METHODOLOGY
## Methodology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dates of Fieldwork</th>
<th>25&lt;sup&gt;TH&lt;/sup&gt; July– 2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; August, 2018</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sample Size</td>
<td>2,016 (Total Individual Contacts: 3,484)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sampling Methodology</td>
<td>Random, Multi-stage stratified using PPS (proportionate to population size) Spread across 46 counties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population Universe</td>
<td>Kenyan adults, aged 18 and above living in Urban and Rural areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data Collection Methodology</td>
<td>Face-to-Face interviews at the household level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sampling Error</td>
<td>+/-2.16% with a 95% confidence level (Note: Higher error-margins for sub-samples)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interview Languages</td>
<td>English, Swahili, Somali</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Sample Structure Statistics: Across 46 Counties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Sample Frame statistics (July 2018) *Weighted data</th>
<th>% of Sample</th>
<th>Population Census of 2009 Adults (18 years +)</th>
<th>% Of Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2,548,038</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coast</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1,711,549</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2,907,293</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nairobi</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2,042,770</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Eastern</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>929,158</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyanza</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2,547,980</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rift Valley</td>
<td>496</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4,795,482</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1,980,090</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,016</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>19,462,360</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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**

### Religion
- **Mainstream Protestant**: 40%
- **Catholic**: 23%
- **Other Christian**: 18%
- **Muslim**: 10%
- **SDA**: 7%
- **Atheist/None**: 1%

### Gender
- **Female**: 51%
- **Male**: 49%

### Age
- **18 – 24 years**: 28%
- **25 – 34 years**: 29%
- **35 – 44 years**: 18%
- **45+ years**: 25%

### Setting
- **Rural**: 63%
- **Urban**: 37%

### Main Source of Household Income
- **Self-employment**: 42%
- **Agriculture**: 19%
- **Private sector**: 16%
- **Public Sector**: 7%
- **Given money by others**: 6%
- **Livestock**: 3%
- **Casual labourer**: 2%
- **Pension from previous employment**: 1%
- **DK**: 1%
- **RTA**: 2%
DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

Level of Education

Estimated Total Monthly Household Income
**DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE**

**Employment Status**

- Self-Employed: 45%
- Peasant/Herder: 12%
- Unemployed: 12%
- Private Sector Employee: 11%
- Casual Labour: 9%
- Public Sector Employee: 5%
- Student: 4%
- NGO/Religious Sector Employee: 1%
- Unable to work: 1%
- Retired: 1%

**Main Source of Self-Employment**

- Agriculture produce marketing: 25%
- Foodstuffs kiosk: 18%
- General goods kiosk: 15%
- Formal private sector (business owners): 10%
- Livestock marketing: 6%
- Transport (owner/driver): 6%
- Electrical/mechanical repair/sales: 5%
- Builder: 4%
- Boutique: 2%
- Hairdressing: 1%
- Other (16 Mentions): 5%
- NR: 3%

**Total Wage Employment: 17%**
** DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE **

**Employment Status**

- Unemployed: 12%
- Self-Employed: 45%
- Peasant/Herder: 12%
- Private Sector Employee: 11%
- Casual labour: 9%
- Public Sector Employee: 5%
- Student: 4%
- NGO/Religious Sector Employee: 1%
- Unable to work: 1%
- Retired: 1%

**Total Wage Employment: 17%**

**Main Source of Money (of the 33% Who Report Having Earned Any)**

- Casual manual labor: 46%
- Sold produce: 27%
- Given by others: 17%
- Betting/Gambling: 9%

*Base: (n=79)*
Cautionary Point

Fieldwork for this survey was conducted between 25\textsuperscript{th} July and 2\textsuperscript{nd} August. 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 (the many of) them are:

July:

• 30\textsuperscript{th}: Confusion over fate of life-style audit of civil servants who were barred from working now that the 30 day period has expired and their cases have not been determined

• 31\textsuperscript{st}: EACC demands Police be excluded from corruption investigations due to their own corruption

August:

• 1\textsuperscript{st}: Head of Civil Service Joseph Kinyua appeals ruling of Judge Byram Ongaya that the suspension of numerous civil service during the conduct of a life-style audit while continuing to pay them was illegal
Cautionary Point

Recent Events Not (Fully) Captured (con’t):

• Aug. 2: Two parliamentary committees recommend prosecution of two CSs for sugar import scandal

• 3rd: Parliamentary sugar investigation Chair Kanini Kega denies accusations that his Committee’s report was “doctored”

• 4th: Igembe North MP Maoka Maore suggests a strict tightening of bail terms to raise the cost of corruption

• Making explicit reference to various integrity surveys, EACC vice-chairperson Sophia Lepuchirit questions the capacity of the DCI/the Police to properly investigate corruption, given their own integrity-deficit

• 8th: CS Adan Mohamed and CS Henry Rotich as well as former Agriculture CS Willy Bett targeted in parliamentary censure motion over contraband sugar imports
Recent Events Not (Fully) Captured (con’t):

• 9th: Opposition MPs begin collecting signatures to impeach CS Rotich for illegal sugar imports

• 9th: Uhuru tells GK agencies to prosecute officials who have grabbed public land and allocated riparian land

• 10th: Kidero and Son arrested, charged in connection with selling adulterated petroleum products

• 10th: Claims that payment of bribes accounts for NA’s failure to adopt Committee’s report on illegal sugar imports

• 14th: Dismas Barasa Kimilili MP accuses Wajir Women’s Rep of offering the 10K bribes to reject the report

• 10th: Opposition Nairobi MCAs claim Governor Mike Sonko’s anti-corruption efforts only “a PR stunt”
Recent Events Not (Fully) Captured (con’t):

• 11th: DP Ruto promises to support DPP on graft cases

• 12th: President Uhuru says his war on graft has cost him many friends; Raila calls for the recovery of stolen assets

• 13th: NLC Chair Muhammed Swazuri and others charged with SGR inflated land sales

• 13th: LSK criticizes EAAC corruption arrests as PR exercises

• 16th: EACC officials arrest Migori and Homa Bay county officers (with others still at large), charging them with various financial crimes since 2014

• 18th: Uhuru holds meeting with senior EACC officials at which he pledges his full support

• 19th: DP Ruto criticizes intention of parliament to impeach Treasury CS Henry Rotich
Recent Events Not (Fully)Captured (con’t):

• 19th: Civil society groups demand the resignation of NLC Commissioners for corruption, threatening to make public the incrimination information they have collected if they do not

• 20th: Four Senators reported to be under investigation by the DCI for soliciting Shs. 100m bribe from businessman Francis Mburu over contested Ruaraka land

• 20th: 400 civil servants cleared following completion of life-style audits, a process which began on June 4

• 20th: KEBS and other investigators in Mombasa announce they have seized a million bags of toxic rice as well as sub-standard cooking oil from Malaysia

• 20th: Court of Appeal rejects effort by former Roads CS Michael Kamau to have fresh charges brought by the EACC quashed on procedural grounds
“What would you say is the most serious problem facing Kenya today?”

– Trend Analysis for Corruption: April 2011 – July 2018
Awareness of Any Corruption Scandals Under Jubilee:
by Total, Supporters of the Main Political Parties/Coalitions

Before 2017 Election

After 2017 Election

Total
Jubilee Supporters
CORD/NASA Supporters

Aug. 2015
Nov. 2015
June. 2016
July. 2018

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Awareness of Any Corruption Scandals Since Jubilee’s Re-Election in 2017: by Level of Education

- No Formal (n=72): 32%
- Some Primary (n=313): 57%
- Primary Completed (n=390): 63%
- Some Secondary (n=230): 82%
- Secondary Completed (n=561): 85%
- Some-Mid Level College (n=136): 94%
- Mid-Level College Completed (n=122): 94%
- Any University (n=130): 98%
“Since the Jubilee government was re-elected last year, what major cases of corruption have you heard about?”: by Total (Multiple Response, Unprompted)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scandal</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Scandal</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NYS</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>SGR Land Purchase</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya Power</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>Health Ministry</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar Importation</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>County Government</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maize Importation</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>IEBC</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCPB/Maize Buying</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>Mau Forest Land</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruaraka School Land</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>Other (13 Mentions)</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya Pipeline</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>None/Can’t Remember</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SGR Construction</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Awareness of Particular Individuals Mentioned In Connection with Any Corruption Scandals Under Jubilee: *by Total (Among the 42% Able to Mention Anyone Believed to Be Connected to Any Post-Election Corruption Scandal)* (Multiple Response, Unprompted)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>More Than 1% of All Mentions</th>
<th>Fewer Than 2% of All Mentions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anne Waiguru</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Ruto</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ben Chumo</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lilian Mbogo Omollo</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ann Ngirita and Family</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sospeter Ojamong’</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uhuru Kenyatta</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fred Matiang’i</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Ndubai</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aden Duale</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Keter</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evans Kider</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammed Swazuri</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhoho Kenyatta</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Base: (n=840)
“Of all the current and past but still alive political leaders you can think of, which two do you think are or were the most corrupt?”: by Total, Supporters of the Main Political Parties/Coalitions (Among Those Mentioned by At Least 1%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leader</th>
<th>Total (n=2,016)</th>
<th>Jubilee Supporters (n=1,043)</th>
<th>NASA Supporters (n=694)</th>
<th>% Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>William Ruto</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>+30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anne Waiguru</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>+6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel Moi</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>-1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uhuru Kenyatta</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>+10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mwai Kibaki</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>-1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raila Odinga</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>-7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evans Kidero</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>-3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalonzo Musyoka</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>-1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbuvi Sonko</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sospeter Ojiamong'</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>+1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All politicians</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>+1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>-6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RTA</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>-1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>-9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
“Do you think it is likely that any of those involved in corruption will be convicted?”: by Total, Supporters of the Main Political Parties/Coalitions (Among the 42% Able to Mention Anyone Believed to Be Connected to any Post-Election Corruption Scandal)
“Do you think the President is sincere in his efforts to reduce corruption?”: *by Total, Supporters of Main Political Parties/Coalitions*
“How likely do you think it is that he will succeed in reducing corruption?”: by Total, Supporters of Main Political Parties/Coalitions

- **Total (n=2,016)**
  - Certain: 21%
  - Likely But Not Certain: 31%
  - Not Likely But Possible: 17%
  - Certainly Not: 24%
  - Not sure: 6%

- **Jubilee Supporters (n=1,043)**
  - Certain: 26%
  - Likely But Not Certain: 31%
  - Not Likely But Possible: 18%
  - Certainly Not: 20%
  - Not sure: 5%

- **NASA Supporters (n=694)**
  - Certain: 16%
  - Likely But Not Certain: 31%
  - Not Likely But Possible: 17%
  - Certainly Not: 29%
  - Not sure: 5%
Perceived Sincerity of President in Fighting Corruption/Likelihood That He Will Succeed: Trend Analysis April 2015 – July 2018

% saying “Yes”

- Is Sincere
- Is Certain to Succeed

(“Sincere” for April N/A)

- April. 2015: 50%
- Aug. 2015: 51%
- Nov. 2015: 37%
- June. 2016: 44%
- July. 2018: 51%

- April. 2015: 20%
- Aug. 2015: 25%
- Nov. 2015: 16%
- June. 2016: 16%
- July. 2018: 21%
“What do you think is the main reason that anti-corruption efforts have not been very effective no far?” (Single Response, Unprompted): by Total

- Political Protection/Intimidation by ‘Big People’: 41%
- Poverty/Greed Among Police/Investigators/Prosecutors: 15%
- Weak Legal Framework: 11%
- Corrupt Judiciary: 9%
- Corrupt Nature of Most Government Officials: 2%
- Kenyans' Support for/Engagement In Corrupt Practices (e.g. bribery): 1%
- Lack of Cooperation Among Leaders: 1%
- Pervasiveness of Favourism (i.e., tribalism, nepotism, etc.): 1%
- Not Sure: 8%
- N/A: 1%
“What do you think is the main thing that could be done to reduce corruption?” (Single Response, Unprompted): by Total

- Harsher/More Certain Criminal Punishments: 31%
- Sacking of Corrupt Officials by the President: 23%
- Increased Public Awareness: 17%
- More Focus on County-Level Corruption by the EACC: 11%
- More Cooperation Among Leaders: 3%
- Electing Leaders of Integrity: 1%
- Strengthening the Judicial: 1%
- Other (16 Mentions): 3%
- Not Sure: 5%
- Nothing: 4%
“Do you think someone who is corrupt can still be a good leader?”:
by Total, Supporters of the Main Political Parties/Coalitions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total (n=2,016)</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jubilee Supporters (n=1,043)</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NASA Supporters (n=694)</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Belief that the President is/is Not Sincere in Fighting Corruption:
by Total, Those Who Do/Do Not Believe that a Corrupt Person Can/ Cannot Be a Good Leader

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>President Is Sincere</th>
<th>President Is Not Sincere</th>
<th>Not Sure If He is Sincere</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total (n=2,016)</strong></td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Can Be a Good Leader (n=198)</strong></td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cannot Be a Good Leader (n=1,754)</strong></td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
“How certain or likely do you think it is that each of the following would be convicted and punished if they committed a serious crime: (a) a high-ranking person such as a senior politician or government official, or a rich businessman/(b) an ordinary citizen?”: **by Total**

- **A High-Ranking Politician, Government Official or Rich Businessman**
  - Certain: 77%
  - Possible: 22%
  - Certainly Not: 4%
  - Not Sure: 1%

- **An Ordinary Citizen**
  - Certain: 17%
  - Possible: 18%
  - Certainly Not: 58%
  - Not Sure: 3%
KENYA’S DIRECTION:
RIGHT OR WRONG?
“In your opinion, are things in Kenya generally going in the right or the wrong direction?”: by Total, Main Political Party/Coalition Alignment

- **Total (n=2,016)**
  - Right Direction: 28%
  - Wrong Direction: 59%
  - Neither Right Nor Wrong Direction: 14%

- **Jubilee Supporters (n=1,043)**
  - Right Direction: 31%
  - Wrong Direction: 53%
  - Neither Right Nor Wrong Direction: 16%

- **NASA Supporters (n=694)**
  - Right Direction: 66%
  - Wrong Direction: 23%
  - Neither Right Nor Wrong Direction: 10%
“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*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Right Direction</th>
<th>Wrong Direction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North Eastern</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rift Valley</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coast</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyanza</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nairobi</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Not shown: “Neither Right Nor Wrong”, “Not Sure”)
“What is the main reason you say so?”: by the 28% Who Think Kenya is Going in the Right Direction (Single Response, Unprompted)

Base: (n=542)
“What is the main reason you say so?”: by The 59% Who Think Kenya is Going in the Wrong Direction (Single Response, Unprompted)

- Cost of Living: 30%
- Leadership: 21%
- Corruption: 16%
- Employment: 12%
- Tribalism/Ethnic Tensions: 5%
- Political Instability: 4%
- Crime: 2%
- Hunger/Drought: 2%
- Infrastructure: 2%
- Other: 5%

Base: (n=1,255)
“On the whole, thinking about Kenya today, are things generally going in the right or wrong direction?” – Trend Analysis: November 2013 – July 2018
Contacts

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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.

Ipsos complies to ISO 20252 when executing a research project. Ipsos was certified by SGS United Kingdom Ltd, list of certified characteristics available upon request or on www.sgs.com/standard.