# National Grievances October, 2111122, Quantitative Study



**Edited Presentation** 



### **Objectives**

### **Primary Objectives**

- Determine the extent to which people attribute current state of affairs to politics and economy
- Uncover key grievances and how they should be addressed
- Investigate support for amnesty



### **Objectives**

### Secondary Objective

 Determine extent of bribery in general and in electoral process in particular



## Research Design

Study type	Quantitative	
Technique	One-on-one Interviews Structured Questionnaire	
Instrument		
Target	Male/ Female	
respondents	Above 18 years	
	AB, C1, C2, D, E	
Location	Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu, Eldoret, Kakamega, Kiambu, Machakos, Kajiado, Garissa	
Sample size	1956	



# Sample Breakdown

		Absolute Number	% Against total
Т	otal	1956	100
Gender	Male	1111	57
	Female	845	43
Age	18-24 yrs	370	19
	25-29 yrs	489	25
	30-39 yrs	564	29
	40-49 yrs	300	15
	50-59 yrs	175	9
	60 + yrs	58	3



### Sample Breakdown

		Absolute Number	% against total
To	otal	1956	100
SEC	AB	268	14
	Cl	464	24
	C2	689	35
	D	475	24
	Е	60	3



### Sample Breakdown

		Absolute Number	% Against total
7	Total	1956	100
Location	Nairobi	316	16
	Mombasa	268	14
	Kisumu	268	14
	Eldoret	217	11
	Kakamega	219	11
	Kiambu	171	9
	Machakos	162	8
	Kajiado	169	9
	Garissa	166	8



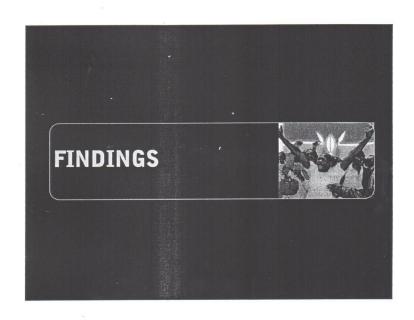
### Sample Breakdown

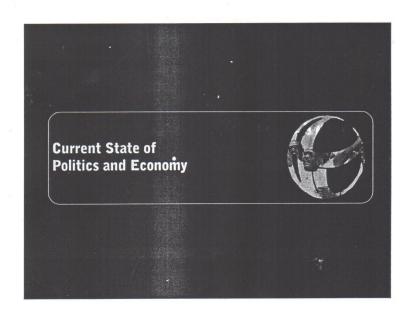
		Absolute Number	% against total
	Total	1956	100
Education	None	59	3
	Primary School	239	12
	Secondary School	722	37
	College	748	38
	University	188	10

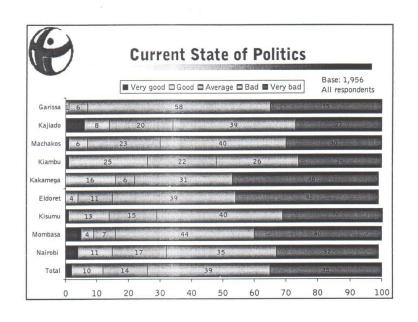


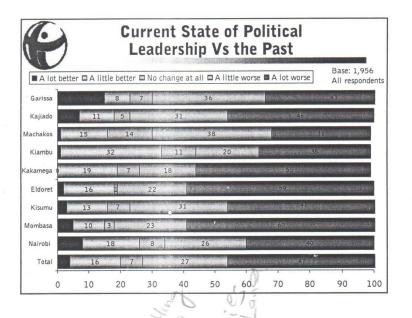
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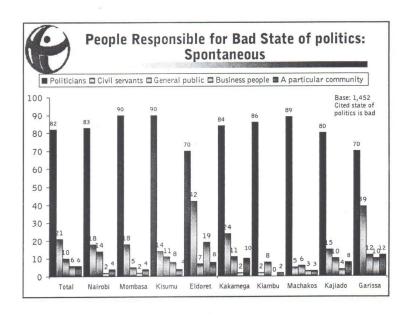
		Absolute Number	% against total	
	Total	1956	100	
Income (Ksh)	Less Than 1000	22	1	
	1,001-3,000	133	7	
	3,001-5,000	257	13	
	5,001-10,000	492	25	
	10,001-30,000	547	28	
	30,001- 40,000	301	15	
	40,000 +	214	11	

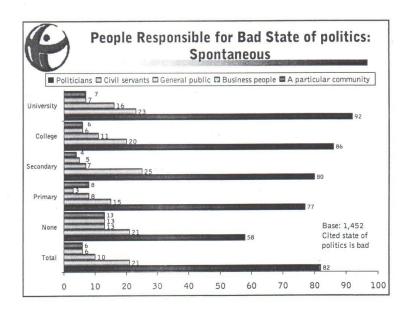


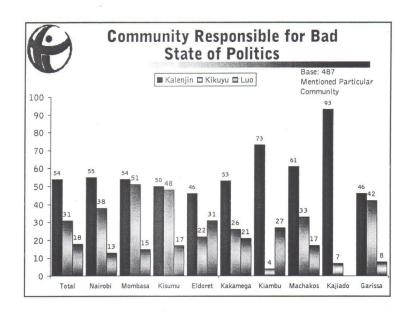


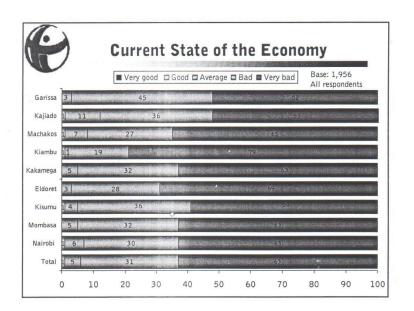


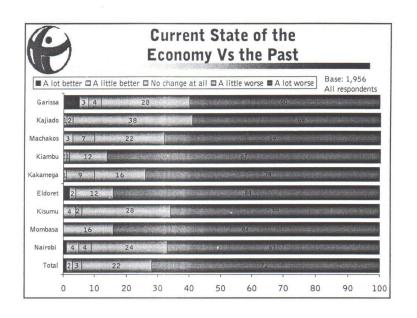


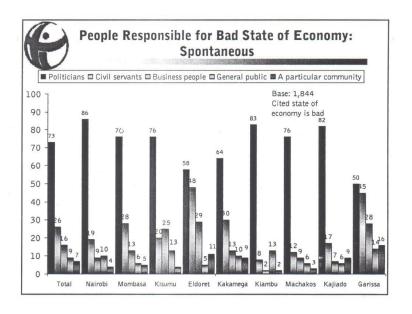


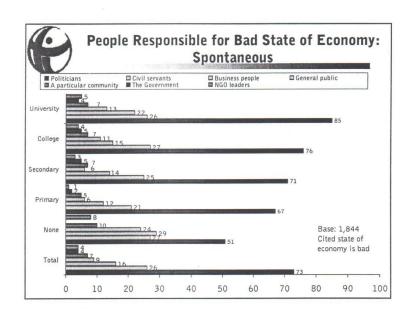


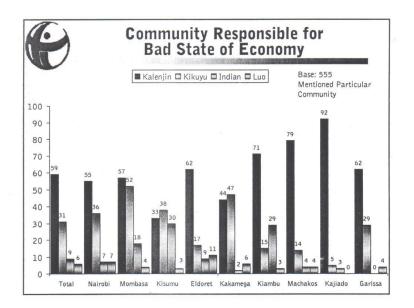


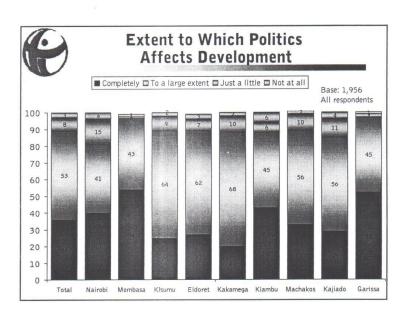


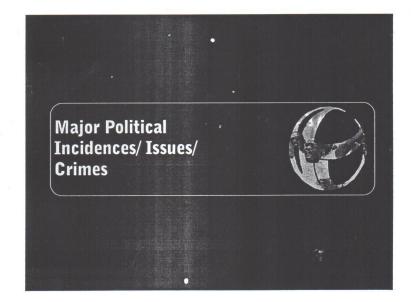


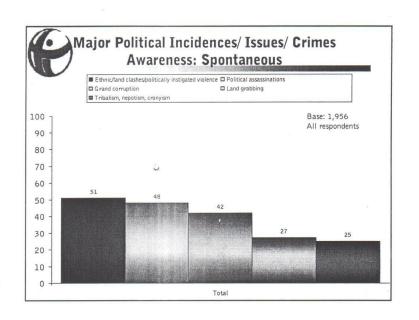


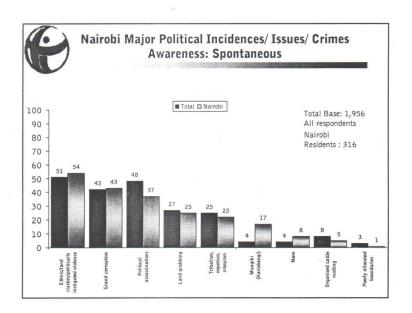


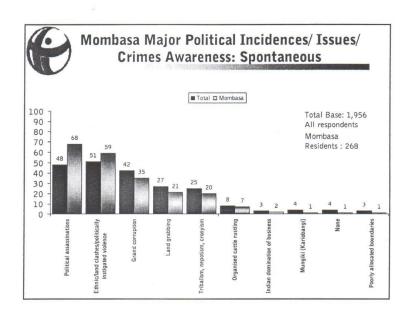


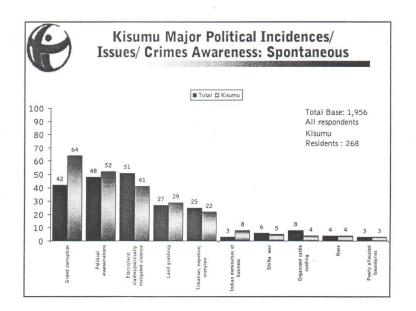


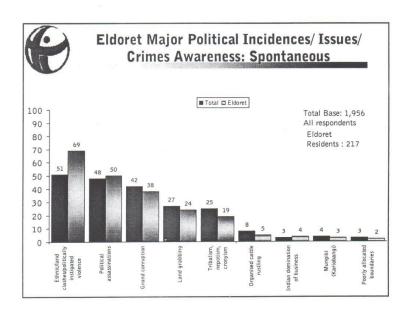


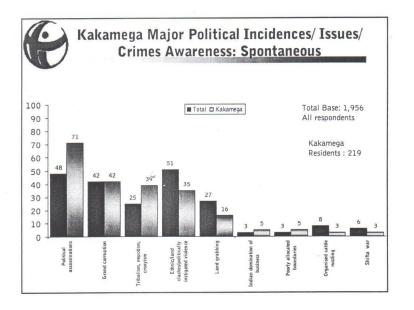


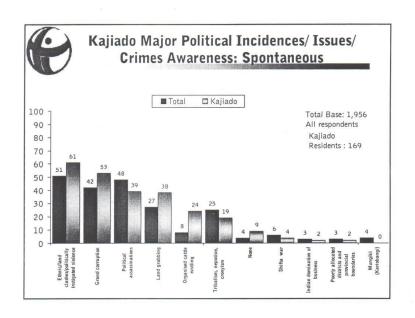


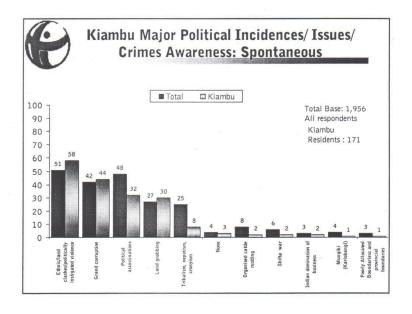






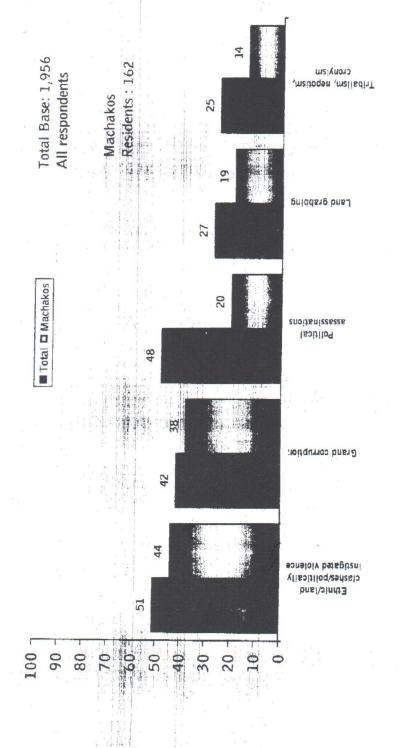


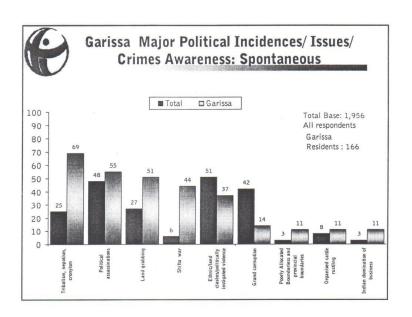


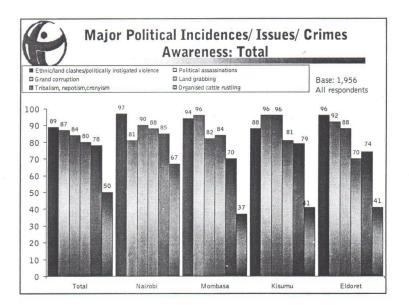


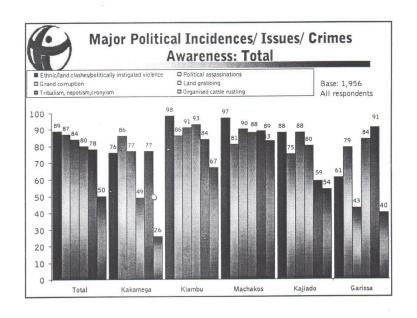


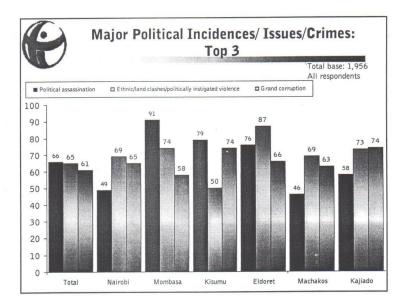
# Machakos Major Political Incidences/ Issues/ Crimes Awareness: Spontaneous

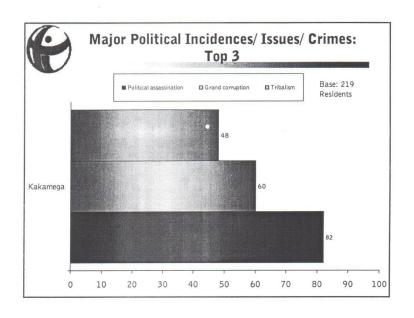


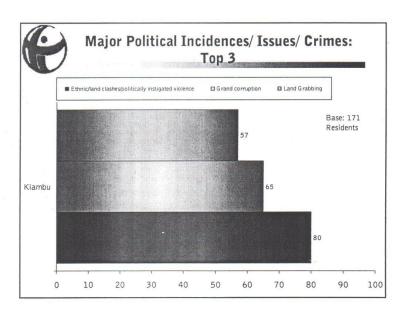


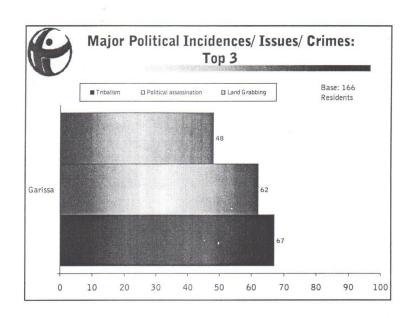


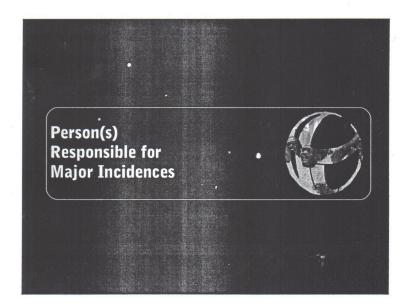


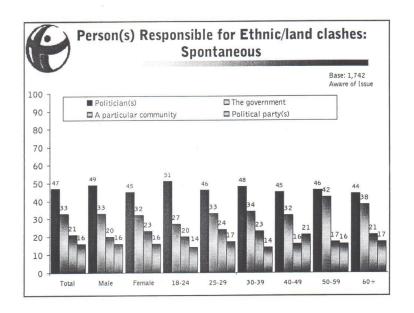


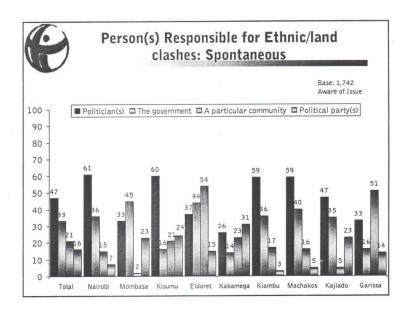


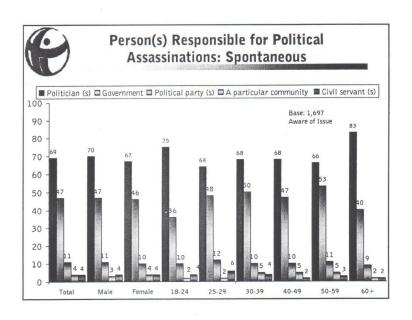


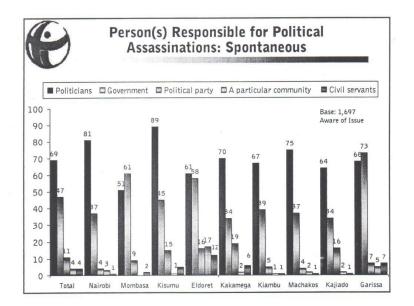


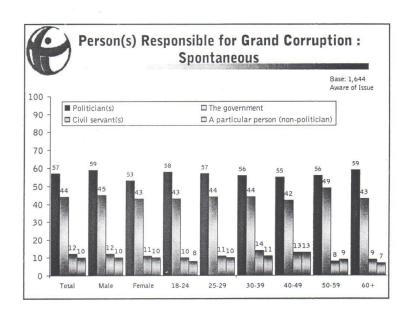


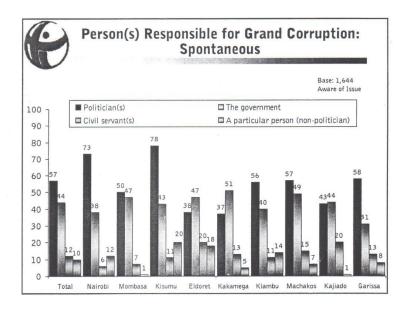


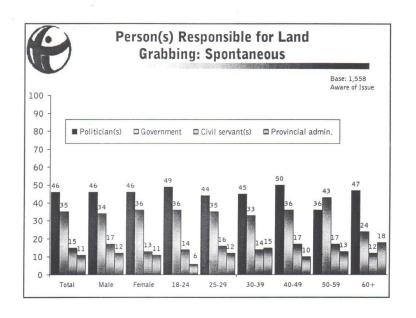


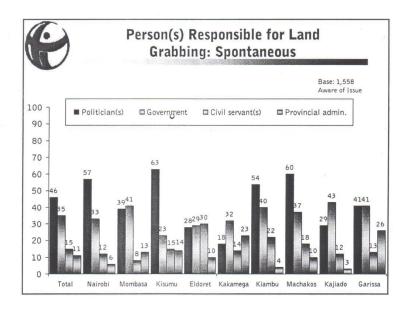


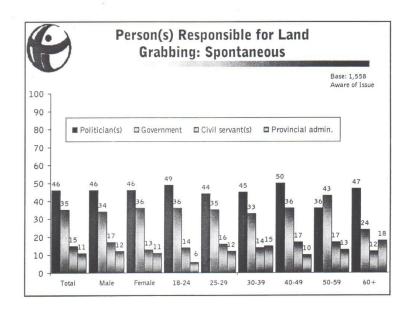


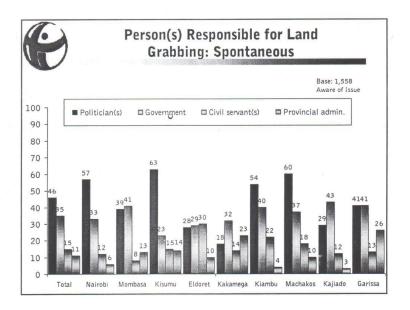


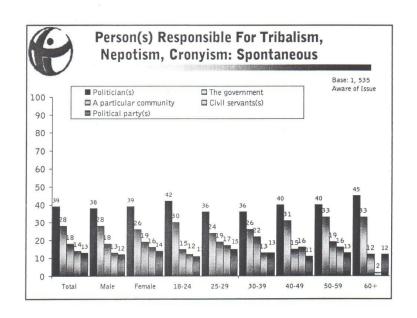


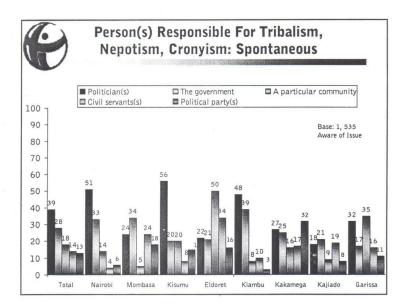


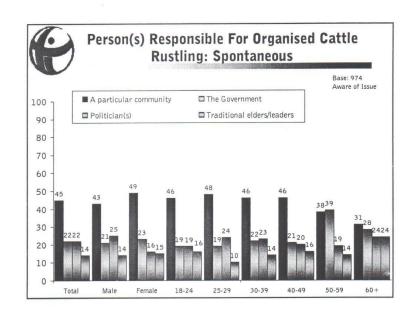


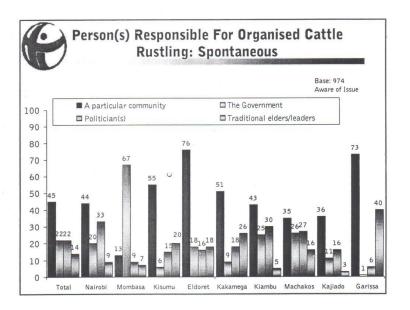


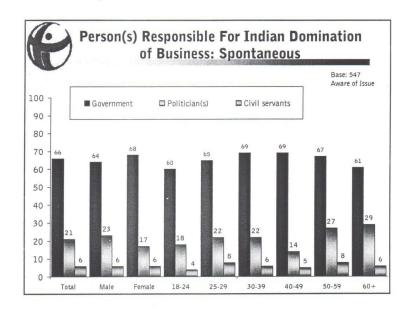


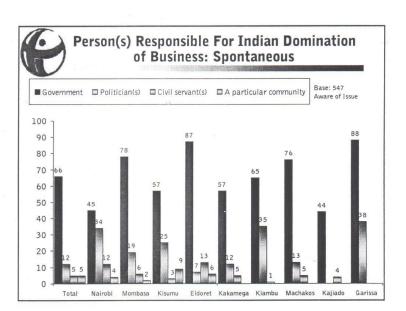


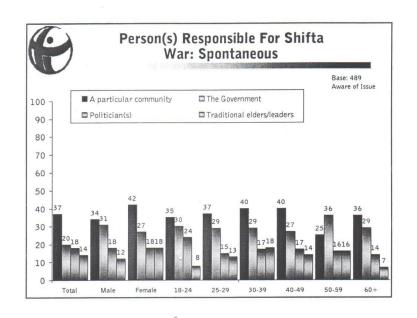


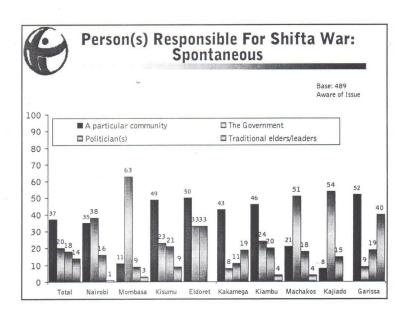


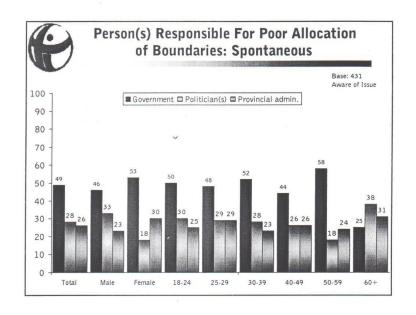


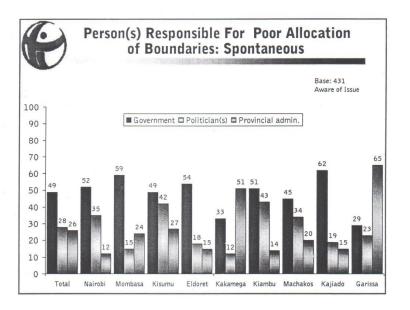


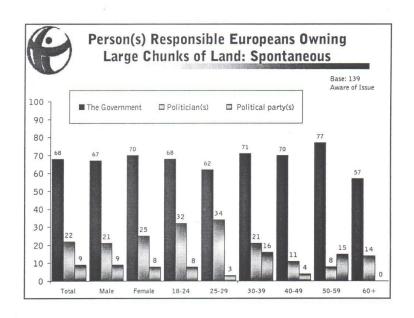


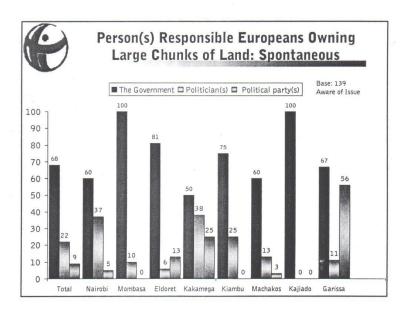


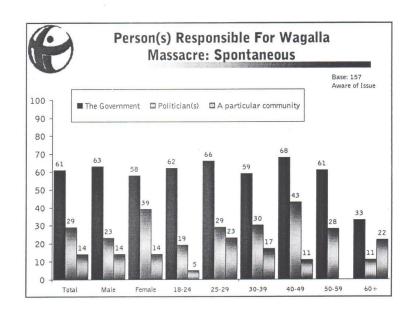


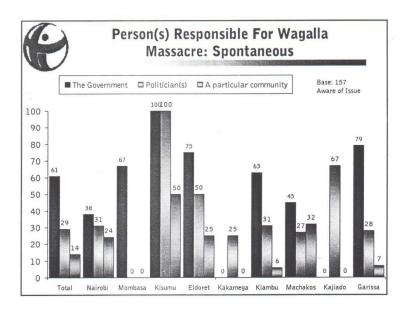


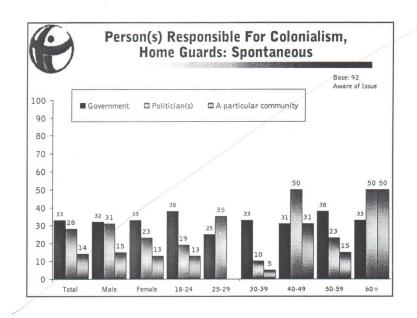


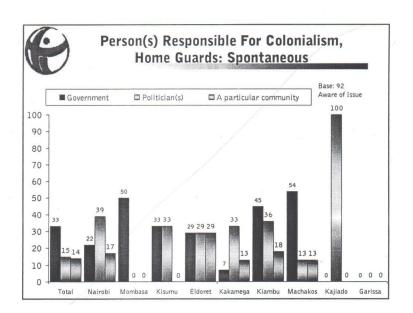


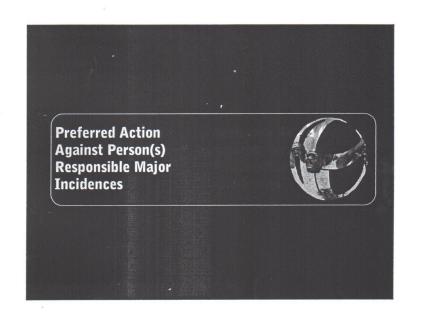


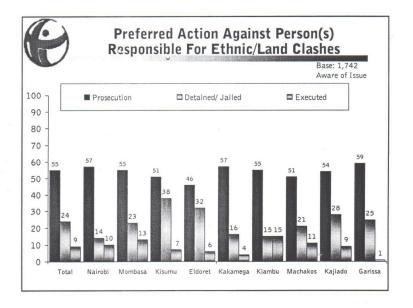


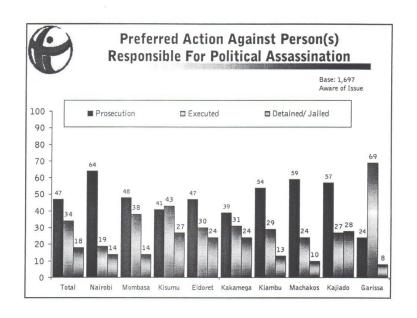


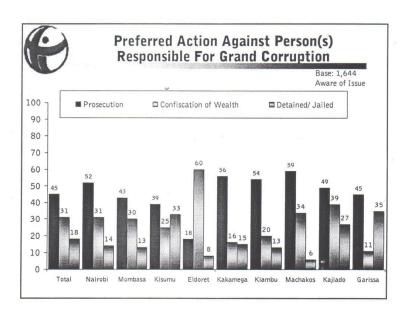


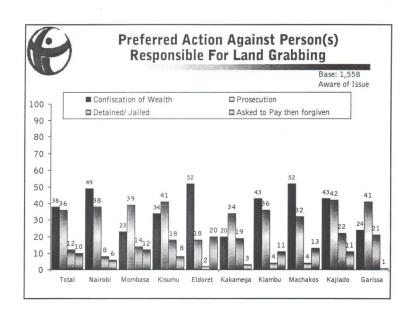


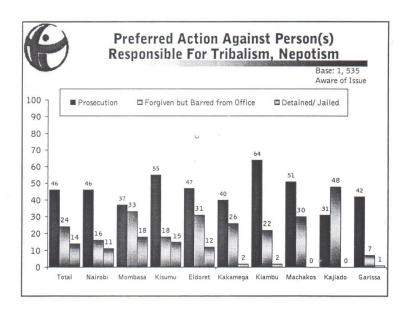


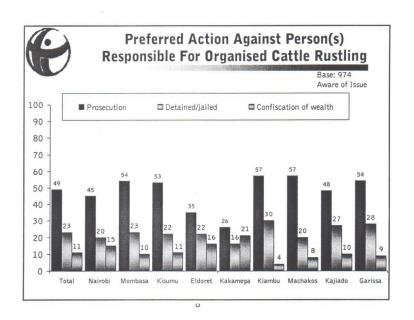


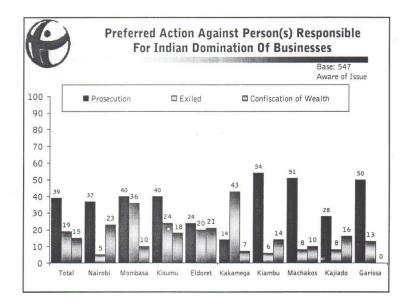


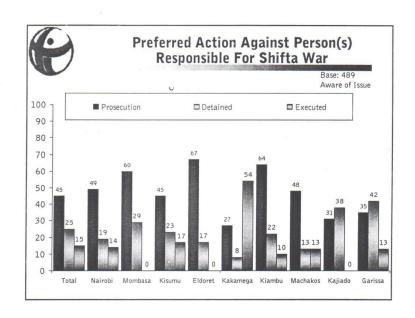


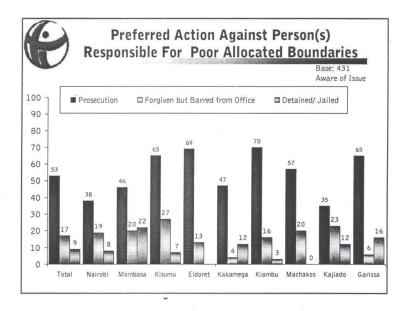


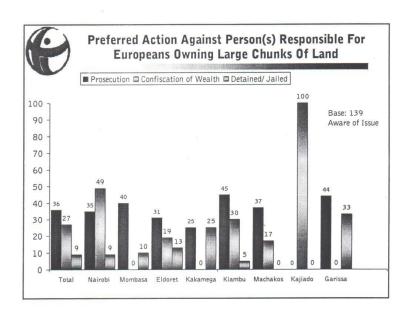


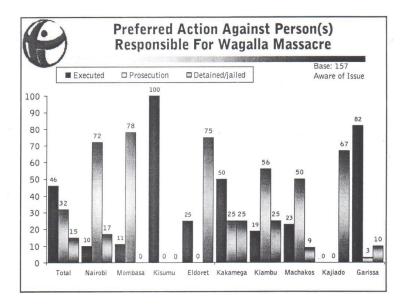


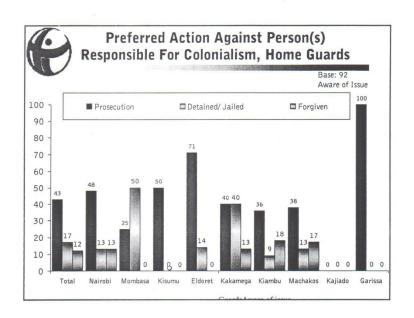


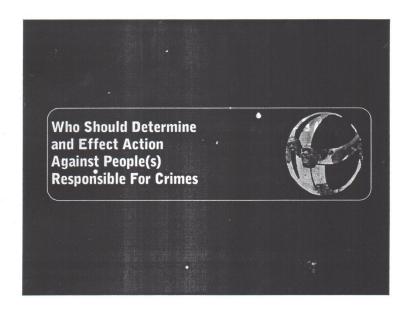


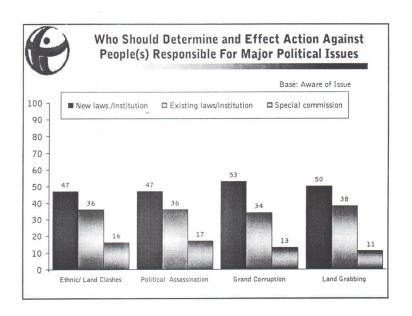


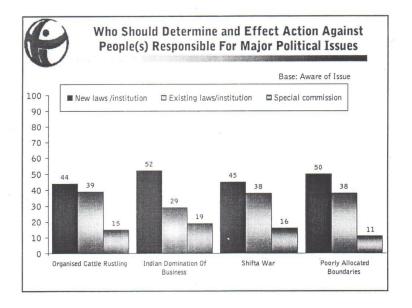










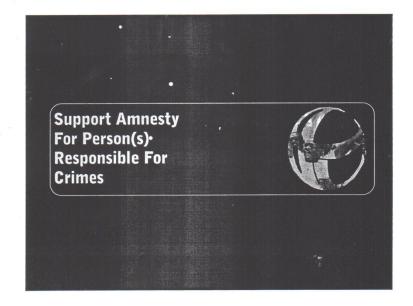


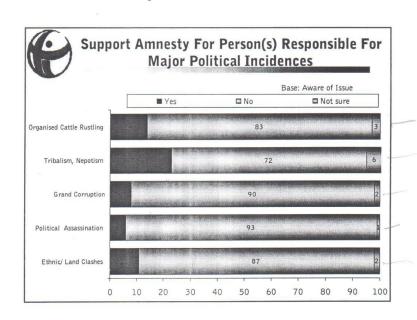
Wagalla Massacre

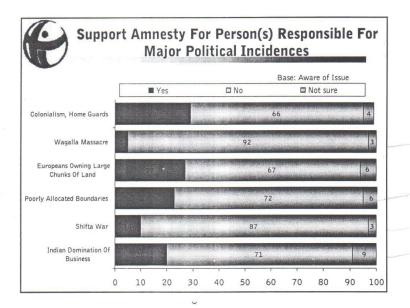
Colonialism, Home Guards

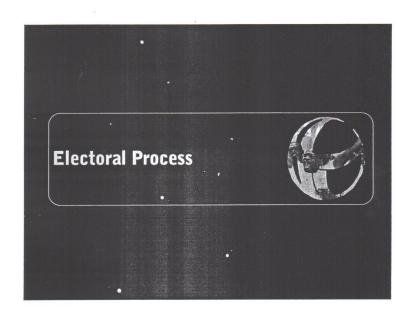
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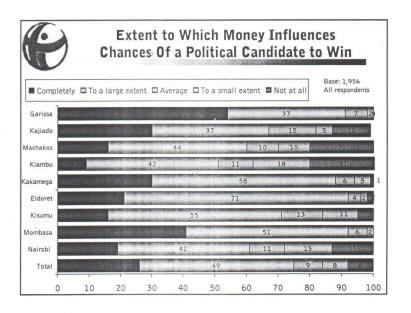
Europeans Owning Large Chunks Of Land



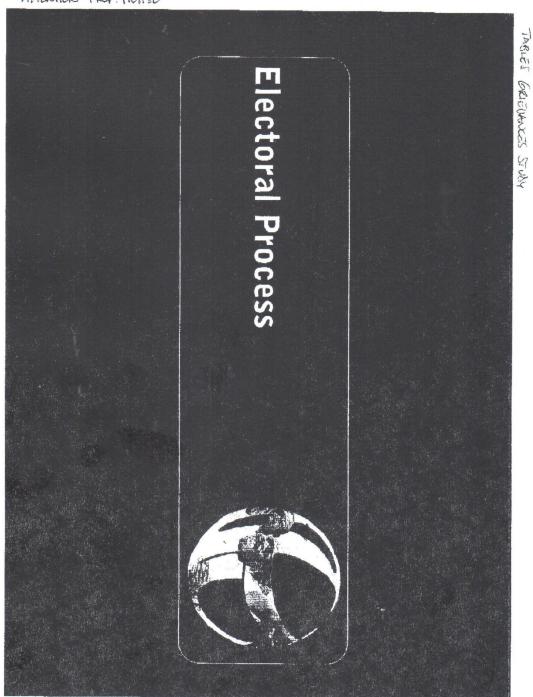








ATTENTION PROF. NUTISO





## Extent to Which Money Influences Chances Of a Political Candidate to Win

	Total		7	Location		
		Kakamega	Kiambu	Machakos	Kajiado	Garissa
Base	1956	219	171	162	169	166
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Completely	26 716	30 789	9 2	16 )	30 \ 12	54 %
To a large extent	64	58	42	44	37	37
Average	6	9	11	10	15	7
To a small extent	8	5	18	10	5	2
Not at all	8	1	21	20	12	ı



## Extent to Which Money Influences Chances Of a Political Candidate to Win

					The second secon
	Total		Location	on	4
		Nairobi	Mombasa	Kisumu	Eldoret
Base	1956	316	268	268	217
	%	%	%	%	%
Completely	26 / 76	19 2/1	41)92	16	21 79
To a large extent	46	42	51	55	717
Average	6	11	9	13	4
To a small extent	8	15	2	11	2
Not at all	œ	13	ŧ	5	2

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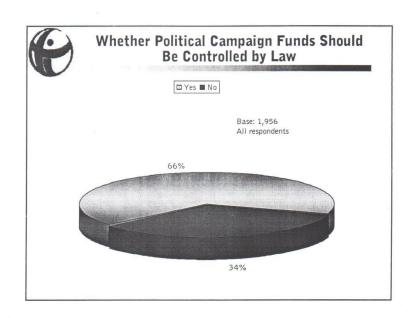
# Extent to Which Money Influences Chances of a Political Candidate to Win

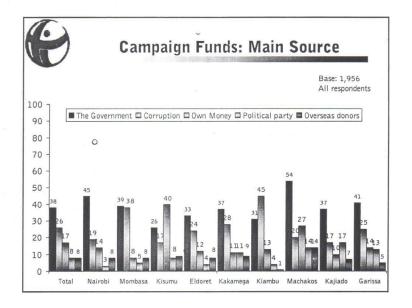
						-
	Total			SEC		
		AB	CI	C2	D	Ш
Base	1956	268	464	689	475	09
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Completely	26	26	29	24	23	37
To a large extent	49	20	47	54	48	23
Average	6	10	6	6	6	12
To a small extent	8	7	8	7	10	12
Not at all	00	9	7	9	10	17



### Extent to Which Money Influences Chances Of a Political Candidate to Win

		+09	+00+	+00+	58 % 28	50+ 58 % % 28 41	28 28 41 12	0+ 58 8% 88 11 11 7
		4,			-			12
	50-59	175	%	59	49	6	10	4
Je	40-46	300	%	20	55	10	7	00
Age	30-39	564	%	59	49	8	7	9
	25-29	489	%	22	50	10	8	10
	18-24	370	%	27	46	6	6	8
Gender	Fernale 18-24	845	%	24	50	11	6	7
Ge	Male	1111	%	27	49	8	8	8
	Total	1956	%	26	49	6	8	∞
		Base		Completely	To a large extent	Average	To a small extent	Notatall







		Ge	Gender			Age	e		
	Total	Male	Female	18-24	25-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	+09
Base	1956	1111	845	370	489	564	300	175	58
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Yes	54	57	46	59	58	53	46	45	36
No	46	43	51	41	42	47	51	55	64



			ACTION AND PERSONS ASSESSMENT OF THE PERSON NAMED IN		the same of the sa	The state of the s
	Total			SEC		
		AB	C1	C2	O	ш
Base	1956	268	464	689	475	09
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Yes	54	44	53	57	54	57
No	46	56	47	43	46	43

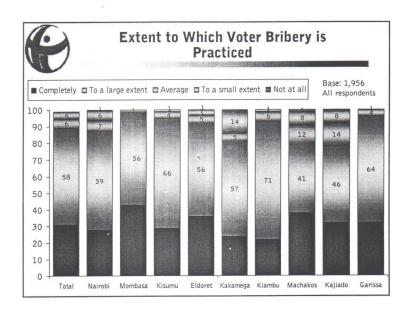
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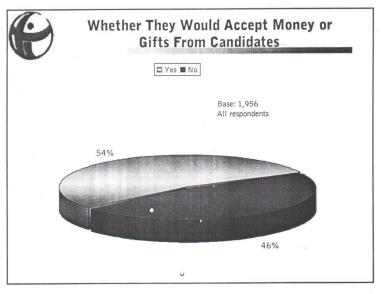


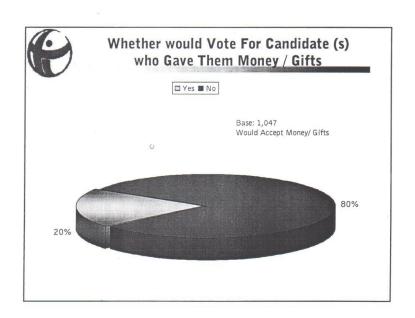
	Eldoret	217	%	59	H
	Eld	23	0	5	41
ion	Kisumu	268	%	69	31
Location	Mombasa	268	%	56	44
	Nairobi	316	%	09	40
Total		1956	%	54	46
		Base		Yes	No

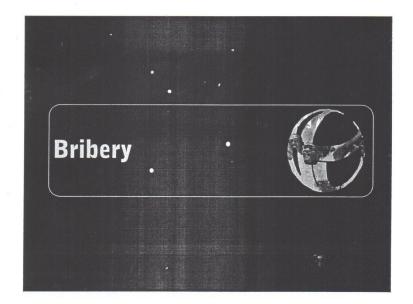


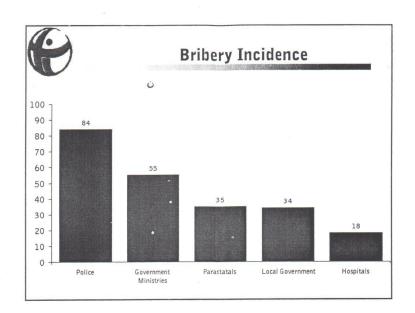
	Total			Location		
		Kakamega	Kiambu	Machakos	Kajiado	Garissa
Base	1956	219	171	162	169	166
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Yes	54	41	99	47	50	20
No	46	59	34	53	50	80

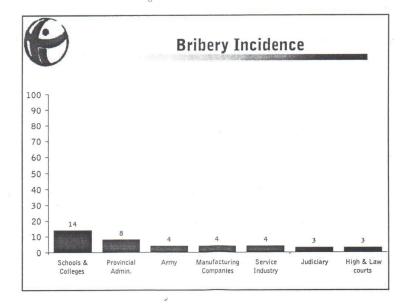


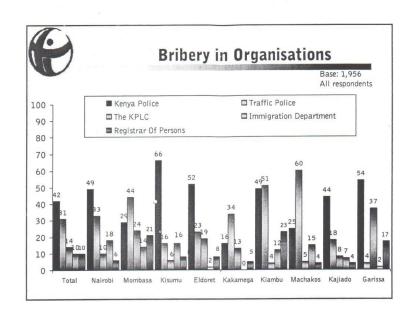


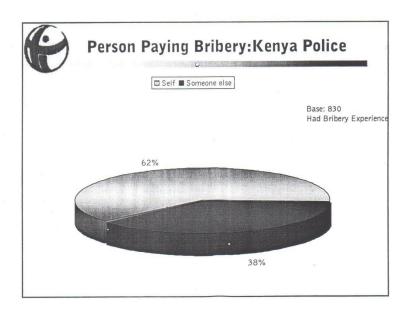


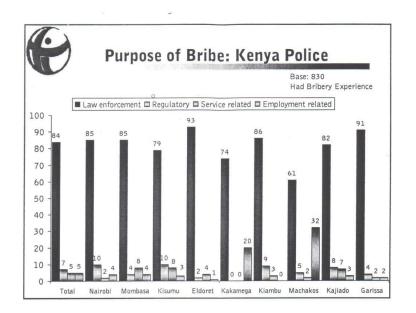


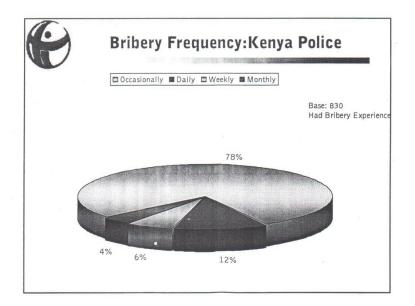


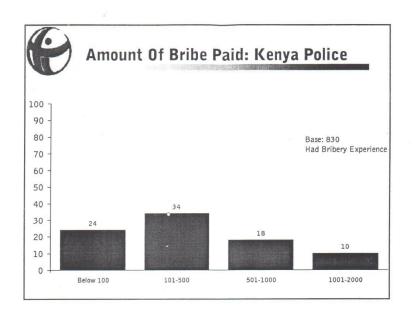


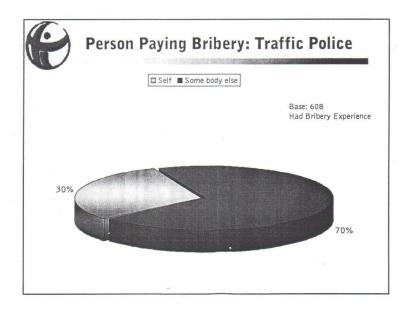


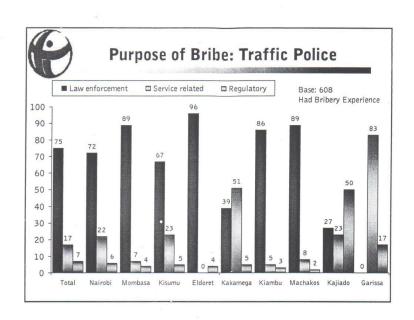


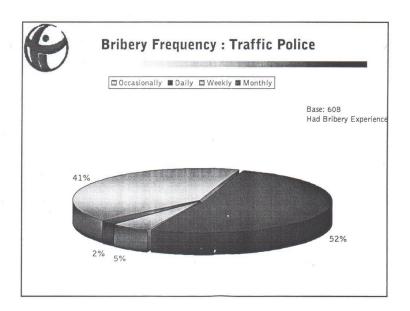


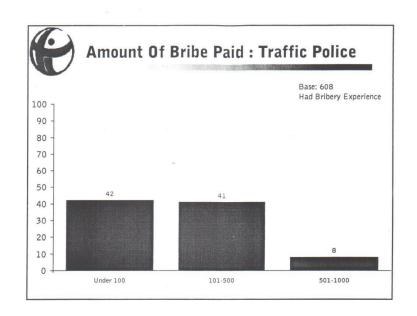


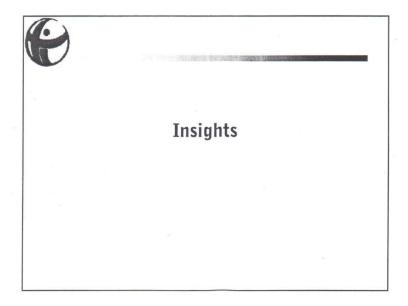














• It appears political matters have strong tribal correlation, because crimes attributed to particular politicians are also blamed on the communities which they come from. It is therefore not surprising that Kikuyus and Kalenjins, which have produced Kenya's presidents, are blamed for most crimes



### **Insights**

- There is more unanimity on the poor state of economy than the poor state of politics, indicating a non partisan view of the economy
- Politicians, civil servants and government are not only blamed for the poor state of politics and economy but also for most major negative incidences and crimes. We believe this is the case because of the thin line that divides politicians and civil servants/government; to most people, politicians = government



- It is evident that Kenyans do not have enough faith in the current system of justice, hence the suggestions that new laws and institutions should be established to deal with people responsible for past political crimes
- Kenyans also do not seem to trust special commissions as a way to resolve major national issues, perhaps due to lack of delivery of reports, let alone justice, by several commissions formed in the past



### Insights

• Ethnic/land clashes and political assassination appear to be the most unforgettable crimes. What may be keeping these issues alive is the fact the perpetrators of the crimes have not been prosecuted, even where their identities are thought to be known



 Majority of Kenyans are reluctant to support amnesty for people responsible for crimes. This demonstrates that the crimes (even those committed a long time ago) have not been forgotten and that people would like to see justice administered

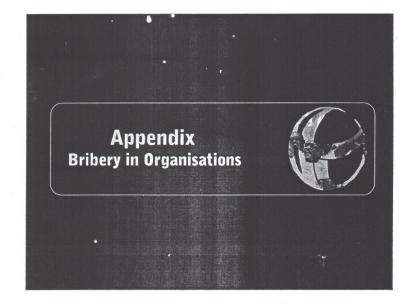


### Insights

 There is no doubt that bribery is practiced in the electoral process. Even more worrying is the fact that most people would accept bribes from politicians even though they claim that the bribe would not influence the way they vote



 Campaign funds are deemed to be generated through corruption. Even people who cited the government were referring to corruption within the government as a source of political campaign funds





10 10 00 00 00 00 00 00 00 00 00 00 00 0	CANCELLO SE NUMBERA BARRADO
Name of Organisation	Total mentions (% age)
Kenya Police	42
Kenya Traffic Police	31
KPLC	14
Immigration Department	10
Registrar of Persons	10
Administration Police	7
Eldoret Municipal Council	6
Nairobi City Council	6
Telkom	6
Kenya Ports Authority	5
Kenya Revenue Authority / Income Tax	5
Ministry of Land and Settlement	5



Name of Organisation	Total mentions (% age)	
Chief's Office	4	
Kenya Medical Training Centre	4	
Kisumu Municipal Council	4	
Mombasa City Council	4	
Posta	4	
Armed Forces	3	
Coast General Hospital	3	
Customs and Exercise Department	3	
Judiciary	3	
Kakamega Municipal Council	3	
Kenyatta National Hospital	3	
Machakos General Hospital	3	
Ministry of Water -Garissa	3	



Name of Organisation	Total mentions (%age)
Nairobi City Council Water & Sewarage	3
Raiply	3
Secondary School	3
Dc's Office	2
Eldoret Water & Sanitation	2
Kenya Pipeline Corporation	2
Law Courts	2
Machakos County Council	2
Ministry of Education / Science & Tech.	2
Ministry of Health	2
Moi Referral Hospital	2



Name of Organisation	Total mentions (%age)
NSSF	2
Primary School	2
Registrar of Lands	2
Russia Hospital	2
Teachers Service Commission	2
Teachers Training College	2
CID	1
Department of Defence	1
Do's Office	1
Eldoret Polytechnique	1
Garrisa General Hospital	1



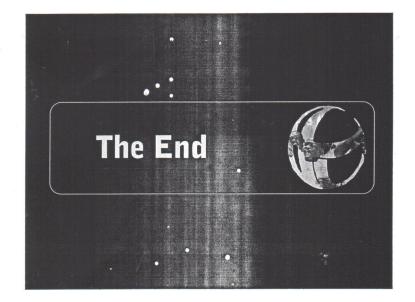
Name of Organisation	Total mentions (% age)
High Court	1
Hospitals	1
Insurance Brokers	1
Kajiado Municipal Council	1
Kajiado Water Supply	1
Kakamega District Hospital	1
Kakamega Hospital	1
Kenya Airports Authority	1
Kenya Railway Corporation	1
Kiambu County Council	1
Kiambu District Hospital	1



Name of Organisation	Total mentions (% age)
Kisumu Provincial Hospital	1
KNUT	1
Mai Mahiu Weigh Bridge	1
Ministry of Labour	1
Ministry of Local Government	1
Ministry of Public Works	1
Moi University	1
Mombasa Polytechnique	1
Motor Vehicle Inspection	1
Mumias Sugar Company	1
Nairobi City Council Licensing	1



Name of Organisation	Total mentions (% age)
National Cereal and Produce Board	1
National Water Conservation	1
New Nyanza General Hospital	1
NHIF	1
Office of the President	1
O People Newspaper	1
Prisons Department	1
Provincial Administration	1
Registrar of Vehicles	1
Securicor Kenya	1
Sheria House	1
Somali Company	1
Unilever	1





### Summary



### Summary: Politics

- Almost three quarters of the respondents said that the current state of politics was bad
- The current state of political leadership was perceived to be worse than the past by a large proportion of the respondents (74%). This was the case particularly among respondents aged over 30 years



### **Summary: Politics**

- A significant proportion of respondents in Kiambu think that the current state of politics is good and in fact better than the past
- Politician(s) were spontaneously mentioned as people responsible for the bad state of politics in the country (61%). Civil servants followed, albeit a poor second, with 16%. The same trend was established in total mentions



### **Summary: Politics**

 Kalenjins and Kikuyus were blamed for the bad state of politics. In Kajiado, almost all residents who cited particular community mentioned Kalenjins as people responsible for the bad state of politics



### Summary: Economy

- The current state of the economy was perceived to be bad by most respondents (94%). Almost all respondents in areas like Eldoret, Kiambu and Garissa said that the current state of economy was bad
- The current state of the economy compared to the past was said to have become worse (94%). This perception cut across demographics



### **Summary: Economy**

- Politician(s) were spontaneously mentioned as the people responsible for the bad state of the economy (69%). They had higher spontaneous mentions in Nairobi than in any other area
- Civil servants and business people followed with 24% and 15% respectively
- Kalenjins and Kikuyus were blamed for the bad state of the economy by respondents who mentioned 'a particular community'



# Summary: Politics & Development

 Politics was said to completely or to a large extent affect development by almost 90% of the respondents. In areas like Mombasa and Garissa, almost all respondents cited that politics affected development completely or to a large extent



### Summary:

Major Political Incidences/ Crimes

• Ethnic/ Land clashes / politically instigated violence and political assassinations appeared to be the most notable crimes. They had spontaneous mentions among about 50% of the respondents



Major Political Incidences/ Crimes

- Ethnic/ Land clashes / politically instigated violence had more mentions among the older respondents (Above 30yrs) than the younger ones (Under 30yrs)
- Political assassinations had significantly high mentions in Mombasa than in any other location



Summary: Major Political Incidences/ Crimes

- Grand corruption came third with spontaneous mentions among 42 % of the respondents
- The following also had significant spontaneous mentions:
  - ☐ Land grabbing (27%)
  - ☐ Tribalism/ nepotism/ cronyism (25%)



Summary: Major Political Incidences/ Crimes

- Political assassination was cited in all locations apart from Kiambu as among the top three major political crimes
- Ethnic / land clashes and Grand corruption were also among the top three crimes in Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu, Eldoret, Machakos, Kiambu and Kajiado



Summary: Major Political Incidences/ Crimes

- Other towns cited the following:
  - Kakamega

☐ Grand corruption

(60%)

□ Tribalism

(48%)

Garissa

□ Tribalism

(67%)

☐ Land grabbing

(48%)



Person(s) Responsible for Crimes

 Politician(s) and government were blamed for all the political incidences/crimes



### Summary:

Person(s) Responsible for Crimes

The following were spontaneously mentioned as person(s) responsible for specific crimes:

- Ethic/land clashes
  - ☐ Politician(s) (47%)
  - ☐ Government (33)
- Political assassinations
  - □ Politician(s) (69%)
  - ☐ Government (47%)



Summary:
Person(s) Responsible for Crimes

- Land grabbing
  - ☐ Politician(s) (46%)
  - ☐ Government (35%)
- · Tribalism, Nepotism
  - □ Politician(s) (39%)
  - ☐Government (28%)
- Organised cattle rustling
  - ☐ Particular community (45%)
  - ☐Government (22%)
  - ☐ Politician(s) (22%)



### Summary:

Person(s) Responsible for Crimes

- Indian domination of business
  - ☐ Government (66%)
  - ☐ Politician(s) (21%)
- Shifta war
  - ☐ Particular community (37%)
  - ☐ Government (20%)
  - ☐ Politician(s) (18%)



Person(s) Responsible for Crimes

- Poorly allocated districts
  - ☐ Government (49%)
  - ☐ Politician(s) (28%)
- Europeans owning large chunks of land
  - ☐ Government (68%)
  - □ Politician(s) (22%)



# Summary:

Person(s) Responsible for Crimes

- Wagalla massacre
  - ☐ Government (61%)
  - ☐ Politician(s) (29%)
- Colonialism, Home guards
  - ☐ Government (33%)
  - ☐ Politician(s) (15%)



Community Responsible for Crimes

 Kalenjins and Kikuyus were blamed for almost all the crimes. However, in crimes like organised cattle rustling and Shifta war, Pokots and Somalis specifically had highest mentions respectively



### Summary:

Community Responsible for Crimes

- Ethic/land clashes
  - ☐ Kalenjin (51%)
  - ☐ Kikuyu (38%)
- Grand corruption
  - ☐ Kalenjin (51%)
  - ☐ Kikuyu (38%)



Community Responsible for Crimes

- Land grabbing
  - ☐ Kikuyu (55%)
  - ☐ Kalenjin (39%)
- Tribalism, Nepotism
  - ☐ Kalenjin (51%)
  - ☐ Kikuyu (31%)
- Organised cattle rustling
  - ☐ Pokot (61%)
  - ☐ Maasai (25%)



### Summary:

Community Responsible for Crimes

- Indian domination of business
  - Indians

(57%)

■ Kaleňjin

(23%)

- Shifta war
  - ☐ Somali

(46%)

☐ Pokot

(15%)

- Poorly allocated districts
  - ☐ Kalenjin

(45%)

☐ Kikuyu

(18%)



Community Responsible for Crimes

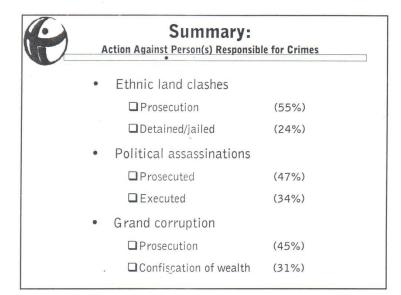
- Europeans owning large chunks of land
  - ☐ Kalenjins (50%)
  - ☐ Kikuyu (36%)
- Wagalla massacre
  - ☐ Kalenjin (41%)
  - ☐ Somali (33%)
- Colonialism, Home Guards
  - ☐ Kikuyu (41%)
  - ☐ Kalenjin (23%)

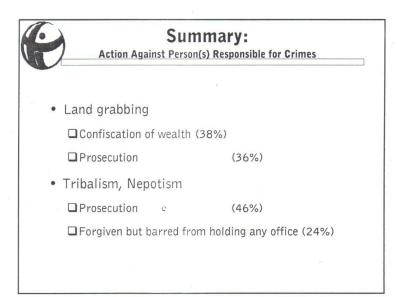


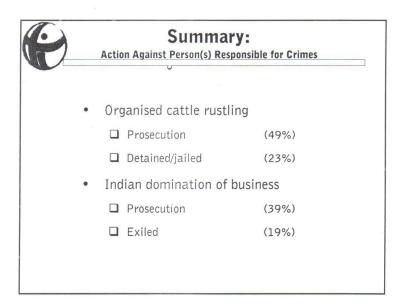
### Summary:

Action Against Person(s) Responsible for Crimes

 Prosecution was recommended as the appropriate action against people responsible for all the crimes, by majority of the people









Action Against Person(s) Responsible for Crimes

•	Shifta war
	□ Prosecution

(45%)

□ Detained/jailed

(25%)

### Poorly allocated districts

□ Prosecution

(53%)

☐ Forgiven but barred from holding any office

(17%)

0



Summary:
Action Against Person(s) Responsible for Crimes

•	Europeans owning large of land	chunks of
	☐ Prosecution	(36%)
	☐ Confiscation of wealth	(27%)
•	Wagalla massacre	
	☐ Executed	(46%)
	Prosecution	(32%)



Summary:
Action Against Person(s) Responsible for Crimes

•	Colonia	lism,	Home	guard:	S
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Prosecution

(43%)

☐ Detained/jailed

(17%)



Summary:
Determining and Effecting Action Against Person(S) Responsible for Crimes

Most cited that action against people responsible for political crimes should be determined through new laws/ institution



### Summary:

Amnesty For Person(S) Responsible for Crimes

Majority of the respondents were against granting amnesty to people responsible for any of the crimes



Amnesty For Person(S) Responsible for Crimes

 The percentage of people who don't support amnesty for specific crimes were:

Ethnic/Land clashes	(87%)
Political assassination	(93%)
Grand corruption	(90%)
Tribalism, Nepotism	(72%)
Organised cattle rustling	(83%)
Indian domination of business	(71%)



# **Summary:**

Amnesty For Person(S) Responsible for Crimes

•	The percentage of people who don't support
	amnesty for specific crimes were:

- ☐ Shifta war (87%)
- ☐ Poorly allocated districts (63%)
- ☐ Europeans owning large chunks of land (67%)
- ☐ Wagalla massacre (92%)
- ☐ Colonialism, Home Guards (66%)



### **Summary:** Electoral Process

- Money was perceived to completely or to a large extent influence chances of a political candidate winning by three quarters of the respondents
- A third of the respondents agree that political campaign funds should be controlled by law. However, in Kakamega, majority disagreed



### Summary: Electoral Process

- The government is perceived to be the main source of campaign funds (38%)
- Corruption comes in second as a source of campaign funds (26%). However in Kiambu, more respondents cited corruption as a key source of campaign funds (45%) compared to government (31%).
- In Mombasa, almost an equal number of respondents cited corruption and government



### Summary: Electoral Process

- Almost 90% of the respondents cited that voter bribery is practiced completely or to a large extent. Mombaša had even higher proportions than the rest of the towns confirming voter bribery
- More than half of the respondents admitted that they would accept money or gifts from candidates. This was particularly the case in Kisumu, Kiambu and Nairobi
- In Garissa, 80% claimed that they wouldn't accept money-or gifts from candidates



### Summary: Electoral Process

A large proportion of respondents
 (80%) said that they wouldn't vote for
 candidates who have bribed them. In
 contrast, over 70% of the Garissa
 residents said that they would vote for
 candidates who have bribed them



### Summary: Bribery

- Kenya Police had by the highest incidences of bribery (42%). They had more mentions in Kisumu (66%) than in any other area
- Traffic Police followed with 31%. They had more mentions in Machakos (60%) than in any other town



### Summary: Bribery

The following grganisations also had significant mentions:

- ☐ KPLG (14%)
- ☐ Immigration department (10%)
- ☐ Registrar of persons (10%)



### Summary: Bribery

- Almost two thirds of the respondents who had experienced a bribery incident with Kenya police admitted to paying the bribe themselves
- Over 80% of the bribes offered to Kenya Police were law enforcement related. The incidence of the bribes was said to occur occasionally (78%)
- Majority of the bribes paid were worth Ksh. 500 and below



### Summary: Bribery

- In 70% of the bribery incidences with Traffic Police, respondents said the bribe was paid by someone else
- Over three quarters of the incidences were law enforcement related
- More than half of the respondents said that the bribery incidences with Traffic Police occurred dailyo
- Most of the bribes paid were worth Ksh. 500 and below





# **Insights**

• It appears political matters have strong tribal correlation, because crimes attributed to particular politicians are also blamed on the communities which they come from. It is therefore not surprising that Kikuyus and Kalenjins, which have produced Kenya's presidents, are blamed for most crimes



- There is more unanimity about the poor state of economy that the poor state of politics, indicating a non partisan view of the economy
- However politicians, civil servants and government are not only blamed for the poor state of politics and economy but also for most major negative incidences and crimes. We believe this is case because of the thin line that divides politicians and civil servants/government; to most people, politicians = governement



## Insights

- It is evident that Kenyans do not have enough faith in the current system of justice, hence the suggestions that new laws and institutions should be established to deal with people responsible for past political crimes
- Kenyans also do not seem to trust special commissions as a way to resolve major national issues, perhaps due to lack of delivery of reports, let alone justice, by several commissions formed in the past



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### **Insights**

 Majority of Kenyans are reluctant to support amnesty for people responsible for crimes. This demonstrates that the crimes (even those committed a long time ago) have not been forgotten and that people would like to see justice administered



 There is no doubt that bribery is practiced in the electoral process. Even more worrying is the fact that most people would accept the bribes from politicians even though they claim that the bribe would not influence the way they vote



### **Insights**

 Campaign funds are deemed to be generated through corruption. Even people who cited the government were referring to corruption within the government as a source of political campaign funds

