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

#### **POST-ELECTION SURVEY NOVEMBER 2013**

#### **SECTION A: CONSENT**

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 Tayneet 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.

sheet to respondent]. Do you have any questions? May we have your permission to begin the interview, and would you be willing to participate?"					
	YES the respondent is willing to participate     , 2=Privacy Concerns, 3=Religious Concerns, 4=Other,	NO the respondent is not willing to participate     Specify	Reason why not?:		

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

Elections Endline Page **1** of **9** 12 July 2015

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### SECTION B: INTERVIEWER INFORMATION/IDENTIFICATION

	rator instruction: call the phone numbel ons. If they fail to answer use the followi	· ·	3 should be filled in by you. Then ask the respondent the remaining
1.	Enumerator name and ID	First:Last:	Enumerator ID:
2.	Individual's phone number		
3.	Interview Language	1. English, 2. Swahili, 3. Other specify	II
4.	Interview Date	Day:	Month:    Year: <b>2013</b>
5.	Start Time (24 Hour clock)	Hour:	Min:
6.	Individual's name	First:	Last:
7.	Individual's gender	1=Male, 2=Female	lI
8.	Where do you live?	Province: 1=Nairobi, 2=Coast, 3=Eastern, 4=Central, 5=Ri 6=Western, 7=Nyanza, 8 =NE	ft Valley,
		County:	Sub location:
		District:	Village (if rural): or town (if urban):
		Location:	Constituency:
9.	How long have you lived there?		er of years:    r of months:
10.	Where were you born?	Province: 1=Nairobi, 2=Coast, 3=Eastern, 4=Central, 5=Rift Valley, 6=Western, 7=Nyanza, 8 =NE	<u>  </u>
		County:	Sub location:
		District:	Village (if rural): or town (if urban):
		Location:	Constituency:

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### **SECTION C: SOCIOECONOMICS**

1.	What is your age?	Years:     Months:	
2.	What is the highest level of education you have completed?	USE EDUCATION CODES	lI
3.	Can you read?	1=Yes, 2=No	ll
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	ll
5.	How many children do you have?	II	
6.	How many people above the age of 18 live with you?	II	
7.	What is your main occupation?	USE OCCUPATION CODES	ll
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	ll
9.	How much land does your household own, if any? (acres)		
10.	Does your household own a TV?	1=Yes, 2=No	ll
11.	Does your household own a radio?	1=Yes, 2=No	ll
12.	Does your household own a bicycle?	1=Yes, 2=No	ll
13.	Does your household own a car/motorbike/truck?	1=Yes, 2=No	ll
14.	Does your household own a water tank?	1=Yes, 2=No	ll
15.	Does your household own a car battery?	1=Yes, 2=No	ll
16.	Does your household own a computer?	1=Yes, 2=No	ll
17.	Does your household own a generator?	1=Yes, 2=No	ll
18.	Does your household own a refrigerator?	1=Yes, 2=No	ll
19.	Does your household own a stove?	1=Yes, 2=No	ll
20.	Does your household own any livestock?	1=Yes, 2=No	ll
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	ll

24. What is your main 25. What is the main main house is ma	n source of cooking fuel? n source of drinking water?  type of material that the roof of the ide of? type of material that the walls of	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  1=Firewood, 2=Charcoal, 3=Kerosene, 4=Gas, 5=Electricity, 6=Other, specify  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  1=Grass/ thatch, 2=Corrugated Iron (mabati), 3=Tiles, 4=Wood, 5= Tarpaulin/plastic sheets, 6= Asbestos, 7=Concrete, 8=Other, specify  1=Stone, 2=Brick, 3=Iron sheet, 4=Mud/dung, 5=Wood, 6=Other, specify	    
24. What is your main  25. What is the main main house is ma  26. What is the main	n source of drinking water?  type of material that the roof of the ide of?  type of material that the walls of	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  1=Grass/ thatch, 2=Corrugated Iron (mabati), 3=Tiles, 4=Wood, 5= Tarpaulin/plastic sheets, 6= Asbestos, 7=Concrete, 8=Other, specify	 
25. What is the main main house is ma 26. What is the main	type of material that the roof of the ide of? type of material that the walls of	trucks, 6=Spring, 7= River/stream/pond, 8=Dam, 9=Rainwater, 10=Borehole, 11=Tank, 12=Other, specify  1=Grass/ thatch, 2=Corrugated Iron (mabati), 3=Tiles, 4=Wood, 5= Tarpaulin/plastic sheets, 6= Asbestos, 7=Concrete, 8=Other, specify	
main house is ma 26. What is the main	type of material that the walls of	sheets, 6= Asbestos, 7=Concrete, 8=Other, specify	ll
	• •	1-Stone 2-Brick 3-Iron sheet 4-Mud/dung 5-Wood 6-Other specify	
		1-Stone, 2-Brick, 3-Holl slicet, 4-Mud/ dulig, 3-Wood, 0-Other, specify	II
27. What is the main the main house is	type of material that the floor of smade of?	1=Mud/Dung/ Sand (Natural floor), 2=Wood Planks (Rudimentary floor), 3=Polished wood/ vinyl/ tiles (Finished), 4=Cement, 5=Other, specify	l <u> </u>
28. How often do you	u 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	II
29. What sorts of pro	ograms do you usually listen to on	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	u 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	II
31. What sorts of pro	ograms do you usually watch on the	1=news/current events, 2=talk shows, 3=sports, 4=drama, 5=religious, 6=music, 7=social announcements, 8=other, specify	II
32. How often do you	u 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	
1	orite newspaper to read? not prompt; allow multiple	1=Nation, 2=Standard, 3=Taifa Leo, 4=The People Daily, 5=Other, specify, 6=Cannot read, 7=No preference	,
group or of a cred	er of a community organization or dit, saving or insurance group (eg CCO, merry-go-round)?	1=Yes, 2=No	
35. What is your relig		1=Catholic, 2=Protestant, 3=Adventist, 4=Muslim, 5=Atheist (none), 6=Other, specify:	II
36. How often do you Church or Mosqu	u attend a religious event like ue?	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	ll
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?		II
39. What is the tribe	of your father?		ll

#### 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

	rator instruction: Please say: "Thanks a lot for answering a	ll my questions so far. I will no	w finish the interview with a f	ew questions regarding the las	t general election."
	prompt the answers at all.				
1.	What does IEBC stand for?				
2.	What are the missions of the IEBC? Enumerator: If the	1.			
	respondent provides one answer prompt them a second	2.			
	time to ask if they know of other missions of the IEBC.	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.	Na	ame:	Party:	
	Enumerator: do not prompt	1= Uhuru Kenyatta,		1=The National Alliance	
		2=Other, specify	1 1	(TNA), 2=Jubilee,	1 1
				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 g parliament, 3=She sits in the		II	
8.	Who is the current president of Uganda? If no specify	1= Yoweri Muse	eveni, 2=Other, specify	<u> </u>	
	Enumerator: do not prompt	Specify if other:			
9.	Did you receive any text messages related to the election	1=Yes, 2=No		<u> </u>	
	after getting registered and before the election?				
10.	If Q9=Yes, do you remember from whom you received	1=IEBC, 2=Political party, spe	ecify which, 3=NGO, specify		
	texts? Enumerator: allow multiple responses, do not	which, 4=Presidential candic	late, specify which, 5=Other,	Specify:	
	prompt.	specify			

			HHID:
11.	If Q9=Yes, how many texts did you receive in total from all organizations before the election but after registering to vote?	II	II
12.	If Q9=Yes and an answer from Q10=1, how many text messages did you receive from the IEBC?	ll	ll
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	_ _
14.	If Q9=Yes, did you mention these messages to anyone else?	1=Yes, 2=No	ll
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	II
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	1=Yes, 2=No	
	about? If yes, please specify.	Specify 1	<del>-</del>
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	II
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	<u> </u>
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	II
24.	Did you listen to political radio shows or watch political TV shows?	1=Yes, 2=No	ll
25.	Overall, do you feel you were well informed about the election?	1=Yes, 2=No	lI
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	ll
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	
	Do you agree or disa	gree with the following statements regarding politics in Ker	nya?
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	ll
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	lI
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)	
		ch of the two is closest to your view about Kenyan politics. C	Choose either Statement 1 or Statement 2
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.	ll

			HHID:	
38.	1: As citizens we should be more active in questioning the	2: In our country these days we should show n	nore	
	actions of our leaders.	respect for authority.		
39.	1: All people should be permitted to vote, even if they do	2: Only those who are sufficiently well educate	ed should	
	not fully understand all the issues in an election.	be allowed to choose our leaders.		
40.	1: Women can be good politicians and should be	2: Women should stay at home to take care of	their	lI
	encouraged to stand in elections.	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 governmen	t official.	II
		ay "Now I am going to ask you some questions	on trust."	
42.	Generally speaking, would you say that most people can	1=Most people can be trusted, 2=Need to be o	careful	1 1
	be trusted or that you need to be very careful in dealing	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,		··
	with people?			
43.	In general, can you trust members of your tribe?	1=Yes, 2=No		II
44.	In general, can you trust members in other tribes?	1=Yes, 2=No		II
45.	How important is your ethnic or tribal origin to your life?	1=Very important, 2=Somewhat important, 3= important	:Not	II
46.	Do you trust the IEBC, the electoral commission of Kenya?	1=Yes, 2=No		1 1
40.	,	,		11
47.	Do you trust the Supreme court?	1=Yes, 2=No		
48.	Do you trust the police?	1=Yes, 2=No		ll
49.	Do you think the elections this year were fair and transparent?	1=Yes, 2=No		II
50.	Do you think the IEBC, the electoral commission of Kenya,	1=Yes, 2=No		
	should be replaced?			
51.	Do you think the supreme court decision on the election was fair?	1=Yes, 2=No		ll
52.	How interested are you in public affairs?	1=Very interested, 2=Somewhat interested, 3=interested	=Not	lI
53.	In general, in your life, are you very happy, somewhat happy or not happy?	1=Very happy, 2=Somewhat happy, 3=Not hap	рру	lI
Enume	rator: Say "Now I am going to ask you some questions abou	t vour participation in this past election and pr	evious elections."	
54.	Did you register to vote for the 2013 election?	1=Yes, 2=No		1 1
		·		''
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		II
58.	Did you vote in the general election this year?	1=Yes, 2=No		II
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		ll
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		II
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		II
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		ll
68.	Did you vote for Women's Rep?	1=Yes, 2=No		ll
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		II
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		ll
72.	Did you vote in the previous general election in 2007?	1=Yes, 2=No		ll
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		lI

## Thank you for your time