

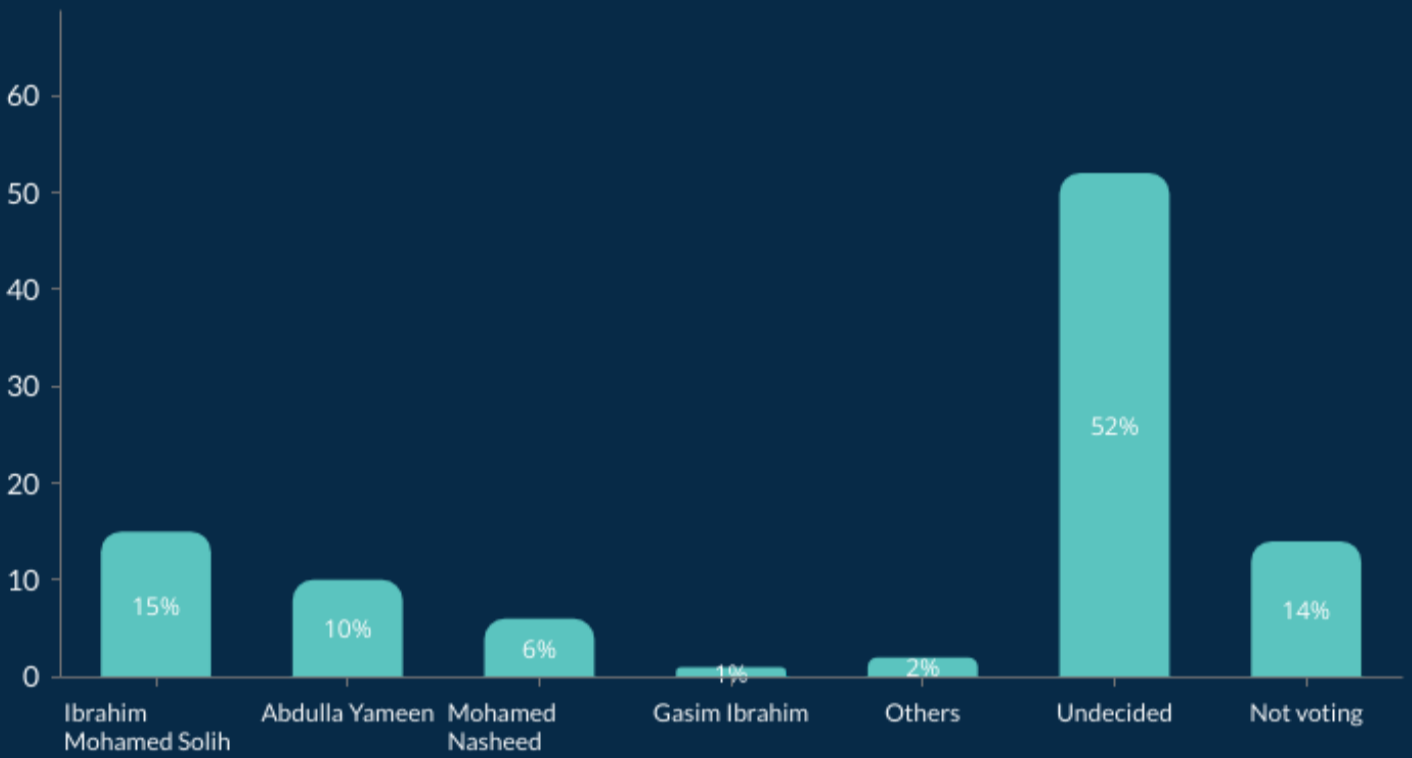
BAANI ELECTION POLL- SNAPSHOT

JUNE 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 JUNE
WE CALLED

5636

RANDOMLY GENERATED
NUMBERS

OF THOSE

384 Calls were successful

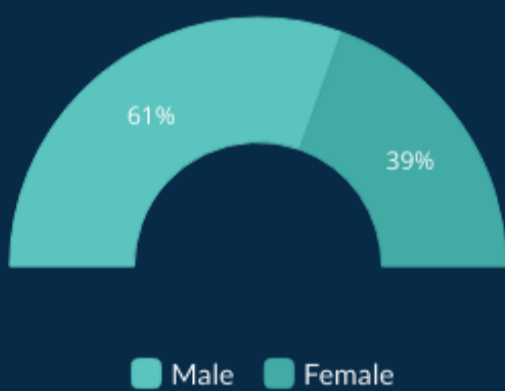
555 Calls were rejected

1092 Were either switched off or did not pick up

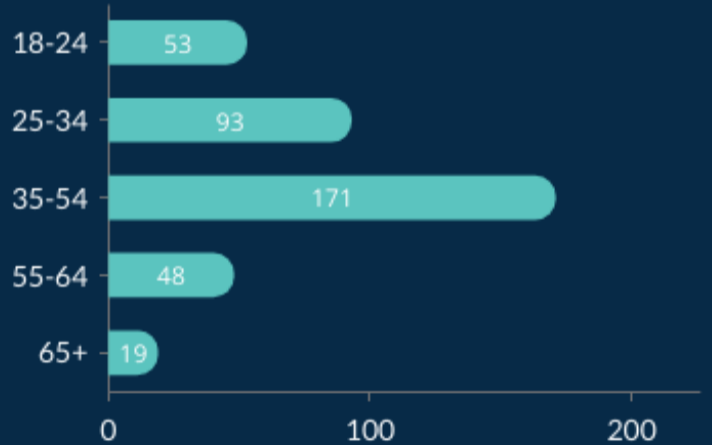
3605 Numbers were inactive

REQUIRED SAMPLE FOR THE POLL 384 RESPONSES

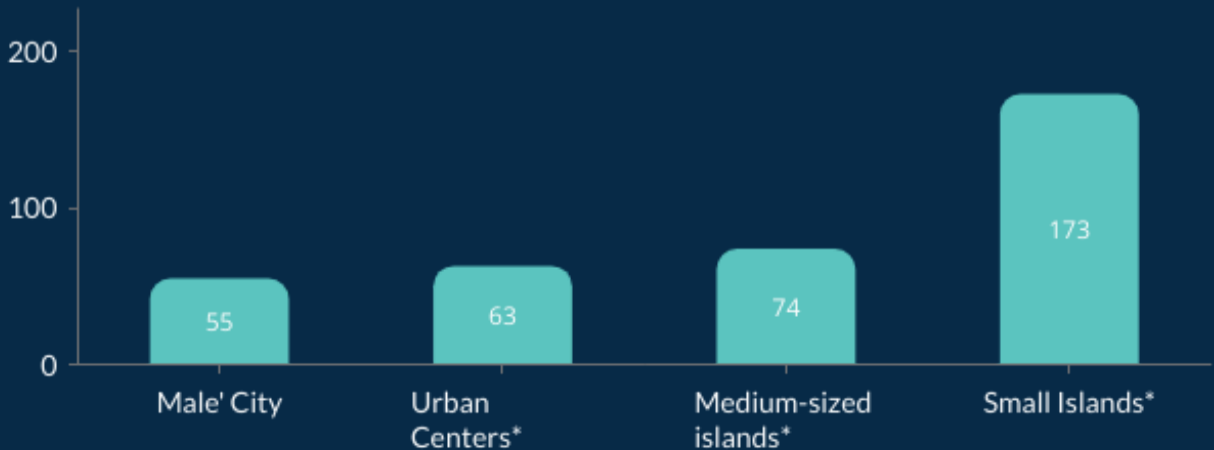
Responses by Gender



Responses by Age Groups



Responses by Location



* Urban Centers - Islands with population higher than 5000.
* Medium-sized - Islands with population higher than 1500
* Small islands - Islands with population less 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 - June Report
A public information project by the Baani Center for International Policy

27 June 2023



Baani Election Poll - June Report

Introduction

Our opinion 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.¹ 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)
6. Preferred political party (Q6)

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 June 19 and concluded on June 22.

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 rigorous, no polling survey is perfect. Following are the limitations we encountered:

- 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.

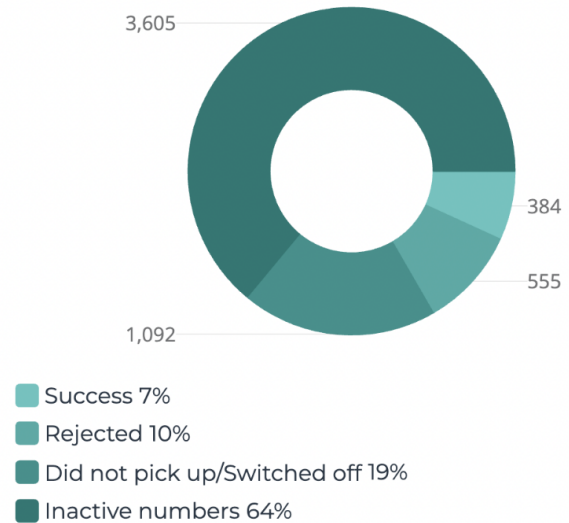
Results

Sample

During the June enumeration period we made a total of 5,636 telephone calls.

As seen in **Figure 1.1**, of the 5,636 calls, 3,854 were successful responses while 555 were persons who did not want to participate in the survey. Meanwhile, 1,092 numbers were either switched off or unresponsive and 3,605 phone numbers were inactive.

Figure 1.1: Total Calls Breakdown

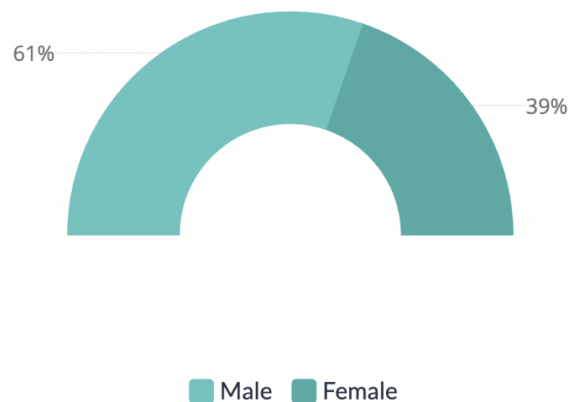


As shown in **Figure 1.2**, 61 percent of the respondents were male while 39 percent of the respondents were female.

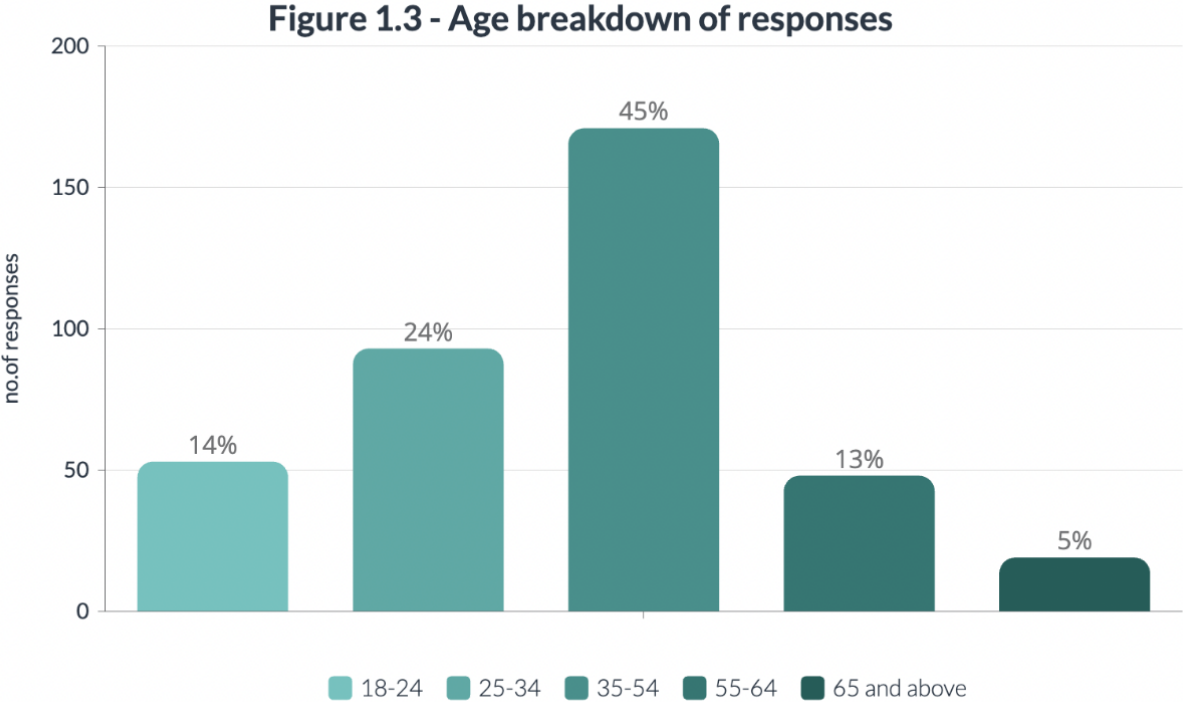
Baani weighted the gender data based on the results of the 2022 census, resulting in a weighted sample size of 196 male and 188 female responses.

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**), 14 percent respondents were between 18 to 25 years old, 24 percent were between 25 to 35 years old, 45 percent were between 35 to 54 years old, 13 percent were between 55 to 64 years old, and 5 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

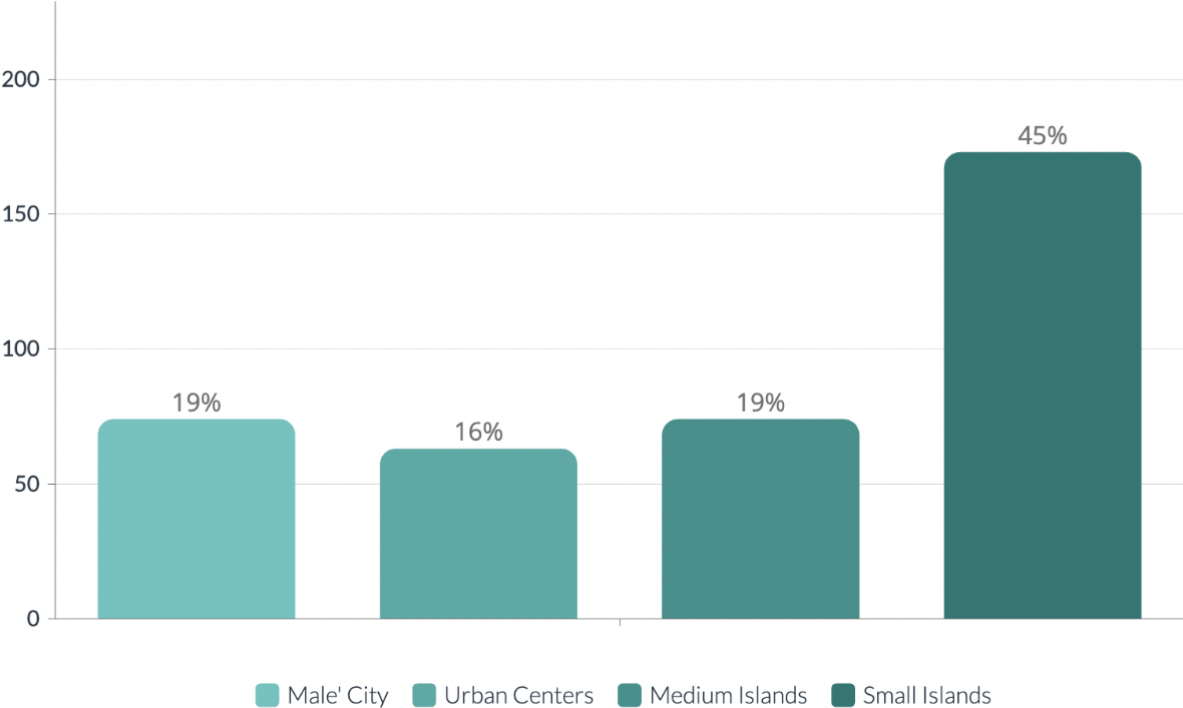
35 to 54 years - 150

55 to 64 years - 40

65 and above - 29

When looking at the geographic spread of the respondents (**Figure 1.4**), 19 percent of the respondents were from Male' City, 16 percent were from Urban Centers (islands with population above 5,000). Medium-sized island (population above 1,500) responses made up 19 percent of responses and 45 percent of the responses were from small islands (population below 1,500).

Figure 1.4 - Geographic breakdown of responses



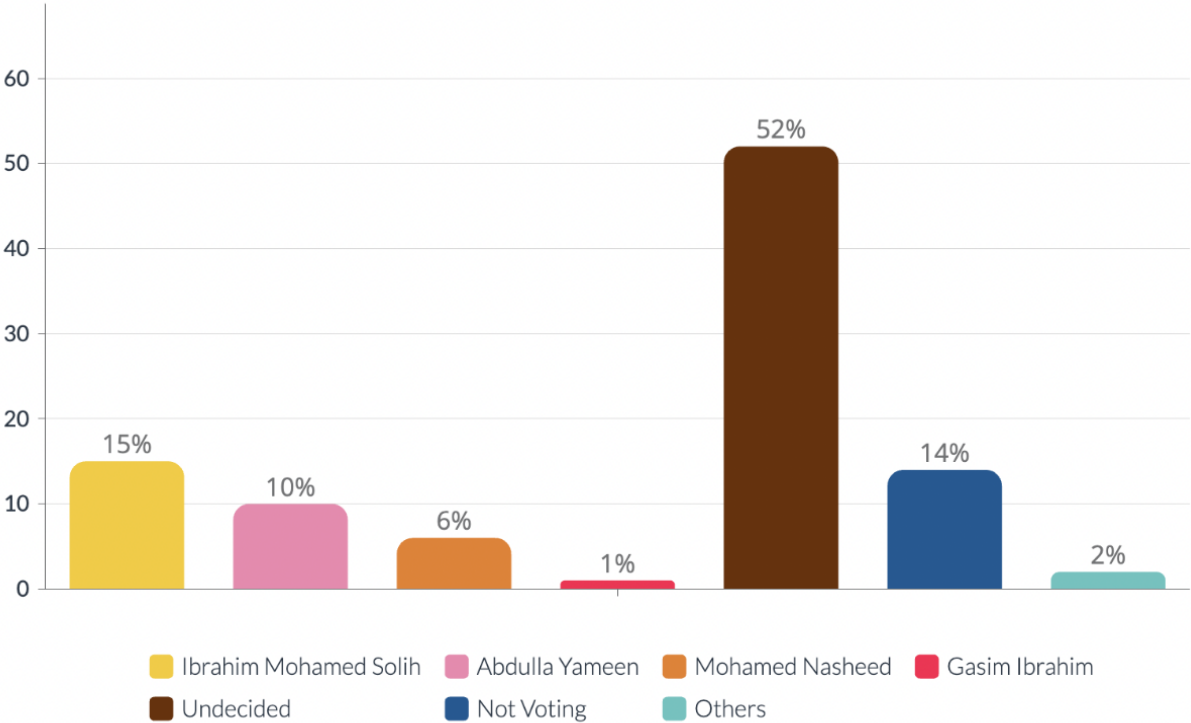
Since the 2022 census data records resident population, as opposed to the number of people registered to an island, we requested for a list of eligible voters disaggregated by location from the Elections Commission. However, this information was not available at the time of publication and we were unable 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

The data we collected over June indicates that a majority of Maldivians (52 percent) are yet to decide on how they will vote in the upcoming elections (**Figure 2.1**). President Solih remains the most popular candidate with the support of 15 percent of Maldivians, while opposition leader and former President Abdulla Yameen received support from 10 percent of Maldivians.

Figure 2.1 - Voter Preference

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

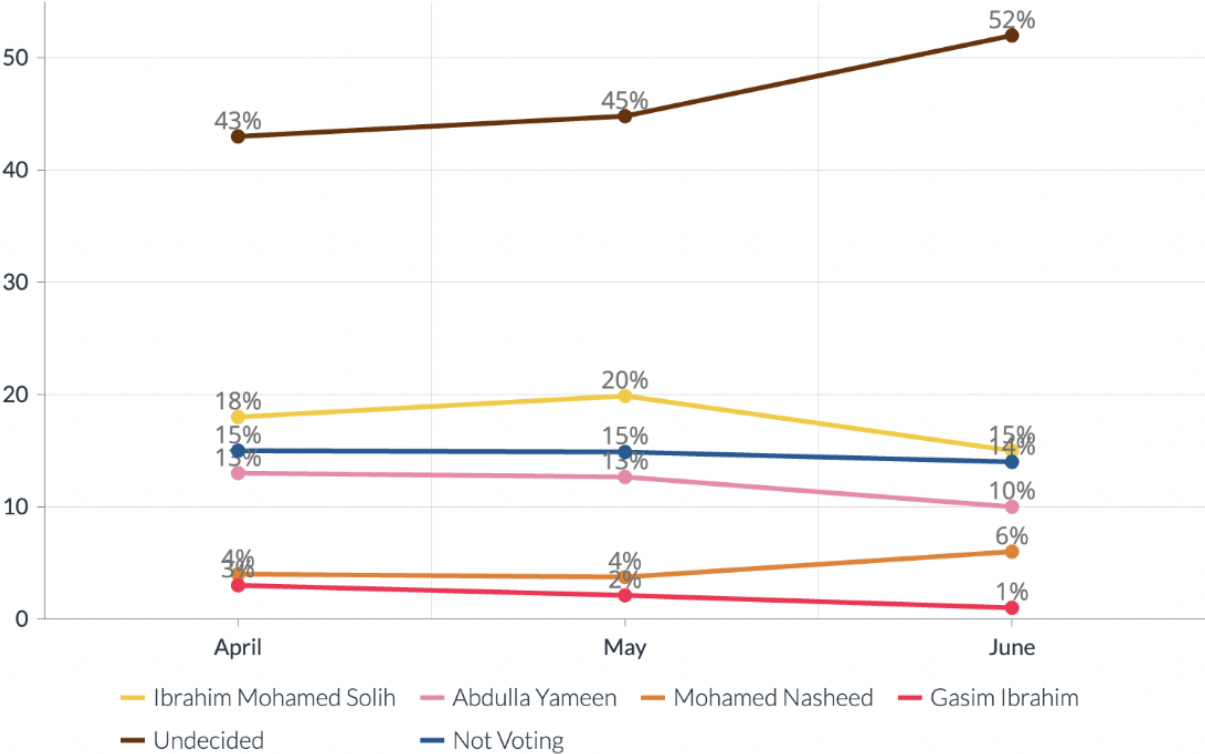


Speaker of Parliament and former President Mohamed Nasheed was the third most popular candidate with a six percent vote share, while Jumhooree Party leader Gasim Ibrahim received one percent support. Other candidates received 2 percent support. Fourteen percent of Maldivians indicated that they are not going to vote in the upcoming election.

Compared to the previous months (**Figure 2.2**), President Solih’s popularity dropped 5%, from 20% in May to 15% in June. Former President Yameen’s poll numbers also fell, from 13% in May to 10% in June. President Nasheed’s popularity increased from 4% in May to 6% percent in June.

Figure 2.2 - Voter Preference

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



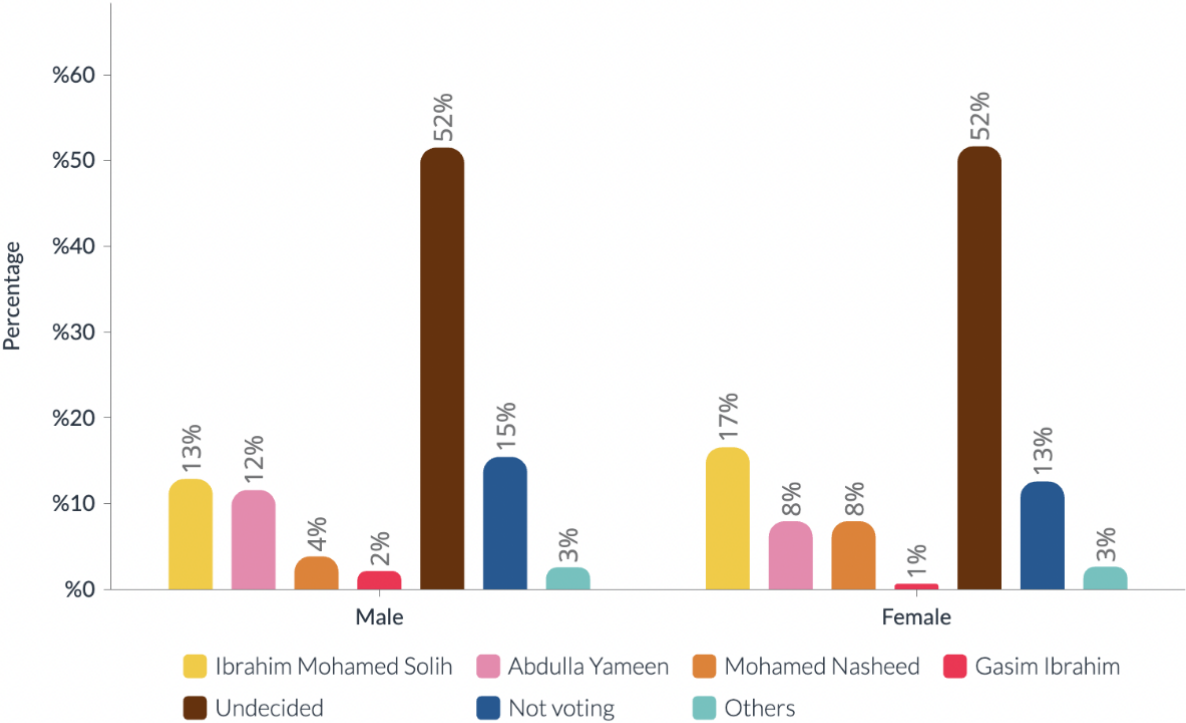
It is important to note that both President Yameen and President Nasheed’s changes in popularity are well within the poll’s 5 percent margin of error.

People who said they would not vote in a presidential election remained almost consistent at 14-15 percent over the three months. The undecided category increased from 43 percent in April to 45 percent in May to a high of 52 percent in June.

When looking at preferences between men and women (**Figure 2.3**), President Solih was the most popular candidate across both Male (13 percent) and Female (17 percent) respondents. Both men and women are equally undecided on who to vote for at 52 percent.

Figure 2.3 - Voter preference across genders

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

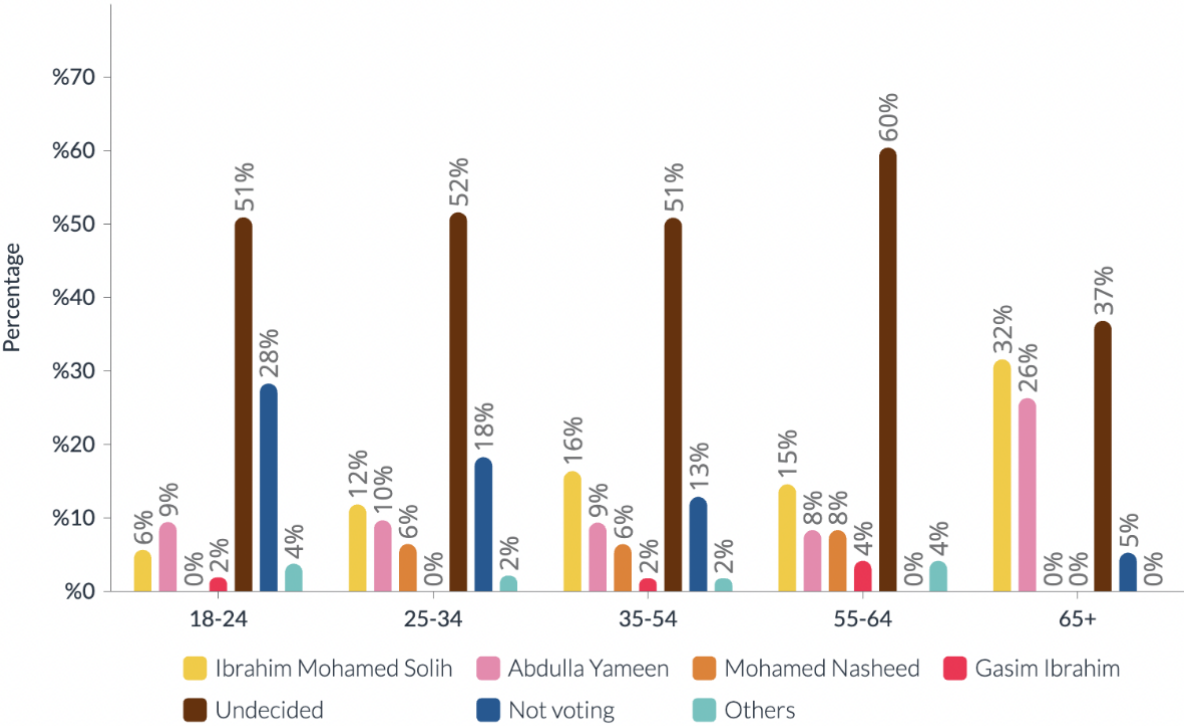


Former President Abdulla Yameen was the preferred candidate for 12 percent of men and 8 percent of women, while former President Nasheed received a 4 percent rating from men and 8 percent from women.

President Solih emerged as the favored candidate across all age groups (Figure 2.4) except for the 18 to 24-year-old demographic. Among those aged 65 and above, President Solih garnered the highest level of popularity, with 32 percent expressing their intention to vote for the incumbent President. On the other hand, President Yameen enjoyed the most support among 18 to 24-year-olds, with 9 percent favoring him. He also secured the second-highest popularity rating across all other age groups, except for the 55 to 64-year-old category, where he tied with President Nasheed at 8 percent.

Figure 2.4 - Voter Preference across age groups

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



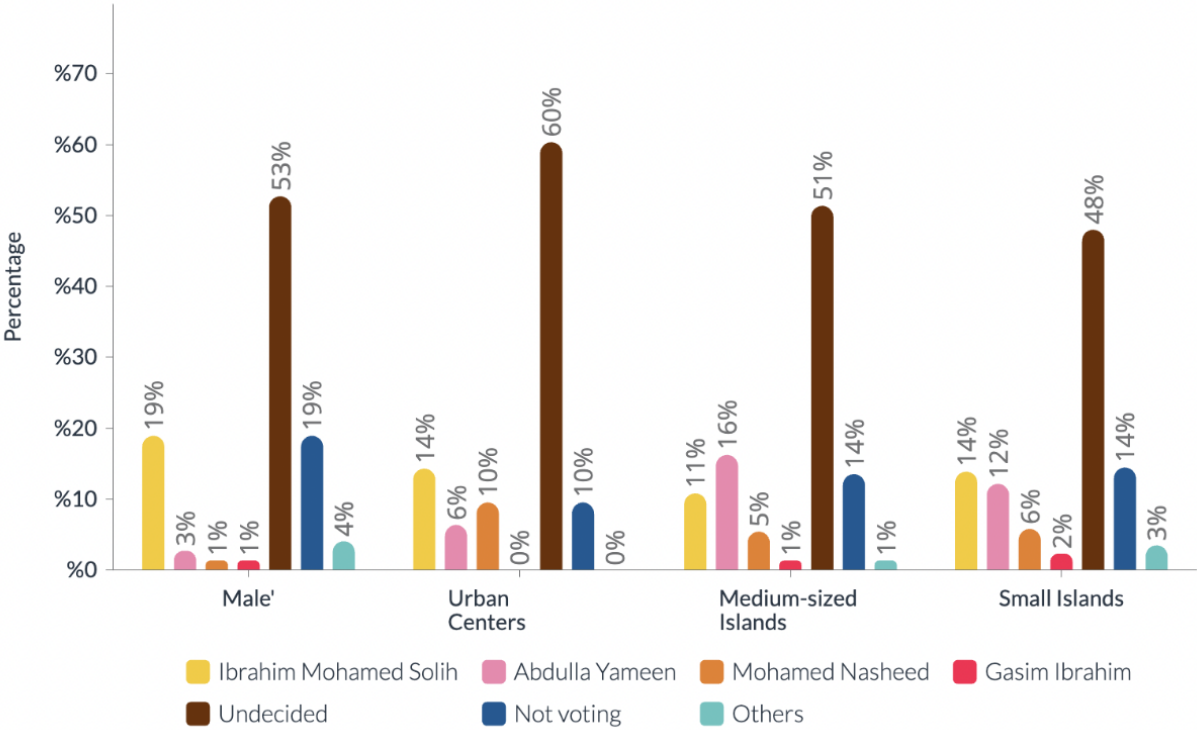
Former President Nasheed ranked third among the majority of age groups, although his support was notably weak among individuals aged 18-24, and 65 and above.

While a considerable portion of the population remains undecided across all age groups, those aged 65 and above exhibit the lowest level of indecision, standing at 37 percent. Among those who expressed their intention not to vote, the largest proportion (28 percent) comes from the 18 to 24-year-old age bracket, whereas only 5 percent of individuals between 55 and 64 years old reported that they would abstain from voting.

President Solih was the most popular across all locations (**Figure 2.5**), with his highest level of support coming from Male at 19 percent. Former President Abdulla Yameen emerged as the favored candidate in medium-sized islands, securing 16 percent of the vote compared to President Solih's 11 percent.

Figure 2.5 - Voter Preference Across Locations

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

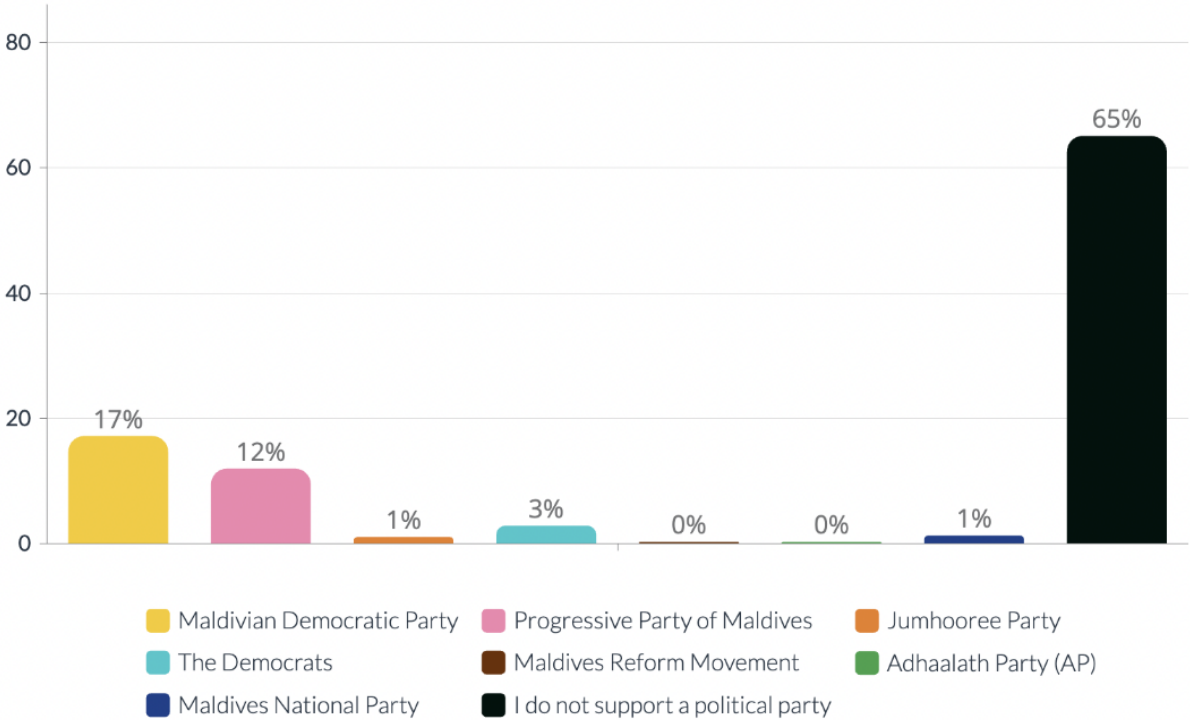


Former President Nasheed scored his highest ratings from urban centers (10 percent). Across all locations, most voters are yet to decide who to vote for, with urban centers being the most undecided (60 percent).

In June, we also asked respondents if they supported any political party or political ideology (**Figure 2.6**). 65 percent of the respondents stated that they did not support a political party. The ruling Maldivian Democratic Party (MDP) was the most popular with 17 percent of respondents stating that they supported the party.

Figure 2.6 - Party preference

When asked if they supported a political party or political ideology



Meanwhile, the opposition Progressive Party of Maldives received 12 percent of support. Qasim Ibrahim’s Jumhooree Party received 1 percent of the support, while the newly formed Democrats Party received 3 percent support.

Analysis

June's poll results suggest that people's voting intention is becoming more uncertain as the election approaches. More than half (52%) of those surveyed said they were unsure who they would vote for in September's election, up from 45% in May, and 43% in April's poll.

Moreover, when asked if they preferred any political party, 65% of respondents said that they do not. It is therefore difficult to know if the 52% of voters who say they are undecided are leaning towards any candidate or political party. As such, the election remains wide open and impossible to predict.

President Solih's poll numbers were significantly down on May's result, falling 5% from 20 to 15%. This is, just, within the poll's 5% margin of error, so the decline does not categorically mean his support has fallen. Nevertheless, even though he is the front-runner, he does not appear to be on an upwards trajectory, and his poll numbers have now been at 20% or below for three consecutive months — hardly an insurmountable lead in an election that requires the winner to score 50% + 1 vote.

Former President Yameen's numbers also fell in June, from 13% in April and May, to 10% in June.

Former President Nasheed's numbers increased from 4% in April and May, to 6% in June.

Casim Ibrahim's numbers have fallen from 3% in April, to 2% in May, to 1% in June, suggesting his campaign is failing to gain traction among voters.

Baani will continue to conduct regular, monthly polls up to the presidential election in September. All our results are 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

Q4) Which island are you registered to?

- a) Select from Island list

Q5) 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

Q6) What is your preferred political party or political ideology?

- a) Maldivian Democratic Party
- b) Progressive Party of Maldives
- c) Jumhooree Party
- d) The Democrats
- e) Adhaalath Party
- f) Maldives National Party
- g) Maldives Reform Movement
- h) Others
- i) I do not support a political party of ideology

Thank you for your participation. Share website if requested.

