



Building Bridges Initiative (BBI) Referendum Issues

| Baseline Poll | 8th January 2021 |

#KenyanTakeOnBBI




Full Survey Report



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Introduction

-  For months now, and notwithstanding the continuing course of the Covid-19 virus pandemic, much of the country's political landscape has been occupied with the reform proposals that were developed in the aftermath of the reconciliation 'hand-shake' between President Uhuru Kenyatta and ODM leader and former Prime Minister Raila Odinga, and which have been embodied in the Building Bridges Initiative (BBI) Report.
-  Most recently, following the release of BBI Report, debate has increased about various aspects of the proposed constitutional referendum that would lead to the ratification and implementation of its contents. This debate has included not just its contents, but also its timing and ratification/voting-format, that is, whether citizens should have the opportunity to 'cherry-pick' these proposals so as to vote either 'yes' or 'no' on each one, or would vote for the entire package in a straight, 'up-or-down' choice.
-  As could have been predicted, this debate about both the proposed reforms and the process by which they will be considered, much of it reflecting political divisions based both enduring divisions in the country's democratic society, and more immediate lines of potential competition related to the next general election in 2022.




In designing this survey, the TIFA team paid close attention to all contours of this debate. However, given the limited duration of survey interviews, it was necessary to limit their content to a rather limited number of basic issues.

These can be summarized by the following questions:

-  How much appetite is there among Kenyans for any constitutional changes at all before the next election?
-  How much do citizens think they know about the content of these BBI proposals?
-  What is their preferred timing for the required referendum in relation to the next/forthcoming 2022 election?
-  What is their preferred format for the proposal-choices which the referendum will present to them?
-  What are their current intentions as to voting in this referendum in terms of three aspects: whether they will vote at all, and among those who intend to vote, how will they vote, and what are the main reasons they have (as of now) for doing so?

Comments:



-  As is evident from the findings, and as has been expressed repeatedly by both proponents and opponents of particular sections of the content of the BBI Report's proposals, the entire process is still in a very preliminary stage. Only now is the IEBC undertaking the verification of the signatures that were presented as part of the constitutional requirements for putting such a referendum to the people. Moreover, as even some of the most senior leaders who support this package or proposals have stated, the public is far from ready to vote, given the very low of familiarity with its contents, so that considerable civic education is required before the people will be able to make informed decisions with the referendum itself takes place.
-  Given these realities, the TIFA team felt that this was an opportune time to begin to explore these issues so that both the country's government and people have an accurate picture as to what the situation 'on the ground' really is, rather than leave them to either 'guesswork' or 'wishful thinking', or some combination of both. As such, TIFA looks forward to exploring these (and additional but related) issues on a continuing basis as the country moves towards such a referendum, whenever (or even whether – given the various legal challenges the have been lodged to stop it) it takes place.
-  In this regard, TIFA invites queries about the data presented in this Release as well as suggestions as to how future surveys on these and related issues can make an even more positive contribution to the consideration of this highly important undertaking.

Media Reporting Advisory Note



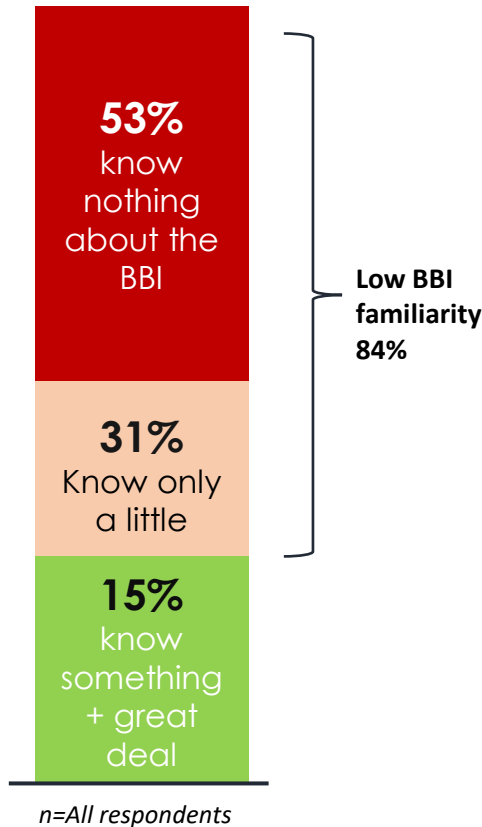
In reviewing, interpreting and reporting the results of this TIFA survey, it should be noted that it was designed and the data collected several weeks before the writing/release of the “letter” authored by Murang’a Senator Irungu Kang’ata on various aspects of the BBI Report and referendum process that appeared in the media several days ago.



Summary Findings

- There is generally low knowledge of BBI as 84% are not familiar with its contents and proposals. This is an indication of the need for public sensitization in order for Kenyans to make an informed choice
- Regardless of the low familiarity, most Kenyans feel that the Referendum should be held before the next general elections.
- Preference for a voting format that allows Kenyans to vote on each specific proposal.

BBI Content Familiarity



Preferred Timing for BBI Referendum

- ❑ 44% before 2022 general elections
- ❑ 12% same day as the 2022 general elections
- ❑ 31% after the 2022 general elections
- ❑ 14% Not Sure/No Opinion

n=All respondents

Preferred Voting Format in BBI Referendum

- ❑ 46% prefer to vote 'yes' or 'no' on each specific proposal (i.e multiple-choice format)
- ❑ 37% prefer to vote 'yes' or 'no' for the entire set of proposals in one go
- ❑ 16% Not Sure/No Opinion

n=All respondents

BBI Referendum: Current Voting Intentions



- Fewer than one-third of Kenyans (29%) reported that they would vote “yes” in a BBI referendum, with only slightly more (32%) declaring that they would vote “no.”
- Notably, a combination of those who would not vote + the unsure represents 42% of Kenyans.
- Specifically, those who say they know “a great deal” about BBI are far more inclined to vote ‘yes’ than those who say that they know “nothing” about (56% vs. 16%).
- This means that there is still a considerable work that needs to be done by champions of both of yes or no campaigns to win over Kenyans to their side.

Voting Intention in BBI Referendum

- 29%** would vote **YES**
- 32%** would vote **NO**
- 26%** would **NOT VOTE AT ALL**
- 16%** **NOT SURE/NO OPINION**

n=All respondents

Top reasons for voting “YES”

- 19%** more money to counties
- 15%** PM/DPM positions lead to more inclusivity
- 5%** benefits to youth (positions and loans)
- 5%** position of official leader of opposition for runners-up
- 40%** no specific reason given

n=intend to vote YES

Top reasons for voting “NO”

- 32%** lack enough information on the BBI proposals
- 20%** believe it is the wrong priority amidst other challenges the country is facing
- 9%** increased political tension and divisions
- 6%** increased political power for Presidency a threat to democracy

n=intend to vote NO

Top reasons for voting “NOT VOTING AT ALL”

- 68%** lack information on the BBI proposals
- 10%** believe it will be rigged to ensure its passage

n=intend not to vote at all

BBI Voting Intentions : by Political Party Affiliation



ODM Supporters

- 66% would vote **YES**
- 14% would vote **NO**
- 12% would **NOT VOTE AT ALL**

Voting intention
in the BBI
referendum



Most Ideal Timing
for BBI
Referendum



- 76% before next general election
- 4% same day as next general election
- 15% after the next general election

Preferred voting
format for the BBI
Referendum



- 52% YES or NO for all proposals
- 41% multiple choice for all proposals
- 6% not sure

n=all ODM supporters



JUBILEEE Supporters aligned to Uhuru

- 36% would vote **YES**
- 24% would vote **NO**
- 22% would **NOT VOTE AT ALL**

- 48% before next general election
- 17% same day as next general election
- 22% after the next general election

- 36% YES or NO for all proposals
- 43% multiple choice for all proposals
- 22% not sure

n=Jubilee supporters aligned to Uhuru



JUBILEEE Supporters aligned to Ruto

- 13% would vote **YES**
- 50% would vote **NO**
- 30% would **NOT VOTE AT ALL**

- 31% before next general election
- 19% same day as next general election
- 41% after the next general election

- 35% YES or NO for all proposals
- 54% multiple choice for all proposals
- 10% not sure

n=Jubilee supporters aligned to Ruto

Support for Any Constitutional Changes Before the Next Election

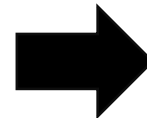


- Kenyans are nearly evenly divided over whether there should be any changes to the 2010 Constitution before the next election.
- Kenyans aligned to ODM/Raila Odinga and Uhuru's Jubilee faction are in support of Constitutional change. Whilst those aligned to Ruto's Jubilee are not in support.

Support for any Constitution Changes before 2020 Elections

- 42%** in support
- 46%** not in support
- 12%** not sure/no response

n=All respondents



ODM Supporters

- 69%** in support
- 26%** not in support
- 4%** not sure/no response



JUBILEEE Supporters aligned to Uhuru

- 50%** in support
- 38%** not in support
- 12%** not sure/no response



JUBILEEE Supporters aligned to Ruto

- 27%** in support
- 65%** not in support
- 8%** not sure/no response



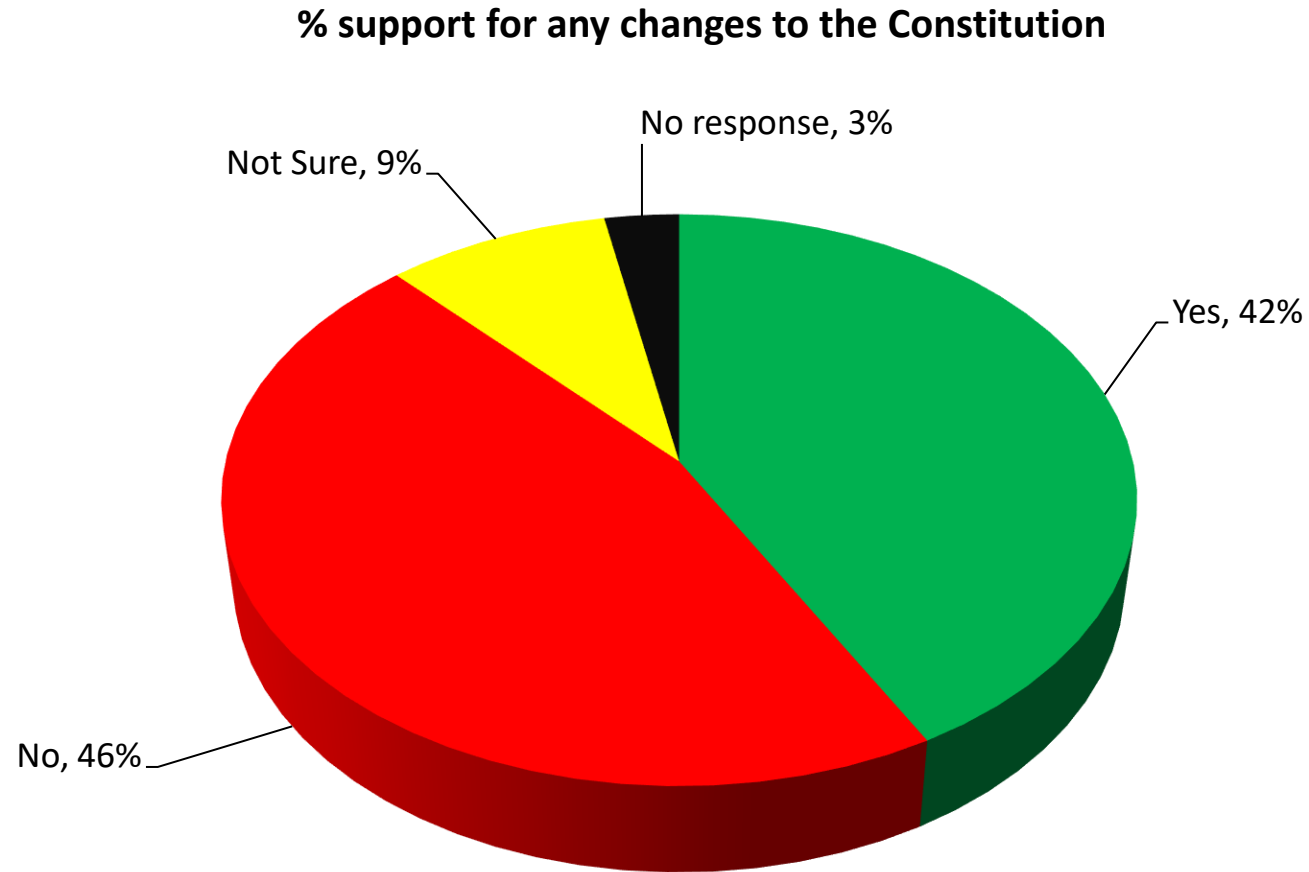
Constitutional Change and the BBI Referendum: Section One – Main Findings

- Support for Any Constitutional Changes
- Self-Assessed Level of Awareness of BBI Report Content
- Expressed BBI Referendum Voting Intention and Main Reason
- Preferred Timing of the BBI Referendum
- Preferred Voting-Format of the Referendum Proposal

Support for Any Constitutional Changes Before the 2022 Elections: by Total



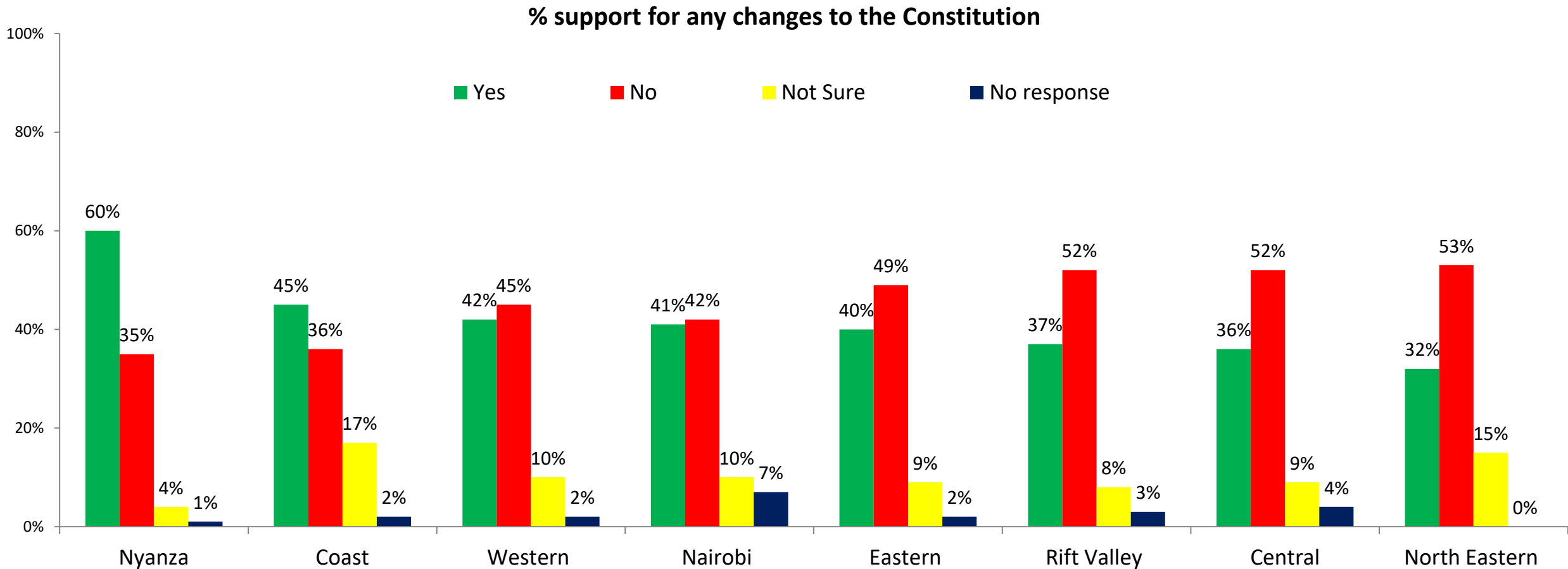
- As of late December, Kenyans were nearly evenly divided over whether there should be any changes to the 2010 Constitution before the next election.



Support for Any Constitutional Changes Before the 2022 Elections: by Region



Residents of Nyanza and Coast regions were most positive about changes to the Constitution, while residents of Central and North Eastern the least positive.



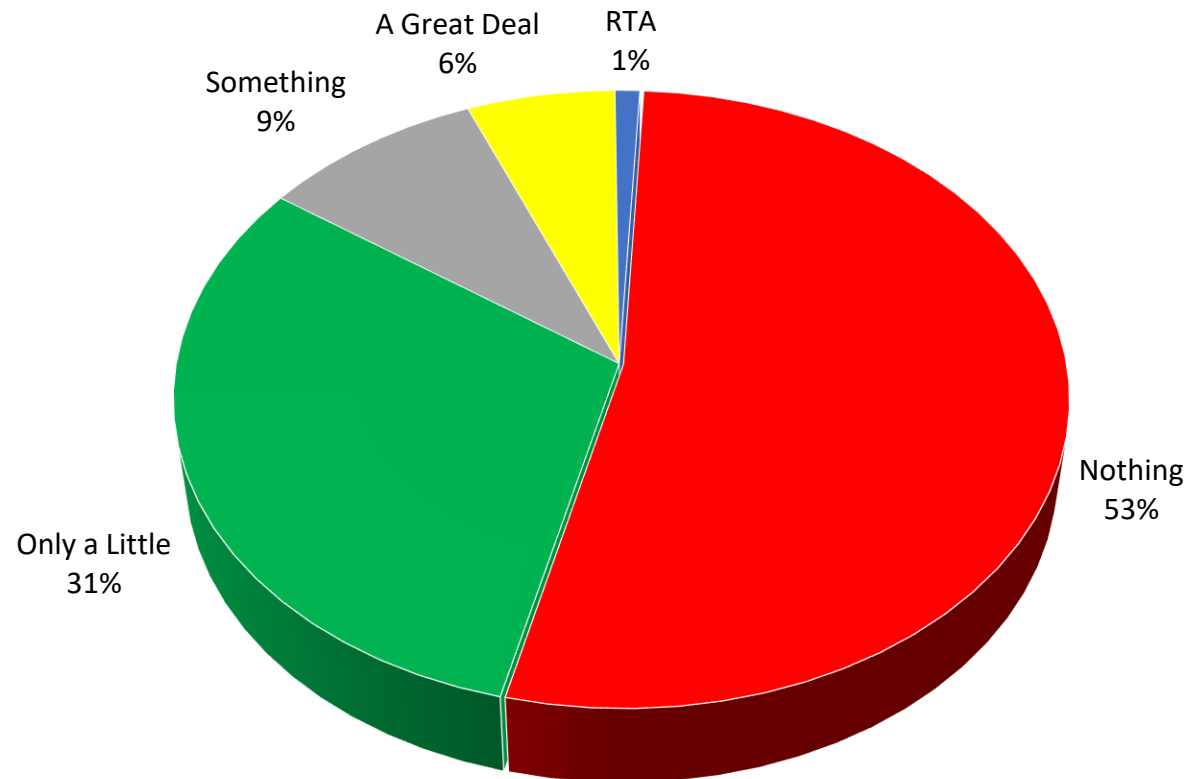
Q. "Do you support having any changes made to the Constitution before the next election?"

Self-Assessed Level of Familiarity with Content of BBI Report: by Total



- Just over half of all Kenyans (53%) say they know “nothing” about the contents of the BBI Report, with another one-third (31%) reporting that they know “only a little.”

Level of familiarity with contents of the BBI

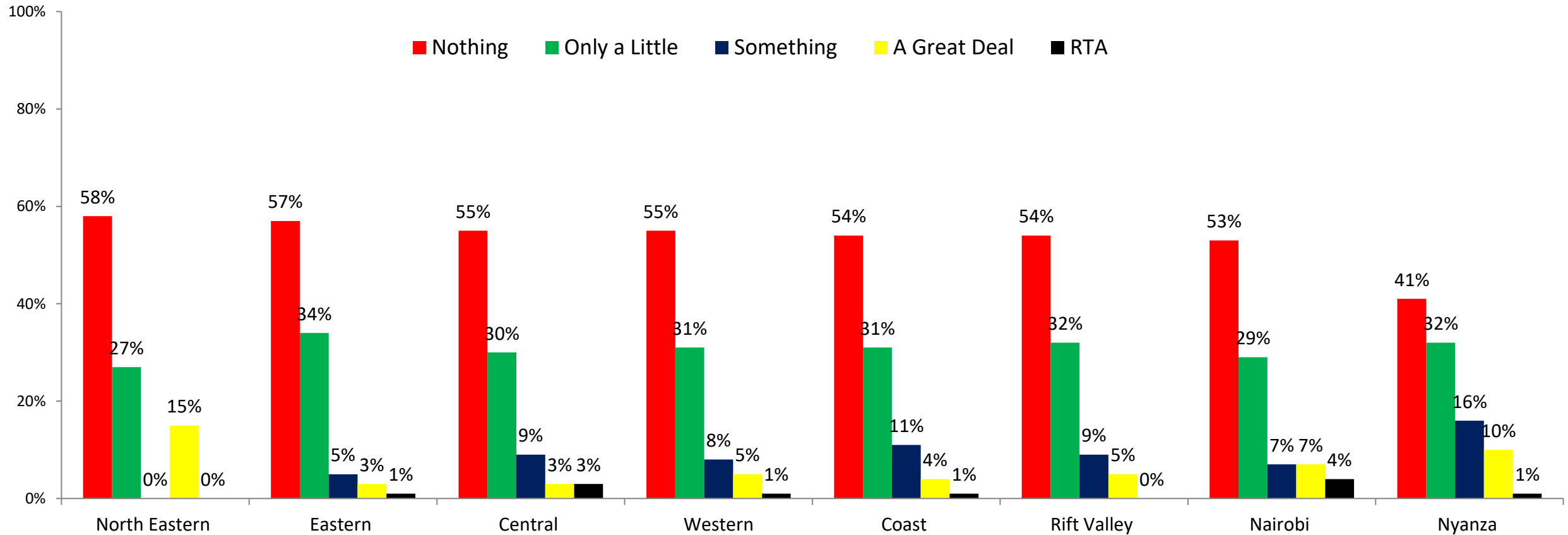


Self-Assessed Level of Familiarity with Content of BBI Report: by Region



- More residents of North Eastern and Eastern attest to knowing “a great deal” about it, (58% and 57%, respective) with Nyanza having the fewest proportion who say they lack any such information (41%).

Level of familiarity with contents of the BBI

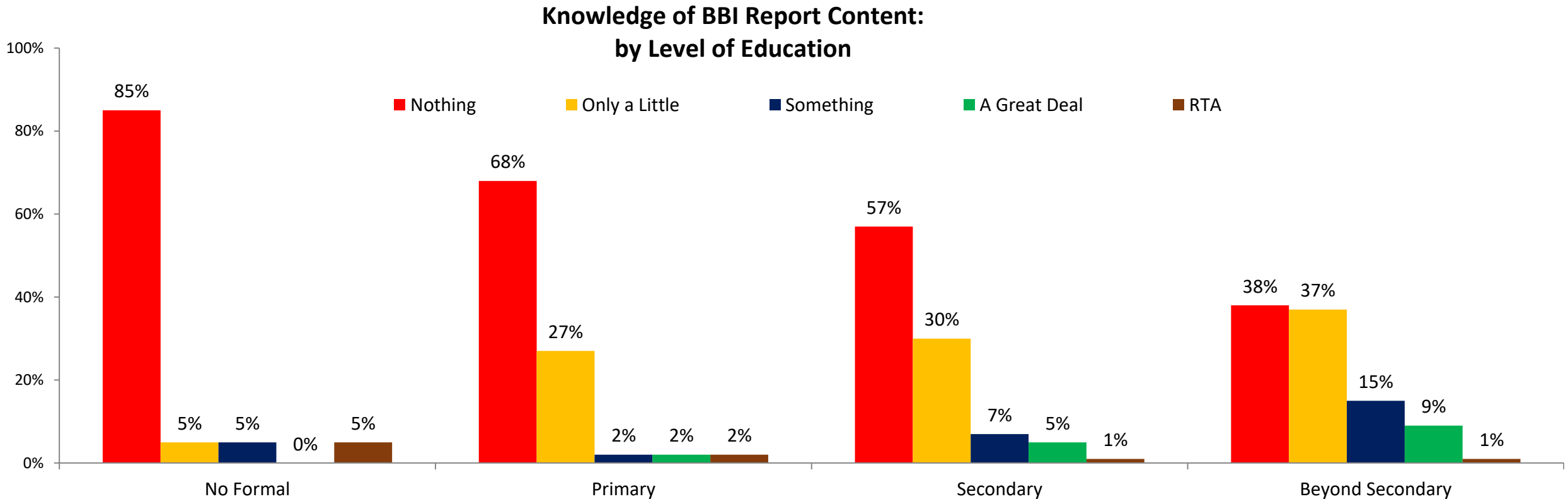


Q. “How much would you say you know about the proposal in the BBI report that was recently made public?”

Self-Assessed Level of Familiarity with Content of BBI Report: by Level of Education



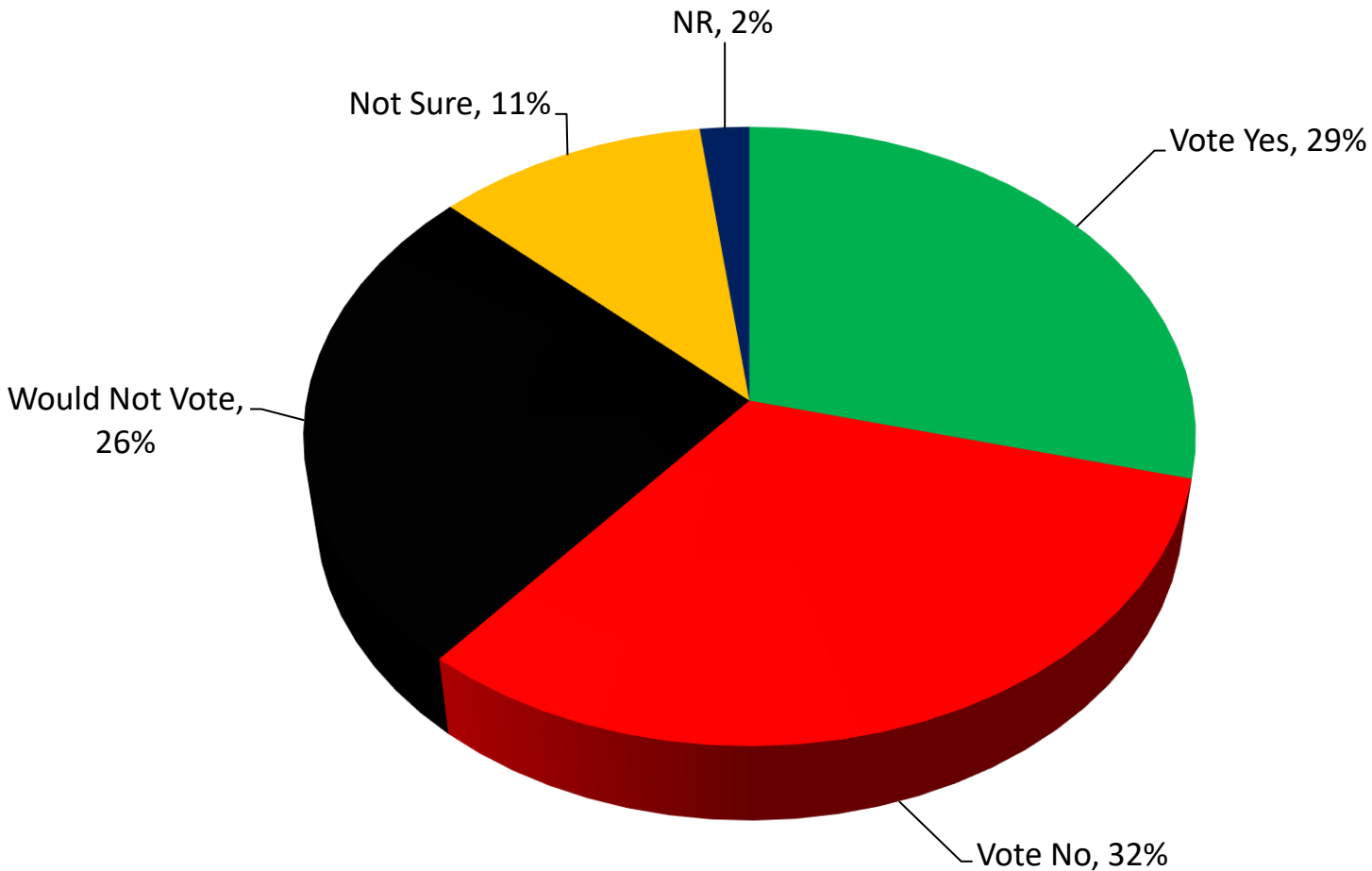
- There is a clear correlation between respondents' level of education and their self-assessed familiarity with the content of the BBI Report. For example, more than twice as many as those without any formal education say they know “nothing” about it as compared with those with any education beyond secondary (85% vs. 38%), though even among the latter, hardly one-in-ten say that they know “a great deal” about it (9%) while more than one-third (38%) say they know “nothing.”



Declared Voting Intention in Future BBI Referendum: by Total



Voting intention in the BBI Referendum



- ❑ Overall, as of December, fewer than one-third of Kenyans (29%) reported that they would vote “yes” in a BBI referendum, with only slightly more (32%) declaring that they would vote “no.”
- ❑ However, almost as many (26%) said they would not vote, leaving the rest either “not sure” about this (11%) or unwilling to state their intentions (2%).
- ❑ Also note that if those who say that they “would not vote” in the BBI referendum are removed from the calculation, the ‘Nos’ would defeat the ‘Yeses’ by 52% to 48%.

Q. “If the referendum on the BBI proposals was held, today, how would you vote?”

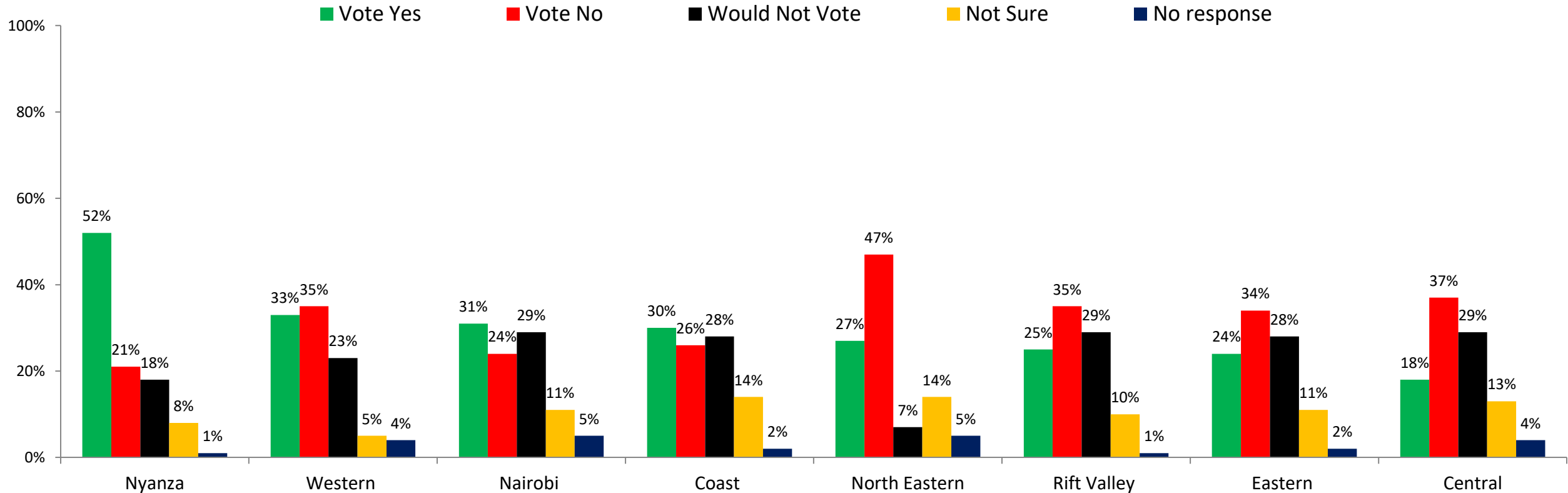
Base = 1,550

Declared Voting Intention in Future BBI Referendum: by Region



- In regional terms, the proportion of those stating an intention to vote “yes” varies considerably, from a slim overall majority (52%) in Nyanza to less than one-in-five (18%) in Central.

Voting intention in the BBI Referendum

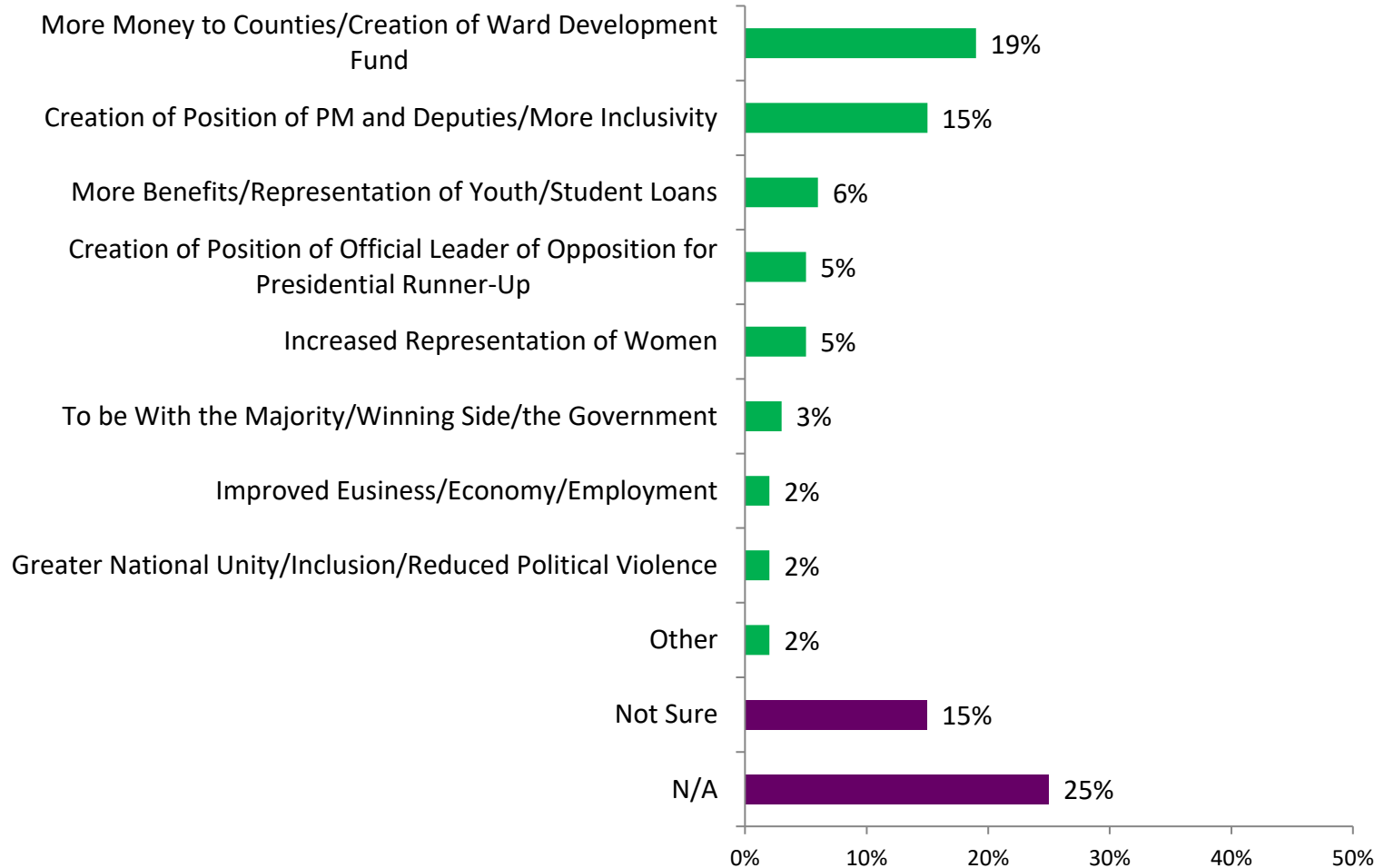


Q. “If the referendum on the BBI proposals was held, today, how would you vote?”

Main Reason for Voting “Yes” in Any Forthcoming BBI Referendum: by Those Who Say They Would Vote “Yes”



Main Reasons for Voting ‘Yes’ in Referendum

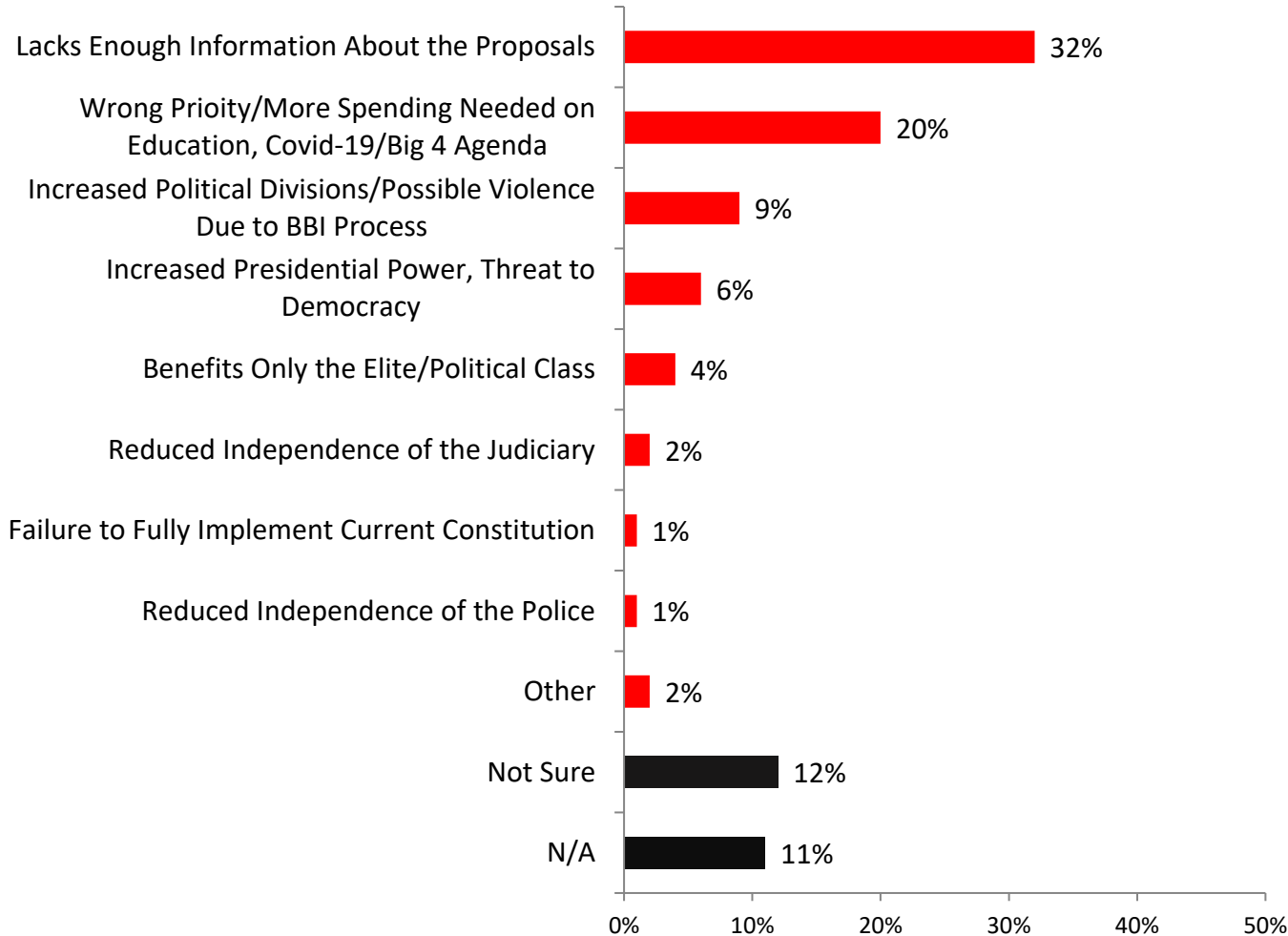


- ❑ Among the 29% who declared that they would vote “yes” on any forthcoming BBI referendum, the two most frequently (single) reasons given were more money to be allocated to counties and/or the creation of a ward development fund (19%) and the proposed creation of additional leadership positions (prime minister and two deputies; 15%), supposedly fostering a higher level of communal inclusivity.
- ❑ At the same time, a significant proportion (15%) said they were “not sure” for their positive view of the proposals, and even more (25%) giving responses that were irrelevant (“not applicable”) to the question being asked.

Main Reason for Voting “No” in Any Forthcoming BBI Referendum: by Those Who Say They Would Vote “No”



Main Reasons for Voting ‘No’ in Referendum



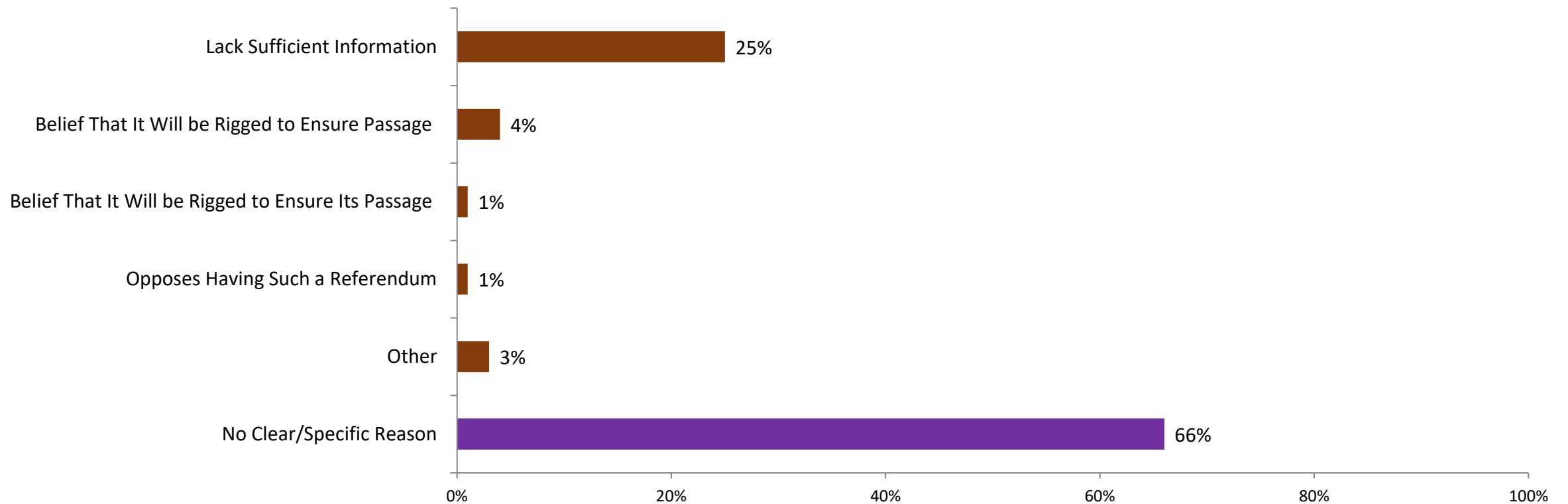
- ❑ Among the 32% who said they intended to vote “no” in a BBI referendum, the most frequently (single) reason given (by 32%) said it was because of their ignorance of its content, with the next most frequently given reason (by 20%) being the view that other public policy issues – education, the Covid-19 virus, and the Big 4 Agenda – should be given priority in terms of cost and attention.
- ❑ At the same time, around one-in-ten were “not sure” for their antipathy to the referendum, and the same proportion giving reasons that were irrelevant to the BBI report itself.

Main Reason for Not Voting in Any Forthcoming BBI Referendum: by Those Who Say They Would Not Vote At All



- ❑ Among the 26% who indicate that they would not participate in any such BBI referendum, two-thirds (66%) cite their lack of sufficient information about its contents, while one-in-four (25%) say they lack enough information to make up their minds.
- ❑ Yet others say that it is their belief that it will be rigged one way or another (5%) as a disincentive to participate, whenever such a referendum is held.

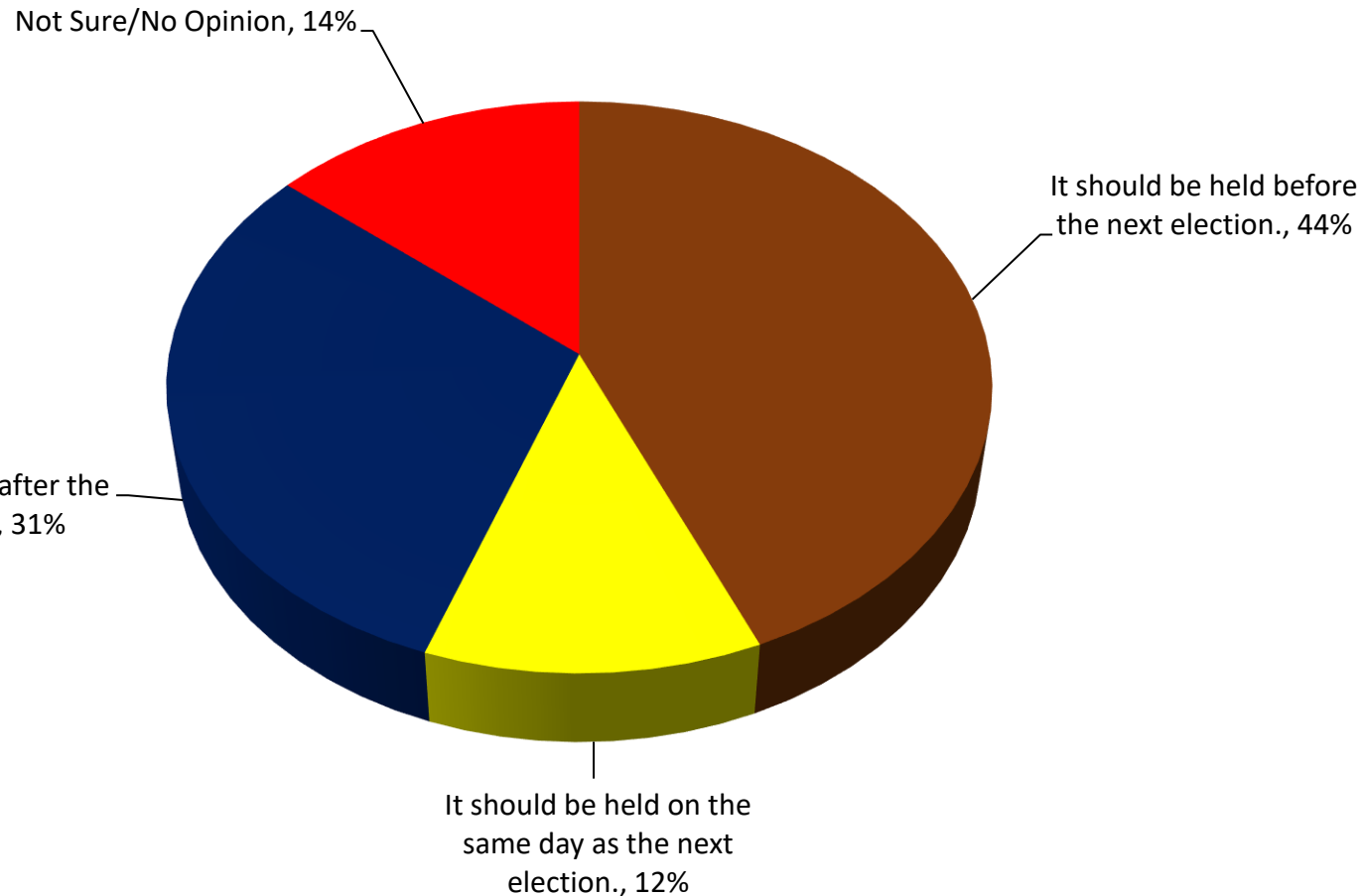
Main Reasons for Not Voting in Referendum



Preferred Timing of the BBI Referendum: by Total



Preferred Timing-Options for Referendum

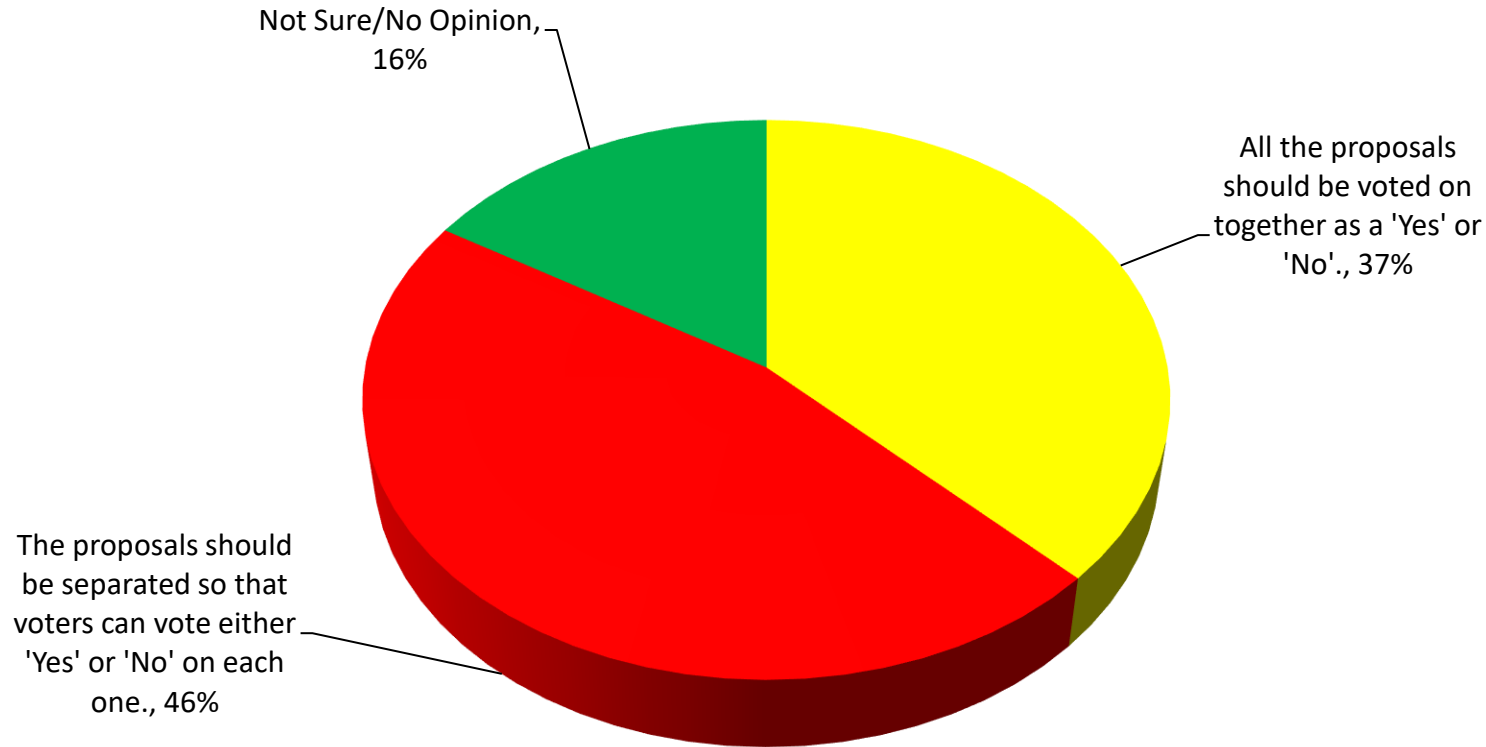


- ❑ Kenyans are very divided as to just when they would like any BBI referendum to take place in relation to the next/2022 election. Specifically, nearly half (44%) want it held prior to the next election, though nearly one-third (31%) want it held after that event. However, far fewer (12%) want it held on the same day of that election.

Preferred Voting Format of BBI Referendum: by Total



Preferred Voting Format-Options in Referendum



□ Regarding the format for the referendum's various proposed changes, nearly half (46%) would like a multi-proposal 'menu' so that voters can vote 'yes' on those proposals they support and 'no' on those that they do not. At the same time, just over one-third (37%) prefer a straight all-or-nothing vote so that voters will either approve or reject the entire BBI package. This leaves a considerable proportion (16%) who are not sure about this, however.



Constitutional Change and the BBI Referendum:

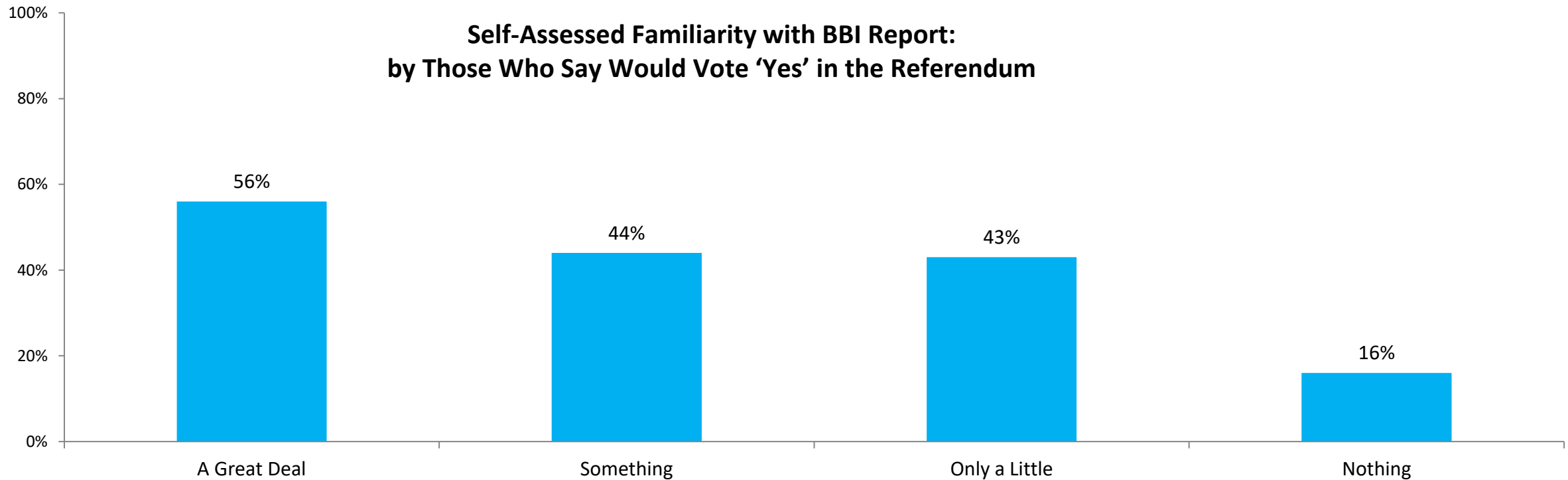
Section Two - Correlations

- Level of Knowledge of BBI Report by Those Intending to Vote 'Yes' in Referendum
- Political Party Self-Identification/Support
- Support for Any Constitutional Changes by Political Party Alignment
- Expressed Referendum Voting Intentions by Political Party Alignment
- Preferred Timing of BBI Referendum by Political Party Alignment
- Preferred BBI Referendum Voting-Format by Political Party Alignment

Intention to Vote 'Yes' in Referendum: by Level of Familiarity with Content of BBI Report



- Among those who expressed an intention to vote 'yes' in the BBI referendum, there is a strong correlation with self-assessed familiarity with the BBI Report's content. Specifically, those who say they know "a great deal" about it are far more inclined to vote 'yes' than those who say that they know "nothing" about (56% vs. 16%).



Q. "If the referendum on the BBI proposals was held, today, how would you vote?"

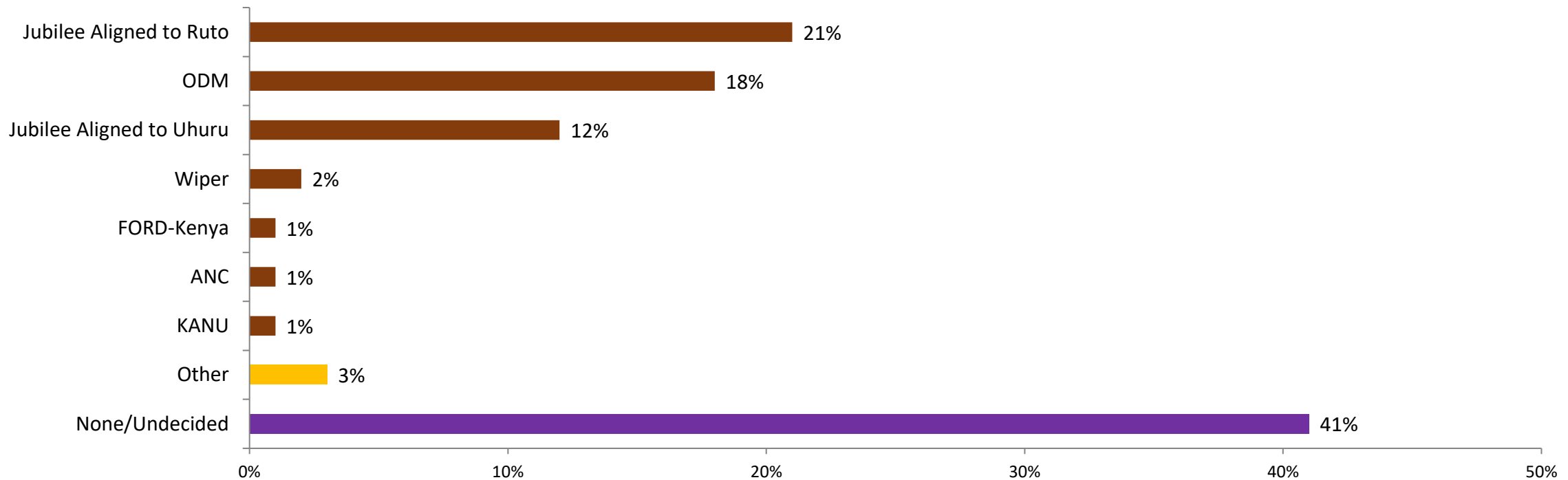
Q. "How much would you say you know about the proposal in the BBI report that was recently made public?"

Base = 651

Political Party Self-Identification/Alignment

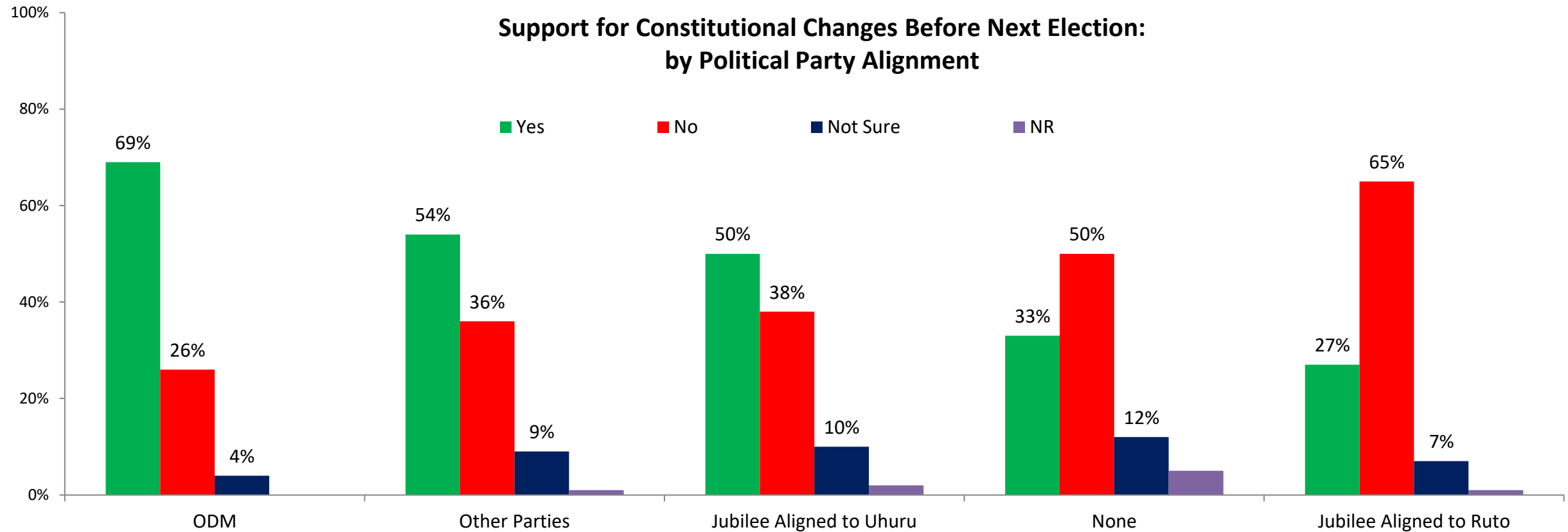
- ❑ As of now, nearly half of all Kenyans (42%) decline to self-identify with any political party.
- ❑ Among those who do, most identify with Jubilee, and are among those who prefer DP Ruto as president in 2022 (21%), while others who also identify with Jubilee but do not support DP Ruto are only about half that proportion (12%).
- ❑ The only other political party that receives more than 1% of support through such self-identification is Wiper (2%).

Expressed Political Party Alignment



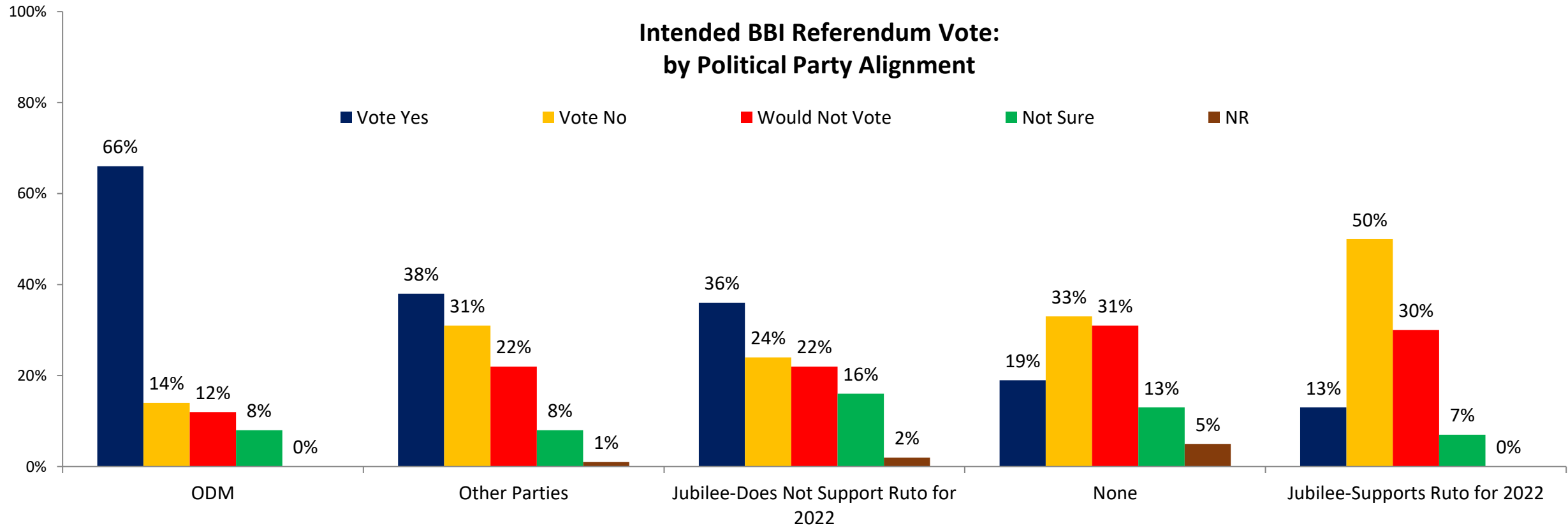
Support for Any Constitutional Changes Before the 2022 Elections: by Political Party/Faction Alignment

- In terms of political party self-identification, those who so with regard to ODM are the most supportive of having any changes at all made to the 2010 Constitution before the next election, with those who support Jubilee and are aligned with DP Ruto are the least enthusiastic about this possibility.



Intended Referendum Vote: by Political Party/Faction Alignment

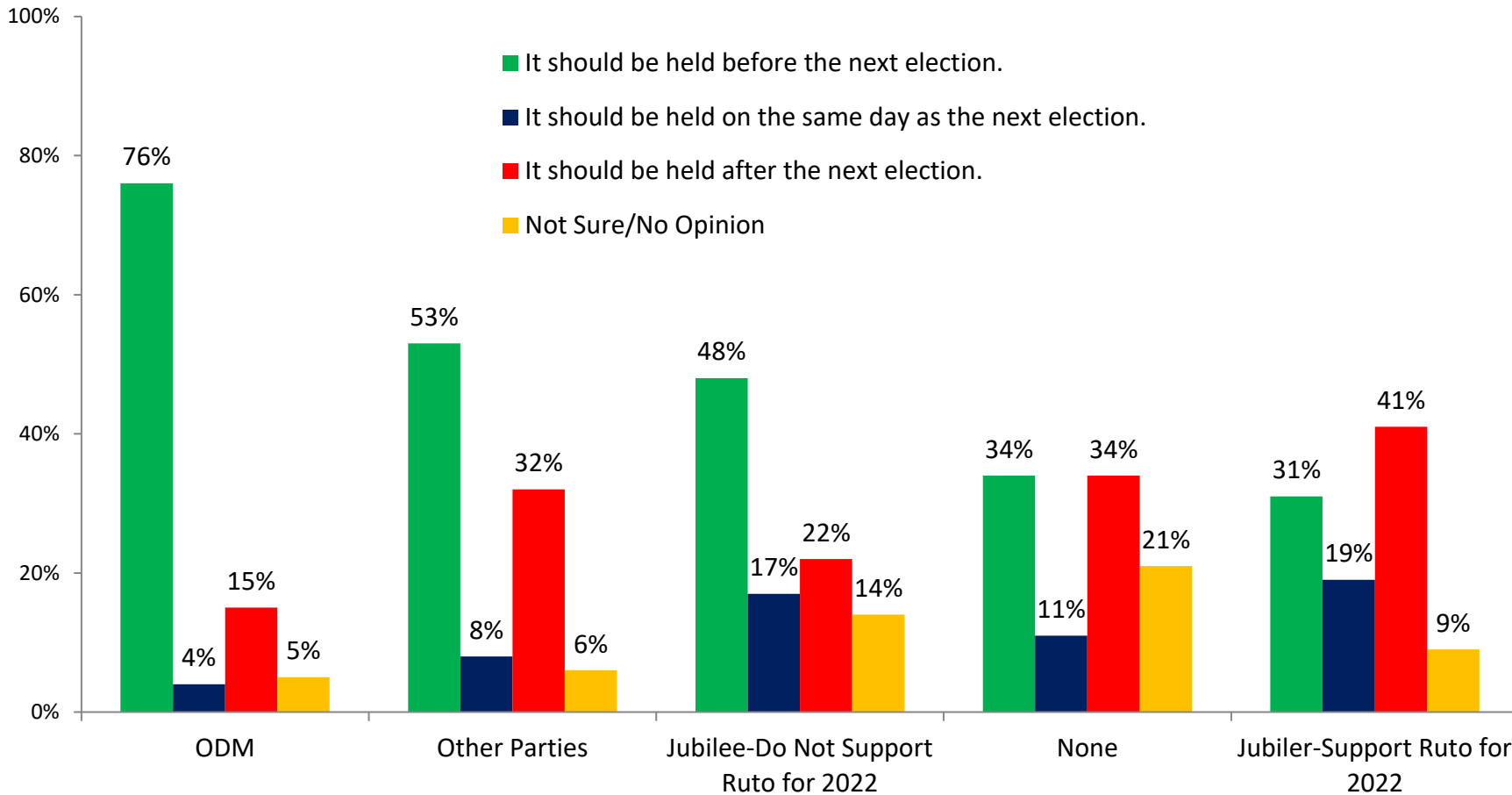
Looking at expressed current intentions with regard to a BBI referendum, there are major contrasts in terms of political party alignment, with those who self-identify with ODM most in favor (66%) and those who self-identify with Jubilee and also report their preference for DP Ruto in the 2022 election the least in favor (13%). However, even among those who identify with Jubilee but are not supporters of DP Ruto's 2022 presidential bid only slightly more than one-third say that they would vote 'yes'.



Preferred Timing of the BBI Referendum: by Political Party Alignment



**Preferred Timing of the Referendum:
by Political Party Alignment**

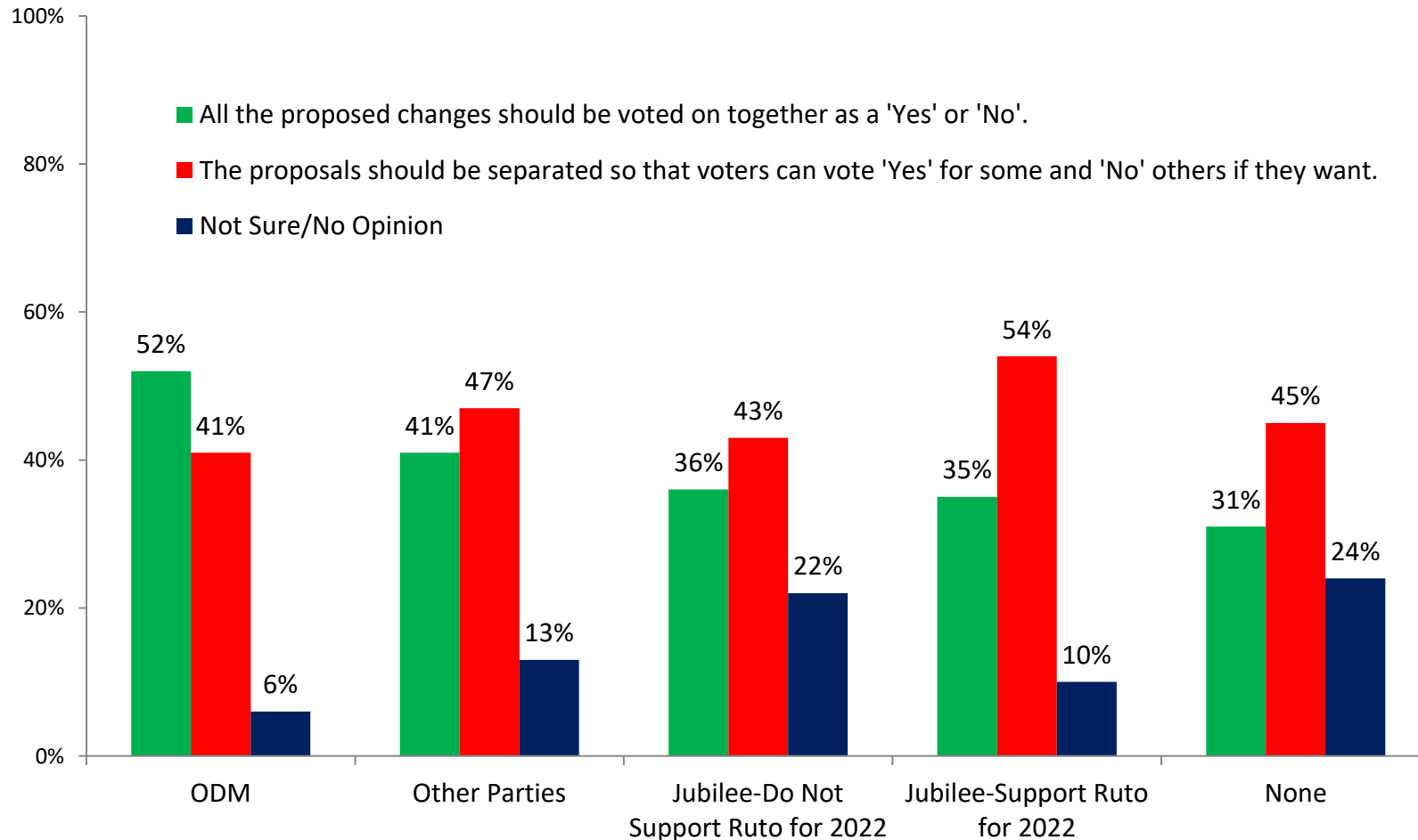


- Regarding the preferred timing of the BBI referendum, there are clear contrasts based on respondents' political party self-identified support. Among those who want it held prior to the next election, the greatest contrast is that between ODM supporters and those Jubilee supporters who support DP Ruto's 2022 presidential bid (76% vs. 31%).
- Conversely, far more of the latter than the former prefer that it be held after the next election (41% vs. 15%).

Preferred Voting Format of BBI Referendum: by Political Party Alignment



Preferred Proposal Voting-Format: by Political Party Alignment



- There are significant, if not overwhelming, contrasts regarding format-preferences for the BBI referendum based on political party alignment, with a (slim) majority of ODM supporters the most positive about having a straight, 'yes' vs. 'no' choice on all the proposed changes it will contain (51%).
- On the other side of the debate, an almost similar majority of Jubilee supporters who back DP Ruto's 2022 presidential bid (54%) prefer an opportunity to approve or reject each (major) proposal in the referendum.

Q. "If there will be a referendum on the BBI proposals, which of the following statements do you agree with most?"

Base = 1,550



Methodology and Demographics

Methodology Overview

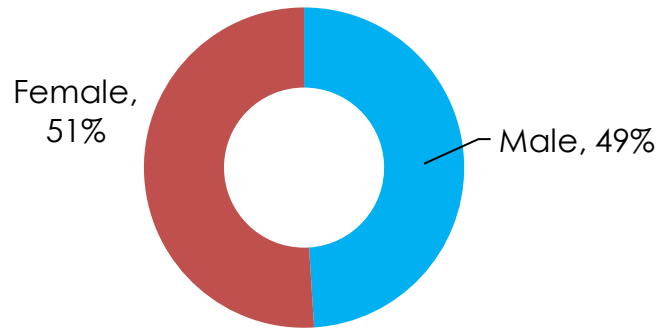


Fieldwork Dates	8 th to 19 th December 2020
Geographical	Nationally representative sample
Data collection	Telephonic Interviews conducted (with respondents whose contacts were collected through face-to-face (i.e., household-based) interviews)
Sample	1,550 respondents
Margin of error	+/- 2% (Note: Larger error-margins for sub-samples)

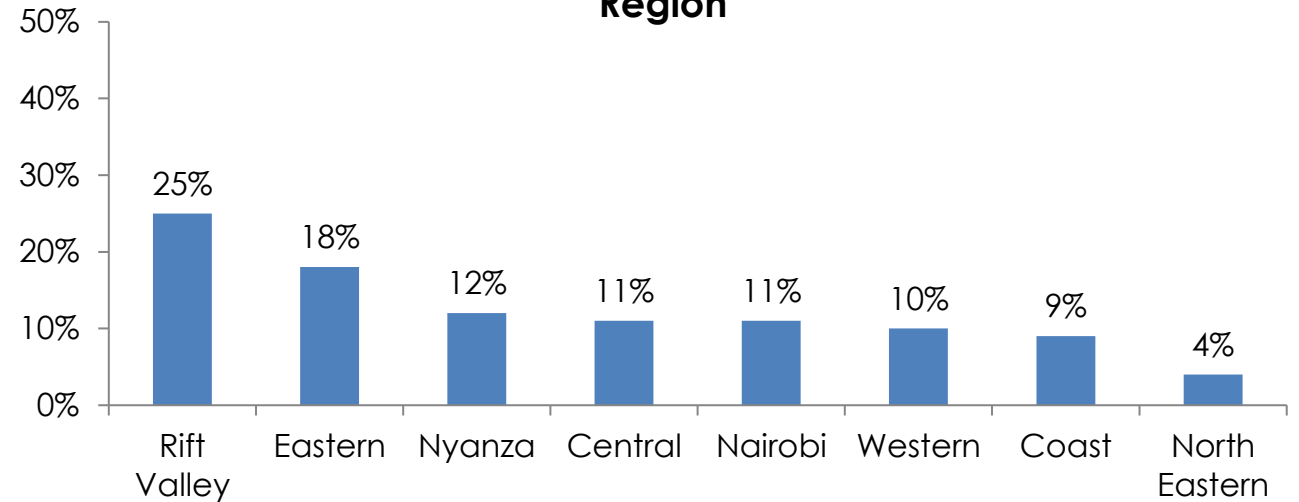
Demographics: Region, Gender, Age & Education Level



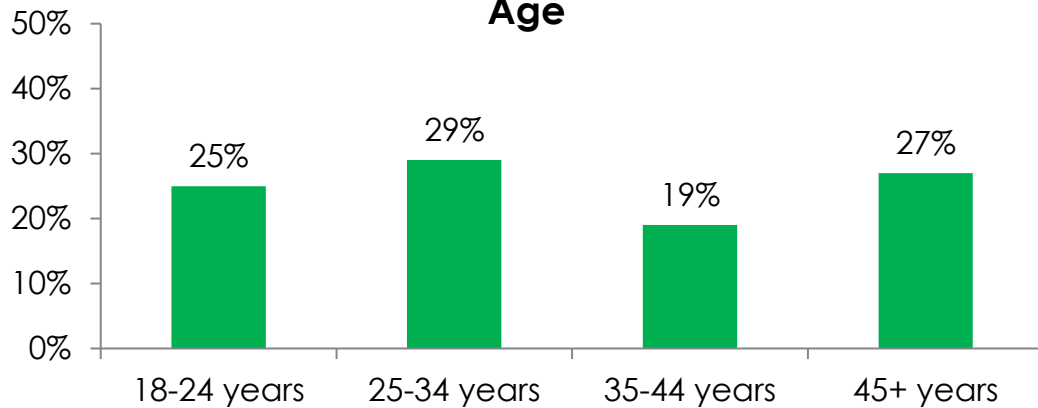
Gender



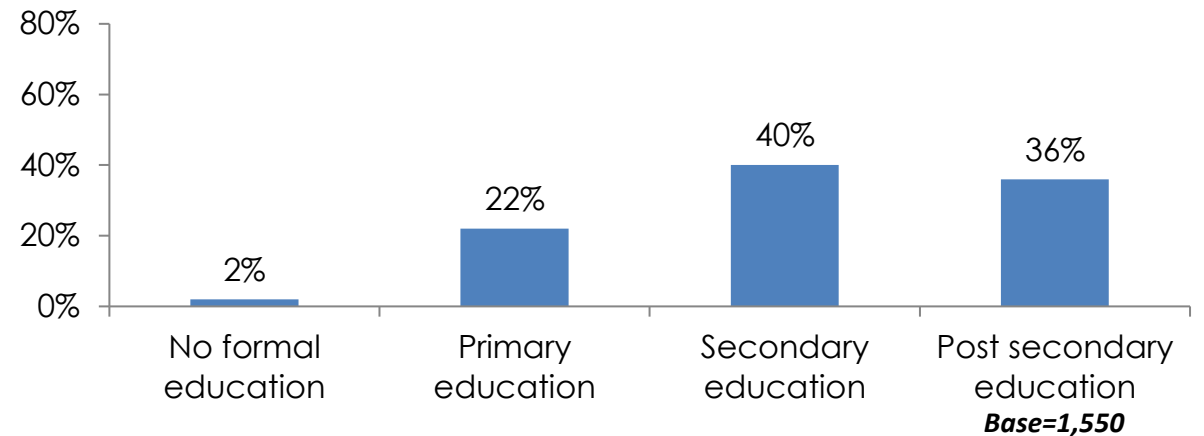
Region



Age



Education Level



Base=1,550



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