

Six Texts Six Votes: Mobilizing Voters in the 2013 Kenyan Election

POST-ELECTION SURVEY NOVEMBER 2013

SECTION A: CONSENT

Good morning/afternoon/evening. My name is..... and I am working in collaboration with a team of university researchers from the United States. You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by Professor Tavneet Suri, Vincent Pons and Benjamin Marx, all researchers at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (M.I.T.). The participants in the study are all individuals who registered to vote in Kenya, just like you. Your participation in this study is completely voluntary and you are free to choose whether to be in it or not. If you choose to be in this study, you may subsequently withdraw from it at any time without penalty or consequences of any kind. Participation in this study is entirely voluntary at all times. You have the right not to participate at all or to leave the study at any time. Deciding not to participate or choosing to leave the study will not result in any penalty or loss of benefits to which you are entitled, and it will not harm your relationship with MIT or any of their employees. Throughout this study, researchers will tell you about new information related to the interventions in the study, or any other information that may affect your interest in remaining in the study. The investigators may stop the study or take you out of the study at any time they judge it is in your best interest. You can choose to stop participating in this study at any time. However, we encourage you to talk to the study research manager before you make a final decision to stop participating in the study.

The aim of the study is to understand how the text messages sent out by the IEBC before the election in March impacted attitudes and political participation and to what extent. We would also like to understand how useful text messages are in conveying information and what types of individuals respond most to text messages. This will help better plan future voter education exercises. If you choose to participate in this study, you will be asked to complete a short survey on election participation, attitudes and perceptions of the last election in 2013. Each survey will take at most 30 minutes of your time. There are no anticipated physical risks of participating in the study. Study subjects will not be directly paid for participating in the study. A token to cover the opportunity cost of time and the costs of phone charging (since the survey will be conducted via phone), paid out as airtime vouchers, with a value not exceeding \$1.50 will be given out. Every effort will be made to keep all your responses and other personal information confidential and protect it from unauthorized disclosure, tampering, or damage: all data from the study will be kept on a password-protected computer and access to this data will be limited to the investigators. All identifying information about the subjects who participate in the study (including names and employment information) will be destroyed within one year of the conclusion of the study. If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact Professor Tavneet Suri on +1 617-253-7159. Her address is E62-517, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Sloan School of Management, Cambridge, USA. Alternatively, please feel free to contact Suleiman Asman, a Research Manager based on the ground in Nairobi on +254 720963722. If you have any questions, problems, unexpected physical or psychological discomforts, or injuries, or think that something unusual or unexpected is happening in relation to this study, please call the Study Research Manager, Asman Suleiman on +254 720963722. In the event you suffer such an injury, M.I.T. may provide itself, or arrange for the provision of, emergency transport or medical treatment, including emergency treatment and follow-up care, as needed, or reimbursement for such medical services. M.I.T. does not provide any other form of compensation for injury. In any case, neither the offer to provide medical assistance, nor the actual provision of medical services shall be considered an admission of fault or acceptance of liability. Questions regarding this policy may be directed to MIT's Insurance Office. Your insurance carrier may be billed for the cost of emergency transport or medical treatment, if such services are determined not to be directly related to your participation in this study. You are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies because of your participation in this research study. If you feel you have been treated unfairly, or you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, you may contact the Chairman of the Committee on the Use of Humans as Experimental Subjects, M.I.T., Room E25-143B, 77 Massachusetts Ave, Cambridge, MA 02139.

Here is a copy of the description I just provided, which also has the title of the project and the contact information for lead investigators and for the office [provide information sheet to respondent]. Do you have any questions? May we have your permission to begin the interview, and would you be willing to participate?"

Please tick: **YES** the respondent is willing to participate | | **NO** the respondent is not willing to participate | | Reason why not?: | _____ |
 1=No time too busy, 2=Privacy Concerns, 3=Religious Concerns, 4=Other, Specify _____

HHID: _____

SECTION B: INTERVIEWER INFORMATION/IDENTIFICATION

<p>Enumerator instruction: call the phone number provided. Seek consent from the respondent. Questions 1-3 should be filled in by you. Then ask the respondent the remaining questions. If they fail to answer use the following codes: DK=-99; NA=-98; RTA=-97</p>		
1.	Enumerator name and ID	<p>First: _____ Last: _____</p> <p>Enumerator ID: _____</p>
2.	Individual's phone number	<p> __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ </p>
3.	Interview Language	<p>1. English, 2. Swahili, 3. Other specify _____</p> <p> __ </p>
4.	Interview Date	<p>Day: __ __ Month: __ __ Year: 2013</p>
5.	Start Time (24 Hour clock)	<p>Hour: __ __ Min: __ __ </p>
6.	Individual's name	<p>First: _____ Last: _____</p>
7.	Individual's gender	<p>1=Male, 2=Female</p> <p> __ </p>
8.	Where do you live?	<p>Province: 1=Nairobi, 2=Coast, 3=Eastern, 4=Central, 5=Rift Valley, 6=Western, 7=Nyanza, 8 =NE</p> <p> __ </p>
		<p>County: _____ Sub location: _____</p>
		<p>District: _____ Village (if rural) : _____ or town (if urban): _____</p>
		<p>Location: _____ Constituency: _____</p>
9.	How long have you lived there?	<p>Number of years: __ __ </p> <p>Number of months: __ __ </p>
10.	Where were you born?	<p>Province: 1=Nairobi, 2=Coast, 3=Eastern, 4=Central, 5=Rift Valley, 6=Western, 7=Nyanza, 8 =NE</p> <p> __ </p>
		<p>County: _____ Sub location: _____</p>
		<p>District: _____ Village (if rural): _____ or town (if urban): _____</p>
		<p>Location: _____ Constituency: _____</p>

HHID: _____

SECTION C: SOCIOECONOMICS

1.	What is your age?	Years: __ __ __	Months: __ __
2.	What is the highest level of education you have completed?	USE EDUCATION CODES	__
3.	Can you read?	1=Yes, 2=No	__
4.	What is your marital status?	1=Single, 2=Monogamously married, 3=Polygamous married, 4=Cohabiting, 5=Separated, 6=Widowed, 7=Divorced, 8=Other, specify	__
5.	How many children do you have?	__ __	
6.	How many people above the age of 18 live with you?	__ __	
7.	What is your main occupation?	USE OCCUPATION CODES	__
8.	Does your household own or rent the place where you live?	1=Own, 2=Rent, 3=Occupy without ownership or payment, 4=Other, specify	__
9.	How much land does your household own, if any? (acres)	__ __ __	
10.	Does your household own a TV?	1=Yes, 2=No	__
11.	Does your household own a radio?	1=Yes, 2=No	__
12.	Does your household own a bicycle?	1=Yes, 2=No	__
13.	Does your household own a car/motorbike/truck?	1=Yes, 2=No	__
14.	Does your household own a water tank?	1=Yes, 2=No	__
15.	Does your household own a car battery?	1=Yes, 2=No	__
16.	Does your household own a computer?	1=Yes, 2=No	__
17.	Does your household own a generator?	1=Yes, 2=No	__
18.	Does your household own a refrigerator?	1=Yes, 2=No	__
19.	Does your household own a stove?	1=Yes, 2=No	__
20.	Does your household own any livestock?	1=Yes, 2=No	__
21.	What is your main source of lighting?	1=Electricity, 2=Lantern, 3=Pressure lamp or tin lamp, 4=Fuel wood, 5=Solar, 6=Other, specify	__

HHID: _____

22.	What type of toilet do you use?	1=Own flush toilet, 2=Shared flush toilet, 3=Ventilated Improved Pit (VIP), 4=Traditional pit, 5=bucket, 6=bush/river/stream, 7=Other, specify	__
23.	What is your main source of cooking fuel?	1=Firewood, 2=Charcoal, 3=Kerosene, 4=Gas, 5=Electricity, 6=Other, specify	__
24.	What is your main source of drinking water?	1=Piped in compound/ House, 2=Public tap, 3=Mechanical well, 4=Ordinary well, 5=Water trucks, 6=Spring, 7= River/stream/pond, 8=Dam, 9=Rainwater, 10=Borehole, 11=Tank, 12=Other, specify	__
25.	What is the main type of material that the roof of the main house is made of?	1=Grass/ thatch, 2=Corrugated Iron (mabati), 3=Tiles, 4=Wood, 5= Tarpaulin/plastic sheets, 6= Asbestos, 7=Concrete, 8=Other, specify	__
26.	What is the main type of material that the walls of the main house are made of?	1=Stone, 2=Brick, 3=Iron sheet, 4=Mud/dung, 5=Wood, 6=Other, specify	__
27.	What is the main type of material that the floor of the main house is made of?	1=Mud/Dung/ Sand (Natural floor), 2=Wood Planks (Rudimentary floor), 3=Polished wood/ vinyl/ tiles (Finished), 4=Cement, 5=Other, specify	__
28.	How often do you listen to the radio?	1= Once a day, 2= Once a week, 3= Once a month, 4= Once in two months, 5=Once in six months, 6=Once a year, 7=Never, 8=Other, specify	__
29.	What sorts of programs do you usually listen to on the radio?	1=news/current events, 2=talk shows, 3=sports, 4=drama, 5=religious, 6=music, 7=social announcements, 8=other, specify	__
30.	How often do you watch TV?	1= Once a day, 2= Once a week, 3= Once a month, 4= Once in two months, 5=Once in six months, 6=Once a year, 7=Never, 8=Other, specify	__
31.	What sorts of programs do you usually watch on the TV?	1=news/current events, 2=talk shows, 3=sports, 4=drama, 5=religious, 6=music, 7=social announcements, 8=other, specify	__
32.	How often do you read a newspaper?	1= Once a day, 2= Once a week, 3= Once a month, 4= Once in two months, 5=Once in six months, 6=Once a year, 7=Never, 8=Cannot read, 9=Other, specify	__
33.	What is your favorite newspaper to read? Enumerator: do not prompt; allow multiple responses	1=Nation, 2=Standard, 3=Taifa Leo, 4=The People Daily, 5=Other, specify, 6=Cannot read, 7=No preference	__ , __ , __
34.	Are you a member of a community organization or group or of a credit, saving or insurance group (eg cooperatives, SACCO, merry-go-round)?	1=Yes, 2=No	__
35.	What is your religious affiliation?	1=Catholic, 2=Protestant, 3=Adventist, 4=Muslim, 5=Atheist (none), 6=Other, specify:	__
36.	How often do you attend a religious event like Church or Mosque?	1= Once a day, 2= Once a week, 3= Once a month, 4= Once in two months, 5=Once in six months, 6=Once a year, 7=Never, 8=Other, specify	__
37.	What is your tribe?	1=Luo, 2=Luhya, 3=Kalenjin, 4=Kamba, 5=Kikuyu, 6=Other, specify	__
38.	What is the tribe of your mother?		__
39.	What is the tribe of your father?		__

OCCUPATION CODES

HHID: _____

- | | | | | | |
|-------------------|---------------------|----------------------|---------------------|------------------|----------------------|
| 1=Farming | 6=Conductor | 11=Mechanic | 16=Watchman | 21=Teacher | 26=Student |
| 2=Public service | 7=Cleaner/househelp | 12=Industrial worker | 17=Messenger | 22=Health worker | 27=Business, specify |
| 3=Carpenter/mason | 8=Waiter/cook | 13=Manager | 18=Sales/shopkeeper | 23=Doctor | 28=Salonist |
| 4=Clerk | 9=Driver | 14=Dairy farmer | 19=Secretary | 24=Nurse | 29=Retired |
| 5=Policeman | 10=Electrician | 15=Professional | 20=Tailor | 25=Unemployed | 30=Other, specify |
- EDUCATION CODES**
- | | | | | | |
|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|---------------|-------------------|
| 0=None | 10=Form 2 | 13=Form 5 | 16=Univ 2 | 19=Univ 5 | 22=Adult educ |
| 1-8=Std1-8 | 11=Form 3 | 14=Form 6 | 17=Univ 3 | 20=Nursery | 23=Other, specify |
| 9=Form 1 | 12=Form 4 | 15=Univ 1 | 18=Univ 4 | 21=Vocational | |

SECTION D: POLITICAL ATTITUDES, KNOWLEDGE AND BEHAVIOR/PARTICIPATION

Enumerator instruction: Please say: "Thanks a lot for answering all my questions so far. I will now finish the interview with a few questions regarding the last general election." Do not prompt the answers at all.			
1.	What does IEBC stand for?		
2.	What are the missions of the IEBC? Enumerator: If the respondent provides one answer prompt them a second time to ask if they know of other missions of the IEBC.	1. 2. 3. 4.	
3.	Can you tell me what the date of the last general election was? DD/MM/YYYY	_ _ / _ _ / _ _ _ _ _ _	
4.	Who was elected President? Name and party. Enumerator: do not prompt	Name:	
		1= Uhuru Kenyatta, 2=Other, specify	_ _
		Party:	
		1=The National Alliance (TNA), 2=Jubilee, 3=Other, specify	_ _
Specify: _____		Specify: _____	
5.	Who is your county governor? Name and party	Name:	Party:
6.	Who is your senator? Name and party	Name:	Party:
7.	What is the role of the Women's Rep? Enumerator: prompt	1=She sits with the country governor, 2=She sits in the parliament, 3=She sits in the senate	_ _
8.	Who is the current president of Uganda? If no specify Enumerator: do not prompt	1= Yoweri Museveni, 2=Other, specify	
		Specify if other: _____	
9.	Did you receive any text messages related to the election after getting registered and before the election?	1=Yes, 2=No	_ _
10.	If Q9=Yes, do you remember from whom you received texts? Enumerator: allow multiple responses, do not prompt.	1=IEBC, 2=Political party, specify which, 3=NGO, specify which, 4=Presidential candidate, specify which, 5=Other, specify	_ _ , _ _ , _ _ , _ _ Specify: _____

11.	If Q9=Yes, how many texts did you receive in total from all organizations before the election but after registering to vote?	__ __ __	
12.	If Q9=Yes and an answer from Q10=1, how many text messages did you receive from the IEBC?	__ __ __	
13.	If Q9=Yes, do you remember what these messages were about? If yes, please specify. Enumerator: allow multiple responses	1=Yes, 2=No	__
		Specify 1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____	
14.	If Q9=Yes, did you mention these messages to anyone else?	1=Yes, 2=No	__
15.	If Q14=Yes, to whom did you mention these messages? Enumerator: allow multiple responses	1=Nobody, 2=family members, 3=friends, 4=neighbors, 5=other, specify	__ , __ , __ , __ , __
16.	Did anyone else mention to you that they received texts about the election before the election happened?	1=Yes, 2=No	__
17.	If Q16=Yes, from whom did you hear about these messages? Enumerator: allow multiple responses	1=Nobody, 2=family members, 3=friends, 4=neighbors, 5=other, specify	__ , __ , __ , __ , __
18.	If Q16=Yes, do you know or remember from whom this person received texts? Enumerator: allow multiple responses, do not prompt.	1=IEBC, 2=Political party, specify which, 3=NGO, specify which, 4=Presidential candidate, specify which, 5=Other, specify	__ , __ , __ , __
19.	If Q18=Yes, do you remember what these messages were about? If yes, please specify.	1=Yes, 2=No	__
		Specify 1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____	
20.	Before the election, but after registering to vote, did you receive any other information on the elections or any encouragement to vote from some party or organization (eg a phone call, a visit, a flyer)?	1=Yes, 2=No	__
21.	If Q20=Yes, of what form/how?	1=Phone call, 2=In person visit, 3=Leaflet or flyer, 4=Went to a political meeting, 5=Radio shows, 6=TV shows, 7=Road shows, 8=Other, specify	__
22.	If Q20=Yes, from whom did you receive this information? Enumerator: allow multiple responses	1=IEBC, 2=Political party, specify which, 3=NGO, specify which, 4=Presidential candidate, specify which, 5=Other, specify	__ , __ , __ , __ Specify: _____

HHID: _____

23.	Did you go to a political meeting or a road show?	1=Yes, 2=No	__
24.	Did you listen to political radio shows or watch political TV shows?	1=Yes, 2=No	__
25.	Overall, do you feel you were well informed about the election?	1=Yes, 2=No	__
26.	How much did you follow the campaigns for the election, on a scale of 1-5 where 1 is not at all and 5 is very intensely (such as on a daily basis)?	Enumerator: range is 1-5	__
27.	How much did you discuss the elections with your friends, family members and neighbors, on a scale of 1-5 where 1 is not at all and 5 is very intensely (such as on a daily basis)?	Enumerator: range is 1-5	__
28.	How many of the presidential debates between the candidates did you watch on TV?	Enumerator: range is 0-2	__
29.	Did the last elections affect or change your life in any way?	1=Yes, 2=No	__
30.	If Q29=Yes, how?		
31.	How do you feel about the outcome of the last elections?	1=Very satisfied, 2=Satisfied, 3=Indifferent, 4=Dissatisfied, 5=Very dissatisfied	__
<i>Do you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding politics in Kenya?</i>			
32.	Politics and government sometimes seem so complicated that you can't really understand what is going on.	1=Strongly agree, 2=Agree, 3=Neither agree nor disagree, 4=Disagree, 5=Strongly disagree	__
33.	The world is run by few people in power, and there is not much that someone like me can do about it.	1=Strongly agree, 2=Agree, 3=Neither agree nor disagree, 4=Disagree, 5=Strongly disagree	__
34.	We should choose our leaders in this country through regular, open and honest elections.	1=Strongly agree, 2=Agree, 3=Neither agree nor disagree, 4=Disagree, 5=Strongly disagree	__
35.	Which of the following statements is closest to your own opinion?	1=Democracy is preferable to any other kind of govt, 2=In some circumstances, a non-democratic govt can be preferable, 3=For someone like me, it doesn't matter what govt we have	__
36.	Overall how satisfied are you with how democracy works in Kenya?	1=Very satisfied, 2=Fairly satisfied, 3=Not very satisfied, 4=Not at all satisfied, 5=Kenya is not a democracy (Enumerator: don't prompt option 5)	__
<i>For each of the following pairs of statements, tell me which of the two is closest to your view about Kenyan politics. Choose either Statement 1 or Statement 2</i>			
37.	1: The use of violence is never justified in politics.	2: In this country it is sometimes necessary to use violence in support of a just cause.	__

HHID: _____

38.	1: As citizens we should be more active in questioning the actions of our leaders.	2: In our country these days we should show more respect for authority.	__
39.	1: All people should be permitted to vote, even if they do not fully understand all the issues in an election.	2: Only those who are sufficiently well educated should be allowed to choose our leaders.	__
40.	1: Women can be good politicians and should be encouraged to stand in elections.	2: Women should stay at home to take care of their children.	__
41.	1: In our country, it is normal to pay a bribe to a government official to encourage them.	2: It is wrong to pay a bribe to any government official.	__
Enumerator: Say "Now I am going to ask you some questions on trust."			
42.	Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you need to be very careful in dealing with people?	1=Most people can be trusted, 2=Need to be careful	__
43.	In general, can you trust members of your tribe?	1=Yes, 2=No	__
44.	In general, can you trust members in other tribes?	1=Yes, 2=No	__
45.	How important is your ethnic or tribal origin to your life?	1=Very important, 2=Somewhat important, 3=Not important	__
46.	Do you trust the IEBC, the electoral commission of Kenya?	1=Yes, 2=No	__
47.	Do you trust the Supreme court?	1=Yes, 2=No	__
48.	Do you trust the police?	1=Yes, 2=No	__
49.	Do you think the elections this year were fair and transparent?	1=Yes, 2=No	__
50.	Do you think the IEBC, the electoral commission of Kenya, should be replaced?	1=Yes, 2=No	__
51.	Do you think the supreme court decision on the election was fair?	1=Yes, 2=No	__
52.	How interested are you in public affairs?	1=Very interested, 2=Somewhat interested, 3=Not interested	__
53.	In general, in your life, are you very happy, somewhat happy or not happy?	1=Very happy, 2=Somewhat happy, 3=Not happy	__
Enumerator: Say "Now I am going to ask you some questions about your participation in this past election and previous elections."			
54.	Did you register to vote for the 2013 election?	1=Yes, 2=No	__
55.	If Q54=Yes, where did you register to vote?	Polling Station: _____	Constituency: _____ Ward: _____
56.	How far is that from where you live?	Distance (km): __ __ __ __ Minutes to walk: __ __ __ __ or Hours in a matatu: __ __ __ __	

HHID: _____

57.	Is it located in the same town or village as where you live?	1=Yes, 2=No	__
58.	Did you vote in the general election this year?	1=Yes, 2=No	__
59.	Where did you vote?	Polling station: _____	Constituency: _____
			Ward: _____
60.	Did you vote for President?	1=Yes, 2=No	__
61.	If Q60=No, why not?	1=Did not know candidates/did not have enough information, 2=Was told not to, 3=Didn't think my vote would matter, 4=Other, specify	__
62.	Did you vote for MP?	1=Yes, 2=No	__
63.	If Q62=No, why not?	1=Did not know candidates/did not have enough information, 2=Was told not to, 3=Didn't think my vote would matter, 4=Other, specify	__
64.	Did you vote for Governor?	1=Yes, 2=No	__
65.	If Q64=No, why not?	1=Did not know candidates/did not have enough information, 2=Was told not to, 3=Didn't think my vote would matter, 4=Other, specify	__
66.	Did you vote for Senator?	1=Yes, 2=No	__
67.	If Q66=No, why not?	1=Did not know candidates/did not have enough information, 2=Was told not to, 3=Didn't think my vote would matter, 4=Other, specify	__
68.	Did you vote for Women's Rep?	1=Yes, 2=No	__
69.	If Q68=No, why not?	1=Did not know candidates/did not have enough information, 2=Was told not to, 3=Didn't think my vote would matter, 4=Other, specify	__
70.	Did you vote for Ward Rep?	1=Yes, 2=No	__
71.	If Q70=No, why not?	1=Did not know candidates/did not have enough information, 2=Was told not to, 3=Didn't think my vote would matter, 4=Other, specify	__
72.	Did you vote in the previous general election in 2007?	1=Yes, 2=No	__
73.	Were you affected by the violence following the last election in 2007/2008?	1=Yes, 2=No	__
74.	If Q73=Yes, how were you affected? Enumerator: allow multiple responses	1=Someone in my HH died, 2=Someone in my HH was injured, 3=My HH was displaced, 4=A relative outside my HH was killed, 5=A relative outside my HH was injured, 6=A related HH was displaced, 7=Other, specify	__ , __ , __ , __
75.	Did you vote in the 2010 constitutional referendum?	1=Yes, 2=No	__

Thank you for your time