

PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS OF ELECTIONS & WOMEN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN LIBERIA

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National Elections Commission of Liberia

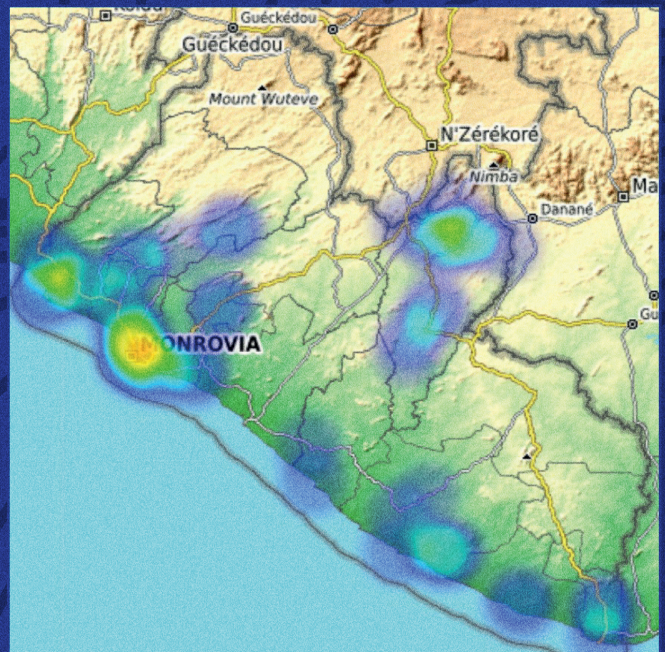
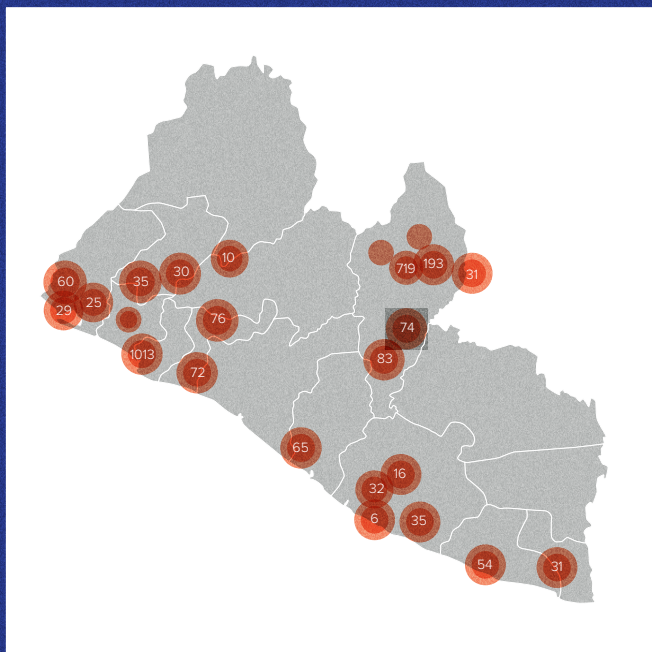
United Nations Development Programme

UN Women

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Counties of LIBERIA



Map of Respondents Figures Distribution

Topology of Liberia Heat Map of Respondents

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The Business Start Up Center (BSC) would firstly like to thank the Almighty God for the fortitude given her to have successfully conducted this public perception survey, which stands to provide cogent information on public perceptions of electoral processes and women's participation in political affairs using such indicators as public perception, public experience, and public confidence in electoral and political affairs.

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Table of Contents

01

02

03

04

05

06

07

Aknowledgement.....	5
Table of Figures.....	7
List of Tables.....	8
List of Acronyms.....	10
Executive summary	11
Introduction.....	16
Background to the study.....	16
Literature Review	18
Historical context of elections in Liberia	18
Women Participation in Politics and leadership in Liberia.....	18
Public perception of elections and electoral management body in Liberia.....	19
Challenges confronting electoral processes in Liberia.....	19
Challenges confronting women political participation and leadership in Liberia.....	20
Support to NEC and the Electoral Process	20
Overall objective and specific objectives of the study	22
Scope of the study.....	23
Research questions	23
Methodology.....	24
Findings.....	24
Demographic information of respondents.....	24
Public Perception of Electoral Processes and Women Political Participation and Leadership	29
Section 2: Experience with Electoral Processes and Activities	49
Section 3: Public Perception of Electoral Processes and Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs)	49
Section 4: Women Political Participation and Leadership	58
Qualitative Analysis	69
FGD.....	69
KII.....	71
Conclusion.....	80
Recommendations.....	83
Annexes	85
Annex 1.....	85
Methodology	85
Research design	85
Study population.....	85
Sample size determination and distribution	86
Data collection tools and procedure	86
Data cleaning and analysis	87
Data quality assurance	87
Recruitment and training of data collectors.....	87
Biases and mitigation strategy	87
Annex II	88
Questionnaire.....	88
Part I: Demographic Information.....	88
Part II: Public Perception of Electoral Processes and Women Political Participation and Leadership	89
Part III: Baseline Study of the LESP and PIPP.....	96

Table of Figures

Figure 1: Distribution of respondents by age group	25
Figure 2: Distribution of respondents by age group per men vs women.....	26
Figure 3: Respondents' employment status	27
Figure 4: Respondents' marital status	28
Figure 5: Distribution of respondents by marital status and sex	28
Figure 6: Distribution of respondents by knowledge of the new Elections Law	29
Figure 7: Distribution of respondents by awareness of upcoming elections in Liberia.....	30
Figure 8: Distribution of respondents by participation in voter verification activities	31
Figure 9: Distribution of respondents by awareness of where to vote in the last election	32
Figure 10: Distribution of respondents by awareness of voter trucking.....	32
Figure 11: Distribution of respondents' perception of voter trucking.....	33
Figure 12: Distribution of respondents' perception of authorities taking concrete actions to discourage or stop voter trucking.....	34
Figure 13: Distribution of respondents' perception of the influence of voter trucking on election results.....	35
Figure 14: Distribution of respondents' awareness of vote buying/selling.....	36
Figure 15: Distribution of respondents by perception of vote buying during elections.....	37
Figure 16: Distribution of respondents' perception of the influence of vote buying/selling on elections.....	37
Figure 17: Distribution of respondents' perception of authorities taking concrete actions to discourage or stop vote buying/selling.....	39
Figure 18: Distribution of respondents by awareness of violence during elections	39
Figure 19: Distribution of respondents by perception of violence during elections	40
Figure 20: Distribution of respondents by perception of authorities taking concrete actions to stop violence during elections	41
Figure 21: Distribution of respondents' awareness of violence against women during elections.....	42
Figure 22: Distribution of types of violence against women during elections.....	42
Figure 23: Distribution of perception of violence against women during elections	43
Figure 24: Distribution of respondents' perception of the role the media play in violence against women during elections	44
Figure 25: Distribution of respondents' perception of BVR improving the credibility of elections.....	45
Figure 26: Distribution of respondents' perception of the impact of BVR on elections in Liberia	45
Figure 27: Distribution of respondents who selected multiple responses on BVR impact on elections.....	46
Figure 28: Distribution of respondents' perception of Liberia's readiness to implement BVR	46
Figure 29: Distribution of respondents by voting history/ experience.....	47
Figure 30: Distribution of respondents' perception of voting precinct and polling places being accessible to persons living with disability	49
Figure 31: Distribution of respondents' rating of their experience on election day.....	49
Figure 32: Distribution of respondents' perception of the independence of NEC	50
Figure 33: Distribution of respondents' perception of the credibility of NEC	51
Figure 34: Distribution of respondents' perception of trust in NEC	51
Figure 35: Distribution of respondents' perception of comfort with NEC managing electoral disputes.....	52
Figure 36: Distribution of respondents' perception of the independence of the Supreme Court in adjudicating electoral disputes	53
Figure 37: Distribution of respondents' perception of the credibility of the Supreme Court in adjudicating electoral disputes	54
Figure 38: Distribution of respondents' perception of trust in the Supreme Court to adjudicate electoral disputes.....	55
Figure 39: Distribution of respondents' perception of the most competent authority to deal with first level electoral disputes before appeal to the Supreme Court.....	56
Figure 40: Distribution of respondents' perception of recent elections being free and fair in Liberia.	57
Figure 41: Distribution of respondents per age group who dispute past elections as being free and fair in Liberia.	58
Figure 42: Distribution of respondents' perception of the ease of women and men getting elected to political office.....	53
Figure 43: Distribution of respondents by whom they would prefer casting their ballot for in an election.....	61
Figure 44: Distribution of respondents' perception of who is supported by their socio/cultural values for a leadership position in their community	63
Figure 45: Distribution of respondents' perception of who should occupy leadership position their community	63
Figure 46: Distribution of respondents' level of comfort working with or supporting men and women leaders in their community or county	65
Figure 47: Distribution of respondents' degree of satisfaction with the performance of women leaders.....	67
Figure 48: Distribution of respondents by satisfaction with the performance of men leaders.....	67
Figure 49: Distribution of respondents' perception of discrimination against women in politics	68

List of Tables

Table 1: Distribution of respondents by county of resident.....	25
Table 2: Distribution of respondents by age group and county	25
Table 3: Distribution of respondents by educational level ..	26
Table 4: Respondent's education level by sex.....	26
Table 5: Distribution of respondents' employment status by sex	27
Table 6: Distribution of respondents by employment status and age group.....	27
Table 7: Distribution of respondents by marital status and age group.....	28
Table 8: Distribution of respondents by religion.....	28
Table 9: Distribution of respondents by religion and rural/urban residency.....	29
Table 10: Distribution of respondents by disability status	29
Table 11: Distribution of respondents suffering some forms of disability by type of disability.....	29
Table 12: Distribution of knowledge of the new Elections Law by sex.....	30
Table 13: Distribution of respondents' knowledge of the Elections Law by County.....	30
Table 14: Distribution of respondents' awareness of upcoming election in Liberia by county.....	30
Table 15: Distribution of respondents' participation in voter registration and verification activities by county.....	31
Table 16: Distribution of respondents by awareness of where to cast their vote by county.....	32
Table 17: Distribution of respondents by county and awareness of voter trucking.....	33
Table 18: Distribution of respondents by county and level of approval of voter trucking.....	33
Table 19: Distribution of respondents by awareness and level of acceptance of voter trucking.....	33
Table 20: Distribution of respondents by perception of authorities taking concrete actions to discourage or stop voter trucking by county.....	34
Table 21: Distribution of respondents' perception of the influence of voter trucking on election results by county ...	35
Table 22: Distribution of respondents by awareness of vote buying/selling and age groups.....	36
Table 23: Distribution of respondents by awareness of vote buying/selling and county	36
Table 24: Distribution of respondents by level of agreement of the acceptability of vote buying/selling by county.....	37
Table 25: Distribution of respondents' perception of the influence of vote buying/selling per county	38
Table 26: Distribution of respondents by awareness of vote buying/selling and its influence on the results of elections.....	38

Table 27: Distribution of respondents' perception of authorities taking concrete actions to discourage or stop vote buying/selling by county.....	39
Table 28: Distribution of respondents' awareness of violence during elections by county	40
Table 29: Distribution of respondents by perception of violence during elections by county	40
Table 30: Distribution of respondents by perception of authorities taking concrete actions to address violence during election.....	41
Table 31: Distribution of respondents by awareness of violence during elections and level of agreement of authorities taking concrete actions to discourage or stop violence during elections.....	41
Table 32: Distribution of respondents' awareness of violence against women during elections by county.....	43
Table 33: Distribution of respondents by level of agreement of the acceptability of VAWiE and Authorities taking concrete actions to discourage or stop VAWiE.....	43
Table 34: Distribution of respondents by authorities' actions and county	44
Table 35: A comparative analysis of general electoral violence and violence against women in elections.....	44
Table 36: Distribution of respondents' voting experience by county	47
Table 37: Distribution of respondents' degree of satisfaction with recent electoral activities and processes by county ..	48
Table 38: Distribution of respondents' level of satisfaction with electoral activities by gender	48
Table 39: Distribution of respondents' perception of the independence of NEC	50
Table 40: Distribution of respondents' perception of the credibility of NEC.....	51
Table 41: Distribution of respondents' perception of trust in NEC to conduct free and fair elections by county	52
Table 42: Distribution of respondents' perception of comfort with NEC managing of electoral disputes by county.....	53
Table 43: Distribution of respondents' perception of the independence of the Supreme Court in adjudicating electoral disputes by county	54
Table 44: Distribution of respondents' perception of the credibility of the Supreme Court in adjudicating electoral disputes by county.....	55
Table 45: Distribution of respondents' perception of trust in the Supreme Court to adjudicate electoral disputes by county	55
Table 46: Distribution of respondents' perception of which competent body to handle first level electoral disputes before appeal to the Supreme Court by county.....	56

Table 47: A comparison of respondents' level of trust in the NEC and the Supreme Court.....	57
Table 48: Distribution of respondents by opinion of which recent elections were free and fair	57
Table 49: Distribution of respondents' perception of key leadership/personal attributes between men and women ...	58
Table 50: Distribution of respondents' perception of ease of women and men getting elected to political office.....	59
Table 51: Distribution of respondents' perception of the ability of men and men to apply basic leadership functions and principles.....	60
Table 52: Distribution of respondents' perception of the importance of leaders possessing or upholding key leadership attributes	60
Table 53: Distribution of respondents' perception of the importance of key leadership attributes by gender	61
Table 54: Distribution of respondents' perceived preference for a candidate in an election by gender.....	61
Table 55: Distribution of respondents' preference for a candidate in an election	62
Table 56: Distribution of respondents' ranking of reasons fewer women occupy political position	62
Table 57: Distribution of respondents' ranking of reasons fewer women occupy political position by gender	63

Table 58: Distribution of respondents' perception of which gender is supported by their socio-cultural values for a leadership position in their community.....	63
Table 59: Distribution respondents' preference of a man and a woman for a leadership position in their community by gender.....	64
Table 60: Distribution of respondents' preference of a woman and man for leadership position in their community by county	65
Table 61: Distribution of respondents' level of comfort to work with or support a men or women leaders in their community or county.....	65
Table 62: Distribution of respondents' level of comfort to work with or support a men or women leaders in their community or county by county.....	66
Table 63: Distribution of men and women in leadership position in respondents' communities and county at the time of the survey	66
Table 64: Distribution of respondents' degree of satisfaction with the performance of women leaders by county.....	67
Table 65: Distribution of respondents' level of satisfaction with the performance of men leaders by county.....	68
Table 66: Distribution of respondents' perception of distribution against women in politics by county	68

List of Acronyms

Acronym	Meaning
BSC	Business Start-up Center
CAPI	Computer-Assisted Personal Interview
CDC	Congress for Democratic Change
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Accord
CSO	Civil Society Organization
ECOM	Elections Commission
EMB	Election Management Body
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
KII	Key Informant Interview
LESP	Liberia Elections Support Project
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NEC	National Elections Commission
PBF	Peacebuilding Fund
PIPP	Promoting Inclusive Political Participation
SRS	Systematic Random Sampling
UN	United Nations
UN Women	United Nations Entity for Women Empowerment
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNMIL	United Nations Mission in Liberia
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VAWIE/P	Violence Against Women in Elections/Politics

Executive summary

Elections are a vital component of good governance which play an essential role in the determination of national leadership, the nurturing of democracy, and the sustenance of peace. In 2023, Liberians will vote for a President, a Vice President, 73 members of the House of Representatives, and 15 members of the House of Senate. This election offers another opportunity for Liberia to solidify its democratic gains of recent years. To ensure that the Government through the National Elections Commission (NEC) continues to hold peaceful, credible, and reliable national elections that are gender inclusive, it is imperative that the Government understands and addresses any factors that might impede this process. Understanding factors that impact successful electoral processes and women's participation is vital to the continuous growth of Liberia's electoral democracy. NEC with support from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and UN Women commissioned a perception study to ascertain the extent to which the public understand the electoral process and the beliefs in NEC's capacity to organize inclusive, transparent, and credible elections. Findings from the study are also vital to the successful implementation of the Liberia Electoral Support Project (LESP) and the Promoting Inclusive Political Participation (PIPP) Project.

The study was conducted using cross-sectional survey and retrospective study designs to assess public opinions on elections and women participation in politics. A total of 2061 eligible persons (men and women) aged 18 and above residents of the nine selected counties (Gbarpolu, Grand Cape Mount, Grand Kru, Margibi, Maryland, Montserrado, Nimba, Rivercess and Sinoe) were interviewed. The firm collaborated with the NEC to statistically select the enumeration areas (EAs), which were distributed proportional to the sample size for the county. A total number of 80 persons participated in the Focus Group Discussion (FGD). The FGD discussants included women leaders and representatives from women led civil society organizations (CSOs) whose work focus on elections and women political participation, students, community leaders as well as local authorities. Additionally, key institutions and individuals were interviewed as key informants to gather technical and in-depth information on elections and women political participation in Liberia.

Demographic information

A total of 2061 persons in the nine targeted counties of Liberia were interviewed, with a 100% response rate. Respondents were almost evenly divided by sex, with men constituting 50.6% and women making up 49.4%. A slight majority of respondents (52.2%) reside in rural communities while 47.8% live in urban areas. Age group distribution showed that 50% of respondents are young people between the ages of 18 and 35, with those between the ages of 18 and 25 making up 20% while those between the ages 26 and 35 accounting for 30%. The remaining 50% of the respondents were with the following age groups: 36 and 45 (27%; 46 and 55 (17%) and 66 and above (6%).

One in every five respondents did not have any formal education. The highest educational level attained by most respondents was the completion of secondary education (22%), followed by some secondary education (19%) and some elementary education (13%). Unemployment among respondents is relatively high, as two-fifths of respondents reported being unemployed. Only 13% of respondents reported being employed in the formal sector; 40% unemployed; 40% self-employed in business and 7% self-employed into vocational areas.

Public Perception of Electoral Processes and Women Political Participation and Leadership

Knowledge of the new Elections Law is significantly low. Three out of every five respondents did not have any knowledge on the New Elections Law of 2014. Some 69% of respondents asserted that they verified their voting information in the last elections. Those who did not register or have voter registration card represented 12%, while 19% of the respondents indicated that they did not verify their voting information. Four out of every five respondents pointed out that they were informed of where to go and cast their vote during the last elections. A relatively large proportion of respondents were aware of voter trucking as acknowledged by 61% of the respondents as opposed to 37% who were not aware of it. However, most respondents (79%) disapproved of the act compared with 13% who approved it. Overall, 52% of respondents agreed that

authorities are taking concrete actions to discourage voter trucking while 33% were in disagreement that authorities are taking concrete actions to discourage or stop the electoral malpractice. Some 74% of respondents accepted that voter trucking influences results of elections as opposed to 16% who did not accept the proposition.

Similarly, 65% of respondents claimed they were aware of people buying votes for their preferred candidate and people selling their votes for money, while 35% indicated that they were not aware. However, 81% of respondents expressed some level of disagreement that vote buying/selling during elections is acceptable, while 14% expressed some level of agreement. At the same time, 77% of respondents expressed some level of agreement that vote buying/selling influences results of elections as opposed to the 15% who expressed some level of disagreement. A slight majority of respondents (53%) claimed they were not aware of violence, whether physical or emotional violence, taking place during elections. However, 44% intoned that they were aware of physical and psychological violence taking place during elections and 3% chose not to answer. However, a solid majority of respondents (85%) expressed some level of disagreement that violence during elections is acceptable, while 10% believed that it is okay. Some 61% of respondents expressed some level of agreement that authorities are taking concrete actions to curb violence during elections, while 24% expressed some level of disagreement. Specifically, 39% of respondents were aware of violence against women during elections while 58% were not. However, violence against women was disapproved by 85% of respondents who were aware of violence against women during elections. More respondents (62%) expressed some level of agreement that media, whether traditional or social, play a role in violence against women during elections.

Regarding biometric voter registration (BVR), 71% of respondents expressed optimism that biometric would improve the credibility of elections in Liberia. Consistent with respondents' belief that BVR will improve the credibility of elections, 16% of respondents expressed that BVR will increase voters' trust in election processes; 18% intimated that BVR would improve voter registration process; 17% agreed that BVR would reduce fraud and 14% said it would reduce the possibility of voter trucking. However, 21% declined to mention any impact

BVR would have on the election process due to lack of enough information about BVR while 3% said it would make no difference. Yet a few respondents expressed pessimism about the impact of BVR on elections, including 4% claiming that it would make voter registration process more challenging; 3% thinking that it would not be possible to implement it in remote areas; while 3% felt that it would not be trusted by voters. In the same direction, 55% of respondents believed that Liberia is ready in a way to use BVR, with 18% asserting that Liberia is mostly ready to use BVR; 17% indicating that Liberia is ready to use BVR in the next election; and 20% saying Liberia is partially prepared to use BVR in the next elections.

Experience with Electoral Processes and Activities

Some 88% of respondents have had experience with elections in Liberia. Overall, most respondents expressed some degree of satisfaction with these electoral activities and processes: 72% of respondents expressed some degree of satisfaction with the voter registration process compared with 6% who expressed some degree of dissatisfaction; 72% expressed some degree of satisfaction with their last voter roll update experience compared with 6% dissatisfied; 72% of the respondents expressed some degree of satisfaction with the final voter registration roll process compared with 6% who were dissatisfied; 66% expressed some degree of satisfaction with Civic Voter Education activities compared to 23% who were dissatisfied; 74% expressed some degree of satisfaction with the time polls are open on Elections day while 5% were dissatisfied; 71% of the respondents were satisfied with the crowd control measures compared to 7% who were dissatisfied; and 71% of respondents were satisfied with the performance of polling staff while 6% were dissatisfied. A significant majority of respondents (84%) expressed positive experience on election day, with 36% indicating that their experience was good; 33% claiming that their experience was very good; while 15% intoned that their experience was excellent. Conversely, 5% of respondents lamented that they had a bad experience on election day, with 4% indicating having a bad experience and 1% decrying very bad experience. On the assessment of the voting precincts and polling places being friendly for persons living with disabilities, a slight majority (53%) of respondents perceived these places to be accessible to per-

sons with physical disabilities. In addition, 34% of respondents indicated that polling staff were kind to and assisted persons with disabilities, while 2% said polling staff handed over tactile ballot sheets to the blind.

Public Perception of Electoral Processes and Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs)

A slight majority of respondents (54%) perceived the National Elections Commission (NEC) to be independent, while 34% of respondents thought otherwise. In like manner, 55% of respondents voiced some degree of credibility of NEC, whereas 32% of respondents believed that NEC is either not credible at all (10%) or partially credible (22%). In terms of trust in NEC, 66% of respondents expressed some degree of trust in the NEC to conduct free and fair elections as opposed to 12% expressed some level of distrust in NEC's ability to conduct free and fair elections. A slight majority of respondents (55%) expressed some degree of comfort with NEC managing electoral disputes as opposed to 21% of them who expressed some degree of discomfort. With the Supreme Court, 59% of respondents expressed that the Court is independent in adjudicating electoral disputes, as opposed to 30% of respondents who perceived the opposite. In the same vein, 58% of respondents expressed some degree of credibility of the Supreme Court in adjudicating electoral disputes, while 29% of respondents differed. Also, 65% of respondents expressed some level of trust in the Supreme Court to adjudicate electoral disputes as opposed to 9% who expressed some level of distrust in its ability to do so.

Concerning which competent body should handle first level electoral disputes before they are appealed to the Supreme Court, 62% of the respondents believed that the National Elections Commission (NEC) should handle first level electoral disputes before appeal to the Supreme Court, while 17% thought that a separate independent electoral dispute resolution commission should be set up to handle these disputes, 11% believed that they should be handled by the Supreme Court and 10% believed they should be handled by a special electoral Court set up for that purpose for the period of the elections. Meanwhile, women and men respondents were almost evenly divided in their views on the subject, with 63% women vs 62% men respondents opting for the NEC; 16% women respondents

vs 17% men respondents preferring separate independent electoral dispute resolution commission; 11% women respondents and vs 11% men respondents selecting the Supreme Court; and 10% women respondents and 10% male respondents choosing special electoral court.

Regarding whether recent elections in Liberia have been free and fair, 68% of respondents believed that recent elections in Liberia have been free and fair while 16% believed the opposite. Regarding which elections they believed were not free and fair, 33% of those who claimed these elections were not free and fair indicated the 2020 special, mid-term senatorial elections; 27% cited the 2017 presidential and legislative elections; 16% named the 2011 presidential and legislative elections; 14% identified all elections since 2005; while 10% mentioned the 2014 special, mid-term senatorial elections.

Women Political Participation and Leadership

Respondents were asked to provide their opinion on whether certain personal and leadership characteristics are true of a woman or a man, including intelligence, strength in decision making, dependability, honesty and ambitiousness. Respondents perceived men and women to be equally intelligent, as 29% of respondents said women are intelligent while 28% claimed men are. In terms of who is strong in making decisions, more respondents (36%) believed men are stronger in making decisions compared with 23% who thought women were stronger. Similarly, 31% of respondents perceived men to be more dependable compared with 26% who perceived women to be dependable; men were also thought to be more ambitious (33% respondents) than women (21% respondents). On the other hand, 32% of respondents believed women are honest compared with 24% of respondents who said men are honest. On the overall, the majority of respondents believed these attributes are equally true of both men and women: Intelligent (39%); Strong in decision making (38%); Dependable (39%); Honest (40%) and Ambitious (42%).

Also, 57% of respondents believed that it is easier for men to get elected to political office compared with 19% who believed the same for women. At the same time, 18% believed there is not much difference in the ease of any men and women getting elected to political office, while 6% reported that they did not know.

In terms of who is better at certain key leadership functions and principles in political offices, including standing up for what they believe, being honest and ethical, finding common ground, working to improve the quality of life for Liberians, and being persuasive, 40% of respondents believed that men are better at standing for what they believe in compared with 28% of respondents who believed women are better. Similarly, 39% and 34% of respondents believed men are better at finding common ground and working to improve the quality of life for Liberians, respectively as opposed to 30% and 25% of respondents who believed women were better at these functions/principles. On the other hand, women were thought to be better at being honest and ethical (36% of respondents for women vs 29% for men) and at being persuasive (37% of respondents for women and 33% for men).

In deciding which leadership quality, they see important for their leaders to possess, including 1) Strong in making decisions, 2) Dependable, 3) Honest, 4) Ambitious, 5) Organized and 6) Innovative, 80% of respondents believed that it is important for their leaders to be honest, while 79% held that it's absolutely important for their leaders to be intelligent, strong in decision making, organized and innovative. A few respondents, however, reserved that these qualities are not important for their leaders to possess. In terms of who they would cast their ballot for in an election, 45% of respondents would cast their ballot in an election for the best candidate no matter their gender. However, 33% would prefer to cast their ballot for a man while 20% of respondents would do so for a woman. Respondents were two and a half times more likely to suggest that their socio-cultural values support men (38%) than women (15%) for a leadership position in their community. However, a slight majority of respondents (44%) believed that their socio-cultural values equally support both men and women for leadership. Consistent with their socio-cultural values, nearly half of the respondents (49%) personally believed that leadership positions in their communities should be occupied by both men and women. At the same time, when it comes to choosing between a woman and a man, respondents were nearly three times more likely to prefer a man (35%) to a woman (13%) for a leadership position in their community.

Overall, 48% of respondents expressed that they would feel comfortable working with or supporting men and women leaders equally in their community or county. However, more respondents would feel comfortable working with or supporting men leaders (35%) than women leaders (15%) when it came to deciding between men and women leaders. Lastly, 81% of respondents expressed that there were some elements of discrimination against women in politics, with 35% believing that there is some discrimination against women in politics, 28% believed that there is a lot of discrimination against women in politics, while 18% believed that there is a little discrimination against women in politics. Only a minute proportion of respondents (9%) held that there is no discrimination against women in politics, while 10% reported that they did not know.

Key takeaway from the focus group discussion indicates that although the NEC has and is seen as able to conduct peaceful and smooth elections, they do not believe that the NEC is credible or can be trusted to successfully handle critical electoral issues such as disputes. Some see the NEC staff stationed outside Monrovia are biased, untrustworthy, partial and sometimes party leaning. NEC needs to inspire public confidence so that voters trust the process. One way of doing so is to ensure that all of NEC's staff perform their duties with the utmost professionalism and transparency to remove any doubt of their independence and impartiality. Another is to ensure any and all electoral disputes are adjudicated swiftly and openly so that no one perceives the NEC of being dishonest in its dealings.

Recommendations

Government Agencies

1. Take actions to increase awareness of the BVR and its benefits for elections.
2. Take actions to increase awareness and understanding of the new Elections Law of 2014 among the public.
3. Take more concrete actions to discourage voter trucking and vote buying by creating awareness on the implication of these activ-

ities on the results and credibility of elections and by penalizing all parties involved in such acts.

4. Take actions to discourage or minimize electoral violence in general and violence against women in election in particular, to create a level plain for adequate and equal participation in elections
5. Take concrete actions to organize and conclusive more inclusive elections by ensuring that polling places and precincts, as well as voting materials are disabled-friendly and accessible to people with disability.
6. NEC and the Supreme Court should install measures wherein the people are aware of the work they do to ensure Liberia have free and fair elections. By going to the people and showing them that the system works for them, NEC and the Supreme Court will increase voters' trust in the system.
7. Take concrete actions to improve CVE by starting CVE activities well in advance and being consistent and continuous with the activities through the electoral process.
8. Engage the Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) community and all available media platforms to ensure that election messages are widely distributed.

UN Agencies

1. Take concrete actions to support NEC and CSOs to work with political parties and women in general to address gaps in women's financial capacities to actively participate in elections.
2. Lobby to ensure that the President signs into law the 30% women quota. This will go some way to increasing women's participation in national leadership.
3. Take concrete actions to build and/or strengthen the capacity and morale of NEC and the Supreme Court to effectively and judiciously investigate, manage and adjudicate electoral disputes.
4. Take concrete actions to support NEC and the Judiciary to discourage and minimize voter trucking and vote buying during elections.
5. Take concrete actions to work with diverse partners including CSOs and national partners to create awareness on vices that inhibit women's participation in politics and leadership.
6. Take concrete actions to support the NEC to create significant awareness on BVR, including its use and benefits.

01 Introduction

Background to the study

Elections are a vital component of good governance which play an essential role in the determination of national leadership, the nurturing of democracy, and the sustenance of peace. Like several countries globally, Liberia seeks to adhere to democratic values by holding regular elections. Over the years, there has been significant improvement in the organization and conduct of elections in Liberia. National and international observers have described recent elections as peaceful and credible, despite some citizens and political parties questioning the credibility of electoral results. For example, in 2017, the National Elections Commission (NEC) received two complaints regarding the credibility of the presidential election and 96 complaints about the House of Representative elections¹.

1. NDI, (2018). Final Report: Liberia 2017 Presidential and Legislative Elections, p.9. National Democratic Institute International Election Observation Mission

Liberians go to the polls in 2023 to elect the President, Vice President, 73 members of the House of Representatives, and 15 members of the House of Senate. The 2023 elections are crucial as this is an opportunity to solidify the tenets of democracy and peace or fall victim to violence and instability. It will be the second nationwide election to be conducted under the mantle of the Government of Liberia since the departure of UNMIL in March 2018².

The Liberia National Elections Commission (NEC) is mandated to conduct national elections for all elective public positions³. Recently, the NEC has conducted several public elections including the 2005 presidential and legislative elections, 2011 presidential and legislative elections, 2014 special

2. The first nationwide election was the midterm, special senatorial election conducted in December 2020.

3. NEC was established by the 1986 Constitution and was originally called the Elections Commission. It became known as the National Elections Commission in February 2004 in line with Article XIX of the Comprehensive Peace Accord (CPA) signed in Accra, Ghana in 2003.

senatorial elections, 2017 presidential and legislative elections, and 2020 special senatorial elections. It has also conducted several by-elections to fill vacancies in the National Legislature.

NEC is confronted with numerous institutional and operational challenges which undermine its ability to optimally perform its statutory functions and contribute to strengthening the nascent democracy and peace the country prides itself on now⁴. Inadequate technical skills of staff, limited capacity building opportunities, gaps in electoral dispute resolution system, asset management, and limited capacity of the government to fund elections, among others, challenge the institution's ability to effectively conduct elections. Additionally, inadequate voter education, high voter illiteracy, weak political institutions and very low women political participations affect the electoral processes in Liberia⁵.

The United Nations System in Liberia has been supporting the National Elections Commission (NEC) over the years to organize and conduct credible and inclusive elections since 2005. In recent years, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has collaborated with the NEC to develop and implement the Liberia Electoral Support Project (LESP). The project, currently supported by Ireland, Sweden, and UNDP, was initiated in September 2020, following four consecutive cycles of UN electoral assistance to Liberia and building upon the most recent 2015 to (2018) 2020 Support to Liberia Electoral Cycle. The project aims to strengthen the

capacity of NEC to organize and conduct inclusive, transparent, and credible elections by supporting NEC to address these challenges. LESP also focuses on inclusion and participation of women, youth, persons with disabilities, and marginalized groups, strengthening capacity of electoral stakeholders in elections, and prevention of electoral violence (including Violence against Women in Elections and Politics (VAWIE/P)).

In addition, UNDP and UN Women in partnership with the NEC are implementing a Peace-Building Fund (PBF) project to increase women participation and to further strengthen mechanisms to prevent and respond to violence against women in elections and politics.

As we approach the 2023 presidential and legislative elections, there are imperatives to understanding factors that impact successful electoral processes as well as those that facilitate the successful implementation of the ongoing programs to achieve their objectives and desired results on the other hand. In this light, the public's perception regarding the NEC and the electoral processes, women, and their participation in elections and politics are critical. A strong understanding of these variables would enable NEC and its partners to access the necessary information to design and implement appropriate strategies and plans that could lead to the successful holding of inclusive, transparent, and credible elections in 2023 and beyond. The baseline study and public perception survey will further inform future electoral assistance programming.

4. Freedom in the World (2022). Liberia. <https://freedom-house.org/country/liberia/freedom-world/2022>

5. NEC was established by the 1986 Constitution and was originally called the Elections Commission. It became known as the National Elections Commission in February 2004 in line with Article XIX of the Comprehensive Peace Accord (CPA) signed in Accra, Ghana in 2003.

02 Literature Review

Historical context of elections in Liberia

Elections have been a part of the history of Liberia since its birth in 1847. The first elections in Liberia were held in 1847 which saw Joseph Jenkins Roberts becoming the first President of the new republic. Liberia has elected most of its presidents and legislative assembly since then, with the exception of the 1980 coup d'état which brought President Doe to power⁶. Though democratic electoral activities resumed by 1985, it was short-lived as the civil war of 1989 began. The first post-war elections in Liberia were held in 1997 as part of the negotiated peace agreement brokered by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), which had a military presence (ECOMOG⁷) in the country. This election was succeeded by the 2005 legislative and presidential elections that brought Liberia's and Africa's first woman president to power. Several

other elections were held after the 2005 national elections, including the 2011 presidential and representative elections, the 2014 midterm senatorial elections, the 2017 presidential and representative elections, and the 2020 mid-term senatorial elections and several by-elections. The 2017 elections occupied a significant place in the history of political governance in Liberia, as it ushered the first democratic transfer of power from the ruling party to an opposition party in 73 years.

Women Participation in Politics and leadership in Liberia

Although Liberia marked a historical moment by electing the first woman president in Liberia and in Africa in 2005⁸, the recent outlook of women's participation in governance in Liberia is grim⁹.

6. Okole, J. E. (1981). Liberia: The Military Coup and Its Aftermath. *The World Today*. Vol. 37, No. 4, pp. 149-157

7. Economic Community Monitoring Group

8. Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf was elected in 2005 as president, becoming the first woman president of Liberia and Africa.

9. Is Liberia's Sirleaf really standing up for women? Aljazeera (31 August 2017). <https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2017/8/31/is-liberias-sirleaf-really-standing-up-for-women>

Since 2005—when the highest number of women was represented in the three Branches of Government—there has been a steady decline in the number of women in governance. Women's participation in politics and national leadership is still limited today. Though women make up nearly half of the population¹⁰, as well as half of the registered voters¹¹, women's participation in elections as candidates and leaders of political parties is low. In 2017, women made up 48% of registered voters but accounted for only 16% of candidates and 12% of the seats in the House of Representative¹². Women represent only 11% of the members of the Legislature¹³ today, placing the country significantly below the global average (25%)¹⁴ for women in the national parliament. Recently, women's participation in electoral processes have experienced some level of violence, intimidation, and harassment. In 2017, a woman representative candidate in District 13 in Montserrado County (Cornelia Kruah-Togba) was intimidated, resulting into a violent confrontation between her supporters and supporters of the ruling party. Similar situation was experienced by Telia Urey in 2019 in District # 15 representative by-elections, when she and her supporters were reportedly attacked leading to injuries and destruction of property. During the 2020 mid-term senatorial election, another woman candidate (Gbotoe Kanneh) was intimidated, and her supporters were terrorized in Gbarpolu County. Recently, some political parties have begun to support more women in leadership as the discourse surrounding women political participation intensifies. The ruling party Congress for Democratic Change (CDC) recently adopted a 40% women quota in leadership in efforts to increase women in political and leadership positions¹⁵.

Public perception of elections and electoral management body in Liberia

Public perception of electoral processes, their out-

comes, related institutions, and national authorities are among the key determinants of electoral violence. Evidence from the World Values Survey suggests that public perceptions of electoral malpractices erode trust and confidence in elected authorities, discourage voter turnout and generate protests, and even undermine regime stability (Norris 2014). Public perception of critical issues are drivers of people's attitudes toward specific voting patterns and the outcomes of elections (Birch, 2020). In Liberia, public perception of elections, electoral management bodies, and the system still face many challenges. Many people still seem to lack confidence and trust in the electoral system and processes and believe that they are not credible and transparent. According to a survey conducted by the Liberia Media Center in 2014, only 50% of the respondents thought the 2011 elections were fair¹⁶. Similarly, perceived public trust in key institutions that play a role in electoral processes in Liberia has shown some downward trend. Though still relatively strong, the level of public trust expressed in NEC in 2015 (86%) declined by 11% in 2018 (75%)¹⁷. Also, 26.8% of women in a survey conducted in 2015 perceived the NEC to be untrustworthy¹⁸. Electoral irregularities and malpractices have been a cause for concern over the years. A trend analysis done by USAID and NEC on the findings of the Liberia Electoral Access and Participation Surveys conducted in 2015 and 2018 on the 2014 and 2017 elections showed a majority (77%) of respondents reported being more aware of trucking of voters in 2017 than in 2014 (65%). However, more respondents (86%) denounced vote selling in 2018 than in 2015 (69%)¹⁹.

Challenges confronting electoral processes in Liberia

Electoral violence and disputes have become new phenomena in electioneering, political and democratic governance processes around the world, with Liberia being no exception. In many countries, lack of trust in electoral bodies, lack of transparency, limited capacity of electoral bodies, poor vot-

10. LISGIS 2008 Population Census. https://www.emansion.gov.lr/doc/Population_by_County.pdf

11. National Elections Commission 2020 Registered Voters. https://www.necliberia.org/edistrict_20.php

12. Carter Center. (2017). Elections Report. National Elections in Liberia Fall 2017. Final Report

13. There are currently eleven women in parliament out of 103 (nine women in the House of Representative and two in the House of Senate)

14. UN Women, (2021). Facts and figures: Women's leadership and political participation accessed on 06 April 2022 via Facts and figures: Women's leadership and political participation | What we do | UN Women – Headquarters

15. <https://frontpageafricaonline.com/politics/liberia-cdc-celebrates-17th-anniversary-as-party-adopts-40-quota-to-increase-womens-participation-in-political-leadership/>

16. LMC, (2014). Baseline Study Summary Report on Civic and Voter Education. Monrovia, Liberia.

17. Hendley, R. (2019). Liberia Electoral Access Participatory Survey. Monrovia, Liberia. USAID Liberia

18. Gobewole, S.H. (2015). Public Corruption in the Liberian Government. Warden University, USA. Walden Dissertations and Doctoral Studies Collection at Scholar Works

19. As part of the longitudinal study on elections, another survey was conducted for the 2020 Special Senatorial Elections. However, that report is still not completed or ready for public access.

er education and community engagement, limited funding and limited participation of women are just some of the issues that challenge the electoral processes. These issues have often given rise to disenchantment among politicians, political parties and electorates; lead to voter apathy; fuel tension and brew violence and instability. It is important to note that the electoral system and processes in Liberia face many of these challenges. In Liberia, there have been several accusations of electoral frauds and irregularities from citizens, candidates and political parties, despite the elections being largely described by international observers as free and fair. In 2011, the Congress for Democratic Change (CDC) alleged that the 2011 general elections were marred by fraud and irregularities, thus prompting the party to boycott the run-off election. And, in 2017, the NEC received 98 complaints of electoral irregularities and fraud (2 for the presidential election and 96 for the representative election)²⁰. Often, the resolution of these disputes takes a long time and is complex, posing a challenge to the electoral processes. In 2017, the delay by the Supreme Court to resolve electoral disputes between the three leading parties led to tensions which put the country on high alert as it had the potential to derail the smooth transition process from President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf to President-elect George Manneh Weah²¹.

These situations have led to some flare-up and violence during the electoral processes. Interestingly, one form of violence or another has occurred during all recent electoral processes after the civil crisis, including the elections held in 2005, 2011, 2014, 2017, and 2020. For example, in 2011, a serious violence occurred within the vicinity of the headquarters of the Congress for Democratic Change (CDC) when law enforcement officers tried to contain a protest organized that turned violent based on allegation²².

Challenges confronting women political participation and leadership in Liberia

Studies have shown that women's political partic-

ipation and leadership in Liberia are constrained by several cultural and socioeconomic factors that inhabit their full participation. Some deeply entrenched social norms and practices restricting women's role include household and family chores; unequal access to education; skills training, and finance (Cole,2011; Kellow,2019). These contribute to socioeconomic inequalities, limited access to resources, stereotypes and expectations that give preference to male over female leaders. These situations have negatively impacted women's political participation and leadership in the country. As it stands, women's political participation and leadership in Liberia is low. Currently, there are only two women in the 30-member Liberian Senate and nine women in the 73-member House of Representatives. The Legislature is not the only branch of government affected by this situation. In the Executive Branch of Government, women head only five of the 19 cabinet positions in government ministries. At the local level, only two of the 15 superintendents are women, representing a minute 13%.

Support to NEC and the Electoral Process

The National Elections Commission (NEC) is Liberia's chief electoral management body (EMB). The NEC has its legal foundation from Chapter X, Article 89 of the Constitution of Liberia and Chapter 2, Section 9, Sub-section a-x of the New Elections Law of 1986. Originally, NEC was called the Elections Commission (ECOM) but got its current name as a result of an amendment or a statute in 2004. The NEC has undergone legal and technical transformation over the years. ECOM, the predecessor of NEC, became dysfunctional during the war years. In 1997, an Independent Elections Commission (IECOM) was constituted to organize and conduct the special presidential elections that ended the first Liberian civil war and brought to power President Charles Taylor. In 2003, the Comprehensive Peace Accord (CPA) restructured the ECOM and increased the number of commissioners from five to seven and gave rise to NEC in 2004. As a post-war electoral body, the NEC has been faced with many technical and operational challenges that impeded its ability to function effectively and efficiently. Funding to run the institution and organize and conduct elections in line with its statutory mandates has been grossly inadequate. Technical skills and competence of staff and temporary elections have been limited. Logistics and infrastruc-

20. NDI, (2018). Final Report: Liberia 2017 Presidential and Legislative Elections, p.9. National Democratic Institute International Election Observation Mission.

21. France24, (2017). Liberia's election delay divides already tense nation. Issued on: 05/11/2017. <https://www.france24.com/en/20171105-liberias-election-delay-divides-already-tense-nation>

22. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2011_Liberian_general_election#:~:text=by%20CDC%20partisans.-,Violence,of%20the%20second%20round%20election.

tures to organize, conduct and manage elections had all posed serious challenges for the smooth conduct of elections.

The UN Agencies and development partners support the government and NEC to address these challenges and build the technical and institutional capacities of NEC. There has been a significant, positive transformation of NEC from both the technical and operational perspectives. UN Agencies and development partners have assisted the NEC to develop and revise several strategic frameworks/documents including but not limited to the Gender Policy, NEC 2018-2024 Strategic Plan, and the reform of the Elections Law of 2014, among others. These partners have also helped to develop the technical capacity of staff through

training and mentoring; develop electoral infrastructures and improve logistics. For example, the Support to Liberia 2015-2018 Electoral Cycle Project implemented by UNDP between 2015 and 2020 and funded by the European Union (EU), Sweden, Ireland, and Canada renovated and constructed 12 warehouses, fences, generator houses in 12 of the 19 magisterial areas counties. The support has increased institutional, operational, and technical capacities of NEC to organize and conduct elections. The unsupervised elections of 2017 and 2020 are testament to the National Elections Commission's improved capacities. Previous elections conducted by NEC were under the oversight of partners, particularly the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL).

03 Overall objective and specific objectives of the study

The survey aims to enhance NEC's capacity to conduct inclusive, transparent, and credible elections and to successfully implement the ongoing LESP and the Promoting Inclusive Political Participation (PIPP) Project by providing empirical and reliable data/information on public perception of electoral processes, women political participation and project indicators and assumptions.

The specific objectives of the survey focused on capturing data/information on the two main areas of the survey as follows:

Baseline survey:

- To collect and analyze data according to the LESP and Promoting Inclusive Political Participation (PIPP) projects log frames, establish baseline and inform the revision of targets.
- To highlight initial conditions in project communities, identify significant trends, important gaps and any other findings of interest.

- To help set NEC, LESP, and PIPP conditions in the target communities and collect baseline information for all indicators.
- To inform the implementation of NEC Strategic plan and UNDP / UN Women project activities related to elections and inclusive participation, including evidence-based advocacy initiatives.
- To inform the development of a robust Monitoring & Evaluation (M&E) plan and results-based management for the project.

Public perception surveys:

- To collect empirical data and document citizens' views on several issues relative to the conduct of elections and the impact of elections on democracy and peace in Liberia during the electoral cycle.
- To highlight the barriers to women's participation in public offices in the target communities by sector/stakeholder groups (women, youths, community and tradition-

al leaders) which negatively affect inclusive political participation and peacebuilding.

- To provide empirical evidence to improve delivery of the NEC Strategic Plan, LESP, and PIPP based on the attitudes, practices, and perceptions in relation to citizen participation and gender equality in electoral and political processes.

Scope of the study

The survey covered key areas pertinent to the electoral cycle, LESP and the PIPP Projects and the NEC 2018-2024 Strategic Plan. It collected data/information on citizens' views on the electoral processes, institutions, actors, and outcomes that influence the attitudes and actions of the public towards elections, such as voter apathy, electoral violence, etc.; women participation in political processes and national leadership including key barriers that inhibit their participation.

Research questions

1. What are the views and/or opinions of the public of the electoral processes, outcomes, institutions, and stakeholders in Liberia?
2. What are the views and/or opinions of the public of inclusive political participation in Liberia, particularly women's participation in political processes and national leadership?
3. What are the barriers to women's political participation and leadership in Liberia?
4. What is the status of the LESP and PIPP projects' indicators?

04 Methodology

The research used a two-prong approach to gather the needed information. A cross-sectional survey and a retrospective study design were used to assess the public's opinion on elections and women participation in politics as well as set the conditions to gather baselines for the LESP and PIPP projects. Both probability and non-probability methods were used to gather information. A household survey using randomized sampling was conducted across nine counties covering a total sample of 2,061 respondents. Simultaneously, a mix of focus group discussion (FGD) and key informant interview (KII) were used to gather in-depth information from stakeholders and key institutions on elections and women's political participation. Some 80 persons participated in the FGDs while 20 persons from 15 institutions participated in the KII. See annex 1 for a detailed analysis of the research methodology and its accompanying parts.

Findings

This section contains the findings of the survey generated from the analysis and interpretation of the quantitative and qualitative data. Information and/or responses are presented in percent and approximated or rounded to the nearest whole numbers. As

a result of the approximation to the nearest whole number, the sum of a set of responses or categories might not exactly add up to 100%. There might be a slight, negligible increase or decrease, which is usually +/- 1% and does not impact the outcome of the results. Furthermore, due to the approximation of percent to the nearest whole number, responses below 0.5% are usually approximated or rounded to zero. Therefore, zero in all cases does not necessarily indicate there was absolutely no response for a particular category or response.

Demographic information of respondents

The survey interviewed 2,061 persons in the nine targeted counties with a 100% response rate. As shown in Table 1 below, nearly half of the respondents were residents of Montserrado County (47.2%), followed by those in Nimba (19.5%), Margibi (8.8%), Maryland (5.7%) and Grand Cape Mount (5.4%) at a distance. The distribution of respondents across the targeted counties is a representation of the distribution of the population of Liberia, which shows counties with more population producing higher numbers of respondents.



2,061

Table 1: Distribution of respondents by county of residence		
Respondents' county	Frequency	Percentage
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)		
Gbarpolu	74	3.6%
Grand Cape Mount	111	5.4%
Grand Kru	51	2.5%
Margibi	182	8.8%
Maryland	118	5.7%
Montserrado	972	47.2%
Nimba	402	19.5%
River Cess	62	3.0%
Sinoe	89	4.3%
Total	2061	100%

Respondents were almost evenly divided by sex, with men constituting 50.6% and women making up 49.4%. This resonates with the national ratio of men vs women as well as the total voter registration tally. All major national statistics indicate an almost even demography with men being slightly more (see LISGIS and NEC reports).

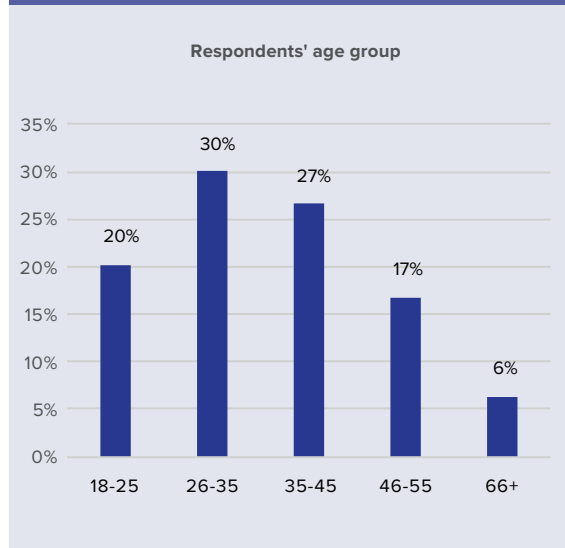
A slight majority of respondents (52.2%) reside in rural communities while 47.8% live in urban areas. This does not conform to the national statistics on rural-urban divide because the sample locations (EA or districts) selected comprised predominantly rural communities. Although this does not reflect the national rural-urban voters' paradigm, the selections are important to the NEC for outreach and other strategic purposes.

Across the country, Margibi (67%), Montserrado (58%) and Grand Kru (55%) had the most respondents within the age groups of 18 and 35 years. Table 2 below provides the details.

Table 2: Distribution of respondents by age group and county						
Respondent county of resident	Respondent's age range					Total
	18-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	66 and above	
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)						
Gbarpolu	18%	32%	28%	14%	8%	100%
Grand Cape Mount	23%	21%	28%	21%	7%	100%
Grand Kru	22%	33%	24%	18%	4%	100%
Margibi	37%	30%	22%	7%	4%	100%
Maryland	26%	20%	34%	14%	5%	100%
Montserrado	22%	36%	24%	14%	4%	100%
Nimba	10%	24%	32%	22%	13%	100%
River Cess	13%	24%	37%	26%	0%	100%
Sinoe	7%	18%	27%	38%	10%	100%
Total	20%	30%	27%	17%	6%	100%

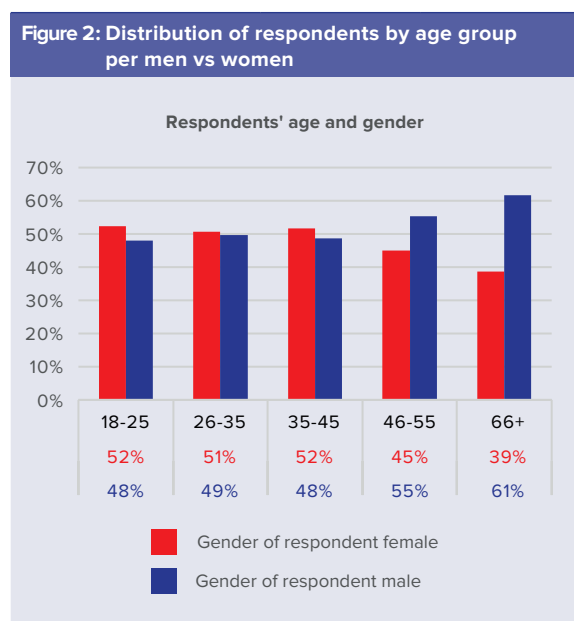
As shown in Figure 1 below, half of the respondents (50%) are young people between the ages of 18 and 35, with those between the ages of 18 and 25 making up 20% while those between the ages 26 and 35 accounting for 30%. The remaining 50% of the respondents were with the following age groups: 36 and 45 (27%); 46 and 55 (17%) and 66 and above (6%). It is important to get the views of young people in a democratic process, especially in elections which is critical to democratic governance.

Figure 1: Distribution of respondents by age group



Further analysis indicates that although men are slightly more than women, the data shows that there are more younger women than younger men.

The data further shows that women slightly dominate within the age groups of 18-25 (52% women vs 48% men), 26-35 (51% women vs 49% men) and 36-45 (52% women vs 48% men). However, men slightly dominate within the age groups of 46-55 (55% men vs 45% women) and 66 years and above (61% men vs 39% women).



The highest educational level attained by most respondents was the completion of secondary education (22%), followed by high school drop-outs (19%) and those who did not complete their elementary education (13%). Educational attainment tended to favor men respondents more than their women counterparts. Of the respondents who completed secondary education, 62% were men while 38% were women. Similarly, 70% of respondents who completed the first degree were men compared to women with 30%. Although the data appears to heavily favor men in terms of education attainment, it should be noted that the divide is not this wide when compared to the national data, especially for the higher education (college and above) level. The education divide does exist across the country though. However, with a higher number of rural communities being sampled than urban communities, the college rate in general dropped but significantly for women. In many rural communities, women begin child bearing and home caring early—sometimes even before they are out of high school—which limits them from pursuing further education. On the other hand, teenage pregnancy, especially in rural communities where it's twice as high—are the primary reason far less women at-

taining a high school diploma or even finishing primary education²³ (See tables 3 and 4 below).

Table 3: Distribution of respondents by educational level	
Respondents' educational level	Percentage
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)	
No formal education	23%
Some elementary education ²⁴	13%
Completed elementary education	7%
Some secondary education ²⁵	19%
Completed secondary education	22%
Completed vocational/technical education	3%
Some university/college education ²⁶	10%
Completed first degree	3%
Some master's education ²⁷	0%
Completed master's education	0%
Total	100%

One in every five respondents did not have any formal education. On the overall, the lack of formal education was higher among women respondents (30%) than among men respondents (15%). At the same time, of those who did not have any formal education, women were nearly twice (66%) as high as men (34%).

Table 4: Respondent's education level by sex			
Respondent's educational level	Female	Male	Total
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)			
No formal education	66%	34%	100%
Some elementary education	60%	40%	100%
Completed elementary education	52%	48%	100%
Some secondary education	49%	51%	100%
Completed secondary education	38%	62%	100%
Completed vocational/technical education	28%	72%	100%
Some university/college education	35%	65%	100%
Completed first degree	30%	70%	100%
Some master's education	43%	57%	100%
Completed master's education	0%	100%	100%
Total	49%	51%	100%

23. <https://www.liberianobserver.com/liberia-teenage-pregnancy-skyrockets-rivercess-county#:~:text=It's%20estimated%20that%20on%20average,42%25%20and%2024%25%20respectively>

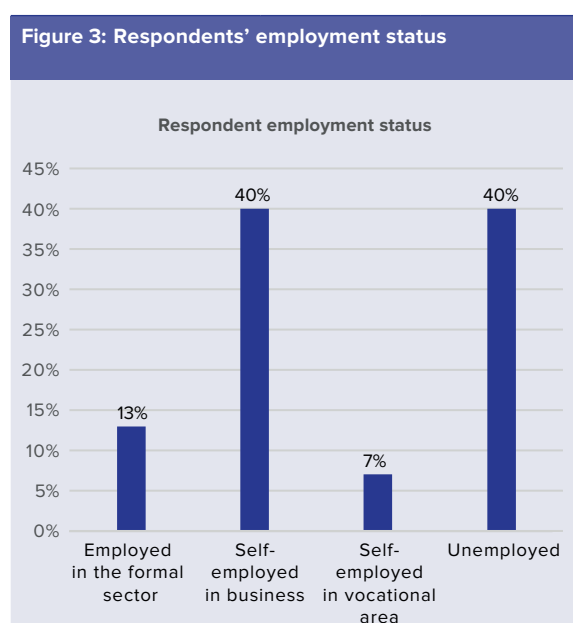
24. This refers to elementary drop-out.

25. This refers to high school drop-out.

26. This refers to students who are currently in the process of obtaining the degrees or are college drop-out.

27. Some Master's degrees refer to students who are currently in the process of obtaining the degrees or a Master's drop-out.

Unemployment among respondents is relatively high, as two out of every five respondents reported being unemployed. As shown in Figure 3 below, only 13% of respondents reported being employed in the formal sector. Even for those under employment, the majority fall within the vulnerable employment category, 40% of the respondents reported being self-employed in business, while 7% reported being self-employed in vocational areas. A deeper delve into the analysis reveals that only 7.4% of those in the formal sector are between the ages of 18-25. However, that figure doubles to 14.7% of those in the vulnerable employment category within the same age group.



The vast majority (71%) of those employed in the formal sector were men while women accounted for just 29% of them. Women (55%) were slightly higher than men (45%) among respondents that reported being unemployed. As shown in table 5 below, while slightly more women (55%) reported being self-employed in business than men (45%), self-employment in vocational areas was significantly dominated by men (77%) compared to women (23%).

Table 5: Distribution of respondents' employment status by sex			
Respondent employment status	Female	Male	Total
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)			
Employed in the formal sector	29%	71%	100%
Self-employed in business	55%	45%	100%
Self-employed in vocational area	23%	77%	100%
Unemployed	55%	45%	100%
Total	49%	51%	100%

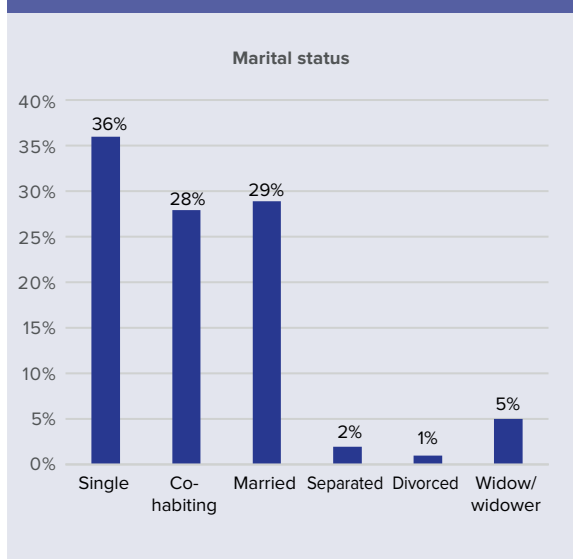
The data shows a strong relationship between education level and employment. As the population attain higher education so do their chances of being gainfully employed. This is especially so for women wherein the data revealed that of the 267 women who had attained at least a high school diploma, 58% were employed while 20% worked in the formal sector. Though voting for your preferred candidate has little to do with attaining formal education, participating in electoral processes as candidates do demand some level of formal education. Therefore, increasing the number of educated women, especially in rural communities, is likely to increase the active participation of women in politics and electoral affairs.

Table 6: Distribution of respondents by employment status and age group						
Respondent's Employment Status	Respondent's Age Group					Total
	18-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	66 and above	
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)						
Employed in the formal sector	7%	29%	31%	24%	9%	100%
Self-employed in business	15%	34%	31%	16%	3%	100%
Self-employed in vocational area	12%	27%	36%	20%	5%	100%
Unemployed	31%	27%	19%	14%	9%	100%
Total	20%	30%	27%	17%	6%	100%

As shown in Table 6 above, the majority of those unemployed were within the age groups of 18-25 (20%), 26-35 (30%) and 36-45 (27%). Youth constitute 50% of those unemployed, which reflects a point of concern since unemployment and youth sometimes play key roles in violence including electoral violence. At the same time, the majority of those employed in the formal sector were within the age groups of 26-35 (29%), 36-45 (31%) and 46-55 (24%). Similarly, the majority of those self-employed in business were within the age groups of 26-35 (34%) and 36-45 (31%). Likewise, 27% and 36% of those self-employed in vocational areas were within the age groups of 26-35 and 36-45, respectively.

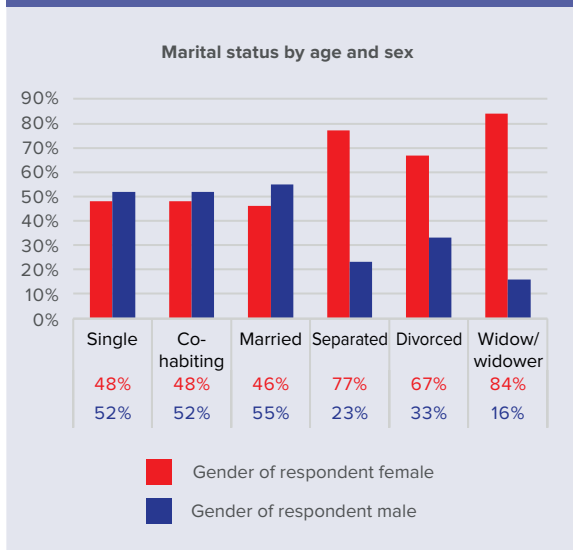
On the status of companionship, the majority of respondents (36%) reported being single, followed by those who indicated being married (29%) and co-habiting (28%). (See Figure 4 below).

Figure 4: Respondents' marital status



Men slightly dominate respondents who reported being single and cohabitating, with men in each category accounting for 52% compared with the women (48%). Men (55%) also slightly dominate respondents who reported being married compared with women (45%). However, women slightly dominate respondents who reported being divorced and separated, with women accounting for 67% and 77%, respectively, while men accrued 33% and 23% accordingly. (See Figure 5 below).

Figure 5: Distribution of respondents by marital status and sex



Given that many marriages occur between the third and fourth age groups, those respondents that reported being single were within the age groups 18-25 (42%) and 26-35 (39%). Similarly, the majority of

those married were within the age groups of 36-45 (38%) and 46-55 (30%), while the majority of those cohabiting were within the age groups of 26-35 (38%) and 36-45 (33%). This is representative of the typical reality in most Liberian communities, especially in urban setting where most youth would be single and people in their middle adulthood would either be married or cohabiting.

Table 7: Distribution of respondents by marital status and age group

Marital status	Respondent's age range					Total
	18-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	66 and above	
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)						
Single	42%	39%	14%	5%	1%	100%
Cohabiting	14%	38%	33%	13%	3%	100%
Married	4%	16%	38%	30%	11%	100%
Separated	7%	16%	39%	29%	10%	100%
Divorced	6%	17%	22%	44%	11%	100%
Widow/ widower	0%	11%	15%	36%	38%	100%
Total	20%	30%	27%	17%	6%	100%

In terms of their religious affiliation, the vast majority (85%) of the respondents reported being Christians, followed by Muslims with 13%. One percent (1%) of the respondents reported practicing traditional religion while a very minute respondents rounded to zero percent reported having no religion. (See Table 8 below.)

Table 8: Distribution of respondents by religion

Respondents' religion	Total
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)	
Christian	85%
Muslim	14%
No religion	0%
Traditional religion	1%
Total	100%

The majority of those who practice traditional religion were resident in rural areas (76%) compared with urban areas (24%). Likewise, a slight majority of respondents who indicated being Christians were residing in the rural areas (54%) compared with those residing in the urban areas (46%). However, more respondents who reported being Muslims were residing in urban areas (59%) than rural areas (41%). Lastly, only 7 persons indicated that they have no religion, accounting for 0% of the population. Note that because the sample fa-

vors rural communities, the number of Christians increased for rural communities. This would be higher for urban locations if the sample was evenly selected since more people live in urban than rural areas.

Table 9: Distribution of respondents by religion and rural/urban residency			
Religious affiliation per location	Rural	Urban	Total
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered this question (0 were without data)			
Christian	54%	46%	100%
Muslim	41%	59%	100%
No religion	86%	14%	100%
Traditional religion	76%	24%	100%
Total	52%	48%	100%

In terms of disability status, 7% of the respondents indicated that they had some form of disability as opposed to the overwhelming 93% who said no. Overall, 5% of respondents reported having physical disability, 1% reported having hearing impairment, another 1% reported having visual impairment, while 0.2 (rounded to zero) reported having mental disability (See Table 10 below).

Table 10: Distribution of respondents by disability status	
Do you consider yourself as person living with disability?	Total
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)	
No	93%
Yes, I am hearing impaired	1%
Yes, I am visually impaired	1%
Yes, I have a physical disability	5%
Yes, I have mental disability	0%
Total	100%

Seventy percent (70%) of those who reported having a disability is suffering from physical disability, followed by visual impairment with 17% and hearing impairment with 9%. Those suffering from some form of mental disability accounts for 4% of respondents as depicted in Table 11 below.

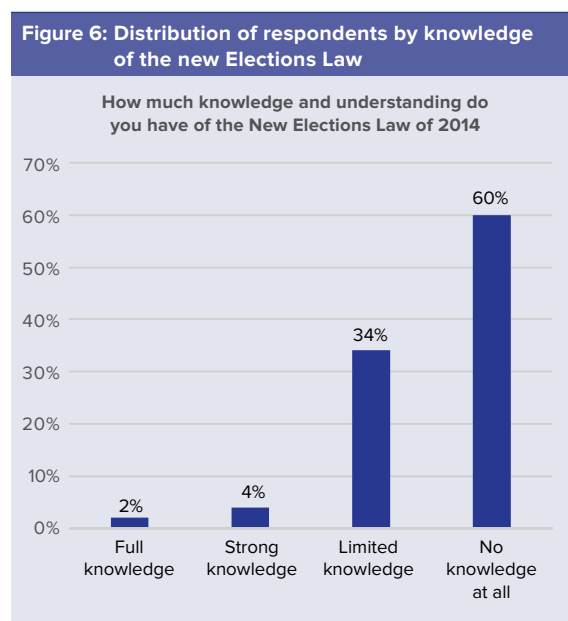
Table 11: Distribution of respondents suffering some form of disability by type of disability		
Do you consider yourself as person living with disability?	Frequency	Percent
145 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (1961 were without data.)		
Yes, I am hearing impaired	13	9%
Yes, I am visually impaired	25	17%
Yes, I have a physical disability	102	70%
Yes, I have mental disability	5	4%
Total	145	100%

Public Perception of Electoral Processes and Women Political Participation and Leadership

This session of the study assesses the perception of the public in terms of their awareness, attitude and beliefs about the electoral processes and women political participation and leadership.

To what extent do you agree with the statement describing your understanding of the New Elections Law

Knowledge on the new Elections Law is significantly low. Three out of every five respondents did not have any knowledge of the New Elections Law of 2014. At the same time, 27% of respondents have limited knowledge on the law. Only 13% of respondents have some form of knowledge of the law, with just 2% claiming to have full knowledge, 4% claiming to have strong knowledge and 7% claiming to have partial knowledge.



There is no significant gender disparity in the knowledge of respondents of the new Elections Law. As displayed in Table 12 below, there is no significant gap between men (57%) and women (65%) relative to the lack of knowledge of the law among respondents. Similarly, limited knowledge of the law among respondents is almost evenly distributed among men (26%) and women (28%).

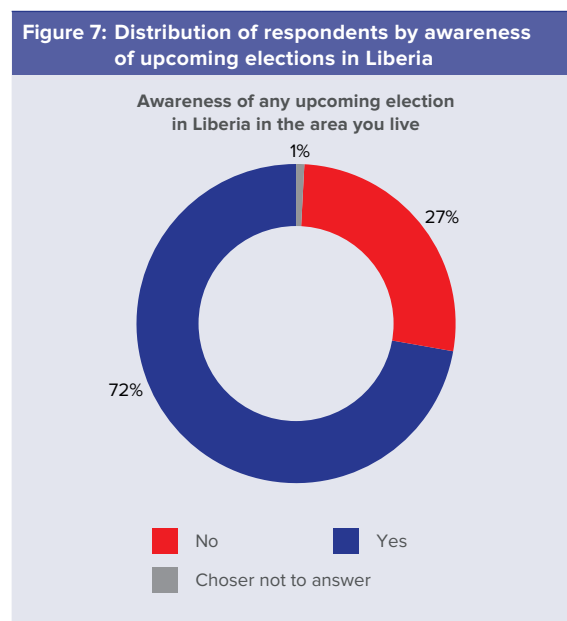
Table 12: Distribution of knowledge of the new Elections Law by sex			
How much knowledge and understanding do you have of the New Elections Law of 2014	Gender of Respondent		Total
	Women	Men	
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)			
Full knowledge	32%	68%	100%
Limited knowledge	51%	49%	100%
No Knowledge at all	53%	47%	100%
Partial knowledge	32%	68%	100%
Strong knowledge	20%	80%	100%
Total	49%	51%	100%

Knowledge of the Elections Law is very limited across most counties as shown in Table 13 below. Interestingly, even Montserrado which hosts the country's capital manifested limited knowledge of the law among respondents as 69% of respondents indicated having no knowledge of the law. Maryland (85%), Gbarpolu (79%) and Grand Cape Mount (79%) recorded the highest level of limited knowledge of the law. On the other hand, respondents in Nimba indicated having the highest level of knowledge of the law (72%) followed by Grand Kru with 63%.

Table 13: Distribution of respondents' knowledge of the Elections Law by County					
How much knowledge and understanding do you have of the New Elections Law of 2014					
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)					
Respondent County of resident	Full knowledge	Strong knowledge	Limited knowledge	No Knowledge at all	Total
Gbarpolu	1%	1%	20%	78%	100%
Grand Cape Mount	1%	1%	19%	79%	100%
Grand Kru	6%	8%	49%	37%	100%
Margibi	0%	2%	38%	60%	100%
Maryland	1%	0%	14%	85%	100%
Montserrado	2%	2%	27%	69%	100%
Nimba	3%	10%	59%	28%	100%
River Cess	0%	0%	31%	69%	100%
Sinoe	1%	2%	36%	61%	100%
Total	2%	4%	34%	60%	100%

Are you aware of any upcoming election in Liberia in the area you live?

Knowledge of upcoming elections in Liberia is high among respondents as three out of every four respondents are aware of the upcoming 2023 presidential and legislative elections. On the other hand, 27% reported not being aware of any such election, while 1% chose not to answer.

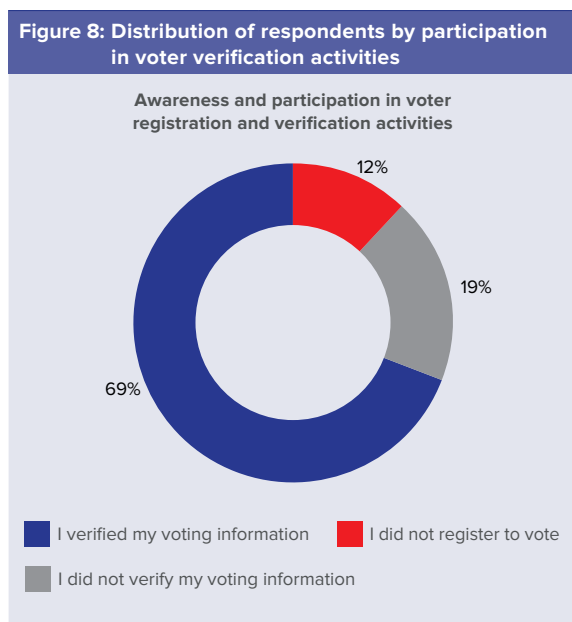


Men respondents (53%) are slightly more aware of such elections than women respondents (47%). Respondents in Maryland and Sinoe, with 98% each, were most aware of the upcoming election, followed by Nimba and Rivercess with 95% each. Surprisingly, respondents in Montserrado were the least aware of the upcoming election (53%).

Table 14: Distribution of respondents' awareness of upcoming election in Liberia by county				
Are you aware of any upcoming election in Liberia in the area you live?				
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)				
Respondent county of residence	Yes	No	Choose not to answer	Total
Gbarpolu	84%	5%	11%	100%
Grand Cape Mount	67%	33%	0%	100%
Grand Kru	65%	28%	8%	100%
Margibi	84%	17%	0%	100%
Maryland	98%	2%	0%	100%
Montserrado	53%	45%	1%	100%
Nimba	95%	5%	0%	100%
River Cess	95%	5%	0%	100%
Sinoe	98%	2%	0%	100%
Total	72%	27%	1%	100%

Respondents' participation in voter registration and verification activities

There was relatively strong awareness and participation of respondents in voter registration and verification activities in past elections as 69% of respondents asserted that they verified their voting information in the last election. Those who did not register or have voter registration card represented 12%, while 19% of the respondents indicated that they did not verify their voting information.



There is no significant gender gap among respondents who verified and did not verify their voting information. Of those who verified their information, 53% were men while 47% were women. Conversely, 53% of those who did not verify their voting information were women while 47% were men. Women dominated respondents who did register to vote with 59% compared with 41% for men. This might indicate some concerns for low registration of women.

Respondents in Nimba showed the highest level of awareness and participation in voter registration and verification activities with 90% of them recalling that they verified their voting information. Respondents from Grand Cape Mount and Rivercess also showed significantly high levels of awareness and participation in such exercise with each recalling 84% and 81%, respectively. Astonishingly, respondents from Montserrado recalled the least level of awareness and participation in such exercise with 56%. Table 15 below provides more details.

Table 15: Distribution of respondents' participation in voter registration and verification activities by county

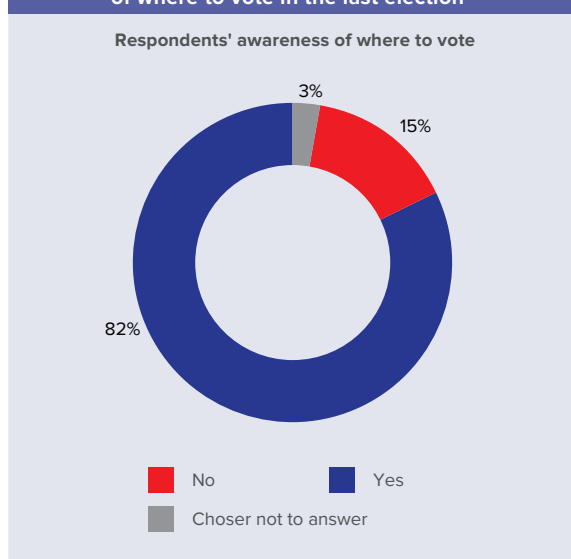
Respondent county of resident	I did not register to vote	I did not verify my voting information	I verified my voting information	Total
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)				
Gbarpolu	8%	18%	74%	100%
Grand Cape Mount	13%	4%	84%	100%
Grand Kru	2%	24%	75%	100%
Margibi	17%	8%	75%	100%
Maryland	10%	24%	66%	100%
Montserrado	16%	28%	56%	100%
Nimba	4%	7%	90%	100%
Rivercess	5%	15%	81%	100%
Sinoe	6%	21%	73%	100%
Total	12%	19%	69%	100%

Reasons provided by respondents who could not verify their voter information include respondents' lack of time to go and verify their information (28%); respondents being of the feeling that their information was correct so no need to go to verify (24%); the process of verification coinciding with respondents' travel (12%); and respondents' lack of awareness and knowledge that they needed to verify their voting information (23%). The rest of the respondents in this category (13%) could not provide any reasons.

Were you informed of where to cast your votes during the last election in the area you live?

A substantial number of respondents were aware of where they needed to go to cast their vote during the last election. Four out of every five respondents pointed out that they were informed of where to go and cast their vote during the last election. Conversely, 15% did not have such information while 3% of the respondents chose not to answer. (See Figure 9 below.) The high level of awareness and knowledge of where to vote might point to the success of the civic voter education (CVE) that provides information on election activities and processes. While men (53%) slightly exceeded women (47%) among respondents who were aware of where to cast their vote in the last election, a relatively higher number of women (60%) did not know where to cast their vote compared with men (40%) among those respondents who did not know where to vote.

Figure 9: Distribution of respondents by awareness of where to vote in the last election



As displayed in Table 16 below, respondents in Rivercess (97%), Nimba (95%), Maryland (94%) and Sinoe (93%), reported a very high level of awareness of where to cast their vote. Conversely, the least level of awareness of where to cast their vote was reported by respondents in Grand Kru (20%) followed by those in Montserrado (21%) and Grand Cape Mount (24%).

Table 16: Distribution of respondents by awareness of where to cast their vote by county

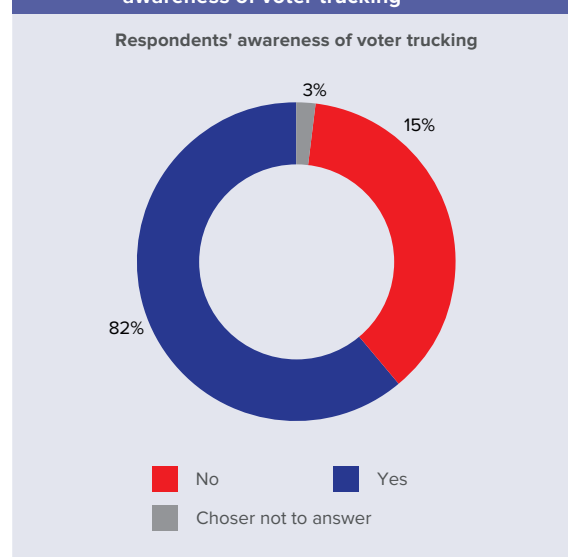
Were you informed of where to cast your votes during the last election in the area you live?				
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)				
Respondent county of resident	Yes	No	Choose not to answer	Total
Gbarpolu	85%	4%	11%	100%
Grand Cape Mount	76%	24%	0%	100%
Grand Kru	71%	20%	10%	100%
Margibi	86%	13%	1%	100%
Maryland	94%	4%	2%	100%
Montserrado	74%	21%	4%	100%
Nimba	95%	5%	1%	100%
River Cess	97%	3%		100%
Sinoe	93%	2%	5%	100%
Total	82%	15%	3%	100%

Are you aware of voter trucking during an election in the area you live or county?

Respondents were asked as to their awareness of voter trucking in the area they live. Before they were asked to respond, data collectors read and explained the following definition of voter trucking to the respondents: **Voter trucking is the act of**

candidates or political parties taking voters from their area of residence to go and vote in another area where they do not live. As shown in Figure 10 below, 61% of the respondents indicated being aware of voter trucking taking place during an election in the area they live, while 37% indicated not being aware and a negligible 2% chose not to respond.

Figure 10: Distribution of respondents by awareness of voter trucking



Overall, men were slightly more aware of voter trucking in their communities than women, with 66% of all men respondents claiming they are aware of such practice compared with 57% of women respondents who said the same. Of the respondents who claimed to be aware of voter trucking, 54% were men and 46% were women.

Across the counties, respondents in Sinoe revealed the highest awareness of voter trucking (96%) followed by Maryland (90%). Gbarpolu (77%), Grand Kru (77%) and Margibi (76%) followed at a distance. Conversely, respondents in Grand Cape Mount (54%), Nimba (49%) and Montserrado (42%) indicated the least level of awareness of voter trucking in that order. (See Table 17 below.)

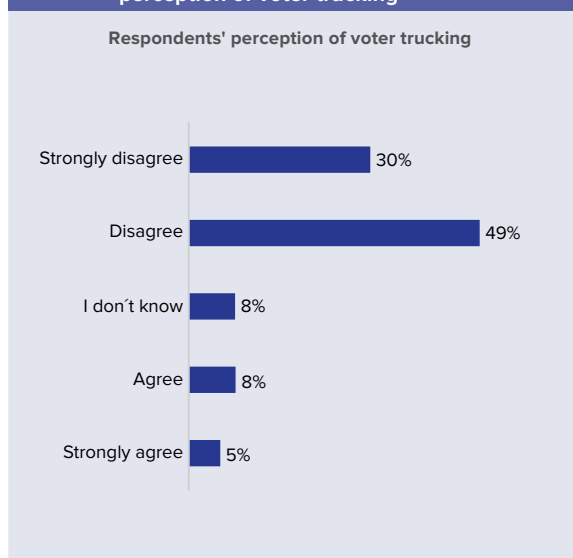
Table 17: Distribution of respondents by county and awareness of voter trucking

Respondent county of resident	Yes	No	Choose not to answer	Total
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)				
Gbarpolu	77%	7%	16%	100%
Grand Cape Mount	46%	54%	0%	100%
Grand Kru	77%	18%	6%	100%
Margibi	76%	24%	1%	100%
Maryland	90%	10%	0%	100%
Montserrado	56%	42%	2%	100%
Nimba	51%	49%	1%	100%
River Cess	65%	36%	0%	100%
Sinoe	96%	5%	0%	100%
Total	61%	37%	2%	100%

To what extent do you agree with the statement: 'Voter trucking is acceptable.'

Respondents' approval rating of voter trucking was low as only 13% of respondents were in agreement that voter trucking is acceptable—5% strongly agreed and 8% agreed. Conversely, a substantial majority of respondents (79%) were in disagreement with voter trucking—30% strongly disagreed and 49% disagreed. Men and women were almost equally split in their disapproval of voter trucking with men recording 80% disagreement while women accrued 79%. Of the respondents who disagreed, women constituted 51% while men accounted for 49%. Among respondents who strongly disagreed, men disagreed more (52%) than to the women (48%).

Figure 11: Distribution of respondents' perception of voter trucking



Respondents in Rivercess showed the highest level of total disagreement (disagree + strongly disagree) with 93% followed by Margibi with 91%. Grand Cape Mount also showed a strong level of disapproval (88%), followed by Nimba (82%) and Montserrado (80%). Table 18 below provides details.

Table 18: Distribution of respondents by county and level of approval of voter trucking

Respondent county of resident	Strongly agree	Agree	I don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Total
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)						
Gbarpolu	8%	8%	14%	47%	23%	100%
Grand Cape Mount	0%	3%	9%	79%	9%	100%
Grand Kru	35%	47%	0%	12%	6%	100%
Margibi	1%	4%	4%	46%	45%	100%
Maryland	6%	12%	10%	53%	19%	100%
Montserrado	3%	8%	9%	50%	30%	100%
Nimba	9%	6%	4%	54%	27%	100%
River Cess	0%	2%	5%	27%	66%	100%
Sinoe	13%	8%	14%	3%	62%	100%
Total	5%	8%	8%	49%	30%	100%

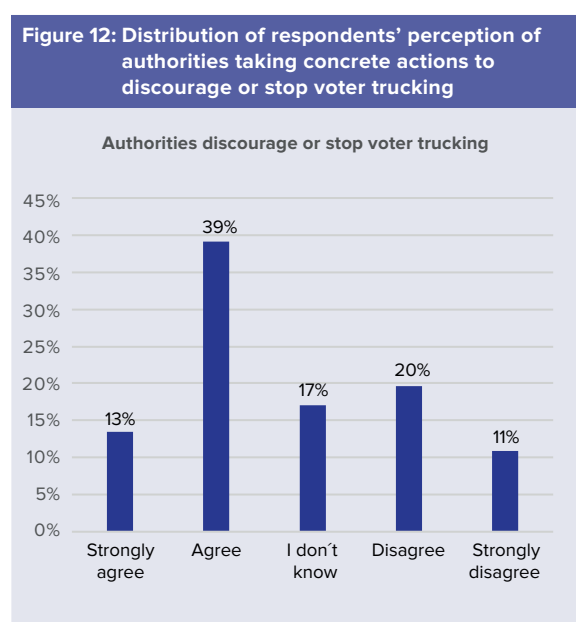
Respondents who were either aware or not aware of voter trucking equally strongly disapproved of voter trucking during elections. As illustrated in Table 19 below, 82% of respondents who were aware of voter trucking disapproved of the act (46% disagreeing and 36% strongly disagreeing that voter trucking is acceptable). At the same time, 77% of respondents who were not aware of voter trucking disapproved of the act (55% disagreeing and 22% strongly disagreeing that voter trucking is acceptable).

Table 19: Distribution of respondents by awareness and level of acceptance of voter trucking

Are you aware of voter trucking during an election in the area you live or county?	To what extent do you agree with the statement: 'VOTER TRUCKING IS ACCEPTABLE'					
	Strongly agree	Agree	I don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Total
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)						
Yes	7%	9%	2%	46%	36%	100%
No	2%	6%	15%	55%	22%	100%
Choose not to answer	5%	13%	44%	18%	21%	100%
Total	5%	8%	8%	49%	30%	100%

To what extent do you agree with the statement: 'Authorities are taking concrete actions to discourage or stop voter trucking.'

More respondents believed that authorities are taking concrete actions to discourage or stop voter trucking. Overall, 52% of respondents were in agreement that authorities are taking concrete actions to discourage voter trucking - 39% agreed while 13% strongly agreed. On the other hand, 31% disagreed that authorities are taking concrete actions to discourage or stop the electoral malpractice - 20% disagreed while 11% strongly disagreed. There were 17% of the respondents that chose not to respond to the question. (See Figure 12 below.)



Men slightly dominate respondents who disagreed that authorities are taking concrete actions. Among respondents who strongly disagreed, men represent 61% compared with 39% for women. Similarly, among respondents who simply disagreed, men account for 56% as opposed to 45% for women. Women and men were evenly split among respondents who simply agreed, while women accounted for 53% of respondents who strongly agreed as opposed to 47% for men.

Across counties, as shown in Table 20 below, respondents in Grand Cape Mount (86%) and Grand

Kru (86%) expressed the highest conviction that authorities are taking concrete actions to discourage or stop voter trucking, followed by Maryland (79%) and Gbarpolu (74%). Conversely, respondents in Sinoe (66%) showed the highest level of disagreement, followed by Nimba (55%) and Rivercess (50%).

Table 20: Distribution of respondents by perception of authorities taking concrete actions to discourage or stop voter trucking by county

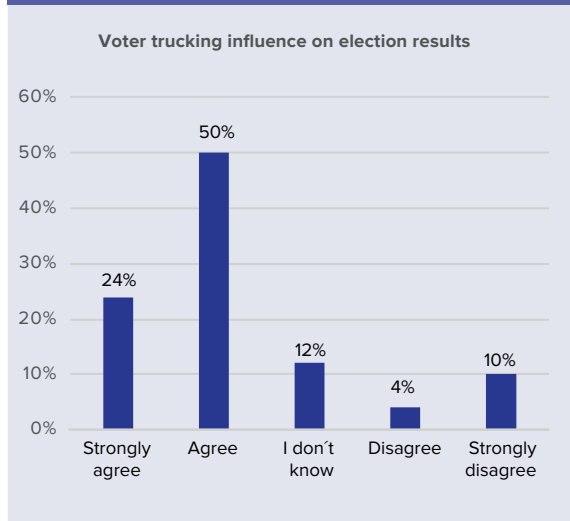
To what extent do you agree with the statement: 'AUTHORITIES ARE TAKING CONCRETE ACTIONS TO DISCOURAGE OR STOP VOTER TRUCKING'

Respondent county of resident	Strongly agree	Agree	I don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Total
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)						
Gbarpolu	23%	51%	22%	3%	1%	100%
Grand Cape Mount	14%	71%	10%	2%	3%	100%
Grand Kru	26%	60%	6%	8%	0%	100%
Margibi	12%	44%	14%	24%	6%	100%
Maryland	9%	70%	12%	6%	3%	100%
Montserado	15%	37%	23%	19%	6%	100%
Nimba	10%	30%	5%	35%	20%	100%
River Cess	0%	18%	32%	26%	24%	100%
Sinoe	8%	2%	24%	11%	55%	100%
Total	13%	39%	17%	20%	11%	100%

To what extent do you agree with the statement: 'Voter trucking influences the results of elections'

Insofar respondents largely believed that voter trucking is unacceptable, they also vehemently believed that voter trucking influences the results of elections as 74% accepted that voter trucking influences results of elections as opposed to those who did not accept the proposition (16%) and those who did not know (10%). Although the data shows a perceptive connection between voter trucking and elections influencing as per respondents' views, it should be noted that this study did not set out to prove this correlation nor does this indicate a causation. A detailed study might be needed in the future to test the hypothesis. This study only reflects the perception of people who have encountered or experienced voter trucking during elections.

Figure 13: Distribution of respondents' perception of the influence of voter trucking on election results



There was no significant gender disparity in the responses of men and women regarding the influence of voter trucking on the results of elections, as 72% of women vs 76% of men expressed some level of agreement, as well as 15% of women and 17% of men indicated some level of disagreement.

As displayed in Table 21 below, respondents in Margibi indicated the highest level of agreement (95%), followed by Rivercess (84%), Montserrado (81%), Sinoe (79%), Maryland (73%) and Gbarpolu (70%). In Margibi, only a negligible 2% of respondents expressed some level of disagreement, 5% in Rivercess, 7% in Montserrado and 10% in Gbarpolu²⁸.

Table 21: Distribution of respondents' perception of the influence of voter trucking on election results by county

Respondent county of resident	To what extent do you agree with the statement: 'VOTER TRUCKING INFLUENC- ES THE RESULTS OF ELECTIONS'					
	Strong- ly agree	Agree	I don't know	Dis- agree	Strong- ly dis- agree	Total
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)						
Gbarpolu	15%	55%	20%	7%	3%	100%
Grand Cape Mount	1%	46%	15%	32%	6%	100%
Grand Kru	12%	51%	2%	29%	6%	100%
Margibi	23%	72%	3%	1%	1%	100%
Maryland	26%	47%	16%	9%	2%	100%
Montserrado	24%	57%	12%	5%	2%	100%
Nimba	26%	30%	5%	32%	7%	100%
River Cess	26%	58%	11%	5%	0%	100%
Sinoe	62%	17%	5%	1%	15%	100%
Total	24%	50%	10%	12%	4%	100%

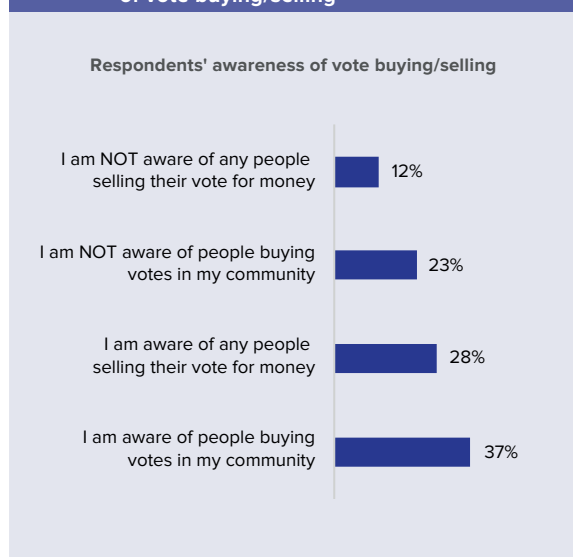
28. Figures represent the combination of 'Strongly agree' and 'Agree' to give the sum of both discussed.

Further analysis indicates that irrespective of whether respondents were aware or not of voter trucking, they largely expressed some level of agreement that voter trucking influences the results of elections. This trend was visible across the counties. However, respondents who were aware were more likely to express a stronger level of agreement than others who were not aware. For example, in Margibi, 97% of those aware of voter trucking noted that said act influences results of elections, while 88% of those who were not aware of the act in the community equally expressed some level of agreement that the act influences results of elections. Similarly, in Montserrado, 91% of those aware of voter trucking expressed some level of agreement that voter trucking influences results of elections, while 70% of those not aware also expressed some level of agreement in the same direction. Likewise, 90% of respondents aware of voter trucking in Rivercess expressed some level of agreement, while 73% expressed some level of agreement in the same direction.

Are you informed of vote buying during an election in the area you live or county?

Respondents were asked as to whether they were aware of vote buying or selling in the areas they live. Data collectors read and explained the following definition of vote buying/selling to the respondents before they were asked to respond: **'Vote buying is the act of candidates or their representations paying voters to cast their ballot for them, or their candidates and vote selling is when electorates received payment to cast their votes for a candidate.'** Whether respondents were aware of vote buying and/or selling in their community, 65% of respondents claimed they were either aware of people buying votes for their preferred candidate (37%) or people selling their votes for money (28%). On the other hand, 35% indicated that they were neither aware of people buying votes in their community (23%) nor were they aware of people selling votes in their community (12%). (See Figure 14 below.)

Figure 14: Distribution of respondents' awareness of vote buying/selling



Respondents within the age groups 26-35 (69%), 36-45 (69%) and 46-55 (68%) were most aware of votes buying and selling compared with respondents within the age groups of 18-25 (58%) and 66 and above (50%). There was noticeable gender disparity among respondents who were not aware of peo-

ple buying and/or selling votes in their community, with women accounting for 60% of respondents in this category compared with 40% for men.

In the counties, respondents in Gbarpolu (88%) and Grand Kru (88%) were most aware of vote buying/selling, followed by those in Sinoe (81%) and Margibi (80%). With the exception of Grand Cape Mount (48%) and Nimba (49%) that indicated the least level of awareness of vote buying/selling, respondents in all other counties were more aware of vote buying/selling than not. (See Table 23 below for details.). One reason for Grand Cape Mount and Nimba recording the least levels of vote buying or selling might be attributed to the districts selected. Grand Cape Mount and Nimba counties had some of the farthest and most remote communities of the total sample districts. It could be assumed that those wishing to gain the upper hand through unsavory means did not consider those regions viable. Whatever the case, it would be interesting to explore in the future to understand why this trend exists. Is it the same across the county, especially when the urban dynamic is involved? Or is it unique to these two counties?

Table 22: Distribution of respondents by awareness of vote buying/selling and age groups

Respondent's age range	Are you informed of vote buying during an election in the area you live or county?				Total
	I am aware of people buying vote for their preferred candidate	I am aware of people selling their vote for money	I am NOT aware of people buying vote in my community	I am NOT aware of people selling their vote for money	
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)					
18-25	29%	29%	26%	16%	100%
26-35	40%	29%	21%	11%	100%
36-45	42%	27%	22%	10%	100%
46-55	38%	30%	21%	12%	100%
66 and above	28%	22%	32%	18%	100%
Total	37%	28%	23%	12%	100%

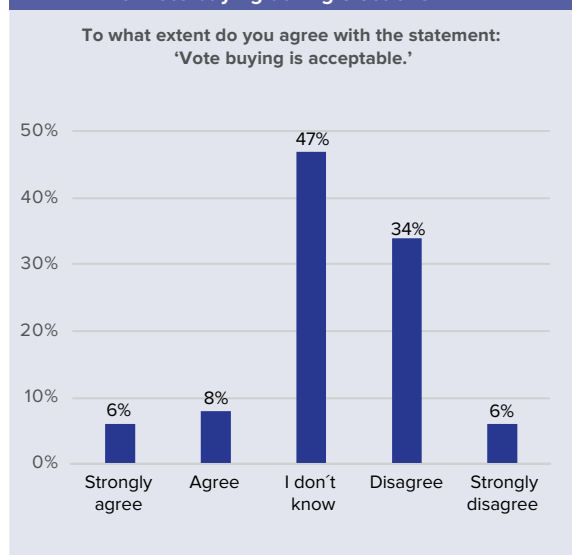
Table 23: Distribution of respondents by awareness of vote buying/selling and county

Are you informed of vote buying during an election in the area you live or county?					
Respondent county of resident	I am aware of people buying vote for their preferred candidate	I am aware of people selling their vote for money	I am NOT aware of people buying vote in my community	I am NOT aware of people selling their vote for money	Total
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)					
Gbarpolu	60%	28%	3%	10%	100%
Grand Cape Mount	8%	40%	42%	10%	100%
Grand Kru	49%	39%	8%	4%	100%
Margibi	55%	25%	10%	10%	100%
Maryland	54%	22%	15%	9%	100%
Montserrado	33%	32%	20%	15%	100%
Nimba	33%	15%	39%	12%	100%
River Cess	31%	42%	23%	5%	100%
Sinoe	57%	24%	11%	8%	100%
Total	37%	28%	23%	12%	100%

**To what extent do you agree with the statement:
'Vote buying is acceptable.'**

The survey assessed the perception of respondents about the acceptability of vote buying/selling. As shown in Figure 15 below, 81% of respondents expressed some level of disagreement (34% strongly disagreed and 47% simply disagreed) that vote buying/selling during elections is acceptable. However, 14% expressed some level of agreement (6% strongly agreed and 8% strongly agreed), while 6% indicated that they did not know. There was no significant gender difference in respondents' perception, as men and women were almost equally divided in their level of agreement (women 13% vs men 14%) and level of disagreement (women 79% vs men 81%) with vote buying/selling during elections. The results suggest that most people in Liberia do not support the practice of vote buying/selling.

Figure 15: Distribution of respondents by perception of vote buying during elections



As displayed in Table 24 below, respondents in Grand Cape Mount (95%), Rivercess (94%) and Margibi (93%) expressed the highest level of disagreement that vote buying/selling is acceptable, followed by Nimba (81%), Maryland (81%) and Montserrado (80%).

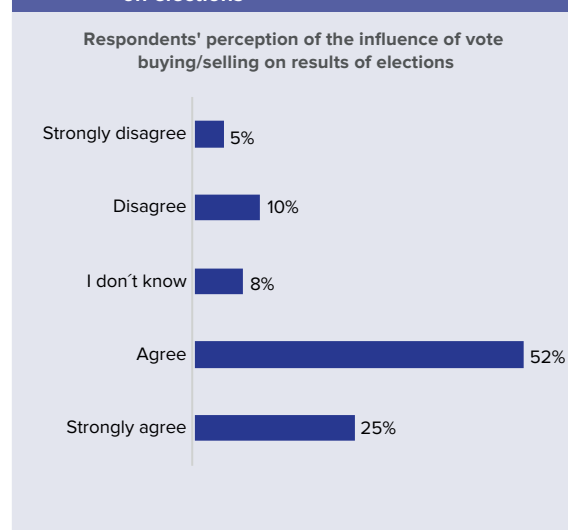
Table 24: Distribution of respondents by level of agreement of the acceptability of vote buying/selling by county

To what extent do you agree with the statement: 'VOTE BUYING IS ACCEPTABLE'.						
Respon- dent county of resident	Strongly agree	Agree	I don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Total
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)						
Gbarpolu	8%	16%	15%	38%	23%	100%
Grand Cape Mount	0%	2%	3%	68%	27%	100%
Grand Kru	23%	35%	12%	14%	16%	100%
Margibi	0%	3%	4%	52%	41%	100%
Maryland	4%	5%	10%	57%	24%	100%
Montserrado	6%	8%	6%	48%	32%	100%
Nimba	8%	7%	4%	50%	31%	100%
River Cess	3%	2%	1%	29%	65%	100%
Sinoe	12%	11%	11%	6%	60%	100%
Total	6%	8%	6%	47%	34%	100%

**To what extent do you agree with the statement:
'vote buying influences the results of elections'**

Consistent with respondents' disapproval of vote buying/selling, 77% of respondents expressed some level of agreement (25% strongly agreed and 52% simply agreed) that vote buying/selling influences results of elections as opposed to the 15% who expressed some level of disagreement (5% strongly disagreed and 10% simply disagreed). (See Figure 16 below.)

Figure 16: Distribution of respondents' perception of the influence of vote buying/selling on elections



There is little gender disparity in the perception of respondents, as women and men were almost evenly divided in their level of agreement (women 77% vs men 79%) and in their level of disagreement (women 15% vs men 11%). Across the county, respondents in Margibi (96%), Rivercess (94%) and Sinoe (91%) expressed the highest level of agreement that vote buying/selling influences results of elections, followed by those in Montserrado (84%), Gbarpolu (79%), Grand Kru (77%) and Maryland (75%). The highest levels of disagreement were expressed by respondents in Grand Cape Mount (42%), Nimba (39%) and Grand Kru (20%).

Table 25: Distribution of respondents' perception of the influence of vote buying/selling per county						
To what extent do you agree with the statement: 'VOTE BUYING INFLUENCES THE RESULTS OF ELECTIONS'						
Respondent county of resident	Strongly agree	Agree	I don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Total
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)						
Gbarpolu	18%	61%	16%	4%	1%	100%
Grand Cape Mount	1%	49%	8%	27%	15%	100%
Grand Kru	24%	52%	4%	8%	12%	100%
Margibi	28%	68%	3%	1%	0%	100%
Maryland	25%	50%	18%	6%	1%	100%
Montserrado	23%	61%	9%	5%	2%	100%
Nimba	29%	27%	5%	30%	9%	100%
River Cess	26%	68%	5%	2%	0%	100%
Sinoe	72%	19%	1%	1%	7%	100%
Total	25%	52%	8%	10%	5%	100%

Further analysis reveals that respondents that were aware of vote buying and/or selling were more likely to believe that vote buying and/or selling influence the results of elections than those that were not aware. As shown in Table 26 below, 90% of respondents that were aware of vote buying and 90% of those that were aware of vote selling expressed some level of agreement that vote buying and/or selling influences the results of elections compared with those who were neither aware of vote buying (56%) and vote selling (53%) in their community.

Table 26: Distribution of respondents by awareness of vote buying/selling and its influence on the results of elections						
Awareness of vote buying during an election in the area you live or county	Influence of vote buying on the results of elections'					Total
	Strongly agree	Agree	I don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)						
I am aware of people buying vote for their preferred candidate	42%	48%	3%	3%	4%	100%
I am aware of people selling their vote for money	23%	67%	4%	5%	1%	100%
I am NOT aware of people buying vote in my community	11%	45%	10%	26%	8%	100%
I am NOT aware of people selling their vote for money	8%	45%	26%	15%	7%	100%
Total	25%	52%	8%	10%	5%	100%

To what extent do you agree with the statement: 'Authorities are taking concrete actions to discourage or stop vote buying'.

Though more respondents are of the conviction that authorities are taking concrete actions to address the issue of vote buying/selling as expressed by 54% of respondents (15% strongly agreed and 39% simply agreed), a good number of respondents (29%) expressed some level of disagreement (10% strongly disagreed and 19% simply disagreed) that authorities are doing much in this area.

Men respondents expressed more levels of disagreement (33%) compared with women (24%). Conversely, women respondents expressed a slightly higher level of agreement (56%) compared with their men counterpart (53%).

In Nimba, Rivercess and Sinoe, more respondents expressed higher levels of disagreement than level of agreement: Nimba (51% disagreement vs 44% agreement); Rivercess (44% disagreement vs 16% agreement); and Sinoe (56% disagreement vs 10% agreement). On the other hand, respondents in Grand Cape Mount (90%) and Maryland (81%) ex-

pressed the highest level of agreement that authorities are taking concrete actions to address the issue of vote buying/selling. Vote buying/selling, like voter trucking, has become some of the concerns expressed by citizens as indicated in the finding of this survey.

Figure 17: Distribution of respondents' perception of authorities taking concrete actions to discourage or stop vote buying/selling

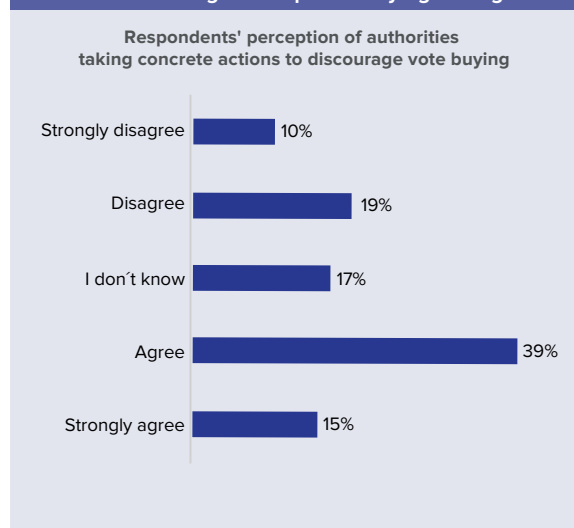


Table 27: Distribution of respondents' perception of authorities taking concrete actions to discourage or stop vote buying/selling by county

To what extent do you agree with the statement: 'AUTHORITIES ARE TAKING CONCRETE ACTIONS TO DISCOURAGE OR STOP VOTE BUYING'						
Respondent county of resident	Strongly agree	Agree	I don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Total
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)						
Gbarpolu	15%	53%	24%	5%	3%	100%
Grand Cape Mount	14%	76%	5%	4%	1%	100%
Grand Kru	33%	41%	4%	14%	8%	100%
Margibi	13%	46%	14%	24%	4%	100%
Maryland	9%	71%	12%	3%	4%	100%
Montserrado	20%	35%	21%	19%	5%	100%
Nimba	8%	36%	5%	33%	18%	100%
River Cess	3%	13%	40%	26%	18%	100%
Sinoe	5%	5%	34%	2%	54%	100%
Total	15%	39%	17%	19%	10%	100%

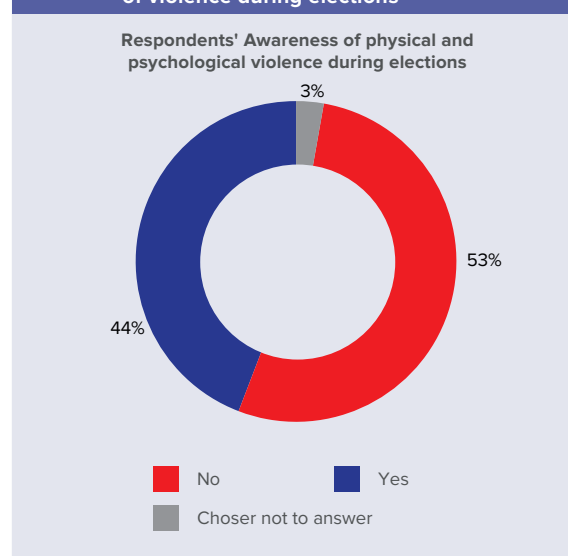
Are you aware of violence, whether physical or psychological, taking place during the last elections in the area you live or county?

One of the challenges that attend elections is violence taking place during elections. The violence

could be physical, psychological, emotional or sexual. Many elections around the world are affected by this phenomenon. The survey took interest in assessing respondents' experience and perception in this regard. Before respondents were asked to respond to the questions, data collectors read and explained the following definition of violence during elections to the respondents: **'Electoral violence is any act of physical violence (riots, fighting, looting attack, attack on person / physical harm, etc.) and/or psychological violence (threat, coercion, intimidation) that occurs during elections - arise in the context of electoral competition (ranging from voter registration process to oath of office). The objective of electoral violence is to influence the electoral process and its outcome.'**

A slight majority of respondents (53%) claimed they were not aware of violence, whether physical or emotional violence, taking place during elections. However, 44% intoned that they were aware of physical and psychological violence taking place during elections and 3% chose not to answer. (See figure 18 below.) Gender wise, 41% of women respondents and 46% of men claimed that they were aware of physical and emotional violence taking place during elections. On the contrary, 54% of women respondents and 52% of men respondents mentioned that they were not aware of any such violence. Youth within the age group of 26-35 were most aware of violence during elections with 49% compared to respondents within other age groups: 18-25 (37%); 36-45 (45%); 46-55 (45%) and 66 and above (44%).

Figure 18: Distribution of respondents by awareness of violence during elections



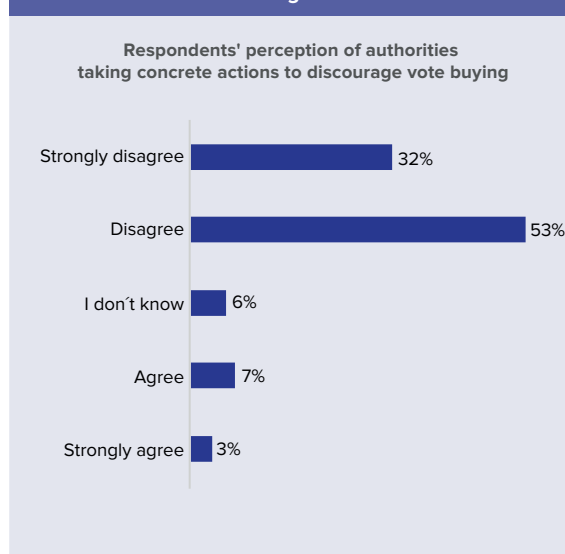
Respondents were most aware of violence during elections in Grand Kru (78%), Margibi (74%), and Gbarpolu (65%), followed by Sinoe (56%) and Nimba (53%). On the contrary, respondents were least aware of violence in Rivercess (19%), Montserrado (32%) and Maryland (38%). (See Table 28 below.)

Table 28: Distribution of respondents' awareness of violence during elections by county				
Are you aware of any violence (physical or psychological violence) taking place during the last elections in the area you live?				
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)				
Respondent county of resident	Yes	No	Choose not to answer	Total
Gbarpolu	65%	10%	26%	100%
Grand Cape Mount	43%	57%	0%	100%
Grand Kru	78%	16%	6%	100%
Margibi	74%	26%	1%	100%
Maryland	38%	62%	0%	100%
Montserrado	32%	64%	4%	100%
Nimba	53%	47%	0%	100%
River Cess	19%	81%	0%	100%
Sinoe	56%	44%	0%	100%
Total	44%	53%	3%	100%

To what extent do you agree with the statement: 'Violence during elections is acceptable'.

As shown in Figure 19, a solid majority of respondents (85%) expressed some level of disagreement (32% strongly disagreed and 53% simply disagreed) that violence during elections is acceptable. Only 10% of the respondents expressed some level of agreement (3% strongly agreed and 7% simply disagreed). This strong condemnation suggests that many Liberians do not support violence during elections even though they occur. The 10% of respondents considering electoral violence acceptable is, nevertheless, concerning.

Figure 19: Distribution of respondents by perception of violence during elections



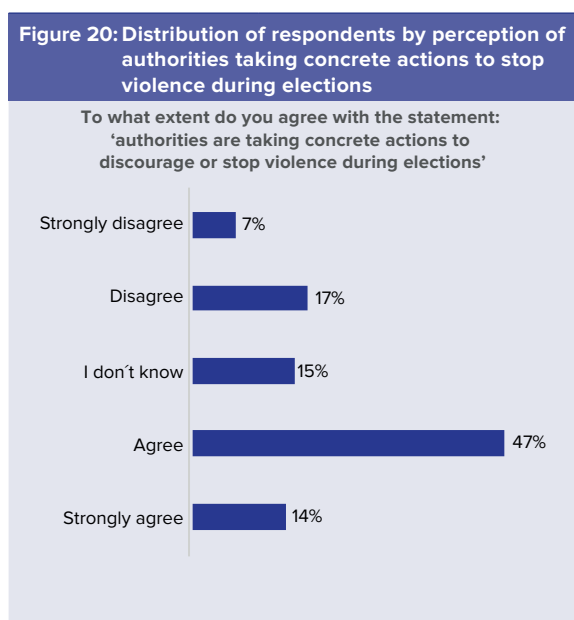
Women and men were equally split in their expression of disagreement that violence during election is acceptable, as 84% of respondents in each gender condemned the act. With the exception of Grand Kru where respondents showed a high level of acceptance of violence during elections (73%), respondents' disapproval of violence in all other counties was appreciably high. In Gbarpolu, 60% of respondents disapproved of violence during elections compared with 20% who agreed. Similarly, in Grand Cape Mount, 94% of respondents disapproved of violence during election, just as other counties as depicted in Table 29 below.

Table 29: Distribution of respondents by perception of violence during elections by county

To what extent do you agree with the statement: 'VIOLENCE DURING ELECTIONS IS ACCEPTABLE'						
Respondent county of resident	Strongly agree	Agree	I don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Total
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)						
Gbarpolu	8%	12%	20%	45%	15%	100%
Grand Cape Mount	0%	1%	5%	75%	19%	100%
Grand Kru	20%	53%	4%	22%	2%	100%
Margibi	1%	1%	2%	54%	42%	100%
Maryland	1%	7%	10%	55%	27%	100%
Montserrado	2%	7%	6%	57%	29%	100%
Nimba	8%	6%	3%	55%	28%	100%
River Cess	0%	0%	5%	29%	66%	100%
Sinoe	3%	2%	0%	8%	87%	100%
Total	3%	7%	6%	53%	32%	100%

To what extent do you agree with the statement: 'authorities are taking concrete actions to discourage or stop violence during elections'

As seen in Figure 20 below, 61% of respondents expressed some level of agreement that respondents are taking concrete actions to curb violence during elections (14% strongly agreed and 47% simply agreed), while 24% expressed some level of disagreement (7% strongly disagreed and 17% simply disagreed). While men and women were equally split in expressing some level of agreement on authorities doing much to stop violence during elections, with 61% of respondents in each gender expressing agreement, men were more likely to express some level of disagreement (26%) than women (21%).



As illustrated in Table 30, respondents in Grand Cape Mount (90%), Maryland (83%) and Grand Kru (75%) indicated the highest level of agreement, followed by Gbarpolu (68%), Montserrado (61%), Margibi (58%) and Nimba (58%).

Table 30: Distribution of respondents by perception of authorities taking concrete actions to address violence during election

To what extent do you agree with the statement: 'AUTHORITIES ARE TAKING CONCRETE ACTIONS TO DISCOURAGE OR STOP VIOLENCE DURING ELECTIONS'

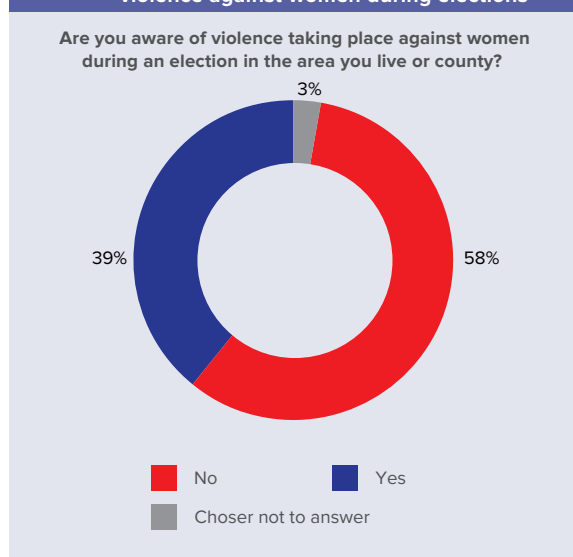
Respondent county of resident	Strongly agree	Agree	I don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Total
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)						
Gbarpolu	18%	50%	23%	5%	4%	100%
Grand Cape Mount	16%	74%	7%	3%	0%	100%
Grand Kru	20%	55%	2%	16%	8%	100%
Margibi	16%	42%	14%	24%	4%	100%
Maryland	6%	77%	10%	6%	1%	100%
Montserrado	17%	44%	20%	16%	4%	100%
Nimba	9%	49%	4%	30%	7%	100%
River Cess	3%	37%	34%	18%	8%	100%
Sinoe	9%	6%	27%	5%	54%	100%
Total	14%	47%	15%	17%	7%	100%

Further analysis revealed that respondents who were aware of violence during elections were more likely to believe that authorities were taking concrete actions to discourage or stop violence during elections (68%) than those who were not aware (56%) and those who chose not to answer (30%).

Table 31: Distribution of respondents by awareness of violence during elections and level of agreement of authorities taking concrete actions to discourage or stop violence during elections

Awareness of physical violence taking place during the last elections in the area you live or county	Authorities are taking concrete actions to discourage or stop violence during elections					Total
	Strongly agree	Agree	I don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)						
Yes	51%	15%	11%	17%	6%	100%
No	44%	20%	17%	12%	7%	100%
Choose not to answer	27%	8%	54%	3%	8%	100%
Total	47%	17%	15%	14%	7%	100%

Figure 21: Distribution of respondents' awareness of violence against women during elections



Are you aware of violence taking place against women during an election in the area you live or county?

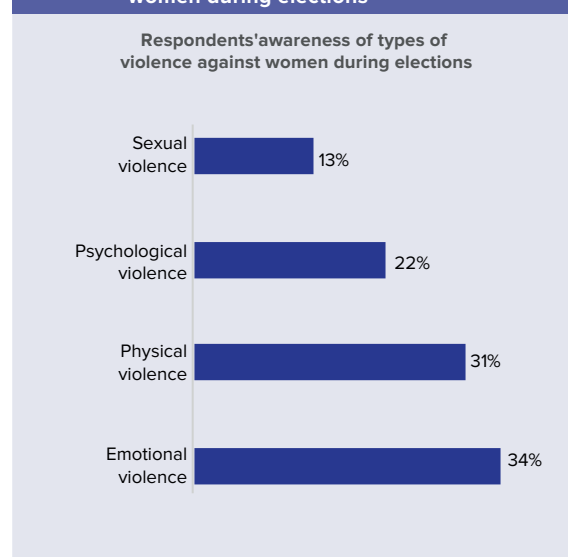
Survey asked specific questions on violence against women in elections (VAWiE). Before the data collectors asked respondents to answer the question, they read and explained the following definition of VAWiE to the respondents: **‘Electoral violence against women is any act (physical, emotional or psychological) of violence against women in the context of electoral competition. The objective of the act is to inhibit women from contesting the elections as candidates and/or voting or influence how women should vote during elections.’** Consistent with respondents’ awareness of violence during elections, 39% of respondents were aware of violence against women during elections while 58% were not and 3% chose not to answer.

There was no noticeable gender gap in the awareness of men and women when it comes to their awareness of violence against women during elections as 40% of women respondents against 39% men respondents were aware of violence against women during elections. Respondents in the age groups of 36-45 (43%) and 46-55 (43%) were most aware of violence against women during elec-

tions compared with their counterparts in the age groups of 18-25 (33%); 26-35 (39%) and 66 and above (39%). In terms of urban rural divide, 25% of rural dwellers indicated that they were aware of violence against women in elections as compared to 14% of urban dwellers.

The below types of violence against women during elections were indicated by respondents who had experienced or known of someone who had experienced violence against women. See the distribution in Figure 22 below. Although multiple violence could happen simultaneously, the respondents were asked to pick the one violence they perceived as prevalent. Respondents perceived emotional violence to be the most prevalent type of violence against women in election (34%), followed by physical violence (31%), psychological violence (22%) and sexual violence (13%).

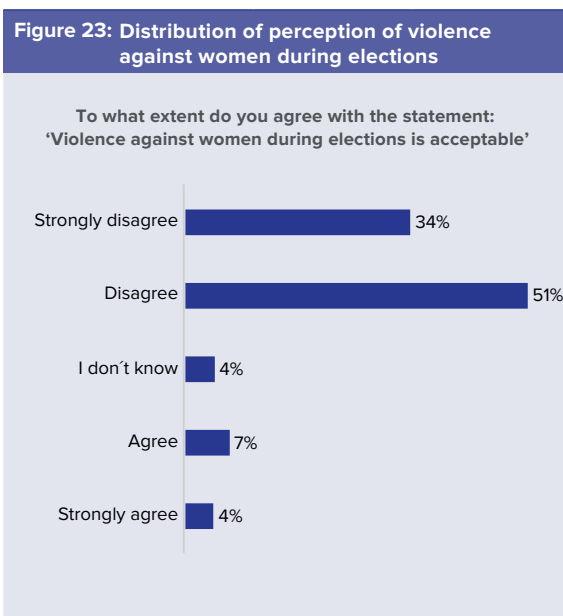
Figure 22: Distribution of types of violence against women during elections



Respondents in Margibi (70%), Grand Kru (67%) and Gbarpolu (64%) were more aware of violence against women during elections as opposed to respondents from other counties. Respondents in Rivercess (2%) were least aware of violence against women in elections.

Table 32: Distribution of respondents' awareness of violence against women during elections by county				
Are you aware of violence taking place against women during an election in the area you live or county?				
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)				
Respondent county of resident	Yes	No	Choose not to answer	Total
Gbarpolu	64%	12%	24%	100%
Grand Cape Mount	37%	61%	2%	100%
Grand Kru	67%	29%	4%	100%
Margibi	70%	29%	1%	100%
Maryland	38%	61%	1%	100%
Montserrado	28%	70%	3%	100%
Nimba	51%	49%	0%	100%
River Cess	2%	98%	0%	100%
Sinoe	48%	47%	5%	100%
Total	39%	58%	3%	100%

As illustrated in Figure 23 below, violence against women was disapproved by 85% of respondents who were aware of violence against women during elections, as 34% strongly disagreed and 51% simply disagreed that such an act was acceptable. Most respondents expressed a strong level of disagreement that violence against women in elections was acceptable irrespective of whether they were aware of violence against women in election or not. In fact, those that were not aware of VAWiE expressed more levels of disagreement (91%) than those that were aware (79%).



In terms of whether authorities are taking concrete actions to discourage or stop violence against women during elections, 63% expressed some level of agreement while 23% expressed some level

of disagreement. However, one out of every three respondents are of the opinion that authorities are not doing enough to curb the menace against women. Fifteen percent said they did not know. Respondents who disapproved VAWiE were less likely to express some level of agreement that authorities are taking concrete actions to discourage or stop VAWiE (64% of those who simply disagreed and 62% of those who strongly disagreed) compared with those who approved VAWiE (84% of those who simply agreed and 89% of those who strongly agreed). This suggests that respondents who condoned VAWiE are likely to think that authorities are doing more when authorities are doing just little or even nothing enough to actually stop the menace.

Table 33: Distribution of respondents by level of agreement of the acceptability of VAWiE and Authorities taking concrete actions to discourage or stop VAWiE						
To what extent do you agree with the statement: 'VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN DURING ELECTIONS IS ACCEPTABLE'	To what extent do you agree with the statement: 'AUTHORITIES ARE TAKING CONCRETE ACTIONS TO DISCOURAGE OR STOP VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN DURING ELECTIONS'					
	Strongly agree	Agree	I don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Total
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)						
Agree	15%	69%	5%	8%	3%	100%
Disagree	12%	52%	12%	22%	3%	100%
I don't know	2%	8%	79%	6%	6%	100%
Strongly agree	68%	21%	1%	7%	2%	100%
Strongly disagree	15%	47%	14%	10%	15%	100%
Total	15%	48%	15%	16%	7%	100%

Across the counties, respondents in Grand Cape Mount (88%), followed by those in Maryland (79%) and Grand Kru (76%) were most likely to express some level of agreement that authorities were taking concrete actions to discourage or stop VAWiE compared with their counterparts in other counties. Respondents in Sinoe (21%), followed by those in Rivercess (41%) expressed the least level of agreement that authorities were taking concrete actions in this direction. Those in Sinoe (56%), followed by those in Nimba (34%) expressed the highest level of disagreement that authorities were taking concrete actions to discourage or stop VAWiE.

Table 34: Distribution of respondents by authorities' actions and county						
To what extent do you agree with the statement: 'AUTHORITIES ARE TAKING CONCRETE ACTIONS TO DISCOURAGE OR STOP VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN DURING ELECTIONS'						
Respondent county of resident	Strongly agree	Agree	I don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Total
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)						
Gbarpolu	16%	50%	28%	1%	4%	100%
Grand Cape Mount	15%	73%	9%	2%	1%	100%
Grand Kru	29%	47%	2%	12%	10%	100%
Margibi	16%	43%	13%	22%	6%	100%
Maryland	4%	75%	10%	9%	2%	100%
Montserrado	18%	46%	17%	15%	4%	100%
Nimba	11%	51%	4%	27%	7%	100%
River Cess	2%	39%	45%	10%	5%	100%
Sinoe	15%	6%	24%	1%	55%	100%
Total	15%	48%	15%	16%	7%	100%

How does general electoral violence and violence against women in elections compared

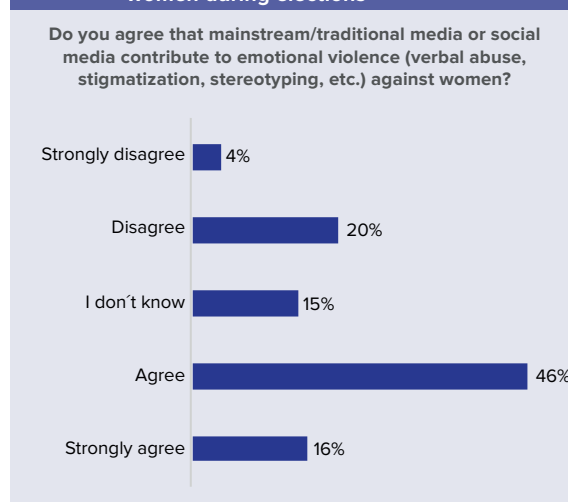
A comparative analysis of general electoral violence and violence against women in elections revealed that respondents were slightly more aware of general electoral violence (44%) than violence against women in elections (39%). This seems reasonable as violence against women usually occurs as part of the biggest scheme of electoral violence. In the same way, an equal proportion of respondents condemned both electoral violence and violence against women in elections, with a significant 85% of respondents expressing some level of disagreement that neither electoral violence nor VAWiE is acceptable. Similarly, respondents expressed some level of agreement that authorities were taking concrete actions to discourage or stop electoral violence (61%) and violence against women in elections (63%). In summary, the data showed that respondents were aware of both electoral violence and violence against women in elections. The data also showed that respondents vehemently condemned both forms of violence equally and that respondents believed authorities are doing something concrete to discourage or stop the acts.

Table 35: A comparative analysis of general electoral violence and violence against women in elections						
Areas of investigation	Awareness of elections violence in general			Awareness of elections violence against women		
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)						
Awareness of violence	Yes	No	N/A	Yes	No	N/A
	44%	53%	3%	39%	58%	3%
Violence is acceptable	Yes	No	N/A	Yes	No	N/A
	10%	85%	6%	11%	85%	4%
Authorities taking concrete actions	Yes	No	N/A	Yes	No	N/A
	61%	24%	15%	63%	23%	15%

Do you agree that mainstream/traditional media or social media contribute to emotional violence (verbal abuse, stigmatization, stereotyping, etc.) against women?

Media, whether traditional or social media, serve as a channel of information dissemination. It can be a tool that plays either a positive or negative role in preventing or fermenting violence during elections, be it general electoral violence or specifically violence against women. The survey sought to assess traditional and social media play in violence against women in elections. More respondents (62%) expressed some level of agreement that media, whether traditional or social, play a role in violence against women during elections, with 16% strongly agreeing and 46% simply agreeing. On the other hand, 24% expressed some level of disagreement that the media play such roles.

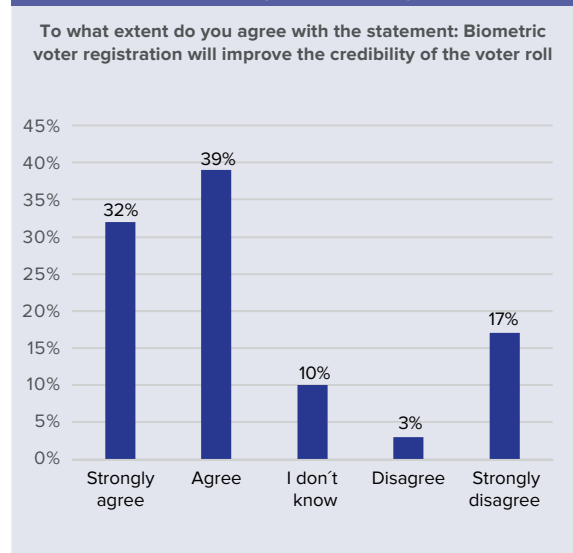
Figure 24: Distribution of respondents' perception of the role the media play in violence against women during elections



To what extent do you agree with the statement: Biometric voter registration will improve the credibility of the voter roll

Respondents were asked as to whether BVR would improve the credibility of the voter roll and elections in Liberia. Before they were asked to respond to the question, data collectors took time to read and explain the following definition/concept of BVR: **‘Biometric voter registration implicates using biometric technology (capturing unique physical features of an individual – fingerprinting is the most commonly used), most of the times in addition to demographics of the voter, for polling registration and/or authentication.’** Analysis of the data revealed that most respondents expressed optimism that biometric voter registration would improve the credibility of elections in Liberia as indicated by 71% of respondents expressing some level of agreement (32% strongly agreed and 39% simply agreed) that biometric could add such value to elections in the country. On the other hand, 13% expressed some level of disagreement including 10% disagreeing and 3% strongly disagreeing. Nonetheless, 17% expressed that they did not know.

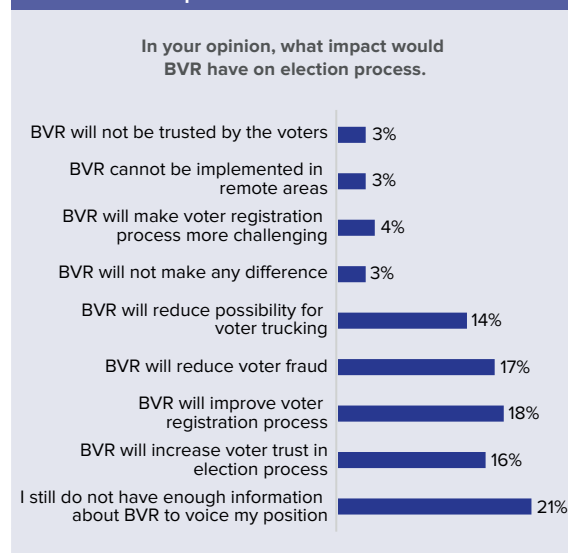
Figure 25: Distribution of respondents' perception of BVR improving the credibility of elections



Where respondents were allowed to select or provide multiple responses, and consistent with respondents' belief that BVR will improve the credibility of elections, a decent majority of respondents (65%) expressed some level of optimism that BVR would have impact on the elections processes including 16% stating that BVR will increase voters' trust in election processes; 18% intimating that

BVR would improve voter registration process; 17% agreeing that BVR would reduce fraud and 14% saying it would reduce the possibility of voter trucking. However, 21% declined to mention any impact BVR would have on the election process due to lack of enough information about BVR while 3% said it would make no difference. Yet a few respondents expressed pessimism about the impact of BVR on elections, including 4% claiming that it would make voter registration process more challenging; 3% thinking that it would not be possible to implement it in remote area; while 3% felt that it would not be trusted by voters. Given the importance of the BVR system to improving the electoral process, it is important for the percentage of the population with knowledge of BVR to be in the high 90s.

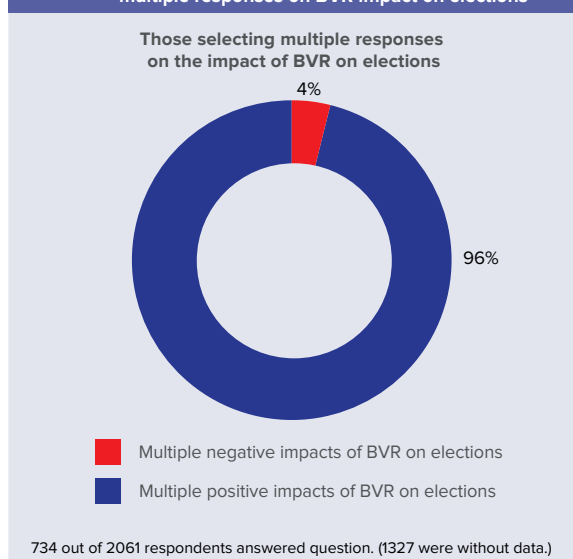
Figure 26: Distribution of respondents' perception of the impact of BVR on elections in Liberia²⁹



Of the sample population of 2061 respondents, 734 respondents selected more than one option when asked about the impact of the BVR. Their responses were categorized into two: positive views of BVR and negative views of BVR. Therefore, 96% of the multiple selectees had positive views about the system such as BVR will increase voter trust in election process, BVR will improve voter registration process, BVR will reduce voter fraud, and BVR will reduce possibility for voter trucking. On the other hand, just 4% of the multiple selectees had negative views about the system, indicating that it would have the opposite effect because BVR will make voter registration process more challenging, BVR cannot be implemented in remote areas, and BVR will not be trusted by the voters.

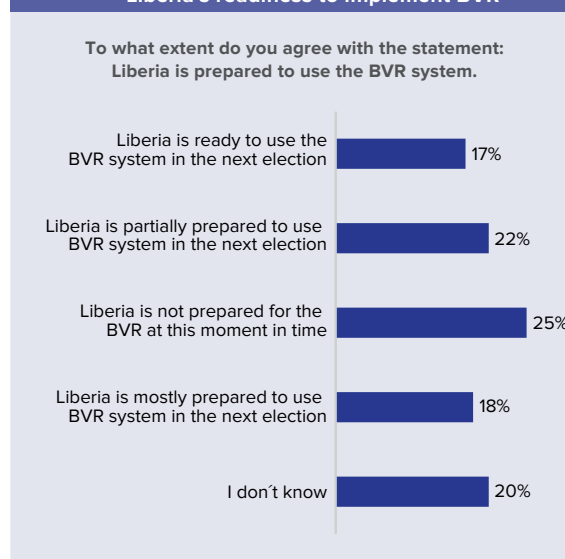
29. 1,327 out of the total 2,061 respondents selected single responses.

Figure 27: Distribution of respondents who selected multiple responses on BVR impact on elections



Consistent with respondents' positive thought towards the impact of BVR on the credibility of elections results in Liberia, where 71% believed BVR would improve elections credibility in the country, 55% of respondents believed that Liberia is ready in a way to use BVR, with 18% asserting that Liberia is mostly ready to use BVR; 17% indicating that Liberia is ready to use BVR in the next election; and 20% saying Liberia is partially prepared to use BVR in the next elections. At the same time, 25% of respondents believed Liberia is not prepared for the BVR at this moment in time, while 20% said they did not know. 45% of the population who either believed that Liberia is not ready for BVR at the moment and or did not know present a concern and should require critical reflection to take steps that would better inform the population of the processes and impacts of BVR on the electoral processes and the readiness of the country to implement BVR in the upcoming elections in 2023. BVR is a new system to Liberia's elections process. Many people, especially in the rural areas still do not fully understand what BVR is and its implications to improving the electoral process. With 18% of rural respondents indicating that Liberia is unprepared for BVR as compared to 7% of urban respondents and 30% of rural respondents indicating that they still do not understand what impact BVR would have on the electoral process as compared to 11% of urban respondents, there needs to be a massive awareness created to activate the snowball effect. This way the information reaches the far ends of the state.

Figure 28: Distribution of respondents' perception of Liberia's readiness to implement BVR



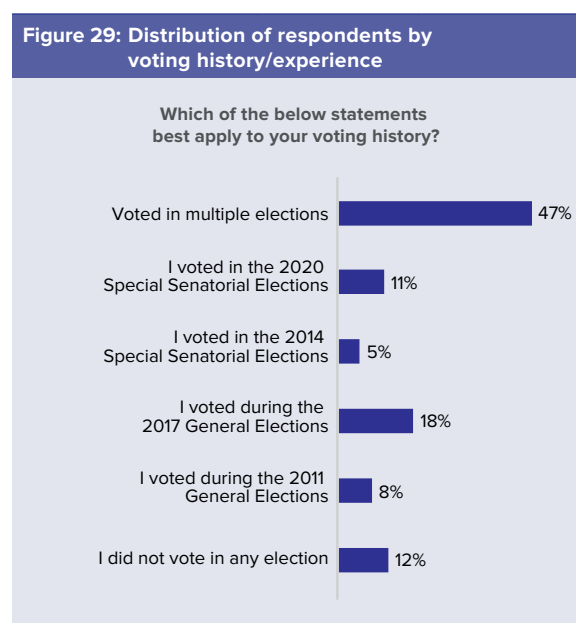
The key finding from this section is the need to incorporate education on electoral law in CVE campaigns. A vast majority of the population have limited, if any, knowledge of the Electoral Law. This is not an anomaly since there is an almost even representation between both genders who know and do not know the Electoral Law. On the other hand, NEC should design campaigns to educate voters on the negative impact of erroneous voting tactics used by some candidates during the electoral cycle. A majority of respondents at the national and county levels perceived voter trucking, and vote buying and selling as problematic and needs to be curtailed. Though many believe that the NEC is working towards addressing the issue, more needs to be done. Finally, the NEC is encouraged to include E-VAWIE messages as integral parts of their CVE campaigns as a slight majority either have experienced, witnessed, or know someone who has suffered one or more forms of election violence (Physical, Psychological, Emotional, and/or Sexual).

Section 2: Experience with Electoral Processes and Activities

This section explores respondents' experience with the different aspects and processes of elections and gauges their perception of the various electoral activities to assess how respondents perceive electoral processes and activities in Liberia based on their experience.

Voting history and experience of respondents from 2011-2020

Respondents were asked to share their voting history between 2011 and 2020 to establish the basis for assessing their level of satisfaction with key electoral processes based on their experience. Analysis of the data showed that 12% of the respondents had not participated in any of the elections. However, the survey established that 88% of respondents had participated in at least one election in Liberia between 2011 and 2020. Nearly half of the respondents (47%) have voted in multiple elections, followed by 18% who voted in 2017, 11% in 2020, 8% in 2011 and 5% in 2014, who recorded voting in single elections³⁰. Most respondents who had not voted in any elections are first time voters who were less than 18 years during these elections as further analysis shows that 63% of those who had not voted in any election were young people between the ages of 18-25, followed by those between the ages of 26 and 35 with 20%. Importantly, fifty percent (50%) of the respondents were youth between the ages of 18-25 (20%) and 26-35 (30%). Across the counties, Margibi (67%), Montserrado (58%) and Grand Kru (55%) had the most respondents in these age groups. This might be a factor in the voting history of respondents.



30. The survey only captured data between 2011 and 2020 to account for the most recent elections in Liberia. In statistics, a 10-year gap is often the acceptable maximum length used to measure event and experiences since many respondents are often able to recollect their most recent experience within that timeframe.

Across counties, Grand Kru recorded the highest proportion of respondents (33%) who did not vote in any of the elections within the specified periods, followed by Montserrado with 18%, Grand Cape Mount with 14% and Margibi with 11%. At the same time, Maryland (71%), followed by Grand Cape Mount (70%) and Rivercess (68%) reported the highest proportion of respondents who had participated in multiple elections.

Table 36: Distribution of respondents' voting experience by county

Which of the below statements best apply to your voting history?							
Respondent county of resident	I did not vote in any election	I voted during the 2011 General Elections	I voted during the 2017 General Elections	I voted in the 2014 Special Senatorial Elections	I voted in the 2020 Special Senatorial Elections	Voted in multiple elections	Total
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)							
Gbarpolu	5%	10%	12%	3%	12%	58%	100%
Grand Cape Mount	14%	0%	10%	0%	5%	70%	100%
Grand Kru	33%	14%	8%	16%	12%	18%	100%
Margibi	11%	1%	23%	4%	18%	44%	100%
Maryland	3%	3%	14%	0%	9%	71%	100%
Montserrado	18%	6%	23%	2%	14%	37%	100%
Nimba	3%	12%	11%	11%	5%	59%	100%
River Cess	3%	0%	13%	0%	16%	68%	100%
Sinoe	5%	28%	24%	14%	2%	28%	100%
Total	12%	8%	18%	5%	11%	47%	100%

Respondents who had voted were asked to express their degree of satisfaction and dissatisfaction with key electoral activities/processes including voter registration, civic voter education, voter roll update, final voter registration roll, start time of voting, crowd control measures and performance of polling staff. As depicted in Table 37 below, the survey recognized that overall, most respondents expressed some degree of satisfaction with these electoral activities and processes, as 82% of respondents expressed some degree of satisfaction with voter registration process (66% satisfied and 16% very satisfied) compared with 7% who expressed some degree of dissatisfaction (6% dissatisfied and 1% very dissatisfied). The same goes with voter roll update, where 82% expressed some degree of satisfaction (67% satisfied and 15% very satisfied) compared with 7% dissatisfied (6% dissatisfied and 1% very dissatisfied).

fied and 1% very dissatisfied) and with final voter registration, where 82% expressed some degree of satisfaction (67% satisfied and 15% very satisfied) compared with 7% dissatisfied (6% dissatisfied and 1% very dissatisfied). Regarding civic voter education, 75% expressed some degree of satisfaction (60% satisfied and 15% very satisfied) compared with 10% being dissatisfied (9% dissatisfied and 1% very dissatisfied). In like manner, 85% were satisfied with the time voting started (66% satisfied and 19% very satisfied) while 6% were dissatisfied (5% dissatisfied and 1% very dissatisfied); whereas 80% were satisfied with the crowd control measures (64% satisfied and 16% very satisfied) compared with 8% dissatisfied (7% dissatisfied and 1% very dissatisfied). At the same time, 82% were satisfied with the performance of polling staff (64% satisfied and 16% very satisfied), while 8% were dissatisfied (6% dissatisfied and 2% very dissatisfied).

Table 37: Distribution of respondents' degree of satisfaction with recent electoral activities and processes by county							
Description of the degree of respondents' satisfaction/dissatisfaction with electoral processes/activities							
Electoral process/activities	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	Voted in multiple elections	Total
1811 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (250 were without data.)							
Voter registration process	16%	66%	11%	6%	1%	58%	100%
Civic voter education activities	15%	60%	15%	9%	1%	70%	100%
Voter roll update	15%	67%	12%	6%	1%	18%	100%
Final voter registration roll	15%	67%	12%	6%	1%	44%	100%
Time voting started	19%	66%	10%	5%	1%	71%	100%
Crowd control measures	16%	64%	11%	7%	1%	37%	100%
Performance of polling staff	17%	64%	12%	6%	2%	59%	100%

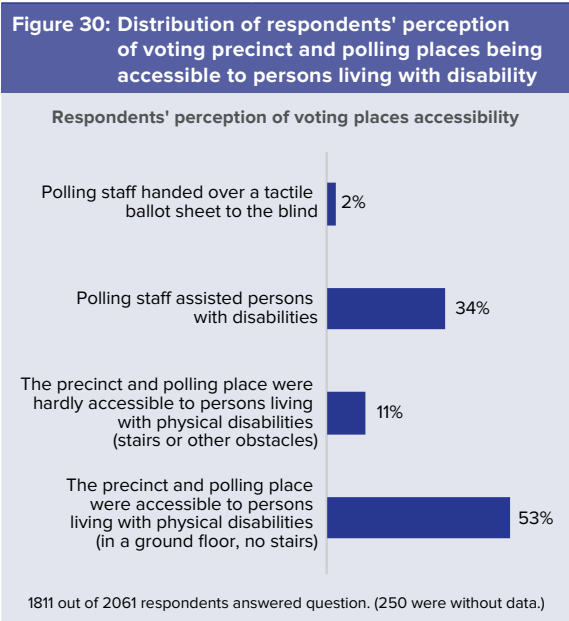
In terms of gender distribution of respondents' level of satisfaction with the electoral activities,

men on average were slightly more satisfied with key electoral activities than women (53% for men vs 47% for women) as well as the slightly more very satisfied than women (51% for men and 49% for women). In the same way, men were more dissatisfied with key electoral activities than women (55% for men and 45% for women), but women were very dissatisfied than the men (52% for women and 48% for men). Table 38 below depicts more detailed distribution of respondents' level of satisfaction by gender.

Table 38: Distribution of respondents' level of satisfaction with electoral activities by gender									
Distribution of respondents' level of satisfaction with electoral processes by gender									
Electoral process/activities	Very satisfied		Satisfied		Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied		Dissatisfied		Very dissatisfied
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Men
1811 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (250 were without data.)									
Voter registration process	47%	53%	49%	51%	46%	54%	44%	56%	48%
Civil voter education activities	48%	52%	49%	51%	46%	54%	47%	53%	46%
Voter roll update	48%	52%	49%	51%	41%	59%	50%	50%	55%
Final voter registration roll	50%	50%	48%	52%	45%	55%	42%	58%	27%
Time voting started	52%	48%	47%	53%	50%	50%	41%	59%	44%
Crowd control measures	50%	50%	48%	52%	42%	58%	52%	48%	42%
Performance of polling staff	49%	51%	41%	59%	46%	54%	42%	58%	44%
Average	49%	51%	47%	53%	45%	55%	45%	55%	48%

If yes, was the voting precinct and polling place accessible for people with disabilities?

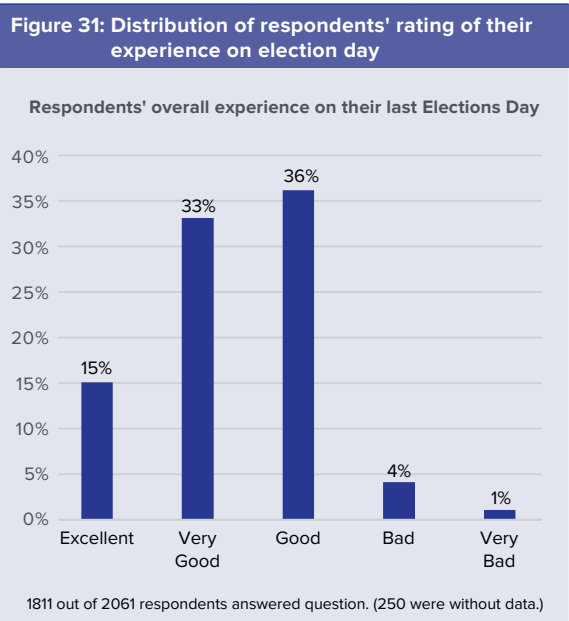
On the assessment of the voting precincts and polling places being disabled friendly, a slight majority (53%) of respondents perceived these places to be accessible to persons living with physical disabilities as these places were located in areas where there were no stairs, compared with 11% believed that the precincts and polling places were hardly accessible to persons living with physical disabilities, with stairs or other obstacles present. In addition, 34% of respondents indicated that polling staff were kind to and assisted persons living with disabilities, while 2% said polling staff handed over tactile ballot sheets to the blind.



How would you describe your overall experience on Election Day?

Voters' experience and perception of electoral activities and voting on election day are critical to the credibility and acceptance of election outcomes. Interestingly, a significant majority of respondents (84%) expressed positive experience on election day, with 36% indicating that their experience was good; 33% claiming that their experience was very good; while 15% intoned that their experience was excellent. Conversely, 5% of respondents lamented that they had a bad experience on election day, with 4% indicating having bad experience and 1% decrying very bad experience. There was no significant gender disparity between men and women respondents, as 85% of men respondents vs 82%

women respondents expressed having positive experience on election day.



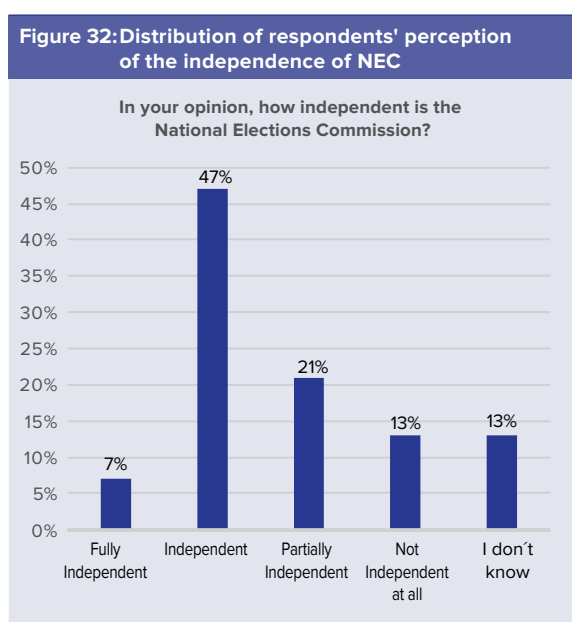
Voting is a civic duty which many Liberians have pride themselves in participating since after the civil war. Overall, there has been significant turnout on polling days as evident by almost half of the population voting in at least two or more elections. As expected, voters' turnout for the National Elections are higher than any other elections since it is when both the Executive and Legislative seats are filled. In exercising their patriotic duties, there was no significant difference between gender. There was also similar acceptance between genders of high satisfaction with the NEC in ensuring that voters could register and vote through a smooth process and within a peaceful environment. Lastly, the NEC ensured that persons with disabilities were included in the process in spite of the numerous challenges in finding adequate locations as polling stations. An overwhelming majority of respondents acknowledged the NEC for this.

Section 3: Public Perception of Electoral Processes and Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs)

This section assesses respondents' perception of key electoral management bodies (EMBs) including the National Elections Commission (NEC) and the Supreme Court in terms of their abilities to properly manage key processes and to uphold key elements that border on the integrity and success of elections.

In your opinion, how independent is the National Elections Commission?

In terms of the extent to which respondents perceived the National Elections Commission (NEC) to be independent, a decent majority with 75% of respondents expressed that NEC is independent to some extent, with 7% saying that NEC is very independent, 47% asserting that the NEC is independent and 21% intimating that NEC is partially independent. On the other hand, 13% outrightly said that NEC is not independent, while 13% could not express any opinion on the independence of NEC. (See Figure 32 below.). Notwithstanding a decent majority expressing some level of independence of NEC, it is important that NEC also focus on those population that think NEC is partially independent.



While women respondents were slightly more likely than men respondents to express that NEC is independent (55% women vs 53% men), men respondents were slightly more likely than women respondents to express the opposite (36% men vs 31% women).

As shown in Table 39 below, respondents in Nimba (93%), Maryland (91%), Grand Cape Mount (87%), Sinoe (86%) and Margibi (78%) expressed the highest degree of independence of NEC, compared with Gbarpolu (51%), Grand Kru (47%), Rivercess (43%) and Montserrado (35%).

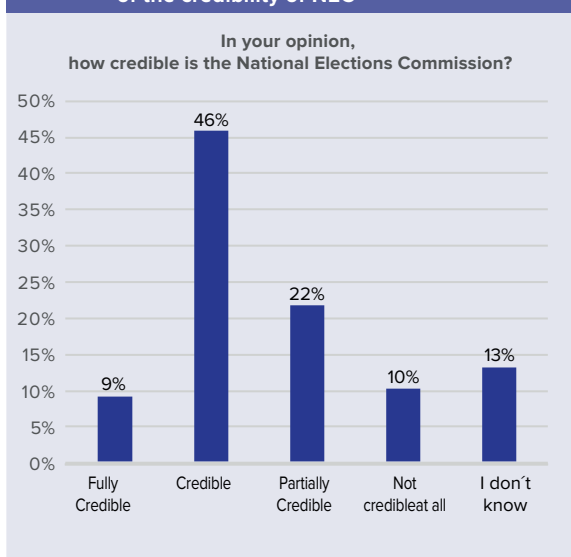
Table 39: Distribution of respondents' perception of the independence of NEC

Respondent county of resident	Fully independent	Independent	Partially independent	Not independent at all	I don't know	Total
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)						
Gbarpolu	4%	26%	22%	22%	27%	100%
Grand Cape Mount	5%	69%	13%	2%	11%	100%
Grand Kru	16%	18%	20%	47%	0%	100%
Margibi	6%	59%	13%	15%	8%	100%
Maryland	36%	41%	14%	4%	4%	100%
Montserrado	5%	43%	18%	17%	18%	100%
Nimba	6%	48%	39%	4%	4%	100%
River Cess	2%	45%	10%	16%	27%	100%
Sinoe	8%	69%	10%	2%	11%	100%
Total	7%	47%	21%	13%	13%	100%

In your opinion, how credible is the National Elections Commission?

Similarly, a decent majority of 77% of respondents expressed that NEC is credible to some extent, with 9% expressing that NEC is very credible, 46% stating that NEC is credible and 22% asserting that NEC is partially credible. On the contrary, 10% expressed their opinion that NEC is not credible at all while 13% said they did not know. Like the case of NEC's independence, NEC should equally focus on those who believed NEC is partially credible, as this segment of the population could easily be twisted to think that NEC is not credible at all since, they already think that the independence and credibility of NEC are not sufficient.

Figure 33: Distribution of respondents' perception of the credibility of NEC



Men respondents (57%) were slightly more likely than women respondents (53%) to express some degree of credibility of NEC, as well as to express negative opinion of its credibility, with 33% men vs 30% women respondents expressing that NEC is either not credible at all or NEC is partially credible.

As illustrated in Table 40 below, respondents in Nimba (94%), Maryland (93%) and Sinoe (91%) expressed the highest degree of credibility for the NEC, followed by Grand Cape Mount with 85%.

Table 40: Distribution of respondents' perception of the credibility of NEC

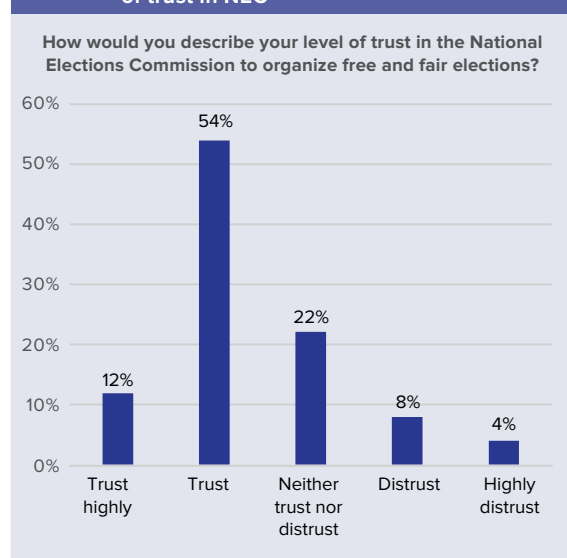
In your opinion, how credible is the National Elections Commission?						
Respondent county of resident	Very credible	Credible	Partially credible	Not credible at all	I don't know	Total
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)						
Gbarpolu	5%	41%	22%	14%	19%	100%
Grand Cape Mount	12%	69%	5%	1%	14%	100%
Grand Kru	20%	28%	33%	18%	2%	100%
Margibi	8%	56%	15%	15%	7%	100%
Maryland	29%	47%	17%	4%	3%	100%
Montserrado	7%	42%	19%	14%	18%	100%
Nimba	7%	46%	41%	2%	4%	100%
River Cess	5%	40%	7%	15%	34%	100%
Sinoe	10%	71%	10%	1%	8%	100%
Total	9%	46%	22%	10%	13%	100%

How would you describe your level of trust in the National Elections Commission to organize free and fair elections?

Three out of every five respondents expressed some degree of trust in the NEC to conduct free and fair elections. As illustrated in Figure 34 below, more than half of the respondents (66%) voiced that they either highly trust NEC (12%) or simply trust NEC (54%) to conduct free and fair elections. On the other hand, 12% expressed some level of distrust in NEC's ability to conduct free and fair elections (8% distrust and 4% highly distrust). Though the level of public trust in NEC to conduct free and fair elections is relatively good, there is still a strong need to strive to increase public trust in NEC to conduct elections always. This is even more important as Liberia edges close to the October 10, 2023 Presidential and Legislative elections.

Men respondents (67%) and women respondents (67%) were equally divided in their expression of some degree of trust in the NEC to conduct free and fair elections in the country. However, men respondents expressing distrust of NEC were slightly higher in numbers (13%) than women respondents (10%).

Figure 34: Distribution of respondents' perception of trust in NEC



As seen in Table 41 below, respondents in Nimba (89%), Sinoe (82%), Maryland (80%) and in Grand Cape Mount (80%) voiced the highest degree of trust in NEC, followed by Grand Kru (73%), Margibi (64%) and Montserrado (58%). On the other hand, respondents in Gbarpolu (25%) pronounced

the least degree of trust in NEC, followed by those in Rivercess (36%). The highest degree of distrust was expressed by respondents in Margibi (20%), followed by those in Montserrado (14%), Gbarpolu (14%), Rivercess (13%) and Grand Kru (12%). Significant number of respondents in Gbarpolu (62%) and Rivercess (52%) chose to remain neutral.

Table 41: Distribution of respondents' perception of trust in NEC to conduct free and fair elections by county

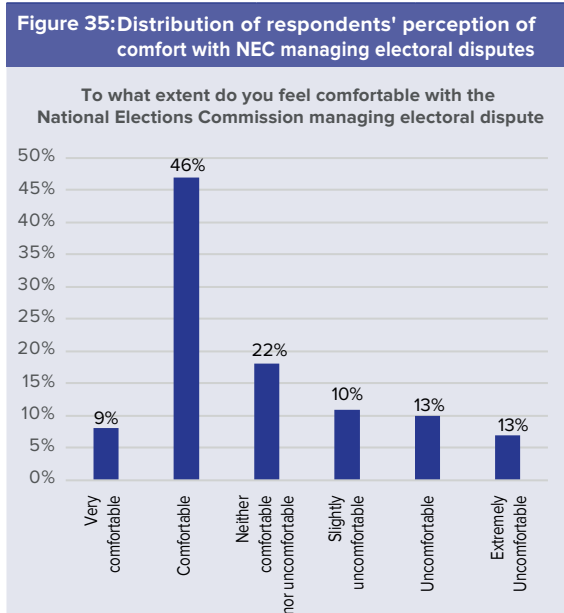
How would you describe your level of trust in the National Elections Commission to organize free and fair Elections

Respondent county of resident	Trust highly	Trust	Neither trust nor distrust	Distrust	Distrust highly	Total
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)						
Gbarpolu	3%	22%	62%	11%	3%	100%
Grand Cape Mount	4%	76%	20%	1%	0%	100%
Grand Kru	28%	45%	16%	6%	6%	100%
Margibi	11%	53%	17%	19%	1%	100%
Maryland	44%	36%	13%	6%	1%	100%
Montserrado	6%	52%	28%	8%	6%	100%
Nimba	22%	67%	6%	4%	2%	100%
River Cess	2%	34%	52%	13%	0%	100%
Sinoe	12%	70%	18%	0%	0%	100%
Total	12%	54%	22%	8%	4%	100%

To what extent do you feel comfortable with the National Elections Commission managing electoral dispute

A slight majority of respondents (55%) pronounced some degree of comfort with NEC managing electoral disputes (47% comfortable and 8% very comfortable) as opposed to 28% of them who expressed some degree of discomfort (10% uncomfortable, 11% slightly uncomfortable and 7% extremely uncomfortable) and 18% who were neither comfortable nor uncomfortable. (See Figure 35 below).

Again, the relationship between credibility, trust, and comfortability is clear. People do not feel comfortable in NEC's ability to manage elections because they lack trust in the institution which stamps from perceived low credibility of NEC. Thus, it is that NEC engages communities meaningfully to increase comfort level in the institution.



Women respondents (55%) and men respondents (55%) were evenly divided in the expression of some degree of comfort with NEC managing electoral disputes, while men respondents (30%) were slightly more likely than women respondents (25%) to voice distrust in NEC managing electoral disputes.

Across the counties, respondents in Grand cape Mount (79%) and Sinoe (78%) expressed the highest degree of comfort, followed by Maryland (68%), Margibi (65%) and Nimba (62%), while those in Grand Kru (6%) and Gbarpolu (23%) expressed the least degree of comfort with the NEC to manage electoral disputes. Correspondingly, respondents in Grand Kru (77%) expressed the highest degree of discomfort with NEC managing electoral disputes, followed by Nimba (36%), Gbarpolu (30%) and Maryland (30%) at a distance. See Table 42 below.

Table 42: Distribution of respondents' perception of comfort with NEC managing of electoral disputes by county

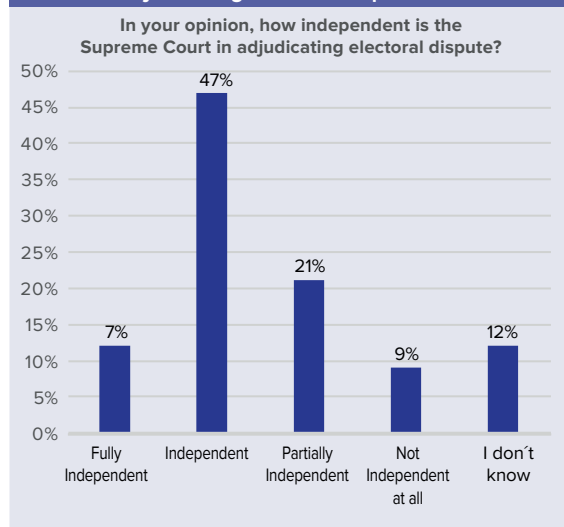
To what extent do you feel comfortable with the National Elections Commission managing electoral dispute

Respondent county of resident	Very comfortable	Comfortable	Neither comfortable nor uncomfortable	Slightly uncomfortable	Uncomfortable	Distrust highly	Extremely uncomfortable
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)							
Gbarpolu	1%	22%	47%	12%	4%	14%	100%
Grand Cape Mount	7%	72%	17%	0%	2%	2%	100%
Grand Kru	2%	4%	18%	26%	20%	31%	100%
Margibi	8%	57%	12%	3%	18%	2%	100%
Maryland	20%	48%	3%	20%	7%	3%	100%
Montserrado	7%	43%	23%	7%	12%	8%	100%
Nimba	8%	54%	2%	24%	6%	6%	100%
River Cess	8%	36%	42%	3%	7%	5%	100%
Sinoe	5%	73%	17%	3%	2%	0%	100%
Total	8%	47%	18%	11%	10%	7%	100%

In your opinion, how independent is the Supreme Court in adjudicating electoral disputes?

Like the NEC, a decent majority of respondents (80%) perceived the Supreme Court to be independent to some extent in adjudicating electoral disputes, with 12% asserting that the Supreme Court is fully independent, 47% thinking that the Supreme Court is independent and 21% believing that the Supreme Court is partially independent (as illustrated in Figure 36 below). However, 9% felt that the Supreme Court was not independent at all while 12% expressed that they didn't know. It is important to also consider the population that perceived the Supreme Court to be partially independent (21%).

Figure 36: Distribution of respondents' perception of the independence of the Supreme Court in adjudicating electoral disputes



Men respondents (60%) were slightly more likely than women respondents (57%) to express some degree of independence of the Supreme Court in adjudicating electoral disputes.

Across the counties, respondents in Nimba (95%) expressed the highest degree of independence of the Supreme Court, followed by Maryland (89%), Sinoe (89%), Grand Kru (84%), Grand Cape Mount (84%) and Margibi (82%). On the other hand, those in Rivercess (56%) and Gbarpolu (62%) and Montserrado (72%) expressed the least level of the Supreme Court's independence compared to the other counties. Even though respondents on the overall expressed high level of independence of the Supreme court and NEC, it important to note those who only believed that the Supreme Court is partially independent (as in Table 43 below). To foster a peaceful environment where electoral democracy may flourish, people need to believe in the independence of the Supreme Court to fairly and swiftly adjudicate electoral disputes. As such, future electoral disputes—when adjudicated—should be open and transparent and widely publicized at the national, county and community levels.

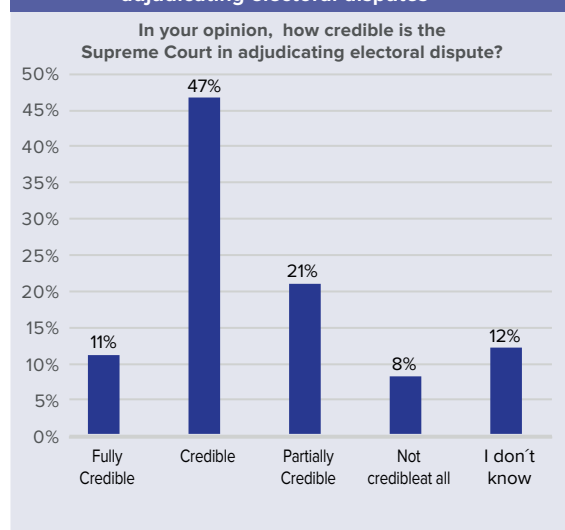
Table 43: Distribution of respondents' perception of the independence of the Supreme Court in adjudicating electoral disputes by county

In your opinion, how independent is the Supreme Court in adjudicating electoral dispute?						
Respondent county of resident	Full independent	Independent	Partially independent	Not independent at all	I don't know	Total
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)						
Gbarpolu	16%	24%	22%	8%	30%	100%
Grand Cape Mount	5%	76%	3%	2%	14%	100%
Grand Kru	22%	31%	31%	12%	4%	100%
Margibi	15%	55%	12%	8%	10%	100%
Maryland	7%	59%	23%	4%	7%	100%
Montserrado	10%	43%	20%	13%	15%	100%
Nimba	16%	43%	37%	3%	2%	100%
River Cess	7%	40%	10%	18%	26%	100%
Sinoe	15%	65%	9%	2%	9%	100%
Total	12%	47%	21%	9%	12%	100%

In your opinion, how credible is the Supreme Court in adjudicating electoral disputes?

Similar to the perception rating of respondents on the independence of the Supreme Court in adjudicating electoral disputes, a good majority of respondents (79%) expressed some degree of credibility of the Supreme Court in adjudicating electoral disputes, with 11% viewing the institution as very credible, 47% as credible, and 21% as partially credible. On the contrary, 8% thought the Supreme Court was not credible at all, while 12 declined to express any opinion on the issues-stating that they didn't know. (See Figure 37 below).

Figure 37: Distribution of respondents' perception of the credibility of the Supreme Court in adjudicating electoral disputes



While gender disparity in the view of respondents is not significant, men respondents (60%) expressed slightly more degree of credibility of the Supreme Court than their women counterparts (56%). Equally, men respondents (32%) were slightly more likely to voice credibility challenges with the Supreme Court in adjudicating electoral disputes than women respondents (28%).

As depicted in Table 44 below, a solid majority of respondents in most counties expressed positive perception of the Supreme Court in terms of its credibility to adjudicate electoral disputes. Nimba (95%) and Maryland (90%) held the highest level of belief that the Supreme Court is credible to some extent in adjudicating electoral disputes, followed by Sinoe with 89%, Grand Kru with 82% and Margibi with 81%. On the other extreme, Rivercess (59%), Montserrado (72%) and Gbarpolu (74%) expressed the least degree of credibility of the Supreme Court in adjudicating electoral disputes relative to the other counties.

Table 44: Distribution of respondents' perception of the credibility of the Supreme Court in adjudicating electoral disputes by county

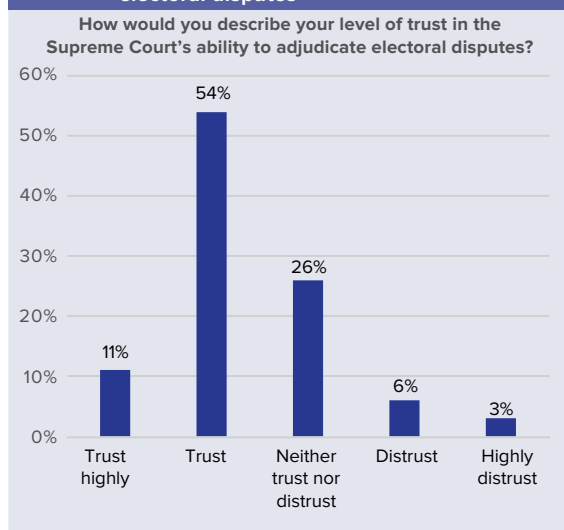
In your opinion, how credible is the Supreme Court in adjudicating electoral dispute?						
Respondent county of resident	Very Credible	Credible	Partially credible	Not credible at all	I don't know	Total
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)						
Gbarpolu	13%	41%	22%	5%	19%	100%
Grand Cape Mount	4%	75%	1%	3%	18%	100%
Grand Kru	18%	35%	29%	16%	2%	100%
Margibi	13%	53%	15%	9%	10%	100%
Maryland	6%	53%	31%	3%	7%	100%
Montserrado	11%	43%	18%	12%	16%	100%
Nimba	15%	43%	37%	3%	2%	100%
River Cess	7%	39%	13%	16%	25%	100%
Sinoe	10%	72%	7%	2%	9%	100%
Total	11%	47%	21%	8%	12%	100%

How would you describe your level of trust in the Supreme Court's ability to adjudicate electoral disputes?

Concerning respondents' level of trust in the Supreme Court to adjudicate electoral disputes, 65% of respondents expressed some level of trust in the Supreme Court to do so (54% simply trust and 11% highly trust) as opposed to 9% who expressed some level of distrust in its ability to do so (6% simply distrust and 3% distrust highly). Some 26% of the respondents could not decide whether they had trust or distrust in the Supreme Court in this regard. (See Figure 38 below). There is a need to create programs that directly engage the population wherein the work of the Supreme Court and the Judiciary at large is presented in a manner that the people understand and respect.

There was no significant gender gap in the perception of respondents' trust in the Supreme Court to adjudicate electoral disputes as 66% of men respondents vs 64% women respondents expressed some degree of trust in the Supreme Court to adjudicate electoral disputes. Similarly, 10% of men respondents and 8% of women respondents shared the view that they lack trust in the Supreme Court to do so.

Figure 38: Distribution of respondents' perception of trust in the Supreme Court to adjudicate electoral disputes



In the counties, respondents in Nimba (89%) and Sinoe (84%) displayed the highest degree of trust in the Supreme Court to adjudicate electoral disputes, followed by Maryland (76%) and Grand Cape Mount (70%). In the same vein, respondents in Gbarpolu (18%) and Rivercess (27%) expressed the least level of trust in the Supreme Court to do so. (See Table 45.)

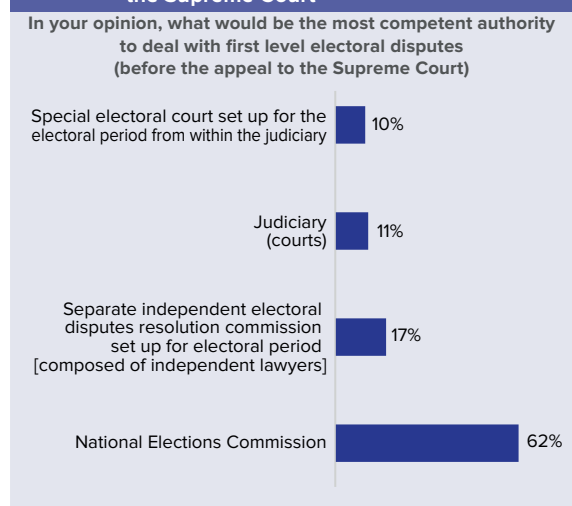
Table 45: Distribution of respondents' perception of trust in the Supreme Court to adjudicate electoral disputes by county

How would you describe your level of trust in the Supreme Court's ability to adjudicate electoral disputes?						
Respondent county of resident	Trust highly	Trust	Neither trust nor distrust	Distrust	Distrust highly	Total
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)						
Gbarpolu	3%	15%	74%	7%	1%	100%
Grand Cape Mount	2%	69%	26%	2%	1%	100%
Grand Kru	29%	31%	35%	5%	0%	100%
Margibi	15%	52%	19%	13%	1%	100%
Maryland	9%	67%	16%	6%	2%	100%
Montserrado	8%	50%	31%	6%	5%	100%
Nimba	22%	67%	6%	3%	1%	100%
River Cess	3%	24%	57%	13%	3%	100%
Sinoe	14%	70%	16%	0%	0%	100%
Total	11%	54%	26%	6%	3%	100%

In your opinion, what would be the most competent authority to deal with first level electoral disputes (before the appeal to the Supreme Court)

Concerning which competent body should handle first level electoral disputes before they are appealed to the Supreme Court, as displayed in Figure 39 below, 62% of the respondents believed that the National Elections Commission (NEC) should handle first level electoral disputes before appeal to the Supreme Court, while 17% thought that a separate independent electoral dispute resolution commission should be set up to handle these disputes, 11% believed that they should be handled by the Supreme Court and 10% believed they should be handled by a special electoral Court set up for that purpose for the period of the elections. Although a higher percentage of the population would still like the NEC to be the first line institution for electoral disputes, the 27% who suggested the establishment of alternative bodies to handle first level electoral disputes should not be overlooked. There is a correlation between trust toward the NECs ability to be impartial when resolving electoral disputes.

Figure 39: Distribution of respondents' perception of the most competent authority to deal with first level electoral disputes before appeal to the Supreme Court



Women and men respondents were almost evenly divided in their views on the subject, with 63% women vs 62% men respondents opting for the NEC; 16% women respondents vs 17% men respondents preferring separate independent electoral dispute resolution commission; 11% women respondents and vs 11% men respondents selecting the Supreme Court; and 10% women respondents and 10% men respondents choosing special electoral court.

Table 46: Distribution of respondents' perception of which competent body to handle first level electoral disputes before appeal to the Supreme Court by county

In your opinion, what would be the most competent authority to deal with first level electoral disputes (BEFORE THE APPEAL TO THE SUPREME COURT)

Respondent county of resident	National Elections Commission	Separate independent electoral disputes resolution commission set up for electoral period [composed of independent lawyers]	Judiciary (courts)	Special electoral court set up for the electoral period from within the judiciary	Total
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)					
Gbarpolu	42%	8%	5%	45%	100%
Grand Cape Mount	83%	2%	13%	3%	100%
Grand Kru	41%	33%	20%	6%	100%
Margibi	52%	37%	6%	5%	100%
Maryland	73%	20%	6%	1%	100%
Montserrado	57%	19%	17%	7%	100%
Nimba	79%	4%	2%	15%	100%
River Cess	89%	0%	1%	10%	100%
Sinoe	36%	32%	9%	23%	100%
Total	62%	17%	11%	10%	100%

As indicated in Table 46 above, respondents in Rivercess (89%) and Grand Cape Mount (83%), followed by Nimba (79%) and Maryland (73%) were more likely to prefer NEC handling first level electoral disputes than respondents in Montserrado (57%), Margibi (52%), Gbarpolu (42%) and Sinoe (36%).

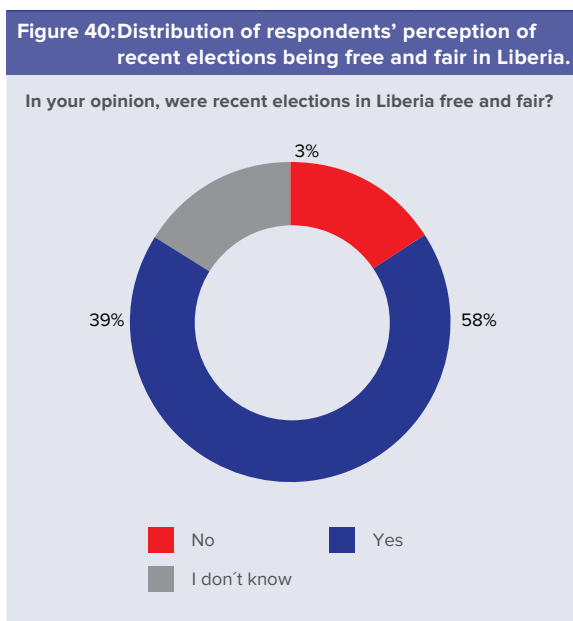
A brief comparative analysis of respondents' level of trust in the NEC and Supreme Court

Looking at how respondents perceived the NEC and the Supreme Court in terms of trust, data showed that respondents perceived the two institutions similarly. Respondents' level of trust in NEC and the Supreme Court was almost evenly divided (66% for NEC and 65% for Supreme Court). In the same way, respondents expressed slightly higher distrust of NEC (12%) compared with the Supreme Court (9%). Those who could neither express trust nor distrust in the two institutions were slightly higher for the Supreme Court (26%) than NEC (22%).

Table 47: A comparison of respondents' level of trust in the NEC and the Supreme Court										
Distribution of respondents' level of satisfaction with electoral processes by gender										
Electoral process/activities	Trust highly		Trust		Neither trust nor distrust		Distrust		Distrust highly	
	NEC	Supreme Court	NEC	Supreme Court	NEC	Supreme Court	NEC	Supreme Court	NEC	Supreme Court
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)										
Gbarpolu	3%	3%	22%	15%	62%	74%	11%	7%	3%	1%
Grand Cape Mount	4%	2%	76%	69%	20%	27%	1%	2%	0%	1%
Grand Kru	28%	29%	45%	31%	16%	35%	6%	4%	6%	0%
Margibi	11%	15%	53%	52%	17%	19%	19%	13%	1%	1%
Maryland	44%	9%	36%	68%	13%	16%	6%	6%	1%	2%
Montserado	6%	8%	52%	50%	28%	31%	8%	6%	6%	5%
Nimba	22%	22%	67%	67%	6%	6%	4%	3%	2%	1%
River Cess	2%	3%	34%	24%	52%	57%	13%	13%	0%	3%
Sinoe	12%	14%	70%	70%	18%	16%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Total	12%	11%	54%	54%	22%	26%	8%	6%	4%	3%

In your opinion, were recent elections in Liberia free and fair?

Respondents were asked to give their opinion on whether recent elections were free and fair. As illustrated in Figure 40 below, the survey recognized that two thirds of the respondents (68%) believed that recent elections in Liberia had been free and fair while 16% believed the opposite—that these elections had not been free and fair. At the same time, 16% said they did not know.



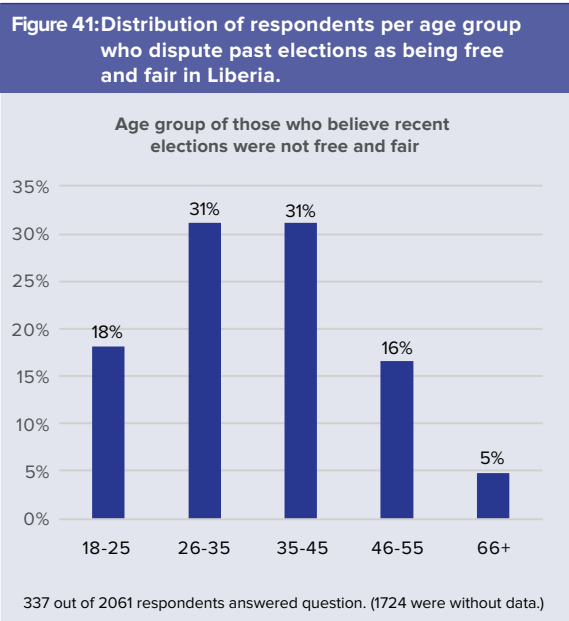
Men and women were almost evenly divided in their opinion on the free and fairness of these recent elections, with 67% of women and 68% of men thinking that these elections were free and fair. But men were slightly likely to opine that these elections were not free and fair (18%) compared with women (14%). More women (19%) did express that they did not know compared with men (13%).

Regarding which elections they believed were not free and fair, 33% of those who claimed these elections were not free and fair indicated the 2020 special, mid-term senatorial elections; 27% cited the 2017 presidential and legislative elections; 16% named the 2011 presidential and legislative elections; 14% identified all elections since 2005; while 10% mentioned the 2014 special, mid-term senatorial elections. See Table 48 below.

Table 48: Distribution of respondents by opinion of which recent elections were free and fair						
If no, which of the follow elections do you think was not free and fair?						
All of the above	2011 presidential and legislative elections	2014 mid-term senatorial elections	2017 presidential and legislative elections	2020 mid-term senatorial elections	Multiple ³¹ elections	
337 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (1724 were without data.)						
13%	14%	9%	23%	28%	13%	

31. The 2017 and 2020 elections featured the most among many of the respondents' multiple-choice selections.

Additionally, age played an important role in the number of people who did not believe at least one election was free and fair. People belonging to the age groups of 26-35 and 36-45 had the highest doubts because they have had the opportunity to participate in more elections than the other demographics. The oldest age group 66 and above and the least believe in previous elections not being free and fair. Although this survey cannot ascertain a clear correlation between age and elections being perceived as free and fair, it is presumed that the recent elections being perceived as less free and fair is due to the increase in the young voting population who did not participate in elections before 2017.



The survey observed that most citizens still place some level of confidence in the independence and credibility of NEC and the Supreme Court in conducting and/or handling elections activities in line with their mandates. Additionally, a majority still believe the NEC should remain as the first line for electoral dispute. Nonetheless, there is still a need for electoral institutions to install measures to gain more public confidence and increase the credibility of electoral outcomes.

Section 4: Women Political Participation and Leadership

This section explores the respondents’ perception of women political participation and leadership at the local and national levels. It assesses respondents’ perceptions about factors that inhibit women’s political participation and leadership.

In general, do you think each of the following characteristics is truer of men or truer of women?

Respondents were asked to provide their opinion on whether certain personal and leadership characteristics are true of a woman or a man, including intelligence, strength in decision making, dependability, honesty and ambitiousness. As depicted in Table 49 below, the survey established that respondents perceived men and women to be equally intelligent, as 29% of respondents said women are intelligent while 28% claimed men are. In terms of who is strong in making decisions, more respondents (36%) believed men are stronger in making decisions compared with 23% who thought women were stronger. Similarly, 31% of respondents perceived men to be more dependable compared with 26% who perceived women to be dependable; men were also thought to be more ambitious (33% respondents) than women (21% respondents). On the other hand, 32% of respondents believed women are honest compared with 24% respondents who expressed men are honest. On the overall, the majority of respondents believed these attributes are equally true of both men and women.

Table 49: Distribution of respondents’ perception of key leadership/personal attributes between men and women

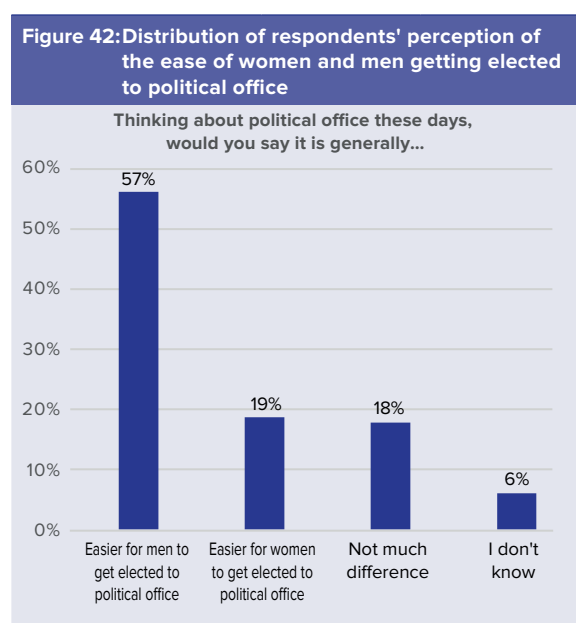
In general, do you think each of the following characteristics is truer of men or truer of women?

Leadership characteristics	Truer of women	Truer of men	Equally true of both	I don't know	Total
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)					
Intelligent	29%	28%	39%	4%	100%
Strong in decision making	23%	36%	38%	3%	100%
Dependable	26%	31%	39%	4%	100%
Honest	32%	24%	40%	4%	100%
Ambitious	21%	33%	42%	4%	100%

Thinking about political office these days, would you say it is generally...

Majority of the respondents support the belief it is easier for men to get elected to political office than women. The survey established that 57% of respondents believed that it is easier for men to get elected to political office compared with 19% who believed the same for women. At the same

time, 18% believed there is not much difference in the ease of any men and women getting elected to political office, while 6% reported that they did not know. This resonates with the reality in terms of the number of men and women holding political offices. More men currently occupying political offices than women in all branches of government. At the level of the Supreme Court, 60% of the seats are occupied by men compared with 40% occupied by women. Similarly, in the Senate, men occupy approximately 93% of the seats while women occupy a negligible 7% of the seat. In the House of Representatives, men occupy 88% of the seats compared with just 12% for women. Even in the Executive, the disparity is high. For example, in local government, 87% of the Superintendent posts are occupied by men compared with just 13% for women. Statistically, there are five times more men running for public office than women in Liberia. Therefore, the number of elected men is higher. On the other hand, there are other issues such as social, economic or cultural barriers, which limit the number of women competing firstly and subsequently being voted into office. Although some of these other factors are explored further in the study, a comprehensive study might be needed to understand the factors that lead to limited numbers of women elected and why.



Men (59%) and women (54%) all pointed to the perception that it is easier for men to get elected to political office as opposed to 21% women respondents and 17% men respondents who believed it is easier for women to get elected to political office.

The belief that it is easier for men to get elected to political office is highest among respondents in Grand Cape Mount (91%), followed by those in Nimba (75%), Maryland (62%) and Montserrado (53%). (See Table 50 below for details.)

Table 50: Distribution of respondents' perception of ease of women and men getting elected to political office

Thinking about POLITICAL OFFICE these days, would you say it is generally...					
Respondent county of resident	Easier for men to get elected to political offices	Easier for women to get elected to political offices	Not much difference	I don't know	Total
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)					
Gbarpolu	37%	22%	24%	18%	100%
Grand Cape Mount	91%	2%	1%	6%	100%
Grand Kru	47%	49%	4%		100%
Margibi	32%	27%	30%	11%	100%
Maryland	62%	15%	23%		100%
Montserrado	53%	20%	20%	7%	100%
Nimba	75%	20%	4%	1%	100%
River Cess	37%	24%	39%	0%	100%
Sinoe	46%	1%	46%	7%	100%
Total	57%	19%	18%	6%	100%

In general, do you think women or men in political office are better at.....

Respondents were asked to provide their opinions as to who is better at certain key leadership functions and principles in political offices, including standing up for what they believe, being honest and ethical, finding common ground, working to improve the quality of life for Liberians, and being persuasive. As shown in Table 51 below, 40% of respondents believed that men are better at standing up for what they believe in compared with 28% of respondents who believed women are better. Similarly, 39% and 34% of respondents believed men are better at finding common ground and working to improve the quality of life for Liberians, respectively as opposed to 30% and 25% of respondents who believed women are better at these functions/principles. On the other hand, women were thought to be more honest and ethical (36% of respondents for women vs 29% for men) and to being persuasive (37% of respondents for women and 33% for men).

Overall, a slight majority of respondents (37%) believed women are better at applying these functions and principles than respondents (33%) who believed men are better at applying these functions and principles. On the overall, 29% of respondents thought that there is no difference between men and women in terms of standing up for what they believe in, while 32% held the same perception for being honest and ethical, 28% for finding common ground, 36% for working to improve the quality of life for Liberians and 26% for being persuasive.

Table 51: Distribution of respondents' perception of the ability of men and men to apply basic leadership functions and principles					
In general, do you think women or men in political office are better at.....					
Leadership characteristics of women and men holding political office	Men are better	Women are better	No difference	I don't know	Total
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)					
Standing up for what they believe	40%	28%	29%	3%	100%
Being honest and ethical	29%	36%	32%	3%	100%
Finding common ground	39%	30%	28%	3%	100%
Working to improve the quality of life for Liberians	34%	25%	36%	5%	100%
Being persuasive	33%	37%	26%	4%	100%

How important is it to you for your leader to be...

Leaders are to possess or uphold certain leadership principles and characteristics to better serve their people. How the public perceive these qualities is important to electing their leaders and holding their leaders accountable. Respondents were asked to express the degree of importance they attached to a few of the qualities a leader should possess and/or uphold, including 1) Strong in making decisions, 2) Dependable, 3) Honest, 4) Ambitious, 5) Organized and 6) Innovative.

As illustrated in Table 52 below, a significant majority of respondents averred that it is absolutely important for their leaders to possess these quali-

ties. Most respondents (80%) believed that it is absolutely important for their leaders to be honest, while 79% held that it is absolutely important for their leaders to be intelligent, strong in decision making, organized and innovative. A few respondents, however, reserved that these qualities are not important for their leaders to possess.

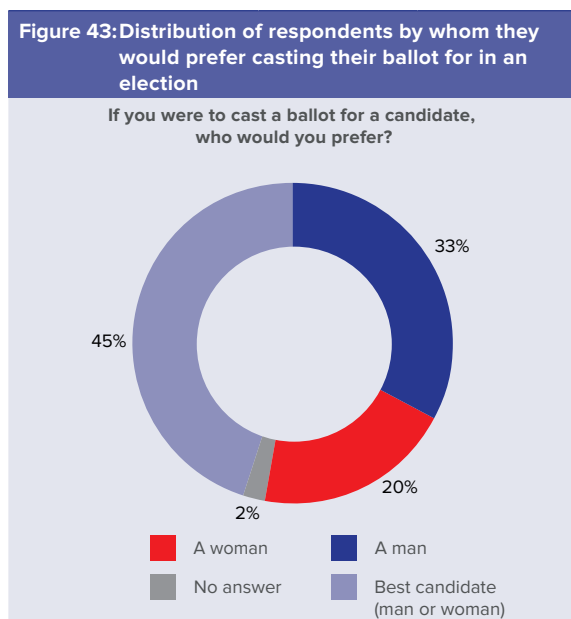
Table 52: Distribution of respondents' perception of the importance of leaders possessing or upholding key leadership attributes					
How important is it to you for your leader to be.....					
Leadership characteristics of a leader	Absolutely important for my leader	Somewhat important	Not important	I don't know	Total
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)					
Intelligent	79%	12%	4%	5%	100%
Strong in making decisions	79%	13%	4%	4%	100%
Dependable	75%	14%	6%	5%	100%
Honest	80%	11%	5%	4%	100%
Ambitious	73%	15%	7%	5%	100%
Organized	79%	12%	4%	5%	100%
Innovative	79%	11%	5%	5%	100%

In term of how men and women view these attributes differently, women and men were almost equally divided in thoughts that these attributes were absolutely important for their leaders: **Intelligent (49% for women and 51% for men); Strong in decision-making (49% for women and 51% for men); Dependable (49% for women and 51% for men); Honest (49% for women and 51% for men); Ambitious (49% for women and 51% for men); Organized (49% for women and 51% for men) and Innovative (50% for women and 50% for men).** Women were slightly more likely to perceive that these attributes are somewhat important for their leaders and less likely to say they are not important for their leaders than their men. For example, as shown in Table 53 below, **52% of women vs 48% of men indicated that the attribute 'Intelligent' was somewhat important; 53% women and 47% men reported that the attribute 'Strong in decision-making' was somewhat important for their leader.**

Table 53: Distribution of respondents' perception of the importance of key leadership attributes by gender								
Leadership Attributes	Absolutely important for my leader		Somewhat important		Not important		I don't know	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)								
Intelligent	49%	51%	52%	48%	50%	50%	52%	48%
Strong in decision making	49%	51%	53%	47%	49%	51%	52%	48%
Dependable	49%	51%	54%	46%	42%	58%	49%	51%
Honest	49%	51%	51%	49%	43%	57%	53%	47%
Ambitious	49%	51%	53%	47%	39%	61%	54%	46%
Organized	49%	51%	50%	50%	49%	51%	54%	46%
Innovative	50%	50%	49%	51%	46%	54%	51%	49%

If you were to cast a ballot for a candidate, who would you prefer?

Most respondents (45%) would cast their ballot in an election for the best candidate no matter their gender. This is true for all voters, regardless of gender: men respondents (46%) and women respondents (44%) almost evenly agreed in voting for the best candidate irrespective of their sex. For the balance who prefer one over another, 33% would prefer to cast their ballot for a man while 20% of respondents would do so for a woman (Figure 43). This response was gendered: women respondents would prefer a woman candidate (29%) to a man candidate (24%); men respondents would prefer a man candidate (41%) to a woman candidate (20%).



Of respondents who would cast their ballot for a man, 37% are women while 63% are men. Those who would cast their ballots for a woman, 74% were women and 26% were men. Women constitute 48% of respondents who would cast their ballot for the best candidate irrespective of their gender. This resonates with the registered voting population as almost half of the registered are women³². The findings indicate that the problem with the limited number of women in elected positions does not lay in people's voting habits. The real problems are the availability of women candidates for people to vote for. Hence, increasing the number of women candidates will strongly increase the number of women in elected positions.

Table 54: Distribution of respondents' perceived preference for a candidate in an election by gender			
If you were to cast a ballot for a candidate, who would you prefer?	Gender of Respondent		Total
	Women	Men	
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)			
A man	37%	63%	100%
A woman	74%	26%	100%
No answer	56%	44%	100%
The best candidate (man or woman)	48%	52%	100%
Total	49%	51%	100%

As seen in Table 55, respondents in Rivercess (97%) were most likely to vote for the best candidate (whether a man or a woman), followed by those in Gbarpolu (81%), Sinoe (78%) and Margibi (64%). Re-

32. <https://www.necliberia.org/>

spondents least likely to vote candidate based on merit alone, and more likely to choose based on gender were located in Grand Kru (18%), Nimba (30%), Grand Cape Mount (33%) and Maryland (39%).

Table 55: Distribution of respondents' preference for a candidate in an election				
If you were to cast a ballot for a candidate, who would you prefer?				
Respondent county of resident	A man	A woman	No answer	The best candidate (man or woman)
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)				
Gbarpolu	1%	12%	5%	81%
Cape Mount	50%	17%	0%	33%
Grand Kru	26%	55%	2%	18%
Margibi	21%	14%	1%	64%
Maryland	54%	7%	0%	39%
Montserrado	35%	19%	4%	42%
Nimba	39%	30%	2%	30%
River Cess	2%	2%	0%	97%
Sinoe	7%	11%	5%	78%
Total	33%	20%	2%	45%

Reasons fewer women than men occupy high political offices, like representative or Senate seats.

Respondents were asked to rank a number of pre-defined reasons fewer women occupy political offices, to state whether they are major reasons, minor reasons, or not a reason. As displayed in Table 56 below, respondents were divided on whether these reasons were major, minor or no reason for fewer women being elected to political offices. On the question of whether 'many Liberians are not ready again to elect a woman to political office', 31% of respondents did not think this is a reason, 28% of respondents and 27% of respondents considered it a major and minor reason, respectively. On the question of 'women with less access to resources to help them run for political office', 31% of respondents considered it a minor reason, 28% did not consider it as a reason, while 23% considered it as a major reason.

Table 56: Distribution of respondents' ranking of reasons fewer women occupy political position					
Reasons fewer women than men occupy high political offices, like representative or Senate seats					
Perception of reasons for fewer women in leadership	Major reason	Minor reason	Not a reason	I don't know	
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)					
Many Liberians are not ready again to elect a woman to political office	28%	27%	31%	15%	
Women's responsibilities to family do not leave time for politics	17%	35%	36%	12%	
Generally speaking, women are not tough enough for politics	21%	31%	36%	12%	
Fewer women have the experience required for political office	19%	34%	32%	15%	
Women who are active in party politics get less support from party leaders	22%	31%	30%	18%	
Women have less access to resource to help them run for political office	23%	31%	28%	18%	

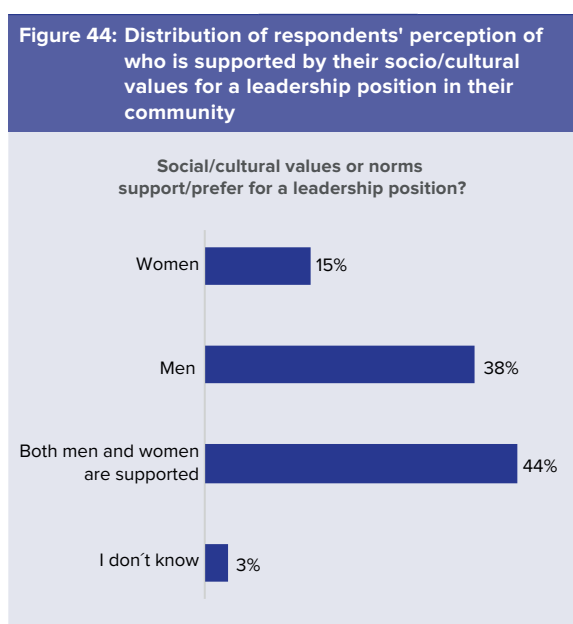
When reviewing the gender analysis, women indicated that 'many Liberians are not ready again to elect a woman to political office' (13%) and limited opportunities to generate resources individually and party level (22%) as the major reasons fewer women occupy high political offices. This is similarly reflected in the responses of men where 15% considered the unreadiness of Liberians now and a combined 23% stated limited opportunities to generate resources individually and party level as the main reasons. Apart from the aforementioned, every other category received either minor or no reason for women not to occupy high political offices. This indicates that women's intelligence, domestic responsibilities, or mentor and emotional state are not considered factors that keep women out of high offices.

In your community, whom do your social/cultural values or norms support/prefer for a leadership position?

Socio-cultural norms and values play important roles in all aspects of people's lives, including their voting habits. By understanding this, it is easier to tailor interventions that the people can easily accept. When understanding the socio-cultural norms of people's voting habits, the majority of the respondents (44%) believed that their socio-cultural values equally support both men and women

Table 57: Distribution of respondents' ranking of reasons fewer women occupy political position by gender									
Reasons fewer women than men occupy high political offices, like representative or Senate seats	Gender of Respondent								Total
	Major reason		Minor reason		Not a reason		I don't know		
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)									
Many Liberians are not ready again to elect a woman to political office	13%	15%	13%	14%	16%	15%	8%	7%	100%
Women's responsibilities to family do not leave time for politics	8%	9%	17%	18%	18%	18%	7%	5%	8%
Generally speaking, women are not tough enough for politics	8%	9%	17%	18%	18%	18%	7%	5%	100%
Fewer women have the experience required for political office	8%	11%	17%	17%	16%	16%	8%	6%	100%
Women who are active in party politics get less support from party leaders	11%	11%	16%	16%	14%	16%	10%	8%	100%
Women have less access to resource to help them run for political office	11%	12%	16%	16%	13%	15%	10%	8%	100%

for leadership. At the individual gender level, respondents were two and a half times more likely to suggest that their socio-cultural values support men (38%) than women (15%) for a leadership position in their community. (See Figure 44 below.)



There was a relatively pronounced gender difference in the perception of men and women respondents, as men respondents were more inclined to suggest that their cultural values support men (43%) than women (9%). On the other hand, women respondents perceived their cultural values sup-

porting men (33%) than women (20%) for a leadership position.

Table 58: Distribution of respondents' perception of which gender is supported by their socio-cultural values for a leadership position in their community				
In your community, who do your social/cultural values or norms support/prefer for a leadership position?				
Respondent county of resident	Men	Women	Men and women are both supported	I don't know
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)				
Gbarpolu	4%	7%	85%	4%
Cape Mount	78%	0%	19%	4%
Grand Kru	26%	55%	16%	4%
Margibi	24%	4%	70%	1%
Maryland	53%	3%	43%	0%
Montserrado	40%	17%	38%	5%
Nimba	38%	23%	36%	3%
River Cess	23%	0%	76%	2%
Sinoe	16%	6%	78%	0%
Total	38%	15%	44%	3%

As shown in Table 58 above, most respondents in Grand Cape Mount (78%), followed by Maryland (53%) at a distance, believed their socio-cultural values support men for a leadership position, while those in Grand Kru (55%) reported their socio-cultural values favoring women. Generally, most respondents across the counties believed that their socio/cultural norms would equally support both gender for a leadership position, with respondents

in Gbarpolu (85%), Sinoe (78%), Rivercess (76%) and Margibi (70%) holding strong belief that their socio-cultural values equally support both men and women for leadership positions. It should be noted that although many respondents indicated that their cultural norms do not hamper women from being elected, few women have been on ballots to give voters the opportunities to decide between women and men. For example, the 2020 Senatorial Election held in Grand Kru County had only one female candidate out of nine contestants. Again, the laws of probability depicts that a male candidate has a greater chance of being elected than the one female contestant. Therefore, it is imperative to ensure that more women run for political office to ensure greater chance of representation.

In your opinion, who should occupy leadership position in your community or county?

Consistent with their socio-cultural values, nearly half of the respondents (49%) personally believed that leadership positions in their communities should be occupied by both men and women. At the same time, when it comes to choosing between a woman and a man, respondents were nearly three times more likely to prefer a man (35%) to a woman (13%) for a leadership position in their community. Figure 45 below shows the distribution.

As illustrated in Table 59 below, women respondents (49%) and men respondents (50%) were almost evenly divided in their support for both men and women to occupy a leadership position in their community. Interestingly, women respondents were slightly more in favor of men leadership (29%) than women leadership (20%) in their communi-



ty when it came to choosing between a man and a woman for leadership, while men respondents would strongly prefer men (41%) to women (7%) under the same condition.

Respondents in Rivercess (97%) and Gbarpolu (92%) expressed the highest preference for both men and women for a leadership position in their community/county, followed by those in Sinoe (82%) and Margibi (80%). On the other hand, respondents in Margibi (51%) and Montserrado (43%) expressed the highest support for men leadership, while those in Grand Kru (43%) reported the highest preference for women leadership. See Table 60 below.

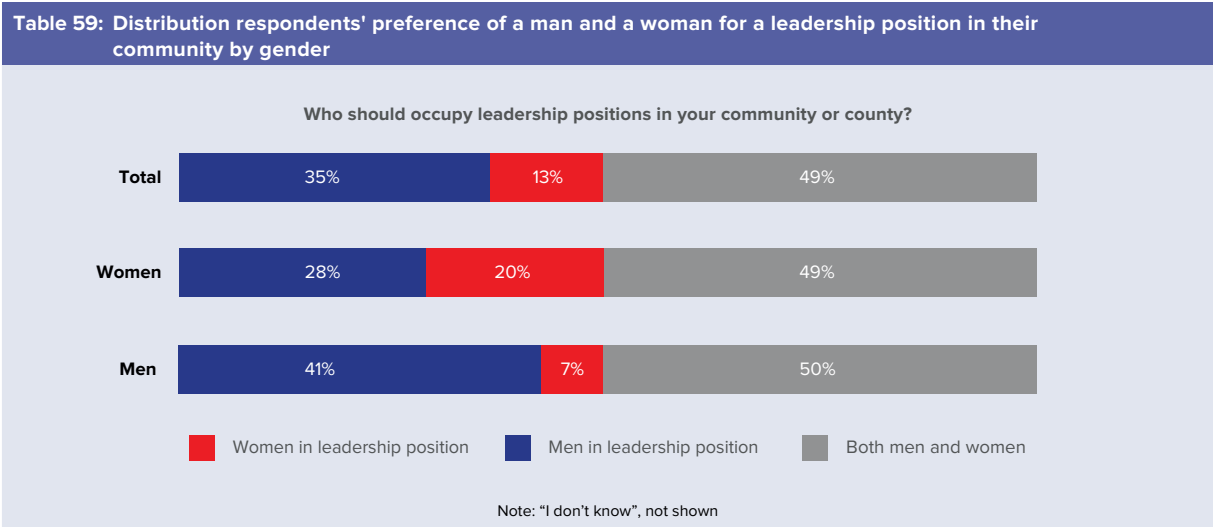


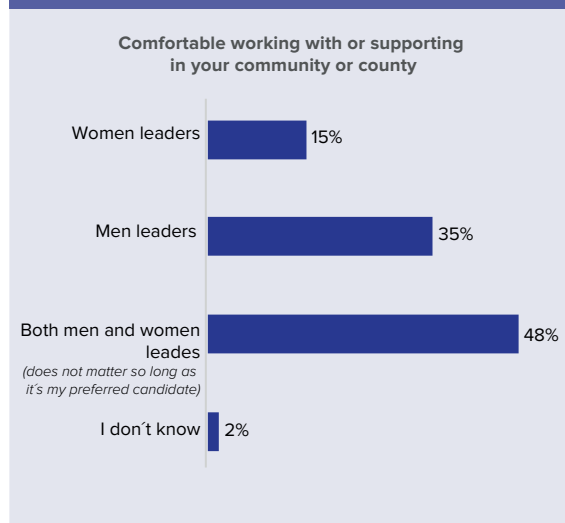
Table 60: Distribution of respondents' preference of a woman and man for leadership position in their community by county				
In your opinion, who should occupy leadership position in your community or county?				
County	Both men and women	I don't know	Men	Women
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)				
Gbarpolu	92%	3%	1%	4%
Grand Cape Mount	51%	4%	34%	12%
Grand Kru	28%	0%	29%	43%
Margibi	80%	2%	15%	3%
Maryland	43%	0%	51%	6%
Montserrado	40%	4%	43%	14%
Nimba	38%	3%	38%	21%
River Cess	97%	0%	3%	0%
Sinoe	82%	0%	10%	8%
Total	49%	3%	35%	13%

Who do you feel comfortable working with or supporting as a leader in your community or county?

Overall, 48% of respondents expressed that they would feel comfortable working with or supporting men and women leaders equally in their community or county. However, more respondents would feel comfortable working with or supporting men leaders (35%) than women leaders (15%) when it came to deciding between men and women leaders.

Table 61 below demonstrates that, while the plurality of respondents who are comfortable supporting or working with men and women equally is made up almost equally of men (49%) and women (47%), greater comfort in working with men is more likely to be true of men (35%) than women (29%). A

Figure 46: Distribution of respondents' level of comfort working with or supporting men and women leaders in their community or county



significant 23% of women are more comfortable working with or supporting a woman in their community whereas that is true of only 8% of men.

Respondents in Rivercess (97%) and Gbarpolu (92%) expressed the highest level of comfort working with both men and women leaders, followed by respondents in Sinoe (82%) and Margibi (79%). At the same time, respondents in Margibi, Montserrado and Nimba would feel comfortable working with or supporting men leaders than they would do for women leaders when confronted with making a choice between a men leader and a women leader: Margibi (50% for men leader vs 9% for women leaders), Montserrado (42% for men leaders vs 16% for women leaders) and Nimba (39% for men leaders vs 23% for women leader). See Table 62 below.

Table 61: Distribution of respondents' level of comfort to work with or support a men or women leaders in their community or county

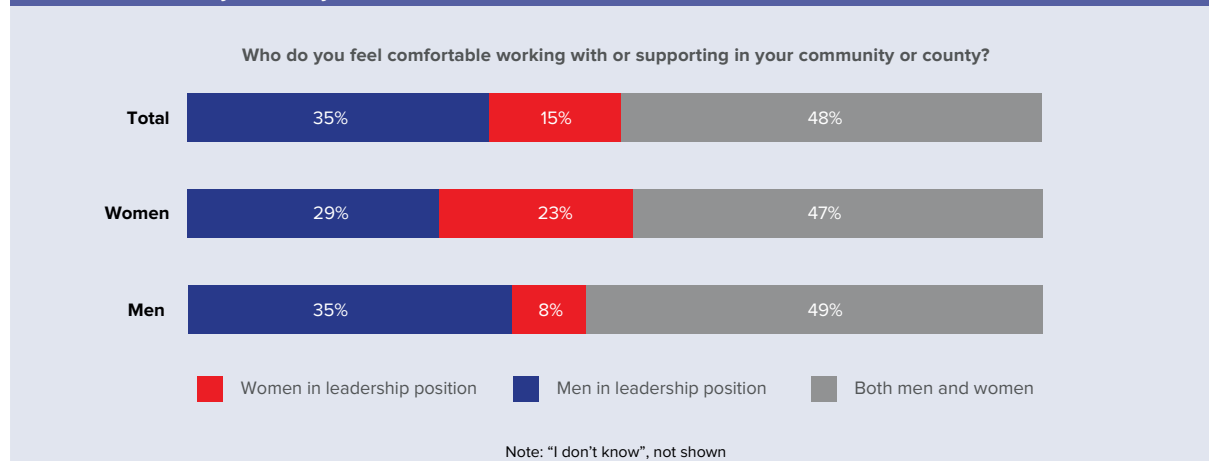


Table 62: Distribution of respondents' level of comfort to work with or support a men or women leaders in their community or county by county

Who do you feel comfortable working with or supporting in your community or county?				
County	Both men and women leaders	I don't know	Men leaders	Women leaders
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)				
Gbarpolu	92%	1%	1%	5%
Cape Mount	44%	1%	32%	23%
Grand Kru	31%	2%	33%	33%
Margibi	79%	2%	16%	4%
Maryland	40%	1%	50%	9%
Montserrado	40%	2%	42%	16%
Nimba	37%	2%	39%	23%
River Cess	97%	0%	3%	0%
Sinoe	82%	1%	8%	9%
Total	48%	2%	35%	15%

In your community and county, who occupies the following positions (only one can be selected per category):

The survey sought to assess the reality of women and men participation in politics and leadership by exploring which gender of person occupied key local level positions at the time of the survey in respondents' community or county. The survey established that more men than women were occupying all selected positions in respondents' communities and counties.

As illustrated in Table 63, 84% of respondents reported that men occupied the position of community leaders compared with 9% who reported that this position is occupied by women in their communities. Similarly, 64% of respondents intimated

that the position of commissioner was occupied by men while 11% intimated that the position was occupied by women, at the same time, the positions of town chief and general town chief were mostly occupied by men as reported by 62% of respondents as opposed to 10% and 7% of respondents who mentioned that women occupied the position of town chief and general town chief, respectively. In the same vein, 59% of respondents stated that the position of clan chief was held by men as compared with 6% who said it is held by women in their communities. In like manner, 58% of respondents revealed that men occupied the positions of paramount chief and superintendent, respectively compared with 7% and 14% of respondents who mentioned that women occupied the positions of paramount chief and superintendent, respectively.

If you have had women leaders now or in the past, how would you describe your level of satisfaction with her/their performance?

Two-thirds of respondents were satisfied (67%) with the performance of the women leaders they had in the past, with only 9% of all respondents dissatisfied. As shown in Figure 47 below, 67% of respondents reported some degree of satisfaction (50% simply satisfied and 17% very satisfied) with the performance of women leaders they had had in the past. As opposed to 9% of dissatisfaction (6% dissatisfied and 3% very dissatisfied). Only 9% of respondents indicated they have not had a woman leader now or in the past.

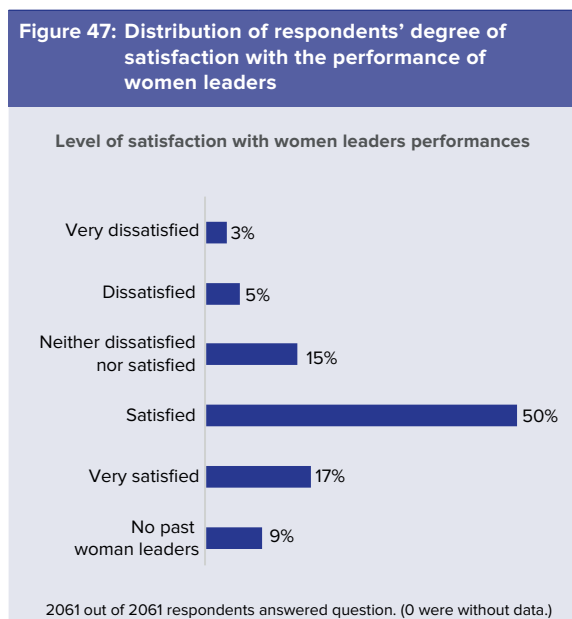
Women respondents (68%) and men respondents (67%) were almost evenly divided in the expres-

Table 63: Distribution of men and women in leadership position in respondents' communities and county at the time of the survey

In your community and county, who occupies the following positions (only one can be selected per category):				
Position	Women	Men	N/A	I don't know
Community leader	9%	84%	4%	3%
Town Chief	10%	62%	18%	10%
General Town Chief	7%	62%	19%	13%
Clan Chief	6%	59%	22%	14%
Paramount Chief	7%	57%	22%	14%
Commissioner	11%	64%	14%	11%
Superintendent	14%	58%	13%	15%
Total	9%	64%	16%	11%

2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)

sion of the degree of satisfaction with the performance of women leaders.



Respondents in Maryland (99%) and Rivercess (82%) expressed the highest degree of satisfaction with the performance of women leaders, followed by respondents in Grand Kru (78%), Nimba (75%), Margibi (64%) and Montserrado (62%). See Table 64 below.

Table 64: Distribution of respondents' degree of satisfaction with the performance of women leaders by county

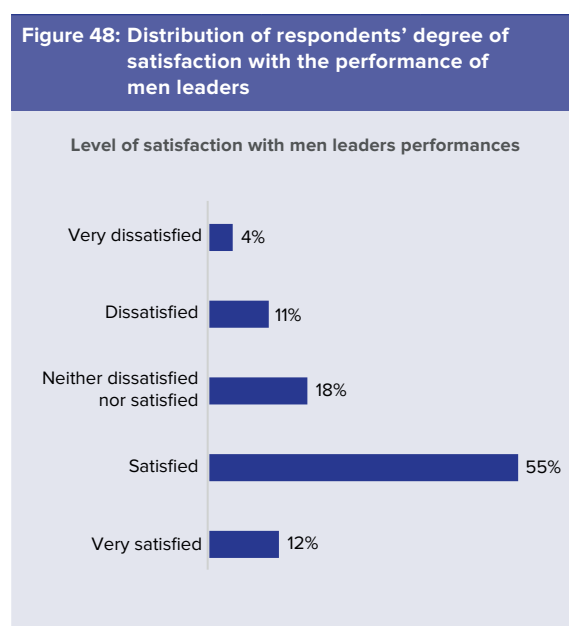
If you have had women leaders now or in the past, how would you describe your level of satisfaction with her/their performance?

County	Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	Satisfied	Very satisfied	No women leaders now or before
Gbarpolu	0%	0%	38%	50%	8%	4%
Grand Cape Mount	0%	10%	36%	45%	8%	1%
Grand Kru	2%	2%	16%	24%	55%	2%
Margibi	1%	6%	3%	58%	7%	26%
Maryland	0%	1%	0%	83%	16%	0%
Montserrado	1%	8%	20%	49%	14%	9%
Nimba	13%	1%	2%	46%	29%	9%
River Cess	7%	8%	3%	52%	31%	0%
Sinoe	0%	0%	19%	55%	8%	18%
Total	3%	6%	15%	50%	17%	9%

2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)

If you have had men leaders now or in the past, how would you describe your level of satisfaction with his/their performance?

In the same way, respondents who have had men leaders were more satisfied (68%) with their performance than they were dissatisfied (15%). As displayed in Figure 48 below, 55% of respondents were satisfied and 13% were very satisfied. On the other hand, 11% of respondents were dissatisfied while 4% were very dissatisfied. At the same time, 17% were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied.



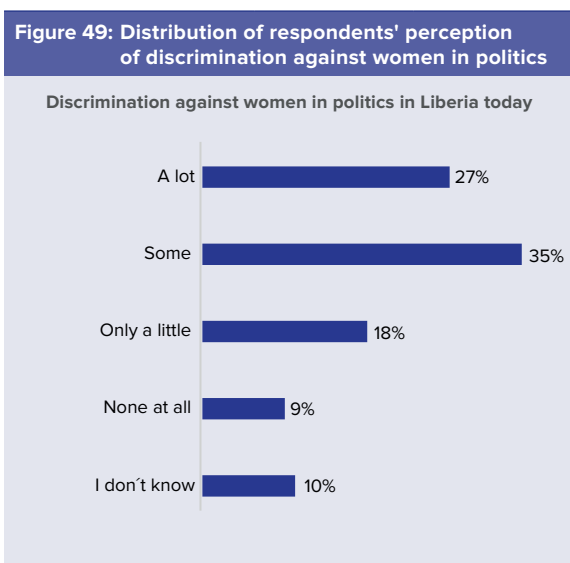
Men respondents voiced slightly more degree of satisfaction (72%) than women respondents (63%) with the performance of men leaders they have had. Conversely, women respondents expressed slightly more degree of dissatisfaction (17%) than men respondents (12%) with the performance of men leaders they have had.

At the county level, as illustrated in Table 65 below, respondents in Maryland (98%) expressed the highest level of satisfaction with the performance of men leaders, followed by Nimba (82%) and Margibi (71%).

Table 65: Distribution of respondents' level of satisfaction with the performance of men leaders by county					
If you have had men leaders now or in the past, how would you describe your level of satisfaction with his/their performance?					
County	Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	Satisfied	Very satisfied
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)					
Gbarpolu	1%	5%	45%	46%	3%
Grand Cape Mount	0%	10%	32%	44%	14%
Grand Kru	6%	10%	32%	26%	26%
Margibi	1%	18%	10%	68%	3%
Maryland	0%	1%	1%	73%	25%
Montserrado	3%	13%	21%	53%	10%
Nimba	10%	5%	4%	61%	20%
River Cess	18%	24%	7%	36%	15%
Sinoe	0%	5%	35%	54%	6%
Total	4%	11%	17%	55%	13%

How much discrimination would you say there is against women in politics in Liberia today?

Most respondents (81%) expressed that there were some elements of discrimination against women in politics, with 28% believing that there is a lot of discrimination against women in politics, 35% believing that there is some discrimination against women in politics, and 18% believe that there is a little discrimination against women in politics. Only a minute proportion of respondents (9%) held that there is no discrimination against women in politics, while 10% reported that they did not know. See Figure 49 below.



Women respondents (81%) and men respondents (81%) were evenly divided in their perception of discrimination against women in politics.

As displayed in Table 66 below, the vast majority of respondents in Nimba (97%) and Margibi (94%) expressed that there is some level of discrimination against women in politics, followed by Sinoe (89%) and Montserrado (80%). Conversely, nearly half of the respondents in Rivercess (48%) and significant minorities in Maryland (21%), Grand Kru (18%), and Grand Cape Mount (16%) purport that there is no discrimination against women in politics.

Table 66: Distribution of respondents' perception of discrimination against women in politics by county					
How much discrimination would you say there is against women in politics in Liberia today?					
County	A lot	Some	Only a little	None at all	I don't know
2061 out of 2061 respondents answered question. (0 were without data.)					
Gbarpolu	22%	8%	19%	7%	45%
Grand Cape Mount	17%	32%	15%	16%	20%
Grand Kru	18%	26%	35%	18%	4%
Margibi	46%	21%	26%	1%	6%
Maryland	31%	31%	0%	21%	16%
Montserrado	27%	37%	15%	10%	11%
Nimba	22%	50%	25%	1%	3%
River Cess	10%	2%	40%	48%	0%
Sinoe	42%	39%	8%	3%	8%
Total	28%	35%	18%	9%	10%

The most compelling, important finding of this section is in fact that the plurality of respondents indicates on every measure that they believe men and women hold those attributes equally. Where strengths were attributed to one gender or the other, men were considered more ambitious, strong in decision-making, and dependable whereas women were considered more honest. The degree of difference in perceived intelligence, while higher for women, is within the margin of error. It is also important to note that the population is equally satisfied with both men and women leaders, but acknowledged that there are obstacles which prevent women from holding political office despite their leadership attributes are not less than those of their men counterpart.

Qualitative Analysis

This section provides analysis and discussion of the findings emanating from the focus group discussion and the key informant interviews. Findings from these two qualitative data collection methods employed by the survey largely resonate and reinforce findings from the household survey.

FGD

How would you describe the performance of the National Elections Commission in organizing and conducting free, fair, transparent, and credible elections in Liberia?

On performance of the National Elections Commission (NEC) to conduct free, fair, transparent, and credible elections, the analysis indicates that interviewees were largely divided in their impression about the performance of the NEC. Some pointed out that the NEC had demonstrated some level of good performance in organizing and conducting free, fair, transparent, and credible elections. They indicated that despite the numerous challenges, the National Elections Commissions has been successful in this regard. Nonetheless, there is much room for improvement.

“Our view on the credibility of the NEC to organize transparent elections is the NEC is credible and we rely on the results in as much as the electioneering process does not cause conflict in the country.”

– interviewee x

“To a little extent, the NEC is credible in organizing free, fair, credible, and transparent elections. We can rate them below 50% in terms of credibility,”

– interviewee x

“Looking the process put in place by the NEC, we can say that they are doing their best to make election free, fair, transparent, and credible. Even though there is room for improvement, the NEC puts everything in place; this is how

contestants and observers have been rating the results”

– interviewee x

Others presented harsh rebukes of the NEC's response to elections. Some pointed out that the performance of the NEC is low and implicated NEC in issues that arose in past elections. There were instances cited to support their assertions of the limited credibility of the NEC (see below). These responses used the criteria of credibility, transparency, free and fairness to assess the performance of NEC in organizing and conducting free, fair, transparent and credible elections. Further probing revealed that some see the NEC as being biased and incompetent while others pointed out unethical transactions of the NEC, even indicating that the NEC is compromised. Some discussants intimated that NEC had not demonstrated significant ability in resolving electoral disputes, especially in a timely manner. These interviewees noted that NEC's staff responsible to settle electoral disputes are not very conversant with the laws and processes. They also expounded that NEC had not manifested capacity to settle electoral disputes within political parties, referencing the Liberty Party situation which has lingered on for some time.

“The NEC is not credible. The extent of their lack of credibility can bring chaos or war in the country. An example is the case with David Armah and James Kiazolu for registering people from Sierra Leone,”

–interviewee x in Tienii, Grand Cape Mount County.

“Elections Commission is not credible. Results are not free and fair,” said interviewee x Taiwor District, Grand Cape Mount County.

“The current commission lacks the ability to conduct credible elections because its members are bias, incompetent, compromising, etc. and should therefore be dissolved,”

– interviewee x in Monrovia.

“The credibility of the NEC is compromised. The extent of this compromise is the example of double standard being played by NEC staff even include county magistrate. This is evidenced by alleged holding of secret meetings with some candidates overnight.”

— interviewee x in Nimba

“One of the lapses the NEC have had is the limited capacity to settle electoral disputes; most of their employees responsible for electoral disputes did not know the law.”

— interviewee x

It is important for the NEC and its partners to reflect and reexamine its strategies and processes to engage the public in a meaningful way to foster a better relationship with voters. It is also important to refrain from actions that may be perceived by the public as bias so that confidence in the system is strengthened. This will ensure that the NEC conducts 2023 elections that will be free of violence and distrust.

How would you describe the participation of women, youths and minority groups in elections, national politics and leadership in Liberia?

Another thematic area that emanated is violence against women in elections. Most of the participants intimated that violence against women is becoming common in Liberian elections. They referenced instances of violence against women in the 2017 Presidential and Legislative Elections, the 2019 By-elections in Montserrado County and the 2020 Special Senatorial Elections.

“Elections conducted after the 2017 general elections were marked by violence against women candidates as well as their supporters and NEC has proven grossly incompetent in amicably resolving this wave of VAW,”

— interviewee x in Monrovia.

What characteristics/attributes do you want to see in elected leaders?

Participants strongly agreed that leaders must possess good morals, integrity and leadership quality to occupy public positions at the national and local levels. They named such characteristics as sensitivity to the plights of his/her people; honesty; good inter personal relationship, developmentally oriented; just, transparent, and accountable. Discussants believed that these characteristics should hold for both men and women holding or trying to hold public office. Again, this is in tandem with the response of many of the respondents from the survey. People want their leaders to possess all the good qualities of life as it is how they will benefit from national development. They perceive leaders with good characteristics will be able to develop the country and improve the socioeconomic situation of many.

What are barriers at the local and national levels that impede women, youth and minority groups' participation in elections and other political activities such as local and national leadership?

Participants also believed that there are multiple barriers that hold women from occupying public barriers. Most participants postulated that key among these barriers are cultural beliefs, limited financial resources, violence against women including denial of opportunities by men, limited education, and political parties not abiding by the 30% quota as stipulated in the New Elections Law, among others. The limited enforcement by the NEC of the gender quota also contributes to people's distrust of the system. The NEC and its partners should review the issues raised by respondents and develop strategies for addressing in the future. It will increase women's participation in politics as well as increase trust.

The barriers at the national and local levels that impede women, youth and minority participation in elections include culture, finance, limited information on their rights, they are being bullied, delayed action to respond to their plight, society's perception has not changed towards them, limited access to justice, etc.

—interviewee x

What are some key challenges that affect the holding of credible elections in Liberia?

Participants reverberated that several challenges impair the holding of free, fair and credible elections. The mentioned such factors as the low budgetary support to the NEC by the Government of Liberia, bad road conditions, poor distribution of election materials, poor human resources. Others include untimely dissemination of information, incompetence of polling staff, upholding of elections laws; delay in the deployment of NEC staff, NEC's inability to respond timely to elections related disputes, violation of elections law (e.g., 10 years residency clause), considering these factors, it is imperative that strategies are instituted to resolve the issues and ensure the new measure are robust to last.

The challenges to holding of credible elections include untimely deployment of NEC staff, NEC's lack of ability to respond timely to election related situations, limited financial support (elections budgets are hardly supported by the state even at 25%), untimely dissemination of information, incompetence of polling staff, bad roads, bias of key players especially NEC and law makers, violation of elections, example the ten years residency clause, candidates are being monitored, elections laws are poorly monitored, political parties renege on putting women forward for candidates despite of the 30% quota, etc.

KII

Before the start of LESP in 2020, did NEC have national and county-level communication plans in the past? If yes, at what level and for which county(ies)? If no, does NEC have national and county-level communication plans now? If yes, when were they developed and at what level?

The study established that the National Elections Commission (NEC) has a National Communication Strategy/Plan signed and approved by the Board of Commissioners for the period 2019-2022. As indicated, come December 2022, the said Communication Plan/Strategy will expire and leave the NEC with no active communication plan/strategy. Employees at NEC and LESP also intimated that the Communication Plan/Strategy has been mainstreamed at the national and sub-national levels.

“Yes, there is a national communication plan signed by Board of Commissioners. While the Communication Director will have more details as to the level of county mainstreaming, generally there is an existing one to the knowledge of the commission.”

—KII respondent.

“Yes, we provided logistics; conducted training and support processes leading to preparation and mainstreaming of the NEC communication policy at national and subnational levels. To the extent of its results as regards to the changes it influences in sector, the Communication Department should have the cogent details.”

—KII respondent.

Before the start of LESP in 2020, did NEC partner with CSOs/CBOs/FBOs in its CVE activities around the country? If yes, how many? Does NEC currently partner with CSOs/CBOs/FBOs in this area? If yes, how many?

The survey found that the National Elections Commission (NEC) has continually partnered with civil society organizations (CSOs) in the implementation of its activities, especially the civic voter education activities. Through this partnership, CSOs have been very instrumental in disseminating messages and educating the public as to how they should participate in the electoral processes, the activities and schedules of elections. Though NEC has partnered with a wide audience of CSOs in this regard, it was observed that NEC has dealt with urban CSOs than their rural counterparts, which now requires that NEC needs to make their partnership with CSOs more inclusive by increasing partnership with county/local based to carry out civic voter education.

“Yes, the NEC has partnered with election focused CSOs on civic voter education around the country. Even though the process has been so good because organizations engaged by the NEC were recruited from Monrovia and they did not have capacity, knowledge and experience about rural terrains. Besides, there has been the issue of language and culture barriers with most of the CSOs in reaching most rural communities.”

– KII respondent.

“Yes, the NEC has had partnerships with CSOs/CBOs/FBOs on the implementation of CVE and other elections related activities that require civil society inputs. These partnerships are with election focused CSOs, CBOs and FBOs. Experience has shown that the NEC should stay away from recruiting CSOs only in Monrovia and that such recruitment should be at regional and county levels for CSOs and district levels for CBOs.”

– KII respondent.

Before the start of LESP in 2020, did NEC have gender mainstreamed in all its policies? What are the policies? If no, does NEC have gender mainstreamed in all its policies now? If yes, which policies?

The study observed that the National Elections Commission (NEC) has a Gender Policy which clearly defines how gender is mainstreamed in its policies, strategies, plans and activities. The NEC has a Gender Department that ensures that gender is mainstreamed in all its activities as much as possible. The NEC's Gender Policy was developed in 2017 and the responsible department (the Gender Department) has been working collaboratively to implement the policy.

“Yes, I do know that the gender policy was developed and mainstreamed in other policies of the Commission including HR policy, the training manual and procedure manual.”

– KII respondent.

“We established the Gender Unit through which we developed a gender policy to be mainstreamed throughout the work of the NEC. We hired consultant for the development of the policy and supported consultative processes with women, men youth and minority groups such as persons with disabilities and elders. Besides, we trained women and people with disabilities in various skills including project writing and others as a means of ensuring their institutional participation into electioneering processes through advocacy and communication. Additionally, we support the development and adoption of the Affirmative Action Bill and or Gender Quota policies under this arrangement.”

– KII respondent.

Before the start of the LESP in 2020, did NEC have CVE materials available? If yes, what % of the CVE materials was in local languages? Are there CVE materials in local languages now? If yes, what is the percentage?

The study observed that NEC has materials on civic voter education (CVE) that it and its partners use to disseminate information and educate the public on elections activities and processes. These materials have existing contents that are continuously updated and modified to make them election specific. The study could not however establish that these CVE materials have been developed into local languages/vernacular.

“Yes, there were CVE materials developed with the support of our partners, but they are in electronic form and can be regularly modified before printing during a particular election. As to the rate at which they are produced in local languages I am not sure, but the CVE department may have this detail.”

–KII respondent.

“Since 2011, materials were printed and distribute with 90 to 95% success rate. 2017 sailed on that place created in 2011, though with challenges including complaints of CSO not understanding the terrain because of methods for recruiting CSOs. Liberia Media Initiative was hired to develop a baseline survey. The developed a CVE tool kit based on findings of the survey. Consequently, a strategy has been adapted, which calls for the engagement of CBOs within the communities and political districts. From our vantage point, this strategy certifies our project objective of supporting the NEC and electoral stakeholders.”

–KII respondents.

Before the start of the LESP in 2020, did NEC have electoral operational plan available and implemented? If yes, what is the title and when was it developed? If no, does NEC have one now?

The study found that NEC has an Operational Plan that was its role to support electioneering processes in Liberia.

“There is an available operational plan. Our Deputy Executive Director for Operation and Field Coordinator can provide the details.”

–KII respondent.

“Technical and financial support have been provided to the NEC towards development of the Commission’s operational plan. We hired consultant to this end and worked with the operations and field coordination departments to this end.”

– KII respondent.

In the last elections before the start of the LESP in 2020, what % of electoral disputes was resolved in a timely, transparent, and credible manner? What % of electoral disputes has NEC resolved in a timely, transparent, and credible manner since the start of this project?

The study revealed that the National Elections Commission (NEC) has a mechanism in place to resolve electoral disputes and has continuously endeavored to ensure that electoral complaints are heard and resolved. In the 2017 Presidential and Legislative Elections, NEC received 98 complaints (2 for the presidential and 96 for the legislative). Of that number, 86 complaints were found to be credible and resolved. The rest was either dropped or dismissed on grounds of insufficient evidence.

Before the start of the LESP in 2020, did NEC have capacity building plan available and implemented? If yes, what is the title and when was it developed? If no, does NEC have one now?

The study established that the National Election Commission (NEC) has capacity building plan that it uses to build capacity of its commissioners and employees. The NEC usually develops and/or reviews and revises its capacity development plan once every electoral cycle.

“Yes, the NEC has capacity building plan, which was worked on by UNDP.”

– KII respondent.

“There is a capacity building plan for every electoral cycle. We bring in consultants to develop these plans. For example, in 2021 we brought an expert who developed the capacity building plan, which has two dimensions: the Commission as an institution and individual persons working for or with the Commission. One of the trainings designed, which many Commissioners, employees and election stakeholders participate in is the Building Resource in Democratic Governance and Election (BRIDGE). As a preparation for 2023, several persons are participating in the training now including 32 staffers of the Commission on Warehouse, CCTV, Logistics, etc.”

– KII respondent.

Before the start of the LESP in 2020, had NEC conducted a feasibility study for biometric voter registration? If yes, when was it conducted? If no, has NEC conducted one recently?

The study established that the National Elections Commission (NEC) conducted a feasibility study for the biometric voter registration (BVR) in 2021. The feasibility study led to the commencement of the process of hiring a firm to set up the BVR system,

which is yet to be completed due to procedural issues that NEC and the Public Procurement and Concession Commission (PPCC) are yet to resolve to finalize the hiring process.

“The NEC has conducted a feasibility study for the biometric voter registration in 2021 with the support of UNDP. The report is readily available.”

– KII respondent.

“The feasibility study on biometric is among the outputs of our project. The report has been shared with the NEC to review and comment. It is just that there are hitch ups in the procurement process with three government institutions including the PPCC, NIR and NEC.”

– KII respondent.

Before the start of LESP in 2020, how many warehouses were rehabilitated or constructed and where? Has NEC recently rehabilitated or constructed warehouses? If yes, how many and where?

The study found that with the support of the partners including the European Union (EU) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), NEC constructed and rehabilitated its warehouses around the country. Respondents intimated that 12 out of the 19 warehouses had been rehabilitated while the remaining 7 are pending subject to the availability of funding.

“There were NEC warehouses constructed in 2011 and leakages were reported on many of them. An assessment of their condition was done in 2016. Funding to repair the 19 warehouses was secured and budgeted. Later the Board of Commissioners want fences around them, which was extra cost. Consequently, 12 of them were successfully rehabilitated and 7 left undone within the southeast of

the country. Funding to repair the rest of 7 tends to be dependent on EU funding commitment.”

– KII respondent.

Before the start of the LESP in 2020, were NEC documents digitized, archived, and catalogued? If no, are these documents digitized, archived, and catalogued now?

The study established that NEC has a digital system for systematically filing their documents, particularly elections related documents. The system helps NEC to electronically store and retrieve documents easily using a secure online platform.

“Our system ensures digitalization through our web service. It is fully serviceable and can be pulled back. The records can be pulled back and updated based on needs. Digitalization, archiving, and cataloguing are important to the NEC to allay public fear and redeem the trust for the NEC. We are working to establish a system whereby the public can have access to certain information about elections. This will beef up the NEC’s public information system.”

– KII respondent.

“Yes, there are archiving, digitalization and cataloguing systems in place. Some are active, developing, etc. These systems were recommended by partners to enable the NEC monitor campaign financing and other elections related activities by constitutional requirement.”

– KII respondent.

In the last elections before the start of the LESP in 2020, did NEC train security forces on electoral security and provided them with the necessary guide/booklet? If yes, what % of the security forces received such support? If no, has NEC done so recently? If so, what % of the security forces has received such support?

The study found that the NEC has a strong partnership with the joint security and has provided regular training for security personnel on election security. These trainings have been complemented with written guidelines printed in booklets and shared with the security forces to guide the conduct and action during elections.

“Yes, the NEC has security partnership with the joint security through the Liberia National Police. With the support of UNDP and IFES, security services were trained, and booklets were printed containing guidelines as to how to handle election issues.”

– KII respondent.

“By 2016, we initiated the holding of regular election security stakeholder meetings in Monrovia. We conducted TOT for cascading to security personnel throughout the country. We print and distributed security guide booklets for participating security personnel.”

–KII respondent.

Before the start of the LESP in 2020, did NEC have early warning mechanisms established and implemented? If yes, what are they and when were they established? If no, does NEC have one now and being implemented?

The study established that the NEC has early warning system in place that support the detection and prevention of electoral issues. The NEC works with other key stakeholders, especially the Peacebuilding Office (PBO), ECOWAS and local authorities to implement the early warning system.

“The NEC has established relations with various formal or informal organizations for fostering early warning as a means of curbing electoral violence. One of such organization is Peace Building Office, which in collaboration with the ECOWAS early warning mechanism manages election violence. The Commission also works with Chiefs and Elders and getting the political parties involved. Towards this end, the PBO brought experts in the country under the arrangement of the partnership between the NEC and PBO. Through this, there was an inter-party dialogue and training. An MOU under the banner of the Inter-Party Consultative Committee (iPCC) framework was signed between NEC and political parties. There after the political parties requested the establishment of an iPCC secretariat, which proposed function would usurp the constitutional powers of the NEC.”

–KII respondent.

“Early warning mechanism is a work in progress. We have built relations with the Peace Building Office; refurbished the situation room at the ECOWAS office, which is an online platform used to report cases of violence; support early warning personnel in the field; signed letter of agreement with the Ministry of Internal Affairs, etc. During the recent Lofa bi-election, we supported joint effort by PBO and NEC to conduct peace building activities. We focus peace building activities on prevention of violence against women.”

–KII respondent.

PIPP Baseline Assessment (KII)

Before the start of the PIPP in 2022, were there institutions involved in discussing women rights to participate in elections and leadership? If yes, how many?

The study established that there have been several institutions, particularly civil society organizations (CSOs) involved in discussing women’s rights and

to encourage women to participate in elections and leadership. These CSOs have been active at the national and sub-national levels before, during and after elections.

“Yes, there were several institutions involved with discussion of women’s rights to participate in elections and leadership. Some of them that I know are GIVE, NDI, NAYMOTÉ, Action for Girls’ Empowerment (AGE), Rescue Women Liberia.”

–KII respondent.

“Yes, there were institutions involved in discussing women rights to participate in elections and leadership before the PIPP in 2020. Some of the institutions to my knowledge are Liberia Agriculture and Rural Development Agency (LARDA), Liberia Youth United for Peace and Development, Rural Women, Giving in Human Value for Education.”

– KII respondent.

In past elections before the start of the PIPP in 2022, was there a signed protocol among registered political parties on the prevention of VAW-iE/P? If yes, what proportion of registered political parties signed the protocol and when?

The study established that there is a signed protocol on the prevention of Violence against Women in Elections and Politics (VAWiE/P) in Liberia. The protocol was signed by the National Elections Commission (NEC) and political parties in February 2022.

“I heard about the protocol, but I did not get the detail if political parties have signed.”

– KII respondent.

“There was a signed protocol, but parties were not living to it, so much that the

political parties reneged on submitting the list of candidates with 30% women in keeping with the 2014 new elections law.”

–KII respondent.

In past elections before the start of the PIPP in 2022, did young people organize awareness raising campaigns on the rights and incentives for young women to participate in public life and politics? If yes, how many such campaigns were organized? If no, has there been some organized recently? If so, how many?

The study found that young people have been involved in creating awareness on the participation of young people in elections and politics. Youth organizations (CSOs) are usually active around elections to educate young people to participate in elections and politics.

‘Yes, in 2019 some institutions such as Partnership for Sustainable Development, Rescue Women, Program for Women Participation, etc. were young people organizations involved with awareness campaigns on the rights and incentives of young women to participate in public life and politics.’

– KII respondent.

“Awareness raising organized by young people on the rights and incentives of young women to participate in public life is not widespread. There are sporadic discussions around this but not at wide range.”

–KII respondent.

In past elections before the start of the PIPP in 2022, were media institutions and outlets involved in gender responsive media coverage? If yes, how many?

The study established that some media institutions have been involved in gender responsive media coverage. However, the study revealed that the number of media institutions involved in gender responsive media coverage. For example, the study revealed that research was conducted in 2017 by UN Women and partners to assess the level of gender responsive media coverage found that only 14 out of 138 programs or newscasts monitored on five (5) radio stations carried women issues and 43 out of 268 newspaper articles focused on women's issues.

“Yes, media institutions have been involved with gender responsive media coverage. But there is room for improvement as some their message are instilling fear into some of the women.”

– KII respondent.

“Yes, media outlets have been involved with gender responsive media coverage. Example of these institutions in our Margibi belt are Classic FM. Destiny Radio. For example, one of these media outlets have a radio program called forum on the rights of women and it is on Joy Africa and three other stations.”

– KII respondent.

Before the start of the PIPP in 2022, were there political parties in the National Legislature publicly committed and engaged to reduce violence against women? If yes, how many?

The study learned that there are individual lawmakers, including both men and women who advance the rights of women through advocacy. These individual lawmakers do these advocacies on their own as individuals, and not as political party. Their actions transcend political party lines to focus on the objective of advancing women's interest and rights.

“Yes, there are parliamentarians but not under the banner of any political party. There is a network of Emerging Women in Politics out of which Women Legislative Caucus has grown through the work of NDI.”

–KII respondent.

“Meanly female members of parliament do prevent violence against women. They do not do this under the banner of political parties. Two of them that I can clearly remember are Suakoko Dennis and Maima Bridge.”

–KII respondent.

“Yes, there are members of parliament doing this but not under the banner of political parties. The current female law maker in Margibi has been doing this at member of parliament level and not political party.”

–KII respondent.

In past elections before the start of the PIPP in 2022, were training sessions and support provided domestic observer groups to monitor and report on elections? If yes, how many, when and for which groups?

The study revealed that several local observers have received training and support to monitor, observe and report on elections. These observers regularly receive training and support from partners each time there is election to observe, monitor and report on elections. For example, the Liberia Election Observatory Network (LEON) and the Elections Coordinating Committee (ECC) often receive funding/support from partners to monitor and report on elections.

Yes, the National Civil Society Council of Liberia through the early warning platform provided such support and training. Tablets were issued to us, which were helpful in sending information. This process was supported by

SIDA and UNDP in collaboration with West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WAPNET).

There were training sessions and support provided domestic observers groups to monitor and report on elections. Some of the domestic group beneficiaries were Election Coordinating Committee, NAYMOTE, Rural Women Empowerment Network, etc.

Yes, training session and other forms of support were provided domestic observers to report on elections, and I think this was done on a low scale.

In past elections before the start of the PIPP in 2022, were there cases of VAWiE/P registered and submitted to relevant authorities? If yes, how many?

The study revealed that there had been several cases of violence against women in elections and politics in past elections in Liberia. These cases have been registered and submitted to authorities. But the public is often not aware of the outcomes of the investigation and prosecution if any. But every time there is a violence committed against women in elections and politics, the case is registered and reported to the relevant authorities including the police and other relevant actors as may be needed.

“There were cases of violence against women in election that were registered with authorities but the outcomes in terms of punitive action taken by authorities could be made public probably due to lack of adequate responsive action by authorities. Consequently, victims of these violent actions always cry foul without adequate redress to their plight. Most notable victims of recent include Boeto Kanneh, Edith Gongloe-Weh, Telia Urey, Corlinia Kruah-Togba, etc.”

–KII respondent.

“There were cases of violence against women in election that have been

registered with authorities, but no real actions have been taken. Notable victims of recent violence include Boeto Kanneh, Talia Urey, etc.”

– KII respondent.

“There were registered cases of violence against women in elections but there had not been satisfactory outcome results of these cases. When I say satisfactory, I mean adequate investigation of the cases and appropriation of punishment for perpetrators as a form of deterrence.”

–KII respondent.

In past elections before the start of the PIPP in 2022, were there survivors who received legal aid services after the elections? If yes, what proportion of them?

The study could not establish any concrete information that survivors of violence in elections received legal aid services. Nearly all key informants did not have any concrete information as to the provision of legal aid support to survivors of violence in elections. Only a few respondents believed that some survivors received legal aid supports but intimated that those who received such support were not many.

In past elections before the start of the PIPP in 2022, was there a VAWiE/P risk assessment conducted and report available to all relevant institutions? If yes, when was it conducted and how many institutions had the report?

The study could not establish any concrete information that a VAWiE/P risk assessment was conducted, and the report is available. Desk review and key informant interview could not ascertain any information on VAWiE/P risk assessment.

In past elections before the start of the PIPP in 2022, was there SOP on women participation available to law enforcement officers and the media? If yes, when was it developed and how many are available?

The study could not establish any concrete information that there is a SoP on women’s participation in elections and politics available to law enforcement officers and the media. Desk review and key informant interview could not establish any information on such SoP available to law enforcement officers and the media.

In past elections before the start of the PIPP in 2022, were there women organizations trained in mediation? If yes, when, and how many?

Information gathered from the key informant interviews and desk review revealed that some women organizations have received training in mediation to support dispute resolution, especially during elections. However, it could not be established how and when many were trained.

05 Conclusion

Public knowledge of the New Elections Law of 2014 is low, with 61% of the public having no knowledge of the law. Lack of knowledge of the election law could inhibit full compliance with the law. Participation in voter registration and verification in past elections is relatively good with 69% of the public participating in previous voter registration and verification exercises.

A relatively large proportion of the public is aware of voter trucking and vote buying, with 61% and 65% awareness of voter trucking and vote buying, respectively. Also, public perception of authorities taking concrete actions to battle these malpractices are relatively low in comparison, with just 52% and 54% noting that authorities are taking concrete actions to tackle the problems, respectively. Fortunately, an even larger proportion of the respondents disapproved of the practice (79% disagreed that voter trucking is acceptable and 81% did so for vote buying). This makes it relatively

easy to get the support of the public in battling the menace since they already disapproved of these electoral vices. The public is also aware of electoral violence including violence against women in elections but only a slight majority (61%) thought that authorities are taking concrete actions to tackle violence during elections. However, a solid majority of the respondents (85%) disapproved of the act, which is positive for fighting against the act. Though one out every five respondents reported not having enough information on BVR, a large majority of respondents (71%) felt that BVR would improve electoral processes and election results, which is a positive sign for the introduction of BVR into Liberia's electoral processes and system. However, the public seems divided as to Liberia's readiness to use BVR in the upcoming presidential and legislative elections. This speaks to the need for increased awareness on the use and benefits of BVR to enable the public to understand fully what BVR is, how it is used for elections

and what will be the benefits for Liberia's electoral processes and results.

Though there is still more need for civic voter education (CVE) to create awareness on electoral activities, processes, procedures and schedules, awareness and satisfaction of the public of previous electoral activities is considerably good. The experience of the public on elections day was satisfactory as was their satisfaction of key electoral activities including voter registration and verification (72%), voter roll update (72%) and publication of final voter registration roll (72%), crowd control (74%), performance of polling staff (71%) and start time of voting (74%). They were however less satisfied with CVE (66%) and precincts and polling places being friendly to persons living with disabilities (53%). As the 2023 National Elections draws near, it is important for the NEC and its partners to ensure that voters are well sensitized on the electoral processes. The NEC should strive for percentages in the 90% by ensuring a smooth electoral cycle. Voting is a universal right and no one should be denied or put off from voting because they are a minority. Therefore, it is imperative that national polling centers are as friendly to persons living with disabilities as possible despite the numerous challenges the NEC might face logistically. Everyone should be provided with the enabling environment to exercise their civic duties.

The perception of the independence, trust and credibility of the National Elections Commission (NEC) and the Supreme Court in conducting elections and handling and adjudicating electoral disputes is relatively good, as 75% and 80% of the public perceived the NEC and Supreme Court to be somewhat independent (incl. partially independent), respectively; 77% and 79% perceived NEC and Supreme Court to be credible (incl. Partially credible), respectively; 66% and 65% expressed some degree of trust in NEC and Supreme Court, respectively. In recent years, the NEC has conducted several free and fair elections, as observed by the international community. However, this success does not trigger down to the ordinary voters at the community level. As such, they perceived key electoral institutions as NEC and the Supreme Court as not being above external influence. More awareness of the processes and successes of national elections should be presented to the public where trust can be built overtime. This will greatly reduce the potential for elector-

al violence in the 2023 National Elections and all subsequent elections. NEC and Supreme Court need to target in particular those who perceive it as partially independent and credible. That will add significant support to the credible electoral process.

The majority of the public perceived men and women to be equally likely to hold five important attributes. For those who believed one sex to be more likely to hold a particular attribute, the difference was within the margin of error on intelligence (29% vs 28% in favor of men); men were stronger in decision-making (36% vs 23% for women; women more honest (33% for women vs 24% for men); men more ambitious (33% for men vs 21% for women); and men more dependable (31% for men vs 26% for women). Respondents also perceived that it is easier for men to get elected (57% for men vs 19% for women). A third of respondents believed that another set of characteristics of leaders was equally held by both men and women. In those same characteristics, the balance of respondents who selected the other gender (rather than both) attributed those characteristics in significant numbers to either men or women as follows: men are better at standing for what they believed in (40% for men vs 28% for women); men better at finding common ground (39% for men vs 30% for women); men better at working to improve life for Liberians (34% for men vs 25% for women); but women better at being persuasive (37% for women vs 33% for men) and women better at being honest and ethical (36% for women vs 29% for men).

Whether it is important for their leaders to possess certain leadership attributes, 80% of the respondents indicated that they wanted the leaders to be honest; 79% of respondents believed it is absolutely important for their leaders to be intelligent; 79% believed it is to be strong in decision making; 75% to be dependable; 79% to be organized; 79% to be innovative and 73% to be ambitious. Significantly on all indicators responses were split almost evenly between makes no difference, men or women having that attribute be deemed truer of them. Men were likely to be seen as slightly more likely to be working to improve the quality of life for Liberians, finding common ground and standing up for what they believe whereas women were more likely to be persuasive as well as honest and ethical. For women, the belief that they are more

likely, to be honest, will serve them well given it is the highest-ranked attribute sought in leaders.

While 45% would vote for any candidate for political office regardless of gender, more would prefer men to vote for men rather than women in elections (33% for men vs 20% for women). More respondents held that their cultural values equally support men and women for leadership (44%), although another 38% believe their values support men to women, and 15% hold that their cultural values support them choosing women.

Although the respondents have indicated that they could vote women into political office without the fear of cultural barriers, there has been a declining number of elected women. Between 2017 and 2022, the percentage of elected positions held by women dropped by 4% from 16% to 12% in the House of Representatives while the overall Legislative seats for women dropped by 0.4%. Further analysis revealed that although several factors contribute to this, the limited number of female candidates limit the options of voters. Importantly, the data shows that limited access to financial support is the primary reason for the low number of female political leaders and not because men are more intelligent. As such, more support should be provided to wom-

en either within political parties or through some form of campaign financing. The 30% women quota—when signed by the president—will be a huge step but it is just the beginning.

Finally, the study set out to understand people's perceptions and experiences of electoral processes and what they believe are issues that affect those processes through cross-tabulation that present some level of associations between/among variables. In this, the study did gather and present people's views and experiences ranging from CVR to election violence, to voter trust to women political empowerment and some impediments where some congruence, patterns and trends among variables was identified. The study did not set out to seek correlation—although a few relationships were connected—neither it intended to understand causality. There are many important themes emerging from this study that could prompt future studies. For example, the relationship between voter tracking and election results (if any) or why rural communities have higher distrust in NEC. Following these emerging themes might help the NEC and its partners have a deeper understanding of several issues behind the numbers. They can be used to further tailor interventions to the people.

06 Recommendations

Government Agencies

1. Take actions to increase awareness of the BVR and its benefits for elections.
2. Take actions to increase awareness and understanding of the new Elections Law of 2014 among the public
3. Take more concrete actions to discourage voter trucking and vote buying by creating awareness on the implication of these activities on the results and credibility of elections and by penalizing all parties involved in such acts.
4. Take actions to discourage or minimize electoral violence in general and violence against women in election in particular to create a level plain for adequate and equal participation in elections
5. Take concrete actions to organize and conclusive more inclusive elections by ensuring that polling places and precinct, as well as voting materials are disabled-friendly and accessible to people living with disability
6. NEC and the Supreme Court should install measures wherein the people are aware of the work they do to ensure Liberia have free and fair elections. By going to the people and showing them that the system works for them, NEC and the Supreme Court will increase voters' trust in the system.
7. Take concrete actions to improve CVE by starting CVE activities well in advance and being consistent and continuous with the activities through the electoral process.
8. Engage the CSO community and all available media platforms to ensure that election messages are widely distributed.

UN Agencies

1. Take concrete actions to support NEC and civil society organizations (CSOs) to work with political parties and women in general to address gaps in women's financial capacities to actively participate in elections.
2. Lobby to ensure that the President signs into law the 30% women quota. This will go some way to increasing women's participation in national leadership.
3. Take concrete actions to build and/or strengthen the capacity and morale of NEC and the Supreme Court to effectively and judiciously investigate, manage and adjudicate electoral disputes.
4. Take concrete actions to support NEC and the Judiciary to discourage and minimize voter trucking and vote buying during elections.
5. Take concrete actions to work with diverse partners including CSOs and national partners to create awareness on vices that inhibit women's participation in politics and leadership.
6. Take concrete actions to support the NEC to create significant awareness on BVR, including its use and benefits.

07 Annexes

Annex 1

Methodology

Research design

A cross-sectional survey and retrospective study designs to assess public opinions on elections and women participation in politics were used. Survey is a systematic method to collect data from a statistically defined sample in order to describe attributes of the larger population from which the sample was selected (Avedian 2014). A cross-sectional survey design is most appropriate to gather data on citizens' views on electoral processes, women's political participation and leadership and initial conditions of LESP and PIPP Projects. This design was applied to statistically select a sample size from the study population and collect data on citizens' views relative to elections, women's participation in politics and national leadership including barriers to their participation, and initial conditions of the indicators of the LESP and PIPP Projects.

The retrospective study design gathered secondary information on citizens' views of electoral processes, institutions and stakeholders in Liberia, women's participation in political processes and national leadership and the barriers thereto, as well as baseline and indicators of NEC Strategic Plan and the LESP and PIPP projects. This involved reviewing strategic documents, past reports, project documents and relevant literature. The survey collected both quantitative and qualitative data. Data sources and data collection methods were triangulated to ensure data integrity and reliability.

Study population

The study population included all eligible persons (men and women aged 18 and above) resident and/or present in the nine selected counties³³. The firm collaborated with the NEC to statistically select the enumeration areas (EAs). Enumeration areas for a given county were distributed proportional to the sample size for the county.

33. Nine counties including Gbarpolu, Grand Cape Mount, Grand Kru, Margibi, Maryland, Montserrado, Nimba, Rivercess and Sinoe have been pre-selected as targeted counties for the survey as enshrined in the survey. These are hotspot counties that were sampled from the various regions based on the history of violence and level of women political participation and leadership.

Sample size determination and distribution

The survey used a sample size of 2,061 persons. The sample size was derived by applying the country's population growth rate (2.1%)³⁴ to the sample size proposed in the terms of reference (1,593). The application of the annual growth rate to the proposed sample size to increase the sample size was informed by two main reasons. Firstly, the calculation of the sample size used the 2008 population size despite the obvious growth in the population size of the country. Secondly, increased the sample size to increase the power of inference or generalization. Statistically, the more the sample size the more the power to generalize the finding of the survey. A confidence level of 95% and a margin of error of 5% was implied when calculating the sample size. The revised sample size was calculated as follows:

Data

Annual Population growth rate2.1%
Proposed sample size in ToR.....1,593
Number of annual growth year³⁵14

Note: Let new/actual sample size = AS; proposed sample size in ToR = PS; population growth rate =PGR; and number of annual growth year =AGY

Solution

$$\begin{aligned}AS &= (AGR * PS * AGY) + PS \\AS &= (2.1\% * 1,593 * 14) + 1,593 \\AS &= (21/1000 * 22,302) + 1,593 \\AS &= (0.021 * 22,302) + 1,593 \\AS &= 468.342 + 1,593 \\AS &= 2,061.342\end{aligned}$$

Therefore, the new/actual sample size for the survey is 2,061.

Focus group discussions (FGD) were conducted across the study areas with each focus group consisting of 8 to 12 persons. A total number of 80 persons participated in the FGD. The FGD discussants included women leaders and representatives from women led civil society organizations (CSOs)

whose work focus on elections and women political participation, students, community leaders as well as local authorities. Key institutions and individuals were identified by UNDP, UN Women and NEC to be interviewed as key informants where technical and in-depth information on elections and women political participation in Liberia were gathered. 20 persons were interviewed from 15 institutions.

Data collection tools and procedure

Four data collection methods which collected data on the various parameters to be studied. The methods were household survey, focus group discussion (FGD), key informant interview (KII) and desk/literature review. The household survey collected quantitative data on the views of citizens on the electoral processes, institutions, stakeholders, and outcome at the community level. At the same time, focus group discussions were deployed at the community level to collect qualitative data on citizens' views on the parameters studied. The key informant interviews were used at the institutional level to explore specific issues with people who are knowledgeable of the topics or issues under investigation. Similarly, a literature/desk review to collect secondary data and perform some trend analysis on the issues being studied.

Respondents were selected using both probability and non-probability sampling techniques. Respondents for the household survey were selected using a systematic random sampling (SRS) technique, which gave every eligible person an equal chance of being selected. A simple random sampling was used to select the first respondent. The second and subsequent respondents were selected based on a sampling interval, which systematically determined the next respondents. To ensure gender balance, it was agreed to deliberately interview similar number of men and women in each enumeration area. Data collectors alternated between man and woman respondents during the data collection process.

Respondents for the focus group discussion and the key informant interviews were selected using a non-probability sampling technique including purposive and convenience sampling techniques. Purposive sampling was used to identify key informants to be interviewed. Focus group discussants were also selected using a purposive sampling method.

34. Liberia's growth rate as was identified in 2008 National Population and Housing Census is 2.1%.

35. Annual growth rate refers to the average rate by which the population grows every 12 months. We have gone 14 years now since the last census which was conducted in March 2008.

Questionnaires and interview guides were to collect data for the survey. The data was collected using computer-assisted personal interview (CAPI). The questionnaire was built into the Kobocollect Toolbox where it was downloaded on smartphones and used to collect data through face-to-face interview. Interview guides were employed during the key informant interview and focus group discussion process. All the tools to be used were subjected to stringent review processes and scrutiny which ensured that they were appropriate for the context and purpose.

Data cleaning and analysis

Given that the data was primarily collected from rural communities where internet coverage was poor, the data was reviewed and cleaned upon submission by the data collectors. Where there were issues identified, the team worked with the data collectors to clean the data. The data was analyzed using Kobocollect Toolbox, MS Excel, SPSS and Power BI. The survey data used descriptive statistics such as frequency number, percent, cross tabulation and info graphics to present the findings.

Data from the FGD and key informant interviews were analyzed using content and thematic analysis techniques, which identify patterns, themes and relationships that speak to the issues related to elections and women political participation. The analysis was supported using MS Excel and MAXQDA.

Data quality assurance

Data quality assurance was integral to the entire research process to ensure data collected were accurate, complete, reliable, relevant, consistent, and timely. BSC ensured that the tools used were simple and clear which minimized the risk of ambiguity that could have led to data corruption or contamination; thereby, which could eventually undermine the quality of the data. Experienced, qualified, and competent individuals were recruited to serve as data collectors and team members. BSC provided training for the data collectors on the tools and research techniques and continuously monitored and supervised the data collection process to en-

sure that the data collectors respected every procedure required for the data collection. To further ensure that the tools were simple, clear, and appropriate, a pilot test was carried out during the data collectors' training to assess how they conform to these attributes. Any and/or discrepancies or anomalies identified were rectified before the data collection began.

The questionnaire was designed with constraints and patterns that minimized errors during data collection. The constraints ensured that the data collectors completed required questions before proceeding. Questions that are not required to be answered based on preceding answers were hidden using skip logic. These strategies helped minimize errors during the keying of data on the smartphones. During analysis, the data was reviewed and cleaned of any errors which occurred resulting from inadvertent skip by the survey team.

Recruitment and training of data collectors

BSC recruited qualified and experienced data collectors. Data collectors had a minimum high school certificate and/or diploma. Women with equal qualification and experience were given preference from the pool of data collectors amassed by BSC. The data collectors possessed good listening, reading and writing skills. BSC provided intense training for the data collectors on the content of the survey tools, data collection procedure, sampling techniques to be used in the community and interviewing skills. They were also trained on research ethics and community entry procedures to facilitate effective community engagement and interpersonal interaction.

Biases and mitigation strategy

No matter how rigorous the planning process and design of a survey are, some miscues and external factors could pop up and interfere with some aspects of the survey. In anticipation of such events, some biases that might occur and interfere with the findings if nothing was done to avoid them and minimize their impact was identified. Strategies were developed to avoid and respond to such events and mitigated their impacts on the findings of the survey.

Annex 2

Questionnaire

Part I: Demographic Information

1. Respondent community of resident: _____
2. Location/settlement of respondent community of resident (Select one)
 1. Rural
 2. Urban
3. Respondent county of resident (Select one)
 1. Gbarpolu
 2. Grand Cape Mount
 3. Grand Kru
 4. Margibi
 5. Maryland
 6. Montserrado
 7. Nimba
 8. River Cess
 9. Sinoe
4. Respondent district of resident (electoral districts will be listed and linked to the counties)
5. Respondent gender (Select one)
 1. Male
 2. Female
 3. Other
6. Respondent age range
 1. 18-25
 2. 26-35
 3. 36-45
 4. 46-55
 5. 56-65
 6. 66 and above
7. Respondent educational level
 1. No formal education
 2. Some elementary education
 3. Completed elementary education
 4. Some secondary education
 5. Completed secondary education
 6. Some university/college education
 7. Completed first degree
 8. Some master's education
 9. Completed master's education
 10. Completed vocational/technical education
8. Respondent employment status
 1. Employed in the formal sector
 2. Self-employed in business
 3. Self-employed in vocational area
 4. Unemployed

9. Respondent marital status

1. Single
2. Cohabiting
3. Married
4. Separated
5. Divorced
6. Widow/widower

10. Respondent religion

1. Christianity
2. Islam
3. Traditional religion
4. No religion
5. Other

Part II: Public Perception of Electoral Processes and Women Political Participation and Leadership

Section 1: Awareness of Electoral Processes and Malpractices

1. Are you aware of the New Elections Law of 2014?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. Don't know
2. Are you aware of citizens being informed or educated about an upcoming election in the area you live?
 1. Yes
 2. No
 3. Don't know
3. Are you aware of citizens registering to vote in an election in the area you live?
 1. Yes
 2. No
 3. Don't know
4. Are you aware of citizens verifying their voting information to vote in an upcoming election in the area you live?
 1. Yes
 2. No
 3. Don't know
5. Are you aware of citizens checking their voter information in an upcoming election in the area you live?
 1. Yes
 2. No
 3. Don't know
6. Are you aware of citizens knowing where to cast their ballots in an upcoming election in the area you live?
 1. Yes
 2. No
 3. Don't know
7. Are you aware of how to cast your ballot in an upcoming election in the area you live?
 1. Yes
 2. No
 3. Don't know

8. Are you aware of voter trucking during an election in the area you live or county?
1. Yes
 2. No
 3. Don't know
9. To what extent do you agree with the statement: 'Voter trucking is acceptable'.
1. Strongly agree
 2. Agree
 3. Disagree
 4. Strongly disagree
 5. Don't know
10. To what extent do you agree with the statement: 'Authorities are taking concrete actions to discourage or stop voter trucking'.
1. Strongly agree
 2. Agree
 3. Disagree
 4. Strongly disagree
 5. Don't know
11. Are you aware of vote buying during an election in the area you live or county?
1. Yes
 2. No
 3. Don't know
12. To what extent do you agree with the statement: 'Vote buying is acceptable'.
1. Strongly agree
 2. Agree
 3. Disagree
 4. Strongly disagree
 5. Don't know
13. To what extent do you agree with the statement: 'Authorities are taking concrete actions to discourage or stop vote buying'.
6. Strongly agree
 7. Agree
 8. Disagree
 9. Strongly disagree
 10. Don't know
14. Are you aware of violence taking place during an election in the area you live or county?
1. Yes
 2. No
 3. Don't know
15. To what extent do you agree with the statement: 'Violence during elections is acceptable'.
1. Strongly agree
 2. Agree
 3. Disagree
 4. Strongly disagree
 5. Don't know
16. To what extent do you agree with the statement: 'Authorities are taking concrete actions to discourage or stop violence during elections'.
1. Strongly agree
 2. Agree
 3. Disagree
 4. Strongly disagree
 5. Don't know

17. Are you aware of violence taking place against women during an election in the area you live or county?
 1. Yes
 2. No
 3. Don't know
18. To what extent do you agree with the statement: 'Violence against women during elections is acceptable'.
 1. Strongly agree
 2. Agree
 3. Disagree
 4. Strongly disagree
 5. Don't know
19. To what extent do you agree with the statement: 'Authorities are taking concrete actions to discourage or stop violence against women during elections'.
 1. Strongly agree
 2. Agree
 3. Disagree
 4. Strongly disagree
 5. Don't know

Section 2: Experience with Electoral Processes and Activities

1. From 2011 to now, have you voted in any national elections?
 1. Yes
 2. No
1. If yes, how would you describe your satisfaction with the voter registration process?
 1. Very satisfied
 2. Satisfied
 3. Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
 4. Dissatisfied
 5. Very dissatisfied
2. If yes, how would you describe your level of satisfaction with the civic voter education activities?
 1. Very satisfied
 2. Satisfied
 3. Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
 4. Dissatisfied
 5. Very dissatisfied
3. If yes, how would you describe your level of satisfaction with the voter roll update?
 1. Very satisfied
 2. Satisfied
 3. Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
 4. Dissatisfied
 5. Very dissatisfied
4. If yes, how would you describe your satisfaction with the time voting started?
 1. Very satisfied
 2. Satisfied
 3. Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
 4. Dissatisfied
 5. Very dissatisfied

5. If yes, how would you describe your satisfaction with the crowd control measures?
 1. Very satisfied
 2. Satisfied
 3. Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
 4. Dissatisfied
 5. Very dissatisfied
6. If yes, how would you describe your satisfaction with the attitude and performance of polling staff?
 1. Very satisfied
 2. Satisfied
 3. Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
 4. Dissatisfied
 5. Very dissatisfied
7. If yes, was the voting precinct and polling places disabled friendly?
 1. Yes
 2. No
 3. Don't know
8. If yes, how would you describe your overall experience on election day?
 1. Excellent
 2. Very good
 3. Good
 4. Bad
 5. Very bad

Section 3: Public Perception of Electoral Processes and Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs)

1. In your opinion, is the National Elections Commission independent?
 1. Yes
 2. No
 3. Don't know
1. In your opinion, is the National Elections Commission credible?
 1. Yes
 2. No
 3. Don't know
2. How would you describe your level of trust in the National Elections Commission to organize free and fair elections?
 1. Trust highly
 2. Trust
 3. Neither trust nor distrust
 4. Distrust
 5. Distrust highly
3. If you were to decide to organize and conduct elections, would you feel comfortable to authorize the National Elections Commission to do so?
 1. Yes
 2. No
 3. Don't know
4. If you were a party in an electoral dispute, would you feel comfortable to take your complaints to the National Elections Commission?
 1. Yes
 2. No
 3. Don't know

5. In your opinion, is the Judiciary independent to handle elections related matters?
 1. Yes
 2. No
 3. Don't know
6. In your opinion, is the Judiciary credible to adjudicate electoral disputes?
 1. Yes
 2. No
 3. Don't know
7. If you were a party in an electoral dispute, would you feel comfortable to take your complaints to the Judiciary?
 1. Yes
 2. No
 3. Don't know
8. How would you describe your level of trust in the Judiciary to adjudicate electoral disputes?
 1. Trust highly
 2. Trust
 3. Neither trust nor distrust
 4. Distrust
 5. Distrust highly
9. In your opinion, were recent elections in Liberia free and fair?
 1. Yes
 2. No
 3. Don't know
10. If no, which of the follow elections you think was/were unfair? (Select all that apply)
 1. 2005 presidential and legislative elections
 2. 2011 presidential and legislative elections
 3. 2014 mid-term senatorial elections
 4. 2017 presidential and legislative elections
 5. 2020 mid-term senatorial elections

Section 4: Women Political Participation and Leadership

1. In your opinion, between men and women, who should run for an elective office/position?
 1. Only men
 2. Only women
 3. Both men and women
 4. Don't know
1. In your opinion, between men and women, who would make a good leader?
 1. Men
 2. Women
 3. Both men and women
 4. Don't know
2. If you were to cast a ballot for a candidate, who would you prefer between a man and a woman?
 1. A man
 2. A woman
 3. Don't know

3. In your opinion, between men and women, who has more advantage in running for an elective office/position?
 1. A man
 2. A woman
 3. Both man and woman
 4. Don't know
4. In your opinion, between men and women, who has more access to resources in running for an elective office/position?
 1. Men
 2. Women
 3. Both men and women
 4. Don't know
5. In your community, between men and women, who do your social/cultural values or norms support/prefer for a leadership position?
 1. Men
 2. Women
 3. Both men and women
 4. Don't know
6. In your opinion, between men and women, who should occupy leadership position in your community or county?
 1. Men
 2. Women
 3. Both men and women
 4. Don't know
7. Between men and women leaders, who do you feel comfortable working with or supporting in your community or county?
 1. Men leaders
 2. Women leaders
 3. Both men and women leaders
 4. Don't know
8. Between men and women, who do you trust the most to become your community and county leaders?
 1. Men
 2. Women
 3. Both men and women
 4. Don't know
9. If you were to decide your local leadership between men and women, who would you prefer?
 1. Men
 2. Women
 3. Don't know

10. In your community and county, who occupy the following positions:

No.	Position	Men	Women
1	Community leader		
2	Town chief		
3	General town chief		
4	Clan chief		
5	Paramount chief		
6	Commissioner		
7	Superintendent		

11. In your opinion, how would you compare the performance of a men and a women leader?

1. Men leaders perform better than women leaders
2. Women leaders perform better than men leaders
3. Both men leaders and women leaders equally perform
4. Don't know

12. If you have had women leaders now or in the past, how would you describe your level of satisfaction with her/their performance?

1. Very satisfied
2. Satisfied
3. Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
4. Dissatisfied
5. Very dissatisfied

13. If you have had men leaders now or in the past, how would you describe your level of satisfaction with his/their performance?

1. Very satisfied
2. Satisfied
3. Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
4. Dissatisfied
5. Very dissatisfied

Part III: Baseline Study of the LESP and PIPP (for key informants)

Section 1: LESP Baseline Assessment

1. Before the start of LESP in 2020, did NEC have national and county-level communication plans in the past? If yes, at what level and for which county (ies)? If no, does NEC have national and county-level communication plans now? If yes, when were they developed and at what level?
2. Before the start of LESP in 2020, did NEC partner with CSOs/CBOs/FBOs in its CVE activities around the country? If yes, how many? Does NEC currently partner with CSOs/CBOs/FBOs in this area? If yes, how many?
3. Before the start of LESP in 2020, did NEC have gender mainstreamed in all its policies? What are the policies? If no, does NEC have gender mainstreamed in all its policies now? If yes, which policies?
4. Before the start of the LESP in 2020, did NEC have CVE materials available? If yes, what % of the CVE materials was in local languages? Are there CVE materials in local languages now? If yes, what is the percentage?
5. Before the start of the LESP in 2020, did NEC have electoral operational plan available and implemented? If yes, what is the title and when was it developed? If no, does NEC have one now?
6. In the last elections before the start of the LESP in 2020, what % of electoral disputes was resolved in a timely, transparent and credible manner? What % of electoral disputes has NEC resolved in a timely, transparent and credible manner since the start of this project?
7. Before the start of the LESP in 2020, did NEC have capacity building plan available and implemented? If yes, what is the title and when was it developed? If no, does NEC have one now?
8. Before the start of the LESP in 2020, had NEC conducted a feasibility study for biometric voter registration? If yes, when was it conducted? If no, has NEC conducted one recently?
9. Before the start of LESP in 2020, how many warehouses were rehabilitated or constructed and where? Has NEC recently rehabilitated or constructed warehouses? If yes, how many and where?
10. Before the start of the LESP in 2020, were NEC documents digitized, archived and catalogued? If no, are these documents digitized, archived and catalogued now?
11. In the last elections before the start of the LESP in 2020, did NEC train security forces on electoral security and provided them with the necessary guide/booklet? If yes, what % of the security forces received such support? If no, has NEC done so recently? If so, what % of the security forces has received such support?
12. Before the start of the LESP in 2020, did NEC have early warning mechanisms established and implemented? If yes, what are they and when were they established? If no, does NEC have one now and being implemented?

Section 2: PIPP Baseline Assessment

1. Before the start of the PIPP in 2022, were there institutions involved in discussing women rights to participate in elections and leadership? If yes, how many?
2. In past elections before the start of the PIPP in 2022, was there a signed protocol among registered political parties on the prevention of VAWiE/P? If yes, what proportion of registered political parties the protocol and when?
3. In past elections before the start of the PIPP in 2022, did young people organize awareness raising campaigns on the rights and incentives for young women to participate in public life and politics? If yes, how many such campaigns were organized? If no, has

- there been some organized recently? If so, how many?
4. In past elections before the start of the PIPP in 2022, were media institutions and outlets involved in gender responsive media coverage? If yes, how many?
 5. Before the start of the PIPP in 2022, were there political parties in the National Legislature publicly committed and engaged to reduce violence against women? If yes, how many?
 6. In past elections before the start of the PIPP in 2022, were training sessions and support provided domestic observer groups to monitor and report on elections? If yes, how many, when and for which groups?
 7. In past elections before the start of the PIPP in 2022, were there cases of VAWiE/P registered and submitted to relevant authorities? If yes, how many?
 8. In past elections before the start of the PIPP in 2022, were there survivors who received legal aid services after the elections? If yes, what proportion of them?
 9. In past elections before the start of the PIPP in 2022, was there a VAWiE/P risk assessment conducted and report available to all relevant institutions? If yes, when was it conducted and how many institutions had the report?
 10. In past elections before the start of the PIPP in 2022, was there SOP on women participation available to law enforcement officers and the media? If yes, when was it developed and how many are available?
 11. In past elections before the start of the PIPP in 2022, were there women organization trained in mediation? If yes, when and how many?

PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS OF ELECTIONS & WOMEN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN LIBERIA

