2022 Elections Poll
Parties, Alliances & Presidential Candidates' Popularity

#TIFAElectionsPoll

April Omnibus Survey | 1st Release | 5th May 2022

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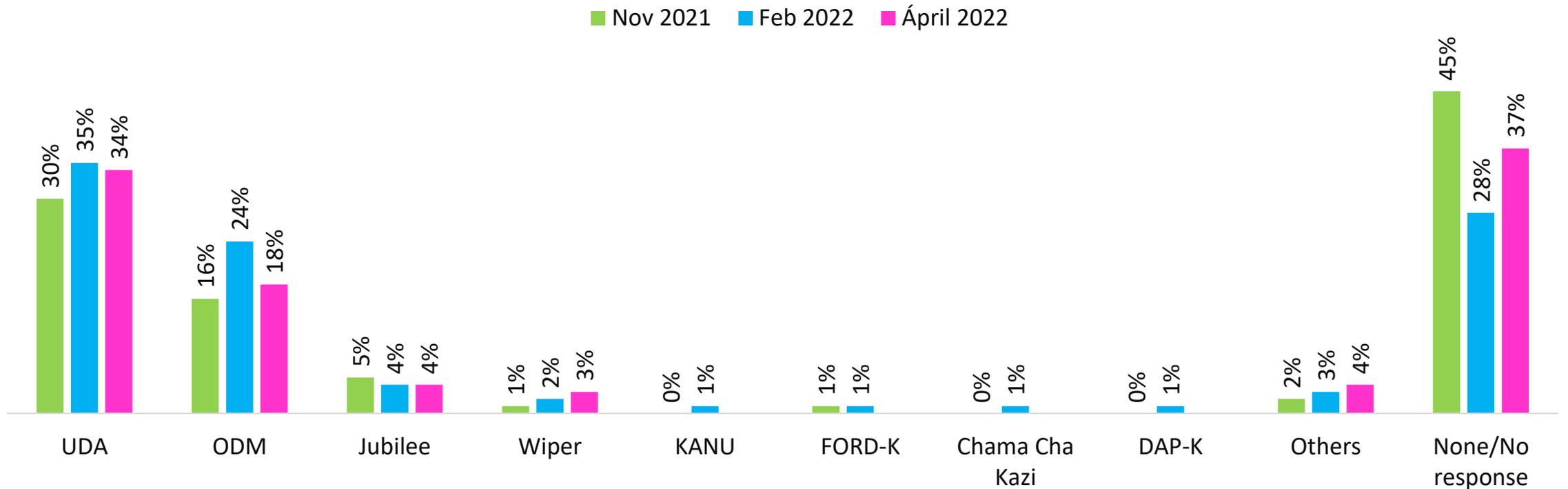# Introduction and Summary Findings

Introductory Comments

❑ This Release reports results obtained from the national survey TIFA Research conducted between 22nd to 26th April 2022. The survey topics focus mainly on issues related to the forthcoming election.

❑ These results at least partly reflect a number of major developments that have occurred since TIFA's previous survey that was conducted two months ago. In addition to 'normal' campaign activity, this period has seen President Uhuru Kenyatta's open declaration of support for former prime minister Raila Odinga, as well as National Assembly Speaker Justin Muturi's 'jump' to DP William Ruto's presidential team (Kenya Kwanza),despite the fact that he had earlier declared his own interest in vying for this office.

❑ While much recent public attention had been (and remains) their respective choices of deputy presidential running-mates, neither has as yet made their preference known. However, given the demand for selection by former vice-president Kalonzo Musyoka that he become Raila's running-mate for the third time, the implication being that should Raila choose someone else (when he makes this announcement next week), his support for Raila's fifth presidential bid may not be forthcoming.

❑ Further, recent weeks witnessed frenetic political party activity as they all (using a variety of methods) sought to identify their candidates for all other five elective positions, in some cases accompanied by considerable acrimony.

❑ These last two months have seen even greater challenges for most Kenyans as inflation continues unabated (as well as certain other shorter-term pain from widespread fuel shortages). As such, it may be expected that for at least some Kenyans, the campaign promises from all sides are being put under even greater scrutiny as they contemplate the choices they will have the opportunity to make on August 9.

❑ Finally, data collection immediately after the death of Kenya's third president (and longest serving National Assembly Member), H. E. Mwai Kibaki on April 21. Though this sad provided the opportunity for many leaders (including the two main presidential candidates) to offer their condolences and extol the achievements of the late President, it also invited Kenyans to think more comparatively about leadership in Kenya more generally, whether related to the past, the present, and the future.

Political Party Alignment

❑ UDA is the most popular party followed by ODM.

Legend: ■ Nov 2021 ■ Feb 2022 ■ Ápril 2022

Party	Nov 2021	Feb 2022	Ápril 2022
UDA	30%	35%	34%
ODM	16%	24%	18%
Jubilee	5%	4%	4%
Wiper	1%	2%	3%
KANU	0%	1%	
FORD-K	1%	1%	
Chama Cha Kazi	0%	1%	
DAP-K	0%	1%	
Others	2%	3%	4%
None/No response	45%	28%	37%

Kenyans' Presidential Candidate Choice

Nov 2021   Feb 2022   April 2022

| Candidate	Nov 2021	Feb 2022	April 2022
William Ruto	38%	38%	39%
Raila Odinga	23%	27%	32%
Musalia Mudavadi	2%	1%	
Kalonzo Musyoka	1%	2%	
Other	4%	2%	1%
Undecided	23%	20%	16%
No response	10%	11%	12%
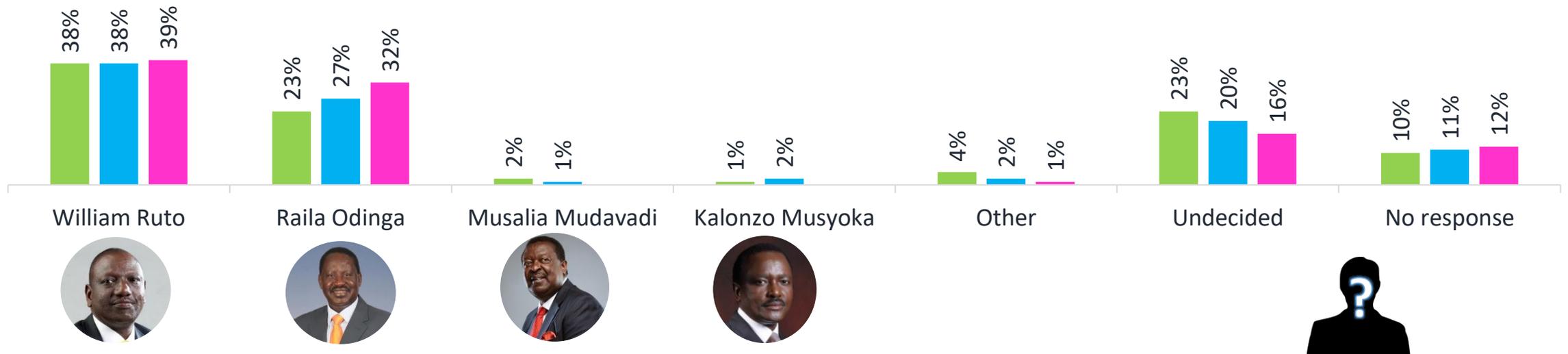
Section One: Political Party & Alliances

❑ Political Party Alignment
❑ Support for Any Other Political Party
❑ Political Alliance Support

Political Party Alignment
(by total)

UDA — 34%
ODM — 19%
Jubilee — 4%
Wiper — 3%
Others — 1%
Undecided — 13%
None — 20%
NR — 6%
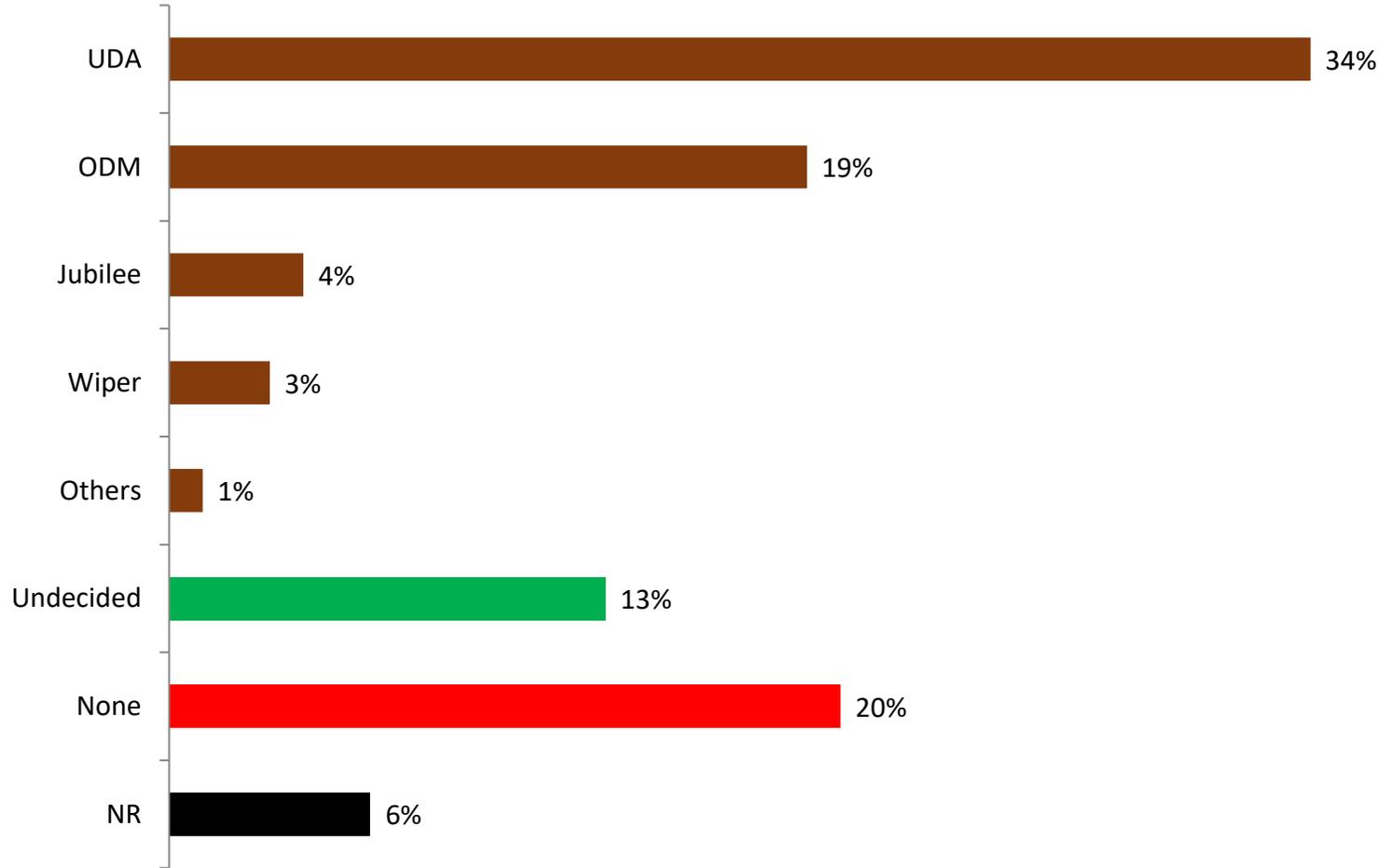
- ❏ As of now, no political party attracts the support of more than about one-third of Kenyans, leaving just under two-thirds (61%) who identify with any, with nearly one-third (33%) saying they neither "feel close to" nor "support" any party or are undecided about this – perhaps surprising giving how close the country is to the next general election.

- ❏ However, the most popular party remains UDA, with its popularity (34%) greater than that of ODM, Jubilee and Wiper combined (26%).

Q. "What political party or alliance do you support most or feel closest to now, if any?" **SINGLE RESPONSE – DO NOT READ OUT**

Base = all respondents

Political Party Alignment
by total, zone

❑ Only UDA and ODM can claim a substantial level of nationwide support. Support for the two next most poplar parties – Jubilee and Wiper - is quite concentrated in particular regions (Mt. Kenya and Lower Eastern, respectively), with the same applying to ANC.

Political Party	Total	Central Rift	Coast	Lower Eastern	Mt Kenya	Nairobi	Northern	Nyanza	South Rift	Western
UDA	34%	62%	24%	20%	48%	21%	40%	16%	28%	26%
ODM	19%	5%	23%	14%	4%	28%	16%	45%	16%	28%
Jubilee	4%	4%	1%	1%	9%	4%	3%	4%	3%	0%
WIPER	3%	0%	0%	26%	1%	2%	1%	0%	0%	0%
ANC	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	1%	0%	1%	0%	2%
Other	1%	0%	0%	1%	2%	0%	2%	0%	0%	5%
Undecided	13%	47%	21%	17%	12%	12%	11%	12%	8%	14%
None	20%	16%	22%	17%	20%	27%	22%	16%	37%	14%
NR	6%	6%	6%	4%	4%	5%	6%	6%	9%	11%

Q. "What political party or alliance do you support most or feel closest to now, if any?" **SINGLE RESPONSE – DO NOT READ OUT**

Base = all respondents

❑ Over the last sixteen months, two most dramatic changes in the popularity of political parties have been (1) the decline of Jubilee (from 40% to 5%) and the appearance/rise of UDA (from nothing to 30%), making it currently the most popular party.

❑ At the same time, the steady predominance of "none" over this period suggests that about half of Kenyans are waiting for more clarity in the evolving 'menu' of ballot-choices (as well as, perhaps, of manifesto-content) before aligning themselves with any particular political formation on the competitive electoral field.
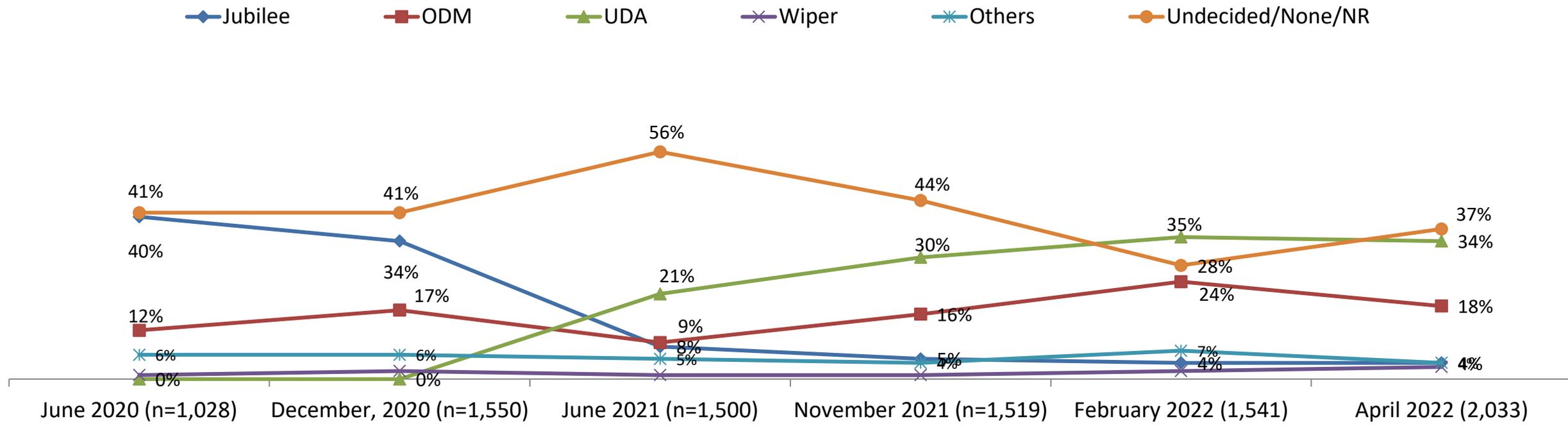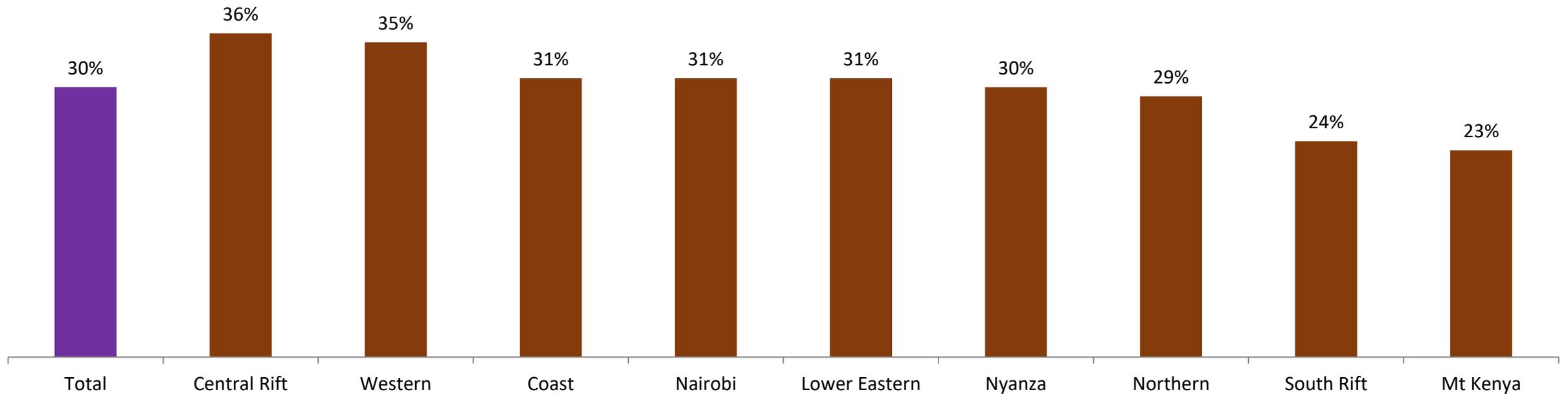

Q. "What political party or alliance do you support most or feel closest to now, if any?"

Base = all respondents

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❑ Nearly one-third of Kenyans acknowledge that they support or feel close to more than one political party, particularly with regard to local/non-presidential contests. By zone, such support ranges from a high in the Central Rift (36%) to a low in Mt. Kenya (23%). However, there does not seem to be a direct correlation between the actual number of 'small' political parties 'on the ground' in these various zones and these varying levels of support for at least one other party. Whatever the case, it is clear that national parties (fielding 'serious' presidential contenders) have less than a monopoly on the partisan loyalties of many of their supporters, even if many of these smaller/local parties are members of the larger coalitions/alliances that have recently been formed.

❑ Whether such dual-support will be reflected in actual vote-choices could well be explored in a future survey.

	Total	Central Rift	Western	Coast	Nairobi	Lower Eastern	Nyanza	Northern	South Rift	Mt Kenya
	30%	36%	35%	31%	31%	31%	30%	29%	24%	23%

Q. "And is there another political party you also support, perhaps just in your area, mainly for candidates aside from the presidential ones?"

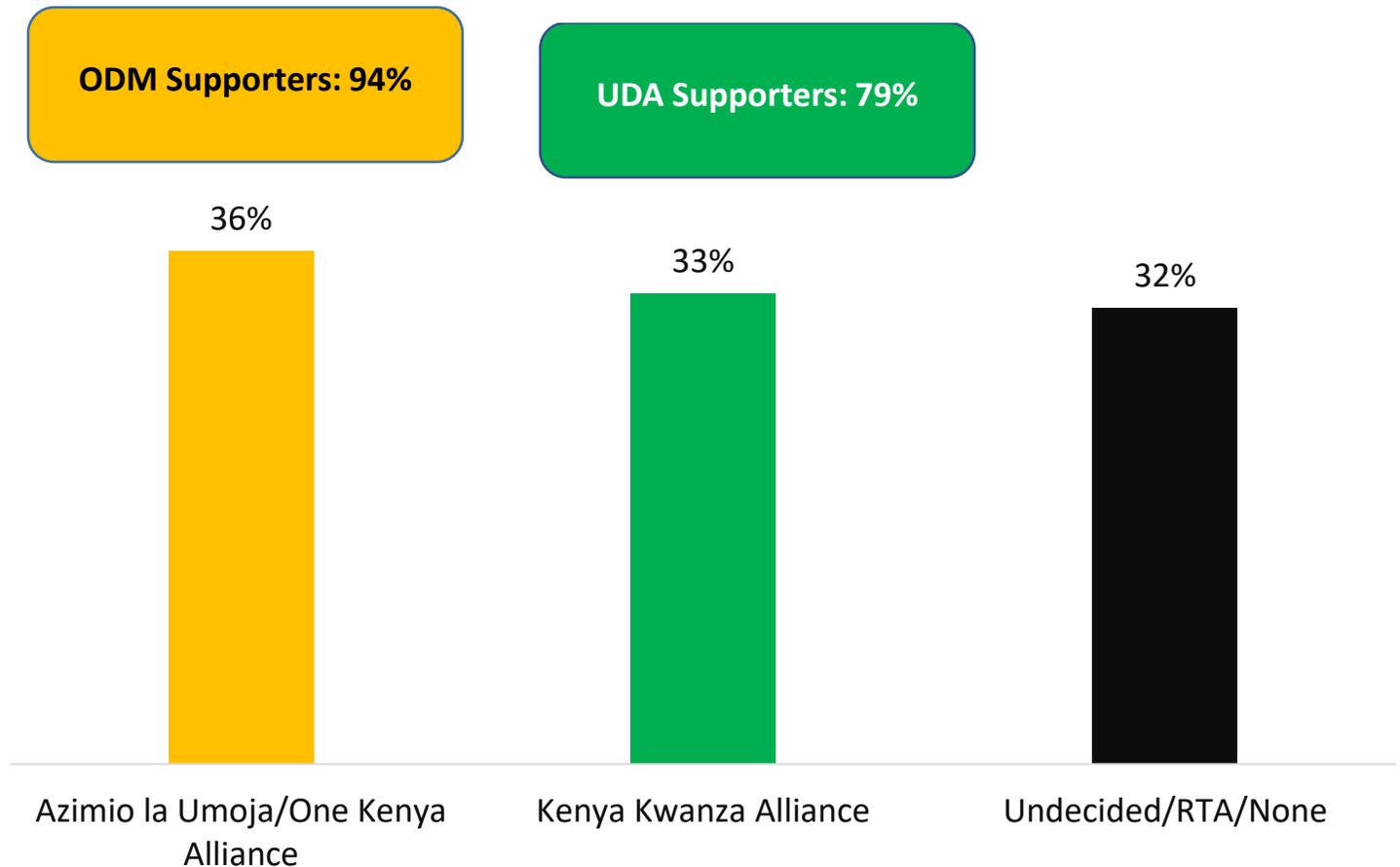*Base = 1,261 (those who support any political party)*

Political Alliance Support
By total

❑ Slightly more Kenyans expressed support for Azimio La Umoja/One Kenya Alliance than for the Kenya Kwanza Alliance (36% vs. 33%). But this leaves nearly the same (one-third) proportion who identify with neither, at least at this point. Whether this is because most Kenyans are yet to know enough about these coalitions/alliances, or are more 'comfortable' with individual political parties, is unclear. What is clear, however, is that these groupings are the product of elite bargaining rather than 'bottom-up' pressures or preferences from the general public.

❑ Further, while nearly all ODM supporters also support the Azimio coalition(94%), only about three-quarters of UDA supporters support Kenya Kwanza (79%).

ODM Supporters: 94%

UDA Supporters: 79%

36%

33%

32%

Azimio la Umoja/One Kenya Alliance

Kenya Kwanza Alliance

Undecided/RTA/None

Q. "Which political groupings or formations that are preparing for next year's election ones do you feel closest to or support?"

Base = all respondents

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Political Alliance Support
By total, zone

❑ Support for the two alliance-coalitions is quite evenly split across the country, aside from Central Rift where Kenya Kwanza clearly dominates and in Nyanza where Azimio does likewise. Still, even in these 'backyards' of the two main presidential contenders fewer than two-thirds of their residents support these two coalitions, respectively (62% and 61%). Whether the level of support for them both will significantly change across the entire country once all their other 'down-ballot' candidates have been determined and become known to the public remains to be seen.

■ Azimio la Umoja Kenya One Alliance   ■ Kenya Kwanza Alliance   ■ Undecided/RTA/None

	Total	Central Rift	Coast	Lower Eastern	Mt Kenya	Nairobi	Northern	Nyanza	South Rift	Western
Azimio	36%	13%	34%	48%	27%	47%	30%	61%	36%	40%
Kenya Kwanza	33%	62%	26%	20%	43%	22%	24%	16%	27%	27%
Undecided/RTA/None	32%	25%	41%	32%	31%	30%	45%	23%	37%	33%

Q. "Which political groupings or formations that are preparing for next year's election ones do you feel closest to or support?"

Base = all respondents
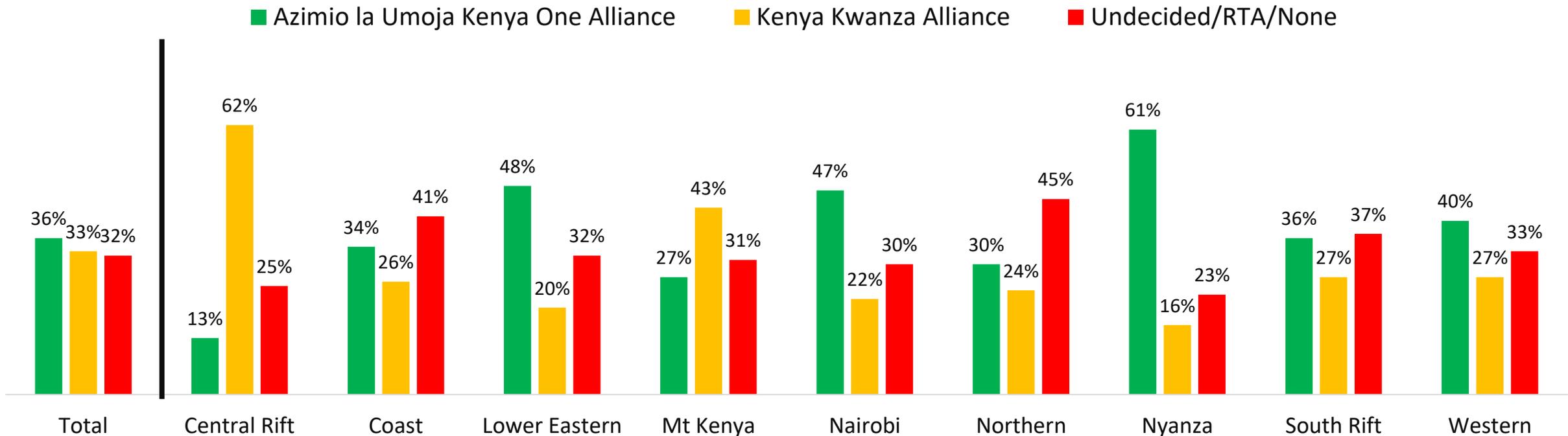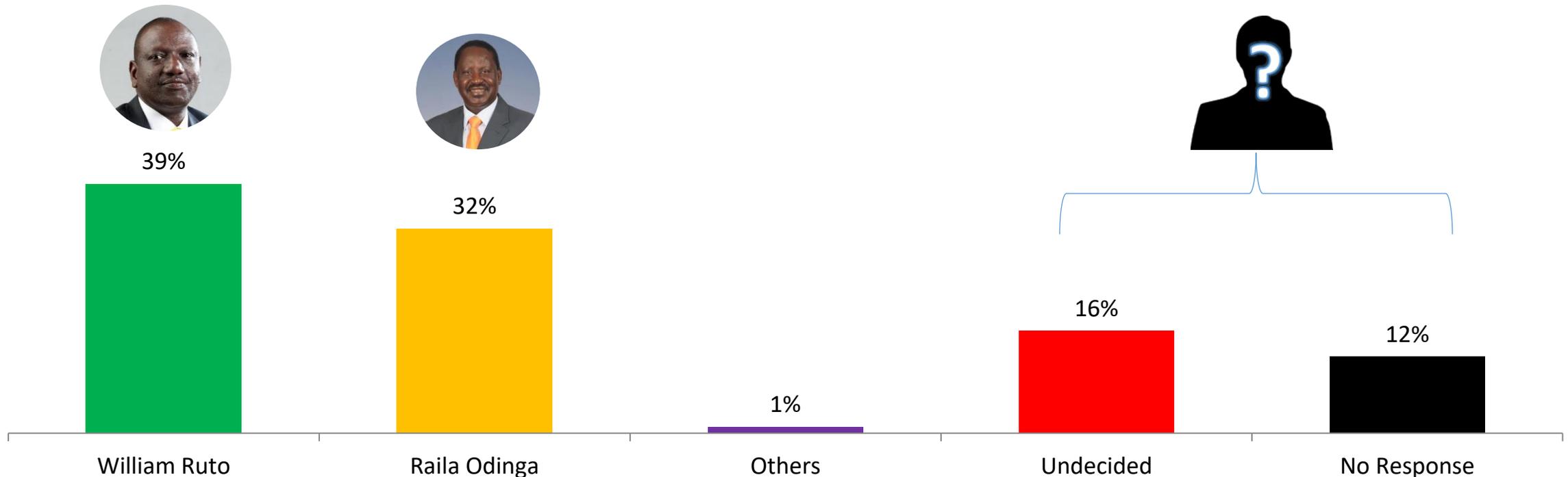
Section Two: The Presidential Contest

❑ Kenyans' Preferred Next President
❑ Uhuru's Perceived Preferred Successor

Kenyans' Preferred Next President
by Total

❑ Notwithstanding the fact that some 47 people have declared that they will seek the presidency, nearly all Kenyans who have made up their minds say that they intend to vote for either DP William Ruto (39%) or former PM Raila Odinga (32%). However, the larger proportion who either indicated they are yet to decide (16%) or who declined to answer this question (12%) suggests that the actual outcome remains yet to be determined.

William Ruto	Raila Odinga	Others	Undecided	No Response
39%	32%	1%	16%	12%

Q: "Whether or not you intend to vote in next year's election, who would you like Kenya's next president to be?" **SINGLE RESPONSE – DO NOT READ OUT**   *Base = all respondents*

❑ Nearly half of those stating they remain undecided as to whom to vote for as president say they need to know more the policies/manifestos of the candidates (35%), with only a few saying they are waiting for their deputy running-mates to be announced (4%), with about the same proportion indicating they will depend on advice from family, friends, or respected elders/leaders (3%). Strangely, perhaps, more than one-in-ten declined to answer this question (13%).

Pie chart:
- NR, 13%
- More information of polices/manifestos, 35%
- Not Sure, 44%
- Naming of DP running-mate, 4%
- Guidance advice from family member(s), friends, respected elders/local leaders, 3%
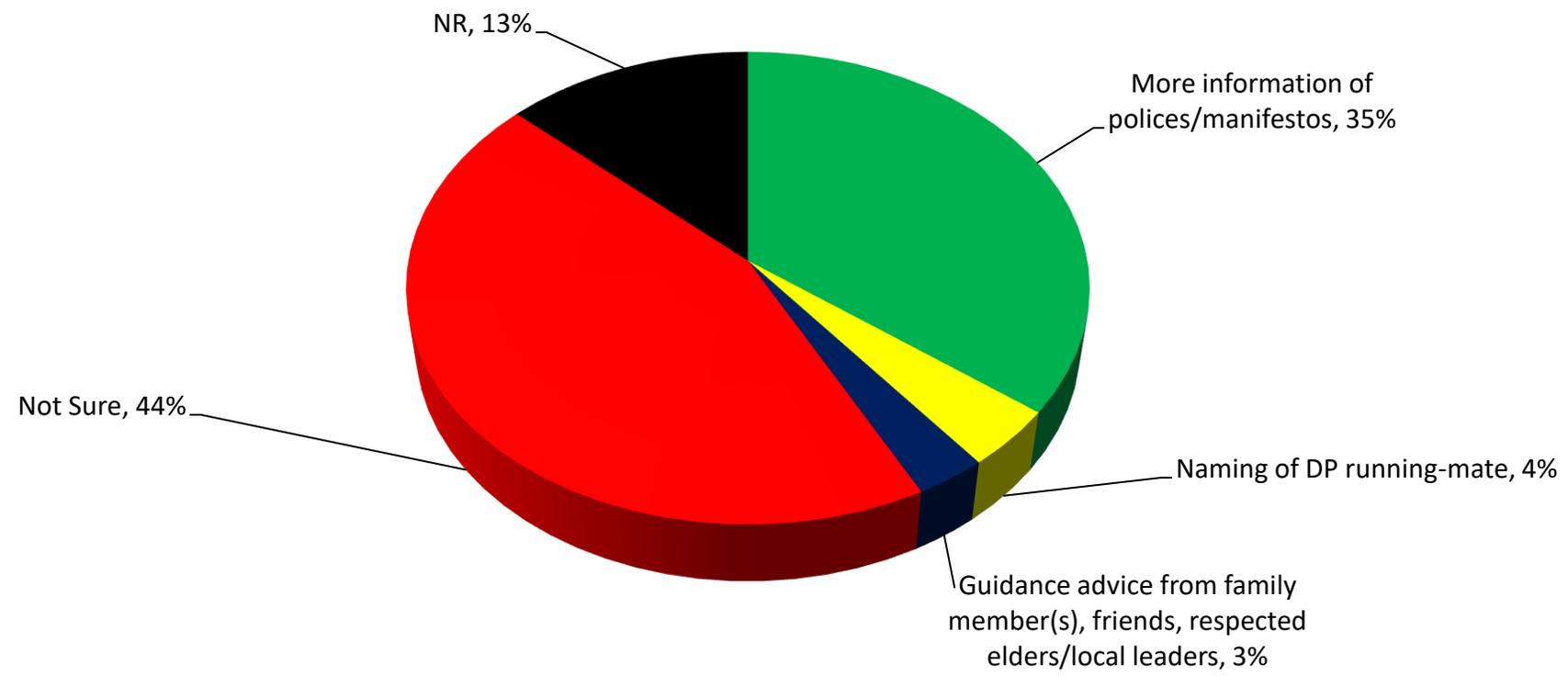
Q: "What is the main thing you are waiting for or need to know before you decide who you want the next president to be?" SINGLE RESPONSE – DO NOT READ OUT

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Base = 327 (Undecided voters)

Presidential Candidate Popularity- April 2022
By total, zone

❑ Looking at the distribution of support for the two main presidential candidates across the country, to little surprise, each is most popular in their 'native' zones: Ruto in Central Rift (70%) and Raila in Nyanza (56%). Ruto's second most popular zone is Mt Kenya (53%) whilst Raila's is Lower Eastern (41%). Again, whether such zonal distribution of support will change after they have each announced their running-mates remains to be seen.

	Total	Central Rift	Coast	Lower Eastern	Mt Kenya	Nairobi	Northern	Nyanza	South Rift	Western
Raila Odinga	32%	8%	36%	41%	18%	40%	36%	56%	37%	37%
William Ruto	39%	70%	26%	28%	53%	25%	31%	21%	40%	29%
Others	1%	0%	0%	1%	3%	2%	0%	0%	1%	0%
Undecided	16%	12%	19%	18%	17%	20%	15%	14%	14%	16%
No Response	12%	9%	18%	11%	10%	14%	17%	9%	9%	18%

Q: "Whether or not you intend to vote in next year's election, who would you like Kenya's next president to be?" **SINGLE RESPONSE – DO NOT READ OUT**   *Base = all respondents*

Change in Presidential Candidate Popularity: William Ruto
February vs April = Difference
By total, zone

❑ Support for DP Ruto (again) remains statistically unchanged since TIFA's last (February) survey, though this near-static overall figure obscures some changes in several zones. Specifically, while he gained most in his home area of Central (by 9%) and to a lesser extent in Mt. Kenya and Lower Eastern (by 4% in each), his support has declined most in the Northern zone (by 13%) and in Coast (by 8%). His imminent choice of a DP running-mate may affect these figures, however.

	Total	Central Rift	Coast	Lower Eastern	Mt Kenya	Nairobi	Northern	Nyanza	South Rift	Western
February	38%	61%	34%	24%	49%	21%	44%	23%	39%	28%
April	39%	70%	26%	28%	53%	25%	31%	21%	40%	29%
Difference	+1%	+9%	-8%	+4%	+4%	+4%	-13%	-2%	+1%	+1%

Q. *"Whether or not you intend to vote in next year's election, who would you like Kenya's next president to be?"* **SINGLE RESPONSE – DO NOT READ OUT**   *Base = all respondents*

Change in Presidential Candidate Popularity: Raila Odinga
February vs April = Difference
By total, zone

❑ While support for former PM Odinga has increased overall (by 5%) since TIFA's February survey, he has gained most in Lower Eastern (by 24%) as well as in Nyanza (by 8%). But he has also seen an increase in support in Coast, Northern, and Western (6% in each). Only in Central Rift has his support level dropped (by 6%). As with the DP, how much his forthcoming choice of a DP running-mate will change these figures remains to be seen.

	Total	Central Rift	Coast	Lower Eastern	Mt Kenya	Nairobi	Northern	Nyanza	South Rift	Western
February	27%	14%	30%	17%	16%	38%	30%	48%	32%	31%
April	32%	8%	36%	41%	18%	40%	36%	56%	37%	37%
Difference	+5%	-6%	+6%	+24%	+2%	+2%	+6%	+8%	+5%	+6%

Q. "Whether or not you intend to vote in next year's election, who would you like Kenya's next president to be?" **SINGLE RESPONSE – DO NOT READ OUT**
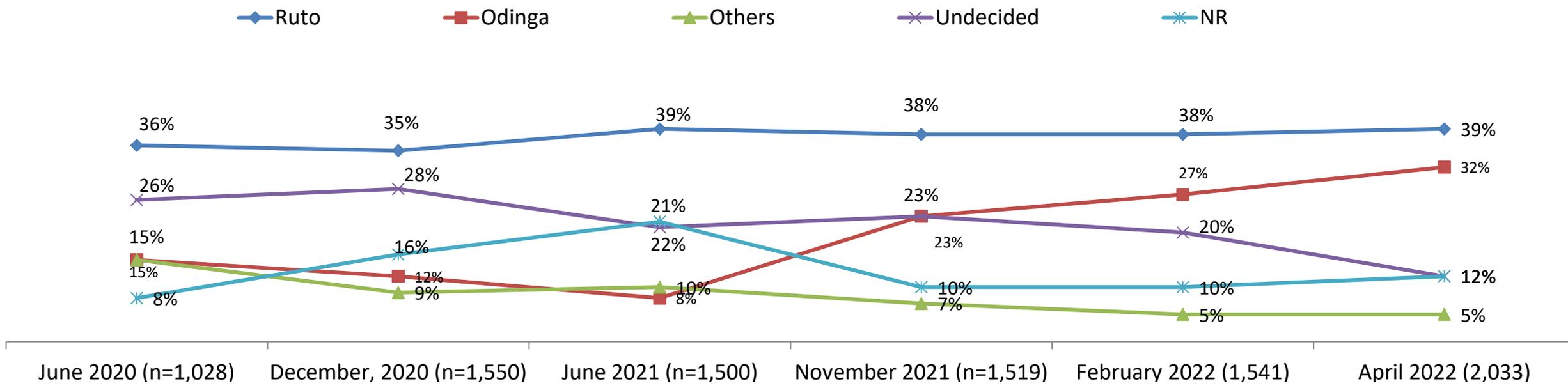Q: "If elections were to be held today, whom would you vote for as President of Kenya?" **SINGLE RESPONSE – DO NOT READ OUT**

Base = all respondents

❑ Over the last 21 months, TIFA's surveys reveal several major fluctuations in Kenyans' expressed preferences regarding their next president. Regarding Raila, the initial drop in his support-level between June, 2020 and June, 2021 (from 15% to 8%), has been continuously reversed ever since, now bringing him ever closer to the level of Ruto (now 32% vs. 39%). At the same time, the DP progress appears stagnant, with him once again failing to break through the 40% mark.

❑ Still, with a significant proportion still either undecided or unwilling to reveal their preferred presidential candidate (total: 17%) there remains 'room' for both of them to increase their standing. Perhaps their imminent selections of running-mates will allow for a more accurate picture of what the August election results will actually look like.

Legend: ◆ Ruto ■ Odinga ▲ Others ✕ Undecided ✳ NR

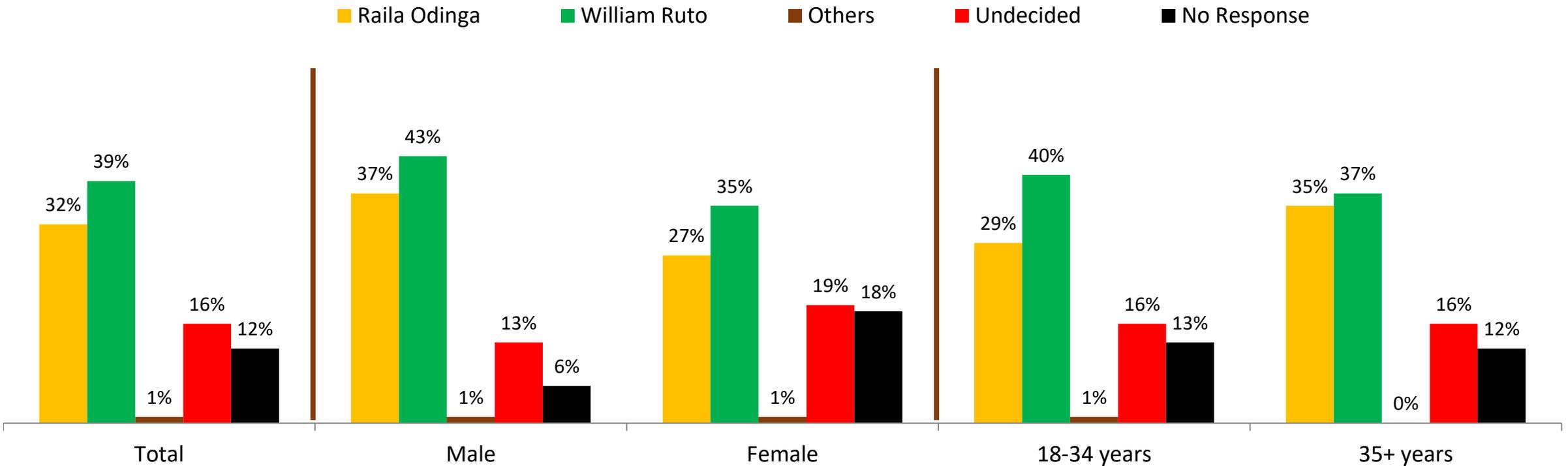|	June 2020 (n=1,028)	December, 2020 (n=1,550)	June 2021 (n=1,500)	November 2021 (n=1,519)	February 2022 (1,541)	April 2022 (2,033)
Ruto	36%	35%	39%	38%	38%	39%
Odinga	15%	12%	8%	23%	27%	32%
Others	15%	9%	10%	7%	5%	5%
Undecided	26%	28%	22%	23%	20%	12%
NR	8%	16%	21%	10%	10%	12%

*Q. "Whether or not you intend to vote in next year's election, who would you like Kenya's next president to be?" **SINGLE RESPONSE – DO NOT READ OUT***

Base = all respondents

❑ Looking at expressed presidential candidate support with regard to two demographics, it emerges that Ruto is more popular among both men and women by about the same margin, though more women are both still undecided and declined to reveal their preferred candidate.

❑ In terms of age, however, Ruto enjoys a clear advantage among younger Kenyans (aged 18-34: 40% vs. 29%), while among older Kenyans the DP's margin is far smaller (37% to 35%)
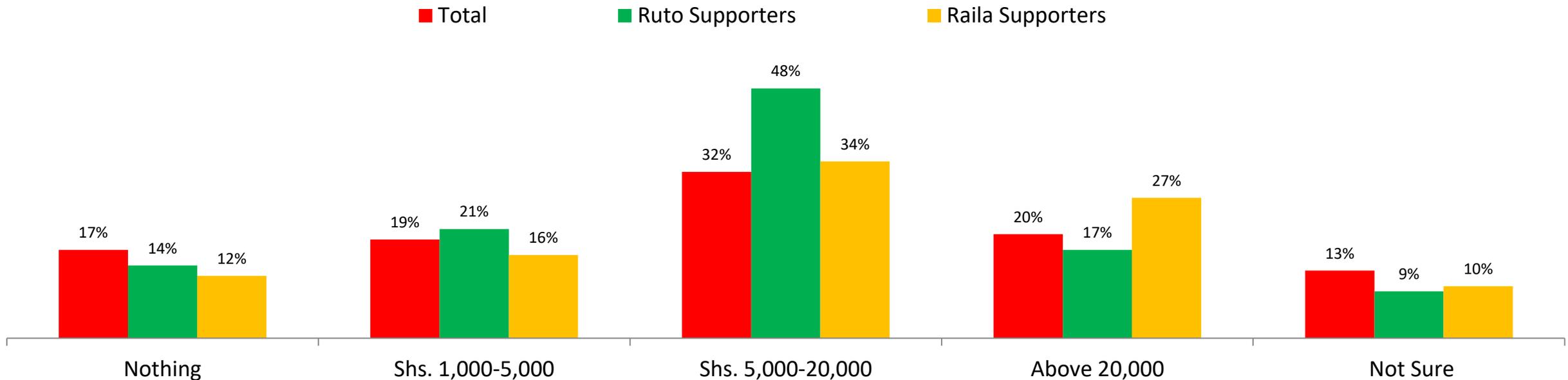

Legend: ■ Raila Odinga ■ William Ruto ■ Others ■ Undecided ■ No Response

Total: Raila Odinga 32%, William Ruto 39%, Others 1%, Undecided 16%, No Response 12%
Male: Raila Odinga 37%, William Ruto 43%, Others 1%, Undecided 13%, No Response 6%
Female: Raila Odinga 27%, William Ruto 35%, Others 1%, Undecided 19%, No Response 18%
18-34 years: Raila Odinga 29%, William Ruto 40%, Others 1%, Undecided 16%, No Response 13%
35+ years: Raila Odinga 35%, William Ruto 37%, Others 0%, Undecided 16%, No Response 12%

Q: "Whether or not you intend to vote in next year's election, who would you like Kenya's next president to be?" **SINGLE RESPONSE – DO NOT READ OUT**

Base = all respondents

❑ Overall, some two-thirds of Kenyans (68%: 17% + 12% + 32%) report earning Shs. 20,000/- or less per month, with only one-fifth earning more than that (20%).

❑ However, there is a measurable if modest contrast between Ruto and Raila supporters in this regard. Specifically, more supporters of the DP than of the former Prime Minister report earning nothing, between Shs. 1,000 and 5,000, and between Shs. 5,000 and 20,000. By contrast, slightly more of those earning Shs. 20,000 and above prefer Raila as the next president. This contrasts with the last three elections in which Raila's supporters were, as a whole, less affluent than those of his presidential rivals (the late Kibaki in 2007 and Uhuru in 2013 and 2017).
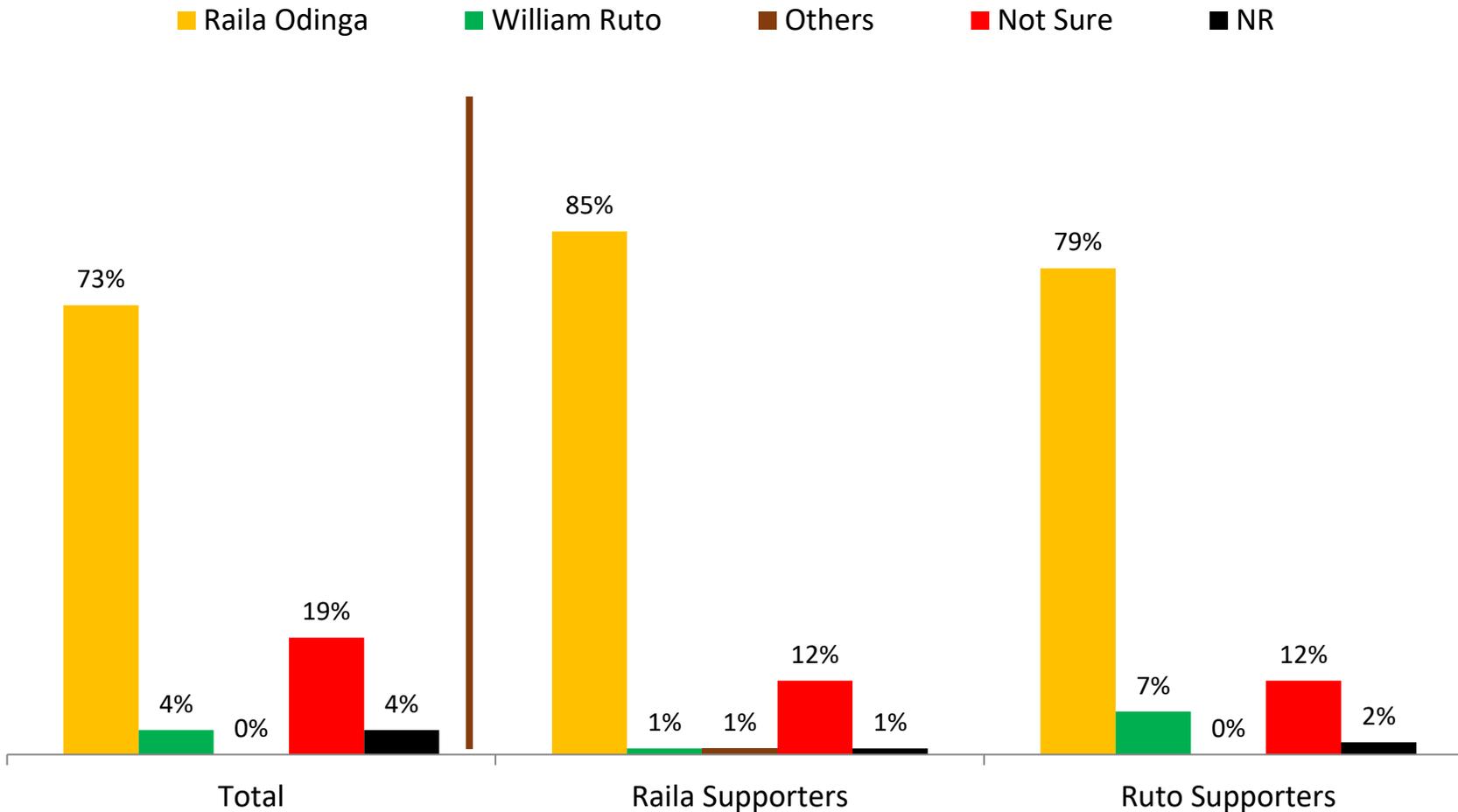

Legend: ■ Total ■ Ruto Supporters ■ Raila Supporters

	Total	Ruto Supporters	Raila Supporters
Nothing	17%	14%	12%
Shs. 1,000-5,000	19%	21%	16%
Shs. 5,000-20,000	32%	48%	34%
Above 20,000	20%	17%	27%
Not Sure	13%	9%	10%

Q: About how much, if anything, are you currently earning each month?
Q: "Whether or not you intend to vote in next year's election, who would you like Kenya's next president to be?"

Base = all respondents

23

Legend: Raila Odinga · William Ruto · Others · Not Sure · NR

Total: Raila Odinga 73%, William Ruto 4%, Others 0%, Not Sure 19%, NR 4%

Raila Supporters: Raila Odinga 85%, William Ruto 1%, Others 1%, Not Sure 12%, NR 1%

Ruto Supporters: Raila Odinga 79%, William Ruto 7%, Others 0%, Not Sure 12%, NR 2%

❑ Hardly any Kenyans now believe that President Uhuru would like his Deputy to succeed him following the August election (only 4%), though slightly more of his supporters cling to this belief as compared to Raila's ((7% vs. 1%).

❑ Still, nearly one-fifth remain uncertain about this (19%), despite the President's open declaration of support for the former Prime Minister on several occasions.

Q. "Whoever you would like the next president to be, who do you think that Uhuru prefers as president after he retires next year?"
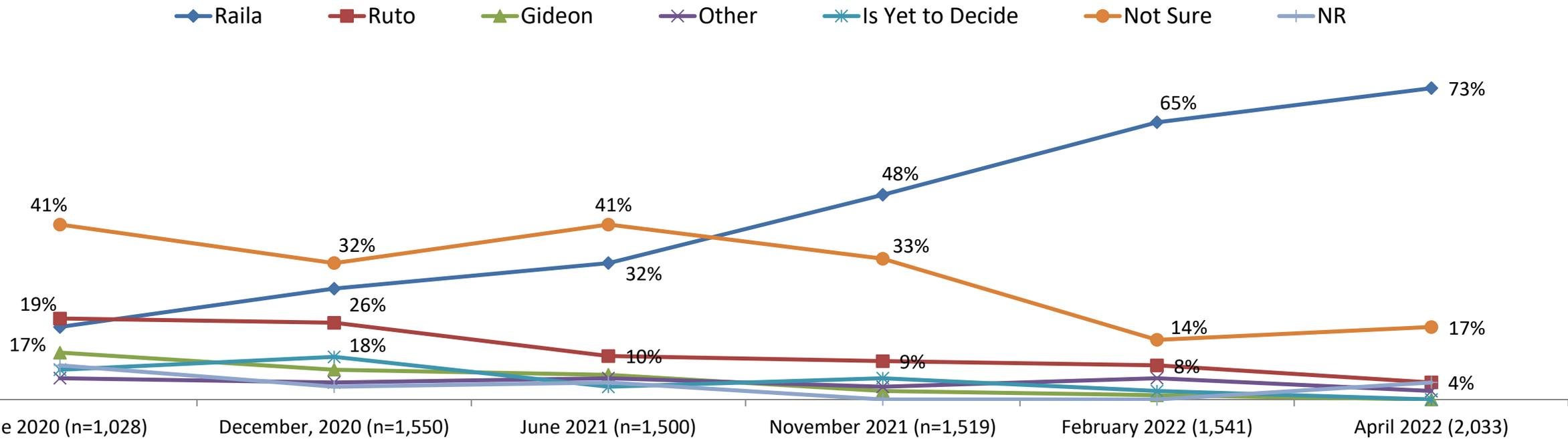***SINGLE RESPONSE – DO NOT READ OUT***

24

Base = all respondents

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❑ Since the middle of 2020, the proportion of Kenyans who believe that Raila is Uhuru's preferred successor has risen continuously, and most recently, dramatically, climbing from just about half last November to nearly three-quarters of all Kenyans at present.   Given the President's increasing expressions of support for the former prime minister and those of criticism of his Deputy, this is not surprising, leaving just a 'handful' who still hold the belief that he ('secretly') supports Ruto (4%). Given the fact of the President's more recent declaration that he now become even more active in his support of the former prime minister, this figure can be expected to increase even further in the coming weeks.

Legend: ◆ Raila   ■ Ruto   ▲ Gideon   ✕ Other   ✳ Is Yet to Decide   ● Not Sure   ✛ NR

Raila: 19%, 26%, 32%, 48%, 65%, 73%
Not Sure: 41%, 32%, 41%, 33%, 14%, 17%
Ruto: 19%, 26%(?), 10%, 9%, 8%, 4%
Gideon: 17%, 18%

X-axis: June 2020 (n=1,028), December, 2020 (n=1,550), June 2021 (n=1,500), November 2021 (n=1,519), February 2022 (1,541), April 2022 (2,033)

Q. "Whoever you would like the next president to be, who do you think that Uhuru would like to be the next president after he retires next year?" **SINGLE RESPONSE – DO NOT READ OUT**

Base = all respondents

Section Four: Concluding Comments

Concluding Comments

Several points can be made with regard to several of the findings included in this 1st Release of TIFA's April, 2022 survey:

❑ The first is that strangely, perhaps, while UDA is more popular than ODM, Jubilee and Wiper combined, Raila's Azimio la Umoja/One Kenya Alliance as a coalition is slightly more popular than Ruto's Kenya Kwanza Alliance. This may reflect the fact that the former incorporates far more political parties than does the latter.

❑ The second is that the popularity of both DP William Ruto and his political party (UDA) remains almost constant compared to TIFA's several previous surveys, while that of former PM Raila Odinga has continued to increase, though still leaving Ruto with a significant, if not overwhelming, lead (39% vs. 32%). This raises the question as to whether the choice of their running-mates will make much difference, and related to that, how those stating they are as yet undecided (as well as those who declined to reveal their presidential choice) will eventually make their choice – assuming they will actually vote.

❑ At the same time, with the identities of many candidates for the other five elective positions still uncertain at the time of the survey, and much of the effort that goes into the actual mobilization of voters on August 9 a reflection of local efforts by such candidates, it remains too early to predict voter turnout, even among those who claim to be registered. As such, these presidential contest figures should be taken as indicative rather than any firm prediction of the election itself.

❑ Whatever the case, however, the fact that more Kenyans at the bottom of the income 'ladder' continue to support the Deputy President than the former Prime Minister – and given that the vast majority of Kenyans are both poor and suffering disproportionally from current economic conditions (especially inflation) – suggests that the latter will have to put more an effort in his campaign to convince them that his presidency offers a more concrete set of policies/measures to address their plight.

❑ Moreover, given the acrimony stemming from the recent party nominations (by whichever method this process was conducted), it is also too early to estimate the standing/popularity of the two main presidential candidates may have been affected by this factor, as well as the position that the apparently vast numbers of independent candidates will take with regard to the presidential contest – at least among who make such support an integral part of their own, more local, campaigns.

❑ Finally, and as noted, with so many Kenyans still undecided about their eventual presidential choice – or even if they will in fact vote – the outcome of this contest remains highly uncertain, though TIFA's next survey, to be conducted after their running-mates have been announced, should at least partly clarify this still cloudy picture.

Section Five: Methodology & Demographics

Methodology Overview

Fieldwork Dates	22nd to 26th April 2022
Geographical	Nationally Representative Sample (spread across 9 Zones ; • Central Rift, Coast, Lower Eastern, Mt Kenya, Nairobi, Northern, Nyanza, South Rift, Western
Data collection	▪ Telephonic Interviews conducted (with respondents whose contacts were collected through face-to-face (i.e., household-based interviews) ▪ The interviews conducted in Kiswahili (mainly) and English.
Sample	2,033 respondents
Margin of error	+/- 2.17 % (Note: Larger error-margins for sub-samples)
Funding	TIFA Research

Sampling Zones Classification

County	Region
Uasin Gishu	Central Rift
Elgeyo-Marakwet	Central Rift
Nandi	Central Rift
Baringo	Central Rift
Nakuru	Central Rift
Kericho	Central Rift
Bomet	Central Rift
Mombasa	Coast
Kwale	Coast
Kilifi	Coast
Tana River	Coast
Lamu	Coast
Taita-Taveta	Coast
Kitui	Lower Eastern
Machakos	Lower Eastern
Makueni	Lower Eastern

County	Region
Trans Nzoia	Western
Kakamega	Western
Vihiga	Western
Bungoma	Western
Busia	Western
Garissa	Northern
Wajir	Northern
Mandera	Northern
Marsabit	Northern
Isiolo	Northern
Turkana	Northern
West Pokot	Northern
Samburu	Northern

Nairobi	Nairobi

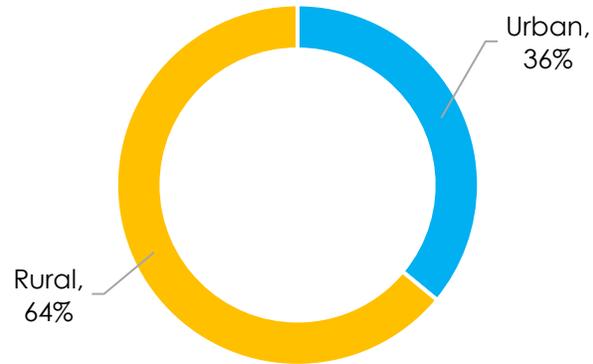| County	Region
Meru	Mt Kenya
Tharaka-Nithi	Mt Kenya
Embu	Mt Kenya
Nyandarua	Mt Kenya
Nyeri	Mt Kenya
Kirinyaga	Mt Kenya
Murang'a	Mt Kenya
Kiambu	Mt Kenya
Laikipia	Mt Kenya
Siaya	Nyanza
Kisumu	Nyanza
Homa Bay	Nyanza
Migori	Nyanza
Kisii	Nyanza
Nyamira	Nyanza
Narok	South Rift
Kajiado	South Rift

Demographics:
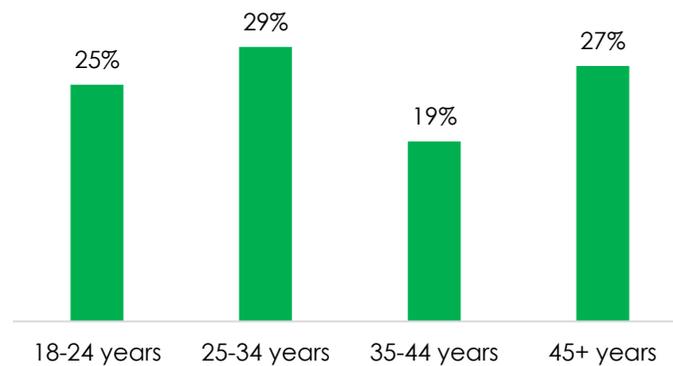## Region, Gender, Age, Religion, Setting & Marital Status

Zone

Western	12%
South Rift	4%
Nyanza	12%
Northern	7%
Nairobi	11%
Mt Kenya	20%
Lower Eastern	8%
Coast	9%
Central Rift	15%

Setting

Urban, 36%
Rural, 64%

Gender

Male, 49%
Female, 51%
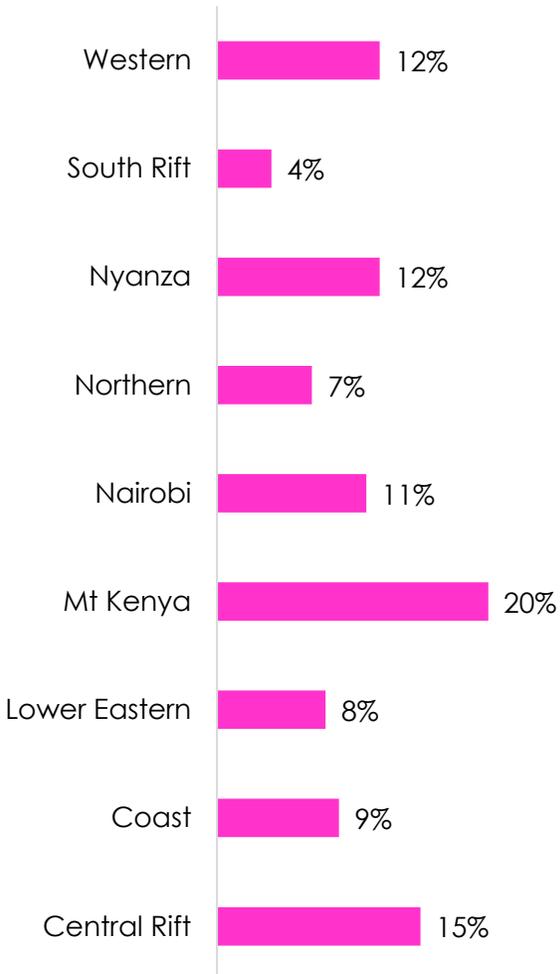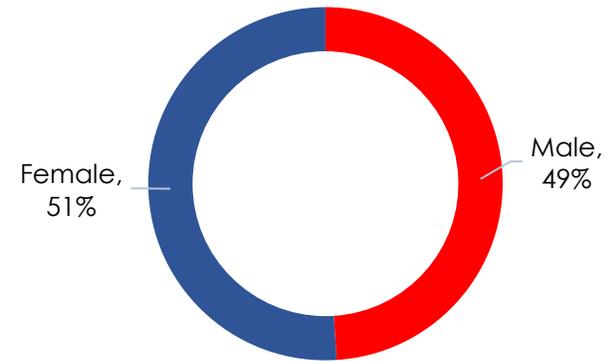
Highest education level

Refused to Answer	1%
Post Graduate (Masters, PhD, etc.)	2%
University education completed	8%
Some University education	5%
Completed mid-level college (not University)	12%
Some middle level college (not University)	5%
Secondary education completed	30%
Some secondary education	9%
Primary education completed	14%
Some primary education	10%
No formal education	3%

Age

18-24 years	25-34 years	35-44 years	45+ years
25%	29%	19%	27%

Base=2,033

For Inquiries and Suggestions, Contact:

Dr Tom Wolf
Research Analyst
tpwolf1944@gmail.com

Maggie Ireri
CEO
ask@tifaresearch.com

www.tifaresearch.com