



End of 2023: President Ruto's Government Performance

Cabinet Secretaries, Economy, and Political Issues

Omnibus Survey | 13th December 2023

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Section One: Introductory Comments



- ❑ This Release reports results from a CATI (mobile phone) survey conducted between 25 November and 7 December. It engaged 3,009 respondents who constitute a representative sample of Kenya's adult population (i.e., above 17 years of age). In order to track the conditions Kenyans have experienced over time and their opinions about certain issues, some questions included in previous surveys were repeated on this occasion, while others relating to the specifics of the current situation were asked for the first time
- ❑ In presenting the findings, where relevant, responses are shown for all respondents ("Total") and for declared supporters of the various political parties, subsequently aggregated into "Pro-Government" (i.e., Kenya Kwanza) and "Pro-Opposition" (Azimio) as well as (in some instances) for those respondents who do not support/identify with either coalition. This is done to demonstrate the degree to which such supporters agree/disagree on the issues considered.
- ❑ While the results presented are accurate (within the stated margins-of-error), It is important to note that during the period of data collection and thereafter (prior to this Release) a considerable number of major events have occurred that could have affected the views of those interviewed had they occurred earlier, and had respondents been aware of them. These include but are not limited to the following (listed by month but not necessarily in the sequence shown):

Late November 2023

- The Opposition leadership issues claims that the June government-to-government oil deal was riddled with corruption.
- Kenya National Examinations Council admits many errors in the KCPE results transmitted by SMS and that had caused anxiety/confusion among teachers, parents and students, but claims the results found on the Council's portal are correct.
- The Communications Authority of Kenya announces a decrease in the tax rate on mobile phone calls of 30 percent from March next year.
- Government Print publishes Gazette notice of the Social Health Insurance Act the provides for a new Social Health Authority to replace the National Health Insurance Fund, but some experts and leaders raise objections/questions on several grounds, including: (1) it will impose an additional tax burden on Kenyans, (2) it fails to address serious medical staff shortages; (3) it represents an encroachment on county authorities since health is a devolved function.
- The Union of Kenya Civil Servants General-Secretary, Tom Odege, announces forthcoming "industrial action" against the Ruto government, given the "overwhelming burden of taxation" facing his members, with some 60 percent of their earnings going to the KRA. This is despite an increase in their pay of 7-10 percent announced in August by the Salaries and Remuneration Commission, but which Odege claimed has been 'swallowed' by inflation/the high cost of living as well as taxation.





- The Judiciary issues several rulings that do or may bloc the implementation of three major legislative initiatives of the Ruto/Kenya Kwanza government. First, the High Court declared the new Social Health Insurance Fund Act unconstitutional for its locking-out of access to such services of those who do not pay into the Fund. Second, the same Court stopped the privatization of Mombasa and Lamu ports in response to a petition from citizens who claim it is a ploy to allow their acquisition by “desired interests” while undermining the role of the Kenya Ports Authority. Third, another Court declared the Housing Levy contained in the Finance Act of 2023 unconstitutional on the grounds that is it discriminatory, but left it in place while giving the government until January 10 to lodge an appeal. In response, the President declared that any legal of constitutional shortfalls in these pieces of legislation/proposals shall be “rectified” through amendments to be drafted and taken to parliament, or addressed directly through judicial appeal.
- The DCI announces that it intends to question two CSs “and a powerful parastatal boss” in connection with the importation of duty-free cooking oil that was intended to help reduce the cost-of-living. It had earlier grilled officials of KNTC that arranged for the importation, even as the KBS had determined the cooking oil did not meet Kenyan standards.
- MPs demand Treasury disbursement of Shs. 53b/- for CDF, failing which they will refuse to go on recess.
- President Ruto applauded for calling for a global carbon tax at the COP28 climate summit in Dubai, but that many predict would lead to higher fuel costs.

Early December

- The Federation of the Evangelical and Indigenous Christian Churches of Kenya criticizes the government in general and the National Dialogue Committee for failing to address the high cost of living adequately.
- EACC announces it has asked the Director of Criminal Prosecutions to charge key officials in the Uhuru Kenyatta administration involved in the alleged corruption-related purchase agreement with a foreign firm of a 60 per cent buy-back stake in Telkom Kenya effected just before it left office in 2022.
- The Government announced more than 160 people have died as a result of the ongoing El Nino rains, with at least 87,000 displaced.
- Central Bank of Kenya announces imminent increase in lending rate that will increase loan charges throughout the economy, furthering inflationary pressure.
- Senate Minority Leader Steward Madzayo introduces bill to scrap the Shs. 50/- E-Citizen transaction fee received by a private company claiming it is an illegal tax.
- Controller of Budget Margaret Nyakong'o announces that the recurrent expenditure of counties (beginning with salaries) is nearly equal to the amount spent on development – with 11 counties spending less than 20 per cent of their budgets on the latter.



Early December (con't)

- The Controller of Budget Margaret Nyakang'o is arrested and charged along with ten others for financial crimes allegedly committed in 2016 (long before appointment to her current position), amid claims by the Opposition that she was being targeted in response to her identifying various expenditure excesses by government.
- Many MPs stage a walk-out of parliament chambers in protest at the Government's delay in releasing CDF funds, threatening not to go on recess until this is done.
- Alteration of government anti-corruption bill by the National Assembly's Justice and Legal Affairs Committee so that public servants would continue to be allowed to 'do business' with the government and that the power of the Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission's power to investigate such conflict-of-interest would be reduced.
- A major split emerges within the leadership of Kenya Kwanza and Azimio as to whether some of the proposals contained in the National Dialogue Committee's report – especially those related to the creation of new constitutional positions – would require a constitutional referendum, with leaders of the latter asserting that they would. At the same time, Azimio leaders criticize the report for failing to address the cost-of-living issue adequately.
- A new bill by MPs proposes to strip the SRC of setting/reviewing their salaries and transferring this authority to the Parliamentary Service Commission.the



Early December (con't)

- While Controller of Budget Margaret Nyakong'I and Central Bank Governor Njuguna Ndung'u decry the poor/weak state of Government finances (citing various unpaid statutory deductions mounting, among other ills, including a decreasing proportion of development expenditure), both the President and his Deputy assert that the economy is "on the mend" with better times ahead for all Kenyans.
- The High Court blocs the roll-out of the Government's new 'Maisha Namba' national identity card system, claiming the proposed system lacks sufficient data protection and that the process establishing it failed to meet the public participation requirements of the Constitution.
- The EACC recommends to the Director of Public Prosecution that several senior officials of the previous government, including the former Treasury Secretary Ukur Yatani, be charged with illegally buying back the Government's shares-stake in Telkom just before the transfer of power last year.
- Disagreements emerge between Azimio leaders regarding the National Dialogue Committee report, with Uhuru Kenyatta, Martha Karua, Eugene Wamalwa and Jeremiah Kioni taking a much harsher position than Raila Odinga and Kalonzo Musyoka. The former argue that it would be "an insult to Kenyans" to take its provisions to Kenyans in a referendum absent any measures that would reduce the cost of living.



❑ Early December (con't)

- The Government introduces the National Government Administration (Amendment) Bill that would allow the President to appoint Cabinet Assistant Secretaries, positions which the High Court had declared unconstitutional because they were not anchored in law. While Ruto had appointed 50 such CASs, the Bill puts no limit on the allowed number. According to estimates, the yearly cost to the taxpayer for each CAS would exceed Shs. 500m/-.
- Most Kenyans experience a third widespread electricity-power blackout within three months with Davis Chirchir, CS for Energy, advising Kenyans to be prepared for power-rationing moving forward until the country's power-capacity can be expanded.



- ❑ To repeat: Since respondents were not asked any questions about these developments, it is impossible to know which/how many of them were aware of even those that had occurred before they were interviewed. At the same time, such a rapid unfolding of high-profile public events underscores the importance of conducting such surveys as often as possible.

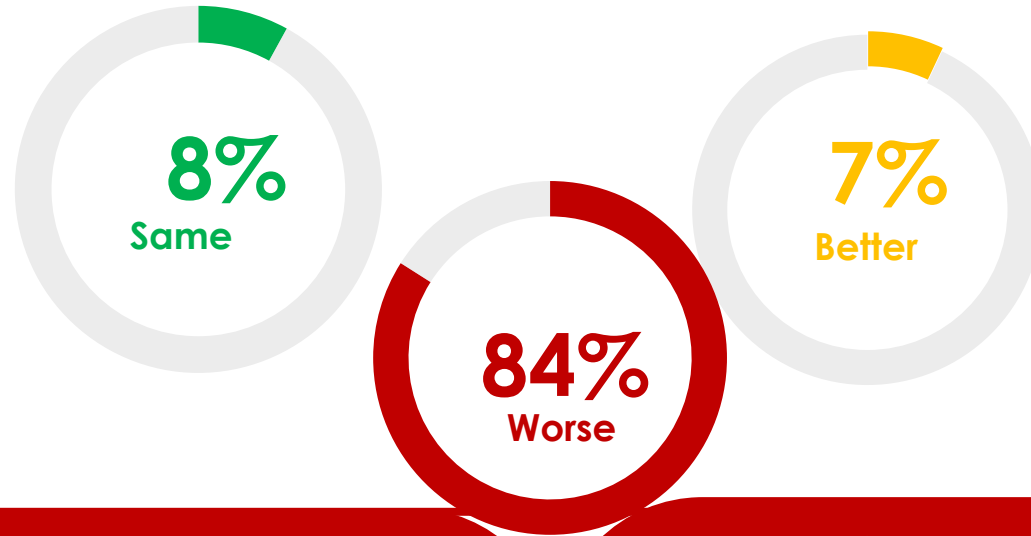


Section Two: Summary Findings

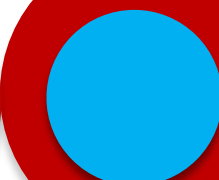
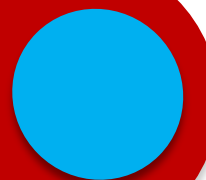
Perceptions Towards Current Economic Conditions



Current economic conditions now vis a vis one year ago



87%
of Kenyans have reduced personal expenditure
due to the cost of living



Main Categories of Reduced Expenditure Due to High Cost of Living

- 15% Transport
- 9% Clothing
- 8% Entertainment

Base=all respondents

Among the 87%+ Who Say They Have Had to Reduce Any Expenditure

President Ruto's Government Performance



3 Point Scale: "1" = "Very Bad", "3" = "Very Good"



Top Scores	
<input type="checkbox"/> Protecting forests	2.3
<input type="checkbox"/> Supporting agriculture	2.3
<input type="checkbox"/> Combatting pollution and contamination	2.2
<input type="checkbox"/> Encouraging tourists and investment in tourism	2.1

Bottom scores	
<input type="checkbox"/> Reducing the debt/donor financial dependence	1.8
<input type="checkbox"/> Reducing corruption	1.6
<input type="checkbox"/> Creating jobs	1.6
<input type="checkbox"/> Reducing the cost of living	1.4



Cabinet Secretary Ratings

Top 5 CS' and sub-attribute ratings

65%

Kithure Kindiki
Ministry of Interior and National Administration

62%

Musalia Mudavadi
Prime CS & Minister Foreign & Diaspora Affairs

58%

Ezekiel Machogu
Ministry of Education

57%

Susan Nakhumicha
Ministry of Health

57%

Kipchumba Murkomen
Ministry of Roads, Transport, and Public Works

	Kithure Kindiki	Musalia Mudavadi	Ezekiel Machogu	Susan Nakhumicha	Kipchumba Murkomen
Awareness	83%	78%	80%	59%	75%
Trust	68%	70%	46%	61%	60%
Visible	67%	65%	58%	56%	59%
Transparent	63%	57%	56%	55%	59%
Commitment	66%	60%	61%	57%	55%
Issues resolution	62%	60%	67%	58%	50%

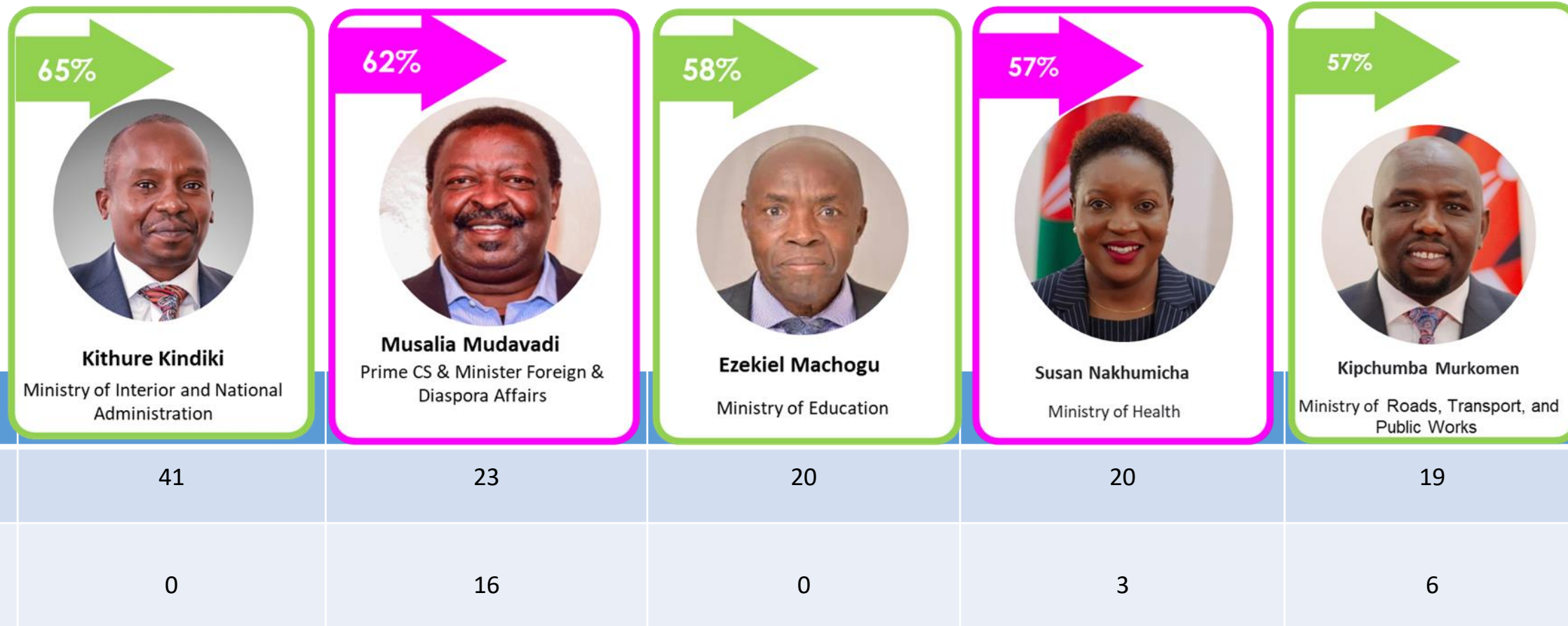
CS Rating Attributes used to compute overall scores:

- Awareness:** is known by Kenyans
- Trust** that the CS will deliver on their mandate
- Visibility:** communicates what their ministry is doing

- Commitment:** Committed to addressing issues facing Kenyans
- Issues resolution:** Actively straightening issues in ministry
- Transparent:** honest and open about issues facing ministry

Top 5 Cabinet Secretary Visits to Regions

Visits counties visited and foreign trips



January to November 2023 as reported in the media and CS' social media pages
Excludes activities /visitors to CS' office



Section Three: Government Performance

- ❑ Rating of Ruto Government Performance in 16 Policy Areas
- ❑ Main Challenge Facing the Kenya Kwanza Government

Evaluation of Ruto/Kenya Kwanza Government Performance (3 Point Scale: “1” = “Very Bad”, “3” = “Very Good”)



Policy Area	Total		Pro-Govt	Pro-Opposition	None/NR
Protecting forests	2.3		2.5	2.1	2.3
Supporting agriculture	2.3		2.6	2.1	2.2
Combatting pollution and contamination	2.2		2.3	2.0	2.1
Encouraging tourists and investment in tourism	2.1		2.3	1.9	2.1
Preventing terrorism	2.0		2.2	1.8	2.0
Supporting devolution	2.0		2.2	1.8	1.9
Improving health services	2.0		2.2	1.8	1.9
Combatting tribalism	1.9		2.1	1.7	1.8
Protecting human rights	1.9		2.1	1.7	1.8
Improving the education system	1.9		2.1	1.6	1.8
Respecting the Constitution/Rule of Law	1.9		2.1	1.7	1.8
Reducing crime	1.8		2.1	1.6	1.8
Reducing the debt/donor financial dependence	1.8		2.1	1.6	1.7
Reducing corruption	1.6		1.9	1.5	1.5
Creating jobs	1.6		1.9	1.4	1.5
Reducing the cost of living	1.4		1.6	1.2	1.3

Q: “On a scale from 1 to 3, how would you score the Ruto government’s performance during its first year in power?”

Base – all respondents

Comments on Rating of Kenya Kwanza Performance



- ❑ As indicated, respondents were asked to rate the Government's performance using a 3-point scale, whereby a 'perfectly good' score is "3", and a 'perfectly bad' score is 1. This means that a score of "2" is halfway between these two extremes, and thus represents a mixed or 'neutral' score.
- ❑ It should be noted that no attempt was made to discover just what (if anything)/how much regarding each of these policy areas respondents were aware of, let alone what their sources of information about such performance are.
- ❑ Among the sixteen policy areas presented to respondents, the Kenya Kwanza government received highest marks for its policies and actions related to (1) the protection of forests, (2) support for agriculture (with the provision of subsidized fertilizer most certainly a factor here), and (3) environmental protection through combatting pollution and contamination'. Here, the President's active support of tree-planting and forest conservation were probably recalled.
- ❑ At the negative end of the ratings are (1) reducing the cost-of-living, (2) creating jobs, and (3) reducing corruption.
- ❑ In comparing the ratings by Government vs. Opposition supporters, the ranking-sequence is almost identical, though scores given by the latter range between 0.4 and 0.5 points lower, with only one exception (combating pollution – where the gap is 0.3). For their part, all score-ratings given by those aligned with neither coalition/political grouping fall in between those given by respondents aligned with the two political groupings (with one exception: that for corruption, which is equal to that of Pro-Opposition supporters).
- ❑ Finally here, it should be noted that this survey is the first time that TIFA has used such a scoring mechanism for evaluating government performance but plan to repeat it, at least on occasion, in future.

Main Challenge Facing the Kenya Kwanza Government (Top 5 Mentions)

by total, political alignment



Given the fact that reducing the cost-of-living was such a major part of Kenya Kwanza's successful 2022 election campaign, its continued rise helps to explain why more Kenyans cited it as the main challenge the Government currently faces (39%). After that, those aligned with the Opposition are more likely to mention corruption – a governance failing that can be attributed to leadership (19% vs. 12%), whereas three times as many Government as Opposition supporters cite the burden of debt repayment, especially since Kenya Kwanza leaders have continued to blame this challenge on the previous government (which sought to ensure that an Odinga-led government would succeed it). Similarly, three times as many Government supporters attribute the Government's failures to "Opposition pressure" (6% vs. 2%), another factor for which it does not control, and thus cannot be directly blamed for.

Challenge	Total		Pro-Govt	Pro-Opposition	None/NR
Inflation/Cost of-Living	39%		42%	39%	37%
Corruption	15%		12%	19%	15%
Debt Repayment	8%		12%	4%	7%
Opposition Pressure	4%		6%	2%	3%
Declining Value of the KSh.	3%		4%	3%	3%
Unemployment	2%		1%	1%	2%

Q: "What do you think is the greatest challenge facing the Ruto/Kenya Kwanza government at the moment?"



Section Four: Performance and Travel of Cabinet Secretaries

- ❑ Overall Rating
- ❑ Top 10 Cabinet Secretary Visits to Regions

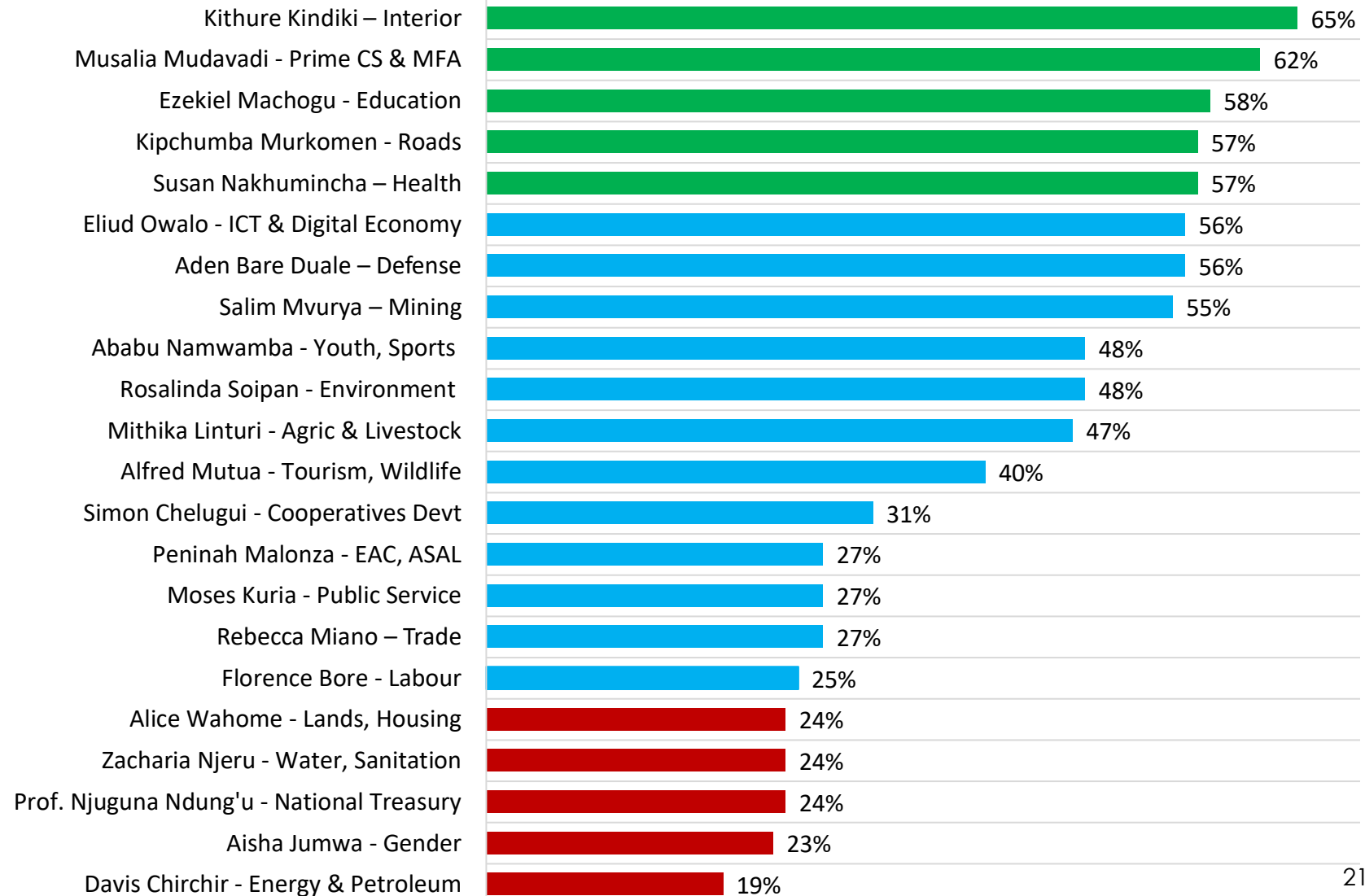
Cabinet Secretary Ratings

Overall scores



CS Rating Attributes used to compute overall scores:

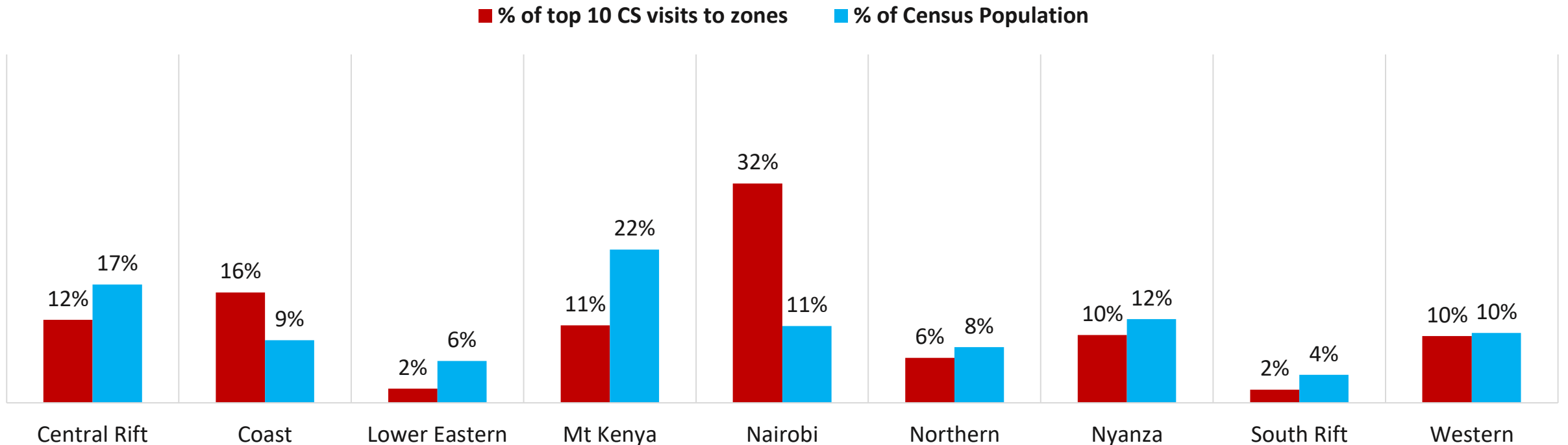
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Top 10 Rated Cabinet Secretary Visits to Zones

Visits to regions vs population

- An analysis of the top 10 Cabinet Secretaries' visits (based on available data) highlights a notable disproportion, with a concentration of 32% of their visits in Nairobi, surpassing the city's 11% representation in the national population. This observation suggests that factors determining the number of such visits go beyond population alone. Such factors likely include: proximity to their offices, presence of strategic infrastructure, and particular events that require government attention, among others.



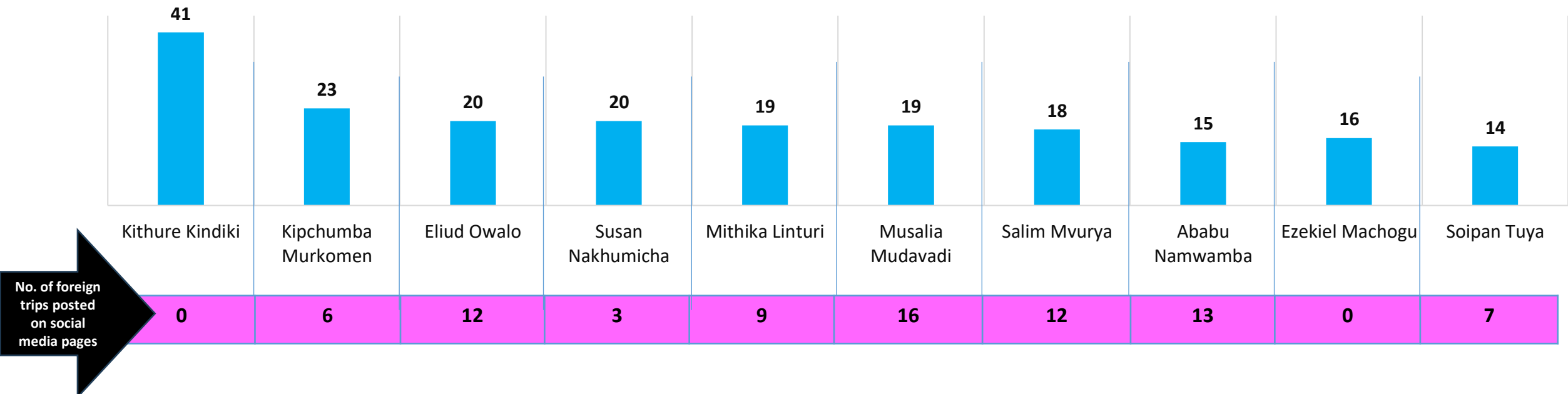
A total of 657 activities from Jan to November 2023 as reported in the media and CS' social media pages
Excludes activities /visitors to CS' office,

Top 10 Cabinet Secretaries' Visits

Visits to counties vs foreign trips

- CS Kindiki and Murkomen lead in terms of visiting the highest number of counties. On the other hand, when it comes to reported foreign trips, Prime Cabinet Secretary Mudavadi and CS Mvurya and Namwamba have travelled most.

Number Of Counties Visited and Foreign Trips



A total of 657 activities from Jan to November 2023 as reported in the media and CS' social media pages
Excludes activities /visitors to CS' office,

Section Five: Economic Conditions

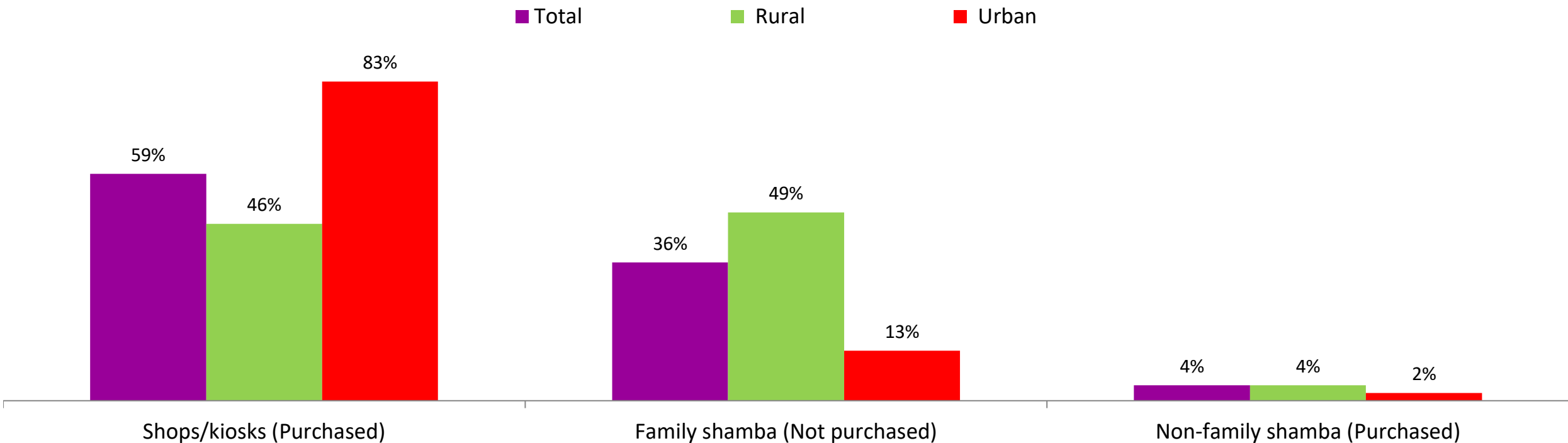
- Main Source of Household Food
- Reduced Expenditure Due to Cost of Living
- Ability to Save Something at the End of Each Month
- Current Economic Condition Compared to One Year Ago

Main Source of Household Food

By Total, Setting



Whereas a small majority of Kenyans (59%) purchase most of their food at shops and/or kiosks, far more urban dwellers do so as compared with those living in rural areas (83% vs. 46%). Yet among rural-dwellers, only about half rely on their own shambas as their main source of such consumables (49%), which presumably gives them at least some protection from the constant recent increase in the cost-of-living.



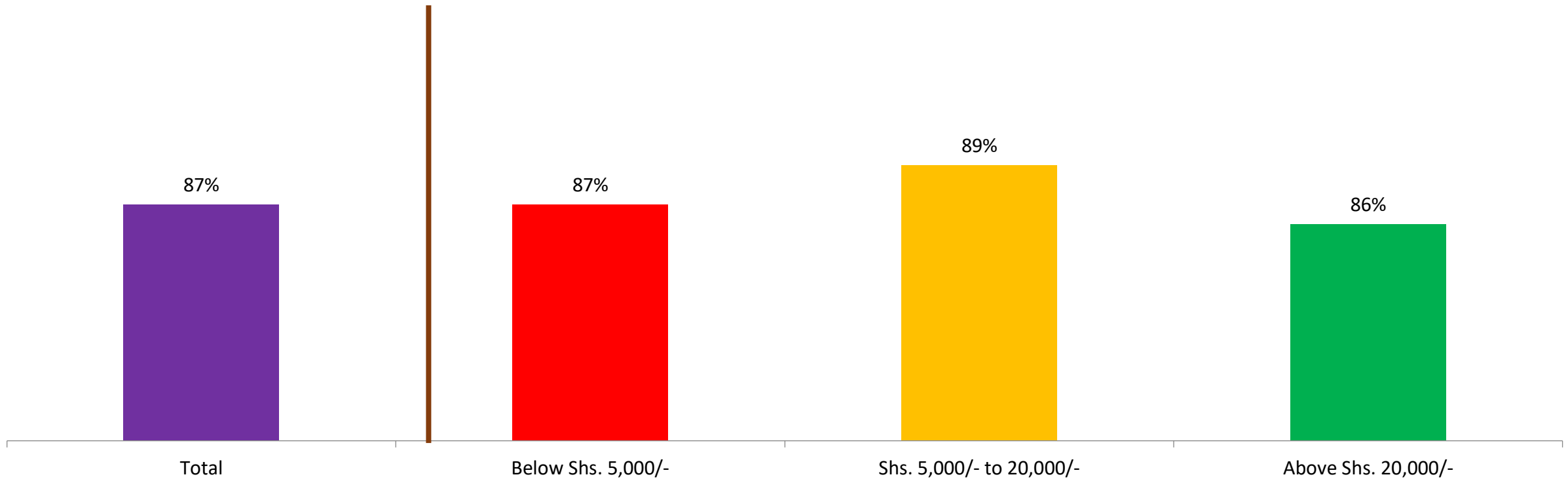
Q: "What is the main place you/your household gets its daily food from?"

Base – all respondents

Incidence of Reduced Expenditure Due to Cost of Living by total, 3 monthly income categories



- A large majority of Kenyans (87%) report having had to recently reduce expenditure on various items due to the constantly rising cost-of-living in recent years. Among the main monthly income-earning categories, the figures differ only slightly, though the more affluent (i.e., earning more than Shs. 20,000/- a month) have had to do this slightly. (Had the random sample included a statistically sufficient proportion earning much more than this – perhaps above Shs. 100,000/- this contrast would most likely have been considerably greater.)



Two Main Categories of Reduced Expenditure Due to Cost of Living (Among the 87%+ Who Say They Have Had to Reduce Any Expenditure)



- Among income-earners (at whatever level), the vast majority mention food as the main purchase-item/category they have had to reduce expenditure on recently due to inflation. This holds true for those in all three income categories, although those somewhat more affluent (earning above Shs. 20,000/-) have had to do this a bit less than those earning least (below Shs. 5,000/-: 79% vs. 88%), while the second most common decrease among the former has been on transport (which also applies to those in the middle income-category: 19% for both).

Item/Category	Total	Less than Shs. 5.000/-	Shs. 5.000/- to 20,000/-	Above Shs. 20,000/-
Food	84%	88%	85%	79%
Transport	15%	12%	19%	19%
Clothing	9%	8%	10%	10%
Entertainment	8%	6%	7%	14%
Educational items/fees	6%	6%	8%	5%
Social travel	5%	5%	4%	9%
Agricultural related (fertilizer, land use, livestock raising, etc.)	4%	4%	4%	3%
Cooking Fuel/Gas	3%	4%	3%	5%
Electricity	3%	3%	3%	4%
Alcoholic Drinks	2%	1%	2%	4%

Q: "What are two main things you have had to reduce or even stop spending on recently because of the rising cost-of-living?"

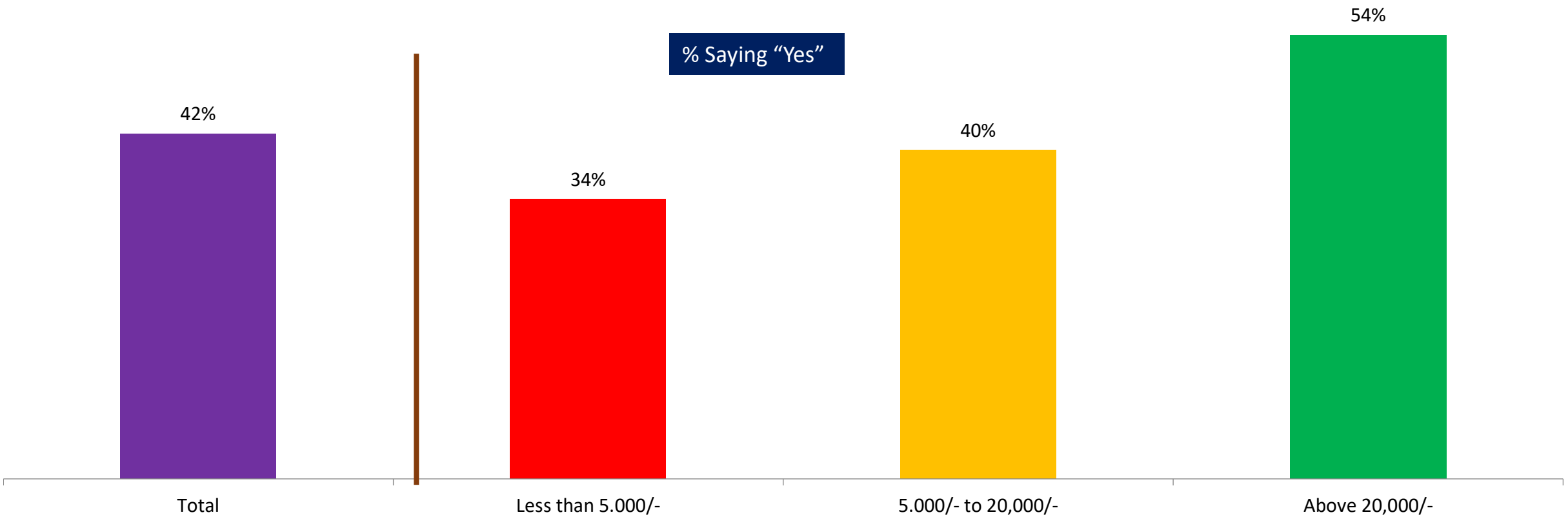
Base – 2,621

Ability to Save Something at the End of Each Month

By total, monthly income (among those who earn any income)



- Fewer than half of those earning any money say that they are able to regularly save anything at the end of each month (42%), though there is a clear correlation between such ability to save an income, with the lowest income earners (less than Shs. 5,000/-) considerably less able to do this than those in the highest income category (above Shs. 50,000/-: 34% vs. 54%).



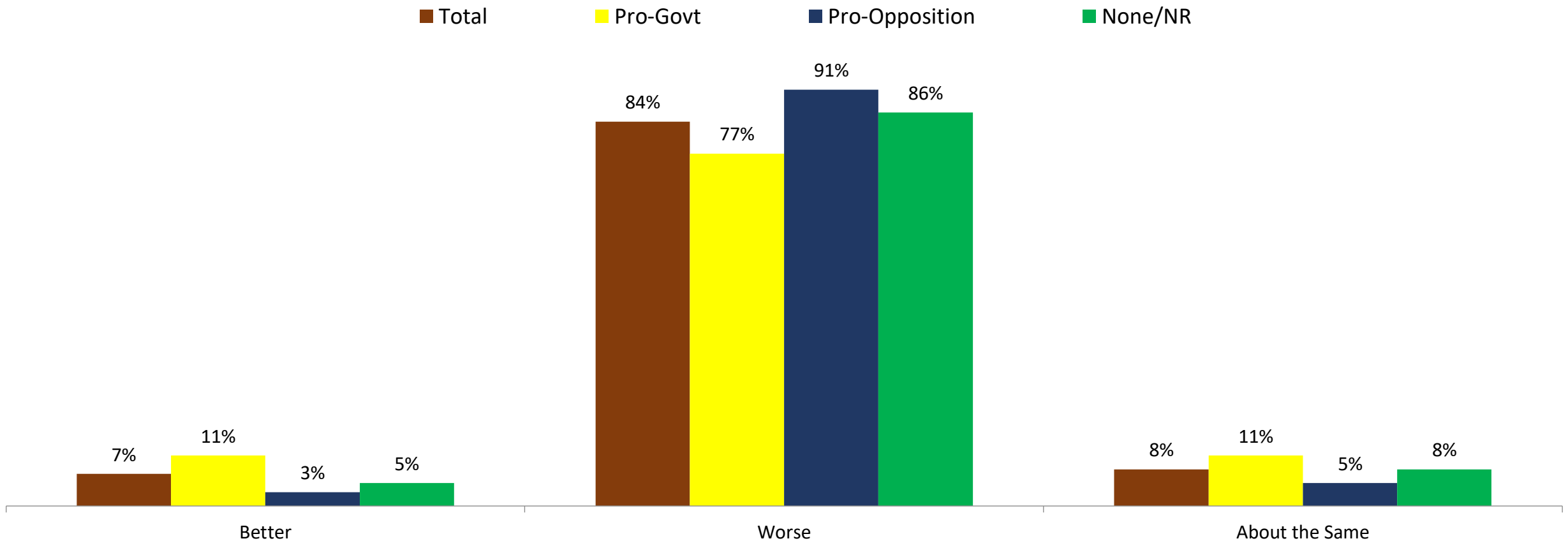
Q: "Are you usually able to save any money at the end of each month?"

Base – 1,785

Comparison of Current Economic Condition Compared to One Year Ago by Total, Political Alignment



□ The vast majority of all Kenyans (84%) consider their current economic condition to be worse than what it was a year ago. This is so regardless of one's political alignment, though nearly four times more of those who support the Kenya Kwanza government report being better off as compared with Opposition supporters (11% vs. 3%).



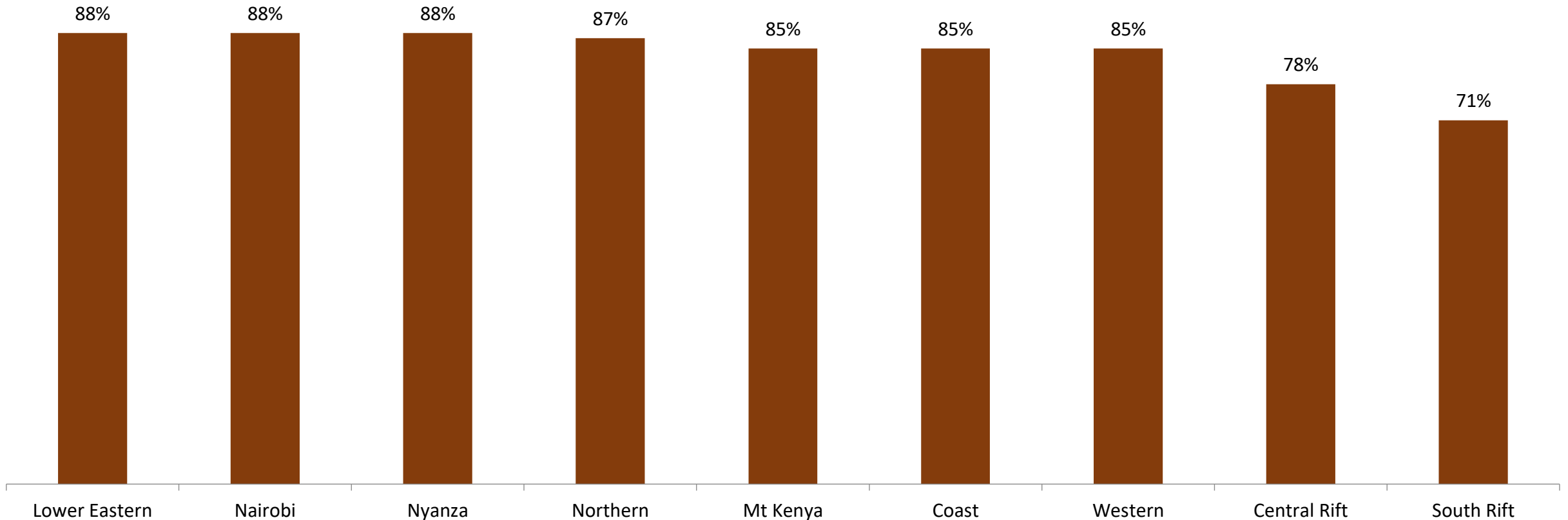
Q: "Comparing your current economic condition with one year ago, is it...?"

Base – all respondents

Comparison of Current Economic Condition Compared to One Year Ago: “Worse” by Zone



□ In terms geographic distribution, the highest proportion of those considering that they are now worse off reside in Lower Eastern, Nairobi and Nyanza (all 88%), while the lowest proportion of those reportedly suffering this decline in their economic condition are found in Central Rift and South Rift (78% and 71%, respectively).



Q: “Comparing your current economic condition with one year ago, is it...?”

Base – all respondents



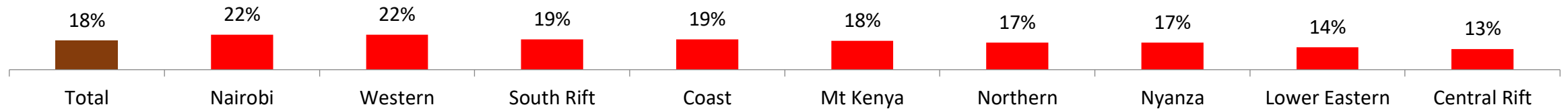
Section Six: Two Other Public Issues

- Incidence/Geographical Distribution of Crime Victimization and Reporting
- Incidence/Geographical Distribution of Flooding Victimization and Receipt of Any Flood Assistance

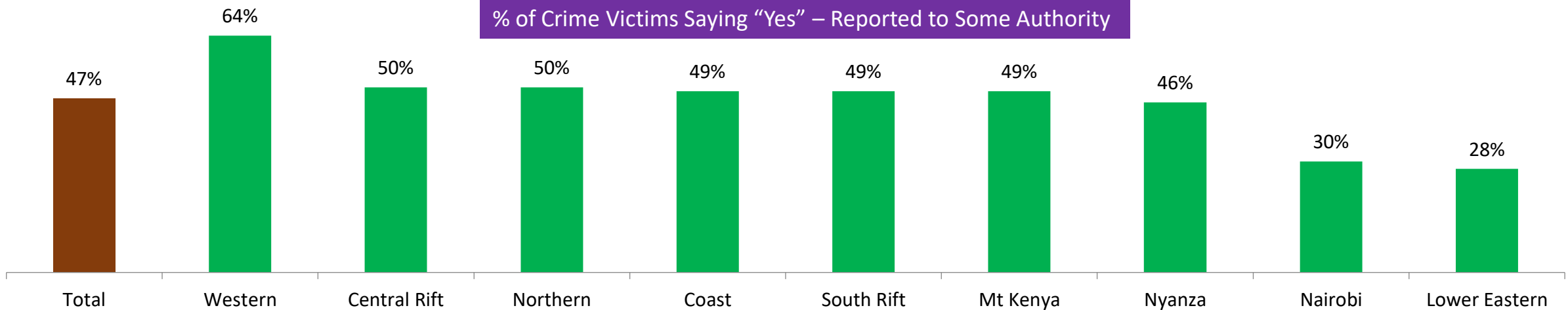
Recent Crime Victimization / Incidence of Reporting Crime

□ Nationally, nearly one-fifth of Kenyans (18%) have been victims of crime during the last three months alone, with such crime-levels ranging from a high in Nairobi and Western (22%) to a low in Central Rift (13%). However, levels of the reporting of such crime vary much more, with that in Western well over twice the levels in Lower Eastern and Nairobi (64% vs. 28% and 30%, respectively). (The various reasons for such wide reporting-level variations were not obtained in this survey.)

% Saying "Yes" – Was a Victim of Crime in the Last Three Months



% of Crime Victims Saying "Yes" – Reported to Some Authority



Q: "Have you been a victim of crime in the last three months?"

Base – all respondents

Q: "Did you report it to any authority or office?"

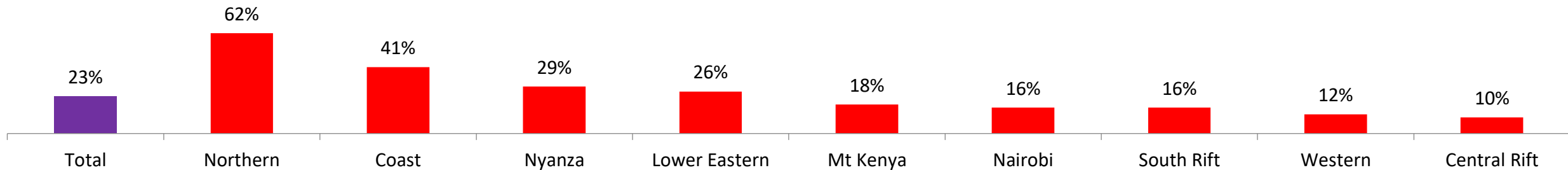
Base – 530

Recent Local Occurrence of Serious Flooding / Reception of Any Assistance

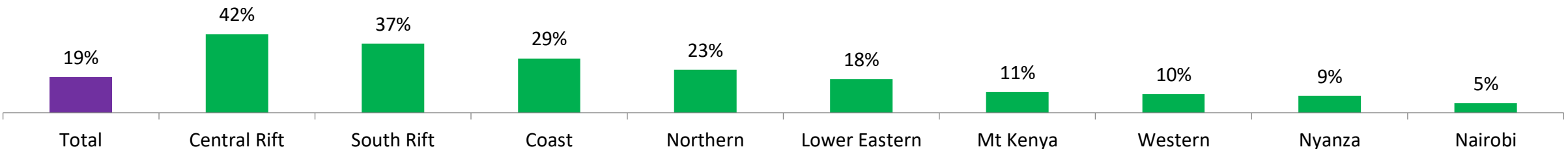


□ Nationally, nearly one-quarter of Kenyans (18%) report that their localities have been affected by recent floods as a consequence of the El Nino rains. Across the country however, such deleterious effects have varied dramatically, however, from a high in Northern to a low in Central Rift (62% and 10%, respectively). Regarding any flood-relief/assistance, only one-fifth of those in affected areas say that their communities have received any assistance (19%), though this proportion also varies considerably in terms of zones, ranging from a high in Central Rift (42%) – where the fewest have been so affected – so a low in Nairobi (5%).

% Saying “Yes” – Local Area Has Been Affected by Recent Floods



% Saying “Yes” – People Affected by Recent Floods Have Received Some Assistance



Q: “Has your area been affected by the recent floods caused by heavy rains?”

Q: “Have people in your area received any assistance in connection with such flooding?”

Base – all respondents

Base – 689



Section Seven: Political Alignment

- Political Party Alignment
- Perceived Credibility of Political Parties

Political Party Alignment by total, zone



□ Across the country, UDA is strongest in Central Rift, South Rift and Mt. Kenya. Further, the support for most of the minor parties is even more concentrated: Jubilee, FORD-K and Wiper all at 1% nationally but having 7% in Mt. Kenya, 8% in Western, and 14% in Lower Eastern, respectively. Also of note is that those who decline to express support for any party now constitute a plurality (33%), indicating a continuing decline in the confidence that the political class writ large is currently enjoying among Kenyans.

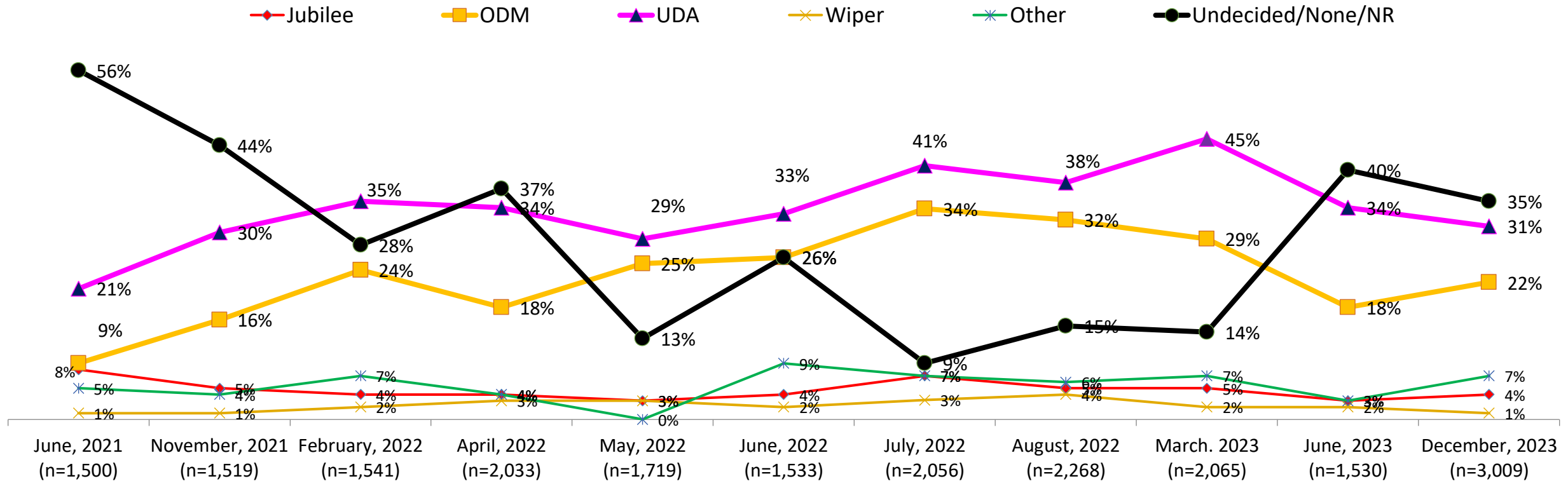
Political Party	Total	Central Rift	Coast	Lower Eastern	Mt Kenya	Nairobi	Northern	Nyanza	South Rift	Western
UDA	31%	49%	23%	27%	40%	16%	33%	17%	41%	20%
ODM	22%	11%	31%	23%	13%	25%	20%	46%	16%	28%
Jubilee	4%	4%	3%	2%	7%	3%	3%	3%	3%	1%
Chama cha Mashinani	2%	2%	1%	3%	2%	4%	1%	2%	2%	2%
KANU	1%	1%	1%	1%	0%	1%	4%	0%	1%	0%
FORD-K	1%	1%	2%	1%	0%	1%	1%	0%	0%	8%
Wiper	1%	0%	1%	14%	0%	3%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Other	2%	2%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%
None	33%	26%	36%	26%	35%	42%	35%	29%	37%	33%
NR	2%	4%	2%	3%	2%	2%	0%	2%	1%	3%

Political Party Alignment

Trend Analysis: June 2021 – December, 2023



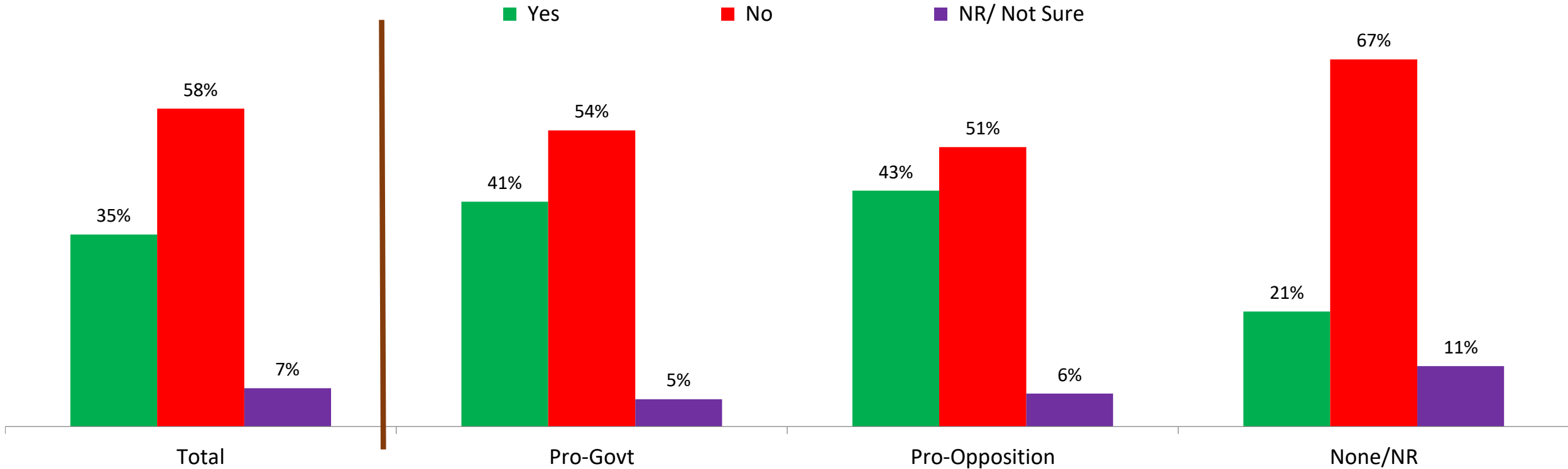
Over the last two and a half years there have been several major shifts in the distribution of political party support, the most notable being the rise of UDA and the erratic rise and fall of those either undecided or declining to identify with any party. However, most recently – since June – it is the slight narrowing of the gap between UDA and ODM (from 16% to 9%), evidently a consequence of the increasing despondency among many Kenyans about the rising cost-of-living.



Credibility of Political Parties: Opinion That Any Party Works For “People Like You”



□ A clear majority of Kenyans currently lack a conviction that there is any political party that “honestly or genuinely” has the interests of “people like you” at heart. Such a negative view is slightly more prominent among supporters of the Kenya Kwanza government than among those of the Azimio Opposition (54% vs. 51%) but is (quite logically) considerably higher among those who support neither coalition (67%). What any/all parties would have to do to raise the confidence of at least their supporters in this regard is an open question.



Q: “Whether you support any political party or not, do you think there is any political party in Kenya that honestly or genuinely represents or works for the benefit of people like you?”



Section Eight: Concluding Comments

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

- ❑ The vast majority of Kenyans have experienced considerable economic distress recently, with large majorities across the political divide describing their economic condition as worse than a year ago, though Government supporters have either been somewhat less negatively affected by such economic conditions or are less willing to admit this (or both).
- ❑ One key indicator of such economic distress is the large majority who say they have had to reduce their personal expenditure, with a vast majority of these respondents identifying food as the main expenditure-category that they have chosen (or had to) cut back on. (Whether such reduced food consumption is having any affect on people's health is unclear.)
- ❑ In similar fashion, the most commonly cited challenge facing the Government is inflation/the cost-of-living, though such an identification does not suggest the extent to which measures could be devised/implemented to address such economic pressures.



Concluding Comments (con't)

- ❑ With fewer than half of those who have been victims of crime in the last three months indicating that they reported it to any authority, one wonders what to make of reports which policy recommendations based on official crime figures. For example, a report released by the Global Initiative Against Transactional Crime showed that there had been a 16.7% increase in crime over the past year: to 100,651 from 86,271. At the very least, it would be necessary to determine how much of the propensity to make such reports is based on (a) the nature of the crime, (b) the known or supposed identity of the suspect(s) in relation to the victim(s), and (c) the proximity to and attitudes toward the relevant (or perceived as useful/receptive) reporting authority, among other factors.
- ❑ Whether a reflection of insufficient funds, an overlapping of responsibility between the national and county governments, or such a responsibility-sharing between public authorities and the (local and/or national) NGO sector, only a small proportion of those negatively affected by recent funding report having received any assistance.
- ❑ Finally, in terms of party politics, the challenges currently facing the Kenya Kwanza government have slightly depressed the popularity of its main member, the President's UDA, while giving Odinga's ODM a measurable boost, though it remains to be seen if such a narrowing of the support-gap between them will continue.



Concluding Comments (con't)

- ❑ The fact that across the political divide, over half of supporters of one or another party do not believe there is any party that is genuinely seeking to represent their interests suggests that there might be room for new political actors, even if the next elections are more than three years away. Or such a lack of confidence in political parties could just be a reflection of the fact that many of the most important factors affecting life in the country are beyond the control of any government.
- ❑ Overall, this still quite distant electoral time-frame gives the Government ample opportunity for its policies to take effect. But such a time-frame also means that by the time the voters next march to their polling stations it will be much more difficult for those seeking re-election to blame Kenyans' woes on the previous administration which they have repeatedly done since taking power. In this context, such survey findings constitute useful tools for both those desiring to retain power and those seeking to obtain it, assuming that more popular support is forthcoming when policies are seen as actually addressing felt needs.





Section Nine: Methodology & Demographics

Methodology Overview

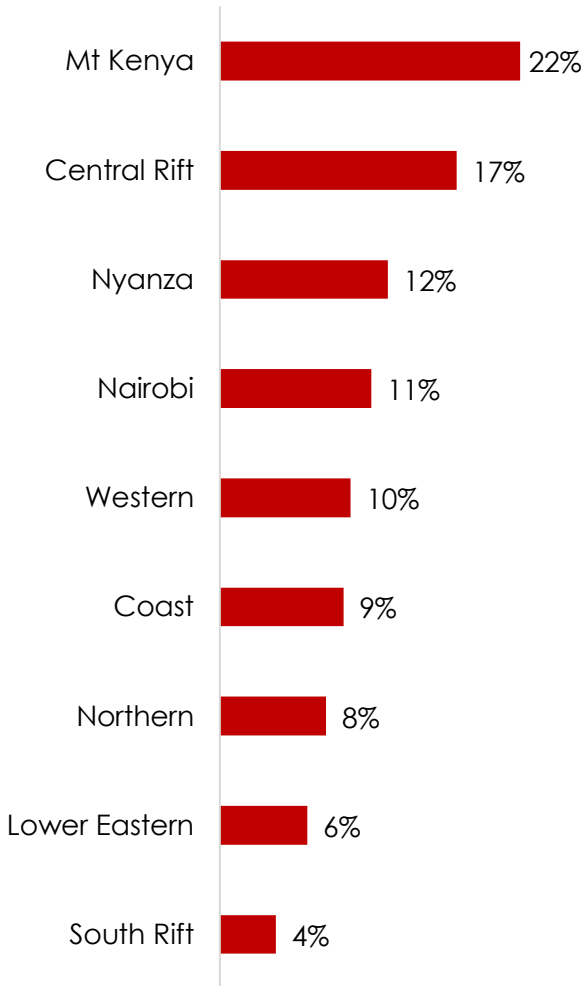


Fieldwork Dates	25 th November to 7 th December 2023
Geographical	Nationally Representative Sample (spread across 9 Zones ; <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Central Rift, Coast, Lower Eastern, Mt Kenya, Nairobi, Northern, Nyanza, South Rift, Western
Data collection	<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Telephonic Interviews conducted (with respondents whose contacts were collected through face-to-face (i.e., household-based interviews)▪ The interviews conducted in Kiswahili (mainly) and English.
Sample	3,009 respondents
Margin of error	+/- 1.79 % (Note: Larger error-margins for sub-samples)
Funding	TIFA Research

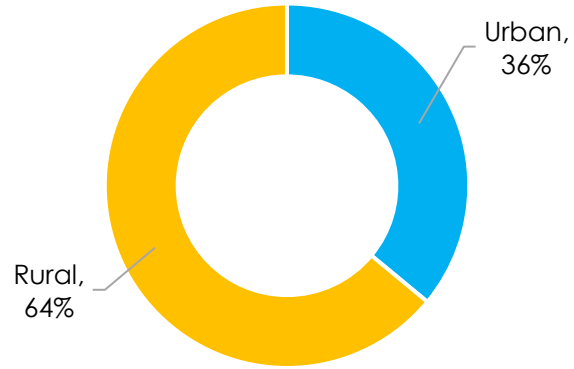
Demographics:

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

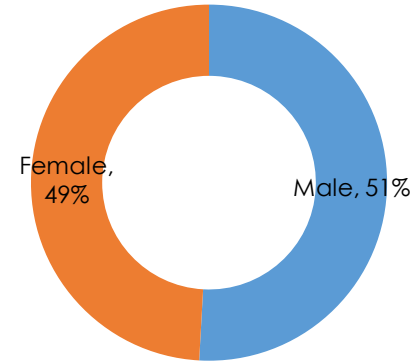
Zone



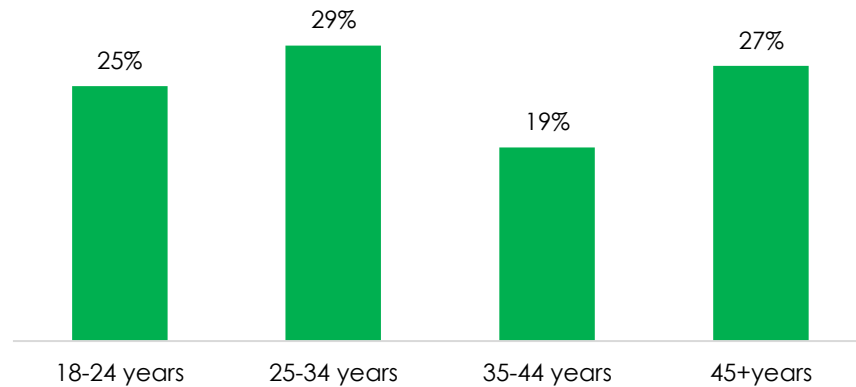
Setting



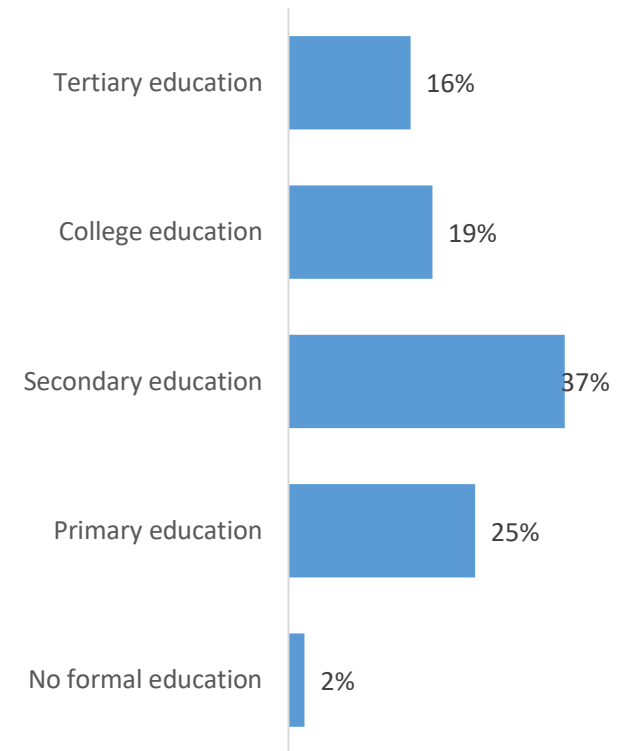
Gender



Age



Highest education level



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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