

**THE ROLE OF THE PRINT MEDIA IN ERADICATING
CORRUPTION IN KENYA.
A CASE OF GARISSA MUNICIPALITY.**

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare this research is a result of my own investigations except where stated otherwise. It has never been submitted for the award of any degree or diploma in any other institution of learning. Other sources are such are arch are acknowledged by giving explicit references and a bibliography is a appended.

Name.....

Signature.....

DEDICATION

This work is particularly dedicated to my family for their endless efforts to educate me up to this level. I dedicate it to my late sister AMINA CHAWAHIR, my late mother AMINA ABDILLAHI for their endless advocacy for education and endless advice. All had contributed materially and morally to what I have accomplished today.

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My grateful appreciation and gratitude are Allah, the Almighty who bestowed upon me the patience, mental strength and ability to successfully accomplish this project. However, there are some people whom I have to thank and without their contribution, I would not have been able to come up with this research report. I sincerely acknowledge the supervisor, co-operation, patience, devotion and excellent teaching techniques in my research by Prof. Ongodia of the department of Mass communication. Special regards are extended to PRO. PINCWA, head of the department and Mr. Ronald Kadu for their support

Lastly, I acknowledge the tireless work Mr. Balala Exhibited in type setting and editing of my work. God bless them.

APPROVAL

This work under the theme “the role of print Media in eradicating Corruption in Kenya, a case study of Garissa Municipality” was carried out under my supervision and is now ready for submission for the award of a bachelor’s degree of mass communication in Kampala International University..

Supervisor’s signature.....

Prof. Ongodia

Date.....

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION:

This chapter is meant to expound on the subject of the study “the role of the print media in eradicating corruption in Kenya” a case study of Garissa district. It provides information on the background of the research, the statement of the problem, the objectives and aims of the study, limitation of the study and definition of terms.

1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

The media has come a long way in the history of Kenya. It has taken with gusto stories related to corruption digging into embarrassing government files and letting the dogs loose on alleged perpetrators of corruption where features were ruffled. The victims got fired and the people’s wealth was saved from unscrupulous squanderers.

The media has appreciated a basic principle in the fight against corruption that journalism must serve as an independent monitor of power; that journalism must watch over the commissions and omissions of the powerful few on behalf of the powerless many.

The sum total is that Kenya’s media, specifically the print, has perfected its watchdogs task-the role of the press as an activist, reformer and an exposé. It has contributed the most in exposing the evils associated with corruption although there are more holes to plug.

Berth (2004) gives some examples that are a testimony to the media’s expository role. He talks about how the security was about to pay nearly 400 millions to Hyundai motors for a fleet of police cars, which were never delivered. This, he argues, is a contradictory policy by the government. He further talks about how the media exposed a Shs.4 billion scandal, which was meant to finance a new passports

project and construct of new forensic laboratories. This exposure, he says, led to the firing of three permanent secretaries. Berth applauds the media's serialization of how ministries were hitting the country's roads in top luxury cars and where government vehicles were packed after office hours in reference to pubs and other twilight zones frequented by prostitutes. This, he says, led the finance minister to slap a ban on buying of more government cars unless the need to arose. He also includes a story of how the National social security fund was tottering on the verge of collapse under a staggering shs.14 billion deficit that was mismanaged by public officials. Berth says the media has not failed to underline the chaotic leadership characterizing the Kibaki presidency.

Mang'eni (2004) says that:

“The high propensity to corrupt and be corrupted has become a defining characteristic of Kenyans in both corporate institutions and government offices. In many cases the perpetrators are those in the higher socio-economic strata, the middle and ruling classes. This white-collar crime, which is committed with the pen, sometimes with the full knowledge of the authorities has a multiplier effect that extends to households countrywide”; pg 12

It is justified to say that the contrast between Kenya's grinding and often steadily deepening poverty and the enormous wealth of many among the country's leaders has led the less charitable in society to conclude that the corruption which gives rise to such stark inequalities is so entrenched that it is skin to a cultural trait among Kenyans.

The print media has equated corruption to the widespread tradition of bringing a 'small gift' to the chief before he performed some public service to justify the view that today's corruption flows out of African tradition. It has been around throughout the history of human society.

Talking about corruption and issues related to government by the media has now become topical in Kenya and all over the world.

A decade or so ago, any public discussion of corruption and all range of related malpractices was the preserve of daring politicians and international crusaders.

According to a transparency international barometer (2004), grand or political corruption was a very big problem to the 57 percent of those interviewed. The report says that in Cameroon, Ghana and Kenya, about one in every two respondents indicated that corruption affected business to a large extent. The report also says that grand corruption, many emanating from the highest offices in the land, is on the increase with very little evidence of concerted action on the part of the government.

Even in the corridors of IMF/World bank and others in the family, it is said to have been referred to only as the 'C word'.

Indeed most of the anti-corruption actives and economic malpractices reported by the media in Kenya as manifested now go back only ten to fifty years. Transparency international Kenya was itself born around the same time.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Talking about corruption is now topical in Kenya and all over the world. As would be expected, the variety and scope of the phenomenon has also grown steadily to proportions that can longer be ignored because of its choking effects on normal political, social and economic transaction.

Ombaka (2000) says:

Kenya has been in the spotlight as one of those countries that are consistently perceived as among the most corrupt in the world. In 1996, Kenya was ranked third from the bottom of

all those countries surveyed with only Pakistan and Nigeria below it on the corruption list. In 1998, Kenya was ranked 73rd out of the 85 countries surveyed. And 90th out of 99 in the 1999 survey. Corruption which is one of the greatest challenges facing Kenya today, undermines the country's democracy, human rights, economic well being, growth and development and national stability".pg.1

An example is often given of a traffic policeman who negligently and corruptly allows a defective, overloaded vehicle to continue with its journey only to crash a short distance ahead. Graves in every village of persons consigned to early deaths in this way are a testimony of the consequences of corruption.

Mullei (2002) says that:

"Corruption results in skewed allocation of resources governed by the interests of those who are likely to benefit. The resulting "white elephant projects" we are familiar with place a considerable strain on the scarce economic resources by misdirecting them to productive pursuits. Corruption has resulted in unexplained wealth, a new-money phenomenon that is evidenced by expensive vehicles and lifestyle enjoyed by only a few of the country's population. It has brought inflation of property prices. The result is that many of desirable goods have been put out of the reach of the majority law-abiding public". Pg 5

A good number of Kenyans attending health facilities die unnecessarily when effects of poverty aggravate conditions combined with corruption. There is a macabre joke that many of our health centers are turning into death centers.

The hardships created by poor economic performance, increasing prices, breakdown in delivery of services coupled with the impurity demonstrated by those participating in corruption has aggravated the frustrations of most poor people. As a result, there is increasing unrest, lawlessness and loss of trust in law enforcement institutions. Crime, which is seen to pay, seems to be the only way out for these frustrated masses. There is as the trends show, growing evidence that corruption begets poverty and poverty begets insecurity.

The financial costs of frauds and corruption have reduced the real purchasing power of the public thereby dampening any signs of economic growth. Again this has severely impacted negatively on the poorest in society.

Justice is denied or delayed in courts. This has brought about a situation where the highest bidder becomes the winner of justice, which seems to be on sale. Personal human rights are denied and criminals roam free in this corrupt society creating a sense of insecurity among the Kenyan society. There is a joke these days that “why bother to hire a lawyer when you can afford to buy a judge and justice”. This seems to be state of things in our present Kenya.

There is therefore no doubt that, with other nations of the world, Kenya is gravely affected by corruption, a phenomenon that has become the subject of discussion by every one everywhere.

According to Imbuga (1975) African politics is potato-like. In the classic betrayal in the city, he captures the importance of the ‘potato’ in shaping political projects. He says Kenyans won’t support you unless you offer them that vegetable in plenty. He argues that politics in Kenya is potato-driven, corrupt.

Mwangi (2004) also says African governments have neither beginning nor end; they are always in the middle, between things. He asserts that you can’t confidently replace an African governments because what will follow it will not be the desired opposite. This, he argues, is why the NARC government is somewhere between KANU and a good thing contaminated with corrupt elements of what it would consider its opposite.

1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

Major objective

- I. Find out the role of the print media in eradicating corruption in Kenya

Minor objectives

- II. Assess the effects of corruption
- III. Find out the causes of corruption
- IV. Examine the people's attitude towards corruption

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- I. What has then print media done in eradicating corruption/
- II. What are the effects of corruption?
- III. What are the causes of corruption?
- IV. What is the people's attitude towards corruption?

1.5 PURPOSE AND NEED OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this research is to study the role of the print media in eradicating corruption in Kenya. It is the researcher's sincere hope that this study will help formulate new policies and programmes that will alter social, political, economic, legal and institutional patterns and environment so as to create a corruption-free Kenyan society.

This study is also intended to recognize the media's crucial catalytic role as an efficient agents objectives and aspirations. It is meant to sensitize the public and educate them on the causes and consequences of corruption. It is also expected to go a long way in encouraging and developing positive attitudes and behavior by all those affected and infected by corruption.

It is my hope that this research will act as a source book and reference manual that will give guide to lines to any body studying corruption or hoping to initiate activities that will result in it's eradication.

At the end of this study, it will have highlighted the salient issues that need to be addressed in creating a public service with zero tolerance for corruption. It will suggest how to seal corruption loopholes in organizations and transform the attitudes in all services.

This research will aim at helping to restore responsibility, accountability, transparency, efficiency and responsiveness through its findings and recommendations.

It is expected this research will familiarize any future user with the causes and consequences of corruption.

Finally it s my sincere hope that my findings will help create positive attitudes and the intellectual and moral capacity to serve as effective anti-corruption agents.

All put together, this research is intended to lead to the restoration of integrity and good governance in every organization. It will also be used as a cornerstone for further understanding of the under study.

1.6 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS

SCOPE

The distribution of questionnaire was used to carry out the research through fieldwork.

LIMITATIONS

Then print media covered by research are written in the English language leaving out non-English newspapers due to time constraints.

The respondents covered by the study were confined within Garissa Municipality.

The response rate was extremely low because of some respondents who might be directly or indirectly involved in corruption. This had to have complemented with personal interviews to obtain an acceptable response rate.

Some respondents understand or over-state the level of their response depending on their attitude regarding the problem, which this research undertook to study.

Corruption is a very new area of academic research, and there is as yet no accepted convention as to some sort of bias in the response rate, that is people who have more to hide are more likely to decline to respond.

Due to the respondents lesser understanding of the language in which the questionnaires was set, the response rate was also low.

1.7 DEFINITION OF TERMS

Print media-for the purpose of this study, it refers to the two daily newspapers under study. They are the daily nation and E.African standard.

Corruption-for the purpose of the study it is any practice marked by dishonesty and improper use of one's public or private office/position in return for monetary or property gains which can in turn influence certain activities or jobs that one must undertake or disburse.

Inefficiency-refers to the delay in the delivery of services by an individual or organization.

Watchdog-in this study it refers to the process of acting as a guardian of public property against corrupt people, government or organization.

Poverty-being in a state of living in less than a dollar a day.

Wealth –money or property acquired illegally.

International crusader –person or organization fighting corruption on a world wide scale.

White elephant projects- plans which have only been implemented on paper and not on ground because the money has been embezzled.

Crime- acts of lawlessness caused by lack of law and order in a society

Fraud –refers to obtaining of money or property illegally.

Integrity –refers to the delivery of services in a moral and an upright manner.

Accountability –inn this study it means the act of being in a position to explain how the tax payer's money is spent.

Governance –refers to the process of running the public affairs of a country.

Press – for the purpose of this study it means the two English language daily newspapers, which are legally registered with the Kenyan ministry of information and communication.

They are the daily national and the East African standard.

Daily newspapers – these are the newspapers published on daily basis and contain stories related to corruption.

Cultural trait- it means an accepted way in which some thing is done a particular society or country subsequently becoming part of life with it is identified.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter reviews literature related to corruption. It shades light on the various definitions of corruption, types of corruption, causes of corruption, and its effects. This review will help ease the cases under study.

2.1 DEFINITIONS OF CORRUPTION

Minoru (1997) defined as

“Actions that foster, aid or abet the improper use of or selfish exercise of power and influence attached to public or private offices for the acquisition of various rights and interest at the discrimination of other potential beneficiaries” pg 8

Obasanjo (1994) defined corruption as:-

“The misuse of public office for private profits or advantage, acts of commission and omission in your employment resulting in loss or disadvantaged to any other person associated with you.” Pg.4

On the other hand Stapenhurst and Sedigh (1999) defined corruption as the abuse of power most often for personal gain or for benefit of a group to which one owes allegiance. They further argue that corruption can be motivated by greed, by the desire to retain or increase one's power or perversely enough, in the belief of a supposed greater good. They also say that politicians and civil servants often apply the term corruption to abuse of public power. They describe it as a pattern of behavior that can be found in every sphere of life.

Kenya anti-corruption authority (2001) defined corruption as the abuse of authority for personal advantage of another person or group. It can be found in every sphere of life and include bribery, theft, embezzlement, fraud and evasion of payment of revenue and taxes.

The anti-corruption and economic crimes act (2003) gives the meaning of corruption as:

“Misuse of public funds, abuse of office, breach of trust and an offence involving dishonesty either in connection with any tax, rate or impost levied under any act or under written law relating to the elections of persons to public office” pg.2

2.2 TYPES OF CORRUPTION:

According to Githongo (2000), there are several types of corruption; petty corruption, grand corruption and looting.

He says that petty corruption is the most common kind of corruption in Africa and it is so wide spread that a substantial proportion of citizens do not think it is wrong at all. He says that it involves the payment of small amounts of money or other gifts to either speed up functions that are actually one’s right virtue of the fact he or she is a tax payer, or to avoid legal sanctions of minor infractions of the law. He further argues that this type of corruption usually involves paying relatively minor amount of money to relatively junior individuals in either the public or private sector.

Githongo says senior government officials or individuals in the private sector in relatively senior positions perpetrate grand corruption. He argues that paying a minister a kick back of US \$ 100,000 to facilitate favorable review for a tender application of a supply contract for example is grand corruption. According to him a merchant or trader who pays a senior customs officials a similar amount of money to be allowed to import several containers of goods into the country without paying tax or customs falls into the same category.

He further says that looting is the most destructive kind of corruption because it involves individuals or companies being paid huge sums of money by state for goods or services that are never delivered. He says that it is also described as large scale economic delinquency because it usually involves the type of scams whose figures are so huge that when they are successfully concluded, they have macro-economic implications fairly quickly-they cause banks to collapse, inflation to rise and the exchange rate to decline.

Muketha (2003) gives the examples of petty corruption as bringing of policemen or women at various levels, especially on roadsides, or “raids” bribing to find “missing” files in courts, government, local authority and parastatal offices. Having to bribe to get health care and medication and doctors referring clients to own private clinics or giving a bribe to get a vehicle registered, or receive obvious driving license or log books.

Such activities of grand corruption according to Muketha are found in government ministries, local authorities, co-operative societies, parastatals and private sector. He says that analysis of the controller and auditor general’s reports indicate waster and loss of public funds amounted to Kshs 34.7 billion in 1993/1994 which shot up Kshs. 107 billion in the 1995 to 1996 financial year?

Botchwey (2004) believes that corruption, whether petty, grand or looting, has a negative effect on political life, business environment and personal lives. He says that the five most serious corruption related problems facing then world are in order of priority are unemployment and poverty, high prices or inflation, grand/political corruption, rampant insecurity in parts of the country, criminal violence, terrorism and petty or administrative corruption.

Otieno (2004) says grand corruption pointed to the need to regain momentum on the currently lapsed attempt to reform the area of procurement. She further argues that

areas requiring action are the projects classified under national security provisions, which have in the recent past seen a large proportion of reported abuse.

She says:-

What the situation drives home is the necessity for the government to get anti-corruption agenda back on track. It has lost momentum and it has lost credibility and this can only be slowly and painstakingly regained by decisive action". Pg 3

2.3 CAUSES OF CORRUPTION:

There are many factors that cause corruption.

Favoritism rather than merit:

According to the public service integrity programme (2003), one of the causes of corruption is political patronage, influence and favoritism. Appointments to or private offices, the programme says, are made based on political consideration rather than merit, practice of tribalism and nepotism and political interference with the management in the allocation of resources.

Mshindi (2004) says merit has thrown to the dogs. Patronage, bribe and elaborate old boy networks are the primary tickets to a dream job, it argues. In an audit carried in a newspaper it reveals that entrenched favoritism and open ethnic bias, cutting across virtually all ministries, and become a hall mark of the Narc administration.

He further says;

"Tribe is the overriding consideration that goes into determining senior government postings. Kenyatta increased by two the number of ministers from one region, Moi did not avoid the pitfall and Kibaki too stands accused". Pg 8

Mwiria (2003) argues many ministers have the permanent secretary, minister, senior staff and parastatals exclusively sourced from then single region, or more precisely tribe.

An Editorial of the East African standard (2003) says tribalism breeds corruption. The paper gives an example of the experience of Mobuto's Zaire where a single clan gorged itself on national wealth with perilous consequences for the country. It further argues that tribalism promotes poverty giving the example of a Nigerian story where the identity of the sovereign has often translated into doom for ethnic groups that are seen to be opposed to the head of state.

According to Kanyinga (2004) tribalism is the dominant theme of Kenyan political life. He says tribalism and favoritism determine every aspect of governance in Kenya. It determines the men and women appointed to run the provincial administration, dictates the choice of our ministries and their ministers, and even determines them number of representative each tribe can elect to parliament.

Unchecked power;

The more the power one yields and the less the accountability and control the more corruption manifests itself in a situation or society.

Soyinka (1976) says

“Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely”. Pg 23

According to Githongo (2000) the reality in many third world countries with small economies is that majority of the rich acquired their wealth because of connections with the powerful in government. He says those described as “the rich” started off as civil servants. Politicians and military men whose main characteristics was that they were close to the center of power. He further argues that when in power one is faced with two painful choices. Continue looting and stay in power or stop looting

and loose power. He says those powerful elites fear that if they lose power they will find themselves dragged before courts of law by new regimes and even be killed in the hubris of new regime's efforts to consolidate itself in power. In the minds of these powerful corrupt elite, Githongo says, looting becomes a matter of life and death.

Weak governance institutions

While addressing the Kenyan community abroad, Mue (2000) asserted in an environment of corruption, the very character of vital national governance institutions is transformed. He says that even though one can not sometimes tell from the outside, an alternative or parallel power structure develops that has tentacles in all economic, political and social sectors. He further adds that in economies where such structures flourish, the governance institutions become weak and the members of these informal structures and their associates are almost literally beyond the law. As a result the well-connected people don't have to pay the same taxes like every one else. At the end it is then poor and the weak who face the brunt of corruption. A global corruption Barometer report (2004) indicates the most vital government institutions are the most corrupt with the police force retaining its infamous position as the most corrupt, followed by political parties and then parliament which ironically claims to exist "for the just government of men".

According to Muketha (2000) because of the rot in the judiciary, justice is delayed or denied in courts. Personal rights are denied and criminals who bail their way out of prisons roam free creating insecurity in then society. He also states that justice is for sale in Kenya and is only accessed by the highest bidder.

Lack of professional codes of ethics:

Smith (1999) in his report asks such questions:

"Is it possible to be privately immoral but publicly upright? Privately corrupt and publicly incorruptible?" Pg. 11.

He further says that when there are no rules, or the existing rules are not applied, the rule of the jungle takes over. He states that there is never a vacuum in social, political settings or organizations. Essentially then, he says corruption is a moral or ethical issue, one not merely based on technical correctness or incorrectness. The moral rot then breeds criminal corruption. He believes that our religious, political and social values must create high expectation of integrity and honesty among public officers and private persons.

Makokha (2000) says that proper exercise of authority in Kenya relies not on the set rules, procedures standards, and values but on personal whims. According to him decisions are made on the basis of “who said” and orders from above. He gives an example of the situation on the country’s economy. He says there is that inherent culture where an official believes that his well being and life depends on the boss. Any disagreement would make him irritated; angry or even get enraged thereby risking your career and political connections. Makokha says the president’s word was final and the set professional rules took aback seat. Pure sycophancy and the attitude of yes-man ship were pass ports to the accumulation of wealth and proximity to the centre of power.

Poor remuneration

The rampant corruption in Kenya is made worse by the poor salaries of most public servants. The low payment can not sustain the person and his dependants. This has lowered the public services morale to work efficiently and the temptation to take bribes has been on the rise.

While studying the causes of occupational stress among police officers in Kenya, the centre for research and development (2004) found our poor pay as the main causes of corruption in the force. It said the police was the most corrupt institution in the country. Eighty nine percent of the officers interviewed said they were stressed due to work related causes. Poor working and living conditioned also featured prominently as reasons for inefficiency currently plaguing the force.

Conflict of interests

According to a transparency international corruption report (2004, members of parliament are on the take and that most of the debate in parliament is hostage to money induced influence. The report further says that the majority of questions posed in parliament are literally purchased by vested interests. Mps will ask a question for or against issues they may have no more than a financial interest in.

Ondiga (2004) suggested the depth of bribery in parliament is so deep. He stated that

“There are mouths – for - hire and that many Mps raised issues they had a direct interest in”
pg 3

Gaitho (2000) reported a case where tobacco companies in Kenya file mps to Mombasa to rally their backing for tobacco-friendly amendments to a tobacco bill that was to be tabled in parliament. He also adds the story of health minister who hosted 120 mps to entice them to support the national social health insurance fund bill.

Ongwen (2004) talks of how public servants-ministers, parastatals chiefs and other “eating chiefs” form their own companies or collude with others and award themselves all governments tenders thereby sharing the proceeds amongst themselves. He gives an example of one minister who waived the license fee for the registration of company owned by his son.

A report by the independent center for basic research (2000) accuses politicians close to President Yoweri Museveni of environment in corruption. It also blames the government of paying lip service to combating the vice. The report says that corruption is expected to rise because of lack of political will to fight it. It further indicates that corruption by well connected individuals including legislators, as being an impediment for local investors from bidding for privatized public

enterprises as most of them are sold unprocedurally. It cites examples of the former state owned Uganda commercial bank (UCB), Grain Millers Company and the dam construction scandal by a former minister of Agriculture and vice president in which the government lost close to Ushs 3 billion.

2.4 EFFECTS OF CORRUPTION

Poor economic performance:

Corruption has resulted into the stagnation of Kenya's economic growth. The country's economy has been limping and on the decline. The gross domestic product has gone down.

According to Opanga (2001) Kenya's economy has been stagnant since the late 19980s. He says that due to corruption and other related malpractices, Kenya economy has grown at a rate of 2% in 2001 compared to the early 80s where it was growing at 6.5% and the economy was vibrant.

According to the public service integrity programme (2003) the slow down in the growth of the economy has led to currently fluctuation, increased inflation and interest rate. The programme says there is an inability to forecast outcome and increased prices of goods and services. Poor economic performance, report adds has led to unplanned, misdirected expenditure on projects resulting in huge losses.

Minoru (1997) says that the kind of corruption that is prevalent in Africa has a destructive effect on the economy and is now seen as synonymous with economic stagnation, deepening poverty and an exacerbation of economic inequalities.

Increased crime rate:

According to Bindra (2004), Nairobi has been declared the official crime capital of East Africa. He says armed gangsters terrorized slums and suburbs alive.

Carjackings are so frequent and violent deaths are a real possibility. Firearms flow freely through the streets and the police force appears overwhelmed.

He says that corruptions lead to dishonest leads to disorder and disorder leads to crime and insecurity. There is total break down of order and thugs roam free in the streets unchallenged. Crime is contagious and engulfs a whole community. He says in Kenya we have an unprecedented number of 20-30 year old on the streets, hungry and unable to secure any meaningful employment. These desperate youths, according to him are forced to look upon a class of people who live the high life-and do it right on their faces. He further says today, we simply can not run a police force. We can not motivate officers to take pride in their uniform and station. We can not gather intelligence and study crime patterns. Restoring management and motivational levels is the biggest challenge.

Inequality and poverty:

The Kenya anti-corruption authority (2000) says there are two parts of Kenyan markets. The top end of the market which consists of the rich elite that keeps roaring and the bottom end which comprises of the poor which is gradually falling out of the economic contention. The report says in one group glossy imported magazines move at thousands a copy while in other groups few people are able to afford local daily newspapers.

Martin (2004) has shown that in the 1970s only 11% of the world's poor were in Africa and a massive 76% were in Asia. In other words, he says, three out of every four people in the world were Asians. Fortunately or unfortunately, he argues that in the late 1990s Africa's share of the world's poor had grown to 66% and Asia had declined to 15%. So martin puts it very simply that,

“Poverty reduced remarkably in Asia because Asian countries grew. Poverty increased dramatically in Africa because African countries did not grow. Growth is force number one the way it comes to eradicate poverty” pg 23

At a consultative donor conference (2003) the government indicated that the 10 top percent households in Kenya earn nearly half of overall income. The bottom 10% takes home less than two percent. The government admitted that Kenya is one of the most unequal societies on earth.

Bindra (2004) argues that there are many Kenyas. He says that there is Kenya that is playground to the very rich where the party never stops. There is a Kenya focused around the central highlands, where only a modest proportion of people live below the poverty line; there is another more remote Kenya where as many as four out of every five people are pathetically poor. Says any society that has ever propagated gross levels of corruption has come to such a grief situation.

Loss of public trust:

Muketha (2000) says corruption can undermine the legitimacy and credibility of political regimes and public service institutions and faith in the political process, causing wide spread disillusionment, social disorders and increased levels of crime. He further states that current public expectation of reasonable service delivery by most public organizations is still very low indeed. Muketha argues that there is still an abundant skepticism over anti-corruption initiative.

Otieno (2004) says the fight against corruption has lost momentum and credibility adding to that Kenyans were fast losing hope as cases of corruption had not decreased.

She adds that

“Levels of optimism do not appear to match the dizzying heights they had attained in early 2003 when Kenya was ranked the most optimistic country in the world” pg 3

Looting of public resources;

Corruption in Kenya has resulted into the looting of taxpayers' money from the public coffers. This has led to huge loses of billions of shillings through fraud, theft and embezzlement.

Obonyo (2005) talks about the Narc government's hunt for the looted public funds and assets hidden overseas. He says having won the 2002 elections on the platform of fighting graft, one of Narc's most applauded pledges was to recover the public funds and property plundered during the Kanu regime.

Munene and Njeru (2004) talked about the legal battle facing the judicial commission of inquiry investigating irregular payments of billion of shillings to golden berg international and associated in the early 1990s. They say the commission is also investigating whether any gold central bank paid out Kshs.13.5 billion to exchange bank, a bank linked to golden berg. According to them this scam was Kenya's worst financial scandal and nearly brought the country's economy on its knees. The country lost over Kshs 75 billion in this gold and diamond export scam. The proceedings of the commission they add given then public a glimpse into how billions of shillings were siphoned out of state coffers, the trickery, intrigues and the big names behind it all.

The Kombo report (2000) which looked at a wide range of corruption cases, listed personalities comprising mostly state/KANU operatives, their relatives and also friends, who over then years, looted public coffers and grabbed public land with impurity. The report which reads more like an inventory of who was who in president Moi's government cites corrupt deals and dubious investments in which the state lost billions of shillings. The suspect investments include, among others, a processing factory in coast province, in which the government lost huge sums of money against expert advice that it was not viable. The project ended up on the long list of Kenya's white elephants.

THE PRINT MEDIA AND CORRUPTION

A transparency international survey (2004) indicates that Kenya is among the top countries of the world where you are likely to encounter bribery. It says the experience of bribery has risen by 40 percent within the last 12 months. It shows that a significant number of Kenyans continue to experience bribery in their day today lives. World wide, the report says 10 percent of respondents have paid bribes in the last 12 months. In Cameroon a majority of those surveyed admitted to one of their household member paying a bribe during the past year.

Odinga (2004) says:

‘The depth of bribery in parliament is so deep that it required a commission of inquiry to expose. There are mouths-for-hire and many Mps raise issues they had direct interest in without declaring it’ Pg5

Nganga (2004) says that because of their ravenous appetite for cash and freebies inducements, lobby groups have moved in to influence Mps voting patterns. He talks of how a tobacco company flew them to Mombasa to rally their backing for tobacco friendly amendments to the tobacco bill.

He further argues that corruption in parliament is so endemic that MPs have to be bribed to even pass anti-corruption laws! He further talks of a situation where big money changed hands when the nomination of the director of the Kenya anti-corruption Authority was approved by parliament.

Mathiu (2004) vividly and clearly writes how a third of Kenya’s hard earned money is taken by the government in the form tax in the promise that it is to be used for the general good like building roads, hiring and training cops, maintaining the military and so on. This is only put down on paper but not implemented on ground.

He says:

“In practice the money does not go to roads. It goes to boob jobs for some bureaucrat’s wife. The cops are not hired, trained or armed; we cower under our beds as thugs run over neighborhoods, stealing, raping and pillaging. And defense procurement, well, we pay the money but we can not be trusted with what it is used for.”: pg 3

In an audit report (2004) the Kenya wild life society is operating on a deficit of more than Kshs. 200 million as a result of fraud and haphazard allowance. The report also says that various directors have over the years used salary awards as a “secret weapon”

The society for international development (2004) argues that Kenya is among the top ten most unequal countries in then world and the fifth most unequal in Africa. The society says that only 3 million people out of the population of 30 million control the country’s wealth leaving the rest to subsist either in poverty or just above the poverty line. This 10% of the wealthiest Kenyans control more than 42% of incomes. The report further argues that for every shs a poor Kenyan earns, the richest get 56 shs; put simply, it marks the difference between groups pf people: the haves and have-nots.

According to a Mtongwe ferry disaster commission (1994) the government could have been duped into buying reconditioned ferries as new ones in 1990, and in the process lost millions of shillings. The report which says more than 250 people were killed describes the vessels’ condition at the time they were bought. Claims of misappropriation of funds, the report argue dogged the transactions. The report links tow cabinet ministers at the time who gave special authorization for the release of funds used to buy four ferries.

The report reads in part;

“The government should initiatives steps to investigate the issue with a view to taking the appropriate action. We have been unable to find out how the petty of the new ferries was

conceived and who actually negotiated the same. Whoever negotiated the acquisition had personal as opposed to national interest” pg8

The ferries’ initial cost, the report says was Kshs 400 million but was inflated to Kshs 800 million.

According to Rugene accompany associated with a Nairobi mp was irregularly awarded a tender to clear garbage at the Dandora dumpsite.

Even after Gichocho building contractors got the job illegally, the Nairobi town clerk without requisite approval extended the tenure indefinitely. She further says that the contract and its extension were done without following the laid down procurement procedures of seeking and obtaining the required council resolutions and ministerial approvals. In the end company was paid a cool Kshs 28 million without any legal hitch. Funny enough, she says, the company did not have a bulldozer needed in garbage clearance meaning that no work was done.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The main objective of this study is to examine the role of the print media in eradicating corruption in Kenya. This chapter discusses the area of study, sampling procedure, population of study, research instrument used and data analysis.

3.2 AREA OF STUDY.

The area of this research study is Garissa central/Municipality which consists of Township, Waberi and Iftin locations. According to the last national population census of 1999, Garissa central had a population of 76,480 people. The research was conducted in the three locations of Township, Waberi and Iftin

3.3 POPULATION OF THE STUDY

The population of the study was based on the total population of Garissa central. After the selection of the three locations, a sample of the population was picked from the total population in the respective locations. Sampling of the respondents was done in simple random procedure.

3.4 SAMPLING PROCEDURE

The population of the locations was picked as follows; Thirty (30) respondents were picked from township location that had a total population of 3,500. Fifteen (15) respondents from Iftin location which had a population of 2,000. Ten (10) respondents were also picked from Waberi location with a total population 9000. All the respondents were picked randomly without basing on the actual population of the locations. The total number of the sample picked from the locations was fifty

five (55). These respondents represented by views of the whole population in the three respective locations.

3.5 DATA COLLECTION:

The researcher applied structured questionnaires for the data collection process and field work. Information and the items in the questionnaires were related to the role of the print media in eradicating corruption in Kenya and formulated in accordance with the objective of the research. The questionnaires were distributed to the respondents for filling and picked after one week. Respondents were offered a set of options in the questionnaires from which they were expected to choose the most appropriate option that represented their views towards the statements provided. A set of four-point likert scale questionnaire ranging from strongly agreed, agreed, disagreed and strongly disagreed was used for collection of data. This model was used because it was easy to answer. It did not require any written response. However its main disadvantage was that it compelled the respondents to respond according to the options given.

3.6 RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

The researcher developed a four-point likert scale which ranged from strongly agreed to strongly disagreed and latter distributed to respondents. Personal interviews were also conducted face to face where necessary in order to achieve the required response rate. The questionnaire was prepared basing on the research objectives.

The questionnaire was divided into two parts. The first part was composed of the respondents' personal or demographic information and part two consisted of attitudinal information.

A copy of the questionnaire with instructions and an attached cover letter was given to each of the respondents. The cover letter identified the researcher and the

purpose of the study. The researcher distributed the questionnaires personally to the respondents in order to achieve total response rate. All the respondents filled the questionnaire and a 100% response rate was achieved.

3.7 DATA ANALYSIS

After a successful collection of the questionnaires from the respondents, the data was thereby examined and analyzed for the purpose of tallying in order to come up with frequencies and percentages.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

4.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the analysis of the data collected from respondents in Garissa municipality.

It consists of two parts. The first part analyses the respondents' demographic information which include gender, Occupation, educational level and their monthly incomes. The items were examined in light of corruption in Kenya.

Part two analyses the attitudinal information basing on the research objectives. Four items were analyzed and interpreting the above information , the researcher designed a self-constructed coding sheet comprising of items corresponding with the research objectives of the study. The coding sheet was later used to generate frequencies and percentage.

Analysis of the demographic variables according to gender shows that 35 of the respondents which represents 63.6% were males as compared to female respondents who were 20 representing a percentage of 36.4%.

The high male percentage indicates that men are highly informed or engaged in the phenomenon that is corruption than women.

Distribution of respondents according to gender

	Frequency	Percent	Valid percent
Male	35	63.6	63.6
Female	20	36.4	35.4
Total	55	100.0	100.0

According to the table below distribution of respondents according to occupation reveals that 28 of them representing 50.9 percent were employed while 27 respondents representing of 49.1% were unemployed. From this, it can be inferred that the rate of the-respondents who were employed was slightly higher than the unemployed.

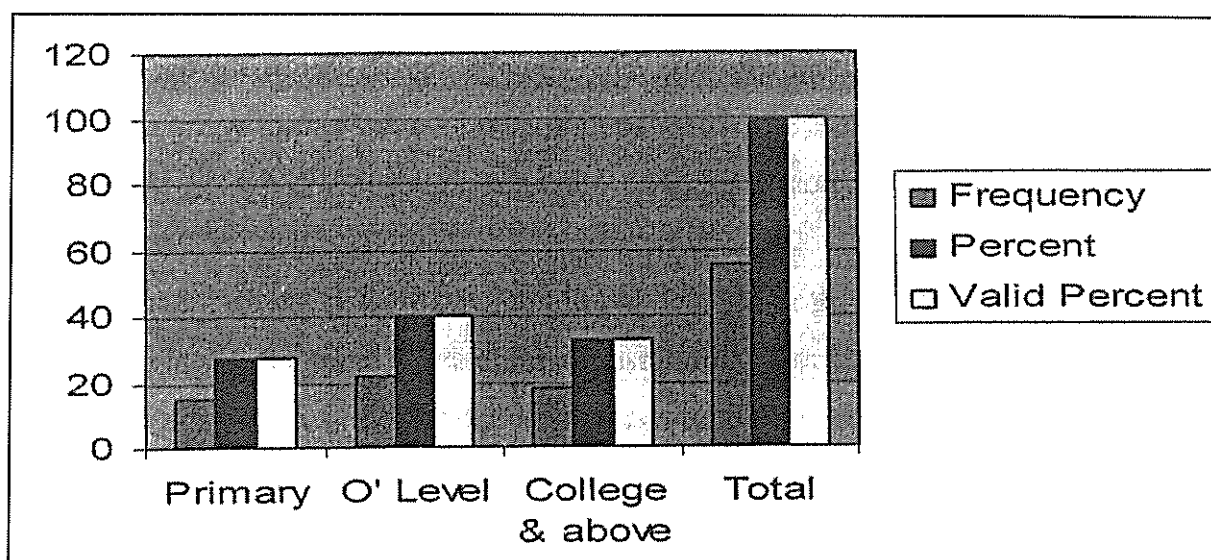
Distribution of respondents according to occupation

	Frequency	Percent	Valid percent
Employed	28	50.9	50.9
Unemployed	27	49.1	49.1
Total	55	100.0	100.0

According to the graph below, the educational level of the respondent varied. 15 of the respondents representing 27.3% were primary leavers. 22 respondents with a percentage of 40.0% were educated up to O level. 18 respondents representing a percentage of 32.7% had college education and above.

This indicates that most of the respondents had O level education. Those with college education and above closely followed while primary leavers were the least respondents.

A graphical representation of the above statistical data



The distribution of respondent according to their monthly income shows that 29 respondent with a percentage of 52.7% earn between 500-6000 while 4 of the respondents representing 7.3% earn between 6000-7000. Those in the range of 7000-8000 were 6 representing 10.9%. 8 respondents representing 14.5 percent earn between 8000-9000 while those with monthly incomes of 10000 and above were 8 respondents representing 14.5%. This will therefore tempt them to engage in acts of corruption so as to make ends meet.

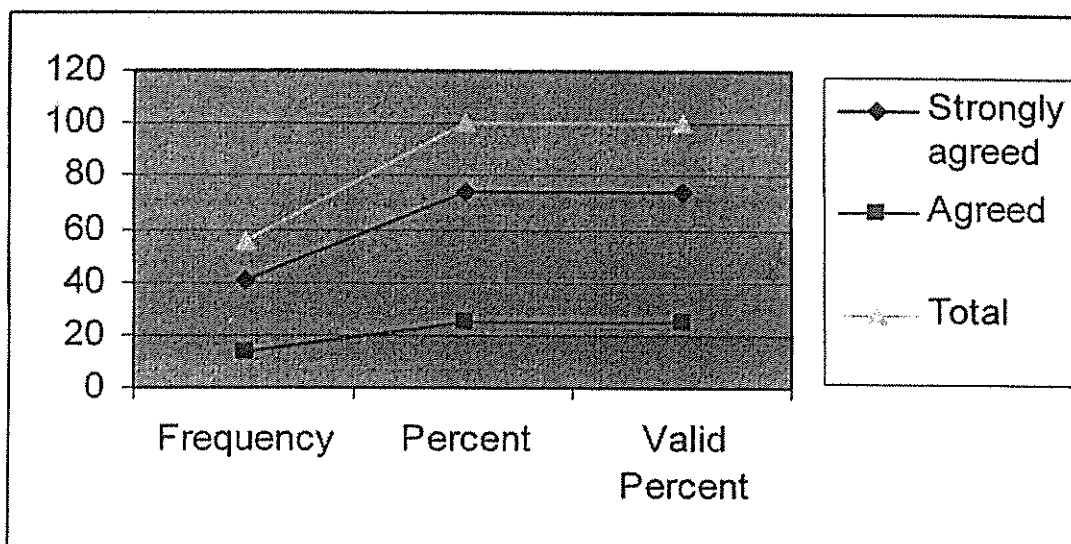
Distribution of respondents according to monthly income

	Frequency	Percent	Valid percent
5000-6000	29	52.7	52.7
6000-7000	4	7.3	7.3
7000-8000	6	10.9	10.9
8000-9000	8	14.9	14.5
10000 and above	8	14.5	14.5
Total	55	100.0	100.0

According to the graph below, bribery is one of major effects of corruption. 44 respondents representing a percentage of 74.5% strongly agree that they experience bribery in their day to-day lives-14 respondents which represents 25.5% also agreed with the same statement. None of the respondents either disagreed or strongly disagreed with this statement.

This shows that bribery, private payment to public and / or private officials to influence decision making, is the most prevalent manifestation of corruption. It is also a sign that due to the high incidence of corruption, the magnitude of bribery has increased imposing direct financial cots and an additional tax burden on the respondents.

A graphical representation of the above statistical data



Awarding of tenders and contracts to individuals with political connections, as shown in the table, is a major effect of corruption. 46 of the respondents who represent 83.6% strongly agreed with this statement, while 9 respondents which represent 16.4 agreed with the same.

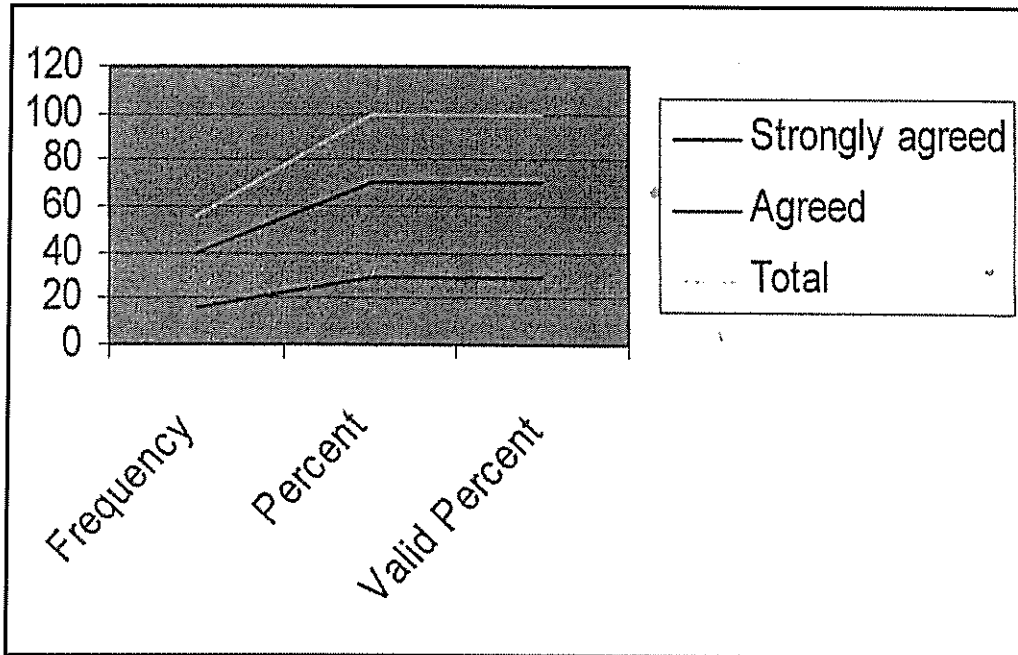
A table showing the above statistical data

	Frequency	Percent	Valid percent
Strongly agreed	46	83.6	83.6
Agreed	9	16.4	16.4
Total	55	100.0	100.0

Lack of transparency and accountability is one of the main causes of corruption. Basing on this statement, 39 respondents represented by 70.9% strongly agreed 11 respondents representing a percentage of 29.1% agreed. None of the respondents either disagreed or strongly disagreed with this statement.

This indicates that people do not have access to all the information they need for personal empowerment thereby facilitating corruption.

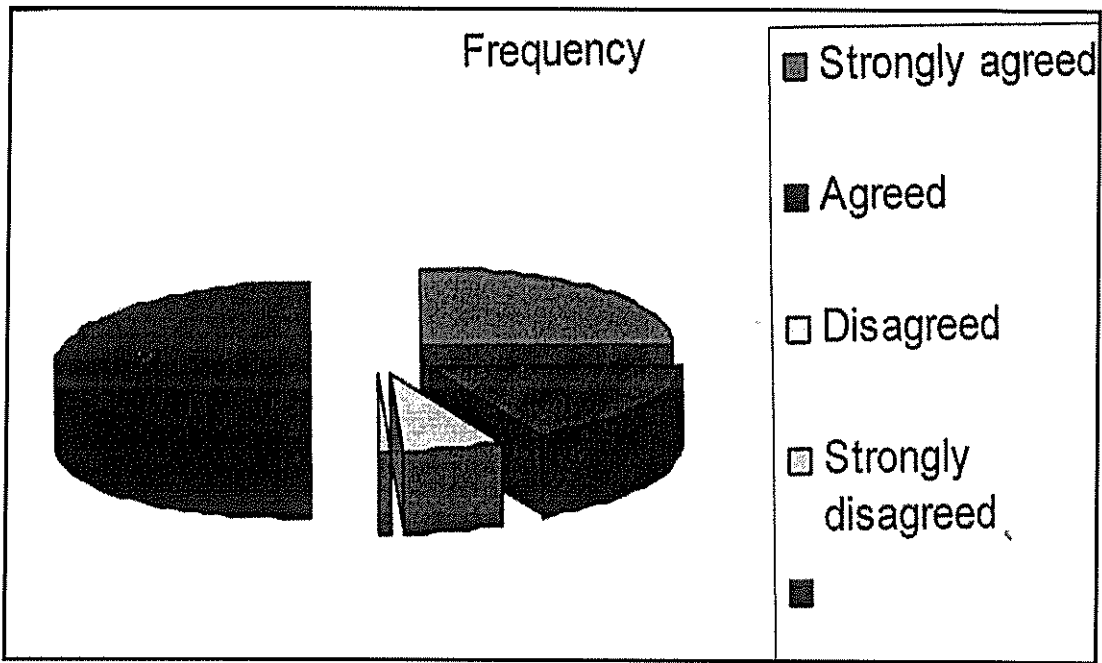
It also shows that individuals or organizations are not fully accountable for each and every transaction. Nobody is accountable to somebody and some norm. one can therefore conclude that lack of information by citizens has increased the magnitude of corruption.



According to the chart below, 28 respondents who represent a percentage of 50.9% strongly agree that the print media has greatly contributed to the fight against corruption 19 respondents

This therefore is an indication that the print media which is a vital organ in the fight against corruption has partly played this role although it still has a long way to as shown by the number of respondents who disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement.

A graphical representation of the above statistical data



CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a summary of the case under study. This is followed by discussion of the research findings, conclusion, recommendation and suggestions that might be essential for further studies.

5.1 SUMMARY

The objective of this research was to study four important issues;

- II. Find out the role of the print media in eradicating corruption in Kenya.
- III. Assess the effects of corruption.
- IV. Find out the causes of corruption.
- V. Examine the people's attitude towards corruption.

The demographic variables analyzed were gender, occupation, education and the monthly income of respondents.

Four attitudinal items each representing one research objectives were examined to find out the views of the respondents regarding the case under study.

The researcher designed a questionnaire for data collection, which were distributed to respondents in the three respective location of Garissa municipality to facilitate a reliable representation of the population of the study.

A descriptive analysis was applied using a four – point – scale model questionnaire with options ranging from strongly agreed, disagreed and strongly disagreed. A

coding sheet was later designed to analyze and interpret the collected data in terms of frequencies and percentages.

5.2 DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS:

Research findings to the print media having greatly contributed to the fight against corruption which represented the first objective leads to the conclusion that the print media has indeed played the better part in its crusade against corruption. 50.9% of the respondents strongly agreed and 34.5% agreed that the media had led in the fight against the vice. Nevertheless, there is still a long way to go. This is an indication that the battle against corruption is not about dealing with a simple national problem that can be tackled by the media alone. It has to be fought via a holistic strategy where every stakeholder including the public is involved.

The print media has revealed the misdeeds of corrupt rulers and their cronies although there is more that needs to be done. 12.7% of the respondents who disagreed and 1.8% who strongly disagreed indicates that it is a long term struggle which the print media has not yet fully achieved.

From the finding bribery is a normal occurrence in people's day to day lives. 74.5% agreed with the statement. Based on this, it can be said that a substantial proportion of citizens engage in bribery because they do not think it is wrong at all. It has become part of the peoples' culture to the extent that no official, whether in private or public domain, will perform his or her duties unless they are bribed. This finding also indicates that bribery is every where from courts, health care institutions, ministries, non government organization and every other place that a person may want to access any service. One can therefore logically argue that this practice has exacerbated the levels of corruption in the society.

Findings that lack or transparency and accountability is a major cause of corruption have revealed that 70.9% of the respondents strongly agree. The fact that no respondent disagreed or strongly disagreed with this statement indicates that corruption has flourished because the society is not open and the government hides

behind draconian secrecy laws. According to this finding, people are not given vital information on the government's projects and undertakings and nobody has been made to account for his wealth by declaring what he or she owns and how he / she acquired it.

It can also be conclude that an environment where there is limited awareness on the part of the wider population with regard to their fundamental rights has taken shape thereby creating a fertile ground for corruption.

A warding of tenders and vital contracts to individuals with political connections, the research shows, is a major effect of corruption. 46 respondents who represent 83.6% strongly agree with this statement and 9 respondents who represent 16.4% agree with the same. This indicate that there is the tendency in the country where one has to be close to the centre of power in order to enrich him or herself.

5.3 CONCLUSIONS

This section presents conclusions that the researcher gathered from the data which is composed of six chapters dealing with different issues.

The research was meant to unravel the role of the print media in eradicating corruption in Kenya.

An analysis was made from a four point likert scale questionnaire that distributed to the respondents. The questionnaire, which reflected the objectives of the researcher, was later put into a self – constructed coding sheet. This conclusion is therefore based on the frequencies and percentages generated from the coding sheet. From the research findings, the print media has contributed to the fight against corruption. According to respondents who Marjory agree with this statement, it can be concluded that the media's impact on the society is felt and its role in terms of empowering the masses with information, exposing the corrupt appreciated.

Though in the last decade Africa has seen some of the most incredible corruption scams in its history, there is a sense in which things have not been regressing. The

only reason the world knows about africa's corruption more starkly now than it did 20 years ago is because today Africa seems to enjoy a more vibrant press. Corruption was worse in the past but people never heard about it, they only wondered why economies were never growing, why poverty was deepening. Generally, the press in the country as findings indicate, also leads to the conclusion that the media has played a role in revealing and fighting corruption.

The conclusion can be given weight by the words of Nzomo (2001) who said: -

“Kenyans are increasingly studying and continue to study the problem of corruption as evidenced by the growing body of published material. This has led to an ever-growing anti-corruption activism and initiatives. I believe this constitutes are of the most comprehensive and serious practical effort by the country's media to tackle the problem by setting the scene, the agenda and actions: .pg6

Majority of the respondents, according to the findings, have shown that awarding of contracts and tends with political connections in one of effects of corruption. Local elites who have connections to the state are the ones who win government contract, are able to obtain loans from state owned financial institutions most easily and are able to apply successfully for government allocation of public land. This relationship between individual and the state has been a primary mode of wealth accumulation.

Lack of transparency and accountability is one of the main causes of corruption. From the findings, the researcher concluded that words “transparency” and “accountability” are only found in the dictionary and not applied on the ground. The citizens do not even exist but are paid for. Resources involving billions of Kenya shillings are diverted with no regard to laid down procedures, often to suit individual whims. The golden berg scandal is a living testimony where the country lost a whopping 75 billion in fictitious gold exports deal nearly bringing the economy on its knees. From the findings, bribery is a normal occurrence in the people's day-to-day lives. Based on this it can be concluded that giving or taking

bribes has become a legal transaction to the extent that the masses regard it as part of the culture.

There is growing attitude that many of the citizens or public officials neglect the fact that nobody has any legal obligation to bribe or be bribed. As mentioned earlier one does not need to hire a lawyer when he or she can buy a judge or giving a bribe, falsifying claims and soliciting of undeserved services, favors or goods as harmless activities which the society cannot away do with members has been profound because this net work of political associates fell that they are almost literally above the law. From this background, reform of the basic laws like the penal code punished for their commission or omissions.

5.4 RECOMMENDATION

This section addresses the recommendations and suggestions that may be useful in the eradication of corruption and gives insights into information that might be vital for further studies on corruption.

1. As noted in the finding, some respondents either disagree or strongly disagree with print medias' contributions, provision of solutions, coverage and awareness creation as far as fighting corruption is concerned. It is therefore recommended the media should as move further ahead on this subject. As a watchdog of the society, the media should highlight that all courses, forms, magnitudes and effects of corruption are unjustifiable, evil and harmful, have negative consequences on the economy and are totally undesirable. The media should name and shame corrupt people openly without fear or favor but within the legal limits. It should also encourage and advice people to live within their means not driven by greed and selfishness. The media should pressurize public or private organizations to stigmatize ill-gotten well and make people to account for what they own and how they are acquired it. Also to fully achieve its objective, the print media shoul enlist the support of the public in the fight against corruption by

educating the people to change their beliefs, attitudes and perception towards corruption. It should emphasize that the prevention and suppression of corruption is the responsibility of every person and that an all-inclusive and an integrated approach can effectively fight it.

2. Awarding of tenders and contracts to individuals with political connections has been cited to be a major effect of corruption. It is therefore recommended that inadequate laws and contradictory legislation be changed so that everybody can operate within a system that is devoid of favoritism and ethnic bias. Establishment of strong governance institutions is also essential. This is necessary because the relationships between the head of state and his cronies in allocating contracts to their next of kin have been profound. This network of political associate feels that they literally above them law. Reform of the basic laws like the penal code is important so that criminal can be punished for their commission and omission.
3. Lack of transparency and accountability has also been found to be one of the causes of corruption. It is therefore recommended that institutional reforms should be effected so as to have an impact on behaviors that led to corruption. Reforming civil service structures to make them more accountable, transparent and effective is an important starting point. Press freedom and a minimum level of openness on the part of the government should be created.
4. There is a general feeling that bribery is a normal occurrence within the society. It is therefore recommended that the public changes its attitude towards the vice by becoming proactive as regards corruption through demanding that all transactions be carried out properly. The society should demand for decent behavior by everybody, everywhere and all the time. Also the basic unit of corruption is the individual and the basic anti-corruption unit is the individual. Due to this, in order to stop bribery, the

individual actor who gives or takes bribes and his individual actions should be targeted in order to achieve measurable progress. Our religious, political and social values must therefore create high expectations of integrity and honesty among public officers and private persons.

5.5 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDIES

With regard to suggestions for further studies it is the researcher's opinion that other forms of the media like the electronic media be included in any other future study on the phenomenon of corruption so as to gather a wider range of findings that can bear fruits and solutions to the problem.

The researcher feels that the size of the population was restricted to Garissa municipality. It is therefore suggested that any further study should consider broadening the population size by first studying the logistical problem that may hinder or limit the above mentioned suggestion.

Use of various languages in the formulation of the questionnaire is also suggested by the investigator. This, according to my feelings will result into multilingual and multicultural findings that will enrich any further studies. Although the method of data collection used produced ample findings for the study, it is the researcher's suggestion that other methods are worthy of inclusion. This could lead to the enrichment of the findings.

In the course of this study, the researcher found out that the magnitude of corruption is so enormous that the print media alone cannot fight it. It is therefore suggested that an all inclusive and a multi – sectoral approach which includes non – government agencies, religious institutions and other professional bodies be incorporated so as to achieve a zero tolerance level for corruption.

APPENDIX 1

KAMPALA INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

P.O.BOX 20,000, KAMPALA, UGANDA

I am an undergraduate student pursuing a Bachelor in Mass Communication. I am in the process of writing my research report on “the role of print media in eradication corruption in Kenya”, A case study of Garissa Municipality.

I will therefore be grateful if you spend some of your precious time to fill the attached questionnaire. Your answer will be kept confidential and your response will greatly contribute to the success of the study.

The questionnaire consists of two parts; part A is the personal information and part B is composed of attitudinal information.

Thank for your co-operation

Yours sincerely,

Omar Liban Abdi

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE RESPONDENT

Please tick the appropriate answer

Part A: Personal information

1. Gender: Male

Female

2. Age:

20-30

31-40

41-50

51-60

61 and above

3. Marital status:

Married

Single

4. Occupation:

Employed

Unemployed

5. Educational level:

Primary

“O” level

“A” level

College level and above

6. Income

6000-7000

7000-8000

8000-9000

9000-10000

10000 and above

Part B: Attitudinal information

Please answer the following items by circling the most appropriate number representing your attitude towards the statements provided.

7. Kenya is affected by bad governance.

(1) Strongly agree (2) Agree (3) Disagree (4) Strongly disagree

8. Newspapers have contributed to the coverage of corruption in Kenya.

(1) Strongly agree (2) Agree (3) Disagree (4) Strongly disagree

9. Majority of Kenyans have become poor due to corruption.

(1) Strongly agree (2) Agree (3) Disagree (4) Strongly disagree

10. Bribery is a normal occurrence in people's day to day lives.

(1) Strongly agree (2) Agree (3) Disagree (4) Strongly disagree

11. Tribalism and political connections are the tickets to a good job in Kenya.

(1) Strongly agree (2) Agree (3) Disagree (4) Strongly disagree

12. The government has ensured efficient delivery of services to Kenyans.

(1) Strongly agree (2) Agree (3) Disagree (4) Strongly disagree

13. Lack of transparency and accountability has fuelled corruption.

(1) Strongly agree (2) Agree (3) Disagree (4) Strongly disagree

14. Owing more than what one earns as salary is an indication of corruption.

(1) Strongly agree (2) Agree (3) Disagree (4) Strongly disagree

15. The print Media has greatly contributed to the fight against corruption

(1) Strongly agree (2) Agree (3) Disagree (4) Strongly disagree

16. Majority of Kenyans either participate in corruption or are victims of corruption.

(1) Strongly agree (2) Agree (3) Disagree (4) Strongly disagree

17. Weak legal provisions have contributed to the increase in corruption.

(1) Strongly agree (2) Agree (3) Disagree (4) Strongly disagree

18. Justice is accessed only by the rich.

(1) Strongly agree (2) Agree (3) Disagree (4) Strongly disagree

19. Majority of the people don't think corruption is wrong at all.

(1) Strongly agree (2) Agree (3) Disagree (4) Strongly disagree

20. Those who have acquired wealth illegally are regarded as heroes.

(1) Strongly agree (2) Agree (3) Disagree (4) Strongly disagree

21. Government contracts are awarded to those with strong political connections.

(1) Strongly agree (2) Agree (3) Disagree (4) Strongly disagree

22. Newspapers have created awareness as far as corruption is concerned.

(1) Strongly agree (2) Agree (3) Disagree (4) Strongly disagree

23. Increase in the cases of corruption has been as a result of the Media coverage.

(1) Strongly agree (2) Agree (3) Disagree (4) Strongly disagree

24. Bribery is a normal occurrence in our day to day activities.

(1) Strongly agree (2) Agree (3) Disagree (4) Strongly disagree

25. Lack of Political will in the fight against corruption has affected efficient delivery of services.

(1) Strongly agree (2) Agree (3) Disagree (4) Strongly disagree

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