

AFROBAROMETER ROUND 6

THE QUALITY OF DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE IN KENYA

Document revised: 20 November 2014

Respondent Number					Fieldworker No.					Data Entry Clerk No.					Field Number:			
K	E	N			K	E	N			K	E	N						
<i>[Office Use Only]</i>															<i>[Allocated by Supervisor]</i>			

<i>[Supervisor Use Only]</i>									
Household back-checked?			Questionnaire checked by:					PSU/EA: [Circle one]	
Yes	1		<i>[Supervisor signature]</i>					Urban	1
No	2							Rural	2

[Interviewer: Select appropriate code for (old) Province. Write names for County, Constituency, Town/Village, EA and EA number in the boxes.]

Province (For Afrobarometer internal use)		County		
Nairobi	300	District		
Central	301	Town/Village		
Eastern	302	EA Name		
Rift Valley	303	EA Number		
Nyanza	304		SSP Loc./GPS	PSU Centroid (Off. Use Only)
Western	305	Longitude		
North Eastern	306	Latitude		
Coast	307			

THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS ARE TO BE FILLED IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE FIELD SUPERVISOR

EA-SVC. Are the following services present in the primary sampling unit / enumeration area?	Yes	No	Can't determine
A. Electricity grid that most houses could access	1	0	9
B. Piped water system that most houses could access	1	0	9
C. Sewage system that most houses could access	1	0	9
D. Cell phone service	1	0	9

EA-FAC. Are the following services present in the primary sampling unit / enumeration area or in easy walking distance?	Yes	No	Can't determine
A. Post office	1	0	9
B. School	1	0	9
C. Police Station	1	0	9
D. Health Clinic	1	0	9
E. Market Stalls (selling groceries and/or clothing)	1	0	9
F. Bank	1	0	9
G. Is there any kind of paid transport, such as a bus, taxi, moped, or other form, available on a daily basis?	1	0	9

EA-SEC. In the PSU / EA, did you (or any of your colleagues) see:	Yes	No	Don't Know
A. Any policemen or police vehicles?	1	0	9
B. Any soldiers or army vehicles?	1	0	9
C. Any roadblocks set up by police or army?	1	0	9
D. Any customs checkpoints	1	0	9
E. Any roadblocks or booms set up by private security providers or by the local community?	1	0	9

EA-ROAD. Thinking of the journey here:	Yes	No
A. Was the road at the start point in the PSU / EA paved / tarred / concrete?	1	0
B. Was the road to this EA impassable at any point, for example, due to the absence of a bridge or a collapsed bridge, broken down vehicle, fallen tree or water-logged section?	1	0

Household Selection Procedure

Interviewer: It is your job to select a random (this means any) household. A household is a group of people who presently eat together from the same pot.

Start your walk pattern from the start point that has been randomly chosen by your Field Supervisor. Team members must walk in opposite directions to each other. If A walks towards the sun, B must walk away from the sun; C and D must walk at right angles to A and B.

Use a 5 / 10 interval pattern to select a household. That is, walking in your designated direction away from the start point, select the 5th household for the first interview, counting houses on both the right and the left (and starting with those on the right if they are opposite each other). Once you leave your first interview, continue on in the same direction, this time selecting the 10th household, again counting houses on both the right and the left. If the settlement comes to an end and there are no more houses, turn at right angles to the right and keep walking, continuing to count until finding the tenth dwelling.

Interviewer: If a call is unsuccessful, use the table below to record your progress until you make a successful call. Circle a code number for unsuccessful calls only.

NOCALL	NOCALL_1	NOCALL_2	NOCALL_3	NOCALL_4	NOCALL_5	NOCALL_6	NOCALL_7
Reasons for Unsuccessful Calls	Household 1	Household 2	Household 3	Household 4	Household 5	Household 6	Household 7
Refused to be interviewed	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Person selected was never at home after at least two visits	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Household/Premises empty for the survey period after at least two visits	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Not a citizen/Spoke only a foreign language	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Deaf/Did not speak a survey language	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Did not fit gender quota	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
No adults in household	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
Other (specify) _____	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
Not Applicable	9997	9997	9997	9997	9997	9997	9997

*If no one is at home (i.e., premises empty) after two visits, substitute with the very **next** household. If the interview is refused, use an interval of 10 to select a substitute household, counting houses on both the right and the left.*

When you find a household with someone home, please introduce yourself using the following script. You must learn this introduction so that you can say it exactly as it is written below.

Good day. My name is _____. I am from Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, an independent research organization. I do not represent the government or any political party. We are studying the views of citizens in Kenya about how the country is governed and how the economy is managed. We would like to discuss these issues with a member of your household. Every person in the country has an equal chance of being included in this study. All information will be kept confidential. Your household has been chosen by chance. We would like to choose an adult from your household. Would you help us pick one?

Note: The person must give his or her informed consent by answering positively. If participation is refused, walk away from the household and record this in the above table on "Reasons for Unsuccessful Calls." Substitute the household using an interval of 10 households. If consent is secured, proceed to Respondent Selection.

Respondent Selection Procedure

*Interviewer: **Within** the household, it is your job to select a random (this means any) individual. This individual becomes the interview Respondent. In addition, you are responsible for alternating interviews between men and women. Circle the correct code below.*

*Note that "First Interview" should **ONLY** be used for your very first interview on the first day of fieldwork, **NOT** your first interview every day.*

	First Interview	Male	Female
PREVINT. Previous interview was with a:	0	1	2
THISINT. This interview must be with a:		1	2

Please tell me the names of all males / females [select correct gender] who presently live in this household. I only want the names of males / females [select correct gender] who are citizens of Kenya and who are 18 years and older.

If this interview must be with a female, list only women's names. If this interview is with a male, list only men's names. List all eligible household members of this gender who are 18 years or older, even those not presently at home but who will return to the house at any time that day. Include only citizens of Kenya.

Women's Names	Men's Names
1	1
2	2
3	3
4	4
5	5
6	6
7	7
8	8
9	9
10	10

Please record the total number of adults (men and women) in the household who are citizens of Kenya. Enter a two-digit number.

ADULT_CT. Total number of adult citizens in the household		
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Take out your deck of numbered cards. Present them face-down so that the numbers cannot be seen. Ask the person who is selecting respondents to pick any card, by saying:

Please choose a card. The person who corresponds to the number chosen will be the person interviewed.

[Interviewer: REMEMBER to circle the code number of the person selected on the table above.]

The person I need to speak to is [insert name] _____ . Is this person presently at home?

<i>If yes:</i>	May I please interview this person now?
<i>If no:</i>	Will this person return here at any time today?
<i>If no:</i>	Thank you very much. I will select another household. <i>Substitute with the next household to the right and repeat the respondent selection procedure. (NOTE: YOU CAN ONLY SUBSTITUTE HOUSEHOLDS NOT INDIVIDUALS.)</i>
<i>If yes:</i>	Please tell this person that I will return for an interview at [insert convenient time]. <i>If this respondent is not present when you call back, replace this household with the next household to the right.</i>

If the selected respondent is not the same person that you first met, repeat Introduction:

Good day. My name is _____ . I am from Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, an independent research organization. I do not represent the government or any political party. We are studying the views of citizens in Kenya about how the country is governed and how the economy is managed. We would like to discuss these issues with you.

To ALL respondents:

Your answers will be confidential. They will be put together with 2400 other people we are talking to, to get an overall picture. It will be impossible to pick you out from what you say, so please feel free to tell us what you think. This interview will take about 45 minutes. There is no penalty for refusing to participate. Do you wish to proceed? [Proceed with interview only if answer is positive].

[If respondent agrees to proceed, add:] **We can do this interview in english, swahili or [insert local languages]. Please, tell me which language you would like to use. [If interviewer does not speak selected language, then make an appointment for later in the day with a member of the team who speaks that language.]**

Note: The person must give his or her informed consent by answering positively. If participation is refused, walk away from the household and record this in the above table on "Reasons for Unsuccessful Calls." Substitute the household using an interval of 10 households. If consent is secured, proceed with the interview after recording number of calls, and current date and time.

CALLS	Circle number	
How many calls were made to the household where the interview actually took place?	1	2

DATEINTR	Day		Month		Year	
Date of interview <i>[Interviewer: Enter day, month, and year]</i>						

STRTIME	Hour		Minute	
Time interview started <i>[Interviewer: Enter hour and minute, use 24 hr. clock]</i>				

Interviewer: If a respondent firmly refuses to answer any question, write "refused" in the answer space and continue to the next question

BEGIN INTERVIEW

Let's begin by recording a few facts about yourself.

1. How old are you? [Interviewer: Enter three digit number. Don't Know = 999] [Interviewer: If respondent is aged less than 18, stop interview and use cards to randomly draw another respondent in the same household]			
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2. Which Kenyan language is your home language? [Interviewer: Prompt if necessary: That is, the language of your group of origin.]			
English	1	Masai/Samburu	307
Swahili	4	MijiKenda	308
Kikuyu	300	Taita	309
Luo	301	Somali	310
Luhya	302	Pokot	311
Kamba	303	Turkana	312
Kalenjin	304		
Kisii	305	Other [Specify]:	Post code
Meru/Embu	306	Don't know	9999

3. Let's start with your general view about the current direction of our country. Some people might think the country is going in the wrong direction. Others may feel it is going in the right direction. So let me ask YOU about the overall direction of the country: Would you say that the country is going in the wrong direction or going in the right direction?	
Going in the wrong direction	1
Going in the right direction	2
Don't know [Do not read]	9

Let's discuss economic conditions.						
4. In general, how would you describe: [Read out options]						
	Very good	Fairly Good	Neither good nor bad	Fairly Bad	Very Bad	Don't know [DNR]
A. The present economic condition of this country?	5	4	3	2	1	9
B. Your own present living conditions?	5	4	3	2	1	9

5. In general, how do you rate your living conditions compared to those of other Kenyans? [Read out options]	
Much worse	1
Worse	2
Same	3
Better	4
Much better	5
Don't know [Do not read]	9

6. Looking back, how do you rate economic conditions in this country compared to twelve months ago? [Read out options]	
Much worse	1
Worse	2
Same	3
Better	4
Much better	5
Don't know [Do not read]	9

7. Looking ahead, do you expect economic conditions in this country to be better or worse in twelve months time? <i>[Read out options]</i>	
Much worse	1
Worse	2
Same	3
Better	4
Much better	5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

8. Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or anyone in your family: <i>[Read out options]</i>						
	Never	Just once or twice	Several times	Many times	Always	Don't Know [DNR]
A. Gone without enough food to eat?	0	1	2	3	4	9
B. Gone without enough clean water for home use?	0	1	2	3	4	9
C. Gone without medicines or medical treatment?	0	1	2	3	4	9
D. Gone without enough fuel to cook your food?	0	1	2	3	4	9
E. Gone without a cash income?	0	1	2	3	4	9

8F. *[Interviewer: Identify the most intense (highest) code circled on Q8. If it is a 2, 3 or 4, i.e., if the respondent went without any item in Q8a-e "several times", "many times", or "always," take the most frequent response given and ask: **When you say you went without [insert item] [insert frequency] would you say this occurred:** [Read out options] [Note: If the respondent gave their most frequent response on more than one item, choose one to insert in the question.] [If Respondent says did not go without any item in Q8A-E, at least "several times" (code 2) or more code as 7 "Not Applicable"]*

About once every two or three months	1
About once a month	2
Two or three times a month	3
About once a week	4
Several times a week	5
Every day	6
Not Applicable [DNR]	7
Don't know	9

9. How often, if at all, do you or anyone in your household receive money remittances from friends or relatives living outside of the country? <i>[Read out options]</i>	
At least once a month	5
At least every 3 months	4
At least every 6 months	3
At least once a year	2
Less than once a year	1
Never	0
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

10. Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or anyone in your family: <i>[Read out options]</i>						
	Never	Just once or twice	Several times	Many times	Always	Don't Know [DNR]
A. Felt unsafe walking in your neighbourhood?	0	1	2	3	4	9
B. Feared crime in your own home?	0	1	2	3	4	9

11. During the past year, have you or anyone in your family: *[Interviewer: If the respondent answers yes, follow by asking: **Did this happen once, twice, or three or more times?**]*

	No	Yes			Don't Know [DNR]
		Once	Twice	Three or more times	
A. Had something stolen from your house?	0	1	2	3	9
B. Been physically attacked?	0	1	2	3	9

12. How often do you get news from the following sources? [Read out options]						
	Every day	A few times a week	A few times a month	Less than once a month	Never	Don't know [DNR]
A. Radio	4	3	2	1	0	9
B. Television	4	3	2	1	0	9
C. Newspapers	4	3	2	1	0	9
D. Internet	4	3	2	1	0	9
E. Social media such as Facebook or Twitter	4	3	2	1	0	9

13. How interested would you say you are in public affairs? [Interviewer: Prompt if necessary: You know, in politics and government?] [Read out options]	
Very interested	3
Somewhat interested	2
Not very interested	1
Not at all interested	0
Don't know [Do not read]	9

14. When you get together with your friends or family, would you say you discuss political matters: [Read out options]	
Frequently	2
Occasionally	1
Never	0
Don't know [Do not read]	9

15. In this country, how free are you: [Read out options]					
	Not at all free	Not very free	Somewhat free	Completely free	Don't know [DNR]
A. To say what you think	1	2	3	4	9
B. To join any political organization you want	1	2	3	4	9
C. To choose who to vote for without feeling pressured	1	2	3	4	9

Lets talk for a moment about the kind of society you would like to have in this country. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2. [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion: **Do you agree or agree very strongly?**]

16.			
Statement 1: Government should be able to ban any organization that goes against its policies.		Statement 2: We should be able to join any organization, whether or not the government approves of it.	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1	Agree With Statement 1	Agree With Statement 2	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2
1	2	3	4
Agree With Neither [Do not read]			5
Don't know [Do not read]			9

17.			
Statement 1: The media should have the right to publish any views and ideas without government control.		Statement 2: The government should have the right to prevent the media from publishing things that it considers harmful to society.	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1	Agree With Statement 1	Agree With Statement 2	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2
1	2	3	4
Agree With Neither [Do not read]			5
Don't know [Do not read]			9

18.			
Statement 1: Men make better political leaders than women, and should be elected rather than women.		Statement 2: Women should have the same chance of being elected to political office as men.	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

Let's turn to your role in the community.					
19. Now I am going to read out a list of groups that people join or attend. For each one, could you tell me whether you are an official leader, an active member, an inactive member, or not a member.					
	Official Leader	Active Member	Inactive Member	Not a Member	Don't Know <i>[DNR]</i>
A. A religious group that meets outside of regular worship services	3	2	1	0	9
B. Some other voluntary association or community group	3	2	1	0	9

20. Here is a list of actions that people sometimes take as citizens. For each of these, please tell me whether you, personally, have done any of these things during the past year. <i>[If Yes, read out options 2-4]. If not, would you do this if you had the chance? <i>[For No, read out options 0 and 1]</i></i>						
	YES			NO		Don't know <i>[DNR]</i>
	Often	Several times	Once or twice	Would if had the chance	Would never do this	
A. Attended a community meeting	4	3	2	1	0	9
B. Got together with others to raise an issue	4	3	2	1	0	9
C-KEN Attended a county government meeting	4	3	2	1	0	9

21. Understanding that some people were unable to vote in the most recent national election in 2013, which of the following statements is true for you? <i>[Read out options]</i>	
You were too young to vote	8
You were not registered to vote	0
You voted in the elections	1
You decided not to vote	2
You could not find the polling station	3
You were prevented from voting	4
You did not have time to vote	5
You did not vote because you could not find your name in the voters' register	6
Did not vote for some other reason <i>[Do not read]</i>	7
Don't Know / Can't remember <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

22. On the whole, how would you rate the freeness and fairness of the last national election, held in 2013. Was it: <i>[Read out options]</i>	
Completely free and fair	4
Free and fair, but with minor problems	3
Free and fair, with major problems	2
Not free and fair	1
Do not understand question <i>[Do not read]</i>	8
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

23. Thinking about the last national election in 2013, did you:			
	No	Yes	Don't know <i>[DNR]</i>
A. Attend a campaign rally ?	0	1	9
B. Attend a meeting with a candidate or campaign staff?	0	1	9
C. Try to persuade others to vote for a certain presidential or legislative candidate or political party?	0	1	9
D. Work for a candidate or party?	0	1	9

24. During the past year, how often have you contacted any of the following persons about some important problem or to give them your views? [Read out options]

	Never	Only once	A few times	Often	Don't know [DNR]
A. A local member of County Assembly	0	1	2	3	9
B. A Member of National Assembly	0	1	2	3	9
C. An official of a government agency	0	1	2	3	9
D. A political party official	0	1	2	3	9
E. Traditional Leaders	0	1	2	3	9
F. Religious leaders	0	1	2	3	9
G-KEN Ombudsman (public complaints office)	0	1	2	3	9

25. Thinking of the last time you contacted any of these leaders. Did you go: [If respondent answered 0=Never for ALL PARTS of Q24, i.e. they NEVER contacted any of these leaders, circle code 7=Not applicable in both parts of Q25]

	Alone	With a group	Not applicable (did not contact any)	Don't know [DNR]
A. Alone or with a group?	1	2	7	9
	Community problem	Personal problem	Not applicable (did not contact any)	Don't know [DNR]
B. To discuss a community problem or a personal problem?	1	2	7	9

26. For each of the following actions, please tell me whether you think it is something a good -citizen in a democracy should always do, never do, or do only if they choose.

	Never do	Do only if they choose	Always do	Don't know [DNR]
A. Vote in elections	1	2	3	9
B. Avoid criticizing the government	1	2	3	9
C. Complain to government officials when public services are of poor quality	1	2	3	9
D. Request personal assistance like help with school fees or funeral expenses from elected leaders	1	2	3	9
E. Pay taxes they owe to government	1	2	3	9
F. Agree with the majority of people in his or her community on political issues.	1	2	3	9

27. Here is a list of actions that people sometimes take as citizens when they are dissatisfied with government performance. For each of these, please tell me whether you, personally, have done any of these things during the past year. [If Yes, read out options 2-4]. If not, would you do this if you had the chance? [For No, read out options 0 and 1]

	YES			NO		Don't know [DNR]
	Often	Several times	Once or twice	Would if had the chance	Would never do this	
A. Joined others in your community to request action from government	4	3	2	1	0	9
B. Contacted the media, like calling a radio program or writing a letter to a newspaper	4	3	2	1	0	9
C. Contacted a government official to ask for help or make a complaint	4	3	2	1	0	9
D. Refused to pay a tax or fee to government	4	3	2	1	0	9
E. Participated in a demonstration or protest march	4	3	2	1	0	9

28. There are many ways to govern a country. Would you disapprove or approve of the following alternatives?

[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion.]

	Strongly Disapprove	Disapprove	Neither Approve Nor Disapprove [DNR]	Approve	Strongly Approve	Don't know [DNR]
A. Only one political party is allowed to stand for election and hold office.	1	2	3	4	5	9
B. The army comes in to govern the country.	1	2	3	4	5	9
C. Elections and Parliament are abolished so that the president can decide everything.	1	2	3	4	5	9

Q29a. What, if anything, does “democracy” mean to you? [Interviewer: Read the question in the language of the interview, but always state the word “democracy” in English. Only translate ‘democracy’ into local language if respondent does not understand the term in the official national language. Record whether respondent understood word in English or required a local language translation. Be sure to ask ALL questions of ALL respondents, even if they have difficulty understanding the term “democracy”].

Understood “democracy” in English	1
Required local language translation	2
Did not understand the word or question, even in local language	3

[Do not read options. Accept up to three answers. If respondent offers more than three options, ask “Which three of these are the most important?”; if respondent offers one or two answers, ask “Anything else?” **Write** verbatim responses in blanks in **English**. DO NOT select codes – codes will be assigned by Field Supervisors.]

Q29b. _____ - [Write in 1st response]

Q29c. _____ [Write in 2nd response]

Q29d. _____ [Write in 3rd response]

	1 st response Q29e	2 nd response Q29f	3 rd response Q29g
Nothing/Democracy has no meaning	0		
Positive Replies			
Civil liberties / personal freedoms (eg freedom of speech, religion, movement, etc...)	1	1	1
Government by, for, of the people / popular rule	2	2	2
Voting / elections / multiparty competition	3	3	3
Peace / unity / power sharing	4	4	4
Social / economic development	5	5	5
Equality / justice	6	6	6
Majority rule	7	7	7
Governance / effectiveness / accountability / rule of law	8	8	8
National independence / people’s self determination	9	9	9
Mutual respect	10	10	10
Working together	11	11	11
Other positive meanings	12	12	12
Negative Replies			
Conflict / confusion	13	13	13
Corruption / abuse of power	14	14	14
Social / economic hardship	15	15	15
Other negative meanings	16	16	16
Null / neutral replies			
Civilian politics / government	17	17	17
Change of government / leadership / laws	18	18	18
Other null/neutral meanings	19	19	19
No further reply		9996	9996
Don’t know / Did not understand the question	9999		

30. Which of these three statements is closest to your own opinion? <i>[Read out statements. Only one option to be chosen. Read the question in the language of the interview, but always read “democracy” in English. Translate “democracy” into local language only if respondent does not understand English term.]</i>	
STATEMENT 1: Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government.	3
STATEMENT 2: In some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable.	2
STATEMENT 3: For someone like me, it doesn’t matter what kind of government we have.	1
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2. <i>[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion: Do you agree or agree very strongly?]</i>			
31.			
Statement 1: It is more important to have a government that can get things done, even if we have no influence over what it does.		Statement 2: It is more important for citizens to be able to hold government accountable, even if that means it makes decisions more slowly.	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

32.			
Statement 1: We should choose our leaders in this country through regular, open and honest elections.		Statement 2: Since elections sometimes produce bad results, we should adopt other methods for choosing this country’s leaders.	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

33.			
Statement 1: Political parties create division and confusion; it is therefore unnecessary to have many political parties in Kenya.		Statement 2: Many political parties are needed to make sure that Kenyans have real choices in who governs them.	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

34.			
Statement 1: Parliament should ensure that the President explains to it on a regular basis how his government spends taxpayers’ money.		Statement 2: The President should be able to devote his full attention to developing the country rather than wasting time justifying his actions.	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

35.			
Statement 1: After losing an election, opposition parties should monitor and criticize the government in order to hold it accountable.		Statement 2: Once an election is over, opposition parties and politicians should accept defeat and cooperate with government to help it develop the country.	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

36.			
Statement 1: The news media should constantly investigate and report on government mistakes and corruption.		Statement 2: Too much reporting on negative events, like government mistakes and corruption, only harms the country.	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

37.			
Statement 1: Members of Parliament represent the people; therefore they should make laws for this country, even if the President does not agree.		Statement 2: Since the President represents all of us, he should pass laws without worrying about what Parliament thinks.	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

38.			
Statement 1: Since the President was elected to lead the country, he should not be bound by laws or court decisions that he thinks are wrong.		Statement 2: The President must always obey the laws and the courts, even if he thinks they are wrong.	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

39.			
Statement 1: The Constitution should limit the president to serving a maximum of two terms in office.		Statement 2: There should be no constitutional limit on how long the president can serve.	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

Now let us speak about the political system in this country

40. In your opinion how much of a democracy is Kenya today? <i>[Read out options. Accept only one option. Read the question in the language of the interview, but always read "democracy" in English. Translate "democracy" into local language only if respondent does not understand term in official language.]</i>	
A full democracy	4
A democracy, but with minor problems	3
A democracy, with major problems	2
Not a democracy	1
Do not understand question /do not understand what 'democracy' is <i>[Do not read]</i>	8
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

41. Overall, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in Kenya? Are you: <i>[Read out options. Only one option to be chosen. Read the question in the language of the interview, but always read "democracy" in English. Translate "democracy" into local language only if respondent does not understand English term.]</i>	
Very satisfied	4
Fairly satisfied	3
Not very satisfied	2
Not at all satisfied	1
Kenya is not a democracy <i>[Do not read]</i>	0
Do not know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

42. For each of the following statements, please tell me whether you disagree or agree? [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree [DNR]	Agree	Strongly Agree	Don't Know [DNR]
A. The courts have the right to make decisions that people always have to abide by.	1	2	3	4	5	9
B. The police always have the right to make people obey the law.	1	2	3	4	5	9
C. The tax authorities always has the right to make people pay taxes.	1	2	3	4	5	9

Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.
[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion: **Do you agree or agree very strongly?**]

43.

Statement 1: It is important to obey the government in power, no matter who you voted for.		Statement 2: It is not necessary to obey the laws of a government that you did not vote for.	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither [Do not read]			5
Don't know [Do not read]			9

44.

Statement 1: Citizens must pay their taxes to the government in order for our country to develop.		Statement 2: The government can find enough resources for development from other sources without having to tax the people.	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither [Do not read]			5
Don't know [Do not read]			9

45. In your opinion, how often, in this country: [Read out options]

	Always	Often	Rarely	Never	Don't know [DNR]
A. Does the news media abuse its freedoms by printing or saying things it knows are not true?	3	2	1	0	9
B. Does competition between political parties lead to violent conflict?	3	2	1	0	9
C. Does the President ignore the courts and laws of this country?	3	2	1	0	9
D. Are opposition parties or their supporters silenced by the government?	3	2	1	0	9
E. Does the President ignore parliament and just do what he wants?	3	2	1	0	9

46. In this country, how effective is the news media in revealing government mistakes and corruption? [Read out options]

Very effective	3
Somewhat effective	2
Not very effective	1
Not at all effective	0
Don't know [Do not read]	9

47. Think about how elections work in practice in this country. How well do elections: <i>[Read out options]</i>					
	Very well	Well	Not very well	Not at all well	Don't know <i>[DNR]</i>
A. Ensure that the Representatives to the National Assembly reflect the views of voters.	3	2	1	0	9
B. Enable voters to remove from office leaders who do not do what the people want.	3	2	1	0	9

48. In your opinion, how often do the following things occur in this country's elections? <i>[Read out options]</i>					
	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always	Don't know <i>[DNR]</i>
A. Votes are counted fairly	0	1	2	3	9
B. Opposition candidates are prevented from running for office	0	1	2	3	9
C. The media provides fair coverage of all candidates	0	1	2	3	9
D. Voters are bribed	0	1	2	3	9
E. Voters are offered a genuine choice in the elections	0	1	2	3	9
F. Voters are threatened with violence at the polls	0	1	2	3	9

49. During election campaigns in this country, how much do you personally fear becoming a victim of political intimidation or violence? <i>[Read out options]</i>	
Not at all	3
A little bit	2
Somewhat	1
A lot	0
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

50. Do you think that leaders of political parties in this country are more concerned with serving the interests of the people, or more concerned with advancing their own political ambitions, or haven't you heard enough to say? <i>[Probe for strength of opinion]</i>	
More to serve the people – strongly agree	5
More to serve the people - agree	4
Neither agree nor disagree <i>[Do not read]</i>	3
More to serve their own political ambitions - agree	2
More to serve their own political ambitions – strongly agree	1
Don't know <i>[DNR]</i>	9

51. In your opinion, how often, in this country: <i>[Read out options]</i>					
	Always	Often	Rarely	Never	Don't know <i>[DNR]</i>
A. Do people have to be careful of what they say about politics?	3	2	1	0	9
B. Are people treated unequally under the law?	3	2	1	0	9
C. Do officials who commit crimes go unpunished?	3	2	1	0	9
D. Do ordinary people who break the law go unpunished?	3	2	1	0	9
E-KEN Do ethnic considerations play a key role in government appointments?	3	2	1	0	9

52. How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say? [Read out options]					
	Not at all	Just a little	Somewhat	A lot	Don't know/ Haven't heard [DNR]
A. The President	0	1	2	3	9
B. National Assembly	0	1	2	3	9
C. Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission	0	1	2	3	9
D. Kenya Revenue Authority	0	1	2	3	9
E. Your County Assembly	0	1	2	3	9
E1-KEN Your County Governor	0	1	2	3	9
F. The Ruling Coalition (Jubilee)	0	1	2	3	9
G. Opposition Political Parties	0	1	2	3	9
H. The Police	0	1	2	3	9
I. Kenya Defense Force (KDF)	0	1	2	3	9
J. Courts of law	0	1	2	3	9
K. Traditional leaders	0	1	2	3	9
L. Religious leaders	0	1	2	3	9
M-KEN The Media	0	1	2	3	9

53. How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption, or haven't you heard enough about them to say? [Read out options]					
	None	Some of them	Most of them	All of them	Don't know/ Haven't heard [DNR]
A. The President and Officials in his Office	0	1	2	3	9
B. Members of Parliament	0	1	2	3	9
C. Government officials	0	1	2	3	9
D. Members of your County Assembly	0	1	2	3	9
D1-KEN Your County Governor and Officials in his Office	0	1	2	3	9
E. Police	0	1	2	3	9
E1-KEN Members of the Kenya Defense Forces (KDF)	0	1	2	3	9
F. Officials of Kenya Revenue Authority (KRA)	0	1	2	3	9
G. Judges and Magistrates	0	1	2	3	9
H. Traditional leaders	0	1	2	3	9
I. Religious leaders	0	1	2	3	9
J. Business executives	0	1	2	3	9

54. In your opinion, over the past year, has the level of corruption in this country increased, decreased, or stayed the same? [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion.]	
Increased a lot	1
Increased somewhat	2
Stayed the same	3
Decreased somewhat	4
Decreased a lot	5
Don't know [Do not read]	9

Now I would like to talk to you about experiences that some people have in accessing certain essential government services.

55. In the past 12 months have you had contact with a public school? *[Interviewer: If 'no', circle 7 for both parts and continue to next question. If yes, continue with parts A and B below]: [Read out options]*

	No contact [DNR]	Very easy	Easy	Difficult	Very Difficult	Don't Know [DNR]
A. How easy or difficult was it to obtain the services you needed from teachers or school officials?	7	1	2	3	4	9
	No contact [DNR]	Never	Once or twice	A few times	Often	Don't Know [DNR]
B. And how often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour for a teacher or school official in order to get the services you needed from the schools?	7	0	1	2	3	9

55. In the past 12 months have you had contact with a public clinic or hospital? *[Interviewer: If 'no', circle 7 for both parts and continue to next question. If yes, continue with parts C and D below]: [Read out options]*

	No contact [DNR]	Very easy	Easy	Difficult	Very Difficult	Don't Know [DNR]
C. How easy or difficult was it to obtain the medical care you needed?	7	1	2	3	4	9
	No contact [DNR]	Never	Once or twice	A few times	Often	Don't Know [DNR]
D. And how often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour for a health worker or clinic or hospital staff in order to get the medical care you needed?	7	0	1	2	3	9

55. In the past 12 months have you tried to get an identity document like a birth certificate, driver's license, passport or voter's card, or a permit, from government? *[Interviewer: If 'no', circle 7 for both parts and continue to next question. If yes, continue with parts E and F below]: [Read out options]*

	No contact [DNR]	Very easy	Easy	Difficult	Very Difficult	Don't Know [DNR]
E. How easy or difficult was it to obtain the document you needed?	7	1	2	3	4	9
	No contact [DNR]	Never	Once or twice	A few times	Often	Don't Know [DNR]
F. And how often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour for a government official in order to get the document you needed?	7	0	1	2	3	9

55. In the past 12 months have you tried to get water, sanitation or electric services from government? *[Interviewer: If 'no', circle 7 for both parts and continue to next question. If yes, continue with parts G and H below]: [Read out options]*

	No contact [DNR]	Very easy	Easy	Difficult	Very Difficult	Don't Know [DNR]
G. How easy or difficult was it to obtain the services you needed?	7	1	2	3	4	9
	No contact [DNR]	Never	Once or twice	A few times	Often	Don't Know [DNR]
H. And how often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour for a government official in order to get the services you needed?	7	0	1	2	3	9

55. In the past 12 months have you requested assistance from the police? [Interviewer: If 'no', circle 7 for both parts and continue to next question. If yes, continue with parts I and J below]: [Read out options]

	No contact [DNR]	Very easy	Easy	Difficult	Very Difficult	Don't Know [DNR]
I. How easy or difficult was it to obtain the assistance you needed?	7	1	2	3	4	9
	No contact [DNR]	Never	Once or twice	A few times	Often	Don't Know [DNR]
J. And how often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour for a police officer in order to get the assistance you needed, or to avoid a problem like passing a checkpoint or avoiding a fine or arrest?	7	0	1	2	3	9

55. In the past 12 months have you had contact with the courts? [Interviewer: If 'no', circle 7 for both parts and continue to next question. If yes, continue with parts K and L below]: [Read out options]

	No contact [DNR]	Very easy	Easy	Difficult	Very Difficult	Don't Know [DNR]
K. How easy or difficult was it to obtain the assistance you needed from the courts?	7	1	2	3	4	9
	No contact [DNR]	Never	Once or twice	A few times	Often	Don't Know [DNR]
L. And how often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour for a judge or court official in order to get the assistance you needed from the courts?	7	0	1	2	3	9

56. [If respondent ever reported paying a bribe on Q55B, Q55D, Q55F, Q55H, Q55J or-Q55L:] If you ever paid a bribe for any of the services discussed above, did you report any of the incidents you mentioned to a government official or someone in authority?

No	0
Yes	1
Not Applicable [i.e., Respondent answered 0=Never, 9=DK or 7=No contact to Q55B, Q55D, Q55F, Q55H, Q55J and Q55L] [Do not read]	7
Don't know [Do not read]	9

57. [If yes on Q56] Which of the following happened the most recent time that you reported a bribery incident? [If response on Q56 is anything other than 1=yes, select 7=Not applicable for both parts and continue to Q58]

	Not applicable (no incidents reported)	No, didn't happen	Yes, happened	Don't know [DNR]
A. Authorities took action against the government officials involved.	7	0	1	9
B. You suffered retaliation or other negative consequences as a result of reporting the incident.	7	0	1	9

58. Some people say that many incidents of corruption are never reported. Based on your experience, what do you think is the main reason why many people do not report corruption when it occurs? [Interviewer: Do not read options. Code from response.]

Most people do report incidents of corruption					0
People don't have enough time to report it					1
People don't know where to report it					2
People don't know how to report it					3
Nothing will be done / It wouldn't make a difference					4
It's too expensive to report (e.g., due to travel or phone charges)					5
Corruption is normal / Everyone does it / everyone is involved					6
People are afraid of the consequences					7
The officials where they would report to are also corrupt / officials are involved in the corruption					8
It's government's money, not the people's, so it's not our problem					9
Because they will implicate themselves as bribe-givers					10
Corruption is too difficult to prove					11
Other [specify] _____	Post Code				
Don't know					9999

59. How much of the time do you think the following try their best to listen to what people like you have to say? [Read out options]

	Never	Only Sometimes	Often	Always	Don't know [DNR]
A. Members of Parliament	0	1	2	3	9
B. Members of County Assembly	0	1	2	3	9

60. In your opinion, what are the most important problems facing this country that government should address? [Do not read options. Code from responses. Accept up to three answers. If respondent offers more than three options, ask "Which three of these are the most important?" If respondent offers one or two answers, ask "Anything else?"]

	1 st response	2 nd response	3 rd response
Economics			
Management of the economy	1	1	1
Wages, incomes and salaries	2	2	2
Unemployment	3	3	3
Poverty/destitution	4	4	4
Rates and Taxes	5	5	5
Loans / credit	6	6	6
Food / Agriculture			
Farming/agriculture	7	7	7
Agricultural marketing	32	32	32
Food shortage/famine	8	8	8
Drought	9	9	9
Land	10	10	10
Infrastructure			
Transportation	11	11	11
Communications	12	12	12
Infrastructure / roads	13	13	13
Government Services			
Education	14	14	14
Housing	15	15	15
Electricity	16	16	16
Water supply	17	17	17
Orphans/street children/homeless children	18	18	18
Services (other)	19	19	19
Health			
Health	20	20	20
AIDS	21	21	21
Sickness / Disease	22	22	22
Governance			
Crime and Security	23	23	23
Corruption	24	24	24
Political violence	25	25	25
Political instability/political divisions/ ethnic tensions	26	26	26
Discrimination/ inequality	27	27	27
Gender issues / women's rights	28	28	28
Democracy/political rights	29	29	29
War (international)	30	30	30
Civil war	31	31	31
Other responses			
Nothing/ no problems	0		
Other (1 st response) Specify _____	Post Code		
Other (2 nd response) Specify _____	Post Code		
Other (3 rd response) Specify _____	Post Code		
No further reply		9996	9996
Don't know	9999		

61A. Thinking of the problem you mentioned first, [Interviewer: remind respondent of first problem identified] in your opinion, how well or badly would you say the current government is handling this problem, or haven't you heard enough to say? [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]	
Very well	4
Fairly well	3
Fairly badly	2
Very badly	1
Not applicable [Only if respondent answered 999=Don't know or 0=Nothing, no problems on Q60]	7
Don't know [Do not read]	9

61B. In your opinion, is there any other political party that could do a better job in solving this problem? [Read out options]	
Yes	1
No	0
Not applicable [Only if respondent answered 999=Don't know or 0=Nothing, no problems on Q60]	7
Don't know [Do not read]	9

62. Which of the following do you see as the most important difference between the ruling party and opposition parties in Kenya? [Read out options.]	
There is no difference [Do not read]	0
The honesty or integrity of party leaders	1
The religion of party leaders or members	2
The economic and development policies each party wants to implement	3
The experience of party leaders and their ability to get things done	4
The ethnicity of party leaders or members	5
The personalities of party leaders	6
The regional identity of party leaders or members	7
None of these / Some other answer [Do not read]	8
Don't know [Do not read]	9

63. Looking at the ruling and opposition political parties in this country, which would you say is most able to address each of the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say? [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]				
	Ruling Coalition	Opposition party or parties	Neither of them [DNR]	DK / Haven't heard enough [DNR]
A. Controlling prices	1	2	3	9
B. Creating jobs	1	2	3	9
C. Improving basic health services	1	2	3	9
D. Fighting corruption in government	1	2	3	9
E-KEN Combating Insecurity	1	2	3	9

64. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statement: The political opposition in Kenya presents a viable alternative vision and plan for the country. [Probe for strength of opinion]	
Strongly disagree	1
Disagree	2
Neither agree nor disagree [Do not read]	3
Agree	4
Strongly agree	5
Don't know [DNR]	9

65. If the government of this country could increase its spending, which of the following areas do you think should be the top priority for additional investment? [Read out options] And which would be your second priority?		
	65A. First priority	65B. Second priority
Education	1	1
Infrastructure, like roads and bridges	2	2
Security, like the police and military	3	3
Healthcare	4	4
Agricultural development	5	5
Energy supply	6	6
KEN - Creation of jobs	7	7
KEN- Water and sanitation	8	8
None of the above [Do not read]	0	0
Don't Know / Can't remember [Do not read]	9	9

65C. If the government decided to make people pay more taxes or user fees in order to increase spending on public health care, would you support this decision or oppose it? [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion.]	
Strongly oppose	1
Somewhat oppose	2
Neither support nor oppose [Do not read]	3
Somewhat support	4
Strongly support	5
It depends (e.g., on size of the increase) [Do not read]	6
Don't know [Do not read]	9

Now let's speak about the performance of the present government of this country.					
66. How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say? [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]					
	Very Badly	Fairly Badly	Fairly Well	Very Well	DK / Haven't heard enough [DNR]
A. Managing the economy	1	2	3	4	9
B. Improving the living standards of the poor	1	2	3	4	9
C. Creating jobs	1	2	3	4	9
D. Keeping prices down	1	2	3	4	9
E. Narrowing gaps between rich and poor	1	2	3	4	9
F. Reducing crime	1	2	3	4	9
G. Improving basic health services	1	2	3	4	9
H. Addressing educational needs	1	2	3	4	9
I. Providing water and sanitation services	1	2	3	4	9
J. Ensuring everyone has enough to eat	1	2	3	4	9
K. Fighting corruption in government	1	2	3	4	9
L. Maintaining roads and bridges	1	2	3	4	9
M. Providing a reliable supply of electricity	1	2	3	4	9
N-KEN Fighting terrorism in Kenya	1	2	3	4	9

67. What about county government? I do not mean the national government. I mean your local county government. How well or badly would you say your county government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough about them to say? [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]					
	Very Badly	Fairly Badly	Fairly Well	Very Well	Don't know/ Haven't heard enough [DNR]
A. Maintaining local roads	1	2	3	4	9
B. Maintaining local market places	1	2	3	4	9
C-KEN Providing basic health services	1	2	3	4	9

68. Do you approve or disapprove of the way that the following people have performed their jobs over the past twelve months, or haven't you heard enough about them to say? [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]					
	Strongly Disapprove	Disapprove	Approve	Strongly Approve	Don't know/ Haven't heard enough [DNR]
A. President Uhuru Kenyatta	1	2	3	4	9
B. Your Member of Parliament	1	2	3	4	9
C. Your elected member of county assembly	1	2	3	4	9
C1-KEN Your County Governor	1	2	3	4	9
D. Your traditional leader	1	2	3	4	9

69. Who should be responsible for: [Read out options]						
	The President / Executive	The Parliament / County Assembly	Their Political Party	The Voters	No One [DNR]	Don't know [DNR]
A. Making sure that, once elected, Members of Parliament do their jobs?	0	1	2	3	4	9
B. Making sure that, once elected, Members of county assembly do their jobs?	0	1	2	3	4	9
C. Making sure that, once elected, the president does his job?	0	1	2	3	4	9

70. Based on your experience, how easy or difficult is it to do each of the following? [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]						
	Very easy	Easy	Difficult	Very difficult	Don't have to pay taxes [DNR]	Don't Know [DNR]
A. To find out what taxes and fees you are supposed to pay to the government?	1	2	3	4		9
B. To avoid paying the income or property taxes that you owe to government?	1	2	3	4	7	9

71A. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statement: ordinary people can make a difference in the fight against corruption? [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion.]	
Strongly disagree	1
Disagree	2
Neither agree nor disagree [Do not read]	3
Agree	4
Strongly agree	5
Don't know [Do not read]	9

71B. What is the most effective thing that an ordinary person like you can do to help combat corruption in this country? [Interviewer: Do not read options. Code from response.]	
Nothing / Ordinary people cannot do anything	0
Refuse to pay bribes	1
Report corruption when you see or experience it	2
Vote for clean candidates or parties or for parties that promise to fight corruption	3
Speak out about the problem, for example, by calling a radio program or writing a letter	4
Talk to friends and relatives about the problem	5
Sign a petition asking for a stronger fight against corruption	6
Join or support an organization that is fighting corruption	7
Participate in protest marches or demonstrations against corruption	8
Other [specify] _____	Post Code
Don't know [Do not read]	9999

72. In the last 5 years, how often, if ever, have you or anyone in your family been directly involved in an administrative, civil or criminal case that has come before a government court or tribunal as a claimant, as a respondent or defendant, or as a witness? [Read out options]	
Never	0
Once	1
Twice	2
Three or more times	3
Don't know / Can't remember [Do not read]	9

73. Have you encountered any of these problems in your experience with government courts in the past 5 years? [Read out options.] [Interviewer: For parts A-E, either ALL parts of the question should be coded as 7=No experience with courts, or NONE of the parts should be coded as 7.]						
	No experience with government courts in last 5 years [DNR]	Never	Once or Twice	A Few Times	Often	Don't Know [DNR]
A. You were unable to pay necessary costs and fees	7	0	1	2	3	9
B. You could not understand the legal processes and procedures	7	0	1	2	3	9
C. You could not obtain legal counsel or advice	7	0	1	2	3	9
D. The judge or magistrate did not listen to your side of the story	7	0	1	2	3	9
E. There were long delays in handling or resolving the case	7	0	1	2	3	9

74. Sometimes people do not take a case to the government courts, even if they think they have a legitimate complaint and deserve justice. In your opinion, what would be the most important reason that people like yourself would not take a case to court? And what would be the second most important reason? [Interviewer: Do not read options. Code from response.]		
	74A. 1st response	74B. 2nd response
Most people do take cases to court when they have a legitimate complaint	0	
They cannot find a lawyer	1	1
Lawyers are too expensive	2	2
Absence of legal aid services / absence of free legal help	3	3
Court costs are too expensive	4	4
Judges, prosecutors or court officials will demand money or a bribe to hear the case	5	5
People don't have enough time to go to court	6	6
The distance to the courts is too far	7	7
They don't speak the language spoken in the court	8	8
They don't know their legal rights and remedies	9	9
They don't know how to take a case to court	10	10
They think the processes are too complex / don't understand the legal process	11	11
They expect the case to take too long	12	12
They think the judges and court officials are incompetent	13	13
They do not expect fair treatment	14	14
They do not think the judges or courts are independent	15	15
Don't trust the courts	16	16
The courts favor the rich / powerful	17	17
They prefer to go to traditional leaders / local council / other non-government forum	18	18
Some other answer (1st response) Specify _____	Post Code	
Some other answer (2nd response) Specify _____	Post Code	
No further Answer		9996
Don't know /	9999	

75. I am now going to ask you about a range of different actions that some people take. For each of the following, please tell me whether you think the action is not wrong at all, wrong but understandable, or wrong and punishable:				
	Not wrong at all	Wrong but understandable	Wrong and punishable	Don't Know [DNR]
A. Not paying for the services they receive from government	1	2	3	9
B. Not paying the taxes they owe on their income	1	2	3	9

Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2. <i>[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion: Do you agree or agree very strongly?]</i>			
76.			
Statement 1: People living in East Africa should be able to move freely across international borders in order to trade or work in other countries.		Statement 2: Because foreign migrants take away jobs, and foreign traders sell their goods at very cheap prices, governments should protect their own citizens and limit the cross-border movement of people and goods.	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

77.			
Statement 1: The governments of each country in East Africa have a duty to try to guarantee free elections and prevent human rights abuses in other countries in the region, for example by using political pressure, economic sanctions or military force.		Statement 2: Each country in this region should respect the independence of other countries and allow them to make their own decisions about how their country should be governed.	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

78. In your opinion, how easy or difficult is it for people in East Africa to cross international borders in order to work or trade in other countries, or haven't you heard enough to say? [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion.]	
Very easy	4
Easy	3
Difficult	2
Very difficult	1
Never try	7
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

79. In your opinion, how much do each of the following do to help your country, or haven't you heard enough to say? <i>[Read out options]</i>					
	Do nothing, no help	Help a little bit	Help somewhat	Help a lot	Don't know/ Haven't heard enough [DNR]
A. East African Community (EAC)	0	1	2	3	9
B. African Union	0	1	2	3	9

80A. In your opinion, which of the following countries, if any, would be the best model for the future development of our country? [Read out options]			
United States			1
China			2
United Kingdom (UK)			3
India			4
South Africa			5
We should follow our own country's model [Do not read]			6
None of these [Do not read]			0
Other country [Specify]: _____	Post Code		
Don't know [Do not read]			9999

80B. Which of the following do you think has the most influence on Kenya , or haven't you heard enough to say? [Read out options]	
United States	1
China	2
The United Kingdom, you know, the UK	3
India	4
South Africa	5
International organizations like the United Nations or the World Bank	6
Some other country or organization [Do not read]	7
None of these have much influence [Do not read]	0
Don't know / Haven't heard enough [Do not read]	9

Now let's talk about the role that China plays in our country.

81A. How much influence do you think China's economic activities in Kenya have on our economy, or haven't you heard enough to say? [Read out options]	
A lot	3
Some	2
A little	1
None	0
Don't know / Haven't heard enough [Do not read]	9

81B. In general, do you think that China's economic and political influence on Kenya is mostly positive, or mostly negative, or haven't you heard enough to say? [Probe for strength of opinion]	
Very positive	5
Somewhat positive	4
Neither positive nor negative [Do not read]	3
Somewhat negative	2
Very negative	1
Don't know / Haven't heard enough [Do not read]	9

81C. Which of the following factors contributes most to positive image of China in Kenya, or haven't you heard enough to say? [Read out options]	
China's support for Kenya in international affairs	1
China's policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of African countries	2
China's investment in infrastructure or other development in Kenya	3
China's business investment	4
The cost of Chinese products	5
An appreciation of the Chinese people, culture and language	6
Some other factor [Do not read]	7
None of these [Do not read]	0
Don't know / Haven't heard enough [Do not read]	9

81D. Which of the following factors contributes most to negative images of China in Kenya, or haven't you heard enough to say? [Read out options]	
China's extraction of resources from Africa	1
Land grabbing by Chinese individuals or businesses	2
China's willingness to cooperate with undemocratic rulers in Africa	3
Chinese economic activities taking jobs or business from Kenya	4
The quality of Chinese products	5
The behavior of Chinese citizens in Kenya	6
Some other factor [Do not read]	7
None of these [Do not read]	0
Don't know / Haven't heard enough [Do not read]	9

81E. In your opinion, does China's economic development assistance to Kenya do a good job or a bad job of meeting the country's needs, or haven't you heard enough to say? [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]	
Very bad job	1
Somewhat bad job	2
Neither good nor bad job [Do not read]	3
Somewhat good job	4
Very good job	5
China doesn't give development assistance to Kenya [Do not read]	7
Don't know / Haven't heard enough [Do not read]	9

82A-KEN. Do you support the call to hold a public referendum about changing the provisions for revenue-sharing between county and national governments?	
No	0
Yes	1
Refused to answer	8
Does not know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

82-KEN. For each of the following statements, please tell me whether you disagree or agree, or haven't you heard enough to say? <i>[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]</i>						
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree <i>[DNR]</i>	Agree	Strongly Agree	Don't Know <i>[DNR]</i>
B. The national government has not been disbursing adequate funds to county governments as required by the new constitution.	1	2	3	4	5	9
C. County governments can raise enough extra resources through their own taxes to meet each county's needs	1	2	3	4	5	9
D The constitution should be amended to strengthen the provisions for sharing revenue and resolving disputes between county and national governments.	1	2	3	4	5	9

82E-KEN. Overall, how satisfied are you with the implementation of the new Constitution, or haven't you heard enough about it to say? <i>Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]</i>	
Very satisfied	4
Fairly satisfied	3
Not very satisfied	2
Not at all satisfied	1
Do not know/ Haven't heard enough <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

83-KEN. Thinking about public participation as enshrined in the new constitution; how easy or difficult would you say it is: <i>[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]</i>					
	Very easy	Easy	Difficult	Very difficult	Don't Know <i>[DNR]</i>
A. To participate in County budgeting and planning?	1	2	3	4	9
B. To influence County decision making?	1	2	3	4	9
C To access information on county budgets, legislation and project plans.	1	2	3	4	9

83D-KEN. Overall, how satisfied are you with the extent of public participation in the operations of your county government? Are you: <i>[Read out options. Only one option to be chosen.]</i>	
Very satisfied	4
Fairly satisfied	3
Not very satisfied	2
Not at all satisfied	1
There is no public participation <i>[Do not read]</i>	0
Do not know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

84-KEN. For each of the following statements, please tell me whether you disagree or agree, or haven't you heard enough to say? [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]						
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree [DNR]	Agree	Strongly Agree	Don't Know / Haven't heard enough [DNR]
A. The involvement of Kenya Defense Forces or KDF in Somalia has been necessary despite the terrorist problems resulting from it.	1	2	3	4	5	9
B. The KDF should pull out of Somalia.	1	2	3	4	5	9
C. "Nyumba Kumi" is a good security initiative that should be supported.	1	2	3	4	5	9

84D-KEN. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2. [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion: Do you agree or agree very strongly?]			
Statement 1: The Kenya Defense Forces or KDF should be deployed to handle internal security matters just like the police.		Statement 2: The KDF should only be used for matters involving external aggressions.	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither [Do not read]			5
Don't know [Do not read]			9

85-KEN. For each of the following statements, please tell me whether you disagree or agree? [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]						
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree [DNR]	Agree	Strongly Agree	Don't Know [DNR]
A. The prosecution of Kenyan leaders by the International Criminal Court or ICC is an important effort to fight impunity in Kenya.	1	2	3	4	5	9
B. As a sitting president, Uhuru Kenyatta made the right decision to honor the ICC summons to physically appear before the court.	1	2	3	4	5	9
C. The national assembly should pass legislation to enable Kenya to withdraw from the ICC	1	2	3	4	5	9

85D-KEN. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2. <i>[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion: Do you agree or agree very strongly?]</i>			
Statement 1: The ICC is an impartial international institution for justice.		Statement 2: The ICC is biased against Kenya and other African countries.	
Agree Very Strongly With Statement 1 1	Agree With Statement 1 2	Agree With Statement 2 3	Agree Very Strongly With Statement 2 4
Agree With Neither <i>[Do not read]</i>			5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>			9

86-KEN. Which of the following factors makes you most proud to be a Kenyan? <i>[Interviewer: Read out options]</i>	
Kenya's unique culture and heritage	1
The resilience of the Kenyan people and their ability to overcome challenges	2
The international success and recognition of famous Kenyan individuals and personalities.	3
Kenyan business and financial innovations , such as Mpesa	4
The quality of Kenyan businesses and products, like Kenya Airways or 'nyama choma'	5
Nothing / None of these / I am not proud to be a Kenyan <i>[Do not read]</i>	0
Some other factor <i>[Do not read]</i>	7
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

Let's go back to talking about you.			
87. What is your ethnic community, cultural group or tribe? <i>Do NOT read options. Code from response</i> <i>[If respondent does not identify any group on this question – that is, IF they REFUSE to answer (9998), DON'T KNOW (9999) or mention "Kenyan only (9990)" – then circle 7 = Not Applicable for Q88A and Q88B and continue to question Q89.]</i>			
Kikuyu	300	Taita	309
Luo	301	Somali	310
Luhya	302	Pokot	311
Kamba	303	Turkana	312
Kalenjin	304		
Kisii	305	Kenyan only, or "doesn't think of self in those terms"	9990
Meru/Embu	306	Refused to answer	9998
Masai/Samburu	307	Don't know	9999
MijiKenda	308	Other <i>[Specify]:</i>	Post code

88A. How often, if ever, are _____s <i>[R's Ethnic Group]</i> treated unfairly by the government? <i>[Read out options]</i> <i>[If respondent did not identify any group on Q87– that is, IF they REFUSED to answer (9998), DIDN'T KNOW (9999), or said "Kenyan only" (9990) – then circle 7 = Not Applicable for questions Q88A and Q88B and continue to question Q89.]</i>	
Never	0
Sometimes	1
Often	2
Always	3
Not applicable <i>[Do not read]</i>	7
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

88B. Let us suppose that you had to choose between being a Kenyan and being a _____ [R's ETHNIC GROUP]. Which of the following statements best expresses your feelings? [If respondent did not identify any group on Q87 – that is, IF they REFUSED to answer (9998), DIDN'T KNOW (9999), or said "Kenyan only" (9990) – then circle 7 = Not Applicable for questions 88A and 88B and continue to question 89.]

I feel only Kenyan	5
I feel more Kenyan than _____ [insert R's ethnic group]	4
I feel equally Kenyan and _____ [insert R's ethnic group]	3
I feel more _____ [insert R's ethnic group] than Kenyan	2
I feel only _____ [insert R's ethnic group]	1
Not applicable [Do not read]	7
Don't know [Do not read]	9

89. For each of the following types of people, please tell me whether you would like having people from this group as neighbors, dislike it, or not care. [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]

	Strongly dislike	Somewhat Dislike	Would not care	Somewhat like	Strongly like	Don't know [DNR]
A People of a different religion	1	2	3	4	5	9
B People from other ethnic groups	1	2	3	4	5	9
C Homosexuals	1	2	3	4	5	9
D People who have HIV/AIDS	1	2	3	4	5	9
E Immigrants or foreign workers	1	2	3	4	5	9

90A. Do you feel close to any particular political party?

No (does NOT feel close to ANY party)	0
Yes (feels close to a party)	1
Refused to answer	8
Does not know [Do not read]	9

90B. [Interviewer: if "Yes" to Q90A] Which party is that? [If answer to Q90A was "No," "Don't Know," or "Refused to answer," circle 9997 = Not applicable.]

Kenya Social Congress (KSC)	300
NARC Kenya	301
Orange Democratic Movement (ODM)	302
Restore and Build Kenya (RBK)	303
SAFINA party	304
The National Alliance (TNA)	305
United Democratic Front (UDF)	306
United Republican Party (URP)	307
Wiper Democratic Movement (WDM-K)	308
Other [Specify]: _____	Post code
Not applicable [ONLY if response to Q90A was "No," "Don't Know," or "Refused to answer"]	9997
Refused to answer [i.e., answered "Yes" to Q90A, but will not identify party]	9998
Don't know	9999

91. Which of these things do you personally own?

	No (Don't own)	Yes (Do Own)	Don't know [DNR]
A. Radio	0	1	9
B. Television	0	1	9
C. Motor vehicle or motorcycle	0	1	9
D. Mobile phone	0	1	9

92. How often do you use: [Read out options]

	Every day	A few times a week	A few times a month	Less than once a month	Never	Don't know [DNR]
A. Mobile phone?	4	3	2	1	0	9
B. The internet?	4	3	2	1	0	9

93. Please tell me whether each of the following are available inside your house, inside your compound, or outside your compound: [Read out options]					
	None, no latrine available [DNR]	Inside the house	Inside the compound	Outside the compound	Don't know [DNR]
A. Your main source of water for household use		1	2	3	9
B. A toilet or latrine	0	1	2	3	9

94. [Interviewer: If it is 100% clear that there is no electricity supply to the home, e.g., in an unserved rural area, do not ask the question of the respondent. Just select 0=No electricity supply and continue to the next question.] Do you have an electric connection to your home from the mains?	
No mains electric supply or connection to the home	0
[If yes] How often is electricity actually available?	
Never	1
Occasionally	2
About half of the time	3
Most of the time	4
All of the time	5
Don't know [Do not read]	9

95. Do you have a job that pays a cash income? [If yes, ask:] Is it full-time or part-time? [If no, ask:] Are you presently looking for a job?	
No (not looking)	0
No (looking)	1
Yes, part time	2
Yes, full time	3
Don't know [Do not read]	9

96A. What is your main occupation? (If unemployed, retired or disabled, what was your last main occupation?) [Do not read options. Code from responses.]	
Never had a job	0
Student	1
Housewife / homemaker	2
Agriculture / farming / fishing / forestry	3
Trader / hawker / vendor	4
Retail / Shop	5
Unskilled manual worker (e.g., cleaner, laborer, domestic help, unskilled manufacturing worker)	6
Artisan or skilled manual worker (e.g., trades like electrician, mechanic, machinist or skilled manufacturing worker)	7
Clerical or secretarial	8
Supervisor / Foreman / Senior Manager	9
Security services (police, army, private security)	10
Mid-level professional (e.g., teacher, nurse, mid-level government officer)	11
Upper-level professional (e.g., banker/finance, doctor, lawyer, engineer, accountant, professor, senior-level government officer)	12
Other	95
Don't know [Do not read]	99

96B. Do you work for yourself, for someone else in the private sector or the non-governmental sector, or for government? [Read out options]	
Works for self	1
Private sector	2
Non Governmental Organizations or civil society sector	3
Government	4
Not applicable [i.e., if answer to Q96A was unemployed, or student]	7
Don't know [Do not read]	9

97. What is your highest level of education? [Code from answer. Do not read options]	
No formal schooling	0
Informal schooling only (including Koranic schooling)	1
Some primary schooling	2
Primary school completed	3
Intermediate school or Some secondary school / high school	4
Secondary school / high school completed	5
Post-secondary qualifications, other than university e.g. a diploma or degree from a polytechnic or college	6
Some university	7
University completed	8
Post-graduate	9
Don't know [Do not read]	99

98A. What is your religion, if any? [Interviewer: Code from answer. Do not read options.]			
None			0
CHRISTIAN GROUPS / DENOMINATIONS			
Christian only (i.e., respondents says only "Christian", without identifying a specific sub-group)			1
Roman Catholic			2
Orthodox			3
Coptic			4
Protestant - Mainline			
Anglican			5
Lutheran			6
Methodist			7
Presbyterian			8
Baptist			9
Quaker / Friends			10
Mennonite			11
Dutch Reformed			30
Calvinist			31
Protestant – Non-mainline			
Evangelical			12
Pentecostal (e.g., "Born Again" and/or "Saved")			13
Independent (e.g., "African Independent Church")			14
Church of Christ			32
Zionist Christian Church			33
Others			
Jehovah's Witness			15
Seventh Day Adventist			16
Mormon			17
MUSLIM GROUPS / DENOMINATIONS			
Muslim only (i.e., respondents says only "Muslim", without identifying a specific sub-group)			18
Sunni			
Sunni only (i.e., respondents says only "Sunni" or "Sunni Muslim", without identifying a specific sub-group)			19
Ismaeli			20
Mouridiya Brotherhood			21
Tijaniya Brotherhood			22
Qadiriya Brotherhood			23
Shia			
Shia			24
OTHER			
Traditional / ethnic religion			25
Hindu			26
Bahai			27
Agnostic (Do not know if there is a God)			28
Atheist (Do not believe in a God)			29
Jewish			34
Other [Specify]: _____	Post Code		
Refused			9998
Don't know			9999

98B. People practice their religion in different ways. Aside from weddings and funerals, how often do you personally engage in religious practices like prayer, reading a religious book, or attending a religious service or a meeting of a religious group? Would you say you do so: [Read out options]

Never	0
A few times a year	1
About once a month	2
About once a week	3
A few times a week	4
About once a day	5
More than once a day	6
Respondent has no religion [Do not read]	7
Don't know [DNR]	9

99. If presidential elections were held tomorrow, which party's candidate would you vote for? [Do not read options. Code from response]

Kenya Social Congress (KSC)	300			
NARC Kenya	301			
Orange Democratic Movement (ODM)	302			
Restore and Build Kenya (RBK)	303			
SAFINA party	304			
The National Alliance (TNA)	305			
United Democratic Front (UDF)	306			
United Republican Party (URP)	307			
Wiper Democratic Movement (WDM-K)	308			
Other [Specify]: _____	Post Code			
Would not vote	9997			
Refused to answer	9998			
Don't know	9999			

100. Just one more question: Who do you think sent us to do this interview? [Do not read options. Code from response.]

No one	0
"Afrobarometer" or University of Nairobi / Institute for Development Studies [i.e., the correct response]	1
Research Company / Organization / Programme [but not AB or correct national partner]	2
Non-government or religious organization	3
University / School / College	4
Private company	5
Media	6
Political party or politician	7
Government (including any government official, government agency or ministry or any other part of government named by the respondent)	8
International organization or another country	9
God	10
Other	95
Refused to answer	98
Don't know	99

THANK YOU VERY MUCH. YOUR ANSWERS HAVE BEEN VERY HELPFUL.

END INTERVIEW -- DON'T FORGET TO COMPLETE NEXT SECTION

ALL SUBSEQUENT QUESTIONS SHOULD BE ANSWERED BY THE INTERVIEWER AFTER THE INTERVIEW IS CONCLUDED

	Hour	Minutes
ENDTIME. Time interview ended [Interviewer: Enter hour and minute, use 24 hr. clock]		

LENGTH. For Office Use: Duration of interview in minutes			
---	--	--	--

101. Respondent's gender	
Male	1
Female	2

102. Respondent's race?			
Black / African	1	South Asian (Indian, Pakistani, etc.)	5
White / European	2	East Asian (Chinese, Korean, Indonesian, etc.)	6
Coloured / Mixed race	3	Other	95
Arab / Lebanese / North African	4		

103. What was the primary language used in the interview?					
English	1	Kamba	303		
Swahili	4	Kalenjin	304		
Kikuyu	300				
Luo	301				
Luhya	302	Other [Specify]:	Post		

104. In what type of shelter does the respondent live?	
Non-traditional / formal house	1
Traditional house / hut	2
Temporary structure / shack	3
Flat in a block of flats	4
Single room in a larger dwelling structure or backyard	5
Hostel in an industrial compound or farming compound	7
Other	8

105. What was the roof of the respondent's home or shelter made of?	
Metal, aluminum, tin or zinc	1
Tiles	2
Shingles	3
Thatch or grass	4
Plastic sheets	5
Asbestos	6
Multiple materials	7
Concrete	8
Some other material	9
Could not tell / could not see	10

106. Were there any other people immediately present who might be listening during the interview?	
No one	1
Spouse only	2
Children only	3
A few others	4
Small crowd	5

107.	Yes	No
A. Did the respondent check with others for information to answer any question?	1	0
B. Do you think anyone influenced the respondent's answers during the interview?	1	0
C. Were you approached by community and/or political party representatives?	1	0
D. Did you feel threatened during the interview?	1	0
E. Were you physically threatened during the interview?	1	0

108. What proportion of the questions do you feel the respondent had difficulty answering?	
All	4
Most	3
Some	2
Few	1
None	0

109. Which questions did the respondent have trouble answering? [Identify up to three. If the respondent had trouble with less than three, enter "000" in the boxes.]			
A. First question			
B. Second question			
C. Third question			

110. What was the respondent's attitude toward you during the interview?			
A. Was he or she	1 Friendly	2 In between	3 Hostile
B. Was he or she	1 Interested	2 In between	3 Bored
C. Was he or she	1 Cooperative	2 In between	3 Uncooperative
D. Was he or she	1 Patient	2 In between	3 Impatient
E. Was he or she	1 At ease	2 In between	3 Suspicious
F. Was he or she	1 Honest	2 In between	3 Misleading

INTERVIEWER DETAILS

111. Interviewer Name [Write in]					
112. Interviewer's Number	K	E	N		
113. Interviewer's Age					

114. Interviewer's gender	
Male	1
Female	2

115. Do you come from a rural or urban area?	
Rural	1
Urban	2

116. Interviewer's home language:			
English	1	Meru/Embu	306
Swahili	4	Masai/Samburu	307
Kikuyu	300	MijiKenda	308
Luo	301	Taita	309
Luhya	302	Somali	310
Kamba	303	Pokot	311
Kalenjin	304	Turkana	312
Kisii	305	Other [Specify]:	Post code

117. Interviewer's highest level of education	
Primary school completed	3
Some secondary school / high school	4
Secondary school / high school completed	5
Post-secondary qualifications, other than university e.g. a diploma or degree from a polytechnic or college	6
Some university	7
University completed	8
Post graduate	9

SIGNATURE PAGE

118. INTERVIEWER: Do you have any other comments on the interview? For example, did anything else significant happen during the interview?

No	0
Yes: <i>[Explain]</i> _____	1

119. INTERVIEWER: I hereby certify that this interview was conducted in accordance with instructions received during training. All responses recorded here are those of the respondent who was chosen by the appropriate selection method.

INTERVIEWER SIGNATURE: _____

120. SUPERVISOR: Do you have any other comments on the interview? For example, did anything else significant happen during the interview?

No	0
Yes: <i>[Explain]</i> _____	1

121. SUPERVISOR: I hereby certify that this interview was conducted in accordance with instructions given to interviewers during training. All responses have been checked for completeness and accuracy. The information about the EA on the first page is based on observations I personally made in an area chosen by the appropriate sampling method.

SUPERVISOR SIGNATURE: _____

122. DATA ENTRY CLERK: I hereby certify that I have entered the data contained in this questionnaire, in accordance with the instructions given during briefing.

CLERK SIGNATURE: _____