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Ghana 2020 Pre-Election Survey

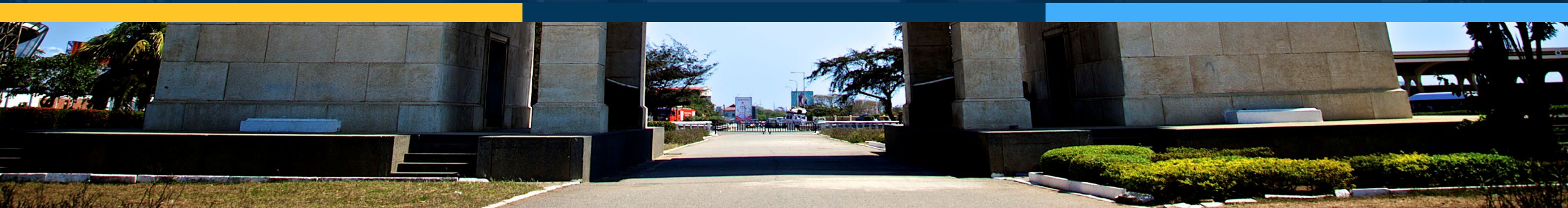
Report of the Study of 36 Competitive Constituencies

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Outline

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- Conclusions and implications for the 2020 elections

Project background

Project background

- This flagship study is to gauge the perception of Ghanaian electorates on core issues that are likely to influence their voter choices in the upcoming 7 December 2020 presidential election.
- Key questions we ask are:
 1. Performance rating of the government on addressing education, managing the economy, creating jobs, reducing corruption, improving security, providing infrastructure, and handling of the COVID-19 situation in Ghana.
 2. Which presidential candidate can better address the issues in (1).
 3. Favourability rating of incumbent President Nana Akufo-Addo of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and main opposition leader John Dramani Mahama of the National Democratic Congress (NDC).
 4. Influence of the selection of the running mate.
 5. Reason for voting for a chosen presidential candidate.

Methodology and selection of household respondents

The sample constituencies and sampling framework are based on a rigorous statistical framework that iRIS Research has developed internally following several iterations

| | |
|-------------------|--|
| Safe/Solid | <p>A constituency is not competitive, and one party has a clear and significant advantage: The average weighted winning margin is greater or equal to 28 percentage points.</p> |
| Likely | <p>One party has an advantage in the constituency, but an upset is possible: The average weighted winning margin is greater than 12 percentage points but less or equal to 27 percentage points.</p> |
| Lean | <p>The constituency is competitive, but one party has a slight edge: The average weighted winning margin is greater than 4 percentage points but less or equal to 12 percentage points.</p> |
| Toss-up | <p>These are the most competitive constituencies in which any of the two dominant parties have an equal chance of winning: The average weighted winning margin is less or equal to 4 percentage points. This is within the standard error of the data.</p> |

We identified 73 of such lean and toss-up constituencies, out of which we polled from 36 of them (14 toss-up, 12 lean NDC and 10 lean NPP)

| Region | Safe NDC | Safe NPP | Likely NDC | Likely NPP | Lean NDC | Lean NPP | Toss-up | Total | Σ (Lean + Toss up) | % Regional Total (Lean + Toss up) |
|---------------|-----------|-----------|------------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Ashanti | 1 | 36 | 1 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 47 | 4 | 9% |
| Ahafo | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 6 | 3 | 50% |
| Bono | 0 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 12 | 5 | 42% |
| Bono East | 2 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 11 | 4 | 36% |
| Central | 1 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 6 | 5 | 23 | 13 | 57% |
| Eastern | 3 | 12 | 2 | 10 | 2 | 4 | 0 | 33 | 6 | 18% |
| Greater Accra | 6 | 5 | 4 | 8 | 6 | 2 | 3 | 34 | 11 | 32% |
| North East | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 6 | 2 | 33% |
| Northern | 7 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 18 | 8 | 44% |
| Oti | 7 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 0% |
| Savannah | 3 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 1 | 14% |
| Upper East | 8 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 15 | 3 | 20% |
| Upper West | 7 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 11 | 3 | 27% |
| Volta | 18 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 18 | 0 | 0% |
| Western | 0 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 3 | 1 | 17 | 9 | 53% |
| Western North | 5 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 9 | 1 | 11% |
| Total | 70 | 66 | 32 | 34 | 29 | 30 | 14 | 275 | 73 | 27% |

List of sampled toss-up constituencies

| Region | District | Constituency | Town/Village/Capital/Electoral Areas | iRIS Research Rating |
|---------------|----------------------------|------------------|---|----------------------|
| Bono | Banda | Banda | Banda Ahenkro | Toss-up |
| Bono | Tain | Tain | Nsawkaw | Toss-up |
| Bono East | Nkoranza South Municipal | Nkoranza South | Nkoranza | Toss-up |
| Central | Agona East | Agona East | Nsaba | Toss-up |
| Central | Awutu Senya West | Awutu-Senya West | Awutu Breku | Toss-up |
| Central | Cape Coast Metro | Cape Coast North | Cape Coast | Toss-up |
| Central | Effutu Municipal | Effutu | Winneba | Toss-up |
| Central | Gomoa East | Gomoa East | Potsin | Toss-up |
| Greater Accra | Ablekuma Central Municipal | Ablekuma Central | Abossey Okai, Nmenmeete, Mataheko, Gbortsui, Mambrouk, Adwenbu, Laterbiokorshie | Toss-up |
| Greater Accra | Korle Klottey Municipal | Korle Klottey | Osu Doku, Ringway Estate, Kinkawe, Osu Alata, Asylum Down, North Adabraka, Tudu, Odorna/Sahara, Official Town | Toss-up |
| Greater Accra | Krowor Municipal | Krowor | Adogon, Baatsonaa, Martey Tsuru, Adjorman, Regimanuel Estate (East Airport), Okpoi Gonno | Toss-up |
| Northern | Gushegu Municipal | Gushegu | Gushiegu | Toss-up |
| Northern | Tolon | Tolon | Tolon | Toss-up |
| Western | Jomoro Municipal | Jomoro | Half Assini | Toss-up |

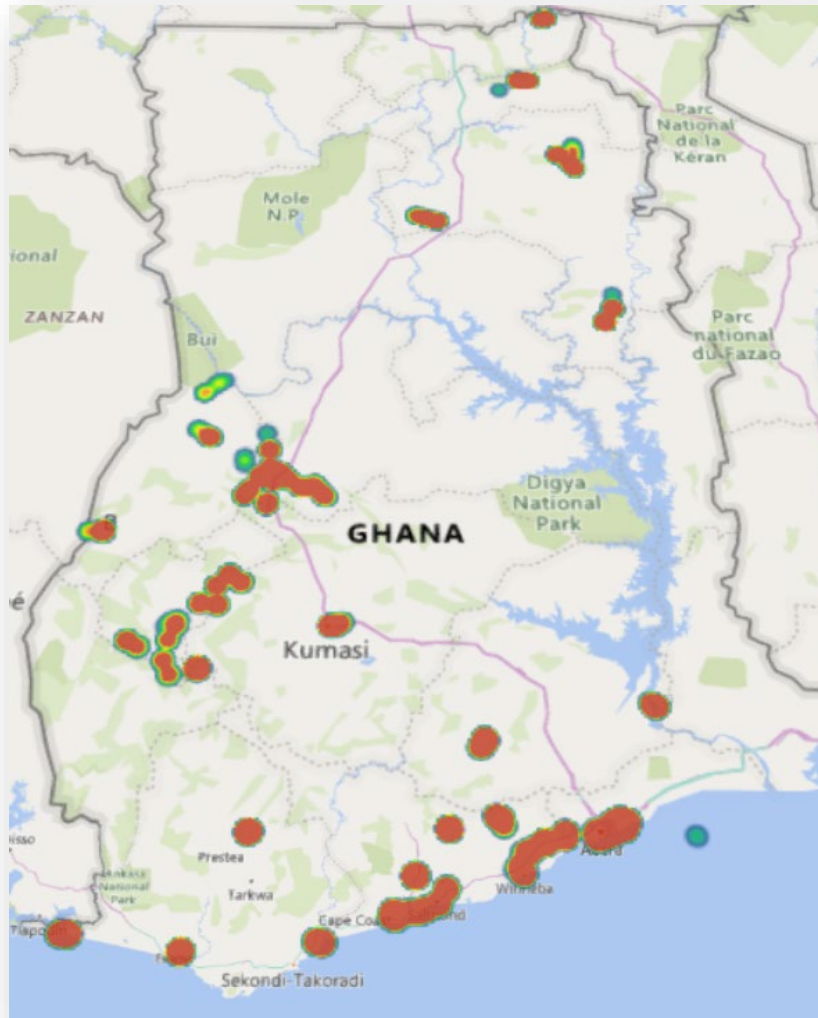
List of sampled lean NDC and lean NPP constituencies

| Region | District | Constituency | Town/Village/Capital/Electoral Areas | iRIS Research Rating |
|---------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|----------------------|
| Ashanti | Kumasi Metropolitan | Asawase | Kumasi | Lean NDC |
| Bono East | Techiman Municipal | Techiman South | Techiman, Tanoso, New Techiman, Kenten, Nusta, Mangoase, Oforikrom | Lean NDC |
| Central | Mfantsiman Municipal | Mfansteman | Saltpond/Biriwa/Anomabo/Mankessim/Yamoransa | Lean NDC |
| Eastern | Asuogyaman | Asuogyaman | Atimpoku | Lean NDC |
| Greater Accra | Accra Metropolitan | Ablekuma South | Korle Gonno, Korlebu, Chorkor, Mamprobi, New Mamprobi | Lean NDC |
| Greater Accra | La Dade-Kotopon Municipal | Dadekotopon | Labadi, Ako Adjei, Mantiase/Tse Ado, Adobetor, Labone, Cantonments, Burma Camp, East Cantonments, Airport | Lean NDC |
| Greater Accra | Ledzokuku Municipal | Ledzokuku | Akromadeokpo, Okesekor, Aborle-Bu, Sutsurunor, Agblesan, Tsuibleoo, Teshie Nungua Estates | Lean NDC |
| North Eastern | East Mamprusi Municipal | Nalerigu/Gambaga | Nalerigu | Lean NDC |
| Northern | Nanumba South | Wulensi | Wulensi | Lean NDC |
| Upper East | Bawku Municipal | Bawku Central | Bawku | Lean NDC |
| Western | Ellembelle | Ellembelle | Nkroful | Lean NDC |
| Western | Prestea/Huni Valley Municipal | Pretea-Huni Valley | Bogoso | Lean NDC |
| Ahafo | Asunafo South | Asunafo South | Kukuom, Abuom, Dantano, Asarekrom, Kokooso | Lean NPP |
| Ashanti | Ahafo Ano North | Ahafo Ano North | Tepa, Ankaasem Mamfo, Abonsuaso, Anyinasuso | Lean NPP |
| Bono | Dormaa Central Municipal | Dormaa Central | Dormaa Ahenkro | Lean NPP |
| Bono East | Techiman North | Techiman North | Tuobodom, Offuman, Aworowa, Krobo, Buoyem | Lean NPP |
| Central | Abura Asebu Kwamankese | Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese | Abura-Dunkwa | Lean NPP |
| Central | Asikuma Odoben Brakwa | Asikuma/Odoben/Brakwa | Asikuma | Lean NPP |
| Eastern | Kwaebibirem Municipal | Akwatia | Akwatia | Lean NPP |
| Greater Accra | Ga West Municipal | Bortianor-Ngleshie-Amanfro | Ngleshie Amanfrom | Lean NPP |
| Western | Shama | Shama | Shama | Lean NPP |
| Western North | Bibiani Anhwiaso Bekwai Municipal | Bibiani-Anhwiaso-Bekwai | Bibiani | Lean NPP |

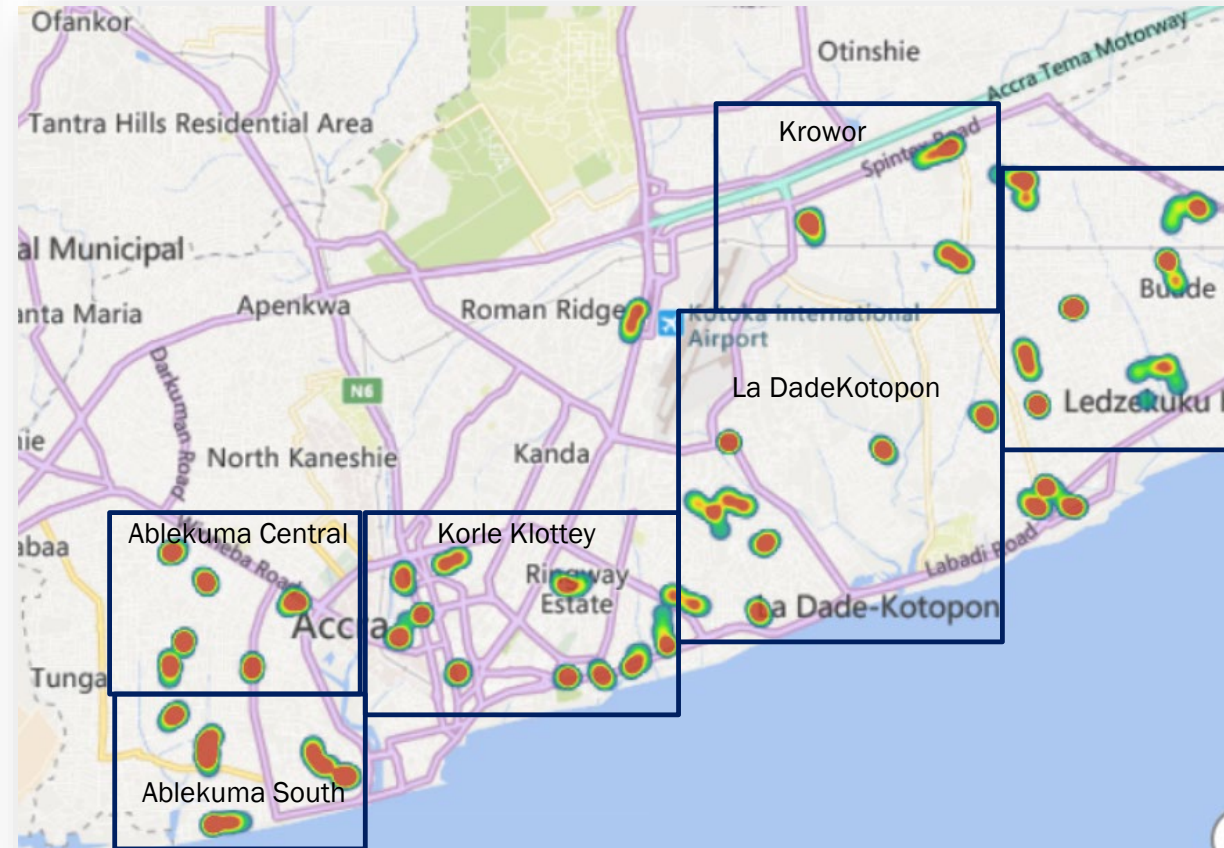
Methodology and selection of household respondents

- Face to face interviews were conducted in the selected constituencies.
- We surveyed 7 electoral areas (communities) in each constituency.
- We randomly conducted an average of 10 interviews in each of these communities. This comprised of not more than 2 respondents per household, and must be over 18 years and also registered to vote in the upcoming elections.
- Interviews were conducted in the language of the respondent's choice. These included English, Akan, Ewe, Ga, Dagbani and Dagaare, among others.
- A total of **2,640 (margin of error of ± 2 percentage points at a 95% confidence level)** potential voters were interviewed.
- Interviews were conducted between October 28 and November 12, 2020.
- We weighted the survey responses by age, gender and region, using publicly available data from the Electoral Commission's 2020 voters register.

Heat maps of sampled respondents in the 36 constituencies based on GPS coordinates – ‘30,000 ft’ view and a more granular ‘2000 ft’ view



All constituencies

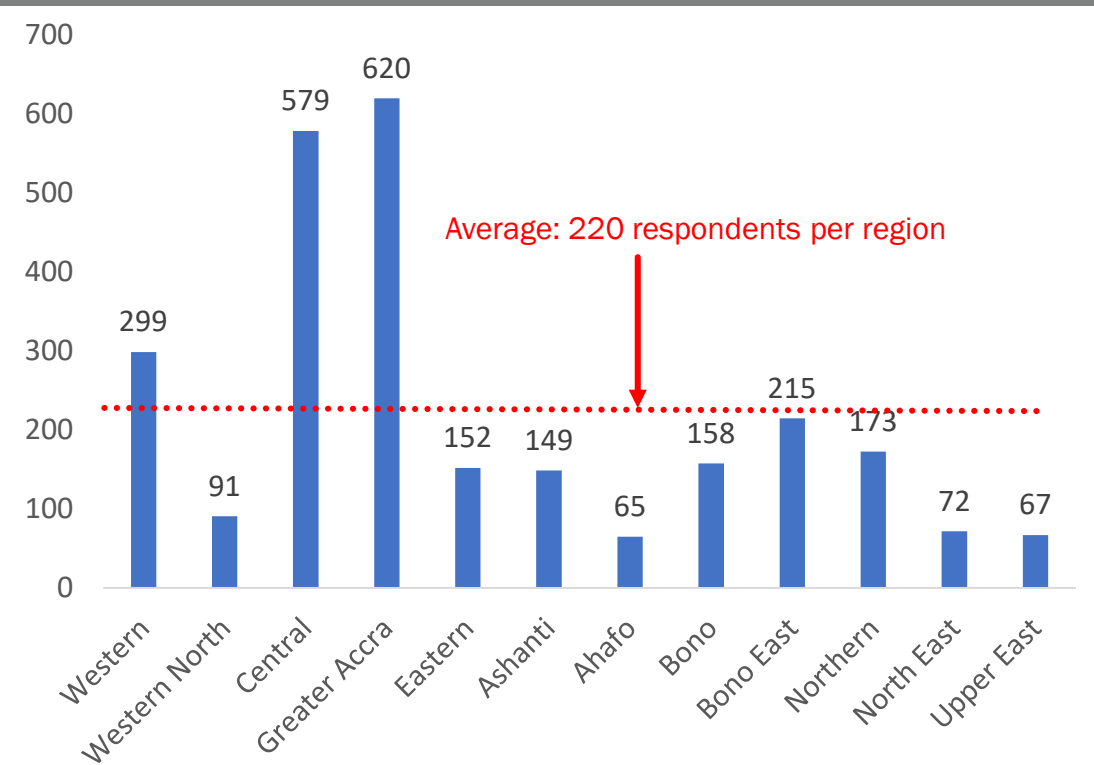


Greater Accra

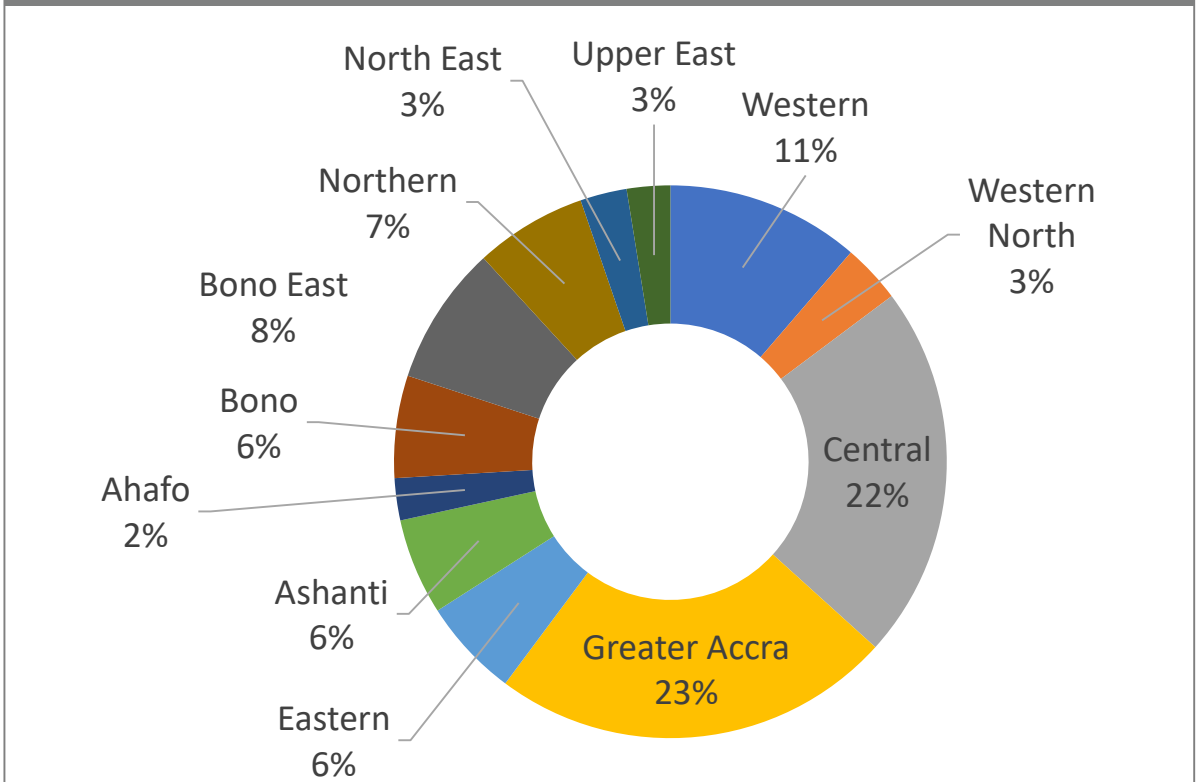
Descriptive findings (summary statistics) of the respondents

An average of 220 respondents per region were sampled with the highest number being in Central, Greater Accra and Western Regions, reflecting the highest number of toss-ups and lean constituencies in the sample

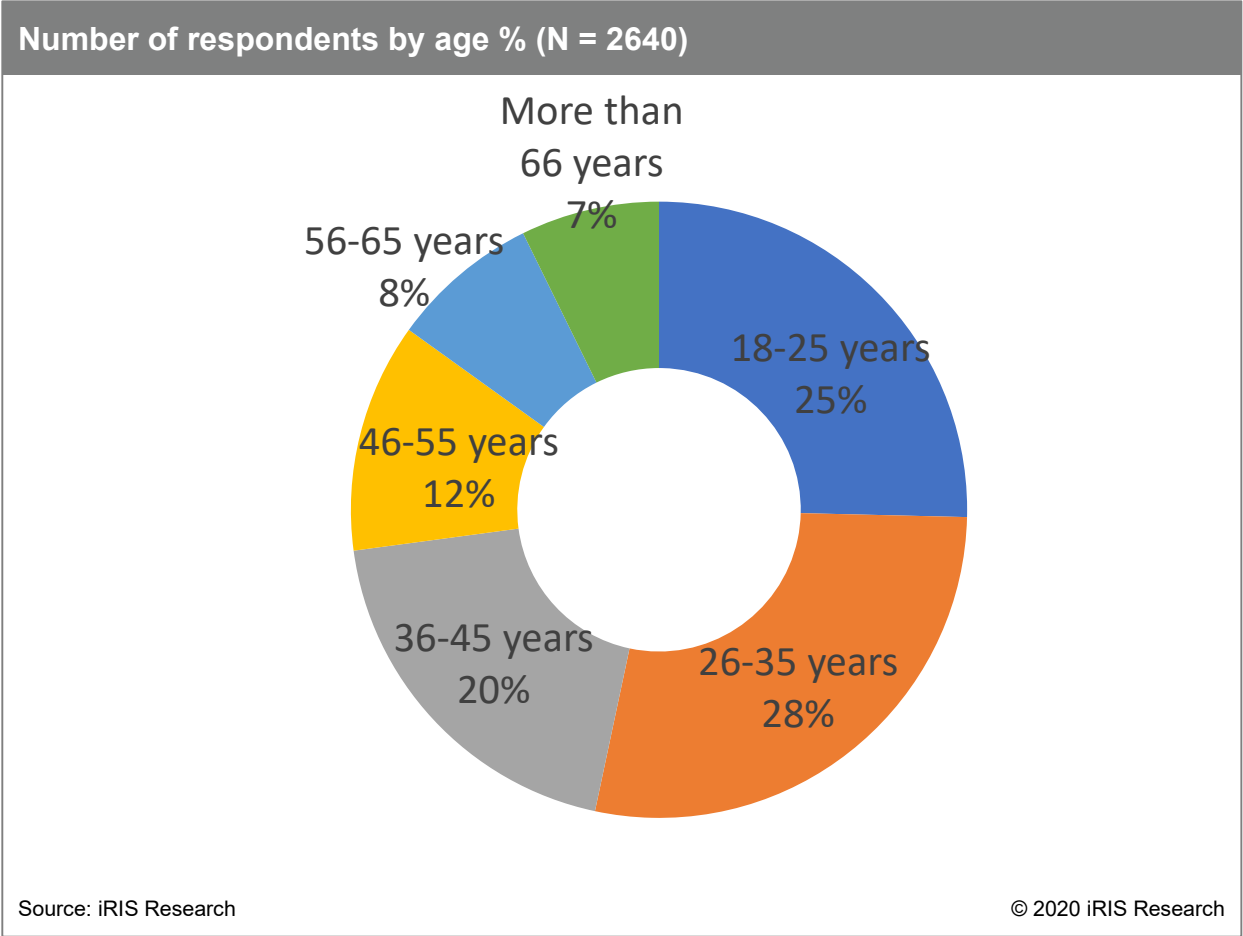
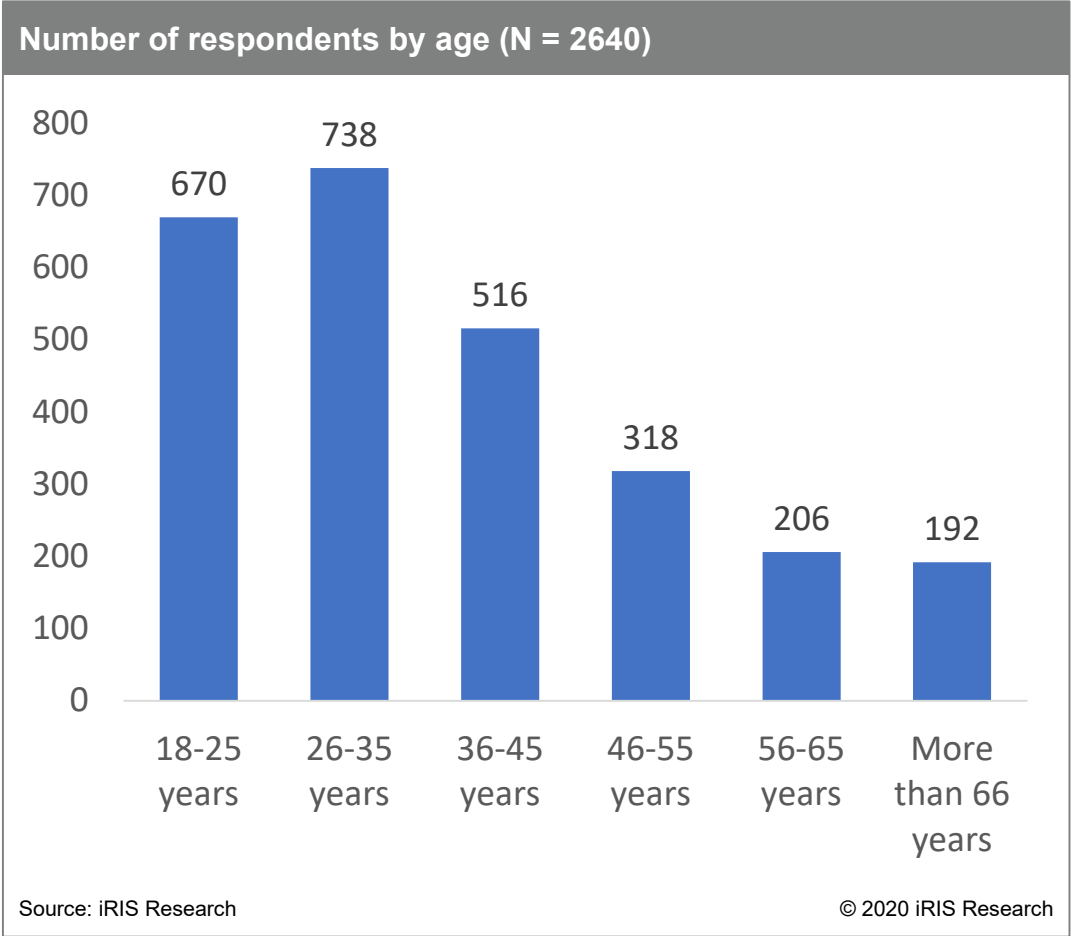
Number of respondents by region (N = 2640)



Number of respondents by region % (N = 2640)

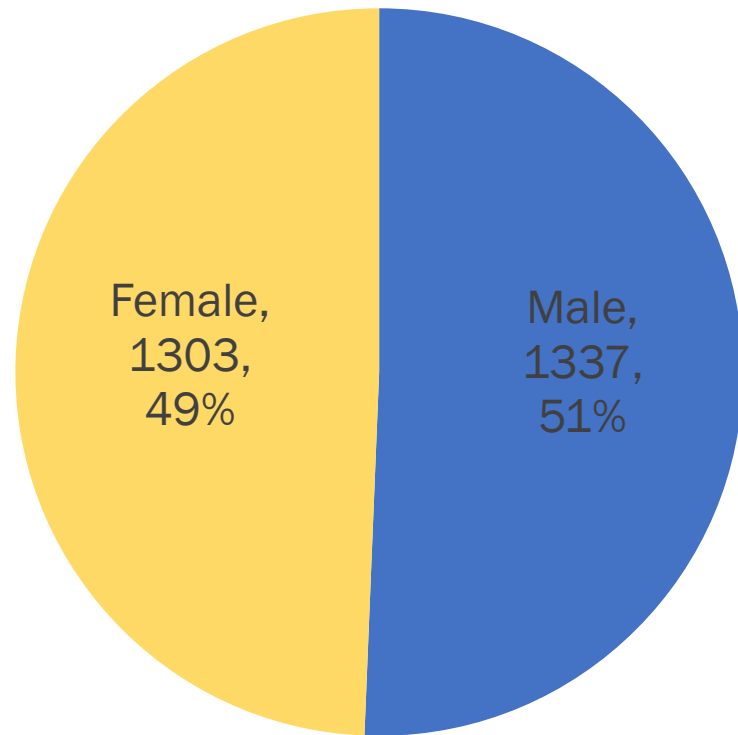


The age profile of the respondents shows a combined 53.4% between 18-35 years; this is consistent with the national level population profiles published by the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS)



The sample comprised males (51%) and females (49%) in terms of gender; also, most of the respondents (38%) had at least a JSS/JHS or Middle School Leaving Certificate

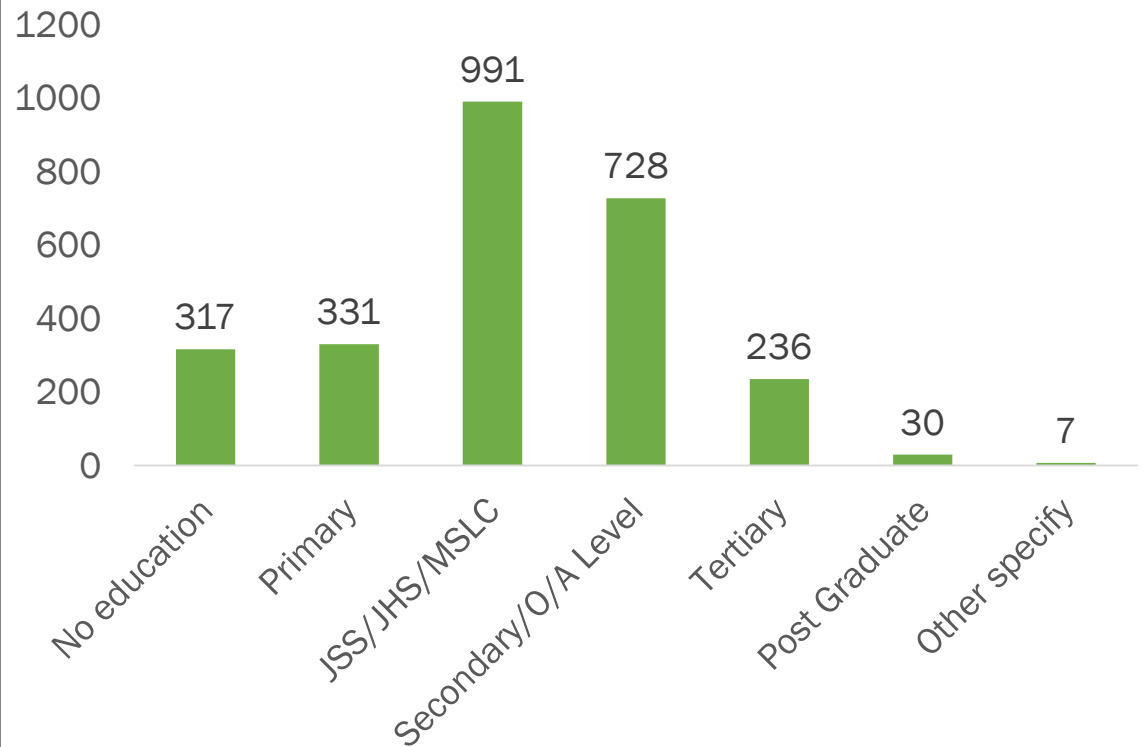
Number of respondents by gender (N = 2640)



Source: iRIS Research

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Number of respondents by education (N = 2640)



Source: iRIS Research

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Findings 1: Assessment of the performance of government and trust in handling key issues

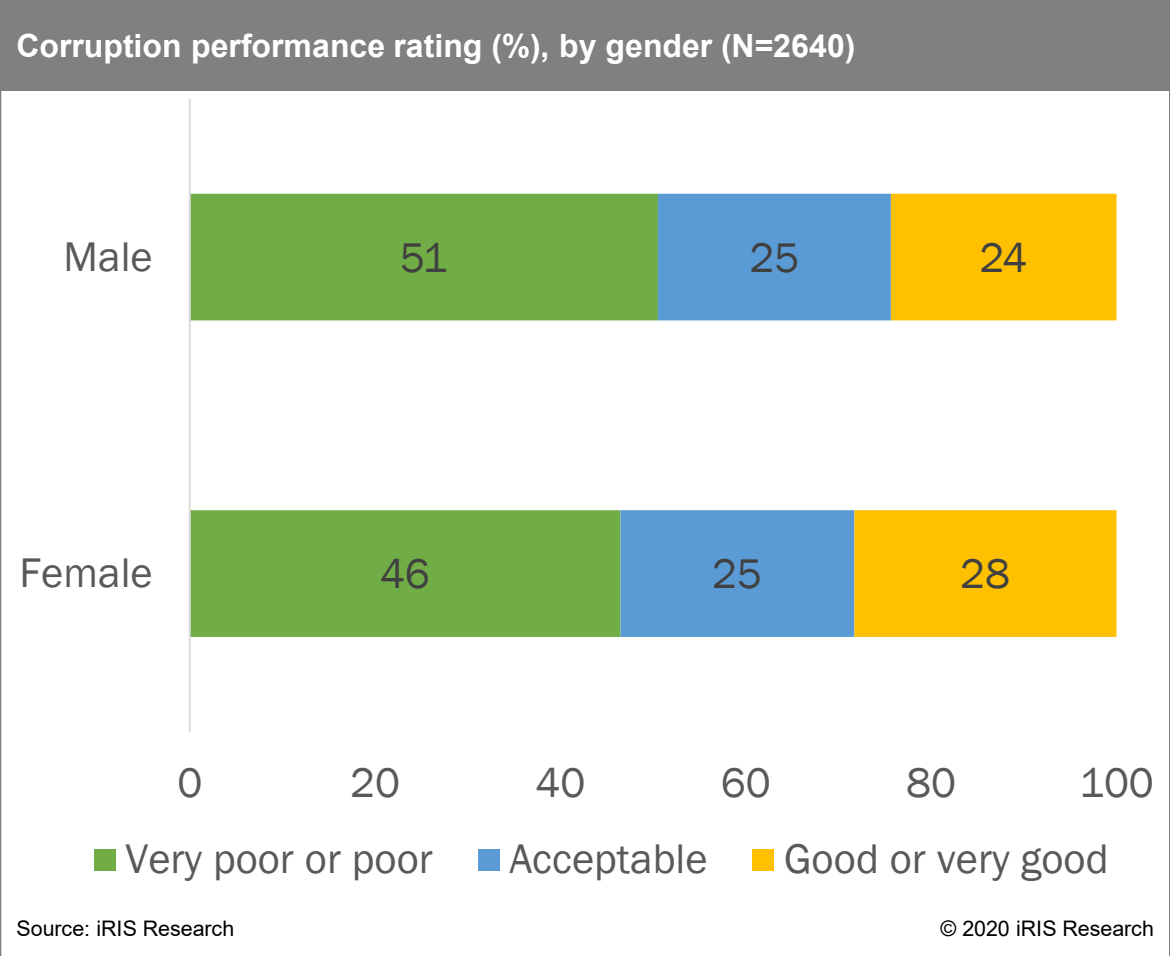
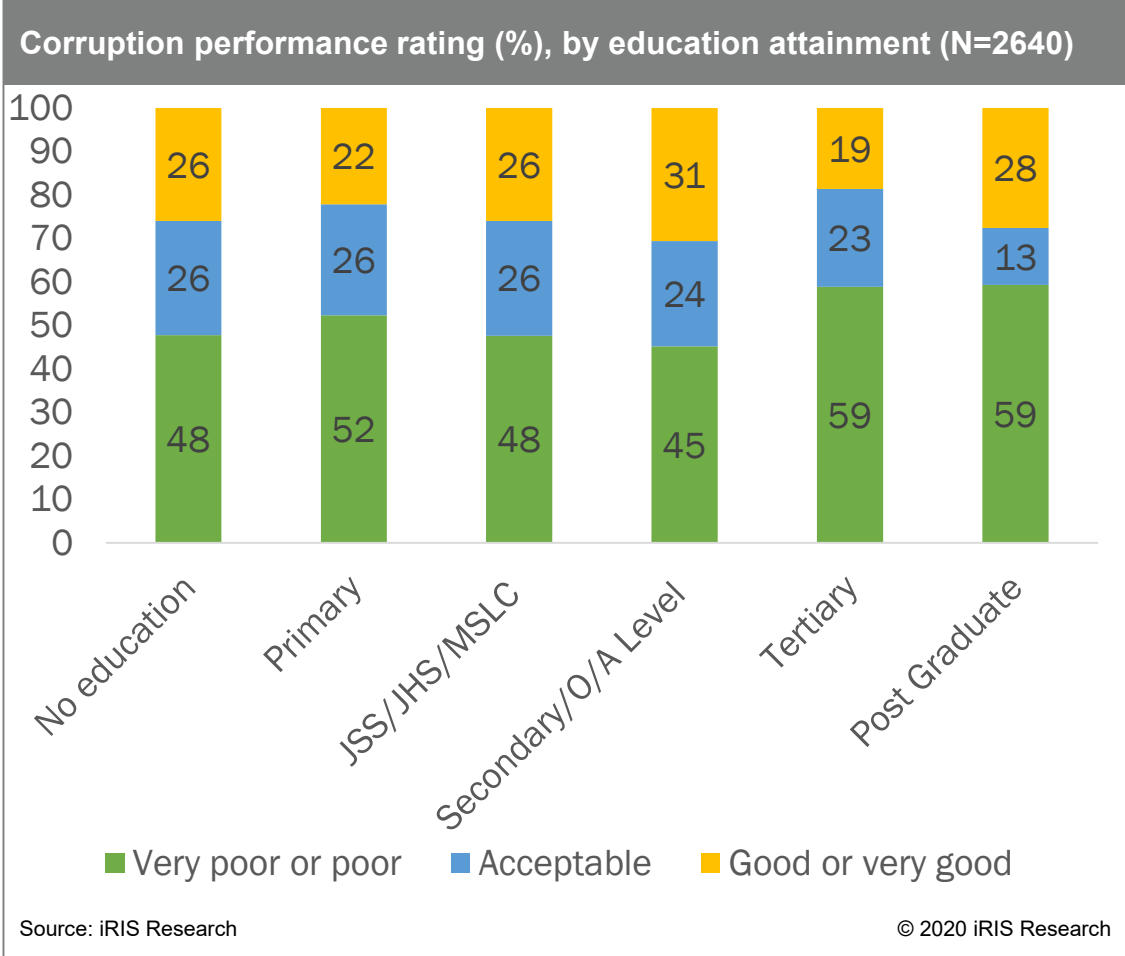
The incumbent government scores very high marks (more than 60% good and very good) in education and the management of COVID-19 pandemic, while scoring relatively low on the economy, security and addressing corruption

| Government performance rating (N = 2640 respondents) | Education | Economy | Jobs | Corruption | Security | Infrastructure | COVID-19 |
|---|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Very Poor | 5.07% | 10.8% | 6.27% | 15.13% | 13.05% | 9.78% | 2.45% |
| Poor | 13.13% | 32.1% | 30.22% | 33.43% | 32.50% | 28.05% | 7.31% |
| Acceptable | 17.90% | 24.8% | 25.13% | 25.20% | 20.95% | 25.97% | 13.49% |
| Good | 34.67% | 21.5% | 23.82% | 18.25% | 24.06% | 24.67% | 33.40% |
| Very Good | 29.23% | 10.8% | 14.56% | 7.99% | 9.44% | 11.53% | 43.35% |
| Total | 100.00% | 100.00% | 100.00% | 100.00% | 100.00% | 100.00% | 100.00% |
| Sum of good or very good | 63.90% | 32.28% | 38.38% | 26.24% | 33.50% | 36.20% | 76.75% |
| Acceptable | 17.90% | 24.83% | 25.13% | 25.20% | 20.95% | 25.97% | 13.49% |
| Sum of poor or very poor | 18.20% | 42.89% | 36.49% | 48.56% | 45.55% | 37.83% | 9.76% |

Note: Responses are statistically weighted; yellow highlight shows major difference and blue highlight indicates no major difference – that is, a ‘wash’.

Respondents were asked: How do you rate the performance of the government on education, economy, jobs, corruption, security, infrastructure and COVID-19 management?

Respondents with tertiary education or higher, rated government’s performance on corruption as poor or very poor relative to those with secondary education and below. Men are also more likely to rate corruption performance as poor or very poor relative to women.



Corruption awareness has increased in recent years despite not featuring as a top three important problem. Unemployment, education and infrastructure remain the topmost concern for the Ghanaian voter

| Year | Most Important Problems – 1 st Choice | | |
|------|--|----------------|-----------|
| | Problem 1 | Problem 2 | Problem 3 |
| 2002 | Unemployment | Poverty | Economy |
| 2005 | Unemployment | Education | Economy |
| 2008 | Unemployment | Poverty | Economy |
| 2012 | Unemployment | Education | Health |
| 2014 | Economy | Unemployment | Education |
| 2017 | Unemployment | Infrastructure | Education |
| 2019 | Infrastructure | Unemployment | Education |

Source: Afrobarometer Survey, R2 to R8. Respondents were asked “In your opinion, what are the most important problems facing this country that government should address?”

| Year | Corruption Ranking - Afrobarometer | Corruption Ranking - NCCE |
|------|------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 2002 | 16/26 | - |
| 2004 | - | 9/12 |
| 2005 | 16/29 | - |
| 2008 | 14/32 | 8/10 |
| 2012 | 12/33 | 7/14 |
| 2014 | 9/32 | - |
| 2016 | - | 7/16 |
| 2017 | 5/29 | - |
| 2019 | 7/28 | - |
| 2020 | - | 11/20 |



Overall, citizens trust incumbent President Nana Akufo-Addo to better address issues on education, the economy, jobs, corruption, security, infrastructure and COVID-19 than the main opposition candidate John Dramani Mahama, except for infrastructure delivery

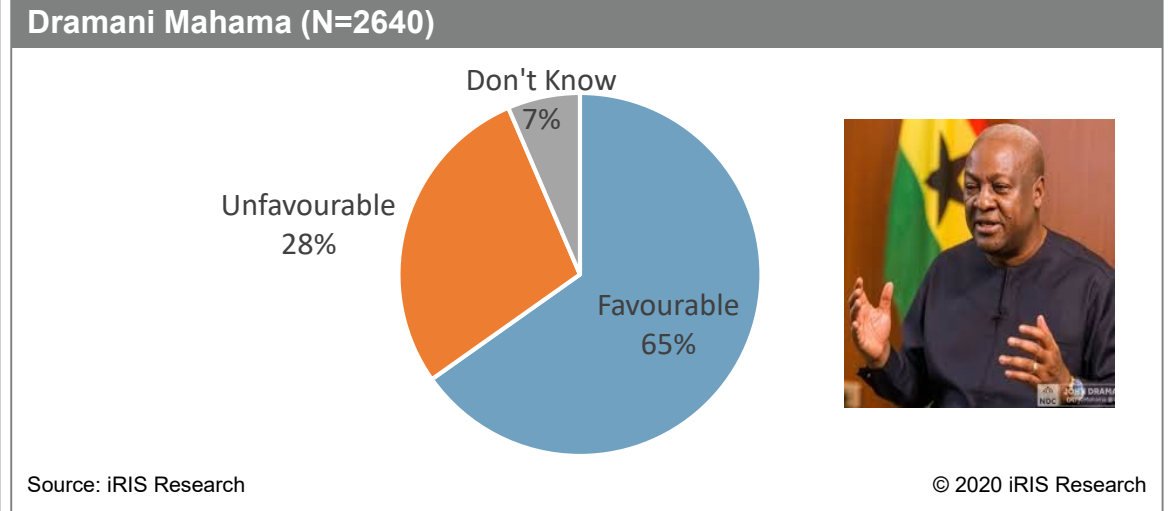
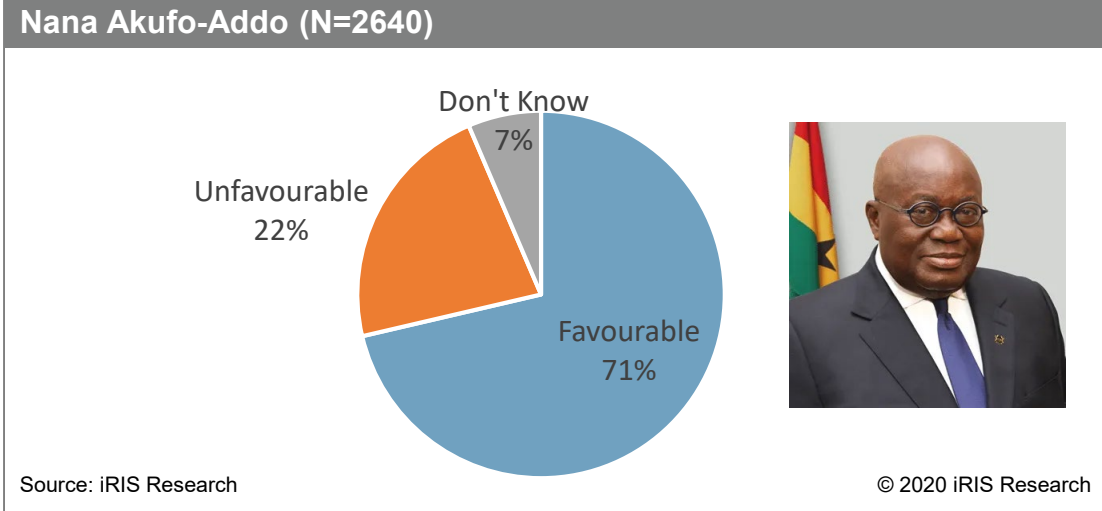
| Presidential candidate that can better address issues (N = 2640 respondents) | Education | Economy | Jobs | Corruption | Security | Infrastructure | COVID-19 |
|--|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|
| John Dramani Mahama | 36.25% | 39.32% | 36.55% | 36.39% | 38.31% | 47.91% | 26.04% |
| Nana Akufo-Addo | 57.82% | 52.21% | 54.74% | 50.63% | 52.19% | 46.08% | 68.52% |
| Others | 5.92% | 8.47% | 8.71% | 12.97% | 9.51% | 6.02% | 5.45% |
| Difference between Akufo-Addo and John Mahama | 21.57% | 12.89% | 18.19% | 14.24% | 13.88% | -1.83% | 42.48% |

Note: Responses are statistically weighted

Respondents were asked: Which presidential candidate can better address issues on education, economy, jobs, corruption, security, infrastructure and COVID-19 management?

Findings 2: Favourability ratings of the main parties and selection of the Vice-Presidential candidates on voter choices

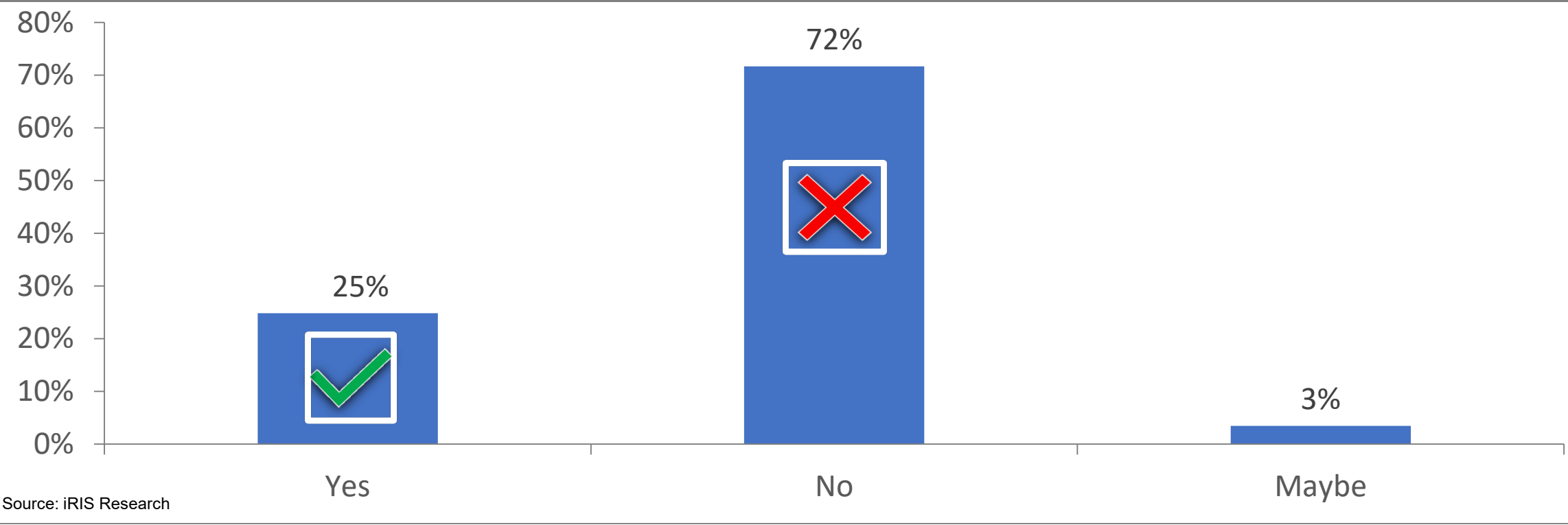
Incumbent President Nana Akufo-Addo has a 12-percentage point net favourability rating over main opposition candidate John Dramani Mahama



Respondents were asked: What is your opinion of Nana Akufo-Addo? What is your opinion of John Dramani Mahama?

Seven (7) out of ten (10) respondents indicated that the running mate would not influence their choice of the presidential candidate

Selection of the running mate influence your choice of presidential candidate (N = 2640 respondents)

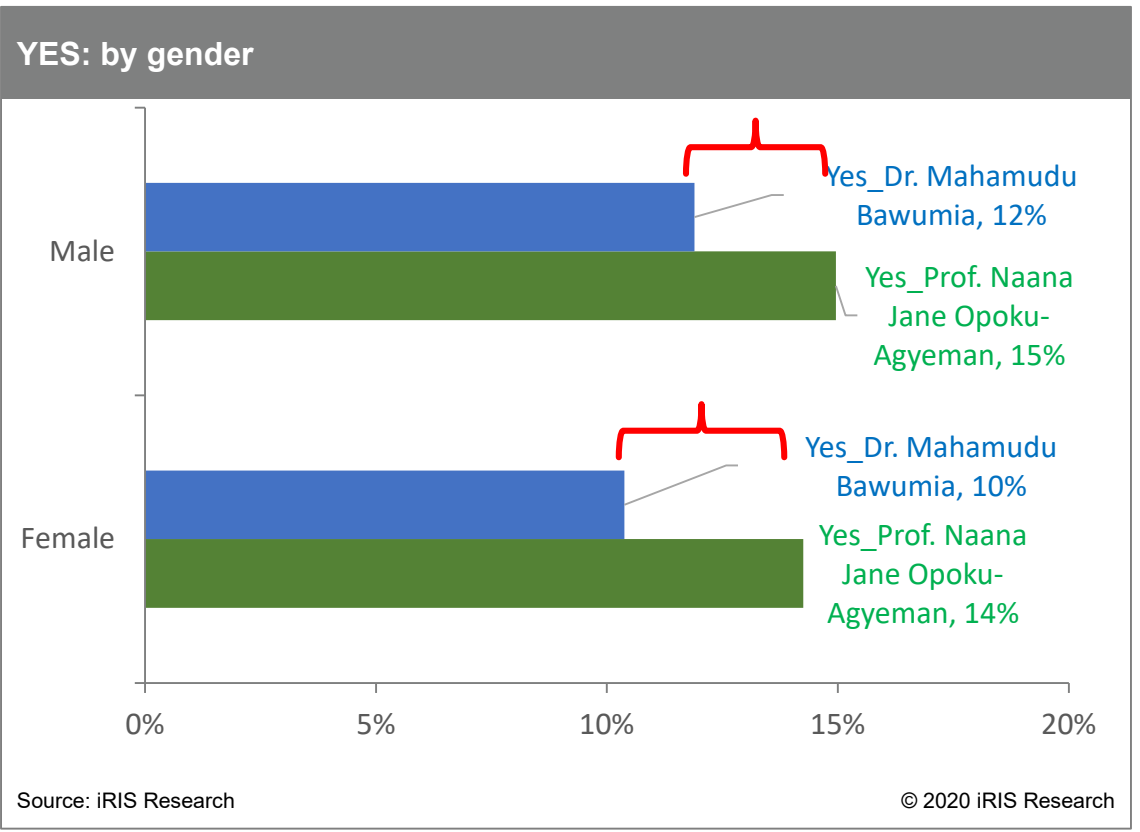
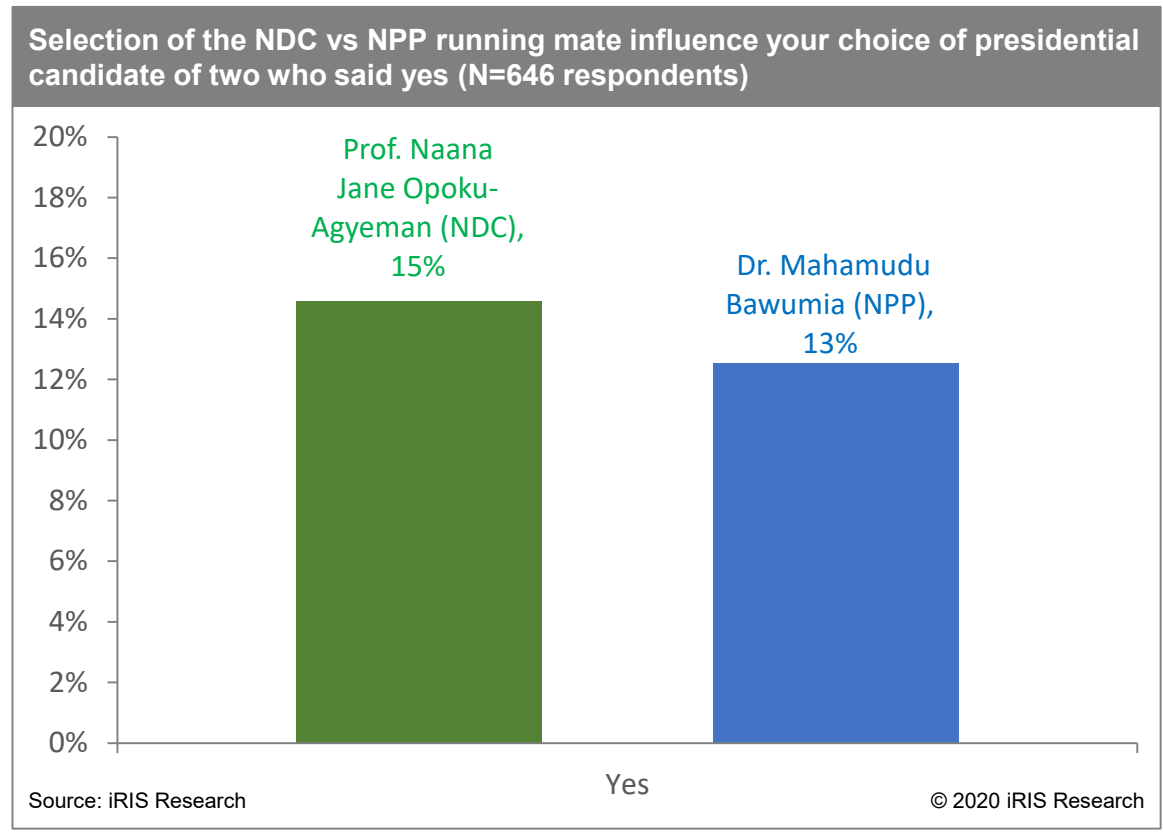


Source: iRIS Research

Note: Responses are statistically weighted

Respondents were asked: Would the selection of the running mate influence your choice of the presidential candidate you would vote for?

More of the 25% who indicated yes to choice of running mate show preference for Prof. Naana Jane Opoku-Agyeman of the NDC; this also holds true by gender

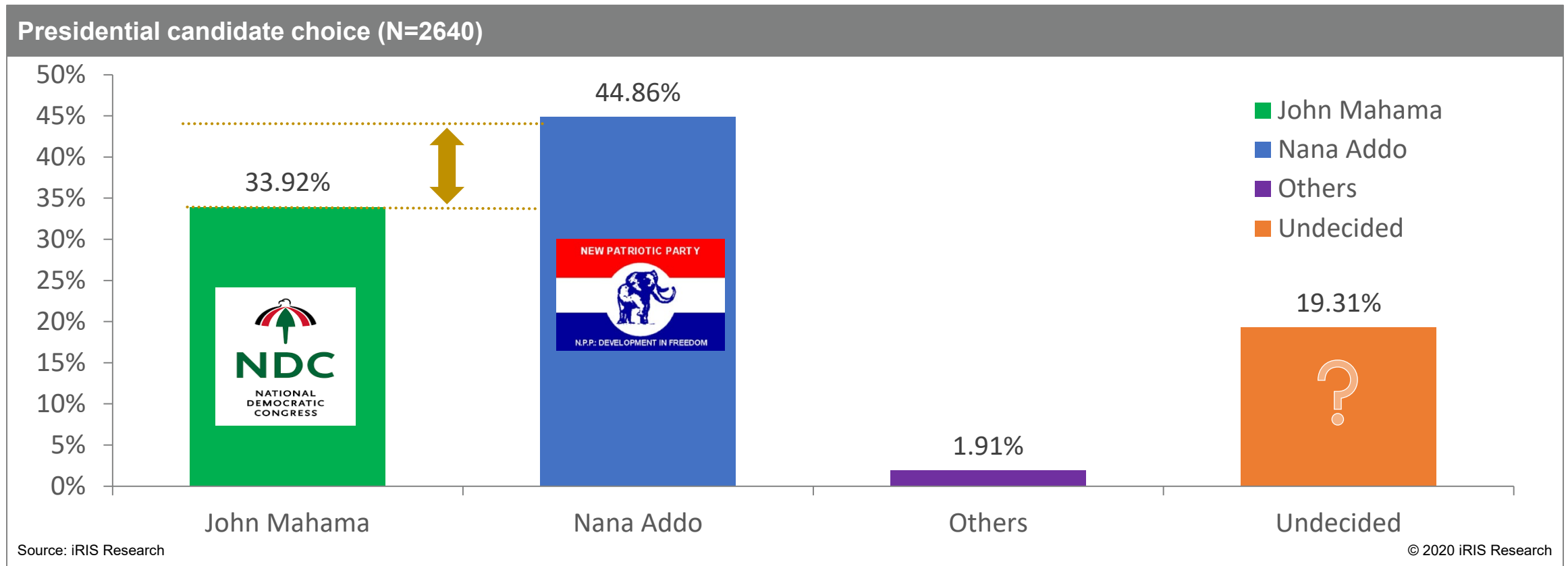


Note: Responses are statistically weighted

Respondents were asked: Would the selection of Dr Mahamudu Bawumia as the NPP’s running mate influence your vote for the NPP? Would the selection of Prof. Naana Jane Opoku-Agyeman as the NDC’s running mate influence your vote for the NDC?

Findings 3: Presidential candidate choice, certainty to vote and reasons for voting

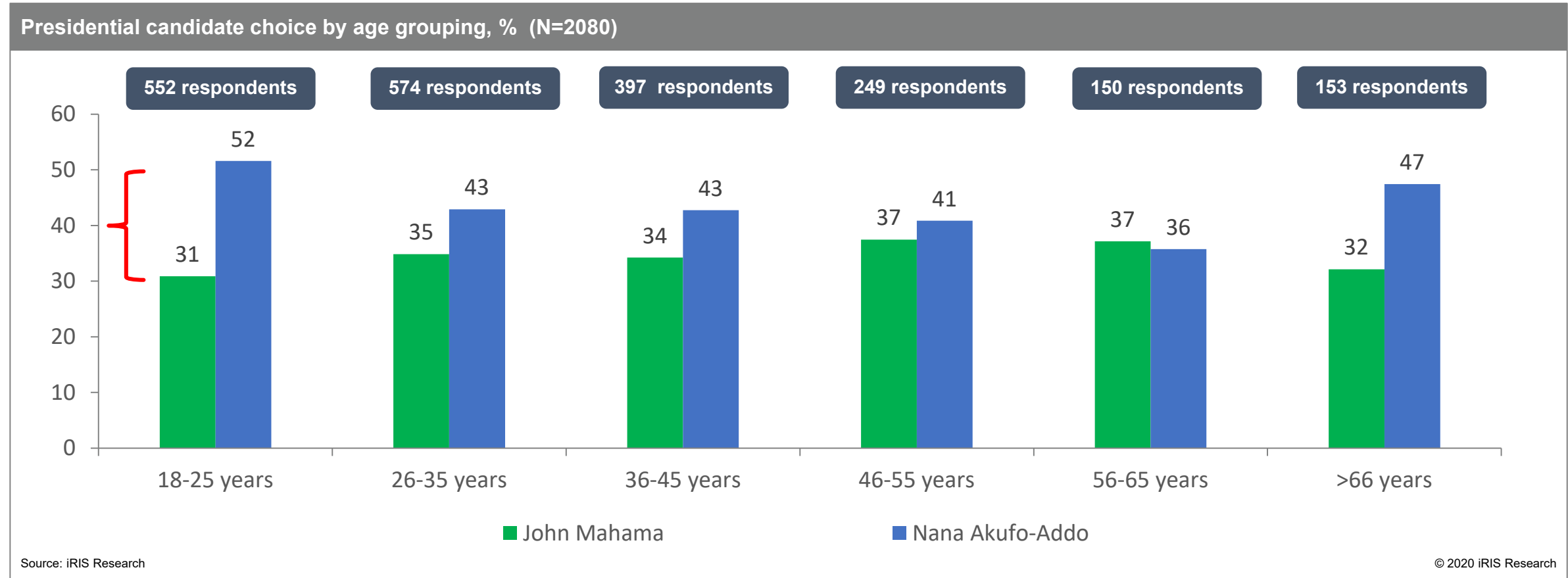
Despite the NPP's 11-percentage point advantage, the 19% undecideds signals that there is a bit more work to be done by both parties especially in Ghana's swing constituencies to guarantee a first-round victory



Note: Responses are statistically weighted

Respondents were asked: If elections were held tomorrow which presidential candidate do you intend to vote for?

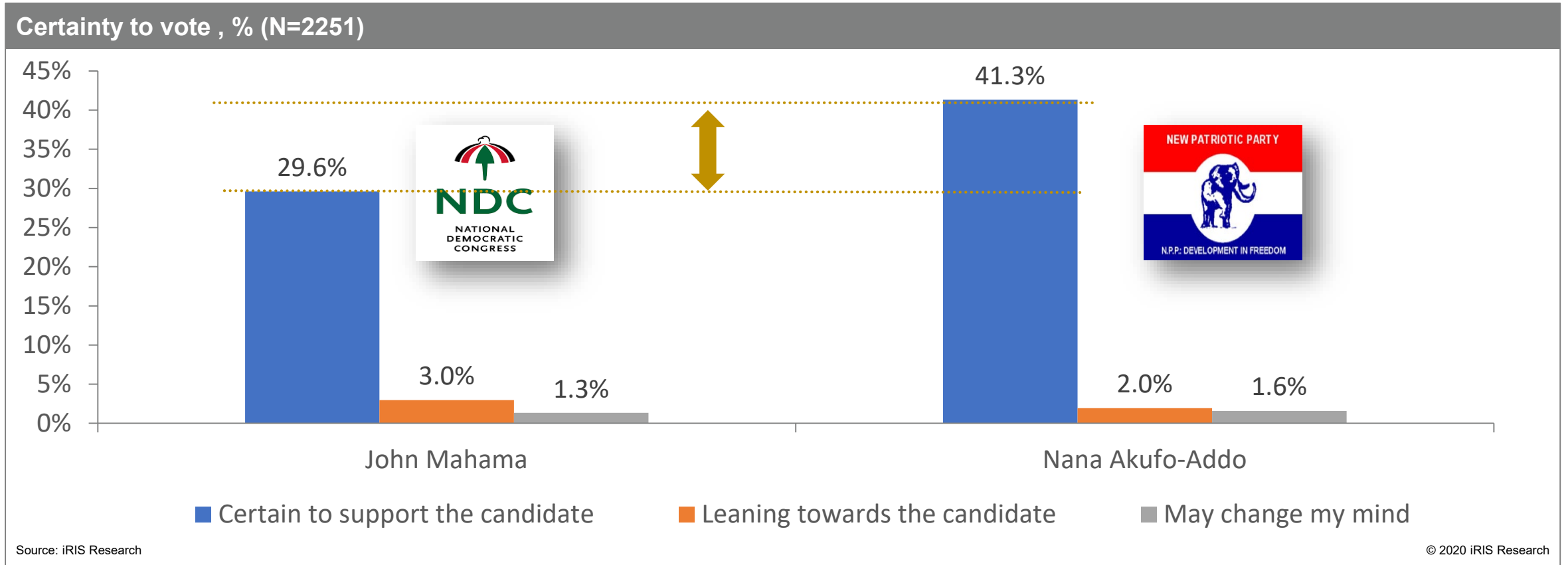
Incumbent President Nana Akufo-Addo is favoured to be voted for by all age groupings in the sample except for the 56-65-year category who indicated a preference for John Dramani Mahama



Note: Responses are statistically weighted; does not include other third parties and undecided voters.

Respondents were asked: If elections were held tomorrow which presidential candidate do you intend to vote for? (by age group)

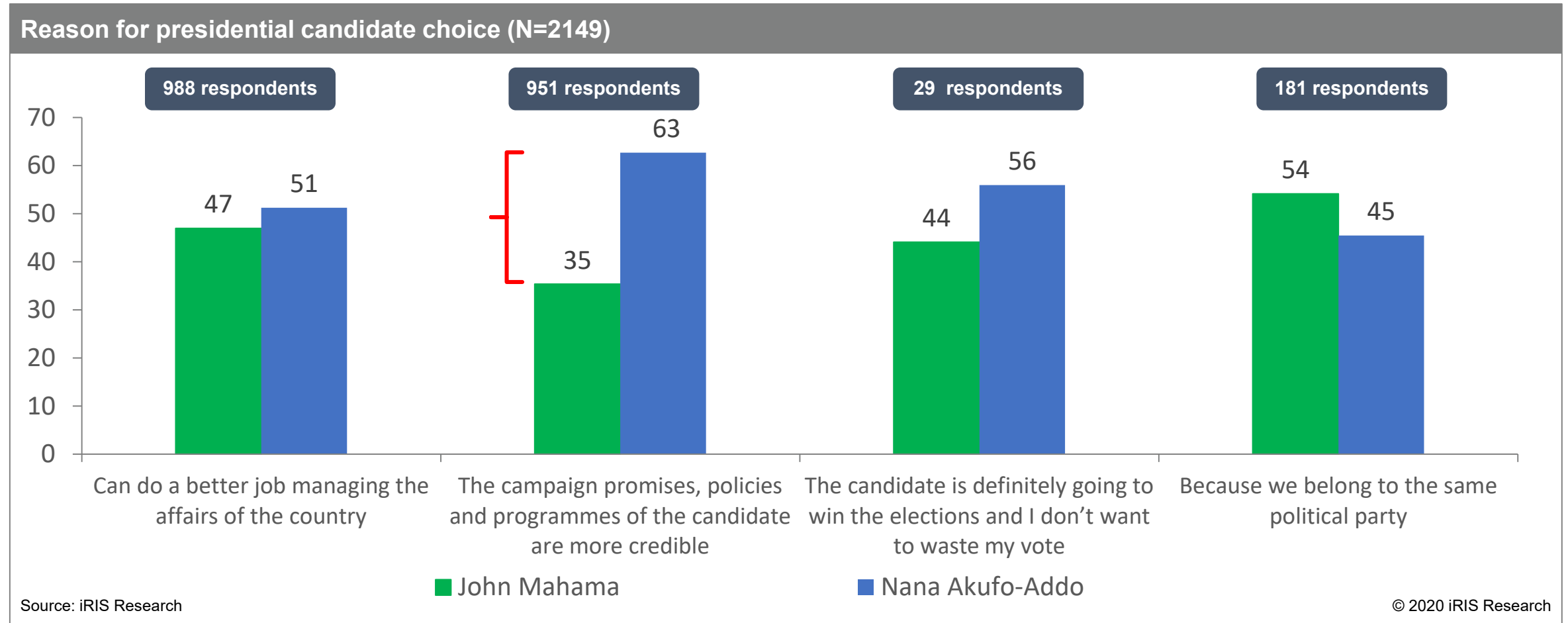
Respondents clearly indicated much more certainty (11-percentage point gap) to support incumbent President Nana Akufo-Addo than do with main opposition leader John Dramani Mahama



Note: Responses are statistically weighted

Respondents were asked: How certain are you to vote for the candidate?

Incumbent President Nana Akufo-Addo of the NPP is largely trusted to do a better job managing the economy and has credible campaign promises while some respondents would vote for John Dramani Mahama because they belong to the same party



Note: Responses are statistically weighted; does not include other third parties and undecided voters.

Respondents were asked: What is the main reason that you are voting for the presidential candidate that you have mentioned?

Conclusions and implications for the 2020 elections

From the iRIS Survey

1. The NPP holds an 11-percentage point advantage over the NDC.
2. 19.31% of potential voters in these 36 competitive constituencies are undecided
3. 1.9% of potential voters will vote for a third party or independent candidate
4. Seven (7) out of ten (10) respondents indicated that the choice of the running mate would not influence their presidential candidate choice.
5. Incumbent President Nana Akufo-Addo has a 12-percentage point net favourability rating over main opposition candidate John Dramani Mahama.
6. The incumbent is trusted to handle key issues than the challenger except for the provision of infrastructure

Observations from other surveys

| Metric | 2016 Incumbent (John Mahama) | 2020 Incumbent (Nana Akufo-Addo) |
|---|---|---|
| Approval rating trajectory <i>% saying they approve or strongly approve of the job performance of the president</i> | 36% (Afrobarometer Round 6, 2014) 48% (CDD-Ghana, pre-election survey, July 2016) 53% (CDD-Ghana, pre-election survey, October 2016) | 77% (Afrobarometer Round 7, 2017) 61% (Afrobarometer Round 8, 2019) 70% (CDD-Ghana, pre-election survey, Oct 2020) |
| Trust trajectory <i>% saying they trust the president trust somewhat/a lot</i> | 40% (Afrobarometer Round 6, 2014) 46% (CDD-Ghana, pre-election survey, July 2016) 52% (CDD-Ghana, pre-election survey, October 2016) | 71% (Afrobarometer Round 7, 2017) 58% (Afrobarometer Round 8, 2019) 61% (CDD-Ghana, pre-election survey, Oct 2020) |
| Favorability <i>% saying they have a favorable opinion of the candidate</i> | n/a | 71% (iRIS Research Group, Pre-election poll, 2020) |

Assessment of incumbent performance on selected issues (% who rate government performance positively)

| Indicator | The 2016 Incumbent (Average across surveys) | The 2020 Incumbent (Average across surveys) | Gap (2020 Incumbent over 2016 Incumbent) |
|---|--|--|--|
| Addressing education needs | 41% | 70% | +29 |
| Managing the economy | 34% | 48% | +14 |
| Creating jobs | 27% | 45% | +18 |
| Fighting corruption in government | 32% | 44% | +12 |
| Infrastructure (building/maintaining roads and bridges) | 41% | 46% | +5 |
| Security/Reducing crime | 45% | 49% | +4 |
| Improving basic health services | 40% | 59% | +19 |

Avg. positive ratings across a number of surveys

For 2016 incumbent (Afrobarometer 2014(Round 6); CDD-Ghana pre-election survey July and Oct 2016; NCCE Matters of Concern to The Ghanaian Voter 2020)

For 2020 Incumbent (Afrobarometer 2017, 2019 (Round 7 and 8); CDD-Ghana pre-election survey October 2020; NCCE Matters of Concern to The Ghanaian Voter 2020); iRIS Research Group Pre-election Poll 2020)

The Final Takeaway

1. The analysis reflects a look back at historical data as well as a snapshot of voter attitudes, intentions, and perceptions captured through various surveys, the last being the iRIS pre-election poll. The data collection for the poll was completed on November 12, 2020.
2. This means events and issues that have emerged since November 12, 2020 are not captured in this analysis. It is therefore possible that voter attitudes, intentions and perceptions may have shifted or changed.

Against this backdrop, the overall key points are as follows:

1. The electoral landscape is more favourable for the incumbent Nana Akufo-Addo in the lead up to the 2020 election. John Mahama faced a more challenging electoral landscape in the lead up to the 2016 election.
2. Voter attitudes, intentions, and perceptions are relatively more positive towards Candidate Nana Akufo Addo than they are towards Candidate John Mahama in 2020.

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