

MY LEADER, MY CHOICE

Citizens' Perception Of Ethical Leadership In Kenya



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LIST OF ACRONYMS

APNAC	-	The African Parliamentarians' Network against Corruption
CAJ	-	Commission on Administrative Justice
DCI	-	Directorate of Criminal Investigations
CSO	-	Civil Society Organization
EACC	-	Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission
IEBC	-	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
KNCHR	-	Kenya National Commission on Human Rights
KRA	-	Kenya Revenue Authority
MCA	-	Member of County Assembly
NCIC	-	National Cohesion and Integration Commission
NGO	-	Non-Governmental Organization
SADES-K	-	Safeguarding Democratic Space in Kenya
SPSS	-	Statistical Package for The Social Sciences
TI-KENYA	-	Transparency International Kenya

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study sought to examine citizens' perceptions and understanding of ethical leadership in Kenya. It was informed by persistent experiences of unethical leadership witnessed in the country, despite the adoption of Kenya's 2010 progressive Constitution, related laws, rules and regulations and established institutions to fight corruption and promote ethical leadership in the country. Findings on citizens' perceptions, attitude and opinions on ethical leadership will assist in coming up with citizens-led interventions to promote a leadership anchored on integrity across all leadership levels in the country. The survey involved telephone interviews of 1,004 respondents comprising Kenyan adults aged 18 years and above spread across the country. Survey data was captured using KoBoCollect, an online android-based application survey tool, with collected data that was later run through Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) for data output and representations.

This survey faced certain limitations including mobile telephony network challenges given that the survey was conducted through telephone interviews. Some phone numbers and in some specific regions of the country, did not go through. In addition, some identified and targeted respondents refused to participate. Acknowledging the limitations faced, the findings are hereby not taken as a reflection of Kenya's public opinion, attitude and perceptions, but rather as a perspective of a cross section of Kenyans. Arising from above, findings of the study are organised in different thematic areas related to respondents' opinions, attitudes and understanding of ethical leadership.

Political Participation

The survey found that 87% of respondents interviewed were active in politics as demonstrated in their participation in past elections. However, there was low level of political parties' affiliations where only 16% of respondents indicated being registered members of political parties in Kenya. There was tremendous awareness on qualities of good leadership irrespective of the respondents' low levels of political party association. Majority of respondents identified with qualities of good and ethical leadership as a yardstick to elect one to a public office. Most respondents did not identify with parochial leadership attributes when considering individuals for political office. This was further confirmed by respondents' abhorrence to a leadership with a history of corruption, proven or not.

Leadership and Corruption

To further demonstrate respondents' desire for ethical leadership, most respondents at more than 75%, believed that a person convicted, accused or under investigation for corruption should not be allowed to contest for a leadership position. The moral desire for an ethical leadership is undermined by lack of citizens' knowledge on existing constitutional and legal mechanisms established to prevent candidates with questionable integrity from running for public and state offices. Respondents acknowledged internal weaknesses of the established institutions in fighting corruption and promoting ethical leadership in the country, where 57% of the respondents stated that these institutions are compromised by corrupt candidates on their way to contesting in elections. On a positive note, despite institutional failures, 69% of respondents acknowledged that citizens have a role to play in preventing corrupt individuals from ascending to public and state office positions. Further, despite measures to promote leadership with integrity in the country, majority of respondents (68%) indicated that they were not satisfied with the way the government was dealing with corrupt leaders and those accused of corruption.

Citizens Tolerance to Corrupt Leadership

On the issue of respondents' opinions on their role in promoting ethical leadership, 82% of the respondents indicated they were either very unlikely or unlikely to vote for somebody with a history of corruption. However, the findings provided an interesting observation when respondents were asked whether they would accept cash or a non-cash item as a bribe to vote for a politician. The startling observation was that 59% of respondents indicated that they would willingly accept a bribe from a politician, irrespective of whether the bribe would influence one's voting decision or not. This finding gives credence to a popular observation that citizens' use such an opportunity to normalise corruption.

SUMMARY RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on survey findings, the study makes the following recommendations towards promoting integrity in leadership in Kenya.

Firstly, relevant agencies, both government: The Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission (EACC), the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC), the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNCHR) and the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) and non-governmental institutions should prioritise sensitising the public through mass media on established constitutional, legal and institutional frameworks mandated to advocate for ethical leadership in Kenya. This will strengthen partnership between citizens and established institutions in promoting ethical leadership in the country. Further, government agencies (EACC, IEBC, KNCHR and NCIC) should proactively educate citizens about their mandates.

1.0 Background of the study on citizens' perception of ethical leadership in Kenya

This study sought to examine citizens' perceptions and understanding of ethical leadership in Kenya. It was informed by persistent experience of unethical leadership witnessed in the country, despite the adoption of the 2010 Constitution which has concrete provisions to tackle corruption and to promote ethical leadership.

The role of citizens in democratic governance cannot be overemphasised. Democratic governance is premised on the assumption that citizens know what is best for them and therefore able to identify the right individuals to occupy public offices to safeguard their interests. This is anchored on democratic theory that posits that a working democracy requires a well-informed citizenry that can make right decisions on matters governance (Blais, 2010; Dalton, 2000). However, there have been concerns that the public that is expected to play a crucial role in democratic governance, is uninformed about public affairs. Beyond citizens' responsibility is the role played by established governance institutions, constitutions and laws of the land to regulate democratic governance. Indeed, early political theorists such as Montesquieu and Alexis de Tocqueville demonstrated the significance of having separate and strong institutions for democracy to thrive. It is therefore evident that an informed citizenry and vibrant governance institutions are important ingredients for a working democracy.

Recognising the role of an informed citizenry and strong governance institutions in a democracy is only the beginning of a wider research agenda on democratic governance. Previous research in advanced democracy have shown that most citizens are generally ignorant and/or lack important political information to guide them in democratic processes (Somin, 2013; Shenkman, 2008; Galstone, 2007). If lack of political knowledge is a recurrent phenomenon in developed democracy, it goes without saying that it can be more acute in young democracies of the developing world (Norris 2011). On the same breadth, while the developed world can take pride in strong governance institutions that anchor their democracies, the same cannot be said of the developing world characterised by weak institutions, which has created a conducive environment for undemocratic governance (see, Claque et al., 1996 and Bayart, 1993). In Sub-Saharan Africa which is depicted by high level of ignorance and lack of political knowledge, political and economic elites have taken advantage, making mockery of citizen-led democratic governance (Bratton et al, 2005:204). Citizens' ignorance, lack of political knowledge, apathy to governance issues and weak institutions among others, create an enabling environment for perpetuation of unethical leadership. However, all is not lost because some African countries are transitioning and consolidating democratic gains. This has been achieved through establishing and strengthening governance institutions, acknowledging the role of

citizens-led governance and upholding ethical leadership in public offices for democratic transition and consolidation.

Even though Kenya prides itself on an informed citizenry, a progressive Constitution, enabling laws and established institutions that are all thought to promote ethical leadership, the country is still bedeviled by lack of ethical leadership at all levels of governance. For this study, ethical leadership is hereby conceptualised as a leadership that is hinged on a morally accepted good and right conduct, as opposed to bad or wrong (Sims, 1992). The good and right conducts are those that are communally codified and accepted through customs, norms, constitutions, institutions, laws and related code of conduct for an individual to discharge functions as a state and public official. Kenya has laws and institutions established to promote ethical leadership in state and public office.

To begin with is Chapter Six of the Constitution of Kenya, 2010, which has elaborate principles upon which state officers are expected to abide and observe. In holding public office, individuals are expected to be of good character, have probity, bring honour, public confidence and integrity in the management of public affairs. To operationalise Chapter Six of the Constitution, the Leadership and Integrity Act 2012 was adopted with detailed mechanisms aimed at promoting ethics, integrity and servant leadership among state officers. To further augment the anti-corruption drive, Kenya adopted the Anti-Corruption and Economic Crimes Act, 2003, which provides detailed strategies on investigation, prosecution, prevention, education and asset recovery in the fight against corruption. Finally, there is the Public Officer Ethics Act, 2003 which provides for a general code of conduct and ethics to be observed by all public officers in their daily duties of public service delivery.

Beyond constitutional provisions and enabling legislations are the established institutions like EACC, the Commission on Administrative Justice (CAJ), arms of government like Parliament and the Judiciary as well as the National Police Service among many others. EACC is the widely known institution on matters leadership and integrity, whose mandate is to combat and prevent corruption and economic crime in Kenya. This mandate is exercised through law enforcement, corruption preventive measures, public education and promotion of standards and practices of integrity, ethics and anti-corruption. Legislative bodies i.e. National Assembly, The Senate and County Assemblies too have a role to play in promoting ethical leadership through vetting and approving those appointed to public office and ensuring their adherence to Chapter Six of the Constitution. The National Police Service is another arm through which the Directorate of Criminal Investigations Department (DCI) is equally supposed to play a role in promoting ethical leadership by ascertaining criminal record of prospective and active leaders.

The above-mentioned provisions form part of the numerous established frameworks aimed at promoting ethical leadership in the country.

Despite clear constitutional, legal, and institutional provisions for good leadership, the country still witnesses citizens' apathy and lack of knowledge on matters governance and good leadership. It is on this account of persistent observance of unethical leadership in public affairs that there is need to examine citizens' understanding of ethical leadership and reasons behind the persistent lack of ethical leadership in public offices. This is grounded on democratic theory premise that recognises the invaluable role citizens play in determining who leads through elections, and how to hold those in public office to account.

At the background of persistent unethical leadership in an environment that has active citizens in politics, progressive constitution, laws, rules and regulations and institutions that promote ethical leadership in Kenya, there is therefore, a gap and need to understand and ascertain citizens' knowledge, awareness perceptions and their role in promoting ethical leadership in the country.

Partner Institutions in the Study

It is from the foregoing that a consortium made up of the African Parliamentarians' Network Against Corruption (APNAC), Transparency International Kenya (TI-Kenya) and Mzalendo Trust, with support from FHI 360 through the Safeguarding Democratic Space in Kenya (SADES-K) project, undertook a research on citizens' perception of ethical leadership trends in Kenya.

TI-Kenya is a not-for-profit organisation founded in 1999 in Kenya with the aim of developing a transparent and corruption-free society through good governance and social justice initiatives. TI-Kenya is one of the autonomous chapters of the global Transparency International (TI) movement that are all bound by a common vision of a corruption-free world. The vision of TI-Kenya is a corruption free Kenya. The mission is to champion the fight against corruption by promoting integrity, transparency and accountability. TI-Kenya's work is currently organised around four strategic focus areas namely, Public Accountability, Policy, Legal and Institutional Frameworks, Social Justice and Economic Accountability and Institutional Development.

Mzalendo Trust is a non-partisan entity that keeps an eye on Kenyan Parliament with a mission to facilitate public participation in Parliamentary processes through Information Sharing, Research and Networking. As a key actor in the governance sector, Mzalendo Trust also

facilitates discourse on good governance, accountability, inclusion and transparency in political processes.

The African Parliamentarians' Network Against Corruption (APNAC) is Africa's leading network of parliamentarians working to strengthen parliamentary capacity to fight corruption and promote good governance. The network aims to coordinate, involve and strengthen the capacities of African parliamentarians to fight corruption and promote good governance.

This study sought to explore how ethical leadership can thrive with (un)informed citizenry, in an environment characterised by strong and sometimes weak governance institutions, alongside constitutional provisions and laws of the land that espouse ethical leadership. There was therefore the need for a thorough understanding of citizens' opinions, attitudes, perceptions and their role in the persistent unethical leadership, and how this vice can be addressed in Kenya. This survey study was conducted between 2nd and 15th February 2021 and broadly sought to understand citizens' awareness and perception of ethical leadership trends in Kenya.

1.1 The Objective of the Study

The overall objective of the study was to examine citizens' perceptions and understanding of ethical leadership in Kenya.

1.1.1 Specific Objectives

- i. To establish citizens' perceptions and understanding of ethical leadership in Kenya
- ii. To understand citizens' perceptions on their role in promoting ethical leadership in Kenya
- iii. To understand citizens' perceptions on challenges in promoting ethical leadership in Kenya
- iv. To find out citizen-led mitigation measures that can be instituted to promote ethical leadership in Kenya

2.0 Methodology of the Study

The study used mixed method of qualitative and quantitative approach in data collection and analysis. The qualitative approach was used in the collection of secondary data from academic literature that provided a background understanding on citizens' political knowledge, perceptions and their role in promoting ethical leadership in a democracy. Qualitative secondary data complemented the survey quantitative data. A survey design was used to collect quantitative primary data on citizens' perception of ethical leadership across the country. The quantitative data was captured on online survey software and later transferred, analysed and presented using the SPSS.

2.1 Sample Size and Sampling Technique

The survey sample size for the study was 1,004 Kenyan respondents of voting age selected randomly across the country¹. The study sample size and respondents for the study was obtained from the contacts of previous national surveys that the consultant participated in between 2016 and 2020. This study adopted the previous national survey sampling procedure and methodology. It also relied on mobile telephone numbers from the previous nationwide survey to collect data through telephone interviews. The finding of this study provides a glimpse of citizens' general views and perceptions on issues examined.

Eight research assistants with experience in conducting telephone surveys were recruited and trained in data collection, ethical considerations, confidentiality, respondents' consents rights, anonymity and methodological criteria and procedures in data collection. The research assistants were first trained online for a day on the instrument and on data collection software (KoBoCollect). After the training, there was a one-day pre-test on data collection and analysis. Actual data collection took ten days with an average of 15 interviews per research assistant per day. To guarantee quality control in data collection, there was a call back of 10% of the sample size to authenticate the data. The research assistants conducted telephone interviews with identified respondents whose data was electronically captured using KoBoCollect, which was retrieved and analysed using SPSS for data presentations.

¹ Appendix 1

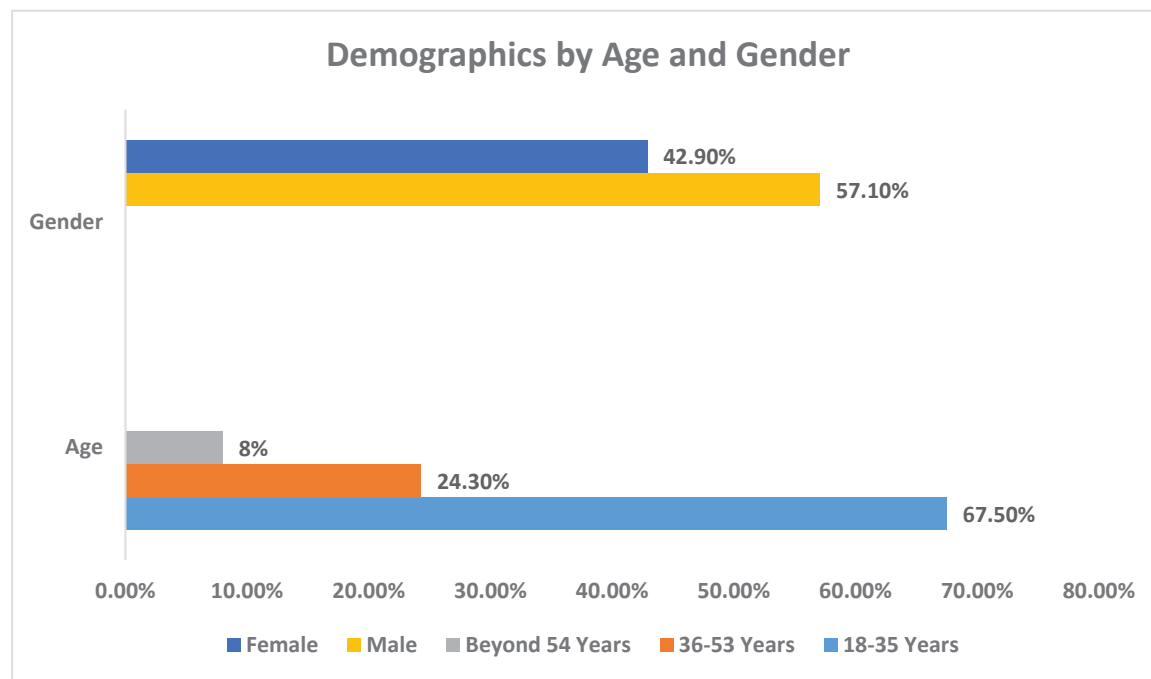
2.2 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The scope and limitations of the study is informed by the fact that the study relied on previous national survey methodological procedures where respondents were contacted using telephone numbers from the previous survey. Major limitation was the fact that some telephone numbers were not going through or were switched off, while some respondents were unwilling to participate. This meant that a planned full sample size of 1,200 could not be achieved even after repeated attempts. The survey being conducted through telephone interviews also had implications on length and number of questions that targeted respondents could answer. The length and number of questions was informed by the amount of time prospective respondents could participate through the telephone interviews. Notwithstanding this limitation, the study had 60% response rate of attempted telephone interviews that eventually constituted the sample size of 1,004 out of the 1,680 respondents contacted. The findings are hereby not taken as a reflection of Kenya's public opinion, attitude and perceptions, but rather as a perspective of a cross section of Kenyans.

3.0 Survey Findings

3.1 Demographics of the study

Figure 1: Demographics by Age and Gender



The survey targeted adult Kenyan citizens aged 18 years and above, selected across the country based on a previous national survey methodology. From the findings, 57.1% of the respondents were male and 42.9% female. This gap in gender representation was expected as one of the limitations of the study, since the survey relied on telephone numbers provided by respondents from a previous survey. It was observed that a proportion of female respondents in the actual survey who did not have mobile phones gave out telephone numbers of males they were related to for call back and future research. This confirms gender disparities on telephone ownership in Kenya, with 86% of men owning mobile phones compared to 82%² of women.

The age demographics also confirms Kenya's youth population, with 67.5% of the respondents falling between the 18-35 age bracket. This was followed by the 36-53 age group that constituted 24.3% with the rest beyond 54 years accounting for 8% of the respondents.

² See, Connected Women: The Mobile Gender Gap Report 2019. www.gsma.com

The survey also revealed high literacy level of respondents with 52% of them having attained secondary level of education, 47% with post-secondary level education and only 1% without formal education. Finally, 74% of the respondents indicated to have income from various sources. However, 26% of respondents indicated being unemployed, which confirms the country's high level of youth unemployment. This explains the high number of youth representation in this survey. The captured demographics have had a bearing on the outcomes on several issues under this study. In a summary, from the study findings on respondents' demographics, there were more male, younger persons, with post-secondary education, with majority having some form of income. Surveyed respondents were aware of quality leadership, abhorred corrupt leadership in public and state offices and were more enlightened on ways and means of promoting ethical leadership.

Study Findings and Discussions

This section is organised into themes that reflect citizens' perceptions, opinions, attitude and understanding of ethical leadership in Kenya.

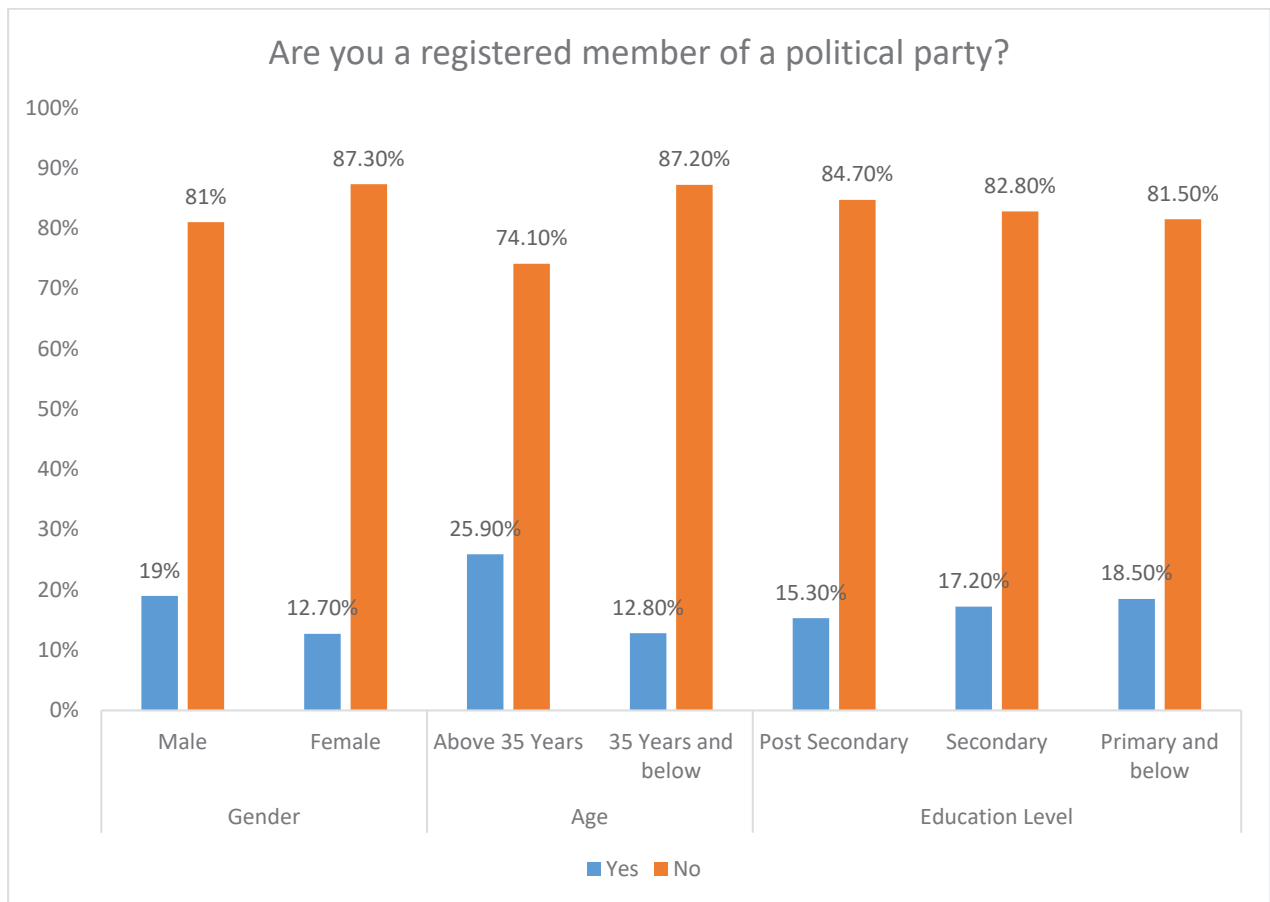
3.2 Political Participation

Political participation that takes different forms is a civic duty that citizens have for a democracy to thrive. This study had questions that offer glimpses on level of political participation among respondents. To begin with, respondents were asked whether they were registered members of any political party in Kenya.

3.2.1 Party Registration

Party identification and registration is a major yardstick towards understanding the level of political participation and civic engagement. In Kenya, political parties come and go in every election cycle, which calls for the need to understand whether citizens really identify with these parties. According to the Office of the Registrar of Political Parties in Kenya, there are approximately 72 registered political parties, with only a select few having representation in various political offices.

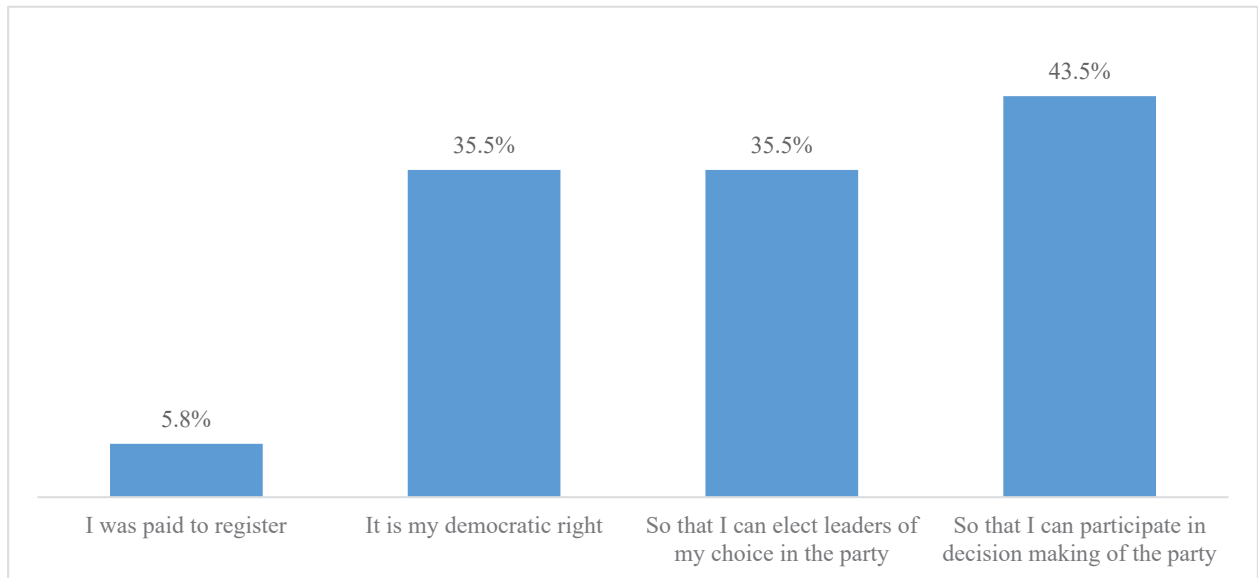
Figure 2: Are you a registered member of any political party in Kenya?



From the survey, only 16.3% of the total number of respondents interviewed indicated being registered members of a political party in Kenya. This is characteristic of the place and role of political parties in Kenya's democracy. The low level of political party registration as captured from respondents brings into doubt the number of citizens registered as members of political parties in Kenya. Nevertheless, there have been claims of some political parties registering citizens without their knowledge to meet regulatory requirements (The Star, 3rd Jan 2013). Since the re-introduction of multiparty politics in Kenya in the early 1990s, the reality is that some political parties do not last beyond an election. This could explain why there is low level of party identification and registration as demonstrated in the survey findings. From a gender perspective, there were more male than female, 19% and 12.7% respectively, who indicated being registered members of a political party. This is against the expectation that political parties should be at the forefront in increasing female representation in politics and governance. The finding therefore reiterates the need for affirmative actions geared towards involvement of women in democratic and governance processes.

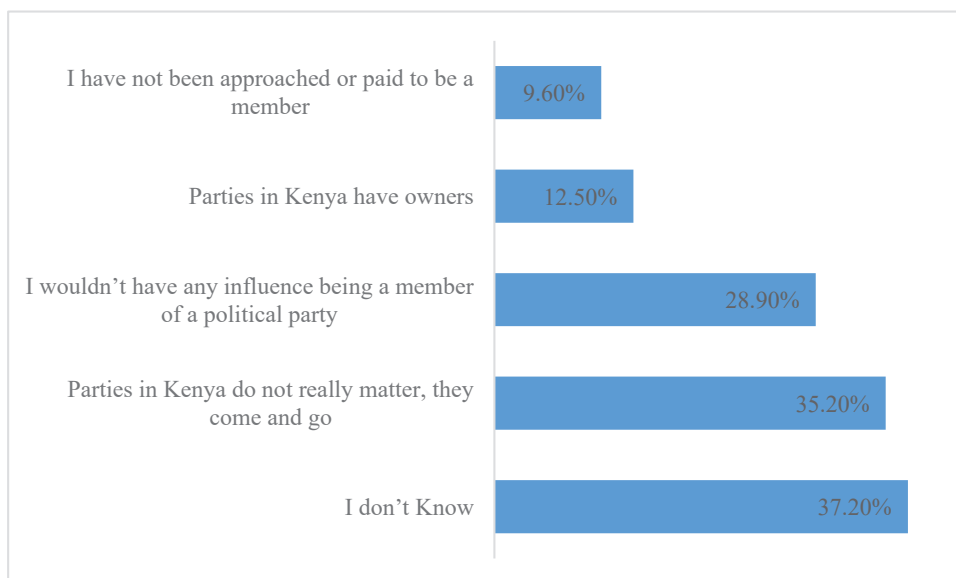
Respondents were further probed on their reasons for either registering or not registering as members of a political party. There were various reasons offered by the 16.3% of the respondents who had confirmed being registered members of various political parties.

Figure 3: Reasons for registering as members of political parties



Notable reasons given for being a registered member of a political party included the desire to participate in the party’s decision-making (43.5%), to enable them elect party leaders of their choice (35.5%) and that it was their democratic right (35.5%).

Figure 4: Reasons for not registering as members of political parties



Most respondents (87.3%) who indicated not being registered members of political parties offered varied reasons. Moreover, 37.2% did not even know why they were not members of a political party in the first place while 35.2% opined that political parties in Kenya do not really matter since they come and go in every election phase. In the same breadth, 30% of the respondents believed they would not have any influence in the party, while some 12.5% thought that Kenya's political parties are controlled by a select few, with very little input from ordinary members. The above findings on political parties in Kenya paint a sorry state of citizens perception of the role of parties in the democratization process. This could explain why there has been a clarion to streamline and institutionalize political parties in Kenya for posterity. The finding on low level of party identification and registration brings into question the legal requirement that political parties should meet the requirements as stipulated by the Office of the Registrar of Political Parties.

3.2.2 Whether respondent has participated in a past election

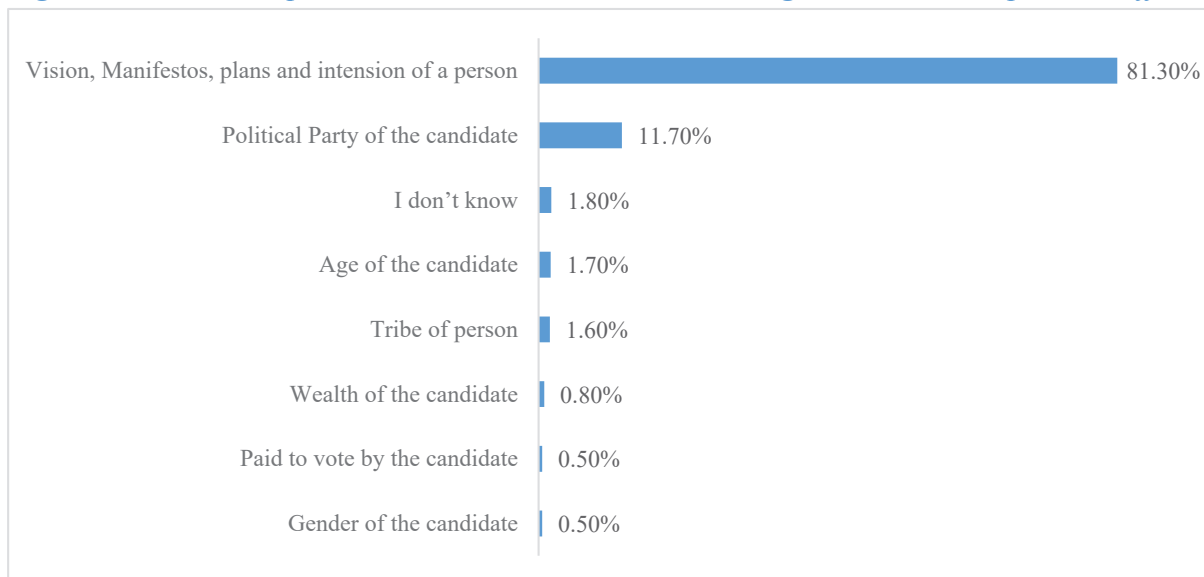
The low level of party identification and registration did not however affect respondents' participation in elections. Eighty-Seven per cent of the respondents confirmed ever participating in past elections by voting for individuals in various offices of representations. Further, from the survey men were found to be more active in elections than women at 89.2% and 84% respectively. The high level of political participation through elections can be corroborated with past voter turn out in the 2013 and 2017 general elections and the 2010 constitutional referendum which stood at 85.91%, 79.51% and 70% respectively.³This finding demonstrates that Kenyans are very active in electoral politics, a feat that should be replicated in other civic duties and avenues like public participation in policy making.

3.2.3 What Do Voters Consider When Voting?

Respondents were asked what they considered most in electing individuals to public office with regards to their participation in general elections. Several options were provided and informed by past voter experience and hypothetical expectations.

³ See I.E.B.C <https://www.iebc.or.ke/election/?election-results>;
https://web.archive.org/web/20170810013320if_/https://public.rts.iebc.or.ke/enr/index.html#/Kenya_Elections_Presidential

Figure 5: What do respondents consider MOST when electing individuals to a political office?



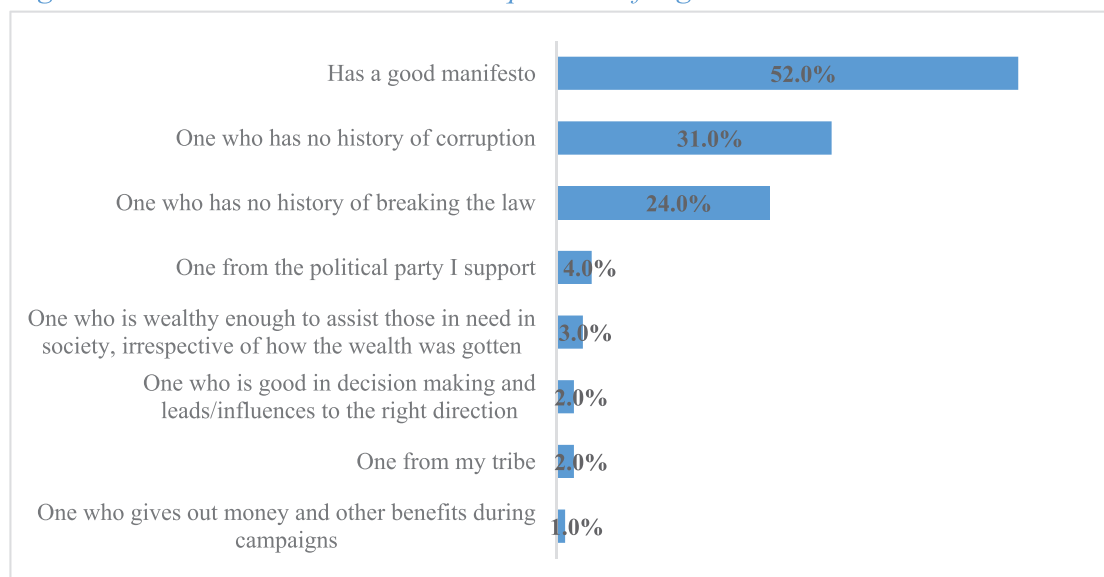
From the responses, 81.3 % of the respondents pointed out that a candidate's vision, manifesto, plans and intention were the most important considerations in electing individuals to a leadership position. This was closely followed by 11.7% of respondents who indicated being influenced by a political party a candidate identifies with, further demonstrating marginal role political parties play in voter considerations in Kenya's electoral space. Other considerations on this question including gender, wealth, bribe tribe and age which are ordinarily considered major determinants in a voters' choice, recorded low percentage. To confirm the above finding, there was a follow up question on the same, which sought to examine the major factors that are likely to influence a voter's decision in an election.

Table 1: In order of ranking which of the following factors are likely to influence respondents' voting decision?

	1st	2 nd	3 rd
Performance record of a candidate	38%	22%	22%
Integrity/Clean record of a candidate	23%	15%	34%
Manifesto/agenda of the candidate	22%	42%	13%
Family decision (Spouse, Parents, Siblings)	9%	3%	2%
Tribal/Community affiliation of candidate	8%	4%	3%
Group (Women's youth, church) decision	3%	6%	4%
Gender of candidate	2%	3%	4%

The respondents were asked to rank in order of priority, the major factors that are likely to influence their voting decisions. From the responses, the first consideration was performance (38%), followed by integrity (23%) and manifesto (22%) in that order. The second consideration was manifesto (42%), followed by performance (22%) and integrity (15%) among others in that order. Finally, the third consideration in order of ranking, integrity topped (34%), followed by performance (22%), then manifesto (13%), with other considerations following as indicated in the table above on column three. Overall, three important factors - performance record, integrity of candidate, clean record and manifesto in that order - were ranked as respondents' major consideration in influencing their voting decision. This further supports the previous question where respondents cited vision, manifesto, plans and a person's intentions when electing individuals to public office. To further ascertain normative features that the respondents cited in their decision making, they (respondents) were further asked to mention the top three qualities of a good leader.

Figure 6: What are TOP THREE best qualities of a good leader?



Building from previous questions, the above responses further affirmed what citizens consider as qualities of a good leader. It is still evident that vision/manifesto, integrity and law-abiding character of an individual count most as quality of a good leader among the electorate. The above responses reveal that indeed citizens truly understand what is expected of a good leader. One would imagine that it is not always given that voters consider parochial attributes such as tribal /ethnic identity, bribes and individual wealth of a candidate among other attributes as is widely imagined.

There seem to be an inconsistency between survey responses and actual experience on the ground on the type of leadership we have, and what voters consider when electing an individual to public office. If responses indicate voters' desire for virtues and ethical leadership, the question then remains: what explains persistence of unethical leadership in Kenya? Findings could mean that respondents knew the qualities of good leadership but were not truthful to admit that they can vote for unethical leaders. It could also be true that they indeed make virtuous considerations as captured in the responses, and that only a few outliers are known. In anecdotal evidence during the survey, a respondent admitted that she only considers a candidate's tribe at the presidential level. This would be more pronounced in lower-level representation like at the Counties, National Assembly constituencies and Wards that are more ethnically homogeneous and hence tribe/ethnic affiliation among candidates might not matter much. Above all, key to this study is that respondents were aware of ethical expectations of quality leadership.

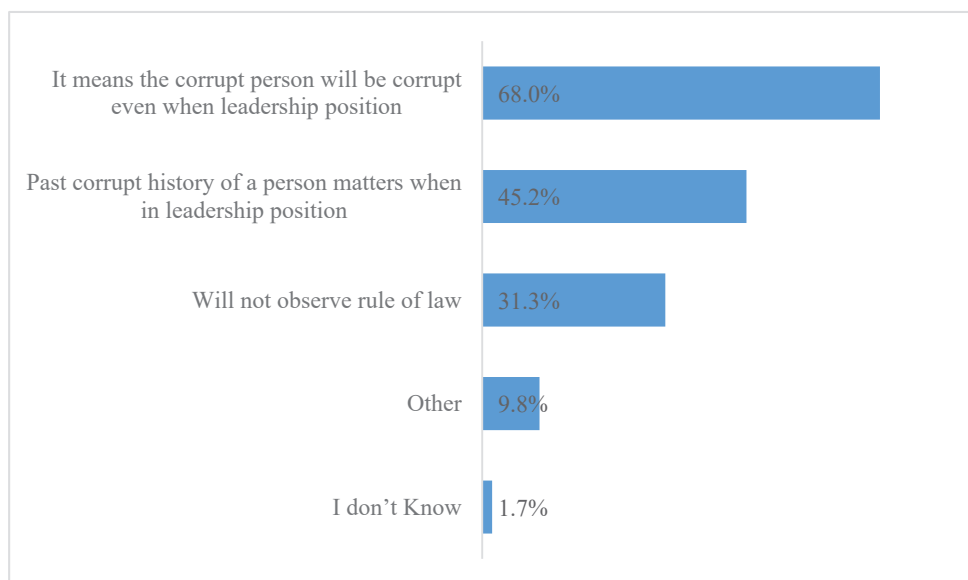
3.3 Leadership and Integrity

Building on citizens' awareness on what is expected of individuals occupying public office, the survey further examined the nexus between leadership and corruption. Several subsections are hereby included towards understanding citizens' opinions, perceptions and attitudes on the link between leadership and integrity (ethics).

3.3.1 Should those convicted of corruption be allowed to occupy public offices?

To begin with, respondents were asked whether those convicted of corruption offences should be allowed to occupy any public office. The response was unanimous among both male female respondents (86.5%) that individuals convicted of corruption should not be allowed to occupy public/state offices. However, 13.5% propounded that those convicted of corruption have a right to get into public office. This finding demonstrates respondents' high regard for ethical and leadership with integrity. Various reasons were captured as to why those convicted of corruption should not occupy public office. These ranged from the arguments that history of corruption conviction would still matter as these office holders would still perpetuate corruption even when they occupy public/state office.

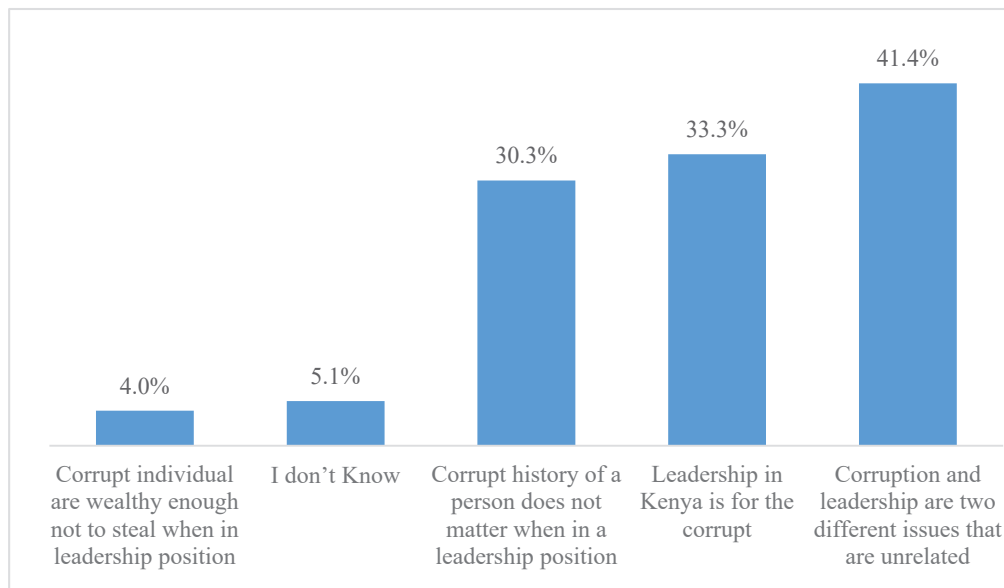
Figure 7: Why should a person convicted of corruption NOT be allowed to get into public office?



From the findings, respondents were aware that an individual's past can inform ones' conduct while in public office. This can be corroborated by several cases where individuals accused of corruptions have also had a history of corruption before ascending to public office. The 13.5%

of the respondents who thought corrupt convicts should be allowed to hold public office also cited several reasons in support of their position.

Figure 8: Why should a person convicted of corruption be allowed to get into public office?



Different responses were cited as the reasons why a person convicted of corruption should be allowed to get into public/state office. Key among them was that corruption and leadership are two different unrelated issues, and in any case, leadership is for the corrupt in Kenya, among others. There has been an assertion that the electorate can prefer to vote for a wealthy individual on the premises that since they are wealthy enough, they would not engage in corrupt activities once in office. However, this claim seems to have been debunked as demonstrated by a mere 4% response which indicated that corrupt individuals are wealthy enough not to steal when in leadership position.

3.3.2 Politicians under Corruption Probe and Public Office

In a follow up to a case of an individual convicted of corruption being allowed to occupy public/state office, there was another question on whether those accused of corruption (and not yet proven), should contest for elective public/state office. From the responses, there is a slight variation from the previous question on a convicted corrupt individual and one suspected of corruption contesting for state office.

In slight variation from the case of convicted corrupt individuals, 75% of respondents indicated that a person still under investigation or who a pending court case on a corruption charge should not be allowed to contest in an election. On the other hand, 25% (which is much higher than

scores in support of convicted individual running for office at 13.5%) indicated that a person not yet convicted of corruption should be allowed to contest for an elective post. This could be in recognition of the principle of natural justice of presumption of innocence until proven guilty beyond reasonable doubt. Indeed, several public and state officers in government have defended their right to remain in office albeit with some limitations on this basis.

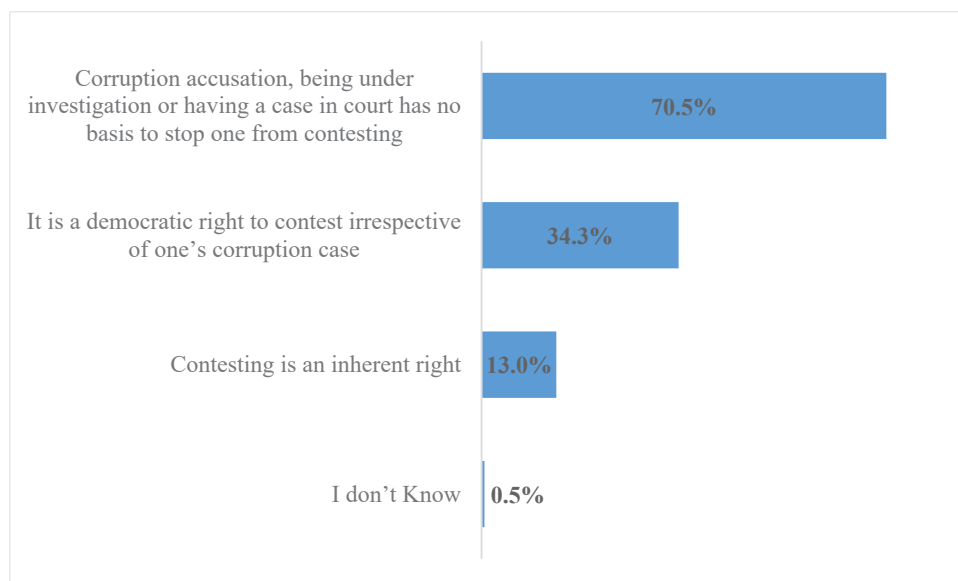
Many elected officials namely Governors, Members of Parliament, Members of County Assembly (MCAs) and most notable President Uhuru Kenyatta and his deputy William Ruto contested in the 2013 general elections on this premise⁴. However, the principle of innocence until proven guilty on corruption charges was put into doubt by a High Court ruling that prevents any public or state officer facing criminal corruption case from accessing public office⁵. The ruling was informed by the need to prevent office bearers from fully discharging their mandate, which might interfere with cases through evidence tampering and witness interference, among others. The ruling is welcome in efforts to fight corruption, where public and state officers previously accused of corruption would use privilege of office access to undermine active judicial processes that targeted them. All said and done, 75% of respondents submitted that corruption allegations alone is not reason enough to prevent one from contesting for a public office.

Respondents were asked why individuals accused of corruption should not be allowed to contest for elective public positions. Several reasons were highlighted. Sixty-one per cent of the respondents identified with the fact that accusation of corruption, being under investigation or having a case in court is enough reason to prevent one from contesting for public office; where one's integrity credentials are under scrutiny. Equally 31.2% of respondents indicated that corruption cases demonstrate one's poor judgment in decision making, and which can affect the public. The 25% of respondents who supported individuals under corruption accusation to contest for public positions had reasons to support their opinions as indicated in Figure 9 below:

⁴ See, High Court ruling on Suitability of the Hon. Uhuru Muigai Kenyatta, the Hon. William Samoei Ruto, to Contest Public Or State Office in the Republic Of Kenya <http://kenyalaw.org/caselaw/cases/view/86293/index.html>

⁵ Trusted Society of Human Rights Alliance v Mumo Matemo & 5 others [2015] eKLR

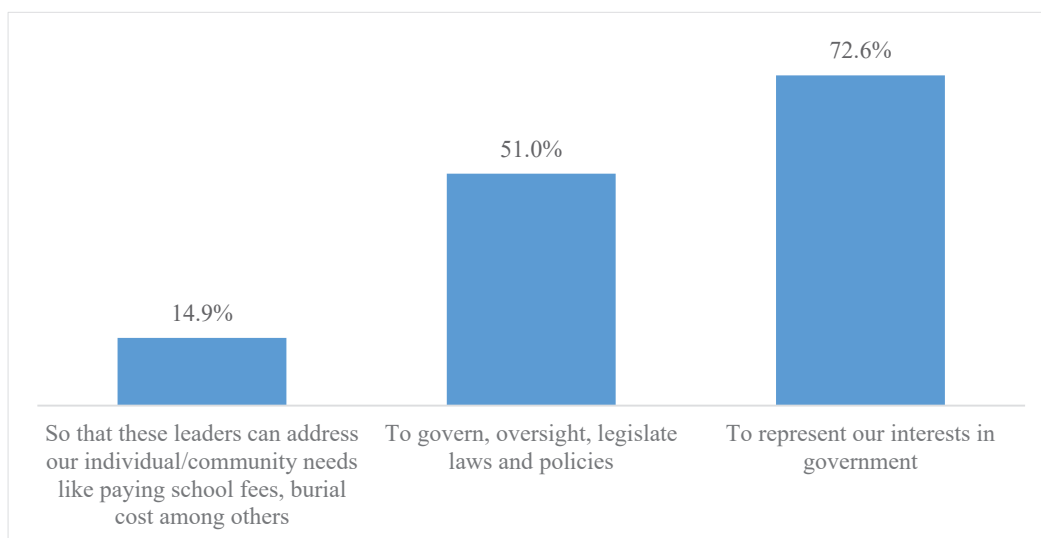
Figure 9: Why should a person accused of corruption, under investigation or has a case in court be allowed to contest?



Beyond the right to contest irrespective of integrity concerns, the study also sought to find out from a general perspective, the main purpose and reason for electing individuals in different political offices. The response demonstrated high level of awareness and knowledge among the respondents as shown in the findings.

3.4 Citizens' Perception on the Role of Leaders

Figure 10: Citizens' perceptions of the role of leaders



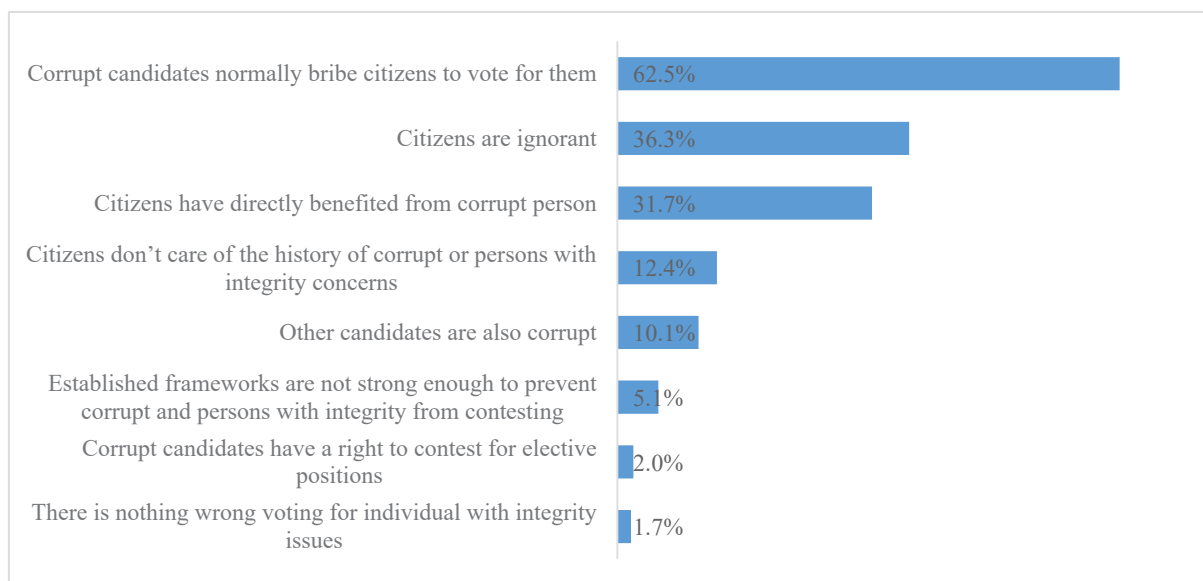
While it is obvious that different political offices have different functions, they can all be grouped into most known and dominant roles. The above question sought to find out if citizens understand the main reasons why individuals are elected to different elective offices whose mandate and roles range from representation, oversight, legislation and governance, among

others. From the responses, representation in government attracted 72.6%, while to govern, oversight and legislate laws and policies attracted 51%. Worth noting on this question is the 14.9% score on the wide belief that citizens vote their leaders to address their individual/community needs like paying school fees and burial costs, among others. This does not mean that the electorate will or do not ask their representatives to address their direct personal needs, but a demonstration of citizens awareness that elected leaders exist to serve the general good for all.

3.4.1 Role of Citizens in Perpetuating Unethical Leadership

The study sought to obtain citizens’ opinions on why convicted and individuals facing corruption allegations keep being elected to public office in Kenya. This happens despite numerous mechanisms put in place to prevent the corrupt from ascending to public/state office.

Figure 11: Why do you think citizens vote for corrupt persons to public/state office?



Once again, the responses point towards the inherent shortcomings in the fight against corruption amongst elected leaders while also indicating citizens’ abhorrence towards corruption among elected leaders. It is important to note the low responses that seem to justify corruption. Several reasons were given as to why citizens vote corrupt persons into public offices. Majority of the respondents (62.5%) indicated that corrupt candidates can ascend to elective public offices by bribing voters to elect them, with 36.3% of the respondents attributing corrupt leadership to voters' ignorance while 31.7% submitted that citizens benefit from corrupt leadership. Further, 12.4% of the respondents indicated that citizens do not mind the integrity and corrupt history of prospective leaders while 10.1% of respondents contended that other

leaders are also corrupt, thus justifying why citizens vote corrupt persons into public offices. Further, 5.1% of the respondents cited failure by established institutions to prevent the corrupt from ascending to public offices. The option that corrupt candidates have a right to contest for elective positions and the argument that there is nothing wrong voting for individuals with integrity issues attracted 2% and 1.7% responses, respectively. The responses call for multiple intervention measures from individual to collective responsibility as well as institutional approaches in preventing persons with integrity issues from ascending to public offices.

3.5 Citizens Awareness on Anti-Corruption Frameworks

3.5.1 Constitutional and Legal Frameworks Against Unethical Leadership

In line with this study's focus to understand citizens' perceptions (or lack thereof) of ethical leadership in Kenya, the respondents were asked whether they were aware of established mechanisms to prevent corrupt individuals from running for public office.

Table 2: Which constitutional/legal mechanisms are you aware of in Kenya that are established to prevent corrupt individual candidates from running for state office?

	Male	Female	Combined
No, not aware	64.80%	81.00%	71.80%
Yes, Chapter Six of the Constitution on Leadership and Integrity	27.40%	11.80%	20.70%
Yes, Leadership and Integrity Act	12.90%	5.80%	9.80%
Yes, Election laws and related legislations	10.60%	4.60%	8.10%
Yes, Public Officer Ethics Act	5.10%	2.30%	3.90%
Other	0.70%	1.60%	1.10%

From the findings, 71.8% of the respondents indicated not being aware of the existing constitutional and legal mechanisms established to prevent corrupt individuals from occupying state/ public office. This can be a major setback in acknowledging efforts made over the years in the fight for a new Constitution, enabling legislation and institutions anchored in the fight against corruption in Kenya.

From a gender perspective, males were found to be more knowledgeable of the constitutional legal means than women. More females (81%) compared to 64.8% males indicated that they were not aware of the established constitutional and legal mechanisms to fight corrupt leadership. However, there seem to be some hope, with 20.7% of respondents modestly identifying with Chapter Six of the Constitution on leadership and integrity, which is a major provision in safeguarding ethical leadership. In the same manner is the identification of related legislations of Leadership and Integrity Act, election laws and related legislations which also had modest scores of 9.8% and 8.1% respectively.

From the above findings on respondents' awareness, there is disproportionate level of awareness between the two genders. Men are more aware of both established constitutional/legal and institutional mechanisms in preventing corrupt candidates from occupying public office. The other markers were that younger respondents and who have more than secondary school education are well-informed of these mechanisms. Age and school as one would expect, proved to be a major determinant of political knowledge which is in line with hypothetical expectations.

3.5.2 Institutional Frameworks Against Corruption

In following up to citizens' awareness on constitutional and legal mechanisms, respondents were also asked about established institutions in the fight against corruption that can prevent corrupt individual from occupying public office.

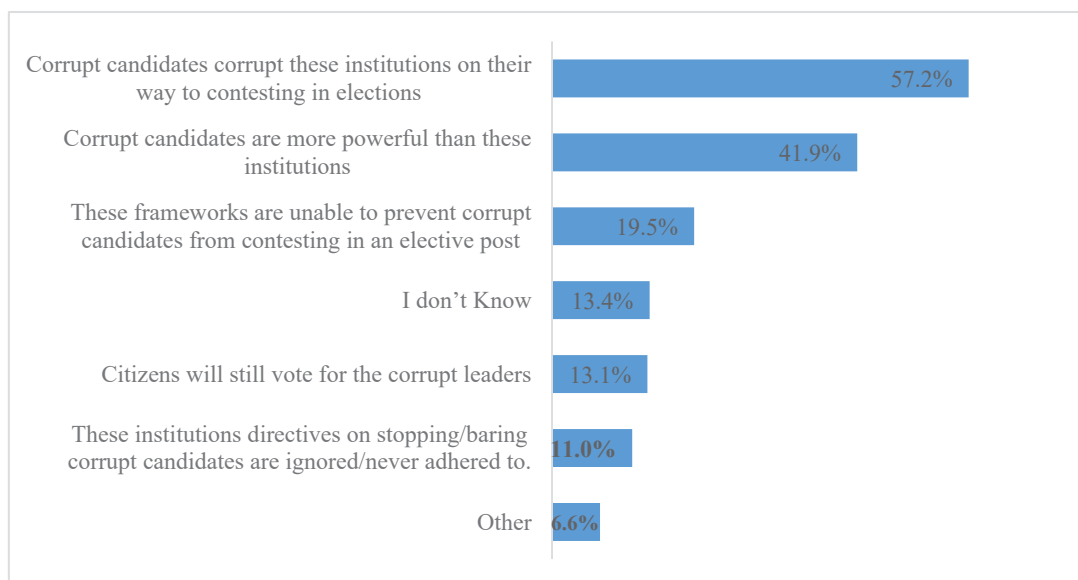
Table 3: Which institutional mechanisms are you aware of in Kenya, that are established to prevent corrupt persons from running for state/public office?

	Male	Female	Combined
Yes, Ethics and Corruption Commission (EACC)	59.20%	39.30%	50.70%
Yes, Court of Law	37.90%	28.60%	33.90%
Yes, Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC)	35.90%	26.90%	32.10%
No, not aware	23.90%	36.30%	29.20%
Yes, the Kenya Police	25.00%	22.20%	23.80%
Other	4.60%	2.30%	3.60%

From the findings above, as opposed to constitutional and legal provisions on corruption, respondents seemed to be more enlightened in established institutional provisions in the fight against corruption that can bar corrupt candidates from contesting for public office. EACC stood out as the most known institutions at 50.7%, followed by court of laws at 33.9%, IEBC at 32.1% and Kenya Police at 23%. It is evident from the findings that majority of the

respondents seem to be aware of these institutions. The study further sought to understand why these provisions (constitutional/legal and institutional mechanisms) are unable to discharge their mandate as expected.

Figure 12: Why do constitutional and legal frameworks fail to prevent/stop corrupt candidates from contesting in an election?



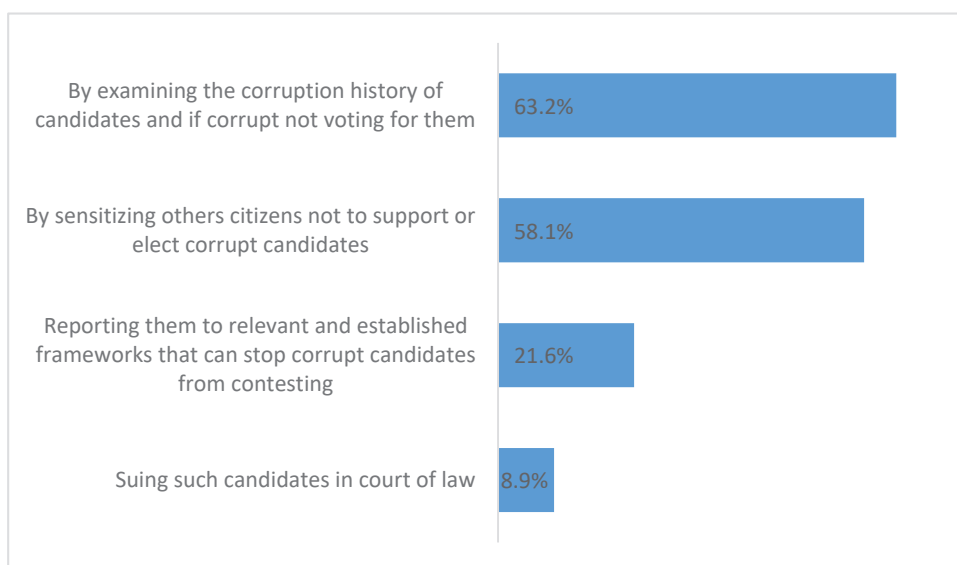
Several reasons were cited as to why the established mechanisms have been unable to prevent corrupt individuals from contesting for and occupying public office. The reasons ranged from the inability of established mechanisms and the powerful nature of corrupt candidates to beat the system and who end up contesting for and or occupying public office contrary to the Constitution and laws of the land. Established institutions and government departments have a major role to ensure that only those with ethical conduct are elected and appointed to state and public office, respectively. For example, a prospective political aspirant is supposed to be cleared by IEBC after meeting other regulatory requirements. Key among these requirements that can achieve much success in establishing suitability of political aspirants are EACC, DCI, Kenya Revenue Authority (KRA) and the Ministry of Education on education qualifications, among others. However, it is evident that there are individuals who have failed to meet Chapter Six provisions, with past criminal records and questionable academic records that have still been cleared to contest in elections by IEBC and by other bodies that should vet and gatekeep ethical considerations. These institutions keep shifting blame amongst themselves on who is supposed to ascertain integrity requirements of political aspirants to state and public offices. It goes without saying that these institutions can play a major role in preventing those with questionable integrity and tainted past records from ascending to state and public office. While

the respondents were able to point out the inefficiency of established constitutional/legal and institutional means to fight corruption, the study also sought to find out if the respondents thought citizens had any role in preventing corrupt candidates from contesting.

3.5.3 Role of Citizens in Stopping Corrupt Politicians from Running for Office

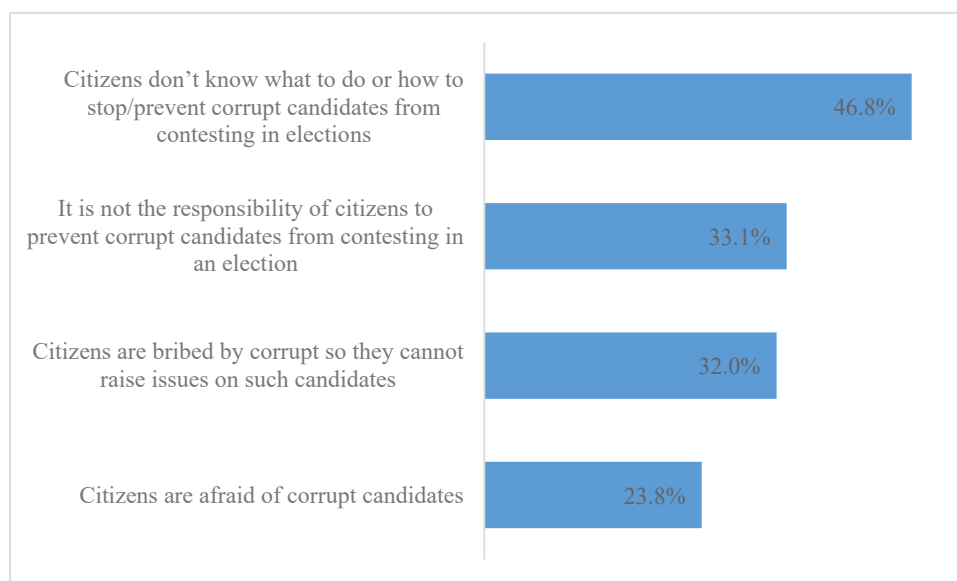
The study sought to obtain citizens’ opinions as to whether they have a role in stopping and preventing prospective political leaders with questionable integrity from running for office. The encouraging finding is that 68.9% believed that indeed citizens have a role to play in stopping the corrupt from occupying public/state office. This means that citizens recognise their centrality in the fight against corruption and promoting ethical leadership in the country. However, there is a section of the respondents (31.1%) who thought that citizens do not have a role to play in preventing corrupt candidates from running for public office. Several citizens-led approaches were identified in a follow up to those who thought citizens had a role to play in preventing political candidates with integrity concerns assuming public office.

Figure 13: How can citizens play a role in stopping/preventing corrupt candidates from contesting in elections?



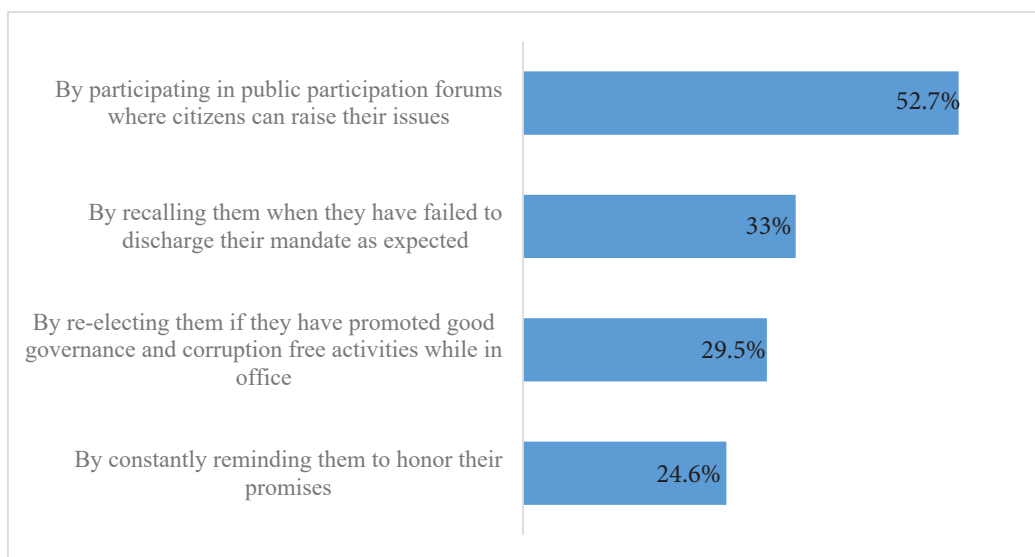
The responses indicate citizens’ appreciation of their direct role in promoting ethical leadership by assuming the responsibility to vet integrity of prospective leaders before elections, advocacy and sensitisation among citizens themselves against the corrupt and stopping the corrupt through established anti-corruption frameworks. On the other hand, 31.1% of the respondents also cited varied reasons why citizens are unable to prevent unethical leaders from contesting.

Figure 14: How are citizens unable to prevent corrupt persons from contesting in elections?



These responses were majorly from young citizens with less education and income. They believe that citizens lack the capability to determine a leadership of integrity. The study also sought respondents' opinion on how citizens can hold those already in leadership positions to account beyond stopping or preventing corrupt candidates from contesting in the first place.

Figure 15: How can citizens hold leaders they elect to account?



The findings on this question further indicates that citizens acknowledge their major role in holding those in leadership positions to account. Respondents identified with viable options of recalling of elected leaders, re-electing and raising awareness in public participation fora in holding those in leadership positions to account. These approaches are constitutionally and legally provided for citizens to make use of to hold leaders to account. Apart from public participation fora which have gradually taken root in Kenya, re-election and or recalling approach as means to hold to account those in leadership has not been experienced in the country. The question that persists is why citizens are not proactive enough in promoting ethical leadership even when they acknowledge their role to do so.

3.6 Citizens Tolerance of Corrupt Leadership

Through direct questions, respondents were asked to what extent they might associate themselves with a corrupt leadership. In line with responses observed from previous questions, citizens' responses were overwhelmingly against unethical leadership.

3.6.1 Citizens likelihood of voting for corrupt leaders

While from the preceding discussion respondents have demonstrated being aware of ethical leadership and abhorring corruption, they were asked questions that would reveal their tolerance to corruption at individual level.

Table 4: How likely are you to vote for somebody with a history of being involved in corruption?

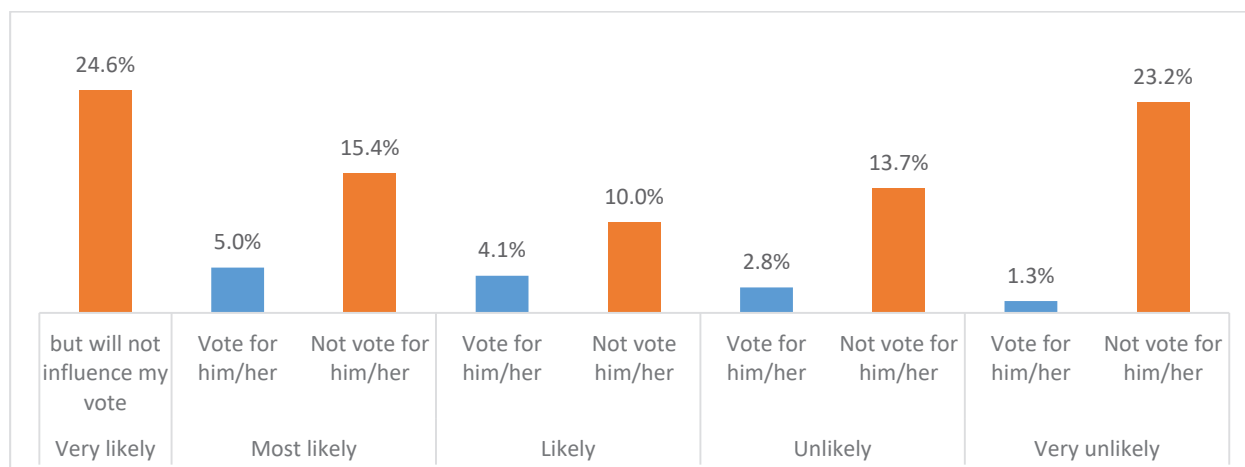
	Male	Female	Combined
Very unlikely	60.3%	57.6%	59.1%
Unlikely	22.1%	23.4%	22.7%
Likely	14.5%	14.8%	14.6%
Most likely	3.1%	4.2%	3.6%

Cumulatively, more than 81% of the respondents indicated that they were unlikely to vote for an individual with known history of corruption. But again, there are 18% who responded that they were likely to vote for individuals with history of corruption. This is so telling that while majority would want to be associated with ethical leadership, there are those who really do not mind ethical conduct of a politician.

This finding qualifies the existence of questionable leadership that lacks integrity, and which is more pronounced than the ideal ones at various levels of representation in Kenya.

To further test ethical and integrity conduct of the respondents as voters, a question was posed on how likely one was to accept a bribe to vote for a candidate. In close relations with the previous question, it is evident that some voters do not mind receiving a bribe from an electoral candidate.

Figure 16: How likely are you to accept cash and non-cash gifts like foodstuff, clothing or any other gift or bribe from a politician and vote for him/her?



From the table above, the responses can be further narrowed down to differentiate respondents' likelihood and unlikelihood to accept a bribe. There is then a follow up question as to whether accepting a bribe would influence respondents' vote decision in an election. This is as shown in the following figures.

Figure 17: Respondents' Likelihood to Accept a Bribe

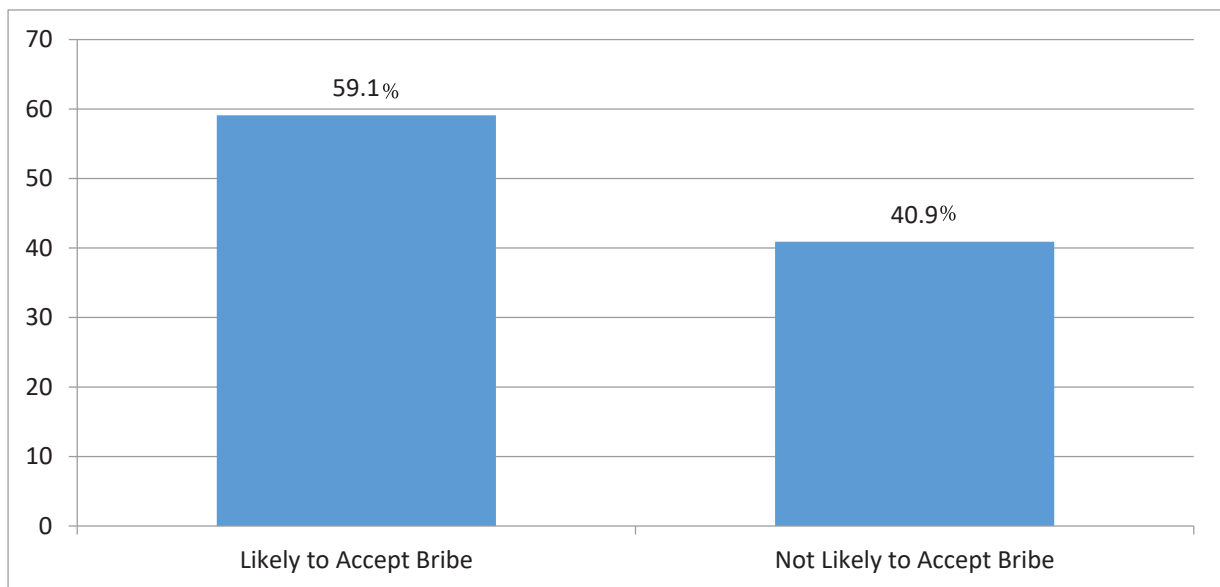
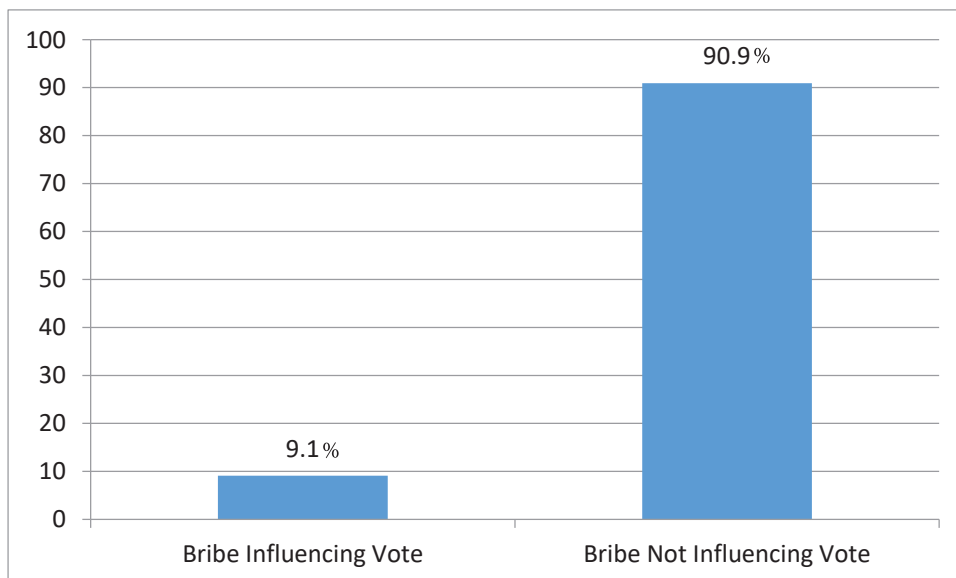


Figure 18: Bribe Influencing Respondents Vote Choice

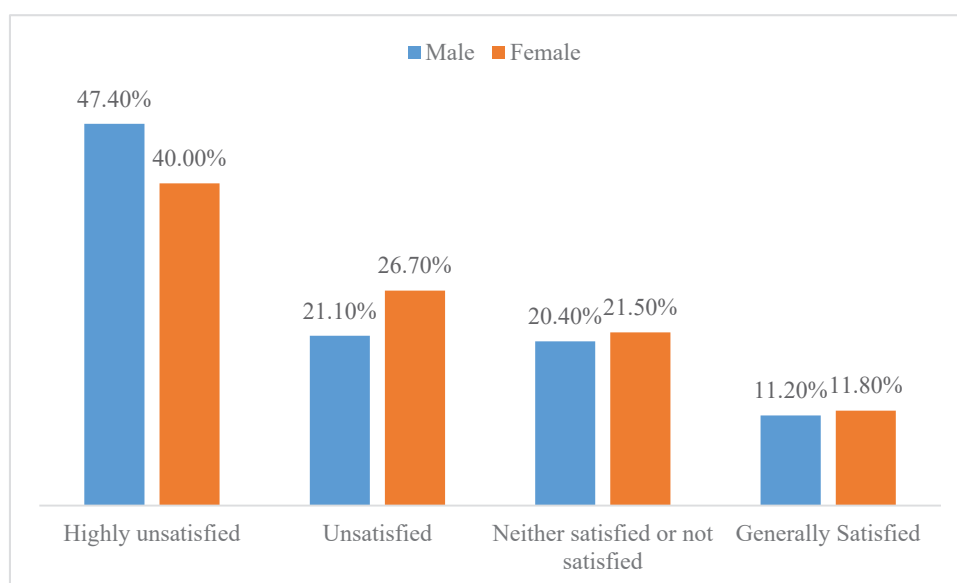


The above responses offered several observations. First is the category where respondents would accept a bribe irrespective of its nature, influencing their vote decision at 59.1%. Those who accept a bribe that would influence their vote choice stood at 9.1%. The encouraging observation is the high score on a bribe not influencing respondents' choice which stood at

90.9%. The 59.1% score of bribe acceptance irrespective of its influence on respondents' vote decision demonstrates a rational respondent whose aim is to gain materially while doing the opposite as a politician would expect. While this study's previous questions have shown a citizen that abhors corruption, 59.1% of respondents who are willing to accept a bribe is very indicative of lack of ethical values when one stands a chance to gain materially through a politicians' bribe. This is clear a demonstration of the dissonance of what citizens think about ethical leadership.

While majority of the respondents have recognized the vice from the responses to preceding questions and do not want to be associated with the corrupt, this observation is watered down when it is applicable to them in a situation where they directly stand a chance to gain from a politician's bribe. It is on such observation that there is a mantra in public domain that corruption is only bad when applicable to others, and further that Kenyan citizen is only upright and waiting to be corrupt at an opportune moment. The contradiction was further showcased when respondents were asked how satisfied they were with government efforts in fighting corruption.

Figure 19: How satisfied are you with how the government is dealing with corrupt leaders and those accused of corruption?



As expected, more than 67% fall in the category of those not satisfied with government efforts in fighting corruption. There are 20.9% who are in between, while another 11.4% are satisfied with government effort in fighting corruption. This should be informed by respondents' perception of their minimum role in the fight against corruption and promotion of ethical leadership in Kenya.

4.0 Conclusion and Recommendations

This study sought to examine citizens' perceptions and understanding of ethical leadership in Kenya. From the findings, persistence of unethical leadership is not because of ignorance, lack of knowledge and awareness of what a leadership of integrity entails. Rather, based on the findings from this survey, persistence of unethical leadership is because of institutional framework failures coupled with lack of sustainable means to ensure citizens' role in promoting ethical leadership.

Further, from the survey findings from selected respondents as a reflection of wider Kenyan population, majority of citizens are active in politics, abhor corruption and unethical leadership from different perspectives. Worth noting is the surveyed respondents' knowledge of qualities of good leadership coupled with ways and means to promote ethical leadership in the country. Equally, majority of survey respondents are aware of established institutional provisions to fight corruption and to promote ethical leadership.

However, a considerable number of respondents were found not to be aware of constitutional and legal mechanisms established to serve the same roles. On a positive note, respondents acknowledged the pivotal role citizens can play in promoting ethical leadership as well as the obstacles faced in these endeavors.

Based on study findings, there is a combination of reasons that could explain persistence of unethical leadership from the respondents' perspectives. While respondents are aware and knowledgeable of ethical expectations and norms on leadership with integrity, there was inconsistency with respondents' admission and willingness to accept bribe and vote those with history of corruption. Further, institutional weaknesses are also major challenge in promoting ethical leadership in the country. These observations call for interventions that target both the established institutional provisions and citizens-led approach towards promoting a leadership with integrity in Kenya.

Based on survey findings and identified gaps on citizens' awareness, perceptions and understandings, the study makes the following recommendations towards promoting leadership with integrity in Kenya:

- a) Relevant government agencies like EACC, IEBC, KNCHR, and Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) should prioritise sensitising the public through mass media and community engagements on established constitutional, legal and institutional frameworks mandated to promote ethical leadership in Kenya. This will encourage

collaborations between citizens and established institutions in promoting ethical leadership in the country.

- b) There is need for a multisectoral approach by all actors (Governmental and non-governmental, local communities and CSOs) to undertake civic education. such initiatives should cover the benefits of electing leaders of integrity and their duty to report and not participate in voter bribery.
- c) Beyond EACC other established government institutions (IEBC, KNCHR, NCIC and CAJ) who are mandated to promote ethical leadership in the country should take a more active role in public education to create awareness among citizens of their role and mandates in promoting ethical leadership.
- d) To augment citizens' role, more citizens-centered avenues and channels for whistleblowing and anonymous reporting should be strengthened and made more available, accessible and easy to implement to promote ethical leadership across all levels of governance in the country.
- e) There is need to harmonise and streamline mechanisms of clearing candidates aspiring to contest for political offices. Specifically, IEBC should be the final institution to clear candidates to elective leadership positions after they have been cleared by other institutions and government departments such as DCI on criminal records, KRA on tax compliance and EACC on integrity concerns, among others.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Distribution of the sample per County

		Frequency	Percent
1	Nairobi City	198	19.7%
2	Kakamega	84	8.4%
3	Kisumu	83	8.3%
4	Nakuru	69	6.9%
5	Mombasa	55	5.5%
6	Meru	48	4.8%
7	Bungoma	45	4.5%
8	Kisii	42	4.2%
9	Nyeri	38	3.8%
10	Kilifi	28	2.8%
11	Kitui	28	2.8%
12	Uasin Gishu	25	2.5%
13	Kiambu	24	2.4%
14	Homa Bay	23	2.3%
15	Garissa	22	2.2%
16	Machakos	22	2.2%
17	Busia	17	1.7%
18	Murang'a	16	1.6%
19	Kajiado	14	1.4%
20	Siaya	14	1.4%
21	Nandi	9	0.9%
22	Nyandarua	9	0.9%
23	Laikipia	8	0.8%
24	Tharaka-Nithi	8	0.8%
25	Trans Nzoia	8	0.8%
26	Kericho	7	0.7%
27	Nyamira	7	0.7%
28	Bomet	6	0.6%
29	Kwale	6	0.6%
30	Baringo	5	0.5%
31	Kirinyaga	5	0.5%
32	Migori	5	0.5%
33	Narok	5	0.5%
34	Vihiga	5	0.5%
35	Taita/Taveta	4	0.4%
36	Embu	3	0.3%
37	Turkana	3	0.3%
38	Makueni	2	0.2%
39	Elgeyo/Marakwet	1	0.1%
40	Isiolo	1	0.1%
41	Lamu	1	0.1%
42	Tana River	1	0.1%
	Total	1004	100.0%

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