South Consulting - 9th Review Report - Annex 1

Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation Commission

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Annex 1

The Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation Monitoring Project

National Baseline Survey
April 2011 Report
National Baseline Survey: Methodology

• National Baseline Survey conducted in Dec. 2010 and another survey conducted in March 2011
• The Dec. 2010 survey had a sample size of 9,200 and was conducted in all 47 counties
• The March 2011 survey had a sample size of 2,000 and was conducted in all regions
• Nation-wide multi-stage cluster sampling proportionate to size
• Random selection of households and respondents
Given that Kenya has a new constitution, how do you think your life will be by 2012 compared to now?
Dec.-10

- My life is better now than it will be then: 17%
- My life will be about the same: 16%
- My life will be better then: 54%
Thinking about your life at present which of the following is applicable

Dec.-10

- My life currently is very good: 12%
- My life currently is just good: 49%
- My life currently is not very good: 30%
- My life currently is not good at all: 9%
Thinking about your safety now compared to just after the 2007 general election, do you feel?

- Dec-08
- Aug-09
- Feb-10
- Dec-10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Safer</th>
<th>Less Safe</th>
<th>About the Same</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dec-08</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug-09</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb-10</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec-10</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Do you think there will be violence anywhere in Kenya in the next general elections in 2012?

March -11

- Yes: 65%
- No: 17%
- Don't Know/Not sure: 18%
- No response: 1%
Agenda Item 1

Has violence been halted and fundamental rights restored?
What in your view is the greatest threat to security in the area where you live?

Dec.-10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Threat</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Youth unemployment</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime e.g. robbery</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There are no threats</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of police presence</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribalism</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug abuse</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Which of the following is closest to your view?

Dec.-10

- It is more important for local armed groups to protect their communities: 5%
- It is more important for the police to protect communities: 75%
- It is more important for both the police and local armed groups to protect communities: 19%

0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80%
Do you support the killing of dangerous criminals by the Police even when they could be arrested for later trial in court?

March-11

- Yes: 34%
- No: 64%
- Don't Know / Not sure: 2%
In your opinion, who finances illegal armed groups?
(multiple responses)
Dec.-10

- Politicians: 58%
- Business people: 33%
- Self financing by groups: 31%
- Don’t know: 22%
- The government: 22%
- Ordinary citizens: 14%
- Community elders: 14%
What would you say is the most important way to prevent future violence in Kenya?

Dec.-10

- Prosecute those responsible for violence: 21%
- Promote peace and reconciliation: 18%
- Fight Tribalism: 17%
- Free and fair elections: 12%
- Undertake Land Reform: 8%
- Deploy more security: 6%
- Fighting poverty: 5%
- Fighting Unemployment: 5%
- Conduct civic education: 4%
- Stop corruption: 2%
- Other: 1%
If political violence was to occur in this area, what would your community do in response, if anything? (multiple response)

- Seek security from police: 54%
- Relocate/free from the area: 46%
- Preach peace: 43%
- Fight back: 30%
- Do nothing: 11%
- Don’t know: 9%

Dec.-10
How happy or unhappy are you that the ICC is investigating perpetrators of post election violence?

Dec.-10

- Very/somewhat happy: 78%
- Somewhat/very unhappy: 15%
- Don’t care/don’t know: 6%
If these trials take place, how likely do you think it is that there will be any violence in Kenya?

March-11
How confident are you that the ICC will prosecute senior people who perpetrated post-election violence?
What do you think should be done to the rest of the suspected perpetrators of post election violence?

- **Take them to Hague**: May-10: 1%, Jun-10: 4%, Dec-10: 6%, Mar-11: 0%
- **Other**: May-10: 1%, Jun-10: 5%, Dec-10: 9%, Mar-11: 0%
- **RTA**: May-10: 1%, Jun-10: 1%, Dec-10: 2%, Mar-11: 0%
- **DK**: May-10: 6%, Jun-10: 9%, Dec-10: 5%, Mar-11: 5%
- **They should be killed**: May-10: 0%, Jun-10: 1%, Dec-10: 5%, Mar-11: 0%
- **Forgiveness to promote unity**: May-10: 3%, Jun-10: 5%, Dec-10: 10%, Mar-11: 7%
- **Take them to the TJRC**: May-10: 10%, Jun-10: 6%, Dec-10: 7%, Mar-11: 5%
- **Try them in Kenyan Courts**: May-10: 35%, Jun-10: 41%, Dec-10: 42%, Mar-11: 29%
- **Try them in a special tribunal**: May-10: 42%, Jun-10: 32%, Dec-10: 36%, Mar-11: 48%
If a senior politician from your community is put on trial for inciting post-election violence, how are you personally likely to react?

Dec.-10

- I would support the trial: 64%
- I would do nothing: 25%
- I would demonstrate against the trial: 7%
- I would engage in acts of violence against other communities: 1%
If a senior politician from your community is put on trial for inciting post-election violence, how is your community likely to react?

Dec.-10

- They would support the trial: 51%
- They would do nothing: 20%
- They would demonstrate against the trial: 15%
- Don’t know: 9%
- They would engage in acts of violence against other communities: 4%
What do you think is likely to happen if the ICC fails to charge any suspects for post election violence?

Dec.-10

- Violence is likely to erupt: 54%
- Nothing is likely to happen: 23%
- Government would most likely set up a local tribunal to try the suspects: 8%
- Don’t know: 8%
- Government would most likely use the local courts to try suspects: 5%
- Others: 2%
(If violence erupts) Who do you think would most likely be involved in such violence as attackers?

March-11

- Kamba: 0%
- No Response: 3%
- Luo: 3%
- Not Sure / Don't Know: 7%
- Any combination of anti ICC groups: 17%
- Kikuyu: 43%
- Kalenjin: 54%
(If violence erupts) Who do you think would most like be involved in such violence AS VICTIMS?

March-11

- Luo / supporters of Raila: 61%
- Any other groups in favour of the ICC: 25%
- Any innocent people: 15%
- Not Sure / Don't Know: 6%
- No Response: 4%
- Kikuyu: 4%
- Kalenjin: 1%
Do you think MOST of such violence would more likely be?

March-11

- Planned: 48%
- Unplanned: 43%
- Not Sure / Don’t Know: 8%
- No Response: 2%
If such violence was being planned, do you think the government would find out about it and take action to stop it?

March-11

- **Yes**: 66%
- **No**: 24%
- **Not Sure / Don't Know**: 9%
- **No Response**: 2%
Agenda Item 2

Has the humanitarian crisis been resolved and reconciliation promoted?
In your opinion, what is the main reason why some displaced Kenyans are still in camps?

March - 11

- The government is reluctant to help IDPs: 41%
- They lack land: 20%
- Fear of attacks: 14%
- Awaiting funds: 11%
- IDPs are not genuine: 10%
- Misappropriation of IDP funds: 1%
- No response: 2%
- DK: 1%

In your opinion, what is the main reason why some displaced Kenyans are still in camps?
What is the most important thing the government can do to address the problem of all IDPs?

Dec-10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Give them land</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resettle them elsewhere</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resettle them where they were displaced from</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resettle them where they are</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promoting peace and reconciliation</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take them back to their ancestral districts</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase security</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Have you personally participated in any reconciliation activities in this area

Dec.-10

- Yes: 26%
- No: 74%
In the last two months, have you heard any speeches, remarks or discussions that promote hatred or animosity between groups?

Dec.-10

- Yes: 13%
- No: 85%
Thinking about reconciliation among Kenyan communities after the post-election violence, how much would you say communities have reconciled?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Dec-10</th>
<th>Mar-11</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Just a little</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RTA</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
How much do you trust each of the following groups

- Relatives: 94% trust a lot/somewhat, 6% somewhat/strongly distrust
- Neighbours: 85% trust a lot/somewhat, 15% somewhat/strongly distrust
- Members of your ethnic group: 82% trust a lot/somewhat, 17% somewhat/strongly distrust
- Members of other ethnic groups: 61% trust a lot/somewhat, 37% somewhat/strongly distrust
- Members of another religion: 72% trust a lot/somewhat, 26% somewhat/strongly distrust
How likely / unlikely are you able to do the following in an area where members of another community live?

- Get employment: 84%
- Send your children to School: 81%
- Set up a business: 78%
- Settle there: 70%
- Buy Land: 70%
- Build a house: 64%
What is the most important challenge to peace and reconciliation efforts in your area?
Dec.-10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Challenge</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tribalism</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political utterances</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mistrust between ethnic groups</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land disputes</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People who committed the violence are still free</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of involvement by community members</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People are too hurt and traumatized</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poverty</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Agenda Item 3

Is power being shared between Coalition partners and how is government performing?
How relevant is power-sharing between PNU and ODM today?

Dec-10

- Very/somewhat relevant: 74%
- Somewhat/very dissatisfied: 24%
- Don’t know: 2%
Thinking about the Coalition Government, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with its performance in the following areas...

Dec.-10

- Protecting the rights of the media: 75% satisfied, 71% dissatisfied
- Implementing new constitution: 70% satisfied, 30% dissatisfied
- Promoting reconciliation among...: 57% satisfied, 43% dissatisfied
- Fighting corruption: 50% satisfied, 50% dissatisfied
- Addressing regional inequalities...: 41% satisfied, 59% dissatisfied
- Addressing youth unemployment: 40% satisfied, 60% dissatisfied
- Resettling IDPs: 41% satisfied, 59% dissatisfied
In what ways, if any, has power-sharing benefitted the country? (multiple responses)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brought new constitution</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brought peace and stability</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improved ethnic relations</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improved economic development</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helped in fighting corruption</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nothing</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In your opinion, is it easy or hard for the grand coalition government working together to implement the new constitution..?
[If somewhat hard or very hard] What is the most important reason you think it is hard for the coalition government to work together?

Dec - 10

- Lack of cohesion in government: 28%
- Political interest: 43%
- Infighting among political parties: 28%
- Other: 1%
What is the most important reason why you think it is hard for the coalition government to work together?

March-11
Do you prefer that the coalition government continues until 2012, or do you prefer that the country holds general elections before 2012?

- Elections before 2012: 12%
- Continues: 86%
- Don’t know: 2%

Dec.-10
Is power sharing between political parties in government something you would like to see after another election? Dec.-10

Don’t know
4%

Yes
21%

No
75%
Agenda Item 4

Long-standing Issues
How much would you say you know about the new constitution?

Dec.-10
(If a lot or just some of it): What are your sources of what you know about the constitution (multiple responses) Dec-10

- Media: 81%
- Personally read the constitution: 52%
- Friends/relatives: 41%
- Politicians/political parties: 20%
- Religious leaders: 18%
Do you think the new constitution is satisfactory or unsatisfactory in addressing your needs?

Dec.-10

- Very/somewhat satisfactory: 90%
- Somewhat/very unsatisfactory: 9%
- Don’t know: 2%
In the constitutional implementation process, what issue or area should the government give the highest priority?

- No response: 1% (Dec-10), 1% (Mar-11)
- Don't Know / Not sure: 1% (Dec-10), 2% (Mar-11)
- Reforming the electoral system: 2% (Dec-10), 2% (Mar-11)
- Improve infrastructure: 1% (Dec-10), 3% (Mar-11)
- Provision of social and public services (water, health, educ): 2% (Dec-10), 4% (Mar-11)
- Respecting human rights: 5% (Dec-10), 5% (Mar-11)
- Promoting healing and reconciliation: 5% (Dec-10), 6% (Mar-11)
- Land reforms: 10% (Dec-10), 7% (Mar-11)
- Judicial reforms: 6% (Dec-10), 9% (Mar-11)
- Security: 26% (Dec-10), 12% (Mar-11)
- Fighting corruption: 16% (Dec-10), 14% (Mar-11)
- Improve economy: 3% (Dec-10), 16% (Mar-11)
- Create jobs/employment: 21% (Dec-10), 20% (Mar-11)
What is the main difficulty you foresee in implementing the new constitution?
Since the adoption of the new constitution, have you seen or heard of any action that does not reflect values of integrity as defined in the constitution?

Dec.-10

71% Yes
22% No
6% Don’t know
How actively are you involved in public discussions about implementation of the new constitution
Dec.-10

- Very involved: 11%
- Fairly Involved: 35%
- Not involved: 53%
What is the biggest change you think the new constitution has brought to Kenya as a whole Dec.-10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Change</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Better governance</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nothing / No change</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access to more rights</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eradication of corruption</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improved economy</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>