



SPEC Barometer

Mid-Year Survey

PREPARED BY: IPSOS

PREPARED FOR: GENERAL MEDIA RELEASE

RELEASE DATE: 23 JULY 2017

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GAME CHANGERS



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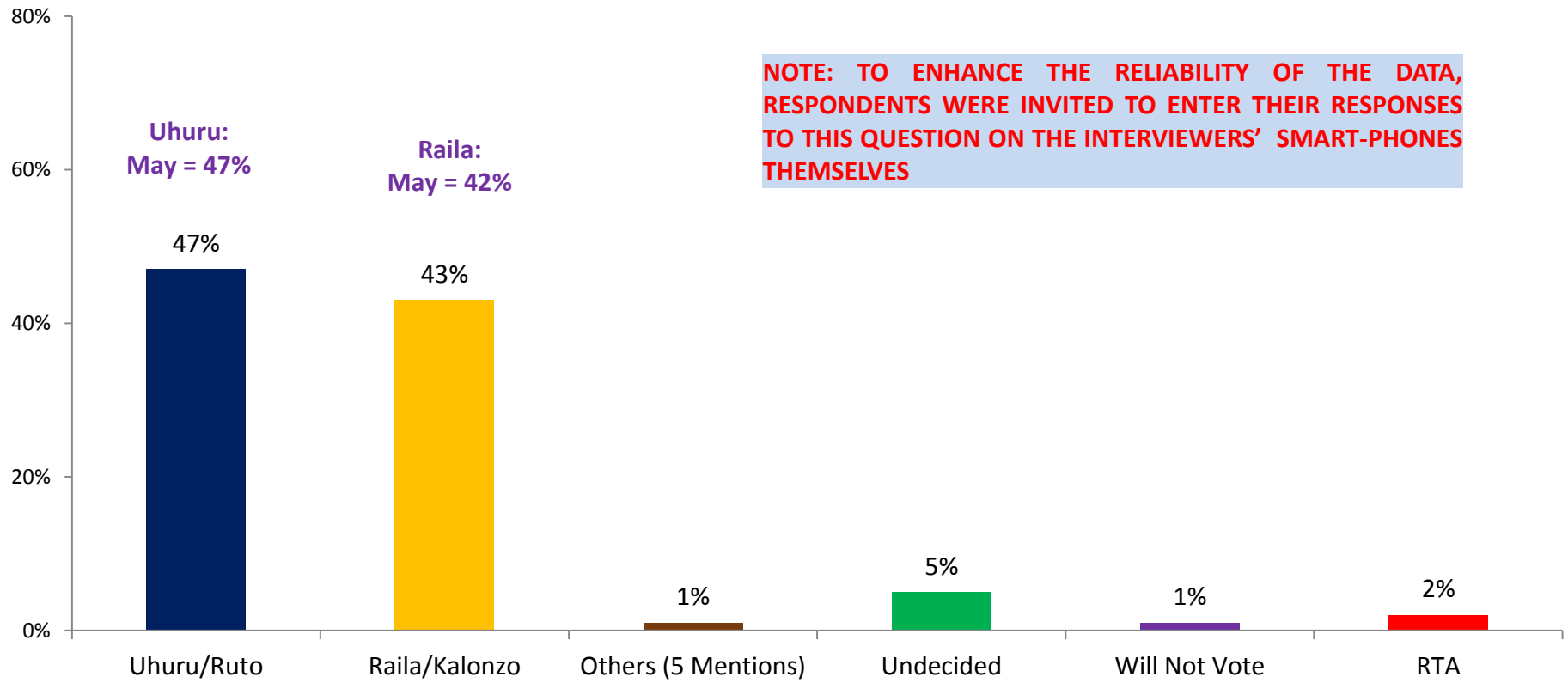
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“If elections were held today, whom would you vote for as president and deputy-president?”(Single Response, Unprompted): *by Total*



(Base: n=2.209)

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.

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:



- Nurses' strike extends to its second month
- County-wide, highly energized campaigning by candidates and supporters continues; the Opposition repeatedly criticizes Jubilee for its "mis-use" of state resources
- IEBC announces that polling stations "in volatile zones" will be moved "to safer places", possibly causing some confusion to certain voters as to just where they will vote (16 July)

Cautionary Point



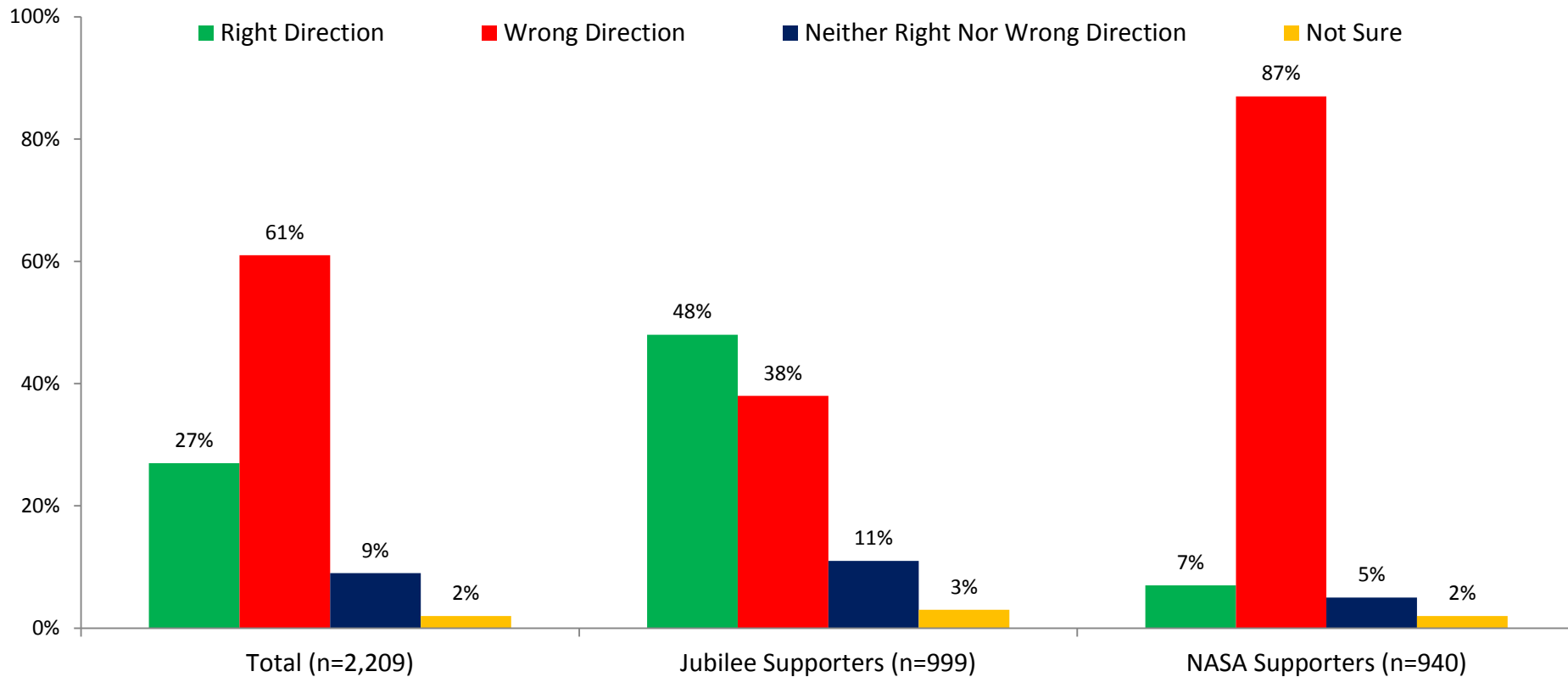
Recent Events Not (Fully) Captured (con't): **Ipsos Public Affairs**

- Only one deputy-president running-mate candidate appears at the debate organized by the main Media Houses for the purpose; the two main participants (Ruto and Kalonzo), who would have participated separately in the second segment, both receive criticism for their no-shows (17 July)
- NASA loses two critical court cases related to the conduct of the election: the presidential ballot-printing contract and the use of a back-up system for voter identification if the electronic system fails (20, 21 July)
- Acting Internal Security CS Fred Matiang'i rejects NASA proposal to provide their own security agents at each polling station, which is subsequently rejected by NASA (21, 22 July)
- IEBC releases complete Voters' Register (to polling station level) on its website (22 July)

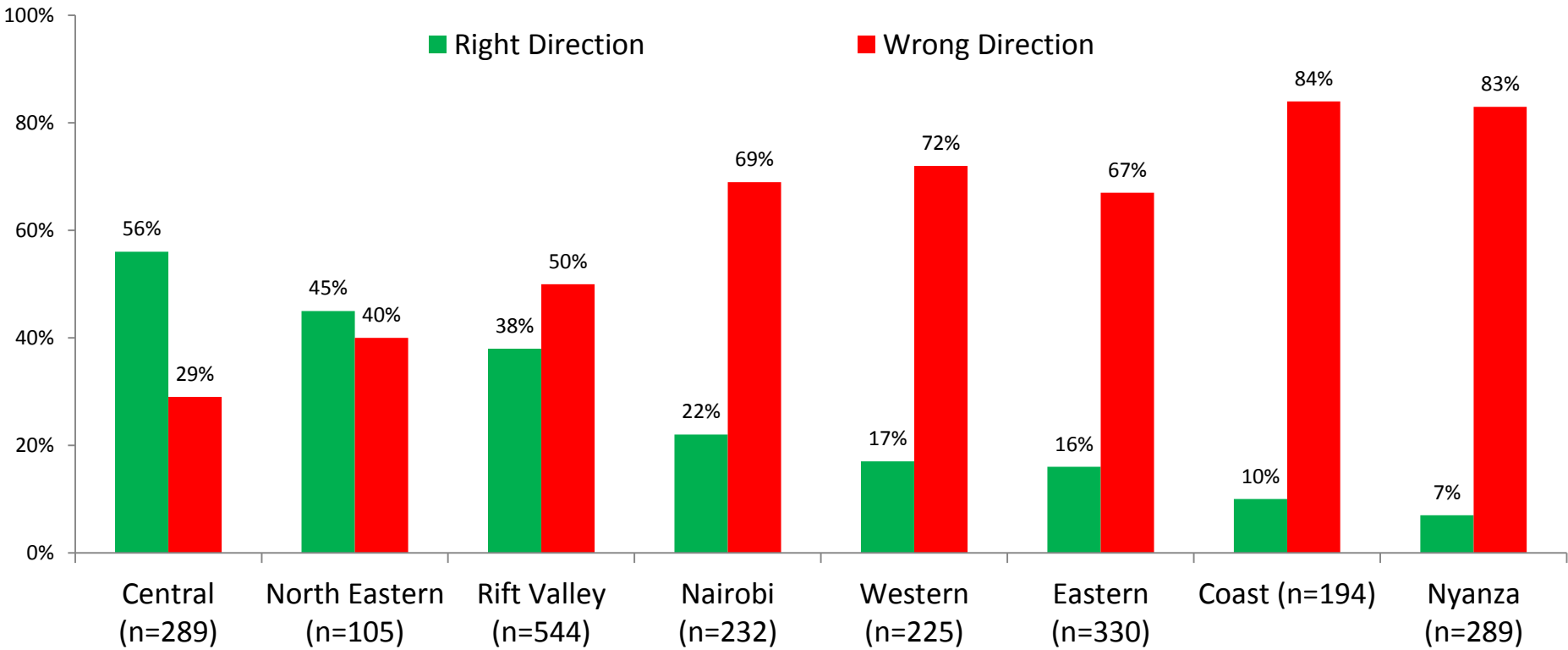
**KENYA'S
DIRECTION:**

**RIGHT OR
WRONG?**

“In your opinion, are things in Kenya generally going in the right or the 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”): *by Region*

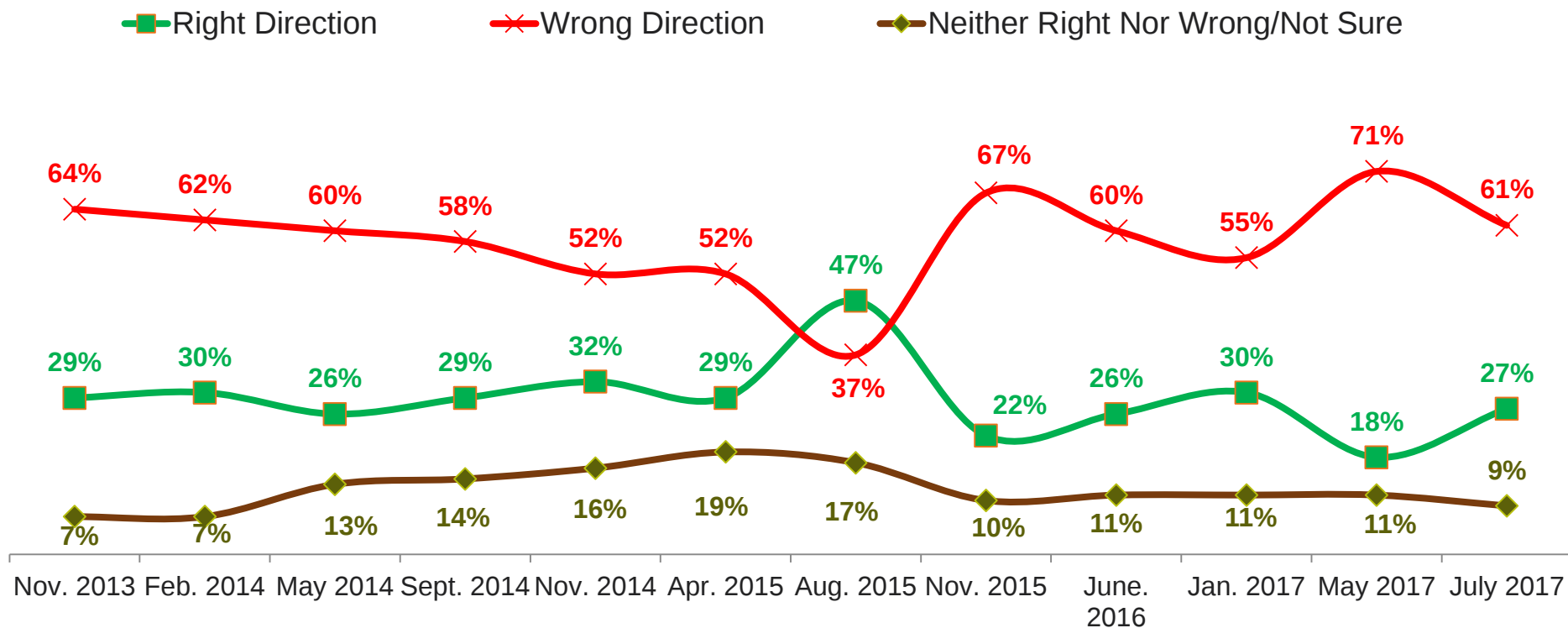


“What is the main reason you say so?”: *by Those Who Think Kenya is Going in the Right/Wrong Direction* (Single Response, Unprompted)

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Main Reason	Right Direction (n=602)	Wrong Direction (n=1,346)		% Difference
Infrastructure	39%	1%		-38%
Leadership	17%	12%		-5%
Cost of Living	12%	53%		+41%
Education	9%	0%		-9%
Employment	4%	8%		+4%
Relations with Development Partners	3%	0%		-3%
Health Services	3%	1%		-2%
Corruption	2%	10%		+8%
Crime	2%	1%		-1%
Ethnic Tensions	1%	2%		-1%
Human Rights	1%	0%		-1%
New Constitution	1%	0%		-1%
Political Issues	0%	1%		+1%
Terrorism	0%	1%		+1%
Hunger/Drought	0%	6%		+6%
Other (3/6 Mentions)	2%	0%		-2%
No Specific Reason	3%	0%		-3%
RTA	1%	0%		-1%

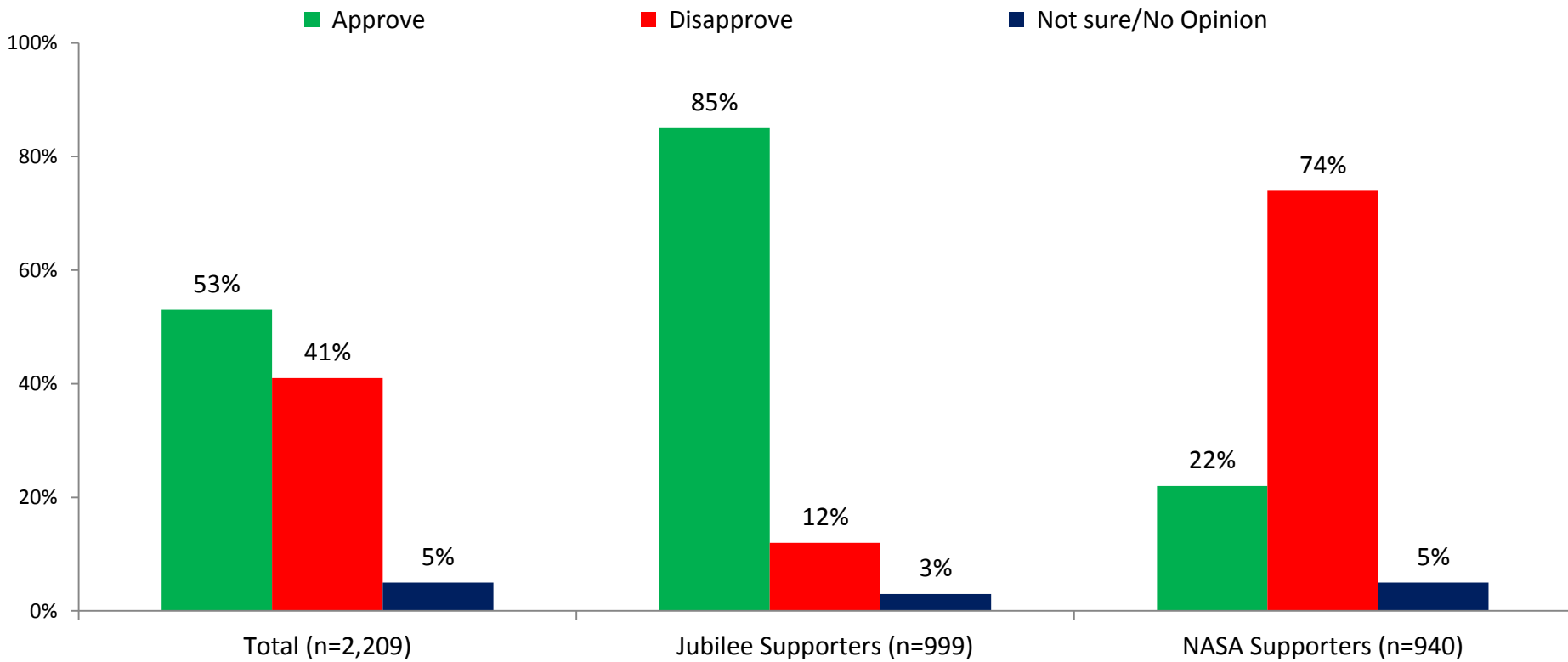
“On the whole, thinking about Kenya today, are things generally going in the right or wrong direction?” – Trend Analysis (Nov. 2013 – July 2017)





**PRESIDENT'S
PERFORMANCE-
RATING OVER THE
LAST 3 MONTHS +
CONFIDENCE IN TOP
LEADERS**

“Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the president’s performance over the last 3 months?”: *by Total, Supporters of the Main Political Parties/Coalitions* Ipsos Public Affairs



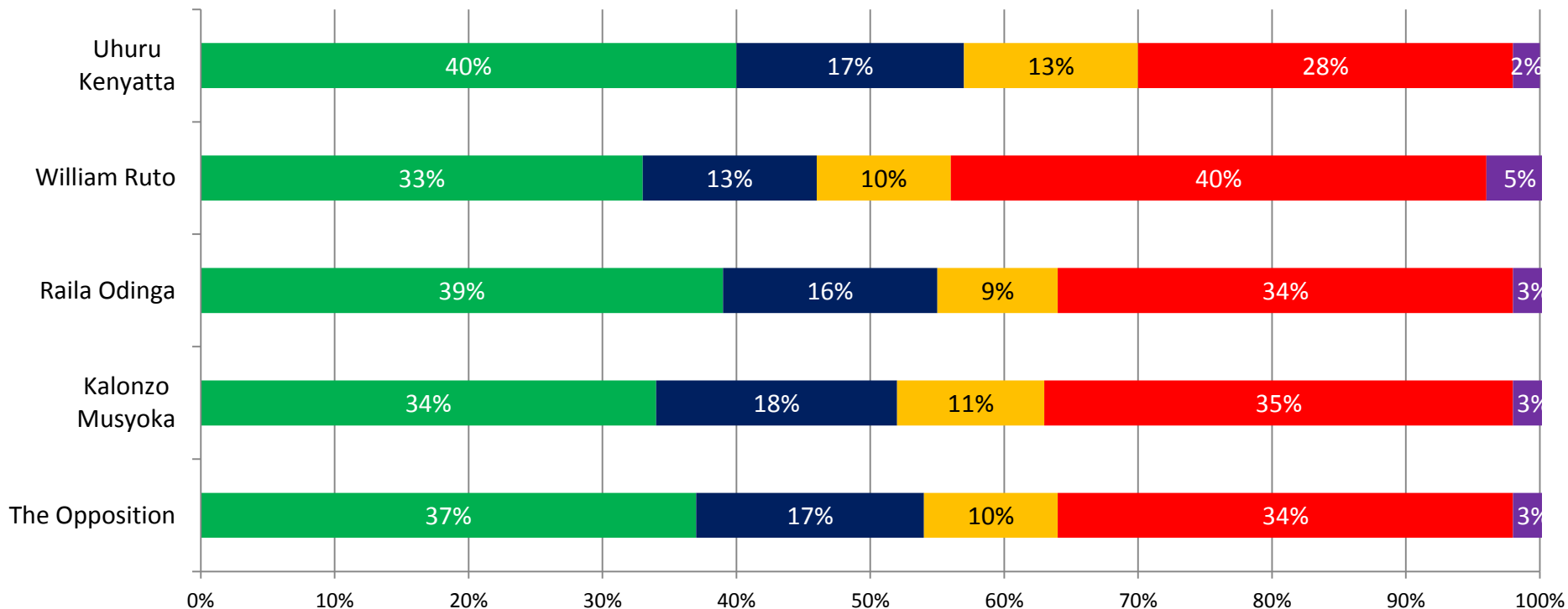
“What is the main reason you approve/disapprove of the president’s performance over the last 3 months?”: **by Total** (Single Response, Unprompted)

Main Reason	Approve (n=1,173)	Disapprove (n=910)		% Difference
Infrastructure	47%	4%		-43%
Economy	25%	48%		+23%
Education	8%	2%		-6%
Corruption	4%	28%		+24%
Health Care	3%	2%		-1%
Agriculture	3%	2%		-1%
Crime	2%	1%		-1%
Constitutional Implementation/Devolution	3%	1%		-2%
Terrorism	1%	2%		+1%
Implementation of Campaign Promises	0%	3%		+3%
Other (6 Mentions)	5%	4%		-1%

“How much confidence do you have in each of the following? Do you have...?": *by Total*

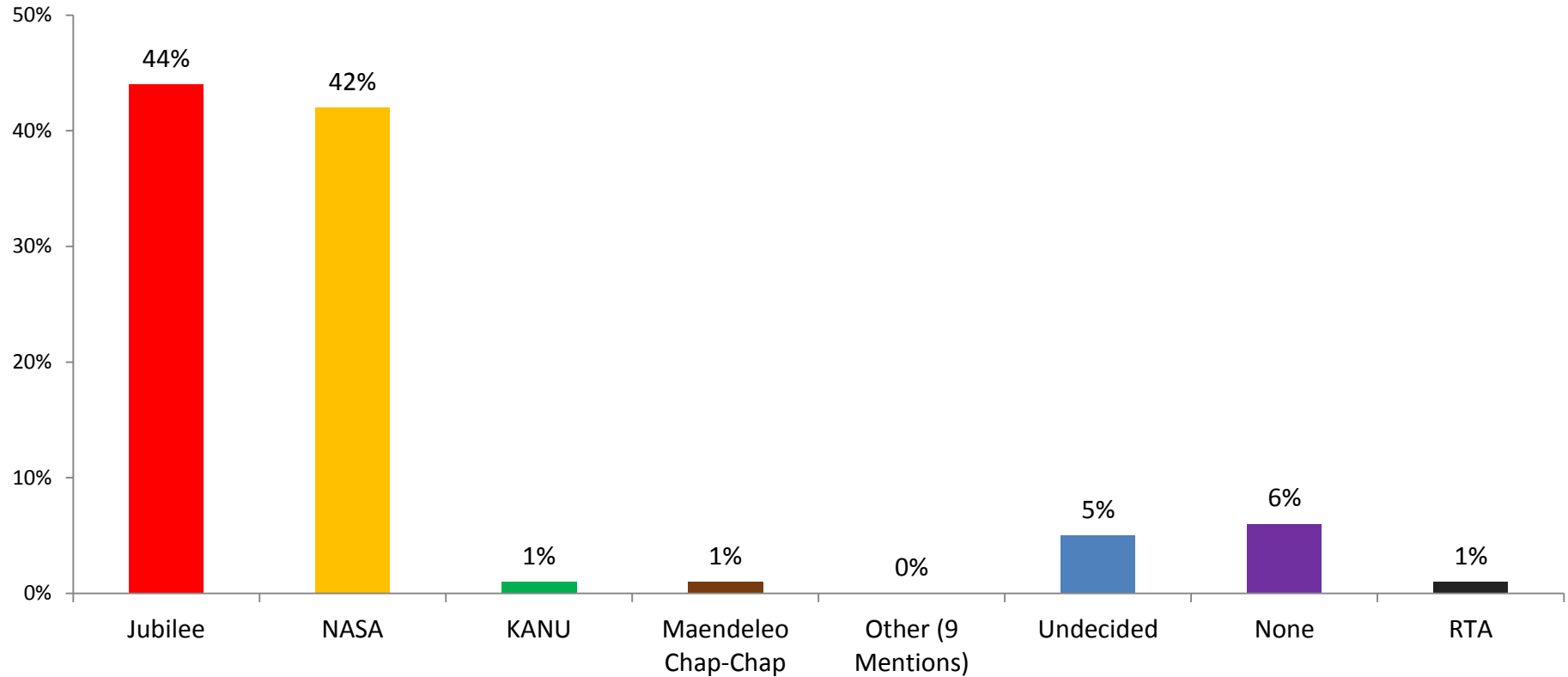
Ipsos Public Affairs

■ A LOT OF CONFIDENCE ■ SOME CONFIDENCE ■ ONLY A LITTLE CONFIDENCE ■ NO CONFIDENCE AT ALL ■ DK/NR



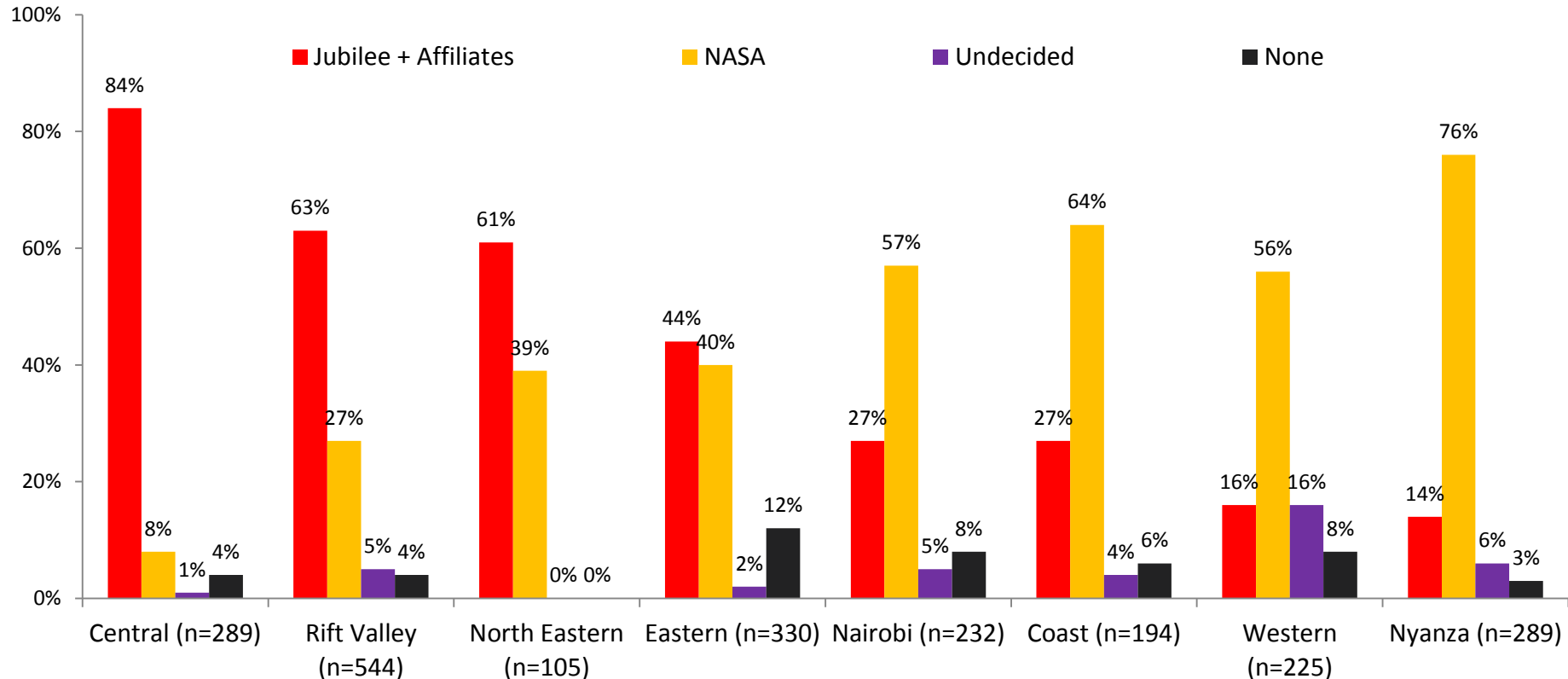
**POLITICAL PARTY/
COALITION
ALIGNMENT**

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



“Which political party/coalition do you feel closest to if any?”: by Region (%s Shown Only for Jubilee, NASA, Undecided, and “None”)

Ipsos Public Affairs

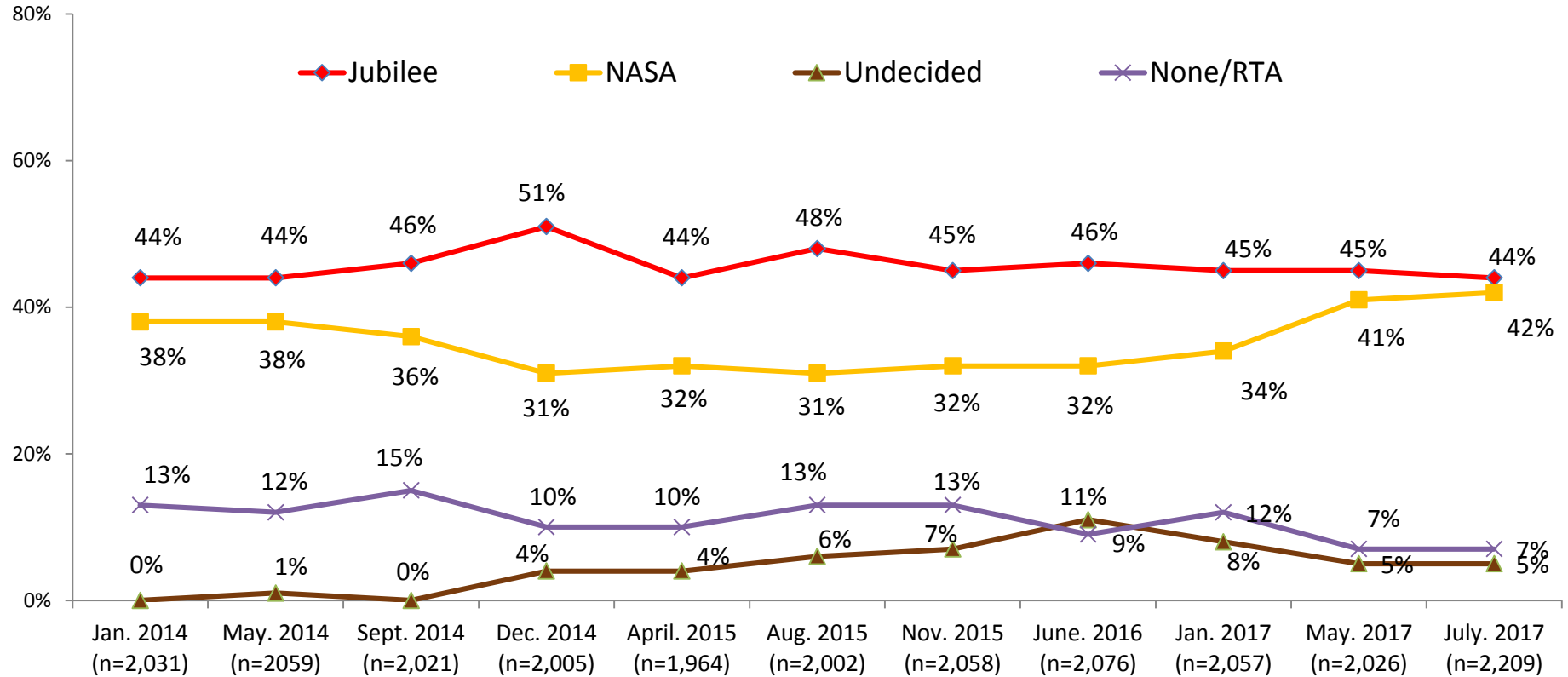


“What is the main reason you feel close to this political party/coalition?”:
by Supporters of the Main Political Parties/Coalitions (Single Response,
 Unprompted)

Main Reason	Jubilee Supporters (n=999)	NASA Supporters (n=940)		% Difference
Development (Jobs, Economic Growth, Infrastructure, etc.)	68%	45%		-23%
Peace (Ethnic Relations)	7%	3%		-4%
Education	5%	2%		-3%
Dynamic Leadership	4%	14%		+10%
Devolution	2%	6%		+4%
Equity/Reducing the Rich-Poor Gap	2%	7%		+5%
Security (Terrorism/Crime)	2%	1%		-1%
Other (4 Mentions)	2%	1%		+1%
Accountability/Ending Impunity	1%	8%		+7%
Minority Rights	1%	2%		+1%
National sovereignty	1%	2%		+1%
The New Constitution (Area Unspecified)	0%	2%		+2%
No Specific Reason	5%	6%		+1%

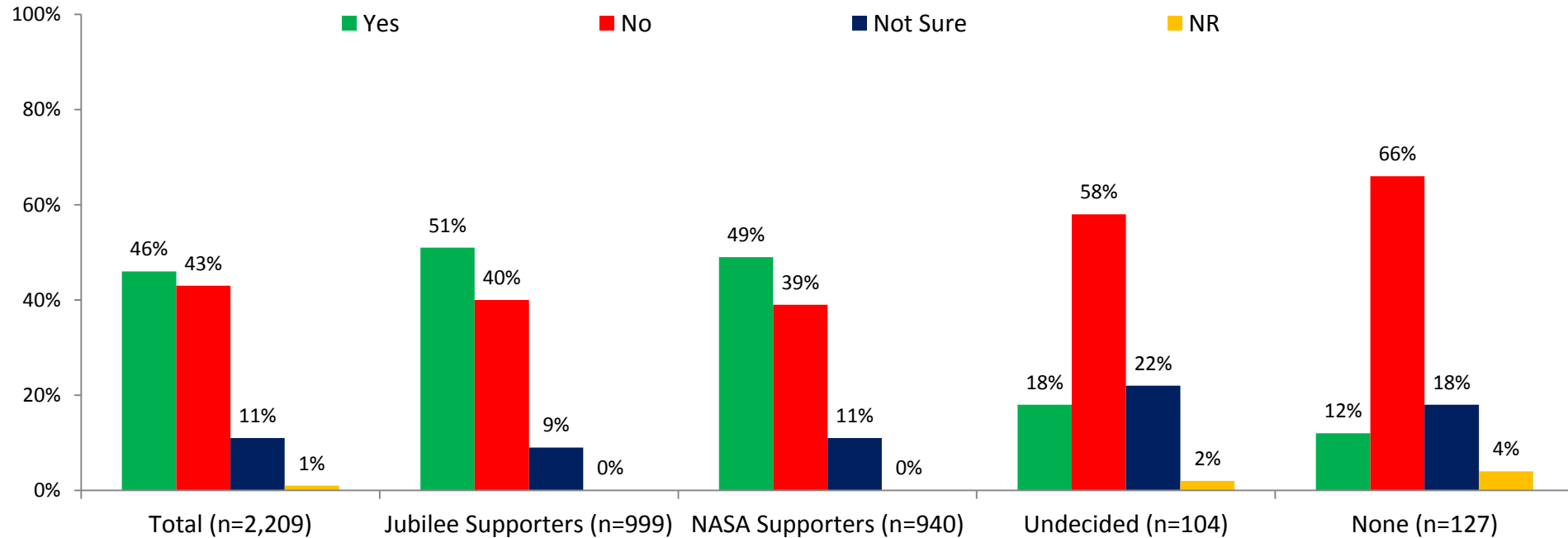
**“Which political party/coalition do you feel closest to if any?": by Total (%
Shown Only for Jubilee, NASA, Undecided, “None” + RTA) –
Trend Analysis: Jan. 2014 – July 2017**

Ipsos Public Affairs



“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*

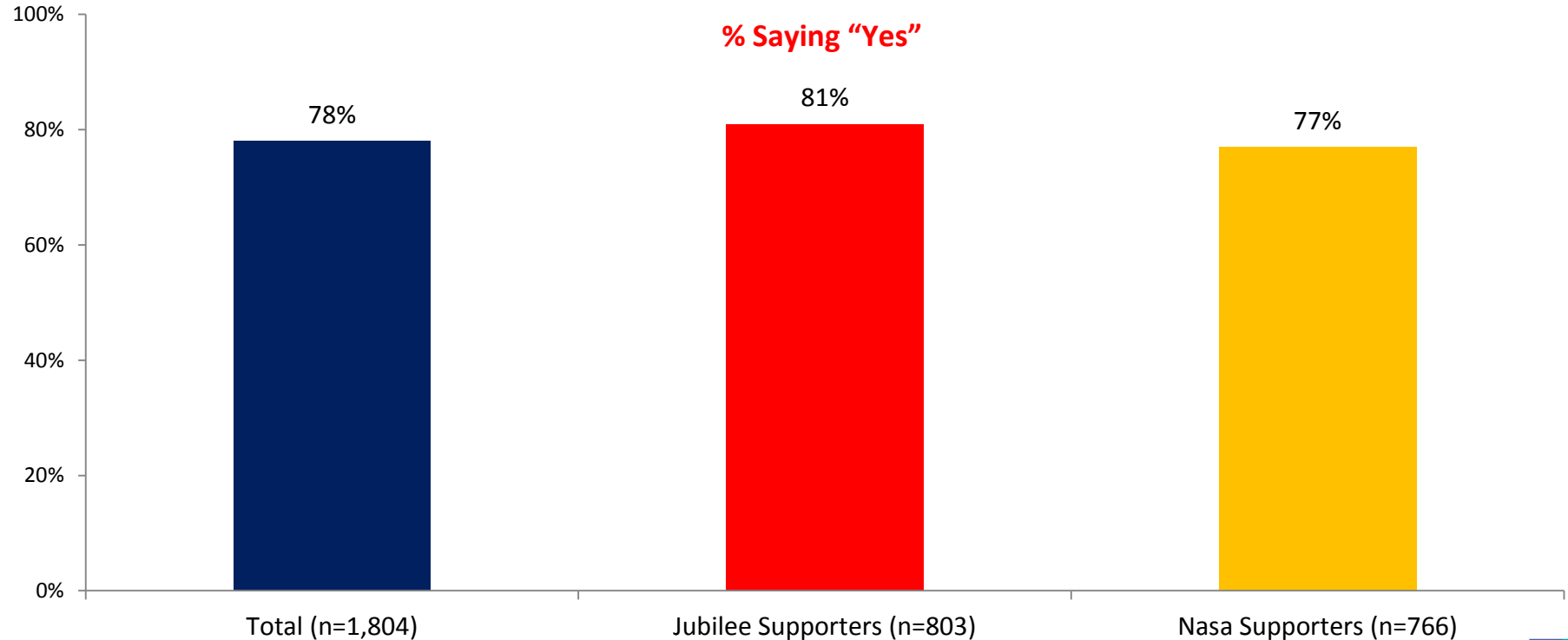
Ipsos Public Affairs



2013 VOTERS AND CURRENT REGISTRATION STATUS

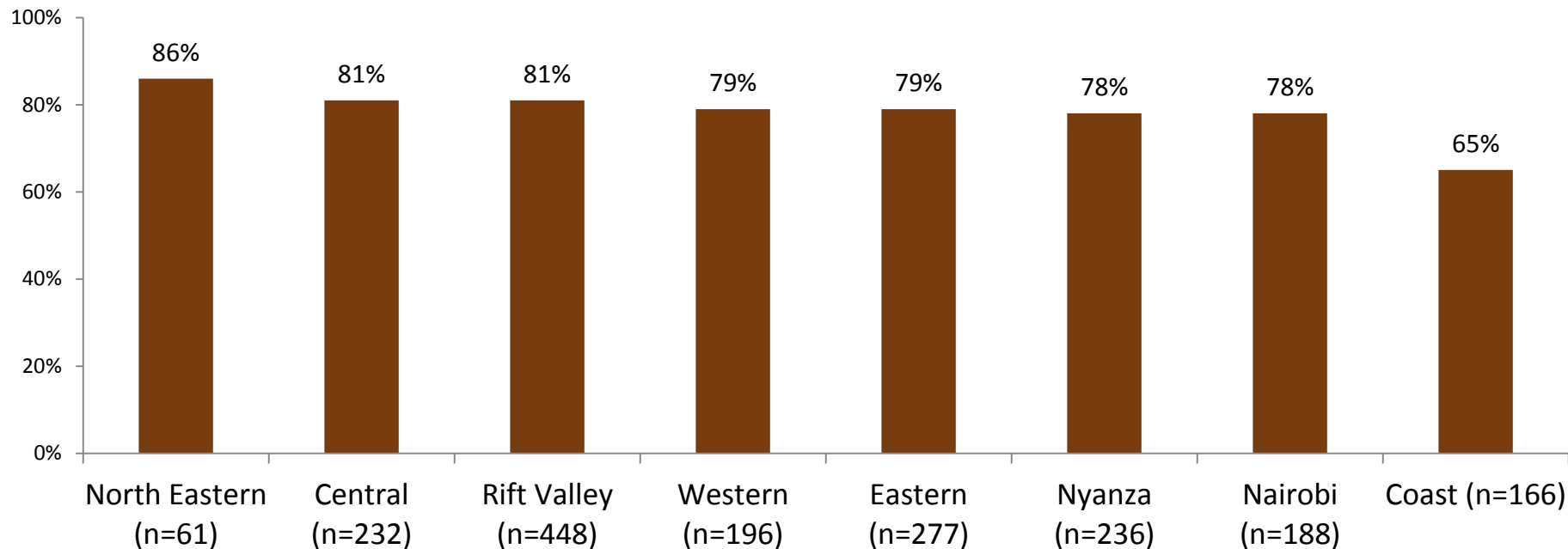
“Did you vote in the 2013 election or in any by-election since?”:
by Total, Supporters of the Main Political Parties/Coalitions
(Among the 82% Saying They Were At least 18 Years Old in 2013)

Ipsos Public Affairs



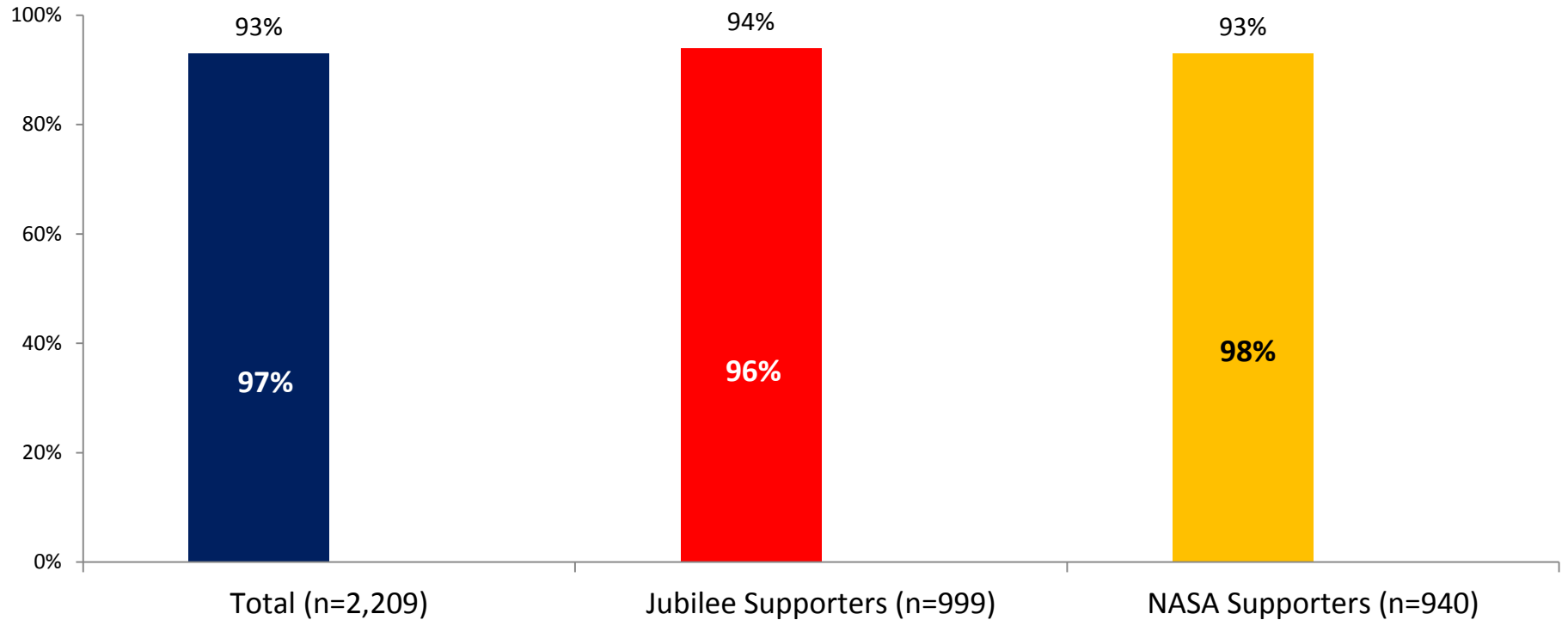
“Did you vote in the March 2013 elections or in any by-election since?”: Ipsos Public Affairs by Region (Among the 82% Saying They Were At least 18 Years Old in 2013)

% Saying “Yes”



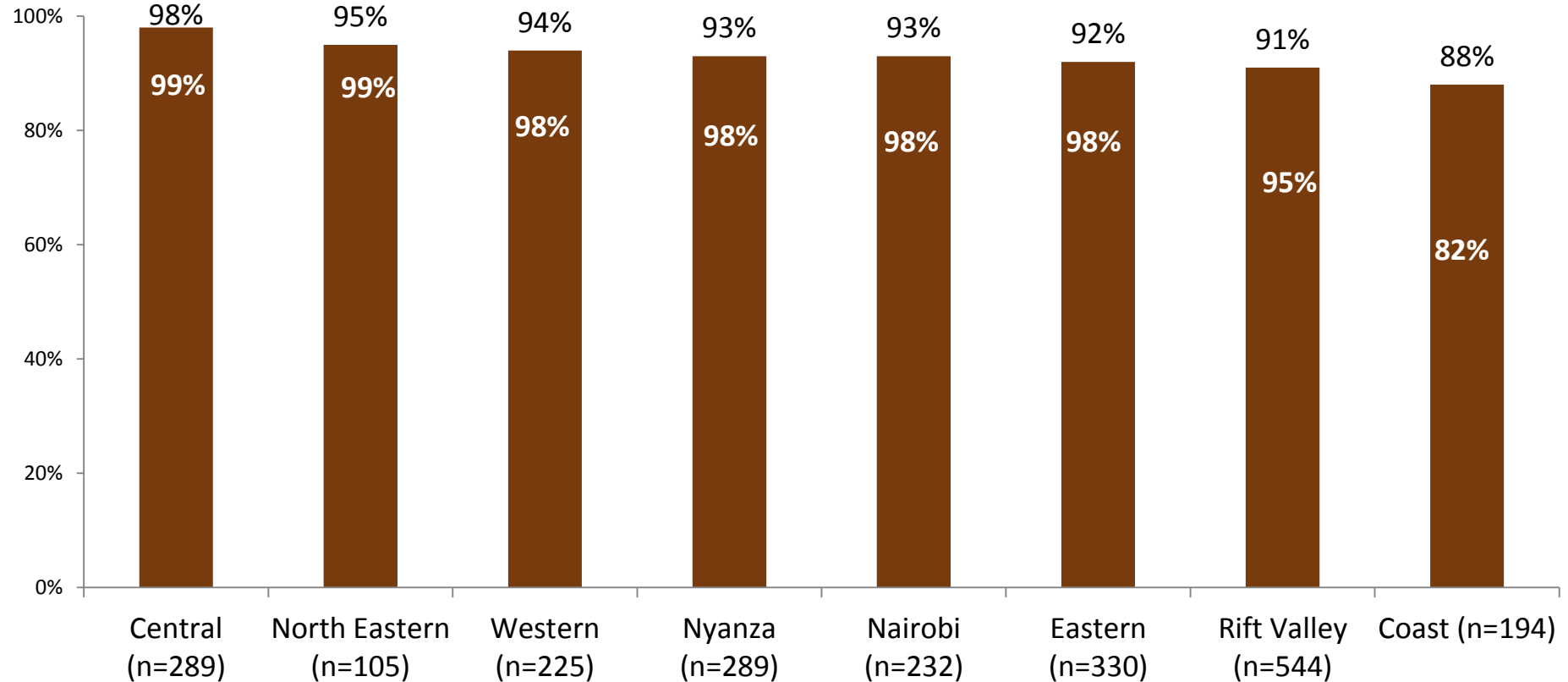
Proportion Claiming To Be Registered Voters (Showing Proportion of Each Who Could Name Polling Station): *by Total, Supporters of the Main Political Parties/Coalitions*

Ipsos Public Affairs



Proportion Claiming To Be Registered Voters (Showing Proportion Who Could Name Their Polling Station): *by Region*

Ipsos Public Affairs

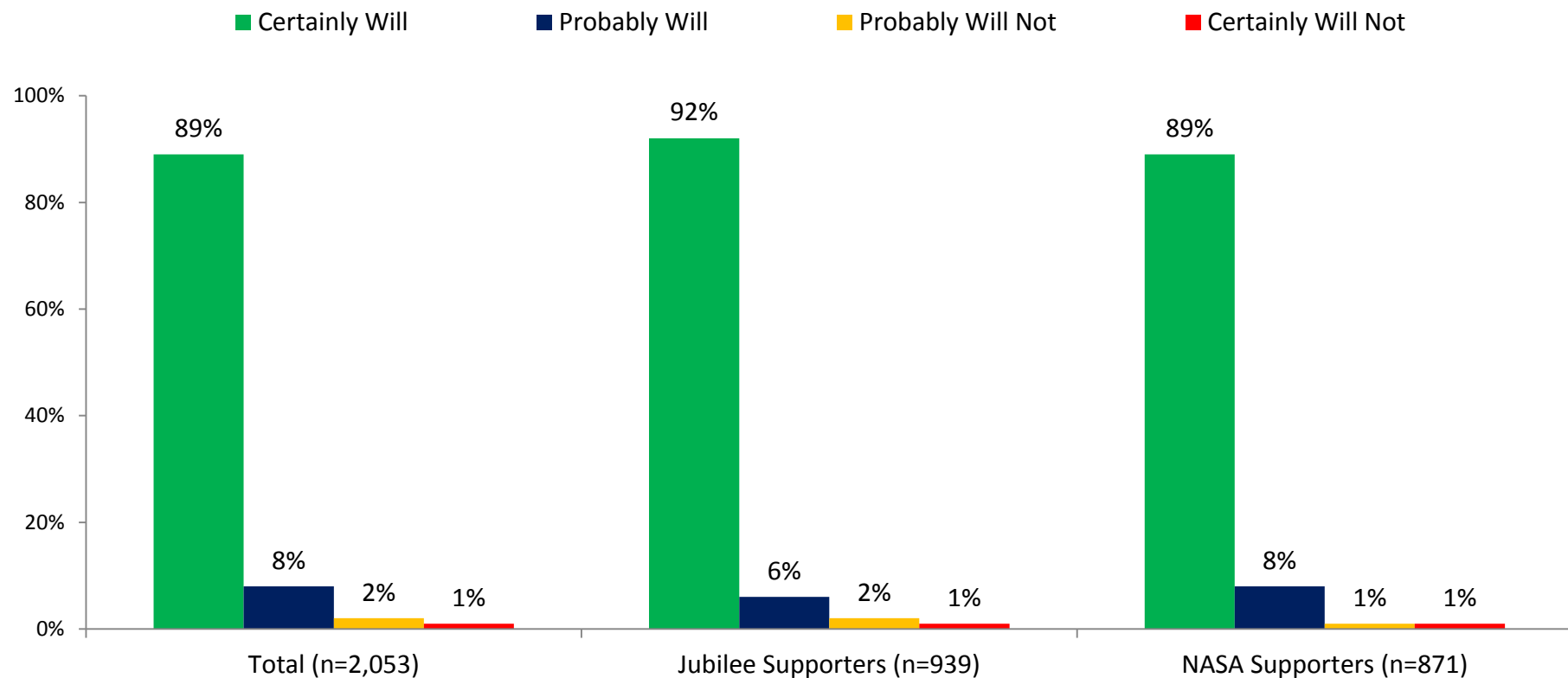


“How certain are you that you will vote in the forthcoming election?”

by Total, Supporters of the Main Political Parties/Coalitions

(Among the 93% Claiming to be Registered)

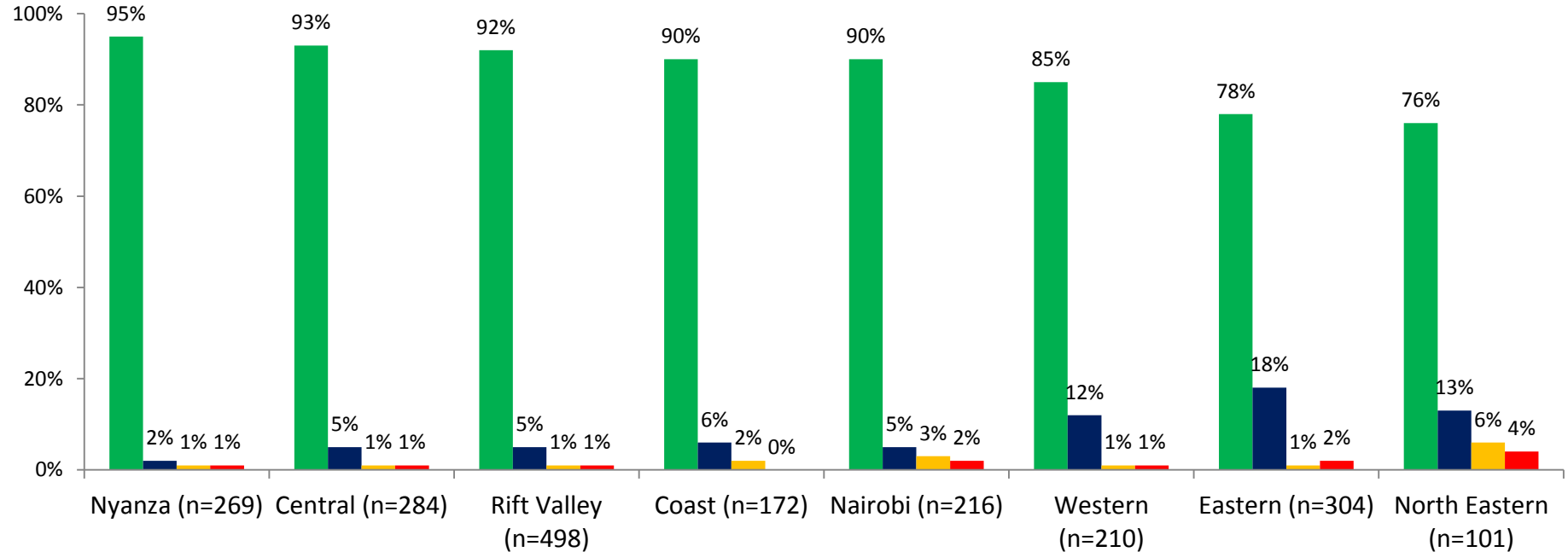
Ipsos Public Affairs



“How certain are you that you will vote in the forthcoming election?” by Region (Among the 97% Claiming to be Registered)

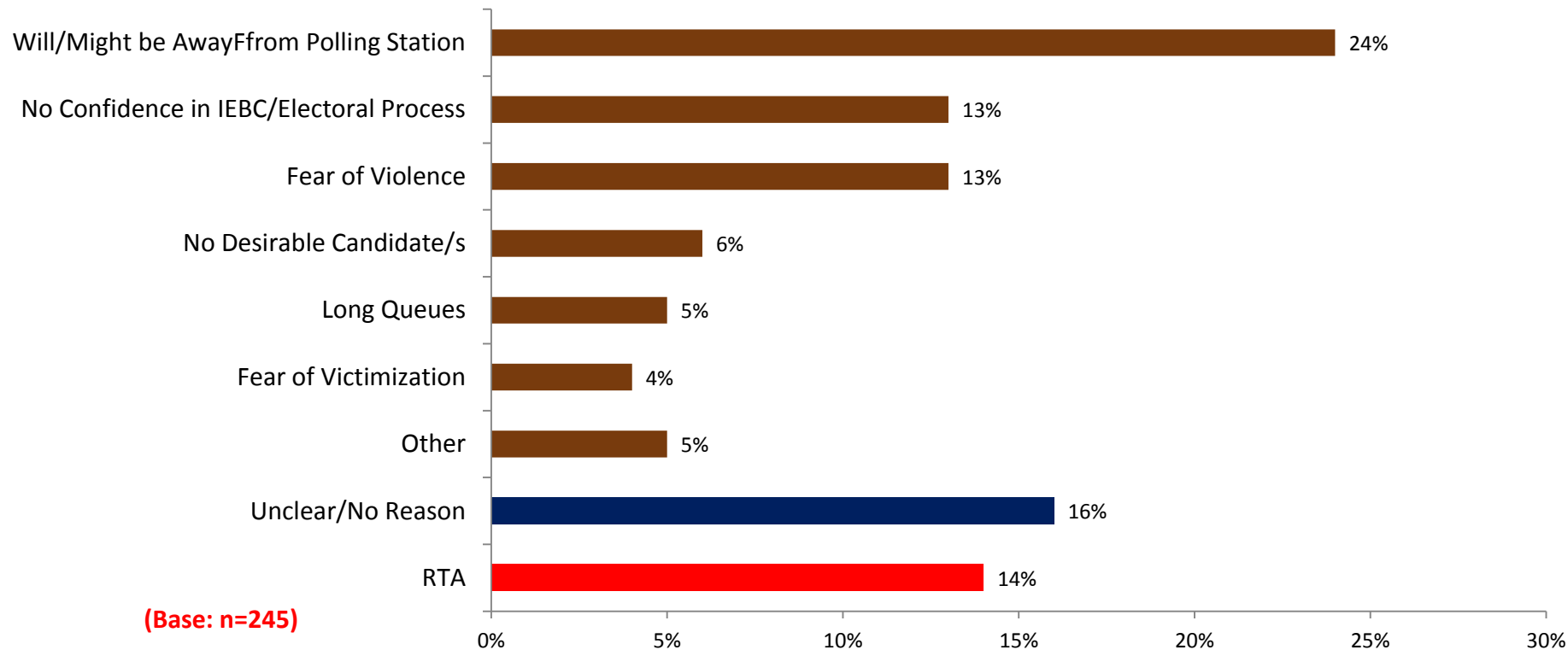
Ipsos Public Affairs

■ Certainly Will ■ Probably Will ■ Probably Will Not ■ Certainly Will Not



“Why will you certainly/maybe not vote in the forthcoming election?”
by Total (Among the 2% Who Say They Will/Might Not Vote Among Those Claiming to be Registered and Who Could Name Their Polling Station)

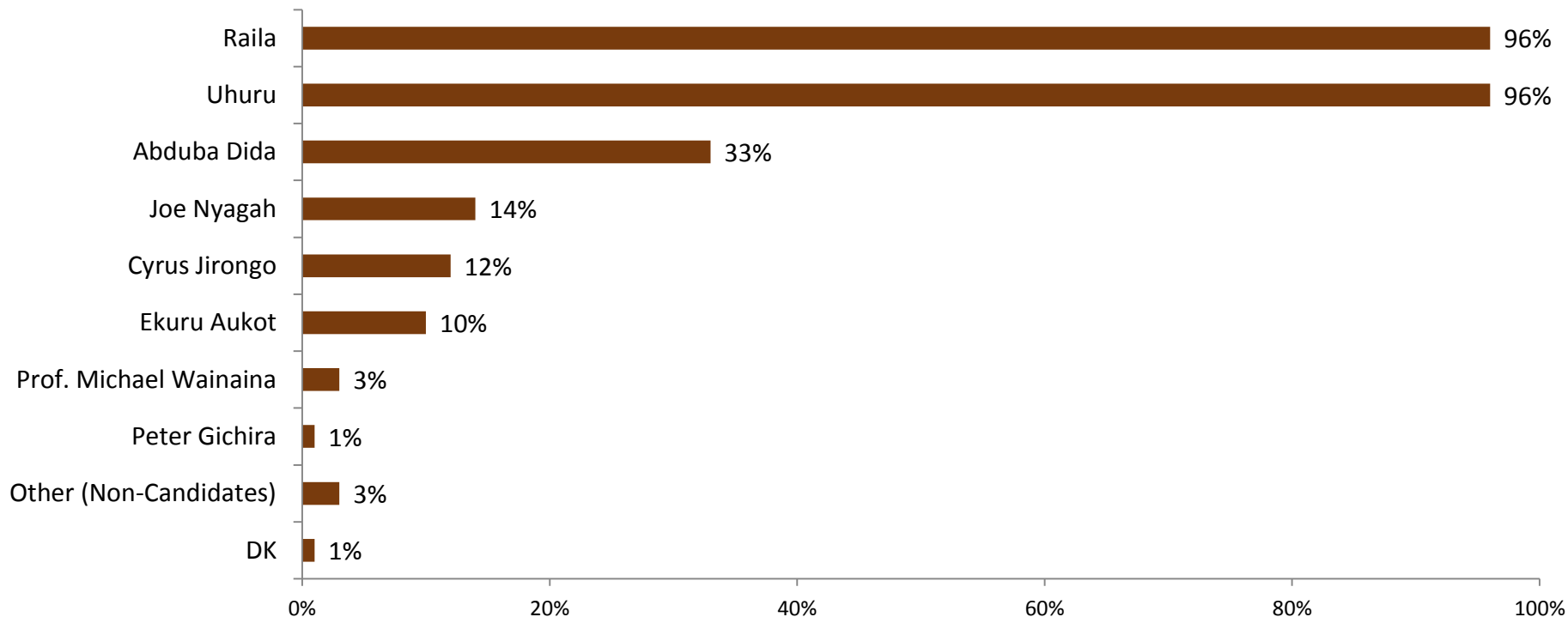
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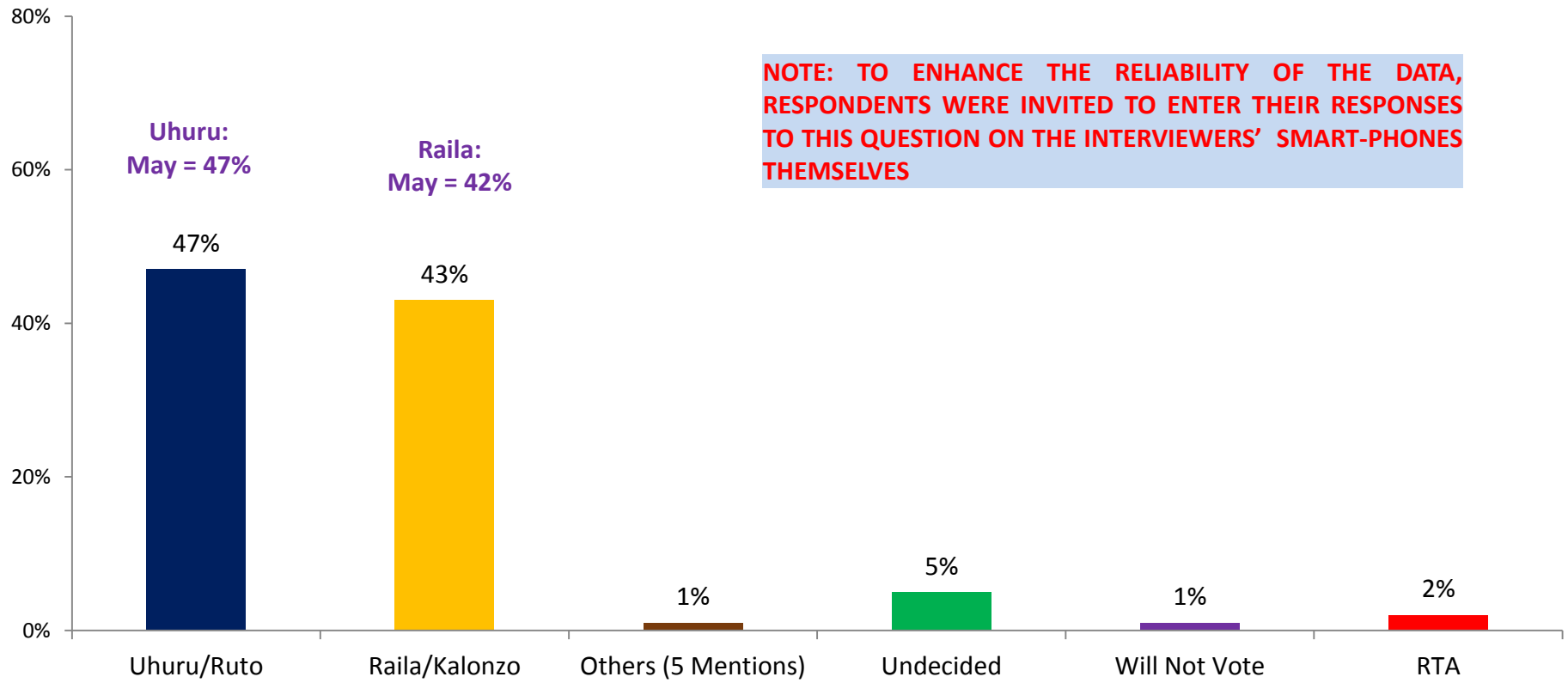


AWARENESS OF/ VOTING INTENTIONS FOR PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

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



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



(Base: n=2.209)

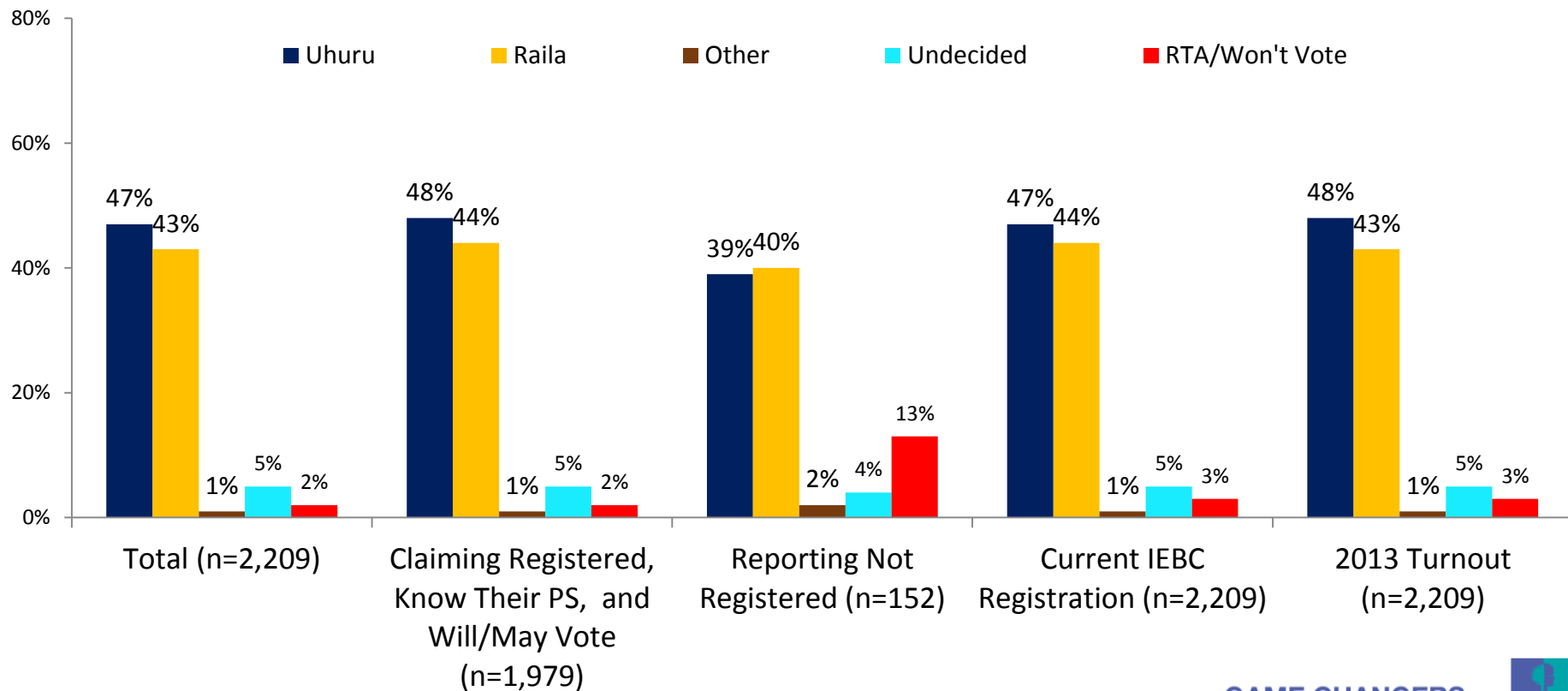


“If elections were held today, whom would you vote for as president and deputy-president?” (Single Response, Unprompted): **by Region**

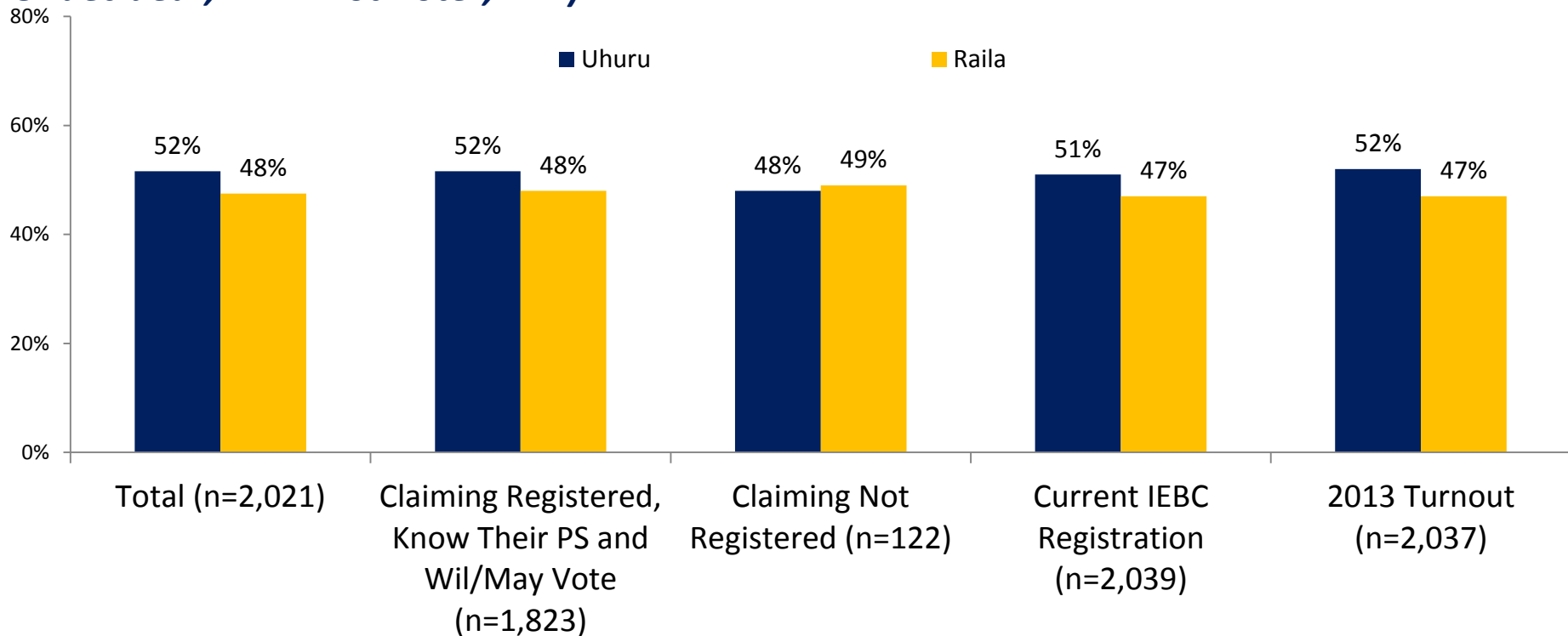
Candidates	Central (n=289)	Coast (n=194)	Eastern (n=330)	Nairobi (n=232)	North Eastern (n=105)	Nyanza (n=289)	Rift Valley (n=544)	Western (n=225)
Uhuru/Ruto	88%	24%	49%	28%	62%	16%	65%	22%
Raila/Kalonzo	10%	63%	41%	64%	36%	76%	26%	56%
Other	0%	2%	1%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%
Undecided	1%	5%	6%	3%	0%	6%	4%	14%
Will Not Vote	0%	3%	1%	2%	1%	0%	2%	1%
RTA	1%	3%	3%	1%	0%	1%	2%	6%

(Base: n=2,209)

Presidential Vote Choice: *by Total, Those Claiming to be Registered Voters + Could Name Their Polling Station + May or Will Vote, Current IEBC Registration, Voter Turnout in 2013*

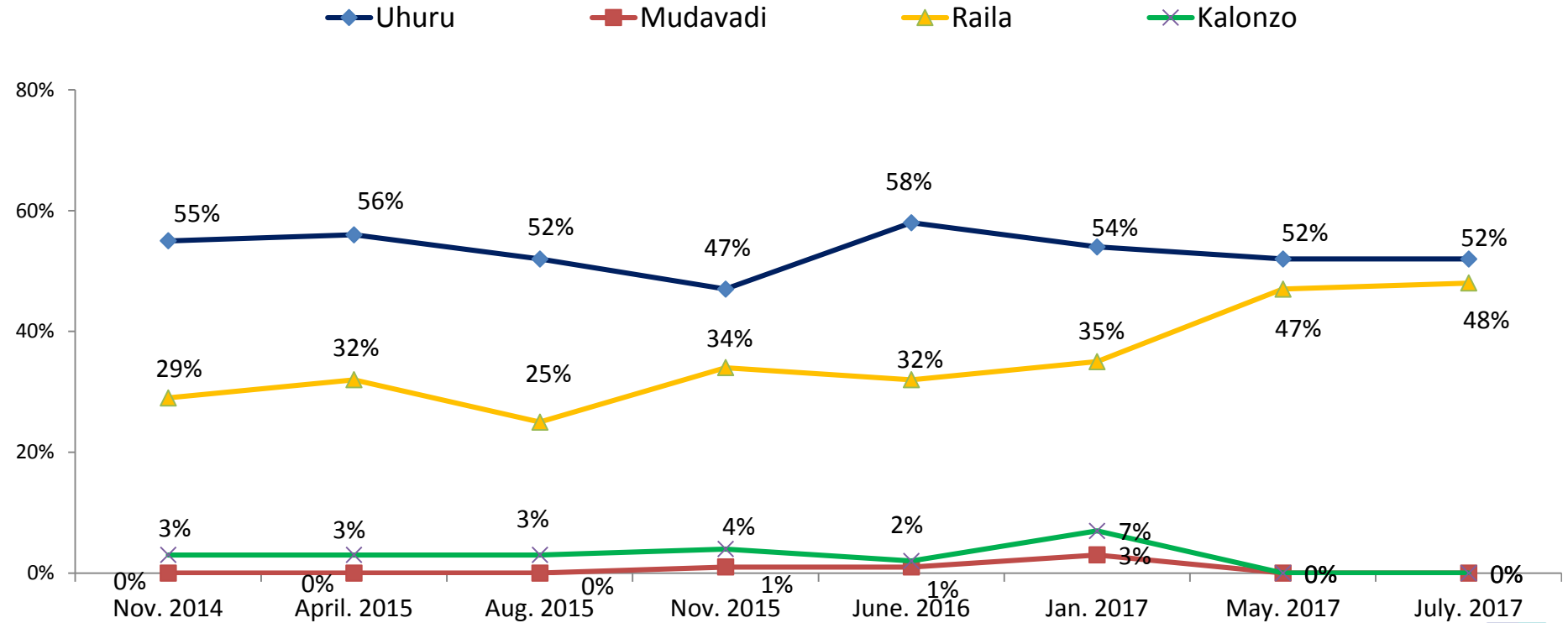


Presidential Vote Choice (Uhuru and Raila Only): *by Total, Those Claiming to be Registered Voters + Could Name Their Polling Station + May or Will Vote, Current IEBC Registration, Voter Turnout in 2013* (Calculated Without “Undecided”, “Will Not Vote”, RTA)



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

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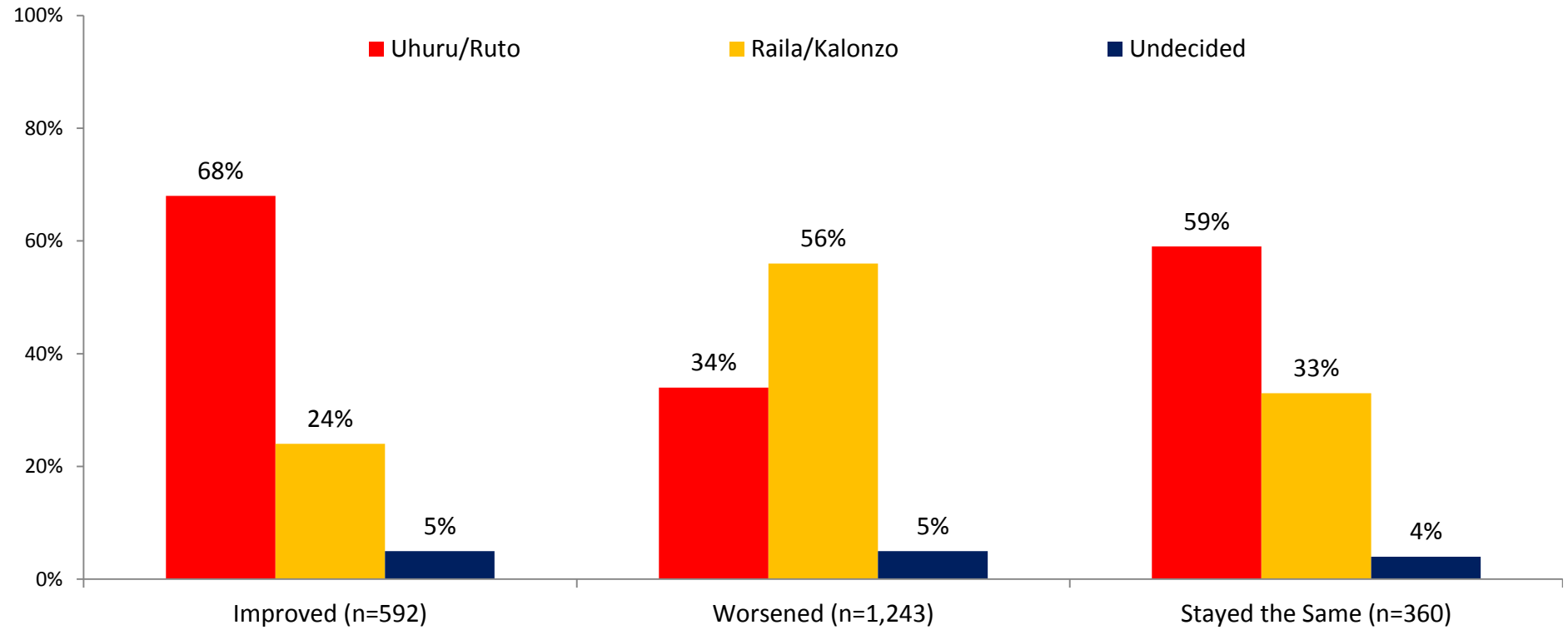




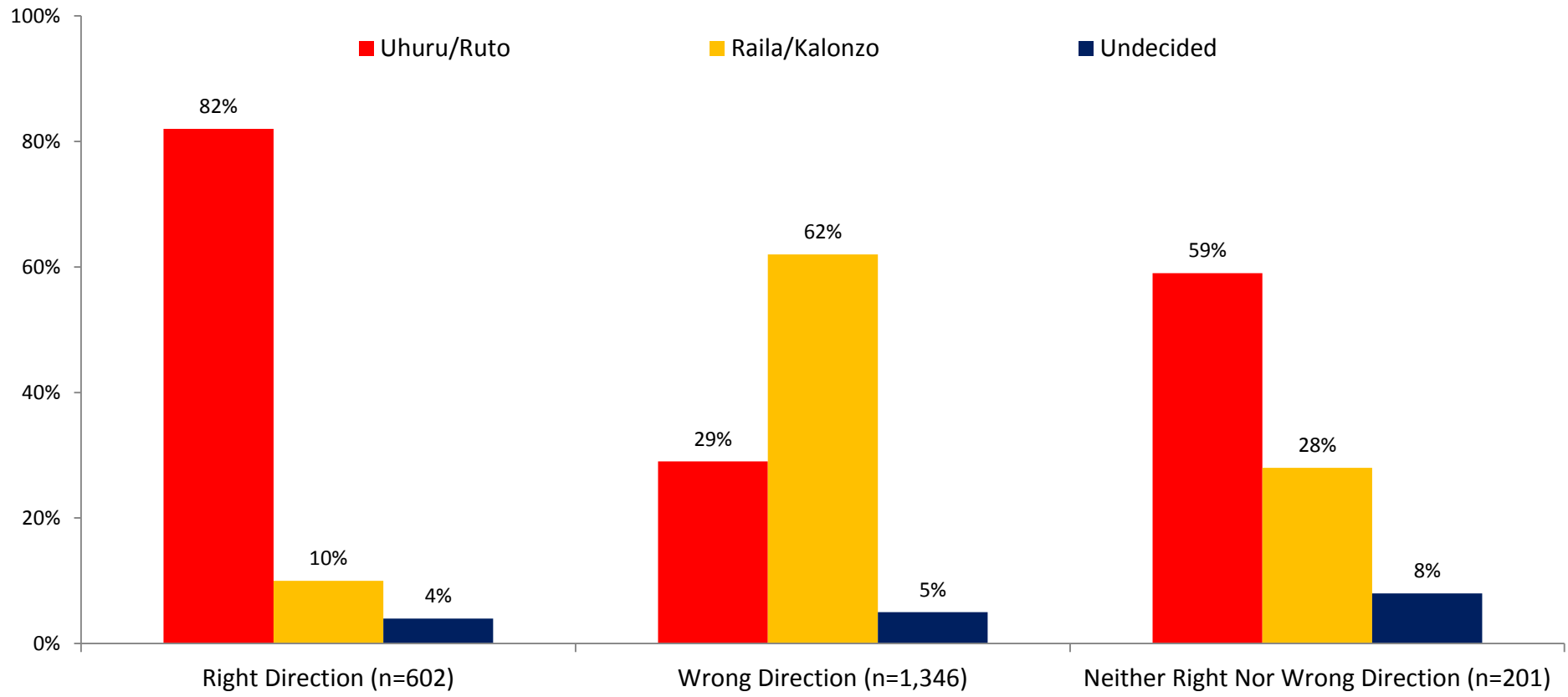
MAKING BALLOT CHOICES: THREE EXPLORATIVE CORRELATIONS

Correlation: Presidential Vote-Choice (Without “Others”/“Will Not Vote”):
by Change In Household Economic Conditions Over Last 5 Years

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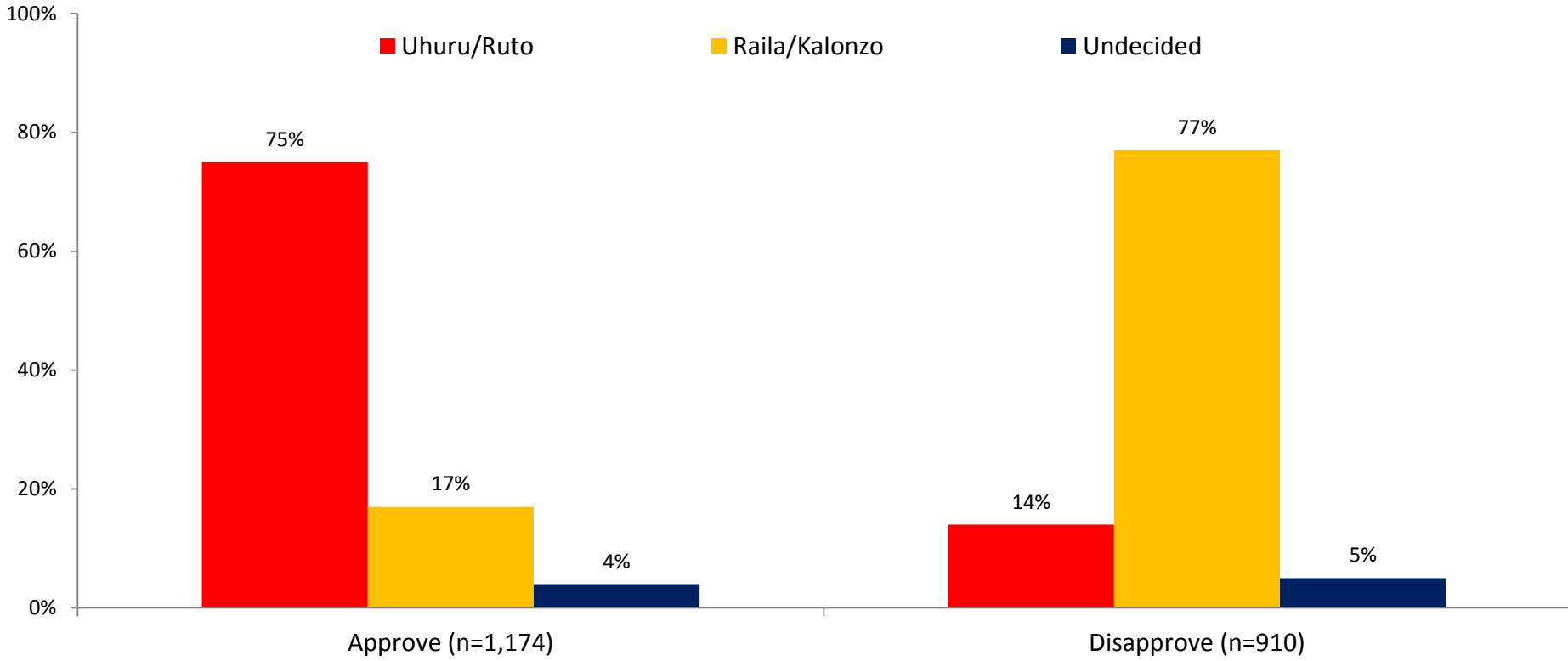


Correlation: Presidential Vote-Choice (Without “Others”/“Will Not Vote”); *by Those Who Feel Kenya is Headed in the Right/Wrong Direction*



Correlation: Presidential Vote-Choice (Without “Others”/“Will Not Vote”):
by Those Who Approve/Disapprove of the President’s Performance Over the Last Three Months

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METHODOLOGY

Dates of Fieldwork	3 RD – 12 TH JULY, 2017
Sample Size	2,209 (Total Individual Contacts: 5,478)
Sampling Methodology	Random, Multi-stage stratified using PPS (proportionate to population size) Spread across 47 counties
Population Universe	Kenyan adults, aged 18 and above living in Urban and Rural areas
Data Collection Methodology	Face-to-Face interviews at the household level
Sampling Error	+/-2.09% with a 95% confidence level (Note: Higher error-margins for sub-samples)
Interview Languages	English, Swahili, Somali
Survey Content Sponsor	Ipsos (Kenya)

Sample Structure Statistics

Ipsos Public Affairs

Region	Sample Frame statistics (May 2017) *Weighted data	% of Sample	Population Census as at 2009 Adults (18 years and Above)	% Of Population
Central	289	13	2,548,038	13
Coast	194	9	1,711,549	9
Eastern	330	15	2,907,293	15
Nairobi	232	10	2,042,770	10
North Eastern	105	5	929,158	5
Nyanza	289	13	2,547,980	13
Rift Valley	544	25	4,795,482	25
Western	225	10	1,980,090	10
TOTAL	2,209	100	19,462,360	100

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.



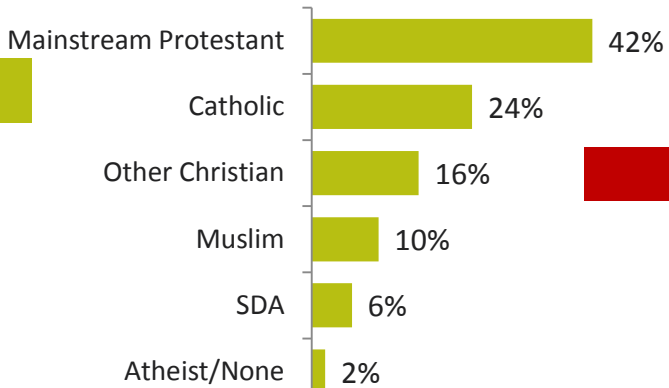
RESPONDENTS' DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

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

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

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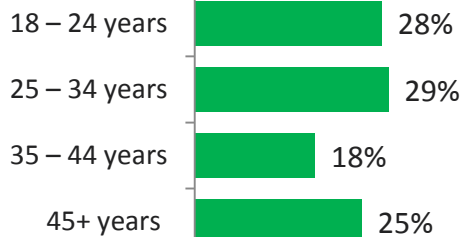
Religion



Gender



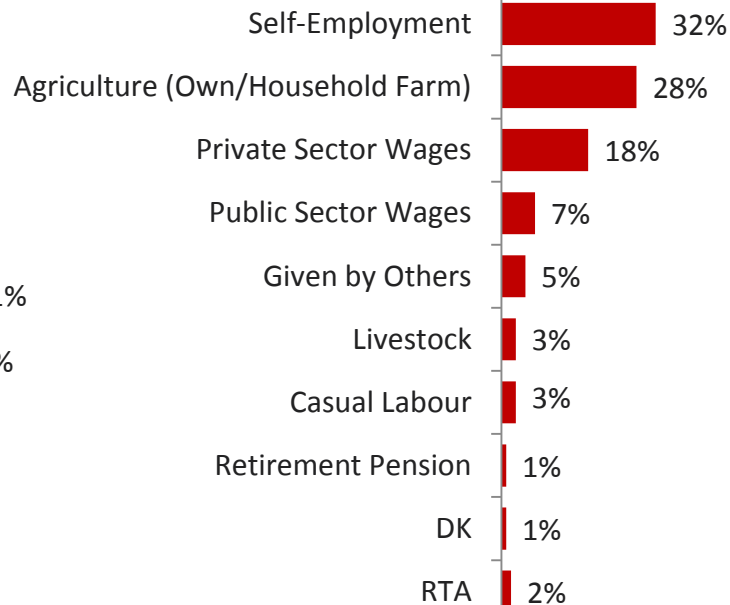
Age



Setting

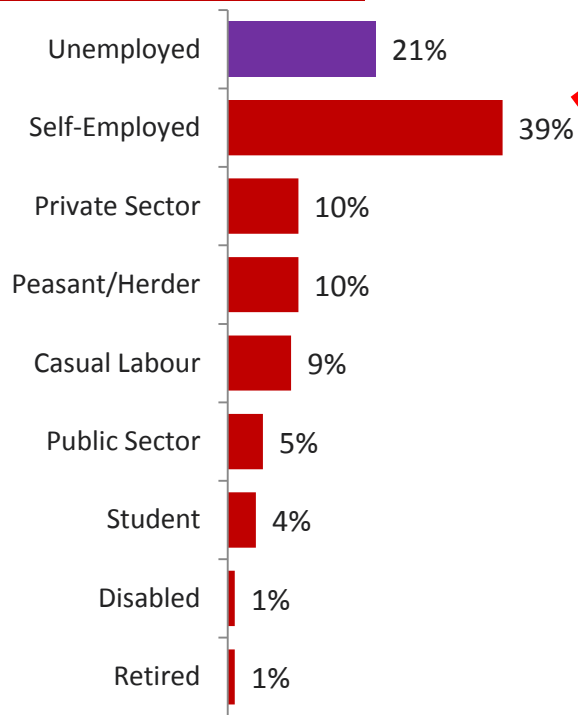


Main Source of Household Income



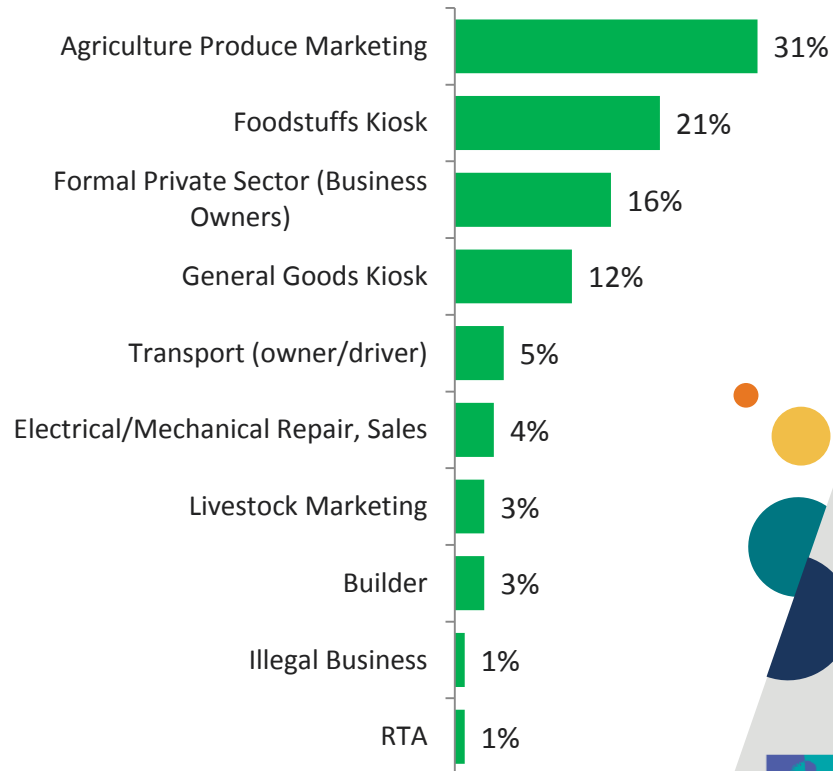
DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

Employment Status



Total Wage Employment: 15%

Type of Self-Employment

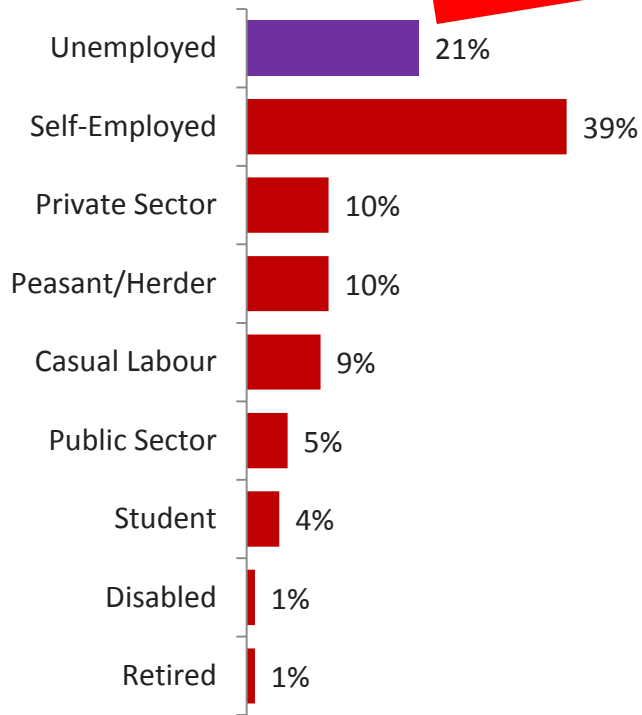


Base: (n=862)

GAME CHANGERS

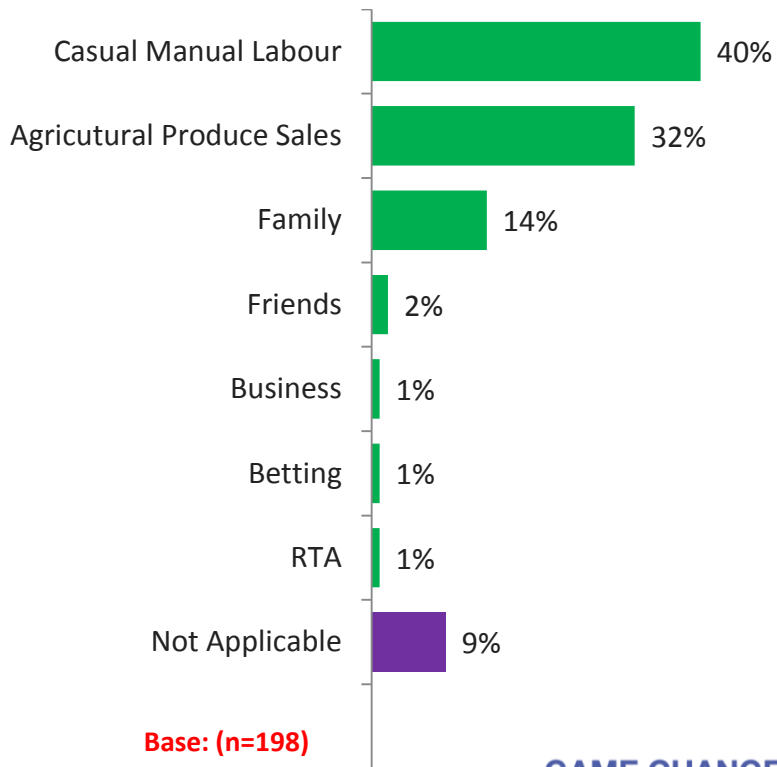
DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

Employment Status



Total Wage Employment: 15%

Main Source of Money (of the 57% Who Report Having Earned Any)

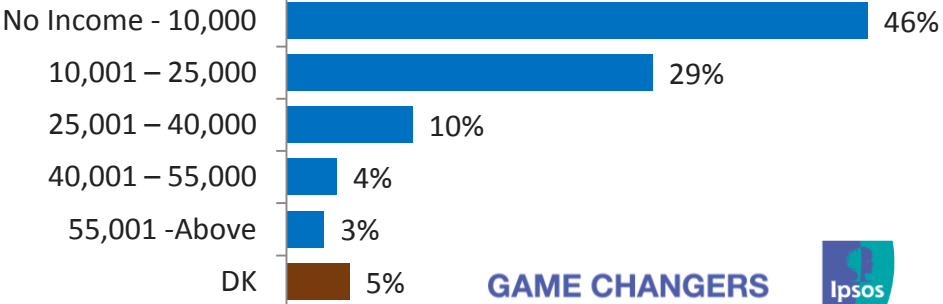
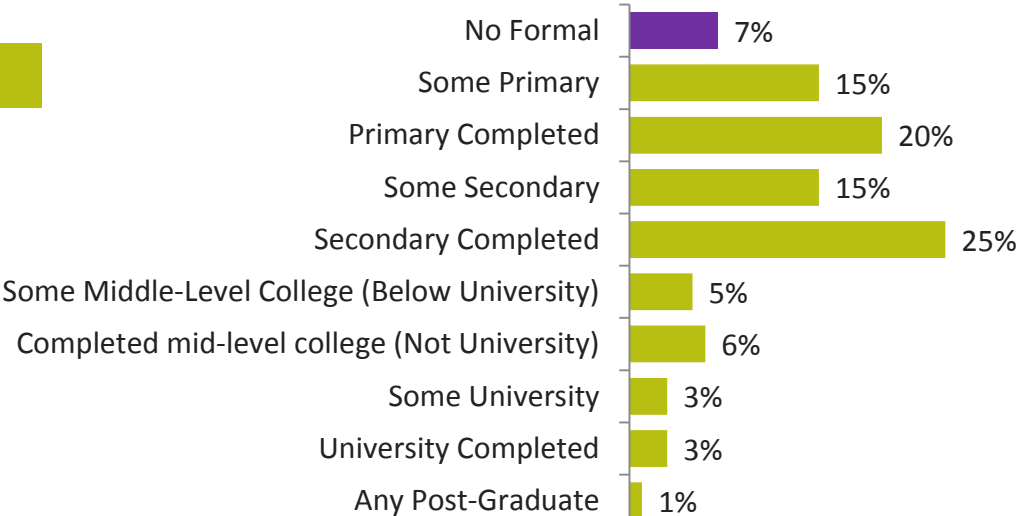


Base: (n=198)

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

Level of Education

Estimated Total Monthly Household Income



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GAME CHANGERS

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GAME CHANGERS

