AUGUST 2022 ELECTION REPORT
BY NJEE MUTURI (FORMER SOLICITOR GENERAL)

The Azimio plan to win the election was simple, retain the votes that Raila had gotten in the regions he had won and then get a marginal increase in Mt Kenya, which would give him the victory. The theory was that if he retained the 45% votes that he got and then got another 20% of Mt Kenya (having 26% of the registered voters) would translate to another 5% giving him more than 50% of the vote and a first-round victory. Ruto on the other hand was seeking to retain all the votes that jubilee had gotten in the last election and try to pick up more especially in Western and Coast, that way ensuing a 50+1% victory.
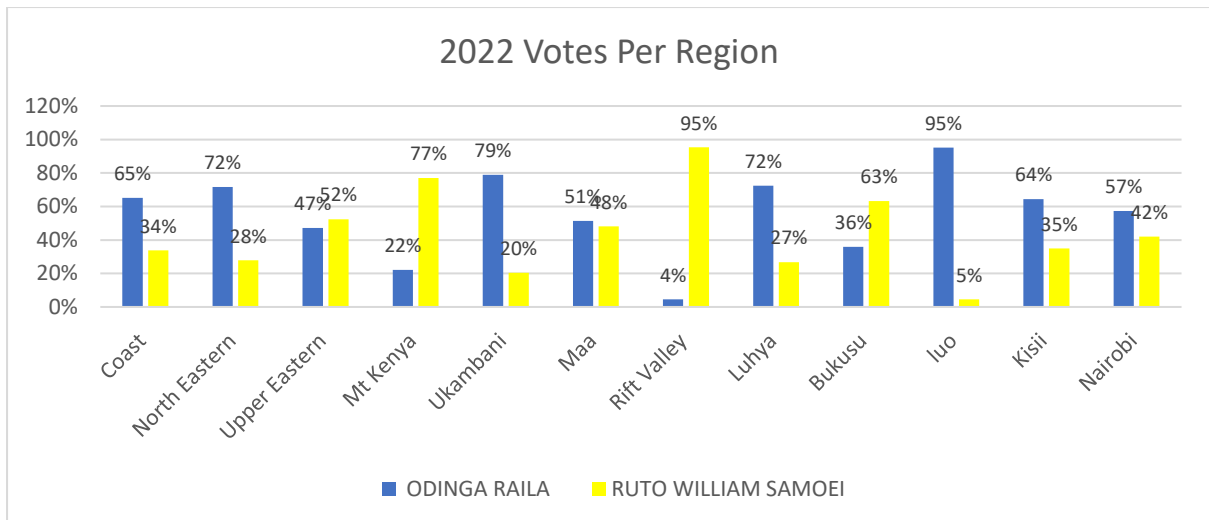
My belief is that an election is purely mathematical, it comes down to how many votes you get, the sentiments that abound are a distraction, whether they will vote for a tall, short, fat, rich, poor or why they will not is involving oneself in a myriad of subjective issues that distracts from the main issue, how many votes is one getting and from where?

That is the simple question to be asked.

When we want to look at the results of the elections the first thing is to identify exactly how the people voted and only after that ask the question why. Indeed, in the analysis of the voting pattern the reason usually reveals itself. What I never do is come up with a hypothesis and then look for the facts that would support that hypothesis. Let the numbers reveal the truth.

To help understand the voting patterns I have divided the voters into 12 distinct groups of a homogeneous nature that more often than not votes together. This not new, especially in Kenya, where we see many commentators distinguishing the various "communities" and there voting patterns. To this end I have divided the country into, Coast, North Eastern, Upper Eastern, Ukambani, Mt Kenya, Rift Valley, Maa, Bukusu, Luhya, Luo, Kisii and Nairobi. Let us review how these groupings voted in the 2022 Presidential elections.

(Interesting footnote: about 870,000 more people voted in the 2017 election than in the 2022 election)

2022 Votes Per Region

Chart: 2022 Votes Per Region. Bar chart showing ODINGA RAILA (blue) and RUTO WILLIAM SAMOEI (yellow) vote percentages per region:
- Coast: 65% / 34%
- North Eastern: 72% / 28%
- Upper Eastern: 47% / 52%
- Mt Kenya: 22% / 77%
- Ukambani: 79% / 20%
- Maa: 51% / 48%
- Rift Valley: 4% / 95%
- Luhya: 72% / 27%
- Bukusu: 36% / 63%
- luo: 95% / 5%
- Kisii: 64% / 35%
- Nairobi: 57% / 42%

1. Coast

The Coastal region comprises of the 6 counties of Mombasa, Kilifi, Kwale, Taita Taveta, Tana River and Lamu with 26 PMs.

In 2017 Raila had total command over the Coast, getting 73% of the vote, leaving Jubilee to garner a partly 26% of the vote. Raila got 800,000 of his 7.6 million votes from coast, about 12% of his vote.

In 2022 Raila's control over the Coast was reduced from 73% to 65% form the last election, while Ruto increased Jubilee voting from 26% to 34%

The votes attained as a percent of their total votes received, Raila dropped from 12% to 9% while Ruto increased from 4% to 5%

It is clear that Raila was losing substantial votes that Ruto was picking up.

2. North Eastern

North Eastern comprises of three counties, Garissa, Wajir and Mandera having 18 MPs and comprised 3% of the total valid votes cast in 2017.

In 2017 Jubilee won the presidential election in two counties, Wajir (51% to 44%) and Mandera (83% to 14%) and tied with Raila in Garissa (48% to 48%). Jubilee had a great command over North Eastern in 2017 with 62% of the votes cast leaving Raila 34%

In 2022 Raila overturned the tally garnering 72% of the vote leaving Ruto with 28% of the vote.

The votes attained as a percent of their total votes received, Raila increased from 2% to 4% while Ruto decreased from 3% to 1%

3. Upper Eastern

The Marsabit / Isiolo region comprises the counties of Marsabit and Isiolo with 6 MPs
The region had 1% of the votes cast in 2017.

In 2017 Jubilee won the election in Marsabit by landslide of 84% and the jubilee alliance swept all the seats.

In 2022 Ruto still won, but a greatly reduced tally of 52%, Raila getting 47%.

4.   Mt Kenya

These comprise the 10 Central Kenya Counties Kiambu, Muranga, Nyeri, Kirinyaga, Nyandarua, Meru, Tharaka Nithi, Embu, Laikipia and Nakuru Counties.

In 2017 Jubilee won this core vote by a landslide of 93% of the votes cast with 83% voter turnout. Raila only managed 7%.

In 2022 Ruto garnered only 77% of the votes with Raila getting 22%. Raila actually got 850,000 votes from Mt Kenya and Ruto only managed to get 3 million, Jubilee had managed to garner 4 million in the last election. The voter turnout was much less than in 2017 as 66% turnout as opposed to 83% in 2022 a difference of 17%

The votes attained as a percent of their total votes received, Raila moved from 5% to 12% while Ruto fell from 50% to 41%, meaning that of Raila's total votes 12% came from Mt Kenya

5.   Ukambani

The Akamba comprise of the three counties of Machakos, Makueni and Kitui with 22 MPs. The bloc comprises of 8% of the votes cast in 2017 when Kalonzo ensured that Raila got 83% of the presidential vote and jubilee only managed 15%

In 2022 Raila lost some of the voted moving to 79% from 83% while Ruto moved up from 15% to 20%. The number of voters was also greatly reduced from 77% in 2017 to 61% in 2022, this 16% difference may be the largest reduction in voters of any region save for Mt Kenya.

The votes attained as a percent of their total votes received, Raila dropped from 14% to 11% while Ruto increased from 2% to 3%,

6.   Rift Valley

The Kalenjin block under reference is the 8 Counties of Uasin Gishu, Nandi, Elgeyo Marakwet, Baringo, Kericho, Bomet, West Pokot, Turkana and the Kalenjin block in Trans Nzoia. Excludes the Kalenjin block in Narok

The Kalenjin delivered 9.7% of the total valid votes cast to Jubilee in 2017, in Turkana Jubilee managed to get 45% of the vote and Raila got 56%, and West Pokot delivered a 65% landslide vote to Jubilee

In 2022 the turnout was 80%, the highest of any region, with 83% of the vote going to Ruto, down from 84% in 2017 and Raila managing to get 17% an increase from 15% in 2017.

7. Maa

The Maa region comprises that three counties of Kajiado, Narok and Samburu They comprise of 4.5% of the votes casts in 2017 with Jubilee attaining 57% whilst CORD garnered 42 %

In 2022 the votes were reversed with Raila getting 51% and Ruto getting 48%

8. Luhya

The Luhya block comprises the former Western excluding Bungoma. There are 3 counties Kakamega, Vihiga and Busia with 24 MPs. In 2017 Raila got 88% of the votes while Jubilee garnered 11%.

In 2022 the voter turnout dropped from 75% to 66% while Raila tally dropped to 72% from 88%. Ruto increased from 11% to 27%

9. Bukusu

Bukusu comprises of Bungoma County and much of Trans Nzoia county with 14 MPs. This region comprises of 4.4% of the cast votes in 2017. Jubilee garnerd 36% and Raila got 63% in 2017.

In 2022 the voter turnout dropped from 74% to 63%. There was a complete reversal of the votes with Raila dropping drastically to 36% and Ruto winning the regions with 63% of the votes cast

10. Luo

The Luo block comprises of the four counties of Siaya, Homa bay, Migori and Kisumu with 21 MP's (excluding Kuria East and Kuria West constituencies). The region contributed 9.6% of the cast votes in 2017. Raila, as expected, got 96% of the votes leaving jubilee 4% in 2017.

In 2022 the voter turnout drastically dropped from 80% to 72%, Raila still managed to get 95% of the votes with Ruto managing a marginal increase to 5%

11. Kisii

The abagusii consist of two counties, Nyamira and Kisii and 13 MPs. In 2017 the Abagusii comprise of 4 % of the votes cast. Raila managed to get 52% of the vote while Jubilee got 46%.
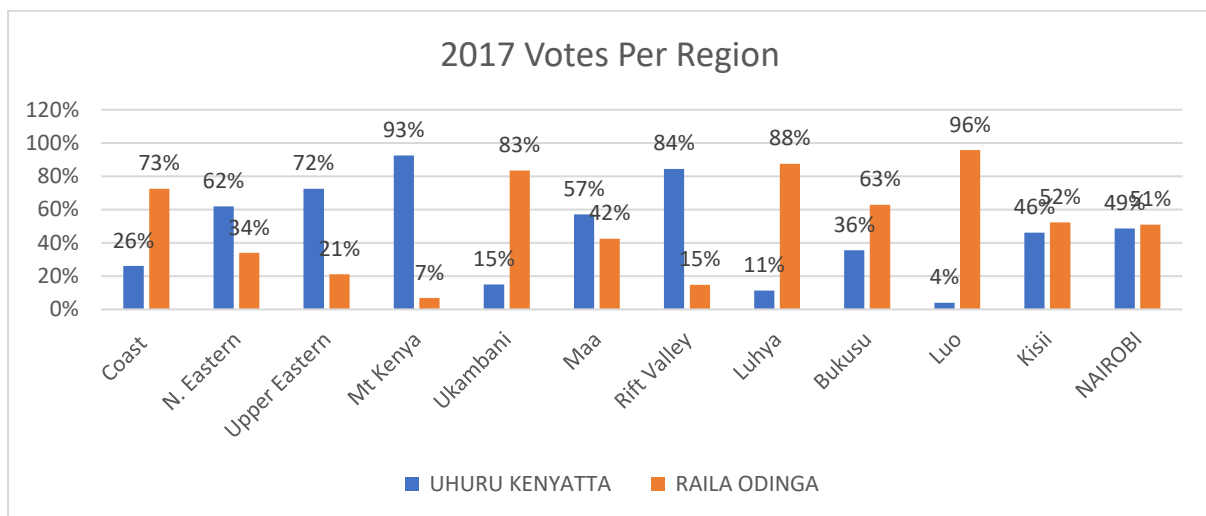
In 2022 Raila increased his tally to 64% while Ruto dropped to 35%

12. Nairobi

Nairobi comprises of 17 MP seats and 12.4% of the vote. In 2017 Jubilee lost the Presidential vote in Nairobi marginally by 37,535 votes. Jubilee garnered 49% of the vote while ODM got 51%

In 2022 the voter turnout dropped from 72% to 55% a 17% drop from the last elections. Raila managed to increase his tally from 51% to 57% while Ruto dropped from 49 to 42%

ANALYSIS

2017 Votes Per Region

RAILA

Did he retain the 2017 votes?

Raila's strongholds were traditionally his home base, Nyanza, Western, Coast and due to the support of Kalonzo, Ukambani. A deep dive into these can shed light on whether he retained the support.

1. Nyanza

Luo Nyanza is the bedrock of his support, and it has always contributed the most of all the regions that support him. Here he got 1,485,009.00 votes, 95% of the votes leaving Ruto a partly 5%. This is a slight reduction from 2017 where he got 96% of the vote. The real issue here is that of turnout, in 2017 the regions turnout was 80% and it dropped drastically to 72% and this real hurt his election tally. Considering that if he had maintained the 2017 turnout of 80% he would have garnered an additional 157,550 which would have ensured that Ruto does not attain 50% +1 and the very least.

In Kisii Raila managed to get 394,103 votes amounting to 64% of the votes, this was a 12% improvement from the 52% he got in 2017. This was a net increase of 76,129 votes.

2. Western

In Bukusu country, Raila results were completely overturned from 63% in 2017 to 36%, he actually lost his stronghold to Ruto. In real terms if he had maintained his 63% he would have gotten an additional 94,962 votes, again this would have ensured that he would have prevented Ruto form getting 50% +1.

In the other Luhya nation Raila votes tally dropped from 73% to 65% a reduction of votes of 150,395 votes

3. Coast

Raila's votes dropped from 88% to 65% a reduction of 13%, a loss of 227,337 votes. This is a great reduction of his votes.

4. Ukambani

Again here Raila votes reduced from 83% to 79%, that is also coupled with low voter turnout of 61% down from 77%. The net loss of votes would be 85,583 votes.

Luo Nyanza	loss	15592
Bukusu	loss	94,962
Luhya	loss	150,395
Coast	loss	227,337
Ukambani	loss	85,583
		573,869
Kisii	gain	76,129
	loss	**497,740**

The total net loss position in comparison to the votes he got as compared to the votes he should have received if he had maintained the votes of 2017 in these regions amounts to 573,869 votes. Had he gotten these votes he would have won the election outrightly.

Did he get adequate Mt Kenya and other votes?

Coast	649,913.00	9%
North Eastern	271,141.00	4%
Upper Eastern	82,124.00	1%
Mt Kenya	848,205.00	12%
Ukambani	769,424.00	11%
Maa	359,748.00	5%
Rift Valley	335,808.00	5%
Luhya	698,613.00	10%
Bukusu	277,720.00	4%
luo	1,485,009.00	21%
Kisii	394,103.00	6%
Nairobi	767,395.00	11%
TOTAL	6,939,203.00	100.0%

1. Mt Kenya

The chart shows that Raila received the highest number of votes from Luo Nyanza, as can be expected, that contributed 21% of his total vote. Interesting, Mt Kenya gave him a whopping 848,205 which was the second largest votes he got from the regions amounting to 12% of his total votes, ahead of Ukambani, Coast, Luhya and Bukusu, his strongholds. In the last elections he only managed 300,000 votes, which was 5% of his votes then.

This is the most critical vote that Raila got and the most increase in votes for Raila, a net increase of 580,924 votes amounting to a 4% increase.

2. North Eastern

Raila increased his tally garnering 72% of the vote from 34% in 2017. This increase translates to an increase of 142,309 votes

3. Upper Eastern

Raila increased his votes from 21% to 47% a net increase of 45,608 votes

4. Rift Valley

Raila managing to get 17% an increase from 15% in 2017, translating to 39,822 votes

5. Maa

In 2017 Raila garnered 42 % which was increased to 51% in 2022, an increase of 61,866 votes.

6. Nairobi

Raila managed to increase his tally from 51% to 57%, an increase of 80,362 votes

Mt Kenya	GAIN	580,924
North Eastern	GAIN	142,309
Upper Eastern	GAIN	45,608
Rift Valley	GAIN	39,822
Maa	GAIN	61,866
Nairobi	GAIN	80,362
TOTAL		**950,891**

Raila managed to get a net gain of (950,891 – 497,740) 453,151 votes in the 2022 elections, a 3.2% increase, but was that enough to win the election?

RUTO

Did he retain the 2017 votes?

Ruto, based on the 2017 election, only had two strongholds, that is Mt Kenya and his home turf, Rift Valley
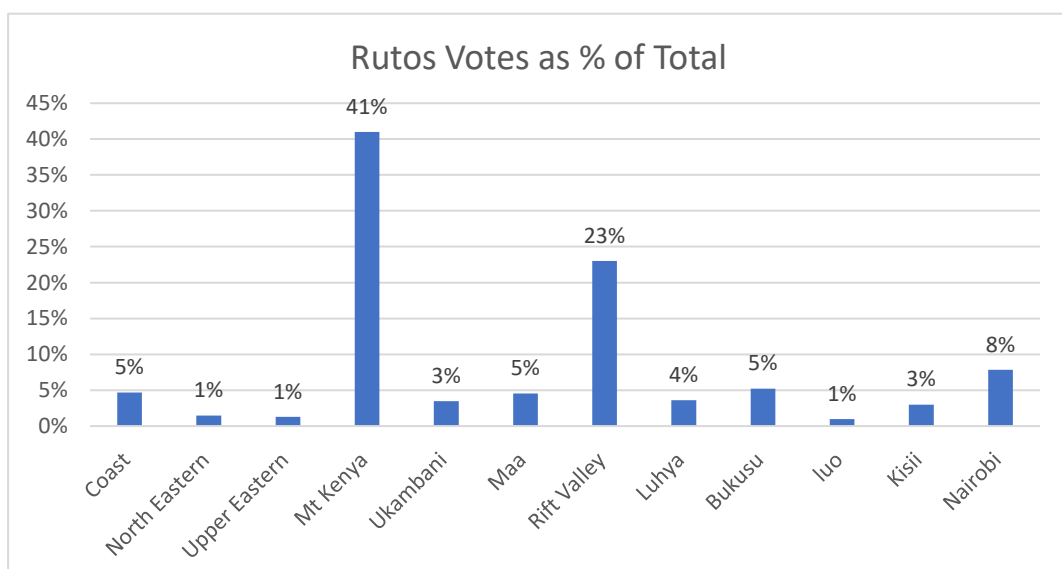
1. Mt Kenya

In 2022 Ruto garnered only 77% of the votes down from 93% of the votes cast in 2017. A loss of 610,625 votes, translating to a 6% loss of votes.

2. Rift Valley

The voting in the Rift Valley saw a drop of votes by 1% translating to a decrease of 9,600 votes, a marginal loss.

Did he retain his other votes and increase his tally in other areas?

1. Coast

Jubilee had only managed to get 26% of the votes in 2017 and Ruto increased it by 8% to 34%, which translates to 79,750 votes. This is a great increase as it is in the Raila stronghold.

2. North Eastern

In 2017 jubilee won this region getting 62% of the votes, but Ruto was to lose the region only managing to get 28% of the votes, a huge loss of 34%, translating to 128,830 votes

3. Upper Eastern

Jubilee victory of 72% in 2017 was reduced to 52% in 2022 a 20% drop, which translates to 34,000 votes

4. Ukambani

Here Ruto increased the vote tally from 15% to 20% in 2022, translating to an increase of 51,506 votes.

5. Maa

In the Maa speaking region Ruto's tally fell from 57% to 48% marginally losing the region to Raila. This translates to 61,866 votes.

6. Luhya

Ruto increased his tally from 11% to 27% in 2022 a major increase of 16% in Raila's stronghold. This translates to 154,365 votes.

7. Bukusu

This were the major upset occurred with Ruto managing to increase his votes by 27% from 36% to 63% effectively defeating Raila in his stronghold. The increase translates to 177,000 votes

8. Luo

Ruto managed a marginal increase of 1% from 4% to 5%, translating to 15,600 votes

9. Kisii

Ruto lost 11% of the Kisii vote, getting 35% down from 46% in 2017. This loss translates to 67,263 votes

10. Nairobi

Ruto also lost 7% of the votes in Nairobi, from 49% to 42% translating to 93,755 votes

North Eastern	loss	128,830.00
Upper Eastern	loss	34,000.00
Mt Kenya	loss	610,925.00
Maa	loss	61,866.00
Rift Valley	loss	9,600.00
Kisii	loss	67,263.00
Nairobi	loss	93,755.00
		1,006,239.00

Coast	gain	79,750.00
Ukambani	gain	51,506.00
Luhya	gain	154,365.00
Bukusu	gain	177,000.00
luo	gain	15,600.00
		478,221.00

Amounting to a net loss of 528,018 or 3.7 %

1,006,239.00
478,221.00
528,018.00

It is important to note that because we are making comparisons to different election with very different turnouts the indicative figures that I am using are not exact and need correction for those and other variables. It indicates that Ruto had a net loss of about 4% which would also translate to Raila's net gain.

EVALUATION 0F THE RESULTS

To win the election Raila had to increase his tally of votes from 45% in the last elections to 50% plus 1, an increase of 5%, he only managed to increase it to 48.8% which is about a 3.8% increase. Ruto on the other hand had to hang on as much as possible to his 54% gain in 2017, and not lose more than 4%. He lost 3.5%, he still managed to hang on to 50.5% sealing not only victory, but a first-round win.

The results show that both Ruto and Raila lost big in their strongholds. Raila with the help of Uhuru managed to gain a great chuck of the Mt Kenya votes a whooping 848,000 votes. These votes were more than the Kamba votes of 769,424, the Luhya votes of 698,613 and the Coast votes of 649,913, indeed, they were the second highest votes Raila received from any of the regions. This increase was a weight increase of 580,00 votes.

Ruto on the other hand, made gains in Ukambani of 51,500 votes, increased his tally considerably in the Coast gaining 79,750 votes, with Musalia's support increased his votes in Luyha land by 154,365 and scored a major upset with Wetagula carrying him to victoriously upsetting Raila and winning the Bukusu vote with 177,000 votes increase. A weighted increase of 462,000 votes.

The choice of allies saw both candidates scoring big in their rivals strongholds. The question before the election was exactly how would Mt Kenya vote, owing to the fact that they had no credible ethnic candidate, as they have had in all multiparty elections. There was also a big debate about the turnout of voters, for the same reason, it was argued that the turnout would be low.

One side were of the opinion that they would not stray far from their leader, Uhuru Kenyatta, for whom they had faithfully voted 3 times (in 2013 and twice in 2017). They also felt that the choice of Martha Karua and her sterling record as a reformer would galvanize the people of Mt Kenya on Raila's side. It was felt that if Raila could get 20% of the Mt Kenya votes which would translate to about 5% of the total vote and retain his 45% votes of 2017 he would win the election.

The other side argued that the people of Mt Kenya owed a debt to Ruto as there was a promise of 10 years to Uhuru and 10 years to Ruto and this debt had to be paid. There was also the fact that Raila had been greatly vilified in the last three elections, so much so that it was difficult to change the view of the general public in Mt Kenya to support him.

The results were a mixed bag, with Raila getting 22% of the vote, increasing his votes by at least 4% and giving him a chance to win the election. Interestingly, the voter turnout in Mt Kenya of 66% was above the average turnout of 64% working in Ruto's favour as he secured the lion's share. All in all, there was adequate votes for Raila to win the vote of at the very least deny Ruto the 50% +1 if he had held onto the votes he had gotten in 2017.

Did the two Mt Kenya running mates have a great impact on the votes? We should look at the votes in their respective home counties in relation to the other counties to determine that.

The supporters of Azimio were of the view that Martha Karua was the catalyst that would take back the mountain from Ruto. She had been selected as a running mate after Ruto had chosen Rigathi Gachagua as his running, which they thought was a fatal mistake. Martha Karua hails from Kirinyaga county, that county gave Uhuru Kenyatta 99% of the vote in 2017 with a 86% voter turnout. The 2022 election saw the county give Raila 15% of the vote with a 69% turnout. 15% was one of the lowest votes that Raila got in the region, only Embu county at 14% and Tharaka – Nithi with 9% recorded lower votes in favour of Raila. It is, therefore, safe to say that the Martha promise did not deliver, indeed the opposite happened.

Rigathi Gachagua was viewed as the Mt Kenya strong man, who, as the running mate, would prevent the erosion of the Mt Kenya vote. He hails from Nyeri county in the central part of Mt. Kenya. In 2017 Nyeri recorded the highest voter turnout in the region with 87% voters and gave Uhuru 98% of the vote. Come 2022, they turnout in large numbers, 68% only beaten by Kirinyaga at 69% and Tharaka – Nithi at 70% but gave Raila 15% of the vote amounting to 52,052 votes. In actual numbers only Meru, Kiambu and Nakuru counties gave Raila more votes. It is clear that this idea of having Gachagua as the running mate did not achieve the objective at all.

The choice of allies in western Kenya saw Ruto get a mix of votes in the region. The choice of Wetangula saw Ruto gain handsomely in Bukusu land. Indeed, the duo of Wetangula and the former Speaker of the Senate, Kenneth Lusaka, carried Ruto to a landslide victory over Raila. Ruto managed to overturn Raila's 63% victory in 2017, giving Ruto a 63% victory instead. This was a great loss for Raila as this was his stronghold.

Raila's loss in Bukusu land could be traced back to a few years ago when ODM removed Wetangula as the leader of minority in the Senate. From that time, Ruto has been making forays into Bungoma seeking to capitalize on the fact that the Bukusu felt aggrieved with their treatment by ODM. The joining of Lusaka into Ford Kenya cemented this new found support of Ruto in Bungoma, especially, and hastened the divorce from Raila.

Musalia, on the other hand, failed to deliver as expected in the rest of Luyha land. Although Ruto dented Raila's hold over Luhya land by reducing his votes from 88% to 72%, the promise of victory that was the narrative in the leadup to the election did not materialize. Actually, the 16% reduction in Raila's votes was a great step, but, as in Bukusu land, the promise that was made was that they would defeat Raila and in this regard the Musalia failed to deliver. In fact, Musalia was defeated in his home county of Vihiga, although, interestingly, ANC of Musalia and UDA swept four out of the five parliamentary seats in Vihiga, but ODM took both the Senatorial and Gubernatorial seats.

Ruto made his job of securing victory harder by losing votes where he ideally should have retained his votes, namely, in Maa speaking areas, upper eastern and northeastern. This is basically the bulk of the so-called pastoralists. These areas had traditionally voted with Jubilee and were expected to do so in the 2022 elections. They failed to do so. There could be several reasons that it could have happened, including wrong candidates, conflict of issues (as between the Kipsigis and the Maasai in relation to the Mau Forest) and clan issues (especially in North Eastern and Upper eastern), but my sense is an underlying issue that is often overlooked, but I believe played and plays a vital role in these regions.

The loss in Northeastern was a drastic one, where the Jubilee's win was reduced from 62% to 28% a 34% drop, Mandera fell from 83% to 21%, Wajir from 51% to 37% and Garissa 48% to 26%. This is also reflected in the seats won as UDA only won 2 seats in Garissa, 2 in Wajir and not a single seat in Mandera a far cry from 2017 where Jubilee and it allied parties swept all seats with ODM getting two seats and Wiper getting only one seat each in Wajir. It

was quite clear Aden Dualle, strong man of UDA in North Eastern, had completely lost his grip and may have been responsible for chasing many of his tribe's mates to the Azimio side.

This time Jubilee (not allied to Ruto), ODM, Wiper and UDM of Ali Roba (two time Governor of Mandera) dominated the seats in Northeastern.

A similar occurrence was seen in Upper Eastern, where Ruto's tally dropped from 72% to 52%, but of significance was the drop in Marsabit from 84% to 51%, a massive 33% loss. In Upper Eastern UDA only managed to get one seat, Saku in Marsabit, there rest were swept by the Azimio coalition.

In the Maa speaking counties of Kajiado, Narok and Samburu Raila made significant gains winning all three, especially considering that he lost all three in the last elections. Ruto managed to hold on to three seats out of the six in Narok, but only managed two out of the five in Kajiado and one out of the three in Samburu.

In Turkana it was felt that, because it was part of the pastoralists that Ruto was a part of and was championing their interest, he would do well. This did not work out as expected. Uhuru had managed 45% in 2017 and Ruto was to do worse getting only a measly 33% of the vote, with Raila increasing his command from 54% to 67%. This was a complete disaster for Ruto.

My sense is that the pastoralist seem to have a desire to support the winning team as they do not want to be out of government, so whoever they perceive as winning is the one they seem to support. In 2013 with Raila was the Prime Minister and the perception was that he was the government candidate, and it was his election to win, the pastoralist supported him fully. He swept Turkana (67%), Samburu (58%), Narok (51%), Garissa (49%, Uhuru got 45%), Wajir (50% Uhuru got 39%) and Marsabit (49%, Uhuru got 47%). He only failed to get Isiolo and Mandera where Uhuru had a better clan arrangement and candidates and Kajiado where Mt Kenya has a high voter population.

In 2017, when Uhuru was the incumbent, he swept all counties of the pastoralist save for Turkana, clearly, they perceived him as the obvious victor.

In the 2022 election clearly the pastoralist, who do not want to be out of government, saw that Raila was most likely the victor, with the massive state support and the support of the sitting president, and they voted for him to a man. What is clear is that as soon as the dust had settled after the election and Ruto was declared the winner, many of them did not waste time in decamping and joining Ruto.

Ruto made some significant gains in the Coast, moving from 26% to 34%, an 8% increase. That is not the whole story, his numbers were reduced in Tana River (2%), Lamu (3%) and Taita Taveta (2%), ceding ground to Raila in these counties. He had huge campaigns in Kwale and Kilifi where he expected to score big, but here he made a marginal gains in Kwale of 5%

and a greater increase in Kilifi of 12%, but Raila still managed to secure victory in both getting 70% in Kwale and 72% in Kilifi. It seems that Raila stranglehold on those counties of the Coast was slightly weakened but still remained.

Interestingly, the biggest gain was made was in Mombasa County, were Ruto increased the tally from 29% to 41% challenging Raila's hold over the cosmopolitan town. The ethnic mix of Mombasa seems to greatly in favour of Raila and his Azimio coalition, but Ruto still managed to but a big dent in his following there. This seems to have been in some way influenced by the support of Sonko, the former Governor of Nairobi, who has a strong pull to the urban youth. He also is a Kamba and most likely influenced the large Kamba population of Mombasa to vote for Ruto.

Another interesting statistic is the voter turnout in the three counties of the Kambas. The turnout was 61% and the national average was 64%. Last election their turnout percentage was 77%, which equaled the national average. This low turnout adversely affected Raila's chances of winning the election and, thereby, assisted Ruto's victory.

The indecisions of the leader of the Kamba community, Kalonzo Musyoka and utterances that he would not support Raila, but to later so an about turn and support him led to this low turnout. The fact that Wiper, the dominate party in the region headed by Kalonzo, selection of candidates and its strong arm method of dealing with those perceived to be against the party may also have contributed to the loss of interest in the election. Nonetheless, the Kamba, despite this indecision, still voted in support of their leader, giving Raila almost 80% of the vote.

Rift Valley, as expected, turnout in large numbers to support their candidate. The 80% turnout was the highest in the country by far, the next would be 72% in Luo Nyanza. This high turnout and the great support for Ruto cemented his victory. This region gave Ruto 23% of his vote, adding to the 41% from Mt Kenya and 8% from Nairobi (Mt Kenya) would give him almost 2/3 of his vote, 75%.

In the last election Uhuru, with the help of Ruto, had managed to score well in Kisii and Nyamira. He managed to get 43% of the votes in Kisii county and, incredibly, defeated Raila in Nyamira with 52% of the vote. Come 2022, Raila reasserted his dominance over the two counties, effectively locking Ruto out, leaving him with a partly 35% of the vote.

Raila had lost the Nyamira vote and faired poorly in Kisii, despite winning, in the 2017 election, in a place that has traditionally voted with him. The 2017 election change was most probably influenced by the fact that Uhuru support from the Nyachae family (Simeon Nyachae has had a profound influence over the Kisii voters for decades) and the high status of their son, Fred Matiangi, in the Uhuru administration lured the Kisii to support Uhuru. This time the Kisii returned to Raila in large numbers, effectively locking Ruto out of the region.

In Nairobi, Raila extended his victory from 51% to 57% leaving Ruto with 42% which mostly comprised of the Mt Kenya voters in Nairobi. It seems that all the Luos, Luhyas and Kambas to a man voted for Raila and many of the Kisii and Somalis, leaving Ruto the Kikuyu and other Mt Kenya communities with a few stray votes from those supporting Raila. Of interest, was the gubernatorial election where Johnson Sakaja was pitted against the so called Mt Kenya candidate Polycap Igathe.

Here it was believed in the Azimio camp that the Mt Kenya vote would be behind Igathe and that coupled with the Azimio communities of Luo, Luhya and Kamba he would secure a landslide election. When the dust settled and the votes tallied, it turned out that the Mt Kenya vote was solidly behind Sakaja and not Igathe. Further, to cement Sakaja's victory, the Luhyas voted in large numbers for him. Indeed, had Azimio stuck with Timothy Wanyonyi they may have had a better chance of beating Sakaja.

I believe the most important statistic of the 2022 election was the fact that only 72% of luo came out to vote. In 2022 Luo came out in large numbers to support their candidate with a 80% voter turnout, way above the national average. This time they were above the national average but failed to reach the 80% that Rift Valley achieve in support of Ruto. The low voter turnout in Luo Nyanza is what inevitably lead to Raila losing the 2022 election. If the Luos had turnout to vote as they did in 2017, at 80%, then Raila would have got an additional 160,000 votes, effectively preventing a Ruto victory in the first round in which case Raila would have 49.4% of the vote and Ruto 49.9%.

The way ODM continued to not allow free nominations as well as the complete blockage of other parties in the region, greatly reduced the competition in many of the contest, as the candidate with the ODM ticket was most likely to win. This had some effect on the voter turnout.

More importantly, voter apathy seems to have had a great effected on the voter turnout in Luo Nyanza. Having voted in large number, four times for Raila, they have become somewhat uncertain of his chances of winning and, therefore, did not have the necessary excitement to come out in large numbers. This, together with the growing number of candidates winning on independent tickets or on other parties, seems to indicate the wanning influence that Raila has over the Luo populous, a position painfully illustrated when he had to camp in Kisumu to secure the Speakers of Kisumu County seat, succeeding with only one vote.

Another very important statistic from the 2022 election is the low voter turnout and what is portents. If you look at the total voting population of 22 million, only 14 million or 65% came out to vote of which Ruto got 7 million votes and Raila got 6.9 million votes. Translated Ruto got 32.5 % of the total voter population, Raila got 31.4 %, but the those that did not vote were 7.9 million or 35%. There were more people who did not vote than the votes that either Ruto or Raila secured, this speak volumes as to the voters belief in the two candidates; they would rather stay home than vote for either.

Ruto's victory was secured by only two communities, Mt Kenya gave him almost 50% of the vote (41% from Mt Kenya and 8% from Nairobi) and he secured another 23%. He then was unable to secure more than 5% from any other community, but that was enough to give him the need 50% +1 of the votes to get elected in the first term.

Raila's failure to get his home turf to turnout in large numbers and ceding ground in his traditional strongholds of Western, Ukambani and Coast cost him the election. It is my view based on this examination of the numbers that Ruto did not win the election, Raila lost it.