

BAANI ELECTION POLL- SNAPSHOT

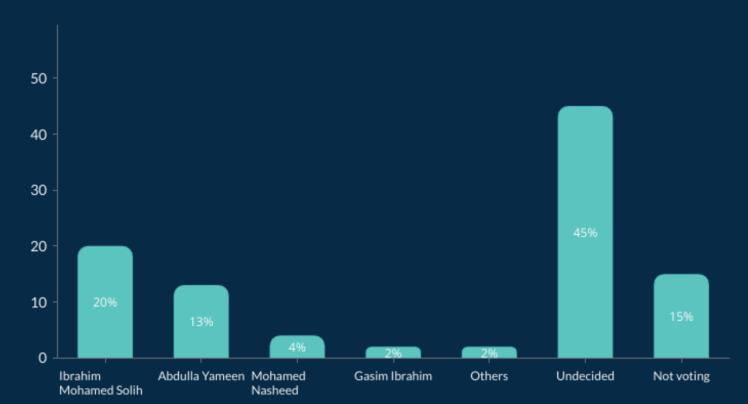
MAY 2023 POLL IN NUMBERS

WE ASKED MALDIVIANS WHO THEY WOULD VOTE FOR

IF AN ELECTION WERE TO BE HELD TOMORROW

Here are their answers

Candidate preference (weighted)





IN MAY WE CALLED

2798 Dhiraagu

2710 Ooreedoo

RANDOMLY GENERATED NUMBERS

OF THOSE

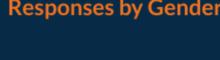
385 Calls were successful

404 Calls were rejected

1731 Were either switched off or did not pick up

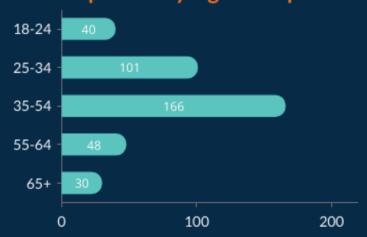
2988 Numbers were inactive

REQUIRED SAMPLE FOR THE POLL 384 RESPONSES

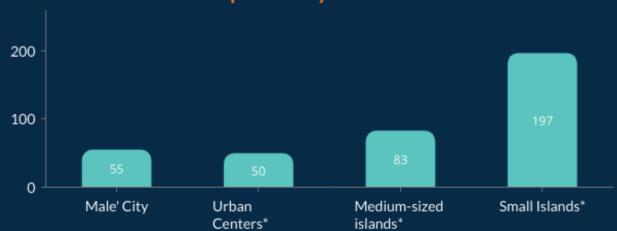




Responses by Age Groups



Responses by Location



Urban Centers - Islands with population higher than 500Medium-sized - Islands with population higher than 1500

THE POLL RESULTS ARE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE VOTING POPULATION OF THE MALDIVES, WITH A 95% CONFIDENCE LEVEL AND A 5% MARGIN OF ERROR. THIS MEANS THAT IF THE POLL WAS CONDUCTED MULTIPLE TIMES, 95% OF THE TIME THE RESULTS WOULD BE WITHIN 5% OF THE RESULTS SHOWN.



Baani Election Poll 2023 - May Report

A public information project by the Baani Center for International Policy

25 May 2023



Baani Election Poll - May Report

Introduction

Our poll gauges the popularity of all the main political leaders through a random telephone interview. The poll is conducted monthly, to allow us to see how politicians' popularity shifts over time.

The poll follows internationally established methodology guidelines regarding sample size, as well as weighting for respondents' age and gender. Our poll has a 95% confidence level, with a 5% margin of error and is conducted in Dhivehi by a team of trained Maldivian enumerators.

Our Polling Methodology

Sample Size

In the 2019 parliamentary election, 264,442 individuals were eligible to vote. Based on this figure, we need to conduct a minimum of 384 telephone interviews to generate results with a 95% confidence level and 5% margin of error. This means that if the survey was conducted multiple times, 95% of the time the results would be within 5% of the results in this report.

The Questionnaire

The telephone questionnaire collected the following information from each participant:

- 1. Citizenship(Q1)
- 2. Age (Q2)
- 3. Gender (Q3)
- 4. Permanently registered island (voting constituency) (Q4)
- 5. Preferred candidate (Q5)

Information was only collected from Maldivians, who are 18 years of age at the time of the call.. The Poll was conducted in Dhivehi over the phone.

To determine respondents' preferred political candidate, we asked the following open-ended question: Q5) "If a presidential election was held tomorrow, and all the main politicians are able to contest, who would you vote for?"

¹ http://statisticsmaldives.gov.mv/yearbook/2021/wp-content/uploads/sites/8/2021/06/20.5.pdf

This approach was taken because it still remains unclear who the candidates will be at the presidential election. The question helped us capture the respondents' preference at the time of the survey. In future polls, we may rephrase the question to limit responses to candidates who are officially on the ballot.

The full questionnaire (Dhivehi and English) can be found at Annex 1.

Phone Number generation

To achieve the required sample size of 380 telephone interviews, we estimated having to call around 3,800 numbers, assuming a success rate of 10 per cent. As we were unable to obtain a list of active mobile phone numbers from telecom operators we had to generate our own list. To do this, we used a random number generator to generate two separate lists of 7 digit numbers. The first list consisted of numbers that begin with a "7" (Dhiraagu Numbers), and the second list consisted of numbers that begin with a "9" (Ooredoo numbers). The two lists were then merged and randomized to create a fully random list of phone numbers.

Polling Period

To ensure that we capture voters' preferences in a timely manner, we conducted telephone interviews over a four-day period. A survey conducted over a longer period could potentially obscure the data set as respondents would be influenced by political events. Data collection began on May 14 and concluded on the 17th.

Enumeration

To conduct the survey we employed a team of experienced Maldivian enumerators and trained them. The enumerators input the data gathered from the surveys into our data collection tool. Additionally, the enumerators tracked the number of successful calls and deactivated numbers, allowing us to track response rates.

Data Weighting

In order to weight the data, we use publicly available information to determine our desired makeup of the sample, which was then compared to our actual sample. A weighting factor for each of our data categories (age and gender) was then determined and used to calculate a weighted result.

Safety Measures

We take data safety seriously and took the following measures to protect our data:

- 1) Our data is stored securely with limited access.
- 2) Following each poll the phone number lists will be stored only for a period of one month and will not be shared with third parties, to ensure privacy of survey respondents.
- 3) All data sharing happens through double-encrypted services.

Prior to polling we informed telecom operators, Maldives Police Service, National Bureau of Statistics and the Communication Authority of Maldives of our plans to conduct polling.

Limitations

While we put in extensive efforts to ensure our polling methodology is rigourous, no polling survey is perfect. Following are the limitations we encountered during the May poll:

1) Data weighting - We have been unable to obtain location based demographic data from the Elections Commission. As a result, all location based results in this poll are not weighted. We did model location-based weighting by using our own estimates – and it affected the overall poll results by less than 1 percent. Nevertheless, in future polls, we hope to obtain the necessary data from the Elections Commission in order to allow location based weighting.

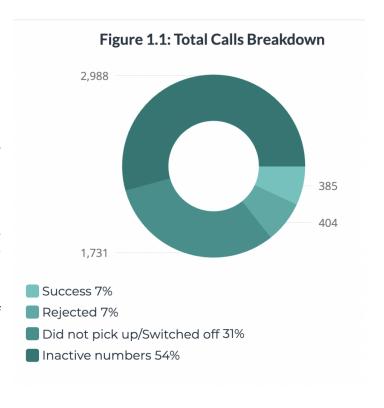
Results

Sample

During the May enumeration period we made a total of 5,508 telephone calls.

We called 2,798 Dhiraagu phone numbers and 2,710 Ooreedoo phone numbers over the polling period.

As seen in **Figure 1.1**, of the 5,508 calls, 385 were successful responses while 404 were persons who did not want to participate in the survey. Meanwhile, 1,731 numbers were either switched off or unresponsive and 2,988 phone numbers were inactive.

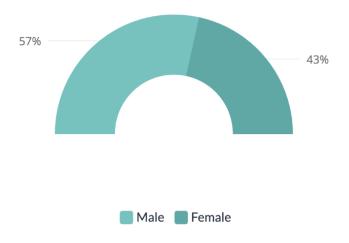


As shown in **Figure 1.2**, 57 percent of the respondents were male while 43 percent of the respondents were female.

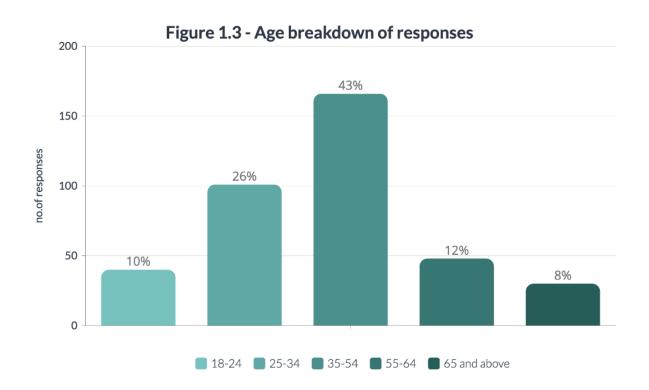
Baani weighted the gender data based on the results of the 2022 census, resulting in a weighted sample size of 196 male and 188 female responses.

Please note that all gender based analysis in this report will use the weighted data as opposed to the actual response data.

Figure 1.2 - Gender breakdown of responses



When looking at the different age groups (**Figure 1.3**), 10 percent respondents were between 18 to 25 years old, 26 percent were between 25 to 35 years old, 43 percent were between 35 to 54 years old, 12 percent were between 55 to 64 years old, and 8 percent were above 65.



Here, again, we weighted the data using information from the 2022 census. All age based analysis below uses weighted data. The age weighting is as follows:

18 to 24 years - 60

25 to 34 years - 106

35 to 54 years - 150

55 to 64 years - 40

65 and above - 29

When looking at the geographic spread of the respondents (Figure 1.4), 14 percent of the respondents were from Male' City, 13 percent were from Urban Centers (islands with population above 5,000). Medium-sized island (population above 1,500) responses made up 22 percent of responses and 51 percent of the responses were from small islands (population below 1,500).

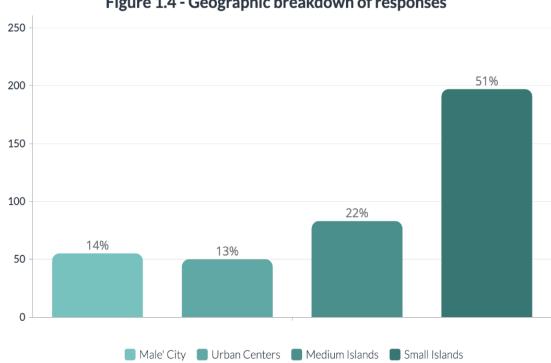


Figure 1.4 - Geographic breakdown of responses

Since the 2022 census data records resident population, as opposed to the number of people registered to an island, we requested for a list of eligible voters disaggregated by location from the Elections Commission. However, this information was not available at the time of publication and we were unable to weight the data by location. If we had used the resident population figures from the census to weight the data, the results would have been heavily biased towards Male', the capital city. However, this would not have been useful since voting is based on the voter registry for each constituency, not on the resident population.

Preferred candidate

As seen in **Figure 2.1**, May's poll data indicates that a plurality of Maldivians (45 percent) are still undecided on who they will vote for in the upcoming elections. President Solih maintains a lead with the support of 20 percent of Maldivians, while opposition leader and former President Abdulla Yameen received support from 13 percent of Maldivians.

When asked who they would vote for if an election were to be held tomorrow (weighted)

45%

45%

20%

13%

15%

29%

Ibrahim Mohamed Solih Abdulla Yameen Mohamed Nasheed Gasim Ibrahim

Figure 2.1 - Voter Preference

Four percent of Maldivians indicated that they will support Speaker of Parliament and former President Mohamed Nasheed and two percent indicated that they will support Jumhooree Party Leader Gasim Ibrahim, and other candidates received 2 percent support. Fifteen percent of Maldivians indicated that they are not going to vote in the upcoming election.

Not Voting

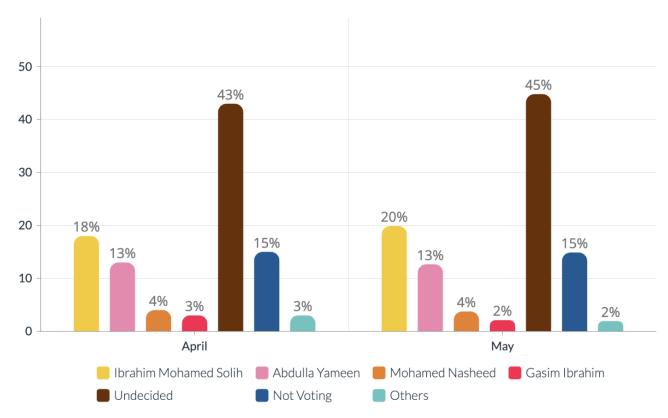
Others

Undecided

Compared to the previous month (**Figure 2.2**), President Solih's popularity has increased by 2%, from 18 to 20%. It is important to note, though, that this increase is within the poll's 5% margin of error, so does not necessarily indicate an increase in support across the country, but may reflect the inherent inaccuracies of the poll.

Former President Yameen and President Nasheed's popularity remained the same across both months, while Jumhooree Party leader Gasim Ibrahim's popularity dropped from 3 percent to 2 percent (again, well within the poll's 5% margin of error).

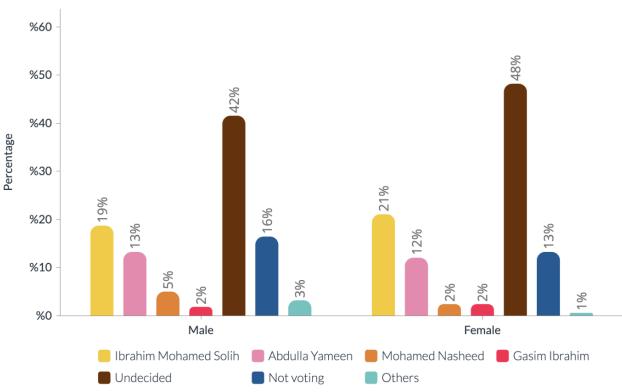
Figure 2.2 - Voter Preference
When asked who they would vote for if an election were to be held tomorrow (cross comparison across months)



People who said they would note vote in a presidential election remained the same at 15 percent across both months. The undecided category increased from 43 percent in April to 45 percent in May.

When looking at preferences between men and women (**Figure 2.3**), President Solih was the most popular candidate across both Male (19 percent) and Female (21 percent) respondents. More women are undecided on who they will vote for (48%) compared to men (42%).

Figure 2.3 - Voter preference across gendersWhen asked who they would vote for if an election were to be held tomorrow (weighted)



Former President Abdulla Yameen was the preferred candidate for 13 percent of men and 12 percent of women, while former President Nasheed received a 5 percent rating from men and 2 percent from women.

Across the different age groups (**Figure 2.4**), President Solih was the most popular choice for those between 18 to 24 years, 25 to 34 years and 35 to 54 years (20 percent each). He enjoyed a narrow lead in those between 55 to 64 years (19 percent), but fell behind former President Abdulla Yameen amongst those above 65 years and above, at 17 percent. President Yameen received 23 percent of the support from this age group, the strongest in any age category.

%60 %50 %40 Percentage %30 %20 %10 %0 18-24 25-34 35-54 65+ 55-64 Ibrahim Mohamed Solih Abdulla Yameen Mohamed Nasheed Gasim Ibrahim Undecided Not voting Others

Figure 2.4 - Voter Preference across age groups

When asked who they would vote for if an election were to be held tomorrow (weighted)

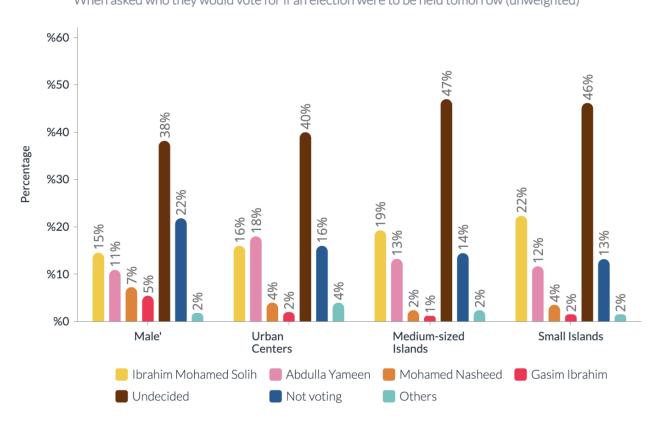
Former President Nasheed was the third most popular candidate in most age groups, but polled poorly among the over-65s.

Across all groups, a significant portion of the population remains undecided (above 40 percent in all age groups). Of those that indicated that they will **not** vote, the largest portion (30 percent) comes from those between 18 to 24 years, whereas only 6% of 55-64 year olds say they would not vote.

Across all locations of the Maldives (**figure 2.5**), President Solih was the most popular candidate, scoring his highest popularity figures from small islands (22 percent). Former President Abdulla Yameen was the most popular candidate in urban centers scoring 18 percent compared to President Solih's 16 percent.

Figure 2.5 - Voter Preference Across Locations

When asked who they would vote for if an election were to be held tomorrow (unweighted)



Former President Nasheed scored his highest ratings from Male' (7 percent). Across all locations, most voters are yet to decide who to vote for, with Medium-sized islands being the most undecided (47 percent).

Analysis

May's poll results are strikingly similar to those of April's poll, with a plurality of Maldivians (45%) unsure of who they would vote for if a presidential election was held tomorrow. This suggests September's presidential election remains wide open, with no candidate enjoying a commanding lead.

President Solih may take comfort in the fact that his polling numbers have increased by 2% between April and May, although this is within the poll's 5% margin of error, so does not categorically mean his numbers have improved.

Former presidents Yameen and Nasheed's numbers remained the same between April and May, at 13% and 4% respectively. Yameen remains in jail, and is barred from contesting the election. Nasheed has not announced a bid for the presidency, and our polling data was collected just before his MPs and supporters announced the formation of a new political party.

Gasim's polling numbers decreased between April and May, dropping from 3% to 2%. Although this is well within the poll's 5% margin of error, given the fact that Gasim's party, the JP, has been busy campaigning over the past month for him to be president, the party might have hoped for better results.

The high proportion of undecided voters may reflect the uncertainty over who will be on the ballot during September's election. As we get closer to September, and the candidate field becomes clear, voters who are currently undecided may express a preference for a candidate.

Baani will conduct regular, monthly polls in the run up to the presidential election. All our results will be available online at https://baanicentre.org/research/.

Annex 1 - Baani Election Poll Questionnaire (English)

Assalaamu Alaikum!

I am calling on behalf of Baani Centre, a local NGO. We are conducting a poll to gauge the public's opinion of political leaders ahead of the 2023 presidential election.

Your number was randomly selected for the survey, which will take 2 minutes. Participation is voluntary, and we will not ask any questions that can be used to identify you. We will share the results of the opinion poll with you when it is finished.

May I proceed with the survey?

- If yes Proceed to Questions below
- If no Thank them and conclude the call
- Q1) Are you a Maldivian citizen? (ask if only unable to determine)
 - a) Yes
 - b) No

If the answer is no, conclude the survey.

- Q2) What is your age? (Do not provide options)
 - a) 18 to 25 years old
 - b) 25 35 years old
 - c) 35 50 years old
 - d) Over 50 years old

If the answer is "Under 18 years," conclude the survey.

- Q3) What is your sex? (ask only if unable to determine)
 - a) Male
 - b) Female
- Q3) Which island are you registered to?
 - a) Select from Island list
- Q4) If a presidential election was held tomorrow, and all the main politicians are able to contest, who would you vote for? (Do not provide options)
 - a) President Ibrahim Mohamed Solih
 - b) Former president Abdulla Yameen
 - c) Speaker of Parliament and former President Mohamed Nasheed
 - d) Ibrahim Qasim

- e) Colonel Mohamed Nazim
- f) Others

Thank you for your participation. Share website if requested.

Annex 2 - Baani Election Poll Questionnaire (Dhivehi)

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ת לצית כ בציב מחשי בבת הל כחת הל כחת מל בל הל לית היאשית לית היאשית היאיל לב היל למליל האל בייר בל באיני בל ב מניים התיפוש בביים החתר בל מינים בל היא בל היא בייר בייל של האל בייל בל בל בל היא בייל בל היא בייל בל היא בייל מתיים התיפוש בבייל החתר בל מינים בל היילים מורב במצב לל בל בל בל הוא בייל בל הוא היא בייל בל הוא היא בייל בל ה

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- Q1) פַּת צָאפֶׁ עַ בְּפֶּׁ עַ אַרְתְּהְפָּרִיפּ (כִ בְּפֶּבְ עַאֶּתְ תְּבֶּ תְּבְּיִ עָּבְּ עַ בְּפָּבְ עַ אַרְתְּבָּרִיבְּ (כִ בְּפֶּבְּ עַ עָּקְתְּ תְּבֵּ תִּבְּיִ עִבְּרִ עִבְּרִ עָבְּיִ עִבְּרִינְבְּיִ ע) ג'יע - בְּיִבְּיִבְּיִ עִרְבָּיִ בְּיִבְּיִ בְּיִבְּיִי בִרְפָּבְּיִ עִבְּרִי בִּיִבְּיִ בִּיִי בְּיִבְּיִי
 - (Q2 المروم و المروم
 - Q3) وِهَرُ وُمُرُودُ فِي شُرْسَمِ مُنْ هُرُهُ؟ ر) دُرُرُشُر س) وبرزش
- Q3) وِهُ وَمُوْدَ وَرُورٍ مَنِي سُوعِ رَسْرَسِ مَا مُرَدَدِهِ ؟ (رَدِ بِ مَا مُوَدَدِهِ مَرَدُ مَرَدُ) (Q3) مِهُ وَمُرْدَةِ وَرُدُو مُرَدُ وَكُرُهُ وَ مُرَدُةً وَالْمُورِ مَا مُرْدَةً وَقُورُهُ مُرَدًا وَالْمُورِ مُرْدَةً وَقُو مُرَدًا وَالْمُورِ مُرْدَةً وَقُورُهُ مِنْ مُرْدَةً وَقُودُ مِنْ مُرْدُورُهُ وَالْمُورُ وَمُرْدُورُ مِنْ مُرْدَةً وَقُودُ مِنْ مُرْدَةً وَقُودُ مِنْ مُرْدَدُةً وَالْمُورُونِ وَنَالِقُونُ مِنْ مُرْدُورُ وَالْمُورُونُ مِنْ مُرْدُورُ وَالْمُورُونُ والْمُورُونُ وَالْمُورُونُ وَلِي مُورُونُ وَالْمُورُونُ وَالْمُورُونُ وَالْمُورُونُ وَالْمُورُونُ وَلِي مُورُونُ وَالْمُورُونُ وَلِي مُورُونُ وَلِي مُورُونُ وَلِي مُورُونُ وَلِي مُورُونُ وَلِي مِنْ مُورُونُ وَلِي مِنْ مُورُونُ وَلِي مُورُونُ وَلِي مُورُونُ وَالْمُونُ وَالْمُونُ وَلِي مُولِقُونُ وَلِي مُولِقُونُ وَلِمُ والْمُونُ وَلِي مُولِقُونُ وَلِي مُولِمُ وَالْمُونُ وَلِمُونُ وَالْمُونُ وَلِمُ مُولِونُ وَلِمُ وَالْمُونُ وَالْمُونُ وَالْمُولِقُونُ وَلِمُ مُولِقُونُ وَلِمُ وَالْمُونُ وَلِمُ وَالْمُونُ وَالْمُونُ وَلِمُونُ وَلِمُونُ وَلِمُ وَلِمُ وَلِمُ وَلِمُ وَلِمُونُ وَلِمُ وَلِمُ وَلِمُ وَلِمُ لِمُونُ وَلِمُ لِلْمُ وَلِمُ لِلْمُولِقُونُ وَلِمُ لِلْمُونُ وَلِمُ لِلْمُ لِلْمُونُ ولِمُ لِلْمُونُ ولِمُونُ ولِمُ لِلْمُونُ ولِمُونُ وَلِمُ لِلْمُ مُولِمُ لِلْمُ مُولِقُونُ ولِمُونُ لِلْمُ مُولِمُ لِمُونُ لِلْمُ لِلْمُ مُولِقُ