



Findings from a pre-election survey in Zimbabwe: June/July 2018



At a glance



- **Fear of electoral violence declined slightly but remained high:** The proportion of Zimbabweans who fear becoming a victim of electoral violence dropped by 8 percentage points since May 2018 but is still above average among African countries.
- **Zimbabweans remained apprehensive about the possibility of electoral manipulation:** As was the case in May 2018, significant minorities were worried about ballot secrecy, counting of votes, announcement of incorrect results, post-election violence, and the military not accepting election results.
- **Presidential race tightened one month ahead of July 30 voting:** Among registered likely voters, incumbent Mnangagwa's lead over challenger Chamisa dropped from 11 to just 3 percentage points between early May and early July. The voting intentions of 20% were unknown.



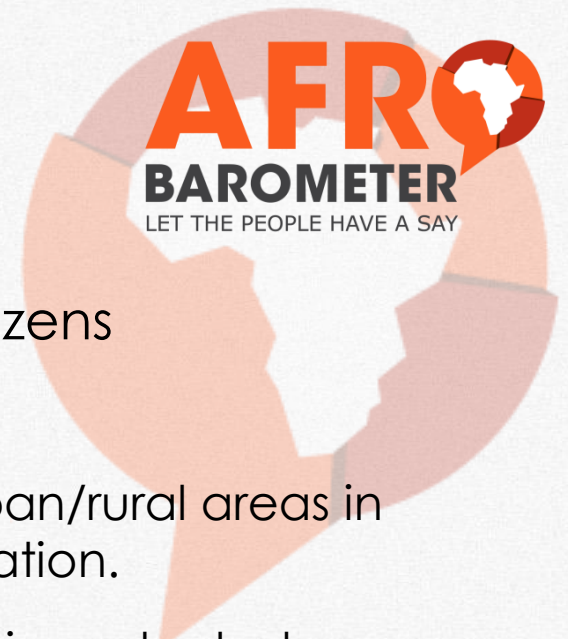
Pre-election surveys



- The Institute for Justice and Reconciliation commissioned two pre-election surveys. Fieldwork was conducted in all 10 provinces of Zimbabwe by the Mass Public Opinion Institute (MPOI), Afrobarometer's national partner in Zimbabwe.
- Technical assistance was provided by Afrobarometer, a pan-African, non-partisan research network that conducts public attitude surveys on democracy, governance, economic conditions, and related issues in African countries.
- A baseline survey was conducted 28 April to 13 May 2018. Findings are available at www.afrobarometer.org.
- A final pre-election survey was conducted 25 June to 6 July 2018.



Methodology



- Nationally representative sample of adult citizens
 - ❑ All respondents are *randomly* selected.
 - ❑ Sample is distributed across provinces and urban/rural areas in proportion to their share in the national population.
 - ❑ Every adult citizen has an *equal* chance of being selected.
- Face-to-face interviews in the language of the respondent's choice.
- Sample size of 2,400 in both pre-election surveys yields results with a margin of error of +/-2 percentage points at a 95% confidence level.



Survey demographics

Gender	%
Men	50
Women	50
Residence	
Urban	37
Rural	63
Education	
No formal education	4
Primary	23
Secondary	59
Post-secondary	14



Nature of the campaign



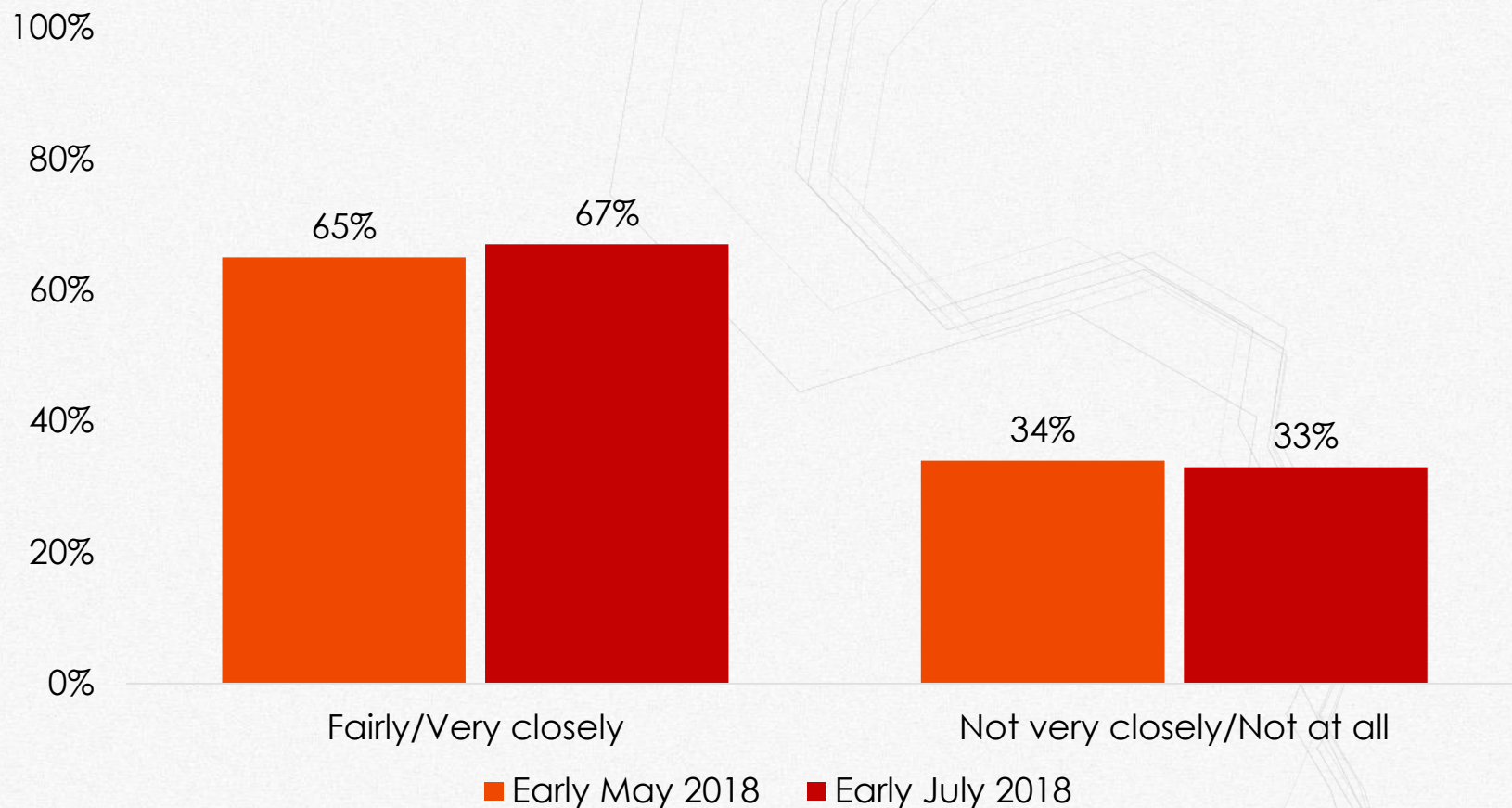
Key findings



- More than four in 10 Zimbabweans (43%) said they personally feared becoming a victim of electoral intimidation or violence. Though high compared to other African countries, this is an 8-percentage-point drop from the slim majority (51%) who felt this way in early May.
- This decline in expressions of political fear is reinforced by a growing majority (68%) who said the current government is performing “fairly well” or “very well” at preventing electoral violence (up from 63% in May).
- The proportion of respondents who think that “people must be careful of what they say about politics” dipped by 6 percentage points between May (82%) and July (76%). But a tendency to self-censorship remained strong (e.g. higher than a 24-country average of 70%).
- There has been a slight improvement in the popular misperception that a BVR slip must be produced at the polling station as a requirement to vote: 64% in July vs. 72% in May.



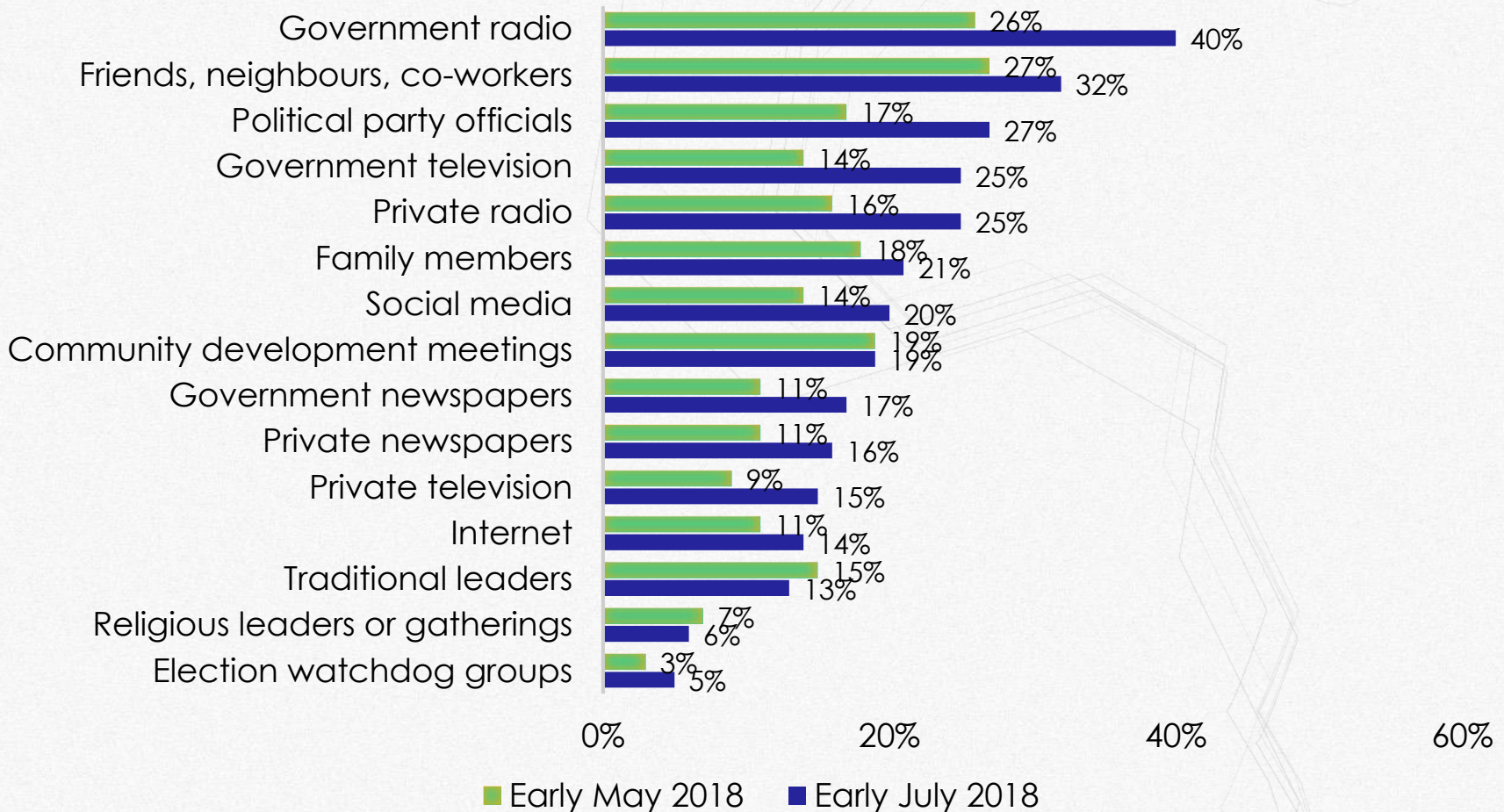
How closely citizens are following preparations for elections | Zimbabwe | May-July 2018



Respondents were asked: How closely are you following the preparations for the 2018 elections?

Sources of election information | Zimbabwe

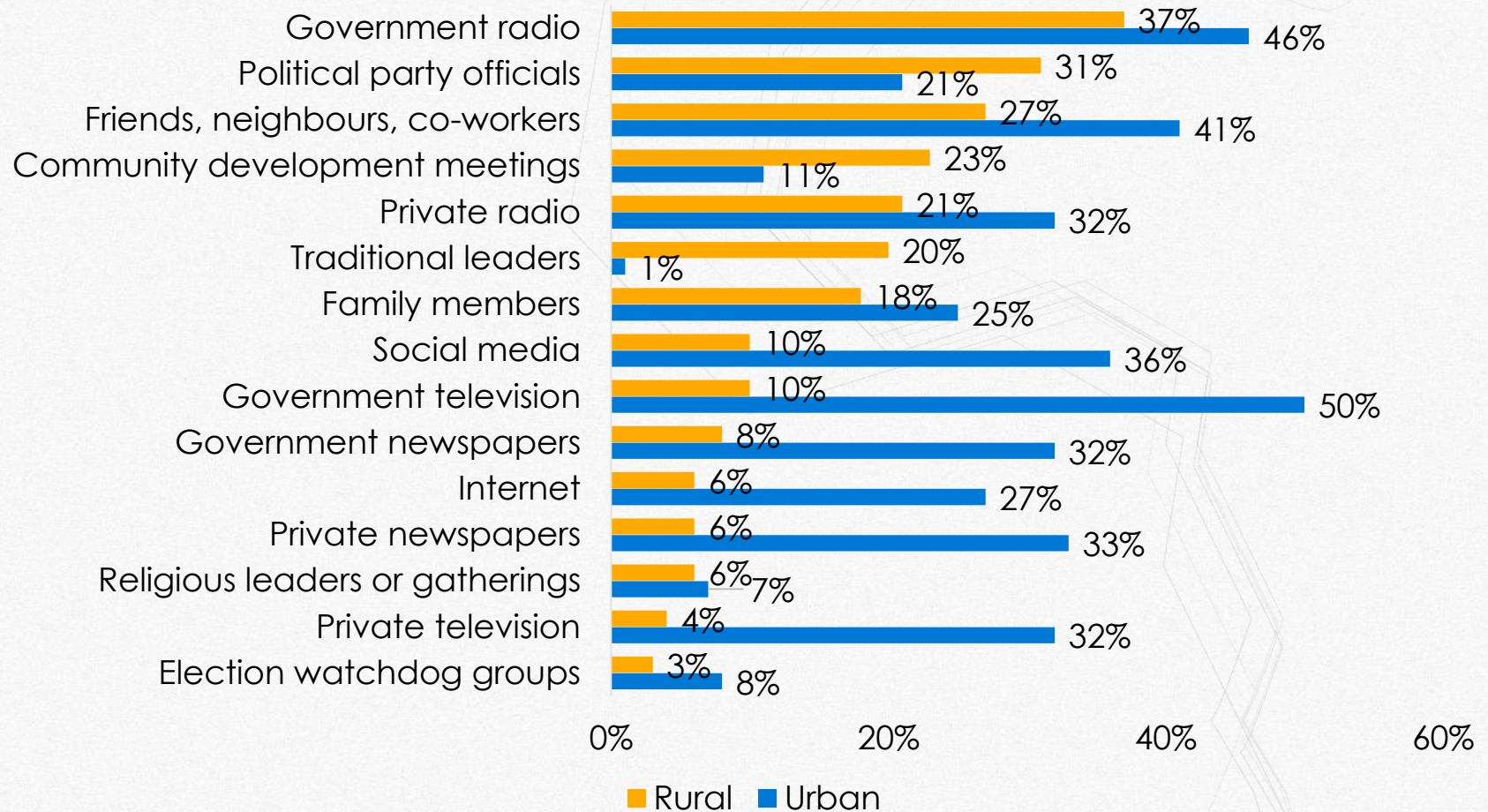
| May-July 2018



Respondents were asked: How much information on the 2018 elections have you received from the following sources?

Sources of election information | by urban-rural location

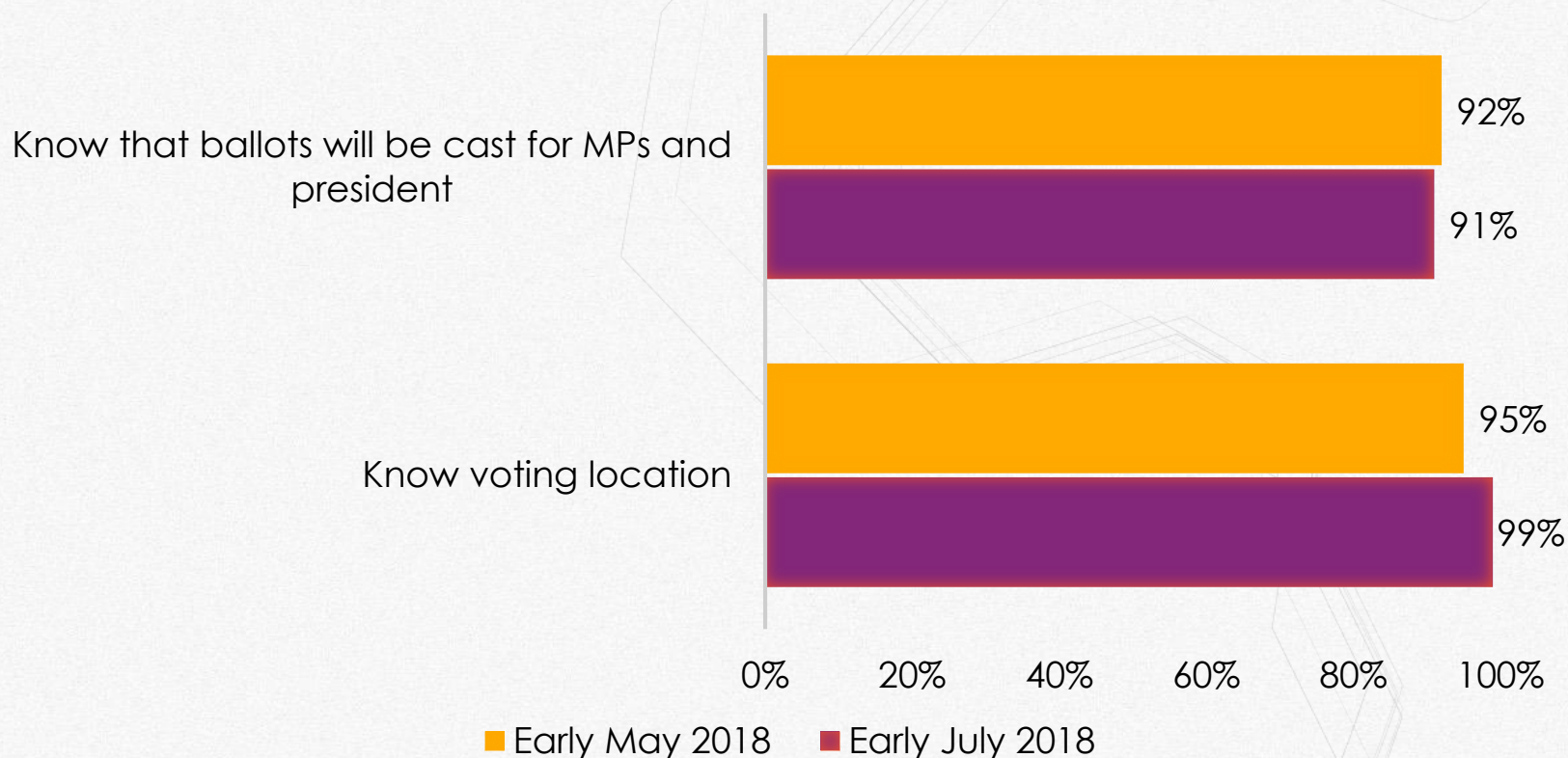
| Zimbabwe | July 2018



Respondents were asked: How much information on the 2018 elections have you received from the following sources?

Knowledge of election procedures | Zimbabwe

| May-July 2018

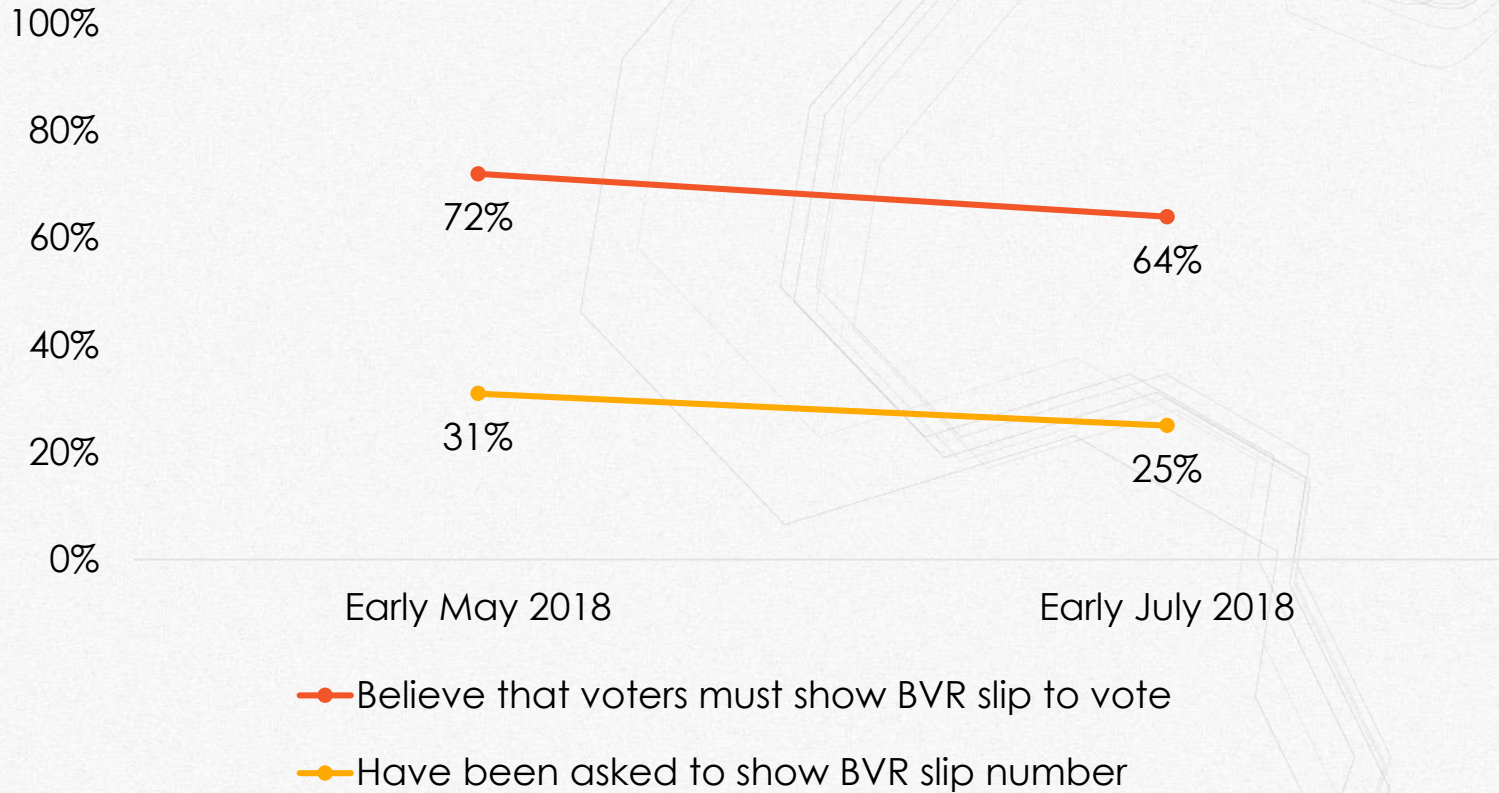


Respondents were asked: As you may know, Zimbabwe will hold elections in 2018. I would like to ask you a few questions about these elections.

- To your knowledge, will citizens be casting ballots for members of Parliament as well as the president? (Analysis includes all respondents.)

- Do you know the location of the polling station where you will vote? (Analysis includes only registered voters.)

Misuse of BVR slips | Zimbabwe | May-July 2018

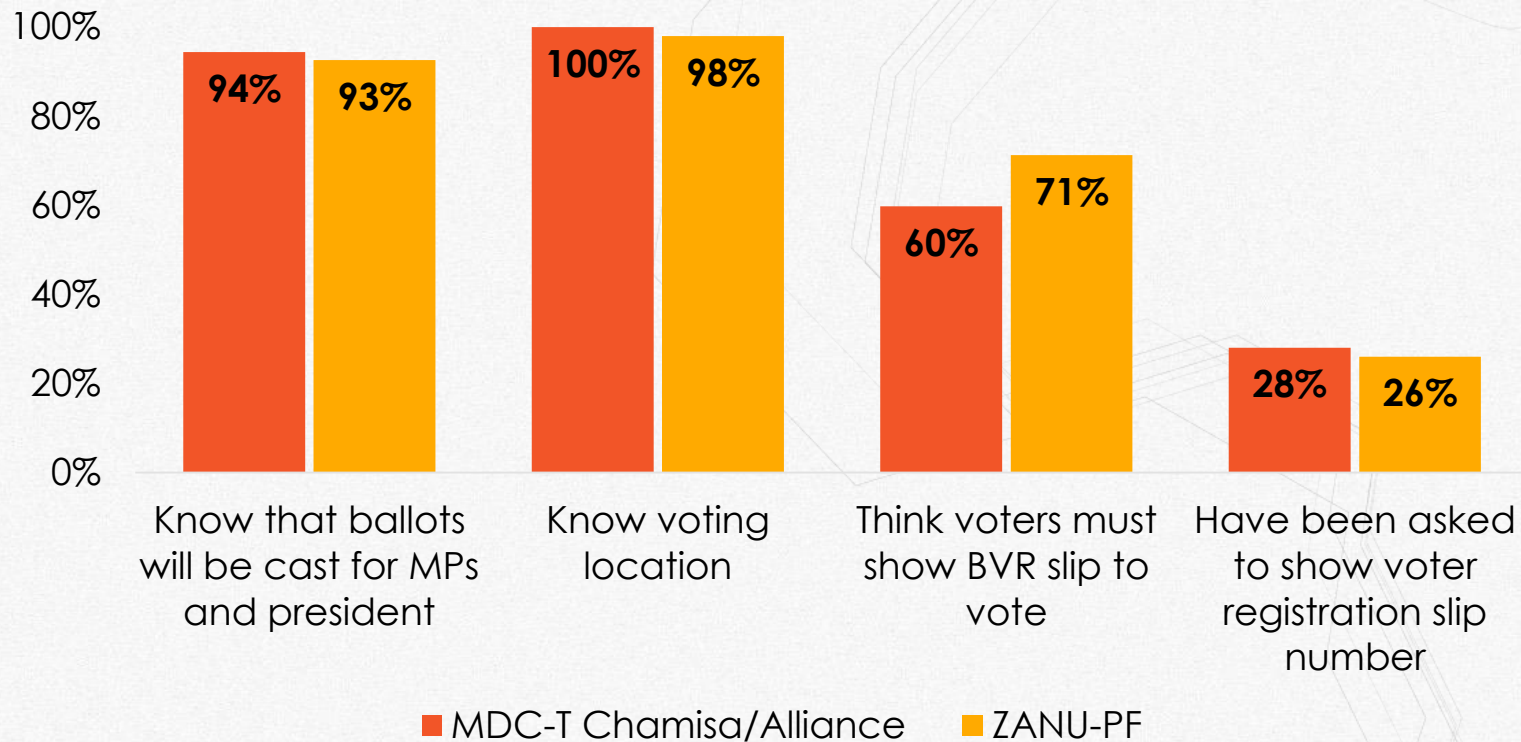


Respondents were asked: As you may know, Zimbabwe will hold elections in 2018. I would like to ask you a few questions about these elections.

- To your knowledge, will a citizen have to show a biometric voter registration (BVR) slip in order to vote? (Analysis includes all respondents.)

- Has anyone demanded to see the serial number of your voter registration slip? (Analysis includes only registered voters.)

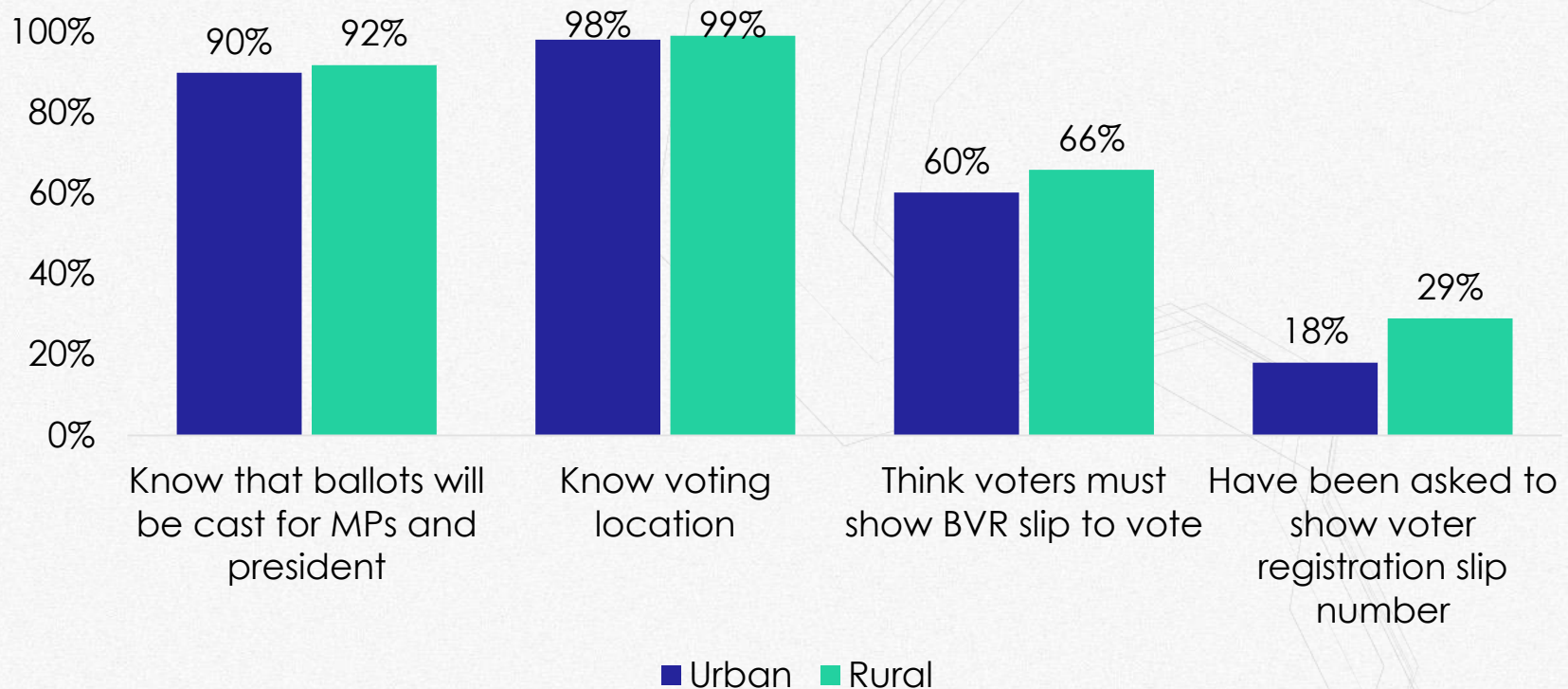
Knowledge of election procedures | by political party affiliation | Zimbabwe | July 2018



Respondents were asked:

- To your knowledge, will citizens be casting ballots for members of Parliament as well as the president? (All respondents)
- To your knowledge, will a citizen have to show a biometric voter registration (BVR) slip in order to vote? (All respondents)
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Knowledge of election procedures | by urban-rural location | Zimbabwe | July 2018

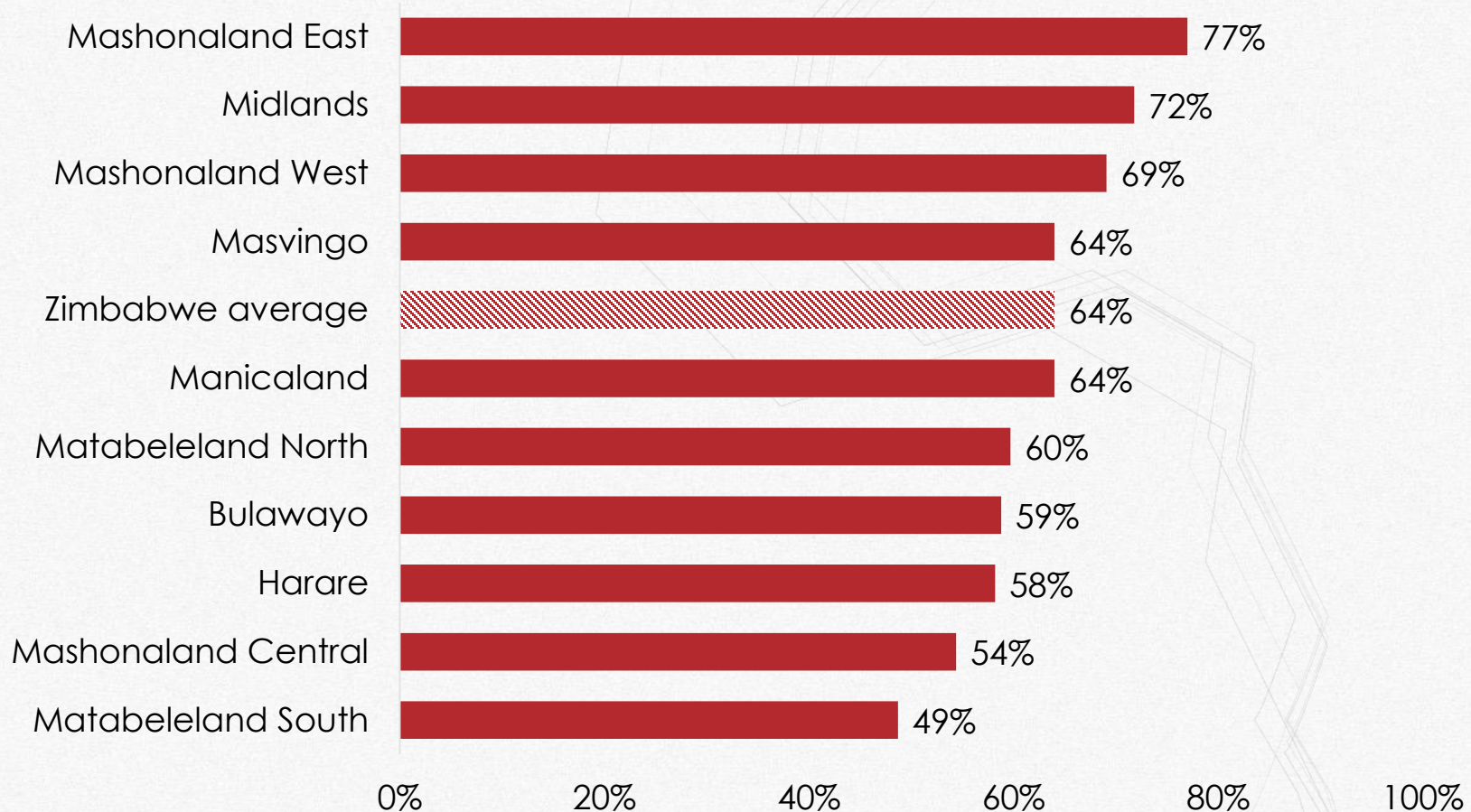


Respondents were asked:

- To your knowledge, will citizens be casting ballots for members of Parliament as well as the president? (All respondents)
- To your knowledge, will a citizen have to show a biometric voter registration (BVR) slip in order to vote? (All respondents)
- Do you know the location of the polling station where you will vote? (Registered voters only)
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Think that voters have to show BVR slip | by province

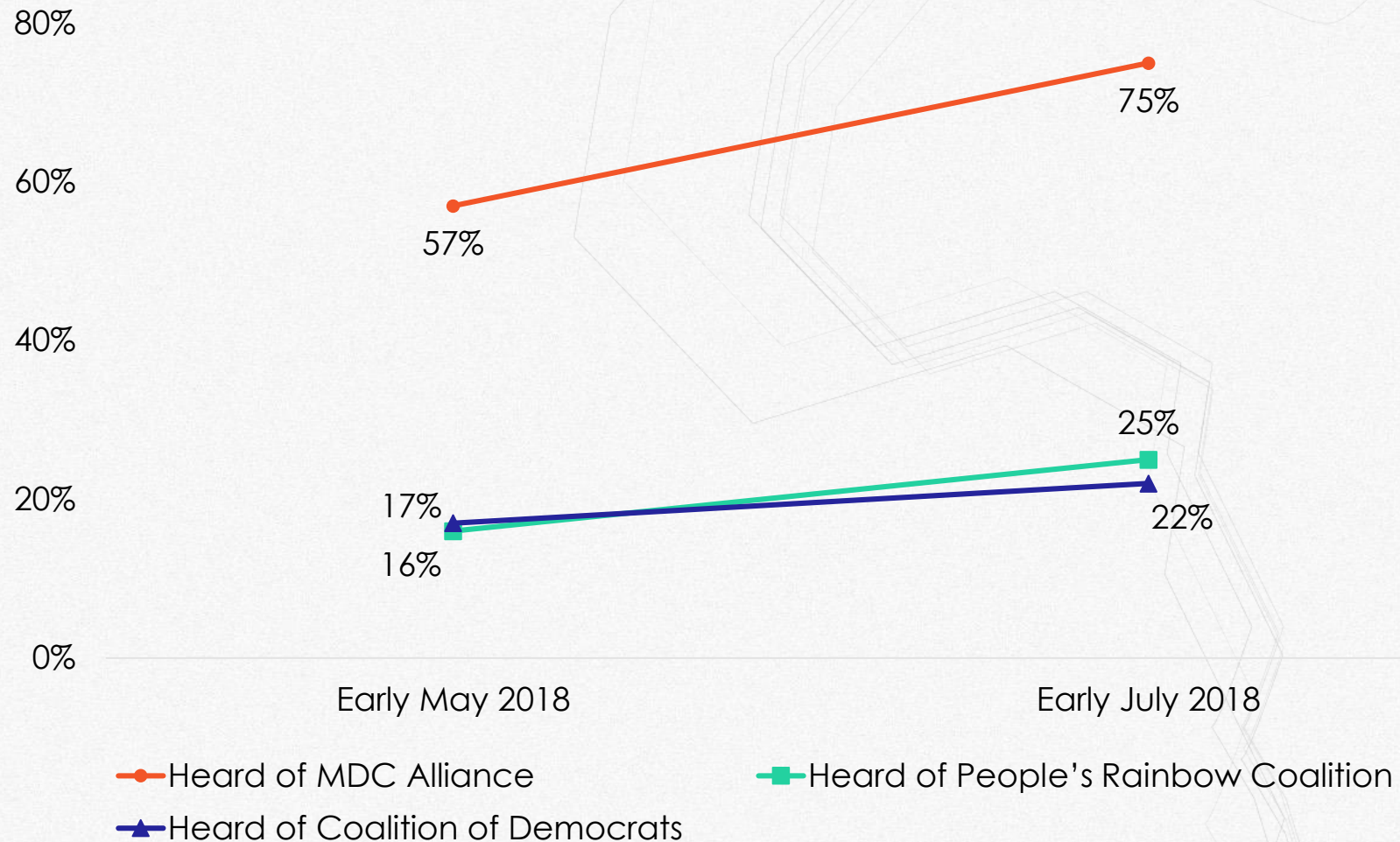
| Zimbabwe | July 2018



Respondents were asked: To your knowledge, will a citizen have to show a biometric voter registration (BVR) slip in order to vote? (% of all respondents who say "yes")

Ever heard of political party alliances | Zimbabwe

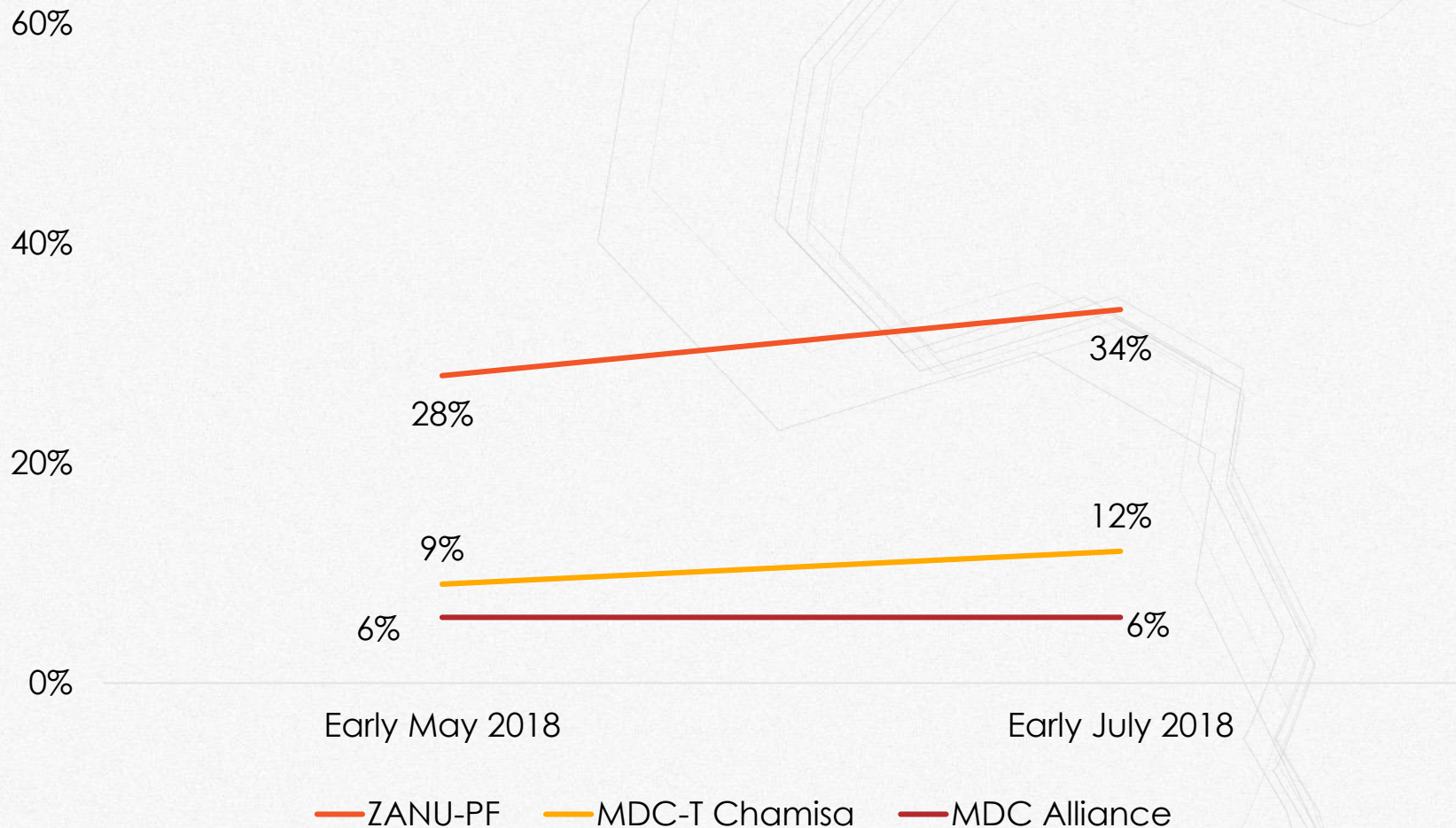
| May-July 2018



Respondents were asked: Have you ever heard of the following political alliances?

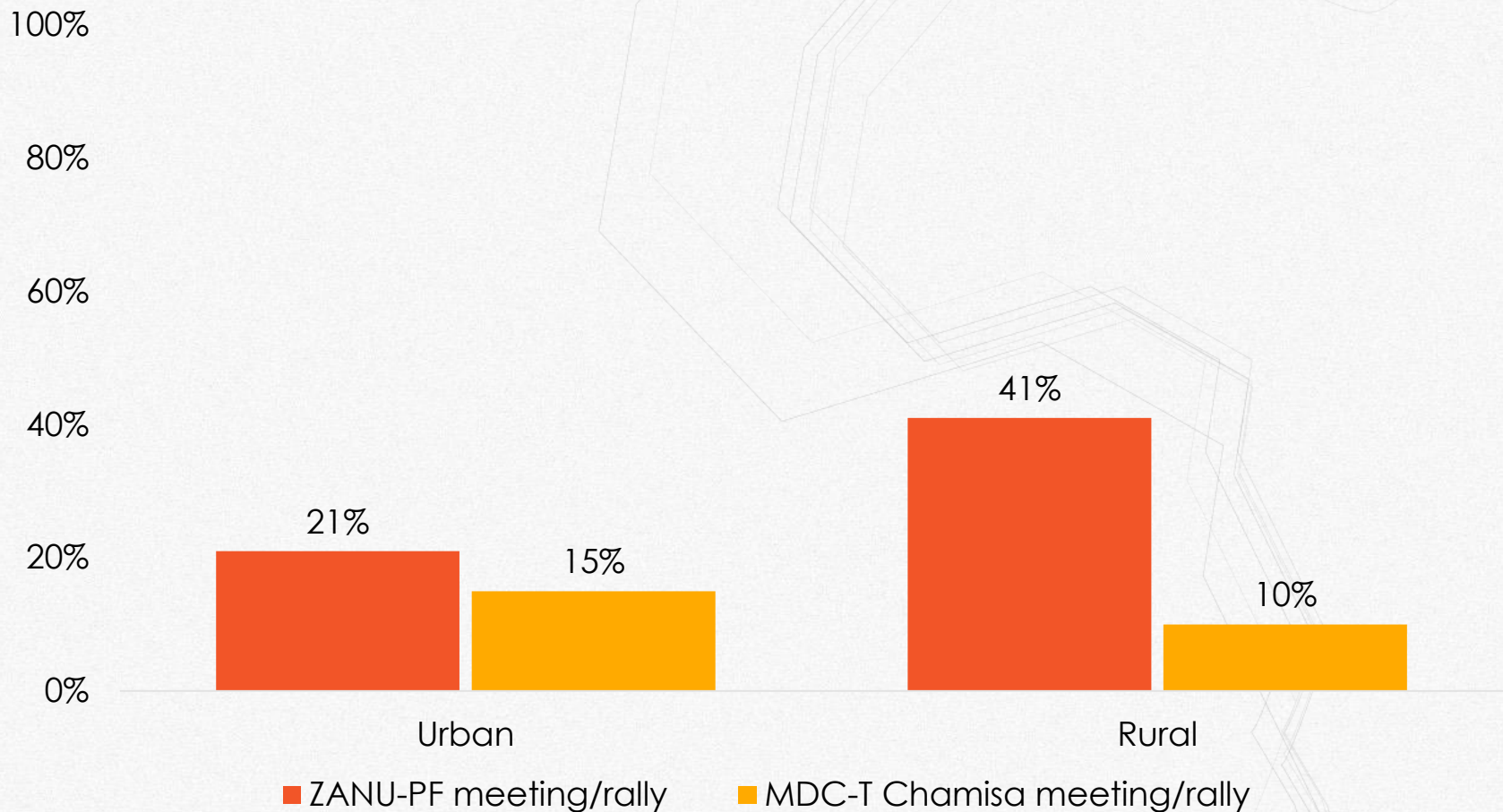
Attended party meetings or rallies | Zimbabwe

| May-July 2018



Respondents were asked: Have you attended any party meetings or rallies organized by the following parties or political party alliances during the campaign for the 2018 elections?

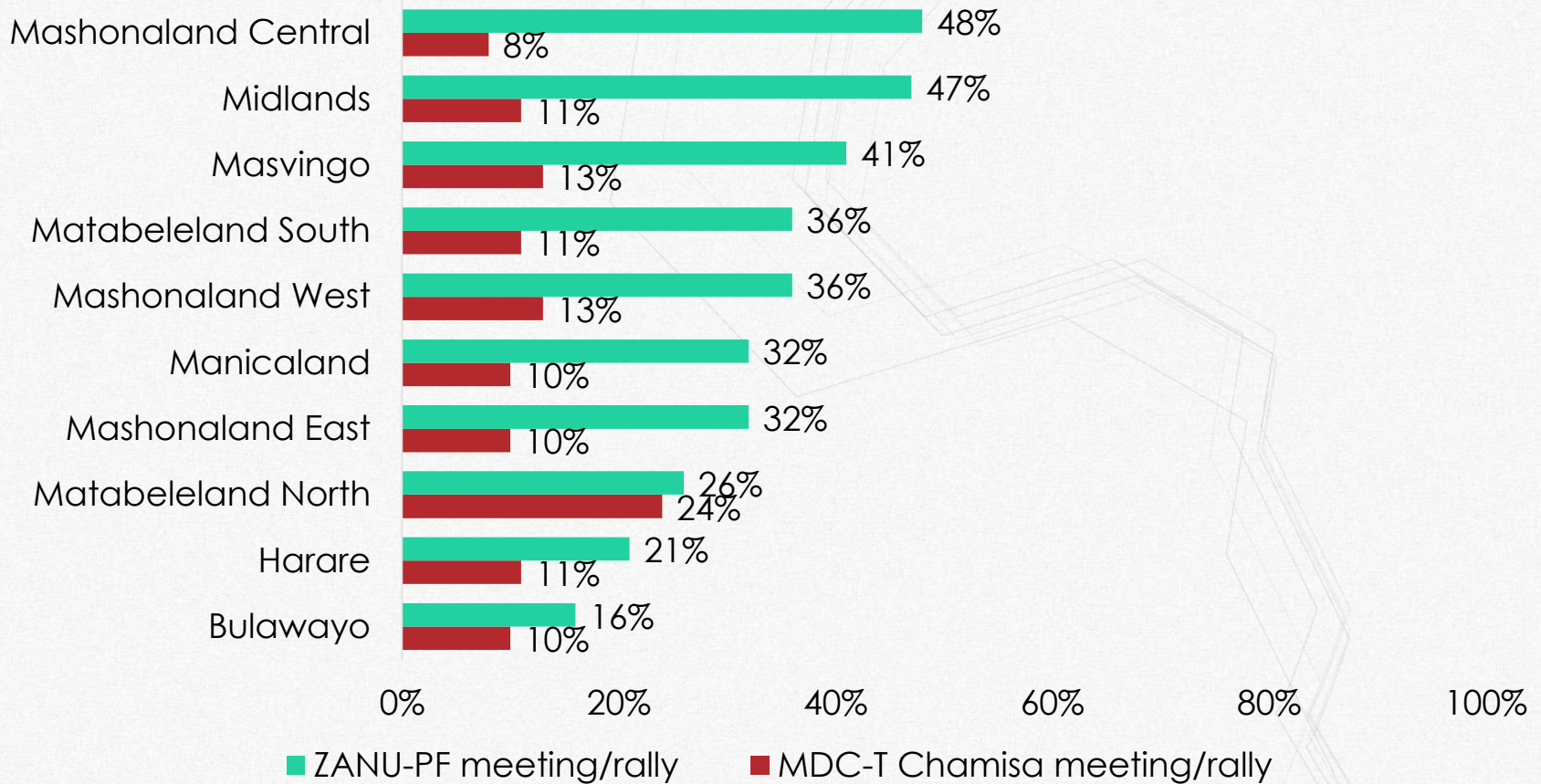
Attended party meetings or rallies | by urban-rural location | Zimbabwe | July 2018



Respondents were asked: Have you attended any party meetings or rallies organized by the following parties or political party alliances during the campaign for the 2018 elections?

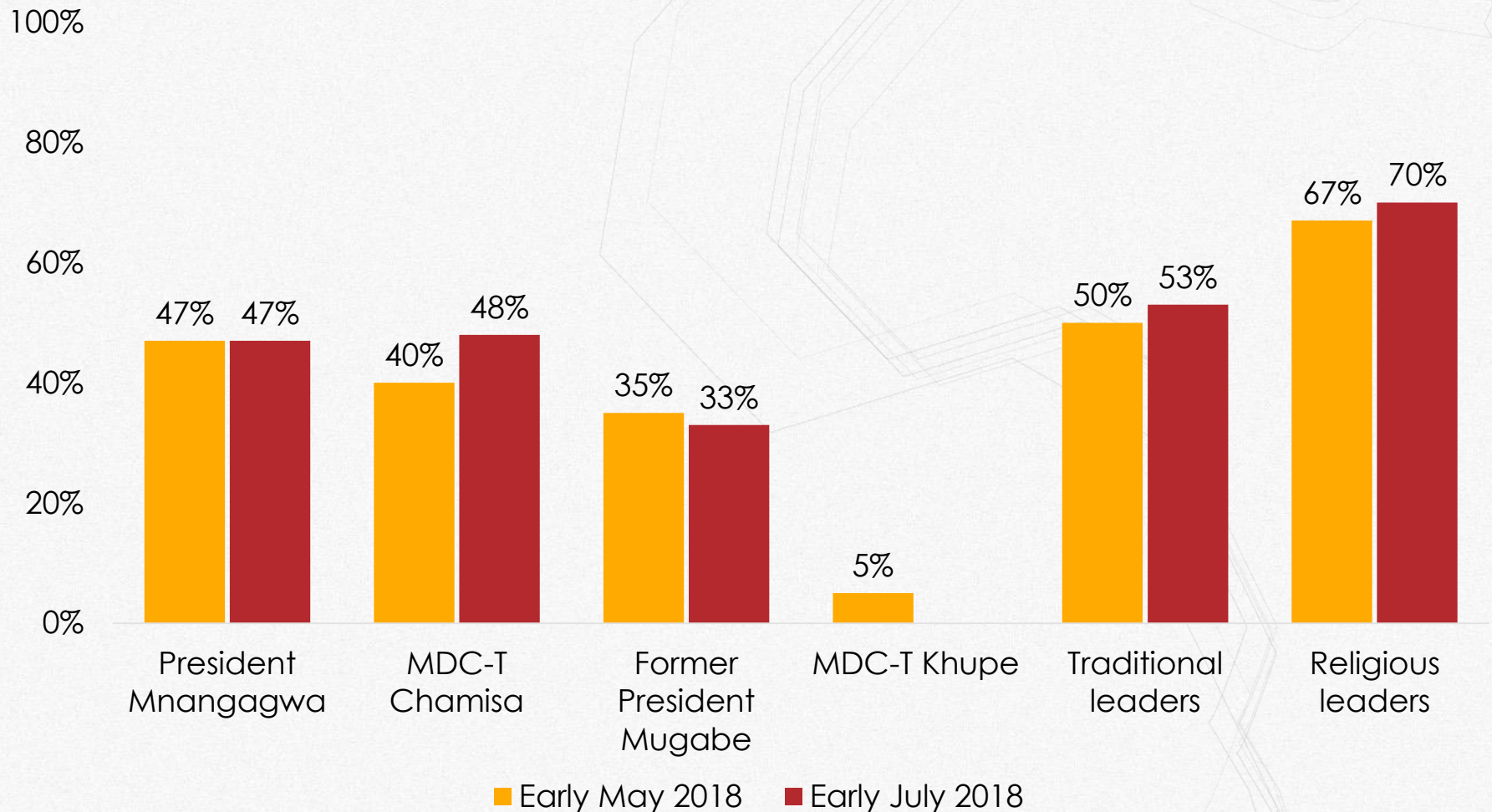
Attended party meetings or rallies | by province

| Zimbabwe | July 2018



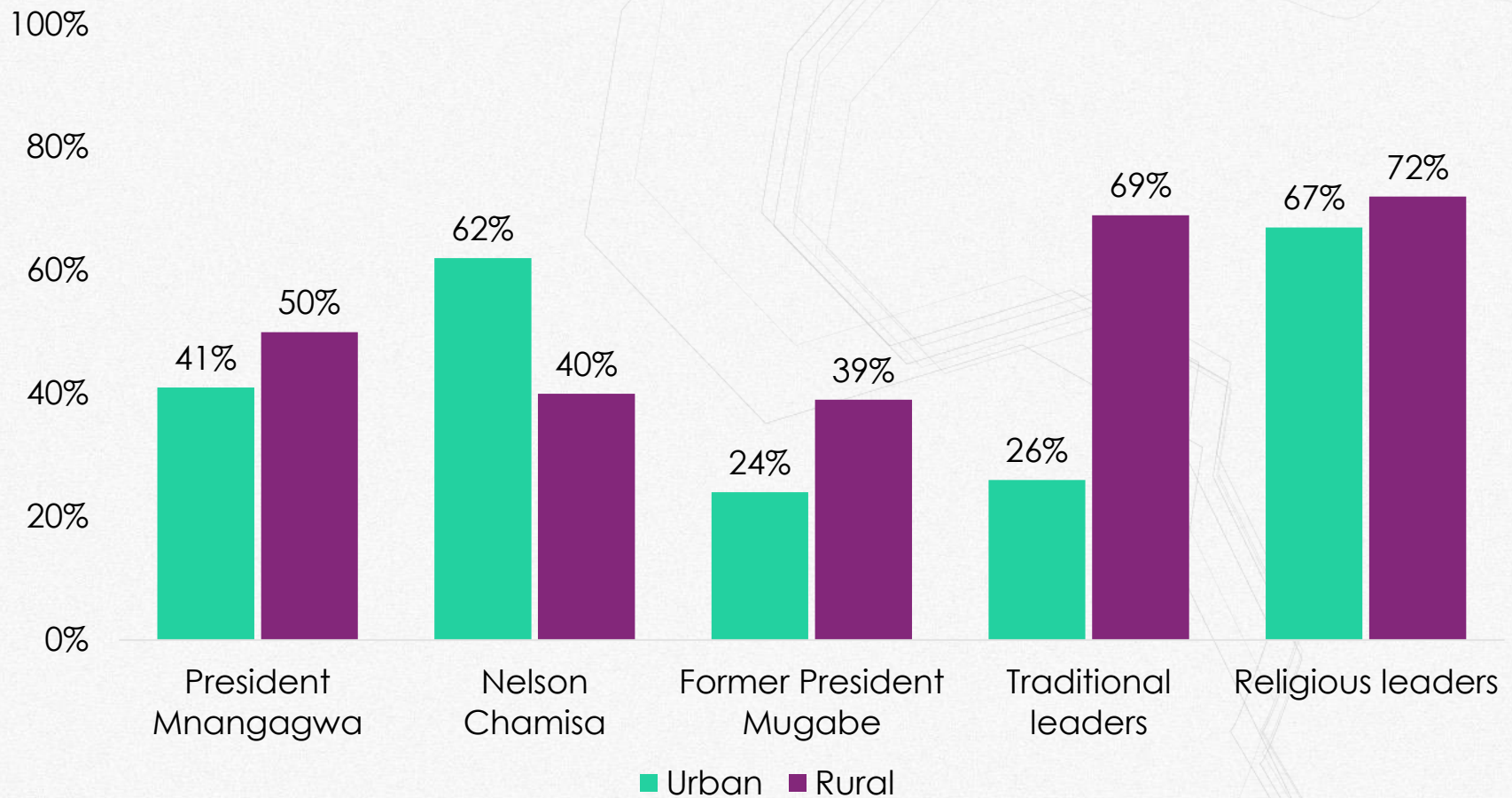
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Trust in leaders | Zimbabwe | May-July 2018



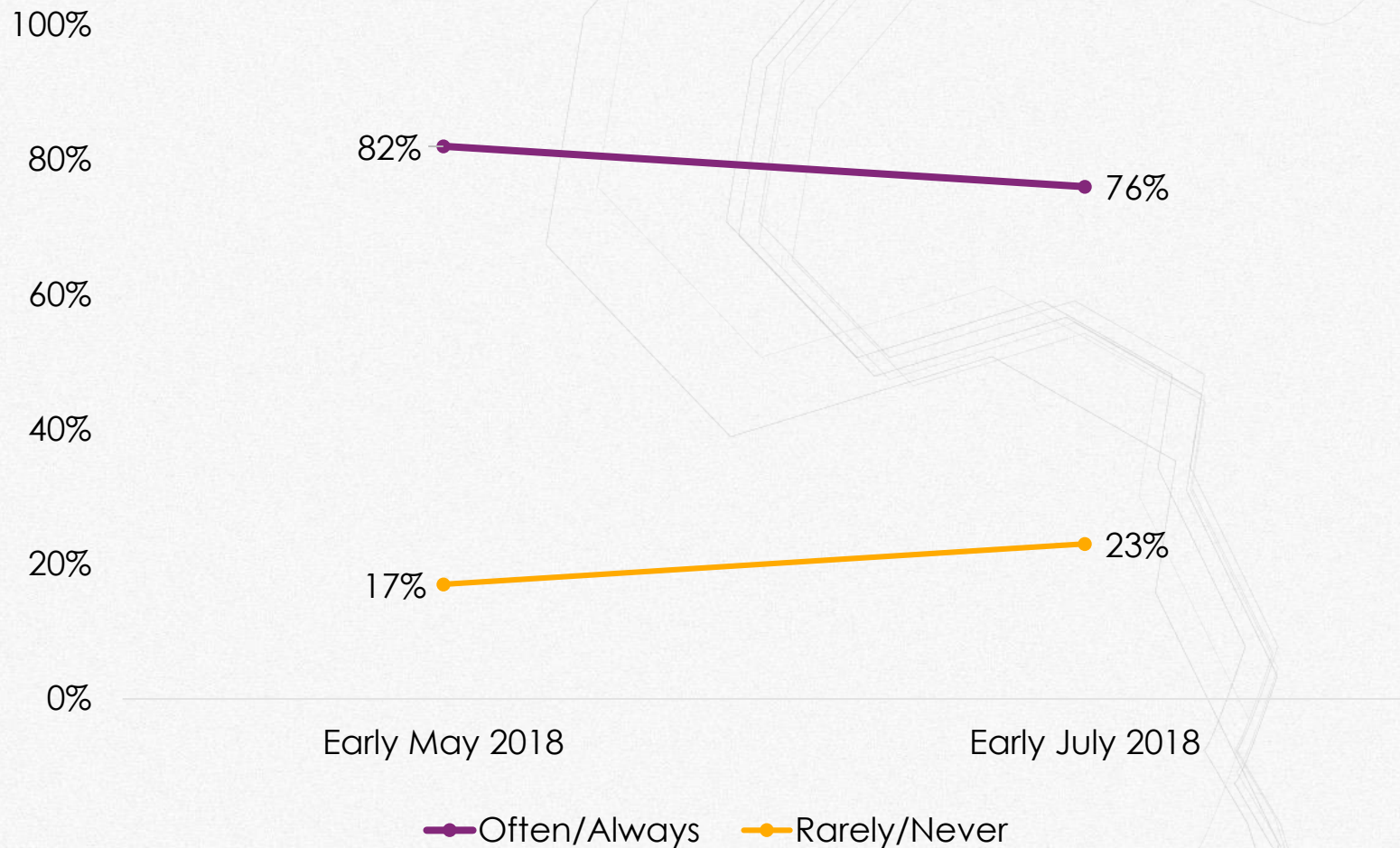
Respondents were asked: How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say? (% who say "somewhat" or "a lot")

Trust in leaders | by urban-rural location | Zimbabwe | July 2018



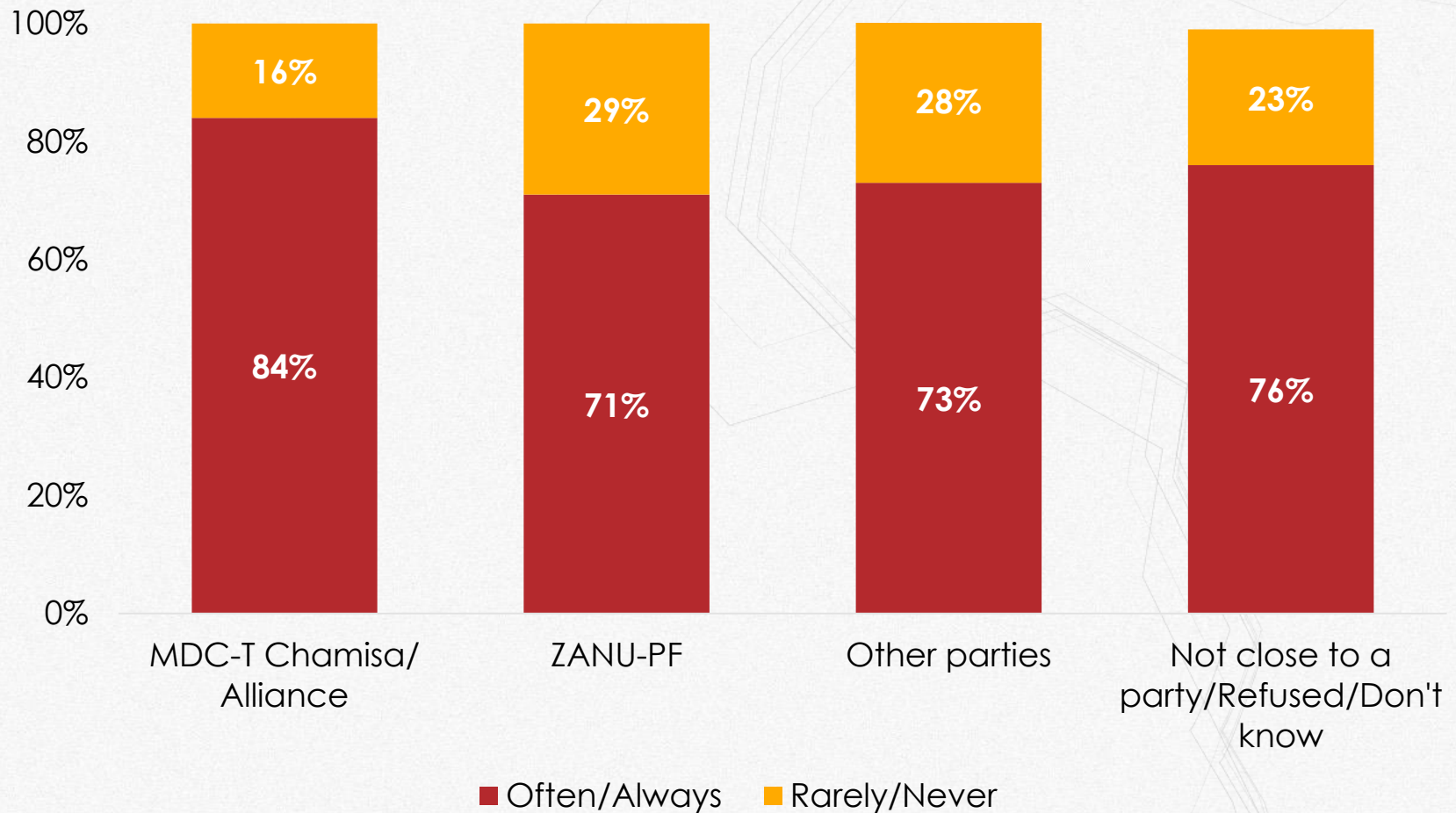
Respondents were asked: How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say? (% who say "somewhat" or "a lot")

Careful about what one says | Zimbabwe | May-July 2018



Respondents were asked: *In your opinion, how often, in this country, do people have to be careful of what they say about politics?*

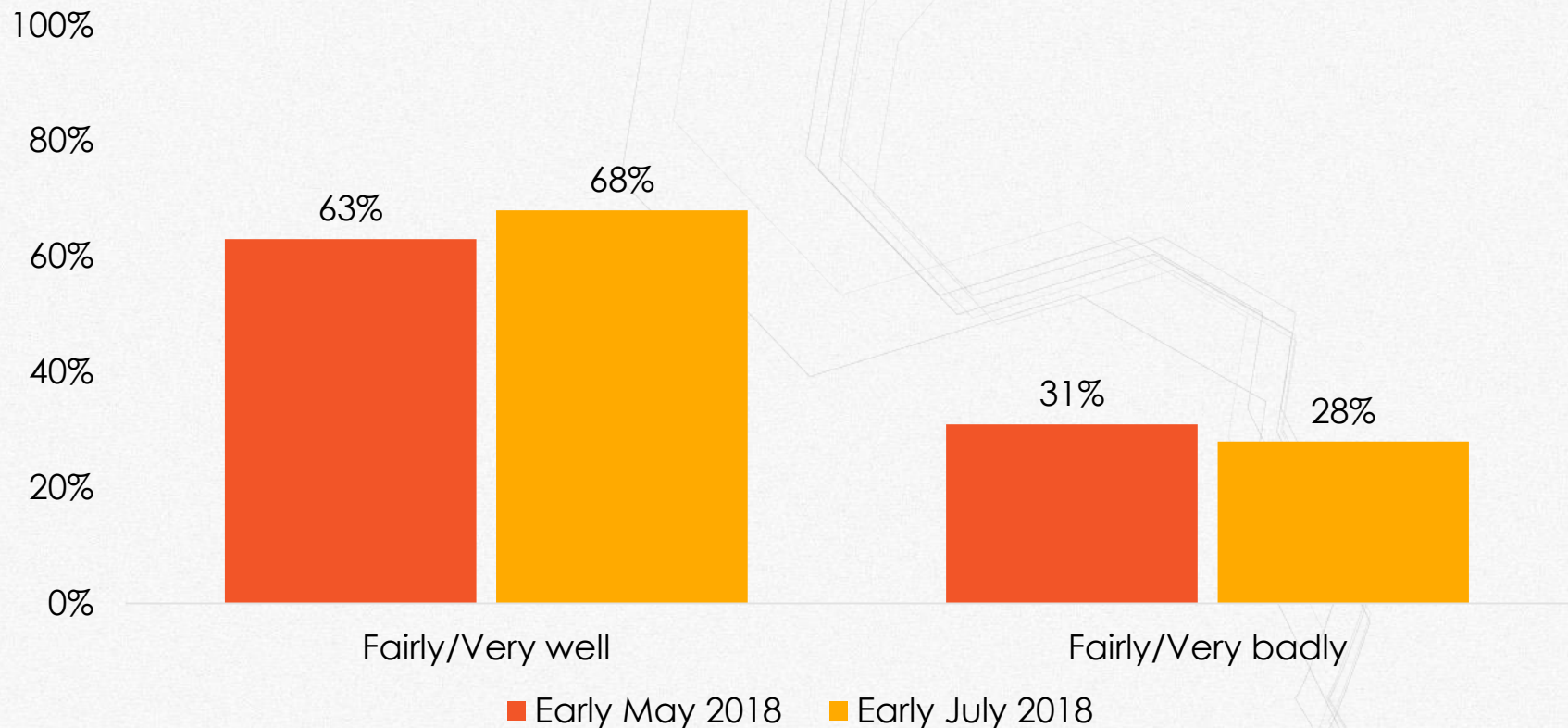
Careful about what one says | by political party affiliation | Zimbabwe | July 2018



Respondents were asked: In your opinion, how often, in this country, do people have to be careful of what they say about politics?

Government performance: Prevention of political violence during election campaigns | Zimbabwe

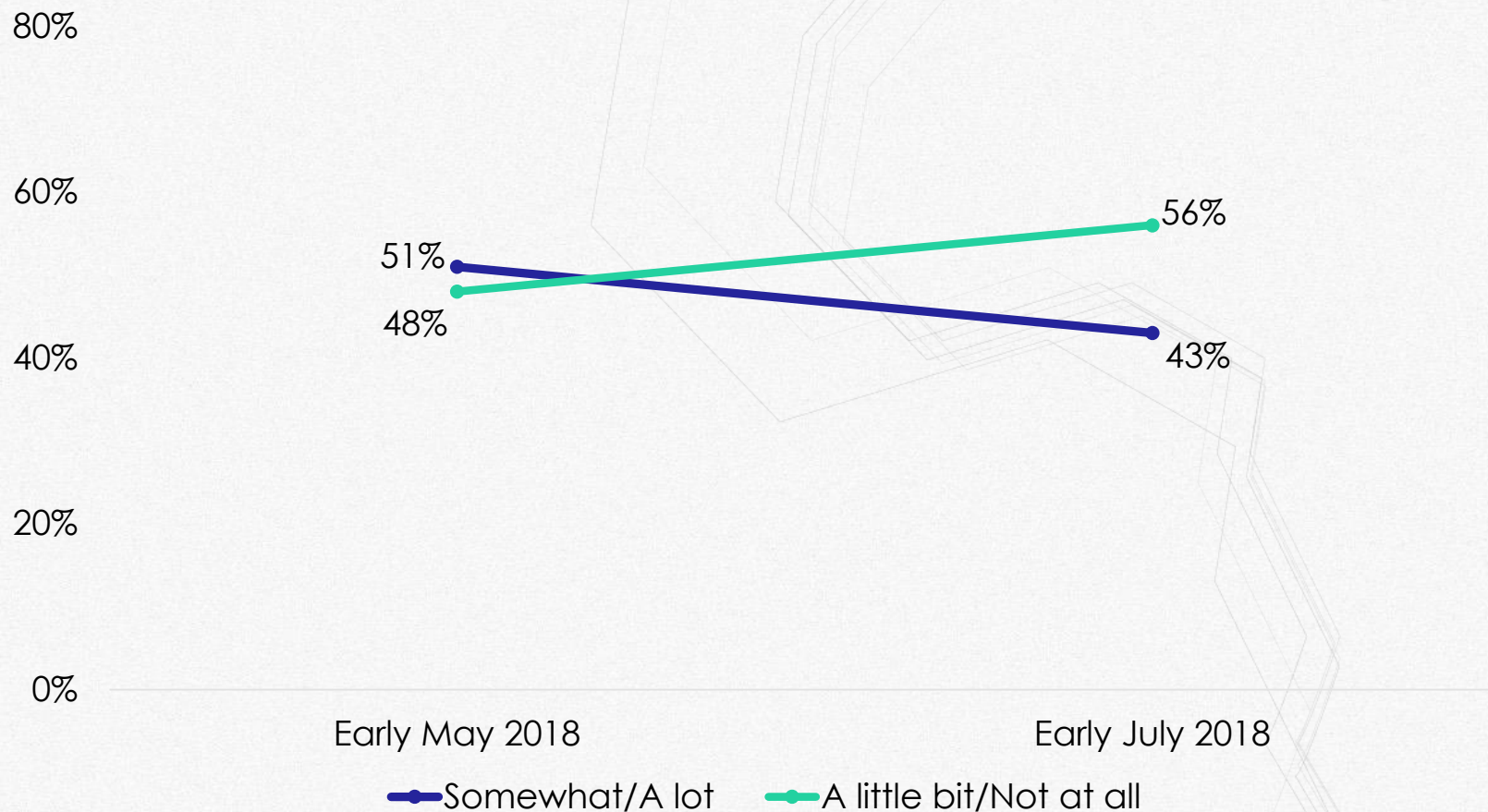
| May-July 2018



Respondents were asked: Now let's speak about the performance of the present government of this country, that is, the government in power since November 2017. How well or badly would you say this new government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say: Preventing political violence during election campaigns?

Fear of electoral intimidation or violence | Zimbabwe

| May-July 2018



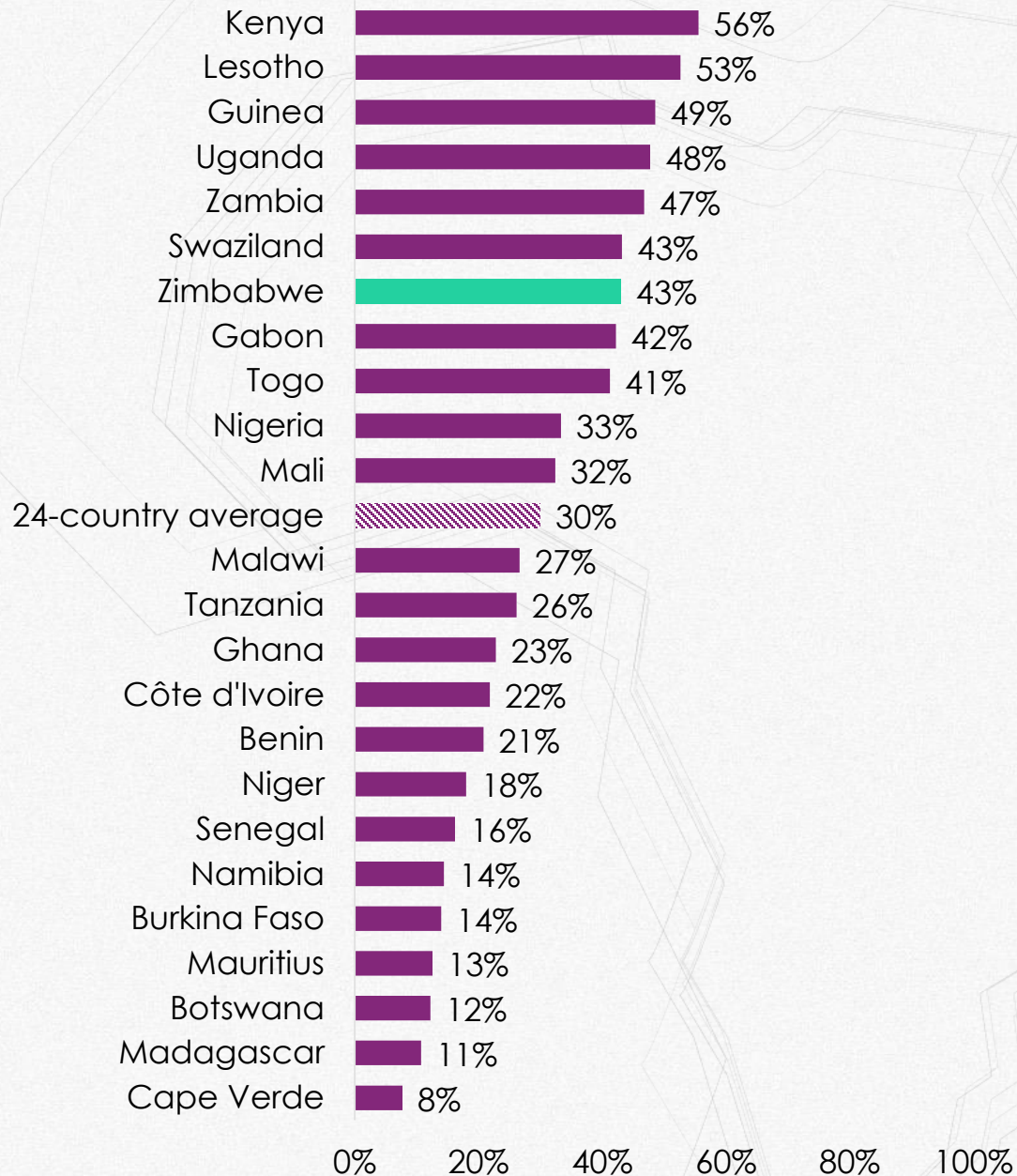
Respondents were asked: During election campaigns in this country, how much do you personally fear becoming a victim of political intimidation or violence?

Fear of electoral intimidation or violence

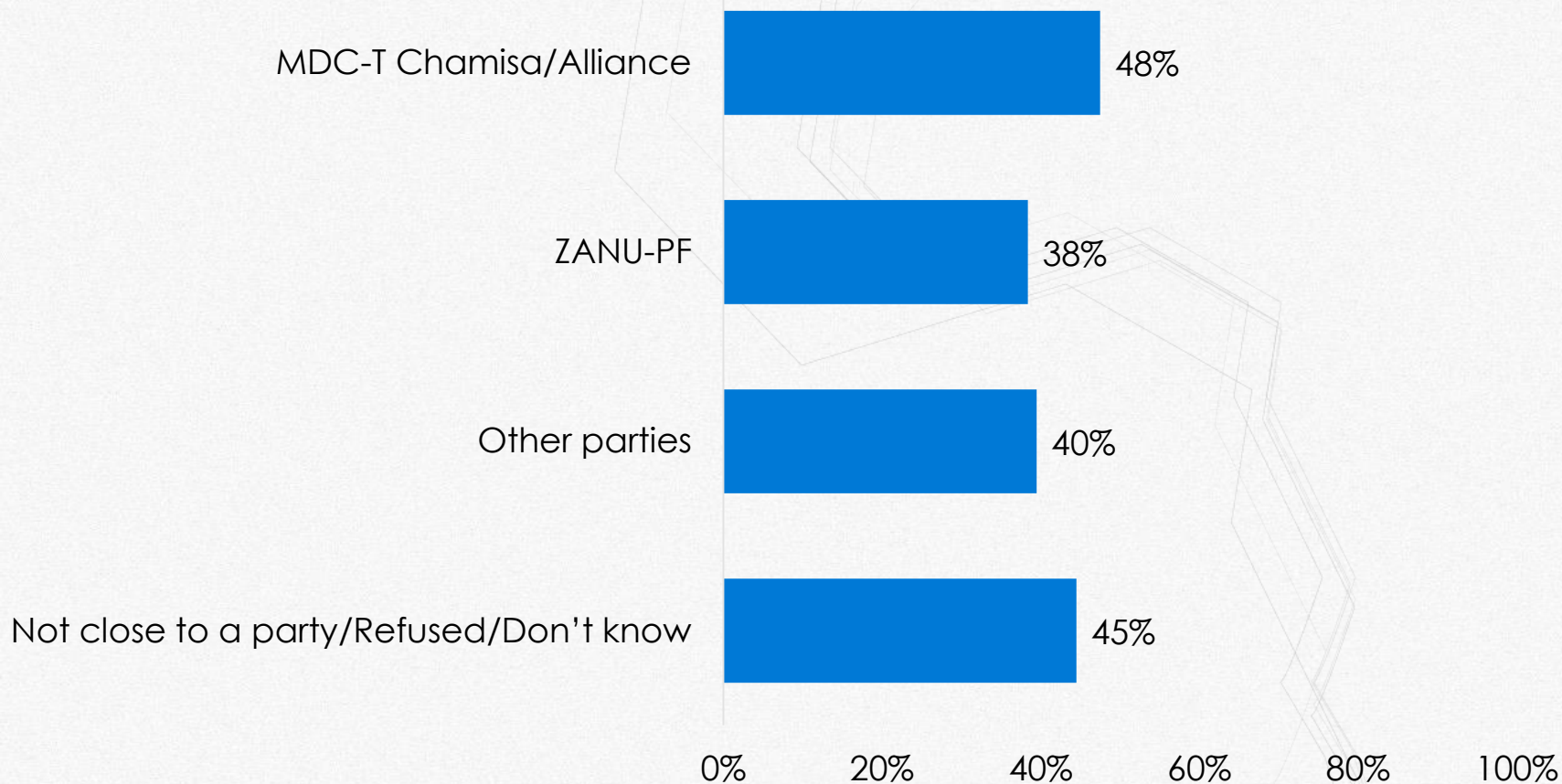
| 24 African countries
| 2016/2018

Respondents were asked:
During election campaigns in this country, how much do you personally fear becoming a victim of political intimidation or violence?

(Result for Zimbabwe is from early July 2018)

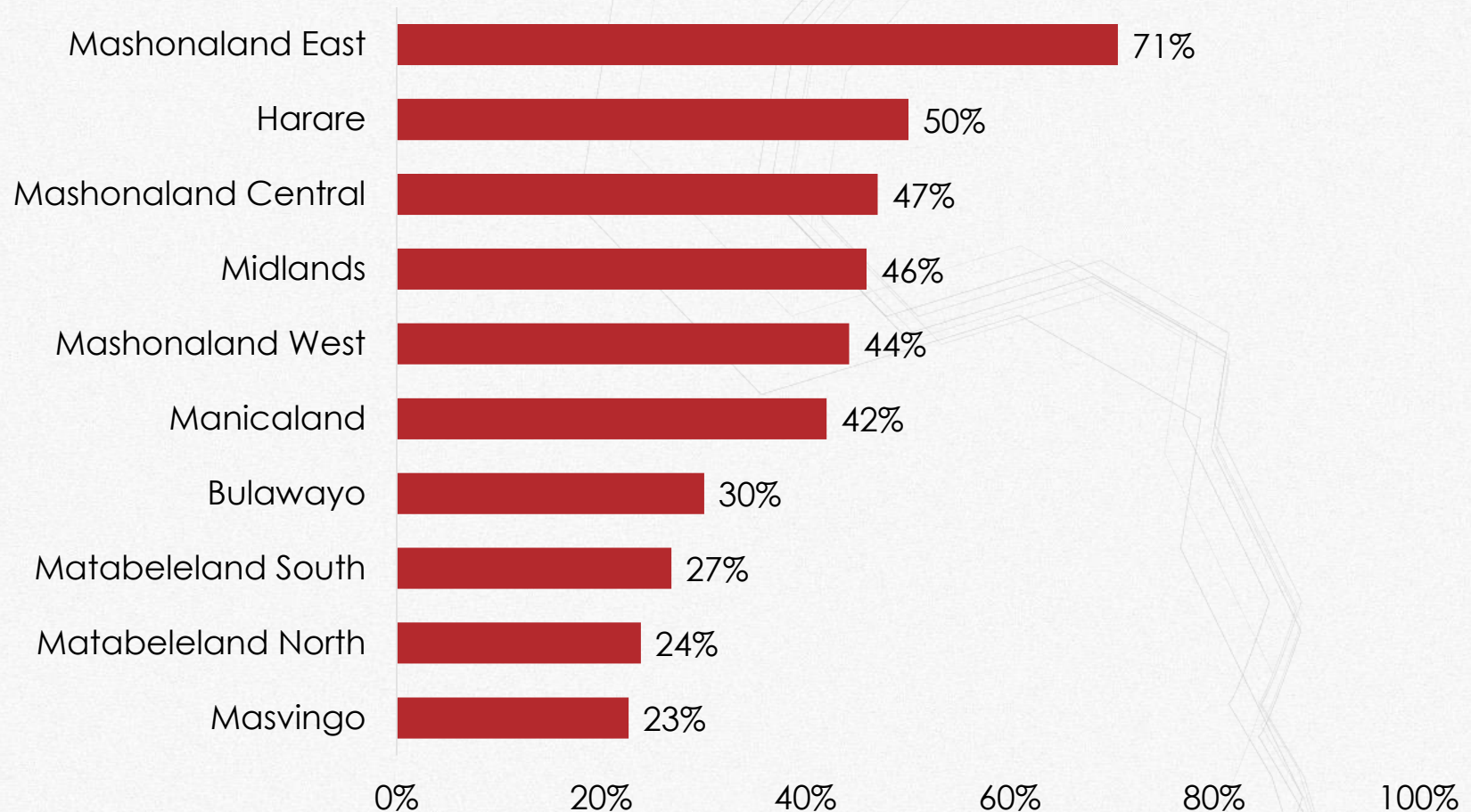


Fear of electoral intimidation or violence | by political party affiliation | Zimbabwe | July 2018



Respondents were asked: During election campaigns in this country, how much do you personally fear becoming a victim of political intimidation or violence? (% who say “somewhat” or “a lot”)

Fear of electoral intimidation or violence | by province | Zimbabwe | July 2018



Respondents were asked: During election campaigns in this country, how much do you personally fear becoming a victim of political intimidation or violence? (% who say “somewhat” or “a lot”)



Confidence in elections



Key findings

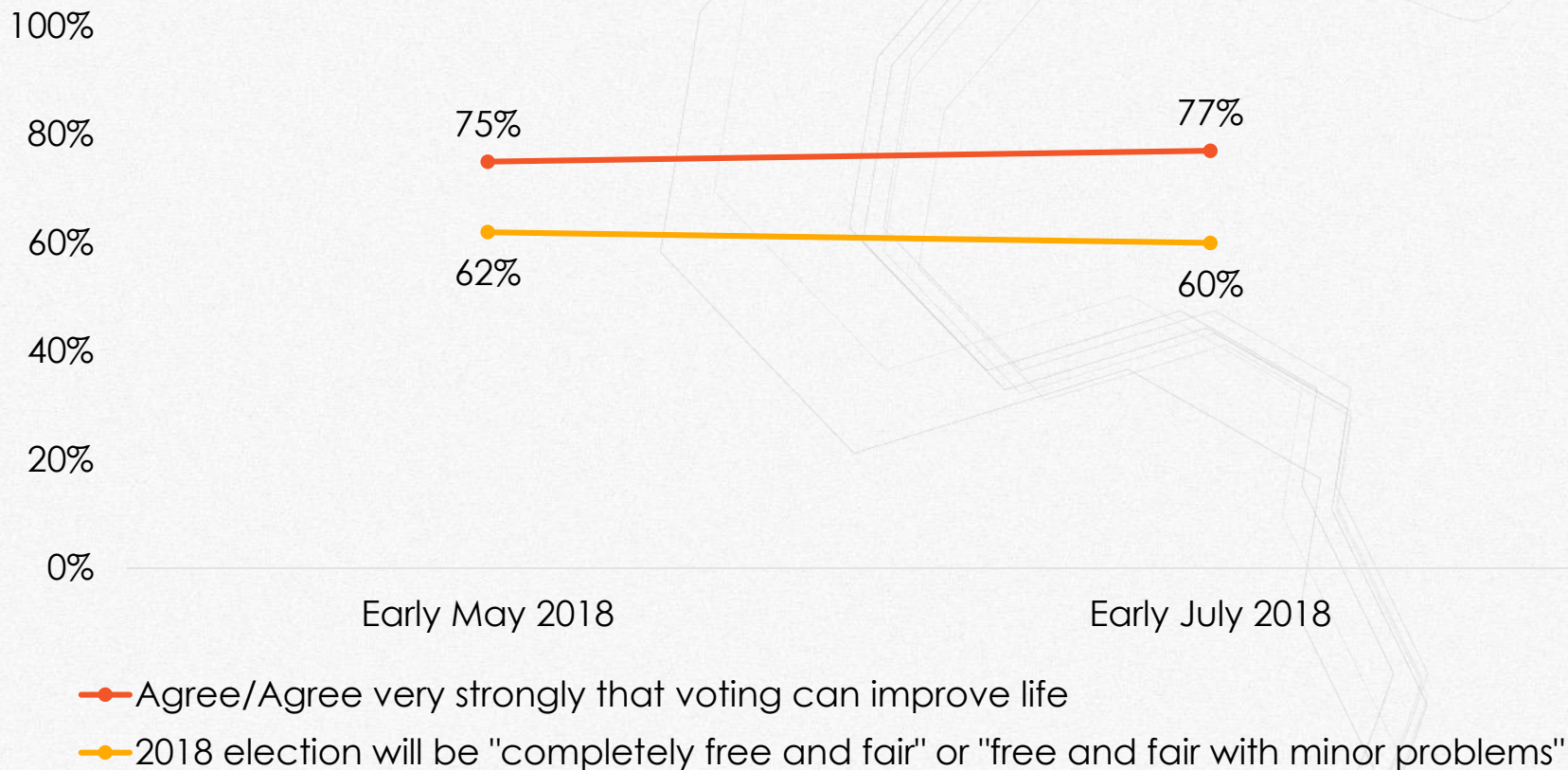


- Zimbabweans remained apprehensive about manipulated election results. As in early May, significant minorities in early July were worried about ballot secrecy, counting of votes, announcement of incorrect results, post-election violence, and the military not accepting election results.
- About one-third of respondents still saw the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission as a biased rather than neutral body.
- Even so, a clear majority (60%) remained optimistic that the election will be largely free and fair. And three-fourths continued to believe that elections are more likely to “improve lives” rather than “change nothing.”
- Six out of 10 Zimbabweans (62%) continued to feel that the presence of uniformed police at polling stations will improve the integrity of the election, but support for the presence of uniformed military personnel at the polls declined from 47% to 41% between May and July.



Popular expectations about elections | Zimbabwe

| May-July 2018



Respondents were asked:

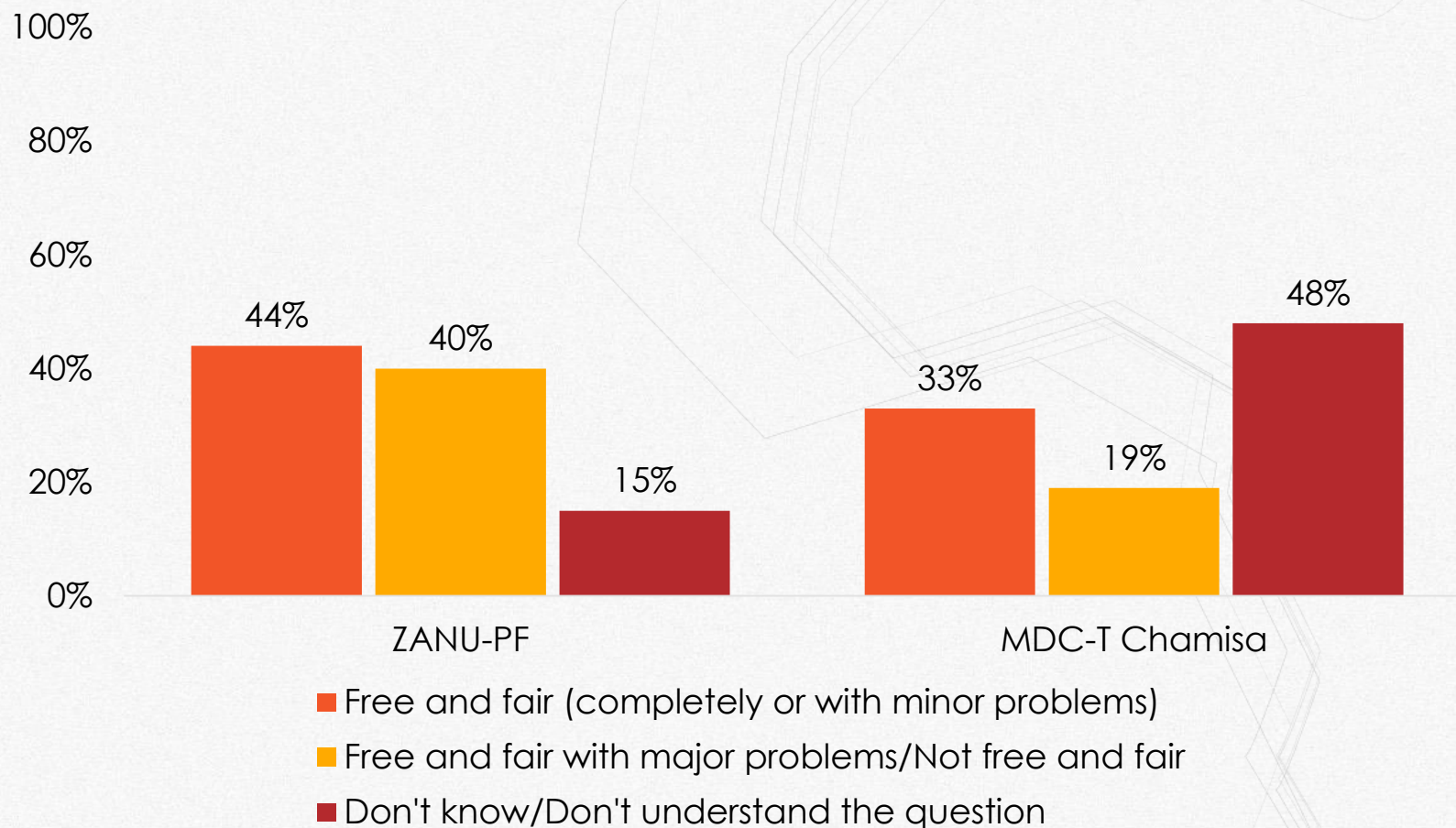
- Which of the following statements is closest to your view?

Statement 1: No matter whom we vote for, things will not get better in the future.

Statement 2: We can use our power as voters to choose leaders who will help us improve our lives.

- How free and fair do you expect the next elections of 2018 to be?

Assessment of primary elections | Zimbabwe | July 2018



Respondents were asked: What about the recently concluded political party primaries? How free and fair would you say they were for each of the following parties?

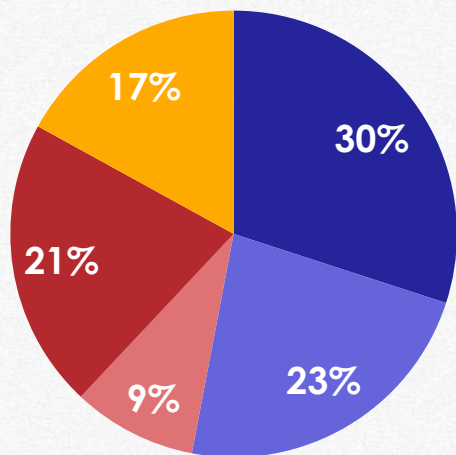
Primary elections free and fair (completely or with minor problems) | by province | Zimbabwe | July 2018

	ZANU-PF	MDC-T Chamisa
Masvingo	68%	41%
Mashonaland East	56%	30%
Matabeleland South	53%	33%
Midlands	52%	34%
Mashonaland Central	42%	14%
Manicaland	40%	34%
Mashonaland West	40%	31%
Harare	35%	42%
Bulawayo	26%	27%
Matabeleland North	26%	25%

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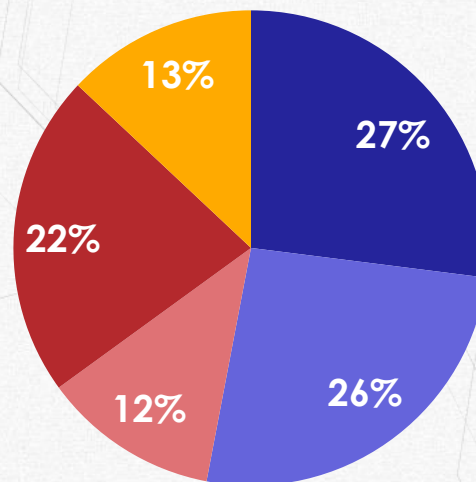
Is ZEC neutral or biased? | Zimbabwe | May-July 2018

May 2018



- Agree very strongly that ZEC is neutral
- Agree that ZEC is neutral
- Agree that ZEC is biased
- Agree very strongly that ZEC is biased
- Agree with neither/Don't know

July 2018



- Agree very strongly that ZEC is neutral
- Agree that ZEC is neutral
- Agree that ZEC is biased
- Agree very strongly that ZEC is biased
- Agree with neither/Don't know

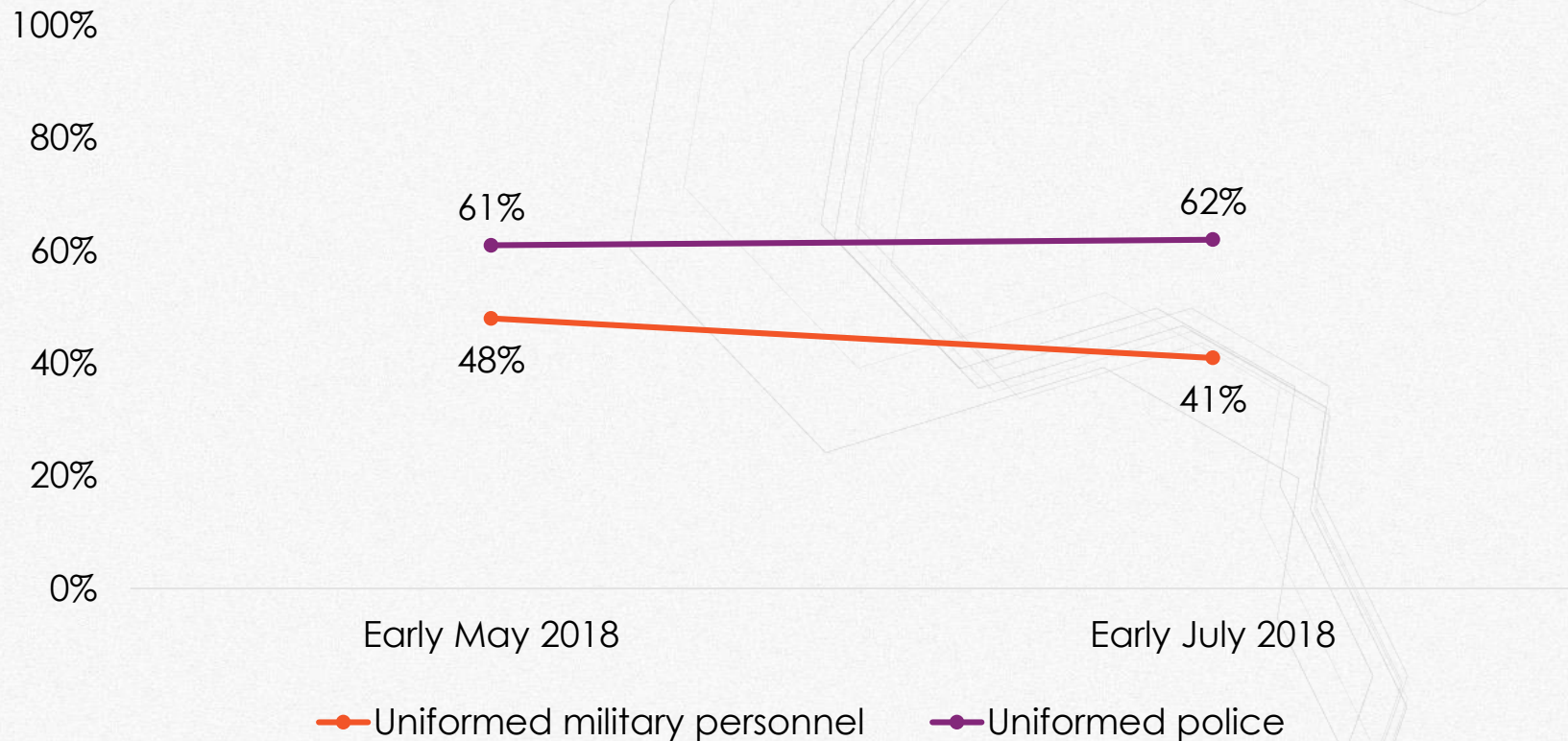
Respondents were asked: Which of the following statements is closest to your view?

Statement 1: The Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) performs its duties as a neutral body guided only by law.

Statement 2: The Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) makes decisions that favour particular people, parties or interests.

(% who "agree" or "agree very strongly" with each statement)

Feel more secure with police/military personnel at polling stations? | Zimbabwe | May-July 2018



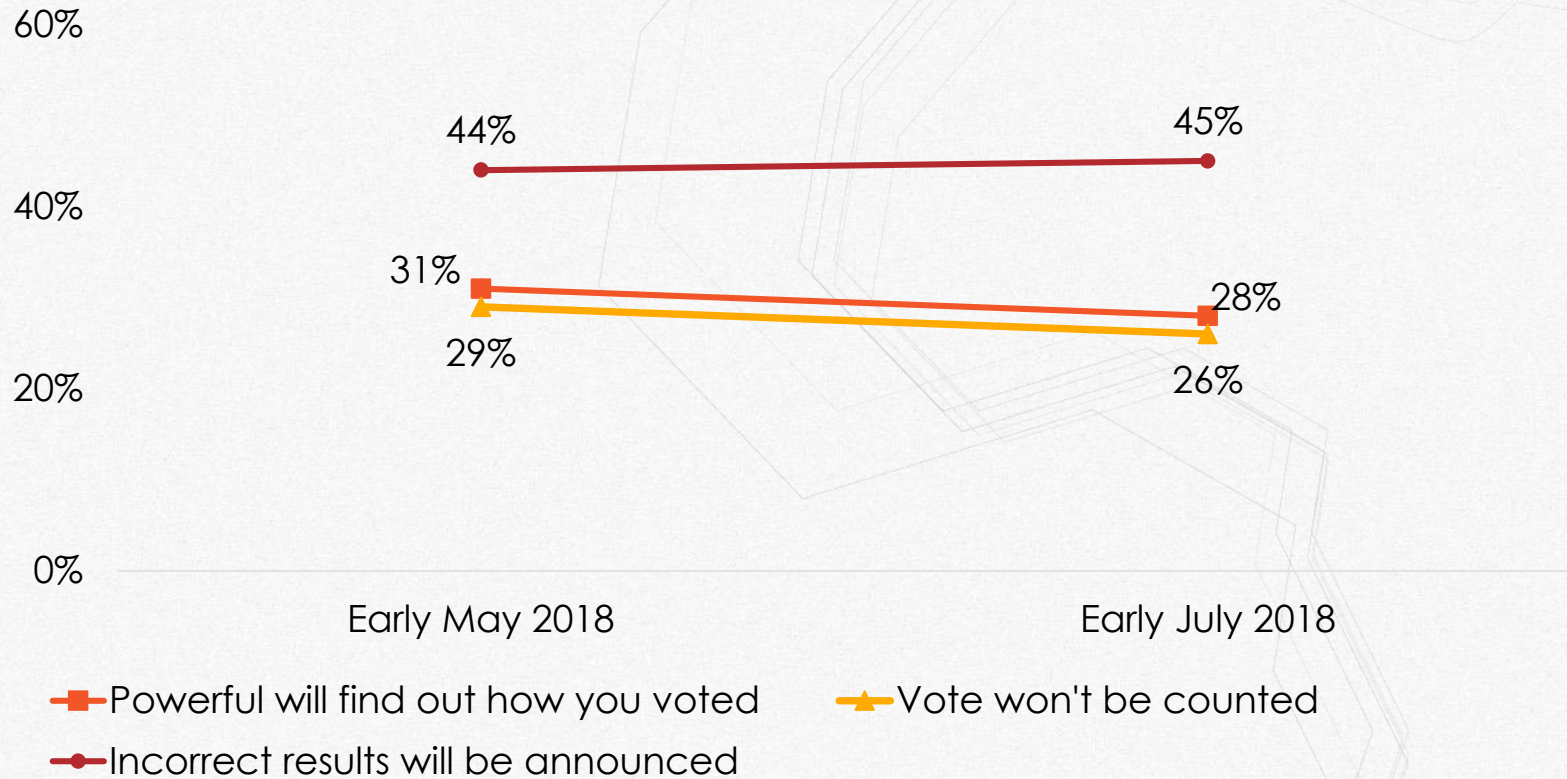
Respondents were asked: *Would the presence of the following security agents at polling stations make you feel more secure, make no difference, or make you feel less secure?*

- Uniformed military personnel
- Uniformed police

(% who say "more secure" or "much more secure")

Likelihood of election irregularities | Zimbabwe

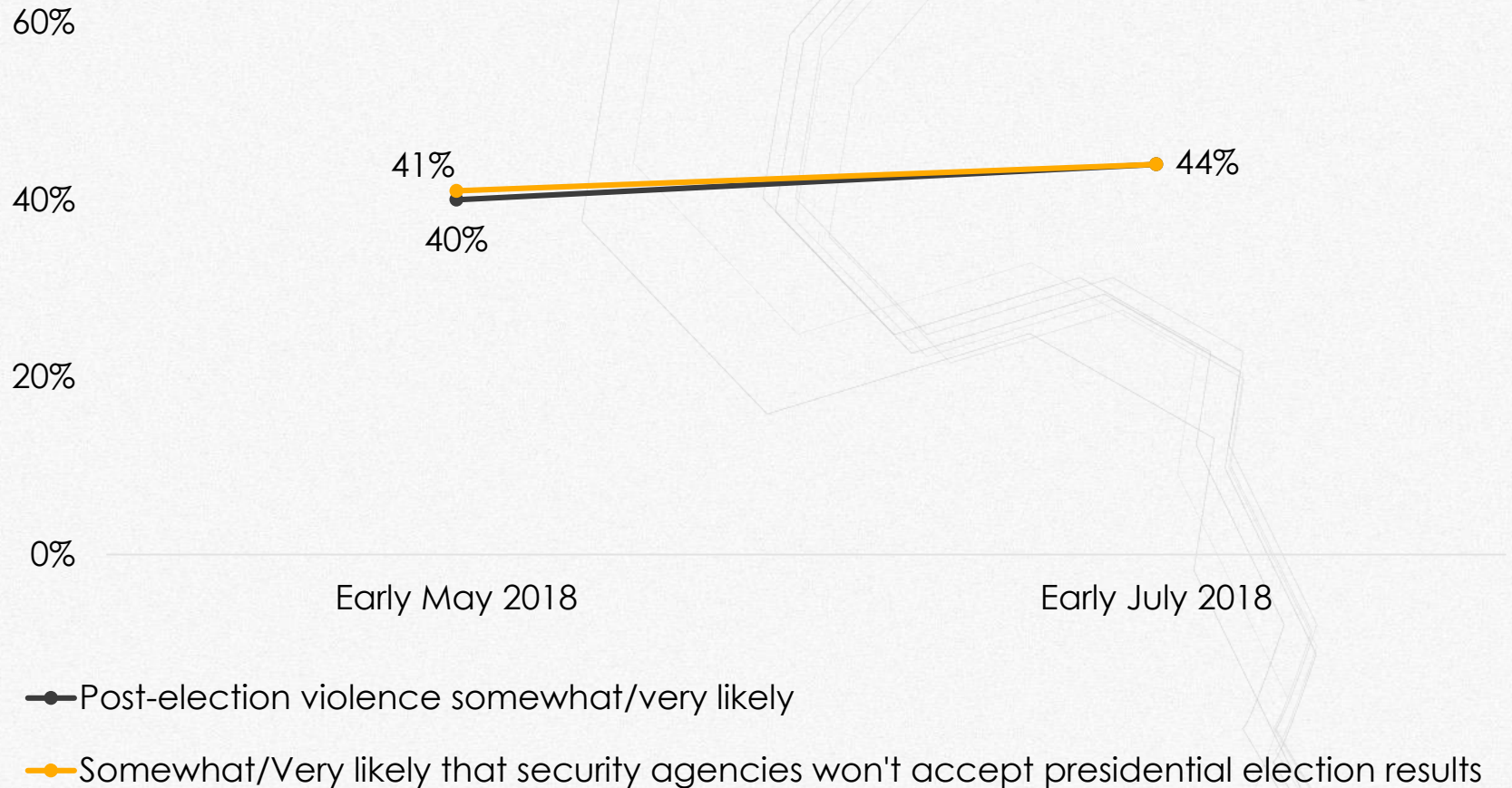
| May-July 2018



- Respondents were asked:** In your opinion, how likely will the following things happen in the 2018 elections:
- A. Even though there is supposed to be a secret ballot in this country, powerful people will find out how you have voted?
 - B. Even though you will cast a ballot, your vote will not actually be counted?
 - C. Even after all ballots are counted, an incorrect result will be announced?
(% who say "somewhat likely" or "very likely")

Concerns about post-election period | Zimbabwe

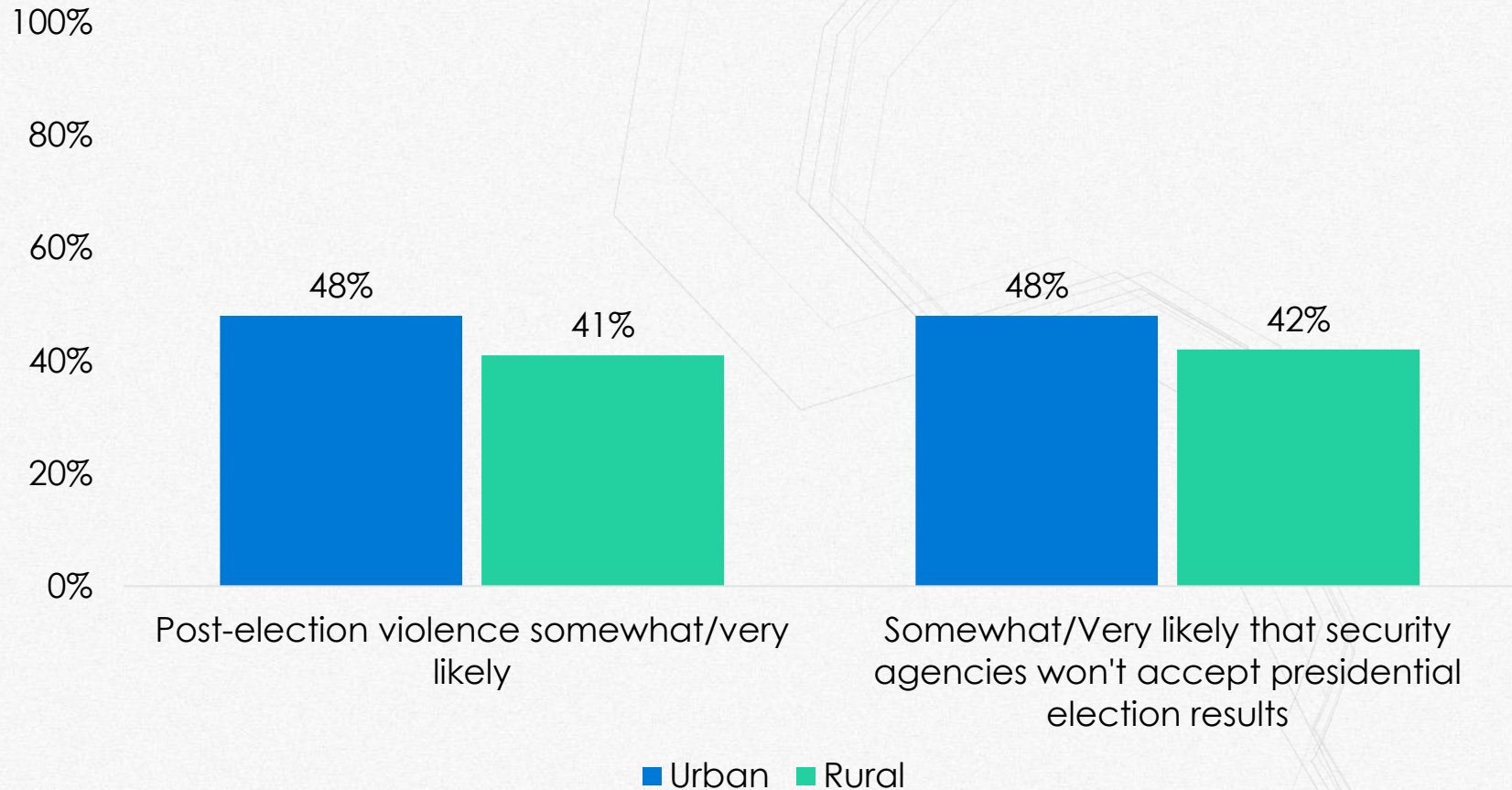
| May-July 2018



Respondents were asked: In your view, how likely is it that:

- There will be violence after the announcement of election results?
- Security agencies will not accept the result of the presidential election?

Concerns about post-election period | by urban-rural location | Zimbabwe | July 2018



Respondents were asked: In your view, how likely is it that:

- There will be violence after the announcement of election results?
- Security agencies will not accept the result of the presidential election?



Voting intentions



Key findings

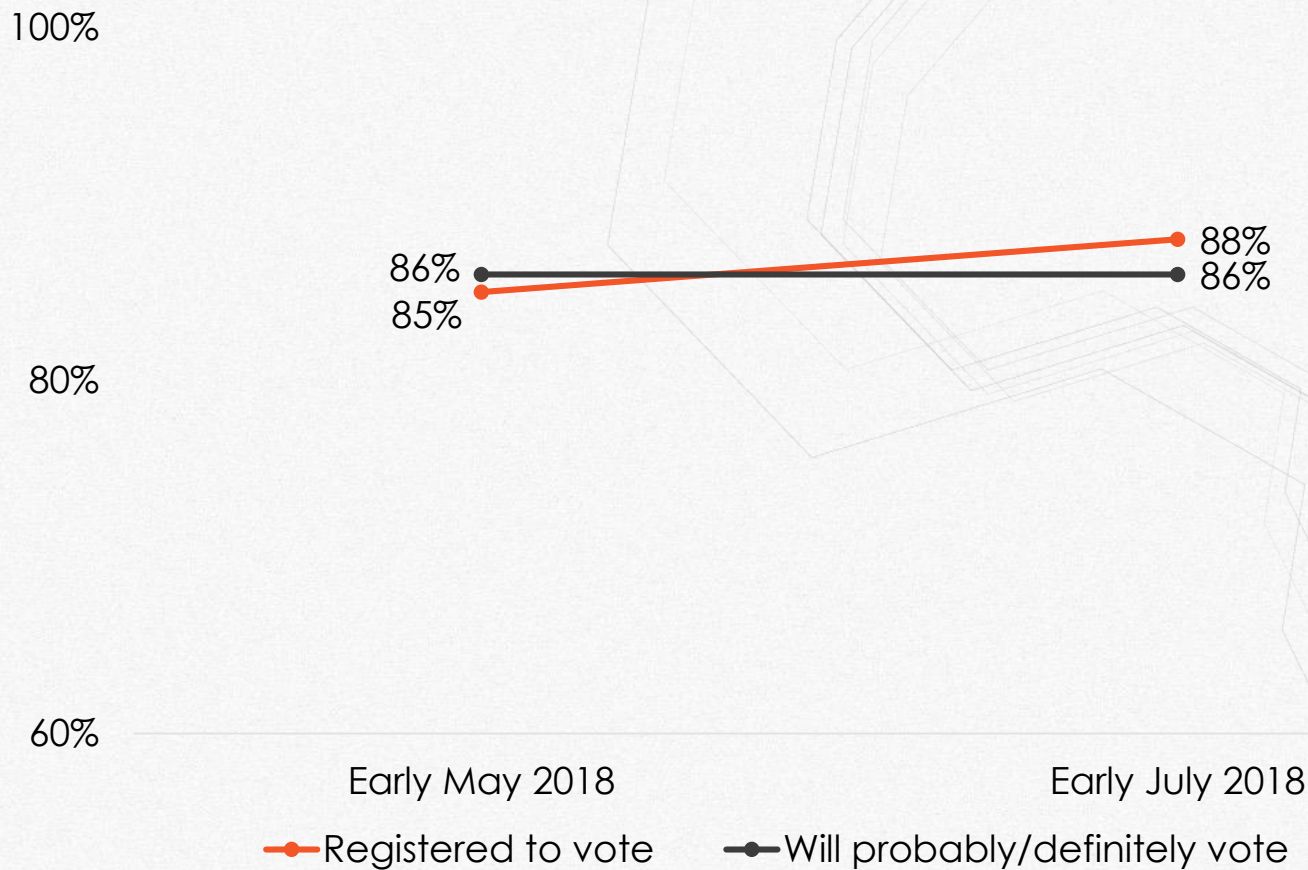


- The survey confirms high levels of self-reported voter registration: 88%, up by 3 percentage points from early May.
- Almost nine out of 10 respondents said they will “definitely” (77%) or “probably” (9%) vote in the 2018 election.
- In the presidential race, Chamisa appears to have benefited from a slight increase in party identification and a popular perception that he would be the candidate better able to address Zimbabweans’ top campaign issue – job creation.
- Between early May and early July, Mnangagwa’s lead over Chamisa among registered likely voters dropped from 11 to just 3 percentage points: 40% to 37%.
- The voting intentions of 20% of registered likely voters were unknown.



Registered (self-reported) and likely to vote | Zimbabwe

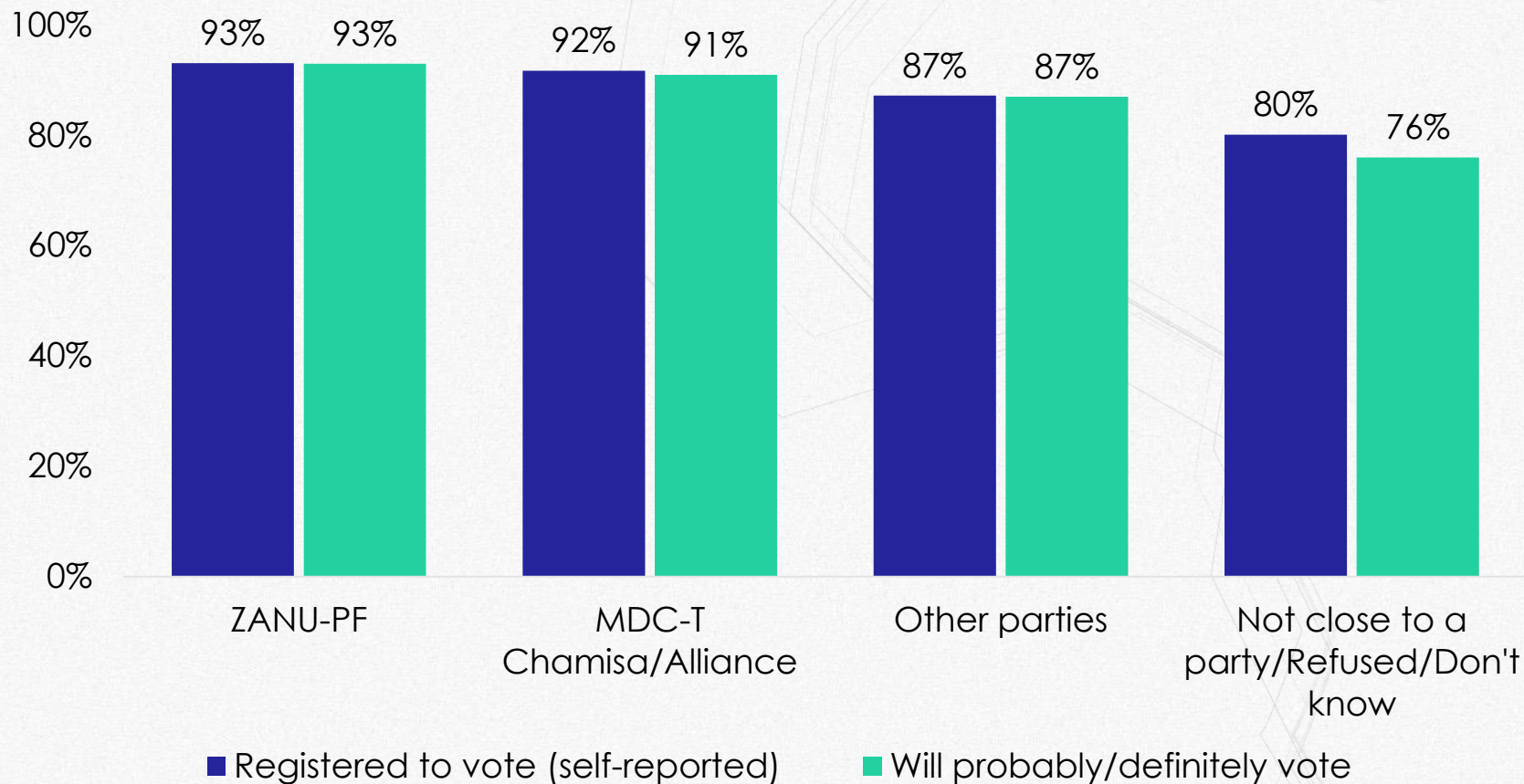
| May-July 2018



Respondents were asked:

- Are you registered to vote in the upcoming 2018 elections?
- How likely are you to vote in the 2018 elections?

Registered (self-reported) and likely to vote | by political party affiliation | Zimbabwe | July 2018

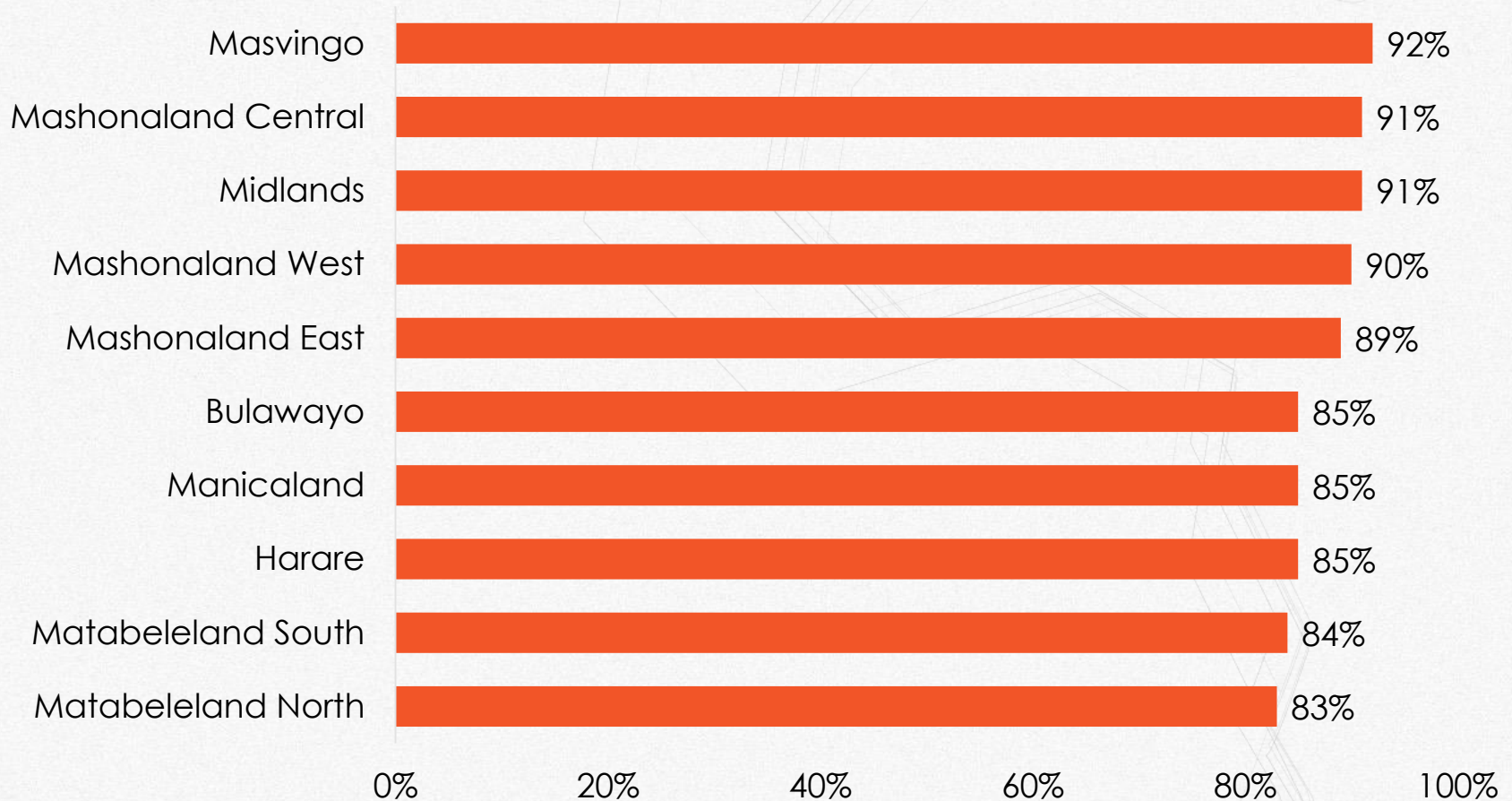


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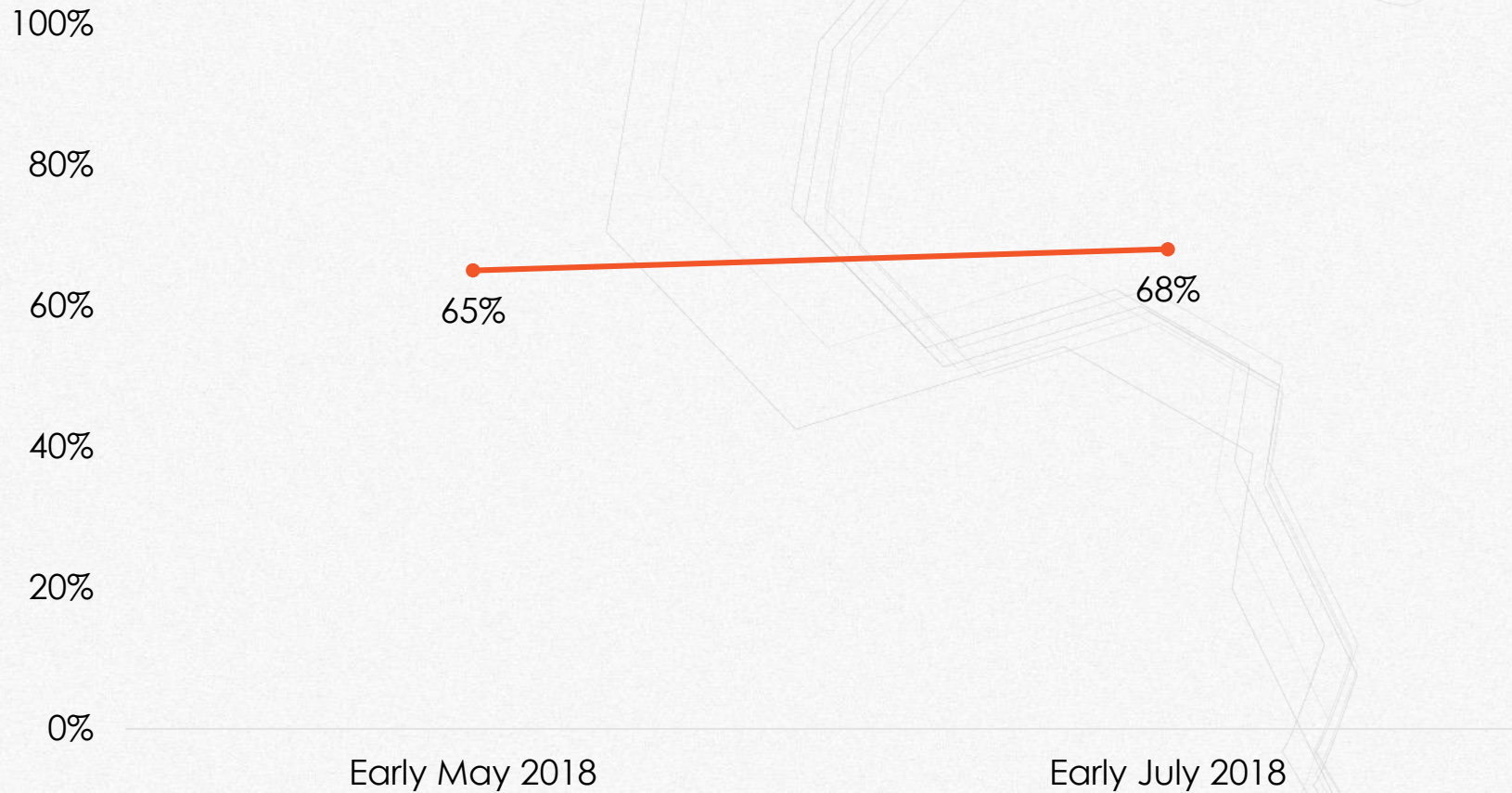
Registered to vote (self-reported) | by province

| Zimbabwe | July 2018



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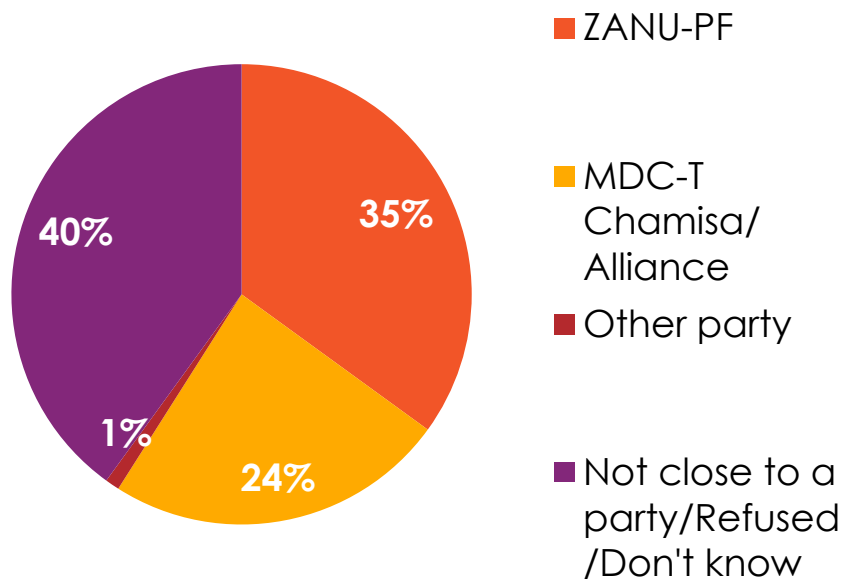
Party identification | Zimbabwe | May-July 2018



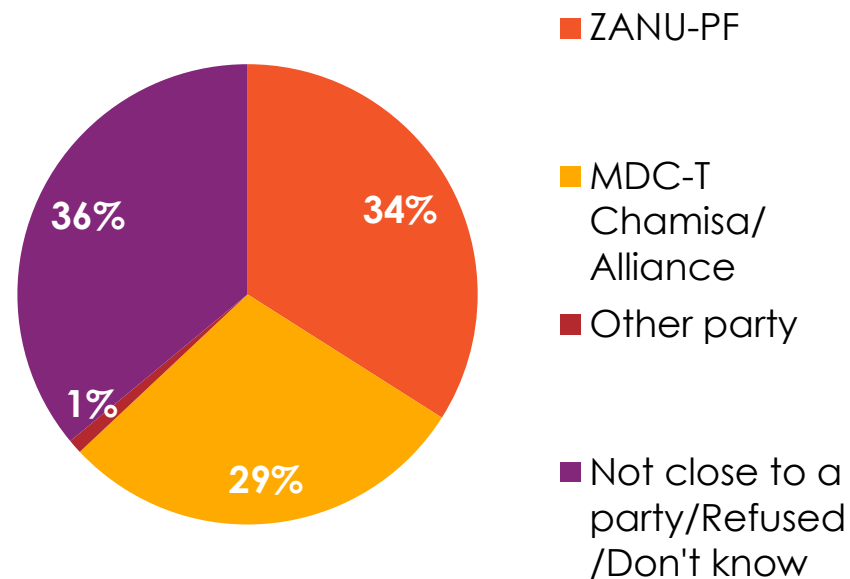
Respondents were asked: *Do you feel close to any particular political party?*
(% who say "yes")

Party identification | Zimbabwe | May-July 2018

May 2018



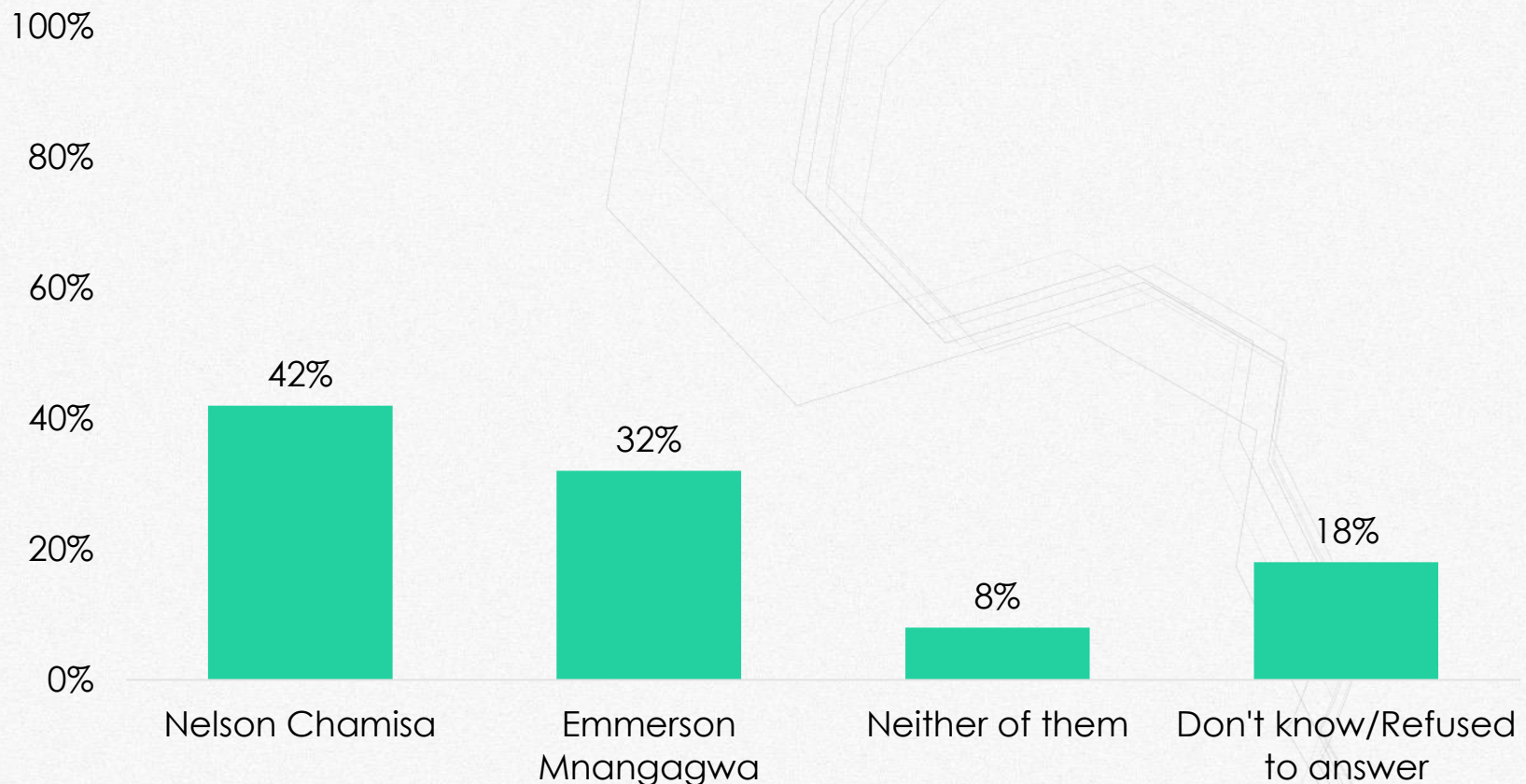
July 2018



Respondents were asked: Do you feel close to any particular political party? (If yes:) Which party is that?

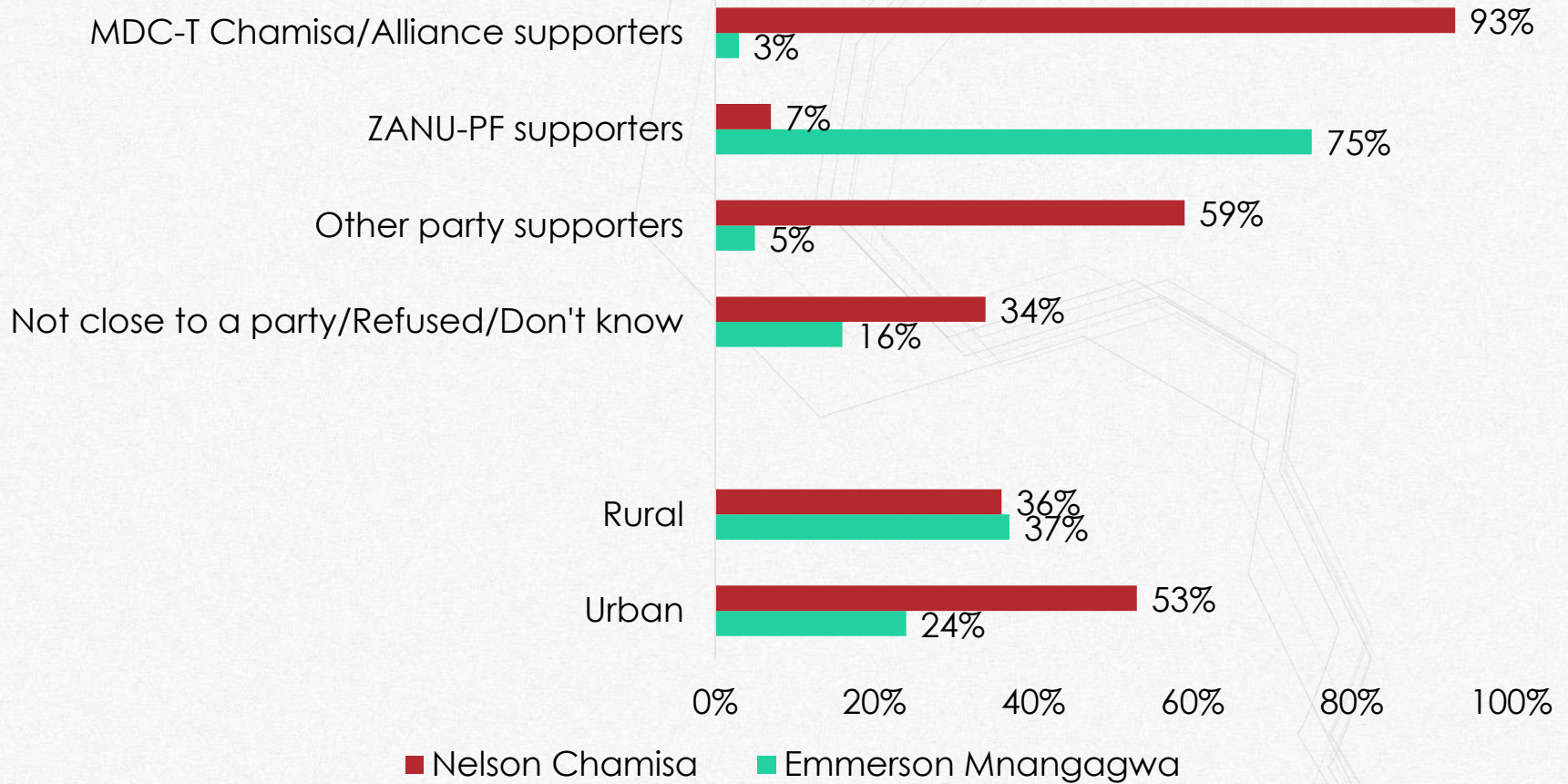
Who would be better at job creation? | Zimbabwe

| July 2018



Respondents were asked: Most people in Zimbabwe think that the present election campaign is mainly about job creation. Of the following presidential candidates, who do you think will do a better job in creating jobs for the people?

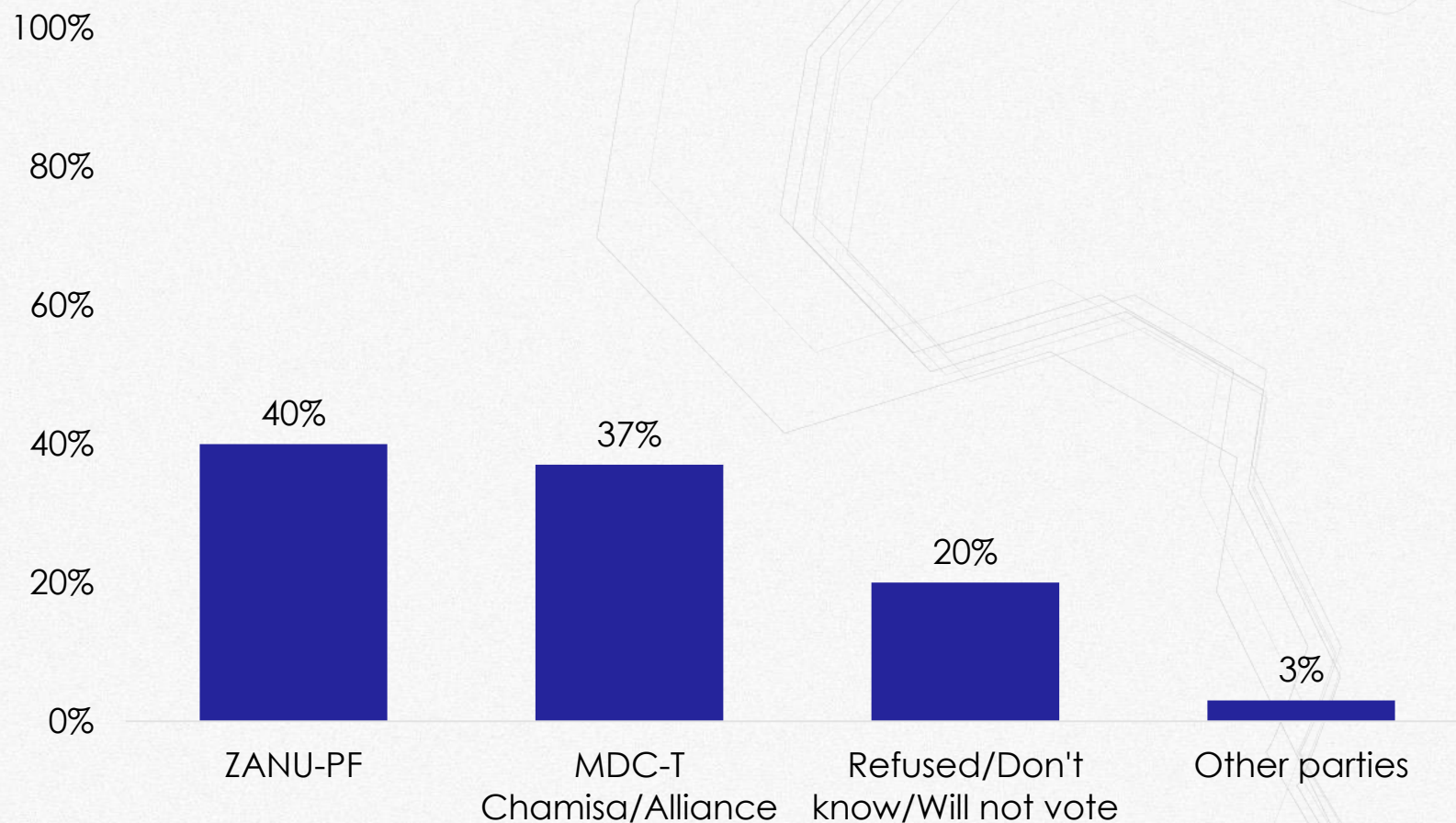
Who would be better at job creation? | by political party affiliation and urban-rural location | Zimbabwe | July 2018



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Voting intentions in the presidential election | Zimbabwe

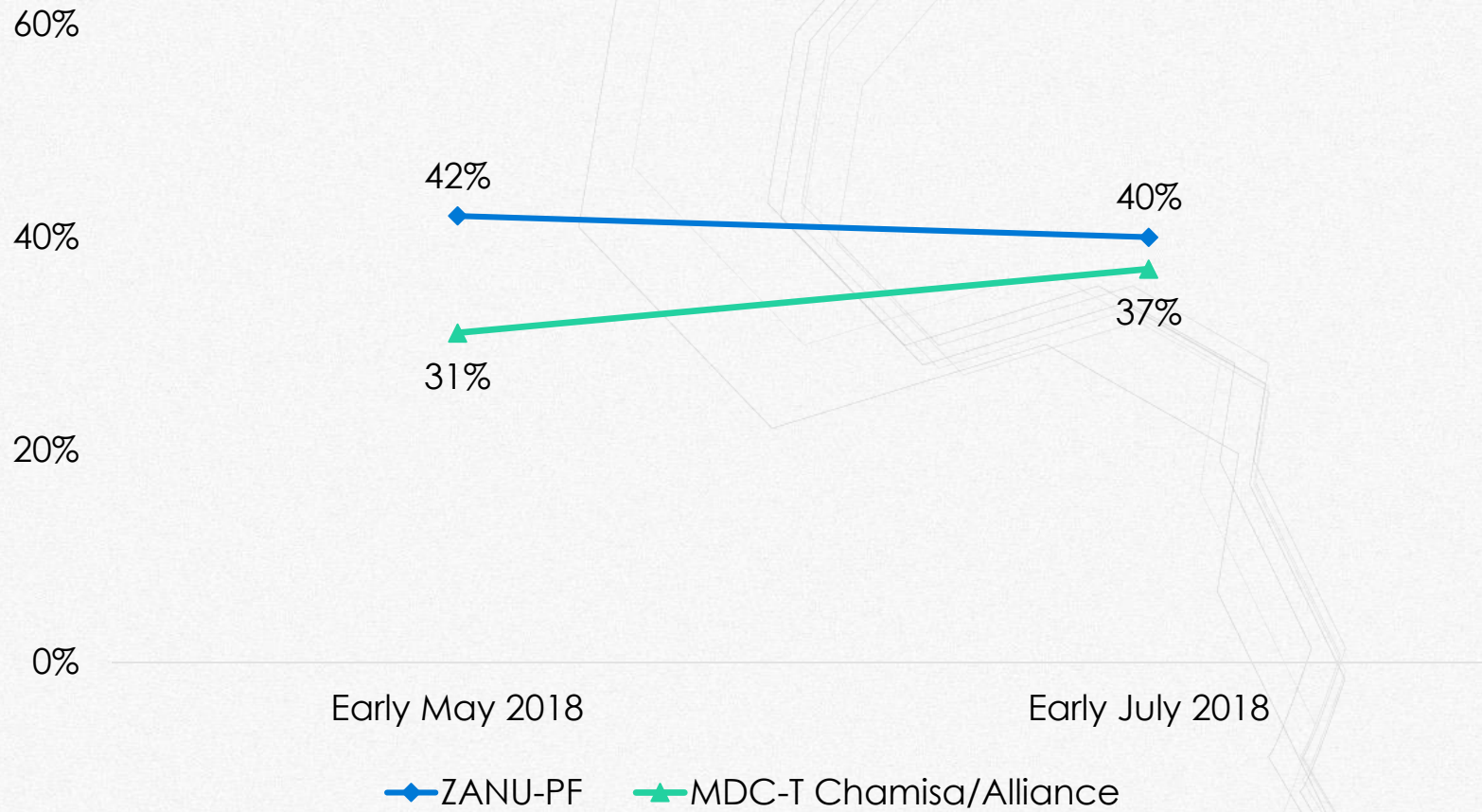
| July 2018



Respondents were asked: *If presidential elections were held tomorrow, which party's candidate would you vote for? (Note: Analysis includes registered likely voters only.)*

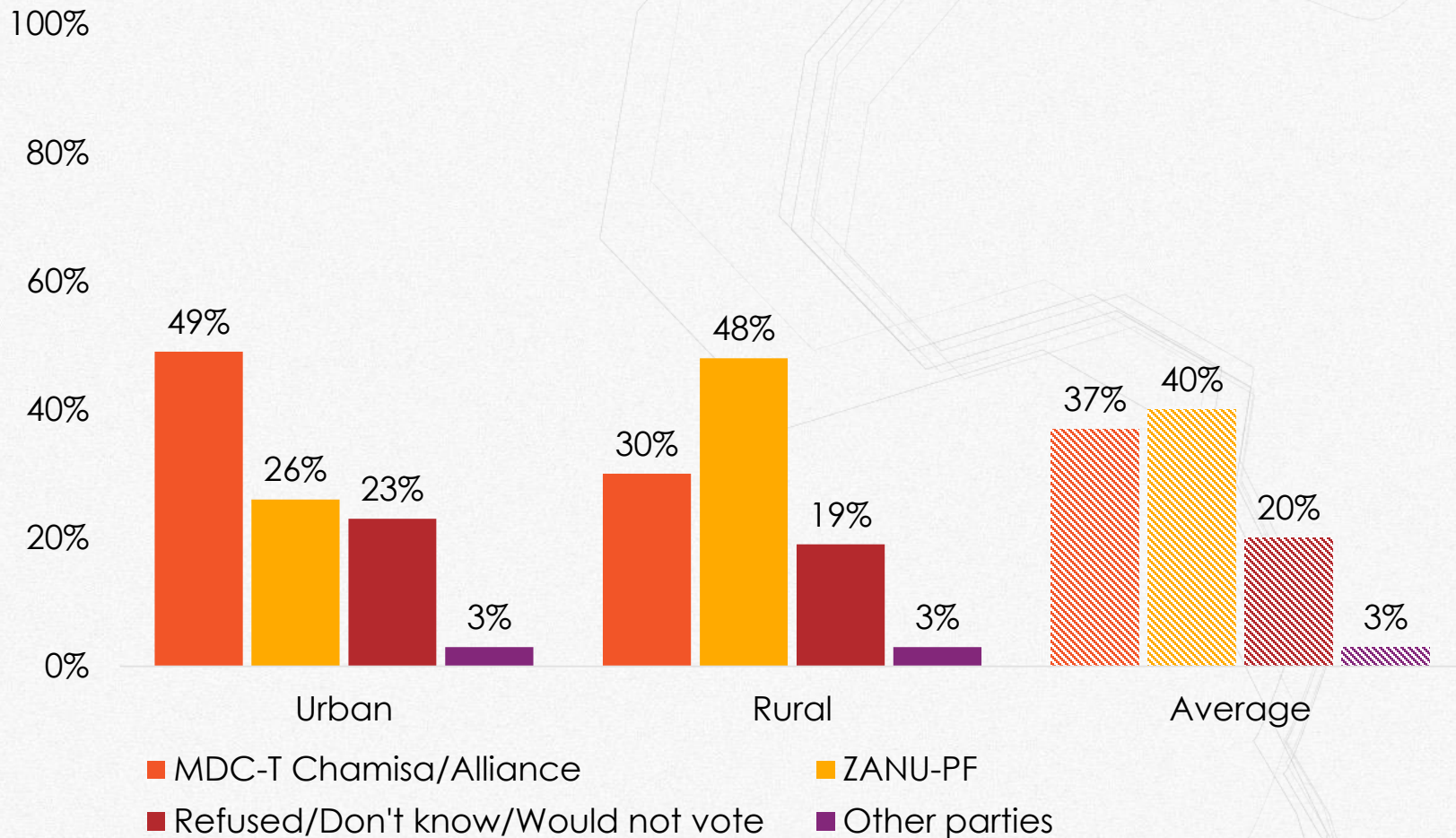
Change in voting intentions in the presidential election

| Zimbabwe | May-July 2018



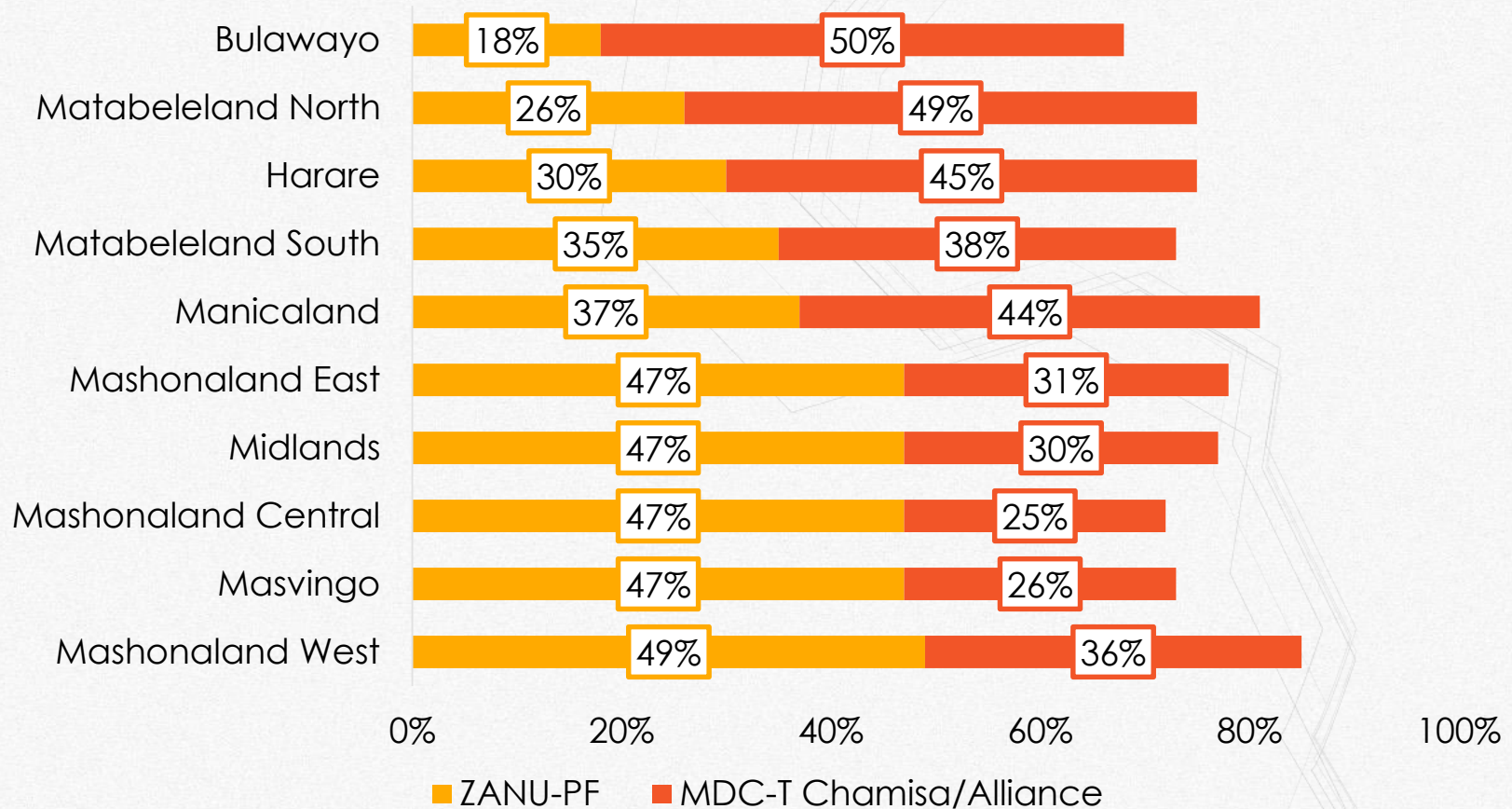
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Voting intentions in the presidential election | by urban-rural location | Zimbabwe | July 2018



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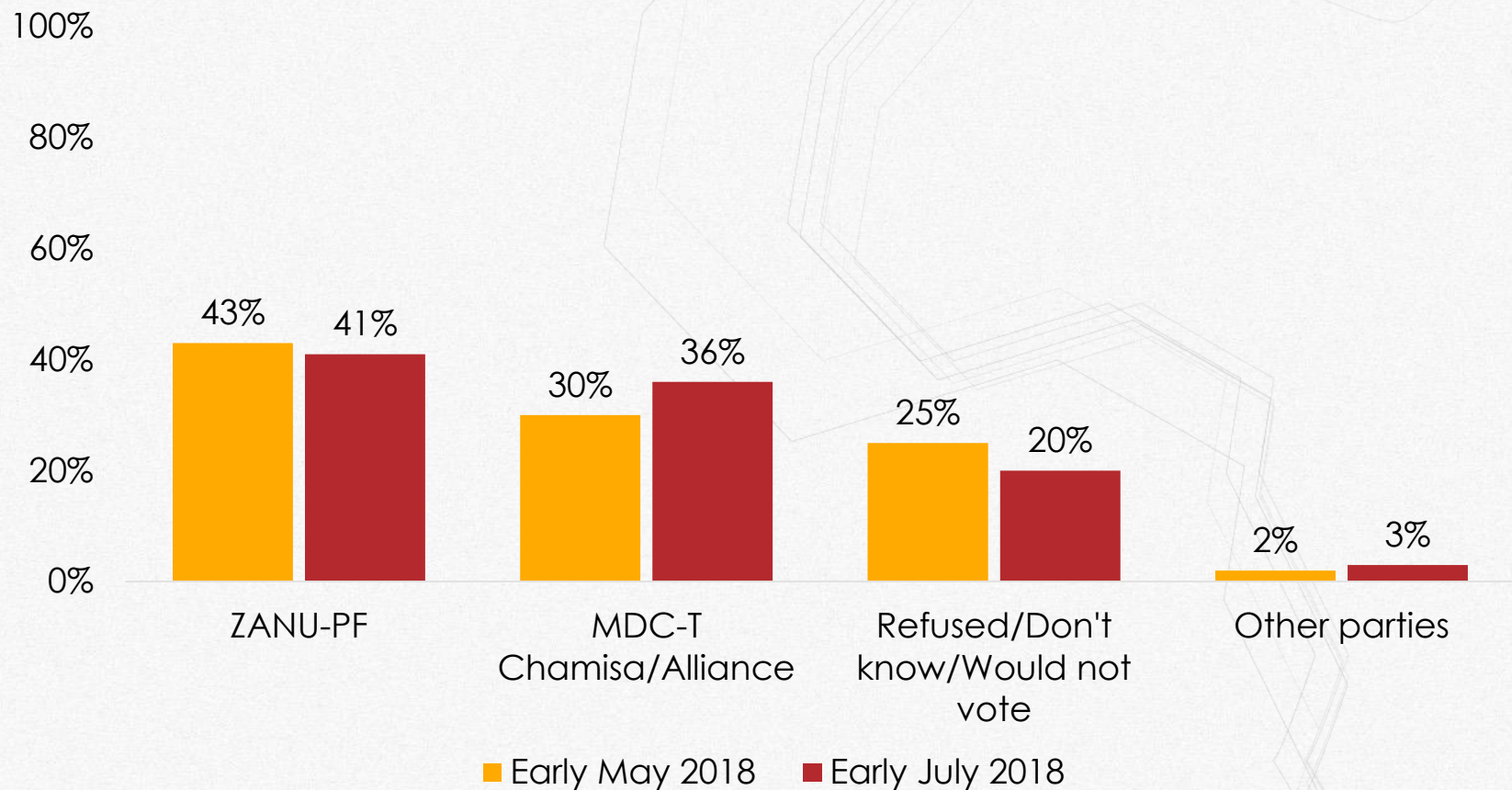
Voting intentions in the presidential election | by province | Zimbabwe | July 2018



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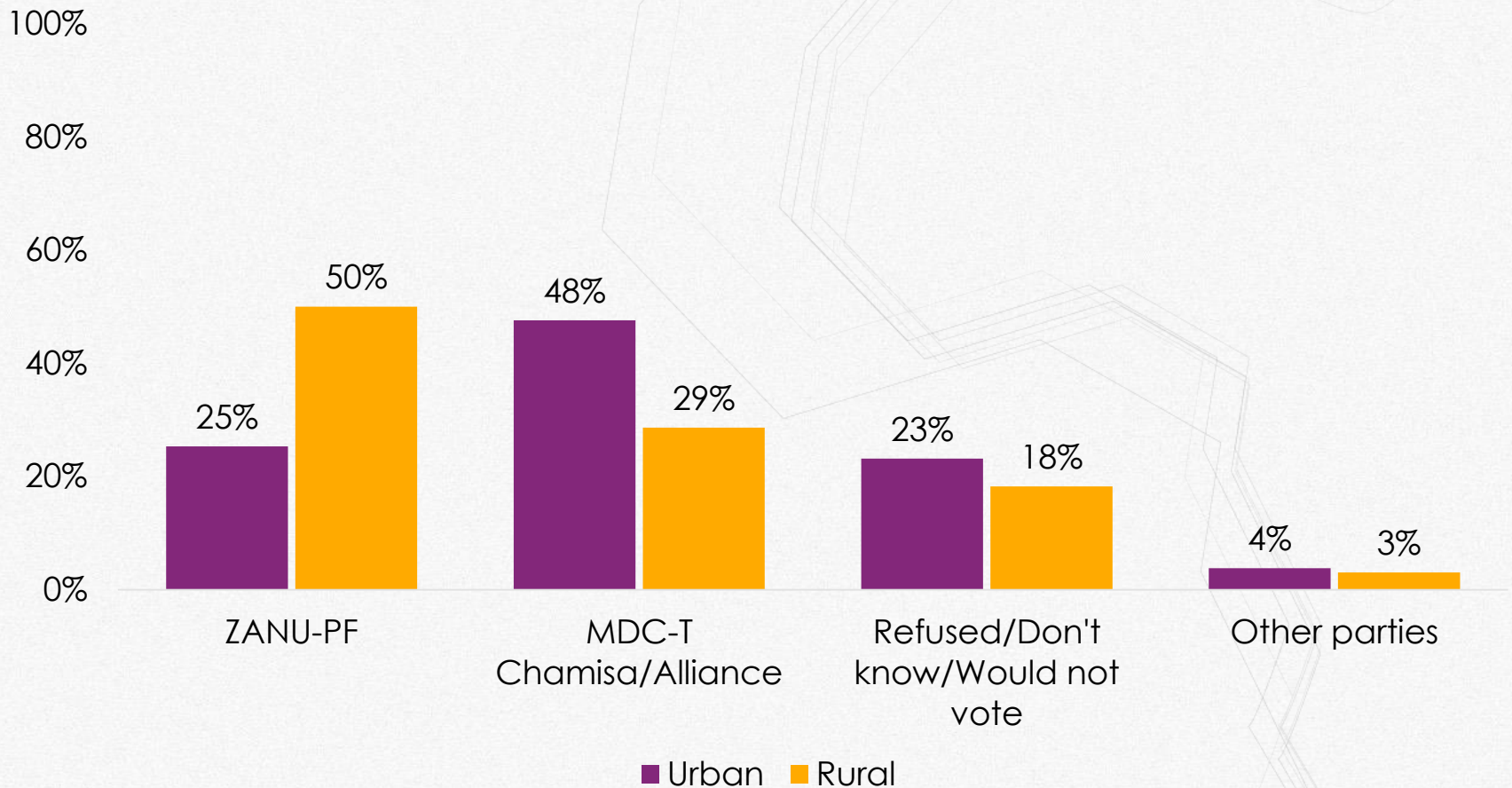
Voting intentions in the parliamentary election

| Zimbabwe | May-July 2018



Respondents were asked: *If elections were held tomorrow, which party's or alliance's candidate would you vote for as member of Parliament? (Note: Analysis includes registered likely voters only.)*

Voting intentions in the parliamentary election | by urban-rural location | Zimbabwe | July 2018



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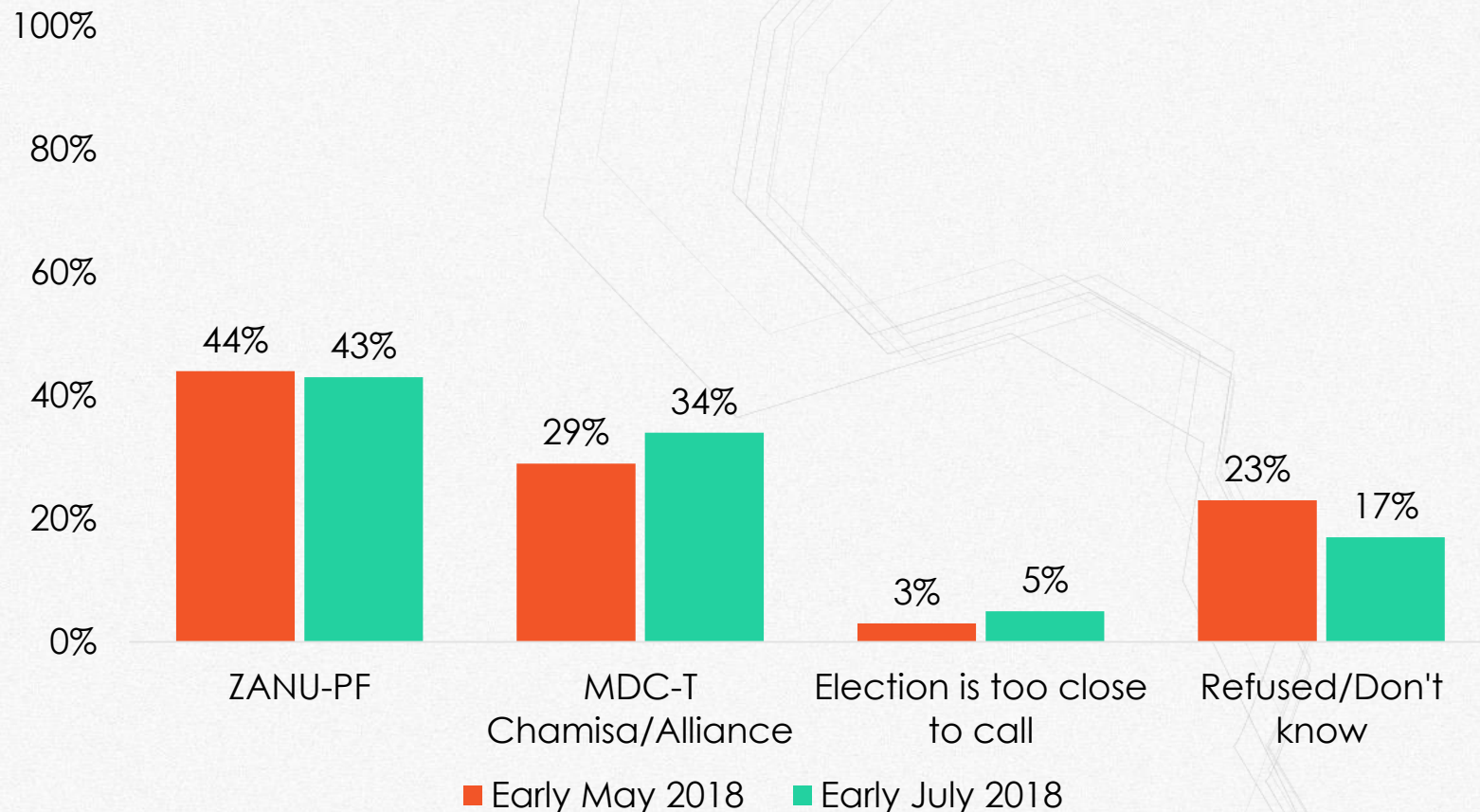
Voting intentions in the parliamentary election

| Zimbabwe | 2018

	ZANU-PF	MDC-T Chamisa/ Alliance	Refused/ Don't know/ Would not vote	Other parties
Mashonaland West	53%	34%	11%	3%
Mashonaland East	51%	27%	22%	1%
Mashonaland Central	50%	24%	17%	9%
Masvingo	49%	27%	20%	4%
Midlands	48%	29%	21%	2%
Matabeleland South	37%	34%	20%	8%
Manicaland	36%	44%	19%	1%
Harare	29%	44%	26%	1%
Matabeleland North	27%	47%	20%	7%
Bulawayo	18%	50%	24%	8%

Respondents were asked: *If elections were held tomorrow, which party's or alliance's candidate would you vote for as member of Parliament? (Note: Analysis includes registered likely voters only.)*

'Wisdom of the crowd': Expected winner of presidential election | Zimbabwe | May-July 2018

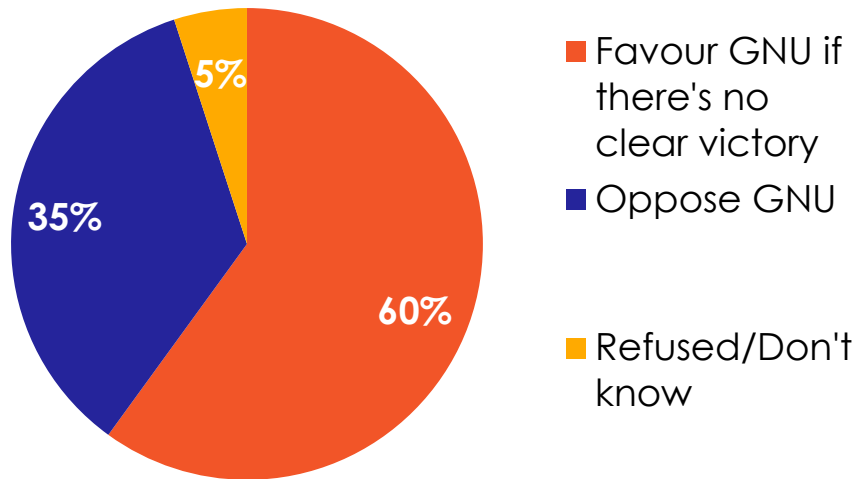


Respondents were asked: *Regardless of whether or not you will vote, or who you will vote for, which party's or alliance's candidate do you expect, ultimately, will win the 2018 presidential election? (Note: Analysis includes all respondents.)*

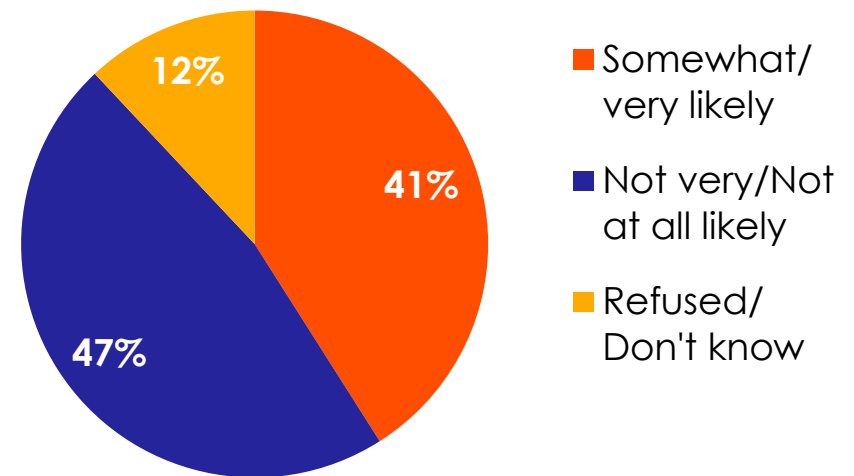
Prospects for a Government of National Unity | Zimbabwe

| July 2018

Support for GNU



Likelihood of a GNU



Respondents were asked:

- If no presidential candidate achieves a clear victory, would you want Zimbabwe to have a Government of National Unity (GNU)?
- In your view, how likely is it that the main political parties will agree to share power in a second GNU? (Note: Analysis includes all respondents.)

Thank you

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