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ECOLE POLYTECHNIQUE
CENTRE NATIONAL DE LA RECHERCHE SCIENTIFIQUE

**Democracy and voting survey:
first results from Ethiopia**

Marie-Anne Valfort

Avril 2005

Cahier n° 2005-005

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Democracy and voting survey: first results from Ethiopia¹

Marie-Anne Valfort²

Avril 2005

Cahier n° 2005-005

Résumé: Ce document de travail présente les premiers résultats d'un questionnaire mené en mai 2004 (les 8 et 9 mai) auprès de 331 étudiants de l'Université d'Addis Abeba afin de connaître leur opinion sur la démocratie ainsi que les préférences politiques qu'ils expriment à travers leur vote.

Le document prend la forme du questionnaire lui-même où nous avons inséré, pour chaque question, les premiers résultats statistiques obtenus. Une table des matières synthétique ainsi qu'un index en fin de document ont été créés pour faciliter l'accès du lecteur à l'information qu'il recherche.

Abstract: This working paper contains the first results of a questionnaire that was conducted in May 2004 (May, 8-9) among 331 students of the Addis Ababa University to know their opinion about democracy and the political preferences they express through voting.

The paper takes the form of the questionnaire itself in which we included, for each question, the corresponding first statistical results that we get. We create a synthetic table of content as well as an index at the end of the document to facilitate for the reader an easy access to the information he may be looking for.

Mots clés : Afrique, Altruism, Bien public, Comportement de vote, Equité, Ethiopie, Formation des institutions

Key Words : Africa, Altruism, Equity, Ethiopia, Institution design, Public goods, Voting behaviour

Classification JEL: D02, D63, D64, D72, H41, O55

¹ I particularly thank the Chaire de Développement Durable of Ecole Polytechnique and the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency for funding this research program. I am also very grateful to Gunnar Köhlin and Peter Martinsson from Gothenburg University for their precious help during my stay in Addis Ababa, and to Gérard Prunier, Director of the French Center for Ethiopian Studies, for the insight he gave me on the Ethiopian history and politics. Finally, I renew all my gratitude to Jean-François Laslier and Karine van der Straeten for their very helpful comments during the design of the questionnaire.

² Laboratoire d'Econométrie, CNRS et Ecole polytechnique.

FOREWORD

This working paper contains the first results of a questionnaire that was conducted in May 2004 (May, 8-9) among 331 students of the Addis Ababa University to know their opinion about democracy and their political preferences.

This survey is part of a research program aiming at analysing ethical and altruistic behaviours in the field of public choice.

As regarding our questionnaire, the final objective is to understand how, in a multi-ethnic country on the road to democracy like Ethiopia, individuals trade off between private and public interest when they decide about redistribution issues when voting. Such concern obviously encompasses the choice of tax level about which poor people and rich people disagree, but also the mechanism through which the tax-financed public good is then redistributed among citizens. Indeed, the sharing rules of public good constitute a potential bone of contention between people coming from different ethnic groups when ethnic-oriented political parties compete during elections, as well as between people supporting the incumbent and people supporting opposition, when the incumbent party develops vote-catching platforms.

In the case of Ethiopia, this trade-off may be particularly vivid since allegedly non-discriminating political parties compete with parties whose vote-catching or ethnic-oriented ambitions are well-known.

This working paper takes the form of the questionnaire itself in which we included, for each question, the corresponding first statistical results that we get. We create a synthetic table of content as well as an index at the end of the document to facilitate for the reader an easy access to the information he may be looking for.

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“Democracy and voting” survey

General instructions

I. Object of the survey

This survey aims at understanding the way **people perceive democracy and their right to vote**. The questions mainly intend to understand how deeply anchored **democratic principles** are in people’s mind and not at all to describe in details how democracy works in Ethiopia.

In addition to democracy and voting, the questionnaire also provides questions about **how people trust each other**, and **how people think that health care should be allocated** between patients, when there are more individuals who need treatment than there are resources to provide such treatments.

The questionnaire is divided in 5 sections. The **first one** is dedicated to the collection of very general information about the respondent (his gender, his age...etc) so as to help us classify the data. The **second section** assesses how people perceive *democracy* in their country. The **third section** focuses on how people perceive their *right to vote* and use this right. Finally, the **fourth section** deals with *trust* issues and the **fifth section** with *health care priority*¹.

II. Research program

Ethiopia has been chosen as a **pilot country to conduct an academic survey on democratic institutions and behaviours**. If the submission of the questionnaire in Ethiopia turns out to give conclusive results, **we will submit it in other African countries** experiencing democracy, but also in countries where the democratization process started much earlier (like Western European countries, and Northern American countries). Your collaboration through answering the questions is thus of **highest importance** for the success of our research program within the Department of Economics of **Ecole Polytechnique** in France and of **Gothenburg University** in Sweden.

III. Recommendations

You have **2 hours** to answer all the questions. However, you will be given additional time in case this delay is not sufficient for you.

We are at your entire disposal whenever you encounter difficulty alongside the questionnaire. Please call us for help discretely, so as not to disturb other respondents.

In this survey we ask you to answer a number of questions on a **total anonymous basis**. None of the answers that you will give will enable us to identify you once we will analyse them. Regarding the list of the students who have been selected for the questionnaire, we engage to keep it **totally confidential**. So, **feel confident** and answer **the most honestly as possible**.

However, **if you consider that some questions are too indiscreet or not understandable, this is of course your right not to answer them by circling the answer “I don’t know or don’t wish to answer” in the questionnaire or leaving a blank.**

Remember that **this is not a test** and there are neither good nor bad answers and neither true nor false ones. Please **give your own personal opinion**, without consulting the other people answering the questionnaire.

IV. Examples

There is 3 types of questions which are illustrated through the 3 following examples:

¹ The third and fourth sections were designed by Peter Martinsson from Gothenburg University for his own research activities. For that reason, they are not included in the present document.

Ex 1: “Do you like coffee?”

- a. Yes, very much
- b. Yes, to some extent
- c. Rather no
- d. Not at all
- e. I don't know or don't wish to answer

Imagine that you like coffee very much. In that case, you have to circle answer “a”.

Your final answer is thus:

- a.** Yes, very much

Ex 2: “Do you agree or not with the following sentences?”

	<i>Strongly agree</i>	<i>Rather agree</i>	<i>Rather disagree</i>	<i>Strongly disagree</i>	<i>I don't know/ NA</i>
a. Coffee is tasty.....					
b. Ethiopia should also produce tea, in addition to coffee.....					

[Please place a cross in the box of your choice for each proposition]

Regarding the first sentence, since we suppose that you like coffee very much, you should strongly agree with this sentence. So, you have to place a cross in the box “Strongly agree” as shown below. Regarding the second sentence, suppose that you think that tea cultivation is not very suited to Ethiopia: you thus have to place a cross in the box “Rather disagree” as shown below.

Your final answer is thus:

	<i>Strongly agree</i>	<i>Rather agree</i>	<i>Rather disagree</i>	<i>Strongly disagree</i>	<i>I don't know/ NA</i>
a. Coffee is tasty.....	X				
b. Ethiopia should also produce tea, in addition to coffee.....			X		

[Please place a cross in the box of your choice for each proposition]

Ex 3: “Please read the 2 following sentences:

Statement A: “Between tea and coffee, coffee is the most tasty”

Statement B: “Between tea and coffee, tea is the most tasty”

Could you please indicate in the following chart which of these 2 statement (A or B) you most agree with?

Only agree with A and not at all with B	Much more agree with A than with B	More agree with A than with B	Agree as much with A as with B	More agree with B than with A	Much more agree with B than with A	Only agree with B and not at all with A

[Please place a cross in the box of your choice or leave a blank if you don't know or don't wish to answer]

Suppose that you consider that tea is as tasty as coffee. In such conditions, you have to place a cross right in the middle of the scale.

Your final answer is thus:

Only agree with A and not at all with B	Much more agree with A than with B	More agree with A than with B	Agree as much with A as with B	More agree with B than with A	Much more agree with B than with A	Only agree with B and not at all with A
			X			

[Please place a cross in the box of your choice or leave a blank if you don't know or don't wish to answer]

LABORATOIRE D'ÉCONOMETRIE OF ECOLE POLYTECHNIQUE, FRANCE

SURVEY CONDUCTED BY MARIE-ANNE VALFORT²

² We particularly acknowledge the **Chaire de Développement Durable** of Ecole Polytechnique and the **Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency** for funding this research program.

“Democracy and voting” survey

At the beginning of the session, students were asked to write “E” on the questionnaire for those who were extension students, and “R” for those who were regular students.

	%
Extension	18.7
Regular	46.5
Missing, among which	34.7
Truly missing	1.2
Missing due to organisation problems ³	33.5
Total	100.0

Section A : Demographics

In order to classify data, we would need some statistical information.

QA1. What is your gender?

- a. Male
- b. Female

[Please circle your answer]

	%
Male	88.2
Female	11.2
Missing	0.6
Total	100.0

QA2. Can you indicate in which year you were born on the European calendar?

I was born in year.....

[Please fill in the blank]

	%
Under 18	0.9
18-20	13.9
21-24	62.5
25-29	15.7
Above 30	5.4
Missing	1.5
TOTAL	100.0

³ The 331 students were divided into 6 groups. Due to organisation problems, the first 3 groups (encompassing 111 students) weren't told to specify whether they were extension or regular students.

QA3. Did you mainly grow up on the countryside/village or in a small, middle-size, or big city?

- a. On the countryside/village (less than 5000 inhabitants)
- b. In a small city (between 5000 and 50 000 inhabitants)
- c. In a middle city (between 50 000 and 500 000 inhabitants)
- d. In a big city (more than 500 000 inhabitants)

[Please circle your answer]

	%
Countryside	28.4
Small city	25.4
Middle city	24.2
Big city	21.1
Missing	0.9
TOTAL	100.0

QA4. What is the profession of your father?

- a. Farmer
- b. Trader/Vendor
- c. Businessman
- d. Professional worker/Lawyer/Accountant
- e. Supervisor/Foreman
- f. Technical worker/Skilled manual worker
- g. Artisan/Informal sector manual worker
- h. Domestic worker/Maid
- i. Teacher
- j. Government worker
- k. Armed services/Police
- l. Disabled
- m. Unemployed
- n. Retired
- o. Other, namely.....

[Please circle your answer and fill in the blank if your answer is "o"]

	%
Farmer	28.4
Trade	13.0
Business	6.0
Professional worker	6.3
Supervisor	2.7
Manual worker, among which	6.7
Technical worker	5.4
Artisan	1.2
Teacher	6.3
Government worker	14.8
Military/police	3.6
Domestic worker	0.3
Priest	1.8
Inactive, among which	7.3
Unemployed	2.1
Retired	5.1
Dead	1.8
Missing	0.9
TOTAL	100.0

QA5. What is the profession of your mother?

- a. Farmer
- b. Trader/Vendor
- c. Businesswoman
- d. Professional worker/Lawyer/Accountant
- e. Supervisor/Foreman
- f. Technical worker/Skilled manual worker
- g. Artisan/Informal sector manual worker
- h. Domestic worker/Maid
- i. Teacher
- j. Government worker
- k. Armed services/Police
- l. Housewife/Works in the household
- m. Disabled
- n. Unemployed
- o. Retired
- p. Other, namely.....

[Please circle your answer and fill in the blank if your answer is "p"]

	%
Farmer	14.8
Trade	2.7
Business	3.9
Professional worker	1.8
Supervisor	0.6
Manual worker, among which	1.2
Technical worker	0.9
Artisan	0.3
Domestic worker	4.5
Teacher	6.0
Government worker	8.8
Housewife	43.5
Nurse	0.6
Inactive, among which	10.0
Unemployed	8.8
Retired	0.6
Disabled	0.6
Dead	0.6
Missing	0.9
TOTAL	100.0

QA6. In which category of monthly average income is the income of your family (i.e: the household you grew up in) in today's monetary value?

- a. Less than 150 Birrs
- b. Between 150 and 300 Birrs
- c. Between 301 and 600 Birrs
- d. Between 601 and 1200 Birrs
- e. Between 1201 and 2000 Birrs
- f. Between 2001 and 3000 Birrs
- g. More than 3000 Birrs

[Please circle your answer]

	%
Lower income ⁴	19.6
Lower middle income	41.7
Middle income	25.4
Upper middle income	10.6
Upper income	2.1
Missing	0.6
TOTAL	100.0

QA7. Do you consider that the living conditions of your family are much better, better, the same, worse or much worse than the average living conditions of:

	Much worse	Worse	The same	Better	Much better	I don't know
People living in the same kebele as your family....						
The Ethiopian population as a whole.....						

[Please place a cross on the scale]

	%	
	Kebele	Ethiopia
Much worse	4.2	9.1
Worse	11.5	20.8
Same	37.5	17.5
Better	36.9	17.8
Much better	5.7	6.6
DK	2.4	3.6
Missing	1.8	24.5
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

⁴ “Lower income”: people having less than 150 Birrs. “Lower middle income”: people having between 150 and 600 Birrs. “Middle income”: people having between 601 and 1200 Birrs. “Upper middle income”: people having between 1201 and 3000 Birrs. “Upper income”: people having more than 3000 Birrs.

According to World Bank, Ethiopia’s GNI per capita over year 2003 was equal to 90 USD, which is equivalent to 790,96 Birrs when using the average exchange rate during the same period (1 USD=8.78841 ETB). This amounts to a monthly average income of 65.91 Birrs per capita.

According to Bigsten and Negatu (“The Anatomy of Income Distribution in Urban Ethiopia”, 1999, *African Development Review*, vol.11, n°1), the breakdown of the 1108 urban Ethiopia households interviewed during the 1994 urban socioeconomic survey in 7 cities (among which 662 Addis Ababa households) is as follows (we compare it with the results of our sample):

	Bigsten/Negatu		Our sample
	All	Addis Ababa	
10-299	44.5	45.5	40.4
300-599	25.4	23.9	21.3
More than 600	30.1	30.6	38.3
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

In our sample, low-income people (people with less than 300 Birrs) are under-represented.

QA8. What is your current personal monthly average income (i.e: the money that you earn or that your parents give to you) in today's monetary value?

- a. Less than 50 Birrs
- b. Between 50 and 150 Birrs
- c. Between 150 and 300 Birrs
- d. Between 301 and 600 Birrs
- e. Between 601 and 1200 Birrs
- f. Between 1201 and 2000 Birrs
- g. Between 2001 and 3000 Birrs
- h. More than 3000 Birrs

[Please circle your answer]

	%
Under 50 Birrs	40.5
Lower income	45.9
Lower middle income	8.8
Middle income	3.0
Upper middle income	0.6
Upper income	0.0
Missing	1.2
TOTAL	100.0

QA9. Are you taxable (i.e: have you to pay taxes)?

- a. Yes
- b. No

[Please circle your answer]

	%
Yes ⁵	14.5
No	83.7
Missing	1.8
TOTAL	100.0

If you answered “Yes”, do you consider that the taxes you pay are too high compared to your income?

- a. Yes, very much
- b. Yes, to some extent
- c. Rather no
- d. Not at all

[Please circle your answer]

AMONG THOSE WHO ANSWERED « a »	%
Very high	29.2
High	43.8
Low	16.7
Very low	10.4
Missing	0.0
TOTAL	100.0

⁵ Income taxes are progressive in Ethiopia. According to the French Embassy in Addis Ababa, they are designed as follows (since 1994):

Monthly income (in Birrs)	Rate
0 to 120	0%
120 to 600	10%
600 to 1200	15 %
1200 to 2000	20 %
2000 to 3000	30 %
More than 3000	40 %

QA10. How many brothers and sisters do you have?

I have.....brothers and sisters.

	%
0	0.9
1 to 2	11.2
3 to 4	29.6
5 to 9	49.2
More than 10	7.9
Missing	1.2
TOTAL	100.0

QA11. What is your rank of birth among your brothers and sisters?

My rank of birth among my brothers and sisters is.....

	%
Oldest	23.6
Youngest	8.8
Middle	16.9
1st middle	14.5
2nd middle	25.7
NA values ⁶	1.2
Missing	9.4
TOTAL	100.0

QA12. Where do you live at the moment?

- a. In your parent's house
- b. In your relatives' house
- c. In a student residence
- d. In a rented room
- e. Other, namely.....

[Please circle your answer and fill in the blank if your answer is " e "]

	%
Parent's house	12.4
Relatives' house	2.4
Student residence	77.9
Rented room	6.0
Other ⁷	0.3
Missing	0.9
TOTAL	100.0

QA13. Are you presently married or living with a partner?

- a. Yes
- b. No

[Please circle your answer]

	%
Yes	3.9
No	94.3
Missing	1.8
TOTAL	100.0

⁶ We consider as irrelevant answers such as "rank of birth" >"number of siblings+1".

⁷ The respondent did not give any other information.

QA14. Do you have children?

- a. Yes
- b. No

[Please circle your answer]

	%
Yes	1.5
No	94.3
Missing	4.2
TOTAL	100.0

If you answered “Yes”, how many?

I have children.

AMONG THOSE WHO ANSWERED « a »		%
1		60.0
2		20.0
Missing		20.0
TOTAL		100.0

QA15. What is your religion?

- a. Ethiopian orthodox
- b. Muslim
- c. Protestant
- d. Catholic
- e. Animist
- f. Other, namely.....
- g. I have no religion

[Please circle your answer and fill in the blank if your answer is “d”]

	%
Ethiopian orthodox	69.8
Muslim	11.5
Protestant	11.2
Catholic	0.9
Animist/Occultist	0.3
Other ⁸	0.9
No religion	3.6
Missing	1.8
TOTAL	100.0

⁸ Three respondents claimed to belong to another religion: two of them wrote they belong to “Jehovah witnesses”, and one of them to Bahi religion, which is a syncretism of the leading religions worldwide (Christianity, Islam, Judaism, Hinduism, Buddhism...etc)

QA16. Excluding weddings and funerals, how often do you attend religious services?

- a. Once or twice a week (or more)
- b. Once or twice a month
- c. Once or twice every several months
- d. Once or twice a year (or less)
- e. Never

[Please circle your choice]

	%
1/2 a week	54.7
1/2 a month	15.4
1/2 ev. sev. month	10.3
1/2 a year	9.7
Never	9.1
Missing	0.9
TOTAL	100.0

QA17. Do you belong or give money to one of the following associations? You can select more than 1 answer.

- a. Charity group/church group (apart from religious services)
- b. Local self-help associations (such as burial association, neighbourhood watch)
- c. Group concerned with local matters such as school, housing or rates
- d. Local commercial organisation such as business group or farmers' associations
- e. A trade union
- f. A political group
- g. Other, namely.....
- h. No, I do not

[Please circle your answer(s) and fill in the blank if your answer is "g"]

	%
Charity group	22.1
Self-help group	7.6
Group for local matters	13.6
Local commercial group	2.1
Trade union	0.9
Political group	3.9
Financial support to poor people	1.8
Anti HIV group	0.9
No	58.6
Missing	1.2

If you answered "f" (you belong to a political group), could you please precise to which party it is affiliated?

This political party is affiliated to

AMONG THOSE WHO ANSWERED « f »	%
EPRDF	30.8
ONC	15.4
OLF	23.1
EPPF	7.7
Missing	23.1
TOTAL	100.0

QA18. In which faculty are you registered?

- a. Law
- b. Management
- c. Business
- d. Political Science and International Relations
- e. Physics
- f. Technology
- g. Biology
- h. Other, namely.....

[Please circle your answer(s) and fill in the blank if your answer is "h"]

	%
Law	9.7
Business/management	39.6
PSIR	8.8
Technology	6.3
Economics	13.3
Science ⁹	19.6
Other ¹⁰	2.1
Missing	0.6
TOTAL	100.0

QA19. In which academic year are you currently registered?

- a. 1st year
- b. 2nd year
- c. 3rd year
- d. 4th year
- e. Other, namely.....

[Please circle your answer(s) and fill in the blank if your answer is "e"]

	%
1st	3.9
2nd	23.3
3rd	48.0
4th	22.7
5th, 6th, 7th	1.8
Missing	0.3
TOTAL	100.0

QA20. What is the higher degree you would like to get?

- a. Bachelor
- b. Master
- c. PhD
- d. Other, namely.....

[Please circle your answer]

	%
Bachelor	10.6
Master	13.3
PhD	69.8
Law	1.8
Professor	3.3
Missing	1.2

⁹ This includes Physics, Biology, Chemistry, and Geology.

¹⁰ Among which: 1 student in Education, 1 student in Philosophy, 1 student in Public Administration, 1 student in Theatre Art, 1 student in Statistics, 1 student registered at the Institute of Language Studies, and 1 student in Accounting.

QA21. Which occupation are you intending to have when you finish your study?

- a. Farmer
- b. Trader/Vendor
- c. Businesswoman/Businessman
- d. Professional worker/Lawyer/Accountant
- e. Supervisor/Foreman
- f. Technical worker/Skilled manual worker
- g. Artisan/Informal sector manual worker
- h. Domestic worker/Maid
- i. Teacher
- j. Government worker
- k. Armed services/Police
- l. Housewife/Works in the household
- m. Other, namely.....

[Please circle your answer and fill in the blank if your answer is "m"]

	%
Farmer	0.9
Business	31.1
Profwork/superv	39.9
Profwork	34.7
Supervisor	5.1
Manual worker, among which	4.5
Technical worker	4.2
Artisan	0.3
Teacher	10.3
Government worker	9.1
Military/police	0.3
Domestic worker	0.3
Research	1.5
NGO	0.9
Missing	1.2
TOTAL	100.0

QA22. When you start working after finishing your studies, in which category of monthly average income do you expect your starting monthly income before tax will be (in today's monetary value)?

- a. Less than 150 Birrs
- b. Between 150 and 300 Birrs
- c. Between 301 and 600 Birrs
- d. Between 601 and 1200 Birrs
- e. Between 1201 and 2000 Birrs
- f. Between 2001 and 3000 Birrs
- g. More than 3000 Birrs

[Please circle your answer]

	%
Lower income	0.6
Lower middle income	2.4
Middle income	58.3
Upper middle income	34.4
Upper income	3.0
Missing	1.2
TOTAL	100.0

QA23. Apart from Amharic, what other local language(s) do you speak?

- a. Tigrinya
- b. Oromigna
- c. Guaragigna
- d. Somali
- e. Other, namely.....

[Please circle your answer and fill in the blank if your answer is “f”]

	%
Tigrinya	29.6
Oromigna	23.9
Guaragigna	6.3
SNNP ¹¹	4.2
Somali	1.8
Eritrean	0.9
Agewigna	1.5
Aderegna	0.9
Gumuzgna	0.6
Gueez	0.6
No local language	21.8
Missing	13.3

QA24. Do you speak other foreign language(s) apart from English?

- a. Yes. The other foreign language(s) I speak is (are).....
- b. No

[Please circle your answer and fill in the blank if your answer is “a”]

	%
Arabic	1.5
French	2.4
Italian	0.6
None	92.7
Missing	2.7
TOTAL	100.0

¹¹ SNNP: Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples

QA25. What is the ethnic group of your father?

- a. Oromo
- b. Amhara
- c. Tigray
- d. Sidamo
- e. Shankella
- f. Somali
- g. Afar
- h. Gurage
- i. Other, namely.....

[Please circle your answer and fill in the blank if your answer is "i"]

	%
Oromo	20.8
Amhara	39.3
Tigray	26.6
SNNP	11.8
Agew	0.3
"half Amhara/half Oromo	0.3
Missing	0.9
TOTAL¹²	100.0

¹² Two respondents emphasized that they were reluctant to answer ethnicity-related answers. Among them, one refused to answer questions A23 to A26.

According to the WESP, a Dutch association specialised on data collection and estimation, the breakdown of the Ethiopian population between the different administrative regions was as follows in 2002:

	%
Addis Ababa	3.9
Afar	2.1
Amhara	25.8
Beneshangul	0.9
Dire Dawa	0.5
Gambella	0.3
Harar	0.2
Oromiya	34.9
Somali	6.3
SNNP region	19.3
Tigray	5.8
TOTAL	100.0

QA26. What is the ethnic group of your mother?

- a. Oromo
- b. Amhara
- c. Tigray
- d. Sidamo
- e. Shankella
- f. Somali
- g. Afar
- h. Gurage
- i. Other, namely.....

[Please circle your answer and fill in the blank if your answer is "i"]

	%
Oromo	17.2
Amhara	42.0
Tigray	27.5
SNNP	9.6
Agew	1.2
Argobba	0.3
Missing	2.1
TOTAL	100.0

QA27. Which of the 3 following options do you prefer for Ethiopia?

- a. Ethnic federalism (a federation of ethnically-based states)
- b. Regional federalism (a federation of regionally-based states enabling different ethnic groups to live in the same state)
- c. No federalism at all

[Please circle your answer]

	%
Ethnic federalism	14.2
Regional federalism	61.9
Federalism ¹³	0.3
No federalism	22.4
Missing	1.2
TOTAL	100.0

QA28. Taking all things together, would you say that you are

- a. Very unhappy
- b. Unhappy
- c. Neither unhappy nor happy
- d. Happy
- e. Very happy

[Please circle your answer]

	%
Very unhappy	11.5
Unhappy	17.5
Indifferent	27.8
Happy	32.3
Very happy	10.0
Missing	0.9
TOTAL	100.0

¹³ The respondent is in favour of federalism, but he hesitates between “ethnic federalism” and “regional federalism”. He wrote: “Federalism, but I need time to know what kind of federalism”.

QA29. How would you assess your own general health status during the last 12 months compared to other individuals of your own age?

- a. Very good
- b. Good
- c. Fair
- d. Poor
- e. Very poor

[Please circle your answer]

	%
Very good	38.4
Good	36.9
Fair	16.6
Bad	5.4
Very bad	2.4
Missing	0.3
TOTAL	100.0

Section B: Your perception of democracy in Ethiopia

QB1. Generally speaking, would you say that politics interest you?

- a. Very much
- b. Somewhat
- c. Not much
- d. Not at all
- e. I don't know or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice]

	%
Very much	23.9
Somewhat	33.8
Not much	23.3
Not at all	16.0
DK/NA	2.1
Missing	0.9
TOTAL	100.0

QB2. How often do you get information on politics from the following sources?

	Very often	Often	Not often	Never	I don't know/NA
a. Radio.....					
b. Television.....					
c. Newspaper.....					
d. Kebele offices.....					
e. University.....					
f. Family.....					

[Please place a cross in the box of your choice for each proposition]

	%					
	Radio	TV	Newspaper	Kebele	University	Family
Very often	39.6	25.1	32.9	3.0	17.5	8.8
Often	36.6	41.4	31.7	4.8	16.9	16.0
Not often	16.9	24.2	24.2	18.4	26.9	28.4
Never	2.7	4.8	4.5	52.3	25.1	31.7
DK NA	0.6	0.6	2.1	13.0	6.0	5.4
Missing	3.6	3.9	4.5	8.5	7.6	9.7
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

QB3. Do you often talk about politics with other people?

- a. Very often
- b. Often
- c. Not often
- d. Never
- e. I don't know or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice]

	%
Very often	19.6
Often	37.5
Not often	34.7
Never	5.7
DK/NA	1.5
Missing	0.9
TOTAL	100.0

QB4. Do you agree or not with the following sentence: “Politics and government sometimes seem so complicated to me that I do not always understand what is going on”.

- a. Strongly agree
- b. Agree
- c. Disagree
- d. Strongly disagree
- e. I don’t know or don’t wish to answer

[Please circle your choice]

	%
Strongly agree	32.9
Agree	41.1
Disagree	18.4
Strongly disagree	4.5
DK/NA	2.4
Missing	0.6
TOTAL	100.0

QB5. On a general basis, with which one of these general statements are you most in agreement?

- a. Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government
- b. In some circumstances, a non democratic government (like having a dictator or the army rule) can be preferable to democratic government
- c. A non democratic government (like having a dictator or the army rule) is always better than a democratic government
- d. I don’t know or don’t wish to answer

[Please circle your choice]

	%
The best	82.2
Not always the best	12.1
Never the best	1.8
DK NA	3.0
Missing	0.9
TOTAL	100.0

QB6. Do you consider that democracy is functioning well or badly in Ethiopia?

- a. Very well
- b. Quite well
- c. Neither well nor badly: Ethiopia is just on the road to democracy
- d. Badly
- e. Very badly
- f. I don’t know or don’t wish to answer

[Please circle your choice]

	%
Very well	5.1
Well	13.6
Neither well nor badly	41.7
Badly	17.5
Very badly	19.0
DK/NA	2.7
Missing	0.3
TOTAL	100.0

QB7. Do you agree or not with the following sentences regarding politics in Ethiopia?

	Strongly agree	Rather agree	Rather disagree	Strongly disagree	I don't know/NA
a. More than 1 political party participates in elections.....					
b. Each person can freely choose who to vote for without feeling pressure.....					
c. There is no electoral fraud ¹⁴					
d. Human rights are respected.....					
e. Everybody has access to basic necessities (food, water...etc).....					
f. Everybody is protected against crime and violence.....					
g. The government treats Ethiopian people equally whatever their ethnic group, their political opinion, or their income...					
h. Political corruption is widespread.....					

[Please place a cross in the box of your choice for each proposition]

	%							
	Competitive	Free	Fair	Human rights	Basic needs	Protection	Equality	Corruption
Strongly agree	46.2	26.3	9.4	13.0	7.9	10.6	17.8	50.8
Agree	26.6	17.5	12.7	25.4	9.1	19.0	13.6	23.0
Rather disagree	7.9	18.1	19.6	23.0	23.3	30.8	17.8	12.4
Strongly disagree	15.1	33.5	39.9	32.9	55.6	32.9	45.9	8.2
DK/NA	2.1	2.4	14.2	2.1	1.5	3.0	2.7	3.3
Missing	2.1	2.1	4.2	3.6	2.7	3.6	2.1	2.4
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

QB8. Overall, would you say that democracy has improved or worsened in Ethiopia over the last 10 years?

- Improved a lot
- Rather improved
- Neither improved nor worsened
- Rather worsened
- Worsened a lot
- I don't know or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice]

	%
Improved a lot	23.0
Rather improved	36.3
Neither improved nor worsened	15.4
Rather worsened	11.2
Worsened a lot	11.5
DK/NA	2.4
Missing	0.3
TOTAL	100.0

¹⁴ Few students knew what “electoral fraud” means. We thus gave them the following definition: “Electoral fraud is when the final outcome of elections is biased and doesn't fairly represent voters' opinion. This can occur for instance when the counting of votes, because it is done out of the public view, may give rise to manipulation...etc”.

QB9. In many countries, people say that politicians only care about themselves and not at all about the population. Do you agree with them?

- a. Yes, a lot
- b. Yes, to some extent
- c. Rather no
- d. Not at all
- e. I don't know or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice]

	%
Yes, a lot	38.4
Yes, to some extent	47.7
Rather no	7.9
Not at all	4.2
DK/NA	1.2
Missing	0.6
TOTAL	100.0

QB10. On average, do you trust the promises that politicians make to the population?

- a. Yes, a lot
- b. Yes, to some extent
- c. Rather no
- d. Not at all
- e. I don't know or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice]

	%
Yes, a lot	4.5
Yes, to some extent	39.6
Rather no	30.8
Not at all	23.0
DK/NA	1.5
Missing	0.6
TOTAL	100.0

QB11. What is for you the first priority among these 2 options?

- a. The fact that at least your family has the opportunity to live in a democratic environment
- b. The fact that all Ethiopians have the opportunity to live in a democratic environment
- c. None of these options is a priority for me
- d. I don't know or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice]

	%
Family	12.1
Ethiopians	69.2
Both family and Ethiopians	0.6
None	11.8
DK/NA	4.8
Missing	1.5
Total	100.0

QB12. More precisely, are the following things important for you?

	Very important	Important	I am indifferent	Not important	Not important at all	I don't know/NA
a. More than 1 political party participates in elections.....						
b. Each person can freely choose who to vote for without feeling pressure.....						
c. There is no electoral fraud...						
d. Human rights are respected.						
e. Everybody is protected against crime and violence..						
f. The government treats Ethiopian people equally whatever their ethnic group, their political opinion, or their income.....						
g. Everybody has access to basic necessities (food, water, etc...).						

[Please place a cross in the box of your choice for each proposition]

	%						
	Competitive	Free	Fair	Human rights	Basic needs	Protection	Equality
Very important	81.3	88.2	66.2	88.5	89.4	86.1	88.2
Important	12.4	6.6	10.0	3.9	5.1	8.8	6.6
Indifferent	1.5	0.9	4.5	1.2	1.5	1.8	0.9
Not important	2.7	0.9	5.1	0.9	1.2	0.0	0.9
Not important at all	0.6	0.6	3.6	0.6	0.9	0.6	1.2
DK/NA	0.3	0.3	6.6	0.6	0.3	0.6	1.2
Missing	1.2	2.4	3.9	4.2	1.5	2.1	0.9
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

QB13. Do you think that the following sentences are good definitions of democracy?

	Yes, very much	Yes, somewhat	Rather no	Not at all	I don't know/NA
a. More than 1 political party participates in elections.....					
b. Each person can freely choose who to vote for without feeling pressure.....					
c. There is no electoral fraud.....					
d. Human rights are respected.....					
e. Everybody is protected against crime and violence.....					
f. The government treats Ethiopian people equally whatever their ethnic group, their political opinion, or their income.....					
g. Everybody has access to basic necessities (food, water...etc).....					

[Please place a cross in the box of your choice for each proposition]

	%						
	Competitive	Free	Fair	Human rights	Basic needs	Protection	Equality
Yes, very much	70.1	87.9	61.3	86.1	64.0	73.7	85.5
Yes, somewhat	23.3	8.8	17.8	6.9	20.8	18.1	9.1
Rather no	3.0	0.9	5.4	0.9	7.3	2.4	1.5
Not at all	2.1	0.3	5.4	0.9	5.4	1.5	1.8
DK NA	0.3	0.3	6.9	0.6	0.9	1.5	0.9
Missing	1.2	1.8	3.0	4.5	1.5	2.7	1.2
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

QB14. What is for you the country that is the best illustration of democracy in the world?

The country that is for me the best illustration of democracy in the world is

[Please fill in the blank or leave the blank if you don't know or don't wish to answer]

	%
USA ¹⁵	44.4
Sweden/Norway/Scandinavian countries	14.5
Canada	2.4
England	0.9
Switzerland	1.8
France	1.5
Netherlands	0.9
Germany	0.3
Spain	0.3
Japan	0.3
South Africa	1.5
Australia	0.3
China	0.6
Iran	0.3
Afghanistan ¹⁶	0.3
Botswana	0.3
Israël	0.9
Western democracies	1.2
No country	1.2
A country where... ¹⁷	3.3
Missing	25.4

¹⁵ “Even though this is not a perfect democracy”, as one of the respondent wrote.

¹⁶ “Former Afghanistan”, as precised by the respondent.

¹⁷ 11 respondents didn't give the name of a specific country but the salient characteristics with which the best illustration of democracy in the world should be endowed. Among them, one can find the following definitions: “A country where all the different ethnic groups are respected”; “A country where people are treated equally”; “Equal rights for all”; “A country where one can live in peace”; “A country with freedom”; “A country where one can live peacefully”; “A country where there is more stability”; “A country with human rights and prosperity”; “A country where all democratic rules are respected”; “A country where everybody is protected against crime and violence”; “A country where human rights are respected”.

QB15. More precisely, how would you range the 10 countries below on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 means that you consider that the country is not democratic at all, and 5 means that you consider that the country is a model of democracy.

	1	2	3	4	5	I don't know/NA
a. Benin.....						
b. China.....						
c. Egypt.....						
d. Ethiopia.....						
e. France.....						
f. Nigeria.....						
g. South Africa.....						
h. United States of America.....						
i. Sweden.....						
j. Russia.....						

[Please place a cross in the box of your choice for each proposition]

	%										
	Benin	China	Egypt	Ethiopia	France	Nigeria	South Africa	USA	Sweden	Russia	
1	8.8	6.0	6.0	32.0	1.8	14.5	4.5	6.9	2.4	2.7	
2	7.6	9.7	16.3	21.8	4.2	21.8	10.0	3.6	3.3	7.6	
3	7.6	21.1	21.8	20.5	13.9	21.1	20.8	3.6	3.0	16.0	
4	3.3	20.5	7.3	6.9	32.0	5.4	21.5	16.9	21.1	25.7	
5	1.2	8.8	2.7	5.4	22.4	2.4	15.7	59.2	47.7	12.7	
DK/NA	50.2	15.7	21.8	1.8	11.8	16.0	6.6	2.4	10.6	15.1	
Missing	21.5	18.1	24.2	11.5	13.9	18.7	20.8	7.3	11.8	20.2	
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

QB16. How long do you think it will take for Ethiopia to reach the highest degree of democracy on the scale of 1 to 5 mentioned in the previous question (QB15)?

- a. Not a long time (less than 10 years)
- b. Quite a long time (between 10 and 50 years)
- c. A very long time (more than 50 years)
- d. It is not possible for Ethiopia to reach this degree
- e. Ethiopia has already reached the highest degree of democracy
- f. I don't know or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice]

	%
Not a long time	14.8
Quite a long time	39.3
A very long time	22.1
Not possible for Ethiopia to reach this degree	10.6
Ethiopia has already reached this degree	1.2
DK/NA	11.2
Missing	0.9
TOTAL	100.0

QB17. What would you be willing to do if the government took any of the following actions?

	Support the government	Nothing	Support an opposition party	Boycott elections	Join a protest	I don't know/NA
a. Prevented opposition parties from participating in elections.....						
b. Committed into electoral fraud.....						
c. Forced people to vote for it.....						
d. Didn't provide enough food to everybody.....						
e. Violated human rights.....						
f. Didn't maintain peace and order in the country.....						
g. Distributed the wealth of the country only to those who strongly support him or who belong to the same ethnic group or economic class, to the detriment of other Ethiopian people.....						

[Please place a cross in the box of your choice for each proposition]

	%						
	No competition	No fairness	No freeness	No basic needs	No HR	No peace	No equality
Support government	4.8	6.3	2.7	3.6	4.2	3.6	4.5
Nothing	14.2	16.9	13.3	16.6	9.4	10.6	7.3
Support opposition	32.0	17.8	26.6	28.4	32.6	35.6	34.4
Boycott	24.5	24.2	20.5	7.6	8.8	7.9	10.3
Join a protest	12.1	13.0	20.8	25.7	32.9	27.5	32.6
DK/NA	10.3	17.2	8.8	15.4	9.4	11.2	8.2
Missing	2.1	4.5	7.3	2.7	2.7	3.6	2.7
TOTAL ¹⁸	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

QB18. Do you think that your answer to the previous question (QB17.) is a good illustration of what other Ethiopian people think?

- Yes, a lot
- Yes, to some extent
- Rather no
- Not at all
- I don't know or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice]

	%
Yes, a lot	38.1
Yes, to some extent	44.4
Rather no	4.5
Not at all	4.2
DK/NA	7.6
Missing	1.2
TOTAL ¹⁹	100.0

¹⁸ One of the respondents precised: "The government has already taken all these actions".

¹⁹ One of the respondents emphasized: "Doing nothing is a common phenomenon".

QB19. Here are a number of different actions people might take if government were to do something they thought was wrong or harmful. For each of these, please precise whether you have already engaged in such activities or not.

	YES			NO	
	Often	A few times	Once or twice	Because I am scared of being arrested	Because I am not interested in doing that
a. Attend a demonstration or protest march.....					
b. Participate in boycott of elections.....					
c. Use force or violent methods (such as damaging public property).....					

[Please place a cross in the box of your choice for each proposition or leave a blank if you don't wish to answer]

	%		
	Demonstration	Boycott	Violence
Yes, among which	40.5	32.3	9.4
Often	7.9	10.3	2.1
A few times	14.5	10.3	2.4
Once or twice	18.1	11.8	4.8
No, among which	50.2	57.4	82.5
Fear of being arrested	21.1	16.9	11.2
Not interested in this	29.0	40.5	71.3
Missing	9.4	10.3	8.2
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

QB20. Do you often participate in official political meetings organised by EPRDF?

- a. Very often
- b. Sometimes
- c. Rarely
- d. Only during election campaign
- e. Never
- f. I don't wish to answer

[Please circle the choice of the respondent]

	%
Very often	1.8
Sometimes	17.2
Rarely	24.2
Only during election time	7.3
Never	47.1
DK/NA	2.1
Missing	0.3
TOTAL	100.0

QB21. In this question, we ask you to choose between the two following types of governments: *government A* and *government B* which are endowed with the following characteristics respectively:

Government A: It has managed to establish a good level of *democracy* in the country by giving all Ethiopian people liberty and rights, but the per capita income remains low.

Government B: It is a repressive *dictatorship* that denies any liberty and right to the population, but manages to provide a high per capita income to everybody.

Could you please indicate in the following chart which of these 2 governments (A or B) you would prefer?

Government A only and not all government B	Much more prefer government A to government B	More prefer government A to government B	Prefer as much government A as government B	More prefer government B to government A	Much more prefer government B to government A	Government B only and not all government A

[Please place a cross in the box of your choice or leave a blank if you don't know or don't wish to answer]

	%
A only and not B	17.8
Much more A than B	32.6
More A than B	29.6
As much A as B	6.9
More B than A	6.6
Much more B than A ²⁰	1.5
B only and not A	1.5
Missing	3.3
TOTAL	100.0

²⁰ One of the respondents emphasized: “I believe that economic growth must come before democracy”.

QB22. In this question, we ask you to choose between the two following types of governments: *government A* and *government B* which are endowed with the following characteristics respectively:

Government A: It is a repressive *dictatorship* in which the population, in addition to being deprived from any rights and freedom, suffers from a low per capita income, at the exception of your family/clan that is granted a high income by this government.

Government B: It has established a good level of *democracy* where the population enjoys liberty and freedom. However, the per capita income remains as low as in government A and your family/clan is not favoured any more compared to the rest of the population.

Could you please indicate in the following chart which of these 2 governments (A or B) you would prefer?

Government A only and not all government B	Much more prefer government A to government B	More prefer government A to government B	Prefer as much government A as government B	More prefer government B to government A	Much more prefer government B to government A	Government B only and not all government A

[Please place a cross in the box of your choice or leave a blank if you don't know or don't wish to answer]

	%
A only and not B	3.3
Much more A than B	6.3
More A than B	5.4
As much A as B	3.6
More B than A	29.3
Much more B than A	24.2
B only and not A	23.3
"None of the 2 alternatives"	0.6
Missing	4.5
TOTAL	100.0

Section C: Your opinion on voting in Ethiopia

QC1. Do you find it normal that all Ethiopian people, be they men or women, are permitted to vote?

- a. Yes, a lot
- b. Yes, to some extent
- c. Rather no
- d. Not at all
- e. I don't know or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice]

	%
Yes, a lot	53.2
Yes, to some extent	29.3
Rather no	8.5
Not at all	5.7
DK/NA	2.4
Missing	0.9
TOTAL	100.0

QC2. We assume that “boycotting elections” means “not going to the poll so as to express one’s dissatisfaction with politics”²¹. Considering this, could you indicate whether you agree with the following sentences or not?

	Strongly agree	Rather agree	Rather disagree	Strongly disagree	I don't know/NA
a. A democracy cannot work properly if only few people go to the poll.....					
b. In democracies, it is the duty of every citizen to VOTE WHATEVER the democratic context.....					
c. In democracies, it is the duty of every citizen to VOTE, BUT ONLY when the democratic context is good (i.e: when the elections are free, competitive, fair...etc).....					
d. In democracies, it is the duty of every citizen to BOYCOTT elections when the democratic context is BAD (i.e: when elections are not free, not competitive, not fair...etc).....					

[Please place a cross in the box of your choice for each proposition]

	%			
	Without high turnout, no demo.	Duty to vote whatever the demo.	Duty to vote only in a good demo.	Duty to boycott in a bad demo.
Strongly agree	59.5	37.5	61.6	41.7
Agree	22.4	22.4	19.6	23.6
Rather disagree	5.7	19.0	6.9	10.3
Strongly disagree	5.4	14.8	6.6	15.7
DK NA	4.2	3.6	2.7	6.0
Missing	2.7	2.7	2.4	2.7
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

²¹ We reminded students that not going to the poll simply so as not to waste one’s time couldn’t be considered as an election boycott. We then insisted on the fact that election boycott must encompass the refusal of voting or participating in elections when one considers them as morally wrong (because they are not competitive, not free, not fair...).

QC3. If voting were not allowed, would you have the feeling to loose something very precious?

- a. Yes, a lot
- b. Yes, to some extent
- c. Rather no
- d. Not at all
- e. I don't know or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your answer]

	%
Yes, a lot	59.5
Yes, to some extent	24.5
Rather no	5.7
Not at all	6.6
DK/NA	2.7
Missing	0.9
TOTAL	100.0

QC4. Do you think that your own vote could change the outcome of the following elections?

	Yes, very much	Yes, somewhat	Rather no	Not at all	I don't know/NA
a. Elections of the kebele council.....					
b. Elections of the House of People's Representatives.....					

[Please place a cross in the box of your choice for each proposition]

	%	
	Kebele council	HPR
Yes, very much	30.2	25.1
Yes, somewhat	34.1	27.2
Rather no	13.3	16.9
Not at all	16.9	22.7
DK/NA	3.0	5.1
Missing	2.4	3.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

QC5. Please read the two following statements:

Statement A: "Ethiopia is a rather unified country where federal regions may show solidarity between each other"

Statement B: "Ethiopia is a rather divided country where federal regions may enter into conflict against each other"

Which statement do you most agree with?

- a. Statement A
- b. Statement B
- c. I don't know or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice]

	%
Statement A	33.8
Statement B	54.7
DK/NA	10.3
Missing	1.2
TOTAL	100.0

QC6. Please read the two following statements:

Statement A: “Even if there are conflicts among different groups, Ethiopia should remain united as one country”

Statement B: “The differences among Ethiopians are too strong: for the sake of peace, the country should be broken apart”

Could you please indicate in the following chart which of these 2 statements (A or B) you most agree with?

Only agree with A and not at all with B	Much more agree with A than with B	More agree with A than with B	Agree as much with A as with B	More agree with B than with A	Much more agree with B than with A	Only agree with B and not at all with A

[Please place a cross in the box of your choice or leave a blank if you don't know or don't wish to answer]

	%
A only and not B	45.6
Much more A than B	23.0
More A than B	12.4
As much A as B	3.6
More B than A	6.0
Much more B than A	4.2
B only and not A	3.6
Missing	1.5
TOTAL	100.0

QC7. How much do you trust the following people?

	Very much	Somewhat	Not much	Not at all	I don't know/NA
a. Your relatives.....					
b. Someone in your university.....					
c. Someone in your own kebele.....					
d. Ethiopian from other kebeles.....					
e. Someone in your own ethnic group.....					
f. Ethiopian from other ethnic groups.....					

[Please place a cross in the box of your choice for each proposition]

	%					
	Relatives	University	Own kebele	Other kebeles	Own ethnic group	Other ethnic groups
Very much	59.8	15.4	10.0	8.5	16.6	11.5
Somewhat	29.3	42.3	36.9	32.9	41.4	28.4
Not much	6.3	30.2	32.6	29.6	24.8	30.5
Not at all	2.1	8.2	13.3	17.8	8.5	18.4
DK/NA	0.9	0.9	4.2	8.8	5.4	7.6
Missing	1.5	3.0	3.0	2.4	3.3	3.6
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

QC8. What makes you feel more proud?

- The fact that people refer to you as an “Ethiopian citizen”
- The fact that people refer to you as a “member of your ethnic group”
- The fact that people refer to you as a "human being"
- I don't know or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice]

	%
Ethiopian citizen	41.4
Member of ethnic group	6.9
Human being	45.6
Ethio+ethnic	0.3
Ethnic+mankind	0.3
Ethio+mankind	0.3
DK/NA	3.9
Missing	1.2
TOTAL	100.0

QC9. Do you agree with the following sentences?

	Strongly agree	Rather agree	Rather disagree	Strongly disagree	I don't know/NA
a. In kebeles, it is a good thing that politicians more strongly favour people from their family/clan compared to other people of the kebele.....					
b. At a national level, it is a good thing that politicians more strongly favour people from their ethnic group compared to other Ethiopian people.....					
c. It is a good thing that politicians more strongly favour people who have voted for them compared to people who haven't been to the poll or who have voted for opposition parties.....					

[Please place a cross in the box of your choice for each proposition]

	%		
	Nepotism at kebele level	Ethnic clientelism at national level	Voter clientelism at national level
Strongly agree	20.8	20.5	17.8
Agree	19.9	15.4	13.9
Rather disagree	14.8	14.8	17.2
Strongly disagree	39.0	46.5	45.9
DK NA	4.2	2.1	3.9
Missing	1.2	0.6	1.2
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

QC10. Please read the two following statements:

Statement A: “People should be responsible for their own success and well-being (through for instance starting their own business...etc)”

Statement B: “Government should bear the main responsibility for ensuring the success and well being of people (through for instance providing employment to anyone who wants to work in state-owned enterprises...etc)”

Could you please indicate in the following chart which of these 2 statements (A or B) you most agree with?

Only agree with A and not at all with B	Much more agree with A than with B	More agree with A than with B	Agree as much with A than with B	More agree with B than with A	Much more agree with B than with A	Only agree with B and not at all with A

[Please place a cross in the box of your choice or leave a blank if you don't know or don't wish to answer]

	%
A only and not B	4.8
Much more A than B	26.6
More A than B	17.2
As much A as B	24.2
More B than A	15.7
Much more B than A	9.4
B only and not A	1.2
Missing	0.9
TOTAL	100.0

QC11. Do you agree with the following sentences?

	Strongly agree	Rather agree	Rather disagree	Strongly disagree	I don't know/NA
a. When jobs are scarce, employers should give priority to Ethiopian people over immigrants.....					
b. When jobs are scarce, employers should give priority to people from the largest ethnic groups over people from smallest ethnic groups in Ethiopia.....					

[Please place a cross in the box of your choice for each proposition]

	%	
	Discrimination against immigrants	Discrimination against small ethnic groups
Strongly agree	42.0	9.4
Agree	32.0	6.6
Rather disagree	10.3	20.8
Strongly disagree	9.4	58.3
DK NA	5.1	3.9
Missing	1.2	0.9
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

QC12. Do you agree with the following sentences?

	Strongly agree	Rather agree	Rather disagree	Strongly disagree	I don't know/NA
a. Politicians who do not believe in God are unfit for public office.....					
b. Religious leaders should not influence how people vote in elections.....					
c. Religious leaders should not influence government decisions.....					

[Please place a cross in the box of your choice for each proposition]

	%		
	Unreligious politicians unfit for public office	No influence of religious leaders on the outcome of the vote	No influence of religious leaders on the gvt's decision
Strongly agree	23.6	53.8	40.5
Agree	15.7	20.5	20.2
Rather disagree	19.9	8.8	16.6
Strongly disagree	31.7	12.7	19.0
DK NA	7.3	2.7	2.1
Missing	1.8	1.5	1.5
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

QC13. Do you agree with the following sentences?

	Strongly agree	Rather agree	Rather disagree	Strongly disagree	I don't know/NA
a. Death penalty should be abolished in Ethiopia.....					
b. Death penalty should be abolished everywhere in the world.....					

[Please place a cross in the box of your choice for each proposition]

	%	
	Abolition in Ethiopia	Abolition in the world
Strongly agree	39.3	40.8
Agree	20.2	18.4
Rather disagree	15.1	16.9
Strongly disagree	16.9	16.0
DK NA	6.0	5.7
Missing	2.4	2.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

QC14. Here is a list of benefits that a government can bring to its population. How important are they for you?

	Very important	Important	I am indifferent	Not important	Not important at all	I don't know/NA
a. Increasing your income.....						
b. Increasing the income of people in your kebele.....						
c. Increasing the income of all Ethiopian people.....						
d. Improving your access to education, health services, water, electricity, etc.....						
e. Improving the access of people in your kebele to education, health services, water, electricity, etc.....						
f. Improving the access of all Ethiopian people to education, health services, water, electricity, etc.....						

[Please place a cross in the box of your choice for each proposition]

INCOME	%		
	Increase of personal income	Increase of kebele income	Increase of Ethiopia income
Very important	66.8	58.0	75.2
Important	24.8	33.5	19.3
Indifferent	5.4	3.9	2.1
Not important	0.9	0.9	0.3
Not important at all	0.3	0.6	0.9
DK NA	0.3	1.2	0.6
Missing	1.5	1.8	1.5
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

PUBLIC GOOD	%		
	Improvement of personal access to pg	Improvement of kebele access to pg	Improvement of Ethiopia access to pg
Very important	83.4	78.2	91.8
Important	13.0	17.8	6.0
Indifferent	1.8	2.1	0.3
Not important	0.0	0.3	0.3
Not important at all	0.6	0.6	0.3
DK NA	0.3	0.0	0.3
Missing	0.9	0.9	0.9
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

QC15. How important do you think that the following things are for your fellow Ethiopian citizens?

	Very important	Important	They are indifferent	Not important	Not important at all	I don't know/ NA
a. Having their well-being increased.....						
b. Having the well-being of people in their kebele increased.....						
c. Having the well-being of all Ethiopian people increased.....						

[Please place a cross in the box of your choice for each proposition]

	%		
	Improvement of personal well-being	Improvement of kebele well-being	Improvement of Ethiopia well-being
Very important	73.7	65.3	82.2
Important	19.3	24.8	10.9
Indifferent	2.4	4.2	2.1
Not important	0.3	1.2	1.5
Not important at all	0.6	0.6	0.3
DK NA	2.1	2.4	2.4
Missing	1.5	1.5	0.6
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

QC16. Over the last 10 years, how well would you say that government has been handling the following matters in Ethiopia? If you consider that some of these matters are not the business of government, please select “Not government’s business”).

	Very well	Quite well	Not well	Not well at all	Not government's business	I don't know/ NA
a. Increasing your income.....						
b. Increasing the income of people in your kebele.....						
c. Increasing the income of all Ethiopian people.....						
d. Improving your access to education, health services, water, electricity, etc..						
e. Improving the access of people in your kebele to education, health services, water, electricity, etc.....						
f. Improving the access of all Ethiopian people to education, health services, water, electricity, etc.....						

[Please place a cross in the box of your choice for each proposition]

INCOME	%		
	Improvement of personal income	Improvement of kebele income	Improvement of Ethiopia income
Very well	10.0	6.6	11.5
Quite well	19.6	22.1	15.7
Not well	30.5	36.6	36.3
Not well at all	16.9	22.4	26.6
Not gvt's business	16.6	7.6	3.0
DK NA	4.2	3.0	2.4
Missing	2.1	1.8	4.5
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

PUBLIC GOOD	%		
	Improvement of personal access	Improvement of kebele access	Improvement of Ethiopia access
Very well	28.7	25.4	26.0
Quite well	42.3	39.0	35.6
Not well	17.8	21.1	24.8
Not well at all	7.3	10.6	10.6
Not gvt's business	2.1	1.5	0.6
DK NA	0.6	0.9	0.6
Missing	1.2	1.5	1.8
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

QC17. Do you think that a different government coalition could have done better work at handling these matters than the actual one over the last 10 years?

- a. Yes, very much
- b. Yes, to some extent
- c. Rather no
- d. Not at all
- e. I don't know or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your answer]

	%
Yes, very much	19.6
Yes, to some extent	35.3
Rather no	23.9
Not at all	8.2
DK/NA	12.4
Missing	0.6
TOTAL	100.0

QC18. Imagine that 500 adult people (more than 18 year old) live in your kebele. Your kebele calls for voluntary contribution to get 10,000 Birrs so as to buy desks and chairs for the school of the kebele, and an operating table for the hospital of the kebele. What would your personal monetary contribution be in each of the following cases?

I. You have a monthly average income of 1,000 Birrs

- a. I would accept to contribute Birrs (*please fill in the blank with a specific amount of money*)
- b. I wouldn't contribute anything
- c. I don't know or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice(s)]

	%
Contribution	89.1
No contribution	4.2
DK/NA	6.3
Missing	0.3
TOTAL	100.0

CONTRIBUTED AMOUNT	%
From 1 to 49 Birrs (between 0,1% to 5% of income)	20.0
From 50 to 99 Birrs (between 5% to 10% of income)	30.2
From 100 to 199 Birrs (between 10% to 20% of income)	34.2
From 200 to 299 Birrs (between 20% to 30% of income)	9.2
From 300 to 399 Birrs (between 30% to 40% of income)	1.0
From 400 to 499 Birrs (between 40% to 50% of income)	1.0
500 Birrs	1.0
Missing value ²²	3.4
TOTAL	100.0

2. You have a monthly average income of 500 Birrs

- a. I would accept to contribute Birrs (*please fill in the blank with a specific amount of money*)
- b. I wouldn't contribute anything
- c. I don't know or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice(s)]

	%
Contribution	84.6
No contribution	10.3
DK/NA	4.8
Missing	0.3
TOTAL	100.0

CONTRIBUTED AMOUNT	%
From 1 to 24 Birrs (between 0,2% to 5% of income)	33.9
From 25 to 49 Birrs (between 5% to 10% of income)	18.6
From 50 to 99 Birrs (between 10% to 20% of income)	35.0
From 100 to 149 Birrs (between 20% to 30% of income)	7.5
From 150 to 199 Birrs (between 30% to 40% of income)	0.7
From 200 to 249 Birrs (between 40% to 50% of income)	0.7
250 Birrs (50% of income)	0.4
Missing value ²³	3.2
TOTAL	100.0

3. You have a monthly average income of 300 Birrs

- a. I would accept to contribute..... Birrs (*please fill in the blank with a specific amount of money*)
- b. I wouldn't contribute anything
- c. I don't know or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice(s)]

²² Among which one irrelevant answer of 1,500 Birrs

²³ Among which one irrelevant answer of 800 Birrs

	%
Contribution	72.2
No contribution	19.6
DK/NA	7.3
Missing	0.9
TOTAL	100.0

CONTRIBUTED AMOUNT	%
From 0,5 to 14 Birrs (between 0,1% to 5% of income)	43.5
From 15 to 29 Birrs (between 5% to 10% of income)	21.3
From 30 to 59 Birrs (between 10% to 20% of income)	30.5
From 60 to 89 Birrs (between 20% to 30% of income)	1.3
From 90 to 119 Birrs (between 30% to 40% of income)	0.4
150 Birrs (50% of income)	0.4
Missing value ²⁴	2.5
TOTAL	100.0

QC19. On average do you think that your personal contribution will be higher, the same, or lower than the average monetary contribution of adult people having the same income as you?

- a. Much higher
- b. Higher
- c. The same
- d. Lower
- e. Much lower
- f. I don't know or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice]

	%
Much higher	5.1
Higher	25.4
The same	44.1
Lower	5.4
Much lower	3.3
DK/NA	15.7
Missing value	0.9
TOTAL	100.0

QC20. Do you think that many of the 500 adult people in your *kebele* would accept to contribute money to enable to buy the desks, chairs, and operating table mentioned in the previous question (QC18.)?

- a. Yes, a lot
- b. Yes, some
- c. Few
- d. Almost no one
- e. I don't know or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your answer]

	%
Yes, a lot	29.9
Yes, some	37.8
Few	24.5
Almost no one	2.7
DK/NA	4.8
Missing	0.3
TOTAL	100.0

²⁴ Among which one irrelevant answer of 400 Birrs

QC21. There is about 35 million adult people (more than 18 year old) living in Ethiopia. Imagine that the *national government* calls for voluntary contribution to get 70 millions Birrs to buy desks and chairs for Ethiopian schools and operating tables for Ethiopian hospitals. What would your personal monetary contribution be in each of the following cases?

1. You have a monthly average income of 1,000 Birrs

- a. I would accept to contribute Birrs (*please fill in the blank with a specific amount of money*)
- b. I wouldn't contribute anything
- c. I don't know or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice(s)]

	%
Contribution	84.0
No contribution	6.9
DK/NA	8.5
Missing	0.6
TOTAL	100.0

CONTRIBUTED AMOUNT	%
From 1 to 49 Birrs (between 0,1% to 5% of income)	41.0
From 50 to 99 Birrs (between 5% to 10% of income)	22.7
From 100 to 199 Birrs (between 10% to 20% of income)	23.7
From 200 to 299 Birrs (between 20% to 30% of income)	6.5
From 300 to 399 Birrs (between 30% to 40% of income)	1.1
From 400 to 499 Birrs (between 40% to 50% of income)	0.4
From 500 to 599 (between 50% to 60% of income)	0.7
From 600 to 699 (between 60% to 70% of income)	0.4
800 Birrs (80% of income)	0.4
Missing value	3.2
TOTAL	100.0

2. You have a monthly average income of 500 Birrs

- a. I would accept to contribute Birrs (*please fill in the blank with a specific amount of money*)
- b. I wouldn't contribute anything
- c. I don't know or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice(s)]

	%
Contribution	78.9
No contribution	11.5
DK/NA	9.1
Missing	0.6
TOTAL	100.0

CONTRIBUTED AMOUNT	%
From 1 to 24 Birrs (between 0,2% to 5% of income)	49.4
From 25 to 49 Birrs (between 5% to 10% of income)	16.5
From 50 to 99 Birrs (between 10% to 20% of income)	24.9
From 100 to 149 Birrs (between 20% to 30% of income)	3.8
From 150 to 199 Birrs (between 30% to 40% of income)	0.4
From 200 to 249 Birrs (between 40% to 50% of income)	1.5
From 250 to 299 Birrs (between 50% to 60% of income)	0.8
400 Birrs (80% of income)	0.4
Missing value	2.3
TOTAL	100.0

3. You have a monthly average income of 300 Birrs

- a. I would accept to contribute..... Birrs (*please fill in the blank with a specific amount of money*)
- b. I wouldn't contribute any thing
- c. I don't know or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice(s)]

	%
Contribution	65.3
No contribution	23.6
DK/NA	10.6
Missing	0.6
TOTAL	100.0

CONTRIBUTED AMOUNT	%
From 0,5 to 14 Birrs (between 0,1% to 5% of income)	55.6
From 15 to 29 Birrs (between 5% to 10% of income)	20.4
From 30 to 59 Birrs (between 10% to 20% of income)	17.6
From 60 to 89 Birrs (between 20% to 30% of income)	1.9
From 90 to 119 Birrs (between 30% to 40% of income)	2.3
150 Birrs (50% of income)	0.5
Missing value	1.9
TOTAL	100.0

QC22. On average, do you think that your personal contribution will be higher, the same, or lower than the average monetary contribution of adult people having the same income as you?

- a. Much higher
- b. Higher
- c. The same
- d. Lower
- e. Much lower
- f. I don't know or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice]

	%
Much higher	4.5
Higher	24.5
The same	39.9
Lower	9.7
Much lower	2.4
DK/NA	18.1
Missing value	0.9
TOTAL	100.0

QC23. Do you think that many adult people in Ethiopia would accept to contribute money to enable to buy the new desks, chairs, and operating tables mentioned in the previous question (QC21.)?

- a. Yes, a lot
- b. Yes, some
- c. Few
- d. Almost no one
- e. I don't know or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your answer]

	%
Yes, a lot	23.6
Yes, some	36.9
Few	28.4
Almost no one	4.8
DK/NA	6.0
Missing	0.3
TOTAL	100.0

QC24. People in a country have to pay taxes (except when they are very poor). Please indicate if you would approve or not if part of the taxes paid by upper and middle income people in Ethiopia were used to help very poor people to survive, in addition to building schools, hospitals...etc.

- a. Approve very much
- b. Rather approve
- c. Neither approve nor disapprove
- d. Rather disapprove
- e. Disapprove very much
- f. I don't know or don't wish to answer

[Please place a cross on the scale or leave a blank if you don't know or don't wish to answer]

	%
Approve very much	50.2
Rather approve	23.9
Neither approve nor disapprove	9.4
Rather disapprove	7.6
Disapprove very much	3.6
DK/NA	4.5
Missing value	0.9
TOTAL	100.0

QC25. Please read the two following statements:

Statement A: "Taxes should be high so as to enable to build schools, hospitals, roads...etc in the country"

Statement B: "Taxes should be low so as not to reduce too much the income of people, even if this means less schools, hospitals, or less roads in the country"

Could you please indicate in the following chart which of these 2 statements (A or B) you most agree with?

Only agree with A and not at all with B	Much more agree with A than with B	More agree with A than with B	Agree as much with A than with B	More agree with B than with A	Much more agree with B than with A	Only agree with B and not at all with A

[Please place a cross in the box of your choice or leave a blank if you don't know or don't wish to answer]

	%
A only and not B	9.4
Much more A than B	24.5
More A than B	25.4
As much A as B	14.5
More B than A	15.1
Much more B than A	6.3
B only and not A	2.7
Missing	2.1
TOTAL	100.0

QC26. Among the taxes that you pay (or that you will pay), please indicate the proportion that you would like to be used for the development of your kebele only and for the development of Ethiopia as a whole country, respectively.

All for your kebele and nothing for the development of Ethiopia as a whole country	Much more for your kebele than for Ethiopia as a whole country	More for your kebele than for Ethiopia as a whole country	As much for your kebele as for Ethiopia as a whole country	More for Ethiopia as a whole country than for your kebele	Much more for Ethiopia as a whole country than for your kebele	All for Ethiopia as a whole country and nothing for the development of your kebele

[Please circle your choice]

	%
A only and not B	2.1
Much more A than B	10.9
More A than B	16.9
As much A as B	38.1
More B than A	13.6
Much more B than A	13.0
B only and not A	2.7
Missing	2.7
TOTAL	100.0

QC27. We assume that the government properly uses the money collected through taxes by building public infrastructure (hospitals, schools, roads...). Imagine that you have the opportunity not to pay taxes once you start earning your own living after your studies, whereas your fellow citizens will still have to pay them. Would you take this opportunity of not paying the following taxes?

	Yes, absolutely	Yes, to some extent	Rather no	Not at all	I don't know/NA
a. Taxes that are due to the development of your kebele only.....					
b. Taxes that are due to the development of Ethiopia as a whole country.....					

[Please place a cross in the box of your choice for each proposition]

	%	
	Local taxes	National taxes
Yes, absolutely	9.7	25.1
Yes, to some extent	23.6	18.7
Rather no	28.4	18.7
Not at all	29.9	30.5
DK/NA	4.5	4.8
Missing	3.9	2.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

QC28. We suppose that the government does not properly use the money collected through taxes, which means that only a few proportion of these taxes is actually used to build public infrastructure (hospitals, schools, roads...). Would you still be willing to pay these taxes once you start earning your own living after your studies?

- a. Yes, absolutely
- b. Yes, to some extent
- c. Rather no
- d. Not at all
- e. I don't know or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your answer]

	%
Yes, absolutely	13.9
Yes, to some extent	28.1
Rather no	28.7
Not at all	26.9
DK/NA	2.1
Missing	0.3
TOTAL	100.0

QC29. With which of the following groups do you consider to share the highest number of interests to be POLITICALLY DEFENDED? You can circle more than 1 answer.

- a. Nobody
- b. Your family/clan
- c. People living in the same kebele/woreda as you
- d. People belonging to the same ethnic group as you
- e. People having the same religion as you
- f. People speaking the same language as you
- g. People having the same living conditions as you
- h. People belonging to the same economic class as you (farmer, working class, middle class, well-educated...etc)
- i. People sharing the same vision of the world as you
- j. All people living in Ethiopia
- k. I don't know or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice(s)]

	%
Nobody	4.2
Family/clan	10.9
People living in the same kebele	5.4
People having the same ethnic group	19.0
People of the same religion	10.6
People having the same language	8.5
People having the same living conditions	9.4
People belonging to the same economic class	10.9
People having the same vision of the world	34.1
All people living in Ethiopia	33.2
DK/NA	12.4
Missing	0.9

QC30. Imagine that a demonstration is organised so as to defend the interests of your political group defined in the previous question (QC29.). The more there will be people attending the demonstration, the better the chance for your political group to be taken into account by politicians in the long run. However, in the short-run, the risk that the demonstration turns into a riot (and thus the risk of being hurt for those who attend the demonstration) is high.

How likely is it that you attend the demonstration?

- a. Very likely
- b. Rather likely
- c. Neither likely nor unlikely
- d. Rather unlikely
- e. Very unlikely
- f. I don't know or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice(s)]

	%
Very likely	22.1
Rather likely	29.0
Neither likely nor unlikely	12.7
Rather unlikely	12.7
Very unlikely	8.2
DK/NA	13.9
Missing value	1.5
TOTAL	100.0

QC31. In this question, we ask you to choose between the two following types of candidates: *candidate A* and *candidate B* which are endowed with the following characteristics respectively:

Candidate A: He belongs to the same ethnic group as you and promises to increase the well-being of people from your ethnic group first and foremost, even if this means decreasing the well-being of people from other ethnic groups.

Candidate B: He belongs to the same ethnic group as you but promises to increase the well-being of all Ethiopian people equally, without particularly favouring your ethnic group.

Please indicate in the following chart which of these 2 candidates (A or B) you prefer?

Candidate A only and not all government B	Much more prefer candidate A to candidate B	More prefer candidate A to candidate B	Prefer as much candidate A as candidate B	More prefer candidate B to candidate A	Much more prefer candidate B to candidate A	Candidate B only and not all candidate A

[Please circle your choice(s)]

	%
A only and not B	4.5
Much more A than B	6.3
More A than B	5.4
As much A as B	2.7
More B than A	25.7
Much more B than A	18.1
B only and not A	35.6
Missing	1.5
TOTAL	100.0

QC32. In this question, we ask you to choose between the two following types of candidates: *candidate A* and *candidate B* which are endowed with the following characteristics respectively:

Candidate A: He promises to increase the well-being of people who will vote for him first and foremost, even if this means decreasing the well-being of other people (people who won't go to the poll or who will vote for another party).

Candidate B: He promises to increase the well-being of all Ethiopian people, without particularly favouring people who voted for him.

Please indicate in the following chart which of these 2 candidates (A or B) you prefer.

Candidate A only and not all government B	Much more prefer candidate A to candidate B	More prefer candidate A to candidate B	Prefer as much candidate A as candidate B	More prefer candidate B to candidate A	Much more prefer candidate B to candidate A	Candidate B only and not all candidate A

[Please place a cross on the scale or leave a blank if you don't know or don't wish to answer]

	%
A only and not B	3.6
Much more A than B	1.8
More A than B	8.2
As much A as B	3.6
More B than A	20.8
Much more B than A	23.3
B only and not A	37.2
Missing	1.5
TOTAL	100.0

QC33. In this question, we ask you to choose between the two following types of candidates: *candidate A* and *candidate B* which are endowed with the following characteristics respectively:

Candidate A: He promises to increase the well-being of poor people only, even if this means decreasing the well-being of rich people.

Candidate B: He promises to increase the well-being of rich people only even if this means further decreasing the well-being of poor people.

Please indicate in the following chart which of these 2 candidates (A or B) you prefer.

Candidate A only and not all government B	Much more prefer candidate A to candidate B	More prefer candidate A to candidate B	Prefer as much candidate A as candidate B	More prefer candidate B to candidate A	Much more prefer candidate B to candidate A	Candidate B only and not all candidate A

[Please place a cross on the scale or leave a blank if you don't know or don't wish to answer]

	%
A only and not B	23.9
Much more A than B	24.2
More A than B	27.5
As much A as B	8.8
More B than A	5.4
Much more B than A	1.5
B only and not A	3.0
Missing	5.7
TOTAL	100.0

QC34. Which party do you support?

- a. EPRDF (Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front)
- b. AAPO (All Amhara People's Organisation)
- c. SEPDC (Southern Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Coalition)
- d. CAFPDE (Coalition of Alternative Forces for Peace and Democracy in Ethiopia)
- e. EDP (Ethiopian Democracy Party)
- f. EDUP (Ethiopian Democratic Union Party)
- g. ONC (Oromo National Congress)
- h. OLF (Oromo Liberation Front)
- i. Other, namely.....
- j. I feel close to no party
- k. I don't know or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice and fill in the blank if your answer is "h"]

	%
EPRDF	26.6
AAPO	3.3
SEPDC	0.6
CAFPDE	2.1
EDP	10.3
EDUP	5.7
ONC	1.5
OLF	6.3
Other (EPPF)	0.3
No party	42.9
DK/NA	1.8
Missing	0.6

If you answered “j”, or “k” (you feel close to no party or don’t know or don’t wish to answer), could you at least indicate which party you would prefer never to vote for?

- a. EPRDF (Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front)
- b. AAPO (All Amhara People’s Organisation)
- c. SEPDC (Southern Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Coalition)
- d. CAFPDE (Coalition of Alternative Forces for Peace and Democracy in Ethiopia)
- e. EDP (Ethiopian Democracy Party)
- f. EDUP (Ethiopian Democratic Union Party)
- g. ONC (Oromo National Congress)
- h. OLF (Oromo Liberation Front)
- i. Other, namely.....
- j. I don’t know or don’t wish to answer

[Please circle your choice]

AMONG THOSE WHO ANSWERED « j », « k », OR NOTHING	%
EPRDF	14.0
AAPO	8.7
SEPDC	2.0
CAFPDE	0.0
EDP	2.0
EDUP	2.7
ONC	6.7
OLF	46.0
DK/NA	19.3
Missing	14.7

QC35. Do you consider that the political opinion of your family/clan influence your political opinion a lot?

- a. Yes, a lot
- b. Yes, to some extent
- c. Rather no
- d. Not at all
- e. I don’t know or don’t wish to answer

[Please circle your choice]

	%
Yes, a lot	7.6
Yes, to some extent	36.0
Rather no	20.8
Not at all	32.6
DK/NA	1.5
Missing	1.5
TOTAL	100.0

QC36. There are many kinds of political parties. They can be:

- “ethnic-oriented”: they favour people from their ethnic-group
- “vote-oriented”: they favour people who voted for them
- “rich-oriented”: they favour rich people
- “poor-oriented”: they favour poor people
- "power oriented": they only care about getting power and not at all about Ethiopian citizens
- “Ethiopia-oriented”: they defend the interests of ALL Ethiopian people without favouring any group more than the other.

Could you please indicate whether the following parties are “ethnic-oriented”, “vote-oriented”, “rich-oriented”, “poor-oriented”, "power-oriented" or “Ethiopia-oriented”? You can select more than 1 answer for each party.

	Ethnic-oriented	Vote-oriented	Rich-oriented	Poor-oriented	Power-oriented	Ethiopia-oriented	I don't know/NA
a. EPRDF (Ethiopian People's Republic Democratic Front).....							
b. AAPO (All Amhara People's Organisation).....							
c. SEPDC (Southern Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Coalition)...							
d. CAFPDE (Coalition of Alternative Forces for Peace and Democracy in Ethiopia).....							
e. EDP (Ethiopian Democratic Party).							
f. EDUP (Ethiopian Democratic Union Party).....							
g. ONC (Oromo National Congress)..							
h. OLF (Oromo Liberation Front).....							

[Please place a cross in the box of your choice for each proposition]

	%							
	EPRDF	AAPO	SEPDC	CAFPDE	EDP	EDUP	ONC	OLF
Ethnic oriented	38.7	52.3	46.8	6.9	8.2	8.5	56.2	70.7
Vote oriented	13.9	6.9	5.7	8.5	12.4	10.6	7.3	3.0
Rich oriented	1.5	2.4	0.9	3.0	3.3	3.0	0.3	0.3
Poor oriented	3.3	2.1	3.0	1.8	1.8	0.9	1.8	1.5
Power oriented	18.1	3.0	3.0	10.6	7.3	8.8	5.7	9.1
Ethiopia oriented	26.9	8.5	4.5	19.3	34.1	26.0	2.1	1.8
DK/NA	6.0	20.8	29.6	43.5	26.9	31.7	21.5	12.1
Missing	3.0	6.3	7.6	7.6	8.8	12.4	8.2	6.0

QC37. Would you feel pleased to vote for the party you support just to show your back up to this party, even in the case where you perfectly know that it has no chance to win the elections (because elections are not free or not fair for instance)?

- a. Yes, a lot
- b. Yes, to some extent
- c. Rather no
- d. Not at all
- e. I feel close to no party
- f. I don't know or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice]

	%
Yes, a lot	39.3
Yes, to some extent	24.2
Rather no	9.7
Not at all ²⁵	7.6
Feel close to no party	8.5
DK/NA	8.8
Missing	2.1
TOTAL	100.0

QC38. Imagine that the party you support is ruling the country and that new elections are taking place. Knowing that the party you support didn't keep its promises when it was ruling the country, would you vote for it?

- a. Yes, absolutely
- b. Yes, to some extent
- c. Rather no
- d. Not at all
- e. I don't know or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice(s)]

	%
Yes, absolutely	5.7
Yes, to some extent	9.1
Rather no	34.4
Not at all	43.2
DK/NA	6.3
Missing	1.2
TOTAL	100.0

QC39. During electoral campaign, does it take you a long time to decide for which party you will vote?

- a. Yes, a lot
- b. Yes, to some extent
- c. Rather no
- d. Not at all
- e. I feel close to no party
- f. I don't know or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice]

	%
Yes, a lot	13.0
Yes, to some extent	29.6
Rather no	17.2
Not at all ²⁶	22.7
Feel close to no party	6.9
DK/NA	9.7
Missing	0.9
TOTAL	100.0

²⁵ Among which one respondent precised that he wanted to « show his support differently ».

²⁶ Among which one respondent wrote : « In my village there is only one party who runs for elections. So no need of taking long time to vote for this party (TPLF) or to decide not to vote for it.”

QC40. On average, how long does it take you from the place you live in Addis Ababa to go to the polling station where you are registered and vote?

- a. Less than 30 minutes
- b. Between 30 minutes and 1 hour
- c. Between 1 hour and 1 hour and a half
- d. Between 1 hour and a half and 2 hours
- e. More than 2 hours
- f. More than half a day
- g. More than 1 day
- h. I don't know (I have never voted) or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice]

	%
Less than 30 mn	29.6
Between 30 mn and 1 hour	14.2
Between 1 hour and 1 hour and a half	4.2
Between 1 hour and a half and 2 hours	3.9
More than 2 hours	3.9
More than half a day	3.9
More than 1 day	3.9
DK (never voted)/NA	34.4
Missing	1.8
TOTAL	100.0

QC41. Do you consider election day as a joyful day (i.e: does it make you pleased to go to the poll and vote)?

- a. Yes, a lot
- b. Yes, to some extent
- c. Rather no
- d. Not at all
- e. I don't know (I have never voted) or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice]

	%
Yes, a lot	16.3
Yes, to some extent	26.6
Rather no	17.2
Not at all	18.7
DK (never voted)/NA	19.9
Missing	1.2
TOTAL	100.0

QC42. What is for you the most important election?

- a. Election of the House of People's Representatives
- b. Election of the Regional Councils
- c. Election of the woreda council
- d. Election of the kebele council
- e. I don't know or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your answer]

	%
House of People's Representatives	45.0
Regional Council	11.2
Woreda Council	3.0
Kebele Council	8.8
DK/NA	29.3
Missing	2.7
TOTAL	100.0

QC43. Regarding 2001 kebele elections, do you remember which party won the majority of seats in the kebele where you are living?

- a. Yes, I do. The majority party at the kebele council was.....
- b. No, I do not
- c. I don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice and fill in the blank if your answer is "a"]

	%
Yes I do	39.6
No I do not	41.7
DK/NA	13.3
Missing	5.4
TOTAL	100.0

AMONG THOSE WHO ANSWERED « YES, I DO »	%
EPRDF	82.4
ONC	3.1
AAPO	1.5
CAFPDE	0.8
SEPDC	0.8
EDP	0.8
Missing	10.7
TOTAL	100.0

Do you remember which party arrived second?

- a. Yes, I do. The party that arrived second at the kebele council was
- b. No, I do not
- c. There were no opposition candidates during kebele elections
- d. I don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice and fill in the blank if your answer is "a"]

	%
Yes I do	8.5
No I don't	60.7
No opposition candidate	12.1
DK/NA	16.3
Missing	2.4
TOTAL	100.0

AMONG THOSE WHO ANSWERED « YES, I DO »	%
EPRDF	7.1
ONC	3.6
AAPO	7.1
SEPDC	3.6
EDP	28.6
EDUP	17.9
Missing	32.1
TOTAL	100.0

Do you remember the percentage of people having gone to the poll?

- a. Yes, I do. The percentage of people having gone to the poll was about.....%
- b. No, I do not
- c. I don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice and fill in the blank if your answer is "a"]

	%
Yes I do	10.6
No I don't	75.5
DK/NA	9.7
Missing	4.2
TOTAL	100.0

AMONG THOSE WHO ANSWERED « YES, I DO »	%
Between 0 and 24%	2.9
Between 25% and 49%	5.7
Between 50% and 74%	22.9
Between 75% and 87,4%	28.6
Between 87,5% and 99%	28.6
100%	2.9
Missing	8.6
TOTAL	100.0

QC44. Is the kebele where you had to go if you wanted to vote during 2001 kebele elections located in Addis Ababa? We refer to this kebele as your "electoral kebele" in the following of the questionnaire.

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. I don't know or don't want to answer

[Please circle your answer]

	%
Yes	29.3
No	43.2
DK/NA	24.5
Missing	3.0
TOTAL	100.0

QC45. Freeness means that people are totally free to go to the poll or not (they are not punishing for not having gone to the poll or for having voted for an opposition party). Were the 2001 kebele elections free in your "electoral kebele"?

- a. Yes, a lot
- b. Yes, to some extent
- c. Rather no
- d. Not at all
- e. I don't know or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice]

	%
Yes, a lot	16.9
Yes, to some extent	26.0
Rather no	16.3
Not at all	21.1
DK/NA	17.5
Missing	2.1
TOTAL	100.0

QC46. Fairness means that politicians do not manipulate the final results of the poll in any ways.

Were the 2001 kebele elections fair in your "electoral kebele"?

- a. Yes, a lot
- b. Yes, to some extent
- c. Rather no
- d. Not at all
- e. I don't know or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice]

	%
Yes, a lot	12.4
Yes, to some extent	20.2
Rather no	18.1
Not at all	24.5
DK/NA	23.9
Missing	0.9
TOTAL	100.0

QC47. Were you eligible for the 2001 kebele elections (were you over 18 year old)?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. I don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice]

	%
Yes	61.9
No	28.1
DK/NA	7.6
Missing	2.4
TOTAL	100.0

QC48. Did you vote during 2001 kebele elections?

- a. Yes
- b. No, because *(you can select more than 1 answer):*
 - 1. I was not eligible
 - 2. I was ill or absent
 - 3. It was certain that the party I feel closest to would win the elections even if I didn't go to the poll
 - 4. No candidate interested me
 - 5. I consider that my vote cannot change anything
 - 6. I consider that I am not enough competent to decide who to vote for
 - 7. I had something more important to do
 - 8. The organisation of the vote was bad and it was finally impossible for me to vote (too many voters compared to the smallness of the polling station)
 - 9. I wanted to boycott the vote to express my dissatisfaction with politics

[Please circle your choice(s)]

	%
Yes	31.4
No	67.4
DK/NA	0.3
Missing	0.9
TOTAL	100.0

AMONG THOSE WHO ANSWERED "NO"	%
Not eligible	23.8
Ill/Absent	13.5
Certain that the supported party would vote	1.8
Not interested in candidates	22.4
No possibility to change anything	23.3
Not enough competent	4.9
Something more important to do	23.8
Bad organisation of the vote	2.2
Wanted to boycott	8.1
Missing	4.0

If you answered “No”, did you loose some advantages provided by your kebele (like cheap flat rent...etc) for not having gone to the poll?

- Yes, a lot
- Yes, to some extent
- Rather no
- Not at all
- I don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice]

Did members of your family/clan also loose some advantages provided by your kebele (like cheap flat rent...etc) because you didn't go to the poll?

- Yes, a lot
- Yes, to some extent
- Rather no
- Not at all
- I don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice]

AMONG THOSE WHO ANSWERED « NO »	%	
	Personal level	Family level
Yes, a lot	6.3	5.8
Yes, to some extent	19.7	16.6
Rather no	22.9	22.0
Not at all	33.6	36.8
DK/NA	6.7	6.7
Missing	10.8	12.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

QC49. How many politically different parties or candidates were competing against each other in your "electoral kebele" during 2001 kebele elections?

- Only one
- Two
- More than two
- I don't know or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice]

	%
Only one	15.1
Two	12.7
More than two	40.2
DK/NA	30.8
Missing	1.2
TOTAL	100.0

QC50. In your "electoral kebele", did some candidates promise to give individual benefits to people who voted for them to thank them for their vote during 2001 kebele elections?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. I don't know or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice]

	%
Yes	28.4
No	32.0
DK/NA	37.8
Missing	1.8
TOTAL	100.0

If you answered "Yes", were such benefits large?

- a. Very large
- b. Quite large
- c. Not very large
- d. Not large at all
- e. I don't know or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice]

AMONG THOSE WHO ANSWERED « YES »	%
Very large	18.1
Quite large	13.8
Not large	36.2
Not large at all	14.9
DK/NA	9.6
Missing	7.4
TOTAL	100.0

QC51. In your "electoral kebele", was the party you support participating in 2001 kebele elections?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. I feel close to no party
- d. I don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice]

	%
Yes	33.5
No	19.9
Feel close to no party	31.4
DK/NA	12.7
Missing	2.4
TOTAL	100.0

QC52. Would you have been (or were you) very disappointed if the party you support hadn't (or didn't) win the 2001 kebele elections in your "electoral kebele"?

- a. Very disappointed
- b. Rather disappointed
- c. Not very disappointed
- d. Not disappointed at all
- e. I didn't vote
- f. I don't know or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice]

	%
Very disappointed	20.2
Rather disappointed	17.2
Not very disappointed	20.5
Not disappointed at all	2.7
Didn't vote	28.1
DK/NA	7.6
Missing	3.6
TOTAL	100.0

QC53. Did the party you vote for promise you to give you a personal benefit to thank you for your vote during 2001 kebele elections?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. I didn't vote
- d. I don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice]

	%
Yes	5.7
No	39.3
Didn't vote	42.6
DK/NA	9.7
Missing	2.7
TOTAL	100.0

QC54. Before kebele elections took place in 2001, how many people did you think would not vote or vote for a party different from EPRDF in your "electoral kebele"?

- a. A lot
- b. Some
- c. Few
- d. Almost no one
- e. I don't know or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice]

	%
A lot	24.2
Some	17.5
Few	15.4
Almost no one	8.2
DK/NA	32.0
Missing	2.7
TOTAL	100.0

QC55. Did you vote for an EPRDF candidate during 2001 kebele elections?

- a. Yes
- b. No, I voted for another party
- c. No I voted blank (I put a blank ballot in the ballot box)
- d. I did not vote in 2001
- e. I don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice]

	%
Yes	19.6
No (voted for opposition)	12.1
No (voted blank)	3.3
Didn't vote	56.2
DK/NA	6.6
Missing	2.1
TOTAL	100.0

If you answered “b” or “c”, did you lose some advantages provided by your kebele (like cheap flat rent...etc) for not having voted for EPRDF?

- a. Yes, a lot
- b. Yes, to some extent
- c. Rather no
- d. Not at all
- e. I don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice]

Did members of your family/clan also lose some advantages provided by your kebele (like cheap flat rent...etc) because you didn't vote for EPRDF?

- a. Yes, a lot
- b. Yes, to some extent
- c. Rather no
- d. Not at all
- e. I don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice]

	%	
AMONG THOSE WHO ANSWERED « b » or “c”	Personal level	Family level
Yes, a lot	15.7	15.7
Yes, to some extent	17.6	13.7
Rather no	23.5	15.7
Not at all	29.4	31.4
DK/NA	2.0	3.9
Missing	11.8	19.6
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

QC56. Did you vote in the booth or outside the booth at the polling station during 2001 kebele elections?

- a. In the booth
- b. Outside the booth
- c. There was no booth
- d. I did not vote

[Please circle your choice]

	%
In the booth	24.2
Outside the booth	6.6
There was no booth	4.2
Didn't vote	60.4
Missing	4.5
TOTAL	100.0

If you answered “a” (you voted in the booth), did the booth guarantee that your vote was secret and that nobody could see it until you put it in the ballot box?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. I don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice]

If you answered “b” (you voted outside the booth), why didn't you use the booth?

- a. Because I wanted officials to see what I voted for
- b. Because officials forced me to vote outside the booth so as to check what I voted for
- c. I don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice]

AMONG THOSE WHO ANSWERED « a »	%
Yes	67.5
No	22.5
DK/NA	3.8
Missing	6.3
TOTAL	100.0

AMONG THOSE WHO ANSWERED « b »	%
Wanted officials to see the content of the vote	27.3
Was forced to vote outside of the booth	27.3
DK/NA	13.6
Missing	31.8
TOTAL	100.0

QC57. Did your father vote during the kebele elections in 2001?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. I don't know or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your answer]

	%
Yes	61.6
No	19.6
DK/NA	15.1
Missing	3.6
TOTAL	100.0

If you answered "Yes", do you know for which part your father voted during the local elections in 2001?

- a. Yes, he voted for.....
- b. No, I do not know or I don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice and fill in the blank if your answer is "a"]

AMONG THOSE WHO ANSWERED « YES »	%
EPRDF	39.7
AAPO	2.5
SEPDC	1.0
EDP	4.9
EDUP	1.5
Opposition	0.5
OLF	0.5
ONC	1.0
DK/NA	41.2
Missing	7.4
TOTAL	100.0

QC58. Did your mother vote during the kebele elections in 2001?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. I don't know or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your answer]

	%
Yes	58.6
No	23.9
DK/NA	13.6
Missing	3.9
TOTAL	100.0

If you answered “Yes”, do you know for which party your mother voted during the local elections in 2001?

a. Yes, she voted for.....

b. No, I do not know or I don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice and fill in the blank if your answer is “a”]

AMONG THOSE WHO ANSWERED « YES »	%
EPRDF	43.8
AAPO	2.6
SEPDC	1.0
EDP	3.6
Independent candidate	0.5
Opposition	0.5
OLF	0.5
ONC	0.5
DK/NA	38.1
Missing	8.8
TOTAL	100.0

QC59. How likely do you consider that the 2005 national elections will be totally free and fair?

- a. Very likely
- b. Rather likely
- c. Neither likely nor unlikely
- d. Rather unlikely
- e. Very unlikely
- f. I don't know or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice]

	%
Very likely	18.1
Rather likely	20.5
Neither likely nor unlikely	8.8
Rather unlikely	16.3
Very unlikely	25.4
DK/NA	9.4
Missing	1.5
TOTAL	100.0

QC60. How likely is it that you go to the poll next year for the 2005 national elections?

- a. Very likely
- b. Rather likely
- c. Neither likely nor unlikely
- d. Rather unlikely
- e. Very unlikely
- f. I don't know or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice]

	%
Very likely	37.2
Rather likely	21.1
Neither likely nor unlikely	8.2
Rather unlikely	11.2
Very unlikely	11.8
DK/NA	8.8
Missing	1.8
TOTAL	100.0

QC61. If you do not vote during 2005 national elections, would your parents disapprove or approve you?

- a. Disapprove very much
- b. Disapprove somewhat
- c. Neither approve nor disapprove
- d. Rather approve
- e. Approve very much
- f. I don't know or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice]

	%
Disapprove very much	10.6
Disapprove somewhat	6.6
Neither approve nor disapprove	50.2
Rather approve	4.2
Approve very much	4.2
DK/NA	22.7
Missing	1.5
TOTAL	100.0

QC62. Do you think that many Ethiopian people will go to the poll for 2005 national elections?

- a. Yes, a lot
- b. Yes, some
- c. Few
- d. Almost no one
- e. I don't know or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice]

	%
Yes, a lot	42.0
Yes, some	28.4
Few	11.2
Almost no one	2.4
DK/NA	13.9
Missing	2.1
TOTAL	100.0

QC63. For each of the following political parties, could you please indicate whether you would be happy or not if it came to win the 2005 national elections?

	Happy	Not happy	I don't know/NA
a. EPRDF (Ethiopian People's Republic Democratic Front).....			
b. AAPO (All Amhara People's Organisation).....			
c. SEPDC (Southern Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Coalition).....			
d. CAFPDE (Coalition of Alternative Forces for Peace and Democracy in Ethiopia).....			
e. EDP (Ethiopian Democratic Party).....			
f. EDUP (Ethiopian Democratic Union Party).....			
g. ONC (Oromo National Congress).....			
h. OLF (Oromo Liberation Front).....			

[Please place a cross in the box of your choice for each proposition]

	%							
	EPRDF	AAPO	SEPDC	CAFPDE	EDP	EDUP	ONC	OLF
Happy	43.8	17.2	10.3	22.4	39.6	26.0	7.9	7.3
Not happy	36.9	47.7	44.4	35.6	26.6	36.0	59.2	68.6
DK/NA	13.0	26.0	34.7	32.3	23.9	29.0	23.3	16.3
Missing	6.3	9.1	10.6	9.7	10.0	9.1	9.7	7.9
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

QC64. Assuming that 2005 national elections will be totally free and fair, how likely is it that EPRDF wins the elections?

- Very likely
- Rather likely
- Neither likely nor unlikely
- Rather unlikely
- Very unlikely
- I don't know or don't wish to answer

[Please circle your choice]

	%
Very likely	32.0
Rather likely	17.5
Neither likely nor unlikely	6.6
Rather unlikely	10.3
Very unlikely	25.1
DK/NA	6.6
Missing	1.8
TOTAL	100.0

Students' concluding remarks

Some students (specially Oromo students) came to the interviewer after the questionnaire to complain about what they called an “over-representation” of Tigreans among the respondents. Two of them expressed their disappointment through comments written at the end of their questionnaire:

- “I am very disappointed by this survey because the questionnaire is filled in by 99% of one ethnic group (i.e: from the ruling party). So I think that it is not fairly filled. Oromo and other ethnic groups (except Tigreans) are not represented at all.”
- “It would be good if this questionnaire is filled by all ethnic groups living in Ethiopia but I feel unhappy because in the class there is only one ethnic group represented. There is a bias by the coordinator²⁷ you are working with.”

We emphasized at question *QA28* that Oromo and SNNP students are indeed under-represented in our sample compared to other ethnic groups. Oromos however count for 20.8% of the respondents, which should enable us to get the necessary information to understand the underlying incentives of their political opinion. We'll have to be more cautious when analysing answers of SNNP students since they stand for only 11.6% of the sample.

The ethnic political hegemony that Tigreans are supposed to have established through the adoption of a federalist system was often highlighted by students, either explicitly through notes on the margin, or through their answers. In that sense, 61.9% of the respondents claimed to support regional federalism, while only 14.2% wrote to be in favour of ethnic federalism (see *QA27*). Here is the comment of one student that we find quite illustrative of that commonly shared feeling: “The political system in Ethiopia is not ready for free elections. All political parties should participate. Federal system in Ethiopia is not acceptable because it only favours one ethnic group: the Tigrayans. Recommendations: Ethiopia should continue the federal system in such a way that all Ethiopians are respected and seen as one in front of law (equal). It must represent the interest of the whole nation.”

²⁷ We hired some students to help us recruit potential respondents. Some of them were accused by their fellow students of having favoured the recruitment of people from their own ethnic groups which appears to be only partly true.

Finally, the questionnaire was conducted in a very tense context. Indeed, on April, 29, 2004 (one week before the implementation of the survey) a grenade was thrown in a television room at Addis Ababa University during a Tigrayan language news program, killing one student and injuring eight others. Some suspects were arrested by the police which rapidly charged OLF (the Oromo Liberation Front fighting for the independence of the Oromo people) for being responsible of this bomb attack (which has not been proved yet), as a response to the expulsion of 330 Oromo students from the Addis Ababa University in January²⁸. Many students were shocked by this event and some of them expressed their resentment at the end of the questionnaire:

- “I am strongly opposed to OLF because I consider it as a terrorist organisation, and not at all as a political party. Do you remember what they did last week on the campus of Siddist Kilo²⁹?”
- “Marie-Anne Valfort, please say once back in France the horrible actions that OLF is leading in the country. Thank you.”

These recent terrorist actions may explain that, while university campus are often considered as places of political rebellion, a massive proportion of students (71.3%) declared no to be interested in using force or violent methods to express their dissatisfaction with politics (see *QB19*).

²⁸ They were blamed for having participated on January, 4, 2004 in a demonstration protesting against the Federal Government’s order that the offices of the Oromiya Regional State administration be transferred from Addis Ababa to Adama (also known as Nazareth), a town 100 kilometres east of Addis Ababa.

²⁹ Siddist Kilo is the district where the Addis Ababa University is located.

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