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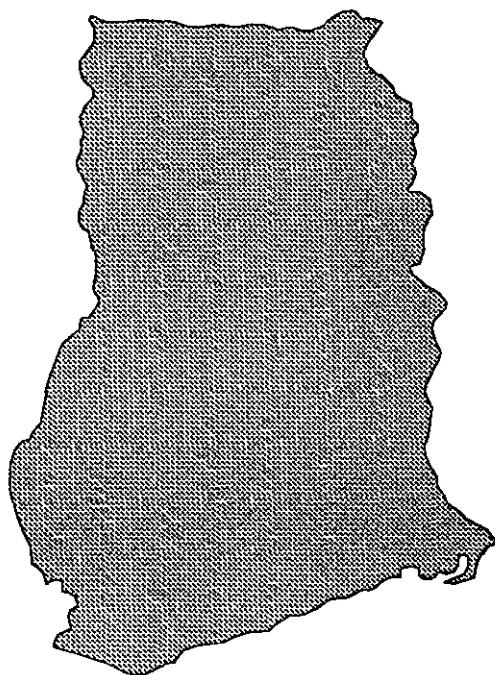
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AN OVERVIEW OF PUBLIC OPINION IN GHANA 1997

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THE CONTEXT OF THE SURVEY

The International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES), in cooperation with the Electoral Commission of Ghana, conducted a national survey of Ghanaian public opinion from February 26-April 16, 1997. The survey measured Ghanaians' attitudes about the December 1996 elections, politics, and the economy. The survey's interviews were conducted by Research International (RI) Ghana. The Electoral Commission worked with RI and IFES in preparing the interviewers to carry out the fieldwork. This report presents the initial results of the survey. A complete analysis of the data will be released later in 1997.

This survey was undertaken for the following reasons:

1. While the success of the December 7, 1996 presidential and parliamentary elections was clear, it was important to the Electoral Commission to learn the public's attitude toward the electoral process outside the heated atmosphere of the election campaign. The information contained in the survey data will inform the Electoral Commission on how it can improve the administration of elections in Ghana.
2. IFES was in a unique position to conduct such a survey. Over the past few years, IFES has conducted a number of national attitudinal surveys on the democratic process in new and restored democracies.
3. It is important that periodic measurements of the public's attitudes toward issues be taken not only on election day, but between elections as well. The most effective means of doing this is through attitudinal surveys.

Obviously, this is not the first survey that has been conducted in Ghana nor will it be the last. The results of this survey should not be viewed as the definitive measure of attitudes of the Ghanaian people. Opinions change over time. In politics, a few short weeks can be a lifetime. The results of this survey should be examined in conjunction with past and future survey data.

Finally, this overview was made possible through support provided by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) under the terms of Cooperative Agreement 641-0133-A-00-4028-00. The opinions expressed herein are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of USAID or IFES.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS ---

The IFES survey conducted in Ghana between February 26 and April 16, 1997, shows the public is:

- ☐ ***satisfied that the presidential and parliamentary elections of December 7, 1996 were both fair and honest***

When asked explicitly about various types of election fraud, respondents reported very few cases. The overwhelming majority of Ghanaians felt the Electoral Commission and polling station officials conducted a fair and honest election. The Ashanti and the Eastern regions had the highest proportion of those feeling the elections were dishonest.

- ☐ ***satisfied with the voting process***

Very few Ghanaians had problems with the voting process, such as not finding the polling station or knowing what to do when they arrived.

- ☐ ***almost evenly split on voting for the man versus voting for the party in the presidential election***

Most of those aligned with the National Democratic Congress voted for the man (President Jerry Rawlings) while most of those aligned with the New Patriotic Party voted for the party.

- ☐ ***unwilling to rely on newspapers in deciding for whom to vote***

Only 4 percent of all Ghanaians relied on newspapers to gather information about whom to vote for in the December elections. Most Ghanaians relied on the radio and television, and to a lesser extent candidate rallies, for the information that led them to decide for whom to vote.

- ☐ ***dissatisfied with health care and education***

While most Ghanaians feel they have a high level of political freedom, most are not satisfied with the education and health care system. Ghanaians are evenly split on whether the government could do more to create jobs.

- ☐ ***somewhat concerned about how government respects their rights***

Thirty-six percent (36%) of all Ghanaians feel the government respects their rights a little or none at all. The feeling that government does not respect people's rights is most prominent in the Ashanti region.

☐ ***optimistic about the ability to form non-governmental organizations***

Interest groups, as one component of civil society, are important mechanisms for voicing the concerns of the people. In Ghana, 58 percent feel they have the right to form such groups without government participation and 22 percent feel they do not. Responses vary by region: for example, 50 percent in the Upper East feel they do not have such a right.

☐ ***confident in President Rawlings and members of Parliament, but not confident in the police force, courts and district assemblies***

Ghanaians gave the President and Parliament high scores for confidence, but expressed dissatisfaction with the police force and courts. Confidence in the police force is particularly low in the Northern, Upper West, Western, and Volta regions of Ghana. Many Ghanaians see official corruption as both common and serious.

☐ ***willing to join a political party and in favor of a multi-party system***

Most Ghanaians would join a political party if given the chance. About half say they would work for a party or a political candidate without compensation. Across all regions, Ghanaians support a system with two or more parties.

☐ ***pessimistic about the Ghanaian economy, particularly about their current and future personal financial situation***

The index of consumer confidence compared to the United States is quite low. Ghanaians were quite confident about the prospects of the Ghanaian economy over the next five years but expressed dissatisfaction with their current personal situation. Much of this dissatisfaction is due to worries over inflation.

☐ ***open to foreign investment in Ghana***

Nine out of ten Ghanaians feel foreign investment is very important to Ghana's economic health. More than 90 percent think foreign firms should be able to do business in Ghana, but only half feel they should be able to own land in Ghana.

☐ ***mixed about the status and future expectation of ethnic relations***

A quarter (26%) of all Ghanaians felt that relations between ethnic groups were somewhat to very bad. Pessimism about ethnic relations was highest in the Ashanti, Greater Accra, Western and Volta regions. One-fourth (25%) of all Ghanaians claim to have been discriminated against because of their ethnicity. This was highest among the Frafra and Ewe.

☐ *aware of environmental problems*

- = More than 80 percent of all Ghanaians recognize littering as a serious environmental problem, particularly in the urbanized regions. Nearly as many see the availability of clean water as a problem as well. Only about half of Ghanaians see deforestation and the shortage of various wildlife as a problem.

☐ *mixed about the pace of change in Ghana*

There was significant regional variation in the view of Ghanaians about the pace of change. While over all of Ghana about one-third thought change was coming too slowly, in the Upper East and Northern regions, people felt that change was coming too quickly.

METHODOLOGICAL INTRODUCTION

Defining the research objective

In conducting this research project, we had to be very clear as to what we were interested in researching because the phrasing of the problem goes a long way toward defining who to interview and how to go about doing it. The main focus of our survey was the elections.

The survey was primarily oriented toward finding opinions on these key issues:

1. Do Ghanaians think the elections were honest?
2. What proportion of Ghanaians observed irregularities at the polling station?
3. Do Ghanaians have faith in their government and its various branches?

Whose opinion were we interested in?

When we designed this survey we had to consider what type of information we wanted to find out and which group of people that involves. We were most interested in opinions about the election process – that is, whether or not people thought the process was honest. We therefore talked only to Ghanaians who are age 18 and older – those eligible to vote – and, excluded those not eligible to vote in Ghana, those incarcerated for committing various crimes, and citizens of other countries who reside in Ghana (unless they also have Ghanaian citizenship).

How did we determine the number of interviews to conduct?

Do Ghanaians think the elections were honest? To be completely sure of the answer we could have taken a census – that is, ask every eligible voter in Ghana that question and count the results – but census-taking has its drawbacks:

1. A census is expensive. In a country like Ghana where all questions must be asked face-to-face, the cost of interviewing each person would be prohibitive.
2. Conducting a census that would survey all Ghanaians is a difficult task that introduces error in the results by virtue of the conduct of such a large operation. Had we tried to ask questions of everyone, some people, such as farmers temporarily living near their crops at harvest, would have been difficult to reach. It also would have been difficult to keep track of whom we had already interviewed.

3. A census is time-consuming. Census results can take months or years to be entered, organized, and translated. It is not unusual for some results of the United States census to be released three years after it was conducted.

Another reason we don't usually conduct a census is that it is not necessary. By using statistical methods and calculations, we can ask some Ghanaians this question and *infer* the results to the *population* from which we selected the ones we asked. The group of people we select to ask our questions is called the *sample*.

To be convinced that this is true, let's consider an example. Suppose we would like to know what proportion of Ghanaians prefer their plantains roasted versus fried. Now imagine that all Ghanaians prefer their plantains fried. Thus, no matter whom we select, we will get the same answer – that Ghanaians prefer their plantains fried. After asking only 50 people this question, we will still get the same answer. At a certain point the likelihood of getting a different answer becomes quite small.

In contrast, imagine that half of all Ghanaians prefer their plantains fried, but the other half prefer their plantains roasted. Even after asking 50 people this question we are less certain that we can predict the opinion of the next person interviewed. When the answer to a question is not always the same – that is, when it varies – we must ask more people the question to know the distribution of answers among all Ghanaians.

Usually, when we are estimating the size of the sample, we assume that the answers will be as varied as possible. That is, we assume half will say yes and half will say no to a “yes/no” question. We do not need to consider the size of the entire population – that is, the number of Ghanaians. As we can see from the above example, that is irrelevant. We need only be concerned with how the responses vary and how certain we want to be that the distribution of responses we derive accurately reflects the distribution of responses among all Ghanaians.

The level of certainty we have in our results is called the *confidence level*. For most surveys, like this one, we are willing to accept a 95 percent confidence level. That means that we ask enough people the question so that we are convinced that if we conducted the survey 100 times, with a different sample each time, we would get similar results 95 times out of 100. (We can never expect to get the same results all the time).

We must also be concerned with the *margin of error*. Let's assume we asked 2,300 Ghanaians if they liked plantains roasted or fried, and half (or 50 percent) said they prefer roasted plantains and half (50 percent) said they prefer them fried. We believe that if we conducted the survey 100 times we would get results similar to half saying roasted and half saying fried 95 times of 100. But are these estimates exact?

No, the estimates are *not* exact. Based on the size of the sample and the variance of the responses, we expect to have some error. The amount of error is called the *margin of error* and is usually expressed as a percentage. For our survey of 2,300 Ghanaians where half prefer roasted plantains, the margin of error would be about 2 percent. In other

words, based on this survey, if we asked all Ghanaians this question, we think the real percentage saying roasted plantains would be between 48 percent and 52 percent – not necessarily 50 percent.

The last thing to know about sample size is that we must be sensitive to tabulating results for smaller groups. In the case above we are estimating preferences for roasted or fried plantains for *all* Ghanaians. But what if we want to look only at the Ashanti or the Upper West regions? In that case we will only use responses from those particular regions to estimate preferences for each region. The sample size will now be something less than 2,300 – say, 220.

But notice that the variance of the question could be lower (or higher) within a region than across all of Ghana. For example, it could be that 50 percent of all Ghanaians prefer roasted plantains, but 80 percent of those in the Ashanti region prefer them roasted. We must be aware that the margin of error for estimates of a region will usually be larger due to the smaller sample size. That is, there is a higher chance that the estimate we make of the percent of Ashanti who prefer their plantains roasted may be off by more than 2 percent.

In the worst case, where half of the 220 respondents in the Ashanti region say they prefer roasted plantains while half say fried, the actual percentage of the entire Ashanti region will be between 43 percent and 57 percent. That is, there is a margin of error of ± 7 percent. Such a margin of error for a region is often tolerable.

To make certain that regions are properly represented we frequently *over-sample* for some regions that would normally not receive many surveys if we distributed responses according to census or voter registration records. We over-sample so that we will have enough responses to achieve a tolerable margin of error. But, when we are tabulating the results for all of Ghana, we take into account that we over-sampled smaller regions by *down-weighting* their contributions to the Ghana-wide results. The weights are calculated so that each region contributes to Ghana the proportion of responses that is equal to the proportion of registered voters they have in Ghana.

IFES Practice in Ghana

In sum, we targeted a margin of error of approximately 2 percent for all of Ghana, and 7 percent for each region. This required approximately 220 surveys for each of the 10 administrative regions of Ghana, and a total sample size of 2,300 for all of Ghana.

We started with a target of 1,500 respondents, 10 per polling station, and selected 150 polling stations from all the polling stations in Ghana. Because the number of registered voters in each polling station varies (ranging from less than 50 to more than 500), we adjusted our selection to give a higher probability of selection to those stations that encompassed more registered voters. Thus, the more registered voters (a proxy for households) in a polling station the higher the probability of selection. We would expect, then, that areas with highly populated polling areas would be represented more than those with small ones. This is the reason that Greater Accra and Ashanti regions have a higher number of respondents. However, having forced all of the regions to have at least 220 respondents, the representation of rural regions has been assured.

To ensure enough responses in each region to draw conclusive results, we established a floor of 220 interviews for each. After distributing the initial 1,500 interviews, or 150 polling stations, across all of Ghana, we supplemented those regions that did not receive at least 220 interviews (22 polling stations), by virtue of their smaller number of registered voters with respect to other regions. This required extra polling station assignments in all but two regions. The extra polling stations were selected using a similar approach to the one used for the sample of 150 polling stations from all of Ghana.

The result of this process is that Greater Accra and the Ashanti regions have slightly more interviews in their regions than the other eight regions of Ghana. All analyses pertaining to Ghana as a whole must be weighted to account for over-sampling in regions with fewer households.

To ensure that the sample accurately represented the voting-age citizenry of Ghana, we checked the composition of the achieved sample against known factors of the electorate (size of region, sex, and age). We further examined the sample by comparing identification with political parties and results of the December 1996 elections.

How did we determine to whom to talk?

Does it matter how we select our respondents? Indeed, whom we ask and how we select them is the most important part of survey methods. If we ask 2,300 people in the Ashanti region how they prefer their plantains, would we say that they represent the opinions of all Ghanaians? Clearly not.

Ideally, to be truly representative of a population, a sample should be selected so that every person in the population has an equal chance of being selected. And the best way to make such a selection would be to have a list of everyone in the population; in this case, all eligible voters. In practice, we usually do not have lists like these from which we can select respondents. But we can usually approximate such a list. The list, or set, from which we select our respondents is called the *sampling frame*.

Depending on the population and the type of interview, some people will be more difficult to reach than others. We have already mentioned farmers who are away from their village during harvest. Others are hard to reach because they work longer hours than others, or

they work at night, such as taxi drivers. All of these things must be considered when selecting the sample and conducting the survey.

In Ghana, nearly all surveys are conducted face-to-face because the telephone and postal systems do not reach enough of the population to be representative. Thus, we must select people that we can talk to in person. There are several ways to do this.

One way to select people in person is to stop them as they pass by on the street. This is the easiest way, and the least expensive; however, even if we stop people in the street in places all over Ghana, there will be some significant bias. Some people are more inclined to be in the street at certain times of day, while some people rarely go in the street. Thus, a convenient sample like this would be more accurately described as representing "Ghanaians in the streets" than "all Ghanaians."

Another problem with this method is that it leaves too much discretion to the interviewer as to which respondents to select. Further, there is no way for a supervisor or the client to check to make certain the interview actually took place, because we will not know where to find the respondent after the survey has been conducted.

A better method would be to select people based on where they live. Whereas some people do not go into the street very often, nearly everyone lives somewhere. So as long as we can select the places where people live with little or no bias, we can give most everyone an equal chance of being surveyed.

Convention dictates that the sample can be divided into *clusters*, where the distribution of clusters will actually represent the distribution of opinions across Ghana. For this survey we decided to use polling stations as the location to be selected, and we would interview members of 10 different households around the polling station.

How do we select the household for an interview? Selecting from houses that are near to the polling station introduces a potential bias toward people who live there. And polling stations are often located near the post office, church, or school. Such a method is not random.

Instead, it would be better to define the physical boundaries of the polling station, map and number all of the households in the area, and randomly select 10 households using a list of random numbers that have been generated by a computer. So if we do a map of a polling station area in the Central region with 55 households, we would number each one and select the first 10 households where their number appears on a list of random numbers.

Unfortunately, there are no maps of the polling station areas, but, there are descriptions of *unit committee areas* and it is not difficult to determine which unit committee area corresponds to a given polling station. Given a description of the area, an interviewer can draw a map of the area, list all households on the map and number them, and use a list of random numbers to select the households to be interviewed. This is the method we used.

We must decide which eligible voter within a household we should talk to. In most cases this will require two decisions. For compounds, we must decide from which individual family unit within the compound we will draw our respondent. Again, this can be done by assigning each unit a number and randomly selecting one of those numbers using our list of random numbers.

Once the actual home is established, we must select a respondent. Many surveys are quite random up to this point but are invalidated by improper selection of respondents within the household. For example, there are often biases associated with the person who usually greets visitors, or the person who usually talks to officials. Thus talking to just anyone will not suffice.

Finally, we must be sensitive to the fact that Ghana is a diverse country with many different language groups. For this reason, the questionnaire was translated into six languages: Akan, Dagbani, Ewe, Ga, Hausa, and Twi. In two regions, significant language groups were accommodated through the arrangement of interpretation by RI. Only 20% of the interviews were conducted in English.

IFES Practice in Ghana

We randomly selected a polling station, and determined the unit committee area that corresponded to that polling station. A supervisor was given a description of the unit committee area and was instructed to draw a map, locating all households and numbering them. A list of random numbers was provided for each polling station (a unique set of numbers for each). Interviewers selected for interviews the first 10 houses whose numbers corresponded to numbers on the random number list. This gave us a random sample of households in Ghana.

To ensure random selection within the household we made a list of all the names and ages of people living in the home age 18 and older who were eligible to vote. A list of random numbers was used to randomly select one of those people for the interview. Questionnaires were translated into languages appropriate to Ghana.

What happens if the respondent will not cooperate or is not at home?

Making certain that respondents are selected randomly still does not ensure a reliable survey. The results of many surveys are often compromised because interviewers do not put forth enough effort to interview the person they randomly selected. Our efforts at ensuring random selection would have been somewhat compromised had we not interviewed the person we selected. It was essential that the interviewer follow strict rules that established when they could and could not release a selected respondent from the sample.

It is customary for a company conducting surveys to set a standard number of *call backs*. The mark of a good survey is three callbacks; that is, if the respondent is not at home the first time, the interviewer will return up to two more times, at different times of the day, to try to talk to the specific person selected. If the respondent is still not available, the

interviewer will code that respondent as "persistently unavailable" and will select a different household for the interview.

This method is essential. By selecting someone else in the same household, the interviewer would run the risk of biasing the sample toward people who tend to be at home. The same procedure should be followed for respondents who refuse; that is, a new household should be selected.

How can we be sure the interviews actually took place?

It is always a good idea to randomly check the work of individual interviewers. As in any large operation where there are many employees involved, the possibility exists that some employees will attempt to falsify information.

IFES Practice in Ghana

Research International supervisors randomly selected one household in each enumeration area and asked the respondent a few questions to compare the results with those of the interviewer.

Approach to Analysis

We were interested in learning not only about Ghanaians as a whole, but also Ghanaians within each of the country's 10 regions. Making the distinction between regions is important because there may be clusters of people who feel differently from most of the people in Ghana and they need to know that support for their positions exists. For example, imagine that out of all people in Ghana, 90 percent preferred their plantains roasted, but most of the 10 percent who prefer them fried lived in one region. If we only looked at Ghana as a whole, those who liked fried plantains would think they were unusual. With an analysis by region those who like fried plantains would see that, although compared to the nation they may be unusual, they live among many people who share their preference. Regional analyses allow those in the minority to evaluate their positions and make decisions.

Table 1 summarizes the distribution of responses for the 10 regions of Ghana. Recall that we originally distributed 1,500 cases across all of Ghana based on the number and size of polling stations. We then supplemented regions so that each would have a margin of error less than 7 percent. Ashanti and Greater Accra were the only two regions that met this criterion from the original distribution of 1,500, each getting 270 responses. The remaining regions received 220 responses, enough to draw regional conclusions and make comparisons.

If we compare the percent of respondents in a region to the percent of registered voters in a region we see that there is a problem. If we calculate percentages for all of Ghana without adjusting for the size of a region, the residents of Upper West would be

represented as though they are 9.6 percent of the population when they are actually only 2.9 percent. Similarly, the Ashanti region would be counted as only 11.7 percent of the population when it really accounts for 17.2 percent.

The way this is handled in the analysis is by using *weights*. This situation is so common that all statistical software allows you to adjust the contribution of different *strata* (in this case regions) so that the results for the whole will represent the entire population. Thus we can *over-sample* certain regions to have enough observations to draw conclusions, but put the information from those regions in the proper perspective when we want to talk about all of Ghana. The weights are presented in the fifth column.

Table 1. Distribution of Responses, by Region

Region	Frequency	Percent of Sample	Percent of registered voters	Weight
Ashanti	270	11.7	17.2	1.47
Brong Ahafo	220	9.6	9.8	1.02
Central	220	9.6	8.3	0.86
Eastern	220	9.6	11.4	1.19
Greater Accra	270	11.7	16.9	1.44
Northern	220	9.6	8.7	0.91
Upper East	220	9.6	4.7	0.49
Upper West	220	9.6	2.9	0.30
Western	220	9.6	10.4	1.08
Volta	220	9.6	9.7	1.01
GHANA	2300	100	100	NA

We knew ahead of time that we were over-sampling some regions and under-sampling others based on the actual number of registered voters in each. Some people adjust their data based on other strata such as gender and age when they think the sample they have collected is not representative with respect to these variables. For example, in the United States it is typical to get more women than men when doing interviews by telephone because women are more likely than men to answer the phone. Similarly, in places like the state of Florida in the U.S., it is typical to get a higher proportion of older people than there really are because older people occupy more households per capita than do younger people with larger families.

For this survey we decided not to make these adjustments because it was not clear what the distributions should actually be. Making these adjustments in the U.S. is sometimes controversial, and in a place like Ghana where the last census is almost 15 years old, forcing distributions of age and gender by region to that standard is not advisable. Table 2 presents the percentage of males and females and average age by region for the sample and from the voter registration. This discrepancy is probably due to cultural biases on the part of respondents against allowing women to participate. This phenomenon was particularly high in Brong Ahafo and the Upper East.

Table 2. Comparison of Sex Distribution between Sample and Voter Registration, by Region

Region	Percent Male from Sample	Percent Male from Voter Registration	Percent Female from Sample	Percent Female from Voter Registration
Ashanti	61	50	39	50
Brong Ahafo	69	51	31	49
Central	48	46	52	54
Eastern	55	50	45	50
Greater Accra	50	52	50	48
Northern	61	51	39	49
Upper East	68	45	32	55
Upper West	56	46	44	54
Western	51	53	49	47
Volta	64	48	36	52
GHANA	58	50	42	50

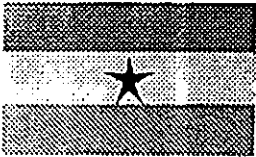
Assuming that the voter registration process was not biased toward males or females, it should be an accurate reflection of the sexual distribution in each region. It is apparent that there has been some gender bias in the conduct of this survey. The areas of Brong Ahafo, Upper East, and Volta are particularly over-represented by male respondents. We handled this problem by testing for differences between men and women on each variable and in those cases where the differences were significant we weighted the cases to reflect the voter registration distribution.

Table 3. Comparison of Age Distribution Between Sample and Voter Registration, by Region

Region	Sample				Voter Registration			
	18-29	30-49	50-64	65+	18-29	30-49	50-64	65+
Ashanti	38	50	10	2	48	35	11	6
Brong Ahafo	34	47	11	8	49	36	10	5
Central	32	41	17	10	40	37	14	8
Eastern	40	43	14	3	41	37	13	8
Greater Accra	36	46	14	4	51	37	9	3
Northern	35	37	17	11	46	40	10	3
Upper East	33	45	15	7	40	41	14	4
Upper West	41	36	15	8	40	39	15	6
Western	35	45	15	5	48	37	10	4
Volta	31	50	13	6	44	35	14	8
GHANA	36	45	13	6	46	37	11	6

The distribution of ages shows a tendency to over-sample those in the 30-49 age group and under-sample those age 18-29. Again, this assumes that there was no age bias in the voter registration process and that the voter registration database is an accurate reflection of the population age 18 and above. Brong Ahafo stands out as a particularly problematic area with a 15 percent difference in the 18-29 age group between the sample and the voter registration. As with the differences in the sexual distribution, we tested for differences between age groups and noted differences accordingly.

With this survey the response rate appears to have been quite high. This is not unusual in a place like Ghana, where the population has not been overly exposed to surveys and mass marketing. The citizens of Ghana may also have been motivated to give their opinions because the survey was about the recent elections.



Public Opinion in Ghana 1997

Distribution of Responses, by Region

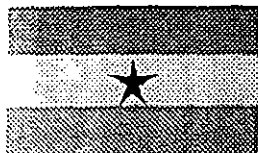
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IFES Survey fielded February 26 - April 16, 1997

Sample of 2300 nationally representative adults (18+); margin of error for Ghana is plus/minus 2% and plus/minus 7% for the regions

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Public Opinion in Ghana 1997 **Comparison of Sex Distribution Between** **Sample and Voter Registration, by Region**

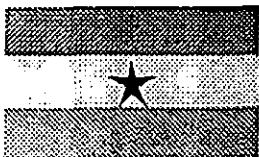
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Eastern	55	50	45	50
Greater Accra	50	52	50	48
Northern	61	51	39	49
Upper East	68	45	32	55
Upper West	56	46	44	54
Western	51	53	49	47
Volta	64	48	36	52
GHANA	58	50	42	50



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Sample of 2300 nationally representative adults (18+); margin of error for Ghana is plus/minus 2% and plus/minus 7% for the regions

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Public Opinion in Ghana 1997 **Comparison of Age Distribution Between** **Sample and Voter Registration, by Region**

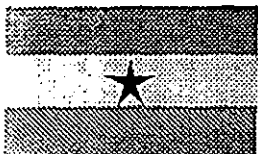
Region	Sample				Voter Registration			
	18-29	30-49	50-64	65+	18-29	30-49	50-64	65+
Ashanti	38	50	10	2	48	35	11	6
Brong Ahafo	34	47	11	8	49	36	10	5
Central	32	41	17	10	40	37	14	8
Eastern	40	43	14	3	41	37	13	8
Greater Accra	36	46	14	4	51	37	9	3
Northern	35	37	17	11	46	40	10	3
Upper East	33	45	15	7	40	41	14	4
Upper West	41	36	15	8	40	39	15	6
Western	35	45	15	5	48	37	10	4
Volta	31	50	13	6	44	35	14	8
GHANA	36	45	13	6	46	37	11	6



IFES Survey fielded February 26 - April 16, 1997

Sample of 2300 nationally representative adults (18+); margin of error for Ghana is plus/minus 2% and plus/minus 7% for the regions

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Public Opinion in Ghana 1997 **Percent Distribution of Identification** **With Party, by Region**

Region	NDC	NPP	PNC	PCP	DK/NR
Ashanti	40	48	4	2	5
Brong Ahafo	69	24	0	5	3
Central	57	29	1	3	10
Eastern	49	36	3	4	4
Greater Accra	60	25	2	1	12
Northern	76	13	2	1	8
Upper East	78	3	10	0	7
Upper West	78	10	5	2	4
Western	77	6	2	1	14
Volta	90	5	2	0	0
GHANA	64	24	3	2	7

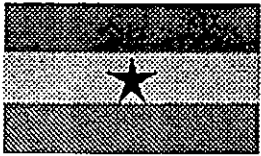
"Which of the political parties best represents the views and interests of people like you?"



IFES Survey fielded February 26 - April 16, 1997

Sample of 2300 nationally representative adults (18+); margin of error for Ghana is plus/minus 2% and plus/minus 7% for the regions

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Public Opinion in Ghana 1997

Percent Distribution of Votes for President, by Region

Region	Identification with NDC ⁺	Percentage Vote in December 7, 1996 Election*	Identification with NPP ⁺	Percentage Vote in December 7, 1996 Election*
Ashanti	40	33	48	66
Brong Ahafo	69	62	24	36
Central	57	55	29	43
Eastern	49	54	36	45
Greater Accra	60	54	25	43
Northern	76	61	13	33
Upper East	78	69	3	17
Upper West	78	75	10	11
Western	77	57	6	41
Volta	90	95	5	5
GHANA	64	57	24	40

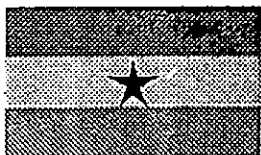
* Source: Electoral Commission of Ghana



IFES Survey fielded February 26 - April 16, 1997

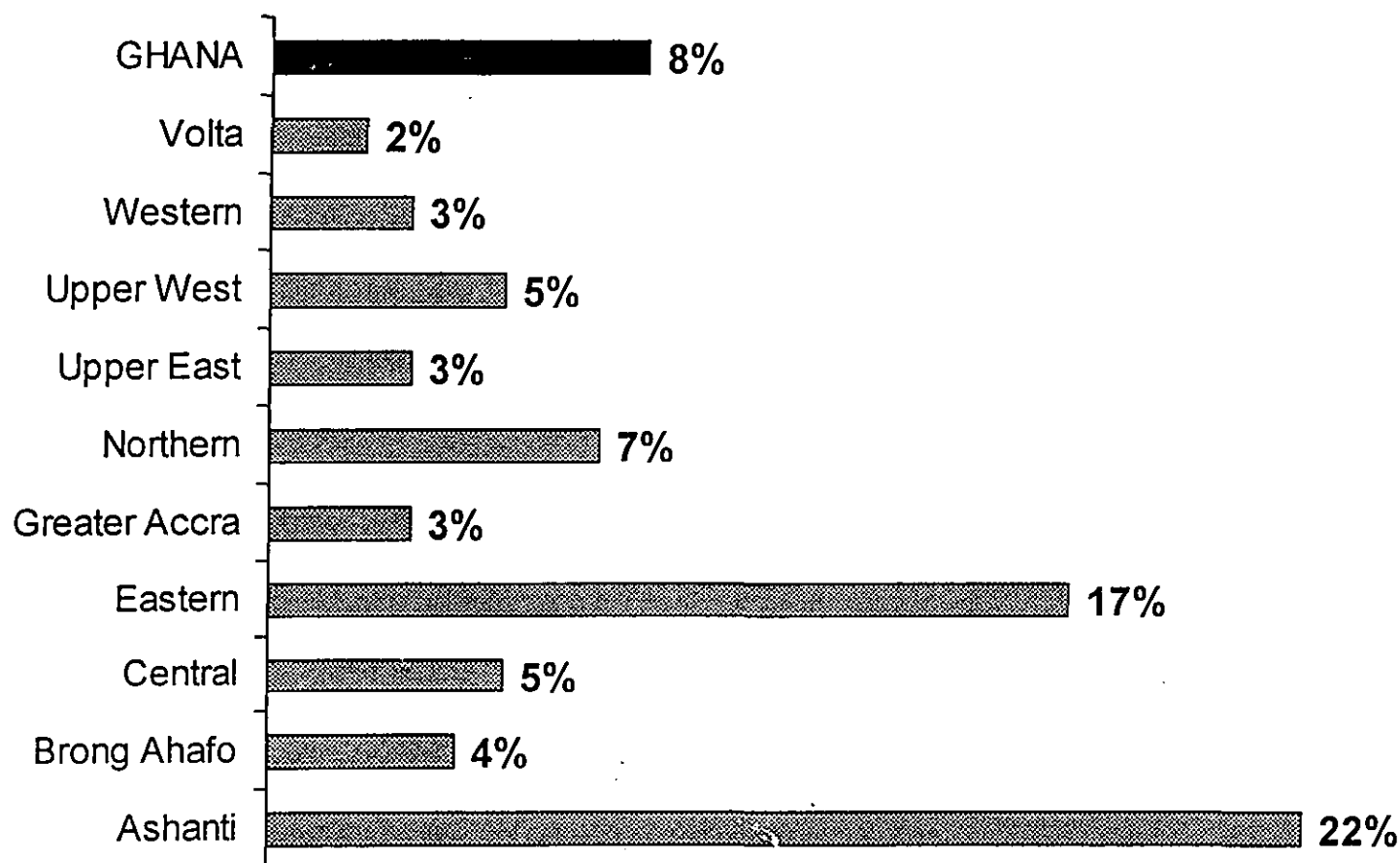
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Public Opinion in Ghana 1997

Percent Who Felt Elections Were “Somewhat Dishonest” or “Completely Dishonest”, by Region



“On the whole, how honest were the elections in December?”



IFES Survey fielded February 26 - April 16, 1997

Sample of 2300 nationally representative adults (18+); margin of error for Ghana is plus/minus 2% and plus/minus 7% for the regions

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Public Opinion in Ghana 1997

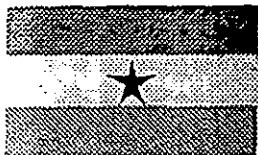
Dishonest Practices Observed

Dishonest practice	Percent
Someone at the polling station told me who to vote for	3
My vote was not a secret	2
I saw people voting together without a secret ballot	2
I know of cases where people voted for family and neighbors	3
I saw campaigning in the vicinity of the polling station	2
When I went to vote, someone had already voted for me	1
I know of cases where people were offered bribes for votes	3



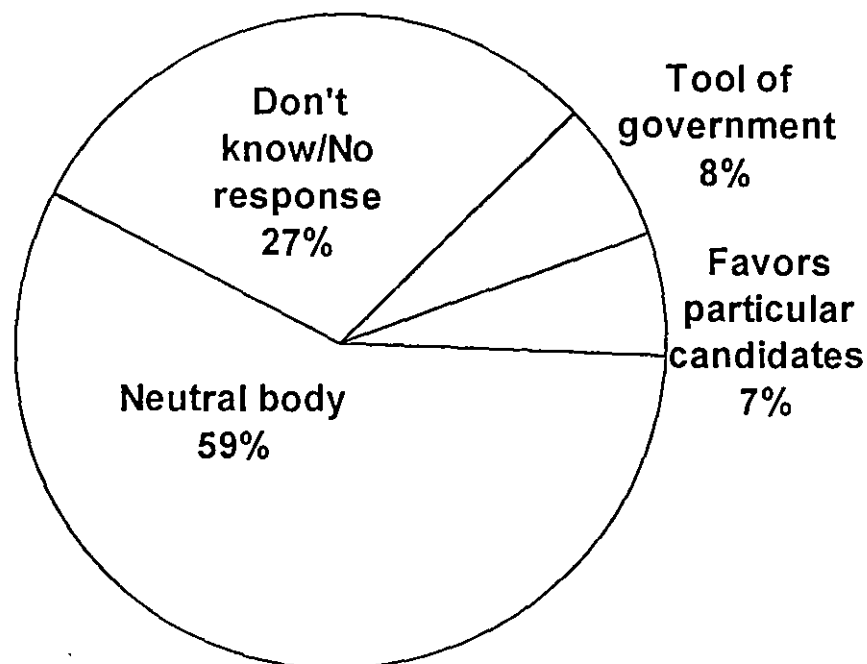
IFES Survey fielded February 26 - April 16, 1997

Sample of 2300 nationally representative adults (18+); margin of error for Ghana is plus/minus 2% and plus/minus 7% for the regions
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Public Opinion in Ghana 1997

Perceptions of the Electoral Commission



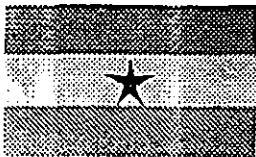
"Which of the following statements is closest to your view: 'The Electoral Commission of Ghana is a completely neutral body, guided in its work only by the law; the Electoral Commission of Ghana makes decisions which favor particular candidates or which the government wants; the Electoral Commission is a tool of the government?'"



IFES Survey fielded February 26 - April 16, 1997

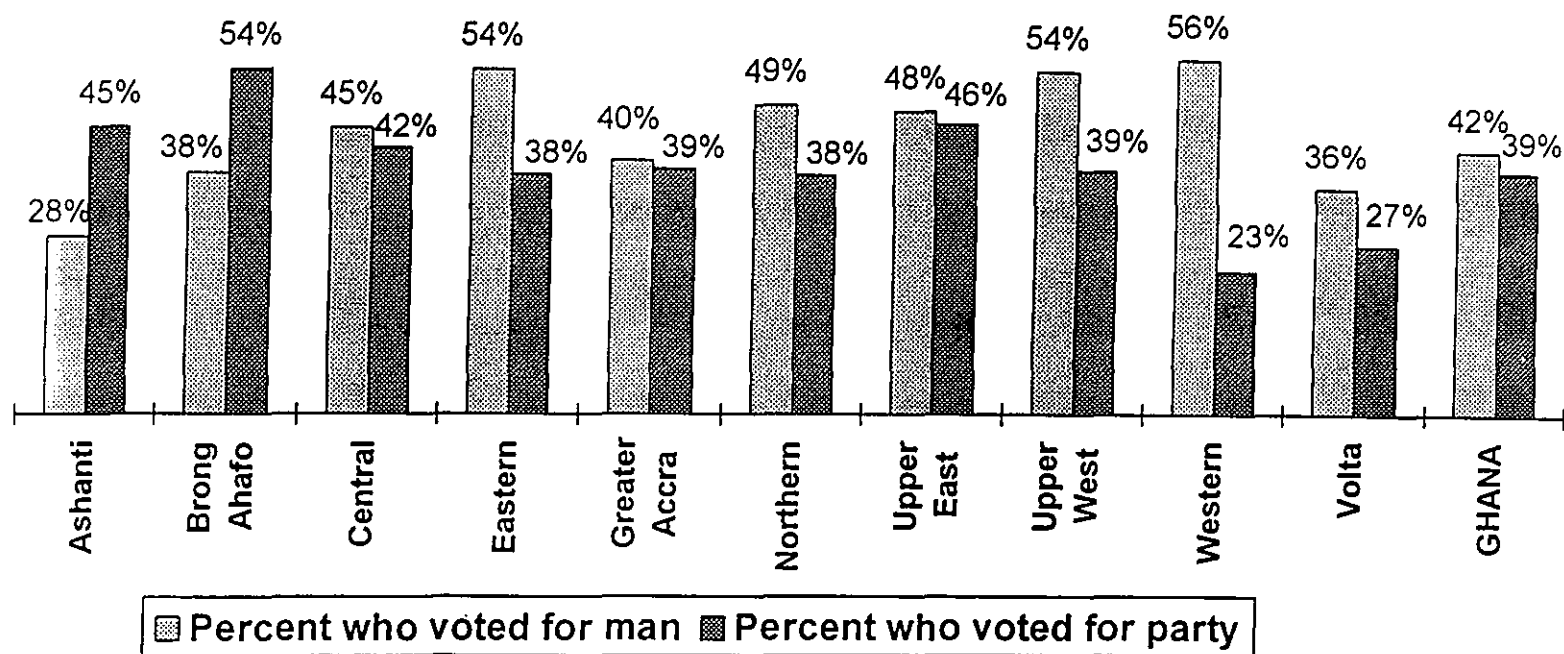
Sample of 2300 nationally representative adults (18+); margin of error for Ghana is plus/minus 2% and plus/minus 7% for the regions

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Public Opinion in Ghana 1997

Percent of Respondents Who Voted for Man Versus Party, by Region



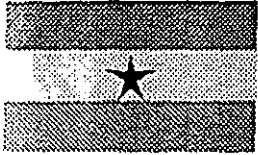
"What was the reason you chose the particular presidential candidate you voted for? Liked the man; liked the party the man represented; he was a member of the same tribe as me; my chief told me to; he was the one I least disliked among the candidates; other (volunteered)?"



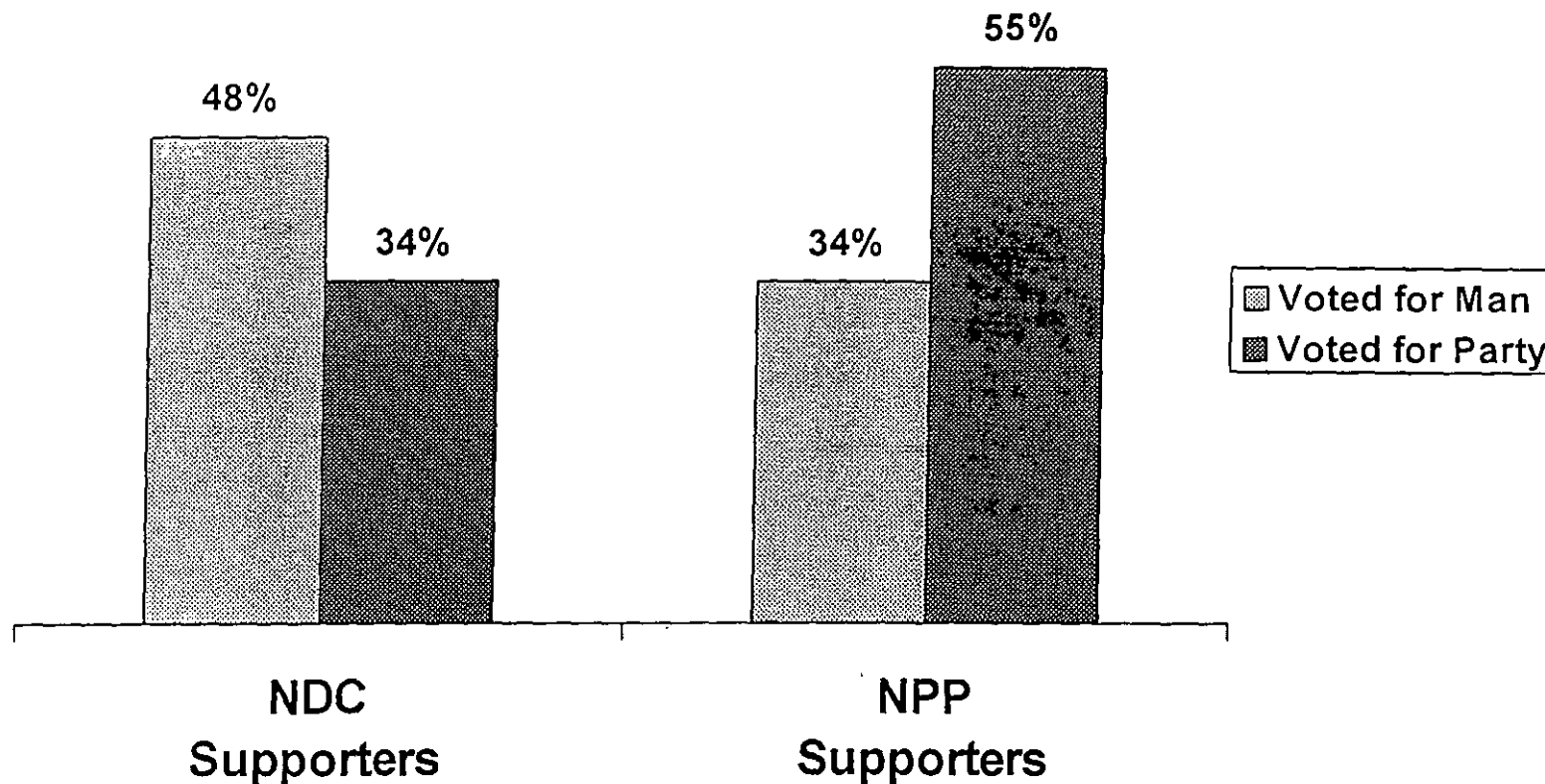
IFES Survey fielded February 26 - April 16, 1997

Sample of 2300 nationally representative adults (18+); margin of error for Ghana is plus/minus 2% and plus/minus 7% for the regions

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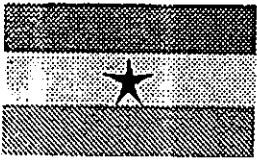
Public Opinion in Ghana 1997 Effect of Party Affiliation on Voting for Man or Party



IFES Survey fielded February 26 - April 16, 1997

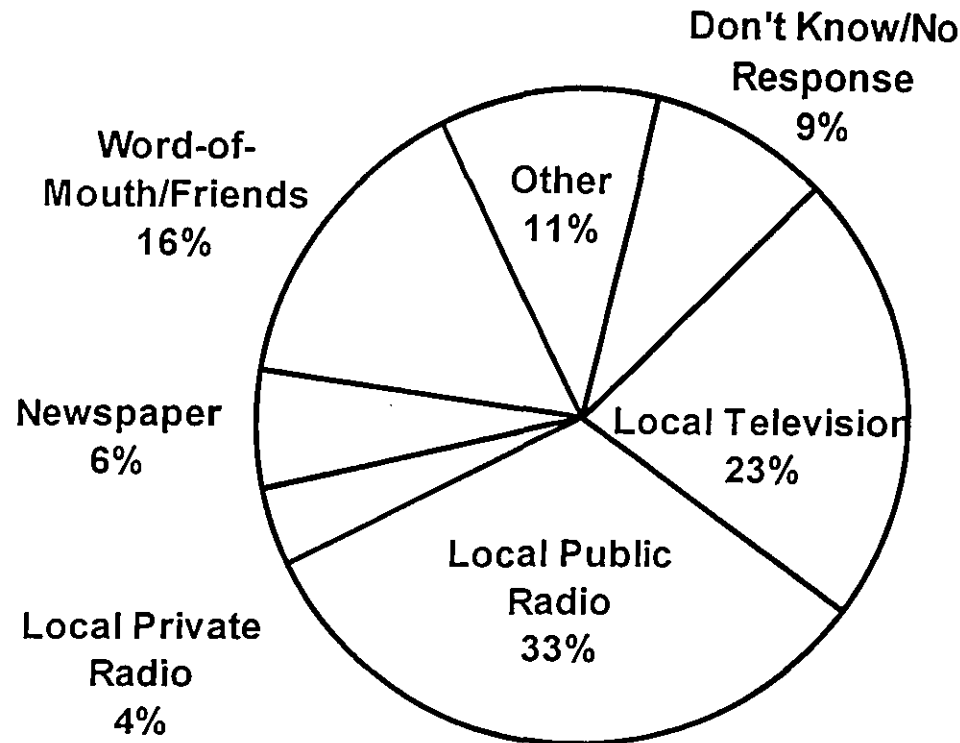
Sample of 2300 nationally representative adults (18+); margin of error for Ghana is plus/minus 2% and plus/minus 7% for the regions

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Public Opinion in Ghana 1997

Most Accurate Source of Information

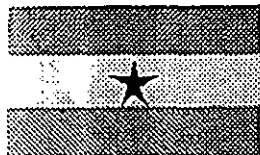


"In general, which source of information tends to be the most accurate?"



IFES Survey fielded February 26 - April 16, 1997

Sample of 2300 nationally representative adults (18+); margin of error for Ghana is plus/minus 2% and plus/minus 7% for the regions
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Public Opinion in Ghana 1997 **Most Useful Source for Deciding** **Who to Vote for, by Region (in percent)**

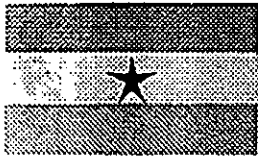
Region	TV	Radio	News- paper	Family/ friends	Poster/ flier	Mobile van	Candidate rally
Ashanti	31	29	5	17	1	0	10
Brong Ahafo	21	39	2	15	11	0	11
Central	14	20	2	13	5	4	28
Eastern	14	31	4	4	13	0	23
Greater Accra	45	27	4	3	5	0	12
Northern	22	19	1	10	11	0	29
Upper East	10	19	1	16	18	3	27
Upper West	8	36	1	20	12	5	10
Western	14	30	1	16	7	16	8
Volta	11	19	8	33	5	0	23
GHANA	23	27	4	14	7	2	17



IFES Survey fielded February 26 - April 16, 1997

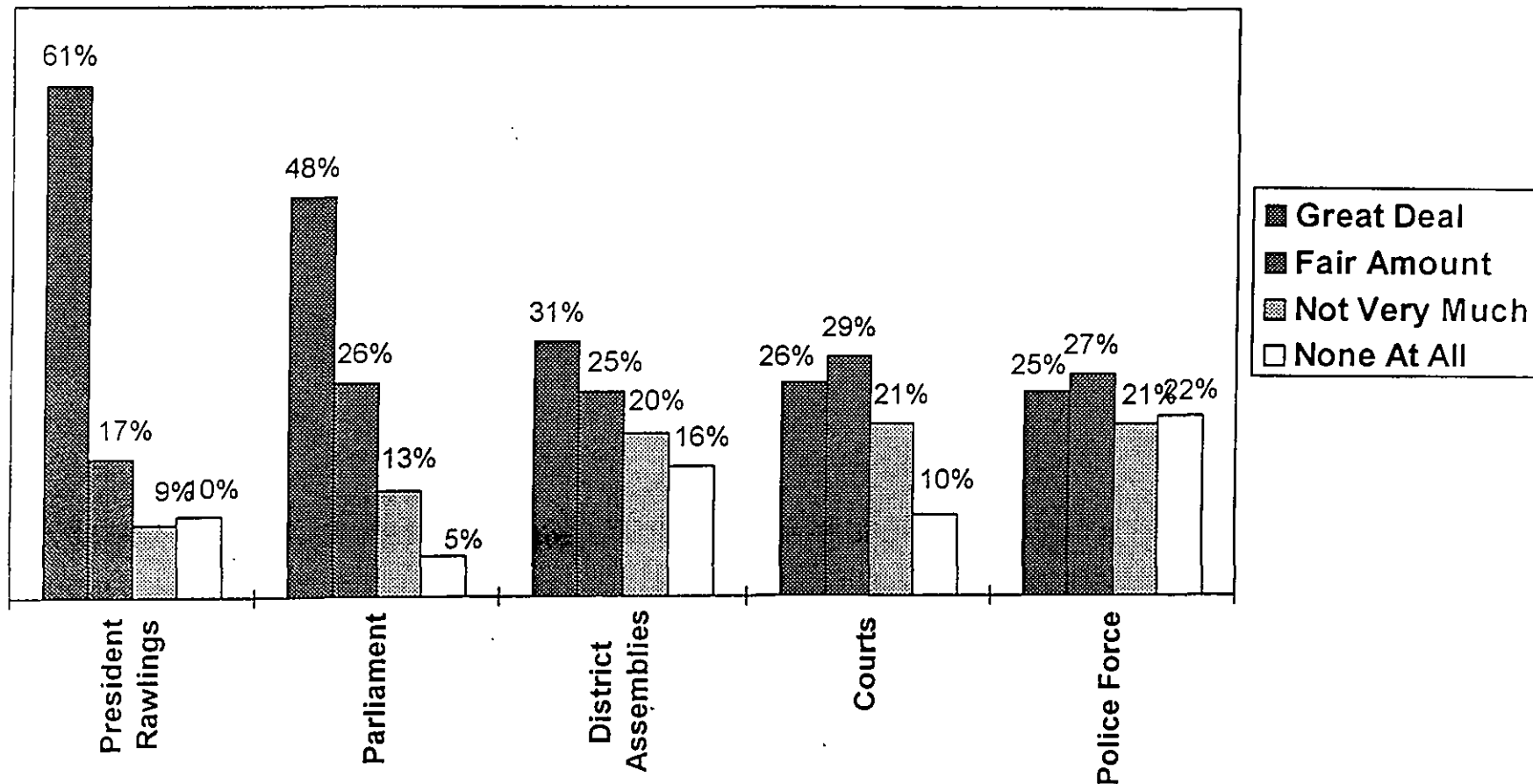
Sample of 2300 nationally representative adults (18+); margin of error for Ghana is plus/minus 2% and plus/minus 7% for the regions

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Public Opinion in Ghana 1997

Confidence in Various Branches of Government



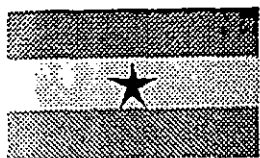
"How much confidence do you have in (Parliament, President Rawlings, your District Assembly, Police Force, the Courts)?"



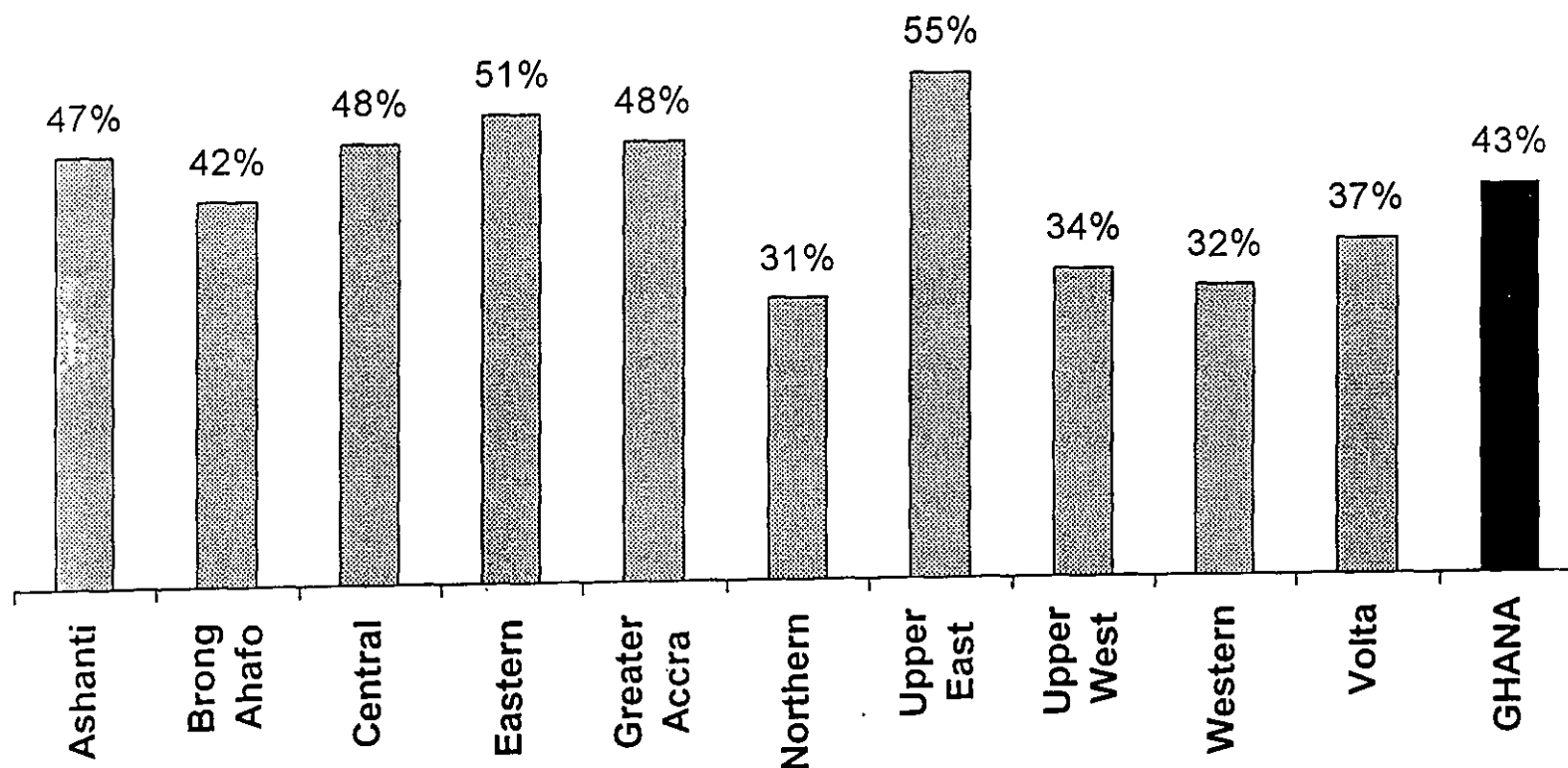
IFES Survey fielded February 26 - April 16, 1997

Sample of 2300 nationally representative adults (18+); margin of error for Ghana is plus/minus 2% and plus/minus 7% for the regions

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Public Opinion in Ghana 1997
Distribution of Respondents With "Not Very Much" or
No Confidence "At All" in the Police Force, by Region

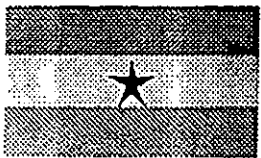


"How much confidence do you have in the police force? A great deal, a fair amount not very much, none at all?"



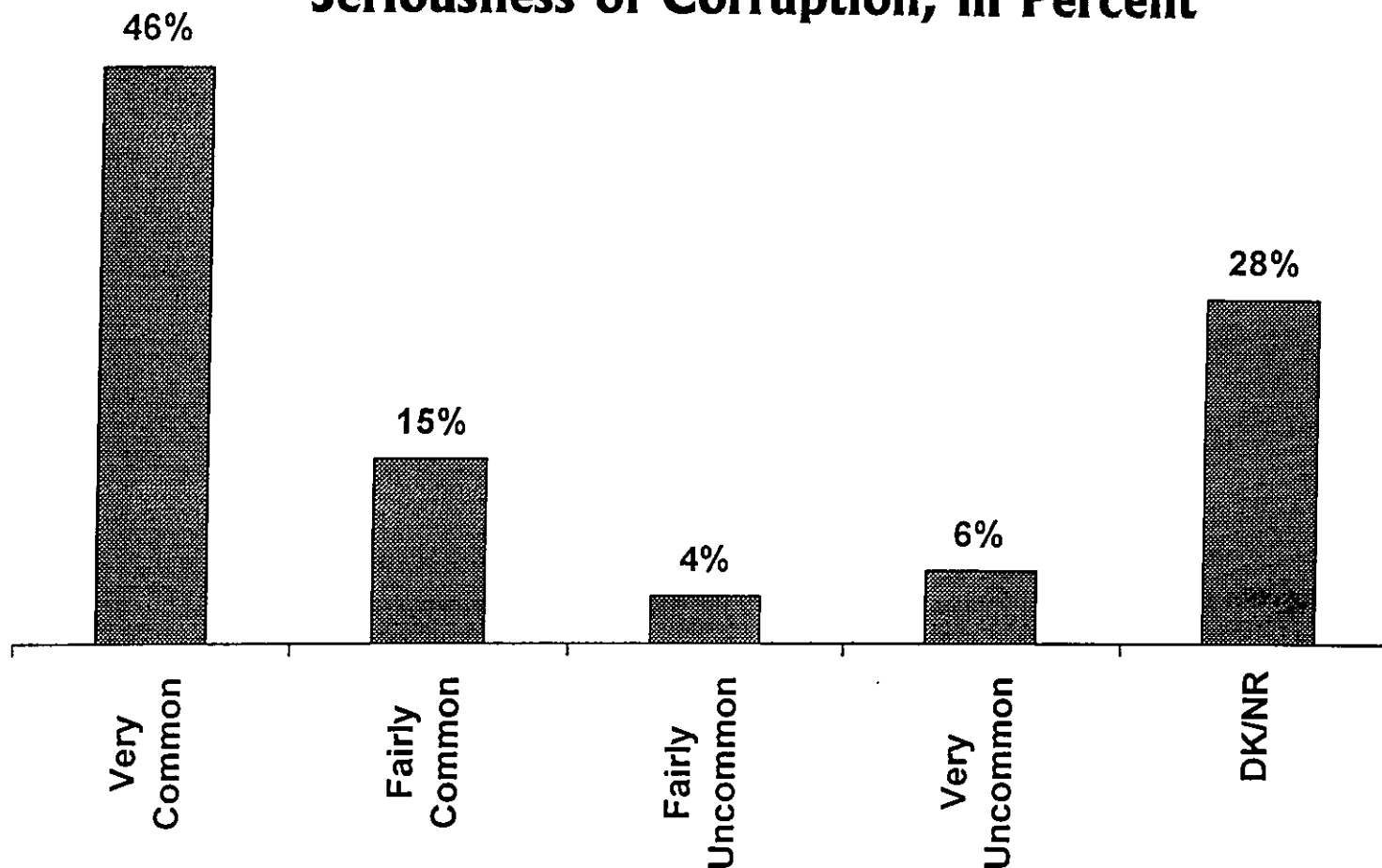
IFES Survey fielded February 26 - April 16, 1997

Sample of 2300 nationally representative adults (18+); margin of error for Ghana is plus/minus 2% and plus/minus 7% for the regions
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Public Opinion in Ghana 1997

Seriousness of Corruption, in Percent

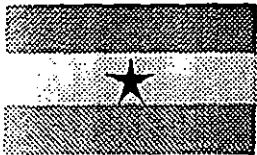


"In your opinion, how common is the problem of official corruption: very common, fairly common, fairly uncommon, or very uncommon (rare)?"



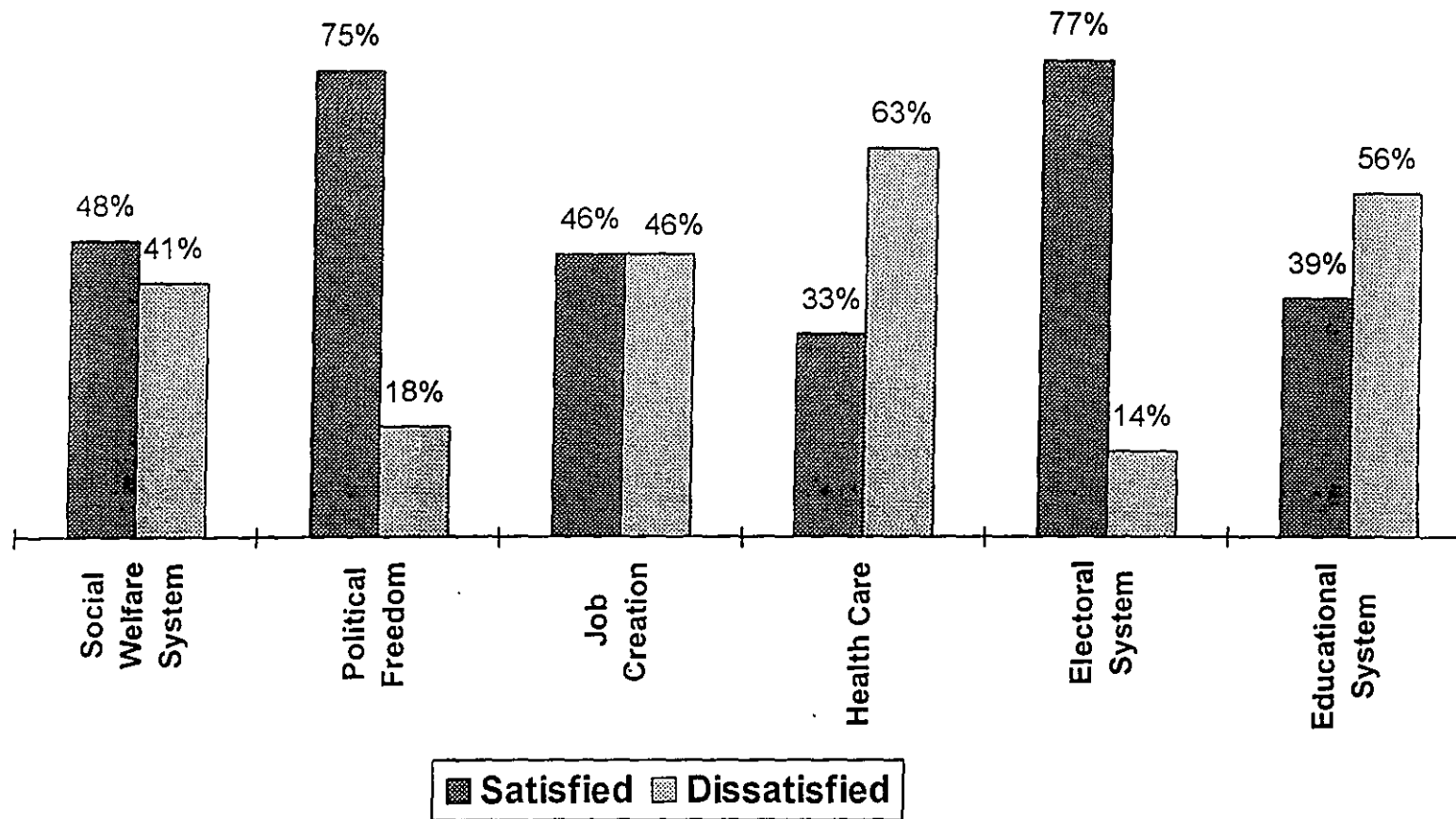
IFES Survey fielded February 26 - April 16, 1997

Sample of 2300 nationally representative adults (18+); margin of error for Ghana is plus/minus 2% and plus/minus 7% for the regions
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Public Opinion in Ghana 1997

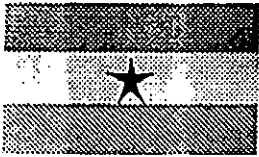
Satisfaction/Dissatisfaction with Selected Aspects of Socio-Political System



IFES Survey fielded February 26 - April 16, 1997

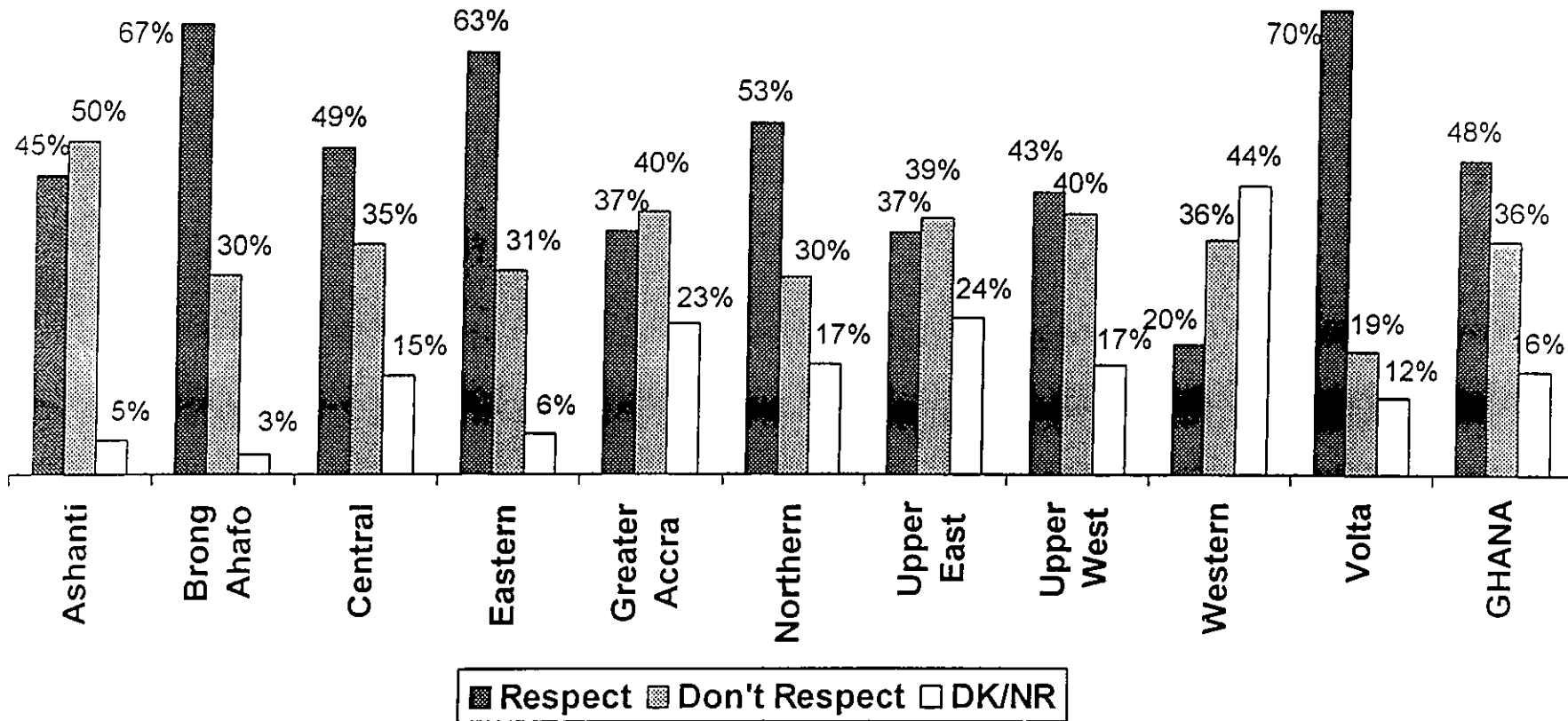
Sample of 2300 nationally representative adults (18+); margin of error for Ghana is plus/minus 2% and plus/minus 7% for the regions

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Public Opinion in Ghana 1997

Opinions on Government Officials' Respect for Individual Rights, by Region



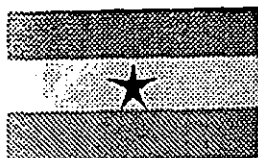
"How much do government authorities respect the rights of individuals in Ghana?" A great deal, a fair amount, a little, none at all?"



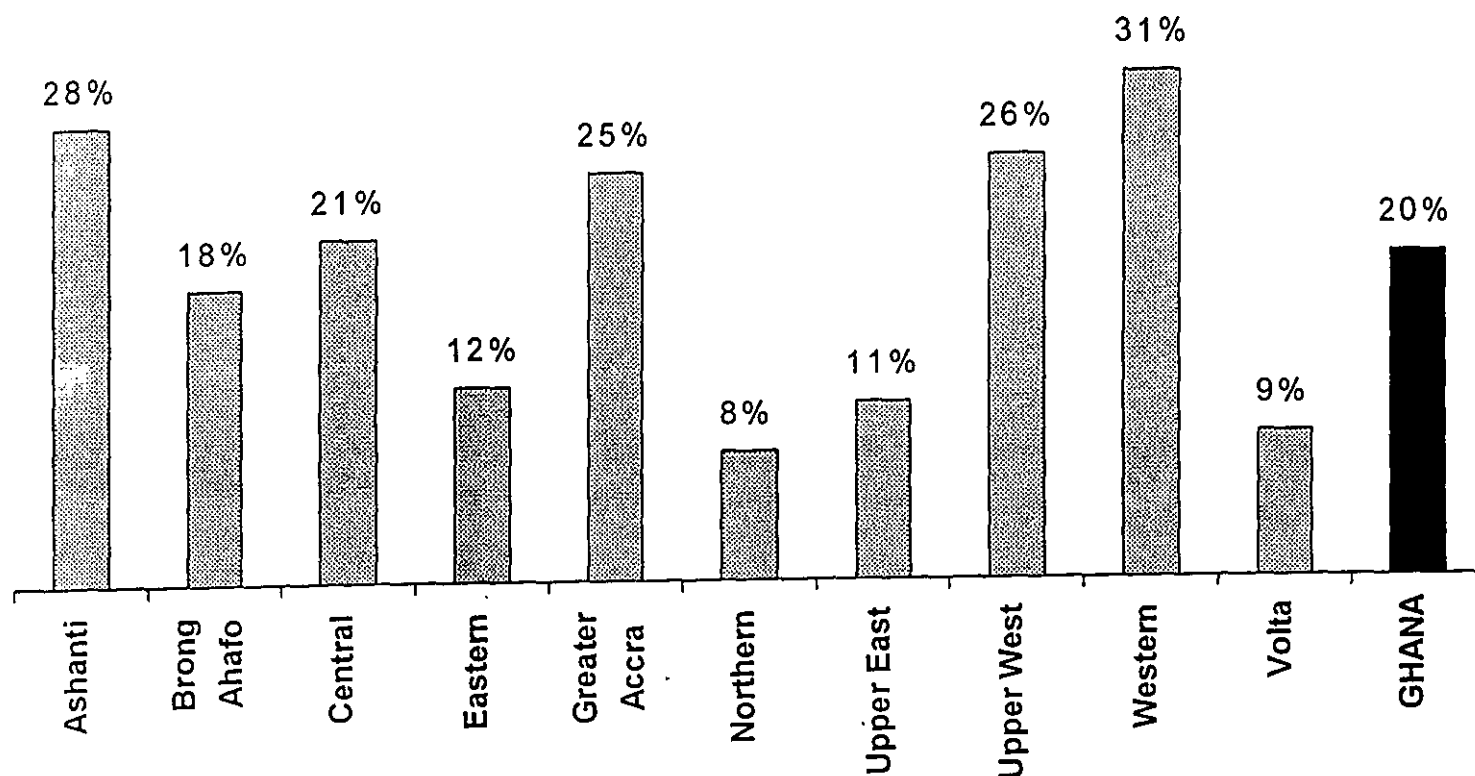
IFES Survey fielded February 26 - April 16, 1997

Sample of 2300 nationally representative adults (18+); margin of error for Ghana is plus/minus 2% and plus/minus 7% for the regions

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Public Opinion in Ghana 1997
Percent Who Think Voting Gives Them "Not Very Much" or No Influence "At All" in Decision-Making, by Region



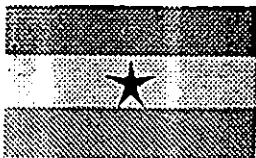
"How much influence in decision-making in Ghana do you think voting gives people like you?"



IFES Survey fielded February 26 - April 16, 1997

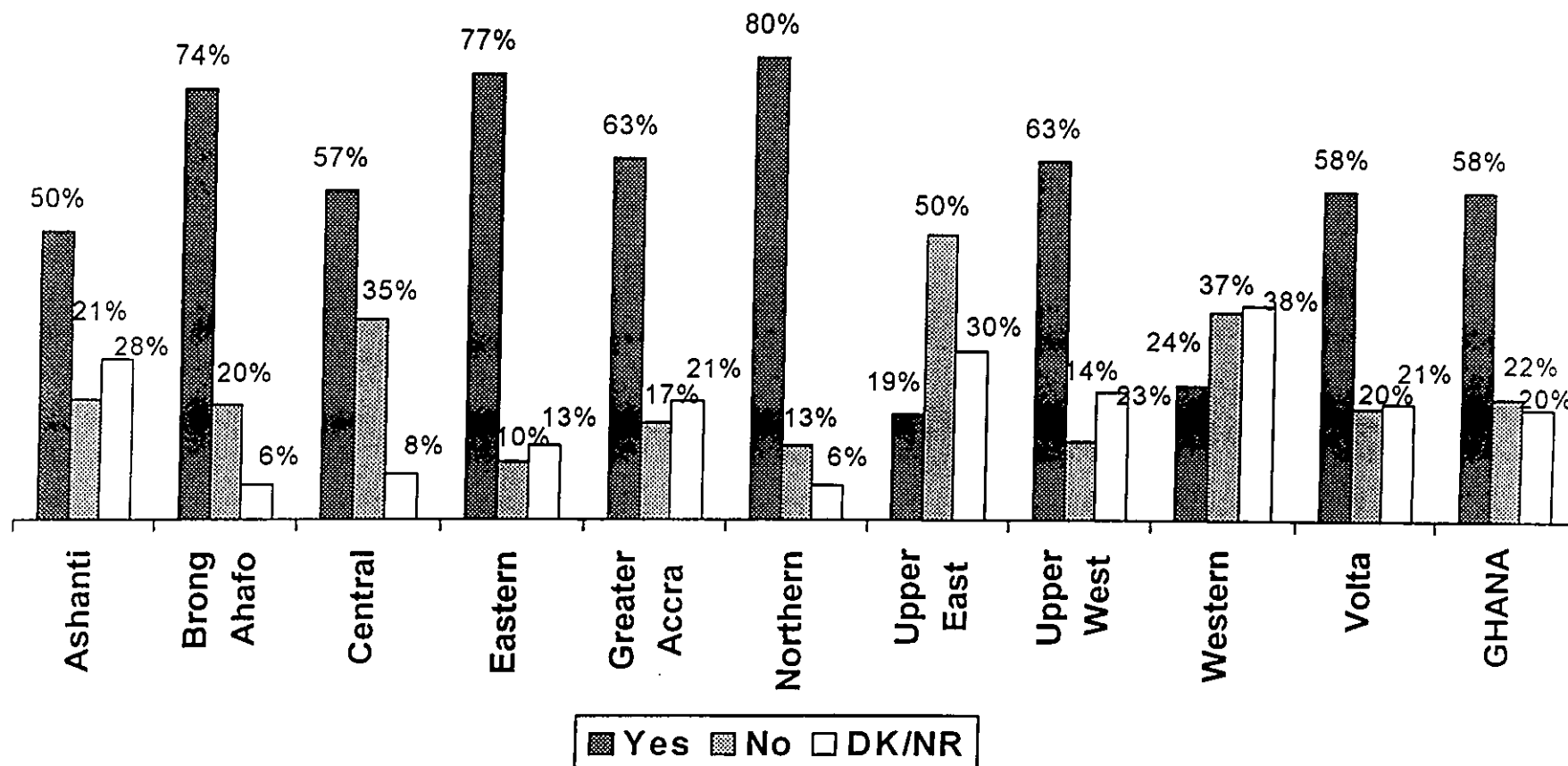
Sample of 2300 nationally representative adults (18+); margin of error for Ghana is plus/minus 2% and plus/minus 7% for the regions

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Public Opinion in Ghana 1997

"Can Citizens of Ghana Form Organizations Without Participation of the Government?"



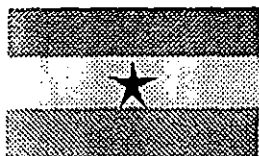
"In your opinion can citizens of Ghana form organizations without the participation of the government?"



IFES Survey fielded February 26 - April 16, 1997

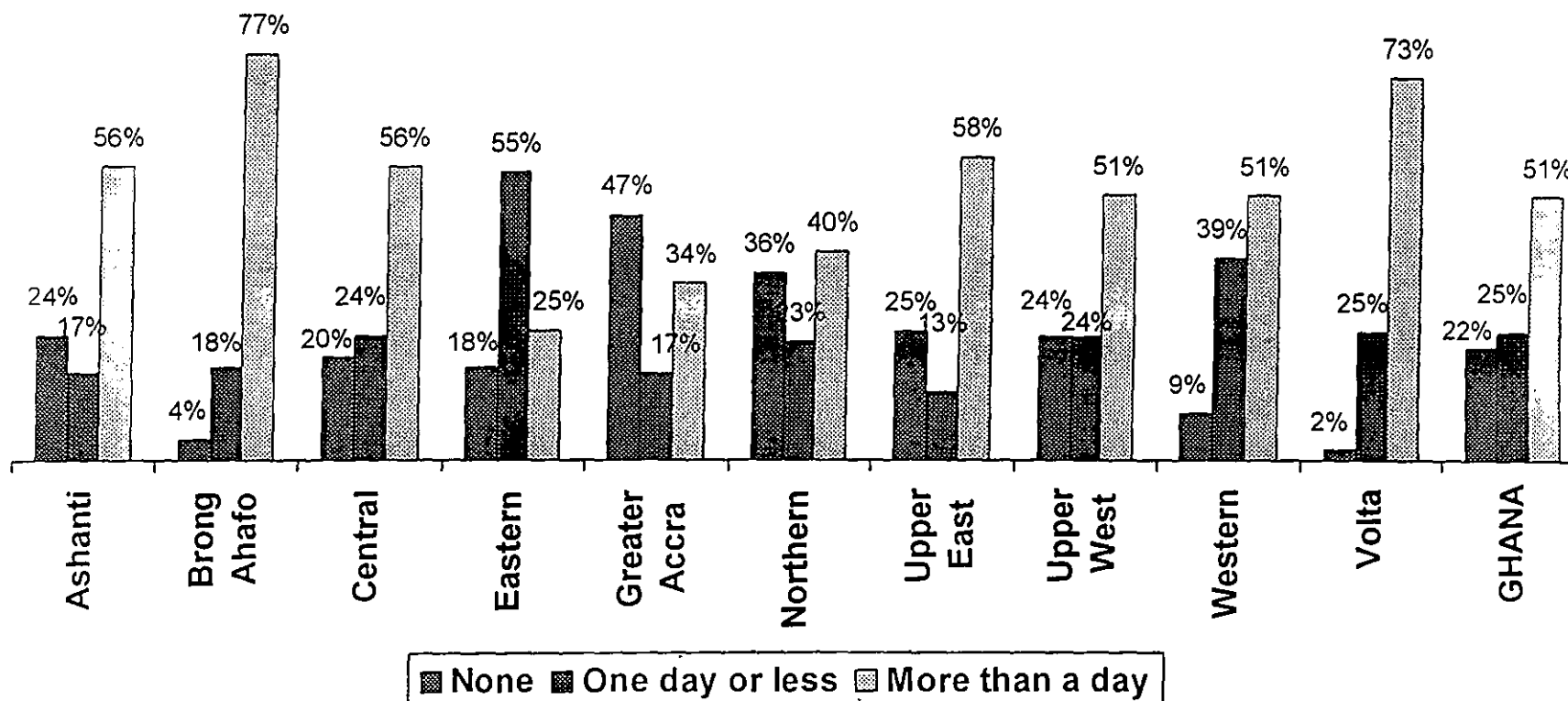
Sample of 2300 nationally representative adults (18+); margin of error for Ghana is plus/minus 2% and plus/minus 7% for the regions

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Public Opinion in Ghana 1997

Time Spent in Past Month in Support of Community Development Activities, by Region

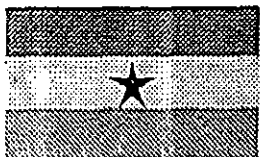


"About how much time have you spent during the past month in support of community development activities, such as cleaning or maintenance of shared facilities, construction of schools, clinics or wells?"



IFES Survey fielded February 26 - April 16, 1997

Sample of 2300 nationally representative adults (18+); margin of error for Ghana is plus/minus 2% and plus/minus 7% for the regions
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Public Opinion in Ghana 1997

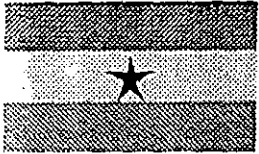
Percent Distribution for Questions about Political Parties, by Region

Region	Percent who would join a political party	Percent who would work for a political party for free	Percent who would work for a political candidate's campaign for free	Ideal number of political parties
Ashanti	64	43	43	2.5
Brong Ahafo	84	65	66	2.6
Central	68	50	52	2.2
Eastern	84	69	71	2.6
Greater Accra	54	35	32	3.0
Northern	75	62	59	2.5
Upper East	73	65	66	2.8
Upper West	76	63	65	2.4
Western	76	54	50	2.2
Volta	49	35	39	3.0
GHANA	68	51	51	2.6

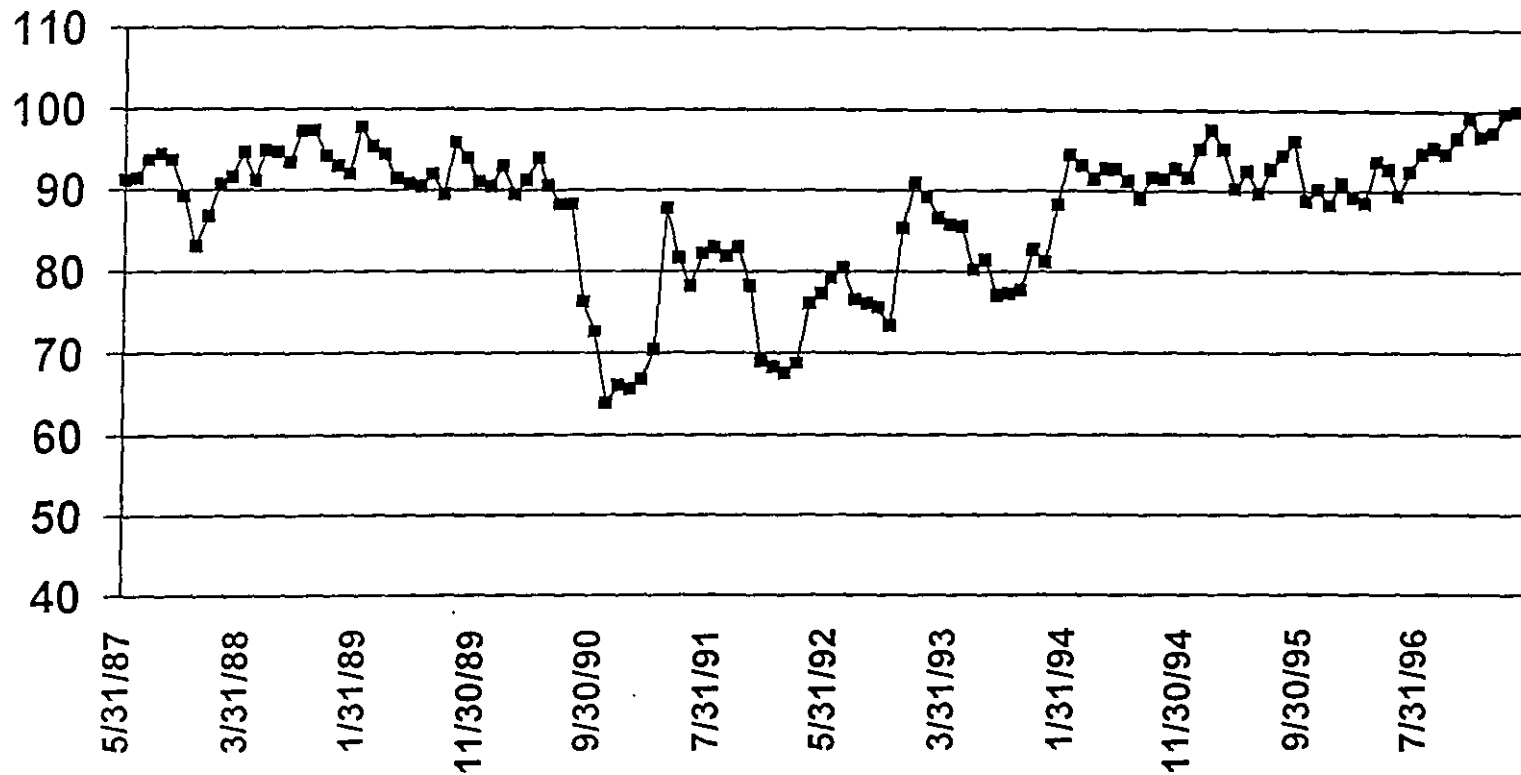


IFES Survey fielded February 26 - April 16, 1997

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Public Opinion in Ghana 1997 Consumer Sentiment in the U.S. for the Past 10 Years



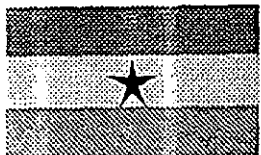
Source: University of Michigan Survey Research Center



IFES Survey fielded February 26 - April 16, 1997

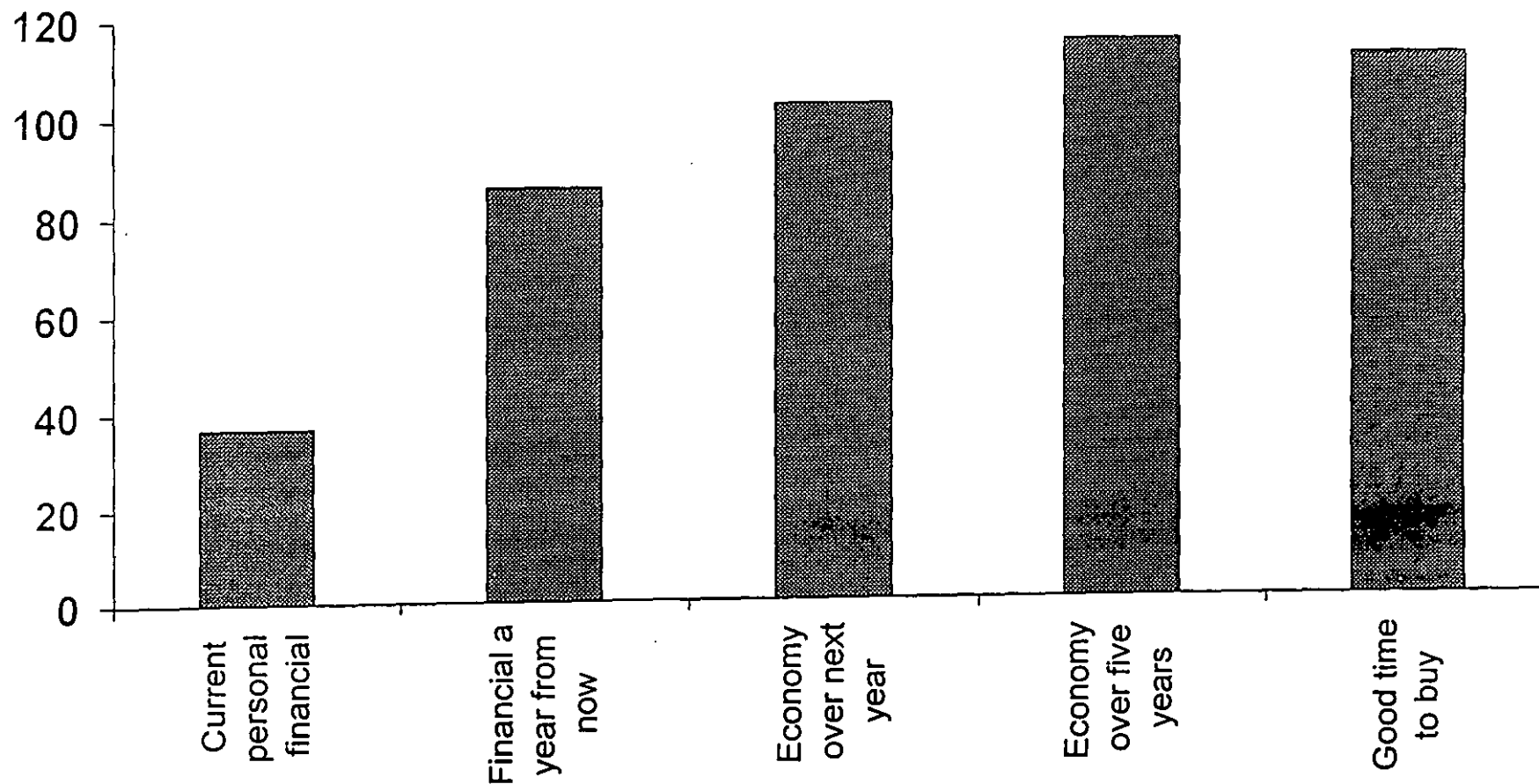
Sample of 2300 nationally representative adults (18+); margin of error for Ghana is plus/minus 2% and plus/minus 7% for the regions

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Public Opinion in Ghana 1997

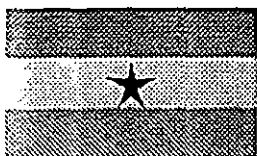
Individual Components of the Index of Consumer Sentiment for Ghana



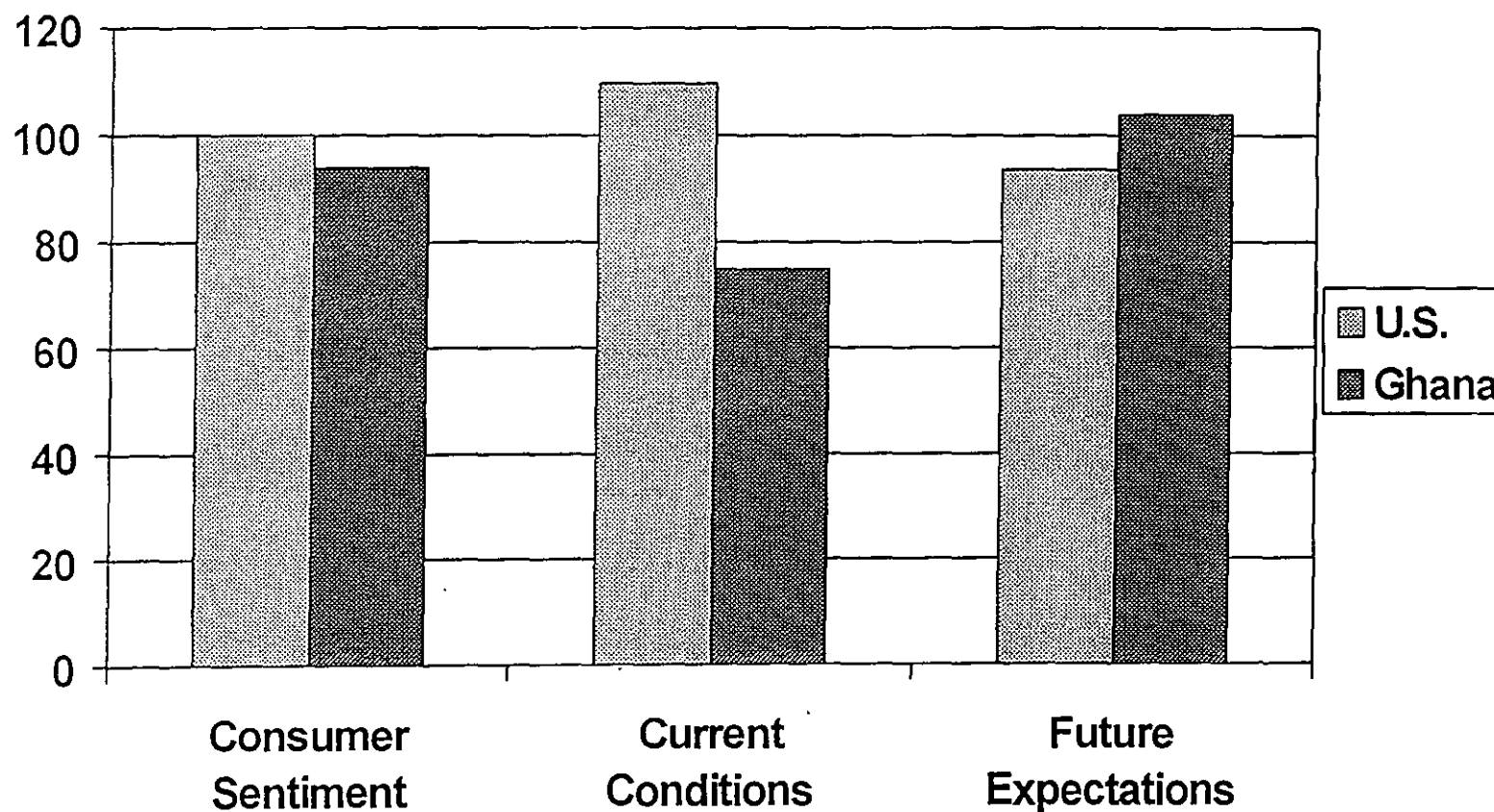
IFES Survey fielded February 26 - April 16, 1997

Sample of 2300 nationally representative adults (18+); margin of error for Ghana is plus/minus 2% and plus/minus 7% for the regions

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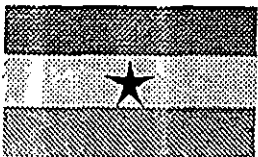
Public Opinion in Ghana 1997 Comparison of Index Values Between Ghana And The U.S.



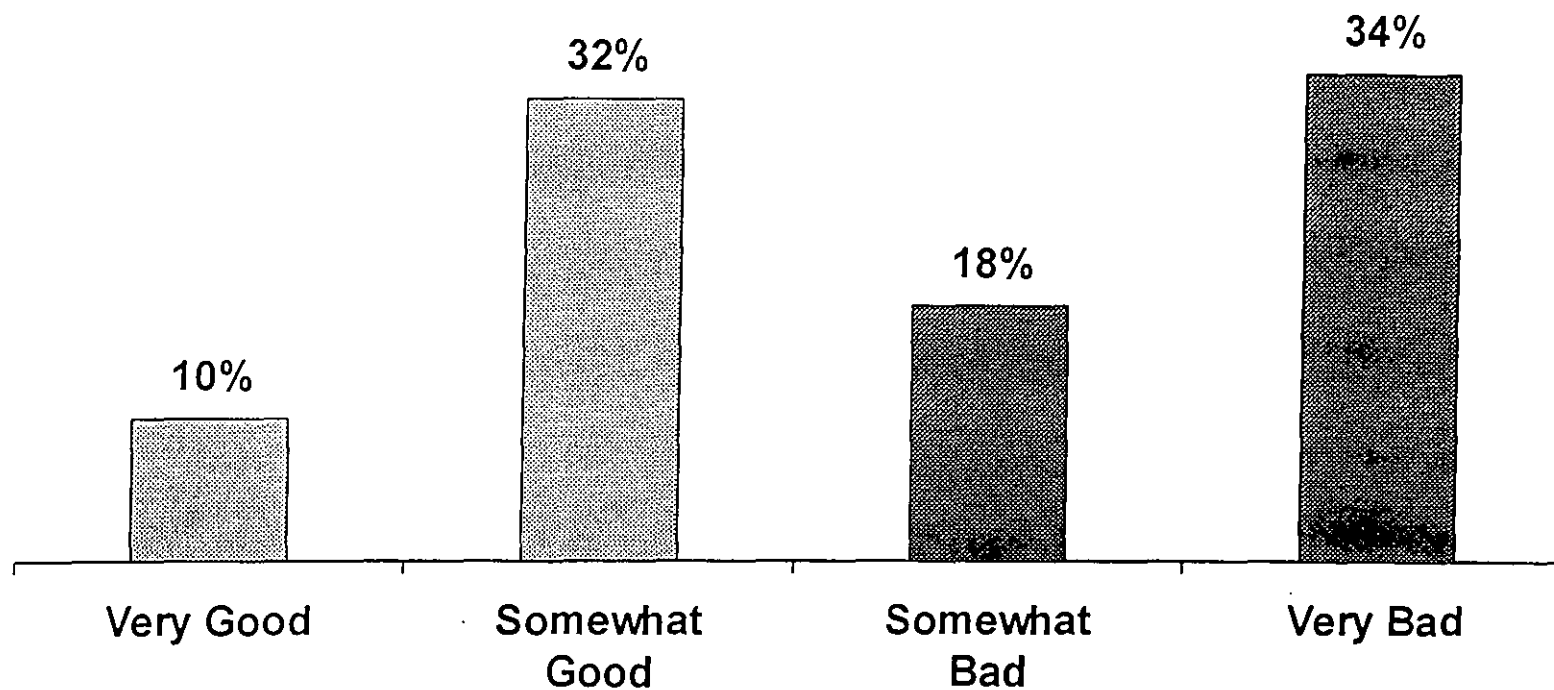
IFES Survey fielded February 26 - April 16, 1997

Sample of 2300 nationally representative adults (18+); margin of error for Ghana is plus/minus 2% and plus/minus 7% for the regions

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Public Opinion in Ghana 1997 Current Economic Conditions

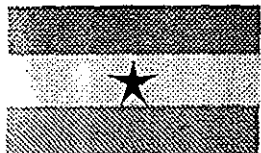


"How would you describe economic conditions in Ghana now: very good, somewhat good, somewhat bad, or very bad?"



IFES Survey fielded February 26 - April 16, 1997

Sample of 2300 nationally representative adults (18+); margin of error for Ghana is plus/minus 2% and plus/minus 7% for the regions
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Public Opinion in Ghana 1997

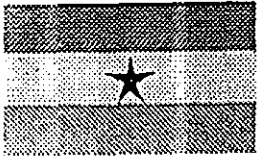
Individual Components of Consumer Index, By Region

Region	Overall Index	Current Personal	Personal in a year	Ghana over a year	Ghana over five years	Good time to buy
Ashanti	73	31	62	78	86	73
Brong Ahafo	92	57	77	89	98	92
Central	73	29	62	88	100	73
Eastern	108	56	86	135	140	108
Greater Accra	97	24	107	97	124	97
Northern	112	36	108	122	133	112
Upper East	86	27	68	104	102	86
Upper West	100	50	88	108	110	100
Western	95	29	81	95	123	95
Volta	117	47	115	134	145	117
GHANA	94	37	86	103	116	94



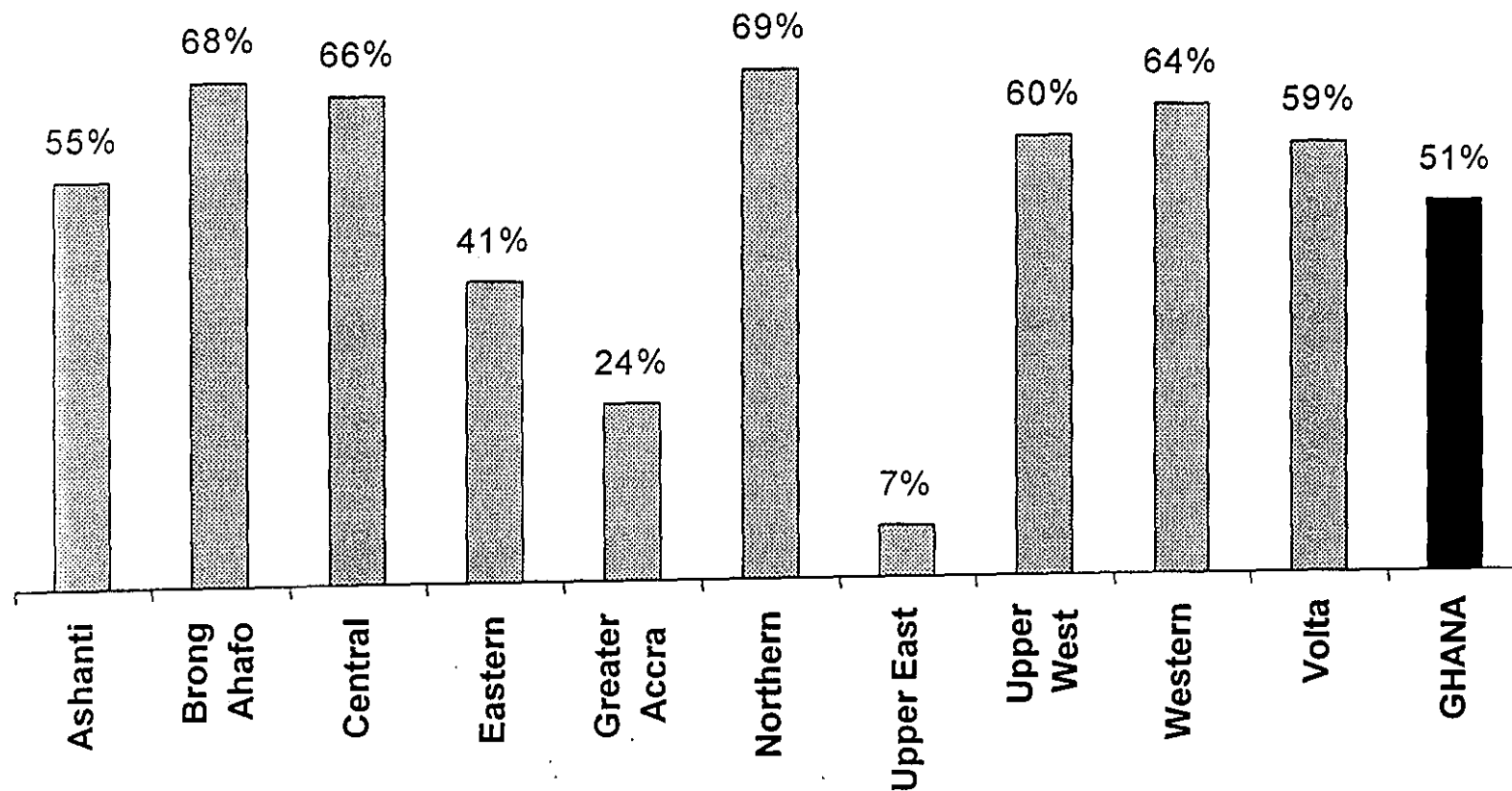
IFES Survey fielded February 26 - April 16, 1997

Sample of 2300 nationally representative adults (18+); margin of error for Ghana is plus/minus 2% and plus/minus 7% for the regions
For more information contact: IFES, 1101 15th Street, NW, Third Floor, Washington, DC 20005, Tel: (202) 828-8507, Fax: (202) 452-0804, E-mail: opinion@ifes.org



Public Opinion in Ghana 1997

Percent Who Own A Business Or Farm, by Region

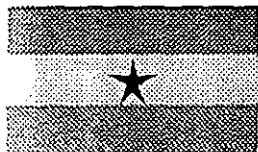


"Do you own a business or a farm?"



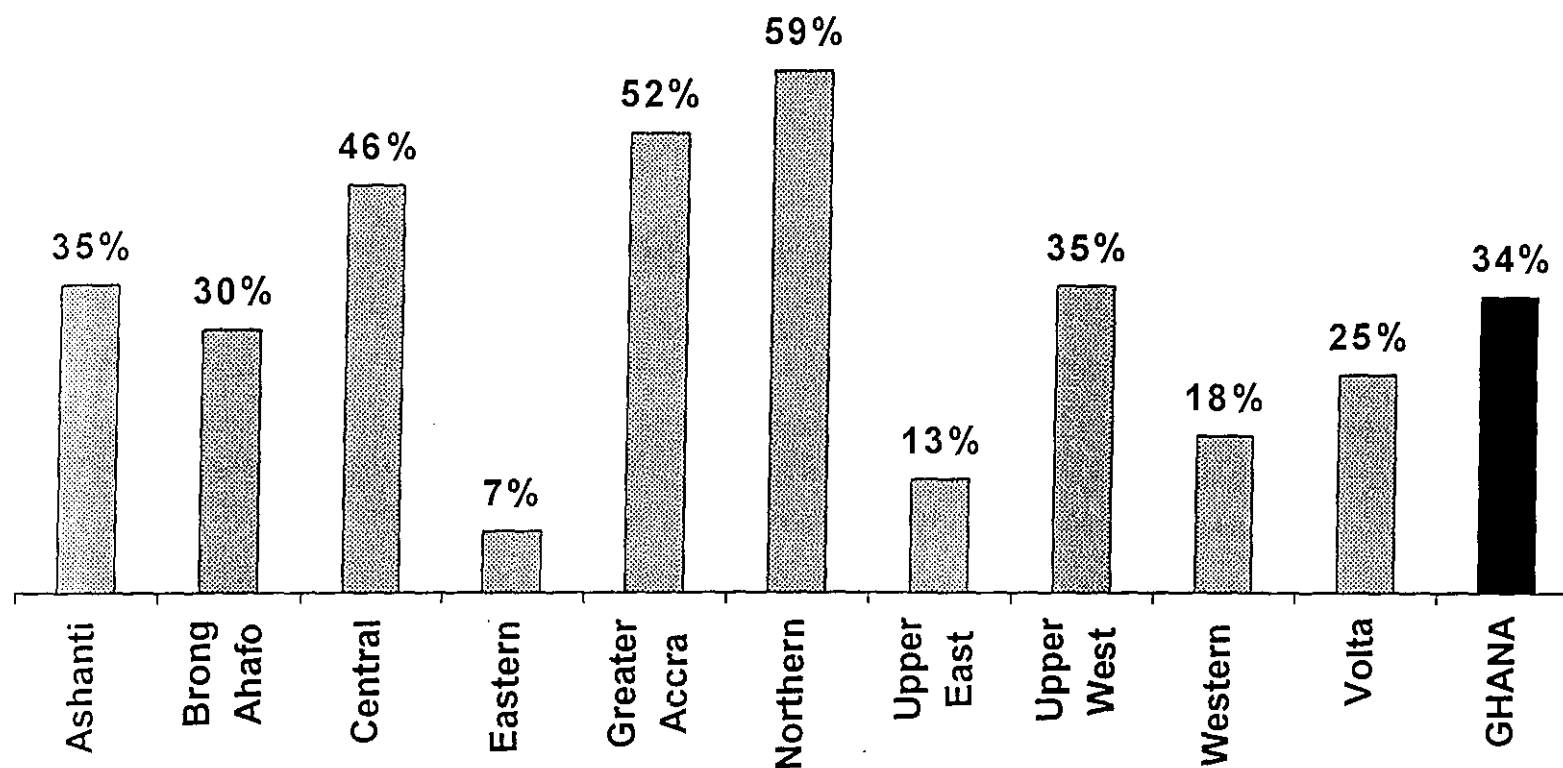
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Public Opinion in Ghana 1997

Percent Whose Business Sales are Worse Than a Year Ago, by Region



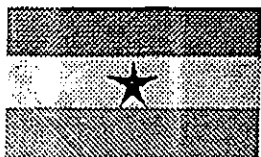
"Do you think that your sales this past year have been better, the same, or worse than they were over the previous year?"



IFES Survey fielded February 26 - April 16, 1997

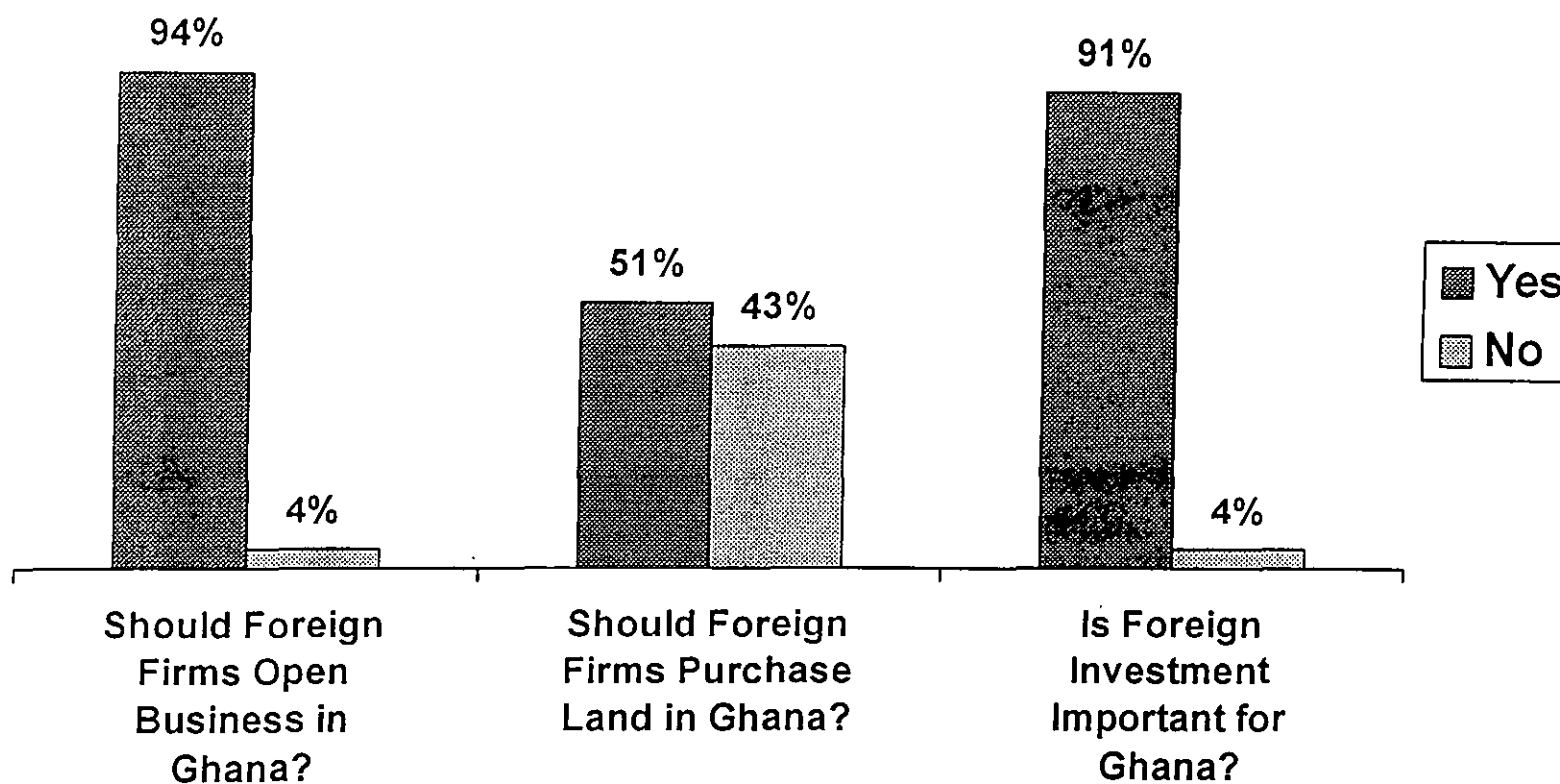
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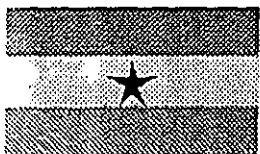
Public Opinion in Ghana 1997

Attitudes toward Foreign Investment



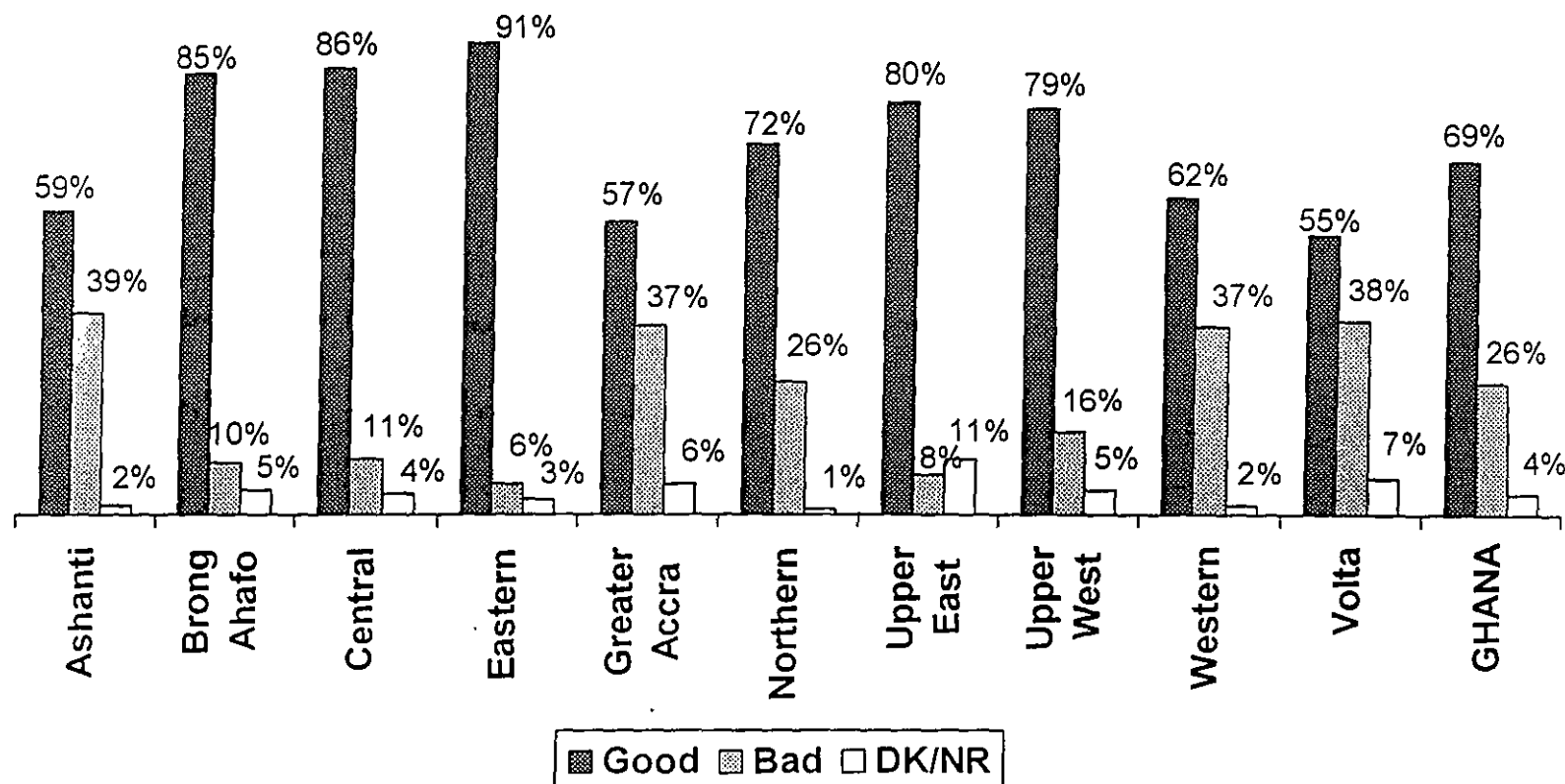
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Public Opinion in Ghana 1997

Opinion on Ethnic Relations, by Region



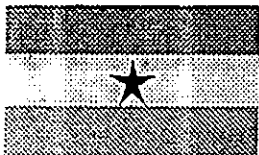
"How would you describe current relations among tribes in Ghana: very good, somewhat good, somewhat bad, or very bad?"



IFES Survey fielded February 26 - April 16, 1997

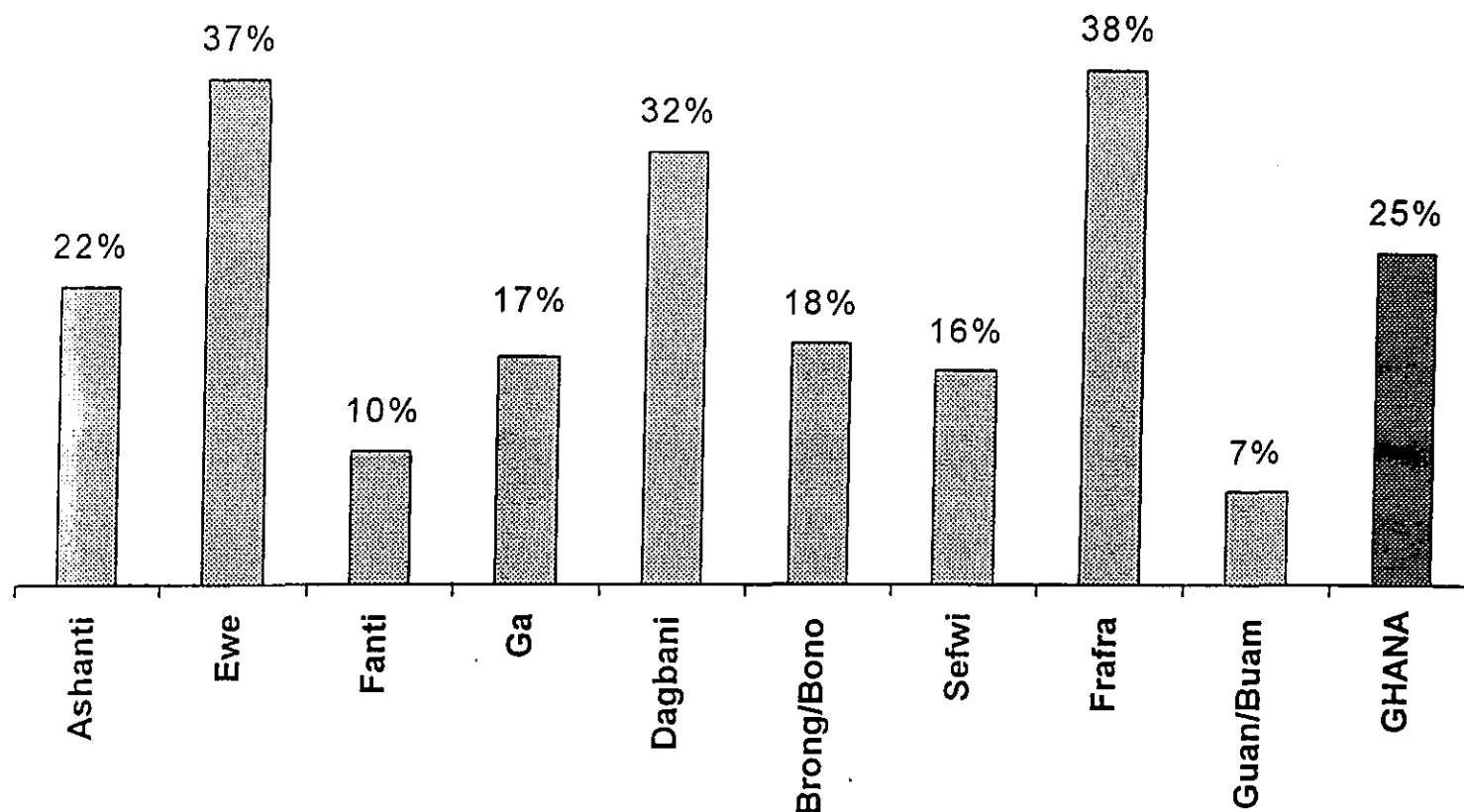
Sample of 2300 nationally representative adults (18+); margin of error for Ghana is plus/minus 2% and plus/minus 7% for the regions

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Public Opinion in Ghana 1997

Percent of Ethnic Group Who Have Experienced Discrimination Based on Their Ethnic Background

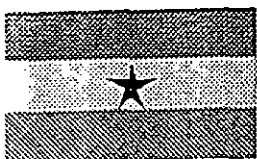


"Have you ever felt that you were discriminated against because of your tribal background?"



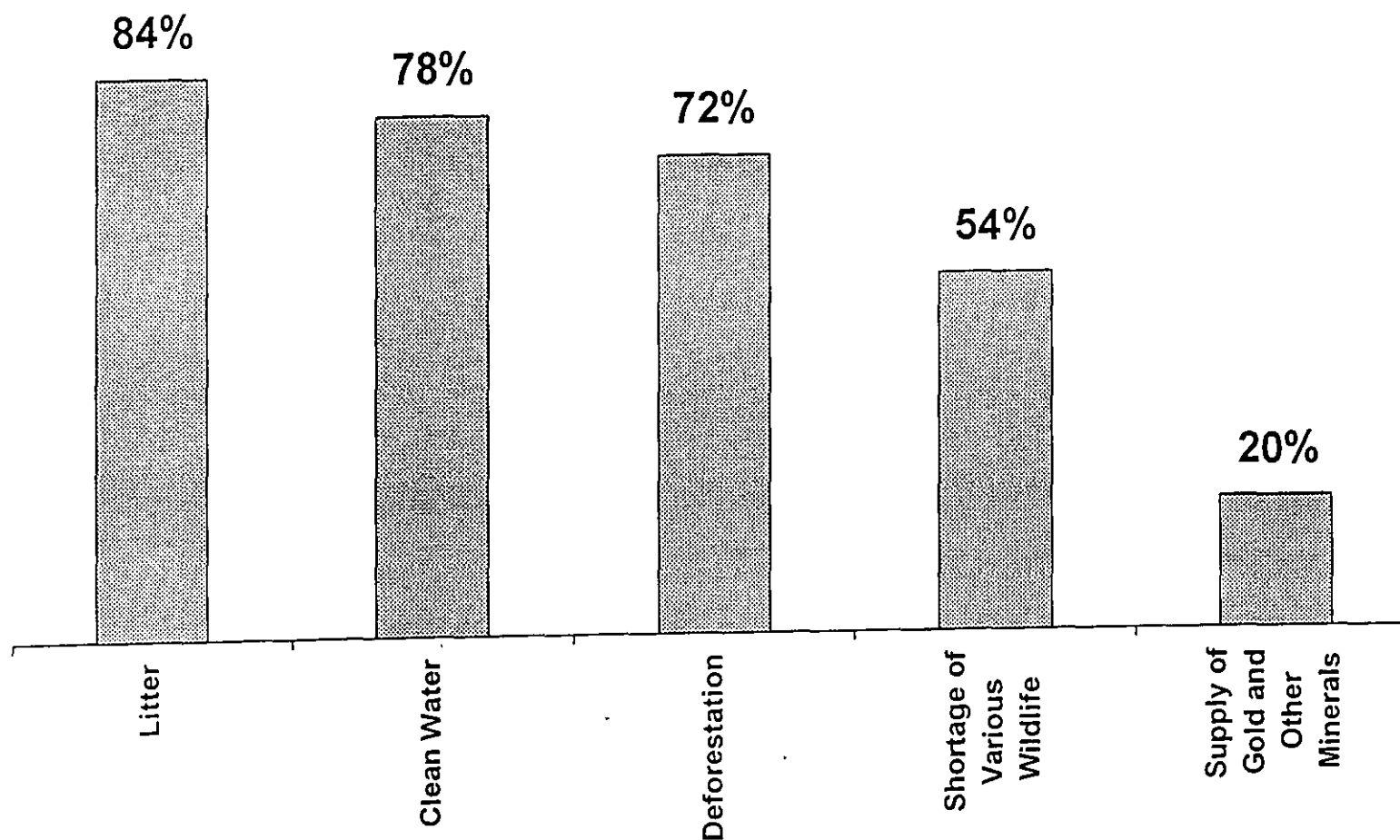
IFES Survey fielded February 26 - April 16, 1997

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Public Opinion in Ghana 1997

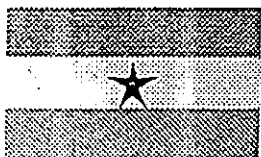
Percent Who Identify These Areas as Problems



IFES Survey fielded February 26 - April 16, 1997

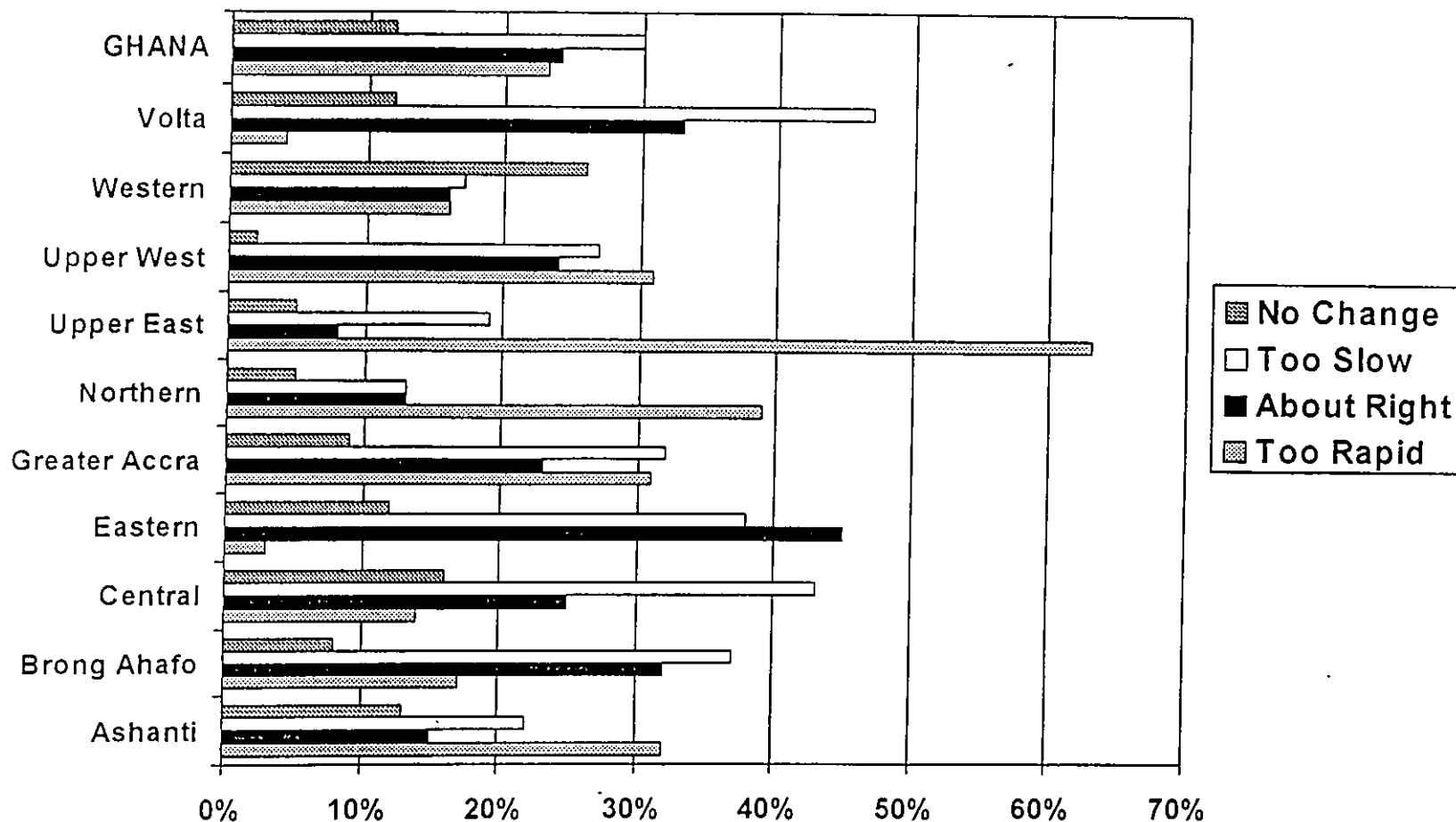
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Public Opinion in Ghana 1997

Pace of Change in Ghana, By Region



"Do you feel that the changes in Ghana are too rapid, too slow, about the correct pace or that nothing at all is changing in Ghana?"



IFES Survey fielded February 26 - April 16, 1997

Sample of 2300 nationally representative adults (18+); margin of error for Ghana is plus/minus 2% and plus/minus 7% for the regions

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