents stated that religious groups represented their interests, compared to only 23% of male respondents. On the other hand, male respondents were more likely to say that civil society (28% of men and 25% of women) and political parties (25% of men and 18% of women) represented their interests.

DO CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS REPRESENT YOU?



The one-off survey in June took a slightly different approach, measuring the extent to which respondent’s trust civil society organizations. When asked “do you trust civil society organizations to represent your interests.” 62% of respondents said yes, and 38% said no.

English-speaking respondents were more likely than Shona-speaking respondents to trust civil society (67% to 48%). Male respondents were also more likely than female respondents to trust civil society (68% to 56%).

6. What is the most reliable source of information on political issues?

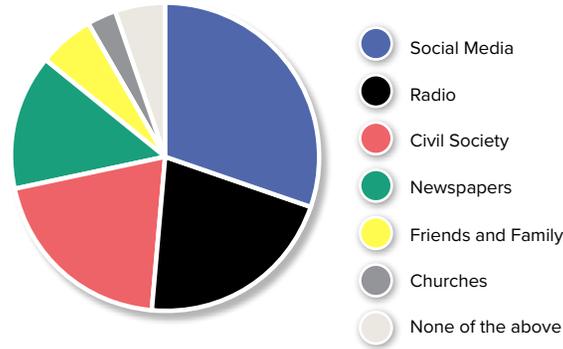
Finally, the one-off survey in June also asked respondents: What is the most reliable and honest source of information on political issues. Respondents favored social media (30%), followed by radio (21%), civil society (20%), newspapers (14%), friends and family (6%) and churches (3%), which 5% saying none of the above.

Both English and Shona-speakers were most likely to say social media (33% and 30%, respectively). That said, English-speakers were more likely than Shona-speakers to list civil society (21% to 15%) or friends and families (7% to 1%) as their most trusted source of political information, while Shona-speakers were more likely than English speakers to list the radio (28% to 19%) or newspapers (19% to 13%).

There were no significant differences between male and female respondents.

Perhaps not surprisingly, younger respondents were more likely to list social media as the most

WHAT IS THE BEST SOURCE OF INFORMATION ON POLITICAL ISSUES?



trusted source of political information – 35% of respondents aged 15 to 24, compared to 30% aged 25 to 34, and 28% aged 35 or older. Older respondents, however, were more likely to trust civil society. Only 16% of respondents aged 15 to 24 and 15% of respondents aged 25 to 34 trust civil society, compared to 28% of respondents aged 35 or older.

Both urban and rural respondents listed social media as the most reliable source of political information (32% and 33%, respectively). That said, rural respondents were more likely than urban respondents to list newspapers (20% to 11%) and churches (6% to 2%) as the most reliable sources of information. Urban respondents were more likely than rural respondents to list civil society (22% to 14%) and friends and family (6% to 2%).