

## **The Steadman Group – Social-Political Research Unit Public Opinion Poll**

**31<sup>st</sup> March 2006**

### **Level of Trust in Selected Institutions/Office-Holders**

Asked about the level of trust they have in selected institutions, most striking is the high rating given to the media, at 75 percent (perhaps reflecting sympathy following the Police raid on The Standard Group). Indeed, this figure is nearly double that of the next institution, the judiciary/courts, at just 39 percent, followed by the Police (32 percent) and politicians in general, who earn just 19 percent.

### **Presidential Leadership Qualities**

When asked to identify the most important quality Kenyans look for in a prospective presidential candidate, personal integrity, including especially not being corrupt, was most frequently mentioned, at 36 percent. Much less frequently mentioned were having a national appeal/avoiding an ethnic orientation (14 percent), having experience (11 percent) and being development conscious (10 percent). Clearly, a prospective candidate who manages to combine all of these qualities would be formidable.

Looking at various leadership qualities in terms of their association with the specific potential candidates, we find that Kibaki scores highest in terms of “experience”, at 41 percent (as opposed to Kalonzo with 19 percent and Uhuru with just 8 percent in this regard). Raila however scores highly on courage and being energetic – 47% and 35% respectively. Kalonzo got 16% on courage and Uhuru 10%.

For his part, Kalonzo also leads in terms of two key qualities: being honest and non-corrupt (at 63 percent), and without a ‘tribal’ label (at 27 percent). In total Kalonzo leads in 11 out of the 13 main qualities tested.

In sum, what these and other figures show, is that Kenyans associate particular leaders with rather different leadership qualities. How they form such views must be left to conjecture, however.

### **Attractiveness of Youth as a Leadership Quality**

In exploring perceptions toward youthful leadership, respondents we asked to indicate if they would prefer a young or older presidential candidate (assuming all other qualities).

Regarding leaders of various age-brackets, a strong plurality (43 percent) prefer a leader from the 41-50 age group. Potential candidates above 60 years or below 40 attract much less

support (14 and 21 percent, respectively). Those from the 51-60 age group likewise attract some 22 percent of respondents support. This is not to say that actual voters would ignore other leadership qualities, let alone make their voting decision primarily on the basis of age; rather, that a candidate who fulfills preferred-criteria requirements in other areas (such as experience, political party affiliation etc) will have an advantage by coming from a certain age group.

Relevant here is the age-distribution of our sample's demographics, which, reflecting that of the country as a whole, is more youthful than elderly. More specifically, we can match respondents of particular age categories for their preferences in terms of the ages of possible candidates. When we asked the hypothetical question, "Assuming that all candidates were the same and differed only in terms of age, which candidate would you prefer?", we found that, while only 30% of younger Kenyans (under 35) would support a candidate aged 50 or over, 43% of older Kenyans (aged over 35) are prepared to do so, meaning therefore that the more of the younger population prefer young leadership.

### **Political Party Alignment**

Based on our findings, partisan alignments remain in a state of considerable flux. Even over just the last three months, ODM (not even a registered party) has risen from 0 to 10 percent in terms of such self-identification. This nearly mirrors the drop in identification of NARC, from 26 to 19 percent. For their part, LDP and KANU have changed only slightly as the party of choice, the former now at 24 percent (compared to 26 percent last December), and the latter moving down to 14 percent from 18 percent. More noticeable is the increase of those who are unable to identify with any party, up from 16 to 25 percent.

### **Political Party Alignment/ODM Leadership**

With regard to just those respondents who expressed a partisan preference for ODM (10 percent), as well as its registered KANU and LDP associated-parties (amounting to 14 and 24 percent, respectively, of all respondents, as noted), we inquired as to who they prefer to lead this grouping. Here we find interesting variations. Among those identifying with ODM itself, we find a substantial support-margin for Kalonzo, at 46 percent. He is followed by Raila, at 31 percent, with Uhuru gaining just 8 percent.

Turning to KANU supporters with regarding to this issue of ODM leadership, Uhuru has a significant lead at 34 percent. He is followed by Raila and Kalonzo, at 26 and 25 percent, respectively.

For their part, respondents identifying with LDP give most of their support (45 percent) to Raila, while Kalonzo follows closely with 43 percent.

By contrast, when we combine all those respondents associating themselves with NARC and its affiliates (DP, FORD-Kenya, etc.) and ask this same question about their preferred leadership of ODM, Kalonzo comes out on top with 37 percent, followed by Uhuru (29 percent), with Raila behind him at 22 percent.

### **Presidential Candidate Popularity**

Kalonzo retains his share of just above 1/3 of the total preferences expressed (34 percent), while both President Kibaki and Uhuru have slipped slightly, the former from 26 to 22 percent, and Uhuru from 17 to 15 percent. The main beneficiaries of this significant if quite modest drop are Raila whose support now stands at 11 percent (up from just 3 percent from December,) and William Ruto, who appears at a level of more than 1 percent (4 percent) for the first time (as Balala makes his first appearance, at 1 percent).

Looking back to six months ago (October, 2005), Kalonzo and Kibaki have nearly switched places exactly, as the former was at 20 percent and the latter at 33 percent at that time. Indeed, Kibaki's rating stands at just above half of what it was last November, which it reached its peak over the last two years (at 40 percent).

### **Also on Presidential Candidate Preference (Age)**

Previous correlations found in Steadman-Gallup International polls relating respondents' age with preference for particular candidates is again evident in this poll. For example, nearly twice as many Kenyans aged 45 and over express a preference of Kibaki (31 percent) as those 18-24 (17 percent). Conversely, though much less dramatic a contrast, Uhuru earns 17 percent of support among this younger age group, but only 13 percent among the oldest (aged 45 and above).

### **Prime Minister**

Support for the position of prime minister (with the powers of this office unspecified) remains nearly unchanged over the last three, and indeed, six months (at 45 percent). The same applies in terms of responses to the more specific question as to how such an office should be filled, a question that was asked only to those who want this position created: 22% prefer a PM to be a presidential nominee while 62% want this to be a 'creature' of parliament, chosen on the basis of being the leader of the party with a majority/most seats.

### **Corruption**

In terms of the perceived level of corruption in all government institutions taken together, a 41 percent believe it has increased over the last three months, with just 29 percent holding the view that it has declined; another 27 percent feel it has remained unchanged (with another 4 percent not having enough information to say). Overall, 38 percent of Kenyans consider the government's commitment to combating corruption as sincere.

## **The Poll Methodology**

The target population for this survey was all Kenyan adults aged 18 and above (voting age). A sample size of 2,012 respondents was drawn with a 35:65 urban to rural ratio. The maximum margin of error attributed to sampling and other random effects of this poll is +/- 2.2 % margin at 95% confidence level.

To achieve this sample a randomized multi-stage stratified design using probability proportional to size (PPS) was used. The provinces with a higher population size had a proportionately higher sample size allocation. This survey was conducted in 53 districts in Kenya (*Nairobi, Nyandarua, Kiambu, Maragua, Muranga, Nyeri, Kilifi, Kwale, Mombasa, Malindi, Taita Taveta, Embu, Mbeere, Meru Central, Meru North, Nithi, Kitui, Machakos, Makeni, Garissa, Wajir, Mandera, Bondo, Homa Bay, Kisumu, Migori, Rachuonyo, Siaya, Kisii North – Nyamira, Kisii Central, Kisii South-Gucha, Barigo, Bomet, Buret, Kajiado, Kericho, Laikipia, Nakuru, Nandi, Narok, West Pokot, Kirinyaga, Turkana, Trans Nzoia, Uasin Gishu, Marakwet, Bitere/Mumias, Bugoma, Kakamega, Lugari, Vihiga, Teso*).

The interviews were done at household level. Household interviews were preferred because they allow for pure random sampling ensuring full representation of the various demographics and also for quality control. These face-to-face in-home interviews are also preferred because they allowed for further probing as respondents have more time to respond to questions as compared to street interviews. The data collection involved the use of a semi-structured questionnaire having both open and closed ended questions.

The poll questions were structured in a very open manner, with all possible options provided, including no opinion. This ensures that there is no bias at all with the way the questions are asked.

### **Fieldwork dates**

All the interviews were done face to face between the 18<sup>th</sup> and 23<sup>rd</sup> of March 2006.

## **About Steadman**

Steadman Group one of Africa's leading market information Group with over 290 fulltime employees and with access to more 500 trained field staff in different markets in Sub-Saharan Africa. The group is composed of three divisions which offer media monitoring services, market research and management training.

The Steadman Group socio-political research unit carried out all the fieldwork logistics, data processing and reporting tasks. This unit has vast experience in conducting opinion polls since 2002. The group is a full member of Gallup International Association and its exclusive affiliate in Kenya. Additionally, the Group is also a member of World Association for Public Opinion Research [WAPOR] and the Association of market research professionals (ESOMAR). The group therefore strictly adheres to the international code of ethics and practices regarding opinion polling as stipulated by ESOMAR/WAPOR guidelines. Steadman is also the only ISO 9001:2000 accredited research Agency in East Africa. Steadman also runs the Business Leaders Confidence Index in Africa.



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Socio-Political Research Unit

# SPEC Barometer March 2006 Results

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# Results

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## Preamble



As ethics of scientific polling requires, this poll is based on scientific and representative measurements of public opinion. This means that it has obtained measurements, which can be generalized to apply without any statistical bias to the whole population under consideration, in this case the voting urban population.

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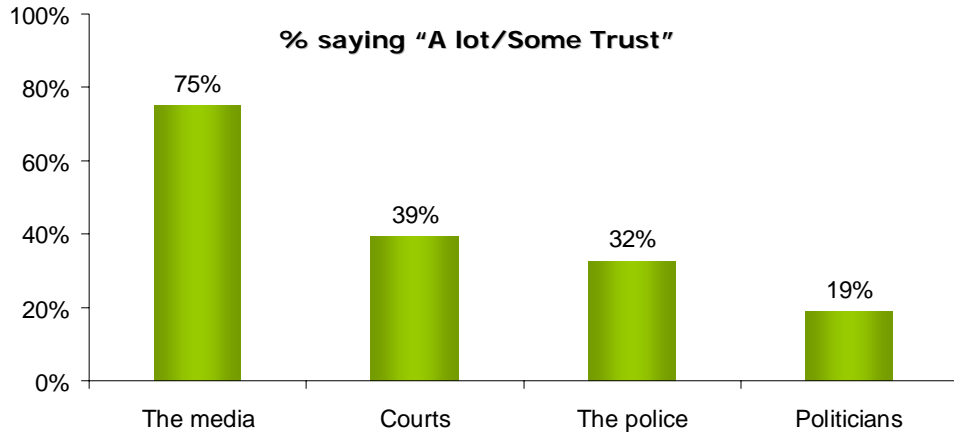
## Poll Methodology



Dates of polling	Mar 18th – Mar 23rd
Sample Size	2,012 respondents
Sampling methodology	Random, Multi-stage stratified using PPS
Universe	Kenyan adults, aged 18+ living in Urban and Rural areas
Data collection methodology	Structured Face to Face questionnaire at household level
Sampling error	$\pm 2.2$

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"How much trust do you have for...?"



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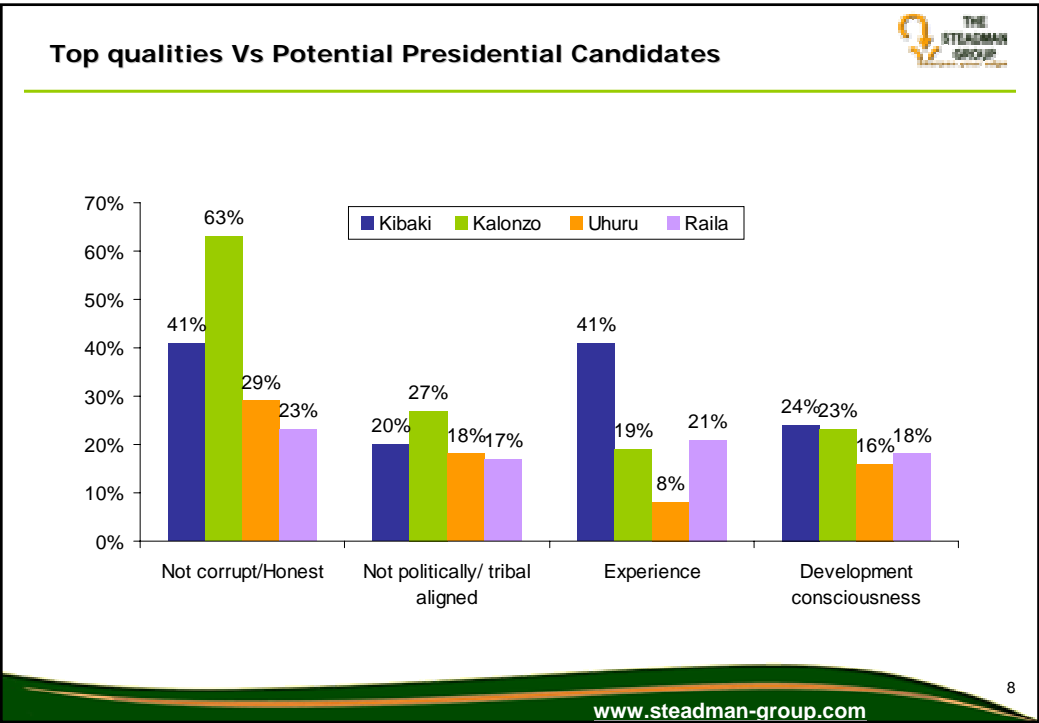
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## Presidential Candidates Popularity and Qualities



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## Potential Presidential Candidates Vs Leadership Qualities



	Kibaki	Kalonzo	Uhuru	Raila	Ruto	Balala	Others	None
Reliability /Consistency	21%	27%	18%	18%	4%	1%	4%	7%
Experience	41%	19%	8%	21%	2%	1%	3%	5%
Not politically tribal aligned	20%	27%	18%	17%	3%	2%	5%	9%
Not corrupt/Honest	41%	63%	29%	23%	7%	4%	10%	24%
Has good Religious ideals	15%	38%	9%	7%	3%	8%	8%	12%
Sound family values	18%	24%	16%	13%	5%	2%	11%	12%
Accessibility / Approachable	12%	20%	17%	20%	6%	2%	7%	15%
Energetic	9%	18%	21%	35%	5%	1%	5%	6%
Development consciousness	24%	23%	16%	18%	4%	2%	6%	8%
Demonstrated self leadership qualities	18%	30%	16%	20%	4%	2%	5%	5%
Eloquence in public speech	9%	35%	22%	19%	4%	2%	5%	4%
Trustworthy	17%	29%	13%	13%	4%	2%	5%	17%
Courageous	12%	16%	10%	47%	4%	2%	4%	5%

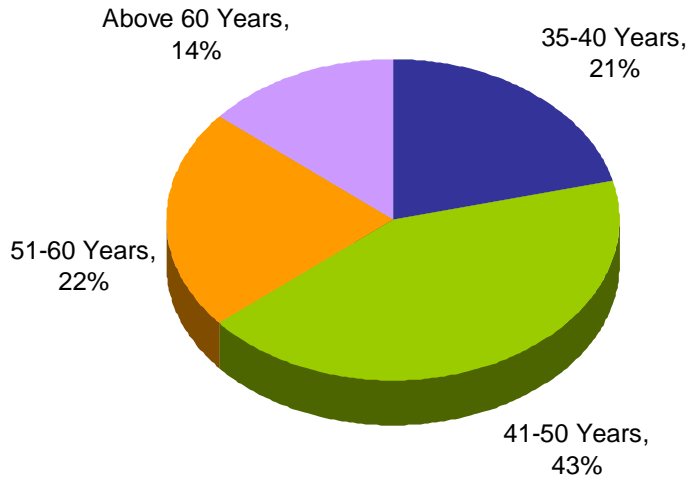
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## Attractiveness of Youth as a Leadership Quality



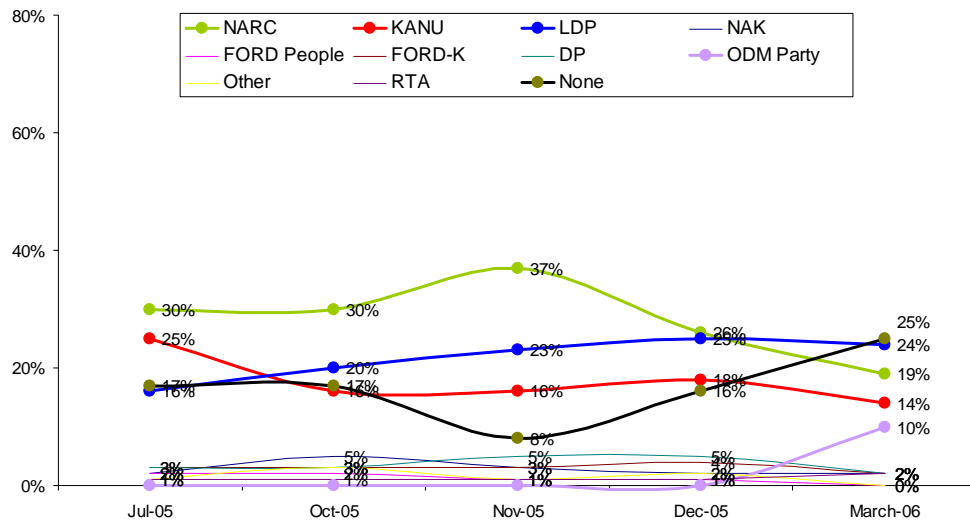
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Potential Presidential Candidate preference by AGE



# Political Party Alignment

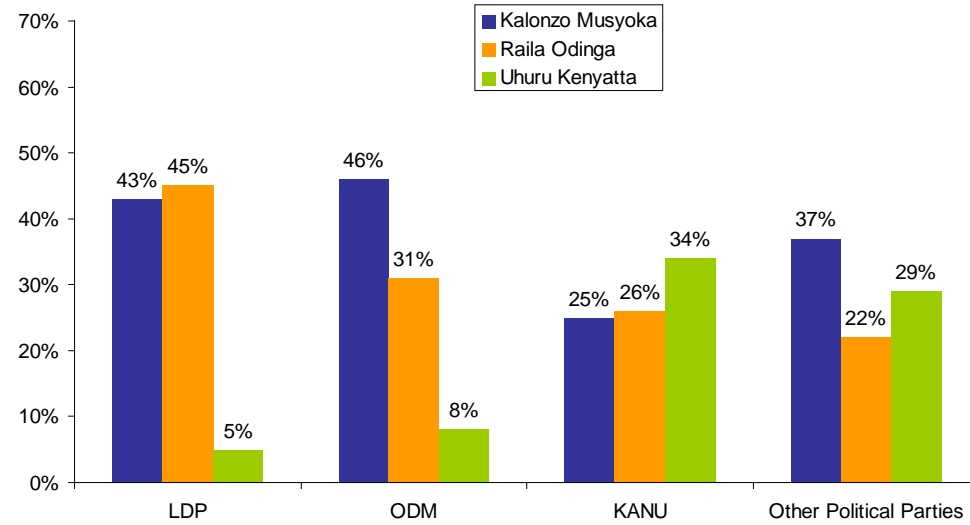
### "Which political party do you feel closest to?"



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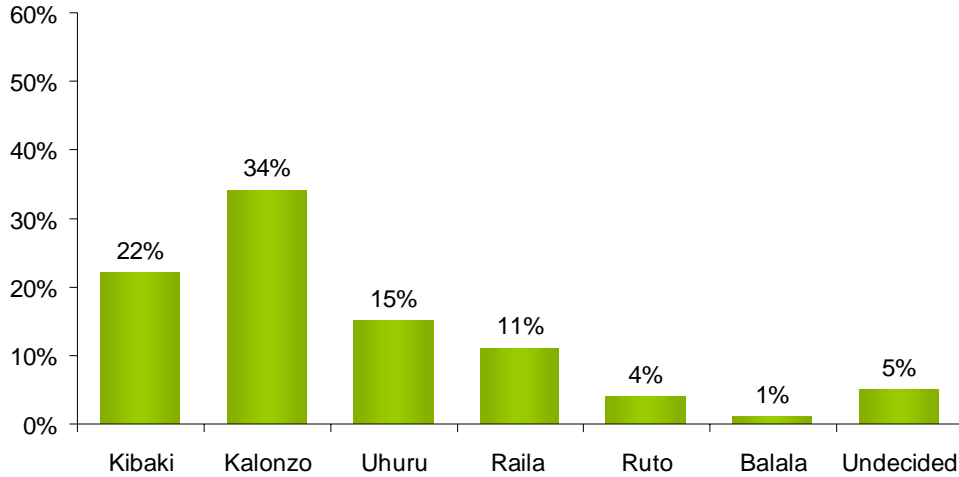
### "Who would you want to be the leader of ODM?"



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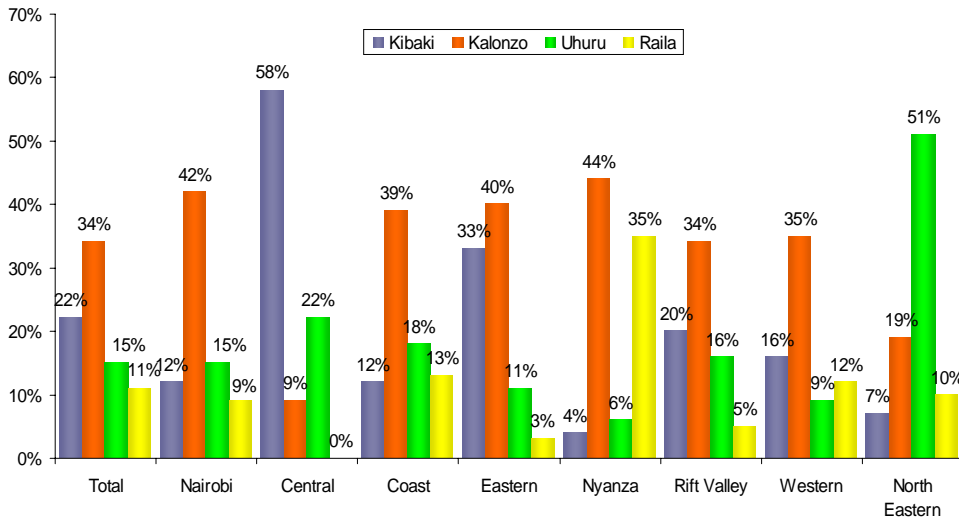
**"If elections for President were held now, whom would you vote for if the person was a candidate?"**



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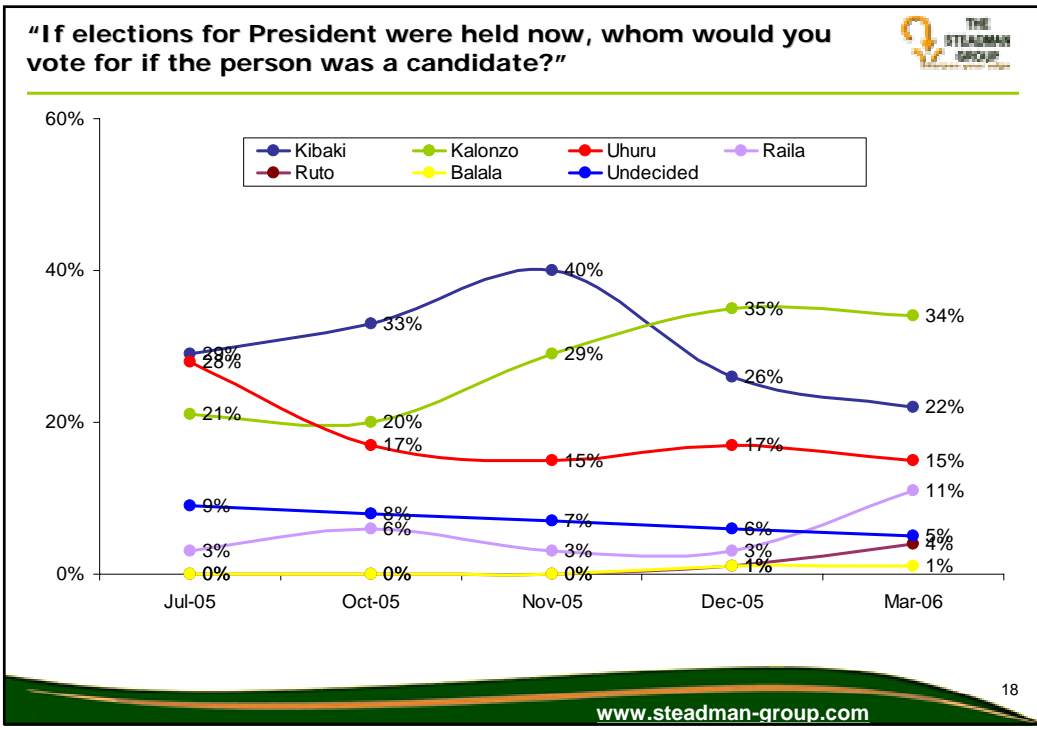
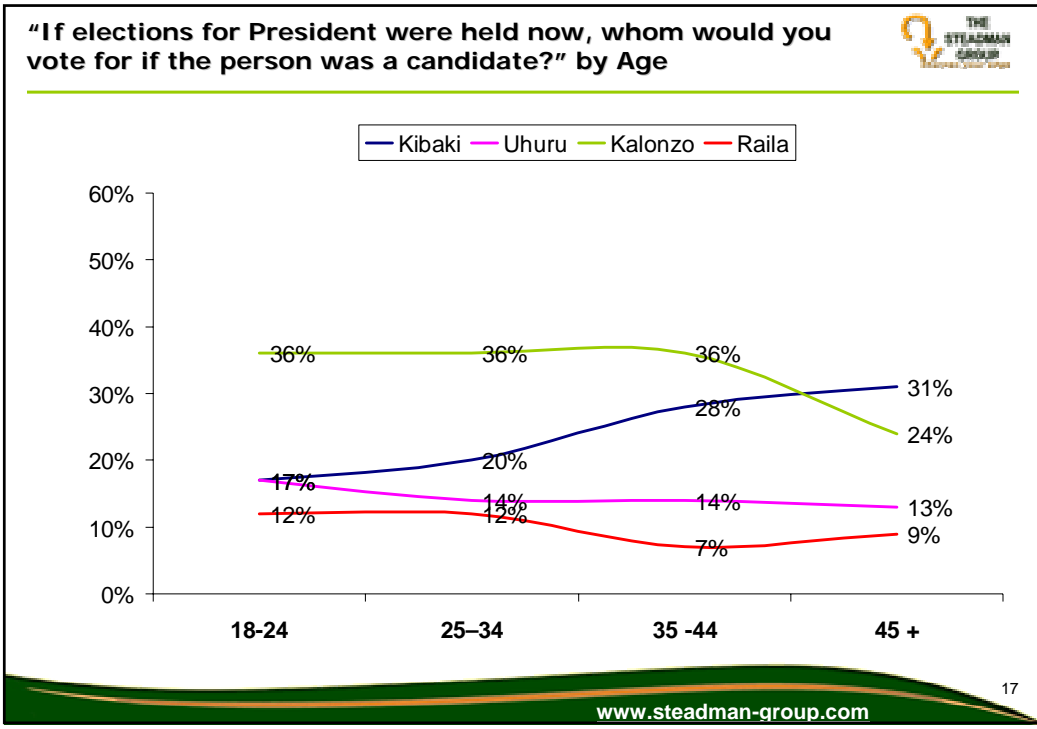
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**"If elections for President were held now, whom would you vote for if the person was a candidate?"**



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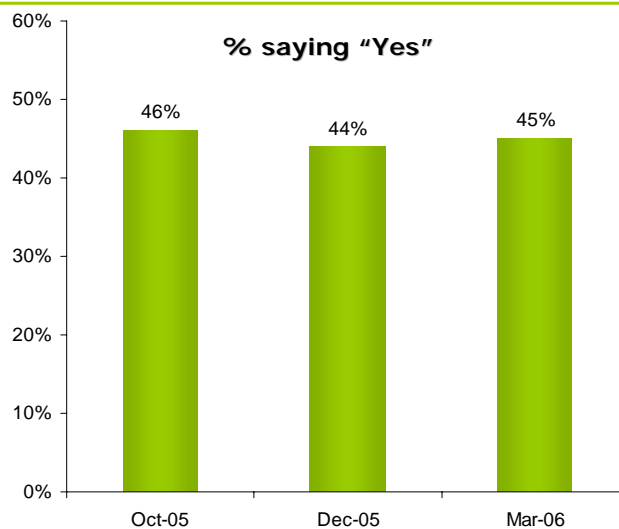


# Attitudes towards a Prime Minister

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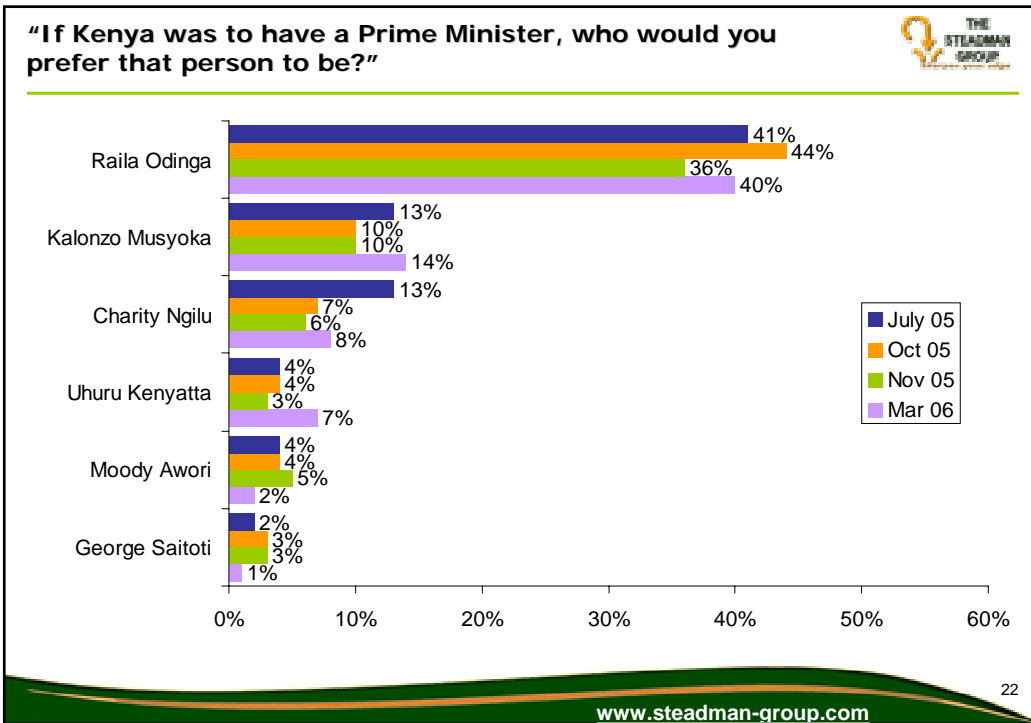
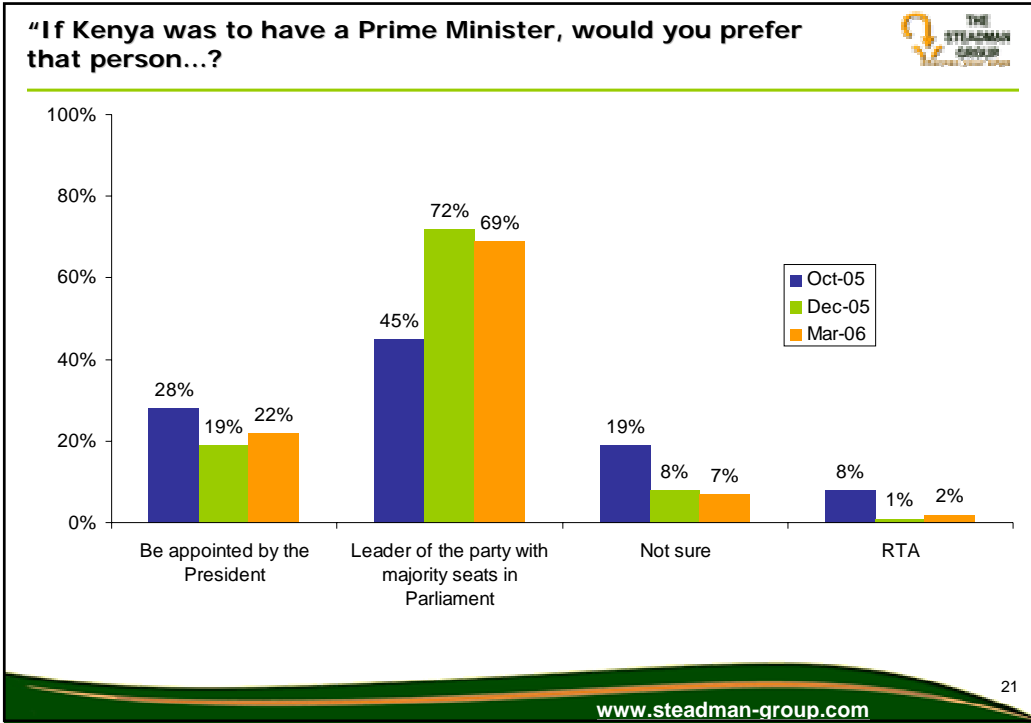
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**"Do you think Kenya should have a Prime Minister?"**



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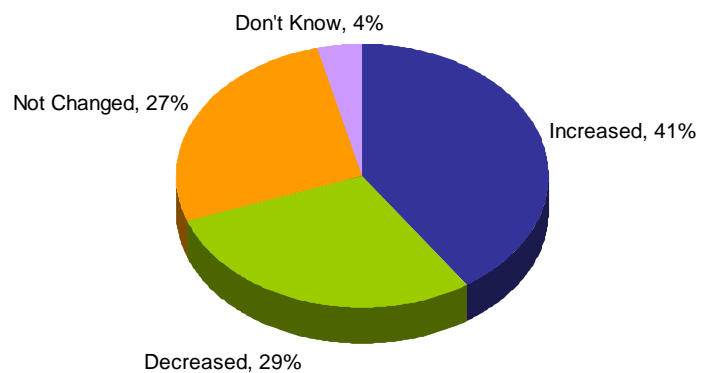
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# Corruption

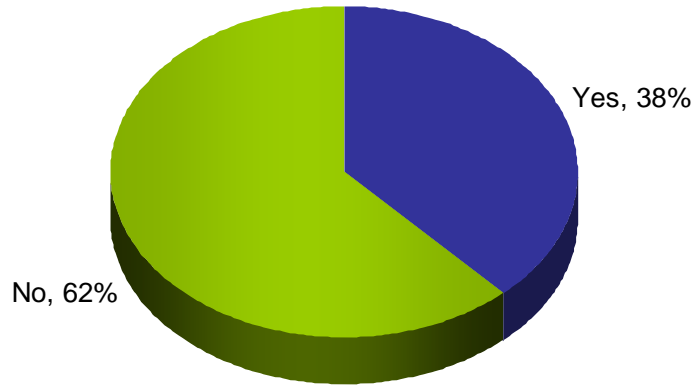
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**“Over the last three months, would you say that corruption has... in government institutions?”**



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**"Do you think now that the government is sincere with fight against corruption?"**



## **SPEC Barometer March 2006 Results**