



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

GAMBIANS' VIEWS ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM PROCESS:

Low Awareness, But Strong Support for Reforms

July 2018

This report was produced by JPM Strategic Solutions for the National Democratic Institute.

## Table of Contents

Table of Contents ..... 2

About NDI..... 3

Acknowledgments..... 3

Acronyms ..... 4

Introduction ..... 5

New Democratic Freedoms Driving the Country’s Optimism..... 6

President Barrow and Tribes Define the Political Landscape ..... 8

Constitutional Reforms: Low-Level of Awareness, But Strong Support ..... 10

Reforms Can Help Retain High Trust Levels of the Media ..... 13

Fears that Reconciling Past Atrocities Could Lead to Instability..... 16

Recommendations ..... 17

Appendix I ..... 18

Appendix II ..... 19

## 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](http://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

### 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<sup>1</sup> 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.

---

<sup>1</sup> 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.

Figure 1

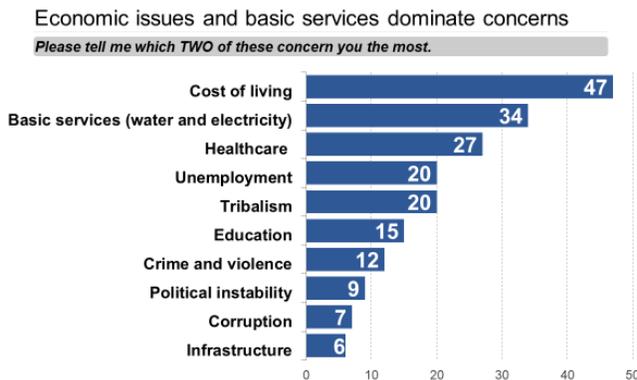
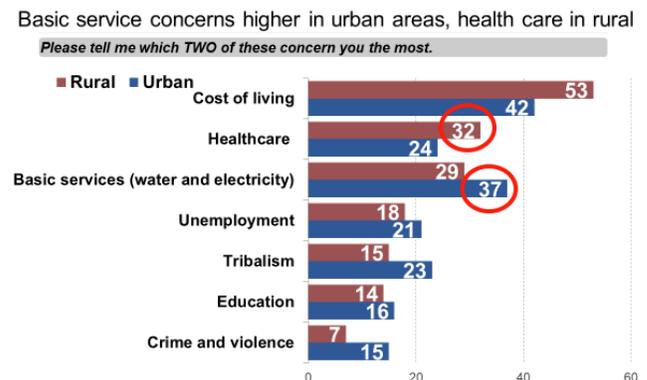
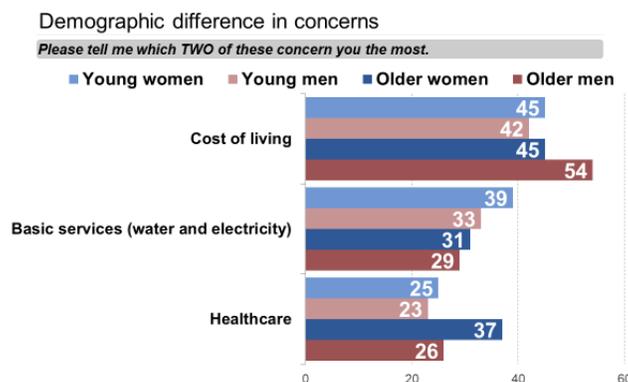


Figure 2



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]**

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

## Report on Public Opinion Research in The Gambia, February to April 2018

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

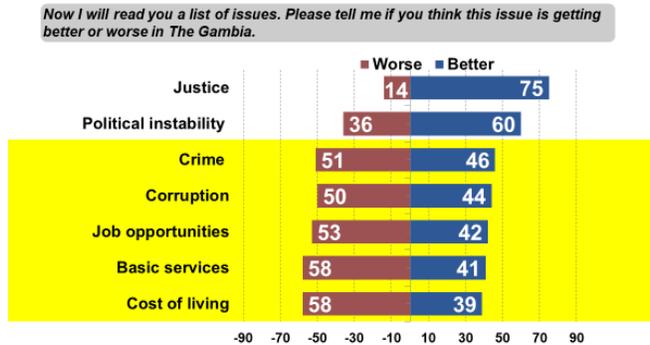
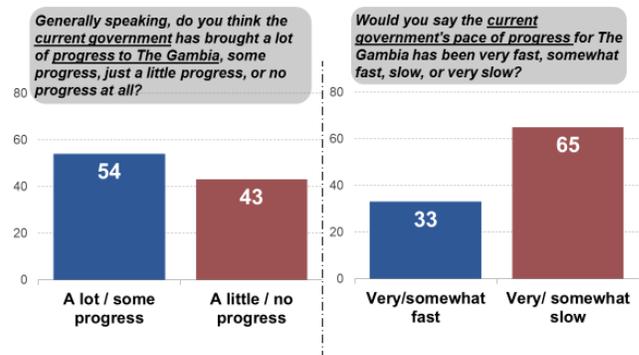


Figure 5

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

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?

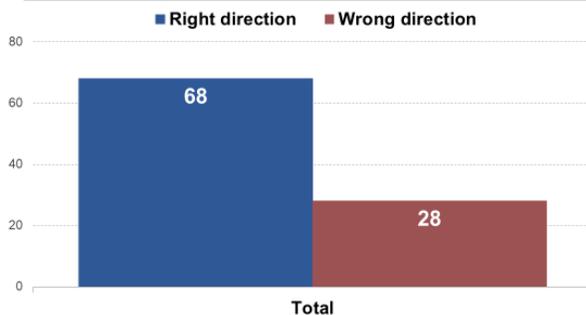
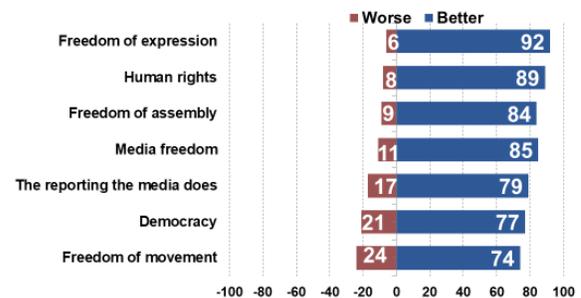


Figure 7

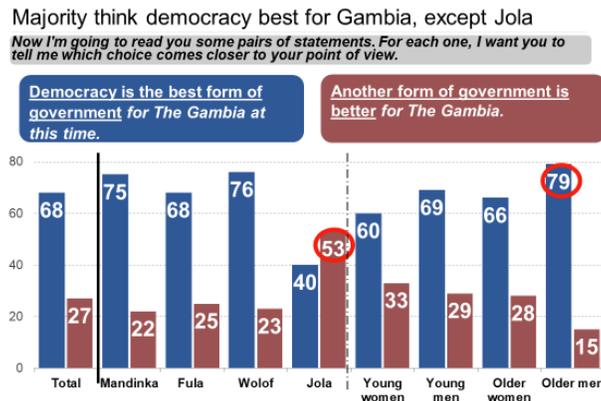
Democracy components significantly improving

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.



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.

Figure 8



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.

Figure 9

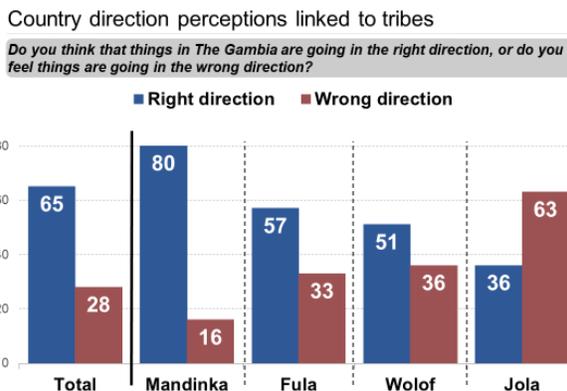
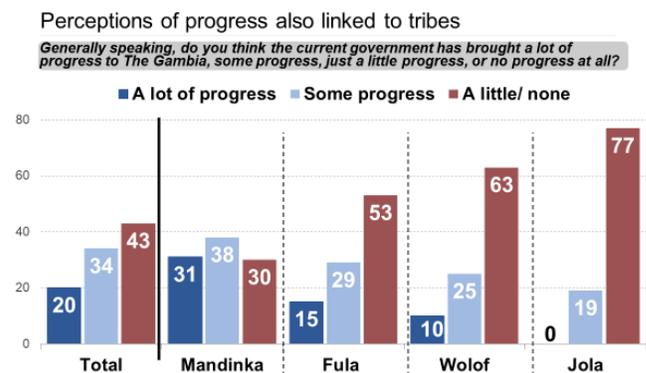


Figure 10



## 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]

# Report on Public Opinion Research in The Gambia, February to April 2018

Figure 11

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?

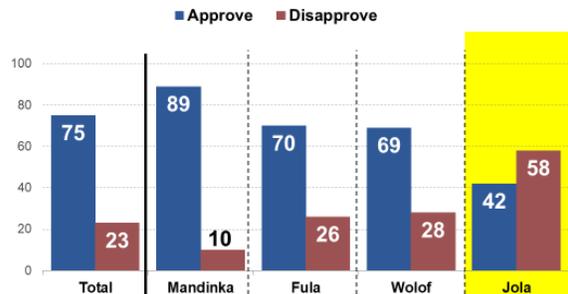


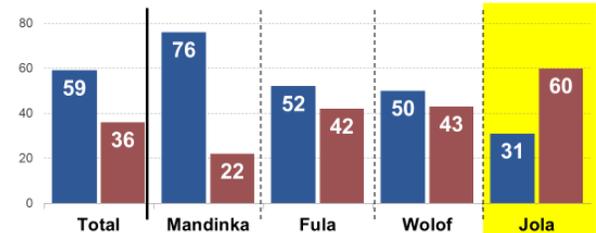
Figure 12

Majority want to continue in Barrow direction, except Jola

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.

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.

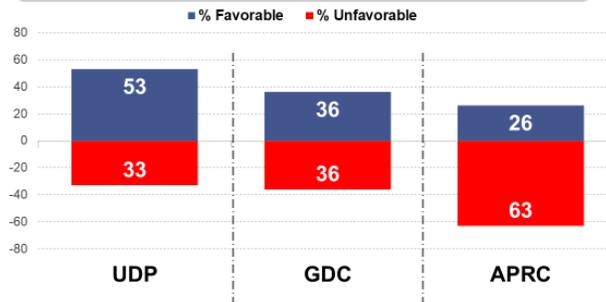


Political party favorable ratings show UDP having the highest favorable rating (53% favorable) followed by the Gambia Democratic Congress (GDC) (36% favorable) and the APRC (26% favorable). [Figure 13]

Figure 13

UDP most favorably viewed party, GDC neutral, APRC lowest

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.



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]

Figure 14

Gambians more likely to favor political leaders of same tribe

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.

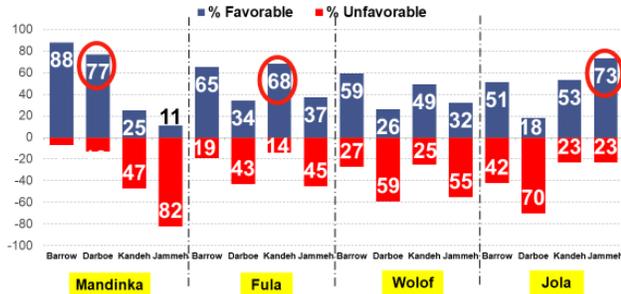
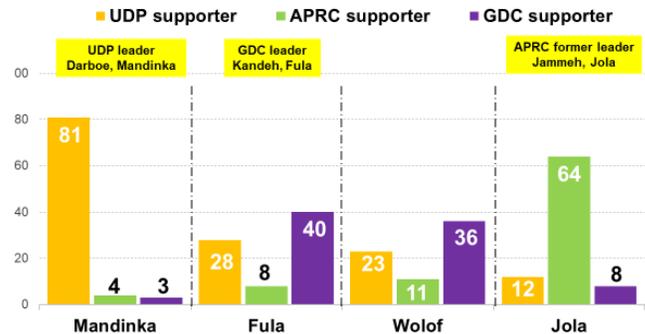


Figure 15

Major political parties closely link to tribe

Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a supporter of a particular political party?

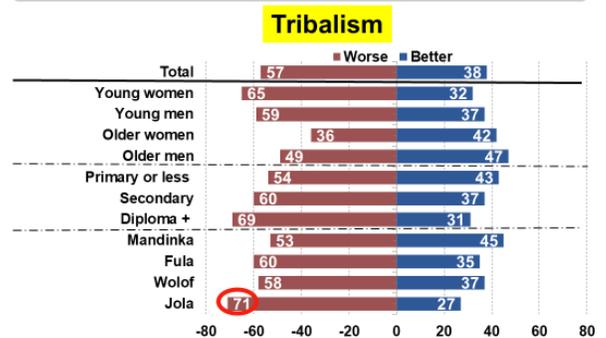


As tribalism permeates the Gambian political landscape and undercurrents of society, a 57% majority of the public thinks tribalism is getting worse and 71% of Jola members agree with this sentiment. [Figure 16] This should be viewed as particularly worrisome for Barrow and the government. If economic 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.

Figure 16

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.



## 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]

## Report on Public Opinion Research in The Gambia, February to April 2018

Figure 17

### Extremely low awareness about constitutional reforms

The Gambian government is currently working on reforming the Gambian constitution. Have you heard about these reforms?

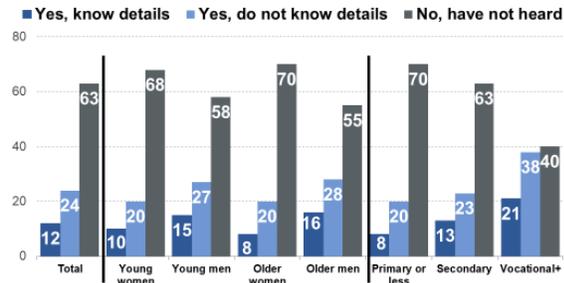
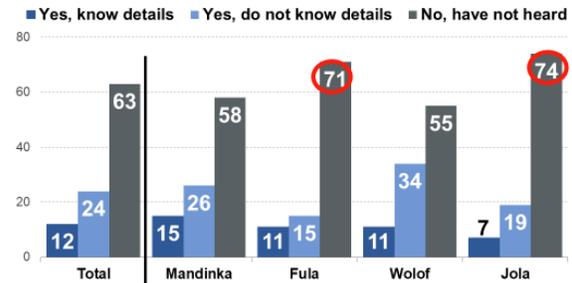


Figure 18

### Jola, Fula lowest level of awareness about constitutional reforms

The Gambian government is currently working on reforming the Gambian constitution. Have you heard about these reforms?



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.

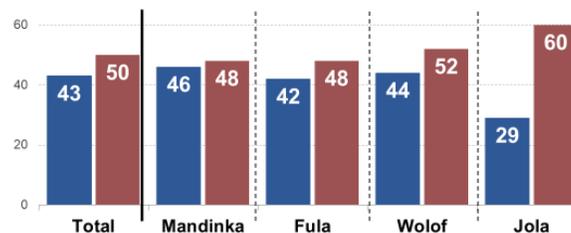
Figure 19

### 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.

It is more important to have a new constitution.

It is more important to revise the current constitution.



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]

# Report on Public Opinion Research in The Gambia, February to April 2018

Figure 20

Strong approval for constitutional reforms

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.

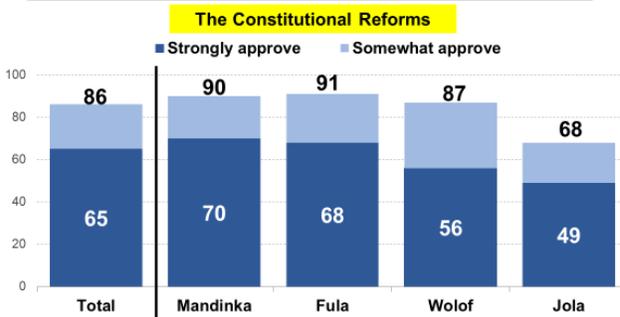
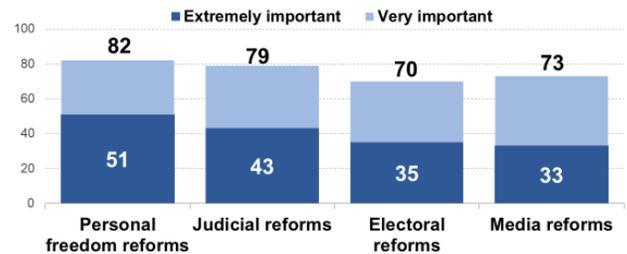


Figure 21

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.

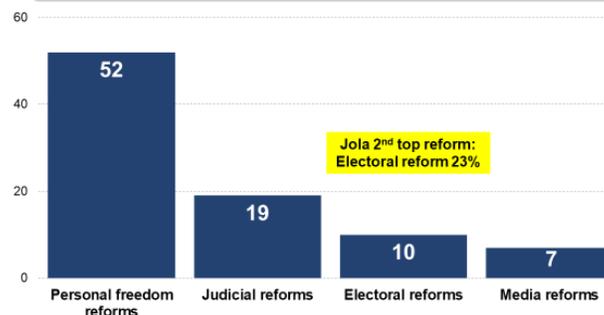


Of these reforms, a slight 52% majority choose personal freedom reforms as the most important. [Figure 22] This suggests that the government’s communications efforts should lead with these personal freedom reforms to help generate awareness and support. The Barrow government is in a strong position to 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.

Figure 22

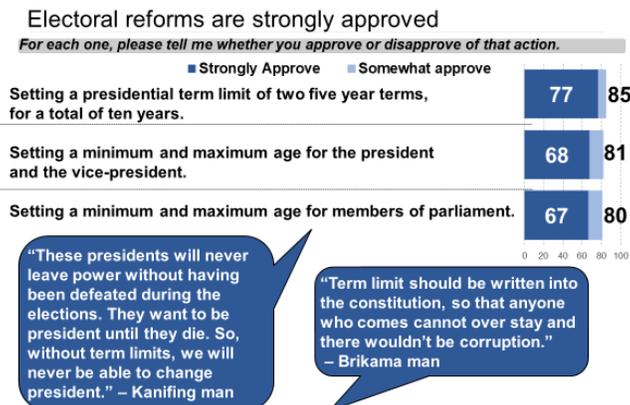
Personal freedom overwhelmingly most important

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



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.

Figure 23



## Reforms Can Help Retain High Trust Levels of the Media

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.

Figure 24

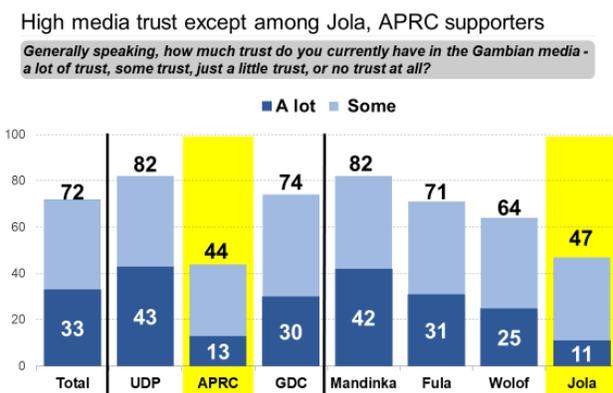
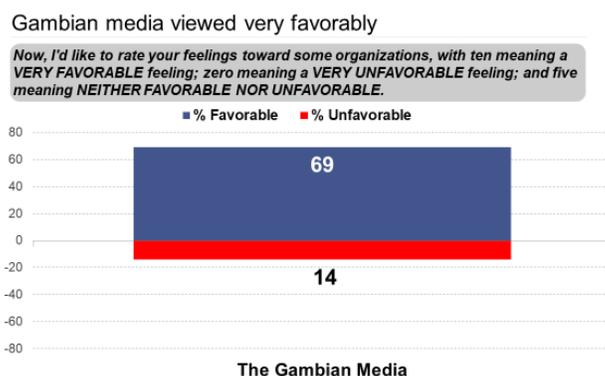


Figure 25



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.”

# Report on Public Opinion Research in The Gambia, February to April 2018

Figure 26

Majority see the media as free to report the news

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.

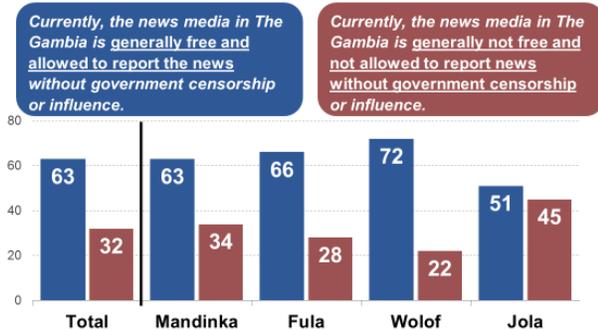
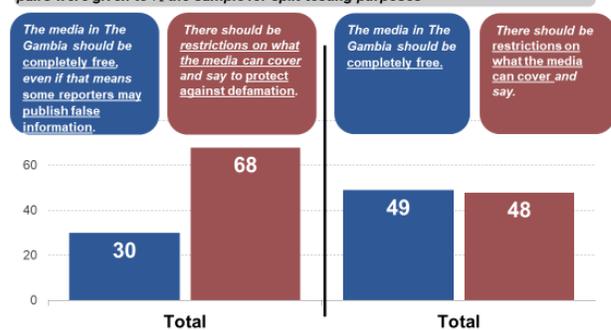


Figure 27

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 1/2 the sample for split testing purposes



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]

Figure 28

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?

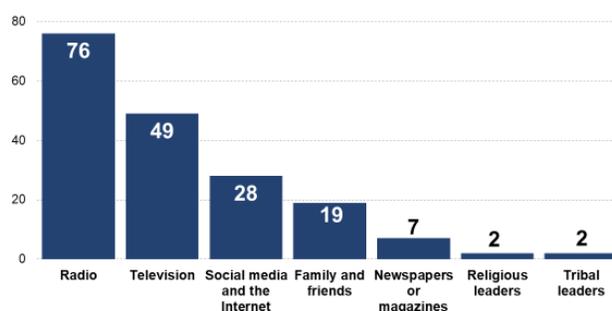
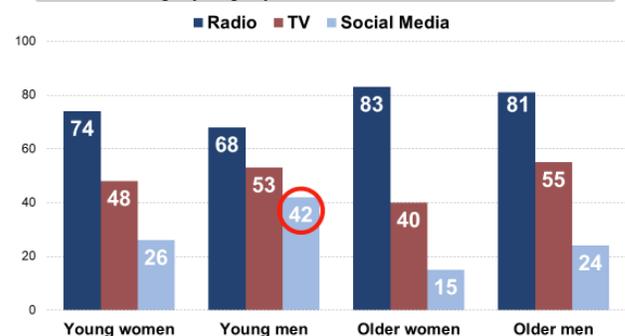


Figure 29

Young men utilize social media most

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



# Report on Public Opinion Research in The Gambia, February to April 2018

Figure 30

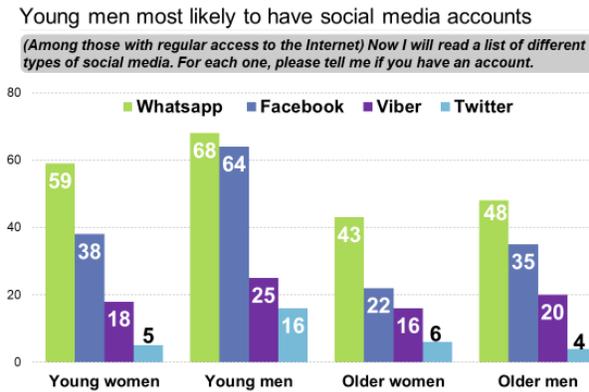
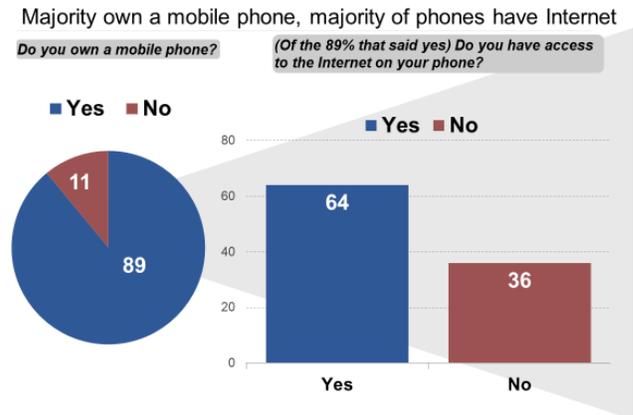


Figure 31



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]**

Figure 32

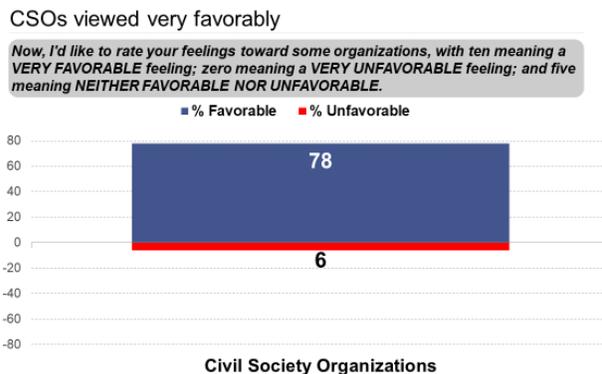
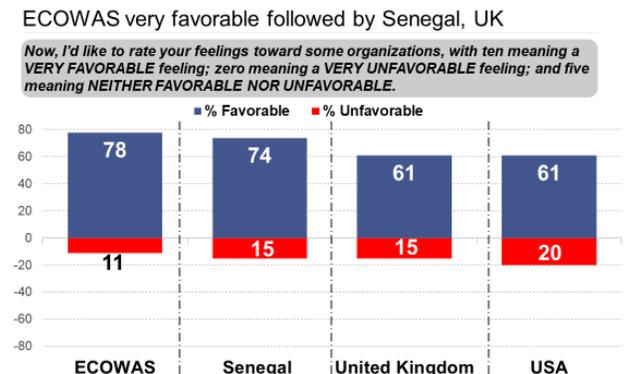
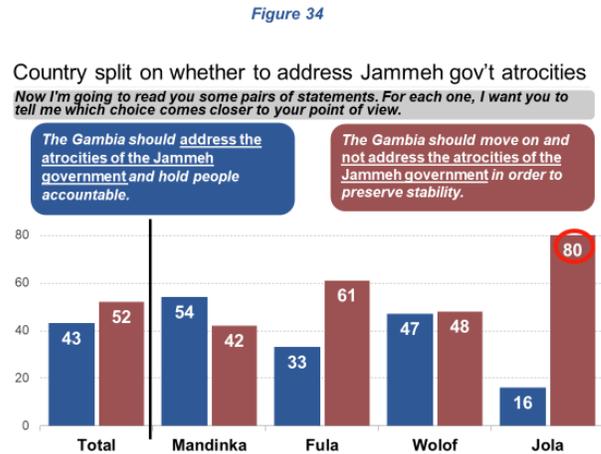


Figure 33

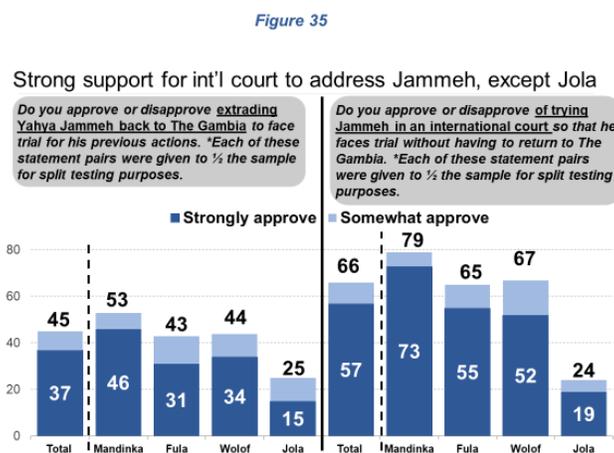


## Fears that Reconciling Past Atrocities Could Lead to Instability

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

## Report on Public Opinion Research in The Gambia, February to April 2018

system as getting better, though there are partisan differences, suggesting the Commission should take extra steps to appear neutral. **[Figure 37]**

Figure 36

Approval of Janneh Commission tied to party and tribe  
Please tell me whether you approve or disapprove of the Janneh Commission.

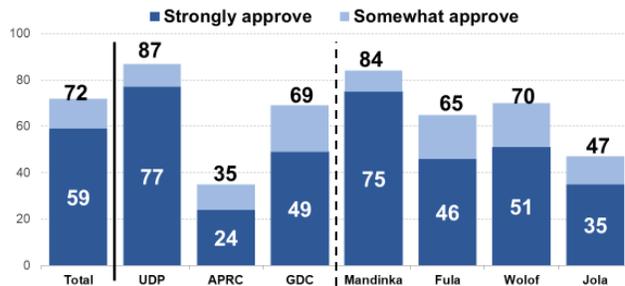
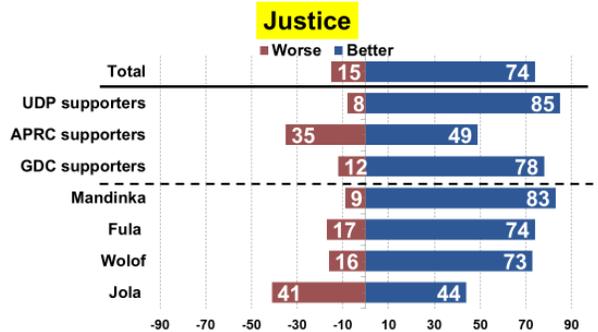


Figure 37

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.

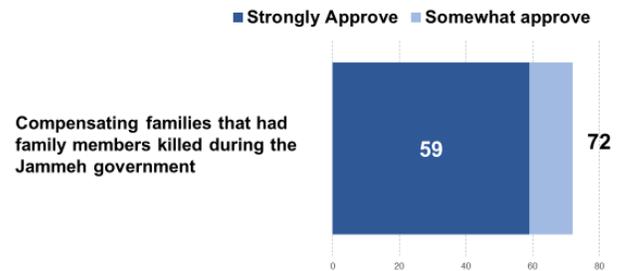


Regardless of how the country reconciles the past, a strong 80% majority approve of compensating families of victims that were killed during the Jammeh government. **[Figure 38]**

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.

Figure 38

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



## 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

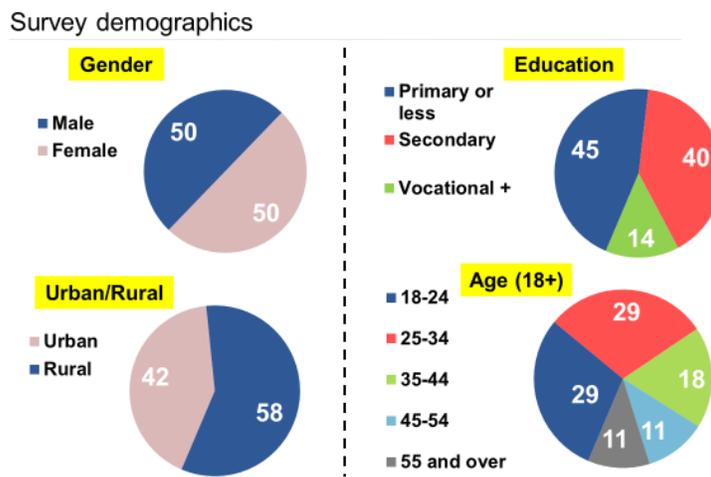
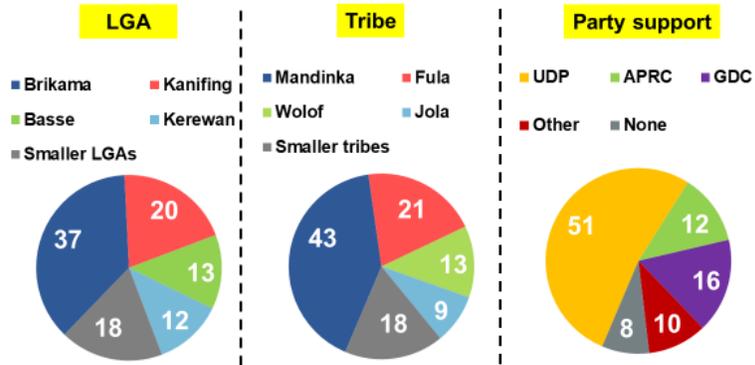


Figure 42

Survey demographics (continued)



## 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

*Figure 1*

## Economic issues and basic services dominate concerns

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

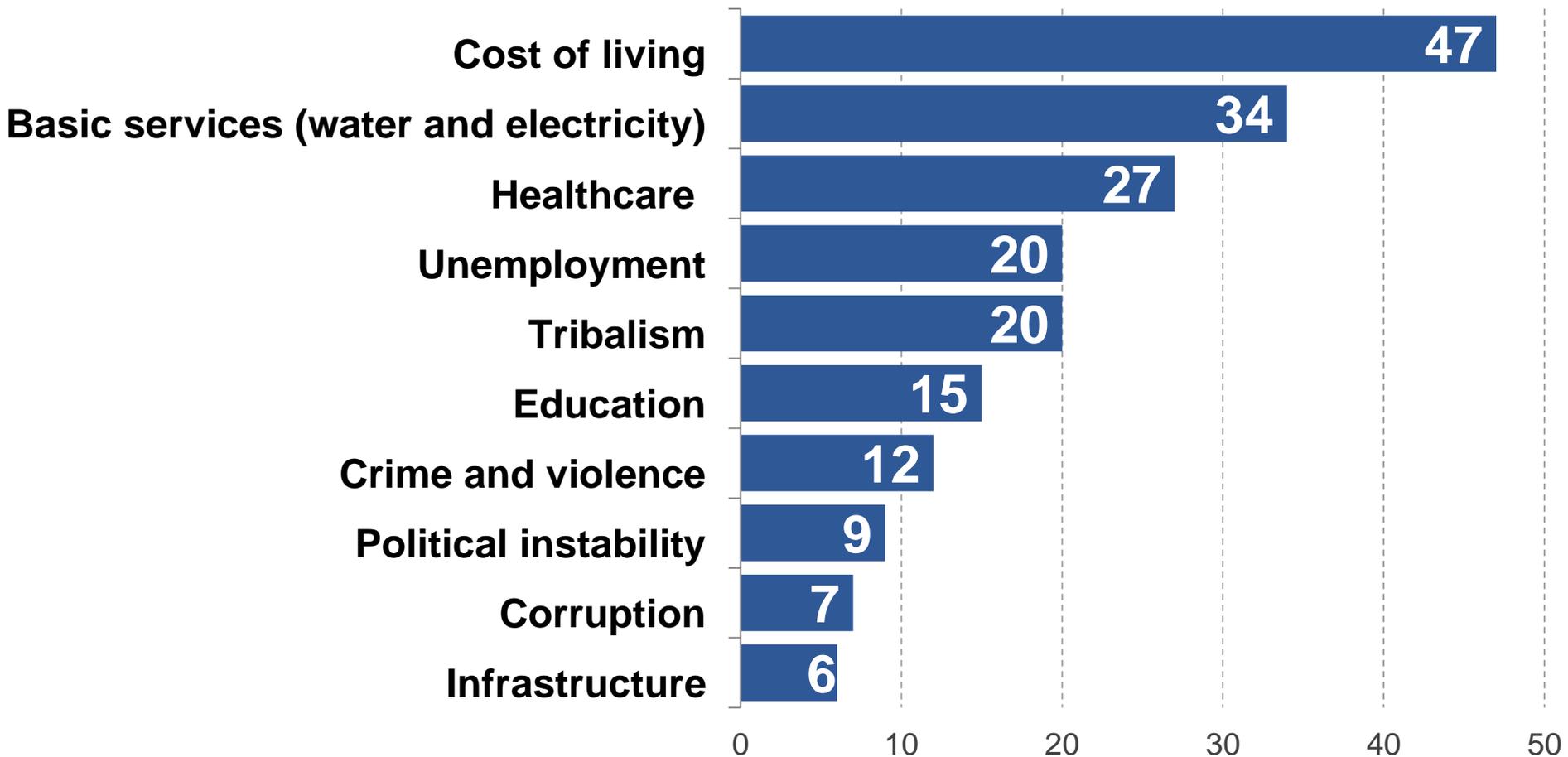


Figure 2

# Basic service concerns higher in urban areas, health care in rural

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

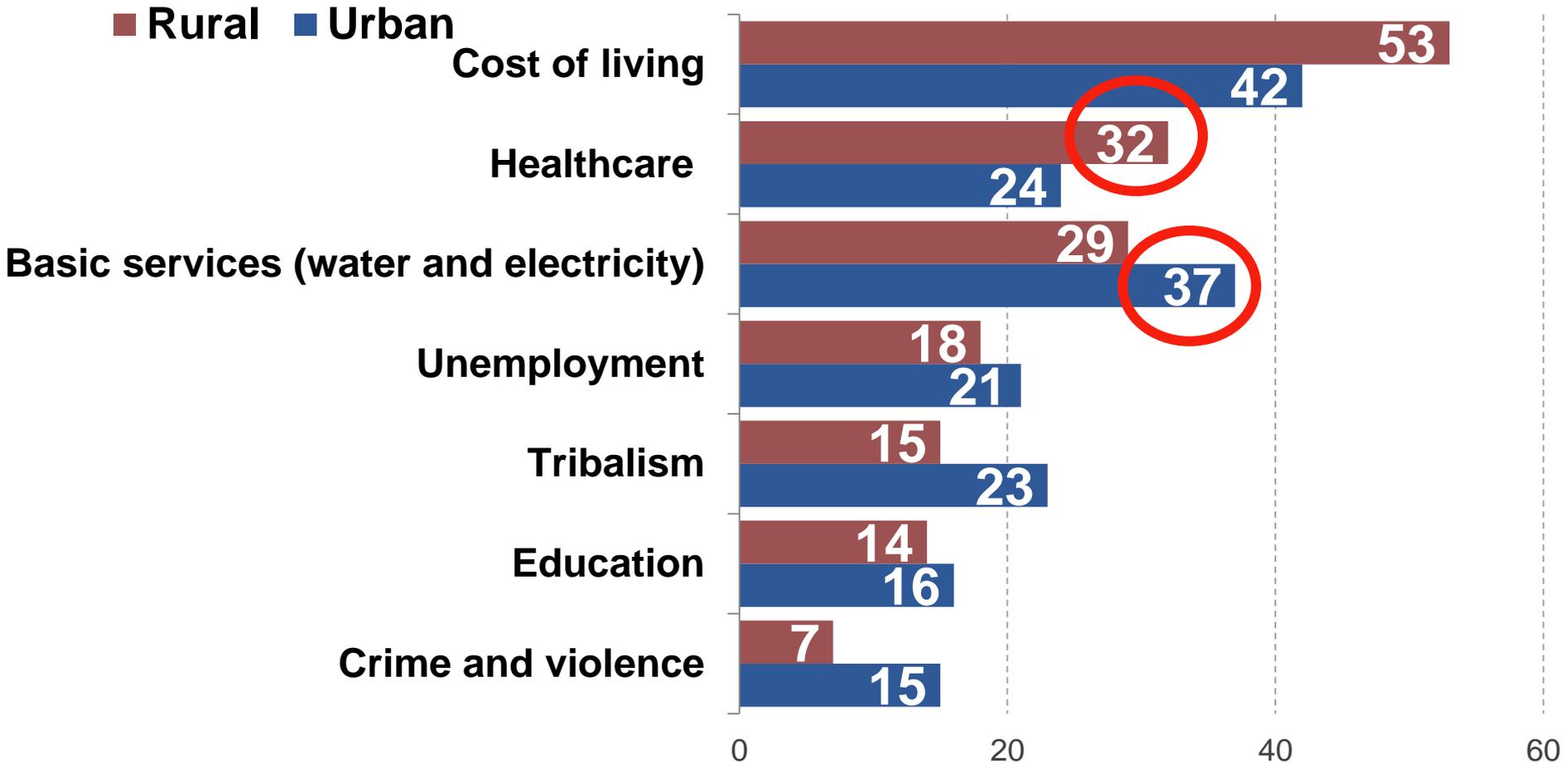


Figure 3

## Demographic difference in concerns

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

■ Young women ■ Young men ■ Older women ■ Older men

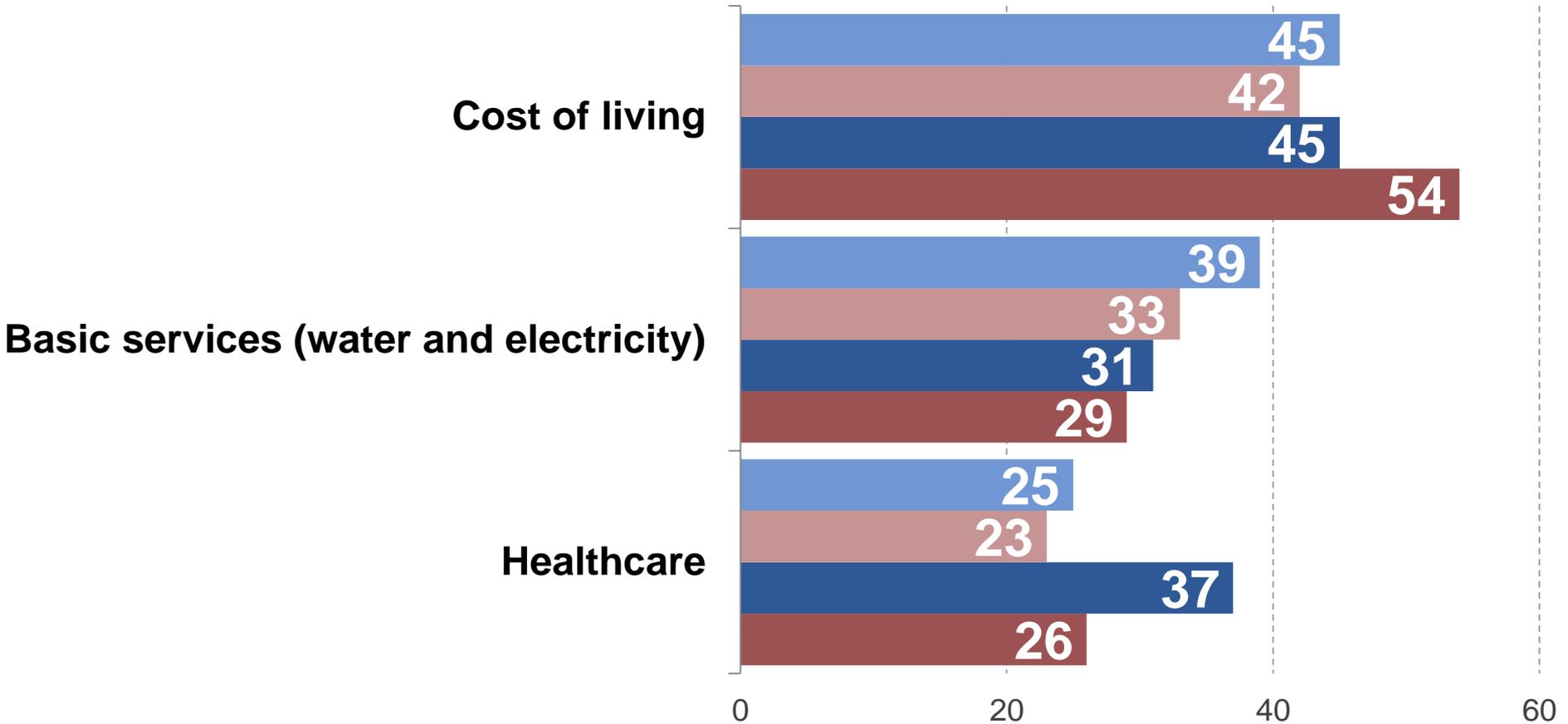


Figure 4

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.

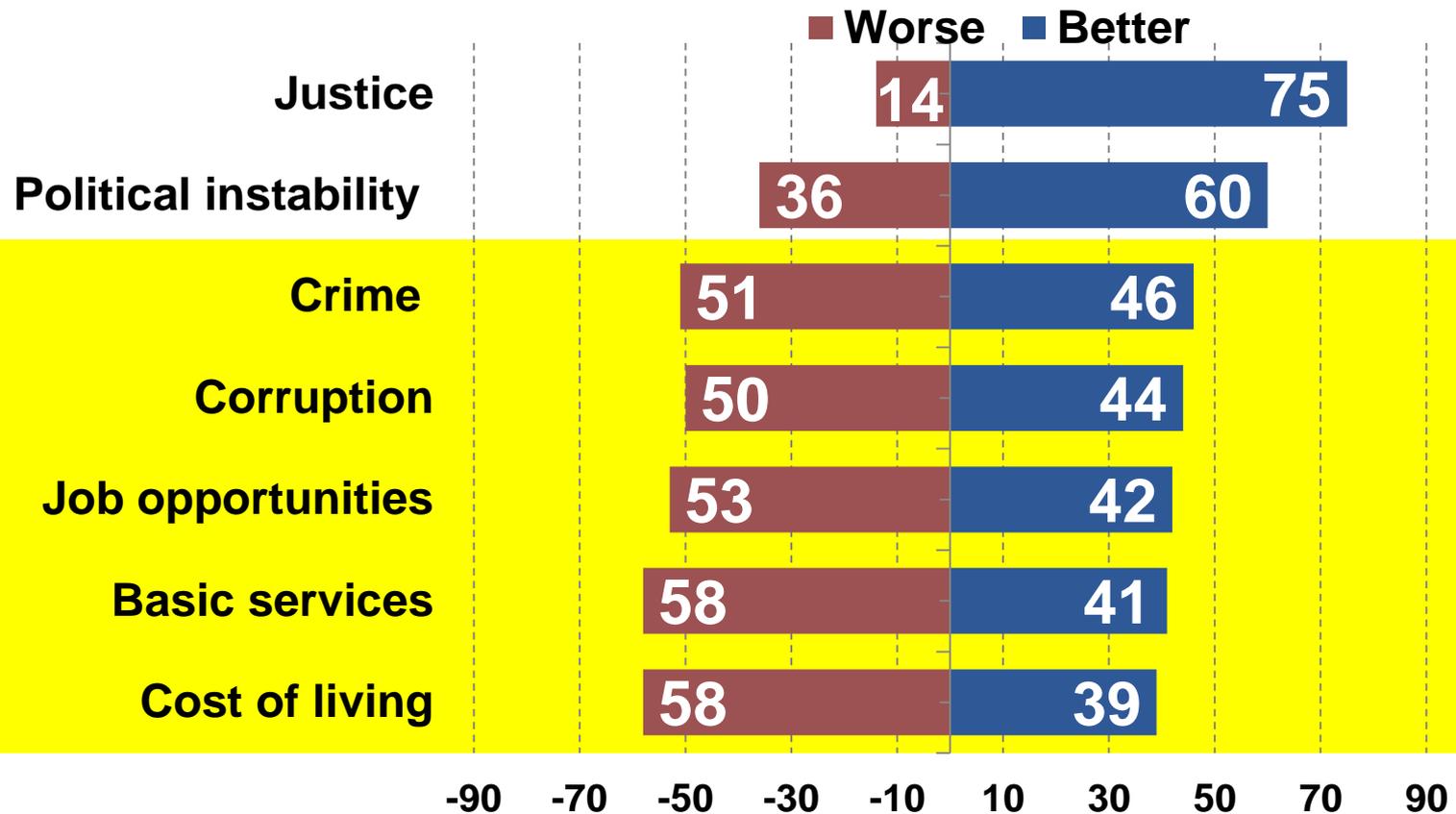
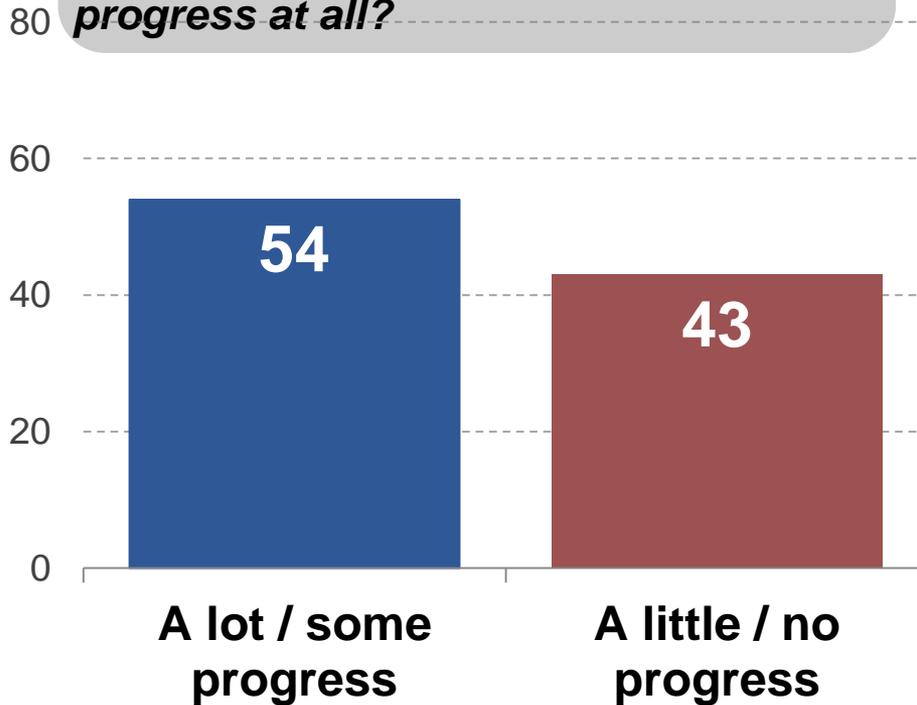


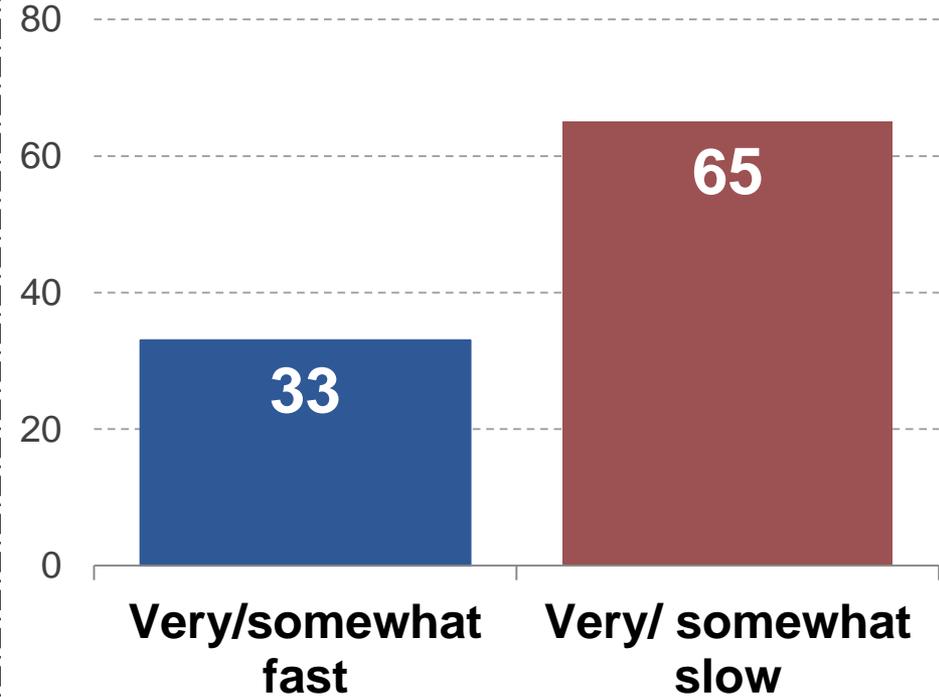
Figure 5

## Majority see progress, but with a slow pace

*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?*



*Figure 6*

## Progress has strong majority saying country in right direction

*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    ■ Wrong direction

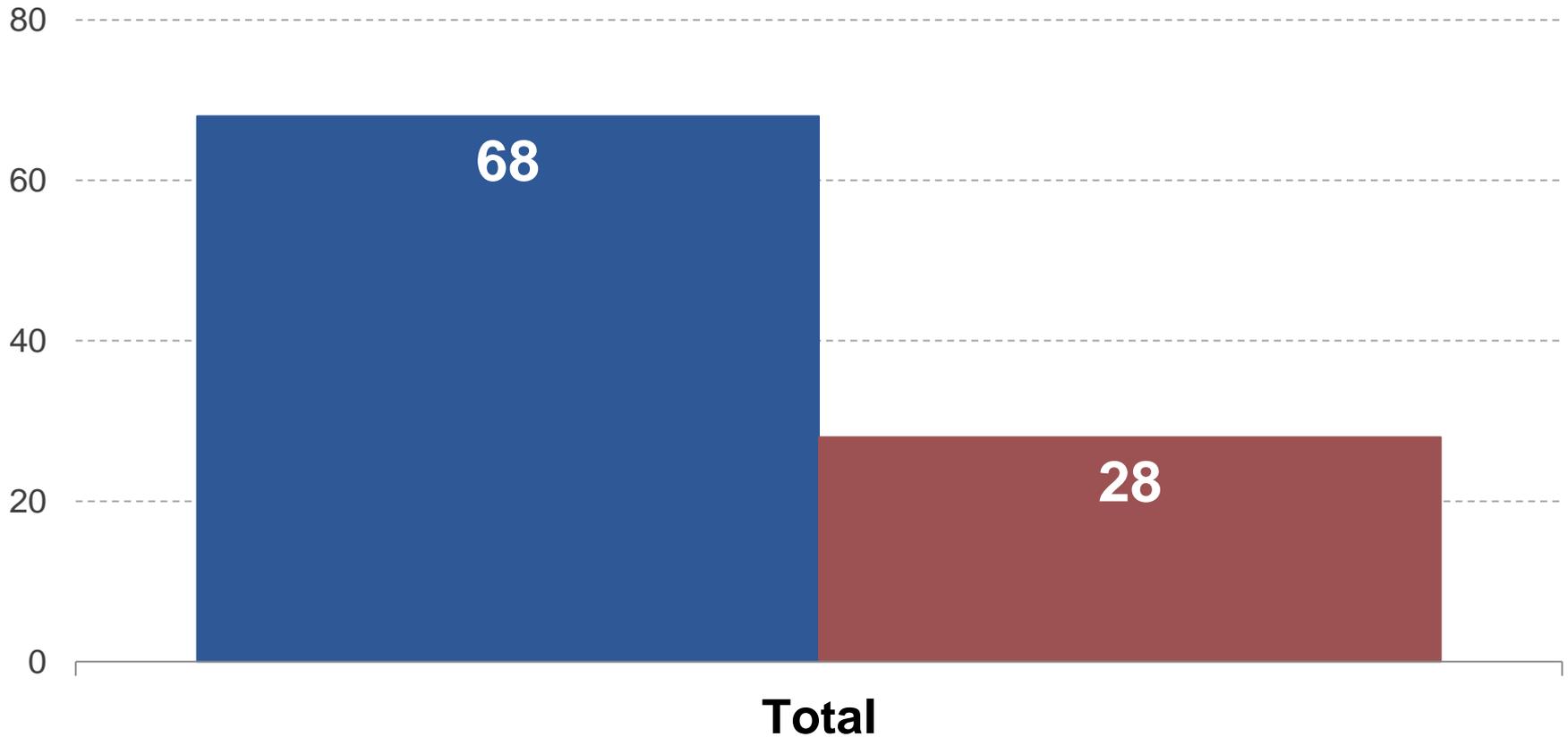


Figure 7

## Democracy components significantly 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.*

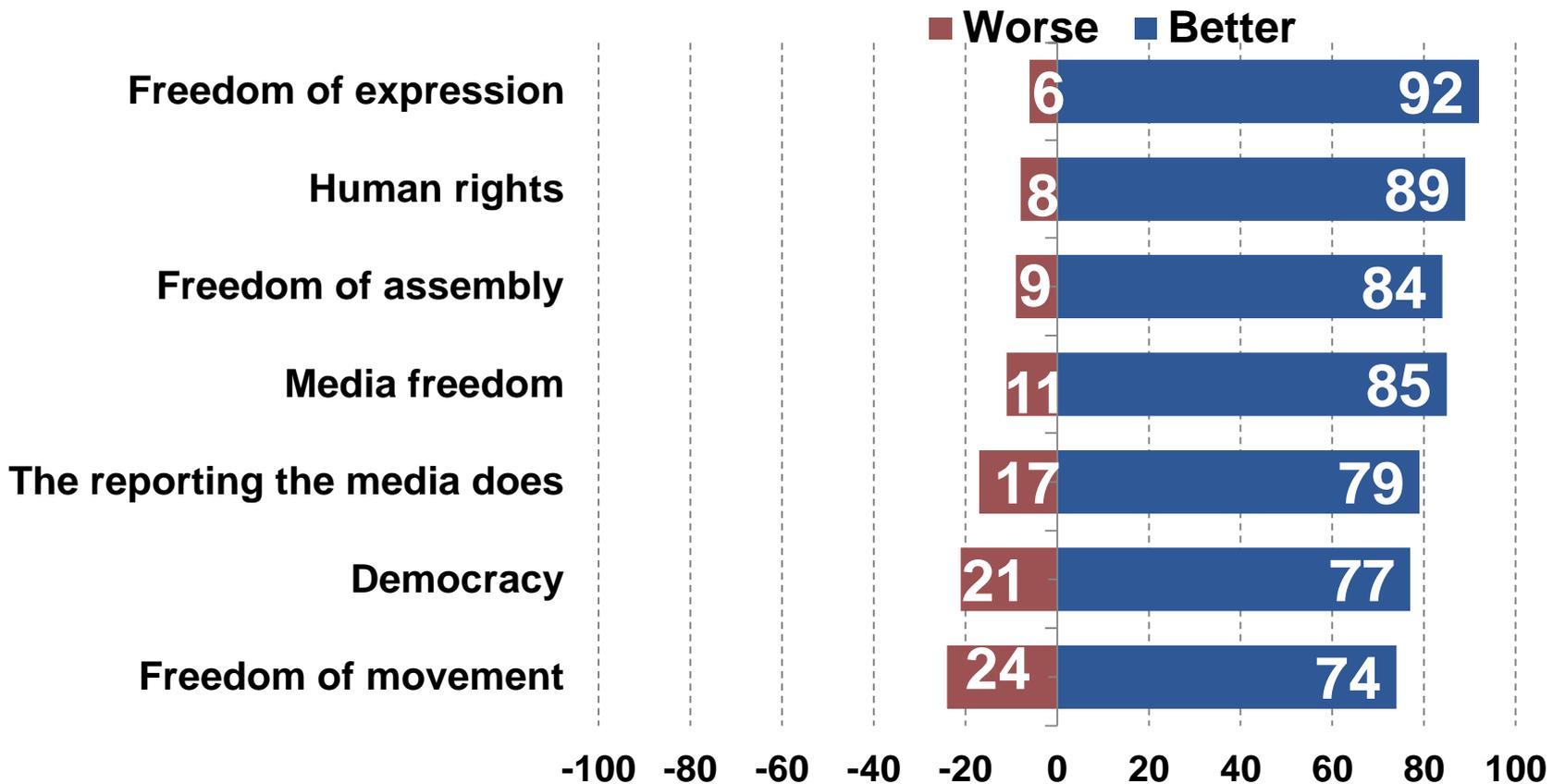


Figure 8

## Majority think democracy best for Gambia, except Jola

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.

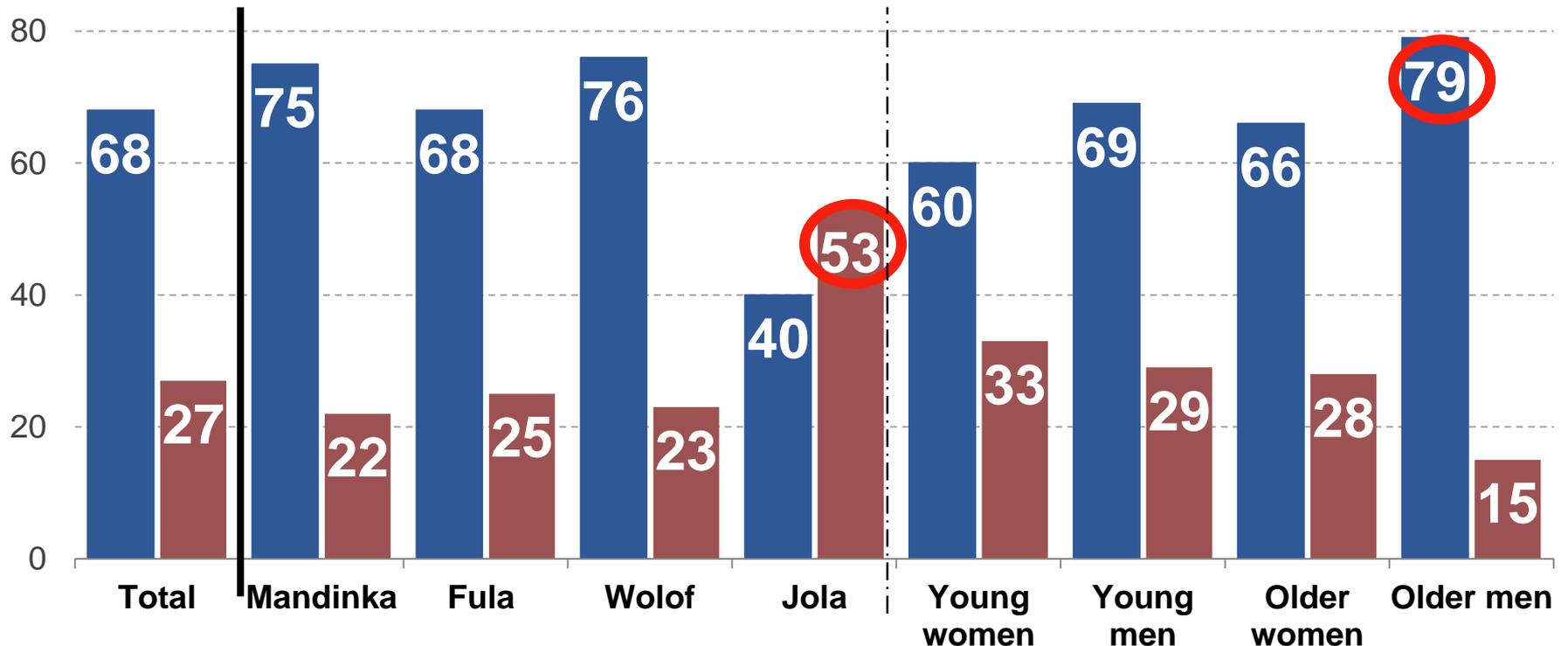


Figure 9

## 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?*

■ Right direction ■ Wrong direction

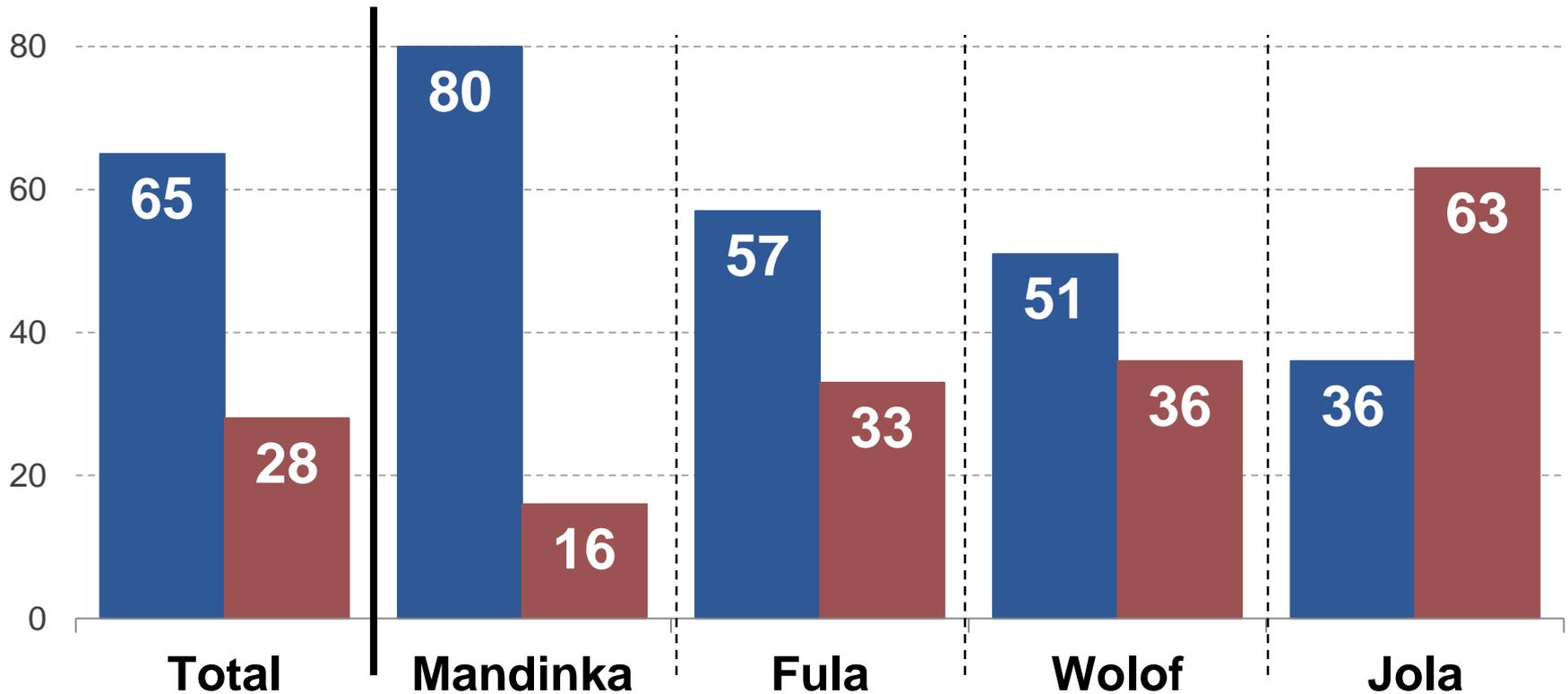


Figure 10

## Perceptions of progress also linked to tribes

*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

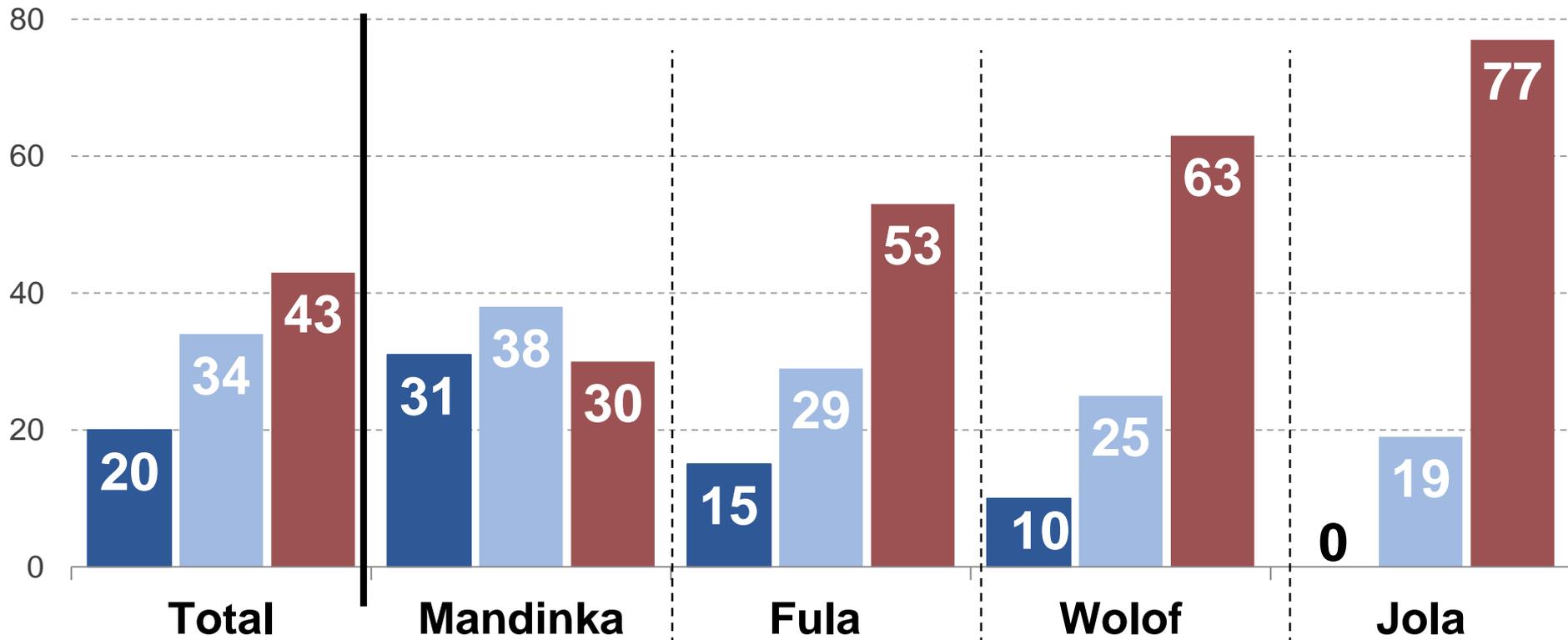


Figure 11

# 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?*

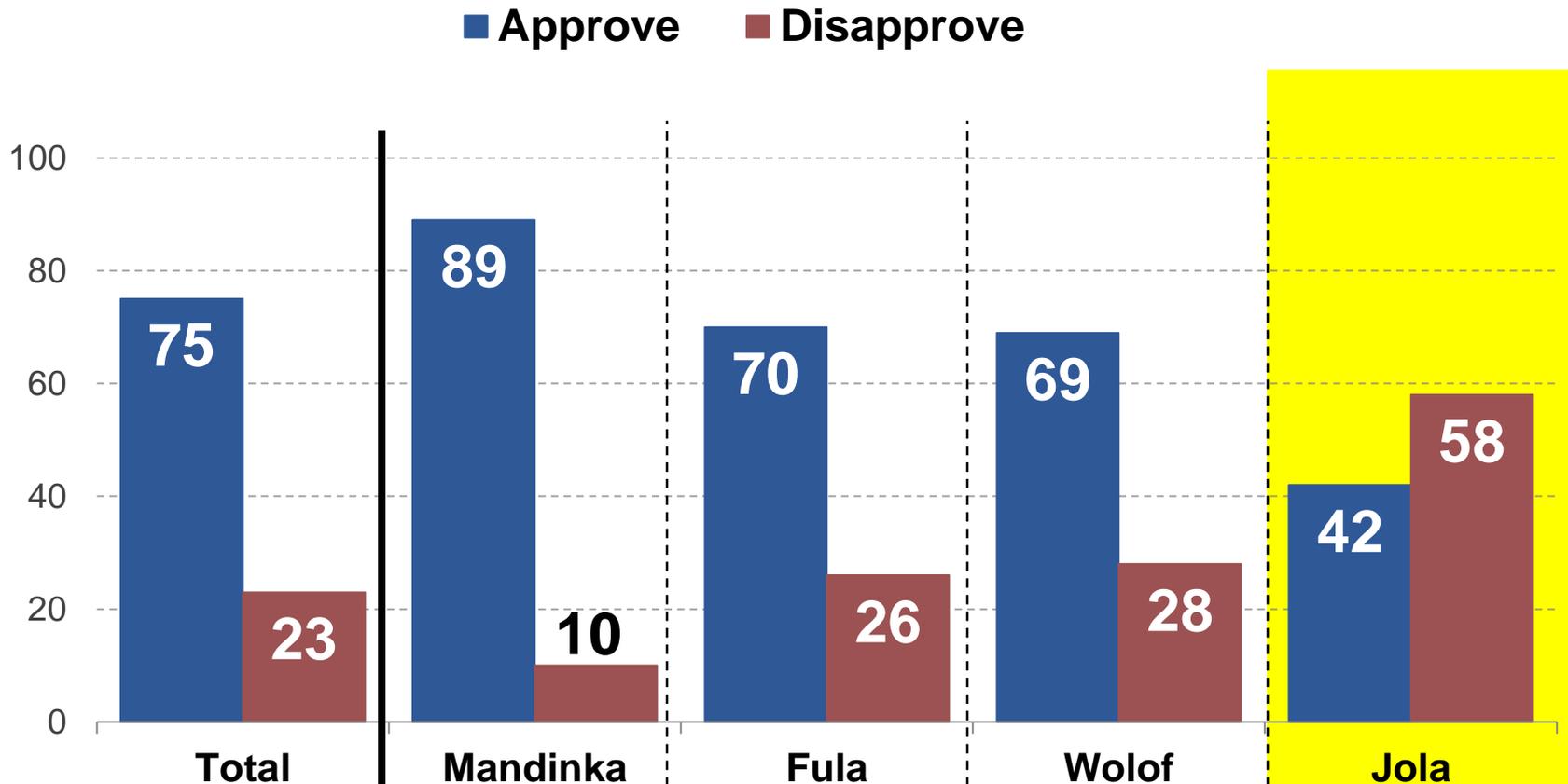


Figure 12

## Majority want to continue in Barrow direction, except Jola

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.

*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.*

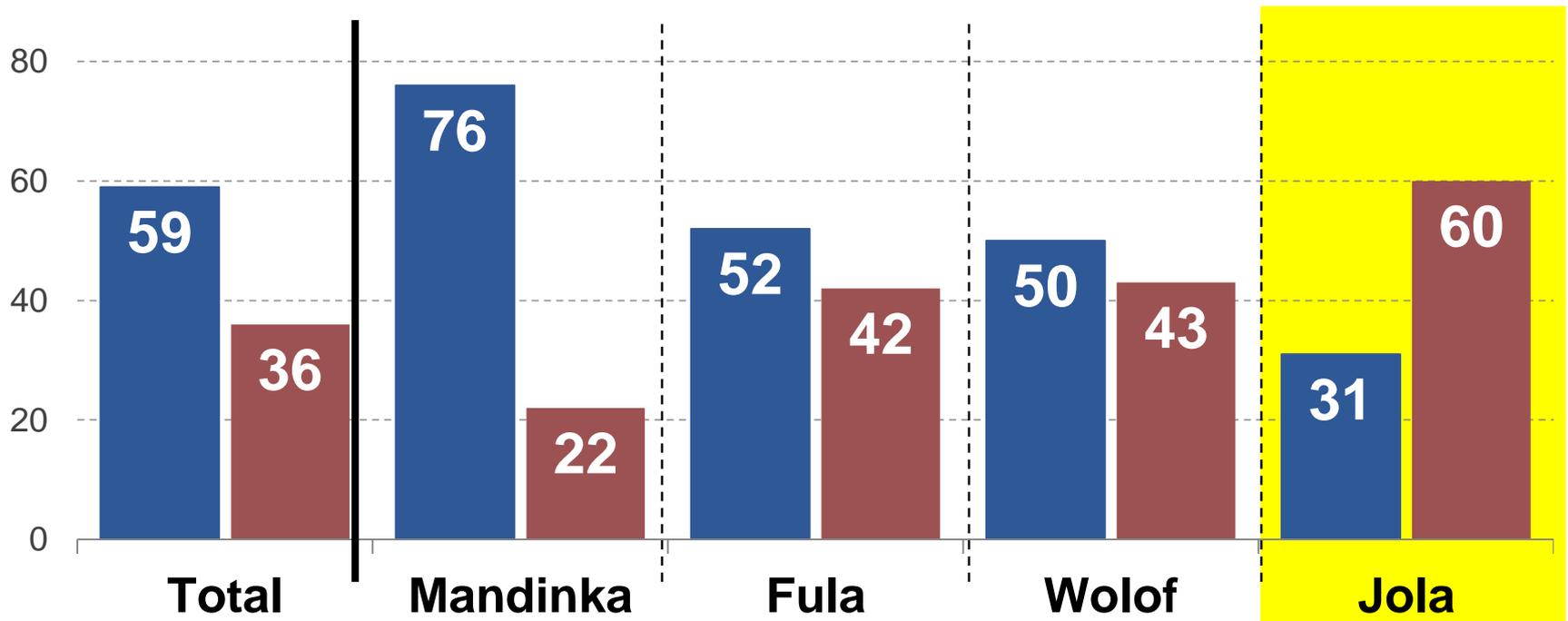


Figure 13

## UDP most favorably viewed party, GDC neutral, APRC lowest

*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.*

■ % Favorable ■ % Unfavorable

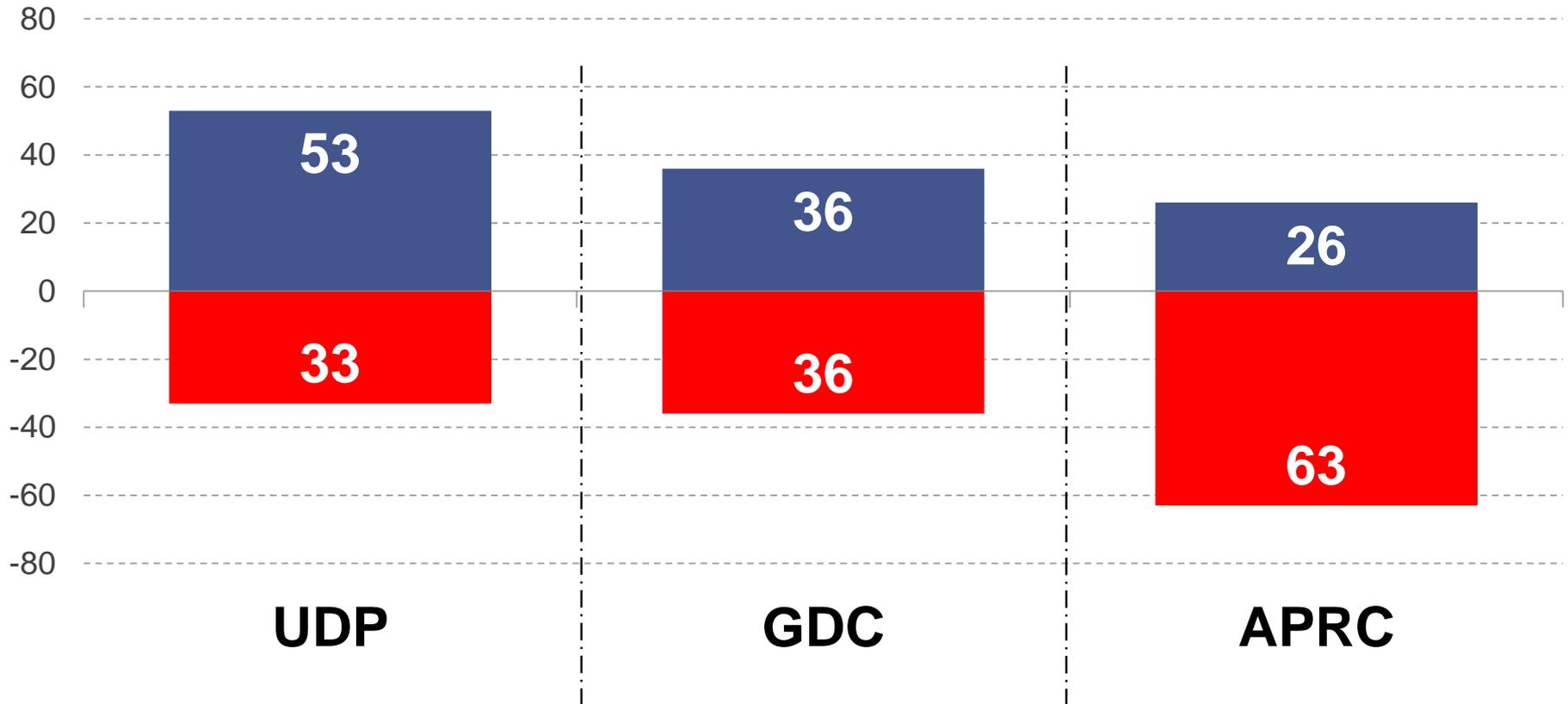


Figure 14

## Gambians more likely to favor political leaders of same tribe

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.

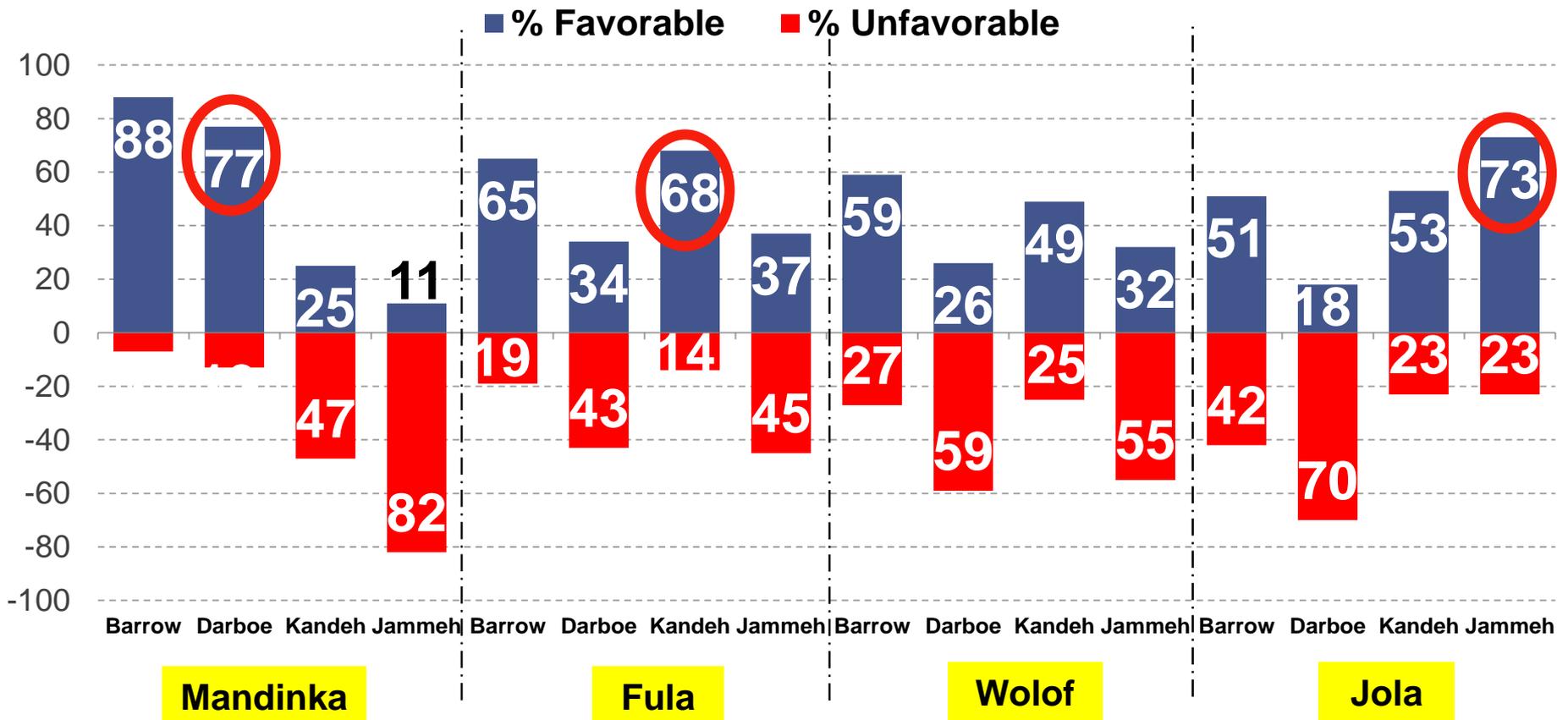


Figure 15

## Major political parties closely link to tribe

Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a supporter of a particular political party?

■ **UDP supporter**

■ **APRC supporter**

■ **GDC supporter**

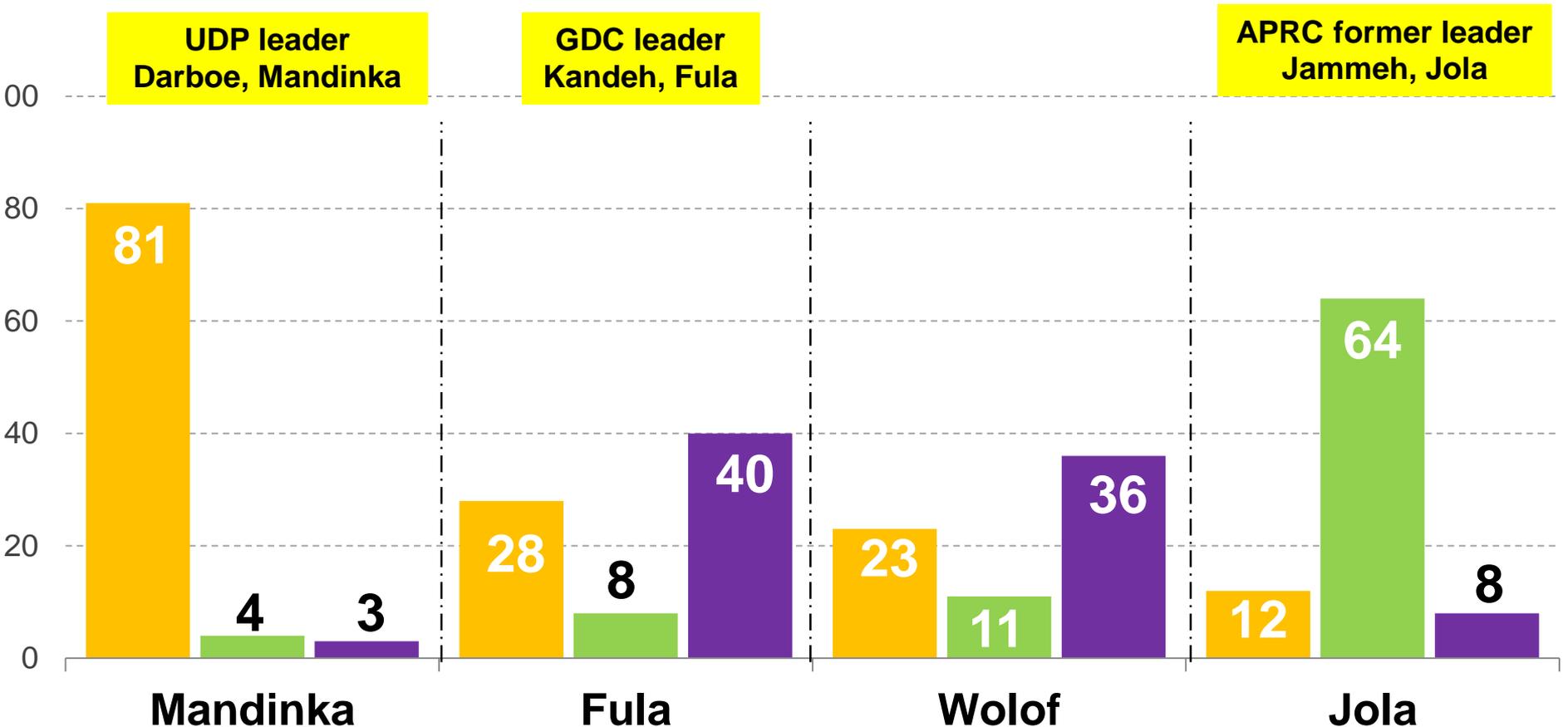


Figure 16

## 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

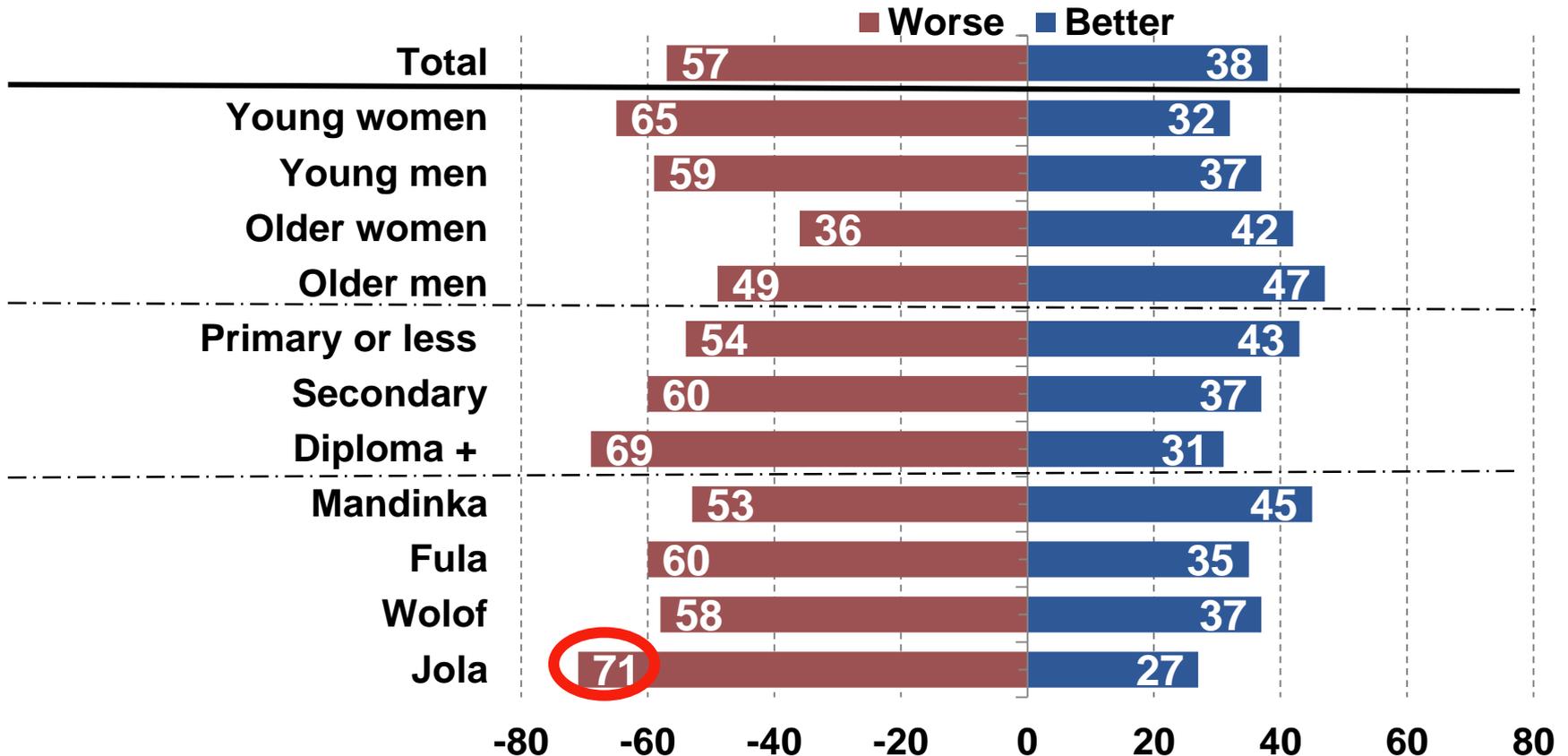


Figure 17

## Extremely low awareness about constitutional reforms

*The Gambian government is currently working on reforming the Gambian constitution. Have you heard about these reforms?*

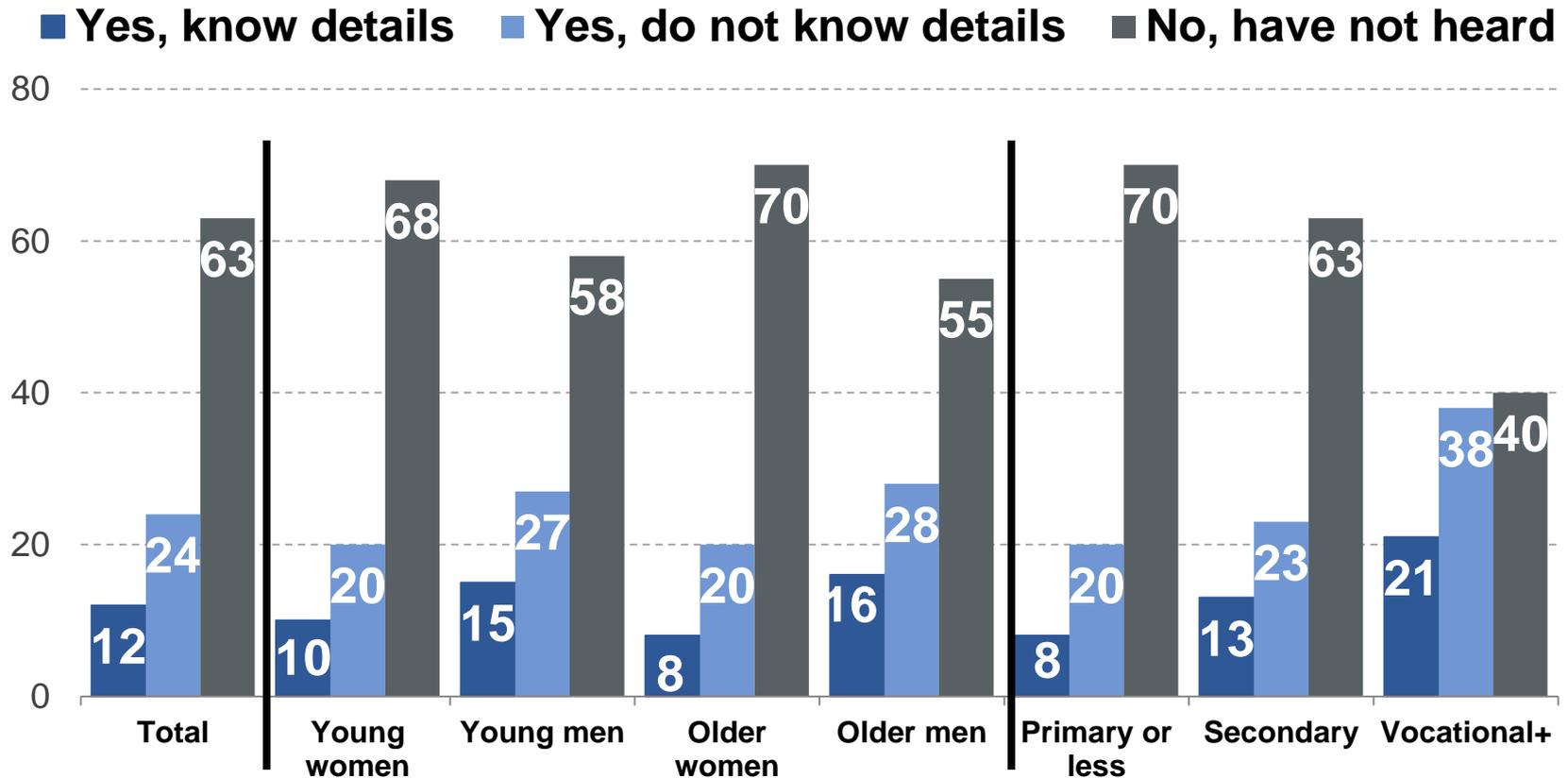


Figure 18

## Jola, Fula lowest level of awareness about constitutional reforms

*The Gambian government is currently working on reforming the Gambian constitution. Have you heard about these reforms?*

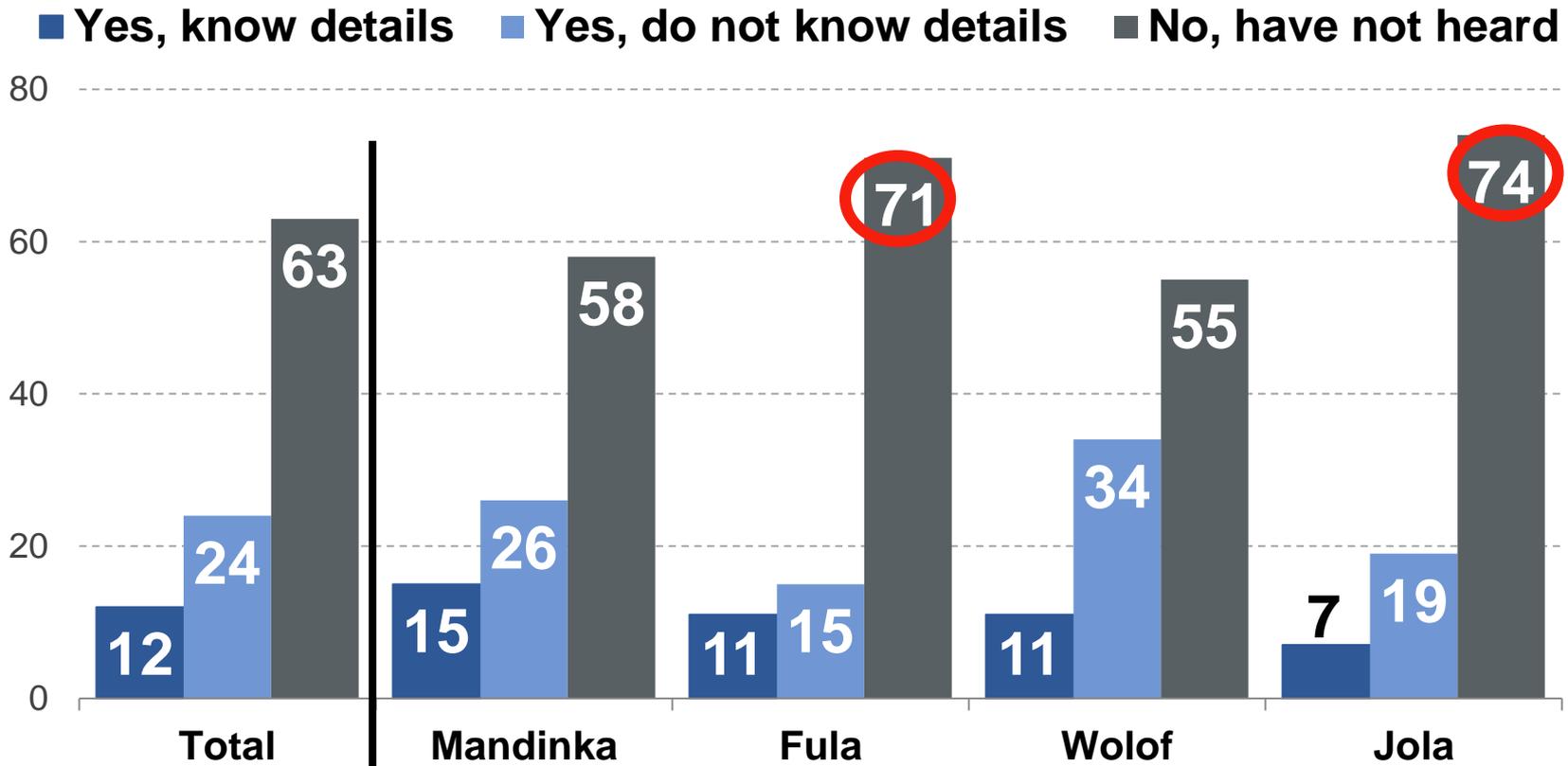


Figure 19

## 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.

*It is more important to have a new constitution.*

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

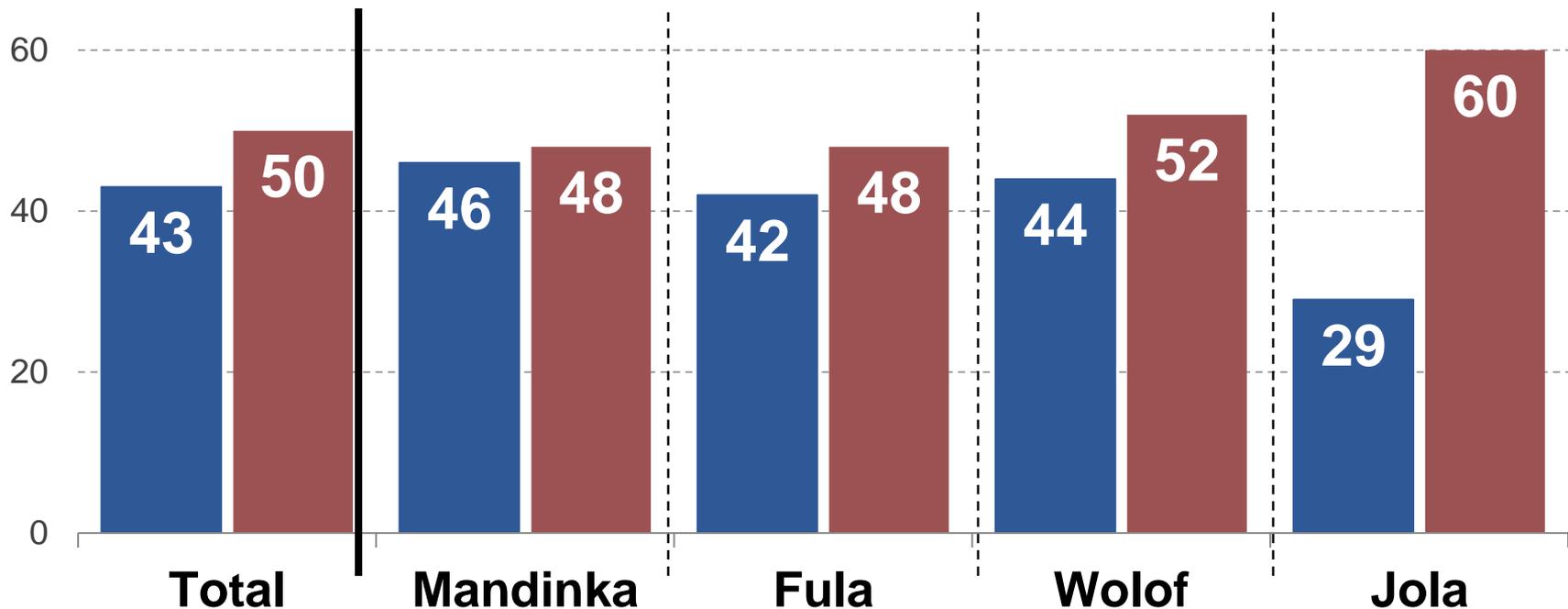


Figure 20

## Strong approval for constitutional reforms

*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.*

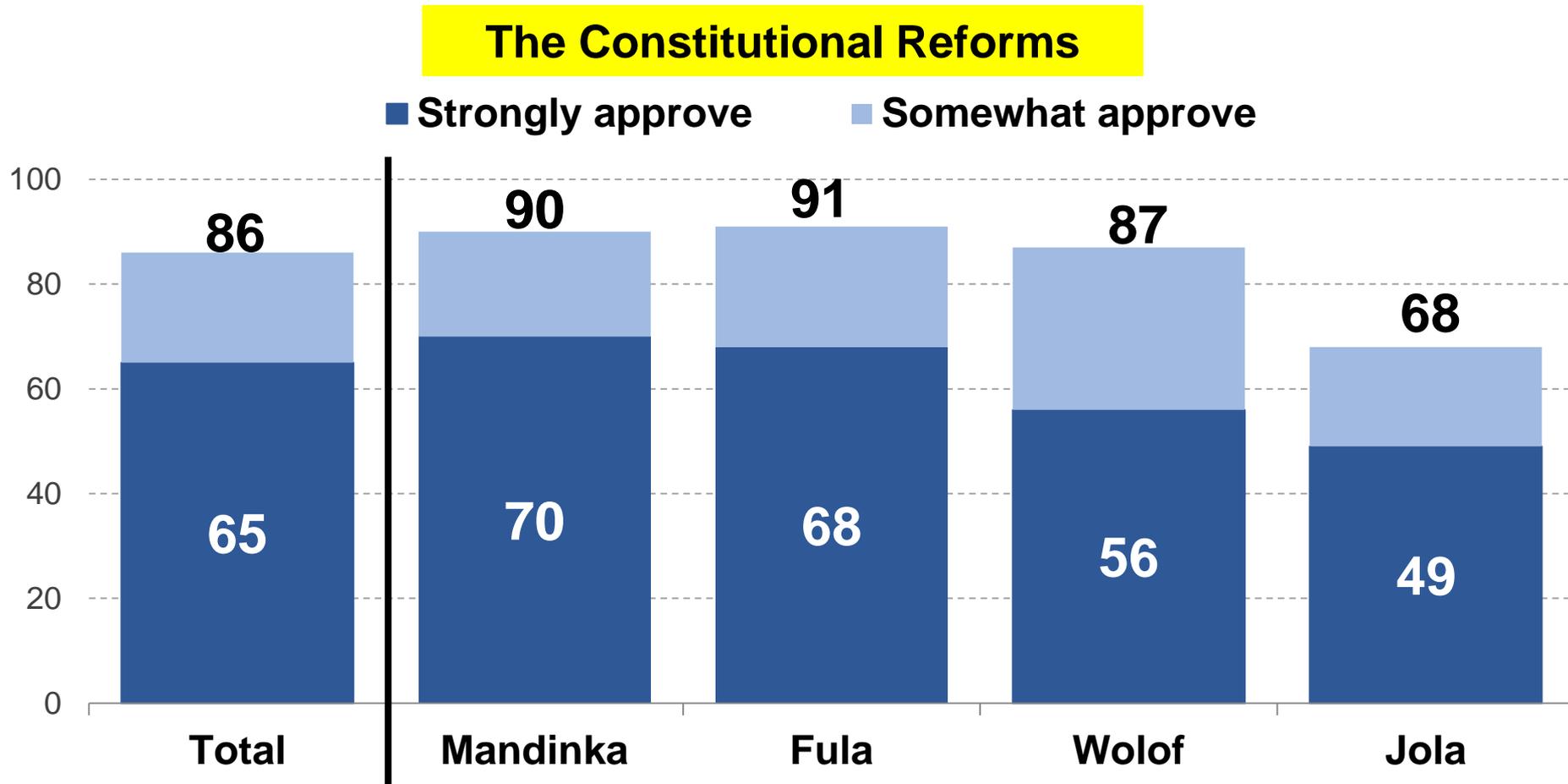


Figure 21

## 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.*

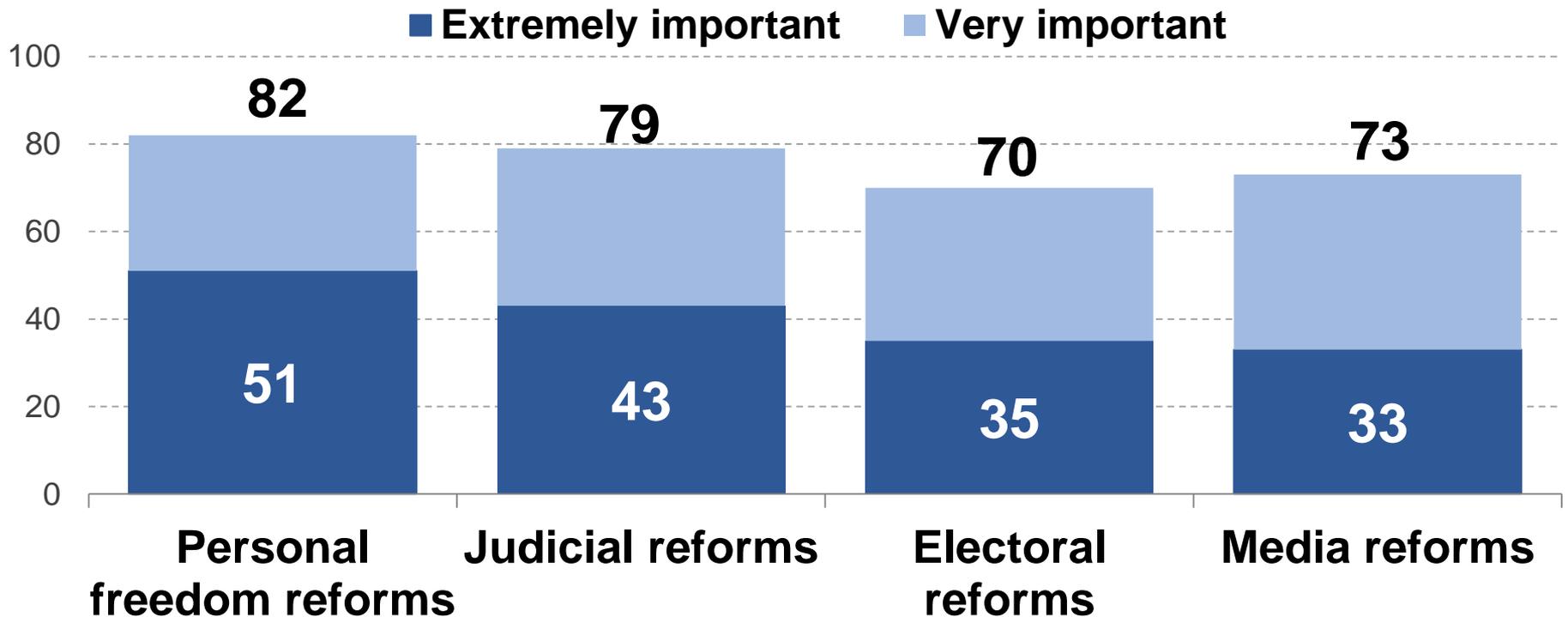


Figure 22

## Personal freedom overwhelmingly most important

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

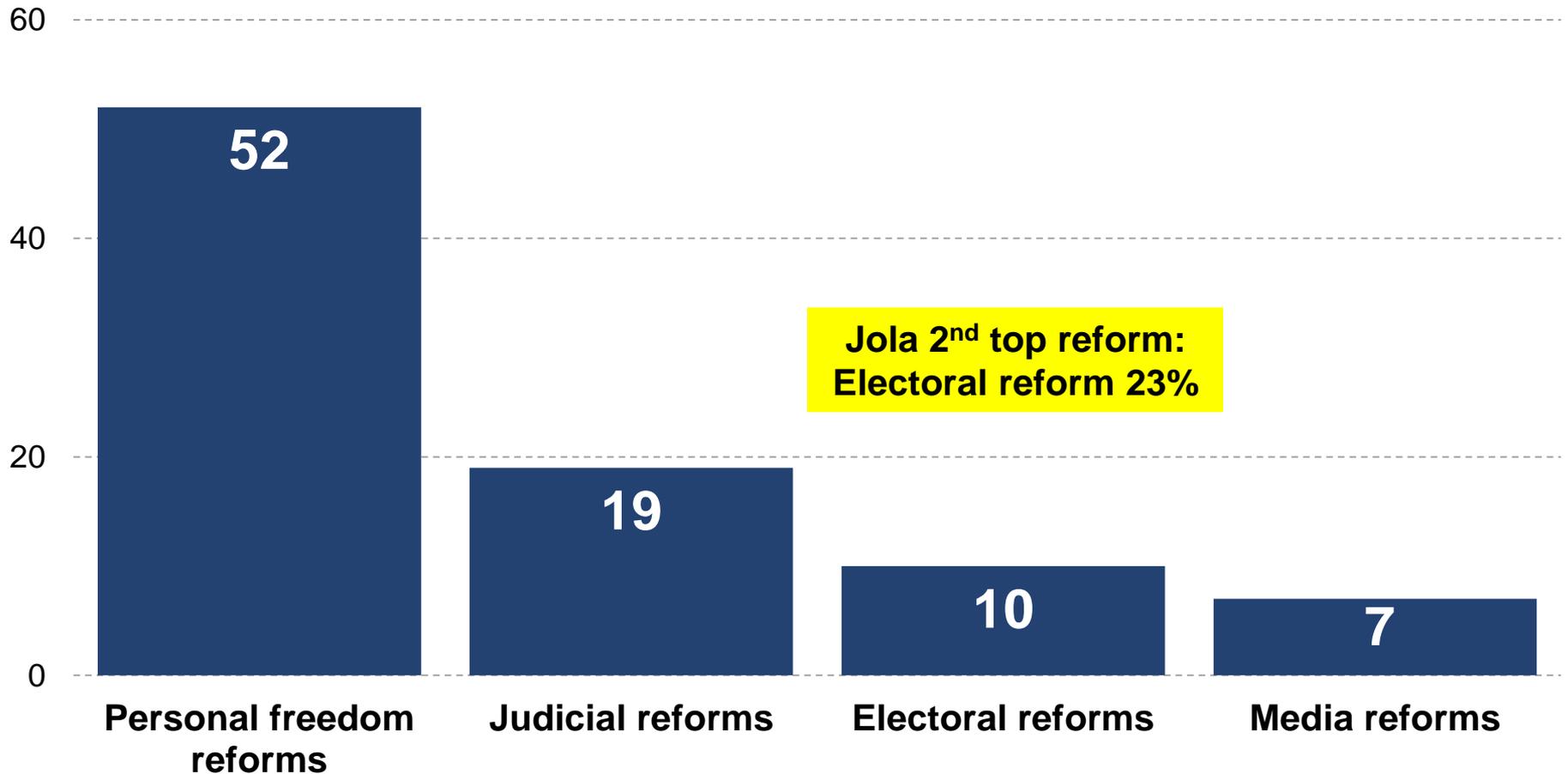


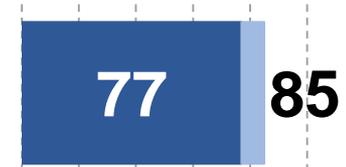
Figure 23

## Electoral reforms are strongly approved

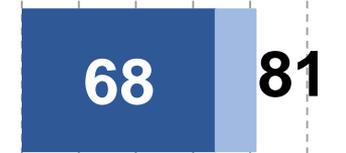
*For each one, please tell me whether you approve or disapprove of that action.*

■ Strongly Approve    ■ Somewhat approve

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



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



Setting a minimum and maximum age for members of parliament.



0 20 40 60 80 100

“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

Figure 24

## 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?*

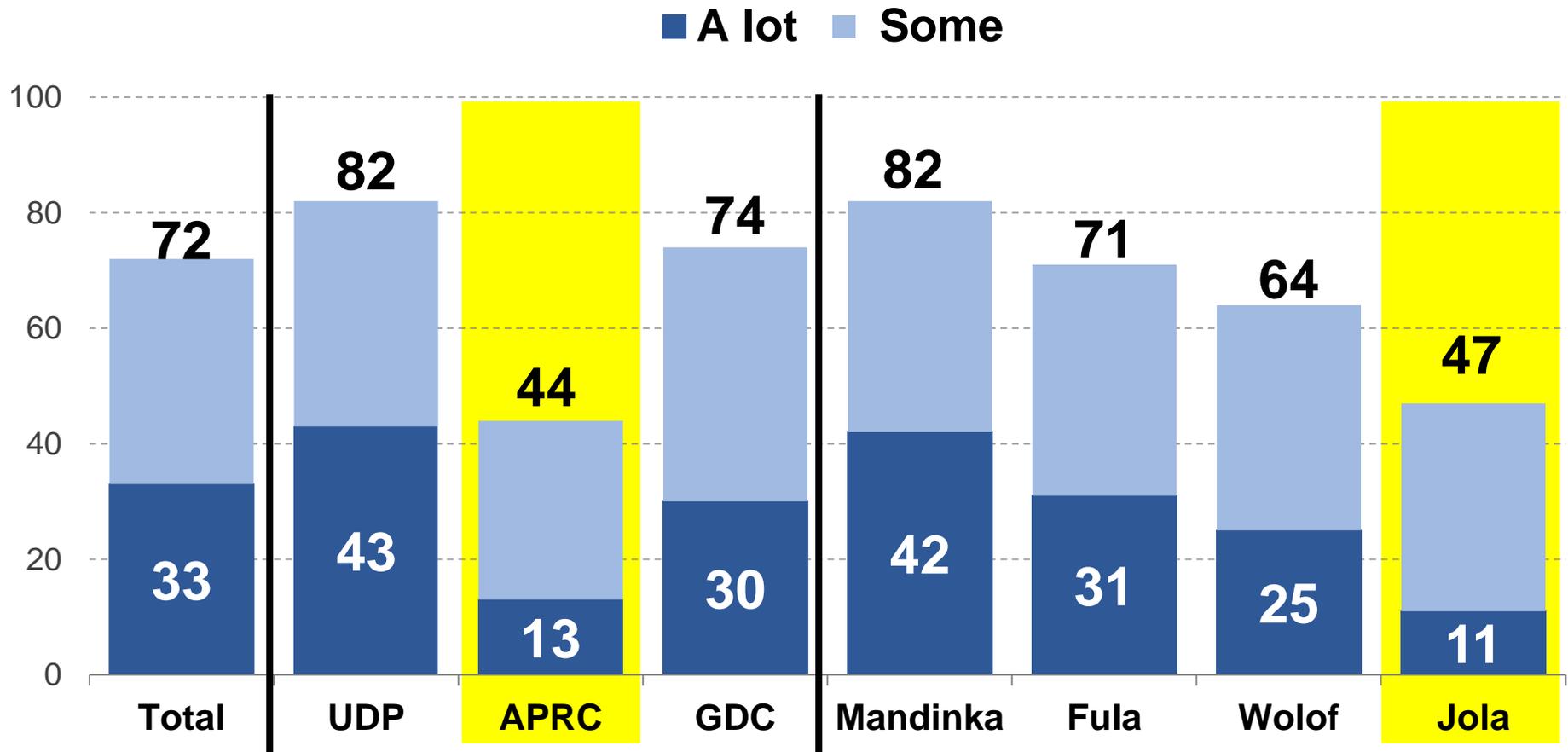
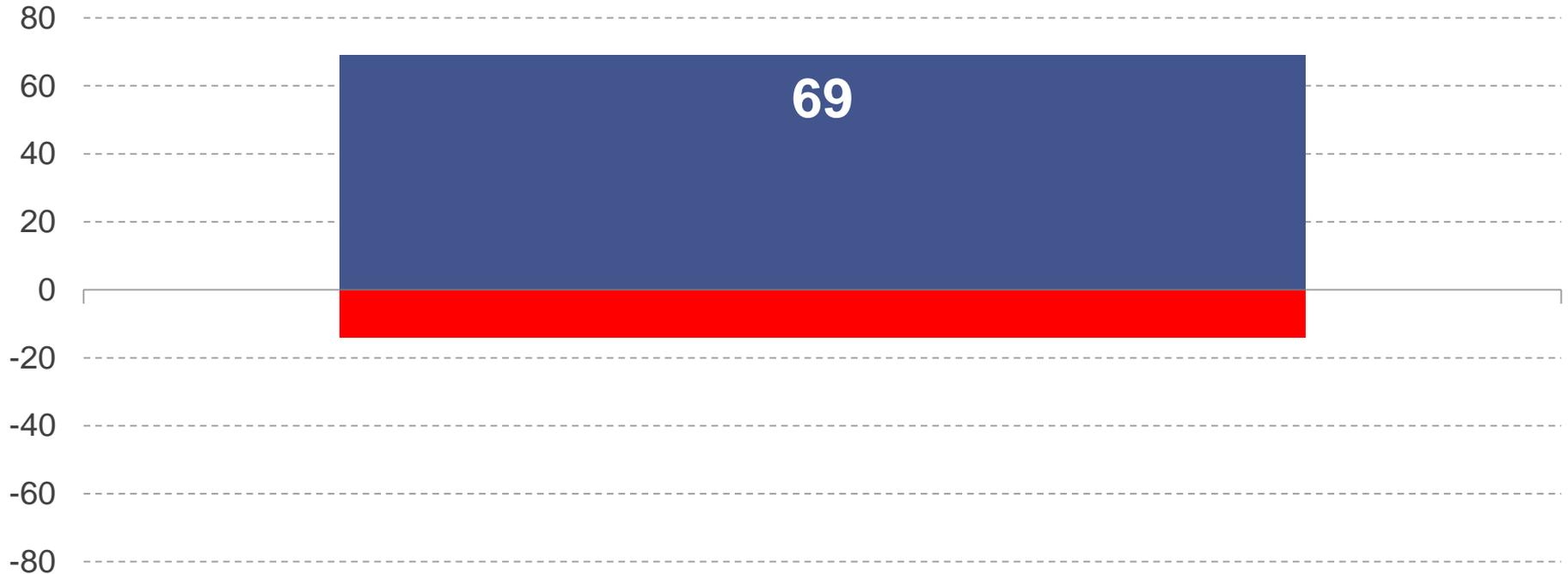


Figure 25

## Gambian media viewed very favorably

*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.*

■ % Favorable    ■ % Unfavorable



**The Gambian Media**

Figure 26

## Majority see the media as free to report the news

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.

*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.*

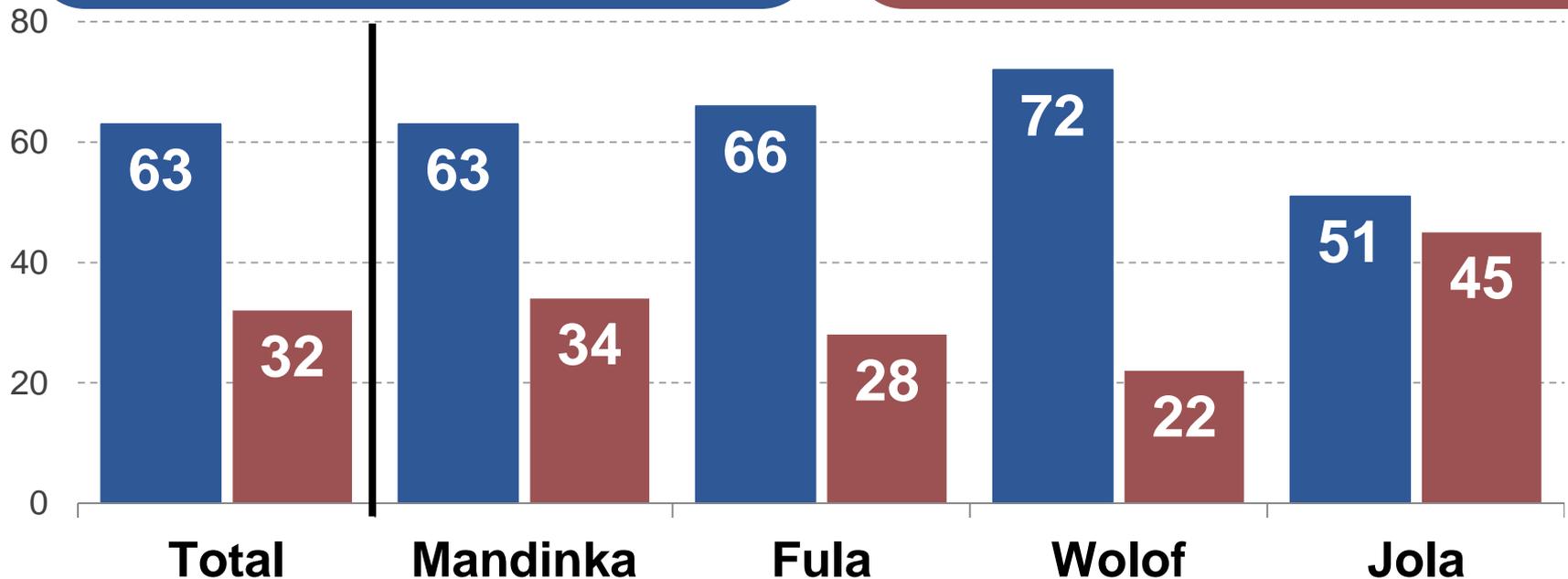


Figure 27

## Yet concern about media and false information

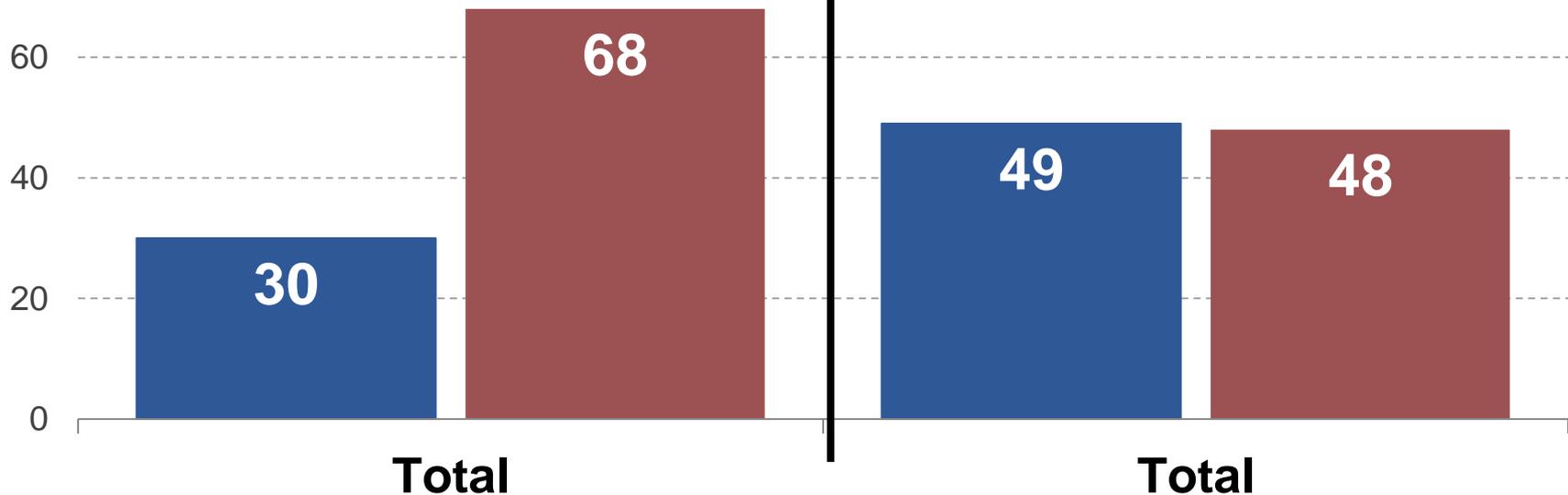
Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements. For each one, I want you to tell me which choice comes closer to your point of view. \*Each of these statement pairs were given to ½ the sample for split testing purposes

*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.*



*Figure 28*

## 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?*

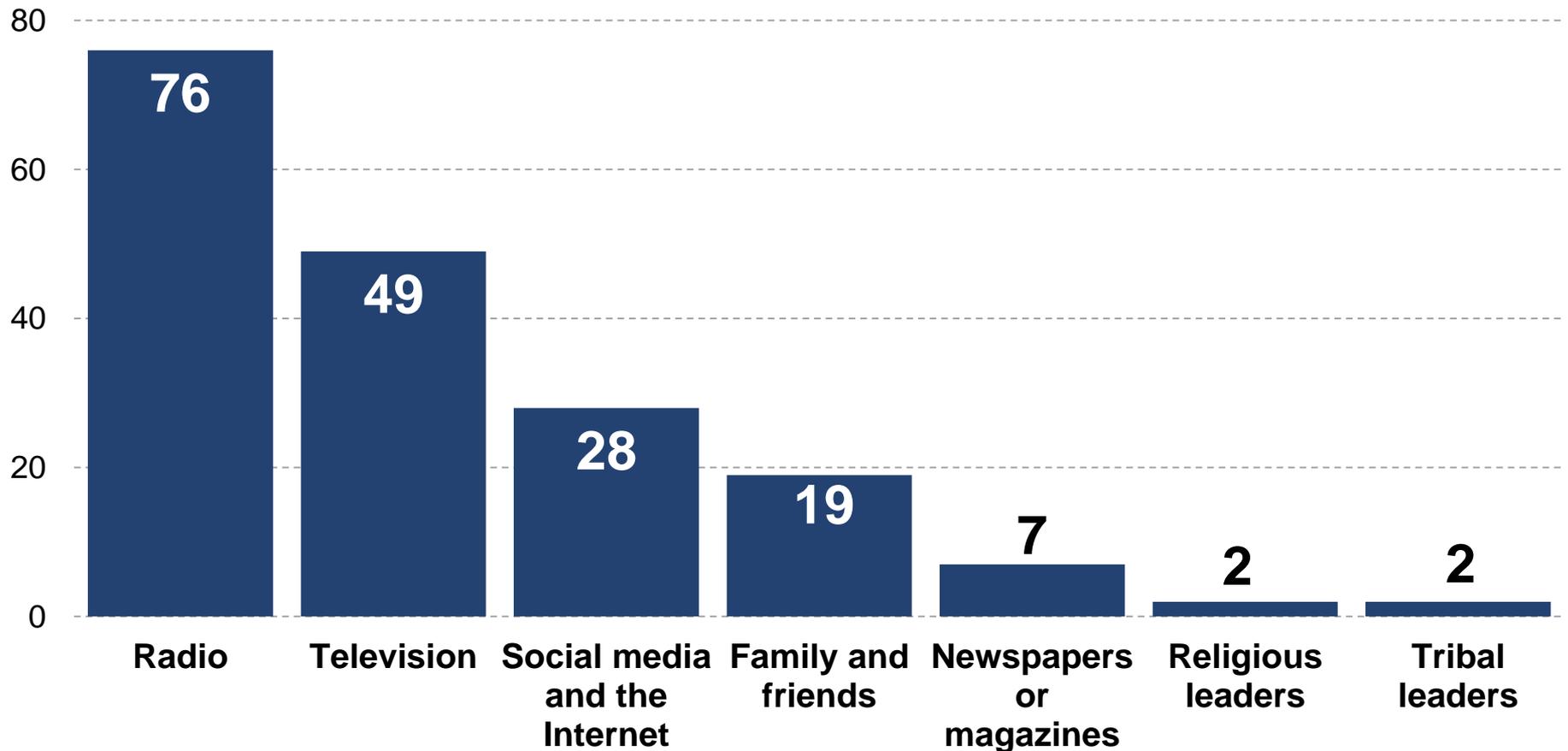


Figure 29

## Young men utilize social media most

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

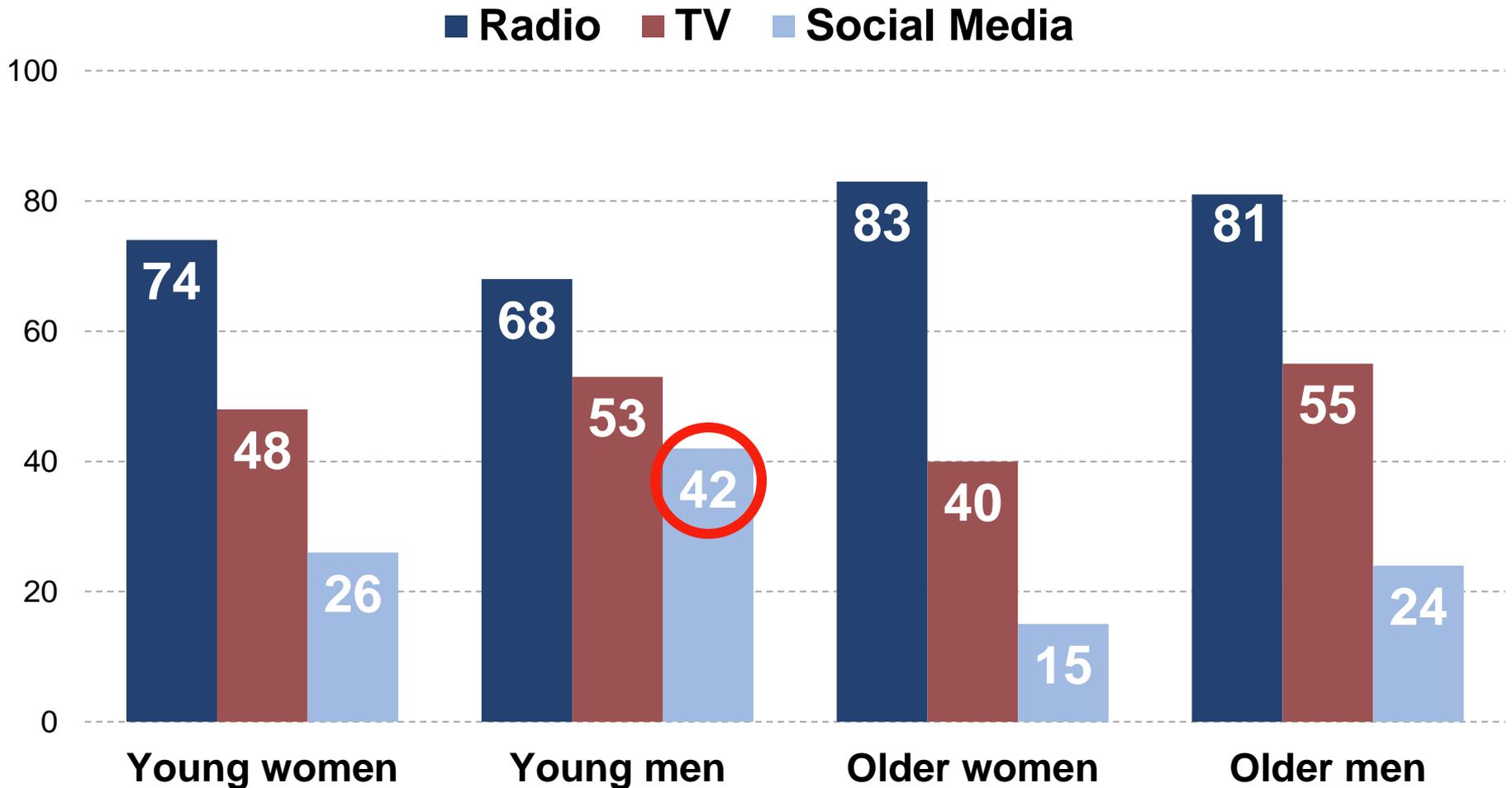


Figure 30

## 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.*

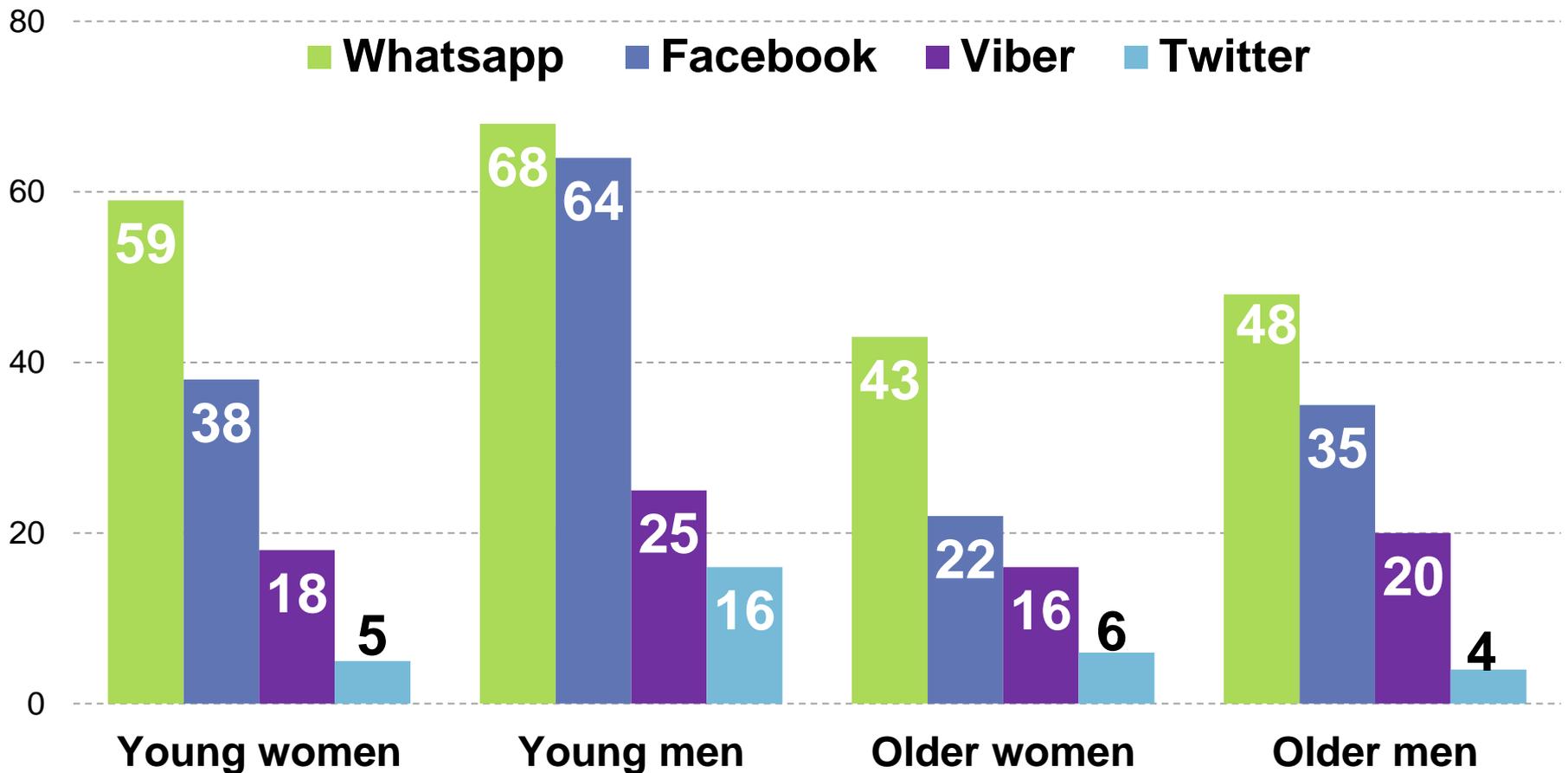


Figure 31

# Majority own a mobile phone, majority of phones have Internet

*Do you own a mobile phone?*

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

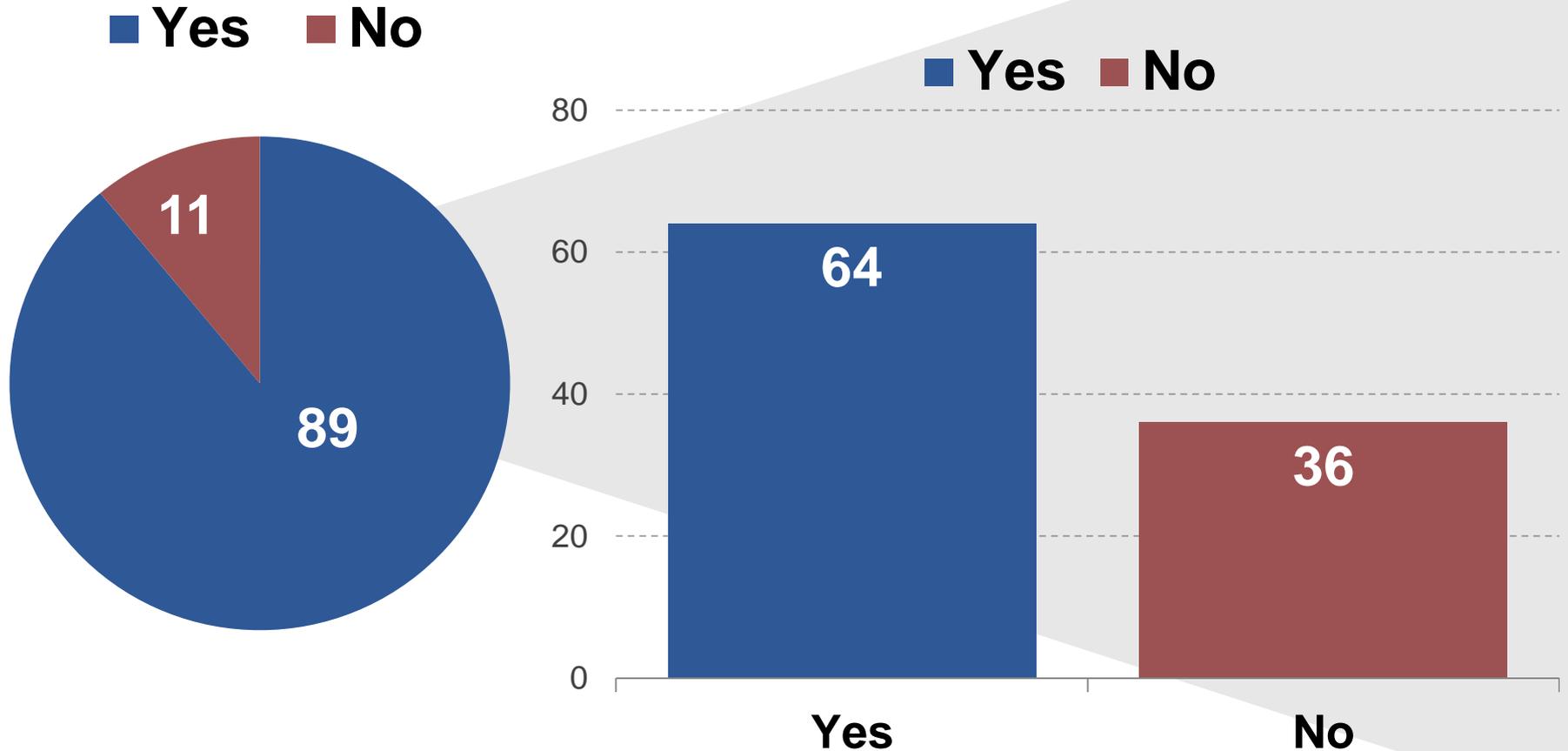


Figure 32

## CSOs viewed very favorably

*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.*

■ % Favorable    ■ % Unfavorable



Figure 33

## 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.

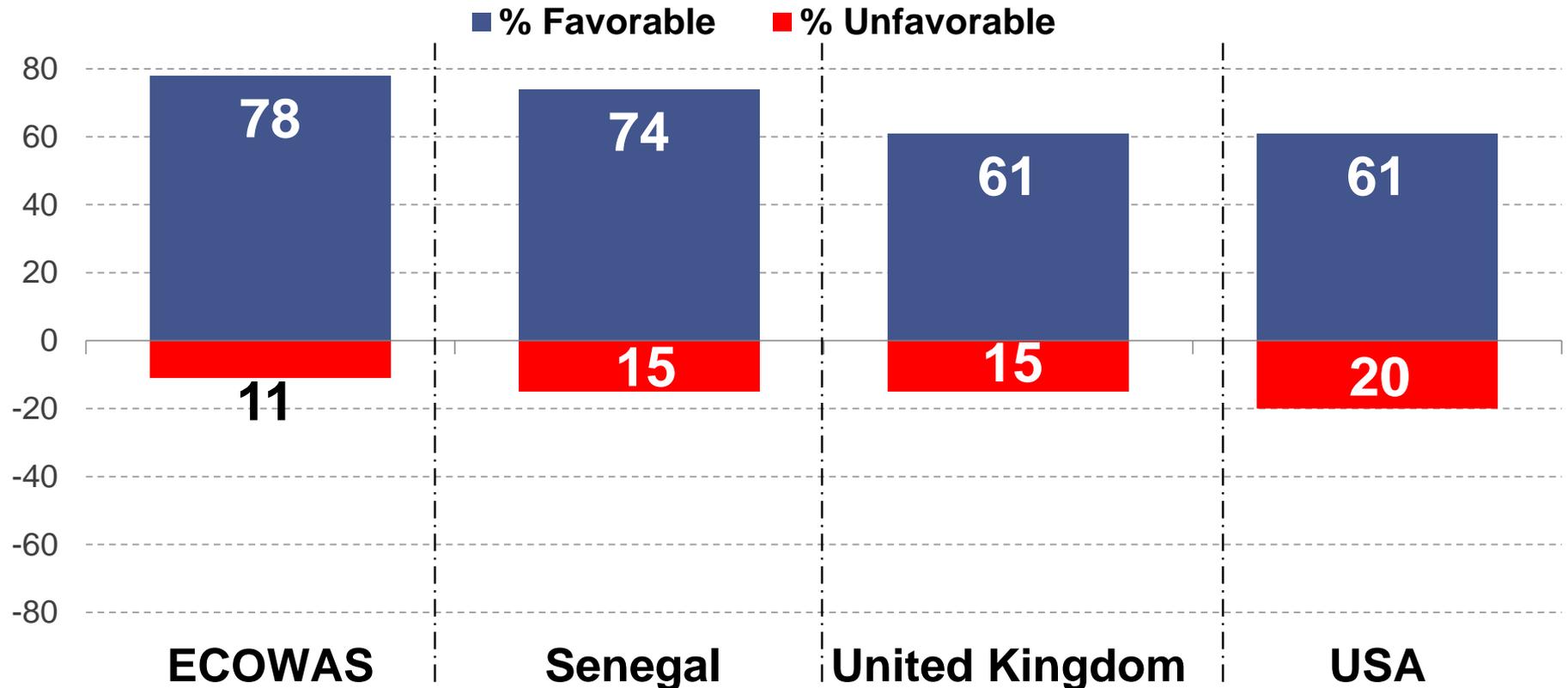


Figure 34

## 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.

*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.*

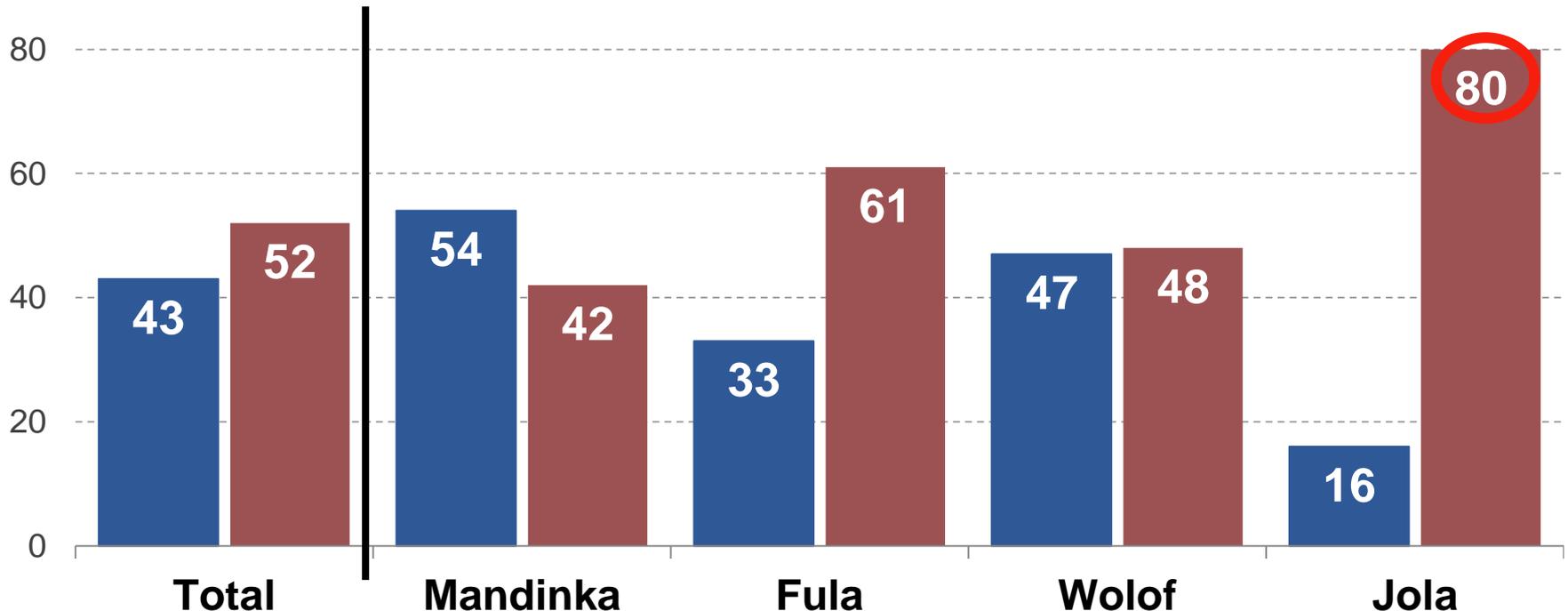


Figure 35

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

*Do you approve or disapprove extrading 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.*

■ Strongly approve ■ Somewhat approve

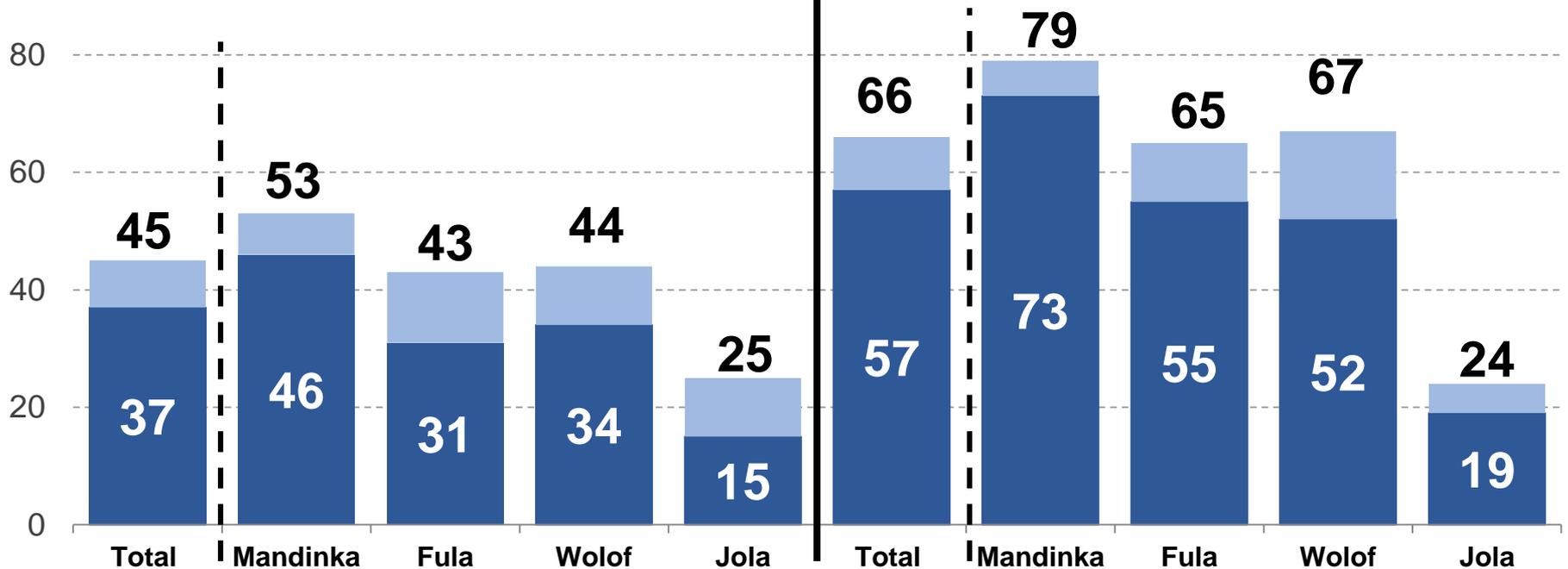


Figure 36

## Approval of Janneh Commission tied to party and tribe

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

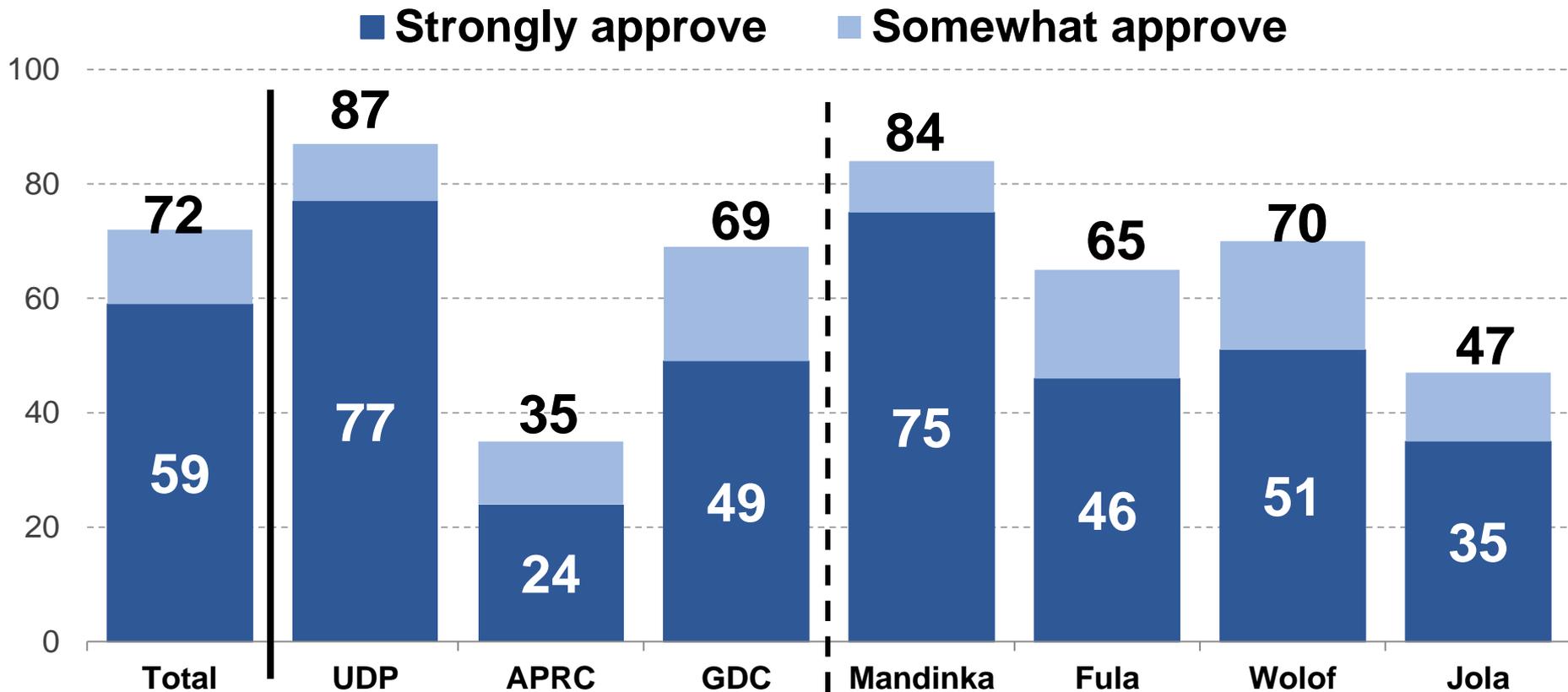


Figure 37

# 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.*

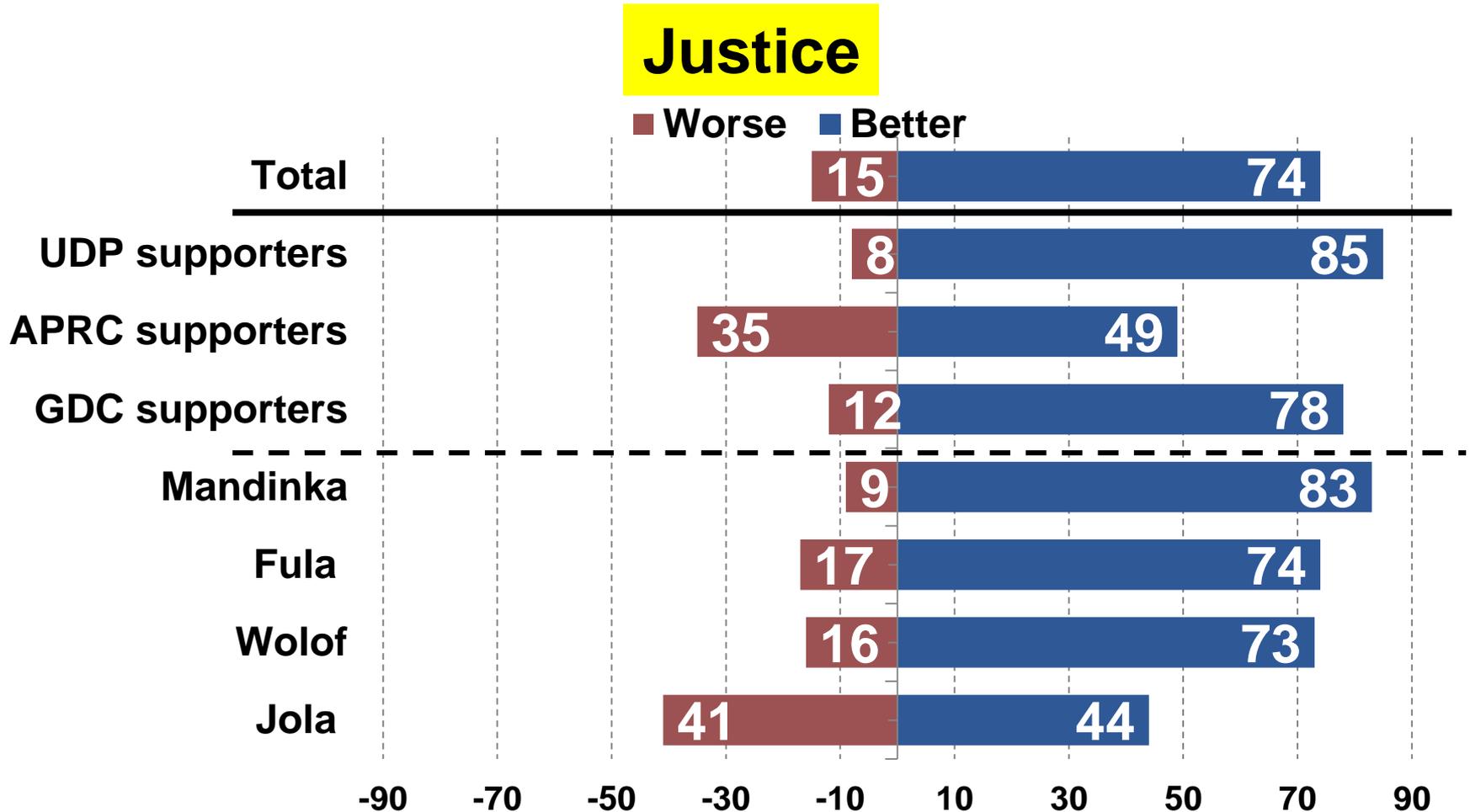


Figure 38

## Strong approval for compensation

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

■ Strongly Approve ■ Somewhat approve

**Compensating families that had family members killed during the Jammeh government**

