



# The Ruto Government Performance Score Card: One Year In Office

1<sup>st</sup> Media Release | September Survey | 13<sup>th</sup> September 2023

**Introductory Comments**

**Summary Findings**

**Section One: : Kenya Government Performance Evaluation**

**Section Two: Economic Demographics and Opinions**

**Concluding Comments**

**Methodology & Demographics**



# Introductory Comments



- ❑ In recognition of the completion of President William Ruto's first year in office, TIFA conducted a survey last week. It was done using CATI (Computer-Assisted-Telephonic-Interviews) with 1,007 respondents. The questions covered in this 1<sup>st</sup> Release focus on Kenyans' current economic conditions as well as their awareness of Kenya Kwanza's main campaign promises, including their views as to the extent of the implementation of these promises so far and their expectations about the such implementation by the time of the next election in 2027.
- ❑ A 2<sup>nd</sup> Release will report findings related to various current political issues. Some certain issues were covered in both of TIFA's previous surveys (in March and June) findings from all three will be compared.
- ❑ Regarding the presentation of these results, TIFA has (where relevant) used political alignment, defined here as pro-Government and pro-Opposition. To produce this dichotomy, two criteria were used: which (if any) political party is supported, and the same for either of the two coalitions (Kenya Kwanza or Azimio la Umoja).



# Summary Findings

# Ruto's Government: Promises, Achievements, & Future Expectations



## Campaign Promises Awareness

Top campaign promises recalled by Kenyans:

- ❑ **47%** reduce the high cost of living
- ❑ **29%** assist small businesses/hustlers
- ❑ **18%** create employment
- ❑ **14%** subsidize agriculture
- ❑ **9%** reduce cost of education

*\*base is all respondents*

## Campaign Promises Achievement

Proportion who feel that **“a great deal”** has been done to implement campaign promises:

- ❑ **44%** subsidize agriculture
- ❑ **26%** assist small businesses/hustlers
- ❑ **8%** reduce the high cost of living
- ❑ **8%** create employment
- ❑ **11%** reduce cost of education

*\*base is those are aware of campaign promises*

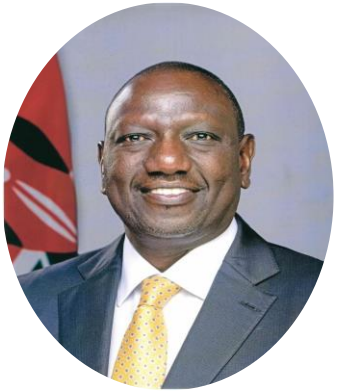
## Expected Fulfilment of Campaign Promises

Proportion **“very confident”** that the Government will fulfil campaign promises by 2027:

- 60%** subsidize agriculture
- 39%** assist small businesses/hustlers
- 37%** reduce high cost of living
- 29%** create employment
- 31%** reduce cost of education

*\*base is those are aware of campaign promises*

# Means Score: Perceived Extent of Ruto's Government Fulfilling Campaign Promises

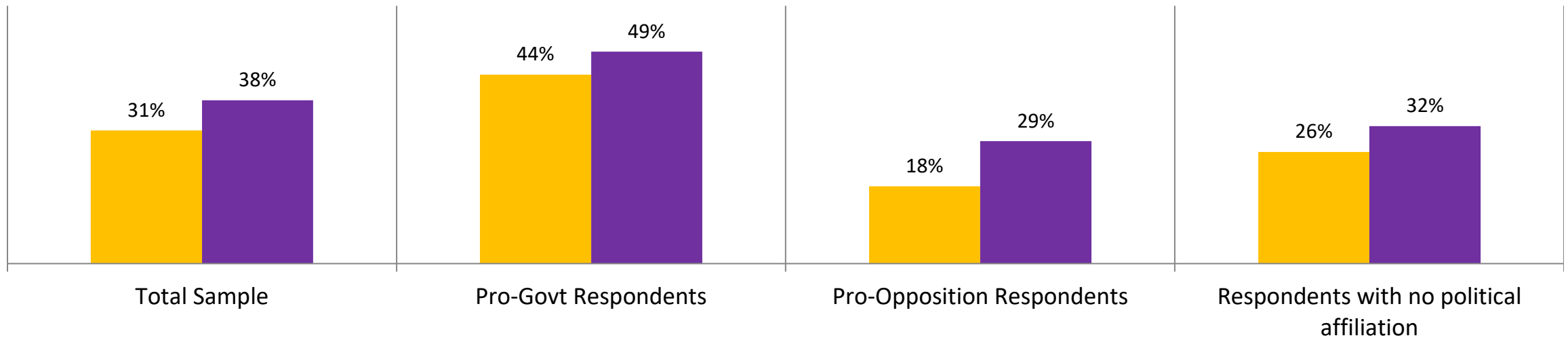


**Sept. 2023  
Rating from  
Kenyans**

**38%**

■ June 2023

■ Sept 2023



*\*the mean score rating on a scale of 0 to 5 converted to a % score*

# Direction that Kenya is Heading: March, June & September 2023



## Wrong Direction

|                |     |
|----------------|-----|
| March 2023     | 48% |
| June 2023      | 56% |
| September 2023 | 36% |

❑ Decline in the mentions of wrong direction

## Neither right nor wrong Direction

|                |     |
|----------------|-----|
| March 2023     | 12% |
| June 2023      | 14% |
| September 2023 | 12% |

## Right Direction

|                |     |
|----------------|-----|
| March 2023     | 37% |
| June 2023      | 25% |
| September 2023 | 49% |

❑ Increase in the mentions of right direction

\*the no response rates for March 3%, June 5%, September 4%



## Section One: Kenya Kwanza Government Performance

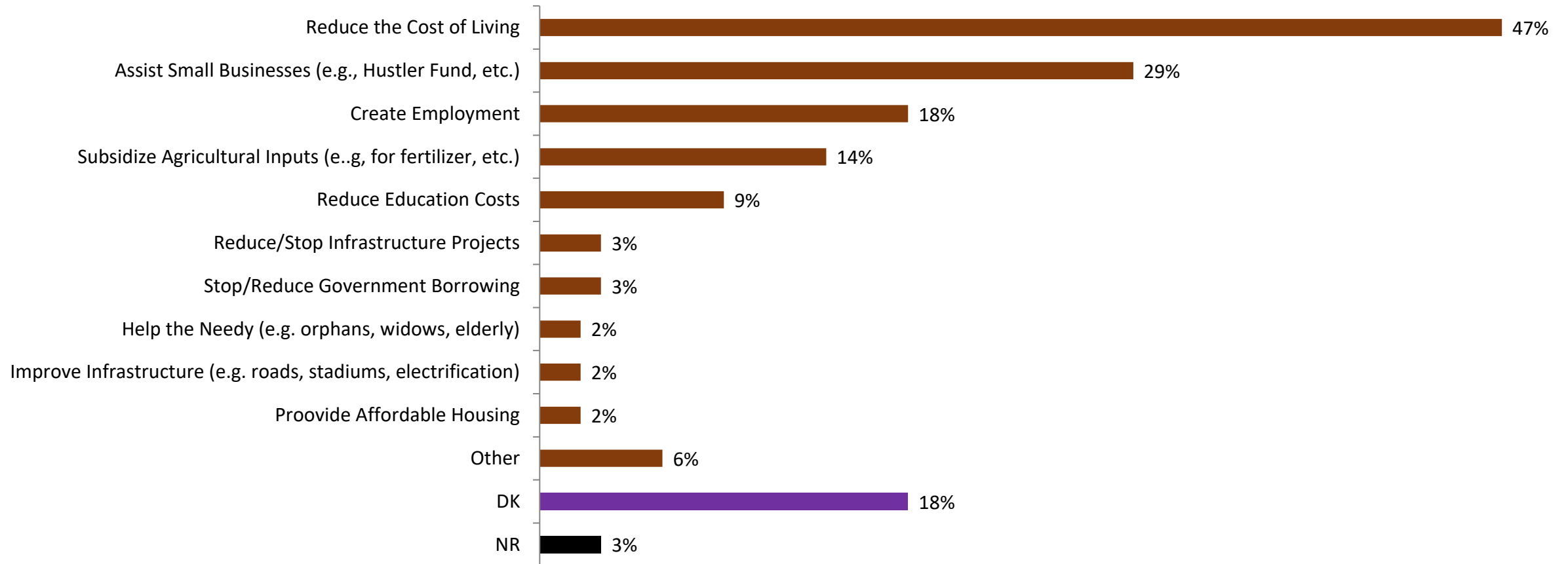
- ❑ Main 2022 Election Campaign Promises
- ❑ Perceived Implementation-Level So Far/2027 Implementation-Expectations of Main Campaign Promises
- ❑ Overall (Mean) Score of Implementation-Level of Main Kenya Kwanza Campaign Promises
- ❑ Kenya's Perceived Direction

# Respondents' Recollections: Main Kenya Kwanza Campaign Promises

## by total



□ While nearly one-fifth of all respondents (18%) indicated that they could not recall any Kenya Kwanza 2022 campaign promises, nearly half (47%) mentioned that of reducing the cost of living (47%). Other frequently mentioned responses included assistance to small businesses (29%) and employment creation (18%).

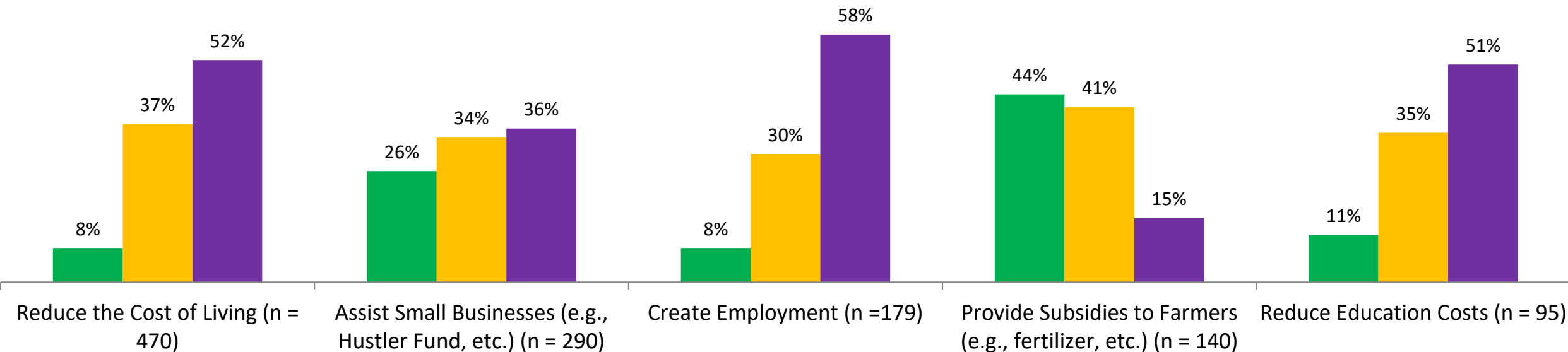


# Perceived Implementation Levels of Main Campaign Promises by total



□ Taking just the five most frequently mentioned Kenya Kwanza campaign promises, only the provision of subsidized fertilizer receives a “very much” implementation-so-far score that is close to half (44%), though assistance to small businesses (including establishment of the Hustler Fund receives quite numerous “very much” mentions (26%). By contrast, the implementation ratings for reducing the cost of living, job creation and reduction of education costs are largely negative.

■ Very Much/a Great Deal      ■ Something but Not Very Much      ■ Very Little/Nothing at All

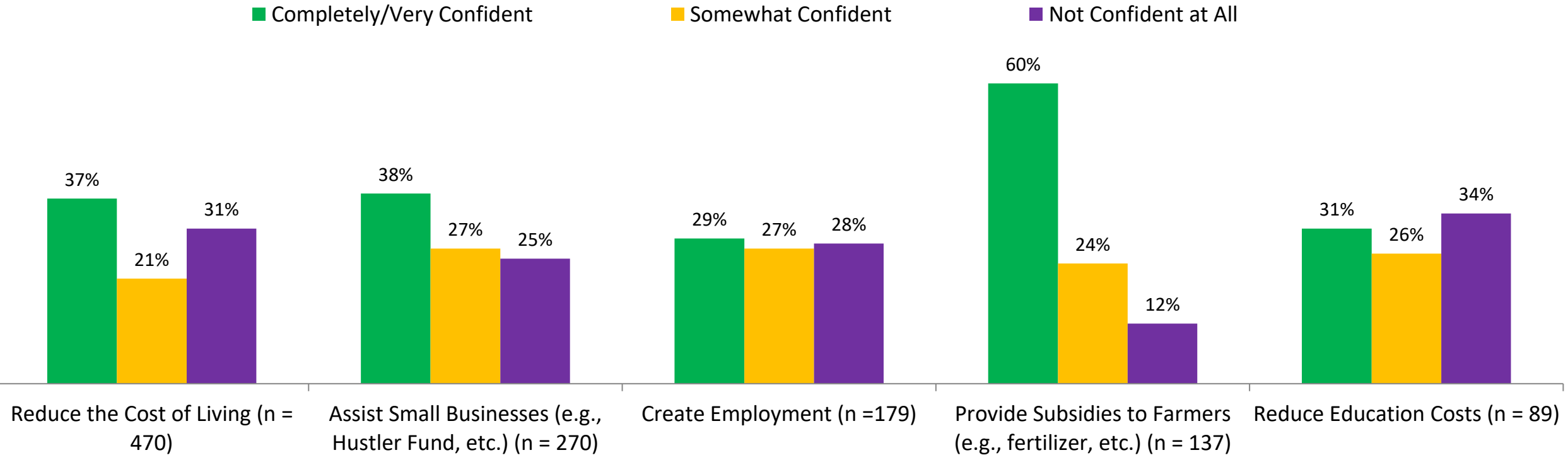


# Expected Fulfillment of Key Campaign Promises by 2027

*by total*



□ In terms of future expectations of the implementation levels of these main campaign promises, far more Kenyans are either “very” or “somewhat confident” that they will be achieved, though only agricultural subsidies (including fertilizer) earns a “completely confident” score that exceeds half (60%).



Q: “How confident are you that this promise will be kept/fulfilled by the time of the next election in 2027?”

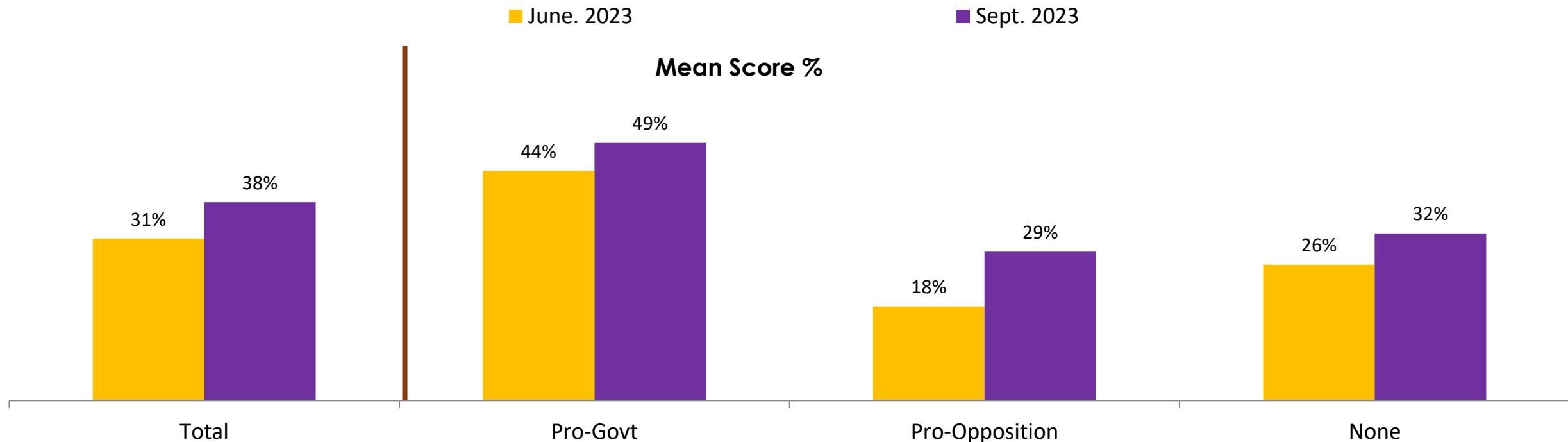
Base = 1,007

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

by total, political alignment: June vs September 2023



- Asked to rate the degree to which the Ruto government has implemented their campaign promises, Kenyans as a whole give it a slightly higher score of than they did in late June (38% vs. 31%), and this improved rating applies to both Government and Opposition supporters (49% vs. 44% and 29% vs. 18%, respectively) as well as those supporting/identifying with no political party or coalition.



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**

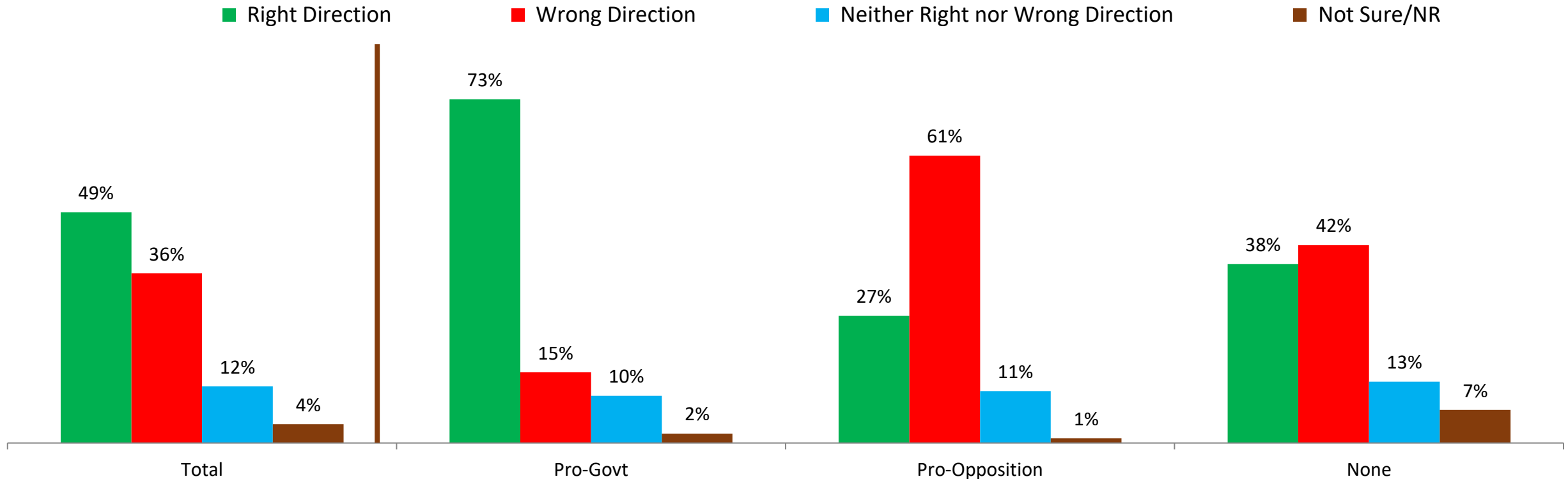
Base = 1,007 (all respondents)

# Kenya's Perceived Direction

## by total, political alignment



□ Nearly half of Kenyans currently feel the country is moving in the right direction (49%), though views about this differ sharply across the political divide, with almost as many Opposition supporters feeling that the country's direction is wrong as to Government supporters who consider it to be right (61% vs. 73%). A slight plurality of those not expressing any political alignment also hold to this (Opposition) negative opinion (42% vs. 38%).

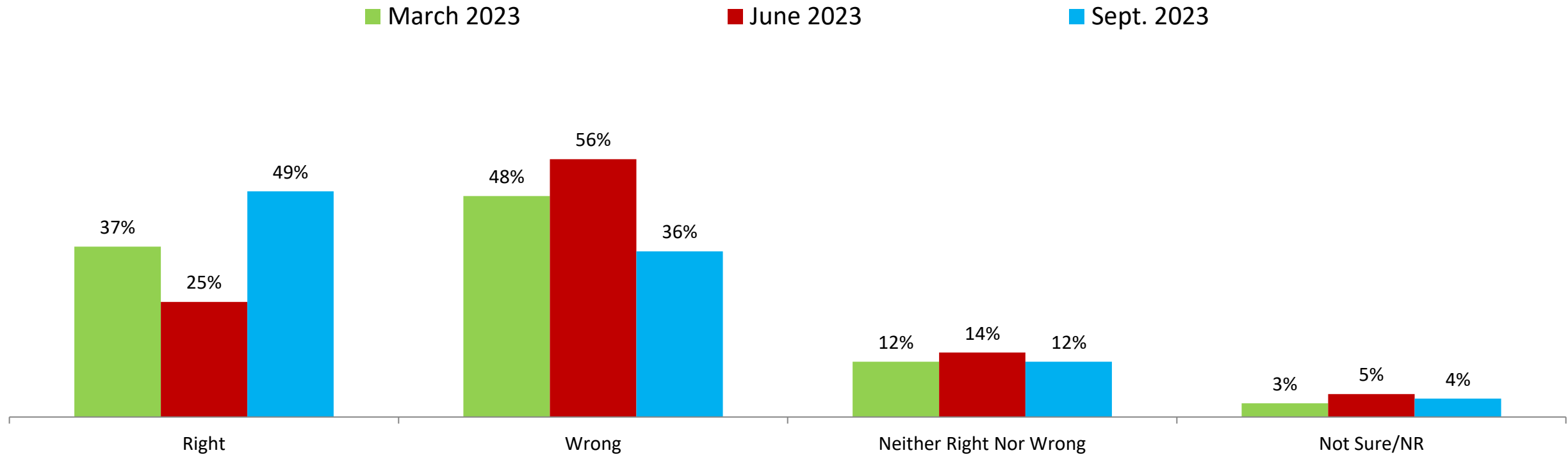


Q: "Overall, do you think the country is now going in the right or the wrong direction?"

# 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 latter view (48% vs. 37%). As of June, gap between "wrong" and "right" was even greater (56% vs. 25% = 31%), the latter view was most prominent (56% vs. 48%), results that have now been reversed (as noted in the previous slide), with a clear margin for "right" over "wrong" (49% vs. 36% = 13%).

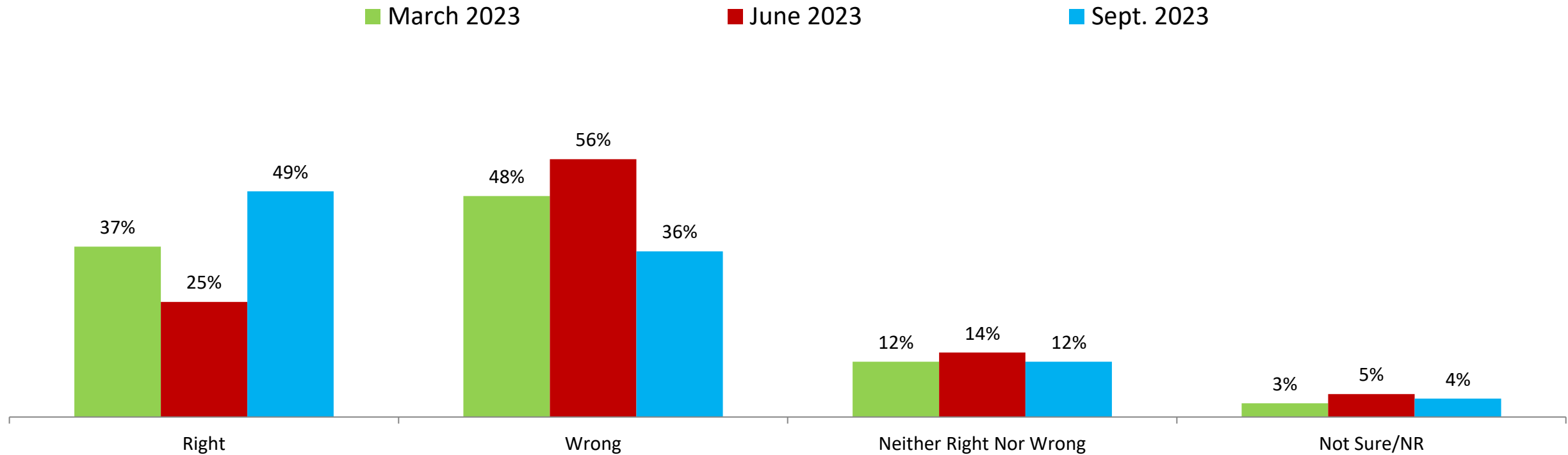


Q: "Overall, would you say that the country has been going in the wrong or right direction since last year's elections?"

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



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

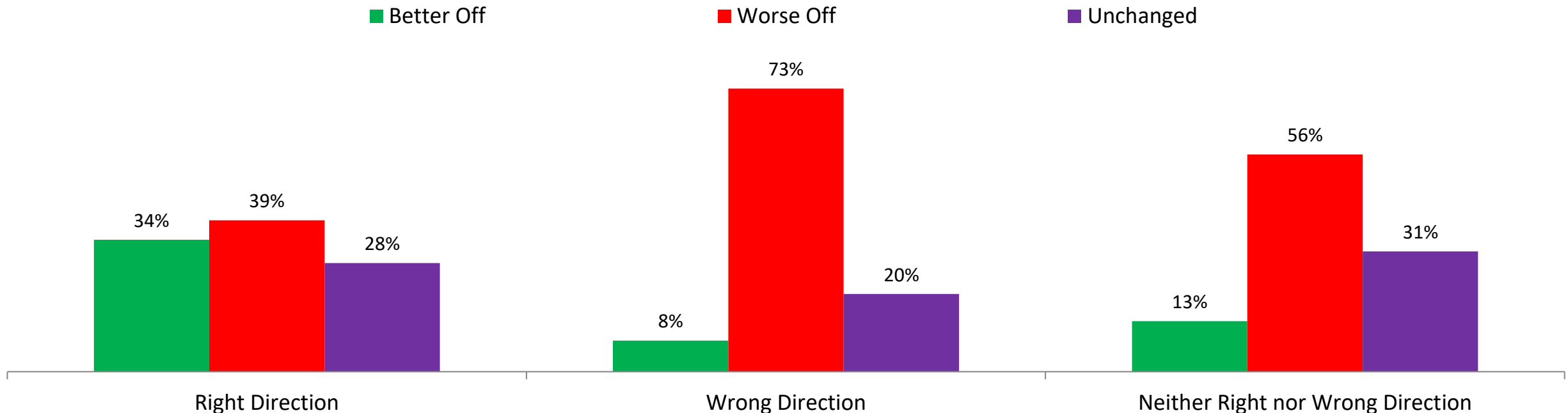


# Kenya's Perceived Direction

*by personal/household economic condition now compared to one year ago*



□ While a slight plurality of those who consider Kenya's current direction to be right report their economic condition now to be worse off than it was when the Kenya Kwanza took office (39% vs. 34%), the vast majority who report their economic condition as worse off express this negative view about Kenya's direction (73%). For their part, even among those who express now view about the country's direction, a clear majority also report their economic condition as having worsened over the last twelve months.



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

Q: "Compared to one year ago do you think your family is..?." SINGLE RESPONSE – READ OUT



## Section Two: Economic Demographics

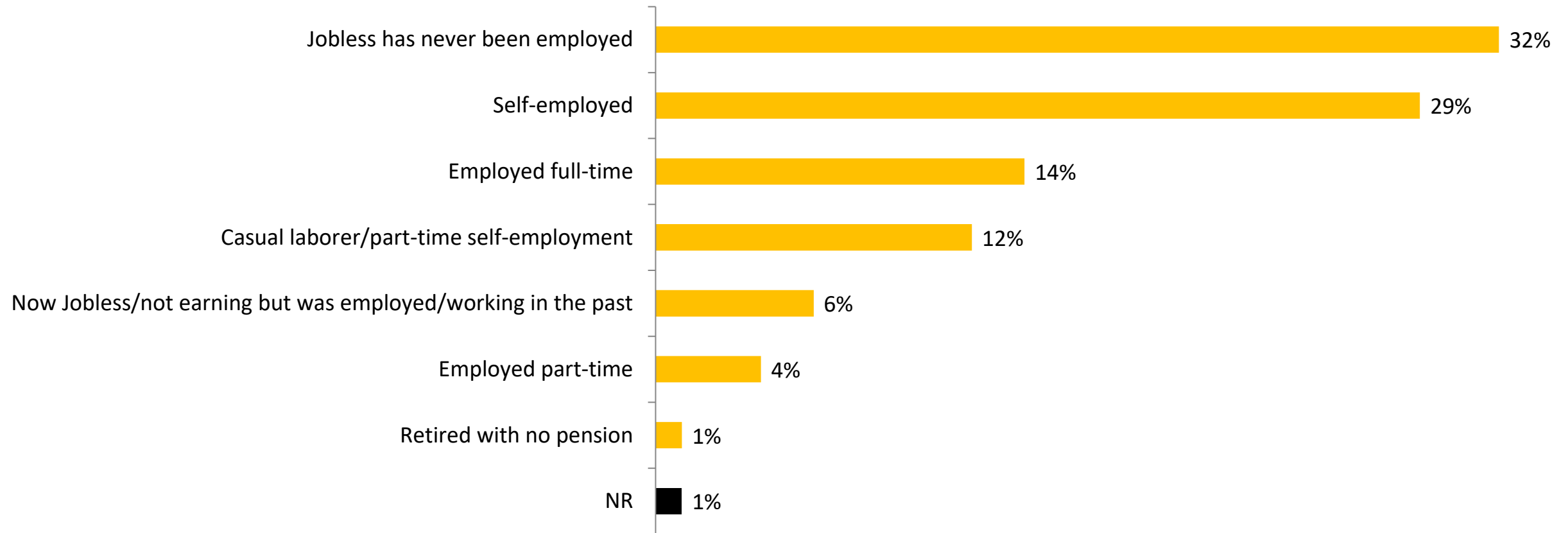
- Employment Status
- Main Source of Income
- Monthly Income Level
- Capacity to Save Any Monthly Income
- Use of Savings
- Personal/Household Economic Condition Compared to One Year Ago

# Employment Status

by total



- ❑ Some two-thirds of all respondents (66%) are employed full- or part-time, the majority of these being self-employed (29%). This leaves one-third (32%) who are now jobless and have never been employed.

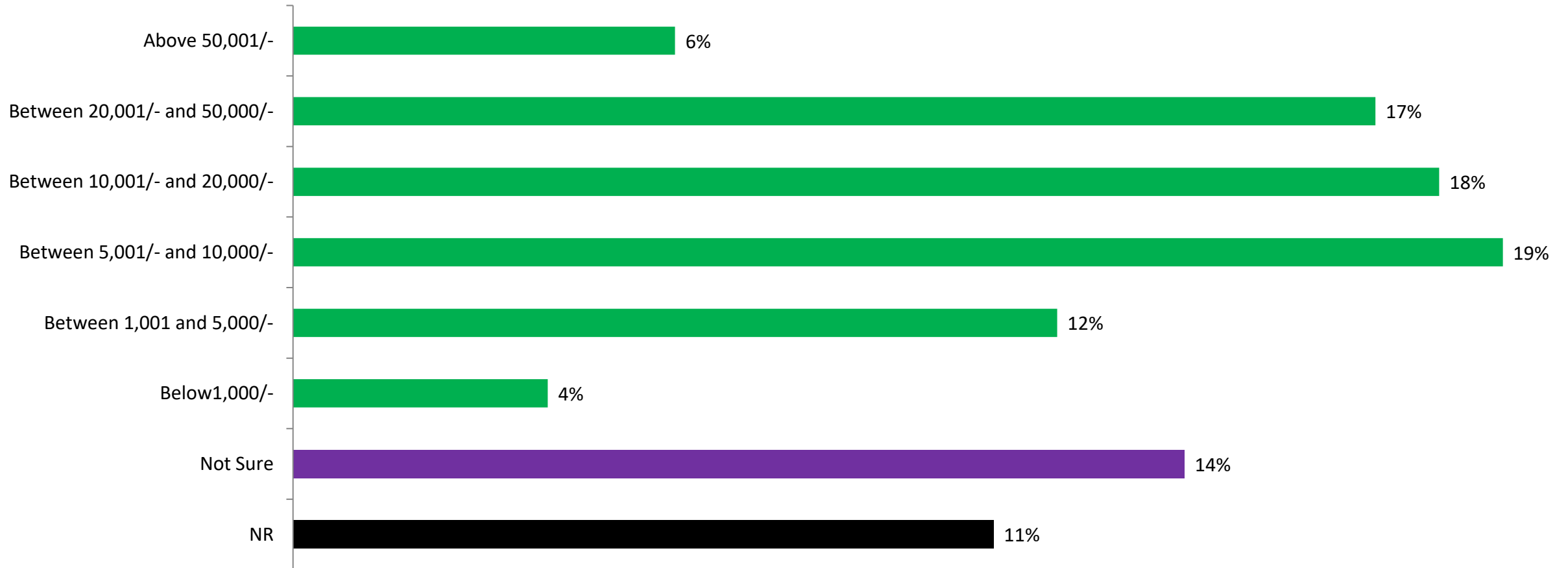


# Estimated Monthly Income

by the 66% who report that they are now or were recently earning income



Among income earners, the vast majority report earning less than Shs. 20,000/- a month (53%). However, a significant proportion were either “unsure” of their recent monthly income or declined to answer the question (25%).



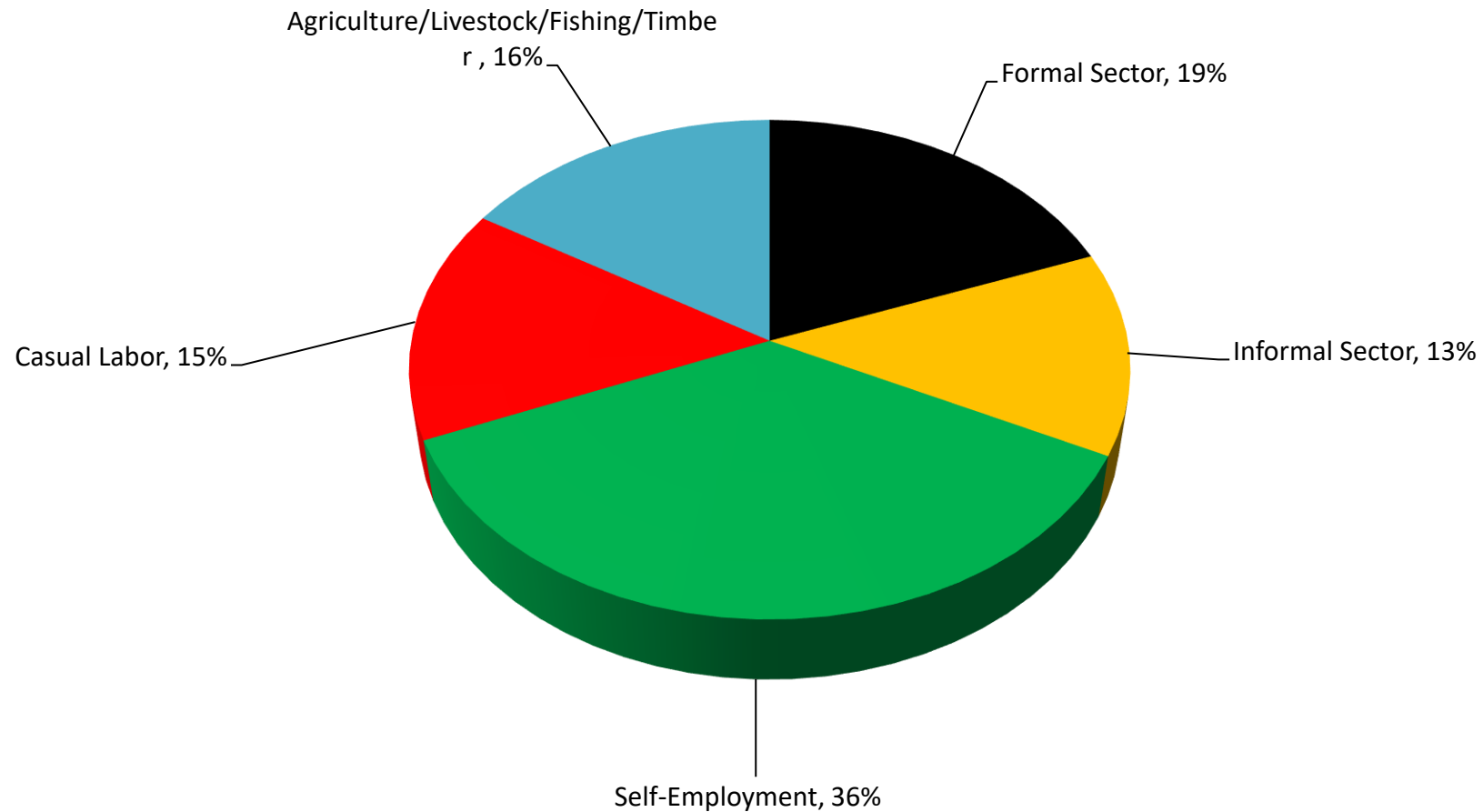
Q: “About how much money have you been earning each month over the last year or so??”

# Main Source of Income

by the 49% who report earning income



- Among those who report currently working and earning any income (and who specify such earnings), most are in self-employment (36%).

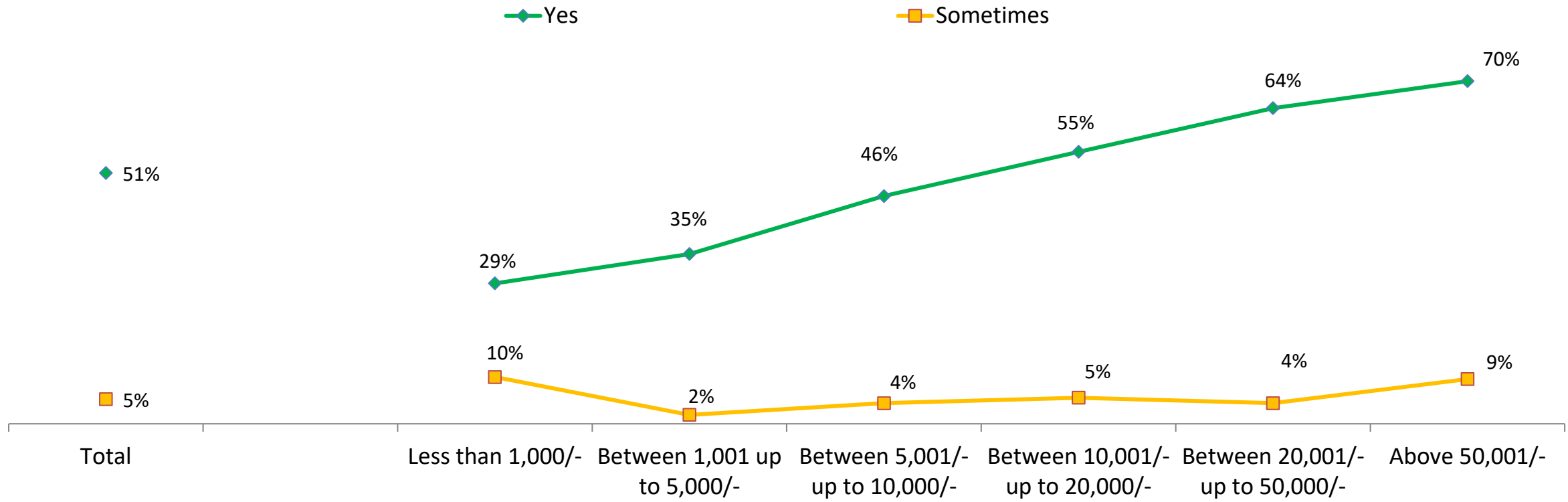


# Capacity to Save Any Monthly Earnings

by household heads, by five monthly income categories (Among the 76% household heads among the 66% Working/Earning)



While there is a clear correlation between monthly income and the capacity to save at the end of each month, it is perhaps not as great as might be expected, as even more than one-quarter those in the lowest income category report being able to do this (29%), even though more than twice as many in the highest income category (70%) say they do this.



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

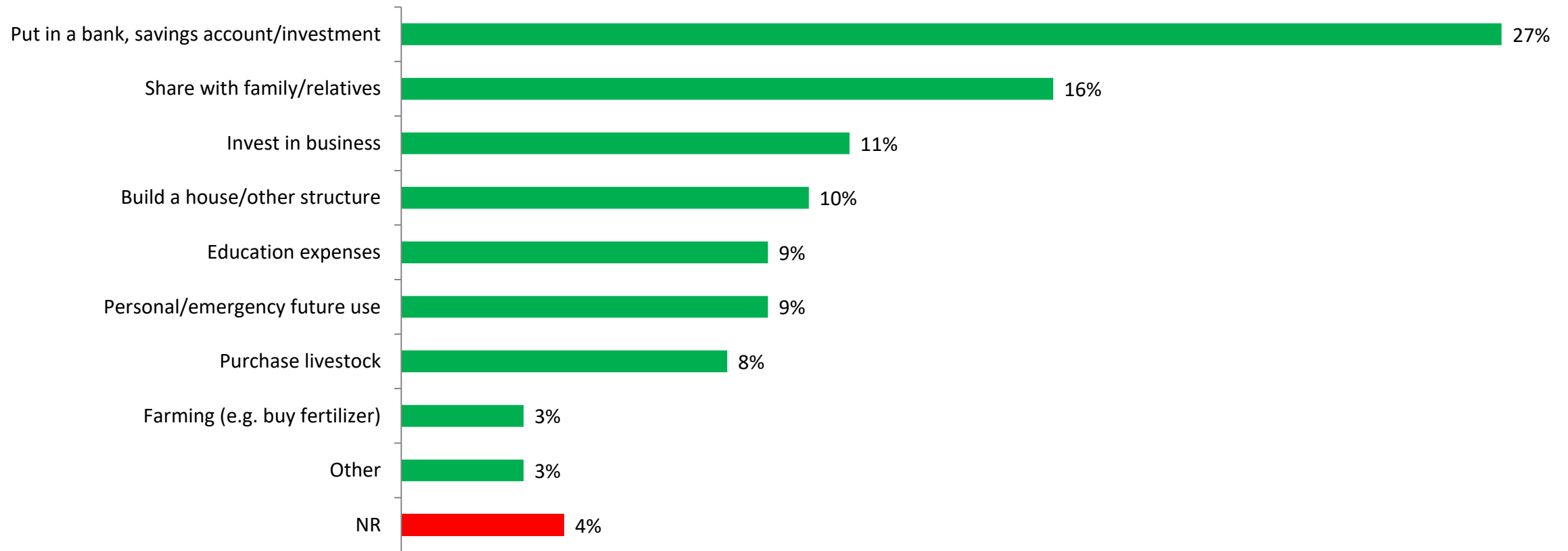
Base = (591)

# Main Use of Savings by the 51% of Earners Able to Save Anything Monthly

*by total*



☐ While only about half of income earners report being able to save anything at the end of each month, a clear plurality (27%) indicate they put most of it in a savings account or other form of investment.

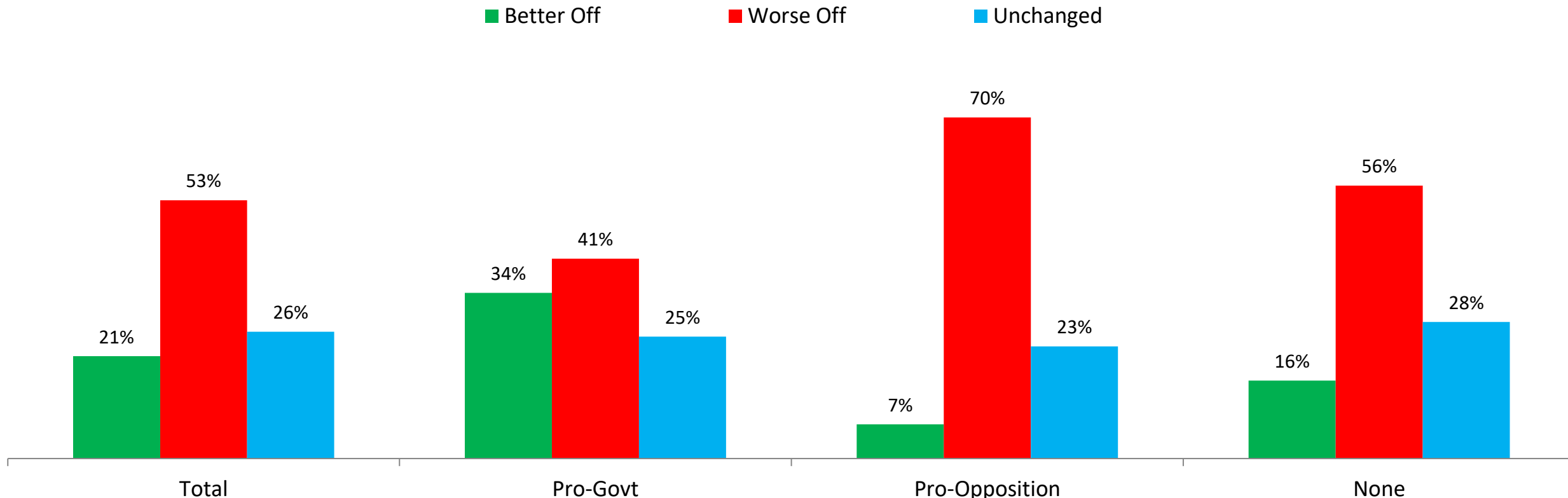


# Personal/Household Economic Position Compare to One Year Ago

by total, political alignment



- Comparing their personal/household economic situation with that of one year ago, only one-fifth of Kenyans consider that it has improved (21%), with most of the rest judging it to have gotten worse (53%). However, even if a plurality of Government supporters likewise hold this negative view (41%), far more Opposition supporters do so (70%), which also applies to those professing no political alignment (56%).







# Concluding Comments

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

- ❑ The first is that the vast majority of Kenyans remain quite poor, a reality that applies even to those employed/earning income. At the same time, in terms of their current economic position compared to one year ago, most Kenyans report it is being worse, even if this applies far more to Opposition than to Government supporters. (Whether this more positive view among the latter is based on economic-financial reality, or is rather, more a reflection of 'political loyalty' to the Kenya Kwanza leadership, would require a further analysis of the survey data.)
- ❑ Turning to Kenya Kwanza government performance, far more Kenyans recall its campaign promise to reduce the cost of living than any of the many others, though (together with the promise to create employment) give it the lowest 'high success' rating of the five such promises so rated (just 8%). As such, even if a slight plurality have "complete confidence" that this promise will be fulfilled by the time of the next election, it is clear that the government has a 'steep climb' to bring this about, especially considering the country's continuing population increase and a dire international economic climate (one of the key consequences of which has been a dramatic decline in the value of the KShs.).



# Concluding Comments

- ❑ At the same time, the higher overall (mean) score the government receives as compared to June in terms of whether it has at least begun to fulfill its campaign promises should give hope to its leadership that at least a significant section of the public is willing to give it the benefit of the doubt regarding the next four years. However, whether this clear if modest 'upward' trend will continue during its remaining four years remains to be seen.
- ❑ The basis for such (if mild) optimism is also reflected in the higher proportion of Kenyans who now consider the country to be headed in the right direction, even if many other factors are known to feed into this evaluation (e.g., political tensions, local and national security issues, human rights and other justice sector issues, and so on).
- ❑ Finally, the fact that self-evaluations of one's one/household economic condition compared to a year ago correlates less than fully about Kenyans' current direction underscores the previous point: the such evaluations about the country as a whole, while certainly reflecting such immediate economic realities, go considerably beyond them – and thus invites a far more deeper analysis as to the basis for public opinion on a variety of subjects, which is just true elsewhere as it is in Kenya.





# Methodology & Demographics

# Methodology Overview



|                 |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
|-----------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Fieldwork Date  | 8 <sup>th</sup> - 10 <sup>th</sup> September 2023                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| Geographical    | Nationally Representative Sample (spread across 9 Zones ; <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Central Rift, Coast, Lower Eastern, Mt Kenya, Nairobi, Northern, Nyanza, South Rift, Western</li></ul>                                                               |
| Data collection | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ Telephonic Interviews conducted (with respondents whose contacts were collected through previous face-to-face (i.e., household-based interviews)</li><li>▪ The interviews conducted in Swahili (mainly) and English.</li></ul> |
| Sample          | 1,007 respondents                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| Margin of error | +/- 3.1 % (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 |

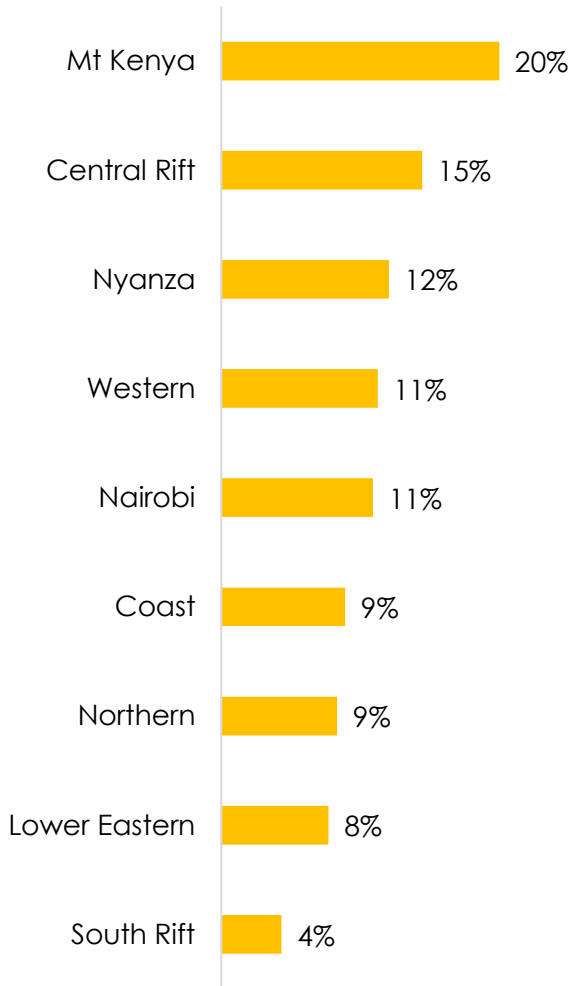
| County      | Region   |
|-------------|----------|
| Trans Nzoia | Western  |
| Kakamega    | Western  |
| Vihiga      | Western  |
| Bungoma     | Western  |
| Busia       | Western  |
| Garissa     | Northern |
| Wajir       | Northern |
| Mandera     | Northern |
| Marsabit    | Northern |
| Isiolo      | 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 |

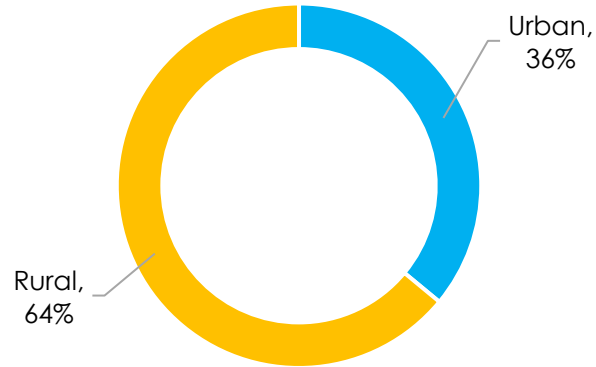
# Demographics:

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

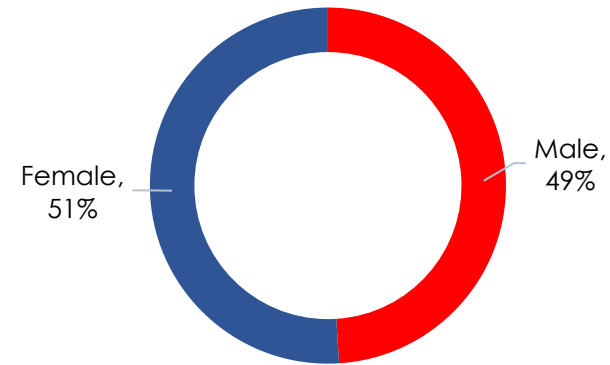
**Zone**



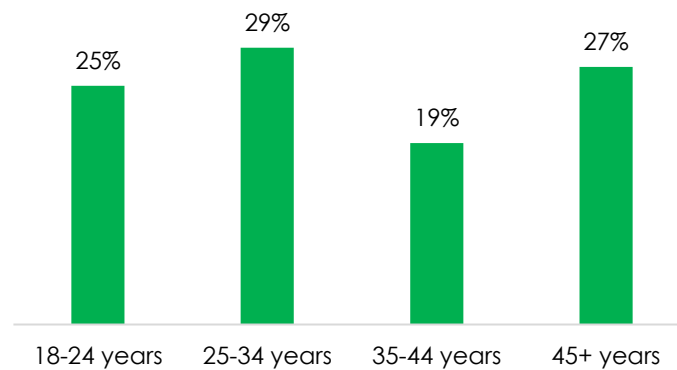
**Setting**



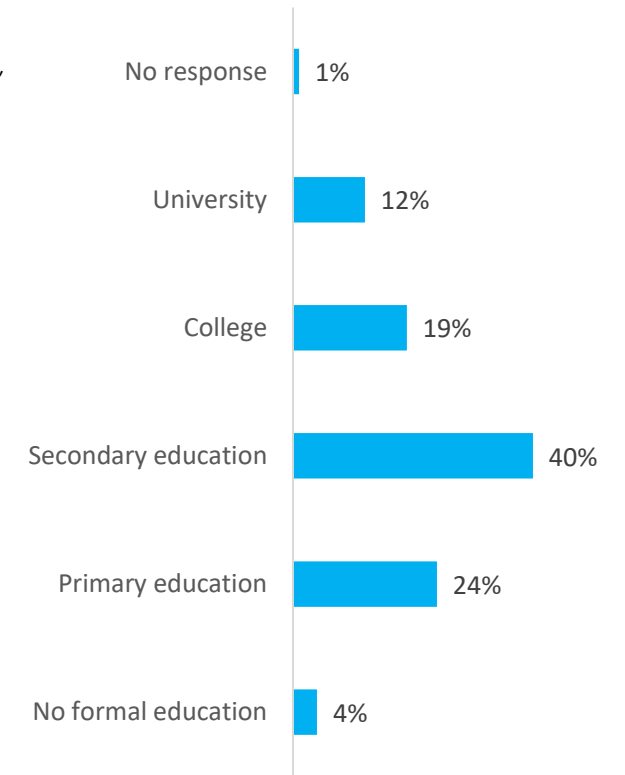
**Gender**



**Age**



**Highest education level**





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