SPEC Barometer, 2nd QTR 2018

First Media Release

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GAME CHANGERS

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Contents

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METHODOLOGY

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Methodology

Dates of Fieldwork	25TH July– 2nd August, 2018
Sample Size	2,016 (Total Individual Contacts: 3, 484)
Sampling Methodology	Random, Multi-stage stratified using PPS (proportionate to population size) Spread across 46 counties
Population Universe	Kenyan adults, aged 18 and above living in Urban and Rural areas
Data Collection Methodology	Face-to-Face interviews at the household level
Sampling Error	+/-2.16% with a 95% confidence level (**Note: Higher error-margins for sub-samples**)
Interview Languages	English, Swahili, Somali

Sample Structure Statistics: Across 46 Counties

Region	Sample Frame statistics (July 2018) *Weighted data	% of Sample	Population Census of 2009 Adults (18 years +)	% Of Population
Central	268	13	2,548,038	13
Coast	174	9	1,711,549	9
Eastern	303	15	2,907,293	15
Nairobi	214	11	2,042,770	10
North Eastern	98	5	929,158	5
Nyanza	262	13	2,547,980	13
Rift Valley	496	25	4,795,482	25
Western	203	10	1,980,090	10

KENYA POPULATION DENSITY

FIELDWORK SAMPLE MAPPING
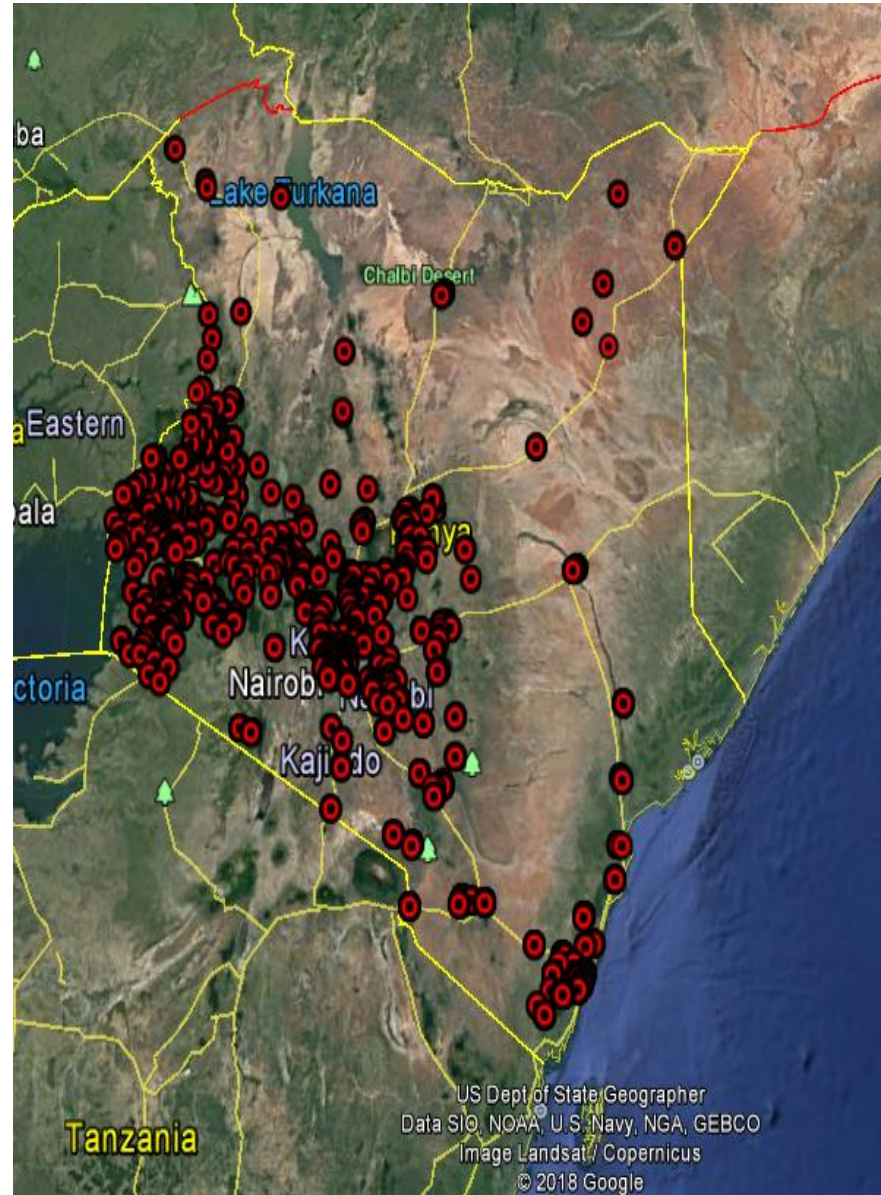
Quality Control Measures

IPSOS EMPLOYS QUALITY CONTROL MEASURES TO ENSURE THE HIGHEST POSSIBLE INTEGRITY OF OBTAINED RESULTS/DATA

- For at least 15% of the interviews, a supervisor is present throughout

- Field managers visit at least 15% of the respondents in the sample at their households to confirm the interviews (i.e. back-checking).

- After the interview data are electronically transmitted to the Ipsos server: an independent team then makes random phone calls to 20% of the respondents to confirm that the interviews were conducted with the said respondents (i.e., telephonic back-checks).

- Mobile data collection platform captures GPS location (latitudes and longitudes) of interviews conducted to verify the locations of the interviewers in the field alongside allowing silent recording.

- Logical data checks are made on selected questionnaire entries to ensure conformity with the flow of the questions answered by the respondents.

- Sample quotas were monitored to match the sample's statistical parameters.

RESPONDENTS' DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

(**Weighted for:** Gender, Age, Region and Setting)

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DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

Religion

- Mainstream Protestant — 40%
- Catholic — 23%
- Other Christian — 18%
- Muslim — 10%
- SDA — 7%
- Atheist/None — 1%

Gender

- Female — 51%
- Male — 49%

Age

- 18 – 24 years — 28%
- 25 – 34 years — 29%
- 35 – 44 years — 18%
- 45+ years — 25%

Setting

- Rural — 63%
- Urban — 37%
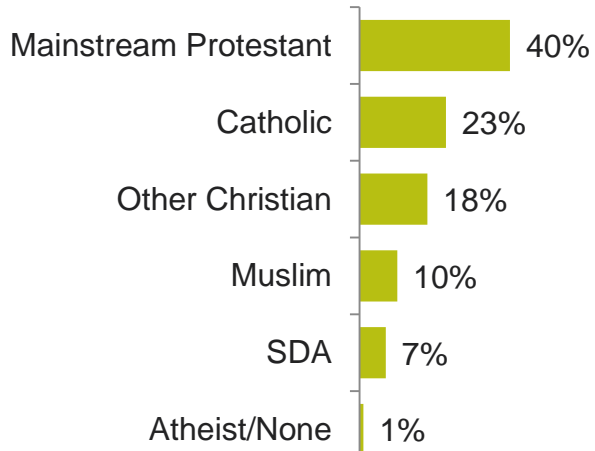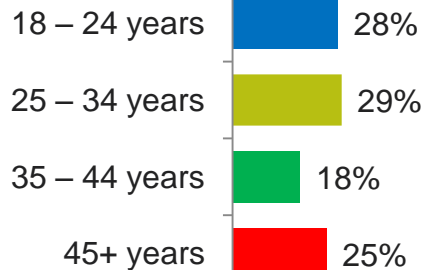
Main Source of Household Income

- Self-employment — 42%
- Agriculture — 19%
- Private sector — 16%
- Public Sector — 7%
- Given money by others — 6%
- Livestock — 3%
- Casual labourer — 2%
- Pension from previous employment — 1%
- DK — 1%
- RTA — 2%

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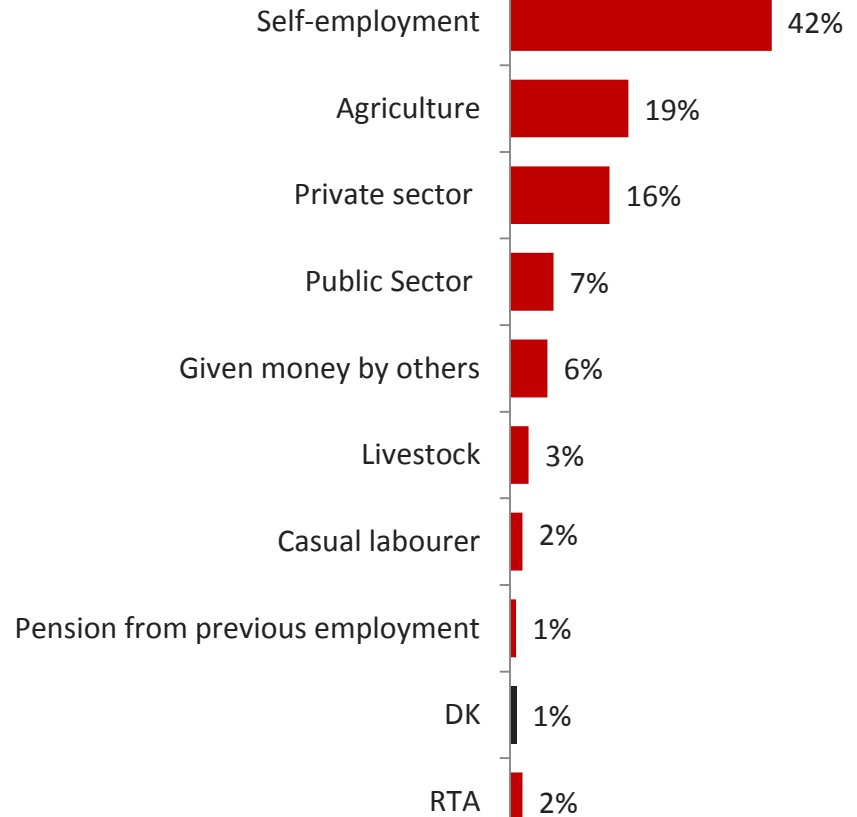
DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

Level of Education

Level	%
No Formal	4%
Some Primary	15%
Primary Completed	19%
Some Secondary	14%
Secondary Completed	28%
Some Mid-Level College	7%
Completed Mid-Level College	6%
Some University	3%
University Completed	3%
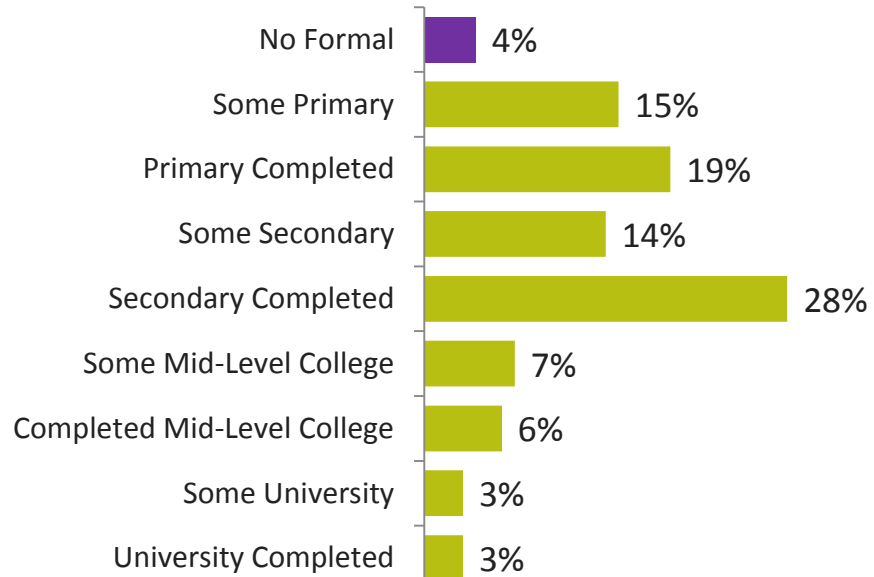
Estimated Total Monthly Household Income

Income	%
No income	2%
Less than 10,000	39%
10,001 – 25,000	34%
25,001 – 40,000	13%
40,001 – 55,000	4%
55,001 – 75,000	2%
Above 75,001	1%
DK	2%
RTA	3%

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DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

Employment Status

Category	Percentage
Self-Employed	45%
Peasant/Herder	12%
Unemployed	12%
Private Sector Employee	11%
Casual Labour	9%
Public Sector Employee	5%
Student	4%
NGO/Religious Sector Employee	1%
Unable to work	1%
Retired	1%
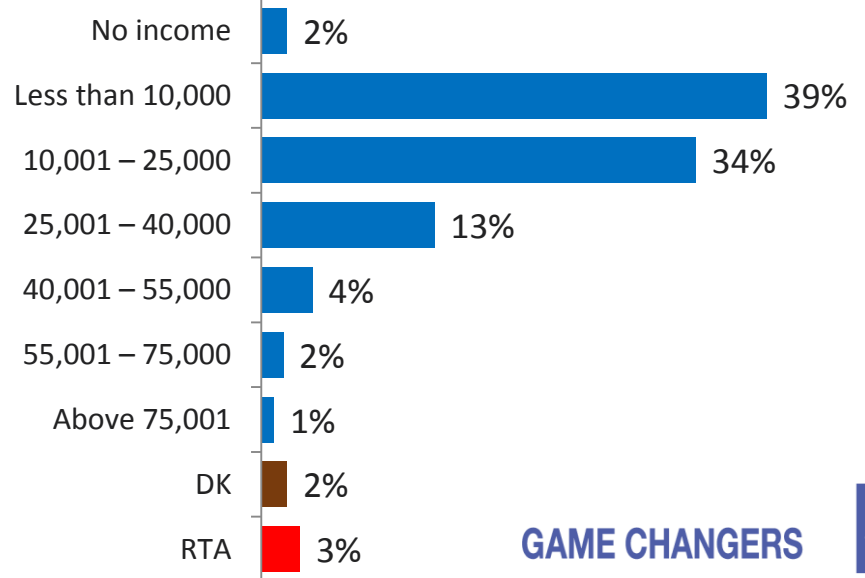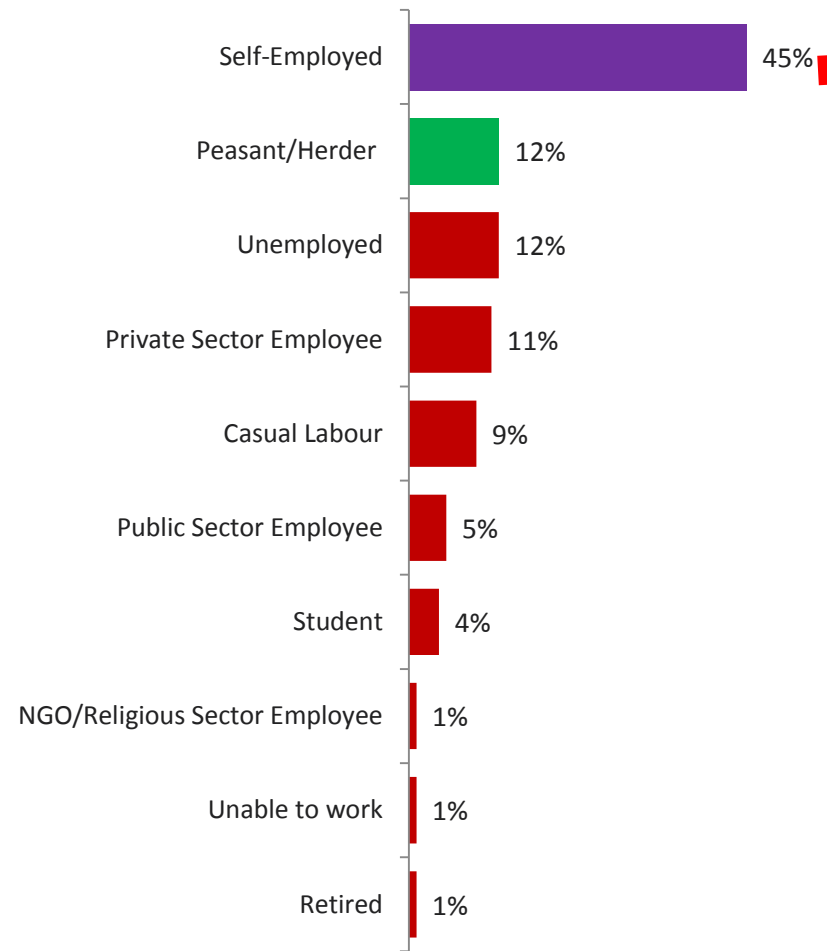
Total Wage Employment: 17%

Main Source of Self-Employment

Category	Percentage
Agriculture produce marketing	25%
Foodstuffs kiosk	18%
General goods kiosk	15%
Formal private sector (business owners)	10%
Livestock marketing	6%
Transport (owner/driver)	6%
Electrical/mechanical repair/sales	5%
Builder	4%
Boutique	2%
Hairdressing	1%
Other (16 Mentions)	5%
NR	3%

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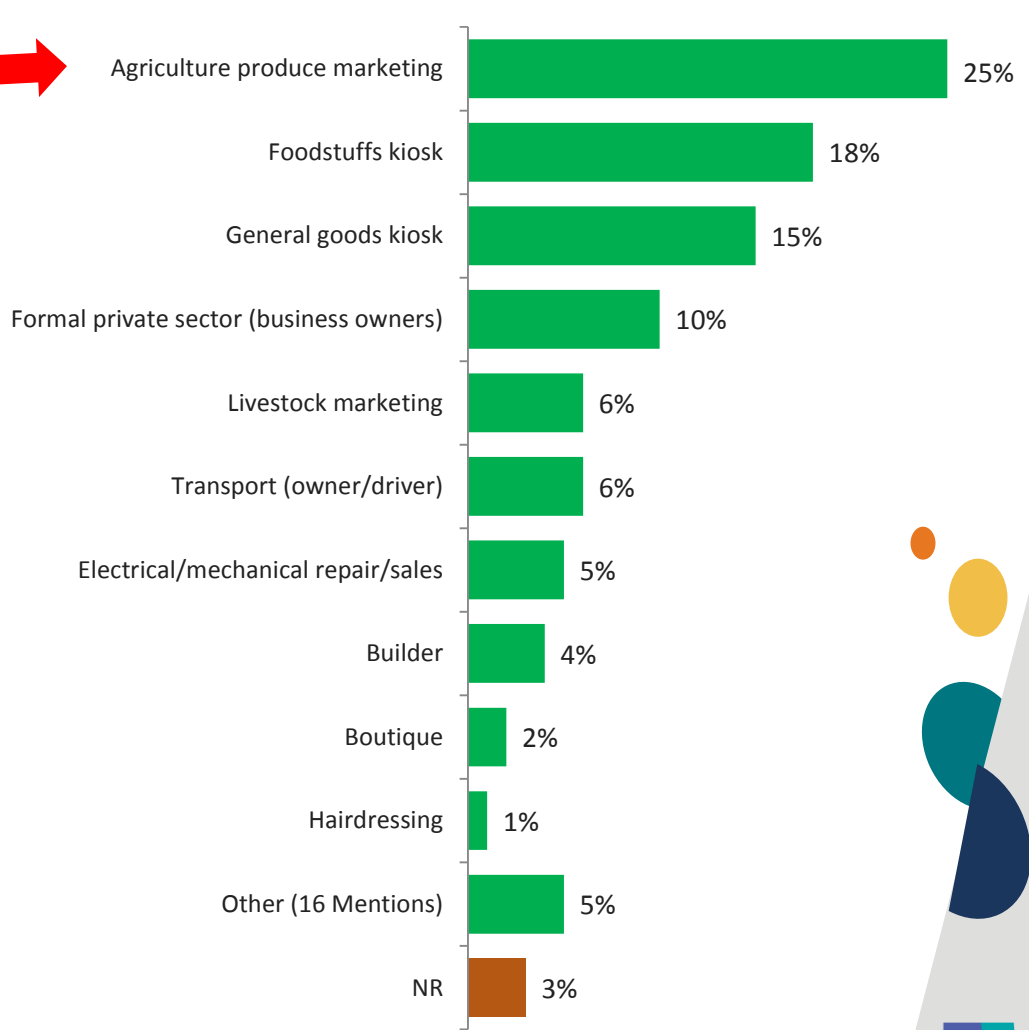
DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE
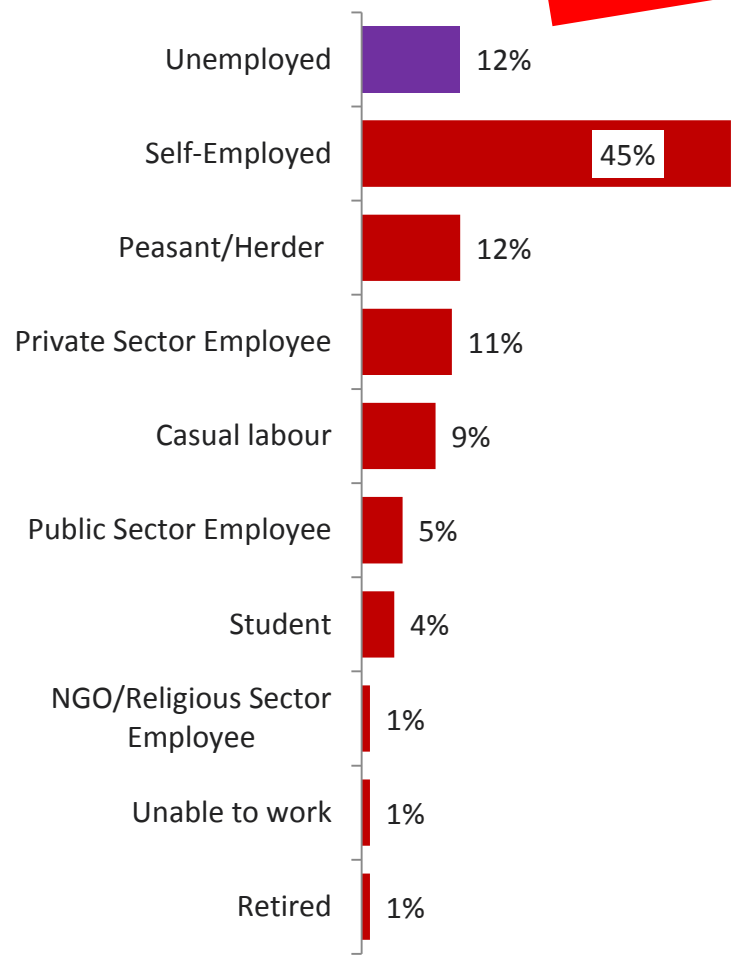
Employment Status

Main Source of Money (of the 33% Who Report Having Earned Any)

Employment Status	%
Unemployed	12%
Self-Employed	45%
Peasant/Herder	12%
Private Sector Employee	11%
Casual labour	9%
Public Sector Employee	5%
Student	4%
NGO/Religious Sector Employee	1%
Unable to work	1%
Retired	1%

Total Wage Employment: 17%

Main Source of Money	%
Casual manual labor	46%
Sold produce	27%
Given by others	17%
Betting/Gambling	9%

Base: (n=79)

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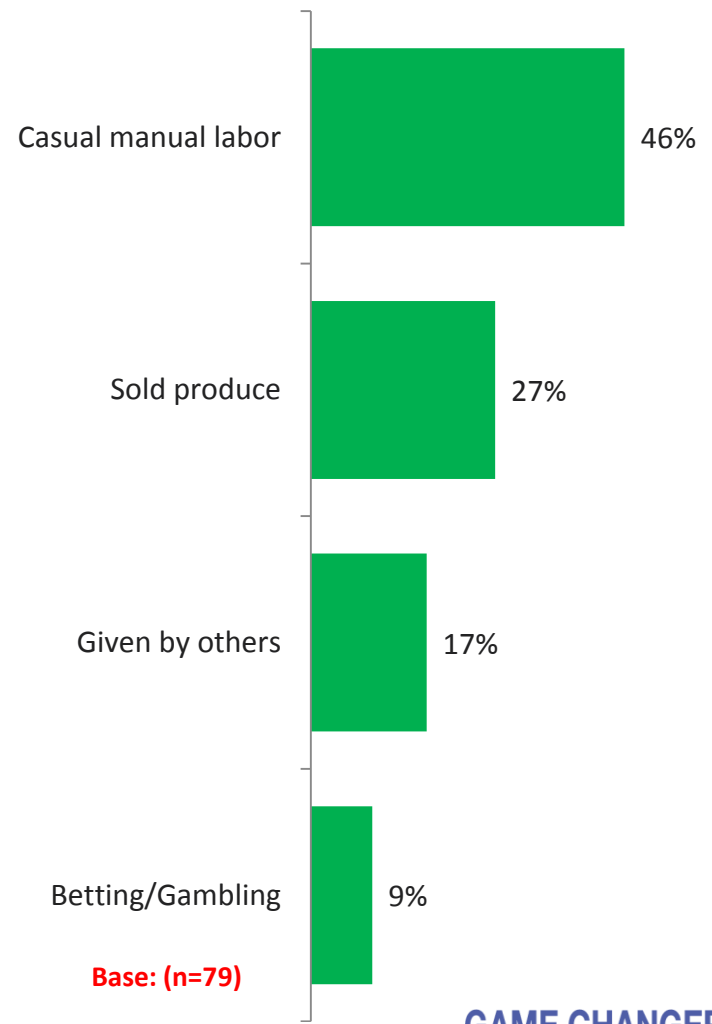
Cautionary Point

Fieldwork for this survey was conducted between 25th July and 2nd August. During and after that time several developments occurred whose (full) impact may not be reflected in some of the results reported in this survey. Among (the many of) them are:

July:
- 30th: Confusion over fate of life-style audit of civil servants who were barred from working now that the 30 day period has expired and their cases have not been determined

- 31st: EACC demands Police be excluded from corruption investigations due to their own corruption

August:
- 1st: Head of Civil Service Joseph Kinyua appeals ruling of Judge Byram Ongaya that the suspension of numerous civil service during the conduct of a life-style audit while continuing to pay them was illegal

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Cautionary Point

Recent Events Not (Fully) Captured (con't):

- Aug. 2: Two parliamentary committees recommend prosecution of two CSs for sugar import scandal

- 3rd: Parliamentary sugar investigation Chair Kanini Kega denies accusations that his Committee's report was "doctored"

- 4th: Igembe North MP Maoka Maore suggests a strict tightening of bail terms to raise the cost of corruption

- Making explicit reference to various integrity surveys, EACC vice-chairperson Sophia Lepuchirit questions the capacity of the DCI/the Police to properly investigate corruption, given their own integrity-deficit

- 8th: CS Adan Mohamed and CS Henry Rotich as well as former Agriculture CS Willy Bett targeted in parliamentary censure motion over contraband sugar imports

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Cautioning Point

Recent Events Not (Fully) Captured (con't):

- 9th: Opposition MPs begin collecting signatures to impeach CS Rotich for illegal sugar imports

- 9th: Uhuru tells GK agencies to prosecute officials who have grabbed public land and allocated riparian land

- 10th: Kidero and Son arrested, charged in connection with selling adulterated petroleum products

- 10th: Claims that payment of bribes accounts for NA's failure to adopt Committee's report on illegal sugar imports

- 14th: Dismas Barasa Kimilili MP accuses Wajir Women's Rep of offering the 10K bribes to reject the report

- 10th: Opposition Nairobi MCAs claim Governor Mike Sonko's anti-corruption efforts only "a PR stunt"

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Cautionary Point

Recent Events Not (Fully) Captured (con't):

- 11th: DP Ruto promises to support DPP on graft cases

- 12tH: President Uhuru says his war on graft has cost him many friends; Raila calls for the recovery of stolen assets

- 13th: NLC Chair Muhammed Swazuri and others charged with SGR inflated land sales

- 13th: LSK criticizes EAAC corruption arrests as PR exercises

- 16th: EACC officials arrest Migori and Homa Bay county officers (with others still at large), charging them with various financial crimes since 2014

- 18th: Uhuru holds meeting with senior EACC officials at which he pledges his full support

- 19th: DP Ruto criticizes intention of parliament to impeach Treasury CS Henry Rotich

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Cautionary Point

Recent Events Not (Fully) Captured (con't):

- 19th: Civil society groups demand the resignation of NLC Commissioners for corruption, threatening to make public the incrimination information they have collected if they do not

- 20th: Four Senators reported to be under investigation by the DCI for soliciting Shs. 100m bribe from businessman Francis Mburu over contested Ruaraka land

- 20th: 400 civil servants cleared following completion of life-style audits, a process which began on June 4

- 20th: KEBS and other investigators in Mombasa announce they have seized a million bags of toxic rice as well as sub-standard cooking oil from Malaysia

- 20th: Court of Appeal rejects effort by former Roads CS Michael Kamau to have fresh charges brought by the EACC quashed on procedural grounds

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ANTI-CORRUPTION EFFORTS AND EXPECTED OUTCOMES

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"What would you say is the most serious problem facing Kenya today?" – Trend Analysis for Corruption: April 2011 – July 2018

Grand Coalition Gov't | Jubilee Gov't

Data points:
Apr-11: 6%, Jun-11: 10%, Oct-11: 3%, Dec-11: 7%, Mar-12: 13%, Nov-12: 14%, Jun-13: 4%, Nov-13: 7%, Feb-14: 8%, May-14: 10%, Sep-14: 8%, Nov-14: 8%, Dec-14: 6%, Apr-15: 19%, Aug-15: 21%, Nov-15: 25%, June-16: 20%, Jan-17: 21%, May-17: 15%, July-17: 10%, March-18: 10%, July-18: 32%

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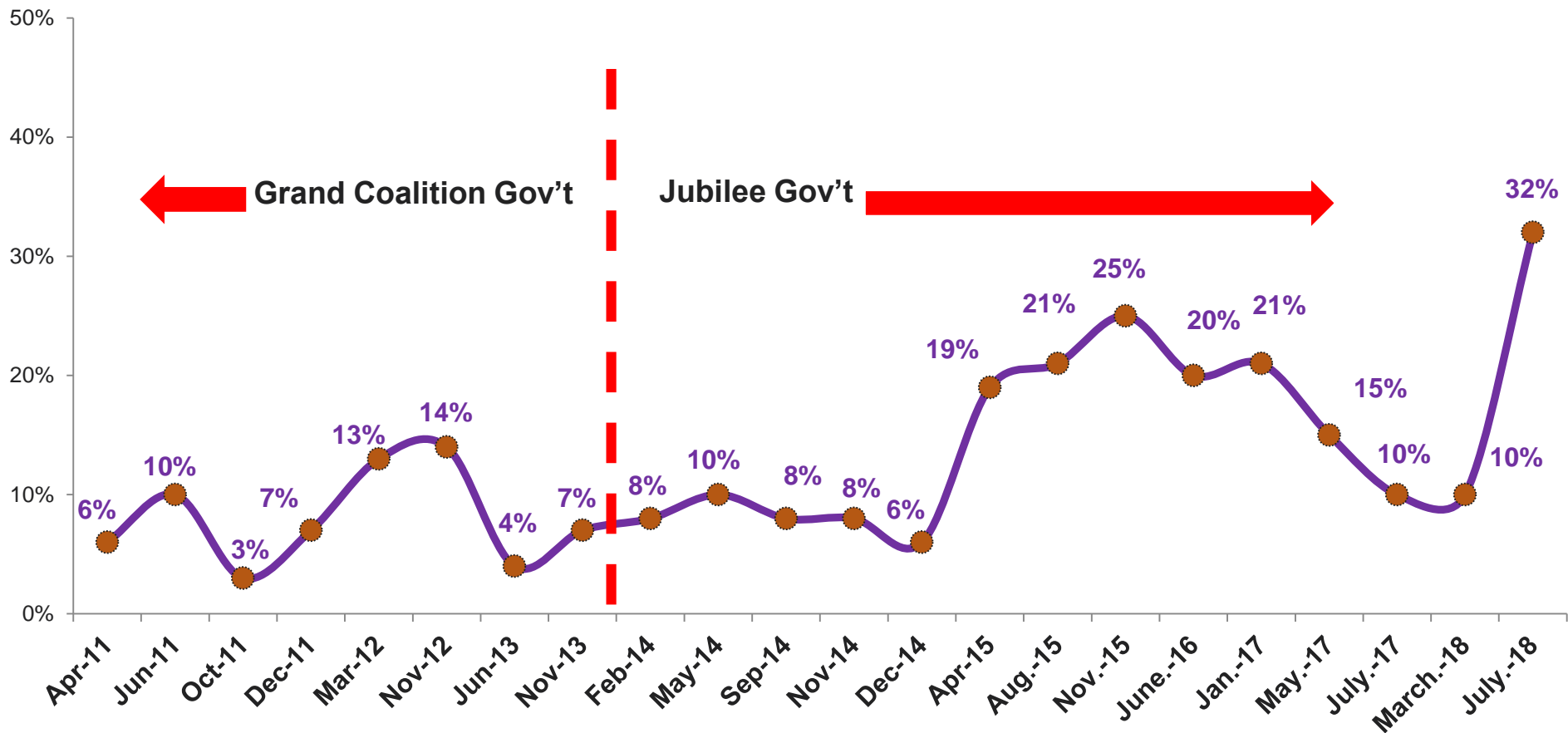
Awareness of Any Corruption Scandals Under Jubilee:
by Total, Supporters of the Main Political Parties/Coalitions

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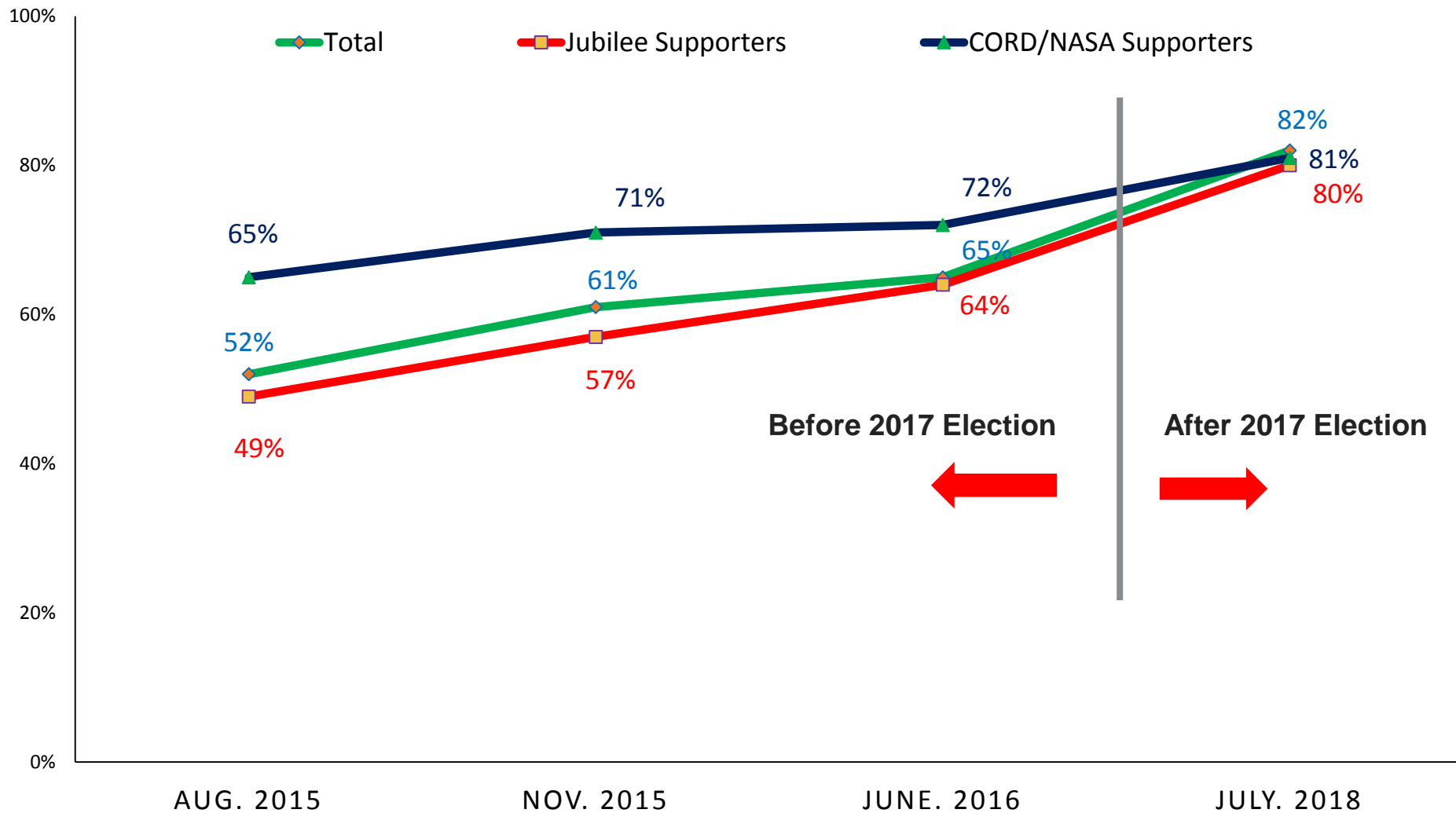
Awareness of Any Corruption Scandals Since Jubilee's Re-Election in 2017: *by Level of Education*

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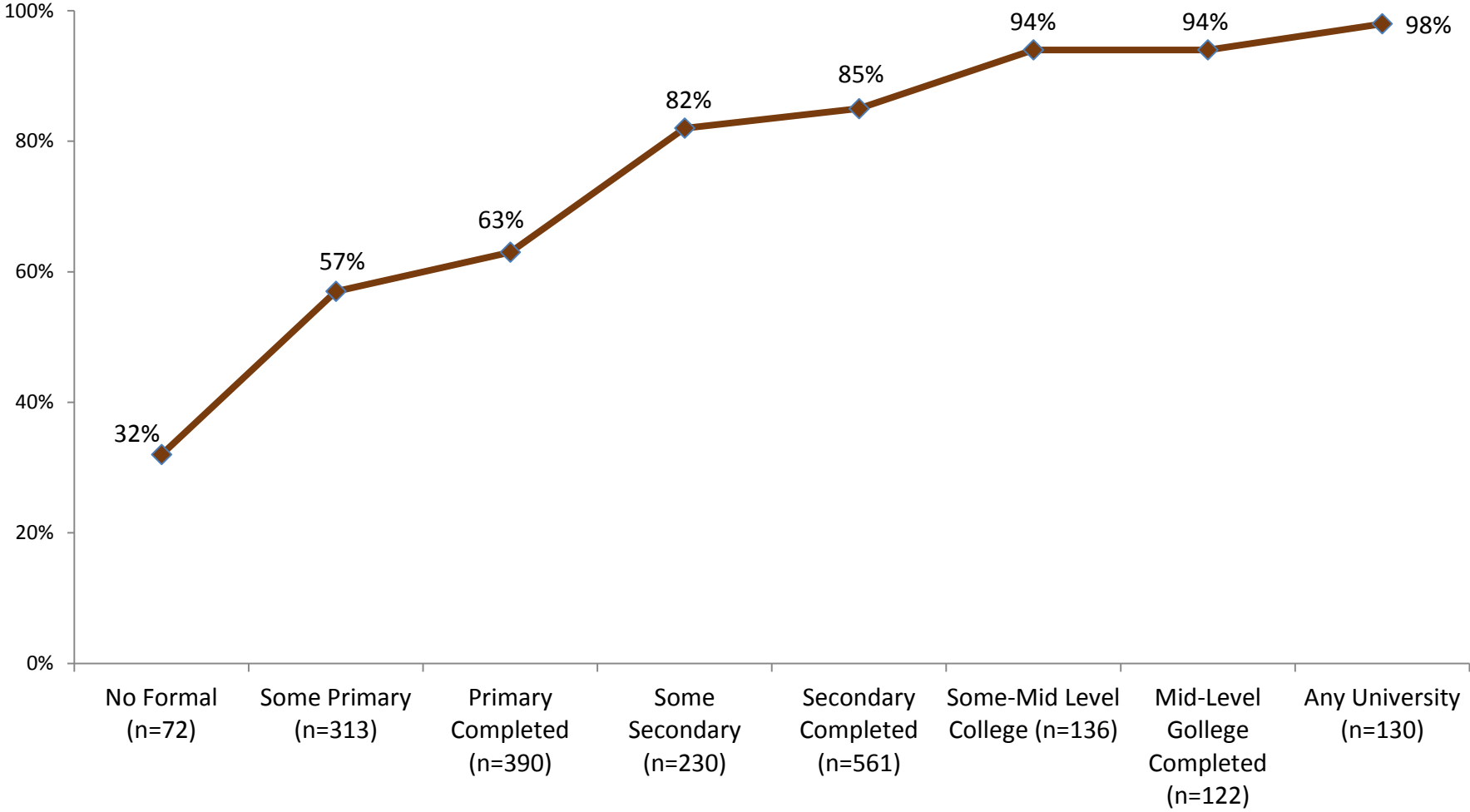
"Since the Jubilee government was re-elected last year, what major cases of corruption have you heard about?": *by Total* (Multiple Response, Unprompted)

Scandal	%	Scandal	%
NYS	66%	SGR Land Purchase	3%
Kenya Power	27%	Health Ministry	1%
Sugar Importation	18%	County Government	1%
Maize Importation	15%	IEBC	1%
NCPB/Maize Buying	12%	Mau Forest Land	1%
Ruaraka School Land	12%	Other (13 Mentions)	1%
Kenya Pipeline	6%	None/Can't Remember	23%
SGR Construction	5%	N/A	2%

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Awareness of Particular Individuals Mentioned In Connection with Any Corruption Scandals Under Jubilee: *by Total (Among the 42% Able to Mention Anyone Believed to Be Connected to Any Post-Election Corruption Scandal)* (Multiple Response, Unprompted)

More Than 1% of All Mentions		Fewer Than 2% of All Mentions	
Anne Waiguru	58%	Raila Odinga	1%
William Ruto	19%	Sicily Kariuki	1%
Ben Chumo	13%	Mbuvi Gideon Kioko 'Sonko'	1%
Lilian Mbogo Omollo	7%	Alfred Keter	1%
Ann Ngirita and Family	4%	Dr Ken Tarus	1%
Sospeter Ojamong'	4%	Mwangi Kiunjuri	1%
Uhuru Kenyatta	3%	Kipchumba Murkomen	1%
Fred Matiang'i	3%	Kenyatta Family	1%
Richard Ndubai	2%	Josephine Kabura	1%
Aden Duale	2%	Other (87 Mentions)	3%
Charles Keter	2%	Can't Remember	5%
Evans Kidero	2%		
Muhammed Swazuri	2%		
Muhoho Kenyatta	2%		

Base: (n=840)

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"Of all the current and past but still alive political leaders you can think of, which two do you think are or were the most corrupt?": *by Total, Supporters of the Main Political Parties/Coalitions (Among Those Mentioned by At Least 1%)*

Leader	Total (n=2,016)		Jubilee Supporters (n=1.043)	NASA Supporters (n=694)		% Difference
William Ruto	33%		22%	52%		+30%
Anne Waiguru	31%		30%	36%		+6%
Daniel Moi	17%		18%	17%		-1%
Uhuru Kenyatta	11%		7%	17%		+10%
Mwai Kibaki	5%		5%	4%		-1%
Raila Odinga	5%		9%	2%		-7%
Evans Kidero	5%		6%	3%		-3%
Kalonzo Musyoka	1%		1%	0%		-1%
Mbuvi Sonko	1%		1%	1%		0%
Sospeter Ojamong'	1%		0%	1%		+1%
All politicians	1%		0%	1%		+1%
DK	14%		15%	9%		-6%
RTA	2%		3%	2%		-1%
None	10%		13%	4%		-9%

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"Do you think it is likely that any of those involved in corruption will be convicted?": *by Total, Supporters of the Main Political Parties/Coalitions (Among the 42% Able to Mention Anyone Believed to Be Connected to any Post-Election Corruption Scandal)*

Legend: ■ Yes ■ No ■ Not Sure

	Yes	No	Not Sure
Total (n=840)	17%	73%	10%
Jubilee Supporters (n=391)	20%	69%	12%
NASA Supporters (n=349)	15%	77%	8%

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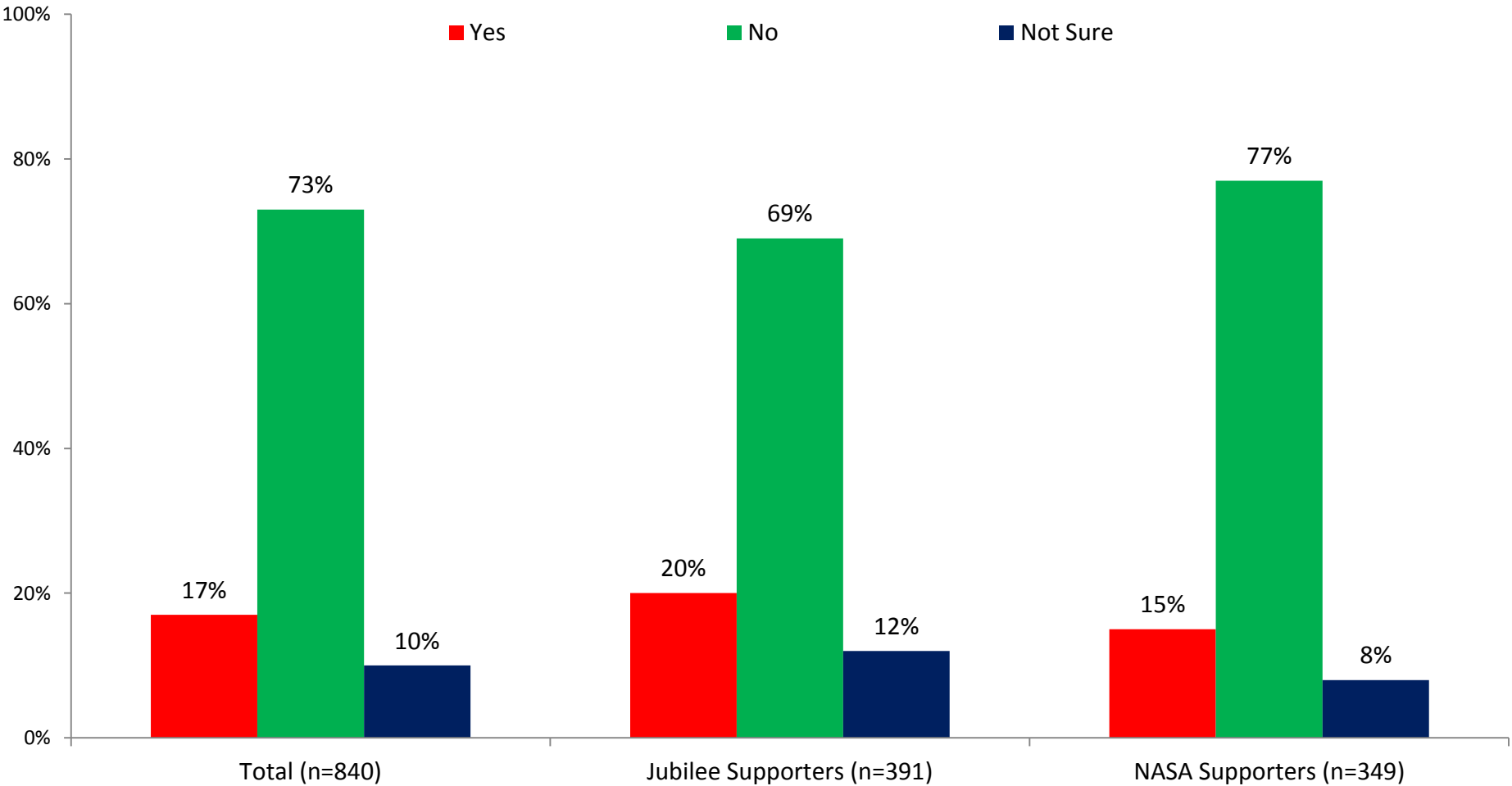
"Do you think the President is sincere in his efforts to reduce corruption?": *by Total, Supporters of Main Political Parties/Coalitions*

Legend: ■ Yes ■ No ■ Not Sure

	Yes	No	Not Sure
Total (n=2,016)	51%	35%	14%
Jubilee Supporters (n=1.043)	60%	27%	13%
NASA Supporters (n=694)	39%	47%	15%

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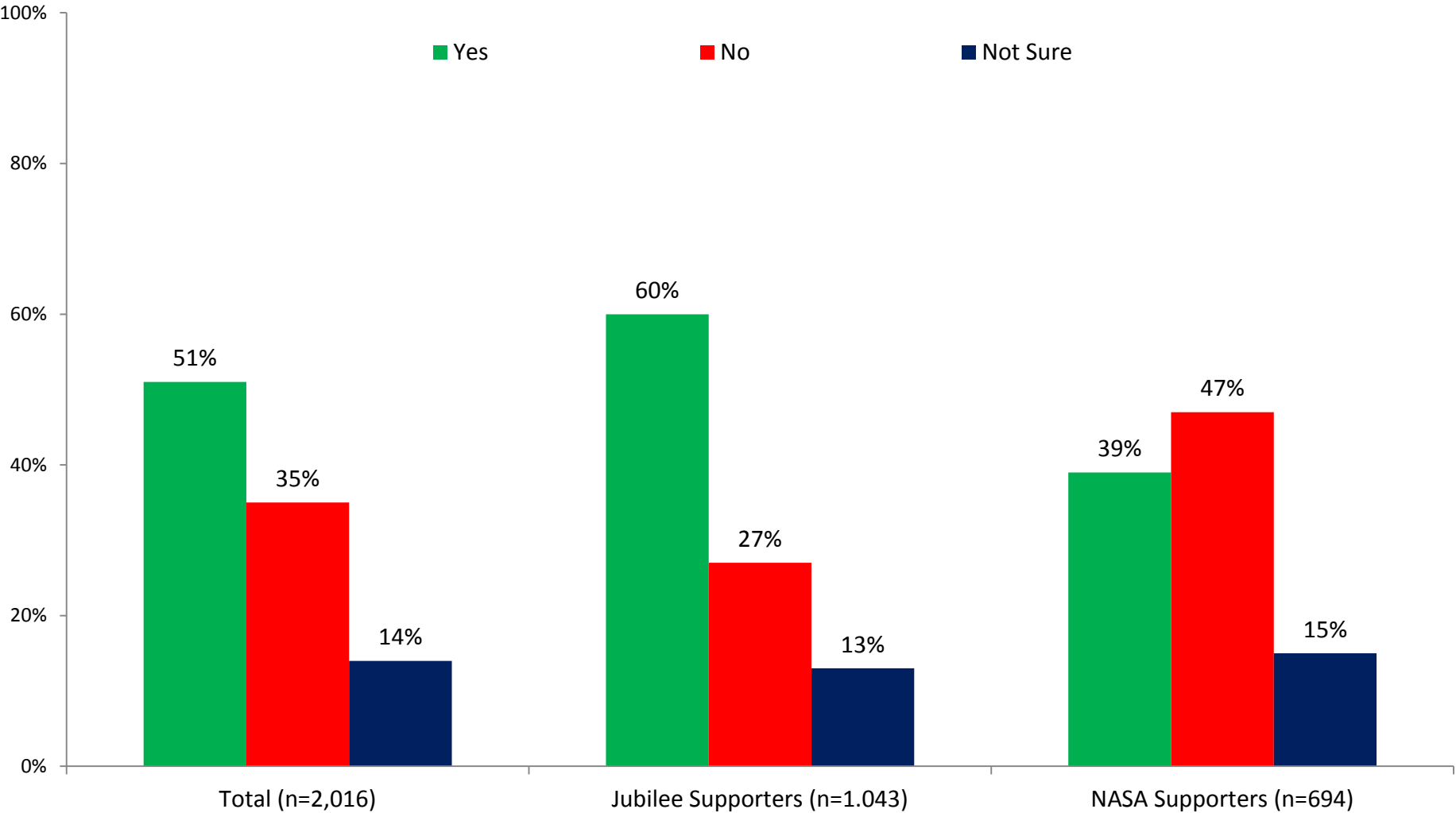
"How likely do you think it is that he will succeed in reducing corruption?": *by Total, Supporters of Main Political Parties/Coalitions*

Legend: Total (n=2,016) | Jubilee Supporters (n=1.043) | NASA Supporters (n=694)

	Certain	Likely But Not Certain	Not Likely But Possible	Certainly Not	Not sure
Total (n=2,016)	21%	31%	17%	24%	6%
Jubilee Supporters (n=1.043)	26%	31%	18%	20%	5%
NASA Supporters (n=694)	16%	32%	17%	29%	5%

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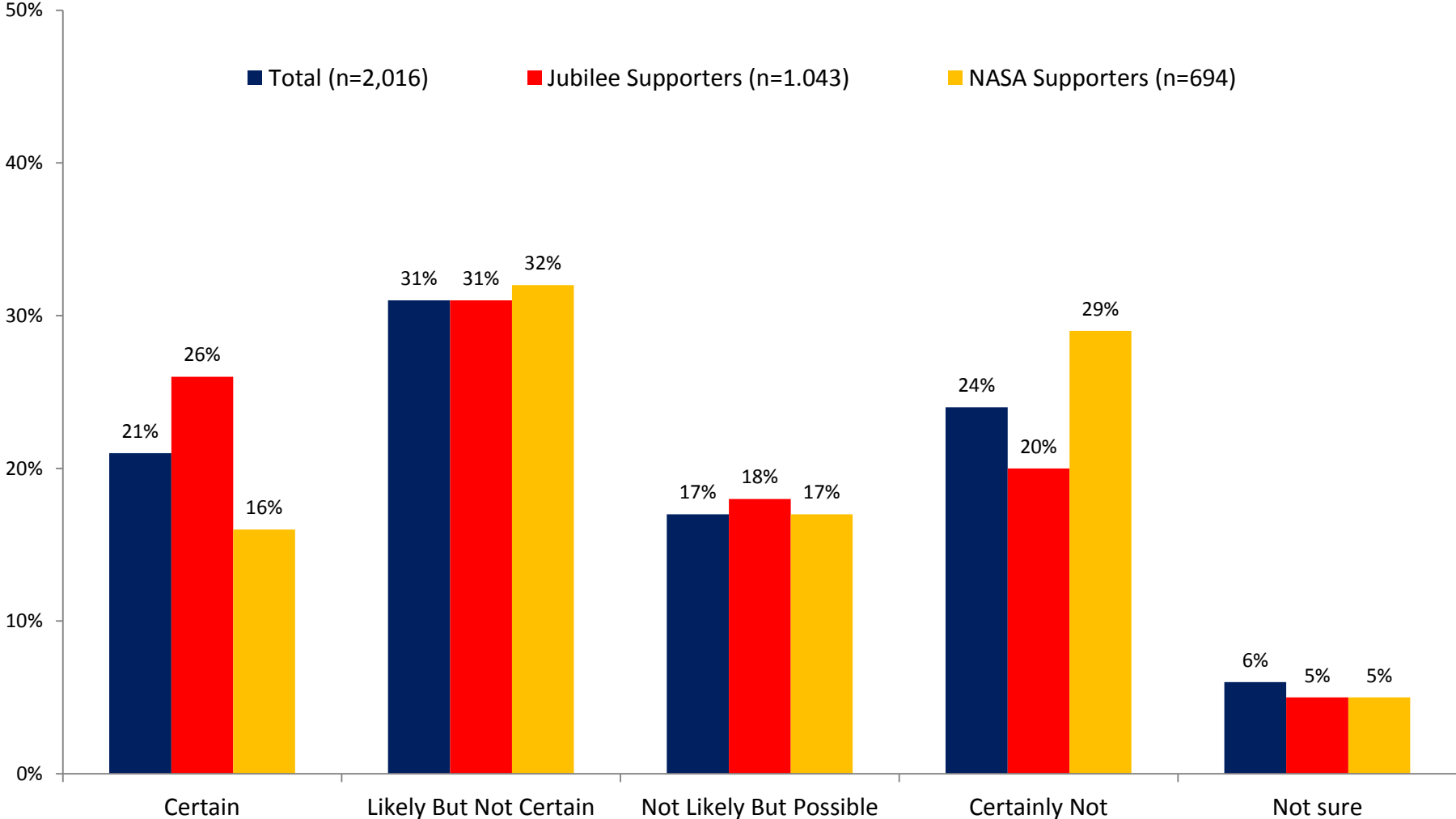
Perceived Sincerity of President in Fighting Corruption/Likelihood That He Will Succeed: Trend Analysis April 2015 – July 2018

% saying "Yes"

("Sincere" for April N/A)

	April. 2015	Aug. 2015	Nov. 2015	June. 2016	July. 2018
Is Sincere		51%	37%	44%	51%
Is Certain to Succeed	50%	25%	16%	16%	21%

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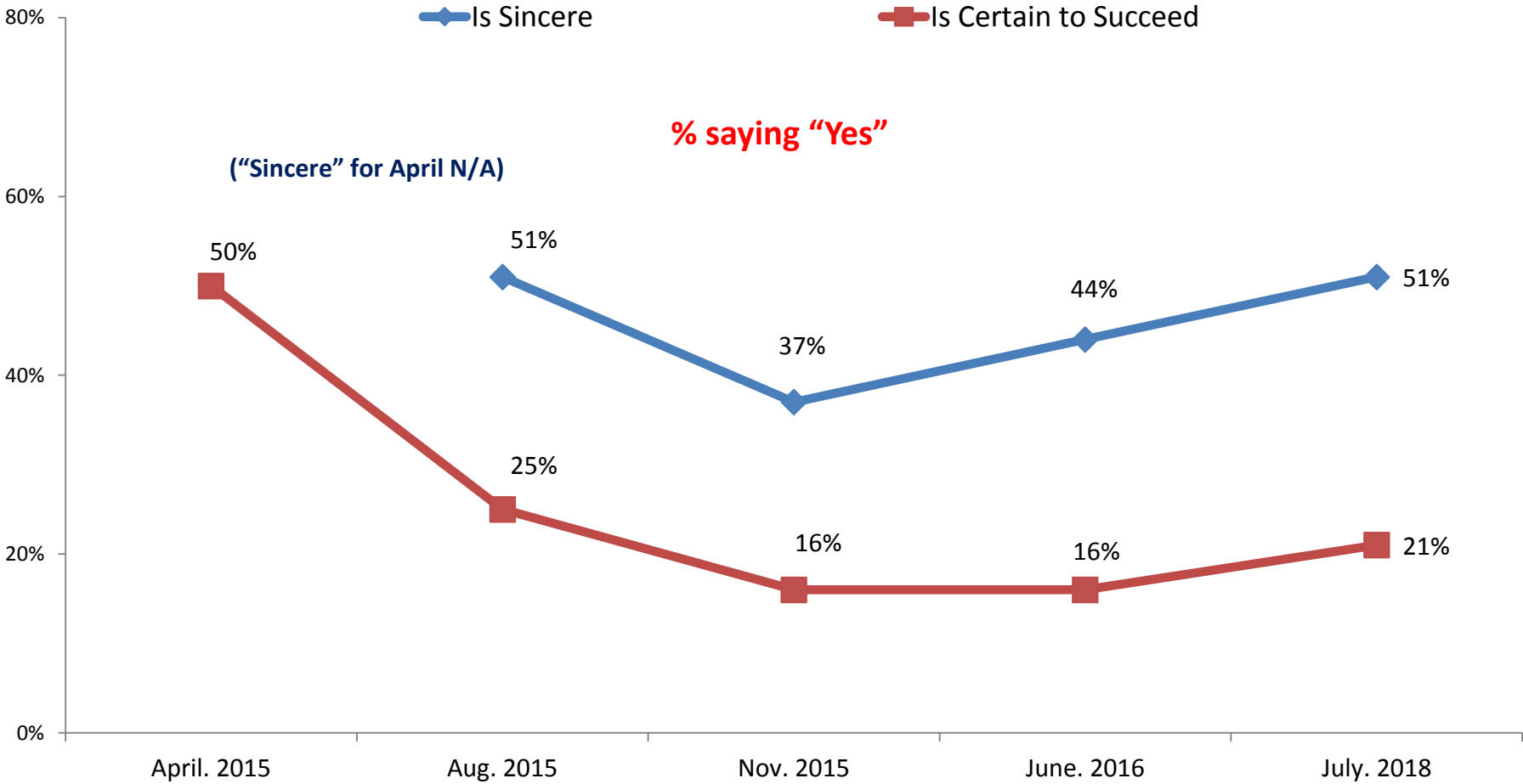
"What do you think is the main reason that anti-corruption efforts have not been very effective no far?" (Single Response, Unprompted): *by Total*

Reason	Percentage
Political Protection/Intimidation by 'Big People'	41%
Poverty/Greed Among Police/Investigators/Prosecutors	15%
Weak Legal Framework	11%
Corrupt Judiciary	9%
Corrupt Nature of Most Government Officials	2%
Kenyans' Support for/Engagement In Corrupt Practices (e.g bribery)	1%
Lack of Cooperation Among Leaders	1%
Pervasiveness of Favourism (i.e., tribalism, nepotism, etc.)	1%
Not Sure	8%
N/A	1%

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"What do you think is the main thing that could be done to reduce corruption?"(Single Response, Unprompted): *by Total*

Category	Percentage
Harsher/More Certain Criminal Punishments	31%
Sacking of Corrupt Officials by the President	23%
Increased Public Awareness	17%
More Focus on County-Level Corruption by the EACC	11%
More Cooperation Among Leaders	3%
Electing Leaders of Integrity	1%
Strengthening the Judicial	1%
Other (16 Mentions)	3%
Not Sure	5%
Nothing	4%

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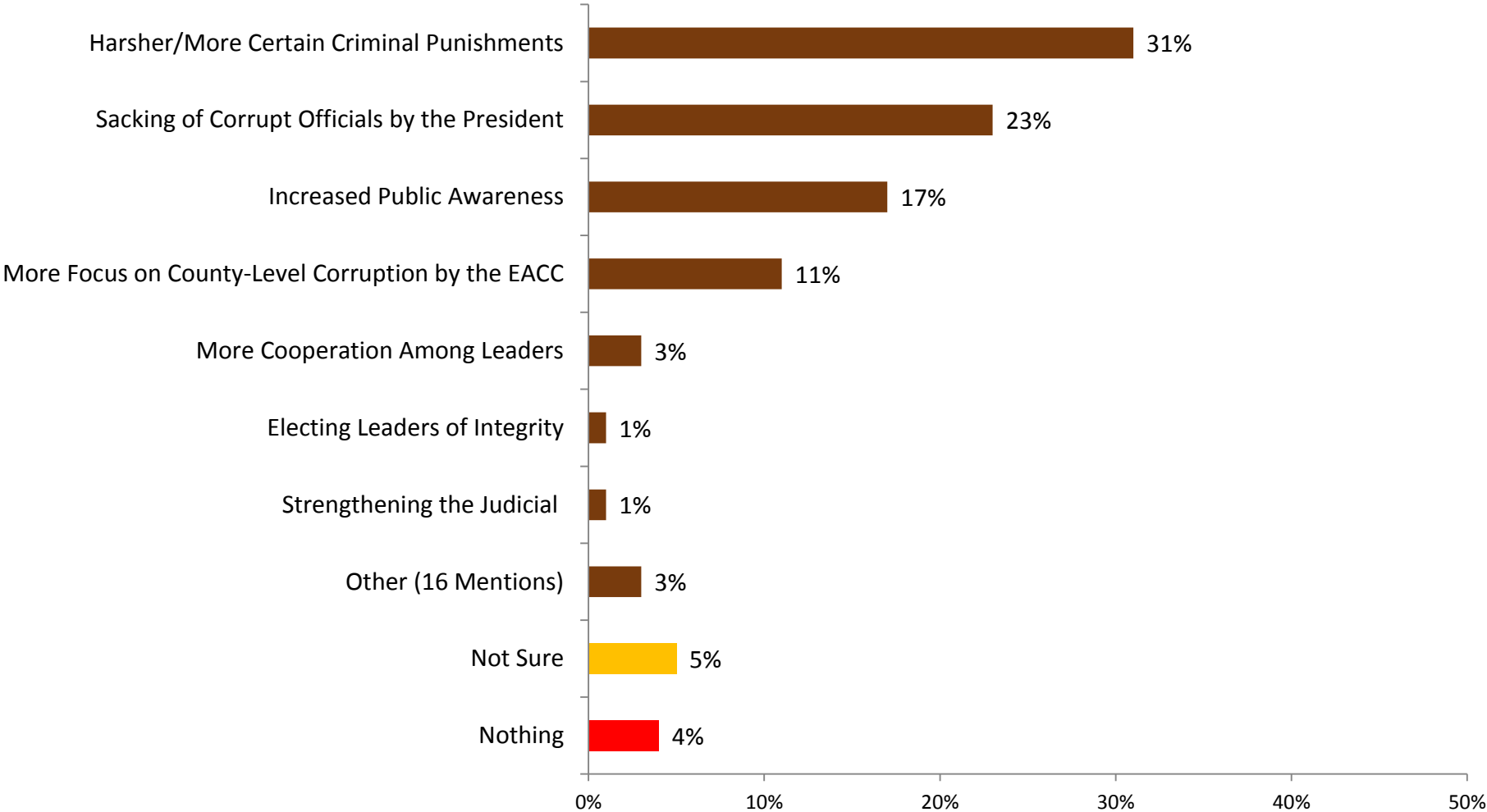
"Do you think someone who is corrupt can still be a good leader?":
by Total, Supporters of the Main Political Parties/Coalitions

■ Yes ■ No ■ Not Sure

	Total (n=2,016)	Jubilee Supporters (n=1,043)	NASA Supporters (n=694)
Yes	10%	12%	7%
No	87%	86%	90%
Not Sure	3%	3%	3%

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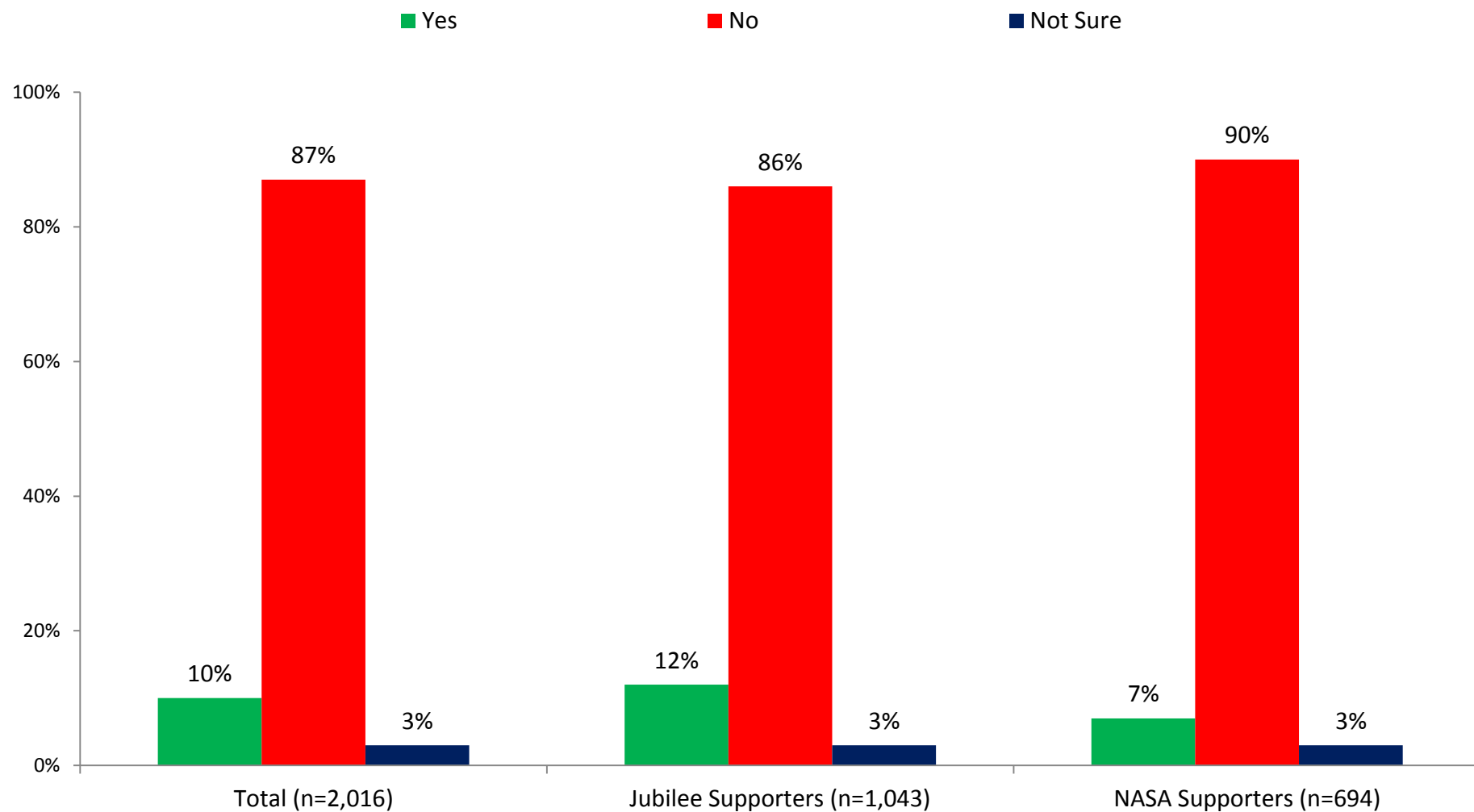
Belief that the President is/is Not Sincere in Fighting Corruption:
by Total, Those Who Do/Do Not Believe that a Corrupt Person Can/ Cannot Be a Good Leader

Legend:
- ■ President Is Sincere (green)
- ■ President Is Not Sincere (red)
- ■ Not Sure If He is Sincere (dark blue)

Total (n=2,016): President Is Sincere 51%, President Is Not Sincere 35%, Not Sure If He is Sincere 14%

Can Be a Good Leader (n=198): President Is Sincere 65%, President Is Not Sincere 24%, Not Sure If He is Sincere 11%

Cannot Be a Good Leader (n=1,754): President Is Sincere 50%, President Is Not Sincere 37%, Not Sure If He is Sincere 12%

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"How certain or likely do you think it is that each of the following would be convicted and punished if they committed a serious crime: (a) a high-ranking person such as a senior politician or government official, or a rich businessman/(b) an ordinary citizen?": *by Total*

Legend:
- ■ A High-Ranking Politician, Government Official or Rich Businessman
- ■ An Ordinary Citizen

	Certain	Possible	Certainly Not	Not Sure
A High-Ranking Politician, Government Official or Rich Businessman	17%	22%	58%	3%
An Ordinary Citizen	77%	18%	4%	1%

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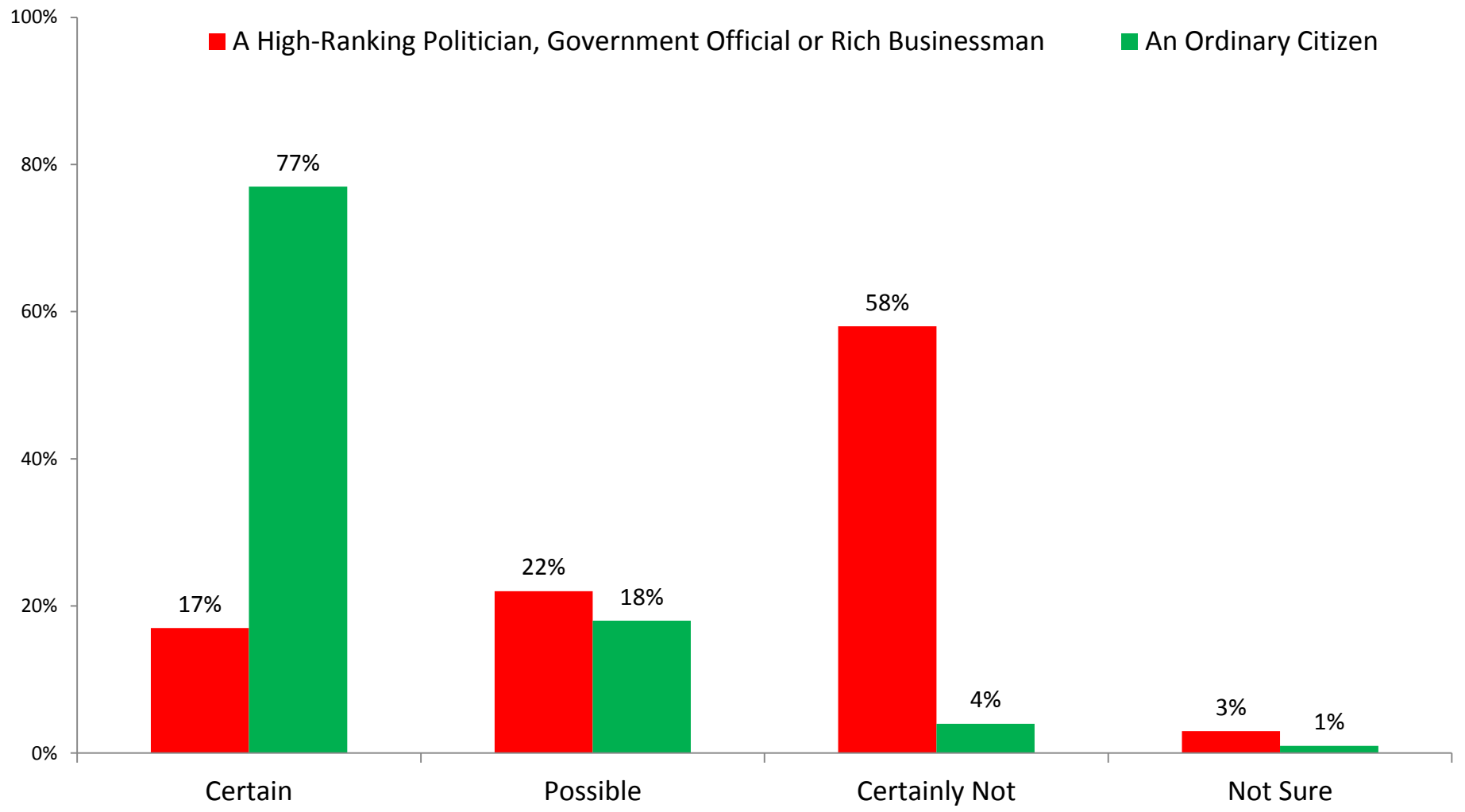
KENYA'S DIRECTION:

RIGHT OR WRONG?

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"In your opinion, are things in Kenya generally going in the right or the wrong direction?": *by Total, Main Political Party/Coalition Alignment*

Legend:
- **Right Direction** (green)
- **Wrong Direction** (red)
- **Neither Right Nor Wrong Direction** (dark blue)

Total (n=2,016)
- Right Direction: 28%
- Wrong Direction: 59%
- Neither Right Nor Wrong Direction: 14%

Jubilee Supporters (n=1.043)
- Right Direction: 31%
- Wrong Direction: 53%
- Neither Right Nor Wrong Direction: 16%

NASA Supporters (n=694)
- Right Direction: 23%
- Wrong Direction: 66%
- Neither Right Nor Wrong Direction: 10%

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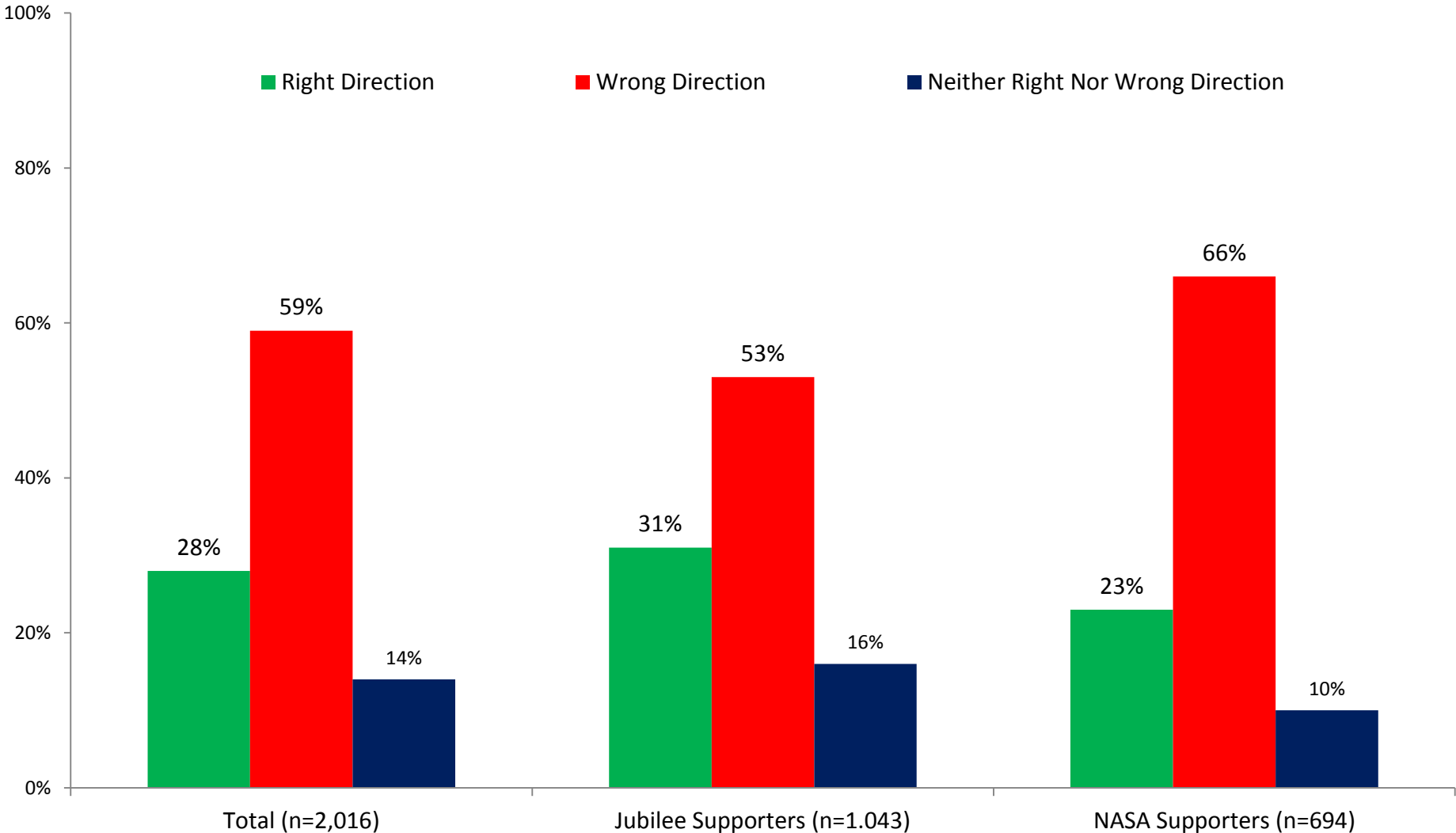
"In your opinion, are things in Kenya generally going in the right or the wrong direction?" (Not shown: "Neither Right Nor Wrong", "Not Sure"): *by Region*

Legend: Right Direction (green), Wrong Direction (red)

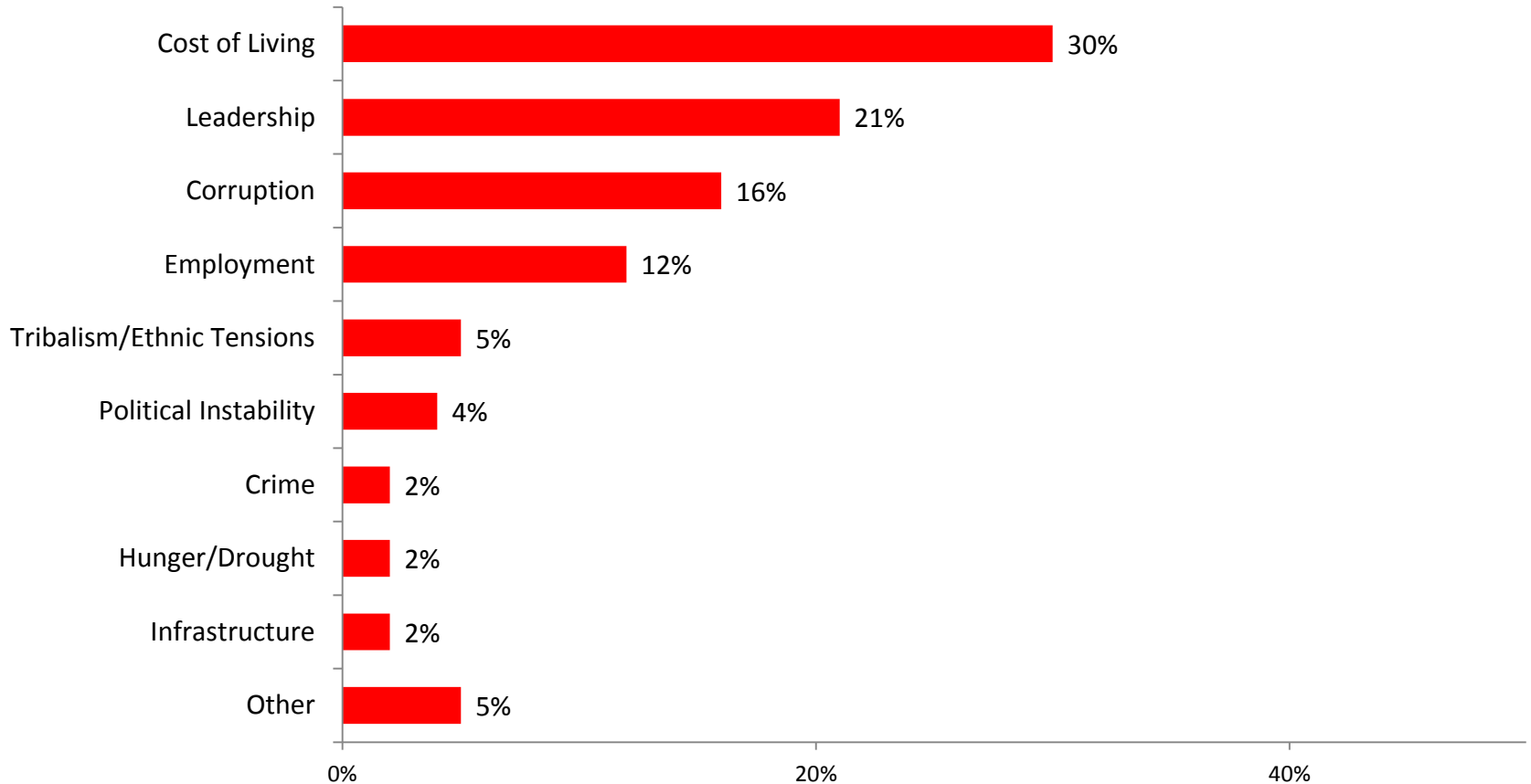| Region	Right Direction	Wrong Direction
North Eastern (n=98)	48%	30%
Central (n=268)	34%	52%
Rift Valley (n=504)	32%	57%
Coast (n=180)	28%	60%
Western (n=208)	24%	65%
Nyanza (n=268)	23%	65%
Nairobi (n=215)	20%	69%
Eastern (n=305)	19%	60%

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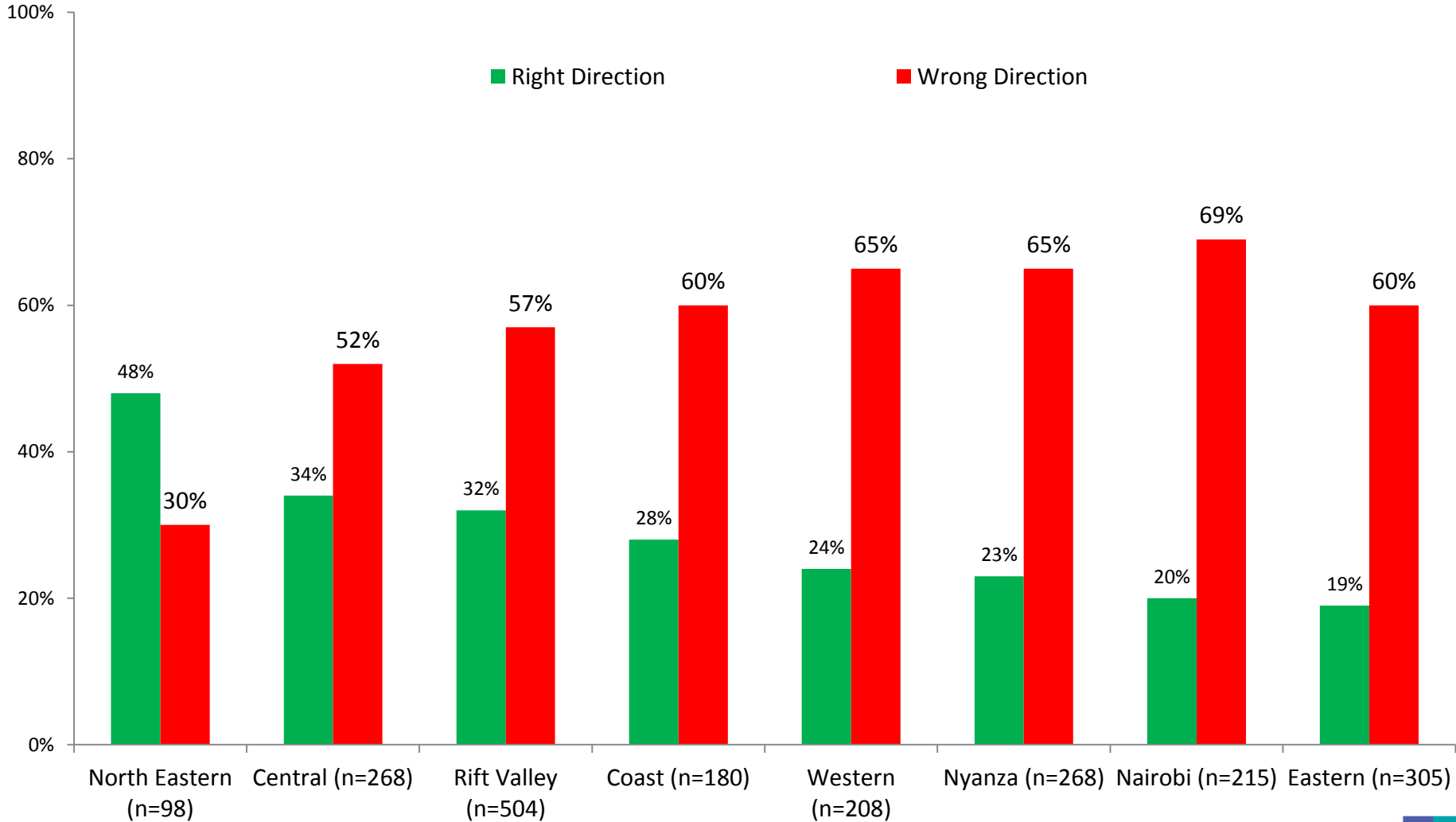
"What is the main reason you say so?": by the 28% Who Think Kenya is Going in the Right Direction (Single Response, Unprompted)
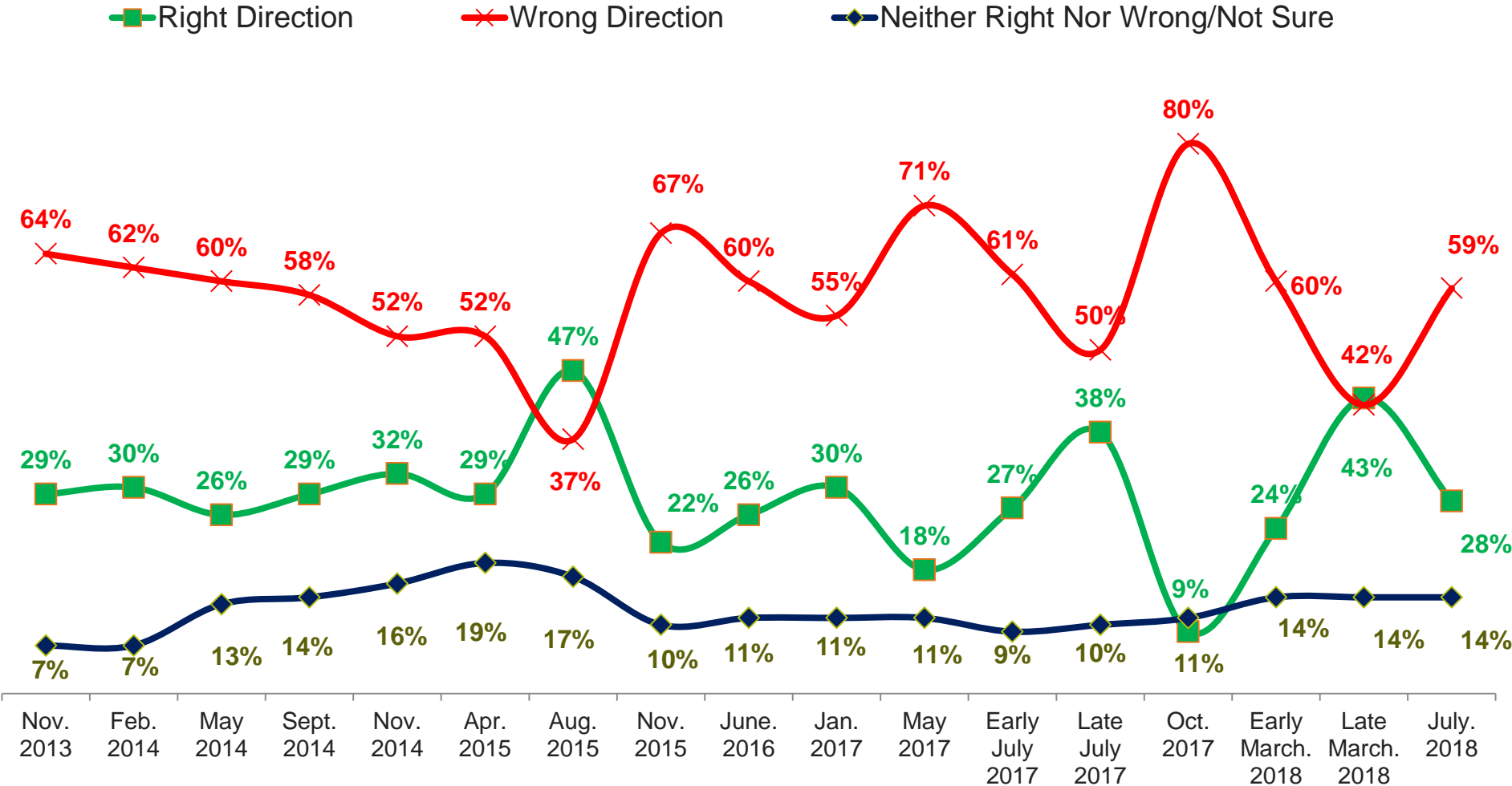

Base: (n=542)

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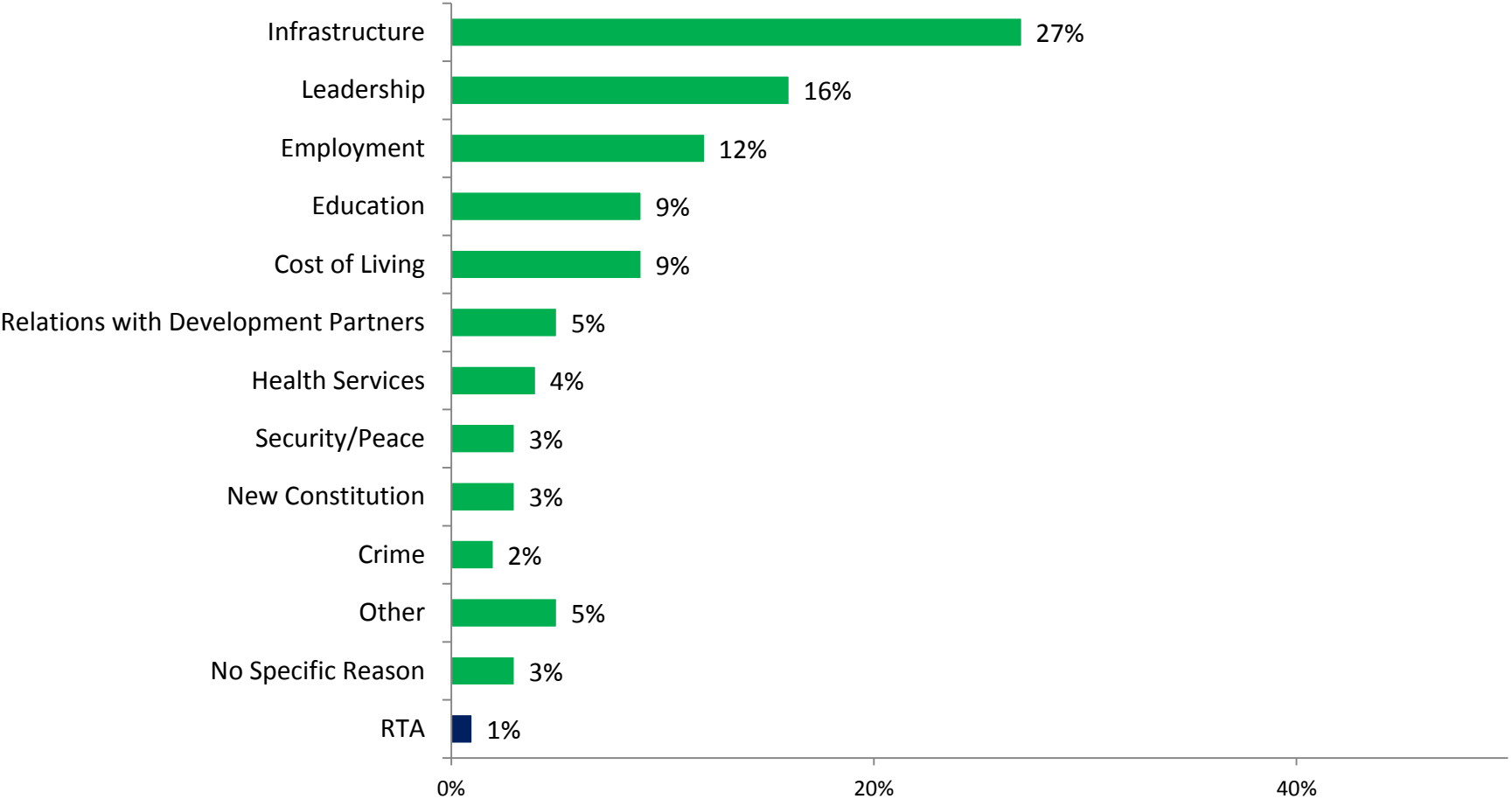
"What is the main reason you say so?": *by The 59% Who Think Kenya is Going in the Wrong Direction* (Single Response, Unprompted)

Category	Percentage
Cost of Living	30%
Leadership	21%
Corruption	16%
Employment	12%
Tribalism/Ethnic Tensions	5%
Political Instability	4%
Crime	2%
Hunger/Drought	2%
Infrastructure	2%
Other	5%

Base: (n=1,255)

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"On the whole, thinking about Kenya today, are things generally going in the right or wrong direction?" – Trend Analysis: November 2013 – July 2018

Legend: Right Direction, Wrong Direction, Neither Right Nor Wrong/Not Sure

Wrong Direction: 64%, 62%, 60%, 58%, 52%, 52%, 37%, 67%, 60%, 55%, 71%, 61%, 50%, 80%, 60%, 42%, 59%

Right Direction: 29%, 30%, 26%, 29%, 32%, 29%, 47%, 22%, 26%, 30%, 18%, 27%, 38%, 9%, 24%, 43%, 28%

Neither Right Nor Wrong/Not Sure: 7%, 7%, 13%, 14%, 16%, 19%, 17%, 10%, 11%, 11%, 11%, 9%, 10%, 11%, 14%, 14%, 14%

X-axis: Nov. 2013, Feb. 2014, May 2014, Sept. 2014, Nov. 2014, Apr. 2015, Aug. 2015, Nov. 2015, June. 2016, Jan. 2017, May 2017, Early July 2017, Late July 2017, Oct. 2017, Early March. 2018, Late March. 2018, July. 2018

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