GAMBians’ views on the constitutional reform process:
Low awareness, but strong support for reforms

Report on public opinion research in the Gambia February to April 2018

NDI

JPM Strategic Solutions
GAMBIANS’ VIEWS ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM PROCESS:

Low Awareness, But Strong Support for Reforms

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About NDI

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI or the Institute) is a nonprofit, nonpartisan, nongovernmental organization that has supported democratic institutions and practices in every region of the world for more than three decades.

Since its founding in 1983, NDI and its local partners have worked to establish and strengthen political and civic organizations, safeguard elections, and promote citizen participation, openness and accountability in government.

With staff members and volunteer political practitioners from more than 100 nations, NDI brings together individuals and groups to share ideas, knowledge, experiences, and expertise. Partners receive broad exposure to best practices in international democratic development that can be adapted to the needs of their own countries. NDI’s multinational approach reinforces the message that while there is no single democratic model, certain core principles are shared by all democracies.

The Institute’s work upholds the principles enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It also promotes the development of institutionalized channels of communications among citizens, political institutions, and elected officials, and strengthens their ability to improve the quality of life for all citizens. For more information about NDI, please visit www.ndi.org.

Acknowledgments

NDI expresses its gratitude to the Gambian citizens who participated in focus groups and in the nationwide public opinion survey that culminated in this report. The Institute would also like to thank members of the Constitutional Review Commission, officials within the Ministry of Justice, representatives of civil society organizations, and other stakeholders in The Gambia who met with the NDI delegation for briefings on the preliminary findings of the survey. It is NDI’s hope that this public opinion research will be used to incorporate citizen perspectives in the ongoing constitutional reform process. This report was made possible with funding from the National Endowment for Democracy (NED). The opinions expressed in this publication are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the NED.
Acronyms

APRC  Alliance for Patriotic Reorientation and Construction
CRC   Constitutional Review Commission
ECOWAS Economic Coalition of West African States
GDC   Gambia Democratic Congress
LGAs  Local Government Areas
NDI   National Democratic Institute
UDP   United Democratic Party
Report on Public Opinion Research in The Gambia, February to April 2018

Introduction

JPM Strategic Solutions, in coordination with the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and Kantar Public, conducted public opinion research in The Gambia to explore attitudes pertaining to the constitutional reforms and the overall political and social landscape of the country. The research involved a nationwide survey of 1,033 face-to-face interviews in The Gambia between March 22 and April 14, 2018. The sample was based on regional and urban/rural quotas constructed from the 2013 Gambian Census to ensure that the results were nationally representative. The margin of error for the total sample is approximately +/- 3.1%. This nationwide survey followed four focus groups conducted on February 7 and 8 in Kololi, The Gambia. Two groups were composed of respondents from Brikama and two were composed of respondents from Kanifing. The groups were demographically and politically homogenous (i.e. gender, age, education, attitudes toward the current government).

The public opinion research is part of NDI’s program aiming to support an inclusive constitutional reform process in The Gambia, funded by the National Endowment for Democracy. Under this program, NDI is working with Gambian civil society to create avenues for citizens’ voices to be heard and incorporated into the reform process. Similarly, NDI is providing technical support to the Constitutional Review Commission, the Ministry of Justice and the Office of the President on ways of undertaking inclusive reforms.

The research findings reveal that despite significant economic and social challenges facing The Gambia, there is optimism about the country’s direction. This optimism is largely driven by the newfound democratic liberties that Gambians warmly embrace – the freedom of expression, movement, assembly, and the media, among others. This optimism places President Barrow in a relatively strong position as Gambians give him credit for ending the Jammeh regime and bringing these new democratic principles to the country.

Although President Barrow currently enjoys very high job approval ratings, there are potential pitfalls ahead that could diminish his standing and bring greater instability to the country. In particular, tribal tensions could potentially ignite, especially if economic conditions do not improve and Jola tribal members see themselves as being disenfranchised by the government. Truth and reconciliation efforts, especially relating to holding former President Jammeh and his government accountable for their atrocities could lead to an increase in tribal tensions and societal unrest. The fear of instability and violence lessens Gambians’ enthusiasm for addressing the past atrocities and highlights the delicate balance the government needs to take when addressing the past.

The constitutional reforms are not widely known, as most Gambians say they have not heard anything about them. However, when respondents are asked about potential constitutional reforms, they are very favorable towards them and constitutional reforms in general. While all potential constitutional reforms (e.g. judicial reforms, electoral reforms, media reforms, etc.) are broadly supported, personal freedom reforms are most strongly embraced by the public. But the public is split on whether The Gambia needs a new constitution or just revisions to the current constitution.

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1 The national survey included 43% Mandinka, 21% Fula, 13% Wolof, 9% Jola, and various smaller tribes (18%). Jola tribal members make up the fourth-largest tribal group. Former President Jammeh is a member of the Jola tribe and Jola tribal members held significant influence over various aspects of the government during his regime. For additional survey demographics please see Appendix I.
New Democratic Freedoms Driving the Country’s Optimism

The Gambian landscape is dominated primarily by economic concerns, with a 47% plurality stating that the cost of living is one of their top two concerns, followed by basic services (34%), health care (27%), and unemployment and tribalism - both at 20%. [Figure 1] Although cost of living concerns dominate throughout the country, there are notable differences between rural and urban Gambians. Basic services are the second top concern among urban Gambians, likely attributed to the mass migration from rural to urban areas and the inability for the cities’ infrastructure to manage the population growth. [Figure 2]

The second leading concern in rural areas is health care.

Additionally, there are a few notable demographic differences relating to top concerns. Older men are the most concerned about the cost of living (54%), young women are the group most concerned with basic services (39%), and older women’s second top concern is healthcare (37%). [Figure 3]

In light of these concerns, Gambians view almost all major issues as getting worse in the country. Majorities see the cost of living, basic services, job opportunities, corruption and crime as getting worse. [Figure 4] Yet, despite the perception that these issues are getting worse, a 54% majority think the current government has brought a lot or some progress to the country, though a 65% majority say the pace of
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progress has been very or somewhat slow, suggesting the government can improve on managing the public’s expectations through more effective communication. [Figure 5]

![Figure 4]

Most issues perceived as worsening; political stability, justice better

![Figure 5]

Majority see progress, but with a slow pace

Although there is a perception of slow progress and worsening conditions, a significant 68% majority think the country is heading in the right direction. [Figure 6] This optimism is largely driven by the enthusiasm Gambians harbor toward their newfound democratic freedoms. On major democratic principles such as the freedom of expression, human rights, freedom of assembly, media freedom, and the freedom of movement, large majorities think these issues are getting better. [Figure 7]

![Figure 6]

Progress has strong majority saying country in direction

![Figure 7]

Democracy components significantly improving

The enthusiasm for these democratic principles leads a 68% majority to think “democracy is the best form of government for The Gambia” compared to 27% that think “another form of government is better for The Gambia.” [Figure 8] The desire for a democratic government, however, is not embraced by all. A slight 53% majority of Jola members believe that another form of government would be better for the country. This is likely driven by the closer association Jola members have with the Jammeh government and the APRC’s electoral loss, and the fear Jola members may have about being disenfranchised by the Barrow government - a fear the government needs to aggressively address.
As with the belief that democracy is the best form of government for the country, there are also tribal differences about the direction of the country. A 63% majority of Jola members think the country is heading in the wrong direction. [Figure 9] This perception of the country direction among Jola members is highlighted by 77% of them stating that the current government has brought little or no progress to the country, the highest of any tribe. [Figure 10] This further highlights the potential impact these tribal differences could have on both the political and social landscape.

**President Barrow and Tribes Define the Political Landscape**

President Barrow is the beneficiary of the country’s optimism, at this time. A strong 75% majority approve of the job the president is doing, though focus group participants know little of his accomplishments or actions beyond removing Jammeh from power and ushering in new democratic freedoms. [Figure 11] As with so many other issues in The Gambia, however, there are tribal distinctions, particularly among Jola members. All major tribes approve of the job Barrow is doing, except a 58% majority of Jola members that disapprove of the President’s job. Additionally, while a majority of the major tribes want to continue in the direction Barrow is taking the country, a 60% majority of Jola members want to go in a different direction. [Figure 12]
Political party favorable ratings show UDP having the highest favorable rating (53% favorable) followed by the Gambia Democratic Congress (GDC) (36% favorable) and the APRC (26% favorable). [Figure 13]

As with many of the findings, perceptions toward political leaders and parties are largely driven by tribal affiliation. For example, Mandinka members have the highest favorable ratings toward Barrow and Darboe, Fula toward Kandeh (the GDC leader), and Jola toward Jammeh. [Figure 14] This also translates into political tendencies where tribes closely align with specific political parties. For example, 81% of Mandinka say they support UDP, 64% of Jola support APRC, and pluralities of Fula and Wolof support GDC, 40% and 36% respectively. [Figure 15]
As tribalism permeates the Gambian political landscape and undercurrents of society, a 57% majority of the public thinks tribalism is getting worse and 71% of Jola members agree with this sentiment. [Figure 16] This should be viewed as particularly worrisome for Barrow and the government. If economic conditions worsen and the enthusiasm about democratic freedoms fades, societal pressures will increase and will likely be driven by tribal tensions. The government should take care to address these tensions along with economic concerns to avoid a situation wherein finite resources such as jobs and basic services lead to a ‘protect ourselves’ mentality, which will likely deepen tribal tensions, hinder economic development, and increase societal unrest.

Constitutional Reforms: Low-Level of Awareness, But Strong Support

There is a very low level of awareness about the government’s constitutional reforms. As one man from Brikama said, “The people should be educated about the constitution. Many people don’t know [about it] the way you are asking us. We do not know. It’s time to go to the television and let people know about it.” A 63% majority say they have heard nothing about the constitutional reforms and only 12% have heard about and know some details about the reforms. [Figure 17] Awareness levels are higher among male and more educated Gambians. Awareness levels are lowest among Jola and Fula members. [Figure 18]
This suggests that a more concerted communications strategy needs to be developed and implemented to raise awareness about the constitutional reforms. These efforts need to go beyond merely mentioning the process and inform Gambians about the real impact the reforms can have on their lives. One of the first communications challenges will be on defining the constitutional reform efforts as producing a new constitution or a revised constitution. The public is split on whether the country needs a new constitution or just revisions to the current one – 50% of Gambians think the constitution should be revised as opposed to the 43% that think it should be replaced with a new one. [Figure 19] The Constitutional Review Commission (CRC) will need to define and crisply explain this issue to the public.

Ultimately, Gambians will need to be convinced that a new constitution is necessary, which may prove difficult against the backdrop of economic uncertainty and a host of worsening issues. Linking the constitutional reforms to Gambians’ top concerns can help to raise awareness and support for the reforms. This can be done by demonstrating how the reforms will ensure long-term stability that helps to generate economic growth, which leads to jobs, more government revenue for basic services and health care, and eventually, higher living standards.

After survey respondents are introduced to potential constitutional reforms in the survey, constitutional reforms in general are widely approved by 86% of the Gambians. [Figure 20] Personal freedom reforms are the most popular reforms with 82% stating they are extremely or very important, followed by judicial reforms (79%), media reforms (73%), and electoral reforms (70%). [Figure 21]
Of these reforms, a slight 52% majority choose personal freedom reforms as the most important. [Figure 22] This suggests that the government’s communications efforts should lead with these personal freedom reforms to help generate awareness and support. The Barrow government is in a strong position to push through these constitutional reforms considering the public’s animosity towards the previous government’s anti-democratic efforts and appreciation of their newfound personal freedoms.

Specific electoral reforms relating to term-limits and age requirements are also widely supported. An 85% majority support having a two-term presidential limit, largely due to Gambians’ desire to limit the ability of future presidents to gain too strong a foothold in government institutions. [Figure 23] One man from Brikama said in the focus groups, “Term limits should be written into the constitution, so that anyone who comes cannot overstay and there wouldn’t be corruption.” Setting a minimum and maximum age for the president and vice president, as well as members of parliament, are also popular reforms with 81% and 80% approving respectively.
Gambians have a high level of trust in the media with 72% of Gambians saying they currently have some or a lot of trust in the Gambian media (though only 1 in 3 have “a lot” of trust) and 69% have a favorable view toward the media. [Figure 24 and 25] Jola members show a significantly lower level of trust in the media (47% trust), which could be a roadblock for the promotion of the government’s agenda and constitutional reforms among those tribal members. This suggests that direct community outreach might be more effective when communicating with Jola members.

The majority of Gambians perceive the media as generally free and allowed to report the news without government censorship or influence, but there is concern about the media spreading false information. [Figure 26] When media freedom is presented with the caveat that it could lead to reporters publishing false information, a 68% majority say there should be some restrictions on what the media can cover and say to protect against the dissemination of false information and its ramifications. [Figure 27] This was a common theme in the focus groups, a man from Kanifing notes this issue, “There is too much democracy. Gambians think you just wake up and can say and do what you want, people are using the media to say whatever they feel like and insult opponents and do whatever they want.”
Radio is by far the most effective means of spreading information, with 76% stating they use it regularly as a source of news and information, followed by television (49%) and social media and the Internet (28%). [Figure 28] Older women (83%) and older men (81%) are more likely to use the radio as a source of news and information than the younger generation. Young men are the most likely demographic group to use social media for news and information and the most likely to have social media accounts, while older women are the least likely to use social media for news and information. [Figure 29] Of the young men that have access to the internet, 68% have a WhatsApp account and 64% have a Facebook account, the two most-widely used social media applications. The majority of young women who have access to the internet have a WhatsApp account (59%), however only 48% of older men and 43% of older women have a WhatsApp account. [Figure 30] Social media, especially Facebook, can play a critical role in disseminating information concerning the reforms, the government’s agenda, and reaching the young Gambian population. Online communications efforts need to be made mobile-friendly since those who do access the internet regularly will most likely use their mobile phone. Of the 89% of Gambians that own a mobile phone, 64% say their phone has Internet access. [Figure 31]
Civil society organizations also have high favorability ratings (78%) and can be instrumental in the advancement of the constitutional reforms. [Figure 32] High favorable ratings for ECOWAS (78%), Senegal (74%), the UK and USA (both 61%) show that the international community is respected and foreign institutions could be influential by acting as validators for the constitutional reforms and other government actions. [Figure 33]
Fears that Reconciling Past Atrocities Could Lead to Instability

One of the most significant challenges the Barrow government will face in the near future, beyond the top concerns of Gambians, is addressing the atrocities of the previous Jammeh government. Fears about potential chaos and violence stemming from holding the past regime accountable have the public split on how to move forward. Gambians want to avoid the instability that trying Jammeh in court may bring, which could only serve to further worsen the economic climate in the country. During focus groups, one Kanifing woman said, “If [Jammeh] is responsible for the facts they talk about in the news it might create some problems between citizens, because some love him and others hate him.” A bare 52% majority prefer to not address the atrocities of Jammeh and his government while 43% think these atrocities should be addressed. [Figure 34] There are notable differences among tribes with a large percentage of Jola members against addressing the atrocities.

But this does not necessarily mean that Gambians want to completely abstain from reconciling the past, it has more to do with the process. Moving beyond framing reconciliation efforts in terms of instability, there is strong support for holding Jammeh accountable in international courts if that avoids extraditing him back to The Gambia. Two out of three Gambians approve of trying Jammeh in an international court so he would not have to return to the country, while only 45% want to extradite him back to the country to face trial. [Figure 35] This highlights the delicate nature of the truth and reconciliation efforts and how the fear of instability and violence lessens enthusiasm for addressing the past atrocities. Nonetheless, those who have been victims of the past regime also deserve a voice and direct outreach to Jola members about the truth and reconciliation process could lessen the potential for instability.

There is strong support for the Janneh Commission as it investigates actions of the previous government, demonstrating support for reconciling the past. [Figure 36] Some of this support is likely attributed to an improving perception of the justice system in The Gambia. A significant 74% of Gambians see the justice
system as getting better, though there are partisan differences, suggesting the Commission should take extra steps to appear neutral. [Figure 37]

Regardless of how the country reconciles the past, a strong 80% majority approve of compensating families of victims that were killed during the Jammeh government. [Figure 38]

The controversial nature of the truth and reconciliation efforts makes this a much more sensitive subject than the constitutional reforms which are more widely accepted. It is critical to separate the truth and reconciliation issues from the constitutional reforms so as not to weaken support for the constitutional reforms.

**Recommendations**

- **Link constitutional reforms to top concerns.** The constitutional reforms are not of high importance for most Gambians and are in the background of larger economic concerns such as the cost of living and lack of basic services that affect their daily lives. Nonetheless, constitutional reforms can help to stabilize The Gambia’s political and social landscape, which will create a stronger environment for economic growth – a larger concern for most Gambians.

- **Brand the constitution and demonstrate impact reforms will have on lives.** Efforts should be made to brand the constitution, giving it a name such as “The People’s Constitution” or “The Freedom Constitution.” This will help define what the constitutional reforms are about. Additionally, when talking about the constitution, while it is important to demonstrate the process is open and transparent, it is even more important to communicate to the public the impact specific reforms will directly have on their lives.
• **President Barrow needs to improve his communications efforts.** President Barrow’s high job approval ratings stand in contrast to the perceived slow pace of progress, and as Gambians’ economic concerns worsen, the optimism from the newfound democratic liberties will begin to fade. To maintain support, Barrow should improve his communications, address delicate tribal issues, and manage public expectations on what his government and the reforms can achieve.

• **Specific constitutional reforms are very popular and leading with personal freedom reforms will increase public support.** To bolster support for the reforms, efforts should be made to strongly link the constitutional reforms to the democratic components Gambians already see as improving, such as personal freedom and a free media. Media reforms should include caveats on spreading false information, as there is concern over this issue among the majority of Gambians.

• **Address the Jammeh government atrocities as a separate issue from constitutional reforms and from a neutral perspective.** Truth and reconciliation efforts will likely create some controversy because of their sensitive nature, especially concerning the Jola members’ opposition to efforts to address the previous government’s atrocities.

• **Civil society organizations and international actors can help bolster support for the constitutional reforms and government actions.** Given the high favorable ratings toward CSOs and the international community among large portions of Gambians, they can help to bolster support for the constitutional reforms by leading support to the reforms and ensuring that they are consistent with international best practices.

**Appendix I**

The survey sample was nationally representative based on the 2013 Gambian Census. The demographic makeup of the survey respondents is presented below.

*Figure 41*

Survey demographics

![Survey demographics chart](chart.png)
Appendix II

The figures for this report are presented below.
Figures for The Gambia Final Report

March 22–April 14 2018 Survey Results

May 2018
Economic issues and basic services dominate concerns

Please tell me which TWO of these concern you the most.

- Cost of living: 47
- Basic services (water and electricity): 34
- Healthcare: 27
- Unemployment: 20
- Tribalism: 20
- Education: 15
- Crime and violence: 12
- Political instability: 9
- Corruption: 7
- Infrastructure: 6
Basic service concerns higher in urban areas, health care in rural

Please tell me which TWO of these concern you the most.

- Cost of living: Rural 42, Urban 53
- Healthcare: Rural 24, Urban 32
- Basic services (water and electricity): Rural 29, Urban 37
- Unemployment: Rural 18, Urban 21
- Tribalism: Rural 15, Urban 23
- Education: Rural 14, Urban 16
- Crime and violence: Rural 7, Urban 15
Demographic difference in concerns

Please tell me which TWO of these concern you the most.

- Cost of living
  - Young women: 45
  - Young men: 42
  - Older women: 45
  - Older men: 54

- Basic services (water and electricity)
  - Young women: 39
  - Young men: 33
  - Older women: 31
  - Older men: 29

- Healthcare
  - Young women: 25
  - Young men: 23
  - Older women: 26
  - Older men: 37
Most issues perceived as worsening; political stability, justice better

Now I will read you a list of issues. Please tell me if you think this issue is getting better or worse in The Gambia.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Worse</th>
<th>Better</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Justice</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political instability</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corruption</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job opportunities</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basic services</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of living</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Generally speaking, do you think the current government has brought a lot of progress to The Gambia, some progress, just a little progress, or no progress at all?

Would you say the current government's pace of progress for The Gambia has been very fast, somewhat fast, slow, or very slow?

Majority see progress, but with a slow pace

Figure 5
Do you think that things in The Gambia are going in the right direction, or do you feel things are going in the wrong direction?

- **Right direction:** 68
- **Wrong direction:** 28

Progress has strong majority saying country in right direction
Now I will read you a list of issues. Please tell me if you think this issue is getting better or worse in The Gambia.

![Bar chart showing improvements in various democracy components]

- Freedom of expression: Better 92, Worse 6
- Human rights: Better 89, Worse 8
- Freedom of assembly: Better 84, Worse 9
- Media freedom: Better 85, Worse 11
- The reporting the media does: Better 79, Worse 17
- Democracy: Better 77, Worse 21
- Freedom of movement: Better 74, Worse 24
Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements. For each one, I want you to tell me which choice comes closer to your point of view.

**Democracy is the best form of government for The Gambia at this time.**

**Another form of government is better for The Gambia.**

---

**Majority think democracy best for Gambia, except Jola**

---

Figure 8
Country direction perceptions linked to tribes

Do you think that things in The Gambia are going in the right direction, or do you feel things are going in the wrong direction?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Right direction</th>
<th>Wrong direction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandinka</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fula</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wolof</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jola</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Generally speaking, do you think the current government has brought a lot of progress to The Gambia, some progress, just a little progress, or no progress at all?

- **A lot of progress**
- **Some progress**
- **A little/ none**

**Figure 10**

Perceptions of progress also linked to tribes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>A lot of progress</th>
<th>Some progress</th>
<th>A little/ none</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandinka</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fula</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wolof</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jola</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Intensity of Barrow job approval linked to tribe, Jola disapprove

Do you approve or disapprove of the job being done by Adama Barrow as President of The Gambia?

Figure 11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Approve</th>
<th>Disapprove</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandinka</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fula</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wolof</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jola</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I want to continue in the same direction Barrow is taking the country.

I want to go in a different direction than Barrow is taking the country.

Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements. For each one, I want you to tell me which choice comes closer to your point of view.

Majority want to continue in Barrow direction, except Jola.
Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some organizations, with ten meaning a VERY FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY UNFAVORABLE feeling; and five meaning NEITHER FAVORABLE NOR UNFAVORABLE.

UDP most favorably viewed party, GDC neutral, APRC lowest
Gambians more likely to favor political leaders of same tribe

**Figure 14**

Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people, with ten meaning a VERY FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY UNFAVORABLE feeling; and five meaning NEITHER FAVORABLE NOR UNFAVORABLE.

- **Mandinka**
  - Favorable: 88%
  - Unfavorable: 77%
- **Fula**
  - Favorable: 65%
  - Unfavorable: 68%
- **Wolof**
  - Favorable: 59%
  - Unfavorable: 59%
- **Jola**
  - Favorable: 51%
  - Unfavorable: 73%
Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a supporter of a particular political party?

- **UDP supporter**: Darboe, Mandinka (81)
- **GDC supporter**: Kandeh, Fula (40)
- **APRC supporter**: Jammeh, Jola (64)

**Figure 15**

Major political parties closely link to tribe
Majority see tribalism getting worse, especially Jola

Now I will read you a list of issues. Please tell me if you think this issue is getting better or worse in The Gambia.

**Tribalism**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Worse</th>
<th>Better</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young women</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young men</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older women</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older men</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary or less</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>37</td>
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<tr>
<td>Diploma +</td>
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<td>31</td>
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<td>45</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fula</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wolof</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jola</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Gambian government is currently working on reforming the Gambian constitution. Have you heard about these reforms?

**Figure 17**

Extremely low awareness about constitutional reforms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Yes, know details</th>
<th>Yes, do not know details</th>
<th>No, have not heard</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young women</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young men</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older women</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older men</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary or less</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational+</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Gambian government is currently working on reforming the Gambian constitution. Have you heard about these reforms?

- Yes, know details
- Yes, do not know details
- No, have not heard

Jola, Fula lowest level of awareness about constitutional reforms.
It is more important to have a **new** constitution.

It is more important to revise the **current** constitution.

Public split on whether new constitution is needed

Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements. For each one, I want you to tell me which choice comes closer to your point of view.

**Figure 19**

Total | Mandinka | Fula | Wolof | Jola
--- | --- | --- | --- | ---
43 | 46 | 42 | 44 | 29
50 | 48 | 48 | 52 | 60
Now I am going to read you a list of some things that have happened recently or that might happen soon in The Gambia. Please tell me whether you approve or disapprove of that action.

**The Constitutional Reforms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Strongly Approve</th>
<th>Somewhat Approve</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandinka</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fula</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>68</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wolof</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jola</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
All reforms important, personal freedom most important

Now I am going to read the different types of constitutional reforms the government is considering. For each one please tell me if you think that specific reform is extremely important, very important, somewhat important, just a little important, or not important at all.

Figure 21

- **Personal freedom reforms**: Extremely important 51, Very important 82
- **Judicial reforms**: Extremely important 43, Very important 79
- **Electoral reforms**: Extremely important 35, Very important 70
- **Media reforms**: Extremely important 33, Very important 73
Personal freedom overwhelmingly most important

Which one of the following constitutional reforms do you think is most important to address?

- Personal freedom reforms: 52
- Judicial reforms: 19
- Electoral reforms: 10
- Media reforms: 7

Jola 2nd top reform: Electoral reform 23%
Electoral reforms are strongly approved

For each one, please tell me whether you approve or disapprove of that action.

- **Strongly Approve**
- **Somewhat approve**

### Setting a presidential term limit of two five year terms, for a total of ten years.

- 77
- 85

### Setting a minimum and maximum age for the president and the vice-president.

- 68
- 81

### Setting a minimum and maximum age for members of parliament.

- 67
- 80

---

"These presidents will never leave power without having been defeated during the elections. They want to be president until they die. So, without term limits, we will never be able to change president."

– Kanifing man

"Term limit should be written into the constitution, so that anyone who comes cannot over stay and there wouldn’t be corruption."

– Brikama man
High media trust except among Jola, APRC supporters

Generally speaking, how much trust do you currently have in the Gambian media - a lot of trust, some trust, just a little trust, or no trust at all?

Figure 24
Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some organizations, with ten meaning a VERY FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY UNFAVORABLE feeling; and five meaning NEITHER FAVORABLE NOR UNFAVORABLE.
Currently, the news media in The Gambia is generally free and allowed to report the news without government censorship or influence.

Currently, the news media in The Gambia is generally not free and not allowed to report news without government censorship or influence.

Majority see the media as free to report the news.
Yet concern about media and false information

Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements. For each one, I want you to tell me which choice comes closer to your point of view. *Each of these statement pairs were given to ½ the sample for split testing purposes*

- **The media in The Gambia should be completely free, even if that means some reporters may publish false information.**
- **There should be restrictions on what the media can cover and say to protect against defamation.**
- **The media in The Gambia should be completely free.**
- **There should be restrictions on what the media can cover and say.**
Radio the most used source for news, followed by TV

*Which of the following do you regularly use as a source of news and information?*

- **Radio**: 76
- **Television**: 49
- **Social media and the Internet**: 28
- **Family and friends**: 19
- **Newspapers or magazines**: 7
- **Religious leaders**: 2
- **Tribal leaders**: 2
Young men utilize social media most

Which of the following do you regularly use as a source of news and information?

- Radio
- TV
- Social Media

Figure 29
Young men most likely to have social media accounts

(Among those with regular access to the Internet) Now I will read a list of different types of social media. For each one, please tell me if you have an account.

Figure 30
Majority own a mobile phone, majority of phones have Internet

Of the 89% that said yes) Do you have access to the Internet on your phone?

Do you own a mobile phone?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>89</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Do you have access to the Internet on your phone?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some organizations, with ten meaning a VERY FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY UNFAVORABLE feeling; and five meaning NEITHER FAVORABLE NOR UNFAVORABLE.

CSOs viewed very favorably

Figure 32
ECOWAS very favorable followed by Senegal, UK

Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some organizations, with ten meaning a VERY FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY UNFAVORABLE feeling; and five meaning NEITHER FAVORABLE NOR UNFAVORABLE.

- **ECOWAS**: % Favorable = 78, % Unfavorable = 11
- **Senegal**: % Favorable = 74, % Unfavorable = 15
- **United Kingdom**: % Favorable = 61, % Unfavorable = 15
- **USA**: % Favorable = 61, % Unfavorable = 20
The Gambia should address the atrocities of the Jammeh government and hold people accountable.

The Gambia should move on and not address the atrocities of the Jammeh government in order to preserve stability.

Country split on whether to address Jammeh gov’t atrocities

Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements. For each one, I want you to tell me which choice comes closer to your point of view.

Figure 34
Do you approve or disapprove extraditing Yahya Jammeh back to The Gambia to face trial for his previous actions. *Each of these statement pairs were given to ½ the sample for split testing purposes.

Do you approve or disapprove of trying Jammeh in an international court so that he faces trial without having to return to The Gambia. *Each of these statement pairs were given to ½ the sample for split testing purposes.

Figure 35

Strong support for int’l court to address Jammeh, except Jola

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Strongly approve</th>
<th>Somewhat approve</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td>Mandinka</td>
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<td>Fula</td>
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<td>31</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wolof</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>34</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jola</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Strongly approve</th>
<th>Somewhat approve</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandinka</td>
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<td>73</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fula</td>
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<td>55</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wolof</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jola</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Approval of Janneh Commission tied to party and tribe

Please tell me whether you approve or disapprove of the Janneh Commission.

Figure 36

[Graph showing approval rates for Janneh Commission across different parties and tribes.]
Majority of all party supporters see justice system improving

Now I will read you a list of issues. Please tell me if you think this issue is getting better or worse in The Gambia.

**Justice**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>UDP supporters</th>
<th>APRC supporters</th>
<th>GDC supporters</th>
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<th>Fula</th>
<th>Wolof</th>
<th>Jola</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Better</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>85</td>
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<td>41</td>
<td>44</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wolof</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 37*
Strong approval for compensation

For each one, please tell me whether you approve or disapprove of that action.

Compensating families that had family members killed during the Jammeh government

Figure 38

- Strongly Approve
- Somewhat approve

59

72