



# 2022 Election Issues & Three Counties' Contests

#TIFACountyPolls

10<sup>th</sup> March 2022 Omnibus Survey | 2<sup>nd</sup> Release

**Summary Findings**

**Section 1: National Population Survey Results**

**Voter Registration and Expectations of Voting**

**Anticipated Participation in Voting/Party Nominations**

**Expected Integrity of the Forthcoming Presidential Election**

**Section 2: Elections in Three Counties**

**Muranga County**

**Busia County**

**Nairobi County**

**Section 3: Respondents' Demographics**

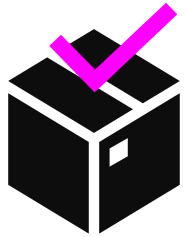


# Summary Findings

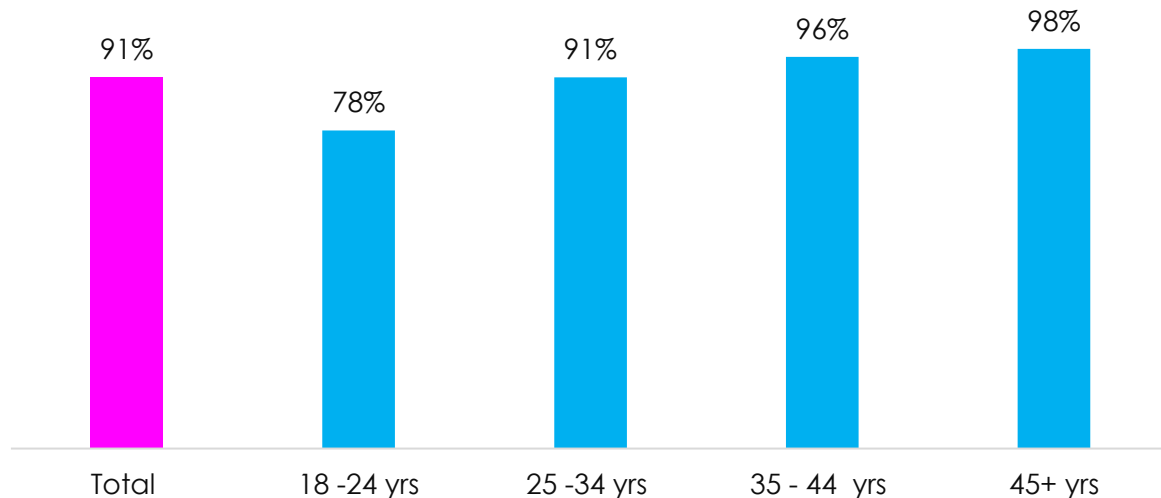
# Summary Findings: Election Issues

## Claimed voter registration & barriers to registration

- 91% report being registered voters.
- The older are more likely to be registered as compared to the younger generation



**% Claiming to be Registered Voters:  
by Total & Age Grouping**



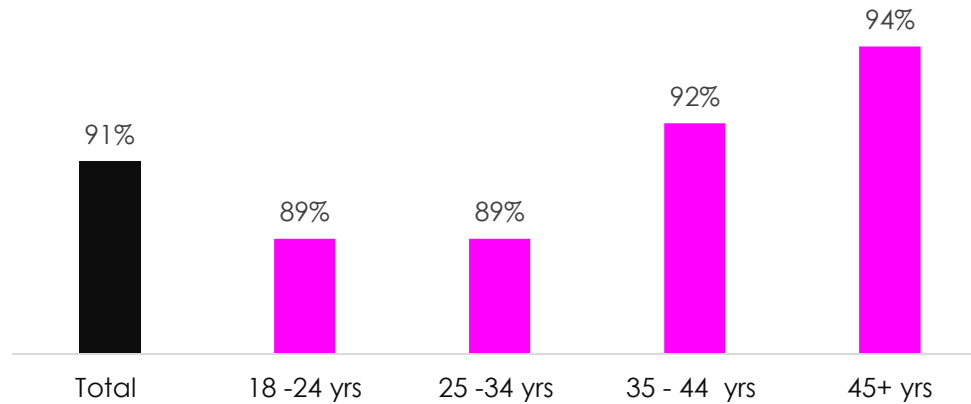
**Main Reason for Not Being a Registered Voter (9% who are not registered)**

Reason	%
No interest: elected leaders do not keep their promises	44%
No interest: elections are usually rigged,	13%
Have been/is too busy	13%
No interest: there is no real difference between the candidates	10%

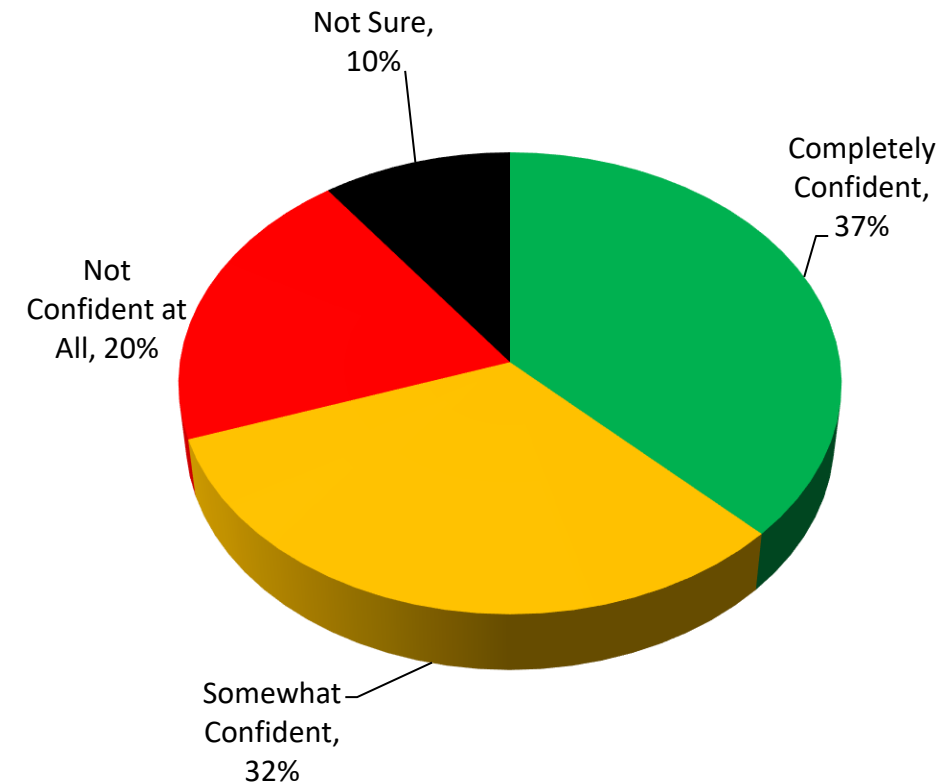
# Summary Findings: Election Issues

## Intention to vote, barriers to voting & integrity of the presidential election

**% Intention to vote:  
by Age Grouping**



**Level of Confidence that the Presidential  
Election Will Be Free and Fair By total**



**Barriers: Main Reason for Not Intending to Vote**

Reason for not voting (i.e the 9% those who do not intend to vote)	%
Not satisfied with parties/candidates	26%
Lack of faith that vote will make a difference	18%
Not a registered voter/will not register	17%
Unable to vote (to busy or too far from polling station)	10%

91% of those registered intend to vote in the next elections.

20% are not confident that the upcoming elections will be free and fair.

Q. "How confident are you that the coming August election for the president will be free and fair? Are you...?" SINGLE RESPONSE – READ OUT

# Summary Findings: Nairobi, Busia, Murang'a Counties

## Gubernatorial aspirants popularity & political party preferences

### Most preferred governor aspirant

#### Nairobi Governor

- ☐ 23% Johnson Sakaja
- ☐ 14% Tim Wanjonyi
- ☐ 7% Anne Kananu
- ☐ 6% Richard Ngatia
- ☐ 5% Mike Sonko
- ☐ 4% Margaret Wanjiru
- ☐ 6% Others
- ☐ 35% Undecided

#### Busia Governor

- ☐ 31% Florence Mutua
- ☐ 19% John Sakwa Bunyasi
- ☐ 17% Paul Otuoma
- ☐ 6% Vincent Sidai
- ☐ 6% Amos Wako
- ☐ 5% Others
- ☐ 14% Undecided

#### Muranga Governor

- ☐ 44% Irungu Kangáta
- ☐ 23% Jamleck Kamau
- ☐ 7% Wairagu wa Maai
- ☐ 4% Irungu Nyakera
- ☐ 4% Others
- ☐ 20% Undecided/don't know

### Political party support (top 4)

Political Party	%
ODM	23%
UDA	22%
Azimio La Umoja	8%
WIPER	2%

Political Party	%
ODM	46%
Azimio La Umoja	19%
DAP-K	10%
UDA	7%

Political Party	%
UDA	69%
Jubilee	11%
ODM	6%
Usawa Kwa Wote	1%



## Section 1: National Population Survey Results

2<sup>nd</sup> Release of the February 2022 Survey

# Methodology Overview



Fieldwork Dates	3 <sup>rd</sup> to 9 <sup>th</sup> February 2022
Geographical	Nationally Representative Sample - spread across 9 Zones: <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Central Rift, Coast, Lower Eastern, Mt Kenya, Nairobi, Northern, Nyanza, South Rift, Western</li></ul>
Data collection	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Telephonic Interviews conducted (with respondents whose contacts were collected through face-to-face (i.e., household-based interviews)</li><li>• Interview languages: Swahili (mainly) and English</li></ul>
Sample	1,541 respondents
Margin of error	+/- 2.49 % (Note: Larger error-margins for sub-samples)
Funding	TIFA Research funded the survey



# Zones by County



Zone	County	Zone	County	Zone	County
Central Rift	Uasin Gishu	Nairobi	Nairobi	Mt Kenya	Meru
Central Rift	Elgeyo-Marakwet	Northern	Garissa	Mt Kenya	Tharaka-Nithi
Central Rift	Nandi	Northern	Wajir	Mt Kenya	Embu
Central Rift	Baringo	Northern	Mandera	Mt Kenya	Nyandarua
Central Rift	Nakuru	Northern	Marsabit	Mt Kenya	Nyeri
Central Rift	Kericho	Northern	Isiolo	Mt Kenya	Kirinyaga
Central Rift	Bomet	Northern	Turkana	Mt Kenya	Murang'a
Coast	Mombasa	Northern	West Pokot	Mt Kenya	Kiambu
Coast	Kwale	Northern	Samburu	Mt Kenya	Laikipia
Coast	Kilifi	Nyanza	Siaya	South Rift	Narok
Coast	Tana River	Nyanza	Kisumu	South Rift	Kajiado
Coast	Lamu	Nyanza	Homa Bay	Western	Trans Nzoia
Coast	Taita-Taveta	Nyanza	Migori	Western	Kakamega
Lower Eastern	Kitui	Nyanza	Kisii	Western	Vihiga
Lower Eastern	Machakos	Nyanza	Nyamira	Western	Bungoma
Lower Eastern	Makueni			Western	Busia



## **Election Issue 1:**

- ☐ Voter Registration and Expectations of Voting**

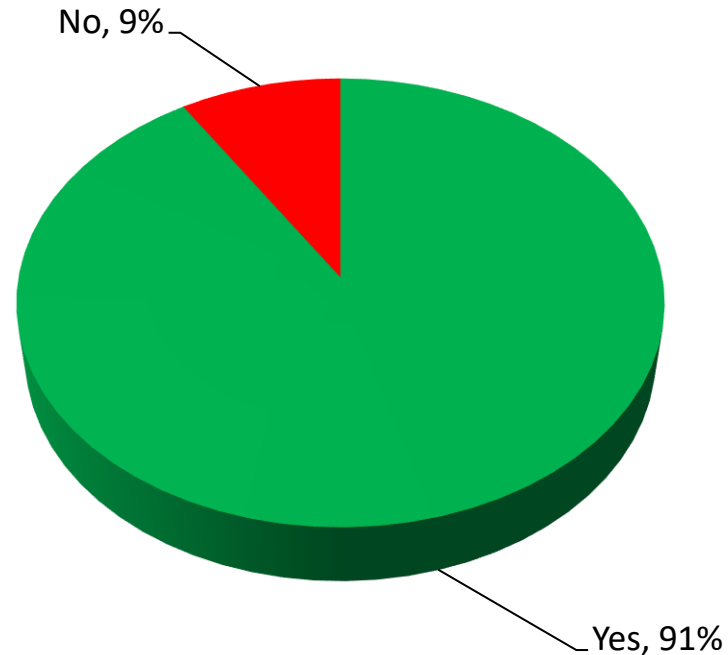
# Self-Identification: Registered Voters

by total & age

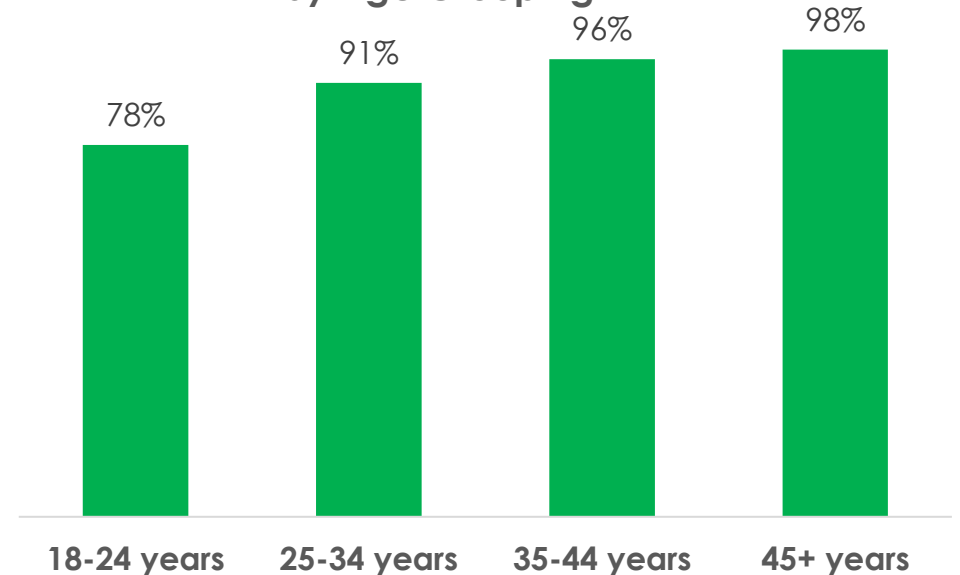


- Nine out of ten Kenyans (91%) report being registered voters, though this ranges from a low among the youngest age grouping (78%) to a higher among the oldest (98%). (Note, however, that these figures are likely inflated since the IEBC reports a current figure of registered voters of 22.1m out of an adult population of about 27m, equal to about 82% only. As such, it appears some respondents were embarrassed to indicate that they are not, in fact, registered as voters.)

**Claiming to be Registered Voters:  
by Total**



**% Claiming to be Registered Voters:  
by Age Grouping**



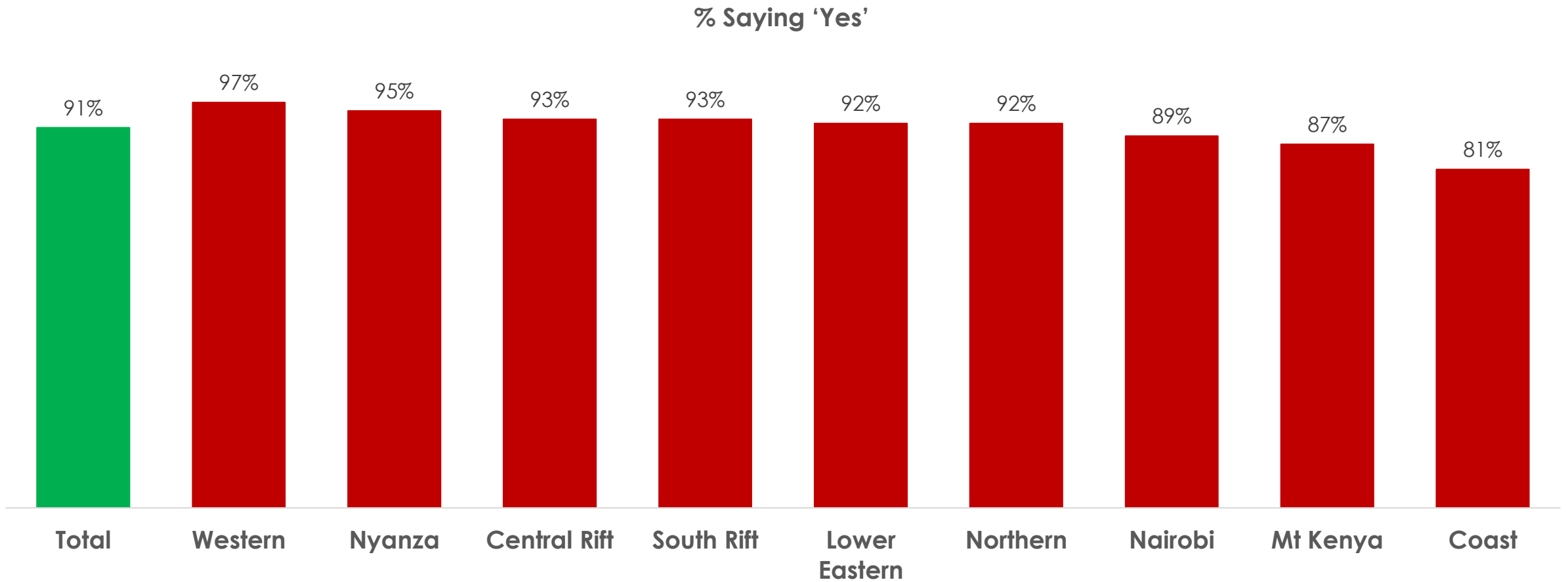
Q. "Are you a registered voter?"

Base = all respondents

# Self-Identification as Registered Voters

## by total & zone

Among those claiming to be registered voters, the highest (reported) proportion in Western and the lowest in Coast.



Q. "Are you a registered voter?"

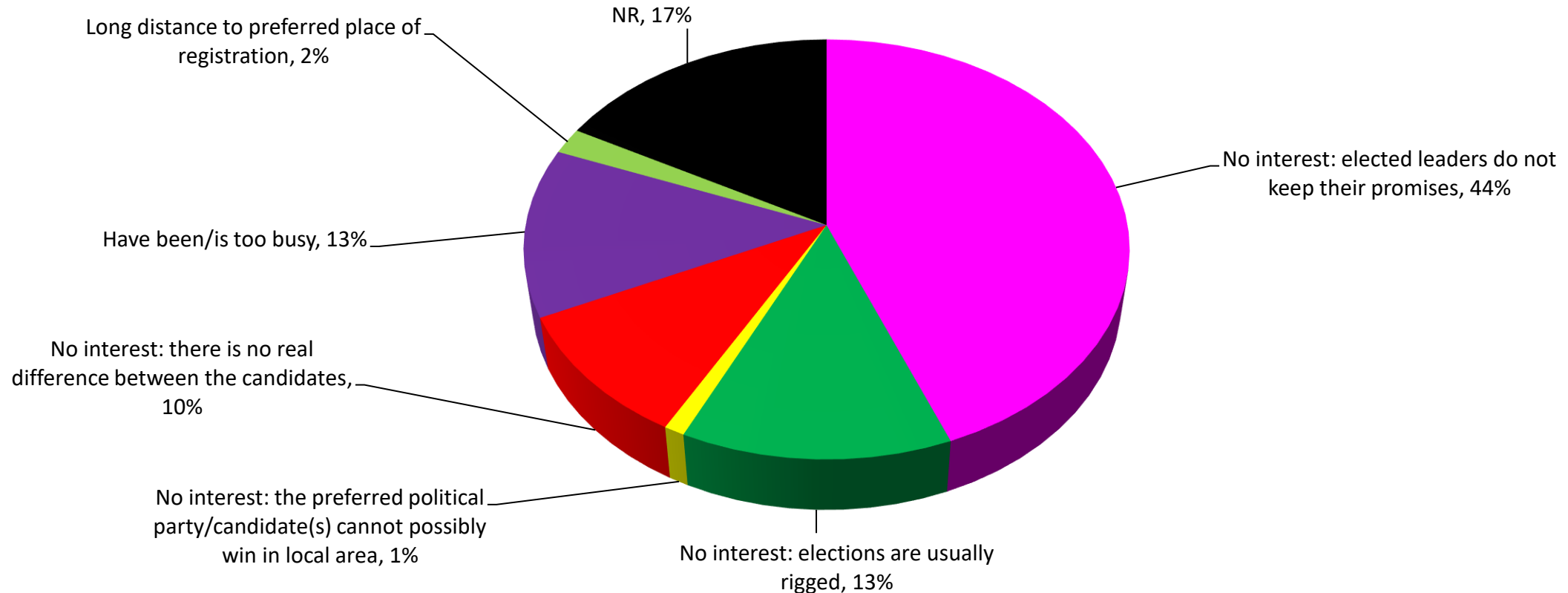
Base = all respondents

# Main Reason for Not Being a Registered Voter/Wanting to Register

by the 38% of those stating that they are not registered voters and have no intention of registering



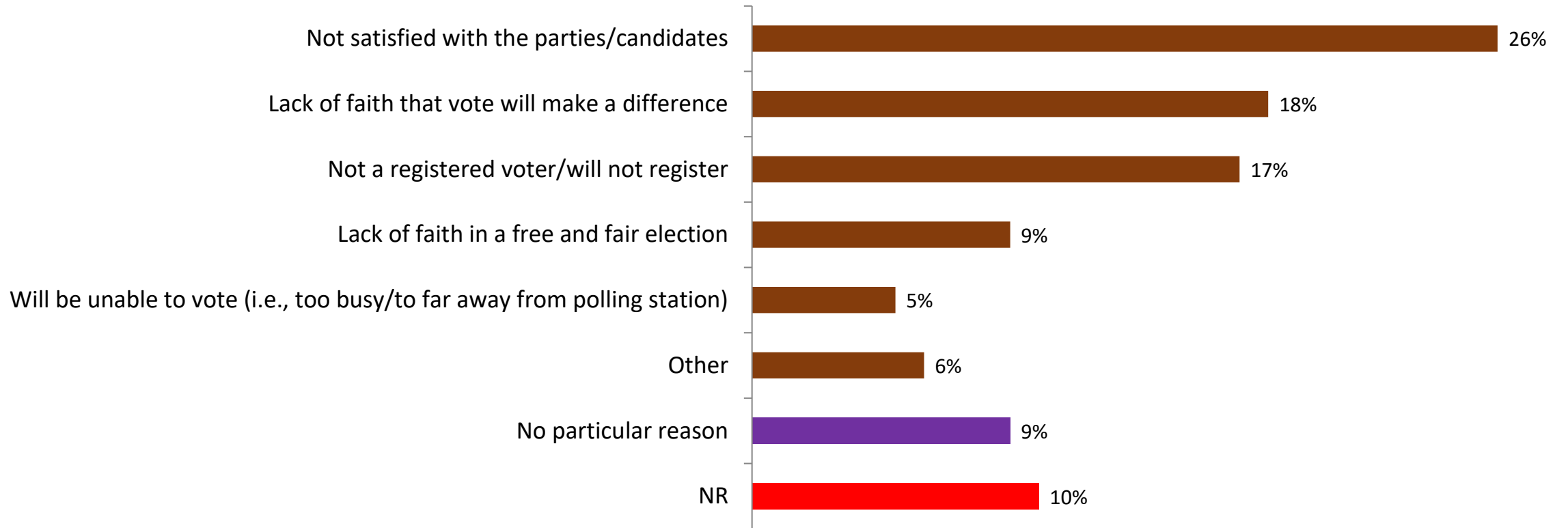
Among the small minority (9%) who declare they had no interest in registering to vote (even if they could have done so), most say it is because they have no faith that those elected “will keep their promises” (44%), while significant proportions cite their of confidence in election integrity (13%) and a lack of perceived contrasts between the candidates (10%) as their main reason for staying away from the polls. Another significant proportion report that they were “too busy” (13%).



# Main Reason for Not Intending to Vote

by the 9% who say they certainly/probably will not vote

Among those who say they will not vote, most say that they either find nothing attractive to choose from in terms of political parties/candidates or have insufficient faith that their vote will make any difference to their lives (26% and 18%, respectively). Other reasons of significant proportions are that they are not/will not be a registered voter and that they lack faith in the election's integrity (17% and 9%, respectively).





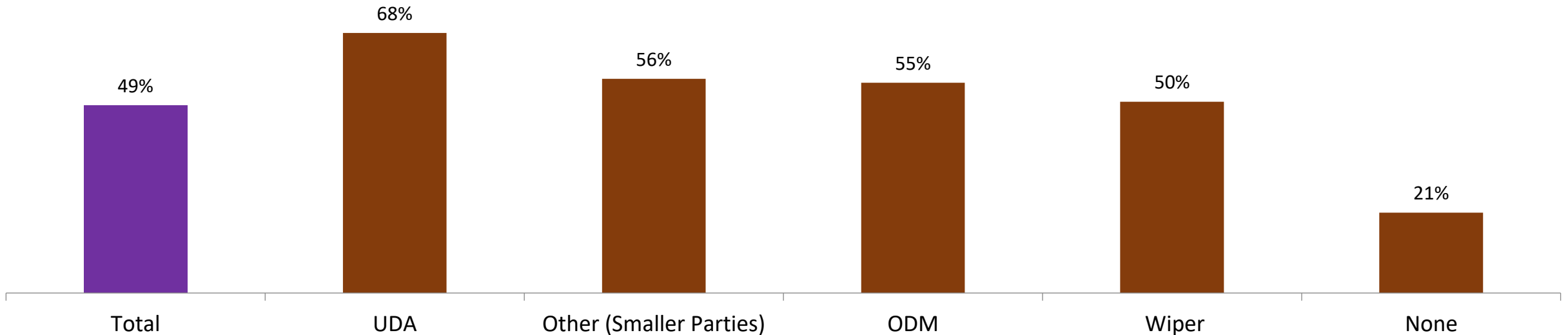
## **Election Issues 2:**

- Anticipated Participation in Voting/Party Nominations**

# Expressed Intention to Participate in Party Nominations

## by total, supporters of the main political parties & none

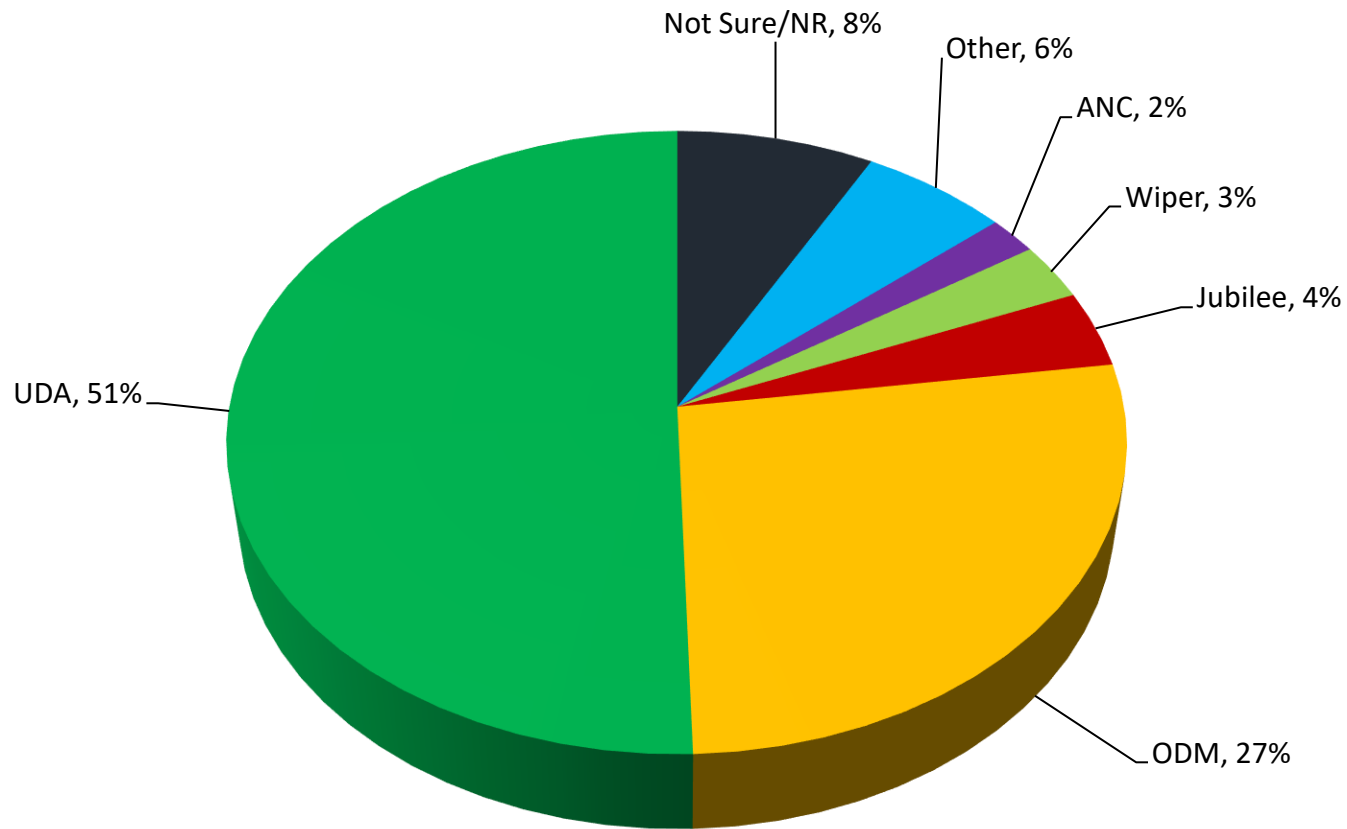
- Given UDA's leading national popularity, it is not surprising that its supporters are most enthusiastic about (possibly) participating in the forthcoming nomination process. Further, there is little difference between supporters of the many smaller parties and those of ODM and Wiper in terms of their expressed intention to participate. The fact the such smaller parties appear so attractive to many Kenyans seems to be a function of two emerging realities: first, that especially due to devolution, a number of such parties have sprung up/been re-activated since the last election, mainly so that 'local' candidates could develop/maintain their independence from the main national parties and their (especially) presidential candidates; and second, that such parties being smaller, may encourage confidence that even 'ordinary people' will have a greater role/say in choosing their candidates, rather than having them 'imposed' by influential party officials/leaders.
- It is also striking that even a substantial proportion of those who currently decline to associate themselves with any political party nevertheless say they will participate in such nominations.





# Political Party Mentioned for Participation in Nominations

*by those stating they intend to participate in party nominations*



- Again, largely reflecting UDA's leading popularity, almost twice as many of those expressing the intention to participate in party nominations name it as the party for which they intend to do so – nearly twice as many as those saying that will so participate in those of ODM (51% vs. 27%).
- Further, the proportion of those expressing such an intention to participate in Jubilee, ANC, Wiper and ANC are about equal to the proportion of their self-identified supporters, the other, smaller, parties attract more than twice as many of their (total) supporters (6% vs. 2%). This may be a reflection of the fact that 'political party support' question allowed for only a single response, suggesting that it would be important in TIFA's next survey to allow for the mention of a second party, especially if it was active/popular primarily at the local rather than the national level.



## **Election Issue 3:**

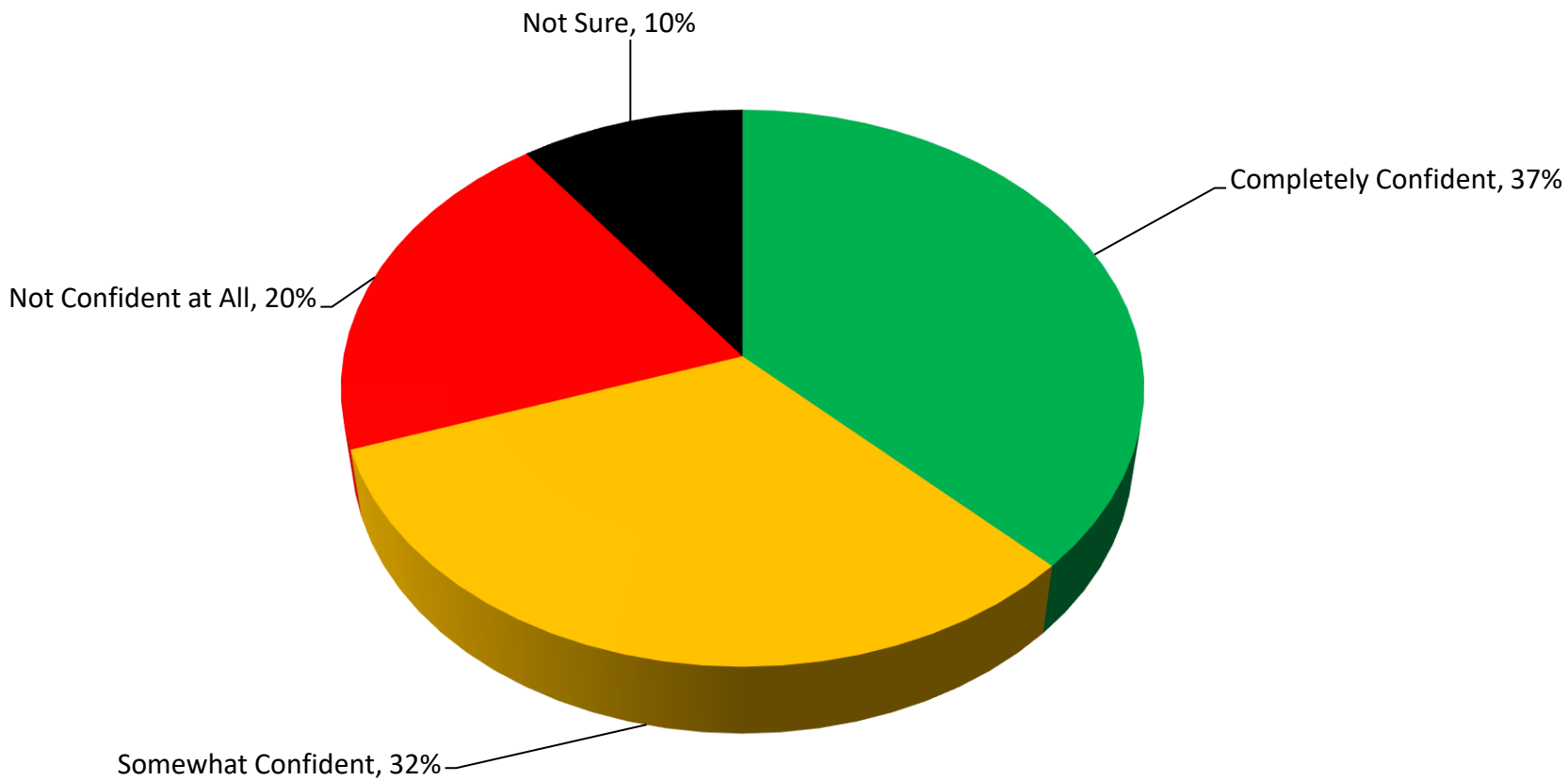
- Expected Integrity of the Forthcoming Presidential Election**

# Level of Confidence that the Presidential Election Will Be Free and Fair

## By total



Kenyans are nearly equally divided in terms of their current level of confidence as to the integrity of the August election, with about one third “completely confident” that it will be free and fair and the same proportions who feel “somewhat” and not confident all” about this (combined with those who are “not sure” about this” 37% vs. 32%. Vs. 32%).



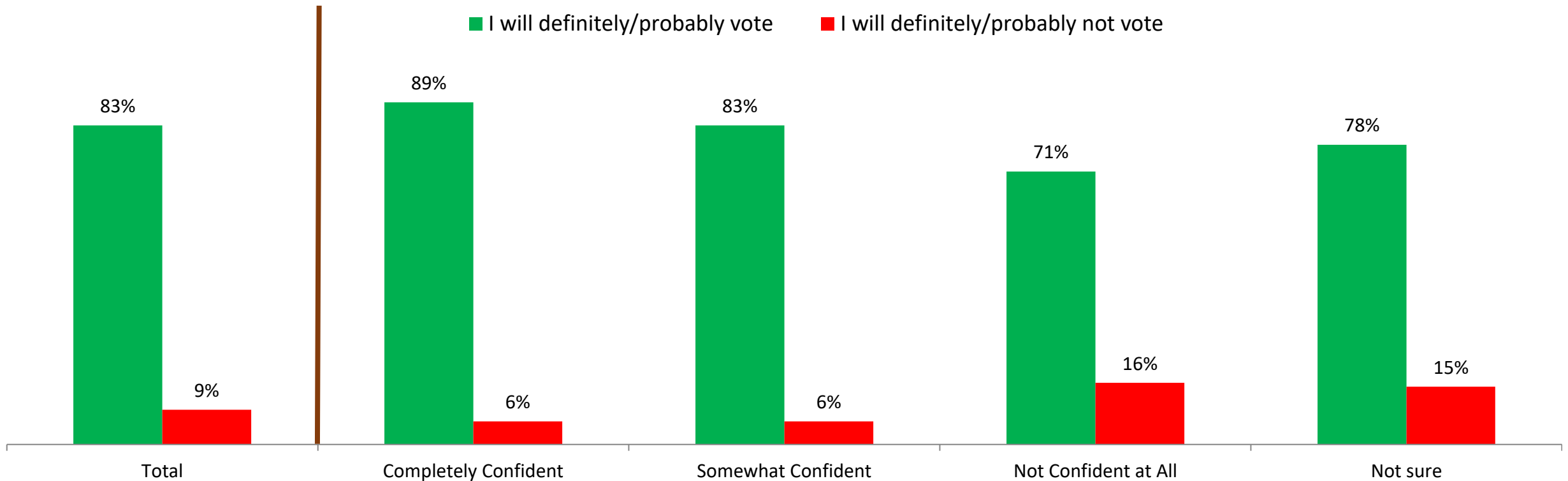
Q. "How confident are you that the coming August election for the president will be free and fair? Are you...?" SINGLE RESPONSE – READ OUT

Base = all respondents

# Expressed Likelihood of Voting vs Level of Confidence that the Presidential Election Will Be Free and Fair: *by those who will definitely/probably vote vs. those who will definitely/probably not vote*



□ While slightly more than four-fifths of all respondents express an intention to (definitely or probably) vote in the August election, the figure varies substantially between those who are “completely confident” that this election will be “free and fair” and those who are “not confident at all” that it will meet this standard (89% vs. 71%).



Q. “How confident are you that the coming August election for the president will be free and fair? Are you...?” SINGLE RESPONSE – READ OUT  
“Q: “In the 2022 national elections, which of the following statements is most true for you? SINGLE RESPONSE – READ OUT

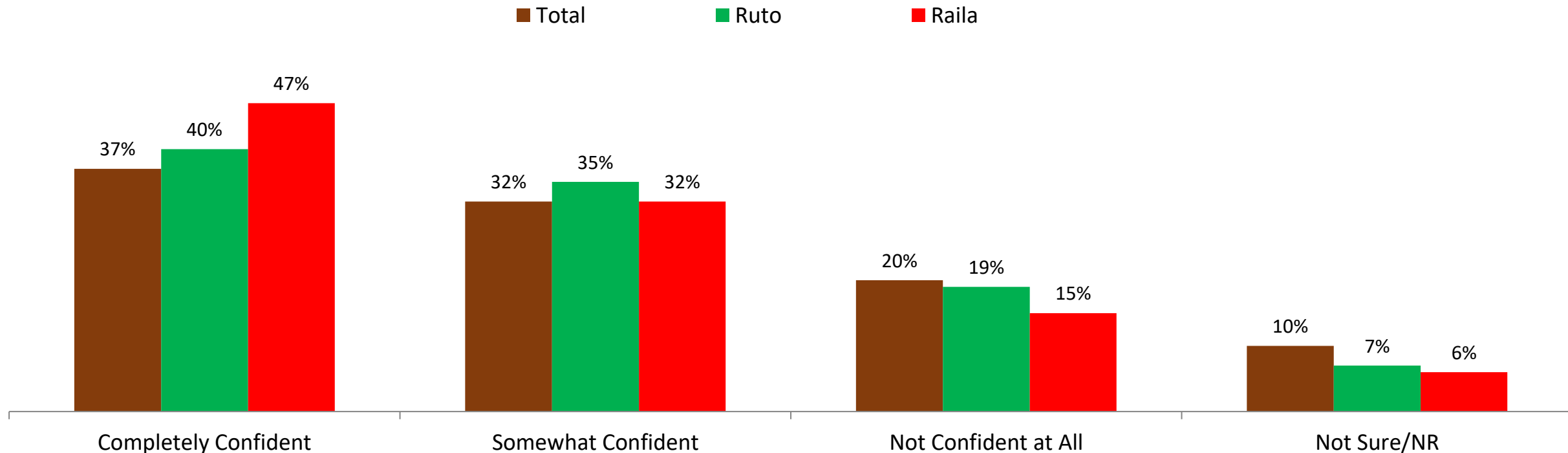
Base = all respondents

# Level of Confidence that the Presidential Election Will Be Free and Fair

## by total & supporters of Ruto/Raila



- ❑ Kenyans are nearly equally divided in terms of their current level of confidence as to the integrity of the August election, with about one third “completely confident”, another third “somewhat confident”, and the remaining third either “not confident at all” or “not sure” about this.
- ❑ However, rather more of Raila’s supporters express “complete confidence” about the forthcoming election’s integrity than do those of Ruto (47% vs. 40%), and conversely, slightly more of the former’s supporters are “not confident at all” about this (19% vs. 15%), though given the DP’s recent statements it may be expected that this gap will be even larger when TIFA conducts its next survey.



Q. "How confident are you that the coming August election for the president will be free and fair? Are you...?" SINGLE RESPONSE – READ OUT

Base = all respondents



## Section 2: Elections in Three Counties

# Methodology Overview



	<u>Nairobi</u>	<u>Murang'a</u>	<u>Busia</u>
Fieldwork Dates	2 <sup>nd</sup> to 7 <sup>th</sup> March 2022	5 <sup>th</sup> to 8 <sup>th</sup> March 2022	2 <sup>nd</sup> to 7 <sup>th</sup> March 2022
Geographical	Representative sample - spread across 17 constituencies	Representative Sample - spread across 7 constituencies	Busia County - Representative Sample - spread across 7 constituencies
Data collection	Telephonic interviews Household interviews	Household interviews	Household interviews
Sample	780 respondents both male and female	400 respondents both male and female	510 respondents both male and female
Margin of error	+/-3 .5 %	+/-4 .7 %	+/-4 .33%



## **Murang'a County**

- Political party preference
- Preferred governor, senator, women representative aspirants'
- Presidential aspirants' popularity

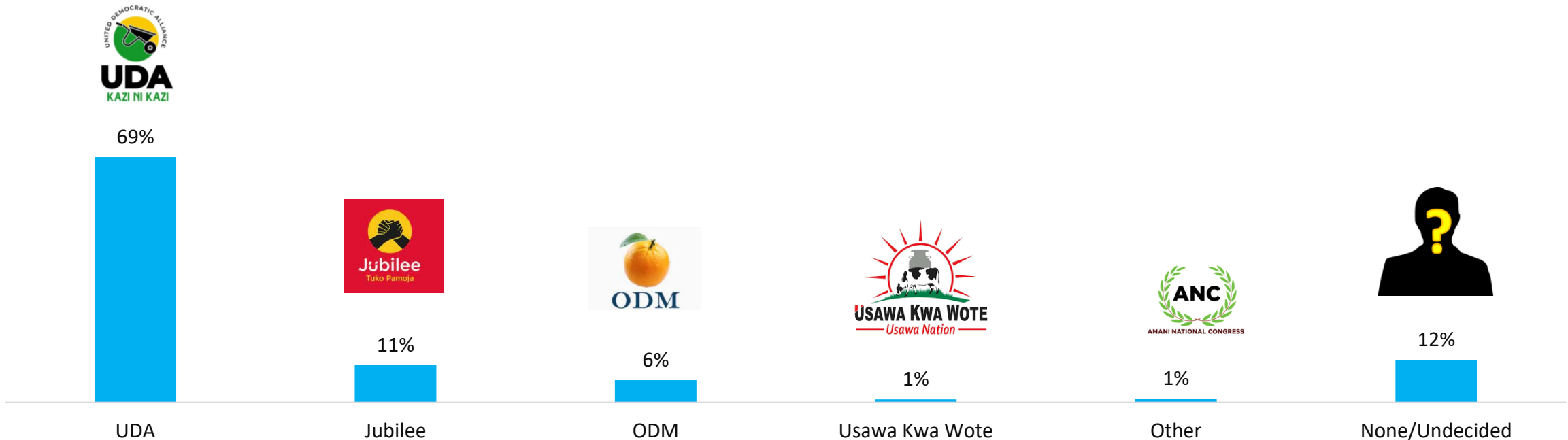


# Political Party Affiliation

*By total*

- UDA is more than six times more popular than its nearest rival, Jubilee (69% vs. 11%). Given this margin, it appears that whoever wins the UDA nomination for the various elective posts in Murang'a will have a major advantage when voters go to the polls in August.

Political party affiliation – Muranga



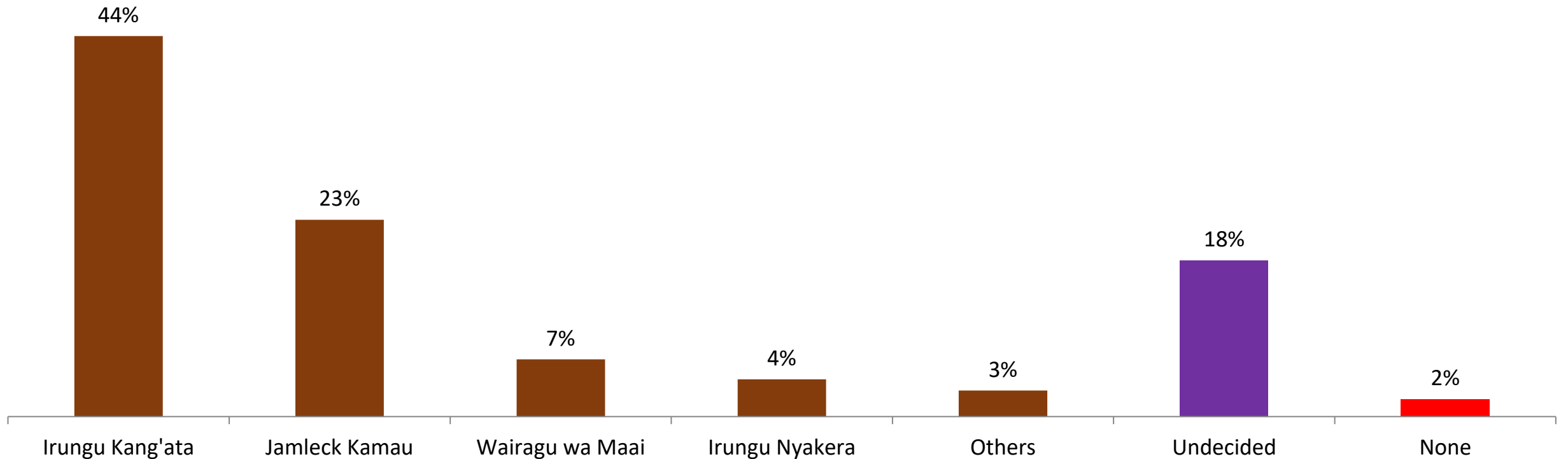
Q. Which political party do you support most or feel closest to?

Base = all respondents

# Preferred Governor Aspirant

*By total*

- ☐ Senator Irungu Kang'ata is nearly twice as popular in the contest for governor as his nearest aspirant-rival, former MP Jamleck Kamau.

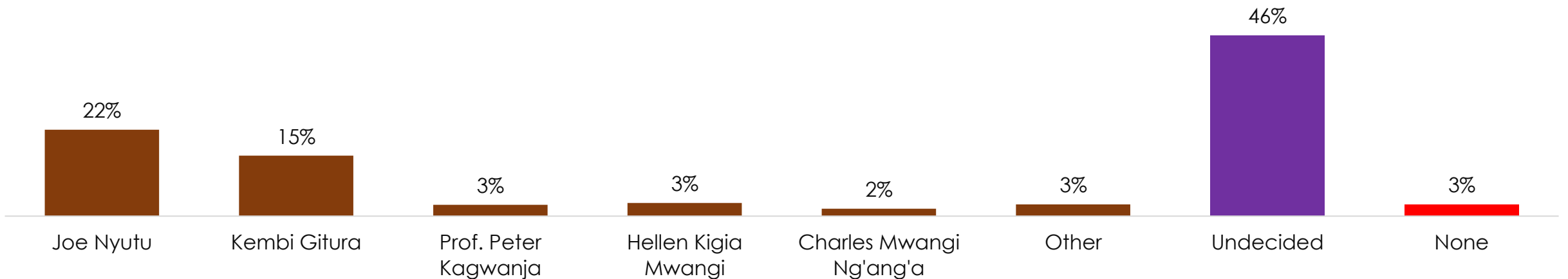


# Preferred Senator Aspirant

*By total*

- While Joe Nyutu has a significant lead over his nearest competitor, former Senator Kembi Gitura, the fact that nearly half of Murang'a respondents declare themselves as undecided suggest this outcome of this contest remains very uncertain.

**Preferred Senator Aspirant**



# Preferred Women Rep Aspirant

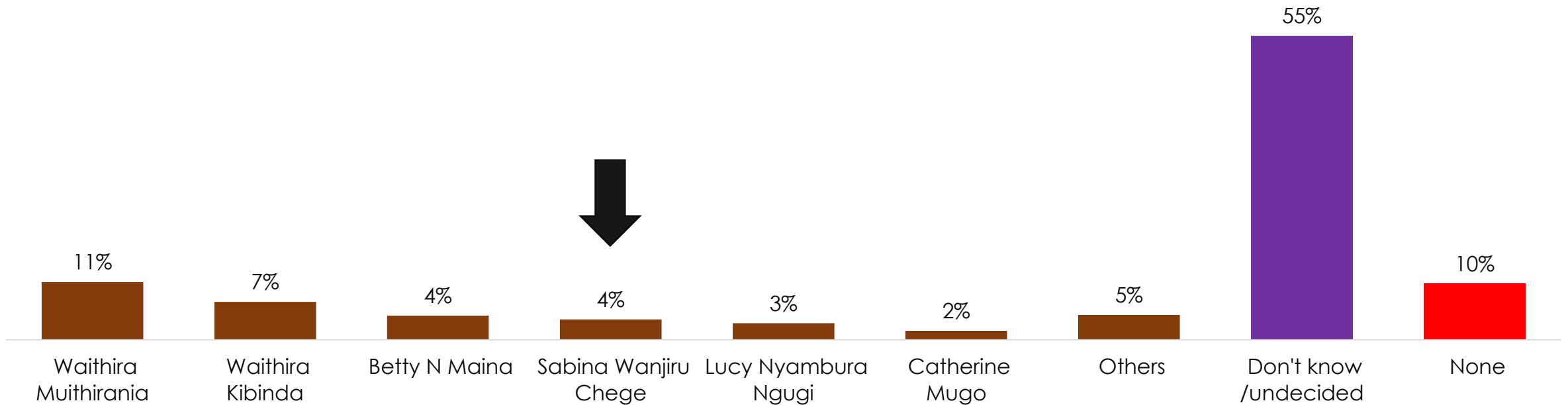
by total



- Waithira Muithirania is the most preferred Women Rep aspirant. However over half of respondents don't know or are undecided on the preferred women rep aspirant

↓ =incumbent

Preferred Women Rep Aspirant



Q. If elections were to be held today, whom would you vote for as Women Representative of Murang'a County?

Base = all respondents

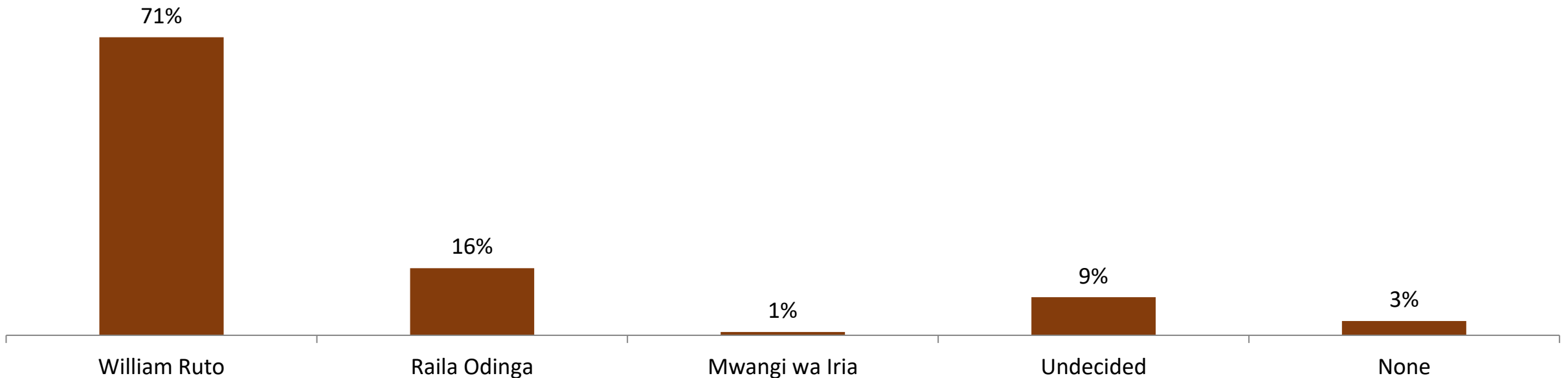
# Preferred Presidential Candidate

by total



□ The popularity-strength of UDA in Murang'a is mirrored in that of William Ruto regarding the forthcoming presidential contest. Whether Raila Odinga can close any/much of the gap between them in the remaining five months will be a major challenge, given the vote-rich Mt. Kenya region of which Murang'a is part.

## Preferred presidential candidate – Murang'a



Q. "Whether or not you intend to vote in this year's election, who would you like Kenya's next president to be?" SINGLE RESPONSE – DO NOT READ OUT  
Base = all respondents



## Busia County

- Political party preference
- Preferred governor, senator, women representative aspirants
- Presidential aspirants popularity

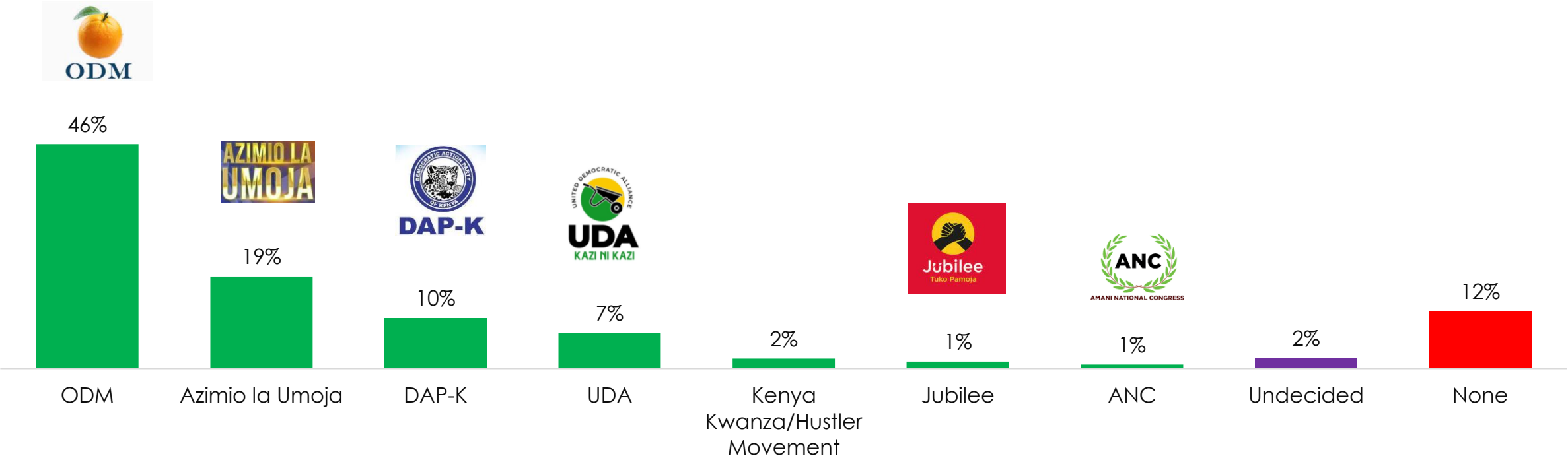
# Political Party Affiliation

By total



ODM as a party and its associated Azimio la Umoja as a coalition constitute the most popular political formations by far, equal to about two-thirds of all respondents (65%).

### Political Party Affiliation - Busia



Q. Which political party do you supports most or feel closest to?

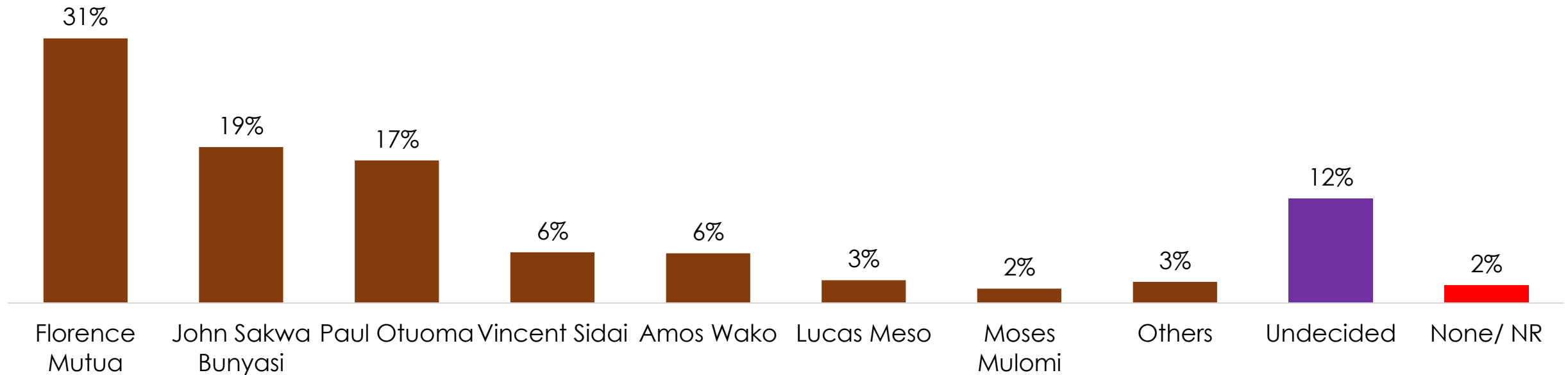
Base = all respondents

# Preferred Governor Aspirant

*By total*

- Hon. Florence Mutua receives support in the contest for governor by nearly one-third of Busia respondents (31%), governor of Busia County with John Sakwa Bunyasi and Paul Otuoma nearly level as her nearest competitors (19% and 17%).

**Preferred Governor Aspirant**



Q. If the Elections were to be held today, whom would you vote for as Governor of Busia County?

Base = all respondents

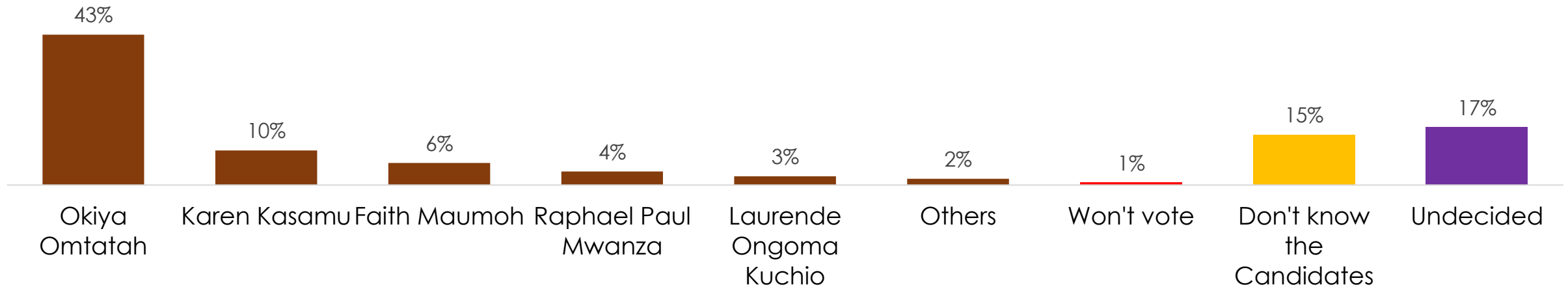


# Preferred Senator Aspirant

by total

- ❑ Okiya Omtatah is more than four times as popular as his nearest potential rival for the position of Busia senator (43% vs. 10%). However, a substantial proportion (15%) declined to name any preferred senatorial contestant on the grounds that they are yet to know who (all) the candidates will be.

Preferred Senator Aspirant

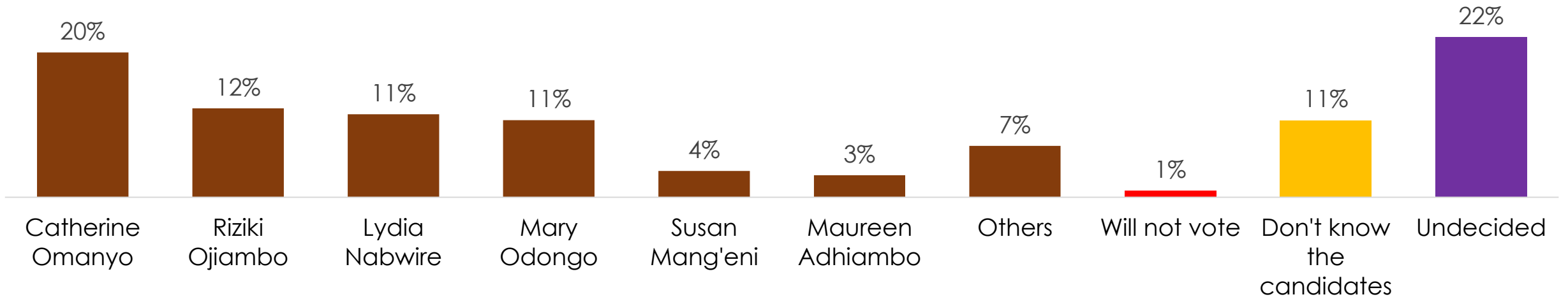


# Preferred Women Rep Aspirant

by total

☐ Catherine Omanyo is the most preferred Women Rep aspirant but attracts only one-fifth of all respondents (20%). However one-third of respondents (33%) say that they either don't know who the candidates are/will be or are undecided as to whom they prefer, suggesting that the outcome of this remains far from certain.

Preferred Women Rep Aspirant



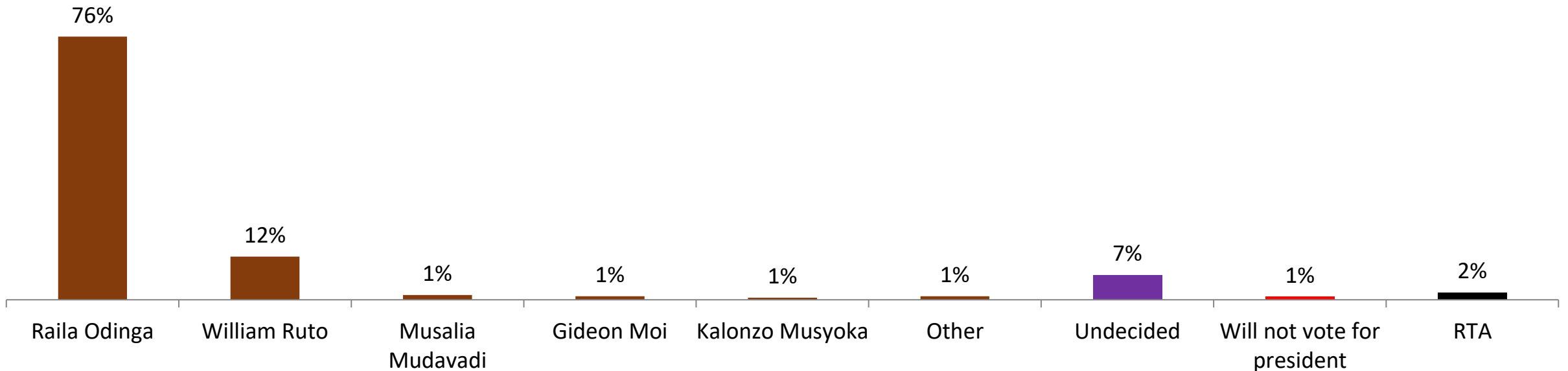
# Preferred Presidential Candidate

by total



☐ Three-quarters of Busia respondents prefer Raila Odinga as the next president, with his nearest rival, William Ruto, attracting less than one-sixth his support (12%). Such popularity reflects that of Odinga's political party and coalition ODM and Azimio la Umoja.

## Preferred presidential candidate – Busia



Q. "Whether or not you intend to vote this year's election, who would you like Kenya's next president to be?" SINGLE RESPONSE – DO NOT READ OUT

Base = all respondents



## Nairobi County

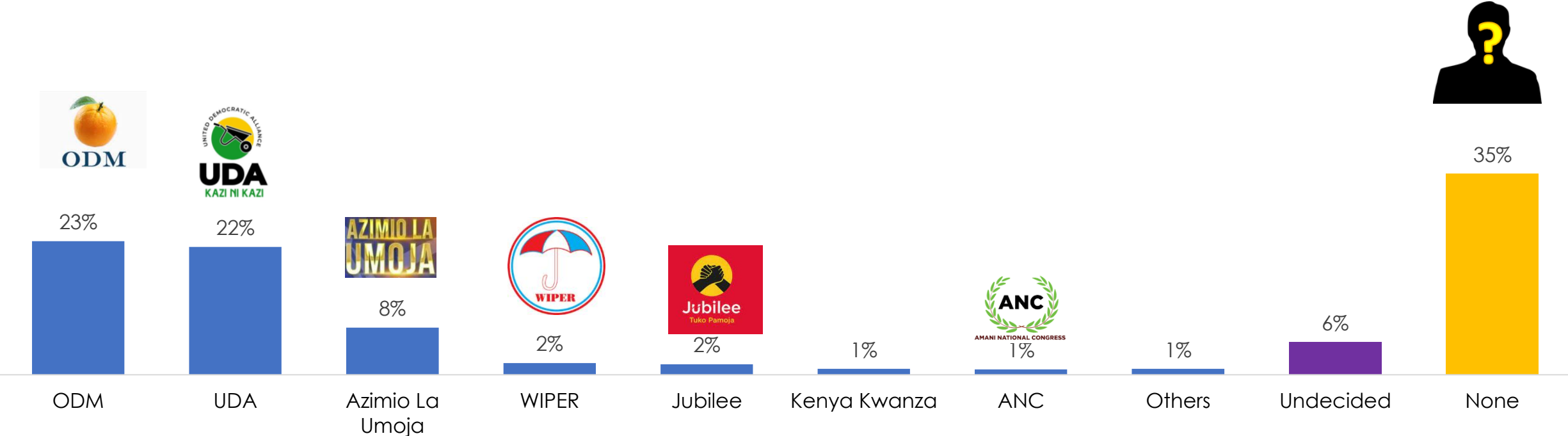
- Political party preference
- Preferred governor, senator, women representative aspirants
- Presidential aspirants popularity

# Political Party Affiliation

By total



Political Party Affiliation - Nairobi



Q. Which political party, if any, do you support most or feel closest to?

Base = all respondents

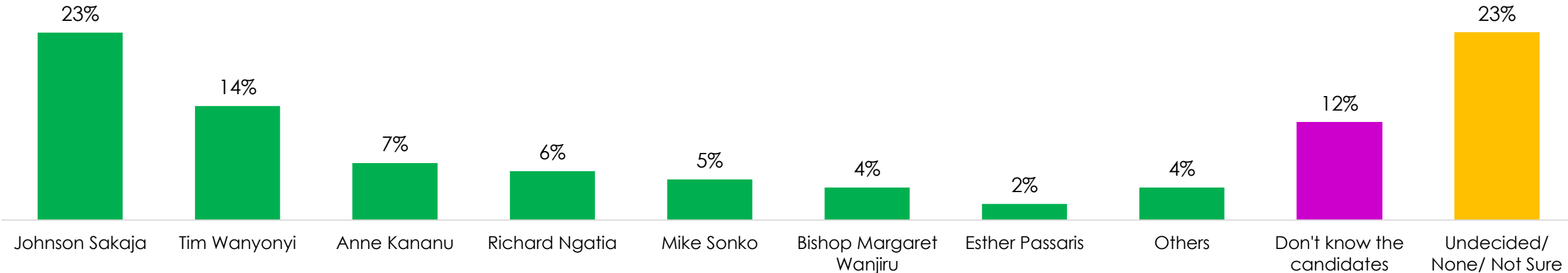
# Preferred Governor Aspirant

By total



□ Whilst Johnson Sakaja is currently the most popular aspirant for governor, the combination of his modest lead and the number other contestants suggests that the outcome of this election is still unclear.

Preferred Governor Aspirant



Q. If the Elections were to be held today, whom would you vote for as Governor of Nairobi County?

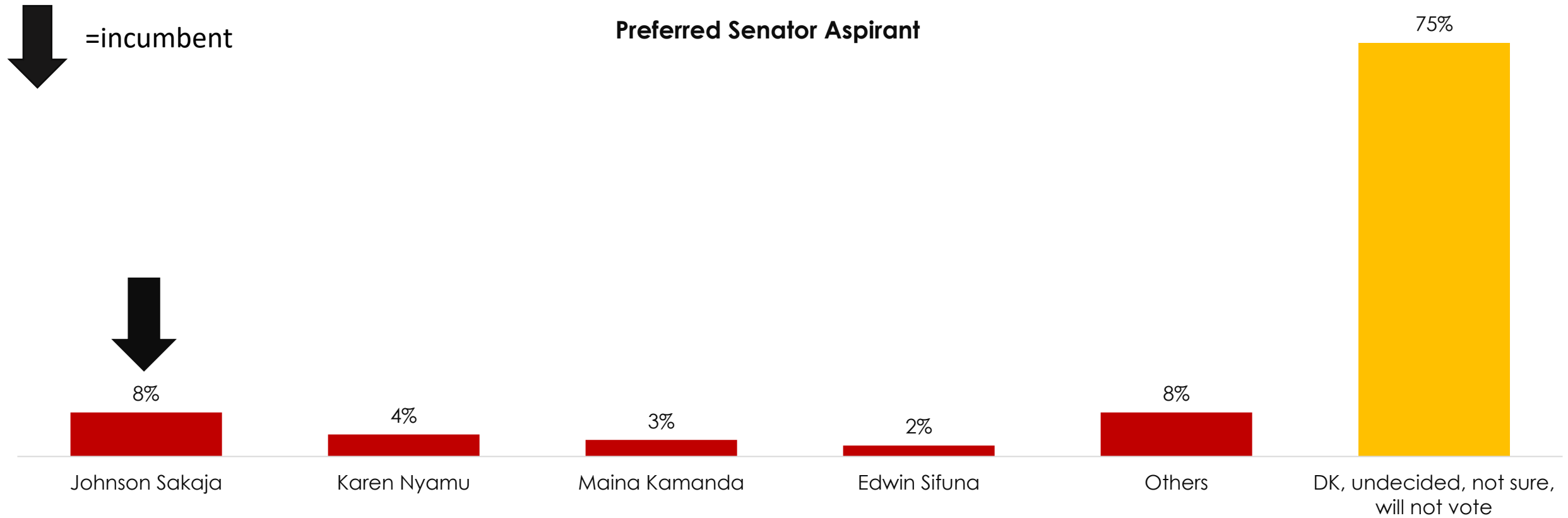
Base = all respondents

# Preferred Senator Aspirant

by total



Majority of the respondents are undecided about whom to vote for as Senator of Nairobi County. The fact that some respondents are expressing a preference for the current senator (Sakaja), indicates that most voters will need more clarity as to who all the candidates will be before they decide whom to vote for.



Q. If elections were to be held today, whom would you vote for as Senator of Nairobi County?

Base = all respondents

# Preferred Women Rep Aspirant

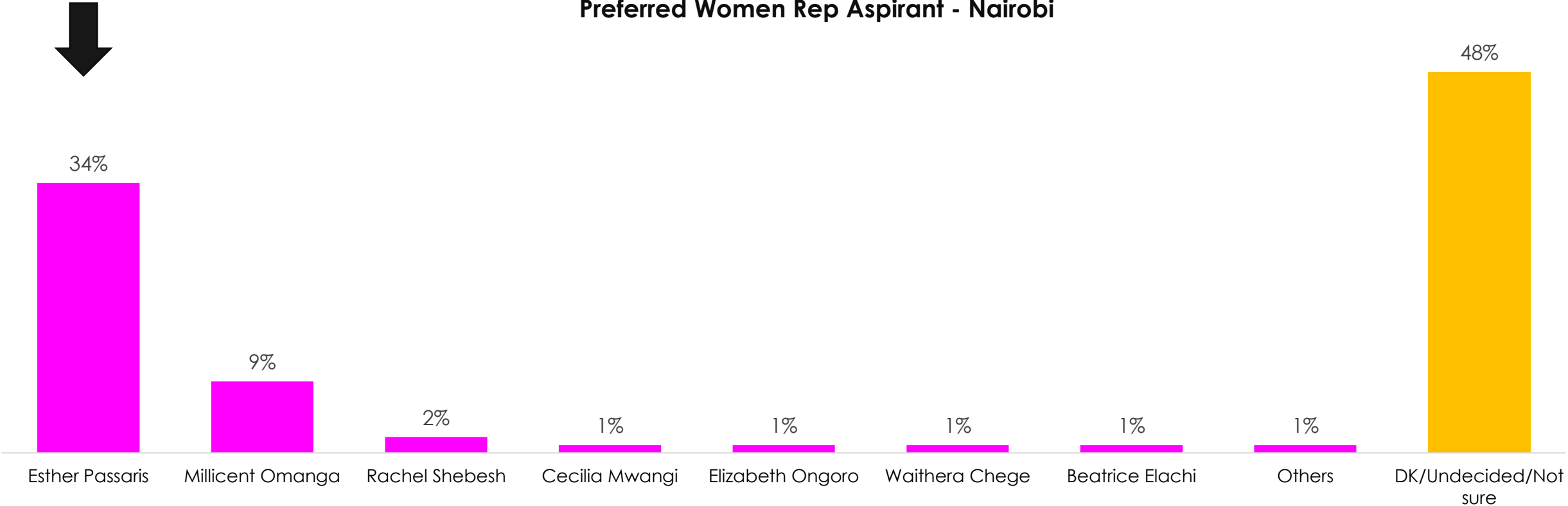
by total



Esther Passaris, the incumbent, is far more popular than her nearest potential challenger, Millicent Omanga.

↓ =incumbent

## Preferred Women Rep Aspirant - Nairobi



Q. If elections were to be held today, whom would you vote for as Women Representative of Nairobi County?

Base = all respondents



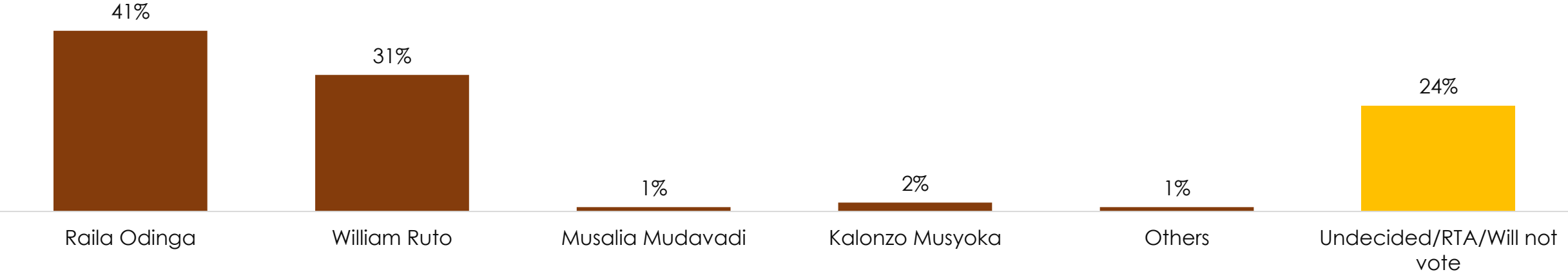
# Preferred Presidential Candidate

by total



□ Whilst Raila Odinga is the most popular presidential candidate in Nairobi, the gap between him and DP Ruto is small enough to suggest that the level of contestation in this county will be high.

Preferred Presidential Candidate - Nairobi



Q. "Whether or not you intend to vote in this year's election, who would you like Kenya's next president to be?" SINGLE RESPONSE – DO NOT READ OUT

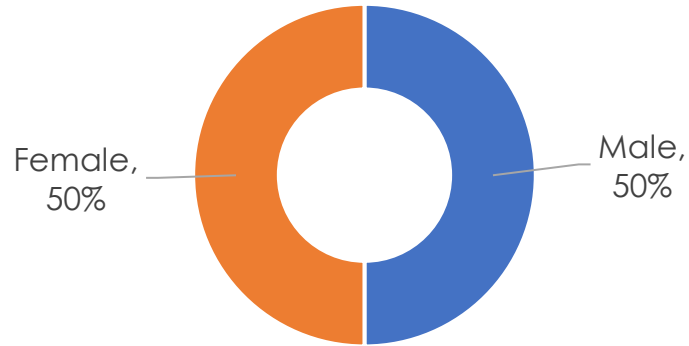
Base = all respondents

## Section 3: Respondents' Demographics

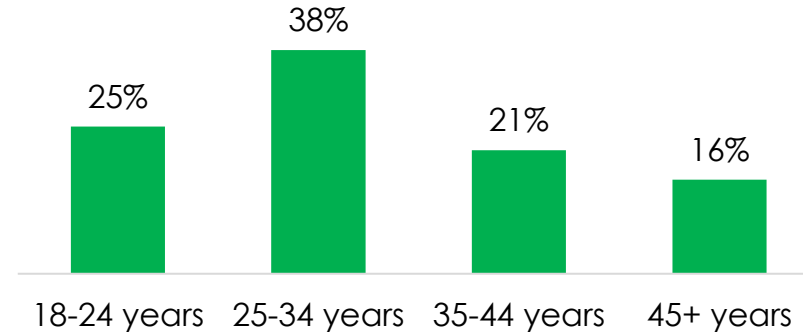
- National sample
- Nairobi
- Busia
- Murang'a

# Respondent Demographics: Nairobi

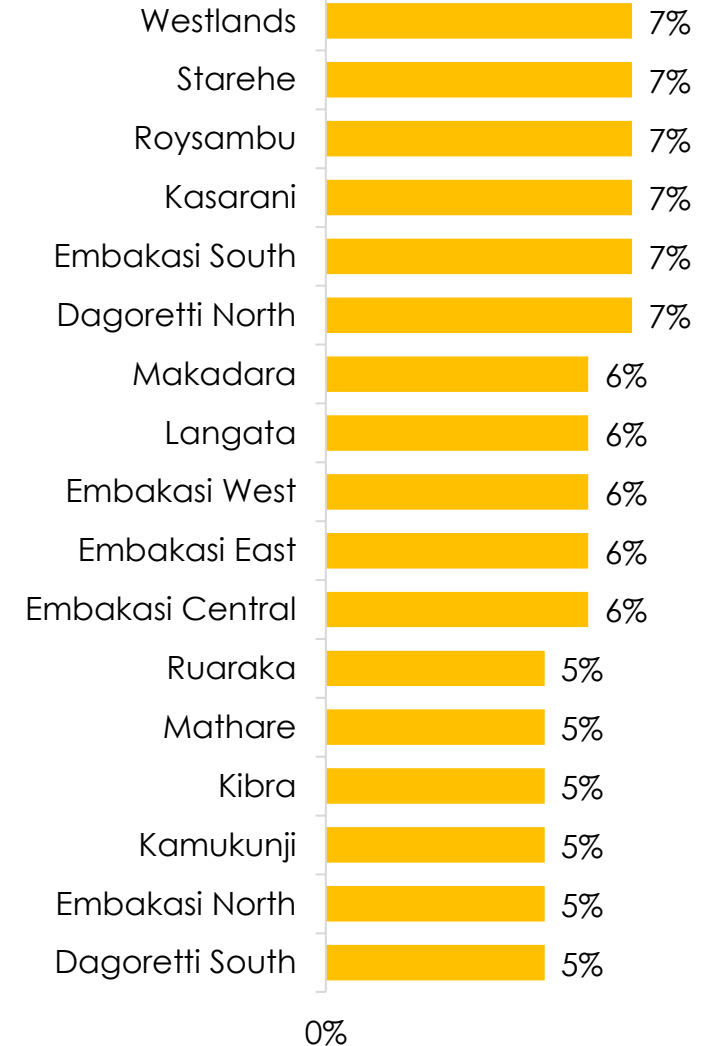
**Gender**



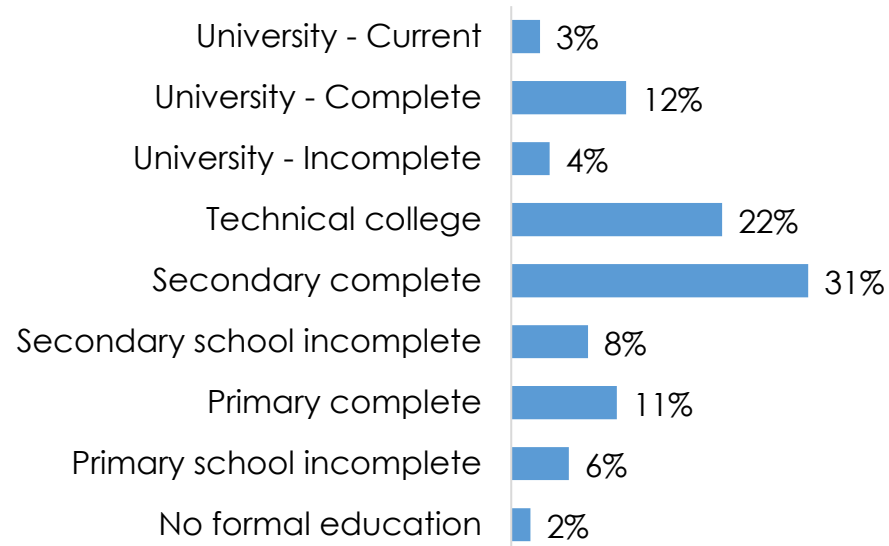
**Age Group**



**Constituency**

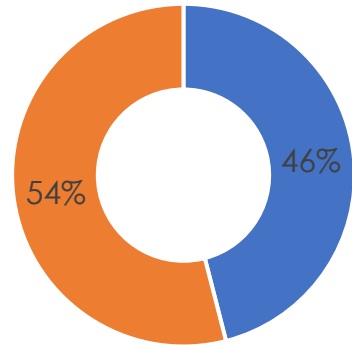


**Education level**

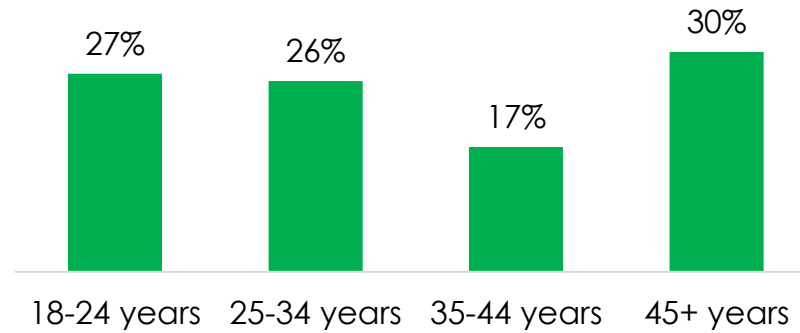


# Demographics: Busia

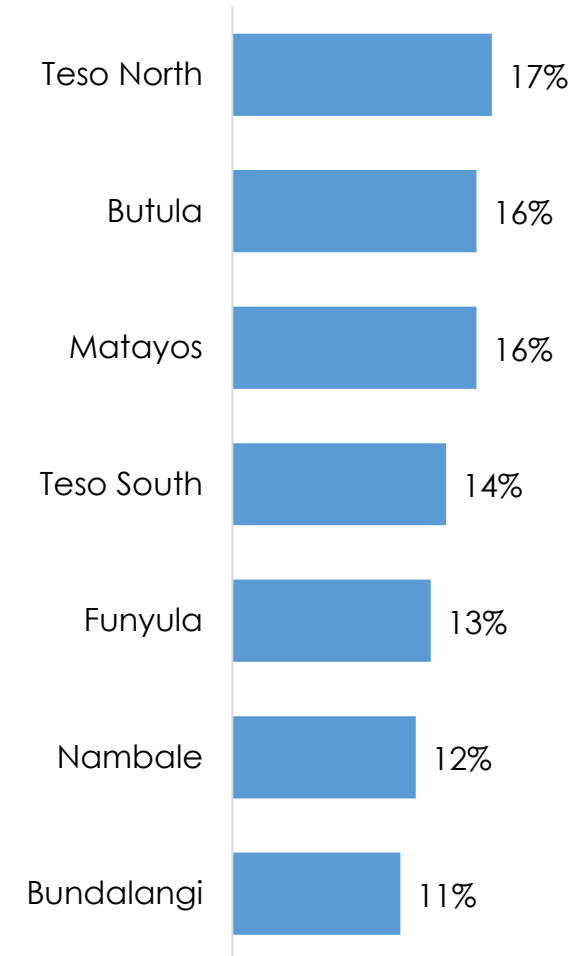
**Gender**



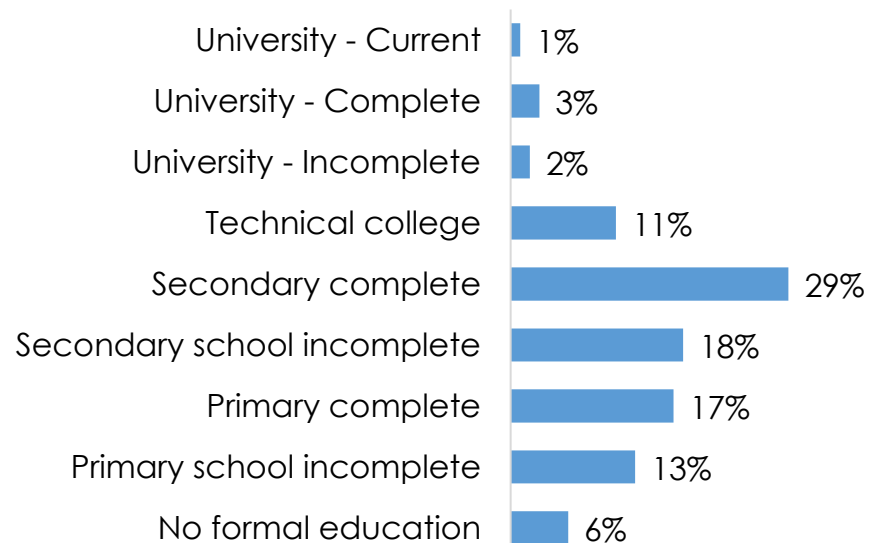
**Age Group**



**Constituency**

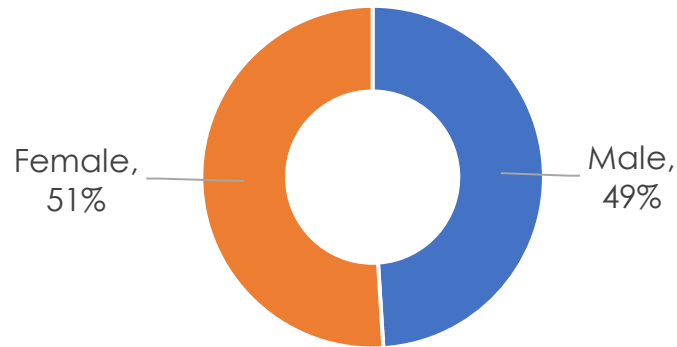


**Education level**

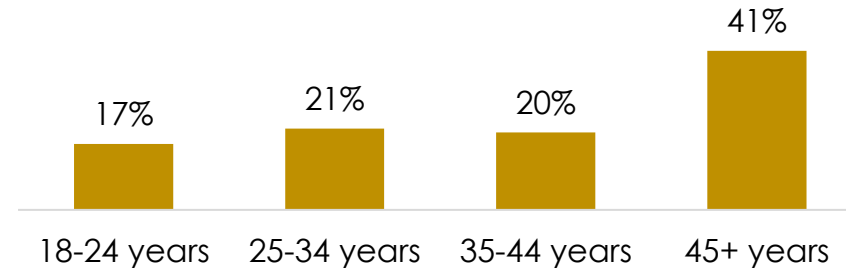


# Demographics: Murang'a

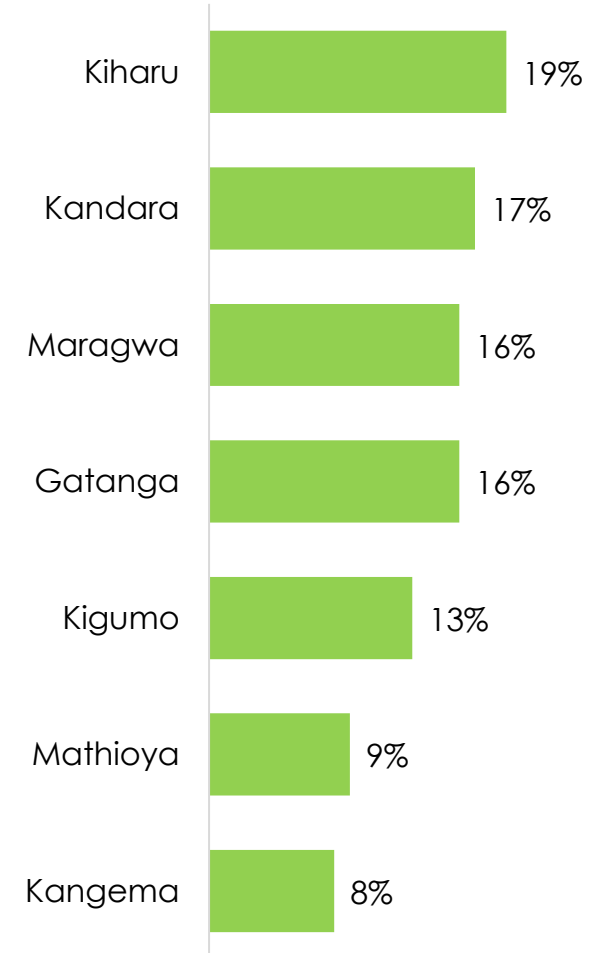
**Gender**



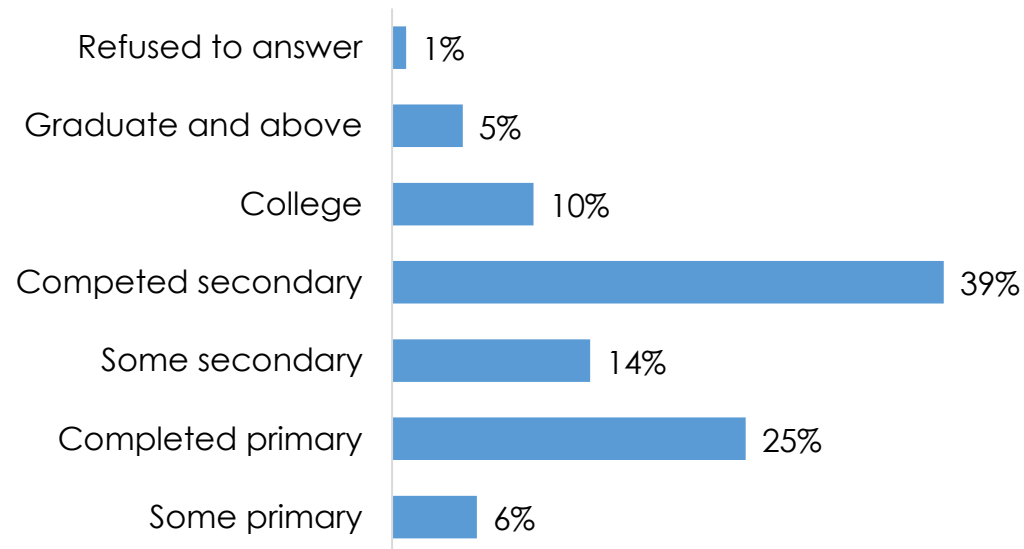
**Age Group**



**Constituency**



**Education level**

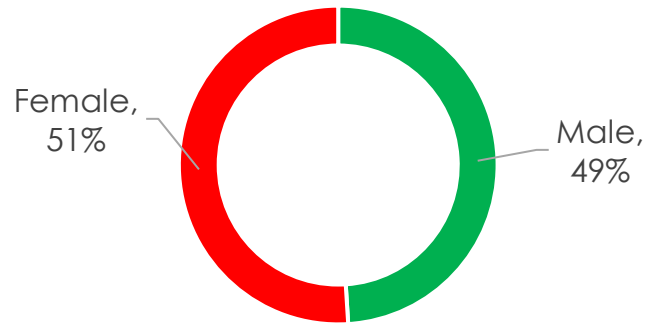


# Demographics: National Survey

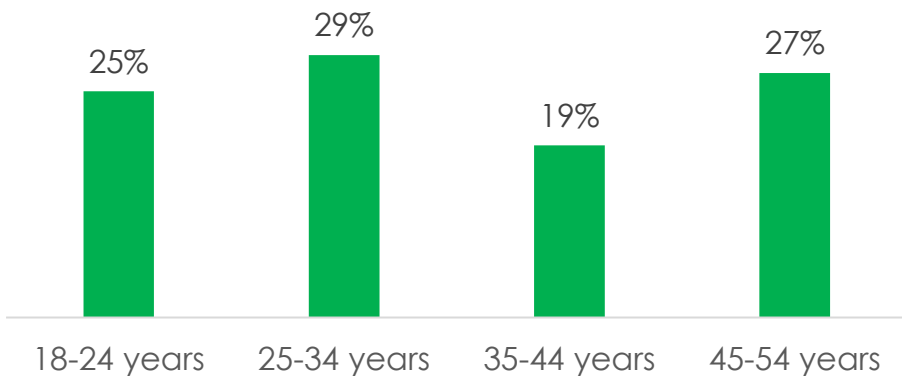
## Gender, Age, Setting & Education Level



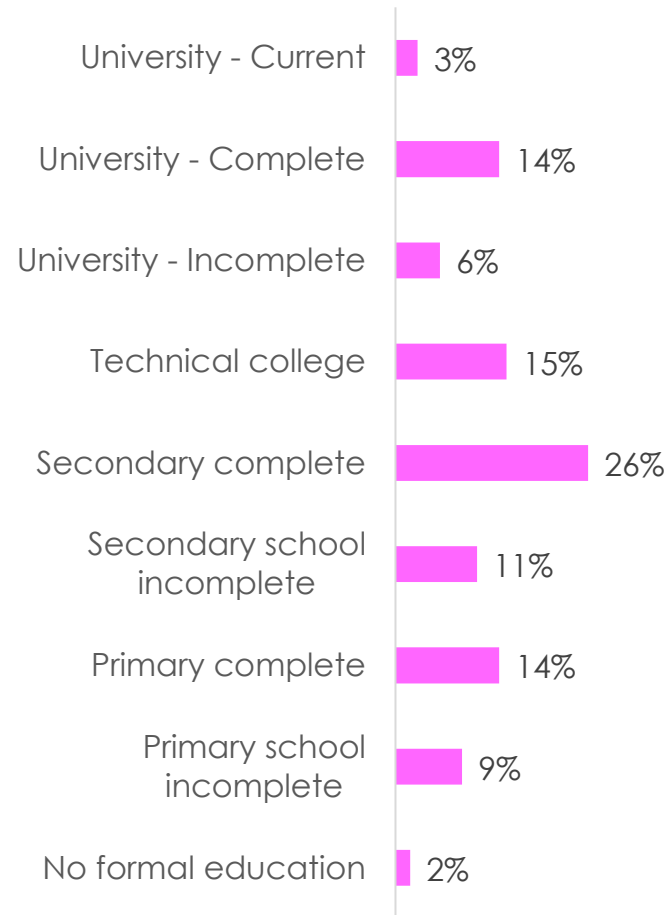
Gender



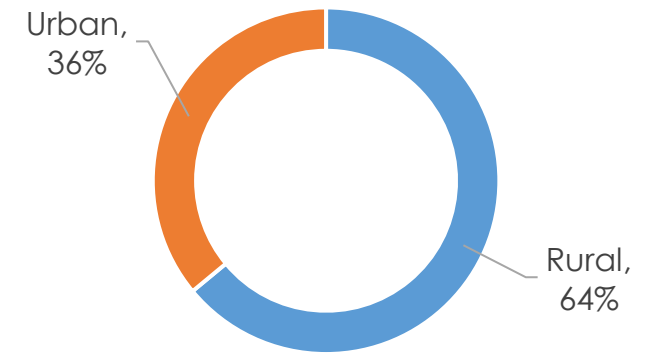
Age



Education

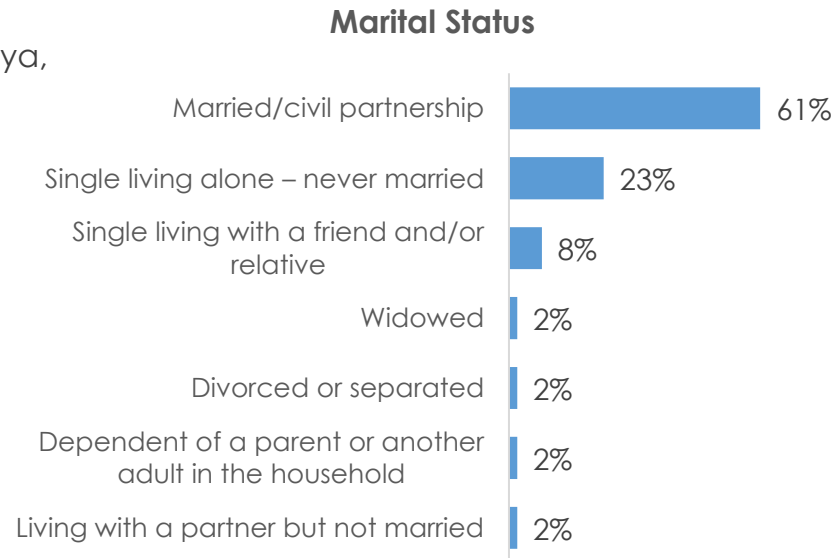
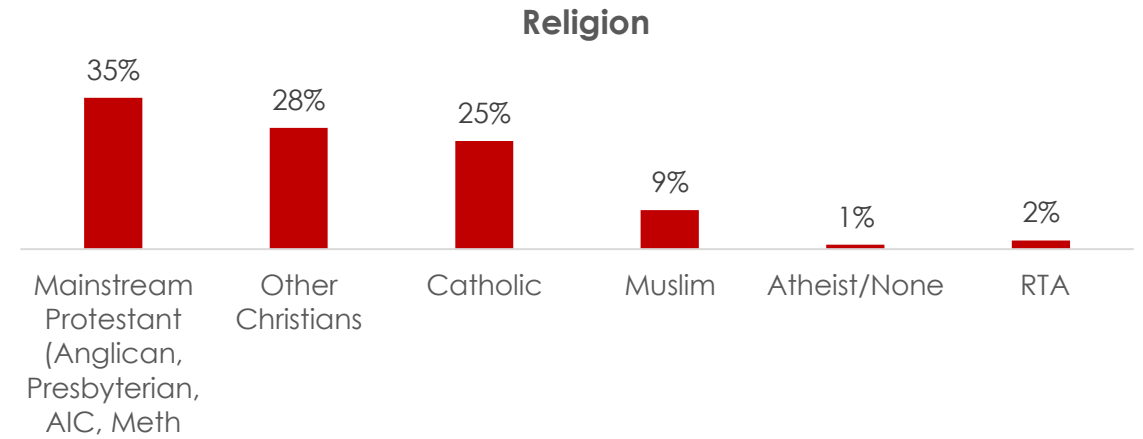
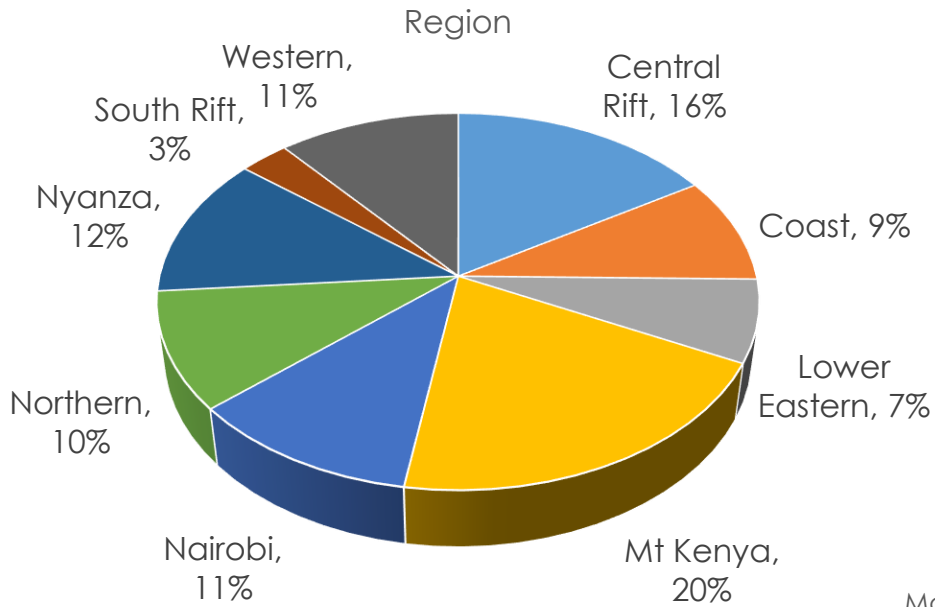


Setting



# Demographics (con't): National Survey

## Region, Gender, Religion & Marital Status





## For Inquiries and Suggestions, Contact:

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