

THE STATUS OF GOVERNANCE IN KENYA

A BASELINE SURVEY REPORT 2012



About SID

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACROYNMS

AG	Attorney General
CBO	Community Based Organization
CDF	Constituency Development Fund
CJ	Chief Justice
CRA	Commission on Revenue Allocation
CSO	Civil Society Organization
CUC	Court Users Committee
ECOSOC	Economic Social and Cultural Rights
FBO	Faith Based Organization
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
FIDA	Federation of Women Lawyers
GEMA	Gikuyu, Embu, Meru Association
ICC	International Criminal Court
IDI	In-depth Interviews
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IEBC	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
KII	Key Informant Interviews
KNCHR	Kenya National Commission on Human Rights
KRA	Kenya Revenue Authority
MRC	Mombasa Republican Council
NCIC	National Cohesion and Integration Commission
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NHIF	National Hospital Insurance Fund
PEV	Post Election Violence
PPPS	Probability Proportionate to Population Size
PWDs	Persons with disability
RTA	Refused to answer

SID	Society for International Development
TJRC	Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VAW	Violence Against Women

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Ali Hersi

Regional Director,

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FOREWORD

This report presents the major findings of the national baseline survey on the Status of Governance in Kenya that was undertaken between April and May 2012. The survey was undertaken country-wide using a standard questionnaire that was administered to 5,035 respondents from 46 counties. The survey incorporated the use of qualitative data collection techniques to tease out key issues affecting citizen's awareness, knowledge and practices relating to their civic and constitutional rights and their participation in the democratic processes.

The main objective survey on Status of Governance in Kenya was to generate baseline data for programming by the three key partners who commissioned this study namely Uraia Trust, UNDP - Amkeni Wakenya and UN Women - Usawa ni Haki. The study was premised on the desire of the three partners to work collaboratively in the areas of civic education and engagement. The three institutions share a common agenda that mainly focuses on civic education, civic engagement, gender and governance, and institutional transformation to safeguard and broaden the democratic space and good governance in Kenya; as well as facilitate transparency and accountability in this sector.

The findings of the baseline survey provide in-depth information on the general state of knowledge, attitudes and practices of citizenry on issues regarding leadership, integrity and national reconciliation in addition to a situation analysis on the public mood regarding leadership, accountability and perspectives on the devolution process. It is hoped that these findings will not only be a useful resource for organizations implementing civic education and civic engagement programmes around the country but also be a rich resource for all stakeholders involved in civic and voter engagement as well as capacity development focused on the forthcoming general elections and devolved country government implementation process in Kenya.

Mary Muyonga

Programmes Officer (SID)

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report provides a summary of findings from a national baseline survey undertaken in April 2012, to try and determine the state of governance and democracy in Kenya. The baseline survey provided useful information on the state of the nation with regard to democracy, governance, civic education and civic awareness about constitutional changes in Kenya. It also provides information on how the public can participate in this process.

The analysis of the findings from the national survey were based on seven key result areas as follows: Enhanced national reconciliation amongst Kenyans; Working towards formulation of legal electoral and judicial reforms; Access to justice for the poor and marginalized in Kenya; Promoting people-centered devolved government in Kenya; Promoting economic, cultural and social rights (ECOSOC); Enhanced inclusion of previously under-served or marginalized groups and communities, and Increased leadership accountability.

On *enhanced national reconciliation*, it cannot be said that the country has healed from (PEV): 35% of those who were affected by the violence have forgiven the perpetrators of the violence; 35% of Kenyans affected by the violence insists they will not forgive but will exercise tolerance; 19.5% will only forgive on conditions such as compensation over lost property, life and or prosecution of the perpetrators of the -violence. A further 9.5% stated they would not forgive the perpetrators of the post election violence.

There was a recognition of the role played by the National Steering Committee on Peace Building and Conflict Management (NSC), the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC), the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNHCR), and the Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC) as key institutions promoting peace in the country.

Regarding *legal, electoral and judicial reforms*, the major concern is how the implementation of the Constitution will be achieved and the fear that the Executive, the Parliament, the Judiciary and the citizenry alike will fail to uphold the law. The public appreciates the reforms in the electoral and judicial processes.

The Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) that replaced the ECK has received favorable approval ratings from the public, with 77% of the Kenyans interviewed in this survey optimistic that the IEBC is capable of managing free and fair elections in 2013.

With regards to *promoting access to justice*, the survey reveals low public participation in judicial processes, reforms and inadequate knowledge of court systems in Kenya. The findings reveal that a majority of Kenyans (67.7%) are aware of where to report crimes and grievances. Access to the law courts however is limited with less than half (46.2%) of Kenyans agreeable that they can access law courts easily.

While 77% of Kenyans were aware of courts in the country, most respondents (69%), could not differentiate the roles of the different courts in the country. Analyses of the roles adduced from the respondents indicate misinformation on the roles of the courts.

With regard to *promoting a people-centered government*, devolution was mainly associated with decentralization of power and sharing national resources county wise. The survey reveals an information gap on the devolved structures and what constitutes devolution in the Kenyan context. Only 24.7% of the public understood how devolution will work and about 29% of the public stated they understood the county structures in the devolved governments.

Concerning the *realization of human rights particularly economic and social cultural rights*, the public's understanding and interpretation is very narrow and rarely discussed in the context of the Constitution. The public does not consider it expressly the duty of the government to uphold human rights. Further, the survey reveals a public that is rarely involved in the development of legislative and policy frameworks on economic, social and cultural rights.

In terms of violence against women, domestic violence constitutes the highest form of this crime at 48%, followed by defilement and rape each at 26%. Awareness of organizations that deal with human rights among the public is low, with only about one third of the public being aware of organizations that advocate or support women and youth rights issues.

Awareness about defenders of the rights of persons with disabilities (PWD) and marginalized communities was reported at even much lower levels: 10% for organizations that work with or support people with disabilities and 6% for marginalized communities.

For the *enhanced inclusion of previously under-served or marginalized groups and communities*, the current government is seen to have made significant attempts to include previously under-served, marginalized groups, like women and children, and minority ethnic communities in the country's development agenda. On a five point scale where 1 is excellent and 5 is poor; the government obtained a mean score of 2.94 for dealing with issues affecting women, 2.71 for youth, and 3.10 for persons with disability and 3.32 when dealing with the marginalized communities.

Under *increased leadership accountability*, the public's most desirable leadership quality is integrity. Kenyans are looking forward to a system that will allow only leaders of integrity to be elected and strong institutions that will ensure leaders provide quality service delivery (65.5%).

In terms of women and leadership, the survey reveals a relatively patriarchal society that is not ready for a woman president; only 38% of Kenyans agreed they can vote in a woman president. The public though recognizes aspiring female presidential candidates such as Martha Karua, as she is continually discussed as 'strong' and a 'challenge' to men. The survey reveals that the Kenyan woman is still relegated to traditional roles and seen as unfit for high public offices. About three quarters (75.8%, see Table 40) of the respondents agree that the socio cultural values have played a significant role in stifling the woman's leadership ambition.

This report is organized in two key parts. **Section One** provides the introduction and background to the study, highlighting the key objectives of the study. This part also outlines the key steps taken in the concept design and development of research instruments and actual data collection phase. **Section Two** presents the overall findings of the national baseline survey covering the seven key result areas and ends with a summary of conclusions and recommendations for programming.

SECTION 1

Introduction and Background

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Kenya took a great leap in adapting the new Constitution in August 2010. With the new Constitution comes an expansive Bill of Rights that addresses inequalities encountered by different groups specifically the minorities and those previously marginalized. For citizens to gain the benefits that accrue from the new Constitution, they need extensive civic education on it and the rights inherent therein. For those actors who have been empowering communities to know their rights, more work is required to create the necessary civic awareness, reorienting the national psyche for the new dispensation and engendering robust public engagement in governance issues.

Consequently, there is need for civic education and engagement programmes, which are informed by research and which look at issues of identities, citizenship and belonging as well as general attitudes, perceptions and knowledge of the Constitution of Kenya 2010. Additionally, there is need to explore and gain better understanding of critical issues that undermine civic citizenship, the total realization of citizen's rights, responsibilities and entitlement. To fill this gap in knowledge, the national baseline survey was conceptualized by the three partners: Uraia Trust, Amkeni Wakenya and Usawa ni Haki. SID having worked extensively in the area of development, specifically on equality and inequities, undertook the management of the national survey from which baseline data to inform civic education programmes in the new Constitutional order would be derived.

The Society for International Development (SID), Uraia Trust, Amkeni Wakenya and Usawa ni Haki partnership is an attempt at learning from past experiences in order to shape civic education programmes that can meet the demands of building a cohesive and peaceful nation. It also seeks to promote the Kenyan civic identity and nationality as the primary identity and basis of defining belonging, rights, responsibilities and entitlement.

The key issues addressed by the survey:

Citizens' understandings of the Constitution of Kenya 2010 in response to previous governance concerns, institutions and values;

- Citizens' understanding of the interactions between the old and new constitutional order as regards their rights vis-à-vis the state and each other, and the lingering old practices and understandings of the old constitutional order with a special reference made to the Bill of Rights under Chapter Four of the Constitution of Kenya 2010, and the rights of previously marginalized social groups and communities;
- Citizens' awareness of the gains in the Constitution of Kenya 2010 that promote access to justice by previously underserved populations';
- Citizens' understanding of the nature and function of the county governments; the County Assemblies and the Senate and expectations of the implications for county vis-à-vis the national development agenda (as captured under Kenya's Vision 2030 and other key policy documents);
- Citizens' understanding of their rights and roles in the implementation of the Constitution relative to each other as individuals; and relative to their communities and other communities as well as the arms of government at national and county levels. That is the legislature, the judiciary and the executive - and the challenges / tensions that exist between the old and new orders;

- Citizens' understanding and responses to challenges affecting their day to day living and actions being taken by the government in the constitution implementation process, under the auspices of Kenya's Vision 2030;

1.1 STUDY BACKGROUND

In the planning for this research and national study, the three partners all had their key expectations from the survey. The three institutions came together to leverage their resources and efforts towards undertaking a national survey whose scope will be wide enough to cover the overarching goals and objectives of the three institutions. A brief outline of each partner's key interest in this survey is outlined below.

Uraia Trust

Uraia Trust was established in 2011 as a successor to Kenya's National Civic Education Programme phase I and II (NCEP I & II). Its focus is to contribute to the progress of Kenya through the development of its most important resource - 'Kenyan citizens' - 'raia' in Kiswahili. Uraia's approach is to promote citizenship from a rights and responsibility aspect. NCEP I was implemented between August 2000 and September 2002 through a partnership of a group of development partners and civil society organisations in Kenya. It aimed at consolidating a mature political culture in which citizens are more aware of, and fully exercise their rights and responsibilities, as well as participate effectively in broadening democracy. NCEP I was implemented by 70 indigenous civil society organizations (CSOs). The programme was instrumental in the change of regime in Kenya following the 2002 elections.

Amkeni Wakenya

Amkeni Wakenya is a UNDP led facility set up to promote democratic governance in Kenya. The name Amkeni Wakenya is inspired by the second stanza of the National Anthem that calls upon all Kenyans to actively participate in nation building. Amkeni Wakenya primarily works through civil society organizations (CSOs) in recognition of the significant role that they play in ensuring that the aspirations of Kenyans are taken into consideration in the democratization process. Amkeni Wakenya is currently implementing the following programmes:

- Access to justice project which seeks to promote access to justice for all, especially the poor and marginalized in Kenya;
- People-centered devolved governments;
- Human rights, which seeks to contribute to the effective realization of all human rights particularly ECOSOC rights.

Usawa Ni Haki

The Usawa Ni Haki programme is based on Gender and Governance. It was developed as a follow up to the Engendering Political Process Programme implemented in 2002 to support women to participate actively in 2002 general elections. The Gender and Governance Programme is in its third phase, and it is a multi-stakeholder programme formulated to deepen the gains of the Engendering Political Process Programme (EPPP) in ensuring that women issues remain relevant in the national polity, to support transformative leadership across all levels and tiers of government that delivers for people and in particular delivers on gender equality and to strengthen women's leadership within communities and at the national levels. The third phase of the programme was launched in 2010 with a new slogan, 'USAWA ni haki, answering to Kenyan women'.

The programme goal is to promote equal access to services and opportunities to both men and women but specifically addressing the need to include women's issues in governance structures support transformative leadership across all levels of government and strengthen women's leadership at national and local levels. The key results that Usawa expected from this survey include:

- Women leadership and participation in decision-making processes
- Access to justice by women and marginalized groups
- Number of civic education and democratic governance programmes being implemented nationally by different actors

1.2 EXPECTED OUTCOMES OF NATIONAL STUDY – KEY RESULT AREAS

The three partners 'merged' the different expectations from the survey and the following key result areas were prioritized for benchmarking the joint programmes. By these 'key result areas' (KRA) the partners were assessing the progress towards these objectives by the citizens. A summary of the key issues that the Partners sought to establish under each key result area is discussed below.

Key Result Area 1: Enhanced national reconciliation among Kenyans: What are their fears and expectations?

The specific expectations from the national survey include establishing information about the following issues:

- The extent of reconciliation since the electoral violence in 2007/8.
- Factors influencing conflict and reconciliation among communities.
- Examine efforts and interventions after the PEV and Kenya National Dialogue & Reconciliation (KNDR) process.
- Examine and identify any existing conflict mitigation mechanisms available and how best they can be utilized.

Key Result Area 2: Work towards the formulation of legal and electoral reforms

The specific expectations from the national survey include establishing information about the following issues:

- Electoral reforms - Knowledge by the citizens of the electoral reforms in the country including their role in electing their leaders; the changes to the electoral laws and those governing political parties.
- Judicial reforms – Awareness and knowledge by the citizens of the various reforms in the judiciary and establishing awareness on where to get legal aid, the role of different courts and views and perception on effectiveness of the judiciary in Kenya.

Key Result Area 3: Promotion of access to justice for all especially the poor and marginalised groups and communities in Kenya

The specific expectations from the national survey include establishing information about the following issues:

- Establish the number of Court User Committees developed and operational at the County levels.
- Determine the effectiveness and efficiency of Court User Committees.
- Establish the citizen's perception on the effectiveness of the judiciary reforms aimed at enhancing access to justice; knowledge or awareness of their rights and responsibilities as citizens and their perspective on access to justice by previously underserved members of the society.

Key Result Area 4: Promotion of effective people-centered devolved governments in Kenya
The specific expectations from the national survey include establishing information about the following issues:

- Establish the proportion of citizens engaging in the development of policies on devolution and representation.
- Establish the number of civil society organisations engaging in the development of policies on devolution and representation.

Key Result Area 5: Promote the effective realization of all human rights', particularly economic, social and cultural rights

The specific expectations from the national survey include establishing information about the following issues:

- Establish the extent of citizen participation in the development of legislative and policy frameworks on economic, social and cultural rights and the specific application of human rights.
- Determine the citizen's perspectives regarding realization of these rights by previously marginalized and minority groups.

Key Result Area 6: Enhanced inclusion of previously under-served or marginalized groups and communities (in socio-economic and political terms)

- Special attention to inclusion by Youth, Women, Persons with Disability (PWDs), marginalized groups and communities in socio-economic terms.
- Special attention to inclusion by Youth, Women, Persons with Disabilities (PWDs), marginalized groups and communities in political terms.

Key Result Area 7: Increased leadership accountability

- Study will focus on citizenry's understanding of the Constitution of Kenya 2012 and Vision 2030 and how these increase leadership accountability and transparency.
- Identifying the citizenry view of their role in the process of enhancing leadership accountability as individuals or members of community.
- Gauging the citizen's perspectives on the role of women in leadership.
- Awareness of the role of the citizens in ensuring accountability of their leaders.

1.3 STUDY DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This study relied on both primary as well as secondary data. The primary data came from a baseline study for a randomly selected nationally representative sample of 5,035 respondents. The qualitative data came from a number of key expert interviews and focus group discussions with a purposively selected number of respondents.

The study questionnaire was designed by the key partners namely: Uraia Trust, Society for International Development Regional Office for Eastern Africa, Amkeni Wakenya, Usawa ni Haki and Strategic Public Relations and Research Limited (a Research Company) as well as the two lead Consultants, Dr Joshua Kivuva and Mr. Lawrence Orowe, Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS) and Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNCHR).

A two-day meeting was held to review and refine the proposed questionnaire. The final questionnaire comprised a series of questions targeted at providing baseline information on the seven key result areas that had been identified as the key objectives of the study. This questionnaire was later pretested prior to its administration and adjustments made to ensure it was easy to administer to the common 'mwananchi' within a reasonable time period.

Data collection for the national survey was undertaken by Strategic Public Relations and Research Ltd in all the 46 counties. Prior to the fieldwork, a competitively select group of study supervisors and enumerators underwent a week-long training to familiarize themselves with the questionnaire and the general study objectives. The enumerators were selected competitively from the different counties in which they would work to reduce any threats to data quality. Some of the questionnaires required translation into Swahili or other local languages to make them easily understandable to the respondents. The key respondents for this study were adults over 18 years of age.

This baseline survey was guided by the general objective of establishing the public's knowledge, attitude and participation in the implementation of the new Constitution. The survey was carried out in 46 counties and employed the use of quantitative, (questionnaire at household level) and qualitative (key informant interviews and focus group discussion) methodologies to collate views from various categories of respondents. West Pokot County was only covered through qualitative methods, due to insecurity challenges faced by the interviewing team at that time of the survey.

The survey also involved qualitative data collection through focus group discussions in different select counties of Kenya. These were Kirinyaga, Nairobi, Migori, Kisumu, Uasin Gishu, Bungoma, Mombasa and Garissa. In addition, representatives of the West Pokot-Samburu peace caravan were interviewed to get information to compliment the findings of the survey on issues affecting the West Pokot County.

The entire national study also utilized secondary data from desk review of books, journal articles, magazines and newspapers as well as a number of unpublished conference papers and government documents.

1.3.1 Sampling and Sample Size

The sample distribution reflected the Kenya 2009 Population and Housing and Census results. The sample selection included all the 47 counties, but the survey managed to administer questionnaires (quantitative) interviews in 46 of them, though it proved to be impossible in West Pokot county due to insecurity. The sample framework was based on Probability Proportionate to Population Sizes (PPPS) of the forty six counties. Because of the heterogeneity of the Kenyan society, a large enough sample size was proposed to allow for meaningful comparison and to undertake statistically valid sub stratifications that fall within an acceptable confidence level.

A sample size of 5,035 respondents was used for the household survey and distributed proportionately (according to the 2009 population census) in the 46 counties. The survey targeted adult Kenyans aged 17 years and above. In counties with significantly low samples, a booster sample was provided to allow for adequate data for sub-sample analysis. Within the counties, sample stratification considered administrative boundaries, marginalized groups, remote locations that are otherwise normally considered as unreachable or conflict zones. The aim was to reach out to the peripherals in the context of establishing and understanding citizen participation and inclusivity in governance and democratic processes at the county level. The sampling took into consideration other demographic information such as gender, age, location and education level for the household survey. Table 1 below shows the quantitative sample distribution.

Table 1: Quantitative sample distribution across the counties

	County	Population	% dist	Proposed Sample	Achieved
1	Busia	488,075	1.26	63	64
2	Bungoma	1,630,934	4.21	211	210
3	Baringo	555,561	1.43	72	72
4	Bomet	724,186	1.87	94	92
5	Elgeyo Marakwet	369,998	0.96	48	50
6	Embu	516,212	1.33	67	67
7	Garissa	623,060	1.61	80	81
8	Homa Bay	963,794	2.49	124	123
9	Isiolo	143,294	0.37	19	49
10	Kwale	649,931	1.68	84	85
11	Kilifi	1,109,735	2.87	143	144
12	Kirinyaga	528,054	1.36	68	68
13	Kitui	1,012,709	2.62	131	130
14	Kisumu	968,909	2.50	125	125
15	Kiambu	1,623,282	4.19	210	212

16	Kakamega	1,660,651	4.29	214	214
17	Kericho	758,339	1.96	98	93
18	Kajiado	687,312	1.78	89	88
19	Kisii	1,152,282	2.98	149	147
20	Lamu	101,539	0.26	13	52
21	Laikipia	399,227	1.03	52	51
22	Murang'a	942,581	2.43	122	122
23	Mombasa	939,370	2.43	121	122
24	Machakos	1,098,584	2.84	142	142
25	Makueni	884,179	2.28	114	110
26	Meru	1,356,301	3.50	175	175
27	Marsabit	291,166	0.75	38	50
28	Mandera	1,025,756	2.65	132	129
29	Migori	1,028,579	2.66	133	131
30	Nairobi	3,138,369	8.11	405	387
31	Nakuru	1,603,325	4.14	207	208
32	Narok	850,920	2.20	110	108
33	Nyeri	693,558	1.79	90	91
34	Nyandarua	596,268	1.54	77	79
35	Nandi	752,965	1.94	97	97
36	Nyamira	598,252	1.55	77	77
37	Samburu	223,947	0.58	29	49
38	Siaya	842,304	2.18	109	106
39	Tharaka Nithi	365,330	0.94	47	50
40	Trans Nzoia	818,757	2.11	106	106
41	Taita Taveta	284,657	0.74	37	50
42	Tana River	240,075	0.62	31	49
43	Turkana	855,399	2.21	110	110
44	Uasin Gishu	894,179	2.31	115	115
45	Vihiga	554,622	1.43	72	74
46	Wajir	661,941	1.71	85	81
		38,721,158	100.00	5,000	5,035

1.4 VALIDATION OF DRAFT REPORT

Following the data analysis and study report, a meeting was convened with all the key partners to share the key findings from the study. It also provided an opportunity for the partners to raise any queries and have room for further investigation if required.

A second meeting was held in July 2012 to present the findings to other stakeholders who work closely with the key partners who commissioned the study. This meeting was attended by representatives from: Uraia Trust, UNDP Usawa ni Haki Kenya Country Office programme team, UNDP Amkeni Wakenya as well as partners who work with them. In this meeting, the report was subjected to a rigorous review and greatly enriched by the additional inputs from stakeholders who work in the civic education and engagement in Kenya, including development partners and other civil society organizations.

1.5 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The national survey was only conducted in 46 counties; quantitative data for West Pokot was not available due to insecurity challenges faced by the interviewing team at that time of the survey.

SECTION 2

Survey Findings

Introduction

This baseline survey was guided by the general objective of establishing the public's knowledge, attitude and participation in the implementation of the new Constitution. The survey was carried out in 46 counties and employed the use of quantitative, (questionnaire at household level) and qualitative (key informant interviews and focus group discussion) methodologies to collate views from various categories of respondents.

This section presents a summary of key findings of the survey. The first chapter of this section introduces a summary of key findings of this study, while the second chapter presents a detailed summary for each key result area, and conclusions drawn from it.

Highlights of the Findings

The findings of the survey are presented under the seven key result areas described in the Introduction. These are outlined below:

1. Enhanced national reconciliation amongst Kenyans
2. Working towards formulation of legal electoral, and judicial reforms
3. Access to justice for the poor and marginalized in Kenya
4. Promoting people-centered devolved government in Kenya
5. Promoting economic, cultural and social rights (ECOSOC)
6. Enhanced inclusion of previously under-served or marginalized groups and communities
7. Increased leadership accountability

State of national reconciliation

According to the findings of this survey, the public recognizes government efforts in the peace and reconciliation efforts through state and non-state actors. State institutions such as the National Steering Committee on Peace Building and Conflict Management (NSC), National Cohesion and

Integration Commission (NCIC), Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNHCR), Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC) have gained recognition as key institutions promoting peace in the country.

Government ministries such as the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Development, Ministry of Justice, National Cohesion and Constitutional Affairs were mentioned as contributors in the peace and cohesion efforts. These institutions garnered less than 60% public support.

Lack of a national policy, coupled with persistent ethno-regional politics have only served to slow down the reconciliation and integration processes. The respondents' opinion that the programmes being implemented by the government do not take into account regional inequalities facing the country. This is seen as a key ingredient for ethnic conflicts. The situation is made more precarious by uncertainties around the 2013 elections. The survey reveals that more than half of the Kenyan population (55.1%) worries center around elections and the impending violence associated with them. The other half constitutes economic concerns and leadership related issues. Public optimism is slightly below half. 47% of Kenyans are optimistic the country is headed in the right direction.

On elections the respondents were divided, with 56.4% of them convinced that they would be a motivating factor for the reconciliation process. The political class was only seen to distort the fragile peace efforts being made through their public utterances and support for ethno-regional groupings such as the GEMA, KAMATUSA, and groups such as the Mungiki, and the Mombasa Republican Council (MRC).

In terms of reconciliation, the country cannot be described as having healed from the post election violence (PEV): 35% of those who were affected by the violence have forgiven; 35% of Kenyans affected by the violence insist they will not forgive but will exercise tolerance; 19.5% will only forgive on conditions such as compensation over lost property, life and or prosecution of the perpetrators of the violence. A further 9.5% stated they would not forgive the perpetrators of the post election violence.

Public perception on legal electoral and judicial reforms

Peace is among the key expectations Kenyans alongside implementation of the new Constitution, and a turnaround of the economy. While on paper, the public recognizes that the Constitution can address governance concerns such as corruption, nepotism, and economic mismanagement, the major concern is how the implementation of the Constitution will be achieved and the worry that the Executive, the Parliament, the Judiciary and the citizenry will fail to uphold the law. The public appreciates the reforms in the electoral and judicial process. According to the Kriegler and Waki¹ reports on the PEV, one of the key recommendations was the disbandment of the defunct ECK and reform of the electoral system that was seen to perpetuate ethno-regional tension and political hegemony across the country. The Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) that replaced the ECK has received favorable approval ratings from the public, with 77% of the Kenyans interviewed optimistic that the IEBC is capable of managing free and fair elections in 2013. Key among the goals of the IEBC is to embrace technology that will limit cases of fraud constituting (44%) of the public concerns.

1 Kriegler and Waki Reports on 2007 Elections

Promoting access to justice

The survey reveals low public participation in judicial processes, reforms and inadequate knowledge of court systems in Kenya. This unfortunate situation contributed to abuse of the judicial system and consequently a negative image of the justice system in Kenya.

With the new Constitution, however, the judicial reform process intends to demystify the justice system and entrench access to justice as a right. This would be a very necessary move as the survey reveals high public disapproval of the judicial system. Less than one half of the public have easy access to a court of law, 76% of Kenyans find the costs of litigation prohibitive, only 30% have access to legal representation. This is further compounded by court procedures that are widely perceived as unfriendly, untrustworthy court officials with an approval rating of 16.2% and a police force that is perceived to have little respect for individual rights with only 14.7% public support. Though public awareness of the reform process is evident, the impact is limited to the national level. Public perception of local governance is still marred by the inefficiencies of the previous judicial system. Respondents continually cited cases where corruption, nepotism and other injustices in public service continue unabated even with the new Constitution.

Promoting a people centered government

Devolution was mainly associated with decentralization of power and sharing national resources among county. The survey reveals an information gap on the devolved structures and what constitutes devolution in the Kenyan context. Only 24.7% of the public understood how devolution will work and about 29% stated they understood the county structures in the devolved governments. Less than 1% of the public reported engaging in development of policies on devolution and representation. Further, the survey reveals that most of the public's interest is centered on voting and election of leaders at the expense of other processes.

Realization of human rights (economic, social and cultural rights)

Interpretation and understanding of ECOSOC rights in the public domain is interpreted narrowly and rarely discussed in the context of the Constitution. The public does not find it expressly the duty of the government to uphold human rights. Further, the survey reveals a public that is rarely involved in the development of legislative and policy frameworks on the economic, social and cultural Rights. State inaction and cultural interpretation of ECOSOC rights have contributed significantly to this state. In terms of violence against women, domestic violence constitutes the highest forms of this crime at 48%, followed by defilement and rape each at 26%. Awareness of organizations that deal with human rights among the public is low. About one third of the public is aware of organizations that advocate or support women and youth rights issues. Awareness of defenders of the rights of PWD and marginalized communities was reported at even much lower levels of 10% for organizations that work with or support people with disabilities and 6% for marginalized communities.

A list of some of the organizations involved in the campaigns against human rights violations (including government agencies, professional groups, Human Rights groups, women's, Men and youth groups, NGOs, the Private sector, academia and hospitals) is provided in the annex of this report.

Enhanced inclusion of previously under-served or marginalized groups and communities

In comparison to previous regimes, the current government is seen to have made significant attempts to include previously underserved, marginalized groups like women and children and minority ethnic communities in the country's development agenda. On a five point scale where 1 is excellent and 5 is poor; the government obtained a mean score of 2.94 for dealing with issues affecting women, 2.71 for youth, and 3.10 for persons with disability and at 3.32 when dealing with the marginalized communities.

The larger Kenyan public is still hesitant to embrace minority groups, 59.2% are in favor of government protection to ethnic minorities, they do not find it necessary either for the minority groups to blend into the culture of the bigger ethnic groups. Further, less than half of Kenyans (46.6%) would accept children born of minority groups as part of their larger ethnic communities.

Increased leadership accountability

The survey reveals that women lag behind in terms of level of awareness and participation in matters pertaining to the Constitution, politics and governance. For instance, analysis indicates that among those who have a clear understanding of how the devolved governments will work 56.8% were men, as compared to 43.2% who were female. Perhaps this is influenced by the choice of information source preferred by the two genders. The survey reveals more women than men rely on unofficial channels such as friends and relatives for information on the Constitution. The survey also reveals inability among female respondents to appreciate the potential of the new Constitution in providing opportunities for women in the devolved government. Analysis among respondents with university education indicate more men than women are optimistic that the Constitution will provide better opportunities for women in the devolved government. The reality and implications of at least one-third women representation in political parties, devolved government structures and other leadership echelons has not yet sunk to the public and especially to the female members of the Kenyan society.

The ability of the new Constitution to enhance leadership accountability is yet to register on the minds of many Kenyans. A majority (69.8%) of those interviewed are pessimistic that devolution will enhance accountability. Only 30.2% of Kenyans are convinced that devolution will improve integrity in leadership and governance. Respondents noted that institutional weaknesses of the past contribute to this overall feeling of hopelessness. The public for a long time has been accustomed to weak judicial systems that did little to stem corruption in the country. Interviews conducted indicate hang-ups from the past systems has dulled the public's perception of the reforms and therefore there is need to amplify visibility of reforms achieved so far as one of the ways to communicate constitutional changes in the country and reclaim public confidence. It is therefore not surprising that the public's most desirable leadership quality is integrity. Kenyans are looking forward to a system that will allow only leaders of integrity to be elected (33.5%) and strong institutions that will ensure leaders provide quality service delivery (65.5%).

In terms of women and leadership, the survey reveals a relatively patriarchal society that is not ready for a woman president; only 38% of Kenyans agreed they would vote for a female presidential candidate. The public though recognizes aspiring female presidential candidates such as Martha Karua and she is continually discussed as 'strong' and a 'challenge' to men. The survey reveals that the Kenyan woman is still relegated to traditional roles and seen unfit for high public offices. About three quarters (75.8%, see Table 40) of the Kenyan population agree that the socio cultural values have played a significant role in stifling the women's leadership ambition.

2.0 Findings

2.1 Respondents' Characteristics

The respondents' characteristic for this survey is as presented in Table 2 below.

Table 2: : Respondents' characteristics (Total respondents=5,035)

Characteristic	Proportion (Percent)	Characteristic	Proportion (Percent)
Location		Working status	
Urban	38.8	Full time Formal	13.7
Rural	61.2	Part Time Formal	6.2
Sex		Full time Informal	20.3
Male	52.9	Part Time Informal	10.4
Female	47.1	Unemployed/Does not work	29.9
Education of Level		Student	11.5
No formal education	9.2	Retired	2.2
Primary	20.1	No response/Don't know	1.9
Secondary	38.0	Age group	
Tertiary	20.5	17-20	10.9
University	8.9	21-30	38.9
Post graduate	1.6	31-40	20.9
No/response/Don't know	1.7	41-50	13.7
Marital status		51-60	9.2
Married/cohabiting	57.4	61-70	5.4
Single	36.2	70+	0.4
Separated/divorced	2.4	RTA	0.5
Widow/widower	3.9	Religion	
		Muslim	10.8
		Christian – Catholic	34.4
		Christian – Protestant	52.6
		Hindu	0.1
		Traditionalist	2.1

2.2 National reconciliation amongst Kenyans

In this section, the survey sought to establish the current perceptions and attitudes of Kenyans with regards to peace, justice, national unity, integration and coexistence, dignity, healing and reconciliation.

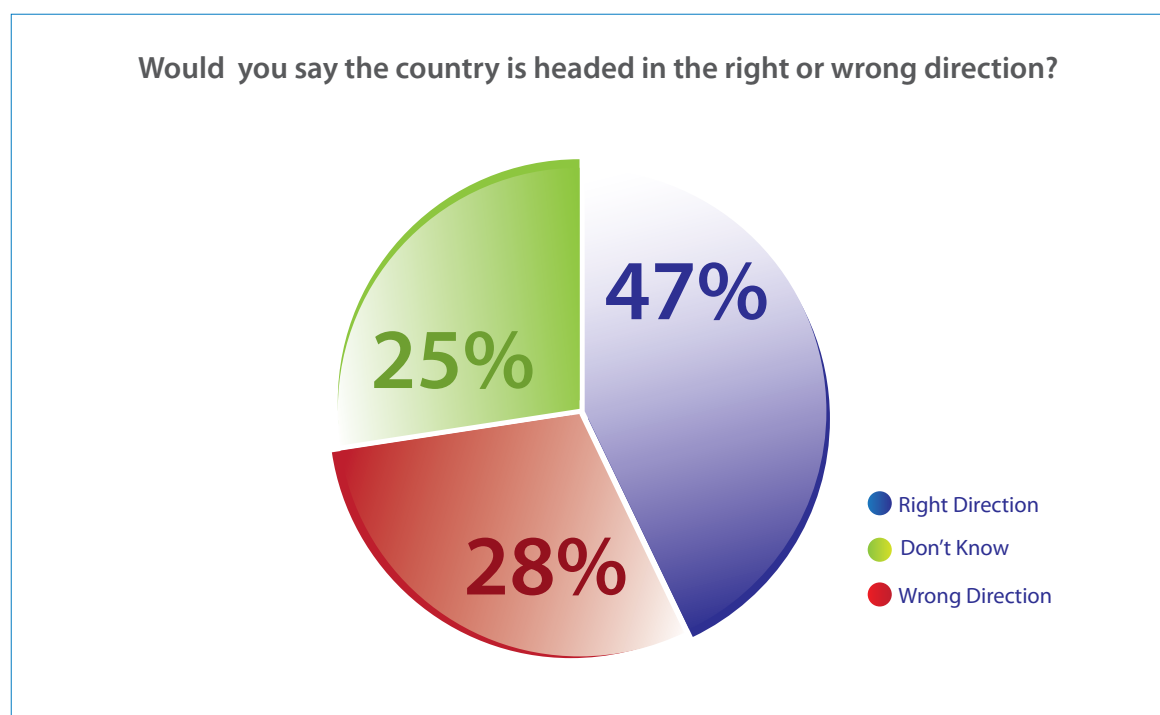
The key objective in this particular section of the report was to establish the following:

- The current state of reconciliation among Kenyans
- The current state of ethnic division more so after the promulgation of the Constitution.
- Citizens' fears for the reconciliation process
- Citizens' expectations of reconciliation in line with the new Constitution
- Citizens' views and perceptions on equality, resource distribution and gender equity as per the new Constitution.
- Issues that threaten peace and reconciliation within the counties
- Observable efforts by the government to unite Kenyans
- Activities to promote peace and reconciliation within the counties
- Effectiveness of peace committees in the counties

2.2.1 The Mood of the Country

The survey indicated that most Kenyans are concerned about the state of the country. Forty seven percent (47%) of the country is confident that the nation is headed in the right direction, while 28% opined the nation was headed in the wrong direction and 25% were not sure.

Figure 1: Direction of the country



The major source of uncertainty centered on the conflicts, political, ethnic or culture-related, and on the pace of implementing the new Constitution, as stated by 30% of the respondents. This was closely followed by poor leadership/political/power wrangles at 19%, the rising cost of living 11.5%, discrimination (ethnic, nepotistic, favouritism) 8.7%, corruption 8.8%, among other ills facing the country.

The impending elections portend great fear for most Kenyans with 31.2% of those interviewed concerned about political violence. Analysis by county indicates a variance. Some of the coun-

ties that exhibited heightened fear include Isiolo (83.7%), Machakos (66.9%), Wajir (60.5%), Laikipia (54.9%), Nyamira (50.6%), Busia (43.8%), Uasin Gishu (42.6%), Murang'a (41.8%), Turkana (41.8%), Vihiga (41%) and Samburu (40.8%). The remaining counties registered less than 40% wariness of the elections. Most of the apprehension was directly related to post election violence experiences or the external factors that arose from the PEV. In Kisumu, like in other counties, respondents still exhibit unease when discussing the forthcoming elections.

"I can say at the moment that there is no assurance of peace in Kisumu, before we used to have many tribes living here, but after the PEV they did not come back, most of them are afraid that their property could be looted or destroyed again".

~ Respondent Kisumu County ~

In Machakos County, the residents complained of increased insecurity and other social ills in the area. This was closely associated with the returnees who came from areas affected by the PEV. Analysis of these fears by demographics did not reveal significant difference apart from education and age. The fear appears more heightened among the less educated than those with post secondary education. It was also noted that the fear within age groups indicate heightened fear in respondents aged 50 years and above, than in their younger counterparts.

Table 3: Public's greatest fears

Greatest fear	%
Election violence/Political violence	31.2
High inflation/Poor economy /Poverty	9.6
Tribalism Ethnicity -Negative ethnicity	9.3
Insecurity/ fear/ tension	8.6
Corruption / Misuse of funds	8.5
Al-Shabaab/War/Illegal sects/Terrorism	7.3
Clashes /Tribal clashes/Community clashes	5.7
Floods/ Famine/ drought/ deforestation	2.6
Wrong leaders/ Poor leadership	1.6
Lack of employment	1.5
Under development / depleted resources	0.7
None	8.2

The new Constitution and its implementation is a source of great optimism for most Kenyans. Kenyans hope for a peaceful future (14.6%) coupled with a stable economy (7.6%), good governance/leadership (6.7%), and improved infrastructure (3.9%) among other wishes.

Table 4: Sources of optimism

Sources of optimism	%
Peace/unity / Reconciliation	14.6
New Constitution / Implementation of the new Constitution	16.4
Good economy / Stable economy	7.6
Good governance / good leadership	6.7
Improved infrastructure / development	3.9
Good/Better education / free primary education	3.7
The Turkana oil find	3.5
Creation of job opportunities / youth employment	2.7
Improved security	2.4
Fairness / Equality	1.9
Peaceful and fair elections	1.8
Vision 2030	1.8
Improvement in the transport sector i.e. roads	2.7
Judicial reforms	1.3
Availability of resources	1.0
None	19.3

2.2.2 Ethnic divisions in Kenya

The findings reveal that Kenya is still ethnically divided; 60% of respondents attribute this state of affairs to historic injustices committed during the pre-colonial period and the subsequent abuse of power by successive political regimes. In Garissa, respondents noted that negative ethnicity is high and has spread its tentacles from the national to the local level.

"Negative ethnicity is still very much with us, and it begins with the politicians during elections, it is used as a tool to lure voters, it is visible here in public and non-public offices alike where nepotism is practiced. In some offices, from the cleaners, to the secretary to the CEO, all come from one ethnic community".

~Respondent Garissa County~

Syntheses of some of the key contributors of ethnic tension are discussed below:

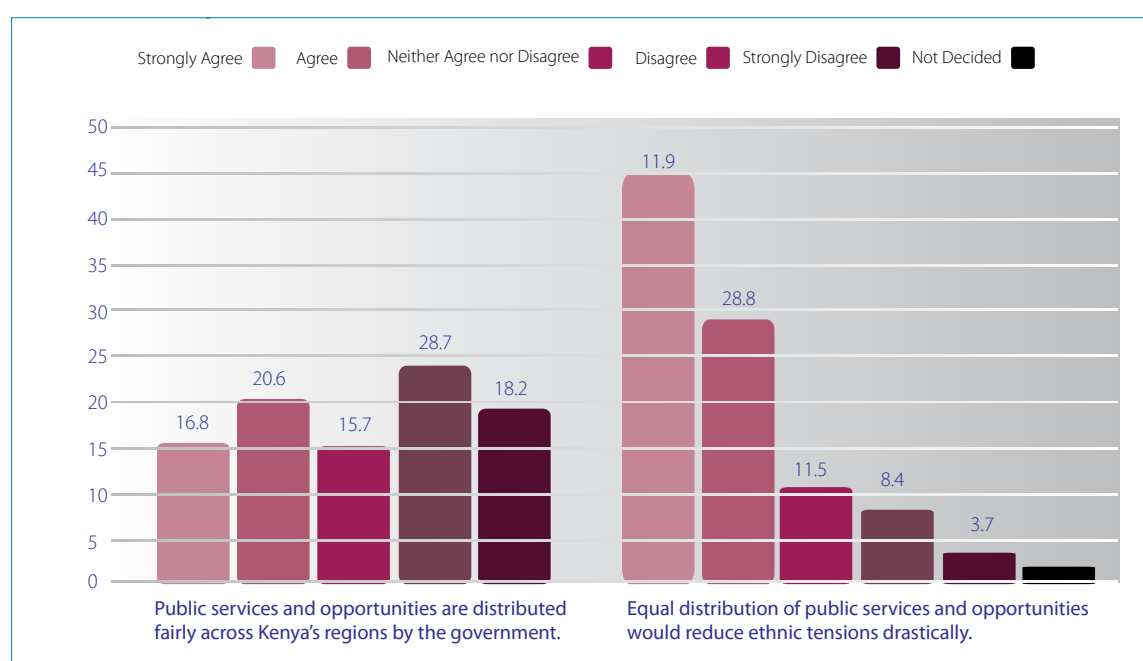
a. Historical injustices

In most of the conflict areas under assessment such as West Pokot, Uasin Gishu, Nandi and Bungoma counties, historical injustices were noted to have contributed significantly to ethnic divisions in Kenya. The colonial transfer of ethnic communities from the fertile regions of the country was cited as having contributed to the current state of landlessness and land tenure challenges. At independence, the displaced communities were optimistic that the elected government would address all land problems. However, this was not to be, as government after government continually ignored the plight of the landless or worsened it by perpetuating the same.

b. Inequitable distribution of resources

Generally, the public felt that distribution of resources in the past has been controlled and directed by the ethnic community from which the president in power hails and the ethnic communities that supported his candidature. Resource distribution was described in terms of public appointments, schools, utilities such as water and electricity, construction of roads and other infrastructure. When asked whether the government fairly distributed resources less than a half (36.3%) of Kenyans agreed to this statement. It was however notable that different counties reacted differently to this question; counties in Central Province such as Nyeri (70.3%) and Nyandarua (62.0%) rated the government highly on regional equality. (41.2%). The counties that expressed high dissatisfaction with resource allocation include Isiolo (91.8%), Baringo (72%) Narok (71%), Garissa (70.4%), Tharaka (66%), Nakuru (65%), Samburu (63%), Nairobi (62%), Kwale [66%), Meru (58.3%), Kitui (57.7%) and Kajiado (56%) among others.

Figure 2: Public perception on ethnicity and resource distribution



Further analysis of public perceptions by age indicate that within the youth segment, only 35% of the youth aged between 17-34 years agreed that there was equitable distribution of resources in the country. Analysis within male and female respondents did not yield any significant variation in opinion.

c. Politics and ethnicity

Political patronage is one issue that is closely related to resource distribution and regional development in pre- and post-independent Kenya. Respondents noted it determines the economic and political rewards that a county would receive. Further, the survey reveals that Kenyans are still ignorant of the Constitution and the power of voters to determine their political and economic destinies.

"At the local level a majority of the people are not aware of the provisions of the Constitution, everybody is just fighting for a person of their tribe to be president. It is sad that the government is doing nothing about it".

~Respondent Kisumu County~

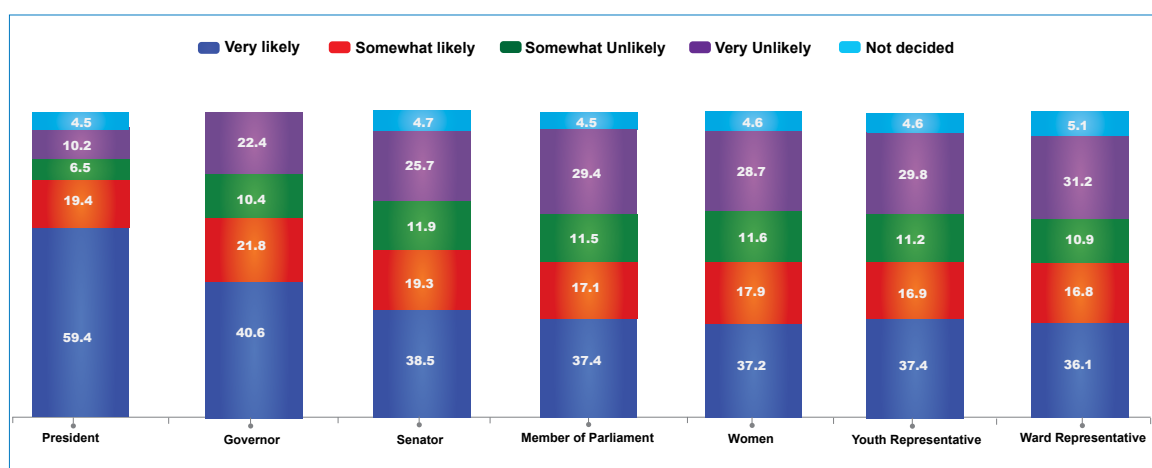
The situation is further exacerbated by the politico-electoral administrative systems such as the constituencies that are usually dominated by one ethnic community thereby creating a bias within them. In counties such as Kisumu, Migori and Kuria, respondents cited patronage and clanism as tool used by politicians to mobilize and instigate ethnic conflicts. Kenyans expressed their concerns about their political leadership mobilizing communities along ethnic lines as seen in the calls to revamp political alliances coalesced around tribal groupings such as KAMATUSA and GEMA. This is illustrated by this respondents thoughts:

"Tribalism is getting worse by the day, we now have these politicians who have gone into groups and are telling us we shall support so and so, others are saying we are KAMATUSA while others are saying we are now GEMA yet all we want is a leader elected by us not by them"

~Respondent Uasin Gishu, County~

During the discussions, it was clear that ethnicity plays a critical role in election of leadership in the country. Ethnic consideration is more amplified in the selection of regional leaders than at the national level. Most counties exhibited moderate tolerance to a president from a different ethnic community. Thirteen counties out of the 46 counties that provided below 50% support for non-ethnic consideration in the selection of the presidency, include Turkana with support levels of (10.9%), Nyandarua, 17.7%, Kirinyaga (23.0%), Kisumu (27.2%), Isiolo (30.6%), Lamu (32.7%), Kisii (36.1%), Vihiga (37.8%), Bungoma (37.8%), Taita Taveta (40%), Elgeyo Marakwet (44%), Makueni (48.2%) and Garissa (49.4%).

Figure 3: Likelihood of voting for a candidate outside one's ethnic group



Except for the positions of governor, and youth representative, analysis by sex indicates insignificant variances in flexibility among male and female respondents to vote in leaders on non-ethnic considerations.

Table 5: Likelihood of electing leader on non-ethnic considerations

	Likelihood (Very likely and Slightly likely)	
	Male%	Female %
President	79	80
Governor	62	67
Senator	58	58
Member of parliament	54	55
Women Representative	55	55
Youth	58	54
Ward representative	53	53

Further analysis indicates that the flexibility is higher among the more educated than those with no formal schooling.

Table 6: Likelihood of electing a president on a non-ethnic consideration

						Total
	Very likely	Somewhat likely	Somewhat unlikely	Very unlikely	Don't know	
No formal education	54.0%	17.2%	6.7%	12.7%	9.5%	100.0%
Primary education	58.3%	18.3%	7.3%	11.9%	4.2%	100.0%
Tertiary education	58.2%	20.5%	6.9%	9.4%	5.0%	100.0%
Post graduate education	66.7%	17.3%	6.2%	8.6%	1.2%	100.0%

Support for non-ethnic consideration in electing leaders in other positions such as governor, senator, Member of Parliament, women representative, youth representative and ward representative waned with the decreasing levels of education. Support for non-ethnic considerations in the election of leadership was highest among respondents with post secondary education.

Table 7: Likelihood of electing a ward representative on a non-ethnic consideration

						Total
	Very likely	Somewhat likely	Somewhat unlikely	Very unlikely	Don't know	
No formal education	26.0%	12.9%	11.8%	40.0%	9.2%	100.0%
Primary education	37.5%	16.3%	11.0%	30.9%	4.3%	100.0%
Secondary education	37.5%	17.7%	10.2%	30.4%	4.3%	100.0%
Tertiary education	34.4%	18.1%	11.7%	30.2%	5.7%	100.0%
University	41.0%	15.4%	9.8%	29.4%	4.5%	100.0%
Post graduate	45.7%	14.8%	7.4%	28.4%	3.7%	100.0%

The level of education influences preference for election of non-ethnic leadership. The higher the level of education, the higher the chances of electing a woman representative on non-ethnic considerations.

Table 8: Likelihood of electing a women's representative on a non-ethnic consideration

						Total
	Very likely	Somewhat likely	Somewhat unlikely	Very unlikely	Don't know	
No formal education	27.3%	13.3%	12.3%	38.1%	9.0%	100.0%
Primary education	38.9%	15.7%	11.1%	30.2%	4.1%	100.0%
Secondary	38.6%	19.0%	10.9%	27.6%	3.9%	100.0%
Tertiary education	35.6%	19.4%	12.9%	27.1%	5.0%	100.0%
University	41.0%	18.3%	11.1%	25.2%	4.5%	100.0%
Post graduate	46.9%	13.6%	12.3%	24.7%	2.5%	100.0%

Further analysis of support for women representatives on non-ethnic considerations by level of education within male and female demographics indicates that the lowest support among male respondents was expressed by those with no formal education. To the contrary, the highest support for non-ethnic consideration in electing a woman representative among women was expressed by the less educated women.

Table 9: Likelihood of electing a women's representative on non-ethnic considerations based on education levels and gender

		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
No formal education	Count	58	69	127
	% within Education	45.7%	54.3%	100.0%
	% within Gender	5.8%	7.9%	6.8%
	% of Total	3.1%	3.7%	6.8%
Primary	Count	199	194	393
	% within Education	50.6%	49.4%	100.0%
	% within Gender	19.8%	22.2%	21.0%
	% of Total	10.6%	10.3%	21.0%
Secondary	Count	400	339	739
	% within Education	54.1%	45.9%	100.0%
	% within Gender	39.9%	38.9%	39.4%
	% of Total	21.3%	18.1%	39.4%
Tertiary	Count	200	167	367
	% within Education	54.5%	45.5%	100.0%
	% within Gender	19.9%	19.2%	19.6%
	% of Total	10.7%	8.9%	19.6%
University	Count	111	73	184
	% within Education	60.3%	39.7%	100.0%
	% within Gender	11.1%	8.4%	9.8%
	% of Total	5.9%	3.9%	9.8%
Post graduate	Count	22	16	38
	% within Education	57.9%	42.1%	100.0%
	% within Gender	2.2%	1.8%	2.0%
	% of Total	1.2%	.9%	2.0%
No response		13	14	27
	Count	1003	872	1875
	% of Total	53.5%	46.5%	100.0%

Some of the counties that expressed high non-ethnic consideration in the election of a woman representative include: Trans Nzoia (93.4%), Nairobi (80.9%) Mombasa (82.8%), Nyeri (75.8%), Lamu (73.1%), Migori (71.0%), Tana River (67.3%), and Kitui (67.7%). Some of the counties that expressed strong opposition for non-ethnic consideration of a women's representative included Baringo (90.3%), Nyamira (80.5%), Turkana (77.7%), Mandera (77.5%) Embu (70.1%) Kericho (73.2%), and Marsabit (70%) among others.

"I think if they get a woman from Nyeri we can get a very good president, women from there have very strong characters"

~Respondent, Nyeri County~

Table 10: shows the likelihood of voting a women's representative by county.

	Likelihood of electing a women representative					Total
	Very likely	Somewhat likely	Somewhat unlikely	Very unlikely	Don't know	
Kiambu	37.7%	15.6%	9.9%	34.9%	1.9%	100.0%
Murang'a	19.7%	32.0%	13.1%	32.8%	2.5%	100.0%
Nyeri	60.4%	15.4%	8.8%	13.2%	2.2%	100.0%
Nyandarua	5.1%	26.6%	32.9%	31.6%	3.8%	100.0%
Kirinyaga	22.1%	13.2%	16.2%	47.1%	1.5%	100.0%
Kilifi	40.3%	16.7%	8.3%	27.8%	6.9%	100.0%
Mombasa	57.4%	25.4%	6.6%	9.0%	1.6%	100.0%
Kwale	44.7%	20.0%	8.2%	23.5%	3.5%	100.0%
Lamu	40.4%	32.7%	17.3%	7.7%	1.9%	100.0%
Taita Taveta	32.0%	26.0%	2.0%	38.0%	2.0%	100.0%
Tana River	44.9%	22.4%	10.2%	16.3%	6.1%	100.0%
Meru	24.0%	19.4%	10.3%	42.9%	3.4%	100.0%
Machakos	46.5%	11.3%	4.9%	37.3%		100.0%
Kitui	40.0%	27.7%	13.8%	17.7%	.8%	100.0%
Makueni	18.2%	9.1%	10.9%	58.2%	3.6%	100.0%
Tharaka	24.0%	10.0%	24.0%	36.0%	6.0%	100.0%
Embu	10.4%	16.4%	32.8%	37.3%	3.0%	100.0%
Isiolo	22.4%	42.9%	16.3%	2.0%	16.3%	100.0%
Marsabit	8.0%	20.0%	8.0%	62.0%	2.0%	100.0%
Nairobi	59.7%	21.2%	9.6%	6.7%	2.8%	100.0%
Mandera	11.6%	9.3%	16.3%	61.2%	1.6%	100.0%
Wajir	43.2%	24.7%	11.1%	21.0%		100.0%
Garissa	32.1%	32.1%	3.7%	30.9%	1.2%	100.0%

Kisii	9.5%	31.3%	17.7%	38.8%	2.7%	100.0%
Migori	45.0%	26.0%	3.1%	24.4%	1.5%	100.0%
Kisumu	32.8%	14.4%	11.2%	36.0%	5.6%	100.0%
Homa Bay	24.4%	16.3%	13.8%	42.3%	3.3%	100.0%
Nyamira	10.4%	7.8%	24.7%	55.8%	1.3%	100.0%
Siaya	58.5%	9.4%	13.2%	15.1%	3.8%	100.0%
Nakuru	75.5%	13.0%	2.9%	8.2%	.5%	100.0%
Uasin Gi-shu	76.5%	10.4%	6.1%	6.1%	.9%	100.0%
Kericho	9.7%	6.5%	15.1%	58.1%	10.8%	100.0%
Nandi	20.6%	17.5%	18.6%	40.2%	3.1%	100.0%
Bomet	23.9%	6.5%	6.5%	44.6%	18.5%	100.0%
Kajiado	58.0%	15.9%	1.1%	21.6%	3.4%	100.0%
Laikipia	58.8%	17.6%	5.9%	9.8%	7.8%	100.0%
Elgeyo Marakwet	36.0%	28.0%	4.0%	32.0%		100.0%
Trans-Nzoia	77.4%	16.0%	3.8%	1.9%	.9%	100.0%
Samburu	18.4%	4.1%	2.0%	57.1%	18.4%	100.0%
Baringo	2.8%	2.8%	41.7%	48.6%	4.2%	100.0%
Turkana	1.8%	18.2%	22.7%	50.0%	7.3%	100.0%
Narok	53.7%	11.1%	4.6%	28.7%	1.9%	100.0%
Kakamega	32.2%	15.4%	15.0%	35.0%	2.3%	100.0%
Bungoma	31.9%	18.6%	11.4%	13.8%	24.3%	100.0%
Vihiga	31.1%	8.1%	18.9%	14.9%	27.0%	100.0%
Busia	46.9%	26.6%	6.3%	17.2%	3.1%	100.0%
	37.2%	17.9%	11.6%	28.6%	4.6%	100.0%

d. Negative cultural practices

Cultural practices such as cattle rustling are seen to affect the peaceful co-existence of ethnic communities in some counties such as West Pokot, Kisii, Migori, Isiolo, Garissa, Migori, Kericho, Bomet, Laikipia, Samburu and Turkana. The fight over grazing land between the pastoralists and agricultural communities was cited as one of the major causes of ethnic tension in the counties mentioned. Some of the conflicts that give rise to ethnic or clan tension are highlighted in the table below.

e. Economic marginalization

Respondents in some counties such as Lamu, Mombasa, and Isiolo expressed concern that the government had exploited the indigenous communities at the expense of the non indigenous communities (*watu wa bara*). In Mombasa and Lamu, most of the respondents' complaints centered around ethnic biases in land ownership, management of public institutions such as the Port of Mombasa and the contribution of tourism to the well being of the indigenous coastal communities. This economic marginalization has resulted in the formation of groups such as the Mombasa Republican Council (MRC), a group that has been campaigning for the secession of the coastal province from the country, claiming economic marginalization. Even though the group has been outlawed by the government, it enjoys significant support amongst the youthful population.

Respondents were equivocal on the distribution of resources with 73.7% of Kenyans conceding that equal distribution of resources will lower ethnic tension in the country. It should be noted, however, that economic inequality as a cause of ethnic tension was discussed in the context of a complex interplay between socio-cultural relationships, historical injustices and political machinations by the political class. The survey noted that the most affected other than marginalized ethnic communities, include social groups such as the youth and women, and Muslims.

A summary of some of the issues giving rise to ethnic tension in selected counties is captured in the Table 11.

Table 11: Causes of conflict between majority and minority communities

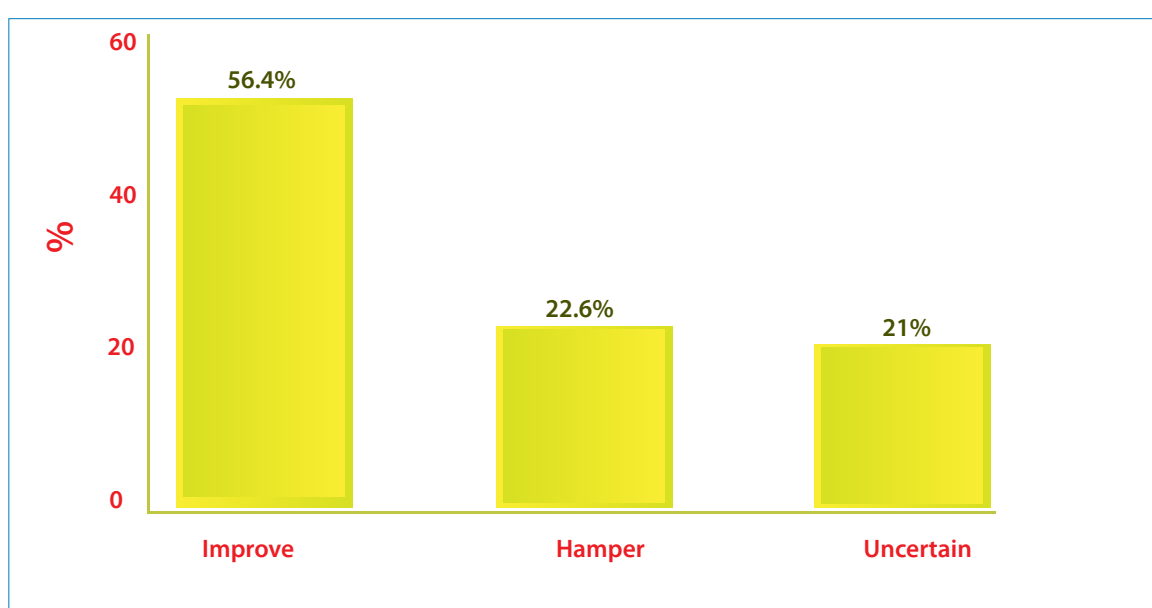
County	Cause of conflict	Stakeholders
West Pokot	Pasture, negative politics	Samburu /Pokots
Bungoma	Land disputes / under- representation	Sabaots and Teso (ethnic minorities) and Bukusu (majority)
Uasin Gishu	Land/negative politics	Kikuyu (minority) and Kalenjin (majority)
Lamu	Land/negative politics	Indigenous (Majority) and communities from hinterland and government
Kisumu	Land grievances marginalization/ clanism / negative politics	Luo (majority) / non Luo communities
Garissa	Marginalization / insecurity refugees / Al Shabaab	Somalis / refugees
Mombasa	Land grievances / marginalization	Indigenous (majority) and communities from hinterland and government
Isiolo	Land ownership / tenure / pasture	Borana, Samburu, Turkana, Meru and Somali
Migori	Land grievances / cattle rustling	Luo, Kisii and Kuria

While the quantitative survey indicates a closer and a relatively cohesive picture of Kenyans, qualitative interviews betrayed the emotions lying beneath the façade of cohesion and tolerance among Kenyans. When interviewed, 84.2% of Kenyans said they do not consider ethnic differences as a basis for interaction but the qualitative interviews revealed deep seated feelings and emotions that define ethnic tolerance, or lack of it in different dimensions.

2.2.3 State of National Reconciliation

The survey indicates that the country has not healed nor is it on its way to recovery with 30.1% of Kenyans conceding that they have not forgiven but can tolerate their perceived enemies (23.2%) or can only forgive under certain conditions e.g. after justice is served (13%). 6.3% of Kenyans insist that they can never forgive the perpetrators of the 2007 / 08 political violence. The apprehension is further heightened by the fear of the next elections. The survey indicates, slightly more than one half of Kenyans (56.4%) are confident that the election will improve the reconciliation process. There was no significant difference within demographic splits across the sampled population. The fear is real and fueled by the ongoing political wrangles and the slow pace of constitutional implementation.

Figure 4: Perceived impact of next elections on the reconciliation process



Regardless, there is hope for reconciliation and cohesion with 23% of Kenyans who were affected by the PEV attesting that they have forgiven and can live peacefully with their neighbors.

Table 12: State of reconciliation among Kenyans

	%
Not affected by the violence	34.5
Have not fully forgiven them but can live together	23.2
I have totally forgiven them and can live together	23
I can only forgive them on certain conditions e.g. compensation	13
Can never forgive them	6.3
Total	100

Qualitative interviews give an indication of optimism among Kenyans, with some respondents willing to let go of the past and encourage ongoing reconciliation efforts. The signing of the National Accord by the two Principals and the promulgation of the new Constitution are considered to be significant steps in the reconciliation process, symbolizing a new journey towards ethnic tolerance and cohesion. During the discussions, it was evident that there is hope among Kenyans that if fully implemented, the Constitution through its various provisions has the power to eradicate negative ethnicity in the country. Much credit has been given to the role played by bodies such as the Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC) and the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) and peace committees in conflict areas. There are concerns, however, that the old constitutional order is bent on perpetuating the status quo so as to take advantage of the youth and the general ignorance of the Kenyan citizenry.

2.2.4 Public's Fears and Impact on the Reconciliation Process

- **The next general elections**

Kenyans are worried about the next general elections. They see them in relation to the problems experienced in 2007. Many discussants voiced their apprehension at the way politicians whip up ethnic emotions during their campaigns. Kenyans contend that most politicians have once again retreated to their ethnic cocoons once again as they solicit for votes. Minority groups in rural Kenya are more worried and continue living in fear of the 2007/ 2008 PEV. Qualitative interviews indicate that some migrant minority communities are already preparing to flee conflict areas at the slightest indication of violence. Normalcy has not resumed as was cited by this particular respondent:

"Peace is not as it was before, those who fled are afraid to return as they fear their property will be looted and destroyed as it happened in 2007"... "Muhoroni was a cosmopolitan region, it had many tribes before the PEV but only few people have come back".

~FGD respondent, Muhoroni.~

The fear that the happenings of the 2007 PEV may reoccur if leaders continue to pursue popularity at the expense of national peace and co-existence still exists. The general feeling is that these tribal based alignments are likely to compromise free and fair elections

"We don't want to repeat what happened in 2008 where tribal lines made us hate each other rather than love each other so we are afraid that what happened in 2008 might repeat itself as our leaders are trying to take us back rather than move us forward".

~FGD respondent, Mombasa~

- **Political patronage/wrangles and incitement:**

Kenyans were quick to point out that a lack of civic education has left most of them vulnerable to political manipulation. Politicians are seen to have thrown caution to the wind and are busy stirring ethnic animosity once again. Despite the new Constitution, nothing has changed in the behavior of political class.

"Because we are approaching an election year, many leaders have actually started to identify themselves with their ethnic communities rather than with productive ideologies. People are now ganging up in tribal groupings or retreating into their cocoons to defend themselves by gaining votes from their ethnic communities"

~FGD respondent, Mombasa~

Differences between ethnic political kingpins are always translated as differences between their respective ethnic communities.

"...like here in Nyanza, when Kuria MP Machage and Raila disagree on certain issues, the differences are perceived to be between the Kuria and Luo communities and this brings ethnic tension".

~Respondent FGD, Kuria~

• **Emergence of ethnic groupings**

In the run up to the next general elections, Kenya is witnessing formation of alliances and emergence of separatist groups aiming at gaining political and economic mileage before the next elections. This is demonstrated by this respondent who said rejuvenating ethnic groupings such as the GEMA and KAMATUSA is a recipe for further ethnic division and disrupts peace and cohesion initiatives.

"...it can be witnessed now in the formation of political alliances along ethnic lines in preparation of the forthcoming general elections".

~Respondent FGD, Mombasa~.

At the coast, the Mombasa Republican Council (MRC) has emerged as a lobby group for the indigenous communities living there. While advocating for the ECOSOC rights of their members, the group has recently been associated with violence and the call for secession. Indigenous respondents from the coast province support this group and are convinced their issues are legitimate.

"...some of these monies from tourism should be injected into the local community instead of going directly to the Central government while the lives of Coastal residents continue to deteriorate"

~Respondents of FGD, Mombasa.~

Politicians were accused of taking advantage of these activists to gain political mileage.

"...they go to Parliament and disagree on issues then come back to the Coast they start saying 'pwani si Kenya' this has misled and lured many youth here at the coast to join the MRC."

• **Continued corruption and blatant abuse of power**

The previous Constitution favored the Executive and perpetuated the culture of impunity among most Kenyans. Despite having a new Constitution, participants agreed that corruption and impunity still thrives unabated. Kenyans are yet to come to terms with the thought that the Executive no longer wields as much power as before over the Parliament, the Judiciary or other state officers. Participants intimated that the coalition government has failed Kenyans as they continue the same blatant abuse of office witnessed under the previous Constitution.

- **Cultural differences and stereotypes:**

Throughout the discussions it was evident that Kenyans are still hesitant to let go of their cultural identities even if doing so might contribute to national cohesion. The ethnic card still plays a crucial role in determining who is closest and who can share in our cultural identities. This is illustrated by one respondent who noted

"if my daughter brings a guy home who is a Kikuyu, I will ask why she has brought him and she knows Kikuyus are thieves".

~FGD respondent, Uasin Gishu.~

Stereotypes such as these are noted to widen the cultural divides and create opportunity for ethnic animosity.

- **The ICC and cases of historical injustices**

Another source of fear among Kenyans according to the group discussions was that unless the causes of historical injustices are addressed, ethnic conflicts will continue. Secondly, the same use of perpetrators of past injustices as crusaders of peace was considered as pretentious. In particular, the TJRC as mechanism for promoting peace was continually faulted for insisting on Bethwel Kiplagat as its Chairman and some participants felt there would be no objectivity in the process.

The status of the ICC suspects and the fate of the PEV victims have raised the level of anxiety in the country. The accusations of betrayal and support for the suspects along ethnic divides continue to affect the cohesion process, and most Kenyans have adopted a wait and see' attitude. It is difficult to sell the concept of cohesion with these accusations being traded back and forth.

- **Poor leadership:**

Most Kenyan leaders were described as selfish and careless about the public offices that they hold. Accountability to the public is described as low and the public recognizes that the country's leadership will not hesitate to stir up conflicts for as long as it benefits their political aspirations. They decried the misuse of the youth especially as a weapon for settling political scores.

"...if the leaders will not choose peace and see that Kenyans are united, I will not vote....if they don't unite and continue the hate speech we see on the news, we will not have peace, it will just be like before, taking pangas for war".

~ FGD Respondent, Mombasa~

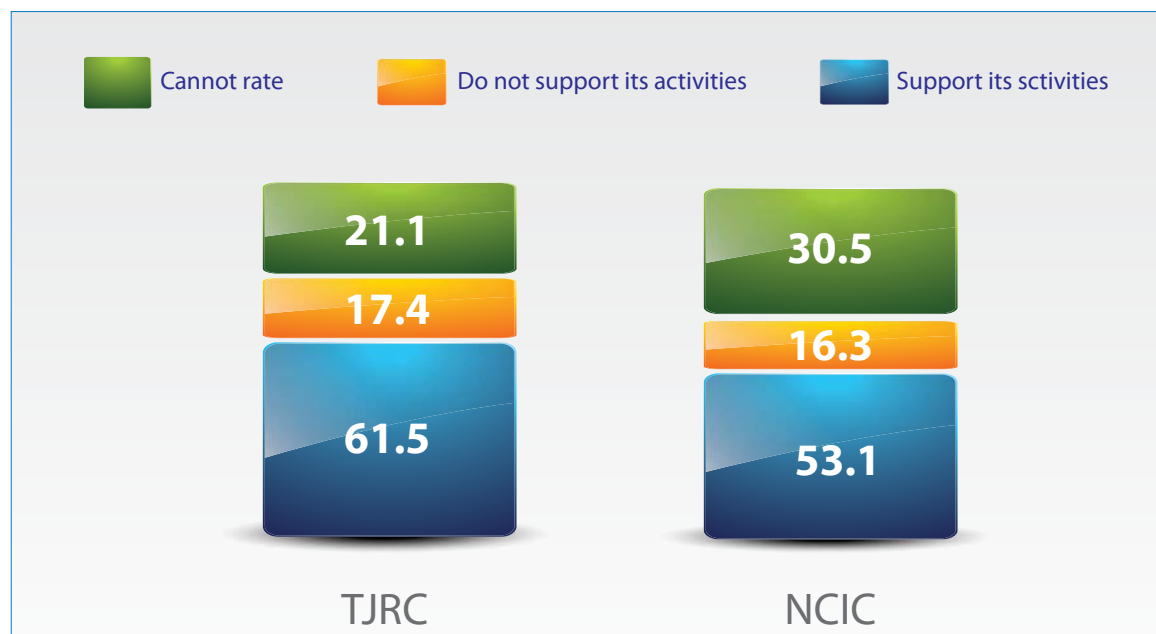
2.2.5 The Government's Role in Uniting Kenya

The government is seen to have taken a deliberate effort to encourage cohesion in Kenya. This is mostly seen around areas that had experienced the PEV or other conflicts. Focus group discussions however indicate that government structures put in place are not effective enough and consistency in the search for cohesion has not been maintained on the road to cohesion. The public notes the existence of laws and institutions created to support the cohesion and integration processes in the country.

Institutions such as the Truth and Justice Commission (TJRC), the National Cohesion and Integration Committee (NCIC) and peace committees are seen as an attempt by the government to unite Kenyans at the national level. About 62 percent of Kenyans expressed their support for the TJRC

activities, while 50% expressed confidence in the work of the commission. Slightly more than half or Kenyans (53.1%) support the work of the NCIC. Many Kenyans though (30.5%) are unable to rate the work of the NCIC as opposed to another 21.1% for the TJRC.

Figure 5: Public support of cohesion and Integration Institutions



Participants expressed raised dissatisfaction with the government for its inability to rein in errant politicians who continue to balkanize Kenyans along ethnic lines. The politics of Kenya are described as lacking in ideologies and being more centred on ethnic preservation. The formation of alliances such as the GEMA and KAMATUSA featured prominently in the discussions as groupings that will only serve to widen the ethnic divides in the country. The government was faulted for the poor handling of the IDP issue as some are still living in camps more than four years after the post election violence. The continued broadcasting of the plight of IDPs in the media was interpreted along two lines: first it was thought to stir up hatred amongst ethnic communities and secondly it highlighted the governments weaknesses in the resettlement programme.

"When IDPs are shown on the television, they evoke emotions thus division..... our leaders on the other hand are busily buying land that was meant for the IDPs instead of giving it to those to whom it was to be given to".

~FGD respondent Bungoma~

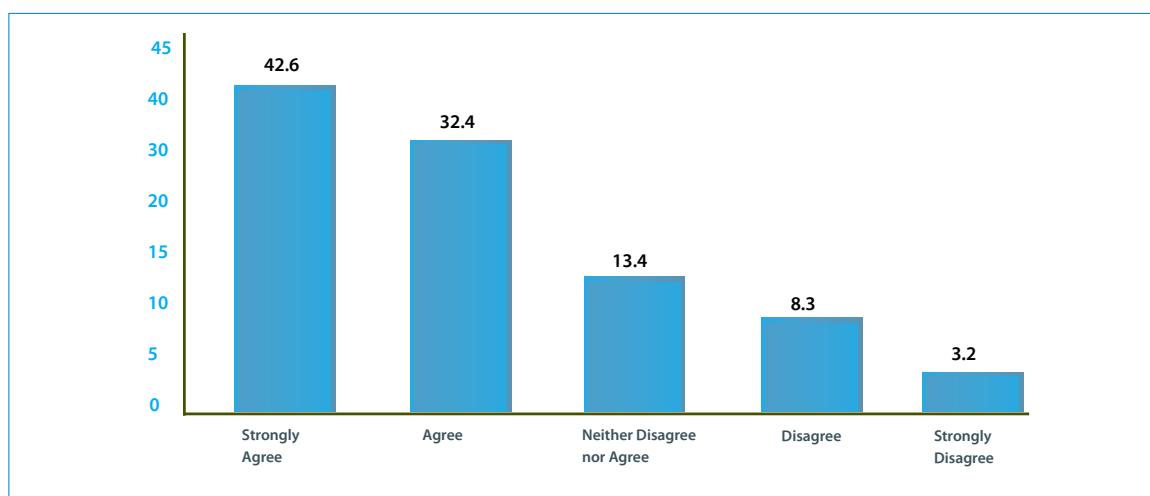
The government is faulted for not providing adequate civic education to the citizenry that would have otherwise empowered and informed them on their democratic rights. This is noted to have resulted in uninformed citizens who are vulnerable to the exploitation of politicians.

"The government should be at the forefront of educating Kenyan families of their rights but the government does not walk the talk because they are part of the problem instead of being part of the solution "

~Respondent FGD, Uasin Gishu~

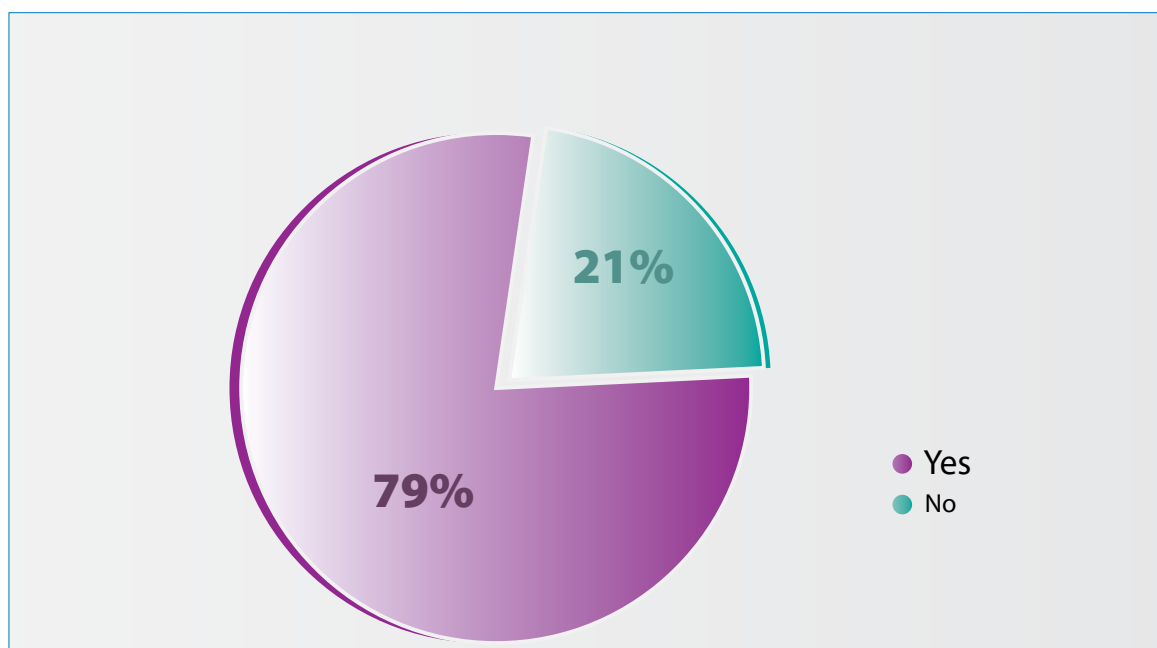
In addition, participants considered the spread of negative ethnicity to be deeply entrenched up to the family level. The family and schooling systems are therefore considered key agents through which this negative socialization can be dealt with at the early stages of development. These two institutions therefore should be adequately considered when developing cohesion programmes; the state is seen to consistently ignore these two important institutions of early learning in its peace processes. The education system has strong potential to address issues of cohesion and nationalism. Over 70% of Kenyans agree that the education system can contribute effectively to the cohesion and integration debate (Figure 6). Therefore, the education system should incorporate subjects that encourage nationalism. Subjects such as ethics and governance should be included in the education syllabi.

Figure 6: Whether or not Kenya's education system promotes ethnic cohesion



Thirdly, the government was faulted for concentrating much of the cohesion and peace efforts only in areas that were affected by the post election violence. This is supported by the fact that only 21% of Kenyans were aware of peace committees at the county level, see Figure 7.

Figure 7: Awareness of peace committees within counties



Further, the Constitution and sustainability of peace committees were issues of concern. While they have been used as channels through which early warning signs can be flagged and arbitration conducted, the constitution of peace committees, their financing and their capacity to resolve conflicts were cited as a hindrance to their effectiveness.

“... sometimes you can see the Chief choosing his people in the committee yet they know nothing of what is happening in that community”

~ Participant of FGD, Mombasa. ~

This is further compounded by the fact that peace committees can only offer temporary solutions to the conflict situations and lack the capacity to address underlying issues such as land ownership, use and tenure.

- **Weak leadership accountability mechanisms**

Participants contend that citizens are ignorant of their rights and the government has failed to put in place a mechanism that can check on leadership accountability. It was noted during the discussions that the Kenyan leadership was quick to visit the grassroots when looking for votes but rarely seen to invest in promoting peace among people at other times. The top leadership was challenged to be part of the effort to unite Kenyans and to take a more proactive approach to embracing cohesion and ethnic tolerance.

- **Gender and youth marginalization**

The government was faulted for the marginalization of women and youth in the country's development agenda. Participants voiced their concern over the youth bulge and unemployment of Kenyan youth which has contributed significantly to their vulnerability and subsequent exploitation by politicians in conflict situations. It is therefore necessary that women and youth are involved positively in cohesion and integration programmes. The participants recognized the constitutional requirement of one-third representation in leadership positions. During the discussions however, it still emerged that it will require more than paper work to change the patriarchal mindset of the Kenyan men on the roles of women in the society. This was illustrated by one male participant who expressed dissatisfaction with the Constitution for the reason that it empowered women. He stated :

“women will urinate on our heads if they get leadership positions”.

~FGD Respondent, Suba-Kuria.~

The implementation of the section on land ownership and inheritance is still a challenge to men and in some communities it is yet to be fully accepted.

- **Electoral reforms**

The replacement of the defunct ECK by the IEBC has brought a ray of hope to Kenya's electoral process. Kenyans are hopeful that with implementation of electoral reforms the ethnic animosity that was witnessed in 2007 as a result of the previous electoral system will be avoided. The public expects that the government will duly facilitate this process so as to avoid any recurrent problems as result of flawed electoral processes.

- **Equitable distribution of resources**

Historically inequitable distribution of national resources has been a major cause of conflicts in Kenya. Political patronage led to marginalization of non compliant communities making them vulnerable to high poverty levels and this encouraged cultural practices like cattle rustling which became cyclic for years on end. Ethnic animosity between different ethnic communities with the more dominant communities practicing their hegemony over the less endowed communities became the norm. This is illustrated by this respondent's thoughts;

"In Kuria, the Kuria feel that they are the source of food to the Luo and the Luo feel that they are the source of economic livelihood and without them the Kuria cannot make money".

~FGD respondent, Suba-Kuria.~

No community is ready to accept to be dominated by the other. Instead of looking at productive ways in which symbiotic relationships can be developed between these two communities, their political leaders have made it difficult for them to live together cohesively, and the same story plays itself out in many conflict communities.

The focus group discussions indicate optimism that the new Constitution will usher in a new era of equitable distribution of resources. KII's show the government has made significant efforts towards redistribution of national resources. The empowerment of institutions such as the Commission on Revenue Allocation (CRA) which has been mandated to come up with a formula through which equitable resource distribution in Kenya can be realized is positive. The survey however reveals a lot of ignorance and misinformation on how the national cake will be shared. This is illustrated by the thoughts of several participants as captured in an FGD in Migori;

"...in terms of resource allocation, we know that 30% will be given for development in the counties and an equity fund that will be distributed in line with the devolution"

Not much information on the actual resource allocation dynamics was known to the respondents. Participants raised concern on how the money will be used, insisting that checks and balances were necessary to ensure that it goes into meaningful use for the constituents. The mismanagement of the Constituency Development Fund has left many a constituent wary about the management of county resources.

It is expected that with equitable distribution of resources, outdated cultural practices such as cattle rustling in Kuria and West Pokot areas, and fighting over water and pasture in pastoralist areas like Isiolo will be a thing of the past. Hence the government is expected to support cohesion by ensuring the marginalized communities are included in national and county planning.

- **Rising unemployment:**

Participants of the focus group discussions indicate that the rising cases of unemployment/idleness / negative peer influence especially among the youth has contributed significantly to political violence, emergence of militant groups and other vices such as drug abuse in the country.

- **Status of the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)**

The IDP situation is worrying and considered a major cause of discomfort in the cohesion process. Participants expressed concern that while the government had settled some of the victims, the plight of most victims still in the camps continually evokes memories of the PEV and this is considered a threat to cohesion.

2.2.6 Awareness of Activities for Promoting Peace and Reconciliation in the Country

Participants cited several activities being undertaken to promote peace in the country. Some of the activities mentioned are summarized below:

- i. Civic education through the media, road shows, adult education
- ii. Peace committees at the district levels

- iii. Peace groups focusing on specific stakeholders using special interest groups such as women, youth, churches, CBOs, FBOs using music, drama and other traditional approaches. These groups aim to educate the ordinary 'mwananchi' on their constitutional rights and thereby avoid deception by politicians.

Some of the groups/organizations mentioned have been captured in Annex C of this report. Participants, however, noted that apart from the media activities most of the participatory approaches have been discontinued almost come to a halt currently.

2.2.7 Sources of Information on the Constitution

The survey indicates that the print and electronic media are the most popular source of information on the Constitution (80.7 %). This is closely followed by friends and relatives (26.3%). It was noted that informal channels, including the grapevine, constitutes 34.7% of the public sources of information on the Constitution. Only 11.2% of Kenyans get their information directly from printed copies of the Constitution and related publications.

Table 13: Public sources of information on Constitution

	N	% Total mentions
Electronic Media (TV & Radio)	4,064	80.7%
Print Media (Newspaper / Magazines)	2,212	43.9%
Friends / Relatives	1,322	26.3%
Personally read the Constitution / constitutional booklets	567	11.2%
Politicians / political parties	363	7.2%
Religious leaders	513	10.2%
Employer	26	0.5%
Professional associations	42	0.8%
NGO workshops / forums	125	2.5%
Teachers / school	98	1.9%
Internet / social network	229	4.5%
Graffiti / Murals	14	0.3%
Chief	22	0.4%
Gossip	3	0.1%
Youth Groups	3	0.1%
Parliament proceedings	1	0.0%
Social gathering / Meeting / Chama	3	0.1%
None	27	0.5%
	9,634	191.3%

The survey indicates that more women (53.6%) than men (46.4%) rely on informal sources of information such as friends and relatives to get information on the Constitution.

2.2.8 Conclusion on National Reconciliation

Several issues emerge in regard to the state of national reconciliation. First, the country is yet to heal from the wounds of the post election violence. Only 23% of Kenyans concede to have totally forgiven the perpetrators of the post election violence. Equally disturbing is the fact that 34.5% of Kenyans are detached from the reconciliation process as they consider themselves not to have been affected by the post election violence.

Currently, there lacks a clear state response to public concerns that gave rise to the post election violence, especially in addressing issues of historical injustices and abuse of power by the Executive. Most of the counties that were affected by the violence attributed to land distribution and access to land were in the Rift Valley. The bulk of the complaints in the areas that suffered PEV in Nyanza and Western counties were related to political marginalization and lack of access to power. Therefore, preaching peace without a strategy and effective communication to address these issues is detrimental to the reconciliation process.

The fact that Kenyans appear to tolerate each other and that a dormant state of political violence seems to prevail for the moment should not be misconstrued to mean ethnic tolerance. There is need for a deliberate move by the government to put in place structures in a very specific manner at county level. For example, deliberately mapping out county issues that could have contributed to the PEV and putting in place programmes and communication guidelines on how the government will address these issues might be a useful step to take. The survey reveals that there is a lot of speculation and misinformation on the reform process, therefore there is need to craft out county specific information that will address county issues as well as encourage nationalism among all Kenyans.

The impending elections are a major source of apprehension for the citizenry. Slightly more than half of the respondents were confident, at the time of this survey, that the election will serve more to reconcile Kenyans than to divide them. The pace of reconciliation is seen as slow and appears more focused on addressing ethnic conflicts regionally rather than nationally. The situation is further aggravated by insensitive politicians who have been busy mobilizing the electorate along regional - ethnic lines in the build up to the 2013 elections. Therefore, there is need to review the design of the reconciliation process to adopt a more nationalist approach in addressing pertinent issues at regional and national levels. The general verdict is that the government is not doing enough to arrest the situation.

The survey reveals increasing public optimism with the new Constitution and hope that its successful implementation will address the governance issues suffered in the past. Public confidence in the Judiciary and electoral commission is picking up. Specifically, the vetting of judges and the reforms in the electoral systems has boosted public morale in these two critical institutions. The public is hopeful that with these reforms, these institutions will abide by the rule of the law and the experiences of the 2007 elections will not reoccur regardless of political pressure.

At institutional level Kenyans are optimistic that the constitutional commissions such as the IEBC, TJRC, NCIC, CIC will implement the Constitution by putting in place structures and mechanisms

that will address the past governance concerns that contributed to the post election violence. The survey reveals 60% support for the TJRC and 53.1% for the NCIC.

The fact that only 20% of Kenyans are aware of peace committees at county level is an indication that the reconciliation efforts have not permeated nationally to provide a nationalistic approach to the reconciliation process. More work needs to be done on this.

2.3. Formulation of legal electoral and judicial reforms

2.3.1 Introduction

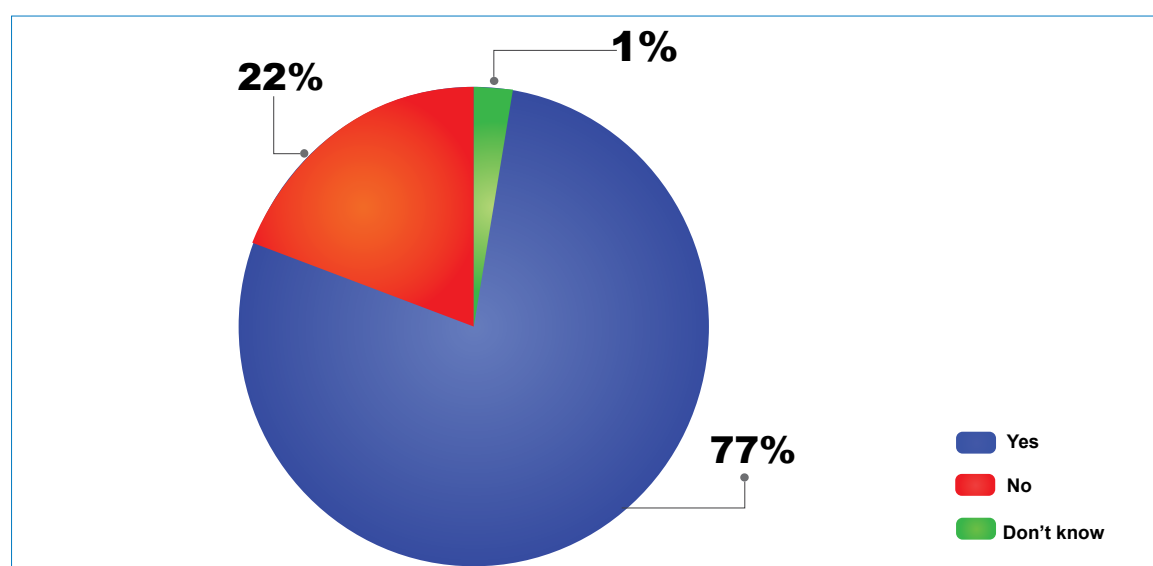
After the post election violence of 2007, the electoral and judicial institutions were highlighted as two key areas that most required reforms for sustainable stability of the country. According to the new Constitution, reforms in Kenya were necessary to ensure justice for all. So far, the government has made substantive improvements in the reform of the justice and electoral systems. In 2011, The President assented to the Supreme Court Bill paving way for the formation of the Supreme Court pursuant to Article 163 (9) of the Constitution. Essentially Kenyans would now have higher confidence in the supremacy of the Constitution and sovereignty of the Kenyan people. The Constitution is expected to facilitate social, economic and political growth, facilitate transition from the old to the new Constitution, and in addition improve access to justice including responsiveness to the electoral processes as per the public's expectations.

With the passing of the IEBC Act, 2011, the quest to reform and consolidate electoral and related laws in Kenya begun in earnest. For a very long period of time the public perception of the electoral and judicial systems was that of weak and inefficient institutions used by the political elite to promote political and ethnic hegemony. Historically, previous regimes had legitimized sham elections as one way of acquiring and maintaining power. The consequences of which led to untold economic, political and social miseries for the people of Kenya. The violence that followed the disputed 2007 election was a clear signal to all that reforms have to be implemented. And with the signing of the National Accord, the decision to reform the Kenyan electoral and judicial systems was no longer debatable. Through the IEBC Act of 2011, the process to restore public confidence in Kenya's electoral systems begun. This baseline survey sought to gain an understanding of the Kenyan public's perception of judicial and electoral reforms and the progress so far made in the reform process. The IEBC is mandated to plan, conduct, execute and manage the 2013 elections under the new Constitution.

From the foregoing chapter on the state of reconciliation, it is clear that Kenyans are unsettled about the next general election. Participants of the focus group discussions continually opined on the possibility of ethnic violence erupting again at the next general elections. The onus therefore lies with the IEBC to restore public confidence in the country's electoral process. So, what does the public think about the IEBC?

2.3.2 Rating public confidence in the IEBC

Figure 8: Will the IEBC ensure free and fare elections?



Public confidence in the IEBC to conduct free and fair elections is high with more than three quarters of the Kenyan Public is optimistic that the IEBC will deliver free and fair elections in 2013.

- **Public understanding of the electoral reforms**

Qualitative interviews with the public indicate a narrowed way of looking at the reforms, though the public exudes confidence in the ability of the IEBC to plan, manage and deliver free and fair elections, it was evident that there was limited understanding of the processes and milestones necessary for the IEBC to realize this task. Public understanding of reforms was mainly seen as the visible changes broadcast by the media such as election of the commissioners, identity change from the ECK to the IEBC and communication on quality of election standards such as the use of computers. The public is also confident that the IEBC's powers can be checked and that there will be no manipulation of the electoral body. The public is also informed that the IEBC will review names in the registers and this will eliminate the fraud that characterized the previous elections. The public however is worried about the magnitude of these changes and their impact on the voting processes; this has not been communicated well at the grassroots as one respondent in Uasin Gishu noted "We have heard that there will be computers used during elections, but there are some like my grandmother who has never used the computer and even most of the youth in this area have not used a computer how will it work, IEBC should train people on how to use this system".

2.3.3 Public's perception on the creation of constituencies and the delimitation process

The Constitution in Article 89 gave the IEBC the mandate of creating and delimiting electoral constituencies and wards through a consultative process. The outcome of the review is that the country now has 290 constituencies, 80 more than the previous 210 constituencies. This is captured in the table below:

Table 14: Delimitation of Kenya's constituencies by province

Provinces	Population	Constituencies
Nyanza	5, 442,711	42
Rift Valley	10,006,805	76
Western	4,334,282	33
Nairobi	3,138,369	17
Central	4,383,743	34
Coast	3,325,307	26
Eastern	5,668,123	44
North Eastern	2,310,757	18
Total	33,167,386	290

Findings of the survey indicate mixed reactions to the boundary review process. Only 29.7% of Kenyans are completely satisfied with the outcome of review process, others (45%), accepted it but with reservations. The IEBC is stated to have consulted stakeholders and the general public throughout the process as was required by the Constitution. Dissatisfaction is driven by the fact that respondents felt the process was not all- inclusive. As illustrated by this respondent,

“I don’t know what considerations the IEBC was using. For example, here in Kasipul Kabondo, you find that the boundaries have split some families such that some members of one family are in Kasipul and the others in Kabondo and the politics of the two are different so who do you support?!”.

~ Participant, Homa Bay County. ~

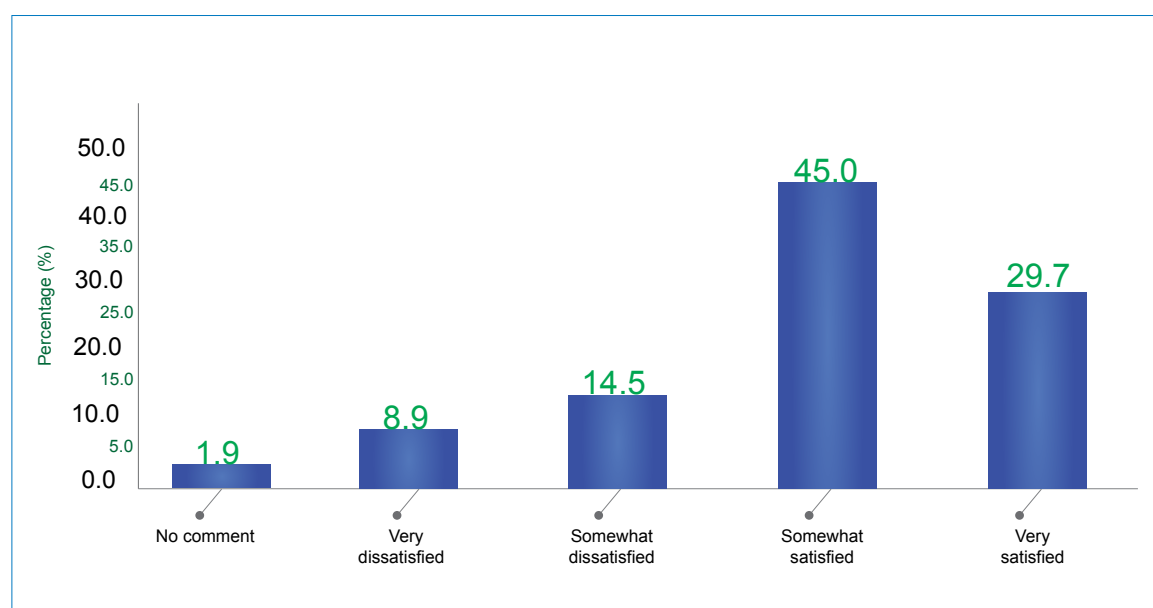
Analysis of the participant’s complaints indicated limited awareness of how the boundary review was being conducted and lack of participation. At the time of conducting this survey, there were more than 60 court cases challenging the boundary review process. However, interviews with experts in the Constitution implementation process indicate that the review was conducted in the most appropriate manner and was carried out according to the Constitution and the mandate of IEBC.

“Looking at the history and politics of Kenya, we have to accept that the review will not appear objective to all and the creation of new constituencies is bound to be emotive and political “.

~Expert, Constitution review~

The review of the boundaries is supposed to unite Kenyans and not create ethnic or clan conflicts. It is expected to provide a balance in the administration of counties. This fact, however, has not resonated well with part of the electorate.

Figure 9: Public satisfaction with the IEBC boundaries

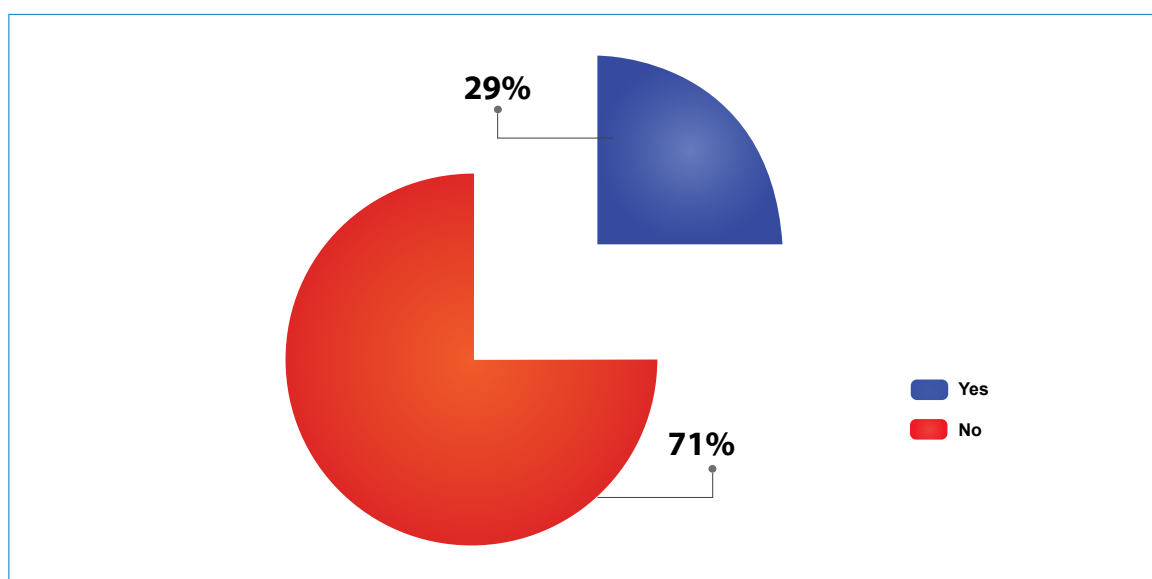


Awareness of the Political Parties Act was also mentioned in the elements of regulation of the amount of money that may be spent by, or on behalf of a candidate or party, in respect of any election for all political aspirants. This, the participants argued will check the misuse of public funds previously used to fund elections.

2.3.4 Public understanding of the devolved government / offices

About a third (29%) of the Kenyan population has a clear understanding of the devolved county structures or positions (See Figure 10).

Figure 10: Awareness of county structures



- Awareness of specific county structures and positions**

During the discussions, it was evident that the public has limited understanding of what constitutes the devolved government and governance structure. The positions of Senator, Governor, President, MP, Councillor as well as the Women and Youth representatives were consistently mentioned in the group discussions. The public however could not articulate clearly the roles of the different offices or office bearers and it was clear that there is confusion on who is who in the devolved government.

Table 15: Awareness of devolved government offices

Devolved county structures	% Level of awareness Base(5,035)	Difference between awareness levels in male and female respondents
County assembly	28.3	8.3%
County executive	17.7	5.3
Senator	38.2	6.2
National assembly	44.4	6.5
Youth representative	44.7	6.2
Governor	44.4	5.3
Ward representative	33	7.4
Women representative	44.3	5.0
Cabinet secretary	23.6	5.5

Analysis by gender indicated significant disparities in the awareness of levels of county structures between male and female respondents. More men than women are aware of the devolved county structure and roles; variation in awareness levels ranges from 5% to 8.3% for male to female respondents respectively.

Participants voiced their concern over the poor quality of leadership and hoped that the new county structure will provide a platform through which vetting of leaders can be effected before election. They cited past experiences where some of the elected councilors who were illiterate would walk out of meetings when addressed in English. These among other challenges on the persons of elected officials they contend had been a major setback in the electoral process.

"...the new Constitution has really helped us a lot and those who will get these positions will be straight forward clean people ... that is if you do something wrong, the IEBC will be there to get you"

~FGD participant, Mombasa.~

The public yearns for an electoral system that will compel political parties to come up with party manifestos that create meaningful debate during the election campaigns. According to the respondents, most of the political parties' campaign strategies are mainly centered on individuals or ethnic communities and rarely indicate how these parties will address pertinent governance issues affecting the public. Participants were of the opinion that nominations and the Political Parties Act did not effectively address the flawed party systems and lacked a monitoring mechanism through which non-compliant parties can be punished.

"Kenyans sometimes vote because we come from the same village, the political parties do not live up to their manifestos so it is pointless to vote for a party on the basis of its manifesto".

~FGD, Garissa~

2.3.5 Expectations of the IEBC

Table 16: Citizen expectations of the IEBC

	Frequency	%
Use modern technology during elections / electronic voting / new ways / proper registration system / credible tallying	998	19.8
Civic Education (Teach people/hold seminars / learn from other countries, allow for public participation)	810	16.1
Integrity / to be transparent in their work / no stealing of votes	806	16
Efficient (Employing competent staff/employing youth / more people / timely delivery of results)	440	8.8
Provide sufficient security	411	8.2
Should be independent / obey elections rules / adhere to the Constitution / observe the rule of law	411	8.2
It should have Legal powers (Prosecute / vetting corrupt leaders / send those who break rules to jail / deal with incitements)	169	3.4
Cohesion and bring peace / unity	62	1.2
Every tribe should be given equal opportunities / no tribalism	56	1.1
Prepare well for elections	50	1.0
More extra ballot boxes / more voting cards	48	1.0
Increase voting centers	47	0.9

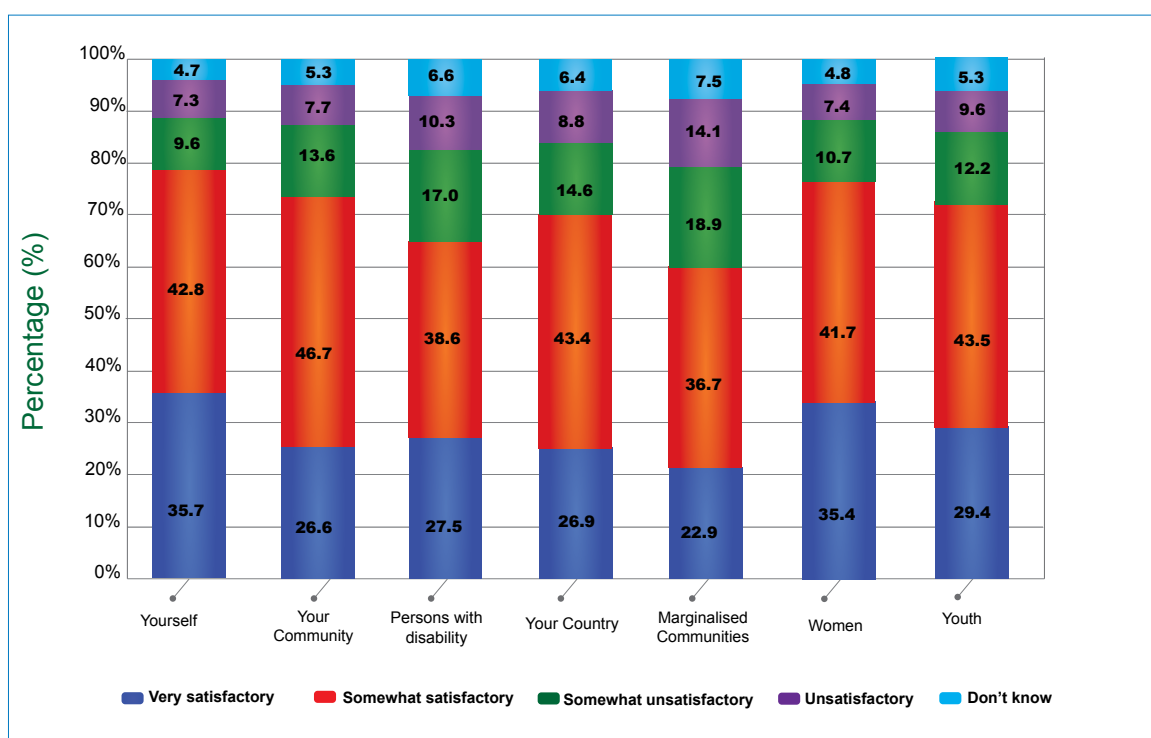
Reviewing the boundaries again / ignore the new constituencies until after elections	45	0.9
Involve Experts	41	0.8
Change for election teams	32	0.6
Fair distributions of resources / availability of funds	23	0.5
Wait for the wounds of PEV to heal	20	0.4
Advocate for resettlement of IDPs	15	0.3
Fair allocation of air time on state media	5	0.1
Allow international observers	2	0.0
Don't know	544	10.8
Total	5,035	100.0

Kenyans are desirous of an electoral system that is independent and efficient. More than 75% of the expectations brought forth by the public centered on efficiency and independence of the IEBC and civic education. Additionally, the public looks forward to a commission that has prosecutorial powers or is able to deal with the transgressors of election laws effectively. Participants appreciated an electronic voting system and hope this will circumvent some of the hitches experienced in previous elections former regimes such as slow tallying, turn over speed, and corruption facilitated by the manual voting systems, security for the ballot papers etc. During the discussions the public was emphatic that the IEBC needs to develop a system through which only credible leaders are elected to office.

2.3.6 The public perceptions on the Constitution

Kenyans are optimistic (about 62%); see Figure 11, that the Constitution can protect individual rights, communal rights, and persons with disability, marginalized communities, women and the youth. On average about one third (29%) of the public is fully convinced that the Constitution will protect the rights of Kenyans at individual, group or national level.

Figure 11: Public perception on the Constitution's ability to safeguard rights



Apart from safeguarding women's rights, the public is convinced the Constitution is biased towards safeguarding individual rights rather than group rights.

With regards to the judicial reforms, citizens were excited about the introduction of a vetting system of the Attorney General, Chief Justice and judges. The process through which incompetent judges have been sacked promises a new era of judicial dispensation in Kenya.

"...looking at the lady who pointed a gun at a security guard at the Village Market, the fact that they acted very fast and showed a lot of strictness in the matter... it shows that the judicial system is more effective than it was back in the past".

~FGD Respondent Mombasa.~

Participants of the focus group discussions also noted the fact that the Executive no longer held the power to appoint judges at will as was in the past. This seems to have restored the public's confidence in the Judiciary and hope that it is on its way towards being independent. Discontent with the vetting system however was voiced in some quarters of society; some participants felt this was a ploy to dispense with evidence. Otherwise the public insists that there has to be an effective oversight authority or else the vetting system may be used to settle scores with judges as well.

2.3.7 The role of citizens in implementation of the new Constitution

Slightly more than one quarter (28.5%) of Kenyans do not see themselves having any role in the implementation of the Constitution. Only 17 % will participate in civic education programmes, 13.3% will support the implementation by obeying the laws, and 12.1% will participate in reviews and discussions with other people. The survey reveals lack of urgency on the part of the public with only 0.1% of the participants admitting they would demonstrate in case there was a breach of the Constitution. A summary of other perceived activities in support of implementation of the Constitution are captured in the table below.

Table 17: Citizen's role in implementation of the Constitution

	%
Don't know / no idea	28.3
By participating in civic education / attending barazas	17
Obeying the laws / policies set by the Constitution / obeying country's leadership	13.3
Reviewing / discussing the constitution with the other people / implementing	12.1
By reading and understanding the constitution	7.1
By voting good leaders	7.0
Preaching peace / joining peace campaigns / enhancing unity / discouraging tribal groupings such as KAMATUSA, GEMA	6.6
Providing opinions	2.0
Participate in fighting corruption	1.8
Paying tax	1.1
Discouraging injustice and unfairness	0.8
Holding the responsible institutions / MPs accountable	0.8
Farming groups and start projects / participate in community development	0.7

Avoiding brain drain / being employed in Kenya	0.4
Embracing change	0.3
Giving support to the commissioners	0.3
Going to the streets and demonstrate	0.1
Others ¹	0.4
Total	100

The survey reveals a community that has learned over the years to accept situations as they are. There is a community of hope as illustrated by this respondent.

“With the implementation of the new Constitution, we hope there is going to be equal treatment for all Kenyans... in the past there has been different treatment for different classes, if you are rich you are treated differently, if you are poor no one will listen to you “.

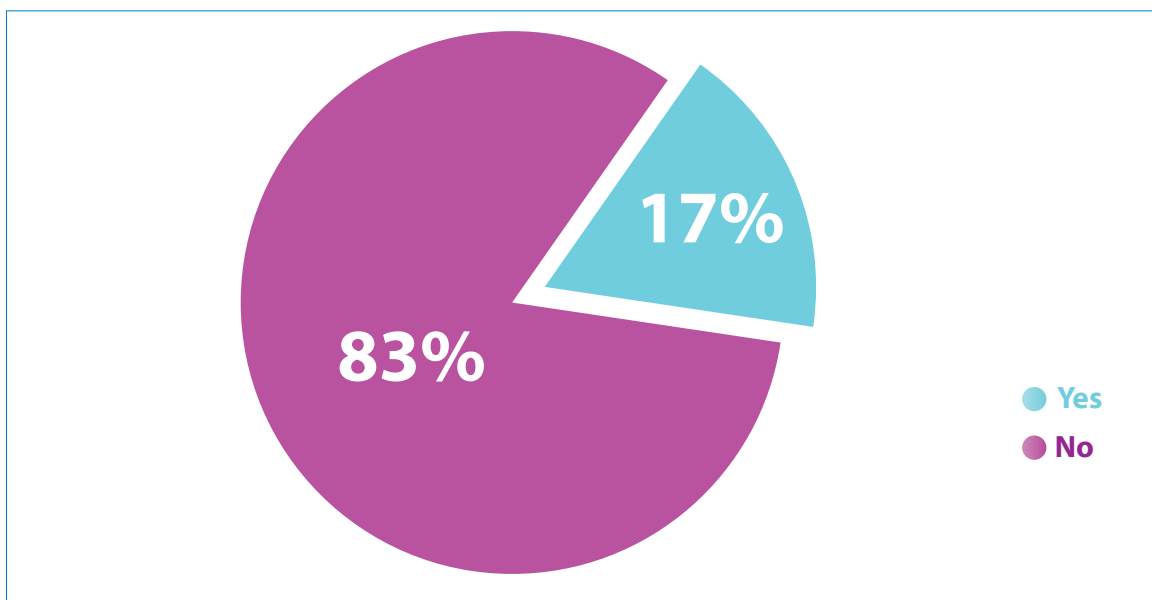
~ FGD Participant Bungoma ~

The focus group discussions revealed the need for comprehensive but simplified civic education on the Constitution and the public's willingness in supporting its implementation. The use of various languages and mediums to reach different segments of the Kenyan society was continually echoed across the FGDs. In summary, participants of the FGDs were of the opinion that the individual Kenyan has a responsibility and a role to play in the implementation of the Constitution. Some of the key areas highlighted include:

- Taking personal initiative in reading and understanding the Constitution
- Upholding the Constitution by abiding to its laws
- Participating in civic education forums at community, county and national level
- Promoting peace and ethnic integration at all levels
- Participating in democratic processes such as electing leaders and holding them accountable

While most Kenyans are upbeat about supporting the new Constitution, it was noted that a vast majority (83%) are not registered as members of any political party.

Figure 12: Political party membership in Kenya



Focus group discussions revealed that those who are registered members largely participated only in elections but were less involved in other processes such as nominations etc.

...yes we are members but we only participate during elections, once that is done, members are not important, they are sidelined.

~Kuria FGD participants.~

The survey indicates public appreciation of the government's efforts to reform the electoral and justice system. The support for the IEBC at 77% is a clear indication that the public is desirous of peaceful coexistence. The creation of constituencies and the county delimitation exercise undertaken by the IEBC, has received mixed reactions from the public; only 29.7% of the public are fully satisfied with the process, 45% have reservations and 25% of Kenyans are dissatisfied. The survey reveals a limited understanding among the public of how the delimitations were done.

Considering that the public goodwill for the IEBC is high, there is need to develop communication that will educate the public on the considerations made during the delimitation process and how it will benefit them as constituents. This situation also exposes the institutional weakness of constitutional offices and the need to deliberately put in place a well designed strategy that encourages mass public participation in such events.

The public is anxious for a change in leadership; they look forward to an electoral system that will allow only the most astute leaders to vie for elective posts. The public is further desirous of public debates with their electives to discuss issue oriented politics and not individual or ethnic politics. It is therefore necessary for the electoral process through the Political Parties Act to monitor party systems and structures to ensure that candidates that pass through the nomination process are representative of public expectations.

With the devolved government structures, Kenyans are optimistic that there is going to be a shift of power from the centre to regional levels. It is of concern that with elections planned for March 2013, less than 30% of Kenyans have a clear understanding of the county structures and their roles. The limited knowledge of county structures and roles will definitely bear on the quality of leaders elected. Analysis by gender indicates fewer women are aware of the devolved structures than men.

It is therefore paramount that the state and other stakeholders deliberately roll out civic education programmes in good time to upscale knowledge levels. It is important that civic education programmes be used to educate the public on the relevance of the decentralized structures and how they can be used to realize the population's aspirations.

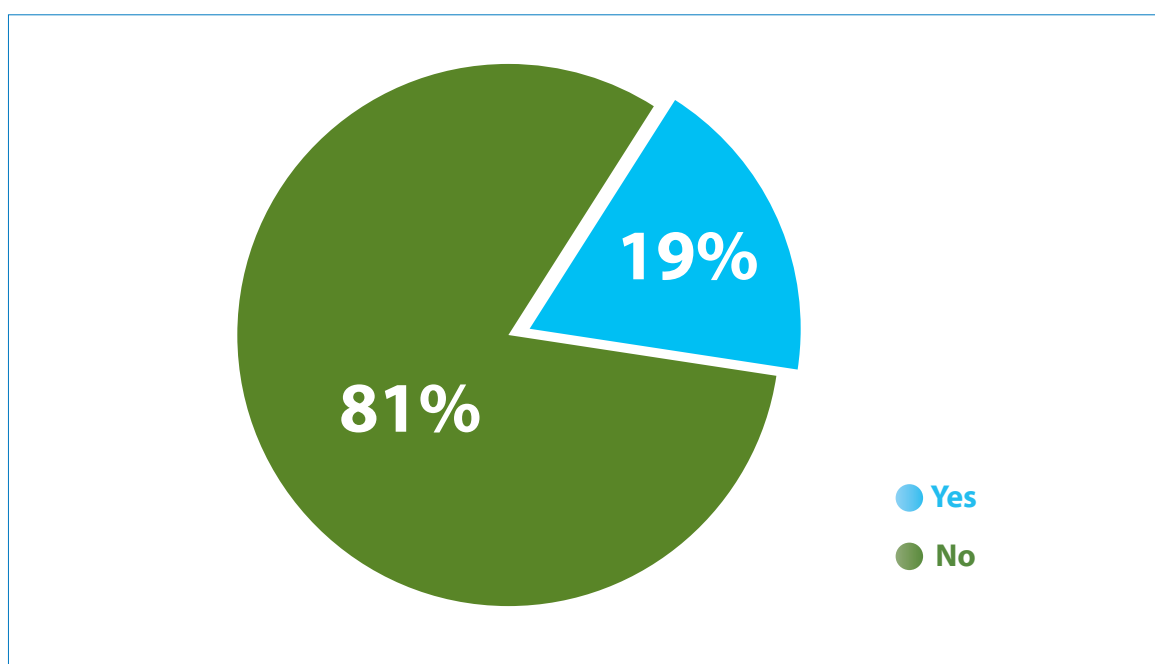
2.4 Access to justice for the poor and marginalized in Kenya

The new Constitution under Article 48 states that the State is obliged to ensure access to justice for every citizen. Access to justice includes the recognition of rights, awareness, understanding and knowledge of the law, protection of those rights, equal access for all to judicial mechanisms for such protection; the respectful, fair, impartial and expeditious adjudication of claims within the judicial mechanism; easy availability of information pertinent to one's rights; equal right to the protection of one's rights by the legal enforcement agencies; easy entry into the judicial justice system; easy availability of physical legal infrastructure; affordability of the adjudication engagement; respect for cultural rights and the intent to provide a conducive environment within which the judicial system can operate.

In the context of governance, effectiveness of a judicial system is paramount for safeguarding economic, social and political rights of individuals within the country. It is anticipated that with the new Constitution, the reform of the judiciary will bestow equal justice to all devoid of any and all discrimination. The survey therefore investigated public perception on access to justice in light of the new constitutional dispensation.

When asked whether they are aware of any courts in Kenya, 77% of Kenyans replied in the affirmative, however, further interrogation indicates that 81% of Kenyans who are aware of the courts had never attended a court session.

Figure 13: Incidence of court attendance



Access to the law courts however is limited with less than one half (46.2%) of Kenyans agreeable that they can access law courts easily. This means the less than one half of the Kenyan population enjoys the benefits of the justice system. As Justice Isaac Lenaola puts it

"...when one is recognized by law, has authority of the law, is permitted by the law, and acts within the law, they can expect, and should be able to access the benefits anticipated by that law. When the majority of the population is in this position, and the law is enforced efficiently and fairly, then there is order, predictability, and justice in the society".

Access and the cost of litigation are inhibitive with 30% or less of Kenyans finding them comfortable. Analysis by gender did not indicate significant differences between male and female respondents on this particular variable but more men than women would find it easier to reach a court of law in the event that there is a need. Access to legal representation is low for both genders (30.1%) but fewer women than men would find it easy to access legal representation as illustrated in the table below.

Table 18: Access to legal representation by gender

I can get legal access to legal representation if need be					
	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	No opinion	Total
Male	31.2%	31.5%	30.6%	6.7%	100.0%
Female	28.9%	32.0%	30.4%	8.7%	100.0%
Total	1,518	1,598	1,535	384	5,035

The public perception is that marginalized ethnic groups and special interest groups such as the people living with disability (PWDs) in Kenya are disadvantaged in accessing courts.

The public's opinion on court officials and the police is low with the court officials cited as trustworthy by only (16.2%) of the public, while only (14.7%) of Kenyans were agreeable that police officers respect the rights of the arrested. A summary of the state of access to justice is provided in the table below.

Table 19: Awareness of access to justice

	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	No opinion
I am aware of where to report if my rights are violated	67.7	17.0	11.4	4.0
I can easily reach a court of law if I need to	46.2	27.0	22.3	4.5
It does not cost a lot to institute a case in a court of law	23.0	29.4	39.3	8.3
I can get access to legal representation if I need to	30.1	31.7	30.5	7.6
Women have equal access to justice as much as men	40.1	28.7	25.5	5.7
Marginalized communities/group are sufficiently protected by the courts	27.3	32.3	31.7	8.7

Persons with disability can get justice in courts	38.6	29.6	24.5	7.4
Court procedures are friendly to all	20.6	30.3	41.5	7.6
Court officials are trusted	16.2	27.0	49.0	7.8
Court processes are friendly to persons with disability	21.0	31.9	38.9	8.1
The police respect the rights of Arrested persons	14.7	24.9	54.0	6.4

Less than a quarter (20.6%) of Kenya's population perceives court procedures as being friendly. There was a slight variation by gender, with more males than females finding court processes friendly as illustrated below.

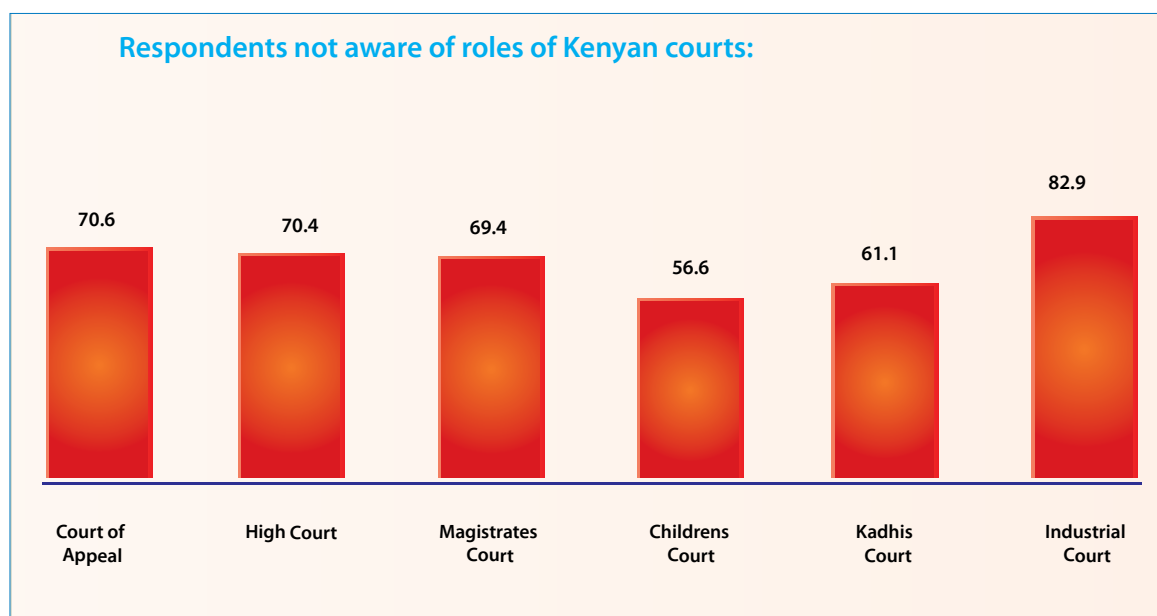
Table 20: Perception of court procedures

Agree		Court procedures are friendly to all				Total
		Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	No opinion		
Gender	Male	577	792	1106	188	2663
		21.7%	29.7%	41.5%	7.1%	100.0%
	Female	458	736	982	196	2372
		19.3%	31.0%	41.4%	8.3%	100.0%
Total		1035	1528	2088	384	5035
		20.6%	30.3%	41.5%	7.6%	100.0%
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

2.4.1 Public awareness of court types and roles in Kenya

While 77% of Kenyans were aware of courts in the country, most respondents (69%), could not differentiate the roles of the different courts in the country. Analyses of the roles adduced from the respondents indicate misinformation on the roles of the courts.

Figure 14: Awareness of roles of Kenyan Courts



The mindshare of Court Users Committees in Kenya is negligible, none of the respondents interviewed mentioned the CUCs in quantitative terms; qualitatively some mention of the committees was made but no significant understanding of them could be adduced from the discussions with the citizens.

2.4.2 Conclusion on findings on Access to Justice

Less than half of Kenyans do not have easy access to the courts, access to legal litigation is also perceived as expensive by 70% of Kenyans. Discrimination of marginalized groups is evident in the Kenyan judicial system.

Court officials score an approval rating of 16.2% and police as the enforcement agency, and even lower approval rating of (14.7%). The public perception of access to justice is negative, though the public appreciates the provisions of the new Constitution.

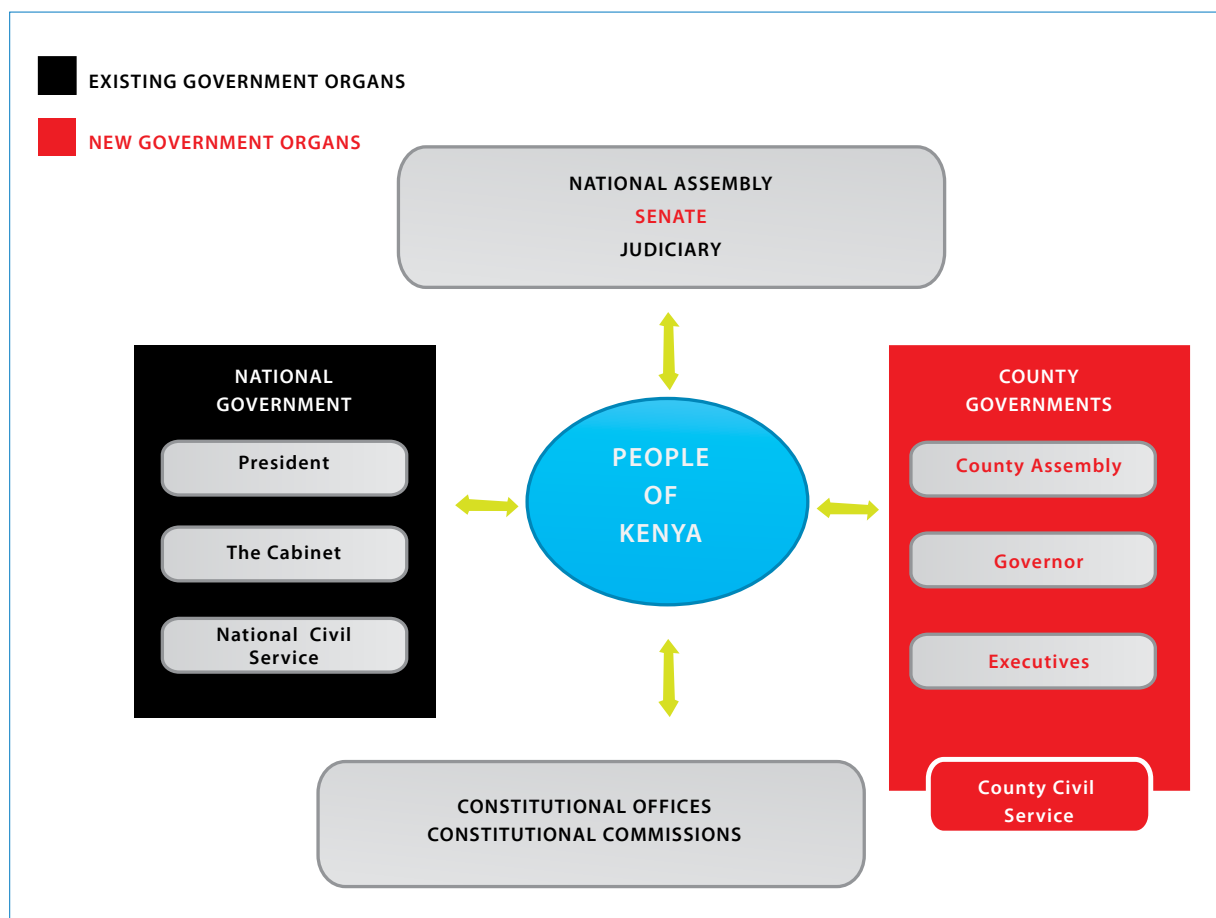
In relation to judicial reforms the impact is yet to register in the minds of most Kenyans. Central to these findings is the perception that women, marginalized groups and the disabled are disadvantaged by some of the court processes. There is need to relay that the effectiveness of a judicial system by the public can only be appreciated through public participation and fair judgments made by the courts.

Public participation in the judicial process is evidently missing and the view of the judiciary's judgments is flawed. The hang ups of the yesteryears have made it more difficult for the public to comprehend the magnitude of these reforms. It is therefore necessary that stakeholders involved in the reform of the judiciary put in place programmes and communication that will enhance public participation in the reform processes. To start with, demystifying the Judiciary will be significant, and secondly, the need to encourage public participation in the processes such as enacting, interpreting and enforcing the law will educate the public on the role of the judiciary in relation to upholding the principles of democracy.

2.5 Promoting people centered devolved government in Kenya

For this key result area, the study sought to establish the public's understanding and perception of devolved governments. The findings are captured in the subsequent discussion. The devolved government is a transformative aspect of Kenya's governance in the Constitution of Kenya, 2010. It seeks to redress regional inequality, unemployment and low growth by devolving political and financial responsibility to the counties. The following figure shows the present system of Kenya's devolved government:

Figure 15: Kenya's new system of devolved government



Source: Commission on Revenue Allocation, 2012.

2.5.1 Citizen's understanding of devolution/Ugatuzi / Majimbo

When asked to give their understanding of devolution, 45.8% of Kenyans could not describe what it was. Others mainly associated it with sharing of power (13.3%) and decentralization of government departments (10.8%), distribution of resources (11.4%) and the act of governance through counties (6.4%). The other connotations associated with devolution are represented in the table below.

Table 21: Understanding of devolution

	%
Sharing of powers / distribution of national leadership to small branches / taking power to the people	13.3
Decentralization of government structure / cascading major government departments to the county	10.8
Bringing resources to the grassroots / taking public services closer to the people / equity and equal resource distribution	11.4
Not very sure but economics and distribution of government power	6.0
Devolution involves equal beneficiaries / recognizing diversity / protecting rights of minorities	3.1
The act of governing through county / dividing the country into segments / government as a county	6.4
Change / new beginning/Constitution	1.6
Leadership of high quality	0.8
Practice peace at ground level	0.5
Gradual development in the government	0.2
Others	0.2
Don't know	45.8
Total	100

In the focus group discussions, the participants expressed the fact that they did not understand what devolution entails and would be eager to get civic education on the devolved government structures and what they can do, or how they can participate.

Interrogation, using the quantitative tool, indicates that only 24.7% of the respondents have sufficient information on how the devolved governments will work. Further analysis by gender indicates that more men than women have information on how the devolved governments will work. This is illustrated in the Table 22.

Table 22: Understanding of how devolved government will work

	I have sufficient information on how devolved government will work				Total
	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	No idea / opinion	
Male	707	607	769	580	2663
	26.5%	22.8%	28.9%	21.8%	100.0%
Female	537	469	714	652	2372
	22.6%	19.8%	30.1%	27.5%	100.0%
Total	1,244	1,076	1,483	1,232	5,035

About 20% of Kenyans (19.8%) are of the opinion that they have been involved in the development of policies on devolution and representation. There was no significant difference between the number of male and female respondents involved in the formulation of policies.

In terms of perceptions on what devolution will accomplish, most Kenyans are divided on their expectations. On average, less than 40% of Kenyans were convinced that devolution will bring equality, minimize corruption and other impunity related vices, bring cohesion and improve opportunities for women and marginalized groups. In terms of gender balance, devolution is perceived to give women better opportunities than in the past as reported by 39.9% of Kenyans. Analysis by gender indicates a higher optimism from the male than female respondents.

Table 23: Optimism on the effect of devolution

Gender	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	No idea / opinion	Total
Male	707	607	769	580	2663
	26.5%	22.8%	28.9%	21.8%	100.0%
Female	537	469	714	652	2372
	22.6%	19.8%	30.1%	27.5%	100.0%
	1,244	1,076	1,483	1,232	5,035

A summary of how the public perceives devolution is provided in the table below.

Table 24: Extent of understanding of the devolved government

	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	No idea / opinion
I have sufficient information on how devolved governments will work	24.7	21.4	29.5	24.5
Devolution will lead to better transparency and accountability	39.3	23.5	10.0	27.2
Citizens will be able to get better public services	43.4	21.1	9.3	26.2

Devolution provides citizens with better opportunities to participate	40.2	22.0	10.8	27.1
I have been sufficiently involved in formulation of policies	19.8	23.0	30.0	27.2
Devolution will minimize vices such as corruption, impunity	30.2	26.3	16.3	27.2
Devolution will lead to a more cohesive and peaceful nation	34.2	26.9	12.1	26.8
Women will have better opportunities in devolved governments	39.5	24.0	10.2	26.3
Minority communities / groups will have better opportunities	36.8	23.8	11.0	28.5

2.5.2 The roles of citizenry in the devolved government

The public mainly envisages its role at the end stages of the devolution process. The highest mentioned role at (16.7%) is participation in electoral processes, upholding the law (12.7%), building the economic capacities of counties, and promoting peace and reconciliation efforts among others. A list of perceived roles by the citizenry is captured in the table below.

Table 25: Roles of the citizen in the devolved government

	Frequency	%
Vote for right leaders / participate during election	790	16.7
Follow the law / report law breakers / role model /cultural values / good citizens to obey and respect others / adhering to the law/being an example	602	12.7
Being responsible / hardworking / supporting community development at the county	394	8.3
Promoting peace / reconciliation/cohesion	379	8.0
Pay taxes	375	7.9
Educating and sharing with others on devolution / Helping them by understanding the Constitution / civic education	295	6.2
Ensure proper use of resources provide e.g. finance	272	5.7
Avoid bribes / fight corruption	248	5.2
Participating in prioritization of projects / support projects / participate in project committees	239	5.1
Participation in government/governance / participation in decision making at the grassroots	161	3.4
Hold leaders accountable / ensure the accountability of the official / accountability	142	3.0
Not joining militia groups / security	133	2.8
Being a member of devolved government initiatives / provide my views to the public	131	2.8

Participate in the implementation policies / constitution / rights	113	2.4
Support youth representative / elective posts	92	1.9
Attending barazas / meeting	77	1.6
Fight for children's rights / minorities disabled	64	1.4
Avoid tribalism/nepotism	62	1.3
Fight for independence / Freedom of speech / democratic rights report social injustices	52	1.1
Christianity / praying	36	0.8
Promote equality of power / distribution of resources	33	0.7
Invest in the county / create employment/work in the county	21	0.4
Peaceful demonstration / demand for good services	18	0.4
Love my country / develop an anthem	5	0.1
Total	4,137	100%

In terms of policy development, most citizens do not see their role in this and are rarely involved. During the focus group discussions it emerged that the citizenry were sometimes involved but haphazardly and the sense of community ownership is lacking. Only 2.4% of the population sees their role as directly involved in policy formulation.

Citizens are also taking a role by working with civil society groups and organizations across the county for the promotion of development focused activities. These are outlined in the tables in the appendices.

2.5.3 Conclusion on citizen's understanding of devolved government system

Considering that 48.8% of Kenyans have no understanding of the devolved government, there is need for stakeholders [state and non- -state] to educate the public on devolution, structures, roles and duties of the duty bearers and service seekers.

From the qualitative component of the survey, it emerged that the majority of the Kenyan population still perceives itself as a servant to the State. They feel their major role is mainly to elect leaders, therefore there is need to put in place deliberate programmes to develop the capacities of the public in the management of counties and monitoring accountability of leadership.

With less than six months to the elections, only about a quarter (24%) of Kenyans have sufficient knowledge on how devolved governments will work. Therefore there is need for stakeholders to act quickly and develop a national communication strategy that will establish the level of information gaps on the different county structures and feedback mechanisms between the duty bearers and service seekers.

Kenyans are upbeat about contributing to the county's development, in areas such as supporting county resource development (48.9%), supporting governance structures (17%), monitoring, accountability and integrity (19%), and promoting peace and reconciliation (14%).

Recommendation: There is need for capacity building on proper planning and monitoring of de-

velopment activities at county level. Each county should have an accountability structure that will ensure duty bearers answer for their performances. Reminiscent of past experiences, the hope and sustainability of the peace in Kenya is constituent to the workability of the devolved governments. If the devolved governments fail then the myriad of problems that will emanate therein will be difficult to resolve.

The survey indicates that only 19.8% of the population has been involved in formulation of policies on devolution. Essentially this means there is a gap in the public participation in the devolution process;

Recommendation: There is need to build programmes nationally that will build the capacities of the public in the planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of these policies.

2.6 Promoting economic, social and cultural rights

According to the new Constitution of Kenya promulgated in 2010, Chapter 4 on the Bill of Rights outlines human, socio-economic and cultural rights, and fundamental freedoms, regarding vulnerable groups in order to protect, preserve, promote and fulfil their aspirations under the values of an open and democratic society based on human dignity, equality, equity and freedom.

Focus group discussions identified vulnerable groups within society as women, older members of society, and persons with disability, children, youth, and minority or marginalized communities (ethnic, religious or cultural).

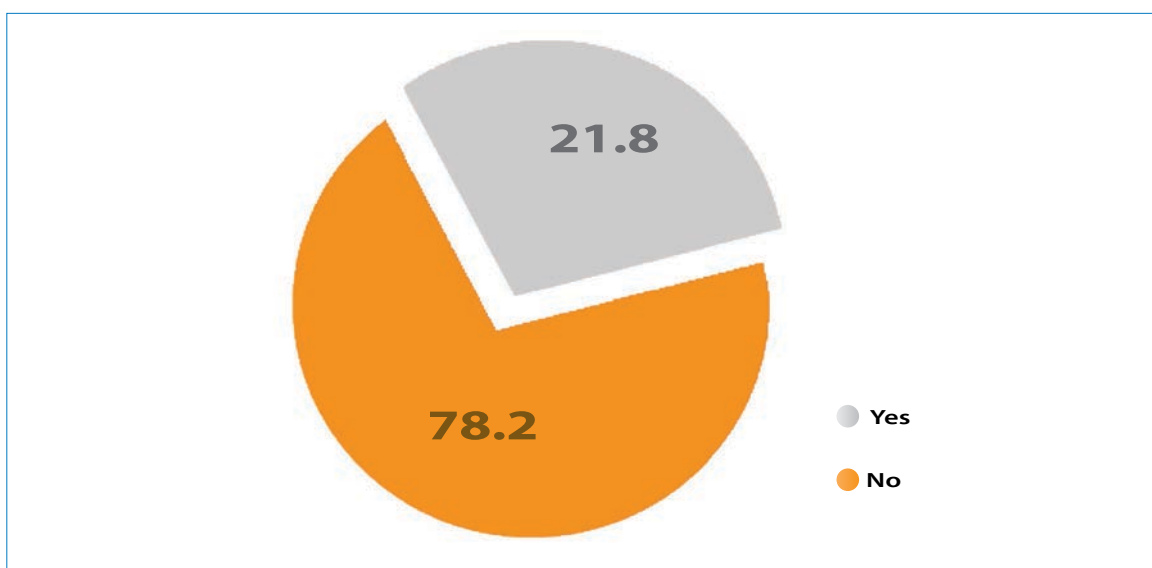
2.6.1 Public Awareness of Fundamental Human Rights

The quantitative survey confirms qualitative findings that show many Kenyans consider the right to life as the most fundamental human right with 22.1%, followed by freedom of expression with 11.3%, right to education 7.4 %, right to worship with 6.6%, right to protection 6.4% and 6.1% consider fairness and justice as the most fundamental right among other rights mentioned. Focus group discussions revealed that the respondents viewed the fundamental human rights to include the following: See Table 23.

2.6.2 Economic, social and cultural (ECOSOC) rights

According to the Kenyan Constitution 2010, economic and social rights include the right to education, health, food, water and sanitation, work and labour and housing. The family is also recognised as the natural and fundamental unit of society and the necessary basis of social order. As for cultural rights, they are highlighted as the right to use language and participate in cultural life. In light of this information, the survey reveals a narrow perception of ECOSOC rights. Among the respondents, little reference, if any, was made to the Constitution in addressing these rights. They demonstrated an awareness of ECOSOC rights in light of culture and traditions, associations, work, family and marriage and where government laws were enforced such as in security. A direct inquiry of ECOSOC rights within the context of the Constitution indicates that 78.2% of the public was not aware of these rights.

Figure 16: Awareness of economic social and cultural rights



Focus groups, however, reveal that the public understands these rights in different ways and most of the understanding is largely hinged on their social and cultural dispositions rather than provisions in line with the Constitution. For instance, for the Pokot, all economic activities are the preserve of men regardless of the Constitution.

“For us the Pokot all the economic activities are done by the man. The man is the only person worthy of owning anything; the sons will then inherit this from him...”

~Respondent, West Pokot.~

Communal justice systems are very much alive in some parts of the country alongside public administration and judicial systems in place. In areas where cattle rustling take place such as Kuria, Migori, West Pokot traditional justice mechanism are still in force. Education on the Bill of Rights especially on the rights of women and children is still lacking. Awareness and implementation of the Sexual Offences Act and laws that punish acts such as raiding is low.

“Here in Kuria, the People for Rural Change (PRC) a peace initiative of UNDP involve elders in addressing communal disputes....”

~FGD Participant Kuria~

A Brief description of how the communities describe their ECOSOC rights is described in the table below.

Table 26: Descriptions of ECOSOC rights among Kenyans

ECOSOC Rights	According to FGD Participants
Economic and Social Rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>“The right to work anywhere in Kenya”</i> <u>FGD Mombasa</u> • <i>“it’s the right to belong to an organization and it is the right and freedom to association”</i> <u>FGD Migori</u> • <i>I think they are economic rights which are including the right to own property anywhere in Kenya”</i> <u>FGD Migori</u> • <i>“If it is economic rights it gives you the right of economy and family”</i> <u>FGD Mombasa</u> • <i>“Social rights, each Kenyan has a right to start his or her family or have his family”</i> <u>FGD Mombasa</u> • <i>“You have the right to be in any religion or practices e.g. if it is marriage, you can marry two wives if your religion or culture allows”</i> <u>FGD Mombasa</u> • <i>“It is the right to worship,”</i> <u>FGD Migori</u>
Cultural Rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>“Even cultural rights like practice and represent our culture”</i> <u>FGD Migori</u> • <i>“These are rights that if it cultural it gives you the right to tradition and culture.”</i> <u>FGD Mombasa</u> • <i>“Right to protect your culture e.g. the Kaya”</i> <u>FGD Mombasa</u> • <i>“Cultural, I believe it depends on the region.”</i> <u>FGD Mombasa</u>

During the focus group discussions, participants expressed a general knowledge of the Bill of Rights according to the new Constitution in terms of right to life, education, better healthcare etc. In sum, eight out of 26 constitutional rights were mentioned by respondents.

Table 27: Awareness of rights and freedoms of the Constitution

Rights and Freedoms according to the Constitution	Rights and Freedoms as described by FGD participants
Every person has the right to life	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> “Yes, I know of the right to life” <u>FGD Migori</u>
Every person has the right to freedom of conscience, religion, thought, belief and opinion.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> “Freedom of religion” <u>FGD Uasin Gishu</u>
Every person has the right to freedom of expression According to responses from focus group participants, freedom to express oneself is also considered as freedom of speech as well as access to information.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> “Before we did not have freedom of speech and we know information is power. Now we have the freedom of speech so rights are very important and through that we empower one another” <u>FGD Mombasa</u>
Every person has the right, peaceably and unarmed, to assemble, to demonstrate, to picket, and to present petitions to public authorities.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> “Like you have the freedom to assemble which was hard in the old Constitution but now it’s accepted by the new Constitution.” <u>FGD Mombasa</u>
Every person has the right to freedom of association, which includes the right to form, join or participate in the activities of an association of any kind.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> “The right and freedom of association and movement” <u>FGD Migori</u>
Every person has the right to freedom of movement.	
Every person has the right—	
To accessible and adequate housing, and to reasonable standards of sanitation;	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> “Right to shelter” <u>FGD Uasin Gishu</u>
To clean and safe water in adequate quantities;	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> “Also you have the right to clean environment, right to have clean water” <u>FGD Mombasa</u>
To the highest attainable standard of health, which includes the right to health care services, including reproductive health care; To education	
Every accused person has the right to a fair trial, which includes the right—to choose, and be represented by, an advocate, and to be informed of this right promptly;	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> “Right to representation” <u>FGD Uasin Gishu</u>

Respondents also expressed the right for Kenyans to fighting for their rights in the event that they felt they were infringed.

“It has recognized our rights as Kenyans and if your right is violated you have the right to fight for it” .

~FGD Mombasa~

Despite this show of knowledge and understanding, respondents expressed the need for civic education campaigns to create more awareness on citizens' rights and fundamental freedoms.

"Personally I must say that we don't know specifically the provisions of the chapter 4 that is why I said there is need to conduct civic awareness to ensure that people understand the Constitution"

~FGD Migori~

2.6.3 Awareness of initiatives that seek to empower groups of people in the county level

Women and youth programmes have received substantive attention with 32.8% of the public aware of programmes that empower women and women 33.4% on youth. Awareness of programmes that address the needs of persons with disability and marginalized groups has the lowest awareness among the public.

Figure 17: Awareness of programmes and initiatives that empower special interest groups

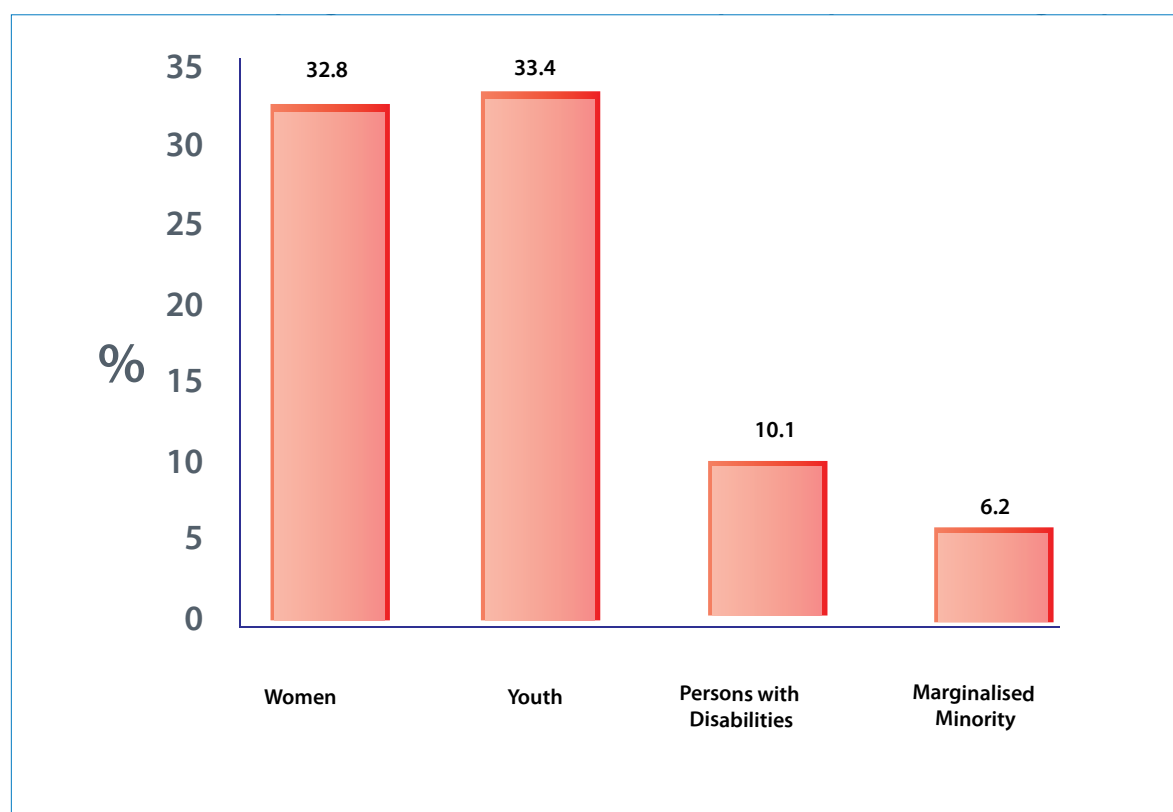
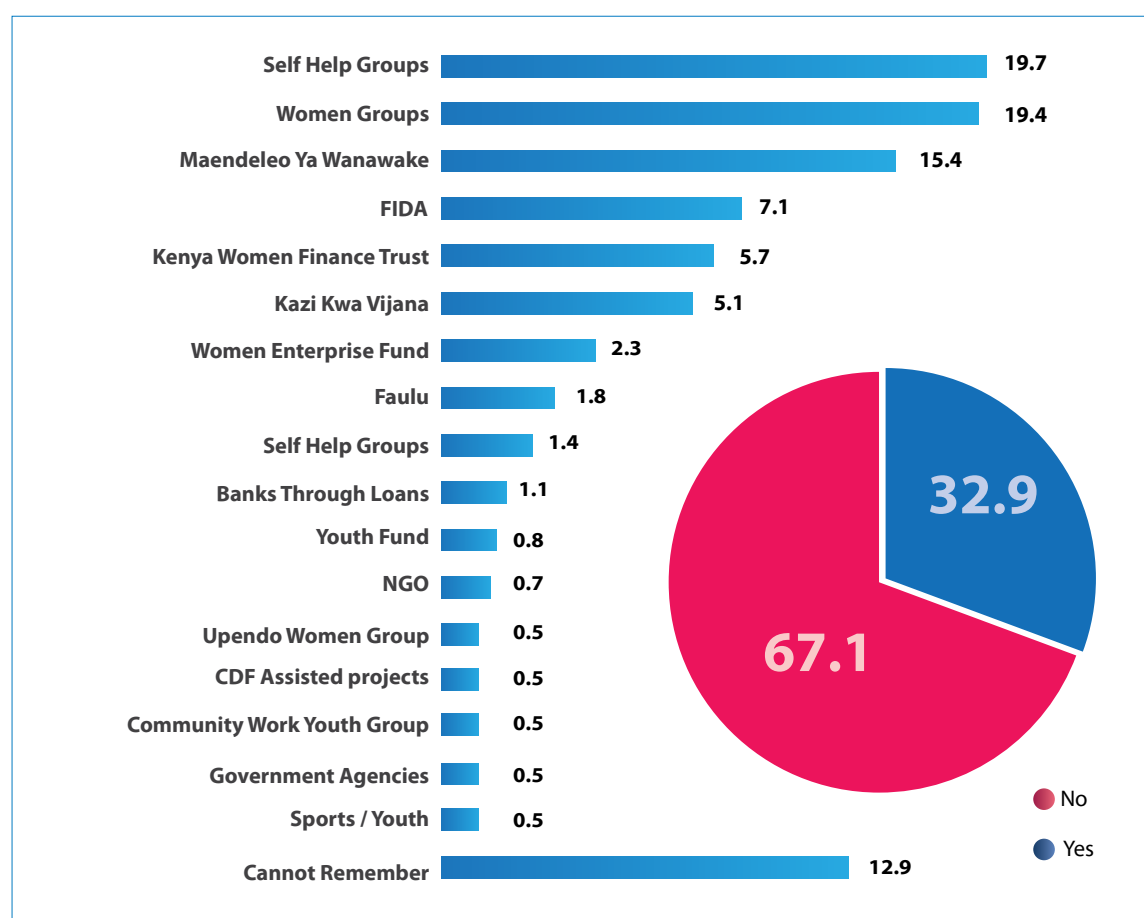


Figure 18: Awareness of initiatives to empower women



Among the respondents about 33.1% are aware of initiatives like *Kazi Kwa Vijana* [19.7%], the Youth Fund [19.8%], sports and youth [8.3%], self help groups [6.3%], USAID initiative [3.2%] and *Yes Youth Can* [3.1%] among others.

Those who are aware of initiatives that seek to empower people with disability are 10.1%. These are mainly aware of self help groups [17.3%], *Niko fiti* campaign [13.2%], *Kazi Kwa Vijana* [6.1%], people with disability social fund [3.7%] and APDK [3.5%] among others.

Others who are aware of initiatives that seek to empower minority communities are 6.2%. Mainly they are aware of self help groups [21.2%], *Kazi Kwa Vijana* [5.1%], *Maendeleo Ya Wanawake* [4.5%], CDF assisted projects [4.2%] and the Ministry of State for the Development of Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands with [3.5%] among others.

2.6.4 Public Participation in ECOSOC & Human Rights Forums

The qualitative interviews indicate that there is minimal citizen participation due to low awareness of their roles and responsibilities. However, participants mentioned the provision of opportunities for citizenry participation, as well as for CSOs, media and the government.

Most responses indicate avenues of participation for individuals and groups through sensitization campaigns.

2.6.5 Participation in Sensitization Campaigns

Organize awareness campaigns that sensitize Kenyan Citizens on their roles and responsibilities with regard to ECOSOC and Human Rights Forums.

"The citizens must be made aware that they have extra responsibilities in overseeing the devolution process..."

~Garissa Participant~

Citizenry participation in sensitization exercises on Cultural and Social rights dealing with cultural practices, the family and the community.

"...in sensitizing the community members on peace building, harmful cultural practices e.g. FGM"

"Getting involved in awareness that leads to stop the cultural practices like FGM campaigns"

~ Uasin Gishu Participants ~

Spearheading of the sensitization programmes by the government, media, CSOs and Citizens

Table 28: Participation in ECOSOC activities

By the government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> "...the government should demystify the clause of state secrets as information should be shared by the public and structures created to ventilate." <u>Migori respondent</u>
By media	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> "Media is equally doing well as the FM stations and the print media are informative..." <u>Mombasa Respondent</u>
By civil society organizations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> "Civil Society should do its part like in the budget interrogation and on changes that affect them and be involved directly." <u>Mombasa Respondent</u>
By citizens	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> "The citizens should find means of realizing this and as such should not remain only as an aspiration." <u>Migori Respondent</u>

Table 29: Proactive day-to-day participation

Through working to build the economy of Kenya

- "...as a citizen if I participate in economic development, I can say I have participated in building the economic right and the economy of the country." Mombasa Participant
- "Like the Rift Valley people participate in athletics and this brings revenue to the country." Mombasa Participant
- "...there was a minister who came with his team to talk about the economic issues they were talking about family engaging in development issues" Mombasa Participant

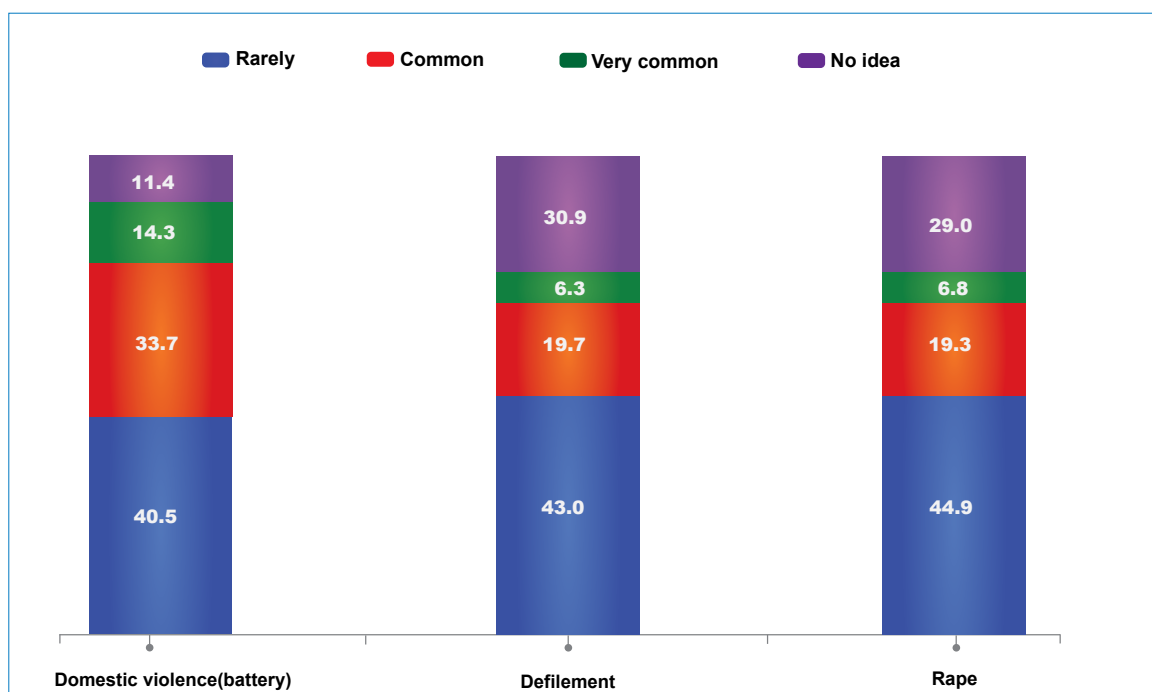
Through marriage and raising up of a family

- "For me on social I can start a family and have family planning. I think in that way I will have participated in my social bit"
- "...the C-WARD campaign... They went around the community training women and showing them how to do family planning. So I think I contribute in terms of social rights." Mombasa Participant

2.6.6 Violence against Women

The survey indicates that among the three most common forms of violence against women that occur, domestic violence is the most common at 48%, while rape and defilement were rated at 26 % each.

Figure 19: Frequency of violence against women



2.6.7 Causes of violence against women (VAW)

Alcohol/substance related abuses and economic hardships were cited as the major causes of violence against women. The quantitative (household survey) reveals that drugs or alcohol abuse were perceived as the major cause of VAW by 18.4% of the respondents, poverty or unemployment by 18.2%, infidelity by 16.1%, disagreements by 8.1%, tradition or culture by 7.9%, irresponsible behaviour by 6.5% of the respondents, amongst others.

Table 30: Causes of violence against women

	%
Drugs / alcoholism	18.40%
Poverty / unemployment / jobless men/economic hardships	18.20%
Lack of Trust / insecurity	16.10%
Disagreement / communication skills	8.10%
Dishonesty / unfaithfulness / cheating	6.50%
Illiteracy / ignorance lack of awareness on rights	6.50%
Negligence / irresponsible behaviors	5.20%
Disrespect / arrogance / rudeness / women abusing men's friends	5.20%
Tradition / religion / culture	7.90%
Male chauvinism / women seen as inferior	5.90%
Dressing code	1.90%
Denial of conjugal rights / not fulfilled sexual needs	0.90%
Total	100

The major causes of gender violence according to findings from the qualitative interviews are as a result of economic, social and cultural issues. Respondents noted that the use of drug substances, like alcohol and bhang elevated incidences of gender violence. In addition, the dynamics of changing roles in the community have contributed significantly to incidences of VAW in areas where men still uphold patriarchal views. Other causes of gender violence mentioned are legal, whereby women are not aware of their rights and how to fight for them. Economic issues like financial constraints and unemployment were mentioned as reasons for gender violence. Lastly, political issues related to elections of leaders were mentioned too as a cause of gender violence. A summary of these causal agents is shown in the Table 32:

Table 31: Further explanation on causes of violence against women

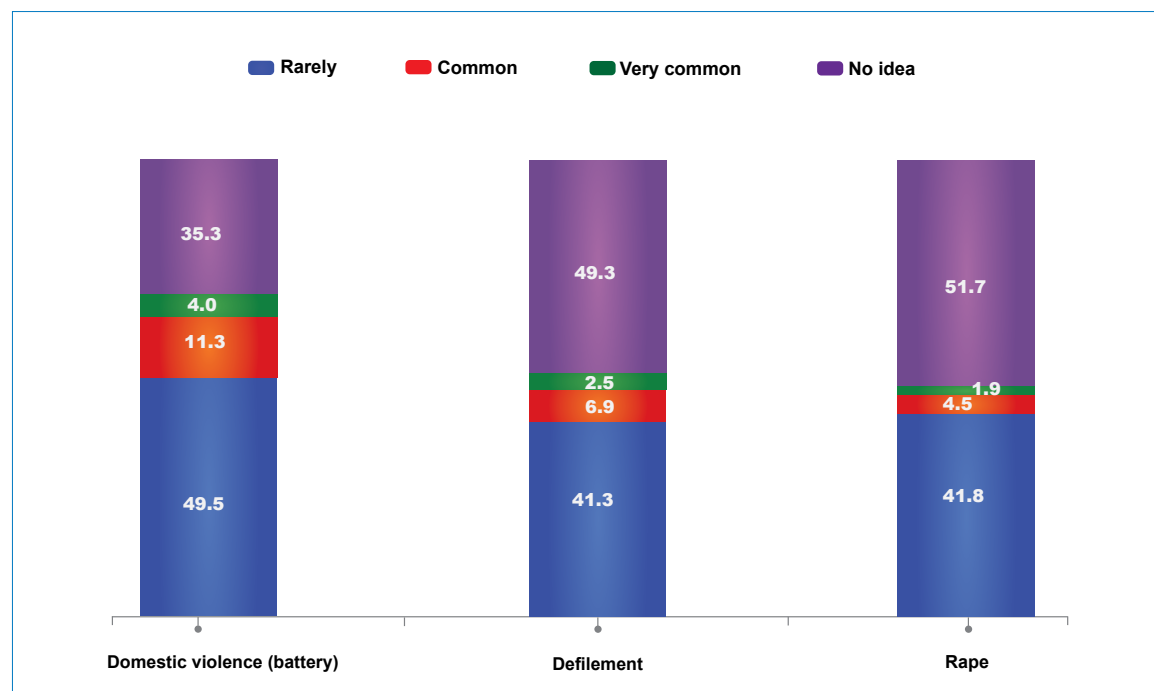
Specific Causes of Gender-based violence in Kenya (Specifically to women)	
Cultural and Social	<p><u>Social</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Drug abuse especially among men - Alcohol and Bhang • Infidelity among spouses and couples – ‘mpango wa kando’ • Irresponsible • Lack of communication <p><u>Cultural</u></p> <p>Customs of marriage</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Men do not want to register their marriages and some women feel that they can’t stay without being registered” <u>Kisumu Participant</u> <p>Belief in the inherent superiority of males</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Women here suffer from inferiority complex, they feel that their men are above them and men take this advantage” <u>Migori Participant</u> • “Most people believe that the woman should be under the man” • “On my side, I think it is because the women are the weaker sex.” <u>Mombasa Participant</u> <p>Values that give men proprietary rights over women and girls</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “I think it is because of the culture, religion and community perception of where the woman belongs” <u>Mombasa Participant</u> <p>Misunderstanding of roles within relationships</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Lack of the spouses to understand their roles in marriage” <u>Uasin Gishu Participant</u> • “Conflicts due to different interests and views in marriage” <u>Uasin Gishu Participant</u> • “Lack of submissiveness of the women to their husbands” <u>Uasin Gishu Participant</u> • “Lack of respect between husband and wife” <p>Cultural Practices and Beliefs</p> <p>Outdated practices such as Female Genital Mutilation</p> <p>Dress code i.e. Improper dressing by women.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “This bad dressing code causes rapes of women and also child defilement....another thing is the electronic media and social networks like face book here and a child watches something on TV she goes and tries to imitate e.g. like dressing” <u>Mombasa FGD Respondent</u> • Peer influence

Legal	<p>Low levels of legal literacy among women</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “... It’s because the woman doesn’t know her rights or where to report when her rights are violated.” • “Ignorance of women to take caution against something that will lead to violence.” • “Illiteracy, or have not gone to school and they don’t know their rights or can’t defend themselves” <p>FGD Respondents Bungoma</p>
Economical	<p>Idleness is associated with the lack of employment and hence poverty</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Idleness of the people, like the young people and as you know the idle mind is the devils workshop” • I think domestic violence occurs because of two things, one the poverty level and two, ignorance or illiterate. <p>FGD Kirinyaga</p> <p>Limited access to employment in formal and informal sectors</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Unemployment also causes fights between men and their wives” <u>FGD Kirinyaga</u> <p>Limited access to cash and credit</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Idleness on the part of some husbands leaving women to provide for their families” • “Financial constraints in the house” <p>Poverty</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “When a woman questions the husband where food for the family is and why is it there is no money. This annoys the husband and it might result in the wife being beaten.” <u>FGD respondent Uasin Gishu</u> <p>Limited access to education and training for women</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Long distance to schools, they walk longer distances so in the way they can be attacked” <u>FGD respondent Uasin Gishu</u>
Political	<p>Limited participation of women in organized political system</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Sometimes in political campaigns, women are subject to violence due to bad political tricks by men counterpart who fear competition” • Weak systems that do not deal decisively with perpetrators of these cases of VAW <u>FGD Respondent Garissa</u>

2.6.8 Violence against men

Violence against men is not very common compared to violence against women according to this survey. The survey unveils that among that only about 4% of respondents reported domestic violence to be the most common form of violence against men. Over 80% of respondent either had no idea or thought men were rarely subjected to violence.

Figure 20: Violence against men



Respondents of Focus Groups confirmed the existence of violence against men. However, they mentioned that it was less frequent than in the cases of women, with some discussants considering it an emerging trend.

"Of late there have been cases of men battering especially caused by alcoholism and drug abuse. The alcohol and substance abuse weakens men making them vulnerable to abuse by women"

~Bungoma FGD~

During the discussions participants explored the types of violence encountered by men including,

- Domestic Battery - *"...like there was a day a man went to chief's camp, he wanted the chief to help him remove his wife from his home because she is abusive"*

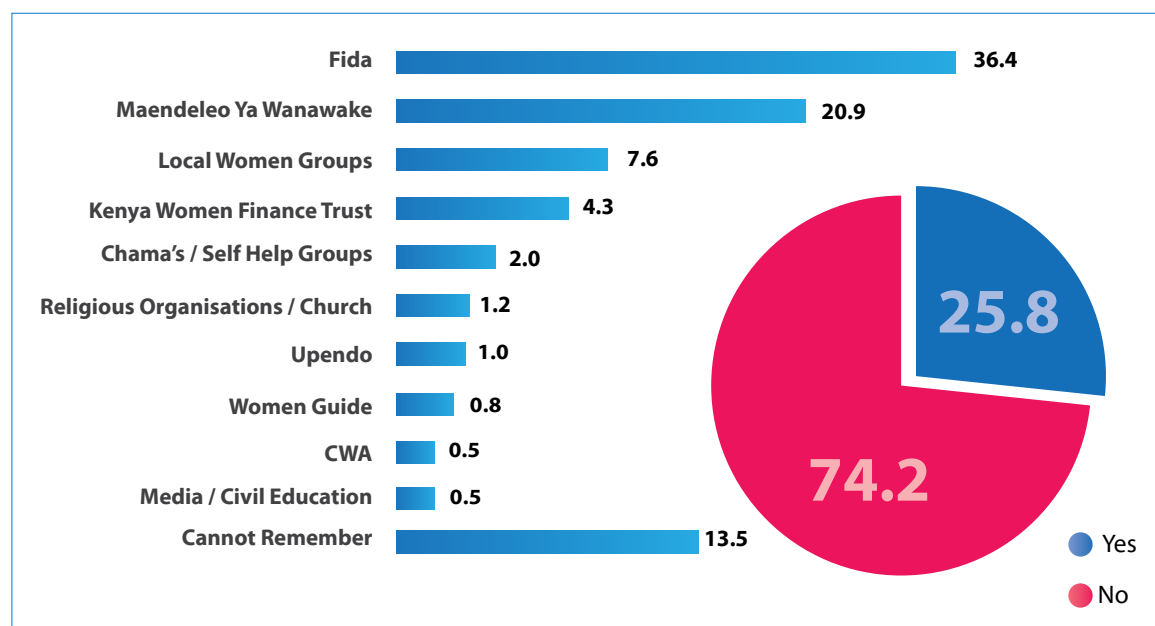
~ Kisumu FGD.~

- Drug spike – *“...in the sense of being spiked with drugs in alcohol in bars by the women”*
~Mombasa FGD.~
- Infidelity – *“Even when your wife sleeps with another man while you are at work. This happens a lot here in Mombasa”*
~Mombasa FGD.~
- Discrimination – *“Every Somali guy is a suspect terrorist so I think that is violence against them”*
~Mombasa FGD.~

2.6.9 Public campaigns awareness on ending violence against women

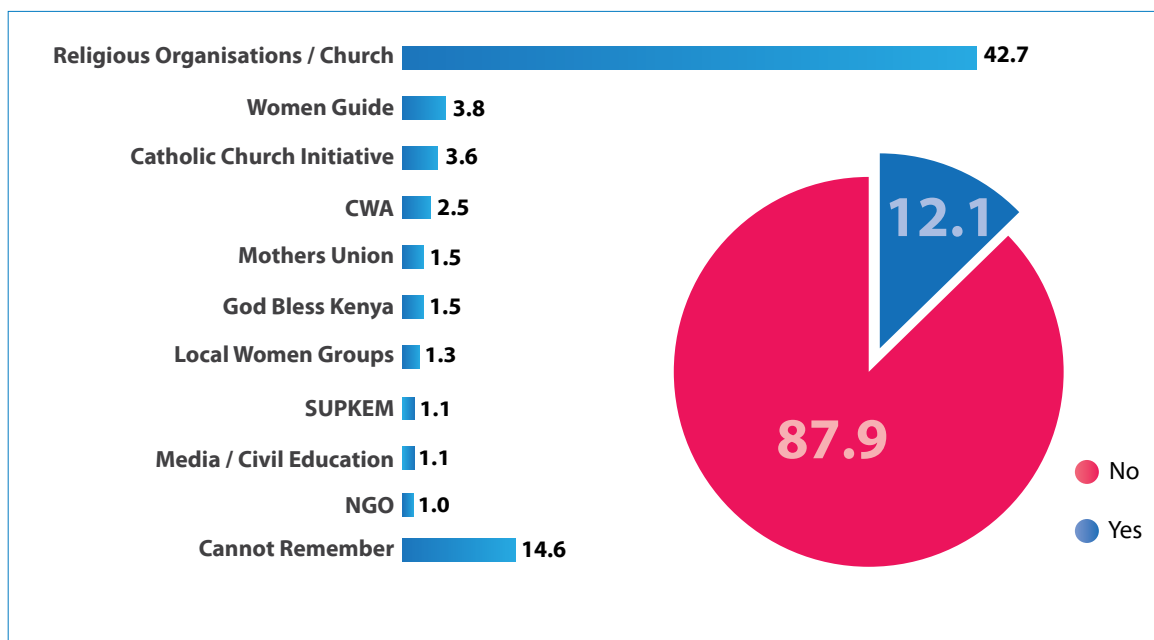
The numbers of Kenyans who are aware of women’s group campaigns that are out to end violence against women are 25.8%. This shows that three quarters of Kenya is not aware of women’s group campaigns to end violence against women. Generally FIDA is the most known group with 36.4% followed by Maendeleo ya Wanawake with 20.9% amongst others.

Figure 21: Awareness of women groups working to end VAW



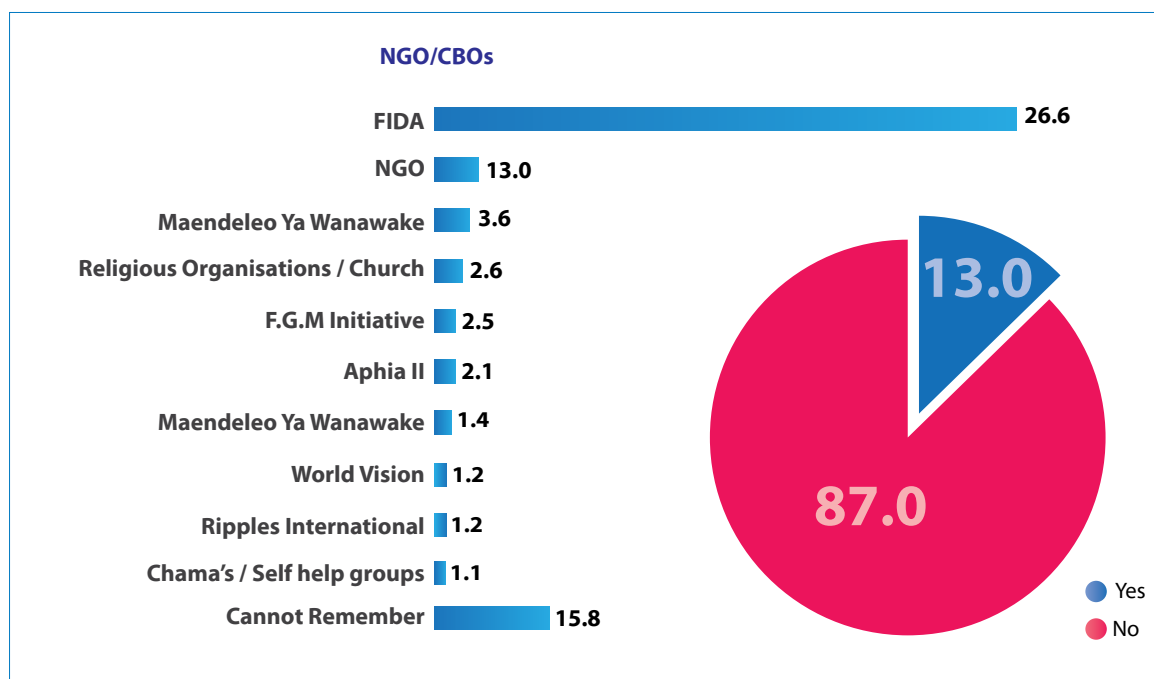
Kenyans aware of religious groups that campaign to end violence against women are 12.1%. About 42.7% of respondents were aware of religious organizations campaigning against VAW.

Figure 22: Awareness of religious groups and FBOs working to end VAW



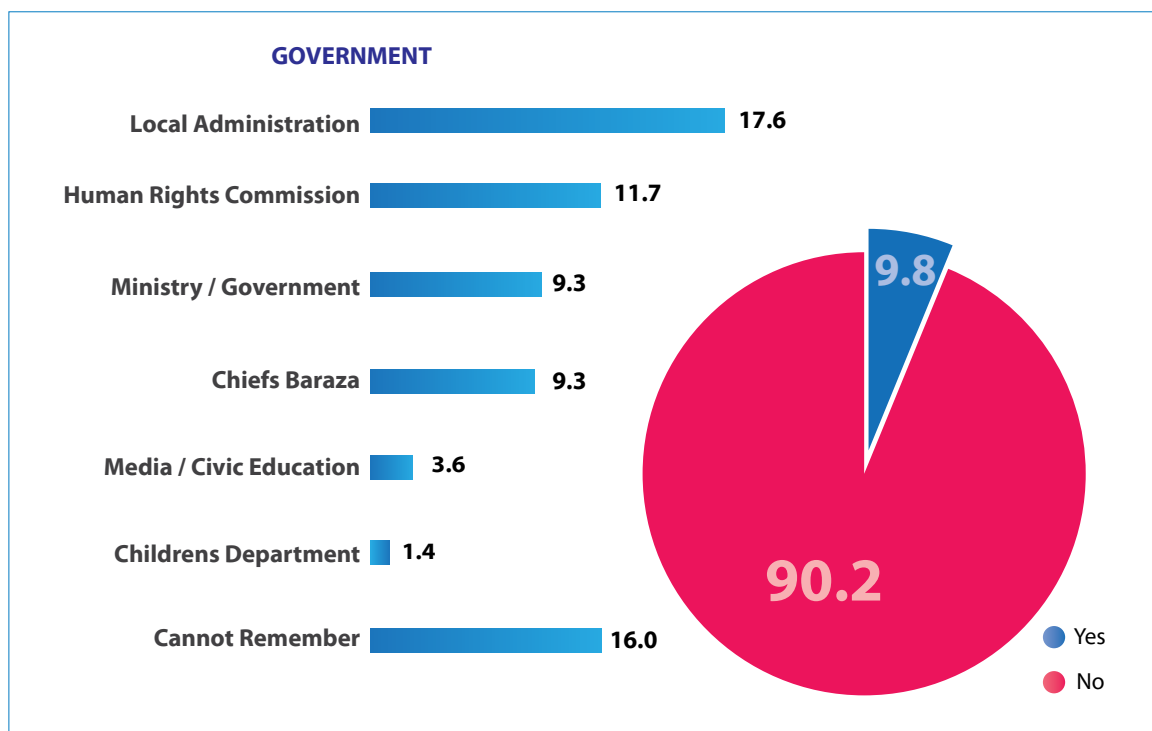
Thirteen per cent of Kenyans were aware of NGO campaigns that work to end violence against women. Generally they cited FIDA at 26.6%, as the major NGO that contributes towards ending violence against women.

Figure 23: Awareness of public campaigns working to end VAW



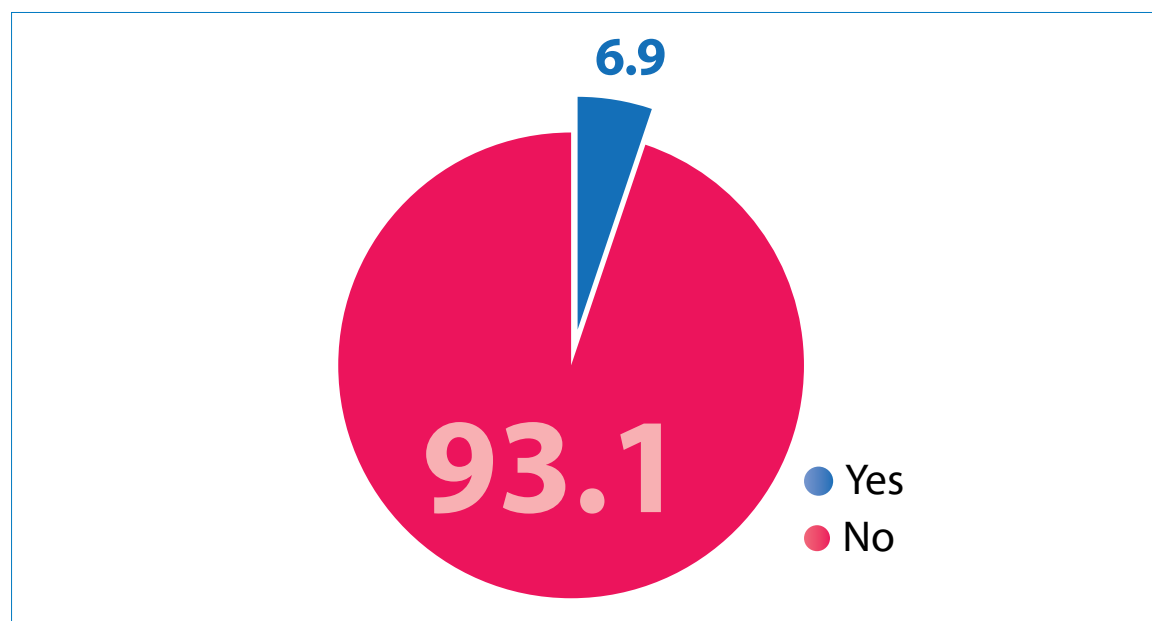
Awareness about government campaigns amongst Kenyans is quite low, with only 9.8% of respondents reporting they are aware of such campaigns. The local administration is the one ranked as taking the lead on the part of government (17.6%). This is followed by the Kenya National Human Rights Commission at 11.7%.

Figure 24: Awareness of Government institutions against VAW



Overall about 93% of Kenyans are aware of public campaigns to end VAW

Figure 25: General awareness of public campaigns to end VAW



Qualitative interviews reveal that there are a number of organisations that conduct campaigns to reduce gender violence. Some of the common names mentioned during the discussions are appended in the report.

The campaigns focused on addressing the root causes of VAW like alcohol and substance abuse as well as empowering women to know their rights or sensitizing the general population on the adverse effects of gender violence.

Most of the campaigns mentioned are run by, among others, hospitals such as the Nairobi Women's Hospital, Kenyatta National Hospital, CBOs, FBOs, Churches and individuals, and government departments such as the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Development.

2.6.10 Conclusion on Awareness of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

The survey reveals that the public discussion on ECOSOC rights is very narrow. It is rarely discussed in the context of the Constitution. Only 21.8% of the public was aware of ECOSOC rights. The survey reveals a lack of urgency among the population to demand for their rights in cases where they are breached.

Recommendation: There is need to put in place strategies that will educate the public on their rights. A county focussed approach using the wards as the lowest units of dissemination and mobilisation using a broad based mass approach strategy would help in the capacity building.

The survey reveals hopelessness among the Kenyan population, where people feel there is not much one can do and reporting cases of abuse would get one into much more trouble. The study reveals that the judicial system has less than 20% approval ratings for friendliness of court procedures. Only 16.2% consider the judiciary to be trustworthy while a further 14.7% believe the police force respects individual rights. It is therefore necessary for the State to put in place deliberate programmes that will assure the public of its commitment to safeguarding rights as stipulated in the Constitution. With the ongoing reforms in the judicial system there is need to create campaigns in tandem with each milestone achieved in the judicial reforms. State and non-state actors can use this opportunity to build their capacity to create campaigns that will educate the public on their rights, put in place feedback systems to address complaints, and a deliberate strategy to ensure public participation.

According to the survey, close to half of Kenyan women are subjected to violence, with the highest form of violence against women being domestic violence at 45%, defilement at 26% and rape at 26.1%. Focus group discussions indicate that cases of domestic violence are not addressed with the seriousness that they deserve. Economic hardships and drunkenness /drug abuse constitute 36.6% of the causes of VAW. Other causes of VAW were associated with attitude and communication dysfunctions. The Constitution prohibits all forms of discrimination against women including violence against them, yet it is evident that violence against women is persistent. It is therefore necessary for state and non-state actors to step up campaigns to sensitise the public on all forms of violence against women and the requisite penalties; it is important that the state machinery support these campaigns by ensuring that the perpetrators' of violence against women are punished.

The survey reveals the presence of state and non-state actors who advocate for the rights of the public. 32.8% of the public were aware of organisations that championed the rights of women and those of the youth at 34.4%. Considering that substantial awareness of rights organizations exist, stakeholders can capitalize on this to design programmes that will educate the public on the need to demand for their rights whenever infringed.

2.7 Enhanced inclusion of previously under-served or marginalized groups and communities

The Constitution of Kenya, 2010, indicates that minorities and marginalized groups are entitled to enjoy all the rights and fundamental freedoms set out in the Bill of Rights, on the basis of equality, taking into account their identity, way of life, special circumstances and needs. It is understood that the State shall take legislative and other measures to put in place affirmative action programmes designed to benefit minorities and marginalized groups. The measures include representation in government, special opportunities in education, gainful employment, development of their economies, support to develop their cultural values, languages and preserving their practices, provision of basic utilities such as water, health services and transport infrastructure and ensuring that they live a life that is free from discrimination, exploitation or abuse. With this in context, the survey sought to establish the public's perception of the marginalized groups, youth and women in the Kenyan Constitution.

2.7.1 Who are the marginalized and minorities?

When asked to describe the marginalized and minorities in the society, the respondents provided several descriptions. Generally the descriptions centred primarily on one thing, such groups have smaller numbers than the other major groups within which they interact and face discrimination in terms of religious, ethnic, linguistic or indigenous disposition.

The level of religious marginalization is not considered significant in the country. In terms of religious minorities, the respondents mentioned Muslims (0.2%) and Hindus (0.01%) respectively. In terms of marginalized ethnic communities, the public mentioned communities from the North Eastern and the Rift Valley parts of Kenya such as the Pokot, Ogiek, Rendille, Turkana, Somalis, Samburu, Tugen, and Dorobo. In terms of linguistic minorities the public mentioned the Suba. Marginalized social groups discussed were, women, youth, widows and orphans, the elderly, the physically challenged and the illiterate. The table below shows the various responses obtained from respondents on the same:

2.7.2 Public understanding of marginalized and minority groups in Kenya

Table 32: Which groups / communities would you consider marginalized

	F	%
Turkana	1,223	20.7
Disabled persons (PWD'S)	497	8.4
Youth	441	7.5
Maasai	340	5.7
Pokot	309	5.2
Women/Girl Child education	305	5.2
Samburu	300	5.1
North Eastern & Arid areas	275	4.6
Ogiek	244	4.1
Small communities / tribes/minorities	222	3.8
Somalia	208	3.5

IDP'S	181	3.1
Pastoralists / nomads	153	2.6
Old & Elderly	103	1.7
Ndorobo	102	1.7
Mijikenda / Coast	100	1.7
Borana	97	1.6
Kamba	81	1.4
Rendile	54	0.9
Tesos	48	0.8
Njemps	48	0.8
Kuria	42	0.7
Widow / widower & orphans	40	0.7
Nyanza people	39	0.7
Kalenjins	37	0.6
Men/boy child	32	0.5
Kikuyu	30	0.5
Less privileged / poor / street families	29	0.5
People with HIV / AIDs	27	0.5
Oromo	19	0.4
Tharaka	18	0.3
Pokomo	18	0.3
Marakwet	16	0.3
Children	15	0.3
Digo	15	0.3
El Molo Group	14	0.2
Kisii	13	0.2
People of Eastern	12	0.2
Luhya	12	0.2
Muslims	12	0.2
Sabaot	12	0.2
Tugen	11	0.2
Galla	11	0.2
Taita	10	0.2
Giriama	10	0.2
Others	90	1.5
Total	5,914	100.00

The qualitative discussions further revealed that much still needed to be done with regard to people living with disabilities. The government was said to be neglecting these group of people in terms of provision of the necessary facilities and institutions.

“The disabled people because they are still using the same facilities like us. Like in terms of transport they really get a hard time because they use the same transportation as us”

~Mombasa FGD~.

There are four special schools in Kisumu most of them are supported by catholic and no government.... For the disabled, their interests are not being taken care of. For example the number of institutions and schools designated for the disabled are also limited and expensive”

~Kisumu FGD.~

With regards to the youth, the major issue that was raised in the qualitative discussions was that they were never given opportunities to use their skills and that the procedure to follow in order to obtain anything from the government has always been too bureaucratic. Moreover, leadership opportunities were described as being limited for the youth who felt that they deserved more as they are the majority of the country’s population

“...we make up 70% of the population but we are not well represented in parliament even the seats that have been kept aside for the youth are small in number than that of women’, considering the youth are many in Kenya”

~ Mombasa FGD. `

“The youth have been left behind in so many things concerning the development of the country and their issues are not being looked at by the government”

~Migori FGD.~

2.7.3 Place of marginalized communities in Kenya

Although there exists prejudice and bias towards marginalized or disadvantaged groups more than half (59.2%) of Kenyans show tolerance towards ethnic minority groups indicating they would support efforts to protect the cultures and traditions of ethnic minorities.

Kenyans are also flexible on the issue of children of minorities with 46.6% agreeable to the fact that minority children born of non locals should be accepted as part of the majority ethnic communities residing in their localities. This is illustrated in the table below:

Table 33: Levels of agreement concerning marginalized groups

	Totally Agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat Disagree	Totally disagree	Don't know	Total
Ethnic minorities should be given government protection to preserve their cultures and traditions	59.2	24.5	4.9	5.8	5.6	100
It is better for the minority groups to blend into the culture of the bigger ethnic groups where they live	28.4	25.9	16.5	22.9	6.4	100
Minority children born of non locals should be accepted as part of the majority ethnic community in that area	46.6	25.3	9.7	11.7	6.7	100

2.7.4 Measures to address Challenges facing Marginalized and Minority groups

According to the focus group discussions, several stakeholders were identified as those who deal with these marginalized groups and who have assisted in uplifting the standards of living of these groups. Most of these groups are non-state actors either working independently or in collaboration with the government. The government has allocated funds to boost the youth and women's welfare a deliberate attempt to build the economic capacities of these groups.

"The government is trying its level best to address this issue, the youths have been allocated funds, the disabled are also taken care of in the Constitution"

~Bungoma FGD~

Government was rated relatively highly in solving problems of the various marginalized groups identified, that is, such as women (43.8%) and the youth (35.1%).

Table 34: Rating of government efforts at resolving the problems facing marginalized groups

	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor	Very Poor	Total
Youth	6.9	28.2	39.2	15.7	10.0	100
Women	10.3	33.5	36.9	12.4	6.9	100
Persons with Disabilities	5.2	24.5	37.8	20.6	11.9	100
Marginalized/Minority communities	3.9	20.0	33.7	25.1	17.2	100

Several groups were mentioned at the county level that are either involved in advocacy, especially championing the rights of the marginalized in education, economic empowerment and self-reliability through employment and through representation in governance. Most of the youth based organizations have developed programmes that fund education, economic programmes and build capacity of the youth to encourage social and economic inclusion at regional level.

“...I think that based on Mombasa County or people, Bombolulu’s playing a major part or role in helping the disabled. There is a work shop at Bombolulu that employs disabled persons and they make furniture for sale”

~Mombasa FGD.~

2.7.5 Conclusion

The public recognizes the existence of marginalized and minority groups in Kenya. The public describes these two groups in terms of discrimination either at the national level or within the communities within which they live. The respondents referred to marginalized groups as women, the youth, children, ethnic communities that lack representation, and critically lack infrastructure such as roads. Communities in the North Eastern part of the country were continually referred to as marginalized in terms of economic development.

The public recognizes that there has been discrimination in terms of representation, resource allocation, infrastructure development, education, basic utilities such as water and electricity, and lack of means for gainful employment among these groups.

The public had mixed reactions towards the government’s response in addressing the plight of the marginalized and minority groups. On a five point scale where 1 is excellent and 5 poor, the government scores a mean of, 2.72 in addressing the plight of the women, youth (2.94), Persons with disability (3.1) and 3.2 in addressing the plight of marginalized ethnic communities and minorities. It is therefore imperative for state and non-state actors to put in place deliberate programmes and affirmative action to reduce discrimination of such groups. This could be done through affirmative action in education, development of infrastructure such as roads, and representation in government at county and national levels. The IEBC requires to work with political parties to ensure that party manifestoes clearly indicate the place of marginalized and minority communities in their agenda. Within the devolved county structures, there is need for well structured systems that will build the capacities of the marginalized and minority groups to enable them fit in the planning, implementation, management and monitoring of development projects in their counties.

2.8 Increased leadership accountability

Chapter Six of the new Constitution provides an effective mechanism through which leadership in Kenya can be realised. It provides the code of leadership and values expected of the elected. The centrality of this chapter on leadership is that state office holders must be persons of integrity and willing to be held accountable by those who have entrusted them with these public offices. The Leadership and Integrity Bill, 2012, if passed, will facilitate the establishment of mechanisms and structures through which ethics, integrity and servant leadership among government officials will be inculcated. The proposed bill will put in place checks and balances for the Executive, the Parliament and any other public office.

The aim of this key result area was to provide a status report of leadership in Kenya and assess the public's understanding of the provisions of Chapter Six in the new Constitution and the Vision 2030's contribution in light of leadership and accountability.

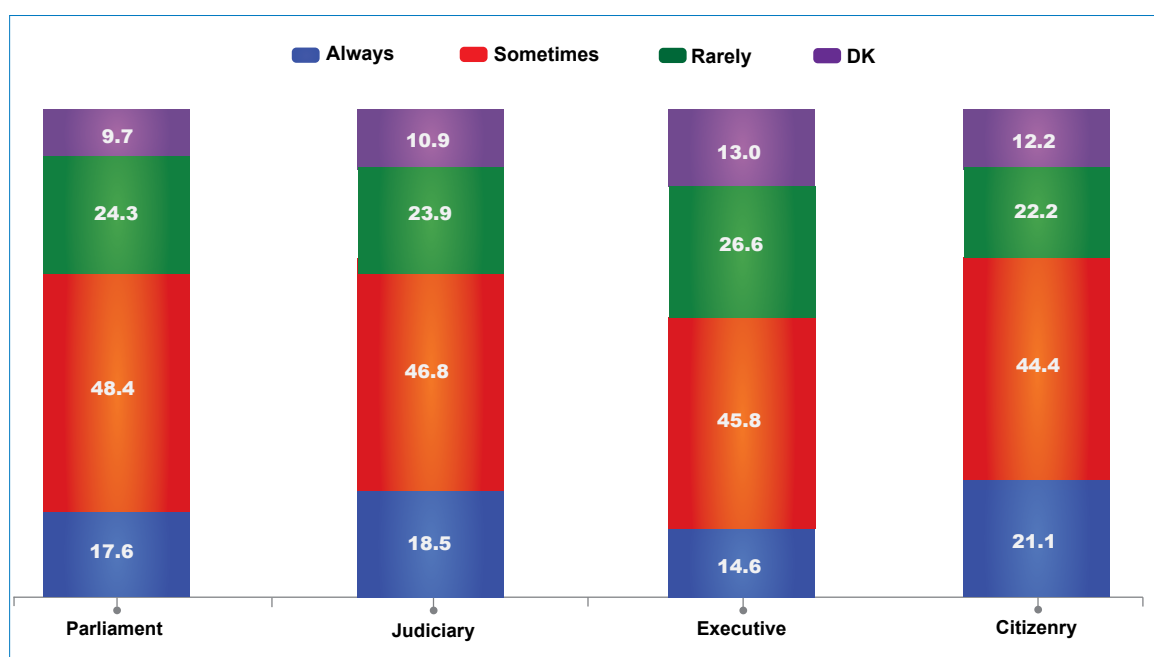
2.8.1 Public perception on respect for the law

On average about 20% of Kenyans are committed to upholding the law. Assessment of public perception is that the government, as well as the citizenry, have not fully committed to upholding the laws of the country. Only 17.6% of the public opine that the parliament upholds the law, the Judiciary (18.5%), the Executive (14.6%) and lastly the public rates itself poorly at (21%). The poor approval ratings of public institutions in upholding the law provides the toughest challenge for the implementing the new Constitution. The qualitative interviews reveal public apprehension about the eligibility of the current leadership to promote the interests of the citizenry. The public cannot understand how the leadership from the old order will be made to uphold the law. The public contends that the leadership continues to perpetuate impunity even after the promulgation of the new Constitution. They find it difficult to believe that the implementation of Chapter Four on the Bill of Rights will be achieved, as is illustrated by this respondent.

" They say there is a new Constitution but everyone is still corrupt, people are paying bribes everywhere, we should be able to feel the impact of the new Constitution if it is being implemented"

~Participant Trans Nzoia~

Figure 26: Public's perception of level of commitment by institutions to uphold the law



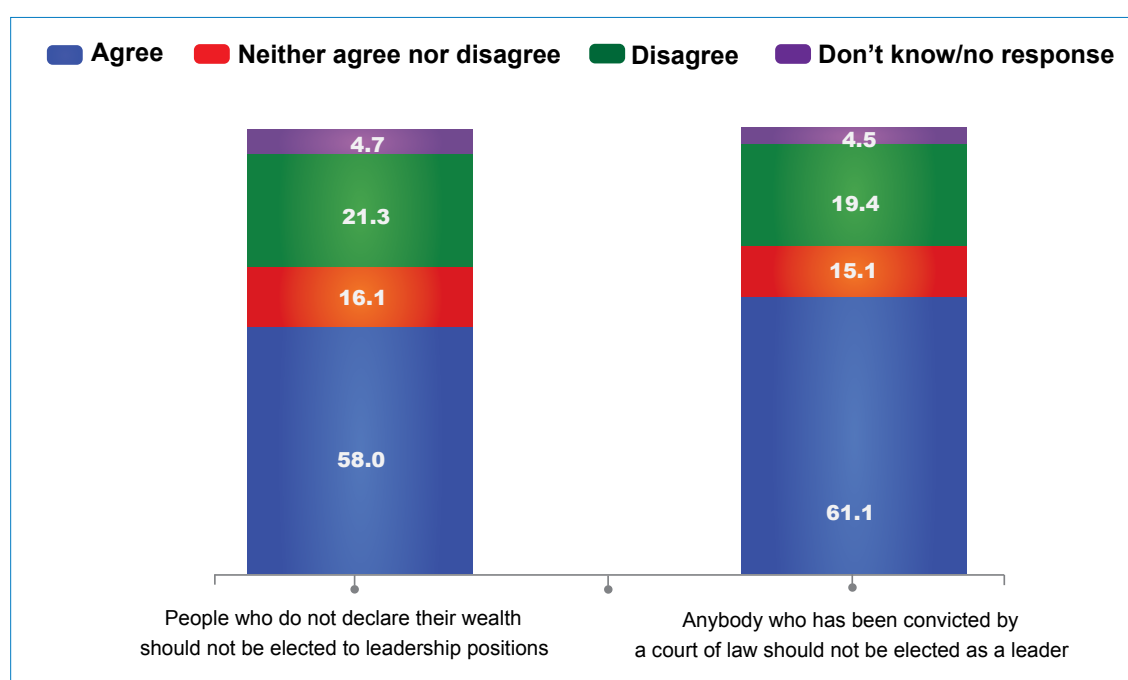
Respondents of qualitative interviews recognise the importance of upholding the law by the different arms of government and the citizenry alike.

2.8.1.1 The role of Parliament in upholding the law

One of the provisions of the new Constitution is the need for every public officer to declare his/her wealth and the right of public to access this information. The study sought to establish public perception on these leadership provisions.

The survey found 58% of Kenyans insist there is the need for public officers to declare their wealth upon assuming public offices. Again, 61.1% are convinced that anybody who is convicted by a court of law should not be elected as a public officer.

Figure 27: Public perceptions on leadership provisions



Qualitative interviews reveal that Kenyans are not convinced that their leaders have been active in doing so and therefore fall short with regards to upholding the law.

The above being just one among many instances, respondents expressed that the Parliament does not follow the rule of law, instead using its status to bend it in its favour. According to in-depth interviews, Members of Parliament are known to resort to impunity, bribery and corruption when they want to meet their needs. Some of the areas in which parliamentarians have failed in upholding the law include:

- Propagation of self interest in issues such as increasing their salaries and postponing elections
- Settling of scores through bribery for the purpose of passing certain motions

"No, parliament ignores the rule of law. During the post election issue, the MPs refused to create a local tribunal and opted for Hague because some were supporting the Hague and others local tribunal..."

~ Kisumu Participant. ~

- Protecting their turf that is, when they selectively respect the law....” They only do it when they want to be favoured for example the ICC cases” Mombasa Participant.
- Circumventing the law through their political influence and power.

2.8.1.2 The Judiciary in upholding the law

With regard to the Judiciary respondents expressed the view that for a long time it selectively applied the law. The Judiciary capitalized on its political clout and public ignorance to disregard the law. Kenyans are divided on the effect of the reforms; the optimists foresee a future where the Judiciary has effective checks and balances while pessimists have adopted a wait and see attitude. *“The Judiciary is still the same old one working today, but time will tell whether the reforms will yield the desired effects...”* one participant concluded.

- **“The judiciary respects the rule of law. The new Constitution has boosted our trust in the judiciary...”**
~Bungoma Participant~
- **“Its 50-50 because my friend’s child was raped and the person who raped her was arrested but after one week he was released. There I can say the law was not followed”**
- ~Kisumu Participant~

2.8.1.3 The Executive in upholding the law

According to the in-depth interviews, the Executive faces challenges as a coalition government with internal differences and lack of accountability. It is, therefore, no surprise that citizens interviewed in focus groups expressed the opinion that the Executive is thought not to follow the rule of law with many mentioning of bending the law in its favour.

In-depth Interviews

- **“I would say that there lacks accountability on the part of the Executive as national interest is not put first.”**
~Steering Committee on Peace building & conflict management.~
- **“when one side is caught on the wrong that part of the coalition comes out strongly to defend its member as was the case with the free primary education scandal and now the NHIF, there was also the Central Bank.”**
~National Council of NGOs.~

Focus Group Discussion

- “Even the Executive doesn’t follow the law and also there are some key bills that are supposed to be passed for implementation of the Constitution but there has been delays and it has taken too long”

~Mombasa Participant.~

- “They don’t adhere to the rule of law and there is too much favoritism to those related to them”

~ Uasin Gichu Participant..~

- “The President does not adhere to the rule of law, sometimes he favors his side too much”

~Kisumu Participant.~

2.8.1.4 The Citizenry in upholding the law

Based on the survey findings, a majority of Kenyans are not involved in corrupt deals in order to obtain public services. The greatest occurrence of corruption was experienced with regard to dealing with the police forces and administrative officers with 39.1% having either experienced it once (13%), twice (5.3%), a few times (7.6%) or often (13.1%).

Table 35: In the past year, have you had to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favor to government officials in order to

	No experience within the past year / never	Once	Twice	A few times	Often	Total
Get a Passport / ID	68.6	12.7	2.3	3.7	6.0	100
Get treatment at a local health clinic or hospital	68.1	10.8	3.6	4.6	7.4	100
Avoid a problem with the police / chief	55.8	13.0	5.3	7.6	13.1	100
Get a admission in school	70.5	9.5	3.4	3.9	6.4	100
Get a job in public service	69.0	8.2	2.6	5.1	9.2	100
Get relevant license to start a business	70.7	8.3	2.8	4.4	7.4	100

Discussions from the focus group discussions paint the Kenyan citizenry as law abiding but forced by circumstances to occasionally break the law. Social class is deemed as an important factor in deciding whether to follow the law; the rich are perceived to be in a position to ‘buy’ justice, while the poor will meet the full force of the law if caught doing wrong.

- “A large percent of the poor adhere to it ...others don’t. Let’s say 25% don’t follow the law but most Kenyans try so hard. Some citizens don’t adhere to it due to lack of knowledge of their rights and law”

~ Mombasa Participant~

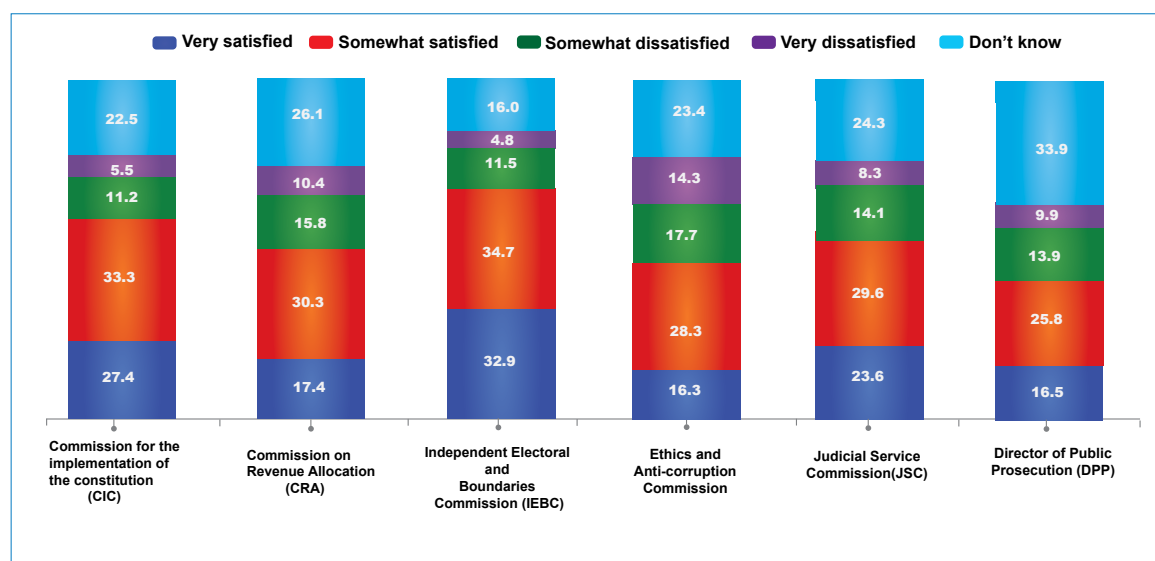
- “...but it all depends with the influence you have in the society and the money as well. The rich citizens do not adhere to it because they have enough money to protect themselves”

~Bungoma Participant~

2.8.2 Public opinion on the vetting of candidates for leadership positions

Kenyans are largely unaware about most of the new offices meant to check the ethics and integrity of leadership in this country. Satisfaction with the commissions was rated as follows; 60.7% were satisfied with the vetting of the Commission for the Implementation of the Constitution (CIC), Commission on Revenue Allocation (CRA) 47.7%, Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) 67.6%, Ethics and Anti-corruption Commission (EAC) 44.6%, Judicial Service Commission (JSC) 53.2%, and 42.3% registered satisfaction with the vetting of the Director of Public Prosecution (DPP).

Figure 28: Satisfaction with the public vetting of office bearers in the new office



2.8.3 Public perception of a good leader

The Kenyan population is desirous of a leadership that is exemplary in integrity as stated by (77%) of Kenyans.

Table 36: Properties of a good leader

Preferred characteristics	Frequency	%
Transparency / honesty / not corrupt / trust worthy	3,618	77.2%
Education background	933	19.9%
Hardworking / committed	565	12.0%
God fearing	548	11.7%
Interaction with people / social / loving / availability	421	9.0%
Visionary / dream oriented / policy oriented / reformist	388	8.5%
Past and present achievements / merit	384	8.2%
Humble / polite / kind / humility	365	7.8%
Good leadership qualities	351	7.5%
Accountability / financial stability	323	6.9%
Responsible	253	5.4%
Role model / development conscious	246	5.2%
Not tribal	240	5.1%
Fair / impartial	237	5.0%
Patriotic	197	4.2%
Consistency / competent	187	4.0%
Peace maker / provide security	177	3.8%
Respectful & morality	164	3.5%
Loyal / honest / sincere	158	3.4%
Experience adult / mature	154	3.3%
Courageous	144	3.1%
Focused / determined	145	3.1%

2.8.4 Public perception on what can be done to improve quality of leadership

The survey sought to establish what the citizen thought to be the best course of action to follow with regards to improving the quality of leadership in the country. The following are some of the responses that were given by respondents:

Table 37: What needs to be done to improve the quality of leadership in the country?

Preferred characteristics	Frequency	%
Vote out non performing existing leaders / vote for leaders who can deliver / performance contracting	772	16.5%
Election of transparent / honest leaders / integrity	725	15.5%
Choosing appropriate leaders / right people	532	11.4%
Vetting leaders before holding positions	362	7.7%
Fighting corruption	358	7.6%
Educating people on choosing the right leaders	290	6.2%
Justice upon law breaking or crime committed by leaders	207	4.4%
Choose new leaders / young leaders	178	3.8%
Train leaders / educate leaders	171	3.7%
Fight tribalism / nepotism / elect non tribal leaders	160	3.4%
Elect leaders prone to vision / development conscious	132	2.8%
Elect leaders who are knowledgeable	118	2.5%
Citizens should be keen while electing leaders / be responsible	89	1.9%
Elect leaders keen on implementing the constitution	81	1.7%
Elect a leader who works with people	61	1.3%
Vote in God fearing leaders / pray to God for leaders	57	1.2%
Fair elections	53	1.1%
Enforcement of government policies	52	1.1%
Stop politics	29	0.6%
Give equal opportunities to all	28	0.6%
Elect a judiciary that doesn't intimidate the government	24	0.5%
Vote for leaders	21	0.4%
Have open forums for Kenyans to air their views	21	0.4%
Increase salaries / better working	21	0.4%
Introduce forums in parliament that guide and council leaders	20	0.4%
Vote for more women	15	0.3%

We have no role to play	13	0.3%
Provide for one head of state for one term only	14	0.3%
Others	79	1.7%
Eradicate injustices	10	0.2%
Elect also the poor not only the rich	8	0.2%
Others	61	1.3%
Total	4,683	100.0%

During the focus group discussions, the participants generally agreed that the crop of leaders that have been there has not lived up to the people's expectations.

"Vote out all political and unaccountable leaders, also corrupt and tribal leaders."

~Uasin Gichu FGD.~

"The institution mandated with the vetting of elections should be subjected to high integrity. Leaders should be elected based on their capability, skills and be development oriented as opposed to tribal leaders."

~Bungoma FGD.~

Another concern was that citizens lacked the necessary education and training to enable them make the best judgment during elections. Suggestions in this case varied from holding civic education talks to having these matters included in the school curriculum.

"...with no Opposition (in government) and a civil society that is seemingly disorganized, there now exists a vacuum that needs to be filled so as to enlighten the people on how they can hold their leaders more accountable"

~Kisumu Participant.~

"Introduce leadership activities subjects in schools even at home, in colleges and teach leadership skills to people, children and have a forum for leaders so that they can understand what leadership is all about."

~Suba Kuria Participant.~

2.8.5 Understanding of the New Constitution and Vision 2030

Additional issues were interrogated in the qualitative surveys to establish the citizen's understanding of the constitution and what was its role in the process. Discussions were held in various parts of the country seeking to get varied opinions on the matter.

Respondents expressed satisfaction with the new Constitution, describing it as driven by the 'mwana-nanchi'. It is viewed as an empowering tool that will assist Kenya to forge ahead in the right direction.

Ownership of the New Constitution as ‘Katiba ya Wananchi’

- *“We are the ones who voted for it and we want it fully implemented and exercised and it is the new Constitution that has replaced the old one” Kisumu FGD.*
- *“I think what I understand about the new Constitution is that, its laws are meant to govern me in a good way” Mombasa FGD.*

There is an expressed relationship between the new Constitution and the Vision 2030 with majority of respondents mentioning that the new Constitution, is like a platform to realize the Vision.

Not only is the new Constitution considered as the foundation for the Vision 2030, but it is also seen as the avenue that provides citizens a way of participating in the decision-making process.

In focus groups, participants expressed an understanding of Vision 2030 in as far as infrastructure and development are concerned:

- *“...it is a vision we have and it has started working. We have seen roads like in Nairobi to make it work...”*

~Uasin Gichu FGD.~

- *“...there is a plan to build Nairobi in a new style in twenty years and it will cost 32 billion”*

~Uasin Gichu FGD.~

- *“Vision 2030 is the government long term plan or what it plans to achieve by 2030, for example electronic railway lines”*

~Bungoma FGD.~

- *“I think Vision 2030 is all about things that are supposed to be done before then like supply of electricity in all the houses in Kenya before then even in the rural areas”*

~Garissa Commercial College.~

Regarding the supporting framework for the devolved government, majority of participants were of the view that a new system or plan had to be put in places to help citizens better understand, transition in to and adopt the changes that were to come with the new dispensation. They were also optimistic that this new system of devolution would come with equal resource distribution unlike in the past.

- *“...it has enabled the splitting of resources at the county level as opposed to the old Constitution where the resources were held at national level”*

~Garissa Commercial College~

It is important to highlight that the respondents do not claim as much ownership to the Vision 2030, as they do the new Constitution. This is captured in some of the comments below from the focus group discussions:

- *“I don’t think Vision 2030 is for the community. I think it is for the government alone. I do not understand it well”*

~Garissa Commercial College~

- *“I think vision 2030 should be separated from the new Constitution it should not be tied to it”*

~Garissa Commercial College.~

2.8.6 Citizenry’s Role in the Process: New Constitution and Vision 2030

The survey further revealed that there is a rising awareness among citizens on their role in the process. There was the general view that sensitization on the constitution and its relation to the achievement of Vision 2030 was still wanting. It is up to the common man to find out about it and own it.

“Those who appreciate the new Constitution are already utilizing it, the citizens are waking up and taking opportunities and using them for their common good”

~Kisumu participant~

“We need to be sensitized and need to understand what the new and the vision 2030 are about. And after that it will be now as to indicate upon those people, so that they became knowledgeable and we work together”

~Mombasa participant~

With regard to exercising their judicial rights some of the feedback from the respondents indicates that they are aware of their roles. Kenyans appear to be aware of their rights in one aspect or another more so regarding their role of being the ‘watchdog’ of the Government. It is their belief that there is a lot of misuse of resources

“The concept of leadership in this coalition government is high wastage...and it will be important for citizens to personalize and internalize some of this issues”

~Kisumu Participant~

“This, if not checked, would increase the cost of government spending...there would be no money left for development and service provision.”

~Kisumu Participant~

Citizens should be encouraged to be more involved in terms of policy implementation and economic empowerment. Discussed was the need to be involved in enhancing job creation through increased self-employment ventures

“As an individual and also for the citizenry we can push the government to see that the implementation of the Constitution is done and also realization of Vision 2030”

~Mombasa participant.~

“...being creative to enhance job creation and promote self employment by discouraging a wait-and-see attitude”

~Kisumu Participant.~

2.8.7 Women and leadership positions

Kenyans were asked whether they would vote in women leaders in several positions

2.8.7.1 Voting for a woman president

Support for a female presidential candidate is still low with only 38% of Kenyans likely to vote for a female candidate. More importantly, however, only 22% of the respondents stated Kenya was ready for a female president.

Analysis within locations indicates that the likelihood of supporting a female candidate is slightly higher in urban than in rural areas

Table 38: Voting for a woman president - Location

	Location		Total
	Rural	Urban	
Very Likely	36.3%	40.7%	38.0%
Somewhat likely	25.3%	24.6%	25.0%
somewhat unlikely	8.6%	8.4%	8.5%
Very unlikely	27.4%	24.6%	26.3%
Undecided	2.4%	1.7%	2.1%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Majority of those residing in urban areas were more open minded about women in leadership as evidenced in the qualitative interviews. This however was a decision they said had to be based on merit rather than just the fact that the proposed candidate was a woman.

“ I can’t vote for a woman as they are so mean, like our MP is a woman, we voted for her because we wanted to see change which so far we have not seen....We gave her a chance but she has not done anything we expected so I will not vote for a woman again”

~Eldoret FGD~

“women are also human beings and should be viewed in equal measures as their male counterparts in terms of leadership”

~Suba-Kuria FGD~

“Yes, very likely, I would vote for a woman because we need change..

~Mombasa FGD~

Further analysis by gender indicates higher support for a female presidential candidate from the female populace than from the male. Qualitative interviews revealed that there was a social stereotype associated with the women who took interest in vying for leadership

“Most of the women who vie are divorcees...I will only vote for a woman if she is married.”

~Bungoma FGD, male participant~

“Most of them get divorced after becoming leaders”

~ Kisumu male participant FGD~

“ The problem with women is that they are very jealous of each other and easily succumb to intimidation by men who play dirty politics”

~Suba-Kuria ,male participant,FGD~

Table 39: Voting in a woman president - Gender

	Sex		Average
	Male	Female	
Very Likely	33.9%	42.6%	38.0%
Somewhat likely	26.3%	23.7%	25.0%
somewhat unlikely	8.3%	8.7%	8.5%
Very unlikely	30.1%	22.0%	26.3%
Undecided	1.4%	3.0%	2.1%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Support for other electable positions are captured in the table below;

Table 40: Likelihood of voting in a woman – Elective Position

Elective Position	Likely to vote
Governor	35%
Senator	35.5%
Member of the national assembly	40%
Ward representative	43%
Women representative	60%
Total	100%

During the focus group discussion, it was evident that male and female respondents hold only slightly divergent views on their support of women's leadership.

2.8.7.2 Perception on equal rights between men and women

Only 38% of Kenyans agree that both men and women in Kenya have equal rights and are therefore able to vie for leadership positions on the same footing.

Table 41: Likelihood of voting in a woman – Gender Equal Rights

	Frequency	%
Very likely	1913	38.0
Somewhat likely	1261	25.0
Somewhat unlikely	429	8.5
Very unlikely	1324	26.3
Don't know	108	2.1
Total	5,035	100.0

A section of the population does not support affirmative action and insist that women have the same opportunities as men, and hence have to prove to be fit for the leadership positions that they seek.

"It will depend because I just can't vote for a woman because she is a woman. She has to deserve my vote by being a person of high integrity, qualified, has a heart and proves that she is able to run a certain position"

~Mombasa FGD~

"I will but she has to be qualified, I will not vote based on gender but I will look at what candidates have to offer"

~ Garissa Commercial College~

"Some women are emotional, poor fighters, lazy hence they cannot take up leadership positions"

~Suba-Kuria participant~

2.8.8 Perception on Impact of Tradition on Women leadership

Table 42: Perceptions on women, traditional rights and values

Women rights are undermined by traditional values and practices	Frequency	%
Strongly agree	2287	45.4
Somewhat agree	1530	30.4
Somewhat disagree	563	11.2
Absolutely disagree	481	9.6
Don't know	174	3.5
Total	5,035	100.0

Tradition plays a critical role in undermining the rights of women, with 45% of the Kenyans attesting to this fact. This particular aspect drew both negative and positive reactions in relation to leadership qualities. On a positive note, the ability of women to manage several roles at the household level is seen as a strength that can be used in managing the challenges of leadership, however some feel that these perceptions are misleading.

There are various reasons why a woman president can't be elected for any leadership position as a result of discouragement and lack of support from women themselves, also societal expectations on women in marriage, the male notion of a woman lacking leadership skills"

~Bungoma FGD~

".....It is the mentality of men that they cannot be ruled by a woman and even women are beaten by men when they announce that they will contest for a seat."

~Mombasa FGD~

"I can if she is qualified, you know the problem is that some of us in Kenya are buried in culture and believe that a woman should not lead but we should be out of that"

~Garrissa Commercial College FGD~

"We always think women are responsible because they are mothers and they have been through a lot, we gave our MP a chance but she has not done anything so I will not vote for a woman again"

~Eldoret FGD~

It was noteworthy that the ceiling for a woman's performance was either pegged on outdoing the qualities of a man or based on past performance or reference to other women leaders, but the same was not considered for men.

Overall, several things stood out as setbacks to women in leadership

- The perception that women are weak intellectually
- The place of the woman in society due to culture and beliefs denying her a place in leadership
- The overall fear that women in leadership are arrogant, overly emotional and thus ineffective in handling the tasks

2.8.9 Women in Politics

Kenyans are convinced men are better political leaders than women, only 24.6% support fully the fact that women can make better leaders than men.

Table 43: Women in politics

Women make better political leaders than men	Frequency	Valid Percent
Strongly agree	1237	24.6
Somewhat agree	1555	30.9
Somewhat disagree	942	18.7
Absolutely disagree	1063	21.1
Don't know	238	4.7
Total	5,035	100.0

During the focus group discussions, the violent nature of Kenyan politics was posited as one of the main reasons why women cannot participate actively in politics as their male counterparts. The emotive part of the women's psyche was considered too fragile to endure the tumultuous campaigns and elections in Kenya. On the other hand, the emotional side of a woman was considered an advantage to leadership by others in the qualitative discussions.

The kind of campaigns we hold are so rigorous and they are not friendly to women. There is the issue of qualifications, some women have been denied the opportunity to learn and when you lack education you cannot be a good leader"

~Garrissa Commercial College FGD~

"I can say that women have disrespect even in offices and that is one of the things that make them not voted for"

~Mombasa FGD~

2.8.10 Women in public administration

Similar sentiments were made about women managing key public institutions such as the Central Bank of Kenya (CBK) as was with the case with other leadership positions mentioned above. Most Kenyans still feel this is a domain for men.

Table 44: Opinion on women in leadership- CBK governor

A woman can make a better CBK governor than a man	Frequency	Valid Percent
Strongly agree	1178	23.4
Somewhat agree	1449	28.8
Somewhat disagree	937	18.6
Absolutely disagree	1125	22.3
Don't know	346	6.9
Total	5,035	100.0

2.8.11 Women in Constitutional Commissions

As mentioned above, women are still perceived as unsuitable candidates for high profile public offices such as those in constitutional commissions. Only 25% of Kenyans had a strong opinion that women can lead such commissions better than men.

Table 45: Opinion on women in leadership – heading constitutional commissions and other independent commissions

A woman will be a better leader to head the constitution commissions and other independent commissions	Frequency	Valid Percent
Strongly agree	1267	25.2
Somewhat agree	1537	30.5
Somewhat disagree	799	15.9
Absolutely disagree	1134	22.5
Don't know	298	5.9
Total	5,035	100.0

Those who supported women for such positions were of the opinion that women are equally good in management as men.

2.8.12 Affirmative action

The issue of affirmative action explores the possibilities and likelihood of respondents to vote a woman into leadership in line with the new Constitution that promotes gender equality. Based on the findings regarding women in the various leadership roles described above, the survey was able to establish the overall perception of citizens regarding the opportunities available for women in leadership.

In Section 2.8.7.2 exploring equal rights between men and women, findings show that less than 40% of Kenyans would support affirmative action as they do not believe that men and women are equal. Kenyans who are willing to give women an opportunity to lead them peg a lot of expectation on them insisting that they cannot vote based on gender but purely on candidates' abilities as leaders. Leadership for them has to come with values, being a role model in the society and academic qualification.

'...I will definitely vote for them to bridge the gap between men and women but the woman must have the leadership qualities...I will not vote based on gender but based on what the candidate has to offer'

~Garissa Commercial college FGD~

Given the various negative perceptions about women in leadership, a lower number of Kenyans say that they are likely to vote for a female candidate. They simply are not convinced that they can make all the requirements that come with being a leader.

"...people are still reserved in the sense that they believe a woman cannot lead the house, the community or the country."

~Mombasa FGD~

Even though a number of participants expressed optimism towards the idea of women leadership, the numbers still shows that the country still has a lot of hurdles to overcome. A number of social and cultural stereotypes still exist even among those who have supported and intend to support women in the future. Moreover, when they are given a chance in office, they are not assessed equally on their actions and performance in comparison to their male counterparts. Thus, citizens reveal that they can vote for them so long as they are convinced that they can match up to the task despite the challenges and prove their abilities without expecting a 'head start' or elevations of any kind to give them an advantage.

There is need to not only educate the public on equality of both sexes in leadership but also encourage the women themselves to stand up and express their interest in these positions. A lot of civic education and sensitization needs to be put in.

2.8.13 Ways to hold Leaders Accountable

The survey also sought to establish the various ways that would be used to hold leaders accountable. These, according to respondents included:

Table 46: What are three ways you think you can hold your leaders accountable in?

	Frequency	%
Monitoring and auditing	841	12.1%
Justice / taking them to court	609	8.8%
Voting them out	549	7.9%
Voting wisely / not voting non performing leaders / sacking	477	6.9%
Public demonstrations	352	5.1%
Avoid corrupt leaders	318	4.6%
By citizens interacting with him / public forums	309	4.5%
Voting for Trustworthy people / transparency & honesty / good leadership skills	266	3.8%
Having legal institutions to check monitor & evaluate leaders performance / check their integrity	251	3.6%
Organizing public forms	247	3.6%
Engage them in signing a performance contract	231	3.3%
Tracking development record	213	3.1%
Hard work / promoting hard work / responsible leaders	212	3.0%
Informing them where they are wrong / calling them back / recall	202	3.0%
Vetting them	175	2.5%
Reporting them to authorities	132	1.9%
Making sure they fulfill their promises / are submissive	116	1.7%
Check on performance / competence	110	1.6%
Leaders should declare their wealth	93	1.3%
Check that they promote fair distribution of resources / utilization of given resources	84	1.2%
Monitor their peace & security record	77	1.1%
By raising issues over the media	70	1.0%
Shame bad leaders in public	69	1.0%
Others	953	13.4
Total	6,956	100.0%

In the qualitative interviews, what stood out was the feeling by participants that those who took up leadership roles had to be ready to suffer the consequences of their actions, good or bad. This would be effected through a number of strategies including first and foremost, voting for people who were right for the job, monitoring their activities/performance/output in the course of service and prompt action for those who abuse office including through legal process or public protests the judicial redress or public outcry and protests.

The government should make the wananchi own the elections and they should be participants. By doing this we will have free and fair elections and elected leaders of high integrity, the right leaders, corruption will go down, the country will have more development and maybe realize the Vision 2030 earlier than targeted. Also the constitution implementation will be realized fully"

~Bungoma FGD~

"The constitution has become a good tool for holding leaders accountable, to pass the integrity test. Civil Society Organizations should monitor leaders to make sure that they adhere to the required laws put pressure on the performance of leaders and report cases where leaders try to bribe voters. The law should be fully implemented and citizens should make noise to ensure that the right are fully adhere to"

~Kibera Land Committee ~

"Again leaders should be heavily fined to discourage corruption and mismanagement of funds. The government should put in place stringent laws and rules for the leaders to follow"

~Kirinyaga FGD~

In other groups, some of the respondents deeply held views with regards to leadership in this country. They felt that citizens needed to speak out to correct and demand for accountability from leaders.

"We don't need to fear them because if we do we will not be able to correct them when they go wrong. For example your MPs need to know what issues are there and therefore communication is needed... The leaders should be accountable for anything that happens within their area and therefore speaking out would help"

~"Uasin Gishu FGD~

"We as wananchi should come up with lobby groups so that we are able to monitor all the activities of our leaders for example, how the CDF money is used up"

~Uasin Gishu~

"There should be periodic forums between the MP and the constituents for them and the committee to tell what they have done so far and where they are leading to. That is the only way you know what they are doing and what they have not done"

~ Mombasa FGD~

2.8.14 Conclusion on Increased leadership Accountability

The perception regard on Kenyan leadership is low; less than 20% of Kenyans are convinced that state institutions and the public alike adhere to the laws of the country all the time. This poses a challenge for state and non-state actors who would want to encourage public support and buy-in for the new Constitution.

The judicial system and the new leadership face an uphill task of proving to the public that there is a new constitutional order. The public's most desirable quality of leadership is integrity as indicated by 77% of the respondents. The findings show that the public has lost trust in the government leadership to uphold the law and serve the interest of the electorate. In terms of civic education programmes, there is need to expound on the systems and structures that will support the implementation of the new Constitution.

Regarding female leadership, support for a woman presidential candidate was 38%. Socio-cultural expectations, the political environment and stereotypes contribute significantly to the public's undermining of women's leadership in Kenya. The survey also reveals lower interest in politics and devolution among women than men in the country generally. Ignorance and lack of urgency among the female population serve as a major drawback to women leadership.

Public ownership of economic frameworks such as the Vision 2030 is minimal. Such frameworks are far removed from the public's day to day reality. They are only seen as other government projects intended to boost economic development. It is therefore necessary for the state and non-state actors to decentralize information, planning and implementation of such programmes to the local level.

References

Commission on Revenue Allocation, 2012, *Funding the Structures of Kenya's New System of Devolved Government*. Nairobi.

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Annex A

Qualitative Guide for Key Informant Interviews and Focus Group Discussions

Discussion Guide

Introductions and warm up

My name is.....and I work for Strategic Research. Strategic is an independent research firm, carrying research projects for clients all over East Africa. Currently we are carrying out research on Democracy and Governance at the county level and in Kenya.

Confidentiality and consent:

During the discussion we'll talk about Democracy and Governance issues. Your honest answers to these questions will help us better understand democracy and governance from your perspective.

Please note that the recorder is just to help us keep accurate records of our proceedings, the report will not make any reference to you as an individual. **Moderator:** Thank respondent for coming/consenting and assure him / her confidentiality of the discussion.

(Brief introduction) Please tell me your name, organization and position/occupation and the period worked in current position

- Enhanced national reconciliation amongst Kenyans;
 - What is the state of ethnic division in the country? Would say it has improved since promulgation of the new Constitution
 - What are your fears on the reconciliation process among Kenyans
 - And what are your expectations on reconciliation in line with the new Constitution
 - What does the Constitution say in terms of equality, resource distribution and gender equity
- What issues would you say threaten peace and reconciliation in your county?
- Has the government done enough to unite Kenyans (Strengths and weaknesses)

- Which activities are you aware of that is aimed at promoting peace & reconciliation in your area
- How effective are the peace committees in this county _
- Working towards the formulation of legal reforms, especially Electoral reforms and judicial reforms
 - Electoral reforms (*Are you aware of any changes in the electoral system*)
 - Judicial reforms (*what has been done, and is it enough*)
 - As a citizen what role can you play in the implementation of the new Constitution
 - Are you a registered member of any political party, and how do you participate in the parties activities
- Promotion of access to justice for all, especially among the poor and marginalized in Kenya
 - Do you believe that all Kenyans are treated fairly
 - Are you aware of the Court User Committees
 - *what is it, -*
 - *who is it comprised of,*
 - *what's its purpose*)
 - Is it operational at the County levels
 - How effective and efficient are the Court Users Committees (Is it effective & efficient)
- Promotion of effective, people centered devolved governments in Kenya.
 - What do you understand by devolution/Ugatuzi (*County system*)
 - What is the role of the citizenry in devolved government
 - In what ways are citizens engaging in the development of policies on devolution and representation at County level
 - Are you aware of any Civil Society Organizations (CSO's) engaging in the development of policies on devolution and representation (*which ones/mention a few*)
 - How will the devolved government empower; women, youth, persons with disability and the marginalized/minorities
 - How should women, youth, Persons with disability & the marginalized be involved in devolution process
- Promote the effective realization of all human rights, particularly, the Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
 - Are you aware of the Bill of Rights as indicated in Chapter 4 of the Constitution (*what does it say*)
 - What is ECOSOC Rights, mention them
 - Establish the extent or level of citizens participation in the development of legislative and policy frameworks on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and specific application of Human Rights
 - Have you participated in any forum geared towards promoting ECOSOC
 - What kind of violence against women are perpetrated in this county
 - What are the causes
 - How often are they perpetrated
 - Any public campaigns to end VAW and by who
 - **Also explore violence against Men**
- Enhanced inclusion of previously under-served or marginalized groups and communities;
 - At national level, which groups/communities would you consider marginalized

- Special attention to youth, women, persons living with disabilities (PWD's), minorities and marginalized groups
- What measures are in place to address problems facing; the youth, women, persons with disability and the marginalized/minorities at the County level
- Increased leadership accountability
 - Does the parliament, Judiciary, executive and the citizenry adhere to the rule of law (*Probe for reasons*)
 - What is the citizenry's understanding of the new Constitution and Vision 2030's
 - Citizenry's role in the process, as individual and collectively (within and beyond their conventional belongings)
 - What needs to be done to improve the quality of leadership in the country
 - Are you likely to vote for a woman for any elective position (*Probe for reasons*)
 - What are the drawbacks to women being elected to leadership positions in this country (*Probe for reasons*)
 - In what ways do you think you can hold leaders accountable _
- Any comments/last remarks you may have

Thank You for your participation

Annex B

Baseline Survey Questionnaire

March 2012

Respondent's names _____ Telephone _____ E-mail Address _____		
Interviewer's names _____ Interviewer Code _____		
Time started interview	Time ended interview	Total time spent
I hereby declare that this interview has been carried out in accordance with the briefing I received and that the information presented herein represents the views of the respondent as above and that this person was not known to me before.	Signed (Interviewer's name and signature).	Date of interview

INTRODUCTION

Good Morning/Afternoon. My name is and I work for Strategic Africa. We are collecting information from Kenyans on Democracy and Governance issues and would appreciate if you would respond to the following questions. Your responses will be treated confidentially. The Questionnaire will take about 45 minutes. IF ACCEPTED, CONTINUE ELSE THANK AND TERMINATE

PART 1:

Demographics County _____

Constituency _____

Location _____

Sub Location _____

Language used: 1) English 2) Swahili 3) Other (Specify) _____

Location

Rural _____ 2. Urban _____

Sex

Male _____ 1 Female _____ 2

Marital Status

Married _____ 1 Single 2 _____

Divorced/ Separated _____ 3 Widow/widower 4 _____

Quality Control

Checks	Supervisor	Signature
Questionnaire	1	
Back Check	2	
Accompany	3	

What is your religion?

Catholic-----1

Protestant -----2

Traditionalist-----3

Islam -----4

Hindu-----5

Others (specify) -----6

Actual Age (17 years and above) -----

Education level

No formal education-----	1
Primary-----	2
Secondary -----	3
Tertiary-----	4
University-----	5
Post-Graduate-----	6
Don't know/No response-----	99

Occupation

Full time formal employment-----	1
Full time informal employment-----	2
Part time formal employment-----	3
Part time informal employment-----	4
Unemployed-----	5
Student-----	6
Retired-----	7
Other (specify) -----	8
Don't know / No response-----	99

GENERAL SECTION

1. In your opinion what is the main problem facing (a) Kenya (b) facing your local community today?

Kenya	Local Community

2. What do you see as the two main challenges towards implementing the new Constitution?
[RECORD VERBATIM, ALLOW 3 RESPONSES]

3. What are your **Two** main sources of information on the Constitution?

(MULTIPLE RESPONSE-DO NOT READ)

Electronic Media (TV & Radio)	1
Print Media (Newspaper/Magazines)	2
Friends/relatives	3
Personally read the Constitution	4
Politicians/political parties	5
Religious leaders	6
Employer	7
Professional associations	8
NGO workshops/forums	9
Relatives	10
Teachers/school	11
Internet/Social network – Face book, Twitter etc	12
Graffiti/Murals	13
Other (Specify)	14

4. Would you say that the country is headed in the right direction with the enactment of the new Constitution? Please give reason for your answer

		Give reason / Why?
Going in the right direction	1	
Going in the wrong direction	2	
Don't know (DNR)	99	

5. How do you see the new Constitution benefiting you as an individual

KRA 1: ENHANCED NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AMONGST KENYANS

6. What are the two main issues that you would say threaten peace and reconciliation in your county[RECORD VERBATIM]

7. Would you say that the next general elections will hamper or improve the reconciliation process in the country
- Improve
 - Hamper
 - No idea/comment
8. Would you say that you have forgiven those who perpetrated the post election violence and you are ready to live with them again
- I have totally forgiven them and cannot live together
 - Have not fully forgiven them but we can live together
 - I can only forgive them on certain conditions e.g. compensation
 - Can never forgive them
 - Not affected by the violence
 - Others (specify)-----
9. How much do you support the work of the following institutions formed after the post election violence to help in reconciliation and cohesion. B) Will you accept the findings?

	Support its activities	Do not support its activities	Will accept and support its findings	Will not accept its findings	No idea/comment
TJRC (Truth, Justice & Reconciliation Commission)					
NCIC (National Cohesion & Integration Commission)					

10. Please indicate any on-going initiative you are aware of in your local area aimed at promoting peace and reconciliation.

11. Are you aware of any peace committees in your county

		If Yes, specify the peace committee that exists
1	Yes	
2	No	

12. Please specify for each of the following statements how strongly you agree or disagree with it.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Your friendship with a person is not at all related to his / her ethnic background	1	2	3	4	5
Public services and opportunities are distributed fairly across Kenya's regions by the government	1	2	3	4	5
Equal distribution of public services and opportunities would reduce ethnic tensions drastically	1	2	3	4	5
The formal education system in Kenya helps promote ethnic cohesion among Kenyans	1	2	3	4	5

13. How likely are you to vote for someone from a different community for the following positions if elections were held today?

	Very likely	Somewhat likely	Somewhat unlikely	Very unlikely	No idea (DNR)
President	1	2	3	4	
Governor	1	2	3	4	
Senator	1	2	3	4	
Member of Parliament	1	2	3	4	
Women representative	1	2	3	4	
Youth representative	1	2	3	4	
Ward representative	1	2	3	4	

KRA 2: LEGAL/ELECTORAL AND JUDICIAL REFORMS

14. As a citizen of Kenya what role do you think you can play in the implementation of the new Constitution of Kenya?

15. (KRA 1) – Q6 compare) What is your opinion on the reconciliation of the country after the PEV in view of the forthcoming elections

- i. The country is properly reconciled and ready for elections
- ii. Reconciliation is not complete but elections can be held peacefully
- iii. There has not been sufficient reconciliation and elections will only trigger violence
- iv. Others (specify)-----

16. Are you a registered member of any political party?

		If Yes, How do you participate
1	Yes	
2	No	

17. Do you think the IEBC (Independent Electoral & Boundaries Commission) will do enough to ensure free and fair elections

(1) Yes ☐ (2) No ☐

18. In your opinion, what is the **most** important thing the IEBC can do to ensure free and fair elections?

19. Recently the IEBC unveiled a list of new constituencies in the country. To what extent are you satisfied with the new constituency boundaries?

Very satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied
1	2	3	4

20. To what extent do you think the new constitution satisfactorily protects the rights of the following?

	Very satisfactory	Somewhat satisfactory	somewhat unsatisfactory	Unsatisfactory	Don't know	RTA
Yourself	1	2	3	4		
Your community	1	2	3	4		
Persons with disabilities	1	2	3	4		
Your county	1	2	3	4		
Marginalized Communities (Pastoralists, Nomads and Minority groups)	1	2	3	4		
Women	1	2	3	4		
Youth	1	2	3	4		

21. Are you aware of the following governance structures and positions created by the new Constitution and their roles/responsibilities?

	Yes	No	Roles
County Government	1	2	
County Assembly	1	2	
County Executive Committee	1	2	
Senate(or)	1	2	
National assembly	1	2	
Governor	1	2	
County Women representative	1	2	
Youth representative	1	2	
Ward representatives	1	2	
Cabinet secretary	1	2	

KRA 3: PROMOTING ACCESS TO JUSTICE

22. Have you attended a court process either as an accused or plaintiff over the last 12 months

(1) Yes ☐

(2) No ☐

23. The new Constitution tries to promote justice for all. Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements with regards to access to justice

	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	No opinion
I am aware of where to report if my rights are violated	1	2	3	
I can easily reach a court of law if I need to	1	2	3	
It does not cost a lot to institute a case in a court of law	1	2	3	
I can get access to legal representation if I need to	1	2	3	
Women have equal access to justice as much as men	1	2	3	
Marginalised communities / group are sufficiently protected by the courts	1	2	3	
Persons with disability can get justice in courts	1	2	3	
Court procedures are friendly to all	1	2	3	
Court officials are trusted	1	2	3	
Court processes are friendly to persons with disability	1	2	3	
The police respect the rights of Arrested persons	1	2	3	

Which courts are you awareness of?

B) Please mention at least one role of the courts you are aware of

		Specify at least one role
1	Court of appeal	
2	High court	
3	Magistrates Court	
4	Childrens Courts	
5	Kadhi's Court	
6	Industrial Court	
7	Others (specify)	

KRA 4: PROMOTING PEOPLE CENTERED DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT

24. What do you understand by devolution as it is in the new Constitution

25. Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statement regarding a devolved government

	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	No idea / opinion
I have sufficient information on how devolved governments will work	1	2	3	
Devolution will lead to better transparency and accountability from leaders	1	2	3	
Citizens will be able to get better public services from devolved governments	1	2	3	
Devolution provides citizens with better opportunities to participate in governance	1	2	3	
I have been sufficiently involved in formulation of policies on devolution	1	2	3	
Devolution will minimize vices such as corruption, impunity	1	2	3	
Devolution will lead to a more cohesive and peaceful nation	1	2	3	
Women will have better opportunities in devolved governments	1	2	3	
Minority communities/groups will have better opportunities in devolved governments	1	2	3	

26. What are two important roles as a Kenyan Citizen you can play in the devolved government?

1	
2	

27. How will the following groups be empowered through devolution?

1	Women	
2	The Youth	
3	Minorities/Marginalized	
4	Persons with disability	

KRA 5: REALISATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS ESPECIALLY ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS

28. Could you please tell me what you consider as your two most (important) human rights and who should be responsible for upholding each of these rights

	Who should be responsible for observance of these rights					
Human rights	Parliament	Police	President	CSO's	Yourself	Others (specify)
	1	2	3	4	5	
	1	2	3	4	5	

29. Have you heard of Economic Social and Cultural (ECOSOC) rights?

i. Yes ☐

ii. No ☐

31. Are you aware of any ongoing projects or initiatives that seek to empower the following groups of people at county level

		Yes	No	If Yes, Which one
1	Women	1	2	
2	Youth	1	2	
3	Persons with disability	1	2	
4	Marginalized/Minority Communities/groups	1	2	

32. What kinds of violence against women are most common in your area? And how often do they occur?

	Type of violence against Women	Rarely	Common	Very common	No idea
1	Domestic violence(battery)				
2	Defilement				
3	Rape				
4	Others (specify)				
5					

33. In your view what are the causes of Violence against Women? Name three causes.

1	
2	
3	

34. What kinds of violence against Men are most common in your area? And how often do they occur?

	Type of violence against Men	Rarely	Common	Very common	No idea
1	Domestic violence(battery)				
2	Defilement				
3	Rape				
4	Others (specify)				
5					

35. Are you aware of any public campaigns on ending Violence against women? If yes name them.

	Actors	Yes	No	Name of group/initiative
1	Women groups	1	2	
2	Religious groups/FBO's	1	2	
3	NGO/CBO's	1	2	
4	Government	1	2	
5	Male led initiatives	1	2	
6	Others (specify)	1	2	

KRA 6: ENHANCED INCLUSION OF MARGINALISED GROUPS, YOUTH, WOMEN, MINORITIES & PWDs

36. Looking at the national level, which groups/communities would you consider marginalized

I am now going to read out some statements people have made on marginalized groups/communities in Kenya. Please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with the statements below?

	Totally agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat disagree	Totally disagree	Don't know
Ethnic minorities should be given government protection to preserve their cultures and traditions	1	2	3	4	99
It is better for the minority groups to blend into the culture of the bigger ethnic groups where they live	1	2	3	4	99
Minority children born of non locals should be accepted as part of the majority ethnic community in that area	1	2	3	4	99

37. How would you rate the government's efforts at resolving the problems facing the following groups in Kenya

	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor	Very poor
Youth	1	2	3	4	5
Women	1	2	3	4	5
Persons with Disabilities	1	2	3	4	5
Marginalized/Minority communities	1	2	3	4	5

KRA 7: INCREASED LEADERSHIP AND ACCOUNTABILITY

38. Thinking about the laws of Kenya, do you think the government adheres to the laws of this country (Rule of law)?

		Always	Sometimes	Rarely	DK
1	Parliament				
2	Judiciary				
3	Executive				
4	Citizenry				

39. Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Don't know / NR
People who do not declare their wealth should not be elected to leadership positions	1	2	3	
Anybody who has been convicted by a court of law should not be elected as a leader	1	2	3	

40. What are the three key virtues/values you look for before electing a leader

	Virtues/Values
1	
2	
3	

41. A lot of times people complain of poor leadership. What needs to be done to improve the quality of leadership in the country?

42. Since the promulgation of the new Constitution, a number of commissions and independent offices have been formed. How satisfied are you with the public selection and interviewing (vetting) of the following commissions?

	Very Satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Somewhat Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	Don't know / No idea
Commission for the implementation of the Constitution (CIC)	1	2	3	4	99
Commission on Revenue Allocation (CRA)	1	2	3	4	99
Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC)	1	2	3	4	99
Ethics and Anti-corruption Commission	1	2	3	4	99
Judicial Service Commission (JSC)	1	2	3	4	99
Director of Public Prosecution (DPP)					99
Other (specify)	1	2	3	4	99

43. How likely are you to vote for woman candidate for the following positions in the coming elections? (give reasons)

	Very likely	Somewhat likely	Somewhat unlikely	Very unlikely	Reasons
President	1	2	1	2	
Governor	1	2	1	2	
Senator	1	2	1	2	
Member of National Assembly	1	2	1	2	
Ward representative	1	2	1	2	
Women representative	1	2	1	2	

44. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	agree strongly	some what agree	som what disagree	abso-lutely disagree	Don't know
Women have equal rights as men in all areas	1	2	3	4	
Women rights are undermined by traditional values and practices	1	2	3	4	
Women make better political leaders than men	1	2	3	4	
A woman would be a better Inspector General than a man	1	2	3	4	
A woman would be a better CBK Governor than a man	1	2	3	4	
Kenya is ready for a woman president	1	2	3	4	
A woman will be better leaders to head the constitutional commissions & other independent offices	1	2	3	4	

45. What in your opinion is the biggest drawback to women being elected to positions of leadership in this county?

46. What interventions are in place to prevent/deal with violence against women during elections campaign period?

47. In the past year, how often, if ever, have you had to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour to government officials in order to:

		No experience within the past year/ Never	Once	Twice	A few times	Often	Don't know (DNR)
A	Get a Passport/ ID	1	2	3	4	5	
C	Get treatment at a local health clinic or hospital	1	2	3	4	5	
D	Avoid a problem with the police/ chief	1	2	3	4	5	
E	Get a admission in school	1	2	3	4	5	
F	Get a job in public service	1	2	3	4	5	
H	Get relevant license to start a business	1	2	3	4	5	

48. What three ways do you think you can hold your leaders accountable?

1	
2	
3	

CLOSURE

49. Looking at Kenya as a whole, what would you say you fear most and what gives you the most optimism about the country?

Greatest fear	Greatest optimism

Thank you.

END

Organizations involved in Peace Initiatives in Country						
CONSTITUENCY	PEACE COMMITTEE	WOMEN GROUP	RELIGIOUS GROUP	NGO/ CBOs	GOVERNMENT	MALE LED INITIATIVES
KIAMBU	Chief Committee	KWFT	CWA	FIDA	Media/Civic Education	Maendeleo Ya Wan- awake
	K- Force	FIDA	Religious Organizations/Church	KENWA	Chief Barazas	Chama's/ Self Help Groups
	Gatanga Peace Team	KENWA	Women Guide	Local Administration	Youth Get Together	
	Don't know the name		Maendeleo Ya Wan- awake	KWFT	High Court	
	NCIC		Catholic Church Initiative	Peace Committees		
	Youth Group		Mother's Union	Tasaru		
	Yes Youths Can					
	Dumberi Peace Committee					
	Gt Sacco					
MURANG'A	K- Force	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	Religious Organizations/Church	FIDA	FIDA	Maendeleo Ya Wan- awake
	District Peace Committee	FIDA	Women Guide	NGO's	Ministry/Government	Maendeleo Ya Wan- awake

Don't know the name	KWFT	FIDA	Local Administration	Media/Civic Education	Local Administration
NCIC	Local Administration	Local Administration	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	Human Rights Commission	NGO's
Youth Group	Chama's/ Self Help Groups	F.G.M. Initiative	CWA	Local Administration	
Nandi Council Of Elders	Human Rights Commission			Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	
LEBC	NGO's			NGO's	
	Women Guide			Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	
NCIC	FIDA	Women Guide	Chief Barazas	Chief Barazas	Local Administration
Don't know the name	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	Human Rights Commission	Human Rights Commission	Local Administration	Chief Barazas
K- Force	Local Women Group	Chief Barazas	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	Human Rights Commission	
Youth Group	Chama's/ Self Help Groups				
District Peace Committee	Human Rights Commission				
Provincial Administration	Religious Organizations/Church				
Prayers Rallies Being Against Before Ruto And Raila					

NYANDARUA	K- Force	FIDA	Religious Organiza- tions/Church	Local Administra- tion	Local Administration	
	District Peace Committee	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	Wanawake Ni Sasa		Chief Barazas	
	Chief Committee	Local Administra- tion			Human Rights Com- mission	
	Pioneer Youth Committee				FIDA	
	NCIC					
	Youth Group					
	Nyandarau Central Peace Committee					
	Winners Youth Self Help Group					
KIRINYAGA	Youth Group	Financial Trust Fund	Mother's Union	Chief Barazas		
	NCIC	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	Catholic Church Ini- tiative			
	Anti-Mungiki	Local Administra- tion				
	N.Y.A	KWFT				
		CWA				
		Kamweretho				
KILIFI	Community Policing/ Elders From The Com- munity	FIDA	Chief Barazas	Chief Barazas	Chief Barazas	Chief Bara- zas

	Church Committee	Chama's/ Self Help Groups	Religious Organizations/Church	FIDA	Local Administration	Maendeleo Ya Wan- awake
	Chief Committee	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake		Aphia II	Human Rights Com- mission	Local Admin- istration
	Nandi Council Of Elders	Media/Civic Edu- cation		Malezi Bora	Malezi Bora	Kuruwitu Conservation
	Police	CWA				
	Kuwa Mpole	Aphia II				
	Tegla Lorupe Peace Initia- tive					
MOMBASA	Chief Committee	FIDA	Catholic Church Ini- tiative	FIDA	Human Rights Com- mission	Maendeleo Ya Wan- awake
	Youth Bunge	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	Religious Organiza- tions/Church	Human Rights Commission	Media/Civic Educa- tion	MAWE
	Kisauni Peace Committee	Local Women Group	World Vision	Maendeleo Ya Wa- nawake		Maendeleo Ya Wan- awake
	Community Policing/ Elders From The Com- munity	Sauti Ya Wan- awake		Chief Barazas		Human Rights Com- mission
	Youth Group	Women Against Violence		Aphia II		
	District Peace Committee			Peace Committees		
	Maendelo Ya Wanawake			USAID		

	Peace Net				Women Against Violence			
	Muhuri				MUHURI			
	Mombasa Peace Committee				SLOFES			
	Peace And Justice							
KWALE	District Peace Committee	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	Religious Organizations/Church	FIDA	Local Administration	Maendeleo Ya Wan-awake		
	Kwale Peace Committee	FIDA	Youth Get Together	Plan International	Chief Barazas	Local Admin-istration		
	Muhuri	Local Women Group			Maendeleo Ya Wan-awake			
	Church Committee	Chama's/ Self Help Groups						
	Tsungutsungu	Media/Civic Education						
	Mijikenda Elders Committee							
LAMU	District Peace Committee	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	Religious Organizations/Church	FIDA	Ministry/Government	Maendeleo Ya Wan-awake		
	Maendelo Ya Wanawake	Local Women Group	Maendeleo Ya Wan-awake	NGO's	NGO's			
		Human Rights Commission	SUPKEM	Maendeleo Ya Wan-awake	Maendeleo Ya Wan-awake			
					Vijana Tugutuke			

TAITA TAVETA	Youth Group	FIDA	Religious Organizations/Church	Human Rights Commission	Human Rights Commission	Maendeleo Ya Wan- awake
	Nandi Council Of Elders	KWFT		World Vision		
	K- Force					
	District Peace Committee					
TANA RIVER	Community Policing/ Elders From The Community					
	TJRC					
	Taita Taveta Human Rights Network					
	District Peace Committee					
MERU	Nandi Council Of Elders					
	Community Policing/ Elders From The Community					
	Chagua Amani Initiative					
	NCIC	FIDA	Catholic Church Initiative	Ripples International	Maendeleo Ya Wan- awake	Maendeleo Ya Wan- awake
	K- Force	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	Chief Barazas	Chief Barazas	Chief Barazas	Chief Barazas
	Chief Committee	Local Administration	Local Administration	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	Local Administration	Wamama Pamoja

	Nandi Council Of Elders	Wake Wenza	EAPC	Human Rights Commission	UNHCR	Local Administration
	Youth Group	Catholic Church Initiative		Aphia II	Human Rights Commission	
		Methodist Women Group		USAID		
				Local Administration		
				Catholic Church Initiative		
MACHAKOS	Baraka/Embakasi Group	FIDA	Religious Organizations/Church	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	Ministry/Government	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake
	NCIC	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	Chama's/ Self Help Groups	FIDA		
	Community Policing/ Elders From The Community			NGO's		
	Youth Group			Chama's/ Self Help Groups		
	District Peace Committee					
KITUI	District Peace Committee	FIDA	Religious Organizations/Church	NGO's	Ministry/Government	
	Chief Committee	Local Women Group	NGO's	FIDA	Chief Barazas	
	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	Catholic Church Initiative	Human Rights Commission	Human Rights Commission	

	Women Group We Unite	KWFT	Human Rights Commission	Religious Organizations/Church	NGO's	
	NCIC	Chama's/ Self Help Groups	Local Women Group	Local Women Group	Chama's/ Self Help Groups	
	Church Committee	Religious Organizations/Church		Ministry/Government		
	Peace Net	Local Administration		Genesis		
	Kyeni Kwa Kitundumo	Human Rights Commission				
		NGO's				
		Wasya Wa Mwaitu Women Group				
MAKUENI	Youth Group	FIDA	Religious Organizations/Church	FIDA	Human Rights Commission	Local Administration
	Chief Committee	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	Chief Barazas	Chief Barazas	Chief Barazas	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake
	NCIC	Local Women Group	Human Rights Commission	Human Rights Commission	Local Administration	Chief Barazas
	K- Force	Local Administration	Local Administration	Local Administration		Religious Organizations/Church
	Nandi Council Of Elders	CWA	FIDA			
		Wamama Pamoja				
		MANOR				

THARAKA	Church Committee	FIDA	Religious Organizations/Church	NGO's		
				KWFT		
EMBU	NCIC	FIDA	FIDA	Religious Organizations/Church	Ministry/Government	Maendeleo Ya Wan- awake
	Youth Group	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	Aphia II	Women Guide	Human Rights Com- mission	Local Wom- en Group
	Iebc	Human Rights Commission		Human Rights Commission	Chief Barazas	NGO's
	Mediz	Chief Barazas		Local Administra- tion	Chama's/ Self Help Groups	
		Wanawake Ni Sasa			Media/Civic Educa- tion	
	Isiolo Women Peace Committee	Local Women Group	NGO's	Religious Organi- zations/Church		Maendeleo Ya Wan- awake
	Premap	FIDA		Local Women Group		
	Isiolo Women Peace Net- work	KWFT				
	Youth Group	Wanawake Ni Sasa				
	District Peace Committee	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake				
	Peace And Love Group					
	Leochini Peace Commit- tee					

MARSABIT	District Peace Committee	Local Women Group	NGO's	Religious Organizations/Church	Chama's/ Self Help Groups
	NCIC	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	Religious Organizations/Church	Human Rights Commission	
	K- Force	Human Rights Commission	Human Rights Commission	Local Administration	
	Al Fatah	Women Guide	MEGEN	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	
	Leyai IDP Welfare Community		REGABU	KWFT	
	Marsabit women for advocacy and development (MWADO)		Mwado		
NAIROBI	TJRC	FIDA	FIDA	Religious Organizations/Church	MAWE
	Youth Group	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	Human Rights Commission	Catholic Church Initiative	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake
	Baraka/Embakasi Group	Local Women Group	NGO's	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	MAWE
	NCIC	Human Rights Commission	Local Administration	Human Rights Commission	Local Women Group
	Church Committee	Local Administration	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	Local Administration	Local Administration
	Chief Committee	Media/Civic Education	Chief Barazas	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	Human Rights Commission

Peace Net	KWFT	Nairobi Women's Hospital	Women Guide	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	Chama's/ Self Help Groups
Kyeni Kwa Kitundumo	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	Media/Civic Education	SUPKEM	FIDA	Mens Gatherings
Kuwa Mpole	Chama's/ Self Help Groups	Karolina	Media/Civic Education	High Court	Men Against Violence (Mav)
Provincial Administration	Religious Organizations/Church	Action Aid	MSF	Local Women Group	
Love To All	PADEC		Christian Women Association	MSF	
Amani Kwetu Bugengi			Cell Groups		
Kenya Ni Moja			Men Against Violence (Mav)		
NGOs					
Kenya Ni Moja Kibera Ni Moja					
G-Pange					
Vijana Tugutuke					
Eastleigh Peace Association					
Security Committee					
Chief Committee	FIDA	NGO's	Human Rights Commission	Local Administration	Local Administration
K- Force	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	Local Administration	Local Administration		

	NCIC	Local Women Group	Ministry/Government			
	Youth Group	Local Administration	Chama's/ Self Help Groups			
	Kyeni Kwa Kitundumo					
	Provincial Administration					
	District Peace Committee					
WAJIR	K- Force	Local Women Group	Wajir Youth For Change And Development	Religious Organizations/Church		NGO's
	NCIC	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake				
	Wajir Peace Committee	Human Rights Commission				
	Al Fatah					
	District Peace Committee					
	Church Committee					
	Community Policing/ Elders From The Community					
	Maasai Group Peace Committee					
GARISSA	Ijara Peace	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	Local Women Group	SUPKEM	Ministry/Government	
	District Peace Committee	Womankind	Womankind	Religious Organizations/Church	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	

	Garissa Peace Committee	Local Women Group	Women Concern			
	Chief Committee	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	Gender Equality Organisation			
	Garissa Meditation Council		NGO's			
			Action Aid			
			Women Guide			
			Mercy			
KISII	Chief Committee	Local Women Group	NGO's	Religious Organizations/Church	Local Administration	Local Women Group
	K- Force	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	Chief Barazas	Human Rights Commission		
	Nandi Council Of Elders	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	Religious Organizations/Church	Local Women Group		
		Human Rights Commission				
		KWFT				
	US-Aid	KENWA	Media/Civic Education		FAO	
	Maasai Group Peace Committee	MEGEN	Aphia II		Kenya Women's League	
	NGOs	NEP	God Bless Kenya			
	Muhuri		Care International			
	Police					
	Migori Clan					

	Kakarau Peace Committee								
	Migori County Conflict Mitigation								
	Peace Net								
KISUMU	District Peace Committee	FIDA	Local Administration	Religious Organizations/Church	FIDA	Local Administration	FIDA	Local Administration	
	Community Policing/Elders From The Community	Chama's/ Self Help Groups	FIDA	Local Administration	Human Rights Commission	Maendeleo Ya Wan-awake	Maendeleo Ya Wan-awake	Maendeleo Ya Wan-awake	
	K- Force	Religious Organizations/Church	World Vision	Human Rights Commission	Chama's/ Self Help Groups	Maendeleo Ya Wan-awake	Maendeleo Ya Wan-awake	Maendeleo Ya Wan-awake	
	Kisauni Peace Committee	KWFT	Chama's/ Self Help Groups	Chama's/ Self Help Groups	Chama's/ Self Help Groups	Chief Barazas	Chief Barazas	World Vision	
	Border Peace Committee	Human Rights Commission	Religious Organizations/Church	Mother's Union	World Vision	World Vision	World Vision	World Vision	
	Jimo Peace Committee	Local Administration	Human Rights Commission	Maendeleo Ya Wan-awake	Human Rights Commission	Human Rights Commission	Human Rights Commission	Human Rights Commission	
	Church Committee	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	Maendeleo Ya Wan-awake	KWFT	Chama's/ Self Help Groups	Chama's/ Self Help Groups	Chama's/ Self Help Groups	Chama's/ Self Help Groups	
	NCIC	Local Women Group	Aphia II	FIDA	Religious Organizations/Church	Religious Organizations/Church	Religious Organizations/Church	Religious Organizations/Church	
	Kisumu Youth Peace Makers	Women Guide	Financial Trust Fund	World Vision	World Vision	World Vision	World Vision	World Vision	
	Raga Peace Makers Rpm	Thim Group	MANOR	Thim Group	Thim Group	Thim Group	Thim Group	Thim Group	
	Luo Elders								

	Kanyakwa Manpower Youth Group								
	Nyangina Youth Group Association								
	Nyimiya Youth Group Association								
	Kochogo Peace Committee								
HOMA BAY	NCIC	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	FIDA	FIDA	FIDA	Local Administration	Human Rights Commission	Local Administration	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake
	TJRC	Upendo	Plan International	Religious Organizations/Church	Religious Organizations/Church	Chama's/ Self Help Groups	FIDA		
	District Peace Committee	FIDA	Local Administration	Chama's/ Self Help Groups	Catholic Church Initiative	Media/Civic Education	Local Women Group	Komesha Mapigo	
	Community Policing/ Elders From The Community	CWA	Chama's/ Self Help Groups	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	MANOR	Local Women Group	Religious Organizations/Church		
	Youth Group	KWFT	Local Women Group	EAPC	Amani Kenya				
	Rachuonyo Youth Group	Local Women Group	Religious Organizations/Church						

NYAMIRA	Chief Committee	FIDA	FIDA	Religious Organizations/Church	Chief Barazas	Maendeleo Ya Wan- awake
	NCIC	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	Red Cross	SDA Church Les- sons	FIDA	
	TJRC				Maendeleo Ya Wan- awake	
	lebc				Ministry/Government	
SIAYA	Makiye Youth For Peace				NGO's	
	District Peace Committee	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	FIDA	Religious Organi- zations/Church	Children's Depart- ment	Maendeleo Ya Wan- awake
	NCIC	FIDA	Aphia II	FIDA	Ministry/Government	Maendeleo Ya Wan- awake
	Nyikojuwothi Peace Com- mittee	Women Guide	Ministry/Government	Cadwoki	Chief Barazas	Children's Department
	TJRC	Local Administra- tion	Schools	AMPATH	FIDA	
	Youth Group	Local Women Group			Peace Committees	
	Provincial Administration	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake				
	Love To All	Ruma Women Development				
	Peace And Love Group	Kinda Women Group				

NAKURU	NCIC	FIDA	FIDA	God Bless Kenya	NGO's	Maendeleo Ya Wan- awake
	K- Force	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	Aphia II	Religious Organizations/Church	Local Administration	Maendeleo Ya Wan- awake
	Bahati Youth Group	Local Administration	Ministry/Government	FIDA	Maendeleo Ya Wan- awake	NGO's
	District Peace Committee	Wamama Pamoja	Local Administration	World Vision	Ministry/Government	Pro-Mara
	Nandi Council Of Elders	KWFT	Maendeleo Ya Wan- awake	Kenya Women Fellowship	FIDA	
	Jimo Peace Committee	Pro-Mara	YYC	Pro-Mara	Maendeleo Ya Wan- awake	
	US-Aid		UNHCR		Pro-Mara	
	Olkaria Youth Group		Pro-Mara			
UASIN GISHU	Youth Group	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	FIDA	Religious Organizations/Church	Ministry/Government	Maendeleo Ya Wan- awake
	K- Force	FIDA	Local Administration	Local Administration	Local Administration	Local Administration
	NCIC	Local Women Group	Maendeleo Ya Wan- awake	FIDA	Maendeleo Ya Wan- awake	Maendeleo Ya Wan- awake
	District Peace Committee	Local Administration	NGO's	SUPKEM	FIDA	Ministry/Gov- ernment
	Church Committee	Religious Organizations/Church	Maendeleo Ya Wan- awake	Women Guide	CWA	
	Bahati Youth Group	Human Rights Commission	CWA	IDP		

	Olkaria Youth Group												
	Provincial Administration												
	Eldoret Peace Committee												
	Lel Peace Committee												
KERICHO	K- Force	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	FIDA		Local Administration	Local Administration	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	Local Administration	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake				
	NCIC	Local Administration	Local Administration										
	Kalenjin Professionals	Emo- Foundaion	Pro-Mara										
	District Peace Committee												
	Makiye Youth For Peace												
	District Peace Committee	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	Religious Organizations/Church	Religious Organizations/Church	Religious Organizations/Church	Religious Organizations/Church	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake				
	Nandi Council Of Elders	Chama's/ Self Help Groups	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	Media/Civic Education	Chief Barazas	Chief Barazas	Chief Barazas	Chief Barazas				
	Church Committee	Chief Barazas	F.G.M. Initiative	F.G.M. Initiative	Chief Barazas	Chief Barazas	F.G.M. Initiative	F.G.M. Initiative	NGO's				
	TJRC	NGO's	Chief Barazas	Chief Barazas	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	Media/Civic Education	Media/Civic Education	HIV/AIDS				
	Women Group We Unite	F.G.M. Initiative	NGO's	NGO's	F.G.M. Initiative	F.G.M. Initiative	Media/Civic Education	Media/Civic Education	Women Against Violence				
	Anti-Mungiki		Media/Civic Education	F.G.M. Initiative	Religious Organizations/Church	Religious Organizations/Church	Local Administration	Local Administration	Local Administration				
BOMET	NCIC	FIDA	Local Administration	Local Administration	Religious Organizations/Church	Religious Organizations/Church	Local Administration	Local Administration	Local Administration				

	Chief Committee	Local Administration	Religious Organizations/Church	Local Administration	Ministry/Government	SUPKEM
	Youth Group		Ministry/Government			
	Provincial Administration		SUPKEM			
	US-Aid					
	Mediz					
	Gatanga Peace Team					
KAJIADO	Church Committee	FIDA	FIDA	Women Guide	Human Rights Commission	Human Rights Commission
	District Peace Committee	Chama's/ Self Help Groups	NGO's	Mother's Union	F.G.M. Initiative	MAWE
	TJRC	KWFT	Women Guide	Catholic Church Initiative		Wamama Pamoja
	NCIC	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	FAO	FIDA		Vijana Tugutuke
	Youth Group	F.G.M. Initiative	Pro-Mara	F.G.M. Initiative		
	Community Policing/ Elders From The Community		World Vision	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake		
	Peace Net		KENWA	Local Women Group		
			Shujaa Project	Peace Committees		
LAIKIPIA	TJRC	Local Administration	Local Administration	Local Administration	Local Administration	Local Administration
	NCIC					

	K- Force									
ELGEYO MARAKWET	K- Force	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	Local Administration	FIDA	Aphia II	Human Rights Commission	Media/Civic Education	NGO's	Local Administration	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake
	Community Policing/ Elders From The Community	Local Administration								NGO's
	NCIC	Human Rights Commission								
	Nandi Council Of Elders	Wamama Pamoja		YYC						
	District Peace Committee			Red Cross						
	District Peace Committee	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake		Human Rights Commission						Maendeleo Ya Wanawake
	Church Committee	Mercy		Mercy						Local Administration
	K- Force	FIDA		Ripples International						
	NCIC	IDP		SLOFES						
	Nandi Council Of Elders	Justice And Peace		HI						
	TJRC	Fintrac								
	Provincial Administration									

	Provincial Peace Committee								
	Catholic Initiatives								
	Mercy Corps								
	Transzoia District Committee								
SAMBURU	Community Policing	FIDA			Religious Organizations/Church				
	Milimani Location Peace Committee	Local Women Group							
	Chief Committee								
	Peace Net								
	K- Force								
	Youth Group								
	Women Group We Unite								
	Muhuri								
	Premap								
	Leochini Peace Committee								
	Samburu Peace Committee								
	Maralal Peace Committee								
BARINGO	Chief Committee	Local Women Group	FIDA		FIDA	Ministry/Government	Maendeleo Ya Wan- awake		

	NCIC	FIDA	NGO's	Religious Organi- zations/Church		
	K- Force	NGO's				
	Women Group We Unite					
	Church Committee					
	Provincial Administration					
	Prayers Rallies Being Against Before Ruto And Raila					
TURKANA	K- Force	KWFT		Religious Organi- zations/Church		
	NCIC	Religious Organi- zations/Church				
	Youth Group	Local Women Group				
	Al Fatah					
	District Peace Committee					
	Nandi Council Of Elders					
	NGOs					
	Tupado					
	Riamriam					
	Lokado					
	Catholic Committee					

NAROK	District Peace Committee	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	USAID	Religious Organizations/Church	Media/Civic Education	NGO's
	Community Policing/Elders From The Community	KWFT	FIDA	Media/Civic Education	Chief Barazas	Chief Barazas
	Peace Neck	FIDA	NGO's	Local Administration	FIDA	
	K- Force	Human Rights Commission	Media/Civic Education	Local Women Group		
	NCIC	Religious Organizations/Church	Tasaru			
	Youth Group	Peace Committees	Kipok Ole Polos People Program			
	Sisi Ni Amani	Tasaru	TRDP			
	Chief Committee					
	Prayers Rallies Being Against Before Ruto And Raila					
	Amani Kwa Vijana					
	Amani Kenya					
	Kenya For Peace					
KAKAMEGA	NCIC	FIDA	FIDA	Religious Organizations/Church	Ministry/Government	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake
	K- Force	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	NGO's	NGO's	FIDA	Chief Barazas
	District Peace Committee	Local Women Group	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake		Chief Barazas	Local Administration

	Church Committee	KWFT	Ministry/Government		Human Rights Commission	Haki Ya Uku- lima
	Youth Group	Religious Organiza- tions/Church	Local Women Group		Religious Organiza- tions/Church	
	Chief Committee					
	TJRC					
BUNGOMA	Chief Committee	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	NGO's	Religious Organi- zations/Church	NGO's	Maendeleo Ya Wan- awake
	District Peace Committee	FIDA	FIDA	Human Rights Commission	Women Against Vio- lence	
	Gema And Kamatusa	Mwalikho	Human Rights Com- mission	FIDA		
	Malinda Youth Group	Local Women Group	Religious Organiza- tions/Church			
	Agro-B12		Chama's/ Self Help Groups			
VIHIGA	TJRC	Local Women Group	Reep	Human Rights Commission	FIDA	Children's Department
	Chief Committee	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	Religious Organiza- tions/Church	Local Administra- tion	Maendeleo Ya Wan- awake	
	NCIC	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	NGO's	Maendeleo Ya Wa- nawake	Chief Barazas	
		Chief Barazas				
		Ministry/Govern- ment				

BUS/A	Youth Group	FIDA	NGO's	Religious Organi- zations/Church	FIDA	Religious Organi- zations/Church	FIDA	
	District Peace Committee	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	FIDA	Human Rights Commission	Local Administration	Human Rights Commission	Local Administration	
	K- Force	KWFT	Religious Organizations/Church	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	Mens Gatherings	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake	Mens Gatherings	
	Church Committee	Local Women Group	Human Rights Commission					
	Chief Committee		Local Administration					
	NCIC		Maendeleo Ya Wanawake					
	Silugu Youth Group		AMPATH					
	TJRC							
	Peace Net							
	Peace And Love Group							
	Amani Kwetu Bugengi							

Organizations Mentioned in Supporting Capacity Building of Women, Youth, PWDs, and Marginalized/ Minority Groups				
COUNTY	WOMEN GROUPS	YOUTH GROUPS	PERSONS WITH DISABILITY	MARGINALIZED GROUPS
Kiambu	<p>Self help groups</p> <p>Sports/ youths</p> <p>FIDA</p> <p>Women Groups</p> <p>Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama</p> <p>Banks through loans</p> <p>Faulu</p> <p>Community Work Youth Group</p> <p>Self Help groups</p> <p>Women Enterprise Fund</p> <p>Kenya Women Finance Trust (KWFT)</p>	<p>Kazi Kwa Vijana</p> <p>Sports/ youths</p> <p>Ministry of Youth Affairs</p> <p>NGO</p> <p>Yes Youths Can</p>	<p>Kazi Kwa Vijana</p> <p>Self help groups</p> <p>Youth Fund</p> <p>Niko fiti Campaign</p> <p>Usawa programme</p> <p>Youth Bungalows</p>	<p>Self help groups</p> <p>Usawa programme</p>

Murang'a	Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups Government Agencies FIDA Women Groups Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama USAID Initiative Vision Mugithi- Keeping Rabbits KENWA APHIA II	Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups Youth Fund Banks through loans USAID Initiative Ministry of Youth Affairs One for the blind (cares) Mercy Corps Kamara Yes Youths Can Social Services Fund Vijana/ Wanawake Tugutuke	Self help groups Government Agencies Women Groups APDK Disability is not Inability initiative USAID Initiative NGO Mercy Corps Tuvute Wira Ministry of Arid and Semi-Arid areas Social Services Fund	Self help groups Ministry of Special Pro-grammes USAID Initiative Ministry of North Eastern Vision NGO Peace Committees Mugambo wa Murimi Ministry of Arid and Semi-Arid areas Social Services Fund Plan International
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Nyeri	Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups FIDA Women Groups Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama Help groups Self Help groups	Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups Youth Fund	Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups	Self help groups Peace Committees
	Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups FIDA Women Groups Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama Banks through loans Kenya Women Finance Trust (KWFT)	Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups Sports/ youths Ministry of Youth Affairs Self Help groups Boda Boda Initiatives	Self help groups Self Help groups	Self help groups Ministry of Arid and Semi-Arid areas
Kirinyaga	Self help groups Women Groups Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama Faulu NGO	Kazi Kwa Vijana Sports/ youths NGO	Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama Red Cross	

Kilifi	Sports/ youths Women Groups Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama Banks through loans Self Help groups Kenya Women Finance Trust (KWFT)	Kazi Kwa Vijana Sports/ youths Media messages Women Groups Youth Fund Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama Disability is not Inability initiative Yes Youths Can National Youth Service	Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama Disability is not Inability initiative Self Help groups	Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama Sitakimya
Mombasa	Kazi Kwa Vijana FIDA Women Groups Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama Banks through loans Faulu Women Enterprise Fund Kenya Women Finance Trust (KWFT)	Kazi Kwa Vijana Sports/ youths Media messages Women Groups Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama Ministry of North Eastern Ministry of Youth Affairs APHIA II CDF Assisted Projects Youth Agendas Youth Bunges	Women Groups APDK Niko fiti Campaign Self Help groups	Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama Self Help groups

Kwale	FIDA Women Groups Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama Banks through loans Women Enterprise Fund Kenya Women Finance Trust (KWFT)	Kazi Kwa Vijana Sports/ youths Youth Fund Banks through loans	Ministry of Special Programmes Self Help groups	Ministry of Special Programmes Self Help groups
Lamu	Self help groups Sports/ youths Women Groups Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama Magharibi Muslim Women Communists Malava Physically Handicapped KECOSCE Cannot remember	Media messages Youth Fund USAID Initiative Yes Youths Can Trustlands ACT KECOSCE Cannot remember	Disability is not Inability initiative Wape Mkono Youths Move Together KECOSCE Cannot remember	Community Work Youth Group Magharibi Muslim Women Communists Magharibi Muslim Women Communists Cannot remember
Taita Taveta	Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups Women Groups Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama Banks through loans NGO Women Enterprise Fund Kenya Women Finance Trust (KWFT)	Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups Women Groups Youth Fund Banks through loans	Disability is not Inability initiative BIMA	Self help groups

Tana River	Kenya Women Finance Trust (KWFT)	Kazi Kwa Vijana		
Meru	Cannot remember	Kazi Kwa Vijana	Self help groups Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama	Self help groups Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama
	Self help groups Sports/ youths FIDA Women Groups Youth Fund Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama Self Help groups CDF Assisted Projects	Self help groups Sports/ youths Youth Fund Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama Community Work Youth Group CDF Assisted Projects Cannot remember	Self help groups Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama Self Help groups CDF Assisted Projects	Help groups Ministry of Arid and Semi-Arid areas CDF Assisted Projects
Machakos	Self help groups FIDA Women Groups Youth Fund Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama Catholic Disable Social Ministry	Kazi Kwa Vijana Youth Fund Catholic Disable Social Ministry Shabaa Boda Boda Initiatives	Catholic Disable Social Ministry	Catholic Disable Social Ministry

Kitui	<p>Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups Government Agencies Media messages FIDA Women Groups Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama Disability home Self Help groups Mikiliye Group EITU Enzani</p>	<p>Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups Media messages Youth Fund Maendeleo y a Wanawake/ Wamama Self Help groups Football Club</p>	<p>Kazi Kwa Vijana Media messages Youth Fund USAID Initiative Disability home NGO Self Help groups</p>	Media messages
Makueni	<p>Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups FIDA Women Groups Youth Fund Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama USAID Initiative Faulu BIMA</p>	<p>Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups Women Groups Youth Fund</p>	<p>Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups Youth Fund Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama Disability home Help groups CDF Assisted Projects</p>	<p>Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups Youth Fund</p>

Tharaka	Self help groups Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama Mutino Freds Choshua Women Association Old Women Group Mikilye Group	Kazi Kwa Vijana Choshua Women Association Football Club CDF Assisted Projects		
Embu	Self help groups FIDA Women Groups Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama	Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups Youth Fund Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama Power Development Programmes	Self help groups	Self help groups Media messages Community Work Youth Group Ministry of Arid and Semi-Arid areas
Isiolo	Women Groups Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama Church Women Groups PAG	Kazi Kwa Vijana Youth Fund	People with disability social fund	Faulu PREMAP

Marsabit	Self help groups Women Groups	Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups Sports/ youths Media messages Youth Fund Disability is not Inability initiative Together as one Cannot remember	Self help groups Ministry of Special Programmes Peace Committees Cannot remember	Self help groups Youth Polytechnics/ Schools
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Nairobi	Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups FIDA Women Groups Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama Ministry of Special Programmes Banks through loans USAID Initiative Faulu Self Help groups Women Enterprise Fund Kenya Women Finance Trust (KWFT) Cannot remember WOSWA Women enterprise fund	Kazi Kwa Vijana Sports/ youths Government Agencies Media messages Youth Fund Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama Ministry of Youth Affairs Niko fiti Campaign Community Work Youth Group Self Help groups Vijana/ Wanawake Tugutuke Youth Polytechnics/ Schools Vijana Pamoja Cannot remember Women enterprise fund	Kazi Kwa Vijana Government Agencies Youth Fund Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama One for the blind (cares) Disability home Niko fiti Campaign Self Help groups Tetu Women SACCO Cannot remember School for the disabled Niko fiti campaign APDK	Government Agencies FIDA Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama Niko fiti Campaign Wape Mkono NGO Ministry of Arid and Semi-Arid areas CDF Assisted Projects Cannot remember PISP Mutwa's self help group
Mandera	Self help groups FIDA Women Groups Youth Fund Women Enterprise Fund	Self help groups Media messages Women Groups Youth Fund Women Enterprise Fund	Self help groups	Self help groups Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama Vision

Wajir	Self help groups Women Groups Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama	Self help groups National Youth Service		Self help groups
Garissa	FIDA Women Groups Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama Ministry of Youth Affairs Wathajir women group	Kazi Kwa Vijana Sports/ youths Media messages Ministry of Youth Affairs CDF Assisted Projects Garissa youth	Sports/ youths Women Groups Self Help groups Handicap International	Women Groups Self Help groups
Kisii	Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups Government Agencies Women Groups Youth Fund Cradle Financing Widowed Women	Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups Media messages Youth Fund Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama USAID Initiative Youth Bunges Cradle	Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama	Self help groups

Migori	<p>Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups FIDA Women Groups Youth Fund Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama NGO Women Enterprise Fund Kenya Women Finance Trust (KWFT)</p>	<p>Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups Sports/ youths Youth Fund USAID Initiative Ministry of Youth Affairs Vision Yes Youths Can Mayouth wa Kenya mpo?</p>	<p>Youth Fund USAID Initiative Self Help groups Yes Youths Can</p>	<p>Self Help groups Community Work Youth Group Vision NGO</p>
Kisumu	<p>Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups FIDA Women Groups Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama Faulu Yes Youths Can</p>	<p>Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups Sports/ youths Women Groups Youth Fund Ministry of Youth Affairs Yes Youths Can</p>	<p>Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups Sports/ youths</p>	<p>Self help groups Government Agencies Women Groups</p>

Homabay	Self help groups FIDA Women Groups Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama Faulu Women Enterprise Fund Upendo Women Group Upendo Women Group Kenya Women Finance Trust (KWFT)	Kazi Kwa Vijana Sports/ youths Youth Fund NGO Ministry of Arid and Semi-Arid areas Plan International Cannot remember AMREF	APDK Niko fiti Campaign NGO Self Help groups	NGO Cannot remember KACC
Nyamira	FIDA Women Groups Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama	Kazi Kwa Vijana Government Agencies FIDA Youth Fund Ministry of Youth Affairs	Government Agencies Community Work Youth Group People with disability social fund	Self Help groups Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama Community Work Youth Group Marginalized People Fund Kenyans for Kenya

Siaya	Self help groups Sports/ youths FIDA Women Groups Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama Faulu KINDA Women Group Sokomoko Women's group Women we move Cannot remember	Sports/ youths Youth Fund Faulu Youths Move Together	Sports/ youths USAID Initiative Niko fiti Campaign Self Help groups Disable but Able	Sports/ youths NGO We can Unite Let live together
Nakuru	Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups FIDA Women Groups USAID Initiative Cannot remember	Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups Sports/ youths Youth Fund USAID Initiative National Youth Service	USAID Initiative Niko fiti Campaign	USAID Initiative Cannot remember

Uasin Gishu	Self help groups FIDA Women Groups Youth Fund Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama Wape Mkono Church Women Groups PAG Sitakimya Cannot remember	Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups Sports/ youths Media messages Women Groups Youth Fund Sitakimya Jua Kali Youth Group Cannot remember	Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups Youth Fund APDK Church Women Groups PAG Sitakimya Nakumatt Support for the Disabled Cannot remember	Self help groups Women Groups Cannot remember
Kericho	Self help groups Women Groups KECOSCE Cannot remember	Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups Sports/ youths Cannot remember	Self help groups Help groups Self Help groups Cannot remember	Self help Cannot remember groups
Nandi	Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups Sports/ youths Government Agencies Media messages	Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups Sports/ youths Media messages Community Work Youth Group	Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups Media messages	Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups Government Agencies Media messages

Bomet	<p>Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups Women Groups Youth Fund Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama Faulu Wape Mkono Community Work Youth Group Self Help groups Women Enterprise Fund</p>	<p>Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups Youth Fund Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama USAID Initiative Community Work Youth Group Youth Polytechnics/ Schools Usawa programme Cannot remember</p>	<p>Self help groups Youth Fund Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama</p>	<p>Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama Self help groups Sports/ youths</p>
Kajiado	<p>Cannot remember FIDA Women Groups Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama Banks through loans Self help groups Women Enterprise Fund Kenya Women Finance Trust (KWFT)</p>	<p>Kazi Kwa Vijana Sports/ youths Youth Fund NGO</p>		<p>CDF Assisted Projects</p>
Laikipia		<p>Self help groups Vision</p>		

Elgeyo Marakwet	Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups FIDA Women Groups Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama USAID Initiative	Kazi Kwa Vijana Sports/ youths USAID Initiative National Youth Service	USAID Initiative	Kazi Kwa Vijana Women Groups
Transnzoia	Kazi Kwa Vijana FIDA Women Groups Youth Fund Mercy Corps Women Enterprise Fund Kenya Women Finance Trust (KWFT) RWLP Golden gate youth group Women enterprise fund	Kazi Kwa Vijana Women Groups Youth Fund Mercy Corps APHIA II Youth Agendas Cannot remember A step	Ministry of Special Programmes Self Help groups Cannot remember Cash Transfer	FIDA Self Help groups

Samburu	Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups Women Groups Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama Faulu CDF Assisted Projects	Kazi Kwa Vijana Youth Fund Faulu CDF Assisted Projects	People with disability social fund	People with disability social fund
Baringo	Self help groups Women Groups Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama Sitakimya Women Enterprise Fund	Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups Youth Fund	Self help groups	Self help groups
Turkana	Self help groups NGO Tuvute Wira	Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups Media messages Youth Fund	Self help groups Disable but Able	Government Agencies

Narok	<p>Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups Sports/ youths FIDA Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama Banks through loans USAID Initiative Women Enterprise Fund</p>	<p>Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups Sports/ youths Youth Fund</p>	<p>Self help groups Banks through loans</p>	<p>Self help groups Women Groups Ministry of Arid and Semi-Arid areas</p>
Kakamega	<p>Self help groups Sports/ youths FIDA Women Groups Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama APDK Banks through loans Faulu Self Help groups Church Women Groups PAG CPDA</p>	<p>Kazi Kwa Vijana Sports/ youths Media messages Women Groups Youth Fund USAID Initiative Yes Youths Can Mayouth wa Kenya mpo ? IPA</p>	<p>Sports/ youths Niko fiti Campaign CDF Assisted Projects Youth Polytechnics/ Schools Malava Physically Handicapped</p>	<p>Sports/ youths Power Development Pro-grammes CDF Assisted Projects</p>

Bungoma	Self help groups Government Agencies Women Groups Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama Banks through loans Faulu Community Work Youth Group Self Help groups Cannot remember	Kazi Kwa Vijana Sports/ youths Government Agencies Youth Fund Community Work Youth Group	Kazi Kwa Vijana Government Agencies Youth Fund Niko fiti Campaign	Government Agencies Hindu Group
Vihiga	Self help groups Government Agencies Women Groups Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama Community Work Youth Group Peace Committees Power Development Programmes CPDA	Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups Government Agencies Women Groups Youth Fund Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama Community Work Youth Group Peace Committees Power Development Pro- grammes Muirigi Youth PEFA National Youth Service CPDA	Self help groups Government Agencies Peace Committees CPDA	Government Agencies Peace Committees CPDA

Busia	Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups FIDA Women Groups Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama Faulu Life Straw	Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups Women Groups Youth Fund Banks through loans Faulu	Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups Sports/ youths Maendeleo ya Wanawake/ Wamama APDK Disability home Niko fiti Campaign IPA	Kazi Kwa Vijana Self help groups NGO Red Cross
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(Footnotes)

1 Others mentioned: street demonstrations(0.1%), participating in activities such as Kazi Kwa Vijana(01%), Being loyal to the country(0.1%), Informing the media on anything wrong(0.1%), Intermarriages(0.1%), Participating in county activities

