

ZAMBIA DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE PROJECT  
POLITICAL ATTITUDES SURVEY, 1993 AND 1996

(ICPSR 2232)

Codebook for 1996 Data

Principal Investigator

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To provide funding agencies with essential information about use of archival resources and to facilitate the exchange of information about ICPSR participants' research activities, users of ICPSR data are requested to send to ICPSR bibliographic citations for each completed manuscript or thesis abstract. Please indicate in a cover letter which data were used.

#### DATA DISCLAIMER

The original collector of the data, ICPSR, and the relevant funding agency bear no responsibility for uses of this collection or for interpretations or inferences based upon such uses.

## DATA COLLECTION DESCRIPTION

Michael Bratton

ZAMBIA DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE PROJECT POLITICAL ATTITUDES SURVEY, 1993 AND 1996 (ICPSR 2232)

**SUMMARY:** This survey was designed to examine the determinants of political participation in a developing democracy. The study, conducted in Zambia, was administered in 1993 and 1996. Topics covered in both years include political attitudes and interest at the local and national levels, and degree of political knowledge. Questions were asked about the frequency of discussing political matters; whether the respondent had attended a training session on the topic of citizen rights; satisfaction with work, finances, health, and life; and what role chiefs and headmen should play in governing Zambia today. Additional questions in 1993 asked if crime was a major problem and in what ways crime had affected the respondent's life. Additional questions in 1996 asked if during the last five years the respondent had contacted a chief or headman, a member of Parliament, or some other influential person; if the respondent was satisfied with the general state of the Zambian economy; and how much leisure time the respondent had in an average day. Demographic variables provided for respondents include age, gender, education, tribe affiliation, language, employment status, occupation, personal and family income, marital status, and number of children.

**UNIVERSE:** Eligible Zambian voters as of the date the survey was administered.

**SAMPLING:** Stratified random quota sample.

**EXTENT OF COLLECTION:** 2 data files + machine-readable documentation (text) + SAS data definition statements + SPSS data definition statements

**EXTENT OF PROCESSING:** DDEF.ICPSR/ REFORM.DATA/ REFORM.DOC

**DATA FORMAT:** Logical Record Length with SAS and SPSS data definition statements and SPSS export files

Part 1: 1993 Data

File Structure: rectangular

Cases: 421

Variables: 166

Record Length: 328

Records Per Case: 1

Part 2: 1996 Data

File Structure: rectangular

Cases: 1,182

Variables: 166

Record Length: 356

Records Per Case: 1

RELATED PUBLICATIONS:

Bratton, Michael, and Beatrice Liatto-Katundu. "Political Culture in Zambia: A Pilot Survey." Working Papers on Political Reform in Africa. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University, Department of Political Science, 1994.

Bratton, Michael, Phillip Alderfer, and Neo Simutanyi. "Political Participation in Zambia, 1991-1996: Trends, Determinants, and USAID Program Implications." Zambia Democratic Governance Project, Monitoring and Evaluating Studies, Special Study Number 5. Lusaka, Zambia: United States Agency for International Development, 1997.

ICPSR Processing Note for 2232

ZAMBIA DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE PROJECT POLITICAL ATTITUDES SURVEY, 1993 AND 1996

This codebook was compiled from the information provided by the Principal Investigator.

Users should notice that the print format and write format statements in the original SPSS export files do not correspond to the actual width of all variables.

The SPSS display dictionary command will represent missing values in the SPSS export file for Part 2: 1996 Data as asterisks. This will not affect analyses.

ICPSR was not provided with the value labels for some of the variables in Part 1: 1993 Data. Users will need to consult both the data definition statements and the codebooks for the most complete documentation of this study.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY and the  
UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA-Institute For African Studies

Zambia Democratic Governance Project  
1996 Political Attitudes Questionnaire

DATA CODE BOOK

Prepared by

Michael Bratton  
Philip Alderfer

from data gathered by

Neo Simutanyi  
Kimberly Ludwig  
Dan Posner  
Chris Simuyemba  
and  
UNZA Survey Enumerators

June 1997

Data collected with financial support from the U.S. Agency for  
International Development Mission to Zambia under Cooperative  
Agreement no. 623-0226-A-00-3024-0

UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED, ALL MISSING DATA IS CODED (-9)

Variable Name	Question text/Variable Label
RESPID	Respondent Number 0001-1194
CSA_SEA	Census Supervisory Area / Standard Enumeration Area 000/0 CSA/SEA
ENUMER	Survey Enumerators
PWA	Philip Alderfer
MIB	Misheck Banda
LIB	Lizzie Banda
BAC	Banda L. Chawalika
OSC	Oscar Chilembo
ODC	Odette Chinthlima
MAC	Mambwe Chipanzhia
MAH	Margaret Hang'andu
HOK	Hope Kasese
PHL	Phillimon Lubeya
KXL	Kimberly Ludwig
CHL	Charlotte Lwanga
CHM	Charity Malauni
PKM	Parkie Mbozi
JEM	Jerry Muchimba
IVM	Ivor Mukwanka
LIM	Liswansio Mulasikwanda
MUM	Mutale Mulenga
HIM	Hilary Mwale
PAM	Paul Mzumara
NYN	Nyambe Nalute
DMP	Dick Phiri
DNP	Dan Posner
BES	Bernard Sichinga
NRS	Neo Simutanyi
CXS	Chris Simuyemba
IAS	Ian Simwinga
DATE	Date Survey Administered dd/mm/yy
PROVINCE	Survey Province
1	Lusaka
2	Eastern
3	Central
4	Southern
5	Copperbelt
6	Northwestern
7	Western
8	Northern
9	Luapula

DISTRICT Survey District

1	Chipata
2	Choma
3	Kabwe Urban
4	Kaoma
5	Kasama
6	Kitwe
7	Luanshya
8	Lukulu
9	Lundazi
10	Lusaka Rural
11	Lusaka Urban
12	Mbala
13	Mongu
14	Mporokoso
15	Mufulira
16	Namwala
17	Ndola
18	Petauke
19	Samfya
20	Sinazongwe
21	Solwezi

URB\_RUR Survey Location

1	Urban
2	Rurual

RESPSEX Respondent's Gender

1	Male
2	Female

RESYRBRN "In which year were you born?"

00-78	Year given (last two digits)
99	Don't know

RESPTRIB "What is your tribe?"

1	Ambo	2	Aushi	3	Bemba
4	Bisa	5	Chewa	6	Chishinga
7	Chokwe	8	Ila	9	Inamwanga
10	Iwa	11	Kabende	12	Kaonde
13	Kunda	14	Kwandi	15	Kwangwa
16	Lala	17	Lamba	18	Lenje
19	Lima	20	Lovale	21	Lozi
22	Luchazi	23	Lunda	24	Lungu
25	Mambwe	26	Mbunda	27	Mukulu
28	Ndembu	29	Ngoni	30	Ngumbo
31	Nkoya	32	Nsenga	33	Senga
34	Shila	35	Soli	36	Subiya
37	Swaka	38	Tabwa	39	Tonga
40	Toka	41	Totela	42	Tumbuka
43	Unga				

99 Other tribe

VILLAGE "Have you ever lived in a village / town?"



(Refers to place where respondent currently does NOT live)

0	No
1	Yes
MORE_YRS	"Have you spent more years of your life in a village or in a town?"
1	Village
2	Town
3	About Equally
CHILDREN	"How many childred do you have staying with you at home?"
0	None
01-98	Number given
99	Don't Know
RESPJOB	"What is your main occupation?"
0	Unemployed
1	Farmer
2	Informal Marketeer
3	Businessman
4	Service Worker
5	Artisan
6	Domestic Worker
7	Miner
8	Technical Worker
9	Teacher
10	Government Worker
11	NGO Worker
12	Professional
13	Retired
14	Housewife
99	Other
LEISURE	"In an average day, how much free time do you have for leisure or rest?"
0	None
1	A little
2	A lot
INTRPOL1	"How interested are you in local political matters?"
0	Not Interested
1	Somewhat interested
2	Very Intersted
INTRPOL2	"How interested are you in national political matters?"
0	Not Interested
1	Somewhat interested
2	Very Interested
DSCSPOL	"How often do you discuss political matters with other people?"

0	Never
1	Sometimes
2	Often
INFLOUTH	"In discussions about politics with friends and neighbors..."
1	I can influence the opinions of others
2	As far as politics are concerned, friends and neighbors do not listen to me.
COMPGOV	"Government sometimes seems so complicated that..."
1	I cannot really understand what is going on.
2	Government is generally understandable to people like me.
MPSLIST	"As a community..."
1	We are generally able to make our political representatives listed to our problems.
2	We are ususally unable to make our concillors and MPs listen to us.
VOTEPWR	Voting Efficacy
1	No matter how we vote, things will not get better in the future.
2	We can use our power as voters to choose leaders to make our future better.
MEMBORG	"Are you a member of any community organization such as a church, club, union, cooperative, or some similar group?"
0	No
1	Yes
MEMBORG1	[If "yes" to MEMORG] "Which community organization(s)?"
-9	Missing/N.A.
0	Missing/N.A.
1	Trade / Labor Union
2	Cooperative / Farmer's Union
3	Women's Club
5	Parent-Teacher Association (PTA)
6	Sports/Recreation Club
7	Business/Owners Association
8	Other Association (e.g., Neighborhood Watch, Rotary, Lions, Anti-Aids/Anti-Drug clubs, etc.)
10	Church (unspecified)
11	Roman Catholic Church
12	United Church of Zambia (UCZ) / Anglican Church
13	New Apostolic Church
14	Jehovah's Witnesses/Watchtower
15	Evangelical Church
16	Seventh Day Adventists (SDA)
17	Dutch / Reformed Church
18	Baptist

19	African Methodist Church
20	Church (syncretic)
30	Other Church (e.g., Presbyterian, Pentecostal, CMML, etc.)
MEMBORG2	"Which community organization(s)" -- Second mentioned  See MEMORG1
MEMBORG3	"Which community organization(s)?" -- Third mentioned  See MEMORG1
YRSORG1	"For how many years have you belonged to this organization?" -- First mentioned
99	Forgot/Don't know
YRSORG2	"For how many years have you belonged to this organization?" -- Second mentioned.
YRSORG3	"For how many years have you belonged to this organization?" -- Third mentioned.
POSORG1	"Do you hold an official leadership position in this organization?" -- First mentioned
0	No
1	Yes
POSORG2	"Do you hold an official leadership position in this organization?" -- Second mentioned
0	No
1	Yes
POSORG3	"Do you hold an official leadership position in this organization?" -- Third mentioned
0	No
1	Yes
ORGMEET	"Have you ever attended a meeting or gathering of your organization?"
0	Never
1	Only once
2	Sometimes
3	Often
ORGSPEAK	"Have you ever spoken publicly at a meeting of your organization?"
0	Never
1	Only once
2	Sometimes
3	Often
ORGCHAIR	"Have you ever organized or chaired a meeting of your organization?"

0	Never
1	Only once
2	Sometimes
3	Often
ORGRIGHT	"Have you attended a training session on the rights of citizens as part of your organization?"
0	Never
1	Only once
2	Sometimes
3	Often
ORGTRAIN	"Have you ever attended some other kind of training session as part of your organization?"
0	Never
1	Only once
2	Sometimes
3	Often
TRAINING	[If "Yes" to ORGTRAIN] "What was this training about?"
1	Reproductive health education (AIDS, STD's, family planning)
2	Preventative health education (malnutrition, polio, cholera, including sanitation.)
3	Agriculture (farming, animal husbandry, fisheries)
4	Job skills (teaching, carpentry, military, auto mechanics, computers, etc.)
5	Family life skills (home economics, community living, child care)
6	Religious education
7	Leadership and management
8	Sports and recreation
9	Other
MEMBSAY	"Do members of community organizations, that is, people like yourself, have a say in deciding the activities of these groups?"
0	No
1	Yes
SUPPRTY	"Do you identify with any political party?"
0	No
1	Yes
WHCPRTY	[If Yes to SUPPRTY] "Which one"
1	MMD (Movement for Multiparty Democracy)
2	UNIP (United National Independence Party)
3	NP (National Party)
4	ZDC/ZADECO (Zambia Democratic Congress)
5	AZ (Agenda for Zambia)
6	MDP (Movement for Democratic Process)
7	Independent
8	Other

9	The "ruling party"
10	Don't know
PRTYCARD	"Do you presently hold a paid-up membership card for this party?"
0	No
1	Yes
PRTYMEMB	"For how long have you been a member of this party?"
00-98	Number given
99	Don't know
PRTYMEET	"How often have you attended meetings or gatherings intended solely for members of this party?"
0	Never
1	Only once
2	Sometimes
3	Often
BRIBERY	"Bribery is very rare among public officials in Zambia."
1	Strongly disagree
2	Disagree
3	Feel neutral
4	Agree
5	Strongly agree
POLRICH	"Most government officials and politicians are mainly concerned with enriching themselves."
1	Strongly disagree
2	Disagree
3	Feel neutral
4	Agree
5	Strongly agree
PRESREG	"The President's region of the country gets more government services than any other region."
1	Strongly disagree
2	Disagree
3	Feel neutral
4	Agree
5	Strongly agree
CORRUPT	"Corruption was a worse problem under the old UNIP government than these days."
1	Strongly disagree
2	Disagree
3	Feel neutral
4	Agree
5	Strongly agree
RADOFT	"How often do you listed to a news bulletin on the radio?"
0	Never

1	Less than once a month
2	About once a month
3	About once a week
4	Several times a week
5	Every day
PAPER0FT	"How often do you read a newspaper?"
0	Never
1	Less than once a month
2	About once a month
3	About once a week
4	Several times a week
5	Every day
WHIPAP1	"Which newspapers do you read?" -- First mentioned
0	None
1	Times of Zambia
2	Daily Mail
3	The Post
4	National Mirror
5	Weekly Express
6	Crime News
7	Sunday Times
8	The Sun
9	Other
WHIPAP2	"Which newspapers do you read?" -- Second mentioned
	See WHIPAP1
WHIPAP3	"Which newspapers do you read?" -- Third mentioned
	See WHIPAP1
NAMCOUN	"Can you tell me the name of the Councillor for this area?"
0	Incorrect or Don't Know
1	Correct
NAMMP	"Can you tell me the name of MP for this area?"
0	Incorrect or Don't Know
1	Correct
NAMNINFN	"Can you tell me the name of the Minister of Finance?"
0	Incorrect or Don't Know
1	Correct
NAMVP	"Can you tell me the name of the Vice-President of Zambia?"
0	Incorrect or Don't Know
1	Correct
FODEP	"Have your ever heard of FODEP (the Foundation fro Democratic Process)?"
0	No

	1	Yes
FODEPDO		"What, to your knowledge, is FODEP supposed to do?"
	0	Not Applicable
	1	Safeguard democracy
	2	Monitor elections
	3	Dispute mediation
	4	Civic education
	5	All of the above
	9	Other
CHFROLE1		"What role, if any, should chiefs and headmen play in Zambia today?"
	0	None
	1	Protect traditional culture
	2	Organize village development
	3	Mediate and judge disputes
	4	Represent people to government
	5	Represent government to people
	6	Civic education
	7	Govern their own areas
	9	Other
CHFROLE2		"What role, if any, should chiefs and headmen play in Zambia today?"
CHFROLE3		"What role, if any, should chiefs and headmen play in Zambia today?"
DIFPRGOV		"Is there a difference between a political party and a government, or are they the same thing?"
	0	Same
	1	Different
DIFCNLOC		"Is there a difference between the central government and your local government council, or are they the same thing?"
	0	Same
	1	Different
DEMCHNG		"As you know, Zambia changed from a one-party state to a multi-party democracy in 1991. In your opinion, was this change good or bad for the country?"
	0	Bad
	1	Good
CHNGGOOD		"In what way was it good/bad?"
		If change was "bad"
	-6	Other
	-5	Generally, change is bad
	-4	Brought economic liberalization (e.g., privatization, retrenchments, etc.)
	-3	Increased prices of consumer goods/reduced living standards/worse infrastructure
	-2	Corruption and abuse of power

-1 Brought confusion and conflict among people and parties (e.g., "too many parties")

0 No difference/Don't know

If change was "good"

1 Civil liberties/personal freedoms (e.g., speech, movement, association, etc.)

2 Political and voting rights (e.g., choice of candidates and parties, checks and balances, leadership accountability, etc.)

3 Increased availability of consumer goods/improved living standards/improved infrastructure

4 Brought economic liberalization (e.g., privatization, free trade, etc.)

5 Generally, change is good

6 Other

CHNGG D2 "In what way was the change good/bad" (second mentioned)

See CHNGGD1

CHNGGD3 "In what way was the change good/bad" (third mentioned)

See CHNGGD1

"How much do you trust the following people (or institutions)?"

TRFAMILY	Your relatives
TRNEIGHB	Your neighbors
TRCHIEFS	Chiefs
TRHEADMN	Headmen
TRETHNIC	Someone from your tribe
TRZAMSO	Zambians from Southern Province
TRZAMNO	Zambians from Northern Province
TRZAMEA	Zambians from Eastern Province
TRZAMWE	Zambians from Western Province
TRZAMLU	Zambians from Luapula Province
TRZAMNW	Zambians from Northwestern Province
TRZAMCE	Zambians from Central Province
TRPOLICE	The Zambia Republic Police
TRLOCOUN	Your local government council
TRNATASS	The National Assembly (M.P.'s)
TRCABIN	The Cabinet (Ministers)
TRCHURCH	Churches
TRUNIONS	Trade Unions
TRTIMES	The Times of Zambia
TRWKPOST	The Post
TRRADZAM	Radio Zambia

0 Missing

1 I do not trust them at all

2 I distrust them somewhat

3 I feel neutral about them

4 I trust them somewhat

5 I trust them a lot

9 Not Applicable (TRTIMES, TRWKPOST, TRRADZAM only)



EXPRVIEW            Expression of views

1            It is dangerous and confusing to allow the  
              expression of too many different points of view.

2            If people have different views than you do, they  
              should express them.

UNSTISS            Voting priviliges

1            All people should be permitted to vote, even  
              if they do not fully understand all of the issues in  
              an election.

2            Only those sufficiently well educated should be  
              allowed the privilege of voting.

PREZCONS            Constitutionality and the rule of law

1            The President of Zambia should be able to change the  
              national constitution whenever he chooses

2            In Zambia, the constituion should be a lasting set of  
              rules that even the President must obey

BESTGOVT            The best form of government is...

1            A government elected by its people

2            A government that gets things done

ONEPARTY            Political parties (part 1)

1            It would be better for the country if we  
              returned to a system of single-party rule.

2            It is more desiriable for citizens to have choice of  
              political parties and candidates.

CHOIPRTY            Political parties (part 2)

1            In Zambia today we have a real choice among  
              different political parties and candidates

2            In Zambia today we are well on our way to becoming  
              another single-party state

TRIBDIF1            Ethnic relations (part 1)

1            When it comes to politics, being a Zambian is more  
              important that belonging to a particular tribe.

2            In politics, it is more important people of the same  
              tribe to stick together.

TRIBDIF2            Ethnic relations (part 2)

1            Since the introduction of democracy in 1991,  
              conflicts have increased among Zambians of different  
              tribes.

2            Since 1991, tribal relations not become any worse  
              than they were before.

SATECON            "How satisfied are you with the general state of  
              Zambian economy today?"

1            Not at all satisfied

	2	Not very satisfied
	3	Fairly satisfied
	4	Very satisfied
SATOVRAL		"How satisfied are you with your own living conditions today?"
	1	Not at all satisfied
	2	Not very satisfied
	3	Fairly satisfied
	4	Very satisfied
SATAG05		"When you look at your life today, how satisfied do you feel compared with five years ago?"
	1	Much less satisfied
	2	Slightly less satisfied
	3	Slightly more satisfied
	4	Much more satisfied
SATFUT1		"When you look forward at your life's prospects, how satisfied to you expect to be in one year's time?"
	1	Much less satisfied
	2	Slightly less satisfied
	3	Slightly more satisfied
	4	Much more satisfied
RESPECON		"In your opinion, who is responsible for current economic conditions in Zambia?"
	1	The old Kaunda government
	2	The Chiluba government
	3	The IMF/World Bank
	4	We, the people of Zambia
	9	Other
MMDBTR		"What are some things the MMD government has done better than the previous government?"
	0	MMD has done nothing better than UNIP
	1	Provided drought relief/emergency relief/food for work
	2	Improved quality/availability of consumer goods
	3	Improved quality/availability of health services
	4	Improved quality/availability of education services
	5	Improved quality/availability of transportation services/infrastructure (e.g., roads)
	6	Improved quality/availability of other economic services (e.g., water, electricity, etc.)
	7	Improved security (e.g., police)
	8	Enhanced civil and political rights (e.g., speech, movement, association, voting, etc.)
	9	Encouraged economic liberalization (free trade, investment, higher salaries, self-reliance, sale of council houses, etc.)
	10	Other
MMDBTR2		What are some things the MMD government has done better than the previous government?" -- Second mentioned

See MMDBTR

MMDBTR3           What are some things the MMD government has done better than the previous government?" -- Third Mentioned

See MMDBTR

MMDWRS            "What are some things the MMD government has done worse than the previous UNIP government.?"

- 0           MMD has done nothing worse than UNIP
- 1           Permitted price increases for consumer goods
- 2           Problems with agricultural input markets (e.g. fuel costs, removal of fertilizer subsidies, shortages of loans)
- 3           Problems of agricultural output markets (e.g., cooperatives, private traders)
- 4           Neglect of agriculture/rural areas
- 5           Introduced fees for services (e.g., health, school, mortuary, etc.)
- 6           Unemployment/retrenchment/low salaries
- 7           Privatization/closure of companies
- 8           Corruption/misuse of funds/bad governance
- 9           Other (e.g., transportation, introduction of VAT, tribalism)

MMDWRS2            "What are some things the MMD government has done worse than the previous government." -- Second Mentioned

See MMDWRS

MMDWRS3            "What are some things the MMD government has done worse than the previous government?" -- Third Mentioned.

See MMDWRS

MMDASSES`         "What is your overall assessment of the performance of the MMD government?"

- 1           Very poor
- 2           Poor
- 3           Good
- 4           Very good

REGVOTE            "Are you a registered voter?"

- 0           No
- 1           Yes

NVOTER            [If not a registered voter] "Why not?"

- 1           Missed registration
- 2           Ill health
- 3           Absent from area
- 4           Voter card lost
- 5           No National Registration Card (NRC)
- 6           Under 18 during registration
- 7           Not interested in registering

8	Otherwise engaged
9	Other
VOTOFTEN	"We understand that, for various reasons, many Zambians do not vote. Since the introduction of multi-party democracy in 1991, how regularly have you voted in elections, including any by-elections?"
0	Never
1	Only once
2	Sometimes
3	Often
VOTEINCR	"Since 1991 has your participation in voting increased, decreased, or stayed about the same?"
0	Decreased
1	Stayed about the same
2	Increased
9	Not applicable
VOTE91	"Did you vote in the general elections of October 1991?"
0	No
1	Yes
WHOVOT91	"Who did you vote for in the 1991 presidential election?"
1	Frederick Chiluba
2	Kenneth Kaunda
3	MMD
4	UNIP
5	Other candidate
6	Other party
VOTELOC	"Did you vote in the 1992 local government elections?"
0	No
1	Yes
VOTE96	"Understanding that many Zambians do not vote, let me ask you: Did you vote in the November 18, 1996 general elections?"
0	No
1	Yes
NVOTE96	"[If no] Why not?"
1	Not a registered voter
2	In ill health on election day
3	Absent from area on election day
4	Registered to vote in another area
5	Voter registration card lost/missing/destroyed
6	National registration card lost/missing/destroyed
7	Otherwise engaged (e.g. work, funeral, family problem, etc.)
8	Not aware of election
9	Not interested in voting

10 Registered but did not receive / pick up voter card  
11 Surrendered voter registration card / supported  
election boycott  
Don't know  
Other

VOTPRZ96 "Who did you vote for in the 1996 presidential  
election?"

1 Frederick Chiluba  
2 Dean Mung'omba  
3 Humphrey Mulemba  
4 Akashambatwa Mbikusita-Lewanika  
5 Chama Chakomboka  
6 Kenneth Kaunda  
7 Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD)  
8 Zambia Democratic Congress (ZDC/ZADECO)  
9 National Party (NP)  
10 Agenda for Zambia (AZ)  
11 Movement for Democratic Process (MDP)  
12 United National Independence Party (UNIP)  
13 Other candidate  
14 Other party  
15 The ruling party  
16 Forgot/Don't know

WHYCHNG "Why did you change your vote between 1991 and 1996?"

1 Because incumbent did not run again  
2 Because of election boycott (e.g., UNIP pulled out,  
could not choose preferred party/candidate)  
3 To support political opposition/encourage opposition  
parties  
4 Disappointed with incumbent party/candidate  
5 Because new party/candidate can do a better job  
6 Because new party/candidate is more honest  
7 Just to have a change  
8 To balance power between political parties  
9 Other

VOTEMP96 "Who did you vote the 1996 parliamentary election?"

1 Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD)  
2 United National Independence Party (UNIP)  
3 Zambia Democratic Congress (ZDC/ZADECO)  
4 National Party (NP)  
5 Agenda for Zambia (AZ)  
6 Democratic National Congress (DNC)  
7 National Lima Party (NLP)  
8 Zambia Progressive Front (ZPF)  
9 Movement for Democratic Process (MDP)  
10 National Democratic Alliance (NADA)  
11 Christian Alliance for the Kingdom of Africa (CHAKA)  
12 Other party  
13 The ruling party  
14 Individual candidate mentioned  
15 Forgot/Don't know

WHYVOTMP "Did you vote for this MP because of his/her qualities as an individual or because of the party he/she belongs to?"

- 1 Individual
- 2 Party

MPQUALIT "What qualities of the candidate/party did you find attractive?"

If respondent identified a particular candidate

- 1 Candidate is a local representative/originates from the area
- 2 Candidate is honest/trustworthy/won't steal
- 3 Candidate is a hard worker/visits the community
- 4 Candidate promised to take action/bring services to the district
- 5 Candidate took action/brought services to the district/already done a good job
- 6 Candidate was the incumbent
- 7 Candidate used personal wealth (e.g., bought me something, did me a favor)
- 8 Candidate well qualified/educated
- 9 Candidate was from the ruling party
- 10 Candidate was from an opposition party
- 11 Liked the candidate's party or party platform
- 12 Just wanted a change of candidate
- 13 Other (e.g., candidate "looks promising")

If respondent identified a political party

- 14 Liked party's programs/party platform
- 15 Party had done a good job in the past
- 16 Just wanted a change of party
- 17 Other

MPCHOOSE "When you voted on November 18, did you choose this candidate by yourself or did someone convince you to vote for them?"

- 1 I chose by myself
- 2 I was convinced by someone

WHOCHOOS [If convinced] "Who convinced you?"

- 0 Not applicable
- 1 A family member
- 2 Chief or headman
- 3 Political party official
- 4 Local Councillor
- 5 The candidate
- 6 Workmate
- 7 A member of your church, club, union, or cooperative
- 9 Other (e.g., "Friends")

BOYCOTT "How did the opposition boycott affect the way you voted, if at all?"

-9 Missing data/N.A.  
0 Had no affect  
1 What boycott? (Unaware of election boycott)  
2 Limited my choice of candidates/forced me to  
vote for another party/candidate.  
3 Was confusing/made things difficult  
4 Made us afraid/felt intimidated

DOMPLIVE "Does the parliamentary candidate you voted for live  
in this area?"  
0 No  
1 Yes

SHOMPLIV "Do you think that M.P.'s should be required to live  
in the areas they represent?"  
0 No  
1 Yes

ELECFAIR "Were the most recent elections generally fair, or  
did some candidates have an unfair advantage?"  
0 Unfair  
1 Fair

HOWFAIR [If unfair] "In what way(s) were the elections unfair?"  
-9 Missing/N.A.  
1 Voter registration flawed (e.g., "NIKUV")  
2 Kaunda barred / UNIP could not field candidates  
3 Ruling party used state resources to campaign  
(e.g., vehicles, buildings, personnel, etc.)  
4 Ruling party had unfair access to media  
5 Dirty tricks. Some parties misinformed voters  
6 Vote buying. Candidates / parties distributed  
money and goods  
7 Voters were intimidated / pressured to vote  
8 Voter fraud (e.g., "ghost voters,"  
double voting, etc.)  
9 Vote rigging (e.g., "some votes weren't  
counted," votes were counted improperly,  
polling officials filled in ballots, etc.)  
10 Other (e.g., campaign too short, polling  
period too short, turnout too low, unexpected  
results, etc.)  
11 No specific reason given

PRICEGDS Commodity prices  
1 It is better to have goods in the market, even  
if prices are high  
2 It is better to have low prices, even if there  
are shortages of goods

SCHLFEEES Cost of education  
1 It is better to have free schooling for our  
children, even if the quality of education is low

- 2 It is better to raise educational standards, even if we have to pay school fees
- GOVEMPLY Government employment
- 1 Our leaders should provide us with government jobs, even if this is costly to the country.
- 2 The government cannot afford so many employees and should lay off some of them.
- OWNERSHP Privatization
- 1 The government should retain ownership of factories, businesses, and farms
- 2 It is better for the government to sell businesses to private companies and individuals.
- WELLBENG Success and well-being
- 1 People should be responsible for achieving their own success and well-being in life.
- 2 The government should bear the main responsibility for ensuring the success and well being of people.

"Here is a list of some things that people sometimes do as citizens. After I read each one, please tell me how often you, personally, have engaged in any of these activities during the last five years."

- PARCOMM Attended a community meeting
- PARISSUE Gotten together with others to raise an issue
- PARRALLY Attended an election rally
- PARCAND Worked for a political party or candidate
- PARPETIT Signed a petition
- PARNEWS Written a letter to a newspaper
- PARDEM Attended a demonstration
- PARBOYC Participated in and election boycott

- 0 Never
- 1 Only once
- 2 Sometimes
- 3 Often

"During the last five years, how often have you contacted the following persons for help to solve a problem?"

- CONCHIEF Chief or headman
- CONCOUN Local government councillor
- CONMP A Member of Parliament
- CONOFFICA An official of a government ministry
- CONCHURC church leader
- CONOTHER Some other influential person

- 0 Never
- 1 Only once
- 2 Sometimes
- 3 Often



[For each positive response to contacting questions, above]  
"Did you make these contacts on your own behalf or as a representative of a group?"

WHYCHIEF	Chief or headman
WHYCOUN	Local government councillor
WHYMP	A Member of Parliament
WHYOFFICA	An official of a government ministry
WHYCHURC	church leader
WHYOTHER	Some other influential person
	0 Not applicable
	1 Own behalf
	2 For a group
ELECTMP1	"When you elect an MP what do you expect him/her to do for you?" -- First mentioned
	0 Nothing
	1 Communicate government policy to people
	2 Represent people to government
	3 Solicit development funds
	4 Debate and pass laws
	5 Encourage political participation
	9 Other
ELECTMP2	"When you elect an MP what do you expect him/her to do for you?" -- Second mentioned
	See ELECTMP1
ELECTMP3	"When you elect an MP what do you expect him/her to do for you?" -- Third mentioned
	See ELECTMP1
MPPERF	"Over the past 5 years, how satisfied have you been with the performance of the Member of Parliament for this area?"
	1 Not at all satisfied
	2 Not very satisfied
	3 Fairly satisfied
	4 Very satisfied
COUNPERF	"Over the past 5 years, how satisfied have you been with the performance of the local government councillor for this area?"
	1 Not at all satisfied
	2 Not very satisfied
	3 Fairly satisfied
	4 Very satisfied
RESPEDUC	"What was the highest grade, standard, or form you completed in school?"

00-98 Number of years  
99 Don't know/Forgot

ENGLISH "Can you understand english?"

0 No  
1 Yes

WRITEENG "Can you read and write in English?"

0 No  
1 Yes

SPEAK "Which Zambian language do you speak most often?"

1 Bemba  
2 Nyanja/Chewa  
3 Tonga  
4 Lozi  
5 Kaonde/Lunda/Luvale  
6 Nsenga  
7 Tumbuka  
9 Other

HHINCOME "Roughly how much money do you and your spouse together earn?"

00-99998 Kwacha per month (in '000s)  
99999 Don't Know

MEALS "How many meals does your family eat per day?"

00-98 Raw score  
99 Don't know