# An Institutional Analysis of Political Corruption in Kenya

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Abstract: The term corruption is a term frequently used by everyone around the globe since it's an international problem or most preferable, an international disease. Corruption has been a main problem in our societies whereby individuals take advantage of it in order to ease their way through strict rules or closed doors. This term is known as bribery or greasing the wheels. Corruption has been a major problem in our societies whereby it's very hard to eliminate it since it has merged and stretched its roots to the very bottom level of our society. Corruption brings comfort to the corrupt individuals but a downfall towards the economy and the security of the country and its honest citizens. Many international organizations such as the United Nations have tried to find and create solutions on how to eliminate the existence of corruption but they have bared no fruits due to the secretive nature of how corruption is conducted. Corruption takes place or rather is conducted under very secretive rules and environment, mostly between two individuals. It's rather very hard to see it in action unless one is very keen and sometimes by the help of a tip off. Corruption in Kenya has been very rampant in the recent years, whereby almost every individual encounters it in their day to day activities. It has turned into a daily necessity for the people of Kenya and it's a tool recommended when visiting government offices and government institutions in Kenya in search of help or public services, such as recording a statement at a police station. It's believed that corruption grows well in developing countries such as the African countries or 3rd world countries mostly due to weak government policies and government structures. The nature of corruption that takes place in Kenya is mostly institutional corruption. The most affected institution is the Kenya Police institution which takes the first place on the list with a percentage of 48.1 % according to National Survey on Corruption and Ethics, (2012), followed by other government institutions such as the judiciary and the health sectors. Therefore this thesis provides statistically detailed information of the most corrupt institutions in Kenya, followed by policy recommendations and conclusion that will help change Kenya into a corruption free state. This thesis has been written through secondary information research and personal experience. Keywords: Kenya police, Institutional corruption, Corruption.

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I. INTRODUCTION

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The simplest and most popular definition of corruption is the abuse of public funds for private gains by the World Bank reference. By the help of this definition, it shows that corruption indeed exists in the private sector , this can be witnessed in the large scale firms especially when it comes to hiring and procurements. It also exists in government regulated private movements.

The abuse of public power is not always for the benefit of the individual, it can aid the individual's family, political party, company, friends, class etc. The behavior is hard to explain, but not hard to understand when observed. Unfortunately, corruption movements are not practiced during broad daylight, which is the reason to why it's hard to capture it when in action (Tanzi 1998, p.8).

According to Chetwynd et al (2003, p.6) there has been an attempt to create corruption indicators by organizations such as pricewaterhousecoopers foundation, Transparency International (TI) and

World Bank. Their findings depend on aggregate surveys of experts, citizen and business there for the findings is based on the approach of the corrupt behavior opposed to more objective information. This is due to the nature of surveys, since surveys target a specific group the outcome sometimes end up not being accurate or rather biased. In some cases the individuals who participate in the survey could be corrupt themselves.

# Four main classifications of corruption

First, corruption is very large and a complex subjects therefore with the definition above one can explore the classifications of corruption, and then types of corruption will follow in that order. According to Langseth, (1999, p.5) four types of corruption are:

- Grand corruption-this category is known to be based on personal greed. Mostly conducted by high ranking officials like politicians, judges and even the head of state. They make high end deals with large public contracts and projects with foreign donors, whereby assets and money collected from this scam finds its way into individual's pockets or political parties.
- Petty corruption-in this category it usually involves civil servants/public employees who find a need to top up their payslip in a corrupt manner in order to survive and feed their families. They are normally honest and decent individuals engaging in small scale corruption.
- Systemic corruption-here you will find that the order of corruption is well structured and behaves like a hierarchy whereby bribes collected from point A ends up high above at point Z. Survival is what's needed by the system, therefore they have to survive through corruption.
- Episodic corruption-The individuals who participate in this category of corruption are normally honest in behavior who engages in corruption time after time. A public employee who lacks integrity is punished when caught in the act of corruption.

According to Myint (2000, p.35) corruption behaviors could be defined as extortion, nepotism, influence peddling, fraud, cronyism, & embezzlement. Activities such as embezzlement and fraud can be conducted by one individual without any help. On the other hand, the practice of bribery, influence peddling, and extortion must consist of (a) the receiver and (b) the giver. A minimum of two participants must be involved.

Getting access through ineffective legal systems and burdensome regulations can be achieved by "grease-the-wheels" (Kaufmann 1997, p.2). This term is based on bribery whereby the main argument is simply the procedure to eliminate or weaken obstacles with laws that are hard to pass in a corrupted manner. A school of "corruption apologists" argues, in order to get paperwork and permits processed as quickly possible to your favor, the tool of greasing the wheels will be the tool of choice. This has taken effect mostly in private organizations where they pay to get tenders. (Kaufmann 1997, p.2).

# Types of corruption commonly used

- Bribery- Is often described as a public official receiving a promise or an offer of self benefit direct or indirectly that negatively affects his or her role as a public official. A bribe many be in the form of sexual favors, gifts, a job offer, promise, company shares or mostly in the form of money. The nature of benefit by the corrupt public officials could be direct or indirect whereby, (indirect) are ones who are close to the officials are the beneficiaries. They could be family, associate, private business, friends, or political parties. In the public sector the bribes are normally received by politicians, police, regulators, and all the classification of the civil servant sector. This type of corruption is the most commonly used and preferred type of corruption in Kenya. Due to its swiftness and quickness, plus it can be done anywhere and anytime.
- Extortion-This is the activity whereby an individual is intimidated or bullied to pay up money or gives up his/her valuables for failing to comply with a rule or in need of an act. During this procedure the victim could face harm physically, violently, or at times abandoned. A good example of extortion could be, a situation where a woman faces death at the [hospital corridors] while her husband is looking for a sum of extra money demanded personally by the nurse in order to be checked by the doctor. In Kenya, this can be seen practiced by crooked police officers who fabricate false offences or crimes to the public in order to top up their paysip illegally.
- Illegal Political Contributions-This is the process whereby big scale cooperation gives money to politicians or political parties in order to favor and sustain their companies from harsh laws or problems. This sum of money is mostly channeled to aid the politicians during their election campaigns.
- Embezzlement, Theft and Fraud-This is the looting or theft of government property by someone given the authority to care for the government resources. The corrupt practice can consist of both private and public people. Recently the Kenyan government has been looted a sum of 90 billion Kenya shillings by a group of government employees in the national youth service sector. It's a common norm of Kenya in terms of corruption.

## The causes of corruption

According to Tanzi, (1998, pge 3) "The causes or factors that promote corruption are those that affect the demand (by the public) for corrupt acts and those that affect the supply (by the public officials) of acts of corruption." Here we have two sides of the coin, (1) the factors that affecting the demands which are ;( a) regulations and authorization; (b) characteristics of the tax systems; (c) provision of goods and services at below-market prices. (2) the factors that affect the supply which is (a) the penalty system ;(b) the examples set by the leadership ;(c) the level of public sector wages (Tanzi 1998, p.3).Both sides of the coin shows us that activities played by the government seems suitable for the growth of corruption (Tanzi 1998, p.3).With that said,

you can see what (Tanzi 1998, p.3) says about the level of public workers wages. If you compare his statement and at the same time take a look at how much the Kenya police officers are paid, you will be able to see the reason to why the police service has always been number one on the corruption index.

**Political Reasons and the rate Stability**- The rate and the behavior of corruption spread on systematically and depend on the structure of politics. A different structure of a country's regime creates a different environment of how the corruption will take its form. The most common argument is that corruption doesn't go well with democratization. For example, if there are high levels of democracy then low levels of corruption should be experienced. According to Friedrich 1993:6, cited in Amundsen (1999, p.17) the decrease of corruption depends with the legitimacy of the regime's power. In simpler terms, if the government is weak, it will surely have high levels of corruption due to lack of accountability compared to a powerful government whereby ,corrupt individuals will not engage or take advantage by means of corruption due to fear of being caught and prosecuted.

In authoritarian countries, corruption is less likely to occur or if not, at very low levels. Dictators have the ability to notice who is about to take advantage of the resources due to how powerful the leader is.

# **Relation between poverty and corruption**

According to Chetwynd et al (2003, p.6) it is said that poverty and corruption are highly related in developing nations. Whereby countries with high level of poverty seems to be a suitable fertile ground for systematic corruption because of income and social inequalities. Social services aimed to enhance the well being of the poor is no longer available or less in quantity than expected due to corruption (S.Gupta et al 2002, p.24).

From the research literature two models emerged according to Chetwynd et al (2003, p.24). (1) The "economic model" - This explains that poverty is affected by corruption where by corruption collides with economic growth factors which creates an impact on the level of poverty. To explain more briefly, if the level of corruption increases, the economic investments decreases and produces inefficiencies by raising the costs of doing business, hinders competition, damages the market, and finally increases income inequalities.

The "governance model" - This model shows that corruption influences governance factors first which then affects the poverty levels. In details corruption corrodes the ability of institutional governance to provide quality public services, decreases compliance with health and safety regulations.

## A scope between the relation of poverty and corruption in Kenya

On this segment one will to see how corruption has affected poverty in Kenya- There is an increase in poverty due to economic mismanagement and corruption in Kenya. Broken rules, policies not followed and policies that are not fit for the institutions have led to the occurrence of despondency carried out by corrupted officers. Many Kenyans have been driven into alcoholism due to poverty and to fall prey for illicit cheap drinks. Apparently they use alcohol as an aesthetic to nurse their poverty and financial difficulty.

Corruption has found its way to ground levels and officials have unrestricted use of corruption. Through the worsening conditions of corruption in Kenya, corruption has been named chai (tea) or kitu kidogo (something small), these are terms used for bribery (Kamiti 2004).

With the help of poor institutions and policies, a thief in Kenya can make and earn it to very high levels than being employed nor elected through the standards of integrity, values, and professionalism.

## The effect of corruption on a country's economy

Corruption can enhance efficiency and improve economic growth is what is argued by scholars such as (Leff 1964, and Huntington, 1968, cited in Dong 2011, p.7). By giving an open window to enterprises to abscond or lightly take serious the rules and regulations by greasing the wheels (bribe) mostly in developing and third world countries. Although most of the literature maintains that economic growth is negatively affected by corruption because corruption paints a bad picture which discourages private investments (Bardhan 1997, cited in Dong 2011, p.7), convinced talented minds into activities such as rent-seeking (Shleifler and Vishny 1991, cited in Dong 2011, p.7) and prevents public investments decisions (Tanzi and Davoodi 1997,cited in Dong 2011, p.7).

## **Rational Theory**

According to Oppenheimer, (2008, p.2), in political theory rational choice theory is created on a dual foundational presumption that analyze the behavior of an individual as the key to considerate the functioning of political institutions, and also that these behaviors can be used to analyze the behavior of a given group. These assumptions are usually known as "methodological individualism" since they fit well with the ideological justification of democratic political systems.

Rational theory divides into 3 ways at the same time, (A) it ties individual choices to preferences, underscoring choice as teleological or purposeful behavior. (B) it's both empirical and normative theory of an individual's behavior and (C) a logical structure with a formula that works as the foundation for theorizing in the fields of political science and economics (Oppenheimer, 2008, p.2).

The reason to why I choose rational theory is because it tends to explain significantly the behaviors of humans and the decisions they make. Since corruption is a man made factor or problem, it has reasons which are known as incentives to why one engages in corruption.

From a point of view, individuals are rational beings, whatever they do they do it for incentives, whereby there are always costs and benefits analysis introduced. The institution in Kenya gives the individuals incentives to take bribes due to its poor structured management, negligence and unsupportive to its employee especially the police force. This can be seen from different perspectives and reasons such as low wages to public workers e.g. the Kenyan police. Also the punishment of corruption is relatively low if an individual or a group is caught in the act, and mostly they are never caught due to weaknesses of the institutions.

One of the braches of rational theory is Classical preference theory. Classical preference theory is known as Public choices and modern micro economics, including political theory and political science according to Oppenheimer, (2008, p.3). By the help of this understanding, theorems come from the formal properties of preferences and from the view of many theorists, the realism of the structure is simply not relevant (Friedman, 1959; but see Nagel, 1961, Frohlich and Oppenheimer, 2006, cited in Oppenheimer, 2008, p.3).

The classical preference theory is made up of four main formal properties including three more assumptions that complete the whole picture of classical theory. One of the properties that I will give an example while explaining the judiciary and court systems of Kenya in the section of institutional corruption is:

(a) Transitivity-creates an environment whereby two pair wais relations can be inherited by a third pair. For instance if X is related to Y and Y is related to Z, then X and Z can relate by the help of Y.

## Institutional corruption

On this sector, the main focus will be mainly on institutional corruption in Kenya. Institutional corruption is the main problem that hinders investments, mitigates economic growth and the reason to the outburst of poverty. According to Mills (2018), the main sign to identify an institutional failure is by observing if corruption is present.

With that said, I will start with the Kenya police force as an institution since its currently and has always been at the top of the list of corruption with a percentage of 68.8% according to The Star, Kenya, (2018).

## Kenya Police Force

Through this sector, one will see how rational choice theory is used by the Kenyan police to make choices through cost and benefits and also how the institutions force the men in blue towards incentives through means corruption. By the help of this segment one will be able to ask and answer the question "why are police rational in developing countries?"

The common aspect about any police force institution around the world is that they undergo rigorous training whereby new recruits are shaped according to the institution regulations and requirements. Through this process it's believed that the officers especially the new recruits are treated with care and provided every equipment needed for their training. By this step it eliminates the aspect of pain and to reduce stress towards the recruits. The point is that once the training is over and the officers are placed on duty they will not have the aspect of police brutality and police being disrespectful towards the tax payers.

Now let's see an example of Kenya where the case is different. Throughout the training and recruitment process, (Githinji 2017, p.6) argues that the trainees face harsh and cruel conditions from the trainers. The whole outcome of the training process makes the new recruits unaware of integrity, self control, and lack of respect towards the citizens. Also the police officers work in poor working conditions, low wages, poor health and worse housing facilities, all this conditions demoralizes them which make the police officers often forget their main aim which is to protect citizen's lives, property and to serve the people of the nation.

According to The Standard, (2018) the government is aware of the conditions and well being of the police officers, also it is aware of the highlighted unforgiving security threats but yet not action is taken to improve the standards.

Also during the recruitments periods conducted by the Kenya police force, the recruitment is no longer being conducted under strict regulations and maximum strictness. If you take a look at the background of Kenya Police Force during periods of vetting, training, and promotion of personnel throughout the nation, you will always find corruption connected to a high ranking police officer who tends to favor individuals through ways such as tribalism, bribery, or nepotism. By the help of these platforms it makes an easy way into the Kenya police force for the ones who don't meet the required qualifications (Githinji 2017, p.6). From a different point of view, if the government would give no incentives to the police officers of which can be done by increasing their wages and taking care of their well being, the senior officers would not entertain any form of corruption during the training periods. If this is done it will really help the country since at the moment any threat can join the police force easily by paying a bribe to the hungry officers.

What about the officers who are serving, what is their situation since they already passed the biased and unforgiving recruitment and training process? Well to be honest they are not having it good as well. The local news paper also gives an example of a case where a twenty year old police constable, fresh graduate from the police academy located in Kiganjo, lost his life in the year 2003 allegedly after running 100kms through the remote area to escape from bandits who were around the area. The cause of this was due to the police patrol car breaking down and the officer who was with his colleague ran out of supplies.

At the disputed border shared between Sudan, Kenya, and Ethiopia, the Kenya police officers depend on donkeys as the only means of transport to move ahead with their duty as border patrol regardless the unforgiving and disputed environment (The Standard, 2018). Through the incentives of rational theory an officer can easily take bribes as the enemy easily gets access into the country. The officer will barely get noticed and he/she will benefit through the bribe.

The other aspect of why the Kenya police service is ranked as the most corrupt is also caused by the low paid wages they receive. Apparently the machinery, gadgets, and equipments such as the police uniforms are more costly than what the police officer is paid in terms of salary. With such a situation the officers find incentives to engage in premeditated theft or sometimes times hire off their equipments to crooks just to make ends meet. According to the Daily Nation (2018) the Kenyan police receive relatively negative pay slips. An officer who spoke to the local newspaper said that he earned an amount of negative 15,000 KSH approximately 15 USD on a particular month.

The police officer also added that he will earn absolutely nothing if he maintained his job as an officer of the Kenyan government. This was due to the National Police Service Commission reducing police officer's wages to up to a half of what they earn. (Daily Nation, 2018) argues that a number of graduate and disabled officers have resigned from the line of duty, while others borrow money in order to meet the resignation requirements which is to surrender a one month salary and 24 hour notice.

According to McCafferty (1998, p.63) when the wages paid to the officers are low they get stressed and there for police and law enforcement officers are more willing or vulnerable to participate in corruption in order to be able to survive, provide for their families, and satisfy their needs for money.

# Kenyan Court Systems And The Judiciary

Kenyan judiciary is the second most corrupt institution in the country with a percentage of 48 percent after the Kenyan police force (The Star, Kenya, 2018). In Kenya, "Why hire a lawyer when you can buy a judge?" is a common sentence in the society (Gainer M 2015, cited in Mwithi 2017, page 1).

A judiciary or any given court room is a place where law is conducted to nothing but the truth and fair justice. This is a common feature throughout the world not only Kenya. Although due to greed and broken rules it's sad that what the judiciary and courts were built for is no longer what the public are served with. Most of the judges, magistrates, and judicial officers have drowned into greed to a level of putting a price tag on justice. This is mostly observed in developing countries (Mwithi 2017).

According to Lacey, (2018) the court of Appeal judges in Kenya might only engage in corruption if offered an amount of \$200,000. On the other hand, local magistrates would engage in corruption if offered a third of the amount of cash they are awarded. Sometimes the bribe comes in form of goods, according to Lacey, (2018) a lawyer who was defending her clients of convicted robbery, was told by a judge to bring liquor to a party that he/she was hosting or else the lawyer's client would face the right and correct path of law.

Kameri-Mbote and Akech, (2011, p.110) argue that, when the third president of Kenya was running for seat, he promised to take down and eliminate corruption in the country. Eventually he took over the government in the year 2002 of which he started by conducting a process named "Radical surgery" right through the judiciary to eliminate corruption as he promised.

In March 2003, a sub-committee was headed by Justice Aaron Ringera which was called 'Integrity and Anti Corruption Committee'. This was created after the newly chief justice Evans Gicheru restored the judiciary committee on reforms and development. The main agenda of this establishment was to investigate the magnitude and depth of corruption within the judiciary and of its members, to understand the reasons/causes and to know how worse corruption has affected the performance of the judiciary as an Institution (Kameri-Mbote and Akech, 2011, p.110).

According to Kameri-Mbote and Akech, (2011, p.110), down the line on September 2003, the ringera report was published and part one of the report brought out the evidence of corruption, unethical conduct, while other judicial offences of the highest level followed. The ringera report according to Kameri-Mbote and Akech, (2011, p.110) states that the cause of judicial corruption is caused by the poor terms and conditions of service

and other major reasons. The second part of the report brought to light five out of nine court of appeal judges (56%),82 out of 254 magistrates (32%),18 out of 36 high court judges (50%),43 paralegals officials were allegedly participants of judicial corruption, misconduct or want ethics.

## A Scope Into The City Hall Courts In Nairobi

The local city hall of Nairobi is notoriously known as the den of corruption, where by offenders such as bus touts, street venders and also the public who commit minor offences such as spiting, smoking at undesignated areas are being mistreated, extorted, and harassed.

According to Standard, (2018) journalist from a local news company made a daring journey into the city hall on a Friday morning to investigate the truth of the matter. The journalist came across a woman in the hall that claimed she had just bought sweets from a hawker and that's how she ended up being arrested by the local Nairobi city council. She also added that her boss will fire her from work for being late, since it's a very horrific moment and time wasting in order for an offender to get charged. The unlucky ones end up spending the weekend in dreadful cells if it's a Friday and they didn't get a chance to be processed.

The (Standard, 2018) argues that within the crowded hall a man who has been having talks with some offender's approaches the woman and asks why she was arrested? After she replied him, the man immediately gave her a price of 10,000 shillings approximately 100USD and says that's what the judge will fine you.

This man was known as the agent or the middle man between the judges and the offenders. He makes the negotiation on the behalf of the judge and the offender and receives his cut instantly. As I explained earlier in the sector of rational choice theory that transitivity creates an environment whereby two pair wais relations can be inherited by a third pair. For instance if X is related to Y and Y is related to Z, then X and Z can relate by the help of Y. By the help of rational theory I can now solve the mystery of why there is a middle man in the city hall of Nairobi.

## Health Institutions in Kenya

According to Ethics and Anti corruption commission, (2018) the most corrupt locations/individuals in the health sector by the procurement team are the health facility managers accompanied by the staff are the ones identified to be corrupt. On the other hand, out-patient department, administration and stores, pharmacy personnel management and laboratories contribute to the list of most corrupt in the health sector in Kenya. The types of corruption that are practiced in these procurement sectors are hoarding of supplies and inflation of prices, manipulation of the tendering system, misappropriation of supplies and procurement of sub standard/poor quality commodities and equipment. Apart from the above types of corruption practiced, there are other types which are embezzlement and fraud, favoritism, tribalism, cronyism, nepotism, extortion and misappropriation of procurement funds and unnecessary referrals to private clinics.

Within the corridors of public health care corruption finds its way through various ways. Through a survey of which was conducted using information from patients who exited the hospital, reviled the carelessness of which they noticed 41% of the patients identified the carelessness being absenteeism of medical staff, of which was the most recorded answer followed by others (Ethics and Anti corruption commission, 2018).

According to Ethics and Anti corruption commission, (2018, p.20) another survey was conducted and this time the patients were asked if they paid a bribe in order to receive medical attention. Feedback results from 33% of the patients were demanded to pay bribes in order to get medical services/attention.

Another type of corrupt activity observed in the cited document is that doctors in Kenya are allowed to open private clinics whereby they can treat patients privately. They engage in corruption by using equipments and facilities meant for the public to treat their private patients in the facilities they run. In most cases observed they recommend patients to exit the public hospital and join the doctor's private facility. Regarding the rampant absenteeism of doctors and medical staff is because they are using public time to be available for patients in their private facilities and therefore going against the contracted working hours (Ethics and Anti corruption commission, 2018 p.20).Further surveys focused on two forms of irregular activities (1) Theft of drugs and (2) the failure of the medical staff to work according to the contracted hours. Most of the medical staff interviewed said that, it's because of the weak control mechanism and poor supervision is the reason to why they engaged in such activities (Ethics and Anti corruption commission, 2018).

Throughout this segment you and i have learnt that the main reasons for doctors and medical staff to engage in corruption such as theft of equipment, collecting of bribes and disobeying their contracted working hours is due to low wages, poor working conditions and lack of proper supervision. These are the main costs and benefits of rational choices they make and which are actually created by the institution itself. In other a nutshell the incentives are much of benefit to them than what they earn through an honest and legal way.

## **Comparing Institutions**

In this sector of the article I will compare and contrast various institutions in Kenya with each other. The aim is to know why some institutions are highly corrupted than others and what measures has the government of Kenya taken towards institutional corruption.

By picking the Kenya police force since it's the number one most corrupt institution in Kenya with a percentage of 48.1%, my comparison to this will be the Kenya revenue authority (KRA) which has a percentage of 5.9% according to National Survey On Corruption And Ethics, (2012). After comparing this two, I will therefore compare other institutions with the same Kenya police force institution for better analysis report.

## Kenya Revenue Authority Compared to the Kenya police

As we all know any revenue authority institution in the world is an institution where the government generates it money from taxes. Taxpayer's money is collected, accounted, generated, and processed here in order for the tax money to be used as the government's budget or to pay government workers. This could be government school teachers, government doctors, members of the parliament, Police forces etc. Through this budget the government's money can also be used to build roads, provide social and health facilities for the society and much more.

One would assume that the Kenya revenue authority could be the most corrupt within the country since it handles huge amounts of money on any given day, but that would be a wrong guess since the government has eyes watching and protecting its money. With high tech security features combined with state of the art computer systems that is provided by the government to the institution has created no room for corruption to take place. Other aspects such as employee motivation and adequate wages paid to the employees of the revenue institution has also contributed to an honest and corruption free zone within the Kenya revenue institute. The working conditions in the revenue institution is great for the employees since they are served with hot or cold drinks depending on their choice and also not forgetting they get served lunch as well. Its said that if you provide a workable environment to your employees by respecting and maintaining them well, they will be loyal and work at their best performance and hence this will reduce the chances of corruption also its believed that due to the heavy security protection towards the government's money, is the main the reason to the fewer outcomes of corruption cases within the Kenya revenue authority as an institution.

Through this argument one would criticize by saying that, the Kenya revenue authority employees are mostly based in offices and barely interact with the citizens and society as much as the Kenya police do, and if they interact with the citizens for example taxpayers who visit the institution for help or inquires, well then its under strict rules accompanied by heavy surveillance hence giving no chance for corrupt activities. That is why the police are more corrupt compared to the revenue institution.

Well from a different point of view the Kenyan police is an institution whereby it requires the police officers to make patrols within the country at any given road, estate in order to keep the society safe, provide protection to the people, solve disputes, and give the society confidence by their presence in our estates and streets. Although this mandatory procedure of the police officers to make a daily 24 hour patrol routine in pairs of two has turned into a harvesting bribe collecting work shift for the low paid and greedy police officers in Kenya, who conduct their patrols without vehicles, torn uniforms empty stomachs and regardless the weather.

The police officers face harsh working conditions, poorly furnished and unequipped offices, sometimes even the basic needs of police stations are lacking such as an exhibit store, and some police stations going weeks without electricity for days in heavily disputed areas. The police stations walls are cracked and the paint faded away, some police stations have houses provided by the government to accommodate the officers although the houses are uninhabitable due to worsening conditions. During heavy rains the officers have to put stones on the roof in order to cover holes where water gets through into the one bedroom iron sheet or wooden house. Quite a number of houses are located in the station compound but sadly only one or two toilets are available to serve them all. The government promised to build more modern houses to accommodate the police but till to date nothing has been witnessed and cold winds still blow through the cracked walls and into the houses. So the only way for the police officers to satisfy their needs is by accepting bribes paid to them by law offenders, which creates more danger and provides a smooth corruption environment for both the police officers and law offenders. Not to forget that the Kenyan police institution and the government are the main reason to the corrupt acts conducted by the officers since it creates incentives for the police officers to engage in such a manner by not maintaining its officers.

Earlier as mentioned about maintaining public employees is very important since they can be a good servant but a bad master to the government and citizens. In this case of whereby the police can be a grave danger either to the public or the government is whereby the citizens will face police brutality which ends up destroying the health of the victims, cause deaths and more often make the public afraid to even provide information to the police on threats or ongoing investigations. Police brutality cases are usually caused by stress and too much pressure towards the officers. On the other hand it creates a danger to the government whereby,

the police officers will provide crucial information to a foreign threats example, a rival government or when worse comes to worse, join terrorist groups in order to provide training and skills on how to execute attacks within the country by pinpointing the governments weak points.

If one compares the Kenya police to the Kenya revenue since they are both government most important institutions, one can see clearly that the government has neglected the men in blue (police) who serve the citizens and the government due to the government's interest. The government's interest is always to protect its revenue.

## Kenya Police Compared To The Kenya Armed forces

To support the statement about the Kenya police as an institution being neglected, and to challenge the critic about it not being comparable with the Kenya revenue authority, lets therefore introduce another institution much similar to the police which is the Kenya Armed forces. Both of these institutions are created for a mutual purpose which is to provide security and to tackle any threat towards the society/community of the country, although they are from different institutions within the government their target is one.

According to a chart provided by National Survey On Corruption and Ethics, (2012), the Kenya armed forces has been ranked with a percentage of 1.0 %, this is a huge gap compared to 48.1% of which is the ranking of the Kenya police service in terms of corruption. This raises the question why the difference?

Well from a different perspective and point of view, if you look at the Kenya armed forces they do have large military bases not one but several within the country. These bases provides shelter, health facilities full of medical equipments that fits the criteria of a military memorial hospital while some do have the actual military memorial hospital within them, schools for the military personnel to enhance their military knowledge and also to provide their children with a learning school environment at the watch of their parents. Not forgetting that the same military bases provide a great training environment for the soldiers whereby they are also provided with cooking facilities as well as canteens, and launch rooms to enjoy their day off or to quench their thirst as the day gets hotter.

In other words, the military really don't have a need to engage in corrupt activities since the government has maintained the military very well to a point where there is no incentives to engage in corruption, collect bribes or turn against the government itself.

If you now compare the Kenya armed forces to the Kenya police institution, you can clearly see that the police has totally been out shined not only by the Kenya revenue authority but also by the military in terms of resources, facilities, and adequate maintenance of the police officers, indeed this is why the level of corruption in the police institution is ranked as the most corrupt institution in the country according to National Survey On Corruption And Ethics, (2012).

The police institution has not provided their officers with hospitals such as the military has been provided with memorial hospitals. The police officers don't know where to take their wives during maternity since the salary an officer earns cannot feed them even more than a week. Adding factors such as school fees for their children or school materials such as books, uniforms is just nothing more other than adding stress to the officer, who then seeks alternative ways on how to come up with all that money, instead of serving the country as a public officer.

In terms of resources, the police have very little resources compared to their population and the capacity of work conducted on day to day basis. For example the institution needs the officers to conduct a daily routine 24 hours patrol for the society to be safe, although they are not provided with enough vehicles instead they walk in pairs of two throughout the day and cold night exposing them to grave danger and health complications.

From a different perspective I think that the police force has been given no choices really a part from seeking bribes and engaging in corrupt behaviors in order to feed and satisfy their families. The government has given incentives to the police to behave such a manner. The government has a superior security force which is the Kenya defense forces/Kenya armed forces or commonly known as the military that can do the job in case the police start condemning the government and decide not to work. In this case by the help of rational theory it shows that officers will tend to maintain their status as police officers since they can at least abuse their power and make money out of it.

According to a news article written by Ngugi, (2015) states that an officer by the name Waweru argues that, throughout hard times in the police force and poor working conditions, one faces inhuman situations to a point of an officer has to share a house with more than three of his colleagues, this he says creates no privacy for the individuals. After sometime one ends up thinking and learning that the state feels you are useless and worthless to the country and therefore you are on your own to survive.

## Kenya Police Compared To the Kenya Traffic Police

According to the National Survey on Corruption and Ethics, (2012), they Kenya traffic police is said to be the second most corrupt institution within the country with a percentage of 18.7% just after the Kenya police at the top with a percentage of 48.1%. Here is the interesting part, the Kenya traffic police department mostly occupies the same offices with the Kenya police or rather work within the same police station. Well this means that the traffic officers face the same harsh and unforgiving conditions as their counter parts, the Kenya police service. This is the reason to why both of the two institutions are leading at the top of the corruption index provided by National Survey on Corruption and Ethics, (2012).

Since the two institutions work in the same offices, they have created a type of connection or rather unity on how they can top up their wages and ease their financial difficulties in corrupt ways. The traffic officers are usually posted on the roads and highways of which it's the nature of their work, although they take this advantage to collect bribes from motorists who have broken traffic rules & alongside fabricated offences.

With that said, it draws a clear picture that the police department and the traffic department assist each other when it comes to corruption activities, whereby the traffic has the task of collecting bribes during broad daylight and the police takes the role of protecting them since they may end up being nabbed by the anti corruption institutions which is placed by the government to capture any corrupt activities. At the end of the day each participant gets a piece of the cake from the day's harvest.

## II. CONCLUSION

Coming to an end of this discussion regarding corruption in Kenya, I would like to note down a few policy recommendations followed with a conclusion. As you have seen my main aim throughout my research has been analyzing institutional corruption and especially the Kenya police force institution.

With that said, I have identified the reason to why the Kenya police is ranked as the most corrupt institution according to National Survey on Corruption and Ethics, (2012) is due to miss management of the police force followed by police officers being paid low wages alongside maintaining them with basic needs such as health services. In details, the government has created incentives for the police officers and in general all public offers to engage in corruption.

## Policy recommendation

• Employee Motivation – Its recommend that the first step towards tightening the bolts, the government should increase the wages and properly maintain the welfare of the Kenya police. It was once said that if your employees are well maintained and happy, then your company or institution will move towards a positive growth. An example can be the Kenya defense forces institution, as mentioned earlier in the previous chapters the troops are well maintained in terms of welfare and working conditions, hence that why their level of corruption is significantly low compared to the Kenya police institution.

The government really needs to increase their wages, provide adequate materials and equipments to them, and also create habitable housing for the police officers. If the government can at least put the standards of housing, equipments, and resources of the police on the same level of the Kenya defense forces, we will be able to whiteness a positive change and a decrement in corrupt acts by the police.

## • The Media

The media plays a crucial role in eliminating corruption. Through the help of the media, corrupt officials are in fear to be exposed by investigating journalists and therefore this puts pressure to the officials not to engage in corruption acts (A handbook on fighting corruption, 1999). Through a tangible manner crooked officials get impeached, prosecuted, or forced out of office when they are exposed to the public. Also not only putting the corrupt individuals on the spotlight, the media can be also used as a tool to educate the society on how they can also keep away from engaging in corruption since they also contribute to corrupt activities by paying bribes.

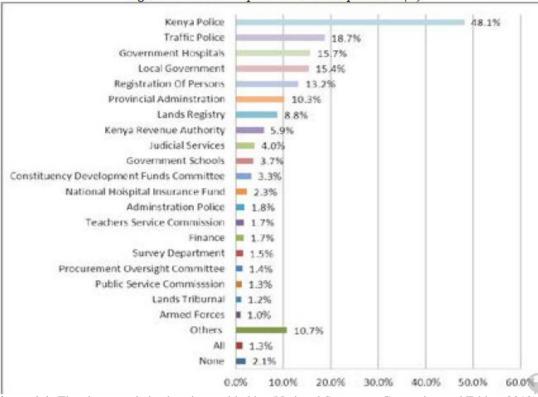


Figure 21: Most Corrupt Government Departments (%)

Figure 1.1: The above statistic chart is provided by (National Survey on Corruption and Ethics, 2012)

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