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**PRE-ELECTIONS OBSERVATION:**  
**REGISTRATION OF VOTERS IN 2007**

**AN AUDIT**



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**Institute for Education in Democracy**

**Jumuia Place, Lenana Road**

P.O. Box 43874 - 00100 GPO

Nairobi-Kenya

Telephone: +254 (0) 20 2731125/7, 2722431

Fax: 254 (0) 20 2730165

E-mail: [ied@iedafrica.org](mailto:ied@iedafrica.org)

Website: <http://www.iedafrica.org>

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## ACRONYMS and abbreviations

<b>ACE</b>	Administration and Cost of Elections.
<b>AEC</b>	Australian Electoral Commission
<b>AUSAID</b>	Australian Agency for International Development
<b>BRIDGE</b>	Building Resources in Democracy, Governance and Elections
<b>Cap</b>	Chapter
<b>DFID</b>	British Department for International Development
<b>DRC</b>	District Registration Committees
<b>DECs</b>	District Election Coordinators
<b>ECK</b>	Electoral Commission of Kenya
<b>EMBs</b>	Electoral Management Bodies
<b>FGD</b>	Focused Group Discussions
<b>IED</b>	Institute for Education in Democracy
<b>IDEA</b>	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
<b>ID card</b>	National Identity Card
<b>NRB</b>	National Registration Bureau
<b>RNE</b>	Royal Netherlands Embassy
<b>ROs</b>	Registration Officers
<b>SADC</b>	Southern African Development Community
<b>UNEAD</b>	United Nations Election Assistance Division

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The format, layout, background information are borrowed from earlier audits conducted in 2002 and 2004 entitled Registration of Voters in 2002: An Audit Report and Registration of Voters: 2003 - 2004 An Audit.

I hope you will find this study as enlightening as I did and enjoy reading it as I did!

Thank you.

**Koki Muli**  
**Executive Director**  
**Institute for Education in Democracy (IED)**

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## *Executive Summary*

**T**he Institute for Education in Democracy (IED) is a Non-Governmental Organization providing non partisan leadership in governance and electoral processes through Programmes in the Electoral Process, Civic/Voter education, Research and Dissemination, Advocacy and Provision of Technical Assistance and support. The focus of IED work since its inception in 1993 has been the provision of non partisan and gender balanced information and skills to empower male and female citizens to effectively participate in governance and democratic processes and to contribute towards the creation of positive political behavior and culture of democracy and ethics. IED promotes the view that an informed citizenry is an empowered citizenry that is capable of holding leaders accountable for their actions. IED believes in empowering voters to take part in the governance and development of their country.

Electoral malpractices observed on the polling day are not always the most serious threat to free and fair elections. Experience has shown that more discreet and often more effective ways of rigging of elections take place in the months leading up to the elections. Tampering with voters' rolls/registeres can have a great impact on election results. The ability to monitor and remain vigilant in order to ensure the fairness, transparency, and robustness of a country's voter registration system is a crucial component of the election observation process.

We conduct the audit of the National Register of Voters following our monitoring of the registration of voters process. We undertake this exercise in order to:

- ◆ Examine the accuracy and currency of the National Register of Voters
- ◆ Examine the efficacy and credibility of the registration of voters process and make practical recommendations to facilitate appropriate interventions by the ECK and other relevant stakeholders
- ◆ To estimate the number of voters who are likely to be disenfranchised and those in the national Register of Voters but should not be there.
- ◆ To determine the credibility of the National Register of Voters and the value which citizens place on the registration of voters process and their vote.

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The audit of the National Register of Voters and monitoring of the registration of voters process are part of IED's long-term observation of the electoral process and environment in Kenya. We did this in 2002 and 2004. Therefore, the 2007 audit has been conducted to consolidate the previous audits conducted in 2002 and 2004, and to provide analyses to enable us determine the credibility of the registration of voters process and the National Register of Voters, and their impact on the 2007 general elections in Kenya.

After every audit, we publish a report with our findings and recommendations, which we share with the ECK and other relevant stakeholders. Therefore, the following are the findings and recommendations resulting from the 2007 audit of the National Register of Voters.

## KEY FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The following are the findings of the 2007 audit of the National Register of Voters and the proposed recommendations for necessary action and interventions:

**1. Voter Registration:** The study revealed that ECK has done a commendable job in creating and increasing polling stations, which are used as voter registration centres. This has enhanced people's accessibility to registration stations in order to register as voters. As a result, majority of the respondents interviewed during the 2007 audit survey (94.5%) indicated having registered at the polling stations. In fact, the study showed that 53.2% of the respondents walk less than a kilometre to a polling station. This has significantly increased the number of newly registered voters. However, the remarkable accessibility and the significant increase in the number of newly registered voters are only facilitated during ECK's month-long intensive voter registration exercises, which are conducted at irregular intervals. Continuous voter registration is still a problem as people must travel long distances to the ECK District Election Coordinators' Offices mainly situated at the District Headquarters.

**Recommendations:** We recommend that ECK considers conducting continuous voter registration exercises at the polling stations since they are easily accessible to the people.

**2. Voter Registration turn out:** The study revealed a remarkable increase in voter registration in the years 2006-2007. This was attributed to intensive publicity and awareness campaigns on voter registration in readiness for the forth coming general elections. The *Vijana Tugutuke Ni Time Yetu* voter education campaign in which the ECK, IED, *Redykyulass* Group and *Trublaq Limited* were partners contributed significantly to the heightened levels of awareness especially amongst

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the youth under 35 years of age, who now form a significant percentage of the National Voters Register.

**Recommendations:** We recommend that ECK puts in place an effective mechanism for conducting voter education and diversify its publicity methods on voter registration in order to reach every Kenyan. In addition, ECK needs to continue supporting and participating effectively in the voter registration and education campaigns conducted by its partners and collaborators, which are geared towards heightening levels of voter registration awareness especially amongst the youth under 35 years of age.

**3. Lack of National Identity Cards:** Lack of National Identity Cards still remains the major impediment to voter registration mainly affecting persons aged between 18-22 years. The respondents cited long waiting periods, complicated application procedures and corruption as the key impediments to acquiring National Identity Cards.

- ◆ The study also found out that in some places there is lack of civil registration materials and applicants are required to pay chiefs and sub chiefs in order to provide registration materials and process their civil registration forms, which is an additional expense to the applicants.
- ◆ The study also found that there are long delays in processing ID applications in border areas and towns. Applicants in the border areas have to wait for the security committee to meet and hence delaying the process of acquiring ID card in these areas.
- ◆ The audit study also noted that decisions to give ID cards are not decentralized. They are made in Nairobi. Such decisions take too long to reach outlying districts such as Moyale Lamu , Garissa and others in Northern parts of Kenya.
- ◆ The study also revealed that ID card registration is done at the district level. This results in marginalization of people from the village, who are faced with so many problems such as transportation, time and cost. Therefore, they apply for ID Cards only if they need them. People in the villages may not need ID Cards because they do not work or maintain bank accounts or possess driving licences yet without an ID card one cannot register as a voter.
- ◆ We also found out that in some places e.g. in Garissa where people have applied for ID cards, those ID cards are collected on their behalf by chiefs. The chiefs are expected to give the ID cards to the applicants. We found out that sometimes applicants are not aware that the chiefs have the ID cards hence they do not collect them.

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- ◆ The audit study also revealed that unlike the ECK, the registrar of persons is only at the district headquarters and the Registrar's office does not conduct periodic mass registration drives.
  - ◆ We also found out that the Registrar of Persons does not have a structured method of removing the deceased persons from the register of persons and only relies on the records from Registrar of Births and Deaths to do so.

*Recommendations:* We recommend the following:

- ◆ The Registrar of Persons carries out periodic mass registration of citizens at the lowest possible level in the country to enhance the access to the process of acquiring ID cards.
- ◆ The Registrar of Persons needs to conduct civic education to create awareness to Kenyans on the importance for civil registration, reporting deceased relatives and ensure that citizens remain vigilant by providing information on where citizens should register, when, through whom and how much it costs to avoid corruption. Information can be provided through a service charter, billboards, barazas and in collaboration with other civic and voter education providers such as ECK, religious organizations, civil society and community-based organisations.
- ◆ Just like ECK does the Registrar of Persons needs to put in place structures and processes, which can enable citizens to inspect the Civil Register to ensure that their particulars are correct.
- ◆ We recommend that the Civil Registry should be fully computerized and the Civil Registrar should ensure adequate logistical support for continuity. The Registrar of Persons should also put in place structures and processes that will enable Kenyans to acquire ID cards at the shortest time possible and this information should be shared with all Kenyans especially those living in the border areas and other marginalized parts of the country. The Registrar of Persons should ensure that security committees are constituted in the border areas and a monitoring and evaluation strategy put in place to ensure that they are effective, diligent and timely in the delivery of their services in order to facilitate both citizens and voters registrations.
- ◆ The Registrar of Persons should identify ways in which certain structures and processes for citizens registration can be decentralized to shorten the period of application and acquisition of ID cards.

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#### **4. The register of voters still contains names of registered voters who are not qualified to remain in the register:**

The audit survey of 2004 revealed that the National Register of Voters contained names of persons who were otherwise ineligible to remain in the Register. In comparison, the 2007 audit survey showed that there is a significant improvement in the accuracy and currency of the National Register of Voters. For example the 2004 audit survey revealed that 16 (0.7%) of respondents had more than one voters card while the 2007 survey revealed only 6 (0.2%). Also, the number of deceased voters in the Register in 2004 was 1.74% while in 2007 it was 0.7%, a remarkable reduction. However, it is important to note that these statistics do not necessarily mean that the number of multiple registrations is low; they are merely an indication of the respondents who voluntarily admitted the offence.

***Recommendations:*** We recommend the establishment of an elaborate coordination initiative between the ECK and the Registrar of Persons in order to facilitate voter registration at the time of issuance of National Identity Cards. We also propose that ECK should facilitate and strengthen the operations of the DECs' offices to ease the process of cleaning, validation, up dating and maintaining the National Register of Voters.

We further recommend that deletion of voters from the National Register of Voters be streamlined and harmonized. ECK, the Registrar of Persons and the Civil Registrar should work in collaboration to ensure that people registered as citizens are the same people registered as voters and that deceased voters are deleted and removed in order for the National Register of Voters to be up to date, comprehensive and current.

**5. Human errors:** The 2007 audit survey showed that the problem of mismatched voters' details in the National Register of Voters still persists. However, a notable improvement in the accuracy of the 2007 National Register of Voters was noted compared to what was found during the 2004 audit survey as follows:

Wrong National identity card number accounted for 1.7% in 2007 while in 2004 it was 3.6%, misspelled voters name accounted for 4.7% in 2007 while in 2004 it was 5.1%, wrong/missing date of births accounted for 1.6% in 2007 while in 2004 it was 3.9%, wrong voters cards number accounted for 1.3% in 2007 while in 2004 it was 2.7%, wrong indication of voters sex accounted for 0.6% in 2007 while in 2004 it was 1.3% and wrong indication of the constituency names accounted for 0.1% in 2007 while in 2004 it was 0.4%. This is a significant improvement which is commendable. However, spelling of voters' names in the National Register of Voters must be corrected and improved as current percentages are still unexceptionably high.

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**Recommendations:** We strongly recommend that ECK conducts capacity building and strengthening workshops for the newly recruited registration officials to enhance their level of understanding of voter registration processes and the guiding legal and administrative framework. In addition, ECK should conduct refresher and on-the-job continuous training for its officers and staff in the field to equip and update them with knowledge and information on voter education, registration and the electoral process in order to enable them do their work effectively and efficiently.

**6. Inspection of the Register of Voters:** It was established that majority of the persons registered as voters do not inspect the Register. The main reason is that many people assume that their details are accurately recorded. Other reasons included lack of awareness of the inspection exercise, illiteracy and long distances and high costs of travel to the inspection centres, situated normally at the Divisional headquarters.

**Recommendations:** We recommend that the inspection exercise be conducted in a way that is convenient to the voters in terms of distance, cost and timeframe. It is recommended that inspection of Voters Register be conducted at the polling stations where majority register as voters. In addition, effective publicity needs to be made in advance through effective ways notably through the local vernacular FM radio stations, barazas and other appropriate means of reaching out to the majority of voters. In addition, the ECK needs to popularise its website and the fact that inspection of the register can be conducted on-line through the ECK website, for those who have access to internet or mobile telephone sets.

**7. Publicity:** Majority of the respondents (20.8%) rated ECK as the major source of information on continuous voter registration, cleaning and inspection of the voters Register. However, it was noted that more publicity needs to be done through the local vernacular FM radios in order to reach more people. More-over, small pamphlets containing voter education messages were preferred to posters, which is the ECK's main voter education methodology.

**Recommendations:** We recommend that ECK enhances and diversifies its voter registration publicity strategy to incorporate more effective ways in order to reach to the majority of voters. In this regard, ECK should consider having more publicity through the local vernacular FM radio stations, barazas, TV's and other appropriate means geared towards reaching many people in the whole country.

**8. ECK's Performance:** Respondents voted ECK as being highly efficient in the execution of its core mandate of voter registration and inspection, conducting elections, public relations and promoting voter education. However, the

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respondents indicated that more needs to be done in the area of voter education focusing on reaching voters at the grassroots level.

**Recommendations:** There is need for an intensive voter education programme throughout the country. This should be conducted at the grassroots level and with special reference to the marginalised regions, women and the youth using appropriate methods to cater for geographical and population diversities. We recommend a comprehensive feasibility study to establish the economic, social and cultural aspects of the regions to determine the appropriate times and methodologies for implementation. In addition, ECK should strengthen its collaborative initiatives with partners and stakeholders to implement an effective and efficient voter education.

**9. Challenges faced in compilation and cleaning of the National Register of Voters:** Discussions held with the DECs and the ROs indicated that there are inadequate resources in terms of human, financial and equipment which inhibits the processes of continuous registration of voters and cleaning of the National Register of Voters. Furthermore, lack of coordination and information sharing between the Registrar of Persons Offices and ECK aggravates this problem. Also, inadequate voter education reduces the levels of voters' participation in inspection of registers which undermines ECK's efforts of maintaining an accurate National Register of Voters.

**Recommendations:** It is important that ECK officials in the districts have adequate resources to enable them carry out the mandate of ECK. A lot needs to be done to facilitate their mobility and to ease their operations. Therefore equipment such as computers, laptops, vehicles and other logistical facilitation is absolutely key to the success of DECs offices.

We also recommend that ECK considers geographical diversity in its budget allocations for voter registration processes. In this regard, ECK should allocate more funds to marginalised and so-called hardship areas. Special attention should be given to areas in North Eastern, Coast, Upper Eastern and Northern parts of Kenya to enable ECK officials in these areas to monitor and conduct effective and efficient continuous voter education. Further more structured and focussed logistical support is required as the areas are characterised by poor infrastructure, insecurity, poverty and high illiteracy levels. These areas are geographically vast.

**10. Recruitment of Voter Registration Clerks:** Our discussions with the DECs, the ROs and focus group discussions revealed that ECK does not have guidelines on gender mainstreaming/balance as far as recruitment is concerned.

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In addition, recruitment of voter registration clerks does not consider whether or not those recruited come from the local communities. Also, short notices/ adverts for recruitments make the opportunities available to only those who have easy access to information from ECK's staff and officials, mostly friends, relatives and associates.

**Recommendations:** Mainstreaming gender is now an accepted concept and practice worldwide. Today, many international organisations have put in place structures and systems to ensure gender balance and parity through-out the project cycle. This is based on the realization that actual development can only be achieved with the involvement of the entire population who include both men and women. Indeed, it is against this background that world leaders met in New York in 2002 and adopted the Millennium Development Goals. Goal Number three is on achieving gender equality. Therefore, ECK needs to fully embrace gender mainstreaming in all its activities and projects in particular by ensuring gender-balance during the recruitment exercise, training, promotion and career advancement opportunities. ECK may consider a framework for guiding its gender mainstreaming efforts in all areas including recruitment and deployment of voter registration clerks and of other voter registration officials. Further, ECK should formalise, streamline and structure its employment processes especially seeking out potential employees. ECK needs to ensure that it utilises methods to reach out to as many potential employees as possible especially disadvantaged groups.

**11. Importation of voters:** There were allegations that voters are “imported” and registered in constituencies other than the ones they reside in. In-deed, our study found out that a significant number of voters registered for example in Mvita, Juja, Maragwa and Kaiti etc constituencies do not reside in those constituencies. In addition, there were allegations that in North Horr and Mandera Central constituencies, politicians take advantage of the voters’ illiteracy and poverty to manipulate and influence them to register in different polling stations thus complicating the process of having a credible register of voters.

**Recommendations:** We recommend that ECK puts in place a mechanism for identifying imported persons in a constituency or a polling station. In this regard, ECK should have an effective collaborative strategy with the local chiefs, sub-chiefs and the village elders to ensure that people who register in certain constituencies and polling stations are residents there. In addition, we recommend that ECK conducts effective voter education especially in areas where illiteracy levels are high to reduce voter manipulation by politicians. In this regard, ECK should participate actively in projects designed by its stakeholders aimed at empowering voters e.g

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IED's projects and programmes designed to promote the secrecy of the ballot in the Northern part of Kenya where illiteracy levels are high. ECK should also advocate for stiffer penalties for politicians who influence and manipulate voters during voter registration exercises.

**12. Role of other stakeholders in the voter registration process:** The study revealed that Provincial Administration and religious institutions play a significant role in voter registration process. They collaborate with ECK officials and support in the publicity and cleaning up of the National Register of Voters. It was noted that ECK works very closely with the local chiefs, sub-chiefs and the village elders to identify deceased voters in order to delete them from the National Register of Voters. However, the influence of politicians in voter registration process was indicated as a serious impediment and a challenge in ensuring a current, accurate and comprehensive voters' register. In this regard, it was noted that politicians influence voters to transfer from one constituency to another or from one polling station to another to influence patterns and outcomes of voter registration in their interests.

*Recommendations:* We recommend that ECK continues to collaborate with the Provincial Administration for their valuable support in voter registration, cleaning and updating the Voters Register.

**13. Preparations for 2007 General Elections:** The study showed that ECK has made considerable progress in the preparations for the forthcoming general elections. This was noted specifically with regard to their efforts to ensure that every Kenyan citizen eligible to register is accorded all opportunities to present themselves to the ECK to be registered. In addition, the DECs' offices were consolidating and cleaning the Register of Voters in an effort to have a current and accurate National Register of Voters before the forthcoming general elections. Other preparations included tendering for election materials, preparation and submission of proposed budgets for elections activities by the DECs' offices to the ECK headquarters.

*Recommendations:* We recommend that ECK ensures that the National Register of Voters is complete, accurate and comprehensive before the December 2007 general elections. There is also need for effective and elaborate consultations between the ECK's headquarters and the DEC's offices to ensure that all the required elections materials and logistics are put in place on time in readiness for the December 2007 general elections.

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<sup>1</sup> ECK Website: Registered Voters per Constituency: Provisional Statistics by May 2007

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**14. Registered voters:** The study revealed that there are less female registered voters compared to males. The audit survey showed that out of the 72,088 registered voters in the 60 sampled polling stations, 32,133 (45%) were females and 39,955 (55%) were males<sup>1</sup>. These statistics corresponds with ECK's provisional statistics on registered voters as at May 2007 which indicated that out of the 13,043,618 registered voters, 6,073,628 (47%) were females while 6,969,990 (53%) were males . These statistics are an indication that women face a lot of challenges which inhibit them from registering as voters. Some of these challenges include lack of ID Cards, long distances to the registration centres, poverty, customs and traditions. More-over, women are required to give more documents than men while applying for the ID Cards. Also, men seem to take control in many cases and keep identification documents for women. Furthermore, young married parents women (traditionally) are required to travel to their parents houses to get consent and documents from their parents in order to get an ID card.

*Recommendations:* We recommend that ECK identifies projects and programmes that target female voters to enhance their knowledge and capacity on voter education and registration. ECK also needs to device voter education that target men to influence attitude change. In addition, we recommend that the Registrar of Persons be more procedural in identifying challenges that affect women in the acquisition of ID Cards and come up with remedial strategies.

**15. Civil registry:** The study showed that civil registration in the districts is not computerized. Also, most of the deaths in Kenya are not reported and therefore death certificates is not issued by the Civil Registrar of Births and Deaths. In addition, most of the civil registry offices lack logistical facilities and are not decentralized to the local level. The Civil Registrar lacks initiatives to record all deaths at the local level and this affects the ECK's efforts of maintaining a current, accurate and comprehensive Voters Register.

*Recommendations:* We recommend that just like ECK, the Civil Registrar of Births and Deaths needs to find ways in which civil registration is computerised and maintained. The Civil Registrar needs to come up with strategies for building the capacity of district civil registration officers to enhance their capacity on civil registration and also provide them with relevant resources they require. There is need to decentralise civil registration to the lowest level possible just like ECK has done. This could be at the constituency and sub-location levels. In addition, we recommend that the Civil Registrar considers massive registration for births and deaths at the lowest possible level in the country. The Civil Registrar of should consider collaborating effectively with ECK to identify the number of people in the country who have not been issued with birth certificates and whose deaths have not been registered, and in collaboration with ECK and other stakeholders

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provide civic education and awareness on the importance of registration of births and deaths.

**16. Death certificate application forms:** The study revealed that the death certificate application forms issued by the Civil Registrar do not have a provision or column for recording the details of the deceased including the deceaseds' ID Cards numbers. Instead, it provides for columns for recording the details of the person collecting the death certificates including his/her ID Card number. Therefore, the details of the deceased person, including the ID Card number are never reflected in the death application form yet this is the form which is shared with ECK for purposes of deleting the deceased from the Voters Register. ECK indicated that this is the major challenge they encounter when deleting the deceased from the Register since sometimes they end up deleting the wrong persons from the Voters Register.

*Recommendations:* We recommend that death certificate application forms be revised to include a column that requires mandatory information of the deceased including his/her ID card number and other details.

**17. Research, Monitoring and Evaluation:** The study established that ECK does not conduct periodic research to establish the challenges and gaps in the validation, up-grading and compilation of an accurate, current and comprehensive National Register of Voters. Also, we found out that ECK's monitoring and evaluation mechanisms are not effective and therefore it is difficult for ECK to know whether its officers and staff at the headquarters and the field are carrying out its mandate effectively.

*Recommendations:* We recommend that ECK conducts an independent research and develop best practises for the validation, up grading and compilation of an accurate, current and comprehensive National Register of Voters. Further, ECK needs to enhance its monitoring and evaluation exercises to gauge its performance, benefit from lessons learnt and improve on delivery of services. Perhaps a comprehensive Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) Strategy needs to be put in place by ECK to support its M&E processes.

**18. Centralization of the process of cleaning and updating the Register of Voters:** We found out that the process of cleaning and updating the National Register of Voters is centralised and only takes place at the ECK headquarters in Nairobi. This poses high risks of losing voter registration data in the course of movement from the DEC's offices to the headquarters.

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***Recommendations:*** Perhaps ECK needs to consider decentralising the responsibility of cleaning and updating the National Register of Voters to the district level. This requires corresponding investment of resources and skills at the district and eventually divisional level in order for ECK to eventually devolve its services to those areas with little access at the grass roots level. Cleaning and updating the National Register of Voters at the district level will reduce the risk of losing voter registration data in the course of movement to the headquarters, will also hasten the process and make it more effective and efficient.



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# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

Elections are an essential part of any democratic society. This is because through them, citizens choose those who govern on their behalf. For elections to serve their purposes, they must be conducted freely and fairly. Some of the basic factors that must, as a minimum, be present to meet the “*free and fair*” test include the following:

- ◆ Any person who meets the minimum requirements of age, citizenship and residence must be allowed to register and vote on a non-discriminatory basis.
- ◆ Any person who meets the minimum requirements of age, citizenship and residence must be allowed to run for elective office.
- ◆ The votes cast must be accurately and fairly counted and the results announced promptly.
- ◆ People must be allowed to vote in private using the secret ballot in order to protect them from intimidation or other kind of influence.
- ◆ Every individual who is denied the right to vote or to be registered as a voter must be entitled to appeal for an independent competent review of such decisions and for errors to be corrected promptly and effectively.

International law and many National Constitutions provide the legal foundation for democratic elections and recognise the importance of elections as an avenue for participation in governance. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights in Article 21, states that: “everyone has the right to take part in the government of his/her country directly or through freely chosen representatives...” and that “the will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of the government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.”

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Similar provisions are found in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (Article 25) and the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (Article 13). Governments therefore, have an obligation to ensure that people have an opportunity to choose their representatives by voting.

Various inter-governmental, international, regional and sub regional organizations have compiled and published various documents containing principles and guidelines aimed at promoting and consolidating democracy and ensuring that people have an opportunity to choose their representatives by voting. For example, such documents have been prepared and published by the Southern African Development Community (SADC)<sup>2</sup> and the African Union<sup>3</sup>. The documents contain principles and guidelines, which include requirements for the following:

- ◆ Full participation of the citizens in the political process.
- ◆ Freedom of association.
- ◆ Political tolerance.
- ◆ Provision for periodic elections as provided for by the respective National Constitutions.
- ◆ Equal opportunity for all political parties to access the state media.
- ◆ Equal opportunity to exercise the right to vote and be voted for.
- ◆ Independent judiciary.
- ◆ Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs) that are impartial, all- inclusive, competent, accountable, staffed by well trained personnel and equipped with adequate resources.
- ◆ A comprehensive and effective voter education.
- ◆ Acceptance and respect of election results by political parties proclaimed to have been credible, free and conducted in accordance with the law.
- ◆ Opportunity to challenge of the election results as provided for in the National Constitution and Election Laws.

Electoral laws play an important part in guaranteeing free and fair elections by providing the legal and administrative framework within which elections are held and the procedures that govern the entire electoral process. In Kenya, the electoral process is governed principally by the Constitution, the National Assembly and

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<sup>2</sup> [http://www.sadc.int/english/documents/political\\_affairs/index.php](http://www.sadc.int/english/documents/political_affairs/index.php): SADC Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections.

<sup>3</sup> African Union Declaration on the Principles Governing Democratic Elections in Africa, AHG/decl.1 (XXXVIII), 2002.

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Presidential Elections Act (Cap. 7 of the Laws of Kenya), the Election Offences Act (Cap. 66 of the Laws of Kenya); and the Local Government Act (Cap. 265 of the Laws of Kenya). Other laws that deal with matters that are incidental to elections include the Penal Code (Cap. 63 of the Laws of Kenya) which generally punishes criminal conduct, the Societies Act (Cap 108 of the Laws of Kenya) under which political parties are registered and the Public Order Act (Cap 56 of the Laws of Kenya) which regulates public meetings.

The right of all adult citizens to participate in the affairs of the government is one of the cornerstones of democracy. The most fundamental form of participation is through voting in free and fair elections. For citizens to exercise their right to vote there must be a comprehensive and inclusive register of voters which must be carefully maintained to ensure that each eligible citizen is registered to vote. The register of voters is essential since it helps to verify voter eligibility and to confer legitimacy on the electoral process. The legitimacy of the electoral process will immediately be called into question if there are problems with voter registration, and particularly with the integrity of the register of voters. Voter registration therefore is one of the most important tasks of elections administration. It is on this understanding that IED carried out a research survey to audit the 2007 National Register of Voters to determine its accuracy and currency.

## **1.2. PROJECT BACKGROUND**

In July 2002, immediately after the registration of voters and inspection of the Register of Voters exercises and with a view to identifying the strengths and weaknesses of the registration process, to examine the accuracy and currency of the National Register of Voters and to make practical suggestions, IED conducted an audit of the National Register of Voters. Another audit of the National Register of Voters was conducted in 2004. This was done in the context of IED's mandate of promoting democratic elections in general, and more specifically in supporting the ECK's efforts to maintain a current, accurate and comprehensive National Register of Voters and to ensure that all eligible voters are accorded opportunities to register. IED believes that the process of registration of voters is a strategic phase of the electoral process and interventions made at this phase of the electoral process are vital in ensuring that elections are credible, transparent, free and fair.

The main objective of 2004 audit survey was to establish the changes that may have occurred during the registration process, and the credibility of the process of cleaning and updating of the voters registers by the ECK. Also, the survey of 2004 combined the audit with a monitoring exercise as a follow up on the

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performance of the Registration Officers jointly trained by ECK and IED. The monitoring exercise was also aimed at finding out the successes and challenges in the voter registration process, and voters' awareness needs in order to enable IED and ECK design projects which would deal with the challenges. We also hoped to learn from the experiences and remain relevant and cost-effective in addressing electoral process/system challenges in Kenya.

The findings of the 2004 audit survey identified various shortcomings in the National Register of Voters, which included the following<sup>4</sup>:

- ◆ Inconsistency in validating the National Register of Voters: The 2004 survey revealed lack of consistency in the field in the process of validating the National Register of Voters by ECK.
- ◆ Weak institutional and human capacities of ECK in the districts and constituencies to carry out voter registration exercise efficiently throughout Kenya. This undermines ECK efforts in the democratisation process.
- ◆ The National Register of Voters contained names of registered voters who were not qualified to remain in it, for example, double/multiple registrations and names of the deceased persons were still in the National Register of Voters.
- ◆ Missing names: Names of people were missing from the National Register of Voters yet they had voters' cards.
- ◆ Human errors: The National Voters Register contained human errors which were reflected through misspelled names, wrong/missing dates of births and differences in the ID number on the voters' cards and the register.
- ◆ People registered without identification documents: The 2004 audit report established that some of the respondents registered as voters using police abstracts or a letter from the chief to prove that they were above eighteen and therefore qualified to register as voters. This was caused by lack of ID cards.
- ◆ Low awareness levels on the need to inspect the National Voter Register and limited voter education. The 2004 audit report found out that the level of awareness on the voter registration process is very low and many people are unaware of the need to inspect and scrutinise the National Voters Register and to make appeals when necessary.

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<sup>4</sup> The Registration of Voters: 2003-2004, An Audit.

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Based on the findings of the two audit surveys conducted by IED in 2002 and 2004, it became very clear that the challenge of maintaining a comprehensive, current and accurate National Register of Voters still persists. However, the findings of the 2004 audit showed marked improvements from the findings of the 2002 audit.

In the 1st quarter of 2006, IED in collaboration with ECK, Reddykyulass Limited, TrueBlaq Limited and other government partners launched the *Vijana Tugutuke, Ni Time Yetu* voter education campaign. The aim of the campaign was to reach the youth (male and female) with civic and voter education messages that sensitize them on their rights and obligations in political decision-making and governance processes. The campaign also aimed at motivating the youth who have previously exhibited apathy to political and electioneering processes, to participate and make their mark through registering as voters, voting and by presenting themselves as candidates for political leadership offices.

During the campaign we identified a number of challenges faced by ECK during voter registration. Therefore, as part of our on-going efforts to contribute to the credibility of the electoral process, we carried out an audit of the 2007 National Register of Voters in different constituencies which have the same characteristics with those studied in 2002 and 2004. This was in order to find out the degree of accuracy, currency and comprehensiveness of the register of voters in 2007 and determine challenges that persist. The 2007 audit survey incorporated a monitoring and evaluation aspect to assess the degree to which ECK has effected the recommendations made in the 2004 audit survey report and to monitor the continuous voter registration process. The 2007 audit survey was conducted in collaboration with ECK.

The 2007 audit survey was conducted in Ganze, Mvita, Taveta, Mandera Central, North Horr, South Imenti, Kitui Central, Gachoka, Gem, Kitutu Masaba, Kuria, Butula, Bumula, Baringo North, Marakwet East, Cherengany, Kandara, Gichugu, Mukurweini and Dagoretti constituencies. Two of these constituencies (Kitutu Masaba and Butula) were studied in 2002 and 2004 and the purpose for conducting the audit survey 2007 in these constituencies was to assess the extent to which ECK implemented the recommendations made by the reports of the two earlier audits.

### **1.3. RATIONALE OF THE AUDIT SURVEY**

It is important to note that electoral malpractices experienced on the polling day are not always the most serious threats to credible, transparent, free and fair

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elections. Experience has shown that more discreet and often more effective ways of rigging an election takes place in the months leading up to the elections. Tampering with the register of voters can have a great impact on election results. The ability to ensure the fairness, transparency, and robustness of a country's voter registration system is therefore a crucial exercise. Deliberate disenfranchisement of eligible voters is also one of the ways of influencing an election result.

IED believes that registration of voters and preparation of the register of voters is a crucial exercise in the realization of a credible electoral process. If the registration process is flawed, the fairness of the ensuing election is rendered questionable. By auditing the 2007 National Register of Voters and monitoring the continuous voter registration process, IED is making an intervention at the 1st phase of the electoral process - the registration of voters- in order to cause ECK and other relevant government agencies to ensure that all eligible voters are accorded all opportunities to register as such. It is also expected that the ECK, relevant government agencies and potential registered voters take up their responsibilities in the electoral process, especially the registration process.

#### **1.4. PURPOSE OF THE AUDIT SURVEY**

The purpose for conducting the audit of the National Register of Voters was to support ECK in the consolidation of an accurate and current National Register of Voters in readiness for the 2007 general elections. The study also aimed at promoting awareness on the need for voters to inspect the register of voters and to enable them participate effectively and efficiently in the democratic and electoral processes in Kenya. In addition, the project aimed at assessing the extent to which ECK had effected the recommendations made in the 2004 audit survey report.

#### **1.5. OBJECTIVES OF THE AUDIT SURVEY**

The audit survey sought to achieve the following objectives:

- ◆ To examine the accuracy and currency of the 2007 National Register of Voters before the 2007 general elections.
- ◆ To identify strengths and weaknesses in the voter registration process and make practical recommendations to facilitate appropriate interventions by the ECK and its partners in the registration process.
- ◆ To assess the extent to which ECK has effected the recommendations made in the 2004 audit survey report
- ◆ Estimate the number of male and female voters likely to be disenfranchised and those in the National Register of Voters who should not be there.

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- ◆ To determine reasons why voters register and the value they place on their vote.

## **1.6. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE AUDIT SURVEY**

The audit of the 2007 National Register of Voters is significant particularly to the Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK) in the sense that the findings are expected to be useful in supporting the consolidation of an accurate and up to date National Register of Voters beyond the forth coming general elections. The findings will inform the ECK of the problems and challenges associated with voter registration process and recommend improvements. The survey study is also expected to benefit the electorate by creating awareness on the importance of voter registration and inspection of voters register. The findings of the audit survey will also inform the Registrar of Persons of the issues surrounding acquisition of ID cards and provide suggestions for improvements. The 2007 audit findings and recommendations therefore will also benefit the Civil Registrar by suggesting practical interventions aimed at improving the performance and enhancing collaboration with other government agencies in Kenya.

## **1.7. LIMITATIONS OF THE AUDIT SURVEY**

During the survey, IED experienced a number of limitations and difficulties, both conceptual and administrative. First, although the list-to-people and people-to-list interviews were meant to be conducted equally to the audit sample of 3,007 respondents regardless of their geographical location, the list-to- people interview methodology could not effectively and sufficiently cover respondents in the urban settings and those in the border districts. This was because of the fact that people work far from their residences. Also, it is not possible to locate registered voters around the polling stations. The fact that one is registered in one particular polling station does not necessary mean that he/she lives close to the polling station. For this reason, the list- to- people interviews were restricted to rural constituencies and had fewer numbers of respondents compared to people-to-list interviews.

Second, there was a problem of not finding the respondents. This was because of various reasons, for example, some had gone to attend funerals in the neighbourhood, farms, markets, relocated or had gone to work or run businesses far from their area of residence. In some instances, cultural practices acted as a limitation to the research. There were instances where female respondents, although located, could not be interviewed because their spouses kept their ID

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and electors cards. On few occasions, some married female respondents felt that they needed the permission of their spouses to consent to the interviews or attend focused group discussions.

Third, misapprehension of the purpose and objectives of the audit research was another limitation. This was mainly on the part of the respondents and citizens in general. There were some cases where people felt that the research was probably at the request of some politicians and parties.

Last but not the least, there was gender disparity in the FGDs despite the intention to achieve a gender balance, although in the end the survey captured relatively fairly distributed data to facilitate some gender disaggregated analysis.

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# CHAPTER TWO

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents and discusses the literature review on the processes of voter registration, inspection of the National Register of Voters and compilation of a current and accurate National Register of Voters. This literature review is divided into various sections: the overview of voter registration processes, guiding principles for voter registration and a comprehensive discussion of voter registration processes in Kenya.

### 2.2. OVERVIEW OF VOTER REGISTRATION PROCESSES

The right of all adult citizens to participate in the affairs of their government is one of the cornerstones of democracy. For citizens to exercise their democratic right to vote there must be a comprehensive and inclusive register of voters<sup>1</sup>. The register of voters must be maintained carefully to ensure that it is always current and accurate.

The register of voters supports democratic principles by fostering political fairness for all citizens and actively promoting the inclusion of eligible voters in electoral process. Election Management Bodies (EMBs) are expected to ensure that they have registered all groups that historically have lower than average levels of registration and voter turn out for example women, people with disability, ethnic minorities, the poor and the youth. Registration should always aim at providing all eligible voters the opportunity to register as voters and to inspect the register to ensure that their particulars are captured accurately.

Voters may be excluded from a voters register or list through legal or administrative means. Many countries legally exclude people on the basis of age (normally voters must be at least 18 years old), requirements of citizenship, residence, conviction of criminal offence and mental incompetence. The exclusions are usually written into a countries Constitution or electoral statutes. The inclusions and exclusions are often captured in the statutes as qualifications and disqualifications.

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<sup>1</sup> <http://aceproject.org/ace.en/topics/vr/vr10>, Administration and Cost of Elections (ACE), Overview of Voter Registration, ACE Encyclopedia.

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Administrative exclusions are either deliberately designed by the EMB concerned or by mistake. For example, the ECK may deliberately disenfranchise persons eligible to register as voters through shortcomings of the voter registration process, such as lack of effective and an efficient publicity on the voter registration exercise, limited voter education and low capacity of the registration officials. Exclusions by mistake are mainly caused by human errors or lack of sufficient voter registration knowledge. A proper registration system seeks to prevent or at least minimize the exclusion of eligible voters. The priority should be to register all eligible voters, especially those special groups who are ordinarily disadvantaged.

There are three options of voter registration processes which EMBs are expected to choose from as the basis on which to design a voter registration system. These are<sup>2</sup>:

**A Periodic Register or List:** A periodic register is established for a specific electoral event, and electoral administrators do not maintain or update the register for future use. Normally, the register is compiled immediately before the election. This system is very expensive and time consuming since it requires direct contact with all eligible voters just before the elections.

**A Continuous Register or List:** A Continuous Register of Voters is maintained and regularly updated by the EMB. Maintenance typically involves adding the names and other relevant information of people who satisfy eligibility requirements, and deleting the names of those who no longer meet the requirements (e.g. through death or change of residence). Since the continuous voters register is updated on a regular basis, it is revised often to ensure that it is comprehensive and accurate.

**A Civil Registry:** This option contains a variety of information on all citizens, such as name, address, citizenship, age, and identification number. In some countries especially in Europe and Latin America, the voters list is produced from information contained in the National Civil Registry. Some countries give the same institutions responsibility for both civil and voters' registries while others choose two agencies, each with responsibility for one of the lists.

Voter registration process is aimed at achieving the following among others<sup>3</sup>:

- ◆ Guaranteeing that those legally entitled to vote are able to do so.
- ◆ Prohibiting ineligible people from voting.
- ◆ Preventing people from voting more than once.

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<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

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- ◆ Helping to keep a record of voters.
  - ◆ Allowing disputes about eligibility to be resolved before election day.
  - ◆ Providing useful logistical information.

The efficacy of voter registration process is in part dependent upon there being a consensus on what a society holds as the qualifications for eligibility to vote. Such criteria should be in harmony with the rights recognized in the country's Constitution and also defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other applicable national and international statutes and instruments dealing with civil and political rights and matters of electoral process and democracy.

### 2.3. GUIDING PRINCIPLES FOR VOTER REGISTRATION

Voter registration is the process of verifying potential voters, and entering their names and other substantiating information on the register of voters. For registration to be fair, complete and inclusive, potential voters must be aware of the registration process and have reasonable opportunities to participate in it. Voter education campaigns foster the necessary awareness by emphasizing the importance of registration and presenting information on how to complete the registration process. Some of the guiding principles of voter registration include the following<sup>4</sup>:

- 1) **Inclusive with appropriate exclusions:** Voter registration must be inclusive. This means that it should be accessible to all groups and categories of eligible citizens. There should be no systematic bias against any identifiable group.

However, social and economic barriers in most countries have made voter registration difficult to some citizens such as residents of rural areas, people with low literacy levels, people who are economically disenfranchised or homeless and people who face cultural biases against their participation in politics and public affairs (e.g. women). In this regard, special measures should be put in place to break down voter registration barriers and make the registration system truly open to all groups hence enabling them to participate in the democratic processes. Exclusions for voter registration are contained in the countries Constitutions and electoral statutes, and citizens must be aware of these exclusions.

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<sup>4</sup> Guiding Principles of Voter Registration- ACE (Administration and Cost of Elections), <http://ace-project.org/ace-en/topics/vr/vr20>.

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- 2) **Administrative exclusion of eligible voters:** Voters may be administratively disenfranchised in various ways, all of which endanger electoral legitimacy<sup>5</sup>. Some of the causes of administrative disenfranchisement are short registration periods and little investment of time. Voter registration period should be extended so that more people can register. On the other hand, voter registration is time consuming. Citizens sometimes must travel long distances to register, losing work hours and incurring heavy travel expenses. This should be solved by increasing the number of registration centres and perhaps using mobile voters' registration centres.
  - 3) **Complete:** A voters list must be complete to the extent that it includes all eligible voters.
  - 4) **Current:** The voters register should be current to the extent that the data available on the register is consistent with the voters' status on the date of the election.
  - 5) **Accurate:** The voters register should be accurate to the extent that the data on voters has been recorded correctly.
  - 6) **Responsive to local conditions:** To help make voter registration comprehensive and inclusive, the mechanisms used should be adapted to local political, social and economical conditions. Some of the factors to be considered when designing a registration system are literacy levels, climate, administrative infrastructure and political environment.

## 2.4. VOTER REGISTRATION PROCESSES IN KENYA

### 2.4.1. Legal and Administrative Framework for Voter Registration in Kenya

This section of the report examines the constitutional and legal framework for voter registration processes in Kenya. It also examines the administrative and organizational management of the processes. The legal and administrative framework for voter registration in Kenya can be viewed in the following parts:

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<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

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- ◆ Rules governing qualifications and disqualifications;
  - ◆ Management of the voter registration processes;
  - ◆ Actual registration of the voters; and,
  - ◆ Verification of the voters register

Section 41 of the Constitution of Kenya, establishes the Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK) while section 42A prescribes the functions and responsibilities of ECK which among others include the following<sup>6</sup>:

- ◆ The registration of voters, maintenance and revision of the register of voters.
- ◆ Directing and supervising the Presidential, National Assembly and Local Government Elections.
- ◆ Promoting free and fair elections.
- ◆ Promoting voter education through out the country, etc.

Therefore, ECK is the body mandated by the laws of Kenya to register voters, maintain and revise the register of voters. It does this through Registration Officers (ROs), who are employed to conduct voter registration in the Districts and Constituencies. ECK has officers at the District level, headed by the District Elections Coordinator (DEC), where the Registration Officers for the entire district operate from.

To be registered as voter, one has to present himself/herself to the registration officials. Section 43 of the Constitution sets out the qualifications and disqualifications for registration as a voter for the Presidential and National Assembly (Parliamentary) elections. The qualifications are<sup>7</sup>:

- a) Be a citizen of Kenya who has attained the age of eighteen years; and
- b) Has been ordinarily resident in Kenya either:-
  - i. for a period of not less than one year immediately before the date for registration, or
  - ii. for a period of, or periods amounting in the aggregate to, not less than four years in the eight years immediately before the date for registration, and

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<sup>6</sup> ECK (2004), Voter Registration Guide, A Source Book P.9.

<sup>7</sup> Constitution of Kenya, Revised Edition 2000, Chapter 3. P. 13.

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- c) Has, for a period of, or periods amounting in the aggregate to, not less than five months in the twelve months before the date of registration, been ordinarily resident in the constituency in which he/she seeks to be registered, or carried on business there, or been employed there or lawfully possessed land or residential buildings there.

Any one who does not possess the above qualifications is not entitled to be registered as a voter. Further categories for disqualification include:

- ◆ Persons who have been declared under any law in force in Kenya to be of unsound mind.
- ◆ Person who is an undischarged bankrupt, having been adjudged or otherwise declared bankrupt under a law in force in Kenya.
- ◆ Those detained in lawful custody.
- ◆ Those disqualified for having been convicted of an electoral offence or those reported guilty of the offence by the court trying an election petition.

The law also mandates that one may register only once. Double/multiple registration is an offence, which attracts a possible jail term not exceeding six months or a fine not exceeding KSh. 5,000 or both. In addition, such a person is disqualified to vote in any of the places that he/she may have registered.

In addition, lack of an ID card/valid passport disqualifies one from registering as a voter. The justification for the requirement of citizenship is to ensure that the affairs of the country are determined only by those who owe allegiance to Kenya and not some foreign state. At 18 years, such persons have reached the age of majority and are thus adults considered capable of making rational decisions, like choosing who they want to lead them. Residency requirements ensure that one has some connection to the area that they want to register and vote in.

Section 4 of the National Assembly and Presidential Elections Act (Cap.7) read together with rule 4(1) of the Presidential and Parliamentary Elections Regulations provides for periodic registration at such times as ECK designates with each registration period not being less than 30 days. Section 42A of the Constitution was amended in June 2002 through the Statute Law (Miscellaneous Amendments) Act, 2002 to provide for continuous voter registration and revision of the voters register.

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## 2.4.5. Inspection of the Voters Register

Inspection of voters register is very important and the need for inspection must be fully explained to the public, leaders of political parties, provincial administration, religious groups and educational establishments. The main objective of inspection of voters register is to give voters an opportunity to check whether their details are accurate or to seek corrections where the details may be inaccurate. Some of the inaccuracies in the voters register may include: omitted names, spelling errors, wrongly entered ID cards numbers and incorrect sex of the voter entered into the register.

The law provides that after the registration exercise, the constituency register of voters should be opened to the members of public for a period of 30 days for the purpose of inspection and making corrections to the register. During this period, the register is made available for inspection at the Divisional Headquarters and DEC's offices. Inspection is normally done after consolidation of the registers in readiness for an election or a by-election. The ECK through the media, gazette notices, and local administration publicizes this exercise.

Inspection of registers ascertains the following:

- ◆ Only names of qualified persons have been registered;
- ◆ Names and particulars of qualified persons are correctly entered in the register;
- ◆ Voters' names and details, including ID card numbers have been correctly entered in the register;
- ◆ Names of deceased persons do not appear in the register;
- ◆ Double/multiple registrations do not appear in the register.

Upon the finalization of the inspection exercise and after the ECK has listened to and determined all appeals lodged with respect to claims and objections, the Registration Officer s/ECK amend the voter's registers accordingly<sup>8</sup>.

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<sup>8</sup> ECK Voter Registration; A Source Book, pp. 39-47.

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## CHAPTER THREE

### RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes the research design and presents the target population under study, sample and sampling techniques; research tools used, validity and piloting of the research tools, data collection procedures and analysis techniques.

#### 3.2. RESEARCH DESIGN

The audit survey used both qualitative and quantitative research designs. Among the qualitative research designs, the audit survey applied descriptive research design which is used to obtain information concerning the status of the phenomena to describe, “what exists” with respect to variables or conditions in a situation. A descriptive study starts with the assumptions that whatever is to be observed by a researcher is normal, and can likely occur under similar conditions elsewhere<sup>1</sup>.

#### 3.3. TARGET POPULATION

The population that was targeted for the audit survey included all male and female Kenyans who are 18 years of age and above and are registered as voters, and male and female Kenyans who are 18 years and above and are not registered as voters.

#### 3.4. SAMPLE OF THE AUDIT SURVEY AND SAMPLING TECHNIQUES

The audit survey research used stratified random sampling, purposive, and simple random sampling techniques to come up with a sample that was representative of the 210 constituencies in Kenya. To ensure geographical spread, representation of urban/rural population and representation of each population reflecting age and gender, the country was divided into strata comprising of provinces. Then simple random sampling and purposive sampling were conducted on the

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.okstate.edu/ag/agedcm4h/academic/aged5980a/5980/newpage110.htm> (Research Design in Occupational Education).

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number of districts and constituencies in each province. Depending on the total number of constituencies in each province, a total number of two (2) to three (3) constituencies were randomly selected for the survey considering the gender of the Member of Parliament. Out of the twenty (20) sampled constituencies that were studied, six (6) had female Members of Parliament.

On the other hand, simple random sampling method was conducted on the total number of the polling stations in each of the sampled constituencies to come with 3 polling stations. The three polling stations were selected on the basis of geographical spread, accessibility, and population patterns. Simple random sampling was conducted on the remaining constituencies in which a pilot study was conducted.

### **3.5. SAMPLE FRAME AND SIZE**

The 2007 audit survey of the National Register of Voters used ECK 2007 revised constituency registers of voters. The survey was designed to cover both male and female registered voters and those unregistered but eligible to register as voters. Among the registered male and female voters, the survey sought to verify the accuracy of their details on the voters' register *vis-à-vis* the information on their National ID cards/Kenyan passports, and voters' cards. In addition, the study also sought to find out their views/opinions on voter registration processes and the extent to which they use their voter's cards. For those unregistered but eligible to register, the survey focused on the reasons for their non-registration.

In each constituency, the audit survey targeted 150 respondents considering gender balance at the ratio of 50:50 male and female evenly distributed around the three (3) polling stations. In total, the sample size of audit survey was targeted to be 3,000 respondents bearing in mind gender balance at the ratio of 50:50. In each constituency, three enumerators who had been trained were deployed to administer the questionnaires. Each enumerator was expected to collect data and information from approximately 16 respondents per day through list-to-people and people-to-list interviews considering gender balance of 8 male and 8 female respondents.

### **3.6. DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS**

The audit survey study utilized both primary and secondary data. Secondary data was collected primarily from literature reviews from media reports, published and un-published institutional materials, ECK publications, past IED reports

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and desktop research. The information gathered through the literature review complemented data obtained from the field.

Primary data comprised of the experiences of people's willingness to participate in the survey, their general attitudes and opinion on ECK performance in voter registration process and the challenges faced during voter registration. Primary data of the audit survey was collected through the following methods:

Structured questionnaire with closed and open ended items: Trained enumerators administered the questionnaires through people-to-list and list-to-people field interviews. The questionnaires were used to establish the feelings, beliefs, experiences, perceptions, or attitudes of the male and female respondents towards the processes of voter registration. The questionnaires were preferred for the audit study because they were economical and had uniform questions.

The administration of the questionnaires was done by three (3) trained gender balanced enumerators who were deployed in each constituency. IED staff acted as team leaders and supervisors during the audit survey. The team leaders monitored and made sure that enumerators were effectively and efficiently doing what was expected of them. The team leaders also mobilized the guides (where necessary), determined the centres within the constituencies from which the research team could operate, organized and facilitated the FGDs.

List-to-People Interviews: In each of the three sampled polling stations, 25 names were required to be selected from the Voters' Register considering gender balance at the ratio of 50:50. The following formula was used in the selection of the 25 names from the register:

$$n = \frac{X}{25} + 1$$

Whereby

- ◆ X - is the total number of registered voters in the polling station
- ◆ n - is the number arrived at by dividing the total number of registered voters in a polling station by 25 and then adding one.
- ◆ nth name - is the voters name that corresponds with n
- ◆ 25 - is the total number of required names from the Register of Voters

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Using the above formula, the nth name in the register was selected until a total of 25 names were selected. The enumerators, with the help of the local guides, located the bearer of the names for interview. After each interview, the information on the respondent's ID card/passport and voter's card was crosschecked against the information provided in the voters' register to establish the accuracy of the register.

**People-to-List Interviews:** In the people-to-list interviews, 30 homesteads around the sampled polling stations were randomly selected. In each homestead, a maximum of two respondents were interviewed maintaining age and gender balance in the selection of respondents. Data and information obtained from male and female respondents, National Identity Cards and voters' cards were crosschecked against the register of voters to establish whether the information was accurately presented in the register of voters. People-to-list field interviews were carried out to a sample of registered male and female voters and those who were 18 years and above and are not registered as voters.

**Qualitative Focus Group Discussions (FGDs):** Focused group discussions involving key informants and a sample of registered voters and those not registered but above 18 years from the area around the sampled polling stations were held to discuss and gather more information on the registration of male and female voters' processes. The FGDs were also held to determine the number of male and female deceased voters still in the registers and the problems experienced during registration and suggestions for solving the problems. The FGDs also provided an avenue for creating citizens awareness on inspection of voters registers and provided an opportunity, for those present, and who may not have been interviewed to verify their details in the register.

The audit survey held 3 FGDs per constituency. In total therefore, the audit survey held 60 FGDs. Each FGD had at least 15 discussants. In total, the whole study had 1,268 FGD participants of whom 730 (58%) were male and 538 (42%) were female. It is important to note that despite deliberate efforts made to maintain gender balance for FGDs participation, a lot of challenges were experienced. For example, majority of the women who were approached to attend FGDs indicated that they were very busy attending to their social - economic activities and therefore did not have time for FGDs. Others believed that it is the role of men and more so their spouses to attend such meetings hence when approached to attend the FGDs, they called their husbands to attend while they stayed away.

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During the FGDs, names in the register of voters for each polling station were called out to the FGDs participants for confirmation. Data and information emanating from the FGDs was summarized and analyzed and was used to enhance and add more value to the data and information collected through the people- to- list and list- to- people interviews.

Interviews with District Election Coordinators and Registration Officers: Interviews with District Election Coordinators and Registration Officials were conducted to gather information on voter registration processes in the District. The interviews were conducted to gather data and information on challenges experienced while performing their duties of maintaining correct and updated register of voters. Also the interviews sought to gather information on the role of provincial administration and religious organizations in the voter registration process. In addition, the interviews were conducted to find out resources availability and the level of preparedness by the DECs as far as the forthcoming general elections are concerned.

### **3.7. INSTRUMENTS VALIDITY**

Validity is the degree to which a test measures what it purports to measure<sup>2</sup>. The type of validity that was used for the 2007 audit survey study is content validity. Content validity refers to the degree to which a score or scale being used represent a concept about which generalization is to be made. The questionnaire and interview guides were reviewed to ascertain whether the content of items was sufficient to collect data and information expected. Secondly, content validity of the questionnaire was ascertained through the results of the pilot study. The questionnaires were pre-tested during the pilot study in Embakasi and Naivasha constituencies. The two constituencies were not part of the main study. The pilot study was undertaken to get an appraisal of the research tools before they were used for the main study. It was also done to test the soundness of the items and establish the average time required to complete each questionnaire. The results of the pilot study were used to review and evaluate each item in the questionnaire and as a result, some items in the questionnaires were revised accordingly.

### **3.8. DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES**

The ECK was notified in writing of the intention of IED to carry out the survey audit study of the 2007 National Register of Voters. The letter stated clearly the

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<sup>2</sup> Mugenda M. and Mugenda G (1999), Research Methods, Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches, ACTS press. Nairobi, P. 99

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constituencies in which IED intended to conduct the audit survey and the timeline for the research. The letter also requested ECK to share with IED the Voters Register for the sampled constituencies to enable IED conduct the audit exercise, and authorize and facilitate active participation and involvement of ECK officials in the Districts where the sampled constituencies are situated. ECK approved IED's request to conduct the audit research survey through a letter which was presented to the provincial administration whenever it was required during the audit exercise. In addition, ECK expressed an interest to join IED staff in the audit research survey. To this end, ECK Research Officer, Ms Annette Omolo joined IED research team that conducted audit research in central province. During the field research audit survey, IED staff and enumerators developed and maintained a professional working relationship with ECK voter registration officials, provincial administration officers and local guides and this facilitated the administration of the research tools.

### **3.9. DATA ANALYSIS TECHNIQUES**

After data and information was collected from the field, the checklists were serially numbered and coded. The data was keyed into a database template and analyzed using Statistical Package for Social Research (SPSS) for Windows. The main feature for analysis was frequencies and percentages and where necessary, data was cross-tabulated to depict relevant characteristics and relationships. The study findings were presented through tables and figures.

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# CHAPTER FOUR

## DATA ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSIONS

### 4.1. INTRODUCTION

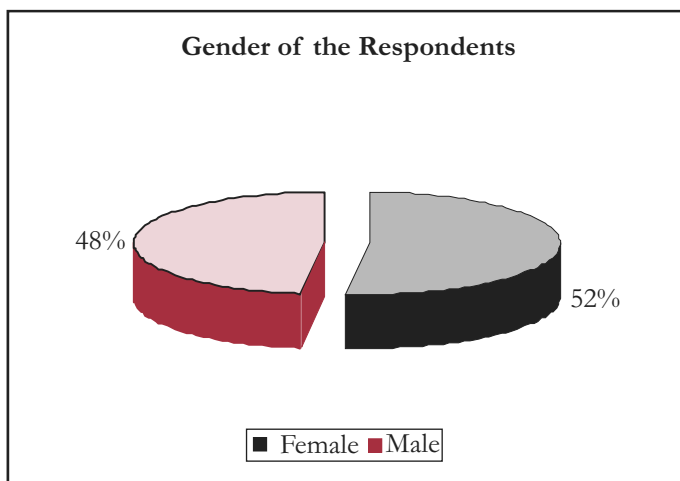
This chapter presents and analyses the findings of the 2007 audit survey study and it is organized under various sub-headings as follows: demographic information of the respondents, voter registration information, information of the inspection of voters register, voter transfer information, key challenges to voter registration, ECK's performance rating, analysis of list-to-people interviews and monitoring the continuous voter registration exercise. In the analysis of the data, frequencies, percentages and cross tabulations were used. The results of the data are presented using frequency tables, percentages, pie-charts and graphs.

### 4.2. DEMOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND

The purpose for gathering demographic information on the respondents is to indicate that the audit survey took into account the diverse characteristics of the Kenyan population and to show how the proportions in our sample replicate the demographics of Kenya as a whole.

The sample size for the 2007 audit survey was 3,007 compared to 2,190 in the 2004 audit survey. Out of the total 3,007 respondents for the 2007 audit survey 1,558 (52%) were females and 1,449 (48%) were males. The purpose for using a bigger sample size was to gather more views and opinions on voter registration exercise in Kenya and to have a significant representation of Kenyan population. The respondents in the 2007 audit survey were drawn from the sampled constituencies listed in table 1. In each of the sampled constituency, three polling stations were sampled. In total the study was conducted in 60 polling stations (see Appendix 5) with a total number of 72,088 registered voters of whom 39,955(55%) were males and 32,133 (45%) were females.

**Figure 1: Gender of the Respondents**

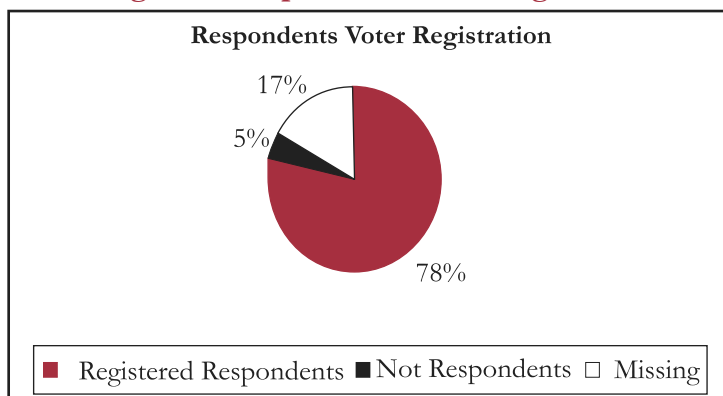


Gender of the Respondents	Frequency	Percent
Female	1,558	51.8
Male	1,449	48.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,007</b>	<b>100</b>

Figure 1 above shows that 1,558 (52%) of the respondents were females and 1,449 (48%) were males. This reflects the Kenyan population sex ratio composition of 52:48. This may be attributed to the fact that female respondents were more cooperative and willing to be interviewed than males. In addition the study revealed that majority of the females (55%) were farmers compared to 45% males. Also, females in the unemployed category accounted for 59% compared to 41% males. These statistics show that females were more likely to be found at home hence easily located for the interviews.

Out of the respondents interviewed 1,959 (65%) were married, 387 (13%) were single, 151 (5%) were widows while 23 (0.8%) were either separated or divorced. 487 (16.2%) of the respondents did not respond to this question and therefore were counted as missing. This reflects a fair representation of the social dynamics of the Kenyan population.

**Figure 2: Respondents Voter Registration**



The sample size consisted of persons who are above 18 years of age, and are registered as voters as well as those not registered as voters and are over 18 years of age. Out of the 3,007 respondents 2,352 (78%) were found to be registered as voters while 145 (5%) had not registered as voters at the time of the audit survey. This is a significant increase in the number of registered voters in our sample compared to our earlier audits. 510 (17%) of the respondents did not indicate whether they were registered voters or not hence were treated as missing.

It is important to note that out of the 2,352 (78%) respondents who were registered as voters, 1,225 (52%) were females while 1,127 (48%) were males. This shows that the audit survey interviewed more female registered voters than males. On the other hand, it is important to also note that out of the 145 unregistered respondents, female respondents were 98 (68%) while males respondents were 47 (32%). These statistics are a reflection of the fact that female persons experience more challenges in their efforts to register as voters compared to males.

The audit survey used two types of interview methodologies to collect voter registration information and data among other methods. These were list- to-people and people- to- list interviews. Out of the 3,007 respondents sampled for the audit survey, 1,336 respondents were interviewed through list- to- people<sup>1</sup> while 1,671 were interviewed through people-to- list<sup>2</sup> methodologies. The audit survey interviewed more respondents through people-to-list interviews because some respondents sampled for the list-to-people methodology were not located

<sup>1</sup> List-to-people is the process of identifying the respondents from the voters list/ voters register, then locating them for the interview and cross checking the details in their voters card and National identity card with those of the voters register to ascertain whether they are corresponding or not.

<sup>2</sup> People-to- list is the process of identifying the respondents randomly and cross checking the details in their voters card and National ID card with those of the voters register to ascertain whether they are corresponding or not.

due to various reasons such as death, re-location, others worked or run businesses far from the polling station they had registered as voters or others were not at home at the time of the study.

**Table 1: Survey Sample**

Constituency Code	Constituency Name	No. of Respondents	No. of Female Registered Voters	No. of Male Registered
173	Bumula	149	1,193	1,368
176	Butula	128	1,279	1,164
116	Cherangany	99	1,567	1,691
005	Dagoretti	148	4,274	8,165
058	Gachoka	173	624	836
018	Ganze	123	892	727
181	Gem	153	1,411	1,408
088	Gichugu	175	2,894	3,437
096	Kandara	168	1,505	1,816
063	Kitui Central	146	440	421
208	Kitutu Masaba	140	1,374	1,629
200	Kuria	135	546	545
039	Mandera Central	148	2,422	2,130
120	Marakwet East	151	425	469
085	Mukurueini	186	1,633	1,677
012	Mvita	156	3,372	5,551
129	Baringo North	145	620	632
042	North Hr	148	1,804	1,534
053	South Imenti	189	2,580	3,180
026	Taveta	147	1,278	1,575
	<b>Total</b>	<b>3,007</b>	<b>32,133</b>	<b>39,955</b>

Table 1 shows the list of the sampled constituencies and the total number of respondents in each constituency. The table also shows the total number of registered voters in the 60 polling stations that were sampled for the study in terms of males and females.

**Figure 3: Registered voters in the 60 polling stations sampled for the audit study**

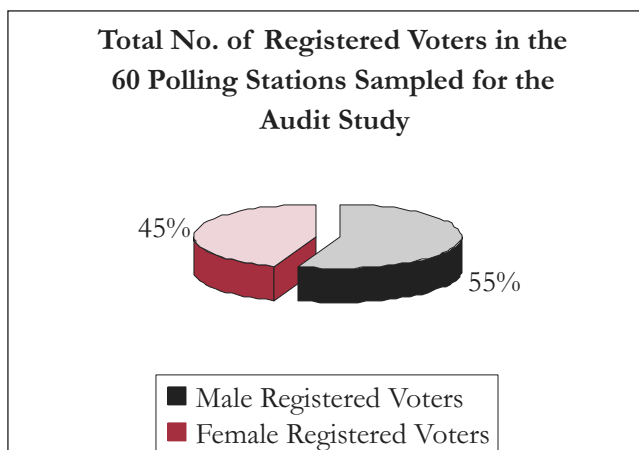
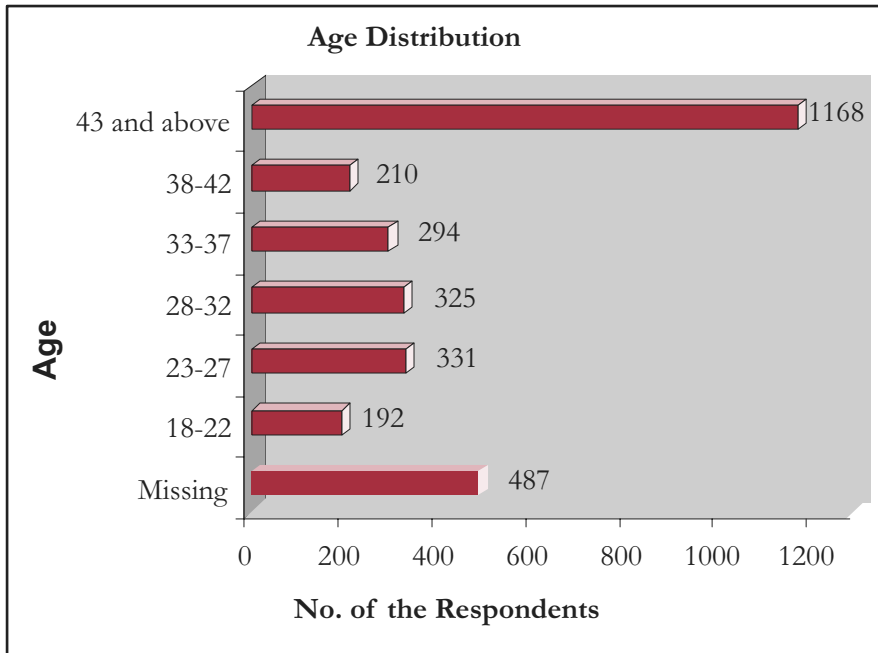


Figure 3 above shows that there are less female registered voters compared to males. Out of the 72,088 registered voters in the 60 sampled polling stations 32,133 (45%) were females and 39,955 (55%) were males. These statistics correspond with ECK’s provisional statistics on registered voters as at May 2007 which indicated that out of the 13,043,618 registered voters, 6,073,628 (47%) were females while 6,969,990 (53%) were males<sup>3</sup>. These statistics are an indication that women experience a lot of challenges which inhibit them from registering as voters. Some of these challenges include lack of ID Cards, long distances to the registration centres, poverty, customs and traditions. More over, women are required to give more documents than men while applying for the ID Card. Also, men seem to take control in many cases and keep identification documents for women.

<sup>3</sup> ECK Website (<http://www.eck.or.ke/>) Registered Voters per Constituency: Provisional Statistics by May 2007.

**Figure 4: Age of the Respondents**



The respondents in this survey were grouped into 6 age groups of 18-22, 23-27, 28-32, 33-37, 38-42 and 43 years and above. The age groups had an age difference of 5 years each apart from the last one which included all persons who were 43 years and above. The age distribution of the respondents reflects the recommended voting age thus the respondent's age was from 18 years and above. The study findings indicate that majority of the respondents interviewed were between 18-42 years who accounted for 1,352 (45%) compared to those who were 43 years and above who accounted for 1,168 (39%). 587 (16%) of the respondents did not indicate their ages and therefore were counted as missing.

**Figure 5: Age of the Respondents and Voter Registration**

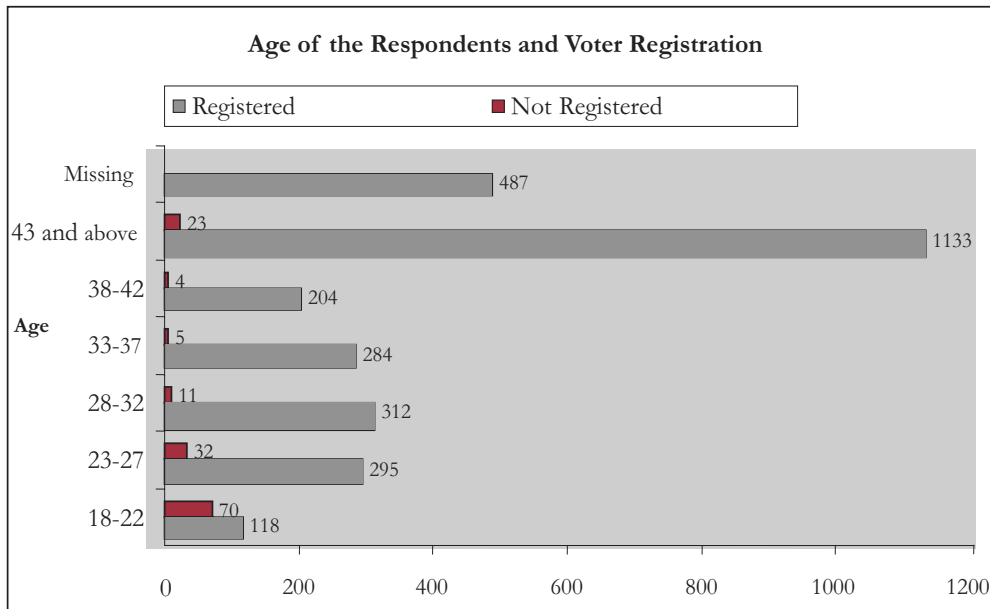


Figure 5 shows the analysis of age of the respondents and voter registration. The statistics shows that out of the 2,352 registered respondents, 118 (5%) were in the category of 18-22 years, 295 (12.5%) were in the age category of 23-27, 312 (3.2%) were in the age category of 28-32, 284 (12%) were in the age category of 33-37, 204 (9%) were in the age category of 38-42 and 1,133 (48%) were 42 years and above. 6 (0.3%) of the respondents indicated that they were registered voters but had not indicated their age so they did not fall under any of our age analysis. From our statistics, it is clear that persons between the ages of 18-22 accounted for the smallest number (5%) of registered voters. This could be attributed to lack of National ID Cards. The study further revealed that respondents in the age category of 18-42 years accounted for 52% of the registered voters which is significantly higher compared to 48% of the respondents aged 42 years and above.

**Table 2: Educational level of the Respondents**

<b>Educational Level</b>	<b>No. of Respondents</b>	<b>%</b>
Primary	1,224	40
Secondary	570	19
College	176	6
University	16	0.5
Others	521	17
Missing	500	17
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,007</b>	<b>100</b>

The audit survey findings revealed that majority (40%) of the respondents had attained primary education as their highest level of education, while 19% of the respondents had attained secondary education. A further 6% had attained college education while university education recorded the least (0.5%). Others were noted to be illiterate (17%). The study findings indicated that persons with at least primary education are more enlightened on voter registration exercise and inspection and indeed account for a large number of registered voters than those with no education at all. Majority of those interviewed had primary education. This may be attributed to the rural nature of the study in the sense that most respondents who were found in the rural areas had attained primary level of education and probably those who had attained higher education had moved to urban centres in search for employment or other occupational activities.

**Table 3: Highest Income Occupation**

<b>Occupation</b>	<b>No. of Respondents</b>	<b>%</b>
Farmer	1,315	43.7
Business	352	11.7
House wives	174	5.8
Casual worker	141	4.7
Unemployed	136	4.5
Professional	132	4.3
Domestic worker	86	2.9
Others	72	2.4
Student	44	1.5
Missing	555	18.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,007</b>	<b>100</b>

The 2007 audit survey revealed that majority of the respondents (43.7%) were farmers. This reflects the rural nature of the respondents. However the study captured the other occupational engagement of the respondents as shown in Table 3.

### 4.3. VOTER REGISTRATION INFORMATION

**Table 4: Approximate distance from Residence to DEC's office**

Distance	No. of Respondents	%
Over 20 Km	1,060	35.3
6-10 Km	443	14.7
16-20 Km	352	11.7
1-5 Km	269	8.9
11-15 Km	209	7.0
Less than 1Km	156	5.2
Missing	518	17.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,007</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 5: Approximate distance from Residence to the polling station**

Distance	No of the Respondents	%
Less than 1Km	1,601	53.2
1-5 Km	747	24.8
6-10 Km	86	2.9
Over 20 Km	34	1.1
11-15 Km	14	.5
16-20 Km	13	.4
Missing	512	17.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,007</b>	<b>100</b>

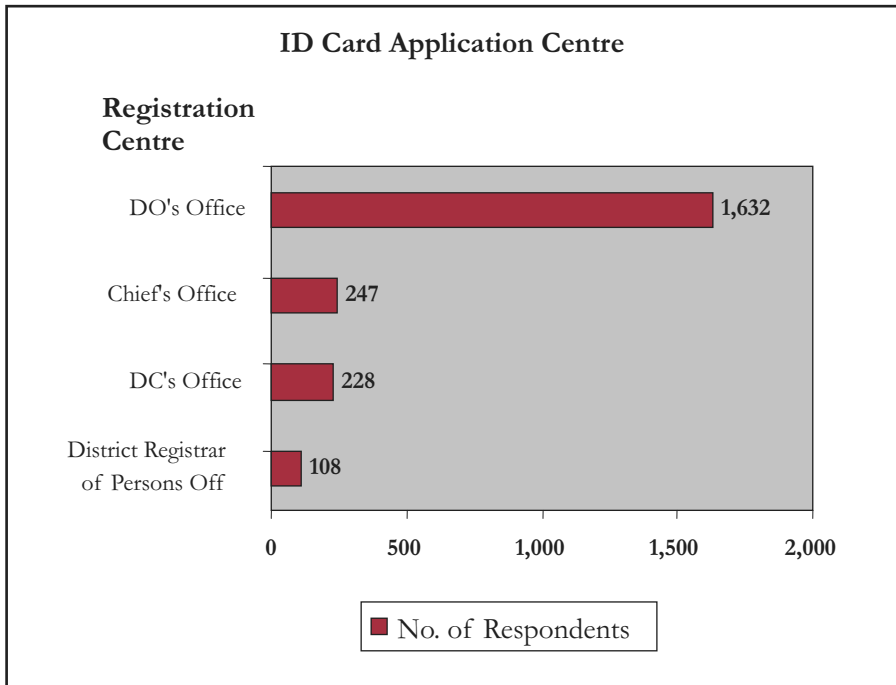
Table 4 and 5 analyses distances covered by respondents to voter registration centres at the DECs offices and the polling stations. The statistics reveal that majority of the respondents (35.3%) walk long distances (over 20 km) to DECs offices. This mainly inhibits continuous voter registration process in the districts. However, the locations of the polling stations are close to the respondents' residential areas and majority of the respondents 1,601 (53.2%) indicated walking less than 1 km to the polling stations. This is attributed to the fact that ECK has increased the number of polling stations and ensured that they are close to the residential areas to facilitate voter registration and voting exercise. However the registration at polling stations is not continuous and occurs only periodically during ECK's one month-long massive drive depending on availability of resources. For example, ECK has carried out three such massive one month-long voter registration drives, yet this is an election year.

**Table 6: Distance to the ID Card Application Centres.**

Distance	No. of Respondents	%
1-5 Km	897	29.8
6-10 Km	615	20.5
Over 20 Km	351	11.7
Less than 1Km	239	7.9
11-15 Km	193	6.4
16-20 Km	185	6.2
Missing	527	17.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,007</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 6 above shows that majority of the respondents cover 5-20 km to the ID card application centres. A significant number of the respondents (11.7%) indicated covering over 20 km to apply for an ID card.

**Figure: 6: ID card Application Centres**



Majority of the respondents 1,632 (54.3%) indicated that they applied and obtained their ID cards from Divisional Headquarters. 247 (8.2%) of the respondents stated that they applied and collected their ID cards from the chiefs office. This implies that chiefs work very closely with the Registrar of Persons officials in the districts to facilitate the process of issuance of ID cards in rural areas. It was also noted that when ID cards are ready, they are delivered to the chiefs /sub chiefs office so that they are given to the applicants. It was learnt that some times the applicants are not aware that the ID cards are in the chiefs' offices for them to collect. In other instances chiefs/sub chiefs ask for some money from the applicants in order to give them their ID cards.

**Table 7: Authentication of details against the Register of Voters**

Details	Analysis	No. of Respondents	%
ID card number	Corresponding	1,898	63.1
	Not corresponding	51	1.7
	Missing	1,058	35.2
	<b>Total</b>	<b>3,007</b>	<b>100</b>
Voters name	Corresponding	1,806	60.1
	Not corresponding	140	4.7
	Missing	1,061	35.3
	<b>Total</b>	<b>3,007</b>	<b>100</b>
Date of birth	Corresponding	1,888	62.8
	Not corresponding	49	1.6
	Missing	1,070	35.6
	<b>Total</b>	<b>3,007</b>	<b>100</b>
Voters card number	Corresponding	1,900	63.2
	Not corresponding	40	1.3
	Missing	1,067	35.5
	<b>Total</b>	<b>3,007</b>	<b>100</b>
Voters gender	Corresponding	1,925	64
	Not corresponding	18	0.6
	Missing	1,064	35.4
	<b>Total</b>	<b>3,007</b>	<b>100</b>
Constituency name	Corresponding	1,910	63.5
	Not corresponding	2	0.1
	Missing	1,095	36.4
	<b>Total</b>	<b>3,007</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 7 shows the analysis of voters' details on the ID card and voters cards and whether they correspond with the details on the voters register. The analysis from Table 7 shows the following:

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- ◆ That 1,898 (63.1%) of the respondents had their ID card number corresponding with that in the voters card and in the voters register. However, 51 (1.7%) of the respondents had their ID card numbers not corresponding with the voters card and the voters register. 1,058(35.2%) of the respondents did not produce either their ID Cards, voters cards or both the ID and voters card for cross checking. This is because they had lost them and had not replaced them at the time of the study or was not located for the interview through the list-to-people method.
  - ◆ That 1,806 (60.1%) of the respondents had their names corresponding with that in the voters card and in the voters register. However, 140 (4.7%) of the respondents had their names not corresponding with the voters card and the voters register. 1,061 (35.3%) of the respondents did not produce either their ID cards, voters cards or both the ID and voters card for cross checking. This is because they had lost them and had not replaced them at the time of the study or was not located for the interview through the list-to-people method.
  - ◆ That 1,888 (62.8%) of the respondents had their date of births corresponding with that on the ID card and in the voters register. However, 49 (1.6%) of the respondents had their date of births not corresponding with the ID card and the voters register. 1,070 (35.6% of the respondents did not produce either their ID cards, voters cards or both the ID and voters card for cross checking. This is because they had lost them and had not replaced them at the time of the study or was not located for the interview through the list-to-people method.
  - ◆ That 1,900 (63.2%) of the respondents had their voters card number corresponding with that on the voters register. However, 40 (1.3%) of the respondents had their voters card number not corresponding with that on the voters register. 1,067 (35.5% of the respondents did not produce their voters card for cross checking with the voters register. This is because they had lost or misplaced it at the time of the study or was not located for the interview through the list-to-people method.
  - ◆ That 1,925 (64%) of the respondents had their gender on the ID card corresponding with that on the voters register. However, 18 (0.6%) of the respondents had their gender on their ID card not corresponding with that on the voters register. 1,064 (35.4%) of the respondents did not produce their ID card for cross checking with the voters register. This is because they had lost or misplaced it at the time of the study or was not located for the interview through the list-to-people method.

- ◆ That 1,910 (63.5%) of the respondents had their constituency name on the voters card corresponding with that on the voters register. However, 2 (0.1%) of the respondents had their constituency name on their voters card not corresponding with that on the voters register. 1,095 (36.4%) of the respondents did not produce their voters card for cross checking with the voters register. This is because they had lost or misplaced it at the time of the study or was not located for the interview through the list-to-people method.

From table 7, we can rank the voters details that posted a higher level of inconsistency with the voters register as follows:

Voters Details	%	Rank
Voters name	4.7	1
ID card number	1.7	2
Date of birth	1.6	3
Voters card number	1.3	4
Voters gender	0.6	5
Constituency name	0.1	6

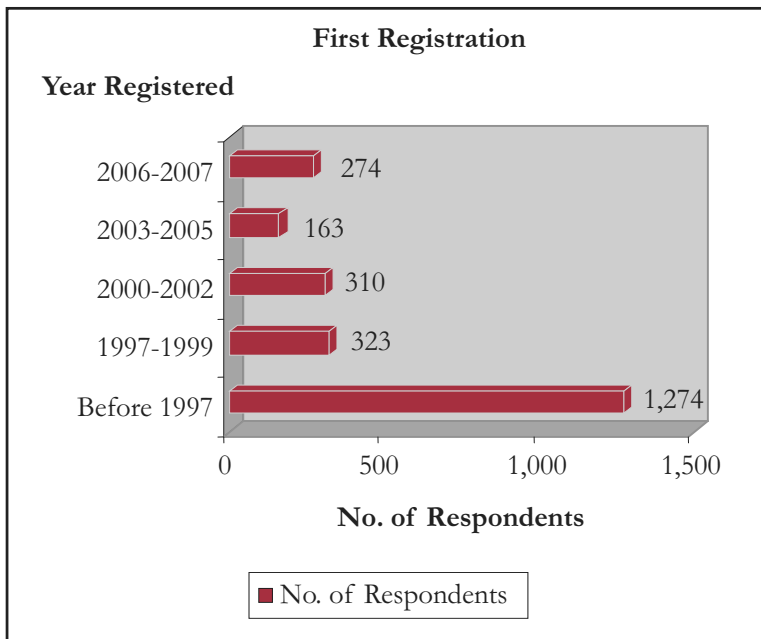
Table 7 shows that the voters' registers had a lot of inconsistencies on voter's name. This included miss-spelt names and missing names. This was followed by wrong ID card number, date of birth, voters' card number, voters' gender and constituency name had the least.

**Table 8: Reasons for Registration as voters**

Reasons for Registering as Voters	No. of Respondents	%	Rank
My constitutional right	1,374	45.7	1
To participate in governance	400	13.3	2
Vote for my party	104	3.5	3
Vote my tribesman	81	2.7	4
To elect and be elected	79	2.6	5
Other reasons	30	1.0	6
Induced to register	28	0.9	7
To make money	10	0.3	8
Missing	901	30	
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,007</b>	<b>100</b>	

The analysis of the audit data survey indicates that majority 1,374 (45.7%) of respondents registered as voters, believe it is their constitutional right to do so. In addition, a significant number of respondents 400 (13.3%) felt that being registered voters will enable them participate in governance. 104 (3.5%) of the respondents indicated that they registered as voters in order to vote for their party while 81 (2.7%) indicated that they registered as voters so that they can vote for a candidate from their tribe. 79 (2.6%) of the respondents said that they registered as voters to elect and be elected. It is, however, noted that small percentages of 28 (0.9%) and 10 (0.3%) of respondents indicated their reason for voter registration as having been induced to register as voters and to make money respectively. 30 (1%) of the respondents indicated other reasons for voter registration which included their own liking, had attained the necessary age, need to vote for their choice of leaders and others felt that they registered as voters in order to enjoy their voting right.

**Figure 7: First Voter Registration**



The study revealed that majority of the respondents 1,274 (42.4%) registered as voters before 1997. 323 (10.7%) of the respondents registered as voters between the period 1997-1999 while 310 (10.3%) of the respondents registered between the period 2000-2002. 163 (5.4%) of the respondents registered as voters between the period 2003-2005 while 274 (9.1) of the respondents indicated that they first registered as voters between the period 2006-2007. A sudden increase of voter

registration is noted in the years 2006-2007. The increase was from 163 in 2003-2005 to 274 in 2006-2007. This may be attributed to mass voter registration exercises conducted by ECK and voter education campaigns for example the *Vijana Tugutuke Ni Time Yetu* Campaign in readiness for 2007 general elections.

**Table 9: Place of Voter Registration**

Place of Voter Registration	No. of Respondents	%
Polling station	2,222	94.5
Registered at home	59	2.5
At the DEC's office	31	1.3
At ECK headquarters	6	0.3
Missing	34	1.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,352</b>	<b>100</b>

Out of the 2,352 respondents registered as voters 2,222 (94.5%) registered at the polling stations due to proximity to their area of residence. A significant number of respondents 59 (2.5%) registered at home through the visits by the ECK registration officials. Voter registration at DEC's offices and the ECK headquarters is comparatively very low (1.3%) and 0.3% respectively which may be attributed to long distances from the area of residence. 34 (1.4%) of the respondents did not indicate where they registered as voters or were not located for the interview.

**Table 10: Time spent at the Registration Centre**

Time spent at the Registration Centre	No. of respondents	%
Less than 1 hour	1,874	62.3
1-2 hours	302	10
3-4 hours	70	2.3
4-6 hours	44	1.5
More than 6 hours	66	2.2
Missing	651	21.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,007</b>	<b>100</b>

1,874 (62.3%) of the respondents indicated having spent less than an hour at the registration centre while 302 (10%) of the respondents indicated having spent 1-2 hours. 70(2.3%) of the respondents spent 3-4 hours and 44 (1.5%) spent 4-6 hours. 66 (2.2%) indicated having spent more than 6 hours to get a voters card. 651 (21.6%) of the respondents did not indicate the time they spent at the voter registration centre or they were not located for the interview hence were treated as missing.

**Table 11: Waiting period for issuance of voters cards**

Waiting period for Voters cards	No. of Respondents	%
Same day of registration	1,589	52.8
Within one week of registration	410	13.6
1-4 weeks	270	9.0
More than one month	71	2.4
Missing	667	22.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>3007</b>	<b>100</b>

Over half of the respondents, 1,589 (52.8%) indicated that they obtained their voters cards on the same day of registration. 410 (13.6%) indicated that they obtained their voters cards within one week of registration while 270 (9%) obtained their voters cards within 1-4 weeks. It is, however, noted that 71 (2.4%) of the respondents obtained their voters card after waiting for more than a month. 667 (22.2%) of the respondents did not indicate the period they waited to be issued with a voters card.

**Table 12: Reasons for Registration Centre Choice**

Reason for Registration Centre Choice	No. of Respondents	%
Area of residence	2,093	69.6
Influenced	1	0.0
Employment/business	30	1.0
Others	10	0.3
Missing	873	29.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,007</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 12 shows that the major reason for choice of the registration centre is area of residence which accounted for 2,093 (69.6%). A relatively small percentage of the respondents 30 (1%) indicated that the reasons for their choice of voter registration centre was because they were employed or carried business there. One respondent indicated that the choice of his/her voter registration centre was through influence. 10 (0.3%) of the respondents indicated other reasons for choice of voter registration centre such as marriage, and migration. 873 (29%) of the respondents did not indicate the reasons for choice of their voter registration centre and also comprised those who were not registered as voters.

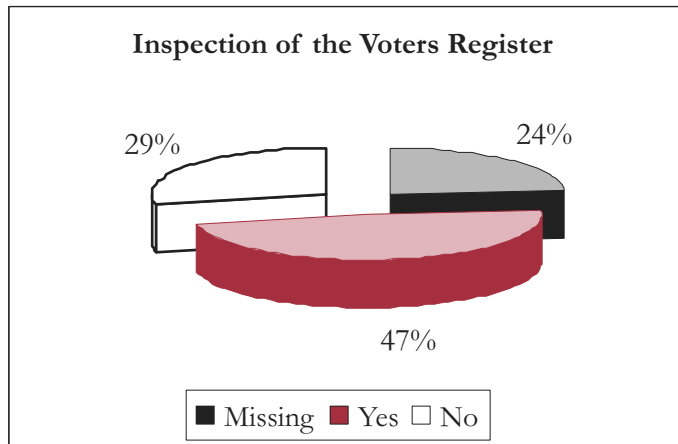
**Table 13: Identification documents for Voter Registration**

Identification Documents	No. of respondents	%
National ID card/Passport	2,283	75.9
ID card waiting form	1	0.0
None	7	0.2
Photocopy ID card	22	0.7
Missing	694	23.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>3007</b>	<b>100</b>

The findings of the study shows that majority of the respondents 2,283(75.9%) presented ID cards/Passports for identification to be registered as voters. However, it was noted that 22 (0.7%) of the respondents presented a photocopy of their ID cards and 7 (0.2%) of the respondents presented no document for identification. Those who did not produce an ID card for voter registration indicated that they had not acquired one or had lost it at the time of the registration. The law requires that a person produces either the original ID card or a Kenyan passport in order to register as a voter. These documents are also required at the time of voting. It is against the law for ECK registration officers to register voters without the relevant documents. 694 (23.1%) of the respondents did not indicate the documents they produced for identification for voter registration or comprised those who were not registered as voters.

#### 4.4. INFORMATION ON INSPECTION OF REGISTER OF VOTERS

Figure 8: Inspection of Register of Voters



Whether inspected Voters Register	No. of respondents	%
Yes	1,435	47
No	863	29
Missing	709	24
Total	3,007	100

Figure 8 shows that a significant number 1,435 (47%) of the respondents inspected their details on the register of voters. 863 (29%) did not inspect the voters register. This is a remarkable improvement from the 2004 audit which showed that only 722 (33.5%) of the respondents had inspected the register by the time of survey and 1,433 (66.5%) had not inspected the register to verify whether their names and other details were correct<sup>4</sup>.

709 (24%) of the respondents did not indicate whether they inspected the voters register or not. The percentage also includes those not registered as voters and therefore their details on inspection of voters registers were treated as missing.

<sup>4</sup> The Registration of Voters: 2003-2004: *An Audit* p. 26.

**Table 14: Information entered wrongly in the Register of Voters**

Information entered wrongly in the Register of Voters	No. of cases noted	%
None	1,403	98
Name missing	6	0.4
Wrong/ Missing ID number	8	0.5
Wrong/Missing date of birth	1	0.0
Wrong Polling station	2	0.1
Wrong Voters card number	4	0.2
Others	11	0.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,435</b>	<b>100</b>

Out of the 1,435 (47%) respondents who inspected the register, 1,403(98%) found their details correctly recorded in the voters register. However, 6 (0.4%) had their names missing or wrongly written in the voters register, 8 (0.5%) had their ID card number missing or written wrongly, 2 (0.1) had their polling station written wrongly and 4 (0.2) had their voters card number written wrongly. Other voters details indicated wrongly in the voters register or missing accounted for 11 (0.8%). These included wrong voters gender and constituency name. It is important to note that these statistics are for the respondents who indicated they inspected the voters register and noted the wrong entries in the register.

**Table 15: Reasons for failure to inspect the Register of Voters**

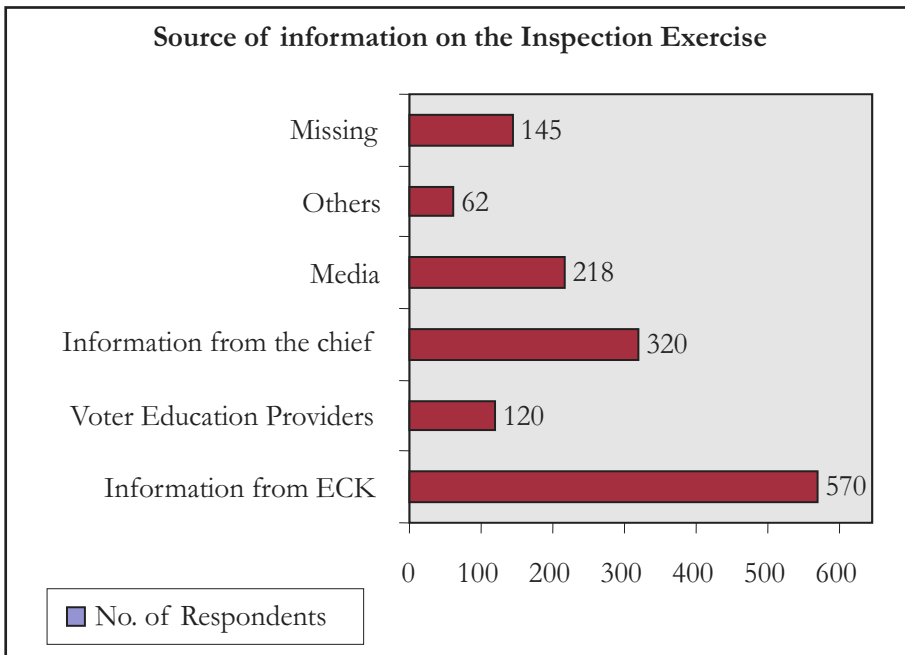
Reason for not inspecting voters register	No. of respondents	%	Rank
Assumed my details on the register were accurate	314	36	1
Not aware of the inspection	285	33	2
Because I am illiterate	146	17	3
Others	74	9	4
Inspection station was very far	15	2	5
Missing	29	3	
<b>Total</b>	<b>863</b>	<b>100</b>	

Table 15 shows the analysis of the failure to inspect the register of voters amongst the 863 respondents who indicated that they did not inspect the register. The table clearly shows that the major reason for not inspecting the register of voters was that the respondents assumed that their details on the register were accurate which accounted for 314 (36%). This percentage of the respondents was aware of the inspection exercise but made assumptions on the accuracy of their details in the voters register hence did not inspect it.

On the other hand, 285 (33%) of those who did not inspect the register cited lack of awareness of the inspection exercise while 146 (17%) indicated that they were illiterate and therefore could not inspect the register. Other reasons for not inspecting the voters register accounted for 74 (9%). These included short inspection period and lack of time. 15 (2%) of the respondents cited reasons for failure to inspect the register as the long distance to the inspection station. 29 (3%) of the respondents did not give reasons for their failure to inspect the voters register and therefore were treated as missing.

The above statistics shows an improvement on the inspection of voters register compared to 2004 audit report. The 2004 audit report showed that 727 (50.7%) of the respondents who did not inspect the voters register were not aware of the inspection exercise compared to 285 (33%) of the 2007 audit findings.

**Figure 9: Source of Information on the Inspection Exercise**



Information Source	No. of Respondents	%
Information from ECK	570	40
Information from the chief	320	23
Media	218	15
Voter Education Providers	120	8
Others	62	4
Missing	145	10
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,435</b>	<b>100</b>

Figure 9 shows that out of the 1,435 respondents who inspected the voters register, majority 570 (40%) cited ECK as their source of information on continuous voter registration process and inspection. 320 (23%) of the respondents felt that the provincial administration, mainly the chief, plays a vital role as a source of information on inspection of voters register. 218 (15%) of the respondents cited media as the source of information on inspection while 120 (8%) cited voter education providers. 62 (4%) of the respondents cited other sources such as friends, relatives, religious institutions, youth and women groups. However, it was noted that 145 (10%) of the respondents did not indicate their sources of information on inspection of voters register.

#### 4.5. VOTER TRANSFER INFORMATION

**Table 16: Change of Voter's card**

Changed Voters Card	Yes	No	Missing	Total
Change of voter's card	583	1,714	55	2,352
Surrendered voters card to ECK	504	49	30	583

Out of the 2,352 (78.2%) registered voters, 583 (25%) indicated that they had changed their voters card since their first registration. Some of the reasons cited for change of voters' cards were change of polling stations, loss of previous voters' cards and relocation to other areas of residence. Among the 583 who had changed their voters' cards, a considerable number 504 (86%) surrendered their extra voter's card to ECK. However, the study established that those who did not

surrender extra voter's card to ECK were (49) respondents. The reasons for not surrendering the extra voter's card to ECK were indicated as misplacement and lack of voter education.

**Table 17: Number of voters' cards possessed by Respondents**

No. of voters cards	No. of Respondents	%
One	2,245	95.5
More than one	6	0.2
Missing	101	4.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,352</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 17 shows that out of 2,352 respondents registered as voters, 2,245 (95.5%) possessed one voters card while 6 (0.2%) of registered respondents had more than one voters card. These statistics reflect those who admitted having more than one voters card. 101 (4.3%) of the respondents registered as voters did not provide information on the number of voters cards they possess and therefore were treated as missing. Persons with more than one voter's cards and their details are shown in appendix 6 of this report.

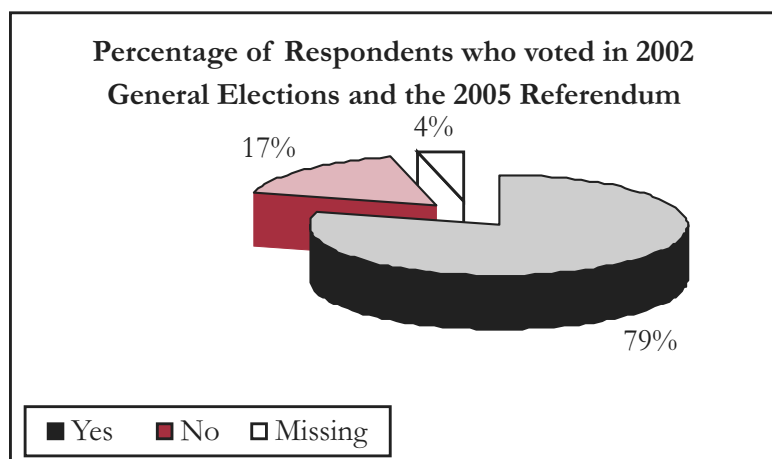
#### 4.6. KEY CHALLENGES TO VOTER REGISTRATION

**Table 18: Key Challenges to Voter Registration in terms of Gender**

Challenge	Male	%	Female	%	Total	Rank
No ID card	484	49%	510	51%	994	1
Others	111	48%	119	52%	230	2
Lack of information	89	42%	123	58%	212	3
Long distance	97	46%	112	54%	209	4
Voter apathy	53	42%	72	58%	125	5
Short registration period	37	49%	39	51%	76	6
Inducement	13	37%	22	63%	35	7
Insecurity	12	63%	7	37%	19	8
Lack of Registration personnel	9	50%	9	50%	18	9
Missing	544	50%	545	50%	1,089	
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,449</b>		<b>1,558</b>		<b>3,007</b>	

Table 18 shows the challenges faced by both male and female during voter registration. From the analysis, lack of ID card was indicated as the major challenge to voter registration and it mainly affects females. The table clearly shows that out of the 994 respondents who indicated lack of ID card as a major impediment to voter registration, 510 (51%) are females compared to 484 (49%) males. The analysis also shows that other key challenges on voter registration are lack of information affecting 89 (42%) males compared to 123(58%) females, long distance affecting 97 (46%) males compared to 112 (54%) females, voter apathy affecting 53 (42%) males compared to 72 (58%) females, short registration period affecting 37 (49%) males compared to 39 (51%) females, inducement affecting 13 (37%) males compared to 22 (63%) females, insecurity affecting 12 (63%) males compared to 7 (37%) females and lack of registration personnel affecting 9 (50%) males compared to 9 (50%) females. It is important to note that females are more affected by almost all the key challenges on voter registration. In fact from the analysis it is only lack of registration personnel, ranked as number 9 that affect both men and women equally and insecurity that was found to affect more men than women. This calls for ECK to come up with projects and programmes targeting women voters. A total of 1,089 respondents interviewed did not respond to the question on key challenges facing voter registration and therefore were treated as missing.

**Figure 10: Percentage of Respondents who voted in 2002 General Elections and the 2005 Referendum on the Proposed New Constitution.**



Whether voted in 2002 and 2005 Referendum	No. of Respondents	%
Yes	1,863	79
No	396	17
Missing	93	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,352</b>	<b>100</b>

The study revealed that out of the 2,352 respondents registered voters, majority 1,863 (79%) voted in the 2002 General Elections and in the 2005 Referendum on the Proposed New Constitution. However it is important to note that 396 (17%) of the respondents who are registered as voters did not vote either in the 2002 General Elections or in the 2005 Referendum on the Proposed New Constitution. 93 (4%) of the respondents registered as voters did not indicate whether they voted and therefore their information was treated as missing.

#### 4.7. ASSESSMENT OF ECK PERFORMANCE

**Table 19: Voter Registration Process and Inspection of the Registers**

Assessment	No. of Respondents	%
Highly efficient	1,220	40.6
Efficient but needs improvements	748	24.9
Inefficient	243	8.1
Don't know	241	8.0
Missing	555	18.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,007</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 20: Public Relations**

Assessment	No. of Respondents	%
Highly efficient	1,072	35.7
Efficient but needs improvements	782	26.0
Inefficient	421	14.0
Don't know	183	6.1
Missing	549	18.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,007</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 21: Conducting Elections**

Assessment	No. of Respondents	%
Highly efficient	1,078	35.8
Efficient but needs improvements	865	28.8
Inefficient	315	10.5
Don't know	188	6.3
Missing	561	18.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,007</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 22: Promoting Voter Education**

Assessment	No. of Respondents	%
Highly efficient	725	24.1
Efficient but needs improvements	638	21.2
Inefficient	575	19.1
Don't know	512	17.0
Missing	557	18.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,007</b>	<b>100</b>

Tables 19, 20, 21 and 22 summarizes the respondents' ratings on the performance of ECK on its core responsibilities of conducting voter registration and inspection, public relations, conducting and management of elections and promotion of voter education. It is noted that ECK received generally good ratings from the respondents in the execution of its responsibilities. Respondents rated ECK as highly efficient though with varied degrees in its core responsibilities as follows:

- ◆ Voter registration and inspection of registers 1,220 (40.6%)
- ◆ Conducting and management of elections 1,078 (35.8%)
- ◆ Public relations 1,072 (35.7%)
- ◆ Promoting voter education 725 (24.1%)

From the analysis it is noted that ECK received lower ratings on promoting voter education 725 (24.1%) compared to its other core responsibilities. Therefore, this calls for ECK to improve on the execution of voter education in the whole country.

However, the 2007 audit findings showed that ECK has significantly improved in the execution of its core responsibilities compared to 2004. The 2004 audit survey respondents rated ECK as being efficient but could improve.

#### 4.8. ANALYSIS OF LIST- TO- PEOPLE INTERVIEWS

**Table 23: Reasons for failure to Conduct Interviews on located Respondents**

Reason for not conducting the interview	No. of respondents	%
Person is dead	22	0.7
Person refused to answer or cooperate	106	3.5
Person is incapacitated	5	0.2
Missing	2,874	95.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>3007</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 23 above show that one of the major reasons why the interviews were not conducted to persons located was that they had died which accounted to 22 (0.7%). This percentage represents 21 dead persons from our sample of 3,007 respondents and 505 dead persons from a total of 72,088 registered voters in the 60 polling stations sampled for the study. This percentage also represents 91,305 dead persons in the national statistics of Registered Voters as at May 2007 which stands at 13,043,618. This shows that the register of voters still contains names of deceased persons.

The 2007 audit also showed that 5 (0.2%) of respondents located for list-to-people interviews were not interviewed because they were incapacitated. This percentage represents 6 incapacitated persons from our sample of 3,007 respondents and 144 incapacitated persons from a total of 72,088 registered voters in the 60 polling stations sampled for the study. This percentage also represents 26,087 incapacitated persons in the national statistics of Registered Voters as at May 2007 which stands at 13,043,618.

Other reasons for not conducting interviews on located respondents were that respondents refused to answer or cooperate which accounted for 106(3.5%). 2,874(95.6%) of the respondents in this category who are treated as missing, includes those interviewed through people- to –list and those not located for the interview due to reasons given in table 24. It also includes those who did not respond to this question.

Reasons cited for not conducting the list-to-people interviews were that the respondents could not be located due to various reasons as reflected in Table 24.

**Table 24: Reasons for not locating Respondents**

Reasons for not locating the Respondents	No. of Respondents	%
Person not at home	167	43
No such person existed in the area(unknown)	78	20
Others	61	16
Had migrated	32	8
Temporary out of the country	6	2
Missing	42	11
<b>Total</b>	<b>386</b>	<b>100</b>

Out of the 1,336 respondents sampled for the list-to-people interviews, 386 were not located. Table 24 shows the analysis of the reasons for not locating the respondents. Majority of the respondents 167 (43%) were not located because they were not at home at the time of interview. 78 (20%) of the respondents were not known by the residents. This mainly affected women respondents who are known by the name of their children and not their real names. 32 (8%) of the respondents had migrated to other parts of the country and 6 (2%) were regarded to have been temporarily out of the country. The reasons for not locating the 42 (11%) of the respondents were not indicated hence were treated as missing.

#### **4.9 MONITORING THE CONTINUOUS VOTER REGISTRATION PROCESS**

One of the objectives of the 2007 audit survey was to monitor the continuous voter registration process which was launched by ECK in May 2003. ECK and IED collaborated in the development of guides and other IEC materials which were used to train new voter registration officers and other ECK officials on administration and management of continuous voter registration exercise<sup>5</sup>. Some of the voter registration guides and IEC materials produced by ECK and IED include the following: Voter Registration, A Source Book, Voter Registration Handbook, A Leaders Guide and an ABC of Voter Registration. The training was conducted

<sup>5</sup> IED Annual Report, 2004, p. 37.

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to enhance the capacity of ECK officials on maintaining a comprehensive, current and updated National Register of Voters. Therefore, as part of the 2007 audit survey, IED sought to monitor the administration and management of continuous voter registration and performance of ECK registration officers and come up with relevant recommendations for improvements. The following are some of the findings and proposed interventions.

#### **4.9.1. Registration Statistics**

Interviews with the ROs and DECAs revealed that the mass voter registration exercise conducted by ECK between 15<sup>th</sup> August and 14<sup>th</sup> September 2006 enabled many people to register as voters compared to the one conducted from 1<sup>st</sup> to 31<sup>st</sup> March 2007. During the 15<sup>th</sup> August and 14<sup>th</sup> September 2006 mass voter registration a total of 1,000,000 newly registered voters was recorded compared to 600,000 newly registered voters during the 1<sup>st</sup> to 31<sup>st</sup> March 2007 mass voter registration<sup>6</sup>. The indication was that the voter registration targets for March 2007 were not met. The reason for this was that majority of those targeted did not manage to acquire ID cards or majority had taken advantage of continuous voter registration process and registered in-between. It is also possible that the majority registered through the *Vijana Tugutuke Ni Time Yetu* concerts between September 2006 and March 2007 through which 850 persons were newly registered and approximately 2,932 people reached during the mini road shows<sup>7</sup>.

#### **4.9.2. Cleaning up of Voters Register**

It was established that ECK officials face various challenges in their efforts to compile a comprehensive, accurate and current Register of Voters. It was noted that despite the fact that ECK works very closely with chiefs, sub-chiefs and village elders to identify dead persons in the village, the provincial administration notably the chiefs and sub-chiefs do not give proper information of the dead persons to the ECK since the burial permit and the death certificate application form do not provide for columns to provide information of the dead person but rather information of the person collecting the burial permit or death certificate application forms. Therefore when the death certificate application form is shared with ECK for purposes of deleting the dead person from the register, ECK may sometimes delete the wrong person.

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<sup>6</sup> Nation Newspaper, Saturday 16th September 2006 P. 1

<sup>7</sup> IED Website ([www.iedafrica.org](http://www.iedafrica.org)).

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### **4.9.3. Resource Availability**

The study revealed that there are limited resources at the districts level in terms of human, financial, equipment and other logistical facilities and this inhibits voter registration processes. For example, in Maragua South district, it was found that there is only one computer at the DECs office that serves the whole district. Also, in Moyale district, the DECs office had only one computer which when it breaks down is normally transported to Nairobi for repair. Limited resources for voter registration is a problem that was found to be in all the districts visited though experienced more in Northern parts of Kenya.

### **4.9.4. Voter Education**

The study revealed that voter education conducted by ECK is not effective and does not trickle down to the grassroots. More over, it is not continuous and gender sensitive. Therefore, there is need for ECK to come up with strategies and programmes for conducting continuous voter education in the whole country and also come up with voter education projects targeting women since they experience more challenges on voter registration than men as the 2007 audit survey findings indicate.

### **4.9.5. Inspection of Register of Voters**

The audit survey study revealed that most people do not inspect the voters register because they assume that their details are recorded correctly in the registers. Other reasons were lack of awareness of the inspection exercise, illiteracy and long distance to the inspection site. It was suggested that ECK considers conducting inspection of voters register at the polling stations since this is where most people register as voters.

### **4.9.6. Recruitment of Voter Registration Clerks**

Discussions with the DECs revealed that recruitment of voter registration clerks is conducted on merit as far as academic qualifications are concerned. This means in most cases, the clerks hired are invariably male therefore creating gender imbalances. It was suggested that ECK make deliberate efforts through policy guidelines on the percentage of female and male composition of the voter registration clerks; a form of affirmative action to encourage both male and female applicants. This affirmative action policy

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should also apply to hiring of marginalized groups, people with disability and to resource allocation in areas worst hit by problems occasioned by inadequate resources.

It was also established that the period that ECK uses to advertise the need for registration clerks and the time the clerks are expected to commence the work is very short. Consequently, this leaves the DEC's with limited time to receive applications, shortlist and conduct interviews hence DEC's end up using the previous registration clerks who have experience or are known to them or their friends. In some cases, registration clerks were found to come from other areas other than the areas of registration. In other cases it was established that registration clerks were identified and recommended for recruitment by the local politicians.

#### **4.9.7. Publicity**

It was found that voter registration exercise is normally publicized through the electronic and print media, posters, pamphlets and through word of mouth by ECK officials. The study also revealed that provincial administration and religious organizations play a vital role in publicizing the voter registration exercise. However, it was noted that ECK publicity methods are not effective since the voter registration messages do not reach majority of the Kenya population in the rural areas. It was suggested that ECK consider diversifying its publicity methods through the local vernacular FM radios and chiefs barazas in order to reach many people.

#### **4.9.8. Preparation for the 2007 General Elections**

The study revealed that ECK has made considerable efforts to ensure that every Kenyan citizen eligible to register and who present themselves to the ECK is registered as part of its preparations for 2007 General Elections. In addition, the DEC's offices were compiling and cleaning the Register of Voters in an effort to have a current and accurate National Register of Voters before the forthcoming general elections. Other preparations included tendering for election materials, preparation and submission by the DEC's offices to the ECK headquarters proposed budgets for elections activities.

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#### 4.9.9. Issuance of ID Card

The audit survey study and interviews with ECK officials indicated that lack of ID cards is the major impediment for voters' registration. Lack of proper coordination between the Registrar of Persons in the issuance of ID cards and ECK in the registration of voters aggravated the problem. During the mass voter registration exercise in March 2007, it was not possible to register most youth as voters because new ID cards were being issued to them during the last week of the mass voter registration exercise. In this regard, the DECs felt that there was need to have another mass voter registration exercise in order to have those recently issued with ID cards register as voters hence this was conducted and managed to capture more youth.

#### 4.9.10. Dissemination of Voter Education Messages

The study revealed that the best method for disseminating voter education messages especially in the rural areas was through the local vernacular FM radio stations and through the chiefs' barazas. We also found out that posters are not very effective in disseminating voter education messages because they are easily damaged and the message contained there does not reach many people since most of them are written in English and are not located at strategic points where every body can have access. Small pamphlets written in English, Kiswahili and vernacular languages were found to be more preferable since people can carry them home and read them at their own time.

#### 4.9.11. Importation of Voters

There were allegations that voters are "*imported*" and registered in constituencies other than the ones they reside in. In deed, our study found out that a significant number of voters registered for example in Mvita constituency does not reside in Mvita as was the case in Juja, Maragwa, Kaiti etc. In addition, there were allegations that in North Horr and Mandera Central constituencies, politicians take advantage of the voters' illiteracy and poverty to manipulate and influence them to register in different polling stations thus complicating the process of having a credible register of voters.

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# CHAPTER FIVE

## SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### 5.1. INTRODUCTION

The following are the findings of the 2007 audit of the National Register of Voters and the proposed recommendations for necessary action and interventions:

- 1. Voter Registration:** The study revealed that ECK has done a commendable job in creating and increasing polling stations, which are used as voter registration centres. This has enhanced people's accessibility to registration stations in order to register as voters. As a result, majority of the respondents interviewed during the 2007 audit survey (94.5%) indicated having registered at the polling stations. In fact, the study showed that 53.2% of the respondents walk less than a kilometre to a polling station. This has significantly increased the number of newly registered voters. However, the remarkable accessibility and the significant increase in the number of newly registered voters are only facilitated during ECK's month-long intensive voter registration exercises, which are conducted at irregular intervals. Continuous voter registration is still a problem as people must travel long distances to the ECK District Election Coordinators' Offices mainly situated at the District Headquarters.

*Recommendations:* We recommend that ECK considers conducting continuous voter registration exercises at the polling stations since they are easily accessible to the people.

- 2. Voter Registration turn out:** The study revealed a remarkable increase in voter registration in the years 2006-2007. This was attributed to intensive publicity and awareness campaigns on voter registration in readiness for the forth coming general elections. The *Vijana Tugutuke Ni Time Yetu* voter education campaign in which the ECK, IED, *Redykyulass* Group and *Trublaq Limited* were partners contributed significantly to the heightened levels of awareness especially amongst the youth under 35 years of age, who now form a significant percentage of the National Voters Register.

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**Recommendations:** We recommend that ECK puts in place an effective mechanism for conducting voter education and diversify its publicity methods on voter registration in order to reach every Kenyan. In addition, ECK needs to continue supporting and participating effectively in the voter registration and education campaigns conducted by its partners and collaborators, which are geared towards heightening levels of voter registration awareness especially amongst the youth under 35 years of age.

**3. Lack of National Identity Cards:** Lack of National Identity Cards still remains the major impediment to voter registration mainly affecting persons aged between 18-22 years. The respondents cited long waiting periods, complicated application procedures and corruption as the key impediments to acquiring National Identity Cards.

- ◆ The study also found out that in some places there is lack of civil registration materials and applicants are required to pay chiefs and sub chiefs in order to provide registration materials and process their civil registration forms, which is an additional expense to the applicants.
- ◆ The study also found that there are long delays in processing ID applications in border areas and towns. Applicants in the border areas have to wait for the security committee to meet and hence delaying the process of acquiring ID card in these areas.
- ◆ The audit study also noted that decisions to give ID cards are not decentralized. They are made in Nairobi. Such decisions take too long to reach outlying districts such as Moyale Lamu , Garissa and others in Northern parts of Kenya.
- ◆ The study also revealed that ID card registration is done at the district level. This results in marginalization of people from the village, who are faced with so many problems such as transportation, time and cost. Therefore, they apply for ID Cards only if they need them. People in the villages may not need ID Cards because they do not work or maintain bank accounts or possess driving licences yet without an ID card one cannot register as a voter.
- ◆ We also found out that in some places e.g in Garissa where people have applied for ID cards, those ID cards are collected on their behalf by chiefs. The chiefs are expected to give the ID cards to the applicants. We found out that sometimes applicants are not aware that the chiefs have the ID cards hence they do not collect them.

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- ◆ The audit study also revealed that unlike the ECK, the registrar of persons is only at the district headquarters and the Registrar's office does not conduct periodic mass registration drives.
  - ◆ We also found out that the Registrar of Persons does not have a structured method of removing the deceased persons from the register of persons and only relies on the records from Registrar of Births and Deaths to do so.

*Recommendations:* We recommend the following:

- ◆ The Registrar of Persons carries out periodic mass registration of citizens at the lowest possible level in the country to enhance the access to the process of acquiring ID cards.
- ◆ The Registrar of Persons needs to conduct civic education to create awareness to Kenyans on the importance for civil registration, reporting deceased relatives and ensure that citizens remain vigilant by providing information on where citizens should register, when, through whom and how much it costs to avoid corruption. Information can be provided through a service charter, billboards, barazas and in collaboration with other civic and voter education providers such as ECK, religious organizations, civil society and community-based organisations.
- ◆ Just like ECK does the Registrar of Persons needs to put in place structures and processes, which can enable citizens to inspect the Civil Register to ensure that their particulars are correct.
- ◆ We recommend that the Civil Registry should be fully computerized and the Civil Registrar should ensure adequate logistical support for continuity. The Registrar of Persons should also put in place structures and processes that will enable Kenyans to acquire ID cards at the shortest time possible and this information should be shared with all Kenyans especially those living in the border areas and other marginalized parts of the country. The Registrar of Persons should ensure that security committees are constituted in the border areas and a monitoring and evaluation strategy put in place to ensure that they are effective, diligent and timely in the delivery of their services in order to facilitate both citizens and voters registrations.
- ◆ The Registrar of Persons should identify ways in which certain structures and processes for citizens registration can be decentralized to shorten the period of application and acquisition of ID cards.

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4. **The register of voters still contains names of registered voters who are not qualified to remain in the register:** The audit survey of 2004 revealed that the National Register of Voters contained names of persons who were otherwise ineligible to remain in the Register. In comparison, the 2007 audit survey showed that there is a significant improvement in the accuracy and currency of the National Register of Voters. For example the 2004 audit survey revealed that 16 (0.7%) of respondents had more than one voters card while the 2007 survey revealed only 6 (0.2%). Also, the number of deceased voters in the Register in 2004 was 1.74% while in 2007 it was 0.7%, a remarkable reduction. However, it is important to note that these statistics do not necessarily mean that the number of multiple registrations is low; they are merely an indication of the respondents who voluntarily admitted the offence.

*Recommendations:* We recommend the establishment of an elaborate coordination initiative between the ECK and the Registrar of Persons in order to facilitate voter registration at the time of issuance of National Identity Cards. We also propose that ECK should facilitate and strengthen the operations of the DEC's offices to ease the process of cleaning, validation, up dating and maintaining the National Register of Voters.

We further recommend that deletion of voters from the National Register of Voters be streamlined and harmonized. ECK, the Registrar of Persons and the Civil Registrar should work in collaboration to ensure that people registered as citizens are the same people registered as voters and that deceased voters are deleted and removed in order for the National Register of Voters to be up to date, comprehensive and current.

5. **Human errors:** The 2007 audit survey showed that the problem of mismatched voters' details in the National Register of Voters still persists. However, a notable improvement in the accuracy of the 2007 National Register of Voters was noted compared to what was found during the 2004 audit survey as follows:

Wrong National identity card number accounted for 1.7% in 2007 while in 2004 it was 3.6%, misspelled voters name accounted for 4.7% in 2007 while in 2004 it was 5.1%, wrong/missing date of births accounted for 1.6% in 2007 while in 2004 it was 3.9%, wrong voters

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cards number accounted for 1.3% in 2007 while in 2004 it was 2.7%, wrong indication of voters sex accounted for 0.6% in 2007 while in 2004 it was 1.3% and wrong indication of the constituency names accounted for 0.1% in 2007 while in 2004 it was 0.4%. This is a significant improvement which is commendable. However, spelling of voters' names in the National Register of Voters must be corrected and improved as current percentages are still unexceptionably high.

***Recommendations:*** We strongly recommend that ECK conducts capacity building and strengthening workshops for the newly recruited registration officials to enhance their level of understanding of voter registration processes and the guiding legal and administrative framework. In addition, ECK should conduct refresher and on-the-job continuous training for its officers and staff in the field to equip and update them with knowledge and information on voter education, registration and the electoral process in order to enable them do their work effectively and efficiently.

- 6. Inspection of the Register of Voters:** It was established that majority of the persons registered as voters do not inspect the Register. The main reason is that many people assume that their details are accurately recorded. Other reasons included lack of awareness of the inspection exercise, illiteracy and long distances and high costs of travel to the inspection centres, situated normally at the Divisional headquarters.

***Recommendations:*** We recommend that the inspection exercise be conducted in a way that is convenient to the voters in terms of distance, cost and timeframe. It is recommended that inspection of Voters Register be conducted at the polling stations where majority register as voters. In addition, effective publicity needs to be made in advance through effective ways notably through the local vernacular FM radio stations, barazas and other appropriate means of reaching out to the majority of voters. In addition, the ECK needs to popularise its website and the fact that inspection of the register can be conducted on-line through the ECK website, for those who have access to internet or mobile telephone sets.

- 7. Publicity:** Majority of the respondents (20.8%) rated ECK as the major source of information on continuous voter registration, cleaning and inspection of the voters Register. However, it was noted that more publicity needs to be done through the local vernacular FM radios in

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order to reach more people. More-over, small pamphlets containing voter education messages were preferred to posters, which is the ECK's main voter education methodology.

***Recommendations:*** We recommend that ECK enhances and diversifies its voter registration publicity strategy to incorporate more effective ways in order to reach to the majority of voters. In this regard, ECK should consider having more publicity through the local vernacular FM radio stations, barazas, TV's and other appropriate means geared towards reaching many people in the whole country.

8. **ECK's Performance:** Respondents voted ECK as being highly efficient in the execution of its core mandate of voter registration and inspection, conducting elections, public relations and promoting voter education. However, the respondents indicated that more needs to be done in the area of voter education focusing on reaching voters at the grassroots level.

***Recommendations:*** There is need for an intensive voter education programme throughout the country. This should be conducted at the grassroots level and with special reference to the marginalised regions, women and the youth using appropriate methods to cater for geographical and population diversities. We recommend a comprehensive feasibility study to establish the economic, social and cultural aspects of the regions to determine the appropriate times and methodologies for implementation. In addition, ECK should strengthen its collaborative initiatives with partners and stakeholders to implement an effective and efficient voter education.

9. **Challenges faced in compilation and cleaning of the National Register of Voters:** Discussions held with the DECs and the ROs indicated that there are inadequate resources in terms of human, financial and equipment which inhibits the processes of continuous registration of voters and cleaning of the National Register of Voters. Furthermore, lack of coordination and information sharing between the Registrar of Persons Offices and ECK aggravates this problem. Also, inadequate voter education reduces the levels of voters' participation in inspection of registers which undermines ECK's efforts of maintaining an accurate National Register of Voters.

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**Recommendations:** It is important that ECK officials in the districts have adequate resources to enable them carry out the mandate of ECK. A lot needs to be done to facilitate their mobility and to ease their operations. Therefore equipment such as computers, laptops, vehicles and other logistical facilitation is absolutely key to the success of DEC's offices.

We also recommend that ECK considers geographical diversity in its budget allocations for voter registration processes. In this regard, ECK should allocate more funds to marginalised and so-called hardship areas. Special attention should be given to areas in North Eastern, Coast, Upper Eastern and Northern parts of Kenya to enable ECK officials in these areas to monitor and conduct effective and efficient continuous voter education. Further more structured and focussed logistical support is required as the areas are characterised by poor infrastructure, insecurity, poverty and high illiteracy levels. These areas are geographically vast.

- 10. Recruitment of Voter Registration Clerks:** Our discussions with the DECs, the ROs and focus group discussions revealed that ECK does not have guidelines on gender mainstreaming/balance as far as recruitment is concerned. In addition, recruitment of voter registration clerks does not consider whether or not those recruited come from the local communities. Also, short notices/adverts for recruitments make the opportunities available to only those who have easy access to information from ECK's staff and officials, mostly friends, relatives and associates.

**Recommendations:** Mainstreaming gender is now an accepted concept and practice worldwide. Today, many international organisations have put in place structures and systems to ensure gender balance and parity through-out the project cycle. This is based on the realization that actual development can only be achieved with the involvement of the entire population who include both men and women. Indeed, it is against this background that world leaders met in New York in 2002 and adopted the Millennium Development Goals. Goal Number three is on achieving gender equality. Therefore, ECK needs to fully embrace gender mainstreaming in all its activities and projects in particular by ensuring gender-balance during the recruitment exercise, training, promotion and career advancement opportunities. ECK may consider a framework for guiding its gender mainstreaming efforts in all areas

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including recruitment and deployment of voter registration clerks and of other voter registration officials. Further, ECK should formalise, streamline and structure its employment processes especially seeking out potential employees. ECK needs to ensure that it utilises methods to reach out to as many potential employees as possible especially disadvantaged groups.

- 11. Importation of voters:** There were allegations that voters are “imported” and registered in constituencies other than the ones they reside in. In-deed, our study found out that a significant number of voters registered for example in Mvita, Juja, Maragwa and Kaiti etc constituencies do not reside in those constituencies. In addition, there were allegations that in North Horr and Mandera Central constituencies, politicians take advantage of the voters’ illiteracy and poverty to manipulate and influence them to register in different polling stations thus complicating the process of having a credible register of voters.

*Recommendations:* We recommend that ECK puts in place a mechanism for identifying imported persons in a constituency or a polling station. In this regard, ECK should have an effective collaborative strategy with the local chiefs, sub-chiefs and the village elders to ensure that people who register in certain constituencies and polling stations are residents there. In addition, we recommend that ECK conducts effective voter education especially in areas where illiteracy levels are high to reduce voter manipulation by politicians. In this regard, ECK should participate actively in projects designed by its stakeholders aimed at empowering voters e.g IED’s projects and programmes designed to promote the secrecy of the ballot in the Northern part of Kenya where illiteracy levels are high. ECK should also advocate for stiffer penalties for politicians who influence and manipulate voters during voter registration exercises.

- 12. Role of other stakeholders in the voter registration process:** The study revealed that Provincial Administration and religious institutions play a significant role in voter registration process. They collaborate with ECK officials and support in the publicity and cleaning up of the National Register of Voters. It was noted that ECK works very closely with the local chiefs, sub-chiefs and the village elders to identify deceased voters in order to delete them from the National Register of Voters. However, the influence of politicians in voter registration process was indicated as a serious impediment and a challenge in ensuring a current,

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accurate and comprehensive voters' register. In this regard, it was noted that politicians influence voters to transfer from one constituency to another or from one polling station to another to influence patterns and outcomes of voter registration in their interests.

*Recommendations:* We recommend that ECK continues to collaborate with the Provincial Administration for their valuable support in voter registration, cleaning and updating the Voters Register.

- 13. Preparations for 2007 General Elections:** The study showed that ECK has made considerable progress in the preparations for the forthcoming general elections. This was noted specifically with regard to their efforts to ensure that every Kenyan citizen eligible to register is accorded all opportunities to present themselves to the ECK to be registered. In addition, the DEC's offices were consolidating and cleaning the Register of Voters in an effort to have a current and accurate National Register of Voters before the forthcoming general elections. Other preparations included tendering for election materials, preparation and submission of proposed budgets for elections activities by the DEC's offices to the ECK headquarters.

*Recommendations:* We recommend that ECK ensures that the National Register of Voters is complete, accurate and comprehensive before the December 2007 general elections. There is also need for effective and elaborate consultations between the ECK's headquarters and the DEC's offices to ensure that all the required elections materials and logistics are put in place on time in readiness for the December 2007 general elections.

- 14. Registered voters:** The study revealed that there are less female registered voters compared to males. The audit survey showed that out of the 72,088 registered voters in the 60 sampled polling stations, 32,133 (45%) were females and 39,955 (55%) were males<sup>1</sup>. These statistics corresponds with ECK's provisional statistics on registered voters as at May 2007 which indicated that out of the 13,043,618 registered voters, 6,073,628 (47%) were females while 6,969,990 (53%) were males. These statistics are an indication that women face a lot of challenges which inhibit them from registering as voters. Some of these challenges include

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<sup>1</sup> ECK Website (<http://www.eck.or.ke/>) Registered Voters per Constituency: Provisional Statistics by May 2007

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lack of ID Cards, long distances to the registration centres, poverty, customs and traditions. More-over, women are required to give more documents than men while applying for the ID Cards. Also, men seem to take control in many cases and keep identification documents for women. Furthermore, young married parents women (traditionally) are required to travel to their parents houses to get consent and documents from their parents in order to get an ID card.

***Recommendations:*** We recommend that ECK identifies projects and programmes that target female voters to enhance their knowledge and capacity on voter education and registration. ECK also needs to device voter education that target men to influence attitude change. In addition, we recommend that the Registrar of Persons be more procedural in identifying challenges that affect women in the acquisition of ID Cards and come up with remedial strategies.

- 15. Civil registry:** The study showed that civil registration in the districts is not computerized. Also, most of the deaths in Kenya are not reported and therefore death certificates is not issued by the Civil Registrar of Births and Deaths. In addition, most of the civil registry offices lack logistical facilities and are not decentralized to the local level. The Civil Registrar lacks initiatives to record all deaths at the local level and this affects the ECK's efforts of maintaining a current, accurate and comprehensive Voters Register.

***Recommendations:*** We recommend that just like ECK, the Civil Registrar of Births and Deaths needs to find ways in which civil registration is computerised and maintained. The Civil Registrar needs to come up with strategies for building the capacity of district civil registration officers to enhance their capacity on civil registration and also provide them with relevant resources they require. There is need to decentralise civil registration to the lowest level possible just like ECK has done. This could be at the constituency and sub-location levels. In addition, we recommend that the Civil Registrar considers massive registration for births and deaths at the lowest possible level in the country. The Civil Registrar of should consider collaborating effectively with ECK to identify the number of people in the country who have not been issued with birth certificates and whose deaths have not been registered, and in collaboration with ECK and other stakeholders provide civic education and awareness on the importance of registration of births and deaths.

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- 16. Death certificate application forms:** The study revealed that the death certificate application forms issued by the Civil Registrar do not have a provision or column for recording the details of the deceased including the deceaseds' ID Cards numbers. Instead, it provides for columns for recording the details of the person collecting the death certificates including his/her ID Card number. Therefore, the details of the deceased person, including the ID Card number are never reflected in the death application form yet this is the form which is shared with ECK for purposes of deleting the deceased from the Voters Register. ECK indicated that this is the major challenge they encounter when deleting the deceased from the Register since sometimes they end up deleting the wrong persons from the Voters Register.

*Recommendations:* We recommend that death certificate application forms be revised to include a column that requires mandatory information of the deceased including his/her ID card number and other details.

- 17. Research, Monitoring and Evaluation:** The study established that ECK does not conduct periodic research to establish the challenges and gaps in the validation, up-grading and compilation of an accurate, current and comprehensive National Register of Voters. Also, we found out that ECK's monitoring and evaluation mechanisms are not effective and therefore it is difficult for ECK to know whether its officers and staff at the headquarters and the field are carrying out its mandate effectively.

*Recommendations:* We recommend that ECK conducts an independent research and develop best practises for the validation, up grading and compilation of an accurate, current and comprehensive National Register of Voters. Further, ECK needs to enhance its monitoring and evaluation exercises to gauge its performance, benefit from lessons learnt and improve on delivery of services. Perhaps a comprehensive Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) Strategy needs to be put in place by ECK to support its M&E processes.

- 18. Centralization of the process of cleaning and updating the Register of Voters:** We found out that the process of cleaning and updating the National Register of Voters is centralised and only takes place at the ECK headquarters in Nairobi. This poses high risks of losing voter registration data in the course of movement from the DEC's offices to the headquarters.

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**Recommendations:** Perhaps ECK needs to consider decentralising the responsibility of cleaning and updating the National Register of Voters to the district level. This requires corresponding investment of resources and skills at the district and eventually divisional level in order for ECK to eventually devolve its services to those areas with little access at the grass roots level. Cleaning and updating the National Register of Voters at the district level will reduce the risk of losing voter registration data in the course of movement to the headquarters, will also hasten the process and make it more effective and efficient.

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## *Glossary*

**Democratic elections are competitive:** This means that opposition parties and candidates must enjoy the freedom of speech, assembly, and movement necessary to voice their criticisms of the government openly and to bring alternative policies and candidates to the voters. Elections in which the opposition is barred from any media coverage, has its rallies harassed or its newspapers censored, are not democratic.

**Democratic elections are periodic:** This means that elections must be held after a certain period whereby elected officials must return to the voters at prescribed intervals to seek their mandate to continue in office.

**Democratic elections are inclusive:** This means that all citizens who are eligible to vote must do so without any discrimination on gender, age, race, religion or geographical areas.

**Democratic elections are definitive:** This means that democratic elections determines the leadership of the government in the sense that subject to the laws and Constitution of the country, popularly elected representatives hold the reins of power.

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## *Appendices*

### APPENDIX 1

#### LIST OF CONSTITUENCIES IN THE SAMPLE

1. Ganze
2. Mvita,
3. Taveta
4. Mandera Central
5. North Horr
6. South Imenti
7. Kitui Central
8. Gachoka
9. Gem
10. Kitutu Masaba
11. Kuria
12. Butula
13. Bumula
14. Baringo North
15. Marakwet East
16. Cherengany
17. Kandara
18. Gichugu
19. Mukurweini
20. Dagoretti

## *Appendix 2*

### TOTAL NUMBER OF REGISTERED VOTERS FOR SAMPLED POLLING STATIONS

Constituency	Polling Station	Polling Station Number	Total No. of Male Voters	Total No. of Female Voters
<b>Baringo North</b>	Kaptere	047	176	171
	Kapchepkor	048	223	219
	Karbarbet	049	233	230
<b>Mandera Central</b>	Qolati Nursery Sch.	049	504	895
	Shantoley Primary Sch.	010	1195	965
	Wargadud Primary Sch.	027	431	562
<b>Marakwet East</b>	Sambirir	057	138	139
	Metipsoo	062	124	116
	Maina Primary Sch.	063	207	170
<b>Bumula</b>	Naburereya Primary Sch.	010	345	319
	Mateka Primary Sch.	017	613	511
	Bunambobi Primary Sch.	020	410	363
<b>Gem</b>	Omino Primary Sch.	030	249	266
	Muhanda Primary Sch.	020	561	528
	Sirembe Primary Sch.	060	598	617
<b>Kuria</b>	Rongabi Primary Sch.	020	106	124
	Nyamekoma Primary	010	199	203
	Nyamagagana Primary	030	240	219
<b>Butula</b>	Igula Primary Sch.	020	228	280
	Namwtsula Primary	030	343	398
	Bumula Primary Sch.	036	593	601

<b>Mukurueini</b>	Kaheti primary Sch.	010	639	642
	Kaharo Primary Sch.	020	615	590
	Kangurue	030	423	401
<b>Kitutu</b>	Miriri Primary	017	638	518
<b>Masaba</b>	Kerongo Primary Sch.	051	628	496
	Ogango Primary Sch.	034	363	360
<b>Ganze</b>	Madamani Primary Sch.	030	345	440
	Sokoke Secondary. Sch.	060	329	350
	Bada Nursery Sch	090	53	102
<b>Kitui Central</b>	Kitundu Primary Sch.	120	83	121
	Isovyva Primary Sch.	080	89	93
<b>Gachoka</b>	Rwika Tech. Training Inst.	030	362	229
	Ngeca	020	168	145
	Kamwiyendei	010	306	250
<b>Cherangany</b>	Biribiriet	010	477	453
	Hututu	060	190	193
<b>Kandara</b>	Kangui Primary Sch.	010	461	425
	Kagongo Primary Sch.	020	801	640
	Kihuru ini	030	554	440
<b>Gichugu</b>	Thumaita	010	1309	1185
	Kiamwathi	020	1372	1045
	Karucho	030	756	664

<b>S Imenti</b>	C.C Social H	010	1248	873
	Mitunguu Primary Sch.	020	1014	824
	Kirogine Primary Sch.	030	918	883
<b>Mvita</b>	Central G.P.S	005	1325	1058
	Makupa Primary Sch.	012	1743	1081
	K.P.A Nursery	020	2483	1233
<b>Dagoretti</b>	Kabiro Primary Sch.	005	3900	2130
	Dago Corner	010	3303	1592
	Upperhill	015	962	552
<b>North Horr</b>	El-gade wells	034	290	361
	North Horr Primary Sch.	010	1132	1329
	Korka M.	055	112	114
<b>Taveta</b>	Njukini	028	568	452
	Taveta Primary Sch.	020	391	295
	Eldoro Primary Sch.	010	616	531
<b>Total</b>			<b>39,955</b>	<b>32,133</b>

## Appendix 3

### PERSONS WITH MORE THAN ONE VOTER'S CARD

Card Details	Elector's Number	Elector's Name	ID. Number	Constituency Name	Polling station	Polling station code	Serial Number
Card 1	176/036/1276367804	Onyango Veronica Nyaoro	5139839	Bumula	Bumula Pri. Sch.	036	14172546
Card 2	176/036/1276367804	Onyango Veronica Nyaoro	5139839	Bumula	Bumula Primary Sch	036	03937175
Card 1	085/010/0966415611	Gakure Charles Kahama	1753663	Mukuruieini	Kaheti Polytechnic	010	-
Card 2	085/010/0966415611	Gakure Charles Kahama	1753663	Mukuruieini	Kaheti Polytechnic	010	-
Card 1	KTI/74/K/183	Kaloli Ngave	741387170	Kitui Central	Kwamboo Pr. Sch.	010	-
Card 2	KTI/72/M/265	Kakuli Ngave	741318770	Kitui Central	Kwamboo Pr. Sch.	010	-
Card 1	096/10/0638923208	Joyce Wanjiru Kimani	5941932	Kandara	Kangui Pr. School	010	02639242
Card 2	096/01/00638923208	Joyce Wanjiru Kimani	5941932	Kandara	Kangui Pr. School	010	13459431
Card 1	BGM/70/A11	Joice Ayoma Indaya	4370969/67	-	-	-	-
Card 2	BGM/145/1/5	Indiya Joice Ayoma	4370969	-	-	-	-
Card 3	173/10/0469021560	Ndiya Ayoma Joice	4370969	Bumula	Naburereya Primary School	010	05621666
Card 1	173/010/0469127540	Wolayo Wafula Ignatius	12581552	Bumula	Naburereya Primary School	010	08933994
Card 2	173/0469127540	Walayo Wafula Ignatius	12581552	Bumula	Naburereya Primary School	010	0561069

## Appendix 4

*(Information given is confidential)*

**Institute for Education in Democracy (IED)**  
Preparation for 2007 General Elections:  
The Register and the Voter  
Questionnaire for list to people and people to list interviews

### SECTION A: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Name of the Respondent .....	Female	Male
Constituency Name	Constituency Code	
Name of the polling station		
Total number of registered voters in terms of Gender in this polling station	Male	Female

Please Tick appropriately ✓ in the spaces provided

#### 1. Kindly indicate your age Group.

18-22 Years

33-37 Years

23-27 Years

38-42 Years

28-32 Years

43 years and above

#### 2. Please indicate your highest level of education.

Primary

Secondary

College

Others (specify).....

University

**3. What is your marital status?**

Single	<input type="checkbox"/>	Widow (er)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Married	<input type="checkbox"/>	Separated	<input type="checkbox"/>
Divorced	<input type="checkbox"/>		

**4. Kindly indicate the occupation that gives you the highest income.**

Farmer	<input type="checkbox"/>	Student	<input type="checkbox"/>
Casual worker	<input type="checkbox"/>	Unemployed	<input type="checkbox"/>
Business	<input type="checkbox"/>	Homemaker	<input type="checkbox"/>
Professional	<input type="checkbox"/>	Others (specify).....	
Domestic worker	<input type="checkbox"/>		

**5. What is your physical address?.....**

**6. How long have you lived in this Constituency? .....**  
.....

**SECTION B: VOTER REGISTRATION INFORMATION**

**7. What is the approximate distance from your residence to the District Election Coordinators Office (DECs)?**

Less than 1Km	<input type="checkbox"/>	11-15Km	<input type="checkbox"/>
1-5Km	<input type="checkbox"/>	16-20Km	<input type="checkbox"/>
6-10 Km	<input type="checkbox"/>	Over 20 Km	<input type="checkbox"/>

**8. What is the approximate distance from your residence to the Polling station?**

Less than 1km	<input type="checkbox"/>	1-5km	<input type="checkbox"/>
6-10km	<input type="checkbox"/>	11-15km	<input type="checkbox"/>
16-20km	<input type="checkbox"/>	Over 20 km	<input type="checkbox"/>

**9a Do you possess a National ID card OR a valid Kenyan Passport?**

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
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**9b. If your answer for 9a above is NO kindly give reasons .....**  
 .....  
 .....  
 .....

**10a. Where do people usually apply for/collect ID cards in this area?**  
 .....  
 .....

**10b. What is the approximate distance between the place you apply and collect ID cards and your voter registration centre?**

Less than 1Km	<input type="checkbox"/>	11-15 Km	<input type="checkbox"/>
1-5 Km	<input type="checkbox"/>	16-20 Km	<input type="checkbox"/>
6-10 Km	<input type="checkbox"/>	Over20Km	<input type="checkbox"/>

**11a. Are you a registered voter?**

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
-----	--------------------------	----	--------------------------

*If the answer in 11a above is NO and the respondent is above 18 years of age, go to Section E.*

**BUT**

**11b. If the answer to 11a above is YES, record the information on the elector's card, voters' register, and ID card in table 1 and indicate whether they are corresponding or not.**

**Table 1:** Information for the Registered Voter.

	On elector's card	ID Card	On voters' register	Corresponding
ID Number				
Voters' Name				
Date of birth				
Electors' Number				
Elector's Gender				
Constituency Name				

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**12. Why have you registered as a voter?**

- Induced to register  Vote my tribesman  To elect and be elected   
My constitutional right  To participate in governance  To make money   
Vote for my party  Any other reason

**13. When did you first register as a voter?**

- Before 1997  2003-2005   
1997-1999  2006-2007   
2000-2002

**14a. Where did you apply for registration as a voter?**

- Registration centre  At the DEC's office   
Registered at home  At ECK Headquarters

**14b. How much time did you spend at the registration centre?**

- Less than 1 hour  4-6 hours   
1-2 hours  More than 6 hours   
3-4 hours

**14c. How long did it take ECK officials to issue you with a voter's/elector's card?**

- Same day of registration  1-4 weeks   
Within one week of registration  More than one month

**15. If you were not issued with a voters' card on the same day of registration, what were you issued with as a proof of successful application/registration?**

- Voters' card counterfoil  Un laminated voters' card   
Receipt  None (but told to come after)

**16. Why did you choose to register in this polling station/constituency?**

- Area of residence  Employment/business   
Influenced  Others (specify).....

**17. What document (s) did you produce at the registration centre?**

*(Tick appropriately)*

National ID card/Passport	<input type="checkbox"/>	Photocopy of ID card	<input type="checkbox"/>	Birth certificate	<input type="checkbox"/>
School leaving certificate	<input type="checkbox"/>	Affidavit	<input type="checkbox"/>	ID waiting form/counterfoil	<input type="checkbox"/>
Police abstract	<input type="checkbox"/>	Old voters' card	<input type="checkbox"/>	Baptismal certificate	<input type="checkbox"/>
Marriage certificate	<input type="checkbox"/>	Driving license	<input type="checkbox"/>	Letter from the chief	<input type="checkbox"/>
None	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>

**(If the respondent produced ID card/passport, go to Q21, otherwise go to Q18)**

**18. If you did not produce National ID card or a valid Kenyan Passport at the time of registration, why did you fail to do so?**

I had not acquired one at the time of voter registration

I had lost my ID card/passport

Others(specify).....

**19. How did you manage to register without a national ID card/Kenyan passport?**

Registration officials knew me

I had school leaving certificate

I had a letter from the chief

A politician introduced me

I had birth certificate

Others (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

**20. Have you since acquired a national ID card/Kenyan passport?**

Yes

No

**SECTION C. (INFORMATION ON INSPECTION OF VOTERS' REGISTERS)**

21. Did you check and confirm the existence of your name and other information on the voter's register?

Yes  No

If the answer to Q21 above is NO (the respondent did not inspect the register), ask why s/he did not inspect the voters' register in (Q22), OTHERWISE (if Q21 is YES) go to Q23

22. Why didn't you inspect the register?

Not aware of the inspection exercise	Because I am illiterate
The inspection site (station) was very far	Others, specify.....
Assumed my details on the register were accurate	

26. If you confirmed wrong entries of your details on the voters' register, what did you do about it?

Reported the case to ECK Did nothing about it  
 Others (specify.....)

27. If the case was reported to ECK, has the information been corrected?

Yes  No  Don't know

**SECTION D (VOTER TRANSFER INFORMATION)**

28. Have you ever changed your voters card since your first registered as a voter

Yes  No

29. If the answer to Q28 above is YES, did you surrender the previous voters' card to ECK?

Yes  No

30. How many elector's/voter's cards do you possess?

One

More than one

31. If the answer Q30 above is more than one, ask for the rest of the cards and record all the details in the table below

Table 2: Records of extra voter's/elector's cards

	Electors' number.	Elector's name	ID number	Constituency Name	Serial number
Card 1					
Card 2					
Card 3					

**SECTION E (FOR THE UNREGISTERED BUT OVER 18 YEARS)**

32. Why have you not registered as a voter?

Short registration period  No ID card

Lack of information  Lack of registration personnel

Long distance  Voter apathy (not interested)

Insecurity  Lack of inducement

Others specify.....

33. If there were to be a voter registration exercise here, would you be interested in registering as a voter this time?

Yes

No

Please explain why .....

.....  
.....  
.....

**SECTION F (FOR ALL RESPONDENTS)**

34. Are you aware of the continuous voter registration exercise by ECK?

Yes

No

35. If the answer to Q34 above is YES, how did you become aware of the continuous registration of voters, the cleaning and inspection of the registers?

Information from ECK  Information from chief   
 Voter education providers  Media   
 Others (specify).....

36. What are some of the problems facing voter registration exercise in this area?

Long distance	Voter apathy	Lack of registration personnel
No ID card	Insecurity	Short registration period
Lack of information	Lack of inducement	Others, specify

37. Did you vote in 2002 general elections and in the 2005 Referendum? If NO, please explain why Yes  No

.....  
 .....  
 .....  
 .....

38. Using a scale of 1-4 (4=Highly efficient, 3= Efficient, but needs improvements 2=Inefficient, 1=Don't know) please rank the performance of the ECK personnel in table below.

**Table 3: ECK Performance** *Kindly tick appropriately.*

Voter registration and inspection of the registers	4	3	2	1
Public relations	4	3	2	1
Conducting elections	4	3	2	1
Promoting voter education	4	3	2	1

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**SECTION G. To be filled by the supervisor and the enumerator**

Summary of findings for List-to-People field interviews

**Validation of the Voters List**

Name of the enumerator \_\_\_\_\_

Date of the interview \_\_\_\_\_

Constituency name and number \_\_\_\_\_

Polling station name and number \_\_\_\_\_

**Information from the voters' list/register**

Name of the Respondent \_\_\_\_\_

Gender of the respondent \_\_\_\_\_

ID number \_\_\_\_\_

Date of birth \_\_\_\_\_

Elector's card number \_\_\_\_\_

1. Did you locate the person? Yes  No

*If the person was located, complete the following:*

2. Did you carry out the interview? Yes  No

**3. If the interview was not conducted, give reasons**

Person refused to answer or cooperate

Person is dead

Person is incapacitated

Others (specify).....

**4. If the person was not located, tick the reason(s) why**

Person not at home

No such person ever existed at such address

Person has migrated

Person temporarily out of the country

Other reasons.....

5. How did you get the above information?.....

6. How did you verify the information? .....

Name and signature of the enumerator.....

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## *Appendix 5*

### **GUIDE FOR FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS (FGD'S)**

1. Are you aware of the continuous voter registration process and how ECK conducts it?
2. What are some of the problems that male and female citizens in this area face during voter registration?
3. What would you say about ECK's management of the past voter registration exercises? Why do you say so? Would you say that everybody who was qualified and interested in registering as a voter was duly registered? Were there any case(s) where those not eligible were registered?
4. Does ECK avail voters register for inspection? Do you think the voters register in this area is accurate? Why is it important to inspect the voters register?
5. What do you think should be done to improve the voter registration exercise?
6. What would you say about ECK's management of the previous elections?
7. What do you think should be done to improve the management and conduct of elections in Kenya?
8. Confirm the existence and validity of the names of the voter on the voters register for this area (The group is taken through the voters list).

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## Appendix 6

### INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR DECS AND REGISTRATION OFFICERS II (RO II)

1. Discuss the previous and ongoing Voter Registration Processes in terms of:
  - a) Progress in voter registration and current statistics
  - b) Problems and challenges faced
    - ◆ In cleaning the voters register i.e. removal of deceased voters
    - ◆ Transfer of voters
    - ◆ Double/multiple registration
    - ◆ Issuance of ID cards
    - ◆ Resource availability in terms of Human, Financial and Equipment and how this has impacted on mobilization and implementation of voter registration and voter education in the District.
  
2. Discuss the inspection of voters register. Focus on the following areas:
  - ◆ How and when they plan for inspection of voters registers
  - ◆ The period allowed for inspection of voters register and whether this is adequate
  - ◆ Voter education and outreach with regard to inspection of voters register
  - ◆ How they facilitate voters to inspect the voters register
  - ◆ Views and suggestions regarding inspection of the voters register
  
3. Discuss challenges/problems with regard to the participation of women in the registration of voters' processes. Focus on the following areas:
  - ◆ Progress and current statistics
  - ◆ Recruitment of voter registration clerks
  - ◆ Dissemination of voter education messages
  - ◆ Best practices with regard to gender mainstreaming

- 
4. What are some of the mechanisms you have put in place to promote voter registration and voter education for people with disability?
  5. What is the role and participation of the Government, Provincial Administration (e.g. DC's, DO, s and chiefs), Religious Institutions, politicians and other stakeholders in the voter registration process? Focus on the following areas:
    - ◆ Whether there has been any interference from the Government, Provincial Administration, Religious Institutions, politicians and other stakeholders in the voter registration process
    - ◆ Whether the Government, Provincial Administration, Religious Institutions, politicians and other stakeholders have facilitated voter registration process and how
    - ◆ Whether there are political campaigns around registration of voters
    - ◆ Whether the current political campaign by the President and politicians with regard to voter registration has influenced people to register as voters
    - ◆ Whether there is any bias regarding voter registration
    - ◆ How the *Vijana Tugutuke* campaign has impacted on voter registration process.
  6. Discuss their role and level of preparedness with regard to the forthcoming General Elections.
  7. Discuss their role and progress made with regard to public Voter Education within the District. When and how do they undertake voter education? What are the challenges? What strategies have been adopted to overcome the challenges?
  8. Seek their comments and proposals on how to improve their work at the District Level and at the headquarters.