VII. Academic and Civil Society Analysis

South Consulting - 11th Review Report - Annex 1

Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation Commission

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Annex 1

The Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation Monitoring Project

Summary of Survey Findings
October 2011

Introduction and Context
National Survey: Methodology

• National Survey conducted in August/September 2011

• The survey had a sample size of 2,000 and was conducted Nationally

• Nation-wide multi-stage cluster sampling proportionate to size

• Random selection of households and respondents

In your opinion, what is the most serious problem facing Kenya today?
(by Total)

- High cost of living: 76%
- Lack of employment: 10%
- Poor leadership: 5%
- Corruption: 7%
- Tribalism: 1%
In your opinion, what is the most serious problem facing Kenya today? (by Region)

Thinking of your safety now compared to just after the 2007 general elections, do you feel safer, less safe, or about the same? (by Total)
Implementation of the Constitution
How much would you say you know about the new constitution?
(by Total)

- Nothing at all: 23%
- Just some of it: 70%
- A lot: 7%

Have you observed any change in the country since adoption of the new Constitution? (by Total)

- Yes: 53%
- No: 44%
- DK: 3%
Have you observed any change in the country since adoption of the new Constitution? (by Region)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rift Valley</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>5%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nyanza</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>6%</td>
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<tr>
<td>North Eastern</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>4%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nairobi</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>1%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>4%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Coast</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>2%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

If YES what is the change? (by Total)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Change</th>
<th>1%</th>
<th>2%</th>
<th>3%</th>
<th>4%</th>
<th>5%</th>
<th>10%</th>
<th>12%</th>
<th>15%</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Better services in public offices</td>
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<td>Mututho laws implemented</td>
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<td>Better education system</td>
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<tr>
<td>Corruption has reduced</td>
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<td>MPs are now paying taxes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Creation of job opportunities for youth and women</td>
<td>1%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rights of the citizens protected</td>
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<tr>
<td>Enhanced security</td>
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<td>Police harassment has reduced</td>
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<td>Better infrastructure</td>
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<td>Cost of living has gone up</td>
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<td>Has controlled executive powers</td>
<td>10%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Women are increasingly able to fight for their rights</td>
<td>12%</td>
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<tr>
<td>High consultations in government</td>
<td>12%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Judicial system has been constituted</td>
<td>10%</td>
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<tr>
<td>There is public vetting of office bearers</td>
<td>26%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with progress of implementation of the new constitution? (by Total)

- Very satisfied: 11%
- Satisfied: 41%
- Not satisfied: 25%
- Not satisfied at all: 12%
- DK: 10%
- NR: 1%

How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with progress of implementation of the new constitution? (by Region)

- Western
  - Very satisfied: 11%
  - Satisfied: 50%
  - Not satisfied: 10%
  - Not satisfied at all: 19%
  - DK: 13%
  - NR: 9%
- Rift Valley
  - Very satisfied: 7%
  - Satisfied: 36%
  - Not satisfied: 32%
  - Not satisfied at all: 11%
  - DK: 12%
  - NR: 3%
- Nyanza
  - Very satisfied: 15%
  - Satisfied: 49%
  - Not satisfied: 23%
  - Not satisfied at all: 10%
  - DK: 13%
  - NR: 0%
- North Eastern
  - Very satisfied: 16%
  - Satisfied: 56%
  - Not satisfied: 14%
  - Not satisfied at all: 6%
  - DK: 9%
  - NR: 5%
- Nairobi
  - Very satisfied: 13%
  - Satisfied: 58%
  - Not satisfied: 27%
  - Not satisfied at all: 15%
  - DK: 5%
  - NR: 3%
- Eastern
  - Very satisfied: 13%
  - Satisfied: 46%
  - Not satisfied: 22%
  - Not satisfied at all: 10%
  - DK: 8%
  - NR: 0%
- Coast
  - Very satisfied: 6%
  - Satisfied: 25%
  - Not satisfied: 31%
  - Not satisfied at all: 21%
  - DK: 16%
  - NR: 0%
- Central
  - Very satisfied: 14%
  - Satisfied: 47%
  - Not satisfied: 24%
  - Not satisfied at all: 8%
  - DK: 7%
  - NR: 0%
What difficulties, if any, do you see facing the implementation of the new constitution? (by Total)

- Corruption by the politicians: 2%
- Lack of commitment by Government: 2%
- Lack of knowledge on constitution: 2%
- Selfish interests among MPs: 3%
- None: 7%
- Implementation of the women's representation rule (1/3): 7%
- Lack of resources in implementing the Constitution: 14%
- 2012 campaigns: 3%
- Division among politicians: 65%

Would you support a proposal to reserve some parliamentary constituencies for women candidates to ensure the next Parliament at least 1/3 women? (by Total)

- Yes: 64%
- No: 32%
- DK: 4%
Would you support a proposal to reserve some parliamentary constituencies for women candidates ensure the next Parliament at least 1/3 women? (by Region)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rift Valley</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyanza</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Eastern</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nairobi</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coast</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The constitution provides for County government, what 2 things would you like the County government to address as a priority? (by Total)

- NR: 3%
- Address corruption: 9%
- Improve social services: 25%
- Fight poverty: 35%
- Develop infrastructure: 43%
- Create job opportunities: 60%
In the next general elections, what qualities of a leader will you look for in choosing leaders? (by Total)

- Peace loving: 1%
- Young person: 1%
- God fearing person: 1%
- Not tribalist & someone able to unite Kenya: 2%
- NR: 3%
- Educated: 12%
- One who is not corrupt: 24%
- Honest: 30%
- One who cares for the welfare of the people: 74%

How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the performance of the following bodies?

- The civil service: 47% Satisfied, 45% Not satisfied, 8% RTA/DR/RTA
- The Kenya Police: 36% Satisfied, 60% Not satisfied, 3% RTA/DR/RTA
- Judiciary: 54% Satisfied, 36% Not satisfied, 9% RTA/DR/RTA
- IIEC (Interim Independent Electoral Commission): 75% Satisfied, 17% Not satisfied, 8% RTA/DR/RTA
Since the adoption of a new Constitution in August 2010, have you attended any meetings where people discussed elections under the new constitution? (by Total)

- **Yes**: 12%
- **No**: 85%
- **DK**: 2%

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding the making of new laws under the new constitution?

1. People's opinions are reflected in the new laws
   - Agree: 42%
   - Disagree: 42%
   - DK: 14%
   - NR/RTA: 1%

2. The government is consulting people in making new laws
   - Agree: 37%
   - Disagree: 47%
   - DK: 14%
   - NR/RTA: 1%

3. I know someone who has attended discussions/meeting on making some of the new laws
   - Agree: 21%
   - Disagree: 75%
   - DK: 14%
   - NR/RTA: 1%

4. I have attended discussions/meeting on making new laws
   - Agree: 12%
   - Disagree: 87%
   - DK: 1%
   - NR/RTA: 1%
The ICC intervention

Are you happy or unhappy that The Hague/the ICC is pursuing the six suspects of the post election violence (PEV)? (by Total)

- Very happy: 51%
- Somewhat happy: 14%
- Not very happy: 11%
- Not happy at all: 20%
- Don't care: 4%
To get justice for the post-election violence victims

It will end impunity

It will prevent future violence

We do not trust Kenya courts

If happy, please explain why? (by Total)

Agree Disagree

Those opposing the Hague/the ICC action are mainly trying to protect those who organised the PEV

60% 40%

Those supporting the Hague/the ICC action are mainly concerned with getting justice for victims of the PEV

74% 26%

Politicians supporting the Hague/the ICC action are mainly concerned with eliminating political opponents

47% 53%
Why do you think violence will occur in this place? (by Total)

- To revenge against those supporting the ICC: 17%
- To express solidarity with politicians in their strongholds: 15%
- Because no action has been taken against perpetrators of pos: 15%
- Because of unresolved land issue: 5%
- Tribalism: 2%
- I don't know: 1%

What do you think is most likely to happen if the ICC fails to prosecute any suspects for post-election violence? (by Total)

- Violence is likely to erupt: 26%
- People will lose trust in the ICC: 15%
- Nothing will happen: 20%
- Politicians will act with more impunity: 13%
- Enmity between tribes and their leaders will increase: 5%
- People will demonstrate demanding trials: 1%
- There will be no justice: 10%
- NR/DK/RTA: 1%

10/12/2011
How supportive or not supportive are you of ICCs efforts to prosecute the 6 people named by Ocampo as PEV suspects? (by Total)

- Very supportive of the ICC: 51%
- Somewhat supportive of the ICC: 18%
- Not very supportive of the ICC: 12%
- Not supportive at all of the ICC: 16%
- RTA/DK/NR: 3%

If the ICC trials take place, how likely do you think it is to produce violence in Kenya? (by Total)

- Very unlikely: 57%
- Somewhat unlikely: 10%
- Somewhat likely: 8%
- Very likely: 13%
Do you think the Kenya government can conduct genuine investigations and prosecutions of the 6 suspects named by Ocampo/ICC? (by Total)

- No: 58%
- Yes: 26%
- Don't know: 14%
- No response: 2%

If NO, why? (by Total)

- Kenya Government is corrupt: 45%
- Do not trust our judiciary system/ Courts: 33%
- The suspects are powerful people in Government: 22%
- None: 4%
- There is impunity in Kenya: 6%
- The process will be politicised: 3%
- Lack of witness protection: 1%
- Others: 1%
What would you say is the MOST IMPORTANT way to prevent future political violence in Kenya? (by Total)

- Hold a free and fair election: 28%
- Promote peace and reconciliation: 24%
- Have a free and independent electoral body: 17%
- Deploy more security: 12%
- Politicians to stop incitement and hate speech: 6%
- Ensure accountability for PEV: 1%
- Implementation and following of the new constitution: 1%
- Refuse to answer (RTA): 1%

Do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

- Politicians supporting the Hague/the ICC action are mainly concerned with eliminating political opponents: Agree 47%, Disagree 53%
- Those supporting the Hague/the ICC action are mainly concerned with getting justice for victims of the PEV: Agree 74%, Disagree 26%
- Those opposing the Hague/the ICC action are mainly trying to protect those who organised the PEV: Agree 60%, Disagree 40%
The six suspects named by the ICC prosecutor should be tried by the ICC in the Hague.

Please choose one statement that is closest to your view? (by Total)

- The six suspects named by the ICC prosecutor should NOT be tried at all: 6% (65%)
- The six suspects named by the ICC prosecutor should be tried by a local tribunal in Kenya: 30% (20%)
- The six suspects named by the ICC prosecutor should be tried by the ICC in The Hague: 62% (1%)

Do you believe the ICC can/will protect its witnesses that will give evidence against the Ocampo 6? (by Total)

- Yes: 65%
- No: 20%
- Don't know: 15%
- No response: 1%
Should Kenya conduct own proceedings against the Ocampo 6, do you think the government will be able to protect witnesses giving evidence against Ocampo 6? (by Total)

- Yes: 24%
- No: 64%
- Don't know: 11%
- No response: 1%

The Coalition Government
What do you like most about the coalition government? (by Total)

- Brought peace and reconciliation after the 2008 post election violence: 21%
- Gave us a new constitution: 13%
- Improved infrastructure: 10%
- Economy has improved: 2%
- Fighting corruption: 3%
- Free primary education: 3%
- Nothing: 30%

What do you dislike most about the coalition government? (by Total)

- High food prices: 24%
- They are tribalists: 10%
- Political differences: 10%
- They are corrupt: 8%
- Nothing: 7%
- Political disunity: 5%
- Failure to fight corruption: 5%
- They are proud and selfish: 3%
- Blunted cabinet (high member of ministers and their assistants): 3%
- Slow constitution implementation: 1%
- They don’t respond steadfastly to the need of the nation: 1%
In your opinion, has the coalition government made relations between ethnic communities better or worse since its formation? (by Total)

- Better: 60%
- Worse: 35%
- Don't know: 1%
- RTA/NR: 1%

Please tell me ONE thing that the coalition government can do to work better until the next general election? (by Total)

- Lower cost of living: 38%
- The Principals should consult and work together: 24%
- Enhance unity among political leaders: 15%
- Concentrate on service delivery: 9%
- Fight against corruption/Tribalism: 7%
- Don't know: 3%
- Implement the constitution: 2%
- Resettle IDPs: 2%
- Enhance security: 1%
What 2 things should be done before the next general elections to ensure free and fair elections? (by Total)

- Avoid tribalism: 2%
- Enhance security during the electoral process: 4%
- Complete judiciary reforms: 6%
- Justice for post election violence victims: 18%
- Implement the new Constitution: 21%
- Enhance civic education: 31%
- Establish a new efficient electoral body: 38%
- Transparency in the electoral process: 49%

In your opinion, how relevant is power-sharing between PNU and ODM today? (by Total)

- Very relevant: 38%
- Relevant: 38%
- Not relevant: 36%
- Not relevant at all: 10%
- DK: 2%
In your opinion, how relevant is power-sharing between PNU and ODM today? (by Region)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Relevant</th>
<th>Not relevant</th>
<th>Not relevant at all</th>
<th>Very relevant</th>
<th>DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>11%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rift Valley</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>18%</td>
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<td>Nyanza</td>
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<td>North Eastern</td>
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<td>Nairobi</td>
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<td>Eastern</td>
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<td>38%</td>
<td>13%</td>
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<td>Coast</td>
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<td>Central</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>12%</td>
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Please tell me ONE thing that the coalition government can do to work better until the next general election? (by Total)

- Enhance security: 1%
- Resettle IDPs: 1%
- Implement the constitution: 1%
- Don't know: 3%
- Fight against corruption/Tribalism: 7%
- Concentrate on service delivery: 9%
- Enhance unity among political leaders: 15%
- The Principals should consult and work together: 24%
- Lower cost of living: 38%
The fight against tribalism

The fight against corruption

Has the country made progress in?

Yes  No

The government

Politicians

The two Principals (Kibaki/Raila)

Kenyan/Common Mwananchi

Kenya Anti Corruption Commission (KACC)

Judiciary

Don’t know

President Kibaki

If NO progress, who is the MOST responsible for the failure to (THE FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION)? (by Total)
The fight against tribalism? (by Total)

- NCIC (National Cohesion & Integration Commission): 0%
- NR: 1%
- Government Officials: 6%
- The two Principals (Kibaki and Raila): 13%
- Kenyans/Common Mwananchi: 14%
- The government: 17%
- Politicians: 49%

What is the most important step that the government can take to create more jobs for the youth? (by Total)

- Don’t know: 1%
- Allocate more funds to youth projects: 29%
- Retire old people who have attained retirement age: 6%
- Let more youth in appropriate skills: 9%
- Give equal opportunity for jobs in each region: 8%
- Encourage foreign investments in the country: 4%
- Stop corruption: 7%
- Introduce a twenty four hour economy: 3%
- Build/revive industries: 20%
- Government to expand more agricultural areas in Kenya: 7%
The resettlement of IDPs

What is the most important thing that the government can do to address the problem of IDPs in Kenya? (by Total)

- Preach peace and reconciliation: 41%
- The IDPs should be taken back to their ancestral lands: 20%
- The government to resettle IDPs anywhere it can get land: 19%
- IDPs should be given funds: 19%
- They should be resettled where they were chased from: 10%
- Assist them with basic needs: 1%
Do you think IDP are able to enjoy the following rights as citizens of Kenya?

- Right to protection of property: 57% Yes, 38% No, 5% Not sure, 2% DK, 2% NR
- Right to freely assemble and demonstrate: 57% Yes, 38% No, 5% Not sure, 2% DK, 2% NR
- Right to live in any part of the country: 52% Yes, 44% No, 4% Not sure, 2% DK, 2% NR
Which of the following do you consider to be the home of IDPs in Kenya? (by Total)

- Their ancestral districts/counties where their ethnic kin live: 19%
- Where they have bought land/property and settled since being displaced: 26%
- Places from which they fled: 24%
- Any part of Kenya: 21%

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

- Politicians are using IDPs to advance their political interests: 46%
- IDPs in camps today are genuine IDPs: 25%
- Only Kikuyu IDPs have been assisted by the government: 27%
- The government is committed to solving the IDP problem: 20%
To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?
(by Total)

- The government is committed to solving the IDP problem:
  - Completely agree: 15%
  - Somewhat agree: 36%
  - Somewhat disagree: 20%
  - Completely disagree: 24%
  - DK: 3%

- Only Kikuyu IDPs have been assisted by the government:
  - Completely agree: 13%
  - Somewhat agree: 15%
  - Somewhat disagree: 18%
  - Completely disagree: 18%
  - DK: 15%

- IDPs in camps today are genuine IDPs:
  - Completely agree: 21%
  - Somewhat agree: 27%
  - Somewhat disagree: 25%
  - Completely disagree: 11%
  - DK: 11%

- Politicians are using IDPs to advance their political interests:
  - Completely agree: 46%
  - Somewhat agree: 25%
  - Somewhat disagree: 11%
  - Completely disagree: 11%
  - DK: 7%

The End