

### Kenya's Electoral Dysfunction: Fear and Boycott affects Turnout

Kenya was unsuccessful in holding a fresh election today, declaring it would postpone voting in areas of Western Kenya.

Chairman of the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) announced elections in Kisumu, Homabay, Siaya and Migore had been postponed due to protests, and would be held on Saturday once the security agencies had 'restored order'.

Significant parts of the country were affected by the opposition boycott, protests and security operations. There was a dramatically lower turnout than in previous elections, with many areas reporting less than 40 percent compared to the 77 percent recorded on August 8th.

Low turnout and empty polling stations proved to be a widespread issue, with KYSY observer reporting low turnout in 42 percent of cases. Examples include:

- In Gimarakwa Primary PS, Stream 1, Vihiga, turnout was less than 1 percent.
- In Kilole Primary School PS, Stream 1, Kwale, turnout was less than 1 percent.
- In Hola Secondary School PS, Stream 1, Tana River, turnout was 12 percent.
- In Rukala Market PS, Busia, turnout was 26 percent.

In opposition strongholds there was little to no voting at all. Protesters set up roadblocks and barricaded entrances to polling stations. In some areas, IEBC staff were attacked and threatened. Citizens expressed fear they would be targeted according to their choice to vote or not.

Kura Yangu Sauti Yangu (KYSY) observers reported the following observations as of 2:00pm on October 26, 2017.

Incident	Frequency of Incident
Low Turnout	42%
Problems with the Kenya Integrated Electoral Management System (KIEMS)	10%
No Voting	9%
Observers obstructed or attacked	6%
Violence perpetrated by citizens	5%
Problems during opening of the polling stations	4%
Registered voters do not appear in the KIEMS or in the copy register	3%

Fear of another flawed election, and the opposition call for a boycott had a fatal impact on public confidence. Heavy rains compounded the effect of the boycott. Low turnout affected the following places: Nairobi, Garissa, Isiolo, Nakuru, West Pokot, Kilifi, Malindi, Embu, Nandi, Trans Nzoia, Mrsabit, Kisii, Baringo, Samburu, Tana River, Muranga, Mombasa. Taita Taveta, Kwale, Maralal, Lamu, Bungoma, and Kajiado.

In some areas, there was a total no-vote. Polling stations have been locked, barricaded or completely deserted. Local election observers met challenges in all parts of the country. In government strongholds, some election observers were refused entrance, or intimidated. In opposition areas, boycotters refused to allow vehicles near the polling stations, preventing observers from working. In Nyanza and Coast, access to polling stations was blocked by groups of youth, who set fires and barricaded roads. This was recorded in locations such as Kisumu, Busia, Vihiga, Mombasa, and Siaya.

It was also reported in areas such as Bangladesh in Mombasa, and Migori in Nyanza

KYSY observers detailed cases of brutality by security forces, as well as cases where IEBC staff were prevented from carrying out their duties, including an IEBC officials who was stoned. In Kwanza Constituency in Trans Nzoia, gangs of youth were witnessed threating people against voting and issuing warnings they would be harmed at night if they did so.

KYSY observers also noted that agents were absent in some polling stations. Where they were present, they were usually Jubilee Party representatives. In Kiambu, observers said there were polling stations where IEBC was 'running the show alone'.

It is of no surprise that today's fresh election failed to meet the standards demanded by the Supreme Court. Demands for minimum electoral reforms, administrative transparency and political dialogue have been trampled in the rush to hold the fresh election, despite the constitutional and political alternatives available to meet the standards necessary.

KYSY believes the election is not credible or viable, and urges political leaders and stakeholders to engage in political dialogue to urgently resolve the national crisis.

### **About KYSY**

The KYSY coalition, a citizen movement for credible elections spearheaded by like-minded civil society organisations, has established an Election Centre (EC) at the Kenya Human Rights Commission to receive and process member organizations' election observations.

26<sup>th</sup> October 2017



## **Kenya's Early Results Raise Concerns**

Early results from Kenya's fresh election confirm that voter turnout was unusually low across the country, with the exception of regional strongholds for the ruling Jubilee party. Other concerns are changes in the Register of Voters, and contradictions between results streamed and the Results Forms (34A) now available on the portal of the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC).

KYSY deployed approximately 2,000 observers in 44 of the 47 counties around the country to observe election and human rights violations. The observers are responsible for monitoring Election Day processes, and transmit photos of posted Forms 34A and Forms 34B. Analysis of the October 26<sup>th</sup> election is based upon their findings.

Results began streaming very quickly after polling stations closed at 5pm. Within just an hour, the IEBC had posted 516 forms. Within two hours, it had posted 8,830 forms – which is 22 percent of all the 40,883 results forms. At 8pm, three hours after the polls had closed, 16,264, or 40 percent of all forms had been posted.

When Chairman of the IEBC, Wafula Chebukati, spoke to the public at 9:12pm, he said that 27,134 forms had been posted. This number, which represents 66 percent of all forms, did not match what was posted on the portal at that time. In fact, the portal said that 18,090 forms had been posted at that moment. The discrepancy merits an explanation.

With Kenya's troubling history around the tallying and release of result, the speed raises concerns about the validity of the figures. The files IEBC has posted online show that pictures were being taken of the forms within 15 minutes of closing. That timeline implies that presiding officers were able to close their polling stations, complete the administrative procedures related to securing materials, count and tally votes, announce results and scan forms in 15 minutes. Speed of transmission was a key issue in the August election, raised by petitioners at the Supreme Court.

KYSY's initial analysis, as of 9:00pm on October 26, shows that voter turnout was low across the country. In fact, turnout only exceeded 50 percent in 30 percent of the stations included in preliminary analysis.

Notably, there was one station (Olomayiana Nursery School) in Kajiado West that showed 100 percent turnout. Given that this level of turnout is unlikely even in countries that have mandatory voting, it is highly suspicious in the Kenyan context.

### **Streamed Results**

At 9:08pm, the IEBC's streamed results on television showed that Raila had won 130 votes. Based on KYSY observers' photos of Forms 34A, he had garnered at least 3,093 votes by that time.

### **Registered Voters**

The total number of registered voters in Kenya has changed again. When the Register of Voters was gazetted before the August 8 election, the total number of registered voters stood at 19,611,423. On August 11, when the IEBC announced the final presidential results, it announced the number of registered voters as 19,637,061. This change was never explained. This evening, the IEBC's streamed results on television showed that the total number of registered voters currently stands at 19,728,124. This change was not addressed by the IEBC.

Changes in the Register of Voters: June – October 2017

Date	Number of Registered Voters	Change
June 2017	19,611,423	N/A
August 2017	19,637,061	+25,638
October 2017	19,728,124	+91,063

### **Results Forms**

On October 26, the IEBC Chairman announced that elections in Homa Bay, Siaya, Kisumu and Migori would be postponed until October 28. It is therefore extraordinary that, as of the evening of October 26, there are results forms from constituencies in Kisumu and Migori posted on the IEBC's public portal. If elections in these areas have been postponed, it follows that polling was not successfully completed.

How did the IEBC create results forms from these areas?

As of 12:34am on October 27, the IEBC portal contained a few Forms 34B, including one from Kisumu West, despite the fact elections in Kisumu are postponed until Saturday. Form 34B for Kisumu West indicates that the returning officer completed and signed the form with only 9 out of 142 Forms 34A from the constituency. The results contained on the form indicate that Raila recieved 0 votes and Uhuru won 50 votes.

This is incredulous given the boycott and previous voting patterns in the opposition stronghold.

KYSY reminds the IEBC and all stakeholders that there are still no published polling station results from the August election. Similarly, the IEBC never published polling station results from the 2013 elections. The failure of the Commission to release results casts serious doubt on the legitimacy of the final figures. The Supreme Court said in its' judgment that if the public could not see and cross check results, the election and the elected government lack public legitimacy.

The IEBC insists that those parts of the country that failed to vote on October 26<sup>th</sup> will vote on Saturday October 28<sup>th</sup>, when security issues have been 'resolved'. If the country is expected to go through yet another election, it is critical that results are published for the purposes of comparison, understanding and verification.

Polling Station	Stream	Constituency	County	Turnout
GIMARAKWA PRIMARY SCHOOL		1 HAMISI	VIHIGA	0.53
GAVALAGI PRIMARY		2 VIHIGA	VIHIGA	0.74
KAKEMER PRIMARY SCHOOL		1 Teso North	BUSIA	0.94
KAMUTHINI PRIMARY SCHOOL		1 KILOME	MAKUENI	2.51
KATHONZWENI PRIMARY SCHOOL		1 MAKUENI	MAKUENI	3.69
AWATA ACK NURSERY SCHOOL		1 Teso North	BUSIA	6.20
MITABONI PRIMARY SCHOOL		4 KATHIANI	MACHAKOS	9.54
MITAMBONI PRIMARY SCHOOL		5 KATHIANI	MACHAKOS	10.15
KYUMBI PRIMARY SCHOOL		1 MAVOKO	MACHAKOS	10.23
SONAYA SOCIAL HALL		4 MVITA	MOMBASA	11.06
KAWINDA SECONDARY SCHOOL		1 WUNDANYI	TAITA TAVETA	13.33
OLOMAYIANA NURSERY		1 kajiado west	KAJIADO	16.61
MWANJAMBA PRIMARY SCHOOL		1 MSAMBWENI	KWALE	17.47
MOI PRIMARY		3 Kandunyi	BUNGOMA	19.25
PORT VICTORIA TOWN HALL		2 Budalangi	BUSIA	20.12
PORT VICTORIA TOWN HALL		3 Budalangi	BUSIA	20.32
MOI UNIVERSITY WEST CAMPUS POLLING STATION		3 TURBO	UASIN GISHU	25.30
UKUNDA SECONDARY SCHOOL		4 MSAMBWENI	KWALE	27.78
MOI UNIVERSITY WEST CAMPUS		2 TURBO	UASIN GISHU	28.11
ST. JOHN PR. SCH		2 SAKU	MARSABIT	31.25
KAPENGURIA TRADING CENTRE		2 KAPENGURIA	WEST POKOT	31.43
PTOKOU PRIMARY SCHOOL		1 SIGOR	WEST POKOT	31.56
KAPENGURIA TRADING CENTRE		1 KAPENGURIA	WEST POKOT	32.90
ROMBO GIRLS PRIMARY SCHOOL		3 KAJIADO SOUTH	KAJIADO	33.62
KACHIBORA MARKET		2 cherangany	TRANS NZOIA	35.89
BIDII PRIMARY SCHOOL		1 MAKADARA	NAIROBI	38.04
COMPLEX SOCIAL HALL		1 SAKU	MARSABIT	38.83
ABORI PRIMARY SCHOOOL		1 TAVETA	TAITA TAVETA	40.08
ORTUM BOYS PRIMARY SCHOOL		2 POKOT SOUTH	WEST POKOT	40.59
CENTRAL PRIMARY SCHOOL		3 MOIBEN	UASIN GISHU	42.56
GIRGIR		1 SAMBURU EAST	SAMBURU	44.50
LAISAMIS PRIMARY SCHOOL			MARSABIT	46.23
KAPKORIS PRIMARY SCHOOL			WEST POKOT	46.90
LORUBAE PRIMARY SCHOOL		1 SAMBURU EAST		47.23
BARINA PRIMARY SCHOOL		1 RONGAI	NAKURU	49.45
KAPKENDUIYWA PRIMARY SCHOOL		2 KAPSERET	UASIN GISHU	49.55
BISHOP DELANY SECONDARY SCHOOL		4 TURBO	UASIN GISHU	49.56
BISHOP DELANY SECONDARY SCHOOL		2 TURBO	UASIN GISHU	49.82
BISHOP DELANY SECONDARY SCHOOL		5 TURBO	UASIN GISHU	51.49
SILIPANI PRIMARY SCHOOL		1 LAISAMIS	MARSABIT	57.80
MARIACHI VIA TREE NURSERY		1 SIGOR	WEST POKOT	59.09
AP LINE I (OPEN)		1 SAMBURUR WES		61.21
ST. JOSEPH PRIMARY SCHOOL		1 KAPSERET	UASIN GISHU	64.01
ROMBO GIRLS PRIMARY SCHOOL		3 KAJIADO SOUTH		71.60
BIDII PRIMARY SCHOOL		1 MAKADARA	NAIROBI	72.36
ST. MARY'S SUGUT PRIMARY SCHOOL		1 EMGWEN	NANDI	74.81
IDUKU PRIMARY SCHOOL		2 VIHIGA	VIHIGA	75.11
CHEPKOIYWO PRIMARY SCHOOL		2 KESSES	UASIN GISHU	76.92
KIMBIBI PRIMARY SCHOOL		1 MWEA	KIRINYAGA	77.09
ST. JOHN PR. SCH		2 SAKU	MARSABIT	77.59
CENTRAL PRIMARY SCHOOL		3 NAIVASHA	NAKURU	78.45
KARLEL PRIMARY SCHOOL		1 CHESUMEI	NANDI	78.51
LAMAON CATTLE DIP STATION		1 AINABKOI	UASIN GISHU	80.00
ST MARTIN'S CHEPKEMEL PRIMARY SCHOOL		1 TINDERET	NANDI	82.04
KIGANJO YOUTH POLYTECHNIQUE		1 GATUNDU SOUT		85.74
KIBOI PRIMARY SCHOOL		1 KIHARU	MURANGA	87.23
OLOMAYIANA NUR		1 KAJIADO WEST	KAJIADO	100.00



How legitimate is the October 26 election? This is the main question preoccupying Kenyans today, as the electoral body streams results for an election marred by low turnout and an opposition boycott.

On November 1<sup>st</sup>, the constitutional period declared by the Supreme Court for a fresh election and a caretaker president, ends. Incumbent Uhuru Kenyatta faces a crisis over his caretaker presidency if no legitimate election has taken place, and no alternative mechanism has been put in place. The Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission, the IEBC, is under increasing pressure to account for results being released, which are marred by many of the same issues that led to the annulment of the August 8<sup>th</sup> poll.

The boycott affected significant areas of western Kenya, as well as constituencies in Coast and Nairobi. Protests were handled brutality by security forces. The IEBC immediately ordered a repeat of the election on Saturday October 28 in areas affected by the boycott, saying order would be 'restored'. Security forces have occupied the areas affected today, and protests and violence continue.

### **Technical legitimacy**

The election lacks technical legitimacy. The IEBC largely failed to implement any of the reforms necessary to comply with the Supreme Court judgment, which have led to similar errors and contradictions encountered in August 8<sup>th</sup> election.

KYSY analysis of the October 26<sup>th</sup> election is based on the findings of some 2,000 observers deployed in 44 of the 47 counties around the country to observe the election. The observers are responsible for monitoring Election Day processes, and transmitting photos of posted Forms 34A and Forms 34B.

KYSY finds the repeat election has been marred by many of the same issues that affected the legitimacy of the August poll, including:

- A changing Register of Voters
- Multiple copies of Forms 34A with different results in circulation
- Failure of electronic results transmission
- Failure of IEBC officials to properly and fully complete Forms 34B

IEBC does not seem to have a clear idea of what data is in its possession at any time. On the evening of October 26, IEBC Chair Chebukati announced that the Commission had 27,134 Forms 34A. At that time, the portal showed that the

Commission only had 18,090 forms. Today, Chebukati announced that the Commission had results from 15 constituencies. The portal showed, however, that the IEBC had posted over 100 Forms 34B at that time.

### **Process Observations**

These are examples of some of the most significant findings to date:

- Teso South, Mombasa: KIEMS kits, IEBC officials' reflectors, ballot boxes and ballot papers were burned.
- Kesses, Uasin Gishu: In Chepkoiya Polling Station, the KIEMS failed to transmit the Forms 34A. The PO asked the agent to accompany him to the tallying centre.
- Kilome, Makueni: IEBC officers were not in the tallying centre from 2:00 am onwards and they took Forms 34B and Forms 34A with them. These forms were not duly signed by agents nor by returning officers.
- Samburu: In Lorukoti, observers were not allowed to take photos. IEBC said that it did not want to be seen in the media.
- Manyatta, Embu: At Manyatta tallying centre, 4 presiding officers locked up the KIEMS kit and the ballot papers. Agents were called as the boxes were being unlocked eventually.
- Tana River: At Dayate Nursery, results transmission via the KIEMS kit failed.
- Kisumu: Security forces coerced residents to give them their ID cards.
- Several instances of security forces shooting citizens, including in Nairobi, Athi River, Siaya, Kisumu, and Nandi.
- Nakuru: In Njoro, KYSY observers found leaflets warning NASA supporters to stay home. The leaflet reads: "All NASA followers are expected to be indoors and asleep on this day of 26<sup>th</sup> Oct 2017 since they decided to boycott the presidential election. Please be advised that the total number of votes cast in favour of NASA in this region will be the determinant of how many heads will be chopped off."



### Forms 34B

Since the IEBC postponed elections in Migori, Siaya, Kisumu and Homa Bay until Saturday, it is unclear how Forms 34B for Kisumu West, Kisumu and Kuria East, Migori have been published.

In Kisumu West, Form 34B shows that Uhuru Kenyatta won 50 votes, all of which came from polling stations in the same ward (North West Kisumu). This form also shows that the RO received only 9 Forms 34A (out of 142 gazetted polling stations). The "takeover" section was not completed.

In Kuria West, neither the handing over nor taking over sections was completed.

In Kuria East, neither the handing over nor taking over sections was completed.

**Forms 34A**There appear to be multiple, different copies of Forms 34A in circulation.

Nanighi Primary School, Stream 3, Garissa

i (unight i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i	Form 34A from KYSY Observers	Form 34A from IEBC Portal
Aukot	0	0
Dida	3	3
Jirongo	Illegible	0
Kaluyu	0	0
Kenyatta	56	427
Wainana	0	0
Nyagah	0	0
Odinga	0	0
Total Valid Votes	60	430

### Bashaal Market Centre, Stream 1, Garissa

	Form 34A from KYSY Observers	Form 34A from IEBC Portal
Aukot	Blank	0
Dida	5	5
Jirongo	0	0
Kaluyu	0	0
Kenyatta	133	433
Wainana	0	0

Nyagah	0	0
Odinga	2	2
Total Valid Votes	140	440

Moreover, the IEBC reported that 35,564 stations sent signals indicating that they had opened; 5,319 stations did not send signals. As of 1pm on October 27, however, the IEBC's portal indicates that 37,045 forms have been uploaded. This means that the IEBC has posted forms from 1,481 more stations. Where did those forms come from? How will the IEBC resolve any differences that arise between the forms that they have already posted from these areas and new forms that may come tomorrow?

### **Turnout**

Overall, turnout has been unusually low in most areas. Approximately 36 percent of KYSY observations note low turnout. Based on a sample of 339 forms collected and scrutinized thus far, average turnout is 38 percent. There is tremendous variation, ranging from .5 percent (in Vihiga) to 90 percent (in Nakuru).

While politicians debate degrees of legitimacy, citizens have lost lives, property and hope for the future. How possible is it to force people who boycotted an election to vote in Kisumu, Homa Bay, Migori and Siaya? Security forces have moved into these areas today, pursuing protesters and innocents house to house, with live bullets and tear gas.

Given that these are opposition stronghold areas, it is reasonable to assume that voters here will be largely committed to NASA's call for a boycott. Even if a few polling stations manage to open on Saturday, it is unlikely that a handful of votes will be able to meaningfully add to legitimacy.

27th October 2017



### **Results of Kenyan Election Blighted by Errors**

1 November, 2017

Results announced by the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) are again blighted by errors, calling the validity of Kenya's presidential re-run into question.

On October 30<sup>th</sup>, Uhuru Kenyatta was declared winner of the latest presidential election – but the win remains dogged by questions of legitimacy. He was declared president-elect after a historically low turnout of 38 percent, demonstrated by IEBC statistics, and an opposition boycott that excluded significant parts of the country from the poll.

This statement includes examples of errors on the forms, including significant alterations of results from Garissa.

KYSY has identified errors and inconsistencies in the results announced yesterday, including significant and unexplained changes in the Register of Voters. There are also differences between the mathematical and announced total of valid votes cast; and, differences between the total valid votes cast recorded on constituency results Forms 34B and those announced.

Multiple Forms 34B also show that returning officers did not receive all the polling station results Forms 34A from their respective constituencies. This is significant, as it means that constituency level tallies were conducted without all polling station results.

KYSY deployed approximately 2,000 observers in 44 of the 47 counties around the country to observe election and human rights violations. The observers are responsible for monitoring Election Day processes, and transmitting photos of posted Forms 34A (polling station-level results) and Forms 34B (constituency-level tally of results). KYSY also monitors and analyses results posted on the official IEBC website.

### **Changing Register of Voters**

The Register of Voters has changed for the fourth time since it was gazetted in June. To date, none of these changes has been addressed or explained by the IEBC. The Register is a critical document, serving as a check on voter fraud and as the primary reference for voter turnout calculations, boundary delimitation and a host of other election-related activities.

The current lack of a definitive number of registered voters is rooted in the unresolved issues with the Register in the pre-election period. In fact, following KPMG's audit of the Register, KYSY noted unexplained differences between the biographic and biometric lists of voters, unexplained increases in the Register after registration closed, the presence of over a million dead voters in the final Register and serious data gaps in the reference documents used to create the Register.

The lack of a definitive and credible Register threatens the validity of results and the Commission. See below tables for details.

Aggregate Changes in the Register of Voters: June – October 2017

Date	Number of Registered Voters	Change
June 2017	19,611,423	N/A
August 2017	19,637,061	+25,638
October 26, 2017	19,728,124	+91,063
October 28, 2017	19,671,944	-56,180
October 30, 2017	19,611,366	-60,578

County-Level Changes in the Register of Voters: June – October 2017

		e ,	October 30, 2017	Overall Change
Mombasa	580,223	580,644		
Kwale	281,041	281,102	281,102	61
Kilifi	508,068	508,425	508,266	198
Tana River	118,327	118,338	118,338	11
Lamu	69,776	69,793	69,793	17
Taita Taveta	155,716	155,794	155,926	210
Garissa	163,350	163,350	163,375	25
Wajir	162,902	162,912	162,912	10
Mandera	175,642	175,650	175,650	
Marsabit	141,708	141,730		
Isiolo	75,338		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
Meru	702,480		702,776	
Tharaka Nithi	213,154	213,157	213,156	2
Embu	309,468	309,468	309,731	263
Kitui	474,512	474,563	474,563	51
Machakos	620,254	620,363	620,363	109
Makueni	423,310	423,434	423,434	124
Nyandarua	335,634	355,696	335,696	62
Nyeri	456,949	457,197	457,197	248
Kirinyaga	349,836		349,970	134
Muranga	587,126	587,222	587,222	. 96
Kiambu	1,180,920	1,181,076	1,181,076	156
Turkana	191,435	191,435	191,435	0
West Pokot	180,232	180,241	180,241	
Samburu	82,787	82,794	82,794	
Trans Nzoia	339,622	339,715	339,715	93
Uasin Gishu	450,055	450,159	450,159	104
Elgeyo Marakwe	180,664	180,679	180,679	
Nandi	346,007	346,102	346,102	
Baringo	232,258	-	232,311	53
Laikipia	246,487	246,693		
Nakuru	949,618	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	949,971	353
Narok	341,730	·	·	31
Kajiado	411,193	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	411,267	
Kericho	375,668	375,691	375,691	
Bomet	322,012	322,024	322,024	. 12
Kakamega	743,736	743,929	743,929	193
Vihiga	272,409	272,415	272,415	6
Bungoma	559,850		559,866	
Busia	351,048	351,087	351,087	39
Siaya	457,953	457,957	457,957	
Kisumu	539,210	539,932	539,597	387
Homa Bay	476,875	476,932		
Migori	388,633	388,700		
Kisii	546,580		546,682	102
Nyamira	278,853	278,853	278,853	0
Nairobi	2,250,853	2,251,929	2,251,929	1,076
Diaspora	4,393	-		
TOTAL	19,605,895	19,631,533	19,611,366	

### **Inconsistencies and irregularities**

A number of problems have been identified so far with the results announced by IEBC Chair, Wafula Chebukati, on October 30<sup>th</sup> 2017. These include:

- The number of registered voters announced by Chebukati differ from the gazetted number of Register of Voters, both at the national and county levels. In fact, Chebukati's announced numbers match what is in the gazetted Register in only 4 of the 48 counties (8 percent). In 92 percent of the counties, the gazetted number and Chebukati's announced number are different. See above.
- In three cases, Chebukati's announced aggregate total of valid votes for candidates differs from the mathematical total of valid votes for these candidates:

	Mathematical Total	Announced Total	Difference
Aukot	21,233	21,333	100
Dida	14,097	14,107	10
Kenyatta	7,583,895	7,483,895	-100,000

• Chebukati announced the total number of votes cast in the election as 7,616,217. That total is not the total of all votes cast. It is actually the sum total of his announcement of candidates' aggregate valid votes. Using his individual county results, the total number of valid votes is 7,716,107.

Mathematical Total	Announced Total	Difference
7,716,107	7,616,217	-99,890

- The total number of people who turned out to vote, based on this announcement, is the total valid and rejected votes. That total is 7,753,820. He did not provide this number. The IEBC has not released any constituency, county or national level data regarding rejected-objected-to votes or disputed votes. It is therefore impossible to calculate an accurate number of votes cast.
- In 10 counties, the total valid votes recorded on Forms 34B do not match the total valid votes announced by Chebukati.

### **Results Forms**

There are also problems and inconsistencies in the results forms:

Lorubai Primary School Polling Station, Stream 1

Waso Ward, Samburu East Constituency, Samburu County

• The Presiding Officer made comments on Form 34A, noting that there were no agents available. It is unclear why there are two agents listed on the form, both of whom signed the form.

Tumbeni Primary School, Stream 2 Chemuche Ward, Malava Constituency, Kakamega County • This form shows that Dida received 2 votes and Odinga won 4 votes. All other candidates received 0 votes. This amounts to 6 total valid votes. The form shows that 77 total valid votes were cast. Form 34B for Malava Constituency shows that in this polling station, Dida received 2 votes, Kenyatta received 71 votes and Odinga received 4 votes. Total valid votes is shown as 77.

Garissa Secondary School, Stream 2.

Waberi Ward, Garissa Township Constituency, Garissa County

• Form 34A records total valid votes as 225. Form 34B for this constituency shows 523 total valid votes for this polling station.

Garissa Secondary School, Stream 3

Waberi Ward, Garissa Township Constituency, Garissa County

• Form 34A is missing from the IEBC portal.

Garissa Secondary School, Stream 5

Waberi Ward, Garissa Township Constituency, Garissa County

• The Form 34A that has been uploaded onto the IEBC's portal does not show candidates' results. This part of the form has not been included in the photo. It is therefore impossible to verify the result recorded on Form 34B for this polling station.

Nasib Primary School, Stream 3

Waberi Ward, Garissa Township Constituency, Garissa County

• The math is incorrect on Form 34A. Candidates received a total of 61 valid votes, but the form records total valid votes as 62 (in one of the two areas for total valid votes).

Bulla College Primary School, Stream 1.

Waberi Ward, Garissa Township Constituency, Garissa County

• Candidate totals have been recorded incorrectly on Form 34A, and the incorrect total is also on Form 34B for this station.

Bulla Mzuri Market Centre. Stream 2.

Waberi Ward, Garissa Township Constituency, Garissa County

• Form 34A for this polling station records total valid votes as 96, but Form 34B records total valid votes as 496 for this station.

Tumaini Primary School, Stream 1

Galbet Ward, Garissa Township Constituency, Garissa County

• The numbers on this form appear to have been changed. New numbers have clearly been written over what was originally recorded, including over lines that had been drawn to indicate where numbers were not meant to be.

ADC Primary School, Stream 1.

Galbet Ward, Garissa Township Constituency, Garissa County

• Form 34A for this station records total valid votes as 122. Form 34B shows total valid votes as 123 for this station.

Jamuhuri Club, Stream 5.

Galbet Ward, Garissa Township Constituency, Garissa County

• The math is incorrect on this form. Candidates' total valid votes are 182, but total valid votes are shown as 182 on the form. The correct total is recorded on Form 34B.

Kazuko Primary School, Stream 2

Galbet Ward, Garissa Township Constituency, Garissa County

• The number of registered voters in not recorded on Form 34A.

### Kefri Centre, Stream 1

Galbet Ward, Garissa Township Constituency, Garissa County

• Numbers on Form 34A appear to have been changed. The changes are especially suspicious, because total valid votes for the other two streams in this station are so much lower. In this station, total valid votes are recorded as 310 but the other two streams have 2 and 4 total valid votes. It is highly unlikely that one stream would be so different from the other streams in the same station. The Kenyan public also shared multiple copies of this form (with different numbers) on social media.

### Garissa Medical Training College, Stream 4

Galbet Ward, Garissa Township Constituency, Garissa County

• Numbers appear to have been changed on Form 34A for this station. Numbers have been changed on F34A. The changes are especially suspicious, because total valid votes for the other two streams in this station are so much lower. In this station, total valid votes are recorded as 348, but the other streams in this station show 126, 154 and 178 total valid votes. It is highly unlikely that one stream would be so different from the other streams in the same station.

### Jaribu Primary School, Stream 1

Galbet Ward, Garissa Township Constituency, Garissa County

• The photo of Form 34A on the IEBC portal does not show candidates' totals. This part of the photo has been cut off. It is therefore impossible to verify the results.

### Jaribu Primary School, Stream 2

Galbet Ward, Garissa Township Constituency, Garissa County

• F34A from this station records 47 total valid votes. Form 34B records 247 total valid votes from this station.

### ASK Show Ground, Stream 1

Galbet Ward, Garissa Township Constituency, Garissa County

• Numbers on Form 34A appear to have been changed from 72 to 372 votes for Kenyatta and from 74 to 374 total valid votes.

### ASK Show Ground, Stream 2

Galbet Ward, Garissa Township Constituency, Garissa County

• The IEBC portal does not have a Form 34A for this station. Instead, it has posted the photo of Form 34A from Stream 1 here.

### NEP Girls Secondary School, Stream 1

Township Ward, Garissa Township Constituency, Garissa County

• Form 34A records 58 total valid votes, but Form 34B records 358 total valid votes from this station.

### Kenya National Library Centre, Stream 1

Township Ward, Garissa Township Constituency, Garissa County

• The photo of Form 34A on the IEBC portal does not show candidates' totals. This part of the photo has been cut off. It is therefore impossible to verify the results.

### Guest House, Stream 1

Iftin Ward, Garissa Township Constituency, Garissa County

• Numbers appear to have been changed on Form 34A from 235 to 435 votes for Kenyatta and from 243 to 443 total valid votes. The numbers are especially suspicious because they are much higher than the numbers from the other stream in this station. Stream 2 had 178 total valid votes, compared to the 443 alleged valid votes in Stream 1.

### Iftin Primary School, Stream 2

Iftin Ward, Garissa Township Constituency, Garissa County

• Form 34A has no stamp.

### Young Muslim Primary School, Stream 2

Iftin Ward, Garissa Township Constituency, Garissa County

• Numbers appear to have been changed on Form 34A from 320 to 420 votes for Kenyatta and from 331 (or 337) to 430 total valid votes. The higher total is recorded on Form 34B.

### Korakora Primary School, Stream 1

Iftin Ward, Garissa Township Constituency, Garissa County

• Numbers on Form 34A appear to have been changed from 253 to 353 votes for Kenyatta and from 155 to 355 total valid votes. The higher totals are recorded on Form 34B.

### Bolargy Primary School, Stream 1

Iftin Ward, Garissa Township Constituency, Garissa County

• Numbers on Form 34A appear to have been changed from 86 to 286 votes for Kenyatta and from 87 to 287 total valid votes. New numbers have clearly been written over lines that had been drawn to indicate where numbers were not meant to be.

### Jarirot Primary School, Stream 1

Iftin Ward, Garissa Township Constituency, Garissa County

• Form 34A has no stamp.

### Rahma Village Centre, Stream 1

Iftin Ward, Garissa Township Constituency, Garissa County

• Numbers on Form 34A appear to have been changed from 70 to 170 votes for Kenyatta and from 70 to 170 total valid votes. Different coloured ink has been used for the different digits.

### Najah Primary School, Stream 2

Iftin Ward, Garissa Township Constituency, Garissa County

• Form 34A lists 0 registered voters in this station.

### Baomo Primary School, Stream 1

Garsen North Ward, Garsen Constituency, Tana River County

• Form 34A records 0 registered voters for this station.

There also appear to be multiple, different copies of Forms 34A in circulation.

	Form 34A from KYSY Observers	Form 34A from IEBC Portal
Aukot	0	0
Dida	3	3
Jirongo	Illegible	0
Kaluyu	0	0
Kenyatta	56	427
Wainana	0	0
Nyagah	0	0
Odinga	0	0
Total Valid Votes	60	430

KYSY has also seen cases in which there are multiple original Forms 34A. On these forms, the numbers are the same but other information is different. In Samburu Teachers Sacco (Open), Stream 1, the Form 34A posted on the IEBC portal contains comments from the presiding officer. The Form 34A from KYSY observers does not show any comments. In Mwerogunda Primary School, Stream 2 and Ntunene Coffee Factory in Igembe North and in Mokowe Primary School, Stream 1 in Lamu, there are similar issues.

This situation gives rise to a scenario in which it is impossible to identify which copy of the form is the true original.

### Forms 34B

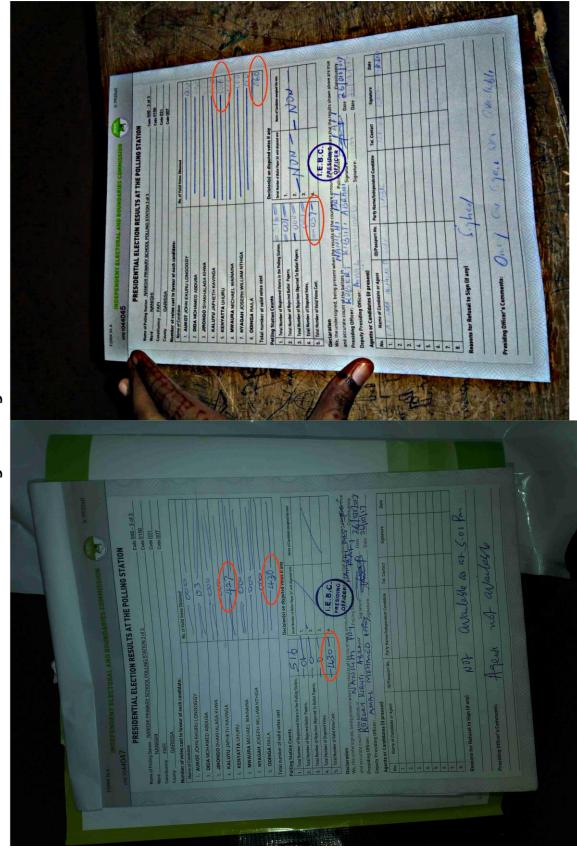
The following published Forms 34B are missing pages, making it impossible to verify results from these areas:

- Kitutu Chache South
- Nyali
- Central Imenti
- Mumias West
- Mt Elgon

In the following stations, the returning officers have indicated that they received far less than 100 percent of their constituencies' Forms 34A. This raises questions about the validity of the constituency tallies:

- In Kibra, Form 34B indicates that the RO received only 4 out of 180 Forms 34A.
- In West Mugirango, Form 34B indicates that the RO received only 1 out of 147 Forms 34A.
- In Kisumu West, Form 34B indicates that the RO received only 9 out of 142 Forms 34A.
- In Nambale, Form 34B indicates that the RO received only 84 out of 86 Forms 34A.
- In Kathiani, Form 34B indicates that the RO received only 1 out of 113 Forms 34A.
- In Wajir South, Form 34B indicates that the RO received only 1 out of 119 Forms 34A.

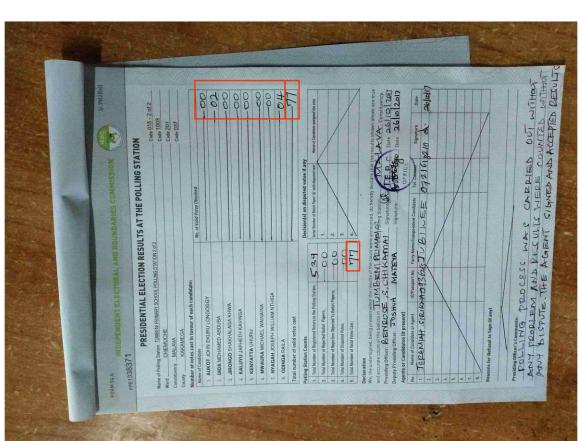
Garissa County - Nanighi Primary School, Polling Station 3 Showing differing totals and votes



**IEBC** Website

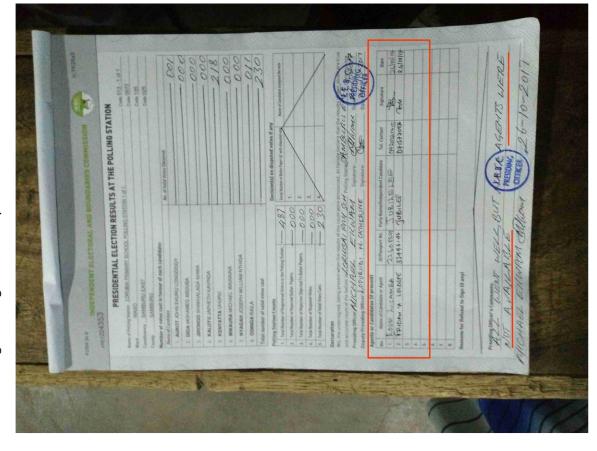
KYSY Observer

# Kakamega County - Tubeni Pri. Sch. - Polling St. 2 Total valid votes greater than sum of candidates



**IEBC** Website

# Samburu County - Lorubai Pri Sch. - Polling St. 1 Agents signature dispite PO's comments



**IEBC** Website

**IEBC** Website

Presiding Officer's Comi

00520131002001 BN3HWY WYSKEL CENTRE 0052013100001 BNTF WZNSI BSIWWEK SCHOOF 0052013100203 BOAZLOWN BSIWWEK SCHOOF VEIB PRIMARY SCHOOL YELD PRIMARY SCHOOL Garissa County - Bulla Mzuri Mkt - Polling St. 2 SARISSA SECONDARY SCHOOL CARISSA SECONDARY SCHOOL ARISSA SECONDARY SCHOOL MICHAEL WAINA MWAURA JAPHETH KAVINGA KALUYU NTHIGA NYAGAH UHURU KENYATTA MOHAMED ABDUBA DIDA Total Valid Vote RAILA ODINGA Rejected Ballot AKHALAGA KHWA JIRONGO JOHN EKURU DNGOCGY AUKOT Form 34A votes differ from form 34B CARISSA Code: 027 CONSTITUENCY TALLYING CENTRE COLLATION OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION RESULTS AT THE S/Number FPE007027-1 INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL AND BOUNDARIES COMMISSION ((s)(f)(8.1) **EORM 348** A Date of the contract of the ンマニ PRESIDING OFFICER -016-- UNTHAGE BORD NELL HAENT M PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION RESULTS AT THE POLLING STATION (s) on disputed votes if any We the undersigned being present of Dilly fragilise that compares and an analysis and the being present of the being of the CA ANAL WALL Penners and accurate count of the being of the CA ANAL WALL SIGN for the being of the CA ANAL WALL BRIDE Sign from the being of the CA ANAL WALL BRIDE Sign from the being of the CA ANAL WALL BRIDE Sign from the being of the CA ANAL WALL BRIDE Sign from the being of the CA ANAL WALL BRIDE SIGN from the being of the being o 4 Ket Polling Santon BULLANZUR, MARKET CENTRE POLLING, STATION 2 0/3 WARREN ID/Passport No. Number of votes cast in favour of each candidate: Name of Candidate 7. NYAGAH JOSEPH WILLIAM NTHIGA NOT THE AUKOT JOHN EKURU LONGOGGY 6. MWAURA MICHAEL WAINAINA 3. JIRONGO SHAKHALAGA KHWA

4. KALUYU JAPHETH KAVINGA

KENYATTA UHURU

8. ODINGA RAILA

2. DIDA MOHAMED ABDUBA

INDEPENDENT

Tratal number of valid voites cast

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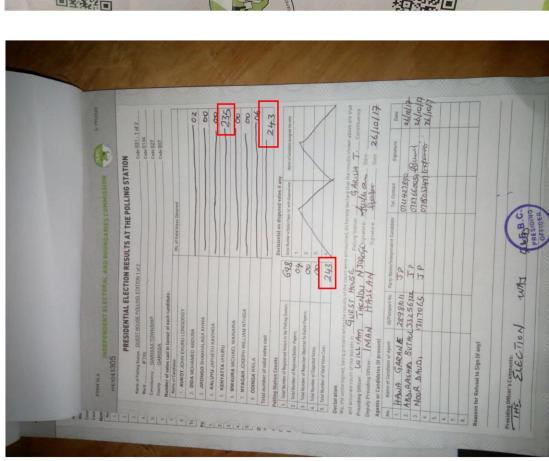
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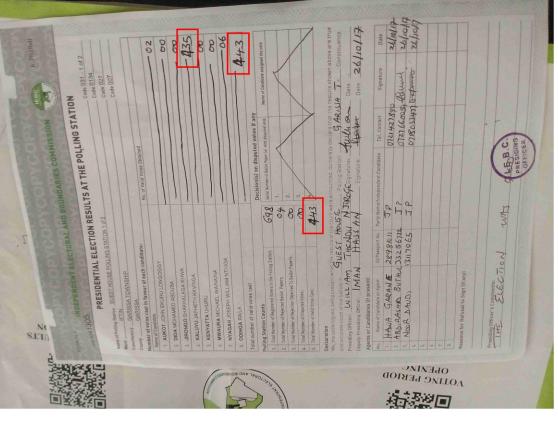
4. Teak Number of Veren

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9. T

**Garissa Township - Guest House - Polling St. 1**Alteration - 4 written over 2 in votes cast

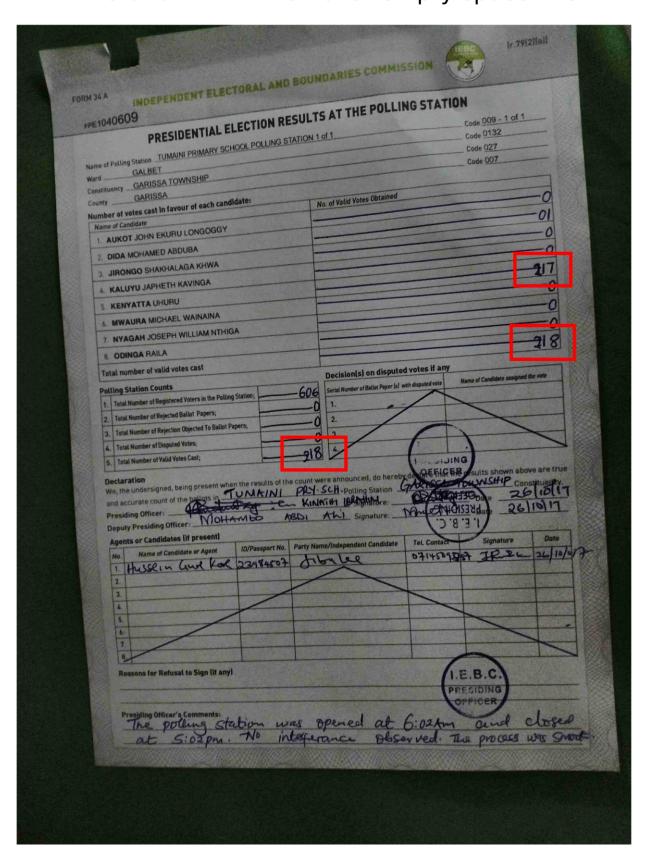




KYSY Observer

**IEBC** Website

## Garissa Township - Tumaini Pri Sch. - Polling St. 1 Alteration - 2 written over empty space line





### Kenya election: It Still Doesn't Add Up November 2, 2017

A significant 28 percent of all voters in the October 26<sup>th</sup> election were not identified electronically by KIEMS, the Kenya Integrated Electronic Management kit.

Data released by OT Morpho, shows that 5,525,487 out of 7,653,930 total voters were identified through their fingerprint in the KIEMS kits. The remaining 2,128,443 voters were identified through alpha-numeric searches, document searches or through some other, unidentified means.<sup>1</sup> Overall, that means 28 percent of all voters – more than 1 in 4 – were not identified through biometric data. Out of those who were identified non-biometrically, 78,124 were not accounted for in the KIEMS kits at all. How were those voters identified?

Means of Identification	Number Identified
Identified through fingerprints in KIEMS	5,525,487
Total identified biometrically	5,525,487 (72% of those who voted)
Identified through alpha-numeric searches in KIEMS	1,622,276
Identified through document searches in KIEMS	428,043
Identified through unknown means	78,124
Total identified non-biometrically	2,128,443 (28% of those who voted)
Grand total	7,653,930

The release of the data by Morpho compounds the controversy surrounding turnout figures, along with the failure of IEBC to include the number of rejected-objected-to votes and the number of disputed votes in its national totals.

Without these numbers, it is impossible to accurately calculate total votes cast and turnout rates.

Kenya invested heavily in a biometric system to counter a history of fraudulent and violent elections that used manual systems for ballot stuffing and manipulation. Manual identification is known as the copy register. There were multiple manual systems used for registration of voters in

<sup>1</sup> See "IEBC: Here's our proof of 7.6m turnout in Kenya's repeat poll." Available at <a href="http://www.nation.co.ke/news/IEBC-Kenya-repeat-election-turnout-/1056-4164536-adhopgz/index.html">http://www.nation.co.ke/news/IEBC-Kenya-repeat-election-turnout-/1056-4164536-adhopgz/index.html</a>.

the pre-election period, and lack of clarity around how the manual system would be used should the KIEMS kits fail.

### Inconsistencies

As noted in KYSY's November 1 statement, there were inconsistencies in the IEBC's verbal results announcement, particularly with regard to votes for Aukot, Dida, Kenyatta and total valid votes. The IEBC's Form 34C resolved these differences, with the exception of Kericho County. There is a difference of 273 between the mathematical total of valid votes for all candidates and the recorded total of valid votes for all candidates in Kericho County. This affects the total valid votes for the entire country. The IEBC noted this discrepancy in its announcement of results, but it has yet to explain the cause and how the discrepancy will be resolved.

KYSY notes that based on the available data in Form 34C, the total number of valid and rejected votes is 7,653,930, which represents 39 percent turnout. This differs from the data in Forms 34B, which shows 38 percent turnout.

Based on KYSY analysis of available Forms 34B, there are 8 counties in which valid votes recorded on Form 34C and the sum of valid votes on Forms 34B do not match. This number is updated as and when more forms become available.

### **Irregular Forms**

KYSY also continues to identify irregularities and inconsistencies on results forms.

Bura Bazara Park, Stream 1

Bura Ward, Fafi Constituency, Garissa County

• The Form 34A posted on the IEBC portal records 115 votes for Kenyatta, 2 votes for Dida and 117 total valid votes. The Form 34A seen by KYSY observers records 415 votes for Kenyatta, 2 votes for Dida and 417 total valid votes.

Kipturi Primary School, Stream 2

Muhoroni Ward, Muhoroni Constituency, Kisumu County

• Form 34A on the IEBC portal shows that Aukot won 60 votes, but Form 34B shows 0 votes for Aukot.

### Muhoroni Constituency

- Form 34B shows that there were 0 votes in both streams of Kipturi Primary School. Only Form 34A from Stream 2 is posted on the portal, and that form shows 60 votes for Aukot. There is no form for Stream 1.
- Form 34B shows results from 7 polling stations (out of 142) in the constituency. This includes two stations with 0 votes (as opposed to stations for which the data cells are blank). Out of these, there are only 6 Forms 34A on the portal.

KYSY has also seen cases in which there are multiple original Forms 34A. On these forms, the numbers are the same but other information is different. This situation gives rise to a scenario in which it is impossible to identify which copy of the form is the true original.

Bogichora Ward, West Mugirango Constituency, Nyamira County

• There are two Forms 34A from this polling station, both of which appear to be originals. One form has comments from the PO; the other does not.

Bwamani Primary School, Stream 1

Mayenje Ward, Matayos Constituency, Busia County

• Results are the same, but the two forms are marked differently. One is signed and stamped, but the other has no signatures. One has comments from the PO; the other does not. They do not appear to be carbon copies.

### Kathari Primary School, Stream 2

Kyeni North Ward, Runyenjes Constituency, Embu County

 Both forms have the same results, but one form has comments from the PO and the other does not

### Kiritiri Primary School, Stream 3

Mavuria Ward, Mbeere South Constituency, Embu County

• Both forms have the same numbers, but one has comments from the PO and the other does not.

### Kiunga Primary School, Stream 1

Kiunga Ward, Lamu East Constituency, Lamu County

• The Form 34A posted on the IEBC portal and the form seen by KYSY observers has the same results, but the stamps are different. The forms do not appear to be carbon copies.

### Oloolua Primary School, Stream 1

Oloolua Ward, Kajiado North Constituency, Kajiado County

• One form has PO comments, and the other does not.

### Theri Primary School, Stream 2

Murarandia Ward, Kiharu Constituency, Muranga County

• The substance of the PO's comments in both forms is the same, but the writing is different.

### Gituto Primary School, Stream 1

Wangu Ward, Kiharu Constituency, Muranga County

• IEBC and KYSY Forms 34A differ with regard to what is written in the section for disputed votes.

### Kathonzweni Primary School, Stream 3

Kathonzweni Ward, Makueni Constituency, Makueni County

• Form 34A from the IEBC portal includes IEBC signatures, but the form seen by KYSY observers does not include any signatures.

### Kitiriri Primary School, Stream 4

Mavuria Ward, Mbeere South Constituency, Embu County

• The Deputy Presiding Officer signed the Form 34A that is posted on the IEBC website, but the Form 34A seen by KYSY observers did not contain the Deputy Presiding Officer's signature.

### Kathari Primary School, Stream 2

Kyeni North Ward, Runyenjes Constituency, Embu County

• Form 34A posted on the IEBC portal includes a comment from the PO, but the Form 34A seen by KYSY observers does not.

St. Peter's Primary School, Stream 3 Evurore Ward, Mbeere North Constituency, Embu County

• The Form 34A posted on the IEBC portal includes a number in the total valid votes section, but the Form 34A seen by KYSY observers does not have a number in this section.