



# 2022 Elections: Voter Registration, Political Parties Issues and Nairobi County Gubernatorial Race

**#TIFAon2022Elections**

**November Omnibus Survey | 2<sup>nd</sup> Release | 15<sup>th</sup> December 2021**

**Introduction and Summary Findings**

**Voter Registration Issues**

**Political Party Issues: Popularity Trend, Change of Alignment + Reasons**

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**Expectations of Government Efforts to Influence 2022 Election**

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# Introduction and Summary Findings



- ❑ All the findings included in this 2<sup>nd</sup> Release are taken from the national survey TIFA Research conducted between 7<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> November, 2021. The survey covered a variety of important economic, political, and social welfare public issues. This Release concentrates on several aspects of next year's elections.
- ❑ In designing the survey, TIFA has taken note of the fact that since our last such survey in June, 2021, a number of events have occurred relating to several of the issues explored in this Release. They include; the IEBC's recently concluded mass-voter registration drive (and which at the time was supposed to be the last before the next election), the mounting fissures within the ruling Jubilee party and the concomitant rise of the United Democratic Alliance (UDA) associated with DP William Ruto, but also increasing talk about a merger or at least coalition arrangement between Jubilee and the official Opposition party, ODM, led by former prime minister Raila Odinga.
- ❑ There has also been considerable controversy over the reported involvement of state machinery and personnel in support of Raila Odinga's presidential bid, even if he had not officially announced his candidacy until well after the survey was completed (at Kasarani Stadium, on 10<sup>th</sup> December). On the other hand, the planned Jubilee National Delegates' Conference for 30<sup>th</sup> November that was expected to see major changes in the party's leadership (including the possible expulsion of the DP) was (again) postponed.
- ❑ Increasing public and media attention has also been drawn to the forthcoming Nairobi gubernatorial contest, especially given the recent removal from office of Governor Mike Mbuvi Sonko, and his replacement by his (recently confirmed/installed) deputy, Ann Kanunu.



- ❑ Altogether, with a full nine months remaining until the next election (at the time of the survey – now just eight months), TIFA believes it is important to ‘go below the surface’ of the almost daily flurry of political activity and various (and largely unsubstantiated) claims from all sides rediscover the reality ‘on the ground’ as related to the key issues covered.
- ❑ As in the past, TIFA invites queries about the data presented in such Releases and the methodology employed to obtain it. Suggestions as to how future surveys on these and related issues can make an even more positive contribution to public understanding and policy formulation regarding various challenges Kenyans face are likewise welcome.

# Summary Findings

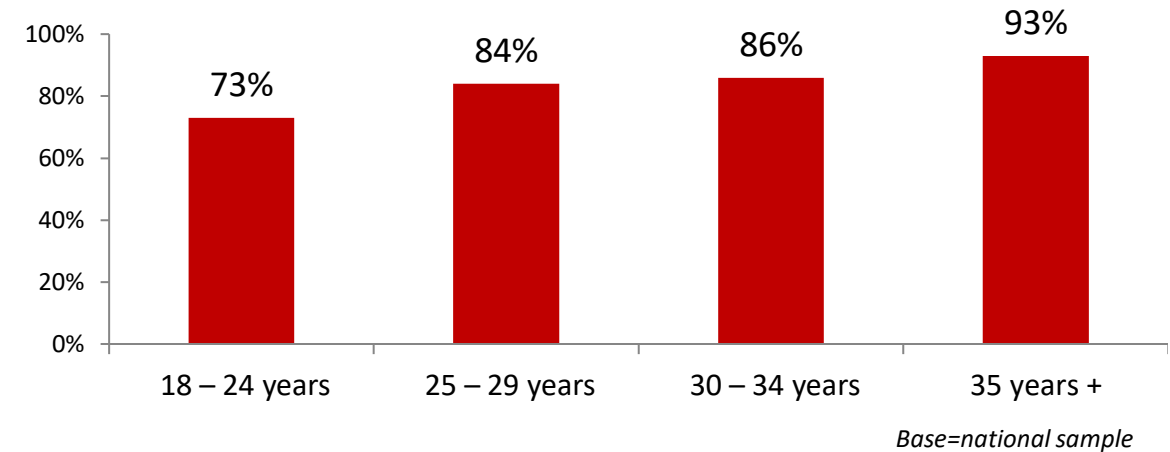
## Voter registration – claimed incidence



- ❑ 86% of total sample claim to be registered voters.
- ❑ Lowest number of those claiming to be registered voters amongst those aged 18-24 years.
- ❑ Main barrier to voter registration is political apathy.



### % who claim to be registered voters



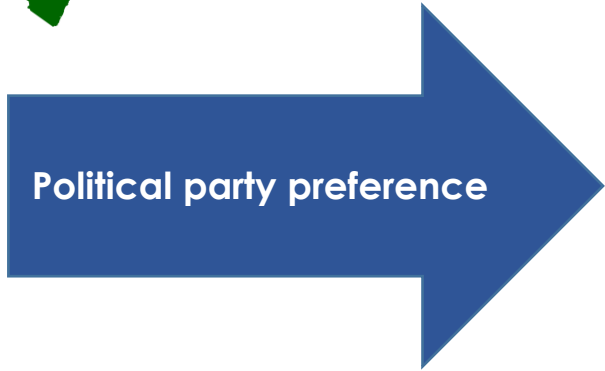
### Reported barriers to voter registration

- ❑ **30%** lack of interest in politics
- ❑ **22%** too busy to register (but hope to register)
- ❑ **14%** too busy to register (no plans to register)
- ❑ **11%** lacks ID (yet to be issued or was lost)

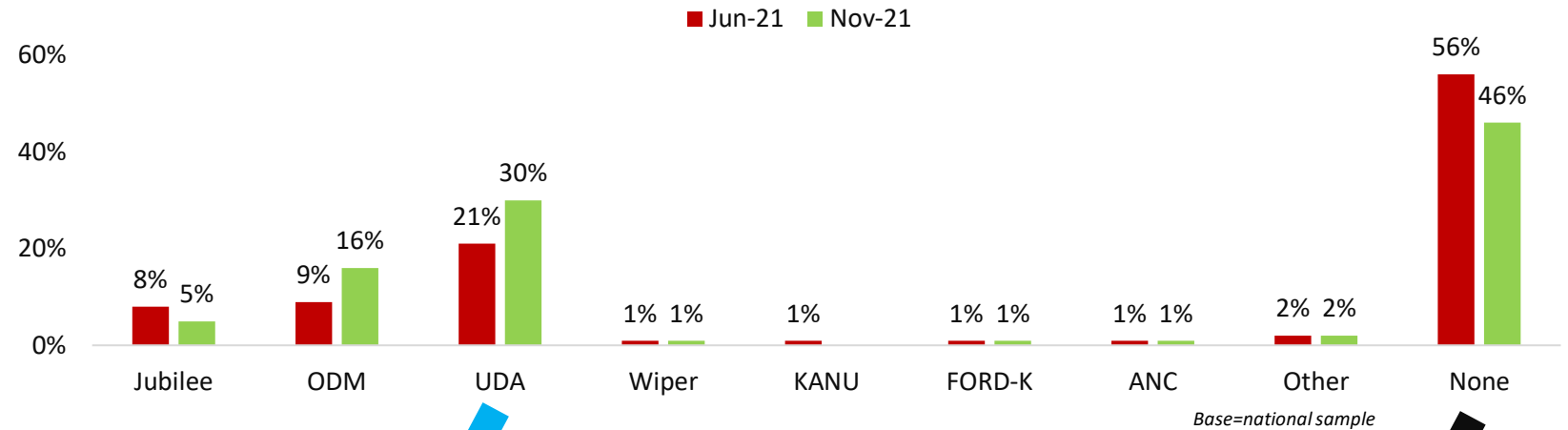
Base=those reporting as not registered voters

# Summary Findings

## Political party affiliation: current vs previous support



Political party preference



❑ Among current supporters of UDA, nearly two-thirds were previously aligned with Jubilee (64%).

❑ More of those who do not currently support any party but did so in the past previously supported Jubilee.

### Previous party supported by current UDA supporters

- ❑ **64%** previously supported **Jubilee**
- ❑ **17%** previously supported **ODM**

Base=those currently UDA supporters

### Previous party for current undecided

- ❑ **31%** previously supported **Jubilee**
- ❑ **19%** previously supported **ODM**
- ❑ **41%** previously supported **no party**

Base=those currently undecided

# Summary Findings

## Opposition vs most critical of GoK – national sample



### Official opposition party

- ❑ Fewer than half of all respondents could correctly identify ODM as the current Official Opposition party (40%).

### Leader perceived as most critical of GoK

- ❑ More Kenyans consider DP William Ruto as the strongest critic of the government than the Official Leader of the Opposition, former PM Raila Odinga.

### Identification of the official Opposition Party

- ❑ **40%** ODM
- ❑ **14%** UDA
- ❑ **27%** don't know

Base=national sample



### Perceived most vocal GoK critic

- ❑ **36%** William Ruto
- ❑ **24%** Raila Odinga
- ❑ **18%** not sure

Base=national sample



# Summary Findings

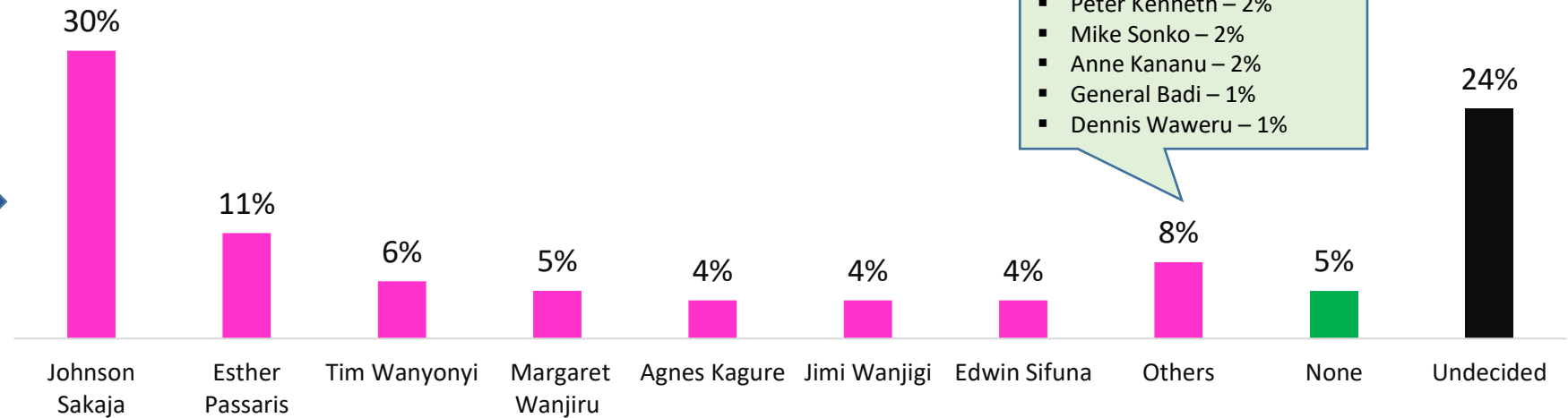
## Nairobi county issues & governor aspirant popularity



NAIROBI CITY COUNTY



Nairobi governor – most popular aspirant



Base=Nairobi county residents

Top five problems facing residents of Nairobi county

### Most pressing problems facing Nairobi residents

- ❑ 31% unemployment
- ❑ 16% water/electricity
- ❑ 14% high cost of living
- ❑ 7% crime
- ❑ 5% poverty

Base=Nairobi county residents



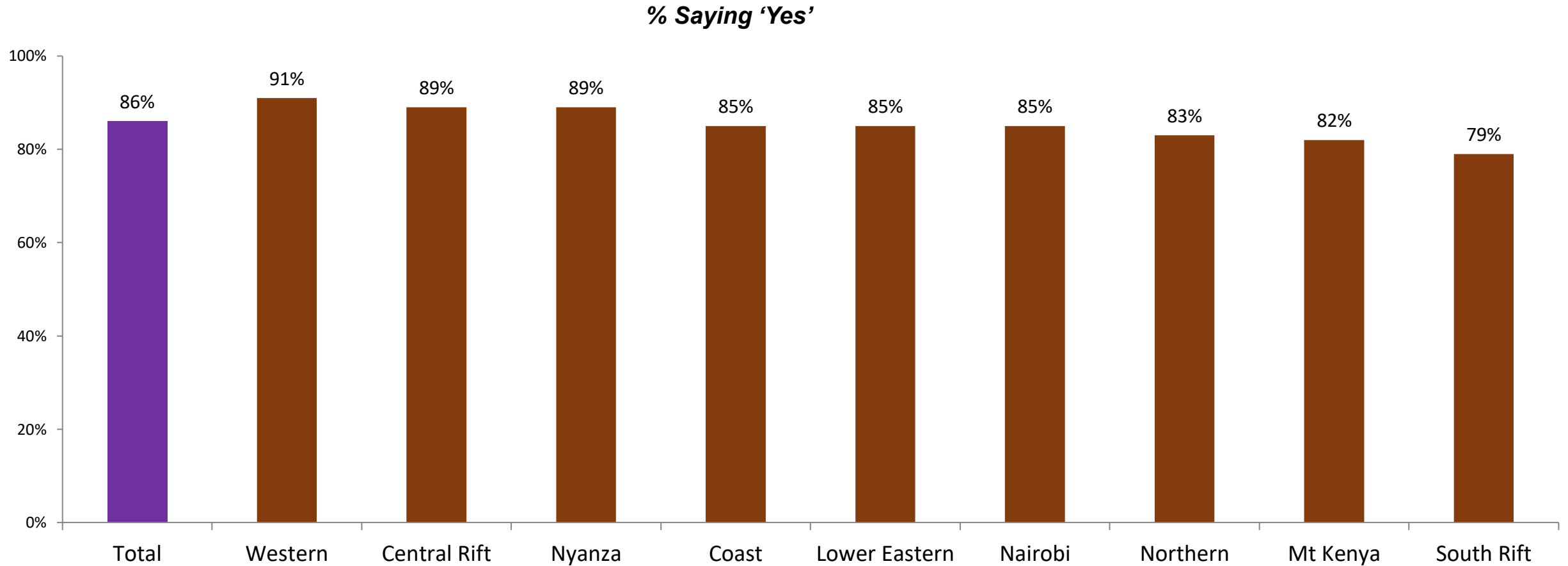
# The Recent Mass-Voter Registration Exercise

# Self-Identification as a Registered Voter

## by total, zone



While more than 8-in-ten respondents claiming to be registered voters (ranging from a high in Western to a low in the South Rift region), IEBC figures indicate a rather lower figure (of about 75%, that is about 21 million out of an adult population of about 28 million).



Q. "Are you a registered voter?"

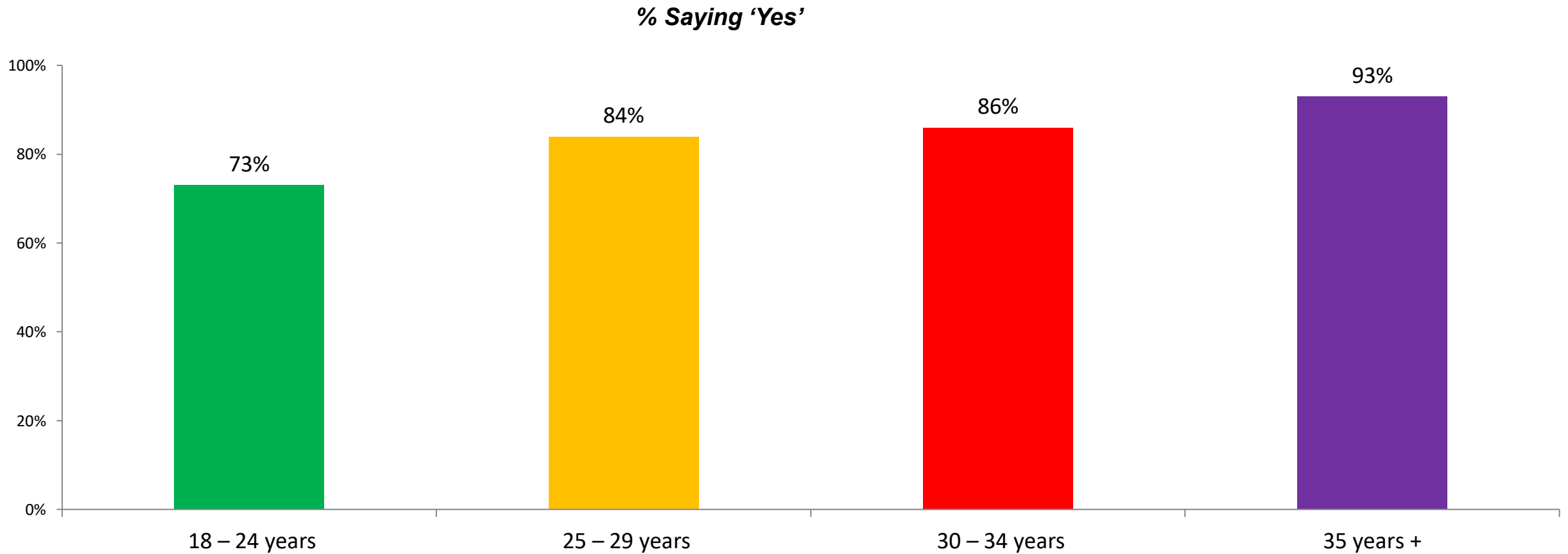
Base = all respondents

# Self-Identification as a Registered Voter

## by age groupings



- Across four age-groupings, the proportion of those claiming to be registered voters increases with age (from a low of 73% among 18-24 year olds to a high of 93% among those aged thirty-five and above).



Q. "Are you a registered voter?"

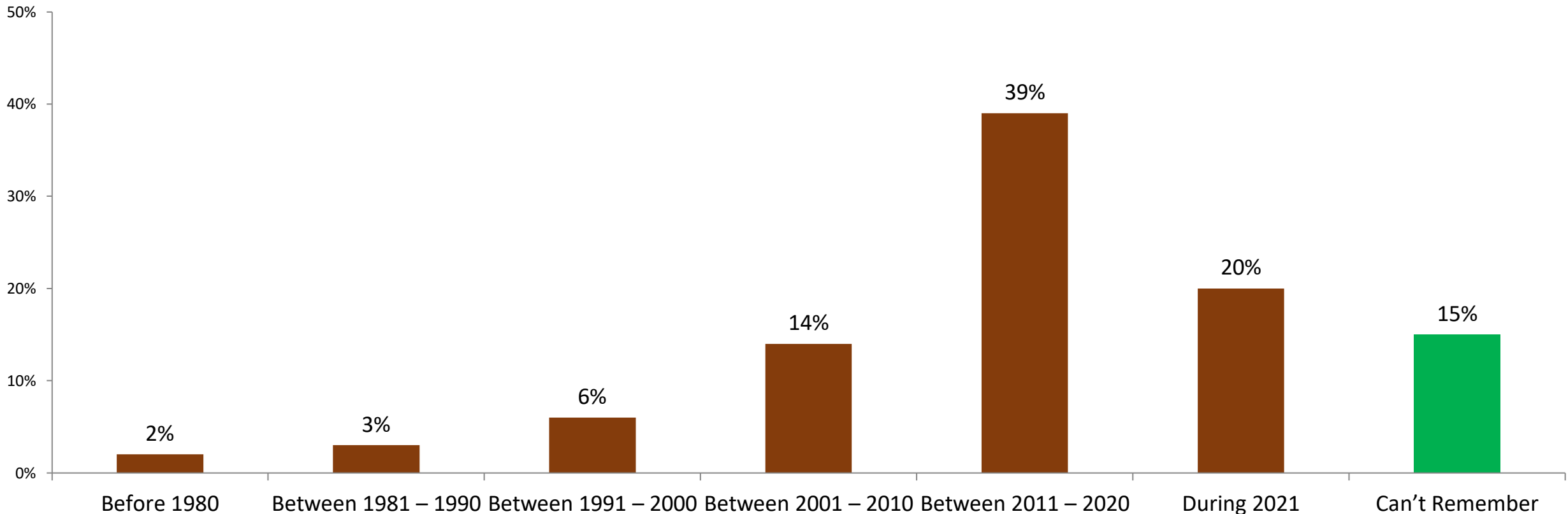
Base = all respondents

# Year-Periods When First Registered as Voter

*by those who claim to be registered*



□ Giving the “youth-bulge” in Kenya’s demographic pyramid, it is not surprising that a plurality of those claiming to be registered (39%) report being added to the voters’ roll within the last ten years. Still, the fact one-in-five (20%) say they were registered this year (which also appears at overstatement, since 20% of the total reported to have been registered this year – around 1.6 million – would amount to over 4 million, yet IEBC figures show adding only about half of this number to the voters’ roll.

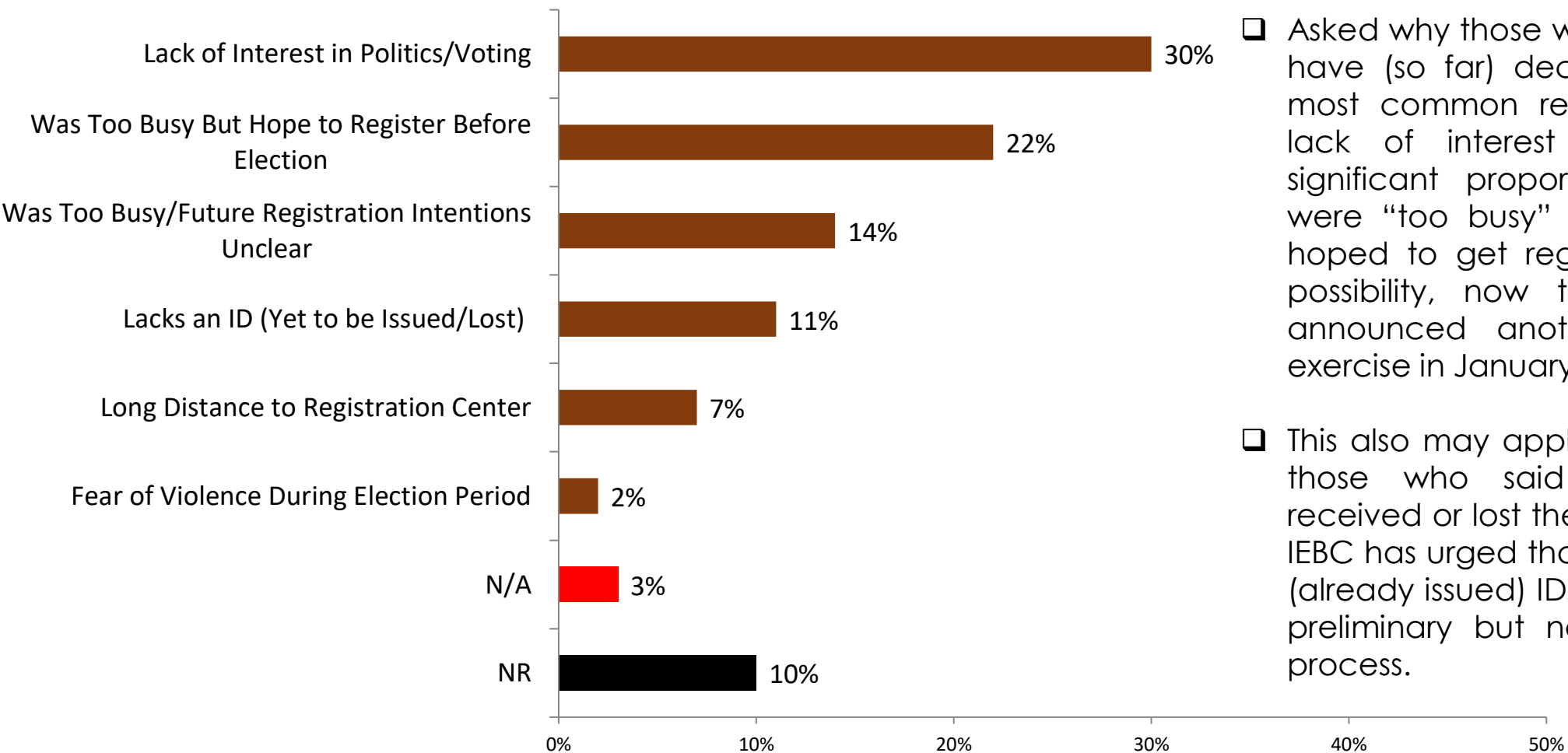


Q. “In which year did you get registered as a voter?”

Base = 1,305

# Reasons for Not Being a Registered Voter/Getting Registered During the Recent IEBC Mass-Registration Exercise

by those stating that they are not registered voters



☐ Asked why those who are not registered have (so far) declined to do this, the most common response (30%) was a lack of interest in politics, but a significant proportion who said they were “too busy” (22%) said that they hoped to get registered in future – a possibility, now that the IEBC have announced another mass-registration exercise in January.

☐ This also may apply to at least some of those who said they have never received or lost their National IDs, as the IEBC has urged those yet to collect their (already issued) IDs to collect them as a preliminary but necessary step in this process.



# Reasons for Not Being a Registered Voter/Getting Registered During the Recent IEBC Mass-Registration Exercise

*by age groupings (among those stating that they are not registered voters)*

- ❑ Across all age-groupings (except those aged 35 and above) the most commonly cited reason for not being registered is a lack of interest in politics. However, even “being too busy” could be equated to insufficient interest.

Main Reason	18 – 24 years	25 – 29 years	30 – 34 years	35+ years
Lack of Interest in Politics/Voting	28%	39%	31%	28%
Was Too Busy But Hope to Register Before Election	18%	26%	17%	29%
Was Too Busy/Future Registration Intentions Unclear	18%	5%	7%	21%
Lacks an ID (Yet to be Issued/Lost)	15%	1%	23%	2%
Long Distance to Registration Center	9%	3%	10%	3%
Fear of Violence During Election Period	2%	0%	4%	2%
Other (Sickness/Long Queues)	0%	0%	7%	0%
N/A	3%	2%	0%	4%
NR	6%	24%	3%	10%

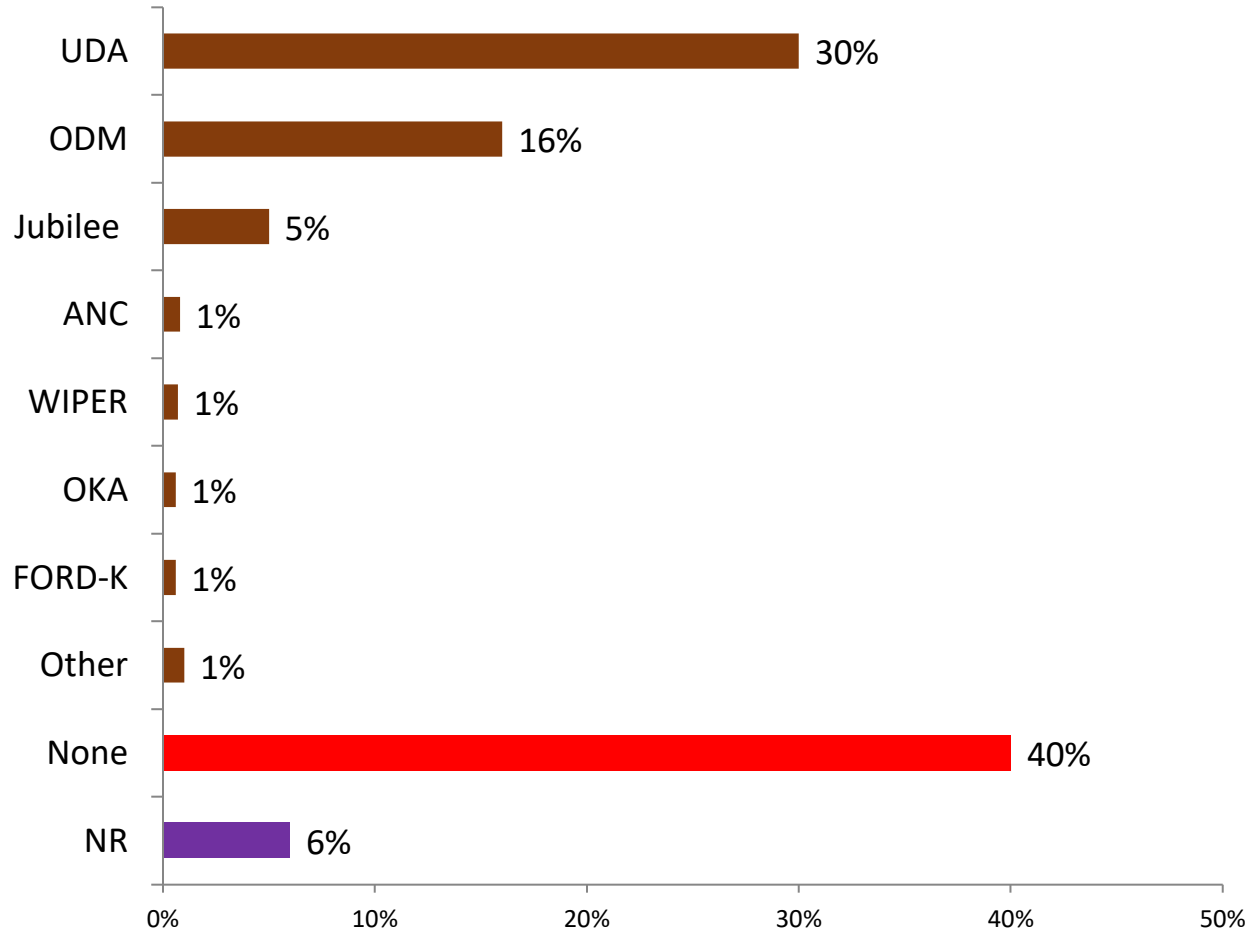


## Political Party Issues:

- Popularity Trend
- Change of Alignment
- Perceived Capacity of Opposition Party to Hold Government Accountable
- Perceived Identity of Official Opposition Party/Most Vocal Government Critic



# Political Party Alignment by total



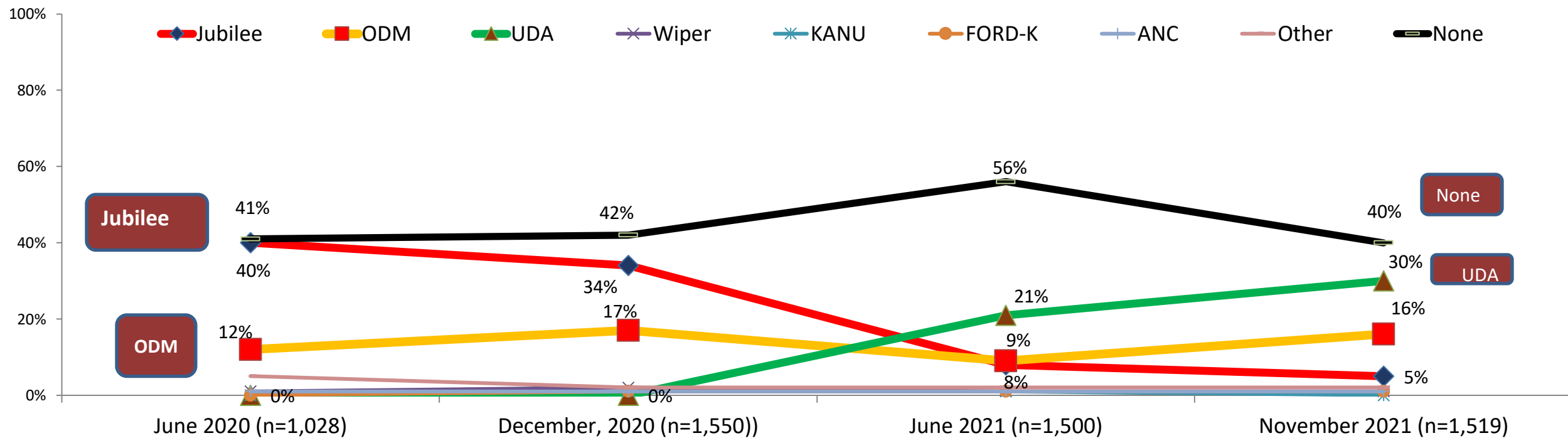
- ❑ As of now, no political party or alliance/coalition attracts the support of more than just under one-third of Kenyans, with nearly half (40%) saying they “feel close to” or “support” no such entity.
- ❑ However, the most popular party is the newest: UDA. Its popularity (30%) is greater than that of ODM and Jubilee combined (21%).
- ❑ Given the period remaining until the next election and with considerable uncertainty regarding possible mergers/coalitions and the determination of the ballot-’menu’ for all elective positions (starting with the presidency), no assumptions can be made now as to what these figures will be by mid-2022.

# Political Party Alignment: Trend Analysis

## June 2020 – November 2021



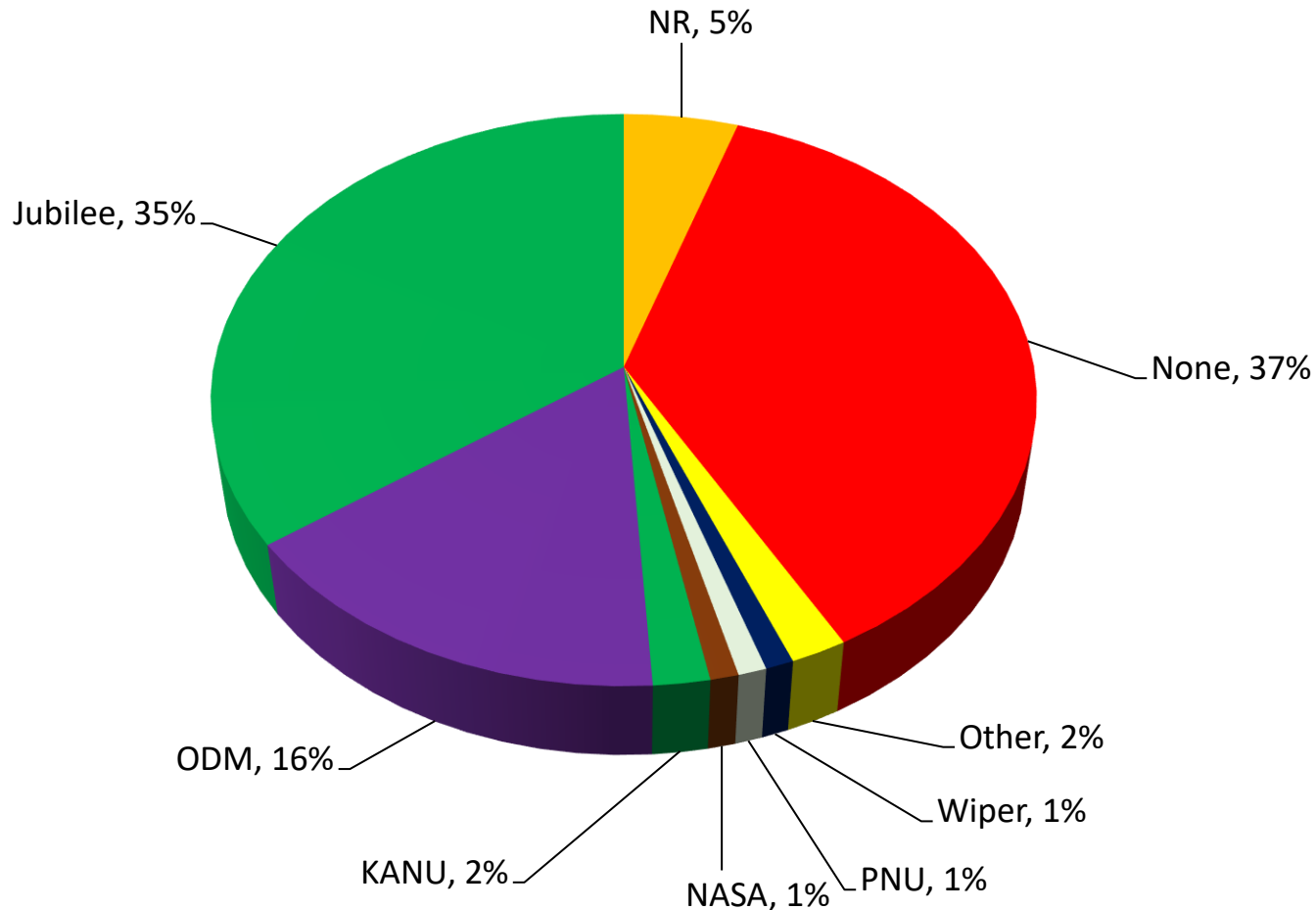
- Over the last sixteen months, the two most dramatic changes in the popularity of political parties have been (1) the decline of Jubilee (from 40% to 5%) and the appearance/rise of UDA (from nothing to 30%), making it currently the most popular party.
- At the same time, the steady predominance of “none” over this period (slightly below/above half of all respondents) suggests that about half of Kenyans are waiting for more clarity in the evolving ‘menu’ of ballot-choices (as well as, perhaps, of manifesto-content) before aligning themselves with any particular political formation on the competitive electoral field.



Q. “What political party or alliance do you support most or feel closest to now, if any?”

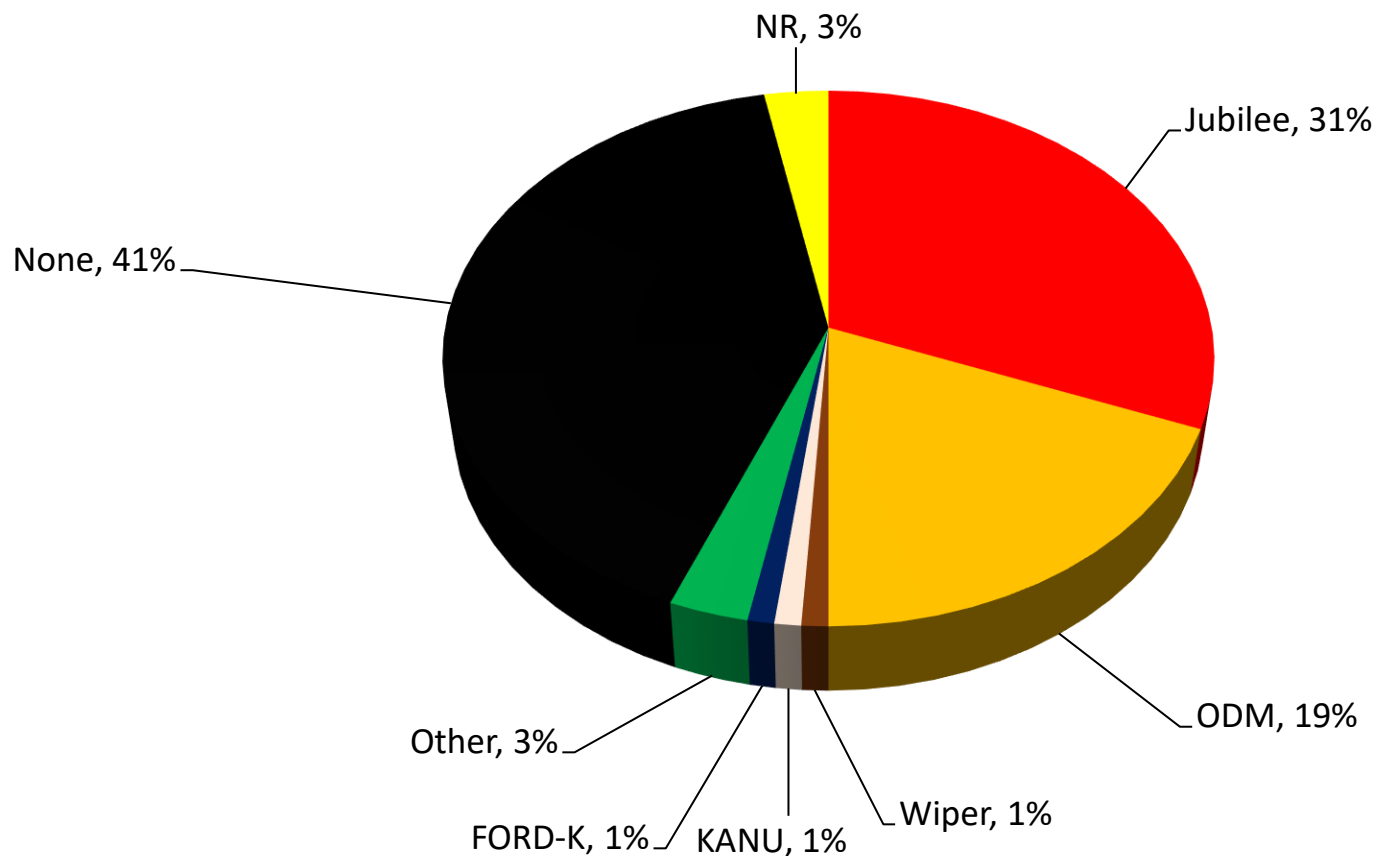
# Which (If Any) Other Political Party Supported In the Last Ten Years

*by total*



- ❑ Asked if they had supported any (other) political party during the last ten years, more than half reported that they had done so (58%). By far, most were formerly in Jubilee (35%), more than twice as many as those who formerly supported ODM (16%).
- ❑ At the same time, more than one-third report that they had never supported any other political party or never supported any party at all (37%) whatever party they may support now.

# Which (If Any) Other Political Party Supported In the Last Ten Years *by those currently supporting no political party*



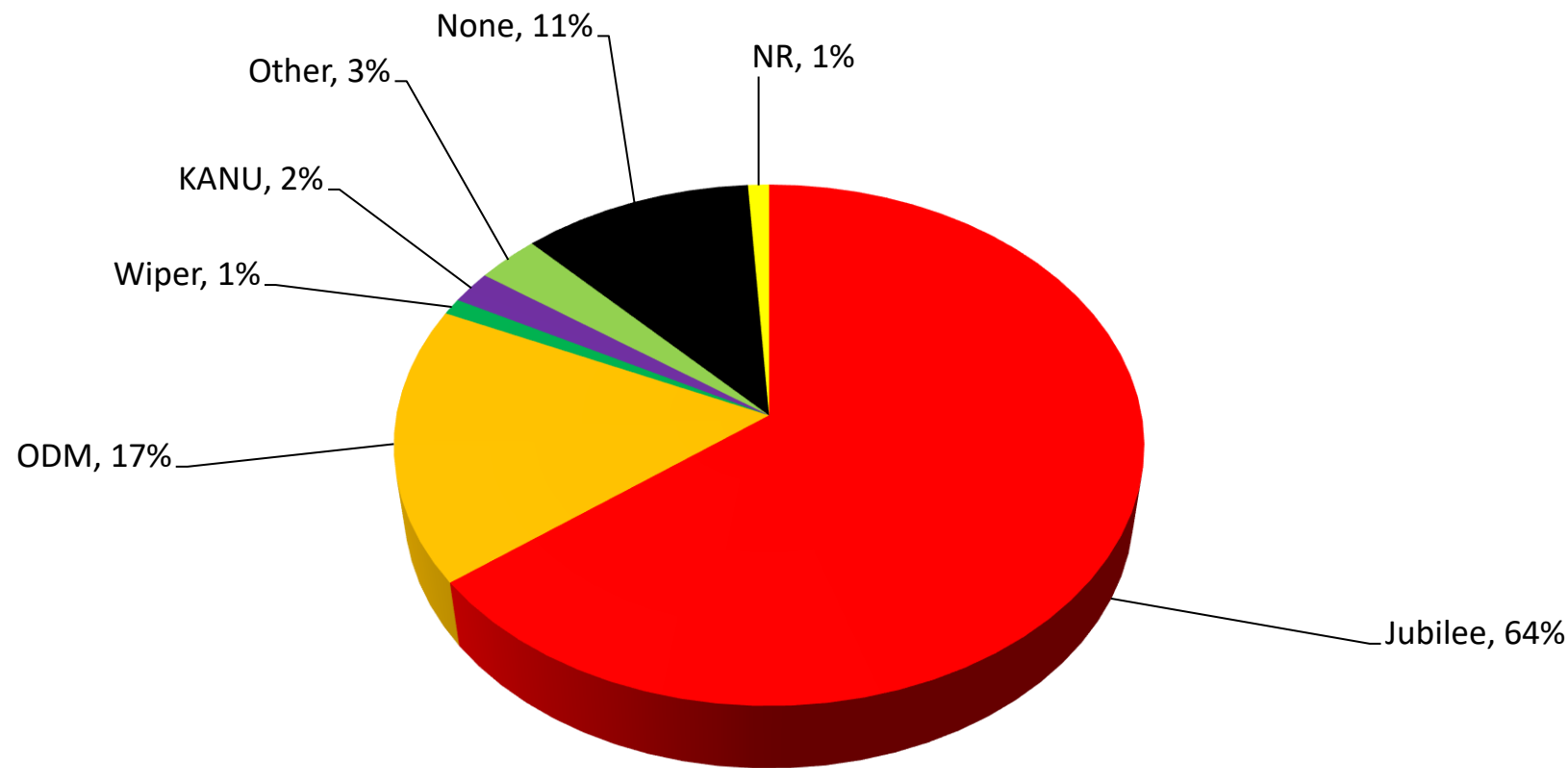
- ❑ Looking specifically at the nearly half of all Kenyans who currently support no political party (40%), more than half (56%) report that they did so within the last ten years.
- ❑ The party suffering the most attrition in this regard is Jubilee (31%) followed by ODM (19%). Given that at the time of the last election (2017) these were by far the most popular parties, such declines in their respective support-bases is not surprising.

Q. "If there was any other party you supported or belonged to in the last 10 years which party was that?"

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

Base = 544

# Which (If Any) Other Political Party Supported In the Last Ten Years by current supporters of UDA



- ❑ Among current supporters of UDA, nearly two-thirds previously were aligned with Jubilee (64%). (No attempt was made to discover what proportions were earlier supporters of TNA vs. URP.)
- ❑ More surprising, perhaps, a significant proportion indicated that they have shifted their support to UDA from ODM (17%), with a smaller but substantial proportion reporting they had not supported any other party during the last ten years (11%).

Q. "If there was any other party you supported or belonged to in the last 10 years which party was that?"

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

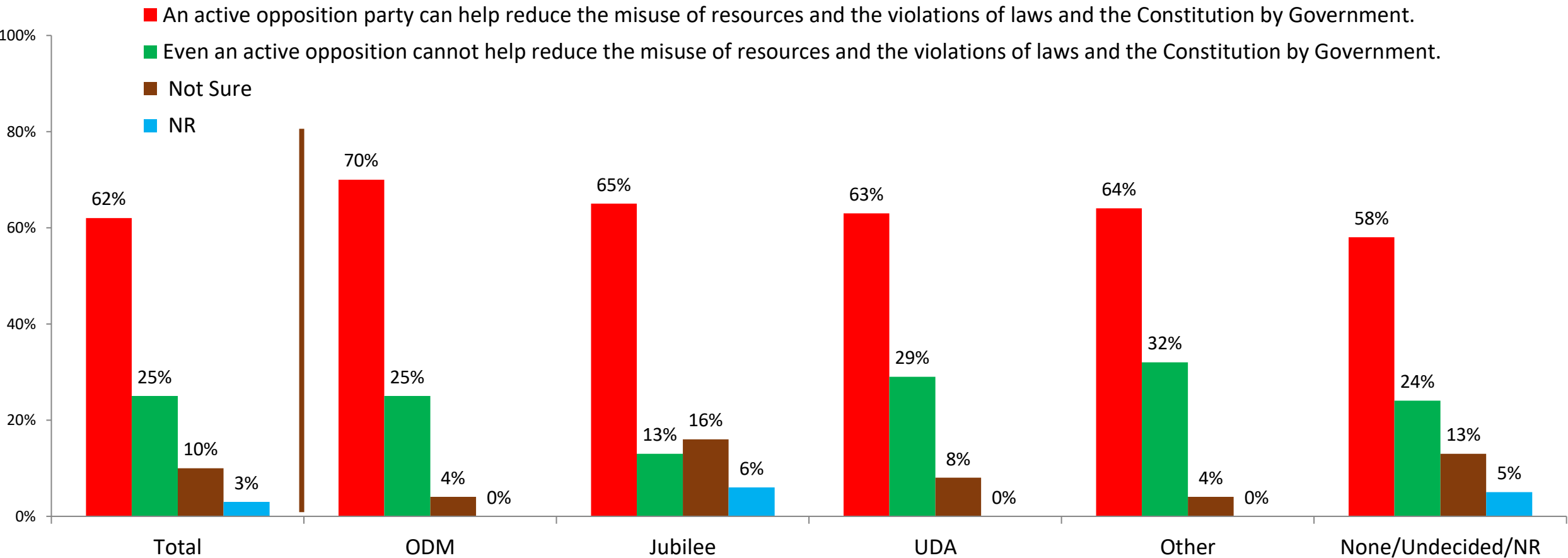
Base = 451

# Opinion Regarding the Ability of Opposition Party to Hold Government to Account

by total, political party alignment



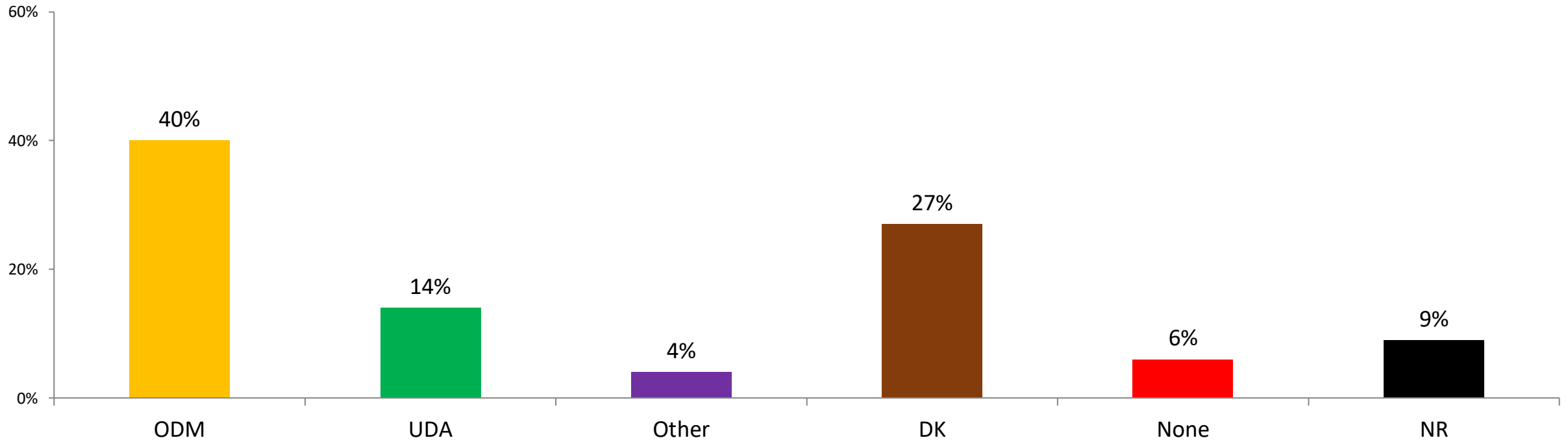
☐ A modest majority (62%) believe that an active can at least help to hold Government accountable, with ODM supporters modestly more inclined to this view (70%) than are supporters of other parties, and especially so compared to those who do not currently support any party (58%).



# Identification of Official Opposition Party *by total*



❑ Not even half of all respondents could correctly identify ODM as the current Official Opposition party (40%), with more than a quarter admitting they do not know which party is occupying this role (27%) and nearly one-in-five giving an incorrect answer (UDA/Other: 18%). Interestingly, the substantial minority who mention UDA (14%) are evidently unaware this new party has only one MP (following the recent Kiambaa by-election). Moreover, the fact that anyone believes that no such party is playing this role (6%) is also striking, given that this is a constitutional designation.

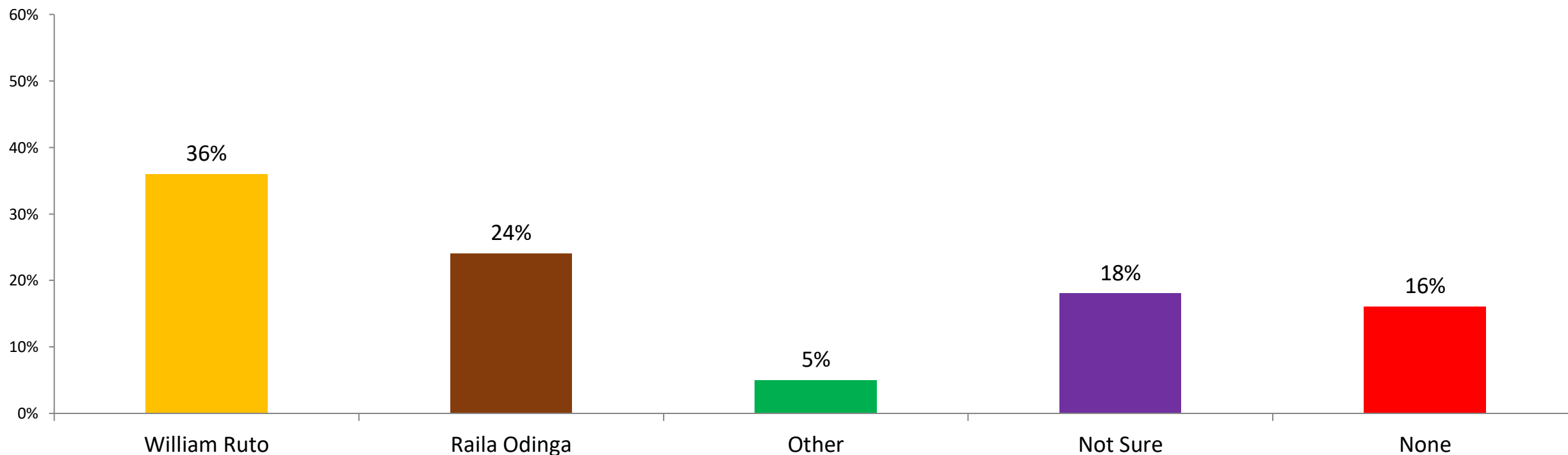


# Perceived Most Active Leader in Terms of Criticizing/Trying to hold the Jubilee government to Account

## by total



Asked to name the most active leader in terms of criticizing the Government, DP William Ruto received considerably more mentions than the Official Leader of the Opposition, former PM Raila Odinga (36% vs. 24%), a clear reflection of the current reality. Yet another one-third were either unsure about who is performing this role or of the view that no one is doing this (18%. Vs. 16%).



Base = all respondents





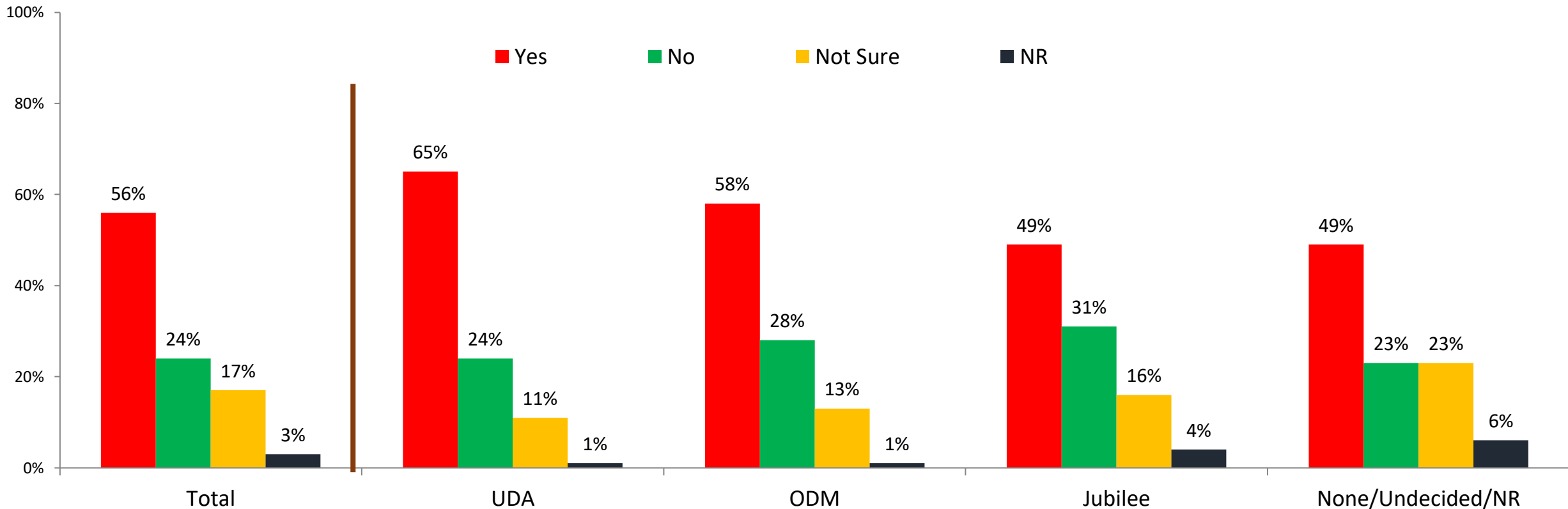
# Expected Use of Government Resources in the 2022 Elections

# Expectation that Government Resources Will be Employed to Influence the 2022 Elections

## by total, main political party groupings

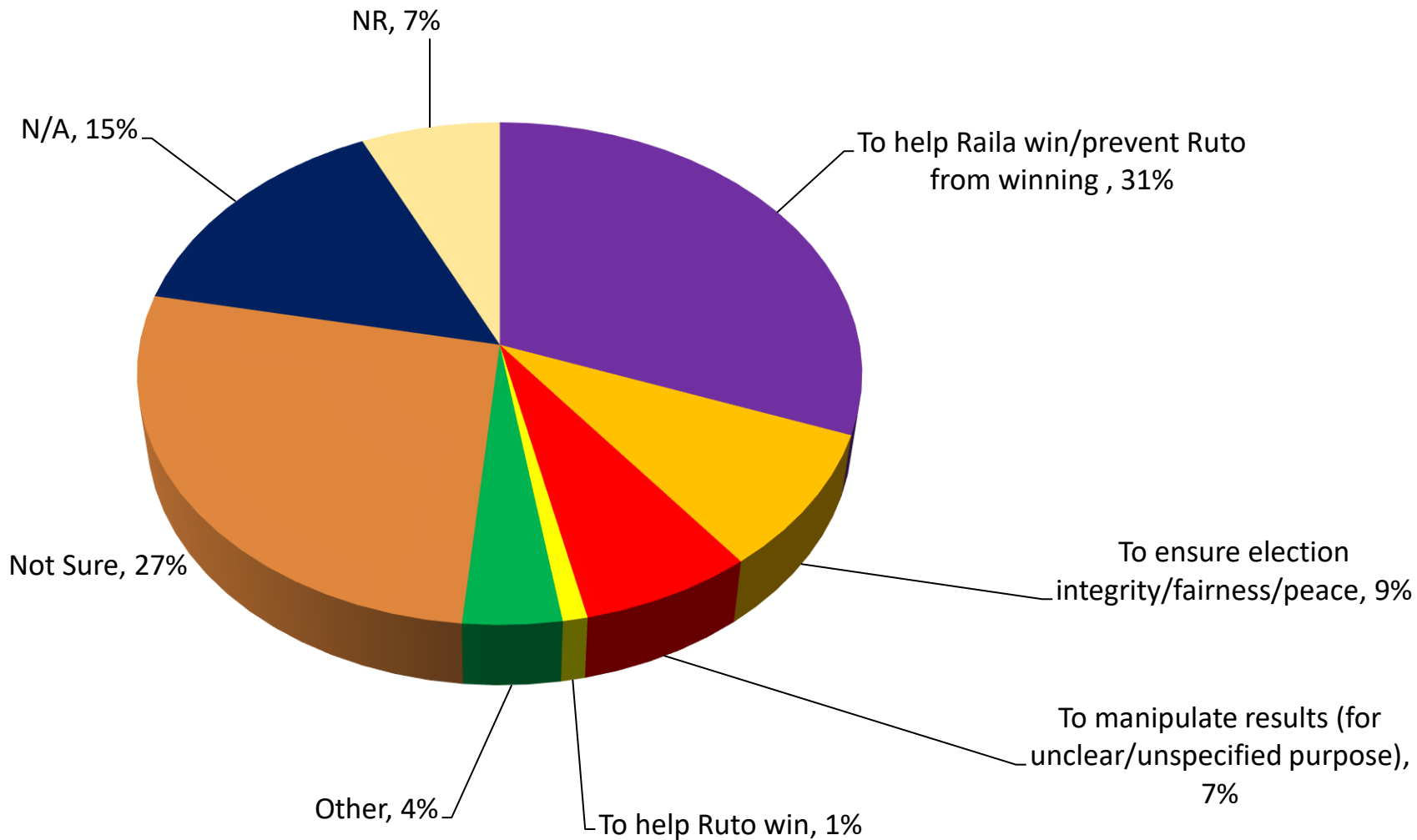


More than half of all respondents believe (as of now) that Government resources will be utilized to influence the outcome of next year's elections (56%), but in terms of political party supporters, the largest proportion holding this view are aligned with UDA (65%), with rather fewer among the supporters of ODM and Jubilee, and especially among those unaligned with any party, but who still constitute nearly half (49%).



# Perceived Purpose of Use of Government Resources in the 2022 Elections

*by those who believe such resources will be used to influence the 2022 elections*



- ❑ Among those who believe such Government resources will be so used, a clear plurality think this will be done in Raila's favor (31%), with hardly anyone expecting the DP to be the beneficiary of such resources (1%).
- ❑ However, more than one-quarter are unsure about this issue (27%), and a substantial proportion either declined to answer the question or gave irrelevant responses (22%), suggesting their unease with the subject.

Q. "What do you think would be the main purpose or objective of such efforts?"

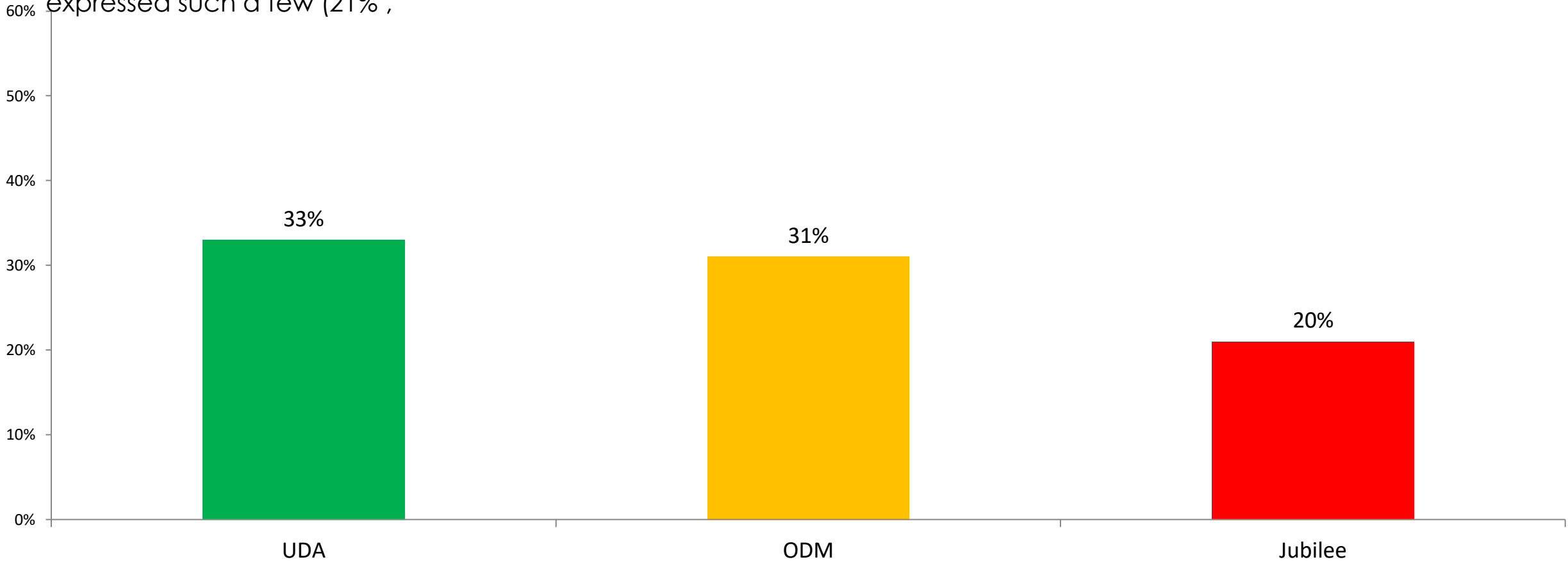
Base = 847

# Belief that Government Resources Will Be Used in Favor of Raila/Against Ruto

by supporters of UDA, ODM and Jubilee who believe Government resources will be used to influence the 2022 elections



□ The proportions of those holding the view that Government resources will be used in favor of Raila/against Ruto are nearly identical when comparing supporters of UDA and ODM (33% and 31%, respectively), though fewer Jubilee supporters expressed such a few (21% ,





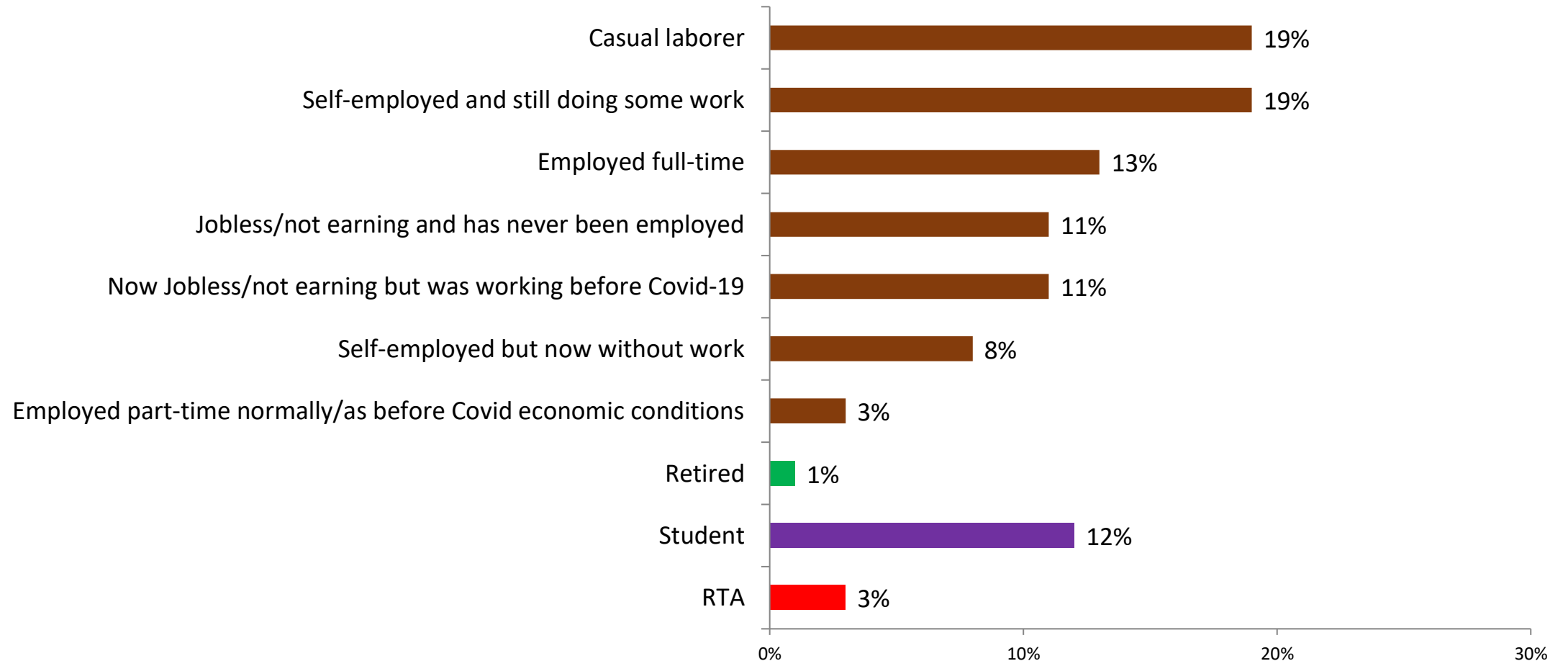
# The 2022 Nairobi Gubernatorial Contest

# Employment Status

by Nairobi residents

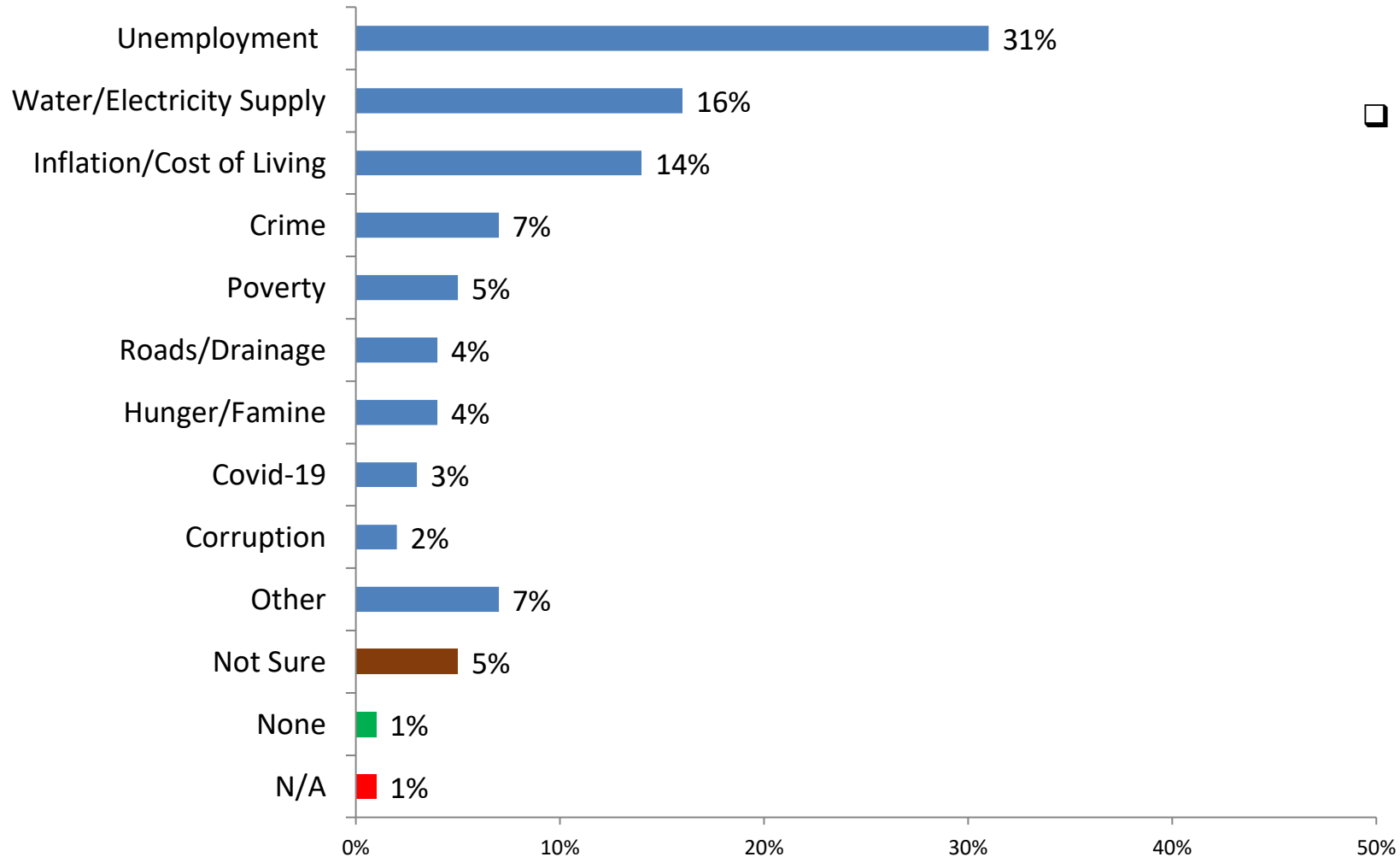


- Only a small proportion of Nairobians are currently employed full time (13%), though a much larger proportion are earning through self-employment or casual/part-time work (41%).



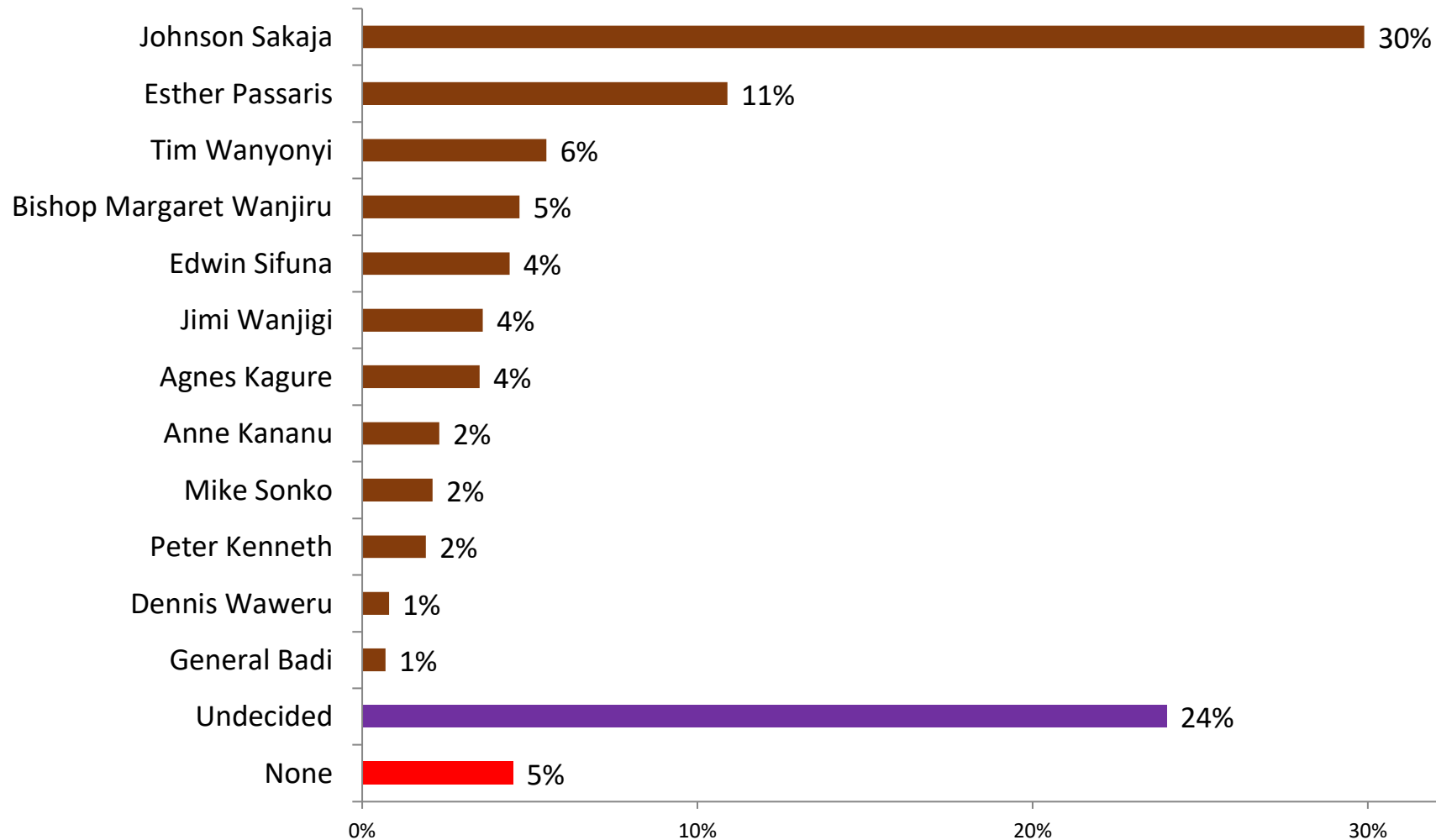
# Main Problems/Challenges: Nairobi County

by Nairobi residents



Given the employment status of Nairobi residents, it is not surprising that more of them mentioned joblessness than any other problem in their respective localities within the city/county (31%). Though the high mentions of cost-of-living and poverty (19% combined) are also reflections of difficult economic conditions that would be at least partly address through regular employment.

# Preferred Next Nairobi County Governor by Nairobi residents



- ❑ When asked whom they vote for if the election for Nairobi's next governor were held now, Johnson Sakaja by far the most popular choice (30%), his nearest potential, Esther Passaris, receiving a rating of just one-third of Sakaja's (11%).
- ❑ However, with the actual ballot 'menu' of candidates still far from final, it is too early to tell whether his sizable lead will hold up over the next eight months
- ❑ It is also unclear whether supporters of any of these potential gubernatorial candidates believe they have the capacity to address such challenges as unemployment which is mainly affected by national-level policies.

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

Base = 444





# Concluding Comments

Several points can be made with regard to several of the findings included in this 2<sup>nd</sup> Release of TIFA's November, 2021 survey:

## A. Voter Registration Issues

- ❑ While the IEBC as well as many other organizations and observers expressed disappointment that its 'success rate' during the recent mass-voter registration drive was so far below its initial target (only about 1.6m as opposed to the 4-5m aimed for), the announcement that based on additional funding, another such exercise will be conducted in January – the start of an election year – was welcomed in many quarters. Still, the fact that nearly one-third of those who said they were not registered have no interest in politics may set limits on such efforts. Indeed, while testifying before a Senate committee, One IEBC Commissioner stated that: “the youth don't seem eager to register as voters, some of whom told us it was because they don't see any changes in their lives.” Whether another one-third who explained that they had been “too busy” may find enough time to register remains to be seen. (The Commissioner also noted that a shortage of funding – and thus of biometric gadgets – also hampered the Commission's efforts in this regard, but it is hoped the additional funding now provided will help address that constraint.) One thing is clear, however: that given the markedly lower level of voter registration among the youngest section of the adult population (i.e., 18-24), campaign roadside and rally crowds (largely consisting of young men) are no indication of voting realities on August 9, 2022.



# Concluding Comments (con't)

## B. Political Party Trends and the Official Opposition

- ❑ A review of data obtained prior to the last three general elections reveals the close connection between potential/actual presidential candidate popularity and that of political parties; indeed, several more popular parties prior to elections have been rather 'instant-creations', in some cases nearly (or completely) vanishing after either a candidate's defeat or retirement from politics (having either lost or won and served out one's term/s). As such the emergence and rapid climb in popularity of UDA as the declared 2022 electoral 'vehicle' for DP William Ruto over the last six months repeats a quite familiar pattern. Most dramatic here, however, has been the magnitude of the attrition of support for Jubilee, even as the DP continues to be its deputy leader, in terms of the source of most of UDA's new support-base.
- ❑ However, given Raila Odinga's declaration of his presidential candidacy a few days, combined with the possible launch of the Azimio la Umoja as a coalition between ODM, Jubilee and possibly additional parties (even including, perhaps, KANU, given the attendance of its party leader – Baringo Senator Gideon Moi – at this 'declaration' event). It will thus require some time before it becomes clear just how much this will shift the current support-distribution among today's main parties – as suggested, in large part a reflection of the evolving popularity of the main (i.e., most viable) presidential candidates.



# Concluding Comments (con't)

- ❑ Much of this evolving 'clarity' will depend not just from where UDA has so far 'stolen' its new level of support (making it currently the most popular party), but also what happens to the substantial proportion of now-'unattached' Kenyans, given the substantial proportion who decline to identify with any party (40%) most of whom come from Jubilee (31%) and ODM (19%).
- ❑ Turning to issues concerning Opposition parties, most Kenyans (but far from all: 62%) continue to believe that the Official Opposition can at least partly hold the Government to account through exposure and criticism, but this view is rather more common among supporters of the current Opposition (ODM) than supporters of other parties, and those who support none. Given the close working relationship since the March 9, 2018 'hand-shake' between the President and ODM leader Odinga, and the much-reduced criticism of Government by the latter since that event, this might appear strange, and indeed, overall, fewer than half of all Kenyans (40%) identify ODM as the official Opposition party (which it is), with a substantial proportion mentioning UDA as performing this role, notwithstanding the fact that it currently has only one MP (based on the outcome of the recent Kiambaa by-election; note that its winning candidate in the earlier Msambweni by-election contested as an Independent).
- ❑ Perhaps underscoring this situation even further is the fact that 50% more Kenyans identify the DP as being the Government's most vocal critic (36% vs. just 24% for Odinga, who remains the leader of the Official Opposition party: ODM, as noted). Indeed, media reports claim that the DP is said to have been excluded from "at least 70% of the important decisions" made during Jubilee's second term.



# Concluding Comments (con't)

- ❑ Ironically, the President's decision to transfer many of executive branch coordinating responsibilities to Internal Security CS Dr. Fred Matiang'i has given the DP even more time for his seemingly tireless campaign activities, with his rhetoric increasingly aimed at his boss, or at least at priorities that he considers as deviating from key promises they jointly made to Kenyans during their 2017 campaign (e.g., the 'Big Four Agenda'). Indeed, one media report noted that many observers now refer to the DP as "the new Opposition chief", a label largely confirmed by this TIFA survey. Note, however, that another substantial proportion (16%) believe that no one is currently performing this role of chief Opposition leader, and an even greater number (18%) are uncertain as to who this is.

## C. Expectation of Use of Government Resources to Influence the 2022 Elections

- ❑ Just over half of all respondents (56%) expect that state resources will be used to influence the outcome of the 2022 elections, though among UDA supporters, this expectation rises to nearly two-thirds (65%). However, there is a considerable difference of opinion as to the main purpose of such (expected) use. While a clear plurality expect Odinga to be a beneficiary of such use (31%), almost as many are unsure as to who this might be (27%). Yet in comparing such expectations among supporters of the three main political parties, there is very little contrast between UDA and ODM (33% vs. 31%), though fewer Jubilee supporters hold this view (20%). (Recall here that as shown in the 1<sup>st</sup> Release of this survey, far more respondents indicated that they thought Odinga is the President's preferred successor than his DP: 48% vs. 9%). At this point, however, it cannot be determined how any such use of these resources could affect the presidential election outcome, starting with voters' reaction to any clear evidence of it.



## D. Nairobi County Issues and the 2022 Gubernatorial Election

- ❑ Only about one-third of Nairobi residents are currently working full-time, whether employed in the private or public sector or through self-employment(32%). This reality helps to explain why more than half identify economic issues (unemployment, inflation, poverty, and hunger) as the most serious challenge facing people in their respective localities (54%).
- ❑ Regarding Nairobi's 2022 gubernatorial election, even well before the actual ballot 'menu' is clear, Senator Johnson Sakaja outscores his nearest (potential) rival, Women's Rep Esther Passaris by nearly three-to-one (30% vs. 11%). Whether the eventual presidential contest, as well as Nairobi-centered alliances/coalitions and the campaigns will impact on such standings, time will tell.



### Final Comment

- ❑ As noted, with next year's elections still eight months away, none of these election-related popularity ratings should be considered as a 'prediction' of what is going to happen. Still, all of the other issues covered in this 2<sup>nd</sup> Release (and those in the 1<sup>st</sup> Release as well) will influence the level at which Kenyans will pay attention to various aspects of the electoral process and then actually vote, and what factors are likely to inform their choices.



# Methodology and Respondents' Demographics

# Methodology Overview



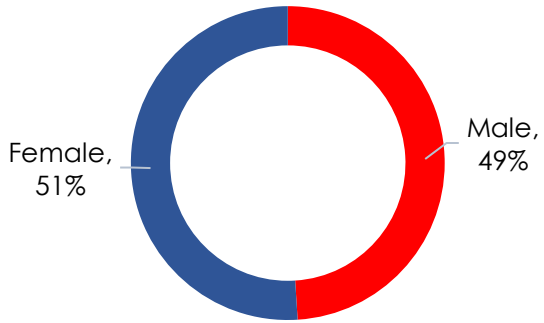
Fieldwork Dates	7 <sup>th</sup> to 13 <sup>th</sup> November 2021
Geographical	Nationally Representative Sample (spread across 9 Zones ; <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Central Rift, Coast, Lower Eastern, Mt Kenya, Nairobi, Northern, Nyanza, South Rift, Western</li></ul>
Data collection	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ Telephonic Interviews conducted (with respondents whose contacts were collected through face-to-face (i.e., household-based interviews)</li><li>▪ The interviews conducted in Kiswahili (mainly) and English.</li></ul>
Sample	1,519 respondents
Margin of error	+/- 2.51 % (Note: Larger error-margins for sub-samples)
Funding	TIFA Research funded the survey



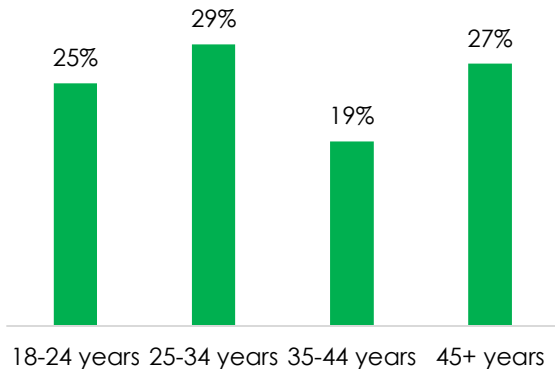
# Demographics (National):

## Region, Gender, Age, Religion, Setting & Marital Status

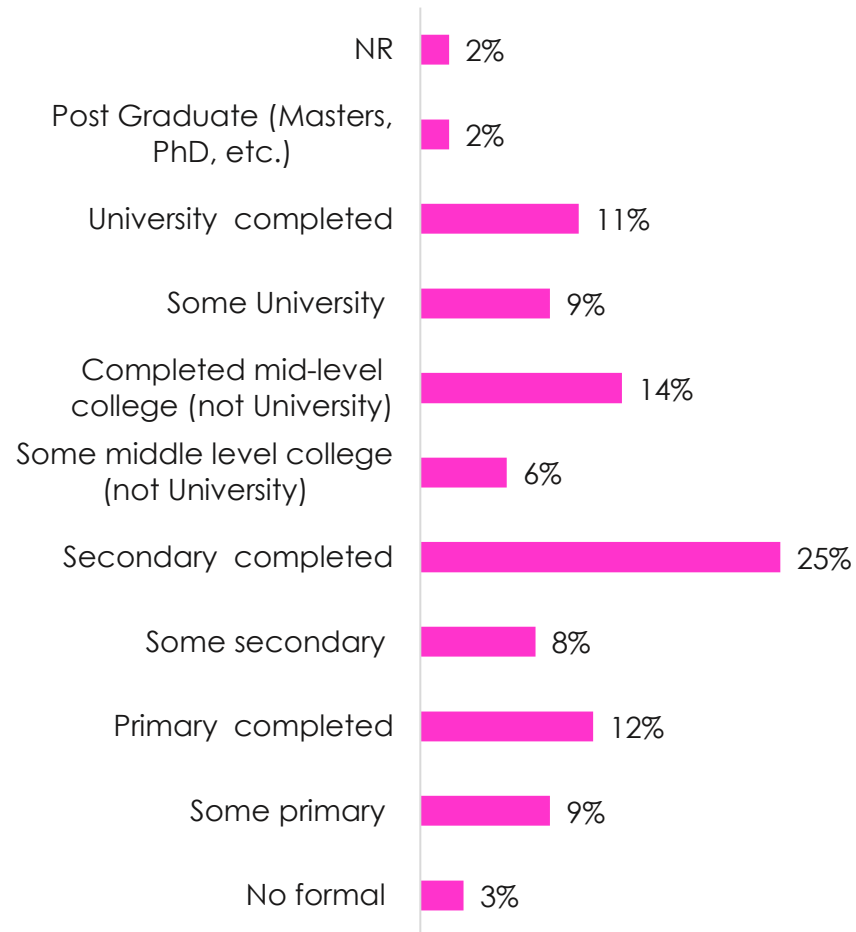
**Gender**



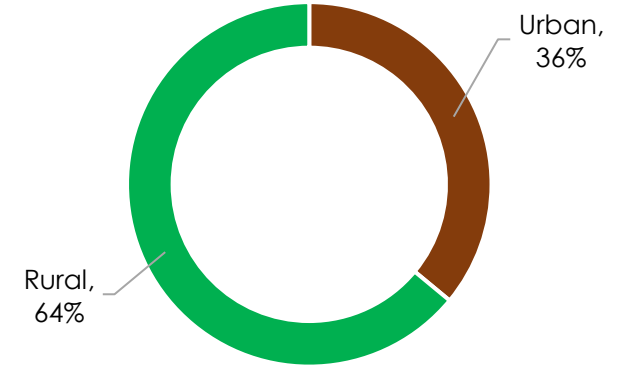
**Age**



**Education**



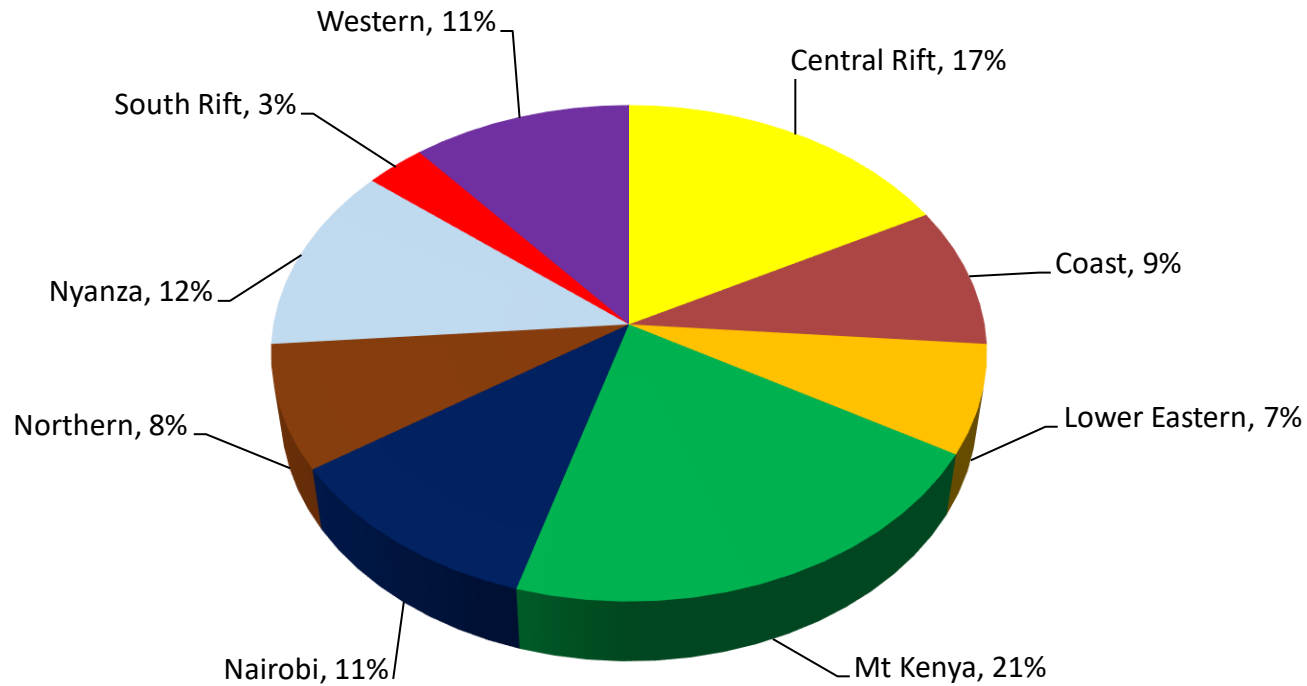
**Setting**



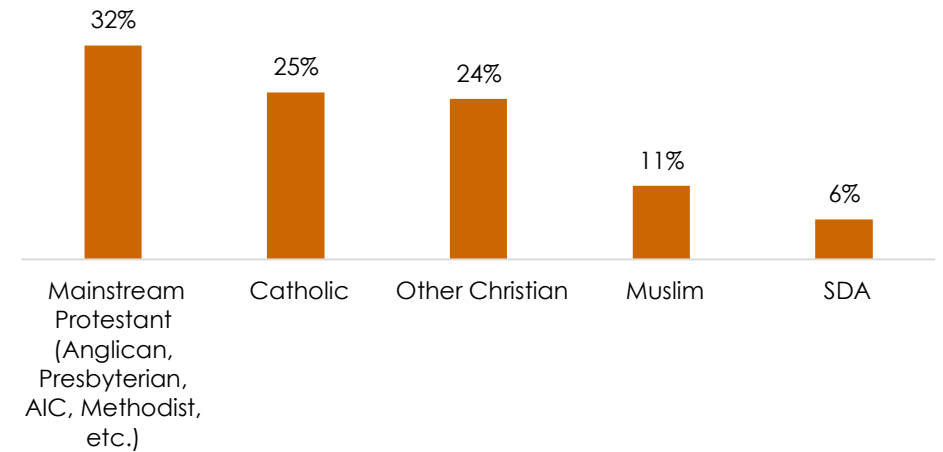
# Demographics (National): Region, Gender, Age, Religion, Setting & Marital Status



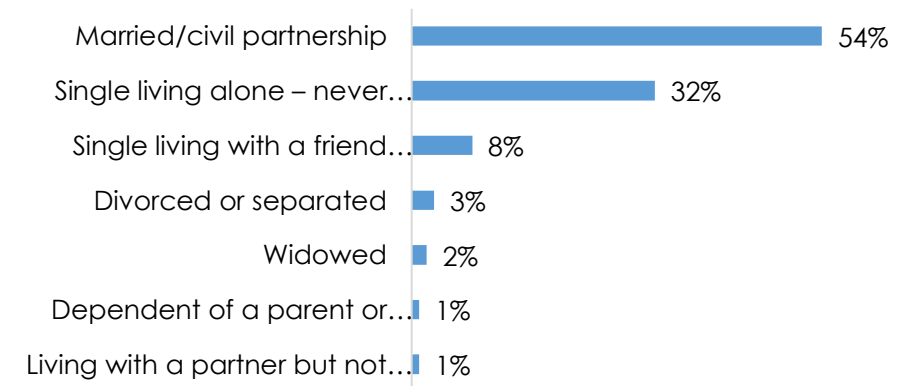
**Zone**



**Religion**



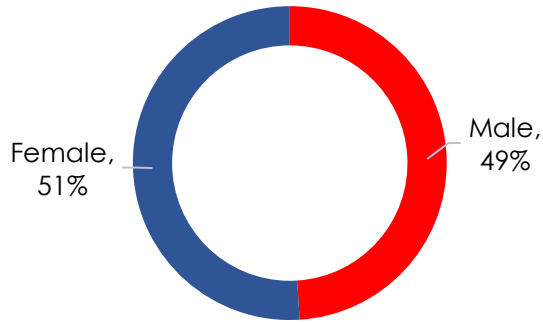
**Marital Status**



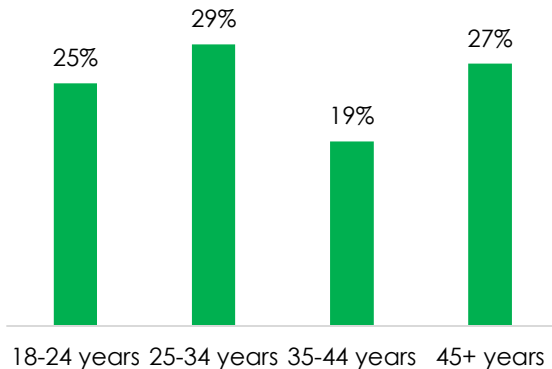
# Demographics (Nairobi Only):

## Region, Gender, Age, Religion, Education & Marital Status

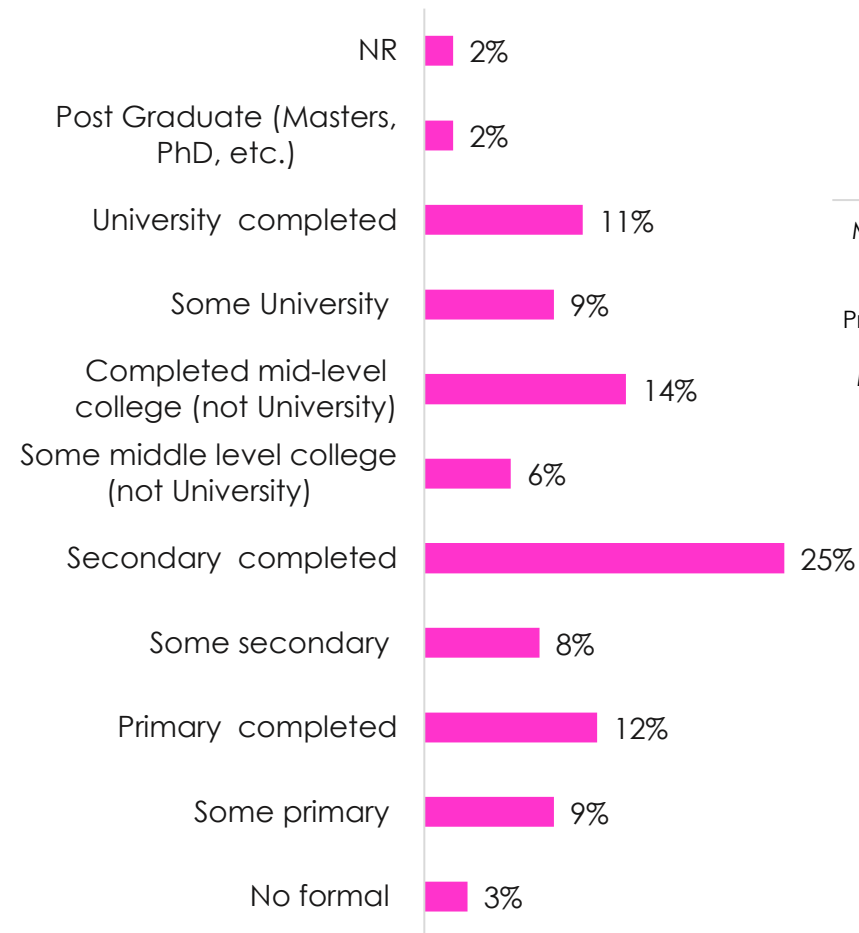
### Gender



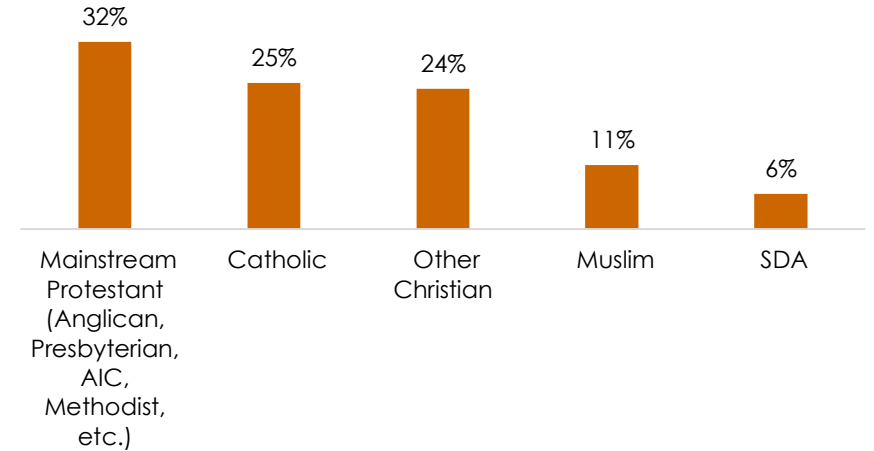
### Age



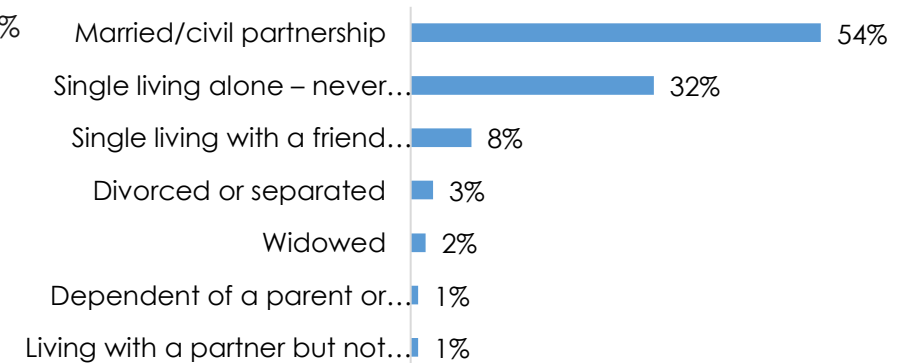
### Education



### Religion



### Marital Status





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