



# 2022 Elections Poll Findings

Parties, Coalitions, Presidential Candidates and Running-Mates

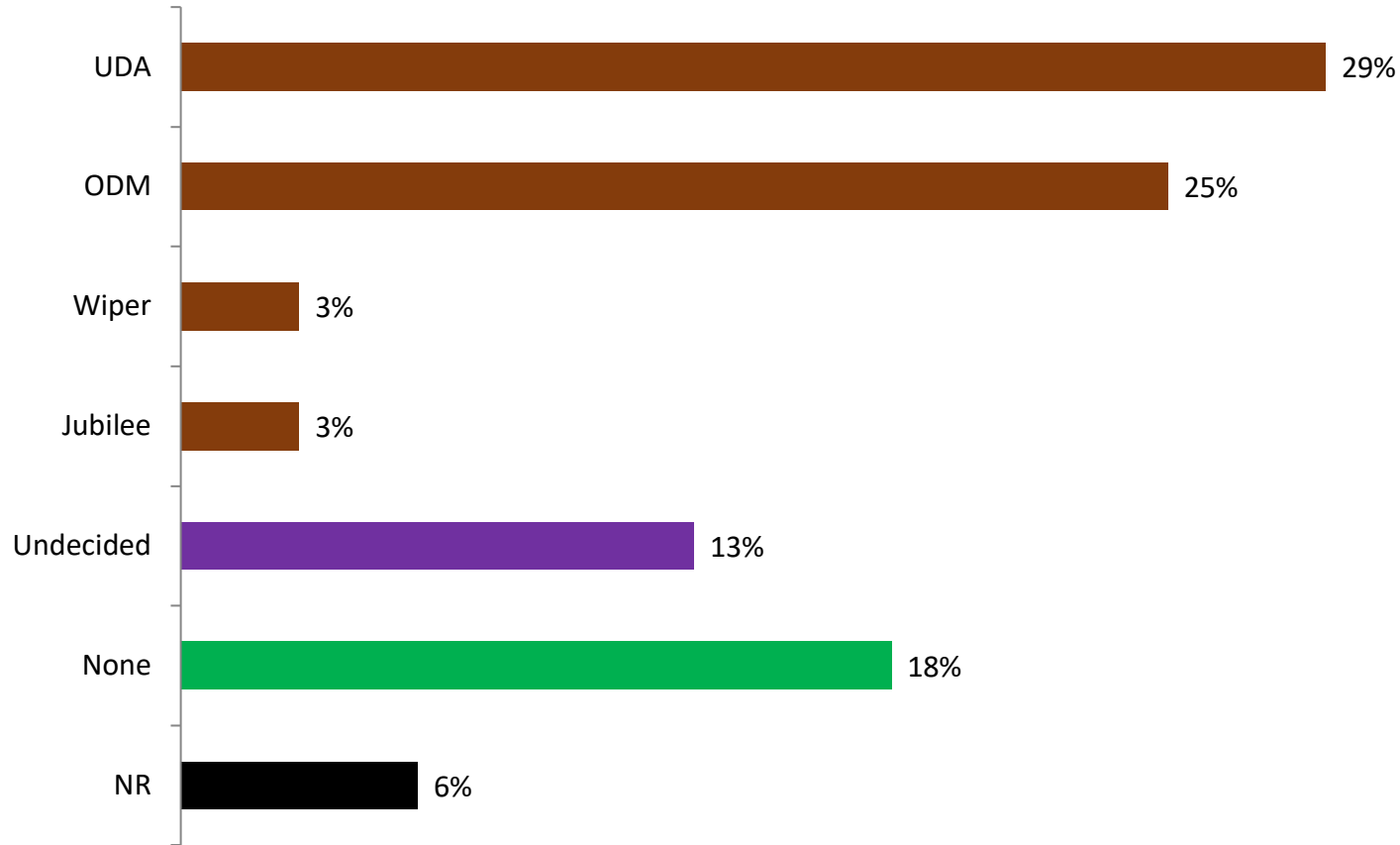
#TifaElectionsBarometer

18<sup>th</sup> May 2022 Survey



- ❑ This Release reports results obtained from the national survey TIFA Research conducted during 17<sup>th</sup> May, 2022. Note that this is less than one month since TFA's previous survey, the results of which were released on 5<sup>th</sup> May. The reason for conducting this survey so soon should be obvious, however: the announcement, in quick succession over the last few days, of the deputy presidential running-mates of the two main presidential candidates – William Ruto and Raila Odinga – followed immediately by the announcement by Kalonzo Musyoka, previously associated with Odinga's Azimio la Umoja coalition, that he would contest the presidency as well, and the identification of his own running-mate.
- ❑ TIFA felt, therefore, that even within just a few hours of these announcements, it would be useful to conduct a survey so as to capture two main realities: (1) how extensive is public knowledge of the identity of these running-mates, and (2) how, if at all, have these developments impacted on the contours of the presidential contest. In other words, even so quickly, has the presidential contest-ground shifted?

# Political Party Alignment (by total)



- As of now, no political party attracts the support of more than one-third of Kenyans (UDA at 29%), and another one-quarter (25%) who do likewise with ODM. Aside from a small minority who identify with Jubilee (3%), the remainder – just over one-third (37%) – are yet to decide about their preferred party (13%), identify with no party (18%), or declined to answer the question (6%).

Q. "What political party or alliance do you support most or feel closest to now, if any?" SINGLE RESPONSE – DO NOT READ OUT

Base = all respondents

# Political Party Alignment

## by total, zone



- In national, geographic terms, only UDA and ODM can claim a substantial level of nationwide support. Support for the two next most popular parties – Jubilee and Wiper - is quite concentrated in particular regions (Mt. Kenya and Lower Eastern, respectively), with the same applying to FORD-Kenya, DAP-Kenya, ANC, though at quite minimal levels of support in their ‘home’ areas.

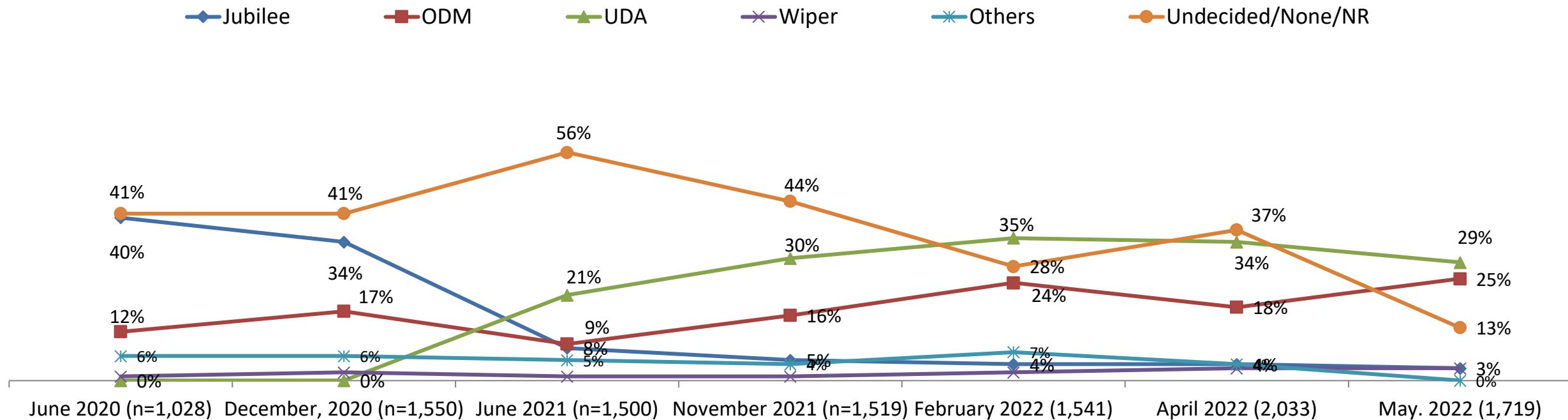
Political Party	Total	Central Rift	Coast	Lower Eastern	Mt Kenya	Nairobi	Northern	Nyanza	South Rift	Western
UDA	29%	54%	21%	15%	41%	18%	19%	10%	55%	18%
ODM	25%	10%	31%	13%	11%	26%	26%	58%	27%	34%
Wiper	3%	0%	0%	34%	1%	2%	0%	0%	1%	0%
Jubilee	3%	2%	2%	1%	6%	5%	4%	2%	0%	1%
NARC	0%	0%	1%	1%	1%	0%	0%	1%	1%	0%
FORD-K	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	3%
DAP-K	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	2%
ANC	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	2%
Other	0%	0%	3%	1%	1%	1%	3%	2%	0%	1%
Undecided	13%	11%	15%	12%	15%	10%	25%	8%	6%	14%
None	18%	18%	21%	18%	18%	30%	18%	14%	7%	17%
NR	6%	4%	5%	5%	6%	8%	4%	4%	3%	10%

# Political Party Alignment: Trend Analysis

## June 2020 – May 2022



- Over the last sixteen months, 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 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?”

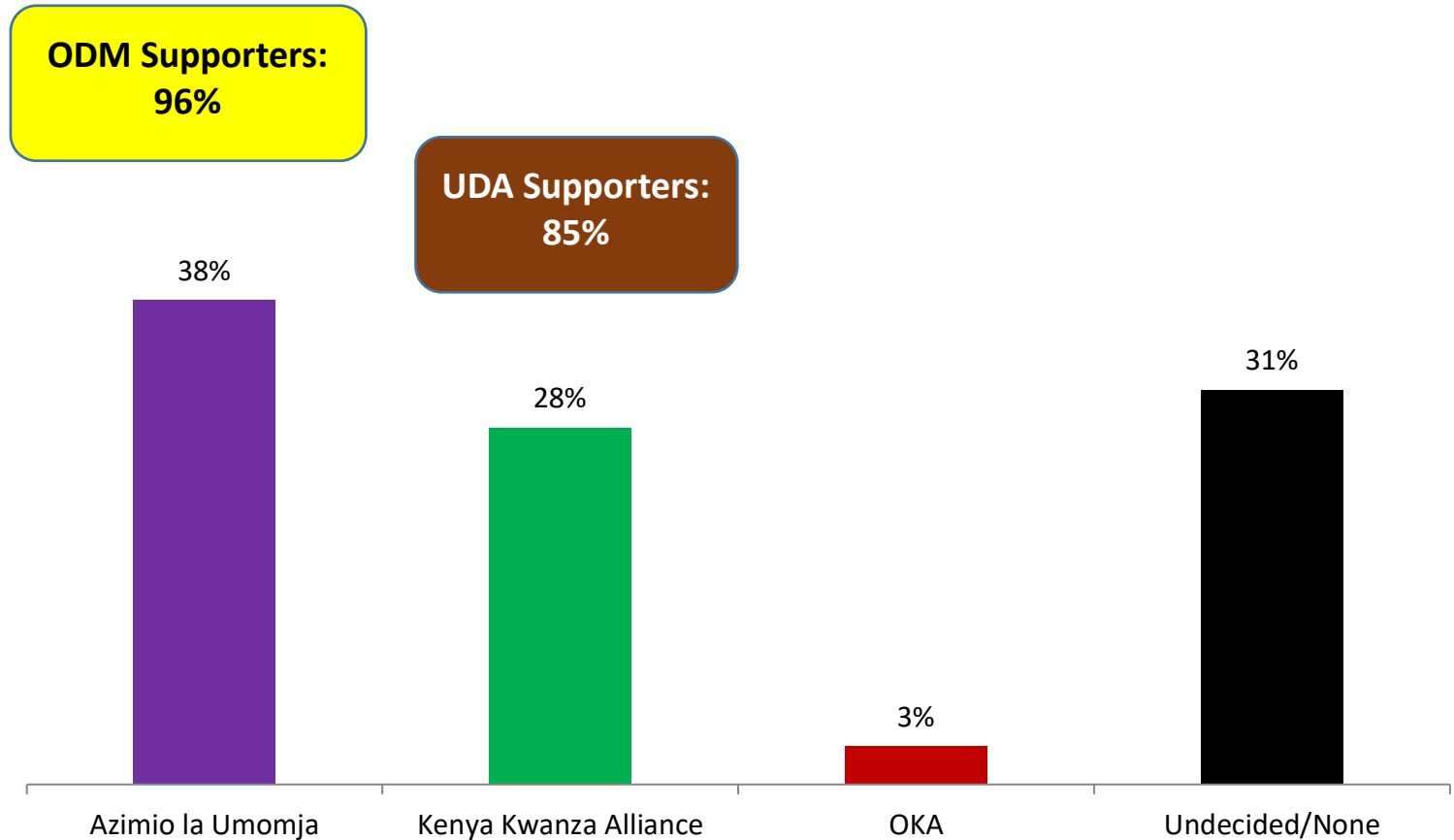
Base = all respondents

# Political Alliance Support

## By total



- Rather more Kenyans expressed support for Azimio La Umoja/One Kenya Alliance than for the Kenya Kwanza Alliance (38% vs. 28%). But this leaves nearly the same proportion (31%) who identify with neither.
- Further, while nearly all ODM supporters also support the Azimio coalition (96%), rather fewer supporters of UDA also support the Kenya Kwanza Alliance (85%).



# Political Alliance Support

## By total, zone



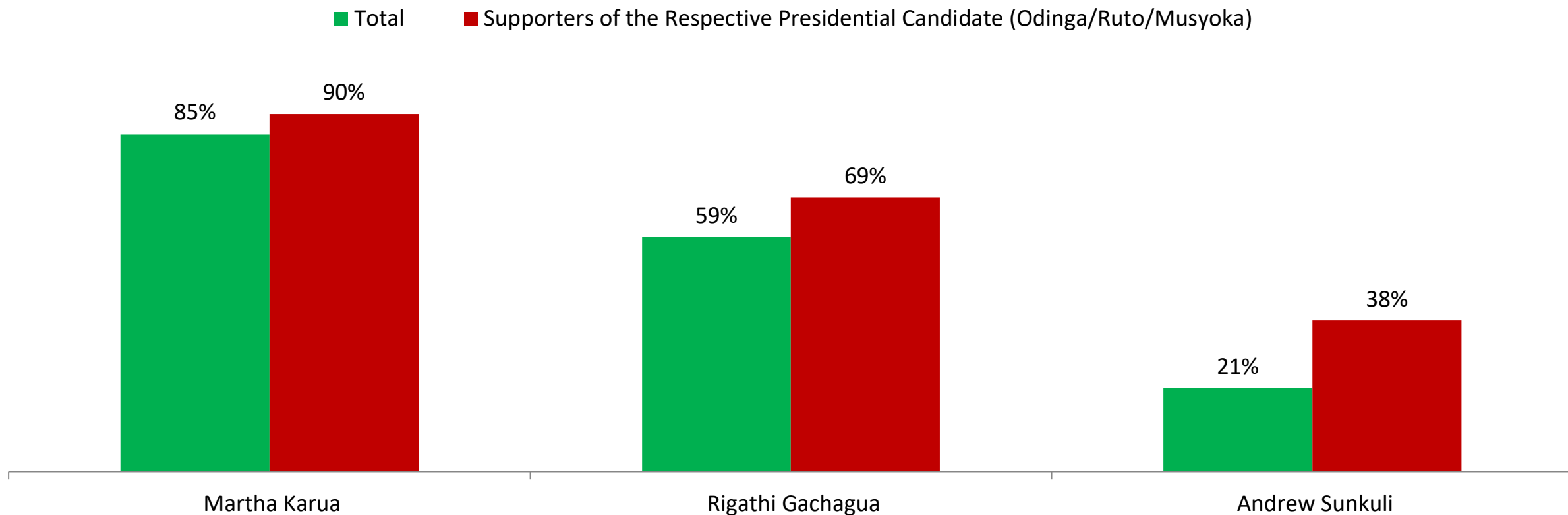
Looking at the distribution of support for these coalitions/alliances across the country, it is evident that Azimio's highest level of support is found in Raila Odinga's home area of Nyanza, even it receives considerable (and plurality) support in Coast, Lower We. Similarly, the Kenya Kwanza Alliance, while somewhat less popular nationally (28%), is most popular in its leader's 'backyard', Central and South (both at 50%). Perhaps a reflection of the fact that these formations were mainly the result of coalition building among the country's political elite, many Kenyans have not (yet?) identified with any coalition (10%), or have made a decision to self-identify with none (10%).

Coalition	Total	Central Rift	Coast	Lower Eastern	Mt Kenya	Nairobi	Northern	Nyanza	South Rift	Western
Azimio La Umoja	38%	18%	41%	48%	24%	45%	38%	66%	30%	42%
Kenya Kwanza Alliance	28%	50%	17%	12%	37%	20%	25%	10%	50%	25%
OKA	3%	5%	6%	8%	1%	0%	3%	2%	5%	1%
None	21%	18%	20%	23%	24%	31%	25%	13%	11%	20%
Undecided	10%	9%	15%	10%	14%	4%	10%	10%	5%	12%

# Correct Identification of DP Running-Mates of the Three Main Presidential Candidates: *by Total, Supporters of Their Presidential Candidates (Raila/Ruto/Kalonzo)*



Substantially more Kenyans could name Odinga's running-mate than Ruto's (Karua: 85% vs. Gachagua: 59%), though among the supporters of these presidential candidates more supporters of both could do so, though still rather more of Odinga's (Odinga's: 90% vs. Ruto's 69%). The same difference applies to Musyoka's running-mate (Sunkuli), though at far lower levels of awareness among all Kenyans and among the latter presidential candidate's supporters (21% and 38%).



Base = all respondents

Q: "As far as you are aware, please tell me who is Raila Odinga's/William Ruto's/Kalonzo Musyoka's running-mate as deputy president?" SINGLE RESPONSE – DO NOT READ OUT

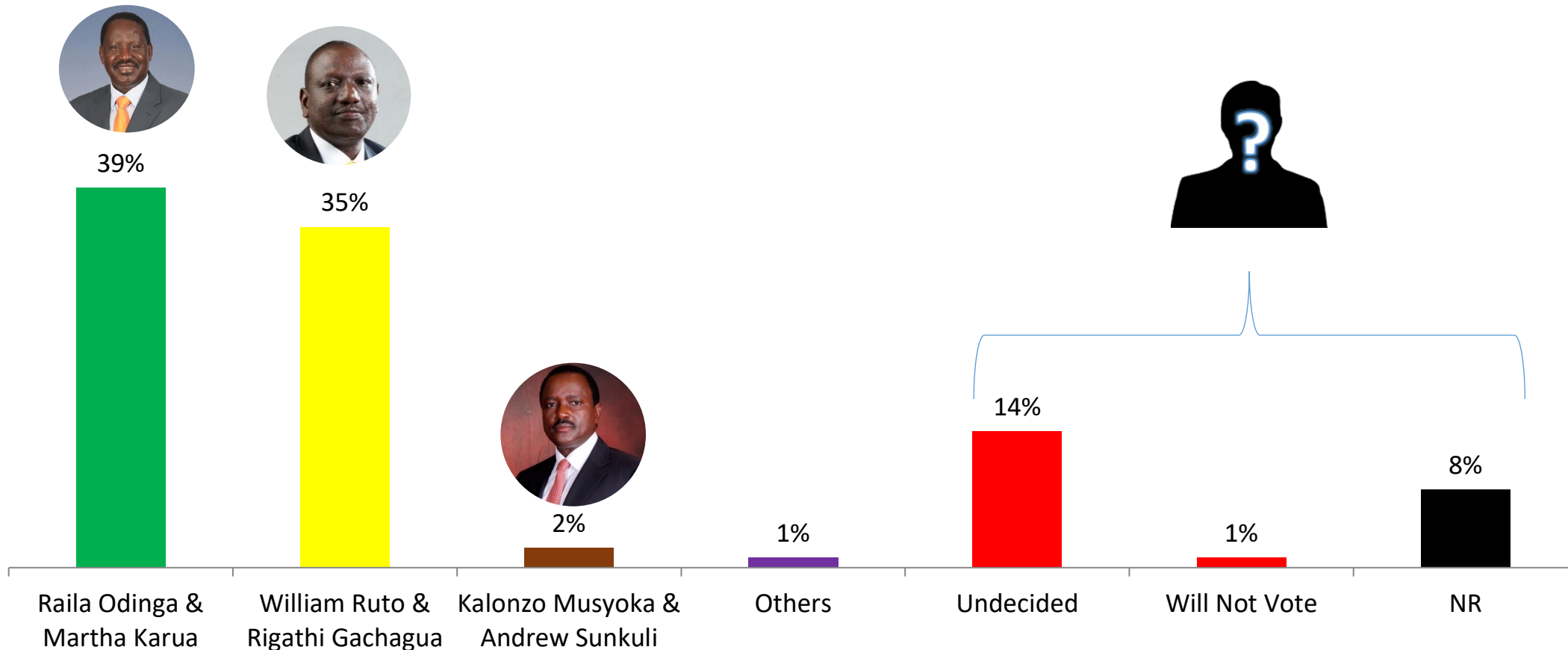


# Kenyans' Preferred Next President with Running-Mate

by Total



As of now, the presidential-contest pair of Odinga and Karua appear to attract the most voting-intentions of Kenyans, though the Ruto-Gachagua pair are not far behind (39% vs 35%).



Q: "If elections were to be held today, whom would you vote for as President of Kenya?" SINGLE RESPONSE – DO NOT READ OUT

Base = all respondents

# Kenyans' Preferred Next President with Running-Mate



by total, zone

Looking at the distribution of support for the

□ Largely following the pattern of support for the party alliances/coalitions, the Odinga-Karua pair receive most voting-intention support in Nyanza, but also enjoy plurality support in Coast, Lower Eastern, Nairobi and Western. For their part, the Ruto-Gachagua team enjoy most support in South Rift as well as Central Rift, Mt. Kenya and Northern zones. As for Musyoka-Sunkuli, their support is highest in Lower Eastern but it is far short of an outright majority (15%).

Presidential Pairs	Total	Central Rift	Coast	Lower Eastern	Mt Kenya	Nairobi	Northern	Nyanza	South Rift	Western
Raila Odinga & Martha Karua	39%	17%	49%	36%	24%	49%	37%	69%	28%	49%
William Ruto & Rigathi Gachagua	35%	59%	27%	23%	46%	19%	40%	11%	66%	26%
Kalonzo Musyoka & Andrew Sunkuli	2%	0%	1%	15%	1%	1%	0%	0%	0%	1%
Others	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Undecided	14%	16%	10%	17%	15%	13%	20%	14%	4%	15%
Will Not Vote	1%	3%	1%	2%	3%	3%	2%	1%	0%	2%
NR	8%	5%	11%	7%	10%	13%	2%	6%	2%	8%

# Kenyans' Preferred Next President with Running-Mate

## by Gender, Age

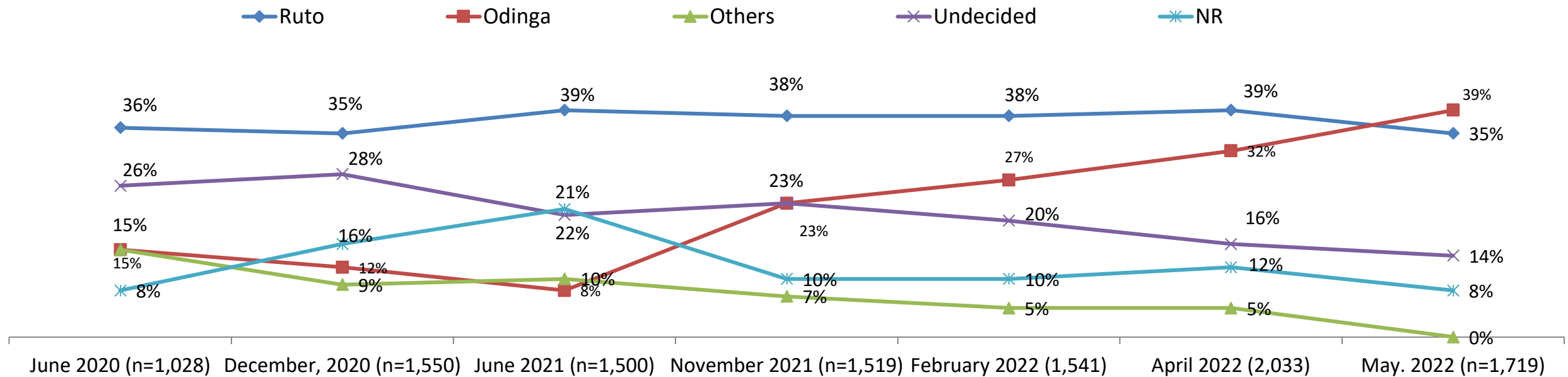
- Comparing the main presidential contenders and their running-mates in terms of gender, more men than women support both Odinga-Karua and Ruto-Gachagua, though more than twice as many women as men remain undecided (19% vs. 9%). With regard, to age, Odinga is somewhat more popular than Ruto among older Kenyans (43% vs. 35%), while more younger than older people are yet to make up their minds (17% vs. 11%) about the presidential contest.

Presidential Pairs	Male	Female		18-24 years	35+ years
Raila Odinga & Martha Karua	43%	35%		35%	43%
William Ruto & Rigathi Gachagua	39%	32%		35%	35%
Kalonzo Musyoka & Andrew Sunkuli	2%	2%		1%	3%
Undecided	9%	19%		17%	11%
Will Not Vote	2%	1%		2%	2%
NR	5%	10%		9%	6%

# Preferred Presidential Candidate (and for May, with Running-Mate): Trend Analysis: June 2020 – May 2022



- Over the last 23 months, TIFA's surveys reveal several major fluctuations in Kenyans' expressed preferences regarding their next president. Regarding Raila, the initial drop in his support-level between June, 2020 and June, 2021 (from 15% to 8%), has been continuously reversed ever since, now bringing his support level above Ruto's for the first time (39% vs. 35%), the DP's rating having dropped from what it was less than one month ago (39%). Whether this recent surge by the former PM is a consequence of the announcement of their respective running-mates – or due to some other factor(s) – is unclear.
- Still, with a significant proportion still either undecided or unwilling to reveal their preferred presidential candidate (total: 22%) and with still nearly three months remaining until the election, it is clear this contest is far from over.



# Change in Presidential Candidate Popularity: Raila Odinga

## April vs May = Difference

By total, zone



Compared to the results from TIFA's April survey (barely three weeks ago), the distribution of expressed voting-intentions Odinga has changed somewhat across the country. For Odinga, he has gained in seven of the nine zones TIFA uses for such purposes, the biggest in Coast, Nyanza and Western (13% in the first two and 12% in the latter). Only in South Rift has his support decreased (9%).

	Total	Central Rift	Coast	Lower Eastern	Mt Kenya	Nairobi	Northern	Nyanza	South Rift	Western
April	32%	8%	36%	41%	18%	40%	36%	56%	37%	37%
May	39%	17%	49%	36%	24%	49%	37%	69%	28%	49%
Difference	+7%	+9%	+13%	+5%	+6%	+9%	+1%	+13%	-9%	+12%

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

Q: "If elections were to be held today, whom would you vote for as President of Kenya?" SINGLE RESPONSE – DO NOT READ OUT

Base = all respondents

# Change in Presidential Candidate Popularity: William Ruto

## April vs May = Difference

By total, zone



- Support for Ruto since TIFA's last (late April) survey has declined in six of the nine zones, especially in his 'home' Central Rift and Nyanza (11% and 10%, respectively). Only in South Rift has he made a major gain (+26%).

	Total	Central Rift	Coast	Lower Eastern	Mt Kenya	Nairobi	Northern	Nyanza	South Rift	Western
April	39%	70%	26%	28%	53%	25%	31%	21%	40%	29%
May	35%	59%	27%	23%	46%	19%	40%	11%	66%	26%
Difference	-4%	-11%	+1%	-5%	-7%	-6%	+9%	-10%	+26%	-3%

# Concluding Comments

Several points can be made with regard to several of the findings included in this TIFA Release of TIFA's (early) May, 2022 survey:

- ❑ The first is that, however many the surprises in Kenyan politics – some positive, some not – it is hard to imagine any milestone in the electoral calendar more dramatic in terms of having a significant impact on the presidential contest than the naming of their deputy presidential running-mates by the presidential contestants themselves. Yet in TIFA previous survey, when the significant proportion who declared they were still “undecided” about their preferred presidential candidate (16%) were asked what they needed to know or what they were waiting for in order to make up their minds, only a small minority (4%) identified the announcement of running-mates as that critical additional information. Yet the results of this survey show that even with just a day or two of these announcements, the current survey recorded a significant change in the contours of this contest: a modest drop in expressed voting-intention for Deputy President Ruto and a corresponding increase in that for former Prime Minister Odinga, the result being a dramatic reversal in their positions, with Odinga now leading for the first time.
  
- ❑ At the same time, notwithstanding the public lobbying that was seen by many prominent women – as well as many from all other walks of life – in support of Martha Karua as Odinga's running-mate, there is no evidence at this early post-announcement stage that the position of women on the race has been affected by having a woman contesting this second most senior Executive position for the first time.



# Concluding Comments (con't)

- ❑ Presumably, in the coming weeks (if not days) nearly all Kenyans will come to learn who all these just-announced running-mates are. It will then be possible to make a more confident assessment of their impact on voting intentions in August. At the same time, given the reversal in the positions of Odinga and Ruto, coupled with the greater level of awareness of the former's running-mate than the latter's (Karua vs. Gachagua) it will be critical to see if just such increased awareness per se will allow the DP to regain the leading position he has enjoyed for nearly the last two years.
- ❑ It has also been evident that opinion polls, both those conducted by survey firms and made public and those conducted internally by political parties/campaign teams, have been playing an increasing role in campaign strategy in general and the identification of presidential running-mates in particular. Yet it is also clear that however popular any candidate may be among the general public – or even the party/coalition faithful – the ultimate decision remains with the presidential candidate, a decision that is clearly based on a variety of factors.
- ❑ Finally, while it remains impossible to predict how close this contest will be – and even how many presidential candidates will be cleared by IEBC – it seems that any run-off contest will be very unlikely unless all the other presidential candidates combined (starting, presumably, with Musyoka) can garner at least about 5% of the total (valid) votes cast. Otherwise, Kenyans will know who their next most important leaders for the next five years will be within seven day of August 9. Yet recalling that in the 2007 election (under the previous Constitution which had no provision for such a run-off contest) Musyoka obtained well over the vote-total (9%), it must be asked: how close to that figure could he garner this time, or perhaps even surpass it?







# Methodology & Demographics

# Methodology Overview



Fieldwork Date	17 <sup>th</sup> May 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>▪ The interviews conducted in Kiswahili (mainly) and English.</li><li>▪ Data collection was conducted in one day due to TIFA's large capacity for outward bound calls, experienced callers and short questionnaire</li></ul>
Sample	1,719 respondents
Margin of error	+/- 2.34 % (Note: Larger error-margins for sub-samples)
Funding	TIFA Research

# Sampling Zones Classification



County	Region
Uasin Gishu	Central Rift
Elgeyo-Marakwet	Central Rift
Nandi	Central Rift
Baringo	Central Rift
Nakuru	Central Rift
Kericho	Central Rift
Bomet	Central Rift
Mombasa	Coast
Kwale	Coast
Kilifi	Coast
Tana River	Coast
Lamu	Coast
Taita-Taveta	Coast
Kitui	Lower Eastern
Machakos	Lower Eastern
Makueni	Lower Eastern

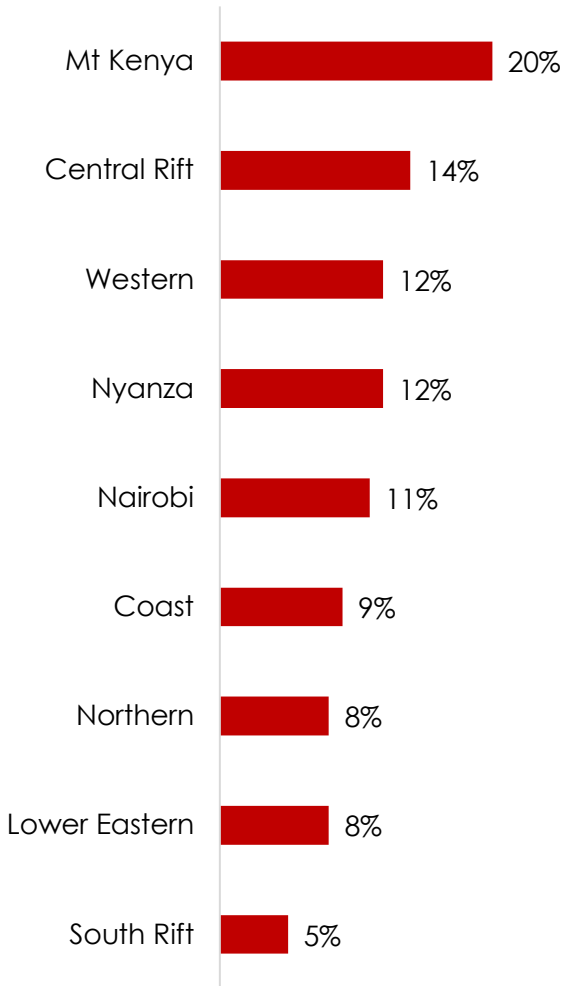
County	Region
Trans Nzoia	Western
Kakamega	Western
Vihiga	Western
Bungoma	Western
Busia	Western
Garissa	Northern
Wajir	Northern
Mandera	Northern
Marsabit	Northern
Isiolo	Northern
Turkana	Northern
West Pokot	Northern
Samburu	Northern
Nairobi	Nairobi

County	Region
Meru	Mt Kenya
Tharaka-Nithi	Mt Kenya
Embu	Mt Kenya
Nyandarua	Mt Kenya
Nyeri	Mt Kenya
Kirinyaga	Mt Kenya
Murang'a	Mt Kenya
Kiambu	Mt Kenya
Laikipia	Mt Kenya
Siaya	Nyanza
Kisumu	Nyanza
Homa Bay	Nyanza
Migori	Nyanza
Kisii	Nyanza
Nyamira	Nyanza
Narok	South Rift
Kajiado	South Rift

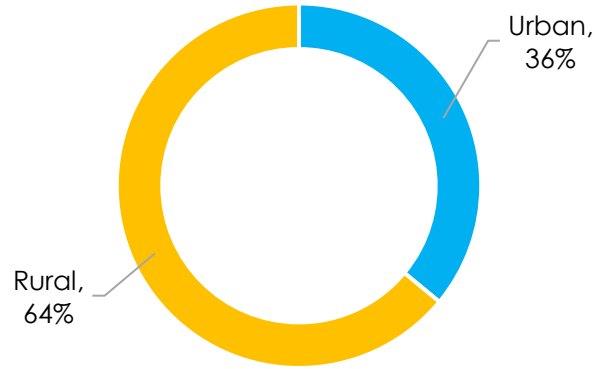
# Demographics:

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

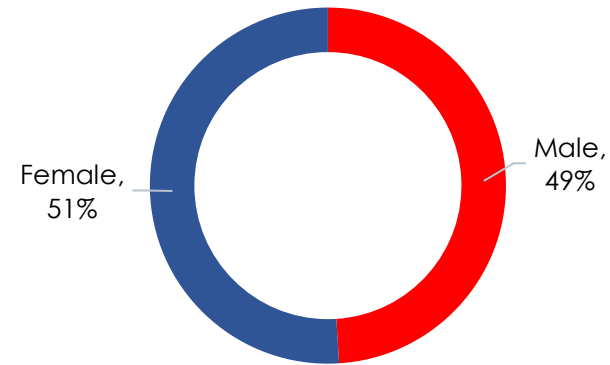
**Zone**



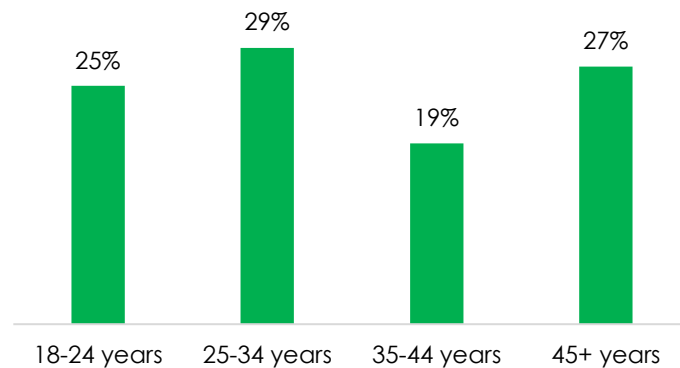
**Setting**



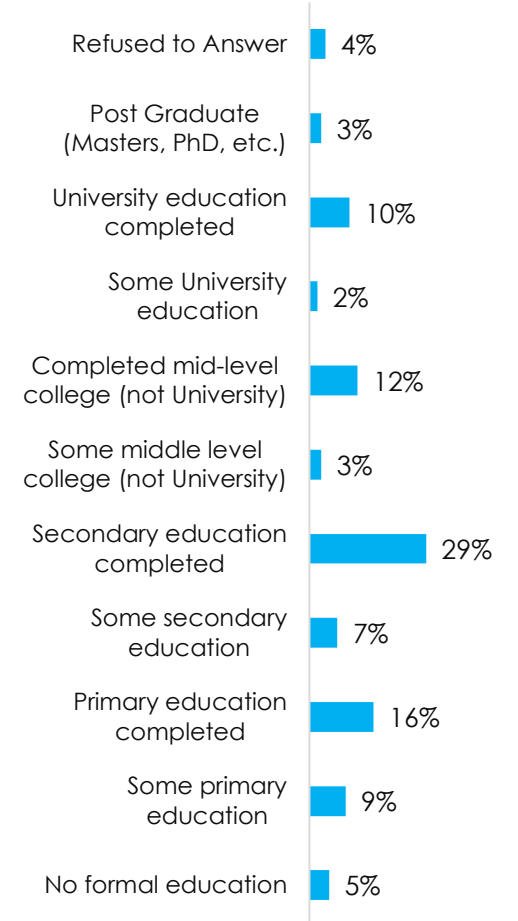
**Gender**



**Age**



**Highest education level**





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