

The Conflict Early Warning and Response mechanism (CEWARN)



in the

**Inter Governmental Authority On Development (IGAD)
Region**

CEWARN Country Updates: September - December 2007

Ethiopian Side of the Karamoja Cluster

February 13, 2008

CEWARN, Addis Abeba, Ethiopia

© 2007 IGAD - CEWARN

CEWARN Country Update

Update Period:

September through December 2007

Area of Reporting:

Ethiopian Side of the Karamoja Cluster

National Research Institute:

Inter Africa Group (IAG), Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Country Coordinator:

Coordinator: Girma Kebede

Assistant: Bizusew Mersha

February 13, 2008

Executive Summary

The purpose of this Country Update is to establish the incidence and outcomes of pastoral conflict on the Ethiopian side of the Karamoja Cluster from September through December 2007 set in the context of all reports submitted from January 2004 through December, 2007. The reporting locations on the Ethiopian side of the Karamoja cluster are three in number for the reporting period: Kibish in Nyangatom Wereda; Bubua and Nebremus in Dassenech Wereda of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State (SNNPR). This Update presents both positive and negative precursors to the pastoral conflict situations as a means to illuminate trends that can help signal imminent outbreaks or escalations or mitigate ongoing conflicts in the cluster.

For the reporting period September through December 2007, not a single incident occurred and no livestock losses as well as human casualties were reported on the Ethiopian side of the Karamoja Cluster.

The reason for the prevailing peaceful climate can be mainly attributed to the peace initiatives launched by a local pastoralist organization known as Atwoyksi-Eksil Pastoralist Development Association (AEPDA) and to the revitalization of the CEWERU structure at the local level after a national workshop was organized by Ethiopian CEWERU in November.. The lessening of Environmental Pressure due to the onset of rains on time and the increase in exchange of goods and trade has also reduced the economic vulnerability of the communities. Similarly, access to social services and provision of safety net programs like grain supply to the needy has helped in easing the livelihood pressure on the community.

The Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism (CEWARN) of The Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) based in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, has coordinated the field reporting and editing of these reports. The Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) have contributed funds towards this effort. CEWARN in collaboration with Virtual Research Associates (VRA) developed the early warning methodology and reporting tool.

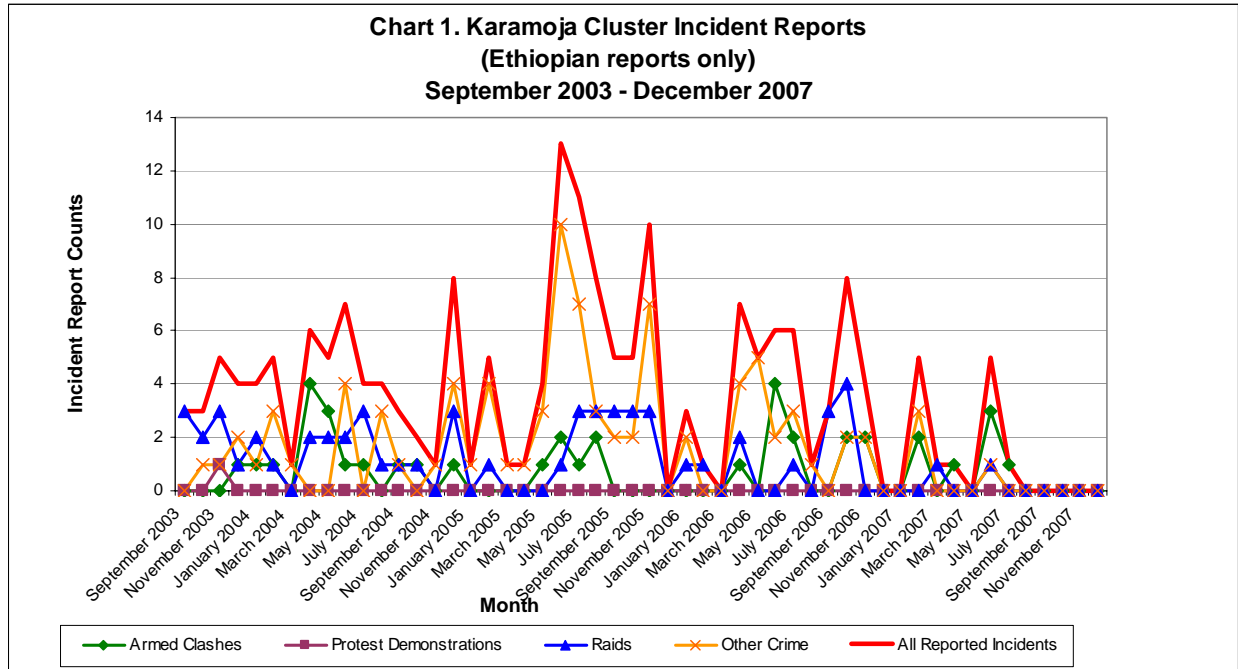
Suggestions and comments on this initial baseline are welcome. Please contact cewarn@ethionet.et at the CEWARN office in Addis Ababa with any questions, comments or suggestions. The next CEWARN Country Update September-December 2007 for the Ethiopian side of the Karamoja cluster is scheduled for posting in January 2007. In the course of the year these Updates will be enhanced with specific response options identified and tied to their associated thresholds of indicator values that signal pastoral conflict escalation, destabilization or violence.

IGAD-CEWARN Country Update – Ethiopian Side of the Karamoja Cluster

Current Baseline Analysis

NOTE: The y-axis are dynamically scaled on all of the charts presented below. Therefore, the reader should pay special attention to the upper and lower values presented for each chart. The range of values for all “scores” is from 0 to 100.

Chart 1 (below) presents the frequency of violent incident counts for the Ethiopian side of the Karamoja Cluster for the reporting period.



From September 2007 through December 2008, not a single violent incident¹ was recorded, making it the only reporting period with no incidence of communal violence since CEWARN started monitoring violent events in September 2003. Communal violence in Nebremus and Bubua Areas of Reporting in Dassenech Wereda has been on significant decline for quite a while, and in recent reports no incidents were reported in these areas. However, clashes between Turkana of Kenya and Nyangatom of Ethiopia as well as Karo and Nyangatom in Kibsih Area of Reporting (Nyangatom Wereda) continued and accounted for the total incidents in the recent past reports.² Yet these incidents were not observed in the Sept-Dec, 2007 reporting period.

The main reason for the absence of incidents could mainly be attributed to the peace initiative by an indigenous organization known as Atwoyksi-Eksil Pastoralist Development Association (AEPDA). The organization mobilized the communities of Nyangatom and surrounding areas like Dassenech, Hamer, Turkana, Topossa and Mursi for a pastoralist mini-gathering, which was held for five days from November 8-13, 2007 in the presence of officials from Sudan, Kenya and Ethiopia. It shall also be noted that other NGOs like Ethiopia Pastoralist Research and Development Association (EPARDA) in collaboration with civil society had contributed to the relative peace in the Area of Reporting (AOR). The five day meeting was concluded by selecting peace committees from each community present and passed resolutions that, *inter alia*, included: to end violent incidents, joint utilization of resources, commence trade, and secure Peace agreement among the disputing communities such as Turkana Vs. Nyangatom, Nyngatom vs. Karo. A follow-up meeting of the peace committees was held for three days from

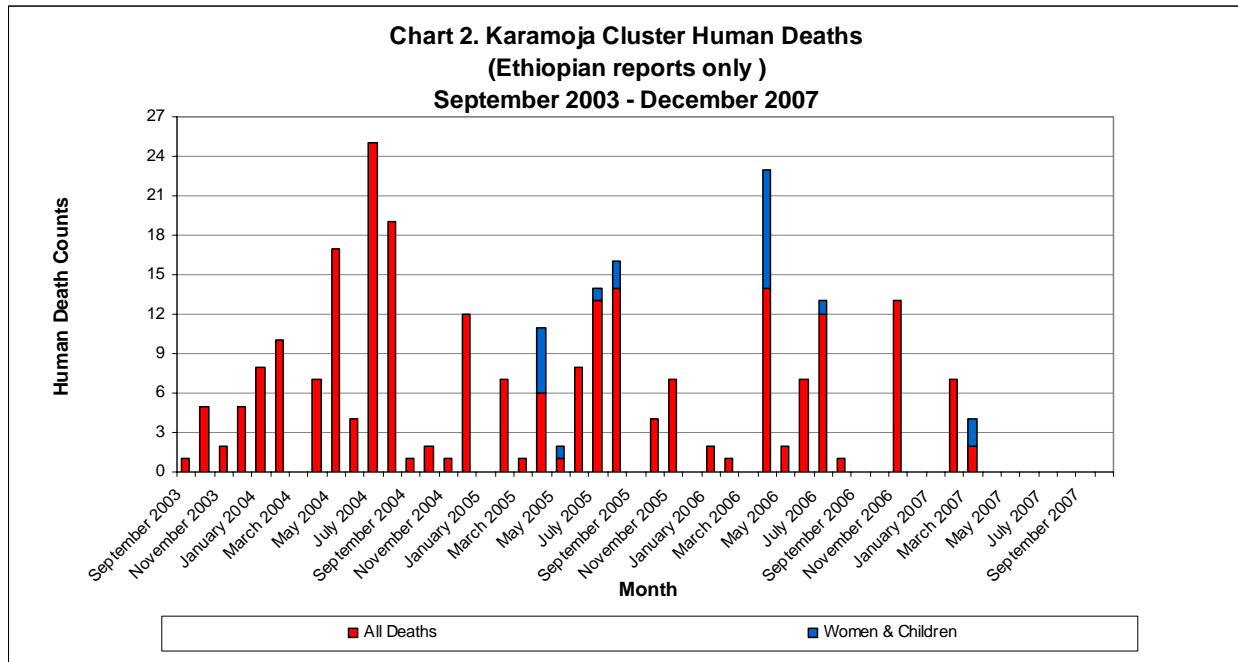
¹ For full description of Violent Incidents see Appendix 1.

² Please refer to updates for Jan-Apr & May-Aug, 2007

IGAD-CEWARN Country Update – Ethiopian Side of the Karamoja Cluster

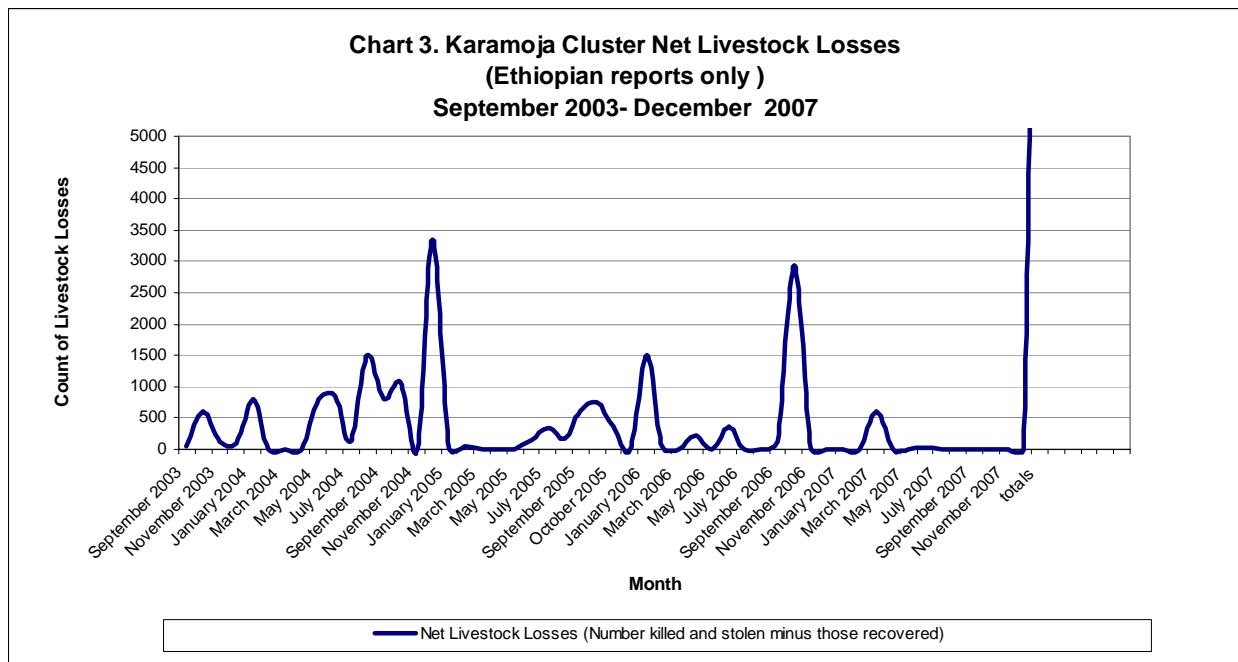
December 12-15, 2007 in Omorate, Dassenech Wereda. This peace initiative has shifted the hostile environment prevailing among the pastoralists to that of dialogue, negotiation and cooperation.

Human deaths for the reporting period are presented in **Chart 2** (below);



Since there had not been violent incidents in this reporting period, No human deaths occurred.

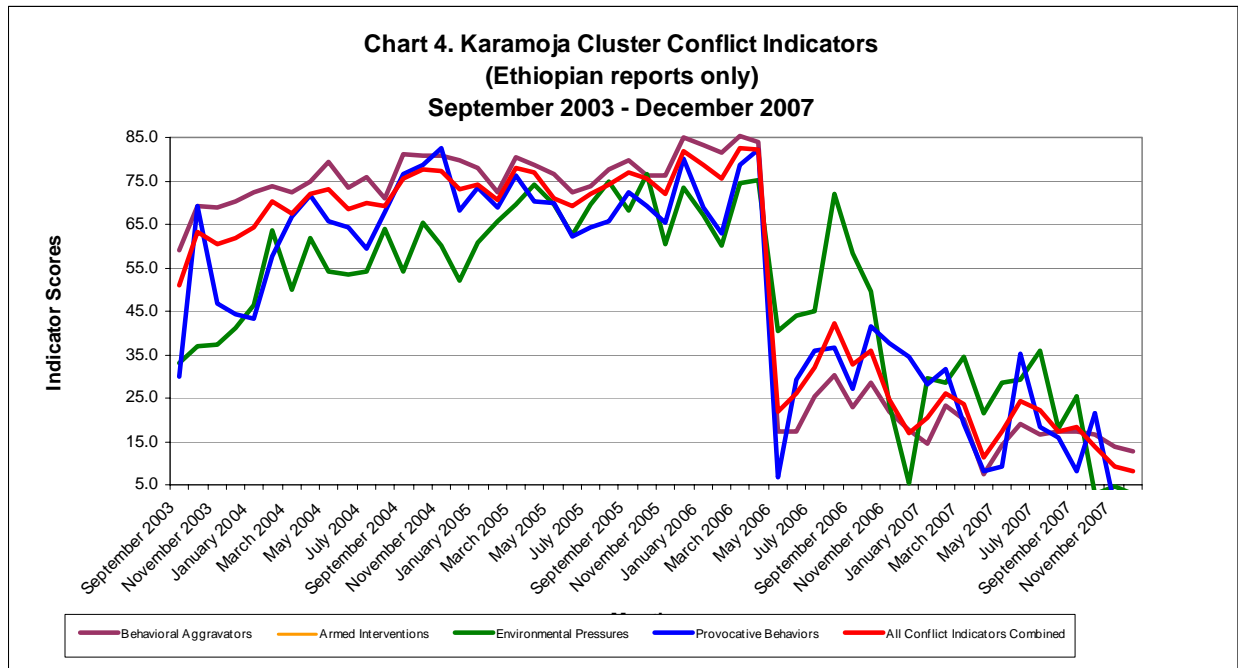
Livestock losses are presented in **Chart 3** (below).



Similarly, no livestock loss was reported in this period in congruence to absence of violent incidents.

IGAD-CEWARN Country Update – Ethiopian Side of the Karamoja Cluster

Conflict indicators for the Ethiopian side of the Karamoja Cluster are presented in **Chart 4** (below).



As expected the Combined Conflict Indicators³ showed a dramatic decline in this period. All the individual conflict indicators showed a significant decline as well.

Environmental Pressures was minimal during this period. The October-December rainy season passed without any irregularities. As a result, the communities were able to feed their livestock on fresh pasture. In addition to this, the peaceful environment in the AORs meant that grazing areas that were previously inaccessible became accessible and the communities were able to return back to previously abandoned grazing areas.

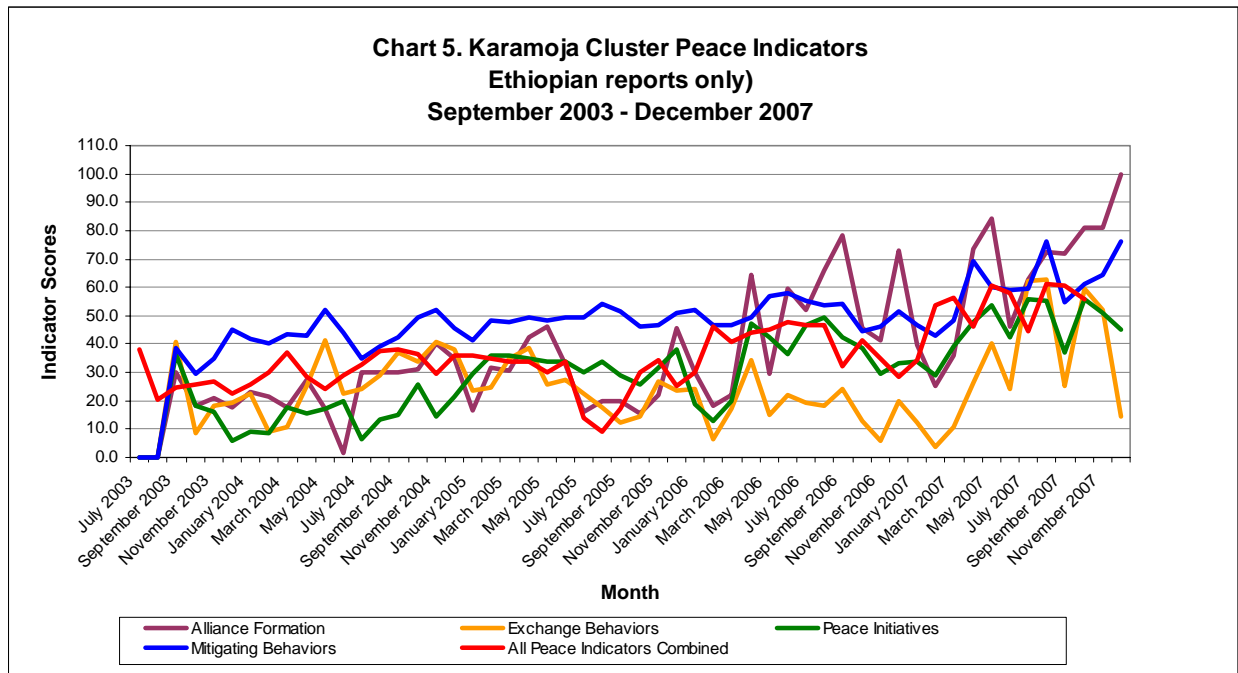
Provocative Behaviors was the lowest since 2003 in this period, particularly in the months of November and December, 2007. The absence of conflict-instigating behaviors - like elders blessing the youth to mount attacks or the youth roaming around looking for trouble - can be directly linked with the peace initiative of AEPDA and the decisions reached during that gathering, which in turn changed the conflict dynamics of the area to one that is cooperative.

Similarly, Aggravating Behavior indicators were among the least since 2003. Interruption of pastoral movement patterns or disruption of self help activities or trade which often used to occur as a result of conflict, and which often heightened conflict behavior in the past were not observed during this period. In fact, to the contrary, what was witnessed was a resumption of trade, movement of pastoralists and continuation of self help activities such as construction of feeder roads and farming. Again, these entire improved situations could be attributed to the mini-gathering and its outcome.

³ For full description of Conflict Indicators see Appendix 2

IGAD-CEWARN Country Update – Ethiopian Side of the Karamoja Cluster

Peace indicators presented in **Chart 5** (below).



Peace Initiative⁴ indicators were high during this period. The most notable factor for the high score was the peace initiative undertaken by a local based pastoralist association known as AEPDA. AEPDA is a newly established community based organization, stationed in Nyangatom Woreda, working towards establishing peace amongst South Omo pastoralists through processes of bringing different pastoralist groups together to discuss common issues, ideas and eventually negotiate peace. In its short period of establishment, it has managed to organize, with the assistance of The UN OCHA Pastoralist Communication Initiative (UN OCHA-PCI) a pastoralist gathering in Kangaten, Nyangatom Wereda in November 2007. This gathering, which brought together pastoral communities from South Omo Zone as well as Kenya and Sudan, was very successful. Among the outcomes from this conference was the formation of a peace committee of 60 members drawn from each community present at the gathering.

Following this gathering, the first peace committee meeting was held between 14-16 December 2007 at Omorate after the Dassenech community extended their invitation to host the first meeting at their Wereda - and, with a financial assistance secured from UNOCHA-PCI. AEDPA provided assistance to the meeting through provision of logistical support and lending facilitation service. At the end of this meeting, the peace committee put forward a set of activities to carry forward the initiative and bring peace among the pastoralist communities of the sub-region. A one year action plan was developed during the meeting where responsibilities were divided between the peace committee and AEDPA to bringing together communities in South Omo region to discuss common issues and ideas that eventually lead to peace and development; Institutionalizing traditional conflict resolution methods and procedures that mitigate and resolve conflict in the area, and reduce pastoral conflict in the South Omo.

Another important peace initiative was the second Ethiopian CEWERU workshop that was held in Awassa in November 22-23, 2007. The workshop brought together members of the CEWERU structure from the Federal to the local level, CEWARN unit, representatives of partner organizations and civil society representatives. The workshop was conducted for two days and

⁴ For full description of Peace Indicators see Appendix 2.

IGAD-CEWARN Country Update – Ethiopian Side of the Karamoja Cluster

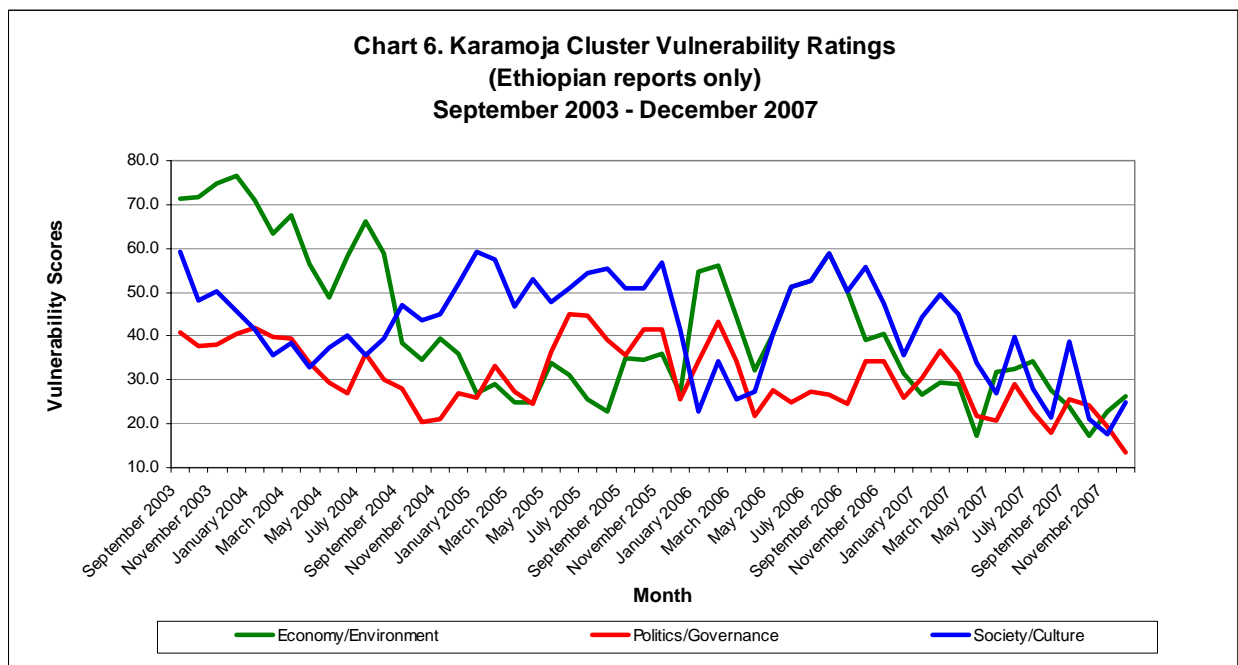
passed important resolutions to improving and strengthening the functioning of the Ethiopian CEWERU.

One of the outcomes of the gathering was the formation of strong bondage among the communities of the sub-region. This led to the strong showing of Alliance Formation Indicator on the chart. Collaboration among the peace committees and in general among the communities in the areas and finding common solutions to communal violence was strong after this mini-event. But it is not only confined to inter-ethnic alliance. Local officials from Ethiopia, Sudan and Kenya who attended the gathering also showed their support by providing logistic assistance to the work of the peace committees.

As can be expected Mitigating Behavior Indicators remained high during this period. Social services (education, health,) continued to be accessible in all areas of reporting. Peace negotiation services were provided to the newly formed peace committees in Omorate after the Dassenech community and Administration invited peace committees from other areas to hold their first joint meeting. Relief supply to the needy under food-for-work program continued unabated.

In correspondence to the improving peace and security situation on the ground, exchange among communities remained reasonably stable. The communities were observed routinely exchanging grain, livestock in different markets. The volume of cross border trade has increased and the volume of livestock sale has similarly shown a rise.

Chart 6 (below) presents Vulnerability Ratings for the reporting period.



The overall Vulnerability Ratings were among the lowest since the start of reporting in 2003. It was not surprising to witness this given the general favorable conditions of peace created since October 2007.

The increase in volume of trade and the opening up of existing markets as well as the absence of fear to share labor among the communities contributed to the decline of Economic Vulnerability. This was further helped by the onset of the seasonal rain on time which reduced the vulnerability of the communities to Environmental Pressures.

IGAD-CEWARN Country Update – Ethiopian Side of the Karamoja Cluster

The mini gathering has enabled previously antagonistic communities to engage in dialogue to resolve their differences peacefully. This, to some extent, has altered the conflict dynamics where hitherto disputes were resolved through violence. As a result, this new opportunity laid a ground for the formation of alliance to resolve their difference and respect each other and enabled them to honor cultural practices and ceremonies and jointly administer resources. This reduced the Society/Cultural Vulnerability indicators on the Chart.

The participation of the local officials, not only from Ethiopia but also from Kenya and Sudan, to the November mini-gathering, and the presence of the Regional Administrator of the SNNPR showed strong commitment of the governments to address, in close collaboration with the communities, pastoral conflicts in the area.

Comparative Analysis

Type	May-Aug 07	Sept-Dec, 07
Incidents	6	0
Human deaths	0	0
Livestock losses	22	0
Cross border incidents	3	0

In the last reporting period, all the incidents recorded occurred in Kibish Area of reporting. In fact no reports of violent incidents were recorded from Nebremus and Bubua Reporting Areas since the last one year. And with no violent incident report from Kibish,, the reporting period for the first time since CEWARN started monitoring violent incidents recorded no incidents. The main reason as repeatedly mentioned was the mini-gathering and its effects. Keeping the momentum of this initiative to bring lasting solution should be given due attention. We have seen in the past flurry of peace initiatives coming and going - opportunities created and then lost. ***This time the Ethiopian CEWERU, CEWARN and the CEWERU structures at the local level should seize this opportunity and assist this initiative to contribute to bringing about lasting solution to the pastoral conflicts in the area.***

Analysis of Proximate Conflict Mitigating Factor

Local peace initiatives and measures to revitalize the Ethiopian CEWERU contributed to the mitigation of the conflict in the area. In addition, the improved economic exchanges among the various communities, the uninterrupted access to social services and the formation of strong collaboration between the communities at large created a favorable climate for the decline of pastoral conflicts in the area.

IGAD-CEWARN Country Update – Ethiopian Side of the Karamoja Cluster

Response Recommendations

ACTORS	SHORT TERM	MEDIUM TERM
CEWERU	Support the peace initiatives of local government and the civil society in their effort to mitigate conflict, such as the initiative through Pastoralist mini-gathering	Strengthen the coordination and institutional mechanism linking Federal and Local organs of government and civil society to solicit better and timely response
LOCAL COMMUNITIES	Extend their peace initiatives to other reporting areas, particularly to Kibish and create linkages with other peace activities by other NGOs and local organizations and government.	Follow and sustain the peace activities (cross border/national) by including pastoralist elders, youth, women, government, etc
CIVIL SOCIETY	Support and participate in peace initiatives in addition to strengthening coordination and networking to mitigate conflict	Consolidate and possibly expand their development initiatives by including the pastoralists themselves
INTERNATIONAL NGOs	Support by providing funds and capacity building programmes the peace activities of local NGOs, especially the cross border ones	Provide resources and “expertise” for development and peace initiatives

IGAD-CEWARN Country Update – Ethiopian Side of the Karamoja Cluster

Appendix 1: Definitions of the Incident Categories

- Armed Clashes
 - *Military Battle* (Armed hostilities or engagements between an official military unit of a government and an armed party. Includes both civil war and inter-state war battles.
 - *Other Armed Clashes* (All other armed hostilities or engagements. Includes all communal and inter-communal battles.

- Raids
 - *Raids with Abductions* (Raids focused around abductions of people or the taking of hostages. May include injuries or death to humans, and/or damage, destruction or theft of other property).
 - *Organized Raids* (Other organized raids. May include injuries or deaths to humans, and/or damage, destruction or theft of other property).
 - *Livestock Theft* (Raids focused around the theft of livestock. May include injuries or death to humans, and/or damage, destruction or theft of other property).

- Protest Demonstrations
 - *Peaceful Protests* (peaceful protest demonstrations or assemblies. May include isolated or low-level violence).
 - *Violent Turmoil or Riots* (Assemblies or crowds that get out of control. Marked by violence, disorder, damage and/or destruction).

- Other Crime
 - *Assaults* (Physical attacks and abuse involving the actual use of physical force against individuals, and/or groups. Does not include abductions.
 - *Banditry* (Commandeering of vehicles, highway robbery, and other similar criminal activities).

IGAD-CEWARN Country Update – Ethiopian Side of the Karamoja Cluster

Appendix 2: Description of Indicators (from the Situation Reports)

<u>Alliance Formation</u>		
Inter-ethnic group alliance	Ethnic group – government alliance	
<u>Armed Intervention</u>		
Internal armed support	External armed support	
<u>Aggravating Behavior</u>		
Interrupt other activities Development aid problems Media controls Migrant laborers New Markets Negative media coverage	Pastoral migration Harmful migration policy Harmful livestock policy Influx of IDPs Security escorts Small arms availability	Bullets as commodities Protest Student attendance interrupted Separation of groups Livestock prices dropped Post-raid blessing Livestock sales increase
<u>Environmental Pressure</u>		
Natural disaster areas abandoned	Land competition Livestock disease	More livestock in secure areas grazing
<u>Exchange Behavior</u>		
Celebration Inter-group sharing	Inter-group marriage Cross-border trade	Gift offering
<u>Mitigating Behavior</u>		
Access to health care Small arms disclosure Access to education	Relief distributions Markets remain open Positive media coverage	Law enforcement Bride price stable Negotiations taking place
<u>Peace Initiatives</u>		
Women peace messengers Religious peace building	Weapons reduction program NGO peace initiatives	Local peace initiatives
<u>Provocative Behavior</u>		
All-male migration	Pre-raid blessing	Traditional forecasting

IGAD-CEWARN Country Update – Ethiopian Side of the Karamoja Cluster

Karamoja Cluster - Ethiopian Incident Reports					
Month & Year	Protest Demon- s- tration	Other Crime	Organized Raids	Armed Clash	All incident
December 2003	0	2	1	1	4
January 2004	0	1	2	1	4
February 2004	0	3	1	1	5
March 2004	0	1	0	0	1
April 2004	0	0	2	4	6
May 2004	0	0	2	3	5
June 2004	0	4	2	1	7
July 2004	0	0	3	1	4
August 2004	0	3	1	0	4
September 2004	0	1	1	1	3
October 2004	0	0	1	1	2
November 2004	0	1	0	0	1
December 2004	0	4	3	1	8
January 2005	0	1	0	0	1
February 2005	0	4	1	0	5
March 2005	0	1	0	0	1
April 2005	0	1	0	0	1
May 2005	0	3	0	1	4
June 2005	0	10	1	2	13
July 2005	0	7	3	1	11
August 2005	0	3	3	2	8
September 2005	0	2	3	0	5
October 2005	0	2	3	0	5
November 2005	0	7	3	0	10
December 2005	0	0	0	0	0
January 2006	0	2	1	0	3
February 2006	0	0	1	0	1
March 2006	0	0	0	0	0
April 2006	0	4	2	1	7
May 2006	0	5	0	0	5
June 2006	0	2	0	4	6
July 2006	0	3	1	2	6
August 2006	0	1	0	0	1
September 2006	0	0	3	0	3
October 2006	0	2	4	2	8
November 2006	0	2	0	2	4
December 2006	0	0	0	0	0
January 2007	0	0	0	0	0
February 2007	0	3	0	2	5
March 2007	0	0	1	0	1
April 2007	0	0	0	1	1
May 2007	0	0	0	0	0
June 2007	0	1	1	3	5
July 2007	0	0	0	1	1
August 2007	0	0	0	0	0
September 2007	0	0	0	0	0
October 2007	0	0	0	0	0
November 2007	0	0	0	0	0
December 2007	0	0	0	0	0
totals	1	88	58	39	186

Karamoja Cluster - Ethiopian Human Deaths, low estimates			
Month & Year	Human Deaths	Women & Children	percents W&C
July 2003	N/A	N/A	N/A
August 2003	N/A	N/A	N/A
September 2003	1	0	0.0
October 2003	5	0	0.0
November 2003	2	0	0.0
December 2003	5	0	0.0
January 2004	8	0	0.0
February 2004	10	0	0.0
March 2004	0	0	N/A
April 2004	7	0	0.0
May 2004	17	0	0.0
June 2004	4	0	0.0
July 2004	25	0	0.0
August 2004	19	0	0.0
September 2004	1	0	0.0
October 2004	2	0	0.0
November 2004	1	0	0.0
December 2004	12	0	0.0
January 2005	0	0	N/A
February 2005	7	0	0.0
March 2005	1	0	0.0
April 2005	6	5	83.3
May 2005	1	1	100.0
June 2005	8	0	0.0
July 2005	13	1	7.7
August 2005	14	2	14.3
September 2005	0	0	N/A
October 2005	4	0	0.0
November 2005	7	0	0.0
December 2005	0	0	N/A
January 2006	2	0	0.0
February 2006	1	0	0.0
March 2006	0	0	N/A
April 2006	14	9	64.3
May 2006	2	0	0.0
June 2006	7	0	0.0
July 2006	12	1	8.3
August 2006	1	0	0.0
September 2006	0	0	N/A
October 2006	0	0	N/A
November 2006	13	0	0.0
December 2006	0	0	N/A
January 2007	0	0	N/A
February 2007	7	0	0.0
March 2007	2	2	100.0
April 2007	0	0	N/A
May 2007	0	0	N/A
June 2007	0	0	N/A
July 2007	0	0	N/A
August 2007	0	0	N/A
September 2007	0	0	N/A
October 2007	0	0	N/A
November 2007	0	0	N/A
December 2007	0	0	N/A
totals	241	21	8.7

IGAD-CEWARN Country Update – Ethiopian Side of the Karamoja Cluster

Month & Year	Livestock Losses, net
January 2004	799
February 2004	7
March 2004	0
April 2004	0
May 2004	800
June 2004	850
July 2004	120
August 2004	1500
September 2004	800
October 2004	1080
November 2004	0
December 2004	3359
January 2005	0
February 2005	43
March 2005	0
April 2005	0
May 2005	0
June 2005	140
July 2005	341
August 2005	182
September 2005	609
November 2005	750
October 2005	366
December 2005	0
January 2006	1500
February 2006	50
March 2006	0
April 2006	209
May 2006	0
June 2006	369
July 2006	0
August 2006	0
September 2006	127
October 2006	2934
November 2006	0
December 2006	0
January 2007	0
February 2007	0
March 2007	600
April 2007	0
May 2007	0
June 2007	24
July 2007	0
August 2007	0
September 2007	0
October 2007	0
November 2007	0
December 2007	0
totals	18438

Month & Year	Peace Initiatives	Mitigating Behavior	Exchange Behavior	Alliance Formation	Combined
January 2004	9.0	41.8	22.7	23.0	26.6
February 2004	8.8	40.3	9.2	21.3	22.3
March 2004	17.5	43.3	10.8	17.5	25.9
April 2004	15.4	43.1	25.4	27.5	29.9
May 2004	17.1	52.1	41.4	17.1	37.1
June 2004	20.0	44.1	22.8	1.7	28.6
July 2004	6.7	34.9	24.3	30.0	24.3
August 2004	13.3	39.3	28.9	30.0	29.0
September 2004	15.0	42.2	37.1	30.0	32.7
October 2004	26.0	49.1	33.7	31.0	37.5
November 2004	14.6	51.9	40.8	40.0	38.3
December 2004	21.7	45.6	37.9	35.0	36.4
January 2005	29.3	41.3	23.8	16.4	29.3
February 2005	35.9	48.5	24.7	31.7	35.9
March 2005	36.2	47.6	34.7	30.8	36.2
April 2005	35.0	49.4	38.5	42.2	35.0
May 2005	33.9	48.3	25.6	46.2	33.9
June 2005	33.7	49.3	27.2	32.5	33.7
July 2005	30.1	49.3	22.4	16.0	30.1
August 2005	34.0	54.3	17.8	20.0	34.0
September 2005	28.8	51.3	12.5	20.0	14.2
October 2005	25.6	46.2	14.6	15.4	9.2
November 2005	31.7	46.7	27.0	22.0	17.3
December 2005	38.1	51.0	23.6	45.7	30.0
January 2006	18.6	52.0	24.2	30.0	34.1
February 2006	12.8	46.9	6.7	18.3	25.0
March 2006	20.0	46.9	17.0	21.8	29.9
April 2006	47.0	49.4	34.2	64.2	45.9
May 2006	42.6	56.7	15.0	29.3	40.9
June 2006	36.4	58.2	22.0	59.5	43.8
July 2006	46.9	55.4	19.3	52.3	45.1
August 2006	49.6	53.9	18.2	65.9	47.9
September 2006	42.2	54.4	24.4	78.2	46.6
October 2006	38.4	44.3	12.6	45.5	46.6
November 2006	29.3	46.3	5.7	41.1	32.0
December 2006	33.4	51.7	19.8	72.7	41.2
January 2007	33.6	46.9	12.5	39.5	34.8
February 2007	29.2	43.0	3.7	25.0	28.7
March 2007	39.0	48.1	10.6	36.0	34.5
April 2007	47.7	69.0	26.3	73.8	53.7
May 2007	53.6	60.3	40.5	84.5	56.5
June 2007	42.3	59.3	24.2	46.3	46.3
July 2007	56.1	59.4	62.1	62.7	60.5
August 2007	55.3	76.2	63.0	72.4	58.0
September 2007	37.2	54.6	25.2	71.8	44.5
October 2007	55.9	61.2	59.5	81.3	61.0
November 2007	50.8	64.3	52.1	81.3	60.9
December 2007	45.1	76.2	14.7	100.0	55.7

IGAD-CEWARN Country Update – Ethiopian Side of the Karamoja Cluster

Month & Year	Armed Intervention	Provocative Behavior	Environmental Pressure	Aggravating Behavior
January 2004	0.0	43.3	46.4	72.2
February 2004	0.0	57.5	63.5	73.8
March 2004	0.0	66.7	50.0	72.4
April 2004	0.0	71.7	62.0	74.9
May 2004	0.0	65.7	54.3	79.4
June 2004	0.0	64.4	53.3	73.3
July 2004	0.0	59.3	54.0	75.9
August 2004	0.0	67.8	64.0	70.9
September 2004	0.0	76.7	54.0	81.2
October 2004	0.0	78.7	65.2	80.6
November 2004	0.0	82.5	60.0	80.9
December 2004	0.0	68.3	52.0	79.6
January 2005	0.0	73.3	60.9	77.9
February 2005	0.0	68.9	65.7	72.3
March 2005	0.0	76.1	69.7	80.3
April 2005	0.0	70.4	74.2	78.7
May 2005	0.0	70.0	69.5	76.6
June 2005	0.0	62.2	62.7	72.3
July 2005	0.0	64.4	69.6	73.9
August 2005	0.0	65.7	75.0	77.6
September 2005	0.0	72.2	68.3	79.7
October 2005	0.0	69.2	76.6	76.1
November 2005	0.0	65.3	60.4	76.1
December 2005	0.0	80.0	73.4	85.1
January 2006	0.0	68.9	67.0	83.3
February 2006	0.0	62.8	60.0	81.6
March 2006	0.0	78.8	74.5	85.4
April 2006	0.0	82.2	75.3	83.9
May 2006	0.0	6.8	40.3	17.1
June 2006	0.0	29.1	44.0	17.3
July 2006	0.0	36.0	45.1	25.4
August 2006	0.0	36.5	72.2	30.3
September 2006	0.0	27.0	58.4	22.9
October 2006	0.0	41.4	49.5	28.4
November 2006	0.0	37.8	23.7	21.9
December 2006	0.0	34.6	5.4	17.7
January 2007	0.0	28.2	29.7	14.4
February 2007	0.0	31.7	28.6	23.4
March 2007	0.0	19.1	34.5	19.9
April 2007	0.0	8.0	21.4	7.5
May 2007	0.0	9.1	28.5	14.3
June 2007	0.0	35.3	29.2	19.2
July 2007	0.0	18.2	36.0	16.7
August 2007	0.0	15.8	17.8	17.3
September 2007	0.0	8.1	25.3	17.5
October 2007	0.0	21.5	2.9	16.7
November 2007	0.0	0.0	4.8	13.6
December 2007	0.0	0.0	2.8	12.8

Month & Year	Economy/Environment	Politics/Governance	Society/Culture
January 2004	71.2	41.8	41.4
February 2004	63.4	39.8	35.6
March 2004	67.4	39.5	38.4
April 2004	56.4	34.1	32.7
May 2004	48.8	29.5	37.4
June 2004	58.0	27.1	40.1
July 2004	66.3	35.9	35.5
August 2004	58.9	30.2	39.5
September 2004	38.6	28.1	47.2
October 2004	34.6	20.3	43.8
November 2004	39.4	21.1	45.1
December 2004	36.0	27.0	52.0
January 2005	27.0	25.9	59.1
February 2005	28.9	33.3	57.5
March 2005	25.0	27.2	46.6
April 2005	24.7	24.7	52.9
May 2005	33.9	36.3	47.7
June 2005	31.2	45.1	50.9
July 2005	25.4	44.7	54.3
August 2005	22.8	39.1	55.2
September 2005	35.0	35.6	51.0
October 2005	34.7	41.6	50.8
November 2005	36.0	41.7	56.8
December 2005	27.1	25.6	41.7
January 2006	54.7	34.1	23.0
February 2006	56.0	43.3	34.3
March 2006	44.1	34.1	25.7
April 2006	32.1	21.7	27.2
May 2006	40.5	27.6	40.5
June 2006	51.2	25.0	51.2
July 2006	52.5	27.4	52.5
August 2006	58.9	26.6	58.9
September 2006	50.4	24.7	50.4
October 2006	39.2	34.2	55.6
November 2006	40.6	34.3	47.4
December 2006	31.7	26.1	35.5
January 2007	26.5	30.3	44.3
February 2007	29.4	36.7	49.4
March 2007	29.0	31.5	45.1
April 2007	17.2	21.7	33.8
May 2007	31.8	20.9	27.1
June 2007	32.4	29.1	39.6
July 2007	34.4	23.0	28.1
August 2007	27.7	18.1	21.4
September 2007	23.8	25.7	38.6
October 2007	17.4	24.3	21.0
November 2007	22.9	19.3	17.6
December 2007	26.2	13.4	24.9