Ipsos Public Affairs

SPEC Barometer

Pre-Election Survey

PREPARED BY: IPSOS PREPARED FOR: GENERAL MEDIA RELEASE **RELEASE DATE: 1 AUGUST 2017**

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THE PUBLICATION OF ELECTORAL OPINION POLLS ACT (2012):

ALL ELECTION-RELATED SURVEY RESULTS RELEASED WITHIN 12 MONTHS OF A GENERAL ELECTION MUST COMPLY WITH THE PROVISIONS OF *THE PUBLICATION OF ELECTORAL OPINION POLLS ACT* (2012).

IPSOS HAS COMPLIED WITH THIS ACT BY INCLUDING ALL REQUIRED INFORMATION, MAINLY IN THE INFORMATION ON METHODOLOGY. MEDIA HOUSES ARE URGED TO REFER TO THE ACT TO ENSURE SIMILAR COMPLIANCE.



Sampling and Data Weighting

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Fieldwork for this survey was conducted during 22-30 July. It being Ipsos' final 2017 pre-election survey, it is important to make the methods by which the data were obtained and the results calculated and analyzed as clear as possible. These include especially the following:

- 1) The spatial-geographic allocation of the total sample was based on the most recent voter registration data provided by the IEBC.
- 2) Following random household selection within the determined Sampling Points, any household member above 17 years of age who was encountered was asked to provide the (first) names of all household members know to be registered voters.
- 3) The process of random respondent-selection was then employed based on those adult household members identified as being registered voters (with only one member per household being eligible for interviews).



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5) At the start of the interview, the selected household member was asked to confirm that s/he is in fact a registered voter. It not, the interview was terminated.

6) Those with whom the interview continued were then asked to provide the name of their Polling Station. If they could/would not, the interview was similarly terminated.

7) Those with whom the interview continued further were (later) asked "how certain" were they that they would actually vote on August 8. Results presented below both (separately) include and exclude them (since they might change their mind after the interview).

8) After commencing the interview, all respondents were shown how the Smart-Phones used for data capture and transmission operate, also giving them the opportunity to answer the question about their gender, in order that he understand how these devices work. Then, later on, when the question about thei intended presidential vote, they were invited to enter their response confidentially, so that the interviewer would not know who their preferred candidate is. (About two-thirds of all respondents did so, with the rest asking the interviewer to do this for them.) Ipsos believes that this opportunity for such confidentiality increases the proportion of 'true' responses obtained.

9) Presidential vote-preferences are presented using the following parameters:

- a) For all respondents
- b) For all respondents without those who stated they were undecided or who would not reveal their preferences
- c) For all respondents without those who stated they were undecided or who would not reveal their preferences weighted according to the basic demographic parameters provided by IEBC, specifically:
 - Male/Female ratio
 - Age
 - Education

c) For those who revealed their preferences weighted according to official voter turnout in the 2013 election (a 4 percent advantage for Jubilee)

d) For those who revealed their preferences weighted according to possible voter turnout that reversed the 2013 Jubilee advantage in favor of NASA (i.e., a 4 percent turnout advantage)



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As indicated, the margin-of-error for each of these sets of results is +/-1.49%, based on the total sample size of 4,308. Due to this (modest) sample size, county results are presented only for Nairobi (together with other regions), for which the sample was 495. This yields a margin-of-error of +/-4.4%, meaning that if voter turnout were 100 percent, or if all those who are registered in Nairobi but did not vote are evenly divided between Jubilee and NASA supporters/potential voters, the survey's results could be within an 8 percent range: up to 4% greater or 4% lower than the actual, official results (or would fall within this range once-in-twenty times – a 95% confidence level – if the survey employing the identical methodology were repeated that many times.

In offering the above scenarios, Ipsos wishes to make clear that since turnout variations across the country cannot be predicted, there is no 'correct' turnout scenario. Nor could Ipsos possibly take into account any anomalies or technical failures in the administration of the electoral process. Assuming none of the latter occur, Ipsos will then be in a position to provide a post-election analysis of the results of this survey, weighting the data in terms of the actual/official voter turnout figures.



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Also note that for the distribution of the presidential vote by region, results have been presented by both the eight (former) provinces, and by these same units but with Eastern divided in "Upper" and "Lower", and Rift Valley divided into "Central" and "Pastoralists', as follows:

- Upper Eastern: Marsabit, Isiolo, Samburu, Tharaka-Nithi, Meru and Embu
- Lower Eastern: Machakos, Makueni, Kitui

Central Rift: Baringo, Elgeyo-Marakwet, Uasin Gishu, Nandi, Trans-Nzoia, West Pokot, Bomet, Nakuru, Kericho, Laikipia

Pastoralists: Turkana, Narok, Kajiado



Cautionary Point: Recent Events



Fieldwork for this survey was conducted between 3-12 July, 2017. During and after that time several developments occurred whose (full) impact may not be reflected in some of the results reported in this survey. Among them are:

- President Kenyatta fails to appear at debate with Raila Odinga (24 July)
- NASA leaders claim Jubilee plans to use the military to rig the election, together with ballot-stuffing using secretly printed presidential ballots (28 July)
- IEBC announces that only one agent per party will be allowed in polling stations (24 July)
- Cleaning of voters' Register (Early July)



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Cautionary Point

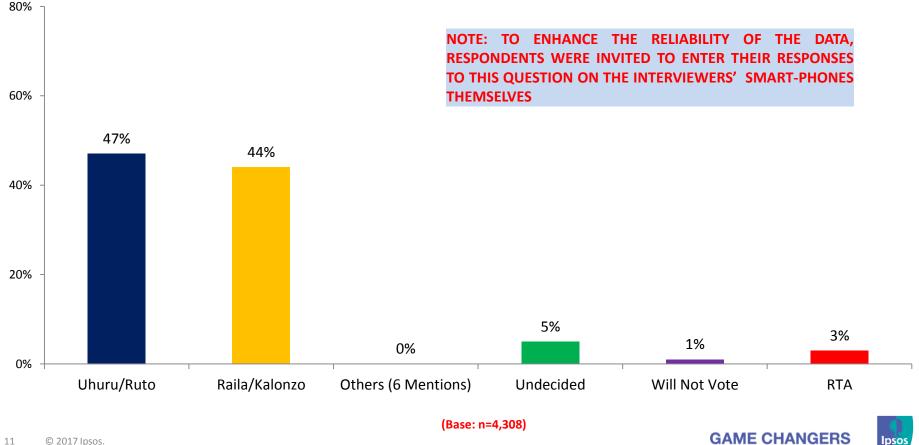


Recent Events Not (Fully) Captured (con't): Ipsos Public Affairs

- IEBC announces that it will not provide in-progress presidential vote totals as constituency results are announced, but only the final total, since constituency results will be in the public domain (26 July)
- Uhuru rebukes Raila for accusing the Military of being used for pro-Jubilee electoral purposes on the basis that if the latter wins, he would expect this same Military to serve him as Commander-in-Chief (26-28 July)
- Body of IEBC ICT Chief Chris Musando found murdered along with that of an unknown woman, and his body identified two days later, the day he was to lead a demonstration of the IEBC's election technology (29, 31 July)



"If elections were held today, whom would you vote for as president and deputy-president?" (Single Response, Unprompted): by Total



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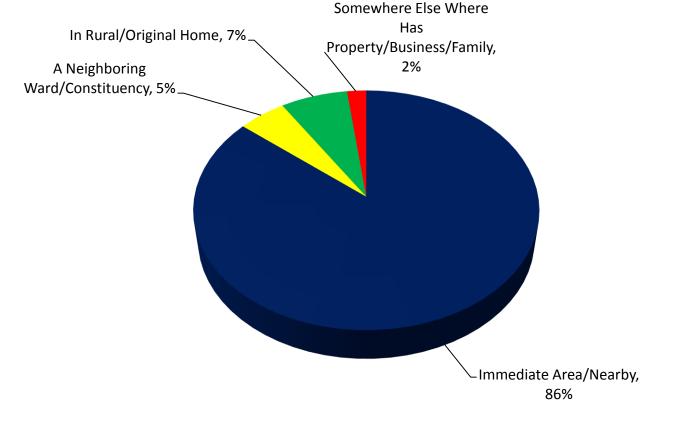
VOTERS' EFFORTS TO DETERMINE REGISTRATION STATUS AND DECLARED CERTAINTY OF VOTING

GAME CHANGERS



"Where are you registered to vote? Here or somewhere else?": by Total

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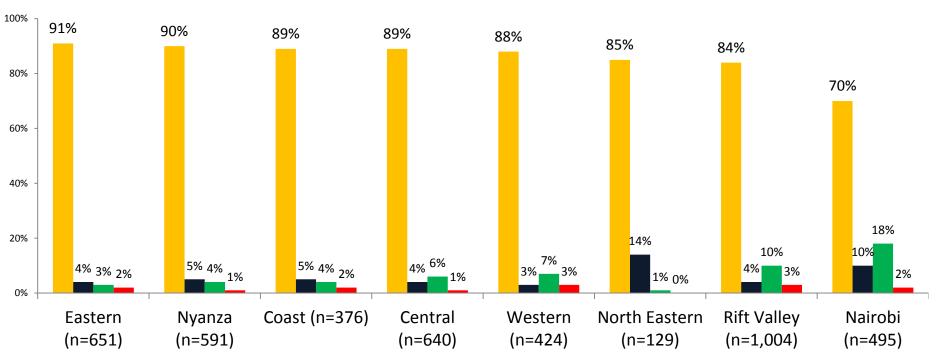




"Where are you registered to vote? Here or somewhere else?": by Region

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Immediate Area/Nearby



A Neighboring Ward/Constituency

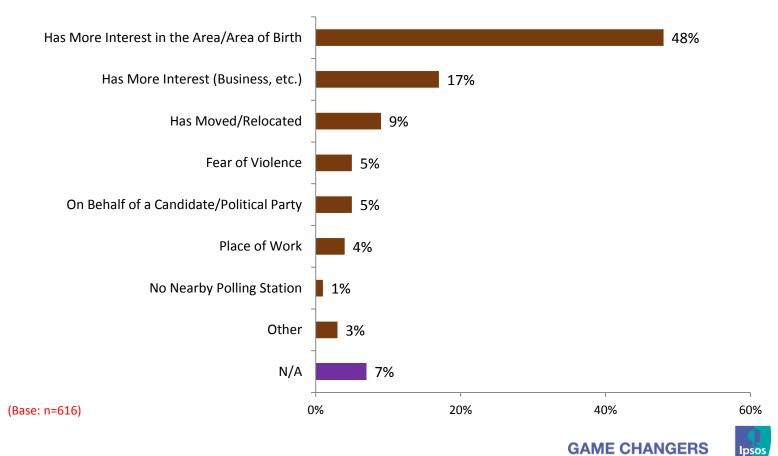
Somewhere Else Where Has Property/Business/Family

In Rural/Original Home

GAME CHANGERS

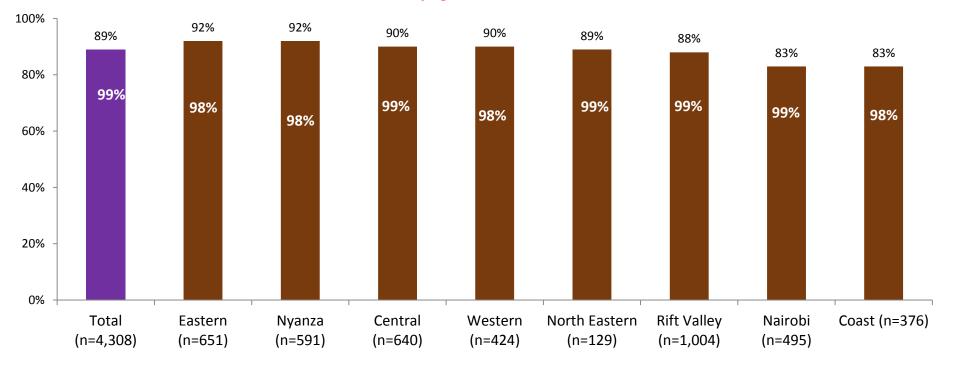


"Why did you not register here where you are living?": by Total (Among the 14% Who Did Not Register Where They Are Living)



"After you registered, did you ever go back to your polling station to confirm your name is recorded?" And when you did, did you confirm your name was there?": *by Total, Region*

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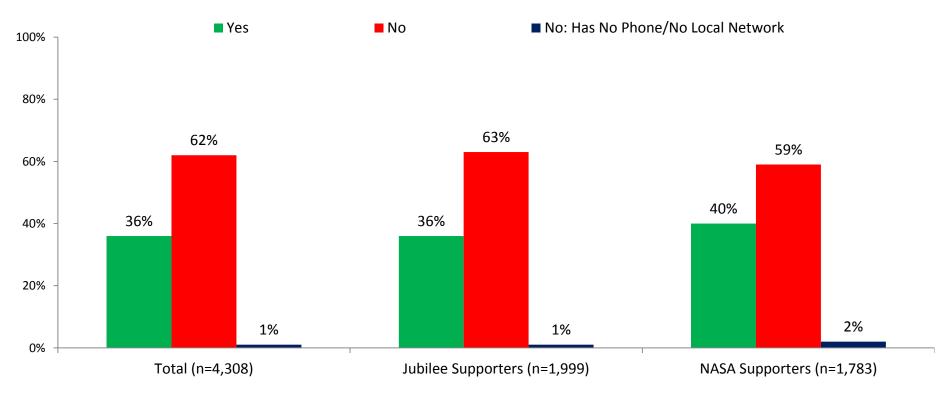


% Saying "Yes"



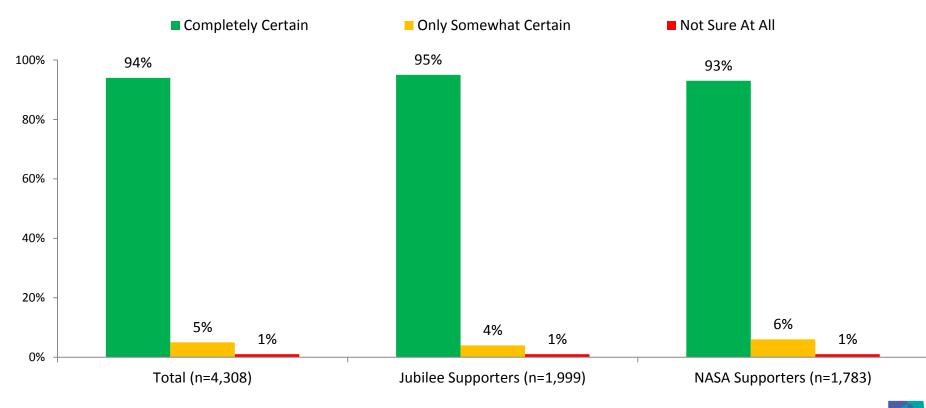
"Have you tried to confirm that your name is in the IEBC Voters' Register by sending an SMS with your ID to their phone number?: by Total, Supporters of the Main Political Parties/Coalitions

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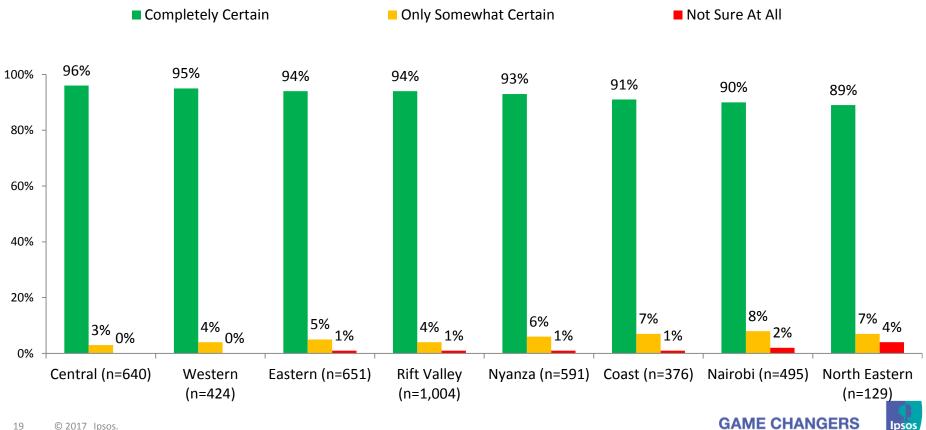
"As of now, how certain are you that you will find your name in the Register when you go and vote on election day? Are you....?": by Total, Supporters of the Main Political Parties/Coalitions





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"As of now, how certain are you that you will find your name in the **Ipsos Public Affairs** Register when you go and vote on election day? Are you....?": by Region



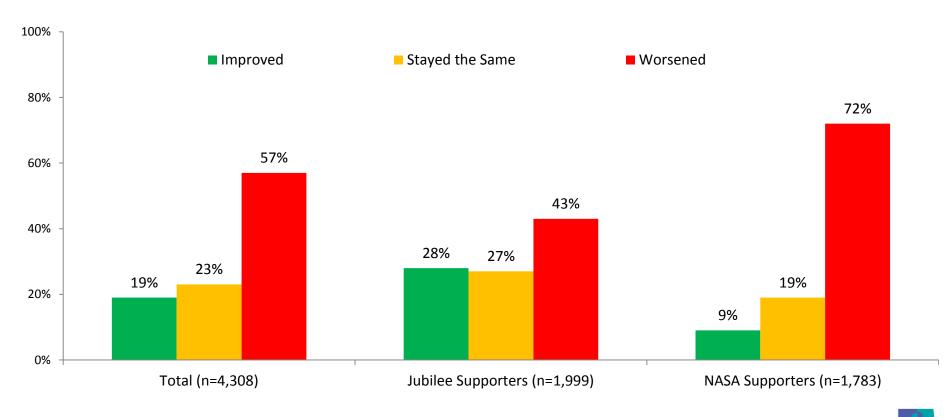








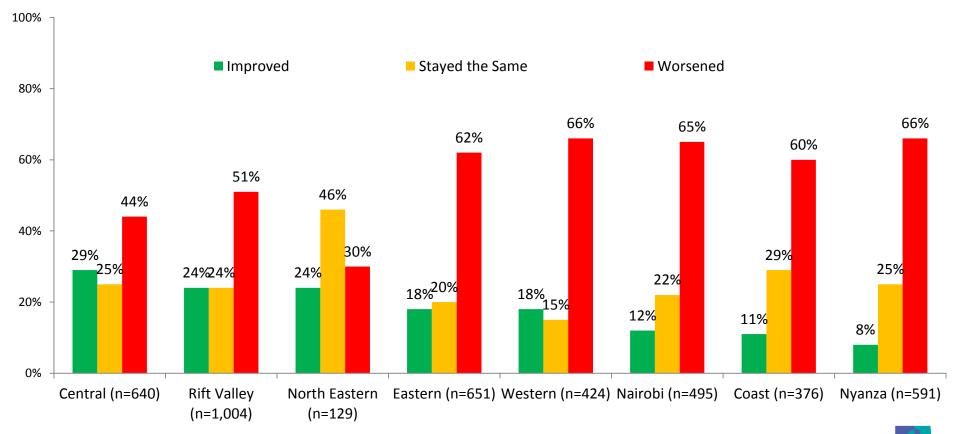
"During the last three months, have the general economic conditions **Ipsos Public Affairs** for you and your family...?": by Total, Supporters of the Main Political Parties/Coalitions



GAME CHANGERS

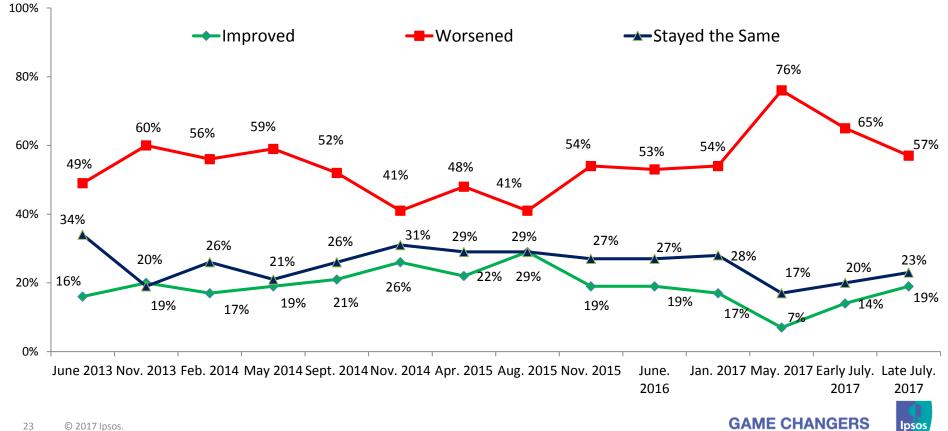
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"During the last three months, have the general economic conditions for you and your family...?": by Region

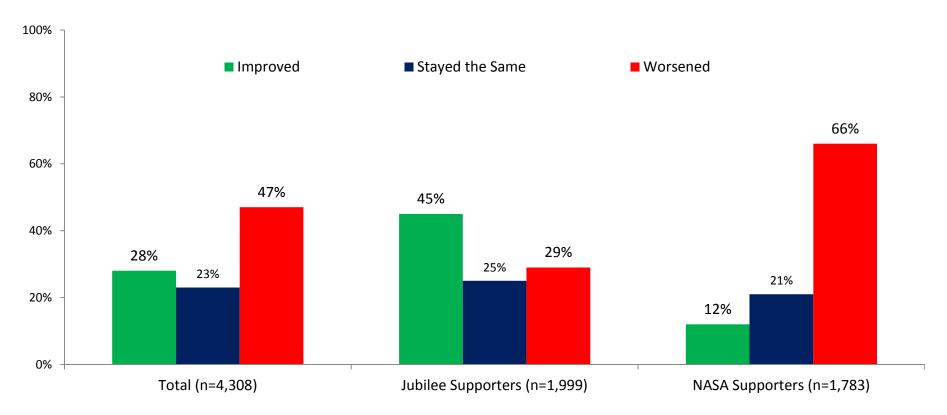




Change in Household Economic Conditions Over the Last 3 Months **Ipsos Public Affairs** - Trend Analysis: June 2013 - Late July 2017

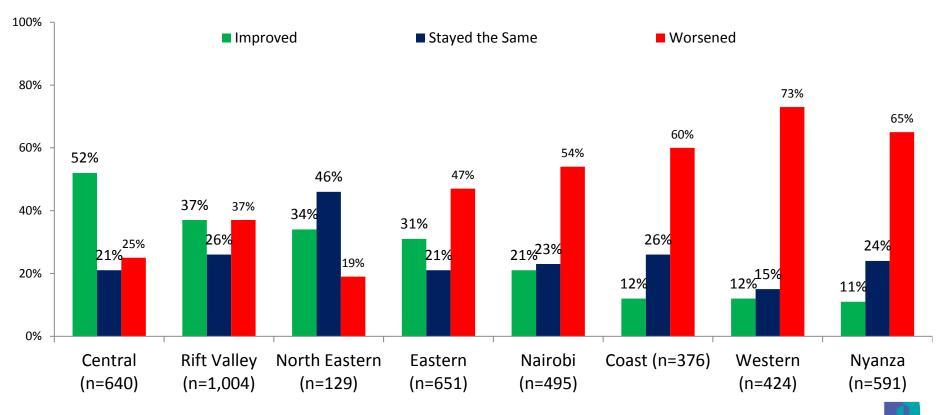


"Since the last election in 2013, have the general economic conditions Ipsos Public Affairs for you and your family...?": by Total, Supporters of the Main Political Parties/Coalitions



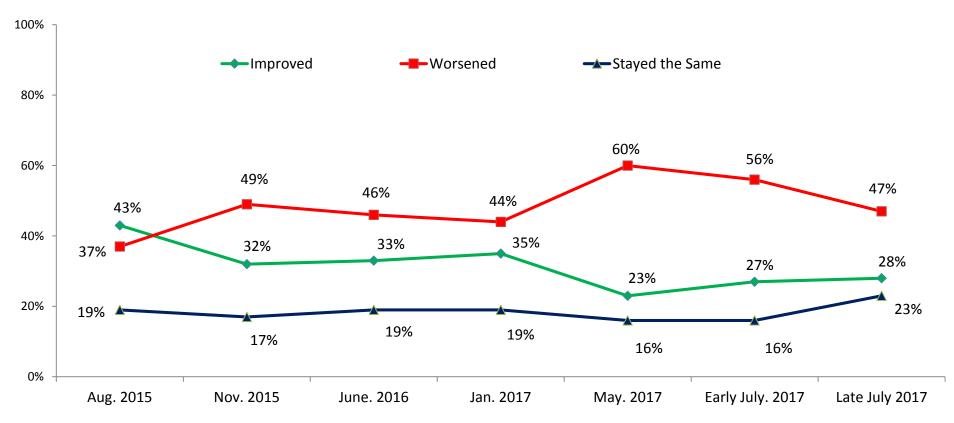


"Since the last election in 2013, have the general economic conditions Ipsos Public Affairs for you and your family...?": by Region

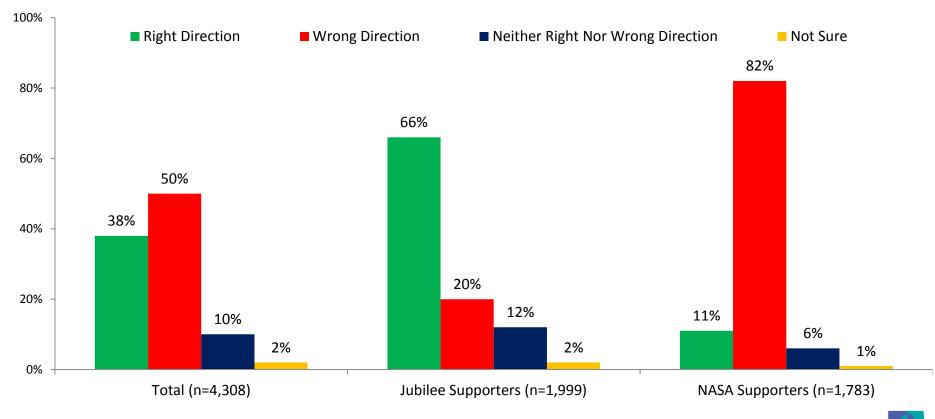


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""Since the last election in 2013, have the general economic conditions for you and your family...?": Trend Analysis: Aug. 2015 – Late July 2017

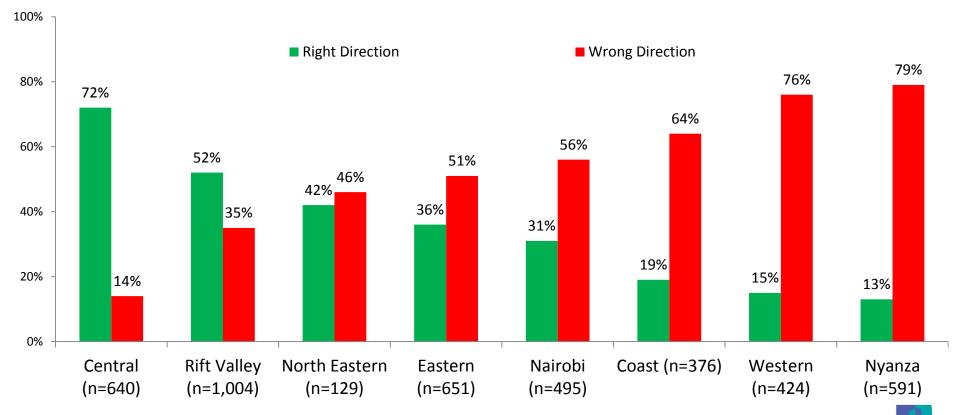


"In your opinion, are things in Kenya generally going in the right or the **Ipsos Public Affairs** wrong direction?": by Total, Supporters of the Main Political Parties/Coalitions

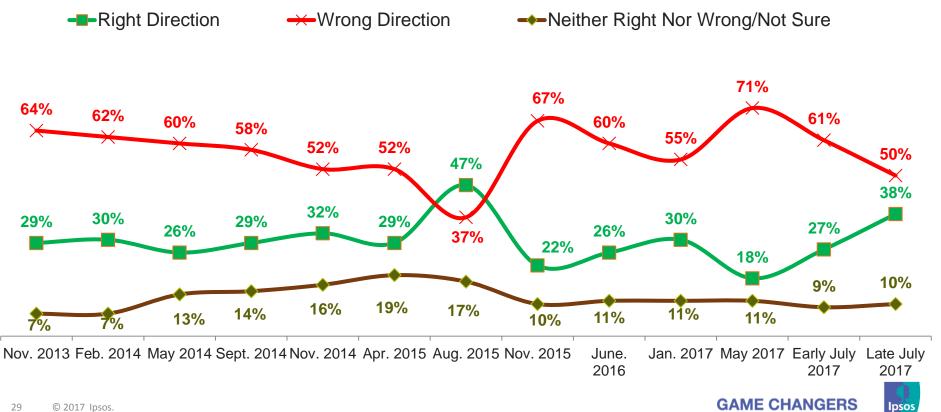




"In your opinion, are things in Kenya generally going in the right or the wrong direction?" (Not shown: "Neither Right Nor Wrong", "Not Sure"): Ipsos Public Affairs by Region



Ipsos Public Affairs "On the whole, thinking about Kenya today, are things generally going in the right or wrong direction?" – Trend Analysis (Nov. 2013 – Late July 2017)





SECURITY AND ELECTION INTEGRITY ISSUES



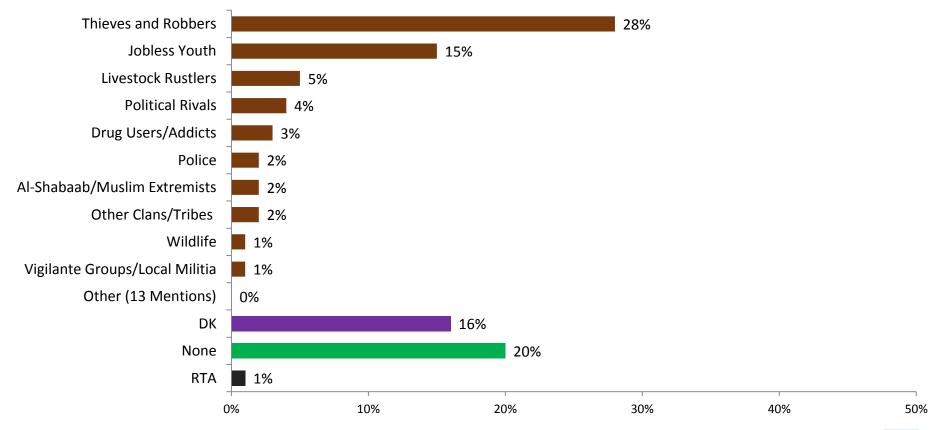


"What would you say is the main threat to security in this area?": (Single Response, Unprompted) by Total

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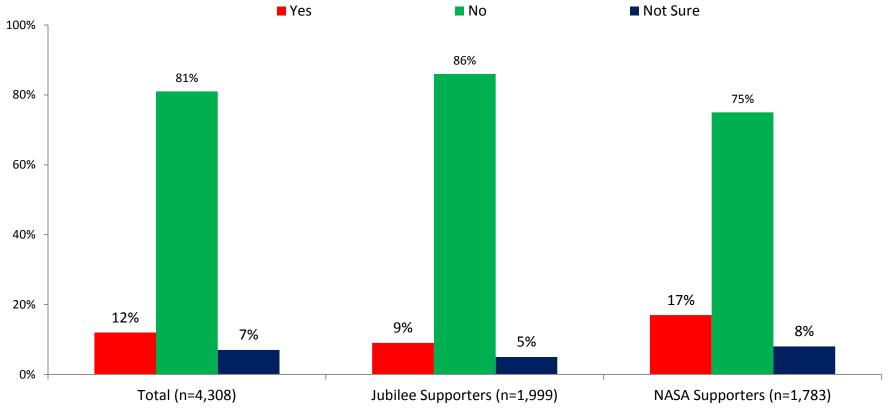
"What would you say is the main threat to security in this area?": by Region

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Main Security Threat	Central (n=640)	Coast (n=376)	Eastern (n=651)	Nairobi (n=495)	North Eastern (n=129)	Nyanza (n=591)	Rift Valley (n=1,004)	Western (n=424)
Thieves and Robbers	25%	18%	34%	34%	7%	39%	18%	40%
Jobless Youth	10%	17%	7%	28%	10%	22%	13%	15%
Political Rivals	1%	4%	2%	2%	17%	4%	6%	5%
Livestock Rustlers	2%	2%	7%	0%	12%	9%	7%	1%
Al-Shabaab/Muslim Extremists	0%	7%	1%	1%	22%	0%	0%	0%
Drug Users/Addicts	3%	12%	1%	2%	0%	3%	1%	2%
Other Clans/Tribes	0%	0%	2%	2%	5%	0%	5%	1%
Police	1%	1%	1%	3%	1%	2%	1%	3%
Vigilante Groups/Local Militia	1%	2%	0%	3%	1%	1%	1%	2%
DK	16%	25%	8%	14%	9%	15%	16%	24%
None	39%	7%	33%	6%	15%	2%	28%	3%



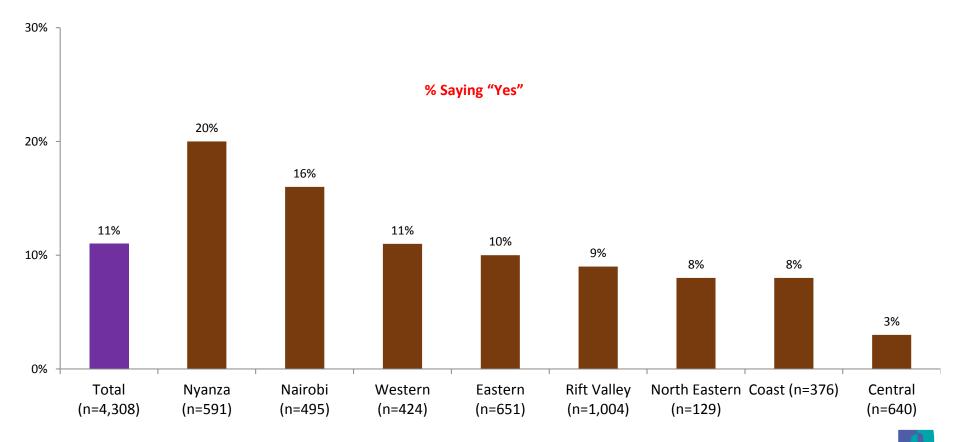
"So far, has there been any election-related violence in this area?": by Total, Region





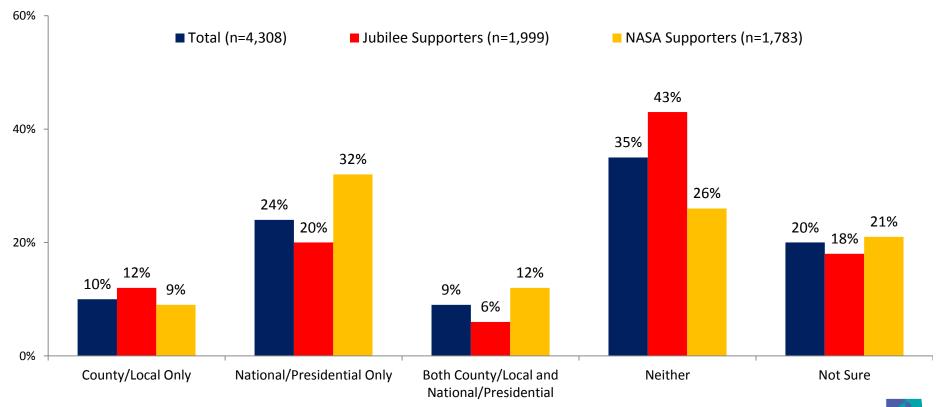


"So far, has there been any election-related violence in this area?": by Total, Region





"Do you believe there is likely to be any violence in this area in connection with contests for either the county and local or the national/ presidential election?": by Total, Supporters of the Main Political Parties/Coalitions





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"Do you believe there is likely to be any violence in this area in connection with contests for either the county and local or the national/ presidential election?": *by Region*

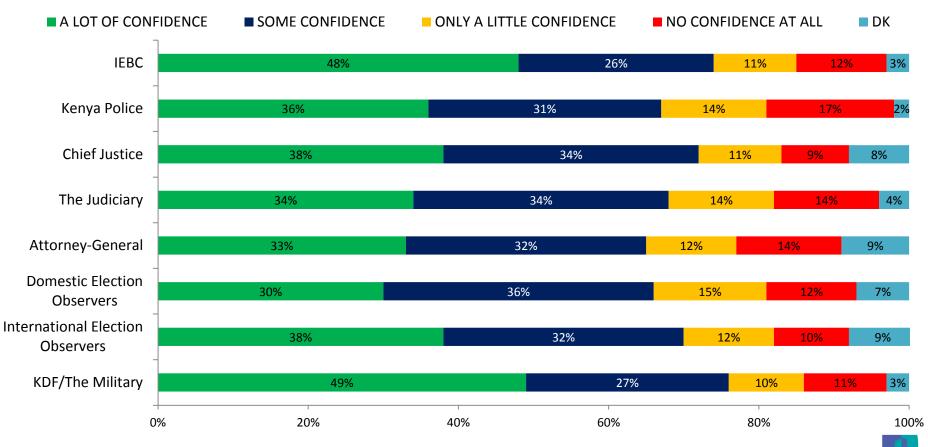
Scope/Loci of Violence	Central (n=640)	Coast (n=376)	Eastern (n=651)	Nairobi (n=495)	North Eastern (n=129)	Nyanza (n=591)	Rift Valley (n=1,004)	Western (n=424)
	220/	4.40/	200/	20%	270/	200/	201/	20%
National/Presidential Only	23%	14%	20%	38%	27%	30%	20%	29%
County/Local Only	9%	8%	13%	8%	8%	11%	14%	6%
Path County/Local and								
Both County/Local and National/Presidential	5%	8%	5%	8%	16%	17%	6%	15%
Neither	55%	45%	50%	35%	16%	14%	32%	14%
Not Sure/NR	8%	25%	13%	10%	33%	29%	28%	36%



GAME CHANGERS

"How much confidence do you have in...? Do you have...?": by Total

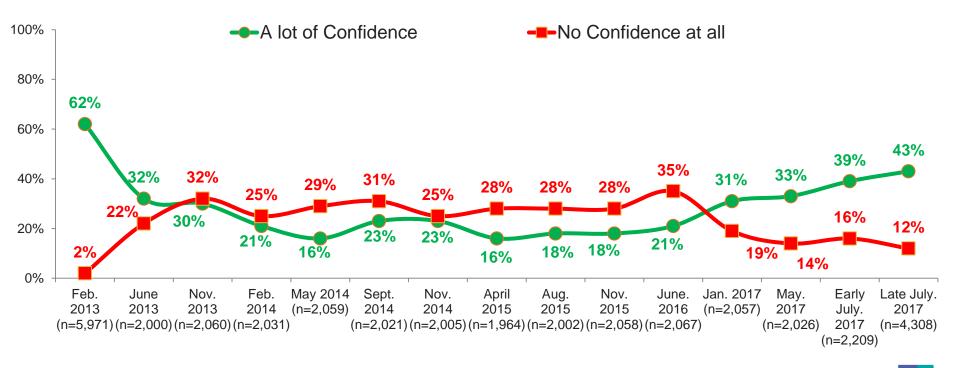
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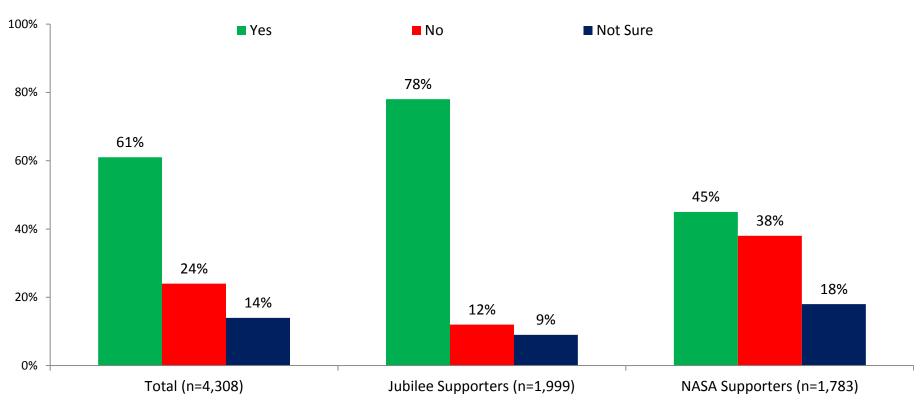
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"Please tell me how much confidence you have in the IEBC...?" Ipsos Public Affairs (Trend Analysis – Feb. 2013 – July 2017 (Results for "Some Confidence" and "Only a Little Confidence" Not Shown)



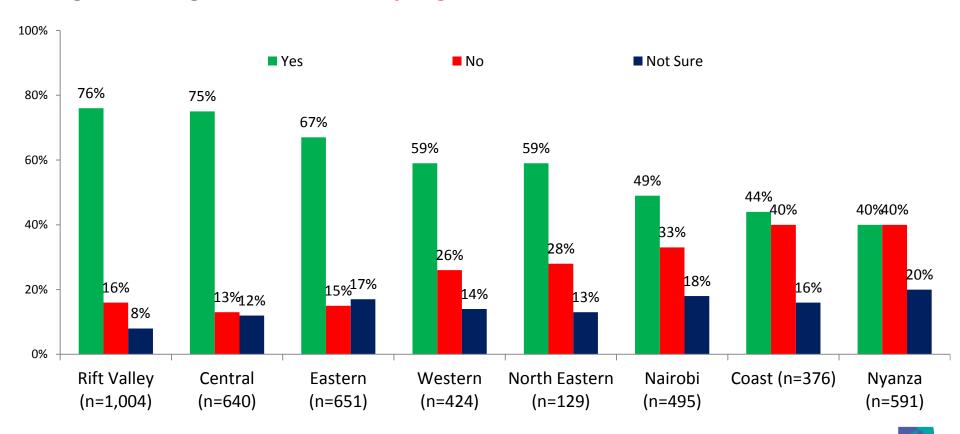


"Do you think voters will have enough confidence in the IEBC to manage the next general election?": by Total, Supporters of the Main Political Parties/Coalitions

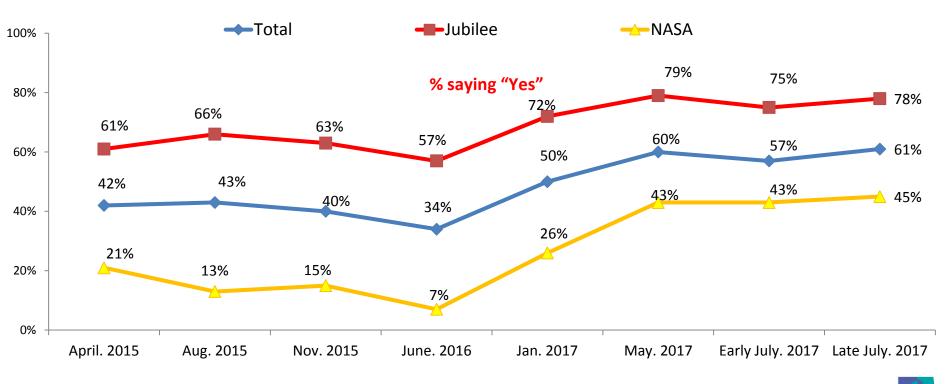




"Do you think voters will have enough confidence in the IEBC to manage the next general election?": *by Region*

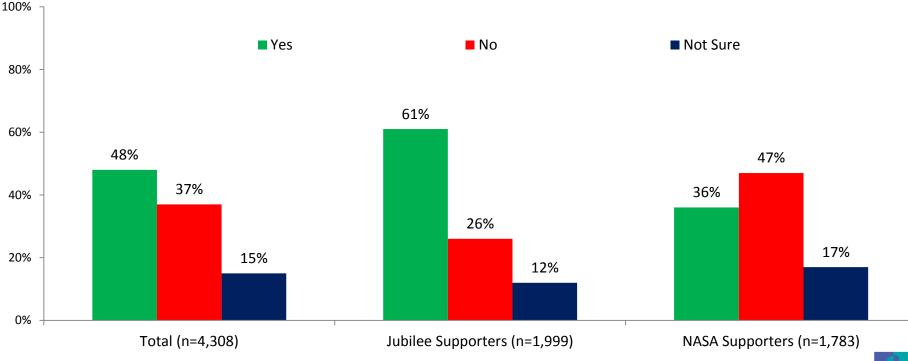


"Do you think voters will have enough confidence in the IEBC to manage the next general election?": *by Total, Main Political Party/ Coalition Alignment* – Trend Analysis: April 2015 – Late July 2017



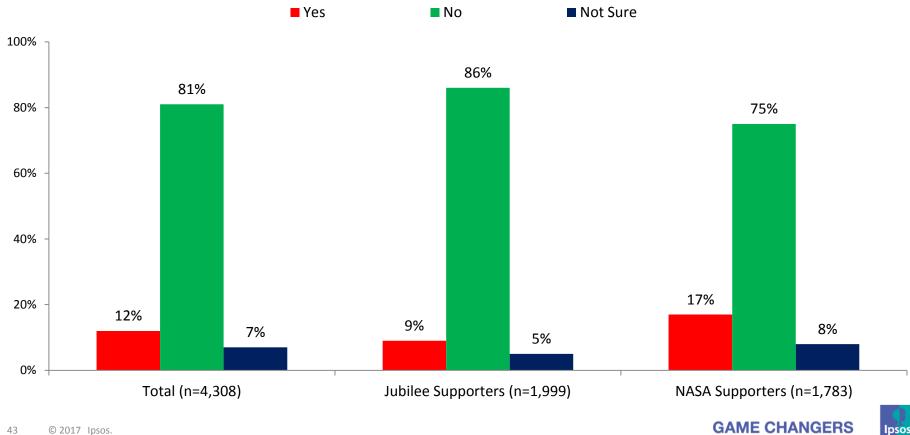


"Do you have confidence that if any presidential election petition is taken to the Supreme Court after the next election the case will be decided fairly without any political or financial interference?": by Total, Main Political Party/Coalition Alignment





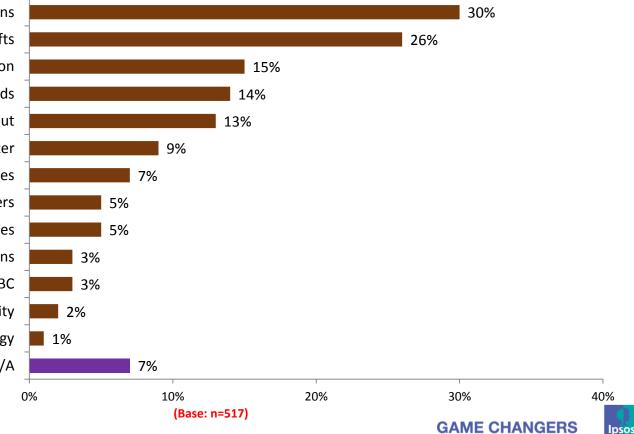
"Up to now, are you aware of anything in this area that might make the Ipsos Public Affairs coming election less than completely free and fair?": by Total



"What were these violations of 'free and fair' practice that you have witnessed so far?" (By The 13% Who Have Witnessed Any)

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Rigged Party nominations Vote-Buying/Distribution of Gifts **Discrimination During Voter Registration Buying of ID Cards** Threats/intimidation to Discouarge Turnout Names of Deceased in Register Incumbents' Use of State/Public resources **Removal/Destruction of Campaign Posters** Planting/Insertion of 'Fake' Candidates Ethnic Tensions Lack of Transparency in IEBC Harrasment by Security Officers/Insecurity Malfunction of IEBC Technology N/A



POLITICAL PARTY/ COALITION ALIGNMENT

GAME CHANGERS



50% 45% 41% 40% 30% 20% 10% 6% 4% 2% 1% 1% 0%

Other (11

Mentions)

Undecided

"Which political party/coalition do you feel closest to, if any?": by Total Ipsos Public Affairs

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Jubilee

NASA

(Base = 4,308)

KANU

GAME CHANGERS

RTA

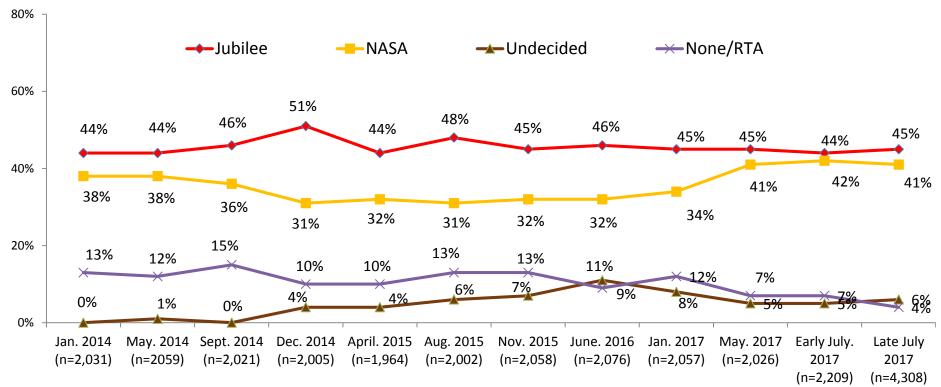
None



"What is the main reason you feel close to this political party/coalition?": by Supporters of the Main Political Parties/Coalitions (Among The 95% Who Say They Support Any) (Single Response, Unprompted)

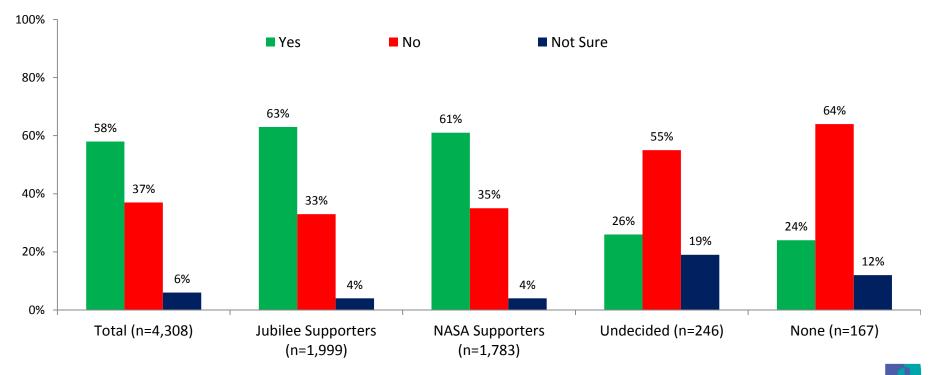
Main Reason	Total (n=4,076)	Jubilee Supporters (n=1,997)	NASA Supporters (n=1,781)	% Difference
The Economy/Development	49%	65%	37%	-28%
Vanifesto Policies (General)	10%	5%	17%	+12%
Devolution	5%	3%	7%	-4%
Peace/Ethnic Harmony	4%	6%	2%	-4%
Oynamic leadership	4%	3%	7%	+4%
quity/Reducing the Rich-Poor Gap	3%	2%	4%	+2%
thnic Inclusion/National Unity	3%	1%	5%	+4%
ducation	3%	4%	1%	-3%
Desire Change (Unspecified)	3%	1%	5%	+4%
Accountability/Ending Impunity	2%	1%	3%	+2%
ocal Social Conformity	2%	1%	3%	+2%
lew Constitution (Unspecified)	1%	1%	1%	0%
ecurity (Terrorism/Crime)	1%	1%	1%	0%
Group Funds (Youth, Women, Disabled, etc.)	1%	1%	0%	-1%
Ainority Rights	1%	0%	1%	+1%
thnic/Regional Affinity	1%	1%	2%	+1%
Other (6 Mentions)	0%	1%	0%	-1%
lo Specific Reason	7%	3%	2%	-1%
I/A	1%	1%	1%	0%

"Which political party/coalition do you feel closest to if any?": by Total (%s Shown Only for Jubilee, NASA, Undecided, "None" + RTA) – Trend Analysis: Jan. 2014 – Late July 2017



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"Whether or not you support any particular political party or coalition, do you think there is any political party in Kenya that genuinely represents the interests of ordinary Kenyans?": by Total, Supporters of the Main Political Parties/Coalitions /Undecided/None





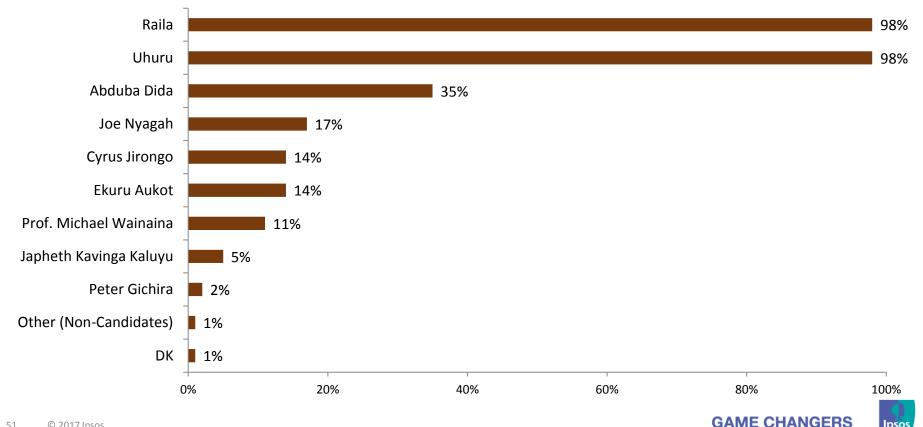
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AWARENESS OF/ VOTING INTENTIONS FOR PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

GAME CHANGERS

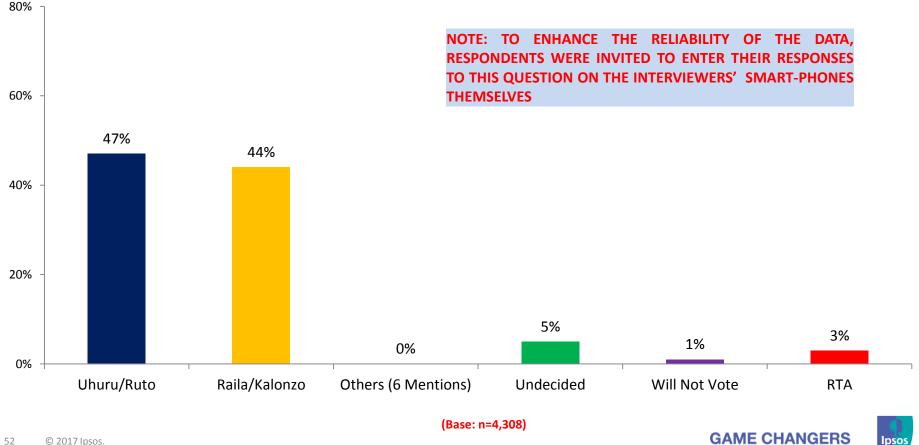


"As far as you know, which individuals have announced their interest in **Ipsos Public Affairs** contesting the forthcoming presidential election?" (Multiple Response, Unprompted): by Total



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"If elections were held today, whom would you vote for as president and deputy-president?" (Single Response, Unprompted): by Total



"If elections were held today, whom would you vote for as president and deputy-president?" (Single Response, Unprompted): *by Region*

Candidates	Central (n=640)	Coast (n=376)	Eastern (n=651)	Nairobi (n=495)	North Eastern (n=129)	Nyanza (n=591)	Rift Valley (n=1,004)	Western (n=424)
Uhuru/Ruto	88%	26%	50%	34%	40%	13%	65%	16%
Raila/Kalonzo	5%	61%	40%	56%	54%	80%	25%	64%
Ekuru Aukot	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%
Abduba Dida	0%	1%	0%	1%	1%	0%	0%	0%
Prof. Michael Wainaina	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Joe Nyagah	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Japheth Kavinga Kaluyu	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Undecided	2%	8%	4%	5%	1%	6%	6%	14%
Will Not Vote	1%	1%	0%	1%	1%	0%	1%	0%
RTA	3%	4%	5%	4%	3%	1%	3%	6%

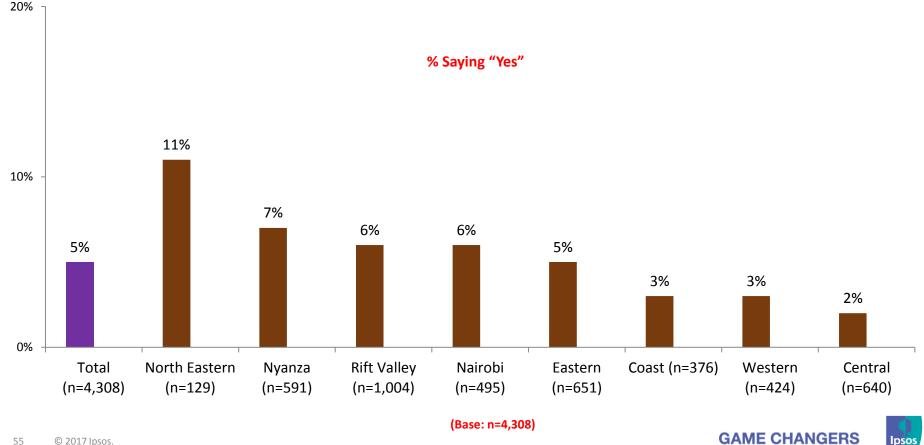


"If elections were held today, whom would you vote for as president and deputy-president?" (Single Response, Unprompted): by Region

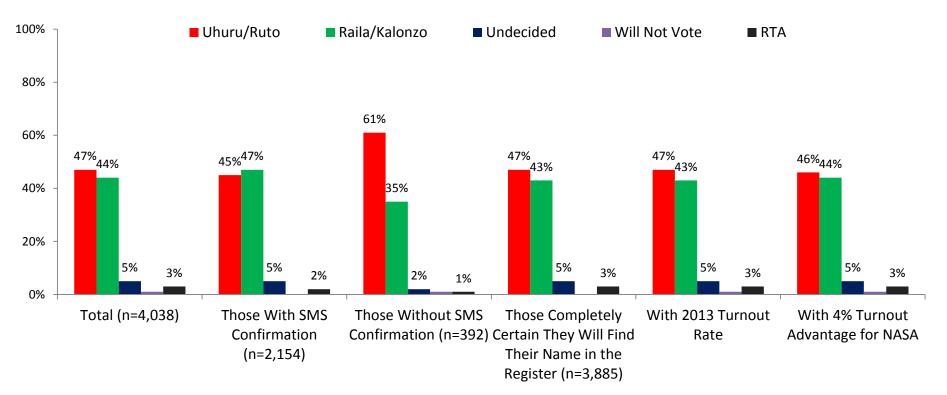
Candidates	Total (n=4,308)	Central (n=640)	Coast (n=376)	Nairobi (n=495)	North Eastern (n=129)	Nyanza (n=591)	Western (n=424)	Lower Eastern (n=317)	Upper Eastern (n=317)	Central Rift (n=796)	Pastoralists Rift (n=208)
Uhuru/Ruto	47%	89%	26%	34%	40%	13%	16%	18%	84%	72%	40%
Raila/Kalonzo	44%	5%	62%	56%	54%	80%	64%	67%	12%	19%	50%
Other (6											
Mentions)	0%	0%	1%	1%	1%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Undecided	5%	2%	6%	4%	1%	6%	14%	6%	2%	5%	5%
Will Not Vote	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	0%	0%	1%	0%	1%	1%
RTA	3%	3%	4%	4%	3%	1%	6%	8%	1%	2%	4%



"Over the last 2 months, since after NASA announced their candidate, **Ipsos Public Affairs** have you changed your choice of presidential candidate?": by Total, Region



Presidential Vote Choice: by Total, Those Who Did/Did Not Confirm with SMS, Those Certain Their Names Are in Register. Voter Turnout in 2013, Reverse Turnout of 4% for NASA

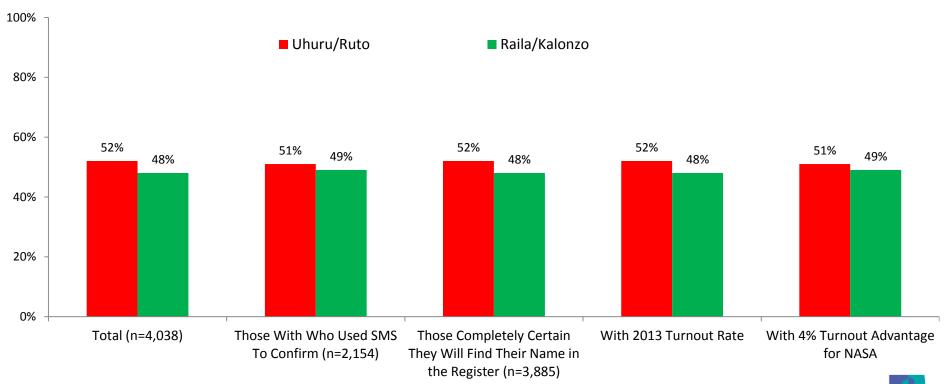


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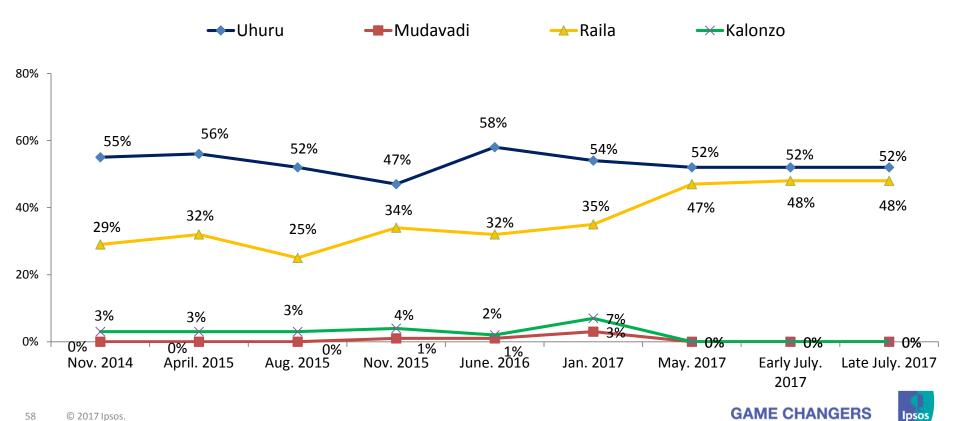
Presidential Vote Choice: by Total, Those Who Did/Did Not Confirm with SMS, Those Certain Their Names Are in Register. Voter Turnout in 2013, Reverse Turnout of 4% for NASA (Uhuru and Raila Only): (Calculated Without "Undecided", "Will Not Vote", RTA)





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Presidential Candidate Preferences: by Total Without "Undecided"/ "Will Not Vote"/RTA - Time Series: Nov. 2014 – Late July 2017



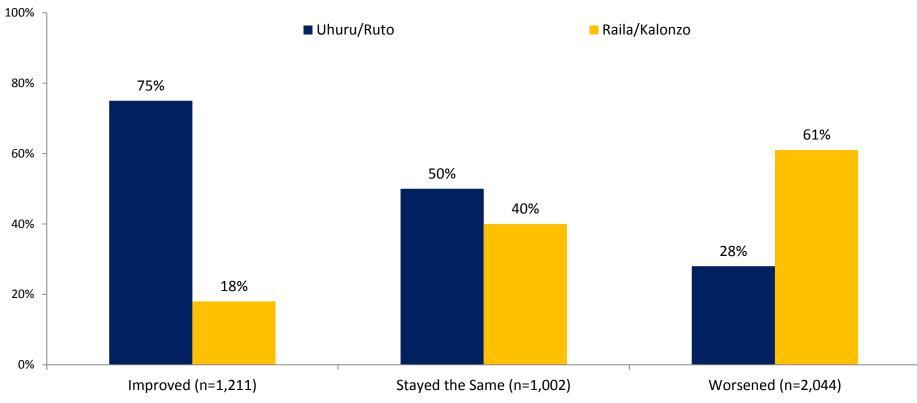


MAKING BALLOT CHOICES: SEVERAL EXPLORATIVE CORRELATIONS



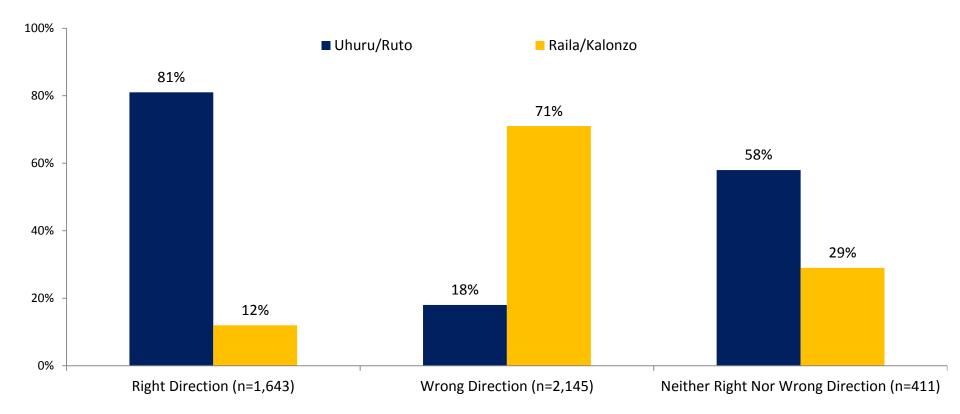


Correlation: Presidential Vote-Choice (Without "Others"/"Will Not Vote"): by Reported Change In Household Economic Conditions "Since the last election in 2013"



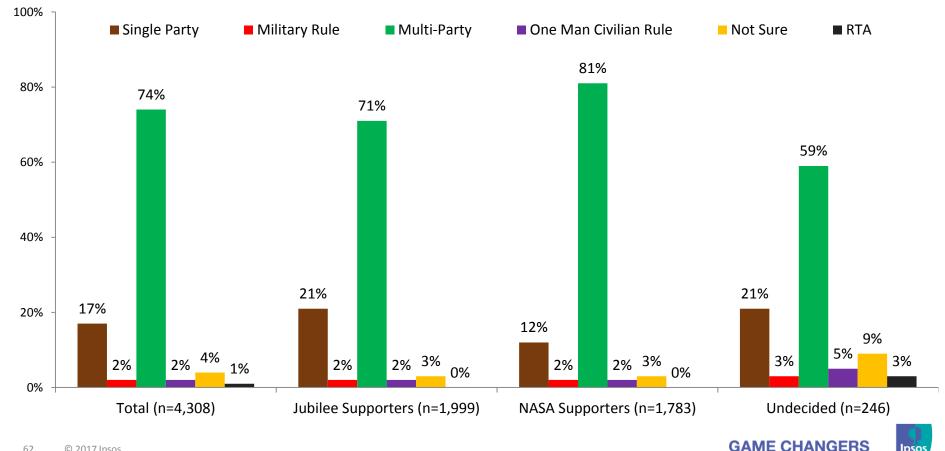


Correlation: Presidential Vote-Choice (Without "Others"/"Will Not Vote"); by Kenya's Perceived Direction





"Which of the following types of political systems do you think is best **Ipsos Public Affairs** for Kenya?": by Total, Supporters of the Main Political Parties/Coalitions



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METHODOLOGY





Methodology

Dates of Fieldwork	22 nd – 30 TH JULY, 2017
Sample Size	4,308 (Total Individual Contacts: 9,354)
Sampling Methodology	Random, Multi-stage stratified using PPS (proportionate to population size) Spread across 47 counties
Population Universe	Registered Voters, living in Urban and Rural areas
Data Collection Methodology	Face-to-Face interviews at the household level
Sampling Error	+/-1.49% with a 95% confidence level (Note: Higher error-margins for sub-samples)
Interview Languages	English, Swahili, Somali
Survey Content Sponsor	Ipsos (Kenya)
4 © 2017 Ipsos.	GAME CHANGERS

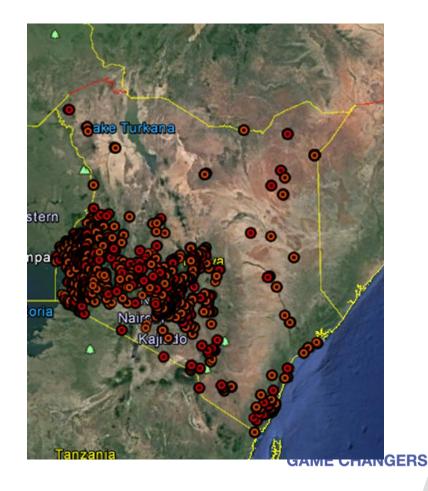
Sample Structure Statistics

Region	Sample Frame statistics (July 2017) *Weighted data	% of Sample	IEBC Register	% of Registered Voters
Central	640	15	2,910,465	15
Coast	376	9	1,713,151	9
Eastern	651	15	2,960,224	15
Nairobi	495	11	2,250,853	11
North Eastern	129	3	501,894	3
Nyanza	591	14	2,688,104	14
Rift Valley	1004	23	4,649,768	23
Western	424	10	1,927,043	10
TOTAL	4 200	100	40 604 502	100

Kenya Population Density

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Quality Control Measures

IPSOS EMPLOYS QUALITY CONTROL MEASURES TO ENSURE THE HIGHEST POSSIBLE INTEGRITY OF OBTAINED RESULTS/DATA

- For at least 15% of the interviews, a supervisor is present throughout
- Field managers visit at least 15% of the respondents in the sample at their households to confirm the interviews (i.e. back-checking).
- After the interview data are electronically transmitted to the Ipsos server: an independent team then makes random phone calls to 20% of the respondents to confirm that the interviews were conducted with the said respondents (i.e., telephonic back-checks).
- Mobile data collection platform captures GPS location (latitudes and longitudes) of interviews conducted to verify the locations of the interviewers in the field alongside allowing silent recording.
- Logical data checks are made on selected questionnaire entries to ensure conformity with the flow of the questions answered by the respondents.
- Sample quotas were monitored to match the sample's statistical parameters.



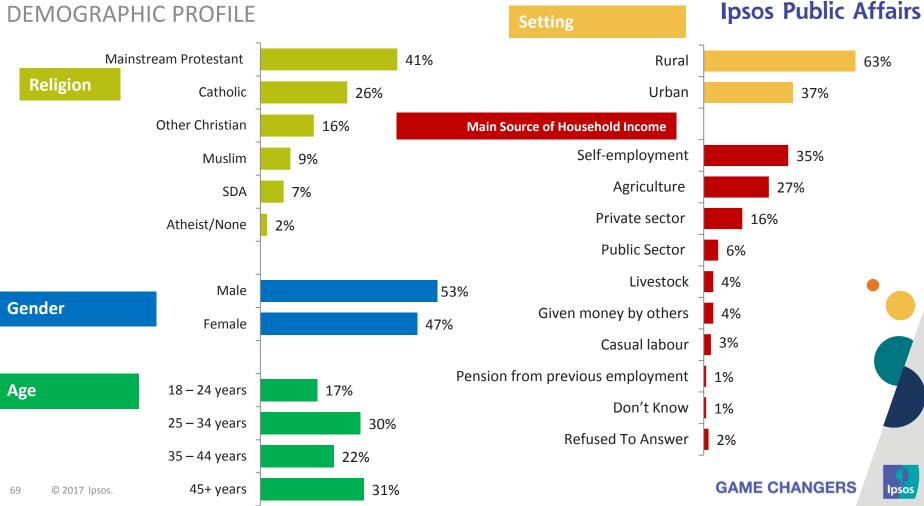


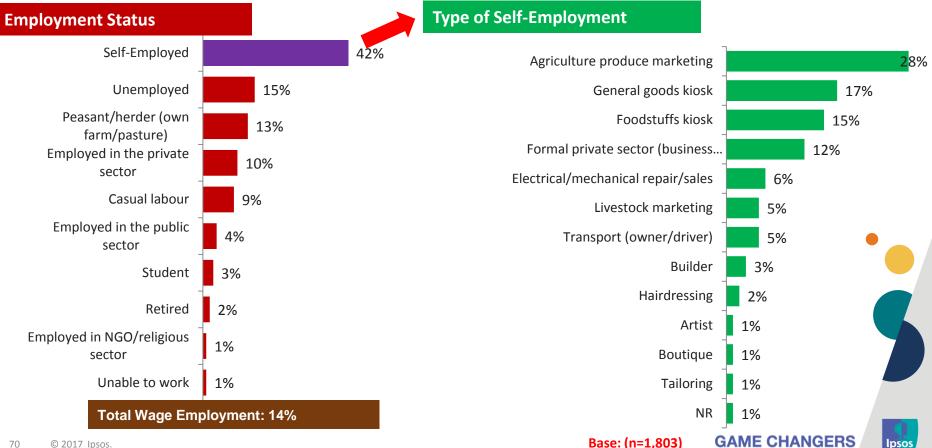
RESPONDENTS' DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

(Weighted for: Gender, Age, Region and Setting)



DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

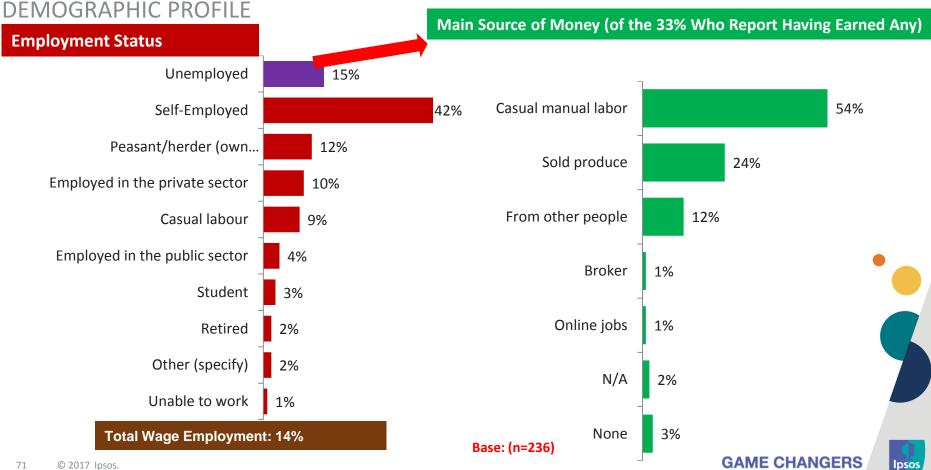


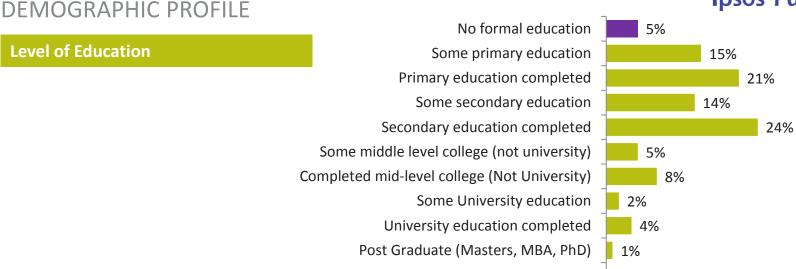


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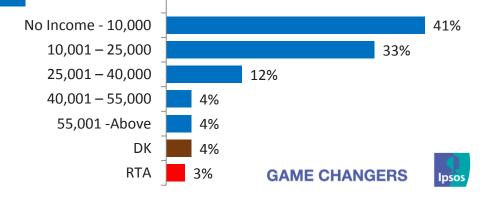
DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

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Estimated Total Monthly Household Income



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GAME CHANGERS

At Ipsos we are passionately curious about people, markets, brands and society. We deliver information and analysis that makes our complex world easier and faster to navigate and inspires our clients to make smarter decisions.

We believe that our work is important. Security, simplicity, speed and substance applies to everything we do.

Through specialisation, we offer our clients a unique depth of knowledge and expertise. Learning from different experiences gives us perspective and inspires us to boldly call things into question, to be creative.

By nurturing a culture of collaboration and curiosity, we attract the highest calibre of people who have the ability and desire to influence and shape the future.

"GAME CHANGERS" - our tagline - summarises our ambition.

