



Azimio Protests & Other Opposition Issues

2023 National Survey

Post-Election Issues

Omnibus Survey | 24th March 2023

Summary Findings

Introductory Comments & Summary Findings

Kenya's Direction + Reasons

Azimio's Goal: Removing the Ruto Government

Proposed Creation of the Position of Leader of the Official Opposition

Potential Opposition Challenger to President William Ruto in 2027

Concluding Comments

Methodology & Demographics



Section One: Introduction and Summary Findings

- ❑ This is the 1st Release from TIFA's first survey of 2023. It was a household-based (i.e., face-to-face) survey, conducted between March 11-19.
- ❑ It covers a variety of current topics, including Kenyan's views of the state of the economy, the main problems they are facing, and last year's General Election. However, this Release focuses on the demonstrations planned by the opposition Azimio coalition, including levels of awareness as well as impact-expectations and views. In this regard, it should be noted that the field interviews were completed (as noted, on March 19) the day **BEFORE** the protest marches that occurred in Nairobi and several other urban areas the next day (on March 20). As such, the levels of awareness and views captured in this survey may have changed somewhat over the past week, especially given Azimio's recent announcement that henceforth, such demonstrations would be held twice weekly: on Mondays and Thursdays.
- ❑ In presenting the findings, responses are shown for all respondents ("Total") and for declared supporters of the two main political coalitions (Kenya Kwanza and Azimio) as well as for those respondents who do not support/identify with either of these formations. This is done to demonstrate the degree to which such supporters agree/disagree on the issues considered.



Direction That Kenya is Heading & Reason For Sentiments



Reasons for right direction sentiments

Economy - prices have reduced/ stabilized	27%
Leadership – good/strong leaders (Ruto/ Kenya Kwanza)	22%
Economy – Employment creation	7%
Relations with development partners	7%
Hunger/Drought	4%

Reasons for wrong direction sentiments

Economy – high cost of living	69%
Hunger/Drought	8%
Economy – unemployment	6%
Poor/wrong national leadership (6%
Corruption	3%

Sentiments Towards Opposition Politics

Support for Planned Azimio Demonstrations

- 31%** in support
- 64%** do not support
- 4%** no opinion

Whether Raila/Azimio succeed in removing Ruto's Govt from power

- 16% YES**, will succeed
- 72% NO**, will not succeed
- 12%** not sure, don't know

Impact on the Strength of the Opposition If the Position of Leader of the Opposition in the National Assembly is Created and Azimio Accept It

- 36%** will make the opposition stronger
- 48%** will make the opposition weaker
- 16%** will make no difference



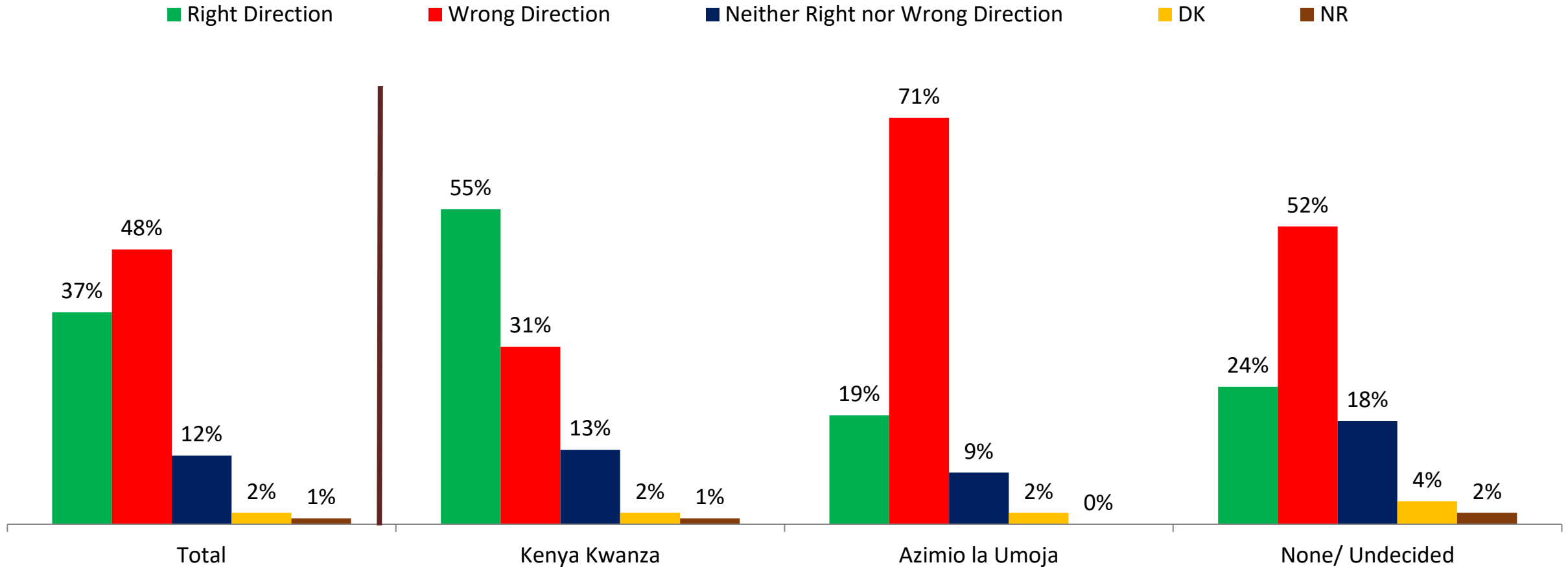
Section Two: Kenya's Direction and Reasons for Sentiments

Kenya's Perceived Direction

by Total, Political Coalition Alignment



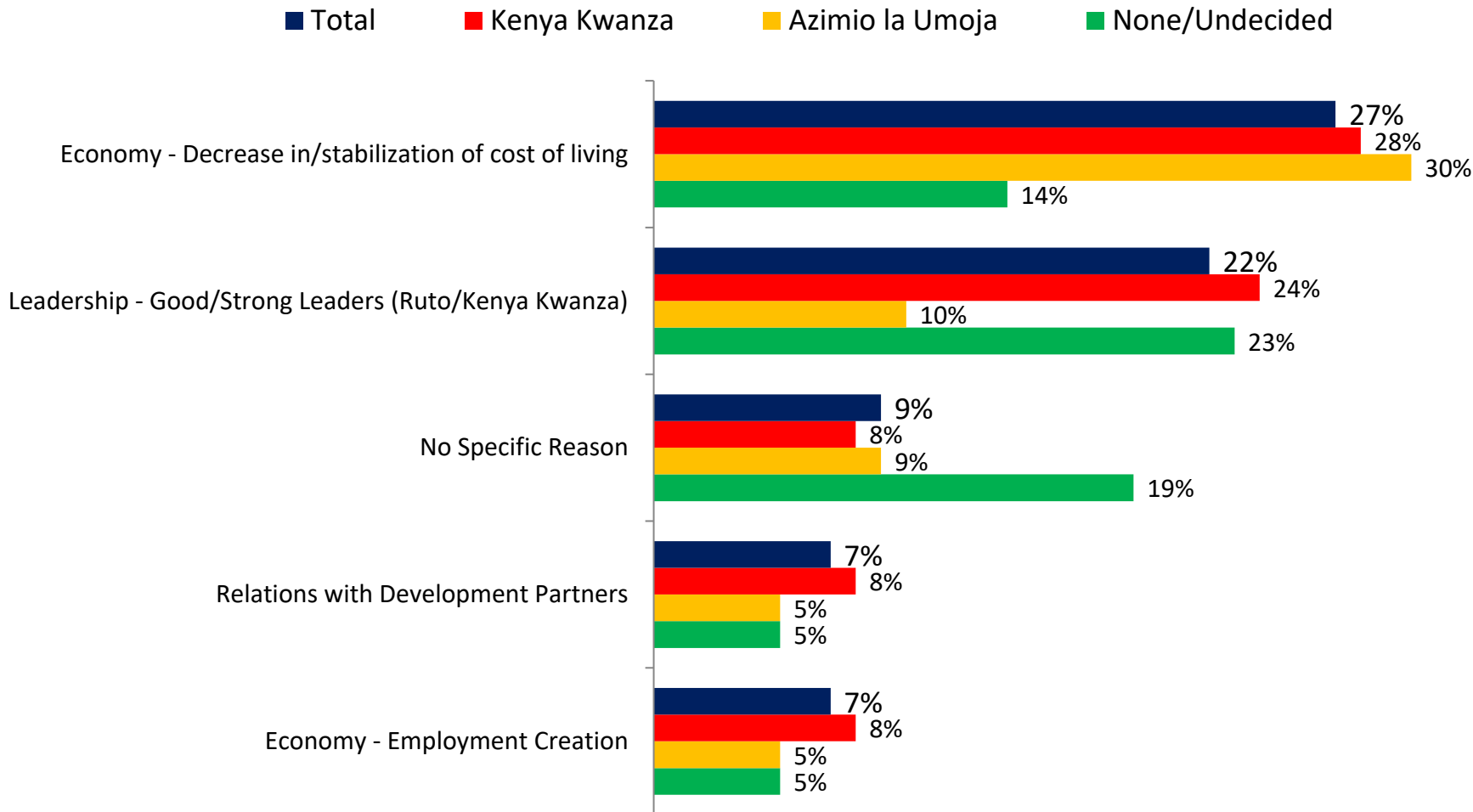
□ A slightly plurality of Kenyans consider the country's current direction to be wrong (48% vs. 37%), though the contrast between Kenya Kwanza and Azimio supporters is quite substantial, with more than twice as many of the latter of this view than the former (71% vs. 31%).



Q: "Overall, would you say that the country has been going in the wrong or right direction since last year's elections?"

Top 5 Reasons Among Those Who Say the Country is Headed in the Right Direction

by Total, Political Coalition Alignment

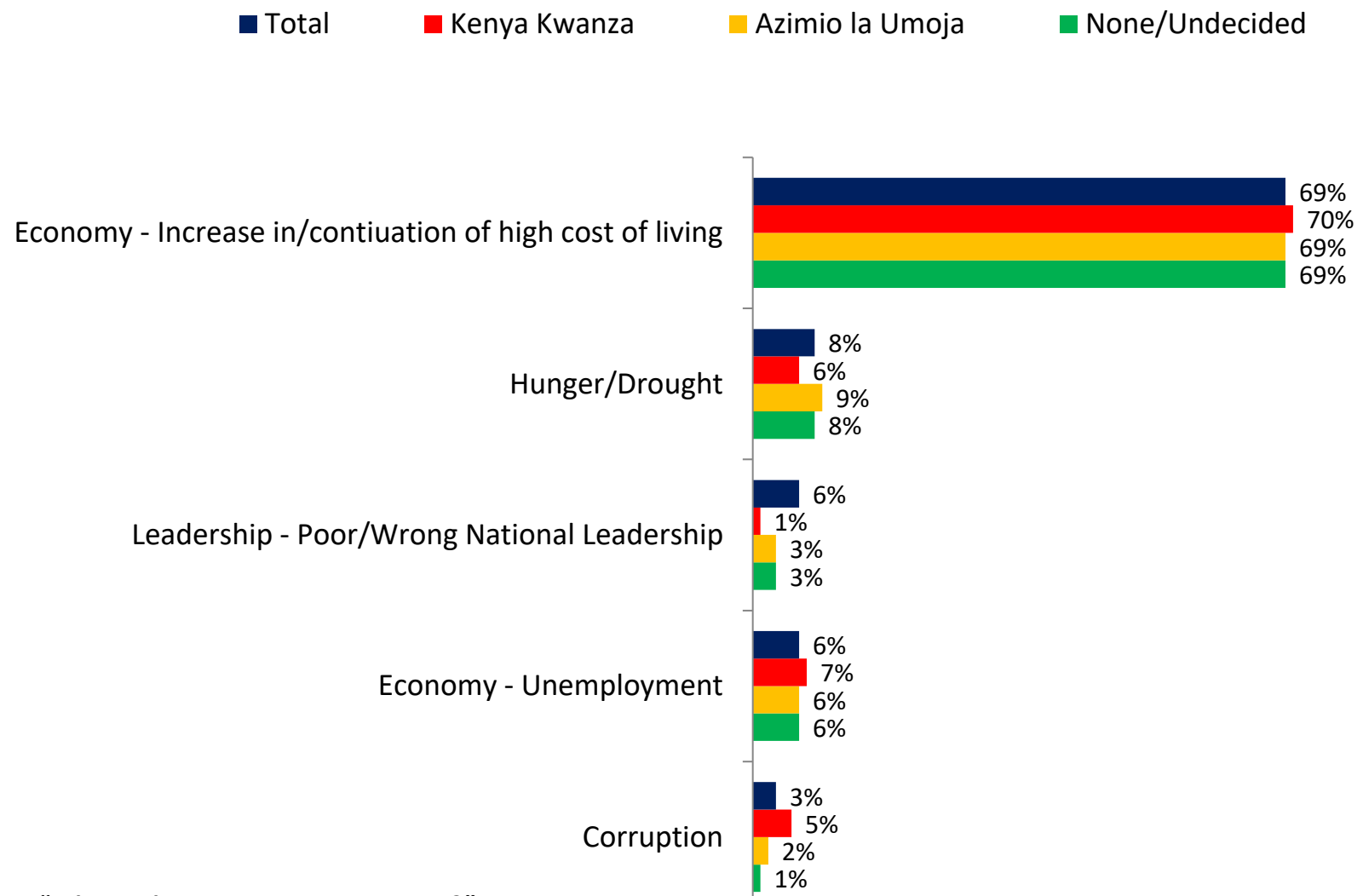


- Among the minority who consider the country's current direction as positive (37%), there is little agreement on their reasons, with a small plurality (27%) citing an improvement in the cost of living situation (i.e., its decrease or at least stabilization), though the figures for approval of the nation's leadership are almost the same. Others among the most frequent mentions are relations with development partners and job creation, though a significant proportion (9%) failed to mention any specific reason.
- All these figures are quite similar across the political-coalition divide.

Q: "What is the main reason you say so?" – SINGLE RESPONSE, DO NOT READ

Top 5 Reasons Among Those Who Say the Country is Headed in the Wrong Direction

by Total, Political Coalition Alignment



- Among the nearly half of Kenyans (48%) who consider the country's current direction as wrong, more than two-thirds cite the high/increasing cost of living, with no contrast across the political-coalition divide (as well as those who identify with neither coalition).
- Other minor but significant mentions include hunger/drought, poor national leadership and unemployment.

Q: "What is the main reason you say so?" SINGLE RESPONSE – DO NOT READ

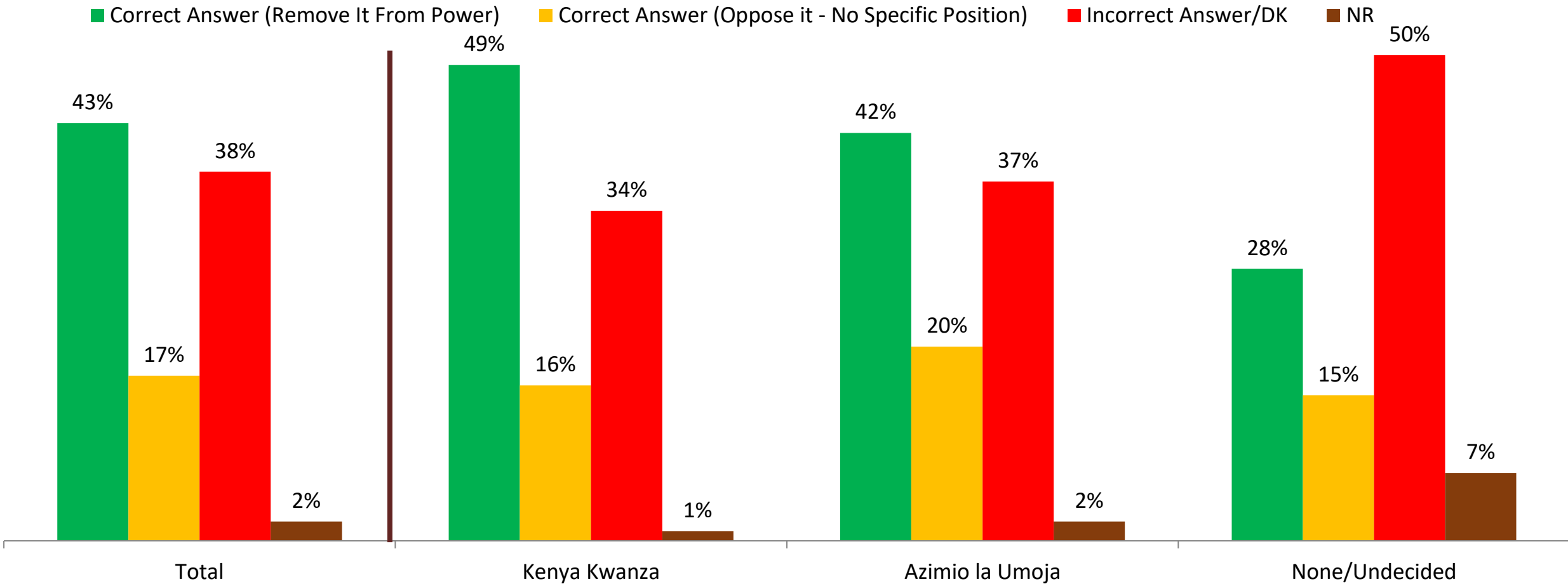


Section Three: Azimio Protests and Opposition Issues

Awareness of Azimio's Declared Goal of Removing the Ruto Government From Power by Total, Political Coalition Alignment



☐ Fewer than half of Kenyans (43%) appear to be aware of Azimio's expressed goal of removing the Kenya Kwanza government from power, with only a minor contrast between supporters of these two coalitions in this regard.

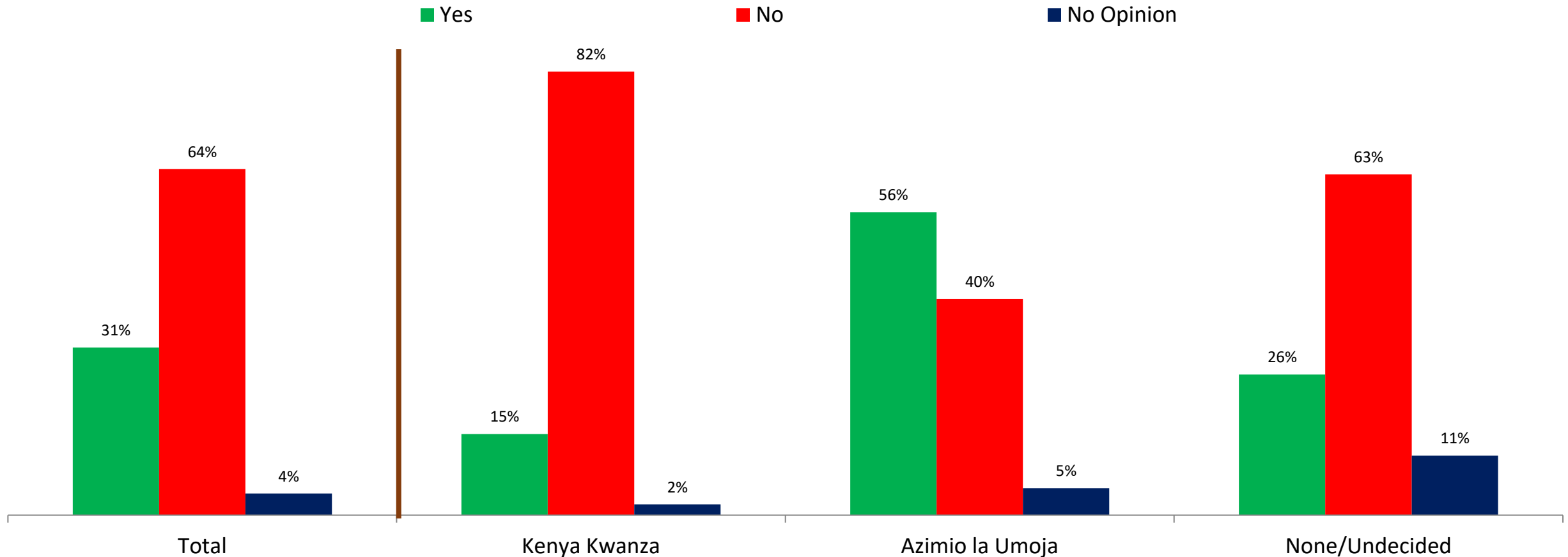


Q: "What have Raila and other opposition leaders said they are going to try do to the Ruto government?"

Support for the Planned Azimio Demonstrations by Total, Political Coalition Alignment



□ Among the public as a whole, nearly two-thirds (64%) opposed the planned Azimio demonstrations. Even among their supporters, only slightly over half (56%) expressed support for these protests.



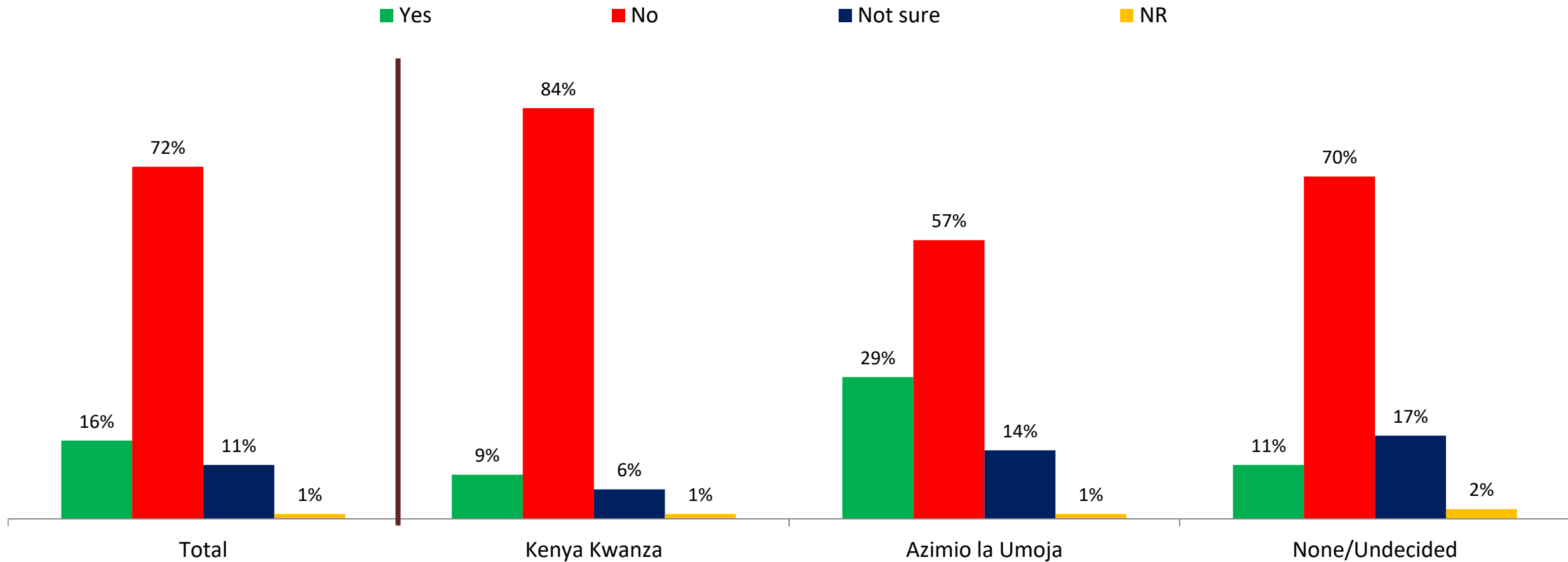
Q: "Do you support the planned demonstrations by the Azimio coalition?"

Belief that that Raila/Azimio Will Succeed in Removing the Ruto Government from Power

by Total, Political Coalition Alignment



□ Hardly any Kenyans (16%) believe such demonstrations can achieve their ultimate goal of removing the Ruto government, though three times as many Azimio supporters hold this view as do those of Kenya Kwanza (29% vs. 9%).



Q: "Do you think that Raila/Azimio can succeed in removing the Ruto government from power?"

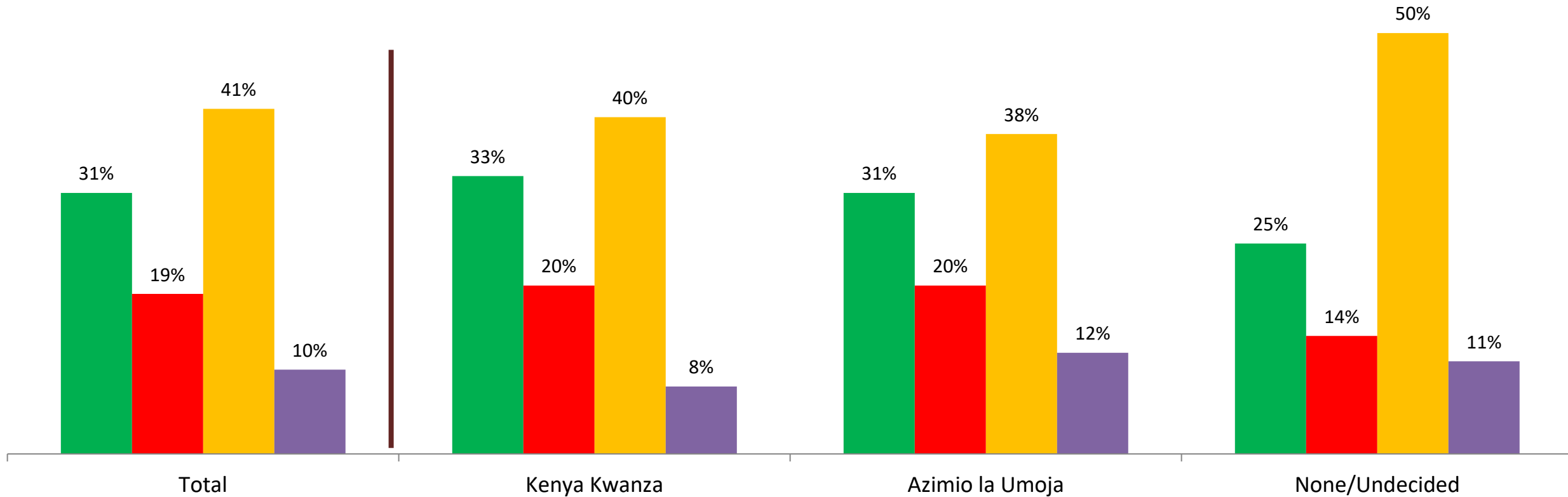
Awareness of the Government's Proposal to Create the Position of Leader of the Opposition in the National Assembly

by Total, Political Coalition Alignment



☐ Fewer than one-third of Kenyans (31%) could name the new position proposed by the Kenya Kwanza government for the leader of the largest Opposition party in the National Assembly: the Official Leader of the Opposition, and supporters of the two coalitions differ only slightly in this regard. Those who support neither coalition are somewhat less aware of this proposal

■ Correct Answer (Official Leader of Opposition in the National Assembly)
 ■ Incorrect Answer
 ■ DK
 ■ NR



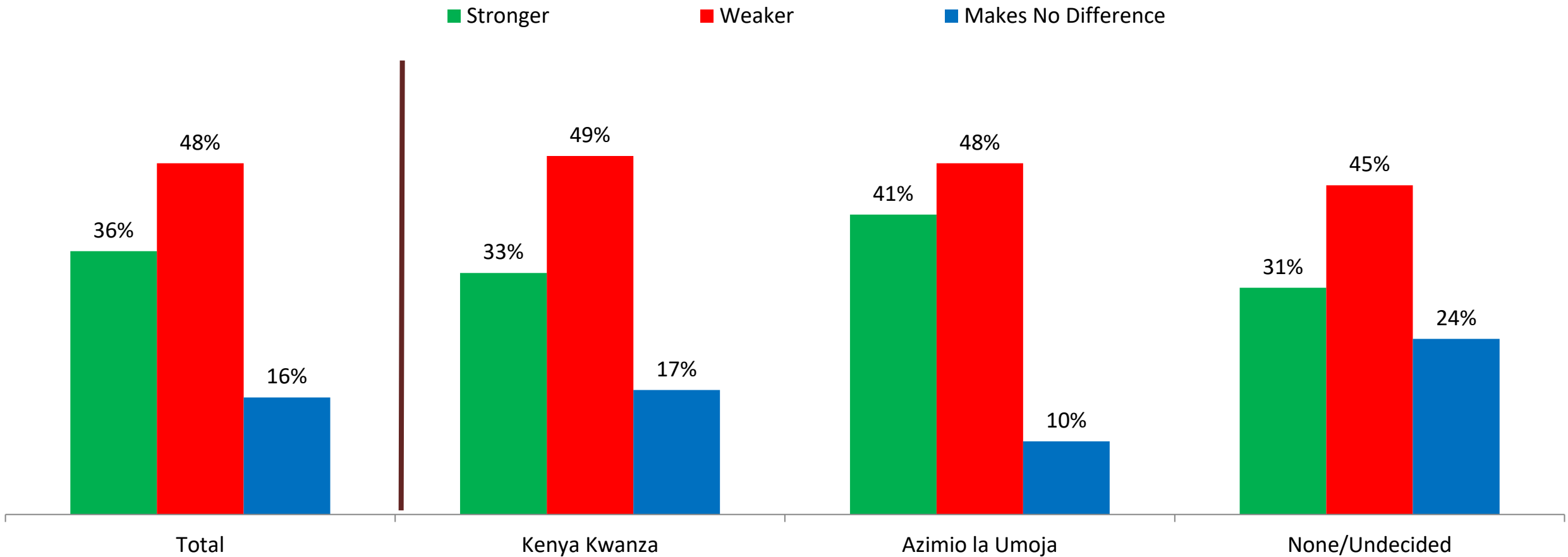
Q: "If you know, what is the official position that the Ruto Government has said it intends to create for Raila Odinga?"

Perceived Impact on the Strength of the Opposition If the Position of Leader of the Opposition in the National Assembly is Created and Azimio Accept It

by Total, Political Coalition Alignment

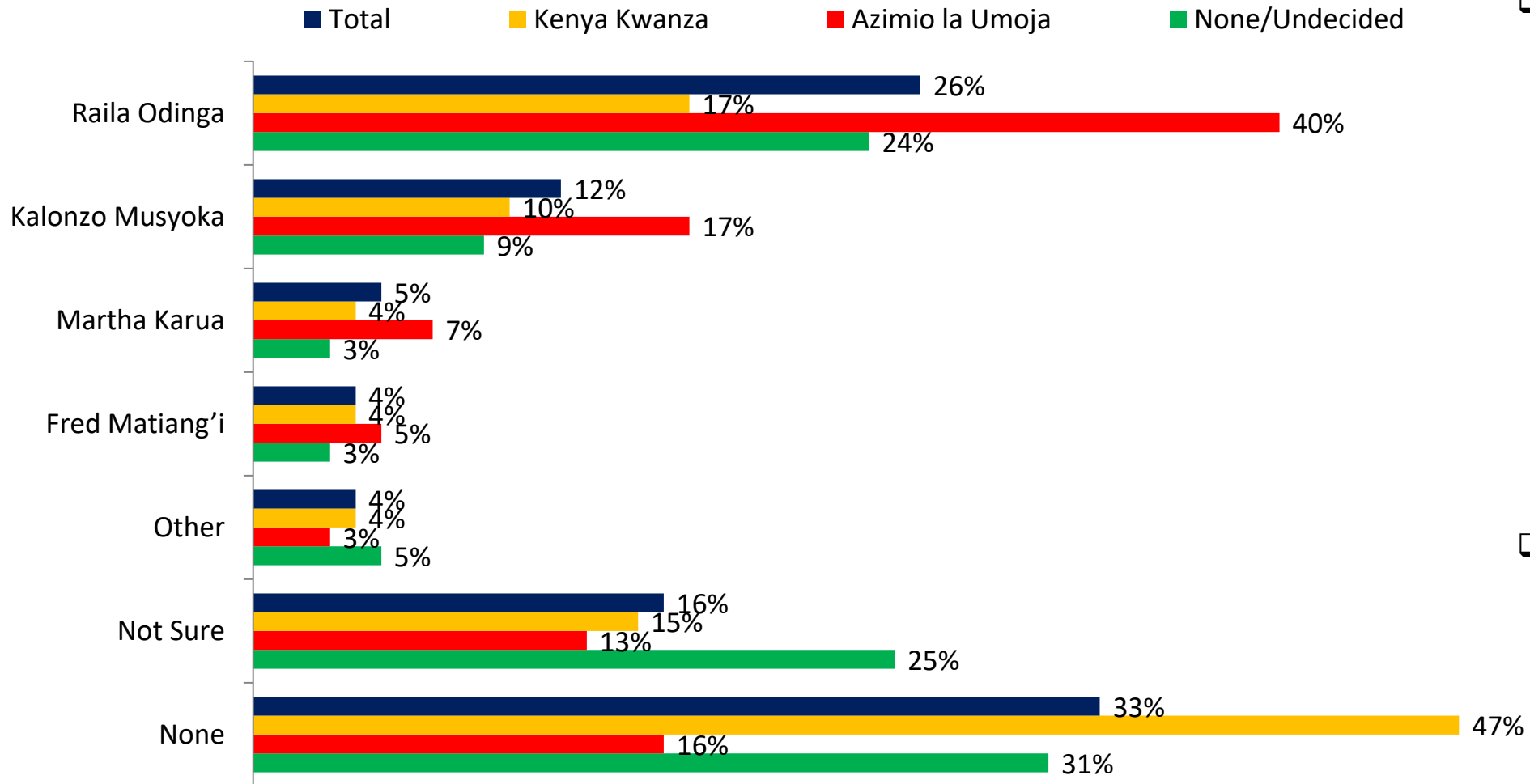


Among all Kenyans and among supporters of both coalitions, more believe the creation of this Official Leader of the Opposition position would make the Opposition weaker, assuming Raila Odinga would agree to occupy it.



Q: "If this new position of the Official Leader of the Opposition is created and Raila Odinga accepts it, do you think it will make the Opposition as a whole...?"

Perceived Strongest Opposition Leader to Contest the 2027 Election by Total, Political Coalition Alignment

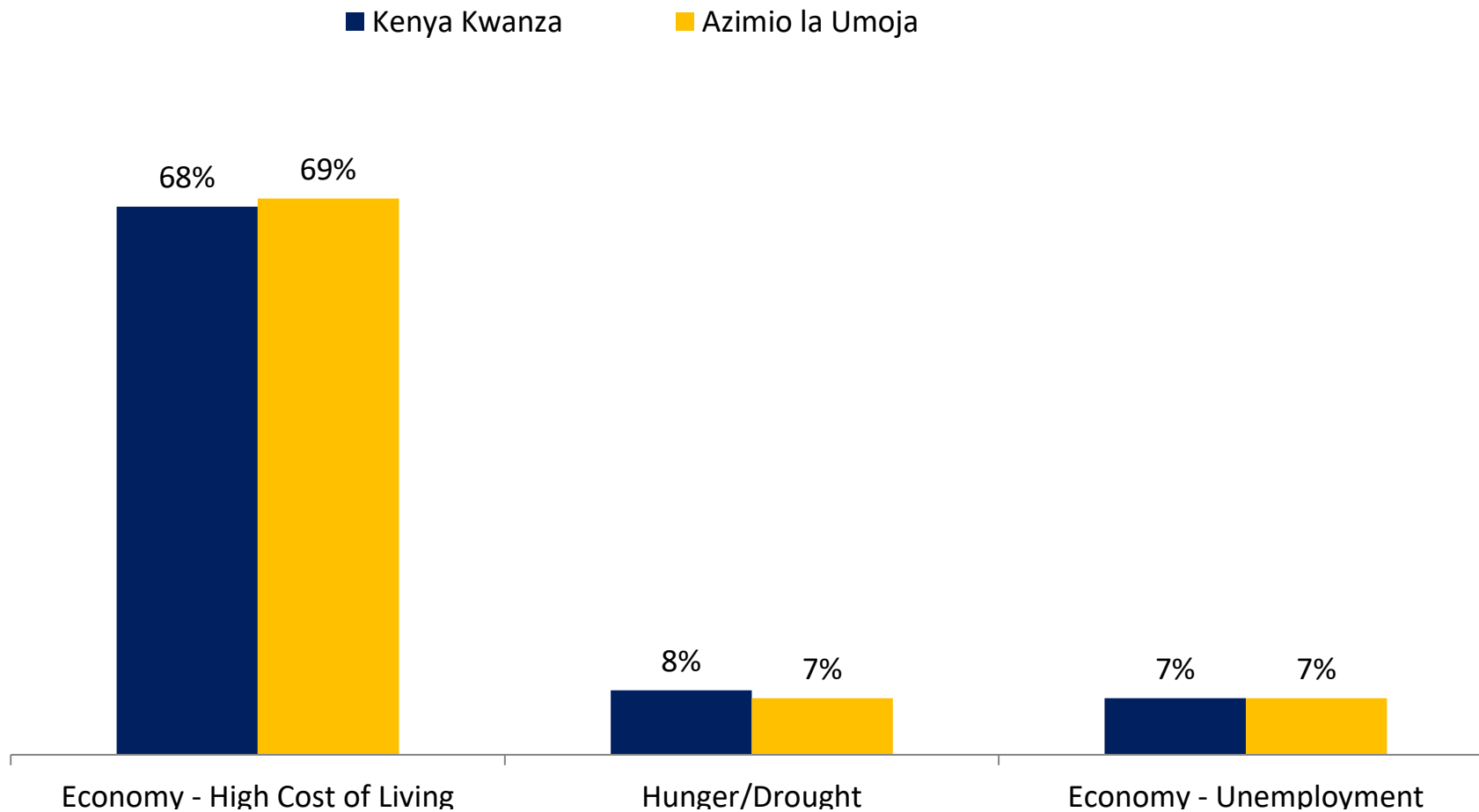


- Among all Kenyans and among supporters of both coalitions, Raila Odinga is seen as the most viable challenger of President William Ruto in 2027, though even among Azimio supporters, fewer than half (40%) identify him as being in this position, with Kalonzo Musyoka being the next most frequently mentioned.
- By contrast, nearly half of Kenya Kwanza supporters (47%) believe that no such potential challenger exists.

Q: "Which opposition leader do you think has the most chance of defeating Ruto in the 2027 presidential election?"

Correlation Analysis: Main Reason for Considering Kenya's Direction as "Wrong Among Supporters of the Azimio Protests

by Supporters of Kenya Kwanza/Azimio



□ Among those who consider Kenya's current direction as wrong, and comparing the (quite few) of Kenya Kwanza supporters who support the planned Azimio demonstrations (15% of them) with the modest majority of Azimio supporters who do likewise (56% of them), it is clear their reasons for doing so are nearly identical: their economic distress. Such distress includes especially the cost of living, hunger/drought, and joblessness. As such, there a clear economic (rather than a solely political) basis for the support for these protests.

Q: "Do you support the planned demonstrations by the Azimio coalition?"

Q: "What is the main reason you say so?" SINGLE RESPONSE – DO NOT READ



Concluding Comments

Several points can be made with regard to several of the findings included in this 1st Release of TIFA's March, 2023 survey:

- ❑ Even if the Nairobi Regional Police Commander declared that because the Azimio leadership did not submit their notice to hold demonstrations on time (i.e., at least 72 hours in advance), no one could have predicted exactly what was going to transpire on Monday, March 20. That is, while the Opposition leadership asserted there would be no violence, including the destruction of property, Kenya Kwanza leaders warned that this is exactly what would take place. In the event, the latter scenario is what occurred, though it has been accompanied by an all-too-familiar 'blame-game' as to who was responsible. More recently, controversy has arisen regarding the impact of the considerable live coverage the media gave during these unfolding events. For its part, the Kenya National Commission of Human Rights and the Law Society of Kenya have criticized the Government's use of force, accompanied by the threat of legal action against certain police officers.

- ❑ Whatever the accuracy of such claims and their outcomes, it is clear that the country has become even more polarized in the last week than it was previously, notwithstanding the constitutional finality of the Supreme Court's judgment following the contested August 2022 election.



Concluding Comments (con't)

- ❑ While many religious leaders have called for 'dialogue' between Azimio leader Odinga and President Ruto, both have rejected it, the former on the grounds that the Kenya Kwanza government is 'illegitimate', and the latter because doing so would amount to conceding to intimidation. As such, and with much of the business community – as represented by KEPSA – lamenting the economic cost of such protest-demonstrations, it remains unclear just how this stand-off can be resolved. Indeed, some Azimio critics have argued that the protests themselves exacerbate some of the very ills these are meant to address – in particular, the cost of living.
- ❑ More broadly, it remains to be seen as to whether the Government will yield any ground in response to Azimio's various demands – which include especially: (1) 'opening' of the IEBC computer server(s) to allow for an independent audit of the 2022 presidential results, (2) reinstatement of the four 'Cherera' IEBC commissioners, coupled with a withdrawal of the recently enacted law prescribing how such commissioners are appointed (a process now well underway), and (3) the re-introduction of subsidies on basic commodities – and what would be Azimio's response if some though not all of these demands were met. In addition, Azimio called it supporters to boycott certain companies alleged to be aligned to the government.
- ❑ Altogether, it seems inevitable that both the levels of awareness and related opinions about Azimio's strategy and the Government's response will have changed, based not just on the events of last Monday, but also on the statements made about by both Government leaders and the Opposition, as well as the latter's announced future intentions, changes that future TIFA surveys will endeavour to capture.



Concluding Comments (con't)

- ❑ Finally, regarding Kenya's direction, nearly half consider it to be "wrong" at present, with even nearly one-third of the ruling Kenya Kwanza (31%) expressing this view. Moreover, whereas economic issues – especially the high cost of living – dominate among the reasons given by those holding this latter/negative view, those of the opinion that the country's current direction is "right" display little agreement for their views, perhaps a reflection of their more general satisfaction/pleasure with the identity and policy agenda of the Kenya Kwanza government, even if it is still too early for the supposed benefits of many of its policies to be felt directly by its supporters.
- ❑ At the same time, when we extract those (quite few) Kenya Kwanza supporters who expressed support for the planned Azimio protests (15%) who also feel the country's direction is "wrong", there is almost complete agreement between them as to why they hold this negative view with those Azimio supporters who also both support the protests and consider that Kenya's direction is wrong. As such, this economic focus sheds light on the success of the Kenya Kwanza election campaign agenda (based on a 'bottom-up' model) as well as the challenge it now faces in enacting and implementing policies that even its own supporters can 'taste'. Should it achieve a measurable level of success in doing so, however, it appears it could win over even many of those who now identify with the Azimio opposition, at least by 2027.





Methodology & Demographics

Methodology overview



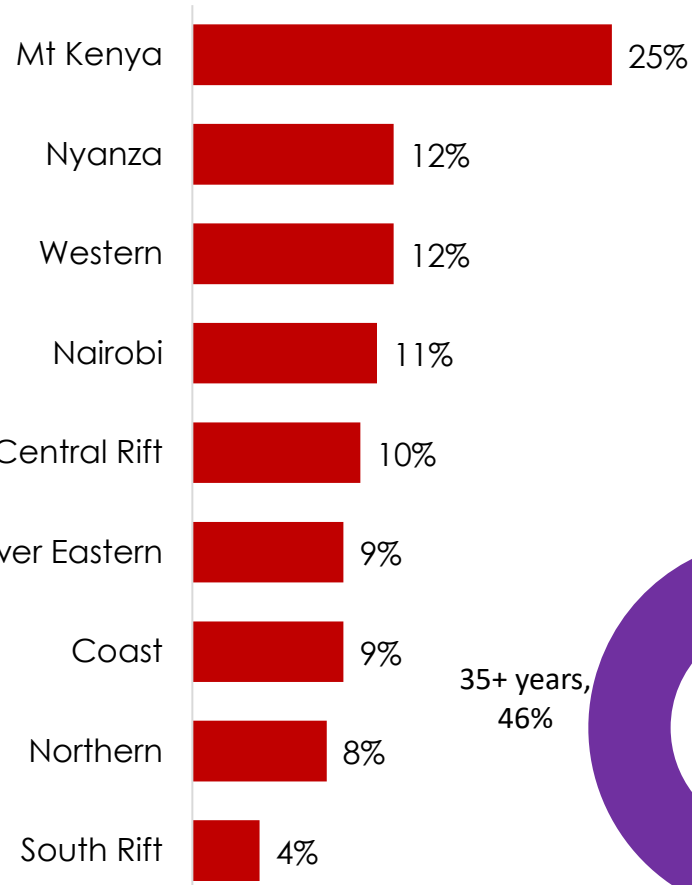
Fieldwork Date	11 th of March to 19 th of March 2023
Geographical	Nationally Representative Sample (spread across 9 Zones ; <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Central Rift, Coast, Lower Eastern, Mt Kenya, Nairobi, Northern, Nyanza, South Rift, Western
Data Collection	Face-to-face interviews conducted at the household level Conducted in (mainly) Swahili and English
Sample	2,065 respondents
Margin-of-error	±2.12% (Note: Larger error-margins for sub-samples)

Demographics

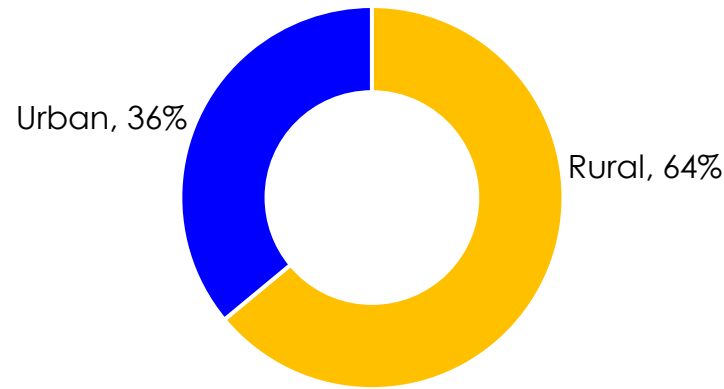
Zone, Gender, Age, Education, Setting



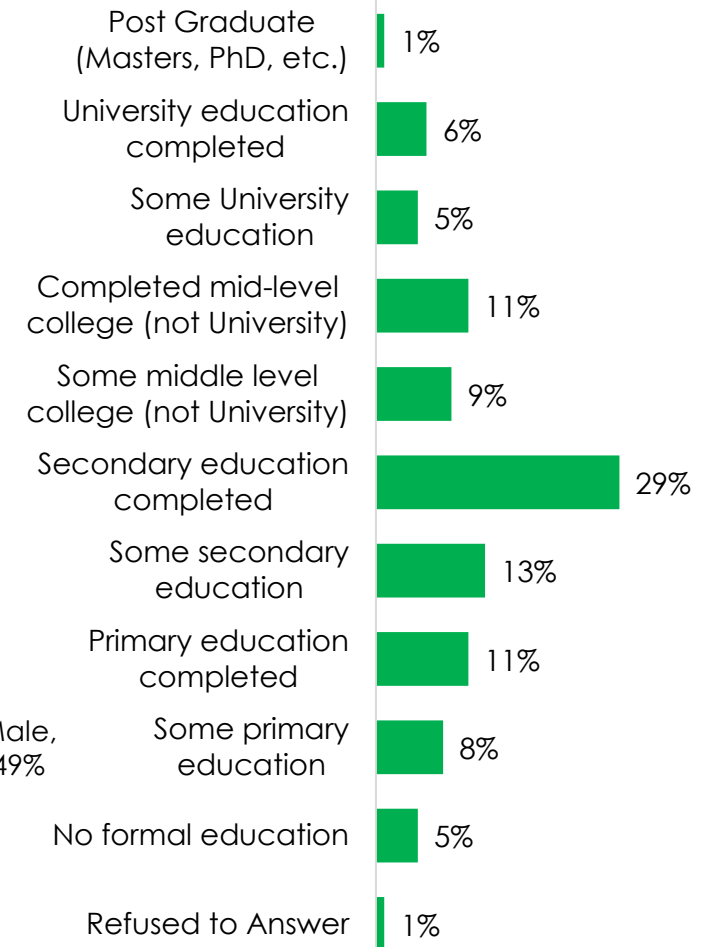
Zone



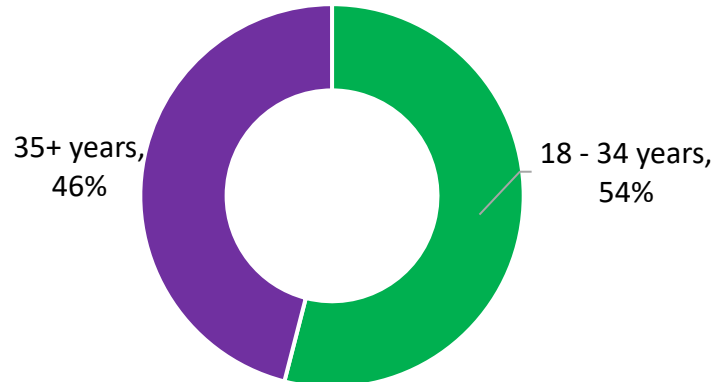
Setting



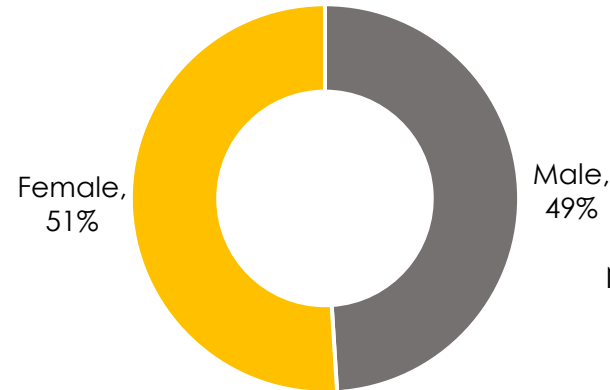
Education level



Age



Gender



Sampling Zone 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



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