TIFA National Public Issues Survey: 1st Release:

Elections Past and Forthcoming: Integrity Issues and the IEBC

7th May 2025

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Introductory Comments

Introductory Comments

- This Release reports the first of two sets of results obtained from TIFA's first national survey on public issues in 2025. It focuses on elections. Specifically, it reports Kenyans' views about the integrity of past elections as well as their expectations for the next ones in two years' time, while going beyond such findings to investigate the correlations between the two. In particular, a key question that is explored is: how do views about the integrity of past presidential elections affect expectations about the integrity of the next one?

- Such perceptions are supplemented with data regarding awareness of the (now, nearly-completed) selection process of a new IEBC Chairperson and Commissioners, critical positions that have been empty for the last two years, as well as Kenyans' preferences for the position of the former in particular. Specifically, for each of the four 'finalists', the qualities upon which respondents decided to support them are also reported. (Note: Two of these four names have just been sent to the President for his nomination of his choice to the National Assembly within seven days for the required vetting and approval process, after which – assuming such approval is given – he is required to make the formal appointment within another seven days.)

- Overall, these results constitute a 'bench-mark' in terms of the public's views about the next election. As such, they can be matched against results obtained in future surveys as the electoral calendar progresses, especially since within a matter of weeks there will (at long last) be a fully-constituted IEBC Commission in place to begin undertaking the voluminous and daunting tasks that such a democratic exercise requires.

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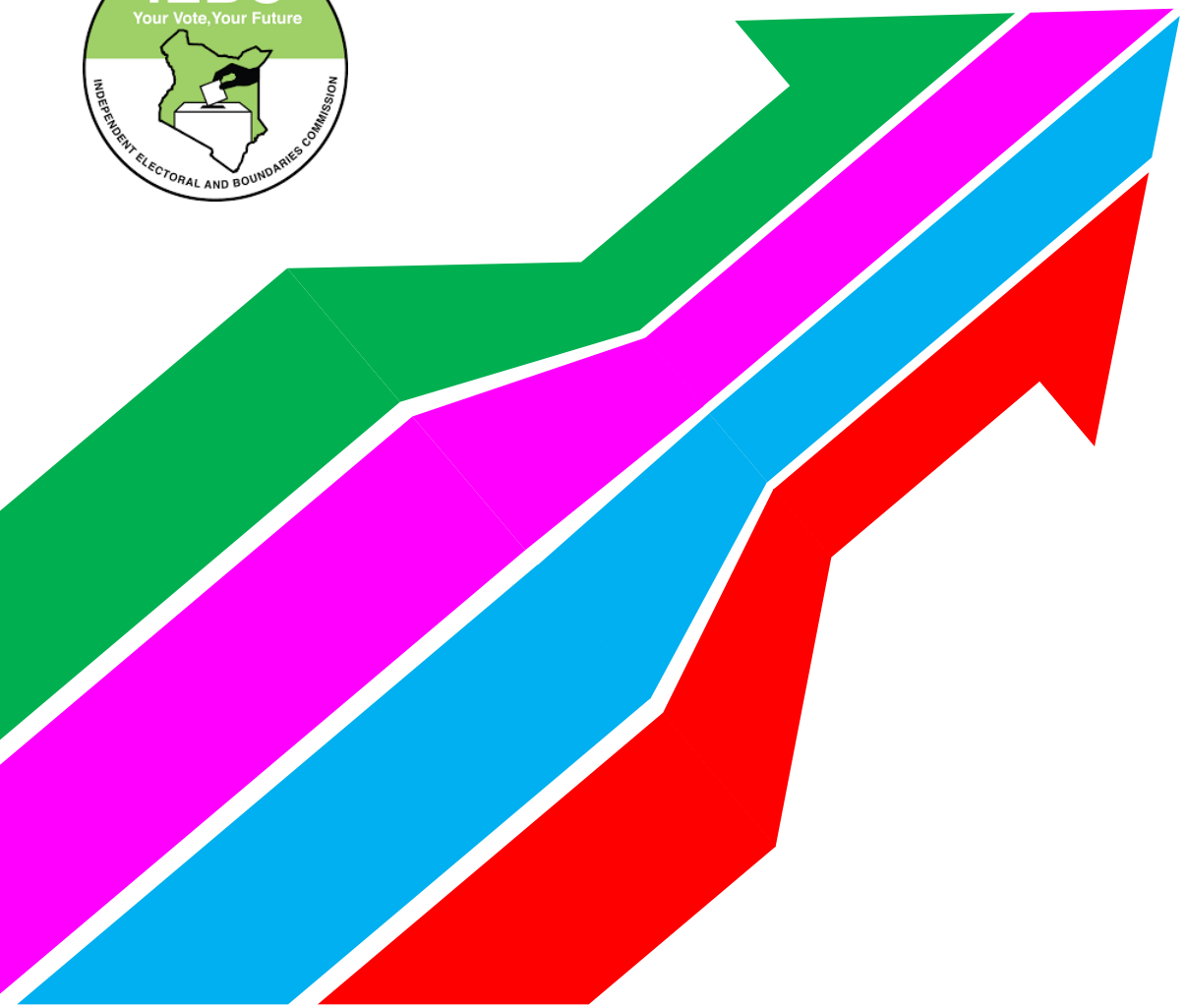
Summary Findings

Summary Findings



Integrity of the Past Three Elections

31% All elections were valid
37% 1-2 elections were valid
32% None of the elections were valid

Confidence the next elections will be free & fair

20% Very Confident
21% Somewhat Confident
50% Not confident At All
9% Not sure

Reasons why the next elections will not be free and fair

20% Political Interference
29% Corruption & voter bribery
23% Lack trust in the IEBC

Ruto-Raila Cooperation – likelihood that IEBC will do a fair job

30% Somewhat Likely/More Likely
45% Somewhat/Much less likely
26% No difference/not sure

Summary Findings

Preferred IEBC Chairperson

Anne Amadi

41%

Charles Nyachae

23%

Erastus Ethekon

15%

Abdulqadir Ramadhan

12%

Level of confidence in the vetting process of IEBC Chairman & Commissioners

55% Not Confident
39% Very + Somewhat Confident
6%: Not sure/note enough information to rate

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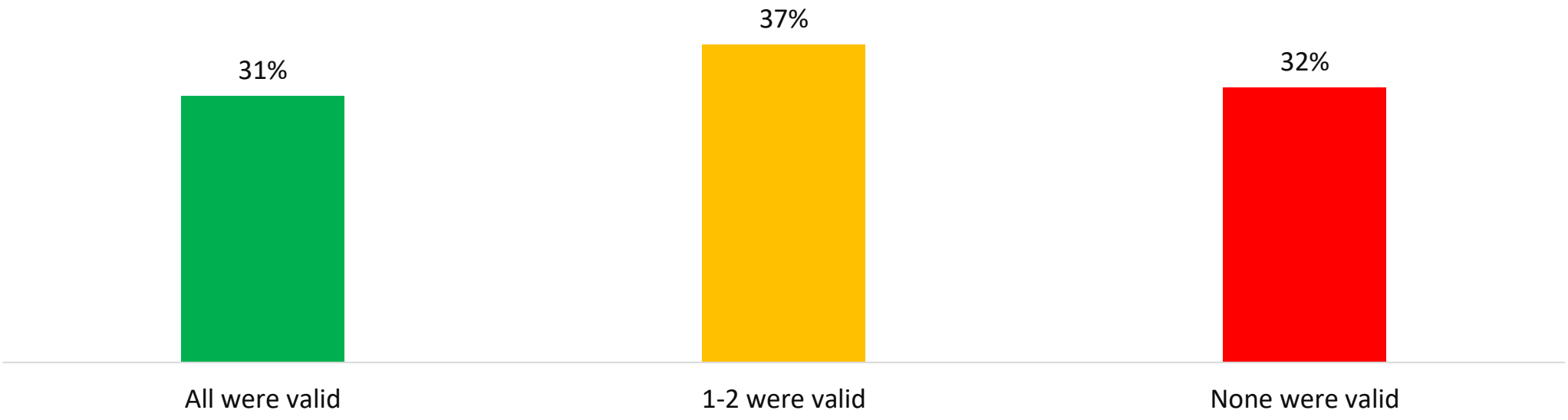
Detailed Findings

Perceived Integrity of Past Three Presidential Elections

- Kenyans are nearly evenly split between those who think the winner of the last three presidential elections actually received the most votes, those who think that the official winner never got the most votes (and more than 50%) in those elections, and those who think one or two of those election results were valid and the others were not. Altogether, two-thirds of Kenyans (69%) lack complete confidence in the integrity of Kenya's recent presidential contests.

Perceived Integrity of Past 3 Presidential Elections

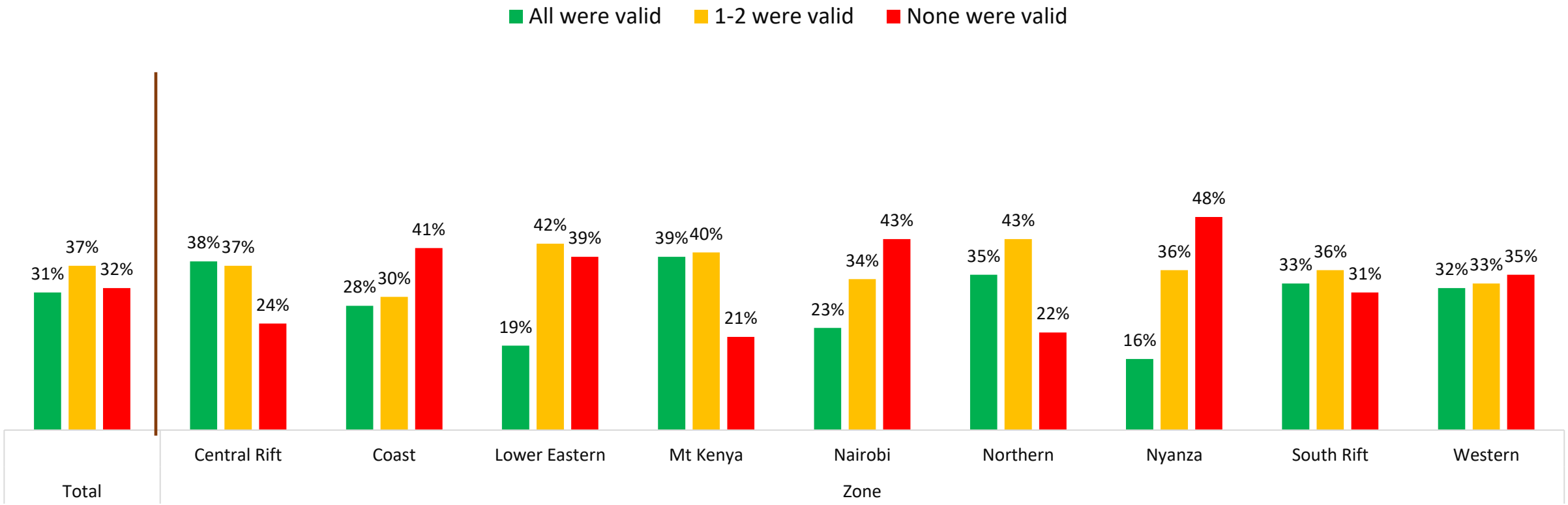


Q: "Thinking about the last three general elections in Kenya, do you believe the real winner in the presidential contest was announced in each of the following years?"

Base = All respondents

Perceived Integrity of Past Three Presidential Elections
By total & zones

Confidence is relatively higher in Central Rift (38%) and Mt. Kenya (39%), where more respondents say all elections were valid. However, skepticism is highest in Nyanza, where 48% believe none of the elections were valid, and only 16% believe all were valid. Lower Eastern and Nairobi also show substantial doubts, with 41–43% believing none or only 1–2 elections were valid.

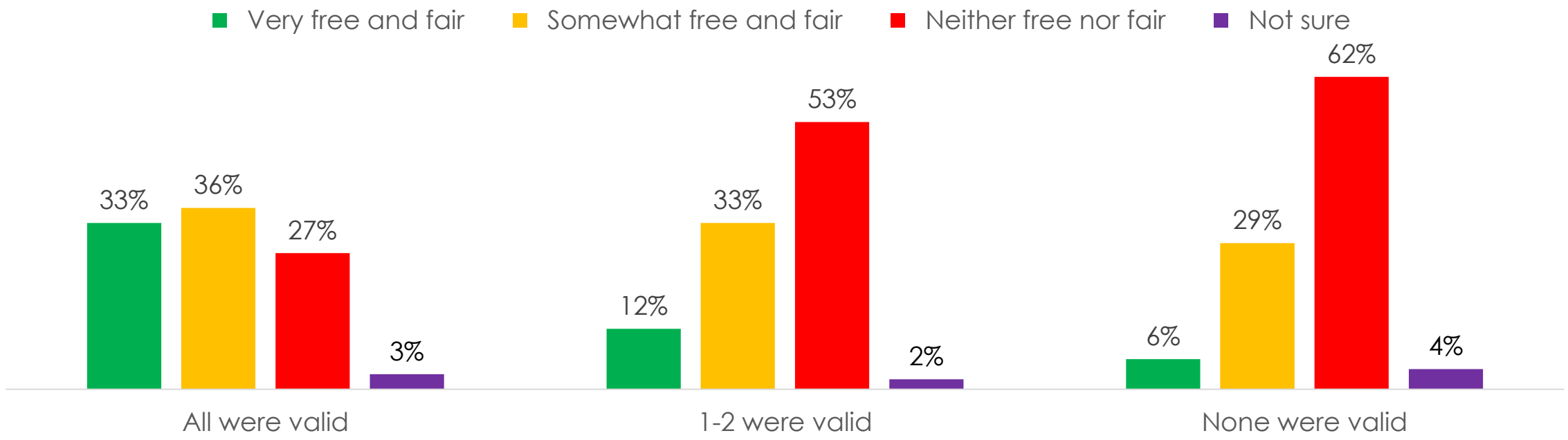


Q: "Thinking about the last three general elections in Kenya, do you believe the real winner in the presidential contest was announced in each of the following years?"

Base = All respondents

Perception of the Validity of the Last Three Presidential Elections
by perceived level of integrity in Kenyan elections generally

- In comparing views about the integrity of Kenyan elections in general with the perceived integrity of the last three presidential contests, there is a clear and consistent correlation in that those having a positive view about the former are decidedly more likely to express doubt about the latter. Specifically, while one-third of those who consider elections free and fair support the view that all of the official results of last three presidential contests were valid, very few of these respondents (6%) agree that none were valid. Conversely, Whereas only about a quarter (27%) of those who believe that Kenyan elections are neither free nor fair accept that the last three presidential election results were correct, compared to nearly two-thirds (62%) who believe that none of them were.,



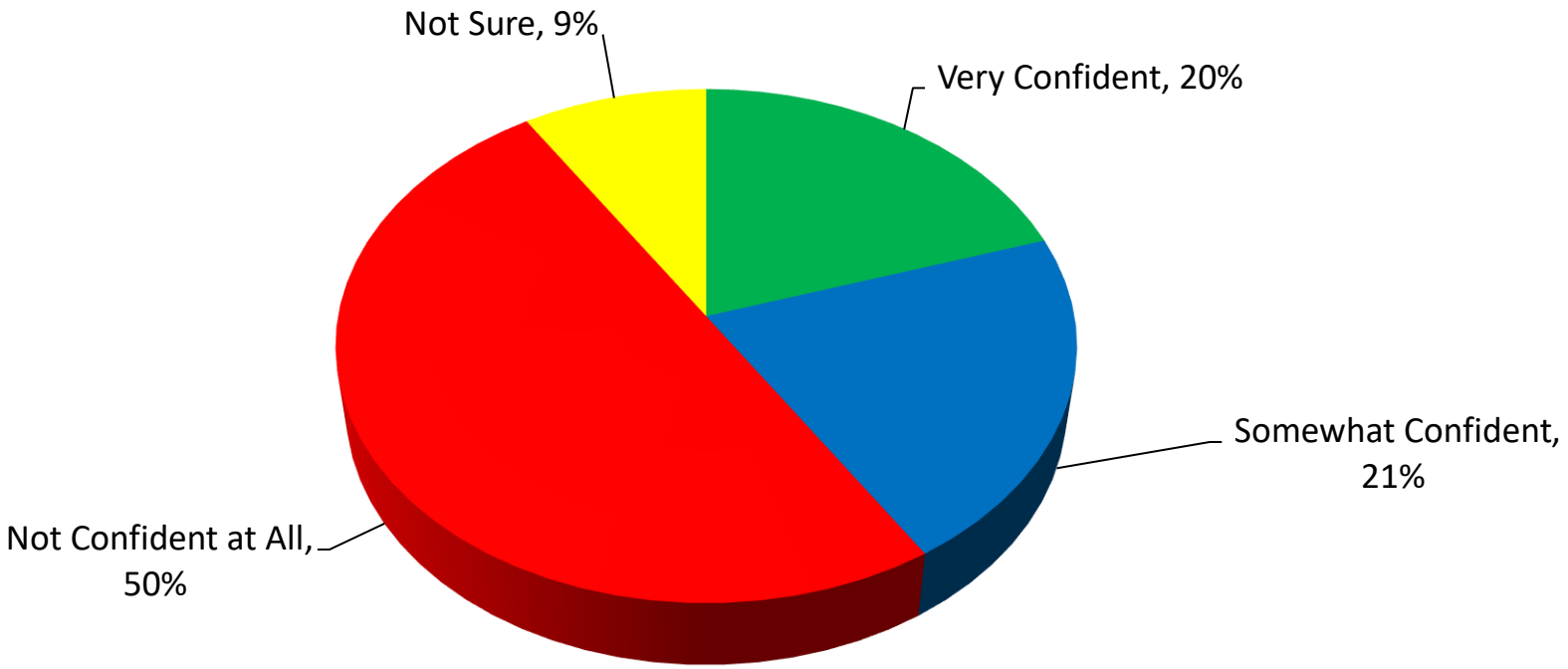
Base = (All respondents)

***Q:* "Generally, how free and fair do you believe elections in Kenya are?"**

Q: "Thinking about the last three general elections in Kenya, do you believe the real winner in the presidential contest was announced in each of the following years?"

Expected Level of Integrity in the Next Elections

By total



- As of now, the issue of the perceived integrity of the country's electoral processes remains a challenge, with half of all Kenyans (50%) expressing a complete lack of confidence in the integrity of the 2027 contests. By contrast, only one-fifth (20%) express complete confidence in their integrity, while a similar proportion (21%) are "somewhat confident" about them.

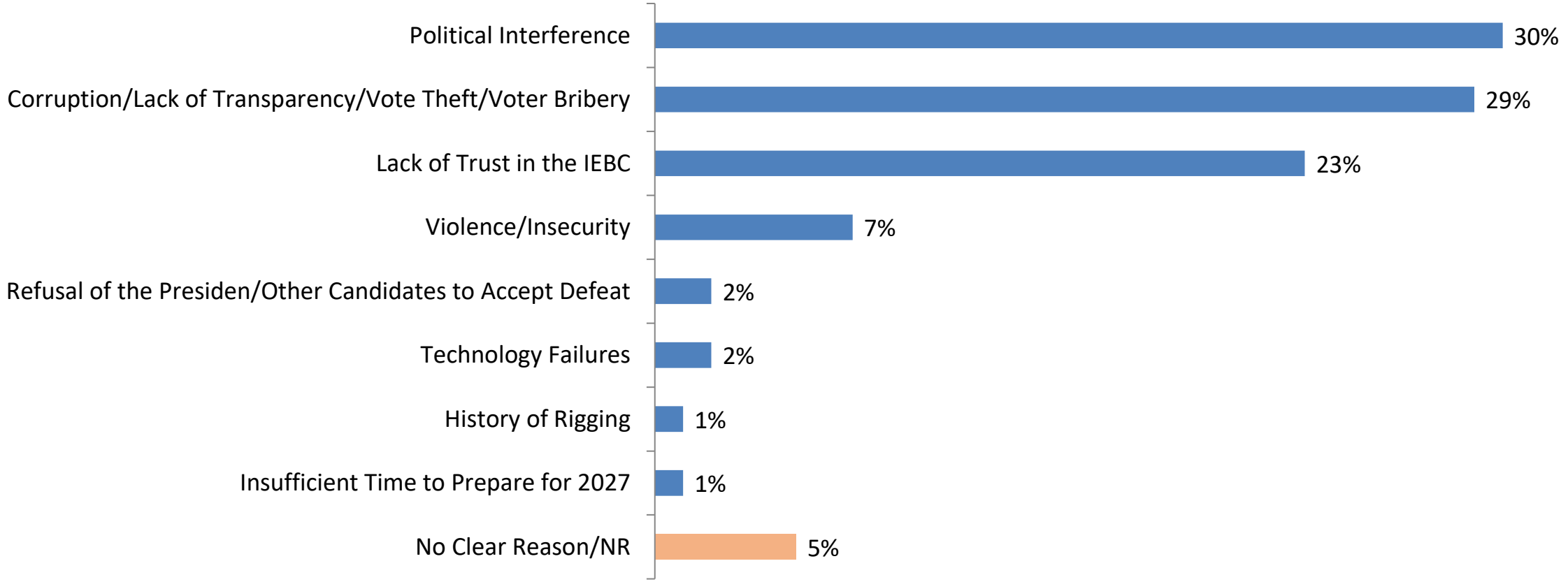
Q: "As of now, how confident are you that the next general elections in 2027 will be free and fair?" *SINGLE RESPONSE – READ OUT*

Base = All respondents

Main Concern About the Next Election

By those who have "no confidence at all" in the integrity of the next elections.

- Among the 50% of Kenyans who have no confidence in the next election's integrity, the most commonly expressed concerns are about political interference, corruption, and failures of the IEBC (30%, 29% and 23%, respectively), but it is clear that these three categories are somewhat overlapping as they all related to the integrity of the official results.

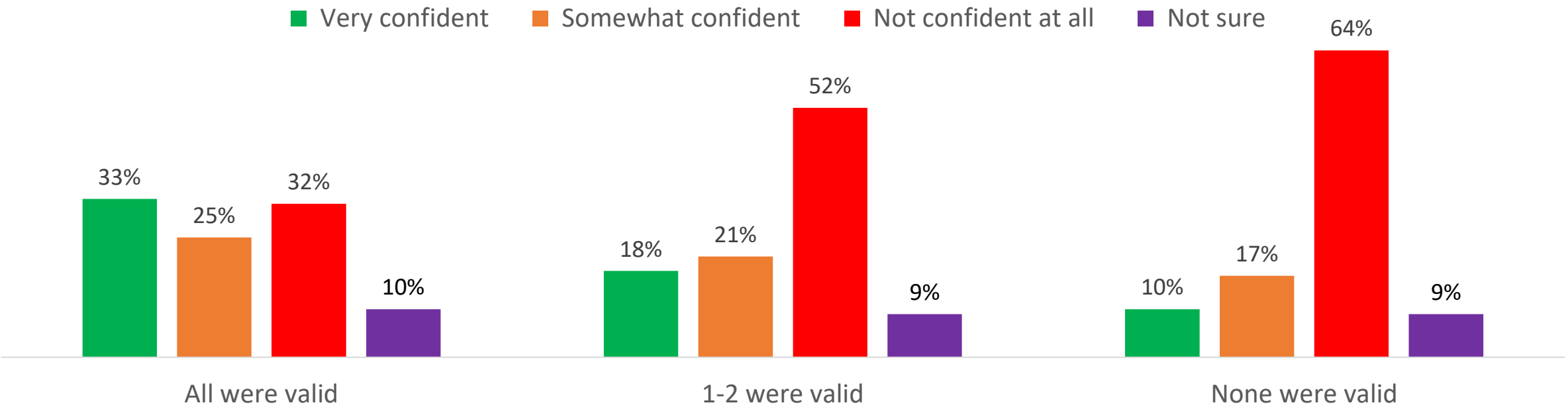


Q: "What is your main concern regarding the next general elections?" *SINGLE RESPONSE – DO NOT READ*

Base = All respondents

Level of Confidence That the Next Elections Will Be Free and Fair
by perceived integrity of the last three presidential elections

- Looking forward to the next elections in 2027, there is a clear correlation between expectations of its integrity and views about the validity of the last three official presidential election results. Specifically, more than three times as many of those who expect the next elections to be free and fair believe all of the last three presidential elections produced valid results as those who believe that none of them did so (33% vs. 10%). Conversely, twice as many of those who have no such confidence about the next elections believe that none of the last three official presidential results were true compared to those who believe that they all were valid (64% vs. 32%).



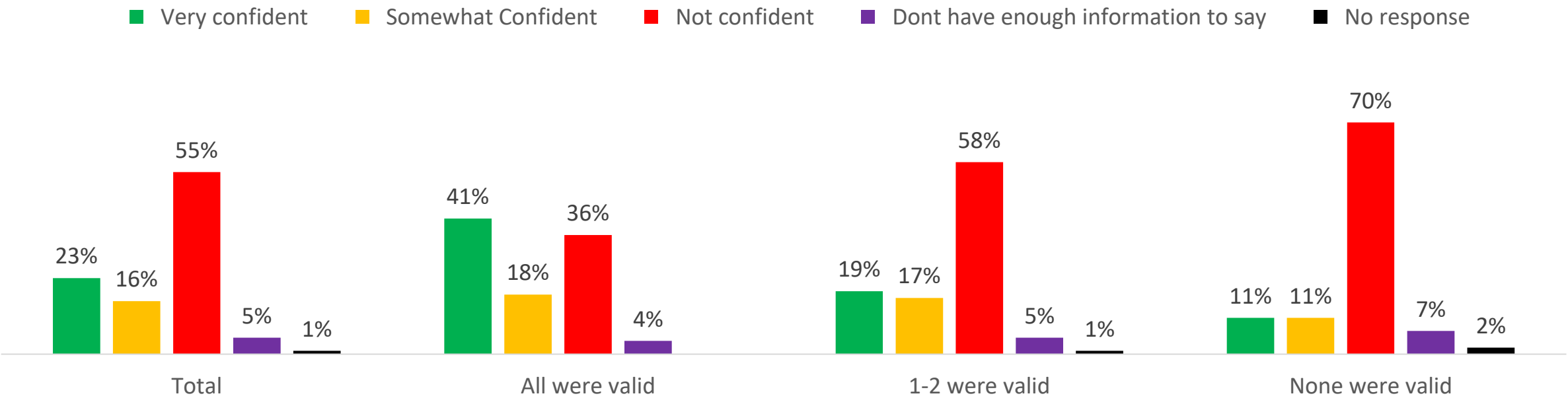
Q: "As of now, how confident are you that the next general elections in 2027 will be free and fair?"

Q: "Thinking about the last three general elections in Kenya, do you believe the real winner in the presidential contest was announced in each of the following years?"

Base = All respondents

Level of Confidence in the IEBC Commission Vetting Process
by the perceived integrity of the last three presidential elections

- Overall, a majority (55%) of Kenyans are not confident that the vetting has been merit-based, revealing a serious legitimacy deficit for the Commission and the appointing authorities.
- The data clearly shows that public confidence in the IEBC vetting process is strongly influenced by how individuals perceive the credibility of past elections. Those who believe previous elections were fair tend to trust the current process, while those who view past elections as flawed express deep skepticism.

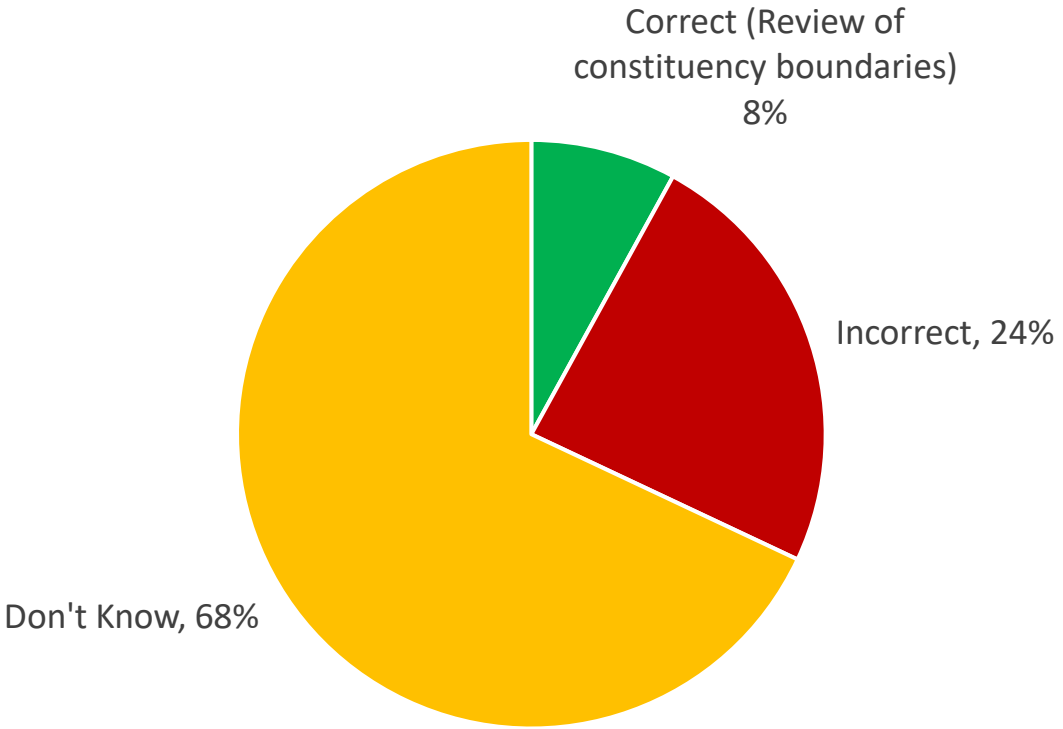


Q:"How much confidence do you have that those people whose names this panel will forward to the president for appointment will be based on merit, that is, on their qualifications, rather than on tribe, political leaning or even bribery ?"

Awareness of Key Aspect of Election Preparation-Failure by the IEBC *by total*

- Two-thirds of Kenyans were unable to identify the main (and perhaps only) constitutional deadline in terms of preparation for the next election (due to the vacancies in the IEBC: the review of constituency deadlines. This process should have been completed February, 2024.

Awareness That the IEBC Has Already Missed a Constitutional Calendar-Deadline



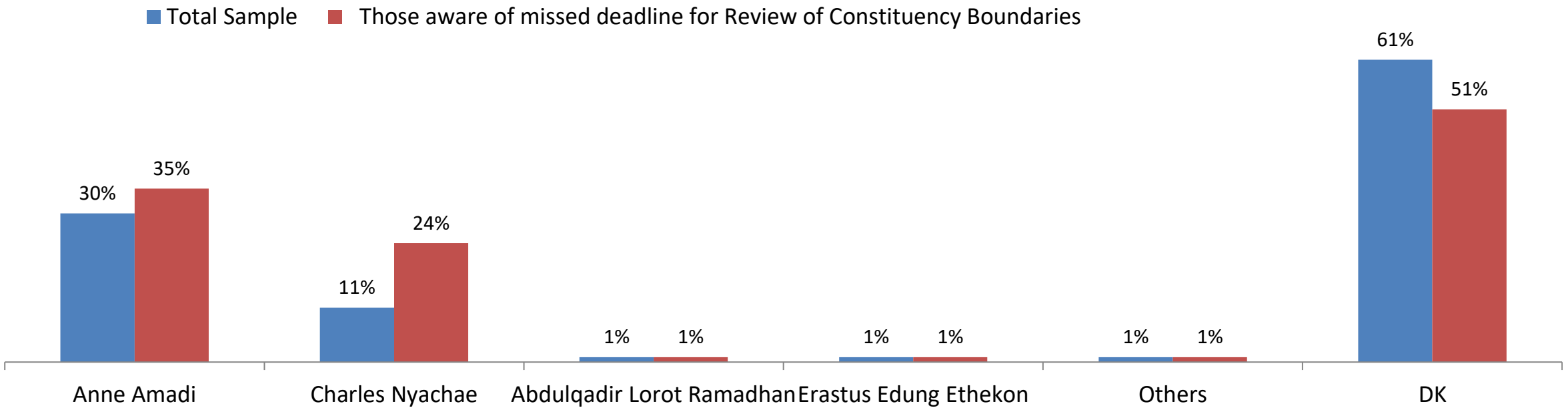
Q: "If you know, what constitutional calendar-deadline has already been missed by the IEBC in terms of preparation for the 2027 general elections?"

Base = All respondents

Awareness (Unprompted) of the Four Short-Listed Candidates for IEBC Chair

By Total, Those Who Know of the Missed IBEC Responsibility-Deadline

- Among all Kenyans, more were aware of the candidacy of Anne Amadi for IEBC Chair (30%), followed by Charles Nyachae (11%), with almost none able to name the other two candidates. A clear majority (61%) could not name any. However, among those who could identify the responsibility-deadline the IEBC has already missed (i.e., reviewing constituency boundaries), awareness of at least the two most-recognized candidates (i.e., Amadi and Nyachae) was somewhat greater.



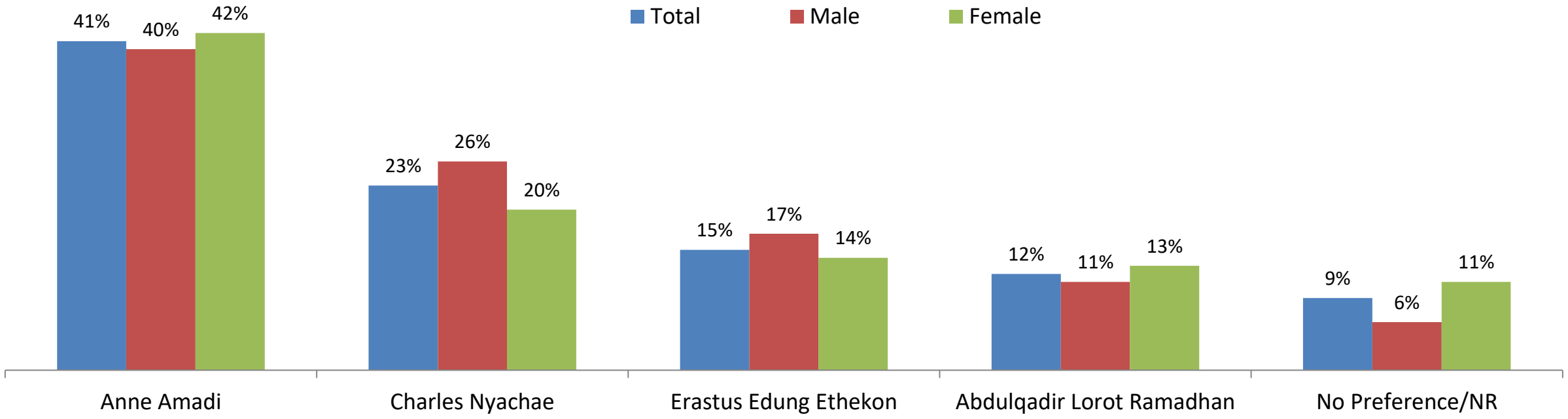
Q:" If you know, Which individuals have been shortlisted for the position of IEBC Chairperson?"

Base = All respondents

Preferred Next IEBC Chair

By Total (After all names were read out)

- Among all Kenyans, after being given the names of the four final candidates for the position of IEBC Chair, Anne Amadi emerged as the most popular, with nearly twice as many naming her as the next most popular candidate, Charles Nyachae (41% vs. 23%). Surprisingly, perhaps, her popularity among females is only slightly higher than among males (42% vs. 40%), though Nyachae's popularity is somewhat higher among males than females (26% vs. 20%).



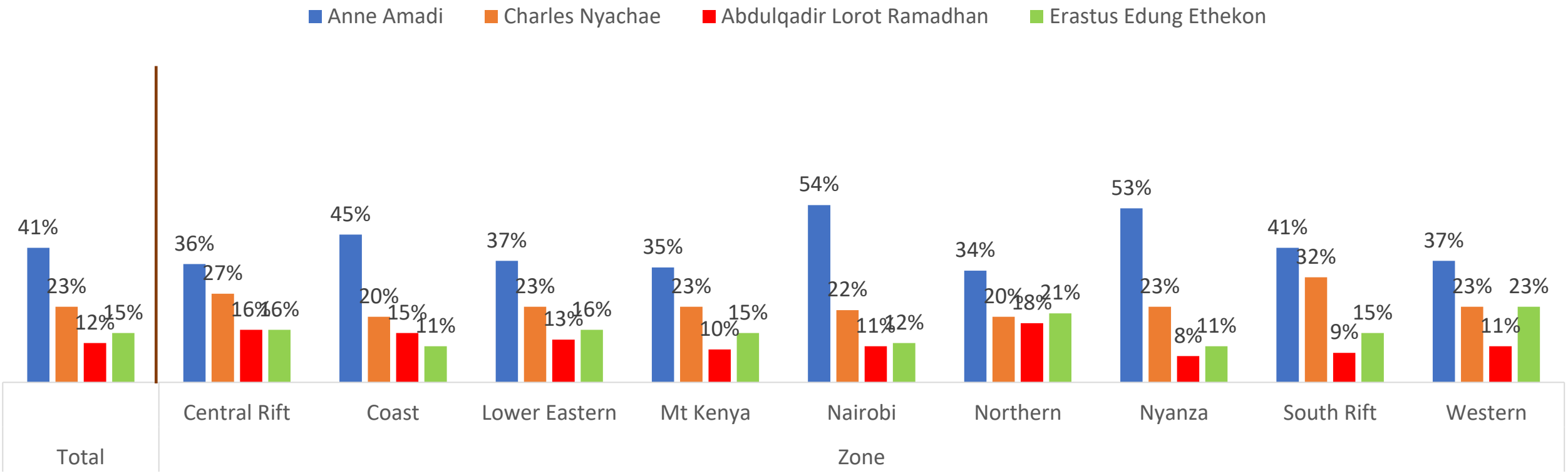
Q: "Of these four people, which one do you prefer to be appointed as the IEBC Chairperson?" *SINGLE RESPONSE – READ OUT*

Base = All respondents

Preferred Next IEBC Chair

By Total and Zone (After all names were read out)

- In terms of their geographical distribution of support, Anne Amadi stands out as the most popular across all nine of the country's zones, with her rating in Nairobi and Nyanza (her home region) being the highest.
- Ramadhan and Ethekon may have influence in specific zones but lack national appeal.
- The low undecided rate suggests that public opinion is well-formed regarding preferred candidates.

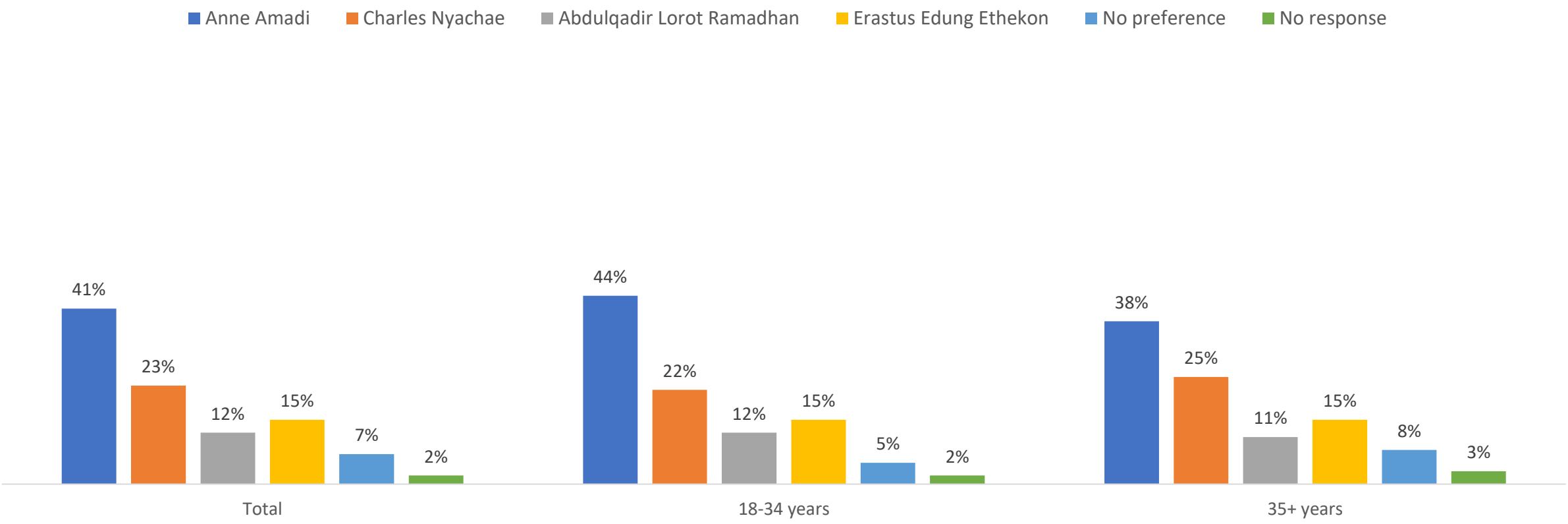


Q: "Of these four people, which one do you prefer to be appointed as the IEBC Chairperson?" *SINGLE RESPONSE – READ OUT*

Preferred Next IEBC Chair

By Total and Age (After all names were read out)

- Younger respondents aged 18 to 34 are more inclined to support Anne Amadi, while older respondents aged 35 and above show a slightly stronger preference for Charles Nyachae.



Q: "Of these four people, which one do you prefer to be appointed as the IEBC Chairperson?" SINGLE RESPONSE – READ OUT

Reasons for IEBC Preferred Chair

- Asked for the "main reason" why they preferred one of these candidates for IEBC Chairperson over the other three, a variety of reasons were given, with each of them scoring highest on one criterion over the other. For example, while Ramadhan's supporters gave him a higher rating for his perceived independence/absence of bias (40%), Nyachae got highest marks for his experience (56%). For her part, Amadi was the only one of the four who gained the most credit for two criteria: gender preference (for a woman), and her community-regional origins 21% and 7%, respectively). For his part, Ehekon's backers identified his identity as representing new leadership and thus change slightly higher than anyone else (18%).

	Total		Abdulqadir Lorot Ramadhan	Anne Amadi	Charles Nyachae	Erastus Edung Ethekon
Qualifications/Experience/Performance record	36%		40%	25%	56%	32%
Independent/fair/impartial /Religious commitment to integrity/lack of ethnic bias	24%		40%	18%	24%	30%
Represents change/new leadership	12%		4%	16%	4%	18%
Preference for woman	9%		0%	21%	0%	0%
From my community/region	5%		4%	7%	3%	3%

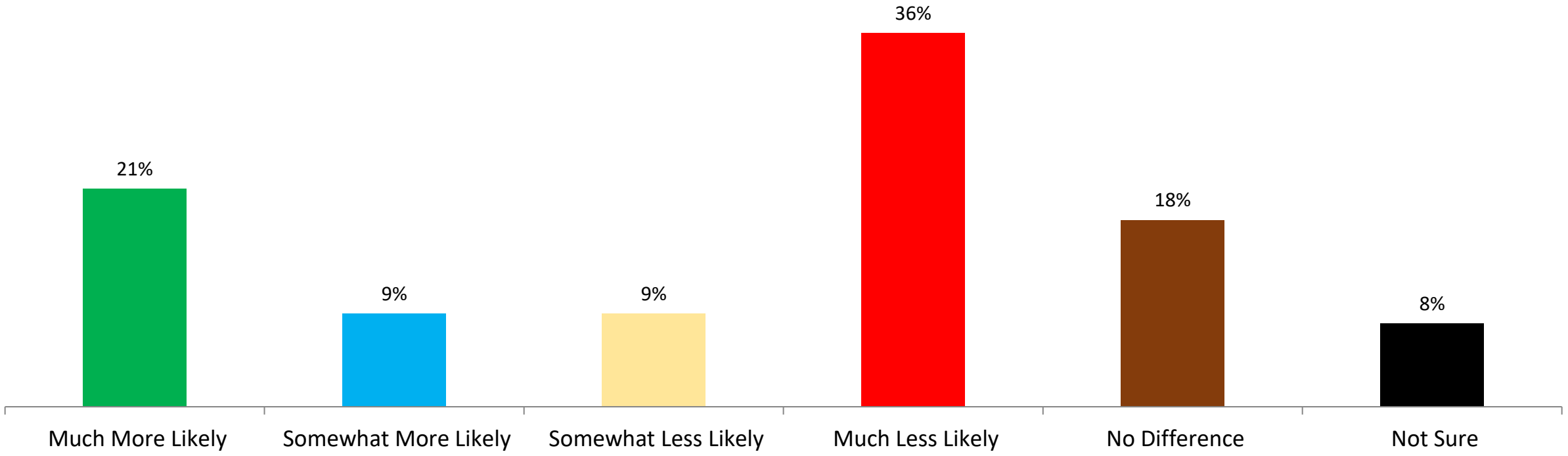
*Q: **"What is the main reason why you prefer"** SINGLE RESPONSE*

Base = 1,847 (those preferred IEBC Chair)

Perceived Impact of the Current Ruto-Raila Cooperation On the Likelihood of the IEBC To Do a Fair Job

By total

- Opinion among Kenyans is quite divided as to the perceived impact of the 'broad-based' cooperation arrangement between President Ruto and ODM leader Raila Odinga on the capacity of the IEBC to oversee the next elections in a manner that meets approval across the political spectrum. While a plurality believes this to be much less likely (36%), a substantial proportion expect this cooperation to have a positive impact, making such an outcome either "much more" or "somewhat more likely" (30%).



Q: "Do you think the cooperation between President Ruto and Raila Odinga makes it more or less likely that the new IEBC will do a fair job? Do you think this will be…?"
" SINGLE RESPONSE – READ OUT

Base = All respondents

4

Concluding Comments

Concluding Comments

- As of today, the (perceived if not actual) legacy-deficit in Kenya's elections looms large over the forthcoming 2027 contests. This reality is evident in many of the results presented in this 1st Release of TIFA's May, 2025 survey. Specifically, by correlating perceptions of the integrity of the last three presidential contests (in terms of whether the declared winner actually won the most votes, and that the total was more than the 50% required by the Constitution in order to avoid a second round, run-off, contest). It is clear that future expectations of election integrity are strongly influenced by such views of the previous ones.
- Further, the survey reveals a low level of (spontaneous) knowledge of the four finalists in the process for the selection of a new IBEC Chairperson. This widespread lack of attention to this critical selection process suggests both the civic education-deficit regarding the IEBC's critical pre-election responsibilities (also seen in the fact that very few could mention one critical calendar-deadline that has already been missed: the review of constituency boundaries), and the apparent declining faith in election integrity itself, so that who occupies the most sensitive positions within this body is of only modest importance. These findings thus indicate the daunting challenge that the soon-to-be-installed new IEBC team have to both undertake its responsibilities and renew public faith in the many aspects of the electoral process that constitute its mandate.
- This is so even if the data also show that certain critical aspects of the electoral process that affect the public's perception of its integrity fall outside the IEBC's mandate, such as party nominations, campaign practices including levels and sources of finance, security throughout the electoral calendar, and voter-suppression (through various means).

Concluding Comments (con't)

- The country's continuously evolving pollical landscape – including recent tensions within the so-called Broad-Based government (i.e., the position of ODM and its leader, Raila Odinga) – as well as President Ruto's determination to 'follow-the-footsteps' of his two predecessors since the promulgation of the 2010 Constitution and obtain a second term in 'the House on the Hill' – should encourage TIFA to include such highly relevant topics in future surveys.

- **Final Note: The media and others who intend to utilize these survey results are encouraged to contact TIFA for any further elaboration/explanation by contacting either of those identified in the final slide of this Presentation.**

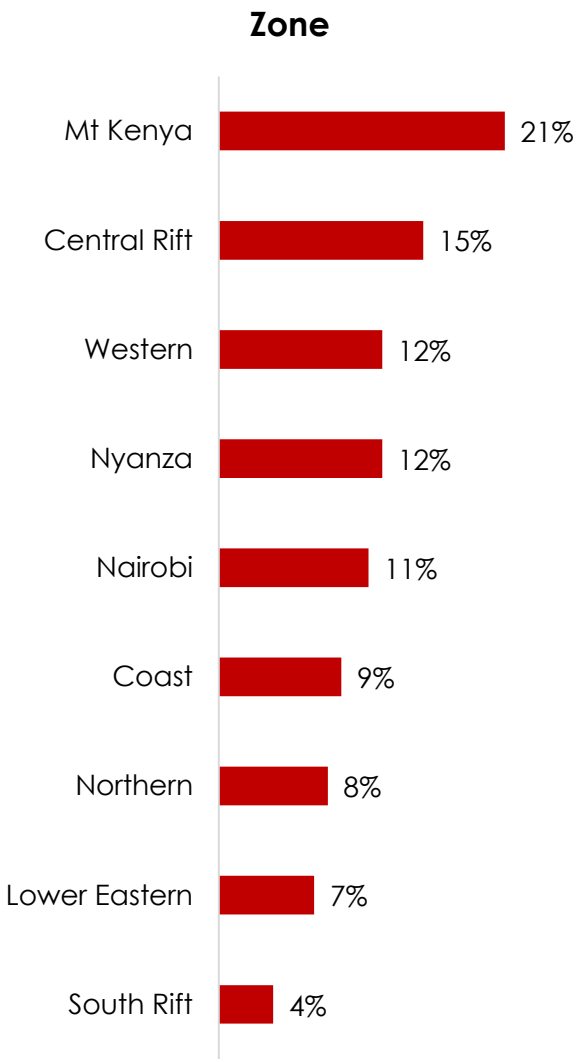
5

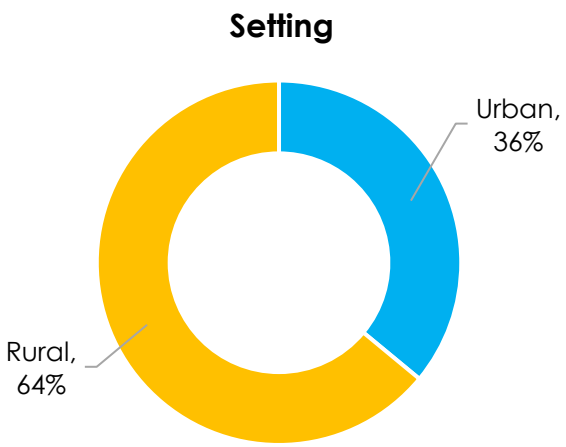
Methodology & Demographics

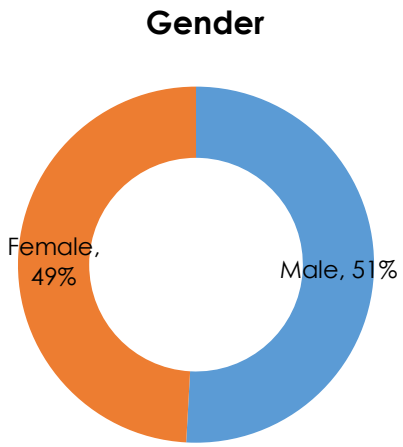
Methodology Overview

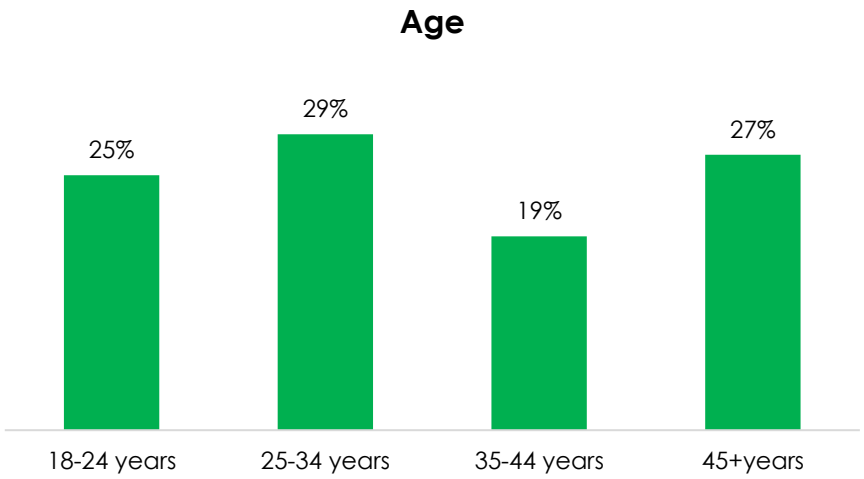
Fieldwork Dates	2nd to 6th May 2025
Geographical	**Nationally Representative Sample (spread across 9 Zones ;** • Central Rift, Coast, Lower Eastern, Mt Kenya, Nairobi, Northern, Nyanza, South Rift, Western
Data collection	▪ Telephonic Interviews conducted (with respondents whose contacts were collected through face-to-face (i.e., household-based interviews) ▪ The interviews conducted in Kiswahili (mainly) and English.
Sample	2,024 respondents
Margin of error	+/- 2.17 % (Note: Larger error-margins for sub-samples)
Funding	TIFA Research

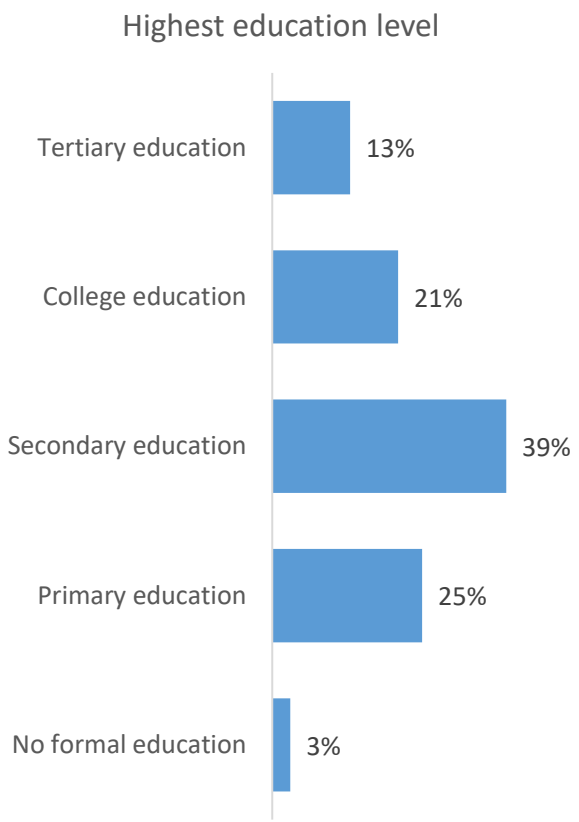
Demographics:
Region, Gender, Age, Religion, Setting & Marital Status











Base=2,024

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

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