Sample by Province

- North Eastern: 4%
- Nairobi: 8%
- Coast: 9%
- Western: 12%
- Central: 13%
- Nyanza: 15%
- Eastern: 15%
- Rift Valley: 25%

Total: 2400
Rural: Urban Split
65: 35
Regional split by age

18-24  25-34  35-44  45+

Nairobi  15%  27%  33%  18%  29%  23%  31%  17%  26%  22%  32%  15%  30%  24%  31%
Coast    18%  29%  31%  17%  23%  26%  34%  18%  22%  25%  31%  0%  10%  20%  30%  40%  50%  60%  70%  80%  90%  100%
Western  17%  26%  23%  18%  33%  31%  28%  17%  23%  22%  33%  15%  30%  24%  31%
Nyanza   18%  23%  28%  17%  22%  29%  32%  19%  22%  27%  32%  17%  28%  23%  32%
Central  17%  22%  29%  19%  22%  32%  32%  17%  23%  28%  32%  15%  24%  31%
Eastern  17%  23%  28%  17%  22%  32%  32%  15%  24%  31%  30%  31%  30%  31%
Rift Valley  15%  24%  31%  30%  31%
North Eastern  15%  24%  31%  30%  31%
Regional split by gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nairobi</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coast</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyanza</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rift Valley</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Eastern</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Base = 2400
A Sample of 2400 respondents were interviewed.

Fieldwork timings, 15th – 17th October 2007

The Sampling frame was designed using PPS; Population Proportionate to Size as is stipulated in the Population Census.

- The sample was defined by area, age and gender
- Sampling was carried out using the district as the key administrative boundary
- Every respondent who was 18 years and above given an equal opportunity to participate on condition that they have a voters card or intend to get one in the near future
Fieldwork was conducted using purposive random sampling
  - This ensured that every person in the selected area had an equal chance of being included in the survey.
  - 25% of the interviews were back checked for quality control purposes and data entered twice for validation.

Data Analysis was done using SPSS 15.0 (Minitab Version)

All necessary statistical tests were carried out twice;
  - Once internal by the Infotrk team
  - Second check done independently by reputable sampling & statistics expert.

The Data has been verified at 95% degree of confidence.
  - The margin of error was minimal at +/-3%
In order of priority, what issues would you say concern you as a Kenyan?
Unemployment

Western: 75%
R. Valley: 76%
Eastern: 76%
Nyanza: 77%
Central: 78%
Nairobi: 78%
North Eastern: 79%
Coast: 80%

Base = 2400
Poverty and food insecurity

Base = 2400

Central: 70%
R. Valley: 71%
Western: 74%
Coast: 74%
Nairobi: 75%
Nyanza: 78%
Eastern: 80%
North Eastern: 82%
High taxes/commodity prices

North Eastern: 68%
Central: 68%
Nyanza: 68%
Western: 69%
Nairobi: 70%
Coast: 70%
Eastern: 70%
R. Valley: 71%

Base = 2400
Poor infrastructure

Nairobi, Coast, R. Valley, Central, Western, Eastern, Nyanza, North Eastern

Base = 2400
Lack of a proper constitution

Base = 2400
Gender inequality

North Eastern: 39%
Eastern: 40%
R. Valley: 42%
Central: 46%
Western: 46%
Nyanza: 47%
Coast: 53%
Nairobi: 59%

Base = 2400
In order of priority, what issues would you say concern you as a Kenyan? (Rural-Urban)

- Corruption: 92% Urban, 81% Rural
- Unemployment: 77% Urban, 76% Rural
- Poverty & food insecurity: 78% Urban, 74% Rural
- Insecurity: 86% Urban, 64% Rural
- High taxes and prices of commodities: 71% Urban, 67% Rural
- Poor infrastructure: 69% Urban, 60% Rural
- Ethnicity/Tribalism: 65% Urban, 62% Rural
- Lack of a proper constitution: 64% Urban, 55% Rural
- Gender inequality: 57% Urban, 36% Rural

Base = 2400
Do you believe corruption is an issue of concern in Kenya?

- Yes: 89%
- No: 11%

Base = 2400
Do you believe corruption is an issue of concern in Kenya? (Rural-urban)

- Rural: 84% Yes, 16% No
- Urban: 94% Yes, 6% No

Base = 2400
Do you believe corruption is an issue of concern in Kenya? (by gender)

- Male: 92% Yes, 8% No
- Female: 86% Yes, 14% No

Base = 2400
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Yes (%)</th>
<th>No (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Above 55 yrs</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 - 54 yrs</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 - 44 yrs</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 - 34 yrs</td>
<td>93%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 - 24 yrs</td>
<td>94%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Base = 2400
If you think corruption is an issue of concern, how critical do you feel it is a problem?

- Not really a big problem: 3%
- A big problem: 43%
- A very big problem: 54%

Base = 2184
Have you or any member of your household experienced corruption?

- Yes: 85%
- No: 15%

Base = 2400
Have you or any member of your household experienced corruption? (Regional)

- Eastern: 79%
- Central: 80%
- North Eastern: 80%
- Western: 87%
- R. Valley: 88%
- Coast: 89%
- Nyanza: 89%
- Nairobi: 91%

Base = 2400
Have you or any member of your household experienced corruption? (Rural-urban)

- Rural: 19% Yes, 81% No
- Urban: 11% Yes, 89% No

Base = 2400
Have you or any member of your household experienced corruption? (Gender)

Base = 2400

Female
- Yes: 80%
- No: 20%

Male
- Yes: 90%
- No: 10%
If yes, how often?

- At least once a month: 27%
- Within a year: 25%
- At least once a week: 15%
- At least every 3 months: 12%
- At least every 6 months: 12%
- Everyday: 9%

Base = 2040
In which institutions have you experienced corruption?

- Commissioner of lands: 60%
- Judiciary: 61%
- Immigration: 68%
- Local authority: 75%
- Police: 87%

Base = 2040
In which institutions have you experienced corruption?

- **The police** - “when a man goes out with a lady at night and they happen to meet policemen (normally they walk in groups), their first reaction is always to ask for IDs and if the lady does not have one (ladies are known not to carry around their IDs), the man and not the lady is whisked away!”

- **Immigration** - “there are some people who are able to get their passports processed in a record 2 days even without their birth certificates (a standard procedure) after parting with a considerable amount of money while those who do not have the cash have to wait for more than a month to be able to have their passports”

- **The judiciary** - “if money and influence are the basis of justice, then the poor are no match for this since most cases that remain unheard in courts are where the persons involved are not able to afford bribes”
  - “court officials seek bribes for services that should be free and lawyers direct their clients to judges known to take bribes”

- **Local authority** - “council askaris (after taking bribes) selectively allow hawkers to peddle their goods in areas where hawking is prohibited e.g. right at the hub of the city center”

- **Commissioner of lands** - “issuing of title deeds of the same piece of land to different persons is a vice that has been happening for quite a long time which at times end with death of one of the parties involved”
Immigration

Western: 66%
R. Valley: 66%
Central: 67%
Eastern: 68%
Nyanza: 69%
North Eastern: 69%
Coast: 71%
Nairobi: 75%

Base = 2040
Police

North Eastern: 79%
Eastern: 84%
Central: 84%
Western: 85%
R. Valley: 85%
Coast: 87%
Nyanza: 89%
Nairobi: 92%

Base = 2040
In which institutions have you experienced corruption? (Rural-urban)

- Police: 89% (Urban), 83% (Rural)
- Local authority: 77% (Urban), 72% (Rural)
- Immigration: 78% (Urban), 58% (Rural)
- Judiciary: 63% (Urban), 59% (Rural)
- Commissioner of lands: 62% (Urban), 58% (Rural)

Base = 2040
Are you aware of any official efforts by govt. to deal with corruption cases?

Yes 75%

No 25%

Base = 2400
Are you aware of any official efforts by govt. to deal with corruption cases? (Regional)

North Eastern: 62%
R. Valley: 72%
Eastern: 73%
Central: 74%
Western: 75%
Nyanza: 78%
Coast: 79%
Nairobi: 82%

Base = 2400
Are you aware of any official efforts by govt. to deal with corruption cases? (Rural-urban)

- Urban:
  - Yes: 91%
  - No: 9%

- Rural:
  - Yes: 59%
  - No: 41%

Base = 2400
Awareness of the official government efforts/commissions

- **Goldenberg Commission**: 13% Unprompted, 32% Prompted, 87% Total
- **Ndung'u Commission on Land**: 8% Unprompted, 39% Prompted, 68% Total
- **Kroll & Associates Report**: 13% Unprompted, 61% Prompted, 87% Total
- **Office of the Ombudsman**: 8% Unprompted, 92% Prompted, 92% Total
- **Mutava Committee - NACC**: 13% Unprompted, 87% Prompted, 87% Total
- **KACC**: 8% Unprompted, 92% Prompted, 92% Total

*Base = 1800*
Awareness of the official government efforts/commissions

- Artur Brothers Investigation: 98% (98% Unprompted, 2% Prompted)
- Pending Bills Committee: 82% (18% Unprompted, 64% Prompted)
- Controller & Auditor General: 77% (23% Unprompted, 54% Prompted)
- Anglo-Leasing: 94% (6% Unprompted, 88% Prompted)
- Parliamentary Investments Committee: 68% (32% Unprompted, 46% Prompted)
- Parliamentary Accounts Committee: 71% (29% Unprompted, 42% Prompted)

Base = 1800
Do you think the committees commissioned have achieved their objectives?

Yes 24%

No 76%

Base = 1800
Regional representation of those who think the committees commissioned have not achieved their objectives? 

North Eastern: 69%
R. Valley: 75%
Eastern: 74%
Central: 73%
Western: 74%
Nyanza: 79%
Coast: 82%
Nairobi: 85%

Base = 1800
How would you rate the success in performance of the following committees on a scale of 1-10 where 1 is very poor and 10 is excellent?

- Goldenberg Commission: 4.1
- Ndung'u Commission on Land: 3.8
- Artur Brothers Investigation: 3.7
- Anglo-Leasing: 3.7
- Parliamentary Investments Committee: 3.6
- Kroll & Associates Report: 3.5
- Parliamentary Accounts Committee: 3.4
- Pending Bills Committee: 3.3
- Mutava Committee - NACC: 3.3
- Controller & Auditor General: 3.0
- Office of the Ombudsman: 2.8

Base = 1800
Are you aware of the Kroll Report?

Yes: 39%
No: 61%

Base = 2400
What do you think should be done with the money stashed abroad as revealed in the Kroll Report?

- It should be confiscated and returned to Kenya: 92%
- It should be used to improve health services through provision of free health care, equipping and building of more hospitals: 85%
- It should be used to fund free secondary education and ensure smooth running of the same: 80%
- It should be disbursed equally to all constituencies for development purposes i.e. through CDF: 77%

Base = 936
What do you think should be done about the individuals named in the Kroll Report?

- They should be jailed: 81%
- Their properties both home and abroad should be confiscated: 77%
- They should be barred from holding public office until given a clean bill of health: 72%
- They should apologize and be forgiven: 5%

Base = 1512
Are you aware of specific corruption cases involving high office holders?

Yes: 56%
No: 44%

Base = 2400
Regional representation of those who are aware of specific corruption cases involving high office holders

- North Eastern: 48%
- Western: 51%
- R. Valley: 52%
- Eastern: 53%
- Central: 54%
- Nyanza: 54%
- Coast: 60%
- Nairobi: 72%

Base = 2400
Are you aware of specific corruption cases involving high office holders? (Rural-urban)

Base = 2400
If yes, kindly mention the cases

- Illegal sugar importation: 41%
- Goldenberg: 78%
- Anglo Leasing: 89%
- Artur saga: 91%

Base = 1344
Do you feel justice has prevailed on various persons mentioned as corrupt?

- Yes: 18%
- No: 82%

Base = 1344
Why do you feel justice has not prevailed on various persons mentioned as corrupt?

- Justice has not prevailed since most of those named adversely with regard to corruption are still in office
  - “despite the evidence provided and in the public domain, some of those who were mentioned as corrupt insisted that they were innocent and would not resign only to remain in the office to date”

- Not a single person mentioned as corrupt has been made to account for his/her deeds up to date
  - “they were sacked alright and despite all the evidence provided, KACC declared the evidence as not comprehensive”

- Those who were sacked from their positions due to graft cases have since been reappointed
  - “they were sacked due to public outcry and not as a rule of justice only to bide their (the powers that be) time and reappoint them to their plum jobs at the opportune moment!”
Would you say there are sacred cows (untouchables) in Kenya?

- Yes: 77%
- No: 23%

Base = 1344
Do you believe there should be sacred cows (untouchables) in Kenya?

- Yes: 8%
- No: 92%

Base = 1344
If yes, why do you believe there should be sacred cows in Kenya?

• Imposing punishment on the corrupt e.g. through sacking, jailing and repossession, would create animosity between the government and the offenders’ communities since they always go back to their communities for protection and consequently this will lead to ethnic clashes
  – “the announcement by one of the political parties that it would act on the Ndung’u report resulted into some leaders claiming that this action could lead to intercommunity clashes and lawlessness”

• Going after the corrupt might cause irreversible damage to the economy since most of them have invested heavily in the country especially in the manufacturing industry
  – “most of those mentioned as corrupt have invested in the country e.g. in the manufacturing industry, thus creating jobs for the common people and going after them would mean that their businesses close shop and consequently mass loss of jobs translating into reduced revenue for the government”

• Punishing the corrupt might set a pretty bad precedent through victimization e.g. underdevelopment and mass loss of jobs of the former president’s community by subsequent governments
  – “in Kenya, the sitting government is known to go after the ‘community that was in power’ through mass sacking of its leaders in government and public positions and not carrying out any meaningful development in the affected community”
In your opinion, what should be done by various commissions about past economic crimes committed by individuals who have been reported as guilty?

- Must face the full force of the law: 54%
- Pay back and apologise: 22%
- Bar from holding public office/conducting any business with the govt.: 6%
- Impose a lesser punishment in return for information/payment: 11%
- Forgive & forget: 6%
- Do nothing: 1%

Base = 2400
In your opinion, what should be done by various commissions about past economic crimes committed by individuals who have been reported as guilty? (by gender)

- Must face the full force of the law
  - Male: 63%
  - Female: 45%

- Pay back and apologise
  - Male: 23%
  - Female: 21%

- Impose a lesser punishment in return for information/payment
  - Male: 17%
  - Female: 5%

- Bar from holding public office/conducting any business with the govt.
  - Male: 7%
  - Female: 5%

- Forgive & forget
  - Male: 9%
  - Female: 3%

- Do nothing
  - Male: 1%
  - Female: 1%

Base = 2400
During the next presidential appointments, do you feel that a person with a corruption record should be considered for public appointments?

- **Yes**: 6%
- **No**: 94%

*Base = 2400*
If yes, why do you feel that a person with a corruption record should be considered for public appointments?

- Most people in leadership positions are tainted with graft hence corruption record should not be used as a yardstick for political appointments
  - “most of those in leadership positions, despite their proven track record, use their power and money to acquire property, jobs for relatives/friends e.t.c. which in the long run is tantamount to corruption”

- Most of those presumed to have a corrupt past should be given a benefit of doubt since the judiciary which delivered the judgments is believed to comprise of corrupt judges
  - “the KACC undertook radical surgery on the judiciary which meant that all cases that were handled by the judges declared to be corrupt failed the credibility test”

- One might have a corrupt past but is very much qualified for the position hence the government should not dwell on the past but put in place structures that call for proper accountability
  - “most of those who engage in corruption, despite their proven ability in management, do so only because of the loopholes in their areas of work hence the institutions in question should streamline their procedures e.g. procurement procedures and make the leaders accountable for all their actions”
Who among the presidential candidates do you feel will be most committed to fighting corruption?

- Raila Odinga: 50%
- Mwai Kibaki: 33%
- Kalonzo Musyoka: 17%

Base = 2400
Who among the presidential candidates do you feel will be most committed to fighting corruption?

- **Mwai Kibaki** - “he has been in government for over 3 decades hence has the capacity to know all the loopholes as far as corruption is concerned and be able to stem it”
  - “he is a wealthy man and therefore would neither ‘steal our money’ nor entertain the corrupt”
  - “he is a humble and God fearing man”

- **Kalonzo Musyoka** - “he is a very clean man i.e. he is known not to have engaged in any corrupt acts despite being in the government for a long time”
  - “he is humble and God fearing hence not able to entertain any form of corruption”
  - “his stance on forgiving and forgetting will allow the country to heal regarding the past and open a new beginning pegged on discipline and accountability”
  - “most men as compared to women are known to be corrupt hence having a lady as running mate will help check on corruption within government ranks since she will not be party to this”
Who among the presidential candidates do you feel will be most committed to fighting corruption?

- **Raila Odinga** - “he has been in the forefront for a long time in fighting for the rights of the common man hence is best poised to combat corruption since at the end of the day, only the down trodden feel the effects of graft”

  - “his announcement on undertaking radical surgery in the judiciary will lead the war in the fight against corruption since the judiciary is filled with corrupt judges whose decisions will obviously be partisan”

  - “he is a clean man who is not tainted with corruption hence able to tackle corruption head on”

  - “he is a principled and courageous man hence able to go after the corrupt without fear of vengeance”
Who among the presidential candidates do you feel will be most committed to fighting corruption? (Regional)

- **Kalonzo Musyoka**
- **Mwai Kibaki**
- **Raila Odinga**

Base = 2400
Who among the presidential candidates do you feel will be most committed to fighting corruption? (Rural-urban)

- Raila Odinga: Urban 49%, Rural 51%
- Kalonzo Musyoka: Urban 15%, Rural 18%
- Mwai Kibaki: Urban 35%, Rural 31%

Base = 2400
Who among the presidential candidates do you feel will be most committed to fighting corruption? (by gender)

- **Raila Odinga**
  - Male: 18%
  - Female: 54%
- **Kalonzo Musyoka**
  - Male: 16%
  - Female: 36%
- **Mwai Kibaki**
  - Male: 30%
  - Female: 36%

**Base = 2400**
Who among the presidential candidates do you feel will be most committed to fighting corruption? (by age)

Base = 2400
Would you vote for any candidate vying for public office who is widely perceived to be corrupt?

Yes 7%

No 93%

Base = 2400
Would you accept a gift or a bribe from a candidate vying for public office?

- Yes: 49%
- No: 51%

Base = 2400
Regional representation of those who would accept a gift or a bribe from a candidate vying for public office

Nairobi, Western, R. Valley, Coast, Nyanza, Central, North Eastern, Eastern

Base = 2400
Would you accept a gift or a bribe from a candidate vying for public office? (Rural-urban)
Would you accept a gift or a bribe from a candidate vying for public office? (Gender)

- **Base = 2400**

- **Female**:
  - Yes: 41%
  - No: 59%

- **Male**:
  - Yes: 43%
  - No: 57%
If you accepted the gift/bribe, would it affect your voting?

- Yes: 20%
- No: 80%

Base = 1176
Why would accepting a gift/bribe not affect your voting?

- The introduction of secret ballot has enabled voters to choose and vote wisely and not with their ‘stomachs’ since candidates are unaware of individual voter preferences.
- Voter education has raised levels of awareness among Kenyans with regards to importance of voting by ensuring that they are not disenfranchised through selling of their voting cards.
Could you mention the kind of gifts that you are aware are being offered to voters?

- Money: 79%
- Food and drinks: 64%
- Clothes: 61%
- Jobs: 57%
- Title deeds: 52%

Base = 2400
Could you mention the kind of gifts that you are aware are being offered to voters?

- Politicians sponsor and attend football tournaments mostly in the rural areas during the electioneering period and get to give participants gifts in the form of money, clothes (sports uniforms) and shoes, soft drinks and these are widely viewed as bribes due to the timing (why now?)
- Jobs and title deeds - this is done by appointing ‘one of their own’ (the voters) to plum jobs in the government and issuing title deeds especially now in the electioneering period and this is tantamount to bribery
Based on your experiences with corruption over the past, do you feel . . .

- Optimistic that things will improve with the next govt.: 68%
- Pessimistic that things will remain the same with the next govt.: 24%
- Pessimistic that things will get worse with the next govt.: 8%

Base = 2400
How long are you willing to give the next govt. to deal with corruption?

- 2 - 5 years: 11%
- 1 - 2 years: 12%
- 6 months to 1 year: 32%
- Upto 6 months: 45%

Base = 2400
What do you think are the top 3 things that the next govt. should do about corruption?

- Repossess all illegally acquired property: 87%
- Introduce tough measures on the corrupt e.g. jail terms not less than 10 yrs: 78%
- Immediate resignation of all those under investigation on corruption cases: 69%
- Proper vetting of government appointments i.e. only clean individuals should be considered: 65%
- Radical surgery in the judiciary: 61%

Base = 2400
Key findings

- Voters cite corruption, unemployment, poverty and food insecurity as issues most concerning to them
  - Respondents who are voters were asked what issues they found concerning in Kenya. A majority of the respondents (89%) mentioned corruption as their biggest concern, followed by unemployment at 78% and poverty and food insecurity at 76%.

- Corruption is widespread and pervasive in Kenya
  - The perception that corruption is entrenched in Kenya extends across the entire electorate with voters in each province, gender, and age groups citing corruption as the biggest concern in the country.

- There is a culture of high-level impunity in Kenya with regard to corruption, that little is ever done about the revelations
  - Asked if justice has prevailed on various persons mentioned as corrupt, only 18% replied in the affirmative with 82% categorically saying no, that little has been done to bring those involved in graft to book.
Key findings

- There is a high level of awareness in urban areas as compared to rural areas regarding corruption cases involving high office holders.

- In Kenya, there is a high perception of existence of a clique of individuals who are untouchables:
  - A majority of voters (77%) believe there are sacred cows (untouchables) in Kenya and a further 8% of voters believe there should be sacred cows in Kenya citing the emerging practice by the accused or suspected persons of seeking protection from their communities under the guise that their “tribes are being finished” likely to lead to ethnic clashes.

- Corruption is still rampant in government institutions:
  - 87% of the respondents mentioned the police department as one of the institutions in which they have experienced corruption. Further 75% of the respondents have experienced corruption in the local authority department followed by the immigration department at 68%.