



**REPUBLIC OF KENYA**

**HIGHLIGHTS OF THE REPORT OF  
THE BUILDING BRIDGES  
INITIATIVE TASK FORCE**



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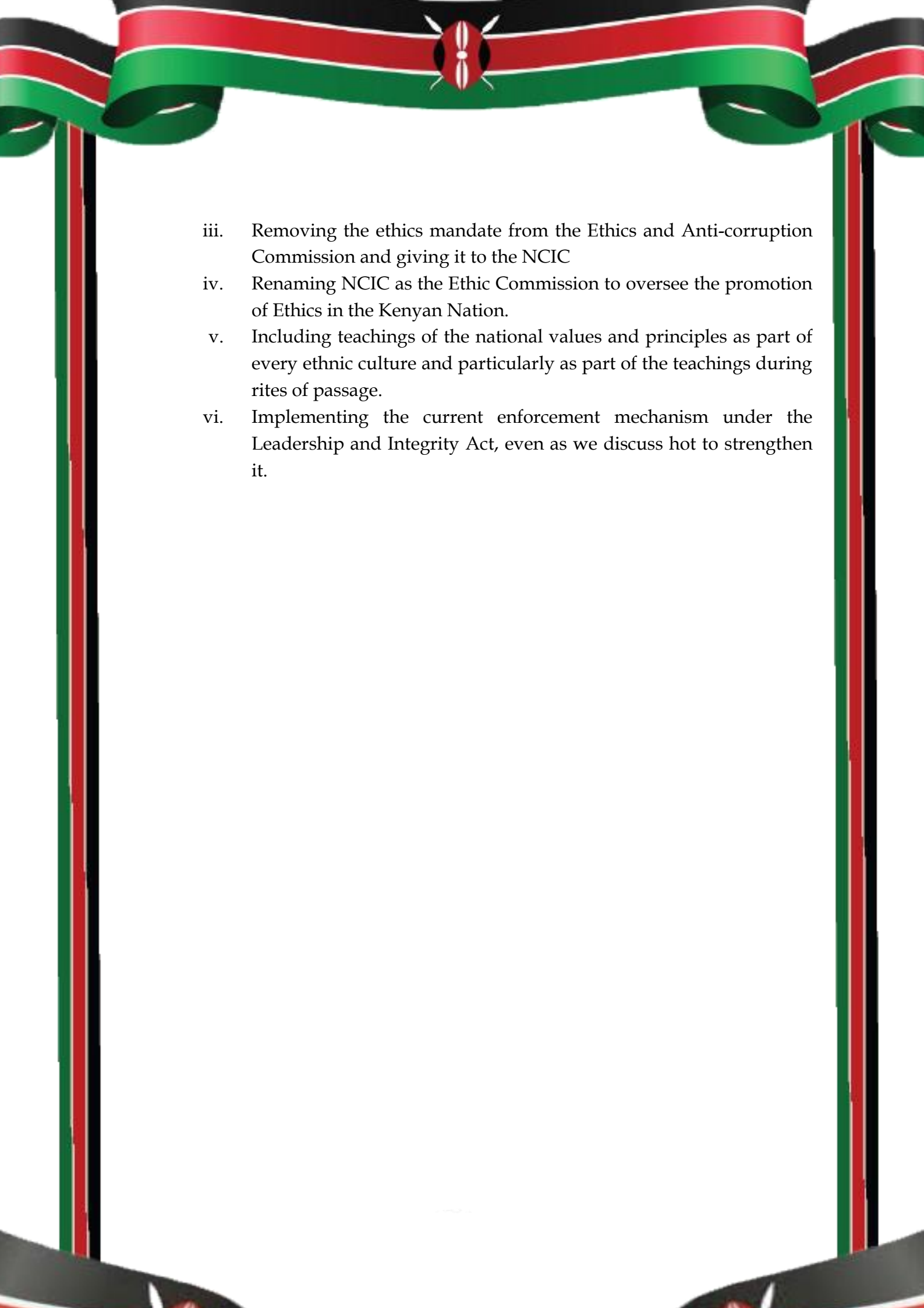
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## LACK OF NATIONAL ETHOS

A nation is founded on a national ethos. This can only be established by common goals and aspirations. We need to build a common vision of Kenya and formulate the goals we want to pursue as a nation. To achieve this, we should;

1. Write the official history of Kenya as a nation. We must go way back in time and trace ourselves from all corners of Africa into Kenya, understand why our ancestors left where they came from and what they were looking for when they began migrating to this frontier? We must look for our common vision in the dreams of our ancestors.
2. We must begin to think big and long term. Our vision of this country must go beyond our lives into three generations ahead. We must have plans that see beyond 100 years. And we must believe that there is something transformative we can contribute to African civilizations.
3. We must be confident in our African skin and we must strengthen our African identity by promoting our cultures and traditions.
  - i. Revamping the Kenya National Archives and Documentation Service and re-naming it in to the Official Historian and National Archive Service. It will promote research and analysis of us and our history by collecting all information about the peoples of Kenya and providing that information to the school curriculum and to teachers and researchers.
  - ii. Strengthen the Ministry of Culture and Heritage which is currently treated as a peripheral government activity. The challenge of building a nation out of Kenya falls on this Ministry.
  - iii. Replace Boxing Day, 26<sup>th</sup> December, with a national cultural day.
  - iv. Promote the respect of elders.
4. Promote Ethics in the country by
  - i. Teaching the children how to serve and take responsibility by establishing a National Volunteer Network that links young people to volunteer opportunities.
  - ii. Teaching ethics as a compulsory subject throughout the schooling curriculum from nursery to university.

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- A decorative border at the top of the page features a ribbon with the Kenyan flag's colors: black, red, and green. In the center of the ribbon is a white emblem with a red and black design, resembling a traditional Kenyan symbol. The ribbon is flanked by vertical lines in green, red, and black.
- iii. Removing the ethics mandate from the Ethics and Anti-corruption Commission and giving it to the NCIC
  - iv. Renaming NCIC as the Ethic Commission to oversee the promotion of Ethics in the Kenyan Nation.
  - v. Including teachings of the national values and principles as part of every ethnic culture and particularly as part of the teachings during rites of passage.
  - vi. Implementing the current enforcement mechanism under the Leadership and Integrity Act, even as we discuss how to strengthen it.



## RESPONSIBILITIES AND RIGHTS

Kenyans have fought for their rights before and after independence and we have a very comprehensive Bill of Rights to protect these rights. However, we do not have a healthy regard towards our responsibilities as citizens to promote our rights and those of others. We must realize that we are the *wenye-nchi* and take responsibility for our country.

To ensure we all meet our responsibilities to self, family, community and country, we should do the following.

- 1) Write out a Charter of Citizen Responsibilities that lay out the responsibilities to be borne by the Kenyan citizen to himself, family, community and country.
- 2) Establish and run programs for continuous and widespread civic education on rights and responsibilities.
- 3) Inculcate in children a culture of responsibility by devising and operating voluntarism programs in schools whereby they help communities and institutions near the school.
- 4) Subjecting all cabinet Secretaries and Principal Secretaries and their families to the public institutions run by government. If public institutions are not good enough for them, then they are not good enough for Kenyans.
- 5) Developing a parenting curriculum and teaching parenting in religious institutions, health centers and other social, governments and cultural institutions. Raising healthy and responsible children in a fast changing society is becoming an increasingly complex undertaking
- f) Encouraging young Kenyans between the age of 18 to 26 years to volunteer six months of their life to serving Kenyans on a voluntary basis. The national volunteers' network would enroll them and assist them to get the opportunities.
- g) Domesticating Articles 27, 28 and 29 of the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights. These articles provide for the responsibility of the citizen to their family, society, State and international community



## ETHNIC ANTAGONISM AND COMPETITION

Kenya is a nation of diversity and this has often led to misunderstanding and conflict. We need to find ways of managing our diversity particularly during competition for power otherwise it will lead to our collective ruin.

To prevent these ethnic conflicts in Kenya, and promote harmony and peaceful co-existence between persons of diverse ethnic societies, we should:

1. Educate Kenyans on their diverse cultures and traditions and formulate a school curriculum that teaches students about the cultures and traditions of every ethnic community in Kenya.
2. All public boarding secondary schools must enroll 50% of its student's population from outside the county.
3. Do away with "winner takes all" model of presidency and establish a more inclusive political system.
4. Ensure that all resource sharing criteria at all levels ensure fair distribution between citizens per capita to reduce conflicts over resource allocation.
5. Accelerate the process of East African Community Confederation in order to expose Kenyans to other ethnic communities and remove the narrow minded local ethnic competition.
6. Strengthen the office of the Registrar of Political Parties to enable it deal with the problem of ethnicization of politics in Kenya by immediately recruiting and appointing a substantive Registrar who can be independent, assertive and proactive.



## DIVISIVE ELECTIONS

Elections in Kenya have become a curse. One year before every General Election, Kenya becomes tense, unsafe and economic activity stops. After every election, violence breaks out and lives are lost. Normalcy returns one year after elections.

In Kenya, despite all attempts made to decentralize decision making and resource allocation, there is still a strong believe that the presidency leads to an unequal allocation of resources and opportunities between ethnic communities.


In these circumstances, a winner take all political system has only sharpened the ethnic competition for the presidency as people want one of their own as president since resources go with the presidency.

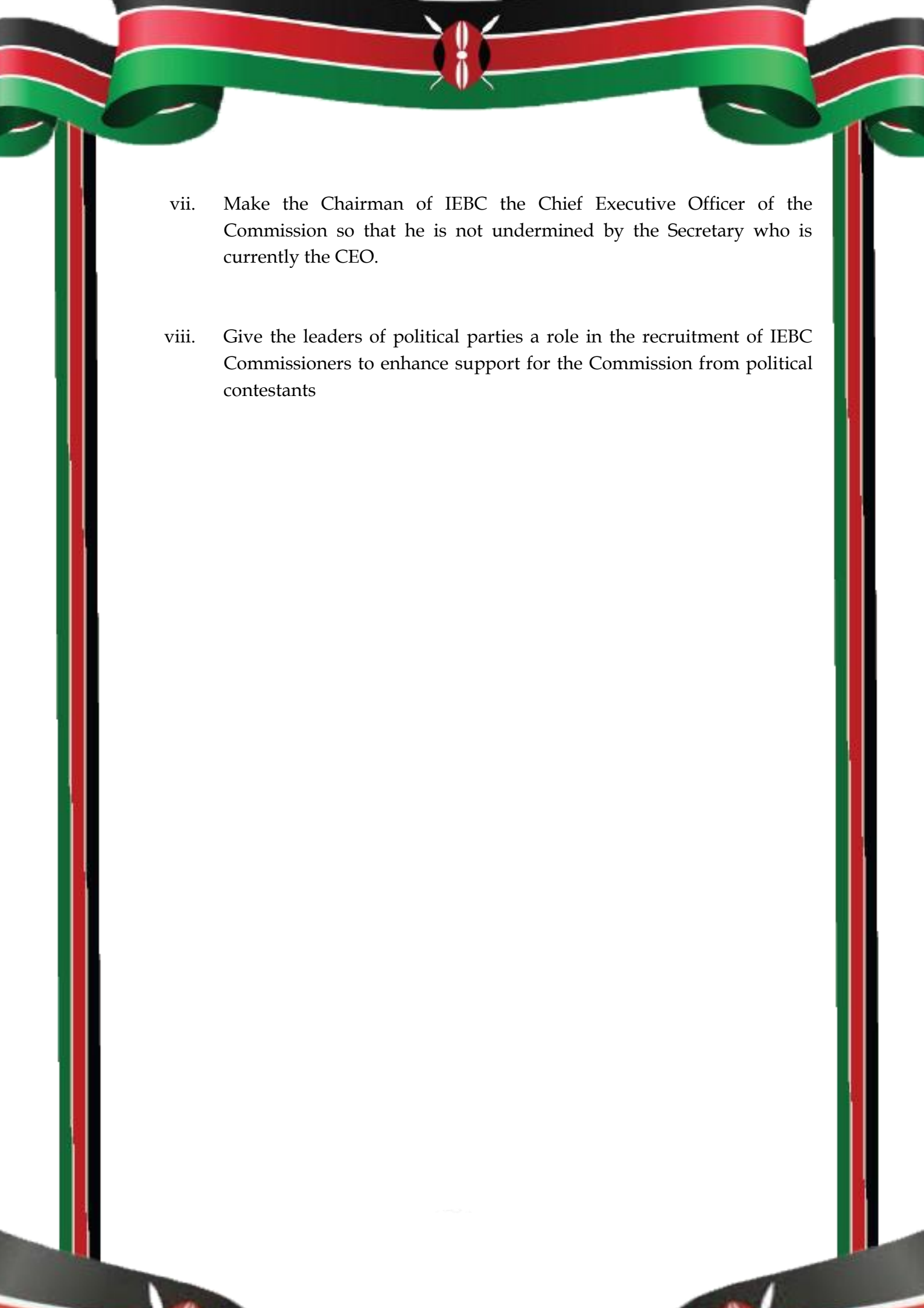
To stop elections from becoming a do or die event, we must have a more inclusive political system where more communities get a chance to play a role in governing Kenya.

We should therefore:

1. Change the nature and structure of the national executive to make it more inclusive and ensure as many Kenyan communities as possible feel part of the government by ;
  - i. Establishing the position of Prime Minister in the same model as used by Tanzania. He shall be appointed by the President from the Party or Coalition of parties that are a majority in the National Assembly, and if no party has a majority, the person who appears to have the support of majority of the members of the National Assembly. He must be confirmed by the National Assembly. He may be fired by either the president through a decree or by the national Assembly through a vote of no confidence
  - ii. Establishing the office of the Leader of the Opposition who will be the runner up of the presidential election. He shall become an ex-officio Member of Parliament. If the runner up forms a coalition with government, then the leader of the Opposition shall be the person who leads the coalition of parliamentary parties not represented in government. All political parties not in government shall be deemed to be in the opposition.
  - iii. Providing that the Cabinet shall be a mix of elected members of the National Assembly and technocrats. Where appointed, technocrats will be ex-officio members of parliament. The president shall determine the ratio



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- of elected members and technocrats in the cabinet. When members of parliament are appointed as ministers, they will only get an extra responsibility allowance and not a second salary.
- iv. Renaming the position of Cabinet Secretary back to Cabinet Minister because Kenyans have over the decades associated the word “Minister” with authority in the National Executive.
  - v. Where necessary, the president can appoint some members of parliament as Ministers of State to assist Cabinet Ministers in their work at the National Assembly. This assignment will not come with any additional salary.
  - vi. Abolish the position of Chief Administrative Secretary
2. Ensure that the system of representation accords to the following principles that guarantee that Kenyans are fairly and equally represented.
- a. All nominations and elections are free, fair and transparent
  - b. All persons to be included in party lists must go through a system of vetting that involves the public
  - c. As much as possible ensure that each vote has the same status and power.
  - d. Whatever changes may be made to constituencies, save the protected constituencies as they are key for representation in sparsely populated area.
  - e. All nominations to parliament and county assemblies must be done in a transparent process.
3. Enhance the capacity of the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission to deliver free and fair elections by;
- i. Removing all current Commissioners and establishing a new Commission for the next election.
  - ii. Provide that all IEBC staff serve on 3 year contracts that can be renewed only once, so that every new Commission can determine its own direction rather than become a captive of the IEBC Secretariat.
  - iii. Hire all Returning Officers through a system similar to that of hiring Commissioners.
  - iv. Returning officers should be contracted on a part-time basis and should not oversee more than one general election.
  - v. Open up qualifications for the Chairmanship of IEBC so that it is not a preserve for lawyers. A chair should be anyone with at least 15 years’ experience in a senior management level
  - vi.

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- vii. Make the Chairman of IEBC the Chief Executive Officer of the Commission so that he is not undermined by the Secretary who is currently the CEO.
- viii. Give the leaders of political parties a role in the recruitment of IEBC Commissioners to enhance support for the Commission from political contestants



## INCLUSIVITY

In order to build a stable nation, it is important that all people individually and as communities feel as part of the national life and feel included in the management of the country's affairs. To enhance the participation of people in the national life;

1. Establish the Office of the Public Rapporteur to conduct all public participation on behalf of all public entities both national and devolved undertaking policy and operational initiatives in order to remove bias, exclusion and prejudice in public participation.
2. Deal with marginalization at the county level by putting focus on inclusivity in county governments and making the same demands to county governments are also made to the national government. Evidence from BBI consultations indicate that communities that complain of marginalization at the national level were themselves guilty of marginalizing others in their respective counties
3. Minimise the power of cartels to utilize economic power and even corruption to shape governance and policy making in their own interests.
4. Involve reputable private recruitment companies in recruitment of personnel in the public service in order to change cultures and attitudes and remove nepotism, bribery and other forms of corruption in public recruitment.
5. Require the Public Service Commission and County Service Boards to undertake selective recruitment of candidates from minority groups and communities through head hunting in order to attain the face of Kenya.
6. Representatives from the Muslim community made strong recommendations for an appellate system in the Kadhi's court system. This is recommended because an appellate system that takes cases from the Kadhi system back to secular courts beat the purpose of the initial provisions.
7. Publicise annual reports on diversity in the public service at both national and devolved governments and institutions.
8. Remove all handicaps to dual citizens' rights. All Kenya citizens must have the same status whether they have dual citizenship of another country or not. Persons should be judged by their character rather than by an assumption that a person with dual citizenship is liable to untrustworthiness. This handicap should only be maintained for the Commander-in-Chief and officers of the defence forces and the defence council.

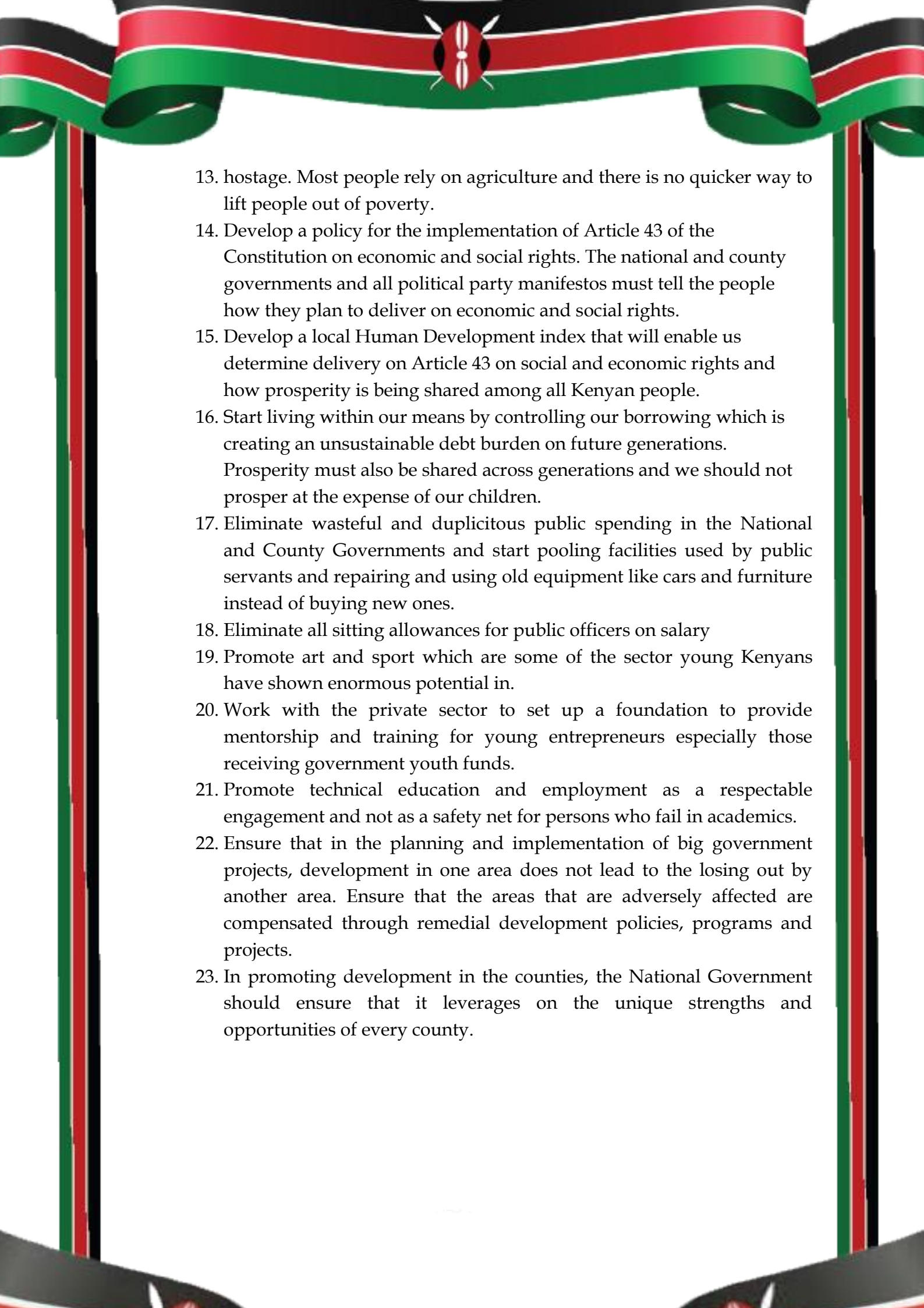


## SHARED PROSPERITY

Prosperity is one of our national goals. We sing in our national anthem “raha tupate na ustawi”. We say “tuungane mikono pamoja kazini” to underline our intention to share our prosperity. Fifty-six years later, we have done better than our neighbouring countries but we remain one of the world’s poorest countries and also one of the most unequal.

Inequality is one of the most fundamental causes of conflict in society. To insulate the society from conflict, we must address both the prosperity of the country and the equity with which this prosperity is shared. We should ;

1. Work towards an economic revolution. The current economy cannot produce the prosperity needed to meet the needs of the people and particularly employment needed for the youth.
2. We need to think big and long term. To begin with, let us have a 50 year plan and then work towards it in phases of five to ten years.
3. Promote labour intensive economic activities particularly in manufacturing and promote markets in neighbouring countries for these goods.
4. Promote lending to micro, small and medium businesses through legal and regulatory guidelines to banks to lend to these sectors
5. Promote an secure Kenyan inventions, generic resources, traditional knowledge and art
6. Use tax and other regulatory tools to promote savings and investment
7. Give incentives to people in the diaspora to remit more money into Kenya.
8. Increase spending on development of government revenue and aim for a 70:30 ratio of development versus recurrent expenditure.
9. Have fairness in national spending so that every part of Kenya has a fair chance in having their needs met and opportunities exploited.
10. Broaden the tax base and lower the tax rate so that people are left with more money in their pockets to invest or otherwise better their lives. Simplify tax computation to enhance compliance. Sharing prosperity also involves sharing responsibility on the cost of running the country
11. Punish tax evasion and particularly the agents who facilitate it both in the private and the public sector.
12. Expand investment in agriculture and livestock and direct anti-corruption efforts in the sector to break up the cartels that hold farmers

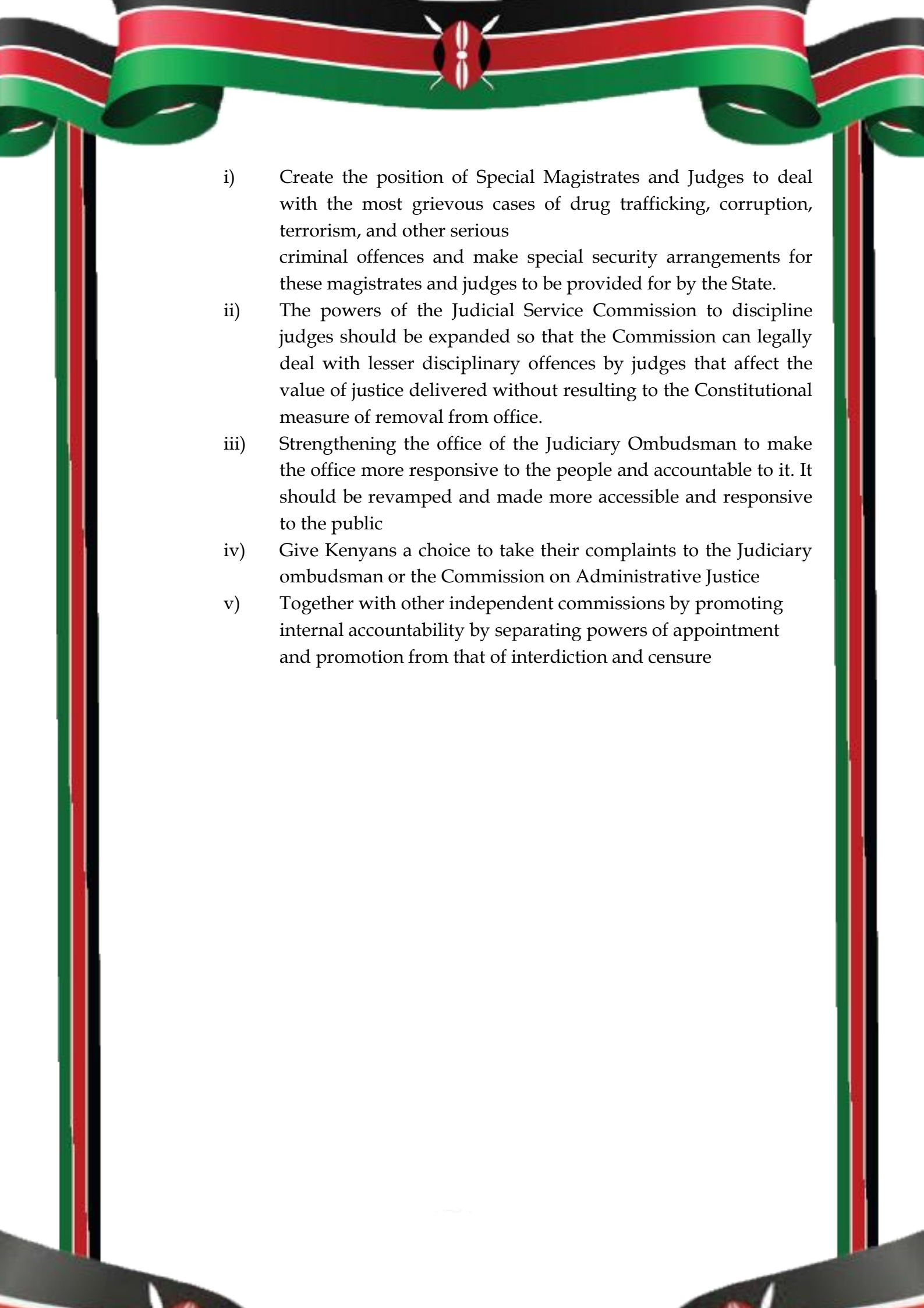
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13. hostage. Most people rely on agriculture and there is no quicker way to lift people out of poverty.
  14. Develop a policy for the implementation of Article 43 of the Constitution on economic and social rights. The national and county governments and all political party manifestos must tell the people how they plan to deliver on economic and social rights.
  15. Develop a local Human Development index that will enable us determine delivery on Article 43 on social and economic rights and how prosperity is being shared among all Kenyan people.
  16. Start living within our means by controlling our borrowing which is creating an unsustainable debt burden on future generations. Prosperity must also be shared across generations and we should not prosper at the expense of our children.
  17. Eliminate wasteful and duplicitous public spending in the National and County Governments and start pooling facilities used by public servants and repairing and using old equipment like cars and furniture instead of buying new ones.
  18. Eliminate all sitting allowances for public officers on salary
  19. Promote art and sport which are some of the sector young Kenyans have shown enormous potential in.
  20. Work with the private sector to set up a foundation to provide mentorship and training for young entrepreneurs especially those receiving government youth funds.
  21. Promote technical education and employment as a respectable engagement and not as a safety net for persons who fail in academics.
  22. Ensure that in the planning and implementation of big government projects, development in one area does not lead to the losing out by another area. Ensure that the areas that are adversely affected are compensated through remedial development policies, programs and projects.
  23. In promoting development in the counties, the National Government should ensure that it leverages on the unique strengths and opportunities of every county.



## CORRUPTION

Kenyans believe the system is rigged and that it rewards cronyism and corruption as opposed to production and hard work. Corruption is today the greatest risk to Kenya's cohesion and security. Tackling corruption is the single important mission Kenya has today

1. Free Kenya from the capture of cartels through an action plan to break the cartels and severely punish the culprits.
2. Target bankers and banking executives who are promoting money laundering and make them pay heavy fines and do jail terms.
3. Promote whistleblowing by giving rewards of 5% of recovered proceeds to persons who give information on corruption deals.
4. Promote ethics by making incorporating ethics and performance assessment training in every Public Service course required for promotion.
5. Include ethics and civics as part of every educational curriculum from the lowest to the highest educational levels
6. Include the fight against corruption as part of the performance contracts of Cabinet Secretaries and Principal Secretaries
7. Enhance the freedom of the media and whistleblowers to report on corruption
8. Ban all public officers from doing business with the government. They also must not engage in business outside government unless the activities they wish to engage in are approved.
9. Conflicts of interest must be declared whenever they arise especially regarding spouses and children of public officers when they have to deal with a public agency that employs their their husband/wife/parent.
10. Make all wealth declaration forms open to public scrutiny and all wealth above Kshs. 50 million must be explained. Potential conflicts of interest must also declared .
11. Leaders must take political responsibility where negligent or poor quality government actions have led to disasters by resigning
12. Make Kenya a 100% e-service nation by digitalizing all government services, processes, payment system and record keeping.
13. Strengthen the Judiciary as an anti-corruption tool by

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- i) Create the position of Special Magistrates and Judges to deal with the most grievous cases of drug trafficking, corruption, terrorism, and other serious criminal offences and make special security arrangements for these magistrates and judges to be provided for by the State.
  - ii) The powers of the Judicial Service Commission to discipline judges should be expanded so that the Commission can legally deal with lesser disciplinary offences by judges that affect the value of justice delivered without resulting to the Constitutional measure of removal from office.
  - iii) Strengthening the office of the Judiciary Ombudsman to make the office more responsive to the people and accountable to it. It should be revamped and made more accessible and responsive to the public
  - iv) Give Kenyans a choice to take their complaints to the Judiciary ombudsman or the Commission on Administrative Justice
  - v) Together with other independent commissions by promoting internal accountability by separating powers of appointment and promotion from that of interdiction and censure



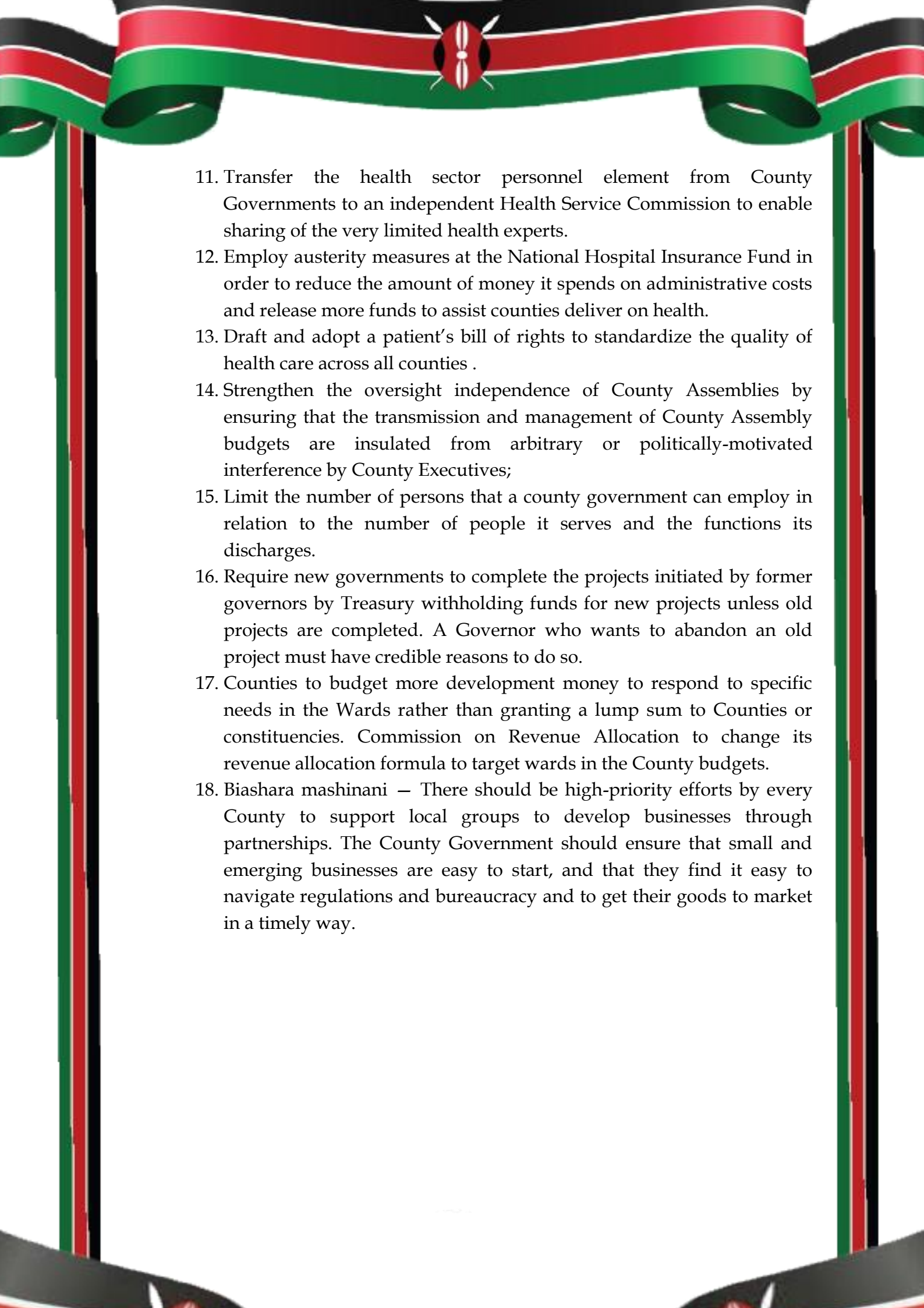
## DEVOLUTION

The devolved system of government was aimed at decentralizing power and increasing access to services across the country. In terms of creating a major departure in governance in the country, it has largely been a success. However, it is frustrated by serious challenges which if not addressed will raise questions about its political and economic viability.

To address these challenges, it is proposed as follows:

1. Retain all the 47 counties but encourage and assist counties to form regional economic blocks.
2. Increase resources to the counties by at least 35% of the last audited accounts.
3. When dividing revenue between the counties, use a formula that focuses on ensuring services reach the actual settlements of people so that resources are not allocated on the basis of uninhabited land mass.
4. Finalize the transfer of functions from the National to County Governments and eliminate all duplicity of functions between the two levels of government.
5. Follow the maxim “money follows functions” in allocating money between the two levels of government.
6. Parastatals carrying out County functions should be either wound up or restructured. This should be synchronized with the implementation of the already completed parastatal reforms policy.
7. Consider how Ward representatives can have oversight of funds intended for bursaries only, while ensuring that CDF funds do not clash with the development imperatives of Counties.
8. The running mate of every candidate for the position of Governor should be of the opposite gender.
9. Where a county fails to appoint a deputy within 90 days of a vacancy, the Speaker of the County Assembly shall, with the approval of the County Assembly, do so.
10. Limit arbitrary, nepotistic or crony recruitment of human resources that ignores merit and inclusivity by replicating the independence of the Public Service Commission in every County Service Board.



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11. Transfer the health sector personnel element from County Governments to an independent Health Service Commission to enable sharing of the very limited health experts.
  12. Employ austerity measures at the National Hospital Insurance Fund in order to reduce the amount of money it spends on administrative costs and release more funds to assist counties deliver on health.
  13. Draft and adopt a patient's bill of rights to standardize the quality of health care across all counties .
  14. Strengthen the oversight independence of County Assemblies by ensuring that the transmission and management of County Assembly budgets are insulated from arbitrary or politically-motivated interference by County Executives;
  15. Limit the number of persons that a county government can employ in relation to the number of people it serves and the functions its discharges.
  16. Require new governments to complete the projects initiated by former governors by Treasury withholding funds for new projects unless old projects are completed. A Governor who wants to abandon an old project must have credible reasons to do so.
  17. Counties to budget more development money to respond to specific needs in the Wards rather than granting a lump sum to Counties or constituencies. Commission on Revenue Allocation to change its revenue allocation formula to target wards in the County budgets.
  18. Biashara mashinani – There should be high-priority efforts by every County to support local groups to develop businesses through partnerships. The County Government should ensure that small and emerging businesses are easy to start, and that they find it easy to navigate regulations and bureaucracy and to get their goods to market in a timely way.



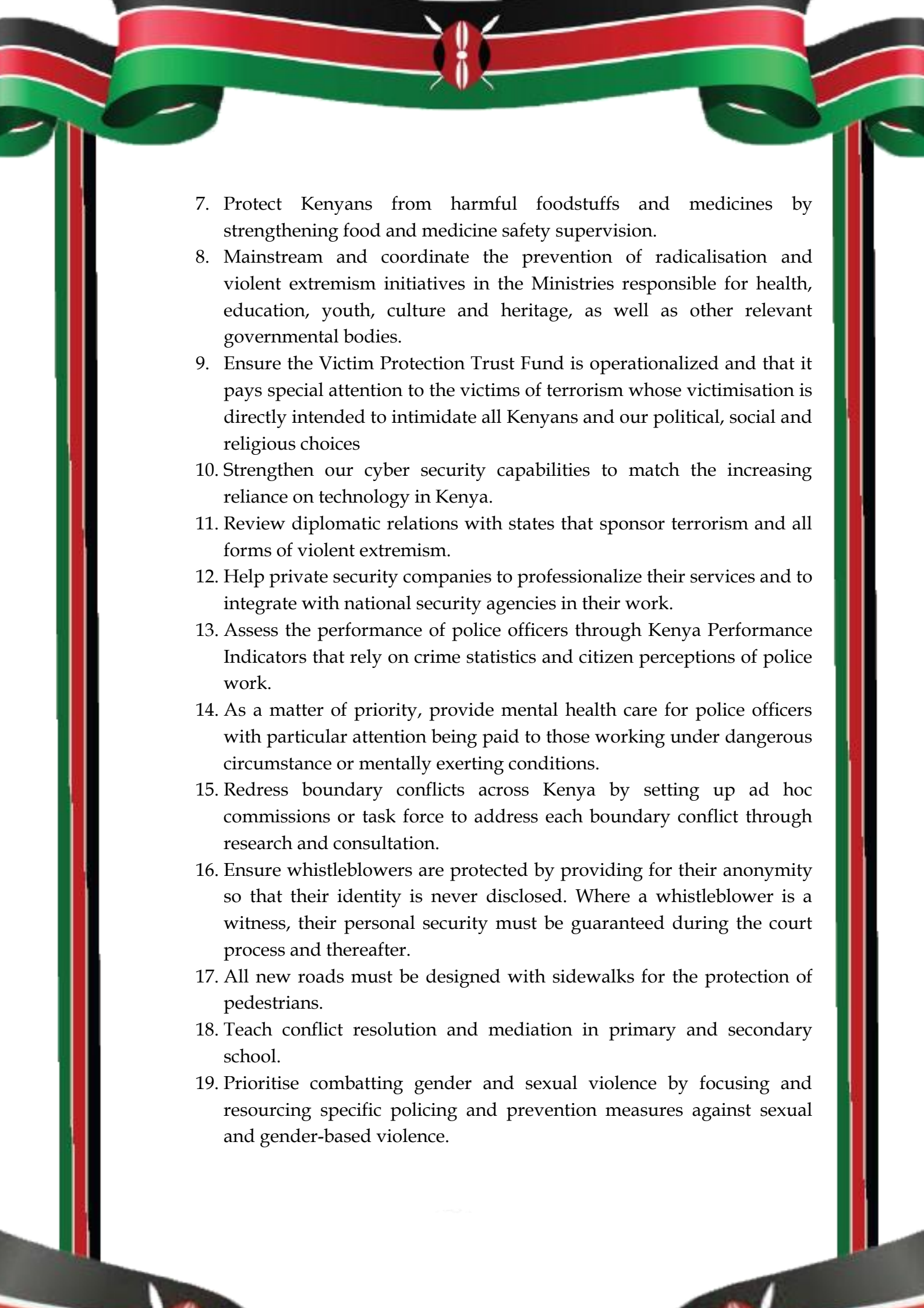
## SAFETY AND SECURITY

Kenyans told the Taskforce that they do not feel sufficiently safe and secure. From those who represented victims of terrorism, to others victimised by domestic terrorism, mistreatment at the hands of security personnel, and a lack of trust in policing, millions of Kenyans do not feel as secure as they should. As a result, the Taskforce observes, with great concern, that we will struggle to become a truly united and prosperous country if we do not have a security system that is responsive to the needs and rights of citizens, and that is trusted and embraced by them.

Besides threats from criminals and security agents, Kenyans also feel insecure from ethnically instigated civil strife, severe weather events, natural and man-made disasters and aggressive external militia.

Towards safety and security, the Task Force wishes to state the following:

1. All Kenyan lives matter. The value of every Kenyan's life is the same across every part of the country and every death must be treated with equal seriousness. We must put a stop to the fact that there are different consequences in various parts of the country. A life lost to murder in the poverty-stricken Loima and Mathare should receive equal prevention, investigation, and prosecutorial attention as one in a wealthy Nairobi suburb.
2. Recognising that security is for the protection of citizens, we need to move our thinking from National Security to Human Security. To do so, our security policies and strategies must be developed after consultation with all Kenyans and must take into account their views on their own safety.
3. To ensure that safety and security is prioritized on government programs, require every incoming President to publish his national safety and security strategies and to give regular updates on them.
4. Develop and operationalize a national emergency, disaster and crisis management strategy in every country, sub-county and ward.
5. Promulgate the law contemplated by Article 208 for the operation of a Contingencies Fund.
6. Prevent communal resource conflicts by ensuring that County boundaries are drawn to maximise sharing of water and pasture, among other resources.

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7. Protect Kenyans from harmful foodstuffs and medicines by strengthening food and medicine safety supervision.
  8. Mainstream and coordinate the prevention of radicalisation and violent extremism initiatives in the Ministries responsible for health, education, youth, culture and heritage, as well as other relevant governmental bodies.
  9. Ensure the Victim Protection Trust Fund is operationalized and that it pays special attention to the victims of terrorism whose victimisation is directly intended to intimidate all Kenyans and our political, social and religious choices
  10. Strengthen our cyber security capabilities to match the increasing reliance on technology in Kenya.
  11. Review diplomatic relations with states that sponsor terrorism and all forms of violent extremism.
  12. Help private security companies to professionalize their services and to integrate with national security agencies in their work.
  13. Assess the performance of police officers through Kenya Performance Indicators that rely on crime statistics and citizen perceptions of police work.
  14. As a matter of priority, provide mental health care for police officers with particular attention being paid to those working under dangerous circumstance or mentally exerting conditions.
  15. Redress boundary conflicts across Kenya by setting up ad hoc commissions or task force to address each boundary conflict through research and consultation.
  16. Ensure whistleblowers are protected by providing for their anonymity so that their identity is never disclosed. Where a whistleblower is a witness, their personal security must be guaranteed during the court process and thereafter.
  17. All new roads must be designed with sidewalks for the protection of pedestrians.
  18. Teach conflict resolution and mediation in primary and secondary school.
  19. Prioritise combatting gender and sexual violence by focusing and resourcing specific policing and prevention measures against sexual and gender-based violence.



## COMMISSIONS AND CROSS-CUTTING ISSUES

1. Nairobi is the Capital city of the Republic. It houses the seat of all arms of Government. It is also an International city being the Third Global Headquarters of The United Nations. Nairobi is also a major diplomatic hub as many nations have located their representatives to bodies like the United Nations Environmental Program in the city.

To maintain its special status as a global UN Headquarter and meet its obligation towards the United Nations and other diplomatic missions, Nairobi needs massive investments in infrastructure that the formula of the Commission for Revenue Allocation cannot accommodate. This means that Nairobi needs to be accorded a special status that would place on the National Government obligation to carry some functions in the City. Such special Status should not impede on the right of the people to representation at the Ward and Constituency levels.


2. Separate the work of conducting anti-corruption investigations and promoting ethics.
3. Strengthen and enhance the autonomy of the Directorate of Criminal Investigations and increase the amount of resources allocated to its work.
4. Rationalize the mandate of regulatory bodies to eradicate duplication of roles and enhance efficiency.
5. Make the Chairpersons of independent commissions to be the Chief Executive Officers
6. Make half of all Commissioners to serve half-time except for the IEBC
7. Consolidate the numerous administrative tribunals established by the various Statutes and set up the National Administrative Appeals Tribunal.



## NOTABLE ISSUES

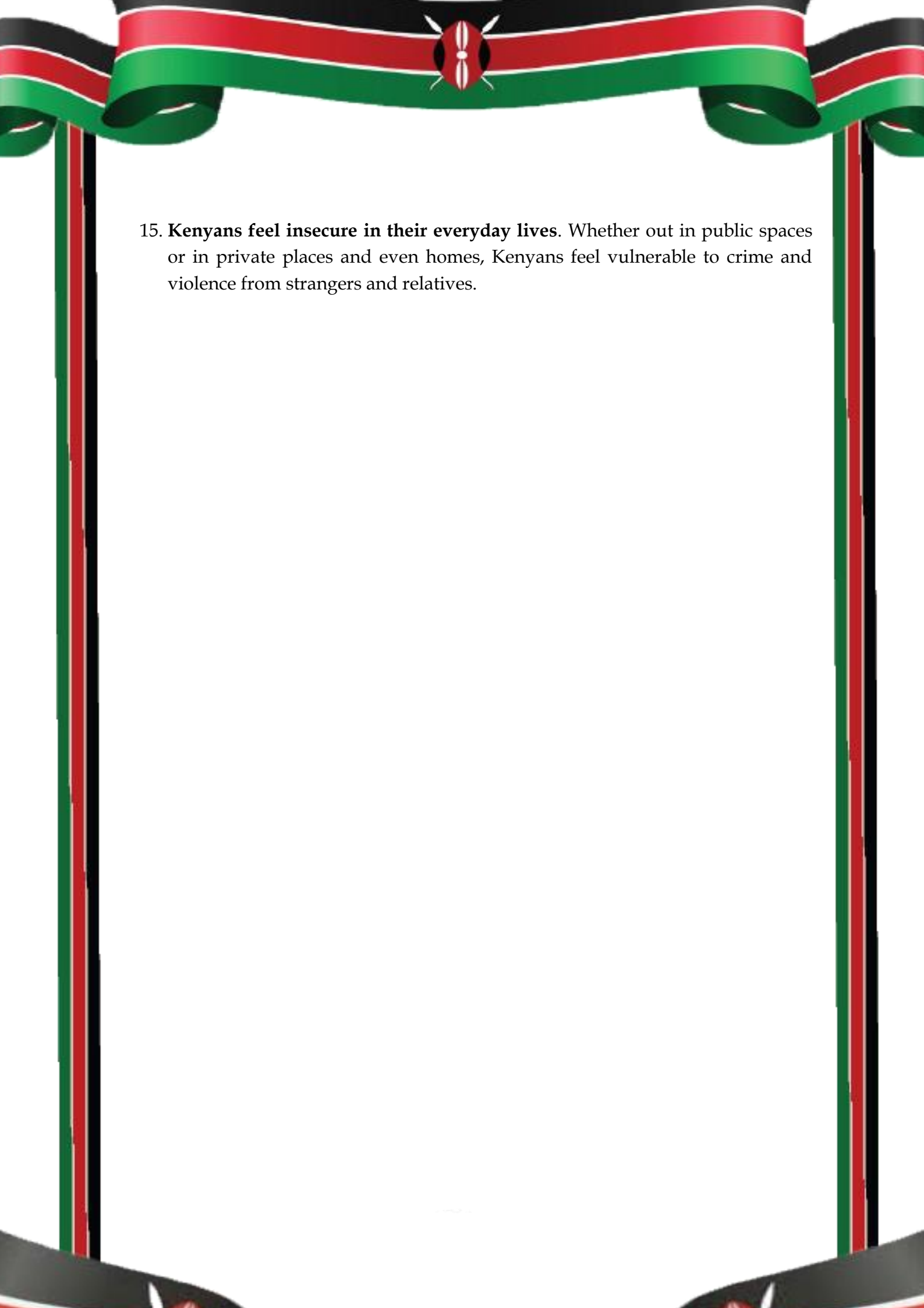
As the task force went around the country, it made several observations which, though they may not fit into the issues listed in the terms of reference, are too serious not to mention. The following are the issues that the team felt they must speak to the people of Kenya frankly.

1. **Kenyans lack common ideals and aspirations.** The national bonds that Kenyans have are based on ethnicity and locality. We cannot create a nation until we identify goals that we pursue together and work towards a future that demands our collective sacrifice.
2. **Kenya is running out of time.** Our political and economic systems have failed. We have to change the way we are going if we are to avoid a catastrophic future. We are capable of doing so but we are our own stumbling block.
3. **The youth in Kenya are feeling excluded.** Kenya is a nation of youthful persons. This increased population has come very fast and the country has not adjusted fast enough to cater for the concern of the majority of its population. The country today is at a generational standoff.
4. **Kenyans do not trust their leaders, institutions, and systems.** The country is suffering from a trust deficit. This has blocked any sense of patriotism as we cannot trust to surrender our ethnic identities and interests.
5. **Kenyans disrespect the law at all levels.** And this phenomenon is particularly evident with public officers. We have the laws and policies but are unable to implement them. A lot of the problems facing this country are because we do not implement the laws that already exist.
6. **In Kenya there is no tomorrow, only today.** In everything we do, we have little regard about the future of the country or its people. We spend public money without concern of whether Kenyans are getting the best value for their money. We do not bother to maintain public assets. . We don't preserve the environment and in fact destroy it for immediate gains.
7. **Kenya must nurture and promote its talented citizens.** Though we love and celebrate our heroes, we do very little to assist them when they are struggling to achieve. Most of the Kenyans excelling internationally have done so by investing in themselves and competing for opportunities.
8. **The Kenyan family is in crisis and we are suffering a failure of parentage.** Children are going out of control. Parents had failed in their duties. There is a



breakdown in traditional societal norms on raising/nurturing of children. There is a rise in suicide by young people, domestic violence, defilement of children and incest.

9. **We must bake a bigger national cake and stop focusing on sharing a small one.** Though our national anthem says “plenty be found within our borders”, the politics regarding prosperity dwells on sharing rather than creating. This is very destabilizing. As the population grows and the cake continues shrinking, conflicts are likely to increase and intensify.
10. **Kenyans feel let down by their leaders in all spheres of life. Kenya has a leadership crisis.** Whether in the community or the religious organizations or in politics, leaders in Kenya have failed and Kenyans are feeling let down. Kenyans believe that their leaders are the cause of their problems. Kenyans blame their leaders for corruption, divisive elections, ethnic conflict etc.
11. **Public service in Kenya is a favour, not a right.** Kenyans are complaining that public servants in all branches of government treat them arrogantly and that Kenyans have to plead or bribe for service. Public officers have yet to internalize that the power and authority assigned to them is a public trust that they are meant to use for the benefit of the people. There is a deep rooted problem at the core of public service in Kenya.
12. **Kenyans are insensitive to persons living with disability.** We look at disability as someone else’s curse. We regard persons living with disability as people condemned by fate and we have created a separate world for them to live in rather than struggle to integrate them into our society. Persons living with disability are complaining that they were patronized by the rest of the society.
13. **The problem is our software not hardware.** What is wrong with us Kenyans is more about our attitudes and behaviours rather than our environment and circumstances. But we never take responsibility for our failures. It is always someone else’s fault. We can’t fix Kenya until we first fix ourselves.
14. **Most injustices in Kenya are swept under the carpet.** Kenya is yet to be a self-cleansing governance system. We still rely on an exhaustor method of moral, ethical and governance accountability when dealing with abuse and injury inflicted on the people. The legal and constitutional institutions we have set up to keep the accountability system running on a day to day basis have been compromised.

A decorative border frames the page, featuring the colors of the Kenyan flag (black, red, green, and white) in a ribbon-like pattern. At the top center, there is a circular emblem with a white background and a red and black design, possibly representing a traditional Kenyan symbol or a stylized figure. The border is composed of multiple layers of these colors, creating a rich, textured effect.

15. **Kenyans feel insecure in their everyday lives.** Whether out in public spaces or in private places and even homes, Kenyans feel vulnerable to crime and violence from strangers and relatives.