



2023 Current Issues Survey – 2nd Release

Kenya's Direction and Ruto/Kenya Kwanza Government Performance

June Omnibus Survey | 13th July 2023

Introduction and Summary Findings

Section One: Kenya's Current Conditions

Section Two: Main Achievements/Failures of the Ruto Government So Far

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Introduction and Summary Findings

- ❑ This Release reports the second set of results obtained from the national survey TIFA Research conducted between the 24th and 30th of June, 2023 using CATI (Computer-Assisted-Telephonic-Interviews) of 1,530 respondents.
- ❑ The 1st Release (of 4th July) included results relating to the economy, specifically, a demographic profile of respondents and views of the Finance Bill that President William Ruto had just signed into law various provisions of which informed the 2023-24 Budget that took effect on 1st July.
- ❑ This 2nd Release covers views about the country's direction and the performance of the Kenya Kwanza government since it took over the reigns of power ten months ago. As with the 1st Release, it is important to keep in mind that data collection was completed during the week that the National Assembly went through the final stages of reviewing and approving the Finance Bill and new budget, as well as the president's endorsement of the same, actions that were followed immediately by the price increases of all petroleum product – which took effect on 1st July – though in defiance of a High Court order issued in response to legal challenges to certain aspects of the process of the Bill's enactment – and thus were not captured in this survey. Thus, while many Kenyans were clearly aware of and had formed opinions about key aspects of government economic policy, many of them had not yet taken effect.
- ❑ Note also that because this is the second such national survey TIFA has conducted since last year's election (the first being in March), this Release compares several findings on the same topics to show the extent to which Kenyans' views have changed over this three month period.



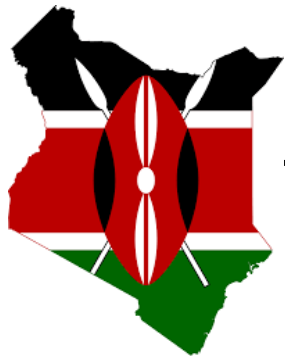


- ❑ Finally, also with regard to the presentation of data, TIFA has (where relevant) used political alignment. This has been defined as pro-Government and pro-Opposition (and “none”). To produce this dichotomy, two criteria were used:
 - ❑ (1) which (if any) political party is supported, and
 - ❑ (2) the same for either of the two coalitions (Kenya Kwanza, Azimio la Umoja).
- ❑ However, regarding the former, since Jubilee is split with its leadership being legally contested, those respondents expressing support for this political party are divided between those who say they recognize Kanini Kega as its Secretary-General (and are thus deemed to be pro-Government) and those who recognize Jeremiah Kioni (and are thus deemed to be pro-Opposition), a question that was asked to all respondents. That is, even if Jubilee’s overall support is quite modest, it is useful for purposes of correlations to place as many respondents as possible into either of these two political alignment categories.
- ❑ Given that the Ruto government remains with more than four years of its current term of office, TIFA believes an important public function is served by tracking the sort of issues contained in this 2nd Release, among others, especially as the actual impact of its policies become more tangible.



Summary Findings

Direction that Kenya is Heading: March vs June 2023



Wrong Direction

March 2023	48%
June 2023	56%
% change	+8%

Neither right nor wrong Direction

March 2023	12%
June 2023	14%
% change	+2%

Right Direction

March 2023	37%
June 2023	25%
% change	-12%

*the no response - March 3% and June 5%

Reasons - wrong direction

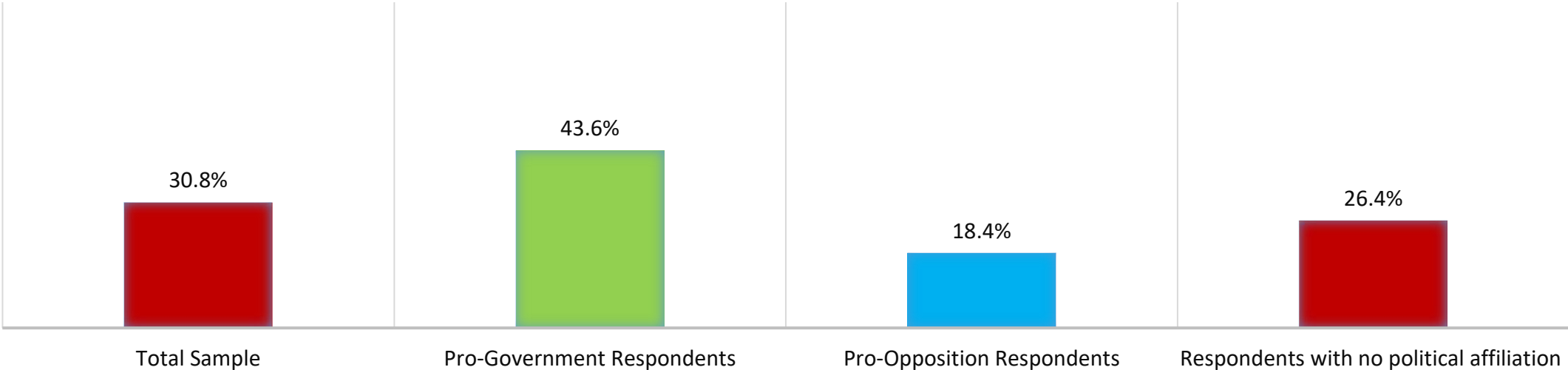
☐ **79%** High cost of living

Means Score: Perceived Extent Ruto's Government Has Fulfilled Campaign Promises



**Overall
mean
Score
rating**

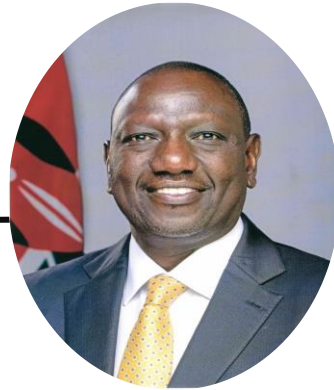
C+



The mean score rating on a scale of 0 to 5 converted to a % score



President Ruto's Government: Top Achievements and Failures



Achievements	March 2023	June 2023
Launching hustler fund	29%	10% ↓
Stabilizing cost of fertilizer	5%	6%
None	38%	51% ↑

Failures	March 2023	June 2023
Increased economic hardship	37%	52% ↑
Failed campaign promises	14%	7%
None	15%	17%

Kenya Kwanza Cabinet Secretaries: Best Performers

Best Performing Cabinet Secretaries

No. 1  **34%**

No. 2  **7%**

No. 3  **6%**

At least one-third of Kenyans mention Kindiki Kithure as the best performing Cabinet Secretary

Ranking	Name of Cabinet Secretary	March 2023	June 2023
1	Kithure Kindiki (Interior and National Administration)	26%	34%
2	Ezekiel Machogu (Education)	10%	7%
3	Susan Nakhumicha Wafula (Health)	1%	6%
4	Ababu Namwamba (Youth Affairs, Sports, and The Arts)	3%	3%
5	Kipchumba Murkomen (Roads, Transport, and Public Works)	2%	2%

*% score is the number of Kenyans who mention a CS as a high performer
Respondents restricted to one mention only*



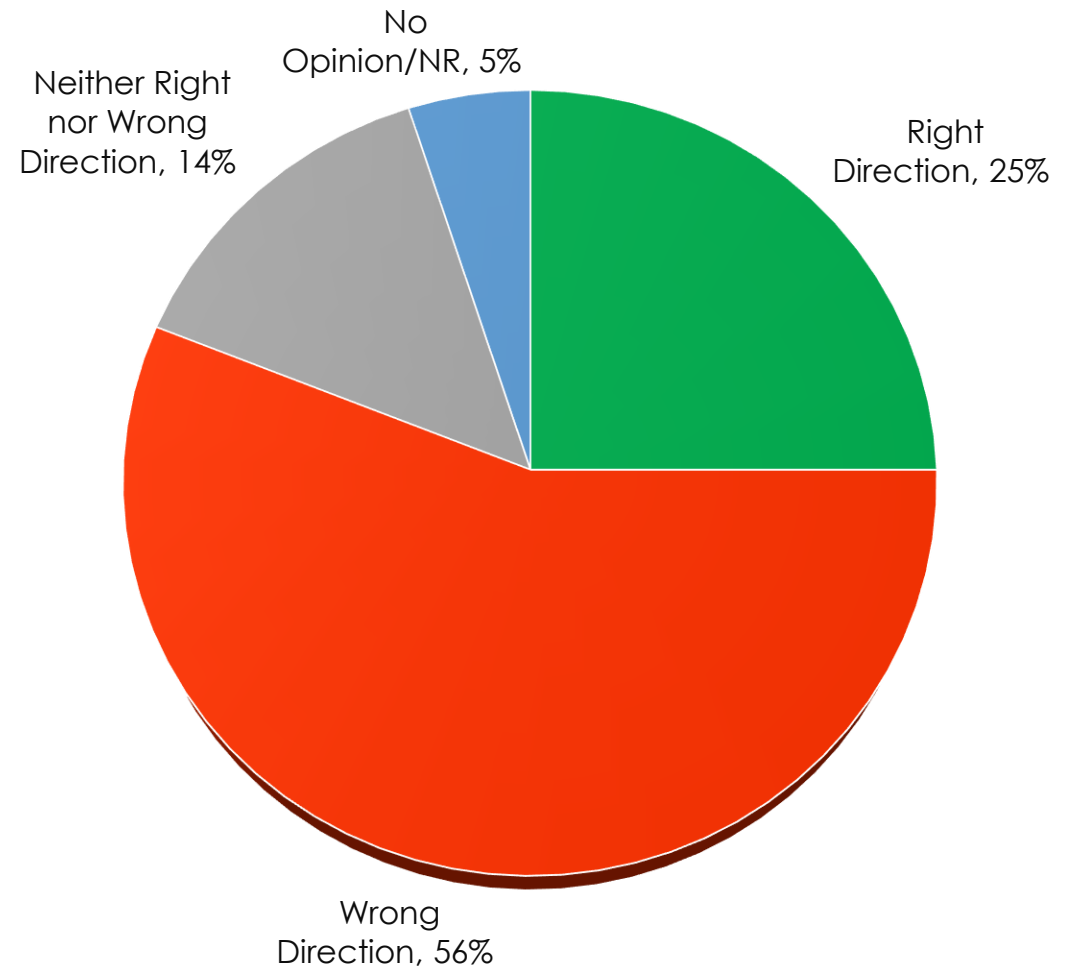
Section One: Current Conditions in Kenya

- The direction that Kenya is heading
- Reasons for sentiments

Kenya's Perceived Direction by Total - June 2023



- ❑ A significant number of Kenyans (56%) believe that the current direction of the country is heading in the wrong direction.



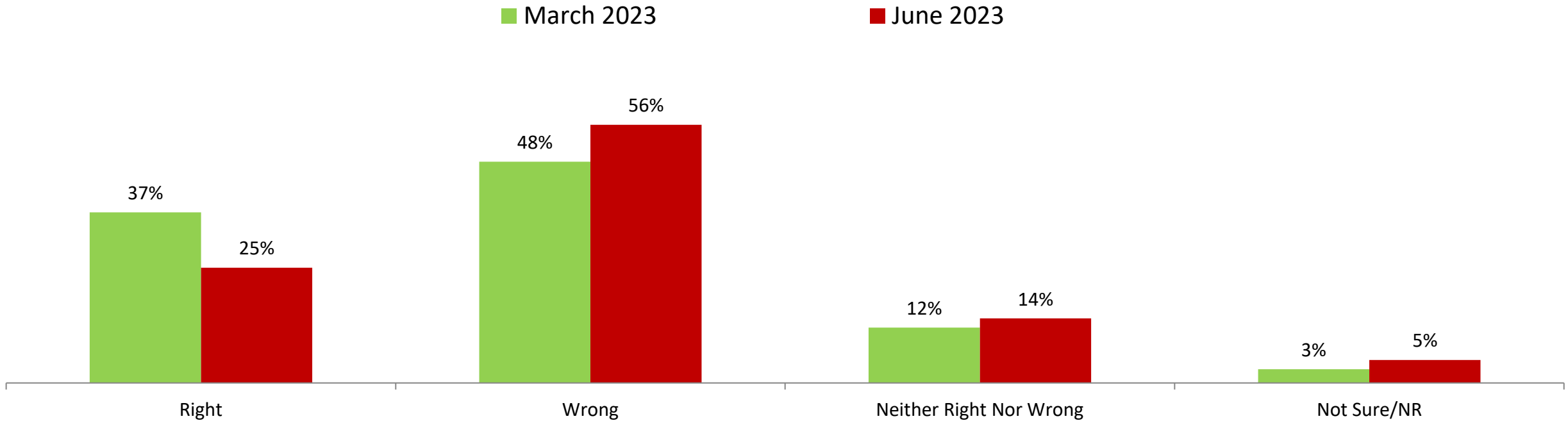
Q: "Overall, would you say that the country has been going in the wrong or right direction since last year's elections?"

Base = 1,530 (all respondents)

Kenya's Perceived Direction by Total – March vs. June 2023



□ The proportions of those perceiving the country's direction as “right” vs. “wrong” have been reversed since March, when a plurality held to the former view (37% vs. 25%), whereas as of June the latter view was most prominent (56% vs. 48%). Again – and as noted in the Introduction – given that data collection for the survey was concluded before various provisions of the new Budget took effect one can only surmise what these figures might be at the moment.



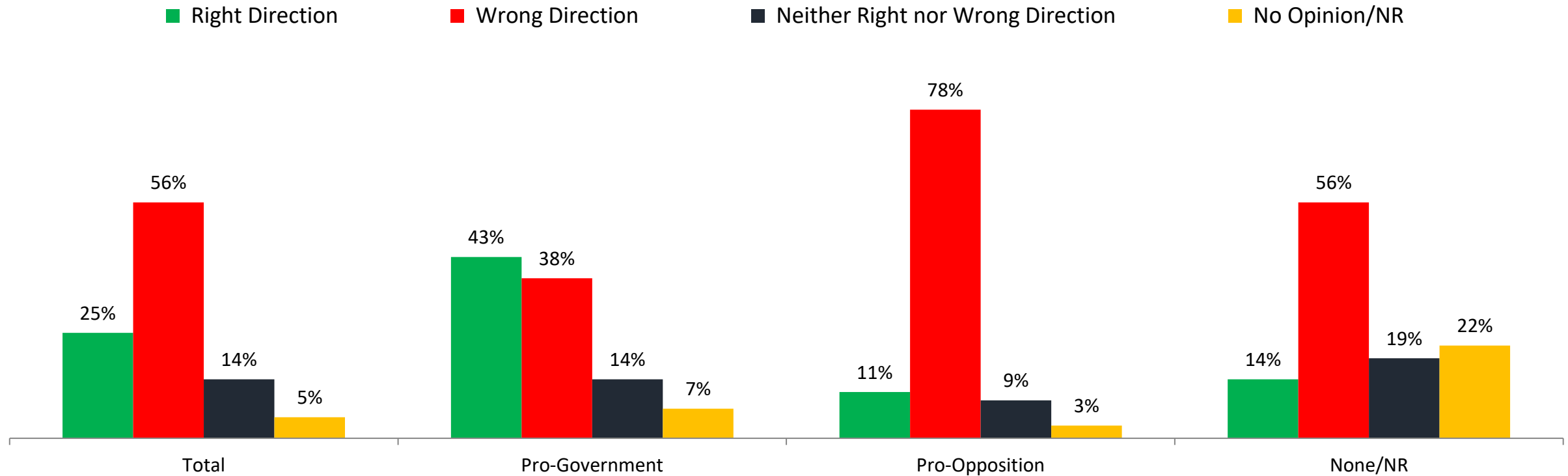
Q: “Overall, would you say that the country has been going in the wrong or right direction since last year’s elections?”

Kenya's Perceived Direction

by Total, Political Alignment - June 2023



□ The contrast between Kenya Kwanza and Azimio supporters is substantial, with more than twice as many of Azimio supporters compared to Kenya Kwanza (78% vs. 38%).



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

Base = 1,530 (all respondents)

Reason for Right and Wrong Direction

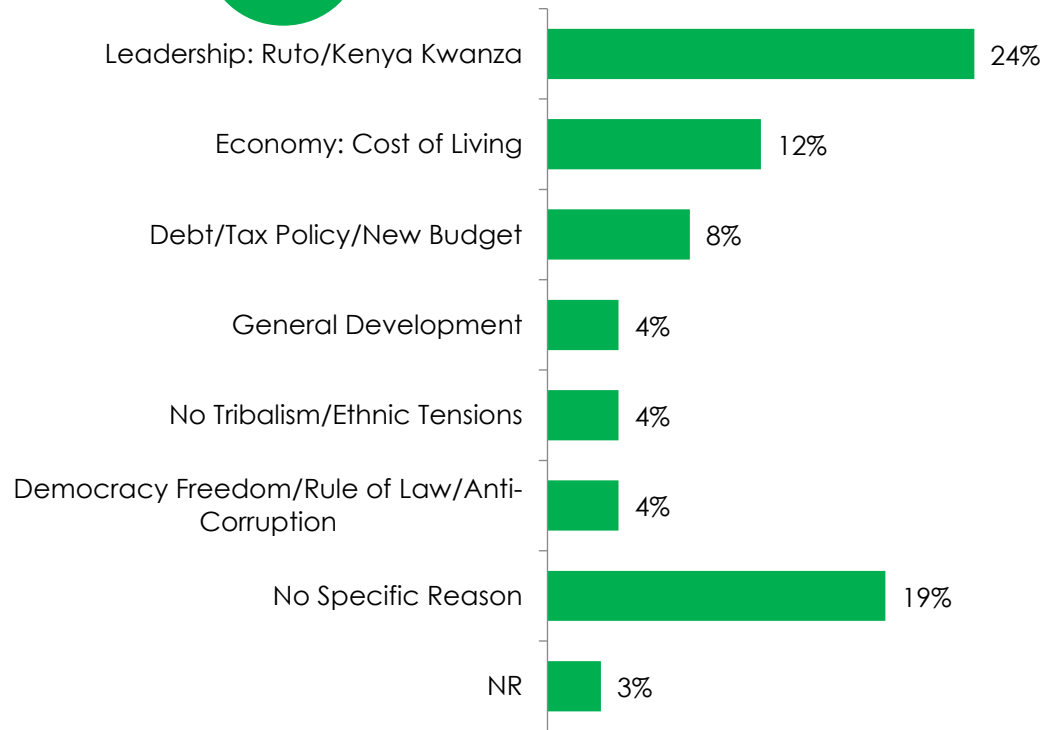
by Total - June 2023



- ❑ **Right Direction:** Among the minority who consider the country's current direction as positive (25%), there is little agreement on their reasons, with a small plurality (24%) citing the leadership of the Ruto government as the main reason for their positivity.
- ❑ **Wrong Direction:** Those Kenyans who consider the country's current direction as wrong (56%) are nearly unanimous as to why they feel thus: the escalating cost of living.

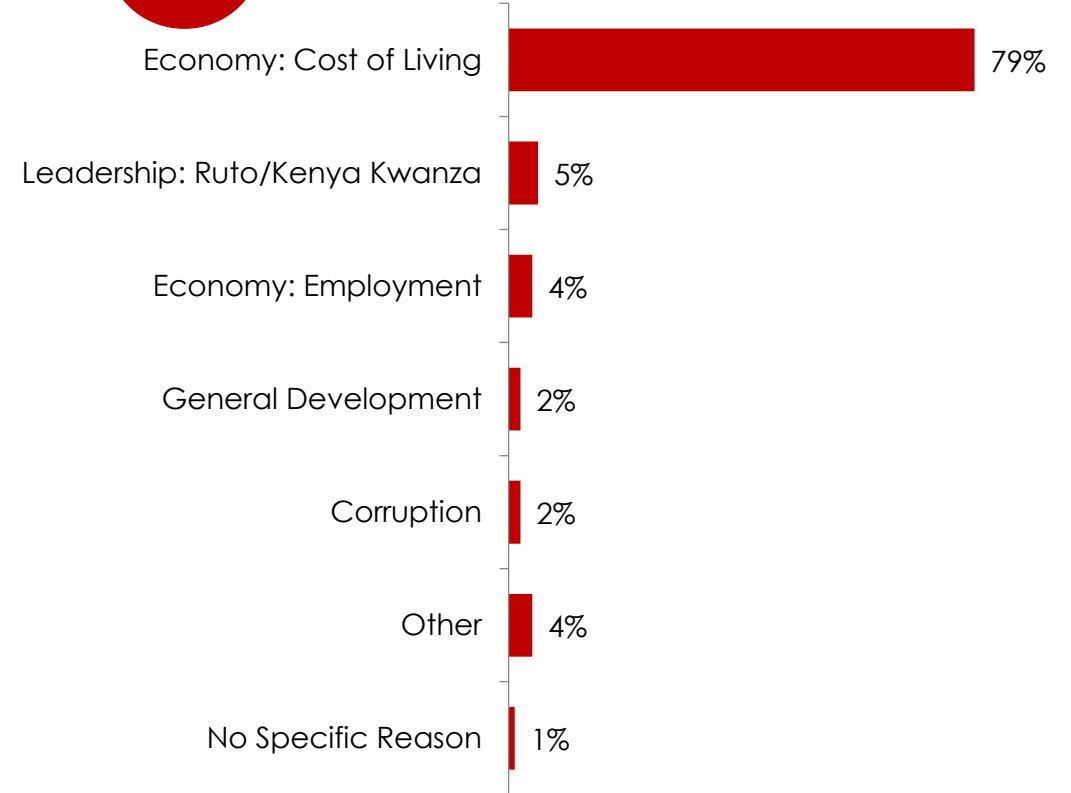
25%

Reasons for right direction



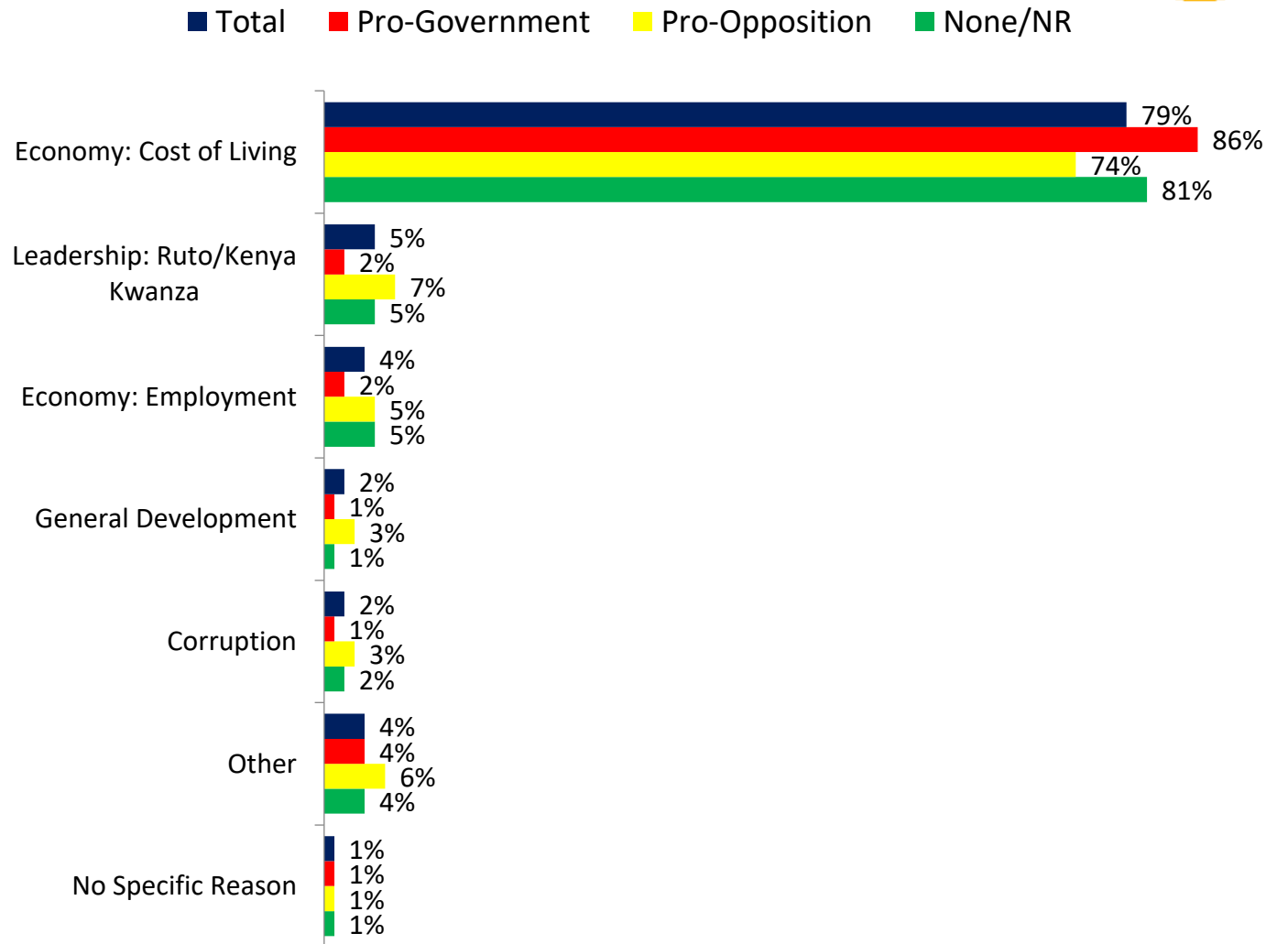
56%

Reasons for wrong direction



Top 5 Reasons Among The 56% Who Say the Country is Headed in the Wrong Direction by Total, Political Coalition Alignment – June 2023

- Irrespective of their political affiliations, the vast majority of Kenyans who perceive the country's current direction as incorrect are in unanimous agreement about their reasoning: the ever-increasing cost of living.
- Also, in contrast to the responses obtained from those who stated that Kenya's direction is "right", hardly any failed to give a concrete response.

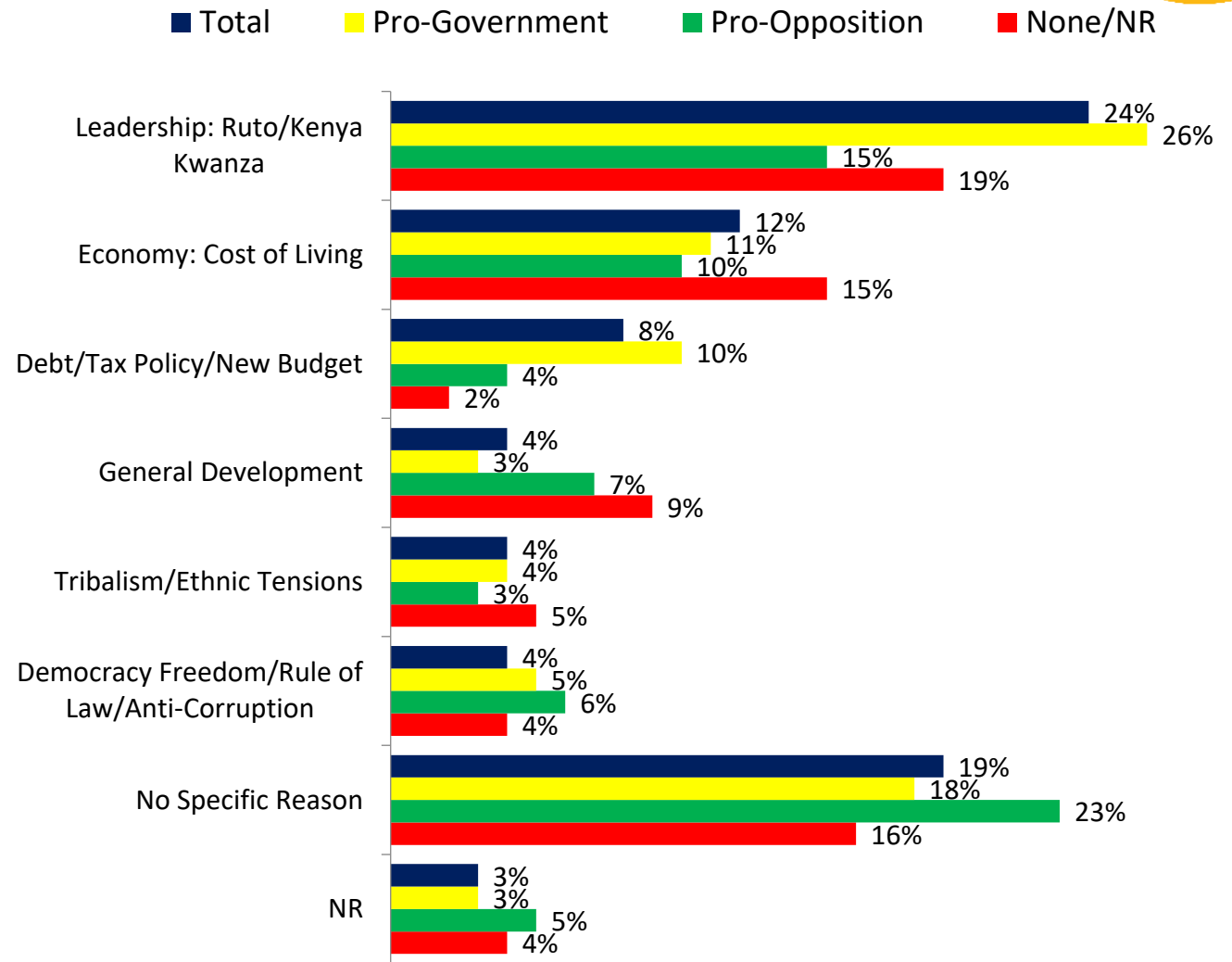


Base = 852 (those who feel that the country is heading in the wrong direction)
Q: "What is the main reason you say so?" SINGLE RESPONSE – DO NOT READ

Top 6 Reasons Among The 25% Who Say the Country is Headed in the Right Direction

by Total, Political Alignment – June 2023

Most significant, perhaps, is that for all Kenyans and across the political divide, a large proportion (19%) failed to indicate as to just why they feel so, which is the most frequent response among those aligned with the Opposition.



Base = 388 (those who say country is heading in the right direction)

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

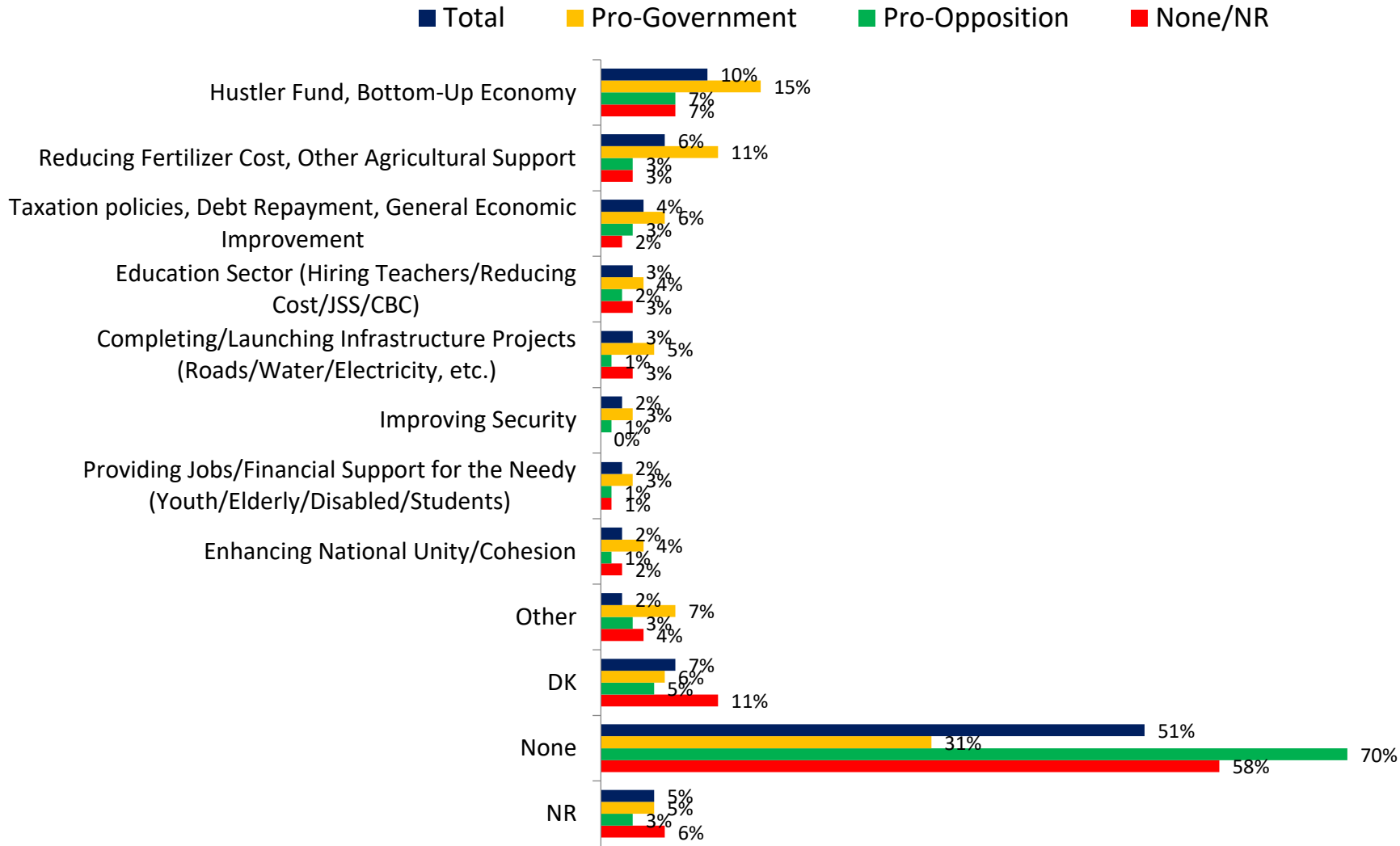


Section Two: Ruto/Kenya Kwanza Government Performance

- Main Achievements and Failures
- Best Performing Senior Ruto Government Official
- Overall Ruto Government Performance Rating in Terms of Fulfilling Its Campaign Promises

Main Achievements of the Ruto/Kenya Kwanza Government So Far

by total, political alignment - June 2023



□ Among all Kenyans, the launch of the Hustler Fund receives the most mentions (10%), but no other achievement-rating reaches double digits.

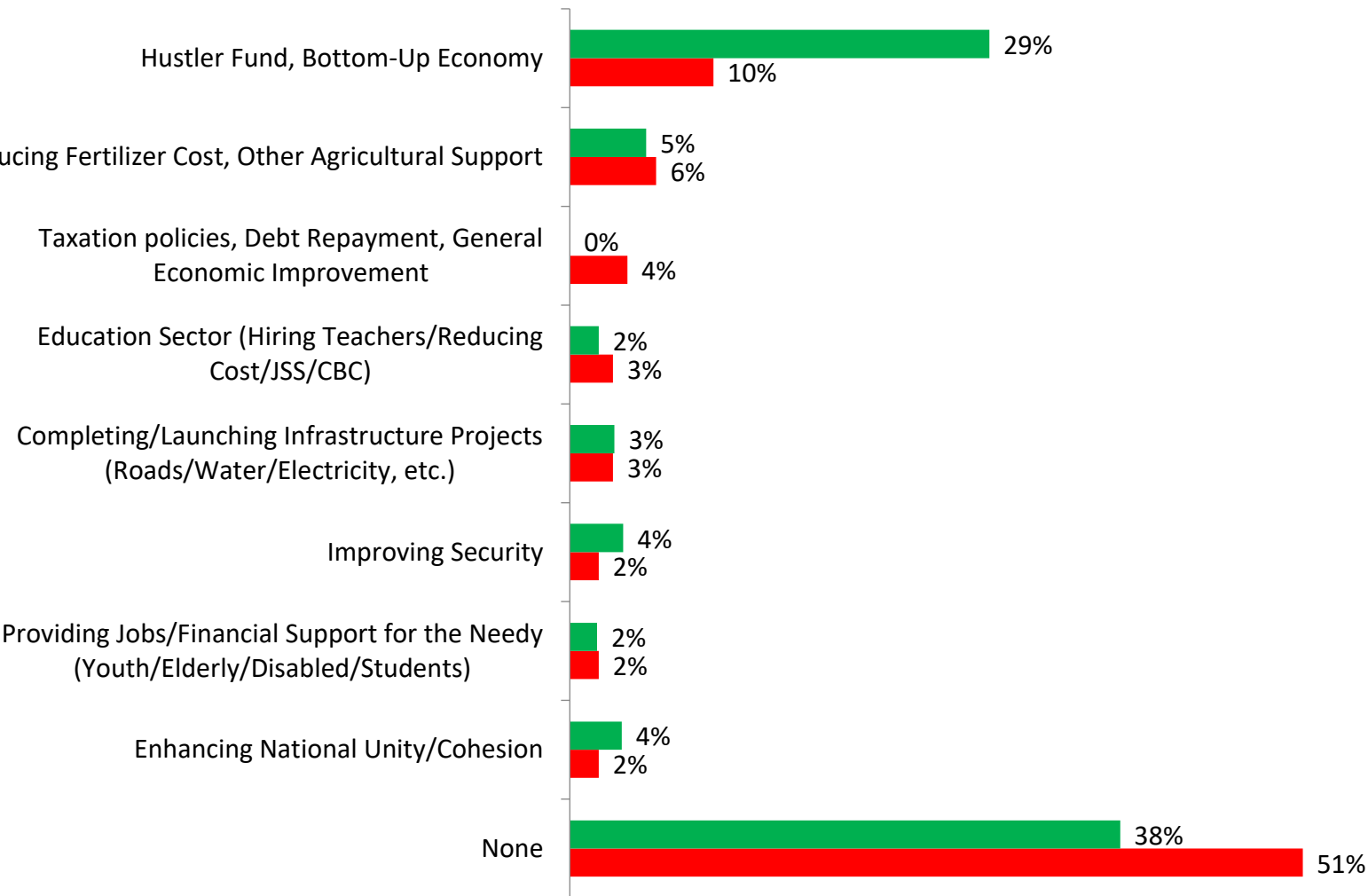
□ By contrast, even among Kenya Kwanza supporters, “none” is mentioned three times more often (31%), though more than twice as many Opposition supporters hold this entirely negative view (70%) of the Ruto government’s performance so far.

Main Achievements of the Ruto/Kenya Kwanza Government So Far

Total , March vs June 2023



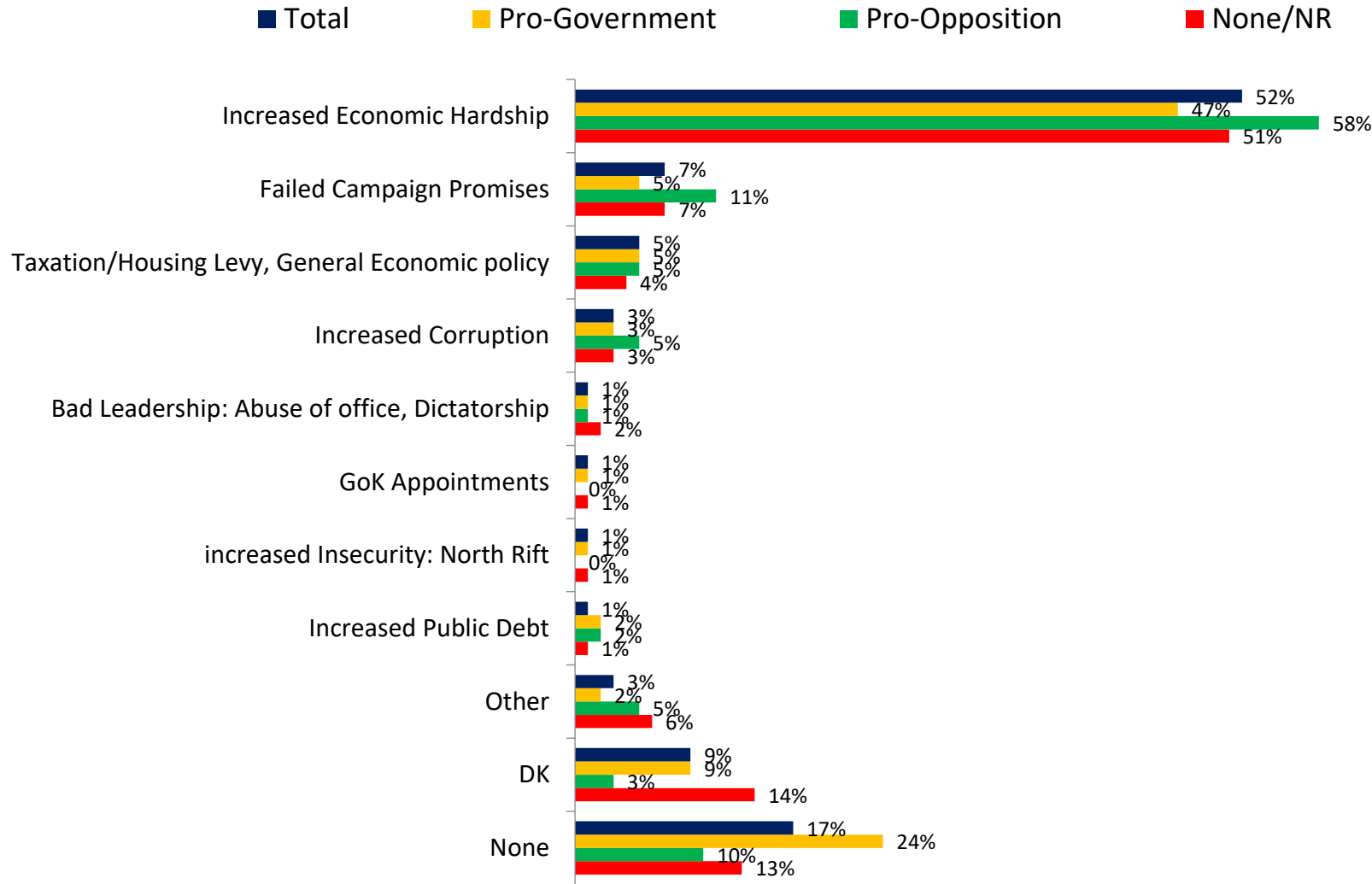
■ March 2023 ■ June 2023



□ Kenyans believe that, the achievements by the Kenya Kwanza Government has reduced between March and June, with over half of Kenyans saying the GoK has achieved nothing.

Main Failures of the Ruto/Kenya Kwanza Government So Far

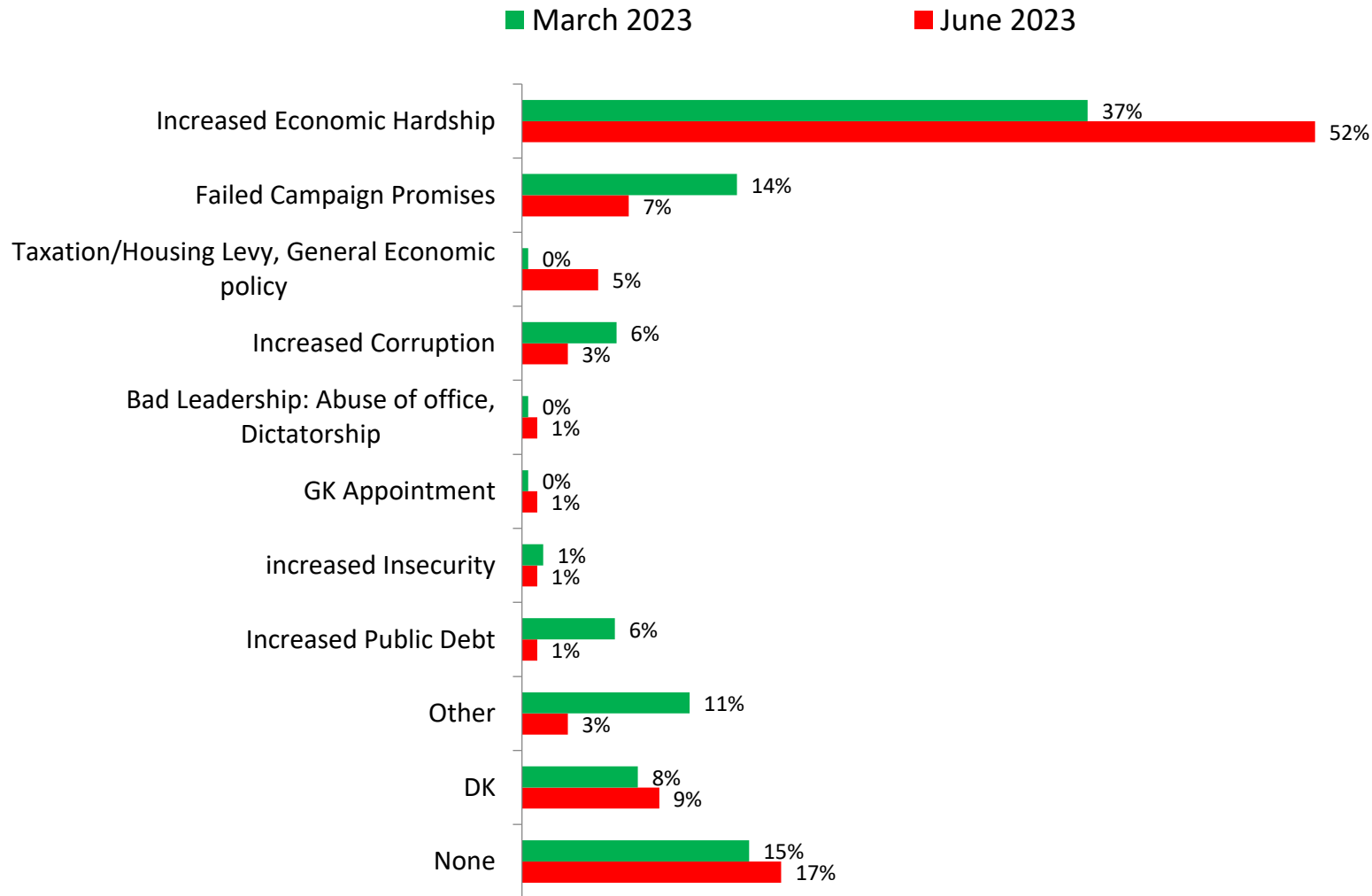
by total, political alignment - June 2023



- In terms of its perceived failures, there is widespread agreement that continuing if not increasing economic hardship is at the top of most Kenyans' minds across the political divide, though the failure to fulfill "campaign promises" as well as various economic issues aside from such promises also receive considerable mentions.
- At the same time, nearly one-quarter of Kenya Kwanza supporters (24%) fail to attach any failure to it, as compared with less than half that proportion of Azimio supporters who likewise fail to blame it for anything (10%).

Main Failures of the Ruto/Kenya Kwanza Government So Far

by trends (March vs June 2023)



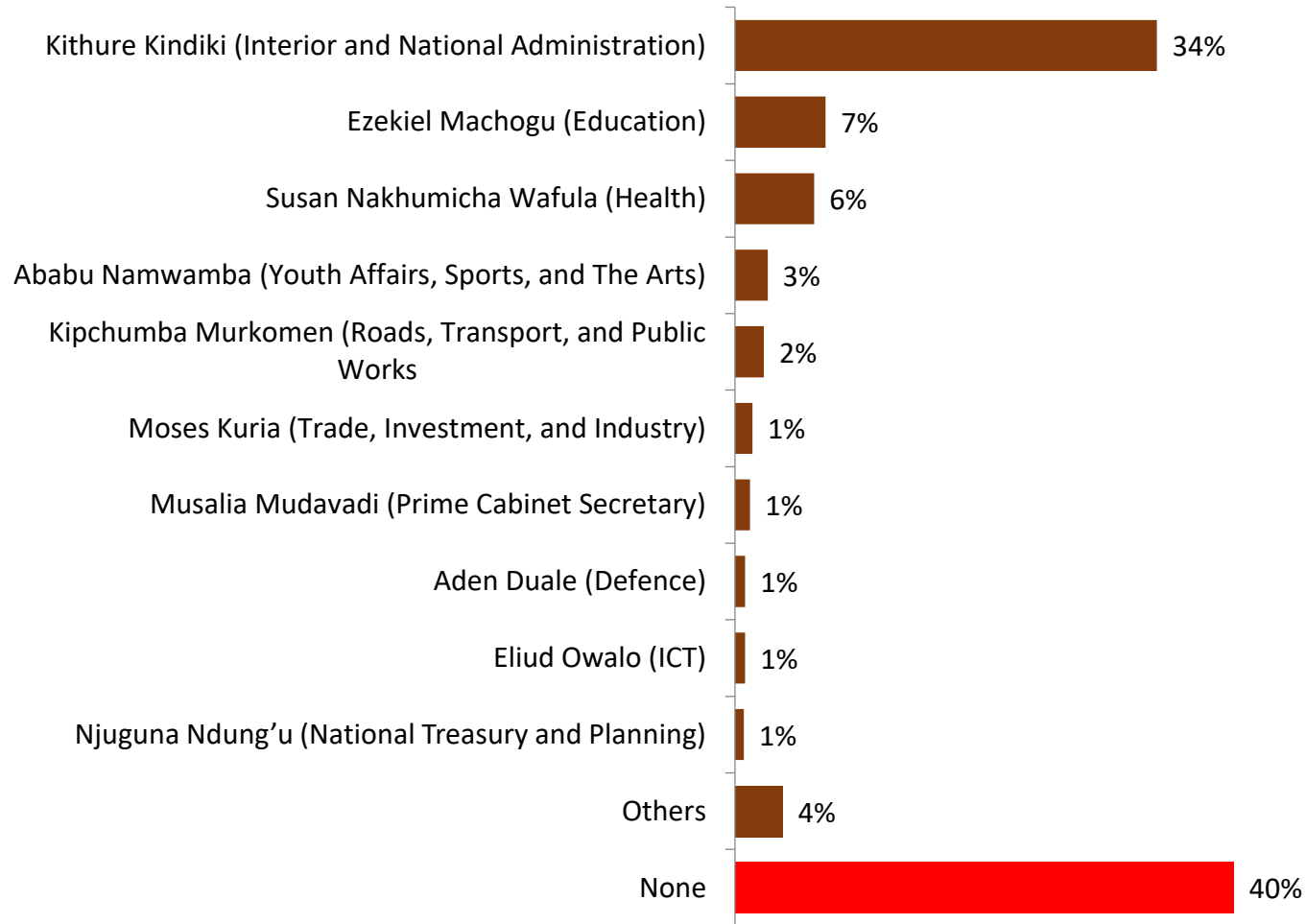
□ There has been an increase in the mentions for hard economic hardships between March and June 2023.



Section Two: Ruto/Kenya Kwanza Government Performance

- ❑ Best Performing Senior Ruto Government Official
- ❑ Overall Ruto Government Performance Rating in Terms of Fulfilling Its Campaign Promises

Best Performing Cabinet/Senior Government Official by total - June 2023



- ❑ Fewer than half of all Kenyans are prepared to identify any senior national government official as the “best performing” so far.
- ❑ However, the most frequently mentioned is Interior CS Prof. Kithure Kindiki (34%), with only two others receiving more than minimal such positive recognition: (6%): Susan Wafula (Health) and Ezekiel Machogu (Education – 7% each).
- ❑ Another four-in-ten (40%) feel that no such senior official is “the best performing.”

Best Performing Cabinet Secretaries

No. 1  **34%**

No. 2  **7%**

No. 3  **6%**

At least one-third mention that CS Kindiki Kithure as the best performing Cabinet Secretary

Ranking	Name of Cabinet Secretary	March 2023	June 2023
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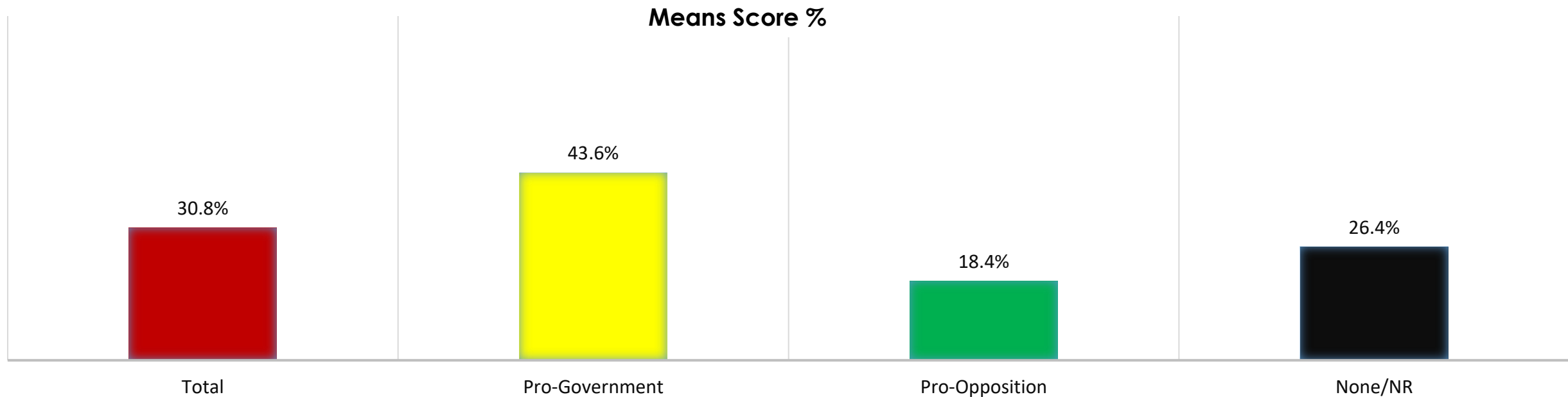
*% score is the number of Kenyans who mention a CS as a high performer
Respondents restricted to one mention only*

Mean Score: Perceived Extent To Which the Ruto Government Has Fulfilled His Campaign Promises So Far

by total, political alignment - June 2023



- Asked to rate the degree to which the Ruto government has implemented their campaign promises, Kenyans as a whole give them a rather weak score of (just 30.8%). Even those identifying themselves as pro-Government give a score that, while somewhat higher, falls below this half-way point (43.6%), though this is more than twice the rating given by supporters of the Opposition (18.4%). However, with more than four years remaining before the next election there remains plenty of time for such campaign promises to be kept.



Q: "On a scale of 0-5 where 0 means not at all and 5 means completely, how much would you say the Ruto government has implemented its campaign promises so far?" **SINGLE RESPONSE**

Base = 1,530 (all respondents)



Section Three: Concluding Comments

Concluding Comments

Several points can be made with regard to several of the findings included in this 2nd Release of TIFA's June, 2023:

- ❑ The first is that even those expressing support for President Ruto's Kenya Kwanza government are expressing a considerable level of unhappiness with the current state of affairs. For example, almost as many of them consider the country's current direction as "wrong" as do those who feel it is "right" (38% vs. 43%). Moreover, among all those who hold the former view, there is almost no difference as to the "main reason" why they feel so: the economy, and especially the cost of living (86% among those pro-Government, and 74% among those pro-Opposition).
- ❑ Likewise, nearly one-third of pro-Government respondents are unable to cite any achievement of 'their' government, even if more than twice as many pro-Opposition respondents refuse to acknowledge any such achievements (31% vs. 70%). And in terms of Kenya Kwanza government failures, only one-quarter of its supporters consider there are "none" (24%), with almost as many of them identifying economic hardship as do Opposition supporters (47% vs. 58%).
- ❑ One of the main questions such findings raise is at what point those who voted for Kenya Kwanza at both the national and local level will switch their political loyalties by throwing their support to the Opposition, which in the short term may be captured in such activities as the current round of protest-demonstrations that have been taking place.



- ❑ This question, in turn, relates to the widely-acknowledged nature of the 2022 presidential contest: that in many respects it was the least ‘ethnically-driven’ such election in Kenya’s history. Whatever criteria are applied to reach such a conclusion, it must be assumed that performance – however defined – rather than identity per se, will be critical in shaping Kenyans’ views about those in power, views that are likely to shape political events moving forward and well in advance of the next election in 2027. While positively reflecting one of the key political pillars of the Vision 2030 ‘roadmap’ – i.e., the move towards more policy-based politics – it could present a major challenge to the Government, especially given the fact that many of the measures considered as punitive by the public stem from a combination of the debt it inherited from its predecessor and various external factors (e.g., the war in Ukraine, higher interest rates in developed countries that directly impact the value of the KSh., etc.) over which it has little if any control.
- ❑ In this context, TIFA considers that its public survey work may be of benefit across the political divide, as well as to the country’s well-wishers both near and far, given that the results produced will (hopefully) make it easier for those with the ability to influence events to base their policies on realities, rather than on guess-work, let alone on inaccurate fantasy.
- ❑ Finally, several more overtly political aspects of the situation described in the 1st and 2nd Releases will be considered in the 3rd Release from TIFA’s June survey, that will appear in the near future.





Section Four: Methodology & Demographics

Methodology Overview



Fieldwork Date	24 th - 30 th June 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	<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Telephonic Interviews conducted (with respondents whose contacts were collected through previous face-to-face (i.e., household-based interviews)▪ The interviews conducted in Swahili (mainly) and English.
Sample	1,530 respondents
Margin of error	+/- 2.5 % (Note: Larger error-margins for sub-samples)

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

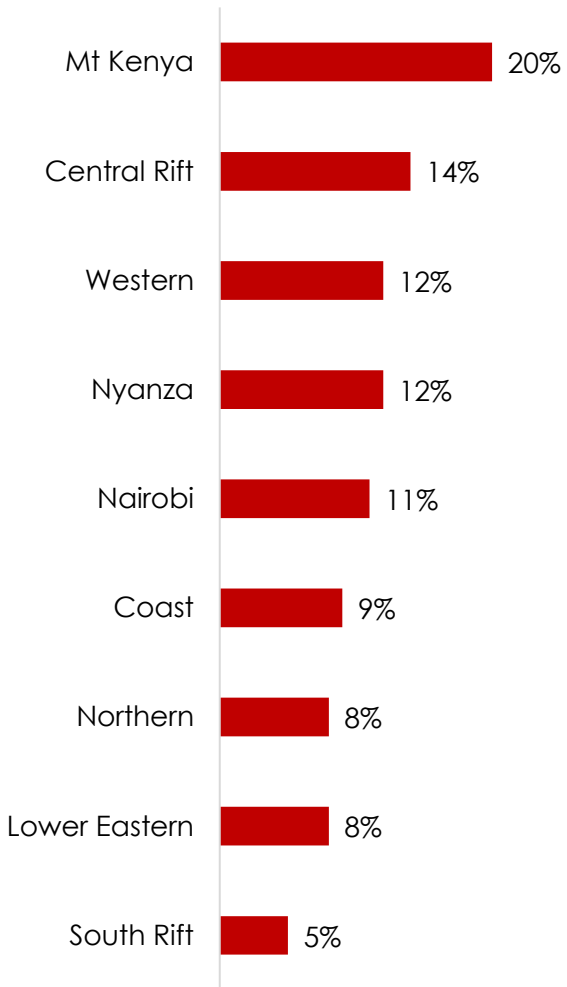
County	Region
Trans Nzoia	Western
Kakamega	Western
Vihiga	Western
Bungoma	Western
Busia	Western
Garissa	Northern
Wajir	Northern
Mandera	Northern
Marsabit	Northern
Isiolo	Northern
Turkana	Northern
West Pokot	Northern
Samburu	Northern
Nairobi	Nairobi

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

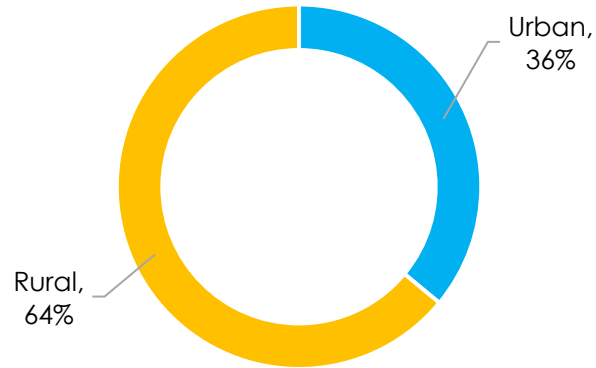
Demographics:

Region, Gender, Age, Religion, Setting & Education Level

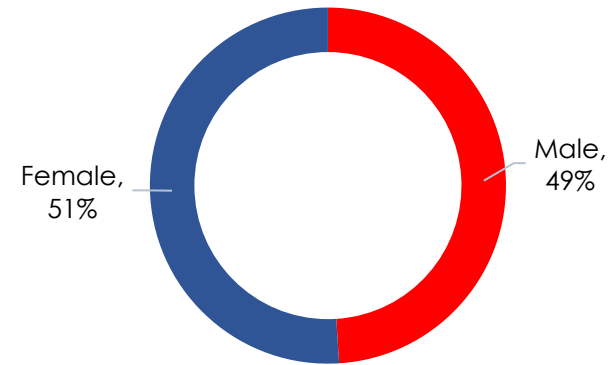
Zone



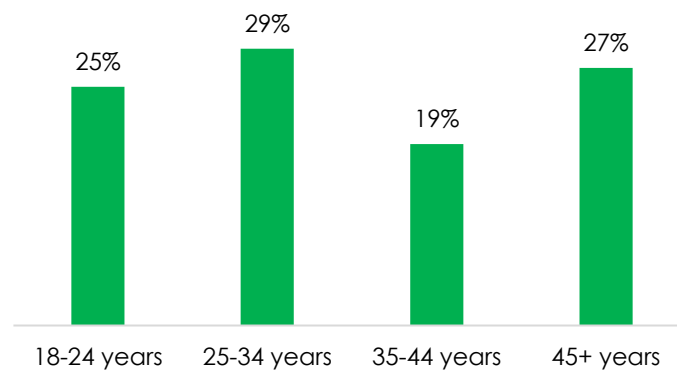
Setting



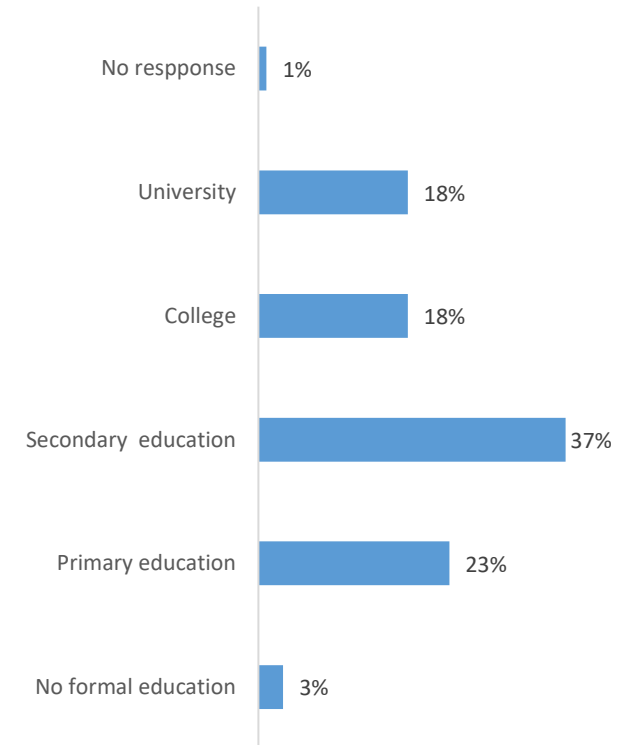
Gender



Age



Highest education level





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