

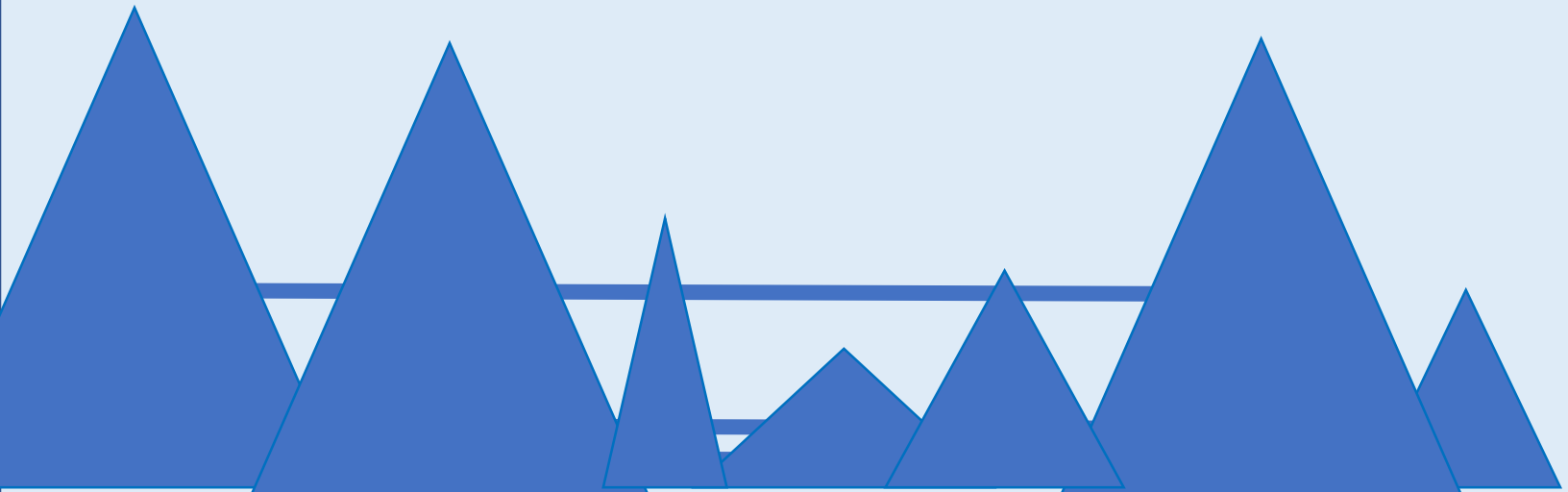


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NATIONAL STUDY ON THE IMPACT OF EMERGING POLITICAL DYNAMICS ON COMMUNITIES

FINAL REPORT



ACT CHANGE TRANSFORM

National Study on The Impact of Emerging Political Dynamics on Communities



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**Background**

Act Change Transform (Act!) is a non-governmental organization established in Kenya in September 2001 and registered under the Non-Governmental Organizations Coordination Act of 1990. Its vision is to empower communities to live productive lives in dignity. Act! focuses on building the capacity of individuals and communities to enable them to participate in decision-making and managing their own development. The organization's development work is carried out through three main programmatic areas, Peace Building and Conflict Transformation, Democracy and Human Rights, and Environment and Natural Resources. Act! through its Democracy and Human Rights (DHR) program received funding from USAID KEA to implement the Kenya Electoral Conflicts Mitigation and Civic/Voter Education Support (ECCES) Program. A program that aims to address issues related to elections violence, misinformation and disinformation, delayed voter and civic education, weak participation of civil society, women, and youth in democratic processes, and human rights violations in Kenya.

It is against this background that ACT commissioned a nationwide study to examine the impact of political dynamics and conflicts on communities, with the goal of providing advice to various actors. Specifically, the study sought to enhance the understanding of peace actors on how socio-economic and political dynamics affect the nature of conflicts. This knowledge will be critical in informing the development of more comprehensive and coherent strategies for conflict management and peacebuilding. The study's findings will also benefit local and international development organizations, enabling them to develop relevant programs at different levels. Additionally, the findings will be useful to players in the democracy and governance sector, such as those within the USAID Kenya-IGAPP framework, as it will help identify emerging trends in society, including increased disengagement in democratic processes and the rise of mis/mal/disinformation. Moreover, the study will serve as an advisory to government institutions, such as national and county legislatures, security sector agencies, the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC), the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights, and the executive. The study will provide a qualitative expression of citizens' perspectives, enabling government institutions to develop policies and interventions that address the root causes of political tensions and conflicts in Kenya.

Methodology

The study employed a mixed methods approach, utilizing literature review, quantitative and qualitative research methods. A comprehensive evaluation of the literature was conducted to identify research gaps,

provide clarity on the project's context, and aid in the development of survey tools. As part of the quantitative methodologies, the target population was interviewed using computer-assisted personal interviews (CAPI). In addition, key stakeholders and target groups were engaged using Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs).

In terms of quality assurance and control measures, a well-planned system of procedures, performance checks, quality audits, and corrective actions was put in place to ensure that the data produced throughout the assessment is of the highest achievable quality. In this regard, the key areas of assessment life-cycle went through an examination of quality include: sampling, instrument design, scripting, recruitment and training, fieldwork and site visits, data analysis and processing.

Survey Findings

Satisfaction with The Country's Direction

- The key issues of concern that surveyed Kenyans highlighted the government should address as a matter of priority include high cost of living, unemployment and corruption. Further, a majority (81%) of the respondents disagreed with the country's current direction, primarily due to the high cost of living (94%), unemployment (59%), and poverty (39%). On the flip side, 17% believed that the country was heading in the right direction, citing reasons such as peace (57%), harmony among Kenyans (33%), and effective executive performance (31%).
- Approximately 84% of the respondents indicated they held the president responsible for the country's direction, while 40% attributed responsibility to parliament, and 37% to politicians.

The Political Significance of Cost of Living

- A vast majority (94%) of the surveyed respondents noted an increase in the cost of living in Kenya, while 3% perceived it to have remained the same, and 2% reported a decline. Moreover, the cost of food items was mentioned to have increased by 97% of the surveyed Kenyans, while 66% and 64% highlighted the rise in the cost of utilities and transportation, respectively.
- Surveyed respondents attributed the increase in the cost of living to high taxation, poor decisions/policies by the current regime, and fuel price hikes. Nonetheless, coping mechanisms employed by Kenyans due to the increased cost of living include cutting back on expenses, taking on debt, and utilizing savings.
- Around 70% of the respondents felt that the government had not done enough to address the high cost of living. However, to mitigate the impact of the high cost of living, Kenyans resorted to

buying cheaper brands or generic products (67%), reducing frequency of eating out (59%), and moving to more affordable neighborhoods (26%).

- Recommendations to address the high cost of living in the long run included encouraging local production, reducing reliance on imports (69%), promoting sustainable economic growth (63%), and supporting small and medium-sized enterprises (44%).

The Finance/Budget Bill

- Out of the surveyed Kenyans, 67% are familiar with the finance/budget bill, with more than half (58%) having a clear understanding of its purpose. A majority (54%) of the surveyed Kenyans expressed disagreement regarding the positive impact of the finance/budget bill on the Kenyan economy.
- Nearly half (49%) of the respondents disagreed that the finance/budget bill would contribute to the government's achievement of its development goals. Further, the proposed tax measures in the bill were perceived as unfair by a majority (71%) of the surveyed Kenyans.
- More than half (55%) of the respondents doubted that the finance/budget bill would effectively address the issue of public debt in Kenya, while 33% held the belief that it could help alleviate the problem. Further, a significant majority (71%) of Kenyans expressed skepticism that the finance/budget bill would adequately cater to the needs of ordinary citizens. Conversely, 23% believed that it would sufficiently address the needs of the common people.
- According to the surveyed respondents, the top three risks associated with passing the new finance/budget bill are increased taxation and financial burden on citizens, corruption and mismanagement of funds, and inflation leading to reduced economic growth.

Perceptions on The Current Electoral and Governance Processes

- Confidence in the performance of different branches of government and political parties varied among the surveyed respondents. Specifically, 36% expressed confidence in the executive, 31% in the legislature, 35% in the judiciary, and 29% in political parties. Notably, 31% showed confidence in the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC).
- According to the surveyed Kenyans, the top three best-performing commissions/independent offices are the Teachers Service Commission (TSC), Kenya National Human Rights Commission (KNHRC), and Public Service Commission (PSC). Conversely, the worst-performing offices were

perceived to be the National Police Service (NPS), Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission (EACC), and IEBC.

- Half (50%) of the respondents believed that the 2022 general elections were conducted in a free and fair manner. Additionally, 45% acknowledged that the elections were relatively peaceful, albeit with isolated incidents of violence and intimidation.
- More than half (53%) of the surveyed respondents considered the 2022 general elections to be better than previous elections in Kenya. Meanwhile, 25% viewed them as comparable to previous elections, and 18% regarded them as worse.
- Almost half (48%) of the surveyed Kenyans disagreed with the notion that the opposition adequately fulfilled its role as the alternative government. Conversely, 45% believed that the opposition played its role adequately.

Current Political Situation in Kenya

- According to surveyed Kenyans, the top five trending political stories include the finance bill of 2023, Azimio demonstrations, President Ruto's post-election promises, Azimio demands, and the regularization of churches.
- Six out of ten Kenyans are familiar or very familiar with the post-election demands of the Azimio la Umoja Kenya coalition. Additionally, 65% perceive these demands as reasonable or very reasonable.
- 53% of the surveyed Kenyans believe that the government should carefully consider the demands made by the Azimio la Umoja Kenya coalition. Another 28% suggest that the government should consider them carefully, while 10% indicated that the government should outright reject them. Importantly, more than half (57%) believe that these demands would enhance the country's political landscape.
- Three out of five respondents (60%) agree that demonstrations are an important means to express dissent and hold those in power accountable. Further, the surveyed Kenyans identify high unemployment, inflation, and dissatisfaction with the government as the top three main causes of demonstrations.
- The survey indicates that a majority of respondents agree that the police respond appropriately during demonstrations to ensure the safety and security of all parties involved. More than half,

57% disagreed with the notion that the police are often absent or unresponsive during demonstrations.

- More than half (56%) of Kenyans believe that demonstrations have the power to bring about change in Kenya. Conversely, 37% believe that demonstrations do not have a significant impact in effecting the needed change.
- The survey establishes that most Kenyans (58%) agree that the media provides fair and balanced coverage of demonstrations, including perspectives from both protesters and the government.

Political Party Fall Out and Dynamics Cross Overs

- According to the survey, 57% of respondents admitted to observing instances of political party fallouts or crossovers. Kenyans generally perceive these events as signs of political opportunism (32%), negative developments that weaken democratic institutions (29%), or normal occurrences in a democratic society (28%).
- The top three factors contributing to political party fallouts or crossovers, as identified by surveyed Kenyans, are personal ambitions and interests (65%), ideological differences (44%), and political alliances and loyalties (37%).
- A majority (64%) of the respondents indicated that political party fallouts and crossovers have a negative impact on Kenya's political parties, leading to instability. However, 20% perceive them as positive, promoting political competition and diversity of ideas.
- Surveyed Kenyans believe that political parties can prevent or minimize fallouts and crossovers by encouraging open and transparent communication within the party (59%), strengthening internal democracy and party structures (58%), and developing clear party ideologies and policies (48%).
- 66% of Kenyans believe that political party fallouts and crossovers cause voters to lose faith in political parties and the democratic process. However, 20% indicated that they encourage voters to become more engaged and informed.

GOVERNMENT TREATMENT OF OFFICIALS FROM THE PREVIOUS REGIME

- According to the survey, 37% of Kenyans believe that the Kenyan government is selectively targeting officials from the previous regime, while 43% do not hold this belief. Further, among the respondents who acknowledged the selective targeting, 73% attributed it to political vendetta, whereas 27% considered it a genuine effort to combat corruption and impunity.

- The selective targeting of officials from the previous regime is seen as having a negative impact on Kenya's international image by 60% of the surveyed respondents, as it suggests a politically motivated justice system. In addition, the selective targeting is also perceived to have a negative impact on Kenya's domestic politics, creating an atmosphere of fear and intimidation, according to 63% of the surveyed respondents.
- The top three socio-economic impacts identified by the surveyed respondents regarding the selective targeting are economic instability (60%), political polarization (45%), and a lack of trust in the government (42%).

I.0. BACKGROUND**I.1. Introduction****About the ECCES Program**

The ECCES Program is an initiative that aims to promote peaceful and transparent elections in Kenya by means of civic and voter education, as well as measures for mitigating conflict. The program is funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), Kenya, East Africa and implemented by a consortium of two partners; Act! and Uraia. Its focus is on three main areas: civic and voter education, conflict mitigation, and election observation. The program seeks to tackle issues such as electoral violence and its impacts on the participation of women, youth, and persons with disabilities as candidates and voters; misinformation, disinformation, and political manipulation of key election information critical to the effective participation of eligible citizens as voters and candidates; poorly managed voter and civic education, which has marginalized youth, women, and persons with disabilities as voters and candidates; weak participation of civil society, women, and youth in other democratic processes around the elections; and human rights violations and the securing of justice for victims of electoral conflicts and violence. The Program operates within the USAID Kenya inclusive Governance Accountability, Performance, and Participation (Kenya IGAPP) framework, with specific contributions towards the outcomes developed for Result II.

Conflict Sensitivity Analysis, Mapping and Risk Assessment of the 2022 Post Election Period

Conflict Sensitivity Analysis, Mapping, and Risk Assessment are essential tools in the field of conflict resolution and peacebuilding. These tools are essential in understanding the context in which they are operating and identify potential risks and opportunities. A study was recently conducted by Act! on Conflict Sensitivity Analysis, Mapping, and Risk Assessment. The study aimed to analyze the post-election environment, identify potential threats to peaceful co-existence from an electoral conflict perspective, and compare the electoral/political dynamics in 2022 and 2017. The study focused on the factors that contributed to the favorable outcome in 2022 and the roles played by various conflict management stakeholders. The study revealed that although the general election held in August 2022 was mostly peaceful, the peaceful atmosphere was not the result of a fundamental transformation of the country's structural features. Instead, it was due to a convergence of circumstances that created a "ceasefire effect." Negative peace has predominated, and the underlying causes of previous electoral conflicts, which were responsible for electoral violence, are still present in Kenya's socio-economic and political context. The report further noted that there are several post-election peace and security risks, including the continued

rejection of election results by the Azimio coalition and the potential for mass action by its already frustrated supporters. Additionally, the failure to deliver on campaign promises aimed at alleviating Kenya's dire economic situation, the deteriorating state of the economy, coupled with persistent drought, and the process of replacing retired IEBC commissioners, which has faced strong opposition from the opposition and some Kenyans, are among the risks identified.

Apart from the findings of the study, several political processes are aggravating political tensions, such as boundary delimitation, planned opposition protests, and the perception that the government is selectively targeting officials from the previous regime. If not addressed, these tensions could escalate into a full-blown political conflict. It is therefore crucial for peace actors to increase their involvement and interventions to address the root causes of these tensions. To achieve this, peace actors require relevant and timely information on how the current political dynamics are affecting communities. In response, Act! plans to conduct a nationwide post-election perception survey to understand the impact of emerging political dynamics on communities. This information will be instrumental in developing adaptive programming to mitigate electoral/political violence during this extended post-election period and within the 2027 election cycle.

1.2. Our Understanding of the Research Problem

Kenya is still grappling with the aftermath of the August 2022 elections, which were tense, politically polarizing, and closely contested. The country has been unable to move forward since the elections, and new political dynamics and conflicts have emerged, adversely affecting the social, economic, and political lives of many Kenyan communities. The impact of these dynamics is the focus of this study, which aims to advise a range of actors. The study seeks to increase the understanding of peace actors on how socio-economic and political dynamics affect the nature of conflicts, thereby informing the development of more comprehensive and coherent strategies for conflict management and peacebuilding. Development organizations, both local and international, will also benefit from the study as they will be able to develop relevant programs at various levels. For players on the democracy and governance platform, such as those within the USAID Kenya-IGAPP framework, the study will be useful in identifying emerging trends in society, including increased disengagement in democratic processes and the rise of mis/mal/disinformation, among others. Further, the study will serve as an advisory to government institutions such as national and county legislatures, security sector agencies, the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC), the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights, and the executive. It will provide a qualitative expression of the citizenry's perspective, helping government institutions to develop policies and interventions that address the root causes of political tensions and conflicts in Kenya.

New Political Dynamics

One of the key political dynamics that emerged after the 2022 election was the rise of new political players¹. The election saw the emergence of new political alliances, some of which gained significant ground in the polls. These new players brought a fresh perspective to Kenyan politics, challenging the traditional political elite that had dominated the scene for decades. However, the rise of new political players also led to increased political polarization², as supporters of different parties and alliances clashed in the streets and on social media.

The changing and evolving patterns and relationships within the political sphere, including the interactions between different political actors, parties, and institutions, as well as the shifting priorities and agendas that shape political decision-making have led to the resurgence of tribalism. While tribalism has always been a part of Kenyan politics, the 2022 election saw an unprecedented level of ethnic tensions³, with some candidates openly appealing to voters along ethnic lines. This led to violence in some parts of the country, particularly in areas where different ethnic groups have historically been in conflict.

Equally, it is further noted that there are several emerging political trends and dynamics that have caught the attention of the public. One of these is the Azimio La Umoja demonstrations led by former Prime Minister Raila Odinga. In line with the Azimio campaign, there have been several demonstrations organized by its supporters across the country. These demonstrations aim to push for reforms in various areas, including the judiciary, security, and the electoral system.

On the other hand, there have been fallouts and wrangles in some political parties, including the Jubilee Party and the Amani National Congress (ANC). In Jubilee, the fallout has been attributed to the fallout between Former President, Uhuru Kenyatta and The Current President William Ruto, which has led to a division in the party's leadership. The division also resulted in the formation of the United Democratic Alliance (UDA), which is associated with the current President Ruto. The UDA has gained significant support in the Rift Valley and Central region, and has positioned itself as a champion of the "hustler nation," a term that refers to the working-class and small business owners who are struggling to make ends meet. However, the UDA party has also faced significant challenges, including allegations of corruption and links to ethnic politics. Some critics have accused the party of using populist rhetoric to mask its true agenda, which is to protect the interests of the political elite. The party has also faced criticism for its divisive approach to politics, which has been accused of fanning ethnic tensions in the country. In ANC, the party

¹ <https://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/tea/news/east-africa/new-political-alliances-could-complicate-kenyas-politics-3873284>

² <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/horn-africa/kenya/kenyas-post-election-rift-widens>

³ Kenya National Commission on Human Rights. (2022). Elections Observation Report 2022

leader, Musalia Mudavadi, has been facing internal wrangles, with some members accusing him of sidelining them in the party's decision-making processes. The disagreements have led to the formation of a faction within the party known as the ANC Asili, which has vowed to challenge Mudavadi's leadership.

Another major issue in Kenya is the ongoing debate over taxation and the finance bill. The government has proposed a number of tax increases and other measures aimed at raising revenue to fund its development agenda, but these proposals have been met with significant resistance from opposition politicians and civil society groups. Some critics argue that the proposed tax increases will disproportionately affect low-income Kenyans, while others have raised concerns about the government's ability to effectively manage public finances.

The "one man, one vote" debate is also causing divisions in the country, as some politicians and civil society groups push for constitutional reforms that would change the way that parliamentary seats are allocated. Currently, the number of parliamentary seats allocated to each county is determined by a complex formula that takes into account a number of factors, including population size and geographic location. However, some politicians argue that this system is unfair and does not accurately represent the interests of all Kenyans.

Impact on Communities

The new political patterns and trends that emerged after the 2022 election have had a negative impact on Kenyan communities. The increased political polarization has led to a breakdown in social cohesion, with communities divided along political lines. This has had a negative impact on economic activities, as businesses are reluctant to invest in areas where there is political instability. Additionally, the political polarization has exacerbated economic disparities and negatively impacted development, as policymakers focus on short-term political gains rather than long-term sustainable growth. Overall, the impact of political polarization on communities in Kenya have been far-reaching and have had significant consequences for social, economic, and political stability. The rise of tribalism has also led to an increase in hate speech and discrimination⁴, with members of different ethnic groups facing discrimination in social and economic spheres.

The impact of the emerging political dynamics on Kenyan communities is particularly acute in areas that have a history of ethnic conflict. In these areas, the 2022 election has led to an increase in violence, as

⁴ <https://www.nation.co.ke/kenya/blogs-opinion/opinion/kenya-is-back-to-the-tribal-politics-of-old-but-its-worse-now-3796006>

supporters of different parties and alliances clash in the streets. The violence has resulted in loss of life and property, as well as displacement of people from their homes.

2.0. APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY

The study adopted a mixed methods approach which entailed literature review as well as quantitative and qualitative research approaches. Literature review was critical particularly in identifying research gaps, clarifying the project context and development of survey tools. The quantitative phase was administered using face to face computer assisted personal interviews (CAPI) with the general public. On the hand, the qualitative phase was attained through Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) with key stakeholders and target groups, respectively as illustrated below;



2.1. Desk Review

Literature review entailed a rigorous review of secondary data and information gathered from various sources. This included:

- Relevant ACT! Studies:
 - Political economy study of 2022,
 - National study on Voter Apathy and
 - Conflict Sensitivity Analysis, Mapping and Risk Assessment study
- The IEBC Post-Election Evaluation Report for the 9th August 2022 General Elections.
- The 2010 Constitution of Kenya.
- Reports by Election Observation Groups.
- Reports by Human Rights Organization such as KNCHR
- Government Policy Documents.
- Media Reports.

2.2. Quantitative Phase

Infotrak conducted 1800 personal interviews with Kenyans aged 18 years and above from a sample of 17 select counties using Computer Assisted Personal Interviews (CAPI). The respondent's demographics were captured to identify patterns based on such characteristics. In order to avoid sampling bias, the survey employed the use of a proportionate stratified multi stage cluster sampling.

Sample Design

This sample size was drawn on a **stratified basis**. The survey sample of 1,800 was stratified across the 17 counties voting age population, in order to ensure every county had been factored into the survey. Allocation of the proposed 1,800 sample to the 17 counties was guided by Population Proportionate to Size. The sampling frame was the 2019 Kenyan Census adult population (18+ years). The resultant proportionate county sample was further allocated proportionately to all the constituencies therein. Sub-locations to be included in the survey in each constituency, were then randomly selected and appropriate sample apportioned. The following formula was used to arrive at the national sample of 1,800;

$$n = \frac{Z^2 p(1 - p)}{e^2}$$

where n is the sample size, Z is the critical value at the desired **confidence level of 95%** (usually set at 1.96), e is the desired level of precision, p is the estimated proportion of an attribute that is present in the population.

The desired level of precision (e) is set a $0.01786 = (Z * 0.5 / \sqrt{n}) < 0.05$.

Substituting the values:

$$n = \frac{1.96^2 * 0.5(1 - 0.5)}{0.01786^2} = 1,799.85 \cong 1800$$

Household Selection

Households were selected using household selection grid. Once the research team arrived at the sampled sub-location, the supervisor identified a starting point. Guided by the left hand (anti-clockwise) rule, skip interval and successful interviews, the interviewers randomly picked households to be interviewed. For urban areas, the skip interval was **five** and for rural areas, the skip interval was **four**. In urban areas with flats, only one interview was conducted per flat.

Respondent Selection

In this survey, the Kish Grid was used to select respondents at the household level. The Kish grid gives a procedure of selection and is intended to select persons within the household with equal probability. The enumerator listed all the eligible members of the household (in this case, persons residing in the household and aged 18 years and above) in a systematic order; by age i.e. Starting with the oldest person; as well as gender for each eligible household member. A pre-assigned random number was then used to determine the household member to be interviewed. The CAPI software has been modified to integrate an automatic respondent selection using the Kish grid. If the picked person was not at home, the interviewer would arrange to call a second time to interview that individual. If he/she was not there on the second occasion, he/she would select another adult in the household by picking the listed person **DIRECTLY ABOVE** the person originally taken, on even number dates or **DIRECTLY BELOW** on odd number dates. If that person was also not available, the interviewer would substitute with another household.

All the above processes were automated and only required the input of household members and time from the interviewer. There was an automatic check to ensure the time input was accurate and correct.

The attained sample is as presented below:

Regional Economic Bloc	Randomly selected counties	Adult Population	County Sample
Frontier Counties Development Council	Garissa	380,952	53
	Mandera	319,641	44
	Nandi	467,634	65
North Rift Economic Bloc	Uasin Gishu	652,611	90
	Trans Nzoia	487,027	67
	Kericho	478,392	66
Lake Region Economic Bloc	Bungoma	788,028	109
	Kisumu	616,848	85
	Kisii	658,236	91
Jumuiya Ya Kaunti Za Pwani	Kilifi	731,823	101
	Mombasa	756,906	105
South Eastern Economic Bloc	Kitui	591,033	82
	Meru	900,569	125

Mount Kenya and Aberdare Region Economic Bloc	Nyeri	488,094	68
	Nakuru	1,197,297	166
Narok and Kajiado Economic Bloc	Kajiado	623,632	86
Nairobi City County	Nairobi City	2,858,096	396
		12,996,819	1,800

2.3. Qualitative Phase

2.3.1. Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)

The survey targeted Kenyans aged 18 years and above (mixed gender and ages), comprising community members [Social Economic Class (SEC) AB, C1, C2, D] who resided within the select counties. Focus group discussion guides were then designed covering all the key exploratory questions as stipulated in the objectives of the survey. The guide comprised of predominantly open ended, deep probing questions. The table below highlights the attained FGDs:

FGD CATEGORY	COUNTIES	DESCRIPTION	ATTAINED FGDs
Frontier Counties Development Council	Garissa	Rural - Male: Age 18 -35 (n=1) Urban - Female: Age 36+ (n=1)	2
North Rift Economic Bloc	Uasin Gishu	Urban - Mixed Gender: Age 18 - 35(n=1) Rural - Mixed Gender: Age 36+(n=1)	2
Lake Region Economic Bloc	Kisumu	Rural - Mixed Gender: Age 18 - 35(n=1) Urban - Mixed Gender: Age 36+(n=1)	2
Jumuia Ya Kaunti Za Pwani	Mombasa	Urban - Male: Age 18 -35(n=1) Rural - Female: Age 36+(n=1)	2
South Eastern Economic Bloc	Kitui	Rural - Mixed Gender: Age 18 - 35(n=1) Urban - Mixed Gender: Age 36+(n=1)	2
Narok and Kajiado Economic Bloc	Kajiado	Urban - Mixed Gender: Age 18 - 35(n=1) Rural - Mixed Gender: Age 36+(n=1)	2
Mt. Kenya and Aberdare Region Economic Bloc	Nyeri	Rural - Mixed Gender: Age 18 - 35(n=1) Urban - Mixed Gender: Age 36+(n=1)	2
Nairobi City County	Nairobi	Urban - Mixed Gender: Age 18 - 35(n=1) Urban - Mixed Gender: Age 36+(n=1)	2
TOTAL			16

2.3.2. Key-Informant Interviews (KIIs)

Key informant in-depth interviews are mainly undertaken with subject matter experts, policy makers and opinion leaders. They provide data in the form of feelings, opinions, experiences and recommendations that are not quantifiable. The respondents were purposively sampled. The table below highlights the attained KII make-up.

KII CATEGORY	ATTAINED KIIs
ACT! Strategic partners such as the office of registrar of political parties, NCIC, NSC, IEBC, Uraia	5
Community Leaders and Local Administrators	4
Representatives from CSOs,	2
Representatives from CBOs	2
Representatives from Faith-Based Organizations	2
Representatives from National Government (Ministry of youth gender sports and culture, Ministry Of Public Service, Gender And Affirmative Action, Ministry of Interior and National Administration	3
Representatives from County Government (6 from the 17 sub counties covered in the quantitative phase)	6
Academia/Researchers	5
Representatives of Special Interest Groups (Youth, Women and PWDs, Trade Unions etc...)	5
Representative from Human Rights Organizations	3
Opinion Leaders and Top political Party Representative	3
TOTAL	40

2.4. Data Analysis

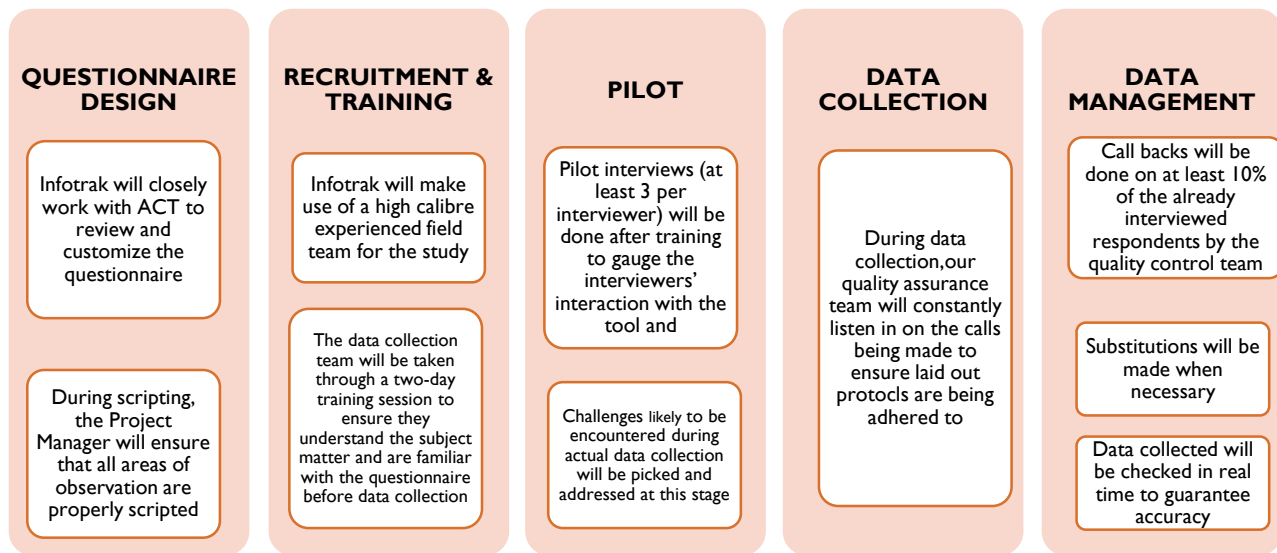
Quantitative data cleaning and analysis was done using SPSS. MS Excel was also used for generation of tables. Check for incomplete interviews that were terminated. During data cleaning, consistency and logic checks were conducted to confirm the flow of responses, which resulted, for instance, in exclusion of responses that were related to subsequent questions yet contain missing values. The Z-Score was used to do the checks and a case was defined as an outlier if it exceeds +2.31/-2.31 deviations. A multiple response variable was computed for the multiple response questions. This was done by splitting the

response into the maximum number of responses possible. For variables that had the option ‘other’, the responses were recorded back into that variable and the additional value labels included, hence analyzed along that variable.

Qualitative data was captured by voice recording as well as note-taking. Audio recording were transcribed word for word for analysis and reporting. Notes taken and transcripts were used to prepare grids (all information under key thematic areas were collated for analysis using NVIVO).

3.0. QUALITY CONTROL AND QUALITY ASSURANCE

A well-planned system of procedures, performance checks, quality audits, and corrective actions was instituted to ensure that the data produced throughout the survey was of the highest achievable quality. The quality assurance planning involved identification of key areas of quality used in quality assurance. In this regard, the key areas of the survey life-cycle that were examined for quality include: Sampling, Questionnaire Design, Scripting, Recruitment and Training, Data Collection, and Data Processing. Detailed quality control measures can be found in the annex section.



4.0. MAIN FINDINGS

I. OBJECTIVE I: EMERGING POLITICAL DYNAMICS IN POST-2022 ELECTORAL ENVIRONMENT

4.1. Current Political Situation in Kenya

The top five most trending political stories (*emerging political dynamics*) according to surveyed Kenyans include the finance bill 2023 (50%), Azimio demonstrations (48%), president Ruto/s post-election promises (43%), Azimio demands (40%) and regularization of churches (32%). Other emerging dynamics include the fall out in the Jubilee Party (27%), IEBC Servers (14%) and IEBC reforms (14%), detailed findings are as presented in the figure below:

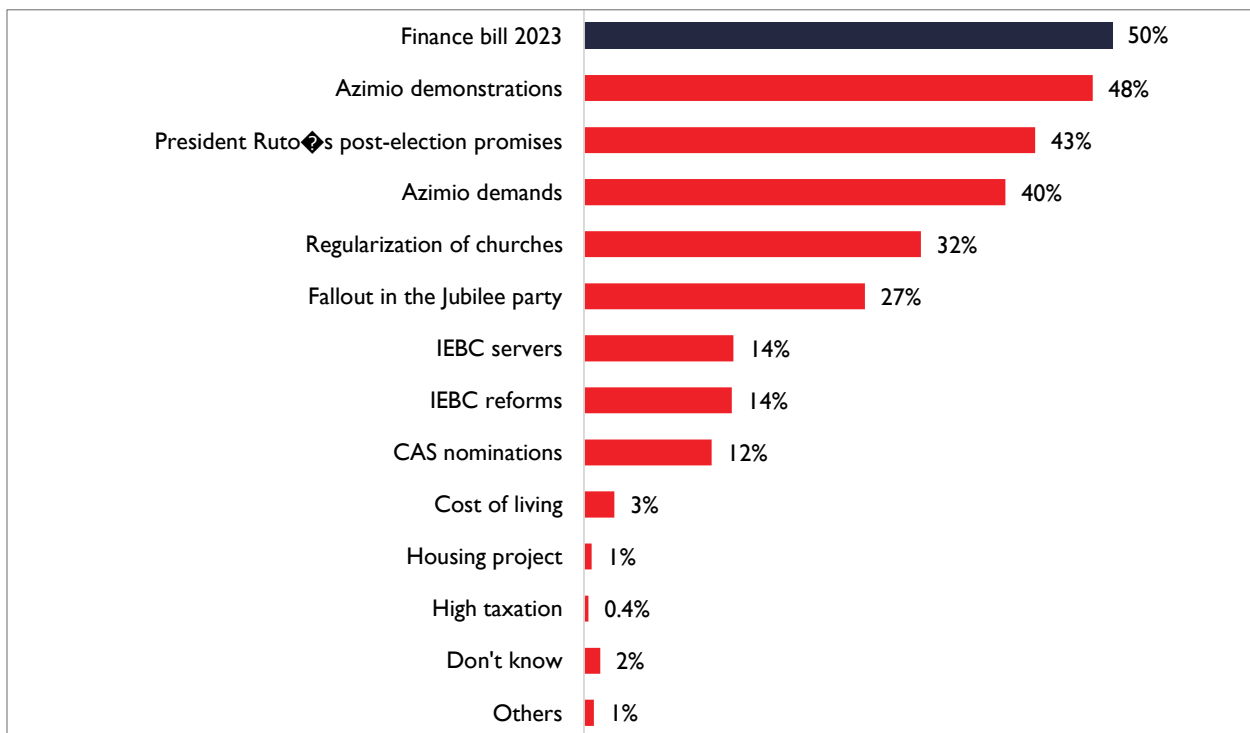


Figure 1: Most trending political stories in Kenya currently

Qn: What would you say are the most trending political stories in Kenya currently?

FGD Informants Perspective

Findings from the qualitative FGD phase indicate that the most trending political stories in Kenya encompass a range of topics. These include the notable participation of the First Lady in the "Mama Cycle"

initiative, where she cycles from the state house to the UN headquarters. The Finance Bill emerges as a significant concern in multiple discussions, with its impact on taxation and the housing sector drawing attention. The ‘Mungiki’, a controversial outlawed group, corruption scandals in the health sector, particularly the KEMSA scandal, the imposition of a three percent house tax and taxes on individuals are additional subjects of interest, on Kenyans perspective, this is what they said:

- “...Finance bill...” -FGD participant, Kajiado.*
- “...Finance bill housing...” -FGD participant, Nyeri.*
- “...Mungiki...” -FGD participant, Eldoret.*
- “...Finance bill...” -FGD participant, Kitui.*
- “...Mama Cycle; the first lady has been cycling from the state house to UN headquarters...” -FGD participant, Nairobi.*
- “...The finance bill is number one, followed by corruption scandals in the health sector. The KEMSA...” -FGD participant, Garissa.*
- “...The three per cent house tax...” -FGD participant, Mombasa.*
- “...Tax They are imposing a tax on people or housing tax...” -FGD participant, Kisumu.*

Findings from the qualitative phase indicate varying levels of engagement and understanding within communities regarding trending political stories. Concerns were expressed about the impact of the finance bill on taxation and disposable income. Limited awareness was observed among some community members, particularly regarding the details of these political stories. Efforts were made within certain communities to educate and address social issues such as LGBTQ matters. This is what they said

- “...On the issue of taxation and the finance bill, people from my community are complaining about it and its really stressing them. Salaried people are worried that their disposable income will decrease due to the housing finance bill...” -FGD participant, Nairobi.*
- “...Most of them have not yet understood what it is about...” -FGD participant, Kitui.*
- “...You know most of our community are just hustlers even though they don't know about this finance bill...” -FGD participant, Garissa.*
- “...We are trying to teach our children and get information from the church and other community members to teach our children against LGBTQ...” -FGD participant, Mombasa.*

Key Informants Perspective

The most trending political topics in Kenya currently, as identified by key informants, encompass a range of issues. These include the cost of living, the finance bill, and the fallout within the Jubilee party due to alleged interference and power struggles. The government's housing project, the budget discussions, and the ongoing dialogue between former Prime Minister, Raila Odinga and President William Ruto are also prominent topics. Insecurity and increased taxes have sparked concerns among the public, while the finance bill itself has garnered attention as it affects both ruling party supporters and the opposition. The bill addresses the rising cost of living and taxation. Additionally, the Shakahola massacre and political interference in religious matters have caught public attention, particularly among the Christian population in the coastal region. Lastly, the budget's outcome is anticipated, with potential demonstrations if it fails to align with public expectations.

*“...The cost of living and the finance bill. The Jubilee party has a fallout. The current presidency has interfered with using power and management, causing the political fallout in jubilee in preparation for the next general election. The former president controls 50% of the party, and to make him weaker, he is causing the jubilee fallout...”- **KII Respondent, Academia***

*“...One is the government's housing issue project, and another is the finance bill. 3. The budget, if there is going to be the housing or not, parliament trying to have that talk between Raila and Ruto. Another one is the trend of cultism existing in the society...”- **KII Respondent, NGO***

*“... Insecurity, increased taxes...”- **KII Respondent, Human Rights Org.***

*“...Finance bill 2023; It was at the top because it affected everyone. People are speaking about it. We have supporters from both the opposition and the ruling party. The good thing about the finance bill is that it touches on everyone, including those in the ruling party. Their leader is in power, but they are suffering. They could be affected the most, unlike those in the opposition, because those in the ruling party would want it to favour them, but it doesn't...”- **KII Respondent, CSO***

*“...The Shakahola massacre is also trending with a lot of political interference. There is a lot of state interference. I believe the topic is trending because Kenya has a large population of Christians, and they are worried about the turnout of events in the churches in the coastal region...”- **KII Respondent, Community Leader***

*“...The budget is now trending if it does not go how we want, they will demonstrate...”- **KII Respondent, FBO***

4.1.1. Risks associated with the emerging political dynamics

The emerging political dynamics in Kenya are perceived by some key informants to carry certain risks. One of the concerns expressed is the fallout resulting from the finance bill, particularly regarding the equal taxation of Kenyans. This has led to dissatisfaction among the population, with fears of potential political

instability. The possibility of demonstrations is also highlighted as a potential outcome of these dynamics. The focus on the finance bill, specifically the housing levy, raises questions about its effectiveness in providing decent housing and employment opportunities, as well as concerns about its potential to benefit politicians rather than the people. Additionally, the prioritization of taxing citizens for housing while there are people suffering from hunger is seen as problematic. The general sentiment is that if the situation does not improve, there is a likelihood of widespread demonstrations as a means of expressing discontent.

“...These fallouts result from the finance bill; Kenyans don't want to be taxed equally. We, as Kenyans, are watching as other political leaders have been bribed to cross over. I believe in less than a year, things will turn out like in Egypt. I foresee a political evolution where Kenyans will take back the power and not step down. In less than a year, we shall get someone fresh, not influenced by politics, to take over the country...”- KII Respondent, CSO

“...Instability. People believe in what they hear. That is what they pick up...”- KII Respondent, Legislator (MCA)

“...People will start demonstrations...”- KII Respondent, Human Rights Org.

Some of the potential risks associated with the emerging political dynamics mentioned by the FGD respondents include; dictatorship, tribalism, and incompetence leading to negative outcomes. Additionally, there are fears of a high crime rate, increased corruption, worsening of the overall situation, and a negative impact on the economy. The respondent’s expressed apprehension about the potential implications of these factors on various aspects of society, such as governance, security, and the cost of living. Some of them had this to say:

“...Dictatorship, Tribalism and Incompetence...” -FGD participant, Nairobi.

“...High crime rate...” -FGD participant, Kajiado

“...Corruption will increase...” -FGD participant, Nyeri.

Familiarity with Azimio la Umoja Kenya Demands

6 in every 10 of Kenyans are either familiar or very familiar with the Azimio la Umoja Kenya coalition post-election demands. Further, 65% perceive the demands made by the Azimio la Umoja Kenya coalition as either reasonable or very reasonable, as presented below:

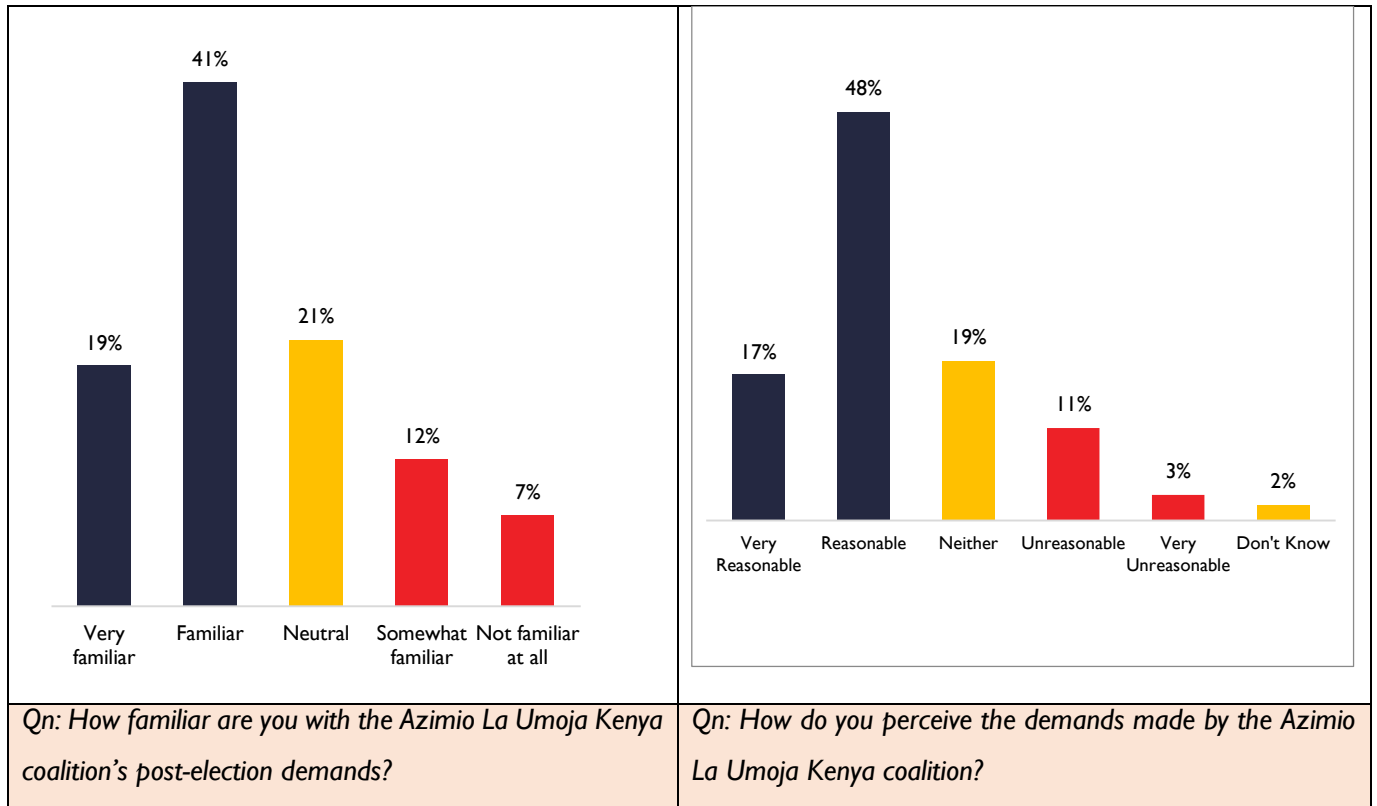


Figure 2: Familiarity with the Azimio la Umoja Kenya Demands

The Azimio La Umoja Kenya coalition's post-election demands, as expressed in focus group discussions across various regions, revolve around several key issues. These include the call for transparency through the opening of servers, the need to lower the cost of living, the return of commissioners to the IEBC, and concerns regarding interference with political parties and parliament. Participants also highlighted the importance of reducing food prices, taxation, and ensuring fair electoral processes.

“...Opening of the servers...” -FGD participant, Nairobi.

“...Lower the cost of living...” -FGD participant, Kajiado.

“...Commissioners to be returned back to the IEBC...” -FGD participant, Nyeri.

“...There was opening the server, stopping IEBC recruitment, lower the food prices, stop interfering with jubilee party, stop interfering with parliament and stop buying MPs...” -FGD participant, Eldoret.

“...Servers be opened...” -FGD participant, Kisumu.

The perception of the demands made by the Azimio La Umoja Kenya coalition varied among the focus group participants. While some questioned the feasibility and source of funding for certain demands,

others viewed them as reasonable and necessary, particularly in addressing the high cost of living and excessive taxation. There was support for the opposition leader's role as a watchdog and push for change.

“...Some are reasonable others are not because, about the taxation; I think it can be lowered because we are really overwhelmed by the taxes especially for the common mwananchi...” -FGD participant, Nyeri.

“...I think our opposition leader should just continue pushing because I think there is no country without a watchdog...” -FGD participant, Eldoret.

“...Some of them are logical, like the one for the high cost of living...” -FGD participant, Kitui.

53% of the surveyed Kenyans believe that the government should carefully consider the demands made by the Azimio la Umoja Kenya coalition. Another 28% believe that the government should address them carefully, whereas 10% indicated that the government should reject them outright. Key to note is that more than half (57%) believe that the demands would improve the country's political landscape.

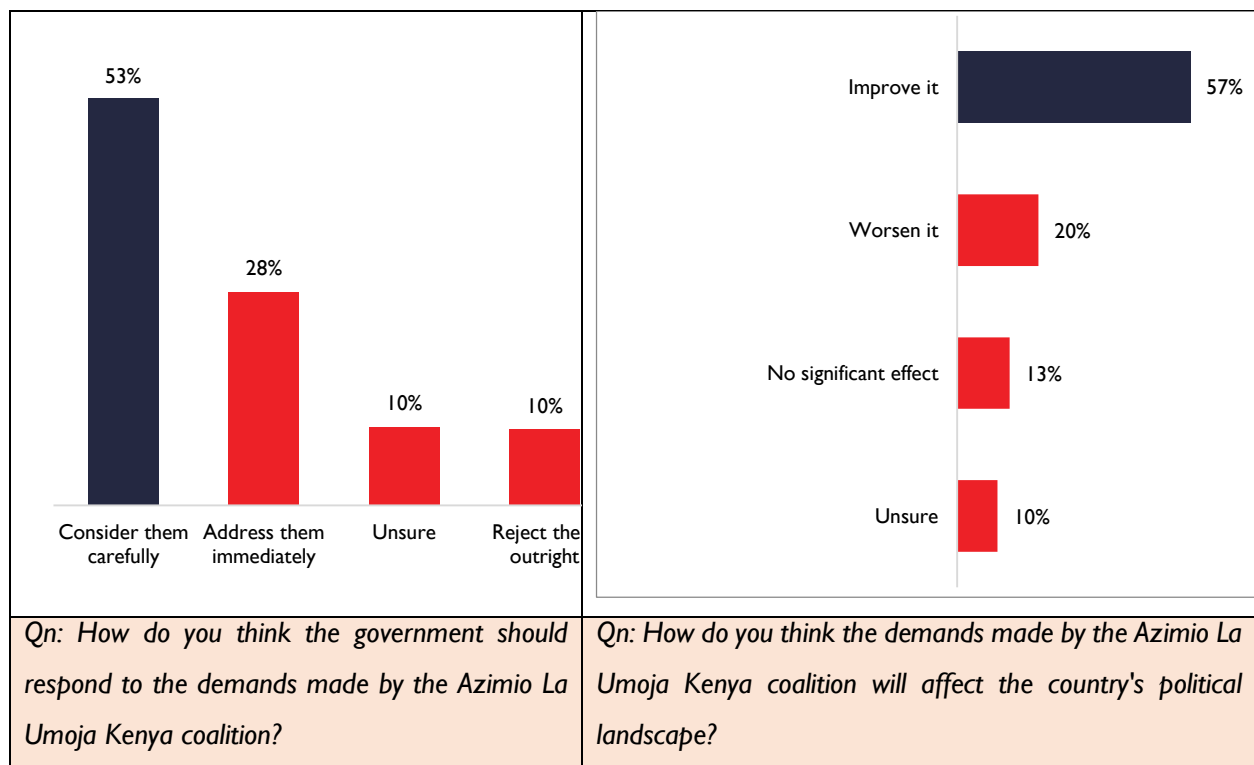


Figure 3: How the government should respond to Azimio la Umoja's Demands

Perceptions of Demonstrations

Three in every five (60%) of the surveyed respondents agree that demonstrations are an important way to express dissent and hold those in power accountable, 63% believe that demonstrations can be effective, however they should not disrupt public order or harm innocent people, on the other hand, 55% disagree that demonstrations are a nuisance and ought to be banned altogether, detailed findings on perception of demonstrations are as presented in the figure below:

Table 1: Perception of Demonstrations

	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Mean Rating
Demonstrations are an important way to express dissent and hold those in power accountable	20%	21%	60%	71%
Demonstrations can be effective, but they should not disrupt public order or harm innocent people	17%	19%	63%	74%
Demonstrations should only be allowed with prior permission from the authorities, and any violation should be met with force	29%	29%	42%	64%
Demonstrations are a nuisance and should be banned altogether.	55%	22%	24%	50%
Demonstrations have a negative impact on economic activities, as businesses are reluctant to invest in areas where there is political instability	34%	24%	42%	62%

Qn: On a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 is strongly disagree and 5 is strongly agree, rate the extent to which you agree with the following statements on demonstrations

Opinions regarding political demonstrations in Kenya were diverse among the focus group discussants. While some saw them as beneficial, providing time off or as a means for citizens to fight for their rights, others expressed concerns about the negative consequences such as loss of lives and economic repercussions. Some participants supported demonstrations but called for non-interference by the police, while others emphasized the importance of dialogue to address citizens' demands. Overall, the opinions reflected a range of perspectives on the effectiveness and impact of political demonstrations in Kenya, as presented below:

“...They are good. At least, I get two days off to study and other things...” -FGD participant, Nairobi.

“...It was okay, People are fighting for their rights. The disadvantage is that, these leaders are allies. During demonstration, people lose their lives but no leader will die. If the demonstrations go well, the economy will be better...” -FGD participant, Kajiado

“...I support them and I think the police should not interfere with them...” -FGD participant, Eldoret.

“...I think what they should do is sit down and talk because I can see the demands favour the normal citizen...”

-FGD participant, Garissa.

“...It is helping to solve our problems...” -FGD participant, Mombasa.

The top three main causes of the demonstration according to the surveyed Kenyans are high unemployment (51%), inflation (41%) and dissatisfaction with the government (40%), as presented below:

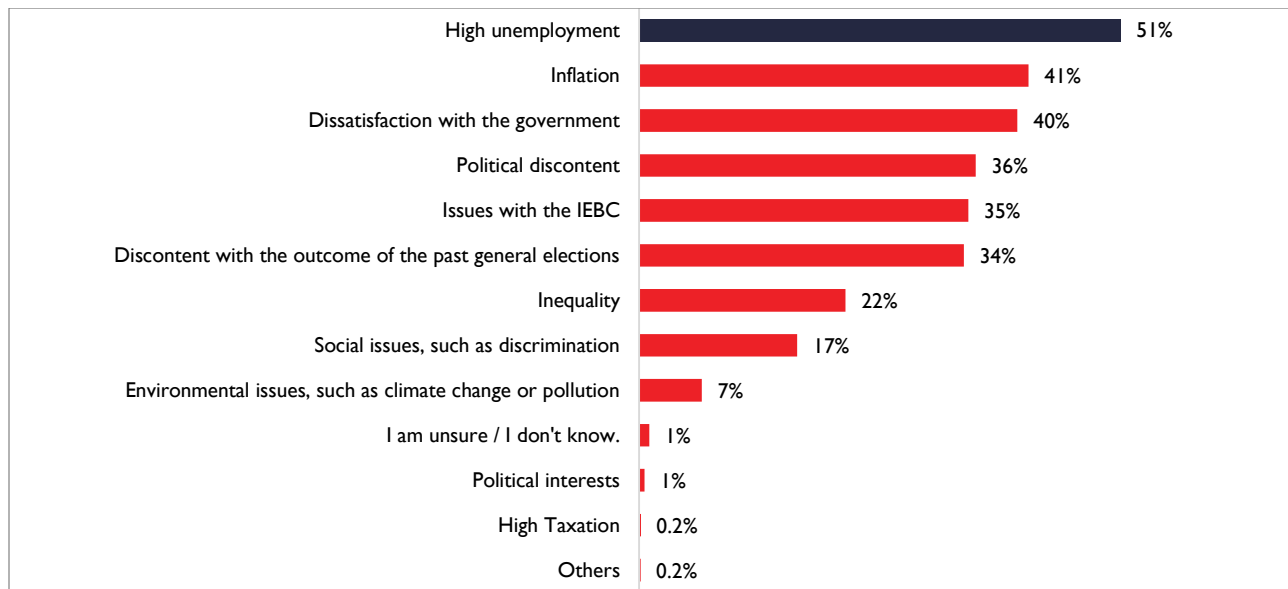


Figure 4: Causes of Current Demonstrations

Qn: In your opinion, what is the main cause of the current demonstrations in Kenya?

The most common reason for people to participate in demonstrations in Kenya, according to the findings from the qualitative phase, is the high cost of living. Participants expressed their frustrations with the rising prices of essential goods and services, such as electricity and gas, which has placed a significant burden on their daily lives. This economic strain has motivated individuals to take to the streets and protest against the government's perceived inability to address the cost of living crisis. The demonstrations serve as a platform for citizens to demand action and express their discontent with the prevailing economic conditions in the country. Some the FGD participants had this to say:

“...High cost of living...” -FGD participant, Nairobi.

“...Unemployment; people don't have jobs so they attend. People are idle and have no money so they choose to attend...” -FGD participant, Kajiado

“...Cost of living, Electricity, Gas, LGBTG...” -FGD participant, Mombasa.

“...Cost of living...” -FGD participant, Kisumu.

Prevalence of Violence during Demonstrations

More than half (53%) of surveyed Kenyans have never witnessed or experienced violence during a demonstration in Kenya. Nonetheless 47% have ever witnessed/experienced violence.

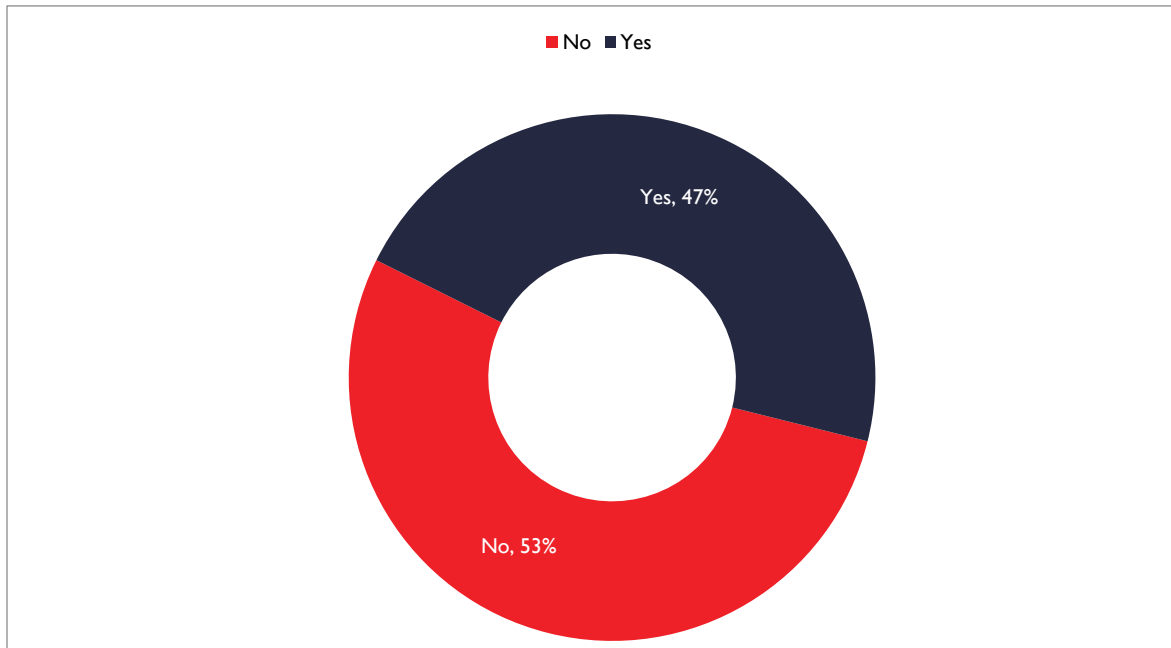


Figure 5: Whether the surveyed respondents have witnessed or experienced violence during demonstrations

Qn: Have you ever witnessed or experienced violence during a demonstration in Kenya?

The survey established that a majority of the surveyed respondents agree that during demonstrations the police respond appropriately to ensure the safety and security of all parties involved. 57% disagreed that the police were often absent or unresponsive during demonstrations. Detailed findings are as presented in the table below:

Table 2: Perception of police response during demonstrations

	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Total
The police respond appropriately to ensure the safety and security of all parties involved	26%	23%	51%	66%
The police respond with excessive force, using tear gas, water cannons, and physical violence against peaceful demonstrators	27%	25%	48%	67%

The police do not respond effectively, allowing demonstrations to turn violent and cause property damage or harm to innocent people	44%	28%	28%	56%
The police are often absent or unresponsive during demonstrations, leading to chaos and disorder	57%	26%	17%	48%

Qn: On a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 is strongly disagree and 5 is strongly agree, rate the extent to which you agree with the following statements on police response during demonstrations?

More than half (56%) of Kenyans believe that demonstrations have the power to bring about change in Kenya. Conversely, 37% believe that demonstrations do not have an impact in bringing about the needed change, as shown below:

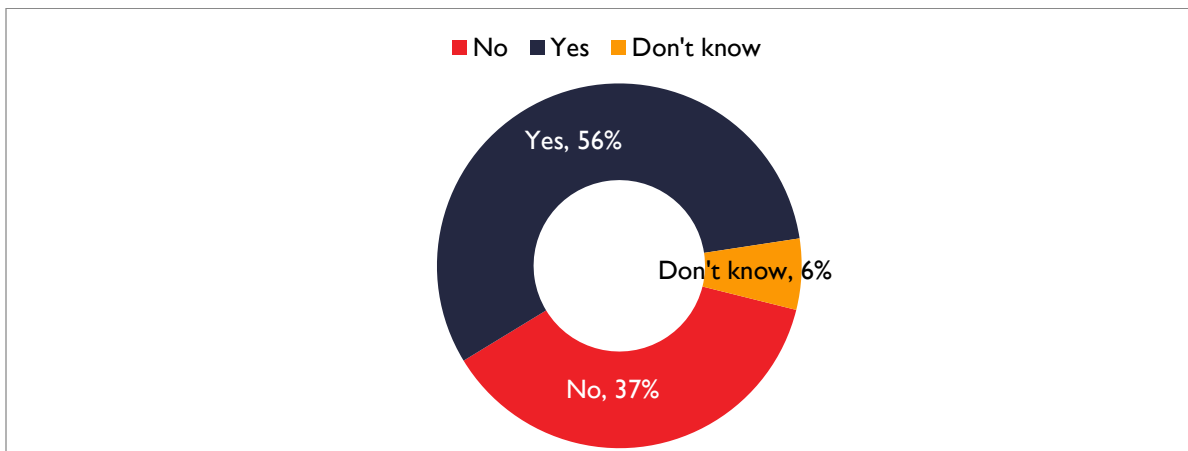


Figure 6: Whether demonstrations have the power to bring about change in Kenya

Qn: Do you believe that demonstrations have the power to bring about change in Kenya?

Perceptions of the Media

The survey established that most (58%) of Kenyans agree that the media provides a fair and balanced coverage of demonstrations, including both the perspectives of protesters and the government. 36% disagree that the media tend to focus on the negative aspects of demonstrations, such as violence or property damage, rather than the underlying grievances or causes, whereas 30% believe that the media sensationalizes demonstrations, focusing on dramatic footage or soundbites to attract viewers or readers. Detailed findings are as presented in the figure below:

Table 3: Perception of the Media and how it portrays demonstrations

	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Total
--	----------	---------	-------	-------

The media provide fair and balanced coverage of demonstrations, including both the perspectives of the protestors and the government.	17%	25%	58%	70%
The media tend to focus on the negative aspects of demonstrations, such as violence or property damage, rather than the underlying grievances or causes.	36%	31%	33%	60%
The media are biased towards the government, and tend to portray demonstrations as illegal or disruptive, rather than legitimate expressions of dissent.	45%	28%	27%	55%
The media sensationalize demonstrations, focusing on dramatic footage or soundbites to attract viewers or readers.	38%	33%	30%	57%

Qn: On a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 is strongly disagree and 5 is strongly agree, rate the extent to which you agree with the following statements on how the media in Kenya portrays demonstrations?

45% of the surveyed Kenyans believe that the government has either been very effective (12%) or somewhat effective (33%) in its handling of demonstrations. Conversely 31% were of the contrary opinion (ineffective and very ineffective).

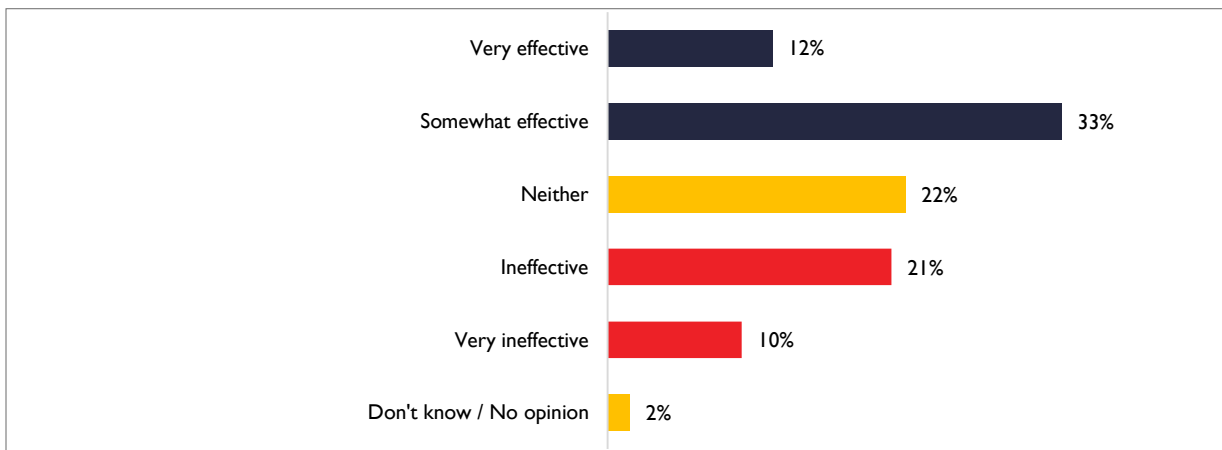


Figure 7: Opinions on Government Handling of Demonstrations

Qn: What is your opinion on the Kenyan government's handling of demonstrations?

In order to ensure peaceful demonstrations surveyed Kenyans believe that the government ought to respect the rights of citizens to peacefully assemble and express their grievances, establish clear guidelines and protocols for demonstrations and create channels for dialogue and negotiation between protest leaders, detailed findings are as presented below:

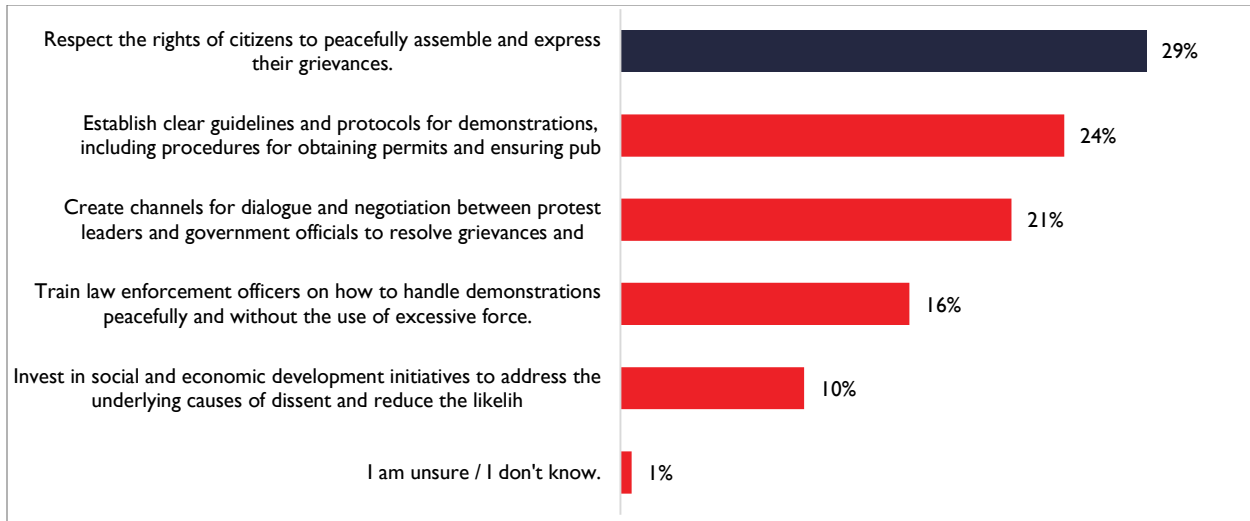
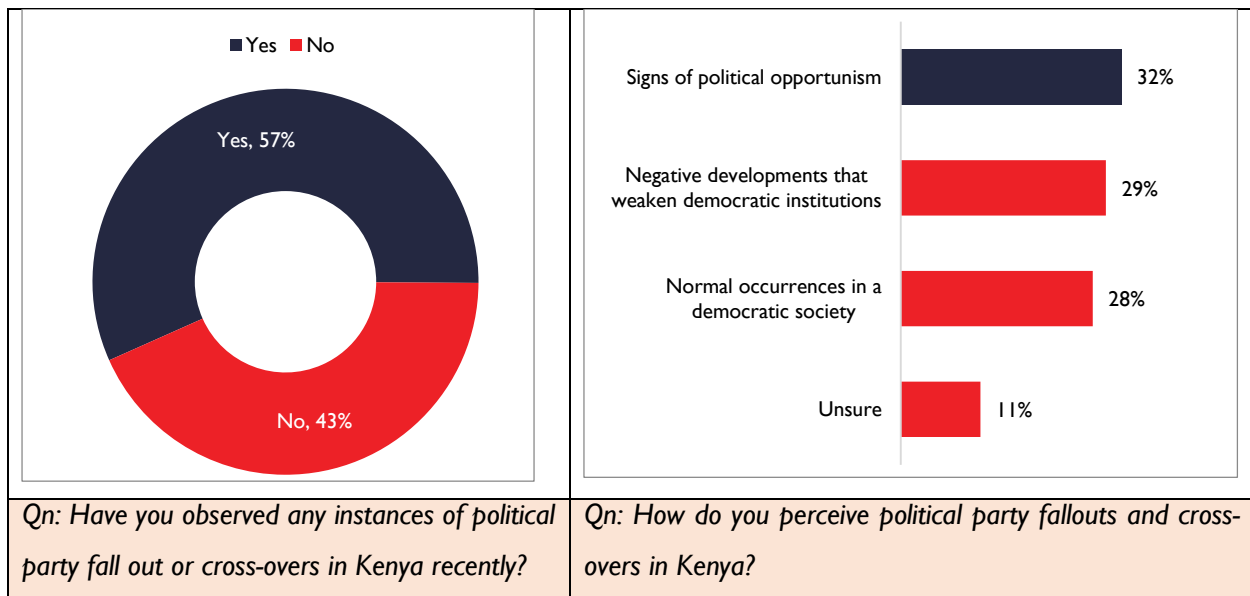


Figure 8: Measures to ensure Demonstrations are Peaceful

Qn: What measures do you think the government of Kenya can take to ensure that demonstrations are peaceful and do not result in violence or destruction of property?

4.2. Political Party Fall out and Dynamics Cross Overs

57% of the surveyed respondents admitted having observed instances of political party fall out or cross overs. Further, Kenyans mostly perceive political party fallouts/cross overs as signs of political opportunism (32%), negative developments that weaken democratic institutions (29%) and normal occurrences in a democratic society (28%), as presented below:



Qn: Have you observed any instances of political party fall out or cross-overs in Kenya recently?

Qn: How do you perceive political party fallouts and cross-overs in Kenya?

Figure 9: Perceptions on Political Party Fallouts and Cross Overs

In tandem with this, some of the potential risks associated with the emerging political dynamics as mentioned by the FGD respondents include; dictatorship, tribalism, and incompetence leading to negative outcomes. Additionally, there are fears of a high crime rate, increased corruption, worsening of the overall situation, and a negative impact on the economy. The respondents expressed apprehension about the potential implications of these factors on various aspects of society, such as governance, security, and the cost of living.

“...Dictatorship, Tribalism and Incompetence...” -FGD participant, Nairobi.

“...High crime rate...” -FGD participant, Kajiado

“...Our situation will worsen...” -FGD participant, Kisumu.

The top three factors that contribute to political party fall outs/cross overs according to the surveyed Kenyans include personal ambitions and interests (65%), ideological differences (44%) and political alliances and loyalties (37%), as detailed below:

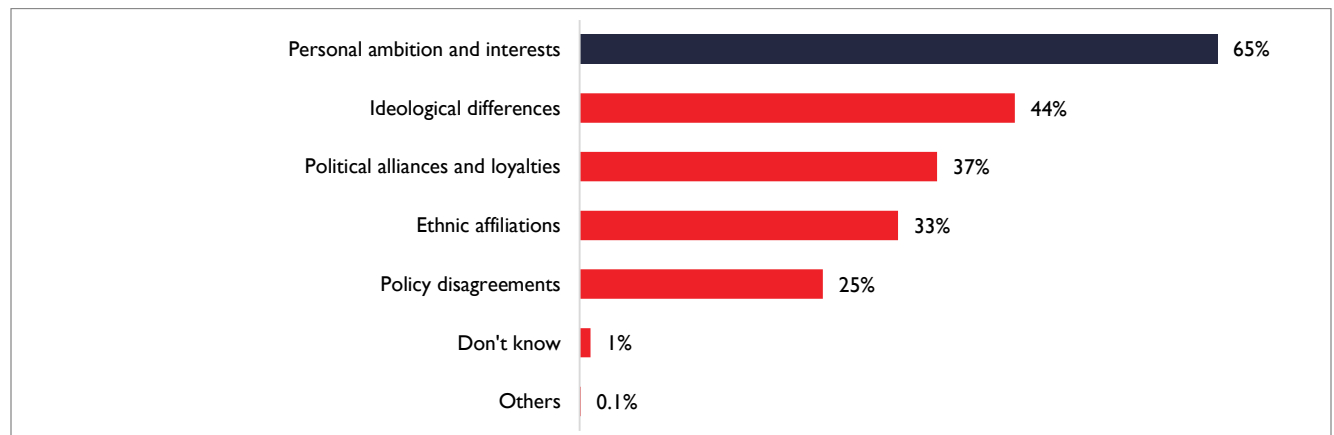


Figure 10: Factors that contribute to political party fallouts and cross-overs in Kenya

Qn: What factors do you believe contribute to political party fallouts and cross-overs in Kenya?

On the other hand, findings from the qualitative phase identified politicians prioritizing their own interests over the well-being of the citizens, leading to the victimization of the people. Corruption is further identified as a significant problem, particularly in the context of political appointments. The influence of greed and favor-seeking is also mentioned as a contributing factor. Furthermore, political interests driven by upcoming elections play a role in shaping the dynamics of Kenyan politics.

“...We become the victims because they politicians are doing it for their own interests...” -FGD participant, Nairobi.

“...It’s because of the vision. As my friend has said, Jalas moved from Azimio to UDA for the benefit of the people, but they did not see it like that. So, I think it’s for the vision...” -FGD participant, Kitui.

“...Kenya is a multiparty state, so when I wake up to go and vote, Raila is not a must that I vote for him, but I can vote anywhere...” -FGD participant, Kisumu.

A majority (64%) of the surveyed respondents indicated that political party fallouts and cross overs negatively affect Kenya’s political parties and create instability. On the flip side, 20% perceive it as positive, by promoting political competition and diversity of ideas, as presented below:

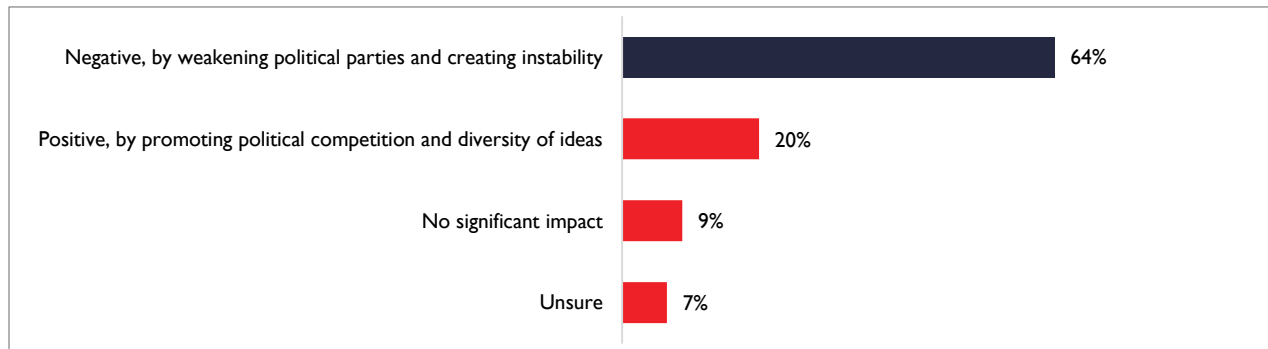


Figure 11: How political party fallouts and cross-overs affect Kenya's political landscape

Qn: How do you think political party fallouts and cross-overs affect Kenya's political landscape?

Most of the FGD respondents stated that they did not support political party fallouts and crossovers in Kenya. Indeed, they highlighted the need for unity to prevent government actions that may not benefit the people. The notion of growth and seeking better opportunities is also mentioned as a reason to support political alliances. This is what some of the surveyed discussants said:

“...No; it’s not benefiting the citizens...” -FGD participant, Nairobi.

“...I don’t...” -FGD participant, Kajiado.

“...There are risks because the last government came together and us as citizens were pushed to the wall...” -FGD participant, Nyeri.

Six in every ten (60%) of the surveyed respondents believe political party fallouts/cross overs hinders the development of Kenya’s democratic process

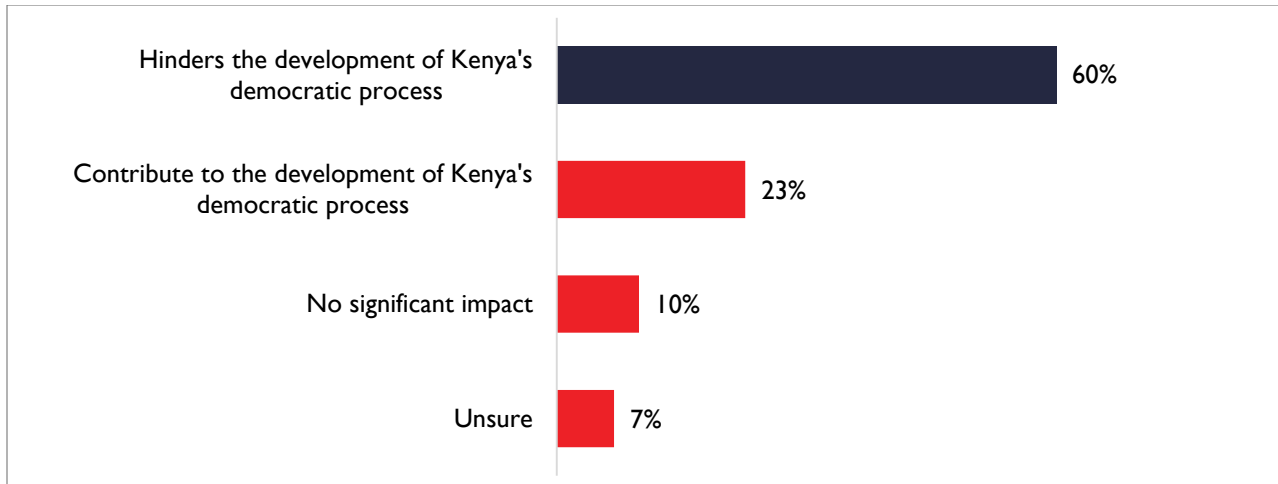


Figure 12: Whether Political Party Fallouts and Crossovers contribute to the Development and Hindrance of Kenya's Democratic Process

Qn: Do you believe that political party fallouts and cross-overs contribute to the development or hindrance of Kenya's democratic process?

Surveyed Kenyans mostly believe that political parties can prevent or minimize fallouts/cross-overs by encouraging open and transparent communication within the party (59%), strengthening internal democracy and party structures (58%) and developing clear party ideologies and policies (48%)

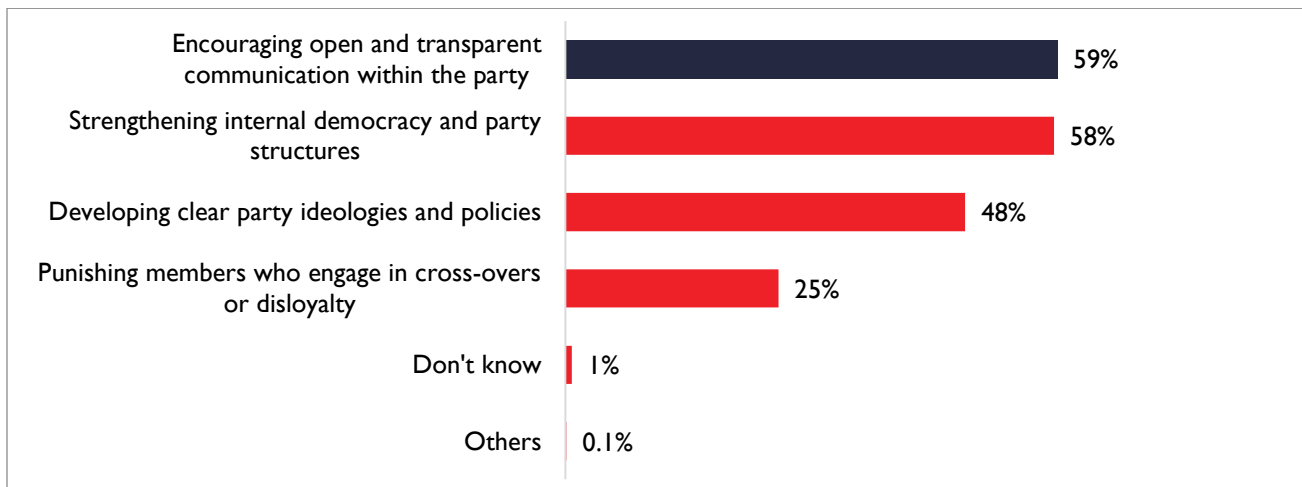


Figure 13: How political parties can prevent or minimize fallouts and cross-overs

Qn: How do you think political parties can prevent or minimize fallouts and cross-overs?

Respondents highlighted the importance of citizen engagement, grassroots participation, and the establishment of clear policies and laws to facilitate collaboration among political parties. There was

consensus that strong and independent institutions, particularly the electoral commission (IEBC), play a crucial role in fostering cooperation. The need for parties to surpass personal biases and subjective perspectives is emphasized as a requirement for successful collaboration.

“...Engage citizen in public sensitization, part membership from the grassroots...” -FGD participant, Nairobi.

“...A policy/law should be put in place to avoid the fall outs and cross overs...” -FGD participant, Eldoret.

“...Enacted laws that govern the party...” -FGD participant, Kisumu.

Qualitative findings further indicate that Kenyans recommend the need for government to prioritize educating the public about political policies and parties, to allow them to get a more clear understanding and awareness of specific policies, such as the "bottom up" approach. They also highlighted the significance of public sensitization and education to dismiss misconceptions and promote positive perceptions of political parties.

“...Public sensitization about the party by educating the people. When you go to Nyanza and say you are from UDA what will people think about you and the party, will they be resentful or welcoming to you and your party...”

-FGD participant, Nairobi.

“...Educating the public on policies for example, the bottom up was not explained to us...” -FGD participant, Eldoret.

66% of Kenyans believe that political party fallouts and cross overs causes voters to lose faith in political parties and the democratic process. Another 20%, indicated that they encourage voters to become more engaged and informed, as presented below:

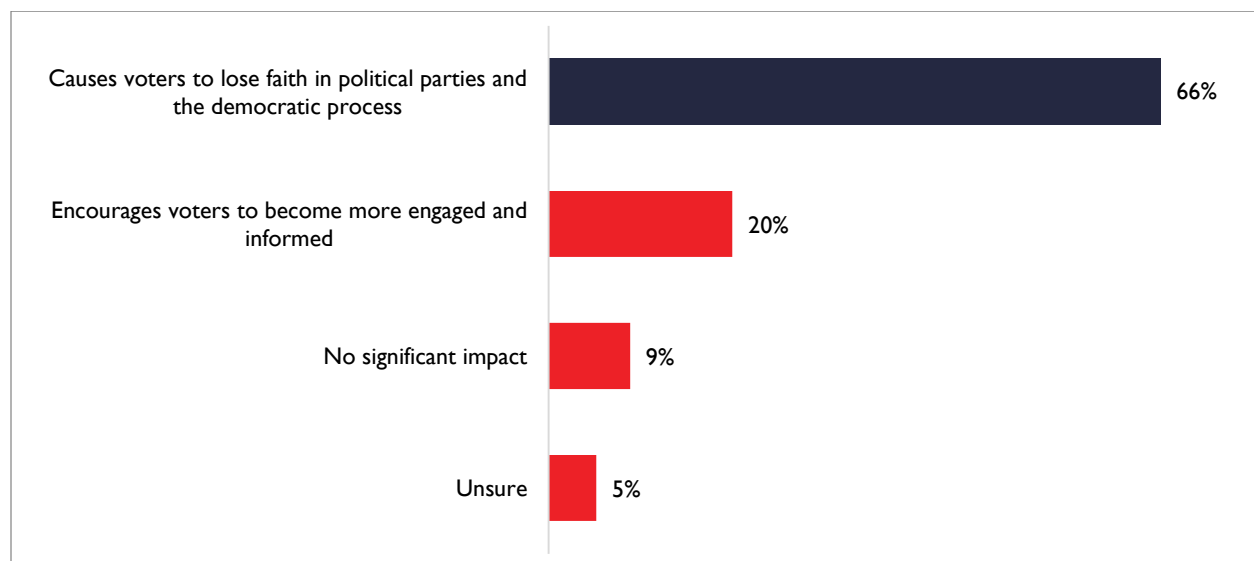


Figure 14: Impact of political party fallouts and cross-overs on voter behavior

Qn: What impact do you think political party fallouts and cross-overs have on voter behavior?

More than half (51%) of the surveyed Kenyans perceive party affiliations as extremely important or somewhat important.

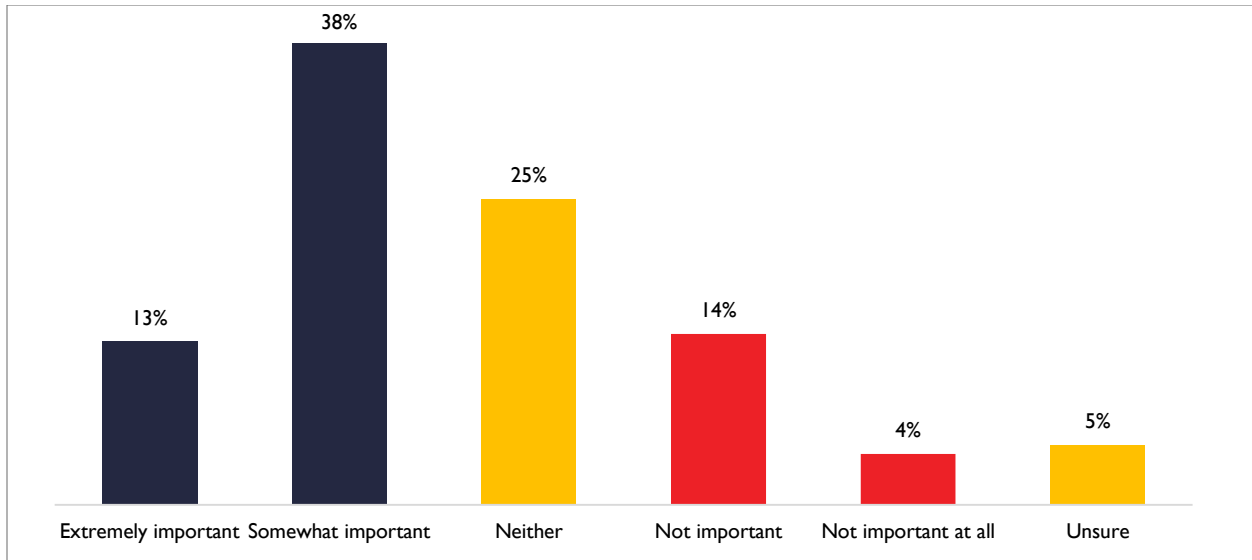


Figure 15: Importance of party affiliation in Kenyan politics

Qn: How important do you think party affiliation is in Kenyan politics?

68% of the surveyed Kenyans disagree that political parties in Kenya represent the interests of the citizens they serve. Further, more females (71%) than males (64%) disagreed that political parties represent Kenyans interest, detailed findings are as presented below:

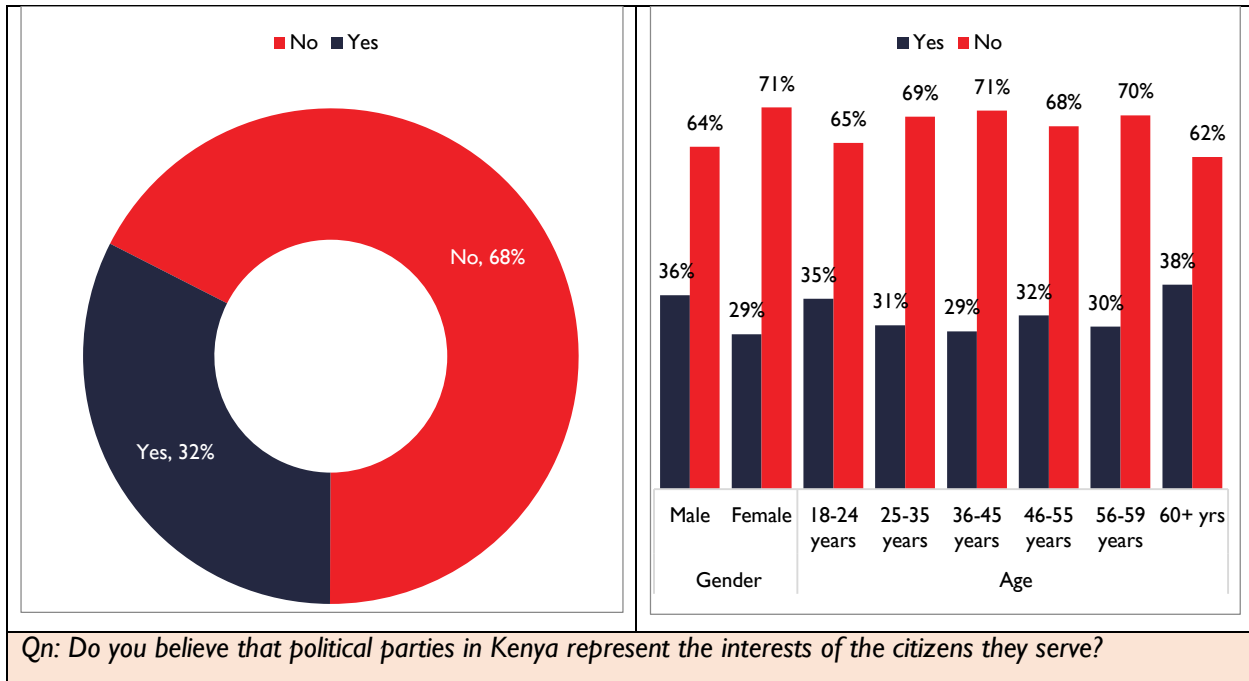


Figure 16: Whether Political Parties in Kenya represent the interests of the citizens they serve

4.3. Government Treatment of Officials from the Previous Regime

37% of Kenyans believe that the Kenyan government is selectively targeting officials from the previous regime. Conversely, 43% do not believe so.

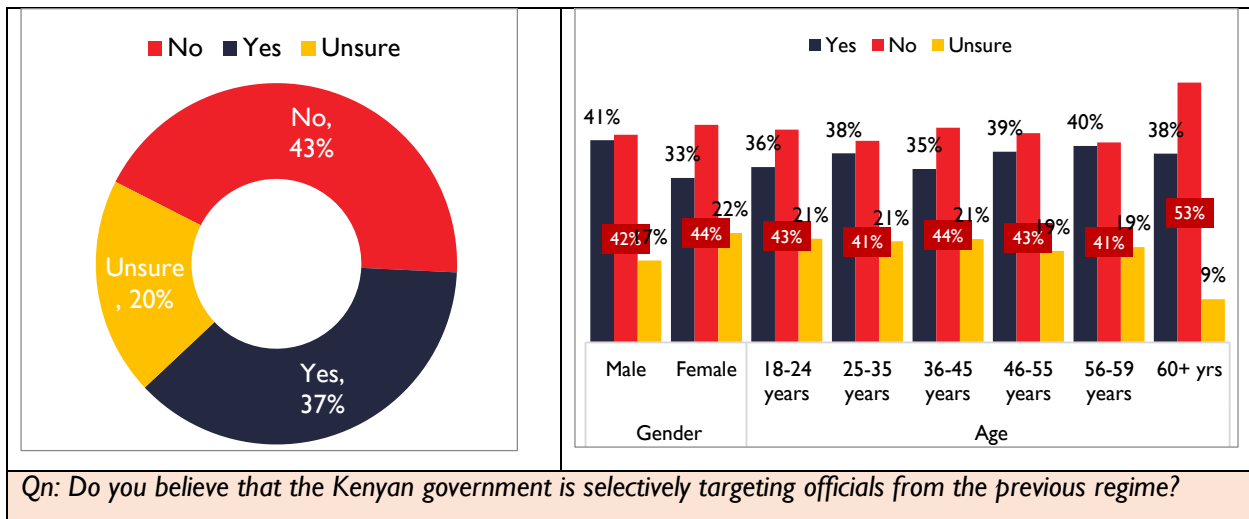


Figure 17: Whether the Kenyan government is selectively targeting officials from the previous regime

Of the surveyed respondents who admitted that the Kenyan government was selectively targeting officials from the previous regime. 73% noted that the main reason behind the selective targeting was political vendetta, whereas 27% indicated that it is a genuine desire to fight corruption and impunity.

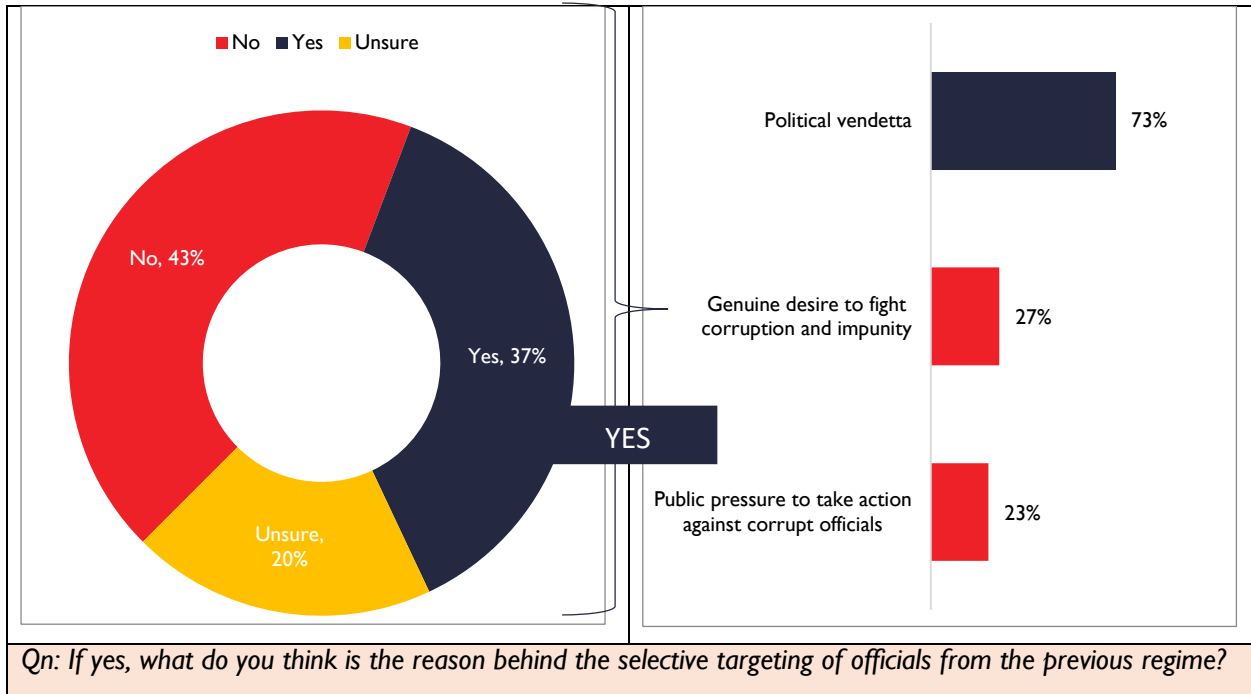


Figure 18: Reason behind the selective targeting of officials from the previous regime

60% of the surveyed respondents highlighted that the selective targeting of officials from the previous regime negatively affects Kenya’s image internationally by suggesting that Kenya’s justice system is politically motivated. 21% noted that it had positive outcomes by demonstrating Kenya’s commitment to fighting corruption whereas 11% noted that it did not have any significant impact, as presented in the figure below

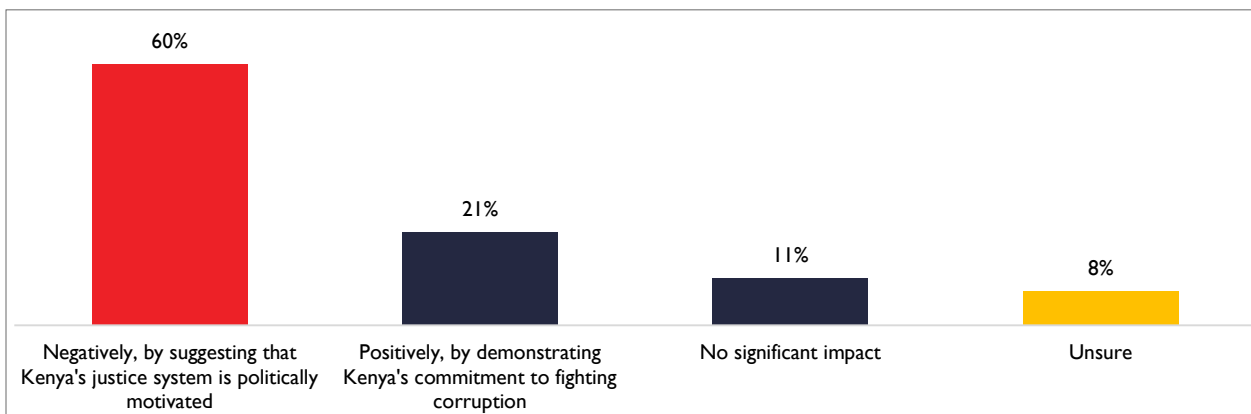


Figure 19: How the selective targeting of officials from the previous regime affects Kenya's image on the international stage

Qn: How do you think the selective targeting of officials from the previous regime affects Kenya's image on the international stage?

63% of the surveyed respondents highlighted that the selective targeting of officials from the previous regime negatively affects Kenya’s domestic politics by creating an atmosphere of fear and intimidation. On the flip side, 19% highlighted that it had positive outcomes by reassuring citizens that the government is fighting corruption, detailed findings are as presented below:

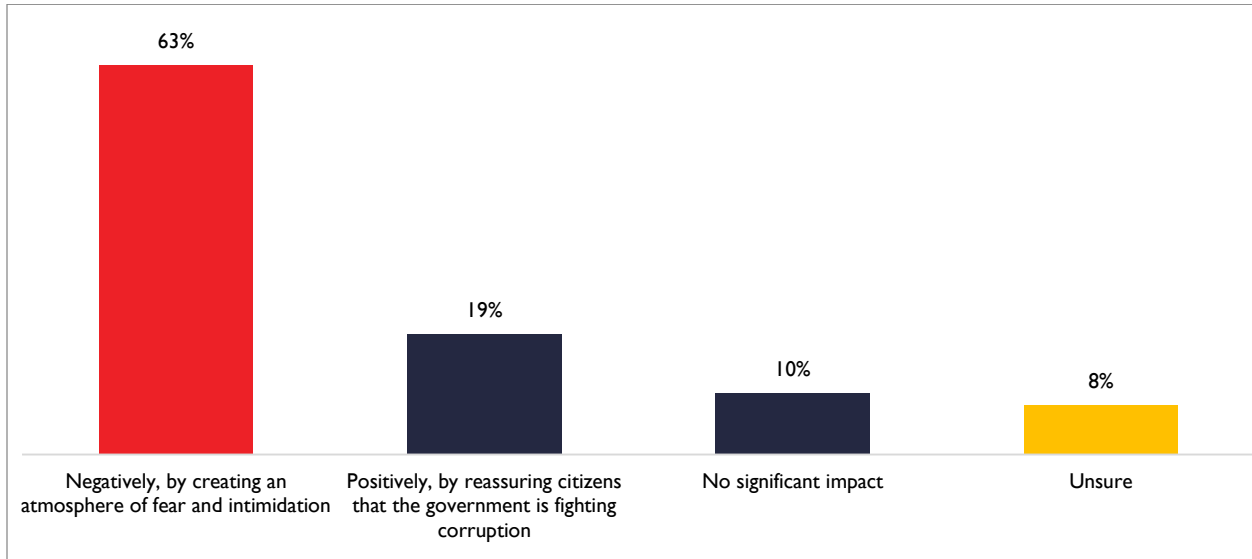


Figure 20: How the selective targeting of officials from the previous regime affects Kenya's image on domestic politics

Qn: How do you think the selective targeting of officials from the previous regime affects Kenya's domestic politics?

62% of the surveyed respondents highlighted that it is either extremely important and somewhat important for the Kenyan government to ensure that justice is done in cases involving officials from the previous. Conversely, 10% indicated that it was not important at all, as presented below:

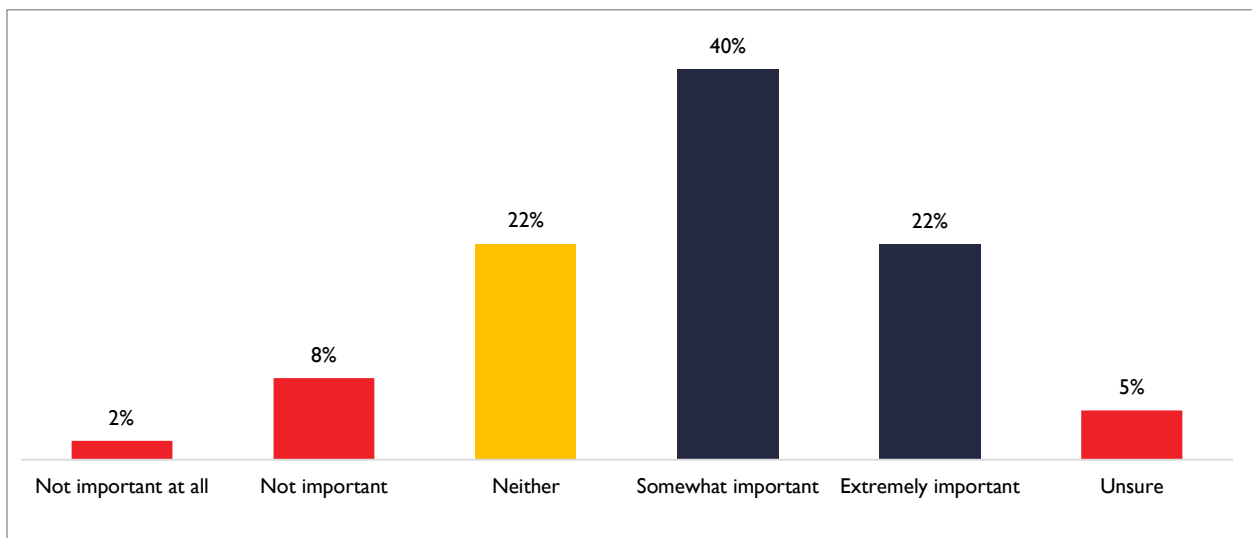


Figure 21: Importance of the Kenyan government ensuring that justice is done in cases involving officials from the previous regime

Qn: How important do you think it is for the Kenyan government to ensure that justice is done in cases involving officials from the previous regime?

The top three socio-economic impacts of the government selectively targeting officials from the previous regime according to the surveyed respondents include economic instability (60%), political polarization (45%) and lack of trust in the government (42%).

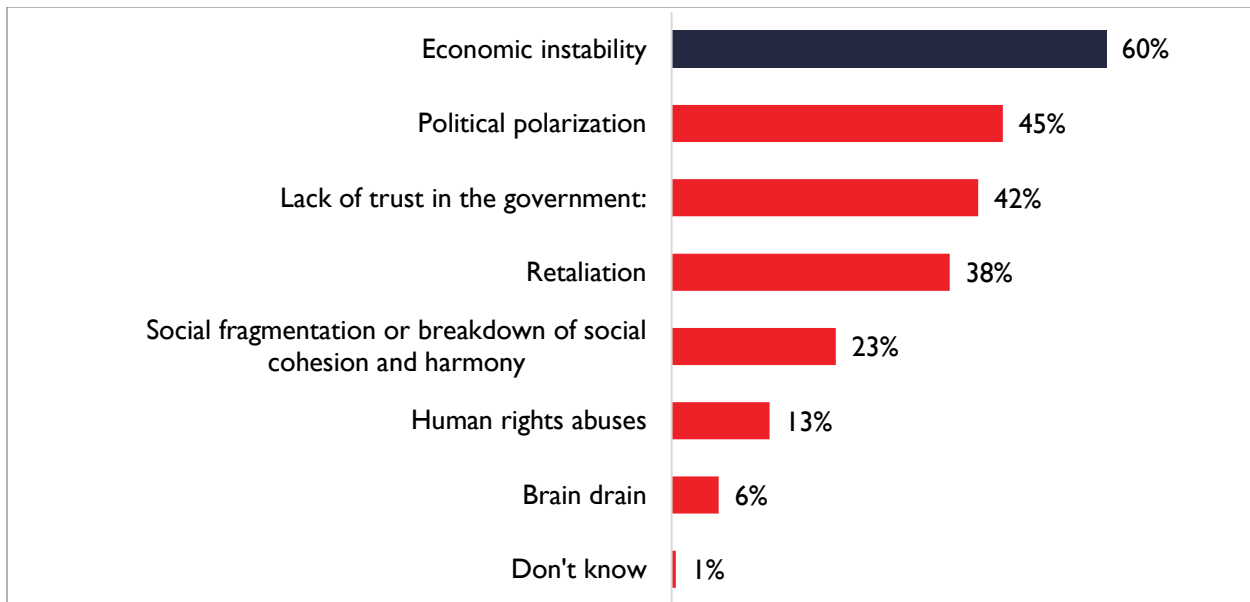


Figure 22: The socio-economic impacts of the government selectively targeting officials from the previous regime

Qn: What are the socio-economic impacts of the government selectively targeting officials from the previous regime?

Most FGD discussants emphasized that fostering peace, unity, and adherence to the rule of law in Kenya were among the primary steps that should be taken to advance peace within the nation.. They emphasized the need for leaders, particularly the president and deputy, to serve as symbols of national unity. Additionally, according to them the focus ought to shift from personal interests to community interests in politics, with voters considering agendas and developments rather than popularity. Creating awareness about peace and its significance is deemed crucial, and organizations like Pamoja for Transformation are recommended for their work in educating youth about peace.

“...Intimidation of the media should stop. The V.P is so good at that...” -FGD participant, Nairobi.

“...We need to preach peace...” -FGD participant, Kajiado.

“...The president and his deputy should be a symbol of national unity...” -FGD participant, Nyeri.

“...They should consider us and create awareness to us...” -FGD participant, Eldoret.

2. OBJECTIVE 2: STUDY COMMUNITIES' RESPONSES TO EMERGING POLITICAL DYNAMICS.

4.4. Study Communities Response to High Cost of Living

Kenyans have mainly had to cut back on expenses (72%), take on debt (47%) and dip into their savings (42%), as a result of the increase in the cost of living, as presented in the figure below:

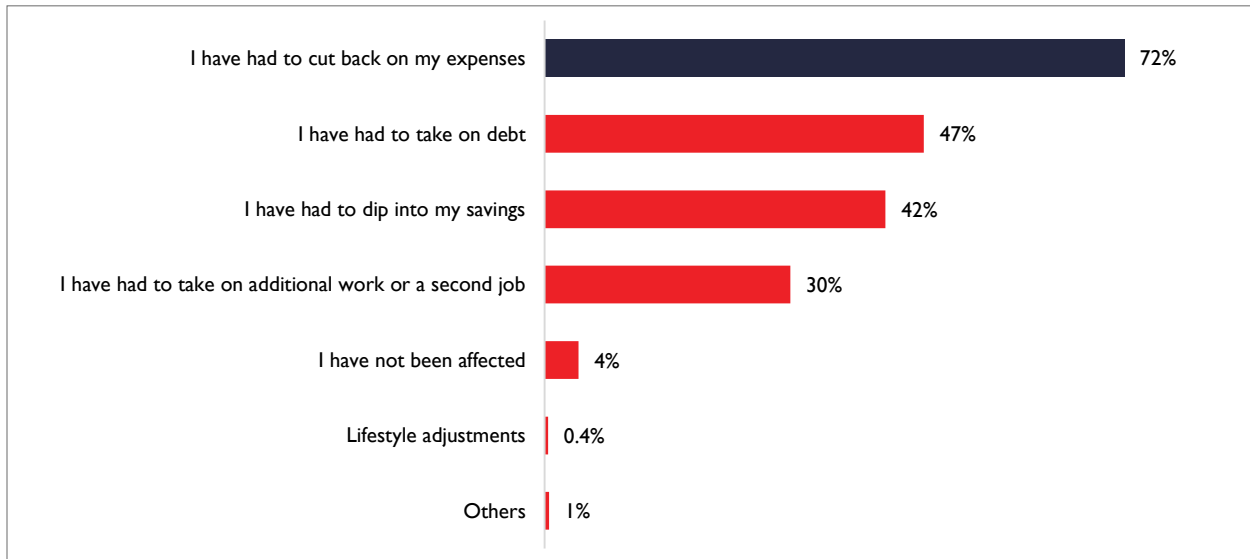


Figure 23: How the increase in cost of living has affected personal finances

Qn: How has the increase in the cost of living affected your personal finances?

Responses from the FGD participants indicate a significant change in lifestyle and daily routines due to economic constraints. Kenyans reported consuming less food compared to before, experiencing difficulties in saving money, and reducing or eliminating activities such as partying. The financial situation has impacted dietary choices, with a shift from using gas to charcoal for cooking. Some mentioned the reduced access to meals, either by not taking all meals in school or having only one meal per day.

“...we don’t save...” -FGD participant, Nairobi.

“...we don’t take the same amount of food like before...” -FGD participant, Kajiado.

“...we don’t party...” -FGD participant, Nyeri.

“...yes, I take one meal per day...” -FGD participant, Eldoret.

“...I used to use gas, but now I use charcoal...” -FGD participant, Mombasa.

Seven in every ten (70%) of the surveyed respondents highlighted that the government has not done enough to address the high cost of living in the country. Nonetheless, their top three recommendations to mitigate the high cost of living include reducing taxes (80%), subsidizing basic necessities (55%) and controlling inflation (48%), as presented in the figure below:

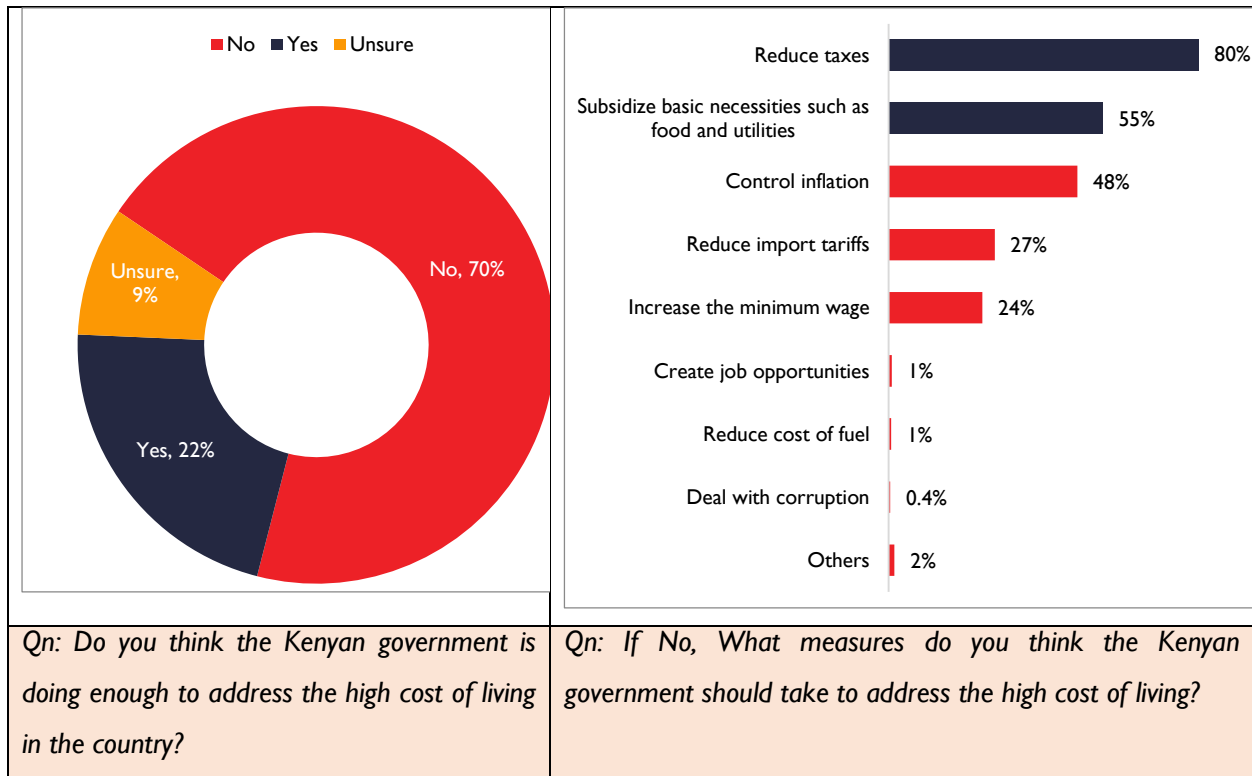


Figure 24: Measure the Kenyan government should take to address the high cost of living

Kenyans have had to buy cheaper brands or generic products (67%), eat out less frequently (59%) and moving to a cheaper neighbourhood (26%), in order to cope with the high cost of living, detailed findings are as presented in figure 10 below:

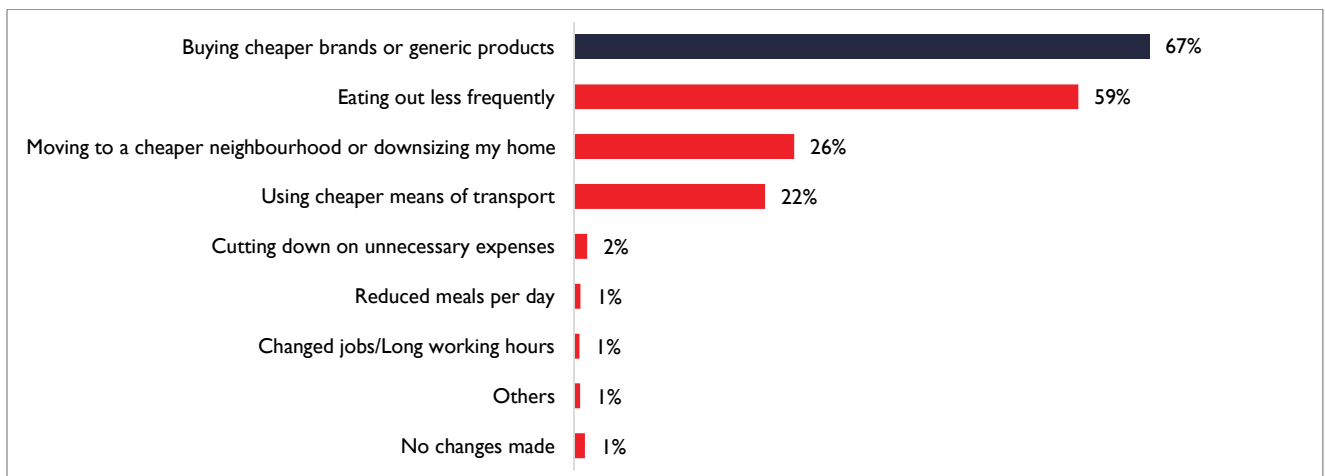


Figure 25: Whether they have had to make changes to their lifestyle in order to cope with the high cost of living

Qn: Have you had to make any changes to your lifestyle in order to cope with the high cost of living?

The top three risks of high cost of living according to the surveyed Kenyans include increase in poverty and inequality (40%), reduced standards of living (37%) and increased crime and social unrest (36%), as presented in the figure below:

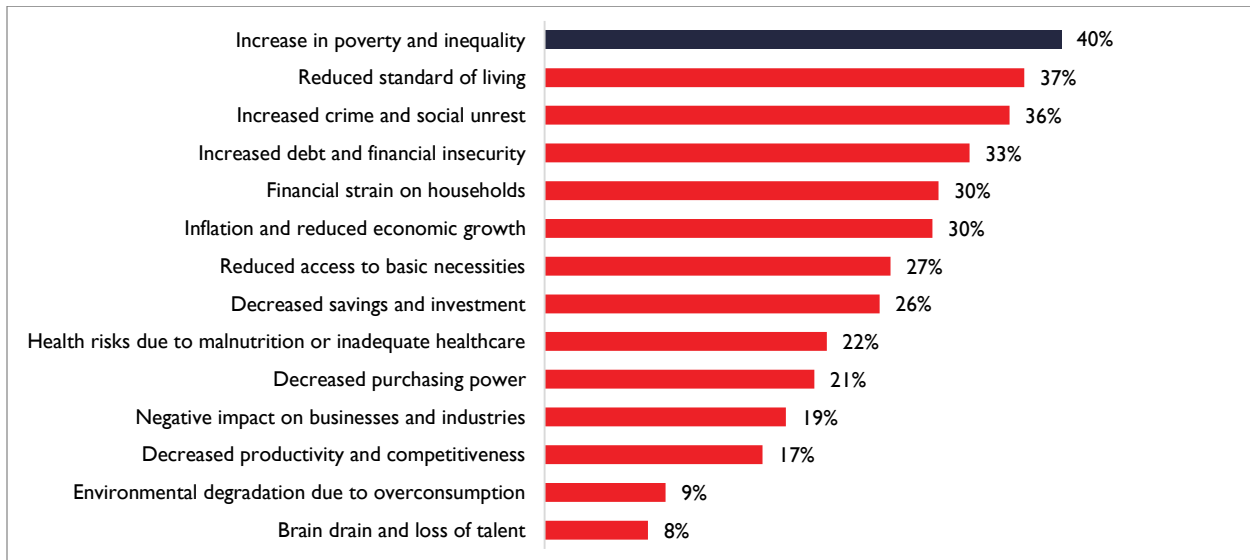


Figure 26: Risks of high cost of living

Qn: In your opinion, what are the risks of high cost of living?

In order to address the high cost of living in the long run, surveyed Kenyans mainly recommended the need to encourage local production and reduce reliance on imports (69%), promote sustainable economic growth (63%) and promote small and medium- sized enterprises (44%), further recommendations are as highlighted in the figure below:

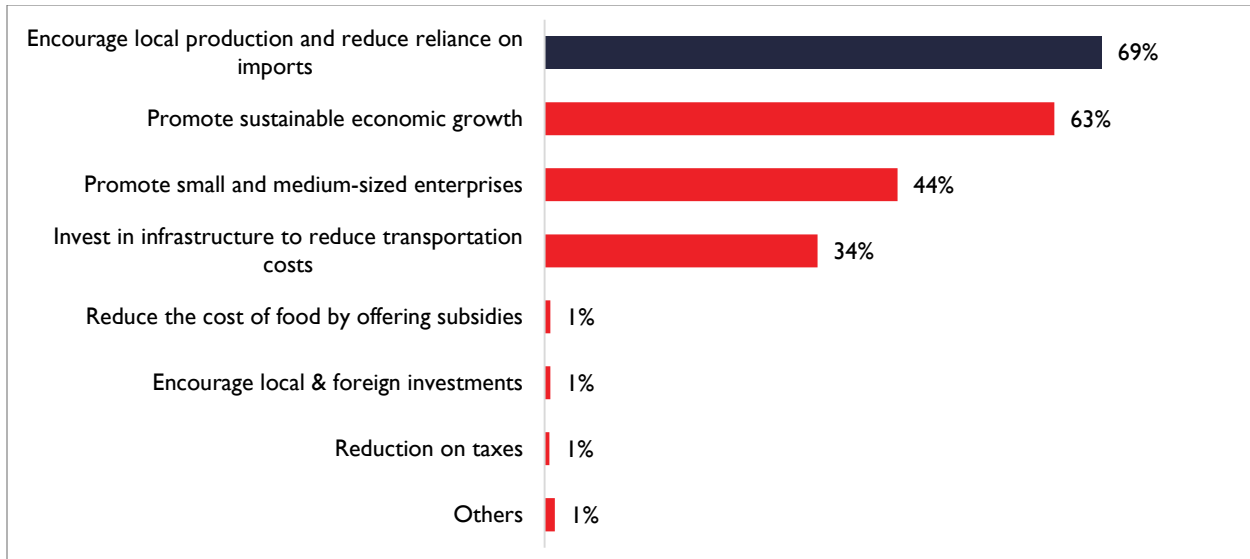


Figure 27: What needs to be done to address the high cost of living

Qn: In your opinion, what should be done to address the high cost of living in Kenya in the long-term?

On the other hand, findings from the qualitative phase with regards to the actions and achievements of the government show that majority of the respondents expressed dissatisfaction, stating that the government had not fulfilled its promises and observe no tangible progress. Some highlighted specific initiatives such as providing fertilizer to farmers or introducing the hustler fund as signs of action. However, skepticism and lack of trust in the government's efforts are evident in some responses, with doubts about the long-term effectiveness of revenue-raising measures and concerns about high prices persisting

“...Nothing...” -FGD participant, Nairobi.

“...They haven't fulfilled their promises...” -FGD participant, Kajiado.

“...Giving out fertilizer to farmers...” -FGD participant, Nyeri.

“...I think he tried by introducing hustler fund...” -FGD participant, Eldoret.

“...I don't think they have done anything because prices are high...” -FGD participant, Kitui.

“...There is something the government is doing; I don't know how long it will take. The president said they are raising revenue for our country to avoid borrowing; if we believe in his words, we might say yes, he is doing something that will help in future, but we don't trust him...” -FGD participant, Garissa.

“...Nothing...” -FGD participant, Mombasa.

4.5. Community reaction to Selective Treatment of Officials from the Previous Regime

The survey established that more than half (53%) of the surveyed respondents respond to the selective treatment of the officials from previous regime by protesting and demonstrating against the government’s actions, viewing it as politically motivated and unfair. Others support the government’s actions and view it as a necessary step towards accountability and justice (32%) whereas 29% engage in acts of civil disobedience such as strikes, sit-ins, or boycotts to protest against the government’s actions, as presented below:

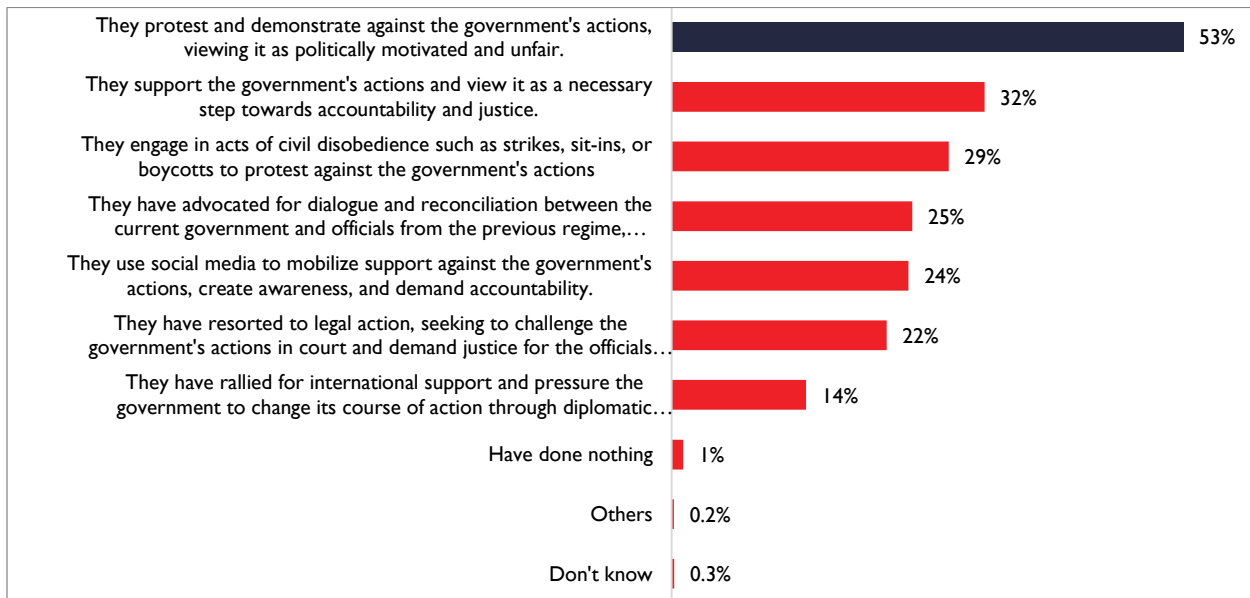


Figure 28: How communities respond to different issues

Qn: How are the communities responding to these?

Alternative ways of expressing dissatisfaction and holding those in power accountable

The study explored alternative means of expressing dissent and holding those in power accountable in Kenya, comparing them to demonstrations in terms of effectiveness. The findings revealed the following options available to citizens:

- 1) **Dialogue:** Participants emphasized the importance of calling for dialogue as a means to address grievances. However, they acknowledged that government resistance and rigidity might necessitate demonstrations as a way for the people to exercise their constitutional rights.

- 2) **Civil Servant Boycott:** Some respondents suggested that civil servants could express dissent and hold those in power accountable by boycotting work or withholding services as a form of protest.
- 3) **Petitions and Political Activism:** Writing petitions was mentioned as a method, although its effectiveness was deemed limited due to potential obstacles in getting the petition tabled before the relevant committees. Engaging in politics, becoming a political activist, and using social media platforms to voice concerns and advocate for change were also identified as means to hold those in power accountable.
- 4) **Consultative Meetings and Forums:** Holding consultative meetings and forums was suggested as a way to pass messages and engage in discussions on pressing issues.
- 5) **Recall of Legislators:** Citizens can exercise their right to recall members of parliament by collecting signatures and initiating a recall process if they are dissatisfied with their performance.
- 6) **Media Engagement:** Calling on the media to express dissatisfaction and raise political concerns was highlighted as an effective means to reach a wider audience. The People's Parliament was also mentioned as a potential platform for citizens to voice their views and concerns, with the hope that it would represent the collective interests of Kenyans

*“...the civil servants said if they can't be paid, they will boycott, which will help...”- **KII Respondent, NGO***

*“...Write petitions, but that doesn't work effectively because the clerk may not table it to the relevant committee. Getting into politics is another way. If you are not content with the kind of leadership that we have, then become one...”- **KII Respondent, Civil Society***

*“...They can have a consultative meeting. They can do forums to pass their messages...”- **KII Respondent, Academia***

*“...You can re-call your members of Parliament, the legislators...”- **KII Respondent, Human Rights Org.***

*“... By calling the media because through media is when these people can see. If we get that things have become hard, we can call the media and express our dissatisfaction. Again, we can use the People's Parliament. If Kenyans can go through people's Parliament and air their views, they can be heard because they will be representing the rest of the Kenyans...”- **KII Respondent, Legislator (MCA)***

The Causes and Potential Impact of the Current Demonstrations in Kenya

The study found that the current demonstrations in Kenya stem from a range of underlying issues, including corruption, poor governance, economic challenges, and inadequate access to essential services. Citizens express frustration over the mismanagement of funds, lack of transparency, and unfulfilled promises by the government. The discontent with the current state of affairs, coupled with the perceived

economic hardships and unequal distribution of resources, has contributed to the growing momentum of the protests. While some key informants expressed optimism for future change, others raised concerns about the negative consequences and selfish interests associated with the demonstrations. The effectiveness of these protests in bringing about change hinges on factors such as addressing police brutality, fostering dialogue, and ensuring that the demonstrations serve the broader interests of all citizens.

*“...They have started bringing some changes because we have the peace committee, which was constituted between the opposition and the government. It's a non-partisan committee that can continue and develop a resolution that the parliament can pass. I think that is a positive effect...”- **KII Respondent, Academia***

*“...It is because their leaders tell them the situation is bad. It is not bringing change. It is bringing a lot of crises. Because our demonstrations are illegal, they are doing it the opposite way. It is going to increase the economic crisis. There will be no change or stability in the reforms...”- **KII Respondent, Civil Society***

*“... I don't want to be judgmental. I want to talk about the way that I feels demonstrations organized should hold the interest of all the citizens, so if that is the idea behind then it is fine, but it should not be of selfish interest...”- **KII Respondent, NGO***

Preventive Measures to Mitigate Violence During Demonstrations in Kenya

The findings of the key informant interviews shed light on various strategies that can be employed to ensure the police response during demonstrations in Kenya is both appropriate and lawful. These strategies encompass the physical presence of police officers alongside protesters, addressing systemic corruption within the police force by improving remuneration and working conditions, establishing a responsive approach by the government towards peaceful demonstrations, altering the response patterns to prioritize non-violence, implementing comprehensive training programs to equip officers with effective crowd management techniques, and fostering a paradigm shift within the police force by emphasizing the protection and service of citizens. Incorporating these measures has the potential to cultivate an environment characterized by peaceful protests, engendering trust, and facilitating constructive engagement between law enforcement and demonstrators.

*“... Well, the police should walk along with the demonstrators and make sure they do not break into people's properties...”- **KII Respondent, Human Rights Org.***

*“... they should be taught how to handle people on such occasions and not to act brutally towards them...”- **KII Respondent, Academia***

“...It is appropriate and lawful. It is upon us to change how we do our demonstrations...”- KII Respondent, FBO

“...we inherited the police force meant to protect those in power. A police officer is trained to see a citizen as an enemy. In other countries, you are arrested after an explanation of the arrest is given. That isn't the case in Kenya because the police mishandle the people, they arrest...”- KII Respondent, Academia

“...The police should be trained to protect citizens and not to harm them. They should be trained to serve and not to harm...”- KII Respondent, Civil Society

5.0. ECCES INDICATOR DATA

The survey established that a majority (74%) of the surveyed respondents describe the process of reconstituting IEBC as extremely unpeaceful (44%) or somewhat unpeaceful (30%). Another (90%), positively rates [very peaceful (70%) and somewhat peaceful (20%)] the by-elections processes conducted after the 2022 elections whereas a majority (65%) negatively rated the process of Government appointments including the cabinet secretaries, permanent secretaries and Chief Administrative Secretaries (CASs), detailed findings are as presented below:

Table 4: Rating of Peace in Different Political and Governance Processes

	Extremel y unpeacef ul	Somewha t unpeacef ul	Neutra l	Somewha t Peaceful	Very peacefu l	Mean Rating
National Institutions						
Reconstituting IEBC	44%	30%	12%	8%	6%	40%
Proposed reforms in higher education funding	34%	16%	20%	10%	20%	53%
Election reform laws	25%	15%	30%	20%	10%	55%
Political parties activities	35%	30%	10%	10%	15%	48%
Political parties conflict resolutions by the Political Parties Dispute Tribunal	10%	20%	20%	20%	30%	68%
By-elections processes conducted after the 2022 elections	2%	2%	3%	20%	70%	92%
Government appointments including the cabinet secretaries, permanent secretaries and Chief Administrative Secretaries (CASs)	45%	20%	10%	5%	20%	47%

Current wrangles in political parties such as Jubilee	75%	5%	10%	5%	5%	32%
Reforms in health insurance	30%	20%	10%	20%	20%	56%

Qn: On a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 is not at all peaceful while 5 is very peaceful how would you rate the following political and governance processes in Kenya?

5.1. OTHER ECCESS RELATED FINDINGS

CONFIDENCE LEVELS IN THE ELECTORAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL INSTITUTIONS

5.2. Satisfaction with Key National Institutions

36%, 31%, 35% and 29% of the surveyed respondents expressed confidence with the performance of the executive, the legislature, the judiciary and political parties, respectively thus far. Key to note is that a third (31%) of the surveyed respondents are confident with the IEBC, detailed findings are as presented in the figure below:

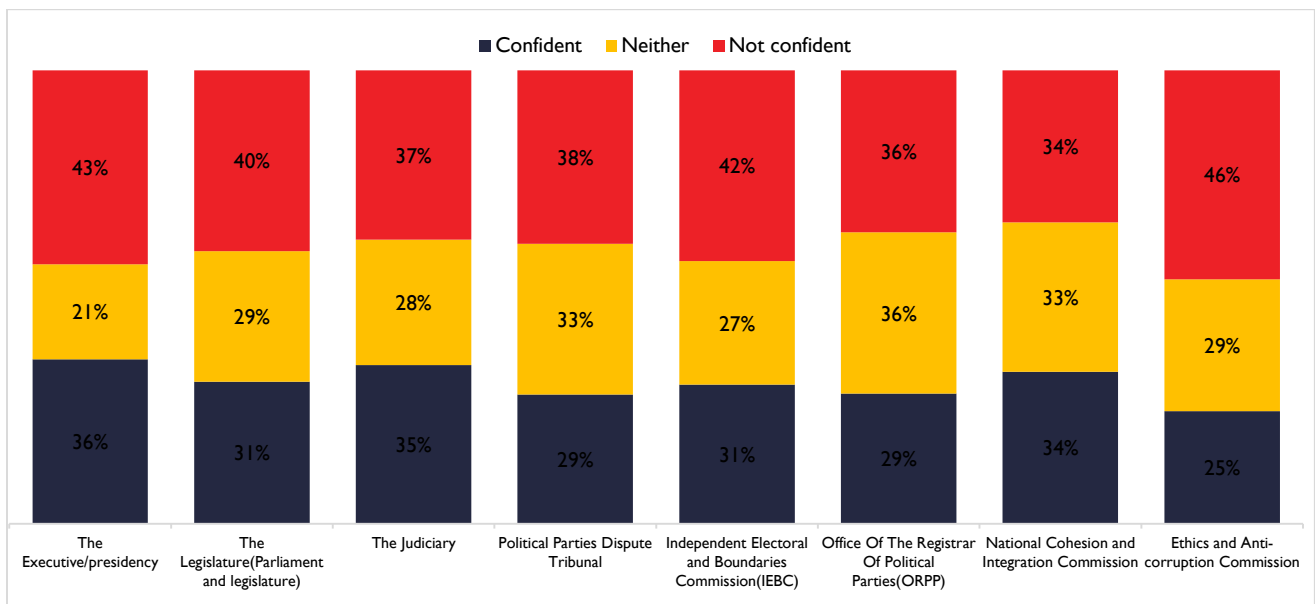


Figure 29: Level of confidence with the arms of government and key national institutions

Qn: On a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 is not confident while 5 is completely confident how would you rate your confidence levels in the following arms of government and independent institutions in Kenya.

Findings from the FGDs indicate that participants exhibit varying opinions. Some believe that these institutions were not working independently and were influenced by corruption or manipulation. Others felt that the president's appointments compromised their independence, suggesting they might act according to the president's instructions. Concerns were also raised about interference from the executive, particularly the president. However, some participants expressed confidence in the independence of these institutions. This is what some of them said:

“...we are still struggling as a Nation due to corruption in these independent institutions. They are not working independently I believe. They are being used...” -FGD participant, Kajiado.

“...think they are very compromised. For example, commissioners are elected by the president so they will definitely do everything that the president says...” -FGD participant, Nyeri.

“...I think they are independent...” -FGD participant, Mombasa.

Further, findings from the FGD respondents shed light on different institutions within the Kenyan government that are seen as crucial for driving change and addressing various challenges. The Office of the President was identified as having the power to enact significant changes and hold corrupt leaders accountable. Concerns were raised regarding the Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions (ODPP) and the perceived lack of progress in prosecuting corruption cases. The police were singled as needing to prioritize impartiality, protecting citizens, and combating corruption within their ranks. The Parliament was also mentioned as an institution requiring reforms to address concerns of potential manipulation and corruption. Finally, the importance of both the Executive and Judiciary was emphasized, with the Judiciary seen as a safeguard for the constitution and the Executive needing to respect judicial independence. Some of the discussants had this to say:

“...The parliament needs reforms because they are being blackmailed. The other day people were being threatened that they should not vote against the financial bill otherwise they will get zero support in their constituencies...” -FGD participant, Eldoret.

“...The parliament, I think it's the parliament coz before most of the things are passed, they go through the parliament and in parliament, there is usually a lot of corruption...” -FGD participant, Kitui.

“...Executive and judiciary, Because they are the mother and the father of everything. Because if the judiciary is not clean, then tomorrow, somebody will go to court and say they don't need that bill. Then the executive will interfere, so we need a strong judiciary to protect our constitution...” -FGD participant, Garissa.

The top three best performing commissions/independent offices according to the surveyed Kenyans include the TSC, KNHRC, and PSC. On the flip side, the worst performing include the NPS, EACC and IEBC, as presented below:

Best Performing	Worst Performing
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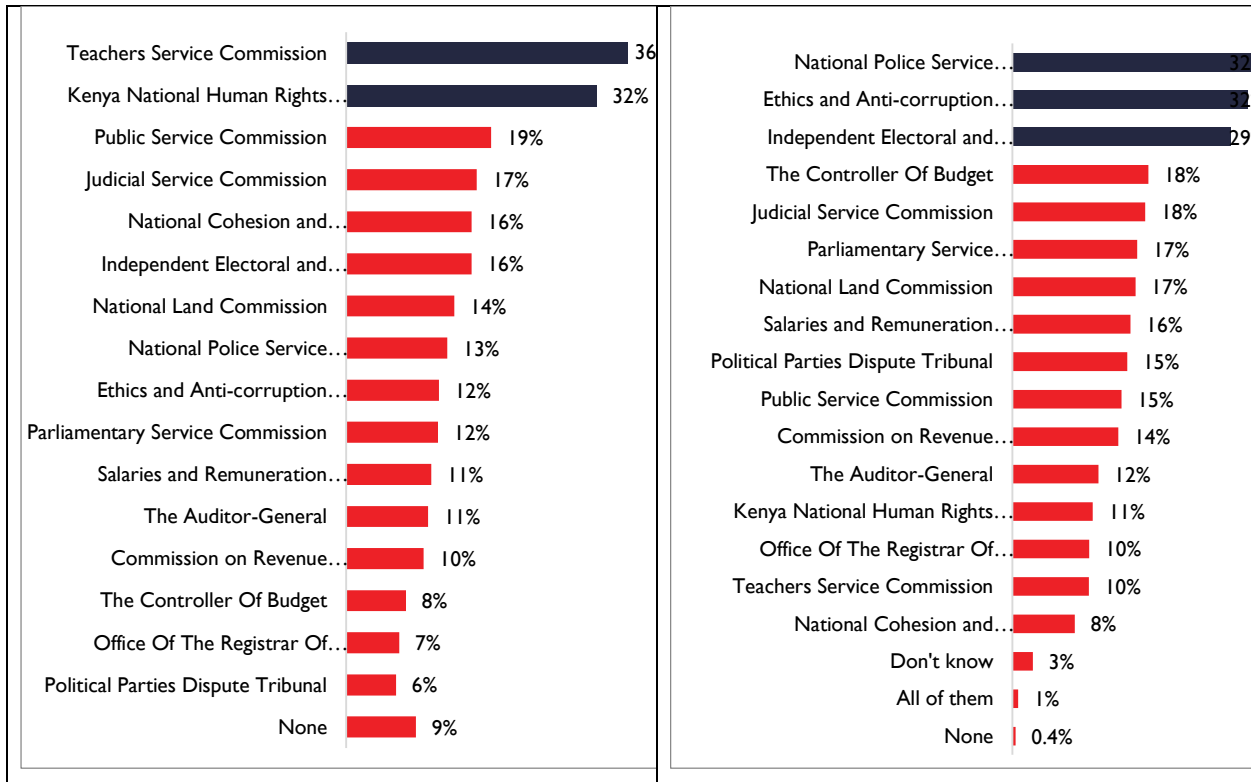


Figure 30: Best/Worst performing Commissions and Independent Offices in Kenya

Qn: In your view, what are the three best/worst performing Commissions and Independent Offices in Kenya

On the other hand, Findings from the qualitative phase indicate that the respondents laud, the Kenya Revenue Authority (KRA) for its effective revenue collection, with an emphasis on the need to combat corruption for even better performance. KNEC was commended for its fair examination marking practices, ensuring impartiality and eliminating school-based biases. The Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) was lauded for conducting elections fairly. The Human Rights Commission was recognized for advocating for marginalized groups, specifically mentioning their support for LGBTQ rights. The Independent Policing Oversight Authority (IPOA) was appreciated for addressing police violence. Additionally, the Human Rights Commission's exposure of incidents like the 'Shakahola' case demonstrated their significant role, with the government relying on their work

"...I believe KRA are doing well. They are collecting revenue trying to meet the budgetary needs. If they only fight corruptions, that will be the best commission. They are well equipped by the government..." -FGD participant, Nairobi.

"...Education; KNEC mark exams differently now. They randomly mark exams unlike the past where they marked exams knowing the schools that they were dealing with. The numbers are given randomly so you can't tell the school that you are marking for. It is fair marking now..." -FGD participant, Kajiado.

“...IPOA is doing a good job because the police have become less violent...” -*FGD participant, Garissa.*

“...The human rights, they expose the happenings, like the Shakahola. They are the ones who expose such things, and the government has left the work to them...” -*FGD participant, Mombasa.*

Qualitative findings further highlighted several perceived underperforming Commissions and Independent Offices in Kenya. Participants mentioned the Sports and Entertainment Commission, expressing dissatisfaction. The police were also criticized for inadequate service, with reports of victimization, bribery, and challenges in reporting crimes. KEMSA, the Judicial Service Commission, IEBC, KRA office (revenue collection), and the National Land Commission were also identified as offices with perceived shortcomings, ranging from lack of accountability to unresolved cases and issues related to their respective responsibilities.

“...Sports and Entertainment; [mention of a Kenyan celebrity] should be working but she is in Dubai having fun yet she was given an office in the ministry...” -*FGD participant, Nairobi.*

“...The police; they are not serving people as they should. If you go to the police to report something like rape, you will either be victimized or asked for a bribe for you to get their attention. You will pay for oil to get to the crime scene...” -*FGD participant, Kajiado.*

“...Those who collect revenue, the KRA office...” -*FGD participant, Garissa.*

“...National land commission...” -*FGD participant, Mombasa.*

NUMBER THAT PARTICIPATED IN DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES

5.3. Perceptions on The Current Electoral and Governance Processes

71% of the surveyed Kenyans acknowledged that they indeed voted during the 2022 Kenyan General elections. Conversely 29% did not mainly because they are not registered voters, not interested in politics and did not have time to vote, detailed find

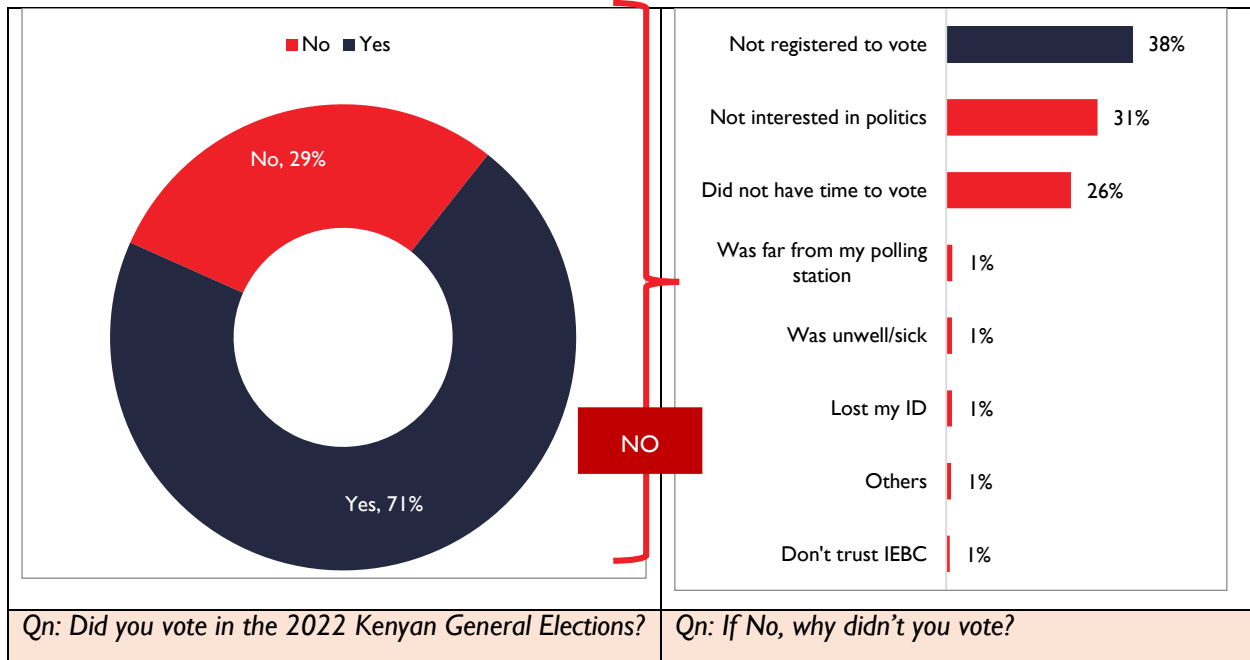


Figure 31: Whether the elections were conducted in a free and fair manner

Half (50%) of the surveyed respondents believe that the 2022 Kenyan General elections were conducted in a free and fair manner. Further, 45% noted that the elections were peaceful but with some isolated incidents of violence and intimidation

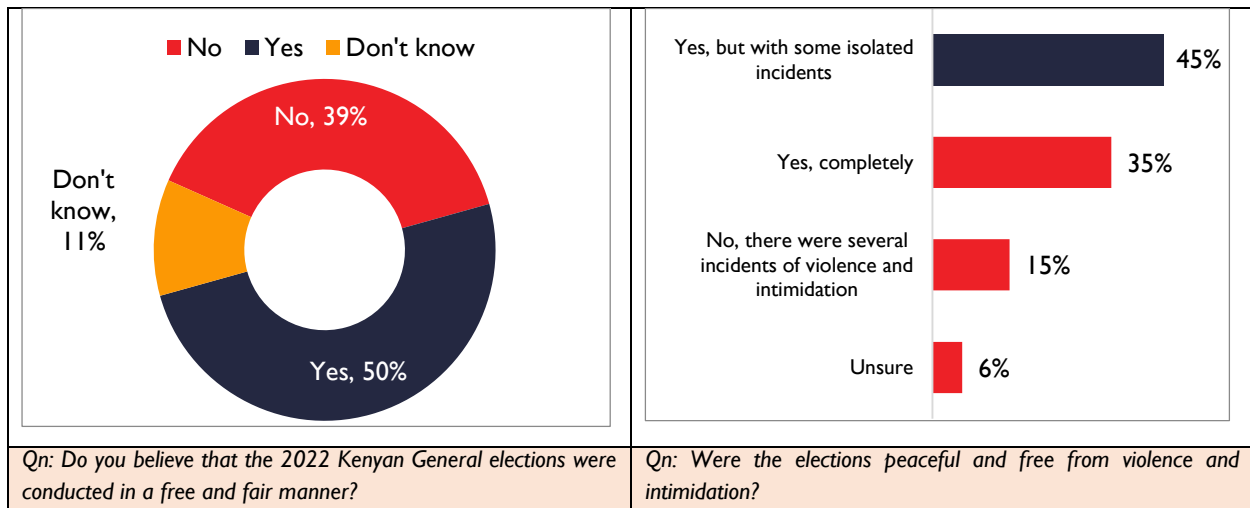


Figure 32: Whether the elections were peaceful and conducted in a free and fair manner

The findings on the image and competence of the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) were varied. Some participant recommended disbanding the commission, while others expressed mistrust towards officials due to perceived corruption. Others considered the IEBC to be perfect

following their moderation of a fair election. In contrast, some participants indicated that they believed that the IEBC consistently underperformed. This is what some of the participants said:

“...It should be disbanded...” -FGD participant, Nairobi.

“...IEBC is okay but the officials are the problem. We don’t trust the officials because they are so corrupt. If the officials were neutral, the body would be okay because the process in which they conduct their responsibilities is okay...” -FGD participant, Kajiado.

“...When you have money, you will be served well...” -FGD participant, Mombasa.

More than half (53%) of the surveyed respondents indicated that the 2022 general elections were better than previous elections in Kenya, a quarter (25%) highlighted that they were about the same, whereas 18% mentioned that the 2022 elections were worse than previous elections in Kenya

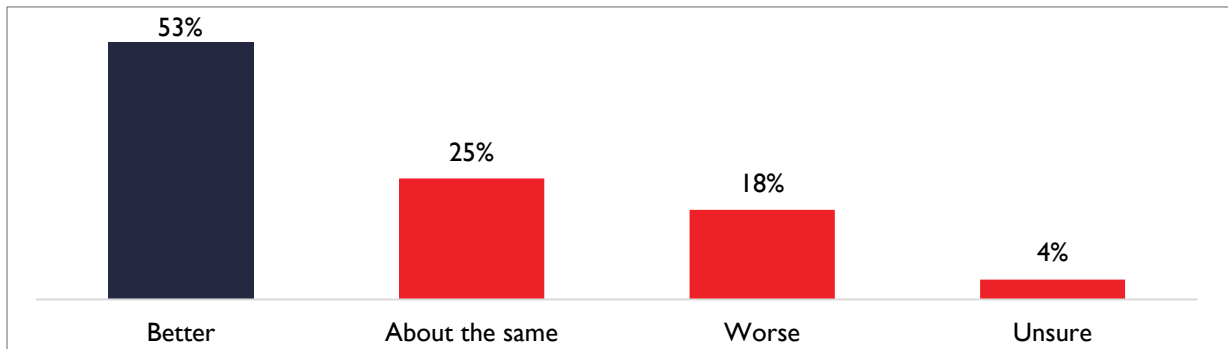


Figure 33: Whether the 2022 Kenyan General Elections were better or worse than previous elections in Kenya

Qn: Overall, do you think that the 2022 Kenyan General Elections were better or worse than previous elections in Kenya?

15% of Kenyans acknowledged having participated in a democratic process after the August 2022 General elections. Of these, 36% have engaged an elected official to deliver on their promises, 31% have participated in a by election, whereas 30% have organized at the community level to engage with the elected officials, detailed findings are as presented below:

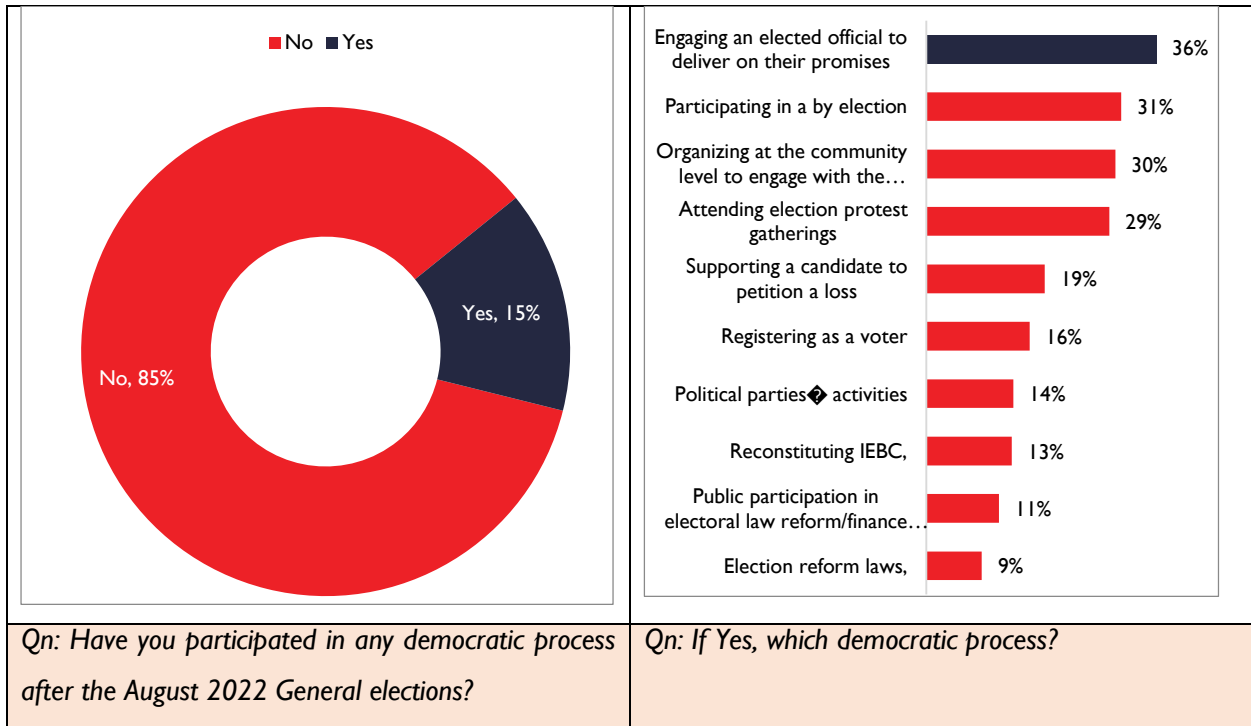


Figure 34: Participation in Democratic processes

Almost half 48% of the surveyed Kenyans disagree that the opposition has adequately played its role as the alternative government. Conversely, 45% believe that it has adequately played its role as the alternative government

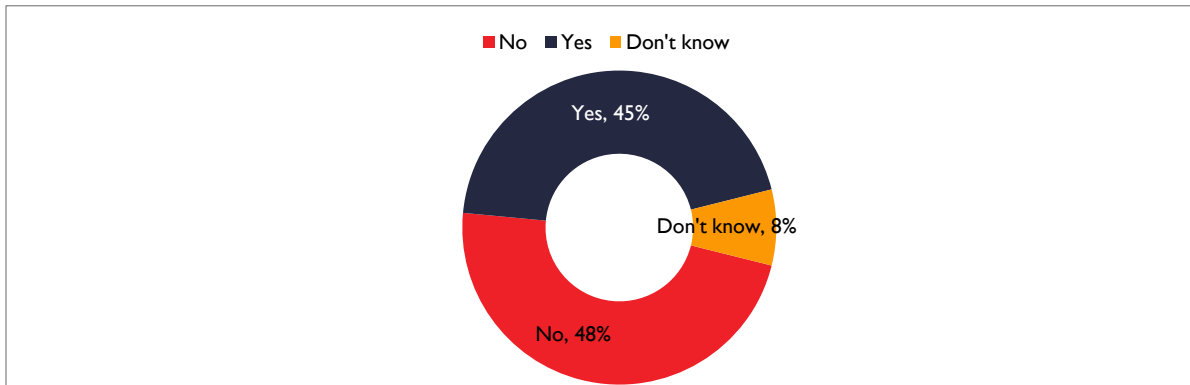
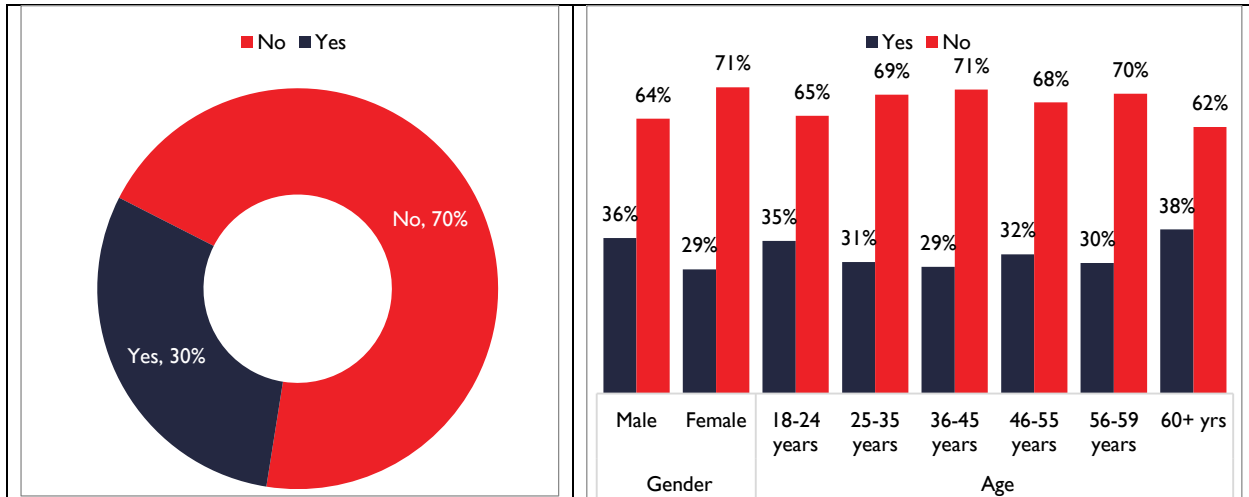


Figure 35: Whether the opposition has adequately played its role as the alternative government

Qn: Do you think that the opposition has adequately played its role as the alternative government?

INTER AND INTRA COMMUNAL RELATIONS

7 in every 10 (70%) of the surveyed Kenyans believe that political party fall outs did not have any effects on how they interacted with members of their community based on party affiliations



Qn: Has the political party fall outs had any effects on how you interact with members of your community based on party affiliations

Figure 36: Whether political party fall outs have had any effects on how people interact with members of their community based on party affiliations

In terms of counties, the survey established that political party fall outs has mostly had an effect on Kisumu and Uasin Gishu with 72% and 58% of the respondents admitting that it had affected how they interact with members of their community based on party affiliations. The figure below presents the findings:

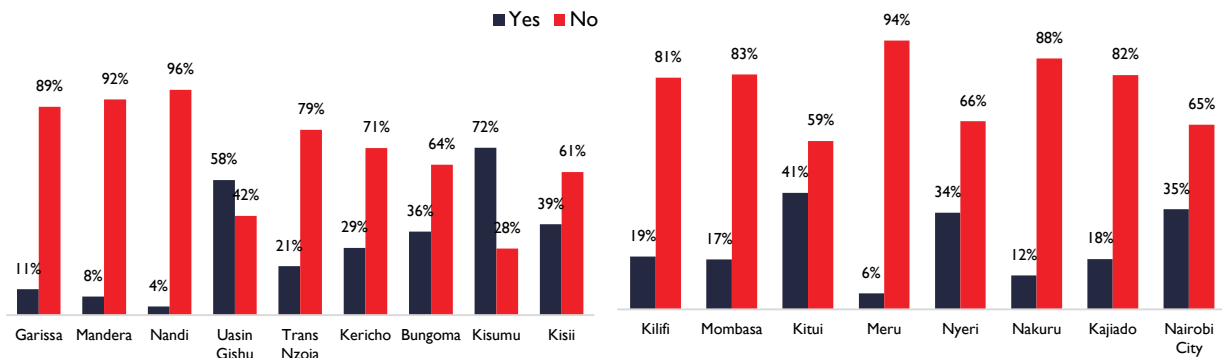


Figure 37: Whether political party fall outs have had any effects on how people interact with members of their community based on party affiliations: By County

Qn: Has the political party fall outs had any effects on how you interact with members of your community based on party affiliations

**6.0. OBJECTIVE 3: SCIENTIFIC CONCLUSIONS ON THE IMPACT OF EMERGING
POLITICAL DYNAMICS TO THE KENYAN SOCIETY AND
RECOMMENDATIONS THAT ON INTERVENTIONS**

6.1. CONCLUSIONS

CONCLUSION – COST OF LIVING AS A POLITICAL ISSUE

- Cost of living in Kenya has experienced a significant increase. Almost all participants agreed that they had been affected by this rise, with the majority highlighting specific areas such as food, utilities, and transportation costs as major contributors to the overall increase. Factors attributed to the surge in the cost of living include high taxation, poor decisions or policies implemented by the current regime, and the escalating prices of fuel.
- To manage the financial strain caused by the heightened cost of living, Kenyans have been forced to employ various strategies. These include cutting back on expenses, assuming debt to cover their needs, and depleting their savings. These measures reflect the challenges faced by households as they strive to maintain their standard of living in the face of increasing prices.
- The government's response to address the high cost of living is perceived as inadequate by a significant proportion of respondents. Many believe that more should be done to alleviate the burden on citizens. To mitigate the situation, the surveyed individuals recommended several courses of action. These include reducing taxes to ease the financial burden, providing subsidies for basic necessities, and implementing measures to control inflation. These recommendations indicate a desire for government intervention and policy changes to relieve the pressure caused by the rising cost of living.
- In response to the financial strain, Kenyans have had to adjust their lifestyles. This has involved purchasing cheaper brands or generic products, reducing the frequency of eating out, and opting to reside in more affordable neighborhoods. These adaptations reflect individuals' efforts to manage their expenses and prioritize essential needs in the face of escalating prices.
- The high cost of living also poses certain risks for the country. According to the surveyed respondents, these risks include an increase in poverty and inequality, reduced standards of living, and a rise in crime and social unrest. These findings underscore the wider societal implications associated with an unaffordable cost of living and highlight the need for comprehensive solutions.

- Looking towards the future, respondents proposed long-term solutions to address the high cost of living in Kenya. These solutions emphasize the importance of promoting local production and reducing reliance on imports. By encouraging sustainable economic growth and supporting small and medium-sized enterprises, it is believed that the country can alleviate the burden of high living expenses and foster self-sufficiency.

CONCLUSION – PRIORITY ISSUES AND CONCERNS

- High cost of living, unemployment, and corruption are the top issues that concern Kenyans the most and that require immediate attention from the government.
- Kenyans mostly believe that the country is headed in the wrong direction, primarily due to the high cost of living, unemployment, and poverty. Nonetheless some Kenyans expressed satisfaction with the country's direction, citing reasons such as peace, harmony among Kenyans, and effective functioning of the executive

CONCLUSION – FINANCE BUDGET BILL

- Kenyans are generally aware of the finance/budget bill, indicating a level of knowledge and interest in the country's fiscal matters. However, more than half of the respondents expressed skepticism regarding the bill's potential positive impact on the economy and its ability to contribute to the achievement of development goals.
- Concerns raised by the respondents revolved around perceived unfairness in the proposed tax measures and doubts about the bill's effectiveness in addressing the issue of public debt. These concerns reflect the public's apprehension about the potential consequences of the bill and its impact on their financial well-being.
- Furthermore, a significant proportion of Kenyans surveyed expressed a lack of confidence in the finance/budget bill's ability to adequately address the needs of the common citizen. This sentiment suggests that there is a disconnect between the perceived priorities of the bill and the expectations and concerns of the population.
- Interestingly, most respondents stated that they do not plan to engage with their elected representatives on matters related to the finance/budget bill. This may indicate a sense of disillusionment or a lack of confidence in the efficacy of citizen engagement in influencing policy decisions.

- The risks associated with passing the finance/budget bill, as identified by the surveyed individuals, include increased taxation and financial burden on citizens, potential corruption and mismanagement of funds, as well as the potential negative impact on inflation and reduced economic growth. These concerns reflect the potential adverse consequences that the bill may have on the overall economy and the well-being of the population.

CONCLUSION – PERCEPTIONS ON ELECTORAL GOVERNANCE PROCESSES

- Confidence levels in various institutions and organizations in Kenya, including the executive, legislature, judiciary, political parties, and the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC), varied among respondents. This indicates a diversity of opinions and perceptions regarding the performance and trustworthiness of these entities.
- According to the surveyed individuals, the Teachers Service Commission (TSC), Kenya National Human Rights Commission (KNHRC), and Public Service Commission (PSC) were perceived as the best performing independent offices. These organizations were viewed favorably, suggesting a perception of effectiveness and competence in their respective roles. On the other hand, the National Police Service (NPS), Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission (EACC), and IEBC were considered the worst performers, indicating a lack of confidence in their ability to fulfill their mandates.
- The majority of respondents reported participating in the 2022 General elections, demonstrating a significant level of civic engagement and involvement in the democratic process. Opinions regarding the fairness and peacefulness of the elections varied, with some respondents perceiving improvements compared to previous elections, while others expressed concerns or reservations.
- Following the elections, some citizens continued their engagement in democratic processes. This involvement primarily took the form of interacting with elected officials and participating in by-elections or community-level organizations. These actions demonstrate a desire for continued participation and an active role in shaping the democratic landscape beyond the electoral process.
- Opinions regarding the opposition's performance as the alternative government were divided among respondents. This indicates differing perspectives on the effectiveness and impact of the opposition in providing a viable alternative to the ruling party.
- Respondents provided recommendations to improve future elections, which centered around enhancing transparency, reducing political interference, and implementing improved training and

oversight for election officials. These suggestions reflect the importance placed on fair and credible elections as a cornerstone of a robust democratic system.

CONCLUSION – CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION IN KENYA

- The Azimio la Umoja Kenya Coalition has garnered significant attention among Kenyans, as a substantial portion of the population is familiar with the coalition's post-election demands. Moreover, the majority of Kenyans find these demands to be reasonable, indicating a general consensus among the surveyed individuals. Furthermore, more than half of the respondents believe that the government should give careful consideration to these demands, recognizing their potential to enhance the country's political landscape.
- Demonstrations are regarded by the surveyed Kenyans as an essential avenue for expressing dissent and holding those in power accountable. The main catalysts behind these demonstrations, according to the respondents, are high unemployment, inflation, and dissatisfaction with the government. These factors underline the significance of public discontent and the desire for change within the political sphere.
- The majority of Kenyans believe that demonstrations have the capacity to bring about meaningful change in the country. However, it is noteworthy that a notable proportion of the surveyed individuals hold a contrary view, suggesting skepticism regarding the effectiveness of demonstrations in achieving desired outcomes. This divergence of opinions highlights the complexity and varying perspectives surrounding the efficacy of protests as agents of change.
- When it comes to media coverage of demonstrations, a significant majority of Kenyans agree that the media provides fair and balanced reporting. The media is perceived as offering a comprehensive view of demonstrations by representing both the perspectives of protesters and the government. This recognition of balanced coverage indicates the importance of objective journalism in informing the public about political events and facilitating a broader understanding of demonstrations.
- Assessing the government's handling of demonstrations, the survey reveals a mixed sentiment among the respondents. While 45% believe that the government has been effective in addressing demonstrations, 31% hold an opposing opinion. This suggests that there is room for improvement

in the government's approach to dealing with the concerns raised during protests. The findings imply a need for greater responsiveness and attentiveness to the issues voiced by the demonstrators.

- Based on the survey, Kenyans emphasize the significance of preserving citizens' rights to peacefully assemble and express their grievances during demonstrations. In order to ensure peaceful protests, the respondents stress the importance of the government respecting these rights. Additionally, they recommend the establishment of clear guidelines and protocols for demonstrations to provide a structured framework for peaceful expression. Moreover, the respondents advocate for the creation of channels for dialogue and negotiation between protest leaders and the government, underscoring the value of constructive engagement in addressing grievances and effecting positive change.

CONCLUSION – POLITICAL PARTY FALLOUT AND DYNAMICS CROSS OVERS

- Kenyans have generally observed instances of political party fallouts or cross-overs, perceiving them as signs of political opportunism, negative developments that weaken democratic institutions, or normal occurrences in a democratic society. The factors identified as contributing to these fallouts and cross-overs include personal ambitions and interests, ideological differences, and political alliances and loyalties.
- The majority of respondents believe that political party fallouts and cross-overs have a negative impact on political parties, leading to instability. However, some respondents view them as positive, promoting political competition and diversity of ideas. These events are also seen as hindrances to the development of Kenya's democratic process.
- To prevent or minimize fallouts and cross-overs, surveyed Kenyans believe that political parties should encourage open and transparent communication, strengthen internal democracy and party structures, and develop clear party ideologies and policies.
- Significant proportions of respondents believe that political party fallouts and cross-overs cause voters to lose faith in political parties and the democratic process. However, a portion of respondents believe that they encourage voters to become more engaged and informed.
- Party affiliations are considered important by more than half of the surveyed Kenyans, but a majority also disagrees that political parties in Kenya represent the interests of the citizens they serve. Notably, a higher percentage of females disagree compared to males.

- Regarding community interactions, the majority of surveyed Kenyans believe that political party fallouts have no effects on how they interact with members of their community based on party affiliations.

CONCLUSION – GOVERNMENT TREATMENT OF OFFICIALS FROM THE PREVIOUS REGIME

- The perception of selective targeting among Kenyans regarding officials from the previous regime varies. While some individuals believe that the government is specifically singling out these officials, others do not share this belief.
- For those who perceive selective targeting, the majority attribute it to political vendetta, suggesting that the government's actions are driven by political considerations rather than a genuine desire to combat corruption and impunity. However, there is a portion of respondents who view the government's actions as a sincere effort to address these issues.
- The selective targeting of officials from the previous regime is viewed unfavorably by a significant number of respondents, as it gives the impression that Kenya's justice system is influenced by political motives. This perception can have detrimental effects on the country's international reputation, potentially undermining trust and confidence in Kenya's legal system.
- Furthermore, the selective targeting of these officials is seen to have negative consequences for Kenya's domestic politics. It fosters an atmosphere of fear and intimidation, which can impact the dynamics of the political landscape and hinder open and inclusive political discourse.
- The surveyed respondents consider the government's treatment of officials from the previous regime to be of considerable importance. The majority view it as an extremely important or somewhat important issue, highlighting a significant level of concern among the population.
- According to the respondents, the selective targeting of officials from the previous regime has various socio-economic impacts. These include economic instability, political polarization, and a lack of trust in the government. These factors can impede the progress and development of the country, posing challenges to its social and economic well-being.

6.2. RECOMMENDATIONS

RECOMMENDATIONS ON COST OF LIVING

RECOMMENDATIONS	RESPONSIBILITY
i. Review and Adjust Taxation Policies: The government should assess the current taxation system and consider measures to alleviate the burden on citizens. This may include revising tax rates, exemptions, and thresholds to ensure fairness and affordability for individuals and businesses.	The Government
ii. Implement Effective Price Control Mechanisms: To address the soaring costs of essential goods and services, the government can consider implementing price control measures on critical commodities. This could involve monitoring and regulating prices to prevent unjustified price hikes and ensure affordability for consumers.	The Government
iii. Enhance Policy Decision-Making: The government should prioritize evidence-based policy decisions that consider the potential impact on the cost of living. Thorough assessments of economic implications and consultation with stakeholders can help avoid policies that inadvertently contribute to rising living costs.	The Government
iv. Promote Competition and Market Efficiency: Encouraging competition within key sectors such as food, utilities, and transportation can lead to improved market efficiency and affordability for consumers. The government should facilitate a competitive environment by enforcing fair trade practices, reducing barriers to entry, and promoting innovation.	The Government
v. Invest in Renewable Energy and Infrastructure: Addressing the escalating prices of fuel requires a long-term approach. The government should prioritize investments in renewable energy sources and infrastructure development to reduce reliance on fossil fuels. This can help stabilize energy costs and mitigate the impact of volatile fuel prices on the cost of living.	The Government
vi. Enhance Financial Literacy and Consumer Awareness: Educating individuals about personal finance management, budgeting, and cost-saving strategies is essential. The government and relevant organizations should promote financial literacy programs to empower citizens with the knowledge and skills needed to navigate the rising cost of living.	The Government
vii. Foster Social Safety Nets: Developing robust social safety net programs can provide support to vulnerable individuals and households affected by the increased cost of living. These programs may include targeted subsidies, welfare schemes, and assistance programs to ensure basic needs are met.	The Government
viii. Encourage Sustainable and Diversified Economic Growth: A diversified and resilient economy can help mitigate the impact of rising living costs. The government should focus on promoting sectors that have the potential to generate employment, increase incomes, and drive economic growth. This includes investing in agriculture, manufacturing, technology, and other sectors with significant growth potential.	The Government

RECOMMENDATIONS ON THE FINANCE BILL

RECOMMENDATION	RESPONSIBILITY
i. Enhance Public Awareness and Engagement: The government should prioritize efforts to increase public awareness and understanding of the finance/budget bill. This can be achieved through informative campaigns, public consultations, and transparent dissemination of information about the bill's objectives, provisions, and potential impact on the economy and development goals.	The Government
ii. Address Perceived Unfairness in Tax Measures: The concerns raised by the public regarding perceived unfairness in the proposed tax measures should be taken into consideration. The government should review and refine the tax provisions in the bill to ensure a more equitable distribution of the tax burden and alleviate concerns about the impact on individuals' financial well-being.	The Government
iii. Strengthen Accountability and Transparency: To address concerns about potential corruption and mismanagement of funds, there is need for a multi-stakeholder approach to prioritize and address transparency and accountability measures. This includes robust oversight mechanisms, regular audits, and effective enforcement of financial regulations to ensure that allocated funds are utilized efficiently and effectively.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CSOs • EACC • Audit Institutions • Media • Judiciary
iv. Prioritize Citizen-Centric Approaches: The government should actively engage with the concerns and expectations of the population. The finance/budget bill should reflect the needs and priorities of the common citizens, addressing issues such as social welfare, education, healthcare, and infrastructure development. Inclusion of citizen input in the decision-making process can help bridge the gap between policy priorities and public expectations.	The Government
v. Strengthen Citizen-Representative Engagement: Efforts should be made to foster meaningful engagement between citizens and their elected representatives. The government should create platforms for open dialogue, encourage public participation, and provide avenues for citizens to voice their concerns, provide feedback, and contribute to policy discussions. This can help rebuild trust and confidence in the efficacy of citizen engagement in shaping policy decisions.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Media • CSOs • Political Parties • CBOs • Parliament and Senate
vi. Conduct Impact Assessments: Prior to the implementation of the finance/budget bill, the government should conduct comprehensive impact assessments to evaluate the potential consequences on taxation, inflation, and economic growth. This will help identify and mitigate any potential risks and ensure that the bill aligns with the overall economic goals and the well-being of the population.	The Government

RECOMMENDATIONS ON THE ELECTORAL PROCESSES

RECOMMENDATION	RESPONSIBILITY
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<p>i. Strengthen Institutional Performance and Accountability: Institutions and organizations in Kenya should prioritize efforts to improve their performance and enhance public trust. This includes implementing measures to ensure transparency, integrity, and accountability in their operations. Regular performance evaluations, independent oversight, and mechanisms for addressing grievances can help build confidence in these institutions.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government • CSO • Independent Oversight Bodies • Media
<p>ii. Address Challenges in Underperforming Institutions: Institutions such as the National Police Service, Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission, and Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission should undertake comprehensive reforms to address the concerns and lack of confidence expressed by the public. This includes improving professionalism, efficiency, and independence to fulfill their respective mandates effectively.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National Police Service • EACC • IEBC
<p>iii. Strengthen Independent Offices: Building on the positive perception of organizations like the Teachers Service Commission, Kenya National Human Rights Commission, and Public Service Commission, efforts should be made to further enhance their effectiveness and autonomy. Adequate resources, training, and support should be provided to ensure these independent offices can carry out their responsibilities impartially and efficiently.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government
<p>iv. Progressive Improvement of Electoral Processes: Based on the varied opinions on the fairness and peacefulness of the elections, there is a need for ongoing efforts to improve the electoral system. Enhancing transparency in voter registration, ballot counting, and results announcement, reducing political interference, and providing robust training and oversight for election officials are crucial steps to ensure credible and inclusive elections.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • IEBC • Government • Political Parties • Citizens
<p>v. Foster Civic Engagement Beyond Elections: Encouraging citizens to stay engaged in democratic processes beyond elections is essential. Government and civil society organizations should create platforms for ongoing dialogue, citizen participation, and interaction with elected officials. This can include town hall meetings, public consultations, and the establishment of community-level organizations to facilitate continuous citizen involvement.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The IEBC • CSOs • Government
<p>vi. Promote Opposition's Role and Effectiveness: Recognizing the diverse opinions regarding the opposition's performance, efforts should be made to strengthen the role and impact of the opposition as a viable alternative government. This can be achieved through constructive engagement, policy development, and effective communication to provide a robust check and balance on the ruling party.</p>	<p>The Government</p>
<p>vii. Enhance Civic Education: Improving civic education programs to foster a better understanding of democratic processes, institutions, and the rights and responsibilities of citizens is crucial. This can empower individuals to actively participate in democratic processes, make informed decisions, and hold institutions accountable.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CSOs • The Media • The Government

RECOMMENDATIONS ON THE CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION IN KENYA

RECOMMENDATION	RESPONSIBILITY
i. Address Post-Election Demands: The government should carefully consider and engage with the demands put forth by the Azimio la Umoja Kenya Coalition, as they are viewed as reasonable and have the potential to enhance the country's political landscape.	The Government
ii. Address Socio-economic Concerns: High unemployment, inflation, and dissatisfaction with the government are catalysts for demonstrations. Addressing these concerns through effective policies and initiatives is crucial to address public discontent and foster positive change.	The Government
iii. Recognize the Potential of Demonstrations: While demonstrations are seen as important for expressing dissent and holding those in power accountable, there are diverging opinions on their effectiveness. The government should acknowledge the capacity of demonstrations to bring about meaningful change and consider constructive engagement with protest leaders.	The Government
iv. Uphold Balanced Media Coverage: The media is perceived as providing fair and balanced reporting on demonstrations, representing multiple perspectives. Continued objective journalism is crucial in informing the public and fostering a broader understanding of political events.	The Media
v. Improve Government Response to Demonstrations: While some believe the government has been effective in addressing demonstrations, there is room for improvement. The government should enhance responsiveness and attentiveness to the concerns raised during protests to build trust and address grievances.	The Government
vi. Protect Citizens' Rights and Establish Clear Guidelines: Preserving citizens' rights to peaceful assembly and expression is crucial. The government should respect these rights and establish clear guidelines and protocols for demonstrations to ensure a structured framework for peaceful expression.	The Government
vii. Facilitate Dialogue and Negotiation: Creating channels for dialogue and negotiation between protest leaders and the government is recommended. Constructive engagement can play a vital role in addressing grievances and effecting positive change.	The Government Opposition

**RECOMMENDATIONS ON POLITICAL PARTY FALLOUT AND DYNAMICS CROSS
OVERS**

RECOMMENDATIONS	RESPONSIBILITY
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a. Encourage Transparent Communication: Political parties should prioritize open and transparent communication to minimize fallouts and cross-overs. This includes promoting dialogue, fostering trust, and ensuring that party members are adequately informed about decisions and developments within the party.	Political Parties
b. Strengthen Internal Democracy and Party Structures: Political parties should focus on enhancing internal democracy by promoting inclusive decision-making processes, conducting fair and transparent party elections, and establishing robust party structures that provide opportunities for meaningful participation by members.	Political Parties
c. Develop Clear Party Ideologies and Policies: Political parties should articulate and promote clear ideologies and policies to provide a coherent framework for party members and attract voters. This helps prevent opportunistic cross-overs and promotes accountability within parties.	Political Parties
d. Restore Trust in Political Parties: Efforts should be made to address the loss of faith in political parties and the democratic process caused by fallouts and cross-overs. Parties should prioritize transparency, accountability, and responsiveness to rebuild trust among voters and ensure their interests are represented.	Political Parties
e. Foster Voter Engagement and Education: Fallouts and cross-overs can serve as catalysts for increased voter engagement and political awareness. Political parties should seize this opportunity to actively engage with voters, provide accurate information, and promote civic education to encourage informed and active participation in the democratic process.	Political Parties
f. Enhance Representation of Citizen Interests: Political parties need to reevaluate their approaches to ensure they better represent the interests of the citizens they serve. This includes addressing concerns raised by respondents, particularly among females, who feel that parties are not adequately representing their interests.	Political Parties
g. Promote Community Unity: Despite fallouts and cross-overs, efforts should be made to foster unity and cooperation among community members, regardless of their party affiliations. Political parties should work towards bridging divides and promoting inclusive dialogue and cooperation at the community level	Political Parties

RECOMMENDATIONS ON GOVERNMENT TREATMENT OF OFFICIALS FROM THE PREVIOUS REGIME

RECOMMENDATIONS	RESPONSIBILITY
i. Address Perceptions of Selective Targeting: The government should proactively address concerns regarding selective targeting of officials from the previous regime. This can be achieved through transparent communication, providing clear justifications for actions taken, and demonstrating a commitment to impartiality in the pursuit of justice.	The Government

<p>ii. Ensure Impartiality in Anti-Corruption Efforts: To alleviate perceptions of political vendetta, the government should emphasize that anti-corruption efforts are driven by a genuine commitment to combat corruption and impunity, rather than political considerations. This can be achieved through independent investigations, fair legal proceedings, and adherence to due process.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Government • EACC • Judiciary
<p>iii. Safeguard Judicial Independence: Upholding the independence and integrity of the justice system is crucial. The government should ensure that legal proceedings are conducted without political interference and that the judiciary maintains its autonomy. This includes protecting judges from undue pressure and fostering a culture of impartiality.</p>	<p>The Government</p>
<p>iv. Promote Inclusive Political Discourse: Selective targeting can create a climate of fear and intimidation, which hinders open and inclusive political discourse. The government should encourage a conducive environment for political participation, free expression, and constructive dialogue among different political actors. This can contribute to a more vibrant and democratic political landscape.</p>	<p>The Government</p>
<p>v. Consider Socio-Economic Impacts: The government should be aware of the socio-economic implications of selective targeting. Efforts should be made to mitigate any negative consequences, such as economic instability, political polarization, and a lack of trust in the government. This can be achieved through comprehensive socio-economic policies, inclusive governance, and transparent decision-making processes</p>	<p>The Government</p>

7.0. ANNEXES

OTHER FINDINGS

7.1. Key issues of concern

The top three issues that concerns surveyed Kenyans the most and that the government should address as a matter of priority include high cost of living, unemployment and corruption. Other key issues of concern include poverty reduction, insecurity/crime and cost of doing business, other key concerns are as presented below:

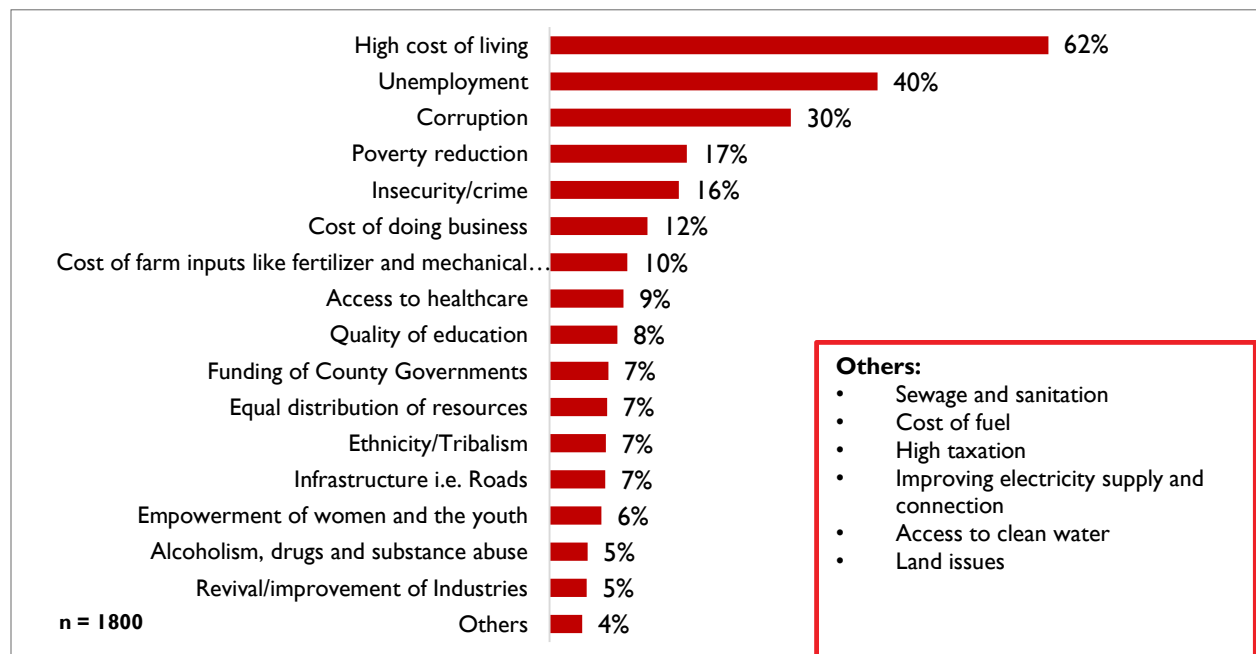


Figure 38: The Key Issues of Concern

Qn: Could you kindly mention the THREE KEY Issues of most concern to you that the government should address as a matter of priority

In terms of analysis by county the survey established that findings are in tandem with overall findings, high cost of living stood out across all the counties as the issue of most concern, as presented below,

Table 5: Key issues of concern: By County 1/2

1/2	Garissa	Mandera	Nandi	Uasin Gishu	Trans Nzoia	Kericho	Bungoma	Kisumu	Kisii	Total
Base(n)	50	41	69	87	70	64	122	85	102	1800

High cost of living	8%	60%	86%	34%	42%	55%	68%	78%	52%	62%
Unemployment	6%	53%	40%	21%	37%	54%	37%	48%	42%	40%
Corruption	2%	34%	11%	23%	30%	31%	14%	52%	33%	30%
Poverty reduction	7%	22%	1%	11%	12%	30%	22%	11%	25%	17%
Insecurity/crime	5%	8%	9%	12%	4%	4%	10%	21%	6%	16%
Cost of doing business	6%	4%	11%	14%	20%	8%	7%	8%	15%	12%
Cost of farm inputs like fertilizer	26%	4%	6%	16%	9%	25%	18%	11%	12%	10%
Access to healthcare	7%	10%	35%	10%	15%	9%	8%	3%	5%	9%
Quality of education	12%	11%	12%	15%	4%	-	23%	1%	9%	8%
Funding of County Governments	17%	6%	17%	13%	8%	5%	3%	8%	5%	7%
Equal distribution of resources	9%	-	12%	4%	14%	5%	5%	6%	6%	7%
Ethnicity/Tribalism	1%	2%	-	16%	5%	1%	10%	9%	4%	7%
Transport, Infrastructure i.e. Roads	9%	6%	11%	5%	4%	5%	12%	2%	11%	7%
Empowerment of women and the youth	18%	11%	5%	8%	4%	1%	5%	7%	3%	6%
Alcoholism, drugs and substance abuse	12%	6%	-	8%	-	1%	3%	2%	9%	5%
Revival/improvement of Industries	9%	3%	5%	6%	6%	3%	3%	1%	5%	5%
Others	13%	6%	3%	7%	4%	6%	3%	2%	4%	4%

Table 6: Key issues of concern: By County 2/2

2/2	Kilifi	Mombasa	Kitui	Meru	Nyeri	Nakuru	Kajiado	Nairobi City	Total
Base(n)	122	93	82	117	64	161	96	375	1800
High cost of living	55%	68%	56%	70%	63%	73%	82%	61%	62%
Unemployment	36%	48%	33%	23%	13%	53%	42%	51%	40%
Corruption	21%	39%	14%	24%	22%	39%	36%	39%	30%
Poverty reduction	23%	26%	27%	20%	19%	9%	11%	16%	17%
Insecurity/crime	21%	9%	12%	11%	22%	46%	14%	17%	16%
Cost of doing business	3%	11%	14%	32%	21%	10%	17%	9%	12%
Cost of farm inputs like fertilizer	7%	-	3%	15%	10%	9%	1%	6%	10%
Access to healthcare	20%	4%	17%	3%	11%	7%	9%	5%	9%
Quality of education	15%	6%	11%	1%	5%	4%	13%	6%	8%
Funding of County Governments	6%	4%	22%	6%	6%	5%	2%	6%	7%
Equal distribution of resources	14%	2%	13%	7%	20%	2%	1%	7%	7%
Ethnicity/Tribalism	11%	7%	8%	1%	3%	4%	8%	10%	7%
Transport, Infrastructure i.e. Roads	7%	3%	11%	7%	11%	4%	9%	6%	7%

Empowerment of women and the youth	7%	8%	15%	2%	-	6%	12%	6%	6%
Alcoholism, drugs and substance abuse	2%	4%	4%	13%	4%	4%	4%	5%	5%
Revival/improvement of Industries	1%	4%	3%	1%	22%	4%	4%	5%	5%
Others	5%	3%	3%	6%	4%	2%	2%	4%	4%

7.2. Satisfaction with Direction the Country is Taking

A majority (81%) of the surveyed respondents disagreed that the country was headed in the right direction, of these almost all (94%) mentioned that it was because of the high cost of living, 59% mentioned unemployment, whereas 39% cited poverty, as presented in the figure below:

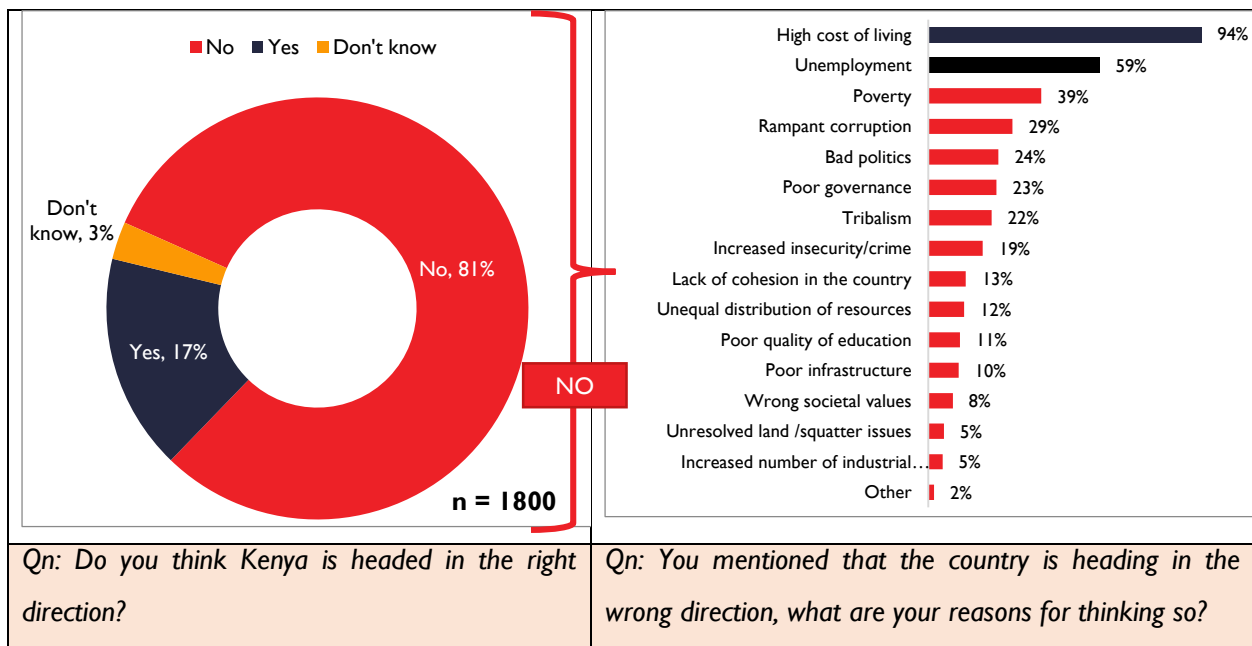


Figure 39: Reasons for the Country heading in the wrong direction

17% of the surveyed respondents admitted that the country is headed in the right direction, mainly because there is peace in the country (57%), Kenyans are living in harmony (33%) and the executive is working well (31%).

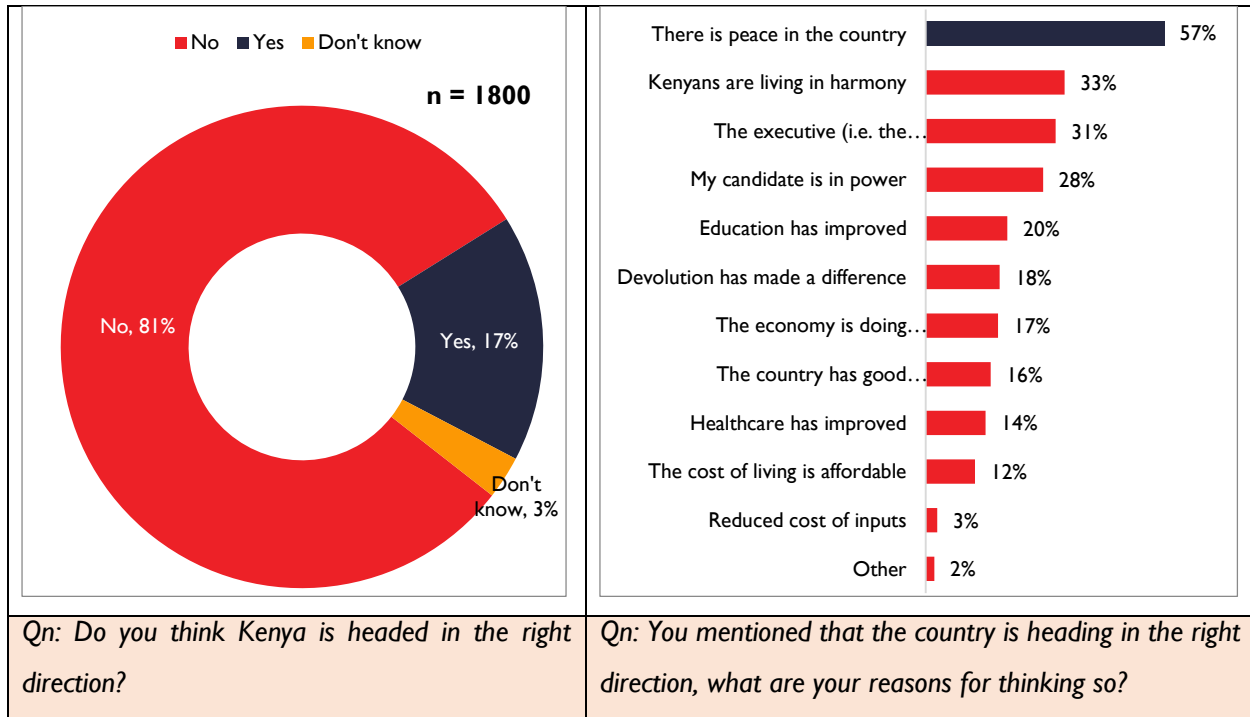


Figure 40: Reasons for the Country heading in the right direction

With regards to the direction the country is headed, some of the discussants from the focus group discussions expressed uncertainty and believed that time will reveal the true outcomes of government actions. Others held a negative view and cited concerns about the current state of affairs, such as high costs of living and pessimistic developments. On the other hand, a few expressed a more neutral stance, suggesting that it was too early to judge the government's performance and that the previous administration may have contributed to the current challenges. This is what some of them said:

“...No, because right now the cost of living is high and still, the things they are proposing are going to make it worse...” -FGD participant, Nyeri.

“...50-50; Maybe it is or maybe not. I think the government wants to pay back all the loans and it could be that, he is doing all these for his own interests. Time will tell. We will tell a year or 3 from now...” -FGD participant, Nairobi.

“...Depending on the things that we have been hearing, I don't think it's headed in the right direction. Everything is so negative...” -FGD participant, Kajiado.

“...Mine is neutral because, in my view, I think the problems we have now is because of the previous administration. So, within a year, we cannot yet judge the government. So, I think we should give them time...” -FGD participant, Nyeri.

“...I think we are headed in the worst direction, and it’s like the government is trying to reap the little we have in our pockets...” -**FGD participant, Kitui.**

“...I think Kenya is not going the right way right now because we have a financial bill coming in the Parliament for approval. Life is going up, and the government is going in the wrong direction...” -**FGD participant, Garissa.**

“...Life is hard, I can’t say it is going in a bad direction...” -**FGD participant, Mombasa**

More than four in every five (84%) of the surveyed respondents highlighted that the president was responsible for taking Kenya in the right/wrong direction. Another, 40% mentioned that it was the responsibility of parliament while 37% highlighted that it was the responsibility of the politicians.

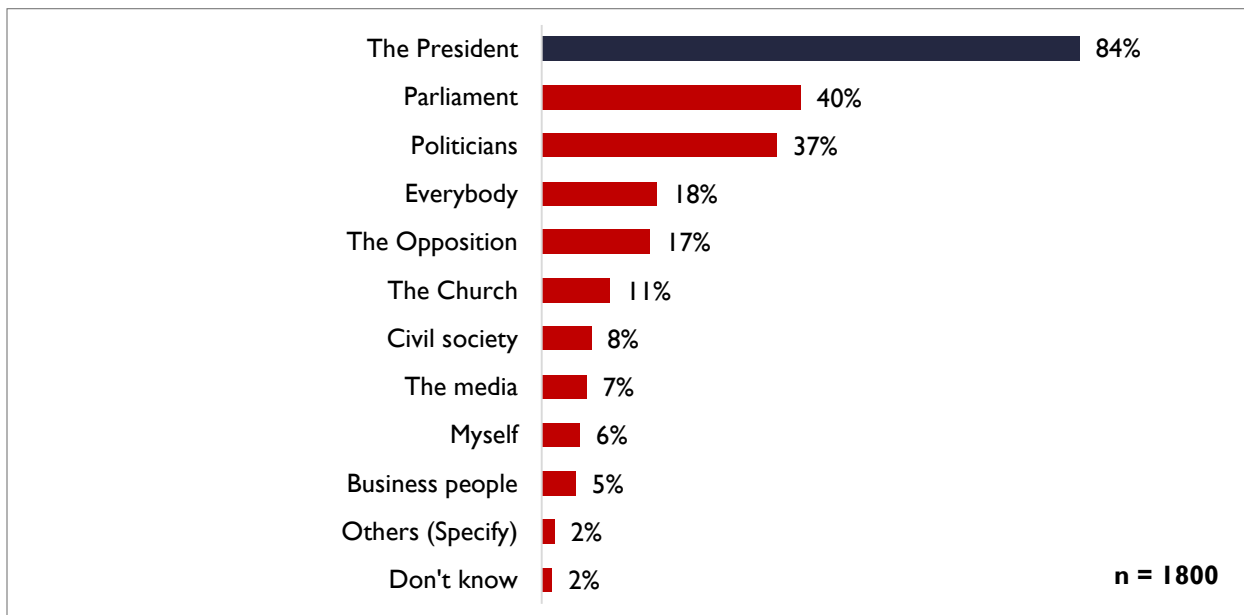


Figure 41: Responsibility for the Country Heading in the Right/Wrong Direction

Qn: Who do you think is responsible for taking Kenya in the right/wrong direction?

Findings from the qualitative phase highlight opinions on who is responsible for the current direction and challenges faced by Kenya. The surveyed participants attributed the responsibility to both the government and opposition leaders, emphasizing the need for collective accountability. Others primarily held the government accountable, citing their access to resources and decision-making power. There was also recognition that citizens played a role by electing leaders and should actively engage with their representatives to voice concerns. The importance of government responsiveness to the needs of the people was highlighted, with suggestions for increased citizen participation and improved governance.

“...It’s the government because they are the ones who have access to funds and they have the power to lead us...” -FGD participant, Eldoret.

“...I think it’s the government...” -FGD participant, Kitui.

“...The president because he’s a dictator...” -FGD participant, Kisumu.

“...I think the president and the deputy are the head of the country. We are all responsible for the mess that Kenya is going through. The ones we think are the most are the politicians, but the head is the president and the deputy president...” -FGD participant, Garissa.

“...The government and the opposition leaders. Why am I saying this is because this thing did not start yesterday. Before, we had been going in the wrong direction, but we kept silent...” -FGD participant, Mombasa

The top three risks of the country heading in the wrong direction include unemployment (56%), economic instability and recession (55%) as well as political instability and insecurity (46%). Other risks include corruption and lack of accountability (41%) and increase in crime and insecurity (34%), as presented below:

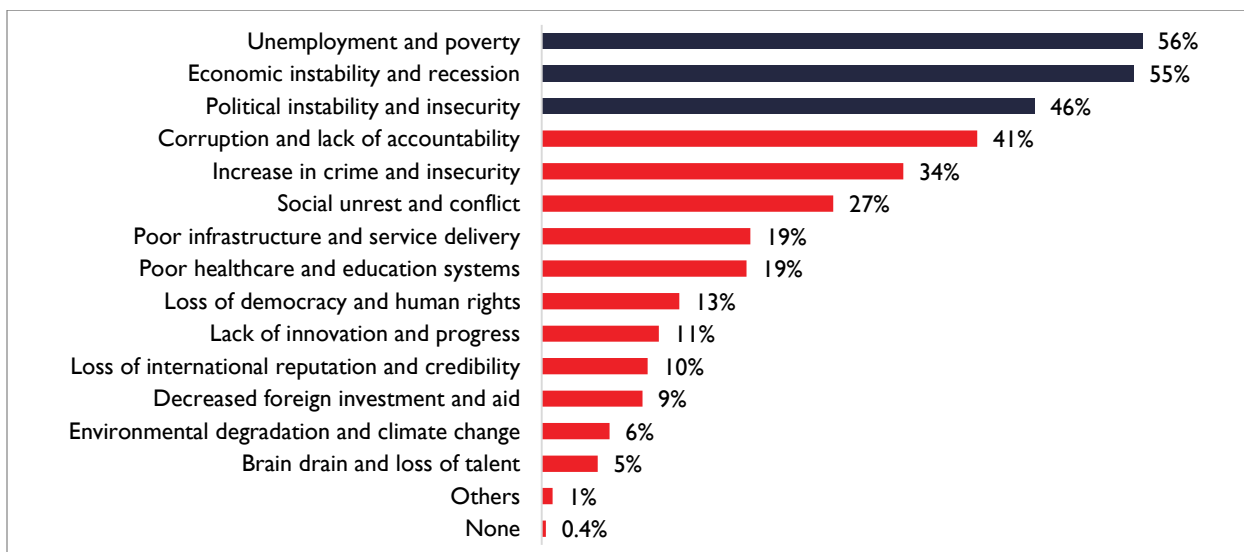


Figure 42: Risks of the Country Heading in the Wrong Direction

Qn: What in your opinion are the risks of the country heading in the wrong direction

7.3. Cost of Living as a Political Issue

Almost all (94%) of the surveyed respondents highlighted that the cost of living in Kenya had increased, 3% highlighted that it had remained the same whereas 2% noted that it has declined, as presented below:

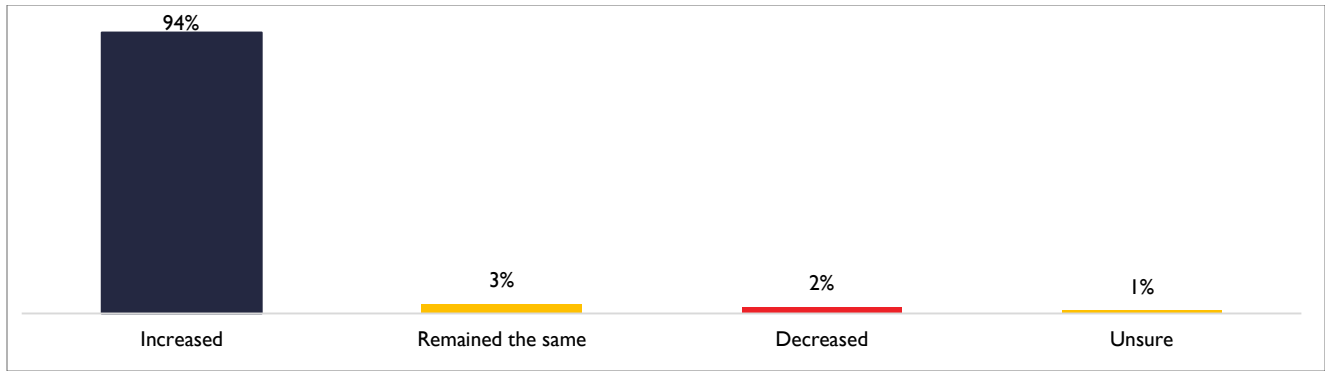


Figure 43: Whether the cost of Living in Kenya Increased or Decreased in the past year

Qn: In your opinion, has the cost of living in Kenya increased or decreased in the past year?

On the qualitative end, the FGD respondents acknowledged the change and increase in prices of commodities, including sugar and the overall burden on their budgets. There was consensus that the cost of living has become extreme and is skyrocketing, affecting the daily lives of individuals. Some respondents attributed the situation to government policies, such as tax increases. There were contrasting views regarding the past administration, with some respondents expressing nostalgia for the time of former President Moi and former President Kibaki, who are seen as having brought economic stability. However, there was also a call to give the current government, led by President William Ruto, and Deputy President Rigathi Gachagua more time to address the challenges in the cost of living:

“...It is growing rapidly and the government doesn’t consult with its citizens before they implement a bill. I bought 2kg of sugar last month @350/= but this month it was @...The budget of shopping has doubled yet I’m alone...” -FGD participant, Nairobi.

“...Sky rocketing. The prices of commodities are rising every day...” -FGD participant, Kajiado.

“...The cost of living, compared to the time of Moi, they were living well and then Kibaki was an Economist. It was good, and he introduced a lot of businesses, but when we came to Uhuru and Ruto's reign, it was now hard...” -FGD participant, Mombasa.

A majority (97%) of the surveyed Kenyans acknowledged that the cost of food items has increased over the past year. Further, 66% and 64% highlighted the cost of utilities and transportation had risen.

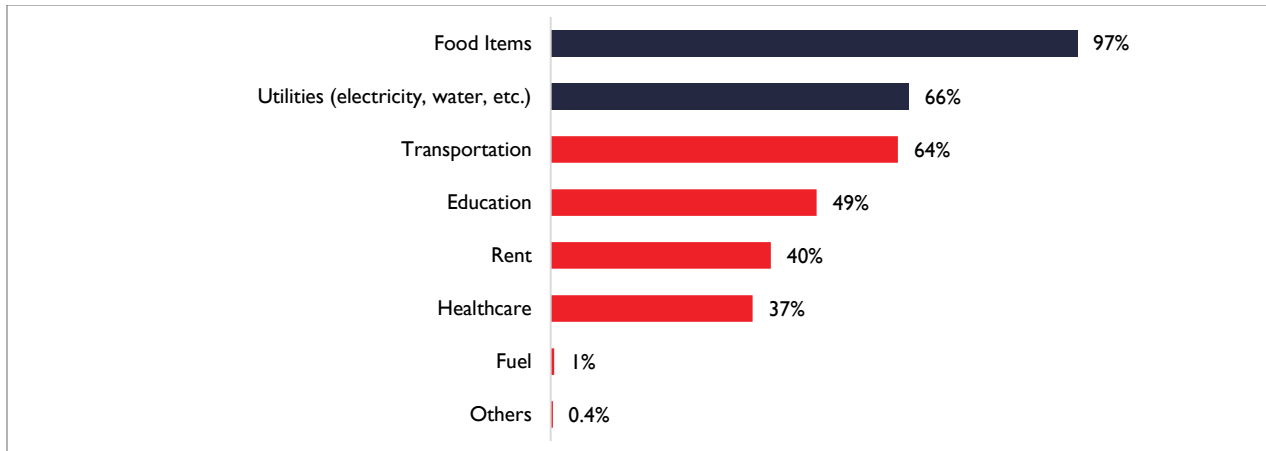


Figure 44: Expenses that have increased in the past year

Qn: Which of the following expenses have increased in the past year in Kenya?

The top three key causes of the increase in the Cost of Living according to the surveyed respondent include high taxation (34%), poor decisions/policies by the current regime (21%) and increase in fuel prices (16%). Other key causes include poor decisions/policies by the past regime (13%), inflation (12%) and high import costs (2%), as presented below

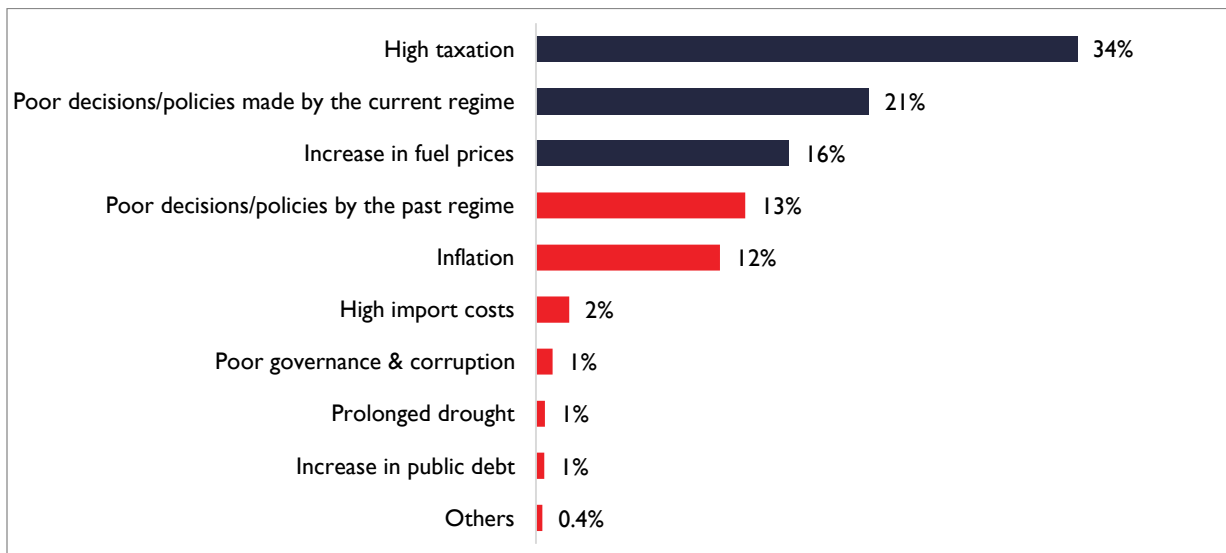


Figure 45: Causes of the increase in the cost of living in Kenya

Qn: In your opinion, what has been the main cause of the increase in the cost of living in Kenya?

The FGD participants reported several factors contributing to the rising cost of living in the country. Corruption emerged as a dominant concern, with individuals expressing concern that it is rampant and affecting the country's development. Debts were also identified as a significant issue, with the

mismangement of funds leading to a negative impact on the economy. Other factors mentioned include poverty, unemployment, poor governance, and external influences such as international politics and conflicts. The high rate of unemployment, especially among the youth, is also seen as a pressing problem.

“...Corruption; everyone wants to eat...” -FGD participant, Nairobi.

“...Debts and Corruption; money that is supposed to be used for the country’s development ends in individuals’ pockets...” -FGD participant, Kajiado.

“...In my opinion, what has contributed to his poor economy is that we have a regime that does not feel the pain of the common citizen because we still have a president who the citizens did not elect...” -FGD participant, Garissa.

“...Corruption, Debts, Poverty and Population too, because we are many...” -FGD participant, Mombasa.

7.4. The Finance/Budget Bill

In May 2023, the National Treasury presented the Finance Bill, 2023 (referred to as the Bill) to the National Assembly. The bill contained a series of tax changes aimed at broadening the tax base and generating revenue to support the government's ambitious budget of KES 3.6 trillion for the fiscal year 2023/2024. These proposed changes also indicate the government's focus on key sectors for economic growth and alleviating the cost of living. In recent times, the government has faced challenges in meeting its expenditure needs, prompting several proposals to increase taxes in order to address the fiscal deficit⁵. Some notable changes outlined in the bill include:

- Implementation of an export and investment promotion levy on specific imports
- Introduction of a 35% tax rate for monthly income exceeding Kes 500,000
- A 1.5% contribution by both employees and employers to fund affordable housing projects
- Exemption of exported services from VAT
- Raise in the turnover tax rate from 1% to 3%
- Implementation of a 5% withholding tax on income earned by digital content creators
- Increase in the VAT rate on petroleum products from 8% to 16%

The survey established that 67% of Kenyans have heard about the finance/budget bill. Of these more than half (58%), know what the finance/budget bill is all about, summary findings are as presented in the figure below:

⁵ <https://kpmg.com/ke/en/home/insights/2023/05/kpmg-kenya-finance-bill-2023-analysis.html#:~:text=The%20National%20Treasury%20tabled%20the,for%20the%20year%202023%2F2024.>

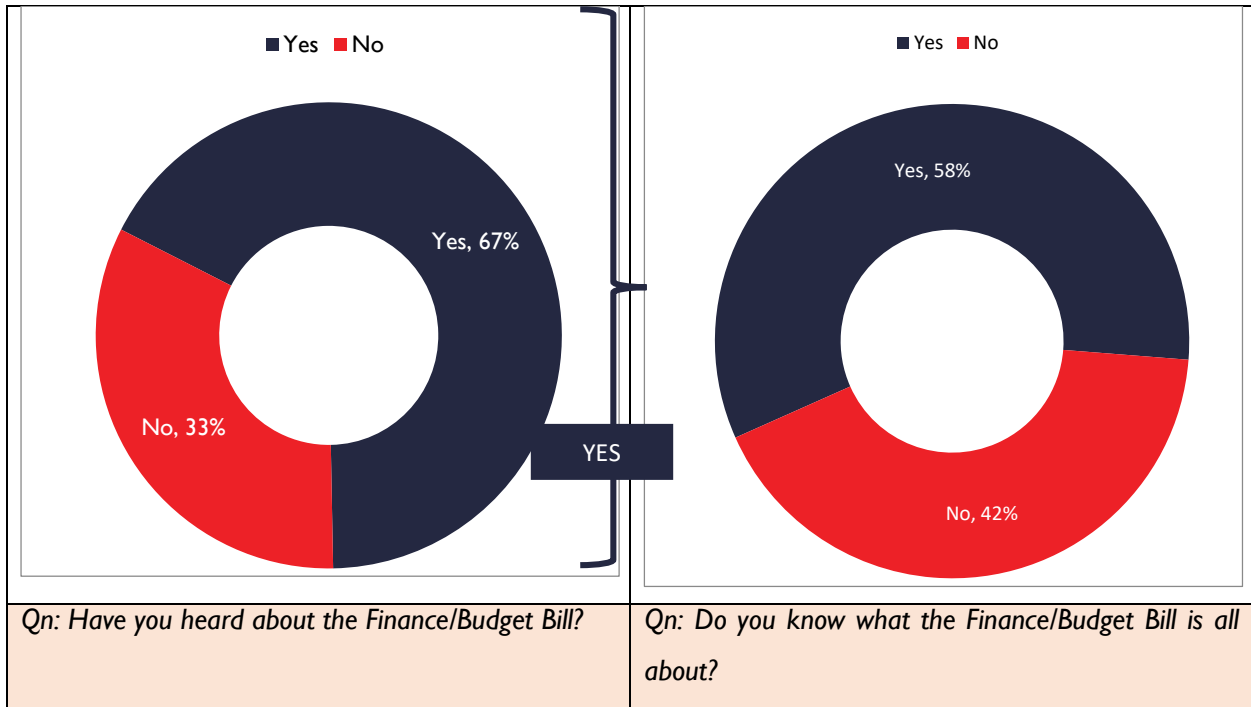


Figure 46: Awareness of Finance Bill

In terms of gender and age, the survey established that more males (76%) than females (59%) are aware of the finance bill, further, more males (61%) than females (54%) have knowledge on the finance bill. Detailed findings are as presented in the figure below:

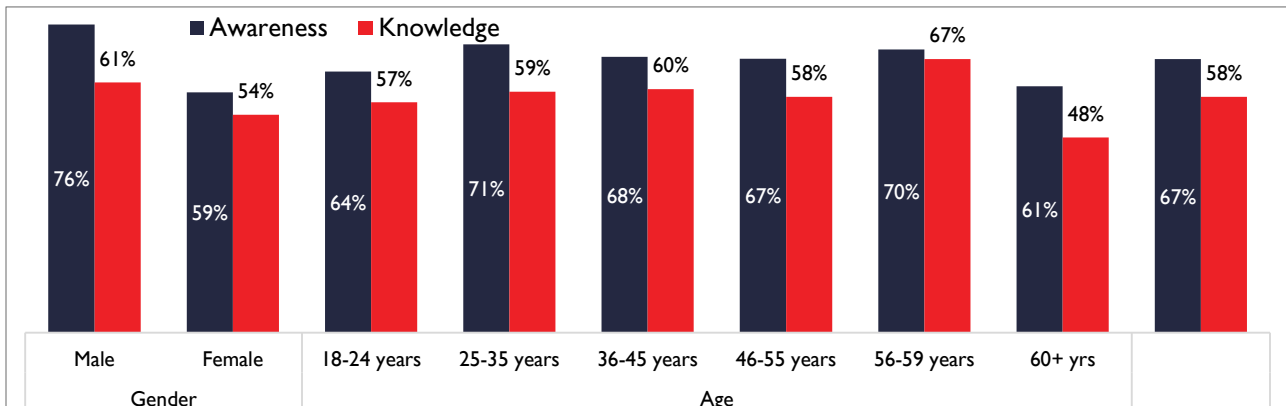


Figure 47: Awareness of Finance Bill: By Gender & Age

Qn: Have you heard about the Finance/Budget Bill?

More than half (54%) of the surveyed Kenyans disagreed that the finance/budget will have a positive impact on the Kenyan economy. Further, slightly more males (55%) than females (53%) disagreed that the finance bill had a positive impact on the Kenyan economy, as presented in the figure below:

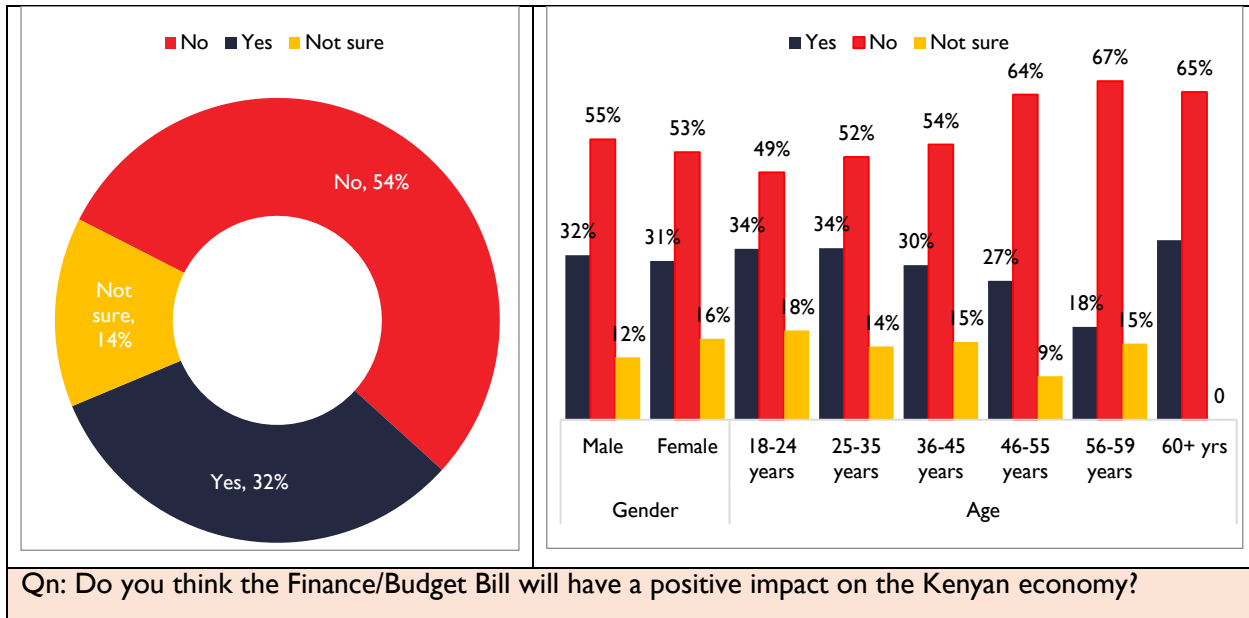


Figure 48: Whether the Finance/Budget Bill has a Positive Impact on the Kenyan Economy

Almost half (49%) of the surveyed respondents disagreed that the finance bill will help the government in achieving its development goals. In terms of gender slightly more males (50%) than females (48%) disagreed that the finance bill will help the government achieve its goals, as presented below:

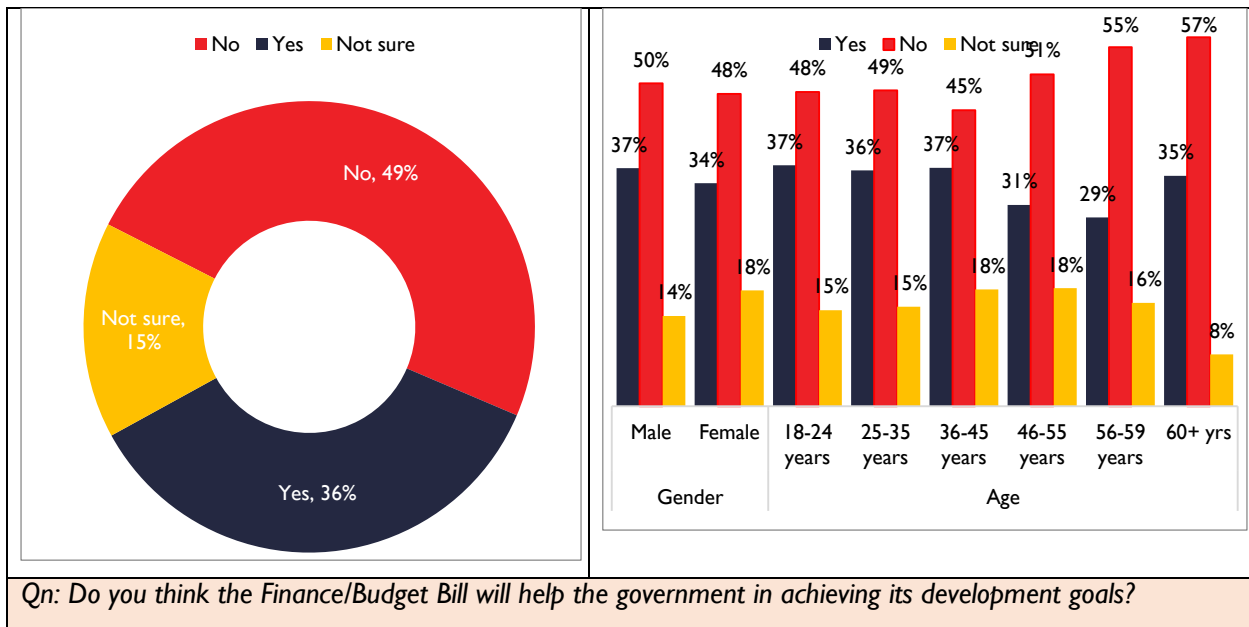


Figure 49: Whether the Finance/Budget Bill will help the government in achieving its development goals

A majority (71%) of the surveyed Kenyans perceive the proposed tax measures as unfair, as presented in figure 18 below:

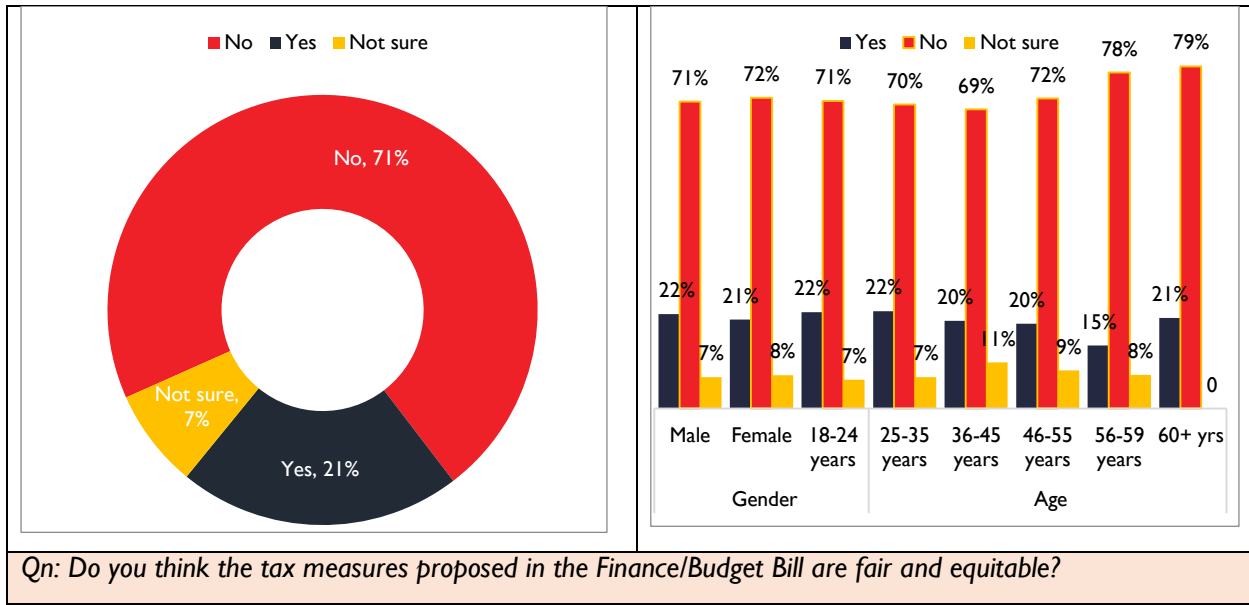


Figure 50: Whether the proposed tax measures in the Finance/Budget Bill are fair and equitable

More than half (55%) of Kenyans do not believe that the finance/budget bill will aid in addressing the issue of public debt in Kenya. Conversely, 33% believe that it will help in addressing the public issue debt, as shown below:

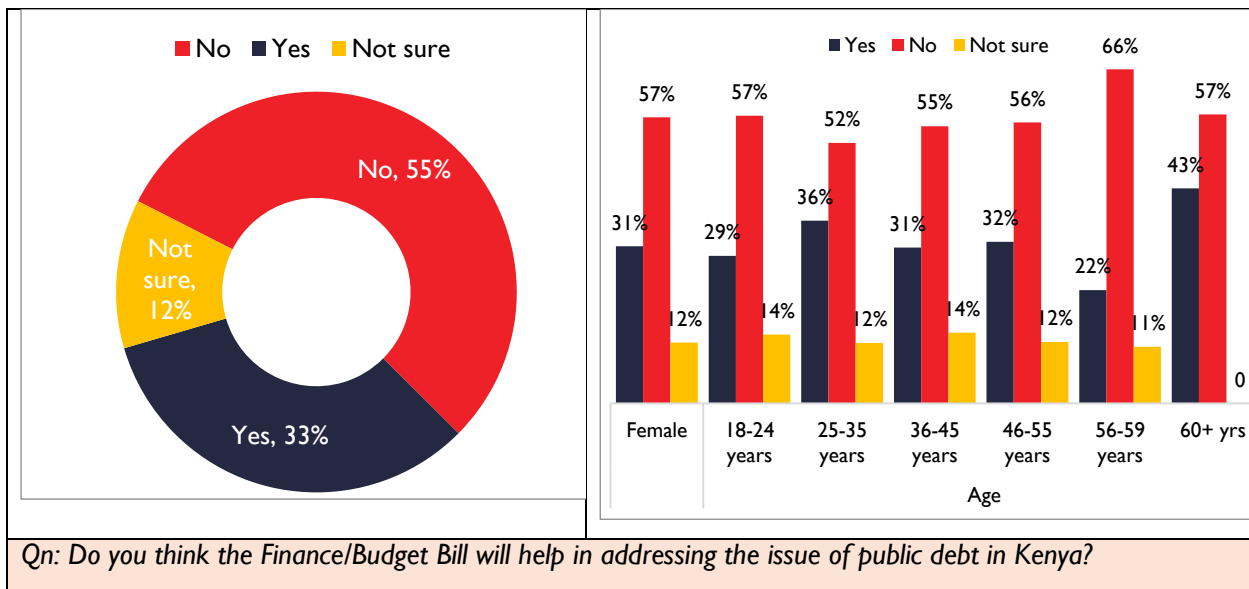


Figure 51: Whether the Finance/Budget Bill will help in addressing the issue of public debt

Majority (71%) of Kenyans do not believe that the finance/budget bill will adequately address the needs of common citizens. Conversely, 23% believe that it will adequately address the needs of the common citizen, as presented in the figure below:

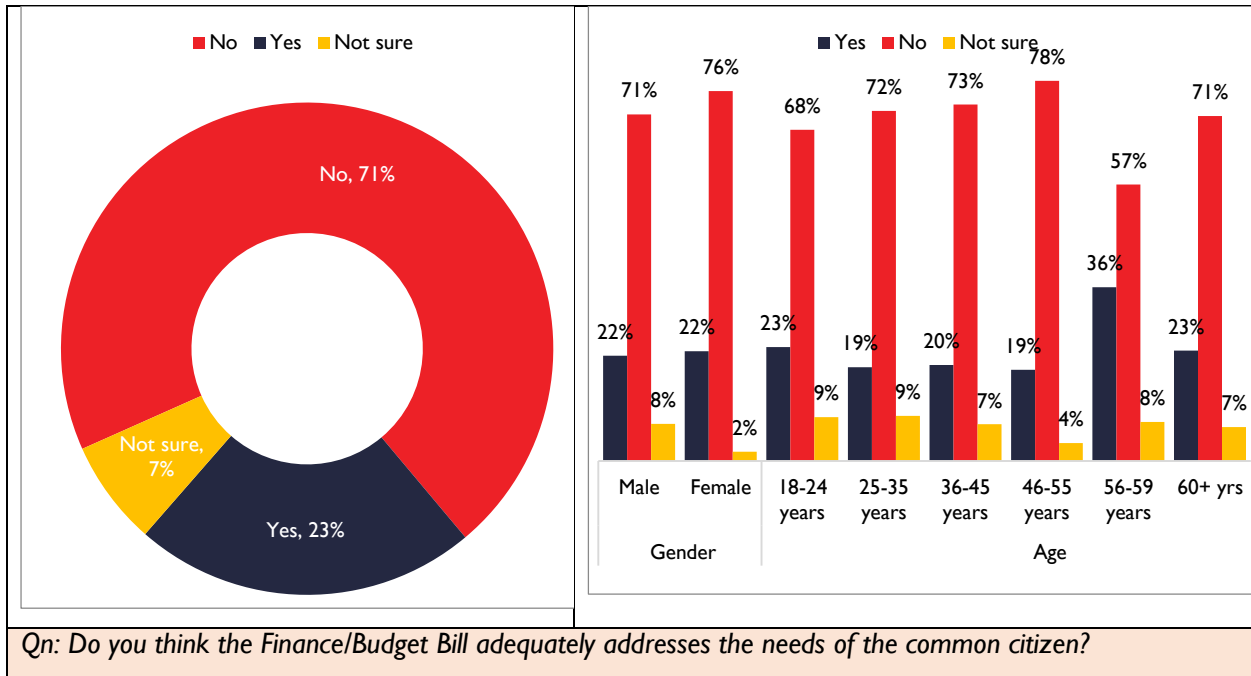


Figure 52: Whether the Finance/Budget Bill adequately address the needs of the common citizen

A majority (64%) of Kenyans are not planning to engage their elected representatives on matters related to the finance/budget bill. On the contrary, 29% are planning to do so. In terms of gender, more males (34%) than females (23%) acknowledged that they were planning to engage with their elected representatives on matters that were related to the Finance/Budget bill, detailed findings are as presented below:

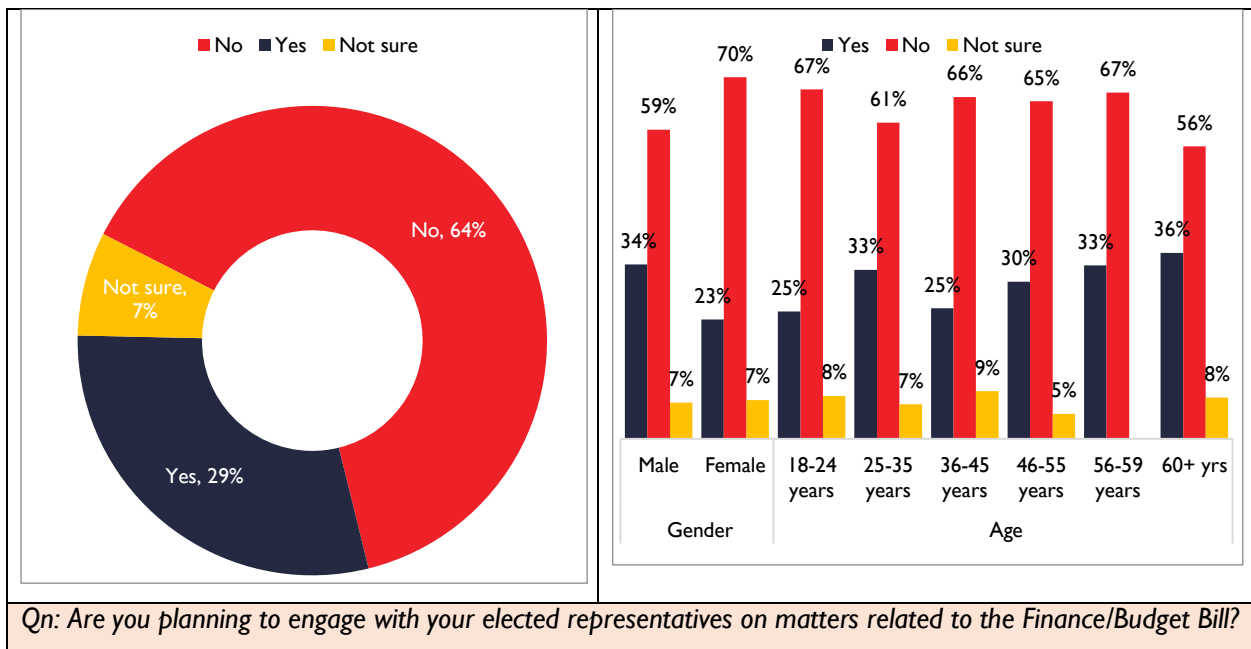


Figure 53: Whether they are planning to engage with their elected representatives on matters related to the Finance/Budget Bill

The top three risks of passing the new finance/budget bill according to surveyed respondents include increased taxation and financial burden on citizens, corruption and mismanagement of funds and inflation and reduced economic growth, as presented in figure 22 below:

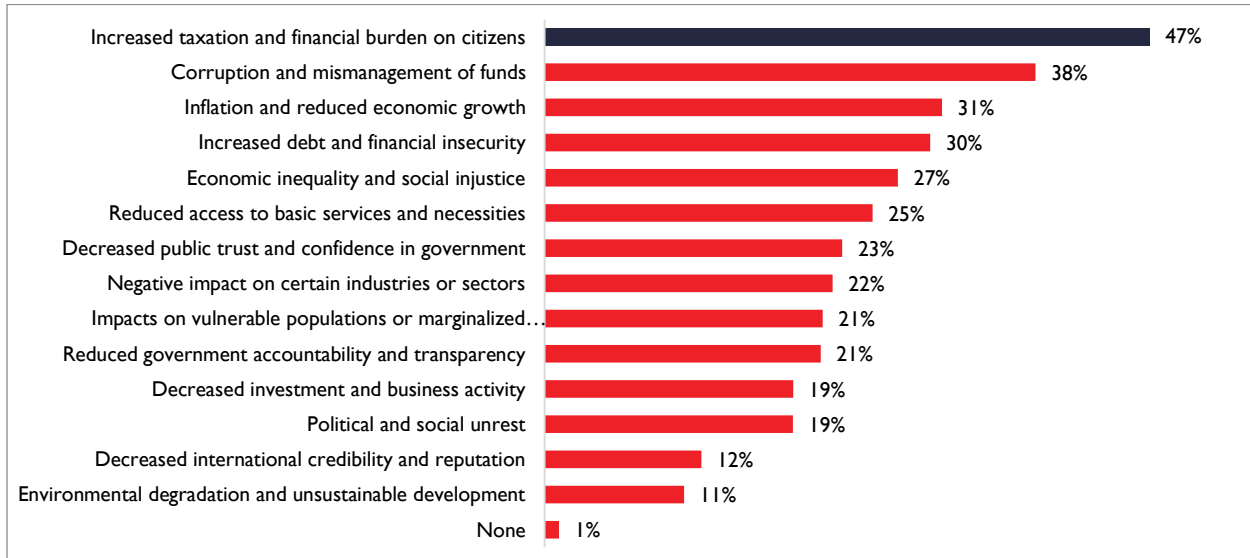


Figure 54: Risks of passing the new finance/budget bill into law

Qn: What are the risks of passing the new finance/budget bill into law?

8.0. EXPERT OPINION

8.1. Leadership and Governance

8.1.1. Evaluating the Direction of the Country: Perspectives on its Trajectory

The key experts revealed varied perspectives with regards to the direction the country was taking, showcasing a significant diversity of opinions. Notably, one informant drew attention to spiritual division as a worrisome sign, suggesting an unfavorable course. Conversely, another key informant emphasized the country's democratic history and the smooth transitions of power as indications of progress. Nevertheless, several key informants expressed apprehensions concerning poor governance, pervasive corruption, escalating living costs, and preferential political appointments favoring specific communities. Criticism was also directed towards insufficient oversight and excessive taxation burdens. These contrasting viewpoints underscore the intricacies surrounding the country's trajectory and underscore the urgency of fostering continued dialogue and active engagement to effectively tackle these challenges and guide the nation towards a brighter future. Below are some of the key highlights from the interviews:

"...99% in the wrong direction...because of the things that are happening. Number 1; over-taxation of citizens, which is really affecting people; prices of essential commodities have gone up, and yet there is no increase in the salary of workers. So, it means people are over stretching. Number 2; when we talk about essential commodities, we talk about food. You can only get food with oil. So, they continue adding taxation on oil products. Maize flour has gone up even though we were promised it would come down; instead of going down, there is going up daily. Number 3; the political appointments which are going in one direction.... So, it means Kenya is already divided. This government is leaning on one side ..."- KII Respondent, Academia

"...I do believe that the country is actually going in the right direction because of the history that it has, it has been known as a very democratic nation in Africa, and it is not badly off, and we have been having a peaceful transition of power which is not common in many countries in Africa, so I can say it is headed to the right direction..."- KII Respondent, FBO

"...From the spiritual side, the country is divided, which is an indication that it is headed in the wrong direction..."- KII Respondent, FBO

8.1.2. Key Actors and their Influence in Guiding the Country's Direction

The findings from the key informant interviews revealed a diversity of perspectives regarding who is responsible for leading the country in the right or wrong direction. The viewpoints ranged from attributing

responsibility to the government, to emphasizing the shared responsibility between the people of Kenya and the political power in place. The government, including parliament and the president, were seen as holding the ultimate responsibility for enacting laws and governing the executive. The importance of political leaders speaking with a unified voice to foster unity among citizens was also emphasized. Some interviewees strongly held leaders accountable for not prioritizing the well-being of the people. These diverse perspectives underscored the significance of effective leadership and accountability in shaping the direction the country was taking.

“...Remember, the head of any vehicle is the driver. When a vehicle falls, we don't blame the conductor but the driver, and as we speak today, the president is the driver of this country. So, any mess in this country is 100% blamed on him...”- KII Respondent, Academia

“...Our leaders because they don't mind about us...”- KII Respondent, NGO

“...Our political leaders. They need to speak one voice in a way that unites citizens and not dividing us...”- KII Respondent, Academia

8.1.3. Public Confidence in the Government's Ability to fulfil its Obligations to Citizens

Generally, the findings from the qualitative expert opinion phase indicate a lack of confidence in the government's ability to fulfill its obligations to citizens. Concerns revolved around corruption, unfulfilled promises, and a perceived disconnect between government rhetoric and results. Skepticism arose from the president's negative track record and suspicions that decisions benefit a select few rather than the people. The government's silence on crucial issues, such as the cost of living and agricultural improvement, added to doubts about its commitment. As such, rebuilding public confidence will require addressing corruption, improving transparency, and delivering on promises to bridge the gap between government rhetoric and tangible outcomes.

“...No, our president has a negative track record concerning corruption, including the people that he is surrounded with. Most Kenyans don't believe in his leadership because of his past records. Nobody is assured that the finance bill is for the good of the people. We are convinced that it will be implemented to benefit him and his friends...”- KII Respondent, FBO

“...I don't; during the campaigns, the aspirants made a lot of promises to the people. They haven't fulfilled the promises they gave to the people since they got into office. The current government isn't delivering its obligations to the people...”- KII Respondent, Academia



8.2. Cost of Living as a Political Issue

8.2.1. Changes in the Cost of Living in Kenya over the Past Year: Causes and Trends

The qualitative research findings indicated a significant escalation in the cost of living in Kenya over the past year, as reported by key informants. Despite the availability of commodities in the market, essential food items, particularly maize flour, experienced a substantial increase in prices. The market dynamics observed suggested a disequilibrium between supply and demand, which has contributed to the inflationary pressure. Furthermore, global events, such as the Ukraine-Russia conflict, triggered a surge in oil prices, resulting in elevated transportation costs and widespread price hikes across various sectors. Moreover, an extended period of drought has had a severe impact on agricultural productivity, leading to food scarcity and heightened prices. The high prevalence of unemployment has further exacerbated the financial burden on Kenyans, worsening the overall cost of living. Additionally, government policies, including tax adjustments and fuel price increments, have added to the financial strain faced by Kenyans.

“...The cost of living is very high, not because there are no commodities in the markets but because of something deeper. Food commodities are in the market, but they are expensive. We have food, but we need more money to get the food. Why? People are feasting in 5-star hotels, yet we have schools in low-income areas where children don't have food. Kenya is divided into two groups. The haves and the have-nots. Kenya has been wiped out by corruption...”- KII Respondent, Legislator

“...The cost of living has gone too high. Like some food commodities, the basic one, like maize flour, is very expensive...”- KII Respondent, NGO.

“...Sure. What comes first is the current situation in the world of war. Ukraine and Russia made the price of oil rise; the rainfall has not been there for the past three years, and yet we rely on the farmers to produce crops, so it is not enough. So, all these are factors that justify the cost of living...”- KII Respondent, FBO

8.2.2. Adequacy of Government Efforts in Addressing the High Cost of Living in Kenya

The opinions of key informants regarding the sufficiency of the government's efforts to address the high cost of living in Kenya were diverse and varied. While some informants expressed dissatisfaction with the current situation, emphasizing the need for measures such as reducing the cost of agricultural inputs, tackling manipulation of farmers, diversifying food production, and addressing fuel costs, others maintained

a more positive outlook, anticipating future achievements based on the government's initiatives to stabilize the economy through tax collection and subsidies. However, a sense of disappointment was voiced by certain informants who highlighted the unfulfilled promises of reduced commodity prices and the lack of desired outcomes from the importation of maize aimed at lowering the cost of flour.

“...It has done 10%. If you reduce the cost of agricultural inputs, like seeds and fertilizer, the government has manipulated the farmers by saying that only hybrid seeds can grow. With the normal organic farming that used to happen, depending on food as a country, we can't only depend on maize as our food. (12: 01) The government hasn't done much until we address fuel costs...”-KII Respondent, Academia

“...The current government said it would make the cost of living go down, and up to now, there has been no achievement, but maybe in the future. There are no short-term measures put across to ensure the cost of living goes down, but I believe in future, if they work as promised, the cost will go down...”- KII Respondent, NGO

“...I feel as much as the government is trying with subsidies, and they are saying they will work with our tax. They do not want to get any money from outside. That is why people feel the economy is so bad. Personally, I can say the government is trying to stabilize everything...”-KII Respondent, FBO

8.3. Satisfaction with Key National Institutions

8.3.1. The image and competence of Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission

The image and competence of the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) in Kenya elicited mixed opinions from the surveyed key informants. While some expressed concerns about the lack of independence, political influence, and favoritism in appointments, others acknowledged improvements made by the IEBC in addressing past issues during the 2022 elections. However, there were differing perspectives on the overall performance and effectiveness of the commission. Calls were made for national reconciliation, dialogue, and a focus on the nation's interests to enhance the image and competence of the IEBC.

“...This institution has proven to Kenyans that most arms are not independent. The parliament is the most powerful institution because it has the mandate of legislation. When the commission appoints these IEBC commissioners, there should be no link between the appointment and the presidency. (14:42) When you say that the president should commission a particular appointee that brings in political influence. When the commission is given a particular allocation of funds, automatically...”- KII Respondent, NGO

*“...I do compare things if I compare the 2017 and 2022 IEBC. They corrected some issues raised in 2017 and the 2022 election, and IEBC of 2022 was better than 2017 because as we watch TV, the flow of votes we saw changes as time went on. Not as in 2017 (11:04). If they can still change this issue of election and polling stations, then it will be better...”- **KII Respondent, Human Rights Org.***

*“... I am ever positive of everything. IEBC did their work. As much as we are going to talk about IEBC and changes, they did their work, and it is done. The image is fine. Whatever they will do when [Mention of Former IEBC chair] leaves office and there is another election is fine. I have not seen anything bad with them....”- **KII Respondent, Civil Society Org.***

8.3.2. Ways of Enhancing Fairness and Transparency in the Electoral Process in Kenya

The key informants provided diverse recommendations on the changes and improvements needed to ensure a more fair and transparent electoral process in Kenya. Suggestions included reducing bribery in campaigns, empowering citizens through voter education and economic empowerment, ensuring the independence of the IEBC chairperson, promoting public participation at the ward level, enforcing laws and consequences for malpractices, and prioritizing integrity and moral values in candidate selection. The need for democratic processes and acceptance of results was also emphasized. Overall, the informants emphasized the importance of transparency, citizen engagement, and adherence to ethical standards in the electoral process.

*“...we should do voter education; the government should empower citizens socially and economically so politicians can't manipulate them through handouts. They should be able to vote for leaders because they believe in their leadership style and manifesto...”- **KII Respondent, Legislator***

*“...the chairperson of IEBC should report to the citizens of the country and not the president. If he reports through the president, he isn't working independently....” - **KII Respondent, Academia***

*“...The IEBC should ensure public participation at the ward level to sensitize our people and know how elections will be conducted. Everything will be done so that we can have a say because, according to us, they discuss it with parties but neglect a common Mwananchi...”- **KII Respondent, CSO***

*“...Well, there should be every party's presence when electing the IEBC's leaders. That process has to be Democratic, so there is no complaint from any side; that would help with preparations, and the results will be acceptable to everyone....”- **KII Respondent, NGO***

8.4. Current Political Situation in Kenya

8.4.1. The most trending political TOPICS in Kenya currently

The most trending political topics in Kenya currently, as identified by key informants, encompass a range of issues. These include the cost of living, the finance bill, and the fallout within the Jubilee party due to alleged interference and power struggles. The government's housing project, the budget discussions, and the ongoing dialogue between former Prime Minister, Raila Odinga and President William Ruto are also prominent topics. Insecurity and increased taxes have sparked concerns among the public, while the finance bill itself has garnered attention as it affects both ruling party supporters and the opposition. The bill addresses the rising cost of living and taxation. Additionally, the 'Shakahola' massacre and political interference in religious matters have caught public attention, particularly among the Christian population in the coastal region. Lastly, the budget's outcome is anticipated, with potential demonstrations if it fails to align with public expectations.

"...The cost of living and the finance bill. The Jubilee party has a fallout. The current presidency has interfered with using power and management, causing the political fallout in jubilee in preparation for the next general election. The former president controls 50% of the party, and to make him weaker, he is causing the jubilee fallout..."- KII Respondent, Academia

"...One is the government's housing issue project, and another is the finance bill. 3. The budget, if there is going to be the housing or not, parliament trying to have that talk between Raila and Ruto. Another one is the trend of cultism existing in the society..."- KII Respondent, NGO

"... Insecurity, increased taxes..."- KII Respondent, Human Rights Org.

"...The budget is now trending if it does not go how we want, they will demonstrate..."- KII Respondent, FBO

8.4.2. Risks associated with the emerging political dynamics

The emerging political dynamics in Kenya are perceived by some key informants to carry certain risks. One of the concerns expressed is the fallout resulting from the finance bill, particularly regarding the equal taxation of Kenyans. This has led to dissatisfaction among the population, with fears of potential political instability. The possibility of demonstrations is also highlighted as a potential outcome of these dynamics. The focus on the finance bill, specifically the housing levy, raises questions about its effectiveness in providing decent housing and employment opportunities, as well as concerns about its potential to benefit politicians rather than the people. Additionally, the prioritization of taxing citizens for housing while there

are people suffering from hunger is seen as problematic. The general sentiment is that if the situation does not improve, there is a likelihood of widespread demonstrations as a means of expressing discontent.

*“...People will start demonstrations...”- **KII Respondent, Human Rights Org.***

*“...At the moment, the finance bill is the talk of the town, especially the housing levy. Well, I understand that you want to cut part of my salary to provide decent housing for the people, especially the ones in the slums as well as create employment. How sure are we that this is going to work for the good of the people and not to benefit the politicians? Another question is, why tax me to build houses when there are people in the country dying of hunger? Why can't you tax me to feed the hungry? ...”- **KII Respondent, FBO***

*“...We are the ones suffering. If it does now work, we shall demonstrate...”- **KII Respondent, Community Leader***

8.4.3. Familiarity with the Azimio La Umoja Demands

The Azimio la Umoja Kenya demands have elicited mixed responses and varying levels of familiarity among the surveyed key informants. While some emphasized the importance of genuine discussions with the government and the need to lower the cost of living, others view the demands as a political strategy for power-sharing and resource allocation. Specific issues highlighted include the cost of living, finance bill, taxation, scrutiny of the IEBC server, ethnic appointments, and food security. There were also suggestions for constitutional amendments to promote political inclusion and accountability. The informants' perspectives provided insight into the multifaceted nature of these demands and the underlying motivations driving them.

*“...They wanted to sit with the people in the government for a genuine discussion. I feel like the government wanted to take control of the discussion. The first demand was to lower the cost of living. The cost of living was high. When they sat down, the government wanted things done their way. They wanted to dictate how the discussion would be. When two parties come together, I feel there is a problem somewhere...”- **KII Respondent, FBO***

*“...I am not familiar, but I can guess. I am not a political fanatic, but we have heard them saying they want the server to be opened, but it is already open. They are claiming most Kalenjin are being appointed. They are talking about food and the high cost of living. About the bill in parliament for tax...”- **KII Respondent, Academia***

“...I am aware of some of them; they wanted the finance bill to be dropped completely or rethought. The new taxes are to be dropped. They want a bi-partisan talks... We don't know exactly what they want, but one of the demands is to lower the cost of living. In my opinion, that is only a proxy to get public support. The truth is they

are interested in power. They are rooting for a handshake to share government positions. The rest of the demands are for show to the public...”- KII Respondent, Civil Society

**8.4.4. The Role of Civil Society and other Stakeholders in Resolving Issues
Raised by the AZIMIO LA UMOJA Kenya Coalition**

The qualitative expert findings highlighted the important role that civil society and other stakeholders can play in resolving the issues raised by the Azimio La Umoja Kenya coalition. Although the civil society's intervention was limited, with only the national council of the churches of Kenya advocating for dialogue, it is believed that civil society could have supported dialogue as the best means of communication. They could ensure that both the government and Azimio la Umoja engage in discussions, bringing their own solutions to the table. However, concerns were raised about potential chaos if sensitive issues were discussed. In addition, civil society should provide unbiased information, conduct awareness campaigns, and collaborate with stakeholders. The media should strive for non-partisanship, focusing on factual reporting, while dialogue was considered paramount for resolving conflicts and advancing the interests of Kenya as a whole.

“...Tell people the real thing. Let them not be biased to one side. If they are talking about the high cost of living, it is less than a year since the government was elected. A child cannot be born and start walking today. The government had no money by that time...”- KII Respondent, Academia

“...They should do a lot of awareness campaigns. Just following the constitution and other laws...”- KII Respondent, NGO

“...Media should be non-partisan. During the campaigns, some media houses aligned with someone they thought would win the elections...”- KII Respondent, Academia

**8.4.5. The Role of the Public and Media in Addressing Azimio La Umoja
Kenya's Concerns**

The findings underscored the importance of quality in the role of the public and the media in facilitating constructive dialogue and addressing the issues raised by the Azimio La Umoja Kenya coalition. The recommendations highlighted the need for comprehensive, unbiased, and transparent media coverage that includes diverse perspectives. Truthfulness, independence from external influences, and revealing hidden information were deemed essential. The public was encouraged to stay informed, responsibly exercise their sovereignty, and actively engage in decision-making processes. However, challenges such as media control, police brutality, bias, and limited press freedom were identified as significant obstacles. The findings emphasized the importance of neutrality, factual reporting, and responsible journalism as fundamental to fostering constructive dialogue and resolving the coalition's concerns in Kenya.

“...The media has a big role in any given organization, nation, or country. The problem with the media in our country, especially the journalists, they have a problem with hunger. The communications center asks the media not to air certain events like the demonstrations. The president and the executive control the media in the communications of Kenya. Dictatorship limits the role of media because someone is serving the president's interest and not the people. Another problem is police brutality...”- **KII Respondent, Civil society**

“...Media is another problem because they are so biased. They keep repeating something that has happened before and reflecting back and forth. They like pointing out where there is a crisis. If a statement were said, they would not bring the entire statement...”- **KII Respondent, FBO**

“...They are also sometimes cut off from addressing Kenya, like the issues of Shakahola; they were denied freedom. They can help us, but they do not have freedom...”- **KII Respondent, Women Group Leader**

“...For me, the media should be neutral and report the scenes the way they are; the media can help and mislead; they remain neutral and report facts...”- **KII Respondent, NGO**

8.4.6. The role of demonstrations in expressing dissent and holding those in power accountable

The study established varied sentiments on the role of demonstrations in expressing dissent and holding those in power accountable. While some participants acknowledged demonstrations as a constitutional right and a last resort for citizens when other channels fail, others expressed concerns about the potential negative consequences, such as violence and property destruction. Adherence to peaceful and lawful demonstrations was emphasized, and dialogue was seen as a preferred approach by some. Overall, the findings highlighted the importance of balancing the right to demonstrate with maintaining peace, accountability, and constructive engagement with those in power, as presented below:

“...Demonstration is citizens' final resort for action if the leaders have failed to deliver. It is a right provided for by the Constitution. Demonstration is a powerful tool that the government always suppresses. If suppressed, then we can end up having a civil war because people will be tired and take matters to the extreme...”- **KII Respondent, Academia**

“...I support demonstrations, but to some extent...the negative side of demonstrations is when the people who demonstrate start looting, the government starts harassing them, so we PLWD our businesses will be destroyed...”- **KII Respondent, Community Leader**

*“...The demonstrators have to follow the rules of demonstration and picketing. You are not supposed to carry any weapon. If you want to cry, just cry but do not touch anybody's property. Pass your message and talk to the media...”- **KII Respondent, FBO***

*“...Protests are a constitutional right all over the world, both locally and internationally. We all protests. Our wives and children protest when they don't like the decisions the parents are making for them. With that said, you can't deter public demonstrations from happening in a country both at the national and county level. That is a way of communicating with our leaders because we always don't have access to them...”- **KII Respondent, Civil Society***

8.5. Political Party Fall Out and Dynamics Cross Overs

8.5.1. Potential Causes and Consequences of Political Party Fallouts and Cross-Overs in Kenya

The key informant interviews examined the causes and consequences of political party fallouts and cross-overs in Kenya's political landscape. The informants highlighted that these shifts were often driven by a combination of political ambitions, financial incentives, tribalism, societal demands, and personal relationships. The allure of power and financial gain, along with pressures from constituents, could lead politicians to switch alliances. However, the consequences of such actions were significant. They resulted in a concentration of power, limited checks and balances, and potential challenges to governance and accountability. Understanding these dynamics was crucial for fostering political stability, promoting transparency, and strengthening democratic institutions in Kenya.

*“...It is because of the political interest and wanting a superior presidency. Somebody's interest is to be the president now and the president in the future. By having many MPs, you become the president. Someone is using the financial muscle to ensure a fallout in the Azimio coalition so that they can rule and console the economy. The members of parliament are singing to his tune. The politicians are crossing sides because they have been given offers...”- **KII Respondent, Civil Society***

*“...We are returning to the Moi regime of one Kenya, one nation. They are falling out and joining one team. I feel that part is not right. We need multi-party for checks and balances...”- **KII Respondent, Academia***

*“...If offered the right price, most of these politicians in the opposition will switch their political alliance. Rumors are that those in opposition were paid 1 million shillings to vote for the bill. In the past, they have been offered 100k to vote for bills suggested by the ruling party. Our politicians are cheap, and they are after money....”- **KII Respondent, NGO***

*“...The consequences will be; if the executive controls 90% of the government, all the bills presented to parliament will pass, including extending the president's term. He can rule to death. Members of the opposition should stay in the opposition like what we see in SA. The South African opposition is strong; you can see how they move even in demonstrations...”- **KII Respondent, Community Leader***

*“...First, I would say tribalism; for example, if I come from a community where I am, we have one tribe, which is the majority, you will get the leaders who are at the top. There are from one tribe leading, and other leaders follow that side. Because of tribalism, you will get a politician moving from one party to another, not because of the needs of the citizens but their interest since they know that the party will favor them...”- **KII Respondent, FBO***

8.5.2. Enhancing Internal Structures and Preventing Political Fallouts and Cross-Overs in Kenyan Political Parties

The survey provided in-depth insights on enhancing internal structures and preventing political fallouts and cross-overs in Kenyan political parties. The main highlights include:

- 1) **Regulatory Compliance and Accountability:** The informants emphasized the need for political parties to adhere to established rules and regulations. They stressed the importance of accountability and holding parties responsible for their actions. By enforcing strict regulations and ensuring compliance, political parties can foster transparency and promote trust among their members and the public.
- 2) **Independent Oversight Bodies:** One proposed solution is the establishment of independent bodies tasked with monitoring and regulating political parties. These watchdog organizations would serve as impartial entities, overseeing party activities, and ensuring adherence to ethical standards and internal democracy. Such bodies would help prevent abuse of power and address grievances in a fair and unbiased manner.
- 3) **Consensus Building and Conflict Resolution:** To prevent fallouts and cross-overs, political parties should prioritize consensus building and effective conflict resolution mechanisms. Encouraging open dialogue and collaboration among party members can help address internal disputes and prevent them from escalating to the point of party divisions. This approach fosters unity and encourages a shared vision within the party.
- 4) **Citizen Empowerment:** The informants emphasized the crucial role of citizens in shaping the political landscape. Political parties should actively engage with their constituents and prioritize their interests and needs. By placing citizens at the center of their agenda, parties can reduce the influence of personal interests and financial inducements that often lead to political cross-overs. Citizen empowerment through voter education and participation is essential for creating a democratic and accountable political environment.

- 5) **Strengthening Party Acts and Regulations:** Informants highlighted the significance of robust legal frameworks governing political parties. They suggested the need for comprehensive acts passed by Parliament to establish and enforce clear rules for party conduct. These acts would provide guidelines on party membership, minimum duration of membership before switching parties, and consequences for non-compliance. Strengthening party acts would create a more stable and structured political environment.

“...They must be regulated and stand to their rules and interests so that the government can be held accountable because somebody has to be there to check what is happening...”- KII Respondent, Leader-CBO

“...By appointing independent bodies that will be watchdogs for their parties...”- KII Respondent, Academia

“...If there is an issue, they should come together through consensus to resolve it...”- KII Respondent, Civil Society

“...They have to depend on the citizens. They have no power without the citizens. Politicians can easily cross sides to serve their interests. Money gives you power, and you can easily manipulate politicians with offers to move to your side. Only citizens have the power to bring change through the ballot...”- KII Respondent, NGO

8.5.3. Role of Political Parties in Shaping Public Policy in Kenya

The qualitative interviews shed light on the role that political parties should play in shaping public policy in Kenya. The main issues raised include the need for political parties to foster understanding and unity, actively contribute to policy-making, protect the interests of citizens, and prioritize leadership development. It was emphasized that civic education is crucial to empower political parties and enable them to fulfill their roles effectively. Additionally, political parties should engage with grassroots communities, garner support from the public, and advocate for political reforms that enhance accountability and prevent interference from the presidency. Ultimately, the objective is for political leaders to be accountable to the citizens and prioritize the common good.

“...There should be more understanding than fighting to make Kenya and tribalism be stopped...”- KII Respondent, FBO

“...Political parties should be more active and contribute... We have political parties and major political parties, but their contribution to policy is nearly negligible. The government makes Policies and rules meant to protect the ruling class. They aren't protecting the interests of the citizens...”- KII Respondent, Academia

“...They should be taught on matters of leadership...”- KII Respondent, Human Rights Org.

“...We must have some civic education to empower those parties to know what roles they are supposed to play in this country...”- KII Respondent, Civil Society

8.6. Government Treatment of Officials from The Previous Regime

8.6.1. Evaluation of the Kenyan government's approach to dealing with officials from the previous regime

The evaluation of the Kenyan government's approach to dealing with officials from the previous regime presents a mixed range of opinions. Some key informants acknowledged the government's efforts in reconciling the country and promoting peace, while others expressed dissatisfaction and the need for healing. Views varied on the fairness of the approach, with some criticizing the perceived harassment of certain individuals and the absence of legal processes, while others perceived it as fair. There were also mentions of disrespect and spiteful treatment. The consideration of individuals from the previous regime for positions in the current government was recognized as a positive aspect.

“...The previous governments, despite their challenges, I can say that the government tried their best to reconcile the country and the political parties and ensured peace prevailed. That is why they had to make some other steps that were never expected, to reach out to the political leaders and created some other misunderstanding within the government, but then what mattered by then was peace prevailing, what we see in our people is still many people are it satisfied and they need to heal from what took place...”- KII Respondent, Civil Society

“...I do like how they do it, but that one of Kibaki was a good one, and when Kibaki was in power it was good, but this current I don't support it...”- KII Respondent, Legislator (MCA)

“...I think they are fair and are not making them feel inferior...”- KII Respondent, Human Rights Org.

“...It is disrespectful and spiteful to the previous regime...”- KII Respondent, FBO

8.6.2. Factors Contributing to the Selective Targeting of Officials from the Previous Regime

The selective targeting of officials from the previous regime in Kenya is believed to be influenced by various factors. These include political fallout, particularly in relation to ambitions for the presidency and personal interests. Revenge is also mentioned as a motivation, with some officials seeking to inflict on others what they themselves experienced under previous regimes. Self-interest plays a role as well, with attempts to address past monopolies and control certain sectors. The influence of politics, laws, and legislation is highlighted, emphasizing the presence of flawed laws and the need for improvements in the political parties' act. Additionally, the allocation of positions and the power dynamics within the government were cited as contributing factors, creating a lack of moral integrity in the process.

“...Political fallout; when the former prime minister and president formed a coalition to bring peace, [mention of current president] aspirations to become president became evident. He pulled himself out to work on his interest in becoming president. He is now on a revenge mission...”- KII Respondent, CBO leader

“...Revenge. Some of them were victims of the other regimes. Since they are in this regime, they want those who left to feel what they felt...”- KII Respondent, Legislator (MCA)

8.6.3. Evaluating the Government's efforts to ensure Justice in cases involving officials from the previous regime: Suggestions for Improvement

The evaluation of the Kenyan government's approach to dealing with officials from the previous regime revealed a range of perspectives. Some informants believed that the government has prioritized peace and reconciliation, even if it has created misunderstandings. Others expressed dissatisfaction and perceived selective targeting, harassment, and a lack of fairness in the treatment of these officials. Factors contributing to this selective targeting include: political fallout, revenge, and self-interest. Further, concerns were raised about dropped corruption cases and the need for stronger evidence in court. While opinions varied, there was a consensus that more should be done to ensure justice is served. Recommendations included strengthening anti-corruption efforts, upholding judicial independence, enhancing transparency and accountability, and avoiding political interference.

“...No; when the Kenya Kwanza coalition took over, how many corruption cases were dropped? Where is the person who dropped the cases? He has been rewarded with a bigger office. As a Kenyan citizen, nothing is being done to serve justice to officials in the previous regime...”- KII Respondent, Legislator (MCA)

“...That is related to Judiciary. I cannot talk much about Judiciary. Some cases are thrown out of Court because they lack evidence. It shows some were accused falsely since the cases have been dropped out of Court...”- KII Respondent, Academia

“...The effort is there, but I think more is needed; much has to be done...”- KII Respondent, Academia

8.6.4. Ways of addressing the Negative Impacts of Increased Political Polarization on Kenyan Communities

The findings emphasized the imperative for inclusive political appointments, urging the government to transcend tribal affiliations and prioritize the welfare of the entire nation. Furthermore, it underscored the significance of adopting a candid approach in addressing issues, encouraging an honest assessment of

challenges to foster effective solutions. The findings also emphasized the vital role of public participation in shaping decisions, advocating for a more inclusive and democratic process. Additionally, it called for widespread political awareness campaigns to educate citizens on the importance of objectivity and integrity in leadership, and the urgent need to eradicate corrupt elements from positions of power during future elections. The key informants also recognized the influential role of various stakeholders, including religious institutions, in promoting awareness and cooperation among diverse groups.

*“...The president should be president to all. We have the appointments of officials from the president's tribesmen. We have 42 communities, yet 90% of those appointed to govern parastatals in this country are from one tribe. Political appointments should be for the country, not for the ruling party leader. This country can't be ruled by only two regions, the rift valley and the Central region. The CAS and cabinet minister positions were awarded to people from the two regions. A few were given to other regions, say 2 in the political awards. That is a way of dividing Kenyans. Remember, as a leader, you serve the people, not the political party. Political appointments should be cut across all regions to unite Kenyans...” - **KII Respondent, CSO Representative***

*“... Just the reality check. If something is wrong, let's call it wrong and see how they are going to deal with it. If we want to sugarcoat everything, we will not end up well...”- **KII Respondent, FBO***

*“... Public participation is needed to collect ideas from the public...”- **KII Respondent, Human Rights Org.***

*“...National Reconciliation...”- **KII Respondent, Academia***

FINDINGS BY COUNTY AND KEY DEMOGRAPHICS



Detailed - Impact of Emerging Political D