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KENYAN PERSPECTIVES ON DEMOCRACY, ECONOMIC ISSUES AND REGIONAL SECURITY



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D3 Systems, Inc. in cooperation with Infinite Insight, our research partner based in Nairobi, Kenya, conducted a nationwide survey of the Kenyan people to gather insights on a variety of topics, including perceptions of democracy and elections, the image of Kenya's President, the role of Kenyan forces in Somalia and security in Kenya, problems facing the country, and consumer behavior such as mobile phone use.

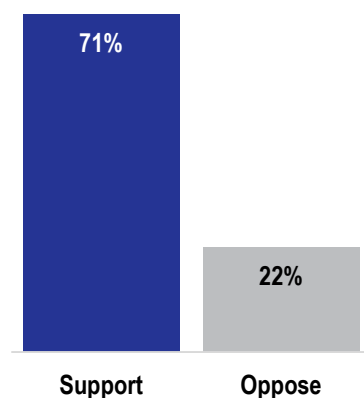
Key Findings:

- Kenyans perceive economic issues such as unemployment as the most pressing problems facing the country.
- Kenyans support democracy as the preferred system of governance for their country, but just half think that elections in Kenya are free and fair.
- The participation of Kenyan troops in UN missions such as AMISOM has the support of 71% of Kenyans, and almost two-thirds (62%) think that the deployment of Kenyan forces in Somalia has made security in Kenya better.
- Kenyans express openness to professional and familial relationships with persons of a different ethnic group or tribe. Seven in ten believe that people of different ethnic groups are able to live together without conflict in Kenya.
- About nine in ten Kenyans owns a mobile phone.
- TV, followed by radio, is the most popular source of news and information.

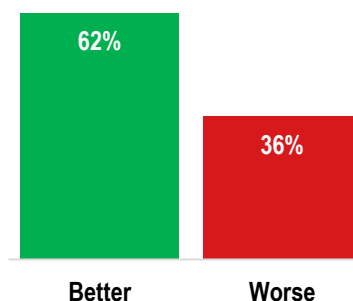
Kenyan Troops on UN Missions and Impact on Security in Kenya

Kenyan military forces have participated in the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) since June 2012. AMISOM is mandated by the African Union Peace and Security Council with the authorization of the UN Security Council. A large proportion (71%) of Kenyans express support for the participation of Kenyan troops in United Nations missions, compared to 22% who oppose such a role for Kenyans forces and 6% who do not know. Support for Kenya providing troops to UN missions appears to be lukewarm, however, as the plurality (44%) only 'somewhat' supports Kenyan troops in this role.

Most Kenyans support the participation of Kenyan troops in UN missions.



Many Kenyans think the deployment of forces to Somalia has made security in Kenya better.





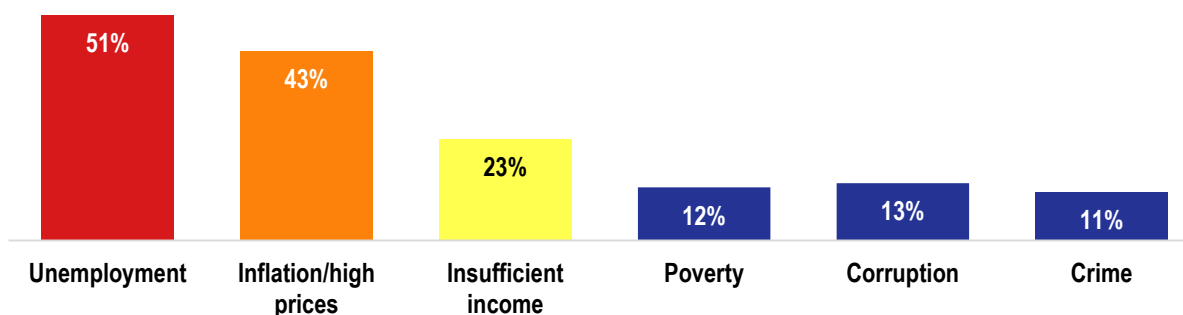
Men are more likely than women to support Kenyan troops in UN missions (80% of men compared to 73% of women) and urban Kenyans are similarly more inclined to support this role for Kenyan forces than rural dwellers (81% versus 74%).

In September 2013, the Westgate Mall in Nairobi was attacked by al-Shabaab militants who claimed it was in retaliation for the deployment of Kenyan military forces in Somalia¹. To understand how Kenyans relate the presence of Kenyan forces in Somalia with security inside Kenya, respondents were asked if they think the deployment of Kenyan forces to the neighboring country has made Kenya more or less secure. About six in ten Kenyans (62%) think that the deployment of Kenyan forces in Somalia has made security in Kenya better ('much' or 'somewhat') compared to 36% who think that sending Kenyan soldiers to Somalia has made security in Kenya worse. As with support for providing Kenyan troops to UN missions, a plurality (42%) say security in Kenya is 'somewhat' better due to Kenyan forces in Somalia. Kenyans are unified in their views on this topic; no distinctions are seen between groups by age, gender, place of residence, or ethnic group.

Problems Facing Kenyans Today

Economic issues are at the forefront in Kenyans' minds when asked to consider the top problems facing the country today. More than half of Kenyans rate economic issues such as unemployment (51%), inflation/high prices/rising prices (43%), and insufficient income (23%)² as the top problems Kenyans currently face. Problems such as poverty (12%), corruption (13%), and crime (11%) constitute a second tier of concerns. Just 6% mention domestic terrorism, on par with the 6% who are concerned about educating children.

Kenyans consider economic problems such as **unemployment** and **inflation/high prices** as the top problems facing the country.



¹ Kenya forces first entered Somalia in October 2011.

² Percentages are based on a total of two responses.

The most often mentioned problem - unemployment - is of similar concern to men and women and across age groups, but urban dwellers are more concerned about unemployment than rural Kenyans (65% compared to 46%). Men and women, urban and rural dwellers, and Kenyans of all age groups are similarly concerned about inflation and high prices.

Perceptions of Democracy and Elections

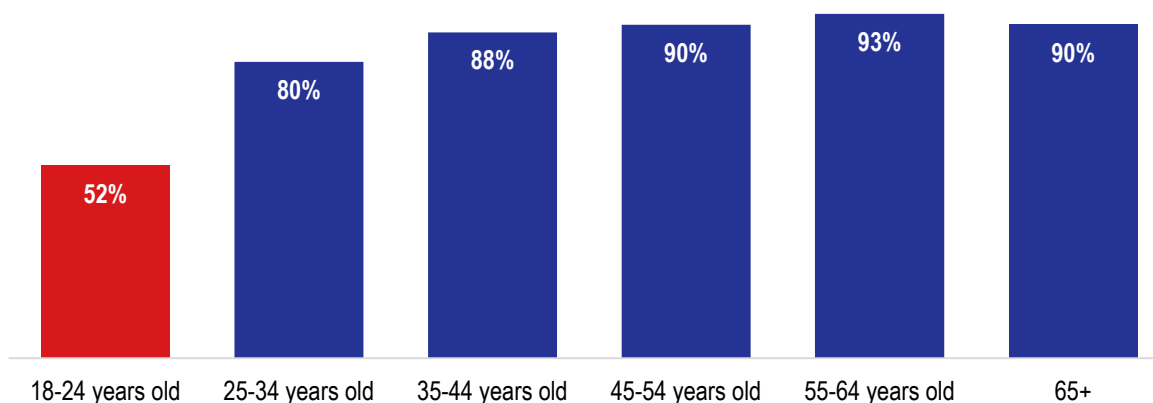
Kenyans express strong support for democracy, with 89% agreeing ('strongly' or 'somewhat') with the statement that "democracy may have problems but it is the best system of government." More than two thirds of Kenyans (68%) agree that the country is ruled by the will of the people.

An examination of responses by ethnic group indicates that there is a difference in perceptions of whether Kenya is ruled by the will of the people that is related to Kenyans' ethnic group or tribe. Kenyans who identify as Kikuyu, the same group as President Uhuru Kenyatta, are less likely than Kenyans of most other groups to think that Kenya is ruled by the will of the people (58% compared to 77% of Luhya, for example).

Rural Kenyans are more likely than urban dwellers to agree that the country is ruled by the will of the people (72% versus 63%), but this difference does not carry through to participation in the 2013 national election as both groups report that they voted in equal measure.

Young adult participation in the 2013 national election was low compared to Kenyans age 25 and older; three quarters (76%) of Kenyans report that they voted in the 2013 national election, but just half of Kenyans (52%) age 18-24 report that they voted in the 2103 election compared to 80-90% of their counterparts age 25 and older.

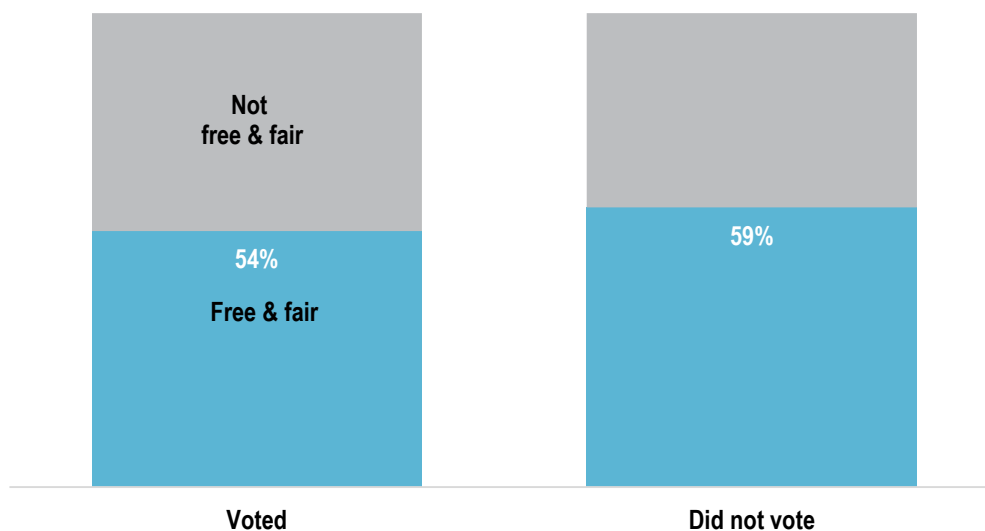
Half of Kenyans age 18-24 report that they voted in the 2103 election compared to Kenyans age 25 and older.



About half (48%) think that elections in Kenya are free and fair. This view is consistent across men and women, urban and rural residents and across age groups. Of the three largest ethnic groups in the data, Kikuyu are most likely to hold the view that elections in Kenya are free and fair (68% compared to 41% of Luhya and 18% of Luo).

Of Kenyans who voted in the 2013 National Election (n=630), 54% believe that elections in Kenya are free and fair, while 46% who believe that elections in Kenya are not free and fair still voted in the 2013 national election. Of Kenyans who did not vote in 2013 (n=201), about six in ten (59%) do not believe that elections are Kenya are free and fair.³

Half of Kenyans who voted in the 2013 national election consider elections in Kenya to be free & fair.

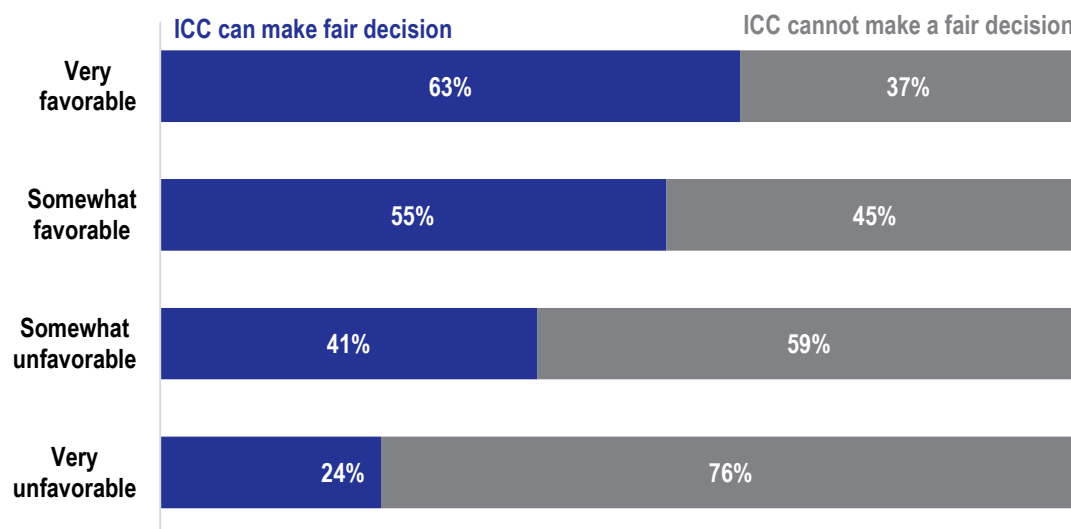


Opinion of President Kenyatta and the International Criminal Court

Kenyan President Uhuru Kenyatta enjoys a very high favorability rating: a majority (83%) of Kenyans have at least a somewhat favorable opinion of the President. Women (88%) are more likely than men (83%) to have a favorable ('very' or 'somewhat') opinion of the Kenyan President. Respondents who identify themselves as Kikuyu are more likely than most other ethnic groups to have a favorable view of the President (93% favorable) a finding that is to be expected since the Kenyan President is himself Kikuyu. Respondents identifying as Kalenjin also have an overwhelmingly favorable opinion of the Kenyan President at 94%; even Luhya (84%) and Luo (74%) views of the President are reportedly favorable even though these groups are more often associated with the opposition Orange Democratic Movement led by Raila Odinga.

³ Sample size includes only those aged 18 or older in 2013.

Of Kenyans with a very favorable view of President Kenyatta, about two-thirds think that the ICC can make a fair decision in the case against the President. Three quarters of Kenyans with a very unfavorable view of the President think the ICC cannot make a fair decision.



When we were in field, President Kenyatta faced charges by the International Criminal Court (ICC) that he had committed crimes against humanity for inciting his supporters to attack Kenyans who supported a rival politician in the 2007 national election. The post-election violence led to the deaths of an estimated 1,200 people and the internal displacement of 500,000 Kenyans.⁴ To gauge perceptions of the ICC as related to the charges against President Kenyatta, respondents were asked if they think the ICC can make a fair decision in the case against the Kenyan President. Opinions are divided: 49% think the ICC can make a fair decision while 39% think the court cannot and 11% do not know.

Inter-community Relations

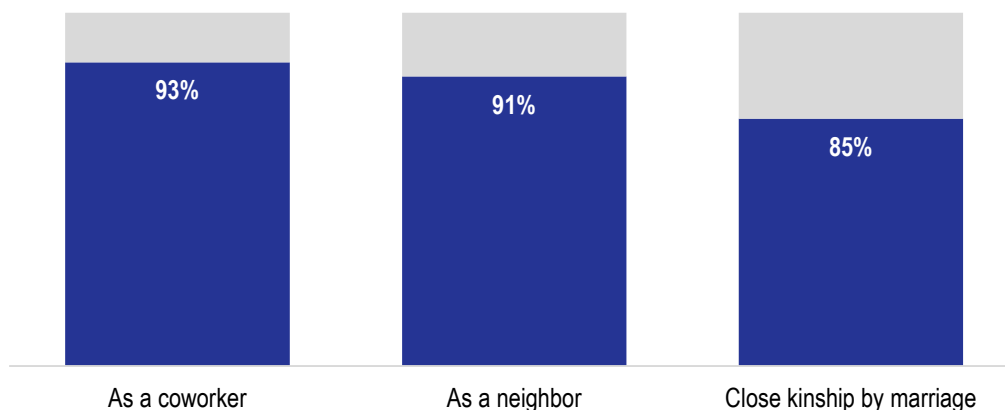
The post-election violence in 2007 manifested as a conflict between subgroups within the Kenyan population. While the charges against President Kenyatta have since been dropped⁵, many thousands of Kenyans remain displaced from their homes. It is therefore important to understand Kenyan’s views of members of other groups. As a corollary to questions about the ICC and the President of Kenya, respondents were asked questions about their willingness to accept a relationship with a typical person from a different tribe or ethnicity than themselves. Most Kenyans express they are open to such relationships: more than nine in ten (93%) say they are willing to accept someone from a different tribe or ethnicity as a coworker, 91% are

⁴ “Kenya election violence: ICC names suspects” <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-11996652>

⁵ “ICC drops Uhuru Kenyatta charges for Kenya ethnic violence”, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-30347019>

willing to accept such a person as a neighbor, and 85% would accept someone from a different tribe or ethnicity into close kinship by marriage.

Most Kenyans are willing to accept a relationship with a typical person from a different tribe or ethnicity than themselves.



Many Kenyans (70%) also agree with the statement that “people of different ethnic groups are able to live together without conflict” in Kenya. Just over one-quarter (28%) think that people of different ethnic groups are not able to live together in Kenya.

Rural Kenyans are more likely than urban dwellers to hold the view that in Kenya people are not able to live together without conflict (31% versus 25%), but are more likely to say that they are willing to accept someone from a different tribe or ethnicity into close kinship by marriage (87% compared to 82%).

The data show there is a relationship between respondents’ opinions of whether people of different ethnic groups are able to live together without conflict in Kenya and the respondent’s ethnic group.⁶ Kenyans who identify as Kalenjin, Meru, or Kikuyu are more likely to say that Kenyans of different ethnic groups are able to live together without conflict (86%, 83%, 78% agree, respectively). Luo are least likely to agree that Kenyans of different ethnic groups can live together peacefully (65%). In contrast, Kalenjin are, of Kenyans in the largest ethnic groups, the least likely to say they would accept a typical person from a different tribe or ethnicity as a neighbor (82%) or into close kinship by marriage (72%), whereas 96% and 88%

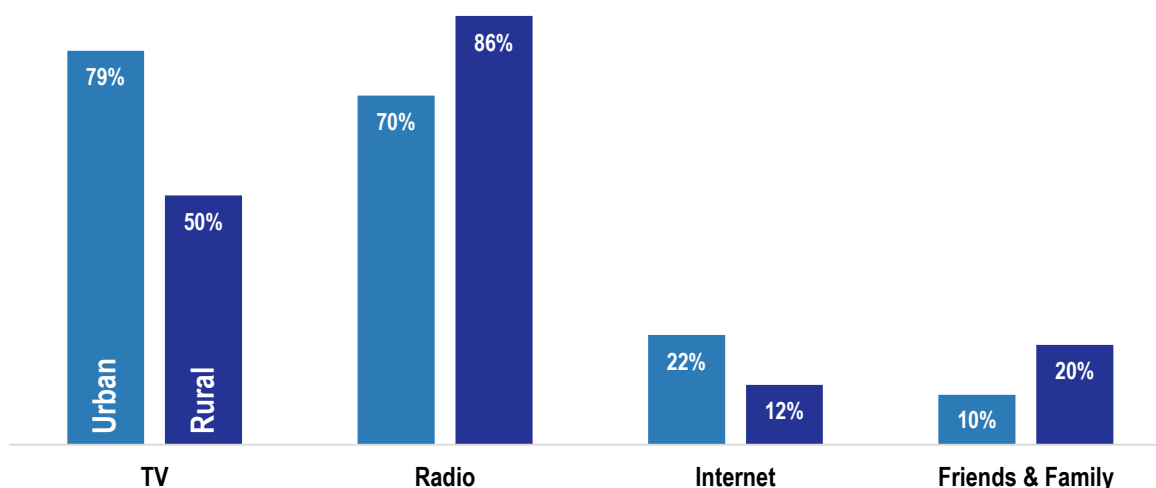
⁶ For analysis, seven ethnic groups were compared: Kikuyu (n=220), Luhya (n=131), Luo (n=156), Kalenjin (n=105), Kamba (n=96), Kisii (n=71), and Meru (n=63). Smaller ethnic groups were categorized as “other” (n=166).

of the largest ethnic group, Kikuyu, would accept a person of a different tribe or ethnicity as a neighbor and into close kinship by marriage, respectively.

Source of News and Information

Kenyans turn to radio most often, and then to TV, to stay up to date: 81% of respondents mention radio as one of their two main sources of news and information and 60% mention TV.⁷ The internet (15%), personal contacts such as family and friends (16%), and newspapers (12%) are less frequently used sources of information and news. When Kenyans' responses are examined by pairs of first and second mentions, about one quarter (24%) of Kenyans say TV as their first source of news and radio is the second. Nineteen percent tune into radio and then TV. Another 13% say their first source of news and information is radio, and friends and family is their second source.⁸

Kenyans in rural areas are more likely to listen to radio for news and information compared to urban dwellers who favor TV. Rural Kenyans also turn to friends and family for information more often than their urban counterparts.



Gender differences in sources of information and news are not evident but distinctions between rural and urban Kenyans are noteworthy. Kenyans in rural areas are more likely to listen to radio for news and information compared to urban dwellers who favor TV. Rural Kenyans also turn to friends and family for information more often than their urban counterparts, whereas the internet is more popular as a source of news for urban than rural Kenyans. Age is a factor in how Kenyans get their news and information: use of the radio as a source of news and information increases by age group while use of the TV and the Internet decreases with age.

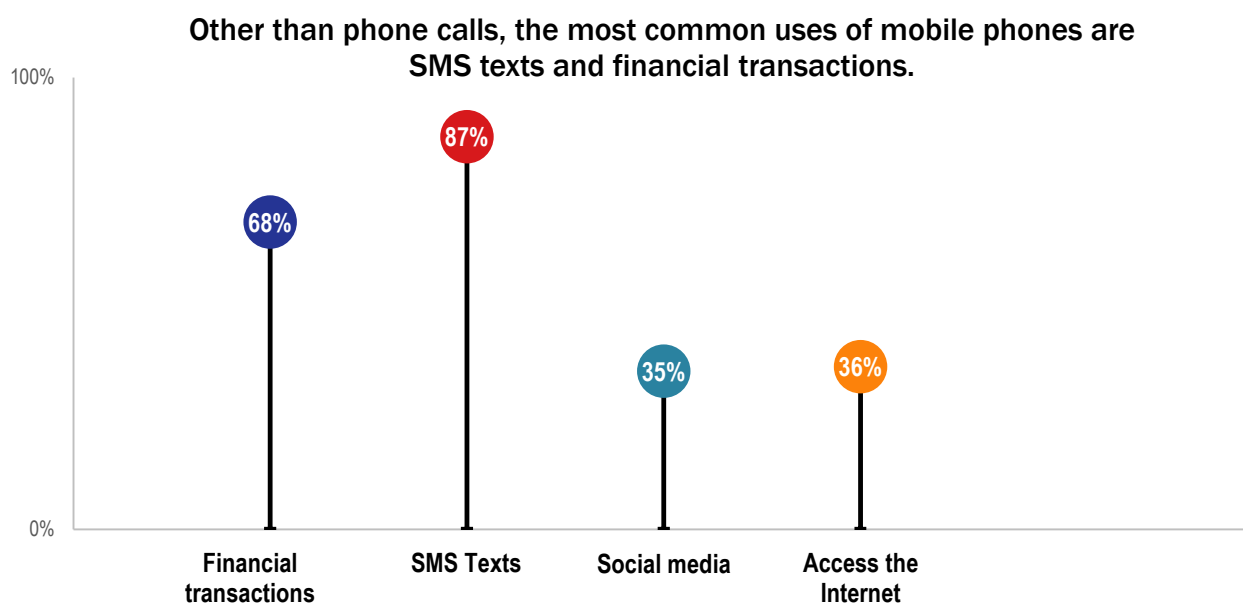
⁷ Percentages are based on a total of two responses.

⁸ Percentages are pairs of responses to the question "Which of the following sources do you use most for news and information? And which do you use next most?"

Mobile Phone Ownership and Use

Eighty-nine percent of Kenyans have a mobile phone. Safaricom is the most popular mobile service provider with 84% of Kenyans with a mobile phone using the Safaricom network. Airtel is less popular at just 11%.

While about nine in ten Kenyans have a mobile phone, slightly more than half (57%) of those are able to access the Internet on their phone. Of those with mobile phones⁹, phone calls (100%), SMS texts (87%), and financial transactions, such as mobile money and sending/receiving funds (68%), are the most common ways in which Kenyans use their mobile phones. Accessing the internet (36%) and social media, such as Facebook and Twitter (35%), are less common, but still substantial uses of mobile phones.



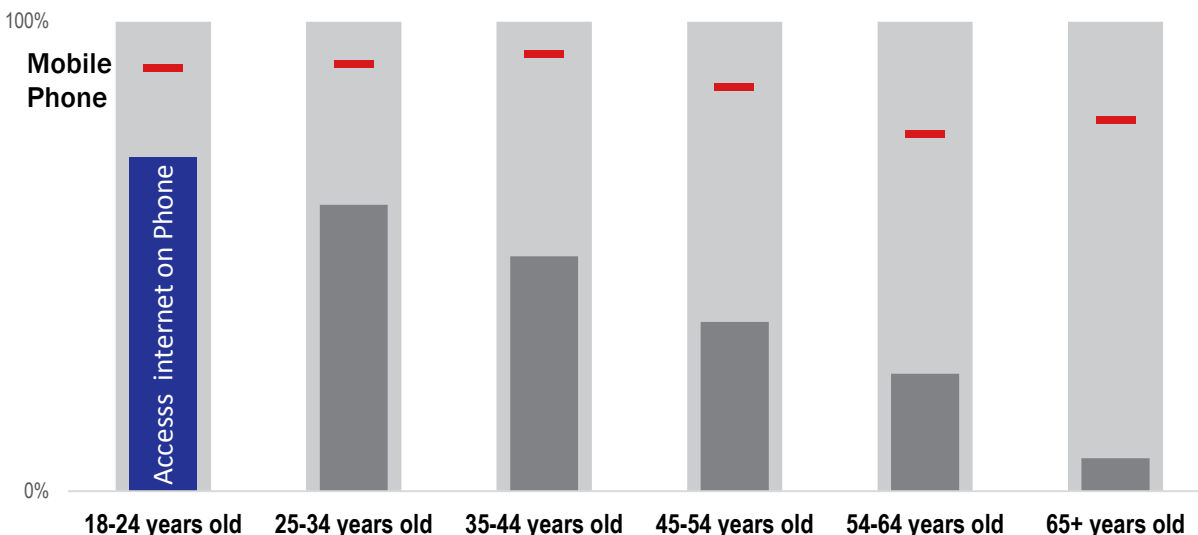
The data indicates that there are differences in how Kenyans use their mobile phones depending on their age, gender, and whether they live in an urban or rural area.

Women are slightly less likely than men to have a mobile phone (87% of women compared to 92% of men). Men's and women's use of their mobile phone is indistinguishable with the exception that women are more likely than men to use their phone for financial transactions (72% of women with mobile phones, versus 65% of men with mobile phones).

Kenyans who live in rural areas are less likely than those in urban areas to have a mobile phone (87% of rural Kenyans compared to 94% of Kenyans in urban areas) and are less likely to be able to access the internet on their phone than urban dwellers (52% versus 67% rural/urban respectively). All use their mobile phones to make phone calls regardless of their urban/rural

⁹ n=901

residence, but rural Kenyans tend to send SMS texts, access websites, connect to social media, and perform financial transactions via their phone less than their urban counterparts.



Young Kenyans, like their peers in other countries, use their phones to access the internet more than Kenyans of older age groups. While Kenyans between 25 and 44 years of age are more likely to have a mobile phone than their countrymen who are 18-24 years old or 45 and older, the proportion of mobile phone owners who are able to access the internet on their phone is highest among 18-24 year olds (71%) and declines with the age group of the respondent. A similar pattern is seen with how younger mobile phone owners use their phones: Kenyans age 18-24 are more likely than any other age group to send SMS texts (94%), access websites and browse the internet (50%), and use social media such as Facebook and Twitter (53%). There is no statistical difference across age groups in the use of mobile phones for financial transactions.

Methodology

These results are based on face-to face-interviews conducted by D3/Infinite Insight November 3-9, 2014 among a random national sample of 1,010 Kenyans age 18 and older. Interviews were conducted in Kiswahili and English in the eight provinces of Kenya. Assuming a simple random sample with $n=1,010$, $p=.5$ at the 95% CI level, the margin of sampling error (MoE) for the survey is 3.08%. Accounting for the complex design through a design effect estimate of 2.53, the complex margin of error (CMoE) at $p=.5$, with 95% confidence is 4.90%.