



Africog CITIZEN PERCEPTION SURVEY ON ELECTIONS



AUGUST 2016

The Research Background and Conceptual need



Survey objective



Survey Methodology



Survey findings



Intention to Participate in the 2017 General Elections



Perceptions on the IEBC and Ongoing Electoral Reforms



Hate Speech and Election Related Violence

- Over the years, public opinions and perceptions have played a critical role in Kenya. Information from the public has been used to determine how citizens feel about policy issues, to identify needs, to monitor performance, to identify citizen budget priorities, to evaluate specific services and so on.
- In continuation of this effort, both AfriCOG and KPTJ commissioned Infotrak Research & Consulting to conduct a nationwide survey to assess public perceptions of select independent commissions, institutions and the three arms of government (namely the Legislature, Executive and the Judiciary) in the discharge of their duties with transparency, accountability and integrity.
- The survey also sought to ascertain public perceptions on key issues of public importance, in particular those that threaten constitutional and democratic rights.

The primary objective of this Citizen's perception survey was to gauge public opinion on current affairs issues that are of national importance. In particular this part of the survey sought to establish the following:

Kenyans intention to participate in future elections

Kenyans' perceptions on the IEBC and electoral reforms

Citizens views on hate speech and election related violence

Who Commissioned the study?	The poll was commissioned by Africa Centre for Open governance ;AfricOG and conducted by Infotrak Research and Consulting.
What did study consist of?	Study consisted of a poll which predominantly had structured questions and focus groups discussions with open ended questions.
When was the poll conducted?	The poll was conducted between 31 st May and 8 th June 2016
Where was the poll conducted	The poll was conducted nationwide covering all the former 8 provinces.All in all half of the counties; 25 were sampled from the 8 regions.
How was the data collected	The data was collected through face to face household interviews using CAPI; CAPI stands for computer assisted personal interviews.
What was the sample size n ?	A sample of 1500 respondents was interviewed to represent the estimated adult population of 23 million.
What was the margin of Error	-/+ 2.5 at 95% degree of confidence
How was the sample designed?	Using the 2009 National Population and Housing Census; the sample was designed using Population Proportionate to Size (PPS) which guided the regional and county distribution
What sampling method was used?	Multi staged purposive random sampling with the ward as the key administrative unit.Ensured that every person in the sampled area had an equal and known chance of being selected
How was data analysed?	Data processing & analysis was carried using IBM SPSS 21

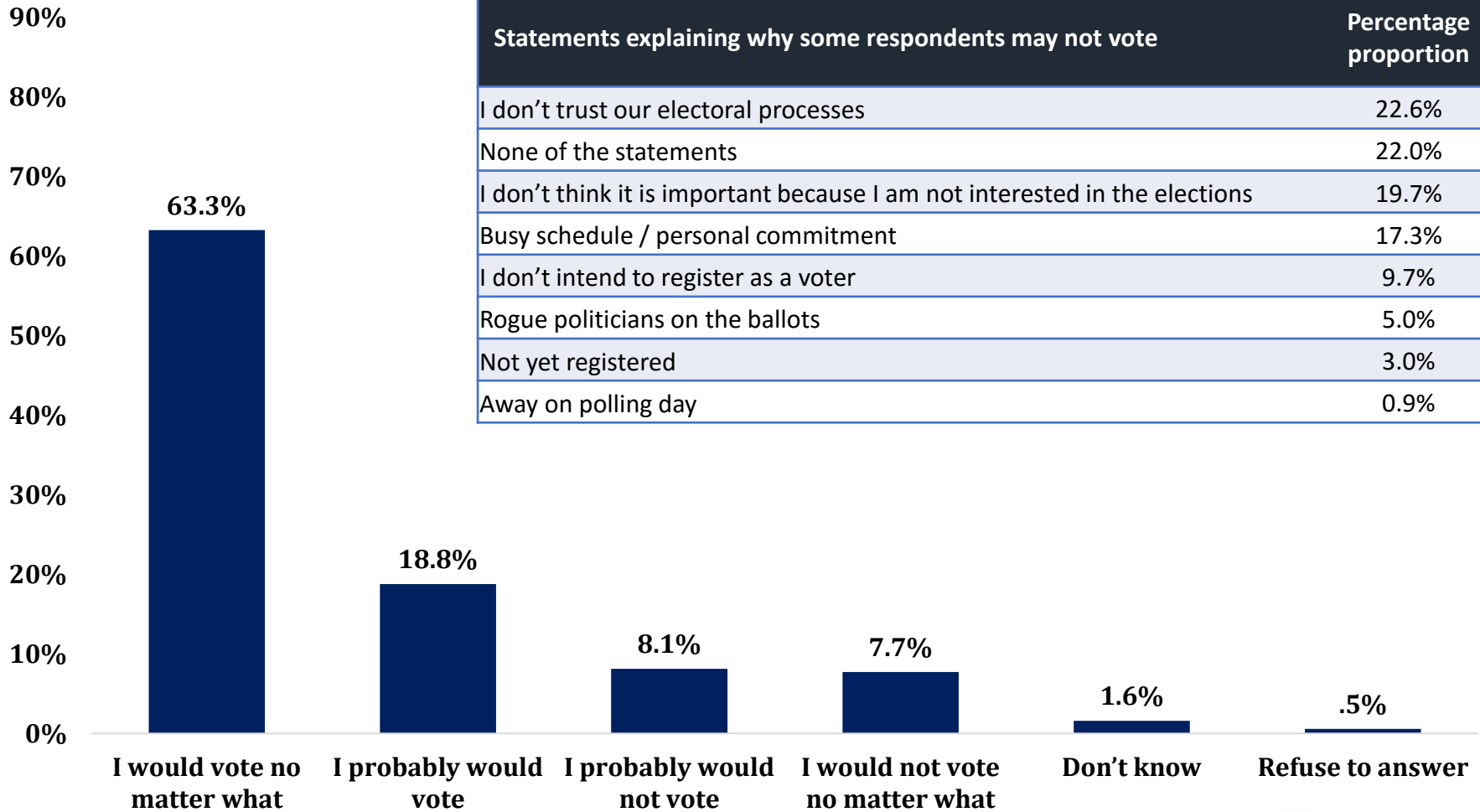
Sample Distribution

REGION	% OF TOTAL SAMPLE	SAMPLE ALLOCATION	COUNTIES COVERED
COAST	9.0%	135	MOMBASA, KILIFI, TAITA TAVETA
NORTH EASTERN	5.0%	75	GARISSA
EASTERN	15.0%	225	MERU, EMBU, KITUI, MACHAKOS
CENTRAL	13.0%	195	NYERI, MURANGA, KIAMBU
RIFT VALLEY	24.0%	360	TRANS NZOIA, UASIN NGISHU, NAKURU, NAROK, KAJIADO, KERICHO
WESTERN	11.0%	165	KAKAMEGA, BUNGOMA, BUSIA
NYANZA	13.0%	195	KISUMU, HOMA BAY, KISII, NYAMIRA
NAIROBI	10.0%	150	ALL THE SUBCOUNTIES
TOTAL	100%	1500	25 COUNTIES

FINDING 1:

A majority (63.3%) of adult Kenyans are willing to participate in future elections. However, 36.7% of eligible voters are not willing to participate or are uncertain of their participation in future elections . Loss of trust in our electoral processes is the major cause of voter apathy. North Eastern, Nairobi, Western and Coast regions had the highest proportion of Kenyans who expressed their unwillingness/uncertainty to participate in future elections at 78%, 45%, 45%, and 42% respectively. It's mainly youths who expressed their unwillingness to participate in future elections.

Intention to Participate in Future Elections



Statements explaining why some respondents may not vote	Percentage proportion
I don't trust our electoral processes	22.6%
None of the statements	22.0%
I don't think it is important because I am not interested in the elections	19.7%
Busy schedule / personal commitment	17.3%
I don't intend to register as a voter	9.7%
Rogue politicians on the ballots	5.0%
Not yet registered	3.0%
Away on polling day	0.9%

If there was an election tomorrow. Which of the following statements would best apply to you?

Intention to Participate in Future Elections

STATEMENTS ABOUT VOTING	COAST	NORTH EASTERN	EASTERN	CENTRAL	RIFT VALLEY	WESTERN	NYANZA	NAIROBI	MEAN
I would vote no matter what	58.4%	22.4%	74.8%	65.7%	66.6%	55.3%	73.3%	55.3%	63.3%
I probably would vote	21.6%	70.3%	10.7%	17.3%	16.5%	28.3%	6.6%	15.3%	18.8%
I probably would not vote	7.0%	5.1%	7.1%	8.6%	7.2%	9.2%	8.7%	11.9%	8.1%
I would not vote no matter what	10.2%	2.1%	5.2%	7.4%	7.4%	6.6%	8.8%	13.1%	7.7%
Don't know	2.7%	0.0%	1.3%	.5%	2.0%	0.0%	1.8%	3.7%	1.6%
Refuse to answer	0.0%	0.0%	1.0%	.6%	.3%	.6%	.9%	.7%	.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

If there was an election tomorrow. Which of the following statements would best apply to you?

Intention to Participate in Future Elections

Statements about voting	MALE	FEMALE	MEAN
I would vote no matter what	67.5%	58.1%	63.3%
I probably would vote	17.1%	20.8%	18.8%
I probably would not vote	5.9%	10.8%	8.1%
I would not vote no matter what	7.3%	8.2%	7.7%
Don't know	1.7%	1.4%	1.6%
Refuse to answer	.5%	.6%	.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Statements about voting	18-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	51+	Mean
I would vote no matter what	40.6%	55.5%	57.3%	68.2%	67.2%	72.1%	76.7%	75.6%	63.3%
I probably would vote	16.9%	20.4%	23.8%	16.7%	20.0%	15.4%	12.0%	12.9%	18.8%
I probably would not vote	20.1%	11.4%	8.4%	6.5%	6.9%	5.6%	5.8%	2.9%	8.1%
I would not vote no matter what	14.2%	8.4%	8.9%	7.7%	5.1%	6.0%	4.6%	6.5%	7.7%
Don't know	6.7%	2.7%	1.0%	.9%	.7%	.9%	.8%	1.4%	1.6%
Refuse to answer	1.4%	1.5%	.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	.7%	.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

If there was an election tomorrow. Which of the following statements would best apply to you?

Intention to Participate in Future Elections

- Similarly, most of the focus groups respondents expressed their willingness to participate in future elections so as;
 - **To exercise their democratic right;**
 - **To make their voices heard;**
 - **To bring a change**
 - **To remove non-performing leaders**
- However, some do not intend to vote in future mainly due to;
 - **The long queues;**
 - **Loss of trust on electoral process;**
 - **The feeling that their vote will not make a difference;**
 - **The feeling that the results are pre-determined,**
 - **Let down by the current elected leaders.**



"... because I want to bring change...."

"... I am a citizen of Kenyan and I am a patriot so I have to vote...."

"... I hate queuing so if I get a line I will not vote...."

"... just for my voice to be heard...."

"... I do not want to regret"

"... It will not make any difference even if I vote the President is there...."

"... to remove the leader whom you don't want...."

"... going to queue in line and vote for someone whom I'll never see again, that does not make sense...."

"... It is a democratic right...."

Intention to Participate in Future Elections

"... IEBC has shown we cannot have free and fair elections...."

"... we don't want the IEBC ..."

"... I feel people have not been pleased with the institutions. And also the leaders. They haven't seen the leaders who can bring them change. So people are tired to an extent they see even if they vote, maybe things would just remain the same...."

"... there are who people don't vote because they don't know even what that vote is for. Because these people who are called MCA, MP they don't even know their functions"

"... people don't have confidence in IEBC"

"... voting has lost meaning, whether you vote or not, it will still be counted...."

"... there are so many ID cards that are in Huduma and when you go to pick they will look for it but yours will not be found...."

"... people are tired of voting because of the leaders that we get. So by the end of the day we end up with the same leaders that have failed us....."

"... it is not that people do not want to register. There is this issue of getting an ID, when you apply it takes long for it to come...."

"... people have lost confidence in the story of elections...."

"... people fear. You go and vote and then be beaten by your neighbour. So people don't see the need of registering. It is better you are beaten without voting, than having lined up to vote and then in the evening, your neighbour turns on you....."

"... I think it because they haven't reformed the voting process. Because we still have the traditional way of lining. And yet we are in a digital world. And there are countries that are developed that do it better. So maybe if they could reform on the voting process, so that someone can vote online or somebody can vote anywhere, it could be better....."

FINDING 2:

There is divided opinion on the impartiality of the IEBC and fairness of 2017 general elections. However, nearly half (48.8%) of the respondents agreed that IEBC needs to be reconstituted. A majority (50.8%) of the respondents were of the opinion that IEBC did not allocate adequate time for the recent Mass Voter Registration exercise. Further, a majority (59%) support use of electronic systems in future elections.

Perceptions on the IEBC and the 2017 Elections

STATEMENTS ABOUT IEBC AND ELECTIONS	AGREE	DISAGREE	DON'T KNOW
The 2017 elections will be free and fair	48.6%	36.5%	14.9%
IEBC needs to be reconstituted	48.8%	46.5%	4.8%
IEBC is an independent and impartial body free from any political control	46.5%	47.6%	5.8%
IEBC conducted adequate voter education in the just concluded voter registration exercise.	44.3%	49.2%	6.5%
IEBC as currently constituted can conduct free and fair general elections next year?	49.8%	42.0%	8.2%
IEBC allocated enough time for voter registration in the just concluded voter registration exercise	43.0%	50.8%	6.1%
IEBC and its staff have high integrity	43.9%	48.7%	7.3%
Electronic systems should be used in future elections	59.0%	33.9%	7.2%

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

Perceptions on the IEBC and the 2017 Elections

- According to most of the focus group respondents, the 2017 elections will be free and fair if IEBC is reconstituted.
- For others, the elections will not be free and fair even if another electoral body is chosen. To them, the elections can only be free and fair if the elections are conducted by an international electoral body

"... I don't think if it will be free and fair, because even if we remove Isaac Hassan, the President will appoint another favorite to favor him....."

"... with the current IEBC, it is compromised so it will not....."

"... if the current IEBC commissioners are in office by 2017, the elections will be free and fair but if they change them, the people who will be coming will be new so they may be compromised....."

"... if it is run by the Commonwealth I know it will be free and fair but if it is run by another body that we choose, they will not be free and fair"

"... it'll be free and fair if it is conducted by an external body not the people of Kenya....."

"... It will be fair since they have brought changes in the IEBC...."

"... It will be fair only if the current commissioners and the current chairman are out....."

Perceptions on the IEBC and the 2017 Elections

"... changing the leaders won't help anything....."

"... for me I will support the IEBC reforms....."

"... yes we support, but they should not conduct elections....."

"... we do not want to go back to the messes that we are in, we want changes, and we want peace to prevail because the outcome of the election will again give us another direction....."

"... in fact those people should go home. Because people live in fear....."

"... it has to change so that the elections can go on....."

"... even if they change it will not help....."

"... they should go home because the opposition is complaining. If what they require is done, I think even if Uhuru will win, he will win fairly. And people would be contented with whatever outcome....."

"... I am not in support, when we were voting for the first referendum our deputy president told us let us vote no and then we go and make this thing perfect and then we can vote for it. Now we have IEBC in place and we know what the Constitution says about restructuring IEBC....."

"... they should go because there complaints that they are siding with one side....."

"... They need to change this body whether they did a mistake or not....."

"... let IEBC commissioners just go. Because if they remain, some people will lose and blame it on them....."

FINDING 3:

A majority (80.5%) of Kenyans agree that persons with questionable character should be barred from holding elective and appointive public offices. A majority (77.7%) further opined that candidates for elected offices should disclose the sources of funding for their campaigns. Similarly, a majority (75.2%) opined that political parties should disclose the amount used in funding their political campaigns.

STATEMENTS ABOUT ELECTION SYSTEM AND ASPIRANTS	AGREE	DISAGREE	DON'T KNOW
Persons with a questionable character should be barred from holding appointive and elective public offices	80.5%	16.5%	3.0%
Candidates for elected office should disclose the sources of funding for their political campaigns	77.7%	19.5%	2.8%
Political parties should disclose the amount used in funding their political campaigns	75.2%	21.7%	3.2%

To what extent do you disagree or agree with the following statements?

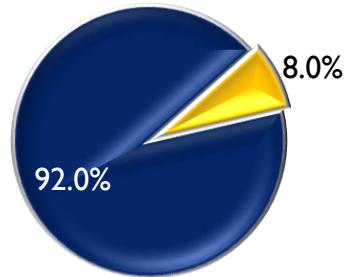
STATEMENTS ABOUT IEBC AND ELECTIONS	RESPONSE	COAST	NORTH EASTERN	EASTERN	CENTRAL	RIFT VALLEY	WESTERN	NYANZA	NAIROBI
Candidates for elected office should disclose the sources of funding for their political campaigns	Agree	68.4%	88.7%	88.8%	88.0%	78.2%	77.2%	67.4%	80.6%
	Disagree	30.1%	8.5%	10.7%	12.0%	20.7%	21.0%	29.5%	17.6%
	Don't Know	1.5%	2.8%	0.5%	0.0%	1.1%	1.8%	3.2%	1.8%
	Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Political parties should disclose the amount used in funding their political campaigns	Agree	64.7%	90.1%	89.7%	83.2%	69.1%	79.0%	68.4%	80.6%
	Disagree	33.8%	8.5%	9.3%	16.3%	29.8%	20.4%	28.4%	16.4%
	Don't Know	1.5%	1.4%	0.9%	0.5%	1.2%	0.6%	3.2%	3.0%
	Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Persons with a questionable character should be barred from holding appointive and elective public offices	Agree	79.6%	95.8%	91.1%	80.4%	80.8%	83.2%	65.3%	81.9%
	Disagree	19.0%	4.2%	8.9%	19.0%	17.5%	13.2%	31.6%	16.3%
	Don't Know	1.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.5%	1.7%	3.6%	3.2%	1.8%
	Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

To what extent do you disagree or agree with the following statements

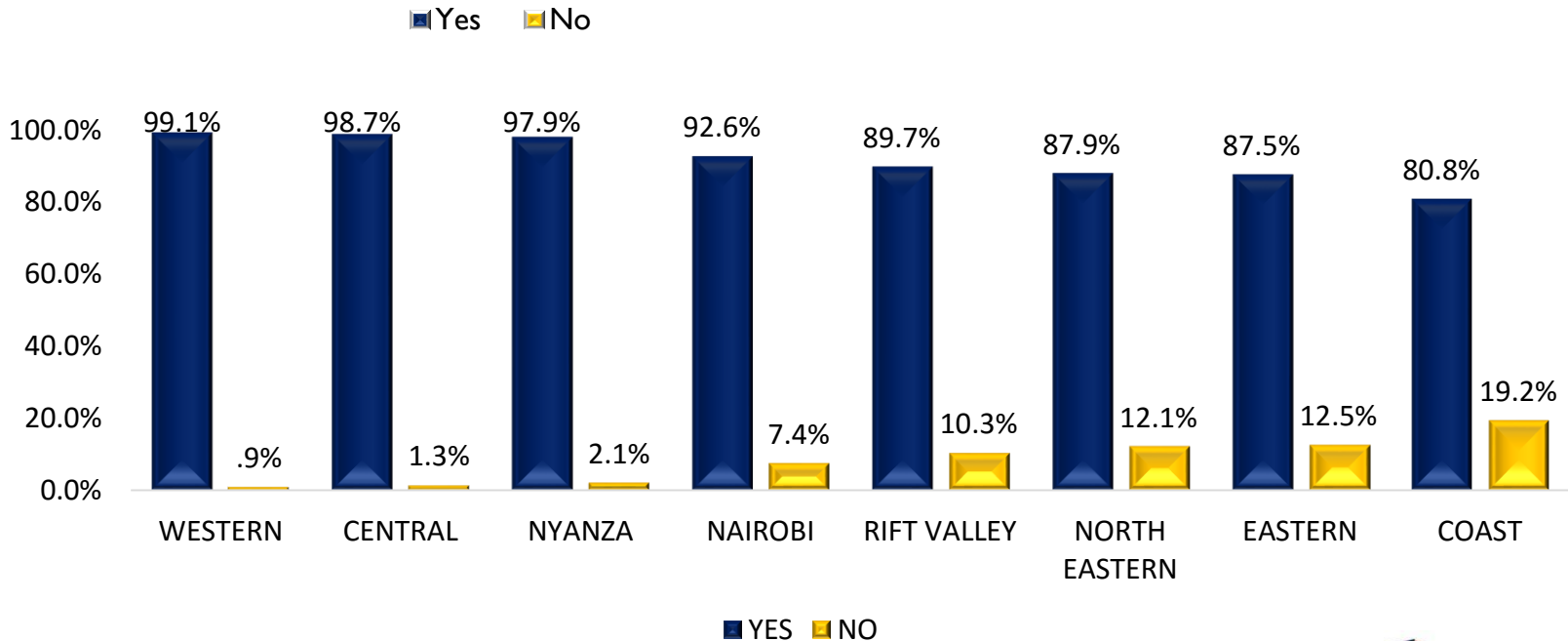
FINDING 4:

An overwhelming (92%) majority are aware of the ongoing electoral reform talks. About two thirds (66.4%) of Kenyans support the resignation of the current IEBC commissioners. Support for resignation is highest in Nyanza and Western regions at 82.1% and 78.9% respectively. On the other hand, support for resignation is lowest in Central at 44.7%. However, nearly half of Kenyans (49.8%) do not support the proposed immunity from prosecution, of the current IEBC commissioners, for the wrongs done during their tenure.

Awareness of Electoral Reform Talks

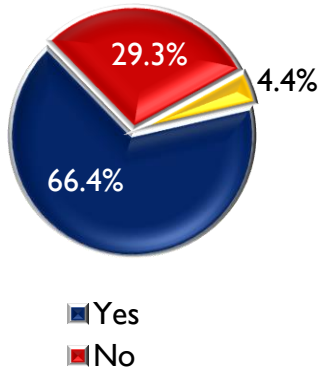


An overwhelming majority (92%) of Kenyans, across the eight regions, are aware of the ongoing talks to reform the IEBC.

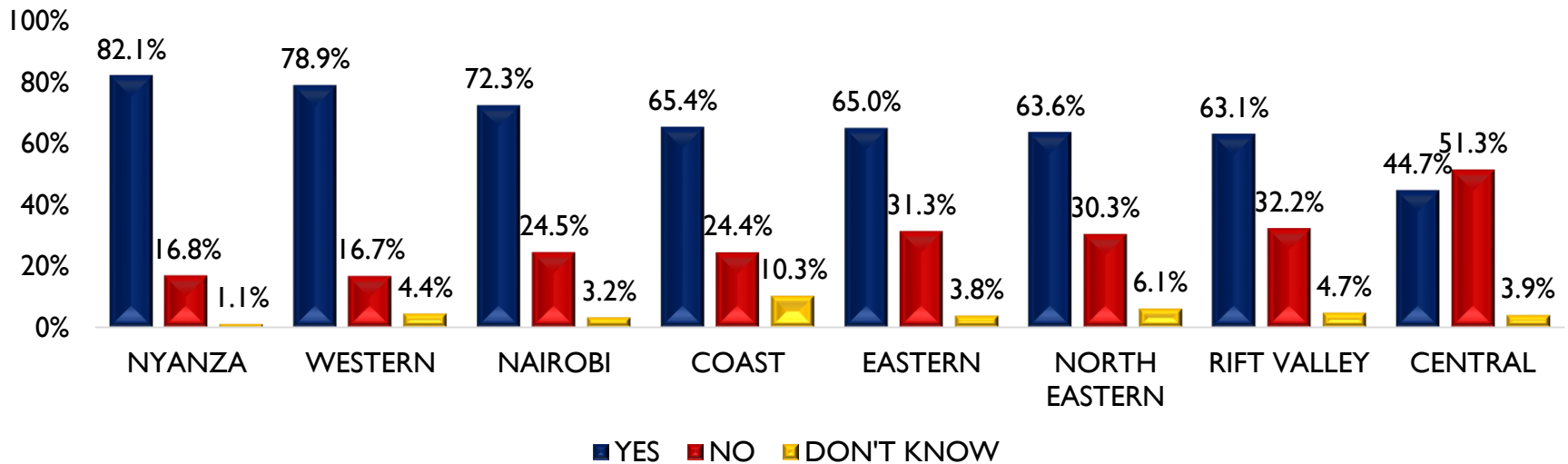


Are you aware of the ongoing talks to reform the IEBC?

RESIGNATION OF CURRENT IEBC COMMISSIONERS

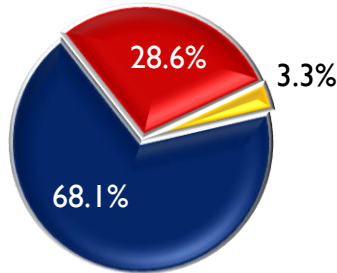


A majority (66.4%) of Kenyans support the resignation of the current IEBC commissioners. Support for resignation was highest in Nyanza and Western regions at 82.1% and 78.9% respectively. On the other hand, support for resignation was lowest in Central at 44.7%.



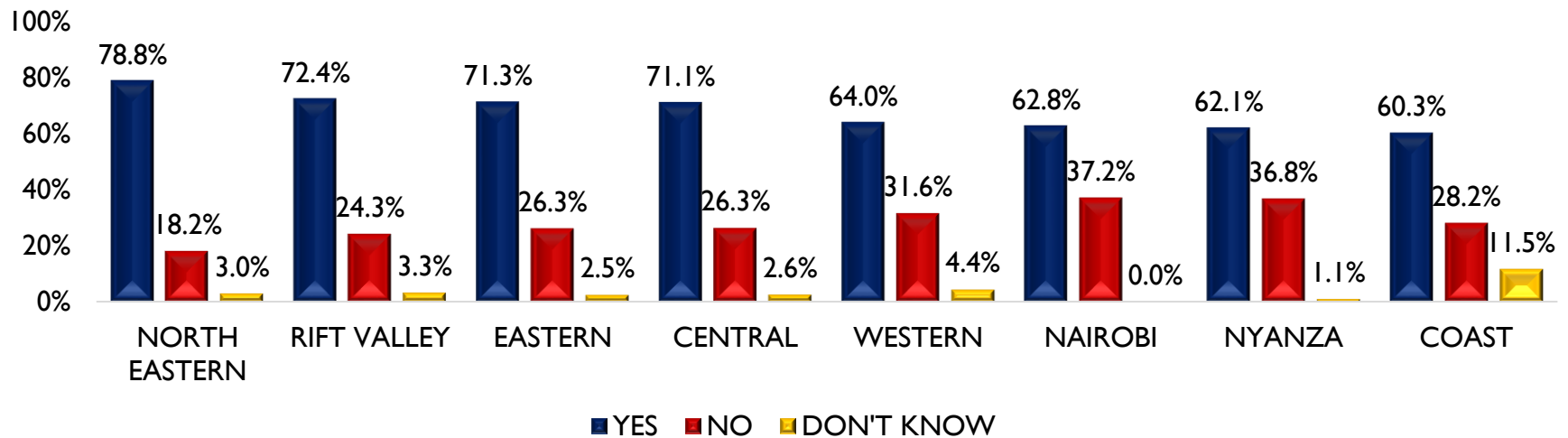
Do you support the decision of the current IEBC commissioners to resign from their positions?

IEBC Commissioners' Send Off Package



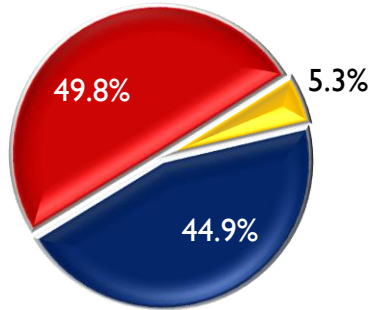
■ Yes
■ No

A majority (68.1%) of Kenyans, across the eight regions, support the proposed send off package for the current IEBC commissioners, as they exit office. Support for the proposed send off package was highest in North Eastern region at 78.8%.



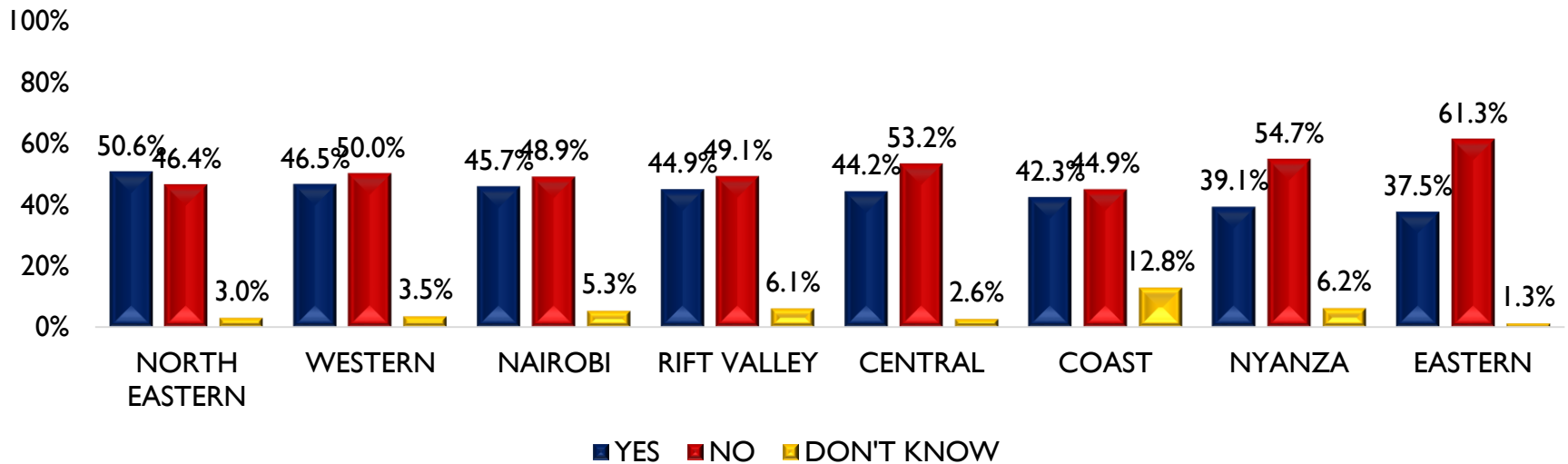
Do you support the recommendation of the Parliamentary Select Committee on IEBC reforms, to give a sendoff package/remunerate the current IEBC commissioners for their remaining term, as they exit office?

IEBC Commissioners' Immunity from Prosecution



Nearly half of Kenyans (49.8%) do not support the proposed immunity from prosecution, of the current IEBC commissioners, for the wrongs done during their tenure.

■ Yes
■ No
■ Don't Know

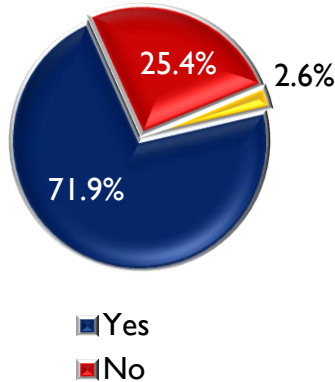


In your opinion, should the current IEBC commissioners be immune from prosecution for the wrongs done during their tenure, upon exit from their offices?

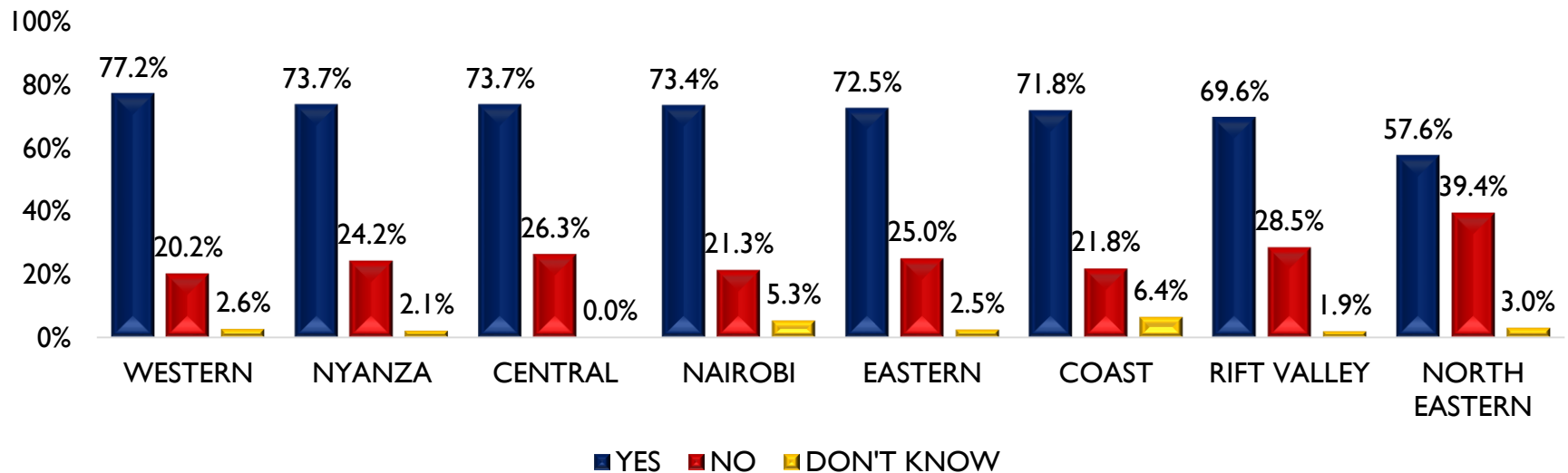
FINDING 5:

A majority (71.9%) of Kenyans, across the eight regions, support involvement of religious leaders during recruitment of the next IEBC commissioners. Further, a majority (67.3%), in seven out of the eight regions, are of the view that the President should consult with the opposition, in appointing the next IEBC Commissioners.

Recruitment of the next IEBC Commissioners

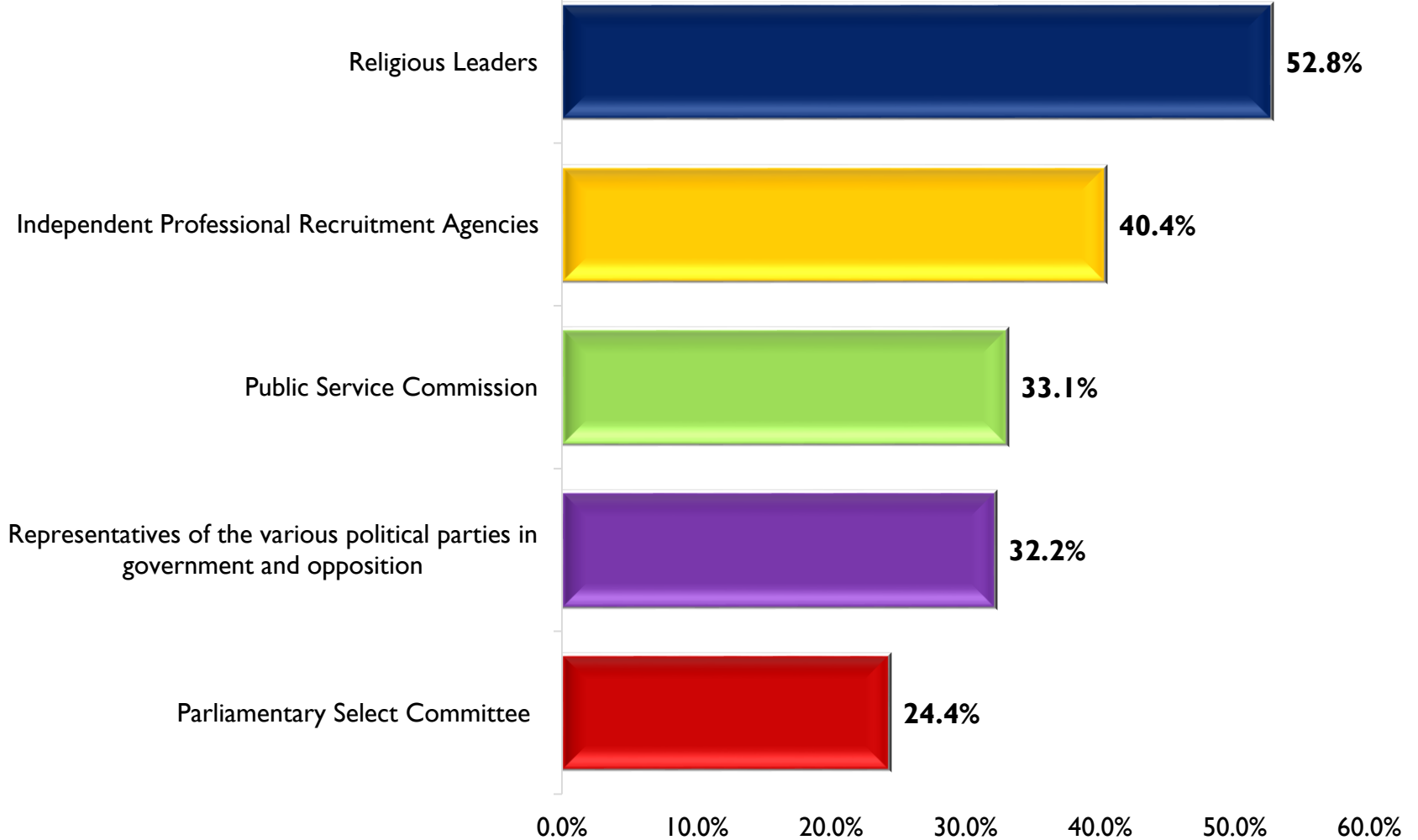


A majority (71.9%) of Kenyans, across the eight regions, support involvement of religious leaders during recruitment of the next IEBC commissioners. Support for involvement of religious leaders was highest in Western and lowest in North Eastern at 77.2% and 57.6% respectively.



Do you support calls for the panel recruiting the next IEBC commissioners to be comprised of religious leaders?

Kenyans' Opinion on who should comprise the panel recruiting the next IEBC Commissioners



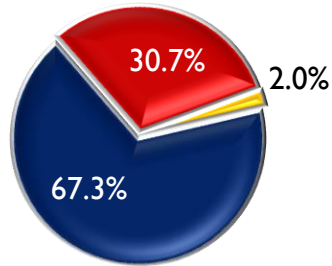
In your opinion, who among the following should comprise the panel recruiting the next IEBC Commissioners?

Kenyans' Opinion on who should comprise the panel recruiting the next IEBC Commissioners

TEAM	REGION								
	COAST	NORTH EASTERN	EASTERN	CENTRAL	RIFT VALLEY	WESTERN	NYANZA	NAIROBI	Total
Religious Leaders	50.0%	39.4%	46.3%	42.1%	57.9%	64.0%	57.9%	54.3%	52.8%
Independent Professional Recruitment Agencies	37.2%	60.6%	26.3%	22.4%	43.9%	62.3%	40.0%	45.7%	40.4%
Public Service Commission	19.2%	39.4%	23.8%	23.7%	27.1%	70.2%	34.7%	40.4%	33.1%
Representatives of the various political parties in government and opposition	33.3%	42.4%	20.0%	17.1%	28.0%	36.0%	55.8%	39.4%	32.2%
Parliamentary Select Committee	15.4%	18.2%	25.0%	25.0%	21.5%	34.2%	28.4%	24.5%	24.4%

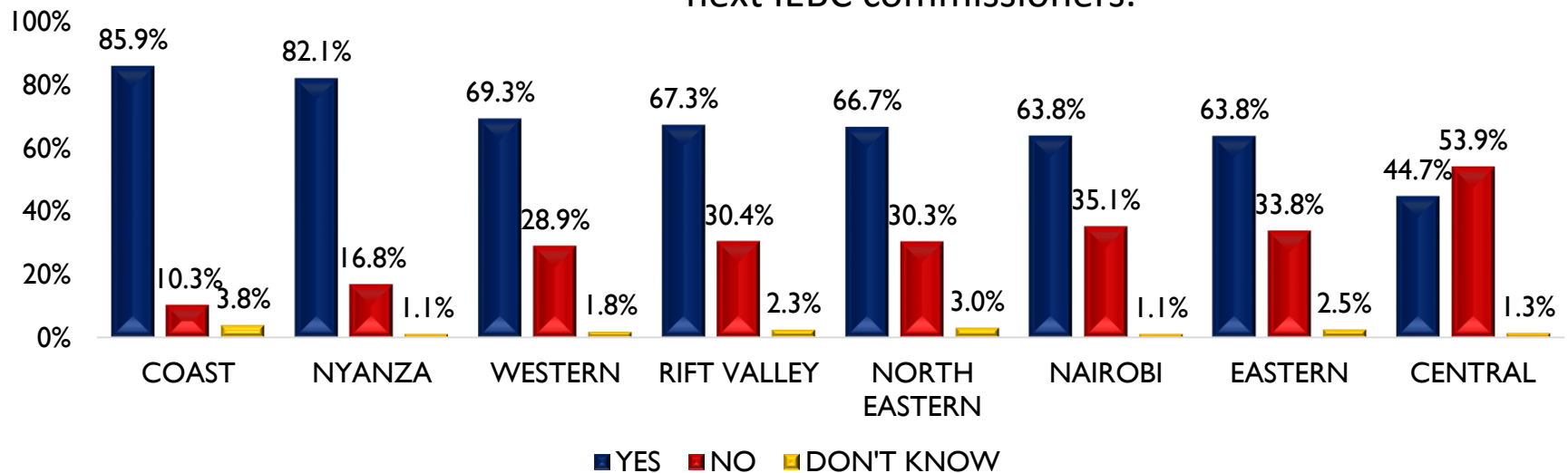
In your opinion, who among the following should comprise the panel recruiting the next IEBC Commissioners?

Recruitment of the next IEBC Commissioners



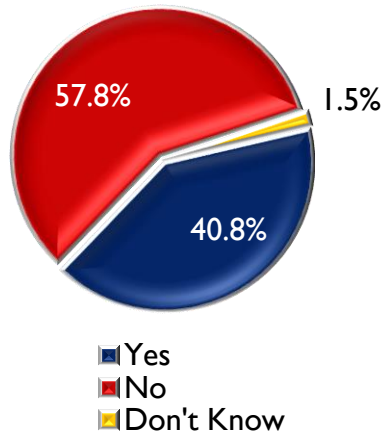
■ Yes
■ No
■ Don't Know

A majority (67.3%), in seven out of the eight regions, are of the view that the President should consult with the opposition, in appointing the next IEBC Commissioners. However, in Central, a majority (53.9%) opined that the President should not consult with the opposition in appointing the next IEBC commissioners.

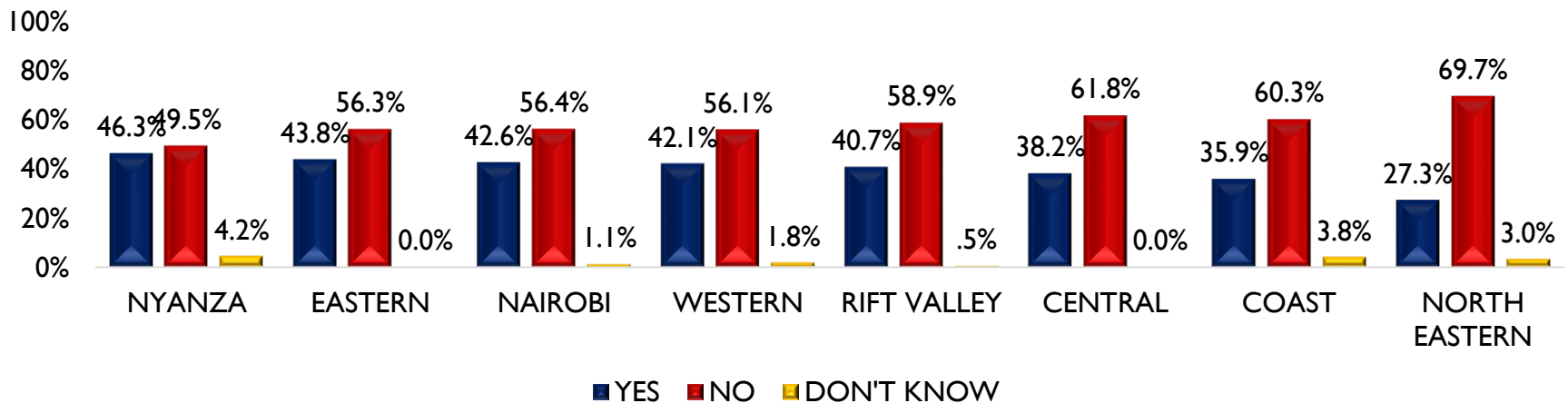


In your opinion, should the President consult the opposition in appointing the next IEBC Commissioners?

Separation of Presidential Election from other Elections



A majority (57.8%) of Kenyans do not support the separation of presidential election from other elections.



Do you support calls to hold presidential election on a different day from other elections?



Hate Speech and Election Related Violence



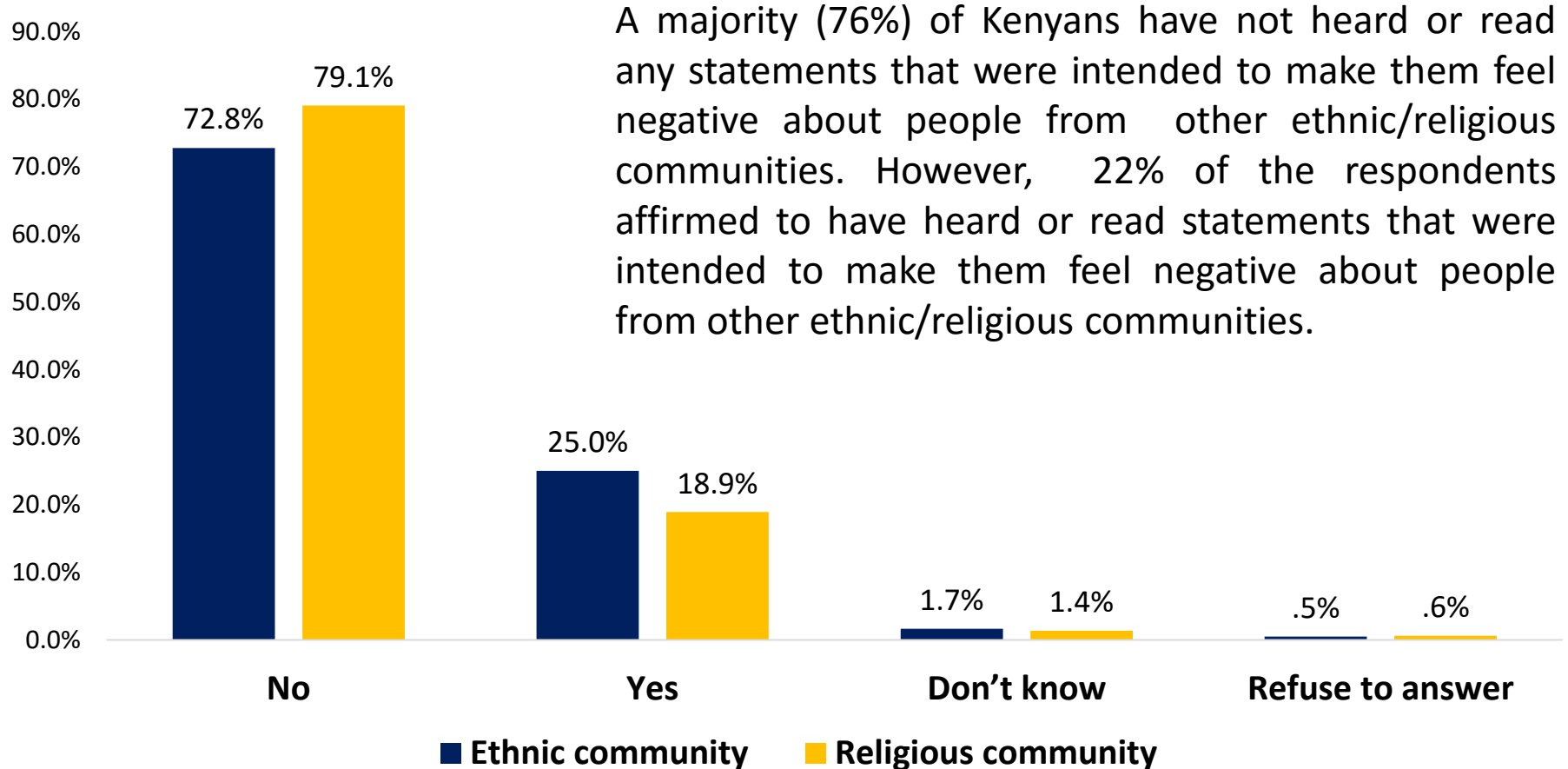
Recently, have you heard or read any statements that were intended to make you feel negative about people from other ethnic/religious communities where you live?



FINDING 6:

A majority (76%) of Kenyans have not heard or read any statements that were intended to make them feel negative about people from other ethnic/religious communities.

However, close to a third (31.3%) of the respondents affirmed to have heard or read statements that were intended to make people feel negative about persons from their respective ethnic/religious communities. Nairobi, North Eastern and Rift Valley regions had the highest proportion of those who had heard or read hate statements targeted at members of their respective communities/religion.

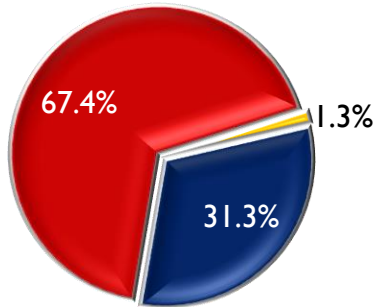


A majority (76%) of Kenyans have not heard or read any statements that were intended to make them feel negative about people from other ethnic/religious communities. However, 22% of the respondents affirmed to have heard or read statements that were intended to make them feel negative about people from other ethnic/religious communities.

Recently, have you heard or read any statements that were intended to make you feel negative about people from other ethnic/religious communities where you live?

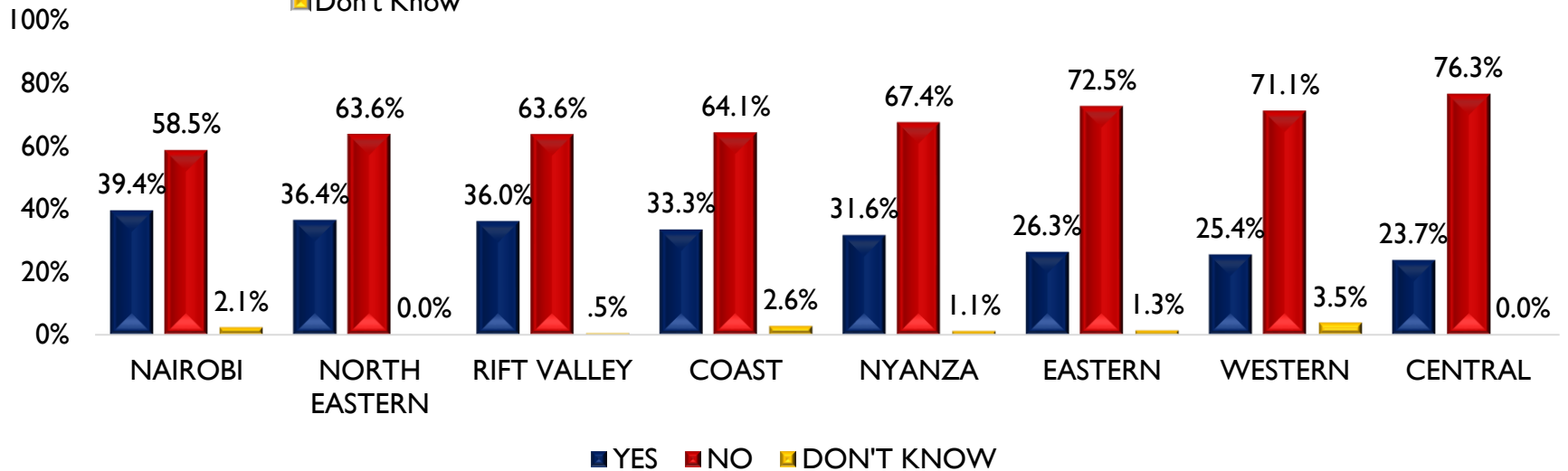
STATUS	RESPONSE	COAST	NORTH EASTERN	EASTERN	CENTRAL	RIFT VALLEY	WESTERN	NYANZA	NAIROBI	TOTAL
Ethnic Communities	No	84.5%	78.0%	84.4%	79.5%	79.2%	46.6%	55.2%	69.8%	72.8%
	Yes	15.5%	16.5%	14.7%	16.4%	19.4%	52.1%	42.9%	25.0%	25.0%
	Don't know	0.0%	5.5%	.4%	3.6%	.9%	1.2%	1.4%	3.3%	1.7%
	Refuse to answer	0.0%	0.0%	.4%	.5%	.5%	0.0%	.5%	1.9%	.5%
	Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Religious Communities	No	89.0%	94.2%	89.1%	91.8%	84.2%	48.8%	59.2%	77.8%	79.1%
	Yes	10.5%	3.7%	8.1%	5.1%	14.9%	50.6%	38.9%	17.0%	18.9%
	Don't know	.5%	2.1%	1.9%	2.6%	.5%	.6%	.9%	3.3%	1.4%
	Refuse to answer	0.0%	0.0%	.9%	.5%	.4%	0.0%	1.0%	1.9%	.6%
	Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Recently, have you heard or read any statements that were intended to make you feel negative about people from other ethnic/religious communities where you live?



■ Yes
■ No
■ Don't Know

Close to a third (31.3%) of the respondents had heard or read statements that were intended to make people feel negative about people from their respective community/religion. Nairobi, North Eastern and Rift Valley regions had the highest proportion of those who had heard or read hate statements targeted at members of their respective communities/religion.

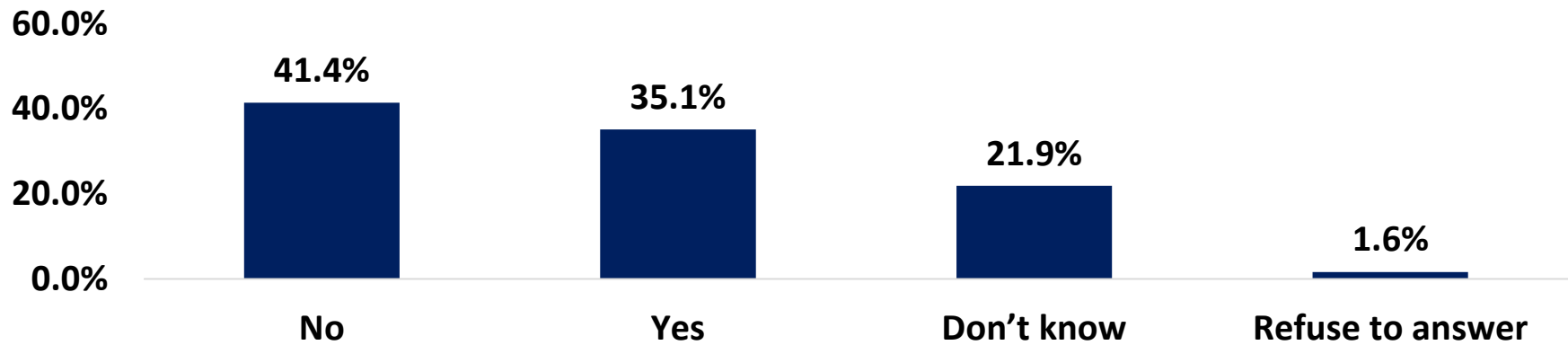


Currently, have you heard or read any statements that were intended to make people feel negative about people from your community/religion?

FINDING 7:

Slightly more than a third (35.1%) of Kenyans, think the 2017 general elections could be marred by violence.

Western, Nyanza and Nairobi regions had the highest proportion of respondents who think the 2017 general elections could be marred by violence at 55.5%, 51.8% and 49.5% respectively.



Election Related Violence	COAST	NORTH EASTERN	EASTERN	CENTRAL	RIFT VALLEY	WESTERN	NYANZA	NAIROBI	TOTAL
No	50.6%	60.2%	49.3%	53.4%	55.7%	15.3%	21.7%	16.2%	41.4%
Yes	16.0%	13.0%	24.9%	31.7%	30.8%	55.5%	51.8%	49.5%	35.1%
Don't know	26.9%	26.8%	23.5%	15.0%	12.2%	28.7%	25.4%	32.4%	21.9%
Refuse to answer	6.5%	0.0%	2.3%	0.0%	1.3%	.5%	1.0%	1.9%	1.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Thinking about the 2017 general elections, do you think there could be violence?

- Similarly, most of the focus group respondents were of the view that the 2017 elections will not be marred by violence. According to them, Kenyans have learnt a lesson from the 2007 post-election violence.
- However, some feel there could be violence as they have heard various incitement statements from leaders and fellow citizens.
- Some of their quotes are captured herein below;

"... people are bitter and the leaders themselves are saying they are ready for anything..."

"... Kenyans have learnt a lesson..."

"... even here. Like 'wabara' are being told they will go back to their homes..."

"... Kenyans have learnt, from the experiences..."

"... No I don't think so. People are tired..."

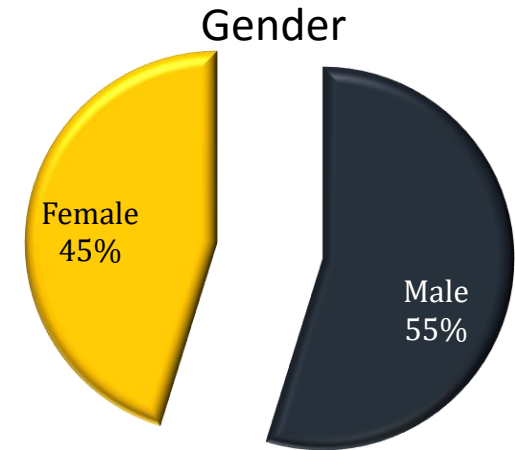
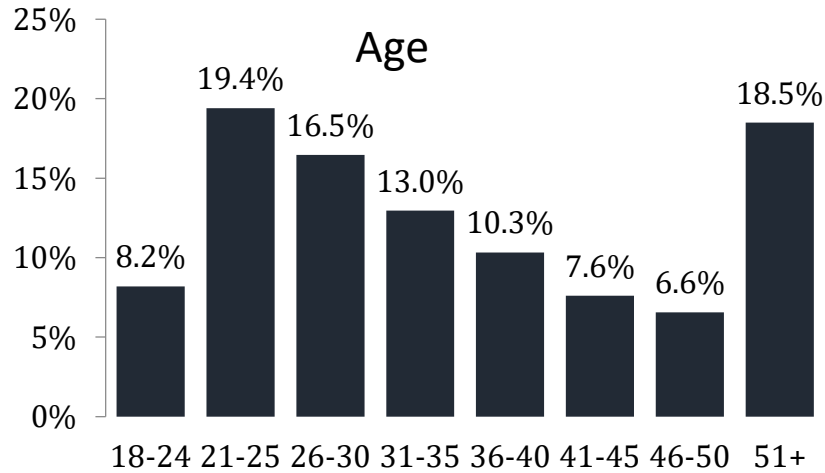
"... we are praying it will not but there is a possibility..."

"... Jubilee is assured they are winning, if they don't win there will be chaos. CORd too is assured they are taking it, so if they don't, there will be chaos..."

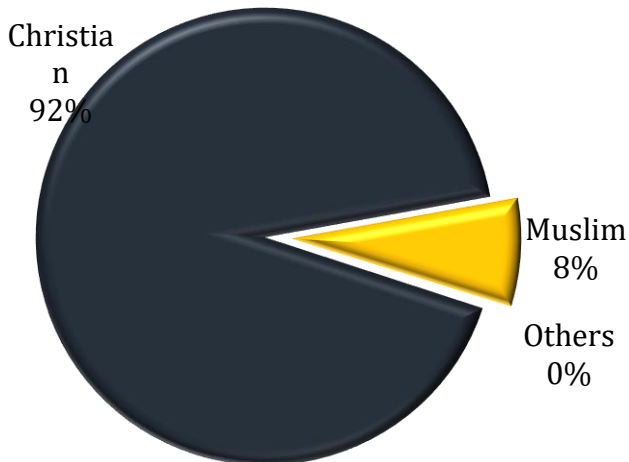
"... I am hoping that if they reform the electoral system, there will be no violence but if they do not, there will be violence, because right now we do not trust IEBC..."

"... How can you say you have already won and the elections have not taken place? ..."

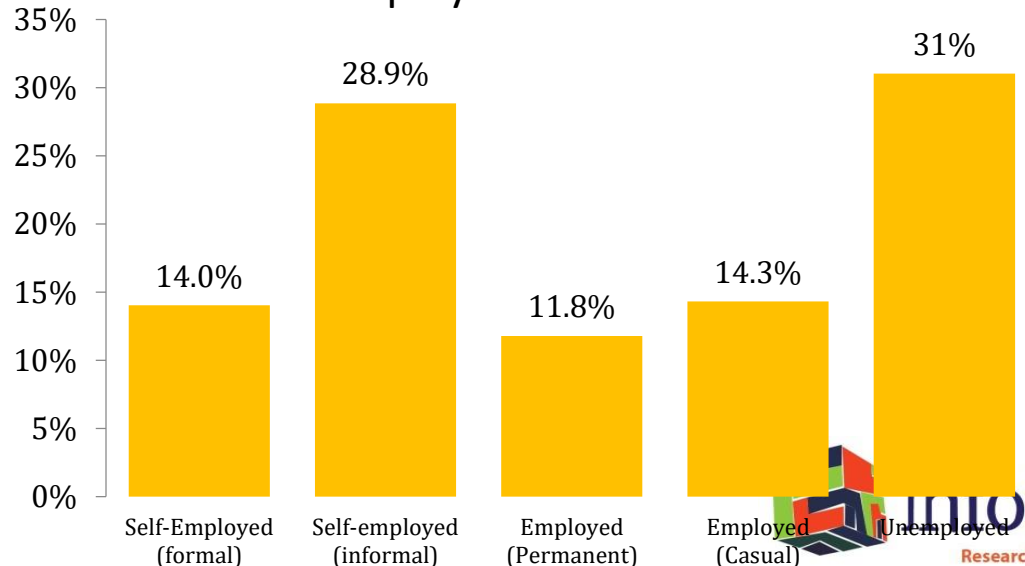
"... it will start from up there..."

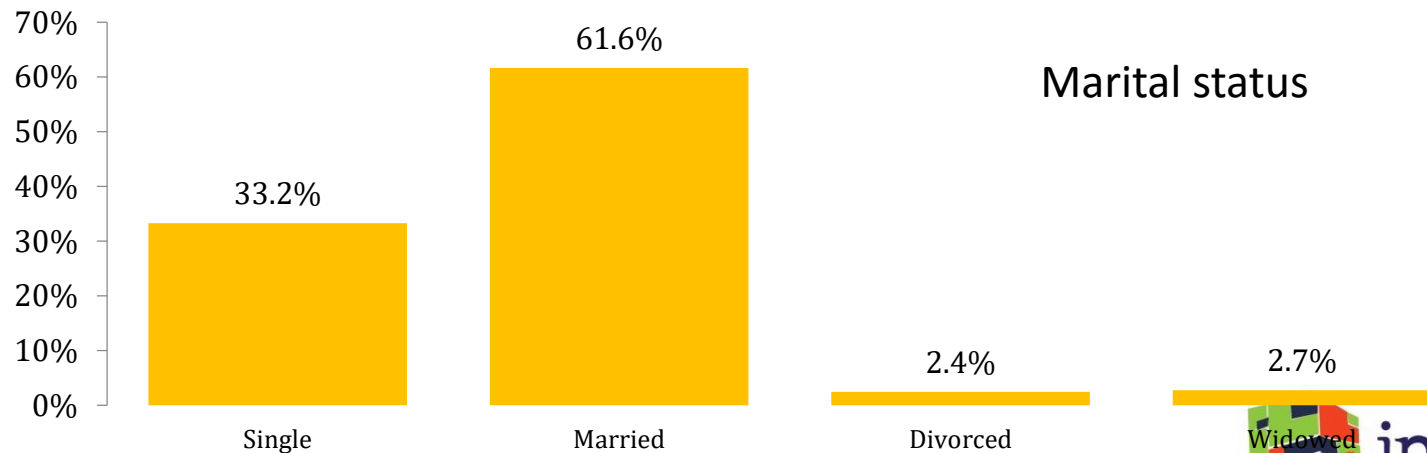
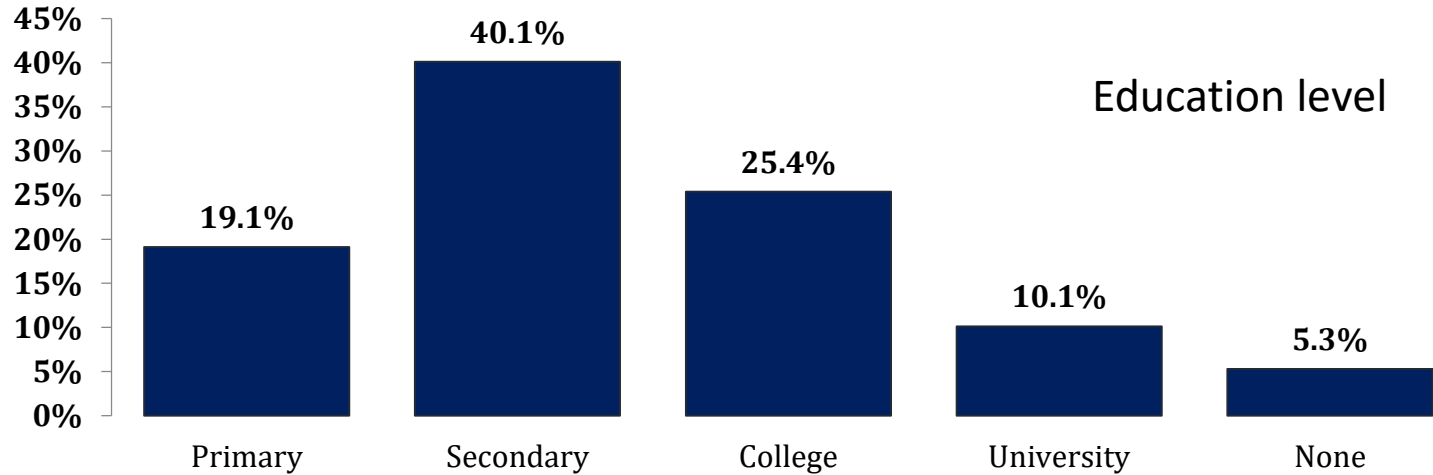


Religion

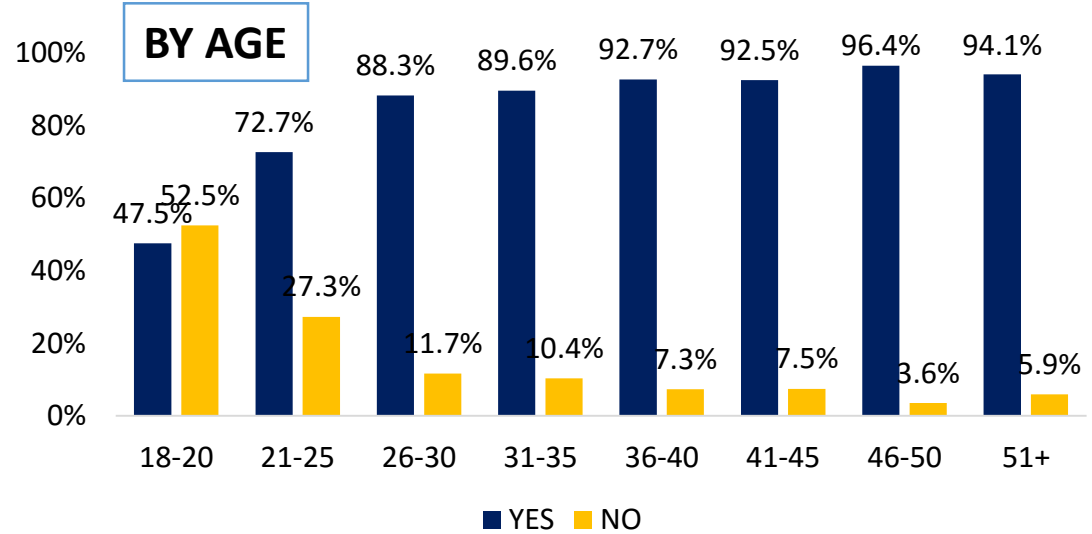
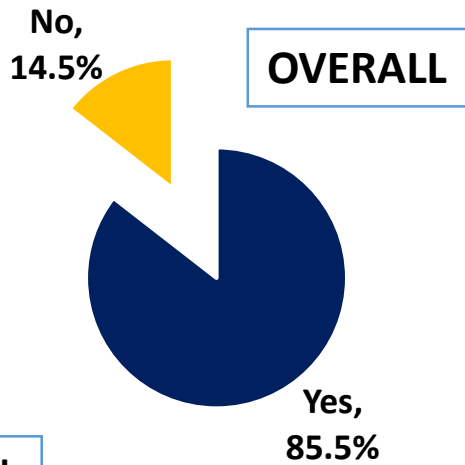


Employment

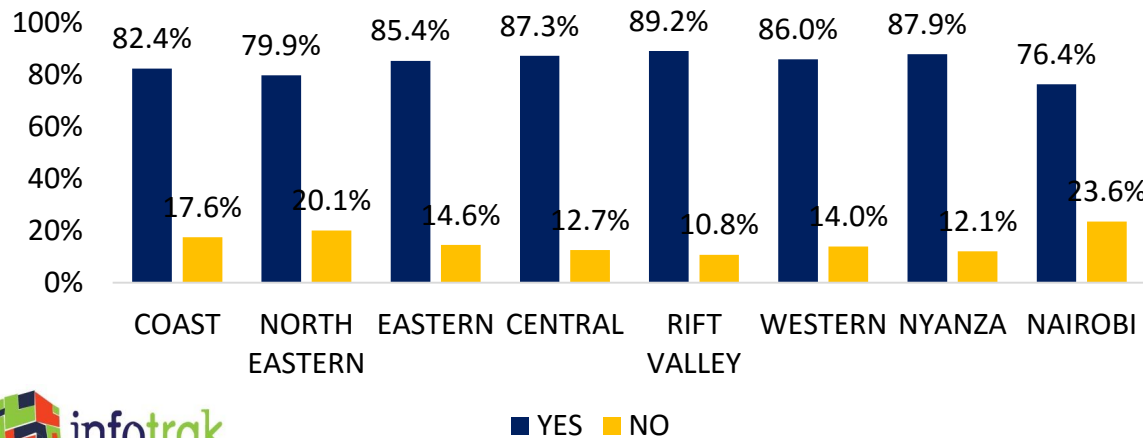




Are you a registered voter?



BY REGION



BY GENDER

