



# CAPF ELECTION MONITORING INITIATIVE

ELECTION 2007  
INTERIM REPORT ON NATIONAL VOTER BRIBERY SURVEY



## Monitoring Election Campaign Finance

- Corruption related to political campaign financing poses a grave threat to Kenya's democratic and economic development.
- Corrupt campaign finance practices compromise the greatest asset of democracy: the faith and support of ordinary citizens in the political system.
- Opaque finances and undemocratic decision-making discourage participation in political parties and encourage cynicism about the prospects for reform.
- Over the last past decade, the issue of campaign finance and political corruption has gained increased national attention, and a variety of CSOs and activists across the country have begun to address the problem through public awareness campaigns, and legislative initiatives (Political Parties Law)



## What CAPF Mean By Campaign Finance

- The resources acquired and spent by electoral candidates and political parties in election campaign. This include the means by which candidates and political parties obtain resources and the way in which candidates and political parties spend their resources.
- CAPF focuses on the means by which candidates and political parties obtain resources – with a view to establishing corrupt links between donor contributions and political favors and also because campaign finances also encompasses campaign expenditure – and political corruption also occurs through spending transactions as well.



## What CAPF Mean By Campaign Finance

- CAPF is also interested in a significant area of campaign resources – *the use or abuse of public resources by governing parties (parties in government) in their electoral campaigns and the financial and fiscal implication of such use/abuse.*
- Therefore CAPF Monitoring Initiative focuses on three aspects of Campaign Finance:  
*Income and sources, Expenditure and nature, and the use or abuse of public resources and fiscal and financial implications*



## What CAPF Mean By Corruption in Campaign Finance

- Corruption in the financing of election campaigns takes three forms:
  1. *Quid pro quo* donations, the provision of financial or other resources (e.g. advertising) by private interests to parties or candidates in return for favorable treatment by elected representatives. This type of corruption is linked to various financial scandals such as Goldenberg, and Anglo-leasing. Campaign finance is a channel through which private interests influence political decisions – policies that benefit party donors can be implemented for a variety of reasons. CAPF goal here is to identify areas of potential corruption, as well as measures to combat it.



## What CAPF Mean By Corruption in Campaign Finance

2. *The Use/Misuse of Public Resources*, this refers to the use of state/public financial infrastructural, and human resources for campaign purposes. Typical examples include the deployment of provincial administration staff to organize campaign events, or the use of public vehicles by government ministers.
3. *Bribery of Voters and Elections Officials*, providing money or other benefits to voters to support a particular party or candidate, or to officials as an incentive to manipulate election results.



## Why is CAPF Monitoring Campaign Finance

CAPF goal is stable, vibrant and accountable political parties and party system in Kenya. CAPF monitors campaign finance because it is a means to:

1. Promoting ethical and transparent mobilization and utilization of financial resources by political parties to stem corruption and undemocratic practices in the electoral process in Kenya through policy advocacy and public education.
2. Monitoring the mobilization and utilization of financial resources by political parties and candidates in Kenya to ensure compliance with the law and to engender democratic practice.
3. Building understanding of the role of money in Kenya's politics and electoral process and the risks associated with unregulated campaign finance



## Why is CAPF Monitoring Campaign Finance

CAPF Monitoring Campaign Finance assumption is that there is need to regulate campaign finance because:

1. Unregulated Campaign Finance contributes to uneven playing field – large sums of money in election campaign give undue advantage over others and constrains fair democratic competition.
2. Unregulated Campaign Finance contributes to unequal access to office – certain sectors of population (particularly women & youth) are prevented from running for elected politics or getting meaningful representation



## Why is CAPF Monitoring Campaign Finance

CAPF Monitoring Campaign Finance assumption is that there is need to regulate campaign finance because:

3. Unregulated Campaign Finance contributes to co-opted politicians – those who donate bigger funds have the potential to control politicians they finance
4. Unregulated Campaign Finance contributes to the link between corruption and political parties funding



## Why is CAPF Monitoring Campaign Finance

So the overall aim of CAPF monitoring is to contribute to an environment in which corruption in campaign finance is less prevalent or less likely to occur by recommending well-targeted reforms of law and practice. This breaks down into three broad objectives for CAPF monitoring initiatives:

1. Identifying shortcomings in the regulatory framework governing campaign finance and monitoring the enforcement of existing regulations (what laws are in place and how do they govern campaign finance)



## Why is CAPF Monitoring Campaign Finance

2. Seeking evidence of corruption (is there evidence of corruption in campaign income, expenditure and the use/misuse of public resources)
3. Promoting transparency (what can we do to ensure openness in campaign finance – how parties/candidates raise and utilize their campaign resources)



## Monitoring Distribution of Money and Other Direct Benefits to Voters

- Today presentation is about one component of CAPF monitoring initiatives – distribution of money and other direct benefits to voters or voter bribery or vote buying
- During elections campaigns, political parties and/or candidates are known to provide targeted groups of citizens with cash payments or free goods, services, or other benefits in order to gain their support.



## Monitoring Distribution of Money and Other Direct Benefits to Voters

Based on CAPF previous studies and focus group discussions across the country, CAPF wanted to monitor the distribution of goods, services, and other benefits to voters for two reasons.

First, distribution of money and other direct benefits to voters qualify as vote buying or voter bribery, a form of political corruption and an offence under the Election Offences Act .

Second, CAPF wanted to establish the significant of distribution of money and direct benefits to voters in terms of candidates portion of campaign spending, and the impact of voter bribery/vote buying on the general party nomination process.



## SURVEY: Distribution of Money and Other Direct Benefits to Voters

CAPF therefore designed a survey and direct observation of campaign activities of parliamentary candidates in 71 constituencies nationwide.

- The survey is designed to monitor campaign activities for 101 parliamentary candidates in 71 constituencies *prior* to and *during party nominations exercises* and post party nomination campaign activities of nominated candidates in the same constituencies;



## **SURVEY: Distribution of Money and Other Direct Benefits to Voters**

The survey takes four approaches:

- Three parallel surveys are conducted in 71 constituencies – the elite survey, household (mass) survey and focus group discussions are conducted to seek opinions, perceptions, and 101 candidates' campaign spending are tracked to provide evidence (amount and goods distributed to voters) and prevalence of distribution of money and other direct benefits to voters.



## **SURVEY: Distribution of Money and Other Direct Benefits to Voters**

The elite survey interviews targeted 101 parliamentary candidates and their campaign officials, activists, agents and coordinators. The elite survey field work was undertaken over three-week period (1<sup>st</sup> – 19<sup>th</sup> November 2007)

- The household survey targets the constituency randomly selected sample of 240 registered voters, whose views on the subject represent those of the registered voters at a 95 percent confidence level with a margin of error of  $\pm 5$  percent. The pre-party nominations exercise household (mass) survey field work was undertaken over a two-week period (6<sup>th</sup> – 19<sup>th</sup> November 2007). The post party nomination household (mass) survey is ongoing



## **SURVEY: Distribution of Money and Other Direct Benefits to Voters**

- Focus group discussions are being held in all the 71 constituencies to examine major issues that are arising out of the elite, household and candidates expenditure tracking surveys with the aim of filling gaps and validating findings. 16 focus groups have been organized, two each in every province with approximately 10 participants in each focus group
- Campaign Expenditure Tracking for 101 candidates is still ongoing in all the 71 constituencies



## **INTERIM FINDINGS ON VOTE BUYING AND VOTER BRIBERY**

- Respondents were asked specifically about vote-buying and voter bribery to probe various perceptions of the practice in their respective constituencies, to determine how great a problem it is, and to identify strategies to combat the practice. Nowhere in the interview was vote-buying or voter bribery defined; instead, respondents were allowed to define it in any terms that made sense to them.



## INTERIM FINDINGS ON VOTE BUYING AND VOTER BRIBERY

- The interim survey report reveal that vote-buying and voter bribery is a political concern, and specific examples of the practice were offered from respondents in 71 constituencies surveyed, and it is a predominant expenditure category among 101 candidates whose expenditures are being tracked.



## INTERIM FINDINGS ON VOTE BUYING AND VOTER BRIBERY

- In the two weeks towards Party Nominations most parliamentary candidates spent **60 to 80 thousand shillings per day** on distribution of money and other benefits to voters. That is an average of **400 to 500 thousand shillings distributed to voters per day per constituency**
- By the end of Party Nominations week almost **5 million shillings was distributed to voters in each constituency and an estimated 900 million shillings** was distributed in 210 constituencies.



## INTERIM FINDINGS ON VOTE BUYING AND VOTER BRIBERY

- The survey found out that less than 30% of the money intended by candidates for vote-buying/voter bribery actually reach the voter in the constituency, 60% is consumed by middlemen (campaign agents). That is – out of Ksh. 900M politician issued their agents for voter bribery less than Ksh. 300M actually reached the intended voter during party nominations
- The survey found out that there is a link between vote-buying/voter bribery and electoral violence. Most form of electoral violence are paid violence, organized and directed by campaign agents and party activists.



## INTERIM FINDINGS ON VOTE BUYING AND VOTER BRIBERY

- The survey found out that there is a link between vote-buying/voter bribery and party nomination outcome - effectively all party nomination exercises were about vote-buying and voter bribery. Distribution of money and other benefits to voters prior to and during party nomination exercises was ultimately to entice the voter to vote for them. More than 78% of voters were bribed to participate in the party nomination within polling stations.



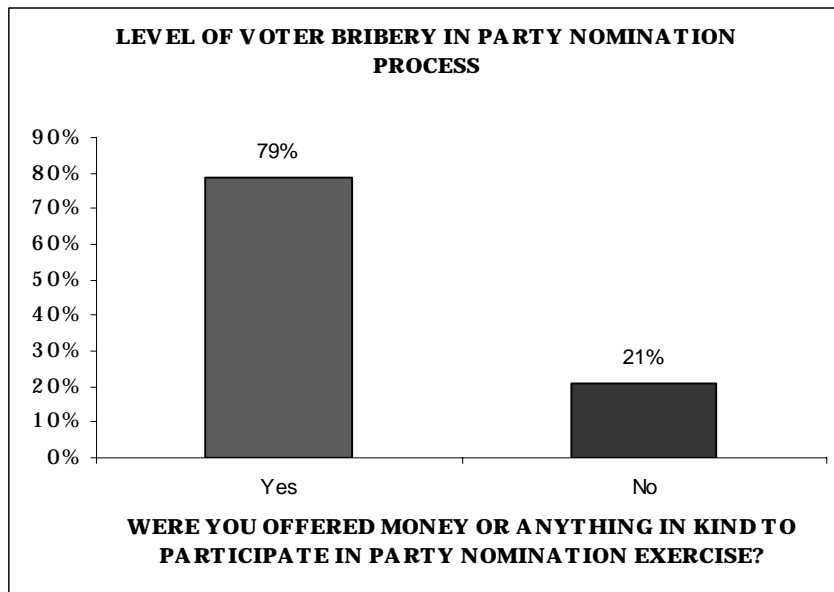
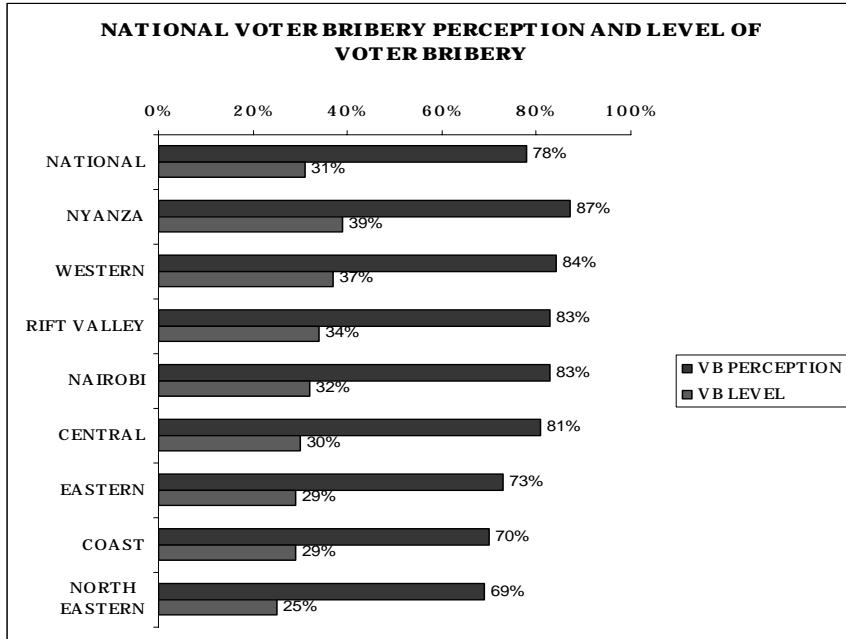
## INTERIM FINDINGS ON VOTE BUYING AND VOTER BRIBERY

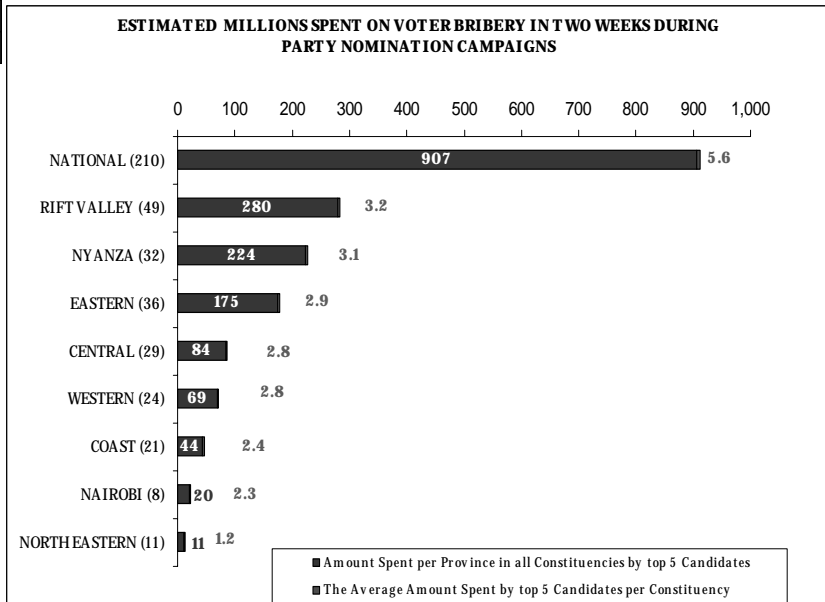
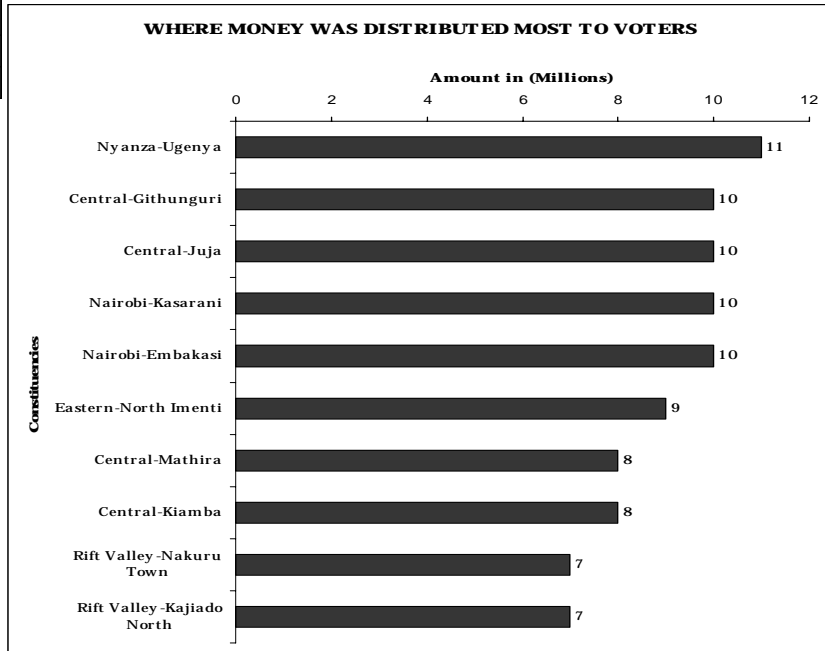
- The survey found out that almost 38% of a parliamentary candidates entire campaign budget is spent during the party nomination week on vote-buying/voter bribery
- 78% of registered voters would accept gifts of money from political parties/politicians but only 2 out of 9 bribed voters actually voted for the candidate who gave them the handout during party nominations campaigns

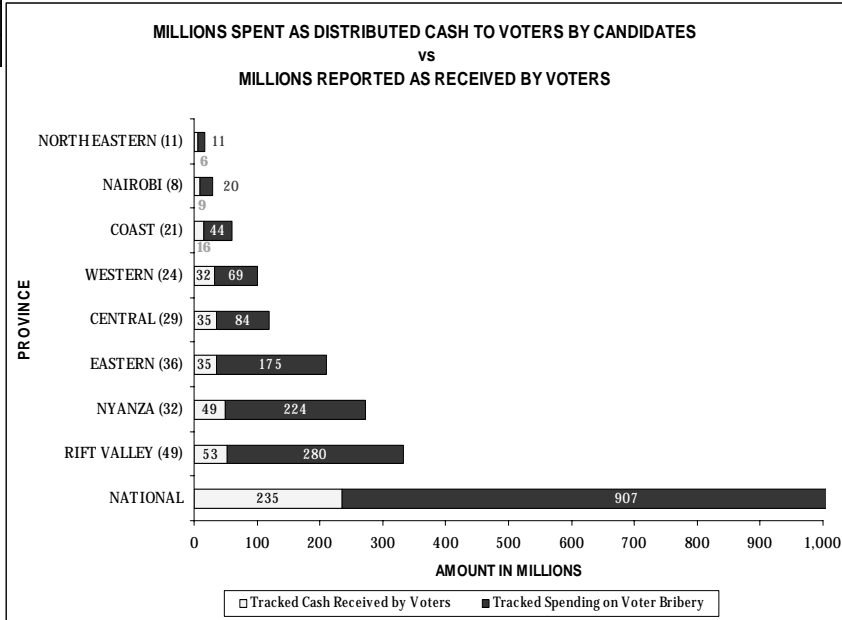


## INTERIM FINDINGS ON VOTE BUYING AND VOTER BRIBERY

- The survey found out that over 172 nomination certificates were issued to aspirants days before the actual party nominations (KENDA 92, ODM 24, PNU 21, ODM-K 11, DP 12, and KANU 12),
- The survey found out that 68% of returning officers in 71 constituencies had not been vetted by the party elections boards but were appointed by various aspirants
- The survey found out that 79% of returning officers in 71 constituencies are campaign agents for various aspirants and may have been compromised
- The survey found out that 78% of voters in Nyanza province demand cash allowances to attend rallies.







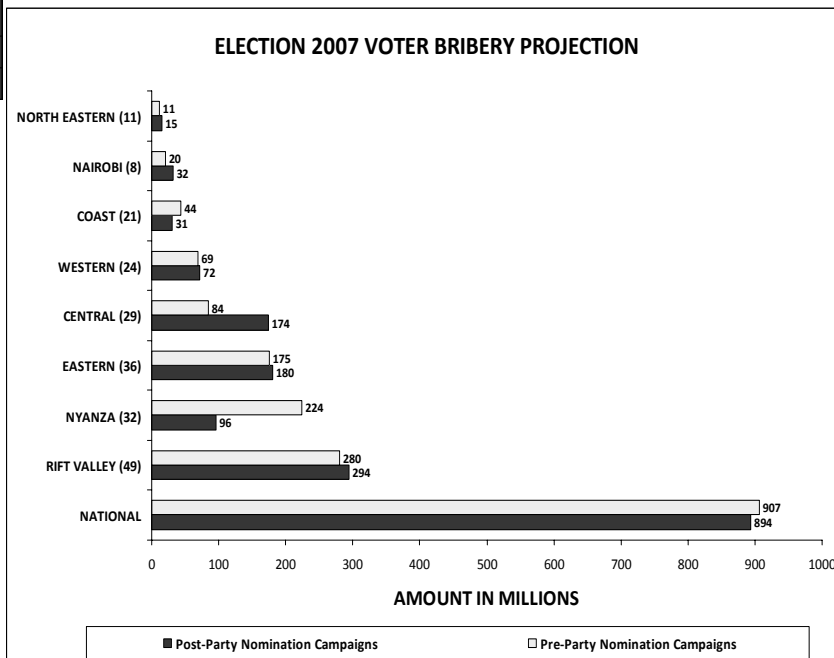
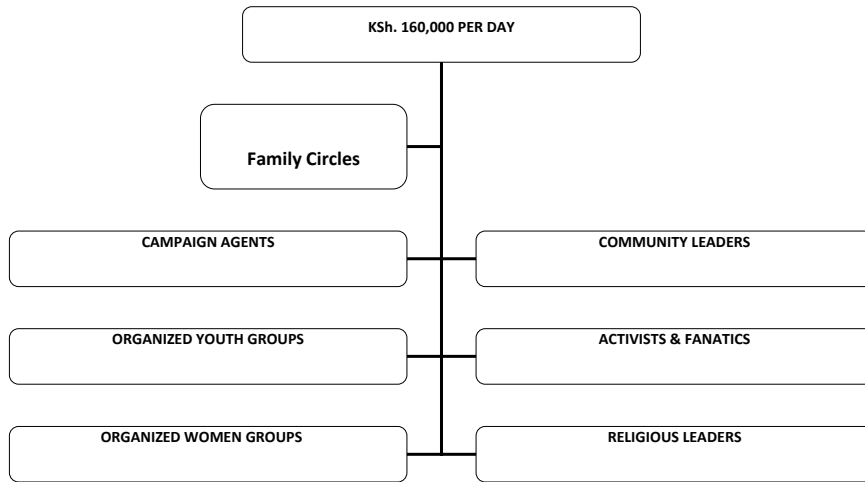
## CANDIDATES' CAMPAIGN BUDGET ANALYSIS

| Spending Category                  | Pre-Party Nomination         | Post-Party Nomination        |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Publicity                          | Kshs. 12,000 per day         | Kshs. 16,000 per day         |
| Campaign Materials                 | Kshs. 8,000 per day          | Kshs. 12,000 per day         |
| Rallies                            | Kshs. 4,000 per day          | Kshs. 4,000 per day          |
| Travel and Logistics               | Kshs. 40,000 per day         | Kshs. 60,000 per day         |
| Cash and Direct Benefits to Voters | Kshs. 60,000 per day         | Kshs. 120,000 per day        |
| Paid Activists/Campaign Agent      | Kshs. 40,000 per day         | Kshs. 40,000 per day         |
| Personal Security                  | Kshs. 15,000 per day         | Kshs. 15,000 per day         |
| <b>Total</b>                       | <b>Kshs. 197,000 per day</b> | <b>Kshs. 267,000 per day</b> |

Figures and Spending Categories are based on Campaign Budgets and Expenditures Tracking of 101 Parliamentary Candidates in 71 Constituencies



# HOW CANDIDATES SPEND KSh.160,000 PER DAY ON VOTE BUYING AND VOTER BRIBERY





**THANK YOU!**

**CAPF DONORS**

