# CepRass-NED Post-Election OP Dissemination

Research Team

April 2022

- An opinion poll is an **assessment of public opinion by surveying** a representative sample, especially as the basis for forecasting the results of voting.
- Public Opinion Polls have **successfully predicted elections in America** since 1936 (AAPOR), although they continue to post challenges.
- Parliamentary election as mandated by the 1997 Constitution will take place in few days.
- The new political dispensation has led to the **proliferation of political parties parties and independent candidates**.More than 250 candidate, across 12 political parties plus independent candidates, registered with the IEC to vy for the NA election.

- The first OP was conducted in August-September 2021 and results were released on 1st October 2021.
- The second OP was conducted between 9th and 19th November 2021. The goal is to track changes in public perception on electoral issues since the first OP.
- The overarching goal of this post-election poll is to provide assessment the new government's performance across key sectors and collate opinion on key issues around the upcoming parliamentary election .
- The OP is divided into **assessing government's performance and parliamentary election**.

- The design adapted the recent **Integrated Household Survey (IHS) with telephone numbers** as the frame, which comprises of 14,191 households from 8 local government areas (LGAs) within 48 districts in The Gambia.

- A **proportionate random sampling design was used**, where the proportion for each constituency was based on the number of registered voters within the constituency.

- Depending on the proportion of registered voters in each constituency vis-à-vis all registered voters a specified number of households were randomly selected from each district.

- A total of 1231 households, which was increased to 1354 to account for oversampling, was sampled. Finally, the total of 1354 was divided into 53 constituencies in accordance with the proportion of registered voters in the constituencies.
- To account for non-responses, which is usually high in telephone surveys, **sampling with replacement** was used.
- Specifically, we kept replacing non-responses from the constituencies frame until we are able to interview the required sample size from each constituent.

- The proportion of male and female respondents **was designed to mirror the proportions of registered voters at each district**. However, in field exercise, this was not achieved (32% female registered voter vs 52.5% in the population).

- A comprehensive **questionnaire using Survey Solution's Designer** tool was developed. The questionnaire is divided into 5 sections with the main sections being **assessing government performance and parliamentary election**.

- **12 enumerators and 3 supervisors** were recruited and trained to conduct the data collection and trained in a **two-day training session** to familiarise the enumerators with the survey instrument and the study methodology to avoid mistakes and ensure data quality.

- Finally, the team of 12 enumerators was provided airtime on the various cellular networks (Africel, Qcell, and Gamcel) to call respondents, specifying when a **female member of the household should be interviewed** and when a young member of the household should be interviewed.

- The data collection started on **21s March and ended on 2nd April 2022** covering the selected households identified in the sample.

- Overall, **1238 respondents were interviewed** across all LGAs and 53 constituents.
- The researchers used a computer assisted personal interviews (CAPI) to collect the data hosted on CepRass's own cloud server, which was retrieved using a format readily available for use in STATA.

- Then STATA software (version 17; StartCorp. 2021) was used for the analysis, which was entirely descriptive. The statistical software was used to generate graphs such as bar and pie charts for all the interesting issues on which the respondent's opinion were being sought.

- For clarity, every issue is analysed in the context of its past and current environment. As the target respondents for the poll were likely voters, the **analysis of the parliamentary section is based on respondent's self-report on their willingness to vote** and considering just those certain of voting (75% of the respondents).
- The analysis of the assessing government performance was based on full sample of those that consent to the interview as everyone's opinion is important.

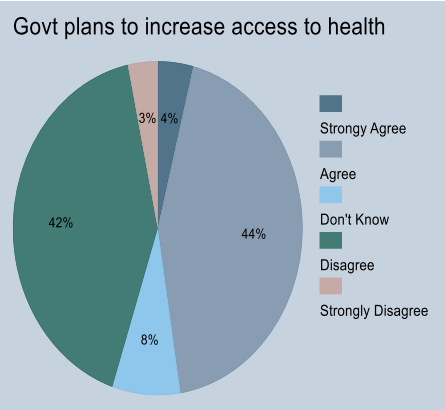
- There is good representation across LGA, ethnicity, and age

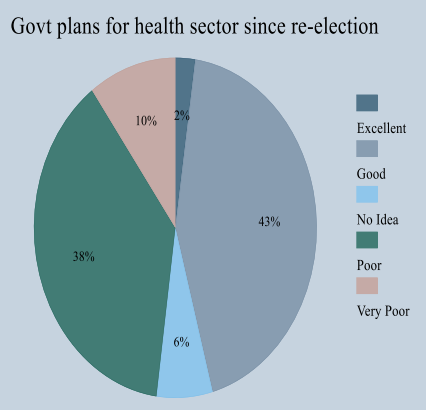
Profile of Respondents

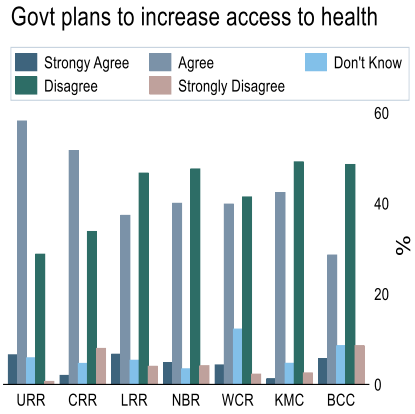
| **Ethnicity** | **Freq.** | **Proportion (percentage)** |
|---|---|---|
| Mandinka | 478 | 38.61 |
| Fula | 315 | 25.44 |
| Wollof | 180 | 14.54 |
| Jola | 115 | 9.29 |
| Sarahule | 65 | 5.25 |
| Manjago | 14 | 1.13 |
| Aku | 10 | 0.81 |
| Serrer | 31 | 2.5 |
| Other | 30 | 2.42 |
| | | |
| **LGA** | **Freq.** | **Proportion (percentage)** |
| Banjul | 32 | 2.58 |
| Kanifing | 214 | 17.26 |
| Brikama | 471 | 37.98 |
| Kerewan | 145 | 11.69 |
| Mansakonko | 74 | 5.97 |
| Janjanbureh | 84 | 6.77 |
| Kuntaur | 67 | 5.4 |
| Basse | 153 | 12.34 |
| | | |
| **Age group** | **Freq.** | **Proportion (percentage)** |
| 18 -24 | 71 | 5.74 |
| 25-34 | 302 | 24.41 |
| 35-44 | 400 | 32.34 |
| 45 -54 | 277 | 22.39 |
| and above | 187 | 15.12 |

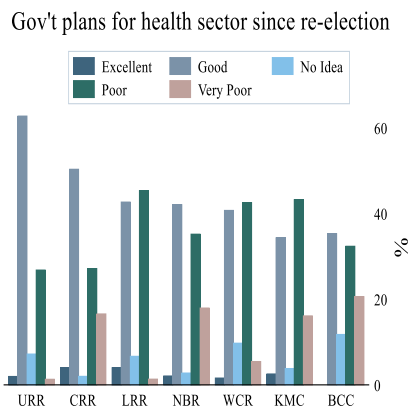
- Nearly an equal proportion of households agreed and disagreed that the new government has good plans to increase access to health care and improve overall health performance.

- Respondents in URR gave more favourable rating to the new government on health performance, while respondents in KM gave the highest unfavourable rating of the new government the health indicator


Govt plans to increase access to health
3%
4%
42%
44%
8%
Strongy Agree
Agree
Don't Know
Disagree
Strongly Disagree

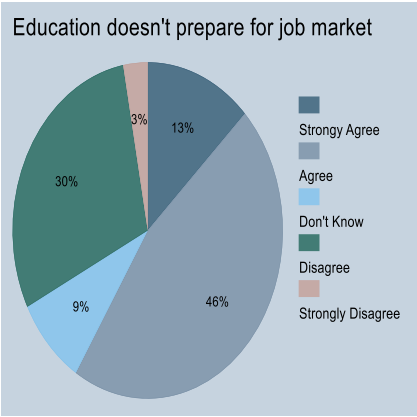

Govt plans for health sector since re-election
10%
2%
43%
38%
6%
Excellent
Good
No Idea
Poor
Very Poor

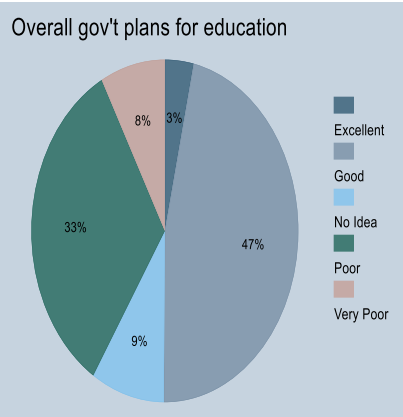

Govt plans to increase access to health
Strongy Agree
Agree
Don't Know
Disagree
Strongly Disagree
60
40
20
0
%
URR
CRR
LRR
NBR
WCR
KMC
BCC

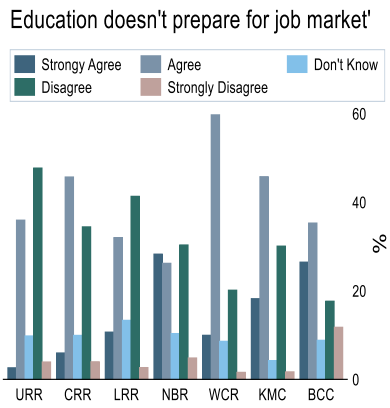

Gov't plans for health sector since re-election
Excellent
Good
No Idea
Poor
Very Poor
60
40
20
0
%
URR
CRR
LRR
NBR
WCR
KMC
BCC

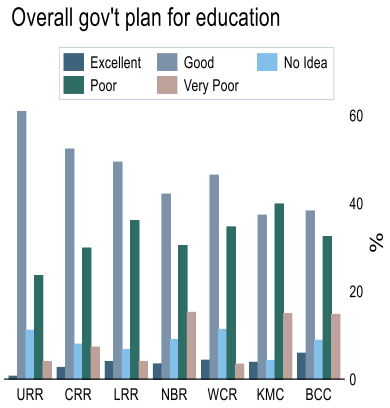
- Majority of respondents indicated that government's plan for education is good or excellent.

- However, only few of the respondents reported that the current education system prepares people for the job market, and this view is strongest in urban areas of the country (WCR, KM, and BCC).


Education doesn't prepare for job market
13%
46%
9%
30%
3%
Strongy Agree
Agree
Don't Know
Disagree
Strongly Disagree

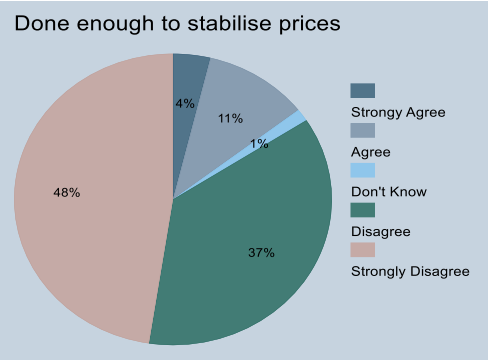

Overall gov't plans for education
3%
47%
9%
33%
8%
Excellent
Good
No Idea
Poor
Very Poor

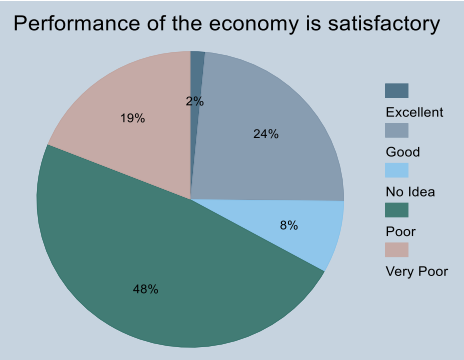

Education doesn't prepare for job market'
Strongy Agree
Agree
Don't Know
Disagree
Strongly Disagree
60
40
20
0
%
URR
CRR
LRR
NBR
WCR
KMC
BCC

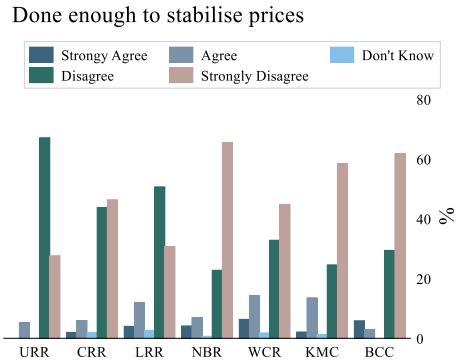

Overall gov't plan for education
Excellent
Good
No Idea
Poor
Very Poor
60
40
20
0
%
URR
CRR
LRR
NBR
WCR
KMC
BCC

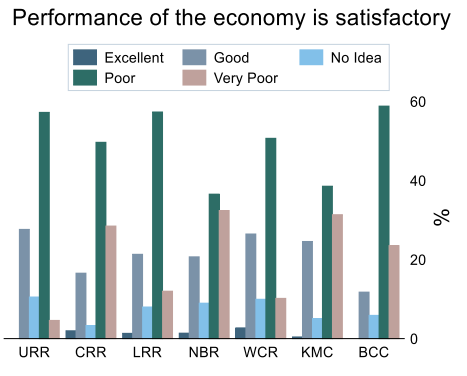
- A significant majority (85%) of the respondents, across all regions, believe that the government has not done enough to stabilise prices.

- Moreover, 67% believe that the performance of the economy is not satisfactory. Respondents in Banjul are more dissatisfied with the new government performance in economy than in other regions

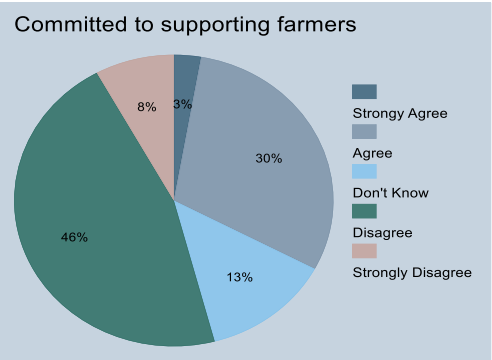

Done enough to stabilise prices
4%
11%
1%
48%
37%
Strongy Agree
Agree
Don't Know
Disagree
Strongly Disagree

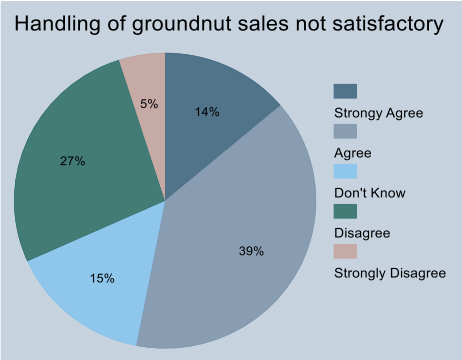

Performance of the economy is satisfactory
2%
19%
24%
8%
48%
Excellent
Good
No Idea
Poor
Very Poor

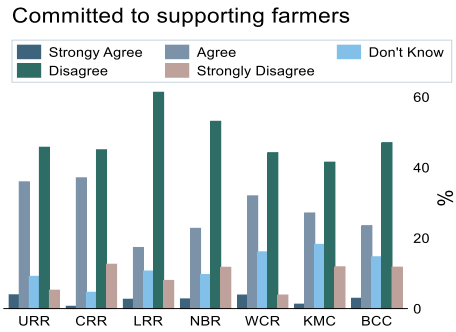

Done enough to stabilise prices
Strongy Agree
Agree
Don't Know
Disagree
Strongly Disagree
80
60
40
20
0
%
URR
CRR
LRR
NBR
WCR
KMC
BCC

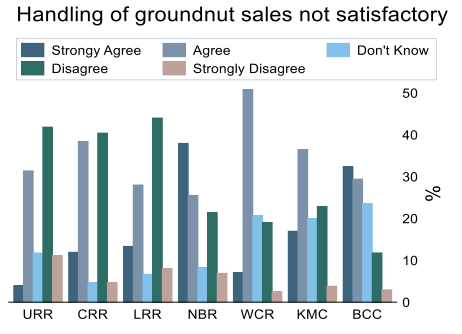

Performance of the economy is satisfactory
Excellent
Good
No Idea
Poor
Very Poor
60
40
20
0
%
URR
CRR
LRR
NBR
WCR
KMC
BCC

- Most respondents (54%) disagreed and strongly disagreed that the new government is interested in helping farmers, which is strongest in the farming communities of LRR and NBR.
- Furthermore, 53% of respondents believe that government's handling of groundnut sales is not satisfactory.


Committed to supporting farmers
3%
30%
13%
46%
8%
Strongy Agree
Agree
Don't Know
Disagree
Strongly Disagree

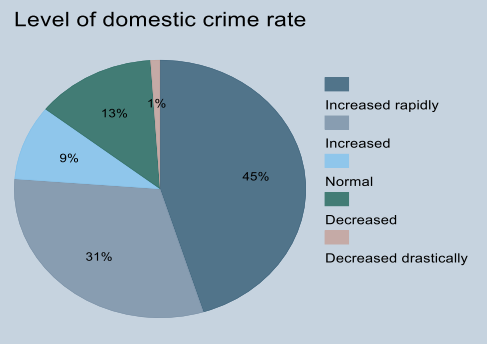

Handling of groundnut sales not satisfactory
14%
39%
15%
27%
5%
Strongy Agree
Agree
Don't Know
Disagree
Strongly Disagree

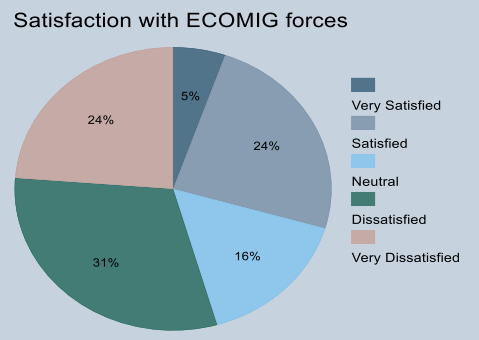

Committed to supporting farmers
Strongy Agree
Agree
Don't Know
Disagree
Strongly Disagree
60
40
20
0
%
URR
CRR
LRR
NBR
WCR
KMC
BCC

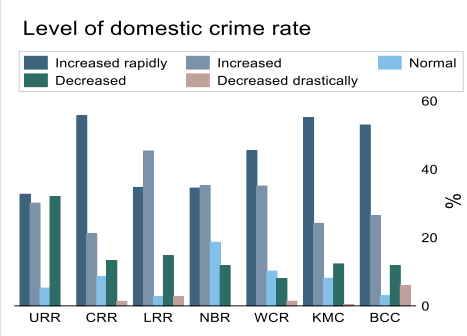

Handling of groundnut sales not satisfactory
Strongy Agree
Agree
Don't Know
Disagree
Strongly Disagree
50
40
30
20
10
0
%
URR
CRR
LRR
NBR
WCR
KMC
BCC

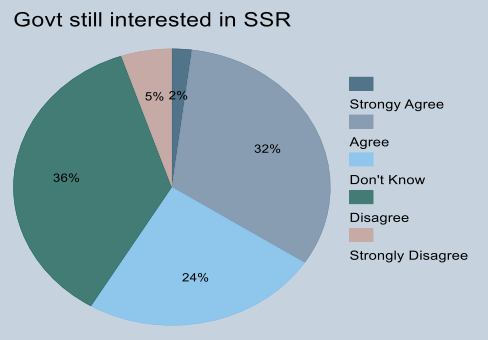
- Domestic crime is increasing and increasing rapidly according to 76% of the respondents, which is highest in KM, CRR, and BCC. Dissatisfaction with the ECOMIG forces is greatest in WCR and LRR.

- Nationally, 55% of respondents are not happy with their presence against 29% that are satisfied and very satisfied with ECOMIG forces stay in the country. In the same vein, more respondents believe that the new government is now not interested in the security sector reform.

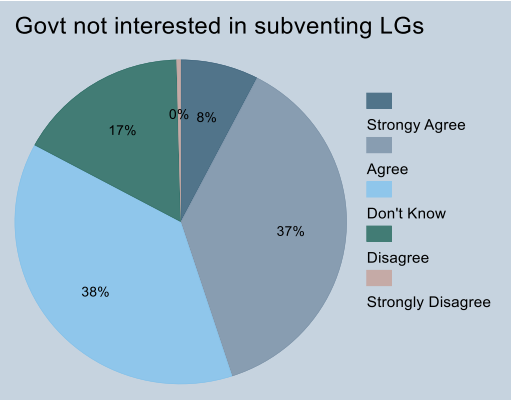

Level of domestic crime rate
45%
31%
9%
13%
1%
Increased rapidly
Increased
Normal
Decreased
Decreased drastically

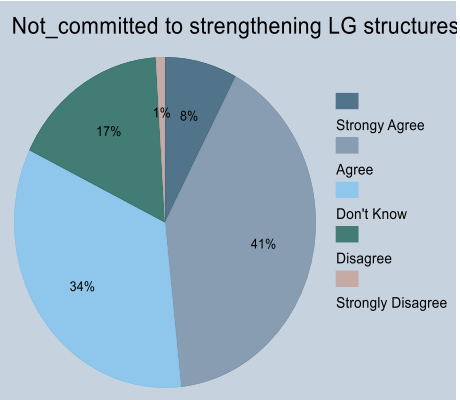

Satisfaction with ECOMIG forces
5%
24%
16%
31%
24%
Very Satisfied
Satisfied
Neutral
Dissatisfied
Very Dissatisfied

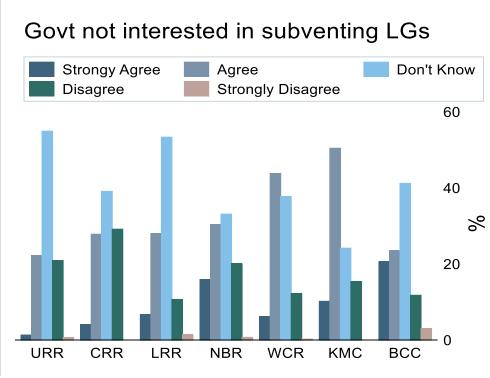

Level of domestic crime rate
Increased rapidly
Increased
Normal
Decreased
Decreased drastically
60
40
20
0
%
URR
CRR
LRR
NBR
WCR
KMC
BCC

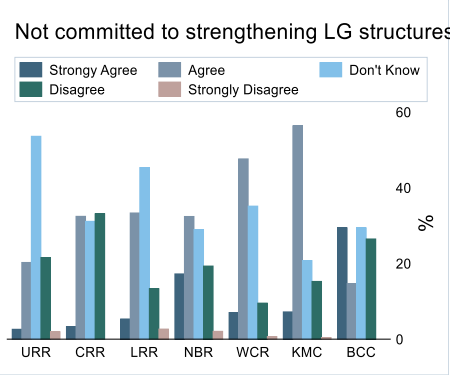

Govt still interested in SSR
5%
2%
32%
36%
24%
Strongy Agree
Agree
Don't Know
Disagree
Strongly Disagree

- Majority of respondents hold the view that government is not interested in subventing or strengthening local government structures.


Govt not interested in subventing LGs
0%
8%
17%
37%
38%
Strongy Agree
Agree
Don't Know
Disagree
Strongly Disagree

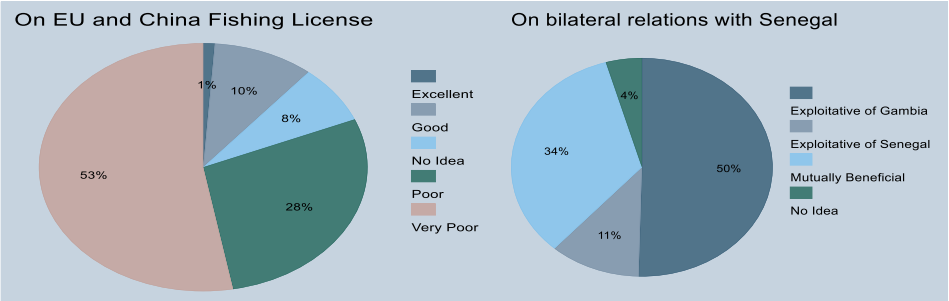

Not_committed to strengthening LG structures
1%
8%
17%
41%
34%
Strongy Agree
Agree
Don't Know
Disagree
Strongly Disagree

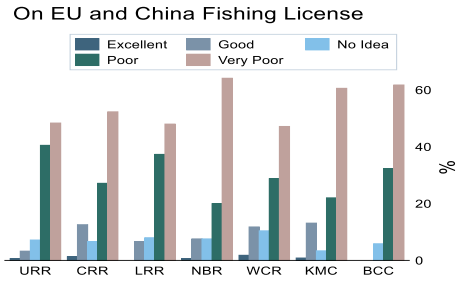

Govt not interested in subventing LGs
Strongy Agree
Agree
Don't Know
Disagree
Strongly Disagree
60
40
20
0
%
URR
CRR
LRR
NBR
WCR
KMC
BCC

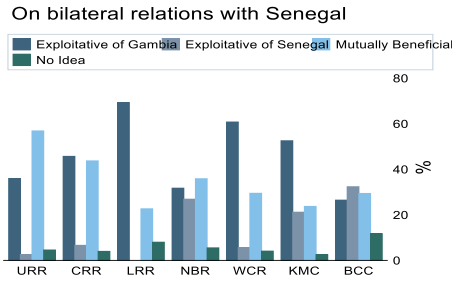

Not committed to strengthening LG structures
Strongy Agree
Agree
Don't Know
Disagree
Strongly Disagree
60
40
20
0
%
URR
CRR
LRR
NBR
WCR
KMC
BCC

- A substantial majority of respondents in the poll (81%) disapprove of the government decision to grant fishing license to EU and China.

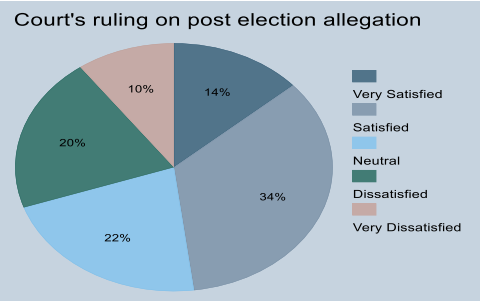
- Half of the respondent believe that the Gambia-Senagalo relationship is exploitative of The Gambia.

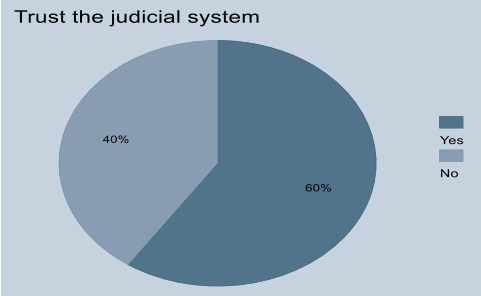

On EU and China Fishing License
1%
10%
8%
53%
28%
Excellent
Good
No Idea
Poor
Very Poor
On bilateral relations with Senegal
4%
34%
50%
11%
Exploitative of Gambia
Exploitative of Senegal
Mutually Beneficial
No Idea

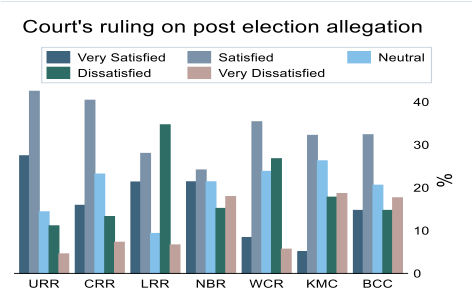

On EU and China Fishing License
Excellent
Good
No Idea
Poor
Very Poor
60
40
20
0
%
URR
CRR
LRR
NBR
WCR
KMC
BCC

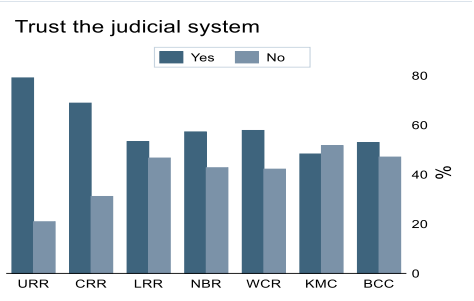

On bilateral relations with Senegal
Exploitative of Gambia
Exploitative of Senegal
Mutually Beneficial
No Idea
80
60
40
20
0
%
URR
CRR
LRR
NBR
WCR
KMC
BCC

- Trust of the judiciary remain high as 60% of respondents reported that the system can be trusted.
- Furthermore, majority of the respondents believe that the supreme court's ruling on election allegation was satisfactory and very satisfactory.


Court's ruling on post election allegation
14%
34%
22%
20%
10%
Very Satisfied
Satisfied
Neutral
Dissatisfied
Very Dissatisfied

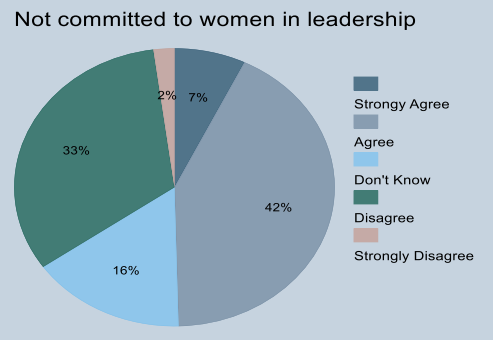

Trust the judicial system
40%
60%
Yes
No

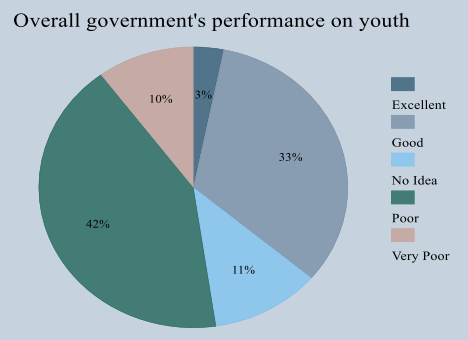

Court's ruling on post election allegation
Very Satisfied
Satisfied
Neutral
Dissatisfied
Very Dissatisfied
40
30
20
10
0
%
URR
CRR
LRR
NBR
WCR
KMC
BCC

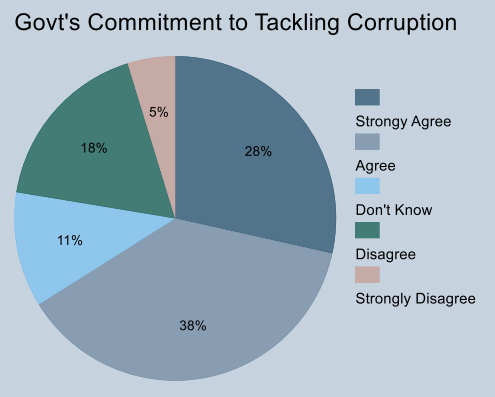

Trust the judicial system
Yes
No
80
60
40
20
0
%
URR
CRR
LRR
NBR
WCR
KMC
BCC

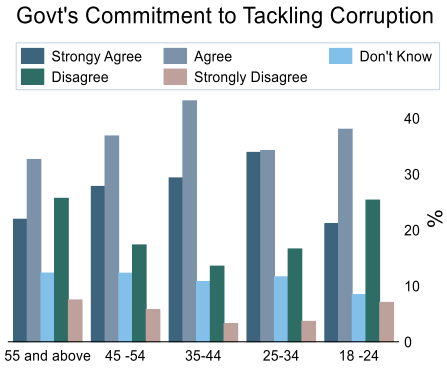
- Considerable proportion of respondents included in this poll (47%) hold the view that government is not committed to women leadership while 35% hold a different view to the majority.

- Overall government performance on youth development is rated as poor and very poor by majority of the respondents.


Not committed to women in leadership
7%
42%
16%
33%
2%
Strongy Agree
Agree
Don't Know
Disagree
Strongly Disagree

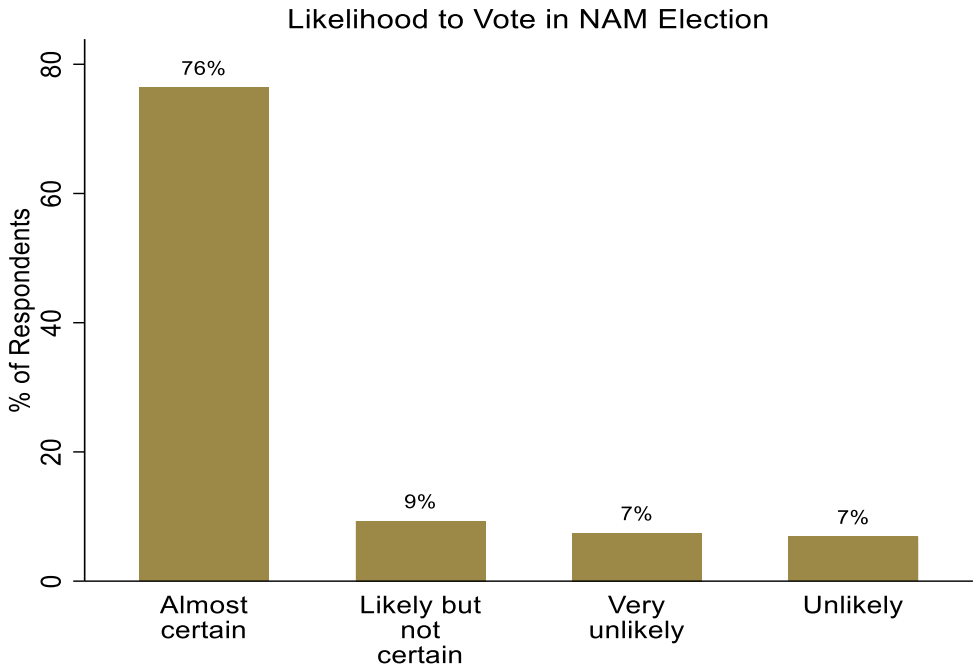

Overall government's performance on youth
3%
33%
11%
42%
10%
Excellent
Good
No Idea
Poor
Very Poor


Govt's Commitment to Tackling Corruption
28%
38%
11%
18%
5%
Strongy Agree
Agree
Don't Know
Disagree
Strongly Disagree


Govt's Commitment to Tackling Corruption
Strongy Agree
Agree
Don't Know
Disagree
Strongly Disagree
40
30
20
10
0
%
55 and above
45 -54
35-44
25-34
18 -24

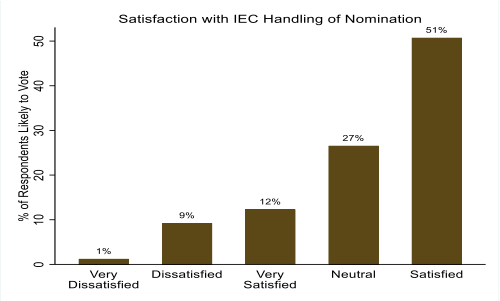
- While the likelihood of voting in the upcoming NA election is high, the poll results show that it will not be as high as in the presidential election.

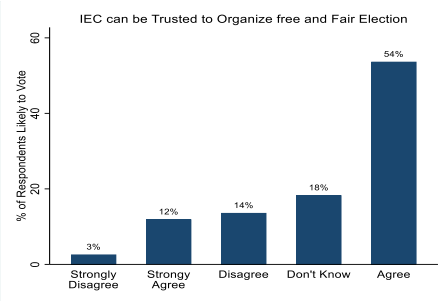
- Hence voter apathy in the NA election is likely to still remain.

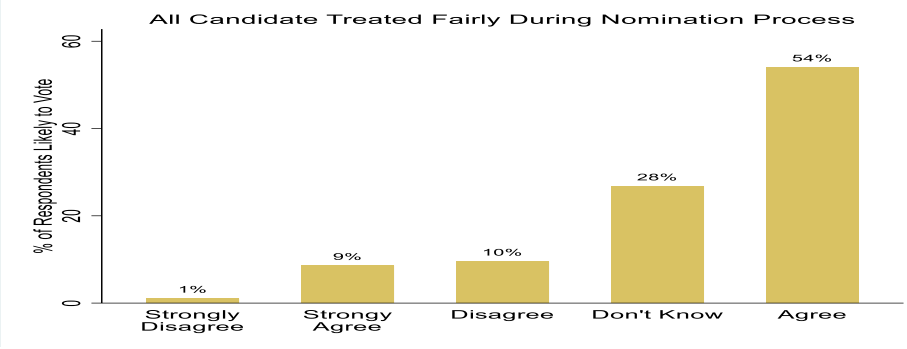

Likelihood to Vote in NAM Election
% of Respondents
0
20
40
60
80
76%
9%
7%
7%
Almost certain
Likely but not certain
Very unlikely
Unlikely

- Majority of the respondents included in the poll still trust the ability of the IEC to organize free and fair elections. Most respondents (about 63%) were satisfied with IEC handling of the NA election nomination process.

- Furthermore, there is high agreement among respondents that all candidates were treated fairly by the IEC during the nomination process.


Satisfaction with IEC Handling of Nomination
% of Respondents Likely to Vote
0
10
20
30
40
50
1%
9%
12%
27%
51%
Very Dissatisfied
Dissatisfied
Very Satisfied
Neutral
Satisfied

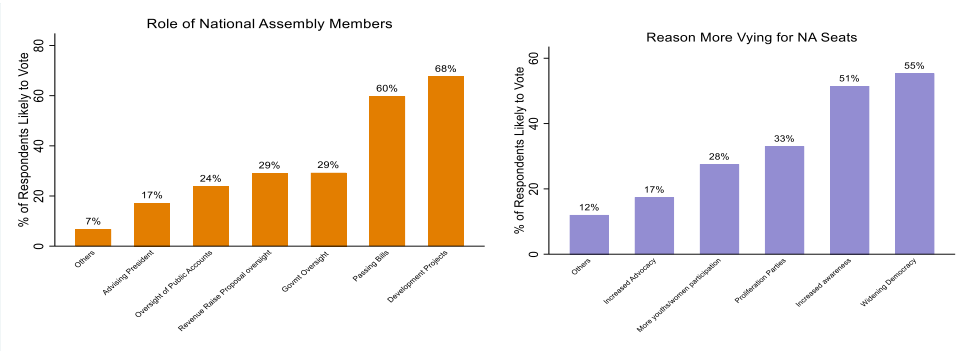

IEC can be Trusted to Organize free and Fair Election
% of Respondents Likely to Vote
0
20
40
60
3%
12%
14%
18%
54%
Strongly Disagree
Strongy Agree
Disagree
Don't Know
Agree


All Candidate Treated Fairly During Nomination Process
% of Respondents Likely to Vote
0
20
40
60
1%
9%
10%
28%
54%
Strongly Disagree
Strongy Agree
Disagree
Don't Know
Agree

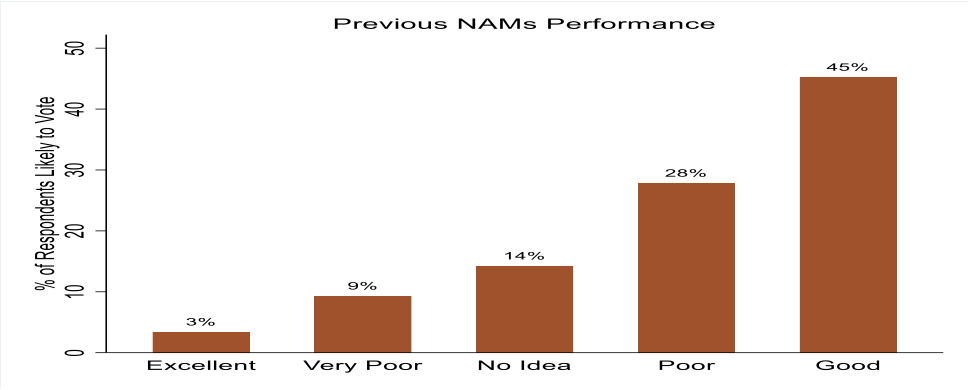
- Most respondents understanding of the role of NAMs is passing bills and bringing development projects to their constituencies, despite the latter not a constitutional mandate of NAM.

- Widening democracy and increased awareness are the leading reasons for more vying for NA elections according to majority of respondents.

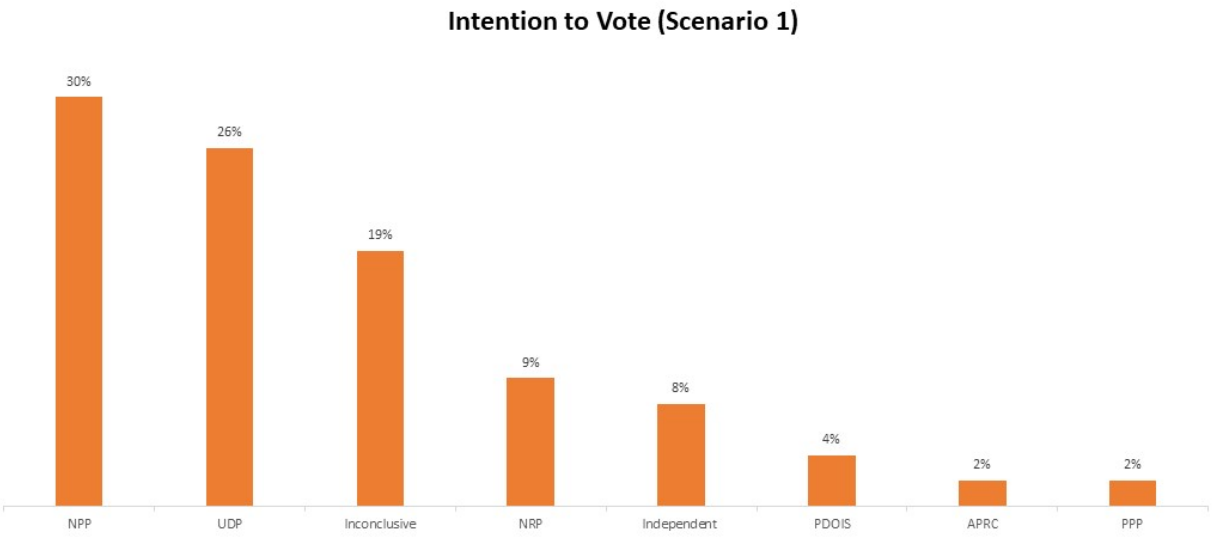
- Most respondents believe that more independent candidates are vying for NA elections because they have a different agenda (53%) and because of their egocentric nature (45%).
- Most respondents view anticorruption legislature (78%) and constitutional amendments (64%) as the most critical issues that the sixth legislature should address.


Role of National Assembly Members
% of Respondents Likely to Vote
0
20
40
60
80
7%
17%
24%
29%
29%
60%
68%
Others
Advising President
Oversight of Public Accounts
Revenue Raise Proposal oversight
Govmt Oversight
Passing Bills
Development Projects
Reason More Vying for NA Seats
% of Respondents Likely to Vote
0
20
40
60
12%
17%
28%
33%
51%
55%
Others
Increased Advocacy
More youths/women participation
Proliferation Parties
Increased awareness
Widening Democracy
Reason for Many Independent Candidates
% of Respondents Likely to Vote
0
10
20
30
40
50
4%
16%
23%
45%
53%
Others
No Idea
Lack of Party
Egocentric
Have Different Agenda
Issues Incoming NAMs Should Focus on
% of Respondents Likely to Vote
0
20
40
60
80
31%
43%
64%
78%
Repeal public order act
Electoral reforms
Constitutional amendment
Anticorruption legislations

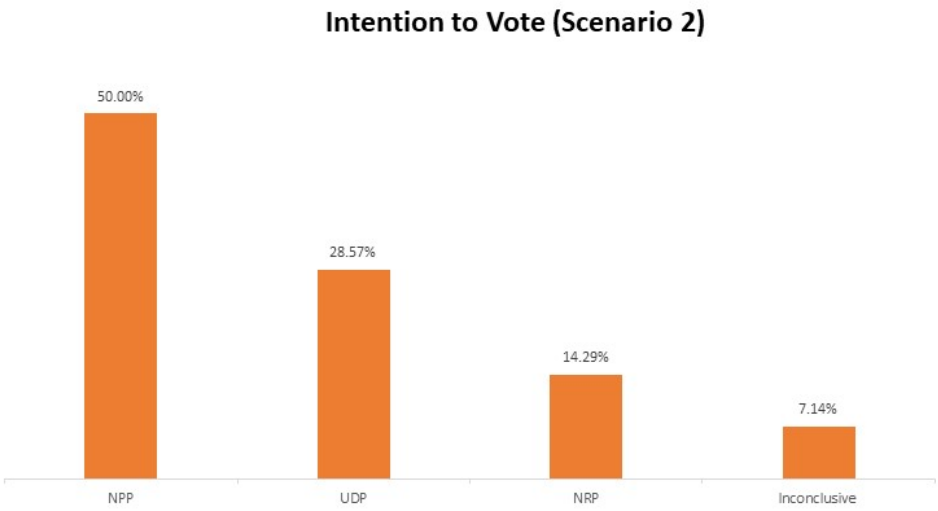
- While the performance of the fifth legislature was rated as good by majority of the respondents (45%), a substantial proportion of respondents (about 37%) reported that their performance was either poor or very poor.


Previous NAMs Performance
% of Respondents Likely to Vote
0
10
20
30
40
50
3%
9%
14%
28%
45%
Excellent
Very Poor
No Idea
Poor
Good

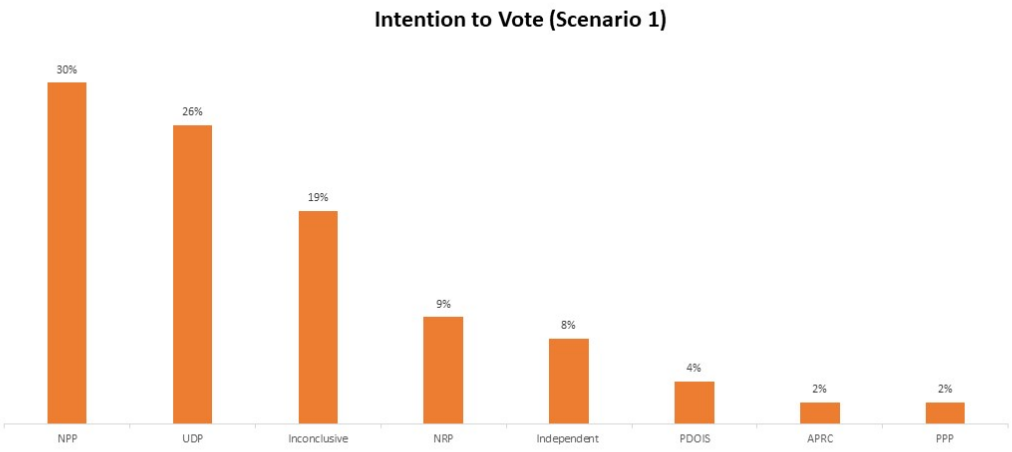
- Intention to vote for candidates in the NA election was analysed under three scenarios.
- While Scenario 1 does not restrict the percentage of secret votes, Scenario 2 represent a case with allowable percentage of secret votes below 50%.


Intention to Vote (Scenario 1)
30%
26%
19%
9%
8%
4%
2%
2%
NPP
UDP
Inconclusive
NRP
Independent
PDOIS
APRC
PPP

- Scenario 3 represent a case with allowable percentage of secret votes below 30%.
- The other parties that have a candidate leading the intention to vote in at least a constituency are APRC, PDOIS, and PPP.


Intention to Vote (Scenario 2)
50.00%
28.57%
14.29%
7.14%
NPP
UDP
NRP
Inconclusive

- However, in most of the constituencies the proportion of respondents not disclosing their intention to vote (i.e., said is a secret) was very high.
- Hence, the results on the intention to vote must be interpreted with such caveat in mind.


Intention to Vote (Scenario 1)
30%
26%
19%
9%
8%
4%
2%
2%
NPP
UDP
Inconclusive
NRP
Independent
PDOIS
APRC
PPP

- CSOs are called to **engage government, political parties, and international donor community using evidence-based activism**.
- Government is called upon to **make research its bedrock for the design and implementation of public policies**.
- International donor community is requested to **support and promote only those policies that are shown to evidently improve the life and livelihood of the citizens**.