KENYA ELECTION PREPAREDNESS

Webinar

Talking points by: Samuel Muthoka

3rd August 2022

GAME CHANGERS

Ipsos

AGENDA

1

Technology explosion

2

Voting intentions

3

Voter preferences

4

Punchline

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**Africa Center for Development
Research & Evaluation**
(Ipsos Public Affairs)

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CENTRE FOR DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH AND EVALUATION

The Centre works with development and humanitarian partners to help them achieve their project goals and performance targets.

AREAS OF EXPERTISE

- Formative studies to understand people and sectors and inform projects and programs
- Innovation and design
- Evaluation
- Learning and knowledge management
- Complex data collection and secondary data analytics

SECTORS WE COVER ACROSS AFRICA

1. Gender
2. Education
3. Governance (i.e. deepening of democracy)
4. Energy and climate
5. Financial access and behaviour
6. Vulnerable populations (refugees)
7. Health systems and practice
8. Agriculture, market systems

(Sectors coverage from subject matter experts)

The Centre provides tailor-made solutions at **affordable cost**

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GAME CHANGERS Ipsos

Ipsos Africa Centre for Development Research and Evaluation | **OUR WORK IN PUBLIC HEALTH**

30+ Clients in the public health space, including for government, donors and academics, multilateral clients such as WHO and UNICEF.

19 Number of countries surveyed in Africa on a regular basis, and integrated anonymised cell phone data and digital data sources into an easy-to-use dashboard during the COVID-19 Pandemic, as a member of the Partnership for Evidence-based Response to COVID-19 (PERC).

IPSOS AFRICA CENTRE FOR DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH AND EVALUATION

OUR WORK IN AGRICULTURE HELPS OUR CLIENTS TO;

- Stimulate change in a market system
- Encourage behaviour change amongst farmers
- Better link farmers to markets
- Encourage adoption of products and services

- Integrating climate impacts and sustainable production
- Evaluating Market Systems Development based programmes that require creative and non-linear evaluation methods

20+ Agricultural Production areas

15 Countries in Africa

IPSOS AFRICA **CENTRE FOR DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH AND EVALUATION**

109 stations in 2015, over +250 in 2022. Growth mainly driven by vernacular, community and niche stations

Covid 19 drastically changed media consumption behaviour

Social media growing in prominence as a perceived 'authoritative' voice

45 TV channels in 2015 establishment survey, +250 TV channels at the start of the year 2022. TV explosion is mostly driven by religious FTA and international channels
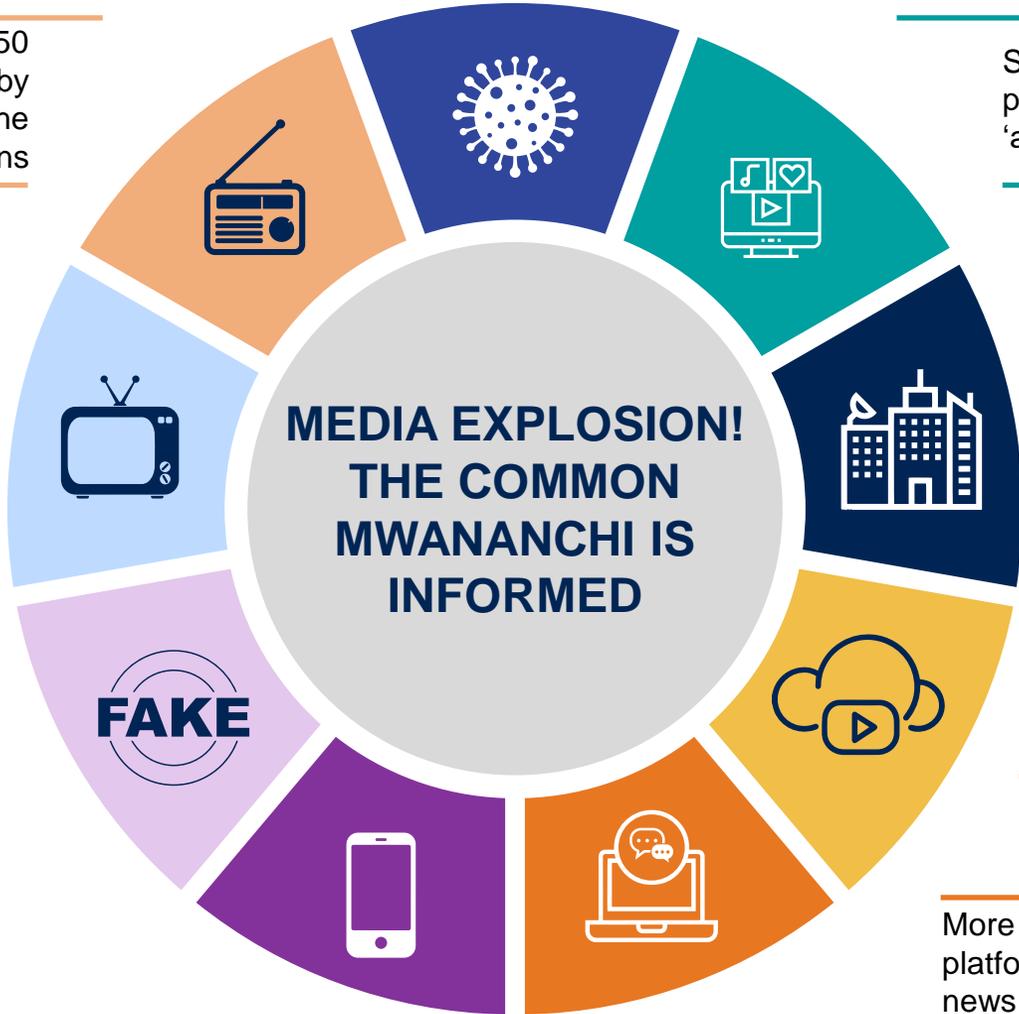
MEDIA EXPLOSION! THE COMMON MWANANCHI IS INFORMED

Population growth from 45 Million to 52 million, Urbanisation growth from 26% to 28% *(source: Research Gate)*

Global concern on fake news and journalistic ETHICS

Growth in VOD and free or paid own content creation

A camera phone, and a platform to post turns anybody in to an instant 'journalist'

More and more online platforms breaking news as they happen

THE KENYA ADULT POPULATION IS WELL REACHED BY MEDIA – WHICH IS A CRITICAL VOICE IN ELECTION PREPAREDNESS

34M
Total Audience 12+

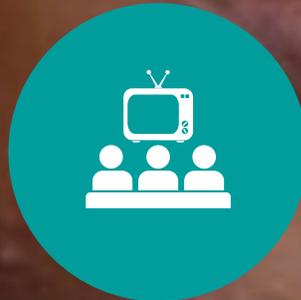| 27.3M	25.5M	16.1M	6.2M
Radio	Television	Internet	Print

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SMARTPHONES HAVE CHANGED THE ENVIRONMENT ON HOW INFORMATION IS SPREAD / CONSUMED – A TOOL FOR PREPAREDNESS

95% of homes in Kenya have at least one phone

CHANGED

- Increase in mobile device ownership (from 79% to 95%)
- Growth of smartphone from 19% to 51%

■ 2015 ■ 2022

	Own Phone (Any at all)	Ordinary cellphone	Feature phone	Smartphone
2015	78.7%	50.2%	30.0%	19.0%
2022	95.4%	50.6%	13.8%	50.7%

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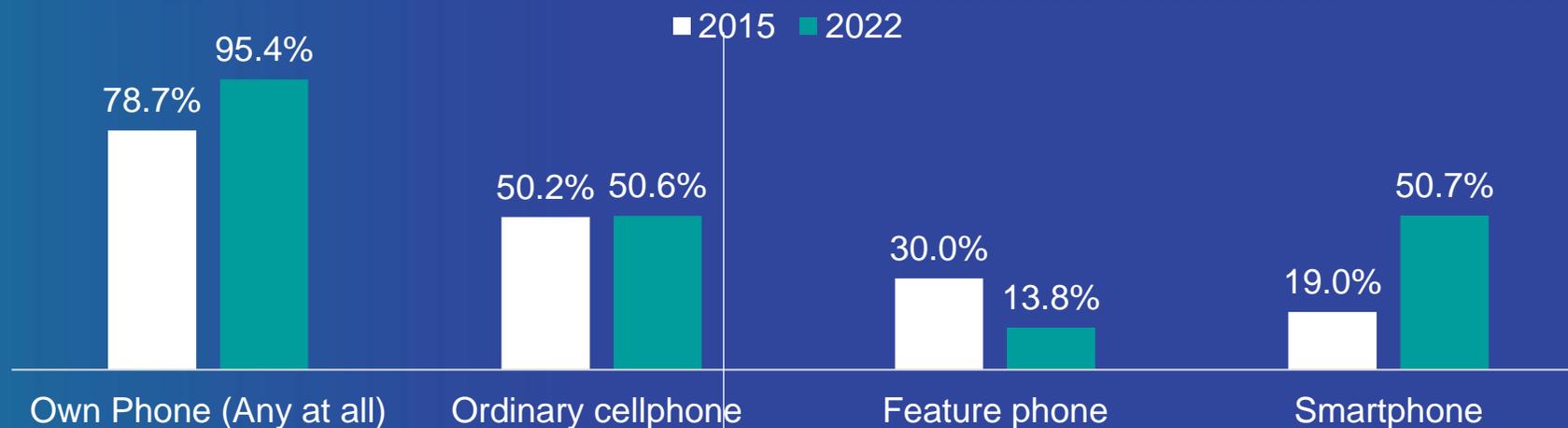
KENYANS ARE WEALTHIER...

There is every intention to safeguard economic gains at domestic levels, safeguard livelihoods, and this will be attained by KEEPING THE PEACE: The current campaigns have been largely peaceful

LSM SHIFTS - 2015 VS 2022

— 2015 LSM (%)   — 2022 LSM (%)

E   D   C2   C1   B   A

%

LSM 1 LSM 2 LSM 3 LSM 4 LSM 5 LSM 6 LSM 7 LSM 8 LSM 9 LSM 10 LSM 11 LSM 12 LSM 13 LSM 14 LSM 15 LSM 16 LSM 17

LSM BY SETTING - 2022

— Total — Rural — Urban — Nairobi City

LSM 1 LSM 2 LSM 3 LSM 4 LSM 5 LSM 6 LSM 7 LSM 8 LSM 9 LSM 10 LSM 11 LSM 12 LSM 13 LSM 14 LSM 15 LSM 16 LSM 17
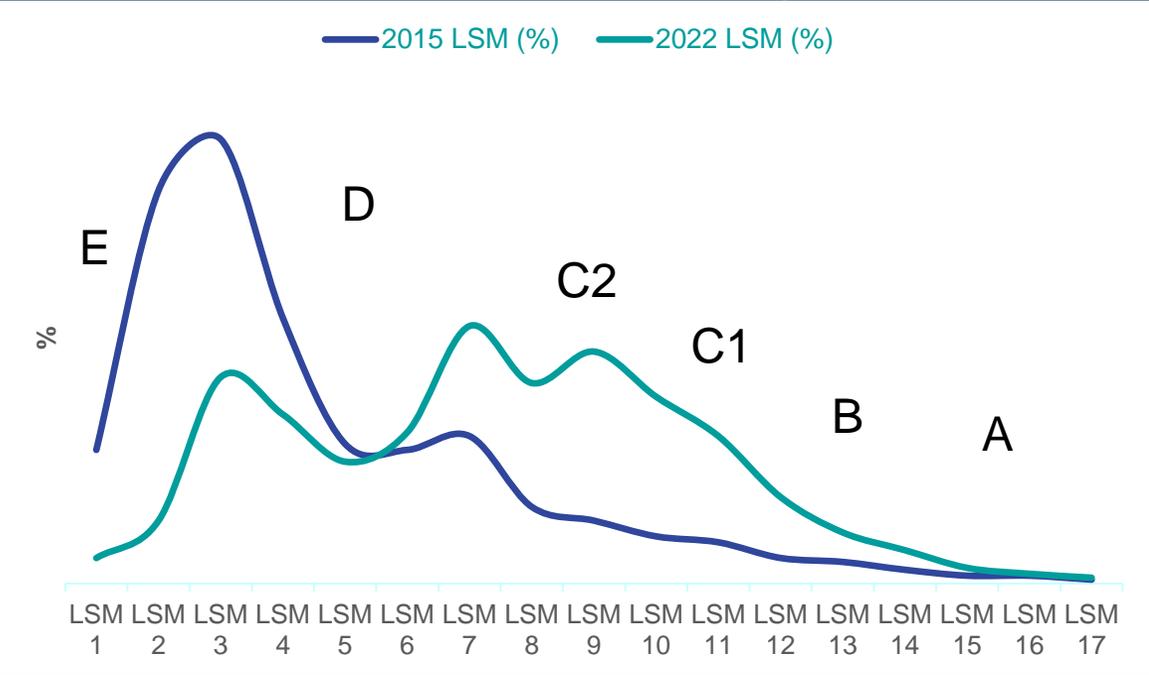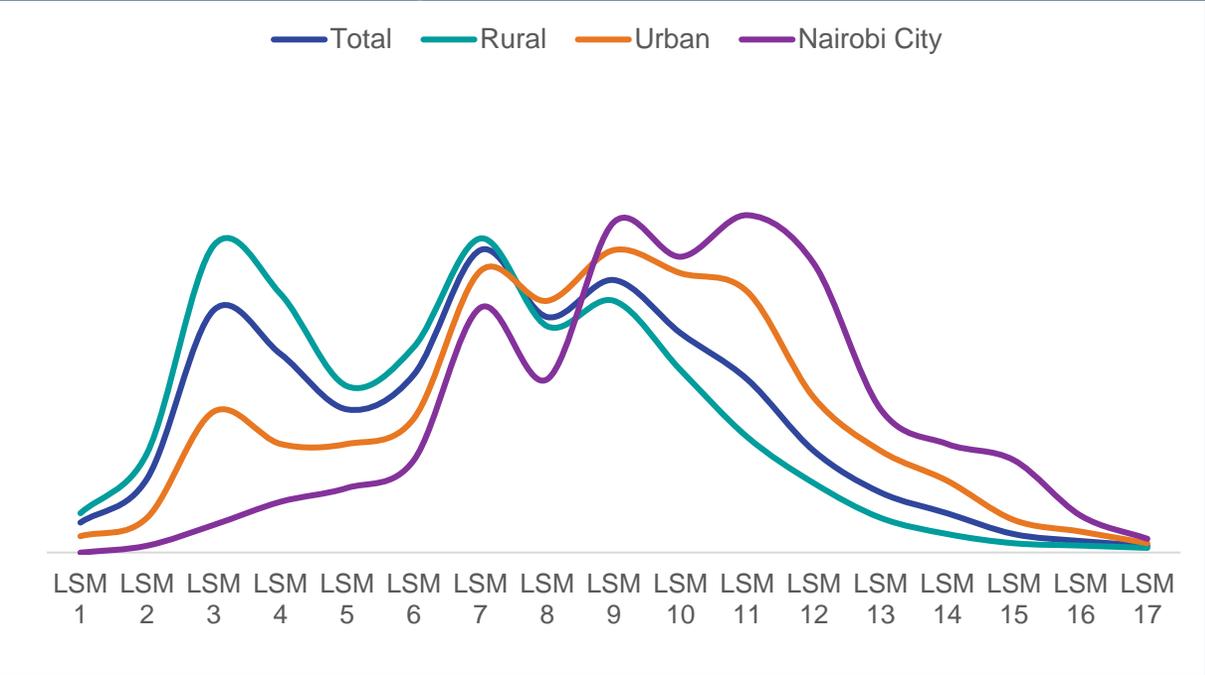
Ipsos: Based on Total Sample

VOTING INTENT

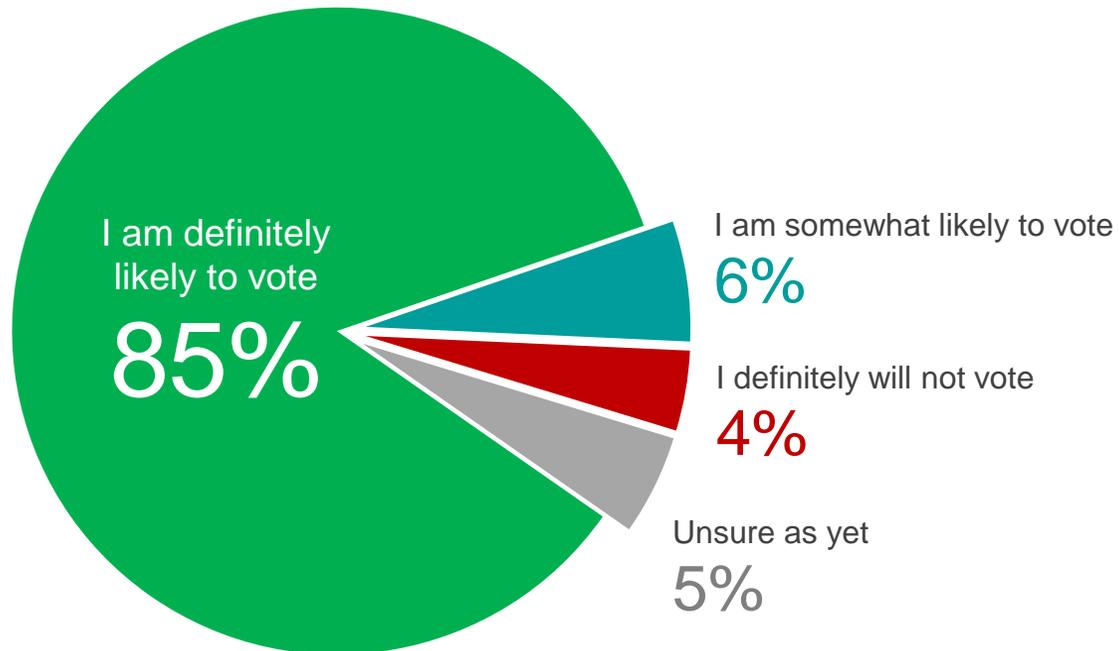## Claimed intention to vote is high at 85%, 15% remain **dispirited**. Both critical to final election outcome

How likely are you to vote on August 9th?

- I am definitely likely to vote — **85%**
- I am somewhat likely to vote — **6%**
- I definitely will not vote — **4%**
- Unsure as yet — **5%**

N = 6105

REASONS FOR NOT VOTING	N = 930
I see no value for voting	31%
No impact on my life	25%
Not interested	17%
Elections will not be free and fair	11%
Fear of insecurity / violence	9%
Relocated / moved far from my registered polling center	8%
Process has been compromised	7%
No apparent reason	7%
Winners have been predetermined	5%
I will be travelling on that day	4%
Candidate of choice not on ballot	3%
Health related issue (pregnant, incapacitated, sick, etc)	3%
Religion does not allow	1%
Restrictions from significant other	1%

KENYAN'S KNOW WHAT THEY WANT FROM THE NEXT GOVERNMENT

Q. Please tell me what are the three most important issues in Kenya that you would like the new government to address?

Issue	%
Employment	46%
Corruption prevention	29%
Education access	25%
Education quality	24%
Agricultural production	21%
Food insecurity	21%
Healthcare access	17%
Development of the country	14%
Youth empowerment	11%
Poverty reduction	10%
Insecurity	7%
Roads / infrastructure	7%
Financial /investment support to local businesses	6%
Equality (reduction of rich / poor gap)	6%
Quality healthcare	5%
Peaceful co-existance / Unity of the people of Kenya	4%
Supply of clean water	4%
Connectivity to electricity	4%
Enabling environment for trade	4%
Industrial expansion	3%
Women empowerment	3%
Human rights	3%
Responsible governance / leadership	1%
Service delivery	1%
Salaries	1%

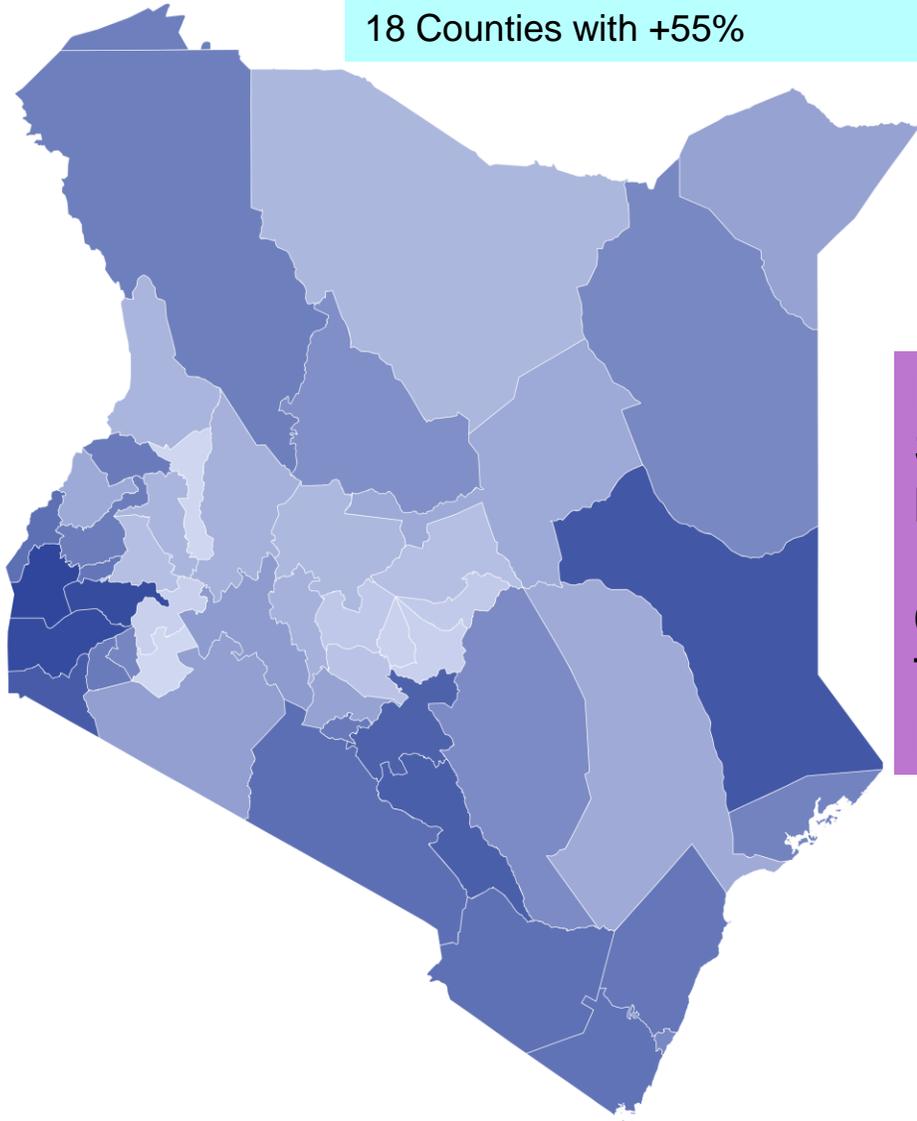**Employment, Corruption Prevention, & Education** are the three main issues that Kenyans would like the next government to address

N = 6105

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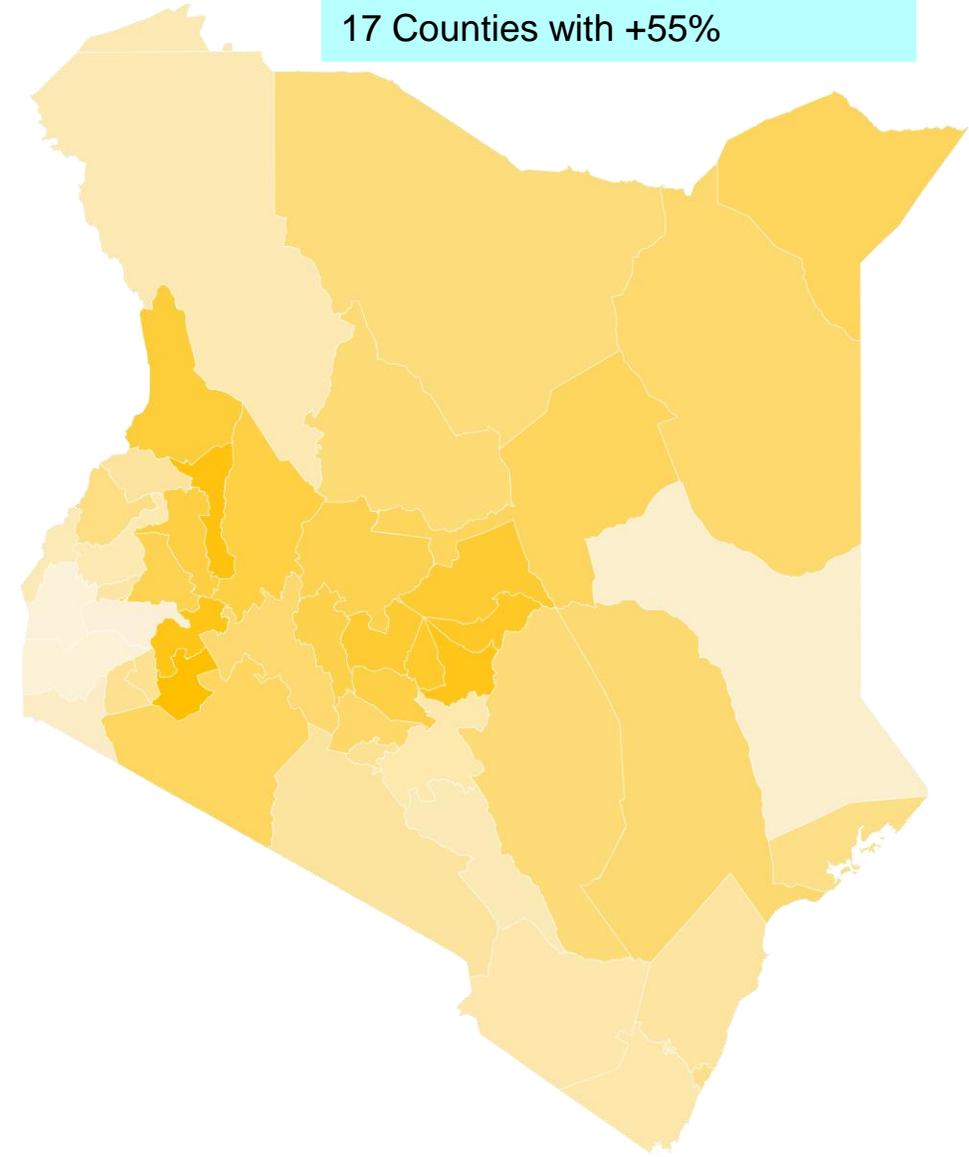
RAILA ODINGA

18 Counties with +55%

DR. WILLIAM RUTO

17 Counties with +55%

ETHNIC BLOCKS SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN BROCKEN

CAMPAIGNS MORE TOLERANT THAN PREVIOUS

Range
3.4   90.9

Range
1.3   95.8

Powered by Bing
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WINNER PERCEPTIONS

Voter perception (irrespective of individual choice) has it that Raila Odinga will take it at first round

			CANDIDATE WOULD VOTE FOR					
			David Mwaure Waihiga	George Wajackoyah	Raila Odinga	William Ruto	Don't know	Refused to answer
		Total	0.2%	2.9%	47%	41%	3.8%	5.1%
WHO WOULD LIKELY WIN	William Ruto	43.5%	36%	24%	3%	92%	35%	43%
	Raila Odinga	54.8%	45%	43%	97%	8%	62%	54%
	George Wajackoyah	1.6%	-	34%	-	-	2%	3%
	David Mwaure Waihiga	0.1%	19%	-	-	-	1%	-

N = 5841 (Those with intent to vote)

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ASSETS AND LIABILITIES

Raila Odinga

VS

Dr. William Ruto

✅ **Legacy**	⊗ **Age** Factor
✅ **Hope**	⊗ **Integrity**

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REASONS FOR CHOICE OF CANDIDATE

Dr. William Ruto has a **PLAN**, and connects better with common Mwananchi

Raila Odinga is a **DEMOCRAT, A LIBERATOR** and a **NATIONALIST**… and a level of sympathy for his many attempts

	Raila Odinga 47%	**William Ruto** 41%	**George Wajackoyah** 2.9%	**David Mwaure Waihiga** 0.2%
Clear manifesto / plan / strategy	12%	27%	44%	15%
A democrat – believes in democracy	12%	5%	3%	0%
A liberator	11%	5%	8%	12%
A nationalist leader	9%	5%	1%	0%
Development conscious	6%	6%	8%	21%
Has been around a long time /deserves a chance now	8%	2%	0%	0%
Experienced in leadership / government	5%	4%	1%	0%
Understands our needs/Connects with the common mwananchi	3%	9%	1%	0%

N = 6105

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REASONS FOR REJECTING CANDIDATE

REASONS FOR NOT VOTING	RAILA (53%)
Age of the candidate	32%
Candidate is a government project / stooge	10%
Manifesto / strategy not convincing / no clear agenda	5%
Not trusted	4%
Candidate's personality does not appeal	3%
No development record	3%

REASONS FOR NOT VOTING	RUTO (59%)
Corruption allegations	35%
Temperamental / hot tempered / hostile	7%
Disrespectful candidate / Insults others	6%
Not a safe pair of hands	5%
Hard / not viewed as a democrat	5%
Hateful / does not accommodate others	4%
Not trusted	4%

REASONS FOR NOT VOTING	Mwaure (99%)
Not known to me	47%
Inexperienced	14%
Not exposed	8%
Does not connect with the common mwananchi	5%
Manifesto / strategy not convincing / no clear agenda	4%

REASONS FOR NOT VOTING	Wajackoya (96%)
Supports illegal / unethical / unaccepted practices (such as bhang farming)	20%
Manifesto / strategy not convincing / no clear agenda	19%
Impractical manifesto / agenda	12%
Not known to me	11%

N = 6105

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WHICH PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE DO YOU FEEL HIS GOVERNMENT WILL…..

■ Raila Odinga ■ Dr. William Ruto

Statement	Raila Odinga	Dr. William Ruto
Promote gender inclusivity	54%	42%
Foster relations with our neighbouring countries	54%	44%
Foster peace and reconciliation in the country	53%	43%
Advance and support devolution	53%	43%
Enhance the image of Kenya globally	53%	43%
Defend the constitution	52%	43%
Fight corruption	52%	38%
Respect the separation of power / other arms of government	52%	43%
Enhance the growth of industry	51%	45%
Serve the interests of all ethnic groups	51%	43%
Manage the economy of the country well	51%	44%
Bring down the cost of living	50%	44%
Enhance business opportunities for Kenyans	49%	47%
Create opportunities for youth	48%	48%
Deal decisively with national debt	48%	41%
Favour certain ethnic groups over others	39%	46%

N = 6105

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PUNCHLINE

with 7 days to election day, race still has **tangible twists & turns**, final results hinged on a mix of factors …

1

Voter preference is a moving target and will stabilize very close to the actual voting day. If all factors hold constant, this election will be decided by two factors:

- **Voter turnout** – which this poll predicts at 85%
- **Undeclared voters** (undecided 4% + those who would not disclose 5%) or approximately two million votes

2

At the time of this poll, **no presidential candidate met the 50% +1 threshold**. However, Raila Odinga has a comfortable lead (47%) against Dr. William Ruto (41%), a six-point gap.

Raila Odinga is poised to win based on how he impresses undecided voters in Western, Coast and Central (Nyandarua*) *this could potentially change based on voter turnout*

3

Should Raila Odinga convert half of the undecided voters, He will win this election first round

If Dr. William Ruto converts all (100%) of the undecided voters, he will force a re-run

The effect of George Wajackoya (2.9%) and Waihiga Mwaure (0.2%) remains insignificant

4

The two leading candidates are clearly differentiated in their assets & shortcomings – Raila Odinga brings LEGACY (past struggle for better governance, involvement in leadership). His perceived advanced age is his main weak point. Dr William Ruto's main asset is projecting HOPE for future through his manifesto but perceived stained integrity is his major headwind

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