

The impact of tax and corruption on livelihoods in Kenya: Views of young women

Dr Rose Otieno

**The Manchester Metropolitan University
Clothing Design & Technology Department
Old Hall Lane Manchester M14 6HR**

In the recent, the issue of corruption in Kenya has featured prominently in the media worldwide. You may now understand the outrage of Kenyans. After giving such an overwhelming mandate and investing so much hope in the NARC Administration; Kenyans are now a disillusioned lot. The election promises made regarding zero tolerance to corruption, good governance within a new constitutional dispensation; efficiency in public institutions; economic growth; poverty alleviation and job creation are becoming more and more elusive because of endemic corruption. The issue for international stakeholders is whether current developments could have adverse implications for Kenya's socio-economic and political stability in the Eastern Africa region. This paper is based on an ongoing research with 500 young women in Nairobi and examines their views and experiences regarding corruption and taxation in their interaction with officials of both public and private organisations. Women pay, unknowingly, taxes that may be unjust especially in cases of VAT on basic needs items. Using a questionnaire and interviews, respondents provide information on the nature of corruption e.g. bribery law enforcement, regulatory, access to health, schooling, water, electricity, business and employment matters; their reaction to it and perception of how this menace could be overcome. With the future that seems bleak (starvation, poverty, HIV-Aids menace, prevalent malaria, rampant unemployment, lack of adequate clean water and the challenge to provide Universal Primary Education; what is the view of those women at the forefront who face these issues daily? What do young women think? A key finding is that women want to be involved in the fight against unjust taxation and corruption and propose an education campaign to bring issues to the forefront and tackle them.

Introduction

Kenya, an important UK and US ally in the global counter-terrorism effort, continues to be in the international media limelight because of malpractices of corruption; and this to the dismay of the citizenry and international community. Corruption issues have revolved around individuals, private and government organisations. Kenya gained independence in 1963 under the presidency of Jomo Kenyatta (1963-1978). During Daniel Moi's rule (1978-2002), many Kenyans became disillusioned because of corruption. Mwai Kibaki won the 2002 elections following a campaign centred on an anti-corruption platform.

Kenya is one of the leading tourist destinations in Africa with most activities based on nature attractions. About 10% of the country has been set aside for wildlife conservation and biodiversity in natural habitats and the promotion of nature-based tourism and idyllic beaches, making Kenya an attractive tourism destination (Akama, 1996; www.un.org, 2006). Kenya is a popular and yet culturally sensitive destination for international tourists (Pennington-Gray et al., 2005). According to the Kenya Tourist Board, there was a 30% increase in tourist numbers by December 2004 (Obonyo, 2005) after the decline at the beginning of the millennium. The population of Kenya is approximately 32 million and boasts a growth rate of 3.8%, one of the highest in the world. The tribes of Kenya represent a true cross-section of African life. Some ethnic groups have assimilated the conveniences of the west while other remote tribes remain untouched by the 20th century. Tribal culture is continually changing as refugees from neighbouring countries and intermarriage blur both territorial boundaries and physiological features. Kenyans speak a variety of languages although English is the dominant tongue in towns and throughout the tourist industry. Language remains the major feature that distinguishes tribal affiliation. Since the British arrived in Kenya around 1895, safaris have taken place, and have hosted distinguished visitors such as Queen Elizabeth. Kenya has been immortalised by authors such as Ernest Hemmingway and Theodore Roosevelt (Honey, 1999; Pennington-Gray et al., 2006).

The general literacy level (age 15 years and over who can read and write) is fairly high (85.1%); with 90.6% for males and 79.7% for females as established in 2003. There are various challenges facing Kenya. There is food or waterborne diseases (e.g. bacterial and protozoal diarrhoea, hepatitis A, and typhoid fever); vector borne disease and malaria; and water contact disease (e.g. Schistosomiasis since 2004). The challenges from HIV/AIDS with an adult prevalence rate of 6.7% are enormous. Life expectancy at birth is 47.99 years. Infant mortality rate is 61.47 deaths/1,000 live births.

As a regional hub for trade and finance in East Africa, Kenya has been hampered by corruption and by reliance upon several primary goods whose prices have remained low. In 1997, the IMF suspended Kenya's Enhance Structural Adjustment Programme due to the Government's failure to maintain reforms and curb corruption. A severe drought from 1999 to 2000 compounded Kenya's problems, causing water and energy rationing and reducing agricultural output. As a result, GDP contracted by 0.2% in 2000. The IMF, which had resumed loans in 2000 to help Kenya through the drought, again halted lending in 2001 when the Government failed to institute several anti-corruption measures. Despite the return of strong rains in 2001, weak commodity process, endemic corruption, and low investment limited Kenya's economic growth to 1.2%. Growth lagged at 1.1%

in 2002 because of erratic rains, low investor confidence, meagre donor support, and political infighting up to the elections. In December 2002 elections, Daniel Moi's 25 year old reign ended, and a new opposition government took on the formidable economic problems facing the nation. In 2003, progress was made in rooting out corruption and encouraging donor support. Unemployment rate was 40% in 2001. In 2005 the public debt was estimated at 67.4% of GDP, the external debt of \$7.349 and the inflation rate at 12%. 50% of population live below poverty line. In 1997 Kenya was in receipt of \$453 million in economic aid. The challenge facing Kenya today is to reduce poverty and achieve sustained economic growth. The Poverty Reduction Paper (PRSP) was intended to arrest this situation. PRSP in 2001-2004 suggests that the high cost of healthcare is the cause of poverty. The performance of the health sector is affected by the high cost of healthcare contributing to poor access, declining standards, increased re-emergence of disease, high cost of drugs and inadequate funding.

Kenya's role in international scene

The issue for international stakeholders is whether current developments could have adverse implications for Kenya's socio-economic and political stability which could destabilize the whole Great Lakes and Horn of Africa region in which Kenya has been at the forefront of peace building and conflict resolution in countries like Burundi, Somalia, and Sudan. Kenya is also a key player in African continental and regional multilateralism such as the African Union, NEPAD, COMESA, IGAD and the East African Community. Internationally, Kenya has been a respected member of the Commonwealth and the United Nations which the country has served with distinction not only as the largest UN headquarter location outside New York and Geneva but also a major participant in international UN peacekeeping around the world. According to UNHCR, by the end of 2001 Kenya was host to 220,000 refugees from neighbouring countries, including: Somalia 145,000 and Sudan 68,000 (est. 2005)

In 2005, Transparency International published its Bribery Index Report. This report summarises the findings of TI-Kenya's fourth national bribery survey. In May 2006, the TI published the 2005 bribery survey; revealing that corruption still exists (Openda, 2006). The Kenya Bribery Index is part of TI-Kenya's effort to inform the fight against corruption with rigorous and objective research and analysis. The survey captures corruption as experienced by ordinary citizens in their interaction with officials of both public and private organisations. Respondents provide information on the organisations where they have encountered bribery during the year, where they paid bribes, how much and for what. The bribes are categorised into five purposes, namely: law enforcement (i.e.

avoiding consequences of wrong doing and/or harassment by the relevant authority); regulatory (e.g. obtaining licences); access to services (e.g. health, school places, water, electricity etc); business (obtaining contracts, expediting payments etc) and employment matters (securing jobs, promotions, transfers, training etc). The 2004 survey had a sample of 2,398 respondents in all the 8 provinces. On average, each respondent cited 3.5 organisations, which translates to a total of 8,419 observations. Six indicators that capture different dimensions of corruption were analysed: incidence (the likelihood that a person visiting an organisation will be asked for a bribe or feel it is necessary to offer one.); prevalence (victims of bribery in an organisation as a sample of the population); severity (the level of impunity, measured by the frequency of denial of service if a bribe is not paid); frequency (the number of bribes paid per client); cost (the estimated proceeds per person, which is indicative of the bribery “tax burden” per adult citizen) and size (the average size of bribe paid, i.e. the cost to the individuals who pay the bribes). It was revealed that the Kenya Police was the most corrupt organisation in the nation.

One of the biggest corruption scandals engulfing Kenya today is the outrage at the depth of official corruption. It has shocked Kenyans and the international community that senior Ministers in Government and top civil servants were involved in such schemes that were designed to pay huge sums of money to non-existent international companies under the pretext of procurement of security equipment and materials. The most famous is the Anglo-Leasing Finance Company Ltd which company would provide lease financing to purchase terror-protection passport making equipment and a forensic laboratory equipment for the police. It is the most serious corruption crisis for the government since the Goldenberg scandal of the Moi regime. The primary intention of the conspirators, it has now emerged, was not so much the equipping of the security agencies but the siphoning of large sums of money from the treasury to enrich the perpetrators. This is referred to in common parlance as “New Corruption” or “grand corruption”.

President Kibaki’s administration came to power on the promise of zero tolerance to corruption. It was hoped that an assault on official corruption would provide a good foundation on which a free democratic and prosperous nation would be built. Kenyans were aware that a corrupt and ruthless executive had overrun all institutions of governance including the legislature, judiciary and civil society. This state of affairs had provided necessary environment for mega corruption that almost literally brought Kenya to an economic standstill in 2005.

The impact of corruption in Kenya

The gains made in the early mid-1970s in education, health, training, infrastructure had thus been reversed by corruption. Agriculture, the mainstay of the Kenyan economy had suffered serious assaults leading to negative returns in many sectors. One of the finance ministers in 2000 (Hon. Simeon Nyachae) while addressing a joint session of government officials and development partners aptly described the Kenyan situation in graphic terms, *“Our economy is in the intensive care unit”*. It is from this ICU that the Kenyan voter sought to lift the Kenyan economy when they voted for change in December 2002. At that time, Kenyans were billed the most optimistic people in the world. The words of the President on his inaugural address in December 2002 were refreshing and optimistic *“...Corruption will no longer be the way of life in Kenya...”; “...Government decisions will be consultative and the days of roadside declarations are over.”; “...public offices will be held on account of competence and not as gifts to cronies...”*.

After giving such an overwhelming mandate and investing so much hope in the NARC Administration; Kenyans are now greatly disillusioned. The election promises made regarding zero tolerance to corruption, good governance within a new constitutional dispensation; efficiency in public institutions; economic growth; poverty alleviation and job creation are becoming more and more elusive because of endemic corruption.

Structures/Loosing the battle?

Since 2002, some structures were set up to try and fight corruption. First, an anti-corruption czar was appointed as a Permanent Secretary in the Office of the President to advise the President on the fight against the networks of corruption. This structure is no longer in place and has left acrimonious circumstances with the office unoccupied. Second, judges and magistrates were forced to early retirement in an operation dubbed ‘radical surgery’ in the judiciary. Third, parliament appointed a judge to head of the Kenya Anti-corruption Authority complete with security of tenure, an enabling Act of Parliament, adequate budget and appropriate infrastructure. This body, in the view of many Kenyans has not dented corruption. Fourth, Parliament has strengthened the National Audit office by giving the office of the Controller and Auditor-General financial and administration autonomy. Yet cases of grand corruption continue unabated. Currently, there are proceedings against those named in the Anglo-leasing affair.

Many Kenyans are now disillusioned. There are currently about 4 million Kenyans who are threatened with starvation and some have died of hunger and hunger-related ailments. More than

60% of the population live below the poverty line (surviving on less than \$1 a day). More than 700 people die daily of HIV-Aids related diseases and from other preventable diseases. More than 300 children die daily of malaria. More than 1 out of 5 children die before the age of 5 because of preventable diseases. There is a rampant unemployment fuelling insecurity. There is failure to provide clean water to every household by the year 2005 as previously targeted. The universal and compulsory primary education is still a mirage as the system cannot cope with large numbers. In summary, Kenya is still a long way from achieving the Millennium Goals.

An unchecked Executive is invariably autocratic and may seek to sustain power by corruption. Accountability and transparency are foreign ideology to people exercising power of 'unlimited' Government. Public office is routinely abused and public resources plundered; public investment in poverty alleviation programmes is largely ignored; leading to large scale deprivation. Ordinary legislation including a host of Anti-corruption outfits like: the Anti-corruption and Economic Crimes Act, Public Officers & Ethics Act; Public Procurement & Disposal Act; Public Finance Administration Act; National Audit Office Act have been rapidly enacted as a way of responding to a corrupt Executive, often at the insistence of donors. However, these measures have been half-hearted.

The Kenyan Parliament debated and adopted a Sessional Paper on *Poverty Alleviation Economic Growth and Employment Creation (2004)*; but the paper is silent on the legal mechanism for achieving the set of goals. Kenyans now believe that poverty can only be confronted if critical constitutional and legislative measures are taken that will devolve power and resources to the regions and local communities.

The survey

This paper is based on an ongoing research with 500 young women in Nairobi and examines their views and experiences regarding corruption and taxation in their interaction with officials of both public and private organisations. 500 women who are engaged in education (students or workers) responded to a questionnaire. The convenient sample was selected from all campuses of Nairobi (public) and Daystar (private) Universities in Kenya. 15 of these women were interviewed. Using a questionnaire and interviews, respondents provide information on the nature of corruption e.g. bribery law enforcement, regulatory, access to health, schooling, water, electricity, business and employment matters; their reaction to it and perception of how this menace could be overcome. With the future that seems bleak (starvation, poverty, HIV-Aids menace, prevalent malaria, rampant

unemployment, lack of adequate clean water and the challenge to provide Universal Primary Education; what is the view of those women at the forefront who face these issues daily? What do young women think?

Figure 1 Gender, age and marital status

Gender	Age	Marital Status
Male: 16 (3.2%)	Below 16yrs: 1 (0.2%)	Single: 434 (86.8%)
Female: 484 (96.8%)	16-22yrs: 321 (64.2%)	Partnered: 41 (8.2%)
Total: 500 (100.0%)	23-29yrs: 153 (30.6%)	Married: 25 (5.0%)
	30-36yrs: 17 (3.4%)	Total: 500 (100.0%)
	37-43yrs: 4 (0.8%)	
	44+yrs: 4 (0.8%)	
	Total: 500 (100.0%)	

Table 2 Education, Income and Occupation

Education	Income	Occupation
None: 4 (0.8%)	Below Ksh 5000: 171 (34.2%)	Student: 426 (85.2%)
Vocational: 3 (0.6%)	Ksh 5001-10,000: 46 (9.2%)	Manager: 18 (3.6%)
Graduate: 382 (76.4%)	Ksh 10,001-15,000: 25 (5.0%)	Administrator: 19 (3.8%)
Postgraduate: 26 (5.2%)	Ksh 15,001-20,000: 1 (0.2%)	Clerical: 8 (1.6%)
KCSE: 45 (9.0%)	Ksh 20,001-25,000: 8 (1.6%)	Unemployed: 5 (1.0%)
ALevel: 5 (1.0%)	Ksh 25,000+: 22 (4.4%)	Other: 24 (4.8%)
No answer: 35 (7.0%)	No answer: 227 (45.4%)	Total: 500 (100.0%)
Total: 500 (100.0%)	Total: 500 (100.0%)	

Regarding your participation in employment tax (PAYE)

When asked ‘Do you pay employment tax (PAYE)?’ 13.2% (66) stated ‘yes’ and 86.8% (433) stated ‘no’. When asked further about how much they thought they paid, only 62 (12.4%) responded with

6.8% of these stating they did not know. The rest of the respondents thought they paid 1% and below.

Respondents were asked ‘How satisfied are you with level of PAYE taxation?’

Table 5 How satisfied are you with level of PAYE taxation?

Extremely satisfied: 3 (1.2%)
Satisfied: 13 (5.1%)
Neutral: 92 (35.8%)
Dissatisfied: 126 (49%)
Extremely dissatisfied: 18 (7%)
No answer/Do not know: 5 (1.9%)
Total: 257 (51.4%)

Respondents were asked ‘If you had to choose to pay or not, would you now or in the future pay PAYE?’. Of the 256 who responded 43% said ‘yes’ and the majority 55.9% stated ‘no’. Through interviews respondents provided various reasons for and against paying. Some key phrases and themes emerged.

Figure 1 Why respondents would not be willing to pay PAYE in future

I usually don't see the returns
High level of how the tax payers money is being swindled by the government
PAYE is too high for me
The kind of lives ministers are living, driving posh vehicles, while some of the people are under harsh conditions yet they are paying tax
Its too high with no benefits for the citizens
There is no evidence that the money is being used wisely
I want to save for my future usage
The money might end up in people's pockets instead of helping our nation.
It is the responsibility of every Kenyan to pay tax direct or indirect but as for myself, paying direct, I can not do this if the money is going into the pockets of a few.

Figure 2 Why respondents would be willing to pay PAYE in future

I am aware it goes to support government projects

It is a must that everyone must pay for the taxes but I recommend that they should try and be fair.

It's a way that the government collect resources for its people.

Its contribution to my old age savings should make it optional.

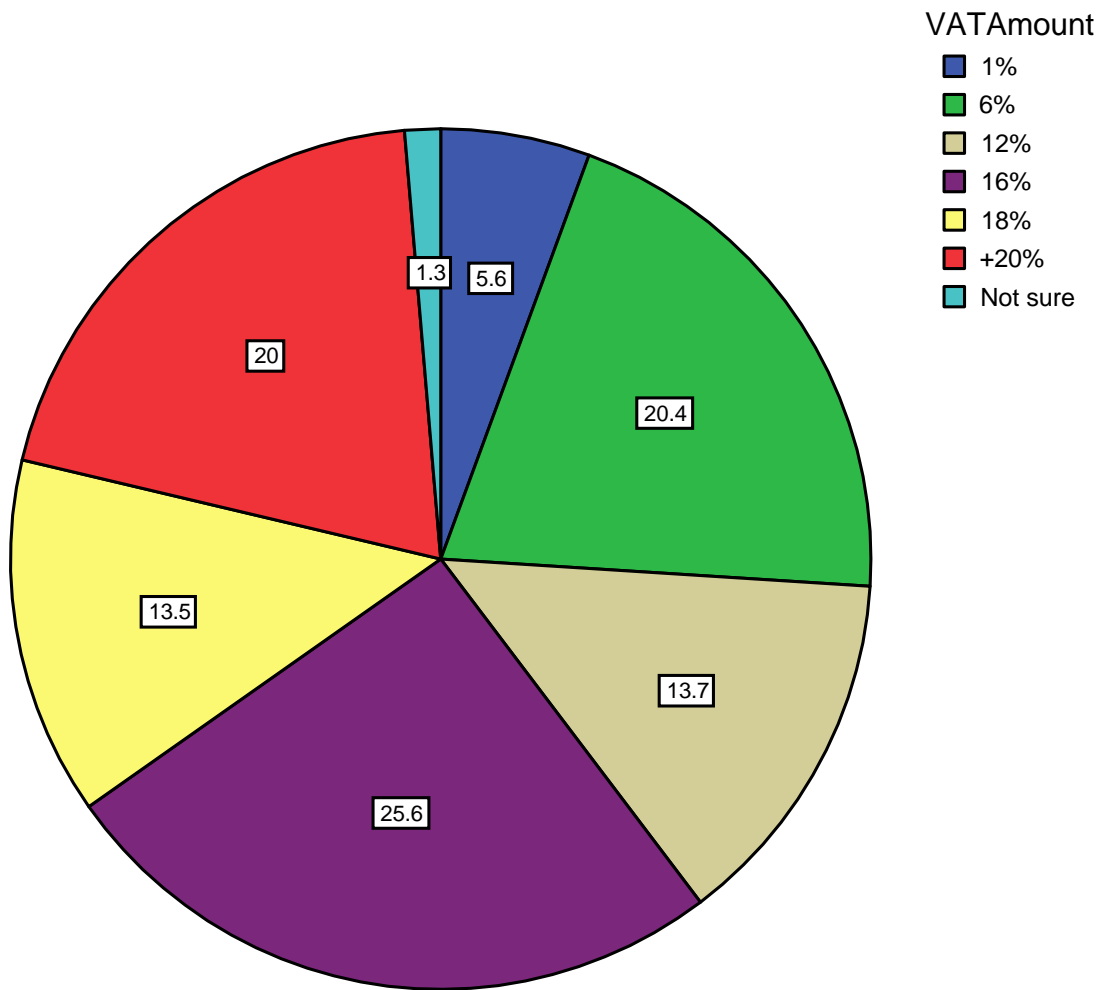
If I saw that the money was put into good use and not in increasing ministers' salaries.

If the money received is utilised in the best way.

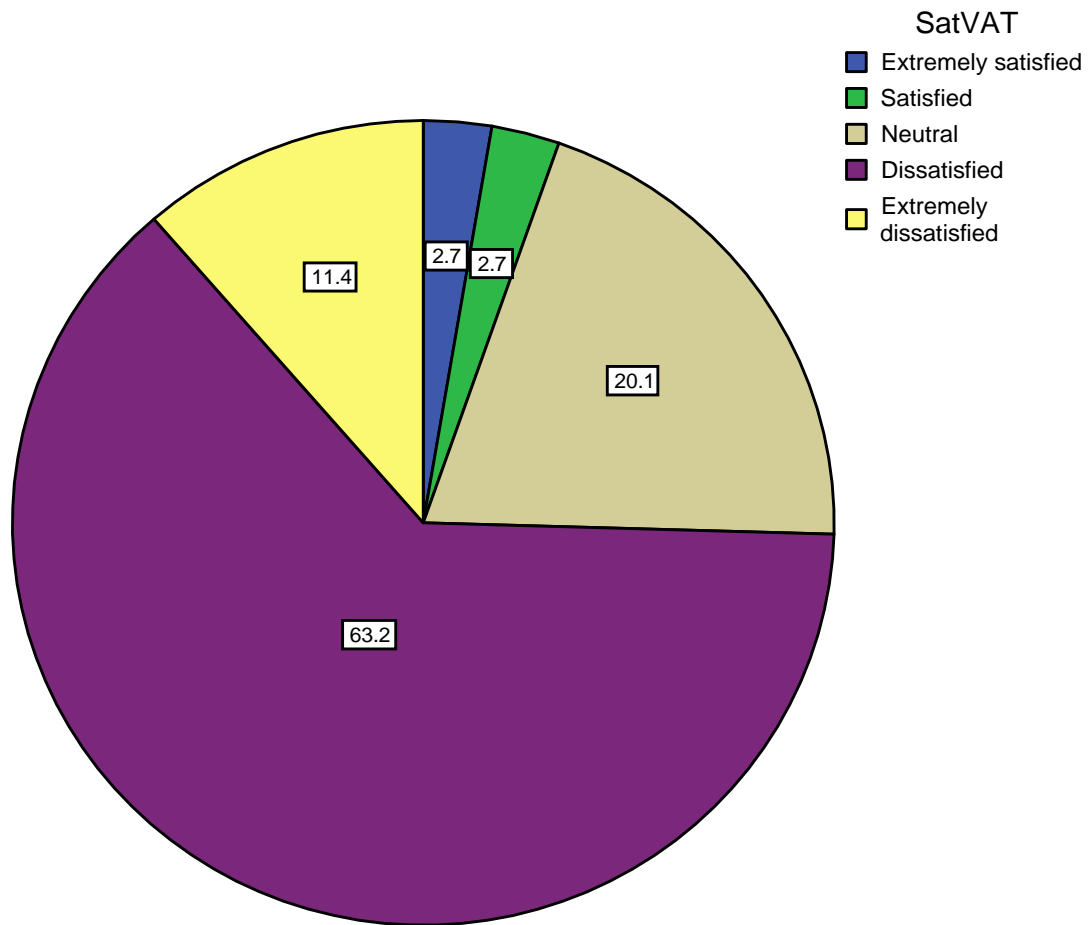
Regarding your participation in VAT

Although a majority (91.8%) were aware that they paid VAT on consumer goods, there were varying estimations of how much they paid.

Figure 3 How much do you think you pay on purchases?



Respondents were asked 'How satisfied are you with the level of Value Added taxation?' A majority (62.3%) were dissatisfied out of the total 448.



Respondents were asked 'If you had to choose to pay or not, would you now or in the future pay VAT?' Out of a total of 406, 54.7% stated 'no' and 44.6 stated 'yes'.

Figure 4 Why respondents would not be willing to pay VAT in future

I am not satisfied with the way the money is spent by the government.
 I feel like the VAT is being deduced on almost every commodity purchased and I end up paying a lot than I may be earning.
 Taxation is too high.
 I get taxed when I withdraw, get taxed when I purchase goods, taxed when I board a matatu, get taxed every time I transact!
 I want to save for my future.
 Where does the money go?
 It makes prices too high for nothing
 Not if it was still at 18% because currently the consumer is being double taxed.
 The money is extravagantly used in power to gratify their needs.
 Manufacturers have already paid the tax, why should I pay double?

Figure 5 Why respondents would be willing to pay VAT in future

I am aware that the government has to charge it on all consumer purchases
But it should be reduced to 10%
I would pay because the companies need to make profit
Yes, because it helps the development in our country.
Yes but I'd like to be made more aware of the percentage I am paying
The revenue is used by the government to provide services for people, but too high VAT will discourage me from purchasing commodities.

Regarding your views on VAT and Employment Tax

Respondents were asked 'How would you define taxation in Kenya?'. Responses are shown in Figure 6

Figure 6 Defining taxation in Kenya

Unfair!
A tricky way of making wider the group between the rich and the poor.
It is a way of making the rich people richer through sucking the few from those who have none.
It is a compulsory payment that taxes away a big or large amount from a person
It is too much. You are taxed for everything and there is no transparency on how that money is spent
Too high.
A mean plot by the government to take people's money
I think it is fair as compared to other countries
It is a percentage of monetary value the government charges its citizens
A means of generating income for the government.
It is a compulsory deduction to the employees and consumers they have no choice whether they have to pay it.

Respondents were asked to rate VAT and PAYE delivery in Kenya.

Table 6 How would you rate Value Added taxation in Kenya?

Rating	VAT	PAYE
Very unfair	156 (32.5%)	196 (40.8%)
Unfair	167 (34.8%)	198 (41.3%)
Neither fair nor unfair	114 (23.8%)	44 (9.2%)
Fair	39 (8.1%)	39 (8.1%)
Absolutely fair	4 (0.8%)	3 (0.6%)
	Total 480	Total 480

Respondents were asked how they would like VAT and PAYE to be administered in Kenya.

Table 7 How would you like Value Added taxation to be administered in Kenya?

Rating	VAT	PAYE
Absolutely equitably	56 (12%)	85 (17.5%)
Equitably	210 (45.2%)	181 (38.2%)
Not equitably	32 (6.9%)	59 (12.4%)
Fairly	167 (35.9%)	149 (31.4%)
	Total 465	Total 474

Respondents were asked if they thought VAT and PAYE affected young peoples' lives.

Table 8 How VAT and PAYE affected young peoples' lives

Effect on lives	VAT	PAYE
Does not affect them at all	8 (1.7%)	8 (1.8%)
Positively affects them	61(13.3%)	40 (9.2%)
Do not know	145(31.5%)	154 (35.6%)
Negatively affects them	213(46.3%)	202 (46.7%)
Ruins their lives	33 (7.2%)	29 (6.7%)
	Total 460	Total 433

Please remember in the last 6 months and explain about a situation or someone you know was affected adversely by VAT

‘I have heard my parents complain how a lot of money is taken from their salaries yet no improvement is seen in the country, there is a lot of corruption...’

‘I could not afford to shop a lot or in large quantities because prices were high from petrol to the goods in the supermarket’.

‘Increase in the sugar price affected tea consumption for my breakfast’

‘The drought victims were affected by VAT because increases in the price of the commodities and thus if one doesn’t have a high income then he will reduce his consumption’

Please remember in the last 6 months and explain about a situation or someone you know was affected adversely by PAYE

‘I truly don’t see where the money goes to...’

‘A civil servant who as 7 children and earns little, being widowed, has had to end up borrowing money to meet all her basic needs’

‘A lady with little salary couldn’t manage to take care of her family’

‘Someone who earns little money, yet he is heavily taxed to a point of remaining with about 60% of what he has worked for’

‘A friend of mine closed down business because it was not well paying because of tax’.

‘Those who earn little would like to carry their whole amount home for their families but due to high percentage of income tax, have little to take home’

Respondents were asked to define corruption

‘Corruption to me is seen for example in this tax thing. The government is spending our money poorly for unreasonable ideas’

‘Corruption should start from the president being able to take an open and publicly fair step against corruption government icons’

‘Inappropriate handling on citizens’ income’

Generally, respondents defined corruption as using public office for private gain; a practice that they considered endemic in Kenya because it seemed fruitful. They suggested that any person would engage in corruption if they believed that the enjoyment of the proceeds of corruption is secure. Respondents were asked to list 5 most corrupt institutions in Kenya.

Table 13 Most corrupt institutions in Kenya as stated by respondents (1st-5th)

Institution & percentage	Institution & percentage
Ministry of Health (3.4%)	
Hospitals (17.4%)	Kenya Revenue Authority (5.8%)
Courts (32%)	Employment agency (17.8%)
Government (51.2%)	Registration (1%)
Government offices (4%)	Education (23.6%)
Ministry of Finance (1.4)	City councils (9.2%)
Constituency Fund (0.2)	Businesses (4.4%)
Civil servants (2.4%)	NGOs (1.8%)
MPs (12.2%)	Religious organisations (6.2%)
Police (63.2%)	Immigration(6.4%)
Traffic police (3.6%)	Prisons (2.2%)
Ministry of Agriculture (0.6%)	Public institutions (3%)
Licensing (9.0%)	Public (1%)

However when respondents were provided with a list to select the most corrupt institutions, 6 had the most selection as shown in Table 14.

Table 14 Most corrupt institutions as selected from the list provided

Institution	From a list given (in %)
Police	89
Courts	89.6
Parliament	89.6
Licensing	88.6
Procurement	89.2
Employment	86.6

The majority (96.5%) believed that corruption has a negative impact on society. The majority (84.7%) thought the Kenyan society condones, encourages or tolerates corruption. Respondents were asked to state the services where they thought bribery was most rampant (Table 15).

Table 15 Services with rampant bribery

Service	Most rampant corruption (in %)
Public services	74.6
Getting away with petty crime	75.4
Taxation	74.8
Pay for favour	75.2
Employment	74.8
Other (tribalism)	87

Please remember in the last 6 months and explain about a situation when someone you know was affected adversely by corruption

‘Recently my colleague was put in a fix by traffic policemen that he had to give them ‘something’ but standing firm they had to let him go’

‘A less qualified person getting a job while a more qualified doesn’t’. ‘No interview was carried out as was announced’

‘Someone was arrested in town at night and bribed 200 shillings for the police not to arrest him’.

‘Where the matatu owners were giving out bribery to the traffic police because of not having any seat belts’.

‘A person was driving with a valid licence when caught, he was willing to pay tax but the police kept telling him to sort them out.’

‘A lady wanted to get a passport and was made to wait longer because she did not pay a bribe’

‘My uncle bribed his dead brother’s lawyer, so that they together may grab the brother’s property. The deceased’s family could not afford a lawyer and so weren’t able to defend themselves from the two corrupt guys’.

‘My friend wanted a job as a teacher and she was fully trained. But because another person wanted the post, they bribed their way in despite their poor qualification records.’

‘Daniel arap Moi & Goldenberg’

‘A person went to look for a job in a certain public office and the people who were interviewing asked him first which tribe he was from before asking him any other questions.’

‘My neighbour’s goods were stolen by another neighbour and the police were called and the goods found in the house but the man bribed the police and in the evening of the same day he was released!’

Which social group (women or youth or children) is most affected by corruption? Please explain why you think this is so

'I think it is the women they are mostly not aware of all they should do to get through corrupt situations.'

'To the police, ladies are mostly low self-esteemed so we end up giving in to corruption to win'

'The youth because they are the ones who get into petty crimes and opt for corrupt ways to bail themselves out.'

'In most court cases where the defendant is not being prosecuted because of bribery'

'Women because they are mostly in need of jobs wherever there are vacancies they are denied chances through corruption.'

'All of the mentioned social groups are affected so much by corruption because they are the most looked down on.'

'Youth as they are tomorrow's leaders and most people learn from the leaders and it seems it is what the current leaders are teaching them.'

'Children because they are the ones who are growing and instead people are ensuring that they are comfortable they concentrate on corruption, hence affect them living and growing.'

'Youth because we are the majority and in terms of seeking employment.'

'Women because they bear the burden of society.'

'Youth because most of the situations surrounding them are bound by corruption, e.g. employment.'

'Women because of the male gender being favoured in some jobs like managerial positions.'

'Children because in the future the effects of corruption will hit them harder than today.'

'All because they are said to be weak and cannot defend themselves.'

In your opinion do you think corruption can be alleviated or eradicated?

Figure 8 Why corruption cannot be eradicated

The government has not settles down to tackle issues from the top e.g. Issues of Anglo-leasing
It can only be eradicated if the president takes firm public action on the corrupt government officials.
No, because it is a habit in our society and people who do it see no harm with it but a day to day activity.
No because our top leaders practise it so we lack role models.
It is difficult as even our small kids are aware of it because it's being practiced in our homesteads.

Figure 9 Why corruption can be eradicated

Yes, if only the courts and the government deals with cases publicly and fairly

Yes, when the corrupt people are dealt with through firm action

Yes, by educating the public on the consequences of corruption

It should be done because it will affect out economy

Yes, if our leaders become serious and punish those who are corrupt

Yes it can, it has to begin from the top to the bottom

People need to learn to be trustworthy, straight, caring and satisfied

Yes if transparency in all ways is implemented

Yes, if it starts with the top people; source of corruption

It is possible, but it takes highly honest leaders.

Yes, but only if the youth are socialised; the leaders of tomorrow.

It can be eradicated as it starts individuals

In your opinion, does an exposing corrupt practice by the media help in the fight against corruption?

Figure 10 Can media help fight corruption

The ones who would otherwise be corrupt fear being exposed

The people become enlightened on corruption

It will keep us on guard about how clean or corrupt we are.

Most people have access to the print of electronic media thus enabling them to know the information

It educates many to know the disadvantages of corruption

It brings it out to the public and society tries to deal with it.

People become will start demanding for transparency

Makes us aware of what has happened and action taken

People become more cautious.

Exposure can lead to a reduction

It exposes the corrupt individuals

However some respondents thought it depends on an individual's decision either to continue it or not. In some cases individuals become bitter and when such a person is put to trial they even bribe more to stop the case from going on.

As a young person what steps do you think can be taken to alleviate or eradicate corruption in Kenya?

Figure 11 How to alleviate corruption in Kenya

- New elections and chose clean and corruption-free government
- The courts & Ministry of Justice to become uncompromising when dealing with corruption.
- Legal action against perpetrators to act as a lesson to the rest
- A model government to fight corruption
- I need a chance to expose the corrupt cases I know
- Public education childhood regarding impacts of corruption
- Shun corruption practices
- Pray about it and get satisfied with what we have
- It will depend on the citizens & government to tackle it
- Transparency and sharing of power
- The leaders to do their work & citizens demand transparency
- Punish the corrupt and do not condone it
- By setting up machinery to check on tax evasion
- The government must be strict on law and treat all persons equally
- A campaign can be launched to target the youth

A new constitutional order must devolve more power from the centre to the periphery. This must go along with equitable distribution of resources. There must be devolution legislation that will strengthen devolved units to deliver on set goals. The design of constitutional reforms must create sufficient checks and balances in Government at all levels. A true multi-party democracy where strong opposition parties check the performance of each other in the exercise of power is mandatory. Constitutional offices like a more vibrant National Audit Office, an independent office of the Attorney General, a robust and independent judiciary and an independent Anti-corruption Authority are helpful in the fight against corruption. Even in may 2005, many still await the fight on corruption to begin.

“The public perception of the government’s anti-corruption efforts is sceptical. It should make the initiatives more practical ... In corruption citizens and companies pay twice: through taxation and coaxing the system to perform”

Mrs. Evelyn Mungai, Chairperson of Transparency International Kenya. On the launch of the 2005 Kenya Bribery Index.