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Will there Really be a Run-off in 2013?

Prepared by The Infotrak Public Policy and Governance Research Division

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Will the Kenyan Presidential Elections really result in a Run-off? Perhaps not!

By Angela Ambitho, Founder & CEO Infotrak Research and Consulting

Over the past year, pollsters, political analysts and the media alike have predicted a situation where the Kenyan elections would result in a run-off. This has largely been informed by presidential popularity poll statistics which suggest that if elections were to be held today, no candidate would garner the requisite fifty plus one of overall votes cast and at least twenty five percent in twenty four out of the forty seven counties to attain a first round win. Indeed based on these statistics, the IEBC has been working round the clock to ensure that they are prepared to manage both the first round elections and the anticipated run-off poll.

My prognosis is that perhaps we may have all been jumping the gun and making conclusions way too early about Kenya holding two elections in 2013. The arguments on a possible run off have primarily been based on statistics which assume that the presidential aspirants are running on a solitary ticket. This will certainly not be the case, and the law is crystal clear on this. Article 148 of the constitution of Kenya 2010 provides that in a presidential election, each candidate shall nominate a person who is qualified for nomination for election as president, as a candidate for deputy president. There shall be no separate nomination process for the deputy president. In other words, unlike the past elections this time round each presidential candidate shall nominate a deputy president or running mate prior to the elections. As the candidate submits their presidential nomination papers to the IEBC in January, their documents will contain the names of the presidential candidate and their running mate. However, should the presidential candidate and the prospective running mate come from different political parties, they will be required to deposit their pre- election agreement with the registrar of political parties by December 4th 2012.

Choice of Running Mate as key game changer in Kenyan elections

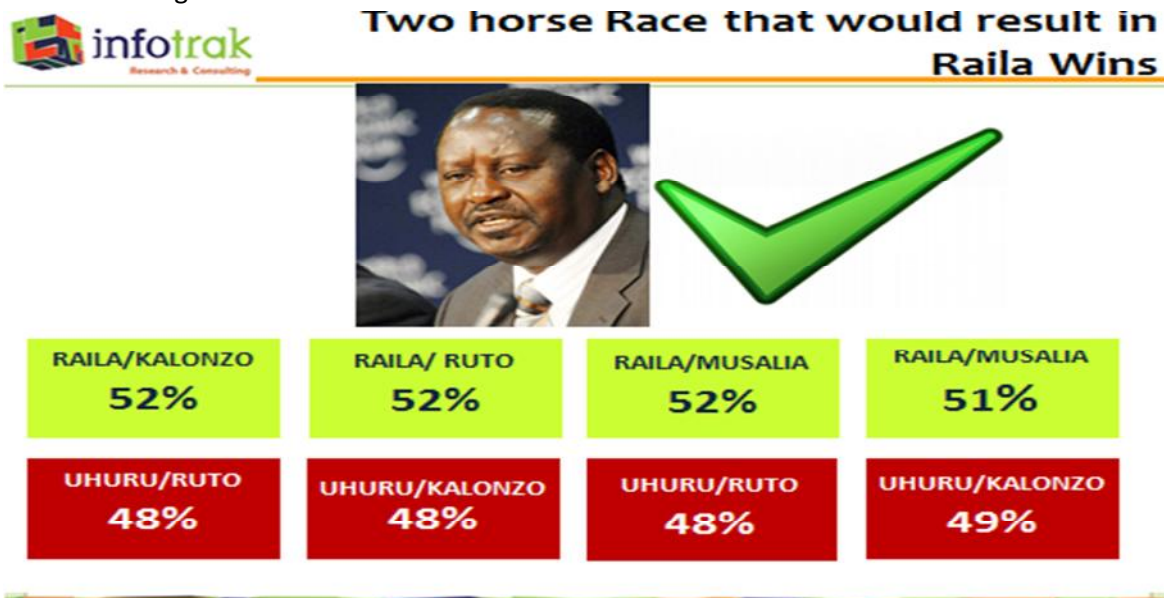
The choice of running mate will certainly be a game changer in the Kenyan presidential elections. Using the hypotheses that one, the election will ultimately end up in a two horse race and two that the top two contenders currently leading in popularity will amalgamate support around them from the other contenders we posed the following question:

According to various opinion polls, the two top contenders in the Kenyan presidential race are Raila Odinga and Uhuru Kenyatta. Assuming that they were to pick their running mates in a two horse race contest, which duo would you vote for in the following scenarios if elections were held today?

Interestingly the results in a two horse where Raila leads one ticket and Uhuru leads another ticket point at clear wins in some scenarios and political dead heats in others. What is evident is that a presidential election with the two luminaries will be fierce and hotly contested. Ultimately there is likely to be a winner.

Raila Wins

The following are scenarios where Raila Odinga and his running mate win against Uhuru Kenyatta and his running mate:



A Raila/Kalonzo ticket would today win against an Uhuru/Ruto ticket as would a Raila/Ruto ticket win against an Uhuru /Kalonzo ticket. In other words Kalonzo has a slightly better chance of remaining in power today if he partners with Raila against an Uhuru/Ruto ticket. A similar likelihood of winning exists between a Raila/Musalia ticket against an Uhuru/Ruto ticket. A Raila/Ruto ticket would also today win against an Uhuru Kalonzo ticket.

Raila wins by region

A comprehensive analysis of the popularity in a two horse race sheds the following light:



Raila/Running mate Victory by region

	Coast	N. Eastern	Eastern	Central	R. Valley	Nyanza	Western	Nairobi	Total
Raila / Kalonzo Ticket	72%	83%	54%	24%	41%	66%	51%	63%	52%
Uhuru / Ruto Ticket	28%	17%	46%	76%	59%	34%	49%	37%	48%
Raila / Ruto Ticket	62%	43%	30%	24%	61%	80%	52%	65%	52%
Uhuru / Kalonzo Ticket	38%	57%	70%	76%	39%	20%	48%	35%	48%
Raila / Musalia Ticket	64%	61%	48%	30%	44%	74%	61%	65%	52%
Uhuru / Ruto Ticket	36%	39%	52%	70%	56%	26%	39%	35%	48%
Raila / Musalia Ticket	66%	65%	30%	28%	51%	76%	56%	64%	51%
Uhuru / Kalonzo Ticket	34%	35%	70%	72%	49%	24%	44%	36%	49%

RO/KM
UK/WR

- The Raila ticket would have significant wins in Coast, N.Eastern, Nyanza and Nairobi
- The Uhuru ticket would have a significant win in Central
- There would be dead heat competition in Rift Valley, Western and Eastern

RO/WR
UK/KM

- Nyanza consolidates its support to 80% in a Raila/ Ruto ticket. Higher figure than that of a Raila/ Kalonzo ticket.
- N.Eastern support dwindles from 83% in a Raila/Kalonzo ticket to 43% in a Raila Ruto ticket
- Uhuru support in Eastern is bolstered when Kalonzo joins his ticket. He loses Rift and fights a bruising battle in Western

RO/MM
UK/WR

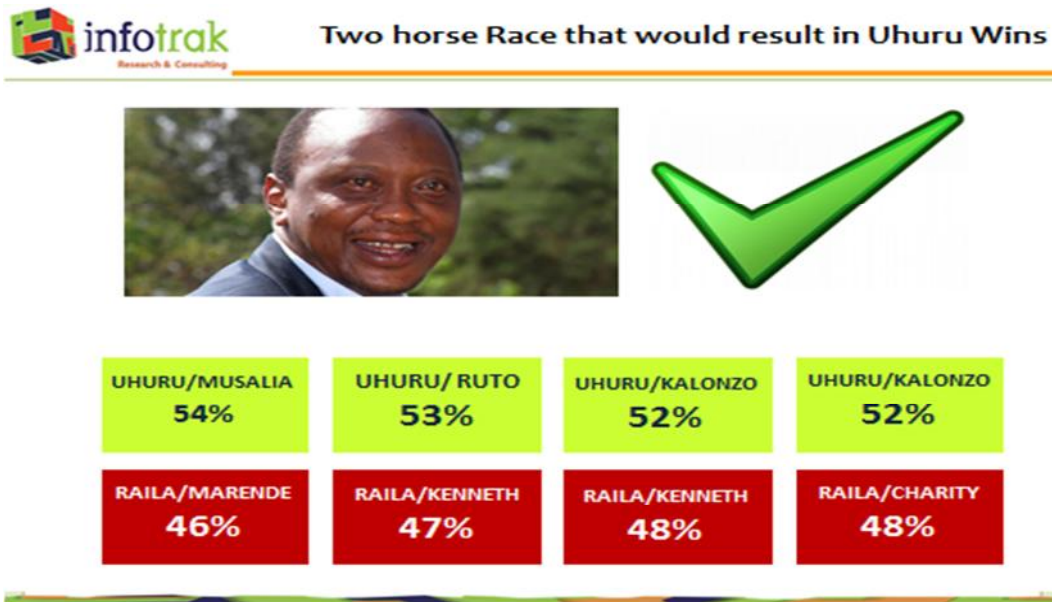
- Wins at the Coast & N.Eastern but not as high as it was with a Raila/Kalonzo Ticket
- Close Battle in Eastern 48/52
- Win in Western, but not with overwhelming majority ie not over ¾ of vote
- Uhuru /Kalonzo ticket wins overwhelmingly in Central and slightly in Rift.

RO/MM
UK/KM

- In Uhuru/Kalonzo vs Raila/Musalia ticket, Western support seems to decline slightly at 56% from 61% if compared to scenario where the ticket is against Uhuru/Kalonzo..
- Central and Eastern vote overwhelmingly for Uhuru/Kalonzo
- Nairobi seems to overridingly support Raila

Uhuru Wins

On the other hand an Uhuru Kenyatta and running mate ticket would beat a Raila and running mate ticket in the following scenarios:





Uhuru Running mate Victory by region

	Coast	N. Eastern	Eastern	Central	R. Valley	Nyanza	Western	Nairobi	Total
Raila/ Marende Ticket	55.9%	56.9%	44.1%	21.6%	36.5%	72.8%	44.3%	63.4%	45.6%
Uhuru / Musalia Ticket	44.1%	43.1%	55.9%	78.4%	63.5%	27.2%	55.7%	36.6%	54.4%
Raila/ Kenneth Ticket	64.9%	47.7%	50.3%	21.6%	38.6%	65.1%	49.5%	61.8%	46.9%
Uhuru /Ruto Ticket	35.1%	52.3%	49.7%	78.4%	61.4%	34.9%	50.5%	38.2%	53.1%
Raila / Kenneth Ticket	60.9%	60.6%	38.4%	21.1%	45.1%	70.5%	48.7%	63.9%	47.8%
Uhuru/Kalonzo Ticket	39.1%	39.4%	61.6%	78.9%	54.9%	29.5%	51.3%	36.1%	52.2%
Raila /Charity Ticket	60.9%	60.6%	38.4%	21.1%	44.5%	73.2%	45.5%	63.4%	47.7%
Uhuru/ Kalonzo Ticket	39.1%	39.4%	61.6%	78.9%	55.5%	26.8%	54.5%	36.6%	52.3%

UK/MM
RO/MAR
ENDE

- The Uhuru ticket would have significant wins in Central Eastern & Rift Valley
- The Raila ticket would have a significant wins in Coast, Nyanza, Nairobi and N.Eastern
- There would be dead heat competition in Western

UK/RUTO
RO/PK

- Uhuru ticket would have major wins in Central , Eastern and good show in Rift Valley.
- Close battle in Western & N.Eastern
- Wins for Raila ticket in Nyanza, Nairobi, Coast

UK/KM
RO/KENNE
TH

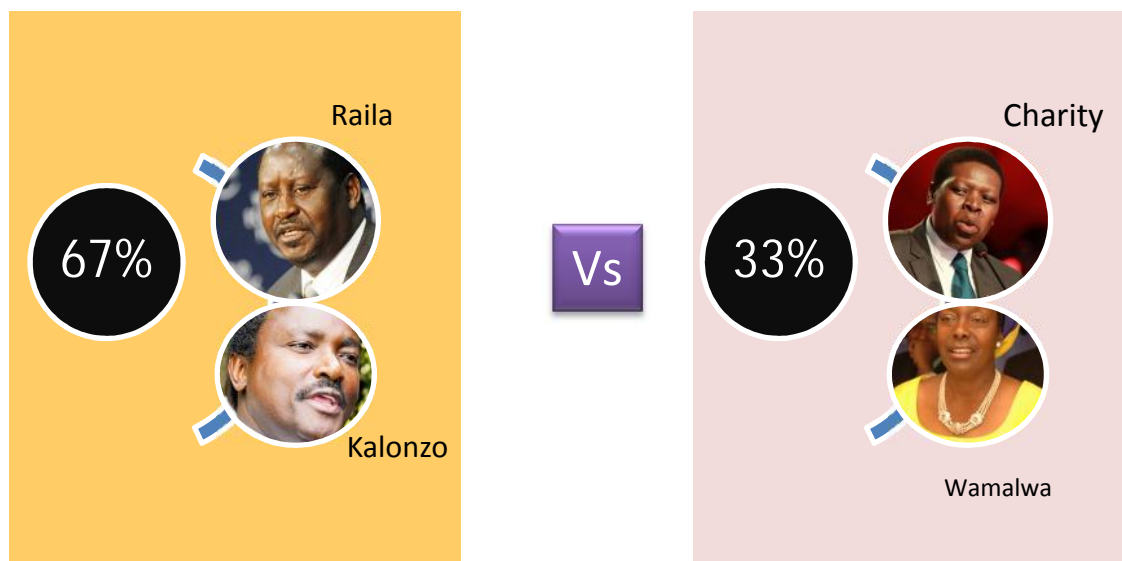
- Wins for Uhuru in Eastern, Central and Rift Valley
- Close Battle in Western
- Wins for Raila ticket in Nyanza, Nairobi, Coast, N.Eastern

UK/KM
RO/CN

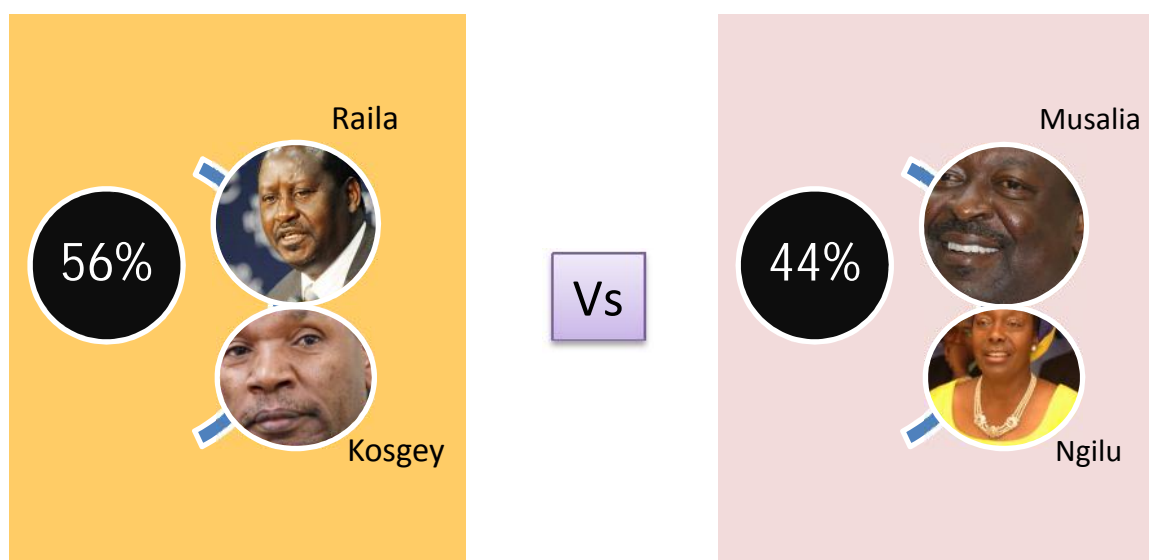
- Wins for Uhuru in Eastern, Central , Rift Valley & Western.
- Wins for Raila ticket in Nyanza, Nairobi, Coast , N.Eastern

What if Uhuru and Ruto don't run and support other candidates for the presidency still resulting in a two horse race?

We have played out two different hypothetical scenarios: One where a Raila/ Kalonzo ticket competes against a Ngilu/Wamalwa ticket and another where a Raila/Kosgey ticket competes against a Ngilu/Mudavadi ticket. In both cases, the Raila ticket would carry the day.



Whilst in both scenarios, Raila and his running mate would emerge victorious, a Musalia/Ngilu ticket performs better than a Wamalwa/Ngilu ticket.



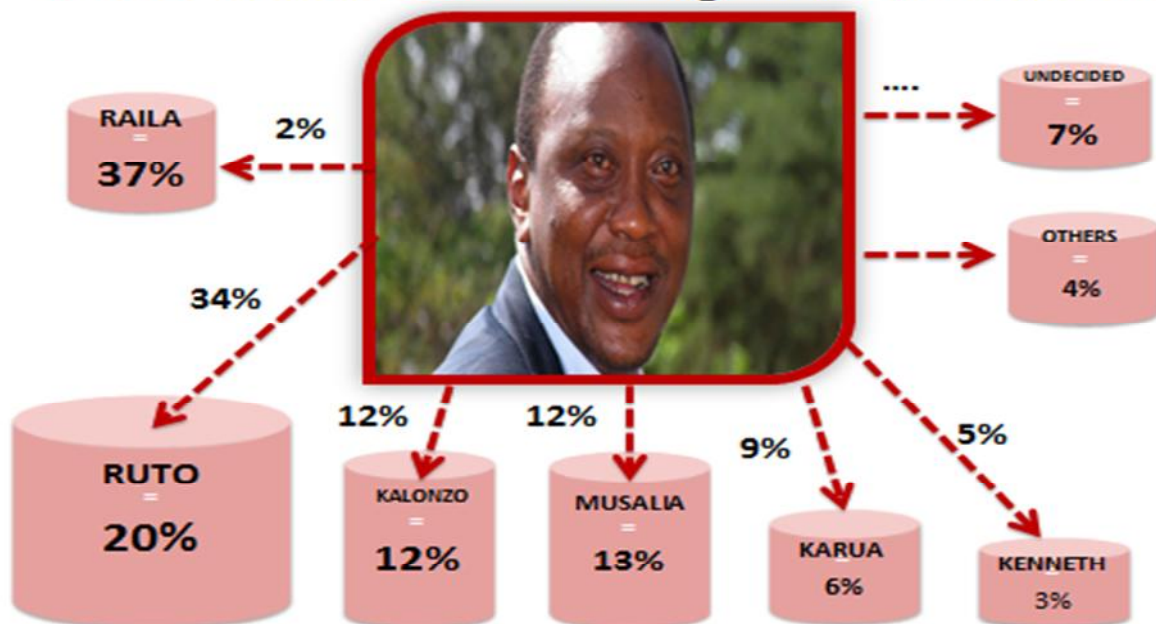
Will endorsement of candidates or the “Tosha” method really work this time round? Not Necessarily...

Supporters of specific presidential candidates seem to be quite divided in how they would treat their vote if their candidate of choice was not to vie. In no instance did we see an outright allocation of support from the candidate not vying to another candidate. Also key to note is that the incidence of undecided support increases amongst both Raila and Uhuru’s supporters in scenarios where they don’t run. This probably suggests that some supporters of the two are extremely keen in seeing them stay in the race. They have not thought of a plan B candidate. As such they require more time to clearly assess the situation before putting their support behind an alternative candidate. Indeed it is these are the supporters who ultimately determine the “swing” vote.

What if Uhuru does not vie?

In a situation where Uhuru does not run, 34% of his support would be redirected to Ruto. The rest of his support would go to other candidates. Kalonzo and Mudavadi would get respectively whilst 9% would move to Martha and 5% to Kenneth. Raila would benefit minimally from Uhuru’s supporters. The rest of his votes would be split by the other candidates in the race.

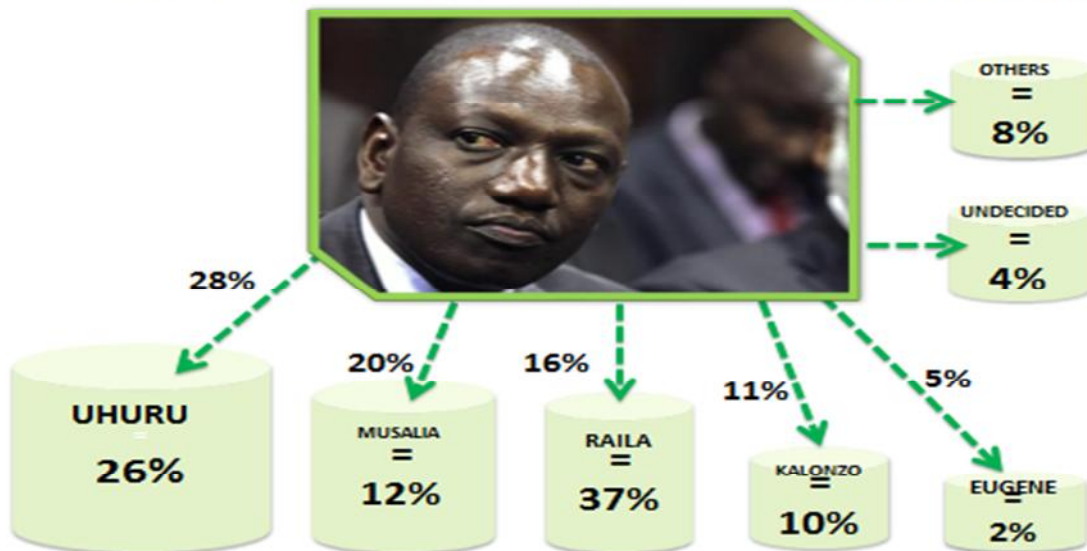
Where would Uhuru’s Votes go if he did not Run?



What if Ruto does not vie?

Similarly, should Ruto not vie, his supporters would redirect their support to other candidates. Uhuru would benefit the most with 28% stating that he would be their alternative. Other key beneficiaries of Ruto's support would be Musalia who would get 20% and Raila who would benefit from 16% of his support. Kalonzo and Wamalwa would get 11% and 5% of his supporters respectively.

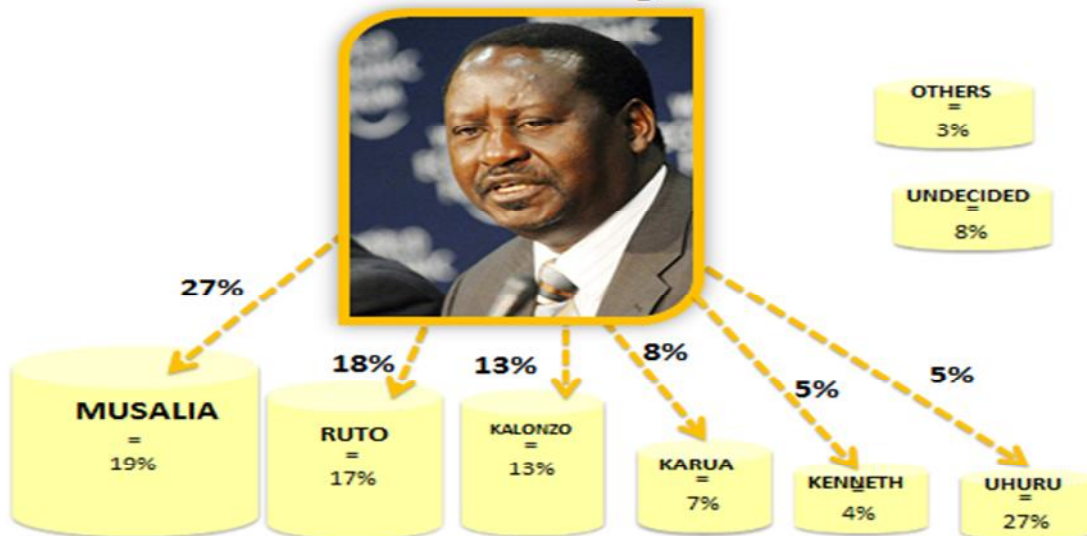
Where would Ruto's Votes go if he did not Run?



What if Raila does not Run?

In the event that Raila does not run, Musalia would garner 27% of his support, putting him as the closest rival to Uhuru with 19% popularity against Uhuru's 27%. Ruto would also benefit significantly moving from his current 10% rating to 17%. As aforementioned the undecided voters would be higher than for any other candidate in similar scenarios at 8%. This suggests that slightly more of Raila's supporters have not thought of a scenario where he would not be in the race.

Where would Raila's Votes go if he did not Run?

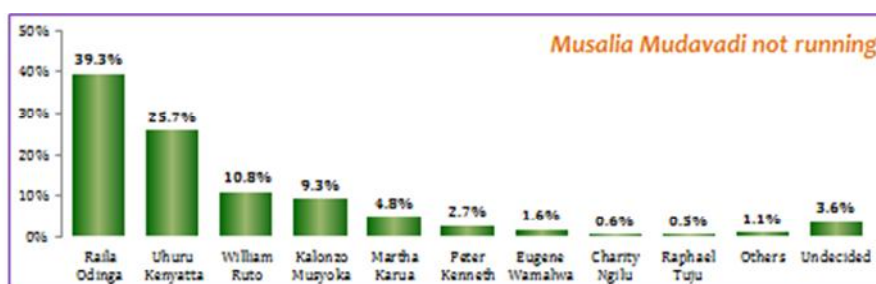
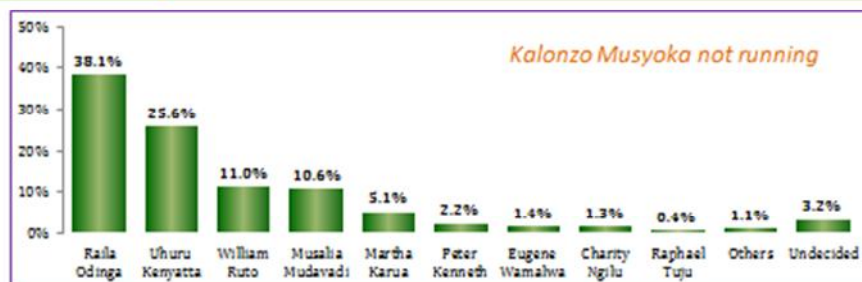


The Support from other candidates would also be fragmented as follows:



Scenarios where:

1. Kalonzo Musyoka not running
2. Musalia Mudavadi not running



28% of Kalonzo's support would be directed to Raila whilst 16% would be directed to Uhuru. Ngilu and Karua would benefit from 11% of his support respectively. The rest of his support would be spread amongst the other candidates.

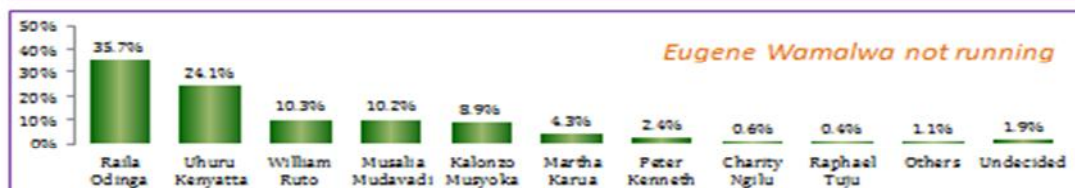
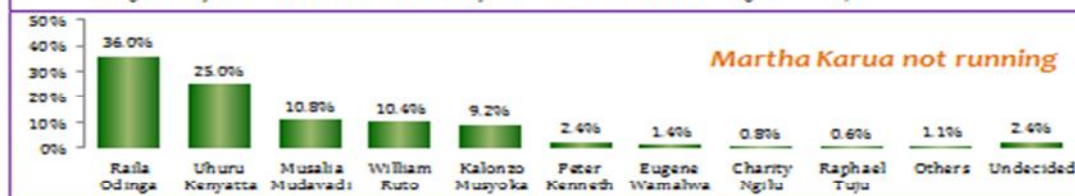
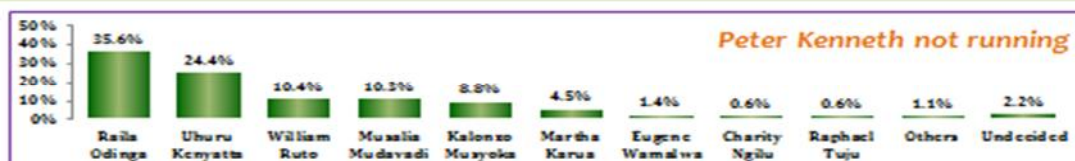
In Musalia's case, 35% of his support goes to Raila whilst 15% goes to Uhuru. The rest of his support is spread amongst the other candidates

In instances where Kenneth, Karua and Wamalwa respectively don't run, their support too is fragmented and shared amongst the remaining candidates.



Scenarios where:

1. Peter Kenneth not running
2. Martha Karua not running
3. Eugene Wamalwa not running



In conclusion

- There are regions that will overwhelmingly vote for either Raila or Uhuru.
 - Nyanza, Nairobi and Coast seem to support Raila in almost all scenarios
 - Central is inclined towards Uhuru
- Support from Western, Eastern & N.Eastern fluctuates dependent on running mate.
 - Kalonzo tends to tilt the Eastern vote towards his running mate's favour. This is especially so when he partners with Uhuru. When he partners with Raila, they still win Eastern but with a slight majority
 - This suggests that these regions will be critical swing regions as at now.
 - Support in Western tilts somewhat in Musalia's favour, but is not over 70%
 - N. Eastern supports Raila more often than not, but with some running mates like Kenneth & Ruto he loses ground.
- Rift Valley is not likely to vote as a block. Any ticket with Ruto as running mate does not result in an outright victory for the duo.
 - Uhuru/Ruto tickets oscillate between 56-61%
 - Raila /Ruto tickets also oscillates around 61%
- Whilst Nyanza supports Raila all through, his support is bolstered with a Raila/Ruto ticket, Raila/Musalia, Raila/Marende & a Raila/Kenneth ticket as opposed to tickets with other candidates

Will there be a Run-off? Perhaps not. Choice of right running mate and coalitions with candidates and luminaries who can amalgamate enough support from their regions could result in a first round win for either of the leading candidates. Of course, if an adamant third horse was to emerge and insist on staying in the race, he or she may end up as a spoiler if his supporters are keen to support him to the tilt. Then again, his/her supporters may decide not to waste their vote and instead redirect their support to either of the two leading tickets.