

report on the
1997
General Elections
in Kenya

PARLIAMENT
OF KENYA
LIBRARY

29 - 30 December, 1997

**Institute for Education in Democracy
Catholic Justice and Peace Commission
National Council of Churches of Kenya**

Contents

Foreword	1
Preface	5
NARRATIVE REPORT	9
PART 1: BACKGROUND	11
Chapter 1: Introduction	13
1.1 Structure of this Report	16
Chapter 2: The Election Monitoring Project	19
2.1 The IED/CJPC/NCKK Joint Election Monitoring Group	19
2.2 The Collaborating Institutions	21
2.3 Project Management	25
Chapter 3: Background to the 1997 General Elections	27
3.1 Patterns and Trends in Past Elections	27
3.2 Lessons Learnt.....	30
3.3 Pre-election Socio-economic Conditions	33
3.4 The Legal Framework of Elections.....	34
3.5 The Administrative Framework of Elections.....	38
PART 2: THE ELECTIONS AND RESULTS	45
Chapter 4: Registration Issues	47
4.1 Registration of Voters	47
4.2 Registration of Political Parties	49
Chapter 5: Nominations.....	53
5.1 Party Nominations	53
5.2 Nomination by the ECK.....	55
Chapter 6: The Campaigns	59
6.1 Major Issues	59
6.2 Campaign Methods	61
6.3 Use of Public Resources	62
6.4 Role of the Youth	62
6.5 Political Zoning	63
6.6 Violence, Intimidation, and Corruption	64

Chapter 7: The Polling	67
7.1 The Polling Days	67
7.2 Provision of Election Materials and Facilities	68
7.3 Voting Procedures at Polling Stations	68
7.4 Irregularities and Malpractices	70
7.5 Performance of the ECK	73
7.6 Performance of Party Agents	74
7.7 Role of the Provincial Administration	76
7.8 Security	76
7.9 Transportation, Storage, and Audit of Ballot Boxes	78
7.10 Evaluating the Polling Exercise	79
Chapter 8: Counting of Votes and Announcement of Results	81
8.1 Delays in Counting	81
8.2 Aggregation of the Votes	83
Chapter 9: Analysis of the Results	85
PART THREE: SPECIAL ISSUES	91
Chapter 10: Role of the Media	93
10.1 Significance of Fair Coverage	93
10.2 Media Monitoring	94
10.3 Special Election Programmes	96
Chapter 11: Gender Issues in the 1997 Elections	101
11.1 Nominations	101
11.2 Campaigns and Polling	102
11.3 Women's Performance in the Elections	104
PART 4: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	107
Chapter 12: Critique of the Electoral Process	109
12.1 Evaluating the Integrity of the Electoral Process	109
Chapter 13: Conclusions and Recommendations	113
13.1 Conclusions	113
13.2 Lessons Learnt and Prospects for the Future	114
13.3 Recommendations	115
Chapter 14: Beyond the 1997 General Elections: Unresolved Questions	123
14.1 Post-election Ethnic Violence	123
14.2 Constitutional Reforms	124
14.3 The 1997 Election Petitions	125

ELECTION IMAGES	127
FIGURES AND STATISTICS	133
National Parliamentary Results	135
Polling Stations, Streams, and Registered Voters	168
Parliamentary Votes for Women Candidates	171
Members of the Eighth Parliament	189
Party Representation in the Eighth Parliament	193
Party Strengths in Parliament	197
Presidential Votes by Candidate	198
Presidential Elections Turnout by Province	199
National Presidential Results	200
Comparison of Presidential and Parliamentary Votes	212
Presidential Results for Women Candidates	215
DOCUMENTS	219
Members of the Electoral Commission of Kenya	221
Calendar of Events Culminating in the 1997 General Elections	222
Registered Political Parties as of December 29, 1997	227
Electoral Code of Conduct	228
The Role of Election Observers and the Code of Ethics	234
Members of the Project Steering Committee	238
Members of the Strategic Management Board	238
Letters of Accreditation	239
Preliminary Statement	243
Final Statement	247
Presidential and Parliamentary Election Petitions	255
Bibliography	259

List of Tables and Figures

Table 1: Distribution of the 22 new constituencies by district and province	41
Table 2: How the 22 new constituencies would have been distributed if the only factor had been population	42
Table 3: Presidential candidates	56
Table 4: Unopposed candidates	57
Table 5: Presidential votes	85
Table 6: Party representation in parliament	87
Table 7: Parties' parliamentary strength	88
Table 8: Distribution of civic seats (as of Feb 16, 1998)	89
Figure 1: Television coverage	98
Figure 2: Radio coverage	99

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

4Cs	Citizens' Coalition for Constitutional Change
CJPC	Catholic Justice and Peace Commission
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
DAP	Democratic Assistance Party
DC	District Commissioner
DCP	Democratic Congress Party of Kenya
DDDG	Democratic Development Donor Group
DEMO	Democratic Movement
DFID	Department for International Development (Great Britain)
DC	District Commissioner
DO	District Officer
DP	Democratic Party of Kenya
ECK	Electoral Commission of Kenya
EIP	Economic Independence Party
ERIS	Electoral Reform International Services
FIDA	International Federation of Women Lawyers
FORD-A	Forum for the Restoration of Democracy-Asili
FORD-K	Forum for the Restoration of Democracy-Kenya
FORD-P	Forum for the Restoration of Democracy for the People
FPK	Federal Party of Kenya
GAP	Green African Party
GEMA	Gikuyu, Embu, Meru Association
IED	Institute for Education in Democracy

IPG	Inter-Parliamentary Group
IPK	Islamic Party of Kenya
IPPG	Inter-Parties Parliamentary Group
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
KADU	Kenya African Democratic Union
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KAU	Kenya African Union
KBC	Kenya Broadcasting Corporation
KENDA	Kenya National Democratic Alliance
KHRC	Kenya Human Rights Commission
KNC	Kenya National Congress
KNPDP	Kenya Nationalist People's Democratic Party
KPPP	Kenya Party of Proletariat and Peasants Party
KPU	Kenya People's Union
KSC	Kenya Social Congress
KTN	Kenya Television Network
Legco	Legislative Council
LPK	Liberal Party of Kenya
NCCK	National Council of Churches of Kenya
NCEC	National Convention Executive Council
NCPC	National Convention Planning Committee
NCWK	National Council of Women of Kenya
NDI	National Democratic Institute for International Affairs
NDP	National Development Party of Kenya
NGOs	Non-governmental Organisation

NPDP	New People's Democratic Party
NTP	National Treaty Party
PICK	Party of Independent Candidates of Kenya
RNE	Royal Netherlands Embassy
RPKU	Reform of Political and Kenya Union
RRP	Republican Reformed Party
SDP	Social Democratic Party
SIDA	Swedish International Development Agency
SPK	Shirikisho Party of Kenya
UPF	United Patriotic Front
UMMA	Umma Patriotic Party of Kenya
UPPK	United People's Party of Kenya

FOREWORD

In a report of this nature, there are two main concerns. The first is the audience to which it is addressed, the second the purpose of the report.

In the most general sense, our audience is, of course, the Kenyan people. However, to address a report of this kind at large and in a language that is not indigenous creates obvious problems of methodology and communication. Nevertheless, this report deals with issues that are clearly of concern to all Kenyans. Therefore, we have tried to make it as accessible as possible without sacrificing either breadth or depth.

At a more restricted level, the institutions and organisations of civil society require a report of this nature as a key reference tool. This sector of Kenya's national society played a key role in monitoring the 1997 general elections and has a keen interest in assessing the process and outcome of the elections. However, civil society is a vast and diverse component of our nation. In its organised form, it includes trade unions, *matatu* associations, peasant, professional, religious, and student organisations, academia, and youth and women's groups. The challenge was to find a language, style, and structure that would enable our report to be read with ease by both an engineer and a moderately educated councillor.

Other potential consumers of this report include public officials, members of parliament, representatives in local authorities, the donor community, the Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK), and the elusive "general reader." To cater for such a disparate audience calls for the deftness of a juggler, a task we have dared to try to accomplish. Here is our fruit. It is the product of many hands and many weeks of hard work. As we send it into the world, we can only hope that it will be adequate to its foremost goals: to inform and educate. Its other main goal is to provide a reliable source of data for researchers and those wishing to crosscheck data, events, and trends. We hope that it performs this function as well.

One issue that immediately arises is whether the length of this report is justified. We could have prepared a short report of, say, 20 pages. This would have had the merit of brevity, but we believe that the current phase of the democratisation process in Kenya demands a more detailed documentation of both the electoral process and the environment in which it takes place. The other point to remember

is the magnitude of the project of which this report is the culmination. In sheer numbers and geographical coverage, the election observation project — a joint effort by three major organisations, the Institute for Education in Democracy, the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission, and the National Council of Churches of Kenya — was like nothing that has gone before. Its scale was, indeed, massive, and the amount of information that came out of it simply could not be fitted into a text of more modest proportions.

Finally, there is also the issue of context. We believe that an electoral process cannot be properly understood without an analysis of the factors which shape it and the trends which drive it. Without overloading the report with background detail, we have, therefore, tried to put the 1997 general elections in their historical and political context. Our aim was not to write a study of Kenyan political history but to help our readers to more fully understand the 1997 elections. This report, therefore, examines the electoral environment in its totality, including the theoretical foundations and perspectives.

It is our view that an uncritical chronology of events is hardly useful. Thus, we report both the failings and successes of the 1997 elections, analyse the causes of both, and are not afraid to make judgements where appropriate. The report, therefore, is a mixture of disappointment and satisfaction. However, the vision is larger. There is, above all, the hope of a better tomorrow where the sun of freedom shines without setting.

Some important questions arise from a reading of the report, answers to which we might not have been able to give. Can democracy, or anything like it, survive in a time of complexities so baffling that the people and their elected representatives can hardly understand the work of government? Is the holding of free and fair elections a sure antidote to political cataclysms? These are questions that you, the readers, will have to reflect on for yourselves. Our own prognosis is that Kenya is poised to enjoy substantial gains from having made the electoral environment more genuinely competitive and more consistent with the fundamental rights and freedoms of the individual.

This report would not have seen the light of day if not for the committed collaboration of a number of people. First and foremost, we wish to record our appreciation for the great efforts put in by the IED team when preparing the report from the raw data. The team consisted of Marren Akatsa-Bukachi, Cleophas Torori, Alice Mumbuchi, Ang'ila Aywa, and Christopher Mulei. They worked out the basic structure of the report and developed the fourteen chapters with the care and patience of sculptors.

At the early stages, it fell to Okech-Owiti, the contents editor, to carry out the difficult task of moulding the clay into an accurate likeness. It was not an easy job to hammer out a uniform work from the various approaches of the different authors. As for the polishing and finishing of the final product, we left the needful to the experts at Arcadia Communications, who have established themselves in technical editing, especially in the NGO sector, as dependable weavers of words. To them, we extend our gratitude for having purged the report of solecisms and for making it as reader-friendly as possible.

We would also like to take this opportunity to sincerely thank our colleagues at the National Council of Churches of Kenya and the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission for timely submission of materials and incisive critical input at various stages of producing the report. Here, we are referring to the NCCCK team comprising Samuel Kabue, Martha Mbugguss, Moses Smith, Susie Ibutu, Grace Ndugu, and Gideon Ochanda, and the CJPC team of Anthony Njui, CJPC's National Executive Secretary, his deputy Peter Weke, Fr Peter Gichure, and Fr Michael Charo Ruwa, Secretary-General of the Kenya Episcopal Conference. All of these committed colleagues made invaluable contributions at all stages of the preparation of this report.

The collective inputs of three organisations fleshed out the main body of the report, and the emerging product was subjected to rigorous revisions to safeguard its quality, authority, and integrity. We have done our best to measure up to the expectations of our multifaceted audience, and we sincerely hope we have succeeded.

There is no such thing as an end to an election. Now is the time to begin preparing for another lap. This we have already begun.

See you in 2002!

Grace Githu
IED

Archbishop Ndingi mwana a'Nzeki
CJPC

Mutava Musyimi
NCCCK

PREFACE

Kenya has just gone through an important transition in the tortuous march towards meaningful democracy. The 1997 electoral exercise vindicated the ancient Chinese saying that the journey of a thousand miles begins with a single step. Kenya has in the past taken a number of steps in giving its people access to the ballot. Indeed, a lot of water has flowed under the bridge since Africans first exercised their right to vote in 1957.

The electoral process has undergone some transmutation, especially from a colonial framework to a post-independence one. However, there has not been a complete metamorphosis. A residue of the colonial system is still embedded in our country's electoral law. This is not surprising, considering that Kenya's legal regime was—and is still—patterned on English precepts and practices.

Two things stand out in reading this report. First, despite some attempts, we still do not have a fully functional electoral system. However, despite lacunae in the electoral legal regime, the electoral process in Kenya is premised on solid democratic principles. Even when there have been highly irregular elections, there has never been an overtly expressed intention to abandon the basic rules of free and democratic elections.

This report sets down for posterity an observation record of the 1997 general elections. It not only covers the more visible aspects of the electoral process — the nomination of candidates, the campaigns, the polling, and the counting of votes — it also gives an account and evaluation of what happened in the run-up to the elections.

The report is the end result of a joint initiative of three organisations: the Institute for Education in Democracy (IED), the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission (CJPC), and the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK). The background was a flurry of activity by the three organisations, first individually and later collectively, to create a framework for observing the 1997 elections. Our concern was very simple and honest: to contribute to a free and fair election and to serve not only as a deterrent to any attempt to derail the electoral process but also as a source of assurance and confidence for the electorate.

On the actual polling days, the impact of our presence was felt in all corners of the republic. It was a source of great satisfaction for us to see and hear about our diligent observers in virtually every polling station and every counting centre, donning their specially printed IED/CJPC/NCCCK T-shirts and caps and assiduously and conscientiously undertaking their duties.

From this dedicated corps of local observers, we received vital information from the field from nomination day right up to the last day of vote counting. As best as we could, backed up by a very committed technical team, we then analysed the massive data. This report is a product of that painstaking but rewarding exercise. It is intended to serve both as a reliable guide to the 1997 electoral process and as an authoritative reference tool for further research and analysis. We cannot claim to have been perfect in carrying out our multifarious duties and responsibilities, a feat not possible in any human undertaking. However, we can say that we did our best in difficult circumstances. It is our hope that we did not betray the trust placed in us.

There were accusations that our observers overstepped their mandate and that we had a hidden agenda, to use the hackneyed Kenyan phrase, to campaign for the opposition. However, this pendulum had two sides, and we were also accused of being in cahoots with the ruling party. We plead not guilty to both allegations. Truly, we were—and continue to be—independent and impartial organisations committed to the ideals of democracy.

As the elections neared, we disseminated information on our activities in both the print and electronic media. We also published our own newsletter, *Tazama*, which carried items on the electoral process, especially at the local level. Six issues of this publication were produced. Soon after the completion of the polling, we issued an interim statement on the exercise. To a certain extent, this had the hallmarks of a Babel on account of the utter chaos and colossal logistical disorganisation which characterised the polling. However, we followed this with a final statement in which we were able to be more specific as to incidents and events. The statement attracted substantial publicity and varied responses.

Some of the responses were dismissive, even hostile. The source of mischief seemed to hinge on the part of the statement where we gave our verdict that the election results reflected the “wishes of the Kenyan people.”

Two things need to be said. First, the expression “free and fair” is not a scientific one. There is a value judgement in its application. It is also susceptible

to the fate of a cliché, whose meaning in the end assumes the character of a will-o'-the-wisp. The same fate befalls expressions like "reflection of the general will of the people" and, in our particular statement, "wishes of the people." Second, the word "verdict" is really a misnomer. There is no way one can, in the space of a few pages, give a clear-cut summation or judgement of a complex electoral process.

Accordingly, there is always a need, in the type of report we are putting out now, to try to remove the cobwebs of doubt and misinformation by offering the necessary data and explanations fully and objectively. In this way, a fuller and clearer picture of the process can finally emerge. Thus, we now attempt a final assessment of the elections.

The integrity of the 1997 elections was greatly undermined by the weaknesses of the Electoral Commission of Kenya, whose deficient conduct and supervision of both the polling and the counting was palpable. At the other end of the spectrum, however, it was obvious that a clear outcome had been peacefully arrived at. A government was voted in, even if more Kenyans voted against it than for it.

This is the nature of a majoritarian parliamentary system, a situation which also obtained in 1992. As this is the system we have, we observers have no option but to accept the outcome of a victory arrived at in that way. Our exhortation to Kenyans to accept the results was an acknowledgment of reality, not an imposition of a political viewpoint. Our mandate was not to anoint any particular political regime. We only accepted the rules of the game, that is, the rules of political competition under a particular legal and political system. However, we are clearly interested in a more equitable electoral system. That is why we have recommended in this report a comprehensive review of the present "first-past-the-post" system.

We must, of course, show humility in relation to our work and its contribution to the democratisation process. We were not the only observers. There were other organisations that were also engaged in the endeavour, albeit on a smaller scale. But when all is said and done, the real salute goes to the people of Kenya, who formed the biggest election observation group ever throughout the country. Indeed, we depended on them to carry out our activities.

We also take this opportunity to sincerely thank our campaign monitors, poll watchers, and count certifiers for a job well done. In addition, the efforts of these field staff would have come to little without the work of the secretariats of the three organisations, which coordinated the administrative, training, and logistical aspects of the project. Special mention needs to be made of the following for their invaluable contributions: Grace Githu, IED's Executive Director, Anthony Njui, CJPC's National Organising Secretary, and Samuel Kabue, Director of NCKK's Advocacy Programme.

At the helm of the project was the Strategic Management Board, the supreme policy making organ. The board's job involved an immense sacrifice of valuable executive time. Their selfless service will have its reward in the furtherance of democracy in our beloved country.

To all our collaborators outside the joint election observation effort, we also wish to put on record our immense appreciation. Their contributions greatly enhanced the quality and extent of our work. In particular, we gratefully acknowledge the assistance of the Kenya Human Rights Commission (KHRC) and the Media Institute, especially for data relating to media monitoring. We also thank the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), which provided essential services at various stages of the training programme.

Finally, we wish to register our sincerest gratitude for the financial assistance received from our friends in democracy the Royal Netherlands Embassy, the British Department for International Development (DFID), the Swedish International Development Agency (Sida), and the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA). Their assistance was backed by moral support and a belief in our common democratic ideals. With their help, the IED/CJPC/NCKK 1997 election monitoring project became the most sophisticated and comprehensive domestic observation programme ever mounted in Africa. As such, it provides an exciting and innovative model for other countries.

It is our hope that the tiny seed of democracy will take root and grow into a baobab.

IED

CJPC

NCKK

Narrative Report

1

BACKGROUND

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This report is an analysis of the general elections held in Kenya on December 29 and 30, 1997. These were the second multiparty elections in Kenya since the restoration of multipartyism in 1991. This report aims to provide an analytic and evaluative overview of the 1997 elections in the context of Kenya's political history and ongoing democratisation process. It is intended to be informative not only for Kenyans but also for an international audience interested in the way the electoral system is developing in Kenya.

The report examines the major aspects of the electoral process including:

- delineation of new constituencies
- voter registration
- nomination of candidates
- campaigns
- polling
- counting of votes
- announcement of results.

The information presented in this report is based on an analysis of the entire electoral process. It draws on reports submitted by election observers deployed in all 210 electoral constituencies by the three participating organisations. The cooperation of the three partners was unprecedented in this country and resulted in the most comprehensive election monitoring project ever carried out in Kenya.

The three organisations all have extensive experience of civic education, advocacy, and policy analysis in addition to election monitoring itself. Thus, they brought to the analysis of the 1997 elections a holistic approach which recognised that the

events of the campaign and the polling had to be evaluated in the context of a much larger process. This report, therefore, does not just analyse the electoral process but also examines the political, legal, administrative, and media environments in which the elections took place. These environments not only profoundly affected the electoral process but were themselves the results of an evolving historical process. Therefore, this report also examines the historical background of the 1997 elections with particular emphasis on the development of the electoral system.

With regard specifically to elections, IED, CJPC, and NCKC have been examining various aspects of the electoral process as part of their ongoing activities. For example, IED conducted research on the electoral environment in Kenya in 1996 and undertook a survey of the voter registration exercise in 1997. CJPC trained the poll watchers and the constituency organisers who supervised them, and also conducted constitutional reform awareness seminars at community level. NCKC's advocacy programme has been implementing various election-related public awareness projects for some time. In 1996, NCKC monitored the creation of 22 new constituencies as well as the process of issuing second-generation identity cards. The joint election monitoring project benefited from the broad election-related experience of the three organisations.

The election monitoring project was a massive operation that reached every corner of the country. It involved the deployment of 840 nomination and campaign observers, 630 count certifiers, and a total of 28,126 poll watchers. They were able to witness the whole voting process including the opening of polling stations, the actual voting, the closing of polling stations, and the counting process. The reports from these observers have been carefully analysed, and the results are presented in this report.

In addition to monitoring the electoral process at the constituency level, the IED/CJPC/NCKC monitoring group also considered various factors that affected the electoral process as a whole. The group's basic mandate was to judge whether the conditions of the entire electoral environment allowed the free expression of the will of voters. To arrive at a fair verdict and ensure that this verdict was credible, the elections observation group had to be non-partisan and autonomous. None of the three organisations is connected to any political party or political movement, and none supported or endorsed any party or candidate in these elections. In addition, all the personnel were non-partisan and were trained to avoid any appearance of partisanship. The monitoring group's assessment of the elections was guided by one paramount interest — commitment to free and fair elections and the development of the democratic process in Kenya.

It has now been widely accepted by election observers that in any election there is need for both domestic and international monitoring. In this spirit, the IED/CJPC/NCKK group cooperated with a number of international observers, including the Democratic Development Donor Group (DDDG), Electoral Reform International Services (ERIS), and the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI). DDDG, a democracy watchdog group organised by a coalition of foreign embassies in Kenya, shared election-related information. ERIS, an independent election consultancy based in London, provided support in designing the overall observation project. NDI, a US-based non-profit organisation working to strengthen and expand democracy throughout the world, provided training in logistics.

Material assistance was provided by a coalition of donors representing the Netherlands, Britain, Sweden, and Denmark. The IED/CJPC/NCKK monitoring project was a unique partnership between donors and local NGOs to promote domestic election monitoring.

A number of other local organisations were also involved in monitoring the elections. Their presence not only added value to the monitoring operation but also reinforced voter confidence. The main local organisations that mounted monitoring projects were the Federation of Kenya Women Lawyers (FIDA) and the National Council of Women of Kenya (NCWK), while the Kenya Human Rights Commission (KHRC) focused its efforts on tracking the media.

The IED/CJPC/NCKK monitoring project received full cooperation from the Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK). Our observers were allowed to enter and move freely inside the polling stations and were able to examine all aspects of the electoral process. The ECK's election officials were generally cooperative and helpful.

After the official closing of the polls, the IED/CJPC/NCKK issued two statements on the election process — an interim statement on December 31, 1997, and a final statement on January 3, 1998. These two statements were issued in order to provide Kenyans with an early assessment of the elections pending the more detailed analysis contained in this report. The interim statement gave a preliminary assessment of the elections, while the final statement evaluated the entire process after the conclusion of the voting and counting exercises.

Some important lessons which we have been learning since 1992 were strongly confirmed by the 1997 general elections. One is the lack of voter awareness, especially among voters in rural areas. The widespread problems associated with

illiteracy in these elections clearly showed that there is an urgent need for all concerned to institute massive civic education programmes. The Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK) is now legally required to undertake voter education, and we will be looking forward to their contribution as well as those of other interested parties such as civil society organisations and political parties.

A second lesson concerns the disturbing extent to which vices such as violence, rigging, bribery, and intimidation have eroded our society's moral fabric. For Kenyans to enjoy the full benefits of democracy, we have to urgently tackle these vices. A related problem is the alarming degree to which unbridled competition has eaten into the body politic. This is a problem that needs to be addressed by all shades of the political spectrum if the credibility of the electoral process is to be protected.

Perhaps the most important lesson confirmed by the 1997 elections is that without far-reaching legal, administrative, and constitutional reforms the electoral playing field is unlikely to be truly level for all actors in the process. This problem relates not only to parties and candidates but also to gender. Another lesson is that deep gender imbalances continue to restrict political participation in Kenya. We have an electoral playing field that does not facilitate women's participation in politics, and this fundamental problem must be addressed before truly free and fair elections can be achieved. This should be done in the broad context of legal and constitutional reforms in order to provide for a gender-sensitive electoral environment both within the political parties and nationally.

1.1 Structure of this Report

This report is divided into three main sections. The first section contains an analysis of the elections, the second section presents detailed statistical information on the results, and the third section gathers together a number of documents relating to the IED/CJPC/NCKK monitoring project and the conduct of the elections.

The analysis of the elections is divided into four parts. Part One deals with issues of background and context, beginning with a description of the IED/CJPC/NCKK election monitoring project. The focus is on the collaborating institutions and their roles in the project, the management structure of the project, and the roles played by other organisations. This is followed by a brief account of the legal and

administrative framework of elections in Kenya. The focus here is on the delineation of constituencies, the constitutional reform debate, and the role of the ECK. To provide a fuller context, an overview is also given of the historical development of the Kenyan electoral system.

Part Two deals with the electoral process itself — the registration of parties and voters, the nomination of candidates, the campaigns, and the various activities of the polling process, culminating in the counting of votes and the announcement of results.

Part Three focuses on two issues of special concern: the role of the media and the question of gender. First, the importance of equal media access and fair coverage is discussed, and then the extent to which these goals were achieved in the 1997 elections is assessed. The question of gender is discussed in terms of three main issues: the participation and performance of women in the nominations, the impact of gender issues in the campaign, and the performance of women candidates at the polls.

Part Four brings the main text of this report to a conclusion by presenting a critical evaluation of the 1997 elections based on all the information at our disposal. This section also discusses in detail the lessons to be drawn from these elections and makes a number of recommendations for improvements in the electoral process and environment.

The second section of this report presents various statistics relating to the results of the presidential and parliamentary elections. This section is intended to provide the reader with a convenient and authoritative point of reference for further study of the 1997 elections. For the same purpose, a third section gathers together a number of documents relating to the overall context in which the elections were conducted.

CHAPTER 2

THE ELECTION MONITORING PROJECT

2.1 The IED/CJPC/NCK Joint Election Monitoring Group

The 1997 general elections, Kenya's second multiparty general elections since the repeal of Section 2(A) of the constitution in 1991, were a litmus test of the country's commitment to the ongoing democratisation process. These elections also provided a critical opportunity for voters to choose between change or continuity.

In addition, the 1997 general elections came at a time when the country was at the dawn of a new era. After years of pressure from the opposition and civil society to bring the constitution and specific laws into line with multipartyism, a number of important reforms were enacted just before the elections to create a more level electoral playing field. In addition, provision was made for a comprehensive constitutional review process to begin after the elections. Though questions were raised as to whether these reforms would have time to take root before the elections and whether the proposed Constitutional Review Commission would be independent, there was a broad consensus going into the elections that major progress had been made.

These factors made the 1997 elections special and made it important to monitor the whole array of election-related events and processes in addition to the elections themselves. In order to meet this challenge, IED, CJPC, and NCK decided to join together to carry out a comprehensive election monitoring operation under the motto *Together for Peaceful Elections*. The three organisations have extensive track records of supporting democratisation and public awareness initiatives in Kenya. A DFID-funded study by ERIS concluded that between them they offered formidable analytical and methodological sophistication, competent staff, well-organised structures, and comprehensive nationwide networks.

The ensuing collaboration was based on a blend of IED's technical expertise in election observation and interpretation of data, the Catholic church's grassroots strength, and NCK's network of regional offices and district coordinating committees. The three organisations played complementary roles so as to achieve a balanced, comprehensive, and technically effective monitoring of the elections. The specific tasks undertaken by each organisation are discussed in the following organisational profiles.

The aim of the joint election monitoring project was twofold. First, the presence of our observers inside polling stations and counting centres was intended to deter intimidation, fraud, and other malpractices. Second, the information collected by the observers enabled the nationwide electoral process to be assessed objectively and in detail. Therefore, the monitoring project was intended to contribute to the integrity of the 1997 general elections in particular and to promote democratic development in Kenya in general.

To conduct a thorough observation of the election process and produce a comprehensive report, the project put in place a rigorous monitoring system. The roles of the media, the political parties, the provincial administration, and the security forces, as well as the ECK, were subjected to close and systematic scrutiny. Particular attention was paid to the accuracy of the voter registration list, and audits of the register were done as part of the monitoring routine. In addition, the electoral laws and campaign rules were evaluated in greater detail than ever before.

The deployment of observers to monitor the nominations, campaigns, voting, and counting was the most crucial aspect of the monitoring work. The observers had to watch and evaluate a host of activities, including the opening and closing times of polling stations, the performance of ECK officials and party agents, the integrity of the voting procedures (privacy of voting booths, security of ballot boxes, identification of voters, processing of illiterate or physically challenged voters, management of unregistered voters), and the accuracy, efficiency, and fairness of the counting and announcement processes. Greater precision was achieved in the documentation of anomalies and violations through the deployment of more refined and elaborate checklists provided to the observers. Observers had at their disposal instruments that were more wide-ranging and discriminating than ever before.

2.2 The Collaborating Institutions

2.2.1 *The Institute for Education in Democracy (IED)*

IED was established in 1993 as a public non-profit organisation committed to the promotion of democracy in Kenya. It is non-partisan and is not affiliated to any political party, pressure group, or religious body. IED's vision is of an informed and democratic society where all citizens participate effectively in the social, political, and economic affairs of their country and live in peace and prosperity through justice. To achieve this vision, IED strives to:

- promote and influence the evolution of a democratic ethic and culture in the management of national affairs
- provide information and skills for positive political behaviour
- promote positive attitudes about the electorate's ability to participate in developing the policies and forms of government it considers desirable
- support the evolution and growth of an institutional framework that will motivate people to participate in the election of their political leaders and the formulation of public policy.

Since its inception in 1993, IED has conducted numerous successful activities in the areas of civic education, voter education, and election monitoring. IED has also developed extensive voter education materials targeted at a wide cross-section of the electorate. Two posters designed and produced by IED, one depicting the polling process and the other showing how to mark the ballot papers correctly, were widely used by other civil society organisations and political parties for voter education in the run-up to the 1997 general elections. IED's video *Utaratibu wa Kupiga Kura* (Kiswahili for *Polling Procedure*) was aired on the eve of the polls by both the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) and the Kenya Television Network (KTN).

To facilitate the 1997 election monitoring process, IED prepared profiles of all 210 constituencies in Kenya. These were distributed to the diplomatic community, international observers, and IED's partners in the monitoring project. In the project itself, IED was responsible for the design and production of all data collection tools, training and observation materials, and the design and procurement of T-shirts and caps to identify observers.

As the technical wing of the joint observation group, IED also conducted the training of trainers from the other two partner organisations. These trainers then became responsible for training the various observers. IED also designed and produced the checklists that were used by the observers to vet the nominations, campaign events, polling, and counting. Finally, IED produced the election monitoring manual that was used by the 28,126 poll watchers and the trainers guide that was used as the main training tool for all cadres of observers.

In terms of the assessment of the elections, IED was given responsibility for the quantitative analysis of the individual polling reports, for collating and analysing other information on the election and for researching the background material. IED also took the lead in writing the election monitoring report.

IED's field management team consisted of 19 regional officers who worked closely with their counterparts from the other two organisations. The primary function of the IED field managers was to provide technical advice on the electoral process and electoral law in order to guide observers on what to observe and to ensure that polling reports were returned to IED as quickly as possible.

2.2.2 Catholic Justice and Peace Commission (CJPC)

The Catholic Justice and Peace Commission was established in 1988 as an arm of the Kenya Episcopal Conference (KEC). CJPC's mandate is to examine and study all issues connected with justice and peace in Kenya. The objectives of the commission are to:

- develop programmes of education in the principles and practices of justice
- guide and coordinate pastoral action to make justice known through the social teachings of the church
- work for the eradication of injustice in concrete situations
- provide information, advice, and encouragement to all those involved in the promotion of justice.

These objectives have been articulated into six programmes, as identified in the commission's strategic plan. The programmes are the annual Lenten campaign, civic education on constitutional reforms, resettlement of ethnic clash victims, civic education, peace and reconciliation, and elections monitoring. The approach to civic and voter education follows the respectful intervention model, where participants are drawn from the grassroots, trained as trainers, and sent back for multiplier effects.

To realise these objectives, the commission is coordinated at national level by an executive committee. This committee is composed of a National Secretary, a theological promoter, a communications promoter, a women's representative, a young people's representative, a Diocesan Coordinators' representative, three KEC representatives, and representatives of lay people.

Of the 22 Catholic dioceses in Kenya, 20 have a Justice and Peace Office with a diocesan team drawn from the area covered by the diocese and a network extending down to the basic Christian community level. Operations at diocesan level involve working with the 630 Catholic parishes and approximately 7,000 prayer houses which are under parishes. The total Catholic population in Kenya is close to nine million.

CJPC's roles in the joint election monitoring project included:

- development of logistics and deployment of the 28,126 poll observers
- recruitment and training of the poll observers
- distribution of materials to observers
- training of the constituency organisers to whom the poll observers reported
- deployment of election observers on election day
- recruitment, training, and deployment of 420 count certifiers
- collection of completed checklists and onward transmission to IED.

2.2.3 National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK)

The National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK) is one of the largest umbrella church organisations in Kenya. Formed in 1913 as the Alliance of Protestant Missions, it brings together 30 Protestant denominations with the aim of facilitating their common Christian mission. The focus of the NCCCK is ecumenism and human welfare.

For many years, NCCCK has been involved in a myriad of Christian, community development, and advocacy programmes. It is one of the leading development organisations in Kenya. In a recent move to streamline operations in response to changes in the development sector, NCCCK is now shifting its role from provision to facilitation. To help implement this policy, NCCCK — under the “renewed council” — has recently devolved the national NCCCK offices to nine regions.

The NCCK vision is to share and act together in the experience and extension of the Kingdom of God by witnessing to Jesus Christ. This is guided by the Holy Scripture, empowered by the Holy Spirit, and informed by tradition. The NCCK mission is to facilitate the united mission of the Christian Church in Kenya by proclaiming and demonstrating the holistic witness of the church through corporate activities and by enabling community programmes.

The NCCK has been deeply involved in the democratisation process in Kenya since well before the reintroduction of political pluralism in 1991. Prior to the repeal of Section 2(A), NCCK consistently advocated democracy, social justice, and the restoration of multipartyism. Between 1992 and 1997, NCCK has been at centre stage in the constitutional review debate and in civic affairs generally in Kenya.

The Public Affairs Desk in the Advocacy Unit, a principal department of the NCCK, has continued to lobby on matters of human rights, economic justice, and civic education. This is in line with its basic objective to promote an interpretation and application of the gospel of Jesus Christ in a way that gives meaning to the daily lives of people, thus creating a united, just, peaceful, and sustainable society.

In 1996, NCCK embarked on a major voter education programme that continued until the beginning of the joint monitoring project. At this point, NCCK had just concluded a national circuit of voter education training from the national level down to the congregational.

NCCK's roles in the 1997 election monitoring project were to:

- select, recruit, and train 840 constituency campaign observers
- establish systems for the management of constituency campaign monitoring
- coordinate the observation of nominations
- collate and analyse campaign report forms
- establish a public information office to publicise the monitoring project through the media, produce a newsletter, *Tazama*, based on field reports received during the campaign, and organise press conferences to release the project's statements and updates.

2.3 Project Management

To ensure the smooth operation of the 1997 joint election monitoring project, two management organs were established: the Strategic Management Board (SMB) and the Project Steering Committee (PSC).

The SMB consisted of senior board members from the three organisations. It met monthly and fulfilled the strategic role of monitoring the progress of implementation and addressing any bottlenecks created by lack of communication or misunderstandings. Its representatives enjoyed full authority delegated from their organisation's boards to make decisions on these matters.

The PSC was responsible for day-to-day implementation issues and consisted of senior operations staff from each of the three organisations. It reported to the SMB and enabled the SMB to address any bottlenecks. Occasionally, staff from the NDI and ERIS attended PSC meetings and provided useful ideas and advice based on their international experience in election monitoring.

2.3.1 External Consultancy

Electoral Reform International Services (ERIS) was the external consultant for the project. It is a UK-based, independent, non-profit NGO and a division of the Electoral Society of Great Britain and Ireland. Since its foundation in 1884, the society has worked for the development of democracy in Britain and abroad mainly by promoting, organising, and monitoring elections. In recognition of its work, the society was granted consultative status with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations in 1983 on all matters relating to elections and balloting. As a result of increasing overseas requests for assistance, ERIS was established in 1990 as the consultancy division of the society.

ERIS's goal is to offer a comprehensive electoral advisory service for all democracies. In the last five years, ERIS has undertaken over 70 missions overseas. It has provided services in election monitoring, constitutional reform, assistance to electoral commissions, training of domestic election monitoring groups, political party training, parliamentary training and institutional development, local government training, voter education, and media training. In the IED/CJPC/NCK election monitoring project, ERIS provided technical assistance and backup throughout the implementation period. ERIS is also conducting an evaluation of the project to enable improvements to be made for the future.

CHAPTER 3

BACKGROUND TO THE 1997 GENERAL ELECTIONS

3.1 Patterns and Trends in Past Elections

The first general elections in Kenya to be based on universal adult suffrage were the independence elections of 1963. Although these elections were dominated by the two main nationalist parties, the Kenya African National Union (KANU) and the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU), several smaller parties also participated. In 1964, KADU merged with KANU, creating a *de facto* one-party system.

Two years later, the one-party system was briefly challenged when Oginga Odinga, Kenya's first vice-president, and 26 other MPs resigned from KANU to form the Kenya People's Union (KPU). However, the resulting mass by-elections (known as the "Little General Elections") saw KPU win only seven seats in the House of Representatives and two in the Senate. Thus, although there was an opposition party in parliament again, it had too few members to have much impact. In any case, on the eve of the next general elections in 1969, KPU was banned and Kenya returned to *de facto* one-partyism.

The 1969 general elections should have been held in 1968 but were postponed to consolidate certain constitutional changes, including the abolition of the Senate and the provincial governments. Besides transforming Kenya into a unitary state, these changes further restricted political competition by weakening the legislature and concentrating power in the executive. The trend to concentrate power in the executive intensified in the years that followed. In the absence of other political parties, the 1969, 1974, 1979, 1983, and 1988 general elections were at best only contests for power and influence within the ruling party.

The electoral environment was also restricted. The Electoral Commission was replaced by the Supervisor of Elections, an official in the Attorney-General's chambers whose responsibility was to conduct and supervise elections. The

provincial administration took over the tasks of issuing licenses for campaign meetings and organising the logistics of voting.

There were nevertheless two notable improvements in the electoral environment beginning with the 1974 general elections. The secret ballot was introduced (voting had previously taken place in the presence of the presiding officer) and the voting age was reduced from 21 to 18. However, in the context of restricted political competition, these changes could not in themselves promote the expansion of democracy in Kenya.

Apart from the isolated voices of a small number of maverick MPs including J M Kariuki, Martin Shikuku, Jean-Marie Seroney, and Chelegat Mutai—who were popular enough to be re-elected despite the efforts of the party and the provincial administration—politics in Kenya in the 1970s increasingly revolved around the President, his family, and a small clique of insiders. Even the ruling party, as Shikuku and Seroney famously pointed out, ceased to function as a genuine mass movement or as a forum of policy development.

The 1979 general elections were the first to be held after the death of President Kenyatta. Like the one-party general elections of the Kenyatta era, the 1979 elections were essentially an internal contest within the ruling party. However, the focus was now on consolidating the power of Kenyatta's successor, Daniel arap Moi. Party nomination and clearance procedures were used to promote the candidacies of Moi loyalists, and in the elections the President openly campaigned for his allies. The provincial administration did all it could to ensure that candidates endorsed by the President were elected.

After 1979, the government consolidated its hold on power and became increasingly intolerant. A crackdown on dissenting academics, writers, and other independent voices saw the frequent use of detention without trial and banning of publications. Undeterred by the increasing repression, however, Oginga Odinga and George Anyona applied in 1982 to register a new party, the Kenya Socialist African Alliance (KASA). In response, the government put Odinga under house arrest, detained Anyona, and hurriedly passed the Constitution of Kenya (Amendment) Act Number 7 of 1982 making KANU the sole legal party.

After this, the KANU government became increasingly repressive. Increased use was made of detentions, police brutality, and abuse of the courts to quell dissent. The 1983 general elections further consolidated the power of President Moi and KANU leaders loyal to him. By the time of the next elections in 1988, many people perceived to be anti-government were either in jail or in exile, and only a

few organisations notably the Law Society of Kenya (LSK) and some churches, provided independent voices.

The 1988 general elections were the most seriously flawed in Kenya's history. The main source of problems was the introduction of a queue-voting system at the KANU nomination stage. Though queue-voting was touted by KANU as an easy and transparent method of ascertaining the will of the people, it ignored the cardinal rule of secrecy and opened the door to all kinds of abuse. In particular, though the secret ballot was retained for the elections proper, any candidate who managed 70 per cent or more of the vote at the nomination stage was declared elected without having to face the voters as a whole. In the end, nearly 60 per cent of MPs went to parliament under this rule.

After the glaring flaws of the 1988 general elections, public dissatisfaction with the one-party system reached new heights. Serious cracks began to appear in Kenya's monolithic political structure, and resistance by various civil society institutions, religious organisations, and individual politicians steadily increased. The *Saba Saba* riots of July 1990 demonstrated the depth of public anger, and by 1991 the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy pressure group (FORD) had managed to unite all pro-reform forces. In addition, with the end of the Cold War, external pressure for change also grew, culminating in a complete freeze on foreign aid in September 1991. In December 1991, the government, under intense pressure from all sides, repealed Section 2(A) of the constitution. This paved the way for the registration of other political parties and the first multiparty general elections since 1964.

These elections were held in December 1992. Thanks in part to a divided opposition, President Moi and KANU retained power, but the opposition parties won a substantial number of seats in parliament. The 1992 elections were held in the atmosphere of a broadened political playing field. Though many laws and practices remained in force that gave KANU an undue advantage, these elections marked a turning point in Kenya's political history. This was aptly captured by the comprehensive report on the elections published by the National Elections Monitoring Unit (NEMU) shortly afterwards. As a result of the 1992 elections—and the political maturity of the Kenyan people in accepting the results—Kenya joined the ranks of other democratising nations. Since then political life in this country has become more and more open.

What we have witnessed over the thirty-five years of Kenyan independence, therefore, is a regular pattern of conducting elections despite serious flaws in the electoral environment and process, especially during the single-party era. Though

some of these flaws undermined basic electoral integrity, the fact that elections have been regularly held and state power peacefully determined is a significant achievement, especially in the African context. With the restoration of multipartyism in 1992 and the two general elections held since then, competitive politics are once again taking shape in this country, and we can be optimistic about continuing progress in the years to come.

3.2 Lessons Learnt

3.2.1 The Culture of Authoritarianism

One of the things our leaders inherited from the colonialists was the need for repression and exploitation as pillars of governance. It was not the business of the colonial regime to educate the new African politicians and administrators on the ethos of democratic governance. This would have contradicted the very nature of colonialism, which was based on repression and dictatorship rather than democracy.

When the new African leaders took over at independence, they adopted, virtually lock, stock, and barrel, the colonial structures, laws, and administrative practices and procedures that had made it possible for a tiny minority to govern a majority. Although the Kenyan independence constitution made some attempts to inculcate democracy, it was tinkered with over the following three decades and became only a shell of what it had been. As Kenyans went to elections in 1997, the constitutional order was a very different one from that of the independence constitution.

3.2.2 The Ethnic Factor

During colonial rule, harmony between the various African communities was seen as a threat to white domination, and the colonialists used the “divide and rule” approach to check indigenous opposition. After more than 35 years of independence, not much has changed. Both our leaders and their followers continue to harp on the ethnic card. Although there were serious attempts by early nationalist leaders to forge a united nation, these efforts have since been swept under the carpet. The calls by present-day leaders for a united nation can be seen mainly as lip service. Some leaders have even made it part of their strategy to foment ethnic hatred and conflict in order to prove that multiparty democracy cannot work in Kenya.

Ethnicity is also the factor behind persistent declarations by ethnic-based leaders and their followers that “it is time for us to eat.” Leaders and their followers seem

to be concerned only with how to get the tastiest pieces of the national cake for themselves and their community or clan. This kind of thinking is retrogressive and makes issues and policies irrelevant.

3.2.3 Multipartyism and Democracy

The last five years in Kenya have demonstrated that multiparty politics does not always bring democracy. Though multipartyism appears to open the political playing field to competition, there can be little democracy if the field is not level. Therefore, it is simplistic to equate a country's democracy with the number of political parties it has. On the contrary, the proliferation of political parties can be a way of fragmenting the democratisation process, as was the case in the last years of Mobutu's Zaire. If the state denies some political parties the opportunity to propagate their policies, the rationale for the existence of different parties can only be to dupe the outside world into believing that the country is democratic. As the report compiled by NEMU on the 1992 Kenyan elections showed, the political, legal, constitutional, and administrative structures in 1992 made a free and fair election impossible.

As Kenyans went to vote in the 1997 general elections, a number of reforms in these structures had been undertaken in order to create a more level playing field. The question for election observers was whether these reforms went far enough or were effectively implemented on the ground. This report contains our views on this question.

3.2.4 Social Justice and Electoral Participation

Poverty has often been cited as one of the basic factors inhibiting political participation. Those who have wealth — a tiny minority of Kenya's population — do not seem to flinch at using economic power to buy votes. This has been made easier by repealing the law limiting campaign spending, so that today a rich political party or candidate can spend as much as they want. In addition, there is no legal requirement for a political party or candidate to disclose their sources of funding or how the money is spent. This means that those who have no money stand little chance of making a mark on Kenya's political scene.

However, poverty alone does not make people susceptible to bribery. There is also a debilitating disease of materialism eating away at the fabric of Kenya's national life. Unabashed greed and a corrosive beggar mentality have become major hindrances to a truly democratic electoral process in this country. This materialism had a major negative impact on the 1997 general elections. The potent antidote is voter education based on the values of human dignity and self-respect.

3.2.5 The Need for Voter Education

Before the 1992 elections, little voter education took place in Kenya. Only a few civil society organisations undertook civic education, while the government did nothing and in some cases prevented civic education activities from taking place. The situation improved somewhat after 1992, as various NGOs became involved in civic education. However, the government and its organs remained largely uninvolved. The ECK, for example, was content to make some routine announcements in the press and print a few posters. Even in 1997, it earmarked a paltry Ksh 10,000,000 for voter education, notwithstanding a constitutional provision that requires the ECK to provide voter education.

3.2.6 Do Elections Impact on Policy in Kenya?

Despite promises made during campaigns — good roads, better hospitals, better schools — the election results rarely seem to bring significant changes. This has created a lot of apathy and cynicism among the electorate. Some voters even justify taking bribes from candidates on the basis that elections do not make any difference anyway. To avoid elections being merely a game of musical chairs, it is vital that there be a democratic spirit and patriotic commitment to the republic by all the people of Kenya and the political parties. This requires not just faith in the multiparty system, but also sincere trust in governance based on the sovereign will of the people.

3.2.7 Unequal Representation

During colonial times, administrative boundaries were drawn mainly on ethnic lines. After independence, this practice was extended to parliamentary constituencies and has remained largely unchanged since then. The result has been to favour sparsely populated communities. Because of their isolation and economic hardship, these communities are easier to manipulate into voting for the political regime in power. As demonstrated in Part Two of this report, the present constituency boundaries over-represent certain areas that tend to vote for the ruling party. Taking into account the totality of the surrounding circumstances, gerrymandering remains an active ingredient of the Kenyan electoral environment.

3.2.8 The Winner-take-all Electoral System

A factor that gained importance after the reintroduction of multipartyism is the absolute power that the winning candidate or party obtains in the current electoral system even when the winner gains only a plurality of votes instead of a majority. This winner-take-all system shuts out a great number of voters.

One way of rectifying this would be the introduction of a system of proportional representation. However, an electoral system, no matter how appropriate, cannot be the solution to a country's political problems. The real solution is the evolution of a civic culture.

3.2.9 Parliamentary or Presidential System?

In its constitutional evolution, Kenya has borrowed from both Britain and the United States in defining its political structures. This hybrid system has caused problems with the separation of powers, a universally accepted norm of democratic government. It can be argued that a major flaw in the current Kenyan constitutional arrangement is the awkward marriage of parliamentary and presidential systems. In the current system, the Kenyan President is really an all-powerful executive officer, leaving parliament with no significant ability to provide checks and balances. This situation has an unhealthy impact on the electoral process because the incumbent head of state (who is also head of government) can use his or her control of the public service and the judiciary to help preserve political power.

3.3 Pre-election Socio-economic Conditions

Kenyans went to the polls at a time when the economy was severely battered and the public infrastructure on the verge of collapse. Hospitals had no drugs and health facilities were dysfunctional, a situation which was exacerbated by a nationwide strike of nurses in the public health service. Teachers had also been on strike, and a good number of educational institutions were closed as a result of student rampages.

Meanwhile, the government continued to interfere in the agricultural sector, especially the coffee, sugar, and tea subsectors, intensifying a downward spiral that began some years ago. The outbreak of political violence at the coast in August and September brought tourism, one of Kenya's major foreign exchange earner, to a virtual halt. As the economy and infrastructure sank, purchasing power plummeted. By polling day, it seemed that for the average Kenyan the only thing left was resilience.

As if this was not enough, the *El Niño* rains wreaked havoc across the country, further damaging what functioning infrastructure remained. Roads and bridges were washed away, and whole regions of North Eastern Province, the coastal plains, and the low country around Lake Victoria were submerged. Thousands of people, mostly poor small-scale farmers and pastoralists, were made homeless,

and tens of millions of shillings worth of crops and livestock were destroyed. The floods severely constrained election operations in the affected areas.

However, such adverse social and economic conditions do not affect all Kenyans in the same way. Kenya has one of the widest gaps between rich and poor in the world. A tiny minority possesses immense financial resources, while the vast majority live in poverty — a third of them below the absolute poverty line. This means that most Kenyans face a daily struggle to meet their survival needs, a situation that does not augur well for the development of a healthy democracy.

3.4 The Legal Framework of Elections

The following subsections of this report provide a summary of the content and salient features of the legal regime governing the electoral process in Kenya. They examine in turn the constitutional, legal, and administrative categories and their impact on elections.

3.4.1 Constitutional Provisions

The constitution is the supreme law of the land. Any right provided by the constitution and any obligation imposed by it take precedence over all other laws. The constitution provides for the right to register as a voter. Everyone qualifies to be registered as a voter in parliamentary, presidential, and civic elections if he or she:

- is a citizen of Kenya who has attained the age of 18 years
- has been resident in Kenya for not less than 12 months immediately prior to the date of registration or for a period (or periods) totaling not less than four years during the eight preceding years
- has been ordinarily resident, carried on business, been employed, or possessed land or residential buildings in the constituency in which he or she applies to be registered for a total of not less than five months during the twelve months immediately preceding the date of registration.

These provisions are spelt out in Section 43 of the constitution, which also disqualifies a person from registering as a voter for a number of reasons including insanity, bankruptcy, or conviction for an election offence.

On the right to be a candidate, the constitution provides that a person is qualified to be elected as a member of the National Assembly if he or she:

- is a citizen of Kenya who has attained the age of 21 years
- is registered in a constituency as a voter in elections for the National Assembly
- is able to speak and, unless incapacitated by blindness or other physical cause, to read Swahili or English well enough to take an active part in the proceedings of the National Assembly
- is nominated by a political party.

A person is not qualified to be elected as an MP if at the date of his or her nomination for election he or she:

- is by virtue of his or her own act under any acknowledgment of allegiance, obedience, or adherence to a foreign state
- is under sentence of death or sentence of imprisonment exceeding 6 months imposed by a court of law in Kenya
- is judged to be of unsound mind through a judicial process
- is an undischarged bankrupt
- has an interest (subject to any exceptions and limitations prescribed by parliament) in a contract made with the government of Kenya
- holds an office in the public service, armed forces, or a local government authority.

A person is qualified to be nominated for election as president if he or she:

- is a citizen of Kenya who has attained the age of 35 years
- is registered in a constituency as a voter in elections to the National Assembly
- is qualified to be elected as an MP.

3.4.2 Nominated MPs

Before the amendments to the constitution made as a result of the Inter-Parties Parliamentary Group (IPPG) agreement in late 1997, the President had the sole prerogative of appointing twelve nominated MPs. Under the new provisions, the twelve nominated members of the National Assembly are expressly meant to represent “special interests.” However, this expression was not defined. The nominated MPs are still appointed by the President but from a list named by the parliamentary parties according to their proportion of seats in the National Assembly. The ECK is mandated to work out the correct proportions after every general election and to forward the names of the party nominees to the President. The principle of gender equity is also supposed to be taken into account, though again in an undefined way.

3.4.3 The Reforms Debate: the Role of Civil Society

Following the 1992 multiparty elections, opposition parties realised that Kenya’s constitutional, legal, and administrative structures needed to be overhauled. They viewed KANU’s victory as resulting largely from the manipulation of constitutional structures. President Moi and KANU had been rejected by 65 per cent of voters, yet Moi was re-elected and KANU won a substantial majority of parliamentary seats.

The initial shock of this outcome immobilised the opposition, and it took about a year before they could regroup and begin the process of advocating fundamental reforms. Religious organisations, too, added their voice to the demand for reforms. The NCK, the Catholic church, and the Muslim community were all convinced that basic reforms were needed to ensure a level playing ground for future elections.

Despite this pressure, comprehensive constitutional reforms were opposed by the government. It argued that reforms could only be achieved by a thorough consultative process involving all Kenyans, which would require more time than was available before the next elections. Late in 1997 — and only after mass action had led to riots and deaths on several occasions — the IPPG was put together and a compromise reached to enact certain minimum reforms before the elections and undertake comprehensive constitutional reforms after the elections by means of a Constitutional Review Commission.

The other objective was to frame the reform process in evolutionary rather than revolutionary terms. Consequently, pieces of legislation such as the Public Order Act, the Preservation of Public Security Act, the Chief’s Authority Act, and the

Societies Act, as well as clauses on sedition in the Penal Code and administrative practices such as partisan broadcasting by KBC, were targeted.

3.4.4 The NCEC Reform Campaign

The birth of the National Convention Executive Council took place at a meeting in Nairobi held on April 29, 1996, which brought together a number of opposition political parties and several groups representing various segments of civil society. At this meeting, it was decided that a partnership should be formed between opposition members of parliament in what was then known as the Inter-parliamentary Group (IPG) and the NGO known as the 4Cs (Citizens Coalition for Constitutional Change). The aim was to create a broad-based non-partisan grouping that would be able to press for reforms. A National Convention Planning Committee (NCPC) was set up to coordinate the partnership and push for a national constitutional convention. As the reform campaign intensified, NCPC converted itself into the National Convention Executive Council (NCEC).

When government did not heed the NCEC's demands for comprehensive reforms, a mass action plan was implemented. The first mass protest rally was held on May 3, 1997, and ended in a bloody confrontation with the police. Further rallies on July 7 (*Saba Saba*), August 8 (*Nane Nane*), September 9 (*Tisa Tisa*), and October 10 (*Kumi Kumi*) were also dispersed by security forces with resulting injuries and destruction of property.

3.4.5 The Role of the Religious Community

Concerned that the stalemate between NCEC and the government could tear the country apart, religious organisations offered to mediate. A group comprising representatives from the Catholic Church, NCKK, Evangelicals, the Hindu community, and the Muslim community was formed to facilitate a peaceful reforms dialogue. Some of these religious groups had already been pursuing the reforms agenda, and it initially appeared as if their mediation was acceptable to the two sides. However, the initiative collapsed when the government failed to honour an invitation to a meeting convened to launch the mediation process. Instead, the government started its own initiative by bringing together moderate opposition and KANU MPs in the IPPG.

3.4.6 The Inter-parties Parliamentary Group (IPPG)

The IPPG was a KANU strategy to pre-empt the reform crusade. It took advantage of divisions that had emerged in NCEC, mainly between civil society representatives and politicians, to draw the politicians into the IPPG and exclude NCEC from the process. Key NCEC leaders had always been suspicious of politicians, whereas many of the politicians felt that, as the people's elected representatives, they should be the ones to lead the process. Moderate opposition politicians joined IPPG because they feared that NCEC was trying to hijack the reforms agenda. They argued that in any case the NCEC leaders from civil society had no mandate from the people. The opposition MPs who participated in the IPPG talks appeared to believe that KANU was genuine about reforms and that IPPG provided a real opportunity to save the country from civil strife.

The IPPG discussions resulted in the rapid passage of two bills — a Constitution of Kenya (Amendment) Bill and a Statute Law (Repeals and Miscellaneous Amendments) Bill. These bills seemed to respond to demands for minimum reforms before elections and, together with a third bill (the Constitution of Kenya Review Commission Bill, 1997), came to be referred to as the IPPG package. The Constitution of Kenya Review Commission Bill proposed the appointment by the President of a commission to collect, analyse, and collate the views of Kenyans on constitutional change after the elections. All three bills received rapid presidential assent, paving the way for both minimum reforms before elections and more comprehensive reforms afterwards.

3.5 The Administrative Framework of Elections

3.5.1 The Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK)

The ECK is a public body created under section 41 of the constitution to manage and conduct elections. Before 1992, elections were conducted under the Supervisor of Elections, an officer in the Attorney General's chambers. When Kenya reverted to multiparty politics in 1991, the constitution was amended to give the ECK powers to oversee the conduct of elections as an autonomous body. The office of the Supervisor of Elections was abolished, and new offices of the Director of Elections and Deputy Director of Elections were created under the National Assembly and Presidential Elections Act (Chapter 7 of the Laws of Kenya). Although the ECK never appointed people to these two statutory offices, it is likely some staff from the office of the Supervisor of Elections were transferred to the ECK.

3.5.2 The Composition and Structure of the ECK

In 1992, the constitution stipulated that the ECK was to be constituted by a chairman and not less than four other members appointed by the President. At the time of the 1992 elections, there were eleven commissioners, with Justice (Rtd) Zachaeus Richard Chesoni as chairman. When the tenure of these commissioners expired in 1997, most were reappointed, and Justice Chesoni was reappointed chairman. After the IPPG talks, the President appointed ten more commissioners nominated by the opposition parties represented in the talks. This brought the number of commissioners to 21, where it currently stands. Supporters of IPPG claimed that the inclusion of opposition nominees on the ECK would ensure the independence of the commission through the expression of dissenting views. However, the opponents of the IPPG deal argued that this move created only an *expanded* commission, not an *independent* one

The inclusion of opposition-nominated members in the ECK seems not to have had any notable impact on the conduct of the elections. The departure of Justice Chesoni in November to become Kenya's new Chief Justice also seems to have made little difference. By the time these changes were made, the whole structure and machinery for the 1997 elections, except the nomination of candidates, was already in place. In terms of building public confidence and assuring voters that the ECK was independent, the appointment of the ten extra commissioners and the replacement of the chairman does not seem to have achieved much.

Both before and during the elections, the ECK seemed to rely too much on the government to enable it to execute its duties, especially in dealing with malpractices and breaches of the electoral code of conduct. ECK argued that it had no means of enforcing the code of conduct and consequently passed the buck to the government. Up to now, the ECK has not done much to reorganise its working procedures, even though current election regulations make this one of its duties. A visit to the ECK's offices in Nairobi revealed a dire need for organisation. Management seems to be *laissez-faire*, and it is even doubtful if there are means to guard against tampering with information, as there seems to be no credible secretariat. On a positive note, the ECK's practice of holding regular press briefings, particularly during the campaign period, was a step forward, as were the meetings it held with representatives of all political parties, KBC, and election observer groups.

3.5.3 Boundary Review and Constituency Delineation

Delineation of electoral areas is one of the most controversial issues in working out and assessing any electoral system. In Kenya, this is especially true because of ethnic and clan issues as well as allegations of political interference and gerrymandering.

The Constitution of Kenya and the Local Government Act (Chapter 265 of the Laws of Kenya) give the ECK the power to:

- divide Kenya into constituencies and wards
- delineate their boundaries
- assign names to them.

The constitution states that all constituencies should contain as nearly equal numbers of inhabitants as appears to the commission to be reasonably practical. The goal here is to retain the cardinal democratic principle of “one person, one vote” while also providing for special factors. Thus, the commission can depart from the principle of numerical equality of votes in order to take account of population density (in particular the need to ensure adequate representation of sparsely populated rural areas), population trends, means of communication, geographical features, communities of interest, and boundaries of existing administrative areas.

The demarcation of constituencies in Kenya was first done in 1962 when the then Regional Commission divided Kenya into 8 provinces and 41 districts. In the 1963 elections, there were 113 seats in the House of Representatives and 38 in the Senate. When the Senate was abolished in 1966, the number of constituencies was increased to 158. This number remained in force until 1986, when it was increased to a minimum of 188 and a maximum of 210. In the 1988 and 1992 elections, there were 188 constituencies. In 1996, the ECK carried out a boundary review and increased the number to the constitutional maximum of 210.

One of the most serious accusations against the ECK is that it had manipulated electoral areas to suit entrenched political and class interests. A survey in 1996 conducted by NCKK’s Advocacy Unit seemed to confirm this. The survey found that while the creation of some of the new constituencies, such as Uriri in Migori, Bumula in Bungoma, and Emgwen in Nandi, was justified, there were other cases, such as Mathioya in Murang’a and Gatundu North in Thika, which clearly showed political manipulation and did not reflect the views of local people.

The commission’s method of collecting views in countrywide local meetings was welcome, but several factors dented the credibility of the exercise and created doubts about the ECK’s independence. First, President Moi announced the review, something he should not have done, as the commission is supposed to be autonomous. He also went round the country announcing the creation of 24 new districts, a development that was clearly related to the creation of new constituencies. Out of the 22 new constituencies, eight were granted to the new districts.

*Table 1: Distribution of the 22 new constituencies by district and province
(Italics indicate constituencies created in new districts)*

	Name	District	Province	Party	Votes for Winning Candidate
1	Bura	Tana River	Coast	KANU	2,917
2	Wajir North	Wajir	North Eastern	KANU	4,047
3	<i>Tigania East</i>	<i>Nyambene</i>	Eastern	KANU	14,421
4	Manyatta	Embu	Eastern	DP	32,949
5	<i>Mwingi South</i>	<i>Mwingi</i>	Eastern	KANU	25,599
6	<i>Kaiti</i>	<i>Makueni</i>	Eastern	KANU	11,159
7	Oi Kalou	Nyandarua	Central	DP	29,084
8	Kerugoya/Kutus	Kirinyaga	Central	DP	18,149
9	Mathioya	Muranga	Central	FORD-P	13,009
10	<i>Gatundu North</i>	<i>Thika</i>	Central	SDP	7,115
11	Emgwen	Nandi	Rift Valley	KANU	32,688
12	<i>Eldama Ravine</i>	<i>Koibatek</i>	Rift Valley	KANU	14,390
13	Naivasha	Nakuru	Rift Valley	DP	25,845
14	<i>Sotik</i>	<i>Bomet</i>	Rift Valley	KANU	34,622
15	Ainamoi	Kericho	Rift Valley	KANU	32,824
16	Matungu	Kakamega	Western	KANU	10,673
17	Khwisero	Kakamega	Western	KANU	11,840
18	Bumula	Bungoma	Western	FORD-K	24,375
19	Butula	Busia	Western	KANU	10,343
20	Kisumu Town East	Kisumu	Nyanza	NDP	21,210
21	<i>Uriri</i>	<i>Migori</i>	Nyanza	NDP	16,104
22	<i>Gwasi</i>	<i>Suba</i>	Nyanza	NDP	10,683

Second, the haste with which the boundary review exercise was done created suspicion, and it did not help that the criteria for creating new constituencies or reorganising old ones was not made clear. But the most crucial flaw was that the creation of the 22 new constituencies did not follow the law of demographics. Had demographics been the main factor, the distribution of the new constituencies per province would have been as follows: Nairobi 8, Coast 3, North Eastern 0, Eastern 2, Central 3, Rift Valley 5, Western 1, and Nyanza 0.

Table 2: How the 22 new constituencies would have been distributed if the only factor had been population

Name	District	Province	Electoral Roll	New Seats
Embakasi	Nairobi	Nairobi	114,354	2
Starehe	Nairobi	Nairobi	109,215	1
Westlands	Nairobi	Nairobi	102,384	1
Makadara	Nairobi	Nairobi	91,605	1
Kasarani	Nairobi	Nairobi	91,517	1
Eldoret North	Uasin Gishu	Rift Valley	90,947	1
Juja	Thika	Central	89,975	1
Naivasha	Nakuru	Rift Valley	89,774	1
Nakuru Town	Nakuru	Rift Valley	89,383	1
Saboti	Trans Nzoia	Rift Valley	82,836	1
Langata	Nairobi	Nairobi	81,123	1
Nithi	Tharaka Nithi	Eastern	78,962	1
Changamwe	Mombasa	Coast	78,553	1
Kisauni	Mombasa	Coast	76,575	1
Molo	Nakuru	Rift Valley	75,942	1
North Imenti	Meru	Eastern	74,661	1
Mvita	Mombasa	Coast	70,836	1
Lurambi	Kakamega	Western	70,344	1
Dagoretti	Nairobi	Nairobi	69,481	1
Kiambaa	Kiambu	Central	68,747	1
Kabete	Kiambu	Central	68,669	1

Distributing the new constituencies in this way would have created a measure of equity and enhanced the competitiveness of the 1997 elections. Even so, this would only have been a mild application of the one person, one vote principle. Given the history of flawed constituency demarcation in Kenya, true equity would require a comprehensive redrawing of all constituency boundaries.

From tables 1 and 2, the following can be seen:

- ❑ Rift Valley got 5 new constituencies, Western 4, Central 4, Eastern 4, Nyanza 3, Coast 1, North Eastern 1, while Nairobi got none.
- ❑ Of the 22 constituencies, eight (36 per cent) are in the new districts.
- ❑ 12 of the 22 new seats went to KANU, while the others were shared between FORD-Kenya (1), SDP (1), DP (4), FORD-People (1) and NDP (3)
- ❑ Some constituencies considered “safe” for KANU turned out not to be, such as Mathioya, Gwasi, Uriri, and Gatundu North.
- ❑ Although the KANU:opposition ratio of seats won was 6:5, the ratio of votes received by the winning candidates was roughly 1:1.

It seems that instead of reviewing the constituency boundaries professionally and creating constituencies based on open criteria, the ECK limited itself to “sharing out” the new constituencies. The rest of the constituencies, save for minor changes in names and boundaries, were left intact. The ECK, therefore, aggravated an already biased structure instead of reforming it.

Regarding demarcations at the local elections level, the present local authorities were constituted by the Minister for Local Government through a number of orders published in a *Kenya Gazette* Supplement (No. 74 of October 24, 1997), while the Statute Law (Repeals and Miscellaneous Amendments) Act, 1997 — which transferred the minister’s powers to the ECK — came into force on November 7, 1997. The act stipulates that the principles in respect of constituencies shall apply *mutatis mutandis* (the necessary adjustments having been made) to the creation of wards. Even a cursory look at the number of civic wards in each local authority shows that there is unequal representation at this level too. For example, the populous city of Nairobi has only 55 civic wards while the sparsely populated rural county of Wajir has 79. Although the ECK cannot be blamed entirely for these kinds of problems, it has the responsibility of beginning the process of rectifying these inequities in time for the 2002 general elections.

2

**THE ELECTIONS
AND RESULTS**

CHAPTER 4

REGISTRATION ISSUES

4.1 Registration of Voters

4.1.1 The Voter Registration Process

The registration of voters for the 1997 general elections began on May 19, 1997, and ended on June 30, 1997, after two extensions of the original June 22 deadline. The deadline was first extended to June 24 due to public concern that voters had not been given enough time. When this date came, the ECK of Kenya (ECK) extended the deadline to June 30 to enable more Kenyans to register.

IED monitored the entire voter registration exercise, though as a survey rather than the more traditional observatory monitoring and documentation. The results of the survey were contained in a report distributed to various NGOs and the donor community. The main conclusions of the report merit close scrutiny. For example, although more than 90 per cent of those who went to register succeeded in being registered, this does not take into account those who did not go to register. It should not be confused with the percentage of *eligible voters* who were registered.

The IED survey observed the following problems with the voter registration process:

- insufficient materials, including ink, writing materials, and registration forms. This problem occurred throughout the country but was especially serious in Starehe, Mbooni, and Bondo.
- confusion and frustration caused by changes in constituency boundaries, for example, in Langata, Dagoretti, Molo, and Kisumu
- administrative problems, including errors in electors' names and identification card numbers, failure to indicate constituency or polling centre number, missing thumbprints (Starehe), and incorrectly filled electors' cards which were later invalidated (North Mugirango, Kajiado North, Ugenya)

- slow, uncooperative, and incompetent registration clerks (Nairobi, Nakuru)
- voters being required to wait for one to five months before receiving their voters' cards due to problems such as lack of lamination machines. This problem was particularly widespread in Machakos, Nairobi, Kajiado, Bondo, Kisii, and Kisumu.

4.1.2 Appraisal of the Voter Registration Process

A statistical assessment of the registration process shows no evidence of a deliberate and systematic process of manipulation. The main complaints revolved around the inefficiency of the process and the issue of new generation identity cards, as well as the phenomenon of incorrect numbers on voters' cards. The latter problem was critical in Nyanza, Nakuru, Molo, Murang'a, Migori, and Kapsabet, among other areas. The problem of wrong numbering even forced the voter registration exercise to be repeated in Nyanza. At one point, MPs from the province issued a joint statement on the issue, alleging rigging.

For some potential voters, registration was hindered by lack of identity cards, while the issue of new generation IDs caused confusion. In some areas, notably Westlands, Nakuru, and Nandi, people were turned away because they possessed old generation IDs or police abstracts. In Eldoret North, Mosop, and Kajiado North, there were reports of people being told they could only register in the place of their birth.

Many politicians also made provocative and inflammatory statements. Some prominent figures, for example the then Minister for Local Government Francis Lotodo, MP for Kapenguria, told people to go and register "where they were born" or face dire consequences. Others alleged that the elections had already been rigged and that there was no point registering. Kenneth Matiba of the Saba Saba Asili party and some of his supporters called on people to burn their voters' cards. In the end, however, the number of cards actually burnt was insignificant on the whole.

After the voters' registers were compiled, there were instances of double, even multiple registration. Some people were found to have registered as many as 11 times! In the end, there were a few scattered prosecutions around the country for this offense, but many of the culprits went scot-free. The registration process was extremely fast in some centres but painfully slow in others, particularly in those named above.

The display of the registers was far from satisfactory. The commission did not bring the public's attention to the need to inspect the registers, and most people only came to know about the inspection one or two weeks after it had begun. Had the ECK informed the public about the need to verify information in the registers, there would have been more confidence in the accuracy of the registration process.

There were also allegations of registration continuing after the registration period had expired. One newspaper even ran two stories on this and claimed the registration was being done in a Nairobi hotel. These allegations were never satisfactorily dealt with by the commission, which helped add to the suspicion.

On the other hand, the computerization of the register and the use of special forms which were scanned by an optical mark reader ensured that the overall process was fast and generally accurate. However, the commission's performance was marred throughout the exercise by irregularities that could have been avoided by effective publicity, an efficient materials delivery system, and proper training of officials.

4.2 Registration of Political Parties

4.2.1 Legal and Political Questions

Registration of political parties in Kenya has always been a thorny issue. At independence, there were only two dominant political parties — the Kenya African National Union (KANU) and the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU). In 1964, KADU merged with KANU, and except for the period of KPU's short life between 1966 and 1969, KANU remained the only political party up to the end of 1991. Following the repeal of Section 2(A) of the constitution in December 1991, several new parties were registered — FORD-Kenya, FORD-Asili, National Development Party of Kenya (NDP), Democratic Party of Kenya (DP), Social Democratic Party (SDP), Labour Party Democracy (LPD), Kenya National Congress (KNC), Kenya Social Congress (KSC), Kenya National Democratic Alliance (KENDA), and Party of Independent Candidates of Kenya (PICK).

After the reintroduction of multipartyism, the power of the Registrar of Societies to register or refuse to register political parties was increasingly questioned. Key among the concerns was the discretionary nature of the registrar's powers. The law provided very broad reasons for denying a party registration or deregistering it. It was up to the registrar to determine whether these grounds existed in any particular case and to take any length of time to do so. The registrar's discretion was, therefore, largely unchecked.

One result was that some parties that applied to be registered in 1992 were denied registration on very vague or flimsy grounds. These included the Green African Party (GAP), the Green Party (GP), the Islamic Party of Kenya (IPK), the Kenya Nationalist People's Democratic Party (KNPDP), the Party of the Proletariat and Peasants (PPP), the Democratic Movement (DEMO), and the Islamic Party of Kenya (IPK). In most of these cases, registration was denied on the vague grounds that the interests of peace, welfare, or good order would suffer if the parties were registered. IPK was denied registration on the grounds that it was a religious, not a political, organisation

As part of the 1997 IPPG package, the following subsection was added to section 4 of the Societies Act to deal with this problem:

The registrar shall consider every application for registration of a society or for exemption from registration and shall communicate his decision thereon to the society within one hundred and twenty days of receipt of the application.

This provision was a breath of fresh air, as it meant that the registrar no longer had the power to delay a party's application indefinitely without giving reasons. The IPPG reforms, however, went no further on the issue of registration of political parties or the registrar's unchecked discretion on other matters. In any case, of what use is it to an applicant if he or she is given a speedy denial? The important question is whether there ought to be such bottlenecks to the formation of parties. Another concern is the question of what authority should regulate political parties. Currently, political parties are registered under the same act as welfare associations and membership clubs. This is an unhealthy situation, since political parties are different from any other organisation in one crucial respect — they are, at least in theory, governments in waiting.

Our view is that the ECK should be granted the power to register and deregister political parties. Two factors justify this. First, the ECK is the body charged with the administration of elections. Since party politics are about securing power through elections, the ECK should have responsibility for monitoring and controlling the activities of political parties as one aspect of its mandate to ensure free and fair elections. Second, the ECK is an independent body, at least in law, whereas the registrar is a civil servant with no security of tenure.

4.2.2 The New Political Parties

In the run-up to the 1997 general elections, a record 16 new parties were registered beginning with the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy for the People (FORD-People) on October 3, 1997. By October 7, 1997, nine more political parties had

been registered. This was after IPPG had recommended that political parties whose applications for registration were then pending be promptly registered or told why they could not be.

The nine new parties were — the Liberal Party of Kenya (LPK), People's Party of Kenya (PPK), Kenya Socialist Party (KSP), New People's Democratic Party (NPDP), Democracy Assistance Party (DAP), Reform of Political and Kenya Union (RPKU), Green African Party (GAP), Umma Patriotic Party of Kenya (UMMA), and Kenya Nationalist People's Democratic Party (KNPDP). These were later followed by the United Patriotic Party of Kenya (UPPK), Shirikisho Party of Kenya (SPK), Federal Party of Kenya (FPK), Economic Independence Party (EIP), and Republican Reform Party (RRP). Safina was finally registered on November 26, 1997, after a three-year wait. The National Treaty Party of Kenya (NTP) and the Islamic Party of Kenya (IPK) were denied registration, while the Kenya African Development Union (KADU) and the Democratic Congress Party of Kenya (DCP) had their applications referred back for re-application through the Attorney General. The total number of registered political parties stood at 27 by the time of the 1997 elections.

The case of Safina deserves particular mention, as it demonstrates why arbitrary discretion has no room in democratic practice. Safina, the last political party to be registered before the elections, had applied for registration in 1994. After "perusing the application" for over a year, the registrar finally announced that Safina would not be registered. Safina then appealed to the Attorney General, who also took an inordinate amount of time to respond. In the end, Safina was registered only two weeks before the date for nomination of candidates.

CHAPTER 5

NOMINATIONS

5.1 Party Nominations

5.1.1 How Parties Flouted their Own Rules

Of the 27 registered parties, 22 participated in the 1997 general elections. Of these, 15 fielded presidential candidates. With the adoption of the IPPG reforms package prior to the dissolution of the seventh parliament, each party assumed responsibility for the financing, organisation, and administration of its own nominations. In the process, internal party rules and regulations were seriously put to the test. Neither KANU nor the opposition parties had well-developed machineries for holding party nominations. The opposition parties were still building their party organisations, while KANU had always depended on the provincial administration to organise its nominations and elections.

The result for both KANU and the opposition was chaos. No party can be said to have come out of the process unstained. In the majority of cases, party rules and regulations were not followed regardless of the nomination methods each party used. Some of the most blatant cases involved party chairmen single-handedly choosing candidates instead of allowing members to nominate the candidates of their choice. KANU was outstanding in this respect.

DP imposed candidates when repeat nominations failed to yield clear winners. This was most evident in Nyeri, the party's stronghold, where there were reports of youths opposed to the repeat polls destroying ballot papers. The party headquarters appeared biased in the way it handled disputes. It did not even publish a list of candidates who had been nominated, arguing that this remained confidential until the presentation of nomination papers to the ECK. Other parties, such as NDP and DP, were not spared irregular nominations either. All the major parties — KANU, FORD-Kenya, DP, NDP and SDP — flouted their own nomination rules.

5.1.2 Other Problems with Party Nominations

All party nominations were beset with logistical and other problems such as:

- disagreements over nomination procedures
- returning officers not being available or appearing long after party members had despaired and gone
- lack of election materials
- lack of coordination at counting centres
- lack of proper membership identification
- lack of coordination between party headquarters and grassroots structures due to poor or non-existent communication
- unfavourable weather.

These problems had varying impacts on the conduct of party nominations. For example, KANU planned to hold its nominations on November 25, then changed the date to November 27, but was still unable to conduct even half of its nominations on this date. The exercise was postponed in a number of areas, particularly in North Eastern and Eastern Provinces, due to flooding. In the process, some party nominations were postponed or cancelled either by the headquarters or branch officials without the knowledge of the other — an indication of serious lack of information flow.

The nomination problems appeared most severe in areas where political parties had their strongest support and the competition for nominations was therefore the most intense. Thus, Ford Kenya's nomination problems were most widespread in Western Kenya, DP's in Nyeri, and NDP's in Nyanza. It was in KANU, however, that the most intense disagreements occurred. The problems largely centred on the choice of queue-voting as the party's nomination procedure. Many members and prospective candidates argued that queuing was open to abuse and undemocratic. Cases where there had to be repeat nominations particularly exposed the shortcomings of the queue-voting method, as it was impossible to assemble the same people in the same spot for a "recount."

5.1.3 Lessons Learnt

A number of lessons arise from the conduct of the party nominations. First, the practical problems surrounding queue-voting suggest that it is not an appropriate method for choosing candidates. Although a political party is free to choose its own nomination methods, it should be able to do so without disenchanting the party's rank and file. Queue-voting is not only contrary to the principle of secrecy which is essential to democratic theory and practice, it also causes needless acrimony, as people are able to identify who voted for whom. Finally, by making recounts impossible, queue-voting is both impractical and unfair.

Second, the practice of party chairmen and other national officials hand-picking candidates has no place in a democratic and genuinely competitive system. In 1997, many candidates who did not have the people's mandate were imposed as if party members did not have the ability to choose for themselves. The leaders who followed this practice in effect turned their parties into their personal property and severely undermined participatory democracy. This practice also denied party members the benefits of alternative viewpoints and internal competition. When party leaders curtail competition, they stunt the growth of their parties by shutting out new talent. They also fail in their duty to educate party members.

The third lesson relates to the practice of not limiting voting to party members. By permitting non-members to vote, the parties reduced their nominations to circuses where anyone who was interested voted on different days for different candidates from different parties. Those not nominated to contest on a particular party's ticket also had a field day defecting from party to party. The melee of defections and counter-defections testified to the general lack of intraparty democracy and commitment.

5.2 Nomination by the ECK

5.2.1 New Procedures in ECK Nominations

The IPPG reforms brought important changes in the rules for presentation of nomination papers to the ECK. Once cleared by their respective parties, candidates could present their nomination papers to the ECK over a two-day period. The previous, unrealistic requirement that nominations could only be done between the hours of 8.00 am and 1.00 pm was done away with, and candidates were able to present their papers at any time between 8.00 am and 4.00 pm except for a lunch break from 1.00 pm to 2.00 pm. Presidential nominations took place on December 3 and 4, parliamentary and civic nominations on December 8 and 9.

Candidates were required by the ECK to:

- present their national identity card or passport for verification
- produce a voter's card whose number appeared on the register of electors
- produce a certificate of proficiency from the Language Board or an exemption signed by the chairman of the ECK
- present themselves personally or through an agent (whose letter of appointment had to be produced) at the nomination centre between 8.00 am and 1.00 pm or 2.00 pm and 4.00 pm on any of the two days.

Fifteen candidates were cleared to seek the presidency. Two prospective presidential candidates, Nyerere Manonda of the Democratic Assistance Party and Mwangi Nyonga of the Kenya Socialist Party, were denied registration because their papers were not in order.

Table 3: Presidential candidates

Candidate	Party
Daniel Toroitich arap Moi	Kenya African National Union
Michael Kijana Wamalwa	Forum for the Restoration of Democracy-Kenya
Raila Omolo Odinga	National Development Party
Prof Katama Mkangi	Kenya National Congress
Charity Kaluki Ngilu	Social Democratic Party
Koigi wa Wamwere	Kenya Democratic Alliance
Mwai Kibaki	Democratic Party of Kenya
Joseph Martin Shikuku	Forum for the Restoration of Democracy-Asili
Wangari Maathai	Liberal Party of Kenya
Kimani Wanyoike	Forum for the Restoration of Democracy for the People
Munyua Waiyaki	United Peoples Party of Kenya
Godfrey M'Mwereria	Green African Party
Stephen Omondi Oludhe	Economic Independence Party
David Waweru Ng'ethe	Umma Patriotic Party of Kenya
George Moseti Anyona	Kenya Social Congress

A total of 880 candidates were cleared for the parliamentary elections. KANU emerged with eleven unopposed parliamentary candidates, giving it an immediate and significant advantage.

Table 4: Unopposed Candidates

Candidate	Constituency	Province
Robert Igaramatwa Kochalle	Laisamis	Eastern
Francis Pollis Loile Lotodo	Kapenguria	Rift Valley
Christopher Motoywo Lomada	Sigor	Rift Valley
Francis Kipkoech Lagat	Eldoret East	Rift Valley
Joseph Dalldosso Lotodo	Baringo East	Rift Valley
Andrew Chepkoiywa Kiptoon	Baringo North	Rift Valley
William Rongora ole Ntimama	Narok North	Rift Valley
Kipkalya Kiprono Kones	Bomet	Rift Valley
Isaac Kiprono Ruto	Chepalungu	Rift Valley
Charles Davy Kipng'etich arap Kirui	Belgut	Rift Valley
Samuel Kimutai arap Rotich	Kipkelion	Rift Valley

On Christmas day, two opposition candidates withdrew in favour of KANU candidates, thus giving KANU two more seats unopposed. However, as their names were already on the ballot papers, the validity of their withdrawal was not certain. At the end of the two-day exercise, the major parties had fielded the following number of candidates: KANU 210, DP 134, NDP 108, FORD-K 104, and SDP 102. The other parties fielded fewer than 50 candidates each, with the nine smallest managing only 30 candidates in total.

CHAPTER 6

THE CAMPAIGNS

6.1 Major Issues

6.1.1 Dissolution of Parliament

To pave way for the 1997 general elections, the President dissolved the National Assembly on November 10, 1997. The ECK followed by setting the election date for December 29. Campaigns were then set to begin on December 8 and end on December 28.

The dissolution of parliament went against the wishes of many who had argued for delayed elections so as to give the reform package time to take effect on the ground. Some members of the opposition argued that by not consulting them the President had acted in bad faith and contradicted the spirit of the IPPG deal. Leaders opposed to elections before comprehensive reforms, especially those in NCEC, argued that the President's action was an indication that the KANU government was not committed to genuine reforms. All the same, dismay at the President's action did not last long, as most politicians soon became intensely involved in preparing for the elections.

6.1.2 Campaign Licensing

Among the notable amendments brokered by the IPPG were those relating to the Public Order Act. The act was revised to ease the process of convening meetings or holding processions. Any person wishing to hold a meeting or a procession no longer needed to apply for a license but only had to notify the police of the date, time, and venue of the function so that security could be provided. Moreover, licenses were no longer required for meetings held for social, cultural, charitable, educational, commercial, or industrial reasons.

Nevertheless, there were instances where members of various political parties were roughed up by the administration because they did not have licenses. On one occasion, police tried to stop NDP leader Raila Odinga from addressing people during a meet-the-people tour in Western Province, apparently on orders from the

District Commissioner. Raila also cited similar obstruction he and his entourage encountered in Kisii and Kuria districts. In another incident, police tried to disrupt a Shirikisho Party meeting in Kilifi. The local police boss claimed that as the party officials had not applied for a license the meeting was illegal. In North Eastern province, supporters of FORD-Kenya's Kijana Wamalwa were chased away by police at Kakuma airstrip after a FORD-K rally was declared illegal by the area Officer Commanding Police Station (OCS). The pretext was that the permit for the rally had not been properly processed.

These are only a few documented incidents which indicate that although the requirement for licenses had been amended, some provincial administration officials and police continued to harass members of the opposition parties. Meanwhile, not a single KANU meeting was disrupted for lack of a license. In most cases, KANU meetings were attended by the local chiefs, police, and other government officials.

6.1.3 Utilisation of Resources

Availability of funding was an important factor in the 1997 campaigns. During the IPPG talks, the Electoral Code Committee proposed that parliamentary parties be funded publicly according to their relative strength in parliament. However, this recommendation was not implemented, and political parties continued to raise their own campaign funds. Most political parties held public fundraising functions, notably the Social Democratic Party (SDP), Democratic Party of Kenya (DP), National Development Party (NDP), and KANU.

By and large, there was very inequitable distribution of funding among political parties and a huge inequality in access to financial resources. Opposition parties, especially the smaller ones, continued to be marginalised for lack of funds. An extreme case was that of Mwangi Nyonga, the Kenya Socialist Party (KSP) presidential aspirant, who was unable to raise the Kshs 25,000 nomination fee and was disqualified. In addition, no legal ceiling on how much money a party or an individual candidate could spend on the election was put in place. This widened the already existing gap between those with and those without resources.

6.1.4 Access to the Media

The IPPG Electoral Code Committee recognised the media, and especially KBC, as a vital aspect of the electoral process and recommended that the KBC Act be amended to provide for equitable access to publicly funded media by all political parties and candidates (IPPG 111 iv d). The change has since been incorporated in the Statute Law (Repeals and Miscellaneous Amendments) Act, which obliges KBC to:

- keep a fair balance in all respects in the allocation of broadcasting hours as between different political viewpoints
- allocate free airtime, in consultation with the ECK, to registered political parties participating in an election during the campaign period preceding any presidential, parliamentary, or local government election.

The IPPG recommended that the ECK be empowered to ensure that these rules are followed. However, the act does not provide sanctions for non-compliance, and KBC has continued to act in violation of the law.

6.2 Campaign Methods

6.2.1 Public Rallies and Meet-the-People Tours

The most widely used campaign method was direct contact with the voters. This took the form of candidates going out to meet and address the public face to face in campaign meetings or rallies. On occasions, meetings and rallies were reported in either the print or electronic media depending on the issues discussed and the prominence of the personalities involved. Reportage enhanced a rally's campaign value, constituting a form of "free airtime" for those involved.

A closely related method of campaigning was the "meet-the-people tour." This involved impromptu meetings that took place in shopping centres, open areas, or simply by the roadside as the candidate toured a constituency or ward. This method was especially popular with people in rural areas. Less common methods of direct contact included door-to-door visits by candidates or their agents and campaigns using vehicle-mounted public address systems.

6.2.2 Posters

The most widely used form of campaigning was the poster. Posters were pasted in every available place, especially in urban areas. Sometimes in colour — especially for presidential candidates — but more often in black and white, they usually displayed a head-and-shoulders photograph of the candidate, the candidate's name, party, and constituency, and a straightforward request for votes. Some candidates also hung banners in prominent places. Heavy use of graffiti was made by some candidates in certain areas.

6.2.3 Other Campaign Materials

Another widely used campaign medium involved printed paraphernalia such as T-shirts, caps, shopping bags, umbrellas, and other utility items. Like campaign posters, these items normally displayed a photograph of the candidate along with his or her party symbol and a request for votes. This campaign method was relatively costly and was only used by the larger parties and more prominent candidates.

6.2.4 Media Advertisements

Buying space in the newspapers or electronic media and placing an advertisement explaining party policies and requesting votes is the most expensive campaign method and was used only by the major parties—KANU, SDP, DP, NDP and FORD-Kenya. KANU was able to finance these advertisements throughout the campaign both in the print and electronic media and far outdistanced its rivals in use of the mass media. Most media advertisements were for presidential candidates. Only a few parliamentary candidates could afford to run such advertisements.

6.3 Use of Public Resources

KANU blatantly continued to use state resources for its campaigns. The party's candidates used government vehicles during nominations, campaigns, and even on the polling days. For example, during a KANU rally on December 26 in Vihiga constituency, the DC, DO, and chief of the area were present at the meeting. In Turkana North, government officials involved themselves in politics by holding meetings and rallies in support of the KANU civic candidates in their areas. In Migori constituency, vehicles from the Veterinary Department were used for KANU campaigns, and the then area DC, Peter Raburu, openly campaigned for Charles Owino, the KANU candidate, in the presence of the DO and the chief of the area.

6.4 Role of the Youth

According to reports, the role of the youth was twofold. First, they attended meetings as ordinary party supporters and spectators. However, some of them also played a prominent role as hecklers and more often than not caused chaos in meetings. As in 1992, large numbers of rowdy youths were used to parade as party supporters, causing tension in political meetings and often instigating fights. These youths usually attended political meetings drunk, often with the prior intention of disrupting them. All parties were, in one way or another, involved in rowdy, intimidatory acts using youths. For example:

- ❑ in many different constituencies, young men were paid between 100 and 200 shillings to drive around the towns in hired lorries dancing and chanting party slogans on behalf of KANU, SDP, DP, NDP, and Ford-Kenya
- ❑ during a campaign meeting in Mvita constituency, a group of rowdy KANU youths unleashed violence on the local people and looted shops in the area
- ❑ in Kisumu Town East, a KANU youthwinger was beaten to death by NDP supporters after a group of KANU youthwingers invaded the venue of an NDP rally armed with *rungus* and axes
- ❑ in a meeting convened by presidential candidate Charity Ngilu in Sotik constituency, youths threw stones at her entourage after unsuccessfully demanding *kitu kidogo* (Kenyan euphemism for a petty bribe)
- ❑ in Eldama Ravine, Democratic Party candidate Joseph Leboo, was unable to hold campaign meetings due to intimidation and harassment by KANU youthwingers
- ❑ youths parading as supporters of various parties often carried crude weapons such as *rungus*, knives, axes, and stones to campaign rallies
- ❑ in Sirisia, KANU candidate Moses Wetangula formed a Students Association to campaign for him around the clock. The youths bought voters cards at Ksh 500 each.

Nevertheless, many young people attended campaign meetings simply as spectators or for the purpose of learning about a candidate's or party's stand on youth or other issues.

6.5 Political Zoning

Unlike 1992, when various constituencies were declared exclusive political zones for certain parties — particularly KANU — the trend was different in the build-up to the 1997 elections. For instance, KANU strongholds such as Baringo Central (President's Moi's own constituency) and Samburu East had opposition candidates for the first time. Nevertheless, opposition candidates or their supporters continued to be beaten, harassed, threatened with violence, and generally given a rough time by KANU supporters or candidates during the campaigns in a number of "sensitive" constituencies such as Baringo Central, Baringo East, Belgut, Chepalungu, and Narok.

In other traditional KANU strongholds, the KANU candidates were once again elected unopposed. These constituencies included Laisamis, Kapenguria, Sigor, Eldoret East, Baringo East, Baringo North, Narok North, Bomet, Chepalungu, Belgut, and Kipkelion. In Wajir North, the KANU MP was also elected unopposed, though he initially had an opponent who stepped down in his favour during the campaign.

6.6 Violence, Intimidation, and Corruption

6.6.1 Incidents of Violence

Incidents of inter-party violence were less common in 1997 than in 1992. They mainly occurred when different political parties inadvertently scheduled rallies at the same venue or when supporters of one party happened to meet supporters of another on the way to or from rallies. Incidents of inter-party violence were reported in Sirisia, Bumula, Mathira, Kisumu Town West, Rangwe, Kuria, and Sotik. In addition, the common borders of Gucha, Transmara, and Migori Districts remained tense throughout the campaign.

However, most incidents of violence were within individual parties. These incidents tended to be centred in specific constituencies, notably Meru, Malava-Lugari, Shinyalu, Garissa, Konoin, and Tinderet. Under the new Electoral Code, KANU, DP, SDP, FORD-Kenya, and NDP supporters were arraigned before a court for alleged violence and warned. The Shirikisho Party was almost deregistered after being accused of inciting its supporters to violence.

6.6.2 Intimidation and Harassment

Although there was no evidence of a political party being systematically targeted for harassment or intimidation, there were isolated incidents which seriously marred the free conduct of the campaigns. The most notable incident was in Kisii, where Charity Ngilu was not only barred from addressing her supporters but also tear-gassed. In Malava constituency, the chief for South Kabras interfered with opposition rallies by intimidating party agents. In Baringo Central, the opposition candidate, who was challenging President Moi, was harassed and intimidated to such an extent that he was unable to campaign at all. The local KANU leaders, together with the provincial administration, made it impossible for him to conduct his campaign. After presenting his nomination papers, he was forced to stay away from Baringo Central because of death threats.

Other incidents of harassment were reported in North Eastern Province. For example, the NDP Presidential candidate Raila Odinga was denied landing rights at Hola airstrip during a campaign tour. The runway was completely barricaded. Cases of intimidation and threats to “outsider” communities in Kericho, Nandi, and Bomet were also reported and resulted in some voters fleeing these areas, effectively barring them from participating in the elections.

6.6.3 Selling and Buying of Votes

Selling and buying of votes increased towards the close of the campaign period. Our reports indicate that this practice was concentrated in Kitui, Machakos, and Makueni Districts of Eastern Province, and in Teso and Mt Elgon Districts and parts of Bungoma District (particularly Sirisia and Bumala constituencies) in Western Province. The going price for a voter’s card was said to be between 1,000 and 5,000 shillings in these areas.

6.6.4 Bribery of Voters

All constituencies reported cases of bribery of voters, with candidates allegedly paying voters anywhere from twenty to one thousand shillings either directly or through agents. Maize flour, sugar, clothing, and iron sheets were also handed out. Purchase of food and drinks in order to woo voters, though legal, constituted another kind of bribery. Some of the affected constituencies included Mathioya, Kitui West, Mogotio, Eldama Ravine, Dagoretti, Imenti Central, and Keiyo South. The practice was also widespread throughout North Eastern Province.

CHAPTER 7

THE POLLING

7. 1 The Polling Days

Originally, polling was scheduled for one day only, December 29. However, it was officially extended to December 30 nationwide as a result of the numerous technical problems that occurred at so many polling stations on the 29th. In some constituencies in North Eastern and Coast Provinces that were affected by floods, polling went on beyond the official two days.

Our analysis of events on the polling days is based largely on checklists filled by our poll watchers and count certifiers, who were deployed in all 210 electoral constituencies. A total of 13,500 checklists were distributed. Of these, almost 90 per cent (11,794) were returned in time to be included in the analysis.

One important characteristic of the 1997 general elections was the high voter turnout. A total of 65.7 per cent of registered voters turned out to vote in the parliamentary elections, which represents a marked improvement on the 58.9 per cent turnout recorded in 1992. In terms of gender, 9 per cent of polling stations recorded a disproportionately high number of male voters, 49.8 per cent recorded mostly female voters, while 39.4 per cent had a roughly equal distribution of male and female voters. Regarding age, there appears to have been a good distribution of age groups. According to our observers, 36 per cent of all polling stations visited had a fair distribution of all age groups. However, 22 per cent of polling stations were mostly visited by youths (18-35 years), 36.7 per cent had a mostly middle-aged attendance (36-55 years), and 7 per cent had mostly older voters (56 years and above).

Kenyans' obvious enthusiasm for voting was marred, however, by widespread logistical and administrative problems, which not only caused disruptions and delays in the voting but also disrupted and delayed the vote counts in many polling stations. These problems raise serious questions about the credibility and integrity of the elections. For instance, a large number of polling stations (64 per cent) failed to open on time. Even when they did, voting was frequently delayed or disrupted by other problems such as lack of sufficient voting materials (48 per

cent of polling stations), absence of election officials (43.5 per cent), or absence of political party agents (5 per cent).

In many cases, polling stations were not able to open until late on polling day. In some cases, they failed to open at all on the first day. Long queues of hundreds of voters could be seen outside many polling stations. After voting was extended to December 30, this day was declared a public holiday, as December 29 had also been. However, according to observers, the logistical problems persisted to the second day. The delays were particularly acute in parts of Coast and Eastern provinces where heavy El Niño rains had caused serious flooding. Voting in some constituencies in these areas continued to a third day, with results only released as late as the sixth day. These problems confirmed earlier fears that the ECK was seriously deficient in planning and organisational capacity.

Amidst this confusion, the patience of voters was very encouraging. At many polling stations, they were forced to queue for many hours, but nevertheless demonstrated their commitment to electing their representatives in a peaceful manner. They also displayed determination, and despite moments of anxiety, tension, and frayed tempers, they mostly remained calm.

7.2 Provision of Election Materials and Facilities

The system of supply, distribution, and delivery of voting materials and facilities failed in almost 50 per cent of polling stations. More than 6,750 polling stations failed to begin operations at or near the stipulated time of 6.00 am on the first day of voting owing to the absence or late arrival of materials. In all, only about 48 per cent of polling stations received the required materials on time. The poor distribution of voting materials was further complicated by last-minute changes in the siting of some polling stations, with eight new venues being announced on the eve of polling. The most serious effect of the loss of control over distribution of materials was to prevent voters from fully exercising their franchise. For example, in a number of polling stations in Changamwe and Kitui South, voters were unable to vote in all three elections (presidential, parliamentary, and civic), as ballots for one or more levels were missing at various polling stations.

7.3 Voting Procedures at Polling Stations

In response to the dramatic increase in voters registered at some of the 13,500 stations, voter streams were introduced in order to process voters more quickly. Some polling stations had as many as 15 streams based on alphabetic arrangement

of voters. Each stream served as a full-fledged polling station with its own voters' register, voters' booth, and ballot boxes. In Nairobi, which had the largest number of streams, all the polling stations were streamed. The average number of streams per polling station was six, with Moi Avenue Primary School in Starehe constituency, Nairobi, leading the country with a total of 15 streams.

However, there were widespread inconsistencies in the application of the streaming system. For example, due to problems arising from late opening of polling stations, some large stations, especially those with many streams, could not open all their streams at the same time. At a number of polling stations, voters stood in long queues waiting for the opening of their streams while voting proceeded in other streams. Labour and Bidii Primary School polling stations in Makadara constituency, Nairobi, which had five and eight streams respectively, provided glaring examples of this problem.

The slow voting in many polling stations was also caused by the incompetence and sheer ineptitude of some presiding officers and their deputies. Though 95.5 per cent of them had been trained for the job, some demonstrated unfamiliarity with basic opening and sealing processes and wasted tremendous amounts of time on these procedures. For example, at Kianthumbi polling station in Central Imenti constituency, Meru, the presiding officer had to keep referring to the ECK manual for guidance.

At a number of polling stations, officers seemed to be unaware of the requirement to record the serial numbers and seal labels of all ballot boxes. In some cases, observers had to remind them of this requirement. A number of boxes could only be identified by handwritten markings made on ECK stickers or masking tape. This problem was widespread in many polling stations in Kajiado North. At Scheme Six polling station, for example, the failure to properly mark and seal the ballot boxes created such confusion and chaos that the presiding officer had to resign.

In some instances, presiding officers simply misled voters. At Kanunga polling station in Kiambu, for example, the presiding officer instructed voters in the queue to put a mark next to the *picture of the candidate* of their choice rather than the symbol of the political party. As a result, illiterate voters went in to vote expecting to see a photo of their candidate on the ballot paper. Enquiring about the validity of this procedure and correcting it led to further delays.

In virtually all polling stations (99.3 per cent), ballot boxes were placed in open and conspicuous positions as required. However, in some stations the voting rooms were too small. This slowed down not only the movement of voters from one

polling clerk to another but also the flow from polling clerk to voting booth to ballot box. In other polling stations, congestion was caused by failure to provide separate entry and exit doors for the voting booths.

The procedure of stamping the ballot papers and voter's card with the ECK stamp, dipping the voter's finger in indelible ink, and imprinting the identity card with the ECK seal took time but worked well in the great majority of cases (92 per cent). Only 8 per cent of polling officials used improper identification and voting procedures.

7.4 Irregularities and Malpractices

The administration of the 1997 general elections was weaker than any previous election including 1992. The elections were marred by a number of irregularities and malpractices.

There were cases of extraordinary mix-ups in the allocation of ballot papers. For example, 22,000 parliamentary ballot papers destined for Ntonyiri constituency in Nyambene District were dispatched to Kipkelion in Kericho District, a place that was not even scheduled to hold parliamentary elections, as the candidate there was unopposed. In Nairobi, ballot papers meant for Moi Primary School polling station in Starehe constituency were taken to Kasarani constituency. Five booklets of parliamentary ballot papers intended for Mathira constituency in Nyeri District and Mwala constituency in Machakos District were found at Passenga and Githunguri polling stations in Ol Kalou, Nyandarua. Other ballot papers meant for Karachuonyo in Rachuonyo District ended up in Imenti North in Meru District. This confusion meant that keeping a log of serial numbers was not of much use, as ballot papers borrowed from elsewhere had serial numbers that did not correspond to the new polling station to which they were taken. The ECK confirmed these administrative problems and revealed that up to 28 constituencies were affected. This represents 13 per cent of all constituencies.

There were also widespread reports of lack of ballot papers and misprinted ballot papers. For example, in Mwingi North in Kitui District many polling stations did not get enough ballot papers for the civic elections. Other areas affected with this problem included Rarieda and Mbita constituencies in Homa Bay District and Kaloleni constituency in Mombasa. Buni polling station in Kaloleni constituency received ballot papers which belonged to a different ward.

There were also reports of names of candidates missing from the ballot papers. At Nabuyole polling station in Webuye constituency, for example, a civic candidate's name was missing on the ballot paper. In Kinango constituency, the name of a Shirikisho Party candidate did not appear in the ballot paper in one polling station. Similar cases were widespread in Changamwe constituency in Mombasa.

Some polling stations sealed their ballot boxes on the first day of polling and refused to re-open them following the extension of voting. This happened in spite of voters turning up to vote. A good example of this problem was at Hospital Hill polling station in Westlands constituency, Nairobi.

At Kahara Shopping Centre in Kajiado North, there were only 100 presidential and parliamentary ballots. In Kandara constituency, one polling station received only 400 presidential ballot papers for over 3,000 registered voters. In Nguuku Primary School polling station in the same constituency, voters were permitted to improvise their own ballot papers for the civic elections by stamping normal ruled paper, writing the names of the candidates, and marking their choices. In Kinango Primary School polling station in Kinango constituency, cartons were used as ballot boxes when the official boxes were found to be defective. (They could not be opened so as to be officially sealed.)

Our poll watchers reported that the secrecy of the ballot was not consistently guaranteed. Though the great majority of polling stations (83.7 per cent) did a good job on this, about 16 per cent did not provide sufficient polling booths or adequate screens to protect the secrecy of the vote. These problems were most widespread in rural areas. In Mutithi Secondary School polling station in Mwea constituency, and in Nabutula and Bukiri polling stations in Funyula constituency, voters were forced to mark their ballots openly. This was in complete violation of the Electoral Code, yet the ECK officials did nothing about it.

There were reports of inaccuracies in the voters' register such as misspelling of voters' names or missing names. In other cases, the correct names appeared, but the voters did not have their national ID cards. Some presiding officers used their discretion to deal with such cases, but others denied people the right to vote. For example, we encountered a prospective voter at Limuru Town Primary School polling station in Limuru constituency who had been denied a chance to vote because he did not have a national ID card. However, his name was in the register, he had his voter's card, and he had also taken the precaution of carrying other documents that could be used to identify him, such as income tax returns. A number of reports of people being disenfranchised for lack of ID cards were also received from polling stations in Changamwe and Nyatike constituencies. Although

the law requires voters to identify themselves, it does not require any particular form of identification

In Nyamanga Polling Station in Nyatike constituency, a number of people were unable to vote because their names were not in the register. It was later discovered that the page where their names should have appeared was missing from the register. These and similar cases in other areas resulted in many people being disenfranchised through no fault of their own. Observers also reported cases where changes of electoral boundaries forced people to vote in polling stations where they could not make their desired choices. For example, while many voters at Kawelu Primary School in Mwingi South thought they belonged to Wingeni Location, they discovered that they had actually been placed in Mutyangome Location, a place where they could not vote for the civic candidate of their choice. Similar reports were received from Langata and Dagoretti constituencies in Nairobi.

Illiteracy also presented opportunities for irregularities. Though it is difficult to estimate the proportion of illiterate voters, problems to do with illiteracy were most widespread in rural constituencies in Kitui, Bungoma, Kajiado, Baringo, Bomet, Transmara, and Kisii Districts and throughout North Eastern Province. The ECK's electoral rules and procedures provide that illiterate voters are to be assisted by the presiding officer in the presence of party agents and observers. The presiding officer is required to ask the illiterate voter to state the candidate of his choice either by pronouncing the name of the party symbol or the name of the candidate. The presiding officer then assists the voter to mark the ballot paper correctly. This procedure amounts to public voting, which subverts the secrecy of the ballot. It needs to be revised for future elections. However, even this procedure was frequently ignored, and in many cases party agents were allowed to take control of the exercise and influence illiterate people's votes.

With regard to the monitoring process, there was significant improvement over 1992 in giving election observers access to polling stations. At almost 80 per cent of polling stations, no problems were reported. However, at 12.6 per cent of stations, observers were not only denied entry but were also subjected to harassment and intimidation by presiding officers, security personnel, or even party agents. For example, at Mugumoni polling station in Kipkelion constituency, no observers were allowed to witness the polling process. At Kahuho polling station in Ndaragua constituency, the presiding officer barred an observer from casting his vote, yet this is where the observer was entitled to vote. In parts of Meru, there were reports that poll watchers were not allowed to operate because their letters of accreditation were alleged to be wrongly addressed.

7.5 Performance of the ECK

The ECK conducted its affairs more openly during the preparatory stages of the 1997 elections than it did in 1992, as demonstrated in particular by the daily press briefings it gave. However, it performed very poorly during the actual polling days in terms of logistical and administrative planning and coordination. The logistical and administrative problems were so widespread that they elicited criticism across the political spectrum. KANU's presidential candidate, Daniel arap Moi, even alleged at one point that the ECK was conspiring to rig him out of office. Numerous opposition candidates claimed the ECK was doing just the opposite.

A number of incidents of alleged rigging were reported. For example, in Kajiado North the KANU candidate, George Saitoti, was blocked by supporters of his opponent as he allegedly tried to introduce an alien ballot box into the counting centre with the help of the electoral officials. In the ensuing melee, a number of ballot boxes and papers were torched. Police had to fire in the air to disperse the crowd and restore peace. In Kitui Central, the home constituency of SDP presidential candidate Charity Ngilu, a presiding officer was allegedly found with partially burnt voters' cards and blank ballot papers hidden under a chair in his office. Mwai Kibaki, the DP presidential candidate, alleged that the ECK conspired with Smith and Ouzmann, the British firm that printed the ballot papers, to print two sets of papers in order to facilitate massive rigging.

When voting was extended to a second day, the announcement by ECK Chairman Samuel Kivuitu was issued so late that voting in many places continued deep into the night amidst conflicting instructions for postponement in some areas. For example, many polling stations in Kaiti, Mwingi North, Mwingi South, Turkana, and Makueni — to name only a few — continued voting late into the night of the first day, some up to as late as 3.00 am. Many of these places had started voting late due to transportation or weather-related problems. Consequently, even with the one-day extension, polling was done very sluggishly in many constituencies, especially in remote areas of North Eastern, Eastern, and Coast provinces. In some places, the counts were not ready even by the sixth day. For example, results for Wajir West had not been submitted even one full week after the opening of the polls. In Kirinyaga District, civic elections had still not been held as late as January 13. Calls for Kivuitu's resignation were made from many quarters.

The severity of these problems prompted the IED/CJPC/NCKK monitoring group, in their preliminary report on the elections issued on December 31, to demand an independent inquiry into the massive logistical and administrative problems surrounding the poll. Two main categories of problems were identified for

investigation: the printing and packaging of ballot papers by Smith and Ouzmann on the one hand, and the distribution of the ballot papers and ballot boxes by the ECK on the other.

Despite the election's enormous logistical and administrative problems, the conduct of the ECK officials on the ground during the polling was reported to be satisfactory in the vast majority of areas (95.5 per cent). The IED/CJPC/NCKK observation teams reported good cooperation from most ECK officials and also found them to be generally vigilant, as well as helpful to elderly, handicapped, and illiterate voters. For example, in 94.6 per cent of cases, handicapped voters were offered appropriate assistance, usually by way of creating "fast tracks" or special queues. However, some election officials were less than helpful. In some polling stations, they were a real hindrance. There were reports of election officials barring observers and party agents from witnessing the polling process. Perhaps these officials were among the 4.5 per cent who were never trained for the job. Some examples include Mugumoni polling station in Kipkelion constituency and Kahuho polling station in Ndaragua constituency.

In one polling station in Eldoret North, a presiding officer appeared to assume that voters had to make all their choices from the same party, since he guided illiterate voters to do so. Other presiding officers are reported to have permitted "proxy" voting. This happened, for example, at Kabarnet Cereals polling station in Baringo Central, where a woman was allowed to vote on behalf of her daughter and her son as well as herself. A similar case was reported at a polling station in Kapenguria, where a man was allowed to vote on behalf of his wife.

In other areas, polling clerks failed to provide proper direction on polling procedures. As a result, ballot papers were put in the wrong ballot boxes. At Mikindani Primary School polling station in Changamwe constituency, our observers reported this problem as being severe. The problem was also common in rural constituencies with large numbers of illiterate voters such as Kitutu Masaba, Mwingi North, Funyula, Amagoro, and Butere. The results for parliamentary elections in Butere, for example, indicate that six per cent of ballots were spoiled. This was more than the difference between the two leading candidates.

7.6 Performance of Party Agents

The election rules allow only two agents per political party in any polling station. However, the division of polling stations into streams introduced a complication. The question was whether every stream should have separate agents, as it technically represented a full-fledged polling station. Many parties were of the view that they

should be represented in the streams as well, and in many polling stations we noticed that some political parties had mobilised extra agents. At Bidii Primary School polling station in Makadara constituency, for example, KANU and DP wanted to station agents in all the eight streams. The other parties, however, had only one or two agents available for the whole polling station. In most constituencies in Baringo North and Baringo Central, KANU reportedly stationed more than four agents in many polling stations. Different presiding officers interpreted the rule differently, with some allowing as many agents as there were streams, while others stuck to the two-agents-per-party rule for the whole polling station regardless of the number of streams.

The presence of party agents in polling stations added significantly to voters' confidence that the process was being conducted openly. The commitment, vigilance, and enthusiasm of party agents at polling stations kept presiding officers and their deputies busy attending to the grievances and other concerns the party agents raised. On the other hand, arguments and contests provoked by party agents caused delays in the voting process in many places. Party agents do not necessarily undergo any training in electoral laws and procedures. Many agents did not even have the voters' register to help them determine the validity and number of voters in polling stations. They appeared interested more in voting procedures than anything else.

Many incidents of bribery, intimidation, violence, and vote buying were attributed to party agents. For instance, in a number of polling stations in Tinderet, Kwanza, Kajiado North, and Turkana Central, to name only a few, party agents, many of them from KANU, openly dished out cash to voters at polling stations. It was also reported that DP agents shouted party slogans and sang praises for their party leader in many polling stations in Mvita, Changamwe, Dagoretti, Juja, and Nyatike constituencies. Many other agents openly campaigned for their parties within the precincts of polling stations.

Party agents interfered with the voting process most clearly in cases of illiterate voters. In many areas with a high turnout of illiterate voters, party agents are reported to have misled or intimidated voters into voting in particular ways. In Kyamuoso polling station in Kaiti constituency, for example, agents campaigned openly and mainly targeted illiterate voters. At a polling station in Eldoret South, KANU agents were reported to have accompanied illiterate voters into voting booths. A similar case was reported at Sango polling station in Kwanza constituency. Here, party agents were seen barring the presiding officer from assisting illiterate voters and doing so themselves.

There were also reports (5.2 per cent of constituencies) of literate voters being advised to feign illiteracy in order to be “assisted” by party agents. Such cases were reported in a number of polling stations in Gachoka, Naivasha, Kipkelion, Baringo Central, and Emuhaya constituencies. In Baringo Central, the majority of voters were treated as illiterate and were openly assisted, mainly by party agents, thereby interfering with the secrecy of the ballot. It was not clear why presiding officers could not cross-check from these voters’ identity cards (which would be signed if the person were literate) to ensure that claims of illiteracy were genuine.

7.7 Role of the Provincial Administration

One of the outcomes of the IPPG talks was a proposal to de-link the provincial administration from the ruling party and prevent it from playing any role in elections. This proposal was subsequently enacted into law under the Statute Law (Repeals and Miscellaneous Amendments) Act, 1997. However, even though the role of the provincial administration was reduced tremendously in the 1997 elections compared to 1992, there were instances where it was “business as usual.”

For example, there were a number of cases of chiefs, DOs, and DCs being present in polling stations and interfering in the polling and vote counting processes. In a polling station in Kandara, the area DO was reported to have engaged in “educating” voters on how to mark their ballot papers. In a polling station in Turkana North, a DO was reported to have dished out cash to voters on polling day. In Baringo Central, it was reported that a local DC was present in the counting centre throughout the counting process. There were also a number of cases of chiefs openly trying to influence voters. At a higher level, the independence of the ECK was arguably compromised by making use of vehicles belonging to the provincial administration. The ECK could easily have hired vehicles from a private firm.

7.8 Security

The quality of security at polling stations was generally described as good (92.9 per cent of reports) compared to 1992, when numerous incidents of insecurity marred the process. Nevertheless, there were some very serious incidents of violence, including six cases of police shootings in Nakuru and Siaya districts on the first day of polling. Outside the Homa Bay counting centre, police reportedly

shot two people, one of whom died on the spot. At a polling station in Kinangop constituency, sudden gunshots sent voters scampering for safety. These voters were unwilling to take part in the voting afterwards.

There were also some cases of harassment and intimidation of political party agents, observers, and voters by members of the security forces. In an incident in Kipkelion, observers and party agents were chased from a polling station by security officers. There were also reports of some unidentified security personnel interfering with the voting process in Kelelwet polling station in Nakuru Town constituency. In Tigania East constituency, the distribution of ballot papers and boxes was delayed because there were not enough security officers to escort them to polling stations.

There were also cases of violence involving political parties that raised questions about the adequacy of security. In Mathioya constituency, for example, vehicles belonging to a Ford-People candidate were burnt, allegedly by KANU supporters. Other incidents of violence and intimidation were reported in Mukurweini and Kisumu.

Cases of unauthorised persons or unusually large numbers of security personnel in polling stations during polling and vote counting also raised serious questions. A good example was Westlands constituency, particularly during the counting of votes at Railways Hall. These were clear breaches of the electoral law, which stipulates that only members of the ECK, candidates or their agents, members of the press, and officially accredited observers may attend voting and counting.

Some areas in Rift Valley and Nyanza Provinces had been designated “security zones” during the campaigns owing to ethnic clashes. During the polling days, there were no reports of further violence, which indicates that the security arrangements that had been taken were adequate. It was therefore possible for the residents of these areas, some of whom had been hostile towards each other, to participate peacefully in the elections.

7.9 Transportation, Storage, and Audit of Ballot Boxes

Transportation of ballot boxes has always been a delicate issue in Kenya. In 1997, the exercise was once again a cause for concern. The postponement of polling to a second day created a significant problem with regard to ballot boxes after the first polling day. Many areas that did not conclude voting on the first day kept their ballot boxes in the polling stations overnight. In such cases, security personnel,

party agents, and some observers either stayed in the polling stations throughout the night or ensured that the stations were securely locked.

In a number of areas, the transportation and storage of ballot boxes at the conclusion of polling was a problem. In Eastern, North Eastern, and Coast provinces, heavy rains completely disrupted transportation. Although the ECK put helicopters into service in these areas, in many constituencies in Tana River District, Wajir, Malindi, and Kilifi, to name only a few, ballot boxes were not able to reach counting centres promptly. In one case, election officials transporting ballot boxes to the counting centre were drowned and the ballot boxes lost as the officials tried to cross the swollen Tana River. In other areas, poor planning and poor coordination among presiding officers, security personnel, and party agents caused the delays.

Many presiding officers relied on provincial administration vehicles for transporting ballot boxes. In almost all cases (99.8 per cent), ballot boxes were transported under police escort. Others who accompanied them included party agents in 99 per cent of cases, observers in 92 per cent of cases, and candidates in 67.8 per cent of cases.

All in all, there were relatively few allegations of ballot boxes being tampered with, new ballot boxes being introduced, or other forms of mishandling during transportation, as was often alleged to have happened in previous elections. In addition, there were not many complaints of problems such as breaking of seals or removal of ballot box identification documents. A high percentage of boxes (97.6 per cent) arrived at counting centres with their seals and serial numbers intact. Only 2.8 per cent had their seals or serial numbers tampered with.

7.10 Evaluating the Polling Exercise

There were some claims from candidates, particularly those who appeared to be losing, of systematic rigging such as the use of two sets of ballot boxes and even the age-old practice of box-stuffing. However, no evidence of such practices was found by our network of election observers countrywide. Such evidence should be easily available from the ECK, which ought to have a movement schedule of all the election materials — ballot boxes, ballot papers, indelible ink, seals, and stamps — showing the name of the manufacturer, the date of manufacture, the quantities involved, and the totals of the items dispatched to the field.

There were also incidents, some clearly documented by our observers and even published in the media, of stray ballot boxes and ballot papers. One wishes to believe that misrouting of materials was not part of a deliberate scheme to rig the electoral process but only a manifestation of administrative and managerial incapacity. There were various other anomalies such as the use of makeshift ballots, photostat copies of ballots, and cartons as ballot boxes. In some cases, results were announced even though the official certificates and score sheets had been lost.

CHAPTER 8

COUNTING OF VOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENT OF RESULTS

Our analysis of the counting process is based on reports received from 206 out of the 210 counting centres throughout the country (98 percent). Observers at four centres in remote areas were unable to submit reports in time to be included in the analysis.

8.1 Delays in Counting

The counting of votes has always been a highly charged affair in every election in this country. However, the 1997 count was especially problematic due to a botched attempt by the ECK to compensate for the logistical problems experienced during the polling. The problem began with the ECK's announcement on the evening of December 29 that counting should commence only on the following morning. This applied to all counting centres in the country, including those in constituencies where all the polling stations had completed the voting exercise.

The ECK announcement created widespread suspicion of a plan to rig the results. It was difficult for many people to believe that ballot boxes filled with votes could remain unopened overnight. Moreover, the ECK appeared unwilling to explain the reasons for the change of plan in a clear and cogent manner. To add to the confusion, in more than 50 per cent of counting centres counting proceeded on the same night regardless of the ECK's instructions. An amendment to the instructions was made later — reversing the previous postponement of counting — but by then the harm had already been done, and there were frayed tempers, suspicion, and dismay all round.

In those places where the returning officers postponed the count, members of the electorate, mainly youths, kept a tenacious vigil through the night, guarding the ballot boxes against would-be riggers. Our count certifier in the Wanguru County Hall polling station of Mwea constituency, Kirinyaga District, reported that “there were more than 1,000 people who spent the night in the hall guarding the ballot boxes. The whole night was peaceful.” These voter vigils were the result of two

main factors: first, the voters' firm belief in the power of the ballot and, second, their doubts about the dependability of the country's security forces. In the end, however, there were relatively few allegations of ballot box tampering. Only 4 per cent of our count certifiers reported allegations of ballot boxes being stuffed, while 8.2 per cent reported allegations of alien ballot boxes being introduced.

The counting was very slow. In 48.4 per cent of counting centres, the process was repeatedly interrupted. In 19 per cent of these cases, the interruptions were due to lighting problems as a result of power failures. In some centres, counting had to be restarted when those in charge lost track of the count, and in other centres arguments about the validity of some ballot boxes delayed the process. The count was so dilatory that the first election results were not broadcast for more than 20 hours after counting had started. The first results came from Kangema constituency in Central Province. Further results were announced anywhere from ten hours to five days after this. Admittedly, there were considerably more candidates in 1997 than in 1992. However, this cannot justify the inordinate delays.

The level of training of some returning officers was very doubtful. Westlands, a high-profile urban constituency in Nairobi, provides the most agonising example. Not only did the returning officer refuse to allow a recount in a close and hotly contested result, but she even went into hiding before hurriedly announcing the result in the presence of heavy security. One particularly disturbing trend was the disappearance of some returning officers from the counting halls for long periods of time, ostensibly to "verify" the figures collected during the counting exercise. This happened, for example, in Westlands and Kajiado North constituencies. Such actions do little to promote transparency or inspire confidence.

Another practice which aroused suspicion was the ordering of party agents (and sometimes election observers) out of the counting halls. The presence of members of the Provincial Administration and the Special Branch was also observed in some counting centres, such as Westlands and Kajiado North.

At the counting centres, counting was done polling station by polling station. As the count for each polling station was completed, the figures were noted down by the election officials, the candidates, their agents, and the election observers. However, there were a number of cases, the most notorious being Westlands, where these figures were substituted with other figures which were never explained.

Clearly, it is vital to have a speedy counting exercise, with results verified by all parties and announced immediately after the count is completed. This is the only way public confidence in the result can be ensured. Unfortunately, this was not

the case in 1997, especially in constituencies as critical as Westlands and Kajiado North.

On the other hand, delays in announcing results are justified if the cause is a recount. For the sake of transparency and public confidence, returning officers should normally grant requests for recounts in order to remove any doubts about the accuracy of the final results. In the great majority of cases in the 1997 elections (90.6 per cent), recounts were granted when requested.

There has, of course, to be a limit to incessant demands for recounts, especially when these are frivolous and vexatious. Though a returning officer should try to accede to legitimate requests for recounts, he or she has the power to close the counting process when further requests for recounts are clearly unnecessary. However, it is contrary to basic notions of justice to refuse a recount when the results of the first count are close, as occurred in Westlands.

This incident again raises questions about the quality of training given to election officials by the ECK. The law on recounts is very clear. Regulation No. 37 of the Presidential and Parliamentary Elections Regulations (under the National Assembly and Presidential Elections Act) states:

(1) A candidate or counting agent, if lawfully present when the counting or any recount of votes is completed, may require the returning officer to have the votes rechecked and recounted or again recounted, or the returning officer may, on his own initiative, have the votes recounted or again recounted.

(2) No steps shall be taken on the completion of a count or recount of votes until the candidates and counting agents present at the completion have been given a reasonable opportunity to exercise the right given by this regulation.

8.2 Aggregation of the Votes

The counting of votes continued into the first week of January 1998 in more than 50 per cent of constituencies. It was not until January 6 that all the results for parliamentary and civic elections were finally announced. The presidential results were announced before the presidential vote from all constituencies had been announced. This deviated from past practice, but the ECK argued that the results up to that point clearly indicated victory for the leading candidate and that the remaining results would not alter this.

The law on the matter is that presidential results should only be released after the results from every constituency have been received. However, a lawyer with the pro-establishment Movement for Dialogue and Non-Violence (MODAN) offered a justification of the legal anomaly by quoting Section 28 of the National Assembly and Presidential Elections Act, which states:

No election shall be declared to be void by reason of a non-compliance with any written law relating to that election if it appears that the election was conducted in accordance with the principles laid down in that written law, or that the non-compliance did not affect the result of the election.

CHAPTER 9

ANALYSIS OF THE RESULTS

A record fifteen candidates vied for the presidency, but only five — Daniel arap Moi (KANU), Mwai Kibaki (DP), Raila Odinga (NDP), Michael Wamalwa (FORD-K), and Charity Ngilu (SDP) — were serious contenders. The incumbent, Daniel arap Moi, won the presidential elections with slightly over 40 per cent of the vote. Mwai Kibaki came second with just over 30 per cent, Raila Odinga placed third with 10.82 per cent, and Michael Wamalwa came fourth with 8.19 per cent. Charity Ngilu trailed among the serious contenders with 7.91 per cent. None of the remaining candidates managed even one per cent. Indeed, together they received only 1.73 per cent.

Table 5: Presidential votes

Rank	Candidate	Votes	Per cent
1	Daniel arap Moi (KANU)	2,500,856	40.51
2	Mwai Kibaki (DP)	1,911,472	30.97
3	Raila Odinga (NDP)	667,886	10.82
4	Michael Wamalwa (FORD-K)	505,704	8.19
5	Charity Ngilu (SDP)	488,600	7.91
6	Martin Shikuku (FORD-A)	36,512	0.59
7	Katama Mkangi (KNC)	23,554	0.38
8	George Anyona (KSC)	16,428	0.27
9	Kimani Wanyoike (FORD-P)	8,306	0.13
10	Koigi wa Wamwere (KENDA)	7,745	0.13
11	Munyua Waiyaki (UPPK)	6,194	0.10
12	Godfrey Mwereria (GAP)	4,627	0.07
13	Wangari Maathai (LPK)	4,196	0.07
14	Stephen Oludhe (EIC)	3,691	0.06
15	Joseph Ng'ethe (UPPK)	3,584	0.06

Total votes cast: 6,173,171

All five serious presidential contenders won their parliamentary seats. Both President Moi and Mwai Kibaki won their seats with overwhelming majorities. Moi won his Baringo Central constituency with 99.45 per cent (38,015 votes), and Kibaki won his Othaya constituency with 97.78 per cent (31,637 votes).

Charity Ngilu won her Kitui Central constituency with a strong majority of 72.61 per cent (28,172 votes). The other two serious contenders won their parliamentary seats with relatively slim majorities. Kijana Wamalwa won his Saboti seat with 58.8 per cent (37,944 votes), while Raila Odinga, the only presidential candidate based in an urban constituency, captured the Langata seat in Nairobi with a majority of only 52.11 per cent (22,339 votes). Among the fringe candidates, only George Anyona made it to Parliament. He obtained 48.69 per cent (14,653) of the votes cast in his Kitutu Masaba constituency.

Only President Moi obtained the required 25 per cent of the vote in at least five provinces which is needed, along with a plurality of all votes cast, to be elected president. He satisfied the 25 per cent rule in North Eastern Province (72.89 per cent), Rift Valley Province (69.37 per cent), Coast Province (63.09 per cent), Western Province (45.95 per cent), and Eastern Province (35.30 per cent). Nevertheless, the combined opposition candidates took 59.49 per cent of the votes nationwide against Moi's 40.51 per cent. This demonstrates the inherent injustice of the first-past-the-post system in which a candidate with a plurality of the votes (as opposed to a majority) can be declared president.

Of the other serious contenders, Mwai Kibaki was able to satisfy the 25 per cent requirement in Central Province (88.64 per cent), Nairobi Province (43.74 per cent), and Eastern Province (28.20 per cent). The other three serious candidates only managed 25 per cent in their home provinces. Raila Odinga obtained 56.56 per cent of the votes in Nyanza Province, Wamalwa got 49.37 per cent in Western Province, and Ngilu got 33.28 per cent of the votes in Eastern Province.

In the parliamentary elections, KANU won 107 seats, securing a slim parliamentary majority of two. Of the KANU victors, 11 were elected unopposed. DP took 39 seats, NDP 21 seats, FORD-Kenya 17 seats, and SDP 15 seats. Among the smaller parties, SAFINA — despite its late registration — managed five seats, while FORD People took three. KSC, SPK, and FORD-Asili managed only one seat each. It should be noted that KANU, despite winning 50.9 per cent of the parliamentary seats, received only 38.43 per cent of the vote (2,243,463 votes) against the opposition's 61.57 per cent (3,594,145 votes).

There were two women candidates among the 15 presidential contenders. One of them, Charity Kaluki Ngilu, was considered a strong contender. In the end, a very low percentage of the total votes went to the two women candidates. Between them, they only obtained 7.98 per cent (492,796 votes). This consisted of Wangari Maathai's 4,196 and Ngilu's 488,600. The male candidates together captured 92.02 per cent.

In the parliamentary elections, there were 47 women candidates against 833 men. Only four women candidates won seats. SDP had two successful women contestants, while KANU and DP had one each. The number of votes obtained by women in the parliamentary elections was 220,756 (3.78 per cent). This contrasts sharply with the 5,616,600 (96.22 per cent) for the male candidates, an even higher percentage than in the presidential election.

There were interesting differences between the total valid votes cast in the presidential election and those in the parliamentary election. The biggest difference in favour of the presidential election was in Rift Valley Province (361,649). Most of this difference can be attributed to the 10 constituencies there in which MPs were elected unopposed and there was therefore no parliamentary vote. These constituencies account for 356,037 votes. The same cannot be said of Nyanza, however, which registered a difference of 17,168 in favour of presidential votes. Curiously, Western Province had 28,151 more parliamentary than presidential votes. Of all the constituencies, only Bondo in Nyanza and Mvita in Coast Province registered no difference in votes between the presidential and parliamentary elections.

Table 6: Party representation in parliament

Party	Elected	Nominated	Total Seats
Kenya African National Union	107	6	113
Democratic Party of Kenya	39	2	41
National Development Party	21	1	22
FORD-Kenya	17	1	18
Social Democratic Party	15	1	16
Safina	5	1	6
FORD People	3	0	3
Shirikisho Party of Kenya	1	0	1
Kenya Social Congress	1	0	1
FORD-Asili	1	0	1

The relative strengths of the different parties in different provinces are also interesting. KANU's main strength is in Rift Valley Province, where it elected 39 MPs (36.5 per cent of its total elected seats). However, KANU also won the majority of seats in Coast, Western, Eastern, and North Eastern provinces. Compared to the 1992 parliamentary elections, when KANU won 53.2 per cent of the elected seats, this time round it won only about 51 per cent. DP's stronghold is Central Province, where the party has 17 MPs (43.5 per cent of its elected seats). The SDP stronghold of Eastern Province yielded 9 of its 15 MPs (60 per cent), while FORD-Kenya got 9 of its 17 MPs (52.9 per cent) in Western Province. NDP support is the most highly concentrated in terms of region, with 19 of its 21 elected MPs (90.4 per cent) coming from Nyanza Province.

Table 7: Parties' parliamentary strength (elected MPs only)

Province	KANU	DP	NDP	FORD-K	SDP	SAFINA	FORD-P	Others
Nairobi	1	5	1		1			
Coast	18	2						1 (SPK)
North Eastern	9					2		
Eastern	16	8		1	9			1 (FORD-A)
Central		17	1		5	3	3	
Rift Valley	39	7		3				
Western	15			9				
Nyanza	8		19	4				1 (KSC)
Party Totals	107	39	21	17	15	5	3	3

The percentage of rejected ballots compared to the votes cast was six times higher in 1997 (1.62 per cent) than in 1992 (0.27 per cent). The highest percentages of rejected ballots were in Gem Constituency in Nyanza Province (15.82 per cent) and Butere Constituency in Western Province (6.97 per cent). The higher percentage of rejected ballots in 1997 compared to 1992 demonstrates the need for more voter education efforts on this seemingly simple procedure.

In the civic elections, KANU won the highest number of seats. Out of the 2,919 wards in which elections were held, KANU won 1,754 (60 per cent). The closest contender, DP, took only 427 seats (14.6 per cent). When the number of seats in the civic elections is compared to the number of seats in the parliamentary elections,

there is a marked difference in distribution by party. KANU has 51 per cent of the elective parliamentary seats, but 60 per cent of the civic seats. Put differently, for every one seat that DP has in parliament, KANU has 2.7, while for every one seat that DP has in a local authority, KANU has 4.1.

This disparity is large, especially considering that the number of nominated councillors is equal to one-third of the number of wards in every local authority. This means that the issue of gerrymandering at the civic level needs greater and more serious treatment than it has been given in the past. After all, it is the leaders at the local authority level who are closest to the people and in a position to have the greatest impact on people's lives. The ECK did not conduct civic elections in a total of 36 wards. The reasons for this were mainly logistical. They included inaccessibility and candidates' names missing from ballot papers. In areas where candidates tied, the ECK will hold repeat elections.

Table 8: Distribution of civic seats (as of Feb 16, 1998)

Party	Elected Councillors
Kenya African National Union	1,754
Democratic Party of Kenya	427
National Development Party of Kenya	296
FORD-Kenya	187
Social Democratic Party	139
Safina	38
FORD-People	33
FORD-Asili	19
Kenya Social Congress	7
Liberal Party of Kenya	6
Labour Party Democracy	4
Federal Party of Kenya	4
United Patriotic Party of Kenya	2
Kenya National Democratic Alliance	1
Kenya National Congress	1
Party of Independent Candidates of Kenya	1

Total wards: 2,919; wards in which elections have not been held: 36

3

SPECIAL ISSUES

CHAPTER 10

ROLE OF THE MEDIA

10.1 Significance of Fair Coverage

Free and fair elections depend to a significant degree on the ability of the media to function in an impartial, independent, and professional manner. The electorate must have the opportunity to make informed choices, and political parties and candidates must enjoy proper and equal access to the electronic and print media. All essential information must be communicated effectively and on time.

Adherence to the standards of accuracy, objectivity, and balance in news and other information is also essential. Balanced coverage does not require that precisely equal time be given to each of the contending parties and candidates, but it does preclude giving unnecessary and disproportionate coverage to one or more parties, or giving one or more parties or candidates positive or negative coverage in order to favour certain contenders. Departure from these standards deprives the public of a balanced view of the contending parties and the important issues raised in their campaigns. However, upholding these standards during an election period is more difficult than at other times, as objectivity may require reporting facts that are detrimental to one contender or another. Accuracy may demand reporting a story differently from the political contestant's perception of it. But balance must still be the goal.

Following the review and repeal of laws restricting the freedom of the media prior to the elections, there was an upsurge in the number of newspapers and magazines, especially as elections drew near. The new entrants were mostly weeklies, including *Dunia*, *The Star*, the *Rift Valley Times*, *Dispatch* and *Kenya Confidential*, all in English. Though intended for a national audience, technical and distribution problems prevented circulation of these newspapers to a large part of the population. There were also a number of new entrants in the vernacular market, but they were restricted to their local regions or to readers of the respective languages living in the cities.

As part of the pre-election IPPG reform deal, it was agreed that KBC would provide equitable access to all political parties. The ECK was given the responsibility for monitoring this, but it did not take this responsibility seriously. In the end, the goal of free and fair coverage on the national television network was not achieved. The extent of the bias in KBC election coverage in favour of KANU was revealed in detail by media monitoring undertaken by the Media Institute and by the Kenya Human Rights Commission (KHRC) through a project named Elections 97 Media Watch.

10.2 Media Monitoring

In the run-up to the elections, KHRC's Elections 97 Media Watch monitored the fairness of media coverage and tried to ensure that a policy of fair, balanced coverage was implemented. Throughout the campaign, Elections 97 Media Watch provided regular, systematic reports that provided an objective basis from which KHRC lobbied for equal and fair coverage. Six weeks before polling day, a weekly summary report, the *Weekly Flash*, was also launched to intensify the campaign for fair and impartial coverage by the print media. The Media Institute also conducted a survey and produced a report which analysed coverage by the print media

The media that were reviewed included the print media (daily newspapers, weeklies, and monthly magazines which are published regularly and have a reasonable circulation) and KBC television and radio. However, the main focus was on the electronic media because of their much greater reach and potential impact.

10.2.1 The Print Media

The Media Institute's survey covered the four-week period from December 4, 1997 to the end of the first week of January, 1998. It analysed coverage by the three major daily newspapers, *The Daily Nation*, *The East African Standard*, *The Kenya Times*, and the major weekly newspaper, *The People*. The survey revealed that President Moi got almost twice as much coverage as his four major opponents. Moreover, his coverage increased compared to the others as the campaign wore on. Compared to the first week, Moi had gained 24 per cent more coverage by the end of the survey period, while Kibaki gained by 8 per cent, and Raila and Ngilu by 5 per cent each. The only candidate whose coverage declined during the period of the survey was Michael Wamalwa. Coverage of Wamalwa declined by 18 per cent.

Regarding coverage of the political parties, KANU's proportion during the four-week period dropped by 19 per cent from the first week. DP gained by 2.8 per cent, SDP by 3.2 per cent, and NDP-K by 3.1 per cent, while FORD-Kenya lost 3.5 per cent of coverage compared to week one. Thus, the loss of 19 per cent by KANU did not all go to the opposition, who only gained by a combined total of 9.1 per cent.

In week four, reports indicated that the *Kenya Times* had a total of 175 news items on elections, followed by the *Nation* at 113, and the *East African Standard* at 98. These translate into 44 per cent, 28 per cent, and 25 per cent of their total news coverage respectively.

10.2.2 The Broadcast Media

The KBC, in line with the the IPPG agreement on equitable access, produced a timetable allocating television and radio airtime to all registered political parties. However, the ways in which coverage was given continued to reflect an obvious bias towards the ruling party and its candidates. According to observations made during the media monitoring exercise, KANU received considerably more coverage than the opposition in terms of both the allocated time and general news coverage, and it was presented in a consistently more favourable light.

The reports indicate that:

- 99 per cent of KANU's activities were covered positively and only 1 per cent negatively by KBC radio and TV news
- only 4 per cent of opposition activities were covered positively, while 96 per cent were covered negatively
- defections from KANU went unreported or were only mentioned in passing, while defections from the opposition got extensive coverage. For example, the defection of Kuria Kanyingi from KANU was not covered at all, even though Kanyingi's KANU activities had formerly received a lot of coverage, while the defection to KANU of former FORD-Asili MP Mary Wanjiru received wide coverage.

While the negative coverage of the opposition did not always mean that KBC was telling untruths, KBC's selection of what opposition matters to highlight indicated clear bias towards the negative. It also proved unable to distinguish between the activities of government officials and party campaigning. KBC gave coverage to government officials, particularly the President and cabinet ministers, without

regard to the fact that in an election period this coverage would benefit their campaigns. Politicians without government portfolios, particularly those in the opposition, were placed at a considerable disadvantage by this practice.

In some instances, the imbalance in KBC coverage indicated a conscious attempt to influence potential voters. For example, on December 28 presidential hopeful Mwai Kibaki held a mammoth rally at Uhuru Park but was given less than ten seconds on KBC television. Moreover, the portion of the rally that KBC covered was of little political significance. For her part, Presidential hopeful Charity Ngilu suffered an almost complete blackout on KBC. In contrast, there was extensive coverage of KANU rallies, complete with generous segments of speeches. When opposition rallies were reported, newscasters only gave summaries of the speeches rather than broadcasting from the speeches themselves.

10.3 Special Election Programmes

In this election, the opportunity to appear on television was extended to the opposition parties through a system of 25-minute party broadcasts on KBC agreed by the IPPG. These broadcasts enabled opposition parties not only to promote their policies and programmes but also to present their presidential candidates. The programmes took the form of interviews, commentaries, and documentaries. Panel discussions were also conducted, in which several candidates or representatives from different parties held joint discussions.

One KBC TV programme, the weekly *Yaliyotokea*, had to be suspended due to pressure from opposition parties and the general public, as it was in essence a survey of the President's political activities during the week. However, the Presidential Press Unit (PPU) continued to flood the KBC airwaves with the President's campaign speeches.

The other television network, KTN, which only reaches Nairobi and Mombasa, held debates on its regular programme *The Summit*, but the only episode that went on the air was an interview with President Moi. New programmes, *Forum* and *Heart of the Matter*, were also introduced by KBC. *Heart of the Matter*, which was presented in both Kiswahili and English and aired immediately before the main evening news programme at 7 pm, was heavily pro-establishment. It continues to be aired up to now.

There are two important requirements for fair allocation of time for direct-access programming:

- clear and impartial criteria for parties to qualify for airtime
- fair and impartial methods of allocating airtime among the qualified parties.

The main challenge is to give access to all genuine political contenders while recognising that dividing limited time between too many contenders may adversely affect the electorate's ability to make informed choices. By attempting to give equal access to all registered political parties, KBC flooded the air waves with messages from presidential contenders who had little or no chance even of winning their own seats and from parties with little or no chance of playing a role in forming a government. This diluted the messages from the main contenders and confused voters more than it assisted them. The practice also resulted in time-slots that were not adequate for any candidate or party to present their messages properly. This problem put the opposition at a particular disadvantage, since the ruling party has been able to use the media to promote its policies for a long time.

10.3.1 An Analysis of Media Coverage During the Elections

KBC continued to give very limited and mainly negative coverage to opposition candidates and parties. Though the time allocated to coverage of the opposition increased dramatically, rising from 10 per cent in the first week of November to 32 per cent by the last week of November, as soon as the official campaign started on December 10, opposition coverage fell, and KBC reverted to giving a disproportionate amount of time to President Moi and KANU. As well, KANU items usually received better coverage in terms of both the length and depth of news items. Moreover, despite the increase in opposition airtime during November, this airtime increasingly portrayed the opposition negatively.

Another important point about KBC coverage is that it was clearly against the spirit of the IPPG deal, and plainly illegal, for civil servants to campaign for any party. Although KBC employees may argue that they are not civil servants strictly speaking, they are nevertheless public officials in an institution sustained by public funds. Accordingly, those KBC employees who in effect campaigned for KANU by participating in KBC's biased coverage should be held to account for this.

The general observations made by the KHRC Media Watch monitoring report can be summarised as follows:

- President Moi came first on most news items, regardless of whether he was carrying out executive functions or doing the rounds in his capacity as KANU chairman. He received 46 per cent of total airtime.
- In spite of the increase in coverage of the opposition during November, most of the airtime given to opposition candidates and parties portrayed them negatively. Moreover, this negativity increased steadily during the campaign period, rising from 86 per cent negative coverage in week one to 96 per cent by week four.
- Three opposition presidential candidates — Michael Wamalwa of FORD-Kenya, Mwai Kibaki of DP, and Raila Odinga of NDP — received a disproportionate amount of air time compared to Charity Ngilu of SDP and other presidential candidates.

A new talk show, *Forum*, featuring discussions with political leaders, was introduced on KBC, and, although it did not outrightly support KANU, it was nevertheless slanted towards KANU. This programme was sponsored by a media group owned by a State House employee.

The following graphs summarise news coverage on radio and television during November 1997.

Figure 1: Radio coverage

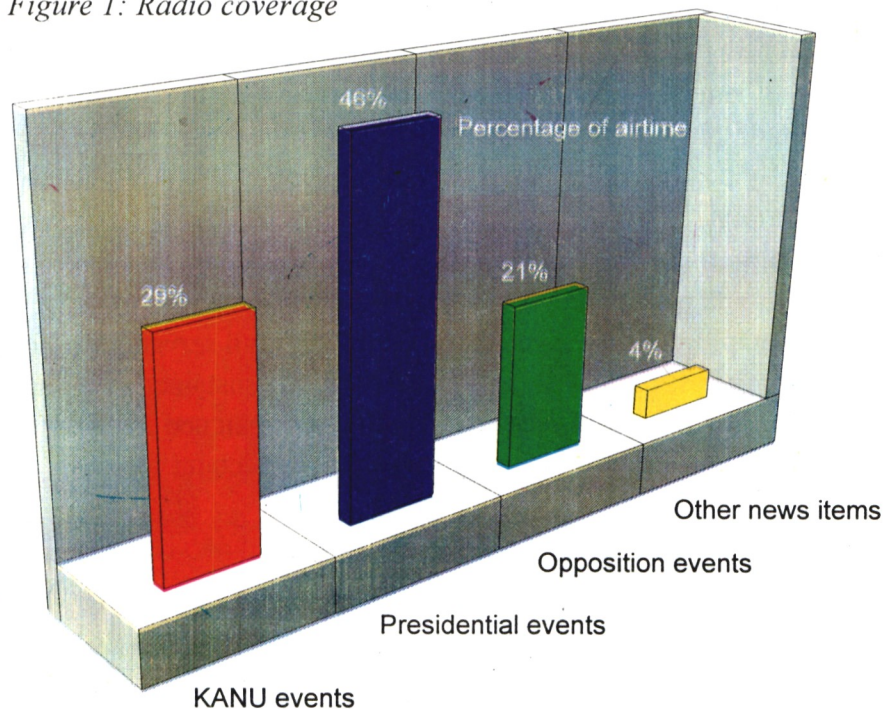
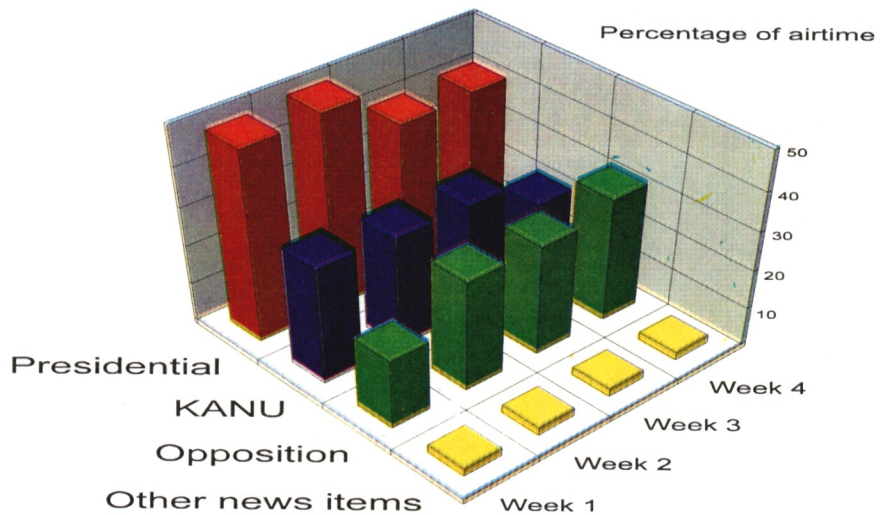


Figure 2: Television coverage



Source: Elections 97 Media Watch Media Monitoring Report. KHRC, November 1997.

CHAPTER 11

GENDER ISSUES IN THE 1997 ELECTIONS

11.1 Nominations

In the 1992 elections, 19 women were nominated by various parties to contest parliamentary seats. Six women MPs were elected, and one more was later nominated. Women's numerical inferiority in the 7th parliament ensured that the motions they attempted to put through parliament addressing gender issues, such as the motion for affirmative action in favour of women, received scant support and were unsuccessful. Before the 1997 elections, a total of 150 women declared their interest in contesting parliamentary seats. Women hoped that this time round they would achieve sufficient representation in parliament to have some legislative impact and be able to push through motions addressing the problems of women.

In the end, the political parties nominated only 47 women parliamentary aspirants. This represented only slightly more than 5 per cent of the 880 candidates who were nominated. Two women MPs in the previous parliament, Nyiva Mwendwa and Agnes Ndeti, were ousted at the nomination stage. Their early exit did not augur well for the performance of women during the actual elections. Both women came from Ukambani, and with their exit the region lost two political giants. Mwendwa was Minister for Culture and Social Services at the time, while Ndeti, after defecting from DP in 1996, had been rewarded with the post of Assistant Minister of Education. The departure of Mwendwa and Ndeti left SDP leader and presidential hopeful Charity Ngilu as the only major female politician in Ukambani.

Of the six women legislators in the seventh parliament, only two, Gichugu's Martha Karua and Kitui Central's Charity Ngilu, made it back to the new parliament. Karachuonyo's Phoebe Asiyo retired, while Kinangop's Mary Wanjiru defected to KANU and then re-defected to FORD-Kenya when she lost in the KANU nominations. She succeeded in winning the FORD-Kenya nomination but was defeated in the elections.

Among the political parties, the SDP nominated the largest number of women, perhaps influenced by the fact that its presidential contender was also a woman. SDP fielded 13 women, a substantial 27.7 per cent of the total women candidates, but only 12.6 per cent of SDP's total candidates. FORD-K, NDP, and KANU each fielded only 6 female candidates. This amounted to about 5.7 per cent of the FORD-K candidates, 5.5 per cent of the NDP candidates, and only about 2.8 per cent of the KANU candidates. The Liberal Party of Kenya (LPK), led by presidential candidate Wangari Maathai, fielded five female candidates. This represented 16.6 per cent of their candidates, the largest percentage of female candidates of any party. FORD-A and DP nominated only three women candidates each. This was about 8 per cent of FORD-A's candidates and a mere 2.25 per cent of DP's candidates, giving DP the lowest percentage of female candidates of any party. KSC and Ford-P fielded two female candidates each (10.5 and 5.5 per cent of their candidates respectively), while KNC fielded only one female candidate, representing 8.3 per cent of its candidates.

Women were not spared political tricks in the general elections. Ijara's Sophia Abdi Noor of KANU, who had been declared the winner in the constituency nominations, lost in mysterious circumstances while awaiting her nomination certificate at KANU headquarters. She immediately moved over to FORD-Asili, on whose ticket she vied for the same seat, losing by only 521 votes. This means she would have stood an excellent chance of winning had she been sponsored by KANU. Phelgona Okundi of KANU, the Nyanza provincial chairperson of *Maendeleo ya Wanawake*, seemed to have it easy when the KANU chairman, against the wishes of many KANU members, unilaterally nominated her to vie for the Rangwe seat. However, she went on to lose to the NDP candidate Shem Ochuodho. Another contender was Beth Mugo, who once again vied for the Dagoretti seat. In 1992, she was a prominent DP activist and ran on that party's ticket, only to lose to FORD-Asili's Chris Kamuyu. She later joined FORD-Asili herself but later defected to SDP. She seemed to have done her ground work well in Dagoretti, including starting a bursary fund which might have helped endear her to the constituents, and went on to win the seat.

11.2 Campaigns and Polling

Though there was more of an attempt in 1997 than in 1992 to provide suitable conditions for political campaigns, in many areas little actually changed on the ground. This was particularly the case with women candidates. For example, though Charity Ngilu successfully traversed the country campaigning for herself and her party, she occasionally had serious problems with security personnel. On one

occasion in Kisii, the police declared an SDP meeting illegal and dispersed Ngilu and her group using teargas. This was after President Moi had declared the Kisii and Transmara areas security zones following clashes between the Luo and the Kisii. However, he had just concluded his own presidential campaign in the area and, with the declaration of the security zone, conveniently excluded other candidates. Ngilu also had a run-in with the police in Machakos when they claimed that the license of a hotel where she was meeting her supporters had expired.

The violence that sometimes characterised the campaigns did not spare women candidates. At one point during her campaign, Phelgona Okundi was roughed up and injured and her car burnt. In Dagoretti, Beth Mugo beefed up her security after claiming that her life was in danger. Mugo's opponents claimed that Dagoretti was not ready for a woman parliamentarian, and the arguments on this and related points that characterised her campaign meetings often ended in physical confrontations between her supporters and those of the KANU candidate.

Mugo was not alone in having to contend with gender-based stereotypes during the campaign. All the women candidates faced similar arguments. Charity Ngilu attempted to counter these stereotypes using strategic newspaper advertisements which presented her as a serious candidate. The ads explained her party's vision and plans for Kenya using the theme *mwanzo mpya* (new beginning). She dwelt on what she called her "clean track record," claiming the record spoke for itself and was devoid of corruption.

Otherwise, though most parties made brilliant statements in their manifestos about their commitment to gender equality, this commitment was barely visible on most campaign platforms. In fact, there was an enormous gap between statements of intent in manifestos and the articulation of policy on the platform. For example, almost all the parties pledged to integrate the gender question in their operations, yet in actual practice this was rarely seen. Some leaders were even quoted in the press saying women cannot lead and should not be elected to an executive position such as the presidency.

Even elite women who are considered role models of female leadership and enterprise made the performance of women candidates difficult. With regard to the presidential contest, for example, they argued publicly that women should not contest the seat as long as the male Head of State was still alive. Zipporah Kittony, chairperson of *Maendeleo ya Wanawake*, the largest and oldest women's organisation in Kenya, was in the forefront of this campaign and was quoted several times in the media advising women to reject any woman opposing the President. She advised women to focus instead on lower positions in the political hierarchy.

When statements like this come from a woman of such stature, other women are bound to pay attention. In the end, Kittony's efforts to campaign for Moi seemed to pay off when she herself was nominated to parliament by KANU. Out of its six nominees, KANU also nominated one other woman, the *Maendeleo ya Wanawake* district chairperson for Makueni, Grace Mueni Mwewa, who had also campaigned for KANU during the election. This brought the number of KANU women legislators in the eighth parliament to three.

The opposition parties, on the other hand, did not do very well in terms of presenting women candidates as parliamentary nominees. DP and NDP nominated only one woman each and the rest none. With regard to nominations to local authorities, very few complied with the ECK requirement to nominate as many women as possible. The failure to nominate more women also contravened the spirit of IPPG and further reinforced the tendency towards male-dominated decision-making structures in this country.

Polling patterns confirmed that women do not necessarily vote for their fellow women. Out of the 47 female parliamentary candidates, only four were elected. These were SDP's Charity Ngilu, DP's Martha Karua, KANU's Marere wa Mwachai, and SDP's Beth Mugo. Compared to 1992, when women garnered six seats out of 19 contenders, this was a very discouraging showing after five years of multipartyism.

11.3 Women's Performance in the Elections

Women are still asking themselves what happened during these elections. Several reasons can be offered for their dismal performance. One is the lack of marketing strategies for mobilising the support of fellow women. Women candidates appeared to mainly target male voters and to overlook the potential voting bloc represented by their fellow women. In the end, a majority of women voters voted for male candidates. A second reason centres on the question of resources and their role in Kenya's electoral process. The truth of the matter is that most women are poorer than most men and in any case, have little experience with the culture of handouts entrenched in Kenyan politics.

At the political level, women have also not played an effective role as stakeholders in the democratisation process. As a result, they remain marginalised in politics, in economics, and in public decision-making processes generally. Numerous studies of electoral politics in Kenya confirm that women constitute the majority of voters. However, very few present themselves as candidates for political office, and even

fewer succeed in becoming MPs. The higher one goes either in party or state hierarchies, the fewer women one finds.

In short, the problems that face women are diverse and complex. The solutions require a concerted effort in terms of needs assessment, legislative reform, and institutional restructuring. Perhaps the most important issue is intensified civic education emphasising the gender issue. NGOs, policy makers, and practitioners all have a role to play in this process. Above all, a mechanism that can effectively reach rural and grassroots women will be the key to making substantial gains by 2002.

4

**CONCLUSIONS AND
RECOMMENDATIONS**

CHAPTER 12

CRITIQUE OF THE ELECTORAL PROCESS

12.1 Evaluating the Integrity of the Electoral Process

In order to evaluate the integrity of the 1997 electoral process and outcome, one needs to understand the extent to which certain basic conditions for free and fair elections were met. For instance, were all Kenyans who fulfilled the age and residence requirements able to register as voters? Were all registered voters able to vote? Were all those who satisfied the requirements for candidature in presidential, parliamentary, or civic elections free to stand? Were candidates allowed to campaign freely? Finally, were the votes counted accurately and honestly and the results announced promptly? Answers to these questions are critical for evaluating the electoral process. This section of the report attempts to address these questions.

Despite the widespread administrative and logistical flaws discussed in the earlier parts of this report, the outcome was generally accepted by a majority of the losing political parties, by the election observers, and by a cross-section of stakeholders, such as the business community, the academic community, and the churches, at least if one can judge from the messages of acceptance and appeals for peace that were issued following the polls.

Although the structural imbalances in Kenya's political system continued to deprive all parties of an equal chance of competing for political power, both the domestic and international observers generally felt that the elections should be deemed acceptable. There were three main reasons for this view. First, there was a large voter turnout. Second, voters were able to cast their ballots freely and peacefully on the whole. Third, election observers were granted access to the voting and counting processes. On the other hand, a number of issues impinged on the electoral environment and compromised the integrity of the process. These issues are discussed in the following pages.

12.1.1 Evaluation of the ECK

There have been incessant claims that the ECK was not independent or impartial in the exercise of its duties as required under the law. Similarly, there were concerns about its capacity to enforce the electoral code. Its expansion to include representatives from the opposition parties, though welcome, nevertheless came too late to have a meaningful impact on the conduct of the elections. In other words, the ECK — the supreme organ for managing the electoral process — failed to gain the confidence of either the voters or the political parties.

The commission's capacity to perform its functions came under the greatest scrutiny with regard to the polling and subsequent events. The myriad logistical and administrative hitches that occurred have been cited as grounds in most of the election petitions that have been launched, including the petition by Mwai Kibaki challenging President Moi's re-election.

12.1.2. Delineation of Constituencies

There were well-argued claims that the adjustment of constituency boundaries, an exercise that resulted in the creation of 22 new constituencies prior to the elections, was not done fairly. Many people felt that the process was undertaken for political gain. The fact that KANU later won 13 of the 22 new seats lends some basis to these claims. In particular, the large variations in population of many constituencies violated the principle of equality of the vote. For example, Embakasi in Nairobi has some 114,000 registered voters, whilst Ijara in Garissa District has only 7,500. This has resulted in an obvious over-representation of particular provinces in parliament and an imbalance in the weight of each vote.

12.1.3. Registration of Voters

The integrity and fairness of any election begins to be eroded when prospective voters are disenfranchised. There is a consensus that the registration process was not conducted in a manner to promote a fair electoral contest amongst the parties. There were claims, for example, that the registration figures in some areas, particularly in the Coast and Rift Valley, were far from correct. The failure of the ECK to clarify the matter further compounded people's fears. There was also a good deal of confusion about which national identity cards (old or new) were valid for the voter registration process, besides the slow issuing of identity cards to persons coming of age. These problems did not have any serious material impact on the legitimacy of the process as a whole, as they did not occur on a large enough scale to compromise the overall process. Nevertheless, there are a substantial number of voters, candidates, and political parties with a lingering sense of grievance.

12.1.4 Media Coverage

In spite of the pre-election agreement on equitable access by all political parties to the state media, KBC radio and television remained heavily biased in favour of KANU. The operational guidelines drawn up by the ECK — which all political parties agreed on — were largely ignored. KBC reneged on its pledge to provide a fair balance in terms of both allocation of airtime and quality of coverage. In addition, there were no safeguards for political parties against the KBC's unfair practices. A proposal to create an independent body with responsibility for media monitoring, including authority to oversee political broadcasts as well as handle complaints on media access during the electoral period, was not passed. Instead, media monitoring was done by local NGOs largely for their own consumption.

12.1.5 The IPPG Reforms Package

Though the introduction of a series of legal, constitutional, and administrative reforms enhanced the fairness of the electoral contest, particularly in relation to licenses for holding political meetings and the role of the electoral code, the late enactment of these reforms denied voters and candidates the opportunity to benefit fully. Similarly, despite the fact that some of the reforms were aimed at sensitising public officials on the virtues of democracy, this goal was not fully achieved. There were reports of members of the provincial administration as well as the security forces continuing to interfere with the elections.

12.1.6 Polling, Tabulation, and Reporting

A major problem of the December 1997 elections was the administrative disorganisation of election materials and facilities. As a result, the administration of the elections failed to pass the test of efficiency and transparency. Numerous flaws were reported with ballot papers, ballot boxes, voting booths, and voter registers. A number of problems were also reported in the performance of both party agents and election officials. These have been discussed in this report.

The counting process was severely delayed in many areas. However, in the great majority of cases, observers and party agents were able to accompany ballot boxes to the counting centres. The overall picture that emerged was one of election officials, party agents, and observers doing their job as well as they could in very difficult circumstances.

Despite these areas of concern, it was gratifying to find that on the polling days, millions of voters demonstrated their determination by turning out to cast their

votes in an atmosphere of relative calm. This was particularly important given the initial fears that the elections might see intimidation, coercion, or disruptions of one kind or another. These fears were based on repeated threats by a number of opposition political parties not only to boycott but actually to disrupt the polling. It was stated that various forms of pressure would be applied to deter people from voting. However, these threats were defeated by the sheer determination of voters to exercise their franchise.

The zeal and determination demonstrated by party agents at all stages of the election process added to the integrity of the elections. Arrangements were put in place by the ECK to ensure that party agents could fulfil their role, and the various parties appeared to take full advantage of the opportunity. Moreover, citizens also were enabled to witness various aspects of the poll, and a commendable measure of transparency was achieved. This helped prevent malpractices and contributed to the overall integrity of the process despite the many problems. The free access that both domestic and international observers were given to the polling and counting processes further legitimised the elections.

CHAPTER 13

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

13.1 Conclusions

The following are the main conclusions we draw from the preceding analysis of the 1997 general elections.

- Kenyans still have faith in the power of the ballot despite various basic flaws that continue to debilitate the electoral process.
- A number of factors militated against a conducive environment for free and fair elections. These included a disproportionate allocation of parliamentary constituencies and civic wards; a regime of electoral law that does not ensure competitive politics; the absence of an effective and efficient electoral body which is independent and impartial; a worrisome lack of a national democratic culture; a constitutional framework that does not support basic democratic principles and values; and a system of public administration still based on colonial and authoritarian precepts inimical to democratisation.
- Since the restoration of multipartyism, the “first-past-the-post” electoral system has prevented over 50 per cent of the Kenyan population from being represented in the government of the day.
- The potential and capacity of the Kenyan people to create a country whose guiding light would be truth, entailing ready and unqualified embrace of the principles of human rights, democracy, and the rule of law, is gradually coming of age.

13.2 Lessons Learnt and Prospects for the Future

13.2.1 Diagnosis

The lessons of previous general elections have been discussed in Chapter 3. Many of the same fundamental flaws were repeated in the 1997 elections. It is useful to have a succinct recapitulation of the major items. The most basic lesson is that democracy still has a long road to travel in this country. This is because democracy is a way of doing things that has to extend to a whole system. You cannot be democratic in one area and undemocratic in another. Thus, the enemies of an open society are not just those wielding executive power in the government, but also the leaders in various political parties who refuse to facilitate a democratic culture in their own parties.

The genesis of this situation is twofold: first, the colonial inheritance of authoritarianism and, second, the reluctance of the government to fully accept multipartyism. The lack of sufficient civic education of both the leaders and their supporters exacerbates the situation by producing a distorted understanding of the electoral process. Neither the psyche of the politician who bribes *wananchi* in order to protect his or her interests nor the mentality of the voter who has to be given twenty shillings to attend a political rally has yet to be fully studied. Lurking in the shadows are civil servants who seem to have accepted a role as servants of the ruling party. Ethnicity continues to bedevil the political landscape and prevent the real issues of development from being addressed. Both the politicians and the people have yet to acquire a political consciousness that sees Kenya as a unitary state with a common destiny.

The legal and political structures necessary for free and fair elections are yet to be put in place. Indeed, the initiative to make the necessary structural changes has only just been taken. The ECK, the administrative agency with the onerous responsibility of delineating the country's electoral areas and of planning, conducting, and supervising elections, continues to show little energy or commitment to the task. As presently constituted, it is clearly ill-suited to ensure either the efficiency or integrity of the electoral process.

Another critical problem is lack of ideological development. What was very clear during the recent elections — and during others before it — was the general absence of policies and positions for dealing with the greatest enemy facing the country — poverty. The manifestos of the various parties were well-packaged affairs, but apart from impressive graphics and high-flown language, there appeared to be little serious or genuine concern for the mass of our society. The upshot of this is

that the country is still miles away from issue-oriented elections. It is in the context of this ideological aridity and callousness that defections are so common. If principles were the guiding lights of our political discourse, it would not be possible to change parties with the ease of changing gears. The systemic imbalance in access to resources and facilities for all political parties and candidates only worsens this unprincipled and opportunistic scenario.

In the 1997 elections, a large number of fringe candidates vied for the high office of the President. This is a disturbing trend. It is the right of every Kenyan to seek any public office in the land if he or she meets the requirements in terms of age, education, and so on. However, it is against the public interest to allow anyone who is publicity-smitten to stand as a presidential candidate. It is clear that most of the presidential aspirants in 1997 were frivolous candidates who merely added to the clutter and confusion of the electoral scene.

13.2.2 Prognosis

It is always tempting to play star-gazer, but we can only hazard the future on the basis of what we see in the present. Clearly, the people of Kenya are determined to walk in the path of democracy, human rights, and the rule of law. Patently manipulated electoral processes are now a thing of the past, and Kenyans today look back with anger and wonder at the country's previous political history.

However, elections in themselves do not put food on the table, nor do they pave roads. In order for elections to have a real impact on the development of the country or the provision of public services, the voters must have a voice. The value of elections is seen in the formulation and implementation of policies and structural changes in the way we are governed. If this happens — that is, if the pledges of the politicians materialise rather than ending up as more pie in the sky — then and only then can we be certain of a brighter political future.

13.3 Recommendations

13.3.1 Civic Education

Immediate steps should be taken to create effective civic education programmes nationwide. The government has an important role to play because its duty is to facilitate all-round development for *wananchi*. Among other things, this means using public resources such as the media to create awareness of civic issues. The ECK also has a responsibility to promote civic education through voter education, a task it has not carried out to any meaningful extent. Civic education means more

than merely knowing how to vote on polling day. It also means fighting the culture of silence and building confidence among *wananchi* to play their full role in shaping the political future of their country.

As for civil society, it must implement civic education activities that truly incorporate participation by the people. This should be done through the medium of popular education, which has yet to take firm root in Kenya. The political parties also have a stake in the process and a responsibility to contribute positively to the important task of enlightening the citizenry.

It is imperative that civic education programmes, not just for ordinary people but also for our leaders, start straight away as one of the key components of the post-election programme. The practice of mounting frantic civic education programmes when elections are just around the corner should be discarded. Such "briefcase" initiatives are of little use. They are ephemeral in nature and limited in vision.

13.3.2 Gerrymandering

In order to recover the basic tenet of democracy — one person, one (equal) vote — the ECK should undertake an immediate review of all the boundaries of parliamentary constituencies. An act of parliament can be passed to empower the ECK to undertake this absolutely necessary task. The last review was in 1996, but it was not comprehensive. The task is especially urgent in view of the imminent constitutional reform process. The basic principle to be followed is clearly spelt out in Section 42 of the constitution: "All constituencies shall contain as nearly equal numbers of inhabitants as appears to the commission to be reasonably practicable."

The delineation of electoral areas in local authorities is also skewed. There is need for the ECK to review the boundaries of wards throughout the country to ensure equality of representation. Previously, it was the Minister for Local Government who created and adjusted civic electoral areas, but the process was often carried out capriciously without any guiding parameters. Under the new law which came into force in October 1997, the ECK has this responsibility.

13.3.3 The Electoral Code

There is a dearth of adequate electoral law in Kenya. There is need for a comprehensive code covering all aspects of the electoral process. This code should be a single piece of legislation guided by the basic principles of the Bill of Rights, without the current numerous exceptions which erode these rights. The electoral

code should deal with the following key areas that affect the freedom, fairness, and integrity of the electoral process:

- registration of political parties and enforcement of the Code of Ethics by the ECK
- financing of political parties through state subsidies
- financial ceilings on how much political parties and candidates can spend on elections
- disclosure of sources of funding of political parties and candidates and accounting for these funds
- provision for independent candidates
- counting of votes at polling stations
- use of other forms of identification apart from the National Identity Card and passport during both the registration of voters and the casting of votes
- provision for special voting arrangements (for example, through Kenyan embassies or high commissions, or by post) for non-resident Kenyans
- method of voting (for example, along the lines of the one used in Malawi) in which illiterate voters are able to vote without the assistance of the presiding officer so as to ensure the secrecy of the ballot and preserve illiterate voters' dignity
- provision for a permanent ongoing registration process
- provision for declaring an election petitioner the winner without having to subject the constituency to a by-election in cases where a recount shows that the petitioner won the majority of votes.

13.3.4 Constitutional Reforms

The task of making major changes in Kenya's constitution will be the most important undertaking during the period before the next general elections scheduled for 2002. A constitutional review commission is in the process of formation. This body will be a major centre of attention for pundits, enemies of an open society, pro-democracy forces, and various Cassandras. It is also clear that there will be other moves in the constitution making process. Civil society is expected to play a key role both within and outside the projected constitutional review commission.

It seems that all players are finally agreed that a comprehensive constitutional review is long overdue. However, serious differences remain regarding how to go about this review. Some feel strongly that any constitutional reform must be carried out within the ambit of parliament, as parliament is the only legitimate expression of the popular will. Others hold the radical view that the only genuine way to achieve constitutional change is through a national constitutional convention. A national conference on the constitution has also been proposed.

It is not our intention here to enter the constitutional debate. We want only to enumerate the critical areas relating to the electoral process which in our view require constitutional changes. The necessary changes include:

- an express provision laying down the right to vote
- the establishment of an independent, impartial electoral commission comprising representatives from all the major political parties, civil society, and other key sectors of Kenya's national life, with the final list of commissioners being ratified by a special committee of parliament
- provision for independent candidates in presidential, parliamentary, and local government elections
- the financing of political parties from state resources
- abolition of the constitutional requirement that a presidential candidate has to garner a minimum of 25 per cent of the votes in at least five provinces and the enactment of a new constitutional provision requiring a presidential candidate to obtain a minimum of 50 per cent of the total votes cast
- a provision for a proportional electoral system
- specific provisions in the event of a run-off, one of which would be for a senior public official (say the Speaker of the National Assembly) to act as President
- a firm provision requiring a coalition government in the event of a minority government assuming office
- a fixed five-year electoral calendar for the President, MPs, and councillors, with no presidential power to dissolve parliament and no executive power to dissolve local authorities
- the establishment of a constitutional court to deal with all constitutional issues, including those affecting the electoral process and the certification of both presidential and parliamentary elections

- ❑ a provision to enable the High Court or a constitutional court to deliberate on serious flaws in an ongoing election from the registration of voters to the activities on the actual polling day and speedily rectify them, or even nullify a fatally flawed aspect of the process
- ❑ a firm entrenchment of a new Bill of Rights safeguarding the fundamental rights and freedoms of the individual. Two provisions need specific mention—the abolition of the queuing system at all levels of the electoral process, including party nominations, and the mandatory provision of civic education by the government.

13.3.5 Institutional Capacity of the ECK

Most of the logistical flaws in last year's general elections were attributable to the lack of an effective secretariat at the ECK. The chairman, like his predecessor, undertook to act as chief executive, a combination of roles which did not promote good management. However, in 1992 there was at least a senior official who in effect acted as the director of elections. In 1997, there was no senior official who could handle even minor complaints. Everything had to be referred to a commissioner, usually the chairman himself.

There is no way the ECK can operate efficiently without a corps of experienced and skilled professionals at both the secretariat and field levels. Therefore, as soon as possible there should be an evaluation exercise (if this has not already been done) to establish the human resource needs of the commission, followed by a transparent recruitment and deployment programme. There must be no half-measures on this.

The key to the success of every electoral process is an efficient administration. As we are here dealing with an activity which is very much in the public sphere, the government should never be heard pleading lack of funds in such an important area. Donor funding, much as it is welcome, should not be the major source of funding but rather a complement to government funding. Sadly, the government does not appear to share this attitude. There is an urgent need for it to adopt a more responsible position.

13.3.6 De-linking the Public Service from the Ruling Party

After decades of monolithic politics, public officials, especially in top positions, have still not internalised the idea that the task of the public administration is to

serve the people, not the ruling party. Ways and means must urgently be found to de-link the ruling party and public service.

An attempt was made in the recent IPPG reform package to criminalise overt political partisanship on the part of public officials during elections, but when the campaigns and elections came there was little discernible improvement. A number of senior civil servants and top officials in the parastatal sector openly campaigned for the ruling party, accompanying the President in what were purely electioneering tours across the country. Though it is not possible to make democrats out of public officials through legal sanctions, it should nevertheless be possible to create an environment — a political and administrative culture — in which guidelines on how public servants should conduct the affairs of state are enforced. Some regulations were expected to be drawn up by the head of the public service before the general elections, but nothing more was heard about the matter.

One way of proceeding would be to make it a constitutional requirement that all appointments of key personnel in both the public service and the armed forces be subjected to scrutiny by a special committee of the National Assembly. This measure should be backed up by a strict code of ethics for both public officials (including those serving in the security forces) and politicians. Of special importance is the need for all leaders in the key sectors of Kenya's national life to declare their assets. There should be no escape from this basic requirement of political morality.

In the final analysis, Kenyans have to depend on the courts to ensure that executive oppression is curbed and that responsible forms of governance are in place. It needs to be stressed that the role of the judiciary is an essential element in a liberal democracy, buttressing a system of checks and balances and the rule of law, and providing a safeguard against arbitrary government. If judges shrug off their duty, not only does justice suffer but also the law itself. The judiciary cannot abandon responsibility for the rule of law to parliament or the executive. If the job of parliament or the executive job is to govern the country, it is the task of judges to see to it that governance is carried out according to law.

It is as much in the interest of the executive (and parliament for that matter) as it is in the interest of the public and the courts themselves that justice is pursued without fear or favour. Public confidence in the government would be enormously aided by a perception that fair procedures were being followed. The same applies to court judgements or rulings, for example, in election petitions. The public will only have confidence in judicial officials if their decisions are seen to be made in accordance with the precepts of justice.

13.3.7 The Appropriate Electoral System

An electoral system has considerable influence on campaign strategies. It provides incentives and disincentives for different strategies. Moreover, an electoral system can profoundly affect the relationship between elected members and their constituents. The present Kenyan electoral system was inherited from Britain. It is a “first-past-the-post” or “winner-take-all” system. This system is often praised for simplicity and for the fact that it tends to produce strong, stable governments. The system is also credited with allowing voters to choose between people rather than just between parties, and also for permitting independent candidates not tied to a party line to be elected.

However, there are also a number of disadvantages to the winner-take-all system. Four disadvantages stand out very prominently in the case of Kenya. First, this system encourages political parties based on clan, ethnicity, or region. Second, it tends to put the incumbents in an immensely favourable position, as they usually have an array of public resources at their disposal, augmented by material and financial support. Third, the system tends to institutionalise unresponsiveness to changes in public opinion in a long-serving government. This is a particular problem in Kenya, where many constituencies are not competitive because of gerrymandering. This means that one party can form a government even with little popular support. Finally, the winner-take-all system is very susceptible to pre-election rigging strategies such as the manipulation of electoral boundaries.

These disadvantages require us to rethink the justification for maintaining a system which is arguably an anachronism. Britain itself, the mother of the winner-take-all system, is re-assessing the system. In the Kenyan context, there is need to consider adopting a system of proportional representation. The most important advantage of this system would be the possibility of forming a more broad-based government which would accurately reflect the will of the people.

13.3.8 People's Participation in Governance

Elections have the effect of making people reflect on the essence of democracy, which is that the people are the source of the political and legal legitimacy of any state. Elections may decide who governs, but constitutions decide what the government is. A constitution not only establishes a set of rules for conducting elections, it also — and more importantly — identifies the institutions and offices of government for which the electorate can vote.

Democracy is not secured by having impressive parliament buildings or state-of-the-art ballot boxes. It requires a foundation of belief and a foundation of development. Democracies are based on the rule of law, justly applied, and the legal institutions and processes are crucial to democratic development. A consistent democratic constitution should exclude only one type of change in the legal system — change that would endanger its democratic character. Democracy, therefore, provides an invaluable battleground for any democratic political idea, since it permits reform without violence. But if the preservation of democracy is not made the first consideration, then the latent antidemocratic tendencies which are always present may undermine democracy. An understanding of these principles has not developed very far in Kenya and must continue to be fought for. The opposite policy may prove fatal by causing the loss of the most important battle — the battle for democracy itself.

CHAPTER 14

BEYOND THE 1997 GENERAL ELECTIONS: UNRESOLVED QUESTIONS

14:1 Post-election Ethnic Violence

Immediately after the 1997 general elections, there were outbreaks of political violence in Laikipia, Njoro, and Baringo. About 100 people were killed, and the destruction of property was immense. These politically instigated clashes caught many people unawares and surprised many others. The clashes appeared to be linked to the voting behaviour of certain groups of people, as a number of leaders had been quoted in the press warning people of dire consequences if they voted in a certain way. The government reacted by accusing opposition parties, church groups, and individuals critical of the government of having instigated the clashes.

The reemergence of ethnic hostilities following the 1997 general elections clearly does not portend well for a country comprising over 40 ethnic groups, and the emerging problem cannot be wished away. It is not enough for political leaders to make calls for peace without appearing to take steps to bring peace about. All parties to the conflicts — the government, opposition leaders, ethnic leaders, churches, and NGOs — must work together to find a solution. The starting point is to ease tensions by promoting understanding and reconciliation between all the affected ethnic communities.

The fact that such violence can happen is an indictment of the government, which has a basic constitutional responsibility to provide security for all its citizens irrespective of their ethnic background, political opinions, social status, religious affiliation, sex, or race. Chapter V of the Constitution of Kenya states this responsibility very clearly. The government is obliged to do everything in its power to ensure that the fundamental rights of the people are not violated. Any abdication of this duty brings the government's legitimacy into question.

The economic ramifications of this violence and insecurity are also important. The Njoro and Laikipia areas account for a significant portion of food production in Kenya. Coupled with predictions of poor weather and reduced food production countrywide this year, the disruption of agriculture in these areas as a result of the clashes could have far-reaching consequences for the national economy.

Along with the pre-election violence in parts of Coast Province, the post-election clashes have also had deeply negative effects on Kenyan society. The task of nation building has been seriously set back, and many Kenyans now find comfort and security only amongst their kinsmen. The voting patterns in 1997 bear this out. One of the biggest lessons learned from these events, however, is that elections by themselves are not likely to be integrative unless there is an underlying agreement to adhere to the verdict of the people. In other words, without an unequivocal commitment by all parties involved in an election to accept its outcome, the basic purpose of the election is severely undermined.

14.2 Constitutional Reforms

While the majority of Kenyans are agreed on the need to go beyond the IPPG reforms deal and make fundamental changes to the constitution, they hold very divergent views on the means to achieve reform. The government has already passed the Kenya Constitution Review Commission Bill which, as the name suggests, proposes to form a commission to collect and collate views from Kenyans on constitutional change. Some opposition parties, churches, and various elements in civil society, however, vehemently oppose this process. They have reservations about the sincerity of the government and the independence of the commission and therefore propose different modalities, the main one being a constitutional conference spearheaded by the churches.

Many observers argue, however, that whatever method is adopted, the involvement and participation of the public in the process is the paramount consideration. If the process takes the route of a commission, then care must be taken to ensure that it acts independently and genuinely consults the people. The government has a duty to convince Kenyans that this will be the case. The commission must be completely independent not only in the way it manages and steers the process, but also in terms of how it communicates its ideas to the people and collects feedback from them. Similarly, every sector of society and every interest group, particularly marginalised groups, must be represented in all phases of any constitution-making process.

One of the most important requirements of the process will be to translate the issues at stake into a language that can be understood by the people. A comprehensive civic education initiative to promote informed discussion at the grassroots level must precede the actual process of soliciting citizens' opinions about constitutional change. The idea of involving the people stems from the need to enable them to shape their own destiny. In a democracy, full participation by the people is crucial. Therefore, the most important goal of civic education on the constitution-making process is to empower people to claim ownership of the process and the outcome.

14.3 The 1997 Election Petitions

Election petitions have emerged over the years as a characteristic post-election phenomenon in Kenya. Petitions have come to be viewed as offering the only safety valve for conflicts and enmities engendered by the electoral process. The 1997 general elections were no exception. At the close of the deadline for filing petitions, there was one presidential election petition (*Mwai Kibaki versus Daniel Toroitich arap Moi, and others*), 26 parliamentary election petitions, and 63 local government petitions (or election inquiries as they are often referred to in law). A list of petitions can be found in the "Documents" section of this report.

A concentration on petitions — by way of analyses and debates — is likely to be a major feature of Kenyan political discourse over the next eighteen months, the period in which the High Court of Kenya has undertaken to dispose of all petitions. Whether or not this deadline is actually met, the petitions are bound to foster public awareness of electoral issues. The courts will also be under close scrutiny regarding the extent to which they fulfil their role as public institutions accountable to the Kenyan people.

Election Images



Supporters of SDP candidate Moses Ng'ang'a Muihia demonstrate in Gatundu South after rumours that he had been kidnapped by his opponents. Muihia later won the election.



A voter in Kinango constituency, Kwale District, drops her vote into a makeshift substitute for the official ballot boxes.



A police officer casts his vote at the Kisumu Town Hall.



Security personnel guard ballot boxes at a polling station at the coast.



An IED/CJPC/NCKK observer is ejected from the Nairobi Railway Club counting centre for Westlands constituency.



Overcome by sleep after two nights at the Kenya Science Teachers College, party agents snatch forty winks in the counting hall as the Dagoretti vote count entered its third day.



An infuriated candidate protests over the Starehe vote count at Nairobi City Council's Charter Hall, which served as the counting centre for several Nairobi constituencies.



Members of the IED/CJPC/NCK Strategic Management Board release the final statement on the 1997 general elections. From left: Fr Michael Ruwa (CJPC), Rev Mutava Musyimi (NCK), Grace Githu (IED), and Archbishop Ndingi mwana a'Nzeki (CJPC).

Figures and Statistics



National Parliamentary Results

	CONSTITUENCY	TURNOUT		PICK			NDP		
		Regd Voters	%	Candidate	Votes	%	Candidate	Votes	%
NAIROBI									
1	MAKADARA	91,605	50.15				John Kiema	7,013	18.42
2	KAMUKUNJI	85,941	50.15				Wambui Otieno	3,974	12.18
3	STAREHE	109,215	48.23				Ratib Hussein	6,033	12.02
4	LANGATA	81,123	54.52				Raita Amolo Odinga	22,338	52.11
5	DAGORETTI	69,481	55.85				Waiharo Gitau Thiongo	1,950	5.14
6	WESTLANDS	102,364	49.39				Arin Mohamed N Alibhai	5,104	10.39
7	KASARANI	91,517	52.34				Ochieng Gilbert Mbeo	15,924	34.47
8	EMBAKASI	114,354	53.62				Agnes Nyaboke Opari	9,702	16.18
	NAIROBI TOTALS	726,620	61.69					72,038	19.77
COAST									
9	CHANGAMWE	78,553	45.95				Joseph Okoth Weudi	6,500	18.52
10	KISAUINI	76,575	43.36				Rashid Muhammed Mzee	7,526	23.17
11	LIKONI	42,369	37.90				Abdulkadir Abdullah Mwidau	2,039	12.68
12	MVITA	70,836	40.79				Ahmed Salim Bamahriz	7,261	25.85
13	MSAMBWENI	60,203	64.98				Kassim Athuman Choka	2,362	6.18
14	MATUGA	37,755	62.77				Omani Abdallah Gakesho	237	1.02
15	KINANGO	33,524	60.85				Batsio Daniel Nyanje	2,831	13.94
16	BAHARI	64,263	51.69				Geoffrey Badji Chimega	2,806	8.56
17	KALOLENI	55,151	52.67				Anderson Chibule Watauma	2,113	7.34
18	GANZE	27,371	45.34						
19	MALINDI	52,649	47.54				Fredrick Kazungu Diwani	6,786	27.43
20	MAGARINI	27,833	52.11				James Kirimo Menza	323	2.26
21	GARBEN	22,129	59.18				Said Mohamed Rhova	856	6.62
22	GALOLE	16,368	66.17				Japhet Zakaria Kase	1,141	10.93
23	BURA	15,300	57.92				Ali Warlo	2,790	31.87
24	LAMU EAST	9,049	74.32				Abudi Omar Mohammed	1,353	20.32
25	LAMU WEST	22,874	61.05						
26	TAVETA	16,578	69.65						
27	WUNDANYI	20,723	58.42				Lucas Wamwandu Mwanjila	153	1.29
28	MWATATE	22,614	64.18				Allen Peterson Mbela	406	2.66
29	VOI	24,661	57.23						
	COAST TOTALS	797,376	62.37					47,469	11.58
NORTH EASTERN									
30	DUJIS	27,767	60.07				Hassan Jelle Hussein	81	0.49
31	LAGDERA	13,961	50.06				Ali Abdulahi Gure	5	0.07
32	FAFI	8,503	48.66						
33	LIARA	7,501	70.14				Abdul Ahi Mahat Deud	1	0.02
34	WAJIR NORTH	7,631	53.62						
35	WAJIR WEST	19,038	54.02				Khalif Abdulahi Mohamed	11	0.11
36	WAJIR EAST	16,760	56.99				Ahmed Jelle Madye	24	0.25
37	WAJIR SOUTH	16,181	43.27				Abdirashid Mohamed	7	0.10
38	MANDERA WEST	12,470	39.04				Jaafar Mohamed Sheikh	17	0.35
39	MANDERA CENTRAL	18,340	60.89				Abdi Haji Yusuf	8	0.07
40	MANDERA EAST	23,517	47.49						
	NORTH EASTERN TOTALS	171,669	53.13					184	0.17
EASTERN									
41	MOYALE	22,431	75.82						
42	NORTH HERR	12,014	65.35				Warlo Hukha Ali	2,441	31.12
43	SAKU	12,549	79.78						
44	LAISAMIS	11,851	-						
45	ISIOLO NORTH	25,530	61.86				Fetuma Hassan M Iman	148	0.94
46	ISIOLO SOUTH	8,169	80.30						
47	IGEMBE	49,550	65.07				Raphael Murlungi	9,633	29.96
48	NTONYIRI	38,839	64.80				Abdalla Mohamed Kamwana	286	1.15
49	TIGANIA WEST	32,360	66.78						
50	TIGANIA EAST	35,679	79.63				Simon Kamenchu Ringera	1,119	3.97
51	NORTH IMENTI	74,661	70.47						
52	CENTRAL IMENTI	52,961	79.61						
53	SOUTH IMENTI	62,349	85.08				Leon William Kinyamu	597	1.16
54	NITHI	78,962	67.44				Murithi Murthi	2,001	3.79
55	THARAKA	26,953	79.25				Solomon Ikunga Kaaria	137	0.64
56	MANYATTA	52,542	77.71				Justus Nyaga Mugumi	420	1.03
57	RUNYENJES	48,464	77.64				Hoseah Njeru Kagundu	643	1.72
58	GACHOKA	31,939	78.57				Justin Gattui Cingano	405	1.63
59	SIKAKO	23,209	81.00						
60	MWINGI NORTH	45,369	79.50						
61	MWINGI SOUTH	43,836	73.91						
62	KITUI WEST	46,603	75.72				Charles Katana Mbuvi	287	0.82
63	KITUI CENTRAL	51,390	75.80						
64	MUTITO	28,770	67.93	Joseph Ndunda Wambua	81	0.41			
65	KITUI SOUTH	31,935	67.65				Anne Munyao	175	0.82
66	MASINGA	33,657	70.56						
67	YATTA	37,687	72.12						
68	KANGUNDO	63,125	74.28						
69	KATHIANI	52,489	67.39						
70	MACHAKOS TOWN	63,426	72.00				Bernard Kilonzo Katiku	496	1.08
71	MWALA	48,696	81.61	Boniface Mutua Musyoki	3,248	6.15	Benson Mwarthi Lemba	283	0.71
72	MBOONI	49,490	71.36						
73	KILOME	25,394	60.85						
74	KAITI	34,569	64.46				Dave D Musyoki Muumbi	610	3.78
75	MAKUENI	55,845	67.64						
76	KIBWEZI	49,837	60.17				Seth Kakyusi Mweu	755	2.59
	EASTERN TOTALS	1,484,182	71.96		3,329	0.32		20,626	1.98

National Parliamentary Results

	CONSTITUENCY	UMMA			LPD		
		Candidate	Votes	%	Candidate	Votes	%
	NAIROBI						
1	MAKADARA						
2	KAMUKUNJI						
3	STAREHE				John Akuk Okech	277	0.55
4	LANGATA						
5	DAGORETTI						
6	WESTLANDS						
7	KASARANI						
8	EMBAKASI						
	NAIROBI TOTALS		-	-		277	0.08
	COAST						
9	CHANGAMWE						
10	KISAUNI						
11	LIKONI						
12	MVITA						
13	MSAMBWENI						
14	MATUGA						
15	KINANGO						
16	BAHARI						
17	KALOLENI						
18	GANZE						
19	MALINDI						
20	MAGARINI						
21	GARSEN						
22	GALOLE						
23	BURA						
24	LAMU EAST						
25	LAMU WEST						
26	TAVETA						
27	WUNDANYI						
28	MWATATE						
29	VOI						
	COAST TOTALS		-	-		-	-
	NORTH EASTERN						
30	DUJIS						
31	LAGDERA						
32	FAFI						
33	IJARA						
34	WAJIR NORTH						
35	WAJIR WEST						
36	WAJIR EAST						
37	WAJIR SOUTH						
38	MANDERA WEST						
39	MANDERA CENTRAL						
40	MANDERA EAST				Abdullahi Sheikh Ahmed	15	0.14
	NORTH EASTERN TOTALS		-	-		15	0.02
	EASTERN						
41	MOYALE						
42	NORTH HERR						
43	SAKU						
44	LAISAMIS						
45	ISIOLO NORTH						
46	ISIOLO SOUTH						
47	IGEMBE						
48	NTONYIRI						
49	TIGANIA WEST						
50	TIGANIA EAST						
51	NORTH IMENTI						
52	CENTRAL IMENTI						
53	SOUTH IMENTI						
54	NITHI						
55	THARAKA						
56	MANYATTA						
57	RUNYENJES						
58	GACHOKA						
59	SIKAGO						
60	MWINGI NORTH						
61	MWINGI SOUTH						
62	KITUI WEST						
63	KITUI CENTRAL						
64	MUTITO						
65	KITUI SOUTH						
66	MASINGA						
67	YATTA						
68	KANGUNDO						
69	KATHIANI						
70	MACHAKOS TOWN						
71	MWALA						
72	MBOONI						
73	KILOME						
74	KAITI						
75	MAKUENI						
76	KIBWEZI						
	EASTERN TOTALS		-	-		-	-

National Parliamentary Results

	CONSTITUENCY	GAP			UPPK		
		Candidate	Votes	%	Candidate	Votes	%
	NAIROBI						
1	MAKADARA						
2	KAMUKUNJI						
3	STAREHE				Christopher Kamau Karuki	214	0.43
4	LANGATA						
5	DAGORETTI						
6	WESTLANDS						
7	KASARANI						
8	EMBAKASI				Dr Muryua Wanyaku	2,541	4.23
	NAIROBI TOTALS					2,755	0.76
	COAST						
9	CHANGAMWE						
10	KISAUNI						
11	LIKONI						
12	MVITA						
13	MSAMBWENI						
14	MATUGA						
15	KINANGO						
16	BAHARI						
17	KALOLENI						
18	GANZE						
19	MALINDI						
20	MAGARINI						
21	GARSEN						
22	GALOLE						
23	BURA						
24	LAMU EAST						
25	LAMU WEST						
26	TAVETA						
27	WUNDANYI						
28	MWATATE						
29	VOI						
	COAST TOTALS						
	NORTH EASTERN						
30	DUJIB						
31	LAGDERA						
32	FAFI						
33	UARA						
34	WAJIR NORTH						
35	WAJIR WEST						
36	WAJIR EAST						
37	WAJIR SOUTH						
38	MANDERA WEST						
39	MANDERA CENTRAL						
40	MANDERA EAST						
	NORTH EASTERN TOTALS						
	EASTERN						
41	MOYALE						
42	NORTH HORA						
43	SAKU						
44	LAISAMIS						
45	ISIOLO NORTH						
46	ISIOLO SOUTH						
47	IGEMBE						
48	NTONYIRI						
49	TIGANIA WEST						
50	TIGANIA EAST	Godfrey Kalbiria M'Mwerena	1,149	-			
51	NORTH IMENTI						
52	CENTRAL IMENTI						
53	SOUTH IMENTI						
54	NITHI						
55	THARAKA						
56	MANYATTA						
57	RUNYENJES						
58	GACHOKA				Andrew Muya Mbrthi	9,089	36.48
59	SIKAGO						
60	MWINGI NORTH						
61	MWINGI SOUTH						
62	KITUI WEST						
63	KITUI CENTRAL						
64	MUTITO						
65	KITUI SOUTH						
66	MASINGA						
67	YATTA						
68	KANGUNDO						
69	KATHIANI						
70	MACHAKOS TOWN						
71	MWALA						
72	MBOONI						
73	KILOME						
74	KATI						
75	MAKUENI						
76	KIBWEZI						
	EASTERN TOTALS		1,149	0.11		9,089	0.87

National Parliamentary Results

	CONSTITUENCY	LPK			SAFINA		
		Candidate	Votes	%	Candidate	Votes	%
	NAIROBI						
1	MAKADARA	Beatrice Mbithe	493	1.08	George Kabuthi Kamau	1,167	2.57
2	KAMUKUNJI	Douglas Kamau Githumbi	255	0.78	Clement Muturi Kigano	5,909	18.11
3	STAREHE	Waqambo-Qambo	108	0.22	Richard Maina	1,018	2.03
4	LANGATA	Margery Nduta	386	0.90			
5	DAGORETTI						
6	WESTLANDS	Simon Karanja Kamoni	140	0.28	Dr Kariba J Charles Muniu	783	1.59
7	KASARANI	Alice Ngima Githae	273	0.59	Gitau Kinyanjui Gachui	1,634	3.54
8	EMBAKASI				Henry Ruhii Muriama	4,776	7.96
	NAIROBI TOTALS		1,655	0.45		15,287	4.19
	COAST						
9	CHANGAMWE						
10	KISAUNI						
11	LIKONI						
12	MVITA						
13	MSAMBWENI						
14	MATUGA						
15	KINANGO						
16	BAHARI						
17	KALOENI						
18	GANZE						
19	MALINDI						
20	MAGARINI						
21	GARSEN				Mandara Barisa Badiribu	4,086	31.54
22	GALOLE						
23	BURA						
24	LAMU EAST						
25	LAMU WEST						
26	TAVETA						
27	WUNDANYI						
28	MWATATE						
29	VOI						
	COAST TOTALS					4,086	1.00
	NORTH EASTERN						
30	DUJIS				Aden Sugow Ahmed	4,425	26.74
31	LAGDERA				Farah Maalim Mohamed	2,552	36.84
32	FAFI				Elias Bare Shill	2,070	50.17
33	IJARA				Mohamud Yussuf Haji	3	0.06
34	WAJIR NORTH						
35	WAJIR WEST				Adan Keynan Wehliye	5,204	50.75
36	WAJIR EAST				Hassan Dahiya Bardad	7	0.07
37	WAJIR SOUTH						
38	MANDERA WEST				Hassan Aden Osman		
39	MANDERA CENTRAL	Ali Haji Hassan Hussein	5	0.05	Abdikadir Adan Abdulla	3,588	32.44
40	MANDERA EAST	Mohamed Abdullahi Omar	-	-			
	NORTH EASTERN TOTALS		5	0.01		17,849	19.71
	EASTERN						
41	MOYALE				Ali Issak Ibrahim	82	0.49
42	NORTH HERR						
43	SAKU						
44	LAISAMIS						
45	ISIOLO NORTH						
46	ISIOLO SOUTH						
47	IGEMBE				Franklin Mithika Linturi	918	2.86
48	NTONYIRI						
49	TIGANIA WEST	James Turibu M'imunya	262	1.24			
50	TIGANIA EAST						
51	NORTH IMENTI						
52	CENTRAL IMENTI						
53	SOUTH IMENTI						
54	NITHI				Basil Ntwiga J Nyaga Mbuni	11,906	22.55
55	THARAKA						
56	MANYATTA	Agatha Muthoni Mbogo	535	1.32			
57	RUNYENJES				Japhet Nyaga Njathika	560	1.50
58	GACHOKA						
59	SIKAKAGO	Francis Njue Kago	55	0.29			
60	MWINGI NORTH						
61	MWINGI SOUTH						
62	KITUI WEST						
63	KITUI CENTRAL						
64	MUTITO						
65	KITUI SOUTH						
66	MASINGA						
67	YATTA	Charles Nduli Mbatha	150	0.56			
68	KANGUNDO						
69	KATHIANI						
70	MACHAKOS TOWN						
71	MWALA						
72	MBOONI						
73	KILOME						
74	KAITI	Faustine Kingola Mutisya	126	0.59			
75	MAKUENI						
76	KIBWEZI						
	EASTERN TOTALS		1,128	0.11		13,466	1.29

National Parliamentary Results

	CONSTITUENCY	FORD-P			KANU		
		Candidate	Votes	%	Candidate	Votes	%
	NAIROBI						
1	MAKADARA				Vincent Shimoli Lugala	9,044 21.21	
2	KAMUKUNJI	James Kuria Njine	1,736	5.32	Hassan Ali Adams	6,545 20.06	
3	STAREHE				Gerlachon Kamau Kirima	11,166 22.25	
4	LANGATA				Perez Malande Olindo	11,853 27.72	
5	DAGORETTI	Pius Njogu Nguo	180	0.47	Christopher Kariuki Kamuyu	6,027 15.90	
6	WESTLANDS				Frederick Omulo Gumo	17,882 36.38	
7	KASARANI				Pius Lee Kamau Muchiri	6,606 14.30	
8	EMBAKASI				Godfrey Muhuri Muchiri	9,159 15.26	
	NAIROBI TOTALS		1,916	0.53		78,912 21.65	
	COAST						
9	CHANGAMWE				Ramadhan Seif Kajembe	9,703 27.65	
10	KISAUNI				Said Hemed Said	9,540 29.36	
11	LIKONI				Hisham Abdulla Mwidau	4,860 30.70	
12	MVITA				Shariff Nassir	14,426 51.38	
13	MSAMBWENI				Marere Mwarapoya wa Mwachai	17,188 44.89	
14	MATUGA				Sulleman Mwaronga Kamolleh	13,681 89.15	
15	KINANGO				Simeon Mweru Mkala	16,389 80.72	
16	BAHARI				Jimbe Mwakalu	23,196 70.77	
17	KALOLENI				Mathias Benedit Keah	17,185 58.59	
18	GANZE				Noah Katana Ngala	9,130 74.26	
19	MALINDI				Abubakar Mohammed A. Badawy	10,550 42.75	
20	MAGARINI				David Noti Kombe	6,982 68.96	
21	GARSEN				Molu Galogalo Shambaro	7,471 57.67	
22	GALOLE				Tola Kofa Mugava	7,993 76.57	
23	BURA				Mohamed Abdi Galgalo	2,917 33.32	
24	LAMU EAST	Mohamed Kussoma Bunu	47	0.71	Mohamed Hashim Salim	5,039 75.68	
25	LAMU WEST	Rishad Hamid Ahmed	4,373	31.82	Fahim Yasin Twaha	8,651 64.41	
26	TAVETA				Basil Criticos	7,803 68.34	
27	WUNDANYI				Darius Maaga Mbeia	6,951 58.48	
28	MWATATE				Marsden Herman Madoka	9,410 68.93	
29	VOI				Khamis Chome Abdi	6,303 45.92	
	COAST TOTALS		4,420	1.08		216,528 53.32	
	NORTH EASTERN						
30	DUJIS	Yussuf Mohamed Bare	12	0.07	Hussein Maalim Mohamed	10,218 81.74	
31	LAGDERA				Mohamed Muktar Shidiye	4,395 82.96	
32	FAFI				Yussuf Issa Abdi	2,056 49.63	
33	IJARA				Mohamed Dhahir Werah	2,876 54.83	
34	WAJIR NORTH				Abdullahi Ibrahim Ali	4,047 89.22	
35	WAJIR WEST				Ahmed Khalif Mohamed	4,985 48.62	
36	WAJIR EAST				Mohamed Abdi Mahamud	6,478 68.15	
37	WAJIR SOUTH				Mohamed Abdi Afey	3,582 51.73	
38	MANDERA WEST				Sayid Mohamed Amin	4,781 88.84	
39	MANDERA CENTRAL	Alikheyr Abdi Mohamed	5	0.05	Adan Mohamed Nooru	5,661 51.18	
40	MANDERA EAST	Adan Maalim Abdullahi	12	0.11	Shaaban Ali Isack	7,180 64.60	
	NORTH EASTERN TOTALS		29	0.03		56,197 62.06	
	EASTERN						
41	MOYALE				Dr Gurrach Boru Galgalo	11,102 66.18	
42	NORTH HERR				Bonaya Adhi Rodana	5,404 68.68	
43	SAKU				Abdi Tari Sasura	6,737 88.22	
44	LAISAMIS				Robert Igaramatwa Kochalle	Unopposed	
45	ISIOLO NORTH	Ali Mohammed	133	0.64	Charfano Guyo Mokku	7,151 45.43	
46	ISIOLO SOUTH				Abdullahi Haji Wako	3,791 58.24	
47	IGEMBE				Jackson Nithia Kalweo	15,943 49.68	
48	NTONYIRI	Andrew Mbiko	1,934	7.78	Andrew Kalaga Munoru	7,580 30.42	
49	TIGANIA WEST				Stephen Mukangu	9,937 46.87	
50	TIGANIA EAST				Mathew Adams Karauri	14,421 51.22	
51	NORTH IMENTI				Gideon Kaumbuthu Meenye	17,942 34.30	
52	CENTRAL IMENTI				Joseph K Lailoni M'Mukindia	12,092 29.43	
53	SOUTH IMENTI				Eliphaz Rlungu	12,851 24.90	
54	NITHI				Capt (Ret) Eustace Ntigwa	17,510 33.17	
55	THARAKA				Francis Nyamu Kagwima	9,025 42.44	
56	MANYATTA				Samuel Phineas Gachora	5,235 12.90	
57	RUNYENJES				Cosmas Namu Evans Kathungu	5,479 14.67	
58	GACHOKA	Elikana Muruki Kagundu	3,382	13.57	Joseph William Nyegah	10,147 40.73	
59	SIKAGO				Justin Muturi Njoka	6,617 46.16	
60	MWINGI NORTH				Stephen Kalonzo Musyoka	24,509 68.58	
61	MWINGI SOUTH				David Musila	25,599 80.05	
62	KITUI WEST				Francis Mwanzia Nyenze	17,572 50.40	
63	KITUI CENTRAL				George Mutua Ndotto	10,828 27.39	
64	MUTITO				Julius Kiama Kionzo	3,805 19.47	
65	KITUI SOUTH				Isaac Mutasya Muoki	6,621 30.89	
66	MASINGA				Ronald J Kil'ala	12,888 54.26	
67	YATTA				Joseph Muryao Irutisya	9,620 35.92	
68	KANGUNDO				Joseph Kimeu Ngutu	23,698 51.70	
69	KATHIANI				Jackson Kimeu Mulinge	14,297 40.93	
70	MACHAKOS TOWN				Wilson Masila Muema	16,058 35.67	
71	MWALA				William Kivuvani Mbatia	12,193 30.61	
72	MBOONI				Frederick Mulinge Kalulu	18,133 48.43	
73	KILOME				Antony Wambua Ndilinge	10,368 68.00	
74	KAITI				Gideon Musyoka Ndambuki	11,169 82.02	
75	MAKUENI				Peter Eliud Mutua Maundu	14,896 40.06	
76	KIBWEZI				George Mutua Makwattah	6,932 23.75	
	EASTERN TOTALS		5,448	0.52		417,944 40.18	

National Parliamentary Results

	CONSTITUENCY	EIP			KBC		
		Candidate	Votes	%	Candidate	Votes	%
	NAIROBI						
1	MAKADARA						
2	KAMUKUNJI						
3	STAREHE						
4	LANGATA				Fatma Abeyd Anyanzwa	1,070	2.50
5	DAGORETTI				Jephtha Oeke Oluke	436	1.15
6	WESTLANDS						
7	KASARANI						
8	EMBAKASI				Oman Nixon Nyairo	327	0.54
	NAIROBI TOTALS					1,833	0.60
	COAST						
9	CHANGAMWE				Loise Ndunge Nzioka	340	0.97
10	KISAUNI						
11	LIKONI						
12	MVITA						
13	MSAMBWENI						
14	MATUGA						
15	KINANGO						
16	BAHARI						
17	KALOLENI						
18	GANZE						
19	MALINDI						
20	MAGARINI						
21	GARSEN						
22	GALOLE						
23	BURA				Hassan Shora Odha	17	0.19
24	LAMU EAST						
25	LAMU WEST						
26	TAVETA						
27	WUNDANYI						
28	MWATATE						
29	VOI						
	COAST TOTALS					357	0.09
	NORTH EASTERN						
30	DUJIS				Mahamed Jama Ali	24	0.15
31	LAGDERA						
32	FAFI						
33	IJARA						
34	WAJIR NORTH						
35	WAJIR WEST				Yussuf Mohamed Abubakar	3	0.03
36	WAJIR EAST				Mahat Issak Hussein	6	0.06
37	WAJIR SOUTH						
38	MANDERA WEST						
39	MANDERA CENTRAL						
40	MANDERA EAST						
	NORTH EASTERN TOTALS					33	0.04
	EASTERN						
41	MOYALE						
42	NORTH HERR						
43	SAKU						
44	LAISAMIS						
45	ISIOLO NORTH						
46	ISIOLO SOUTH						
47	IGEMBE						
48	NTONYIRI						
49	TIGANIA WEST						
50	TIGANIA EAST						
51	NORTH IMENTI						
52	CENTRAL IMENTI						
53	SOUTH IMENTI						
54	NITHI						
55	THARAKA						
56	MANYATTA						
57	RUNYENJES						
58	GACHOKA						
59	SIKAKAGO						
60	MWINGI NORTH						
61	MWINGI SOUTH						
62	KITUI WEST						
63	KITUI CENTRAL						
64	MUTITO						
65	KITUI SOUTH						
66	MASINGA						
67	YATTA						
68	KANGUNDO						
69	KATHIANI						
70	MACHAKOS TOWN						
71	MWALA						
72	MBOONI						
73	KILOME						
74	KAJI						
75	MAKUENI						
76	KIBWEZI						
	EASTERN TOTALS						

National Parliamentary Results

	CONSTITUENCY	KENDA			KNC		
		Candidate	Votes	%	Candidate	Votes	%
	NAIROBI						
1	MAKADARA						
2	KAMUKUNJI	Nicholas Gethu Mbugue	152	0.47			
3	STAREHE	Joseph Ngacha Karani	200	0.40			
4	LANGATA						
5	DAGORETTI						
6	WESTLANDS						
7	KABARANI						
8	EMBAKASI				Onesmus Musyoka Mbatia	879 1.46	
	NAIROBI TOTALS		382	0.10		879 0.24	
	COAST						
9	CHANGAMWE						
10	KISAUNI						
11	LIKONI						
12	MVITA						
13	MSAMBWENI				Lennox Victor Telle	1,062 2.78	
14	MATUGA				Mohammed Soud Beti	776 3.35	
15	KINANGO				Samuel Ndupha Mangale	349 1.72	
16	BAHARI						
17	KALO LENI				Prof Katama George Mwangi	1,127 3.91	
18	GANZE						
19	MALINDI						
20	MAGARINI				Harrison G Kombe Muli	1,246 8.73	
21	GARSEN						
22	GALOLE						
23	BURA						
24	LAMU EAST						
25	LAMU WEST				Bwanakheri Bakari Musa	518 3.77	
26	TAVETA						
27	WUNDANYI						
28	MWATATE						
29	VOI						
	COAST TOTALS					6,078 1.24	
	NORTH EASTERN						
30	DIJIS						
31	LAGDERA						
32	FAFI						
33	IJARA						
34	WAJIR NORTH						
35	WAJIR WEST						
36	WAJIR EAST						
37	WAJIR SOUTH	Sahal Sheikh Ali Muhumed	286	4.13			
38	MANDERA WEST						
39	MANDERA CENTRAL						
40	MANDERA EAST						
	NORTH EASTERN TOTALS		286	0.32			
	EASTERN						
41	MOYALE						
42	NORTH HORN						
43	SAKU						
44	LAISAMIS						
45	ISILO NORTH						
46	ISILO SOUTH						
47	IGEMBE						
48	NTONYIRI						
49	TILANIA WEST						
50	TILANIA EAST						
51	NORTH IMENTI						
52	CENTRAL IMENTI						
53	SOUTH IMENTI						
54	NITHI						
55	THARAKA						
56	MANYATTA						
57	RUNYENJES						
58	GACHOKA						
59	SIKAGO						
60	MWINGI NORTH						
61	MWINGI SOUTH						
62	KITUI WEST						
63	KITUI CENTRAL						
64	MUTITO						
65	KITUI SOUTH						
66	MASINGA						
67	YATTA						
68	KANGUNDO						
69	KATHIANI						
70	MACHAKOS TOWN						
71	MWALA						
72	MBOONI						
73	KILOME						
74	KAITI						
75	MAKUENI				Thomas Musyoki Mutuse	6,360 21.79	
76	KIBWEZI						
	EASTERN TOTALS					6,360 0.61	

National Parliamentary Results

	CONSTITUENCY	DAP			FORD-A		
		Candidate	Votes	%	Candidate	Votes	%
	NAIROBI						
1	MAKADARA				Jane Wlunda Daisy	482	1.06
2	KAMUKUNJI				George G Wilson Nthenge	607	1.66
3	STAREHE						
4	LANGATA				John Musunjil Khyaniri	523	1.22
5	DAGORETTI	Hezron Nyerere K Magunza	74	0.20	Alex Jimmy Mukabwa	681	1.80
6	WESTLANDS				Wanguhu Ng'ang'a	685	1.39
7	KASARANI				Francis Njuru Ngugi	1,953	4.23
8	EMBAKASI						
	NAIROBI TOTALS		74	0.02		4,931	1.35
	COAST						
9	CHANGAMWE				Lukas Adams	279	0.79
10	KISAUNI						
11	LIKONI				Grace Wakarima Gituma	431	2.72
12	MVITA						
13	MSAMBWENI						
14	MATUGA						
15	KINANGO						
16	BAHARI						
17	KALOLENI						
18	GANZE						
19	MALINDI						
20	MAGARINI						
21	GARSEN						
22	GALOLE						
23	BURA						
24	LAMU EAST						
25	LAMU WEST						
26	TAVETA						
27	WUNDANYI						
28	MWATATE						
29	VOI						
	COAST TOTALS		-	-		710	0.17
	NORTH EASTERN						
30	DUJIS						
31	LAGDERA						
32	FAFI						
33	IJARA				Sophia Abdi Noor	2,355	44.90
34	WAJIR NORTH						
35	WAJIR WEST						
36	WAJIR EAST				Mohamed Irshat Hassan	2,360	24.83
37	WAJIR SOUTH						
38	MANDERA WEST						
39	MANDERA CENTRAL				Mohamed Ali Farah	1,709	15.45
40	MANDERA EAST				Abdirahaman Abdinoor	383	3.28
	NORTH EASTERN TOTALS		-	-		6,787	7.49
	EASTERN						
41	MOYALE						
42	NORTH HERR						
43	SAKU						
44	LAISAMIS						
45	ISIOLO NORTH						
46	ISIOLO SOUTH						
47	IGEMBE						
48	NTONYIRI						
49	TIGANIA WEST						
50	TIGANIA EAST						
51	NORTH IMENTI				Peter Kunga J M'Mungania	640	1.22
52	CENTRAL IMENTI						
53	SOUTH IMENTI						
54	NITHI						
55	THARAKA						
56	MANYATTA						
57	RUNYENJES				Augustine Njeru Kathangu	20,847	56.03
58	GACHOKA						
59	SIKAGO						
60	MWINGI NORTH						
61	MWINGI SOUTH						
62	KITUI WEST						
63	KITUI CENTRAL						
64	MUTITO				Jacob Kilunde Mulaty	4,821	24.07
65	KITUI SOUTH						
66	MASINGA						
67	YATTA						
68	KANGUNDO						
69	KATHIANI						
70	MACHAKOS TOWN						
71	MWALA						
72	MBOONI						
73	KILOME						
74	KAITI						
75	MAKUENI						
76	KIBWEZI						
	EASTERN TOTALS		-	-		28,008	2.80

National Parliamentary Results

	CONSTITUENCY	DP			FORD-K		
		Candidate	Votes	%	Candidate	Votes	%
	NAIROBI						
1	MAKADARA	Paul Kamau Mugeke	17,916	38.40	Wafule Musamia	3,598	7.91
2	KAMUKUNJI	Norman M G K Nyagah	10,477	32.11	Ellakim Malumba Victor	983	3.01
3	STAREHE	Melina Kamanda	23,780	47.39	Hannington Zebedy Apudo	2,748	5.48
4	LANGATA	George Njage Ngentu	4,667	10.89	Ernest Sogwe Muhonza	2,000	4.67
5	DAGORETTI	James Gichuru Kirubi	3,944	10.40	Ferdinand Kevin Wanyonyi	2,872	7.58
6	WESTLANDS	Betty Njeri Tett	17,877	36.38	Batroba Chang'eda Kemoli	4,137	8.42
7	KASARANI	Adolf Isaac Muchiri	16,179	35.02			
8	EMBAKASI	David Solomon Kamau Mwenje	23,953	38.91	Jael Ogombe Mbogo	3,801	6.33
	NAIROBI TOTALS		118,793	32.60		20,137	5.53
	COAST						
9	CHANGAMWE	Joseph Kennedy Kiliku	9,192	28.19	Mohamed Faku Mwiriyahaji	3,753	10.69
10	KISAUNI	Emmanuel Karisa Maithe	10,074	31.01	Abubakar A Mohamed Awadh	2,035	6.26
11	LIKONI	Dr Sammy Kents Wafule	906	5.72	Khalid Salim Mwarumo	1,665	10.52
12	MVITA	Gabriel Kinda Ngala	1,939	6.90	Omar Mwiriyi Shimbwa	1,998	7.11
13	MSAMBWENI	Yusuf Hassan Mubwana	10,692	27.96			
14	MATUGA						
15	KINANGO	Milagwa Saakumi Kubwa	735	3.62			
16	BAHARI	John Safari Mumba	3,201	9.77	Timothy Mtana Lewa	2,521	7.69
17	KALOLENI	Japhet Kahindi Chea Shaha	2,534	8.80	Samson Vidzo Petaro Mwaro	160	0.56
18	GANZE	Kenneth Karisa Baya	1,308	10.64	Morris Wasai Hara	67	0.54
19	MALINDI	Francis Bobi Tuva	5,070	20.54	Jamal Mohamed Sheikh	988	4.00
20	MAGARINI	Katana Ndzai	353	2.47	Joseph Kasena Yeri	2,279	15.97
21	GARSEN						
22	GALOLE	Davidson Maina Kanuku	1,038	9.94	Mark Timona Maro	267	2.56
23	BURA	Mahadh Ali Loka	1,214	13.87	Husein Falama Wano	35	0.40
24	LAMU EAST	Bwanahamadi Mohamed Bwanah	184	2.76	Salim Ali Mohamed Fani	35	0.53
25	LAMU WEST						
26	TAVETA						
27	WUNDANYI	Mborio Mashengu Wa Mwachofi	4,531	38.12	Wisdom Mwakudus Nyange	252	2.12
28	MWATATE	Callist Andrew Mwatela	4,328	30.32	Philip Mwaraza Mombo	127	0.89
29	VOI	Basili Nguku Mwakirirngo	6,377	48.48			
	COAST TOTALS		63,676	18.54		16,182	3.95
	NORTH EASTERN						
30	DUJIS	Abdikadir Hassan Yussuf	1,722	10.40			
31	LAGDERA	Hassan Mohamed Aress	16	0.23			
32	FAFI						
33	UARA	Abdi Salat Agelab	5	0.10	Abdirahmaan S Mahat	5	0.10
34	WAJIR NORTH				Osman Yusuf Abdullahi	32	0.76
35	WAJIR WEST	Abdullahi Abdi Ali	15	0.15			
36	WAJIR EAST	Adan Sheikh Omar	36	0.38			
37	WAJIR SOUTH	Ahmed Abdi Ogje	3,050	44.04			
38	MANDERA WEST	Maalim Issack Adan	11	0.23	Kulow Maalim Hassan	28	0.58
39	MANDERA CENTRAL				Alihaji Ali Abdi Baricha	85	0.77
40	MANDERA EAST	Abdi Issak Ahmed	111	1.00	Abdi Hassan Haji	3,400	30.66
	NORTH EASTERN TOTALS		4,966	5.48		3,550	3.92
	EASTERN						
41	MOYALE	Osman Abajilo Araru	1,348	8.04	Qualicha Diba Elema	4,244	25.30
42	NORTH HORN						
43	SAKU	Danso Barako Guyo	3,138	31.78			
44	LAISAMIS						
45	ISIOLO NORTH	Tache Wako Gaji	6,771	43.01	Sebastian Muthaura Kiome	474	3.01
46	ISIOLO SOUTH	Adam Wako Bonaya	96	1.47	Dida Jaldeza	2,622	40.28
47	IGEMBE	Erastus Mbaabu	5,216	16.22			
48	NTONYIRI	Richard Maore Maoka	18,117	60.87			
49	TIGANIA WEST	Benjamin Ravel Ndubai	11,001	61.89			
50	TIGANIA EAST	Ntai Nkuraru	11,465	40.72			
51	NORTH IMENTI	Daudi Mwiraria	33,722	64.47			
52	CENTRAL IMENTI	Henry Kinyua	1,889	4.60	Gitobu Imanyara	27,112	65.98
53	SOUTH IMENTI	Kiraitu Murungi	38,183	73.84			
54	NITHI	Bernard Njoka Mutani	20,820	39.06			
55	THARAKA	Ciello Murango Mwendu	11,876	56.31			
56	MANYATTA	Petar Njeru Ndwiga	32,949	81.18	Nemasius Ndwiga Kenyan	562	1.38
57	RUNYENJES	Benjamin Getaria Wamugunda	9,003	24.11	Margaret Waveti Mugeni	152	0.41
58	GACHOKA				Beatrice Kanini Nyagah	948	3.81
59	SIKAGO	Silas M'Njamiu Ita	8,764	82.33			
60	MWINGI NORTH	Joseph Musyimi Muryungi	9,835	27.52			
61	MWINGI SOUTH	John Mungei Nzambu	6,379	19.95			
62	KITUI WEST						
63	KITUI CENTRAL						
64	MUTITO	Daniel Konzi Mwove	189	0.97	Titus Musyoka Muungani	36	0.18
65	KITUI SOUTH	Patrice Ezekiel Mvuti	6,012	28.05			
66	MASINGA						
67	YATTA	Dr James F Suva	1,018	3.79			
68	KANGUNDO	Joshua Musyoka Kitonga	1,639	3.58			
69	KATHIANI						
70	MACHAKOS TOWN	John Elijah Wambua	1,382	3.07			
71	MWALA	John Philip Luusa	3,443	8.64	Joseph Musyoki Ndolo	3,923	9.85
72	MBOONI	Joseph Konzollo Muryao	9,001	25.90			
73	KILOME	John Muenge Ngui	320	2.10			
74	KAITI	John Kaleli Kavali	505	2.35			
75	MAKUJENI	David Sila Nzoki	846	2.28			
76	KIBWEZI	Wilson Musembi Ndetei	820	3.15			
	EASTERN TOTALS		253,714	24.39		40,073	3.85

National Parliamentary Results

	CONSTITUENCY	BDP		RRP		
		Candidate	Votes	%	Candidate	Votes
	NAIROBI					
1	MAKADARA	Joe Owaka Ager	5,184	11.36		
2	KAMUKUNJI	Anne Ndunge Bittock	1,986	6.09		
3	STAREHE	Francis Kirubi	4,632	9.23		
4	LANGATA				Lihanda Kereni Sava	252 0.59
5	DAGORETTI	Beth Wambui Mugo	21,748	87.38		
6	WESTLANDS	Eddah Rubia	2,536	5.16		
7	KABARANI	Issac Waihenya Ndirangu	3,630	7.86		
8	EMBAKASI	Florence Adhiambo Awuoch	4,884	8.14		
	NAIROBI TOTALS		44,877	12.23		252 0.07
	COAST					
9	CHANGAMWE	William Makau Nduva	5,331	15.19		
10	KISAUNI	Rahab Wanjiku Mwendwa	2,832	8.72		
11	LIKONI	Salim Mwakutsama	634	4.00		
12	MVITA	Juma Omar Aly Bedzimba	1,509	5.37		
13	MSAMBWENI	Samuel Chege Kamau	1,297	3.39		
14	MATUGA	Masudi Ali Mwakileo	663	2.87		
15	KINANGO					
16	BAHARI					
17	KALOLENI	Edwin Githire Muinge	4,986	17.31		
18	GANZE	Moses Kiteo	1,789	14.55		
19	MALINDI	Naomi M Sidi Kumbatha	1,302	5.28		
20	MAGARINI	Morris Yaa Mangi	85	0.60		
21	GARSEN					
22	GALOLE					
23	BURA	Ali Shebe Said	1,781	20.34		
24	LAMU EAST					
25	LAMU WEST					
26	TAVETA	Mwacharo Kubo Tayo	3,615	31.66		
27	WUNDANYI					
28	MWATATE					
29	VOI	Richard Mwambi Mwangaka	1,047	7.63		
	COAST TOTALS		26,671	6.56		
	NORTH EASTERN					
30	DLUIS	Abdullahi Haji Muhamed	66	0.41		
31	LAGDERA					
32	FAFI	Abdullahi Sirat Osman				
33	IJARA					
34	WAJIR NORTH					
35	WAJIR WEST	Abdi Birik Abdinur	36	0.35		
36	WAJIR EAST	Abdi Sheikh Mohamed	594	6.25		
37	WAJIR SOUTH					
38	MANDERA WEST					
39	MANDERA CENTRAL					
40	MANDERA EAST					
	NORTH EASTERN TOTALS		696	0.77		
	EASTERN					
41	MOYALE					
42	NORTH HORN					
43	SAKU					
44	LAISAMIS					
45	ISIOLO NORTH	Tarcisus Kobia	1,065	6.77		
46	ISIOLO SOUTH					
47	IGEMBE	Joseph Mwenda Malebe	442	1.37		
48	NTONYIRI					
49	TIGANIA WEST					
50	TIGANIA EAST					
51	NORTH IMENTI					
52	CENTRAL IMENTI					
53	SOUTH IMENTI					
54	NITHI	Kiruja Ruchiani	759	1.44		
55	THARAKA	Samuel L. Mugwira Gaichura	128	0.60		
56	MANYATTA	John Njagi Njeru	687	2.19		
57	RUNYENJES	Silas Nderi Nyegah	952	2.55		
58	GACHOKA	Albert Mugire Njeru	943	3.79		
59	SIKAGO	Vincent Ngari Njoka	224	1.20		
60	MWINGI NORTH	John Hunter Musee	1,395	3.90		
61	MWINGI SOUTH					
62	KITUI WEST	Nzuki Mwinzi Nzuki	17,009	48.78		
63	KITUI CENTRAL	Charity Kaluki Ngitu	28,172	72.61		
64	MUTITO	Jimmy Muthui Kitonga	10,612	84.30		
65	KITUI SOUTH	Samuel Kalli Kiminza	8,623	40.24		
66	MASINGA	P M Katu	10,861	45.74		
67	YATTA	Francis Philip Wambua	16,003	89.72		
68	KANGUNDO	Joseph Wambua Muluya	20,499	44.72		
69	KATHIANI	Kyalo Peter Kalindi	20,630	59.07		
70	MACHAKOS TOWN	Jonesmus Mwanza Kikuyu	27,093	60.18		
71	MWALA	John Mutsa Katuku	16,748	42.04		
72	MBOONI	Michael B Muli Ikumbi	9,614	27.67		
73	KILOME	Benjamin Kyalo Muthoka	4,559	29.90		
74	KATI	Adelina Ndeto Mwau	8,653	41.27		
75	MAKUENI	Prof Paul Muhwa Sumbi	21,420	87.64		
76	KIBWEZI	Onesmus Mutinda Mboko	14,219	48.72		
	EASTERN TOTALS		241,710	23.24		

National Parliamentary Results

	CONSTITUENCY	SPK			TOTAL VOTES				
		Candidate	Votes	%	Total cast	Rejected	Total Valid	% Valid	% Rejected
	NAIROBI								
1	MAKADARA				45,937	482	45,475	98.99	1.01
2	KAMUKUNJI				33,070	446	32,624	98.65	1.35
3	STAREHE				52,873	2,497	50,176	95.28	4.74
4	LANGATA				44,225	1,357	42,868	96.93	3.07
5	DAGORETTI				38,864	755	37,909	98.05	1.95
6	WESTLANDS				50,588	1,424	49,144	97.18	2.82
7	KASARANI				47,897	1,898	46,199	96.45	3.55
8	EMBAKASI				61,319	1,297	60,022	97.88	2.12
	NAIROBI TOTALS				374,383	9,936	364,417	97.35	2.65
	COAST								
9	CHANGAMWE				36,098	1,000	35,098	97.23	2.77
10	KISAUNI	Thomas Mwangi	481	1.48	33,204	716	32,488	97.84	2.16
11	LIKONI	Suleiman Shakombo	5,297	33.48	16,059	227	15,832	98.59	1.41
12	MVITA	Mbwana Ali Warrakah	961	3.42	28,896	802	28,094	97.22	2.78
13	MSAMBWENI	Kassim Abdalla Juma	5,664	14.81	39,118	873	38,245	97.77	2.23
14	MATUGA	Mwagomba Mwirnyi Mwapu	7,773	33.81	23,687	567	23,130	97.61	2.39
15	KINANGO				20,400	96	20,304	99.53	0.47
16	BAHARI	Maurice Mboja	1,053	3.21	33,218	441	32,777	98.67	1.33
17	KALOENI	Leslie George Mwachiro	721	2.50	29,159	353	28,806	98.79	1.21
18	GANZE				12,410	116	12,294	99.07	0.93
19	MALINDI				25,028	350	24,678	98.60	1.40
20	MAGARINI				14,505	237	14,268	98.37	1.63
21	GARSEN	Omara Abee Kalasiga	540	4.17	13,096	141	12,955	98.92	1.08
22	GALOLE				10,831	392	10,439	96.38	3.62
23	BURA				8,862	108	8,754	98.78	1.22
24	LAMU EAST				6,725	87	6,638	99.00	1.00
25	LAMU WEST				13,985	223	13,742	98.40	1.60
26	TAVETA				11,546	128	11,418	98.89	1.11
27	WUNDANYI				12,106	219	11,887	98.19	1.81
28	MWATATE				14,513	240	14,273	98.35	1.65
29	VOI				14,114	387	13,727	97.26	2.74
	COAST TOTALS		22,480	5.49	417,860	7,683	409,887	98.18	1.84
	NORTH EASTERN								
30	DIJIS				16,680	130	16,550	99.22	0.78
31	LAGDERA				6,989	61	6,928	99.13	0.87
32	FAFI				4,139	13	4,126	99.69	0.31
33	LJARA				5,281	16	5,245	99.70	0.30
34	WAJIR NORTH				4,092	13	4,079	99.68	0.32
35	WAJIR WEST				10,284	30	10,254	99.71	0.29
36	WAJIR EAST				9,551	48	9,503	99.50	0.50
37	WAJIR SOUTH				7,002	77	6,925	98.90	1.10
38	MANDERA WEST				4,868	51	4,817	98.95	1.05
39	MANDERA CENTRAL				11,168	107	11,061	99.04	0.96
40	MANDERA EAST				11,168	87	11,081	99.22	0.78
	NORTH EASTERN TOTALS				81,202	633	80,569	99.31	0.69
	EASTERN								
41	MOYALE				17,007	231	16,776	98.64	1.36
42	NORTH HORN				7,851	6	7,845	99.92	0.08
43	SAKU				10,011	136	9,875	98.64	1.36
44	LAISAMIS								
45	ISIOLO NORTH				15,794	52	15,742	99.67	0.33
46	ISIOLO SOUTH				6,560	51	6,509	99.22	0.78
47	IGEMBE				32,241	89	32,152	99.72	0.28
48	NTONYIRI				25,189	252	24,917	99.00	1.00
49	TIGANIA WEST				21,802	402	21,200	98.14	1.86
50	TIGANIA EAST				28,411	257	28,154	99.10	0.90
51	NORTH IMENTI				52,615	311	52,304	99.41	0.59
52	CENTRAL IMENTI				42,177	1,084	41,093	97.43	2.57
53	SOUTH IMENTI				53,047	1,446	51,601	97.27	2.73
54	NITHI				53,253	457	52,796	99.14	0.86
55	THARAKA				21,359	94	21,265	99.56	0.44
56	MANYATTA				40,831	243	40,588	99.40	0.60
57	RUNYENJES				38,402	1,088	37,336	97.22	2.78
58	GACHOKA				25,095	181	24,914	99.28	0.72
59	SIKAGO				18,800	140	18,660	99.26	0.74
60	MWINGI NORTH				36,068	329	35,739	99.08	0.92
61	MWINGI SOUTH				32,400	422	31,978	98.70	1.30
62	KITUI WEST				35,290	422	34,868	98.80	1.20
63	KITUI CENTRAL				38,862	152	38,600	99.61	0.39
64	MUTITO				18,544	-	18,544	100.00	-
65	KITUI SOUTH				21,805	174	21,431	99.19	0.81
66	MASINGA				23,747	-	23,747	100.00	-
67	YATTA				27,179	384	26,795	98.58	1.42
68	KANGUNDO				46,891	1,056	45,836	97.75	2.25
69	KATHIANI				35,374	447	34,927	98.74	1.26
70	MACHAKOS TOWN				45,866	647	45,019	98.58	1.42
71	MWALA				39,838	-	39,838	100.00	-
72	MBOONI				35,317	589	34,748	98.39	1.61
73	KILOME				15,451	204	15,247	98.68	1.32
74	KAFFI				22,283	830	21,453	96.28	3.72
75	MAKUJENI				37,772	610	37,162	98.39	1.61
76	KIBWEZI				28,986	800	28,186	97.33	2.67
	EASTERN TOTALS				1,053,588	13,543	1,040,045	98.71	1.29

National Parliamentary Results

	CONSTITUENCY	TURNOUT		PICK			NDP		
		Regd Voters	%	Candidate	Votes	%	Candidate	Votes	%
	CENTRAL								
77	KINANGOP	47,314	81.28						
78	KIPIPIRI	26,309	82.52						
79	OL KALOU	48,589	81.26						
80	NDARAGWA	27,444	80.94						
81	TETU	31,300	87.43						
82	KIENI	49,497	82.75						
83	MATHIRA	61,394	78.74						
84	OTHAYA	36,124	89.80				Dr Paul Mcharia Ndirangu	109	0.34
85	MUKURUWEINI	33,419	86.03						
86	NYERI TOWN	44,644	79.19				Kenneth Kimara Nguru	421	1.20
87	MWEA	43,170	74.80						
88	GICHUGU	48,593	80.16						
89	NDIA	33,898	82.18				Silas Gachanja Kinyeki	794	2.89
90	KERUGOYA/KUTUS	43,595	71.40						
91	KANGEMA	29,182	78.83						
92	MATHIOYA	36,747	78.83						
93	KIHARU	67,381	57.32						
94	KIGUMO	42,741	48.28						
95	MARAGWA	42,579	67.39						
96	KANDARA	52,496	76.28						
97	GATANGA	55,537	72.72						
98	GATUNDU SOUTH	43,209	80.13						
99	GATUNDU NORTH	33,884	79.56				Samuel Muciri Wanjugu	2,820	10.64
100	JUJA	89,975	57.22				Isaac Nyamane Masese Nyagaka	3,065	5.99
101	GITHUNGURI	53,885	83.70						
102	KIAMBAA	66,747	82.46				Samuel Maina K Nganga	376	0.67
103	KABETE	68,669	79.90						
104	LIMURU	45,183	73.74				George M Nyanja	20,319	81.35
105	LARI	39,127	79.80						
	CENTRAL TOTALS	1,344,812	78.86					27,884	2.77
	RIFT VALLEY								
106	TURKANA NORTH	26,433	50.96						
107	TURKANA CENTRAL	33,831	49.24						
108	TURKANA SOUTH	18,368	43.01						
109	KACHELIBA	13,786	65.52						
110	KAPENGURIA	36,520							
111	SIGOR	31,840							
112	SAMBURU WEST	31,020	73.88				Lawrence Sebastian Lorunyi	315	1.41
113	SAMBURU EAST	10,827	67.01				Peter Lasaari Kupanai	29	0.40
114	KWANZA	48,930	77.18				Richard Mutai Tumwet	520	1.40
115	SABOTI	82,836	71.85				Joel Kibwot Mutwol	1,424	2.45
116	CHERANGANI	37,054	77.82						
117	ELDORET NORTH	90,947	71.59				Tom Simyu Mapesa	3,211	5.04
118	ELDORET EAST	51,785							
119	ELDORET SOUTH	52,812	75.58						
120	MARAKWET EAST	20,965	84.03				Johnstone Barmarony Kassenge	99	0.57
121	MARAKWET WEST	28,014	84.27						
122	KEIYO NORTH	21,947	84.31						
123	KEIYO SOUTH	33,060	84.20						
124	MOSOP	40,202	84.90				Felicity Irene Magut	1,119	3.30
125	ALDAI	40,401	79.41						
126	EMGWEN	50,040	77.91				Henry Kiplagat Arap Kemel	910	2.37
127	TINDERET	52,970	77.35				Raymond Kipkoeh Chelulei	4,471	11.07
128	BARINGO EAST	15,380							
129	BARINGO NORTH	28,681							
130	BARINGO CENTRAL	42,976	89.10						
131	MOGOTIO	18,456	85.29						
132	ELDAMA RAVINE	31,181	81.40						
133	LAIKIPIA WEST	66,393	81.21						
134	LAIKIPIA EAST	45,933	71.12						
135	NAIVASHA	89,774	62.93				James Kahora Kuria	4,636	8.36
136	NAKURU TOWN	89,383	58.30				Joseph Muthia Gichuru	9,078	17.67
137	KUREBOI	54,819	85.97						
138	MOLO	75,942	78.57						
139	RONGAI	44,778	78.51						
140	SUBUKA	45,300	79.09						
141	KILGORIS	47,790	72.80	Deniel Talengo Kiptunen	116	0.34			
142	NAROK NORTH	48,866							
143	NAROK SOUTH	48,092	88.47						
144	KAJIADO NORTH	64,651	89.08				Prof Geoffrey M ole Maloiy	2,311	5.27
145	KAJIADO CENTRAL	28,417	83.12						
146	KAJIADO SOUTH	32,280	75.00						
147	BOMET	55,873							
148	CHEPALUNGU	39,950							
149	SOTIK	44,128	85.89	Taaita Towett	1,069	2.89			
150	KONOIN	44,100	75.31				Ronald Kipng'etich Ngeny	5,218	15.83
151	BURET	38,453	86.16						
152	BELGUT	50,170							
153	AINAMOI	53,900	75.77				Dikacus Kipchirchir Ngetich	1,844	4.60
154	KIPKELION	57,897							
	RIFT VALLEY TOTALS	2,156,504	80.28		1,205	0.09		35,183	2.74

National Parliamentary Results

	CONSTITUENCY	UMMA			LPD		
		Candidate	Votes	%	Candidate	Votes	%
	CENTRAL						
77	KINANGOP						
78	KIPIPIRI						
79	OL KALOU						
80	NDARAGWA						
81	TETU						
82	KIENI						
83	MATHIRA						
84	OTHAYA						
85	MUKURUWEINI						
86	NYERI TOWN						
87	MWEA						
88	GICHUGU						
89	NDIA						
90	KERUGOYA/KUTUS						
91	KANGEMA						
92	MATHIOYA						
93	KIHARU						
94	KIGUMO						
95	MARAGWA						
96	KANDARA	Waweru Ngethe	734	1.85			
97	GATANGA						
98	GATUNDU SOUTH						
99	GATUNDU NORTH				Clement Benson Gachanja	5,018	18.93
100	JUJA						
101	QITHUNGURI				Kimyanjui Arthur Magugu	19,694	44.40
102	KIAMBAA						
103	KABETE						
104	LIMURU						
105	LARI						
	CENTRAL TOTALS		734	0.07		24,712	2.48
	RIFT VALLEY						
106	TURKANA NORTH						
107	TURKANA CENTRAL						
108	TURKANA SOUTH						
109	KACHELIBA						
110	KAPENGURIA						
111	SIGOR						
112	SAMBURU WEST						
113	SAMBURU EAST						
114	KWANZA						
115	SABOTI						
116	CHERANGANI						
117	ELDORET NORTH						
118	ELDORET EAST						
119	ELDORET SOUTH						
120	MARAKWET EAST						
121	MARAKWET WEST						
122	KEIYO NORTH						
123	KEIYO SOUTH						
124	MOSOP						
125	ALDAI						
126	EMGWEN						
127	TINDERET						
128	BARINGO EAST						
129	BARINGO NORTH						
130	BARINGO CENTRAL						
131	MOGOTIO						
132	ELDAMA RAVINE						
133	LAIKPIA WEST						
134	LAIKPIA EAST						
135	NAIVASHA						
136	NAKURU TOWN						
137	KURESOI						
138	MOLO						
139	RONGAI						
140	SUBUKIA						
141	KILGORIS						
142	NAROK NORTH						
143	NAROK SOUTH						
144	KAJIADO NORTH						
145	KAJIADO CENTRAL						
146	KAJIADO SOUTH						
147	BOMET						
148	CHEPALUNGU						
149	SOTIK						
150	KONOI						
151	BURET						
152	BELGUT						
153	AINAMOI						
154	KIPKELION						
	RIFT VALLEY TOTALS						

National Parliamentary Results

	CONSTITUENCY	GAP			UPPK		
		Candidate	Vote	%	Candidate	Vote	%
	CENTRAL						
77	KINANGOP						
78	KIPIPIRI						
79	OL KALOU						
80	NDARAGWA						
81	TETU						
82	KIENI						
83	MATHIRA						
84	OTHAYA						
85	MUKURUWEINI						
86	NYERI TOWN						
87	MWEA						
88	GICHUGU						
89	NDIA						
90	KERUGOYA/KUTUS						
91	KANGEMA						
92	MATHIOYA						
93	KIHARU						
94	KIGUMO						
95	MARAGWA				S K Kanuki	4,734	16.99
96	KANDARA						
97	GATANGA						
98	GATUNDU SOUTH						
99	GATUNDU NORTH						
100	JUJA						
101	GITHUNGURI						
102	KIAMBAA						
103	KABETE						
104	LIMURU						
105	LARI						
	CENTRAL TOTALS			-		4,734	0.47
	RIFT VALLEY						
106	TURKANA NORTH						
107	TURKANA CENTRAL						
108	TURKANA SOUTH						
109	KACHELUBA						
110	KAPENGURIA						
111	SIGOR						
112	SAMBURU WEST						
113	SAMBURU EAST						
114	KWANZA						
115	SABOTI						
116	CHERANGANI						
117	ELDORET NORTH						
118	ELDORET EAST						
119	ELDORET SOUTH						
120	MARAKWET EAST						
121	MARAKWET WEST						
122	KEIYO NORTH						
123	KEIYO SOUTH						
124	MOSOP						
125	ALDAI						
126	EMGWEN						
127	TINDERET						
128	BARINGO EAST						
129	BARINGO NORTH						
130	BARINGO CENTRAL						
131	MOGOTIO						
132	ELDAMA RAVINE						
133	LAIKIPIA WEST						
134	LAIKIPIA EAST						
135	NAIVASHA						
136	NAKURU TOWN						
137	KURESOI						
138	MOLO						
139	RONGAI						
140	SUBUKIA						
141	KILGORIS						
142	NAROK NORTH						
143	NAROK SOUTH						
144	KAJIADO NORTH						
145	KAJIADO CENTRAL						
146	KAJIADO SOUTH						
147	BOMET						
148	CHEPALUNGU						
149	SOTIK						
150	KONON						
151	BURET						
152	BELGUT						
153	AINAMOI						
154	KIPKELION						
	RIFT VALLEY TOTALS			-		-	-

National Parliamentary Results

	CONSTITUENCY	LPK			SAFINA		
		Candidate	Votes	%	Candidate	Votes	%
	CENTRAL						
77	KINANGOP				Leonard Gugu Njoroge	666 1.75	
78	KIPIPIRI				Simon Peter Mburu	460 2.13	
79	OL KALOU				James Irungu Wakaba	6,766 17.38	
80	NDARAGWA						
81	TETU	Wangari Muta Meathai	905	3.32			
82	KIENI						
83	MATHIRA	James Weru Maina	296	0.63			
84	OTHAYA						
85	MUKURUWEINI				Godfrey Karuki Mwangi	7,141 24.90	
86	NYERI TOWN	Peter Gitari Weru	223	0.63			
87	MWEA	Kibugi Kathigi	694	2.17	David Njue Kabugo	944 2.96	
88	GICHUGU	Phineas Njeru Njuno	3,189	8.19			
89	NDIA	Stephen Aurelius Gachua	134	0.49			
90	KERUGOYA/KUTUS	James Njagi Njiru	366	1.20			
91	KANGEMA						
92	MATHIOYA						
93	KIHARU	William Ngara Mwangi	411	1.09	Ignatius Ngenye Karuki	27,369 72.38	
94	KIGUMO	D K W Wanjagi	1,871	9.28	S M Mwangi	452 2.24	
95	MARAGWA				Karuki Leonard Nduati	4,627 16.61	
96	KANDARA	Fredrick Kiryanjui Kiruthi	327	0.83			
97	GATANGA	Jerad Amos Kabugi	233	0.59	Francis Mbugua Mwhia	1,114 2.81	
98	GATUNDU SOUTH				Joseph Kimani Kagombe	1,014 2.96	
99	GATUNDU NORTH	Julius Mbugua Bacha	571	2.15	Anthony Kamuru Gitau	4,386 16.54	
100	JUJA				Peter Wangai Kiama	922 1.61	
101	GITHUNGURI				Muhia David Gitau	590 1.33	
102	KIAMBAA				John Kamau Icharia	5,626 10.00	
103	KABETE				Paul Kibugi Muihe	48,504 89.80	
104	LIMURU				Joseph Magu Gitau	344 1.04	
105	LARI				Philip Gichuru Gitonga	11,666 37.58	
	CENTRAL TOTALS		9,220	0.92		122,490 12.18	
	RIFT VALLEY						
106	TURKANA NORTH						
107	TURKANA CENTRAL						
108	TURKANA SOUTH						
109	KACHELIBA						
110	KAPENGURIA						
111	SIGOR						
112	SAMBURU WEST						
113	SAMBURU EAST						
114	KWANZA						
115	SABOTI						
116	CHERANGANI						
117	ELDORET NORTH						
118	ELDORET EAST						
119	ELDORET SOUTH						
120	MARAKWET EAST						
121	MARAKWET WEST						
122	KEIYO NORTH				Gilbert Koeh Lagat	5,517 29.93	
123	KEIYO SOUTH						
124	MOSOP						
125	ALDAI				Sammy Kipcho Choge	9,529 30.00	
126	EMGWEN						
127	TINDERET						
128	BARINGO EAST						
129	BARINGO NORTH						
130	BARINGO CENTRAL						
131	MOGOTIO						
132	ELDAMA RAVINE						
133	LAIKIPIA WEST				Bartholomew Gichuru Gathuo	1,199 2.25	
134	LAIKIPIA EAST						
135	NAIVASHA				Rumba Knuthia	8,491 15.32	
136	NAKURU TOWN						
137	KURESOI						
138	MOLO	George Wainaina Nganga	401	0.69	Njuguna G G Ngengi	2,041 3.52	
139	RONGAI				Kennedy Karungu Ngigi	529 1.58	
140	SUBUKIA						
141	KILGORIS						
142	NAROK NORTH						
143	NAROK SOUTH						
144	KAJIADO NORTH						
145	KAJIADO CENTRAL				Stephen Kapsai ole Leken	10,683 45.78	
146	KAJIADO SOUTH						
147	BOMET						
148	CHEPALUNGU						
149	SOTIK						
150	KONDIIN						
151	BURET						
152	BELGUT						
153	AINAMOI						
154	KIPKELION						
	RIFT VALLEY TOTALS		401	0.03		37,889 2.99	

National Parliamentary Results

	CONSTITUENCY	FORD-P			KANU		
		Candidate	Votes	%	Candidate	Votes	%
	CENTRAL						
77	KINANGOP	Mwangi K Walthaka	23,141	80.81	Stephen Flavian Mwangi	2,935	7.71
78	KIPIPIRI	Nyolke wa Kimani	7,831	35.41	James Kabingu Muregi	1,451	6.73
79	OL KALOU	Ezekiel Karanja Ndune	1,436	3.69	Stephen Kimani Gakenia	1,704	4.38
80	NDARAGWA	Geoffrey G Muchiri	822	3.74	Gabriel Thumbi Ndungu	1,709	7.77
81	TETU				Nahashon Kanyi Walthaka	1,994	7.32
82	KIENI				John Gitiche Mbae	2,507	6.14
83	MATHIRA				Peter Ngibuni Kuguru	8,096	17.32
84	OTHAYA				Stanley Maina Benjamin	610	1.89
85	MUKURUWEINI				John Waweru Kamau	2,000	6.98
86	NYERI TOWN				Peter Gichohi Muriithi	3,428	9.74
87	MWEA				Ibrahim Reuben Mutugi	2,253	7.08
88	GICHUGU	Allan Mbogo Mugwimi	197	0.51	Harry Fredrick Mugo	4,680	12.02
89	NDIA				John Githul Mithamo	1,199	4.38
90	KERUGOYAKUTUS				John Ngata Kartuki	1,992	6.53
91	KANGEMA	John Njoroge Michuki	17,707	80.43	Naftali Ngeru	4,308	19.57
92	MATHIOYA	Francis Njakwa Githiari	13,009	48.57	John Joseph Kamotho	11,517	41.23
93	KIHARU				Dr Julius Gikonyo Kiano	5,666	14.98
94	KIGUMO	O G Mburu	1,897	9.41	J B K Mwaura	1,416	7.02
95	MARAGWA	Maina Chege	7,086	25.44	Rebecca M Mwangi	1,370	4.92
96	KANDARA	George Ndungu Mhiciigi	7,441	18.78	David Murzya Thuo	3,981	10.05
97	GATANGA	Julius Mwangi Njuru	7,095	17.91	Samuel Kamau Macharia	8,123	20.50
98	GATUNDU SOUTH				Uhuru Mugai Karyatta	10,632	31.01
99	GATUNDU NORTH				Moshe Mutua Kihu	515	1.94
100	JUJA				Paul Hato Kigamba	7,035	13.79
101	GITHUNGURI	Paul Karuga Njuguna	1,020	2.30	Godfrey Njoroge Wanjihia	817	1.84
102	KIAMBAA				Stanley Munga Githunguri	7,191	12.78
103	KABETE	Benjamin Kamau Kiroga	238	0.44	Joseph Njunge Mukirae	2,976	5.51
104	LIMURU				Samuel Ngigi Mwaura	1,445	4.38
105	LARI	Peter Mbugua Wainaina	441	1.43	Viscount James Kimathi	5,805	18.87
	CENTRAL TOTALS		89,161	8.87		109,366	10.87
	RIFT VALLEY						
106	TURKANA NORTH				Japheth Eldor Lotokol	6,216	46.70
107	TURKANA CENTRAL				David Ekwe Ethuro	15,913	96.16
108	TURKANA SOUTH				Francis Ewoton Achuka	6,086	77.71
109	KACHELIBA				Samuel Loaron Poghiale	8,943	99.16
110	KAPENGURIA				Francis Pollis Lella Lotodo	Unopposed	
111	SIGOR				Christopher Motoywo Lomada	Unopposed	
112	SAMBURU WEST				Peter Steve Leengae	13,696	61.09
113	SAMBURU EAST				Sammy Frisa Leehore	4,602	63.76
114	KWANZA				Samuel Kisoro Moiben	13,451	36.31
115	SABOTI				Justina Nasambu Sitti	13,444	23.15
116	CHERANGANI				Kipruto Rono Kirwa	17,902	63.43
117	ELDORET NORTH				William Ruto Samoei	39,023	61.26
118	ELDORET EAST				Francis K Lagat	Unopposed	
119	ELDORET SOUTH				Maiza Jesse Kibet	28,528	73.20
120	MARAKWET EAST				John Kiptoo Marimoi	11,193	64.38
121	MARAKWET WEST	John Kosgei Chebil	1,434	6.12	David Kiprono Suttar Sudi	21,991	83.88
122	KEIYO NORTH				Elijah Kipkoegel Sumbelywo	12,917	70.07
123	KEIYO SOUTH				Kipyator Nicholas K Bhwot	25,799	83.72
124	MOSOP				John Kipkorir Sambu	32,808	96.70
125	ALDAI				Simeon Kiptum Choge	20,809	64.88
126	EMGWEN	Dorcas Jepkamboi	530	1.38	Joseph Tendenei Leting	32,888	85.04
127	TINDERET				Henry Kiprono Kosgey	33,891	83.89
128	BARINGO EAST				Joseph Deidossio Lotodo	Unopposed	
129	BARINGO NORTH				Andrew Chepkolywa Kiptoon	Unopposed	
130	BARINGO CENTRAL				Daniel T arap Moi	38,015	99.48
131	MOGOTIO				William Cherulyot Morogo	13,426	86.09
132	ELDAMA RAVINE				Musa Cherutich Birma	14,390	57.35
133	LAIKIPIA WEST				Godfrey Gitahi Kariuki	13,911	26.10
134	LAIKIPIA EAST	Austin Kiguta Mungatu	1,049	3.25	Rashad Mahmud Butt	8,448	26.16
135	NAIVASHA				Ur George Gicheru Ngatiri	7,664	13.83
136	NAKURU TOWN	Isaac Wacira Waweru	263	0.51	Alican Jemalia Ronoh Chealite	12,970	25.25
137	KURESOI				James Cherulyot arap Koske	36,481	77.83
138	MOLO	Anna Wangeci Munge	301	0.52	John Njenga Mungai	12,802	22.09
139	RONGAI	Peter Ngugi Njuguna	240	0.72	Erick Toroitich Morogo	17,256	51.47
140	SUBUKIA	Gabriel Gitau Waweru	476	1.34	Onesmas Kimani Ngunjiri	3,380	8.53
141	KILGORIS				Julius Lekakeny Sunkuli	22,017	63.90
142	NAROK NORTH				William Rongora ele Ntimama	Unopposed	
143	NAROK SOUTH				Stephen Kanyinke Ntutu	25,942	78.19
144	KAJIADO NORTH				George Saftoi	26,685	60.85
145	KAJIADO CENTRAL				David Lenanta Sankori	11,354	48.64
146	KAJIADO SOUTH				Phillip Lampet Singaru	10,232	42.58
147	BOMET				Kipkalya Kiprono Koros	Unopposed	
148	CHEPALUNGU				Issac Kiprono Ruto	Unopposed	
149	SOTIK				Anthony Kipkooge Kimeto	34,622	92.01
150	KONON				Raphael Kiprono arap Kitur	26,713	81.02
151	BURET				Kipkorir Martin Sang	31,223	92.11
152	BELGUT				Charles Davy Kipng'etich arap Kirui	Unopposed	
153	AINAMOI				Kipng'eno arap Ngeny	32,824	81.91
154	KIPKELION				Samuel Kimutai arap Rotich	Unopposed	
	RIFT VALLEY TOTALS		4,293	0.33		780,057	89.30

National Parliamentary Results

	CONSTITUENCY	EIP			KSC		
		Candidate	Votes	%	Candidate	Votes	%
	CENTRAL						
77	KINANGOP						
78	KIPIPIRI						
79	OL KALOU						
80	NDARAGWA						
81	TETU						
82	KIENI						
83	MATHIRA						
84	OTHAYA						
85	MUKURUWEINI						
86	NYERI TOWN						
87	MWEA						
88	GICHUGU				John Ndungu Murandi	129	0.33
89	NDIA						
90	KERUGOYA/KUTUS						
91	KANGEMA						
92	MATHIOYA						
93	KIHARU						
94	KIGUMO						
95	MARAGWA						
96	KANDARA						
97	GATANGA						
98	GATUNDU SOUTH						
99	GATUNDU NORTH						
100	JUJA						
101	GITHUNGURI				Deniel Kago	159	0.36
102	KIAMBAA						
103	KABETE						
104	LIMURU						
105	LARI				Tinas Mburu Chege	392	1.27
	CENTRAL TOTALS					680	0.07
	RIFT VALLEY						
106	TURKANA NORTH						
107	TURKANA CENTRAL						
108	TURKANA SOUTH						
109	KACHELIBA						
110	KAPENGURIA						
111	SIGOR						
112	SAMBURU WEST						
113	SAMBURU EAST						
114	KWANZA						
115	SABOTI						
116	CHERANGANI						
117	ELDORET NORTH						
118	ELDORET EAST						
119	ELDORET SOUTH						
120	MARAKWET EAST						
121	MARAKWET WEST						
122	KEIYO NORTH						
123	KEIYO SOUTH						
124	MOSOP						
125	ALDAI						
126	EMGWEN						
127	TINDERET						
128	BARINGO EAST						
129	BARINGO NORTH						
130	BARINGO CENTRAL						
131	MOGOTIO						
132	ELDAMA RAVINE						
133	LAIKIPIA WEST						
134	LAIKIPIA EAST						
135	NAIVASHA						
136	NAKURU TOWN						
137	KURESOI						
138	MOLO						
139	RONGAI						
140	SUBUKIA						
141	KILGORIS						
142	NAROK NORTH						
143	NAROK SOUTH						
144	KAJIADO NORTH						
145	KAJIADO CENTRAL						
146	KAJIADO SOUTH						
147	BOMET						
148	CHEPALUNGU						
149	SOTIK						
150	KONOIN						
151	BURET						
152	BELGUT						
153	AINAMOI						
154	KIPKELION						
	RIFT VALLEY TOTALS						

National Parliamentary Results

	CONSTITUENCY	KENDA			KNC		
		Candidate	Votes	%	Candidate	Votes	%
	CENTRAL						
77	KINANGOP						
78	KIPIPIRI						
79	OL KALOU						
80	NDARAGWA						
81	TETU						
82	KIENI	Eustace Maina Wachira	340	0.83			
83	MATHIRA						
84	OTHAYA						
85	MUKURUWEINI						
86	NYERI TOWN	James Kanuku Githinji	509	1.45			
87	MWEA						
88	GICHUGU						
89	NDIA						
90	KERUGOYA/KUTUS				Lazarus Munyi Mugo	6,638	21.77
91	KANGEMA						
92	MATHIOYA						
93	KIHARU						
94	KIGUMO						
95	MARAGWA						
96	KANDARA						
97	GATANGA						
98	GATUNDU SOUTH						
99	GATUNDU NORTH						
100	JUJA	Winston Kimani Kangethe	279	0.55			
101	GITHUNGURI	James H Gtau Mwara	108	0.24			
102	KIAMBAA						
103	KABETE						
104	LIMURU	Joram Kariuki	123	0.37			
105	LARI						
	CENTRAL TOTALS		1,359	0.14		6,638	0.66
	RIFT VALLEY						
106	TURKANA NORTH						
107	TURKANA CENTRAL						
108	TURKANA SOUTH						
109	KACHELIBA						
110	KAPENGURIA						
111	SIGOR						
112	SAMBURU WEST	George Kanyaro Lalaikipian	42	0.19			
113	SAMBURU EAST						
114	KWANZA						
115	SABOTI						
116	CHERANGANI						
117	ELDORET NORTH						
118	ELDORET EAST						
119	ELDORET SOUTH						
120	MARAKWET EAST						
121	MARAKWET WEST						
122	KEIYO NORTH						
123	KEIYO SOUTH						
124	MOSOP						
125	ALDAI						
126	EMGWEN						
127	TINDERET						
128	BARINGO EAST						
129	BARINGO NORTH						
130	BARINGO CENTRAL						
131	MOGOTIO						
132	ELDAMA RAVINE						
133	LAIKPIA WEST						
134	LAIKPIA EAST						
135	NAIVASHA	James Keffe Wegara	1,094	1.97			
136	NAKURU TOWN						
137	KURESOI						
138	MOLO						
139	RONGAI						
140	SUBUKIA	Koigi wa Wamwere	10,334	29.13			
141	KILGORIS						
142	NAROK NORTH						
143	NAROK SOUTH						
144	KAJIADO NORTH						
145	KAJIADO CENTRAL						
146	KAJIADO SOUTH						
147	BOMET						
148	CHEPALUNGU						
149	SOTIK						
150	KONOIN						
151	BURET						
152	BELGUT						
153	AINAMOI						
154	KIPKELION						
	RIFT VALLEY TOTALS		11,470	0.89			

National Parliamentary Results

	CONSTITUENCY	DAP			FORD-A		
		Candidate	Votes	%	Candidate	Votes	%
	CENTRAL						
77	KINANGOP						
78	KIPIPIRI				Edward Gechgu Ndiritu	640 2.97	
79	OL KALOU						
80	NDARAGWA						
81	TETU						
82	KIENI						
83	MATHIRA						
84	OTHAYA						
85	MUKURUWEINI						
86	NYERI TOWN						
87	MWEA						
88	GICHUGU						
89	NDIA						
90	KERUGOYA/KUTUS				David Chrispo C Weru	580 1.90	
91	KANGEMA						
92	MATHIOYA				Maina Wanjigi	3,409 12.20	
93	KIHARU						
94	KIGUMO						
95	MARAGWA						
96	KANDARA				Ephantus Ngugi Kariuki	1,023 2.58	
97	GATANGA						
98	GATUNDU SOUTH						
99	GATUNDU NORTH						
100	JUJA				Benard Nganga Theora	1,180 2.31	
101	GITHUNGURI						
102	KIAMBAA						
103	KABETE				Martin Wainaina Keryanjui	1,134 2.10	
104	LIMURU				Simon Kanyingi Kuria	7,145 21.57	
105	LARI						
	CENTRAL TOTALS					15,111 1.80	
	RIFT VALLEY						
106	TURKANA NORTH						
107	TURKANA CENTRAL						
108	TURKANA SOUTH						
109	KACHELIBA						
110	KAPENGURIA						
111	SIGOR						
112	SAMBURU WEST						
113	SAMBURU EAST						
114	KWANZA						
115	SABOTI				Peter Sammy Onani	526 0.91	
116	CHERANGANI						
117	ELDORET NORTH				Emmanuel Marava Lichuma	533 0.84	
118	ELDORET EAST						
119	ELDORET SOUTH						
120	MARAKWET EAST						
121	MARAKWET WEST						
122	KEIYO NORTH						
123	KEIYO SOUTH						
124	MOSOP						
125	ALDAI						
126	EMGWEN						
127	TINDERET						
128	BARINGO EAST						
129	BARINGO NORTH						
130	BARINGO CENTRAL						
131	MOGOTIO						
132	ELDAMA RAVINE						
133	LAIKPIA WEST						
134	LAIKPIA EAST						
135	NAIVASHA						
136	NAKURU TOWN				Joseph Lwali Oyondi	1,439 2.80	
137	KURESOI						
138	MOLO						
139	RONGAI						
140	SUBUKIA				Bishop Joseph Kameu Kimani	645 1.82	
141	KILGORIS						
142	NAROK NORTH						
143	NAROK SOUTH						
144	KAJIADO NORTH						
145	KAJIADO CENTRAL						
146	KAJIADO SOUTH						
147	BOMET						
148	CHEPALUNGU						
149	SOTIK						
150	KONOIN						
151	BURET						
152	BELGUT						
153	AINAMOI						
154	KIPKELION						
	RIFT VALLEY TOTALS					3,143 0.25	

National Parliamentary Results

	CONSTITUENCY	DP			FORD-K		
		Candidate	Votes	%	Candidate	Votes	%
	CENTRAL						
77	KINANGOP	Joseph Kuria Methu	9,583	25.18	Mary Wanjiru	243	0.64
78	KIPIPIRI	Paul Githiomi Mwangi	11,371	52.76			
79	OL KALOU	Karue Muriuki Muriuki	29,034	74.56			
80	NDARAGWA	Kamau Thirikwa Thirikwa	19,464	88.49			
81	TETU	Paul Gikonyo Muya	24,229	89.00			
82	KIENI	David Munene Kalru	37,959	93.02			
83	MATHIRA	Eliud Matu Wamae	38,349	82.05			
84	OTHAYA	Mwai Kibaki	31,637	97.78			
85	MUKURUWEINI	David Muhika Mutahi	19,360	67.52			
86	NYERI TOWN	Wanyiri Kihoro	30,629	86.99			
87	MWEA	Alfred Mwangi Ndiritu	27,373	85.75			
88	GICHUGU	Martha Wangari Karua	30,736	78.95			
89	NDIA	James Kareu Kibicho	24,411	88.82			
90	KERUGOYA/KUTUS	John Matere Keriri	18,149	59.51			
91	KANGEMA						
92	MATHIOYA						
93	KIHARU	John Gocho Kimani	2,929	7.75			
94	KIGUMO	O K Mwangi	13,550	67.21			
95	MARAGWA	Peter Kamande Mwangi	8,547	30.68			
96	KANDARA	Joshua Ngugi Toro	26,113	65.91			
97	GATANGA	Samwel A Macharia	8,752	22.09			
98	GATUNDU SOUTH						
99	GATUNDU NORTH	Nahashon Ngugi Gatarua	6,090	22.97			
100	JUJA	Charles Nganga Muchai	10,655	20.89	Gitu wa Kahengeri	1,033	2.03
101	GITHUNGURI	David Ndua Thuo	1,835	4.14			
102	KIAMBAA	James Njenga Karume	37,733	67.06			
103	KABETE	George Njenga Wakahiu	1,162	2.15			
104	LIMURU	Joseph Kimani Munyaka	3,243	9.79			
105	LARI	Joseph Ndegwa Duncan	9,838	31.97			
	CENTRAL TOTALS		482,731	48.00		1,276	0.13
	RIFT VALLEY						
106	TURKANA NORTH				John Munyes Kiyonga	7,098	53.30
107	TURKANA CENTRAL				Peter Derick Ejore Emase	636	3.84
108	TURKANA SOUTH				Anton Jeremia Etheri	1,746	22.29
109	KACHELIBA				John Loinit	76	0.84
110	KAPENGURIA						
111	SIGOR						
112	SAMBURU WEST	Moses Mayo Lanairoshi	8,349	37.24	Kennedy Letoona	16	0.07
113	SAMBURU EAST	Job Moika Lalampaa	2,587	35.84			
114	KWANZA				George Welime Kapten	22,790	61.52
115	SABOTI	Jackson Ruiru	4,728	8.14	Michael Christopher Wamatwa	37,944	65.35
116	CHERANGANI	John N Joshua Nasila	1,848	6.55	John Kirwa Rotich	8,474	30.02
117	ELDORET NORTH	Job Kibiwot Mutai	4,240	6.66	Shadrack Kipkorir Menjo	16,303	25.59
118	ELDORET EAST						
119	ELDORET SOUTH	Jean Jeeptar Tanui	7,801	20.02	Kimari Karanja	2,643	6.78
120	MARAKWET EAST	Freddie Kisang Cheserek	6,076	34.93	Francis Cheptile K. Smith	20	0.11
121	MARAKWET WEST						
122	KEIYO NORTH						
123	KEIYO SOUTH	Tabitha Jeptoo Seii	1,504	5.46	Moses Kiplagat Changwony	224	0.81
124	MOSOP						
125	ALDAI				Benjamin K Wambok	1,629	5.13
126	EMGWEN				Patrick Kipkemboi Rop	4,312	11.22
127	TINDERET				Paul Kipngetch Belio	1,857	4.60
128	BARINGO EAST						
129	BARINGO NORTH						
130	BARINGO CENTRAL						
131	MOGOTIO						
132	ELDAMA RAVINE		10,701	42.65			
133	LAIKIPIA WEST	Francis Chege Mbitiru	38,193	71.65			
134	LAIKIPIA EAST	Festus Mwangi Kiunjuri	22,795	70.59			
135	NAIVASHA	Paul Samuel Kihara	25,845	46.82	Stanley Kimani Njenga	4,351	7.85
136	NAKURU TOWN	David Manyara Njuki	22,173	43.16	Protas Kangwana Nyandika	4,689	9.13
137	KURESOI	Geoffrey Kiplangat Kenduiywa	10,392	22.17			
138	MOLO	Dickson Kihika Kimani	42,397	73.17			
139	RONGAI	Patrick Miri Gichuhi	15,199	45.33	Jonathan Mbutia Kameana	304	0.91
140	SUBUKIA	Joseph Mukera Kuria	20,637	58.18			
141	KILGORIS	(Col) Gideon Sitelu Konchela	12,324	35.77			
142	NAROK NORTH						
143	NAROK SOUTH	Samson Kituyian Tuya	6,816	20.81			
144	KAJIADO NORTH	Lepish Phillip Odupoy	13,828	31.53	William Gisairo Obwasya	379	0.86
145	KAJIADO CENTRAL	Moses Loontasati M Ololousya	1,142	4.89			
146	KAJIADO SOUTH	Geoffrey Mepukori Parpai	13,798	57.42			
147	BOMET						
148	CHEPALUNGU						
149	SOTIK	Joseph Ivor Korir	423	1.12			
150	KONOIN	Francis Kipsiele Too	691	2.10	Kipkemoi Peter Cheruiyot	347	1.05
151	BURET	Philip Kipkorir A Sigei	429	1.27			
152	BELGUT						
153	AINAMOI	Kiptarus arap Kirior	4,429	11.05	Peter Kipkorir Birgen	977	2.44
154	KIPKELION						
	RIFT VALLEY TOTALS		299,345	23.35		116,815	9.11

National Parliamentary Results

CONSTITUENCY		SDP		RRP		
	Candidate	Votes	%	Candidate	Votes	%
	CENTRAL					
77	KINANGOP	Thiongo Kagicha	1,488	3.80		
78	KIPIPIRI					
79	OL KALOU					
80	NDARAGWA					
81	TETU	Peter Wechira Muchemi	95	0.35		
82	KIENI					
83	MATHIRA					
84	OTHAYA					
85	MUKURUWEINI	Frank Njoruri Malyani	172	0.80		
86	NYERI TOWN					
87	MWEA	James Mwangi Mugo	657	2.06		
88	GICHUGU					
89	NDIA	Dickson Karume Karuki	945	3.44		
90	KERUGOYA/KUTUS	Nicholas Kinyua Mbul	2,770	9.06		
91	KANGEMA					
92	MATHIOYA					
93	KIHARU	Kihoro Cerere	1,438	3.80		
94	KIGUMO	G M Gachuru	976	4.84		
95	MARAGWA	James Ngigi Nangi	1,485	5.37		
96	KANDARA					
97	GATANGA	David Wakairu Murathe	14,308	36.11		
98	GATUNDU SOUTH	Moses Ngunge Muithia	22,637	66.03		
99	GATUNDU NORTH	Patriek Karuki Muiruri	7,118	28.83		
100	JILIA	Stephen Ndicho Ndabi	26,842	82.63		
101	GITHUNGURI	Njehu Gatibaidi	20,129	46.38		
102	KIAMBAA	Lawrence Nginyo Karuki	5,342	9.48		
103	KABETE					
104	LIMURU	Paul Ngunge Njugunah	501	1.51		
105	LARI	Samuel Thinguri Warwathe	2,730	8.87		
	CENTRAL TOTALS		108,636	10.80		
	RIFT VALLEY					
106	TURKANA NORTH					
107	TURKANA CENTRAL					
108	TURKANA SOUTH					
109	KACHELJBA					
110	KAPENGURIA					
111	SIGOR					
112	SAMBURU WEST					
113	SAMBURU EAST					
114	KWANZA	Mary Jeruto Kirwa	286	0.77		
115	SABOTI					
116	CHERANGANI					
117	ELDORET NORTH	Jason Ambe Miroya	390	0.61		
118	ELDORET EAST					
119	ELDORET SOUTH					
120	MARAKWET EAST	Jebli Linah Kilimo	6	0.03		
121	MARAKWET WEST					
122	KEYYO NORTH					
123	KEYYO SOUTH					
124	MOSOP					
125	ALDAI					
126	EMGWEN					
127	TINDERET	Everlyn Chepkemoi Kiprotich	181	0.45		
128	BARINGO EAST					
129	BARINGO NORTH					
130	BARINGO CENTRAL	Amos Kiprotich Kandie	210	0.56		
131	MOGOTIO	Christine Jebichi Ndolgo	2,170	13.91		
132	ELDAMA RAVINE					
133	LAIKIPIA WEST					
134	LAIKIPIA EAST					
135	NAIVASHA	Julius Muranga Gichure	3,353	6.05		
136	NAKURU TOWN	Julius Okongo Okinda	782	1.48		
137	KUREBOI					
138	MOLO					
139	RONGAI					
140	SUBUKIA					
141	KILGORIS					
142	NAROK NORTH					
143	NAROK SOUTH					
144	KAJIADO NORTH	Lamechon Oliver Oleseki	651	1.48		
145	KAJIADO CENTRAL	Sidney Tawuo Tolrai	156	0.67		
146	KAJIADO SOUTH					
147	BOMET					
148	CHEPALUNGU					
149	SOTIK	Kimunai arap Soi	1,494	3.97		
150	KONCOIN					
151	BURET	Edwin Kiprotich Kimeto	2,247	6.63		
152	BELGUT					
153	AINAMOI					
154	KIPKELION					
	RIFT VALLEY TOTALS		11,806	0.93		

National Parliamentary Results

	CONSTITUENCY	SPK			TOTAL VOTES				
		Candidate	Votes	%	Total cast	Rejected	Total Valid	% Valid	% Rejected
	CENTRAL								
77	KINANGOP				38,458	404	38,054	98.95	1.05
78	KIPIPIRI				21,710	157	21,553	99.28	0.72
79	OL KALOU				39,481	541	38,940	98.63	1.37
80	NDARAGWA				22,213	218	21,995	99.02	0.98
81	TETU				27,365	142	27,223	99.48	0.52
82	KIENI				40,958	152	40,806	99.63	0.37
83	MATHIRA				47,113	372	46,741	99.21	0.79
84	OTHAYA				32,440	84	32,356	99.74	0.26
85	MUKURUWEINI				28,750	77	28,673	99.73	0.27
86	NYERI TOWN				35,354	144	35,210	99.59	0.41
87	MWEA				32,293	372	31,921	98.85	1.15
88	GICHUGU				38,950	19	38,931	99.95	0.05
89	NDIA				27,858	375	27,483	98.65	1.35
90	KERUGOYA/KUTUS				31,125	630	30,495	97.98	2.02
91	KANGEMA				22,363	348	22,015	98.44	1.56
92	MATHIOYA				28,234	299	27,935	98.94	1.06
93	KIHARU				38,626	813	37,813	97.90	2.10
94	KIGUMO				20,634	472	20,162	97.71	2.29
95	MARAGWA				28,692	833	27,859	97.10	2.90
96	KANDARA				40,050	431	39,619	98.92	1.08
97	GATANGA				40,389	766	39,623	98.10	1.90
98	GATUNDU SOUTH				34,624	341	34,283	99.02	0.98
99	GATUNDU NORTH				26,958	443	26,515	98.36	1.64
100	JUJA				51,482	481	51,001	99.07	0.93
101	GITHUNGURI				45,104	752	44,352	98.33	1.67
102	KIAMBAA				56,691	423	56,268	99.25	0.75
103	KABETE				54,869	855	54,014	98.44	1.56
104	LIMURU				33,303	183	33,120	99.45	0.55
105	LARI				31,223	452	30,771	98.55	1.45
	CENTRAL TOTALS				1,017,310	11,579	1,005,731	98.86	1.14
	RIFT VALLEY								
106	TURKANA NORTH				13,469	153	13,316	98.86	1.14
107	TURKANA CENTRAL				16,659	110	16,549	99.34	0.66
108	TURKANA SOUTH				7,900	68	7,832	99.14	0.86
109	KACHELIBA				9,032	13	9,019	99.86	0.14
110	KAPENGURIA								
111	SIGOR								
112	SAMBURU WEST				22,856	438	22,418	98.08	1.92
113	SAMBURU EAST				7,255	37	7,218	99.49	0.51
114	KWANZA				37,762	715	37,047	98.11	1.89
115	SABOTI				59,352	1,286	58,066	97.83	2.17
116	CHERANGANI				28,760	536	28,224	98.14	1.86
117	ELDORET NORTH				65,111	1,411	63,700	97.83	2.17
118	ELDORET EAST								
119	ELDORET SOUTH				39,764	792	38,972	98.01	1.99
120	MARAKWET EAST				17,616	222	17,394	98.74	1.26
121	MARAKWET WEST				23,607	182	23,425	99.23	0.77
122	KEIYO NORTH				18,504	70	18,434	99.62	0.38
123	KEIYO SOUTH				27,837	310	27,527	98.89	1.11
124	MOSOP				34,130	203	33,927	99.41	0.59
125	ALDAI				32,083	316	31,767	99.02	0.98
126	EMGWEN				38,987	547	38,440	98.60	1.40
127	TINDERET				40,974	574	40,400	98.60	1.40
128	BARINGO EAST								
129	BARINGO NORTH								
130	BARINGO CENTRAL				38,291	66	38,225	99.83	0.17
131	MOGOTIO				15,741	145	15,596	99.08	0.92
132	ELDAMA RAVINE				25,381	290	25,091	98.86	1.14
133	LAIKIPIA WEST				53,918	615	53,303	98.86	1.14
134	LAIKIPIA EAST				32,668	376	32,292	98.85	1.15
135	NAIVASHA				56,498	1,064	55,434	98.12	1.88
136	NAKURU TOWN				52,109	737	51,372	98.59	1.41
137	KURESOI				47,129	256	46,873	99.46	0.54
138	MOLO				59,671	1,729	57,942	97.10	2.90
139	RONGAI				34,261	733	33,528	97.86	2.14
140	SUBUKIA				35,830	358	35,472	99.00	1.00
141	KILGORIS				34,666	209	34,457	99.40	0.60
142	NAROK NORTH								
143	NAROK SOUTH				32,927	169	32,758	99.49	0.51
144	KAJIADO NORTH				44,661	807	43,854	98.19	1.81
145	KAJIADO CENTRAL				23,621	286	23,335	98.79	1.21
146	KAJIADO SOUTH				24,209	179	24,030	99.26	0.74
147	BOMET								
148	CHEPALUNGU								
149	SOTIK				37,813	185	37,628	99.51	0.49
150	KONONIN				33,211	242	32,969	99.27	0.73
151	BURET				33,899	-	33,899	100.00	-
152	BELGUT								
153	AINAMOI				40,841	767	40,074	98.12	1.88
154	KIPKELION								
	RIFT VALLEY TOTALS				1,299,003	17,196	1,281,807	98.68	1.32

National Parliamentary Results

	CONSTITUENCY	TURNOUT		PICK			NDP		
		Regd Voters	%	Candidate	Votes	%	Candidate	Votes	%
	WESTERN								
155	MALAVA	53,863	69.48						
156	LUGARI	51,393	72.72						
157	MUMIAS	51,671	68.73				Beatrice Auma Wafula	2,256	6.49
158	MATUNGU	33,857	71.04						
159	LURAMBI	70,344	64.50				Juma Ali Makabila	807	1.84
160	SHINYALU	41,995	60.56						
161	IKOLOMANI	28,871	66.20						
162	BUTERE	33,551	68.84						
163	KHWISERO	27,534	62.56						
164	EMUHAYA	53,926	60.06						
165	SABATIA	41,804	73.16				Hudson Mudogo Chahale	231	0.79
166	VIHIGA	28,870	67.51				Absai Johnson Angote	271	1.39
167	HAMISI	47,768	67.13						
168	MT ELGON	39,697	100.83						
169	KIMILILI	59,856	75.01						
170	WEBUYE	55,446	69.69						
171	SIRISIA	51,121	60.41						
172	KANDUYI	40,672	71.81						
173	BUMULA	39,820	79.63						
174	AMAGORO	53,291	75.45						
175	NAMBALE	45,630	68.69						
176	BUTULA	28,598	68.73						
177	FUNYULA	25,256	73.29						
178	BUDALANGI	19,618	78.09				Nicholas Wanyama Okada	55	0.36
	WESTERN TOTALS	1,024,262	71.23					17,763	2.49
	NYANZA								
179	UGENYA	54,524	68.07				Paul Otieno Nyamodi	7,433	20.47
180	ALEGO	56,943	73.96				Peter Oloo Aringo	29,346	70.12
181	GEM	42,397	46.78						
182	BONDO	38,555	70.52				Robert Odinga Oburu	23,830	68.41
183	RARIEDA	33,553	73.14				George Odeny Ngure	19,963	62.20
184	KISUMU TOWN EAST	36,810	68.69				Eric Gor Sungu	21,210	64.80
185	KISUMU TOWN WEST	61,376	58.96	Jack Oniro Owiddo	930	2.59	Joab Henry Onyango Omino	26,233	72.99
186	KISUMU RURAL	35,441	71.34				Winston Ochoro Ayoki	13,508	63.95
187	NYANDO	36,636	74.73				Geoffrey Paul Orwa Otita	23,229	65.26
188	MUHORONI	44,056	69.94	Mathew C Onyango Midika	1,063	3.50	William Odongo Omamo	25,510	83.93
189	NYAKACH	36,272	75.54				Peter Ochieng Odoyo	23,113	66.59
190	KASIPUL KABONDO	52,025	74.31				William Oloo Otula	31,748	82.84
191	KARACHUONYO	43,204	75.53				Dr Adhu Awiti	19,867	61.33
192	RANGWE	52,656	70.42				Shem Odongo Ochuodho	26,030	71.68
193	NDHIWA	42,910	74.31				Joshua Orwa Ojode	29,644	83.26
194	RONGO	52,316	68.88				George Mbogo Ayako Ochilo	23,881	66.67
195	MIGORI	44,866	70.07				George Henry Owino Achola	19,681	64.10
196	URIRI	28,683	72.95				Herman Odhiambo Omamba	16,104	77.86
197	NYATIKE	36,589	73.96	David Adundo Oyao	1,163	4.32	Tom Otieno Onyango	19,351	71.88
198	MBITA	25,490	69.65				Gerald Otieno Kajwang	13,853	78.86
199	GWASI	23,662	70.71				Felix Ueseru Kanyuchi	10,683	65.38
200	KURIA	35,142	70.81				Nelson Mahanga Mwita	2,970	12.12
201	BONCHARI	26,905	63.85				Richard Nyamao Mbeche	408	2.40
202	SOUTH MUGIRANGO	35,305	66.00				Peter Mauti Nyakweba	54	0.24
203	BOMACHOGE	43,452	62.39				Ibrahim M A Sikeet	126	0.47
204	BOBASI	45,952	68.46						
205	NYARIBARI MASABA	37,859	65.47				Dr Charles Maranga Bagwasi	692	2.88
206	NYARIBARI CHACHE	43,236	59.36				James Oira	887	3.60
207	KITUTU CHACHE	52,565	64.89				Justus Onsongo Mochoge	1,773	5.30
208	KITUTU MASABA	50,037	61.35				Hezron Oira Kiaga	537	1.78
209	WEST MUGIRANGO	42,921	68.93				Evans Ondieki	384	1.32
210	NORTH MUGIRANGO BORABU	53,264	69.28				Nemwel Peter Mopaka	1,098	3.14
	NYANZA TOTALS	1,345,602	68.30		3,156	0.35		433,134	48.08
	GRAND TOTALS	9,028,789	65.36		7,680	0.13		654,262	11.27
	KANU: 2,243,463 (38.64%)								
	OPPOSITION: 3,863,048 (61.36%)								
	Winners in bold								

National Parliamentary Results

	CONSTITUENCY	UMMA			LPD		
		Candidate	Votes	%	Candidate	Votes	%
	WESTERN						
155	MALAVA						
156	LUGARI						
157	MUMIAS						
158	MATUNGU						
159	LURAMBI						
160	SHINYALU						
161	IKOLOMANI						
162	BUTERE						
163	KHWISERO						
164	EMUHAYA						
165	SABATIA						
166	VIHIGA						
167	HAMISI						
168	MT ELGON						
169	KMILUJ						
170	WEBUYE						
171	SIRISIA						
172	KANDUYI						
173	BUMULA						
174	AMAGORO						
175	NAMBALE						
176	BUTULA						
177	FUNYULA						
178	BUDALANGI						
	WESTERN TOTALS		-	-		-	-
	NYANZA						
179	UGENYA						
180	ALEGO						
181	GEM						
182	BONDO						
183	RARIEDA						
184	KIBUMU TOWN EAST						
185	KIBUMU TOWN WEST						
186	KIBUMU RURAL						
187	NYANDO						
188	MUHORONI						
189	NYAKACH						
190	KASIPUL KABONDO						
191	KARACHUONYO						
192	RANGWE						
193	NDHIWA						
194	RONGO						
195	MIGORI						
196	URIRI						
197	NYATIKE						
198	MBITA						
199	GWASI						
200	KURIA						
201	BONCHARI						
202	SOUTH MUGIRANGO						
203	BOMACHOGE						
204	BOBASI						
205	NYARIBARI MASABA						
206	NYARIBARI CHACHE						
207	KITUTU CHACHE						
208	KITUTU MASABA						
209	WEST MUGIRANGO						
210	NORTH MUGIRANGO BORABU						
	NYANZA TOTALS					-	-
	GRAND TOTALS		734	0.01		28,004	0.43
	KANU: 2,243,463 (38.64%)						
	OPPOSITION: 2,683,048 (81.36%)						
	Winners in bold						

National Parliamentary Results

	CONSTITUENCY	GAP			UPPK		
		Candidate	Votes	%	Candidate	Votes	%
	WESTERN						
155	MALAVA						
156	LUGARI						
157	MUMIAS						
158	MATUNGU						
159	LURAMBI						
160	SHINYALU						
161	IKOLOMANI						
162	BUTERE						
163	KHWISERO						
164	EMUHAYA						
165	SABATIA						
166	VIHIGA						
167	HAMISI						
168	MT ELGON						
169	KIMILILI						
170	WEBUYE						
171	SIRISIA						
172	KANDUYI						
173	BUMULA						
174	AMAGORO						
175	NAMBALE						
176	BUTULA						
177	FUNYULA						
178	BUDALANGI						
	WESTERN TOTALS						
	NYANZA						
179	UGENYA						
180	ALEGO						
181	GEM						
182	BONDO						
183	RARIEDA						
184	KISUMU TOWN EAST						
185	KISUMU TOWN WEST						
186	KISUMU RURAL						
187	NYANDO						
188	MUHORONI						
189	NYAKACH						
190	KASIPUL KABONDO						
191	KARACHUONYO						
192	RANGWE						
193	NDHIWA						
194	RONGO						
195	MIGORI						
196	URIRI						
197	NYATIKE						
198	MBITA						
199	GWASI						
200	KURIA						
201	BONCHARI						
202	SOUTH MUGIRANGO						
203	BOMACHOGE				Justin Omwoyo Nyaberi	128	0.48
204	BOBASI						
205	NYARIBARI MASABA						
206	NYARIBARI CHACHE						
207	KITUTU CHACHE						
208	KITUTU MASABA						
209	WEST MUGIRANGO						
210	NORTH MUGIRANGO BORABU						
	NYANZA TOTALS					128	0.01
	GRAND TOTALS		1,149	0.02		18,708	0.29
	KANU: 2,243,463 (38.84%)						
	OPPOSITION: 3,663,048 (61.16%)						
	Winners in bold						

National Parliamentary Results

	CONSTITUENCY	LPK			SAFINA		
		Candidate	Votes	%	Candidate	Votes	%
	WESTERN						
155	MALAVA						
156	LUGARI						
157	MUMIAS						
158	MATUNGU						
159	LURAMBI						
160	SHINYALU						
161	IKOLOMANI						
162	BUTERE						
163	KHWISERO						
164	EMUHAYA	Dr Reuben Indiatu Nasibi	1,646	5.17			
165	SABATIA						
166	VIHIGA						
167	HAMISI				Charles Gumini Gimose	9,222 29.67	
168	MT ELGON						
169	KIMILILI						
170	WEBUYE						
171	SIRISIA						
172	KANDUYI						
173	BUMULA						
174	AMAGORO						
175	NAMBALE						
176	BUTULA						
177	FUNYULA						
178	BUDALANGI						
	WESTERN TOTALS		1,646	0.23		9,222 1.29	
	NYANZA						
179	UGENYA						
180	ALEGO						
181	GEM						
182	BONDO						
183	RARIEDA	Bethwel Allan Omondi Okal	34	0.14	Eliazaro Agoya Ochieng	584 2.41	
184	KISUMU TOWN EAST						
185	KISUMU TOWN WEST						
186	KISUMU RURAL						
187	NYANDO						
188	MUHORONI						
189	NYAKACH						
190	KASIPUL KABONDO						
191	KARACHUONYO						
192	RANGWE	Tom Mboya Oloo	118	0.32			
193	NDHIWA						
194	RONGO						
195	MIGORI						
196	URIRI						
197	NYATIKE						
198	MBITA						
199	GWASI						
200	KURIA						
201	BONCHARI						
202	SOUTH MUGIRANGO						
203	BOMACHOGE						
204	BOBASI	David L Oyeko Ratemo	46	0.15	Stephen Kengere Manoti	10,603 34.34	
205	NYARIBARI MASABA						
206	NYARIBARI CHACHE						
207	KITUTU CHACHE						
208	KITUTU MASABA						
209	WEST MUGIRANGO						
210	NORTH MUGIRANGO BORABU						
	NYANZA TOTALS		188	0.02		11,187 1.24	
	GRAND TOTALS		14,253	0.25		231,676 3.08	
	KANU: 2,243,463 (38.64%)						
	OPPOSITION: 3,663,048 (61.36%)						
	Winners in bold						

National Parliamentary Results

	CONSTITUENCY	FORD-P			KANU		
		Candidate	Votes	%	Candidate	Votes	%
	WESTERN						
155	MALAVA				Joshua Mulanda Angatia	14,427 40.23	
156	LUGARI				Shakhalaga Khwa Jirongo	19,983 54.81	
157	MUMIAS				Wycliffe W Osundwa	18,917 54.42	
158	MATUNGU				Joseph Pius Wamukoya	10,678 45.61	
159	LURAMBI	Moses Bwonye	130	0.30	Sechele Reuben Nyangweso	15,809 35.95	
160	SHINYALLU				Japheth Galagati Shamalla	11,161 44.87	
161	IKOLOMANI				Joseph Jolly Mugalla	11,471 61.17	
162	BUTERE				Dr Amukowa Fredrick Anangwe	10,811 50.31	
163	KHWISERO				Harrison Aywa Odongo	11,840 69.15	
164	EMUHAYA				Washington S Sakwa Muchiwa	14,297 44.81	
165	SABATIA				Musalla Mudavadi	26,305 89.65	
166	VIHIGA				Yusuf Kifuma Chanzu	13,531 89.64	
167	HAMISI				George Muryasa Khaniri	14,440 48.45	
168	MT ELGON				Joseph Nalbei Kimkung	21,836 55.34	
169	KIMILILI				Rajab Walireula	5,358 12.04	
170	WEBUYE				Bernard Alfred W Sambu	12,354 32.27	
171	SIRISIA				Moses Masika Wetangula	6,211 20.81	
172	KANDUYI				Joseph Wafula Khaoya	4,654 16.27	
173	BUMULA				Pius Isaiiah Khaoya	6,157 19.72	
174	AMAGORO				Albert Alexander A. Eklrapa	28,825 72.29	
175	NAMBALE				Chrysanthius Okamo	20,137 68.81	
176	BUTULA				Yekoyada Francis O Masakhalla	10,343 53.19	
177	FUNYULA				Arthur Moody Awori	9,842 53.97	
178	BUDALANGI				James Charles N Osogo	6,785 44.57	
	WESTERN TOTALS		130	0.02		328,151 48.02	
	NYANZA						
179	UGENYA				William Omoga Nyahor	4,375 12.05	
180	ALEGO				Edwin Ochieng Yinda	12,329 29.46	
181	GEM				Grace Emily Akinyi Ogot	6,743 40.39	
182	BONDO				Arthur Dedan Sawa	2,406 8.93	
183	RARIEDA				Henry Ouma Okendo	2,793 11.51	
184	KISUMU TOWN EAST				Zebby Palme Odhiambo	2,699 10.79	
185	KISUMU TOWN WEST				Aloys Obunga Aboge	6,118 17.02	
186	KISUMU RURAL				Wilson Ndolo Ayah	6,596 26.34	
187	NYANDO				Paul Debacko Gogo	1,867 6.85	
188	MUHORONI				Samwel Oryango Okello	3,474 11.43	
189	NYAKACH				Phares Odhiambo Kouko	3,580 13.41	
190	KASIPUL KABONDO				Peter Otieno Owidi	4,984 13.01	
191	KARACHUONYO				Lazarus Ombai Amayo	10,885 33.61	
192	RANGWE				Phelgona Okoth Okundi	7,561 20.82	
193	NDHIWA				Tom Elvis Okello Obondo	1,355 4.26	
194	RONGO				Delmas Anyango Otieno	11,397 31.82	
195	MIGORI				Charles Oyugi Owino	8,900 28.99	
196	URIRI				Rev Fr Peter Arunga Indalo	4,579 22.14	
197	NYATIKE				Zablon Owgo Otang	6,327 23.50	
198	MBITA				Eliazar Ochieng Ochola	3,502 19.94	
199	GWASI				Zaddock Mediri Syongoh	5,657 34.62	
200	KURIA				Shadrack Roger Mwita Manga	12,493 50.99	
201	BONCHARI	Philip Obote Motonu	497	2.93	John Zebedeo Opora	9,284 54.67	
202	SOUTH MUGIRANGO				David Ondimu Kombo	9,962 45.15	
203	BOMACHOGE				Zaphaniah Moraro Nyangwara	13,337 48.75	
204	BOBASI	Joseph Ratemo Maua	150	0.49	Christopher Mogere Obura	18,336 59.38	
205	NYARIBARI MASABA				Prof Samson Kegengo Ongerl	14,935 62.09	
206	NYARIBARI CHACHE				Bimeon Nyachaa	20,660 83.33	
207	KITUTU CHACHE	George Ondieki Manyara	482	1.44	Jimmy Nuru Ondieki Angwenyi	25,188 75.25	
208	KITUTU MASABA	Elijah Nyabuti Mamboleo	687	2.28	Nelson Gichaba Simba	6,095 20.25	
209	WEST MUGIRANGO				Sepwe Thomas Morwabe	8,729 29.98	
210	NORTH MUGIRANGO BORABU				Joseph Kiangoi Ombesa	17,323 49.81	
	NYANZA TOTALS		1,816	0.20		274,319 30.45	
	GRAND TOTALS		107,214	1.85		2,243,483 38.64	
	KANU: 2,243,483 (38.64%)						
	OPPOSITION: 3,643,048 (61.36%)						
	Winners in bold						

National Parliamentary Results

	CONSTITUENCY	EIP			KBC		
		Candidate	Votes	%	Candidate	Votes	%
	WESTERN						
155	MALAVA				Benjamin Imbogo	1,241 3.48	
156	LUGARI						
157	MUMIAS						
158	MATUNGU						
159	LURAMBI						
160	SHINYALU						
161	IKOLOMANI						
162	BUTERE						
163	KHWISERO						
164	EMUHAYA						
165	SABATIA						
166	VIHIGA						
167	HAMISI						
168	MT ELGON						
169	KIMILILI						
170	WEBUYE						
171	SIRISIA						
172	KANDUYI						
173	BUMULA						
174	AMAGORO						
175	NAMBALE						
176	BUTULA						
177	FUNYULA						
178	BUDALANGI				Peter Gabriel Aklewo	18 0.11	
	WESTERN TOTALS					1,257 0.18	
	NYANZA						
179	UGENYA						
180	ALEGO	Stephen Omondi Oludha	59	0.14			
181	GEM						
182	BONDO						
183	RARIEDA						
184	KISUMU TOWN EAST						
185	KISUMU TOWN WEST						
186	KISUMU RURAL						
187	NYANDO						
188	MUHORONI						
189	NYAKACH						
190	KASIPUL KABONDO						
191	KARACHUONYO						
192	RANGWE						
193	NDHIWA						
194	RONGO						
195	MIGORI						
196	URIRI						
197	NYATIKE						
198	MBITA						
199	GWASI						
200	KURIA						
201	BONCHARI				John Nyakundi Motende	167 0.98	
202	SOUTH MUGIRANGO				Job Ochari	321 1.45	
203	BOMACHOGE				Josiah Nyaaga Gori	299 1.12	
204	BOBASI				Daniel Nyanchiri Oenga	304 0.98	
205	NYARIBARI MASABA						
206	NYARIBARI CHACHE						
207	KITUTU CHACHE						
208	KITUTU MASABA				George Moses Anyona	14,853 48.89	
209	WEST MUGIRANGO				Mathew Ondeyo Nyarbari	179 0.81	
210	NORTH MUGIRANGO BORABU						
	NYANZA TOTALS		89	0.01		15,923 1.77	
	GRAND TOTALS		89	0.00		20,083 0.35	
	KANU: 2,243,463 (58.64%)						
	OPPOSITION: 3,863,048 (61.36%)						
	Winners in bold						

National Parliamentary Results

	CONSTITUENCY	KENDA			KNC		
		Candidate	Votes	%	Candidate	Votes	%
	WESTERN						
155	MALAVA						
156	LUGARI						
157	MUMIAS						
158	MATUNGU						
159	LURAMBI						
160	SHINYALU						
161	IKOLOMANI						
162	BUTERE						
163	KH-WISERO						
164	EMUHAYA						
165	SABATIA						
166	VIHIGA						
167	HAMISI						
168	MT ELGON						
169	KIMILILI						
170	WEBUYE						
171	SIRISIA						
172	KANDUYI						
173	BUMULA						
174	AMAGORO						
175	NAMBALE						
176	BUTULA						
177	FUNYULA						
178	BUDALANGI						
	WESTERN TOTALS						
	NYANZA						
179	UGENYA						
180	ALEGO						
181	GEM						
182	BONDO						
183	RARIEDA						
184	KISUMU TOWN EAST						
185	KISUMU TOWN WEST						
186	KISUMU RURAL						
187	NYANDO						
188	MUHORONI						
189	NYAKACH						
190	KASIPUL KABONDO						
191	KARACHUONYO						
192	RANGWE						
193	NDHIWA						
194	RONGO						
195	MIGORI						
196	URIRI						
197	NYATIKE						
198	MBITA						
199	GWASI						
200	KURIA						
201	BONCHARI				Alex Bii Momenyi	212 1.25	
202	SOUTH MUGIRANGO				Eaith Karubo Nyangate	31 0.14	
203	BOMACHOGE				Ogembo Masese	149 0.56	
204	BOBASI						
205	NYARIBARI MASABA						
206	NYARIBARI CHACHE						
207	KITUTU CHACHE						
208	KITUTU MASABA						
209	WEST MUGIRANGO						
210	NORTH MUGIRANGO BORABU						
	NYANZA TOTALS					392 0.04	
	GRAND TOTALS		13,467	0.23		19,347 0.33	
	KANU: 2,243,463 (36.64%)						
	OPPOSITION: 3,863,046 (61.36%)						
	Winners in bold						

National Parliamentary Results

	CONSTITUENCY	DAP			FORD-A		
		Candidate	Votes	%	Candidate	Votes	%
	WESTERN						
155	MALAVA				Nyikuli Mukaramoja Jacob	266	0.74
156	LUGARI						
157	MUMIAS				Augustine Nyamwoma Sakwa	3,910	11.25
158	MATUNGU						
159	LURAMBI				George Magomere	1,195	2.72
160	SHINYALU				Fred Maxwell Andole Kimani	1,039	4.18
161	IKOLOMANI						
162	BUTERE				Martin Shikuku Oyondi	10,260	47.75
163	KHWISERO				Wilson Shikanda Opembe	3,690	21.55
164	EMUHAYA				Chief Newton Osborne Ambuyo	803	2.52
165	SABATIA						
166	VIHIGA						
167	HAMISI				Laban Benard Musoga	494	1.59
168	MT ELGON				Enos Saulo Chemobo	7,607	19.28
169	KIMILILI						
170	WEBUYE						
171	SIRISIA						
172	KANDUYI						
173	BUMULA						
174	AMAGORO						
175	NAMBALE						
176	BUTULA				Bonventure Eric Acholla	478	2.46
177	FUNYULA						
178	BUDALANGI						
	WESTERN TOTALS					29,742	4.17
	NYANZA						
179	UGENYA						
180	ALEGO						
181	GEM						
182	BONDO						
183	RARIEDA						
184	KISUMU TOWN EAST						
185	KISUMU TOWN WEST						
186	KISUMU RURAL						
187	NYANDO						
188	MUHORONI						
189	NYAKACH						
190	KASIPUL KABONDO						
191	KARACHUONYO						
192	RANGWE						
193	NDHIWA						
194	RONGO						
195	MIGORI						
196	URIRI						
197	NYATIKE						
198	MBITA						
199	GWASI						
200	KURIA				Chrispinus Weiria Gibagiri	236	0.96
201	BONCHARI						
202	SOUTH MUGIRANGO						
203	BOMACHOGE						
204	BOBASI						
205	NYARIBARI MASABA						
206	NYARIBARI CHACHE						
207	KITUTU CHACHE						
208	KITUTU MASABA						
209	WEST MUGIRANGO						
210	NORTH MUGIRANGO BORABU						
	NYANZA TOTALS					236	0.03
	GRAND TOTALS			74	0.00	86,668	1.49
	KANU: 2,243,463 (38.64%)						
	OPPOSITION: 3,563,048 (61.36%)						
	Winners in bold						

National Parliamentary Results

	CONSTITUENCY	DP			FORD-K		
		Candidate	Votes	%	Candidate	Votes	%
	WESTERN						
155	MALAVA	Abraham Walingo	210	0.59	Peter Sotta Shitanda	19,719	64.88
156	LUGARI				Simon Wawanda Washiko	16,265	44.37
157	MUMIAS				John Paul Shikunyi Mandu	9,879	27.84
158	MATUNGU	Shaban O Mabuko	1,744	7.45	Charles Victor Okumu Okwalo	7,568	32.33
159	LURAMBI	Nashon Joshua Ambundo	574	1.31	Newton Wanjala Kulundu	26,487	67.88
160	SHINYALU				Daniel Lyuta Khamesi	12,678	60.96
161	IKOLOMANI	Philip Jasper Wshaminya	215	1.15	Dr Bonny Dixon Kihwale	7,068	37.69
162	BUTERE				George Arunga Sino	416	1.94
163	KHWISERO				Livingstone Maina Ombete	1,501	8.77
164	EMUHAYA	Joab Ombima Wesa	697	2.19	Nehemiah Ayub Ochiel	13,697	43.03
165	SABATIA				Nancy Kahera Lidubwi	2,563	8.73
166	VIHIGA				Bahati Musira Semo	5,627	28.96
167	HAMISI	Joash Lovi Llyosi Kidlavai	153	0.49	Elijah Gideon Asubwa	6,778	21.80
168	MT ELGON				Enos Saulo Chemobo	7,807	19.28
169	KIMILILI				Dr Mukhisa Kituyi	39,137	67.96
170	WEBUYE				Musikari Kombo	26,938	67.73
171	SIRISIA	George Makali Nabukhale	167	0.42	John Barasa Muryasa	31,073	78.78
172	KANDUYI	Dickson Wafua Kakakuka	816	2.85	Athanas Misiko Wafua	23,136	80.88
173	BUMULA				Lawrence Simiyu Sifuna	24,376	78.08
174	AMAGORO						
175	NAMBALE				Gervase Mathias K B Akhaabi	10,002	33.19
176	BUTULA				Erick Amakombo Obuya	3,247	16.70
177	FUNYULA	Washington Ohanya Masinde	814	4.46	Patrick Kaloi Afwande	7,580	41.57
178	BUDALANGI				Raphael Wanjala S Bitta	8,343	64.96
	WESTERN TOTALS		5,390	0.76		309,448	43.40
	NYANZA						
179	UGENYA				James Aggrey Orenge	24,804	67.48
180	ALEGO				Hannington Wamara	119	0.28
181	GEM				Joseph Akash Donda	9,963	89.61
182	BONDO				Washington Jalango Okumu	719	2.67
183	RARIEDA				Ramogi Acheng Oneko	614	2.53
184	KISUMU TOWN EAST				Michael Odongo Jobita	793	3.17
185	KISUMU TOWN WEST				Gwela Jakandango	1,285	3.58
186	KISUMU RURAL						
187	NYANDO				Lukas Akoth Owaga	961	3.60
188	MUHORONI				Ogeka Justus Aloo	349	1.15
189	NYAKACH						
190	KABIPUL KABONDO						
191	KARACHUONYO				Peter Lieta Odhiambo	136	0.42
192	RANGWE				Prof Joseph Ouma Muga	1,542	4.25
193	NDHIWA				Nobert Omolo Odera	105	0.33
194	RONGO				John Linus Aluoch	542	1.51
195	MIGORI	Ibrahim Owino Opiyo	232	0.76	Jack Barasa Barasa	1,728	5.63
196	URIRI						
197	NYATIKE						
198	MBITA						
199	GWASI						
200	KURIA	Martin Ombate O'Mwiti	563	2.30			
201	BONCHARI	Luke Maurice Maangu	1,675	9.87	Francis Oluoch Morema	219	1.29
202	SOUTH MUGIRANGO	Charles Nyakundi Marua	520	2.36	Enock Nyankiyea Magara	11,178	60.68
203	BOMACHOGE	Zedekiah Makenye Magara	4,150	15.48	Ferdinand Ondabu Obure	8,450	31.52
204	BOBASI	Abraham Walingo	791	2.56	David Morache Nyaruru	258	0.84
205	NYARIBARI MASABA	Davidson Areba Mairura	2,336	9.71	Charles Mirwoba Ayeni	272	1.13
206	NYARIBARI CHACHE	Peter Maragia Nyamweya	1,541	6.25	Isaac Nyamache Rwerwo	1,663	6.62
207	KITUTU CHACHE				Leo Blasius Obweri Matundura	4,992	14.93
208	KITUTU MASABA	Francis Omurwa Manyibe	1,162	3.86	Samson Nyangau Okloma	6,487	21.56
209	WEST MUGIRANGO	David Anai Oryanacha	5,091	17.49	Henry Oryanacha Obwocha	14,731	60.60
210	NORTH MUGIRANGO BORABU	Godfrey Masanya Okeri	14,243	40.70			
	NYANZA TOTALS		32,304	3.89		91,638	10.17
	GRAND TOTALS		1,290,919	21.72		599,120	10.32
	KANU: 2,243,483 (38.64%)						
	OPPOSITION: 3,583,648 (61.36%)						
	Winners in bold						

National Parliamentary Results

	CONSTITUENCY	SDP			RRP		
		Candidate	Votes	%	Candidate	Votes	%
	WESTERN						
155	MALAVA						
156	LUGARI	Florence Andenyi Machayo	412	1.12			
157	MUMIAS						
158	MATUNGU	Samuel Echessa Buluma	3,421	14.61			
159	LURAMBI						
160	SHINYALU						
161	IKOLOMANI						
162	BUTERE						
163	KHWISERO	James Ameyo Okusimba	90	0.53			
164	EMUHAYA	Peter Wells Yambusi	693	2.18			
165	SABATIA	Isaac Nadolo Jami	243	0.83			
166	VIHIGA						
167	HAMISI						
168	MT ELGON						
169	KIMILILI						
170	WEBUYE						
171	SIRISIA						
172	KANDUYI						
173	BUMULA						
174	AMAGORO						
175	NAMBALE						
176	BUTULA	Clement O Odhiambo	5,376	27.65			
177	FUNYULA						
178	BUDALANGI						
	WESTERN TOTALS		10,235				
	NYANZA						
179	UGENYA						
180	ALEGO						
181	GEM						
182	BONDO						
183	RARIEDA	Florence Adhiambo Awuoro	124	0.51			
184	KISUMU TOWN EAST	Maurice Odawo Onduru	309	1.24			
185	KISUMU TOWN WEST	Billy Mark Menya Kariaga	1,377	3.83			
186	KISUMU RURAL	Peter Anyang Nyongo	4,935	19.71			
187	NYANDO	Clarkson Otieno Karan	1,169	4.29			
188	MUHORONI						
189	NYAKACH						
190	KASIPUL KABONDO	Dr Otieno Kopiyo	1,582	4.13			
191	KARACHUONYO	Daniel Rachuonyo Mboya	1,503	4.64			
192	RANGWE	Francis Ogolla Kagoro	1,061	2.92			
193	NDHIWA	Elisha Akech Chieng	682	2.15			
194	RONGO						
195	MIGORI	Gilbert Oginga Okeyo	163	0.53			
196	URIRI						
197	NYATIKE	Jacob Ouma Orem	79	0.29			
198	MBITA	John Olang Sana	212	1.21			
199	GWASI						
200	KURIA	Dr Wilfred Gisuwa Machage	8,240	33.63			
201	BONCHARI	John Mochama Orwochi	4,533	26.70			
202	SOUTH MUGIRANGO						
203	BOMACHOGE	David Marcos Rakamba	167	0.62			
204	BOBASI	Henry Nyangechi Nyanchoka	391	1.27			
205	NYARIBARI MASABA	Zablon Ratemo Ouko	5,820	24.19			
206	NYARIBARI CHACHE						
207	KITUTU CHACHE	Daniel Rasugu Mokaya	1,031	3.08			
208	KITUTU MASABA	Augustus Otieno Momanyi	471	1.57			
209	WEST MUGIRANGO						
210	NORTH MUGIRANGO BORABU	Frank Patty Ndubi	2,327	6.65			
	NYANZA TOTALS		36,176	4.02			
	GRAND TOTALS		481,809	8.30	252	0.00	
	KANU: 2,243,463 (38.64%)						
	OPPOSITION: 3,563,048 (61.36%)						
	Winners in bold						

National Parliamentary Results

CONSTITUENCY	SPK			TOTAL VOTES						
	Candidate	Votes	%	Total cast	Rejected	Total Valid	% Valid	% Rejected		
WESTERN										
155 MALAVA				37,425	1,562	35,863	96.83	4.17		
156 LUGARI				37,372	712	36,660	98.09	1.91		
157 MUMIAS				35,512	750	34,762	97.89	2.11		
158 MATUNGU				23,909	498	23,411	97.92	2.08		
159 LURAMBI				45,374	1,402	43,972	96.91	3.09		
160 SHINYALU				25,431	555	24,876	97.82	2.18		
161 IKOLOMANI				19,114	360	18,754	98.12	1.88		
162 BUTERE				23,088	1,611	21,487	93.03	6.97		
163 KHWISERO				17,225	104	17,121	99.40	0.60		
164 EMUHAYA				32,387	554	31,833	98.29	1.71		
165 BABATIA				30,584	1,242	29,342	95.94	4.06		
166 VIHIGA				19,490	61	19,429	99.66	0.31		
167 HAMISI				32,068	961	31,087	96.94	3.06		
168 MT ELGON				40,026	569	39,457	98.58	1.42		
169 KIMILILU				44,895	400	44,495	99.11	0.89		
170 WEBUYE				38,640	351	38,289	99.06	0.91		
171 SIRISIA				41,106	1,654	39,451	95.98	4.02		
172 KANDUYI				29,205	599	28,606	97.95	2.05		
173 BUMULA				31,710	493	31,217	98.45	1.55		
174 AMAGORO				40,208	333	39,875	99.17	0.83		
175 NAMBALE				31,341	1,202	30,139	96.16	3.84		
176 BUTULA				19,655	211	19,444	98.93	1.07		
177 FUNYULA				18,510	274	18,236	98.52	1.48		
178 BUDALANGI				15,319	140	15,179	99.06	0.91		
WESTERN TOTALS				728,603	16,618	712,985	97.72	2.28		
NYANZA										
179 UGENYA				37,113	801	36,312	97.84	2.16		
180 ALEGO				42,114	261	41,853	99.38	0.62		
181 GEM				19,633	3,137	16,496	84.16	15.82		
182 BONDO				27,188	233	26,955	99.14	0.86		
183 RARIEDA	Oiro Obwa	172	0.71	24,540	266	24,274	98.92	1.08		
184 KISUMU TOWN EAST				25,286	275	25,011	98.91	1.09		
185 KISUMU TOWN WEST				36,188	245	35,943	99.32	0.68		
186 KISUMU RURAL				25,283	244	25,039	99.03	0.97		
187 NYANDO				27,379	133	27,246	99.51	0.49		
188 MUHORONI				30,811	415	30,396	98.65	1.35		
189 NYAKACH				27,401	708	26,693	97.42	2.58		
190 KABIPUL KABONDO				38,660	348	38,312	99.10	0.90		
191 KARACHUONYO				32,634	243	32,391	99.26	0.74		
192 RANGWE				37,078	766	36,312	97.93	2.07		
193 NDHIWA				31,888	102	31,786	99.66	0.32		
194 RONGO				36,037	217	35,820	99.40	0.60		
195 MGORI				31,436	732	30,704	97.67	2.33		
196 URIRI				20,925	242	20,683	98.84	1.16		
197 NYATIKE				27,060	140	26,920	99.48	0.52		
198 MBITA				17,754	187	17,567	98.95	1.05		
199 GWASI				16,731	391	16,340	97.66	2.34		
200 KURIA				24,883	381	24,502	98.47	1.53		
201 BONCHARI				17,180	205	16,975	98.81	1.19		
202 SOUTH MUGIRANGO				23,301	1,237	22,064	94.69	5.31		
203 BOMACHOGE				27,110	304	26,806	98.88	1.12		
204 BOBASI				31,457	678	30,779	98.16	1.84		
205 NYARIBARI MABABA				24,787	732	24,055	97.05	2.95		
206 NYARIBARI CHACHE				25,686	1,005	24,681	96.06	3.92		
207 KITUTU CHACHE				34,110	664	33,446	98.05	1.95		
208 KITUTU MABABA				30,697	605	30,092	98.03	1.97		
209 WEST MUGIRANGO				25,584	470	25,114	98.41	1.59		
210 NORTH MUGIRANGO BORABU				35,899	1,908	34,991	94.83	5.17		
NYANZA TOTALS		172	0.02	918,013	18,178	900,835	98.02	1.98		
GRAND TOTALS				22,662	0.39	5,901,622	98,383	5,806,239	98.38	1.62
KANU: 2,243,463 (38.84%)										
OPPOSITION: 3,863,648 (61.36%)										
Winners in bold										

Polling Stations, Streams, and Registered Voters

	CONSTITUENCY	REGD VOTERS	POLLING STATIONS	STREAMS	AVG VOTERS PER POLLING STATION	AVG VOTERS PER STREAM	NOTES
	NAIROBI						
1	MAKADARA	91,605	19	95	4,821	964	
2	KAMUKUNJI	65,941	17	68	3,879	970	
3	STAREHE	109,215	17	111	6,424	984	
4	LANGATA	81,123	11	81	7,375	1,002	
5	DAGORETTI	69,481	15	72	4,632	965	
6	WESTLANDS	102,384	21	107	4,875	957	
7	KASARANI	91,517	16	92	5,720	995	
8	EMBAKASI	114,354	20	119	5,718	961	
	NAIROBI TOTALS	725,620	138	745	5,431	975	
	COAST						
9	CHANGAMWE	78,553	28	83	2,805	946	
10	KISAUNI	76,575	29	79	2,641	969	
11	LIKONI	42,369	16	45	2,648	942	
12	MVITA	70,836	20	72	3,542	984	
13	MSAMBWENI	60,203	82	96	734	627	
14	MATUGA	37,755	66	68	572	555	
15	KINANGO	33,524	96	96	349	349	
16	BAHARI	64,263	80	91	803	706	
17	KALOLENI	55,151	80	89	689	620	
18	GANZE	27,371	70	70	391	391	
19	MALINDI	52,649	48	66	1,097	798	
20	MAGARINI	27,833	52	54	535	515	
21	GARSEN	22,129	55	56	402	395	
22	GALOLE	16,368	50	50	327	327	
23	BURA	15,300	49	51	312	300	
24	LAMU EAST	9,049	23	24	393	377	
25	LAMU WEST	22,874	41	45	558	508	
26	TAVETA	16,578	29	31	572	535	
27	WUNDANYI	20,723	39	40	531	518	
28	MWATATE	22,614	56	56	404	404	
29	VOI	24,661	42	44	587	560	
	COAST TOTALS	797,378	1,051	1,306	995	587	
	NORTH EASTERN						
30	DUJIS	27,767	34	46	817	604	
31	LAGDERA	13,961	26	28	537	499	
32	FAFI	8,503	28	28	304	304	1 mobile
33	IJARA	7,501	35	35	214	214	
34	WAJIR NORTH	7,631	21	21	363	363	2 mobile
35	WAJIR WEST	19,038	32	36	595	529	1 mobile
36	WAJIR EAST	16,760	45	47	372	357	
37	WAJIR SOUTH	16,181	42	44	385	368	2 mobile
38	MANDERA WEST	12,470	25	27	499	462	
39	MANDERA CENTRAL	18,340	50	52	367	353	21 mobile
40	MANDERA EAST	23,517	45	50	523	470	7 mobile
	NORTH EASTERN TOTALS	171,669	383	414	507	449	
	EASTERN						
41	MOYALE	22,431	40	46	561	488	12 mobile
42	NORTH HERR	12,014	50	51	240	236	27 mobile
43	SAKU	12,549	22	25	570	502	2 mobile
44	LAISAMIS	11,851	41	42	289	282	19 mobile
45	ISIOLO NORTH	25,530	56	64	456	399	15 mobile
46	ISIOLO SOUTH	8,169	26	26	314	314	2 mobile
47	IGEMBE	49,550	94	95	527	522	
48	NTONYIRI	38,839	52	55	747	706	
49	TIGANIA WEST	32,360	55	55	588	588	
50	TIGANIA EAST	35,679	68	70	525	510	
51	NORTH IMENTI	74,661	90	102	830	732	
52	CENTRAL IMENTI	52,981	80	86	662	616	
53	SOUTH IMENTI	62,349	82	88	760	709	
54	NITHI	78,962	146	152	541	519	
55	THARAKA	26,953	78	79	346	341	
56	MANYATTA	52,542	65	75	808	701	
57	RUNYENJES	49,464	69	72	717	687	
58	GACHOKA	31,939	70	70	456	456	
59	SIKAGO	23,209	57	58	407	400	
60	MWINGI NORTH	45,369	178	178	255	255	

Polling Stations, Streams, and Registered Voters

	CONSTITUENCY	REGD	POLLING	STREAMS	AVG VOTERS PER	AVG VOTERS PER	NOTES
		VOTERS	STATIONS		POLLING STATION	STREAM	
81	MWINGI SOUTH	43,836	150	150	292	292	
82	KITUI WEST	46,603	91	94	512	496	
83	KITUI CENTRAL	51,390	73	78	704	659	
84	MUTITO	28,770	84	84	343	343	
85	KITUI SOUTH	31,935	87	87	367	367	
86	MASINGA	33,657	71	73	474	461	
87	YATTA	37,887	72	75	523	502	
88	KANGUNDO	63,125	95	101	664	625	
89	KATHIANI	52,489	52	67	1,009	783	
90	MACHAKOS TOWN	63,426	71	87	893	729	
91	MWALA	48,698	115	117	423	416	
92	MBOONI	49,490	99	102	500	485	
93	KILOME	25,394	46	48	552	529	
94	KAITI	34,569	57	59	606	586	
95	MAKUENI	55,845	142	145	393	385	
96	KIBWEZI	49,837	117	119	426	419	
	EASTERN TOTALS	1,464,162	937	993	626	484	
	CENTRAL						
77	KINANGOP	47,314	49	60	966	789	
78	KIPIRIRI	28,309	35	38	752	692	
79	OL KALOU	46,589	71	78	684	623	
80	NDARAGWA	27,444	44	45	624	610	
81	TETU	31,300	48	50	652	626	
82	KIENI	49,497	75	79	660	627	
83	MATHIRA	61,394	83	89	740	690	
84	OTHAYA	36,124	60	62	602	583	
85	MUKURWEINI	33,419	44	45	760	743	
86	NYERI TOWN	44,644	50	59	893	757	
87	MWEA	43,170	47	53	919	815	
88	GICHUGU	48,593	35	53	1,388	917	
89	NDIA	33,898	31	38	1,093	892	
90	KERUGOYA/KUTUS	43,585	33	46	1,321	948	
91	KANGEMA	29,182	36	39	811	748	
92	MATHIOYA	36,747	36	40	1,021	919	
93	KIHARU	67,381	71	84	949	802	
94	KIGUMO	42,741	43	49	994	872	
95	MARAGUA	42,579	46	53	928	803	
96	KANDARA	52,496	53	63	990	833	
97	GATANGA	55,537	62	69	896	805	
98	GATUNDU SOUTH	43,209	47	56	919	772	
99	GATUNDU NORTH	33,884	47	53	721	639	
100	JUJA	89,975	57	103	1,579	874	
101	GITHUNGURI	53,885	50	66	1,078	816	
102	KIAMBAA	68,747	55	72	1,250	955	
103	KABETE	68,669	58	84	1,184	817	
104	LIMURU	45,163	34	50	1,328	903	
105	LARI	39,127	53	60	738	652	
	CENTRAL TOTALS	1,344,612	662	729	1,060	827	
	RIFT VALLEY						
108	TURKANA NORTH	26,433	77	78	343	339	
107	TURKANA CENTRAL	33,831	72	78	470	434	
108	TURKANA SOUTH	18,368	52	53	353	347	
109	KACHELIBA	13,786	62	63	222	219	
110	KAPENGURIA	38,520	87	91	420	401	
111	SIGOR	31,840	95	95	335	335	
112	SAMBURU WEST	31,020	107	109	290	285	
113	SAMBURU EAST	10,827	62	62	175	175	
114	KWANZA	48,930	51	61	959	802	
115	SABOTI	82,838	68	95	1,218	872	
116	CHERANGANI	37,054	37	47	1,001	788	
117	ELDORET NORTH	90,947	89	124	1,022	733	
118	ELDORET EAST	51,768	72	79	719	655	
119	ELDORET SOUTH	52,812	63	76	835	682	
120	MARAKWET EAST	20,965	69	69	304	304	
121	MARAKWET WEST	28,014	84	84	334	334	
122	KEYO NORTH	21,947	46	47	477	467	
123	KEYO SOUTH	33,060	78	78	424	424	
124	MOSOP	40,202	78	78	515	515	
125	ALDAI	40,401	72	73	561	553	
126	EMGWEN	50,040	74	79	676	633	
127	TINDERET	52,970	83	89	638	595	
128	BARINGO EAST	15,380	68	68	228	228	
129	BARINGO NORTH	28,691	78	78	368	368	
130	BARINGO CENTRAL	42,978	138	141	311	305	
131	MOGOTIO	18,458	89	89	207	207	
132	ELDAMA RAVINE	31,181	78	80	400	390	
133	LAIKIPIA WEST	66,393	108	128	626	519	
134	LAIKIPIA EAST	45,833	80	94	574	489	
135	NAVAASHA	89,774	78	112	1,151	802	
136	NAKURU TOWN	89,383	27	94	3,310	951	
137	KURESOI	54,819	85	94	645	583	
138	MOLO	75,942	69	96	1,101	791	

Polling Stations, Streams, and Registered Voters

	CONSTITUENCY	REGD	POLLING	STREAMS	AVG VOTERS PER	AVG VOTERS PER	NOTES
		VOTERS	STATIONS		POLLING STATION	STREAM	
139	RONGAI	44,778	73	76	613	589	
140	ŠUBUKIA	45,300	45	56	1,007	809	
141	KILGORIS	47,750	98	102	487	468	
142	NAROK NORTH	46,866	101	107	464	438	
143	NAROK SOUTH	48,092	107	107	449	448	
144	KAJIADO NORTH	64,651	73	95	886	681	
145	KAJIADO CENTRAL	28,417	73	75	389	379	
146	KAJIADO SOUTH	32,290	57	63	566	512	
147	BOMET	55,873	83	87	671	640	
148	CHEPALUNGU	39,950	67	67	598	596	
149	SOTIK	44,128	89	90	496	490	
150	KONOIN	44,100	64	70	689	630	
151	BURET	38,453	51	56	754	687	
152	BELGUT	50,170	50	59	1,003	850	
153	AINAMOI	53,900	58	73	963	738	
154	KIPKELION	57,697	90	95	641	607	
	RIFT VALLEY TOTALS	2,166,604	783	830	844	836	
	WESTERN						
155	MALAVA	53,883	64	66	842	816	
156	LUGARI	51,393	50	56	1,028	918	
157	MUMIAS	51,671	54	66	957	783	
158	MATUNGU	33,657	34	40	990	841	
159	LURAMBI	70,344	72	86	977	818	
160	SHINYALU	41,995	40	48	1,050	875	
161	IKOLOMANI	28,871	34	38	849	802	
162	BUTERE	33,551	36	38	932	883	
163	KHWISERO	27,534	31	34	888	810	
164	EMUHAYA	53,926	64	66	843	817	
165	SABATIA	41,804	47	49	889	853	
166	VIHIGA	28,870	35	37	825	780	
167	HAMISI	47,768	48	54	1,038	885	
168	MT. ELGON	39,697	67	69	592	575	
169	KIMILILI	59,856	61	69	961	887	
170	WEBUYE	55,446	49	64	1,132	866	
171	SIRISIA	51,121	70	72	730	710	
172	KANDUYI	40,672	36	51	1,130	797	
173	BUMULA	39,820	59	61	675	653	
174	AMAGORO	53,291	86	88	620	606	
175	NAMBALE	45,630	55	62	830	736	
176	BUTULA	28,598	38	40	753	715	
177	FUNYULA	25,256	44	44	574	574	
178	BUDALANGI	19,618	28	28	701	701	
	WESTERN TOTALS	1,024,262	593	648	860	786	
	NYANZA						
179	UGENYA	54,524	83	86	657	634	
180	ALEGO	56,943	80	88	712	647	
181	GEM	42,397	62	63	684	673	
182	BONDO	38,555	52	57	741	676	
183	RARIEDA	33,553	46	47	729	714	
184	KISUMU TOWN EAST	36,810	29	45	1,269	818	
185	KISUMU TOWN WEST	61,376	30	68	2,048	903	
186	KISUMU RURAL	35,441	65	65	545	545	
187	NYANDO	36,638	64	67	572	547	
188	MUHORONI	44,056	64	71	688	621	
189	NYAKACH	36,272	59	62	615	585	
190	KASIPUL KABONDO	52,025	89	93	585	559	
191	KARACHUONYO	43,204	99	99	436	436	
192	RANGWE	52,656	96	102	549	516	
193	NDHIWA	42,910	90	90	477	477	
194	RONGO	52,318	74	79	707	662	
195	MIGORI	44,868	60	65	748	690	
196	URIRI	28,683	49	50	585	574	
197	NYATIKE	36,589	78	79	469	463	
198	MBITA	25,490	61	62	418	411	
199	GWASI	23,662	51	51	464	464	
200	KURIA	35,142	106	109	325	322	
201	BONCHARI	26,905	38	41	708	656	
202	S MUGIRANGO	35,305	49	52	721	679	
203	BOMACHOGE	43,452	48	54	905	805	
204	BOBASI	45,952	57	58	806	792	
205	NYARIBARI MASABA	37,859	37	42	1,023	901	
206	NYARIBARI CHACHE	43,236	36	50	1,201	865	
207	KITUTU CHACHE	52,565	54	64	973	821	
208	KITUTU MASABA	50,037	57	63	878	794	
209	WEST MUGIRANGO	42,921	47	53	913	810	
210	NORTH MUGIRANGO BORABU	53,264	72	76	740	701	
	NYANZA TOTALS	1,348,602	603	662	702	642	
	GRAND TOTALS	3,028,789	4,266	5,497	1,363	872	

Parliamentary Votes for Women Candidates

	CONSTITUENCY	Regd Voters	NDP			LPK		
			CANDIDATE	Votes	%	CANDIDATE	Votes	%
	NAIROBI							
1	MAKADARA	81,805						
2	KAMUKUNJI	85,841	Wambui Otieno	3,974		Beatrice Mbithe	493	1.08
3	STAREHE	109,215						
4	LANGATA	81,123				Margery Nduta	386	0.90
5	DAGORETTI	89,481						
6	WESTLANDS	102,384						
7	KASARANI	91,517				Alice Ngima Githae	273	0.59
8	EMBAKASI	114,354	Agnes Nyaboke Ogari	9,702				
	NAIROBI TOTALS	728,820		13,876			1,162	0.32
	COAST							
9	CHANGAMWE	78,553						
10	KISAUNI	78,575						
11	LIKONI	42,389						
12	MVITA	70,838						
13	MSAMBWENI	60,203						
14	MATUGA	37,755						
15	KINANGO	33,524						
16	BAHARI	64,263						
17	KALOENI	55,151						
18	GANZE	27,371						
19	MALINDI	52,649						
20	MAGARINI	27,833						
21	GARBEN	22,129						
22	GALOLE	16,388						
23	BURA	15,300						
24	LAMU EAST	9,049						
25	LAMU WEST	22,874						
26	TAVETA	16,578						
27	WUNDANYI	20,723						
28	MWATATE	22,614						
29	VOI	24,861						
	COAST TOTALS	787,378						
	NORTH EASTERN							
30	DUJIS	27,767						
31	LAGDERA	13,961						
32	FAFI	8,503						
33	LIARA	7,501						
34	WAJIR NORTH	7,831						
35	WAJIR WEST	19,038						
36	WAJIR EAST	16,760						
37	WAJIR SOUTH	16,181						
38	MANDERA WEST	12,470						
39	MANDERA CENTRAL	18,340						
40	MANDERA EAST	23,517						
	NORTH EASTERN TOTALS	171,869						
	EASTERN							
41	MOYALE	22,431						
42	NORTH HERR	12,014						
43	SAKU	12,548						
44	LAISAMIS	11,851						
45	ISIOLO NORTH	25,530	Fatuma Hassan M Iman	148				
46	ISIOLO SOUTH	8,188						
47	IGEMBE	48,550						
48	NTONYIRI	38,839						
49	TIGANIA WEST	32,360						
50	TIGANIA EAST	35,879						
51	NORTH IMENTI	74,861						
52	CENTRAL IMENTI	52,961						
53	SOUTH IMENTI	62,348						
54	NITHI	78,862						
55	THARAKA	28,853						
56	MANYATTA	52,542				Agatha Muthoni Mbogo	535	1.32
57	RUNYENJES	49,464						
58	GACHOKA	31,839						
59	SIKAKAGO	23,208						
60	MWINGI NORTH	45,389						
61	MWINGI SOUTH	43,836						
62	KITUI WEST	46,603						
63	KITUI CENTRAL	51,390						
64	MUTITO	28,770						
65	KITUI SOUTH	31,835	Anne Muryo	175				
66	MASINGA	33,857						
67	YATTA	37,687						
68	KANGUNDO	83,125						
69	KATHIANI	52,489						
70	MACHAKOS TOWN	63,426						
71	MWALA	48,698						
72	MBOONI	48,490						
73	KILOME	25,394						
74	KAITI	34,569						
75	MAKUENI	55,845						
76	KIBWEZI	48,837						
	EASTERN TOTALS	1,464,182		323			636	0.05

Parliamentary Votes for Women Candidates

CONSTITUENCY	Regd Voters	FORDP			KANU		
		CANDIDATE	Votes	%	CANDIDATE	Votes	%
NAIROBI							
1	MAKADARA	91,605					
2	KAMUKUNJI	65,941					
3	STAREHE	109,215					
4	LANGATA	81,123					
5	DAGORETTI	69,481					
6	WESTLANDS	102,384					
7	KASARANI	91,517					
8	EMBAKASI	114,354					
	NAIROBI TOTALS	725,620					
COAST							
9	CHANGAMWE	78,553					
10	KISAUNI	76,575					
11	LIKONI	42,369					
12	MVITA	70,836					
13	MSAMBWENI	60,203			Marere Mwarapayo wa Mwachai	17,168	44.89
14	MATUGA	37,755					
15	KINANGO	33,524					
16	BAHARI	64,263					
17	KALOENI	55,151					
18	GANZE	27,371					
19	MALINDI	52,649					
20	MAGARINI	27,833					
21	GARSEN	22,129					
22	GALOLE	16,368					
23	BURA	15,300					
24	LAMU EAST	9,049					
25	LAMU WEST	22,874					
26	TAVETA	16,578					
27	WUNDANYI	20,723					
28	MWATATE	22,614					
29	VOI	24,661					
	COAST TOTALS	797,378				17,168	4.19
NORTH EASTERN							
30	DUJIS	27,767					
31	LAGDERA	13,961					
32	FAFI	8,503					
33	IJARA	7,501					
34	WAJIR NORTH	7,631					
35	WAJIR WEST	19,038					
36	WAJIR EAST	16,760					
37	WAJIR SOUTH	16,181					
38	MANDERA WEST	12,470					
39	MANDERA CENTRAL	18,340					
40	MANDERA EAST	23,517					
	NORTH EASTERN TOTALS	171,669					
EASTERN							
41	MOYALE	22,431					
42	NORTH HERR	12,014					
43	SAKU	12,549					
44	LAISAMIS	11,851					
45	ISIOLO NORTH	25,530					
46	ISIOLO SOUTH	8,169					
47	IGEMBE	49,550					
48	NTONYIRI	38,839					
49	TIGANIA WEST	32,360					
50	TIGANIA EAST	35,679					
51	NORTH IMENTI	74,661					
52	CENTRAL IMENTI	52,981					
53	SOUTH IMENTI	62,349					
54	NITHI	78,962					
55	THARAKA	26,953					
56	MANYATTA	52,542					
57	RUNYENJES	49,464					
58	GACHOKA	31,939					
59	SIKAGO	23,209					
60	MWINGI NORTH	45,369					
61	MWINGI SOUTH	43,836					
62	KITUI WEST	46,603					
63	KITUI CENTRAL	51,390					
64	MUTITO	28,770					
65	KITUI SOUTH	31,935					
66	MASINGA	33,657					
67	YATTA	37,687					
68	KANGUNDO	63,125					
69	KATHIANI	52,489					
70	MACHAKOS TOWN	63,426					
71	MWALA	48,698					
72	MBOONI	49,490					
73	KILOME	25,394					
74	KAITI	34,569					
75	MAKUENI	55,845					
76	KIBWEZI	49,837					
	EASTERN TOTALS	1,464,152					

Parliamentary Votes for Women Candidates

CONSTITUENCY	Regd Voters	KNC			KNC		
		CANDIDATE	Votes	%	CANDIDATE	Votes	%
NAIROBI							
1 MAKADARA	91,805						
2 KAMUKUNJI	85,841						
3 STAREHE	109,215						
4 LANGATA	81,123	Fatma Abeyd Anyanzwa	1,070	2.50			
5 DAGORETTI	89,481						
6 WESTLANDS	102,384						
7 KASARANI	91,517						
8 EMBAKASI	114,354						
NAIROBI TOTALS	726,620		1,070	0.29			
COAST							
9 CHANGAMWE	78,553	Loise Ndunge Nzioka	340	0.97			
10 KISUMU	76,575						
11 LIKONI	42,369						
12 MVIITA	70,838						
13 MSAMBWENI	60,203						
14 MATUGA	37,755						
15 KINANGO	33,524						
16 BAHARI	64,283						
17 KALOLENI	55,151						
18 GANZE	27,371						
19 MALINDI	52,649						
20 MAGARINI	27,833						
21 GARSEN	22,129						
22 GALOLE	16,368						
23 BURA	15,300						
24 LAMU EAST	9,048						
25 LAMU WEST	22,874						
26 TAVETA	18,578						
27 WUNDANYI	20,723						
28 MWATATE	22,614						
29 VOI	24,891						
COAST TOTALS	797,378		340	0.08			
NORTH EASTERN							
30 DUJIS	27,797						
31 LAGDERA	13,981						
32 FAFI	8,503						
33 LIARA	7,501						
34 WAJIR NORTH	7,631						
35 WAJIR WEST	19,038						
36 WAJIR EAST	16,780						
37 WAJIR SOUTH	16,181						
38 MANDERA WEST	12,470						
39 MANDERA CENTRAL	18,340						
40 MANDERA EAST	23,517						
NORTH EASTERN TOTALS	171,689						
EASTERN							
41 MOYALE	22,431						
42 NORTH HORN	12,014						
43 SAKU	12,549						
44 LAISAMIS	11,851						
45 ISIOLO NORTH	25,530						
46 ISIOLO SOUTH	8,189						
47 IGEMBE	49,550						
48 NTONYIRI	38,839						
49 TIGANIA WEST	32,960						
50 TIGANIA EAST	35,679						
51 NORTH IMENTI	74,661						
52 CENTRAL IMENTI	52,981						
53 SOUTH IMENTI	62,349						
54 NITHI	78,982						
55 THARAKA	26,953						
56 MANYATTA	52,542						
57 RUNYENJES	49,484						
58 GACHOKA	31,839						
59 BIAKAGO	23,209						
60 MWINGI NORTH	45,389						
61 MWINGI SOUTH	43,836						
62 KITUI WEST	48,603						
63 KITUI CENTRAL	51,990						
64 MUTITO	28,770						
65 KITUI SOUTH	31,935						
66 MABINGA	33,657						
67 YATTA	37,687						
68 KANGUNDO	63,125						
69 KATHIANI	52,489						
70 MACHAKOS TOWN	63,426						
71 MWALA	48,699						
72 MBOONI	49,490						
73 KILOME	25,394						
74 KAITI	34,599						
75 MAKUENI	55,845						
76 KIBWEZI	49,837						
EASTERN TOTALS	1,464,162						

Parliamentary Votes for Women Candidates

CONSTITUENCY	Regd Voters	FORDA			DP		
		CANDIDATE	Votes	%	CANDIDATE	Votes	%
NAIROBI							
1 MAKADARA	91,605	Jane Wilunda Daisy	482	1.06			
2 KAMUKUNJI	65,941						
3 STAREHE	109,215						
4 LANGATA	81,123						
5 DAGORETTI	69,481						
6 WESTLANDS	102,384				Betty Njeri Tett	17,877	36.38
7 KASARANI	91,517						
8 EMBAKASI	114,354						
NAIROBI TOTALS	725,620		482	0.13		17,877	4.91
COAST							
9 CHANGAMWE	78,553						
10 KISAUNI	76,575						
11 LIKONI	42,369	Grace Wakarima Gituma	431	2.72			
12 MVIITA	70,836						
13 MSAMBWENI	60,203						
14 MATUGA	37,755						
15 KINANGO	33,524						
16 BAHARI	64,263						
17 KALO LENI	55,151						
18 GANZE	27,371						
19 MALINDI	52,649						
20 MAGARINI	27,833						
21 GARSEN	22,129						
22 GALOLE	16,366						
23 BURU	15,300						
24 LAMU EAST	9,049						
25 LAMU WEST	22,874						
26 TAVETA	16,578						
27 WUNDANYI	20,723						
28 MWATATE	22,614						
29 VOI	24,661						
COAST TOTALS	797,378		431	0.11		-	-
NORTH EASTERN							
30 DUJIS	27,767						
31 LAGDERA	13,961						
32 FAFI	8,503						
33 IJARA	7,501	Sophie Abdi Noor	2,355	44.90			
34 WAJIR NORTH	7,631						
35 WAJIR WEST	19,038						
36 WAJIR EAST	16,760						
37 WAJIR SOUTH	16,181						
38 MANDERA WEST	12,470						
39 MANDERA CENTRAL	18,340						
40 MANDERA EAST	23,517						
NORTH EASTERN TOTALS	171,669		2,355	2.51		-	-
EASTERN							
41 MOYALE	22,431						
42 NORTH HORN	12,014						
43 SAKU	12,549						
44 LAISAMIS	11,851						
45 ISIOLO NORTH	25,530						
46 ISIOLO SOUTH	8,169						
47 IGE MBE	49,550						
48 NTONYIRI	38,839						
49 TIGANIA WEST	32,360						
50 TIGANIA EAST	35,679						
51 NORTH IMENTI	74,661						
52 CENTRAL IMENTI	52,981						
53 SOUTH IMENTI	62,349						
54 NITHI	78,962						
55 THARAKA	26,953						
56 MANYATTA	52,542						
57 RUNYENJES	49,464						
58 GACHOKA	31,939						
59 SIAKAGO	23,209						
60 MWINGI NORTH	45,369						
61 MWINGI SOUTH	43,836						
62 KITUI WEST	46,603						
63 KITUI CENTRAL	51,390						
64 MUTITO	28,770						
65 KITUI SOUTH	31,935						
66 MASINGA	33,657						
67 YATTA	37,687						
68 KANGUNDO	63,125						
69 KATHIANI	52,489						
70 MACHAKOS TOWN	63,426						
71 MWALA	48,698						
72 MBOONI	49,490						
73 KILOME	25,394						
74 KAITI	34,569						
75 MAKUENI	55,845						
76 KIBWEZI	49,837						
EASTERN TOTALS	1,464,152		-	-		-	-

Parliamentary Votes for Women Candidates

CONSTITUENCY	Regd Voters	FORDK			SDP		
		CANDIDATE	Votes	%	CANDIDATE	Votes	%
NAIROBI							
1 MAKADARA	81,605						
2 KAMUKUNJI	85,841						
3 STAREHE	109,215						
4 LANGATA	81,123						
5 DAGORETTI	89,481				Beth Wambui Mugo	21,748	87.36
6 WESTLANDS	102,384	Batrobe Chang'eda Kemoli	4,137	8.42	Eddah Rubia	2,538	5.16
7 KABARANI	91,517						
8 EMBAKASI	114,354	Jaei Ogombe Mbogo	3,801	6.33	Florence Adhiambo Awuochi	4,884	8.14
NAIROBI TOTALS	728,820		7,938	2.18		28,166	8.00
COAST							
9 CHANGAMWE	78,553						
10 KISAUNI	76,575				Rahab Wanjiku Mwendwa	2,832	8.72
11 LIKONI	42,369						
12 MVIITA	70,838						
13 MSAMBWENI	60,203						
14 MATUGA	37,755						
15 KINANGO	33,524						
16 BAHARI	64,263						
17 KALOENI	55,151						
18 GANZE	27,371						
19 MALINDI	52,648				Naomi M. Sidi Kumbatha	1,302	5.28
20 MAGARINI	27,833						
21 GARSEN	22,129						
22 GALOLE	16,368						
23 BURU	15,300						
24 LAMU EAST	9,049						
25 LAMU WEST	22,874						
26 TAVETA	16,578						
27 WUNDANYI	20,723						
28 MWATATE	22,814						
29 VOI	24,681						
COAST TOTALS	797,378					4,134	1.01
NORTH EASTERN							
30 DUIS	27,787						
31 LAGDERA	13,861						
32 FAFI	8,503						
33 IJARA	7,501						
34 WAJIR NORTH	7,831						
35 WAJIR WEST	18,038						
36 WAJIR EAST	16,790						
37 WAJIR SOUTH	16,181						
38 MANDERA WEST	12,470						
39 MANDERA CENTRAL	18,340						
40 MANDERA EAST	23,517						
NORTH EASTERN TOTALS	171,689						
EASTERN							
41 MOYALE	22,431						
42 NORTH HERR	12,014						
43 SAKU	12,548						
44 LAISAMIS	11,851						
45 ISIOLO NORTH	25,530						
46 ISIOLO SOUTH	8,188						
47 IGEMBE	49,550						
48 NTONYIRI	38,838						
49 TIGANIA WEST	32,380						
50 TIGANIA EAST	35,879						
51 NORTH IMENTI	74,881						
52 CENTRAL IMENTI	52,881						
53 SOUTH IMENTI	62,348						
54 NITHI	78,882						
55 THARAKA	28,952						
56 MANYATTA	52,542						
57 RUNYENJES	49,484	Margaret Weveti Mugeni	152				
58 GACHOKA	31,838	Beatrice Kanini Nyagah	848				
59 SIAKAGO	23,209						
60 MWINGI NORTH	45,369						
61 MWINGI SOUTH	43,836						
62 KITUI WEST	46,803						
63 KITUI CENTRAL	51,380				Charity Kaluki Ngilu	28,172	72.81
64 MUTITO	28,770						
65 KITUI SOUTH	31,835						
66 MASINGA	33,857						
67 YATTA	37,887						
68 KANGUNDO	83,125						
69 KATHIANI	52,489						
70 MACHAKOS TOWN	63,425						
71 MWALA	48,898						
72 MBOONI	49,480						
73 KILOME	25,384						
74 KAITI	34,569				Adelina Ndeto Mwaui	8,853	41.27
75 MAKUENI	55,845						
76 KIBWEZI	49,837						
EASTERN TOTALS	1,484,182		1,100	0.11		37,025	3.56

Parliamentary Votes for Women Candidates

CONSTITUENCY		Regd Voters	Total for Women	% for Women	Total valid
NAIROBI					
1	MAKADARA	91,805	975	2.14	45,475
2	KAMUKUNJI	65,941	3,974	12.18	32,624
3	STAREHE	109,215	-	-	50,176
4	LANGATA	81,123	1,456	3.40	42,868
5	DAGORETTI	69,481	21,745	57.36	37,909
6	WESTLANDS	102,384	24,550	49.96	49,144
7	KASARANI	91,517	273	0.59	46,199
8	EMBAKASI	114,354	18,387	30.63	60,022
NAIROBI TOTALS		726,620	71,360	19.58	364,417
COAST					
9	CHANGAMWE	78,553	340	0.97	35,098
10	KISAUNI	76,575	2,832	8.72	32,488
11	LIKONI	42,369	431	2.72	15,832
12	MVITA	70,836	-	-	28,094
13	MSAMBWENI	60,203	17,168	44.89	38,245
14	MATUGA	37,755	-	-	23,130
15	KINANGO	33,524	-	-	20,304
16	BAHARI	64,263	-	-	32,777
17	KALOLENI	55,151	-	-	28,806
18	GANZE	27,371	-	-	12,294
19	MALINDI	52,649	1,302	5.28	24,678
20	MAGARINI	27,833	-	-	14,288
21	GARSEN	22,129	-	-	12,955
22	GALOLE	16,368	-	-	10,439
23	BURA	15,300	-	-	8,754
24	LAMU EAST	9,049	-	-	6,658
25	LAMU WEST	22,874	-	-	13,742
26	TAVETA	16,578	-	-	11,418
27	WUNDANYI	20,723	-	-	11,887
28	MWATATE	22,614	-	-	14,273
29	VOI	24,661	-	-	13,727
COAST TOTALS		797,376	22,073	6.39	409,867
NORTH EASTERN					
30	DUJIS	27,767	-	-	16,550
31	LAGDERA	13,961	-	-	6,928
32	FAFI	8,503	-	-	4,126
33	IJARA	7,501	2,355	44.90	5,245
34	WAJIR NORTH	7,631	-	-	4,079
35	WAJIR WEST	19,038	-	-	10,254
36	WAJIR EAST	16,760	-	-	9,503
37	WAJIR SOUTH	16,181	-	-	6,925
38	MANDERA WEST	12,470	-	-	8,020
39	MANDERA CENTRAL	18,340	-	-	11,061
40	MANDERA EAST	23,517	-	-	11,081
NORTH EASTERN TOTALS		171,669	2,355	2.61	93,772
EASTERN					
41	MOYALE	22,431	-	-	16,776
42	NORTH HERR	12,014	-	-	7,845
43	SAKU	12,549	-	-	9,875
44	LAISAMIS	11,851	-	-	-
45	ISIOLO NORTH	25,530	148	0.94	15,742
46	ISIOLO SOUTH	8,169	-	-	6,509
47	IGEMBE	49,550	-	-	32,152
48	NTONYIRI	36,839	-	-	24,917
49	TIGANIA WEST	32,360	-	-	21,200
50	TIGANIA EAST	35,679	-	-	28,154
51	NORTH IMENTI	74,661	-	-	52,304
52	CENTRAL IMENTI	52,981	-	-	41,093
53	SOUTH IMENTI	62,349	-	-	51,601
54	NITHI	78,962	-	-	52,796
55	THARAKA	26,953	-	-	21,265
56	MANYATTA	52,542	535	1.32	40,588
57	RUNYENJES	49,464	152	0.41	37,336
58	GACHOKA	31,939	948	3.81	24,914
59	SIKAGO	23,209	-	-	18,660
60	MWINGI NORTH	45,369	-	-	35,739
61	MWINGI SOUTH	43,836	-	-	31,978
62	KITUI WEST	46,603	-	-	34,868
63	KITUI CENTRAL	51,390	28,172	72.61	38,800
64	MUTITO	28,770	-	-	19,544
65	KITUI SOUTH	31,935	175	0.82	21,431
66	MASINGA	33,657	-	-	23,747
67	YATTA	37,667	-	-	26,795
68	KANGUNDO	63,125	-	-	45,836
69	KATHIANI	52,489	-	-	34,927
70	MACHAKOS TOWN	63,426	-	-	45,019
71	MWALA	48,698	-	-	39,838
72	MBOONI	49,490	-	-	34,748
73	KILOME	25,394	-	-	15,247
74	KAITI	34,569	8,853	41.27	21,453
75	MAKUENI	55,845	-	-	37,162
76	KIBWEZI	49,837	-	-	29,186
EASTERN TOTALS		1,464,162	36,963	3.75	1,040,046

Parliamentary Votes for Women Candidates

CONSTITUENCY	Regd Voters	NDP			LPK		
		CANDIDATE	Votes	%	CANDIDATE	Votes	%
CENTRAL							
77 KINANGOP	47,314						
78 KIIPIRI	28,308						
79 OL KALOU	48,588						
80 NDARAGWA	27,444						
81 TETU	31,300						
82 KIENI	48,487				Wangari Muta Maathai	905 3.32	
83 MATHIRA	81,384						
84 OTHAYA	36,124		100				
85 MUKURUWEINI	33,419						
86 NYERI TOWN	44,844		421				
87 MWEA	43,170						
88 GICHUGU	48,583						
89 NDA	33,888						
90 KERUGOYAKUTUS	43,586						
91 KANGEMA	29,182						
92 MATHIOYA	36,747						
93 KIHARU	67,381						
94 KIGUMO	42,741						
95 MARAGWA	42,578						
96 KANDARA	32,488						
97 GATANGA	56,537						
98 GATUNDU SOUTH	43,209						
99 GATUNDU NORTH	33,884						
100 JUJA	89,875						
101 GITHUNGURI	53,885						
102 KIAMBAA	86,747						
103 KABETE	68,888						
104 LIMURU	45,183						
105 LARI	38,127						
CENTRAL TOTALS	1,344,812		530		905	0.69	
RIFT VALLEY							
106 TURKANA NORTH	28,433						
107 TURKANA CENTRAL	33,831						
108 TURKANA SOUTH	18,388						
109 KACHELIBA	13,786						
110 KAPENGURIA	38,520						
111 SIGOR	31,840						
112 SAMBURU WEST	31,020						
113 SAMBURU EAST	10,827						
114 KWANZA	48,930						
115 SABOTI	82,838						
116 CHERANGANI	37,084						
117 ELDORET NORTH	80,847						
118 ELDORET EAST	51,788						
119 ELDORET SOUTH	52,812						
120 MARAKWET EAST	20,865						
121 MARAKWET WEST	28,014						
122 KEIYO NORTH	21,847						
123 KEIYO SOUTH	33,080						
124 MOSOP	40,202	Felicity Irene Magut	1,119				
125 ALDAI	40,401						
126 EMGWEN	50,040						
127 TINDERET	52,870						
128 BARINGO EAST	15,380						
129 BARINGO NORTH	28,881						
130 BARINGO CENTRAL	42,878						
131 MOGOTIO	18,458						
132 ELDAMA RAVINE	31,181						
133 LAIKIPIA WEST	88,383						
134 LAIKIPIA EAST	45,833						
135 NAIVASHA	88,774						
136 NAKURU TOWN	88,383						
137 KUREBOI	54,818						
138 MOLO	73,842						
139 RONGAI	44,778						
140 SUBUKIA	45,300						
141 KILGORIS	47,750						
142 NAROK NORTH	48,888						
143 NAROK SOUTH	48,082						
144 KAJIADO NORTH	84,881						
145 KAJIADO CENTRAL	28,417						
146 KAJIADO SOUTH	32,280						
147 BOMET	55,873						
148 CHEPALUNGU	38,880						
149 BOTIK	44,128						
150 KONCIN	44,100						
151 BURET	38,483						
152 BELGUT	80,170						
153 AINAMOI	53,880						
154 KIPKELION	87,887						
RIFT VALLEY TOTALS	2,188,884		1,119				

Parliamentary Votes for Women Candidates

CONSTITUENCY	Reqd Voters	FORDP			KANU		
		CANDIDATE	Votes	%	CANDIDATE	Votes	%
CENTRAL							
77 KINANGOP	47,314						
78 KIPPIPIRI	26,309						
79 OL KALOU	48,589						
80 NDARAGWA	27,444						
81 TETU	31,300						
82 KIENI	49,497						
83 MATHIRA	61,394						
84 OTHAYA	36,124						
85 MUKURUWEINI	33,419						
86 NYERI TOWN	44,844						
87 MWEA	43,170						
88 GICHUGU	48,593						
89 NDIA	33,898						
90 KERUGOYA/KUTUS	43,595						
91 KANGEMA	29,182						
92 MATHIOYA	36,747						
93 KIHARU	67,381						
94 KIGUMO	42,741						
95 MARAGWA	42,579				Rebecca M Mwangi	1,370	4.92
96 KANDARA	52,496						
97 GATANGA	55,537						
98 GATUNDU SOUTH	43,209						
99 GATUNDU NORTH	33,884						
100 JUJA	89,975						
101 GITHUNGURI	53,885						
102 KIAMBAA	68,747						
103 KABETE	68,969						
104 LIMURU	45,163						
105 LARI	39,127						
CENTRAL TOTALS	1,344,812					1,370	0.14
RIFT VALLEY							
106 TURKANA NORTH	26,433						
107 TURKANA CENTRAL	33,831						
108 TURKANA SOUTH	18,368						
109 KACHELIBA	13,788						
110 KAPENGURIA	36,520						
111 SIGOR	31,840						
112 SAMBURU WEST	31,020						
113 SAMBURU EAST	10,827						
114 KWANZA	48,930						
115 SABOTI	82,838				Justina Nasambu Sitti	13,444	23.15
116 CHERANGANI	37,054						
117 ELDORET NORTH	90,947						
118 ELDORET EAST	51,788						
119 ELDORET SOUTH	52,812						
120 MARAKWET EAST	20,965						
121 MARAKWET WEST	28,014						
122 KEIYO NORTH	21,947						
123 KEIYO SOUTH	33,060						
124 MOSOP	40,202						
125 ALDAI	40,401						
126 EMGWEN	50,040	Dorcas Jepkembol	530	1.38			
127 TINDERET	52,970						
128 BARINGO EAST	15,380						
129 BARINGO NORTH	28,891						
130 BARINGO CENTRAL	42,978						
131 MOGOTIO	18,458						
132 ELDAMA RAVINE	31,181						
133 LAIKIPIA WEST	66,393						
134 LAIKIPIA EAST	45,933						
135 NAIVASHA	89,774						
136 NAKURU TOWN	89,383				Alicen Jematia Ronoh Chelaite	12,970	25.25
137 KURESOI	54,819						
138 MOLO	75,942	Anne Wangechi Murage	301	0.52			
139 RONGAI	44,778						
140 SUBUKIA	45,300						
141 KILGORIS	47,750						
142 NAROK NORTH	46,886						
143 NAROK SOUTH	48,092						
144 KAJIADO NORTH	64,851						
145 KAJIADO CENTRAL	28,417						
146 KAJIADO SOUTH	32,280						
147 BOMET	55,673						
148 CHEPALUNGU	39,950						
149 SOTIK	44,128						
150 KONOI	44,100						
151 BURET	38,453						
152 BELGUT	50,170						
153 AINAMOI	53,900						
154 KIPKELION	57,697						
RIFT VALLEY TOTALS	2,185,504		831	0.06		26,414	2.06

Parliamentary Votes for Women Candidates

CONSTITUENCY	Regd Voters	KBC			KNC		
		CANDIDATE	Votes	%	CANDIDATE	Votes	%
CENTRAL							
77 KINANGOP	47,314						
78 KIPIRI	26,309						
79 OL KALOU	48,588						
80 NDARAGWA	27,444						
81 TETU	31,300						
82 KIENI	49,497						
83 MATHIRA	61,394						
84 OTHAYA	36,124						
85 MUKURUWEINI	33,419						
86 NYERI TOWN	44,844						
87 MWEA	43,170						
88 GICHUGU	48,583						
89 NDIA	33,898						
90 KERUGOYA/KUTUS	43,585						
91 KANGEMA	29,182						
92 MATHIOYA	36,747						
93 KIHARU	67,381						
94 KIGUMO	42,741						
95 MARAGWA	42,579						
96 KANDARA	52,496						
97 GATANGA	55,537						
98 GATUNDU SOUTH	43,209						
99 GATUNDU NORTH	33,884						
100 JUJA	89,975						
101 GITHUNGURI	53,885						
102 KIAMBAA	68,747						
103 KABETE	88,889						
104 LIMURU	45,183						
105 LARI	38,127						
CENTRAL TOTALS	1,344,612						
RIFT VALLEY							
106 TURKANA NORTH	28,433						
107 TURKANA CENTRAL	33,831						
108 TURKANA SOUTH	18,388						
109 KACHELIBA	13,786						
110 KAPENGLA	36,520						
111 SIGOR	31,840						
112 SAMBURU WEST	31,020						
113 SAMBURU EAST	10,827						
114 KWANZA	48,930						
115 SABOTI	82,836						
116 CHERANGANI	37,054						
117 ELDORET NORTH	90,947						
118 ELDORET EAST	51,788						
119 ELDORET SOUTH	52,612						
120 MARAKWET EAST	20,985						
121 MARAKWET WEST	28,014						
122 KEIYO NORTH	21,947						
123 KEIYO SOUTH	33,090						
124 MOSOP	40,202						
125 ALDAI	40,401						
126 EMGWEN	50,040						
127 TINDERET	52,970						
128 BARINGO EAST	15,380						
129 BARINGO NORTH	28,091						
130 BARINGO CENTRAL	42,976						
131 MOGOTIO	18,456						
132 EL DAMA RAVINE	31,181						
133 LAIKIPIA WEST	66,383						
134 LAIKIPIA EAST	45,933						
135 NAIVASHA	88,774						
136 NAKURU TOWN	89,383						
137 KURESOI	54,619						
138 MOLO	75,942						
139 RONGAI	44,778						
140 SUBUKIA	45,300						
141 KILGORIS	47,750						
142 NAROK NORTH	48,866						
143 NAROK SOUTH	48,092						
144 KAJIADO NORTH	64,851						
145 KAJIADO CENTRAL	28,417						
146 KAJIADO SOUTH	32,280						
147 BOMET	55,073						
148 CHEPALUNGU	38,850						
149 SOTIK	44,128						
150 KONON	44,100						
151 BURET	38,453						
152 BELGUT	50,170						
153 AJNAMOI	53,900						
154 KIPKELION	57,887						
RIFT VALLEY TOTALS	2,166,594						

Parliamentary Votes for Women Candidates

	CONSTITUENCY	Regd Voters	FORDA			DP		
			CANDIDATE	Votes	%	CANDIDATE	Votes	%
	CENTRAL							
77	KINANGOP	47,314						
78	KIPIPIRI	26,309						
79	OL KALOU	48,589						
80	NDARAGWA	27,444						
81	TETU	31,300						
82	KIENI	49,497						
83	MATHIRA	61,394						
84	OTHAYA	36,124						
85	MUKURUWEINI	33,419						
86	NYERI TOWN	44,644						
87	MWEA	43,170						
88	GICHUGU	48,593				Martha Wangari Karua	30,736	78.95
89	NDIA	33,898						
90	KERUGOYAKUTUS	43,595						
91	KANGEMA	29,182						
92	MATHIOYA	36,747						
93	KIHARU	67,381						
94	KIGUMO	42,741						
95	MARAGWA	42,579						
96	KANDARA	52,496						
97	GATANGA	55,537						
98	GATUNDU SOUTH	43,209						
99	GATUNDU NORTH	33,884						
100	JUJA	89,975						
101	GITHUNGURI	53,885						
102	KIAMBAA	68,747						
103	KABETE	68,669						
104	LIMURU	45,163						
105	LARI	39,127						
	CENTRAL TOTALS	1,344,612		-	-		30,736	3.06
	RIFT VALLEY							
106	TURKANA NORTH	26,433						
107	TURKANA CENTRAL	33,831						
108	TURKANA SOUTH	18,368						
109	KACHELIBA	13,786						
110	KAPENGURIA	36,520						
111	SIGOR	31,840						
112	SAMBURU WEST	31,020						
113	SAMBURU EAST	10,827						
114	KWANZA	48,930						
115	SABOTI	82,836						
116	CHERANGANI	37,054						
117	ELDORET NORTH	90,947						
118	ELDORET EAST	51,768						
119	ELDORET SOUTH	52,612						
120	MARAKWET EAST	20,965						
121	MARAKWET WEST	28,014						
122	KEIYO NORTH	21,947						
123	KEIYO SOUTH	33,060				Tabitha Jeptoo Seii	1,504	5.46
124	MOSOP	40,202						
125	ALDAI	40,401						
126	EMGWEN	50,040						
127	TINDERET	52,970						
128	BARINGO EAST	15,380						
129	BARINGO NORTH	28,691						
130	BARINGO CENTRAL	42,976						
131	MOGOTIO	18,456						
132	ELDAMA RAVINE	31,181						
133	LAIKIPIA WEST	66,393						
134	LAIKIPIA EAST	45,933						
135	NAIVASHA	89,774						
136	NAKURU TOWN	89,383						
137	KURESOI	54,819						
138	MOLO	75,942						
139	RONGAI	44,778						
140	SUBUKIA	45,300						
141	KILGORIS	47,750						
142	NAROK NORTH	46,866						
143	NAROK SOUTH	46,092						
144	KAJIADO NORTH	64,651						
145	KAJIADO CENTRAL	28,417						
146	KAJIADO SOUTH	32,280						
147	BOMET	55,673						
148	CHEPALUNGU	39,950						
149	SOTIK	44,128						
150	KONOIN	44,100						
151	BURET	38,453						
152	BELGUT	50,170						
153	AINAMOI	53,900						
154	KIPKELION	57,697						
	RIFT VALLEY TOTALS	2,155,504		-	-		1,504	0.12

Parliamentary Votes for Women Candidates

	CONSTITUENCY	Regd Voters	FORDK			SDP		
			CANDIDATE	Votes	%	CANDIDATE	Votes	%
	CENTRAL							
77	KINANGOP	47,314	Mary Wanjiru	243				
78	KIPIPIRI	26,309						
79	OL KALOU	48,588						
80	NDARAGWA	27,444						
81	TETU	31,300						
82	KIENI	49,487						
83	MATHIRA	81,394						
84	OTHAYA	36,124						
85	MUKURUWEINI	33,419						
86	NYERI TOWN	44,844						
87	MWEA	45,170						
88	GICHUGU	48,593						
89	NDIA	35,888						
90	KERUGOYAKUTUS	43,585						
91	KANGEMA	26,182						
92	MATHIOYA	36,747						
93	KIHARU	87,381						
94	KIGUMO	42,741						
95	MARAGWA	42,579						
96	KANDARA	52,488						
97	GATANGA	55,537						
98	GATUNDU SOUTH	43,209						
99	GATUNDU NORTH	33,884						
100	JUJA	89,875						
101	GITHUNGURI	55,885						
102	KIAMBAA	68,747						
103	KABETE	68,889						
104	LIMURU	45,183						
105	LARI	39,127						
	CENTRAL TOTALS	1,344,812		243	0.02			
	RIFT VALLEY							
106	TURKANA NORTH	26,433						
107	TURKANA CENTRAL	33,831						
108	TURKANA SOUTH	18,368						
109	KACHELIBA	13,786						
110	KAPENGURIA	36,520						
111	SIGOR	31,840						
112	SAMBURU WEST	31,020						
113	SAMBURU EAST	10,827						
114	KWANZA	48,930	Mary Jeruto Kirwa	288	0.77			
115	SABOTI	82,836						
116	CHERANGANI	37,054						
117	ELDORET NORTH	80,947						
118	ELDORET EAST	51,788						
119	ELDORET SOUTH	52,612						
120	MARAKWET EAST	20,865	Jebli Linah Kifimo	6	0.03			
121	MARAKWET WEST	28,014						
122	KEIYO NORTH	21,847						
123	KEIYO SOUTH	33,060						
124	MOSOP	40,202						
125	ALDAI	40,401						
126	EMGWEN	50,040						
127	TINDERET	52,970	Everlyn Chepkamool Kiprotich	181	0.45			
128	BARINGO EAST	15,380						
129	BARINGO NORTH	28,891						
130	BARINGO CENTRAL	42,976						
131	MOGOTIO	18,456	Christine Jeblich Ndolgo	2,170	13.91			
132	ELDAMA RAVINE	31,181						
133	LAIKIPIA WEST	86,393						
134	LAIKIPIA EAST	45,833						
135	NAIVASHA	89,774						
136	NAKURU TOWN	88,383						
137	KURESOI	54,818						
138	MOLO	75,942						
139	RONGAI	44,778						
140	SUBUKIA	45,300						
141	KILGORIS	47,750						
142	NAROK NORTH	46,888						
143	NAROK SOUTH	48,082						
144	KAJIADO NORTH	84,851						
145	KAJIADO CENTRAL	28,417						
146	KAJIADO SOUTH	32,280						
147	BOMET	55,873						
148	CHEPALUNGU	39,950						
149	SOTIK	44,128						
150	KONOIN	44,100						
151	BURET	38,453						
152	BELGUT	50,170						
153	AINAMOI	53,900						
154	KIPKELION	57,887						
	RIFT VALLEY TOTALS	2,188,594				2,943	0.21	

Parliamentary Votes for Women Candidates

CONSTITUENCY	Regd Voters	Total for Women	% for Women	Total valid
CENTRAL				
77 KINANGOP	47,314	243	0.64	38,054
78 KIPIPIRI	26,309	-	-	21,553
79 OL KALOU	48,589	-	-	38,940
80 NDARAGWA	27,444	-	-	21,995
81 TETU	31,300	905	3.32	27,223
82 KIENI	49,497	-	-	40,806
83 MATHIRA	61,394	-	-	46,741
84 OTHAYA	36,124	109	0.34	32,356
85 MUKURUWEINI	33,419	-	-	28,673
86 NYERI TOWN	44,844	421	1.20	35,210
87 MWEA	43,170	-	-	31,921
88 GICHUGU	48,593	30,736	78.95	38,931
89 NDIA	33,898	-	-	27,483
90 KERUGOYA/KUTUS	43,595	-	-	30,495
91 KANGEMA	29,182	-	-	22,015
92 MATHIOYA	36,747	-	-	27,935
93 KIHARU	67,381	-	-	37,813
94 KIGUMO	42,741	-	-	20,162
95 MARAGWA	42,579	1,370	4.92	27,859
96 KANDARA	52,496	-	-	39,619
97 GATANGA	55,537	-	-	39,623
98 GATUNDU SOUTH	43,209	-	-	34,283
99 GATUNDU NORTH	33,884	-	-	26,515
100 JUJA	89,975	-	-	51,001
101 GITHUNGURI	53,885	-	-	44,352
102 KIAMBAA	66,747	-	-	56,268
103 KABETE	68,669	-	-	54,014
104 LIMURU	45,163	-	-	33,120
105 LARI	39,127	-	-	30,771
CENTRAL TOTALS	1,344,612	33,784	3.36	1,005,731
RIFT VALLEY				
106 TURKANA NORTH	26,433	-	-	13,316
107 TURKANA CENTRAL	33,831	-	-	16,549
108 TURKANA SOUTH	18,368	-	-	7,832
109 KACHELIBA	13,786	-	-	9,019
110 KAPENGURIA	36,520	-	-	-
111 SIGOR	31,840	-	-	-
112 SAMBURU WEST	31,020	-	-	22,418
113 SAMBURU EAST	10,827	-	-	7,218
114 KWANZA	48,930	286	0.77	37,047
115 SABOTI	82,836	13,444	23.15	58,066
116 CHERANGANI	37,054	-	-	28,224
117 ELDORET NORTH	90,947	-	-	63,700
118 ELDORET EAST	51,768	-	-	-
119 ELDORET SOUTH	52,612	-	-	38,972
120 MARAKWET EAST	20,965	6	0.03	17,394
121 MARAKWET WEST	28,014	-	-	23,425
122 KEIYO NORTH	21,947	-	-	18,434
123 KEIYO SOUTH	33,060	1,504	5.46	27,527
124 MOSOP	40,202	1,119	3.30	33,927
125 ALDAI	40,401	-	-	31,767
126 EMGWEN	50,040	530	1.38	38,440
127 TINDERET	52,970	181	0.45	40,400
128 BARINGO EAST	15,380	-	-	-
129 BARINGO NORTH	28,691	-	-	-
130 BARINGO CENTRAL	42,976	-	-	38,225
131 MOGOTIO	18,456	2,170	13.91	15,596
132 ELDAMA RAVINE	31,181	-	-	25,091
133 LAIKIPIA WEST	66,393	-	-	53,303
134 LAIKIPIA EAST	45,933	-	-	32,292
135 NAIVASHA	89,774	-	-	55,434
136 NAKURU TOWN	89,383	12,970	25.25	51,372
137 KURESOI	54,819	-	-	46,873
138 MOLO	75,942	301	0.52	57,942
139 RONGAI	44,778	-	-	33,528
140 SUBUKIA	45,300	-	-	35,472
141 KILGORIS	47,750	-	-	34,457
142 NAROK NORTH	46,866	-	-	-
143 NAROK SOUTH	48,092	-	-	32,758
144 KAJIADO NORTH	64,651	-	-	43,854
145 KAJIADO CENTRAL	28,417	-	-	23,335
146 KAJIADO SOUTH	32,280	-	-	24,030
147 BOMET	55,673	-	-	-
148 CHEPALUNGU	39,950	-	-	-
149 SOTIK	44,128	-	-	37,628
150 KONOI	44,100	-	-	32,969
151 BURET	38,453	-	-	33,899
152 BELGUT	50,170	-	-	-
153 AINAMOI	53,900	-	-	40,074
154 KIPKELION	57,697	-	-	-
RIFT VALLEY TOTALS	2,155,504	32,611	2.64	1,281,807

Parliamentary Votes for Women Candidates

	CONSTITUENCY	Regd Voters	NDP			LPK		
			CANDIDATE	Votes	%	CANDIDATE	Votes	%
	WESTERN							
155	MALAVA	53,863						
156	LUGARI	51,393						
157	MUMIAS	51,671	Beatrice Auma Wafule	2,258				
158	MATUNGU	33,657						
159	LURAMBI	70,344						
160	SHINYALU	41,986						
161	IKOLOMANI	28,871						
162	BUTERE	33,551						
163	KHWIMBERO	27,534						
164	EMUHAYA	53,828						
165	SABATIA	41,804						
166	VIHIGA	28,870						
167	HAMISI	47,768						
168	MT. ELGON	39,897						
169	KIMILILI	59,858						
170	WEBUYE	55,448						
171	IRISIA	51,121						
172	KANDUYI	40,872						
173	BUMULA	36,820						
174	AMAGORO	53,291						
175	NAMBALE	45,830						
176	BUTULA	28,588						
177	FUNYULA	25,258						
178	BUDALANGI	19,818						
	WESTERN TOTALS	1,024,282		2,258				
	NYANZA							
179	UGENYA	54,524						
180	ALEGO	56,843						
181	GEM	42,387						
182	BONDO	38,555						
183	RARIEDA	33,553						
184	KISUMU TOWN EAST	36,810						
185	KISUMU TOWN WEST	61,378						
186	KISUMU RURAL	35,441						
187	NYANDO	36,638						
188	MUHORONI	44,088						
189	NYAKACH	36,272						
190	KABIPUL KABONDO	52,025						
191	KARACHUONYO	43,204						
192	RANGWE	52,858						
193	NDHIWA	42,910						
194	RONGO	52,318						
195	MIGORI	44,888						
196	URIRI	28,883						
197	NYATIKE	36,589						
198	MBITA	25,480						
199	GWABI	23,882						
200	KURIA	35,142						
201	BONCHARI	28,805						
202	SOUTH MUGIRANGO	35,305						
203	BOMACHOGE	43,452						
204	BOBABI	45,952						
205	NYARIBARI MABABA	37,859						
206	NYARIBARI CHACHE	43,238						
207	KITUTU CHACHE	52,585						
208	KITUTU MABABA	50,037						
209	WEST MUGIRANGO	42,821						
210	NORTH MUGIRANGO BORABU	53,284						
	NYANZA TOTALS	1,345,882						
	GRAND TOTALS	8,028,788		17,904	0.31		2,892	0.04
	Winners in bold							

Parliamentary Votes for Women Candidates

	CONSTITUENCY	Regd Voters	FORDP			KANU		
			CANDIDATE	Votes	%	CANDIDATE	Votes	%
	WESTERN							
155	MALAVA	53,863						
156	LUGARI	51,393						
157	MUMIAS	51,671						
158	MATUNGU	33,657						
159	LURAMBI	70,344						
160	SHINYALU	41,995						
161	IKOLOMANI	28,871						
162	BUTERE	33,551						
163	KHWISERO	27,534						
164	EMUHAYA	53,926						
165	SABATIA	41,804						
166	VIHIGA	28,870						
167	HAMISI	47,768						
168	MT. ELGON	39,697						
169	KIMILILI	59,856						
170	WEBUYE	55,446						
171	SIRISIA	51,121						
172	KANDUYI	40,672						
173	BUMULA	39,820						
174	AMAGORO	53,291						
175	NAMBALE	45,630						
176	BUTULA	28,598						
177	FUNYULA	25,256						
178	BUDALANGI	19,618						
	WESTERN TOTALS	1,024,252						
	NYANZA							
179	UGENYA	54,524						
180	ALEGO	56,943						
181	GEM	42,397			Grace Emily Akinyi Ogot	6,743	40.39	
182	BONDO	38,555						
183	RARIEDA	33,553						
184	KISUMU TOWN EAST	36,810						
185	KISUMU TOWN WEST	61,376						
186	KISUMU J RURAL	35,441						
187	NYANDO	36,636						
188	MUHORONI	44,056						
189	NYAKACH	36,272						
190	KASIPUL KABONDO	52,025						
191	KARACHUONYO	43,204						
192	RANGWE	52,856			Pheigona Okoth Okundi	7,561	20.82	
193	NDHIWA	42,910						
194	RONGO	52,316						
195	MIGORI	44,866						
196	URIRI	28,683						
197	NYATIKE	36,589						
198	MBITA	25,490						
199	GWASI	23,662						
200	KURIA	35,142						
201	BONCHARI	26,905						
202	SOUTH MUGIRANGO	35,305						
203	BOMACHOGE	43,452						
204	BOBASI	45,952						
205	NYARIBARI MASABA	37,859						
206	NYARIBARI CHACHE	43,236						
207	KITUTU CHACHE	52,565						
208	KITUTU MASABA	50,037						
209	WEST MUGIRANGO	42,921						
210	NORTH MUGIRANGO BORABU	53,264						
	NYANZA TOTALS	1,345,602				14,304	1.59	
	GRAND TOTALS	9,028,789		831	0.01	59,256	1.02	
	Winners in bold							

Parliamentary Votes for Women Candidates

CONSTITUENCY	Regd Voters	KBC			KNC		
		CANDIDATE	Votes	%	CANDIDATE	Votes	%
WESTERN							
155 MALAVA	53,863						
156 LUGARI	51,393						
157 MUMIAS	51,671						
158 MATUNGU	33,857						
159 LURAMBI	70,344						
160 SHINYALU	41,895						
161 IKOLOMANI	28,871						
162 BUTERE	33,551						
163 KHWISERO	27,534						
164 EMUHAYA	53,926						
165 SABATIA	41,804						
166 VIHIGA	28,870						
167 HAMISI	47,768						
168 MT ELGON	39,697						
169 KIMILILI	59,856						
170 WEBUYE	55,448						
171 SIRISIA	51,121						
172 KANDUYI	40,672						
173 BUMULA	39,820						
174 AMAGORO	53,291						
175 NAMBALE	45,830						
176 BUTULA	28,598						
177 FUNYULA	25,256						
178 BUDALANGI	19,618						
WESTERN TOTALS	1,024,262						
NYANZA							
179 UGENYA	54,524						
180 ALEGO	56,943						
181 GEM	42,397						
182 BONDO	38,555						
183 RARIEDA	33,553						
184 KISUMU TOWN EAST	36,810						
185 KISUMU TOWN WEST	81,376						
186 KISUMU RURAL	35,441						
187 NYANDO	36,036						
188 MUHORONI	44,056						
189 NYAKACH	36,272						
190 KASIPUL KABONDO	52,025						
191 KARACHUONYO	43,204						
192 RANGWE	52,656						
193 NDHIWA	42,910						
194 RONGO	52,316						
195 MIGORI	44,886						
196 URIRI	28,683						
197 NYATIKE	36,589						
198 MBITA	25,490						
199 GWASI	23,062						
200 KURIA	35,142						
201 BONCHARI	26,905						
202 SOUTH MUGIRANGO	35,305				Esther Kenubo Nyangate	31	0.14
203 BOMACHOGE	43,452						
204 BOBASI	45,952						
205 NYARIBARI MASABA	37,859						
206 NYARIBARI CHACHE	43,236						
207 KITUTU CHACHE	52,565						
208 KITUTU MASABA	50,037						
209 WEST MUGIRANGO	42,821						
210 NORTH MUGIRANGO BORABU	53,264						
NYANZA TOTALS	1,346,602					31	0.00
GRAND TOTALS	9,028,789		1,410	0.02		31	0.00
Winners in bold							

Parliamentary Votes for Women Candidates

	CONSTITUENCY	Regd Voters	FORDA			DP		
			CANDIDATE	Votes	%	CANDIDATE	Votes	%
	WESTERN							
155	MALAVA	53,863						
156	LUGARI	51,383						
157	MUMIAS	51,871						
158	MATUNGU	33,857						
159	LURAMBI	70,344						
160	SHINYALU	41,985						
161	IKOLOMANI	28,871						
162	BUTERE	33,551						
163	KHWISERO	27,534						
164	EMUHAYA	53,928						
165	SABATIA	41,804						
166	VIHIGA	28,870						
167	HAMISI	47,788						
168	MT ELGON	39,697						
169	KIMILILI	59,856						
170	WEBUYE	55,448						
171	SIRISIA	51,121						
172	KANDUYI	40,872						
173	BUMULA	39,820						
174	AMAGORO	53,291						
175	NAMBALE	45,830						
176	BUTULA	28,598						
177	FUNYULA	25,258						
178	BUDALANGI	19,818						
	WESTERN TOTALS	1,024,282						
	NYANZA							
179	UGENYA	54,524						
180	ALEGO	58,943						
181	GEM	42,387						
182	BONDO	38,555						
183	RARIEDA	33,553						
184	KISUMU TOWN EAST	36,810						
185	KISUMU TOWN WEST	81,378						
186	KISUMU RURAL	35,441						
187	NYANDO	36,838						
188	MUHORONI	44,056						
189	NYAKACH	36,272						
190	KASIPUL KABONDO	52,025						
191	KARACHUONYO	43,204						
192	RANGWE	52,658						
193	NDHIWA	42,910						
194	RONGO	52,318						
195	MIGORI	44,866						
196	URIRI	28,683						
197	NYATIKE	36,588						
198	MBITA	25,490						
199	GWASI	23,682						
200	KURIA	35,142						
201	BONCHARI	26,905						
202	SOUTH MUGIRANGO	35,305						
203	BOMACHOGE	43,452						
204	BOBASI	45,952						
205	NYARIBARI MASABA	37,859						
206	NYARIBARI CHACHE	43,238						
207	KITUTU CHACHE	52,565						
208	KITUTU MASABA	50,037						
209	WEST MUGIRANGO	42,921						
210	NORTH MUGIRANGO BORABU	53,264						
	NYANZA TOTALS	1,348,802						
	GRAND TOTALS	9,028,789		3,288	0.06		80,117	0.88
	Winners in bold							

Parliamentary Votes for Women Candidates

	CONSTITUENCY	Regd Voters	FORDK			SDP		
			CANDIDATE	Votes	%	CANDIDATE	Votes	%
	WESTERN							
155	MALAVA	53,863						
156	LUGARI	51,393				Florence Andenyi Machayo	412	1.12
157	MUMIAS	51,671						
158	MATUNGU	33,657						
159	LURAMBI	70,344						
160	SHINYALU	41,995						
161	IKOLOMANI	28,871						
162	BUTERE	33,551						
163	KHWISERO	27,534						
164	EMUHAYA	53,926						
165	SABATIA	41,804	Nancy Kahera Lidubwi	2,563				
166	VIHIGA	28,870						
167	HAMISI	47,768						
168	MT. ELGON	39,697						
169	KIMILILI	59,856						
170	WEBUYE	55,446						
171	SIRISIA	51,121						
172	KANDUYI	40,672						
173	BUMULA	39,820						
174	AMAGORO	53,291						
175	NAMBALE	45,630						
176	BUTULA	28,598						
177	FUNYULA	25,256						
178	BUDALANGI	19,618						
	WESTERN TOTALS	1,024,252		2,563	0.36		412	0.06
	NYANZA							
179	UGENYA	54,524						
180	ALEGO	56,943						
181	GEM	42,397						
182	BONDO	38,555						
183	RARIEDA	33,553				Florence Adhiambo Awuoro	124	0.51
184	KISUMU TOWN EAST	36,810						
185	KISUMU TOWN WEST	61,376						
186	KISUMU RURAL	35,441						
187	NYANDO	36,636						
188	MUHORONI	44,056						
189	NYAKACH	36,272						
190	KASIPUL KABONDO	52,025						
191	KARACHUONYO	43,204						
192	RANGWE	52,656						
193	NDHIWA	42,910						
194	RONGO	52,316						
195	MIGORI	44,866						
196	URIRI	28,683						
197	NYATIKE	36,589						
198	MBITA	25,490						
199	GWASI	23,662						
200	KURIA	35,142						
201	BONCHARI	26,905						
202	SOUTH MUGIRANGO	35,305						
203	BOMACHOGE	43,452						
204	BOBASI	45,952						
205	NYARIBARI MASABA	37,859						
206	NYARIBARI CHACHE	43,236						
207	KITUTU CHACHE	52,565						
208	KITUTU MASABA	50,037						
209	WEST MUGIRANGO	42,921						
210	NORTH MUGIRANGO BORABU	53,264						
	NYANZA TOTALS	1,345,602		-	-		124	0.01
	GRAND TOTALS	9,028,789		11,844	0.20		73,503	1.27
	Winners in bold							

Parliamentary Votes for Women Candidates

	CONSTITUENCY	Regd Voters	Total for Women	% for Women	Total valid
	WESTERN				
155	MALAVA	53,863	-	-	35,863
156	LUGARI	51,393	412	1.12	36,660
157	MUMIAS	51,671	2,256	6.49	34,762
158	MATUNGU	33,657	-	-	23,411
159	LURAMBI	70,344	-	-	43,972
160	SHINYALU	41,995	-	-	24,876
161	IKOLOMANI	28,871	-	-	18,754
162	BUTERE	33,551	-	-	21,487
163	KHWISERO	27,534	-	-	17,121
164	EMUHAYA	53,926	-	-	31,833
165	SABATIA	41,804	2,563	8.73	29,342
166	VIHIGA	28,870	-	-	19,429
167	HAMISI	47,768	-	-	31,087
168	MT. ELGON	39,697	-	-	39,457
169	KIMILILI	59,856	-	-	44,495
170	WEBUYE	55,446	-	-	38,289
171	SIRISIA	51,121	-	-	39,451
172	KANDUYI	40,672	-	-	28,606
173	BUMULA	39,820	-	-	31,217
174	AMAGORO	53,291	-	-	39,875
175	NAMBALE	45,630	-	-	30,139
176	BUTULA	28,598	-	-	19,444
177	FUNYULA	25,256	-	-	18,236
178	BUDALANGI	19,618	-	-	15,179
	WESTERN TOTALS	1,024,252	5,231	0.73	712,985
	NYANZA				
179	UGENYA	54,524	-	-	36,312
180	ALEGO	56,943	-	-	41,853
181	GEM	42,397	6,743	40.39	16,696
182	BONDO	38,555	-	-	26,955
183	RARIEDA	33,553	124	0.51	24,274
184	KISUMU TOWN EAST	36,810	-	-	25,011
185	KISUMU TOWN WEST	61,376	-	-	35,943
186	KISUMU RURAL	35,441	-	-	25,039
187	NYANDO	36,636	-	-	27,246
188	MUHORONI	44,056	-	-	30,396
189	NYAKACH	36,272	-	-	26,693
190	KASIPUL KABONDO	52,025	-	-	38,312
191	KARACHUONYO	43,204	-	-	32,391
192	RANGWE	52,656	7,561	20.82	36,312
193	NDHIWA	42,910	-	-	31,786
194	RONGO	52,316	-	-	35,820
195	MIGORI	44,866	-	-	30,704
196	URIRI	28,683	-	-	20,683
197	NYATIKE	36,589	-	-	26,920
198	MBITA	25,490	-	-	17,567
199	GWASI	23,662	-	-	16,340
200	KURIA	35,142	-	-	24,502
201	BONCHARI	26,905	-	-	16,975
202	SOUTH MUGIRANGO	35,305	31	0.14	22,064
203	BOMACHOGE	43,452	-	-	26,806
204	BOBASI	45,952	-	-	30,879
205	NYARIBARI MASABA	37,859	-	-	24,055
206	NYARIBARI CHACHE	43,236	-	-	24,661
207	KITUTU CHACHE	52,565	-	-	33,446
208	KITUTU MASABA	50,037	-	-	30,092
209	WEST MUGIRANGO	42,921	-	-	29,114
210	NORTH MUGIRANGO BORABU	53,264	-	-	34,991
	NYANZA TOTALS	1,346,602	14,459	1.61	900,838
	GRAND TOTALS	9,028,789	220,756	3.80	5,809,462
	Winners in bold				

Members of the Eighth Parliament

CONSTITUENCY		MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT		
		Name	Votes	Party
NAIROBI				
1	Makadara	Paul Kamau Mugeke	17,916	DP
2	Kamukunji	Norman Nyagah	10,477	DP
3	Starehe	Maina Kamanda	23,780	DP
4	Langata	Raila Amolo Odinga	22,339	NDP
5	Dagoretti	Beth Wambui Mugo	21,745	SDP
6	Westlands	Frederick Omulo Gumo	17,882	KANU
7	Kasarani	Adolf Isaac Muchiri	16,179	DP
8	Embakasi	David Kamau Mwenje	23,953	DP
COAST				
9	Changamwe	Ramadhan Seif Kajembe	9,703	KANU
10	Kisauni	Emmanuel Karisa Maitha	10,074	DP
11	Likoni	Suleiman Rashid Shakombo	5,297	SPK
12	Mvita	Shariff Nassir	14,426	KANU
13	Msambweni	Marere wa Mwachai	17,168	KANU
14	Matuga	Sulleman Mwaronga Kamolleh	13,681	KANU
15	Kinango	Simeon Mwero Mkala	16,389	KANU
16	Bahari	Jembe Mwakalu	23,196	KANU
17	Kaloleni	Mathias Benedict Keah	17,165	KANU
18	Ganze	Noah Katana Ngala	9,130	KANU
19	Malindi	Abubakar Mohammed A. Badawy	10,550	KANU
20	Magarini	David Noti Kombe	9,982	KANU
21	Garsen	Molu Galogalo Shambaro	7,471	KANU
22	Galole	Tola Kofa Mugava	7,993	KANU
23	Bura	Mohamed Abdi Galgalo	2,917	KANU
24	Lamu East	Mohamed Hashim Salim	5,039	KANU
25	Lamu West	Fahim Yasin Twaha	8,851	KANU
26	Taveta	Basil Criticos	7,803	KANU
27	Wundanyi	Darius Msaga Mbela	6,951	KANU
28	Mwatate	Marsden Herman Madoka	9,410	KANU
29	Voi	Basil Nguku Mwakiringo	6,377	DP
NORTH EASTERN				
30	Dujis	Hussein Maalim Mohamed	10,218	KANU
31	Lagdera	Mohamed Muktar Shidiye	4,355	KANU
32	Fafi	Elias Bare Shill	2,070	SAFINA
33	Ijara	Mohamed Dhahir Werah	2,876	KANU
34	Wajir North	Abdullahi Ibrahim Ali	4,047	KANU
35	Wajir West	Adan Keynan Wehliye	5,204	SAFINA
36	Wajir East	Mohamed Abdi Mahamud	6,476	KANU
37	Wajir South	Mohamed Abdi Affey	3,582	KANU
38	Mandera West	Sayid Mohamed Amin	4,761	KANU
39	Mandera Central	Adan Mohamed Nooru	5,661	KANU
40	Mandera East	Shaaban Ali Isaack	7,180	KANU
EASTERN				
41	Moyale	Dr Gurrach Boru Galgalo	11,102	KANU
42	North Horr	Bonaya Adhi Godana	5,404	KANU
43	Saku	Abdi Tari Sasura	6,737	KANU
44	Laisamis	Robert Igaramatwa Kochalle	Unopposed	KANU
45	Isiolo North	Charfano Guyo Mokku	7,151	KANU
46	Isiolo South	Abdullahi Haji Wako	3,791	KANU
47	Igembe	Jackson Itirithia Kalweo	15,943	KANU
48	Ntonyiri	Richard Maore Maoka	15,117	DP
49	Tigania West	Benjamin Ravel Ndubai	11,001	DP
50	Tigania East	Mathew Adams Karauri	14,421	KANU
51	North Imenti	Daudi Mwiraria	33,722	DP
52	Central Imenti	Gitobu Imanyara	27,112	FORD-K
53	South Imenti	Kiraitu Murungi	38,153	DP
54	Nithi	Bernard Njoka Mutani	20,620	DP

Members of the Eighth Parliament

	CONSTITUENCY	MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT		
		Name	Votes	Party
55	Tharaka	Cicilio Murango Mwenda	11,975	DP
56	Manyatta	Peter Njeru Ndwiga	32,949	DP
57	Runyenjes	Augustine Njehu Kathangu	20,547	FORD-A
58	Gachoka	Joseph William Nyagah	10,147	KANU
59	Siakago	Silas M'Njamiu Ita	9,764	DP
60	Mwingi North	Stephen Kalonzo Musyoka	24,509	KANU
61	Mwingi South	David Musila	25,599	KANU
62	Kitui West	Francis Mwanzia Nyenze	17,572	KANU
63	Kitui Central	Charity Kaluki Ngilu	28,172	SDP
64	Mutito	Jimmy Muthusi Kitonga	10,612	SDP
65	Kitui South	Samuel Kalii Kiminza	8,623	SDP
66	Masinga	Ronald J Kiluta	12,886	KANU
67	Yatta	Francis Philip Wambua	16,003	SDP
68	Kangundo	Joseph Kimeu Ngutu	23,698	KANU
69	Kathiani	Kyalo Peter Kaindi	20,630	SDP
70	Machakos Town	Jonesmus Mwanza Kikuyu	27,093	SDP
71	Mwala	John Mutua Katuku	16,748	SDP
72	Mbooni	Frederick Mulinge Kalulu	16,133	KANU
73	Kilome	Antony Wambua Ndilinge	10,368	KANU
74	Kaiti	Gideon Musyoka Ndambuki	11,159	KANU
75	Makueni	Prof Paul Mulwa Sumbi	21,420	SDP
76	Kibwezi	Onesmus Mutinda Mboko	14,219	SDP
	CENTRAL			
77	Kinangop	Mwangi Kirika Waitbaka	23,141	FORD-P
78	Kipipiri	Paul Githiomi Mwangi	11,371	DP
79	Oi Kalou	Karue Muriuki Muriuki	29,034	DP
80	Ndaragwa	Kamau Thirikwa Thirikwa	19,464	DP
81	Tetu	Paul Gikonyo Muya	24,229	DP
82	Kieni	David Munene Kairu (later deceased)	37,959	DP
83	Mathira	Eliud Matu Wamae	38,349	DP
84	Othaya	Mwai Kibaki	31,637	DP
85	Mukuruweini	David Muhika Mutahi	19,360	DP
86	Nyeri Town	Wanyiri Kihoro	30,629	DP
87	Mwea	Alfred Mwangi Ndiritu	27,373	DP
88	Gichugu	Martha Wangari Karua	30,736	DP
89	Ndia	James Kareu Kibicho	24,411	DP
90	Kerugoya/Kutus	John Matere Keriri	18,149	DP
91	Kangema	John Njoroge Michuki	17,707	FORD-P
92	Mathioya	Francis Njakwe Githiari	13,009	FORD-P
93	Kiharu	Ignatius Ngenye Kariuki	27,369	SAFINA
94	Kigumo	O K Mwangi	13,550	DP
95	Maragwa	Peter Kamande Mwangi	8,547	DP
96	Kandara	Joshua Ngugi Toro	26,113	DP
97	Gatanga	David Wakairu Murathe	14,306	SDP
98	Gatundu South	Moses Nganga Muithia	22,637	SDP
99	Gatundu North	Patrick Kariuki Muiruri	7,115	SDP
100	Juja	Stephen Ndicho Ndabi	26,842	SDP
101	Githunguri	Njehu Gatabaki	20,129	SDP
102	Kiambaa	James Njenga Karume	37,733	DP
103	Kabete	Paul Kibugi Muite	48,504	SAFINA
104	Limuru	George M Nyanja	20,319	NDP
105	Lari	Philip Gichuru Gitonga	11,565	SAFINA

Members of the Eighth Parliament

CONSTITUENCY		MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT		
		Name	Votes	Party
RIFT VALLEY				
106	Turkana North	John Munyes Kiyonga	7,098	FORD-K
107	Turkana Central	David Ekwee Ethuro	15,913	KANU
108	Turkana South	Francis Ewoton Achuka	6,086	KANU
109	Kacheliba	Samuel Losuron Poghiso	8,943	KANU
110	Kapenguria	Francis Pollis Loile Lotodo	Unopposed	KANU
111	Sigor	Christopher Motoywo Lomada	Unopposed	KANU
112	Samburu West	Peter Steve Leenges	13,696	KANU
113	Samburu East	Sammy Prisa Leshore	4,602	KANU
114	Kwanza	George Welime Kapten	22,790	FORD-K
115	Saboti	Michael Christopher Wamalwa	37,944	FORD-K
116	Cherangani	Kipruto Rono Kirwa	17,902	KANU
117	Eldoret North	William Ruto Samoei	39,023	KANU
118	Eldoret East	Francis K Lagat	Unopposed	KANU
119	Eldoret South	Maizs Jesse Kibet	28,528	KANU
120	Marakwet East	John Kiptoo Marrimoi	11,193	KANU
121	Marakwet West	David Kiprono Sutter Sudi	21,991	KANU
122	Keiyo North	Elijah Kipkosgei Sumbeiywo	12,917	KANU
123	Keiyo South	Kipyator Nicholas K Biwott	25,799	KANU
124	Mosop	John Kipkorir Sambu	32,808	KANU
125	Aldai	Simeon Kiptum Choge	20,609	KANU
126	Emgwen	Joseph Tendenei Leting	32,688	KANU
127	Tinderet	Henry Kiprono Kosgey	33,891	KANU
128	Baringo East	Joseph Dalldosso Lotodo	Unopposed	KANU
129	Baringo North	Andrew Chepkoiywa Kiptoon	Unopposed	KANU
130	Baringo Central	Daniel T arap Moi	38,015	KANU
131	Mogotio	William Cheruiyot Morogo	13,426	KANU
132	Eldama Ravine	Musa Cherutich Sirma	14,390	KANU
133	Laikipia West	Francis Chege Mbitiru	38,193	DP
134	Laikipia East	Festus Mwangi Kiunjuri	22,795	DP
135	Naivasha	Paul Samuel Kihara	25,845	DP
136	Nakuru Town	David Manyara Njuki	22,173	DP
137	Kuresoi	James Cheruiyot Arap Koske	36,481	KANU
138	Molo	Dickson Kihika Kimani	42,397	DP
139	Rongai	Erick Toroitich Morogo	17,256	KANU
140	Subukia	Joseph Mukera Kuria	20,637	DP
141	Kiigoris	Julius Lekakeny Sunkuli	22,017	KANU
142	Narok North	William Rongora ole Ntimama	Unopposed	KANU
143	Narok South	Stephen Karyinke Ntutu	25,942	KANU
144	Kajiado North	George Saitoti	26,685	KANU
145	Kajiado Central	David Lenante Sankori	11,354	KANU
146	Kajiado South	Geoffrey Mepukori Parpai	13,798	DP
147	Bomet	Kipkalya Kiprono Kones	Unopposed	KANU
148	Chepalungu	Isaac Kiprono Ruto	Unopposed	KANU
149	Sotik	Anthony Kipkosge Kimeto	34,622	KANU
150	Konoin	Raphael Kiprono arap Kitur	26,713	KANU
151	Buret	Kipkorir Marisin Sang	31,223	KANU
152	Belgut	Charles Davy Kipng'etich arap Kirui	Unopposed	KANU
153	Ainamoi	Kipng'eno arap Ngeny	32,824	KANU
154	Kipkelion	Samuel Kimutai arap Rotich	Unopposed	KANU
WESTERN				
155	Malava	Peter Soita Shitanda	19,719	FORD-K
156	Lugari	Shakhalaga Khwa Jirongo	19,983	KANU
157	Mumias	Wycliffe W Osundwa	18,917	KANU
158	Matungu	Joseph Pius Wamukoya	10,678	KANU
159	Lurambi	Newton Wanjala Kulundu	25,457	FORD-K
160	Shinyalu	Daniel Lyula Khamasi	12,676	FORD-K
161	Ikolomani	Joseph Jolly Mugalla	11,471	KANU
162	Butere	Dr Amukowa Fredrick Anangwe	10,811	KANU
163	Khwisero	Harrison Aywa Odongo	11,840	KANU
164	Emuhaya	Washington Sakwa Muchiwa	14,297	KANU
165	Sabatia	Musalua Mudavadi	26,305	KANU
166	Vihiga	Yusuf Kifuma Chanzu	13,531	KANU
167	Hamisi	George Munyasa Khaniri	14,440	KANU

Members of the Eighth Parliament

CONSTITUENCY		MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT		
		Name	Votes	Party
168	Mt. Elgon	Joseph Naibei Kimkung	21,835	KANU
169	Kimilili	Dr Mukhisa Kituyi	39,137	FORD-K
170	Webuye	Musikari Kombo	25,935	FORD-K
171	Sirisia	John Barasa Munyasia	31,073	FORD-K
172	Kanduyi	Athanas Misiko Wafula	23,136	FORD-K
173	Bumula	Lawrence Simiyu Sifuna	24,375	FORD-K
174	Amagoro	Albert Alexander A Ekirapa	28,825	KANU
175	Nambale	Chrysanthius Okemo	20,137	KANU
176	Butula	Yekoyada Francis O Masakhalia	10,343	KANU
177	Funyula	Arthur Moody Awori	9,842	KANU
178	Budalangi	Raphael Wanjala S Bitta	8,343	FORD-K
NYANZA				
179	Ugenya	James Aggrey Orenge	24,504	FORD-K
180	Alego	Peter Oloo Aringo	29,346	NDP
181	Gem	Joseph Akech Donde	9,953	FORD-K
182	Bondo	Robert Odinga Oburu	23,830	NDP
183	Rarieda	George Odeny Ngure	19,953	NDP
184	Kisumu Town East	Eric Gor Sungu	21,210	NDP
185	Kisumu Town West	Joab Henry Onyango Omino	26,233	NDP
186	Kisumu Rural	Winston Ochoro Ayoki	13,508	NDP
187	Nyando	Geoffrey Paul Orwa Otita	23,229	NDP
188	Muhoroni	William Odongo Omamo	25,510	NDP
189	Nyakach	Peter Ochieng Odoyo	23,113	NDP
190	Kasipul Kabondo	William Oloo Otula	31,746	NDP
191	Karachuonyo	Dr Adhu Awiti	19,867	NDP
192	Rangwe	Shem Odongo Ochuodho	26,030	NDP
193	Ndhiwa	Joshua Orwa Ojode	29,644	NDP
194	Rongo	George Mbogo Ayako Ochilo	23,881	NDP
195	Migori	George Henry Owino Achola	19,681	NDP
196	Uriri	Herman Odhiambo Omamba	16,104	NDP
197	Nyatike	Tom Otieno Onyango	19,351	NDP
198	Mbita	Gerald Otieno Kajwang	13,853	NDP
199	Gwasi	Felix Useru Kanyauchi	10,683	NDP
200	Kuria	Shadrack Roger Mwita Manga	12,493	KANU
201	Bonchari	John Zebedeo Opore	9,264	KANU
202	South Mugirango	Enock Nyankieya Magara	11,176	FORD-K
203	Bomachoge	Zaphaniah Moraro Nyangwara	13,337	KANU
204	Bobasi	Christopher Mogere Obure	18,336	KANU
205	Nyaribari Masaba	Prof Samson Kegengo Ongeru	14,935	KANU
206	Nyaribari Chache	Simeon Nyachae	20,550	KANU
207	Kitutu Chache	Jimmy Nuru Ondieki Angwenyi	25,168	KANU
208	Kitutu Masaba	George Moseki Anyona	14,653	KSC
209	West Mugirango	Henry Onyancha Obwocha	14,731	FORD-K
210	North Mugirango Borabu	Joseph Kiangoi Ombasa	17,323	KANU
NOMINATED				
211		Prof Peter Anyang' Nyong'o		SDP
212		Dr Richard Leakey		SAFINA
213		Maryam Mohammed Matano		NDP
214		Tabitha Seii		DP
215		Joseph Munyao		DP
216		Mohammed Galgalo		FORD-K
217		John Joseph Kamotho		KANU
218		Zipporah Kittony		KANU
219		Yusuf Haji		KANU
220		Rashid Mohammed Sajjad		KANU
221		Grace Mueni Mwewa		KANU
222		Mark Too		KANU

Party Representation in the Eighth Parliament

	CONSTITUENCY	KANU	DP	NDP	FORD-K	SDP	SAFINA	OTHER	CLOSE
	NAIROBI								
1	Makadara		■						
2	Kamukunji		■						
3	Starehe			■					
4	Langata								
5	Dagoretti					■			
6	Westlands	■							II
7	Kasarani		■						II
8	Embakasi								
	COAST								
9	Changamwe	■							II X
10	Kisauni		■						II
11	Likoni							■	II
12	Mvita	■							
13	Msambweni	■							
14	Matuga	■							
15	Kinango	■							
16	Bahari	■							
17	Kaloleni	■							
18	Garze	■							
19	Malindi	■							X
20	Magarini	■							
21	Garsen	■							
22	Galole	■							
23	Bura	■							II X
24	Lamu East	■							
25	Lamu West	■							
26	Taveta	■							
27	Wundanyi	■							
28	Mwatate	■							
29	Voi		■						II
	NORTH EASTERN								
30	Dujiis	■							
31	Lagdera	■							
32	Fafi	■					■		II
33	Ijara	■							II
34	Wajir North	■							
35	Wajir West	■					■		II
36	Wajir East	■							
37	Wajir South	■							II
38	Mandera West	■							
39	Mandera Central	■							
40	Mandera East	■							
	EASTERN								
41	Moyale	■							
42	North Horr	■							
43	Saku	■							
44	Laisamis*	■							
45	Isiolo North	■							II X
46	Isiolo South	■							
47	Igembe	■							X
48	Ntonyiri	■		■					
49	Tigania West	■							
50	Tigania East	■		■					
51	North Imenti	■							
52	Central Imenti	■			■				
53	South Imenti	■							
54	Nithi	■							
55	Tharaka	■							
56	Manyatta	■							
57	Runyenjes	■							
58	Gachoka	■							II X

Party Representation in the Eighth Parliament

CONSTITUENCY		KANU	DP	NDP	FORD-K	SDP	SAFINA	OTHER	CLOSE
59	Siakago		■						II
60	Mwingi North	■							
61	Mwingi South	■							
62	Kitui West	■							II
63	Kitui Central								
64	Mutito					■			
65	Kitui South					■			
66	Masinga	■							
67	Yatta					■			
68	Kangundo	■							II
69	Kathiani					■			
70	Machakos Town					■			
71	Mwala					■			
72	Mbooni	■							X
73	Kilome	■							
74	Kari	■							
75	Makueni					■			
76	Kibwezi					■			
	CENTRAL								
77	Kinangop							■	
78	Kippin		■						
79	Oi Kalou		■						
80	Ndaragwa		■						
81	Tetu		■						
82	Kieni		■						
83	Mathira		■						
84	Othaya		■						
85	Mukuruweini		■						
86	Nyen Town		■						
87	Mwea		■						
88	Gichugu		■						
89	Ndia		■						
90	Kerugoya/Kutus		■						
91	Kangema		■						
92	Mathioya		■						II
93	Kiharu		■				■		
94	Kigumo		■						
95	Maragwa		■						II
96	Kandara		■						
97	Gatanga		■			■			
98	Gatundu South		■			■			
99	Gatundu North		■			■			II
100	Juja		■			■			II
101	Githungun		■			■			II
102	Kiambaa		■						
103	Kabete		■				■		
104	Limuru		■				■		
105	Lari		■				■		II
	RIFT VALLEY								
106	Turkana North				■				II
107	Turkana Central	■							
108	Turkana South	■							
109	Kacheliba	■							
110	Kapenguria*	■							
111	Sigor*	■							
112	Samburu West	■							
113	Samburu East	■							
114	Kwanza				■				
115	Saboti				■				
116	Cherangani	■							
117	Eldoret North	■							
118	Eldoret East*	■							
119	Eldoret South	■							
120	Marakwet East	■							
121	Marakwet West	■							

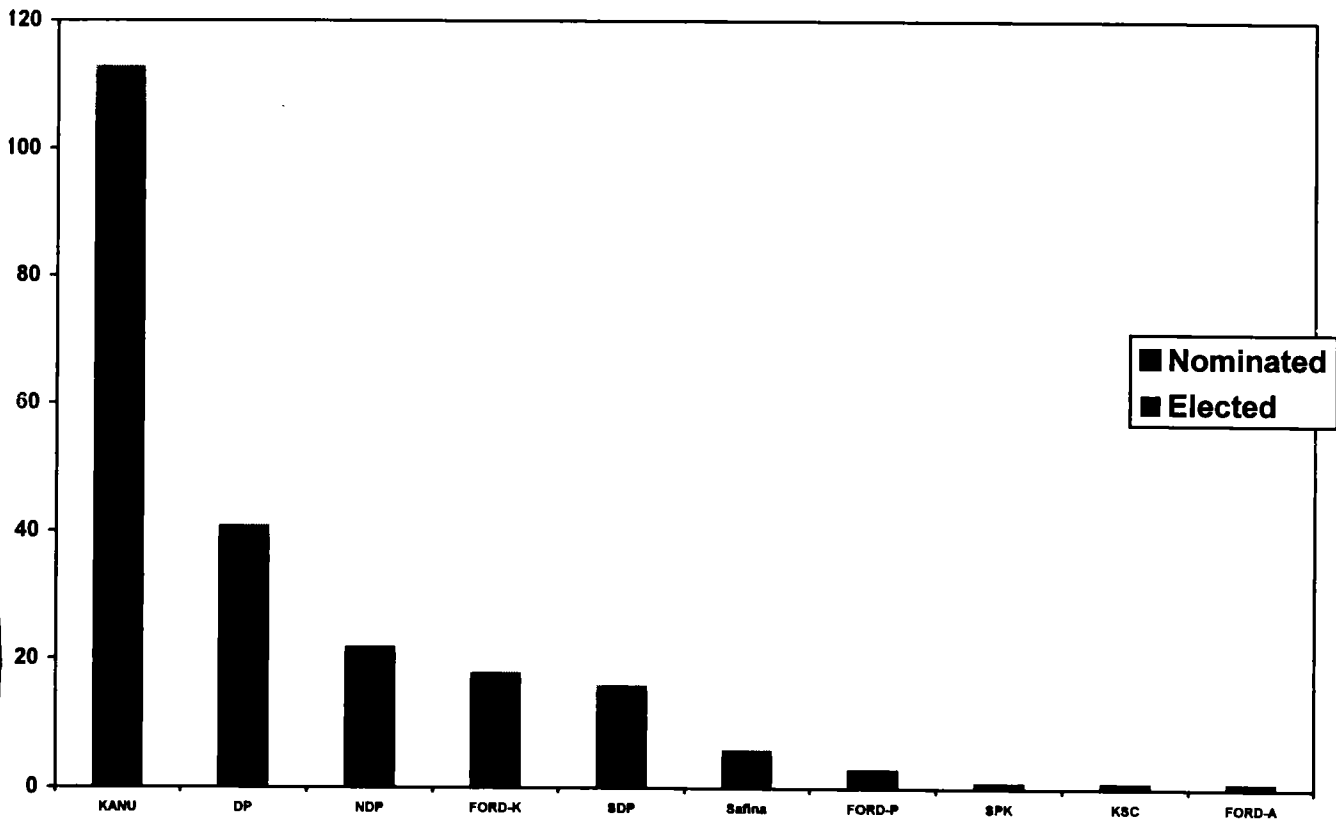
Party Representation in the Eighth Parliament

CONSTITUENCY		KANU	DP	NDP	FORD-K	SDP	SAFINA	OTHER	CLOSE
122	Keiyo North								
123	Keiyo South								
124	Mosop								
125	Aldai								
126	Emgwen								
127	Tinderet								
128	Baringo East*								
129	Baringo North*								
130	Baringo Central								
131	Mogotio								
132	Eldama Ravine								
133	Laikipia West								
134	Laikipia East								
135	Naivasha								
136	Nakuru Town								
137	Kuresoi								
138	Molo								
139	Rongai								XX
140	Subukia								
141	Kilgoris								
142	Narok North*								
143	Narok South								
144	Kajiado North								
145	Kajiado Central								II
146	Kajiado South								II
147	Bomet*								
148	Chepalungu*								
149	Sotik								
150	Konoin								
151	Buret								
152	Belgut*								
153	Ainamoi								
154	Kipkelion*								
	WESTERN								
155	Malava								
156	Lugari								
157	Mumias								
158	Matungu								X
159	Lurambi								
160	Shinyalu								
161	Ikolomani								
162	Butere								II
163	Khwisero								
164	Emuhaya								XX
165	Sabatia								
166	Vihiga								
167	Hamisi								X
168	Mt Elgon								
169	Kimilili								
170	Webuye								
171	Sirisia								

Party Representation in the Eighth Parliament

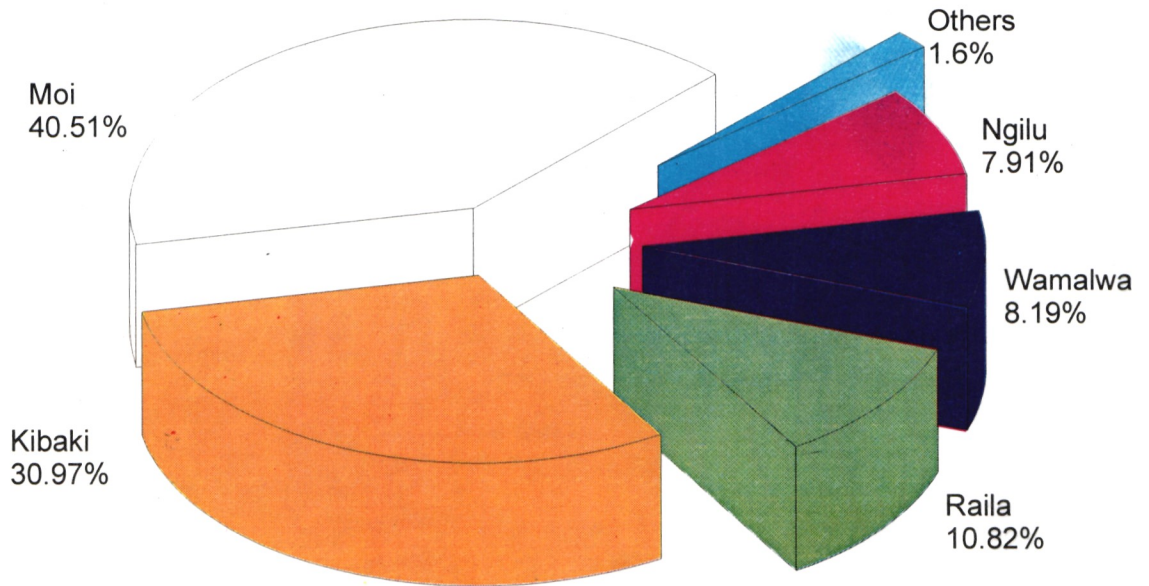
	CONSTITUENCY	KANU	DP	NDP	FORD-K	SDP	SAFINA	OTHER	CLOSE
172	Kanduyi				■				
173	Bumula				■				
174	Amagoro	■							
175	Nambale								
176	Butula	■							
177	Funyula								
178	Budalangi				■				
	NYANZA								
179	Ugenya				■				
180	Alego			■					
181	Gem			■					
182	Bondo			■					
183	Rarieda			■					
184	Kisumu Town East			■					
185	Kisumu Town West			■					
186	Kisumu Rural			■					
187	Nyando			■					
188	Muhoroni			■					
189	Nyakach			■					
190	Kasipul Kabondo			■					
191	Karachuonyo			■					
192	Rangwe			■					
193	Ndhiwa			■					
194	Rongo			■					
195	Migon			■					
196	Uriri			■					
197	Nyatike			■					
198	Mbita			■					
199	Gwası			■					
200	Kuria	■							
201	Bonchan	■							
202	South Mugirango				■				
203	Bomachoge	■							X
204	Bobasi	■							
205	Nyariban Masaba	■							
206	Nyaribari Chache	■							
207	Kitutu Chache	■							
208	Kitutu Masaba	■							
209	West Mugirango				■				
210	North Mugirango Borabu	■							X
	NOMINATED MPs								
211	-					■			
212	-					■	■		
213	-			■					
214	-		■						
215	-								
216	-				■				
217	-	■							
218	-	■							
219	-	■							
220	-	■							
221	-	■							
222	-	■							
	KEY								
]]	Close race (less than 10% difference between the first and the second candidates)								
X	Opposition split the majority of the votes								
*	Unopposed								

Party Strengths in Parliament

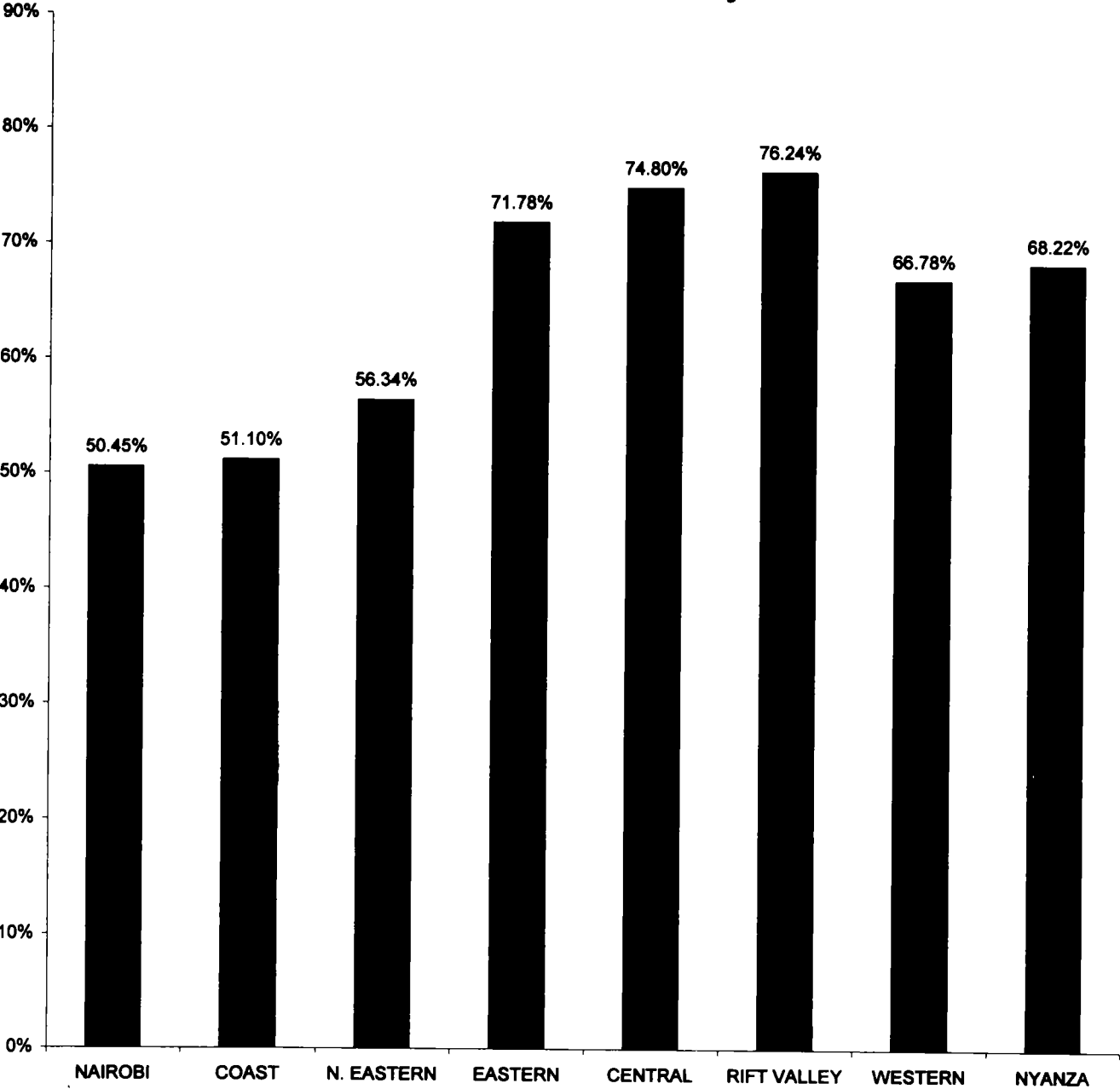


Party	Elected MPs	Nominated MPs	Total
KANU	107	6	113
DP	6	2	41
NDP	21	1	22
FORD-K	17	1	18
SDP	15	1	16
Safina	5	1	6
FORD-P	3	0	3
SPK	1	0	1
KSC	1	0	1
FORD-A	1	0	1
Totals	210	12	222

Presidential Results by Candidate



Presidential Election Turnout by Province



National Presidential Results

	CONSTITUENCY	NDP		UMMA		GAP		UPPK		
		Regd Voters	Raila	%	Ngethe	%	Mwereria	%	Waiyaki	%
NAIROBI										
1	MAKADARA	91,611	7,138	15.65	23	0.05	14	0.03	11	0.02
2	KAMUKUNJI	65,942	3,760	11.28	11	0.03	22	0.07	51	0.15
3	STAREHE	109,217	5,406	10.84	16	0.03	14	0.03	34	0.07
4	LANGATA	81,123	14,955	34.17	22	0.05	11	0.03	25	0.06
5	DAGORETTI	69,483	2,115	5.65	18	0.05	22	0.06	24	0.06
6	WESTLANDS	102,386	3,168	6.53	16	0.03	25	0.05	54	0.11
7	KASARANI	91,520	14,462	30.11	33	0.07	28	0.06	38	0.08
8	EMBAKASI	114,354	8,411	14.12	19	0.03	17	0.03	114	0.19
	NAIROBI TOTALS	725,636	59,415	16.23	158	0.04	153	0.04	351	0.10
COAST										
9	CHANGAMWE	78,554	6,235	18.05	8	0.02	13	0.71	26	0.08
10	KISAUNI	76,591	3,288	10.35	12	0.04	16	0.77	29	0.09
11	LIKONI	42,367	1,877	13.12	12	0.08	15	1.72	20	0.14
12	MVITA	70,841	3,029	10.83	12	0.04	19	0.88	30	0.11
13	MSAMBWENI	60,203	1,037	2.69	15	0.04	36	0.64	68	0.18
14	MATUGA	37,755	222	0.91	15	0.06	13	1.01	43	0.18
15	KINANGO	33,524	366	1.84	17	0.09	14	1.24	16	0.08
16	BAHARI	64,264	1,528	4.67	24	0.07	27	0.75	25	0.08
17	KALOLENI	55,152	1,288	4.43	18	0.06	15	0.85	33	0.11
18	GANZE	27,371	48	0.39	7	0.06	17	2.02	15	0.12
19	MALINDI	52,649	1,240	4.92	5	0.02	12	0.98	22	0.09
20	MAGARINI	27,833	93	0.66	14	0.10	9	1.75	15	0.11
21	GARSEN	22,147	39	0.30	2	0.02	7	1.90	4	0.03
22	GALOLE	16,368	335	3.17	1	0.01	3	2.33	10	0.09
23	BURA	15,282	1,676	19.26	4	0.05	8	2.83	5	0.06
24	LAMU EAST	9,054	1,056	16.00	3	0.05	3	3.73	8	0.12
25	LAMU WEST	22,861	268	1.97	17	0.12	22	1.81	51	0.37
26	TAVETA	16,580	441	3.88	7	0.06	10	2.16	12	0.11
27	WUNDANYI	20,723	102	0.88	12	0.10	18	2.13	33	0.29
28	MWATATE	22,614	304	2.21	14	0.10	12	1.79	51	0.37
29	VOI	24,662	372	2.70	9	0.07	13	1.79	39	0.28
	COAST TOTALS	797,395	24,844	6.10	228	0.06	302	0.06	555	0.14
NORTH EASTERN										
30	DUJIS	27,764	118	0.71	2	0.01	5	1.48	5	0.03
31	LAGDERA	13,964	24	0.35	-	-	-	3.55	-	-
32	FAFI	8,502	3	0.07	-	-	-	5.98	-	-
33	IJARA	7,501	62	1.16	2	0.04	1	4.62	2	0.04
34	WAJIR NORTH	7,631	1	0.02	-	-	1	6.03	-	-
35	WAJIR WEST	19,041	7	0.07	-	-	2	2.40	1	0.01
36	WAJIR EAST	16,761	18	0.19	-	-	-	2.59	-	-
37	WAJIR SOUTH	16,182	5	0.07	1	0.01	-	3.54	-	-
38	MANDERA WEST	12,470	23	0.29	-	-	2	3.08	1	0.01
39	MANDERA CENTRAL	18,341	16	0.15	-	-	-	2.24	4	0.04
40	MANDERA EAST	23,517	34	0.24	3	0.02	6	1.76	6	0.04
	NORTH EASTERN TOTALS	171,674	311	0.32	8	0.01	17	0.02	19	0.02
EASTERN										
41	MOYALE	22,441	21	0.13	1	0.01	-	1.47	5	0.03
42	NORTH HERR	12,041	2,106	26.83	5	0.06	3	3.13	3	0.04
43	SAKU	12,550	40	0.41	-	-	2	2.50	-	-
44	LAISAMIS	11,851	12	0.16	1	0.01	-	3.36	2	0.03
45	ISIOLO NORTH	25,530	134	0.90	4	0.03	12	1.64	10	0.07
46	ISIOLO SOUTH	8,169	9	0.14	7	0.11	10	3.78	-	-
47	IGEMBE	49,507	641	2.02	14	0.04	49	0.77	22	0.07
48	NTONYIRI	38,842	254	1.02	-	-	42	0.99	17	0.07
49	TIGANIA WEST	32,362	26	0.12	5	0.02	127	1.16	50	0.24
50	TIGANIA EAST	35,651	293	1.05	43	0.15	1,092	0.89	26	0.09
51	NORTH IMENTI	74,661	466	0.88	23	0.04	120	0.46	121	0.23
52	CENTRAL IMENTI	52,981	69	0.17	21	0.05	111	0.59	59	0.14
53	SOUTH IMENTI	62,347	271	0.54	20	0.04	66	0.49	75	0.15
54	NITHI	78,962	396	0.69	18	0.03	91	0.43	109	0.19
55	THARAKA	26,955	105	0.51	4	0.02	20	1.19	16	0.08
56	MANYATTA	52,541	198	0.49	9	0.02	38	0.61	64	0.16
57	RUNYENJES	49,465	167	0.44	11	0.03	46	0.66	61	0.16
58	GACHOKA	31,937	98	0.40	87	0.35	42	1.00	369	1.50
59	SIKAGO	23,209	97	0.52	12	0.06	10	1.33	-	-
60	MWINGI NORTH	45,373	80	0.23	10	0.03	15	0.71	26	0.07
61	MWINGI SOUTH	43,836	76	0.24	44	0.14	15	0.76	13	0.04
62	KITUI WEST	46,603	81	0.24	10	0.03	27	0.74	24	0.07
63	KITUI CENTRAL	52,525	122	0.31	5	0.01	12	0.63	16	0.04
64	MUTITO	27,635	32	0.16	5	0.03	15	1.25	10	0.05
65	KITUI SOUTH	31,935	48	0.22	6	0.03	15	1.13	14	0.06
66	MASINGA	33,657	108	0.45	18	0.08	10	1.03	23	0.10
67	YATTA	37,688	65	0.26	11	0.04	11	1.00	17	0.07
68	KANGUNDO	63,125	118	0.26	36	0.08	28	0.54	49	0.11

National Presidential Results

	CONSTITUENCY	NDP			UMMA		GAP		UPPK	
		Regd Voters	Rolls	%	Ngethe	%	Mwereria	%	Waiyaki	%
69	KATHIANI	52,490	619	1.77	8	0.02	11	0.70	33	0.08
70	MACHAKOS TOWN	63,428	241	0.54	21	0.05	21	0.55	55	0.12
71	MWALA	48,698	107	0.25	9	0.02	28	0.58	47	0.11
72	MBOONI	49,495	80	0.23	12	0.04	14	0.72	13	0.04
73	KILOME	25,394	73	0.48	17	0.11	2	1.54	28	0.17
74	KAITI	34,569	69	0.32	10	0.05	18	1.14	31	0.14
75	MAKUENI	55,846	56	0.15	8	0.02	19	0.68	32	0.08
76	KIBWEZI	49,837	409	1.28	17	0.05	-	0.78	19	0.06
	EASTERN TOTALS	1,444,134	7,787	0.74	832	0.06	2,142	0.02	1,489	0.14
	CENTRAL									
77	KINANGOP	47,315	147	0.40	5	0.01	18	0.66	43	0.12
78	KIPIRIRI	28,285	129	0.46	51	0.18	48	0.88	120	0.43
79	OL KALOU	48,589	188	0.50	8	0.02	30	0.65	31	0.08
80	NDARAGWA	27,432	24	0.11	4	0.02	14	1.12	15	0.07
81	TETU	31,302	13	0.05	4	0.01	7	0.90	29	0.11
82	KIENI	49,488	30	0.07	13	0.03	30	0.60	14	0.03
83	MATHIRA	61,394	93	0.18	14	0.03	34	0.48	52	0.10
84	OTHAYA	36,119	24	0.07	3	0.01	6	0.76	7	0.02
85	MUKURWEINI	33,419	16	0.06	14	0.05	21	0.85	37	0.13
86	NYERI TOWN	44,646	296	0.84	4	0.01	24	0.70	21	0.06
87	MWEA	43,170	75	0.23	8	0.02	26	0.77	37	0.12
88	GICHUGU	48,595	119	0.31	16	0.04	32	0.64	50	0.13
89	NDIA	33,892	87	0.32	2	0.01	7	0.92	18	0.07
90	KERUGOYA/KUTUS	43,574	60	0.28	8	0.03	9	0.80	24	0.08
91	KANGEMA	29,189	73	0.34	21	0.10	31	1.13	51	0.23
92	MATHIOYA	36,747	40	0.15	20	0.07	28	0.89	32	0.12
93	KIHARU	67,381	256	0.68	85	0.23	82	0.65	90	0.24
94	KIGUMO	42,741	49	0.16	14	0.04	34	0.79	39	0.12
95	MARAGWA	42,581	129	0.48	51	0.18	48	0.88	120	0.43
96	KANDARA	52,496	54	0.14	460	1.18	60	0.62	51	0.13
97	GATANGA	55,537	306	0.77	21	0.05	43	0.62	51	0.13
98	GATUNDU SOUTH	43,220	36	0.11	18	0.05	27	0.73	68	0.20
99	GATUNDU NORTH	33,884	156	0.56	10	0.04	18	0.89	34	0.12
100	JUJA	89,976	1,788	4.40	24	0.06	30	0.60	23	0.06
101	GITHUNGURI	53,884	91	0.21	20	0.05	56	0.56	44	0.10
102	KIAMBAA	68,747	503	0.99	24	0.05	39	0.49	83	0.16
103	KABETE	68,669	704	1.40	11	0.02	53	0.49	53	0.11
104	LIMURU	45,182	1,283	3.82	11	0.03	30	0.74	28	0.08
105	LARI	39,128	100	0.32	15	0.05	26	0.78	43	0.14
	CENTRAL TOTALS	1,344,660	6,869	0.68	959	0.10	911	0.02	1,308	0.13
	RIFT VALLEY									
106	TURKANA NORTH	28,433	50	0.37	6	0.04	6	1.83	12	0.09
107	TURKANA CENTRAL	33,833	83	0.50	13	0.08	10	1.47	24	0.14
108	TURKANA SOUTH	18,368	12	0.15	22	0.28	6	3.11	46	0.58
109	KACHELIBA	13,786	3	0.03	-	-	1	2.66	-	-
110	KAPENGURIA	36,520	152	0.51	-	-	1	0.83	2	0.01
111	SIGOR	31,840	11	0.04	-	-	1	0.98	1	0.00
112	SAMBURU WEST	31,020	70	0.26	-	-	1	0.92	2	0.01
113	SAMBURU EAST	10,827	30	0.41	-	-	1	3.33	4	0.05
114	KWANZA	48,931	150	0.41	21	0.06	3	0.67	19	0.05
115	SABOTI	62,838	1,586	2.70	40	0.07	19	0.42	51	0.09
116	CHERANGANY	37,054	82	0.29	30	0.11	11	0.87	19	0.07
117	ELDORET NORTH	90,947	3,318	5.18	17	0.03	15	0.38	28	0.04
118	ELDORET EAST	51,768	378	0.96	4	0.01	7	0.62	13	0.03
119	ELDORET SOUTH	52,615	1,346	3.41	8	0.02	12	0.62	8	0.02
120	MARAKWET EAST	20,965	74	0.42	1	0.01	2	1.41	3	0.02
121	MARAKWET WEST	28,014	37	0.16	6	0.03	1	1.04	6	0.03
122	KEIYO NORTH	21,948	63	0.34	1	0.01	4	1.33	1	0.01
123	KEIYO SOUTH	33,060	28	0.10	2	0.01	12	0.89	3	0.01
124	MOSOP	40,202	123	0.36	8	0.02	-	0.73	10	0.03
125	ALDAI	40,402	123	0.36	11	0.03	3	0.73	16	0.05
126	EMGWEN	50,041	365	0.94	31	0.08	11	0.63	27	0.07
127	TINDERET	52,972	1,765	4.38	24	0.06	10	0.61	19	0.05
128	BARINGO EAST	15,380	4	0.03	1	0.01	-	1.86	11	0.08
129	BARINGO NORTH	28,691	9	0.03	-	-	-	0.89	-	-
130	BARINGO CENTRAL	42,976	84	0.22	-	-	1	0.64	2	0.01
131	MOGOTIO	18,456	33	0.21	1	0.01	-	1.58	1	0.01
132	ELDAMA RAVINE	31,181	174	0.68	5	0.02	4	0.96	12	0.05
133	LAIKIPIA WEST	66,393	234	0.46	10	0.02	34	0.49	14	0.03
134	LAIKIPIA EAST	45,933	380	1.23	9	0.03	29	0.80	20	0.06
135	NAIVASHA	69,774	3,644	6.53	27	0.06	29	0.44	57	0.10
136	NAKURU TOWN	89,386	8,627	15.09	12	0.02	21	0.43	27	0.05
137	KURESOI	54,819	110	0.23	3	0.01	13	0.51	10	0.02
138	MOLO	75,942	958	1.65	21	0.04	66	0.42	37	0.06
139	RONGAI	44,776	2,394	6.84	8	0.02	26	0.70	18	0.05
140	SUBUKIA	45,303	277	0.78	12	0.03	26	0.70	36	0.10
141	KILGORIS	47,766	263	0.80	1	0.00	1	0.70	7	0.02

National Presidential Results

	CONSTITUENCY	NDP			UMMA		GAP		UPPK	
		Regd Voters	Ralla	%	Ngethe	%	Mwereria	%	Waiyaki	%
142	NAROK NORTH	46,866	450	1.37	1	0.00	10	0.75	6	0.02
143	NAROK SOUTH	48,092	45	0.14	-	-	-	0.76	5	0.02
144	KAJIADO NORTH	64,651	1,889	4.51	6	0.01	11	0.59	27	0.06
145	KAJIADO CENTRAL	28,385	134	0.60	1	0.00	1	1.10	6	0.03
146	KAJIADO SOUTH	32,281	174	0.72	1	0.00	3	1.01	10	0.04
147	BOMET	55,673	56	0.11	-	-	8	0.50	2	0.00
148	CHEPALUNGU	39,950	9	0.03	2	0.01	3	0.68	7	0.02
149	SOTIK	44,128	143	0.38	1	0.00	3	0.65	7	0.02
150	KONOIN	44,100	2,178	6.45	8	0.02	15	0.73	18	0.05
151	BURET	38,456	39	0.11	7	0.02	2	0.72	9	0.03
152	BELGUT	50,170	1,103	2.56	6	0.01	2	0.57	8	0.02
153	AINAMOI	53,900	1,936	4.71	14	0.03	6	0.60	10	0.02
154	KIPKELION	57,697	808	1.60	4	0.01	17	0.49	7	0.01
	RIFT VALLEY TOTALS	2,155,499	36,022	2.19	406	0.02	468	0.01	688	0.04
	WESTERN									
155	MALAVA	53,863	169	0.51	42	0.13	-	0.74	52	0.16
156	LUGARI	51,391	131	0.42	-	-	-	0.78	-	-
157	MUMIAS	51,673	2,628	11.30	23	0.10	34	1.06	48	0.21
158	MATUNGU	33,657	114	0.26	10	0.02	4	0.55	19	0.04
159	LURAMBI	70,344	1,047	4.20	71	0.29	32	0.99	70	0.28
160	SHINYALU	41,995	87	0.56	37	0.24	18	1.59	56	0.36
161	IKOLOMANI	28,874	28	0.25	-	-	2	2.23	62	0.56
162	BUTERE	33,548	336	1.97	23	0.14	84	1.45	19	0.11
163	KHWISERO	27,534	574	1.92	16	0.05	17	0.82	21	0.07
164	EMUHAYA	53,926	250	0.80	23	0.07	86	0.79	129	0.41
165	SABATIA	41,805	113	0.60	35	0.18	7	1.30	112	0.59
166	VIHIGA	28,871	264	0.84	25	0.08	1	0.78	63	0.20
167	HAMISI	47,768	118	0.36	49	0.15	22	0.76	72	0.22
168	MT. ELGON	39,695	162	0.36	22	0.05	-	0.54	27	0.06
169	KIMILILI	59,856	125	0.36	79	0.23	3	0.70	105	0.30
170	WEBUYE	55,447	510	1.29	212	0.54	8	0.62	77	0.19
171	SIRISIA	51,121	68	0.24	59	0.21	3	0.86	66	0.23
172	KANDUYI	40,672	684	2.19	74	0.24	8	0.79	65	0.21
173	BUMULA	41,134	90	0.23	47	0.12	5	0.62	59	0.15
174	AMAGORO	53,291	2,706	8.51	11	0.03	5	0.77	32	0.10
175	NAMBALE	45,630	1,959	10.00	38	0.19	1	1.26	69	0.35
176	BUTULA	28,598	1,001	5.49	17	0.09	3	1.35	20	0.11
177	FUNYULA	25,258	145	0.96	10	0.07	-	1.63	20	0.13
178	BUDALANGI	19,616	149	0.41	9	0.02	1	0.68	4	0.01
	WESTERN TOTALS	1,025,567	13,458	1.97	932	0.14	344	0.04	1,267	0.19
	NYANZA									
179	UGENYA	54,561	27,080	75.10	15	0.04	-	0.68	-	-
180	ALEGO	56,943	31,135	73.81	11	0.03	1	0.58	20	0.05
181	GEM	42,398	25,314	87.74	10	0.03	5	0.85	13	0.05
182	BONDO	38,539	24,856	92.21	1	0.00	-	0.91	3	0.01
183	RARIEDA	33,554	22,372	91.52	5	0.02	1	1.01	11	0.04
184	KISUMU TOWN EAST	36,813	20,801	85.60	2	0.01	4	1.01	7	0.03
185	KISUMU TOWN WEST	61,376	27,636	76.89	14	0.04	11	0.68	17	0.05
186	KISUMU RURAL	35,435	18,986	75.58	16	0.06	10	0.98	19	0.08
187	NYANDO	36,602	25,550	92.85	10	0.04	3	0.89	6	0.02
188	MUHORONI	44,056	27,309	88.28	7	0.02	6	0.80	10	0.03
189	NYAKACH	36,279	24,763	91.38	5	0.02	2	0.91	2	0.01
190	KASIPUL KABONDO	52,025	35,390	92.59	6	0.02	5	0.64	7	0.02
191	KARACHUONYO	43,198	24,849	76.66	4	0.01	-	0.76	8	0.02
192	RANGWE	52,734	32,451	87.31	9	0.02	8	0.66	14	0.04
193	NDHIWA	42,910	30,409	95.90	-	-	-	0.78	6	0.02
194	RONGO	52,316	29,055	80.36	21	0.06	5	0.68	13	0.04
195	MIGORI	44,867	22,411	75.43	10	0.03	4	0.83	10	0.03
196	URIRI	28,684	16,083	77.70	4	0.02	1	1.19	6	0.03
197	NYATIKE	36,589	21,894	82.43	-	-	2	0.93	4	0.02
198	MBITA	25,490	14,307	81.44	2	0.01	2	1.40	4	0.02
199	GWASI	23,665	11,774	71.94	1	0.01	-	1.50	2	0.01
200	KURIA	35,141	809	3.17	6	0.02	6	0.96	4	0.02
201	BONCHARI	26,906	92	0.53	7	0.04	5	1.41	10	0.06
202	S. MUGIRANGO	35,305	60	0.26	5	0.02	2	1.08	6	0.03
203	BOMACHOGE	43,456	67	0.24	11	0.04	-	0.90	34	0.12
204	BOBASI	45,950	88	0.26	10	0.03	19	0.73	21	0.06
205	NYARIBARI MASABA	37,864	223	0.94	9	0.04	17	1.04	32	0.14
206	NYARIBARI CHACHE	43,237	417	1.68	33	0.13	53	0.99	70	0.28
207	KITUTU CHACHE	52,568	1,070	3.26	28	0.09	19	0.75	41	0.12
208	KITUTU MASABA	50,041	305	1.01	39	0.13	41	0.81	55	0.18
209	WEST MUGIRANGO	42,931	422	1.46	22	0.08	25	0.85	51	0.18
210	NORTH MUGIRANGO BORABU	53,269	1,202	3.47	38	0.11	33	0.71	41	0.12
	NYANZA TOTALS	1,345,702	519,180	56.56	361	0.04	290	0.03	547	0.06
	GRAND TOTALS	9,030,167	667,886	10.82	3,584	0.06	4,627	0.07	6,194	0.10

National Presidential Results

CONSTITUENCY	LPK		FORD-P		KANU		EIP		KSC	
	Maathai	%	Nyolke	%	Moi	%	Oludhe	%	Anyona	%
NAIROBI										
MAKADARA	12	0.03	36	0.08	8,828	18.92	6	0.05	109	0.10
KAMUKUNJI	18	0.05	47	0.14	7,349	22.05	22	0.05	44	0.29
STAREHE	23	0.05	89	0.18	9,973	20.00	17	0.03	96	0.19
LANGATA	18	0.04	1,386	3.17	11,420	26.09	14	0.03	96	0.27
DAGORETTI	23	0.06	43	0.11	6,480	17.32	12	0.06	118	0.35
WESTLANDS	21	0.04	38	0.08	16,651	34.34	22	0.03	131	0.14
KASARANI	16	0.03	43	0.09	8,267	13.05	15	0.03	86	0.33
EMBAKASI	18	0.03	25	0.04	8,504	14.28	16	0.03	158	0.27
NAIROBI TOTALS	149	0.04	1,707	0.47	75,272	20.66	124	0.03	818	0.22
COAST										
CHANGAMWE	6	0.02	22	0.06	10,588	30.66	13	0.04	66	0.19
KISAUNI	17	0.05	24	0.08	12,865	40.50	19	0.06	48	0.15
LIKONI	11	0.08	27	0.19	6,371	44.52	8	0.08	28	0.20
MVITA	7	0.03	19	0.07	14,570	52.10	13	0.05	60	0.21
MSAMBWENI	29	0.08	65	0.17	21,785	56.54	25	0.06	77	0.20
MATUGA	12	0.05	47	0.19	16,421	67.57	11	0.05	44	0.18
KINANGO	2	0.01	13	0.07	18,841	84.64	11	0.06	11	0.06
BAHARI	17	0.05	38	0.12	23,528	71.90	15	0.05	47	0.14
KALOLENI	2	0.01	24	0.08	19,456	66.85	18	0.06	35	0.12
GANZE	3	0.02	19	0.16	10,000	82.19	8	0.07	13	0.11
MALINDI	7	0.03	44	0.17	17,661	70.01	8	0.03	33	0.13
MAGARINI	1	0.01	12	0.09	11,492	81.70	1	0.01	2	0.01
GARSEN	1	0.01	9	0.07	12,602	97.49	2	0.02	4	0.03
GALOLE	2	0.02	8	0.08	9,555	90.42	2	0.02	5	0.05
BURA	3	0.03	2	0.02	5,824	66.92	2	0.02	11	0.13
LAMU EAST	4	0.06	16	0.24	5,156	78.10	3	0.05	1	0.02
LAMU WEST	13	0.10	120	0.88	7,403	54.38	16	0.12	12	0.09
TAVETA	3	0.03	19	0.17	6,460	56.77	20	0.18	33	0.29
WUNDANYI	8	0.07	21	0.18	8,544	73.82	20	0.17	29	0.25
MWATATE	9	0.07	35	0.25	10,667	77.48	15	0.11	17	0.12
VOI	7	0.05	23	0.17	9,287	67.52	12	0.09	30	0.22
COAST TOTALS	164	0.04	607	0.15	257,066	63.09	242	0.06	606	0.16
NORTH EASTERN										
DUJIS	-	-	7	0.04	12,213	73.59	3	0.02	13	0.08
LAGDERA	1	0.01	1	0.01	5,556	80.08	1	0.01	3	0.04
FAFI	-	-	1	0.02	3,974	96.57	-	-	-	-
IJARA	2	0.04	3	0.06	3,549	66.64	-	-	2	0.04
WAJIR NORTH	-	-	2	0.05	3,901	95.59	-	-	1	0.02
WAJIR WEST	-	-	3	0.03	7,110	69.30	1	0.01	2	0.02
WAJIR EAST	-	-	1	0.01	6,823	71.75	1	0.01	3	0.03
WAJIR SOUTH	-	-	1	0.01	4,196	60.31	-	-	1	0.01
MANDERA WEST	-	-	2	0.03	5,439	68.01	4	0.05	1	0.01
MANDERA CENTRAL	2	0.02	5	0.05	7,572	68.80	-	-	-	-
MANDERA EAST	35	0.25	6	0.04	10,173	72.97	-	-	2	0.01
NORTH EASTERN TOTALS	40	0.04	32	0.03	70,506	72.89	10	0.01	28	0.03
EASTERN										
MOYALE	-	-	6	0.04	14,201	85.00	1	0.01	3	0.02
NORTH HERR	-	-	3	0.04	5,691	72.52	9	0.11	-	-
SAKU	1	0.01	-	-	9,285	94.22	-	-	3	0.03
LAISAMIS	1	0.01	2	0.03	7,225	98.61	-	-	2	0.03
ISIOLO NORTH	5	0.03	13	0.09	10,239	68.46	4	0.03	-	-
ISIOLO SOUTH	4	0.06	1	0.02	5,517	84.84	-	-	2	0.03
IGEMBE	37	0.12	38	0.12	19,159	60.34	18	0.06	9	0.03
NTONYIRI	8	0.03	36	0.14	11,185	44.87	1	0.00	-	-
TIGANIA WEST	112	0.53	26	0.12	5,926	27.92	22	0.10	7	0.03
TIGANIA EAST	111	0.40	20	0.07	12,857	46.28	11	0.04	7	0.03
NORTH IMENTI	65	0.12	50	0.09	15,263	28.84	52	0.10	34	0.06
CENTRAL IMENTI	41	0.10	28	0.07	15,603	37.60	31	0.07	26	0.06
SOUTH IMENTI	85	0.17	41	0.08	10,632	21.31	71	0.14	34	0.07
NITHI	123	0.22	86	0.15	15,987	28.01	108	0.19	52	0.09
THARAKA	66	0.32	17	0.08	7,328	35.59	23	0.11	8	0.04
MANYATTA	122	0.30	45	0.11	4,806	11.87	42	0.10	23	0.06
RUNYENJES	93	0.25	43	0.11	4,975	13.25	67	0.18	37	0.10
GACHOKA	11	0.04	77	0.31	8,520	34.56	29	0.12	26	0.11
SIKAKAGO	31	0.17	18	0.10	6,963	37.56	12	0.06	9	0.05
MWINGI NORTH	6	0.02	19	0.05	21,808	62.80	31	0.09	45	0.13
MWINGI SOUTH	2	0.01	38	0.12	11,448	35.59	27	0.08	101	0.31
KITUI WEST	5	0.02	54	0.16	4,523	13.57	20	0.06	171	0.51
KITUI CENTRAL	23	0.06	31	0.08	10,602	27.34	20	0.05	214	0.55
MUTITO	5	0.03	18	0.09	2,154	10.95	13	0.07	82	0.42
KITUI SOUTH	6	0.03	27	0.12	4,313	19.88	13	0.06	102	0.47
MASINGA	6	0.03	47	0.20	9,462	39.56	17	0.07	152	0.64
YATTA	10	0.04	29	0.12	17,100	69.26	19	0.08	31	0.13
KANGUNDO	31	0.07	75	0.16	16,747	36.64	56	0.12	374	0.82

National Presidential Results

CONSTITUENCY	LPK		FORD-P		KANU		EIP		KSC	
	Maathai	%	Nyoike	%	Moi	%	Oludhe	%	Anyona	%
KATHIANI	6	0.02	38	0.11	14,690	41.97	32	0.09	256	0.73
MACHAKOS TOWN	23	0.05	65	0.14	15,642	34.73	35	0.08	383	0.85
MWALA	47	0.11	71	0.17	9,911	23.38	38	0.09	281	0.66
MBOONI	16	0.05	53	0.15	11,172	32.61	13	0.04	324	0.95
KILOME	16	0.10	36	0.22	7,284	45.46	10	0.06	130	0.81
KAITI	16	0.07	27	0.12	8,694	40.14	21	0.10	156	0.72
MAKUENI	6	0.02	60	0.16	7,667	20.53	42	0.11	385	1.03
KIBWEZI	-	-	46	0.14	6,375	19.66	16	0.05	379	1.17
EASTERN TOTALS	1,140	0.11	1,284	0.12	370,954	35.30	924	0.09	3,848	0.37
CENTRAL										
KINANGOP	9	0.02	162	0.44	1,332	3.60	26	0.07	12	0.03
KIPJRIRI	63	0.23	175	0.63	1,250	4.49	59	0.21	48	0.17
OL KALOU	39	0.10	146	0.39	1,029	2.72	42	0.11	18	0.05
NDARAGWA	9	0.04	43	0.20	812	3.71	17	0.08	4	0.02
TETU	64	0.23	13	0.05	709	2.60	15	0.05	2	0.01
KIENI	23	0.06	32	0.08	2,546	6.23	19	0.05	11	0.03
MATHIRA	30	0.06	39	0.08	2,521	4.90	53	0.10	10	0.02
OTHAYA	32	0.10	3	0.01	658	2.04	6	0.02	-	-
MUKURWEINI	35	0.12	9	0.03	892	3.10	23	0.08	6	0.02
NYERI TOWN	22	0.06	16	0.05	1,711	4.86	25	0.07	10	0.03
MWEA	48	0.15	34	0.11	1,341	4.19	22	0.07	5	0.02
GICHUGU	110	0.29	63	0.16	1,940	5.03	21	0.05	20	0.05
NDIA	9	0.03	11	0.04	666	2.49	5	0.02	7	0.03
KERUGOYA/KUTUS	64	0.21	9	0.03	908	2.95	14	0.05	7	0.02
KANGEMA	93	0.43	225	1.03	1,541	7.07	55	0.25	31	0.14
MATHIOYA	36	0.13	219	0.80	6,464	23.48	44	0.16	20	0.07
KIHARU	323	0.86	149	0.40	2,921	7.76	138	0.37	71	0.19
KIGUMO	54	0.17	71	0.23	783	2.50	50	0.16	25	0.08
MARAGWA	63	0.23	175	0.63	1,250	4.49	59	0.21	48	0.17
KANDARA	100	0.25	196	0.49	1,604	4.03	64	0.16	26	0.07
GATANGA	46	0.12	110	0.28	4,306	10.89	87	0.22	69	0.17
GATUNDU SOUTH	36	0.11	22	0.06	2,150	6.34	33	0.10	29	0.09
GATUNDU NORTH	38	0.14	17	0.06	514	1.82	22	0.08	14	0.05
JUJA	32	0.08	51	0.13	4,524	11.12	34	0.08	76	0.19
GITHUNGURI	58	0.13	78	0.18	861	1.95	40	0.09	57	0.13
KIAMBAA	41	0.08	171	0.34	3,908	7.73	55	0.11	69	0.14
KABETE	58	0.12	93	0.19	2,887	5.75	97	0.19	68	0.14
LIMURU	32	0.10	25	0.08	2,402	7.27	30	0.09	81	0.25
LARI	20	0.06	59	0.19	1,937	6.14	53	0.17	24	0.08
CENTRAL TOTALS	1,587	0.16	2,416	0.24	56,367	5.60	1,208	0.12	868	0.09
RIFT VALLEY										
TURKANA NORTH	1	0.01	5	0.04	7,161	53.38	-	-	2	0.01
TURKANA CENTRAL	1	0.01	9	0.05	15,802	94.40	8	0.05	6	0.04
TURKANA SOUTH	2	0.03	1	0.01	6,196	78.33	3	0.04	2	0.03
KACHELIBA	-	-	-	-	9,206	99.43	1	0.01	1	0.01
KAPENGURIA	1	0.00	7	0.02	28,221	95.35	7	0.02	11	0.04
SIGOR	-	-	1	0.00	24,976	99.12	-	-	5	0.02
SAMBURU WEST	-	-	2	0.01	22,045	82.52	-	-	4	0.01
SAMBURU EAST	2	0.03	-	-	5,602	75.76	-	-	1	0.01
KWANZA	11	0.03	18	0.05	14,608	39.78	2	0.01	10	0.03
SABOTI	36	0.06	60	0.10	14,538	24.76	16	0.03	28	0.05
CHERANGANY	5	0.02	23	0.08	14,715	51.82	12	0.04	27	0.10
ELDORET NORTH	12	0.02	23	0.04	41,759	65.27	9	0.01	96	0.15
ELDORET EAST	3	0.01	11	0.03	34,096	86.48	18	0.05	15	0.04
ELDORET SOUTH	17	0.04	23	0.06	28,130	71.27	9	0.02	98	0.25
MARAKWET EAST	1	0.01	2	0.01	12,670	72.72	1	0.01	2	0.01
MARAKWET WEST	3	0.01	32	0.14	22,406	94.95	1	0.00	6	0.03
KEIYO NORTH	2	0.01	7	0.04	18,185	98.12	3	0.02	1	0.01
KEIYO SOUTH	2	0.01	7	0.03	26,877	97.33	5	0.02	7	0.03
MOSOP	3	0.01	20	0.06	32,164	95.02	13	0.04	4	0.01
ALDAI	9	0.03	17	0.05	30,324	89.62	6	0.02	8	0.02
EMGWEN	11	0.03	50	0.13	33,897	87.05	7	0.02	18	0.05
TINDERET	10	0.02	26	0.06	34,562	85.81	18	0.04	42	0.10
BARINGO EAST	-	-	-	-	13,115	98.96	1	0.01	-	-
BARINGO NORTH	1	0.00	-	-	27,541	99.61	1	0.00	1	0.00
BARINGO CENTRAL	1	0.00	-	-	37,972	99.10	2	0.01	2	0.01
MOGOTIO	1	0.01	3	0.02	15,288	98.11	-	-	4	0.03
ELDAMA RAVINE	5	0.02	11	0.04	21,582	84.46	11	0.04	5	0.02
LAIKIPIA WEST	16	0.03	25	0.05	9,677	19.20	19	0.04	14	0.03
LAIKIPIA EAST	8	0.03	37	0.12	7,757	25.18	29	0.09	7	0.02
NAIVASHA	31	0.06	67	0.12	8,310	14.88	39	0.07	87	0.16
NAKURU TOWN	8	0.01	20	0.03	13,012	22.76	8	0.01	187	0.33
KURESOI	103	0.21	8	0.02	38,762	80.03	10	0.02	8	0.02
MOLO	45	0.08	94	0.16	11,658	20.07	74	0.13	67	0.12
RONGAI	13	0.04	20	0.06	17,587	50.22	20	0.06	20	0.06
SUBUKIA	15	0.04	53	0.15	2,854	8.09	74	0.21	31	0.09
KILGORIS	1	0.00	1	0.00	32,717	92.77	1	0.00	5	0.01

National Presidential Results

CONSTITUENCY	LPK		FORD-P		KANU		EIP		KSC	
	Maathai	%	Nyolke	%	Moi	%	Oludhe	%	Anyona	%
NAROK NORTH	15	0.05	14	0.04	26,775	81.24	8	0.02	50	0.15
NAROK SOUTH	3	0.01	2	0.01	29,427	91.12	7	0.02	13	0.04
KAJIADO NORTH	12	0.03	21	0.05	20,665	49.33	12	0.03	43	0.10
KAJIADO CENTRAL	1	0.00	8	0.04	13,900	61.89	3	0.01	9	0.04
KAJIADO SOUTH	7	0.03	7	0.03	10,457	43.08	5	0.02	11	0.05
BOMET	5	0.01	10	0.02	48,000	97.91	15	0.03	13	0.03
CHEPALUNGU	3	0.01	8	0.02	35,157	97.66	5	0.01	5	0.01
SOTIK	3	0.01	5	0.01	37,179	97.81	5	0.01	18	0.05
KONOIN	5	0.01	22	0.07	29,278	86.69	11	0.03	62	0.18
BURET	-	-	8	0.02	33,934	98.94	2	0.01	-	-
BELGUT	6	0.01	8	0.02	40,853	94.84	5	0.01	38	0.09
AINAMOI	4	0.01	21	0.05	35,468	86.27	12	0.03	23	0.06
KIPKELION	7	0.01	20	0.04	43,044	85.07	11	0.02	23	0.05
RIFT VALLEY TOTALS	481	0.03	837	0.05	1,140,109	69.37	529	0.03	1,140	0.07
WESTERN										
MALAVA	2	0.01	-	-	14,032	42.36	-	-	55	0.17
LUGARI	-	-	-	-	14,848	47.31	-	-	-	-
MUMIAS	16	0.07	49	0.21	18,627	80.10	9	0.04	12	0.05
MATUNGU	4	0.01	23	0.05	10,593	23.71	3	0.01	4	0.01
LURAMBI	19	0.08	73	0.29	15,817	63.49	19	0.08	9	0.04
SHINYALU	10	0.06	39	0.25	10,832	70.05	8	0.05	6	0.04
IKOLOMANI	4	0.04	15	0.14	10,112	91.67	4	0.04	-	-
BUTERE	3	0.02	15	0.09	9,648	56.69	11	0.06	2	0.01
KHWISERO	6	0.02	15	0.05	10,891	36.47	3	0.01	6	0.02
EMUHAYA	86	0.27	48	0.15	13,888	44.35	91	0.29	12	0.04
SABATIA	8	0.04	30	0.16	25,229	133.12	21	0.11	8	0.04
VIHIGA	17	0.05	22	0.07	15,038	47.91	7	0.02	1	0.00
HAMISI	12	0.04	40	0.12	18,301	56.51	32	0.10	36	0.11
MT. ELGON	10	0.02	22	0.05	25,091	55.04	6	0.01	3	0.01
KIMILILI	37	0.11	55	0.16	4,027	11.51	7	0.02	26	0.07
WEBUYE	36	0.09	46	0.12	9,162	23.15	11	0.03	17	0.04
SIRISIA	17	0.06	48	0.17	6,228	21.81	1	0.00	2	0.01
KANDUYI	8	0.03	36	0.12	3,311	10.59	7	0.02	4	0.01
BUMULA	14	0.04	42	0.11	3,366	8.55	4	0.01	4	0.01
AMAGORO	5	0.02	10	0.03	33,550	105.49	8	0.03	7	0.02
NAMBALE	12	0.06	39	0.20	17,935	91.53	10	0.05	3	0.02
BUTULA	5	0.03	17	0.09	8,254	45.30	1	0.01	7	0.04
FUNYULA	6	0.04	8	0.05	9,551	63.32	1	0.01	1	0.01
BUDALANGI	1	0.00	3	0.01	6,338	17.58	1	0.00	3	0.01
WESTERN TOTALS	338	0.05	696	0.10	314,669	45.95	265	0.04	228	0.03
NYANZA										
UGENYA	6	0.02	21	0.06	4,050	11.23	4	0.01	-	-
ALEGO	2	0.00	22	0.05	10,530	24.96	14	0.03	6	0.01
GEM	2	0.01	14	0.05	2,536	8.79	11	0.04	6	0.02
BONDO	1	0.00	10	0.04	1,764	6.54	3	0.01	4	0.01
RARIEDA	3	0.01	7	0.03	1,610	6.59	1	0.00	-	-
KISUMU TOWN EAST	2	0.01	8	0.03	1,966	8.09	4	0.02	14	0.06
KISUMU TOWN WEST	11	0.03	24	0.07	5,017	13.96	15	0.04	32	0.09
KISUMU RURAL	3	0.01	11	0.04	4,606	18.34	5	0.02	22	0.09
NYANDO	1	0.00	10	0.04	1,268	4.61	2	0.01	12	0.04
MUHORONI	3	0.01	19	0.06	2,520	8.15	6	0.02	11	0.04
NYAKACH	-	-	11	0.04	2,020	7.45	9	0.03	1	0.00
KASIPUL KABONDO	4	0.01	13	0.03	2,327	6.09	3	0.01	11	0.03
KARACHUONYO	2	0.01	5	0.02	7,158	22.08	5	0.02	13	0.04
RANGWE	29	0.08	3	0.01	3,604	9.70	4	0.01	9	0.02
NDHIWA	2	0.01	8	0.03	918	2.90	-	-	-	-
RONGO	1	0.00	25	0.07	6,382	17.65	5	0.01	9	0.02
MIGORI	-	-	18	0.06	6,317	21.26	7	0.02	5	0.02
URIRI	2	0.01	3	0.01	4,396	21.24	4	0.02	3	0.01
NYATIKE	2	0.01	15	0.06	4,390	16.53	4	0.02	-	-
MBITA	1	0.01	6	0.03	2,977	16.95	1	0.01	5	0.03
GWASI	-	-	2	0.01	4,506	27.53	-	-	-	-
KURIA	4	0.02	14	0.05	21,426	83.89	1	0.00	16	0.06
BONCHARI	32	0.18	26	0.15	11,018	63.12	7	0.04	227	1.30
S. MUGIRANGO	-	-	14	0.06	6,256	27.40	2	0.01	194	0.85
BOMACHOGE	15	0.05	11	0.04	3,053	11.16	14	0.05	155	0.57
BOBASI	5	0.01	33	0.10	20,110	59.66	36	0.11	215	0.64
NYARIBARI MASABA	11	0.05	31	0.13	11,588	48.92	32	0.14	245	1.03
NYARIBARI CHACHE	66	0.27	155	0.62	12,470	50.25	41	0.17	463	1.87
KITUTU CHACHE	24	0.07	81	0.19	18,123	55.21	37	0.11	750	2.28
KITUTU MASABA	31	0.10	68	0.22	6,790	22.41	45	0.15	5,533	18.26
WEST MUGIRANGO	12	0.04	12	0.04	9,410	32.60	24	0.08	341	1.18
NORTH MUGIRANGO BORABU	50	0.14	48	0.14	14,817	42.76	43	0.12	590	1.70
NYANZA TOTALS	327	0.04	728	0.08	215,923	23.52	389	0.04	8,892	0.97
GRAND TOTALS	4,198	0.07	8,306	0.13	2,500,856	40.51	3,691	0.06	16,428	0.27

National Presidential Results

CONSTITUENCY	KENDA		KNC		FORD-A		DP	
	Wamwere	%	Mkangi	%	Shikuku	%	Kibaki	%
NAIROBI								
MAKADARA	71	0.16	9	0.02	214	0.47	19,147	41.98
KAMUKUNJI	75	0.24	19	0.06	133	0.40	17,076	51.24
STAREHE	81	0.10	39	0.08	251	0.50	25,403	50.95
LANGATA	51	0.12	17	0.04	548	1.25	8,664	19.79
DAGORETTI	51	0.17	22	0.06	264	0.71	21,773	58.20
WESTLANDS	62	0.18	26	0.05	295	0.61	17,154	35.37
KASARANI	89	0.16	30	0.06	442	0.92	20,809	43.33
EMBAKASI	79	#REF!	37	0.06	195	0.33	30,098	50.54
NAIROBI TOTALS	559	0.15	199	0.05	2,342	0.64	160,124	43.74
COAST								
CHANGAMWE	65	0.19	301	0.87	143	0.41	5,728	16.59
KISAUNI	48	0.15	995	3.13	98	0.31	8,696	27.37
LIKONI	28	0.20	1,224	8.55	68	0.48	1,979	13.83
MVITA	53	0.19	521	1.86	64	0.23	5,011	17.92
MSAMBWENI	45	0.12	6,286	16.33	166	0.43	5,372	13.96
MATUGA	26	0.11	5,158	21.22	29	0.12	561	2.31
KINANGO	16	0.08	683	3.43	12	0.06	992	4.99
BAHARI	35	0.11	2,299	7.03	47	0.14	2,422	7.40
KALOLENI	20	0.07	1,285	4.42	31	0.11	1,790	6.15
GANZE	7	0.06	76	0.62	5	0.04	988	8.12
MALINDI	26	0.10	300	1.19	23	0.09	3,631	14.39
MAGARINI	3	0.02	764	5.43	3	0.02	375	2.67
GARSEN	8	0.06	17	0.13	3	0.02	134	1.04
GALOLE	9	0.09	8	0.08	8	0.08	405	3.83
BURA	5	0.06	2	0.02	2	0.02	830	9.54
LAMU EAST	5	0.08	4	0.06	5	0.08	249	3.77
LAMU WEST	28	0.21	55	0.40	87	0.64	5,271	38.72
TAVETA	15	0.13	21	0.18	29	0.25	1,301	11.43
WUNDANYI	14	0.12	35	0.30	26	0.22	2,029	17.53
MWATATE	22	0.16	83	0.60	32	0.23	1,802	13.09
VOI	8	0.06	28	0.20	20	0.15	2,343	17.03
COAST TOTALS	486	0.12	20,145	4.94	901	0.22	51,909	12.74
NORTH EASTERN								
DUJIS	7	0.04	2	0.01	10	0.06	3,949	23.79
LAGDERA	3	0.04	2	0.03	6	0.09	1,324	19.08
FAFI	2	0.05	1	0.02	2	0.05	127	3.09
IJARA	-	-	1	0.02	6	0.11	1,604	30.12
WAJIR NORTH	3	0.07	1	0.02	-	-	159	3.90
WAJIR WEST	1	0.01	1	0.01	1	0.01	3,077	29.99
WAJIR EAST	-	-	1	0.01	15	0.16	2,615	27.50
WAJIR SOUTH	231	3.32	1	0.01	1	0.01	2,511	36.09
MANDERA WEST	1	0.01	-	-	12	0.15	935	11.69
MANDERA CENTRAL	1	0.01	1	0.01	17	0.15	704	6.40
MANDERA EAST	-	-	2	0.01	58	0.42	3,399	24.38
NORTH EASTERN TOTALS	249	0.26	13	0.01	128	0.13	20,404	21.09
EASTERN								
MOYALE	4	0.02	-	-	28	0.17	885	5.30
NORTH HERR	4	0.05	1	0.01	-	-	9	0.11
SAKU	3	0.03	2	0.02	1	0.01	443	4.50
LAISAMIS	4	0.05	-	-	1	0.01	62	0.85
ISIOLO NORTH	11	0.07	-	-	16	0.11	4,157	27.79
ISIOLO SOUTH	9	0.14	2	0.03	7	0.11	504	7.75
IGEMBE	29	0.09	22	0.07	26	0.08	11,194	35.25
NTONYIRI	22	0.09	6	0.02	43	0.17	13,046	52.33
TIGANIA WEST	10	0.05	30	0.14	59	0.28	14,649	69.02
TIGANIA EAST	14	0.05	21	0.08	48	0.17	13,105	47.18
NORTH IMENTI	82	0.15	16	0.03	152	0.29	34,761	65.69
CENTRAL IMENTI	54	0.13	30	0.07	146	0.35	20,402	49.16
SOUTH IMENTI	47	0.09	24	0.05	149	0.30	37,515	75.18
NITHI	51	0.09	37	0.06	212	0.37	38,652	67.73
THARAKA	14	0.07	27	0.13	43	0.21	12,718	61.77
MANYATTA	70	0.17	15	0.04	165	0.41	33,578	82.95
RUNYENJES	55	0.15	53	0.14	761	2.03	30,473	81.15
GACHOKA	23	0.09	21	0.09	89	0.36	9,961	40.40
SIKAKO	13	0.07	22	0.12	25	0.13	11,015	59.42
MWINGI NORTH	15	0.04	20	0.06	47	0.14	1,570	4.52
MWINGI SOUTH	7	0.02	18	0.06	22	0.07	350	1.09
KITUI WEST	23	0.07	26	0.08	52	0.16	210	0.63
KITUI CENTRAL	10	0.03	23	0.06	43	0.11	273	0.70
MUTITO	2	0.01	11	0.06	62	0.32	73	0.37
KITUI SOUTH	4	0.02	10	0.05	39	0.18	255	1.18
MASINGA	13	0.05	36	0.15	55	0.23	303	1.27
YATTA	16	0.06	22	0.09	64	0.26	912	3.69
KANGUNDO	30	0.07	73	0.16	79	0.17	734	1.61

National Presidential Results

CONSTITUENCY	KENDA		KNC		FORD-A		DP	
	Wamware	%	Mkangl	%	Shikuku	%	Kibaki	%
KATHIANI	15	0.04	28	0.02	40	0.11	1,455	4.16
MACHAKOS TOWN	24	0.05	21	0.05	81	0.18	843	1.87
MWALA	16	0.04	59	0.14	65	0.15	471	1.11
MBOONI	7	0.02	26	0.08	54	0.16	578	1.69
KILOME	6	0.04	32	0.20	16	0.10	143	0.89
KAITI	16	0.07	4	0.02	15	0.07	197	0.91
MAKUJENI	20	0.05	36	0.10	60	0.16	291	0.78
KIBWEZI	18	0.06	381	1.18	37	0.11	548	1.69
EASTERN TOTALS	761	0.07	1,185	0.11	2,802	0.27	296,335	26.20
CENTRAL								
KINANGOP	24	0.06	19	0.05	151	0.41	34,614	93.45
KIPIRIRI	106	0.38	50	0.18	194	0.70	24,360	87.46
OL KALOU	64	0.17	18	0.05	206	0.54	35,478	93.80
NDARAGWA	29	0.13	14	0.06	57	0.26	20,697	94.46
TETU	11	0.04	7	0.03	49	0.18	26,298	96.41
KIENI	55	0.13	20	0.05	69	0.17	37,809	92.54
MATHIRA	49	0.10	106	0.21	92	0.18	48,093	93.49
OTHAYA	21	0.07	12	0.04	40	0.12	31,352	97.24
MUKURWEINI	29	0.10	28	0.10	36	0.13	27,545	95.70
NYERI TOWN	66	0.19	12	0.03	63	0.18	32,259	91.70
MWEA	36	0.11	29	0.09	73	0.23	29,931	93.47
GICHUGU	47	0.12	31	0.08	140	0.36	35,660	92.47
NDIA	39	0.15	6	0.02	72	0.27	25,555	95.36
KERUGOYAKUTUS	21	0.07	164	0.53	92	0.30	28,965	94.17
KANGEMA	72	0.33	76	0.35	192	0.88	18,636	85.53
MATHIOYA	54	0.20	37	0.13	351	1.27	19,917	72.35
KIHARU	225	0.60	176	0.47	376	1.00	30,211	80.28
KIGUMO	49	0.16	29	0.09	106	0.34	29,516	94.23
MARAGWA	106	0.38	50	0.18	194	0.70	24,360	87.46
KANDARA	67	0.17	63	0.16	273	0.69	36,343	91.31
GATANGA	84	0.21	66	0.17	185	0.47	31,542	79.75
GATUNDU SOUTH	44	0.13	13	0.04	96	0.28	30,482	89.91
GATUNDU NORTH	74	0.27	7	0.03	77	0.28	25,979	94.04
JUJA	209	0.51	32	0.08	241	0.59	29,076	71.49
GITHUNGURI	121	0.27	34	0.08	227	0.51	40,974	92.77
KIAMBAA	253	0.50	30	0.06	280	0.55	40,763	80.59
KABETE	191	0.38	33	0.07	302	0.50	39,575	78.86
LIMURU	129	0.39	19	0.06	284	0.86	26,946	81.55
LARI	43	0.14	24	0.08	146	0.46	28,548	90.50
CENTRAL TOTALS	2,318	0.23	1,205	0.12	4,664	0.46	891,484	88.64
RIFT VALLEY								
TURKANA NORTH	3	0.02	-	-	27	0.20	196	1.46
TURKANA CENTRAL	6	0.04	3	0.02	19	0.11	255	1.52
TURKANA SOUTH	1	0.01	-	-	13	0.16	219	2.77
KACHELIBA	-	-	-	-	-	-	17	0.18
KAPENGURIA	6	0.02	2	0.01	10	0.03	285	0.96
SIGOR	2	0.01	-	-	3	0.01	88	0.35
SAMBURU WEST	2	0.01	3	0.01	6	0.02	4,535	16.97
SAMBURU EAST	-	-	-	-	3	0.04	1,723	23.30
KWANZA	5	0.01	6	0.02	68	0.19	2,222	6.05
SABOTI	20	0.03	9	0.02	310	0.53	6,976	11.88
CHERANGANY	7	0.02	11	0.04	84	0.30	4,959	17.46
ELDORET NORTH	47	0.07	8	0.01	345	0.54	9,331	14.58
ELDORET EAST	12	0.03	7	0.02	73	0.19	3,428	8.69
ELDORET SOUTH	15	0.04	4	0.01	106	0.27	7,517	19.04
MARAKWET EAST	3	0.02	3	0.02	2	0.01	4,619	26.51
MARAKWET WEST	8	0.03	4	0.02	17	0.07	724	3.07
KEIYO NORTH	2	0.01	2	0.01	7	0.04	168	0.91
KEIYO SOUTH	4	0.01	2	0.01	6	0.02	585	2.12
MOSOP	29	0.09	12	0.04	43	0.13	756	2.23
ALDAI	8	0.02	2	0.01	23	0.07	261	0.77
EMGWEN	10	0.03	12	0.03	44	0.11	1,094	2.81
TINDERET	44	0.11	45	0.11	50	0.12	1,000	2.70
BARINGO EAST	10	0.08	-	-	1	0.01	-	0.64
BARINGO NORTH	-	-	-	-	-	-	68	0.25
BARINGO CENTRAL	8	0.02	-	-	3	0.01	181	0.47
MOGOTIO	2	0.01	2	0.01	2	0.01	141	0.90
ELDAMA RAVINE	8	0.03	3	0.01	37	0.14	3,533	13.83
LAIKIPIA WEST	29	0.06	17	0.03	54	0.11	39,978	79.33
LAIKIPIA EAST	27	0.09	18	0.08	89	0.29	21,815	70.82
NAIVASHA	127	0.23	55	0.10	302	0.54	40,354	72.27
NAKURU TOWN	156	0.27	13	0.02	493	0.86	28,428	49.71
KURESOI	11	0.02	10	0.02	277	0.57	8,984	18.55
MOLO	67	0.12	24	0.04	364	0.63	43,550	74.97
RONGAI	53	0.15	9	0.03	122	0.35	14,356	40.99
SUBUKIA	475	1.35	14	0.04	200	0.57	30,926	87.62
KILGORIS	6	0.02	2	0.01	16	0.05	2,089	5.92

National Presidential Results

CONSTITUENCY	KENDA		KNC		FORD-A		DP	
	Wamwere	%	Mkangl	%	Shikuku	%	Kibaki	%
NAROK NORTH	23	0.07	9	0.03	39	0.12	5,096	15.46
NAROK SOUTH	5	0.02	1	0.00	7	0.02	2,691	8.33
KAJIADO NORTH	38	0.09	8	0.02	126	0.30	16,865	40.26
KAJIADO CENTRAL	6	0.03	3	0.01	5	0.02	7,746	34.49
KAJIADO SOUTH	5	0.02	2	0.01	17	0.07	12,919	53.23
BOMET	10	0.02	7	0.01	4	0.01	743	1.52
CHEPALUNGU	5	0.01	5	0.01	8	0.02	730	2.03
SOTIK	5	0.01	3	0.01	11	0.03	474	1.25
KONOIN	35	0.10	11	0.03	404	1.20	1,301	3.85
BURET	4	0.01	5	0.01	2	0.01	147	0.43
BELGUT	11	0.03	9	0.02	26	0.06	655	1.52
AINAMOI	21	0.05	2	0.00	31	0.08	2,770	6.74
KIPKELION	16	0.03	3	0.01	48	0.09	5,862	11.59
RIFT VALLEY TOTALS	1,397	0.09	370	0.02	3,947	0.24	343,529	20.90
WESTERN								
MALAVA	107	0.32	-	-	119	0.36	174	0.53
LUGARI	-	-	-	-	234	0.75	2,144	6.83
MUMIAS	19	0.08	12	0.05	3,373	14.51	462	1.99
MATUNGU	2	0.00	-	-	403	0.90	755	1.69
LURAMBI	15	0.06	10	0.04	1,192	4.79	738	2.96
SHINYALU	9	0.06	6	0.04	195	1.26	87	0.56
IKOLOMANI	3	0.03	1	0.01	115	1.04	76	0.69
BUTERE	4	0.02	13	0.08	9,849	57.87	125	0.73
KHWISERO	9	0.03	7	0.02	3,138	10.51	42	0.14
EMUHAYA	13	0.04	37	0.12	239	0.76	289	0.92
SABATIA	11	0.06	4	0.02	163	0.86	109	0.58
VIHIGA	10	0.03	4	0.01	54	0.17	102	0.32
HAMISI	30	0.09	15	0.05	235	0.73	271	0.84
MT. ELGON	9	0.02	1	0.00	23	0.05	22	0.05
KIMILILI	9	0.03	4	0.01	175	0.50	909	2.60
WEBUYE	17	0.04	7	0.02	133	0.34	625	1.58
SIRISIA	6	0.02	6	0.02	63	0.22	224	0.78
KANDUYI	10	0.03	7	0.02	197	0.63	963	3.08
BUMULA	21	0.05	6	0.02	66	0.17	33	0.08
AMAGORO	26	0.08	8	0.03	75	0.24	656	2.06
NAMBALE	16	0.08	12	0.06	124	0.63	757	3.86
BUTULA	8	0.04	8	0.04	110	0.60	53	0.29
FUNYULA	2	0.01	43	0.29	58	0.38	124	0.82
BUDALANGI	1	0.00	1	0.00	28	0.08	15	0.04
WESTERN TOTALS	357	0.05	212	0.03	20,361	2.97	9,755	1.42
NYANZA								
UGENYA	63	0.17	7	0.02	70	0.19	53	0.15
ALEGO	52	0.12	4	0.01	18	0.04	24	0.06
GEM	68	0.24	1	0.00	43	0.15	20	0.07
BONDO	43	0.16	-	-	3	0.01	17	0.06
RARIEDA	61	0.25	2	0.01	9	0.04	5	0.02
KISUMU TOWN EAST	48	0.20	3	0.01	36	0.15	434	1.79
KISUMU TOWN WEST	67	0.19	5	0.01	95	0.26	834	2.32
KISUMU RURAL	46	0.18	6	0.02	14	0.06	19	0.08
NYANDO	52	0.19	1	0.00	6	0.02	27	0.10
MUHORONI	79	0.26	4	0.01	31	0.10	286	0.92
NYAKACH	64	0.24	-	-	4	0.01	15	0.06
KASIPUL KABONDO	82	0.21	2	0.01	8	0.02	30	0.08
KARACHUONYO	65	0.20	-	-	3	0.01	10	0.03
RANGWE	111	0.30	2	0.01	8	0.02	75	0.20
NDHIWA	40	0.13	-	-	14	0.04	10	0.03
RONGO	103	0.28	2	0.01	15	0.04	66	0.18
MIGORI	84	0.28	6	0.02	20	0.07	324	1.09
URIRI	35	0.17	2	0.01	4	0.02	21	0.10
NYATIKE	23	0.09	-	-	6	0.02	96	0.36
MBITA	32	0.18	2	0.01	6	0.03	18	0.10
GWASI	21	0.13	-	-	2	0.01	7	0.04
KURIA	13	0.05	4	0.02	109	0.43	2,403	9.41
BONCHARI	21	0.12	30	0.17	27	0.15	5,024	28.78
S. MUGIRANGO	7	0.03	10	0.04	33	0.14	15,543	68.08
BOMACHOGE	10	0.04	40	0.15	97	0.35	23,145	84.61
BOBASI	18	0.05	8	0.02	64	0.19	12,499	37.08
NYARIBARI MASABA	35	0.15	15	0.06	60	0.25	10,128	42.76
NYARIBARI CHACHE	40	0.16	11	0.04	86	0.35	9,616	38.75
KITUTU CHACHE	22	0.07	17	0.05	99	0.30	10,097	30.76
KITUTU MASABA	147	0.49	50	0.17	142	0.47	16,182	53.41
WEST MUGIRANGO	21	0.07	7	0.02	122	0.42	15,309	53.04
NORTH MUGIRANGO BORABU	45	0.13	14	0.04	113	0.33	15,865	45.79
NYANZA TOTALS	1,618	0.18	255	0.03	1,367	0.15	138,202	15.05
GRAND TOTALS	7,745	0.13	23,554	0.38	36,512	0.59	1,911,742	30.97

National Presidential Results

CONSTITUENCY	FORD-K		SDP		TOTAL VALID	TURNOUT
	Wamakwa	%	Ngilu	%		
NAIROBI						
MAKADARA	3,070	6.73	7,117	15.61	45,805	49.78
KAMUKUNJI	1,095	3.29	3,604	10.81	33,326	50.54
STAREHE	2,611	5.24	5,808	11.65	49,861	45.65
LANGATA	1,968	4.50	4,575	10.45	43,770	53.96
DAGORETTI	3,168	8.47	3,280	8.77	37,413	53.84
WESTLANDS	6,826	14.08	4,005	8.26	48,494	47.36
KASARANI	2,646	5.51	3,048	6.34	48,030	52.48
EMBAKASI	3,587	6.02	8,272	13.89	59,550	52.08
NAIROBI TOTALS	24,971	6.82	39,707	10.85	366,049	50.48
COAST						
CHANGAMWE	2,660	7.70	8,662	25.08	34,536	43.96
KISAUNI	1,948	6.13	3,666	11.54	31,769	41.48
LIKONI	1,092	7.63	1,549	10.83	14,309	33.77
MVITA	1,227	4.39	3,333	11.92	27,968	39.48
MSAMBWENI	481	1.25	3,026	7.86	38,493	63.94
MATUGA	54	0.22	1,646	6.77	24,302	64.37
KINANGO	20	0.10	884	4.44	19,898	59.35
BAHARI	1,560	4.77	1,113	3.40	32,725	50.92
KALOLENI	133	0.46	4,956	17.03	29,104	52.77
GANZE	10	0.08	942	7.74	12,167	44.45
MALINDI	507	2.01	1,706	6.76	25,225	47.91
MAGARINI	1,120	7.96	162	1.15	14,066	50.54
GARSEN	34	0.26	60	0.46	12,926	58.36
GALOLE	90	0.85	126	1.19	10,567	64.56
BURA	26	0.30	303	3.48	8,703	56.95
LAMU EAST	29	0.44	60	0.91	6,802	72.92
LAMU WEST	65	0.48	185	1.36	13,613	59.55
TAVETA	60	0.53	2,948	25.91	11,379	68.63
WUNDANYI	49	0.42	634	5.48	11,574	55.85
MWATATE	81	0.59	624	4.53	13,768	60.88
VOI	60	0.44	1,504	10.93	13,755	55.77
COAST TOTALS	11,306	2.77	38,089	9.35	407,449	61.10
NORTH EASTERN						
DUJIS	67	0.40	195	1.17	16,596	59.78
LAGDERA	8	0.12	9	0.13	6,938	49.68
FAFI	1	0.02	4	0.10	4,115	48.40
IJARA	1	0.02	1	0.02	5,326	71.00
WAJIR NORTH	5	0.12	7	0.17	4,081	53.48
WAJIR WEST	2	0.02	52	0.51	10,260	53.88
WAJIR EAST	13	0.14	19	0.20	9,509	56.73
WAJIR SOUTH	1	0.01	8	0.11	6,957	42.99
MANDERA WEST	1,577	19.72	-	-	7,997	64.13
MANDERA CENTRAL	2,550	23.17	134	1.22	11,006	60.01
MANDERA EAST	206	1.48	11	0.08	13,941	59.28
NORTH EASTERN TOTALS	4,431	4.88	440	0.45	96,726	56.34
EASTERN						
MOYALE	1,492	8.93	61	0.37	16,708	74.45
NORTH HERR	10	0.13	4	0.05	7,848	65.18
SAKU	11	0.11	64	0.65	9,855	78.53
LAISAMIS	1	0.01	14	0.19	7,327	61.83
ISIOLO NORTH	68	0.45	284	1.90	14,957	58.59
ISIOLO SOUTH	415	6.38	16	0.25	6,503	79.61
IGEMBE	15	0.05	481	1.51	31,754	64.14
NTONYIRI	18	0.07	252	1.01	24,930	64.18
TIGANIA WEST	16	0.08	159	0.75	21,224	65.58
TIGANIA EAST	9	0.03	121	0.44	27,778	77.92
NORTH IMENTI	207	0.39	1,504	2.84	52,916	70.88
CENTRAL IMENTI	3,094	7.46	1,783	4.30	41,498	78.33
SOUTH IMENTI	77	0.15	795	1.39	49,902	80.04
NITHI	62	0.11	1,086	1.90	57,070	72.28
THARAKA	11	0.05	188	0.91	20,588	76.38
MANYATTA	150	0.37	1,157	2.86	40,482	77.05
RUNYENJES	177	0.47	533	1.42	37,552	75.92
GACHOKA	240	0.97	5,061	20.53	24,654	77.20
SIKAGO	13	0.07	298	1.61	18,538	79.87
MWINGI NORTH	18	0.05	11,016	31.72	34,726	76.53
MWINGI SOUTH	18	0.06	19,988	62.14	32,167	73.38
KITUI WEST	14	0.04	28,084	84.28	33,324	71.51
KITUI CENTRAL	48	0.12	27,337	70.49	38,779	73.83
MUTITO	8	0.04	17,176	87.34	19,666	71.16
KITUI SOUTH	32	0.15	16,816	77.49	21,700	67.95
MASINGA	32	0.13	13,638	57.02	23,920	71.07
YATTA	19	0.08	6,362	25.77	24,688	65.51
KANGUNDO	69	0.15	27,212	59.53	45,711	72.41

National Presidential Results

CONSTITUENCY	FORD-K		SDP		TOTAL VALID	TURNOUT
	Wamakwa	%	Ngilu	%		
KATHIANI	311	0.89	17,460	49.88	35,002	66.88
MACHAKOS TOWN	112	0.25	27,472	61.00	45,039	71.01
MWALA	107	0.25	31,125	73.44	42,382	87.03
MBOONI	34	0.10	21,867	63.82	34,263	69.23
KILOME	13	0.08	8,218	51.29	16,024	63.10
KAITI	18	0.08	12,366	57.10	21,658	62.65
MAKUENI	24	0.06	28,632	76.68	37,338	66.86
KIBWEZI	54	0.17	21,124	65.15	32,423	65.06
EASTERN TOTALS	7,017	0.67	349,764	33.28	1,060,894	71.78
CENTRAL						
KINANGOP	114	0.31	363	0.98	37,039	78.28
KIPIRIRI	27	0.10	1,174	4.21	27,854	105.97
OL KALOU	72	0.19	455	1.20	37,824	77.84
NDARAGWA	12	0.05	161	0.73	21,912	79.88
TETU	14	0.05	42	0.15	27,277	87.14
KIENI	29	0.07	155	0.38	40,855	82.56
MATHIRA	51	0.10	203	0.39	51,440	83.79
QTHAYA	20	0.06	57	0.18	32,241	89.28
MUKURWEINI	7	0.02	85	0.30	28,783	86.13
NYERI TOWN	194	0.55	456	1.30	35,179	78.80
MWEA	24	0.07	334	1.04	32,023	74.18
GICHUGU	23	0.06	292	0.76	38,564	79.36
NDIA	38	0.14	277	1.03	26,799	79.07
KERUGOYA/KUTUS	20	0.07	374	1.22	30,759	70.59
KANGEMA	17	0.08	676	3.10	21,790	74.65
MATHIOYA	17	0.06	251	0.91	27,530	74.92
KIHARU	72	0.19	2,457	6.53	37,632	55.85
KIGUMO	28	0.09	478	1.53	31,325	73.29
MARAGWA	27	0.10	1,174	4.21	27,854	65.41
KANDARA	31	0.08	411	1.03	39,803	75.82
GATANGA	152	0.38	2,485	6.28	39,553	71.22
GATUNDU SOUTH	47	0.14	802	2.37	33,903	78.44
GATUNDU NORTH	36	0.13	629	2.28	27,625	81.53
JUJA	649	1.60	3,883	9.55	40,672	45.20
GITHUNGURI	108	0.24	1,396	3.16	44,165	81.96
KIAMBAA	403	0.80	3,961	7.83	50,583	73.58
KABETE	283	0.56	5,779	11.51	50,187	73.09
LIMURU	496	1.50	1,265	3.83	33,041	73.16
LARI	47	0.15	460	1.46	31,545	80.62
CENTRAL TOTALS	3,058	0.30	30,535	3.04	1,005,767	74.80
RIFT VALLEY						
TURKANA NORTH	5,911	44.07	34	0.25	13,414	50.75
TURKANA CENTRAL	443	2.65	58	0.35	16,740	49.48
TURKANA SOUTH	1,366	17.27	21	0.27	7,910	43.06
KACHELIBA	29	0.31	1	0.01	9,259	67.16
KAPENGURIA	718	2.43	173	0.58	29,596	81.04
SIGOR	98	0.39	13	0.05	25,199	79.14
SAMBURU WEST	19	0.07	27	0.10	26,716	86.13
SAMBURU EAST	7	0.09	21	0.28	7,394	68.29
KWANZA	19,455	52.98	121	0.33	36,719	75.04
SABOTI	34,504	58.76	532	0.91	58,725	70.89
CHERANGANY	8,244	29.03	168	0.59	28,397	76.64
ELDORET NORTH	8,235	12.87	736	1.15	63,977	70.35
ELDORET EAST	1,144	2.90	219	0.56	39,426	76.16
ELDORET SOUTH	1,880	4.76	299	0.76	39,472	75.02
MARAKWET EAST	25	0.14	16	0.09	17,424	83.11
MARAKWET WEST	319	1.35	28	0.12	23,598	84.24
KEIYO NORTH	54	0.29	34	0.18	18,534	84.45
KEIYO SOUTH	51	0.18	24	0.09	27,615	83.53
MOSOP	481	1.42	182	0.54	33,848	84.19
ALDAI	2,955	8.73	70	0.21	33,836	83.75
EMGWEN	3,189	8.14	192	0.49	38,938	77.81
TINDERET	2,447	6.08	128	0.32	40,278	76.04
BARINGO EAST	9	0.07	16	0.12	13,253	86.17
BARINGO NORTH	6	0.02	22	0.08	27,649	96.37
BARINGO CENTRAL	24	0.06	37	0.10	38,317	89.16
MOGOTIO	7	0.04	98	0.63	15,583	84.43
ELDAMA RAVINE	119	0.47	43	0.17	25,552	81.95
LAIKIPIA WEST	66	0.13	208	0.41	50,395	75.90
LAIKIPIA EAST	138	0.45	439	1.43	30,802	67.06
NAIVASHA	1,823	3.28	889	1.59	55,841	62.20
NAKURU TOWN	4,479	7.83	1,689	2.95	57,178	63.97
KURESOI	58	0.12	66	0.14	48,433	88.35
MOLO	632	1.09	432	0.74	58,089	76.49
RONGAI	257	0.73	116	0.33	35,019	78.21
SUBUKIA	101	0.29	201	0.57	35,295	77.91
KILGORIS	30	0.09	66	0.19	35,266	73.85

National Presidential Results

CONSTITUENCY	FORD-K		SDP		TOTAL VALID	TURNOUT %
	Wamatwa	%	Ngllu	%		
NAROK NORTH	214	0.65	247	0.75	32,957	70.32
NAROK SOUTH	32	0.10	56	0.17	32,294	67.15
KAJIADO NORTH	495	1.18	1,676	4.00	41,894	64.60
KAJIADO CENTRAL	38	0.17	599	2.67	22,460	79.12
KAJIADO SOUTH	49	0.20	604	2.49	24,271	75.19
BOMET	19	0.04	133	0.27	49,025	88.06
CHEPALUNGU	11	0.03	41	0.11	35,999	90.11
SOTIK	45	0.12	108	0.28	38,010	86.14
KONOI	355	1.05	71	0.21	33,774	76.59
BURET	32	0.09	107	0.31	34,298	89.19
BELGUT	296	0.69	49	0.11	43,075	85.88
AINAMOI	636	1.55	159	0.39	41,113	76.28
KIPKELION	653	1.29	76	0.15	50,599	87.70
RIFT VALLEY TOTALS	102,178	6.22	11,345	0.69	1,643,456	76.24
WESTERN						
MALAVA	20,536	61.99	147	0.44	33,129	61.51
LUGARI	16,783	53.47	223	0.71	31,385	61.07
MUMIAS	9,241	39.74	167	0.72	23,254	45.00
MATUNGU	11,484	25.71	422	0.94	44,670	132.72
LURAMBI	25,297	101.55	261	1.05	24,911	35.41
SHINYALU	13,892	89.84	65	0.42	15,463	36.82
IKOLOMANI	8,272	74.99	40	0.36	11,031	36.20
BUTERE	796	4.68	125	0.73	17,018	50.73
KHWISERO	2,158	7.23	115	0.39	29,860	108.45
EMUHAYA	14,331	45.77	284	0.91	31,312	58.06
SABATIA	3,689	19.46	143	0.75	18,952	45.33
VIHIGA	3,639	11.59	74	0.24	31,391	108.73
HAMISI	11,722	36.20	133	0.41	32,384	67.79
MT. ELGON	6,950	15.25	46	0.10	45,583	114.83
KIMILILI	39,827	113.84	197	0.56	34,984	58.45
WEBUYE	26,646	67.34	174	0.44	39,572	71.37
SIRISIA	32,752	114.71	68	0.24	26,553	55.85
KANDUYI	22,443	71.81	181	0.58	31,254	76.84
BUMULA	27,708	70.38	52	0.13	39,367	95.70
AMAGORO	2,625	8.25	143	0.45	31,805	59.68
NAMBALE	10,683	54.52	125	0.64	19,594	42.94
BUTULA	9,913	54.40	187	1.03	18,222	63.72
FUNYULA	8,212	54.45	41	0.27	15,083	59.72
BUDALANGI	8,521	23.63	16	0.04	36,057	183.81
WESTERN TOTALS	338,120	49.37	3,429	0.60	684,834	66.78
NYANZA						
UGENYA	4,508	12.50	180	0.50	36,057	66.09
ALEGO	101	0.24	242	0.57	42,182	74.08
GEM	581	2.01	226	0.78	28,850	68.05
BONDO	157	0.58	93	0.35	26,955	69.94
RARIEDA	234	0.96	124	0.51	24,445	72.85
KISUMU TOWN EAST	527	2.17	444	1.83	24,300	66.01
KISUMU TOWN WEST	1,198	3.33	965	2.68	35,944	58.56
KISUMU RURAL	242	0.96	1,116	4.44	25,121	70.89
NYANDO	83	0.30	486	1.77	27,517	75.18
MUHORONI	353	1.14	289	0.93	30,933	70.21
NYAKACH	29	0.11	173	0.64	27,098	74.69
KASIPUL KABONDO	31	0.08	305	0.80	38,224	73.47
KARACHUONYO	55	0.17	238	0.73	32,415	75.04
RANGWE	169	0.45	672	1.81	37,168	70.48
NDHIWA	37	0.12	265	0.84	31,709	73.90
RONGO	151	0.42	302	0.84	36,155	69.11
MIGORI	235	0.79	260	0.88	29,711	66.22
URIRI	83	0.40	51	0.25	20,698	72.16
NYATIKE	29	0.11	95	0.36	26,560	72.59
MBITA	30	0.17	174	0.99	17,567	66.92
GWASI	27	0.16	24	0.15	16,368	69.16
KURIA	29	0.11	696	2.73	25,540	72.68
BONCHARI	175	1.00	756	4.33	17,457	64.88
S. MUGIRANGO	560	2.45	140	0.61	22,832	64.67
BOMACHOGE	405	1.48	297	1.09	27,354	62.95
BOBASI	83	0.25	500	1.48	33,709	73.36
NYARIBARI MASABA	115	0.49	1,146	4.84	23,687	62.56
NYARIBARI CHACHE	140	0.56	1,156	4.66	24,817	57.40
KITUTU CHACHE	697	2.12	1,739	5.30	32,824	62.44
KITUTU MASABA	698	2.30	172	0.57	30,298	60.55
WEST MUGIRANGO	2,625	9.10	459	1.59	28,862	67.23
NORTH MUGIRANGO BORABU	236	0.68	1,516	4.38	34,651	65.05
NYANZA TOTALS	14,623	1.69	16,301	1.67	918,006	68.22
GRAND TOTALS	505,704	8.19	488,600	7.91	6,173,171	68.36

Comparison of Presidential and Parliamentary Votes

	CONSTITUENCY	PRESIDENTIAL	PARLIAMENTARY	DIFFERENCE
	NAIROBI			
1	MAKADARA	45,605	45,475	130
2	KAMUKUNJI	33,326	32,624	702
3	STAREHE	49,861	50,176	-315
4	LANGATA	43,770	42,868	902
5	DAGORETTI	37,413	37,909	-496
6	WESTLANDS	48,484	49,144	-660
7	KASARANI	48,030	46,199	1,831
8	EMBAKASI	59,550	60,022	-472
	NAIROBI TOTALS	366,048	364,417	1,631
	COAST			
9	CHANGAMWE	34,536	35,098	-562
10	KISAUNI	31,769	32,488	-719
11	LIKONI	14,309	15,632	-1,523
12	MVITA	27,966	28,094	-126
13	MSAMBWENI	38,493	38,245	248
14	MATUGA	24,302	23,130	1,172
15	KINANGO	19,898	20,304	-406
16	BAHARI	32,725	32,777	-52
17	KALOLENI	29,104	28,806	298
18	GANZE	12,167	12,294	-127
19	MALINDI	25,225	24,678	547
20	MAGARINI	14,066	14,268	-202
21	GARSEN	12,926	12,955	-29
22	GALOLE	10,567	10,439	128
23	BURA	8,703	8,754	-51
24	LAMU EAST	6,802	6,858	-56
25	LAMU WEST	13,613	13,742	-129
26	TAVETA	11,379	11,416	-39
27	WUNDANYI	11,574	11,887	-313
28	MWATATE	13,768	14,273	-505
29	VOI	13,755	13,727	28
	COAST TOTALS	407,448	409,867	-2,418
	NORTH EASTERN			
30	DUJIS	16,596	16,550	46
31	LAGDERA	6,938	6,928	10
32	FAFI	4,115	4,126	-11
33	IJARA	5,326	5,245	81
34	WAJIR NORTH	4,081	4,079	2
35	WAJIR WEST	10,260	10,254	6
36	WAJIR EAST	9,509	9,503	6
37	WAJIR SOUTH	6,957	6,925	32
38	MANDERA WEST	7,997	8,020	-23
39	MANDERA CENTRAL	11,006	11,061	-55
40	MANDERA EAST	13,941	11,081	2,860
	NORTH EASTERN TOTALS	96,726	93,772	2,954
	EASTERN			
41	MOYALE	16,708	16,776	-68
42	NORTH HERR	7,848	7,845	3
43	SAKU	9,855	9,875	-20
44	LAISAMIS	7,327	-	7,327
45	ISIOLO NORTH	14,957	15,742	-785
46	ISIOLO SOUTH	6,503	6,509	-6
47	IGEMBE	31,754	32,152	-398
48	NTONYIRI	24,930	24,917	13
49	TIGANIA WEST	21,224	21,200	24
50	TIGANIA EAST	27,778	28,154	-376
51	NORTH IMENTI	52,916	52,304	612
52	CENTRAL IMENTI	41,498	41,093	405
53	SOUTH IMENTI	49,902	51,601	-1,699
54	NITHI	57,070	52,796	4,274
55	THARAKA	20,588	21,265	-677
56	MANYATTA	40,482	40,588	-106
57	RUNYENJES	37,552	37,336	216
58	GACHOKA	24,654	24,914	-260
59	SIKAGO	18,536	18,660	-122
60	MWINGI NORTH	34,726	35,739	-1,013
61	MWINGI SOUTH	32,167	31,978	189
62	KITUI WEST	33,324	34,868	-1,544
63	KITUI CENTRAL	38,779	38,800	-21
64	MUTITO	19,666	19,544	122
65	KITUI SOUTH	21,700	21,431	269
66	MASINGA	23,820	23,747	73
67	YATTA	24,688	26,795	-2,107
68	KANGUNDO	45,711	45,836	-125
69	KATHIANI	35,002	34,927	75
70	MACHAKOS TOWN	45,039	45,019	20
71	MWALA	42,382	39,838	2,544
72	MBOONI	34,263	34,748	-485
73	KILOME	16,024	15,247	777
74	KAITI	21,658	21,453	205
75	MAKUENI	37,338	37,162	176
76	KIBWEZI	32,423	29,186	3,237
	EASTERN TOTALS	1,060,894	1,040,046	10,848

Comparison of Presidential and Parliamentary Votes

	CONSTITUENCY	PRESIDENTIAL	PARLIAMENTARY	DIFFERENCE
	CENTRAL			
77	KINANGOP	37,039	38,054	-1,015
78	KIPIPIRI	27,854	21,553	6,301
79	OL KALOU	37,824	38,840	-1,118
80	NDARAGWA	21,912	21,995	-83
81	TETU	27,277	27,223	54
82	KIENI	40,855	40,808	49
83	MATHIRA	51,440	46,741	4,699
84	OTHAYA	32,241	32,358	-115
85	MUKURUWEINI	28,783	28,873	110
86	NYERI TOWN	35,179	35,210	-31
87	MWEA	32,023	31,921	102
88	GICHUGU	38,564	38,931	-367
89	NDIA	28,799	27,483	1,316
90	KERUGOYA/KUTUS	30,759	30,495	264
91	KANGEMA	21,790	22,015	-225
92	MATHIOYA	27,530	27,935	-405
93	KIHARU	37,832	37,813	19
94	KIGUMO	31,325	20,182	11,143
95	MARAGWA	27,854	27,859	-5
96	KANDARA	39,803	39,619	184
97	GATANGA	39,553	39,823	-270
98	GATUNDU SOUTH	33,903	34,283	-380
99	GATUNDU NORTH	27,625	26,515	1,110
100	JUJA	40,672	51,001	-10,329
101	GITHUNGURI	44,165	44,352	-187
102	KIAMBAA	50,583	56,288	-5,705
103	KABETE	50,187	54,014	-3,827
104	LIMURU	33,041	33,120	-79
105	LARI	31,545	30,771	774
	CENTRAL TOTALS	1,008,787	1,008,731	56
	RIFT VALLEY			
106	TURKANA NORTH	13,414	13,316	98
107	TURKANA CENTRAL	16,740	16,549	191
108	TURKANA SOUTH	7,910	7,832	78
109	KACHELIBA	9,259	9,019	240
110	KAPENGURIA	29,598	-	29,598
111	SIGOR	25,199	-	25,199
112	SAMBURU WEST	26,716	22,418	4,298
113	SAMBURU EAST	7,394	7,218	176
114	KWANZA	36,719	37,047	-328
115	SABOTI	58,725	58,088	637
116	CHERANGANI	28,397	28,224	173
117	ELDORET NORTH	63,977	63,700	277
118	ELDORET EAST	39,426	-	39,426
119	ELDORET SOUTH	39,472	38,972	500
120	MARAKWET EAST	17,424	17,394	30
121	MARAKWET WEST	23,588	23,425	163
122	KEIYO NORTH	18,534	18,434	100
123	KEIYO SOUTH	27,615	27,527	88
124	MOSOP	33,848	33,927	-79
125	ALDAI	33,836	31,787	2,049
126	EMGWEN	38,938	38,440	498
127	TINDERET	40,278	40,400	-122
128	BARINGO EAST	13,253	-	13,253
129	BARINGO NORTH	27,649	-	27,649
130	BARINGO CENTRAL	38,317	38,225	92
131	MOGOTIO	15,583	15,588	-5
132	ELDAMA RAVINE	25,552	25,091	461
133	LAIKIPIA WEST	50,395	53,303	-2,908
134	LAIKIPIA EAST	30,802	32,292	-1,490
135	NAIVASHA	55,841	55,434	407
136	NAKURU TOWN	57,178	51,372	5,806
137	KURESOI	48,433	48,873	-440
138	MOLO	58,089	57,942	147
139	RONGAI	35,019	33,528	1,491
140	SUBUKIA	35,285	35,472	-187
141	KILGORIS	35,286	34,457	829
142	NAROK NORTH	32,957	-	32,957
143	NAROK SOUTH	32,294	32,758	-464
144	KAJIADO NORTH	41,894	43,854	-1,960
145	KAJIADO CENTRAL	22,460	23,335	-875
146	KAJIADO SOUTH	24,271	24,030	241
147	BOMET	49,025	-	49,025
148	CHEPALUNGU	35,999	-	35,999
149	SOTIK	38,010	37,828	182
150	KONOIN	33,774	32,989	785
151	BURET	34,298	33,899	399
152	BELGUT	43,075	-	43,075
153	AINAMOI	41,113	40,074	1,039
154	KIPKELION	50,599	-	50,599
	RIFT VALLEY TOTALS	1,643,488	1,281,807	361,681

Comparison of Presidential and Parliamentary Votes

	CONSTITUENCY	PRESIDENTIAL	PARLIAMENTARY	DIFFERENCE
	WESTERN			
155	MALAVA	33,129	35,863	-2,734
156	LUGARI	31,385	36,660	-5,275
157	MUMIAS	23,254	34,762	-11,508
158	MATUNGU	44,670	23,411	21,259
159	LURAMBI	24,911	43,972	-19,061
160	SHINYALU	15,463	24,876	-9,413
161	IKOLOMANI	11,031	18,754	-7,723
162	BUTERE	17,018	21,487	-4,469
163	KHWISERO	29,880	17,121	12,739
164	EMUHAYA	31,312	31,833	-521
165	SABATIA	18,952	29,342	-10,390
166	VIHIGA	31,391	19,429	11,962
167	HAMISI	32,384	31,087	1,297
168	MT. ELGON	45,583	39,457	6,126
169	KIMILILI	34,984	44,495	-9,511
170	WEBUYE	39,572	38,289	1,283
171	SIRISIA	28,553	39,451	-10,898
172	KANDUYI	31,254	28,606	2,648
173	BUMULA	39,367	31,217	8,150
174	AMAGORO	31,805	39,875	-8,070
175	NAMBALE	19,594	30,139	-10,545
176	BUTULA	18,222	19,444	-1,222
177	FUNYULA	15,083	18,236	-3,153
178	BUDALANGI	36,057	15,179	20,878
	WESTERN TOTALS	684,834	712,985	-28,151
	NYANZA			
179	UGENYA	36,057	36,312	-255
180	ALEGO	42,182	41,853	329
181	GEM	28,850	16,696	12,154
182	BONDO	26,955	26,955	0
183	RARIEDA	24,445	24,274	171
184	KISUMU TOWN EAST	24,300	25,011	-711
185	KISUMU TOWN WEST	35,944	35,943	1
186	KISUMU RURAL	25,121	25,039	82
187	NYANDO	27,517	27,246	271
188	MUHORONI	30,933	30,396	537
189	NYAKACH	27,098	26,693	405
190	KASIPUL KABONDO	38,224	38,312	-88
191	KARACHUONYO	32,415	32,391	24
192	RANGWE	37,168	36,312	856
193	NDHIWA	31,709	31,786	-77
194	RONGO	36,155	35,820	335
195	MIGORI	29,711	30,704	-993
196	URIRI	20,698	20,683	15
197	NYATIKE	26,560	26,920	-360
198	MBITA	17,567	17,567	0
199	GWASI	16,366	16,340	26
200	KURIA	25,540	24,502	1,038
201	BONCHARI	17,457	16,975	482
202	SOUTH MUGIRANGO	22,832	22,064	768
203	BOMACHOGE	27,354	26,806	548
204	BOBASI	33,709	30,879	2,830
205	NYARIBARI MASABA	23,687	24,055	-368
206	NYARIBARI CHACHE	24,817	24,661	156
207	KITUTU CHACHE	32,824	33,446	-622
208	KITUTU MASABA	30,298	30,092	206
209	WEST MUGIRANGO	28,862	29,114	-252
210	NORTH MUGIRANGO BORABU	34,651	34,991	-340
	NYANZA TOTALS	918,006	900,838	17,168
	GRAND TOTALS	6,173,171	5,809,462	363,709

Presidential Results for Women Candidates

	CONSTITUENCY	REGD. VOTERS	MAATHAI		NGILU		TOTAL VOTES FOR WOMEN	TOTAL VALID	WOMEN/VALID %
			Votes	%	Votes	%			
NAIROBI									
1	MAKADARA	91,611	12	0.03	7,117	15.61	7,129.00	45,605	15.63
2	KAMUKUNJI	65,942	18	0.05	3,604	10.81	3,622.00	33,326	10.87
3	STAREHE	109,217	23	0.05	5,808	11.65	5,831.00	49,961	11.69
4	LANGATA	81,123	18	0.04	4,575	10.45	4,593.00	43,770	10.49
5	DAGORETTI	69,483	23	0.06	3,280	8.77	3,303.00	37,413	8.83
6	WESTLANDS	102,386	21	0.04	4,005	8.26	4,026.00	48,494	8.30
7	KASARANI	91,520	16	0.03	3,046	6.34	3,062.00	48,030	6.38
8	EMBAKASI	114,354	18	0.03	8,272	13.89	8,290.00	59,550	13.92
	NAIROBI TOTALS	726,636	148	0.04	39,707	10.86	39,866.00	368,049	10.88
COAST									
9	CHANGAMWE	78,554	6	0.02	8,662	25.08	8,668.00	34,536	25.10
10	KISAUNI	76,591	17	0.05	3,666	11.54	3,683.00	31,769	11.59
11	LIKONI	42,367	11	0.08	1,549	10.63	1,560.00	14,309	10.90
12	MVITA	70,841	7	0.03	3,333	11.92	3,340.00	27,968	11.94
13	MSAMBWENI	60,203	29	0.08	3,026	7.86	3,055.00	38,493	7.94
14	MATUGA	37,755	12	0.05	1,646	6.77	1,658.00	24,302	6.82
15	KINANGO	33,524	2	0.01	884	4.44	886.00	19,898	4.45
16	BAHARI	64,264	17	0.05	1,113	3.40	1,130.00	32,725	3.45
17	KALOLENI	55,152	2	0.01	4,956	17.03	4,958.00	29,104	17.04
18	GANZE	27,371	3	0.02	942	7.74	945.00	12,167	7.77
19	MALINDI	52,649	7	0.03	1,708	6.76	1,713.00	25,225	6.79
20	MAGARINI	27,833	1	0.01	182	1.15	183.00	14,066	1.16
21	GARSEN	22,147	1	0.01	60	0.46	61.00	12,626	0.47
22	GALOLE	16,368	2	0.02	126	1.19	128.00	10,567	1.21
23	BURA	15,282	3	0.03	303	3.48	306.00	8,703	3.52
24	LAMU EAST	9,054	4	0.06	80	0.91	84.00	6,602	0.97
25	LAMU WEST	22,861	13	0.10	185	1.36	198.00	13,613	1.45
26	TAVETA	16,580	3	0.03	2,946	25.91	2,951.00	11,379	25.93
27	WUNDANYI	20,723	8	0.07	634	5.48	642.00	11,574	5.55
28	MWATATE	22,614	9	0.07	624	4.53	633.00	13,768	4.60
29	VOI	24,662	7	0.05	1,504	10.93	1,511.00	13,755	10.99
	COAST TOTALS	797,396	164	0.04	39,089	9.36	39,263.00	407,449	9.39
NORTH EASTERN									
30	DUJIS	27,764	-	-	195	1.17	195.00	16,596	1.17
31	LAGDERA	13,964	1	0.01	9	0.13	10.00	6,936	0.14
32	FAFI	8,502	-	-	4	0.10	4.00	4,115	0.10
33	IJARA	7,501	2	0.04	1	0.02	3.00	5,326	0.06
34	WAJIR NORTH	7,631	-	-	7	0.17	7.00	4,081	0.17
35	WAJIR WEST	19,041	-	-	52	0.51	52.00	10,280	0.51
36	WAJIR EAST	16,761	-	-	19	0.20	19.00	9,509	0.20
37	WAJIR SOUTH	16,182	-	-	8	0.11	8.00	6,957	0.11
38	MANDERA WEST	12,470	-	-	-	-	-	7,997	-
39	MANDERA CENTRAL	18,341	2	0.02	134	1.22	136.00	11,006	1.24
40	MANDERA EAST	23,517	35	0.25	11	0.08	46.00	13,941	0.33
	NORTH EASTERN TOTALS	171,674	40	0.04	440	0.46	480.00	96,726	0.60
EASTERN									
41	MOYALE	22,441	-	-	61	0.37	61.00	16,708	0.37
42	NORTH HERR	12,041	-	-	4	0.05	4.00	7,848	0.05
43	SAKU	12,550	1	0.01	64	0.65	65.00	9,855	0.66
44	LAISAMIS	11,851	1	0.01	14	0.19	15.00	7,327	0.20
45	ISIOLO NORTH	25,530	5	0.03	264	1.90	269.00	14,957	1.93
46	ISIOLO SOUTH	8,169	4	0.06	16	0.25	20.00	6,503	0.31
47	IGEMBE	49,507	37	0.12	481	1.51	518.00	31,754	1.63
48	NTONYIRI	38,842	8	0.03	252	1.01	260.00	24,930	1.04
49	TIGANIA WEST	32,362	112	0.53	159	0.75	271.00	21,224	1.28
50	TIGANIA EAST	35,651	111	0.40	121	0.44	232.00	27,778	0.84
51	NORTH IMENTI	74,661	65	0.12	1,504	2.84	1,569.00	52,916	2.97
52	CENTRAL IMENTI	52,981	41	0.10	1,783	4.30	1,824.00	41,498	4.40
53	SOUTH IMENTI	62,347	85	0.17	795	1.59	880.00	49,902	1.76
54	NITHI	78,962	123	0.22	1,086	1.90	1,209.00	57,070	2.12
55	THARAKA	26,955	66	0.32	188	0.91	254.00	20,588	1.23
56	MANYATTA	52,541	122	0.30	1,157	2.86	1,279.00	40,482	3.16
57	RUNYENJES	49,465	93	0.25	533	1.42	626.00	37,552	1.67
58	GACHOKA	31,937	11	0.04	5,061	20.53	5,072.00	24,654	20.57
59	SIKAKO	23,209	31	0.17	298	1.61	329.00	18,538	1.77
60	MWINGI NORTH	45,373	6	0.02	11,016	31.72	11,022.00	34,726	31.74
61	MWINGI SOUTH	43,836	2	0.01	19,988	62.14	19,990.00	32,167	62.14
62	KITUI WEST	46,603	5	0.02	28,084	84.28	28,089.00	33,324	84.29
63	KITUI CENTRAL	52,525	23	0.06	27,337	70.49	27,360.00	38,779	70.55
64	MUTITO	27,635	5	0.03	17,176	87.34	17,181.00	19,666	87.36
65	KITUI SOUTH	31,935	6	0.03	16,816	77.49	16,822.00	21,700	77.52
66	MASINGA	33,657	6	0.03	13,638	57.02	13,644.00	23,920	57.04
67	YATTA	37,688	10	0.04	6,362	25.77	6,372.00	24,668	25.81
68	KANGUNDO	63,125	31	0.07	27,212	59.53	27,243.00	45,711	59.60
69	KATHIANI	52,490	6	0.02	17,460	49.88	17,466.00	35,002	49.90
70	MACHAKOS TOWN	63,426	23	0.05	27,472	61.00	27,495.00	45,039	61.05
71	MWALA	48,698	47	0.11	31,125	73.44	31,172.00	42,362	73.55
72	MBOONI	49,495	16	0.05	21,867	63.82	21,883.00	34,263	63.87
73	KILOME	25,394	16	0.10	8,218	51.29	8,234.00	16,024	51.39
74	KAITI	34,569	16	0.07	12,366	57.10	12,382.00	21,658	57.17
75	MAKUENI	55,846	6	0.02	28,632	76.68	28,638.00	37,336	76.70
76	KIBWEZI	49,837	-	-	21,124	65.15	21,124.00	32,423	65.15
	EASTERN TOTALS	1,464,134	1,140	0.11	349,764	33.28	350,894.00	1,060,894	33.39

Presidential Results for Women Candidates

	CONSTITUENCY	REGD. VOTERS	MAATHAI		NGILU		TOTAL VOTES FOR WOMEN	TOTAL VALID	WOMEN/VALID %
			Votes	%	Votes	%			
	CENTRAL								
77	KINANGOP	47,315	9	0.02	363	0.98	372.00	37,039	1.00
78	KIPIRIRI	26,285	63	0.23	1,174	4.21	1,237.00	27,854	4.44
79	OL KALOU	48,589	39	0.10	455	1.20	494.00	37,824	1.31
80	NDARAGWA	27,432	9	0.04	161	0.73	170.00	21,912	0.78
81	TETU	31,302	64	0.23	42	0.15	106.00	27,277	0.39
82	KIENI	49,486	23	0.06	155	0.38	178.00	40,855	0.44
83	MATHIRA	61,394	30	0.06	203	0.39	233.00	51,440	0.45
84	OTHAYA	36,119	32	0.10	57	0.18	89.00	32,241	0.28
85	MUKURWEINI	33,419	35	0.12	85	0.30	120.00	28,783	0.42
86	NYERI TOWN	44,646	22	0.06	456	1.30	478.00	35,179	1.36
87	MWEA	43,170	48	0.15	334	1.04	382.00	32,023	1.19
88	GICHUGU	48,595	110	0.29	292	0.76	402.00	36,564	1.04
89	NDIA	33,892	9	0.03	277	1.03	286.00	26,799	1.07
90	KERUGOYA/KUTUS	43,574	64	0.21	374	1.22	438.00	30,759	1.42
91	KANGEMA	29,189	93	0.43	676	3.10	769.00	21,790	3.53
92	MATHIOYA	36,747	36	0.13	251	0.91	287.00	27,530	1.04
93	KIHARU	67,381	323	0.86	2,457	6.53	2,780.00	37,632	7.39
94	KIGUMO	42,741	54	0.17	478	1.53	532.00	31,325	1.70
95	MARAGWA	42,581	63	0.23	1,174	4.21	1,237.00	27,854	4.44
96	KANDARA	52,496	100	0.25	411	1.03	511.00	39,803	1.28
97	GATANGA	55,537	46	0.12	2,485	6.28	2,531.00	39,553	6.40
98	GATUNDU SOUTH	43,220	36	0.11	802	2.37	838.00	33,903	2.47
99	GATUNDU NORTH	33,884	38	0.14	629	2.28	667.00	27,625	2.41
100	JUJA	89,976	32	0.08	3,883	9.55	3,915.00	40,672	9.63
101	GITHUNGURI	53,884	58	0.13	1,396	3.16	1,454.00	44,185	3.29
102	KIAMBAA	68,747	41	0.08	3,961	7.83	4,002.00	50,583	7.91
103	KABETE	68,669	58	0.12	5,779	11.51	5,837.00	50,187	11.63
104	LIMURU	45,162	32	0.10	1,285	3.83	1,297.00	33,041	3.93
105	LARI	39,128	20	0.06	480	1.46	480.00	31,545	1.52
	CENTRAL TOTALS	1,344,660	1,587	0.16	30,536	3.04	32,122.00	1,006,787	3.19
	RIFT VALLEY								
106	TURKANA NORTH	26,433	1	0.01	34	0.25	35.00	13,414	0.26
107	TURKANA CENTRAL	33,833	1	0.01	58	0.35	59.00	16,740	0.35
108	TURKANA SOUTH	18,368	2	0.03	21	0.27	23.00	7,910	0.29
109	KACHELIBA	13,786	-	-	1	0.01	1.00	9,259	0.01
110	KAPENGURIA	36,520	1	0.00	173	0.58	174.00	29,596	0.59
111	SIGOR	31,840	-	-	13	0.05	13.00	25,199	0.05
112	SAMBURU WEST	31,020	-	-	27	0.10	27.00	26,716	0.10
113	SAMBURU EAST	10,827	2	0.03	21	0.28	23.00	7,394	0.31
114	KWANZA	48,931	11	0.03	121	0.33	132.00	36,719	0.36
115	SABOTI	82,838	36	0.06	532	0.91	568.00	58,725	0.97
116	CHERANGANY	37,054	5	0.02	168	0.59	173.00	28,397	0.61
117	ELDORET NORTH	90,947	12	0.02	736	1.15	748.00	63,977	1.17
118	ELDORET EAST	51,768	3	0.01	219	0.56	222.00	39,426	0.56
119	ELDORET SOUTH	52,615	17	0.04	299	0.76	316.00	39,472	0.80
120	MARAKWET EAST	20,965	1	0.01	16	0.09	17.00	17,424	0.10
121	MARAKWET WEST	28,014	3	0.01	28	0.12	31.00	23,598	0.13
122	KEIYO NORTH	21,948	2	0.01	34	0.18	38.00	18,534	0.19
123	KEIYO SOUTH	33,060	2	0.01	24	0.09	26.00	27,615	0.09
124	MOSOP	40,202	3	0.01	182	0.54	185.00	33,848	0.55
125	ALDAI	40,402	9	0.03	70	0.21	79.00	33,836	0.23
126	EMGWEN	50,041	11	0.03	192	0.49	203.00	38,938	0.52
127	TINDERET	52,972	10	0.02	128	0.32	138.00	40,278	0.34
128	BARINGO EAST	15,380	-	-	18	0.12	16.00	13,253	0.12
129	BARINGO NORTH	28,891	1	0.00	22	0.08	23.00	27,649	0.08
130	BARINGO CENTRAL	42,976	1	0.00	37	0.10	38.00	38,317	0.10
131	MOGOTIO	18,456	1	0.01	98	0.63	99.00	15,583	0.64
132	ELDAMA RAVINE	31,181	5	0.02	43	0.17	48.00	25,552	0.19
133	LAIKIPIA WEST	66,393	16	0.03	208	0.41	224.00	50,395	0.44
134	LAIKIPIA EAST	45,933	8	0.03	439	1.43	447.00	30,802	1.45
135	NAIVASHA	89,774	31	0.06	889	1.59	920.00	55,841	1.65
136	NAKURU TOWN	89,386	8	0.01	1,689	2.95	1,697.00	57,178	2.97
137	KURESOI	54,819	103	0.21	66	0.14	169.00	48,433	0.35
138	MOLO	75,942	45	0.08	432	0.74	477.00	58,089	0.82
139	RONGAI	44,778	13	0.04	116	0.33	129.00	35,019	0.37
140	SUBUKIA	45,303	15	0.04	201	0.57	216.00	35,295	0.61
141	KILGORIS	47,756	1	0.00	66	0.19	67.00	35,266	0.19
142	NAROK NORTH	46,868	15	0.05	247	0.75	262.00	32,957	0.79
143	NAROK SOUTH	48,092	3	0.01	56	0.17	59.00	32,294	0.18
144	KAJIADO NORTH	64,651	12	0.03	1,076	4.00	1,088.00	41,894	4.03
145	KAJIADO CENTRAL	28,385	1	0.00	599	2.67	600.00	22,460	2.67
146	KAJIADO SOUTH	32,281	7	0.03	604	2.49	611.00	24,271	2.52
147	BOMET	55,673	5	0.01	133	0.27	138.00	49,025	0.28
148	CHEPALUNGU	39,950	3	0.01	41	0.11	44.00	35,999	0.12
149	SOTIK	44,128	3	0.01	108	0.28	111.00	38,010	0.29
150	KONOI	44,100	5	0.01	71	0.21	76.00	33,774	0.23
151	BURET	38,456	-	-	107	0.31	107.00	34,298	0.31
152	BELGUT	50,170	6	0.01	49	0.11	55.00	43,075	0.13
153	AINAMOI	53,900	4	0.01	159	0.39	163.00	41,113	0.40
154	KIPKELION	57,697	7	0.01	78	0.15	83.00	50,599	0.16
	RIFT VALLEY TOTALS	2,166,499	481	0.03	11,346	0.69	11,796.00	1,643,486	0.72

Presidential Results for Women Candidates

	CONSTITUENCY	REGD. VOTERS	MAATHAI		NGILU		TOTAL VOTES FOR WOMEN	TOTAL VALID	WOMEN/VALID %
			Votes	%	Votes	%			
WESTERN									
155	MALAYA	53,883	2	0.01	147	0.44	149.00	33,129	0.45
156	LUGARI	51,391	-	-	223	0.71	223.00	31,385	0.71
157	MUMIAS	51,673	16	0.07	167	0.72	183.00	23,254	0.79
158	MATUNGU	33,657	4	0.01	422	0.94	426.00	44,670	0.95
159	LURAMBI	70,344	19	0.08	261	1.05	280.00	24,911	1.12
160	SHINYALU	41,996	10	0.06	65	0.42	75.00	15,463	0.49
161	IKOLOMANI	28,874	4	0.04	40	0.36	44.00	11,031	0.40
162	BUTERE	33,548	3	0.02	125	0.73	128.00	17,018	0.75
163	KHWISERO	27,534	6	0.02	115	0.39	121.00	29,860	0.41
164	EMUHAYA	53,926	66	0.27	284	0.91	370.00	31,312	1.18
165	SABATIA	41,805	8	0.04	143	0.75	151.00	18,952	0.80
166	VIHIGA	28,871	17	0.05	74	0.24	91.00	31,391	0.29
167	HAMISI	47,788	12	0.04	133	0.41	145.00	32,384	0.45
168	MT ELGON	39,895	10	0.02	46	0.10	56.00	45,583	0.12
169	KIMILILI	59,856	37	0.11	197	0.56	234.00	34,984	0.67
170	WEBUYE	55,447	38	0.09	174	0.44	210.00	39,572	0.53
171	SIRISIA	51,121	17	0.06	68	0.24	85.00	28,553	0.30
172	KANDUYI	40,672	8	0.03	181	0.58	189.00	31,254	0.60
173	BUMULA	41,134	14	0.04	52	0.13	66.00	39,387	0.17
174	AMAGORO	53,291	5	0.02	143	0.45	148.00	31,805	0.47
175	NAMBALE	45,830	12	0.06	125	0.64	137.00	19,594	0.70
176	BUTULA	28,598	5	0.03	187	1.03	192.00	18,222	1.05
177	FUNYULA	25,258	6	0.04	41	0.27	47.00	15,083	0.31
178	BUDALANGI	19,816	1	0.00	16	0.04	17.00	36,057	0.05
WESTERN TOTALS		1,028,867	338	0.08	3,429	0.60	3,787.00	684,834	0.66
NYANZA									
179	UGENYA	54,561	6	0.02	180	0.50	186.00	36,057	0.52
180	ALEGO	58,943	2	0.00	242	0.57	244.00	42,182	0.58
181	GEM	42,398	2	0.01	226	0.78	228.00	28,850	0.79
182	BONDO	38,539	1	0.00	93	0.35	94.00	26,955	0.35
183	RARIEDA	33,554	3	0.01	124	0.51	127.00	24,445	0.52
184	KISUMU TOWN EAST	36,813	2	0.01	444	1.83	446.00	24,300	1.84
185	KISUMU TOWN WEST	81,376	11	0.03	965	2.68	976.00	35,944	2.72
186	KISUMU RURAL	35,436	3	0.01	1,116	4.44	1,119.00	25,121	4.45
187	NYANDO	36,802	1	0.00	486	1.77	487.00	27,517	1.77
188	MUHORONI	44,066	3	0.01	289	0.93	292.00	30,933	0.94
189	NYAKACH	36,279	-	-	173	0.64	173.00	27,098	0.64
190	KASIPUL KABONDO	52,025	4	0.01	305	0.80	309.00	38,224	0.81
191	KARACHUONYO	43,196	2	0.01	238	0.73	240.00	32,415	0.74
192	RANGWE	52,734	29	0.08	672	1.81	701.00	37,188	1.89
193	NDHIWA	42,910	2	0.01	285	0.84	287.00	31,709	0.84
194	RONGO	52,316	1	0.00	302	0.84	303.00	36,155	0.84
195	MIGORI	44,867	-	-	280	0.88	280.00	29,711	0.88
196	URIRI	28,684	2	0.01	51	0.25	53.00	20,698	0.28
197	NYATIKE	36,589	2	0.01	95	0.36	97.00	26,560	0.37
198	MBITA	25,490	1	0.01	174	0.99	175.00	17,567	1.00
199	GWASI	23,665	-	-	24	0.15	24.00	16,366	0.15
200	KURIA	35,141	4	0.02	696	2.73	700.00	25,540	2.74
201	BONCHARI	28,906	32	0.18	756	4.33	788.00	17,457	4.51
202	SOUTH MUGIRANGO	35,306	-	-	140	0.61	140.00	22,832	0.61
203	BOMACHOGE	43,456	15	0.05	297	1.09	312.00	27,354	1.14
204	BOBASI	45,950	5	0.01	500	1.48	505.00	33,709	1.50
205	NYARIBARI MASABA	37,864	11	0.05	1,146	4.84	1,157.00	23,687	4.88
206	NYARIBARI CHACHE	43,237	66	0.27	1,156	4.66	1,222.00	24,817	4.92
207	KITUTU CHACHE	52,568	24	0.07	1,739	5.30	1,783.00	32,824	5.37
208	KITUTU MASABA	50,041	31	0.10	172	0.57	203.00	30,298	0.67
209	WEST MUGIRANGO	42,931	12	0.04	459	1.59	471.00	28,862	1.63
210	NORTH MUGIRANGO BORABU	53,269	50	0.14	1,516	4.38	1,566.00	34,651	4.52
NYANZA TOTALS		1,348,702	327	0.04	16,301	1.67	16,628.00	818,006	1.70
GRAND TOTALS		9,030,167	4,196	0.07	488,600	7.91	492,796.00	6,173,171	7.88



Documents

Members of the Electoral Commission of Kenya

Samuel Kivuitu (Chairman)

Gabriel Mukele

Margaret Kenyatta

Isaiah Cheluget

Francis Nganatha

Bashir Sheikh Ali

Silas Buko Tunu

Eliphelet Njiru M'Sambu

Edward Chemoiwo Cheronono

Henry Jura

Nicholas Ng'ang'a

Stephenson Mageto

Abuya Abuya

Habel Nyamu

Justice (Rtd.) William Mbaya

Kihara Muttu

Ambassador (Rtd) Jack Tumwa

Brig (Rtd) Reuben Musonye

Philip Gachoka

Samuel Muiya Manyunza

Rachel Muzera

Italics indicate commissioners appointed on November 30, 1997, as a result of the administrative arrangement brokered by the Inter-Parties Parliamentary Group (IPPG).

Calendar of Events Culminating in the 1997 General Elections

- May, 1994: Constitutional reform movement emerges. Its main actors are from civil society organisations.
- October, 1994: A model constitution *The Kenya We Want* developed by the Law Society of Kenya (LSK), the Kenya Human Rights Commission (KHRC), and the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) Kenya Section is launched.
- November, 1994: A broad-based constitutional reform initiative, the Citizens Coalition for Constitutional Change (4Cs), is launched. Its single objective is to pursue the goal of a new constitutional order in Kenya.
- Dec. 31, 1994: In his New Year's message, President Moi promises a review of the constitution beginning in 1995 to be undertaken with the assistance of foreign experts.
- 1995-1996: The Kenya government fails to honour the promise to review the constitution. Pressure for reform continues to build and mass action programmes initiated by civil society intensify.
- March, 1997: The National Constituent Assembly (NCA) and its executive arm, the National Convention Executive Committee (NCEC) emerge and lead the constitutional reform movement.
- April 3-6, 1997: 1st Limuru Conference on Constitutional Reform convened by NCA.
- April 6, 1997: NCA issues a declaration on minimum facilitative reforms before elections.
- May 22, 1997: President Moi declares that reforms will only be undertaken after elections.
- May 29, 1997: A pro-reforms rally at Kamukunji Grounds, Nairobi, is violently dispersed by police, and a number of people are injured.
- May 29, 1997: Voter registration begins (scheduled to end on June 22).

- June 6, 1997: NCK asks the government to heed demands for constitutional change before elections.
- June 8, 1997: Churches join in and urge government to accept and implement reforms before elections.
- June 13, 1997: Attorney General publishes Peaceful Assemblies Bill to replace the Public Order Act.
- June 19, 1997: Budget Day. Opposition MPs persistently interrupt the budget speech, which has to be read amid shouting and heckling in support of pre-election reforms.
- June 19, 1997: Attorney General reiterates the government's position that there is no time to carry out reforms before elections.
- June 22, 1997: Voter registration period but is extended to June 24.
- June 24, 1997: Voter registration is extended to June 30.
- June 25, 1997: Nairobi-based envoys write to President Moi urging him to carry out reforms. The government approves applications for licenses for pro-reform rallies.
- June 30, 1997: Voter registration is closed. Calls for a further extension are refused.
- June 30, 1997: A group of KANU MPs urges the government to initiate reforms.
- July 7, 1997: 13 people die when police break up pro-reform rallies in Nairobi and other centres dubbed "Saba Saba" (7th of July).
- July 11, 1997: President Moi promises to convene KANU's National Delegates Conference (NDC) and the National Governing Council (NGC) to deliberate on reforms.
- July 11, 1997: KANU's National Executive Committee (NEC) recommends the publication of a bill to set up a constitutional review commission.
- July 27, 1997: An inter-parties meeting of 110 KANU and opposition MPs declares support for minimum reforms before elections.

- August 4, 1997: The government publishes two bills — The Statute Law (Repeals and Miscellaneous) Amendment Bill and the Constitution of Kenya Review Commission Bill — initiating a process of negotiation on reforms.
- August 8, 1997: The NCEC's "Nane Nane" (8th of August) rally is blocked by police.
- September 3, 1997: An *ad hoc* Inter-Parties Parliamentary Group (IPPG), composed of elected members of parliament from KANU and the opposition emerges and takes charge of the reform negotiations.
- September 3, 1997: An IPPG meeting rejects NCEC and forms a 13-member committee, split into three technical areas, to spearhead constitutional review negotiations.
- September 3, 1997: IPPG presses for the appointment of 10 additional electoral commissioners to be nominated by opposition parties.
- September 4, 1997: IPPG denounces mass action and reiterates its commitment to minimal reforms before elections.
- September 9, 1997: IPPG plenary meeting adopts, on full-package basis, wide-ranging reforms proposed by the three IPPG technical committees.
- September 12, 1997: NCEC rejects the reforms package and instead agitates for intensified mass action.
- September 12, 1997: An 18-member Religious Community Facilitation Team (RCFT) consisting of NCCCK, the Catholics, Evangelicals, Hindus, and Muslims attempts a mediation between the opposition and KANU. KANU fails to attend a meeting organised for this purpose.
- September 14, 1997: Leading opposition figures, including DP's Mwai Kibaki, accept the reforms deal.
- September 15, 1997: Churches and envoys back the IPPG reforms package.

- September 25, 1997: Constitution of Kenya (Amendment Bill) 1997 is published.
- October 3, 1997: A new party, Ford People, is registered with Mr Kenneth Matiba listed as party chairman. Matiba, however, disowns the party.
- October 7, 1997: Nine more political parties are registered — Liberal Party of Kenya (LPK), People's Party of Kenya (PPK), Kenya Socialist Party (KSP), New People's Democratic Party (NPDP), Democracy Assistance Party (DAP), Reform of Political and Kenya Union (RPKU), Green African Party (GAP), Umma Patriotic Party (UPK), and Kenya Nationalist People's Democratic Party (KNPDP).
- October 10, 1997: A pro-reforms rally dubbed "*Kumi Kumi*" (10th of October) is violently broken up by security forces.
- October 19, 1997: Parliament begins debate on the Statute Law (Repeals and Miscellaneous Amendment) Bill, the Constitution of Kenya (Amendment Bill), and the Constitution of Kenya Review Commission Bill.
- October 30, 1997: Parliament passes the Statute Law (Repeals and Miscellaneous Amendments) Bill and the Constitution of Kenya (Amendment) Bill.
- October 31, 1997: President Moi appoints 10 new Commissioners nominated by opposition political parties.
- November 6, 1997: Parliament passes the Constitution of Kenya Review Commission Bill.
- November 7, 1997: Reform bills receive Presidential assent.
- November 10, 1997: Parliament is dissolved.
- November 12, 1997: Speaker of the National Assembly issues writs declaring parliamentary seats vacant.
- November 13, 1997: ECK names December 29, 1997, as the election date.
- November 26, 1997: Safina is registered, the last party to be registered before the 1997 general elections.

- December 3, 1997: Presidential nominations are held.
- December 7, 1997: Deadline for party nominations.
- December 8-9, 1997: Parliamentary and civic candidates present their nomination papers to the ECK.
- December 10, 1997: Election campaigns officially commence.
- December 28, 1997: Campaigns officially close.
- December 29, 1997: Election Day. However, due to logistical problems voting is extended to December 30, 1997.
- January 5, 1998: Daniel arap Moi, winner of the presidential elections by a plurality of votes, is sworn in as President for a final five-year term.

Registered Political Parties as of December 29, 1997

1. National Development Party of Kenya (NDP)
2. Democratic Party of Kenya (DP)
3. Kenya African National Union (KANU)
4. Social Democratic Party (SDP)
5. FORD-Kenya (FORD-K)
6. FORD-Asili (FORD-A)
7. FORD-People (FORD-P)
8. Federal Party of Kenya (FPK)
9. Labour Party Democracy (LPD)
10. Liberal Party of Kenya (LPK)
11. Kenya National Congress (KNC)
12. Kenya Social Congress (KSC)
13. Kenya National Democratic Alliance (KENDA)
14. Kenya Nationalist People's Democratic Party (KNPDP)
15. Kenya Socialist Party (KSP)
16. United Patriotic Party of Kenya (UPPK)
17. Umma Patriotic Party of Kenya (UMMA)
18. Party of Independent Candidates of Kenya (PICK)
19. Peoples Party of Kenya (PPK)
20. Green African Party (GAP)
21. Reform of Political and Kenya Union (RPKU)
22. Democratic Assistance Party (DAP)
23. Safina
24. Shirikisho Party of Kenya (SPK)
25. Republican Reformed Party
26. New Peoples Democratic Party (NPDP)
27. Economic Independence Party (EIP)

Electoral Code of Conduct

Statute Law (Repeals and Miscellaneous Amendments) Act No. 10 of 1997, Fourth Schedule (s. 34). *Kenya Gazette Supplement, Acts, 1997*. Nairobi, November 7, 1997, pp. 864-874.

1. Subject to paragraph 6, this code shall be subscribed by —

(a) every political party participating in the election of a President, a member of the National Assembly, and a member of a local authority; and

(b) every candidate nominated, as a condition of the candidate's respective rights to be so nominated.

2. In this code unless the context otherwise requires —

“electoral area” means a constituency under this act or an electoral area under the Local Government Act and defined in the Local Government Election Rules.

“electoral court” means the High Court under this act or, as the case may be, the Resident Magistrate's Court under the Local Government Act.

“electoral laws” means the Constitution, the National Assembly and Presidential Elections Act, and subsidiary legislation thereunder as they relate to the presidential, parliamentary, and local government elections.

3. The object of this code is to promote conditions conducive to the conduct of free and fair elections and a climate of tolerance, in which political activity may take place without fear or coercion, intimidation, or reprisals.

4. All registered political parties and other persons bound by this code shall endeavour to promote the object of the code to enable free political campaigning and open public debate to take place in all parts of Kenya during any election period.

5. Registered political parties and candidates do, by subscribing to this code, further commit themselves —

(a) to give wide publicity to this code;

- (b) to promote voter education campaigns which may be conducted in concert with the Electoral Commission;
- (c) to condemn, avoid, and take steps to prevent violence and intimidation;
- (d) to instruct their candidates, office bearers, members, and supporters of their obligations under this code; and
- (e) generally, to affirm the rights of all participants in an election —
 - (i) to express divergent political opinions;
 - (ii) to debate and contest the policies and programmes of other parties;
 - (iii) to canvass freely for membership and support from voters;
 - (iv) subject to the Public Order Act, to hold public meetings;
 - (v) to distribute non-offensive electoral literature and campaign materials;
 - (vi) to publish and distribute non-offensive notices and advertisements;
 - (vii) to erect non-offensive banners, placards, and posters;
 - (vii) to promote free electoral campaigns by all lawful means; and
 - (ix) to cooperate with the Electoral Commission and the relevant government and other authorities in the investigation of issues and allegations arising during the election period.

6. All those bound by this code shall, throughout any election period, have the duty —

- (a) to publicly and repeatedly condemn violence and intimidation and to avoid the use of language or any kind of action which may lead to violence or intimidation, whether to demonstrate party strength, gain any kind of advantage, or for any other reason;
- (b) to refrain from any action involving violence or intimidation;
- (c) to ensure that no arms or weapons of any kind are carried or displayed at political meetings or in the course of any march, demonstration, or other event of a political nature;
- (d) to refrain from publishing or repeating false, defamatory, or inflammatory allegations concerning any person or party connected with the election;

(e) subject to the Public Order Act, to cooperate and liaise in good faith with other parties to avoid, in so far as possible, arrangements involving public meetings, demonstrations, rallies, or marches taking place at the same time and venue as similar events organised by other parties;

(f) to do nothing to impede the right of any party, through its candidates, canvassers, and representatives, to have reasonable access to voters for the purposes of conducting voter education, fund raising, canvassing membership, and soliciting support;

(g) to avoid plagiarising the symbols, colours, or acronyms of other parties; and to discourage and prevent the removal, disfigurement, or destruction of political campaign materials of any party;

(h) to refrain from offering any inducement or reward to any person in consideration of such person either joining any party; attending or not attending any political event; voting or not voting (either at all, or in any particular manner); or accepting, refusing, or withdrawing such person's nomination as a candidate in the election;

(i) to refrain from any attempt to abuse a position of power, privilege, or influence, including parental, patriarchal, or traditional authority, for political purposes, including any offer of reward or threat of penalty;

(j) to avoid any discrimination based on age, race, tribe, place of origin or residence, or other local connection, political opinions, colour, creed, or sex in connection with the election and political activity;

(k) in relation to the Electoral Commission

(i) to acknowledge the commission's authority in the conduct of the election;

(ii) to ensure the attendance and participation of representatives at meetings of any parties' liaison committee and other forums convened by or on behalf of the Electoral Commission;

(iii) to implement the orders and directions of the Electoral Commission;

(iv) to facilitate the commission's right of access through official observers and other representatives to all public political meetings or other electoral activities;

(v) to cooperate in the official investigation of issues and allegations arising during any election period;

(vi) to take all reasonable steps to ensure the safety of observers and officers of the Electoral Commission from exposure to insult, hazard, or threat in the course of their official duties; and

(vii) to establish and maintain effective lines of communication with the Electoral Commission;

(l) to reassure voters with regard to the secrecy and integrity of the ballot and, furthermore, to reaffirm the provisions of section 25 of this act to the effect that no one should know how any other person has voted;

(m) to take reasonable steps to discipline and restrain their party office bearers, employees, candidates, members, and supporters who —

(i) infringe this code;

(ii) engage in activities of commission or omission which amount to offenses under the electoral laws or otherwise fail to observe this code;

(iii) contravene or fail to comply with any provision of the electoral laws;

(n) without prejudice to the right to present a petition to an election court, to accept the final outcome of the election and the commission's declaration and certification of the results thereof.

7. The registered political parties shall execute this code of conduct through the hand of their respective authorised leaders to signify their acceptance to be bound by the provisions of this code and as their committal to strive to ensure that their members and supporters abide by the code at all stages of the elections for President, the National Assembly, and local authorities.

8. Where, in the opinion of the commission, any political party participating in any election or the leader or any office bearer, member, or supporter of such political party or any candidate at any election, in any way infringes any provision of this code, the commission may —

(a) in the case of any political party and, subject to paragraph (b), also in the case of the leader or any office bearer, member, or supporter of such political party or candidate, impose upon that party one or more of the following penalties or sanctions of which any or all may be suspended on specific conditions:

(i) a formal warning;

(ii) a fine determined by the commission;

(iii) notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, an order prohibiting such political party, whether permanently or for a specified period, from utilising any public media time, through the television or radio broadcasting services of such media as have been or may be allocated to the political party for electoral purposes;

(iv) an order prohibiting the political party —

(aa) from holding particular public meetings, demonstrations, or marches, or any kind of such meetings, demonstrations, or marches;

(bb) from entering any specified electoral area for purposes of canvassing for membership, or for any other electoral purpose;

(cc) from erecting placards or banners, or from publishing and distributing campaign literature;

(dd) from publishing or distributing campaign literature and electoral advertising;

or limiting the rights of the political party to do so, and such prohibition or limitation shall be notified to the relevant regulating officers under the Public Order Act in the affected places or electoral areas for purposes of that act.

(b) in the case of the leader or candidate or any office bearer, member, or supporter of such political party impose any one or more of the penalties or sanctions referred to in sub-paragraph (a) (i) or (ii) of this paragraph.

9. Without prejudice to the provisions of paragraph 8, the commission may either of its own motion or in consequence of any report made to it, institute proceedings in the High Court in its unlimited original civil jurisdiction as may be appropriate in the case of any alleged infringement of the code by a political party or any candidate and where such court finds the infringement of the provisions of this code —

(a) in the case of a political party, any act or omission involving violence or intimidation or a gross or systematic violation of the rights of any political party, candidate, or voter, such court may in addition to or in substitution for any other penalty or sanction specified in sub-paragraph (a) of paragraph 8 make an order canceling the right of such party to participate in the election concerned; or

(b) in the case of the leader or any office bearer, member, or supporter of such political party or of any candidate, that any act or omission involving violence or gross or systematic intimidation of the rights of any political party, candidate, or voter, such court may in addition to or in substitution of any other penalty or sanction specified in paragraph 8(a) (i) and (ii) make an order disqualifying, in the case of a person who is a candidate, such person from being a candidate or delating the name of such candidate from the list or lists of candidates concerned.

10. There shall be no appeal from an order of the commission imposing a penalty or sanction under paragraph 8(a), but a party aggrieved by the decision of the commission shall have direct access to the High Court under Order 53 of the Civil Procedure Rules.

11. In making its decision regarding appropriate penalties or sanctions, the commission or, as the case may be, the High Court shall have regard to any other legal consequences that may result from civil or criminal proceedings instituted by reason of the same occurrence.

12. The High Court shall ensure that any proceedings initiated under paragraph 9 are dealt with in priority to all other matters brought before it, and that the decision of the court is given before the date of the election concerned.

13. The procedure of the High Court in cases falling within the provisions of this code shall, without prejudice to paragraph 10, be in accordance with such rules of procedure as shall from time to time be promulgated by the Chief Justice in consultation with the commission.

The Role of Election Observers and the Code of Ethics

(The Electoral Commission of Kenya, 1992)

Observers have now become a common feature at elections, especially in the third world. An observer is an accredited person who watches the election process to see whether it is conducted in accordance with the electoral law of the country concerned and that it is free and fair.

Observer or Monitor?

These two terms do not carry the same meaning. An observer is generally a spectator as described in paragraph one above while a monitor is almost an official participant within the polling station at which he/she must exclusively operate. A monitor may point out the errors noted to the presiding officer whereas the observer communicates with the presiding officer at the latter's request. While the law in Kenya, i.e., Regulation 23(1) (e) of the Presidential and Parliamentary Elections Regulations 1992, allows the presence of observers at the polling stations, there is no provision that permits the accreditation of monitors at Kenya elections.

The Role of an Observer

Since one of the goals of using observers is to see whether elections are free, fair, or impartial, observers may wish to take an interest in watching the political campaign, the role of political parties, the role of the media, the responsibilities of the security personnel and how they are exercised, and the democratic processes, which would include among other things the general layout of polling stations, adequate voting secrecy, and the overall administration of the polling sites, but in particular—

- (i) maintenance of peaceful and orderly voting process;
- (ii) documentation and recording of accountable equipment and papers;
- (iii) display of empty boxes before voting;
- (iv) sealing before and after polling;
- (v) maintenance of law and order;
- (vi) transportation of ballot boxes from the polling stations to the counting centres;

- (vii) checking of the seals to the aperture and elsewhere before opening of ballot boxes;
- (viii) noting the sealed packets of accountable stationery from the polling stations and the presiding officers' statement of papers issued;
- (ix) the manner in which votes are counted;
- (x) collating and correlating of results; and
- (xi) visible indication that the presiding officer is in control of the entire polling situation.

There shall be international and domestic observers appointed by either foreign governments or non-governmental and local non-governmental organisations.

The Code of Ethics for Observers is based on the following understanding—

- (a) that an international observer is a visitor to the country where the elections are taking place; whereas domestic observers are citizens of the country where elections are taking place;
- (b) that his/her role is simply to watch the process and report to his/her principals and as appropriate to the Electoral Commission and to inform the international and domestic communities whether in his/her objective opinion the electoral process was free and fair;
- (c) that over and above the considerations of the electoral laws being observed, the Electoral Commission will allow a wider scope for observers covering political activities, the role of the media, and the responsibilities of the security personnel and how they are exercised.

All observers, i.e., domestic and international, shall be required by the Electoral Commission to observe the following code of behaviour—

1. To be non-partisan at all times and be seen to be so. For example, they shall not express partisan political views whether by word, conduct, or otherwise;
2. To respect the role, status, and authority of the presiding officer at all times and accordingly to exercise discretion in seeking to communicate with the presiding officer;
3. Not to communicate with the voters at any time within the precincts of the polling station;

4. Not to interfere in the electoral process at any time;
5. To undertake to report objectively the results of the process and the election and inform/submit to the Electoral Commission the irregularities noted;
6. To inform the commission of the hotel/place of residence and in case of change to advise the Electoral Commission of the same;
7. To inform the Electoral Commission in a brief written statement the object of their observing the elections in Kenya;
8. To agree to attend the briefing of all observers by the Electoral Commission;
9. To apply to the Electoral Commission for approval or accreditation; and
10. To wear the Elections Commission Observers' Official Badge or other identification at all times.

Particulars

The Electoral Commission reserves the right to request that the observers provide the following information—

1. Name, address, fax, and telephone number of the sponsoring authority;
2. Source and nature of funding;
3. Aims and objectives of the sponsoring authority;
4. Organisational rules of the sponsoring authority;
5. Statement of non-partisanship in the context of Kenya;
6. Whether you have knowledge of political trends of Kenya's history;
7. For domestic observers evidence of working knowledge of both English and Swahili languages and any local vernacular; and
8. Acceptance of the Electoral Commission's right to admit or withdraw accreditation for those who violate the law of the host country.

Commission's Rating of Observers' Presence

The Electoral Commission realises that the presence and balanced reporting of observers will help in lending local as well as international credence to the conduct of free and fair elections. All accredited observers are therefore assured that their presence is welcome.

Members of the Project Steering Committee (PSC)

Institute for Education in Democracy (IED)

Grace Githu
Marren Akatsa-Bukachi
Francis Ang'ila
Cleophas Torori
Alice Mumbuchi

Catholic Justice and Peace Commission (CJPC)

Antony Njue
Peter Weke
Rev Peter Gichure

National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK)

Samuel Kabue
Susie Ibutu
Moses Smith
Gideon Ochanda

Members of the Strategic Management Board (SMB)

IED

Githu Muigai
Charles Nyachae
Aoko Midiwo-Odembo

CJPC

Bishop Ndingi Mwana a' Nzeki
Rev Michael Ruwa

NCCK

Rev Mutava Musyimi
Rev Peter Disem
Bethwel Kiplagat



ELECTORAL COMMISSION OF KENYA

Telephone: Nairobi 222072
When replying please address the
Chairman, Electoral Commission
of Kenya

Ref No _____
and date _____

ANNIVERSARY TOWERS
6TH FLOOR
UNIVERSITY WAY
P.O. Box 45371
NAIROBI

6th December, 1997

Ms. Grace Githu
Executive Director
Institute for Education in Democracy (I.E.D.)
Adams Arcade
Off Elgeyo Marakwet Road
P. O. Box 43874
NAIROBI

Fax: 562357.

Dear *Grace,*

**RE: APPLICATION FOR ACCREDITATION TO OBSERVE THE
FORTHCOMING GENERAL ELECTIONS**

I refer to your application seeking accreditation to observe the forthcoming General Elections scheduled to take place on 29th December, 1997.

The Electoral Commission has accredited you to observe the said General Election. The Returning Officers and Presiding Officers are by copy of this letter requested to permit into the precincts of each polling station and counting hall one observer upon presentation to the said election officials of acceptable identification and letter of introduction signed by yourself.

Please ensure that your observer personnel do not interfere with the electoral process and that they maintain non-partisan and impartial position through their observing exercise.

Report on the 1997 General Elections

The election officials have authority to exclude from any polling station or counting hall any person who does not comply with the regulations governing elections. The Commission will be interested in receiving a copy of your report on completion of the General Elections.

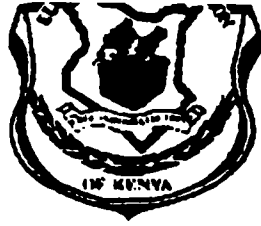
Yours *Sincerely*


S.M. KIVUTU
CHAIRMAN

ELECTORAL COMMISSION OF KENYA

C.C.

All Returning Officers



ELECTORAL COMMISSION OF KENYA

Telephone: Nairobi 22072
When replying please address the
Chairman, Electoral Commission
of Kenya

Ref. No. _____
and date _____

ANNIVERSARY TOWERS
6TH FLOOR
UNIVERSITY WAY
P.O. Box 45371
NAIROBI

6th December 1997

Anthony N. Njui
National Secretary
Catholic Justice and Peace Commission
Wamini House - Westlands
P. O. Box 48062
NAIROBI

Fax: 02-441758/442910

Dear Anthony,

**RE: APPLICATION FOR ACCREDITATION TO OBSERVE THE
FORTHCOMING GENERAL ELECTIONS**

I refer to your application seeking accreditation to observe the forthcoming General Elections scheduled to take place on 29th December, 1997.

The Electoral Commission has accredited you to observe the said General Election. The Returning Officers and Presiding Officers are by copy of this letter requested to permit into the precincts of each polling station and counting hall one observer upon presentation to the said election officials of acceptable identification and letter of introduction signed by yourself.

Please ensure that your observer personnel do not interfere with the electoral process and that they maintain non-partisan and impartial position through their observing exercise.

The election officials have authority to exclude from any polling station or counting hall any person who does not comply with the regulations governing elections. The Commission will be interested in receiving a copy of your report on completion of the General Elections.

Yours sincerely


S.M. KIVUTU
CHAIRMAN

ELECTORAL COMMISSION OF KENYA



ELECTORAL COMMISSION OF KENYA

Telephone, Nairobi 222022
When replying please address the
Chairman, Electoral Commission
of Kenya

Ref No: **EC/EOG/4 IV**
and date

ANNIVERSARY TOWERS
6th Floor
UNIVERSITY WAY
P.O. Box 45371
NAIROBI

8th December, 1997.

The General Secretary,
The National Council of Churches of Kenya,
Church House, Moi Avenue,
P. O. Box 45009, Tel. 338211, Fax No. 224463,
NAIROBI.

Dear Sir,

**RE: APPLICATION FOR ACCREDITATION TO OBSERVE THE
FORTHCOMING GENERAL ELECTIONS**

I refer to your application seeking accreditation to observe the forthcoming General Elections scheduled to take place on 29th December, 1997.

The Electoral Commission has accredited you to observe the said General Election. The Returning Officers and Presiding Officers are by copy of this letter requested to permit into the precincts of each polling station and counting hall one observer upon presentation to the said election officials of acceptable identification and letter of introduction signed by yourself.

Please ensure that your observer personnel do not interfere with the electoral process and that they maintain non-partisan and impartial position through their observing exercise.

Yours


S.M. KIVUTU
CHAIRMAN

ELECTORAL COMMISSION OF KENYA

Preliminary Statement

This is the independent preliminary statement of IED, CJPC, and NCKK, which have jointly undertaken the observation of the 1997 Kenya elections. The three organisations observed all aspects of the pre-electoral processes, including the registration of voters, candidate nomination, the electoral campaign and media coverage, as well as the voting itself and the vote count. This statement is primarily concerned with the voting and counting processes and the events of the last few days since voting began.

On election day, some 28,126 poll watchers were deployed throughout all of the 210 electoral constituencies of the republic. Three count certifiers were deployed to each count centre. In addition, 840 observers had covered the campaign and nomination periods. We would like to take this opportunity to thank the Electoral Commission and election officials for their cooperation in allowing our poll watchers to fully carry out their duties.

All observers filled out a series of report forms, covering the voting and counting processes as well as the general environment on election day. These forms were returned to the central Nairobi offices to be qualitatively and quantitatively analysed.

This statement is based upon the observations of our poll watchers. It should be stressed that it is made before the publication of the final results, and indeed prior to the actual completion of the electoral process, and thus before it has been possible to verify those results.

A more detailed statement covering the entire electoral process will be issued once the count has been completed. This second statement will comment on issues relating to voter registration, media coverage of the campaign, and the nominations and campaign processes.

The Kenyan Voters: Turnout and Behaviour

The Kenyan public are to be congratulated on turning out to vote in such large numbers and for participating in such a dignified and patient manner. Maintaining a high level of voter participation is key to the further development of a functioning and accountable democratic system, and thus ensuring an improvement in the level of registration of the eligible electorate for future elections is crucial.

The Electoral Commission and Management of the Electoral Process

Unfortunately, at this moment the overriding impression one has of the events since voting commenced is of a totally unsatisfactory logistical and administrative handling of the election by the Electoral Commission. It can only be concluded that public and political confidence in the process has been seriously undermined.

In large numbers of polling stations across the entire country, insufficient and incorrect ballot papers were delivered. Indeed, in a number of instances polling stations failed to receive any ballot papers whatsoever. It was also observed that in a number of cases ballot boxes were delivered to the wrong polling stations or were delivered late.

The result of these mistakes is that a large number of polling stations across the country failed to open on time, and some did not open at all on the original election day. For example, in Meru, Central Imenti constituency, a number of polling stations did not receive ballot papers until 4 pm on election day, and in Kisumu a number of polling stations did not open on election day, as they had received no ballot papers. Poll watchers report that some 60 per cent of polling stations failed to open on time, but they also report that in some 90 per cent of cases the correct voting material was eventually available.

As a result of these delays in voting, the Electoral Commission announced that a second day of polling would take place in areas where voting had not been completed. It is very unfortunate that such a situation was allowed to occur. The result was confusion, uncertainty, and fatigue among election officials, party agents, poll watchers, and the general public.

Due to the fact that a second day of voting was not foreseen, no arrangements had been put in place for the securing of ballot boxes and ballot papers overnight. From reports received it would appear that various *ad hoc* arrangements were made on a local basis. Reports have also been received of ballot boxes being taken to count centres, taken home by election officials, and being taken to police stations. In the majority of cases, it would appear that party agents and observers remained with the ballot boxes throughout the night.

This series of events led to an increase in suspicion and tension among political parties and voters. In Kajiado North constituency in Ngong, it was reported that voters who had been unable to vote due to the lack of ballot papers seized a number of ballot boxes and burnt them. In Nakuru Town, a violent incident ensued on the afternoon of 30 December when ballot boxes from the Ingojar polling

station were forcibly brought into the count centre by security forces with the backing of an aspiring Kanu candidate. The boxes were unaccompanied by party agents. A clash ensued during which two persons were shot dead and at least five others admitted to hospital with wounds. A further unsatisfactory outcome of this situation was that in some constituencies, such as Starehe in Nairobi, counting commenced on the morning of 30 December whilst voting was still taking place in parts of the constituency.

In some areas, such as Kitui, it was also noted that voting materials, such as books of ballot papers, were not properly secured, leading to anger and suspicion. Proper procedures for the handling of election materials need not only be established but also implemented for future elections.

All of these ramifications of the general confusion and incompetence in the management of the electoral process serve to sow seeds of doubt in the integrity of the electoral process among parties and the public alike. It is the job of the authorities to ensure the process not only properly serves the people but is also seen to properly serve the people.

The Conduct of Political Parties

The presence of party agents from most political parties served to increase accountability during the voting and counting processes. It is welcomed that the parties organised themselves and engaged constructively in the electoral process. However, the actual conduct of members of a number of parties served not to increase the democratic nature of the process but actually to undermine it. Across the country it was reported that representatives of political parties were guilty of handing out money, on election day and before, to voters in order to induce the voters to cast their vote for the party. Bribing of voters was reported in many areas, including Kitui Central, Moyale, and Kisumu.

There were also numerous reports of voters who might support an opposition party or candidate being paid not to cast a vote. This was sometimes achieved by the purchasing of a person's voting card. Disenfranchising and influencing voters in such a manner is against the electoral law and has no place in a democracy.

It was also observed that party representatives sought to unduly influence voters, and even intimidate them, by mingling with lines of voters in contravention of the electoral regulations. Poll watchers reported incidents of intimidation in some 9 per cent of polling stations. Voters should be able to cast their ballot in a secure and fair environment and should not be subject to any undue influence.

Analysis of the Vote Count

Our observers have been present at all of the count centres. However it is difficult to comment at present, as the count is still on going in some areas and reports are still being received by our analysis unit.

It is encouraging, however, that the count does appear to be finally reaching a conclusion and results are starting to be published. We reiterate once more that we will issue a further, more detailed statement once this part of the process has been completed and once it has been possible to verify the official results and vote tabulation against the results recorded by our observers.

Conclusions

The level of confusion and maladministration on behalf of the Electoral Commission served to bring a crisis of confidence in the electoral process among political parties and the public alike. At a time of such tension as during the country's election, such a poor performance by the authorities is an abrogation of duty. The Kenyan people, who displayed such patience and dignity in participating in the process, deserve much better than this. The reported incidents of vote buying and intimidation by political parties represented a serious breach of responsibility as civic and political leaders. Such an abuse of power has no place in a democratic society. Until all observations have been received and analysed, and until all reported incidents have been investigated, it is not possible to say whether the problems and violations recorded during the election serve to bring into question the whole process.

It is encouraging that the country has remained relatively calm, that the results are now starting to be announced, and that on the whole the process has continued and people have remained engaged. We look forward to a full publication of all results so that we will be in a position to verify the official results against those taken down at every counting centre by our observers. In the final analysis, notwithstanding the extensive technical shortcomings of the process and the level of suspicion towards it, the final arbiter of the process is the accurate reflection of the will of the people in the official results.

Rev Mutava Musyimi
Chairman, Strategic Management Board
Nairobi, December 31, 1997

Final Statement

This is the final statement of IED, CJPC, and NCCCK, which have jointly undertaken the observation of the 1997 Kenyan elections. This statement supplements the preliminary findings reported to the media on 31 December.

This statement is based upon reports from our 840 campaign and nomination process monitors, the 28,126 poll watchers, who worked in teams of two in all of the 210 electoral constituencies, and the three-person teams present at all of the country's count centres. Over 10,000 reports have been received and analysed from all parts of the country, covering all aspects of the process.

As part of our on-going task to analyse these elections, we will produce a final report within two months, which will make a more in-depth assessment of all aspects of the electoral process.

Election Observation

The purpose of non-partisan election observation is twofold: firstly to deter fraud through the presence of observers inside the polling stations and count centres, and secondly to make an assessment of all aspects of the electoral process. By doing this we hope to contribute towards the integrity of the process, and thus towards the further democratic development of the Republic of Kenya. This has been the aim of the three organisations cooperating on this project. It has also been the aim of the 29,600 non-partisan campaign monitors, poll watchers, and count certifiers, who we would like to thank for dedicating so much of their time and energy in contributing to the further democratic development of their country.

Registration of Voters

A total of 9,063,390 voters were registered for the elections. We believe that this figure should have been higher for this election and should be further increased for future elections, given adequate and more timely and coherent administrative reforms to the registration process.

There was a political consensus that a number of significant problems were prevalent during the voter registration, most noticeably the confusion as to which identity cards were acceptable and the slow issuance of identity cards to persons turning 18 years of age. These administrative problems were compounded by the fact that voter registration is not permanent but only for a designated period. The existing registration should now be built upon in order to establish a permanent voters register.

It was observed that active rejection by some political parties, and levels of apathy among some sections of the population, as well as the burning of voters cards by some persons, resulted in low registration levels in some areas.

Given the fact that there existed widespread dissatisfaction with the registration process, it is regrettable that the Electoral Commission did not act to allay fears and did not make public the numerous objections and claims made. It is also regrettable that more publicity was not given to encouraging registered voters to check the voters registers prior to the election. This would have cut out a number of the problems some voters faced on election day.

Delineation of Electoral Constituencies

The existing structure of the country's electoral constituencies continues to be a cause of great concern. The significant variation in demographic size of many constituencies violates the principle of equality of the vote. To take the extremes of constituency sizes, Embakasi in Nairobi has some 114,000 registered voters, whilst Iljara in Garissa District has just 7,500.

Likewise, Nairobi with some 726,000 registered voters has just 8 constituencies, whilst the Rift Valley with some 2,156,000 registered voters has 49 constituencies, Central Province with some 1,346,000 has 29 constituencies, North Eastern Province with some 172,000 registered voters has 11 constituencies. Thus on average it takes 91,000 voters to elect a member of parliament in Nairobi, 44,000 in the Rift Valley, 46,000 in Central Province, and 15,600 in North Eastern Province. These anomalies result in an obvious over-representation for particular provinces in the parliament, and an imbalance to the weight of each vote.

Whilst the variances in population density between various areas in Kenya will result in some differentiation in constituency size, there needs to be an adherence to the principle that all votes are equal. The addition of a further 22 constituencies prior to the election served to exacerbate the perception that the decisions for delineating constituency boundaries were made for political gain. Constituency boundaries need to be re-addressed prior to the next election.

Legal, Constitutional, and Administrative Reforms

The introduction of some legal, constitutional, and administrative reforms to diffuse the political unrest at the end of last year was a welcome response from the authorities. Changes allowing for an increase in the period for nominations, the introduction of a code of conduct for political parties, and the increase of opposition representation on the Electoral Commission were welcomed.

The amendment of the Public Order Act, negating the requirement for a license for the holding of political meetings, was welcomed, as was the introduction of a provision in the Kenyan Broadcasting Corporation Act allocating equal airtime for all registered political parties. Important legal changes relating to the freedom of association, assembly, and free speech were welcomed for the campaign period.

However, the fact that these changes were introduced so late meant that they had a limited benefit with regard to the conduct of these elections. Further, in the case of the amendments to the Public Order Act and the new provisions regarding equality of media time, they were not, in practice, fully implemented or adhered to. There is also a need for a further series of such reforms, including bringing in regulations regarding campaign spending and allowing independent candidates.

The Electoral Commission

The Electoral Commission conducted its affairs in a more open manner than in 1992. There were regular press briefings and meetings with political parties, the media, and election observer groups. However, there is continuing concern regarding the method for appointing the chairman of the commission and the inability of the commission to enforce a number of election regulations.

The chairman of the commission should not be a political appointee, as this serves to decrease public and political confidence in the neutrality of the incumbent. The Electoral Commission is the ultimate electoral body and needs to enjoy the full confidence of voters and parties alike.

The expansion of the commission to include 10 representatives of opposition parties was also positive. But the fact that this came so late, along with the late appointment of a new chairman, may in the end have served to weaken the functional capacity of the commission, particularly as the structure of the body means it does not appear to have senior permanent staff able to carry some of the burden.

There needs to be a stronger legal basis for dealing with electoral complaints, particularly those of a criminal nature, rather than being solely based upon a code of conduct. In addition, the Electoral Commission must ensure that regulations pertaining to the elections, such as the supposed allocation of campaign media time, are fully enforced. This will prevent the state media from being a tool of the party in power.

With regard to the formation of electoral bodies throughout the country, it was reported to observers that in some isolated cases Kanu election candidates were involved in the selection and recruitment of some electoral personnel at the polling station level. This was reported to have occurred in Kiambaa, Mathioya, Samburu West, and Mogotio. This, of course, should not be allowed to occur.

Media Coverage

A comprehensive qualitative and quantitative study of media coverage has been undertaken by the Kenyan Human Rights Commission (KHRC).

Following the agreement of IPPG recommendations the Kenyan Broadcasting Act was amended to include: "The Corporation shall keep a fair balance in all respects in allocation of broadcasting hours as between different political viewpoints." Following this, the situation in which the media was heavily biased in favour of Kanu improved to the extent that by the fourth week in November, the combined opposition was receiving 32 per cent of coverage on KBC TV and radio.

This state of affairs continued into the first two weeks of December, during which time the combined opposition received 29 per cent of coverage. However from 19 December until the elections took place, KBC TV and radio reverted to a heavy bias in favour of Kanu. During this period, Kanu received 85 per cent of KBC TV and radio news airtime in contrast to 10 per cent received by the opposition. The remaining 5 per cent went to other news items. The reversion to this bias should not have occurred, and violated the new regulations.

The provision of equitable access and coverage to all political parties by state media is an essential aspect of any election. It is therefore of great concern that, despite a legal requirement for this to happen, the drawing up of guidelines by the Electoral Commission which were agreed by all parties, and an initial improvement in the situation, state media remained heavily biased in favour of Kanu. Such a situation should not have occurred at these elections and must not be repeated at future elections.

Candidate Nominations and the Political Campaign

Whilst violence continued to be a feature of the campaign and nomination processes it was noticeably decreased from 1992. It was welcome that the nomination process was extended from one to two days. It was also welcome that there were no reports of abductions as occurred in 1992. However some isolated attempts to intimidate

pective candidates from presenting their papers for candidature in Baringo Central, Eldama Ravine, Mt Elgon, and Turkana South.

and pr^e

With the nomination and campaign processes a significant number of violent acts occurred. Such incidents have no place in a democratic society. It was noticeable that much of the violence was intra-party rather than inter-party, particularly in areas where a party enjoyed overwhelming support. It was observed that the ruling party was particularly guilty of such a practice, particularly in Tinderet, Cherengani, and Shinyalu. It was observed that violence occurred in the DP party nomination process in Mathira, Tetu, and in the NDP nomination process in Nyakach.

It was also observed that bribery and vote buying continue to be a feature of the electoral process. Such practices cannot be part of a democracy. During the campaign it was primarily the ruling party which employed such tactics, and particularly in Sirisia and Bumula in Western Province; in Kitui, Makueni, Machakos, and Meru in Eastern Province; and in Mathioya in Central Province.

A further worrying factor during the campaign was the involvement of public employees, such as District Commissioners, District Officers, and Chiefs, and state resources on behalf of the ruling party, particularly in Eldama Ravine, Mogotio, Samburu, and Turkana in Rift Valley Province; Moyale in Eastern Province; and Mt Elgon in Western Province. It was also noted that a Permanent Secretary and a Parastatal Chief used their positions to openly campaign on behalf of one presidential candidate. The state exists to serve all the people and should not be used by one party to gain a benefit over others.

The Voting Process

In our preliminary statement, we commented on the logistical and administrative mess that served to not only cause serious disruptions to the voting and counting processes but to also decrease public and political confidence in the process and increase suspicion towards it. It is clear that this assessment regarding the organisation of the election stands, and an investigation into responsibility should be undertaken.

Poll watchers reported that in 48 per cent of polling stations voting materials, such as ballot boxes, ballot papers and voters registers, were not available at 6 am on election day. Poll watchers also reported that in 50 per cent of cases election

officials were not present at the allotted time to start the opening process. As a result of these shortcomings, poll watchers reported that at least 56 per cent of polling stations failed to open on time.

The Electoral Commission's instruction for voting to take place for a second day was not consistently communicated to all parts of the country. There were also contradictory statements from the Electoral Commission, as they later said that an extra polling day should only occur where it was not completed on day one. This caused confusion and uncertainty. In a limited number of cases, some polling stations did not open on the second day as instructed, thus effectively disenfranchising those persons not able to vote on day one.

However, it is clear in the vast majority of cases that, although seriously delayed, polling materials were eventually available, enabling voting to take place, often due to the tenacity of election officials at the local level and due to the patience of the voting public. Based on figures so far available, the voter turnout is estimated at some 65 per cent, with the lowest turnout being approximately 40 per cent in Coast Province and the highest being approximately 75 per cent in Rift Valley Province.

Once voting did commence, 98 per cent of poll watchers rated the actual voting process as being acceptable. A further positive aspect of the voting process is that 92 per cent of poll watchers reported that security personnel behaved in an appropriate manner.

The large number of incidents of bribery which took place during the campaign were also prevalent on election day. Whilst many parties were guilty of this, it was noted that Kanu was particularly so. This remains of great concern to all who want to see Kenya further enhance its democracy. Such a practice should not be a feature of our political life.

On a technical level, there was some concern among poll watchers as to the secrecy of the ballot, and at 6 per cent of polling stations it was reported that polling booths were either not to be found or did not afford voters proper secrecy. There was also concern regarding the provisions for aiding voters who could not read, whereby party agents closely observe the presiding officer, who physically helps the voter. Such participation by party-affiliated persons is not appropriate, as it not only violates the secrecy of the ballot but might also be construed as intimidation.

It appears that despite the technical shortcomings of the overall organisation of the election and some isolated incidents around the country, the voting process does appear to have eventually been undertaken in a serious and largely satisfactory manner.

The Vote Count

The extension of voting meant that the count was seriously delayed, resulting in fatigue and tension in the count centres, and confusion as to what arrangements should be made for the security of ballot boxes. However, it was reported that in the majority of cases observers and party agents were able to accompany ballot boxes.

The counting process has been laboriously slow, and there have been a few disturbances. However, the overall picture is one of election officials, party agents, and poll watchers continuing with the task under very difficult circumstances.

Whilst acknowledging some problems in the organisation and conduct of the count, 85 per cent of count certifiers rated the general counting process as being satisfactory. Some complaints from poll watchers have been received from various areas of the country, and whilst these may need to be looked into, it is not felt that they would affect the overall result in any material way.

Conclusions

As stated, we have covered all aspects of the electoral process, including analysing the electoral framework, voter registration, the nominations process, the political campaign, the role of the media, and the voting and counting processes. From our analysis of these vital factors it is clear that a level playing field does not currently exist in Kenyan politics. The institutional bias in favour of Kanu, such as domination of the state media and unfair delineation of electoral constituencies, needs to be seriously addressed. It is also clear that the logistical and administrative organisation of the elections was characterised by chaos and inefficiency, which served to increase tensions around the country and decrease confidence in the process.

However, notwithstanding these problems, it should be acknowledged that a large number of voters did turn out to vote and were, in the vast majority of cases, able to do so. The voting process was generally handled well by polling station officials, and closely scrutinised by party agents and poll watchers. The vote count, whilst quite chaotic and slow, was also closely scrutinised by party agents and observers, and appears to have been largely carried out satisfactorily.

As a result, the organisations conducting the observation of the elections have to conclude that the results do on the whole reflect the wishes of the Kenyan voters.

If there is any dispute over the official published results, we trust that the vote tabulation will be transparent enough to enable a clear and satisfactory resolution of the problem.

The dignity and determination of the Kenyan voters in participating in the 1997 elections give us hope to go on. We call upon the Kenyan people to respect the results and to continue to work together to deepen the reform process and to strengthen democracy in our country.

Mutava Musyimi
Chairman, Strategic Management Board
Nairobi, 3 January, 1997

Presidential and Parliamentary Election Petitions

COURT REGISTRY NO.	HIGH COURT OF KENYA AT	PARTIES	CONSTITUENCY
E.P. 1/98	Nairobi	Mwai Kibaki (<i>Petitioner</i>) versus Daniel Toroitich arap Moi, S M Kivuitu Electoral Commission of Kenya (<i>Respondents</i>)	Presidential
E. P. 2/98	Nairobi	Abubakar Dubow, Abdi Mohamed, and Abdille Abdi (<i>Petitioners</i>) versus Said Adan Warsame (<i>Returning Officer/1st Respondent</i>) Mohamed Abdi Affey (<i>2nd Respondent</i>)	Wajir South
E. P. 3/98	Nairobi	Betty Njeri Tett (<i>Petitioner</i>) versus Rosemary Moraa (<i>Returning Officer/1st Respondent</i>) Fredrick Omulo Gumo (<i>2nd Respondent</i>) Electoral Commission of Kenya (<i>3rd Respondent</i>)	Westlands
E. P. 4/98	Nairobi	Said Hemed Said (<i>Petitioner</i>) versus Emmanuel Karisa Maitha (<i>1st Respondent</i>) Hotham Nyange (<i>Returning Officer, 2nd Respondent</i>)	Kisauni
E. P. 5/98	Nairobi	Mohammed Abdi Ali (<i>Petitioner</i>) versus Adan Keynan Wehliye (<i>1st Respondent</i>) Abdi Rahim Haji Abbas (<i>Returning Officer, 2nd Respondent</i>)	Wajir West
E. P. 6/98	Nairobi	Joseph Kennedy Kiliku (<i>Petitioner</i>) versus Mary Mwamondo (<i>Returning Officer/1st Respondent</i>) Seif Ramadhan Kajembe (<i>2nd Respondent</i>) Electoral Commission of Kenya (<i>3rd Respondent</i>)	Changamwe
E. P. 7/98	Nairobi	Tache Wako Gaji (<i>Petitioner</i>) versus Omar Sheikh (<i>Deputy Returning Officer/1st Respondent</i>) Charfana Guyo Mokku (<i>2nd Respondent</i>) Electoral Commission of Kenya (<i>3rd Respondent</i>)	Isiolo North
E. P. 8/98	Nairobi	Alexander Kipaiyn Sialala (<i>Petitioner</i>) versus Daniel Tallam (<i>Returning Officer/1st Respondent</i>) George Saitoti (<i>2nd Respondent</i>) Electoral Commission of Kenya (<i>3rd Respondent</i>)	Kajiado North

E. P. 9/98	Nairobi	Yussuf Issa Abdi (<i>Petitioner</i>) versus Enow Adawa (<i>1st Respondent</i>) Elias Barre Shile (<i>2nd Respondent</i>) Electoral Commission of Kenya (<i>3rd Respondent</i>)	Fafi
E. P. 10/98	Nairobi	Perez Malande Olindo (<i>Petitioner</i>) versus Joseck Tsuma (<i>Returning Officer/1st Respondent</i>) Electoral Commission of Kenya (<i>2nd Respondent</i>) Raila Amolo Odinga (<i>3rd Respondent</i>) Charles Maranga Bugwasi (<i>4th Respondent</i>)	Langata
E. P. 11/98	Nairobi	Samuel Kamau Macharia (<i>Petitioner</i>) versus Electoral Commission of Kenya (<i>1st Respondent</i>) Naphtali H Chomba (<i>Returning Officer/2nd Respondent</i>) A. Samuel Macharia <i>alias</i> Samuel Macharia <i>alias</i> Sammie Macharia <i>alias</i> Samuel Macharia	Gatanga
E. P. 12/98	Nairobi	Ernest Eugene Osogo (<i>Petitioner</i>) versus Bahati Shikanga (<i>Returning Officer/1st Respondent</i>) Raphael Wanjala S Bitta (<i>2nd Respondent</i>) Electoral Commission of Kenya (<i>3rd Respondent</i>)	Budalangi
E. P. 13/98	Nairobi	Ochieng Gilbert Mbeo (<i>Petitioner</i>) versus Thomas Ochieng (<i>1st Respondent</i>) Adolf Isaac Muchiri (<i>2nd Respondent</i>)	Kasarani
E. P. 14/98	Nairobi	Japheth Galagati Shamalla (<i>Petitioner</i>) versus Philip Wekesa (<i>Returning Officer/1st Respondent</i>) Daniel Lyula Khamasi (<i>2nd Respondent</i>)	Shinyalu
E. P. 15/98	Nairobi	Meshack Luchendo Libasia (<i>Petitioner</i>) versus Philip Wekesa (<i>Returning Officer/1st Respondent</i>) Daniel Lyula Khamasi (<i>2nd Respondent</i>) Electoral Commission of Kenya (<i>3rd Respondent</i>)	Shinyalu
E. P. 16/98	Nairobi	Abdi Waticho (<i>Petitioner</i>) versus Rophin Mwakio Ndau (<i>Returning Officer/1st Respondent</i>) Mohamed Abdi Galgalo (<i>2nd Respondent</i>)	Bura

E. P. 17/98	Nairobi	Wario Hukha Ali (<i>Petitioner</i>) versus Stephen Miriti Muguna (<i>Returning Officer/1st Respondent</i>) Bonaya Adhi Godana (<i>2nd Respondent</i>)	North Horr
E. P. 18/98	Nairobi	Stephen Kimani Gakenia (<i>Petitioner</i>) versus Francis Mwangi Kimani (<i>Returning Officer/1st Respondent</i>) Karue M Muriuki (<i>2nd Respondent</i>) Electoral Commission of Kenya (<i>3rd Respondent</i>)	OI Kalou
E. P. 19/98 ¹	Nairobi	Abdi Hassan Haji (<i>Petitioner</i>) Mohammed Abdullahi Omar (<i>2nd Petitioner</i>) versus Shaban Ali Issack (<i>1st Respondent</i>) Ibrahim Mohammed Hussein (<i>Returning Officer/2nd Respondent</i>) Mohammed Korow Nur alias Sheikh Burhan (<i>Third Respondent</i>) Mohammed Khalif Ali (<i>Fourth Respondent</i>) Richard Rakuomi (<i>Fifth Respondent</i>)	Mandera East
E. P. 20/98	Nairobi	Stephen Mukangu (<i>Petitioner</i>) versus David K. Kituku (<i>Returning Officer/1st Respondent</i>) Electoral Commission of Kenya (<i>2nd Respondent</i>) Benjamin Ravel Ndubai (<i>3rd Respondent</i>)	Tigania West
E. P. 1/98	Meru	Eustace Mbuba Ntwiga (<i>Petitioner</i>) versus Julius Musyoki (<i>Returning Officer/1st Respondent</i>) Electoral Commission of Kenya (<i>2nd Respondent</i>) Samuel Kivuitu (Chairman, Electoral Commission of Kenya) (<i>3rd Respondent</i>) Benard Njoka Mutani (<i>4th Respondent</i>)	Nithi
E. P. 11/98	Mombasa	Khamis Chome Abdi (<i>Petitioner</i>) versus Francis Chibwara (<i>Returning Officer/1st Respondent</i>) Basil Nguku Mwakiringo (<i>2nd Respondent</i>) Electoral Commission of Kenya (<i>3rd Respondent</i>)	Voi
E. P. 1/98	Kakamega	Alfred Muhadia Ngume (<i>Petitioner</i>) John Sitati Teka (<i>Petitioner</i>) versus George W. Sitati (<i>1st Respondent</i>) Peter Soita Shikanda (<i>2nd Respondent</i>) Electoral Commission of Kenya (<i>3rd Respondent</i>)	Malava

¹ Withdrawn by application dated 6.4.98 (*Ref. Gazette Notice No. 1890 of 17.4.98*)

Report on the 1997 General Elections

E. P. 2/98 ²	Kakamega	Harry Roger Keya (<i>Petitioner</i>) William Nandwa Anjiru (<i>Petitioner</i>) Peter Leo Omurunga (<i>Petitioner</i>) versus Amukowa Fredrick Anangwe (<i>Respondent</i>) J. B. Omatete (<i>Respondent</i>) Bishop Horace Etemesi (<i>Respondent</i>)	Butere
E. P. 1/98	Kisumu	Elijah Obare Asiko (<i>Petitioner</i>) versus Electoral Commission of Kenya (<i>1st Respondent</i>) Walter Juma Absaloms (<i>2nd Respondent</i>) Joseph Aketch Donde (<i>3rd Respondent</i>)	Gem
E. P. 28/98	Kisii	David Ondimu Kombo (<i>Petitioner</i>) versus Oburu Obara (<i>Returning Officer/1st Respondent</i>) Enock Nyakeya Magara (<i>2nd Respondent</i>)	South Mugirango
E. P. 1/98	Nakuru	Alice J R Chelaite (<i>Petitioner</i>) versus David Manyara Njuki (<i>1st Respondent</i>) Simon K ole Kerore (<i>Returning Officer/2nd Respondent</i>) Electoral Commission of Kenya (<i>3rd Respondent</i>)	Nakuru Town

Total number of pending election petitions: 26

² *Withdrawn by application dated 14.4.98 (Ref. Gazette Notice No. 1889 of 17.4.98)*

Bibliography

1. *The Constitution of Kenya*. Revised Edition, 1998. Nairobi: Government Printer, 1998.
2. *Election 1997. Democratic Party of Kenya Manifesto. Twenty Covenants: Kenya will be a Land of Plenty for Us All*. Nairobi: DPK, 1997.
3. *Elections '97 Media Watch. Media Monitoring in Kenya*. Report by the Kenya Human Rights Commission (KHRC). Nairobi, November 1997.
4. *The Electoral Environment in Kenya: A Research Project Report*. Nairobi: Institute for Education in Democracy, 1997.
5. Garber, Larry. *Guidelines for International Election Observing*. Washington: The International Human Rights Law Group, 1990.
6. *How Domestic Organizations Monitor Elections: An A to Z Guide*. Washington: National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), 1995.
7. *The International IDEA Handbook of Electoral Design*. Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), 1997.
8. *KANU Manifesto 1997: Our Vision into the Next Millennium*. Nairobi: Kenya African National Union, 1997.
9. *The Liberal Party of Kenya Manifesto 1997: For a Just Social Contract with the People*. Nairobi: LIPAK, 1997.
10. *Media Censorship in a Plural Context: A Report on the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation*. A Report by the Kenya Human Rights Commission and Article 19. Nairobi: KHRC, 1998.
11. *Media Monitoring. An Empirical Report*. Nairobi: The Media Institute, 1997.
12. *The Multi-Party General Elections in Kenya, 29 December 1992*. Nairobi: National Election Monitoring Unit (NEMU), 1993.
13. *National Development Party of Kenya Manifesto: Towards a Better Kenya*. Nairobi: NDP, 1997.

14. *National Elections Data Book, Kenya 1963–1997*. Nairobi: IED, 1997.
15. *Safina Manifesto 1997: All Kenyans Deserve a Chance*. Nairobi: Safina, 1997.
16. *Study on the Creation of the 22 New Constituencies in Kenya and an Overview of the Issuance of Second Generation Identity Cards*. NCKK Report edited by Moses W Masinde and Moses S Smith. Nairobi: NCKK, 1996.
17. *Voter Registration for the 1997 General Elections in Kenya: A Survey*. Nairobi: IED, September 1997.

A number of questions have emerged following the general elections held in Kenya in December, 1997. Has the march towards a more open and participatory society since 1992 been achieved? Or do existing political institutions constrain democratic values and practices today even more than they did five years ago? Are the basic rights and liberties freely enjoyed and fully protected? And what are the main obstacles to full realisation of democracy in Kenya as we move towards a new millennium?

The *Report on the General Elections in Kenya* addresses these questions through a detailed analysis of the electoral process. Deriving its data from the massive elections monitoring operation mounted jointly by the Institute for Education in Democracy (IED), the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission (CJPC), and the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK), this report is more than just a postmortem on the elections. It is an eye opener on burning issues in the quest for democracy in Kenya.

This report is not just a chronicle of events. It also captures the issues underlying the drama of nominations, campaigns, polling, and counting and puts the whole process in historical and social context. The report is a key reference for political analysts, politicians, and anyone else interested in understanding Kenya's fledgling multiparty democracy.

The *Report on the 1997 General Elections in Kenya* demonstrates that elections by themselves will not be integrative unless the electoral environment allows participants to accept the outcome. In the end, a basic truth emerges: elections in themselves do not guarantee genuine democracy, but democracy without elections is unthinkable. This is the central message of the report.

