Feminisation of poverty in Kenya: Is fiscal policy the panacea or achilles' heel?

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ABSTRACT

Poverty reduction is one of the major development challenges facing low-income countries. Since independence, one of the principal goals of Kenya’s development effort has been to reduce poverty, yet poverty continues to be a major impediment to development and economic progress. Approximately 56% of Kenya’s population live below the poverty line and available evidence indicates that the incidence of poverty is higher among female-headed households than in male-headed households.

The proposed study seeks to examine the link between fiscal policy and gendered poverty. The imposition of a tax translates into a reduction of real incomes for households. Certainly, the imposition of a tax increases the value of the consumption basket used to define the poverty line. Unless household incomes increase more households are likely to fall below the poverty line. However, the net effect depends on the benefits that accrue to the households from government spending. Using a computable general equilibrium approach, this study traces the direct and indirect effects of fiscal policy (tax and expenditure) on household incomes disaggregated by gender of the household head. The study will simulate the impact of an increase in VAT and excise of VATable and excisable commodities in the basic consumption basket. The additional revenues will be used to simulate the effect of increased sending in health and education thus the net effect on household incomes.
1. INTRODUCTION

Poverty is a major concern of governments all over the world, and countless poverty-alleviation programmes and campaigns have been developed over time and across regions. Since independence, one of the principal goals of Kenya’s development effort has been to reduce poverty (Manda et al, 2001). The government has pursued this through various development strategies emphasizing economic growth, employment creation and provision of basic social services. Yet poverty continues to be a major impediment to human development and economic progress. Approximately 56% of Kenya’s population live below the poverty line (which is projected to increase to 60% by the end of 2005). Further the incidence of poverty is higher in the rural areas, where a majority of women live, than in the urban areas (RoK 2002).

Existing literature indicates that the incidence of poverty is higher among female-headed households than in male-headed counterparts. The 1999 census revealed that 37% of households in Kenya are female headed (RoK 2005) and that the ratio differs across regions. Findings in the recently released report indicate that the incidence of poverty is higher among female-headed households in about a third of the urban population in Kenya. Taking cognisance of the multidimensional nature of poverty the report observes that the higher poverty incidence is exacerbated by unequal economic opportunities and discrimination in the job market, lower wages and welfare payments.

Recent statistics also indicate that the share of women employed in the modern sector has remained low averaging about 30% of modern sector employment (RoK 2005). Further the data shows that female representation in the high-income group (over US $ 400 per month) has stagnated at about 1% in the modern sector. HIV/Aids prevalence is another important poverty correlate. Recent studies indicate that the incidence is higher among women than men (RoK 2005). The corollary of cost sharing in health care is a reduction in utilisation of health facilities by women (RoK 2005), as evidenced by rising maternal mortality. Indeed only 42% of deliveries are attended by a qualified health care professional.

Clearly, even if the poverty statistics do not show a significant difference in poverty rates by gender, the numbers cited above indicate that there are differences in access to basic services when evaluating policies through alternative definitions of well-being.
The report (RoK 2005) further observes that there is need for in-depth research on the relative importance of factors that correlate with poverty in female-headed households...to engender poverty analysis and subsequently design and target appropriate policy interventions...[pg 54]. This study seeks to fill some parts of the puzzles.

Contributing to this knowledge gap, the proposed study attempts to trace links between fiscal policy and poverty with specific focus on the gendered impact of such policies. Using a computable general equilibrium approach, the study uses three policy experiments and traces the direct and indirect effects of fiscal policy on household incomes disaggregated by gender of the household head. The study will simulate the impact of an increase in VAT and excise of VATable and excisable commodities in the basic consumption basket. The additional revenues will be used to simulate the effect of increased sending in health and education thus the net effect on household incomes. The objective is to investigate if the households that suffer loss in real incomes as a result of the tax benefit from additional public spending to compensate for the loss in income. There are three interacting effects in the proposed experiments; (i) the imposition of a tax increases the value of the basic consumption basket resulting in an upward shift of the poverty line for the same quantity of consumption, unless household incomes increase some holds are like to fall below the poverty line increasing both the poverty rate and the poverty depth, (ii) the government expenditure effect (transfers) and (iii) the production effect which determines returns to factors of production.

2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND OBJECTIVES

McKay (2002) argues that assessing the impact of fiscal policy on poverty is a complex issue, we agree. It is even more complex to assess the differential impact of fiscal policy on poverty by gender, without an appropriate model. McKay (2002) observes that though it might be easy to identify the immediate (direct) impact of fiscal policy on households, it is much harder to measure the indirect effects through other channels like behaviour response. Indeed, the tenets of a gender sensitive fiscal policy or gender sensitive macroeconomic framework remain unclear. This knowledge gap has limited the dialogue between gender activists and policy makers. When put to task by the policy makers, the former are often unclear on the changes they would like implemented to make the budget more gender sensitive. In this regard, the activists
have failed to take up the space and participate effectively in the budget process even after agitating for a more inclusive process.

Were and Kiringai (2003) in their contribution to this debate pointed out that to mainstream gender in the macroeconomic policy framework, a gender aware-model is necessary. Currently fiscal policies are crafted based on an aggregate demand-aggregate supply macroeconomic model. However, it is not possible to unpack the potential impact of policy on different socio-economic groups and recommend appropriate policy actions using such a model, since the groups are not identified in such models. It has therefore not been possible to explicitly state whether the Kenyan fiscal policy is pro-poor and pro-gender or indeed gender-blind.

The specific objectives of this study are:

1) To trace the links between fiscal policy and poverty in Kenya (if any) and estimate the extent to which fiscal policy has exacerbated or alleviated poverty.

2) Take the analysis further and trace the links between fiscal policy and gender dimensions of poverty.

3) Propose appropriate policy actions for a more gender sensitive pro-poor fiscal policy leading to the achievement of MDGs 1 and 3.

3. SCIENTIFIC CONTRIBUTION OF RESEARCH

Fiscal policy can and does inadvertently and through specific policy interventions influence the market economy. The effects can be direct or indirect. The direct effects can be traced through the incidence of expenditure and taxation programs, and welfare outcomes at the individual and household levels. Depending on the design and the level of targeting, these policies can have different gendered outcomes. The indirect effects can be traced through the incentives/market outcomes, which influence labour-leisure choices. A good example is a tax exemption aimed at encouraging investment in a specific sector of the economy. If the incentives are directed towards female labour-intensive sectors, clearly such a policy would increase the demand for female labour with a direct impact on poverty.

The gendered impact of poverty can be traced through several channels:

(i) Benefit incidence on general expenditure and targeted interventions
(ii) Tax incidence from direct taxation
(iii) Pass through effect from taxation to prices in indirect taxation
(iv) Interventions targeted at specific productive sectors of the economy
(v) Other market outcomes attributable to budget financing options

While a significant amount of work has been dedicated to the first and second (albeit not from a gender perspective), there has been limited research on the gendered impacts of the last three and the links to household poverty. Some of the notable research works on the impact of fiscal policy on poverty include: Obi and Busari, (2003); Decaluwe et al (1999); Fontana and wood (2000); and Damuri and Perdana (2003). This study differs from previous attempts mainly through incorporation of a gender perspective of poverty. There hasn’t been such a study in Kenya, and the study therefore aims to bridge this knowledge gap. As stated in the introduction, it has been observed that there is a need for in-depth research on the relative importance of factors that correlate with poverty in female-headed households ...to engender poverty analysis and subsequently design and target appropriate policy interventions...[ROK (2005) pg 54]. As Were and Kiringai (2003) have pointed out, it has not been possible to unpack the potential impact of fiscal policy on different socio-economic groups given that such groups are not identified in the existing macroeconomic policy frameworks. This study therefore hopes to bridge this missing gap not only in the academia but also in the policy forum.

4. POLICY RELEVANCE

Poverty reduction is one of the major development challenges facing low-income countries as evidenced by the current development agenda under the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs). Under the United Nations Millennium Declaration, which was signed in 2000, it was proposed that an enabling environment, both at national and international levels, conducive to development and poverty reduction be created. The focus on poverty is justified by the extent and depth of poverty in many economies, and also its implications on other social and economic processes. Fiscal policy is one of the key measures through which the government can influence poverty and income distribution, but this kind of relationship is least understood. Fiscal policy is an important tool for redistribution and creating incentives for the use of resources in the economy and can therefore be an effective tool for poverty reduction. Besides public
spending, the instruments can and do, inadvertently or otherwise, determine the returns to factors of production.

The achievement of MDGs is one of the greatest challenges for the Kenyan economy given the rising poverty levels. This study will go a long way in suggesting relevant and timely policy measures that will ensure that fiscal policy is used as an effective tool for poverty reduction. Understanding the link between fiscal policy and poverty is paramount, given that various fiscal policies have been formulated in the past without clearly indicating the channels through which fiscal policy impacts on poverty. Thus, the respective policy measures that have been termed pro-poor might not have any impact on poverty. Furthermore, the indirect effects like financing options might increase poverty and inequality. There has not been a similar study in Kenya in the recent past, and yet the subject has policy relevance, and it is timely given the urgent drive to meet the development challenges including the MDGs.

The question arising therefore is whether the current fiscal policy stance is supportive of engendered poverty reduction, and if not, then which policies can be pursued to achieve this objective. As the country works towards the realization of the MDGs, there is need to create an enabling environment, mainly in terms of the fiscal policy framework that is supportive of poverty reduction. The study will offer insightful options for the role of fiscal policy on achievement of MDGs and specifically the achievement of Millennium Development Goals 1 and 3.

The policy experiments on the potential impact of alternative policy trajectories will provide useful information to the gender network to dialogue the Minister of Finance during the budget-making process. Research-based evidence on the potential impact of fiscal policy on gender has been missing. Kenya Women Parliamentarians (KEWOPA) are particularly keen to take up the debate at the Ministry of Finance but have no evidence to support their call for a more gender sensitive budget.

5. PROPOSED RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

There are several techniques that have been used to study the relationship between fiscal policy and poverty. Some of the common methodologies include regression

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analysis using household cross-sectional data and the benefit incidence analysis (McKay, 2002). Under the benefit incidence analysis, the impact of fiscal policy is generally measured in terms of the increments or reductions to income or consumption they imply, which are usually in monetary terms. This methodology cannot be easily used for indirect fiscal policy measures. Some studies in Kenya have attempted to measure the direct effect of policies through benefit incidence analysis (Castro et al, 1999, Kiringai et al, 2005). The findings from these studies show that public health spending is generally not pro-poor. These studies did not expand the analysis to investigate the gendered impact of fiscal policy. Though analytically tractable, benefit incidence approach has some limitations. It is not possible to incorporate the indirect effects using this approach, for example the behaviour response to fiscal incentives - for instance the production effects, which have indirect effects through labour demand, and supply, which determine household poverty. For a detailed discussion on the limitations of benefit incidence approach see McKay (2002).

Another approach is using a SAM-based computable general equilibrium model, which provides an analytical framework in which the impact of various policies can be analysed (Obi and Busari, 2003), Decaluwe et al (1999), Fontana and wood (2000) and Damuri and Perdana (2003)). Disaggregation of households and other sectors allows for detailed analysis of such impacts. The Social Accounting Matrix (SAM) is an important database that represents a consistent framework for analysing income and expenditure flows in an economy (Alarcon et al, 1991). It gives details on the direct linkages among the sectors and provides a consistent framework of economic processes, which can be used to establish socio-economic relationships. Because of these reasons, SAMs have been used for socio-economic policy formulation especially in the analysis of employment, poverty, growth and income distribution. SAM-based price models on the other hand are useful in evaluating cost linkages that characterize the relationships between the various agents. No real-world economy is purely neo-classical or purely structural, but by analysing the structural components in isolation, additional information about the transmission mechanisms for prices and its implications for policy and welfare can be gained (Roland-Holst and Sancho, 1995).

However, the SAM on its own cannot provide adequate information on poverty. This is because it only provides information on the total and average incomes received by respective household groups but ignores the intra-group income distribution. Poverty can only be determined and analysed if the intra-group income distributions are
known (Decaluwe et al, 1999). The limitations listed above can be overcome by use of the computable general equilibrium models. CGE models are an improvement over the social accounting models given the fact that they are dynamic in nature and they also allow for the role of prices to restore equilibrium between demand and supply. Just like the SAM fixed price model, the CGE model incorporates behaviour in the model, but dynamic behaviour by use of structural equations, which ensures optimisation among the respective agents. These models explicitly capture market mechanisms, and are mainly based on the neo-classical general equilibrium theory. Traditionally, CGE models have been used to analyse the impact of external shocks/injections and changes in policies on the socio-economic system. SAM-based CGEs are based on an initial year SAM, which does not provide information on intra-household income distribution. This implies that only the impact on a representative household can be analysed.

Several attempts have been made to estimate intra-group distributions and thereby assess the impact of policies on poverty through CGE modelling (Obi and Busari, (2003), Decaluwe et al (1999) and Damuri and Perdana (2003)). Decaluwe et al’s (1999) approach differs from previous attempts in three main ways. First, a beta income distribution function, which is a more flexible function, is adopted. Secondly, the intra-group distributions are specified in conformity with the different socio-economic characteristics of the groups. The distribution depends on the minimum and maximum incomes and on the skewness of income distribution. Lastly, a poverty line and resulting poverty incidence is endogenized among the different socio-economic household groups by basing it on a unique and constant basket of basic needs. The monetary value of the poverty line is endogenously determined given that commodity prices are endogenously determined. Also, the specification of the demand system is based on the linear expenditure system which implies that each socio-economic group has its own perception of the minimal commodity basket that is needed to achieve satisfaction and this basket is consistent with socio-economic characteristics and the overall standard of living of the group. In addition, Decaluwe et al (1999) adopted a small open economy model, which characterizes a developing country that has no influence on the international market. Damuri and Perdana (2003) followed a similar methodology as Decaluwe et al (1999) by using a beta income distribution function and also analysing income inequality using the gini coefficient.
Gendered modelling approaches in general equilibrium start with a standard model, (Fontana and wood (2000), Decaluwe et al (2003) etc), then extend the model to incorporate gender dimensions, by extending or disaggregating the SAM to answer specific gender questions. The first modification is in the labour market where male and female labour are treated as separate factors of production, which are imperfect substitutes. This study adopts this approach. The other extension is the inclusion of reproduction and leisure as productive sectors with production functions (Fontana and Wood, 2000). In this approach, the labour-leisure tradeoffs are determined by prices and time allocation between market and non-market work. Extending the SAM to include domestic care/leisure as separate activities is possible where a Time Use Survey (TUS) exists.

Our standard model will follow Decaluwe et al (1999) and Fontana and wood (2000), and make the first adjustment; treat male and female labour as separate factors of production. The current Kenyan SAM disaggregates labour by gender, sector and skill level, which gives thirty labour categories. Further SAM extension will be with employment levels by gender for the productive sectors.

Then, a basic consumption basket is defined based on the Central Bureau of Statistics (Kenya) definition. An endogenous poverty line will be computed using the prices of the commodities in the basket following an approach similar to Decaluwe et al (1999). Two poverty lines will be generated: the first poverty line exclusive of taxes and the second poverty line inclusive of excise taxes and Value Added Tax (VAT)².

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Povl_0 = \sum_j p_j q_j \quad [1]
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\[
Povl_1 = \sum_j p_j (1 + t_1)(1 + t_2) q_j \quad [2]
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\( t_1 \) is excise tax and \( t_2 \) is VAT, \( p_j \) is the price of commodity \( j \) and \( q_j \) the quantity consumed.

A household with income \( \bar{Y} \) would fall below the poverty line when the second tax inclusive poverty line is used but might be above the poverty line when the first poverty line is used. For instance, the case of kerosene taxation, a source of fuel for urban households, would provide useful insights.

² The taxes are chosen on the basis that they are the major consumption taxes in Kenya, and they have significant implications on the composition of a consumption basket from a gender perspective.
The computable general equilibrium model for Kenya will then be used to carry out simulation experiments. The three policy experiments in the proposed study include; a cut back in public spending which has been the focus of stabilisation policies recommended by International Financial Institutions (IFIs). This experiment is intended as counterfactual to provide hindsight for policy makers on the impact of the Washington Consensus policy package. The second and third policy experiments will be an increase in public spending to finance MDG requirements. The difference between the two will be the financing mechanisms of the additional spending; an increase in VAT; which is hailed as a tax for the future and additional borrowing.

The model will be calibrated using a 2003 Social Accounting Matrix for Kenya currently under construction (Kiringai et al forthcoming).

5.1. Model Structure

Modelling poverty in a CGE framework can adopt the representative household approach or a microsimulation approach using the actual households in the survey. As a first attempt to undertake this type of analysis, the researchers will use a representative household approach. However, future research can be extended in the direction of the later for a more insightful analysis.

The Kenyan economy is characterised by high levels of unemployment, low capacity utilisation in some sectors and a large informal sector. An appropriate model for the Kenyan economy must therefore take into account these features of the economy. Though the main structure will be along the model by Decaluwe et al (1999), there will be adjustment to take into account unemployment. The approach by Gibson (2005) where investment is determined by capacity utilization, crowding out by high interest rates, crowding in by public investment and inflation, is used as a proxy for uncertainty holds some appeal for modelling the Kenyan economy and will be explored. Figure 1 is an attempt to capture the transmission mechanism.
Figure 1: The Model Structure
In the model the direct transmission mechanism is three channels; (i) the loss in real incomes (ii) the government expenditure effect (transfers), and (iii) the production effect which determines returns to factors of production. The outcome in the labour market will depend on the relative share and skill level by gender. In Kenya, women constitute 24% of public sector employees and are mainly concentrated in the low level cadres. The labour market outcomes then determine the changes in household incomes based on endowment. Direct taxation affects the relative prices of goods and changes the level of demand, and consequently production. When production levels change, the demand for intermediate inputs and factors of production also change, which determines the returns to factors and ultimately household income.

The simulation results from a CGE model are heavily dependent on the closure rules adopted. To establish the most appropriate closure for the Kenyan economy, several alternatives will be explored for sensitivity. The alternatives include a government closure, an external balance closure or a savings-investment closure. Decaluwe at al (1999) for instance adopted an external closure; Levin (1998) on the other hand adopted a neoclassical closure where the wage rate adjusts to clear the market. The alternative is to allow for unemployment by fixing the wage rate. Lofgren et al (2002) proposed the Johansen closure rule for a model that analyses welfare changes of alternative policies, which is a combination of a savings and investment closure and an external balance closure. The model closure will be in line with the structuralist tradition. To closely mimic the Kenyan economy, the closure rule must allow for unemployment and variable capacity utilization. Further a closure rule that allows for an investment function that is not solely determined by savings is particularly illuminating for the Kenyan economy. The choice to be explored is between Johansen closure and Kaleckian closure.

6. DATA REQUIREMENTS: KENYA SAM 2003 OVERVIEW

To undertake the proposed simulations, the SAM disaggregates labour into thirty categories which are based on gender, sector and skill level. The classification is based on the 1998/99 Labour Force Survey³. First, the labour market is disaggregated using

³ This is the most current labour force survey in Kenya.
gender (male or female). In order to classify the economy into exhaustive employment categories, the Kenyan economy is then classified into three main sectors: the modern sector; the informal sector and; the small-scale agriculture and pastoralist sector. These sectors are further sub-divided into public and private enterprises. According to the Central Bureau of Statistics, skills are sub-divided into: skilled qualified workers; semi-skilled semi-qualified workers and; unskilled unqualified workers. Given that skill levels were not captured in the labour force survey, the level of education and other vocational/professional training are used to define skill levels. Capital on the other hand is disaggregated into agricultural and non-agricultural capital.

The factors of production are mapped onto twelve types of households (based on the 1997 Welfare Monitoring Survey) by region (rural urban), gender of head of household (male female) and by income levels (low income, middle income and high income). This mapping provides the explicit link between production and household income, which is necessary to trace the link from policy through production to the differential impact on household income/poverty.

7. DISSEMINATION STRATEGY

The research team members have hitherto worked in collaboration with the East African Gender Budget Network and undertaken research on gender related projects, for instance (Were and Kiringai 2003). The network consists mainly of civil society organisations whose mandate and capacity does not allow for in-depth research, yet they need facts and figures to dialogue policy makers on crafting more gender sensitive budgets grounded on engendered macroeconomic framework. The research findings will be disseminated in different forums organised by the network.

At the global level the researchers are members of the international working group, Gender and Macroeconomics International Working Group (GEM-IWG), which is knowledge sharing and networking group of feminist economists using research to inform the gender debate. The research findings will be disseminated through this network.

It is also envisaged that through the PEP network, the study findings will be published as a discussion paper and, hopefully, after the rigorous peer review mechanism, the study will be submitted to a journal for publication.
8. TEAM MEMBERS AND AREAS OF CAPACITY BUILDING

8.1. Jane Kiringai
Kiringai has served as a Policy Analyst with the Kenya Institute for Public Policy Research and Analysis (KIPPRA) for the last five years. She has undertaken extensive research on fiscal policy ranging from taxation to public expenditure management. Kiringai is currently enrolled for a doctoral programme with the University of Nottingham writing a thesis on International Trade and Poverty in Kenya. She proposes to use a computable general equilibrium model to investigate the links between household poverty and globalisation.

In undertaking this study Kiringai aims to build synergy between her ongoing doctoral work and the proposed project. The synergies will be through the construction of a standard CGE model for Kenya, which can be extended to answer different questions. Once a standard model has been constructed, it is possible to extend it, through further disaggregation of the Social Accounting Matrix of the relevant sectors. For example in answering questions relating to globalisation, aggregating government to one sector is sufficient however in answering questions of fiscal policy the SAM will be expanded to have a more disaggregated government sector. In the proposed study, Kiringai will lead the team, and be responsible for building the standard model.

There is limited capacity in CGE modelling in Kenya, even within KIPPRA, which is a government think tank. Through collaboration in the PEP network, the research team will benefit from the existing expertise in the network to build capacity in this crucial area. The model will strengthen existing modelling initiatives at the institute and complement the existing macroeconomic model.

8.2. Bernadette Wanjala
Wanjala is an Assistant Policy Analyst at the Kenya Institute for Public Policy Research and Analysis (KIPPRA), where she has worked for the past three years. Her main area of focus in KIPPRA has been on fiscal policy in Kenya, with greater emphasis on taxation policy research. She has also been part of the Tax Policy Unit, which has had the mandate of carrying out tax policy research for policy advice. She possesses a Master of Arts in Economics and a Postgraduate Diploma in Modelling and Accounting (SAM Modelling and SAM-Based CGE Modelling). She is also conversant
with various macro-econometric modelling techniques. She is an aspiring PhD candidate.

She is very keen on building further expertise in SAM-based CGE modelling, which is an effective tool for policy analysis. As stated above, this is still a grey area for KIPPRA and Kenya as a whole, and we hope to benefit greatly from this network.

8.3 Naomi Mathenge - Young Researcher

Miss Mathenge is a researcher at the Kenya Institute for Public Policy Research and Analysis, (KIPPRA) where she has worked since January 2006. She was previously a young professional at the institute for one year (January - December 2005). She holds a Master of Art degree in Economics from the University of Malawi (Malawi) and a Bachelors degree in Economics from Moi University (Kenya). She is currently involved in a European Union - Democratic Governance Support Programme at the institute, a project that aims at enhancing civil societies’ and community’s participation in managing, monitoring, evaluating and finally benefiting from decentralized funds.

Mathenge is keen on developing new skills in economic modelling, as well as improving her research skills. By participating in this research, she will gain the exposure from more experienced researchers in the team and also from the PEP network.

9. PROJECTS BY TEAM MEMBERS

Ongoing Projects:

(i) **Funding Institution:** World Bank and FAO

**Sources of Growth for the Kenyan Economy:** The project starts with the construction of a Social Accounting Matrix for Kenya and the second phase is the construction of CGE model for Kenya to identify the sources of productivity growth in agriculture.

**Team members:** Jane Kiringai and Bernadette Wanjala

**Team member: Jane Kiringai**

**Past Projects**

(i) Funding Institution: DFID

Trade And Transport Costs: How EU Aid Can Promote Export Growth in East Africa: Undertaking the Kenya component of the project which covers Uganda Tanzania and Malawi

Team Member: Jane Kiringai

(ii) Client: UNECA, Addis Abba, Ethiopia

A Review of the PRSP Process in Kenya—Background Paper for the PRSP Learning Group meeting held in Brussels, Belgium November 18-20 2002

Team Member: Jane Kiringai

(iii) Client: FEMNET

Mainstreaming Gender in Macroeconomic Policy

Team Member: Jane Kiringai

(iv) Client: GTZ

Public Expenditure Tracking Survey, PETS Covering Ministries of Health Education and Agriculture

Team Member: Jane Kiringai
REFERENCES


