

# AFRO 10 years BAROMETER

*Working Paper No. 108*

**THE QUALITY OF DEMOCRACY AND  
GOVERNANCE IN AFRICA: NEW  
RESULTS FROM AFROBAROMETER  
ROUND 4**

**A Compendium of Public Opinion Findings  
from 19 African Countries, 2008**

by the Afrobarometer Network

compiled by Eric Little and Carolyn Logan

**A comparative series of national public  
attitude surveys on democracy, markets  
and civil society in Africa**



## Core Partners

Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana)  
95 Nortei Ababio Street, North Airport Residential Area  
P.O. Box LG 404, Legon-Accra, Ghana  
233 21 776 142 • fax: 233 21 763 028  
[www.cddghana.org](http://www.cddghana.org)

The Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA)  
P.O. Box 56950, Pretoria Arcadia, 0007, South Africa  
27 12 392 0500 • fax: 27 12 320 2414/5  
[www.idasa.org.za](http://www.idasa.org.za)

Institute for Empirical Research in Political Economy (IREEP)  
Campus ENEAM Gbgamey 02 B.P. 372  
Cotonou, Republique du Benin  
229 21 307992 • fax: 229 21 302329  
[www.ireep.org](http://www.ireep.org)

## with support units at

Michigan State University (MSU)  
Department of Political Science  
East Lansing, MI 48824  
517 353 6590 • fax: 517 432 1091  
[www.polisci.msu.edu](http://www.polisci.msu.edu)

University of Capetown (UCT)  
Democracy in Africa Research Unit  
Centre for Social Science Research  
Private Bag Rondebosch 7701 South Africa  
Office: 27 21 650 3827 • Dept. 27 21 650 3811  
fax: 27 21 650 4657  
[www.cssr.uct.ac.za](http://www.cssr.uct.ac.za)

[www.afrobarometer.org](http://www.afrobarometer.org)

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**May 2009  
(Preliminary Results)**

## AFROBAROMETER WORKING PAPERS

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Afrobarometer publications report the results of national sample surveys on the attitudes of citizens in selected African countries towards democracy, markets, civil society, and other aspects of development. The Afrobarometer is a collaborative enterprise of the Centre for Democratic Development (CDD, Ghana), the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA), and the Institute for Empirical Research in Political Economy (IREEP) with support from Michigan State University (MSU) and the University of Cape Town, Center of Social Science Research (UCT/CSSR). Afrobarometer papers are simultaneously co-published by these partner institutions and the Globalbarometer.

Working Papers and Briefings Papers can be downloaded in Adobe Acrobat format from [www.afrobarometer.org](http://www.afrobarometer.org).



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## INTRODUCTION

### **Afrobarometer Round 4**

The Afrobarometer is an independent, non-partisan research project that measures the social, political and economic atmosphere in sub-Saharan Africa. Afrobarometer surveys are now conducted in 20 African countries, and are repeated on a regular cycle.

The Afrobarometer is dedicated to three main objectives:

- to produce scientifically reliable data on public opinion in Africa;
- to strengthen capacity for survey research in African institutions; and
- to broadly disseminate and apply survey results.

Afrobarometer results are used by decision-makers in government, non-governmental policy advocates, international donor agencies, journalists and academic researchers, as well as average Africans who wish to become informed and active citizens.

Since 1999, the Afrobarometer has conducted more than 105,000 interviews to collect data on the attitudes and behaviors of ordinary Africans in reforming polities and economies across the continent. One of the project's key goals has been to open a window onto how average citizens understand their political, social and economic milieu. While we have often had a great deal of information on the attitudes and behaviors of African elites, the orientations of the general public towards political and economic change have, to a considerable extent, been unknown, undervalued and ignored.

The Afrobarometer therefore seeks to reshape the debate on political and economic reform in Africa by giving voice to African citizens. Afrobarometer results enable Africans and interested outsiders to educate themselves about public opinion on the sub-Saharan sub-continent, and to influence policy makers accordingly. The project has devoted particular attention to exploring popular attitudes toward and assessments of the quality of democracy and governance.

Afrobarometer Round 1 explored these issues in 12 countries from 1999-2001 (Botswana, Ghana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mali, Namibia, Nigeria, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe). Round 2 expanded the scope to four additional countries (Cape Verde, Kenya, Mozambique and Senegal) during 2002-2003. Round 3 of the Afrobarometer, conducted from March 2005 to March 2006, extended the reach of the project still further with the addition of Benin and Madagascar. Round 4 broadens the scope to 20 countries with the inclusion of Burkina Faso and Liberia.

Because the instrument asks a standard set of questions, countries can be systematically compared. In addition, about two-thirds of the items remain the same from one round to the next, allowing us to track trends over time. These questions include core questions on attitudes toward democracy, evaluations of governance, institutional trust, economic standing, and a variety of other issues. The remaining one-third of the questionnaire is comprised of questions that investigate new topics or add depth to topics we have explored in the past. In Round 4, we have added new questions that examine attitudes toward and assessments of local government and traditional leaders in greater depth, expanded the section on government accountability, and incorporated the new topic of cosmopolitanism and international perspectives.

The Afrobarometer methodology is based on personal, face-to-face interviews, conducted in the language of the respondent's choice. The surveys are based on national probability samples, with random selection at all stages ensuring that every adult citizen has an equal and known chance of inclusion in the sample. Full details of Afrobarometer sampling and survey methodology can be found in the Round 4 Survey Manual, available on the project website at <http://www.afrobarometer.org/methods.html>.

It is important to note that the 20 African countries included in the Afrobarometer are not fully representative of Africa as a whole. Most have undergone a measure of political and economic reform, and they are thus among the continent's more open regimes. However, the inclusion of countries with serious internal conflicts – like Nigeria, Uganda, and Zimbabwe – helps to make the country sample somewhat representative of the sub-continent. But considerable caution is nonetheless warranted when projecting Afrobarometer results to all “Africans.”

Because of its broad scope, the Afrobarometer is organized as an international collaborative enterprise. The Afrobarometer Network currently has three Core Partners who are jointly responsible for providing overall direction and management to the project. In Round 4, the Core Partners are: the Center for Democratic Development in Ghana (CDD-Ghana), the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (Idasa), and the Institute for Empirical Research in Political Economy (IREEP) in Benin. The Afrobarometer Network also includes National Partner institutions that conduct fieldwork, data entry, preliminary analysis, and the dissemination of survey results in each participating country. These include university research institutes, independent think tanks, or private polling firms. Finally, Support Units at Michigan State University and the University of Cape Town assist the project with capacity building, quality assurance for data and publications, and technical and advisory support services. Full details on all Round 4 partner organizations can be found on the project website at <http://www.afrobarometer.org/network.html>.

### **Purpose of This Compendium**

As detailed in the table below, 19 Round 4 surveys went to the field from March 4 to December 31, 2008. A survey could not be conducted in the twentieth country, Zimbabwe, during 2008 due to the state-sponsored violence that was affecting the country at the time. However, after the formation of the Inclusive Government in early 2009, the calmer political situation will allow us to conduct a survey during 2009.

Of the other 19 countries, this compendium presents detailed results for all except Zambia, where the data is still considered provisional. But note that the Means shown in each table *do* include Zambia. **A revised version of this Compendium that includes final data for Zambia and the new results from Zimbabwe will be published later in 2009.**

The purpose of this compendium is to present “**just the facts.**” The tables that follow report simple descriptive statistics that summarize key public attitudes, both by country and for a mean of 19 Afrobarometer countries. As such, this handbook aims primarily to create a record of mass attitudes on the topic of citizen-state relations. We do not attempt to analyze these findings here, but rather leave that to the reader, to the many Afrobarometer Briefing Papers and Working Papers that have been and will continue to be produced utilizing this data, and to the work of other researchers. We do note several Afrobarometer Briefing Papers that are being released in conjunction with this compendium which seek to analyze the findings on some of the key indicators included here. These include:

- No. 67 Neither Consolidating Nor Fully Democratic: The Evolution of African Political Regimes, 1999-2008
- No. 68 Poverty Reduction, Economic Growth and Democratization in Sub-Saharan Africa
- No. 69 Citizens of the World? Africans, Media and Telecommunications
- No. 70 Are Democratic Citizens Emerging in Africa? Evidence from the Afrobarometer

These and all other Afrobarometer publications are available at

<http://www.afrobarometer.org/publications.html>.

#### Round 4 Surveys: Sample Size and Fieldwork Dates

	Sample Size	Dates of Fieldwork
Benin	1200	June 23 - July 6, 2008
Botswana	1200	Sept. 29 - Oct. 16, 2008
Burkina Faso	1200	Oct. 6 - 21, 2008
Cape Verde	1264	May 20 - 29, 2008
Ghana	1200	March 4 - 27, 2008
Kenya	1104	Oct. 29 - Nov. 17, 2008
Lesotho	1200	Oct. 16 - Nov. 12, 2008
Liberia	1200	Dec. 9 - 31, 2008
Madagascar	1350	June 11 - July 11, 2008
Malawi	1200	Oct. 10 - Nov. 25, 2008
Mali	1232	Dec. 15 - 31, 2008
Mozambique	1200	Dec. 6 - 24, 2008
Namibia	1200	Oct. 24 - Dec. 3, 2008
Nigeria	2324	May. 13 - 25, 2008
Senegal	1200	May 19 - June 4, 2008
South Africa	2400	Oct. 27 - Nov. 23, 2008
Tanzania	1208	June 23 - July 12, 2008
Uganda	2431	July 27 - September 3, 2008
Zambia	1200	Oct. 13 - 28, 2008
Zimbabwe	--	2009
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>26,414</b>	<b>March 4 - December 31, 2008</b>

#### Caveats

**How valid and reliable** are the subjective views of ordinary citizens? On a continent where most people continue to live in rural areas and where a good education is hard to find, people may not be well enough informed to offer dependable opinions. Or so goes the argument. While education clearly improves a respondent's comprehension of survey questions and adds sophistication to answers, we nevertheless resist concluding that non-literate or parochial respondents lack the capacity to form opinions about livelihood and well being. On the contrary, we have found that, as long as questions are stated plainly and concretely (all question wordings are provided in the text and tables that follow, and the full questionnaire can be found at <http://www.afrobarometer.org/questionnaires.html>), Africans can express clear opinions about economic survival and political authority.



The reader will notice that public opinion often confirms, but sometimes contradicts, empirical observations of a more objective sort. For example, both Botswana and South Africa earn a designation of “free” from Freedom House in 2008, with identical scores on indices of political rights and civil liberties.<sup>1</sup> Yet when we ask respondents in the two countries to rate the extent of their own democracy, confident Botswana give themselves the highest ranking among the 19 countries, with 91% rating the country as either a full democracy or a democracy with only minor problems, compared to just 48% of South Africans who give their country a similarly positive review. Under these circumstances, how far can we trust public opinion?

We argue that, in the realms of society, politics and the economy, **perceptions matter just as much – if not more – than reality**. That which people think to be true – including judgments about present conditions or past performance and expectations for the future – is a central motivation for behavior. Perceptions are paramount in the interest-driven realm of the marketplace and the ideological realm of politics. Whether or not attitudes exactly mirror exterior circumstances, an individual’s interior perspective forms the basis of any calculus for action. And, consistent with our instinct that all people, whatever their material circumstances, are capable of acute observation and rational thought, we find that, more often than not, public opinion findings reinforce, rather than undercut, the thrust of official aggregate statistics.

**Survey data, however, have multiple advantages.** They allow us to see where the general public is dissatisfied, thus calling into question the suitability of existing policies and suggesting alternatives. They offer opportunities to break down official aggregates in order to discover who supports the *status quo* and who does not. Moreover, survey data provide new openings for testing and explaining observed differences across countries and time periods.

## Technical Notes

To comprehend and correctly interpret the text and tables of this report, the reader should bear in mind the following considerations:

### *Sampling*

- In each country, the Afrobarometer covers a representative sample of the adult population (i.e., those over 18 years old and eligible to vote). Survey respondents are selected using a multistage, stratified, clustered area design that is randomized at every stage with probability proportional to population size. For fuller details see [www.afrobarometer.org/sampling.html](http://www.afrobarometer.org/sampling.html).
- The minimum sample size in any country is generally 1200, which is sufficient to yield a confidence interval of plus or minus 3 percentage points (actually 2.8 percentage points) at a confidence level of 95 percent. Because a small share of the Kenya sample was set aside for targeted interviews with residents of internally displaced camps, the random sample was reduced to 1104 respondents. In three countries with sample sizes of approximately 2400 – Nigeria, South Africa, and Uganda – the margin of sampling error decreases to plus or minus 2 percentage points.

### *Fieldwork Methodology, Coverage, and Timing*

- Round 4 surveys used an identical survey instrument in all countries. The base questionnaire was produced initially in English, and then translated into other national languages (French, Portuguese, and Swahili). The questionnaire is then “indigenized” in each country to adapt to local nomenclature

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<sup>1</sup> See <http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=363&year=2008>.

and country-specific factors, after which it is translated according to strict protocols into the primary local languages. Respondents are then interviewed by trained interviewers in face-to-face sessions, in the language of the respondent's choice.

- Several points about the coverage and timing of specific surveys are worth noting:
  - In Zambia the survey was conducted very shortly before the 30 October 2008 national election to replace President Levy Mwanawasa following his death in office.
  - In Mozambique, the fieldwork was conducted immediately after local government elections held on 19 November 2008.
  - In Kenya, the fieldwork was conducted nine months after a period of severe post-election violence following the flawed December 2007 elections, and just six months after the formation of a coalition government that was intended to share power between the two main contenders in that election.
  - In South Africa, the survey was conducted just one month after former President Thabo Mbeki resigned the presidency, and shortly before the formation of a new party, the Congress of the People (COPE), which appeared to be breaking away from the African National Congress.

### *Descriptive Statistics*

- Percentages reported in the tables reflect valid responses. Unless otherwise noted, “don't know” responses are included, even if they are not shown. But missing data, refusals to answer, and cases where a question was not applicable are excluded from the calculations. Except where noted, the share of missing data is small and does not significantly change the sample size or confidence interval.
- All percentages have been rounded to whole numbers. This occasionally introduces small anomalies in which the sum of total reported responses does not equal 100 percent. An empty cell signifies that a particular question was not asked in given country in a given year.
- In many cases, we have combined response categories. For example, “satisfied” and “very satisfied” responses are added together and reported as a single figure. Rounding was applied only after response categories were aggregated.
- Although Afrobarometer samples are approximately self-weighting, for most countries we calculate weights at the Enumeration Area (EA) level to account for the effects of clustering and actual versus ideal distribution of the sample. In addition, in some countries statistical weights are used to adjust for purposive over-sampling of minorities or to correct for inadvertent deviations from the planned sample during fieldwork. The frequency distributions reported in the tables reflect these within-country weights.
- The 19 country data sets are pooled into an overall Afrobarometer Round 4 data set (n=26,414). We report 19-country mean statistics in the last row of each table (as mentioned, these means include Zambia, although the Zambia results are not reported separately in the tables). These means include the within-country weights described above, plus an across-country weight to standardize the size of each national sample to n = 1200 respondents. That is, each country carries equal weight in the calculation of Afrobarometer means, regardless of its sample size or overall population.

The results that follow cover a selection of 168 variables out of a total of 228 items asked of respondents in Round 4. The respondent's demographic characteristics are excluded, as are items about the interview and its context recorded by the interviewer (which increase the total number of Round 4 items to over 300). Similar Compendia are available for Rounds 1, 2 and 3:

***Round 1 (1999-2001)***

“Afrobarometer Round 1: Compendium of Comparative Data from a Twelve-Nation Survey”  
(Afrobarometer Working Paper No. 11)

***Round 2 (2002-2003)***

“Afrobarometer Round 2: Compendium of Comparative Results from a 15-Country Survey”  
(Afrobarometer Working Paper No. 34).

***Round 3 (2005-2006)***

“Where is Africa Going? Views from Below: A Compendium of Trends in Public Opinion in 12 African Countries, 1999-2006” (Afrobarometer Working Paper No. 60)

“Citizens and the State in Africa: New Results from Afrobarometer Round 3” (Afrobarometer Working Paper No. 61)

“The Status of Democracy, 2005-2006: Findings from Afrobarometer Round 3 for 18 Countries”  
(Afrobarometer Briefing Paper No. 40)

## PART ONE: DEMOCRACY

**Table 1.1: Demand for Democracy**

Which of these three statements is closest to your own opinion?	BEN	BOT	BUR	CVE	GHA	KEN	LES	LIB	MAD	MWI	MALI	MOZ	NAM	NIG	SEN	SAF	TAN	UGA	Mean	
A. Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government.	81	85	58	81	78	78	46	72	39	74	72	59	64	72	70	67	72	79	70	
B. In some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable.	10	5	11	8	7	8	29	9	6	14	12	15	11	17	6	19	12	7	11	
C. For someone like me, it doesn't matter what kind of government we have.	7	8	18	5	10	6	17	12	27	9	13	12	24	9	3	12	7	10	11	
Don't know	3	2	13	7	5	8	8	7	28	4	3	14	2	2	21	3	10	5	8	
There are many ways to govern a country. Would you disapprove or approve of the following alternatives?																				
Only one political party is allowed to stand for election and hold office.	Disapprove/Strongly disapprove	76	80	54	79	81	80	54	82	75	65	75	51	69	74	90	63	63	76	73
	Neither approve nor disapprove	7	1	3	5	2	4	3	1	6	2	8	3	7	7	1	12	2	5	4
	Approve/Strongly approve	15	18	34	11	15	14	38	16	9	31	16	34	23	16	5	21	34	16	20
	Don't Know	2	1	9	5	2	2	5	1	10	2	1	11	2	3	4	4	2	3	4
Elections and the parliament are abolished so that the president can decide everything.	Disapprove/Strongly disapprove	82	93	69	64	84	90	75	88	76	78	78	58	73	75	87	63	91	86	79
	Neither approve nor disapprove	9	1	4	9	3	3	4	2	4	1	9	3	9	11	2	16	1	6	5
	Approve/Strongly approve	6	4	15	13	9	4	16	9	6	18	11	22	16	8	5	15	6	6	10
	Don't Know	3	2	12	14	4	2	5	1	14	3	3	16	3	5	7	6	2	3	5
The army comes in to govern the country.	Disapprove/Strongly disapprove	73	89	50	79	78	94	75	78	66	84	61	63	67	74	69	67	89	78	75
	Neither approve nor disapprove	8	1	4	7	2	2	3	2	11	1	12	3	10	11	4	13	1	7	6
	Approve/Strongly approve	17	8	39	7	16	3	17	20	10	11	25	18	18	12	20	16	8	13	15
	Don't Know	2	1	7	7	4	2	5	1	14	3	2	15	5	3	7	4	2	2	5
Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2 (percent agree / strongly agree)																				
1. Our present system of elected government should be given more time to deal with inherited problems	58	57	52	48	62	58	26	72	38	66	53	42	42	56	35	46	50	39	50	
2. If our present system cannot produce results soon, we should try another form of government.	37	41	35	37	31	34	66	26	37	30	44	38	53	38	54	45	39	49	41	
Do not agree with either	1	1	2	2	3	4	4	1	3	2	1	2	3	3	4	5	5	8	3	
Don't know	4	1	10	12	4	4	5	1	22	2	2	19	2	2	6	4	5	5	6	

**Table 1.2: Support for Democratic Institutions**

Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2 (percent agree / strongly agree)	BEN	BOT	BUR	CVE	GHA	KEN	LES	LIB	MAD	MWI	MALI	MOZ	NAM	NIG	SEN	SAF	TAN	UGA	Mean
1. We should choose our leaders in this country through regular, open and honest elections.	79	88	79	84	86	81	51	88	86	78	81	71	57	69	83	69	82	82	78
2. Since elections sometimes produce bad results, we should adopt other methods for choosing this country's leaders.	21	12	16	11	12	17	46	12	7	19	17	19	41	29	14	29	17	16	19
Do not agree with either	0	0	1	1	2	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Don't know	0	0	3	4	1	1	2	1	6	2	1	9	1	1	2	1	1	1	2
1. Political parties create division and confusion; it is therefore unnecessary to have many political parties in Tanzania.	33	20	27	21	25	36	37	38	30	30	28	29	39	26	27	30	28	29	29
2. Many political parties are needed to make sure that Tanzanians have real choices in who governs them.	65	79	63	74	71	61	60	61	55	68	71	57	59	70	70	64	68	67	66
Do not agree with either	2	1	2	1	3	2	2	1	3	1	1	2	2	2	1	3	2	3	2
Don't know	1	1	7	4	2	2	2	1	12	1	1	12	1	2	3	2	2	2	0
1. The members of the Parliament represent the people; therefore they should make laws for this country, even if the President does not agree.	78	53	63	54	59	77	47	73	59	66	75	49	45	63	79	50	80	74	64
2. Since the President represents all of us, he should pass laws without worrying about what the Parliament thinks.	14	22	22	20	27	13	37	24	14	28	16	25	49	26	10	35	13	16	23
Do not agree with either	6	20	3	10	9	7	12	1	6	3	7	5	4	6	6	9	4	6	7
Don't know	2	4	11	16	5	3	4	1	22	2	2	21	2	5	5	5	4	4	6
1. The constitution should limit the president to serving a maximum of two terms in office.	75	79	52	62	73	83	51	83	47	58	78	48	57	72	73	63	87	72	68
2. There should be no constitutional limit on how long the president can serve.	22	19	36	26	20	10	42	16	35	36	18	35	40	23	17	29	10	24	25
Do not agree with either	2	1	3	4	5	4	4	0	4	4	3	2	1	3	4	4	1	3	3
Don't know	1	1	8	8	3	3	3	1	14	1	1	15	2	3	6	4	2	2	4

**Table 1.3: Supply of Democracy**

		BEN	BOT	BUR	CVE	GHA	KEN	LES	LIB	MAD	MWI	MALI	MOZ	NAM	NIG	SEN	SAF	TAN	UGA	Mean
In your opinion, how much of a democracy is [Namibia] today?	Full democracy	37	55	27	34	55	13	17	25	11	26	33	26	41	14	16	29	40	20	29
	A democracy, but with minor problems	39	35	24	37	28	30	20	38	26	30	27	33	32	28	20	29	34	34	30
	A democracy, but with major problems	18	6	25	18	11	39	42	27	13	32	29	23	21	40	30	32	13	29	25
	Not a democracy	1	1	6	1	1	9	9	3	5	5	5	4	3	15	10	6	3	8	5
	Don't know / Don't understand	3	2	11	8	2	6	5	6	21	5	4	11	1	3	15	2	5	6	6
Overall, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in [Namibia]?	Very satisfied	30	44	27	23	54	9	13	24	3	26	21	33	28	5	10	13	29	13	22
	Fairly satisfied	39	38	23	23	26	34	17	27	13	31	28	13	39	26	17	36	42	34	28
	Not very satisfied	20	10	24	37	9	30	21	29	26	21	25	28	19	29	27	28	12	31	24
	Not at all satisfied	7	6	14	9	6	19	37	15	16	16	20	14	12	35	22	18	7	14	16
	Not a democracy	1	0	1	0	1	2	4	1	2	2	1	1	0	3	1	2	1	1	1
Don't know	4	1	11	6	4	7	8	5	41	5	4	11	2	2	22	4	10	6	8	
On the whole, how would you rate the freeness and fairness of the last national election, held in [20xx]. Was it:	Completely free and fair	51	73	51	46	61	7	36	36	52	46	48	53	55	7	49	50	68	18	43
	Free and fair, but with minor problems	37	13	17	23	22	13	22	35	20	18	20	15	26	24	11	22	22	32	22
	Free and fair, with major problems	8	3	12	7	7	35	20	12	4	12	15	6	10	25	10	14	5	21	13
	Not free and fair	2	3	6	8	5	43	14	14	7	16	10	5	3	39	17	7	3	22	13
	Don't know / Don't understand question	2	9	13	16	5	1	7	3	17	8	7	21	7	4	12	7	3	7	8

**Table 1.4: Demand for Freedoms**

Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2 (percent agree / strongly agree)	BEN	BOT	BUR	CVE	GHA	KEN	LES	LIB	MAD	MWI	MALI	MOZ	NAM	NIG	SEN	SAF	TAN	UGA	Mean
1. Government should be able to ban any organization that goes against its policies.	13	32	24	18	38	34	26	47	10	27	19	29	30	43	8	24	55	24	27
2. We should be able to join any organization, whether or not the government approves of it.	83	63	68	69	57	57	69	52	77	69	79	50	69	50	89	71	39	71	66
Do not agree with either	2	3	1	4	4	6	2	0	1	2	2	2	1	4	1	3	1	2	2
Don't know	2	2	7	9	2	3	3	0	12	2	0	18	1	3	3	2	5	3	4
1. Government should be able to close newspapers that print stories it does not like.	11	15	20	27	28	18	21	22	11	23	14	22	25	17	5	16	37	15	19
2. The news media should be free to publish any story that they see fit without fear of being shut down.	86	80	70	59	67	78	76	77	77	72	84	59	74	79	90	80	59	81	76
Do not agree with either	0	2	2	6	2	2	1	0	2	2	1	3	1	2	1	3	1	2	2
Don't know	3	3	8	7	3	2	2	0	11	2	1	17	0	2	3	2	3	2	4
1. Government should not allow the expression of political views that are fundamentally different from the views of the majority.	13	10	27	19	19	21	19	23	14	25	29	22	20	20	8	18	37	15	20
2. People should be able to speak their minds about politics free of government influence, no matter how unpopular their views may be.	83	87	67	69	77	73	77	76	69	73	69	58	78	76	82	78	59	81	74
Do not agree with either	1	1	1	2	2	4	2	0	2	2	1	2	1	2	4	2	1	2	2
Don't know	3	2	5	10	2	3	3	0	15	1	0	19	1	2	6	2	4	2	4

**Table 1.5: Supply of Freedoms**

In this country, how free are you:		BEN	BOT	BUR	CVE	GHA	KEN	LES	LIB	MAD	MWI	MALI	MOZ	NAM	NIG	SEN	SAF	TAN	UGA	Mean
To say what you think	Not at all free/Not very free	7	5	29	14	8	17	17	15	23	11	15	29	16	39	13	23	7	21	17
	Somewhat/Completely free	92	93	68	85	90	82	80	85	69	87	84	62	84	58	85	76	92	77	81
	Don't Know	1	1	3	1	2	1	3	1	8	2	1	9	1	3	2	1	1	2	2
To join any political organization you want	Not at all free/Not very free	6	2	16	15	3	12	10	10	12	6	6	24	11	29	5	18	3	12	11
	Somewhat/Completely free	93	97	79	78	95	86	85	88	69	93	92	64	88	66	94	80	96	86	85
	Don't Know	1	1	5	7	2	2	4	2	19	1	2	12	1	5	1	2	1	2	4
To choose who to vote for without feeling pressured	Not at all free/Not very free	3	2	10	8	3	7	7	6	5	3	5	14	7	25	5	16	2	13	8
	Somewhat/Completely free	97	98	86	90	95	92	90	94	87	96	95	76	92	72	94	82	97	86	90
	Don't Know	0	1	3	2	2	1	4	1	7	1	1	9	1	4	1	2	1	1	2
In this country, how often do people have to be careful of what they say about politics?	Often/Always	68	28	76	54	50	54	65	72	52	35	72	54	46	64	65	43	47	58	55
	Rarely/Never	30	67	19	42	47	45	29	26	31	61	27	34	51	33	32	52	49	39	40
	Don't Know	2	5	4	3	3	1	5	2	17	4	1	11	2	3	2	5	5	3	4
During election campaigns in this country, how much do you personally fear becoming a victim of political intimidation or violence?																				
Not at all/A little bit		83	92	64	86	73	37	64	73	69	67	69	67	65	54	71	67	74	48	68
Somewhat/A lot		16	8	32	12	25	62	32	24	26	32	29	26	33	44	27	28	24	50	29
Don't Know		0	1	4	2	3	1	3	2	5	2	2	7	2	2	1	5	1	2	2
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?																				
Not at all/Not very likely		84	83	73	76	79	79	61	70	69	85	70	66	61	48	78	58	67	66	71
Somewhat/Very likely		14	12	19	16	16	18	33	26	19	12	22	20	28	42	13	34	29	25	22
Don't Know		2	4	8	8	5	2	6	3	11	3	8	15	10	10	8	9	4	9	7
How likely do you think it is that people can be punished by government officials if they make complaints about poor quality services or misuse of funds?																				
Not at all/Not very likely		76	82	46	61	68	61	25	60	37	74	54	52	58	44	39	57	43	58	56
Somewhat/Very likely		23	13	42	22	26	34	69	35	43	22	38	27	34	45	41	34	51	33	34
Don't Know		2	5	12	17	6	4	6	4	21	4	8	21	8	11	19	9	6	9	9



**PART TWO: TRUST, LEGITIMACY AND THE RULE OF LAW**

**Table 2.1: Legitimacy and the Rule of Law**

For each of the following statements, please tell me whether you disagree or agree?		BEN	BOT	BUR	CVE	GHA	KEN	LES	LIB	MAD	MWI	MALI	MOZ	NAM	NIG	SEN	SAF	TAN	UGA	Mean
The courts have the right to make decisions that people always have to abide by.	Strongly Disagree/Disagree	34	12	19	19	25	24	11	30	32	19	23	19	13	19	20	17	17	15	21
	Neither Agree or Disagree	11	5	7	12	2	9	1	0	17	3	10	3	5	8	9	12	4	6	7
	Strongly Agree/Agree	53	80	68	64	71	63	87	69	39	75	66	70	81	71	68	68	78	77	69
	Don't Know	2	3	6	5	3	5	1	1	12	3	1	8	1	2	3	3	2	2	3
The police always have the right to make people obey the law.	Strongly Disagree/Disagree	20	10	21	20	11	21	8	16	19	23	15	16	10	23	10	19	22	11	17
	Neither Agree or Disagree	8	4	6	13	2	9	1	2	15	5	8	3	8	11	3	14	4	7	7
	Strongly Agree/Agree	71	85	68	63	86	68	90	82	60	69	77	75	82	64	85	64	72	80	74
	Don't Know	1	1	5	4	1	2	1	0	6	3	1	7	0	2	2	3	1	2	2
The tax department always has the right to make people pay taxes.	Strongly Disagree/Disagree	29	13	35	20	10	18	19	15	21	25	19	15	15	20	22	18	20	19	20
	Neither Agree or Disagree	10	6	10	15	3	10	3	1	16	4	11	5	15	13	9	17	6	10	9
	Strongly Agree/Agree	57	73	46	53	85	65	60	83	51	65	70	69	66	63	62	58	69	67	65
	Don't Know	3	8	9	12	2	7	18	2	12	6	1	11	4	4	7	6	5	3	7
In your opinion, how often, in this country:																				
Does the President ignore the laws of this country?	Always/Often	9	5	24	14	12	37	33	25	9	21	27	12	15	47	53	32	6	41	24
	Rarely/Never	73	87	46	47	79	53	44	70	45	69	59	47	74	44	25	54	77	45	58
	Don't Know	18	8	29	39	9	10	23	5	46	10	14	40	12	9	21	14	17	15	18
Are people treated unequally under the law?	Always/Often	46	19	57	50	33	70	62	48	28	40	71	41	33	64	69	52	45	61	50
	Rarely/Never	46	77	31	34	62	26	27	49	49	53	27	39	61	33	22	42	49	34	42
	Don't Know	8	5	12	16	6	4	12	2	23	7	2	20	5	4	8	6	6	6	8
Do officials who commit crimes go unpunished?	Always/Often	48	18	51	41	28	72	58	52	26	41	62	38	35	64	65	58	50	59	49
	Rarely/Never	43	74	35	36	66	24	26	43	47	52	35	43	60	31	21	36	43	34	41
	Don't Know	9	8	14	23	7	4	17	4	27	7	4	19	5	5	13	6	8	7	10
Do ordinary people who break the law go unpunished?	Always/Often	19	6	31	33	21	18	55	29	9	18	22	30	29	26	19	44	12	19	24
	Rarely/Never	75	90	58	47	75	79	37	69	69	77	77	52	67	71	74	50	85	77	69
	Don't Know	6	4	10	19	4	2	8	2	22	5	1	18	4	4	6	6	3	4	7

**Table 2.2: Trust in Political Institutions**

How much do you trust each of following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: <sup>2</sup>		BEN	BOT	BUR	CVE	GHA	KEN	LES	LIB	MAD	MWI	MALI	MOZ	NAM	NIG	SEN	SAF	TAN	UGA	Mean
The President	A lot/A very great deal	69	77	74	45	75	56	48	58	64	79	65	77	81	45	46	32	88	56	63
	Not at all/ a little bit	29	19	18	46	24	43	46	41	30	19	32	18	18	51	49	42	11	41	32
Parliament/ National Assembly	A lot/A very great deal	53	67	63	45	62	48	47	41	43	54	61	70	70	33	36	41	83	52	53
	Not at all/ a little bit	40	30	25	43	34	49	44	58	36	42	35	21	27	62	54	42	16	44	40
The National Electoral Commission	A lot/A very great deal	44	70	57	45	67	25	49	36	39	66	53	65	63	28	33	53	79	40	50
	Not at all/ a little bit	47	23	26	44	29	72	41	61	36	25	39	23	32	67	46	36	17	55	41
Elected Local Government Council	A lot/A very great deal	53	57	64	45	54	39	45	38	51	51	59	68	55	28	39	41	75	53	50
	Not at all/ a little bit	42	38	27	47	42	58	50	61	35	30	38	23	37	67	48	49	24	44	43
The Ruling Party	A lot/A very great deal	43	74	53	40	67	45	48	42	45	67	55	75	64	30	34	50	81	45	52
	Not at all/ a little bit	49	25	32	51	31	51	48	56	40	30	41	20	34	65	59	43	18	51	42
Opposition Parties	A lot/A very great deal	36	30	45	38	49	30	25	27	13	32	42	19	38	29	40	32	43	39	34
	Not at all/ a little bit	57	68	39	52	46	52	66	71	59	63	50	74	59	64	51	58	55	56	58
The Police	A lot/A very great deal	53	71	65	46	47	27	59	33	48	69	50	59	71	25	78	42	61	37	51
	Not at all/ a little bit	44	28	28	48	51	70	39	66	47	28	44	35	28	72	16	53	38	60	45
Courts of Law	A lot/A very great deal	49	73	60	50	58	42	63	44	37	74	43	70	74	41	70	60	73	51	57
	Not at all/ a little bit	44	22	28	41	38	55	32	54	50	21	53	21	23	56	23	34	26	45	37
Traditional Leaders	A lot/A very great deal	60	79	75	-	67	56	66	46	31	72	82	59	69	45	76	38	42	61	57
	Not at all/ a little bit	35	19	19	-	31	34	33	52	9	25	17	32	27	50	12	42	30	27	28

<sup>2</sup> “Don’t know” and “haven’t heard enough” are not reported.

**Table 2.3: Perceptions of Corruption**

How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption, or haven't you heard enough about them to say?		BEN	BOT	BUR	CVE	GHA	KEN	LES	LIB	MAD	MWI	MALI	MOZ	NAM	NIG	SEN	SAF	TAN	UGA	Mean
The President and officials in his office	None / Some of them	60	70	54	43	71	62	65	62	47	61	45	55	67	56	35	49	64	49	57
	Most / All of them	27	9	22	11	17	29	16	32	7	17	43	14	15	36	26	17	12	39	22
	Don't Know / Haven't heard enough	13	21	24	45	12	9	19	6	47	22	12	31	18	7	40	35	23	12	21
Members of Parliament	None / Some of them	55	66	54	43	68	51	65	54	49	56	49	55	66	42	33	55	71	54	55
	Most / All of them	31	16	22	11	20	43	16	41	9	25	39	13	19	52	24	25	12	36	26
	Don't Know / Haven't heard enough	13	18	24	47	12	6	18	6	42	19	12	32	15	6	43	20	17	10	19
Elected Local Government Councilors	None / Some of them	61	70	57	46	69	51	68	59	51	51	52	55	62	40	35	51	72	54	56
	Most / All of them	28	14	23	13	19	43	16	36	6	24	39	16	25	55	26	35	13	38	26
	Don't Know / Haven't heard enough	10	16	20	41	12	5	16	5	42	24	9	30	13	5	39	13	14	7	17
Government Officials	None / Some of them	53	62	52	44	62	47	65	55	45	50	44	50	46	39	33	48	65	39	50
	Most / All of them	34	24	24	14	27	48	23	40	8	31	45	23	49	56	29	42	18	53	33
	Don't Know / Haven't heard enough	12	14	24	42	11	5	12	5	47	19	11	27	5	5	38	10	17	8	17
Police	None / Some of them	46	63	53	43	40	23	64	44	49	44	45	44	53	25	42	46	53	26	44
	Most / All of them	45	25	29	17	52	73	28	52	25	40	46	30	41	71	25	45	37	69	42
	Don't Know / Haven't heard enough	8	12	18	40	8	4	8	4	26	16	10	26	6	4	33	9	10	6	13
Tax Officials (e.g., national revenue authority official or local government tax collectors)	None / Some of them	30	60	41	43	56	39	51	49	44	47	36	49	50	38	32	52	56	34	45
	Most / All of them	62	14	39	13	32	49	16	46	17	30	55	19	38	53	32	28	28	57	35
	Don't Know / Haven't heard enough	8	27	19	44	12	12	33	5	39	23	9	32	12	9	35	19	16	9	20
Judges and Magistrates	None / Some of them	40	68	54	41	58	57	67	58	45	54	38	54	66	54	41	59	63	51	54
	Most / All of them	48	8	23	10	29	35	15	37	23	27	54	13	18	38	24	26	24	37	27
	Don't Know / Haven't heard enough	11	24	23	48	13	8	17	5	31	19	8	33	16	8	35	15	13	12	18
Traditional Leaders	None / Some of them	67	74	69	-	71	70	74	66	25	54	82	56	70	57	52	53	57	66	60
	Most / All of them	20	7	13	-	18	18	17	29	2	35	14	14	14	35	11	20	4	12	16
	Don't Know / Haven't heard enough	13	19	18	-	11	12	8	5	74	11	5	30	16	8	36	26	39	22	19

**Table 2.4: The Experience of Corruption**

In the past year, how often (if ever) have you had to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favor to government officials in order to:		BEN	BOT	BUR	CVE	GHA	KEN	LES	LIB	MAD	MWI	MALI	MOZ	NAM	NIG	SEN	SAF	TAN	UGA	Mean
Get a document or a permit?	Never	37	93	49	85	72	55	83	72	48	82	55	58	59	58	42	56	60	58	62
	Once or twice	8	1	7	8	6	17	7	13	6	4	7	10	6	13	9	5	5	14	9
	A few times / Often	6	0	9	2	5	10	3	7	4	2	5	11	1	8	10	3	4	11	6
	Don't know / No experience in past year	49	6	36	5	17	18	7	9	43	11	32	21	34	21	39	35	31	17	23
Get water or sanitation services	Never	43	94	53	86	76	69	89	80	36	86	59	65	60	64	47	59	67	63	66
	Once or twice	3	0	3	5	3	9	2	8	0	2	4	5	4	8	2	4	2	11	4
	A few times / Often	4	0	5	4	6	3	1	4	0	2	3	7	3	8	2	3	2	12	4
	Don't know / No experience in past year	50	6	39	5	16	19	8	8	64	10	34	22	33	20	49	34	29	14	25
Avoid a problem with the police (like passing a checkpoint or avoiding a fine or arrest)	Never	42	92	53	89	73	57	86	74	35	84	60	66	61	57	46	59	59	60	64
	Once or twice	2	1	4	2	4	12	3	8	2	3	5	6	2	10	1	5	4	13	5
	A few times / Often	3	1	7	1	6	13	2	10	2	2	4	8	1	13	2	3	6	11	6
	Don't know / No experience in past year	53	6	37	7	17	17	9	8	61	11	31	21	35	20	51	33	31	16	25

## PART THREE: ACCOUNTABILITY

**Table 3.1: Horizontal Accountability**

Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2 (percent agree / strongly agree)	BEN	BOT	BUR	CVE	GHA	KEN	LES	LIB	MAD	MWI	MALI	MOZ	NAM	NIG	SEN	SAF	TAN	UGA	Mean
1. The Parliament should ensure that the President explains to it on a regular basis how his government spends taxpayer money.	77	53	57	63	65	75	45	65	44	67	75	49	41	52	73	48	66	63	60
2. The President should be able to devote his full attention to developing the country rather than wasting time justifying his actions.	21	44	33	26	31	19	50	34	35	29	23	30	56	42	20	45	29	32	33
Do not agree with either	1	2	1	2	3	4	4	0	3	1	1	3	2	3	2	4	1	3	2
Don't know	1	1	9	9	2	3	2	1	19	2	0	19	2	3	5	4	4	2	5
1. Opposition parties should regularly examine and criticize government policies and actions.	44	18	28	33	40	55	29	26	25	47	33	22	32	32	42	36	39	42	36
2. Opposition parties should concentrate on cooperation with government and helping it develop the country.	53	80	64	60	56	40	67	73	59	50	65	61	65	63	52	59	53	52	59
Do not agree with either	2	1	1	2	2	2	2	0	2	2	1	2	2	3	2	2	5	3	2
Don't know	2	1	6	4	2	3	2	1	14	1	1	14	1	3	3	2	3	2	3
1. The news media should constantly investigate and report on corruption and the mistakes made by government.	80	75	66	70	75	79	54	77	63	77	74	59	62	74	76	59	79	75	71
2. Too much reporting on negative events, like corruption, only harms the country.	15	23	26	20	21	16	41	22	17	21	23	23	36	22	15	37	17	20	23
Do not agree with either	2	1	1	2	3	2	2	0	4	1	1	2	2	2	3	2	1	3	2
Don't know	3	1	7	8	2	3	3	1	17	1	1	17	1	2	5	2	3	2	4
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.	19	23	35	27	29	32	24	25	15	36	30	30	41	25	17	28	26	20	26
2. The President must always obey the laws and the courts, even if he thinks they are wrong.	73	67	58	53	62	60	70	74	64	62	67	48	52	68	68	62	70	72	64
Do not agree with either	7	6	1	6	6	5	5	0	4	1	2	3	4	4	7	6	1	5	4
Don't know	2	4	6	14	3	3	2	1	17	1	1	20	3	3	7	4	3	3	5

**Table 3.2: Election Efficacy and Participation**

Think about how elections work in practice in this country. How well do elections:		BEN	BOT	BUR	CVE	GHA	KEN	LES	LIB	MAD	MWI	MALI	MOZ	NAM	NIG	SEN	SAF	TAN	UGA	Mean
Ensure that the MPs / Representatives to the National Assembly reflect the views of voters.	Very Well / Well	46	66	40	44	68	43	46	40	41	65	57	51	54	26	23	50	57	44	47
	Not Very Well / Not at all Well	45	27	39	30	25	55	43	56	36	27	36	18	38	64	52	37	37	52	41
	Don't Know	8	7	20	25	7	3	11	4	24	8	7	31	8	10	25	14	6	4	12
Enable voters to remove from office leaders who do not do what the people want.	Very Well / Well	35	70	30	51	71	49	52	39	39	74	48	42	37	24	23	43	53	47	46
	Not Very Well / Not at all Well	55	25	47	25	22	48	38	57	35	19	45	26	56	66	49	43	40	49	42
	Don't Know	10	5	24	24	7	3	10	4	26	7	7	32	7	10	28	15	8	4	12
With regard to the most recent, [20xx] national elections, which statement is true for you:																				
You were not registered or you were too young		2	21	7	14	10	6	5	6	8	13	5	28	23	5	6	19	8	13	11
You voted in the elections		91	59	72	77	81	79	61	78	68	74	77	60	63	62	78	63	83	69	71
You decided not to vote		3	6	5	3	3	4	7	4	7	3	4	3	5	16	4	7	2	8	5
You could not find the polling station		0	1	1	1	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	2	4	0	1	1	2	1
You were prevented from voting		1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	3	0	1	3	2	1	1	0	1
You did not have time to vote		1	4	2	1	1	1	6	3	6	1	2	2	4	4	1	1	1	2	2
Did not vote for some other reason		2	10	12	4	4	8	19	8	11	7	9	5	3	6	8	6	4	6	7
Don't Know / Can't remember		0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	0	1	0	0	0

**Table 3.3: Vertical Accountability**

Who should be responsible for:		BEN	BOT	BUR	CVE	GHA	KEN	LES	LIB	MAD	MWI	MALI	MOZ	NAM	NIG	SEN	SAF	TAN	UGA	Mean
Making sure that, once elected, MPs/Representatives to the National Assembly do their jobs?	President/Executive	20	36	26	17	35	18	49	29	10	16	22	26	37	35	21	29	19	13	25
	Parliament	8	15	15	29	29	16	14	20	8	6	15	18	29	22	22	30	20	23	19
	Their Political Party	9	3	10	16	6	5	4	9	2	4	17	10	16	14	6	19	19	9	10
	The Voters	61	42	37	17	25	59	29	39	68	70	38	27	15	19	35	11	38	52	38
	No One	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	2	4	1	0	2	1	2	0	0	1
	Don't Know	2	3	11	21	5	3	3	3	11	2	5	19	2	9	14	9	4	4	7
Making sure that, once elected, local government councilors do their jobs?	President/Executive	10	18	15	19	14	5	27	39	5	19	12	21	14	20	14	17	8	7	15
	Local Council	10	28	23	27	37	29	31	25	7	19	17	19	40	34	26	35	18	27	26
	Their Political Party	9	5	12	14	6	6	7	10	2	3	15	13	22	15	7	25	23	7	11
	The Voters	70	45	39	17	39	57	32	22	74	45	49	28	21	20	38	14	47	54	40
	No One	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	3	1	0	2	2	2	0	1	1
	Don't Know	2	3	10	22	5	2	3	3	12	12	4	19	2	9	13	8	4	4	7
Making sure that, once elected, the president does his job?	President/Executive	6	10	13	16	26	6	9	9	5	11	10	10	21	17	7	25	5	12	12
	Parliament	19	34	21	24	29	39	28	32	8	16	28	26	31	29	35	31	33	37	27
	Their Political Party	7	6	11	10	10	5	18	11	3	5	12	9	18	21	5	18	16	9	11
	The Voters	65	43	39	22	29	42	38	43	72	63	40	33	27	19	36	14	40	36	40
	No One	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	1	0	3	3	3	1	1	2
	Don't Know	3	6	15	26	6	6	6	4	12	4	6	20	2	11	14	9	6	5	9

## PART FOUR: GOVERNMENT PERFORMANCE

**Table 4.1: Popular Priorities**

If you had to choose, which one of the following things:		BEN	BOT	BUR	CVE	GHA	KEN	LES	LIB	MAD	MWI	MALI	MOZ	NAM	NIG	SEN	SAF	TAN	UGA	Mean
Is most important?	Maintaining order in the nation	11	8	16	15	18	20	9	15	21	27	25	15	11	11	23	13	7	18	16
	Giving people more say in government decisions	4	16	6	5	6	10	10	4	6	9	5	7	16	13	4	15	11	11	9
	Protecting people's right to live freely	8	11	13	9	12	14	24	29	10	9	8	14	16	17	8	17	28	17	14
	Improving economic conditions for the poor	76	65	63	71	64	54	56	52	61	54	61	61	56	59	64	52	54	53	59
	None of these	0	0	1	0	0	2	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	1	0	0
	Don't Know	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0
And which would be the next most important?	Maintaining order in the nation	28	15	23	37	25	26	11	15	35	29	33	29	14	15	34	17	12	21	23
	Giving people more say in government decisions	26	30	12	12	20	18	17	8	16	16	15	16	27	23	16	20	17	20	19
	Protecting people's right to live freely	26	32	36	25	31	25	40	41	16	25	26	29	33	37	22	34	41	29	30
	Improving economic conditions for the poor	18	21	23	25	22	29	31	35	27	28	26	20	24	24	26	27	30	28	26
	None of these	0	1	1	0	1	2	1	0	3	2	0	1	1	1	1	2	0	1	1
	Don't Know	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	6	1	1	1	1	1	1



**Table 4.2: Most Important Problems<sup>3</sup>**

What are the most important problems facing the country that the government should address?		BEN	BOT	BUR	CVE	GHA	KEN	LES	LIB	MAD	MWI	MALI	MOZ	NAM	NIG	SEN	SAF	TAN	UGA	Mean
Economic Problems	Unemployment	8	24	6	28	16	11	18	11	9	3	4	14	21	16	10	20	1	10	13
	Poverty/Destitution	8	15	10	13	7	8	10	5	11	9	10	10	11	12	4	8	6	15	9
	Infrastructure/Roads/Transport	11	6	5	5	10	8	11	17	8	7	6	9	3	7	5	4	13	10	8
	Management of the Economy	8	3	4	1	5	13	3	9	5	5	1	2	4	6	8	7	5	4	5
	Wages/Incomes and Salaries	3	4	1	4	3	2	1	4	10	4	6	1	4	2	3	2	3	2	3
	Other Economic Problems	4	2	3	2	5	3	2	4	2	3	1	2	1	2	3	2	3	6	3
Agricultural Problems	Food shortage/Famine	8	4	13	3	1	6	11	10	9	21	19	8	3	9	16	3	5	7	8
	Farming/Agriculture	6	6	5	0	6	3	5	4	9	10	8	1	3	5	11	1	5	3	5
	Other food/agricultural problems	3	5	2	2	1	5	5	4	4	3	3	3	6	3	2	2	4	5	3
Social Issues and Services	Health/sickness	10	7	18	8	7	6	4	10	7	8	11	10	4	5	11	5	14	11	9
	AIDS	0	4	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	1	0	2	3	1	0	7	1	2	1
	Water Supply	8	3	16	7	10	5	9	2	2	12	12	9	5	4	7	4	14	6	7
	Education	6	3	8	4	10	6	2	13	5	3	8	8	8	5	5	4	6	6	6
	Electricity	7	1	1	5	7	3	3	2	2	1	1	5	4	12	5	3	5	3	4
	Housing	2	1	1	3	1	1	0	2	0	0	1	1	4	1	2	7	1	1	2
	Other Social Problems	1	4	1	2	2	1	4	1	0	2	1	1	4	0	0	2	1	1	1
Political Problems	Crime and Security	3	5	3	11	3	7	6	2	11	3	3	4	4	2	3	11	2	2	4
	Corruption	1	1	2	1	2	6	2	1	2	2	1	3	4	6	1	5	4	5	3
	Political Violence/Instability/War	0	0	1	1	1	3	1	1	0	2	2	0	1	2	0	2	1	2	1
	Discrimination/Inequality	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	Democracy/Political Rights	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1
Other	Other Problems	0	2	1	0	2	1	1	0	1	0	1	5	1	0	2	0	3	0	1
	Nothing/No Problems	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
	Don't Know	1	1	3	3	0	0	1	0	2	1	0	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	1

<sup>3</sup> Respondents could give up to three answers. Percentages reflect the proportion of all substantive responses, i.e., other than “don’t know” or “no further response.”

**Table 4.3: Central Government Performance—Economic Issues**

How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say?		BEN	BOT	BUR	CVE	GHA	KEN	LES	LIB	MAD	MWI	MALI	MOZ	NAM	NIG	SEN	SAF	TAN	UGA	Mean
Managing The Economy	Fairly / Very well	56	76	41	34	68	24	32	41	44	66	31	63	60	36	15	50	45	40	45
	Fairly / Very badly	40	20	45	49	28	76	62	57	37	29	62	24	36	63	79	48	50	58	48
	Don't Know / Haven't heard enough	4	4	14	17	3	1	6	2	19	4	7	13	4	2	6	2	5	2	6
Improving the Living Standards of the Poor	Fairly / Very well	40	61	22	21	50	14	28	30	24	60	22	49	36	28	11	42	30	27	33
	Fairly / Very badly	59	38	71	71	47	86	69	70	64	38	77	42	62	70	86	57	69	72	64
	Don't Know / Haven't heard enough	1	1	7	8	3	0	3	1	12	3	2	9	2	1	3	2	2	1	3
Ensuring Everyone Has Enough to Eat	Fairly / Very well	31	48	23	21	56	13	18	22	28	53	22	38	30	21	11	30	42	24	29
	Fairly / Very badly	66	48	70	67	41	85	79	76	60	45	77	52	69	77	84	66	55	73	67
	Don't Know / Haven't heard enough	3	4	8	12	4	1	3	1	12	2	1	9	1	2	5	3	3	3	4
Creating Jobs	Fairly / Very well	33	32	23	14	53	16	18	25	20	40	25	41	40	25	12	30	32	18	27
	Fairly / Very badly	63	67	69	79	43	83	80	74	64	54	72	51	59	73	83	68	62	79	69
	Don't Know / Haven't heard enough	4	2	8	7	3	1	2	1	15	6	3	8	1	2	5	1	6	3	4
Keeping Prices Down	Fairly / Very well	19	11	11	11	37	6	15	21	14	32	15	25	45	17	6	24	16	9	18
	Fairly / Very badly	78	88	82	81	61	94	82	78	75	66	83	65	53	81	91	75	82	90	78
	Don't Know / Haven't heard enough	3	1	7	7	2	0	4	1	11	2	2	10	2	2	4	1	2	2	3
Narrowing Gaps Between Rich and Poor	Fairly / Very well	22	34	15	14	36	7	14	18	13	41	15	33	24	20	7	27	20	16	20
	Fairly / Very badly	73	64	76	74	60	92	78	80	70	53	83	55	72	77	85	70	77	82	74
	Don't Know / Haven't heard enough	5	2	9	12	4	1	9	2	16	6	2	12	3	3	8	3	4	3	5
Handling Fighting Corruption	Fairly / Very well	55	69	32	25	56	31	35	44	44	62	29	49	54	40	19	31	57	26	43
	Fairly / Very badly	38	24	43	48	37	67	56	53	34	33	59	31	42	57	52	66	39	71	47
	Don't Know / Haven't heard enough	7	8	25	27	7	1	10	3	22	5	13	19	5	3	28	3	4	4	10
Maintaining Roads and Bridges	Fairly / Very well	44	57	29	55	72	42	38	40	49	67	45	63	66	37	45	49	56	35	49
	Fairly / Very badly	53	41	63	33	25	57	61	59	41	30	53	28	30	59	48	47	42	63	47
	Don't Know / Haven't heard enough	3	1	8	12	3	1	2	1	11	3	2	9	4	4	8	4	3	2	4

**Table 4.4: Central Government Performance—Social Issues and Services**

How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say?		BEN	BOT	BUR	CVE	GHA	KEN	LES	LIB	MAD	MWI	MALI	MOZ	NAM	NIG	SEN	SAF	TAN	UGA	Mean
Reducing Crime	Fairly / Very well	48	75	47	23	64	40	48	53	51	68	45	55	61	41	44	29	67	48	51
	Fairly / Very badly	49	24	46	63	33	59	50	46	42	30	53	36	38	57	43	69	32	50	45
	Don't Know / Haven't heard enough	3	1	7	13	3	0	2	1	7	3	2	9	1	2	12	2	2	2	2
Improving Basic Health Services	Fairly / Very well	58	80	52	48	84	66	64	60	70	73	57	76	70	46	38	48	63	56	61
	Fairly / Very badly	41	19	41	42	14	34	34	39	23	24	42	18	30	52	58	50	36	43	36
	Don't Know / Haven't heard enough	1	1	7	10	2	0	2	1	7	3	1	7	1	2	3	2	1	1	3
Combating HIV/AIDS	Fairly / Very well	59	94	67	59	79	76	77	68	68	83	74	70	71	60	66	42	84	70	70
	Fairly / Very badly	31	5	20	23	15	21	17	28	12	14	17	18	26	35	14	56	13	28	22
	Don't Know / Haven't heard enough	10	1	14	18	6	3	6	4	20	3	8	12	3	6	19	3	2	2	7
Addressing Educational Needs	Fairly / Very well	64	83	56	56	83	75	79	66	78	73	54	77	68	44	30	56	79	66	66
	Fairly / Very badly	35	16	37	32	15	24	19	33	16	23	45	16	31	54	65	41	19	33	31
	Don't Know / Haven't heard enough	1	1	8	11	2	1	2	1	6	3	1	7	1	2	4	3	2	1	3
Providing Water and Sanitation Services	Fairly / Very well	40	72	37	39	63	38	42	41	44	55	46	55	56	30	47	50	42	49	46
	Fairly / Very badly	59	27	56	51	35	60	56	57	46	43	53	37	42	68	50	48	55	50	50
	Don't Know / Haven't heard enough	2	1	7	9	2	2	2	3	10	2	1	8	1	2	3	2	3	2	3
Providing a Reliable Supply of Electricity	Fairly / Very well	26	66	23	38	63	44	26	25	25	44	27	58	55	22	36	48	35	27	37
	Fairly / Very badly	69	32	59	51	34	53	68	71	50	44	67	33	43	75	60	49	62	68	57
	Don't Know / Haven't heard enough	4	2	18	11	2	2	6	4	25	12	6	9	2	3	4	3	4	5	6
Empowering Women	Fairly / Very well	50	78	59	45	76	65	48	73	60	70	62	63	66	35	53	64	67	75	61
	Fairly / Very badly	39	18	29	31	18	30	41	25	14	24	33	18	25	55	42	32	27	23	29
	Don't Know / Haven't heard enough	11	5	13	23	6	4	12	2	27	6	5	20	9	10	5	4	6	2	9
Protecting Our Rivers and Forests	Fairly / Very well	33	60	43	23	65	39	33	37	53	58	43	53	67	25	32	43	71	33	45
	Fairly / Very badly	52	30	42	25	26	54	57	59	20	36	51	24	24	61	39	46	22	61	41
	Don't Know / Haven't heard enough	14	10	15	51	9	6	10	4	27	5	6	23	9	15	29	11	7	6	14

**Table 4.5: Local Government Performance**

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?		BEN	BOT	BUR	CVE	GHA	KEN	LES	LIB	MAD	MWI	MALI	MOZ	NAM	NIG	SEN	SAF	TAN	UGA	Mean
Maintaining Local Roads	Fairly / Very well	20	41	26	59	54	24	29	33	44	42	30	55	62	33	22	43	52	38	39
	Fairly / Very badly	78	57	69	33	43	74	68	66	48	29	68	38	34	66	67	54	46	62	56
	Don't Know / Haven't heard enough	2	2	5	8	3	1	4	1	8	29	2	8	4	2	11	2	2	1	5
Maintaining Local Market Places	Fairly / Very well	25	37	36	44	53	35	22	42	51	35	37	56	59	37	22	37	51	44	40
	Fairly / Very badly	73	47	58	42	43	63	51	56	39	34	59	36	34	61	60	56	42	52	51
	Don't Know / Haven't heard enough	2	16	6	14	4	2	28	1	10	30	4	8	8	2	18	7	7	4	9
Maintaining Health Standards in Public Restaurants and Food Stalls	Fairly / Very well	20	47	38	36	60	36	25	37	42	33	39	50	55	33	21	44	54	47	39
	Fairly / Very badly	70	43	51	41	32	61	48	60	39	32	52	39	34	63	46	49	40	48	48
	Don't Know / Haven't heard enough	10	11	11	23	8	3	28	2	19	34	9	10	11	4	32	6	7	5	12
Keeping the Community Clean (e.g., refuse removed)	Fairly / Very well	24	63	39	53	66	36	36	57	49	31	38	58	56	39	32	51	59	55	46
	Fairly / Very badly	72	35	50	38	30	61	58	42	41	32	59	33	36	60	56	45	36	42	47
	Don't Know / Haven't heard enough	3	2	12	9	4	3	7	1	10	37	3	10	8	2	12	4	5	3	7
Collecting Licensing Fees on Bicycles, Carts, and Barrows	Fairly / Very well	27	34	41	28	49	50	15	27	44	29	61	58	47	35	28	26	33	30	36
	Fairly / Very badly	53	27	34	30	31	31	40	59	11	21	28	23	28	54	19	35	20	44	33
	Don't Know / Haven't heard enough	19	39	24	42	20	19	46	14	46	50	10	19	25	11	52	39	47	25	30
Collecting Rates on Privately Owned Houses	Fairly / Very well	29	30	23	29	51	47	16	29	42	27	39	46	52	30	37	40	33	26	35
	Fairly / Very badly	51	25	33	29	31	29	39	56	11	19	30	19	30	57	16	36	14	41	31
	Don't Know / Haven't heard enough	20	45	45	42	18	24	45	15	47	54	31	35	18	13	48	24	53	32	33

**Table 4.6: The Quality of Local Governance**

How well or badly do you think your local council is practicing the following procedures? Or haven't you heard enough to have an opinion?		BEN	BOT	BUR	CVE	GHA	KEN	LES	LIB	MAD	MWI	MALI	MOZ	NAM	NIG	SEN	SAF	TAN	UGA	Mean
Making the council's program of work known to ordinary people	Fairly / Very well	21	32	44	23	41	10	31	35	29	16	47	46	45	22	19	32	52	37	32
	Fairly / Very badly	67	58	34	45	47	80	60	62	35	41	45	34	43	69	54	56	36	55	52
	Don't Know / Haven't heard enough	12	9	22	32	12	10	10	4	37	43	8	21	12	9	28	12	13	8	16
Providing citizens with information about the council's budget (i.e. revenues and expenditures)	Fairly / Very well	16	27	32	16	32	11	27	28	15	11	34	38	39	20	13	27	45	28	25
	Fairly / Very badly	70	62	42	52	55	78	61	68	41	44	55	40	49	71	57	63	42	63	58
	Don't Know / Haven't heard enough	14	11	27	32	13	11	12	3	43	45	11	22	12	9	30	10	14	9	18
Allowing citizens like yourself to participate in the council's decisions	Fairly / Very well	16	26	34	17	36	10	27	31	21	12	40	45	29	18	13	26	43	31	26
	Fairly / Very badly	73	63	43	52	53	80	62	66	37	43	54	34	61	73	58	65	43	62	58
	Don't Know / Haven't heard enough	11	11	24	32	11	10	11	3	42	44	6	22	10	9	28	9	14	7	16
Consulting others (including traditional, civic and community leaders) before making decisions	Fairly / Very well	19	37	44	14	40	16	37	33	22	22	56	48	39	25	18	27	44	27	31
	Fairly / Very badly	66	50	29	49	45	72	52	64	33	30	35	30	48	64	45	55	41	60	49
	Don't Know / Haven't heard enough	15	13	27	37	16	12	11	4	45	48	9	22	14	12	37	18	16	13	20
Providing effective ways to handle complaints about local councilors or officials	Fairly / Very well	16	33	30	15	38	12	31	32	15	15	34	42	39	22	10	27	42	27	26
	Fairly / Very badly	62	52	34	48	47	76	56	62	35	35	48	32	48	67	43	58	39	62	51
	Don't Know / Haven't heard enough	22	15	36	37	15	12	14	5	49	50	18	26	13	11	47	15	19	12	22
Guaranteeing that local government revenues are used for public services and not for private gain	Fairly / Very well	18	34	30	13	37	12	27	29	16	13	32	35	36	21	10	27	42	22	25
	Fairly / Very badly	63	47	37	48	47	76	59	63	37	37	55	37	50	68	51	55	41	65	53
	Don't Know / Haven't heard enough	19	19	34	38	16	12	15	8	47	50	14	28	14	11	39	18	17	13	22

## PART FIVE: LEADERSHIP

**Table 5.1: Attitudes about Members of Parliament**

Members of Parliament / Representatives to the National Assembly have different responsibilities. Which of the following do you think is the most important responsibility of your MP / Representative to the National Assembly?	BEN	BOT	BUR	CVE	GHA	KEN	LES	LIB	MAD	MWI	MALI	MOZ	NAM	NIG	SEN	SAF	TAN	UGA	Mean
Listen to constituents and represent their needs.	20	60	22	39	45	58	35	31	50	53	41	26	30	42	57	19	69	66	43
Deliver jobs or development to your constituency	34	31	31	41	41	29	42	35	25	39	24	42	36	25	16	34	18	20	31
Make laws for the good of the country.	31	4	30	11	8	10	14	31	12	5	26	13	22	21	14	25	9	11	16
Monitor the president and his government.	11	1	10	5	2	2	6	4	6	2	8	9	7	6	8	10	3	2	6
None of these	1	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	2	0	4	0	0	1
Don't know	2	0	7	3	3	1	2	1	7	1	1	9	3	4	4	8	1	1	3
Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2 (percent agree / strongly agree)																			
1. In electing an MP / Representative to the National Assembly, I prefer to vote for a candidate who can deliver goods and services to people in this community.	16	59	13	25	46	44	29	35	43	76	21	22	33	39	16	39	64	36	38
2. In electing an MP / Representative to the National Assembly, I prefer to vote for a candidate who can make policies that benefit everyone in our country.	83	41	83	65	51	54	66	64	47	22	79	64	64	58	81	55	35	61	58
Do not agree with either	1	0	0	2	1	1	2	0	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	3	1	2	1
Don't know	0	0	3	8	3	1	3	1	9	1	0	13	2	2	3	3	0	1	3

**Table 5.2: Presidential and Parliamentary Performance**

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?		BEN	BOT	BUR	CVE	GHA	KEN	LES	LIB	MAD	MWI	MALI	MOZ	NAM	NIG	SEN	SAF	TAN	UGA	Mean
President [Hifikepunye Pohamba]	Disapprove / Strongly disapprove	22	9	18	30	20	32	36	36	15	14	37	12	10	27	68	27	8	30	25
	Approve / Strongly approve	76	88	71	50	78	65	60	63	78	83	57	82	87	70	28	36	90	66	69
	Don't Know	3	4	11	19	2	2	4	1	6	2	6	7	2	3	3	37	2	4	6
Your MP / Representative to the National Assembly	Disapprove / Strongly disapprove	33	50	25	41	36	42	46	52	23	61	45	15	23	51	62	38	33	42	41
	Approve/Strongly approve	55	46	58	38	58	55	47	45	57	32	45	67	70	41	19	46	65	53	49
	Don't Know	12	5	17	21	6	3	7	2	21	7	11	18	7	8	18	16	2	4	10
How much of the time do you think MPs / Representatives to the National Assembly try their best to listen to what people like you have to say?																				
Never/ Only Sometimes		84	67	53	71	68	81	77	85	55	83	64	58	79	78	74	64	73	73	72
Often/Always		11	30	34	12	25	17	16	14	19	15	29	25	15	13	19	23	23	22	20
Don't Know		5	4	13	16	6	2	7	1	26	2	7	17	7	9	7	13	5	5	8
How much time should your MP / Representative to the National Assembly spend in this constituency to visit the community and its citizens?																				
Almost all of their time/at least weekly		28	44	22	20	21	34	31	49	13	58	25	17	29	30	27	18	17	23	29
At least once a month/at least once a year		66	53	61	63	63	64	60	41	75	39	63	67	57	50	66	51	78	72	60
Never		2	1	7	7	10	2	3	9	4	2	7	4	8	10	2	17	3	3	5
Don't know		3	2	9	10	6	1	6	2	9	1	5	12	6	10	5	14	2	2	6
How much time does your MP / Representative to the National Assembly spend in this constituency?																				
Almost all of their time/at least weekly		8	11	7	15	14	8	15	36	6	12	6	3	12	16	6	11	4	6	11
At least once a month/at least once a year		39	67	46	39	41	46	44	39	45	35	39	30	43	41	22	32	61	52	43
Never		44	12	30	31	31	37	24	22	33	48	45	47	32	22	62	31	32	30	33
Don't know		9	11	17	14	13	9	17	3	16	5	10	19	13	21	9	26	3	11	13

**Table 5.3: Local Government Councilors**

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?		BEN	BOT	BUR	CVE	GHA	KEN	LES	LIB	MAD	MWI	MALI	MOZ	NAM	NIG	SEN	SAF	TAN	UGA	Mean
Your elected local government councilor	Disapprove / Strongly disapprove	40	45	25	45	31	44	43	51	18	27	41	18	31	56	62	44	29	36	39
	Approve / Strongly approve	52	52	63	38	63	52	50	48	64	49	53	73	57	37	26	43	69	60	52
	Don't Know	8	4	12	17	6	4	6	1	19	24	6	9	12	8	12	12	2	4	9
How much of the time do you think elected local government councilors try their best to listen to what people like you have to say?																				
Never / Only Sometimes		71	54	33	69	54	65	70	81	48	66	44	50	70	76	66	64	54	58	61
Often / Always		26	44	57	16	41	32	25	18	31	22	51	35	24	18	26	27	43	39	31
Don't Know		3	3	10	15	5	2	5	1	21	13	4	15	6	7	7	9	3	3	7
Looking at the group of elected councilors who are presently serving on your local government council, how qualified do you think they are to do their jobs? Or haven't you heard enough to have an opinion?																				
Their Level of Education	Fairly / Very Unqualified	30	43	39	35	12	35	29	21	12	8	26	34	21	30	30	30	30	20	27
	Fairly / Very Qualified	42	47	39	40	68	55	49	69	34	25	63	36	63	55	29	48	62	69	50
	Don't Know	28	9	22	25	19	10	22	9	53	66	12	30	16	15	41	22	8	11	23
The extent that they care about the community	Fairly / Very Unqualified	41	48	42	52	21	47	36	41	34	19	46	40	34	48	59	41	30	36	40
	Fairly / Very Qualified	35	49	42	27	64	43	54	54	32	23	47	34	56	42	20	40	66	57	43
	Don't Know	25	3	16	21	15	10	11	5	34	59	7	27	10	10	21	19	4	7	17
Their experience at managing public service programs	Fairly / Very Unqualified	38	46	38	46	23	51	36	45	26	16	43	37	31	50	38	42	30	45	39
	Fairly / Very Qualified	33	49	35	26	61	37	52	49	27	24	44	31	56	39	20	38	65	45	40
	Don't Know	29	5	27	28	16	12	12	6	47	60	13	31	13	11	43	20	6	10	21
Their honesty in handling public funds	Fairly / Very Unqualified	42	45	41	47	24	55	38	57	30	21	55	42	43	55	45	42	32	56	44
	Fairly / Very Qualified	29	43	33	24	58	30	45	37	15	18	36	26	42	33	17	35	53	33	33
	Don't Know	29	12	26	30	19	15	17	6	55	62	9	32	15	11	38	23	14	12	23



**Table 5.4: Traditional Leaders<sup>4</sup>**

How much of the time do you think traditional leaders try their best to listen to what people like you have to say?	BEN	BOT	BUR	CVE	GHA	KEN	LES	LIB	MAD	MWI	MALI	MOZ	NAM	NIG	SEN	SAF	TAN	UGA	Mean
Never / Only Sometimes	58	28	23	-	48	34	48	70	15	32	20	42	48	56	48	49	47	37	39
Often / Always	38	69	67	-	47	57	50	28	21	66	78	43	46	38	42	27	17	49	43
Don't Know	4	3	10	-	6	9	2	1	64	2	3	15	6	6	9	24	36	14	12
How much influence do traditional leaders currently have in governing your local community?																			
None / A Small Amount	50	27	34	-	28	43	34	37	47	24	39	28	46	40	36	48	61	46	37
Some/ A Great Deal	36	71	50	-	63	46	63	61	13	73	57	58	44	50	40	32	20	41	46
Don't Know	14	3	16	-	9	10	3	2	41	2	4	14	10	10	24	20	19	13	12
Do you think that the amount of influence traditional leaders have in governing your local community should increase, stay the same, or decrease?																			
Increase somewhat / a lot	50	78	56	-	65	69	79	58	21	71	76	66	60	57	61	34	35	59	55
Stay the Same	23	16	15	-	21	18	12	33	17	22	17	12	22	25	10	27	18	17	19
Decrease somewhat / a lot	10	4	15	-	5	4	6	7	6	5	4	8	9	7	6	8	19	8	7
Don't Know	17	2	14	-	10	9	3	2	55	2	3	14	9	11	23	31	28	16	14
Do you think that traditional leaders should sit on your local government council, or not? If so, do you think they should be elected by the people to these seats, appointed by government officials, or selected in some other way?																			
No, should not have seats on council	39	45	39	-	29	22	26	23	22	16	30	22	13	22	34	21	30	30	26
Yes, should have seats elected by people	37	42	31	-	42	54	58	65	17	49	41	45	48	43	39	34	33	38	39
Yes, should have seats appointed by government officials	6	6	13	-	16	7	7	6	2	17	17	16	22	16	9	13	8	5	10
Yes, should have seats selected in some other way	9	5	3	-	5	8	5	3	5	4	9	2	9	7	2	5	5	11	6
Don't know	9	3	14	-	8	9	4	3	54	14	3	15	8	12	16	27	25	17	13

<sup>4</sup> Questions about traditional leaders were not asked in Cape Verde.

## PART SIX: INDIVIDUAL EFFICACY AND ACTION

**Table 6.1: Political Citizenship**

How interested would you say you are in public affairs?	BEN	BOT	BUR	CVE	GHA	KEN	LES	LIB	MAD	MWI	MALI	MOZ	NAM	NIG	SEN	SAF	TAN	UGA	Mean
Not very interested / Not at all interested	31	30	27	49	31	27	32	51	41	38	29	31	41	42	31	43	16	41	35
Somewhat / Very interested	68	69	72	50	68	72	68	48	59	62	70	65	59	57	66	55	83	59	64
Don't know	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	4	0	1	2	1	1	1	1
When you get together with your friends or family, would you say you discuss political matters:																			
Frequently	25	20	15	18	26	28	29	13	12	27	23	29	19	21	37	20	32	18	23
Occasionally	53	48	36	42	46	51	35	36	41	41	45	37	42	57	44	49	46	56	46
Never	21	32	47	39	27	21	36	50	46	32	31	30	39	20	19	30	21	25	31
Don't know	0	0	2	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	3	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2 (percent agree / strongly agree)																			
1. Citizens should be more active in questioning the actions of leaders.	51	66	47	62	49	73	41	45	61	74	52	42	46	65	71	59	80	66	59
2. In our country, citizens should show more respect for authority.	46	31	50	35	49	24	56	55	30	23	47	45	53	33	27	37	19	31	37
Do not agree with either	1	2	2	1	1	2	2	0	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	0	2	1
Don't know	1	1	2	3	1	1	1	0	8	1	0	13	0	1	1	1	1	1	2
1. People are like children; the government should take care of them like a parent.	62	48	59	61	69	41	37	79	59	60	65	61	51	67	50	52	54	55	57
2. Government is like an employee; the people should be the bosses who control the government.	36	45	34	25	27	51	60	21	31	37	33	29	48	31	47	40	41	40	38
Do not agree with either	1	6	2	10	2	7	2	0	4	2	1	2	1	1	1	5	1	4	3
Don't know	1	1	5	3	2	2	1	0	7	1	0	8	0	1	1	2	3	1	2

**Table 6.2: Social Engagement**

How important is religion in your life?		BEN	BOT	BUR	CVE	GHA	KEN	LES	LIB	MAD	MWI	MALI	MOZ	NAM	NIG	SEN	SAF	TAN	UGA	Mean
Not at all / Not Very Important		5	17	5	20	4	3	2	3	3	4	4	10	7	3	1	17	5	6	6
Somewhat / Very Important		91	79	93	78	93	95	95	95	93	94	95	88	92	96	98	80	94	94	91
Refused to Answer		1	1	1	0	1	1	3	1	3	1	1	1	1	0	1	3	0	0	1
Don't know		2	4	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	1	0	1
Now I am going to read out a list of groups that people join or attend. For each one, could you tell me whether you are an official leader, an active member, an inactive member, or not a member?																				
A religious group (e.g., church, mosque)	Official Leader	7	3	3	1	9	10	4	13	3	13	2	5	5	7	7	3	4	5	6
	Active Member	20	41	13	20	60	56	28	60	6	45	7	48	26	51	22	36	66	46	38
	Inactive Member	46	23	61	20	18	22	24	17	59	30	39	27	43	23	33	23	7	22	29
	Not a Member	27	33	22	56	13	12	44	9	32	11	52	19	26	19	37	37	23	27	27
	Don't know	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
Some other voluntary association or community group	Official Leader	8	1	7	1	6	10	3	12	2	6	12	3	1	4	10	2	6	5	5
	Active Member	14	15	11	12	30	33	25	34	2	16	16	14	11	23	17	14	30	25	19
	Inactive Member	25	5	29	12	9	12	15	11	15	10	36	7	15	18	22	13	6	14	15
	Not a Member	52	79	52	72	54	45	57	43	80	68	36	75	72	54	50	69	58	55	60
	Don't know	0	0	1	3	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	2	0	0	1

**Table 6.3: Civic Engagement**

Here is a list of actions that people sometimes take as citizens. For each of these, please tell me whether you, personally, have done any of these things during the past year. If not, would you do this if you had the chance?		BEN	BOT	BUR	CVE	GHA	KEN	LES	LIB	MAD	MWI	MALI	MOZ	NAM	NIG	SEN	SAF	TAN	UGA	Mean
Attended a community meeting	Several times / Often	53	54	58	18	41	44	65	49	73	61	57	50	35	30	58	31	64	42	48
	Once or twice	11	20	10	13	17	26	12	23	19	18	9	14	12	14	9	19	14	27	16
	No, but would if had the chance	28	23	29	45	33	24	19	18	5	16	25	31	39	27	26	25	18	23	26
	No, would never do this	7	3	3	23	8	6	4	10	3	4	9	4	13	28	7	23	4	7	9
	Don't Know	0	0	1	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1
Got together with others to raise an issue	Several times / Often	50	38	51	18	38	35	48	42	28	56	55	46	21	26	53	20	52	32	39
	Once or twice	10	19	12	14	15	26	15	22	25	16	10	15	12	15	8	18	17	23	16
	No, but would if had the chance	32	38	30	42	33	30	30	19	25	21	26	33	50	27	31	29	23	35	32
	No, would never do this	8	5	6	24	13	8	6	17	19	6	8	5	17	30	7	32	8	9	13
	Don't Know	0	0	1	2	1	0	1	1	3	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	1	1
Attended a demonstration or protest march	Several times / Often	10	6	9	7	4	5	3	4	1	5	12	7	5	7	6	9	12	3	6
	Once or twice	8	7	4	10	5	8	5	7	3	6	6	6	8	9	5	10	8	5	7
	No, but would if had the chance	45	38	46	43	20	26	42	12	16	35	42	41	51	25	48	25	44	26	35
	No, would never do this	34	47	36	36	69	60	47	74	67	51	39	42	34	56	36	53	34	64	49
	Don't Know	4	2	5	5	2	1	3	3	13	3	2	5	3	2	5	2	2	2	4
Do you feel close to any particular political party?																				
No (does NOT feel close to ANY party)		64	21	43	30	34	29	41	54	34	27	30	23	30	46	42	28	16	29	34
Yes (feels close to a party)		36	78	51	63	61	67	56	45	37	67	69	72	66	49	52	60	81	65	60
Refused to answer		0	1	1	4	3	2	2	1	7	4	0	2	3	4	3	9	3	6	3
Does not know		0	0	4	3	2	1	1	1	22	2	1	2	1	2	3	3	0	0	3

**Table 6.4: Political Efficacy**

In your opinion, how likely is it that you could get together with others and make:		BEN	BOT	BUR	CVE	GHA	KEN	LES	LIB	MAD	MWI	MALI	MOZ	NAM	NIG	SEN	SAF	TAN	UGA	Mean
Your elected local councilor listen to your concerns about a matter of importance to the community?	Not at all / Not very likely	44	25	22	54	32	38	34	52	46	34	32	32	42	50	51	41	20	43	39
	Somewhat / Very likely	52	72	73	34	64	59	59	46	47	59	63	53	55	43	44	51	78	55	55
	Don't know	4	3	5	13	4	3	8	2	6	7	5	15	4	7	5	7	2	3	6
Your MP / representative to the National Assembly listen to your concerns about a matter of importance to the community?	Not at all / Not very likely	54	35	37	58	41	50	56	56	54	41	44	38	54	57	63	50	33	57	49
	Somewhat / Very likely	40	61	56	27	52	46	34	41	39	56	48	44	41	34	30	38	63	40	44
	Don't know	6	4	8	15	6	3	10	3	7	3	8	18	6	9	8	12	4	4	7
How easy or difficult is it for an ordinary person to have his voice heard between elections?																				
Somewhat / Very easy		38	48	33	59	42	21	36	34	41	23	28	41	36	16	17	43	32	30	33
Somewhat / Very difficult		59	47	58	35	54	78	54	63	42	74	70	43	60	80	78	53	63	65	61
Don't know		3	5	9	5	4	2	11	3	17	2	3	16	5	4	4	4	4	5	6
When there are problems with how local government is run in your community, how much can an ordinary person do to improve the situation?																				
Some / A great deal		38	31	40	48	48	25	50	53	26	27	25	51	33	28	21	39	22	31	35
A small amount / Nothing		59	66	51	43	44	71	37	45	49	51	74	38	60	66	70	54	72	64	57
Don't know		3	4	8	9	7	5	13	2	26	22	2	11	7	5	9	7	6	5	8

## PART SEVEN: SOCIAL CAPITAL AND EQUALITY

**Table 7.1: Social Capital**

How much do you trust each of the following groups of people?		BEN	BOT	BUR	CVE	GHA	KEN	LES	LIB	MAD	MWI	MALI	MOZ	NAM	NIG	SEN	SAF	UGA	TAN	Mean
Your Relatives	Not at all / Just a little	42	28	15	3	15	14	22	24	11	7	10	9	13	25	3	19	5	17	16
	Somewhat / A Lot	57	72	84	97	85	84	78	76	88	93	90	91	87	74	97	80	95	83	84
	Don't Know	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Other People You Know	Not at all / Just a little	65	57	36	48	36	36	45	61	56	26	27	47	39	54	25	49	16	46	43
	Somewhat / A Lot	35	43	62	52	62	62	54	39	42	74	72	53	61	45	74	50	84	53	56
	Don't Know	0	0	2	0	2	1	1	0	2	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1
Other [Namibians]	Not at all / Just a little	78	65	48	69	46	58	54	71	67	44	41	66	62	69	40	64	23	69	58
	Somewhat / A Lot	21	35	48	30	53	40	46	28	23	55	58	33	37	30	55	35	77	30	40
	Don't Know	1	0	4	1	2	1	1	1	10	1	1	2	1	2	5	1	0	0	2

**Table 7.2: Ethnicity and Equality<sup>5</sup>**

Think about the condition of _____ [Respondent's Ethnic Group]. Are their economic conditions worse, the same as, or better than other groups in this country?	BEN	BOT	BUR	CVE	GHA	KEN	LES	LIB	MAD	MWI	MALI	MOZ	NAM	NIG	SEN	SAF	TAN	UGA	Mean
Much Worse / Worse	39	24	26	11	34	49	18	22	12	52	30	28	29	28	21	28	46	53	30
Same	41	53	43	25	28	31	61	56	62	35	56	30	35	40	68	36	36	26	43
Much Better / Better	16	20	25	7	31	18	14	21	19	10	12	20	34	29	5	18	15	17	18
Don't Know	3	2	6	3	5	2	5	2	6	3	2	7	1	3	4	4	2	4	3
Think about the condition of _____ [Respondent's Ethnic Group]. Do they have less, the same, or more influence in politics than other groups in this country?																			
Much Less / Less	45	18	26	14	30	38	18	39	12	33	28	25	27	28	33	21	40	51	29
Same	37	56	38	22	31	36	57	46	47	36	54	30	29	38	48	41	35	29	41
Much More / More	11	21	27	5	30	24	13	11	21	27	15	18	42	30	11	16	20	14	20
Don't Know	6	3	8	5	6	2	10	3	19	4	3	11	2	3	8	7	4	5	6
How often are _____s [Respondent's Ethnic Group] treated unfairly by the government?																			
Never / Sometimes	80	88	71	34	74	68	72	84	75	73	80	55	68	55	80	53	79	59	70
Often / Always	13	8	18	7	16	29	10	10	3	21	14	18	25	40	12	24	11	33	17
Don't Know	6	3	11	4	8	3	15	5	21	7	6	12	6	5	7	9	9	8	8
Let us suppose that you had to choose between being a [Namibian] and being a _____ [Respondent's Ethnic Group]. Which of the following statements best expresses your feelings?																			
I feel only _____ [insert R's ethnic group]	12	9	16	1	4	3	6	3	2	47	8	10	9	5	4	2	3	6	8
I feel more _____ [insert R's ethnic group] than [Namibian]	13	8	13	5	6	8	6	8	7	10	13	5	10	16	12	8	4	15	9
I feel equally [Namibian] and _____ [insert R's ethnic group]	25	41	31	8	57	41	45	65	24	28	28	34	45	45	26	21	13	53	35
I feel more [Namibian] than _____ [insert R's ethnic group]	15	4	9	13	8	15	2	8	15	8	3	5	11	14	9	10	9	9	9
I feel only [Namibian]	33	35	29	17	22	31	29	16	52	6	47	29	24	20	47	39	69	15	32
Don't know	2	1	2	1	2	1	4	0	0	1	0	3	0	1	0	5	1	2	1

<sup>5</sup> These questions all followed immediately after a question that asked “What is your tribe or ethnic group?” The response to this initial question was then inserted into the questions that followed as indicated.

## PART EIGHT: THE ECONOMY

**Table 8.1: National Economic Conditions**

In general, how would you describe:		BEN	BOT	BUR	CVE	GHA	KEN	LES	LIB	MAD	MWI	MALI	MOZ	NAM	NIG	SEN	SAF	TAN	UGA	Mean
The present economic condition of this country	Fairly / Very Good	21	38	32	16	45	11	16	34	24	40	19	37	52	29	4	25	16	32	27
	Neither Good nor Bad	16	32	13	47	9	10	7	9	39	7	15	34	20	10	11	16	27	15	19
	Fairly / Very Bad	62	28	53	35	45	79	73	57	29	50	65	24	26	61	85	57	56	52	52
	Don't Know	1	2	1	2	1	0	4	0	7	3	1	6	2	1	0	2	1	1	2
Looking back, how do you rate the following compared to twelve months ago:																				
Economic conditions in this country	Better / Much Better	31	40	44	31	47	21	19	34	28	40	41	47	45	34	25	31	28	27	34
	Same	21	39	16	43	24	14	21	24	35	25	23	23	34	26	11	25	27	25	26
	Worse / Much Worse	48	20	37	23	27	63	57	40	30	33	34	26	19	39	63	42	43	47	38
	Don't Know	1	2	2	3	2	1	3	1	7	2	2	3	2	2	1	2	2	1	2
Looking ahead, do you expect the following to be better or worse:																				
Economic conditions in this country in twelve months time	Better / Much Better	55	62	57	85	69	26	26	64	38	45	64	57	58	75	35	42	28	37	51
	Same	9	17	7	5	6	14	19	9	14	11	8	11	18	10	6	16	15	16	12
	Worse / Much Worse	17	13	12	5	11	51	45	18	13	25	10	7	16	11	35	36	34	34	21
	Don't Know	20	8	23	5	13	9	10	8	35	19	19	24	9	4	24	6	23	13	15



**Table 8.2: Personal Economic Conditions**

In general, how would you describe:		BEN	BOT	BUR	CVE	GHA	KEN	LES	LIB	MAD	MWI	MALI	MOZ	NAM	NIG	SEN	SAF	TAN	UGA	Mean
Your own present living conditions	Fairly / Very Good	17	20	36	16	42	14	15	37	18	34	19	27	37	48	9	33	13	27	26
	Neither Good nor Bad	23	26	14	53	9	19	11	13	43	10	22	39	25	19	24	23	34	21	24
	Fairly / Very Bad	60	54	49	30	48	67	73	50	39	56	59	32	38	32	66	44	53	52	49
	Don't Know	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
In general, how do you rate:																				
Your living conditions compared to those of other (people in your country)	Better / Much better	20	23	30	17	38	15	15	40	11	33	9	21	33	40	7	32	11	19	23
	Same	38	30	32	43	26	31	33	26	57	21	57	38	29	28	51	31	38	27	35
	Worse / Much worse	37	45	31	28	30	51	50	32	30	44	32	34	37	29	36	35	50	53	38
	Don't Know	4	2	7	11	6	2	3	1	3	2	1	7	1	3	4	3	1	2	3
Looking back, how do you rate the following compared to twelve months ago:																				
Your living conditions	Better / Much better	29	31	49	26	47	21	20	41	29	40	40	41	36	49	24	31	26	26	33
	Same	26	40	18	54	25	21	24	29	39	26	28	30	42	32	21	37	32	32	32
	Worse / Much worse	44	29	31	19	27	57	55	30	31	33	32	26	22	18	55	30	41	41	34
	Don't Know	0	0	2	1	2	1	1	0	1	1	1	2	0	1	1	2	0	1	1
Looking ahead, do you expect the following to be better or worse:																				
Your living conditions in twelve months time	Better / Much better	56	57	63	86	73	30	31	67	45	45	67	57	52	81	40	44	29	42	54
	Same	10	18	6	5	6	15	19	11	13	11	8	13	25	10	8	24	19	16	14
	Worse / Much worse	16	19	8	4	8	44	40	14	12	25	8	6	12	5	27	27	29	29	18
	Don't Know	18	7	24	3	13	11	9	8	30	19	17	23	11	3	25	5	23	13	14

**Table 8.3: The Experience of Poverty**

Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or your family gone without:		BEN	BOT	BUR	CVE	GHA	KEN	LES	LIB	MAD	MWI	MALI	MOZ	NAM	NIG	SEN	SAF	TAN	UGA	Mean
Enough food to eat	Never	33	53	40	68	70	44	25	31	35	38	52	54	39	47	42	58	46	43	45
	Once or Twice / Several Times	50	36	30	28	21	44	46	51	44	43	33	32	43	44	27	32	41	44	39
	Many times / Always	17	11	30	4	9	12	29	18	21	19	16	13	18	9	31	10	12	13	16
	Don't Know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Enough clean water for home use	Never	40	59	45	42	64	54	44	51	63	53	63	65	51	41	45	63	45	46	51
	Once or Twice / Several Times	35	31	24	51	21	34	30	30	21	23	26	25	35	43	27	22	31	40	32
	Many times / Always	25	10	31	7	15	12	26	18	16	24	11	10	15	16	28	15	23	13	17
	Don't Know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Medicines or medical treatment	Never	25	53	38	51	62	38	38	31	37	44	41	57	45	42	27	56	45	31	41
	Once or Twice / Several Times	50	36	33	42	25	49	39	46	43	35	42	32	41	46	29	31	39	48	40
	Many times / Always	25	10	29	6	12	14	21	24	21	20	17	11	13	11	43	12	16	21	18
	Don't Know	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0
Enough fuel to cook your food	Never	55	47	57	58	74	47	41	66	62	58	63	68	51	42	31	57	61	45	54
	Once or Twice / Several Times	35	41	20	37	16	42	33	21	25	25	24	24	37	43	36	32	28	42	32
	Many times / Always	9	12	22	5	9	11	26	12	12	17	12	8	12	14	32	11	11	12	13
	Don't Know	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
A cash income	Never	10	30	9	40	36	15	9	39	18	15	6	24	22	33	9	46	15	14	21
	Once or Twice / Several Times	30	32	22	48	36	41	31	30	44	43	21	37	37	47	25	36	46	43	37
	Many times / Always	60	38	68	11	27	44	60	31	38	41	73	38	41	19	65	17	39	42	41
	Don't Know	0	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	0
Where is your main source of water for household use located?	Inside the House	15	16	7	58	11	10	1	1	7	4	11	10	27	8	37	48	4	3	16
	Inside the Compound	15	52	10	4	12	26	15	13	21	5	18	12	18	22	23	22	7	7	19
	Outside the Compound	70	32	82	37	77	62	83	85	72	91	72	78	55	69	39	29	89	89	65
	Don't Know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0
Do you have to pay for using water from this source?	Yes	62	71	45	90	68	41	31	20	39	26	27	55	76	38	62	56	39	43	49
	No	36	29	53	8	31	57	67	80	60	73	73	45	24	61	35	43	61	57	49
	Don't Know	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0

**Table 8.4: Attitudes to Economic Reform**

Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2 (percent agree / strongly agree)	BEN	BOT	BUR	CVE	GHA	KEN	LES	LIB	MAD	MWI	MALI	MOZ	NAM	NIG	SEN	SAF	TAN	UGA	Mean
1. The costs of reforming the economy are too high; the government should therefore abandon its current economic policies.	38	32	30	40	35	41	39	29	37	43	50	22	51	35	73	52	51	45	41
2. In order for the economy to get better in the future, it is necessary for us to accept some hardships now.	59	60	62	54	59	53	51	69	43	53	47	56	46	57	20	42	39	46	50
Do not agree with either	2	4	2	1	3	3	5	1	4	1	1	3	2	5	4	4	3	6	3
Don't know	1	3	6	5	3	3	5	1	16	3	2	20	1	3	3	3	7	4	5
1. The government's economic policies have helped most people; only a few have suffered.	31	37	32	33	41	17	29	25	23	42	23	42	33	22	9	35	16	23	28
2. The government's economic policies have hurt most people and only benefited a few.	64	59	60	60	54	81	65	73	57	55	74	44	64	75	87	61	80	71	66
Do not agree with either	4	2	1	3	2	1	3	1	5	2	2	2	1	2	2	3	1	3	2
Don't know	1	3	7	5	4	1	3	1	16	2	1	12	1	1	2	2	3	3	4

## PART NINE: COSMOPOLITANISM AND INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES

**Table 9.1: Cosmopolitanism**

How often, if at all, do you receive money remittances from friends or relatives outside of the country?		BEN	BOT	BUR	CVE	GHA	KEN	LES	LIB	MAD	MWI	MALI	MOZ	NAM	NIG	SEN	SAF	TAN	UGA	Mean
From once a month to every 3 months		4	5	5	28	6	4	18	8	1	3	6	5	5	4	16	7	1	1	7
From every 6 months to every year		5	4	11	13	9	5	9	8	3	4	11	4	6	10	10	6	1	5	7
From less than once a year to never		91	91	84	58	84	90	73	83	96	92	83	90	89	83	71	85	97	93	85
Don't know		0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	1	3	1	2	1	1	1
How often do you use:																				
A Mobile Phone	Every day / A few times a week	46	73	38	57	53	76	46	46	41	35	37	52	76	69	67	82	47	60	57
	A few times a month / Less than once a month	8	4	8	1	6	3	6	5	4	4	17	6	6	14	5	6	13	13	7
	Never	47	23	54	42	40	21	48	50	55	61	46	42	18	17	27	11	40	27	36
	Don't Know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
A Computer	Every day / A few times a week	5	17	4	28	8	13	6	5	6	3	3	10	16	13	10	20	2	7	10
	A few times a month / Less than once a month	6	8	4	7	5	9	4	3	3	1	3	8	13	21	6	11	4	8	8
	Never	88	74	91	65	87	77	90	91	90	95	93	82	71	65	84	68	94	85	82
	Don't Know	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0
The Internet	Every day / A few times a week	4	12	4	22	5	11	3	4	4	2	2	5	10	9	10	14	1	5	7
	A few times a month / Less than once a month	6	9	5	11	5	8	3	4	3	2	3	6	10	20	6	10	5	7	8
	Never	90	79	90	67	89	80	93	92	92	95	94	88	80	70	84	75	94	86	84
	Don't Know	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	2	1	2	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1
And how often do you travel 10 km or more from the place where you live now?	Every day	25	9	23	10	13	16	7	20	4	13	15	9	8	12	16	21	14	8	13
	A few times a week	22	20	21	10	25	28	26	22	25	29	25	26	25	19	20	22	34	22	23
	A few times a month	22	29	19	16	22	22	40	13	25	21	19	28	27	25	21	19	29	27	24
	Less than once a month	13	14	14	25	14	9	10	7	19	10	15	22	18	24	18	16	14	15	16
	Never	18	27	22	35	25	24	16	37	25	28	26	14	22	19	24	20	9	27	23
Don't Know	1	1	1	5	1	0	1	1	2	1	0	1	0	2	0	2	0	1	1	
How many languages do you speak well?	One	29	39	40	51	28	5	62	39	71	46	37	20	11	22	39	28	8	26	32
	Two	41	44	36	31	36	35	27	48	23	36	38	48	43	47	34	41	69	39	40
	Three	20	13	18	15	25	53	6	9	5	13	15	19	32	25	16	19	19	26	20
	Four	7	2	5	2	8	7	3	3	1	3	7	8	10	5	7	7	3	7	6
	Five or more	3	2	2	0	3	2	2	1	0	2	3	4	4	2	3	4	1	2	2

**Table 9.2: Perspectives on International Institutions**

In your opinion, how much do each of the following do to help your country, or haven't you heard enough to say?		BEN	BOT	BUR	CVE	GHA	KEN	LES	LIB	MAD	MWI	MALI	MOZ	NAM	NIG	SEN	SAF	TAN	UGA	Mean
African Union	Do Nothing / Help a little bit	16	17	14	40	21	33	9	38	8	11	24	21	22	32	20	35	28	32	24
	Help somewhat / Help a lot	34	46	46	24	40	32	57	48	53	20	50	40	60	38	26	30	41	31	40
	Don't Know	47	37	40	35	39	35	34	14	39	69	26	39	18	30	54	35	30	37	36
Regional Organization (ECOWAS, EAC, SADC)	Do Nothing / Help a little bit	16	13	12	34	21	32	14	20	5	11	24	18	16	29	17	31	36	34	22
	Help somewhat / Help a lot	39	60	48	30	42	38	71	71	40	25	51	41	72	44	29	35	33	33	45
	Don't Know	45	28	40	36	37	31	15	9	56	64	26	42	12	28	55	35	31	33	33
United Nations	Do Nothing / Help a little bit	14	12	10	25	15	15	8	13	3	9	19	17	12	28	16	29	18	19	16
	Help somewhat / Help a lot	40	55	51	49	52	61	65	80	68	26	57	44	79	46	31	41	61	60	54
	Don't Know	46	33	40	26	33	23	27	6	29	65	24	39	10	26	52	31	21	21	29
International Donors/NGOs (Apart from the UN)	Do Nothing / Help a little bit	12	15	9	27	17	17	5	26	4	9	15	16	22	29	13	26	20	18	17
	Help somewhat / Help a lot	50	53	58	44	52	58	75	66	71	26	64	44	64	42	45	38	59	60	54
	Don't Know	38	32	33	29	32	24	19	8	26	65	21	40	14	29	42	36	21	21	28
International Businesses/ Investors	Do Nothing / Help a little bit	11	20	10	30	20	22	9	38	4	11	17	21	25	28	13	28	27	33	21
	Help somewhat / Help a lot	51	46	56	41	45	45	68	48	71	20	61	40	60	41	42	40	45	35	48
	Don't Know	37	34	34	28	36	33	23	13	25	68	22	39	15	31	44	32	27	32	31
Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2 (percent agree / strongly agree)																				
Statement 1: The NEPAD African Peer Review Mechanism (NEPAD/APRM) is a useful initiative that will help promote good governance in Africa. It should be given all necessary support.		36	52	41	71	51	28	27	60	17	10	66	36	36	43	26	39	16	34	38
Statement 2: The NEPAD/APRM is an empty initiative that is unlikely to do anything to improve governance in Africa. We should not waste time or resources in supporting it.		8	10	13	4	12	4	22	21	2	3	13	12	42	25	15	28	9	10	14
Do not agree with either		2	2	1	1	4	4	6	0	2	1	2	2	3	5	2	8	4	5	3
Don't Know		54	36	45	24	32	64	46	19	79	87	18	50	18	27	56	25	71	50	44

**Table 9.3: Perspectives on Foreign Countries**

In your opinion, how much do each of the following do to help your country, or haven't you heard enough to say?		BEN	BOT	BUR	CVE	GHA	KEN	LES	LIB	MAD	MWI	MALI	MOZ	NAM	NIG	SEN	SAF	TAN	UGA	Mean
Nigeria	Do Nothing / Help a little bit	10	33	23	34	38	45	23	23	19	23	40	36	47	-	30	44	43	46	34
	Help somewhat / Help a lot	67	18	34	13	27	11	26	67	28	8	28	16	27	-	12	14	15	11	24
	Don't Know	23	49	43	53	35	44	50	10	53	69	33	48	26	-	58	42	42	44	42
South Africa	Do Nothing / Help a little bit	20	17	18	32	36	43	10	44	18	19	38	32	30	38	29	-	39	45	31
	Help somewhat / Help a lot	34	59	38	18	26	19	77	38	37	20	31	37	62	26	13	-	26	13	33
	Don't Know	46	23	44	50	38	38	13	17	44	61	32	31	9	36	58	-	35	42	36
China	Do Nothing / Help a little bit	12	13	8	16	22	26	14	20	15	9	16	20	44	30	15	34	26	39	21
	Help somewhat / Help a lot	54	65	55	69	46	47	68	69	47	33	66	49	49	37	52	26	44	22	50
	Don't Know	34	22	37	14	32	27	18	11	38	58	18	31	7	33	33	40	29	39	28
United States	Do Nothing / Help a little bit	13	10	9	15	15	14	8	15	12	8	16	18	27	27	23	32	13	23	17
	Help somewhat / Help a lot	49	61	57	72	61	65	66	78	54	35	64	47	63	46	39	29	68	49	56
	Don't Know	38	28	35	13	24	21	26	6	35	58	20	36	10	27	38	39	19	28	27
Former Colonial Power: [Britain, France, or Portugal]	Do Nothing / Help a little bit	16	11	14	20	17	17	11	-	12	8	21	28	32	29	22	31	16	25	20
	Help somewhat / Help a lot	51	57	53	67	54	59	53	-	58	35	62	36	54	40	43	26	59	45	51
	Don't Know	33	32	33	13	30	24	36	-	30	58	17	36	14	31	34	43	25	31	30
The European Union	Do Nothing / Help a little bit	14	12	10	18	-	17	8	19	9	8	22	17	26	27	18	31	18	20	18
	Help somewhat / Help a lot	43	51	50	60	-	52	45	66	51	31	52	41	57	39	32	24	54	41	47
	Don't Know	43	37	40	23	-	31	47	15	40	61	27	43	16	33	49	44	29	39	36

**Table 9.4: International Influence**

Do you think that each of the following has too little, too much, or about the right amount of influence over your government?		BEN	BOT	BUR	CVE	GHA	KEN	LES	LIB	MAD	MWI	MALI	MOZ	NAM	NIG	SEN	SAF	TAN	UGA	Mean
International donors and NGOs	Somewhat / Far too little	21	24	19	19	28	25	11	56	6	14	15	17	23	32	16	28	31	24	23
	About the right amount	22	32	15	26	18	25	6	12	26	14	20	9	28	23	14	22	19	21	20
	Somewhat / Far too much	12	16	29	13	17	22	69	18	28	15	40	38	30	14	15	18	28	28	25
	Don't Know	44	28	37	42	38	27	13	13	40	58	25	36	20	31	54	33	22	27	32
International businesses and investors	Somewhat / Far too little	20	25	19	22	27	25	11	59	5	14	15	17	21	29	15	27	32	26	23
	About the right amount	19	30	13	24	17	25	7	13	25	13	21	10	29	23	13	23	21	18	20
	Somewhat / Far too much	15	15	27	12	15	19	64	12	30	11	38	36	31	16	15	20	23	25	24
	Don't Know	45	30	40	42	40	31	18	16	41	62	26	37	19	32	56	30	25	31	33
[Namibian] civic organizations and NGOs	Somewhat / Far too little	23	24	26	21	29	25	14	61	14	18	22	22	20	30	25	28	35	26	26
	About the right amount	22	34	16	26	17	26	6	13	25	17	26	8	30	24	12	20	22	23	21
	Somewhat / Far too much	12	17	19	11	16	22	60	12	17	10	32	32	31	15	6	20	20	21	20
	Don't Know	43	25	38	42	38	26	19	14	44	55	20	38	19	32	58	31	23	31	32

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