



Post-Election Analysis:

Prepared by Ipsos Synovate Kenya

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- Objectives
- County outcomes: how close were the results of the last Ipsos poll, and what explains the difference?
- Presidential race outcome: how close was the outcome to the last Ipsos poll, and what explains the difference?

The key objectives of this presentation is as follows:

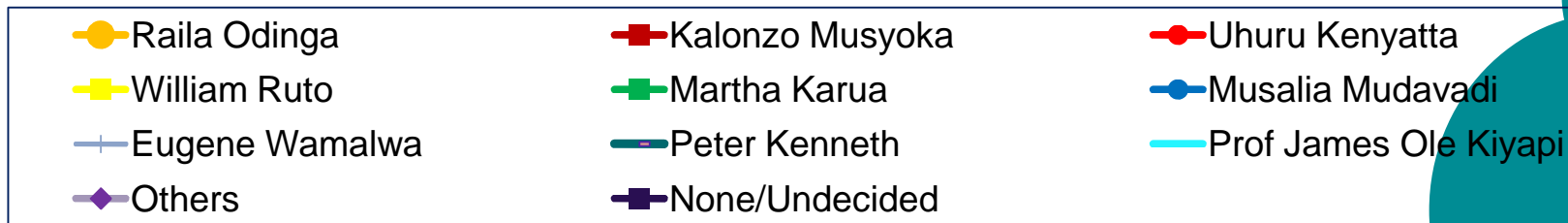
- ⇒ To show the difference between the last (22nd February) Ipsos poll and the IEBC election results
- ⇒ To explain the differences between the two

Key Assumption

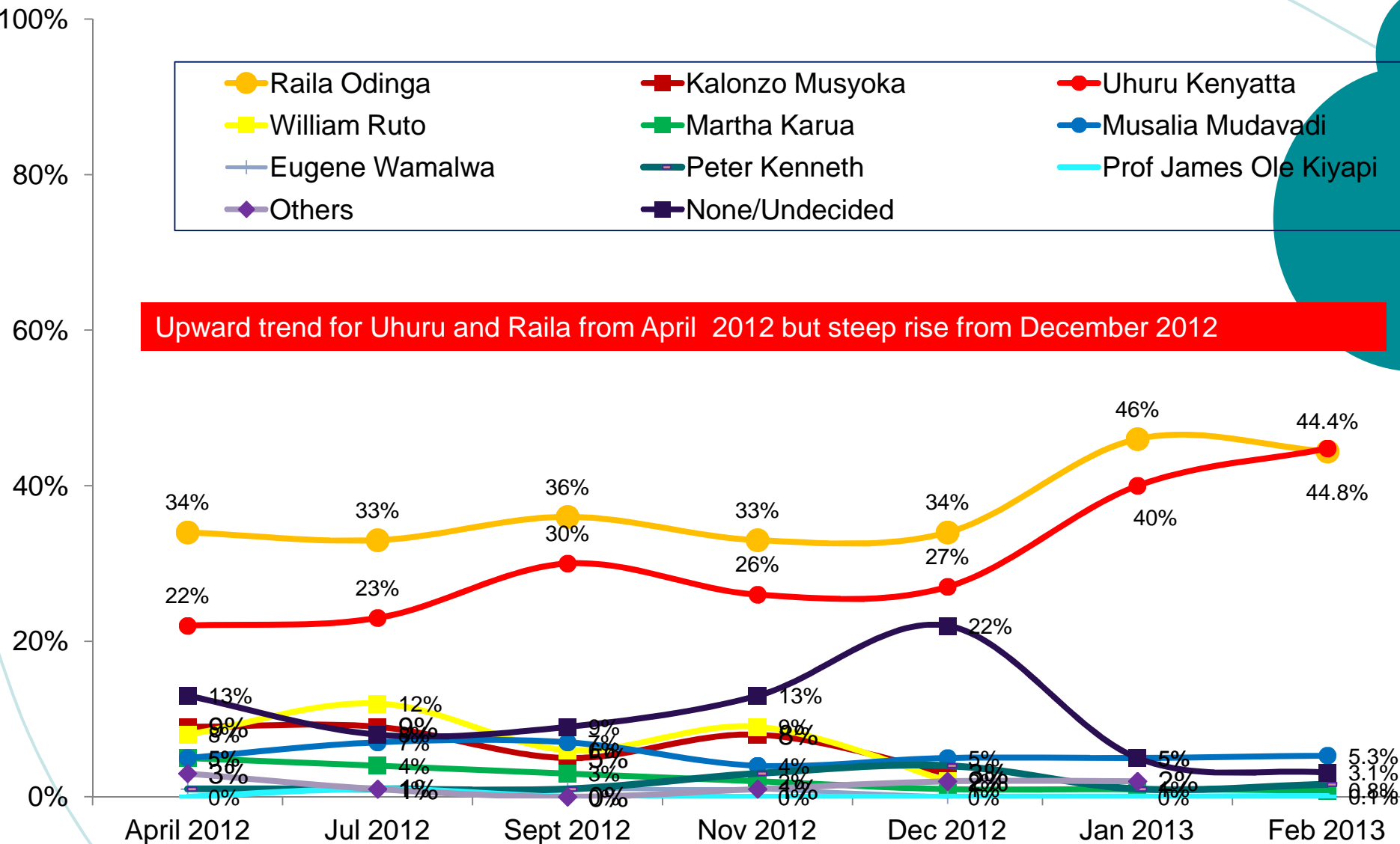
That the IEBC figures with regard to both turnout and results are accurate
(in light of the pending court petition)

National / Presidential Ipsos Poll vis a vis IEBC Results

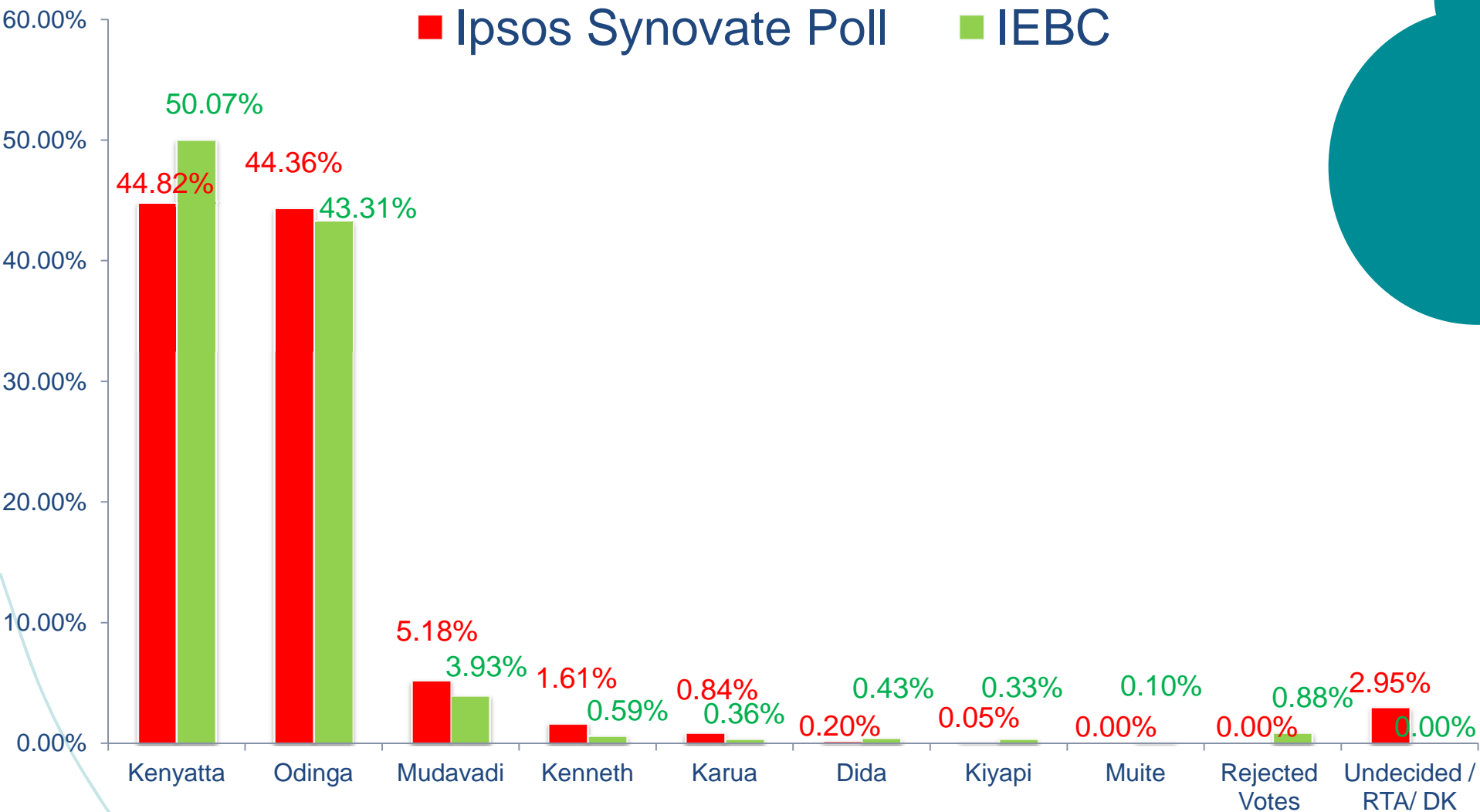
Opinion Polls Trends from April 2012 Ipsos last poll (Released 22nd February 2013)



Upward trend for Uhuru and Raila from April 2012 but steep rise from December 2012



IEBC Results vis a vis Final Ipsos poll (Released 22nd February 2013)



IEBC Results vis a vis Final Ipsos poll (Released 22nd February 2013)

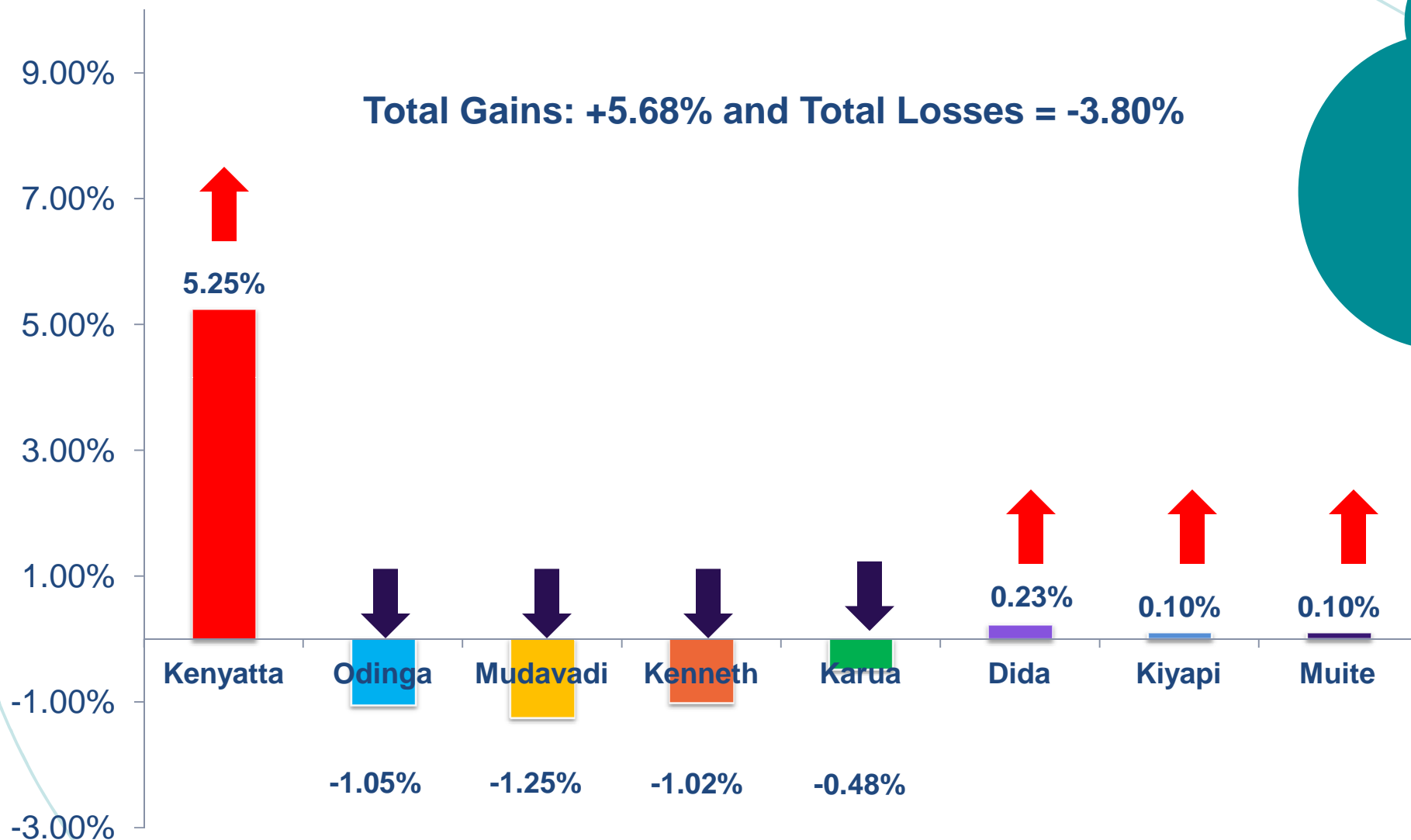
Presidential Candidate	Ipsos Polls Results for February 2013	IEBC Results	Variance	Error margin
Uhuru Kenyatta	44.82%	50.07%	5.25%	Higher than error margin
Raila Odinga	44.36%	43.31%	-1.05%	Within error margin
Musalia Mudavadi	5.18%	3.93%	-1.25%	Within error margin
Peter Kenneth	1.61%	0.59%	-1.02%	Within error margin
Martha Karua	0.84%	0.36%	-0.48%	Within error margin
Mohamed Dida	0.20%	0.43%	0.23%	Within error margin
James Ole Kiyapi	0.05%	0.33%	0.28%	Within error margin
Paul Muite	0.00%	0.10%	0.10%	Within error margin
Rejected Votes (IEBC)	0.00%	0.88%	0.88%	N/A
Undecided (Polls)	2.95%	0.00%	-2.95%	N/A

Notes:

- The total positive variance amount to +6.74%
- The total negative variances amount to -6.75%

Variation between IEBC Results and Ipsos Final Poll Results (Released 22nd February 2013)

Total Gains: +5.68% and Total Losses = -3.80%



Ipsos County Categories and Results vis a vis IEBC Results

Constitution requirement: 25% in 24 out of 47 counties

Constitutional requirements for a presidential candidate - win:

Article 138/4 of the Constitution stipulates that a presidential candidate will be declared a winner if she/he obtains at least 25% in more than half (i.e. 24) of the 47 counties is obtained (as well as 50% + 1 vote)

Candidate	Ipsos Prediction	IEBC Outcome
Kenyatta	29	32
Odinga	33	29

Conclusion: Ipsos poll achieved a high level of precision at the county level

- 91% correct with regards to Kenya's counties
- 88% correct with regards to Odinga's counties

Definitions:

- **Battleground:** where there is a difference of less than 10% between the top 2 candidates
- **Contested:** where the difference between the top two candidates is 11% - 20%
- **Stronghold:** where the difference between the top two candidates is more than 20%

Jubilee Strongholds – Accurate Ipsos' Prediction in 18 counties

(Counties where the gap is less than 50% margin shown in red)

* = Fewer than 100 respondents (higher margin of error)

	County	Ipsos Synovate Opinion Poll Classification	IEBC Outcome (Presidential)	Range between Kenyatta and Odinga
1	Baringo*	JUBILEE	JUBILEE	79%
2	Bomet	JUBILEE	JUBILEE	88%
3	Elgeyo-Marakwet *	JUBILEE	JUBILEE	87%
4	Embu*	JUBILEE	JUBILEE	81%
5	Isiolo*	JUBILEE	JUBILEE	25%
6	Kericho	JUBILEE	JUBILEE	84%
7	Kiambu	JUBILEE	JUBILEE	82%
8	Kirinyaga	JUBILEE	JUBILEE	95%
9	Laikipia*	JUBILEE	JUBILEE	72%
10	Mandera*	JUBILEE	JUBILEE	89%
11	Meru	JUBILEE	JUBILEE	81%
12	Murang'a	JUBILEE	JUBILEE	94%
13	Nakuru	JUBILEE	JUBILEE	63%
14	Nandi	JUBILEE	JUBILEE	63%
15	Nyandarua	JUBILEE	JUBILEE	96%
16	Nyeri	JUBILEE	JUBILEE	94%
17	Tharaka*	JUBILEE	JUBILEE	87%
18	Uasin-Gishu	JUBILEE	JUBILEE	47%

CORD Strongholds – Accurate Ipsos' Prediction in 16 counties

(Counties where the gap is less than 50% margin shown in red)

* = Fewer than 100 respondents (higher margin of error)

	County	Ipsos Synovate Opinion Poll Classification	IEBC Outcome (Presidential)	Range between Odinga and Kenyatta
1	Busia	CORD	CORD	82%
2	Homabay	CORD	CORD	99%
3	Kilifi	CORD	CORD	73%
4	Kisii	CORD	CORD	41%
5	Kisumu	CORD	CORD	96%
6	Kitui	CORD	CORD	65%
7	Kwale*	CORD	CORD	77%
8	Machakos	CORD	CORD	76%
9	Makueni	CORD	CORD	86%
10	Migori	CORD	CORD	76%
11	Mombasa	CORD	CORD	46%
12	Nyamira*	CORD	CORD	37%
13	Siaya	CORD	CORD	98%
14	Taita-Taveta*	CORD	CORD	69%
15	Tana-River*	CORD	CORD	26%
16	Turkana*	CORD	CORD	38%

Ipsos' predictions in the remaining 13 counties vis a vis the outcome

* = Fewer than 100 respondents (higher margin of error)

		Ipsos Synovate Opinion Poll		% variation between
	Name	Classification	IEBC Outcome (Presidential)	top 2 candidates
1	Samburu*	BATTLEGROUND (CORD)	CONTESTED (CORD)	17%
2	Kakamega	BATTLEGROUND (CORD)	STRONGHOLD (CORD)	33%
3	West-Pokot *	BATTLEGROUND (CORD)	STRONGHOLD (JUBILEE)	50%
4	Kajiado	BATTLEGROUND (JUBILEE)	BATTLEGROUND (JUBILEE)	8%
5	Trans-Nzoia*	CONTESTED (CORD)	CONTESTED (CORD)	17%
6	Bungoma	CONTESTED (CORD)	STRONGHOLD (CORD)	41%
7	Nairobi	CONTESTED (CORD)	BATTLEGROUND (CORD)	2%
8	Vihiga *	CONTESTED (CORD)	BATTLEGROUND (AMANI)	4%
9	Garissa*	STRONGHOLD (CORD)	BATTLEGROUND (CORD)	3%
10	Marsabit*	STRONGHOLD (CORD)	BATTLEGROUND (CORD)	2%
11	Wajir *	STRONGHOLD (CORD)	CONTESTED (CORD)	11%
12	Lamu*	STRONGHOLD (JUBILEE)	BATTLEGROUND (CORD)	8%
13	Narok	STRONGHOLD (JUBILEE)	BATTLEGROUND (CORD)	4%

- 4 counties had been classified as battlegrounds ; 1 turned out as contested county , 1 as a battleground, 1 as a Jubilee Stronghold and the other as CORD stronghold
- For the 4 counties previously categorized as contested, 2 turned out as battlegrounds, 1 a CORD stronghold and the other as a Jubilee Stronghold
- 3 counties had been classified as CORD Strongholds but turned out to have 2 battlegrounds and 1 as a contested county
- 2 counties previously classified as Jubilee Strongholds turned out as a contested and battlegrounds

Rejected Votes: By County Categories of the 3 main coalitions

Rejected Votes	Total
CORD Strongholds (18)	45,356
Jubilee Strongholds (19)	40,035
Battlegrounds (5)	16,729
Contested counties (4)	4,766
Amani Stronghold (1)	2,079
Diaspora	10
Total	108,975

Voter Presidential Turnout Analysis: Can it be Measured?

Votes Obtained in the Different Counties / Categories (As determined by IEBC results)

IEBC-Based Categories	Registered Voters	Kenyatta's votes	Odinga's votes
Jubilee Strongholds (19)	5,730,281	4,545,774	456,041
CORD Strongholds (18)	5,482,470	505,309	3,611,998
Amani Stronghold (1)	202,822	2,542	77,825
Battlegrounds (5)	2,515,703	991,832	1,016,202
Contested (4)	418,620	127,025	177,256
Diaspora (1)	2,637	951	1,224
Total	14,352,533	6,173,433	5,340,546

- 79% of the registered voters in Kenya's 19 Strongholds voted for him, and 9% of voters did so in Odinga's 18 Strongholds
- 66% of the registered voters in Odinga's Strongholds voted for him, while 10% of them voted for Kenya.

Uhuru vs. Raila: Top 20 'Vote-Basket' Counties (Registered Voters)

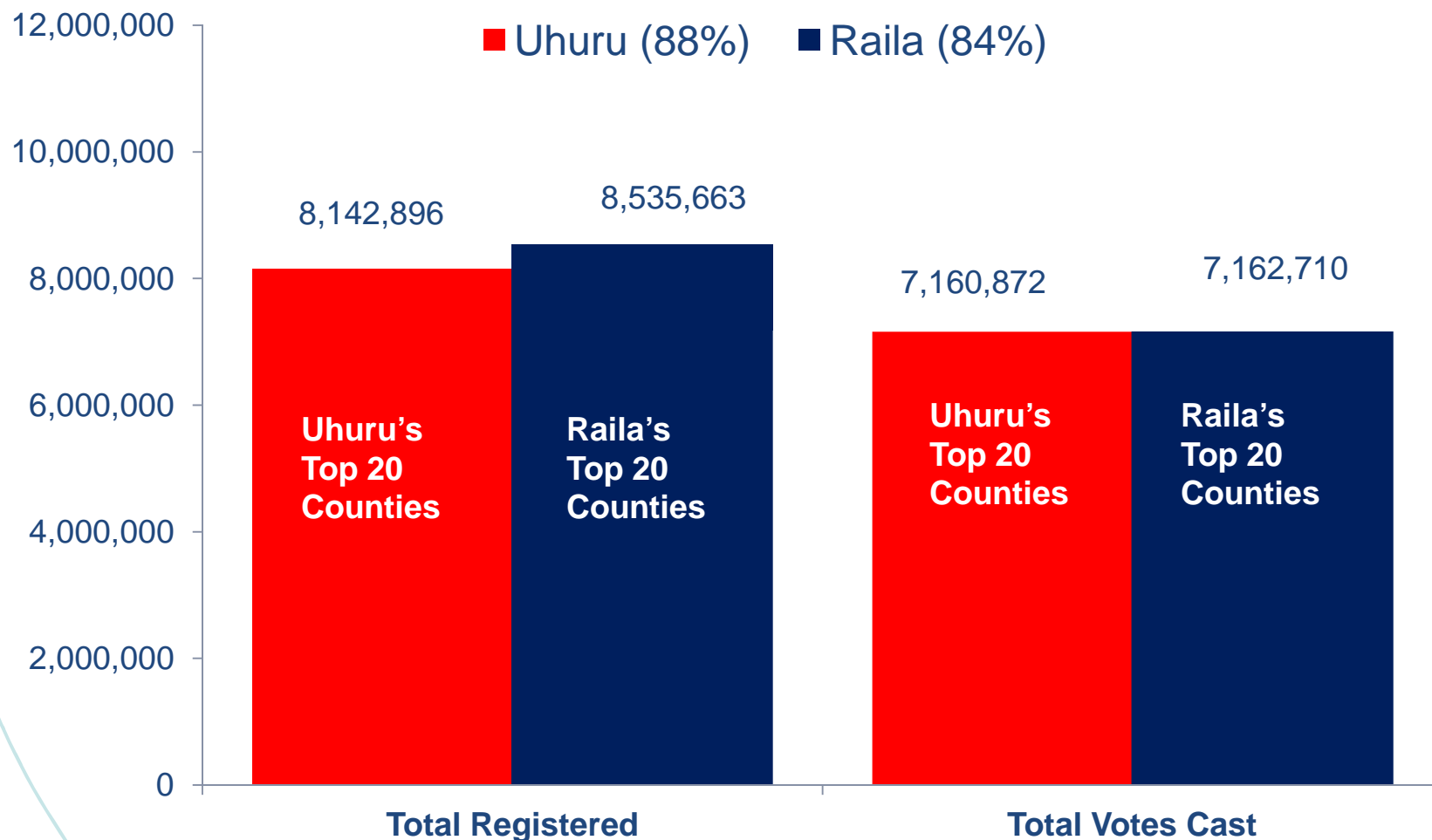
Uhuru's Top 20 Counties: 8,142,896
Kiambu
Nairobi
Nakuru
Murang'a
Meru
Nyeri
Kericho
Uasin Gishu
Nyandarua
Kirinyaga
Bomet
Nandi
Embu
Kajiado
Baringo
Laikipia
Tharaka Nithi
Elgeyo-Marakwet
Narok
Kisii

5 out of 40
counties are
in both
"baskets"

Raila's Top 20 Counties: 8,5353,663
Nairobi
Kisumu
Machakos
Homa Bay
Kakamega
Siaya
Kisii
Makueni
Migori
Kitui
Mombasa
Busia
Bungoma
Kilifi
Nyamira
Narok
Kajiado
Nakuru
Kwale
Uasin Gishu

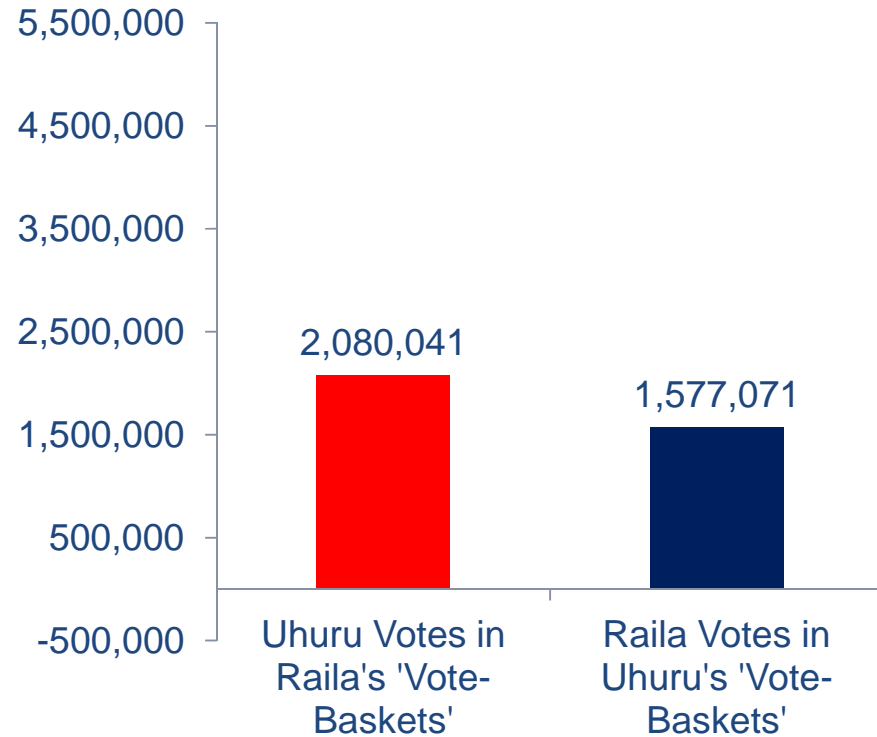
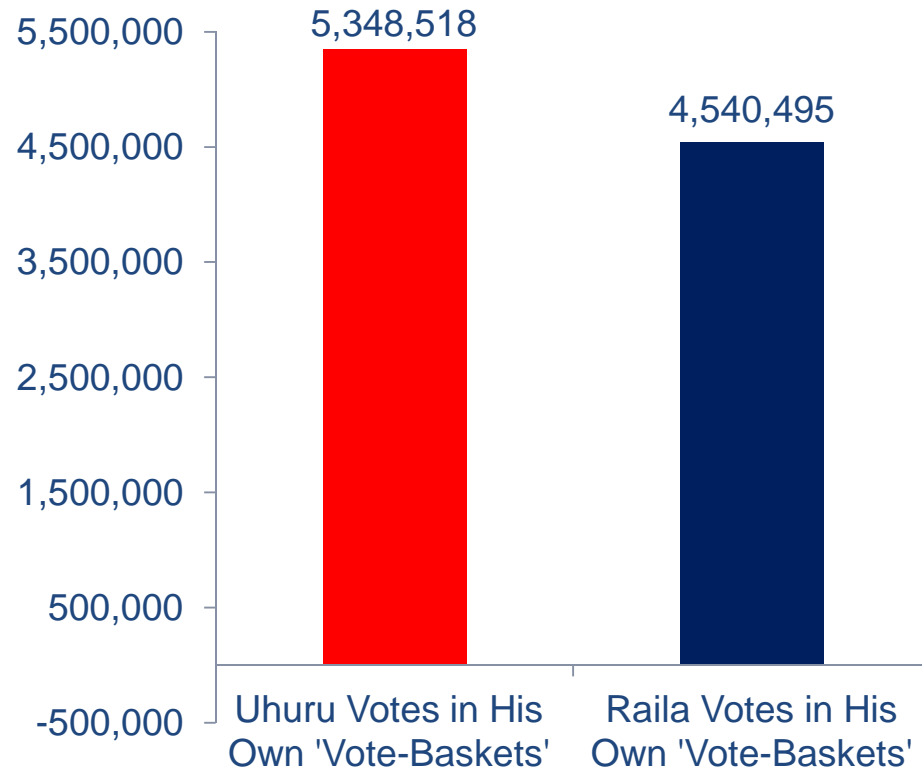
Uhuru vs. Raila:

Total Registered Voters and Total Votes Cast as a Function of Average Turnout in Their 20 Biggest Vote-Basket Counties



Uhuru vs. Raila:

Total Votes Won by Each Candidate in Their Own/ Their Rival's 20 Biggest 'Vote-Basket' Counties



Uhuru vs. Raila: Top 15 ‘Vote-Basket’ Counties (Registered Voters) Excluding the 5 counties that were among the top 20 ‘Vote Baskets’ for Uhuru and Raila

Uhuru’s Top 15 Counties: 4,738,746
Kiambu
Murang'a
Meru
Nyeri
Kericho
Uasin Gishu
Nyandarua
Kirinyaga
Bomet
Nandi
Embu
Baringo
Laikipia
Tharaka Nithi
Elgeyo-Marakwet

5 out of 40
counties are in
both “baskets”

Raila’s Top 15 Counties: 5,131,513
Kisumu
Machakos
Homa Bay
Kakamega
Siaya
Makueni
Migori
Kitui
Mombasa
Busia
Bungoma
Kilifi
Nyamira
Kwale
Uasin Gishu

Total average turnout: 90%

Total average turnout: 84%

Conclusions

Comparing IEBC final results with Ipsos Synovate poll:

- ⇒ Uhuru obtained +5.25% more (50.07% - 44.82%)
- ⇒ Odinga obtained -1.05% less (43.31% - 44.36%)

■ How can these differences be explained?

- ⇒ Two factors:

Main Factor :Differential voter turnout especially in each of their Strongholds

- Turnout in Uhuru's 15/20 largest vote-basket counties (90% of total registered voters 8,142,896)
- Turnout in Odinga's 15/20 largest vote-basket counties (84% of total registered voters 8,535,663)

N.B.: 5 counties are in both Uhuru and Raila's top twenty "vote-basket" counties and are excluded from this comparison

Comparing IEBC final results with Ipsos Synovate poll:

Minor Factor: Some % of the votes from the other 6 candidates (3.82%) moved elsewhere

- The outcome of a closely contested election depends upon:
 - ⇒ Voter registration mobilization
 - ⇒ Voter turnout
 - ⇒ ‘Voting correctly ‘ (i.e. minimizing spoilt / rejected ballots)
 - ⇒ Error-free electoral administration
- The accuracy of opinion polls can be affected by voter turnout
- Opinion polls can be reliably used by political parties for their strategy

And remember:

97% of our selected respondents claimed to be registered voters, but what % really were?!!!

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