

**THE CONTRIBUTION OF WOMEN LEADERS IN THE FIGHT AGAINST
CORRUPTION IN NAIROBI COUNTY, KENYA**

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DECLARATION

This dissertation is my original work and has not been presented for examination in any other university.

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This dissertation has been submitted for examination with our approval as the university supervisors.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to all women leaders committed to the fight against corruption in Kenya.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AFRICOG	-	African Centre for Open Governance
AG	-	Attorney General
CAJ	-	Commission on Administrative Justice
CBO	-	Community Based Organization
CDF	-	Constituency Development Fund
CEO	-	Chief Executive Officer
CJ	-	Chief Justice
CoK	-	Constitution of Kenya
CPI	-	Corruption Perception Index
DPP	-	Director of Public Prosecutions
EABI	-	East African Bribery Index
EACC	-	Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission
FGD	-	Focused Group Discussion
GIZ	-	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (German) German Corporation for International Cooperation GmbH (English)
GCB	-	Global Corruption Barometer
KACA	-	Kenya Anti-Corruption Authority
KACC	-	Kenya Anti-Corruption Commission
KAM	-	Kenya Association of Manufacturers
KHRC-	-	Kenya Human Rights Commission
KII	-	Key Informant Interview
KEPSA	-	Kenya Private Sector Alliance
KEWOPA	-	Kenya Women Parliamentarians Association
KNBS	-	Kenya National Bureau of Statistics
MCA	-	Member of County Assembly
MP	-	Member of Parliament
NARC	-	National Rainbow Coalition

NACOSTI	-	National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation
NACCSC	-	National Anticorruption Campaign Steering Committee
NGO	-	Non-Governmental Organization
NGEC	-	National Gender and Equality Commission
NYS	-	National Youth Service
ODPP	-	Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions
OECD	-	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PAC	-	Parliamentary Accounts Committee
PTA	-	Parents Teachers Association
PS	-	Permanent Secretary
SIDA	-	Swedish International Development Agency
TI	-	Transparency International
TI-Kenya	-	Transparency International Kenya
TISA	-	The Institute for Social Accountability
UNCAC	-	United Nations Convention against Corruption
UNDP	-	United Nations Development Programme
UNIFEM	-	United Nations Development Fund for Women
USAID	-	United States Agency for International Development

ABSTRACT

This was an exploratory study on the contribution of women leaders in the fight against corruption in Kenya. Specifically, the study examined the roles played and the challenges faced by women leaders in fighting corruption. This study was premised on Swamy et. al's (2001) fairer sex theory which posits that women demonstrate a higher standard of ethical behavior and if faced with a corruption situation, they are less likely to engage in a corrupt behavior unlike the men and thus they can help in reduction of corruption incidences in Kenya. This study employed qualitative data collection methods which included Key Informant Interviews, In-depth Interviews and Focused Group discussions. Data was collected from twenty seven (27) women leaders in Nairobi City County who were drawn from public, private and non-governmental organizations as well as from citizens who formed the focused group discussions in Lang'ata and Kamukunji sub-counties. The collected data was transcribed and sorted out thematically and analysed in line with the specific objectives. Themes were further illustrated using excerpts from the different informants. Study findings indicate that the perception that women are less corrupt than men remains debatable since opinions on the same were divided. While some of the study participants expressed that being a man or a woman has no relation to one's likelihood to engage in corruption rather, it's about ones resolve to always do what is right others opined that women are more trustworthy and mostly exercise honesty thus they are less likely to engage in corruption. Women leaders have had great contribution in the fight against corruption. They have influenced various policies, legislation and anti-corruption strategies in Kenya. Kenya's first Bribery Act 2016 was largely championed by women leaders from the private sector and this has changed how business is transacted between public and private entities. Women-led organizations and projects were also reported to be more accountable and transparent in their undertakings. Further, women leaders in the civil society have played a watchdog role by agitating for transparency and accountability from the government. Civic education to the public on corruption issues has been successful with great input from the women leaders in the sector. Women were also pointed out to have negatively contributed to the fight against corruption and thus not viewed as being less corrupt. Women leaders were accused of engaging in corruption for example by soliciting for bribes to fast track delivery of services. They do not support fellow women leaders who are involved in fighting corruption. Women do not vote in fellow women during elections to take up leadership positions through which they can influence governance and policy decisions. They also rarely report corruption considering that they are most affected by it. Women leaders are equally faced with myriad of challenges in their attempt to fight corruption. These include, their sexuality often being attacked when they speak up against corruption, inadequate leadership opportunities for women to engage both in the public and private spheres, cultural biases which tend to discriminate against women, social roles of women in society which have been used against them, lack of political will to fight corruption by the leadership in the country, inadequate legislation addressing corruption, lack of knowledge on corruption issues by women and the public in general, fear of fighting corruption since corruption fights back and the changing and secretive nature of corruption poses a challenge in detecting its' occurrence and taking action. As much as women have the space in public and private sector to engage and significantly contribute to the fight against corruption, further deliberate actions need to be undertaken to open up more spaces for women leaders in all sectors. There is need for

empowerment of women leaders with relevant knowledge and skill to successfully address corruption in their spheres of influence. The study therefore, concludes that women are and can be stronger advocates against corruption. Towards this end, there is need for accountable systems both in public and private sectors that will both empower women and involve them in the established structures to fight corruption effectively. Considering their achievements so far, it would be beneficial also to include women at all levels of governance and enterprise.

CHAPTER ONE: BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

Corruption is a problem which many governments across the world at different levels of development have to deal with. It manifests itself in several ways which have made it challenging to tame. This study revisited the issue of corruption specifically focusing on the gender dimension of corruption by looking at the contribution of women leaders in the fight against corruption in Kenya.

The World Bank (1997) defines corruption as the abuse of public office for private gain. This definition includes several kinds of interactions between participants and office bearers in public sector and other agents. Occasionally, it involves issuing of money where bribes are asked or given and in instances where private gain is non-monetary, patronage or favourism is rife. (Kolstad et.al 2008). Examples of corruption are, offering and receiving bribes, embezzlement of funds, conflict of interest and nepotism, extortion, fraud among others. Corruption is in various governance aspects for instance in political parties, private business sector, and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) though it is commonly attributed to the public sector (USAID, 2005). Transparency International (TI) defines corruption as the misuse of entrusted power for private gain. Unlike the definition by world bank which species the acts and conduct of officers in the public sector, the definition by TI also includes the same acts by the those in the private sector. (Kolstad et.al 2008). Soliciting and offering bribes is said to be the most prevalent manifestation of corruption. Apart from involving money, corruption may also involve other forms which make it difficult to distinguish a behavior that is deemed corrupt from one that is considered not to be a corrupt behavior. These forms include, giving of gifts, influence-peddling and acts of getting future benefits.

Giving and receiving of bribes are well known features of corruption since bribery is commonly practiced. Transaction and variance bribes are forms of bribes that are commonly transacted. A transaction bribe is a bribe given to speed things up or make the proceedings easier, but not to get anything illegal done. A variance bribe on the other hand involves getting something illegal done or laws to be broken (Thalender, 2005). It is about getting the recipient to disobey the rules that exist .It is also worth noting that it is not easy

to exactly define what a bribe is since it means different things in different cultures and contexts. Existence and level of corruption in a country or institution has a lot to do with the leadership. This study focused on women in positions that enable them to influence decisions and or policies against corruption.

Corruption has several causes in different countries, in Kenya, several causes have been identified by the Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission (EACC) report of 2015. The causes include public officers demanding for bribes, lack of transparency and accountability among public officers and in the country in general, unequal distribution of resources, bad governance, favouritism and high cost of living.

The connection between gender and corruption is attributed to the fact that corruption impacts on men and women in different ways since they experience different forms of corrupt practices and behaviors (SIDA, 2015). Similarly, Goetz (2007) notes that when more women participate in politics and economic activities in a country, it shows that it is democratic with high levels of transparency which helps to reduce corruption related loopholes. Also, in governments where women have more positions in both parliament and hold high positions in government, incidences and cases of corruption tend to be less. Women tend to be more honest and unwilling to engage in corruption (Michailovq and Melnykovska, 2009). To support this view, a study done in one hundred and fifty countries in Europe, Asia and Africa by world bank demonstrated that women are more dependable and honest and less susceptible to corruption. Dollar et al. (1999) notes that in countries that have more women in government or parliament have reduced levels and incidences of corruption.

Women's role in society has been attributed to shaping their risk taking behavior that then accounts for the difference in gender patterns in terms of attitude and behaviors. These roles charge them with taking care of the most vulnerable groups of young people and the aged thus making them more unwilling to engage in corruption due to the adverse consequences that they may face like, being punished, losing jobs and other forms of penalties. (Sung, 2003). How people view the danger of indulging in corruption is influenced by the kind of systems in place. Where corruption is shunned upon, being discovered for corruption malpractices considered dangerous, making it a hindrance for

women to be involved in corrupt practices. These conditions, together with bias because of their gender, women tend to follow rules rather than going against what their gender roles stipulates. (TI, 2014). It has also been noted that levels of corruption are towering in countries that discriminate and deprive women the rights to engage in public life. (Nawaz, 2009).

It is argued that women and men perceive corruption differently and these perceptions are based on various factors like levels of education, class, and places of residence. For example, the Global Corruption Barometer (GCB) notes that, given the same institutions, men and women tend to have similar perceptions, however, there are areas where women tend to agree that corruption is rife, for example in political parties, parliament, the military, the private sector, judiciary and medical services. If education and level of income are considered, the women with high education and are affluent report that corruption is high in their country as compared to men (GCB 2013).

The roles men and women are assigned in society vary from one culture to another and they are attributed to being key in determining how men and women are vulnerable to corruption. It is believed that a frequent daily exposure can result to increased tolerance for corruption. Ford and Pande (2012) note that women are not very active in the public sector specifically in government and in business in Latin America thus they are likely to encounter incidences of corruption like bribery. Unlike men, women can be said to be newcomers into the realm of politics and business and thus are not closely acquainted with how things work and are not knowledgeable on how they can be involved in corruption deals. The difference between men and women is also exemplified in the extent to which they take part in corruption and the forms of corruption they get involved in. As Rivers (2008) notes, research experiments that have been done have shown that faced with the same corruption situation, men and women are likely to behave differently. Women are reported to not easily give or take kickbacks and when they do give a kickback it is usually reduced or low. Another research experiment testing the ability of men and women to disapprove and not engage in corruption shows that women's resistance to corruption indicated that women do not easily report corruption but they are also more likely not to

reciprocate unlike men, thus, men are suggested to be trusted as partners in a corrupt transaction (Frank et al. 2011).

This study was informed by the foregoing that, women do add value to issues of transparency, honesty and accountability in the government and private sectors. Thus, it explored, given positions of influence/leadership, what their contribution is and has been in the efforts towards addressing corruption in Kenya.

1.2 Statement of the problem

The contribution of men and women in the fight against corruption and how they are differently affected by corruption is an area that is gaining interest in understanding how well to address corruption. A gendered understanding of the problem is thereby explored by looking at the contributions of men and women to the problem of corruption. Dollar et al. (2001) and Swamy et al. (2001), advance this argument by stating that generally, men tend to be involved in corruption more than women. This is to imply that, given an increase of women leaders, there will be a reduction in corruption levels in the society.

In Kenya, over the years, men have dominated leadership positions across the political, professional and the corporate divide. Similarly, men have been implicated in more corruption scandals than women. This can be attributed to few women being in leadership positions where they influence decisions that advance integrity, transparency, and accountability. With the advent of the Kenyan constitution 2010, which provides for inclusion of women in leadership, more women have accessed leadership positions in the political, professional, private and even civil society. Women now sit in crucial positions and committees that influence decisions and put up structures that enhance integrity. Nairobi City County being the seat of power of Kenya, hosts most of women leaders who work in the public, private and civil society sectors. Many of them also work directly in anti-corruption in these sectors.

With the increase of women leaders in spheres that were mostly dominated by men and some of them having been implicated in corruption, it was of interest to explore what their contributions have been in advancing the anti-corruption agenda. Corruption related studies conducted in Kenya by EACC and TI-Kenya have often focused on issues such as

the public perceptions on corruption, causes of corruption and why people engage in corruption. Not much has been done in exploring the gender differences in tackling corruption. Therefore, there was a gap in understanding the contribution of women leaders in fighting corruption. Based on this, the study sought to understand why women are thought to be more resistant to acts of corruption and to explore the various roles they have played in advancing the ant-corruption agenda. This study therefore sought to explore these woman-led contributions by providing answers to the following questions:

1. What roles have women leaders played in the fight against corruption?
2. What challenges are faced by women leaders in the fight against corruption?

1.3 Objectives of the study

1.3.1 General objective

To explore the contributions of women leaders in the fight against corruption in Kenya.

1.3.2 Specific objectives

1. To examine the roles women leaders play in the fight against corruption.
2. To establish the challenges women leaders face in the fight against corruption.

1.4 Assumptions of the study

- i. Women leaders in Nairobi City County play roles that help in combating corruption.
- ii. Women leaders in Nairobi City County face challenges in the fight against corruption.

1.5 Justification of the study

This study focused on examining the roles played and challenges faced by women in leadership in confronting corruption. Corruption has been seen to be perpetrated by men and thus it was of interest to establish whether women who are and have been in leadership in both public and private spheres have in different ways contributed to the fight against corruption. This could include but not limited to, putting in place measures that curb corruption, contributing to policies and legislation on corruption and civic education on corruption.

Kenya has several legislations and policies in place that are meant to empower women and improve their numbers in positions of leadership in both public and private spheres. In light of this therefore, the study envisaged an exploration of the contribution of women who have been and are in these leadership positions in the fight against corruption. In what ways have they influenced or what mechanisms have they put in place to help curb corruption and the challenges they have encountered.

It was envisaged that the outcome of the study can inform anti-corruption bodies in government, policy makers, NGOs and private sector on the need to consider the gender dimension of corruption in studies on corruption, by being specific in defining the space men and women occupy in addressing corruption.

To other researchers and academicians, the study has contributed to the growing body of knowledge on the relations between gender and corruption and the importance of this perspective in governance. To development anthropologists, the study has contributed to evidence that women add value to good governance which is a key aspect to development thus their inclusion in leadership positions should be prioritized.

1.6 Scope of the study

The objective of the study was to explore the various ways in which women leaders have been influential in the war on corruption by examining the roles they have played and the challenges they have faced while fighting corruption. It assumed that with the increase of women in leadership positions there are ways in which they have helped fight corruption and while doing so, they have also faced some specific challenges. It targeted women holding positions of authority both in public and private spheres in Nairobi City County and thus can influence or contribute to different strategies and measures that are geared towards the fight against corruption. The study was guided by the fairer sex theory by Swamy et.al (2001) which postulate that women do not condone corruption unlike men and thus they can be good managers and leaders who add value in terms of enhancing transparency and accountability in governments.

Twenty-seven women leaders who were interviewed formed the informants for Key interviews and in depth interviews. Of the 27 women, 12 were from the public sector, 9 from civil society and 6 from the private sector. Men and women citizens from Langata and Kamikunji sub counties also participated in four Focused Group Discussions (FGDs). Two FGDs were conducted in each area one comprising male adults and the other comprising female adults.

1.7 Limitations of the study

Given the design and sample of the study, the findings of this study cannot be generalized for Kenya however the study can be indicative. Voices of female legislators especially parliamentarians would have enriched this study, unfortunately, reaching them for discussion was not fruitful. The study singled out and interviewed women leaders and views of male leaders were not sought. However, the study considered it important to include male views from the public through two FGDs to get their public perceptions of the women leaders' contribution which greatly enriched the study. The fairer sex theory was limiting to the study to the extent that it did not address the aspect of the challenges that women leaders face in seeking to curb corruption.

1.8 Definition of key terms

A woman leader: This is a woman in a position of authority that enables her to make or influence decisions or activities that contribute to curbing corruption. This could be top management positions or middle management positions.

Bribe: Something illegal (money, goods) given often to a person in authority to speed up a service or break the laws to achieve a certain end. In this study a bribe was treated as something illegal and which takes the forms of a transaction or a variance bribe.

Corruption: Refers to Abuse of entrusted power for private gain by persons in leadership. This may take the form of offering and receiving bribes, embezzlement, conflict of interest and nepotism.

Gender: Socially constructed differences between males and females that may influence social and economic activities as well as their access to resources and decision making.

This is to say that gender norms, roles and relations may influence the likelihood of men and women to engage in corruption.

Leadership: The capacity or ability to direct or influence the behavior of others or the course of events by virtue of one's position in an organization/institution. These include elective and appointive leadership positions.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This section reviews the existing literature on women and corruption and their contribution to reduction in corruption. Also described is the theory that guided the study as well as its relevance to the study.

2.2 Global look at corruption

Corruption is a cause of distress to governments across the globe. One of the major aims of the sustainable development goals is to achieve a decline in corruption. To the World Bank Group, corruption is a major hindrance to its attainment of ending utmost poverty by 2030 and enhancing the success of poorest people in developing countries. Corruption leads to mistrust in the government and compromises its obligation to the people. It hinders investment in development leading to low growth and less jobs. Countries that can tackle corruption harness their financial and human resources more efficiently, they win over more investment and experience faster growth. The world over, the poor and vulnerable populations are mostly affected by corruption since it not only denies them access to essential services like education, health and justice but also increases their cost. (World Bank 2018).

Transparency International's Global Corruption Barometer (GCB) (2017) indicates that countries around the world are struggling with corruption that is rife and crippling various sectors of their public service. Citizens around the world were asked to rate the seriousness of their government in putting up measures that fight corruption. It was found that nearly six in ten people thought that their government was doing poorly, while only three in ten thought that their government was doing well. The Middle East and North Africa region had the highest percentage of citizens rating their government as doing a bad job at fighting corruption (68 per cent), followed by Sub Saharan Africa (63 per cent). In Asia Pacific region, Europe and Central Asia and the Americas, half or just over half of citizens gave their government a bad rating (50 per cent, 53 per cent and 53 per cent respectively). In 76 of the surveyed places, most citizens rated their government as doing poorly at addressing corruption risks, while in only eight places did a majority said that their government had done well.

The survey also asked citizens how corrupt they thought various key influential groups and institutions in their country were. Across the globe, the police and elected representatives (such as members of parliament, congressmen, senators etc) were seen to be most corrupt – followed closely by government officials, business executives and local government officials. In terms of bribery, on average the bribery rate in the European Union was lowest (9 per cent), while the Commonwealth of Independent States in Eurasia, and the Middle East and North Africa region had an average bribery rate of 30 per cent, which was the highest of all the regions surveyed. The Latin America and Caribbean region and Asia Pacific region had an average bribery rate of 29 and 28 per cent, respectively. Places with very low bribery rates were found in the Asia Pacific region, Sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East and the EU. This is an indication that bribery as a form of corruption is so prevalent across countries in the world and when government officials abuse their office for personal gain, through embezzlement, bribery or theft, they undermine the fairness of policy implementation and increase the discrepancy between policy and practice, which threatens the fulfilment of democratic principles.

Another study conducted by the World Bank estimates that the world bribery accounts for 3% of the worlds' income and at the least 1 trillion dollars per year. Bribery and corruption discourage capital flow as well as foreign direct investment and the flow of revenue to the required channels. In Africa, Corruption has severely harmed the development of the African continent and made it to lag behind other continents with almost half of its population living below one dollar a day and accounting for thirty percent of the worlds' poor. Corruption in Africa is caused by weak institutions of governance, patronage, lack of accountability and transparency as well as weak judicial systems. The division of national resources after colonialism resulted in individuals' amassing wealth to the disadvantage of the commoners (Nduku & Tenamwnye, 2014).

These studies are an indication that work on anti-corruption needs to be highly prioritized in the global development agenda so that it becomes an area of attention for states, religious and non-governmental organizations. This is because graft has weakened important institutions of governance in some nations including sectors on defense, security and social policy such as health and education. Subjecting the public to lack of essential

services especially the poor in the society thus deepening economic inequalities and eroding away trust in political processes.

2.3 The state and extent of corruption in Kenya

Corruption in Kenya can be tracked down to the history of the country. In the past, virtues such as communal and ethnic values of the people of Kenya were observed and served their purpose in society. However, with time these and more values started eroding. Virtues such as respect for elders and people in authority, the practice of gift giving and exchange among people and communities got perverted and instead became acts of soliciting and giving bribes. Colonization in Kenya was characterized by authoritarianism, injustice, and plunder of the country's natural resources, creating an environment that fostered the mushrooming of corruption (Kenya National Anti-corruption Plan 2016-2018).

In the sixties and seventies, corruption in Kenya was thriving and took advantage of the policy interventions being implemented at the time to help manage the political and economic life of the country. This state of affairs continued into the 80s and 90s. With such an environment, poor system of governance emerged and downright disrespect of the law which to a large extent contributed to the overt growth and practice of corruption (Kenya National Anti-corruption Plan 2016-2018).

Kenya was at a place that needed quick intervention to address the growing appetite for corruption. To this end, Kenya Anti-Corruption Authority (KACA) was established under the prevention of Corruption Act (Cap 65) which was passed in parliament in 1997. KACA became an autonomous institution mandated to curb corruption (The Point, 2000).

In 2002, Kenyans voted in the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) government on an anti-corruption platform, a move that raised the hopes of Kenyans of addressing and doing away with corruption in the country. The new administration had to deal with challenges of endemic corruption that had affected all sectors of society from the one-party regime that had ruled for over 20 years. These hopes of a corruption free Kenya did not last even the first term of the NARC government, as only two years into power, the new regime was

plagued by new corruption scandals, that casted doubts in Kenyans on the political will of the governments to fight corruption (U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre, 2012).

Despite these challenges, Kenya embarked again on major legislative, institutional, and political changes which renewed the country's hopes in the fight against corruption. One of the major achievements during this time is the passing of the new constitution in 2010 which was a needed impetus to the efforts in tackling graft in the country. It mainly sought to strengthen systems of checks and balances, political rights, civil liberties, constraining executive powers and enhancing protection of basic rights. Most importantly, the constitution stipulates principles of governance which include transparency accountability and integrity which are to be adhered to. Anti-corruption measures as provided for have however, been slowly implemented thus reducing the momentum in fighting corruption (U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre, 2012).

According to a report by Kenya's Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission's (EACC), it is reported that citizens perceive the prevalence of corruption in the nation to have increased as indicated by 73.9 per cent of those interviewed compared to only 5.6 per cent of respondents who felt corruption in the country is low. For those who thought corruption was high in the country, they were informed by the number of corruption reports being made, the bribes demanded before services delivery in different institutions, corruption being a common practice in many public offices, poor state of service delivery in public institutions, high cost of living and those who felt that there exists favoritism in service provision (EACC, 2015).

Corruption has been indicated to be rampant in Kenya's County Governments. For instance, according to an EACC survey, about 81 per cent of those interviewed indicated that corruption is rife in devolved governments. They cited existence of rampant corruption in the counties in form of tribalism, poor services provision, embezzlement of funds and projects being implemented in a shoddy manner (EACC, 2015). The Survey also sought to determine government ministries, agencies and departments and County government departments most prone to corruption. The report states that, the Ministry of Interior and Coordination was considered to be the most susceptible to corruption at 40.3%, followed by the Ministry of Health at 14.3%, Lands at 11.3%, Education at 9.9%, Transport and

Infrastructure at 6.1% and Devolution and Planning at 5.1%. Government agencies regarded to be susceptible to corruption are, the Kenya Police Service at 31.9%, Traffic Police at 18.8%, Chiefs Offices at 6.2%, Judiciary at 4.8%, public hospitals at 4.1%, Registrar of Persons Department at 3.6% and County Commissioners offices at 3.3%.

At the County government level, the health services department scored 29.1% and was perceived to be the most prone to corruption followed by land and physical planning at 14.3%, Public Service Boards at 13.5% and Roads, Transport and Public works at 11.5%. All the above statistics paint a gloomy picture of the country and calls for concerted efforts to tackle corruption.

2.3.1 Forms of corruption

Corruption is exhibited in many ways, these include large scale or grand corruption, minor or petty corruption, misappropriation of public funds and a partisan political system that has penetrated and is well established within the society. In Kenya, according to the EACC (2015) survey, offering and accepting bribes is the major form of corruption cited by 96.2 per cent of those interviewed. About 59.1% cited fraudulent obtainment and taking of public money or resources for private use. 54.8% cited unwarranted use of public funds by an officer in the public office and 54.6% cited abuse of office whereby public officers use their positions or office to illegitimately apportion themselves or others some benefits. There are several types of corruption, but this thesis only limited itself to the three below.

i) Minor/petty and bureaucratic corruption

It occurs in situations where government regulations and processes are still largely inefficient and complex. By so doing they provide both incentives and opportunities for corruption. Global Corruption Barometer (GCB, 2011) as well as the Eastern Africa Bribery Index (EABI, 2012) establish that citizens give kickbacks to get easy jobs done and to access essential public service. This is the most rampant form of corruption that involves both men and women. The World Bank and IFC (2007) enterprise survey also notes that, making of informal payments to get things done or to cut short bureaucratic process was an expectation from businesses/firms. This makes it difficult for businesses to almost impossible for businesses to operate without giving money to facilitate processes.

ii) Grand corruption

Transparency International (2016) refers to grand corruption as the abuse of high-level power that benefits the few at the expense of the many and causes serious and widespread harm to individuals and society. It happens when an officer of the public or other person denies a large group of people what is rightfully theirs or when the person causes the nation or some of its people a loss of great sum of money or income as a result of bribery, misappropriation of funds or other corruption related crimes. It often goes unpunished.

Kenyan Newspaper headlines have been severally hit with news of grand corruption in government. For instance, Daily Nation of 24th November 2012 read “How Goldenberg scandal was hatched and executed), Standard Newspaper of 25th May 2018 read “Now eyes on Uhuru as mega corruption scandals pile up), Daily Nation of 31st December 2018 read “Big corruption scandal amounts that shocked Kenyans in 2018”, most recently Daily Nation of 24th July 2019 read “Rotich’s corruption case a first in Kenya”. Notably, there have been the Goldenberg scandal, Anglo leasing scandal, health and education scandals, chicken gate scandal and most recently scandals surrounding the National Youth Service (NYS), the import of poisonous sugar, rice and fertilizer, Kenya Power, National Cereals and Produce Board (NCPB) and Arror and Kimwarer dams scandal among others. These are scandals that have seen the country lose billions of shillings that could have otherwise been used for great developmental projects. Sadly, nothing much has come out of their investigations.

According to EACC, Kenya is losing an estimated Kshs 608.0 bn to corruption yearly, which is 7.8% of Kenya’s GDP (Cytonn 2018).

iii) Political corruption

This form of corruption occurs at the apex of political power (Andvig and Fjeldstad, 2001). It involves politicians, government ministers, senior civil servants and other elected, nominated or appointed senior public office holders. It is basically the inappropriate use of office by the legislators or decision makers who determine the laws and how resources are shared in the society. Political corruption may include deliberately developing laws and regulations that favour a certain group of people like the private sector to get bribes,

specific companies being favoured and given big public tenders or misappropriating public funds from the treasury. Acts like these are commonly referred to as ‘grand corruption’ to express the huge sums of money that are normally involved (Kolstad et.al 2008).

Corruption and politics tend to go hand in hand in Kenya. Political parties are weakly structured, largely ethnic and lack sound doctrines. Political corruption in Kenya is exhibited through political ethnocentrism, tribalism, institutional weakness and political parties being vulnerable to corruption (U4 2012). Voter bribery is prevalent during the electioneering period, the inability of the electoral commission to hold credible elections, the inability of the registrar of political parties to adhere to the law as required. In the Global Corruption Barometer (GCB) (2011), 63% of those interviewed regard political parties to be very corrupt. On a rating of 1-5 where 5 is very corrupt, political parties scored 3.8. This was an improvement considering that in 2004, the score was at 4.3. It is also noted that this form of corruption tends to affect women more because they are often discriminated.

2.3.2 Anti-corruption efforts in Kenya

As stated earlier, the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) government assumed power in 2002 with the promise of fighting corruption, thus the regime rolled out some reforms and enacted some Anti-corruption laws. These included the Anti-Corruption and Economic Crime Act of 2003, the Public Officer Ethics Act 2003, and the Public Procurement and Disposal of Assets Act of 2005. The then Kenya Anti-Corruption Commission (KACC) was restored, declaration of wealth by parliamentarians and civil servants became a requirement as codes of conduct were also adopted for public officers (Berltelsmann Foundation, 2012). The Anti-Corruption and Economic Crimes Act of 2003 criminalizes active, passive and attempted corruption, as well as foreign bribery, abuse of office, money laundering, extortion, conflict of interest and bid rigging. In addition, the Public Service Commission Act include regulations that requires that public servants are hired and promoted on merit, however, this is crippled by bribery, nepotism and political patronage which have remained widespread.

The Proceeds of Crime and Money Laundering act was passed in 2009, though efforts toward its execution have not been fruitful (Business Anti-Corruption Profile, 2011). A

Public Procurement and Asset Disposal Act 2005 lead to formation of an authority that handles procurement matters, it stipulates how it will operate and the sanctions to be applied.

A revised Political Parties Act came into force in 2012 with a mission to help restructure the political landscape through political parties. The other major landmark in the efforts towards combating corruption is the adoption of the constitution 2010. Most notably is Chapter 6 on Leadership and Integrity which outlines strict ethical standards for people who hold public office. It also grants right to information. The Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission has since been set up as the main body that deals with corruption issues in Kenya. The constitution also created independent offices like the office of the Auditor General and Controller of Budget. Internationally, Kenya already ratified the United Nations Convention Against Corruption in 2003, the African Union Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption in 2007 and to the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime since 2004 (Lansner, 2012).

Kenya can therefore be said to have a very robust anti-corruption legal framework. Despite all the above, the country continues to be plagued by high levels of corruption.

2.4 Roles played by women in the fight against corruption

Debates by Frank et.al (2001), Dollar et al.(2001), Swamy et.al (2001) among others have been ongoing on whether women rarely indulge in corruption unlike men, thereby suggesting that by including more women in leadership, there is likelihood for decrease in levels of corruption. This section examined these debates with the aim of exploring the role of women as part of strategies against corruption and the challenges faced by women in fighting corruption.

In a review of six experimental studies, Frank et al. (2011) concludes that if women engage in corrupt transactions, they are likely to fail. Since such transactions are usually hidden and thus are not enforceable by law, they thrive on trust among the parties involved and women are less likely to establish such relationships that require reciprocity especially with a government officer who engages in corruption. Additionally, Chaudhuri (2012) in reviewing data from experimental studies concludes that women, in general, do not show

much interest to engage in corruption and can show less inclination towards exhibiting corrupt conducts and are often able to keep those around them accountable for corrupt behavior. Esarey and Chirillo (2013) drawing from behavioral studies, argued that in terms of risk taking, women rarely take risks unlike the men. Thus, in societies where institutions are strong, they tend to be more careful than men in their dealings since consequences of being found out is serious in such societies. They deduce that the connection between corruption and gender is like an interplay between inclusion of women in governance and the presence of strong and democratic institutions that speak to prevalence of corruption.

The perspective above is supported by Dollar et al. (2001), Swamy et al. (2001) and Melnykovska & Michailova (2009). They support the view that there is a connection how men and women relate to corruption and women are not easily involved in corruption unlike their male counterparts. This behavior is attributed to men's tendency to take risks unlike the women whose role as tenderers encourage a more social and helping behavior. Thus, they conclude that if more women are engaged in the governance, financial and political life of a community or nation, they are more likely to influence the levels of corruption downwards.

McKinsey and Company together with the Women's Forum for the Economy and Society, conducted studies on the variations in gender and performance in companies. They also showed the connection between the presence of women in high level management teams and running of finances. The findings implied that the companies that have more women at the senior management levels are very likely to be effective and the best. Further, findings of a study on female leadership suggested that how women behave at the workplace enhances the overall performance of the company in many ways. Female leadership can therefore be said to be worthwhile both from a business and ethical points of view (Metz-Rolshausen and Corde 2016).

In reviewing experimental evidence, Frank et al. (2011) conclude that institutions and societal settings have an important role in shaping the outlook and behavior of women regarding corruption (Alatas et al., 2009; Namawu, 2007). With democratic institutions, engaging in corruption is made risky with greater chances of being discovered and punished (Bueno de Mesquita et al., 2003).

Risks undertaken impact women differently compared to men. This is because issues of sex discrimination arise during punishing a corrupt act thus women tend to be unfairly treated and more likely to be punished unlike the men (Stolberg, 2011). It has also been demonstrated that in situations where women and men can be pushed equally for corruption, even when facing a similar circumstance, women avoid taking the risk unlike men especially in financial matters. This implies that stigmatization of corruption tends to discourage women from engaging in the practice even in the absence of direct or indirect sex discrimination (Jianakoplos and Bernasek, 1998).

In an experiment conducted in Australia, concerning gender differences and corruption, Alatas et al. (2006), established that Australian women do not condone and rarely engage in corruption. Whereas in other three Asian countries India, Singapore and Indonesia, there was no difference between women and men. They also noted a variation in attitudes toward corruption among women than among men. This they attribute to variations in the social roles of women in the different countries unlike the social roles of men across countries which did not differ as much.

In relation to the foregoing, Namawu (2005 and 2007b) in a study in Ghana, found no significant differences in behavior between men and women government officials in tolerating corruption related malpractices. However, it was noted that they differed in the way corruption was rationalized and explained. Thus, concluding that even when it comes to corruption, gender roles are often exhibited and fulfilled.

In August of 1999, in Mexico City, the Police Chief put up a traffic police force made up of women only to address the problem of corruption in the city. After five months, there had not been reported cases of the female officers engaging in bribery and incidences of corruption in the city reduced greatly as well. A study to monitor progress done a decade later showed a reduction in petty corruption at the lower levels but corruption still existed among the supervisors/seniors. (Karim, 2011).

Governments worldwide remain male-dominated, a fact that has been attributed to political scientists and feminists not being quick enough to advocate for their inclusion in matters of governance. Basing on the ability of women leaders in the Russian government, political

scientist Valerii Tishkov strongly holds that "women bring enriching values to government." (Staudt, 1998).

2.5 Challenges of fighting corruption

Literature shows that through a gender lens, women are affected by corruption cases more than men. This is attributed to the fact that women account for a greater number of the poor population in comparison to the men (Hossain et al., 2010). This makes women a key instrument in fighting corruption however women still face many challenges in the quest of fighting corruption. According to the Oxfam Pan African Program, the discourse on gender from a rights framework perspective identifies four aspects that emerge as obstacles facing women fighting corruption across different landscapes. The first obstacle identified is the access to financial resources and essential services that would help minimize or reduce corruption, the social exclusion of women is second, areas of decision making and lastly gender based violence in post-conflict situations.

A report produced by the OECD 2017 Global Anti-corruption and Integrity Forum, identified that one major challenge facing the fight on corruption by women, is that women are simply placed in leadership positions without an understanding of how the government works, how decisions are made and the power held by the ruling political party ,and this makes fighting corruption by women an uphill task. Goetz (2016) highlighted the dangers that women faced when they failed to reduce corruption especially when they were in positions of power since reduced corruption cases has been correlated with increased women leadership. In addition, the reinforcement of stereotypes by some country states have made it difficult for women to fight corruption, for instance in the Peru National police, when a female officer takes a bribe, the entire female force is termed corrupt this is despite the low pay and few promotion opportunities that might expose women to engage in corruption and in exchange hamper the efforts of fighting corruption (Karim, 2011).

Another challenge that women face in the war against graft is existence of policies that address corruption that are not gender responsive. According to an association of Tanzanian women judges, corruption has always been majorly translated into a form of economic crime that may involve the exchange of money and forms of bribery but what it does not align as a form of corruption is the coercion to give sexual favors. Sexual

harassment which involves an attack on one's sexuality and corruption, which is especially used by individuals in positions of influence and power to coerce sexual bribery is not addressed by some of the anti-corruption policies and this gives women a challenge in the quest to fight all forms of corruption. According to Hossain et al., (2010), the existence of gender blind standardized tools fall short of capturing the actual encounter of women with corruption in comparison to men, this challenges the mechanism as well as efforts women and systems of governance in general put in place to combat corruption.

In Leadership, women face it rough when they try to fight corruption especially because some political parties lead women leaders who are not corrupt through a hard time by creating unfair environments for the women leaders who willfully decline participation in vote buying which is also a corrupt means of obtaining a political position. Thus, limiting women's meaningful representation in positions of power and locking women out in accessing decision making platforms that helps to churn out solutions on corruption. SIDA (2015) in its article on gender and corruption, shows that when men and women are treated unequally, it hinders women from advancing to high leadership positions where they can make important decisions thus curtailing their valuable input in fighting corruption.

Protection of the broader human rights of women and girls has been an issue that many women fighting corruption have sought to fight and push out of the way but has still remained a big challenge. According to the Transparency International working paper 3, corrupted systems of law enforcement has made it difficult for women to advance the protection of the rights of women under the law. Corrupt judicial institutions have most times reinforced the existing acts of discrimination among young women and girls and this has made it difficult for women to make strides towards fighting the vice.

2.6 Theoretical Framework

2.6.1 Fairer sex theory

This study was guided by the fairer sex theory according to Swamy et al. (2001) and Dollar et al (2001). Swamy et al. (2001) in examining the connection between women engagement in political leadership and corporate work and corruption, concluded that in hypothetical situations, women can shun engaging in corruption. Women who hold managerial positions are rarely involved in incidences bribery and states that give more

women positions government or in marketplace record reduced incidences of corruption. Women demonstrate higher standards of ethical behavior and when faced with a corruption situation, they rarely give in to corrupt practices compared to the men. Women are argued to hold the national interest at heart and are likely to be more caring and interested in the wellbeing of everyone, thus, they can be effective in promoting honest governments. Women being in high leadership positions positively influences the conduct of men around them, the men become more restrained and disciplined in relation to corruption.

Dollar et al. (2001) examined the association that women in government and corruption show in 93 counties across the world. Their findings show that increased number of women in governance at the country level, has an association with reduced levels of corruption in the country. This is attributed to the likelihood of women being less likely to behave opportunistically than men. In applying the theory, Swamy et al. (2001) gives an example of the police of Mexico City, who in 1999, recruited women only in the traffic police department to address traffic related corruption. After five months, it was reported that none of them had been alleged to have asked or received a bribe. Similarly, in Lima Peru, corruption levels reduced after inclusion of women in the police force and further impact has been witnessed over the years with a reduction in the incidences of petty corruption. He therefore suggests that meaningful engagement of more women in governance or positions of leadership will reduce the need for the politically difficult and expensive processes of fighting corruption.

This theory reveals a strong relationship between women participation in government, public and private spheres, and reduced corruption. This therefore implies that women leaders contribute positively to the fight against corruption.

2.6.2 Relevance of the theory to the study

The study explored the various roles played by women leaders in the fight against corruption by pointing out the specific actions that women leaders have undertaken to combat corruption in their spheres of influence. For example, influencing and developing anti-corruption policy and legislation, investigating and prosecuting corruption cases, agitating for transparency and accountability from government, civic education to the citizens, among others. The fairer sex theory, therefore, helps to contextualize the study by

presenting the view that inclusion of women in governance structures adds value to the system due to their low propensity in engaging in corruption. Additionally, given position of leadership, women are more likely to put in place structures and mechanisms that help curb corruption incidences in government, private institutions, and the society at large. With this hindsight, the theory provided the basis for the study. It enabled exploration of the various ways in which the contribution of women leaders manifests and the challenges they face in the fight against corruption.

2.6.3 Conceptual framework

The study explored the contribution of women leaders in the fight against corruption and it was guided by the conceptual framework in fig.2.1 below.

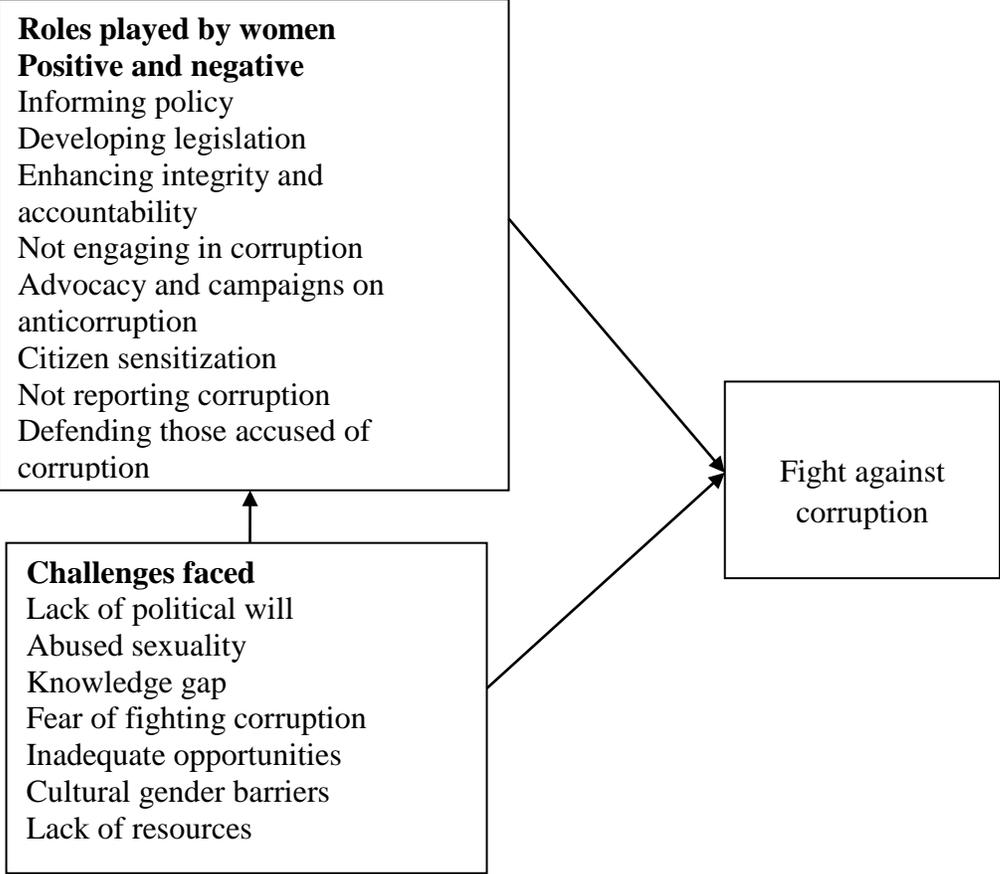


Figure 2.1: Conceptual framework

Source: Author

The conceptual framework above shows the relationship between the fight against corruption (independent variable) and the roles played by women leaders to fight corruption (dependent variable). It also shows that the challenges faced by women leaders (dependent variable) have an impact on their roles in addressing corruption. The positive and negative roles they play in the fight against corruption have an effect on the state of corruption. For instance, when women leaders develop relevant anti-corruption policies and legislation in the country which eventually enhances integrity and accountability in an institution, goes a long way in sealing corruption loopholes thus reducing incidences of corruption. On the other hand, when female investigators and prosecutors of corruption cases are undermined and threatened in their line of duty, it interferes with how well cases are handled or even leads to abandonment of some cases all together thus hampering the efforts towards reduction of corruption .The challenges faced by women leaders also have a direct impact on the fight against corruption.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This section outlines the approach that was chosen for the study. It includes a description of the study site, study design, study population, sample population and sampling procedures, techniques used to collect data as well as the techniques used for data processing and analysis. In addition, it also discusses the ethical considerations that were observed before the study, during the study and after the study.

3.2 Research site

The study was conducted in Nairobi City County (Figure 3.1). It is in the central part of Kenya and the seat of power for the national government. According to the 2009 National Housing and Population Census, Nairobi City County had 3,138,369 people, of these 1,605,219 are men while 1,533,150 are women (KNBS 2009). It was chosen as the study site because it hosts several government offices, NGOs, parastatals, corporate organizations, and private companies. Nairobi being the seat of government it is where top bureaucrats are found and where several women leaders reside. Female emancipation in Nairobi can be said to be high compared to other areas because many women are educated, and some hold key positions in public service, companies and businesses as CEOs or managers. Women are also represented in the non-governmental sector where many of them are executive directors and managers of non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Nairobi being the hub of business and other government related services in Kenya, also predisposes it to more avenues of corruption taking place within the city.

With the advent of devolution in Kenya, several public functions and services were devolved to the counties with more funds to effectively provide these services to the citizens of the various counties. Corruption and other malpractices in the counties however are reported to have taken root thus hampering optimal service delivery and uptake. According to EACC's report on corruption and ethics in devolved services, Nairobi County is listed among other counties where corruption is rife. In Nairobi City County, the services listed as being prone to corruption include procurement processes, law enforcement, revenue collection process, town planning and inspection, recruitment processes, licensing and registration and division of funds.

Besides the services, several departments were also listed as being prone to corruption. These include city/town inspectorate/security, finance and economic planning, procurement, Public service board/Human resource and Physical Planning. While the predominant kinds of corruption are kickbacks, embezzlement of funds, procurement flaws, favoritism, and abuse of office. For instance, in Nairobi, kickbacks in procurement processes range from five thousand Kenya shillings to five hundred thousand (EACC, 2015). Also, recently, a former Nairobi County chief officer finance was asked by the high court to return Ksh.318 million since he could not explain how he acquired his wealth and properties. (EACC 2019) these are indications that corruption is alive in the county.

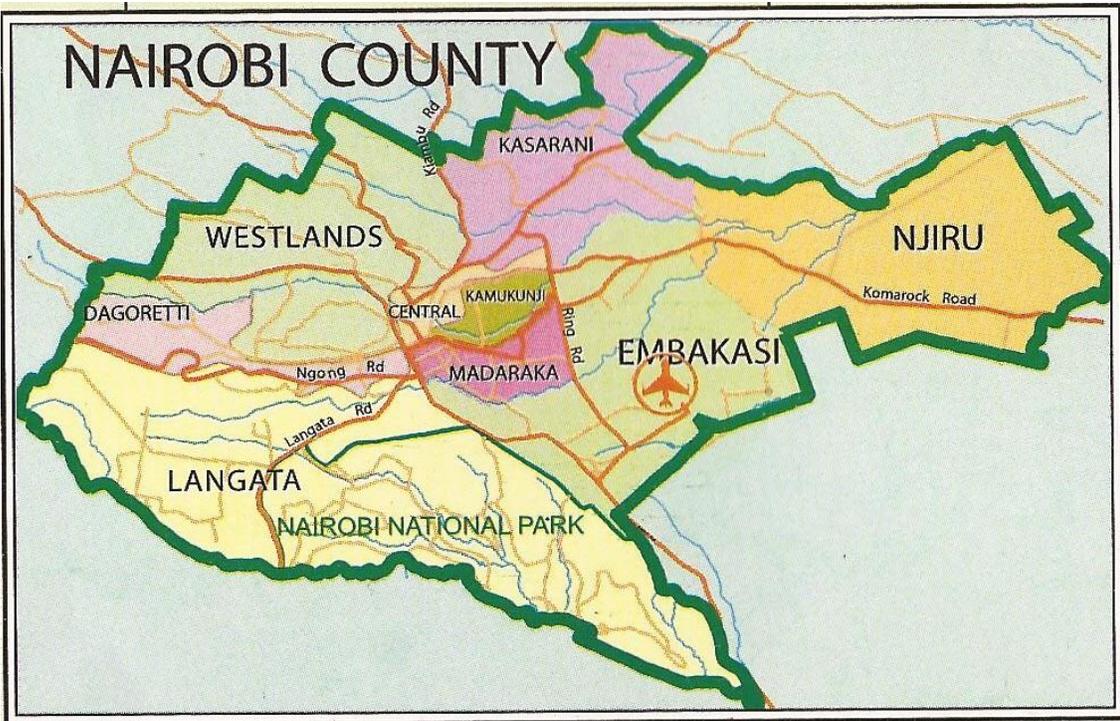


Figure 3.1: Map of Nairobi City County showing the study catchment area, Kamukunji and Lang’ata sub-counties

3.3 Research design

The study was exploratory in nature, as much as there are studies on the contribution of women leaders in leadership and governance, there was need for further exploration for a better understanding of the specific ways in which the roles they play contribute to the fight against corruption. According to Labaree (2009), an exploratory design is conducted about a study problem when there is insufficient or lack of studies or information to base on. Studies on the gender aspect of corruption is a new field with few studies especially those specific to women and their contribution in the fight against corruption. Thus, this study design was appropriate to gaining more insights into this phenomenon.

In depth and Key informant interviews (KIIs) were conducted. The informants were women who held key positions both in public and private sector. These included heads of government departments, NGOs and private co-operate institutions. Key to this study were anti-corruption agencies such as Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission (EACC), Transparency International Kenya (TI-Kenya), office of the Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP), the Ombudsman, National Anti-Corruption Steering Committee (NACCSC) and office of the attorney general under the ministry of Justice. Efforts were also made to include key personalities who have been on the fore front in addressing corruption in Kenya from the civil society and the private sector.

Focus group discussions (FGDs) were also undertaken with selected citizen who were members of the public. Their selection was based on availability and convenience and they were mobilized by their community leaders. Two FGDs for men and women were conducted in each sub county namely Kamukunji and Lang'ata. These were done to get their perceptions and knowledge on issues of corruption and the contribution achieved by women leaders.

3.4 Study population and unit of analysis

The study population included adult Kenyan citizens who are women and are holding positions of leadership residing and working in Nairobi City County and men from the public. These were women leaders involved in anti-corruption work in the public, private and civil society sectors. The unit of analysis was an individual woman in a position of leadership.

3.5 Sample size and sampling procedures

The study involved 27 women leaders who were Key and In-depth interview informants and 16 men and 16 women from the public who participated in FGDSs. Purposive sampling was used to identify the women leaders for the interviews based on their knowledge, experience and expertise in corruption related matters. Snowballing was additionally used whereby one informant made a referral to a woman leader known to them and who was relevant to the study. The informants were drawn from the public sector representing various government agencies and ministries that work on anti-corruption, from non-governmental anti-corruption organizations and from the private sector. 12 women from the public sector, 9 NGOs and 6 from private sector. These were officers at the senior management and middle management levels. For the FGDSs, convenience sampling was used to identify the participants from within their localities. These were male and female adults.

3.6 Data collection methods

3.6.1 In-depth interviews

In depth interviewing is a qualitative research technique that involves conducting intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents to explore their perspectives on a particular issue (Boyce and Neale, 2006). These were conducted with 18 women, 10 from public sector, 5 NGOs and 3 from private sector. They were women leaders in the public sector, NGOs, and private sector. An in-depth interview guide (Appendix II) was used to conduct the interviews. The interviews were audio taped and transcribed later for purposes of analysis. Generally, the informants here expressed the ability of women leaders to create a change if given the needful leadership chances and support in fighting corruption. Women leaders also need to be well knowledgeable and empowered on matters corruption to enable them effectively handle corruption related issues.

3.6.2 Key informant interviews

These were undertaken with women leaders who were knowledgeable and experienced in corruption matters in Kenya. These were conducted with 9 women, 5 from public sector, 2 from NGOs and 2 from private sector. They were drawn from the Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission (EACC), office of the Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP),

Transparency International Kenya (TI-Kenya), Global compact Network under Kenya Association of Manufacturers (KAM), office of the Attorney General (AG), Kituo Cha Sheria , National Anti-corruption Campaign Steering Committee (NACCSC) and GIZ . A key informant interview guide (Appendix III) was used to conduct the interviews. The interviews were recorded and later transcribed for purposes of analysis. Key informants agreed that so far, women leaders have had a meaningful involvement in addressing the problem of corruption despite them occupying fewer positions of influence both in public and private sectors. Lack of seriousness and interest by the government greatly hampers their efforts.

3.6.3 Focus group discussions

FGDs took place in Lang'ata and Kamukunji sub counties to gather the general public's view of corruption issues and tease out the contributions of women leaders in addressing corruption in Kenya. Two FGDs were conducted in each area one comprising men and the other women who reside within these localities, each FGD had eight participants. A focused group discussion guide (Appendix III) was used to guide the discussions. They were recorded, translated, and transcribed to English since they were in Kiswahili for purposes of analysis. What stood out from the discussions is that women may not be entirely less likely to engage or shun corruption unlike the men. Majority of them having interacted with both men and women while seeking public services, expressed that both men and women solicit bribes, it is only that the manner in which it's done by men and women differ. Though, they also agreed that projects run or managed by women leaders at the community level tend to do better than those by men.

3.6.4 Secondary sources

Secondary sources have been greatly involved during the development of this thesis. Journals, books, reports and websites, were key in sourcing for information. The information was continuously sourced in the process of enriching the study findings and emerging discussions.

3.7 Data processing and analysis

Data collected from the in-depth interviews, key informant interviews and FGDs were transcribed and those in Kiswahili especially from FGDs were translated into English and

transcribed. The information was then sorted out thematically and analysed in line with the specific objectives. The thematic analysis involved scrutinizing the data to flag out prevalent ideas, issues, and patterns of meaning that frequently came up. They were then coded and themes generated for analysis. Direct verbatim quotes that amplified the sentiments of the different shades of informants and which illustrated the important themes that were extracted and presented in the thesis.

3.8 Ethical issues

Prior to commencement of the study, research approval was sought from the National Commission for Science Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI) permit no. NACOSTI/P/19/78893/29392. Informed consent was sought from all the study subjects, only those who were willing to give their informed consent by signing a consent form (Appendix I) were recruited for the study. In the consent form, they were informed about the objectives of the study and duration of the interviews, any associated risks, and benefits. It was also made clear to them that engagement in the study was out of free will and that they were free to pull out at any point and the withdrawal would not attract any penalties. They were also informed that they were free to ask any questions in case they did not understand anything. The procedure of choosing them as participants was also explained to them.

In addition, the study subjects were also guaranteed of confidentiality of the information they provided and that it would be used only for purposes of the study and their desires and wishes on the same were respected. Anonymity and privacy of the informants was also assured and observed. They were assured that their identity would not be disclosed. All the audio taped records were kept safe during the study under lock and key at the supervisor's office and will be deleted after the completion of the process prior to graduation but after the defence of the thesis.

To ensure validity, the results of the study will be disseminated to the various organizations from which interviews were done. To the larger scientific community through publications in referred journals and copies of the thesis will also be available for reference at the various University of Nairobi libraries and in the website.

3.9 Challenges encountered and their solutions

All interviews required booking of appointments with the identified informants a process that took long before securing an interview in some cases, so patience was a virtue during this time to ensure the desired appointment was obtained.

In other circumstances, the identified informant was not able to grant an appointment due to other important obligations and as such, another suitable informant from the same organization was requested to participate in the study as a replacement.

FGD participants expected monetary rewards from the researcher even after it was communicated to them that there will not be any monetary compensation during recruitment. Managing such expectations was a challenge. The participants were however, further made to understand why the study had no immediate financial returns. Emphasis was laid on the academic nature of the study and it was clarified that all information would be voluntary and use of such information might result into a policy intervention necessary to address corruption from a gender perspective that had the potential of propelling growth, development and job creation in several sectors.

Attempts to reach women legislators were not successful, thus none of them was interviewed resulting to the study falling short of three informants to complete its envisaged sample of 30 women leaders.

CHAPTER FOUR: ROLES PLAYED AND CHALLENGES FACED IN THE FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents findings, interpretation and comparison with research that has already been conducted. Findings are presented in line with the study objectives that examined the roles played by women leaders in combating corruption and the challenges faced by women leaders in the fight against the vice in Kenya. Additionally, the findings generated information that helped understand the connection between gender and corruption in Kenya, commitment of women leaders in fighting corruption and the strategies that can be employed to enhance the effective involvement of women in leadership in tackling corruption in Kenya. Interviews were done with women leaders drawn from the public, private and civil society sectors in Nairobi City County and focused group discussions involved men and women from the public from Kamukunji and Lang'ata sub counties in Nairobi.

4.2 The roles played by women leaders in the fight against corruption

4.2.1 Gender and corruption

Findings on the correlation of gender and corruption were varied in views. While some informants and FGD participants supported the view that women are less probable to engage in corruption unlike men, others were of the opinion that gender is not a factor and both men and women have the likelihood of engaging in corruption. Those who held the view that gender is not a factor opined that corruption is advanced by both men and women in Kenya. It was also clear that the likelihood of one to engage or not in corruption is not only a matter of being male or female, but other environmental, social and personal factors like values and principles come into play to influence an individual's behavior as indicated in the excerpts below:

“The basic unit of corruption and anti-corruption is the individual through their actions, there is none who is less corrupt than the other and corruption is corruption since there is no lesser corruption than the other. Corruption is more of a behavioral thing, caused by breakdown of societal values, so there are inherent issues that underpin the decisions of anybody to do whatever they do, be it a man or a woman. Such that if a woman is not values driven, they will be engaging in corrupt conduct and if a man is values driven, they seemingly could be the upright one, so it is a matter of values.” (Anti-corruption education and prevention officer).

“There is no unique thing about being a woman, corruption is just corruption whether a man or a woman, the motivating factors are the same. Kenyans glorify corruption so much, it is a bad culture, and you find people who earn little salaries with big houses and cars being glorified unlike a person who earns more but does not have so much material possessions. People love money and those who give them money. Most people are looking for opportunity to amass wealth both men and women.” (Anti-corruption prosecutor).

The excerpts above, from key informants exemplify the fact that circumstances that one finds him or herself in could play a role as to whether they shall engage in corruption or not. For instance, lack of financial empowerment of many women could just be a temporary deterrent otherwise given financial empowerment, some women may likely engage in corruption since they have money that can be given as bribes. Values and principles that one holds regarding engaging in corruption apply to both men and women and how one chooses to exercise the same is a personal choice and has nothing to do with one's gender. The motivating factors for one to engage in corruption for both men and women most times are similar with both genders often looking for opportunities through which they can gain more money or wealth. These views are in line with Sung (2003) who believes that the systems that women find themselves in play a more important role in them condoning or shunning corruption. He considered other factors like observing the law, liberty of the press and level of democracy in a country as contributors and not merely the aspect of being female. Fewer opportunities for women to engage in corrupt behavior is also a contributor to them being perceived as less corrupt rather than them having an

inborn ability to shun corruption that would lead them to appear more forthright and trustworthy. In many countries, women still do not hold high positions, are unequally paid and are detached from public matters thus limiting their likelihood to engage in corrupt behavior (Mocan 2008). A study of public officials in Ghana by Alhassan-Alolo (2007) also concluded that women, given the same chances as men, can equally act engage in corruption malpractices. This emphasizes the opinion that women do not possess any essential feature that intrinsically makes them less prone to be involved in corruption rather it is their absence from circles dominated and controlled by men in public life.

FGD participants expressed similar views as those discussed above and cited situations that they have experienced women officers soliciting bribes. These male participants expressed that:

“I think both men and women are corrupt. I say so because it has happened to me. While seeking services and the person serving is a lady, she asks for something to help you. Although women tend not to do it openly like men, they will ask for your number and ask you to sit with the others and relax as she processes your documents. For instance, I had to hand over my documents secretly to a lady whose services I needed, she then walked around looking busy, when she was almost done, she texted me asking that I send her something through her phone. Unlike men who do it so openly for instance asking “wapi chai ya wazee?” (where is the elders’ tea?)” (Excerpt from Male FGD).

His view also suggests that women’s mode of operation when engaging in corruption is discrete. Women tend to be secretive, they are not bold enough to openly ask for a bribe unlike the men who directly and openly ask for the same. In this case, mobile money transfer which is personal and secretive is used as a mode of payment of bribe.

Another FGD participant implied that women officers tend to handle men and women differently when asking for bribes, in that, men are often asked to give much more than what is asked of women. This could probably be due to the assumption that men are more financially empowered unlike women thus are able to part with larger amounts of bribe. He expressed that:

“Men and women are similar when it comes to corruption. For me, I had to pay one thousand shillings to get a birth certificate yet it is a service offered for one hundred and fifty shillings. I had gone to their offices for a whole week without any success then a lady told me that I will have to go there countless times, she advised me to just give one thousand shillings and get the document. With women, it is worse when they are dealing with men, they tend to ask for high amounts of money unlike when dealing with fellow women” (Excerpt from Male FGD).

In support with these views, another participant noted that, *“it is better to be arrested by a male traffic police because he will take even fifty shillings but women police are less likely to do so, they will take one in”* (Excerpt from Male FGD).

These FGD participants have simply echoed the discussion above that given opportunities of leadership and which have corruption loopholes, women just like men will most likely engage in corrupt behavior. More often, they would ask for bribes in order to speed up processes and the services that they are offering.

These findings are in line with those by Frank, Lambsdorff & Boehm (2011) in their experiments which concluded that women are not necessarily more forthright or immune to corruption. Similarly, Armantier & Boly (2011) presents a comparable result which found out that the chances of taking a bribe is not remarkably affected by gender. In his study among public officials in Ghana’s passport office, Alhassan-Alolo (2007) portrays that there is no bias among men and women in terms of acceptance of gifts by the public officials and that either gender was likely to accept gifts offered to them for their services. Rivas (2013), in her study where she explores the part women play as both givers and receivers of bribes, finds that the amounts of bribe offered is more and more frequent when it is a man involved, in instances where a woman is involved, a bribe is less often offered and it is also lower than what men offer as a bribe.

Duration of exposure to opportunities by men and women is also a factor influencing their propensity of engaging in corruption. Men are viewed to be more corrupt than women because they have been exposed to opportunities and public life longer than women as indicated by the expressions of these informants;

“It is perceived that more men are corrupt because there are more men in positions of influence, executive levels and in positions where they come across opportunities for corruption. Unless you are in a position whereby you can use your office for personal gain, then obviously you have no opportunity. The matters we handle both men and women are being investigated and recommended for charging” (Director of ethics public sector).

“It’s not true that women are less corrupt. Corruption is not an issue of gender. The society we live in has exposed both genders to corruption. Men have been more pronounced because of the opportunities they have had. If you look at the cadres of leadership, more men are at the top where they get opportunities to exploit resources and make decisions than women” (Anti-corruption legal advisor).

The excerpts above indicate that being male or female is not a determinant of whether one is less corrupt than the other. Society and institutions that men and women work and interact, plays a critical role in exposing them to opportunities that fuel corruption. Distorted institutions and eroded societal moral and ethical values compromise persons working in them notwithstanding their gender (Transparency International, 2007). Alhassan-Alolo (2007) in a study conducted in Ghana also concludes that where corruption loopholes and networks are not controlled, women may not be less susceptible to corruption. Similarly, Goetz (2007) argues that men and women access public life and politics differently and that shapes and creates opportunities for corruption. Women seem to lack the chance to engage in corruption due to their marginalization from accessing senior positions in public and private sectors. Otherwise, given the opportunity, they could behave in a similar manner as the men. Corruption also happens within networks which often are dominated by men. Women are newcomers into the scene and once exposed to the networks, it could be a matter of time and they are likely to learn how to abuse their positions.

Far from the views above, other women leaders and FGD participants were of a contrary opinion that women are inclined to be less probable to engage in corruption as compared to men. Due to their nurturing roles, they tend to be straight forward as they are largely responsible for nurturing values in children. Women are also said to be less of risk takers

in corruption related deals unlike men because they have families to protect. Further, as noted by the informants below, women are nurturers this involves instilling values in their children and ensuring the wellbeing of their families. To this end, they will instill virtues of honesty, transparency and accountability and tend to discourage dishonesty in their children. They are also likely to stay in jobs that pay less but have less exposure and pressure to engage in corruption, as a measure to protect their families from the consequences of the shame and convictions that come as a result of engaging in corrupt practices. The informants noted that;

“Women are family nurturers, they are able to talk about corruption and mitigate it at the family level” (Anti-corruption campaign officer).

“Women are less likely to be corrupt because they are less daring than men, a woman had rather earn a little and sustain her family than steal” (Governance activist from an NGO).

“Women have that motherly love that can easily sympathize and empathize with someone and offer help unlike men who if you don’t give anything they do not help you at all” (Excerpt from Female FGD).

Similarly, Goetz 2007 notes that, the traditional traits that defined women including women being caring and sensitive to the needs of others, having sympathy to be of service to others and wanting to please are now considered as practical for reforming and contributing to good governance .In that, these virtues are now considered functional in combating corruption and also contributing to address several political problems presently. She points out a case on the rationale used to recruit an all-woman traffic cops in Lima, citing that they were considered to be more forthright and ethically firm than the men because of their roles as the heads of the family, they also considered taking money from male drivers comes across as prostitution. In this case, it is evident that women’s experiences managing the home created the foundation for a more humane and honest interaction with people in the public sphere. Equally, Dollar et al (2001) in their study to establish a relationship between numbers of women legislators and degree of corruption

determined that women tend to have higher ethical standing and are more keen about communal wellbeing thus positively contributing to reduction of corruption.

Women were also considered to not be less likely to engage in corruption because by virtue of their low position in society and especially in terms of owning property and wealth, women over the years have struggled with owning resources which they can freely use without consulting the men they are married to or other men relatives. This makes them to be good stewards of the little they have and not use it on unnecessary expenditures like bribes. However, they could be forced to bribe in instances where they are seeking vital services for their children like education and health, but even in this, it is after the bribe has been solicited by the service provider. The following voices attest to this position:

“Women are less corrupt than men because women lack resources, they don’t own property like men thus lack the capacity to go giving out money to get something. Corruption also affects women more than men, basing on the roles they play in society, women are more dependent on government provided services like education and health thus corruption affects them as they need to bribe if asked and get services” (Governance advisor). Another informant also noted that,

“As a result of power structure, we have witnessed instances where a woman is asked for a bribe and they first go to consult with the husband or her brothers .More men report corruption unlike women”(Anti-corruption and governance expert-NGO).

Women were also reported to be good stewards of the resources allocated to them and are often keen to ensure that the intended outcome of the resources is achieved. They inject a sense of accountability, transparency, and efficiency in the execution of projects meant for public good. This is well exemplified by this informant who notes that:

“A greater representation of women can help seal corruption loopholes considering that they have experienced a lot unlike men. They are likely to ensure proper utilization of resources set aside for projects. From experience, while conducting social audits and public reporting forums, we have realized that project management committees that have women, have acted in a more transparent and accountable ways

than those that have lacked women. These are for projects and programmes funded by CDF and county governments. Likewise, at constituency levels, constituency committees that uphold 2/3 gender rule in their leadership, their CDF funding performs better than those that have not included women as they should” (Anti-corruption campaign Officer)

As a result of their ability to be good stewards of resources allocated to them, development projects and programmes that include women have the capacity to deliver on their objectives unlike those that do not. These opinions relate to study findings by Swamy et al. (2001) from a survey conducted in Georgia at the individual and country level focusing on the relationship between corruption and women involvement in governance and work found out that, women shun corruption, women managers do not condone bribery and states that engage more women in governance or in other sectors of employment have reduced incidences of corruption. The World Bank in its report reinforced these findings by suggesting that women are opposed to bribery and that businesses run by men can easily give kickbacks than those that belong or run by women. Comparisons done across countries have proven that adding women in Parliament and private sector would result to decrease in occurrence of corruption. The report goes further to advocate for increased inclusion of women in politics and labour force since they can be trustworthy (World Bank, 2001).

Women, youth, and children were pointed out to be most affected by corruption especially in public sector where they are the frequent seekers of different services. Being economically disadvantaged in society, majority of them depend on public services like health, education, employment, security (police) and these are sectors often reported for corruption. Since women patronize sectors that are well known for corrupt practices, the following were diverse opinions of the informants on how they interact with the public:

“Women/children and youth bear the biggest brunt because the sectors that women and children require services from most are the ones prone to corruption like the health sector. While seeking general health services or reproductive healthcare-pre and post natal, they are likely to encounter instances of bribery or bureaucratic processes that require several forms of facilitation. In the education sector, also,

women are caregivers and are most likely to engage with education systems like Parents and Teachers Association (PTA), school administration where there could be demands for illegal facilitation fees to admit or register a child. Youth are most affected by corruption especially in relation to the police, lack of security affects them as they interact with police more and traffic related cases”(Anti-corruption and governance expert-NGO).

It was further noted that women, children and youth are most affected because they have least information or are less empowered on corruption issues unlike the men who know much more around the law and also know how to negotiate and assert their rights. These views concur with those of Seppänen and Virtanen (2008), who note that corruption is gender specific since it affects men and women differently as they are exposed to corrupt practices and behaviors in different ways as exercised in division of labour, engendered decision making and exercising of authority. Women are disproportionately encounter the effects of corruption in the public sector especially in services delivery as compared to men. This is because, women are nurturers and are tasked with care for the young and the elderly. They require healthcare while pregnant and after for themselves and their babies and in such instances, they are likely to encounter instances of bribery by healthcare providers. This situation is made worse if the women are also struggling in poverty.

For women and girls to access basic services (education, health, water, sanitation, and electricity), documentation (licenses, residence and identity papers), and law enforcement, they may not only be forced to bribe but also exposed to sexual extortion and exploitation. These misdeeds often go undisclosed due to the stigma and shame associated with sexual crimes. This makes it difficult to monitor the nature and frequency of such corrupt practices. Corruption also cuts spending on basic services like education, healthcare, water and several other social services required by women, girls and the youth thus undermining their welfare since they depend on these states provided services. It cripples development and the realization and fulfillment of human rights to citizens especially the most vulnerable groups where women, children and youth belong (SIDA 2015).

4.2.2 The role of women leaders in the fight against corruption

Findings show that women leaders in Kenya have immensely contributed to the fight against corruption. This contribution comes in various ways including contribution to development of corruption related legislation, informing corruption related policies, activism on corruption prevention and training and empowerment of citizens on corruption and its effects and their rights and responsibilities in curbing corruption in the country. Women have also been pointed out to be sitting in crucial committees and forums which address policy issues on corruption. Many of them also head crucial departments in organizations and ministries that guide policies on ethics and corruption as illustrated by the quotes below:

“There is a multi-sectoral working group in the fight against corruption composed of several enforcement agencies that fight corruption including Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP), Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission (EACC), judiciary, asset recovery among others. They look at how to fast track handling of corruption cases and their meetings have a greater representation of women who contribute a lot in the discussions” (Anti-corruption Legal counsel).

“Majority of leaders and heads at the attorney general’s office are women, head of legislative drafting and deputy are ladies, head of international law, head of human rights, head of constitution development governance and integrity and the secretary justice and constitutional affairs. These ladies sit in many crucial panels and spearhead a lot of anticorruption agendas, so they contribute a lot to the course. Vice chair of Kenya Law reform currently is a woman, and she champions a lot for reforms of the law. They study the law, make proposals for reforms and actualize the same.” (Anti-corruption campaign officer).

Similarly, women parliamentarians were also applauded for their support and contribution in pushing forward the anti-corruption agenda as expressed by this informant:

“As of women in parliament, the Justice and Legal Affairs Committee had lady Members of Parliament who were supportive in development of anti-corruption legislation; the women leaders were instrumental in developing the leadership and

integrity Act. Also, when we were developing the Leadership and integrity regulations in 2015, the ladies who were members of the committee on delegated legislation were very supportive and instrumental in the development of the bill that finally became an Act. They have also been supportive in terms of budgetary support because we lobby with them and they have been keen to support us” (Director of ethics, public sector).

The excerpts above demonstrate that women in government or public sector in their different capacities and mandates engage in shaping of the anti-corruption landscape in Kenya by contributing to development of critical legislation to foster the fight against corruption. In the same breath, players in the private sector have also been keen in developing measures that can help fight corruption as noted by the key informant below;

“Bribery Act 2016, the first law in Kenya addressing corruption was championed by women led by private sector organizations namely Kenya Association of Manufactures (KAM), Kenya Private Sector Alliance (KEPSA) and Global Impact Network Kenya. This legislation has been instrumental in guiding business in the private sector by making businesses to come up with internal compliance systems and code of ethics for business” (Anti-corruption officer, private sector).

The private sector is often considered as a major supplier of corruption. It is critical therefore that this law is in place to guide how business is transacted between different entities by ensuring that codes of ethics are developed and adhered to by businesses and corruption loopholes reduced. The Act provides for the prevention, inquiry into and retribution for bribery. Public and private entities are mandated to put in place systems that are appropriate to their nature of operations, size and scale for prevention of bribery and corruption (KAM 2019).

Specific women were also pointed out to have been keen in advancing the anti-corruption agenda, for instance, Hon. Priscilla Nyokabi who was very instrumental in the development and push for the enactment of the Access of Information Act 2016 which is instrumental in the fight against corruption. Additionally, an FGD participant in Kibera (Langata subcounty) agreed that;

“Women do well and perform better at managerial positions. For example, a project on rural electrification in this area led by Esther Ruto performed well due to her commitment to her work” (Excerpt from Male FGD).

These views exemplify that women can successfully champion for anticorruption measures and also implement successful development projects which often are anchored on transparency and accountability in utilization of funds. It is further noted that women who are involved in transparent procedures and are empowered to recognize the underlying policies behind it can address corruption from the local to the national stage (UNIFEM, 2008/2009).

It is exemplary to learn that women hold various positions of influence and are rightfully utilizing them to add their voice in the anticorruption agenda in Kenya. As already pointed out, insufficient or the lack of openness and accountability powers corruption which often occurs in exclusive networks that most times exclude women. However, participatory processes including women can play a critical role in detecting and reducing corruption because the women present may raise red flags that need attention (Böker and Metz-Rolshausen, 2015). Similar to the views above, other women leaders also noted that;

“We have more women in the public service nowadays and the anti-corruption fight has many women as well. We have women prosecutors and judicial officers, my rough estimate is like 75 percent of officers are women and they have contributed immensely in the fight against corruption. For instance, in the year 2017, we registered the highest number of corruption cases and also had the highest number of corruption cases successfully convicted and this is work majorly accomplished by women prosecutors ” (Anti-corruption prosecutor). It was further stated that there are also more women lawyers who also occupy most of the high positions in the legal profession and are advancing the anticorruption agenda. Even in situations where men are the heads, women were recognized as the foot soldiers who immensely contribute to the achievements realized by public bodies, state and non-state actors and civil society.

From these statements, it is apparent that women leaders use their positions to contribute in the fight against corruption and by extension to the well-functioning of institutions. This is supported by studies on gender diversity and corporate performance by McKinsey et al. (2007) who conducted research in partnership with the Women's Forum for the Economy and Society. They linked women in corporate management teams and overall performance of the organization or company especially on financial matters. The study suggested that companies that perform best are those that have women strongly represented at the board level or at the top management. Women's behaviours also contribute in reinforcing the company or organization's performance by advancing good business and ethical standards, thus concluding that female leadership is worthwhile.

In connection with their ability to influence the political agenda, the effects of women's political leadership on policy decisions is so far clear. Women's representation usually influences policy determination, with significant investments in land, security, property rights and the urban poor (World Bank, 2001). Wangnerud (2009) also validates that female representation in Parliaments tend to reinforce women's interests in the public work. In Scandinavian countries for example, where women's participation in public life has been comparatively high (30%), public policies are inclined to allow for bigger coverage of women's areas of interest and affairs such as social, family or gender equality. This results into increased responsiveness to their policy concerns.

Women in the civil society in Kenya were also applauded for their role in activism in the crusade against corruption. It was evident that several non-governmental organizations that address corruption in Kenya are led by women or have women at the helm of their management. Notable ones are Africa Centre for Open Governance (AFRICOG), The Institute for Social Accountability (TISA), Transparency International-Kenya (TI-Kenya), Kenya Human Rights Commission (KHRC) that have been vocal in addressing various major corruption scandals in Kenya including National Youth Service (NYS), maize scandal, abuse of office by public officers, election related malpractices among many others . These organizations advocate and agitate for good governance and corruption free Kenya through their programmes and collaboration with state and non-state actors. These organizations are also offer civic education to the public on corruption, advocating for

citizens to avoid engaging in corrupt acts and to report corruption to any relevant office. For instance, the chair lady of *Maendeleo ya Wanawake* an NGO in Nairobi, who is also a member of National Anti-corruption Campaign Steering Committee (NACCSC) was pointed out to have been very key in pushing the anti-corruption agenda especially among women and at the grassroots level. Other notable women were cited below:

“In terms of activism by the civil society on corruption Ms. Gladwell Otieno of AFICOG and Wanjiru Gikonyo of TISA have been on the fore front. Gladwell Otieno has contributed so much in the fight against corruption in Kenya. They are currently pushing for open governance, which shall enable sharing of information on corruption, and they also conduct lot of research in fighting corruption. Transparency International Kenya is also known for their annual East African Bribery Index (EABI) which highlights corruption across the region. It also does a lot of citizen sensitization forums and campaigns on corruption” (Governance advisor).

Ukase and Audu (2015) note that the primary functions and significance of civil society is that it provides a platform for the citizens to express their interests, passions, preferences and ideas, to exchange information, to achieve collective goals, to make demands on the state, and to hold the state officials accountable. Osaghae (1997) points out that civil society encompasses a several different organizations which are both formal and informal in character and include economic, cultural, informational and educational, developmental, civic seeking by being nonpartisan in order to improve a political system and make it more democratic through anti-corruption efforts by promoting transparency and accountability. Geo-Sung Kim (2009) explains that civil society organizations are significant in performing the role of corruption watchdog in a country by exposing corruption cases and criticizing corrupt officials and institutions. They create public awareness regarding the existence, causes and gravity of and the threat posed by corruption and more importantly they propose alternative policies and legislation which can help achieve better governance upholding integrity and accountability.

Despite the notable positive roles that women are playing in the fight against corruption in Kenya, women were also said to have negatively contributed to the fight. Women were

said not have been outspoken and strongly felt in agitating for anti-corruption and some have even taken sides and seen to defend other leaders accused of corruption as expressed by these leaders;

“I don’t think corruption has been at the forefront of women’s push, I also don’t think there exists any women driven initiatives to fight corruption in Kenya.” (Advocate, private practice).

“Some women leaders have fallen into the trap of defending other leaders faced by corruption allegations in the name of “our person”. Maybe they do not realize the effects of corruption on women. I do not think they clearly see the link between limited access to services and the role corruption plays as an obstacle to effective services delivery. If this was done, then I think we would have more women leaders agitating for the fight against corruption” (Anti-corruption and governance expert -NGO)

Corruption in Kenya is often considered as a male dominated area since most times it is men who are involved and accused of corruption scandals. Further, it is mostly men at the apex of various state agencies, commissions and committees that are mandated to fight corruption in Kenya with women being their deputies or lower in the cadre. One informant expressed that;

“Corruption is a risky area and women shy away from hard tackles like corruption. The face of anti-corruption and good governance in Kenya is not a woman but a man, even in parliament, no lady member of parliament has championed an anti-corruption or governance law and most anti-corruption laws or amendments are moved by men”(Legal officer).

Women have also been seen not to support fellow women by not electing them to public office and thus shrinking their voices and sphere of influence. One male FGD participant felt that women leaders also sometimes liaise with men to bring other women down and many times women do not support their fellow women. Others expressed as thus:

“To some extent, women have contributed negatively to the fight against corruption. Women do not elect women leaders to raise their profile. If a woman is aspiring, it is often fellow women antagonizing them. If women are given a chance, they can do more.” (Women empowerment officer-NGO).

“Women do not support each other due to jealousy that is their undoing. They should stop it and say, ‘she for she’, they will go far.” (Excerpt from a Male FGD).

“Even in circumstances where women have evidence, they are likely not to report a corruption incident and if they do, they may do so through a man thus they abet crime” (Director of ethics, public sector).

Naturally as nurturers, women will tend to protect this status and avoid circumstances that can toss them into the limelight with a likelihood of jeopardizing their families. Since corruption fights back and hard, women tend to be careful in their level of engagement in condemning corruption as noted by this female FGD participant.

“Women could shy away from issues of corruption because they have children and thinking of stability and wouldn’t want to be tossed into the limelight, that could be why they are not as aggressive as men in reporting corruption.” (Excerpt from a female FGD).

These views therefore convey that women do have a role in fighting corruption, but they have not fully played their part to reduce corruption in the country. Study results show that women leaders believe that there is commitment among women in the fight against corruption. Women also have space in Kenya to engage and agitate for change. They, therefore, need to utilize the available avenues to strongly speak out against corruption in Kenya. This is well exemplified by this statement:

“Women have space to fight corruption because of higher representation of women, they have a larger voice especially in agitating for implementation of laws particularly because they know that women are the ones that bear the biggest brunt of corruption. We have women leaders under Kenya Women Parliamentarians Association (KEWOPA), more women permanent secretaries (PSs), women in

parastatals and in the cabinet, all these are spaces they can utilize to agitate for the fight against corruption.” (Anti-corruption and good governance expert).

Similarly, other women leaders agreed that women do have space to fight corruption though to a limited extent, that as much as they have been given space in parliament, cabinet and executive, fighting corruption needs numbers and strong voices to push for various anticorruption agenda and due to this women leaders tend to be watched more than men, thus more of them are required in these spaces. Since they are also affected by corruption more than men, they ought to speak out louder. Support from men to help women effectively fight corruption was also identified to be inadequate.

An interesting perspective on how culture and men have played a role in undermining the space that women should occupy in society was presented by the male participant below.

“Most cultures in Kenya also put the woman in the kitchen, they do not promote her to excellence in other areas. Vision 2030 should be about women empowerment too, men should support them, many men do not support their women, aren't they therefore also corrupt? Women need to rise up and fight for their space and rights.” (Excerpt from a Male FGD).

These statements illustrate the need and importance of having more women taking up positions of leadership both in public and private sectors because they are part of the solution. As much as the debate and evidence on whether women are less corrupt than men is not conclusive, increased inclusion and involvement of women in government and politics has been reliably linked with improved governance and a decline in corruption in different states. Thus, women need to be empowered and their participation in politics and other leadership spheres encouraged and promoted. Gendered impact of corruption also needs to be addressed and fair leveled playing field enabled so that women can better contribute to the fight against corruption (Transparency International, 2016).

4.3 Challenges of fighting corruption

Key informants and FGD participants expressed a few challenges that women face in the fight against corruption. Key among them includes challenges relating to finances, sexuality, lack/inadequate opportunities, culture, gender roles of women in society, lack of

political will to fight corruption, inadequate legislation addressing corruption, lack of knowledge on corruption issues, fear of addressing and handling corruption related cases and the changing and secretive nature of corruption. These are further discussed below.

On financial challenges, the study was informed of the following shortcomings by the various informants:

“Men believe that they are superior because of their money and can control things, therefore, it would be of importance if women had a kitty which supports women who express interest in taking up leadership positions especially in politics.”(Excerpts from Female FGD).

The establishment of such a kitty for aspiring women leaders will help boost more women to run for public office without being intimidated by the amount of money they need for such processes. Among the poor population in the world, women form majority of them and thus they can easily experience negative impacts of corruption unlike men especially when corruption depletes the resources that should be utilized to provide the services that they need (Schimmel and Pech, 2004). Similarly, Nyamu- Musembi (2007) notes that, in situations where a bribe has to be given to get a needed service, rights or resources, women’s lack of control of personal resources prevents them from benefiting from these services. In terms of politics, Kayini and Muriaas (2014) point out that there is gender discrimination when it comes to electoral financing which also creates a hurdle for women to access positions of power and influence. Electoral campaigns for instance in Kenya, require extremely large sums of money to pay for various things like party membership, candidate nomination fees, producing campaign materials and in some instance, vote buying from the citizens. Besides, it is possible for women to spend more on voters than men to convince voters of their suitability (Ohman and Lintari 2015). Many women are not in a position to afford the amounts of money required to carry out a successful campaign as compared to their male counterparts, thus, those who are lucky to have formed networks with powerful and resourceful men are often at an advantage. It is important therefore, that women gain financial stability and support to boost them navigate the financial challenges that comes with ascending to leadership positions.

Regarding sexuality and related challenges, the informants noted the following:

“Women are more exposed to issues like gender-based violence and harassment, especially for women who want to stand up against an issue end up being victimized. Corruption issues affecting women is likely to take a sexual dimension and diverts attention from the main issue to demean and discourage the woman from pursuing the matter. Such things shape public opinions and judgments and if it was a corruption issue, the focus is completely lost.” (Anti-corruption legal officer).

“During elections, female contestants are often pulled down by men and all manner of tricks used against them so that they do not clinch the seats they are contesting for especially if they are very influential ones. For instance, look at what happened to Hillary Clinton. Even here in Nairobi, several women contested like Hon. Margaret Wanjiru, Hon. Esther Passaris, Rachael Shebesh among others, a lot was said about them even issues on personal private life so as to discourage them from contesting yet such does not happen to their male counterparts.” (Excerpt from Male FGD).

Women leaders in Kenya have on several occasions faced ridicule and shaming targeting their sexuality from both fellow leaders and even the public especially if one seems not to be politically on the right side. The political arena is an area where women are new to since it has mostly been a domain of the men and their sexuality has many times been used to discourage them from pursuing political interests. According to a gender and corruption report by SIDA (2015), sex is described as an informal currency to bribery and also as a source of shame in extortion of women and girls. Unfortunately, it is noted that these acts often do not get punished as they are associated with individual and public shame and in most cases matters on sexual shaming are not considered as corruption. Even in places of work like offices, women are constantly facing and battling to navigate sexual harassment and discrimination in order to get ahead. This can curtail the chances of women holding high positions where they can be of greater influence in the fight against corruption. Other informants reported that there are lots sexual advances and innuendoes towards women both at the offices and away. Some men may not want to look at a woman as a professional

and such innuendos put some women off. Sadly, even when it comes to promotions and transfers, the women who turned down advances often face discrimination. In addition, another one noted that sometimes the directives issued within organizations tend to favour male leaders than women even in instances where the male leader is not the most qualified and capable in handling a matter. A study conducted by the Bouka et.al (2018) in Kenya among female members of parliament (MP) and members of county assemblies (MCA) established that, violence and sexual harassment is sometimes used to instill fear or punish women for failing to tow the male demand line. The women legislators reported that fellow male legislators sometimes demand for sexual favours so that they can support a project or a motion that the women are tabling or even solicit for bribes in order to pass bills that the women have sponsored.

In stances where women have been suspected to be guilty of corruption, they are often scolded and their names tarnished more than when it is a man involved. This could be because the society easily excuses male's bad behavior unlike females as expressed below:

“Women leaders are often faced with severe name tarnishing and scolding relating to their sexuality unlike the men when faced with scandals. For men, it is viewed as almost normal and their behavior is often excused unlike for women who will be bashed and called all sorts of names in a bid to make them look bad.”(Excerpt from Female FGD). In support of these views, a woman leader added that;

“Women have an extra task to stand firm and prove their capabilities among their colleagues and peers because their sexuality is often used to demean and bring them down” (Anti-corruption prosecutor).

A study conducted by the Bouka, et. al. (2018) agrees with these informants' views by stating that such acts of intimidation and sexual harassment as much as they may not be happening often, they have a detrimental consequence on the effectiveness of women in positions of leadership. They interfere with women's desires and will to boldly engage in political ventures because of the personal consequences of being publicly exposed as a result of taking a strong position on an issue. Thus, curbing the ability of women leaders to

make decisions or defend positions that they believe are in their best interest or that of their communities and the country at large.

On the issue of inadequate or lack of opportunities for women to engage in anti-corruption crusade, this informant noted that:

“There are fewer women in positions of power, the 2/3 gender rule is critical because it adds up to the numbers, when there are more women, they are more likely to get a strong voice unlike now when they are few. This means fewer women in parliament, cabinet, and senate thus diminishing their voices when championing for a cause.” (Anti-corruption and governance expert-NGO).

The 2/3 gender bill seeks to bridge the disparity in gender in the national assembly by amending the Constitution to allow for extra nomination slots for women. The bill was due within the first five years of enacting the Constitution in 2010 but it has been delayed by several extensions and court rulings. This bill is mostly championed by women and has since had four attempts at parliament to have it passed. There are 75 women members of parliament (MPs) in the national assembly with at least 39 more required to meet the constitutional threshold. The last time it was tabled in parliament only 174 members of parliament were present against the required 233 to vote. This is an indication of lack of commitment from the members including the female legislators. It is however evident that even as the clamour for more seats for women surges on, it will be pointless to have more women in positions of leadership especially at national and county governments yet they are not fully empowered to undertake their duties and remain to be ridiculed by others as is the case between elected and nominated members of parliament. In a study report by Bouka et.al (2018), it was established that there is a difference on the extent of respect and power between nominated and elected women politicians. The nominated women MCAs who were interviewed reported that due to their nomination status, they are not taken seriously by their elected counterparts especially the men since they do not represent the interests of any constituents thus they lack approval and are not expected to be bothered or involved with the substantive legislation or be a vocal participant of the county assembly. Their positions are often referred to as ‘sexually transmitted’ and the nominated ‘women as flower girls’ this is due to the notion that these women might have got to those positions

courtesy of the people they know especially men and not because they are qualified and thus deserve the nominations. With such treatment of women, it becomes not only almost impossible for them to have a strong voice or take a stand against an issue but it's also difficult to lobby for support from their peers in order to exert political influence on an issue especially corruption related. A study on women who got into government through quotas in Uganda also showed that they are rarely given a chance in plenary debates than compared to their elected counterparts and therefore they are denied equal opportunities like their colleagues to shape legislation. Often, they also do not equally enjoy the same level of approval and admiration and power as elected women (Clayton et al. 2014). This therefore means that it is pointless to create more leadership positions for women in the spirit of fulfilling the 2/3 gender principle yet denying them real power and privileges to enable them perform their duties. Their increased profile in leadership positions will not be meaningful.

In the same breath, another informant further noted that women still do not have adequate room since the political playground is not leveled and men tend to have an upper hand. Women are rarely in chair/vice chair positions in key parliamentary committees and that structural frameworks are designed in a way to exploit/block out women not for national good but their own interest. Those in the civil society equally alluded to this by noting that:

“Most board rooms are dominated by men and they help each other get up and get positions, making it difficult for women to go through, even where women are present, they tend not to support each other. Even when it comes to fundraising in civil society, money is given in a club of boys. Men led organizations are more likely to receive funds unlike women led organizations, they are not on the same pedestal.” (Governance activist- NGO).

These statements paint a picture of deliberate actions by men and the system of governance in place to suppress the rise of women in positions of decision making and influence. The study by the Bouka et.al (2018) points out that decision making circles even at national and county levels of government are male dominated and tend to leave out women who for a long time have struggled to gain access to the so called boys' club where decisions are made. In the study, it was reported that while women leaders were at home in the night

tending to their families, their male counterparts would hold night meetings to deliberate on issues, negotiate and decide on how they shall carry out upcoming official debates on the floor of the house. This points to a sad reality that women are sometimes not present to give input to key bills and even if they do so, it's a case of too little too late since the fate of those key bills are likely to have been sealed during the male only night meetings.

On the issue of cultural challenges faced by women in anti-corruption crusade, this informant opined that:

“We are a patriarchal society where we still believe that the man has to be the head, it does not matter how qualified a woman is, she is likely to be his deputy. This has worked to the disadvantage of women who have been there and have contributed immensely to the fight against corruption.” (Anti-corruption investigative officer). Her views were well supported by others who noted that *“the society is still harsh on how it perceives women leaders especially those who try to come out strongly and speak against a vice, it is still not ready for opinionated women who can influence policy”* (Anti-corruption education and prevention officer).

Culturally, women are nurturers and often stayed at home to tend after their families. This has however changed as more and more girls and women are now pursuing education and formal employment in sectors that were largely patronized by men. This therefore means that as more women get into public life, their voices and contribution to different societal and national debates can no longer be ignored. Unfortunately, this is not well received by the same society the women emerge from. Without full societal support from both men and women, women leaders have struggled to strongly stand out and in the event that they do, they have often faced criticism and ridicule mostly from their male counterparts which is quite discouraging to them. The opinions below further contextualize this:

“Women are still perceived to belong to the home and the private sphere instead of being regarded as leaders in the public sphere. Culturally, women have not been brought up with big dreams, their dreams have been limited by upbringing and the societal expectation of what they should become in life. This very low perceptions

of women limit their dreams and are thus not expected to rise and be at the helm of organizations tackling tough issues like corruption.” (Anti-corruption legal counsel).

In line with her views, this FGD participant pointed out a case as below:

“For some communities, it is a taboo for women to rise and contest for a political seat, they are denied and told that’s a males’ sphere, even at the Ethics and Anti-corruption Commission, I have never seen a woman as the head because if a woman is put there, she is likely to be tough . Look at the Independent Elections and Boundaries Commission, last year 2017, one of the lady commissioners had to resign and run for her dear life because of the irregularities that were going on there and she was being threatened not to speak against it” (Excerpt from Male FGD).

In support of these study findings, findings by Bouka et.al (2018) in their study that touched on the influence of culture on women in leadership also note that, in Kenya, over the years, men have been portrayed as more suited for leadership unlike women especially in politics and women have often had to work extra hard to prove that they are equally worthy of the positions, their qualities and success as wives and homemakers are often used to judge their suitability more so by their fellow women. Flaws by male politicians are often easily forgiven unlike women. Such scrutiny can sometimes be very humiliating to aspiring women leaders and become a source of discouraging women from coming out in large numbers to contest for political seats. Htun and Piscopo (2010) also observes that men often deliberately demean the voices and opinions of women due to the male dominated nature of political systems. Women also tend to be assigned portfolios or ministerial positions that are deemed ‘soft’ such as health, tourism, education, culture yet men tend to be allocated those that are deemed ‘hard’ or ‘tough’ such as finance, foreign affairs, trade and security. Such gendered assignments of duties only reinforce cultural expectations and women’s roles and capabilities.

Similarly, (Kivoi 2014) notes that the languages often used to describe female and male leadership are very different such that, women’s leadership is often described as motherly

and nurturing unlike men who are described as forceful, strong and aggressive and often corrupt. Women are therefore expected to bring their experiences and skills of managing the home and limited resources into their leadership positions as a measure of enhancing integrity and accountability.

Another challenge touches on the division of gender roles inherent in society and the position of women compared to that of men, the informants noted the following:

“Responsibilities at the home, weigh down on women and hinder them from engaging, denies them avenues to interact or network unlike men who have more time and avenues to network where they engage in business opportunities some of which could have some elements of corruption” (Legal officer).

“Women have other responsibilities both in the home and outside unlike the men, so it gets difficult engaging them on corruption or governance issues. Especially those in rural areas engaging them for a forum, training, an outreach activity is difficult because their priorities are different and getting them to spare time for such is difficult” (Anti-corruption and governance expert- NGO).

At the grass root or rural areas, one informant noted that these duties tend to weigh on women such that it gets difficult engaging them on corruption and governance issues. From her experience, engaging the women for a forum, training or an outreach activity is difficult because their priorities are different and getting them to spare time for such is a challenge. Women unlike men, their gender roles are mostly played at home unlike the men whose roles allow them to travel outside the home and interact with other people. By so doing, women have more tasks in their hands to balance in the event that they desire to engage in formal work, politics or community development related programmes which often demands longer working hours yet they have families to take care of as well. This leaves men to dominate such spheres because they are more flexible therefore, they will be seen and heard more in addressing matters on corruption. Similarly, study findings by Bouka et.al (2018) show that due to their responsibilities at home, women aspirants and politicians are often unable to be present at meetings held at night where crucial information is often shared and decisions made since they are required to go back home

and take care of their families. These and more domestic duties have therefore contributed in keeping women away from public limelight and reducing their chances of being elected to leadership positions. The study further notes that, different counties in Kenya for instance have shown varied perceptions on women in leadership. It suggests that, counties like Kisumu where women's participation in politics and leadership has a long history, their adherence to gender roles by women is more accommodative unlike in counties where views on women's involvement in matters of governance and leadership in the public spaces is still restrictive like in Nyandarua county which has no single woman elected as member of county assembly (MCA). North Eastern or the coastal regions were also noted as areas with more difficulty in accepting women's leadership due to religious reasons. It concludes that transforming traditional gender roles will require concerted efforts which are also very specific and well-tailored to reflect and respond to the local needs and nature.

There is also a challenge in terms of absence of political will to fight corruption in the country's leadership. This was seen as another hindrance to women in ensuring that the vice is dealt with. They observed the following:

“There is lack of political will to implement proposals that help curb corruption, for example, the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission clearing some politicians who had been adversely accused of corruption to run for public office in the past elections and ended up being elected and back to the system, if only they were chopped off at the clearing point, citizens would have a better list of people to choose from.” (Advocate, private practice).

“Lack of political goodwill to fight corruption affects our work too, at times when you want to file a case, interference occurs especially from prominent people and ends up crippling the case.” (Anti-corruption prosecutor).

“In Kenya, the justice system or the institutions mandated to fight corruption are not in sync, for example the DPP, judiciary and others seem to be acting at cross-purpose. There are adverse judicial rulings sometimes you are told that you cannot

investigate somebody, which frustrates officers because investigations take a lot of time.” (Director of ethics, public sector)).

Brinkerhoff (2000) defines political will as “the commitment of political leaders and bureaucrats to undertake actions to achieve a set of objectives and to sustain the costs of those actions over time”. The absence of political will is mostly brought up as the rationale for collapse of anti-corruption amendments and achievement of development goals in a country. The dedication to combat corruption at the highest level is a requirement for starting and upholding anti-corruption reforms until the desired change is realized. The leaders are obligated to put the interest of their people first and not theirs as they make laws and allocate funds that enable their enforcement. Political leaders are very crucial actors who can change the country’s norms on corruption if they act with integrity. The success of a country like Singapore in anti-corruption has also been greatly attributed to the presence of political will among its leaders (TI 2014). It is about the willingness by the government and its machineries to speak and act in a manner suggesting that corruption cannot be tolerated at all levels. Political will helps to create an enabling environment for the anti-corruption agency to perform well in addressing corruption. It also guarantees that good and strong laws that cannot be easily exploited are in place and can be effectively enforced without fear or favour by other anticorruption agencies. It also suggests that fighting corruption should begin at the top with the leaders and head downwards to the common citizen. It is the bedrock for all anticorruption efforts in a country (Chua Cher Yak 2010).

There are also fundamental problems in the legislations that address corruption. To this end, the informants pointed out the following:

“There is no proper witness protection system. Most members of the public are not well sensitized on whistle blowing. More needs to be done to help them understand that a whistle blower is someone who is protected and even your spouse may not find out that you are the one who leaked the information. Women hold back and think that once they do this their family will break down and they will have to bear the blame of a broken family.” (Anti-corruption prosecutor). Supporting this view, another woman leader noted that;

“There is need to not only strengthen the legal framework that addresses corruption in Kenya but also make them gender sensitive, that will help push forward the anti-corruption agenda” (Advocate, private practice).

As earlier mentioned, women tend to be careful in the networks that they engage in especially if they are corruption related due to fear of being exposed. Thus, they tend to hold back in reporting corruption related incidences since there is not a proper system in place that can function to protect them from threats and even death. It has also been noted that, lack of political will is a hindrance to the discharge of laws against corruption in a country. Laws in a country exist for various reasons and some anticorruption laws could be existing as a condition of receiving development assistance from donors, others could be existing due to internal political dynamics to appease or deflate criticism from political critics and as such they lack the commitment of leaders to enforce them. Some anticorruption laws are also said to be difficult to enforce in instances where the laws have been deficiently drafted or maybe they have been borrowed and copy pasted yet they do not match the country they are expected to be implemented in. Proper implementation of anti-corruption laws also requires availability of resources and information, if these are lacking in a country then it becomes difficult for enforcement agencies to perform their work, it hampers the detection of corruption, collection of quality evidence and carrying out convictions (Msaki, 2013).

There are also challenges regarding lack of knowledge in corruption related matters. To this end, the informants noted the following:

“Fighting corruption needs one to be knowledgeable in the area. Lack of knowledge among women leaders and women in general exists. For instance, fewer women turn up during our events that sensitize on fighting corruption, one needs to make extra effort to reach out to them, if this doesn't happen then they will not learn and therefore they cannot be effective in handling corruption related issues. This should apply to all women from the community level to the national level. ”
(Anti-corruption and governance expert- NGO).

This informant stresses the importance of women leaders being knowledgeable on the nitty gritty of corruption right from definition of corruption, its manifestations/forms, where

and how it happens, who could be involved, its effects and what should be done, by who and how to address it. Capacity building trainings therefore are critical for women leaders and all women in general.

Then there is fear occasioned by the nature of corruption and the ruthlessness of the corrupt who at times are willing and ready to even eliminate their accusers. To this, the informants noted the following:

“If one is appointed to a public office, you are expected to behave in a certain way so that you do not seem to be upsetting those who put you there, so, one tends to hold back. Many women in political leadership get nominated to those positions and are thus bound to tow their party lines and cannot defy directions and speak up against ills because they may lose those seats and get replaced. They also do not have a constituency they can go back to and seek their support in a matter because they are not elected” (Governance advisor). Another informant equally noted that;

“Citizens who are normally called upon to be witnesses in corruption cases never turn up in court. They come to record statements but during the actual case, they disappear, some get intimidated and pull out due to corruption resulting to adjournments” (Anti-corruption prosecutor).

Intimidation and withdrawal of advantages has been used as a tool to drive fear in people who attempt or as seen as not to be toying the corruption line as they are expected to. In politics for instance, if one is a nominated member of parliament, it is viewed as a favour done and such a person is not expected to differ with their party leader or other party members on issues. Similarly, bribing and intimidating of witnesses has been rife in Kenyan court cases and more so corruption related cases thus they never get resolved and ultimately jeopardize the fight against corruption. It even becomes difficult when the people one is to testify against in court are fellow colleagues. One informant pointed out that *“the criminal justice chain is long involving many people like prosecutors, investigators and corruption can happen at any point of the chain and the most difficult part is when one is required to give evidence against their colleague, and for women it*

becomes difficult because they are quite emotional and fearful” (Anticorruption investigator).

Corruption also fights back hard, whistleblowers and witnesses have been executed, sacked from their jobs because of speaking up against corruption and it is worse if women are the subjects. The informants expressed that;

“One may try so much to put up structures, improve the legal framework but at the point they start to step on the toes of some people, they are fought. Female investigators were also pointed out to be at the risk of this as they often get threatened and even shot at especially when their teams go out to make arrests” (Anti-corruption investigator).

Another woman leader pointed out how working in the anticorruption sector affects one’s social life by pointing out that:

“Working in the anti-corruption sector affects the social circles that one associate with. Makes one define the people to sit with, the places to go to because you may go to meet a friend somewhere and probably a suspect is there too and it is said the person I was meeting must be a proxy to that suspect. So, it interferes with one’s social life.” (Director of ethics, public sector).

The nature of corruption itself was also noted to be a challenge to the approaches adopted in ensuring that the vice is tackled. The following observations were made:

“Fighting corruption is tough because it is secretive in nature and one may not know when it is taking place.” (Director of ethics, public sector). *“Corruption mutates, people find new and better ways to engage in corruption making it difficult to detect and fight.”* (Anti-corruption campaign officer).

Similar views are shared by Koim (2014) on his experience in fighting corruption in Papua New Guinea. He notes that, fighting corruption remains to be a challenge because it is not easily understood or defined. Some forms of corruption are quite complex and often require trained personnel to expose them. He describes the fight against corruption as a double-edged sword whereby some forms of corruption are uncovered and dealt with, they can change and evolve into more difficult forms to survive or tighten their grip. Corruption

also thrives in secrecy since those who are often in the know of it happening rarely report for fear of reprisal.

The foregoing discussion points to the fact that women leaders face myriad challenges in fighting corruption both within their sphere of influence and from external factors and the environment. The challenges are noted to be curtailing women's potential to aggressively engage and deliver in the anti-corruption agenda. As Kimeu (2014) notes, fighting corruption in many parts of the world, and especially the developing countries, is still risky. Institutions are weak while those who engage in corruption are often powerful political and economic elites able to buy or command inaction. In such cases, anti-corruption activists and whistleblowers are targeted in various ways. Some anti-corruption activists have been physically harmed or killed while others have been deprived their means of livelihood through dismissal from employment or withdrawal of trading licenses. Koim (2014) further notes that fighting corruption becomes more difficult when it becomes a culture among the people. When the citizens of a nation think in groups like along tribal lines and so an attack to an individual is seen as an attack to the whole group and they readily defend the corrupt. This ethnic defense politicizes the fight against graft and simply leads to inaction.

4.4 Strategies to enhance participation of women leaders

Results have so far indicated that women leaders do contribute significantly in combating corruption in Kenya. While doing so, they must overcome various challenges that tend to discourage and hinder their active participation in the struggle for a corruption free Kenya. The women leaders interviewed gave various suggestions on actions to be employed to increase the involment of women in this war.

The strategies mentioned included capacity building/empowerment of women on how to handle corruption issues, calls on the need for the government and the political class to prioritize and robustly fight corruption in the country. It is also critical that women are given opportunity to sit and engage in crucial parliamentary committees and hold high positions of influence. Improvement of the education curriculum to include lessons on corruption and good governance were suggested. On the role of women as nurturers, the discussions about integrity should begin at home with young children and values instilled

at a tender age during the socialization process. Civic education to the populace on corruption must be up scaled and the donor community should be encouraged to focus on funding projects on gender and corruption. Fighting corruption also needs courage and women leaders must be mentored to be courageous and to speak out their minds freely without fear.

On capacity building of women leaders as a strategy towards fighting corruption, the informants noted the following:

“Women need to first understand how corruption affects them and how it has affected development in the Country at large. This understanding requires a lot of sensitization and training on the different phases and faces of corruption in the public as well as the private sectors. This training will empower and make women aware of the strategies to employ in questioning graft and other forms of injustices. The empowerment should be able to show the leaders the link between corruption and public service delivery, so that they can clearly see what it means to agitate for increased access to health services and others.” (Anti-corruption and governance expert- NGO).

To reinforce her point one officer added that *“apart from gaining knowledge on how to fight corruption , women have to be empowered enough to say yes and to say no, it is not easy but it has to be done, some of my colleagues have been approached with money but they declined it. Empowerment should not be about having money but being principled enough where everyone takes money, but you don't”* (Governance activist-NGO).

These views express an agreement to the need that women leaders need to be well equipped with knowledge on corruption from what corruption is, its forms, how it happens, why it happens, who perpetrates corruption, its consequences, what can be done to curb it and much more. With the correct knowledge therefore, women leaders can be able to relevantly contribute to discussions, policies, and advocacy to achieve impact. Most importantly, they can knowledgeablely also say no to corruption at an individual level. Their commitment to the course for the greater desired impact is also paramount.

Regarding observation and application of the law to the letter, one advocate mentioned that corruption stems from disobedience of the law. If the law is being applied and people getting punished then corruption can be fought but, in a system, where systems are not working, it's a hindrance to fighting corruption. Her counterpart in prosecution also urged that the government should show more goodwill in fighting corruption especially all the law enforcing agencies. If each institution that is mandated to fight corruption and those that contribute to the fight would do what they are supposed to do, then the country shall do away with corruption related challenges.

Kenya has several law enforcing agencies whose mandate also is to fight corruption unfortunately; not considerable result is seen from them. Some blame each other for crippling the process. Of the many scandals that have happened in the country very few convictions have taken place most often of not very prominent individuals while those adversely mentioned in them are seen not to be touched. To this end a male FGD participant urged that transparency and truthfulness is key in fighting corruption to achieve results.

Regarding inclusion of women in crucial committees and positions in different organs, these informants stated that:

“Women should be encouraged to join powerful parliamentary committees both at national and county governments like the Parliamentary Accounts Committee (PAC) to add their voice in scrutinizing the accounts and reports” (Anti-corruption and governance expert-NGO). *“Women should be given a fair chance, we have never had a woman Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP), Chief Justice (CJ) and Attorney General (AG). Our laws should clearly indicate that these institutions should alternate between men and women.”* (Anti-corruption prosecutor).

Inclusion of women in such committees and positions of influence shall give women a chance to bring a change in the anti-corruption sector, they shall bring a perspective that has been lacking by only having men lead these positions. Qualified women ought to be considered and appointed as well and not just made to deputize men. Another woman leader observed that it would be of value to have more women judges at the anticorruption

courts, the council of governors should also consider having a woman chair for some change. She urges that it is important to have people of integrity at the helm of institutions because prosecuting a corruption case is expensive and costs the government a lot of money.

Another informant proposed that there are several women who have excelled in their professions and are known for upholding integrity, such women should be considered for higher challenging positions in the anticorruption sector that requires their expertise. She noted that:

“Deliberate identification of women who have excelled in their professions without engaging in corruption and bringing them into positions where they can actively fight corruption should be encouraged. This process should be utilized to ensure that women assume greater responsibility in Parliament as well as other key institutions.” (Anti-corruption education and prevention officer). In support of her views, speaking on the importance of affirmative action, another leader urged that *“affirmative action should expand its target areas since at the moment, it mostly addresses women in politics and leaves out other sectors like leadership in parastatals and other high profile public positions where women also ought to rise up the ranks”*(Governance advisor).

Another key approach should be to sensitize the people on the adverse effects of graft and how the vice has had devastating effects in the economy and key institutions. To this end, the informants suggested that the populace should be sensitized on the need to support women especially those advancing the anti-corruption agenda and elect more of them because they can deliver. Another leader proposed a change in the narrative on anti-corruption to focus on entrenching values as captured in Article ten of the constitution of Kenya. Conversations should be on Integrity, transparency, accountability, openness which will go a long way in shaping peoples character as a nation. Article 10 of the Constitution of Kenya 2010 (CoK) provides for the national values and principles of governance which bind all state organs, state officers, public officers and all persons. Among them are patriotism, the rule of law, democracy and participation of the people, good governance, integrity, transparency and accountability (CoK 2010). It is important therefore that the

populace understands these values need to be exhibited in their daily lives, business dealings and while giving or receiving public services. By these values being part of a way of life among Kenyans, they shall go a long way in addressing corruption in the country. Coupled with these, emphasis on the adverse effects of corruption and their rights and obligations should be laid so that they do not blindly defend those mentioned in corruption scandals as suggested by this informant:

“Educate the people more about corruption and its effects as well as the rights they are entitled to, a lot more resources need to be allocated to civic education. The public should also support anti-corruption reforms, when a person is accused of a corruption allegation, they should not come defending them as “their person” but instead let the law take its course.” (Anti-corruption campaign officer).

Jane Onsongo a former assistant director at EACC points out that since corruption is secretive in nature, increased and sustained public sensitization on corruption is important because it serves to give it a human face by pointing out the perpetrators and also by showing people how they are distressed by it as they start to recognize that poverty, poor health and education conditions, lack of proper infrastructure, unemployment, high taxes and many more are consequences of corruption. The empowered citizens eventually start keeping the leadership accountable by demanding for accountability on how their resources have been utilized and pressing for increased transparency and accountability and proper implementation of the constitution and application of the law. Kenyans also need to be informed and clear relations made on the various scandals that have happened, the amount of money lost and what could have been achieved with that amount of money in addressing the needs of Kenyans as illustrated by this informant:

“The narrative of corruption and its effects must be brought to the open. The many scandals in this country ranging from Goldenberg, the Anglo-leasing to Security installations as well as the Maize and Oil scandals must be brought to the open and the populace made aware of their combined effects to the Country’s economy”(Anti-corruption officer, private sector).

In order to underscore the fact that corruption is a cancer in Kenya, there needs to be increased concerted campaign efforts by the politicians, media, civil society, faith based organizations among others in order to give corruption the attention it deserves to be addressed. Such attention helps to reveal the consequences corruption by presenting simple numbers for the citizens to understand. The National Taxpayers Association in Kenya for example assists in doing this through their periodic citizen's report cards which help to sensitize citizens on how public funds have been utilized stating what projects were done, their cost, how much was wasted and how much cannot be accounted for. Thus, giving the public facts and figures that they can use to fight corruption (Globlethics.net).

The other key strategy is to begin the socialization process and teaching of integrity right from home. This strategy places parents at the centre of the anti-corruption drive and call on parents to expose their children to standards of good governance and the need to observe the law and maintain proper behavior patterns in the lives. To this end, the informants noted the following:

“Parents have a role to instill integrity in their children so that they know it is wrong to do some things. Women are the ones who raise children and have a key role. Some of these values are taught at family level and if not done, teaching a forty year old man or woman will be difficult.” (Director of ethics, public sector)

While agreeing with her views, this officer added that, *“character in children is molded from a young age. Socializing children that it is always right to do right is key in the drive to have a corruption free society. Romanticizing wealth and riches without sweat only makes corruption thrive. Additionally, while attending to their children, spouses or partners, women should also be keen on the wealth acquisition patterns and behavior of their partners so that they can tell when one acquires instant wealth in a manner that is questionable and be courageous enough to question or report about it”*(Anti-corruption and governance expert-NGO).

Pazhayampallil (1995) states that the virtues that a person has cultivated in life assist him in choosing to perform good acts and be able to serve others insofar as rooting out corruption is concerned. Gula (1997) similarly states that in fighting corruption a person's conscience is important. Conscience is influenced and values are learned within families

and societies that shape people. Children grow in families, thus the function of the family in molding the conscious of children is very critical in preparing them to abhor corruption in whatever manner it presents itself. If a child has acquired the correct virtues, then they can build and maintain an upright conscience and good character. Similarly Mbaro 2010 asserts that, nurturing of morals in children is important because it creates a willingness to always do good and so a person will be steady in doing good always thus may not be easily swayed by self-interest or convenience and end up corrupt, they are likely to remain firm and committed to upholding integrity. The family therefore is obligated to teach virtues in their young ones, helping them develop attitudes and stable dispositions that can help the govern their actions and guide their conduct

Also, of great importance in the fight against corruption is the courage that is needed to confront corrupt practices and deals. The informants observed thus:

“Women need to be courageous in the fight against corruption. They need to confront it and not get intimidated by men, they should speak and stand by what they say.” (Manager, Private Sector). *“Women should be confident in themselves and boldly speak up against corruption, they should not fear being victimized.”* (Excerpt from Male FGD).

Leaders need the moral courage to fight corruption, by so doing they are putting the interest of the common good of all Kenyans before their own. They should be ready to condemn corruption even among their closest friends, political party members and family members by having them face the law and put behind bars if convicted of corruption. Leaders need to be certain their actions are right both in public and private (Chua Cher yak 2010).

On the role of donors and other agencies in creating an environment free of corruption, the informants noted that targeted funding is necessary for the training process in strengthening anti-corruption initiatives. They suggested that donors should prioritize funding strategies and ensure that projects that empower women to fight corruption are given priority. This will ensure that the connection between gender and corruption is established and reinforced. Another woman leader emphasized that donors have a big role

to play in strengthening the various institutions that deal with corruption. They should ensure that those institutions they fund are equally gender sensitive in their personnel and provide the necessary impetus to make corruption an expensive exercise.

According to Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), donor operational context has changed with time, they now support strategies as given by the partner countries. International collaboration has got better with increased understanding of corruption and better strategies of addressing it, countries are getting more funding and there is need for stronger governance and anti-corruption provisions, accountability and financial management capacity by both recipients and donors. Three principles have been developed to help donors to design anti-corruption policies and as diagnostic tool for governance assessment on the ground. These entail to collectively advance, monitor and fit into the common local vision with the partner country, to acknowledge and respond to the sources of corruption especially if their own countries are involved and lastly to gather information and experiences that can measure advancement in anticorruption efforts in the partner countries (OECD 2019).

Some informants suggested that there is need for organizations that focus on women and corruption to be able to document the link between gender and corrupt practices. This way, the country can also be able to profile the corrupt gender and make more opportunities available to those who can protect public interest. To this end, the informants noted as follows:

“Women are crucial in the fight against corruption. There is need to have more women-oriented organization focused on corruption to engage more women in terms of understanding and fighting corruption.” (Advocate, private legal practice).

“There is need for women leaders to be mobilized into an organized group specifically for corruption. We need more women in business – business is where corruption thrives, and opportunities are. They should be encouraged to get into business and be bolder. When it comes to tenders, you will find men going for the

big one's worth millions while women going for smaller ones yet the bigger ones tend to come with corrupt deals.” (Legal officer).

The findings on the plans that can be employed to increase the active involvement of women in the fight against corruption echo those given by Young and Heideman, (2016). They observed that all opinions matter including those of women and should be given a chance in policy and decision making. They make reference to a study of 181 peace agreements signed between 1989 and 2011 that found that when women are involved as witnesses, signatories, mediators or negotiators, the likelihood of the agreements lasting at least two years increased by 20 percent. Similarly, women in leadership positions need to be able to execute policies that contribute to reduction of corruption, thus it is important to have them in these spaces to initiate more lasting anti-corruption policies.

Similarly, Wangnerud (2009) also attests that having women in parliaments reinforces their interest in the public sector. For instance, studies conducted in the Scandinavian countries where women have been in the public life for a long period of time showed that public policies tend promote women's needs and issues resulting to increased responsiveness to their policy concerns.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

This section contains the summary of findings, conclusion and recommendations emanating from the study that sought to explore the roles played and challenges faced by women leaders in fighting corruption. The summary is done in line with the specific objectives and the conclusions and recommendations are derived from the findings and the discussions.

5.2 Summary

The study first sought to understand the perception that women were not as corrupt as men and findings have revealed that whereas some women leaders were of the opinion that being a woman has nothing do with the likelihood of one condoning or engaging in corruption, others supported the view that being a woman had a positive influence in one tolerating and engaging in corruption. The former group believed being corruption averse is not innate in women but rather its more about values an individual subscribes to and how stringent integrity measures are in the positions held by the women. Otherwise women can as well engage in corruption. The latter group suggested that women being caregivers and home managers, they can manage resources effectively to achieve the desired goals. They also naturally tend to be trustworthy and often look out for the good of the whole and not personal interest thus they will tend to refrain from acts that take advantage of others for personal gain. This, therefore, suggests that the assumption that women do not tolerate and not easily take part in corruption remains debatable.

In terms of the role's women have played in fighting corruption, the study identified that women have played both positive and negative roles in contributing to the fight against corruption. On the positive contributions, the study established that the anti-corruption sector especially the public sector has numerous women who work in different capacities where they exercise their influence on corruption related matters. These women hold crucial positions in ministries, departments and parastatals as directors of departments, departmental heads, chairladies of various committees both internal and external ones, they also represent the country in crucial corruption related meetings and gatherings across the world, thus, they have influenced policy and legislation relating to corruption in Kenya. In

the private sector, women led organizations are in the forefront in shaping the anti-corruption agenda by championing the first law in Kenya on bribery, the Bribery Act 2016 which gives guidelines on how business ought to be run and transacted in Kenya. It now imposes direct duties to entities and individuals to prevent and report incidents of bribery and to put in place procedures for prevention of bribery and penalties thereof. Several corruption cases are also being handled by women prosecutors with considerable success. Women prosecutors have not shied away on tackling this area often perceived as a male domain and they have recorded tremendous success on prosecuting corruption related case especially in the year 2017. Women in the civil society have also been very instrumental in pushing for accountability measures in the country by carrying out anticorruption campaigns, playing watchdog role to the government and more so, their role in providing civic education and empowerment on corruption to the populace.

Despite the positive roles, the study also established the negative roles that women have played that have contributed to crippling the war against corruption. Some women leaders were accused of defending other leaders who have been implicated in corruption scandals most often men, more so if they hail from the same ethnic background. Such acts tend to camouflage the truth from the public and make it look like a certain community is being targeted. Women were also accused of not supporting fellow women especially during elections where they rarely vote for their fellow women. When a woman has been accused of corruption, it was observed that fellow women rarely come out to support her and call for proper investigations to be done, instead, they likely join in the bashing of their fellow woman and this has worked against them. Women also rarely report incidences of corruption that they may have witnessed for fear of reprisals and by so doing they have encouraged corruption to thrive.

There are several inhibiting factors that women leaders face in the fight against corruption. They include challenges relating to lack of finances to enable them effectively contest in elective position like their male counterparts since politics is an expensive affair thus resulting into fewer women leaders making it to the national assembly. Their sexuality is often attacked especially in instances where a woman leader is alleged to have engaged in corruption, focus easily shifts from the corruption issue to discussions about her and her

private life thus exposing them too much. Gender roles of women in society have been used to discourage them from taking up leadership positions and demeaning their abilities in positions they have been appointed to since they are still perceived to belong to the functions within the home. Lack of political leaders to seriously address was identified as one of the major hindrances women leaders face especially issues on interference with cases in court from prominent individuals, disregard to the rule of law and lack of creation of an enabling environment to effectively fight corruption in the country. Lack of knowledge on corruption is also an issue since it affects how policies and legislation are designed, services delivered, and advocacy done. Requisite knowledge on the same is important so that women leaders can engage or influence from an informed perspective. Fear of fighting corruption arose as a challenge because corruption is said to fight back and hard thus many women leaders fear to be in a position where they are on the receiving end. The changing and secretive nature of corruption is another challenge since it is sometimes difficult to tell when corruption is taking place and in what form and these keep evolving from time to time. These challenges continue to greatly hinder and discourage women who work in the anti-corruption sector.

Several strategies were fronted to help enhance the active engagement of women combating corruption. These comprise capacity building/empowerment of women leaders to understand corruption and how to handle corruption issues for effective advocacy, policy and legislation making and enhancement of good governance in general. There is need for the government and the political class to prioritize and robustly fight corruption in the country, this will contribute in rebuilding faith and confidence in the government and deliver development to the citizens. There is also need to expand the chances for women to sit and engage in crucial parliamentary committees and hold high positions of influence both in public and private sectors, where their voices on corruption shall count.

It would be of value to improve the Kenyan education curriculum to include lessons on corruption and good governance to intentionally nurture values on good governance among the children from a young age. Women being nurturers, discussions and lessons on integrity, honesty and transparency should begin at home and these values instilled at a tender age. This shall contribute to creation of generations that uphold integrity and good

governance. The importance of civic education to the Kenyan citizens needs to be upheld. Holistic information on corruption, citizen's rights and obligations should be availed so that people can understand and exercise their roles in curbing corruption in the country. Last but not least, the donor community has been urged to also focus on funding projects that promote topics on gender and corruption which shall help empower women to relevantly engage in the anticorruption discourse as well as their male counterparts. Lastly, since fighting corruption needs courage, women leaders ought not to be intimidated but be brave and boldly speak up against corruption in all spheres under their influence.

5.3 Conclusion

The study concludes that the perception that women are do not easily entertain and get involved in corruption than men and thus can have greater contribution in the fight against corruption remains debatable .Women leaders interviewed differed in equal measure in opinion on the issue with some supporting the view that women do not easily get involved in corruption while others were opposed to it. This was similar to the opinions expressed by FGD participants. Those who opposed argued that as much as women tend to be trustworthy and abhor corruption, it is not enough to make them prone to corrupt practices, being a woman is not a significant determinant for incorruptibility. Despite the existence of literature that tend to view women as less corrupt, this study did not have the power to make conclusive judgments on the degree and level of corruptibility among the genders. Statements were made that indicated that women have residual potential to be less corrupt and to deal with issues of corruption effectively even though concrete evidence in the Kenyan context is lacking. It was important to note that in situations where women leaders have been adversely mentioned in corrupt practice like in the National Youth Service (NYS) saga as well as the Ministry of Lands, the informants saw these examples as an affront to female leaders orchestrated by men to bring down women. These were cases that are blown out of proportion simply because the accused were women and did not benefit from the ethnic patronage and defense.

Women leaders are critical players who add value in shaping and influencing the anti-corruption discourse and good governance in general. They are placed in the public, private and civil society sectors where they have engaged in developing policies and

legislation on anti-corruption both within the country and even on international platforms. They have redefined how business is transacted both in the public and private sector through their contribution in development of the Bribery Act 2016. Women activists especially from the civil society have also played their role in lobbying and advocating for good governance in the country.

Their negative contribution towards the fight against corruption is minimal. Some women leaders defend leaders implicated in corruption scandals especially men instead of shunning their acts. Women are also not keen on reporting corruption to relevant authorities for investigation even in circumstances that they possess evidence. They are not supportive in electing fellow women especially during elections thus contributing to the low numbers of women making it to positions of leadership and influence.

Efforts by women leaders to fight corruption are hampered by several factors which downplay their achievements in the sector. Lack of political will within the county's leadership and disrespect to the rule of law in fighting corruption is rife especially among the political leaders which greatly undermine the efforts being put in the war. Political elites have been noted to interfere with ongoing corruption investigations some of which are carried out by women investigators and prosecutors and they even bar prosecution of their allies implicated in corruption scandals. This creates a hostile environment for women leaders to effectively contribute to the war against graft since they sometimes face threats and their expertise undermined. Women's sexuality is also often used (mostly by men) as a tool to intimidate and rubbish off women leaders especially those who strongly oppose or expose corrupt dealings. Inappropriate name calling and body shaming of women leaders are scenes that have been witnessed in Kenya. This is a grave issue as identified by the women leaders and which reduces their confidence in addressing corruption in the country.

This study was premised on the fairer sex theory by Swamy et al. (2001) and Dollar et al. (2001) which suggest a strong connection between women's engagement in governance, public and private spheres and reduced corruption. As much as the study findings support their propositions on women's contribution to the reduction of corruption and improved governance, the study findings did not fully support the view that women do not easily get involved in corruption unlike the men since the opinions expressed by the respondents

differed on this view and thus no clear conclusion was made. This theory also did not address the various challenges that women in positions of leadership face in the bid to uphold integrity in their work which ultimately understates their achievements in corruption prevention.

The active engagement of women in fighting corruption therefore needs deliberate measures that will enhance their efforts. This shall involve concerted effort from the government, politicians, donors, civil society, the private sector, Kenyan citizens and most importantly the women leaders themselves.

5.4 Recommendations

1. The study has established that women are and can be strong advocates against corruption that negatively impacts on the whole society. It will be important that the government considers increasing the leadership spaces that women occupy in all levels of governance in all relevant sectors and in crucial parliamentary and senate committees. Passing of the 2/3 gender bill by parliament will be a great step towards this realization.
2. Political will and respect of the law is paramount in addressing corruption in Kenya. All law enforcing agencies mandated to fight corruption should uphold their independence and deal with implicated individuals without fear or favor by following the rule of law to the letter. This will help rebuild trust in government institutions and more importantly make corruption an expensive affair to engage in.
3. Knowledge is power, arguments, policies and legislation advanced from a knowledgeable point are likely to be effective. It is important therefore that proper capacity building on corruption is done to leaders especially women leaders and other women in general and to the public at large. The public anti-corruption mandated institutions like Ethics and Anti-corruption Commission (EACC), National Anti-corruption Campaign Steering Committee (NACSC), the Kenya Women Parliamentarians Network (KEWOPA), the private sector and the civil society organizations like Transparency International Kenya (TI-K), African Centre of Governance (AFRICOG) among others, need to continually play this role.

4. The donor community is also urged to offer and increase funding to projects that deal with issues on women and corruption. To help facilitate further research in the area and also to empower women leaders on fighting corruption.
5. There is need to bring up generations of anti-corruption champions. This can be addressed by the ministry of education through inclusion of corruption and good governance studies in the education curriculum whereby national values and principles of good governance start being molded among the school going children from a tender age. Emphasis should also be laid on the socialization process at home so that the same values are equally enforced by parents and guardians at the family level.

5.5 Areas of further research

1. In what ways is the Kenyan government addressing the challenges women leaders face in the fight against corruption.
2. Differential impact of corruption on the well-being of men and women, and how the gender differences are addressed in anticorruption strategies.
3. What socio-cultural factors hinder women from reporting corruption?

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: CONSENT FORM

THE CONTRIBUTION OF WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP IN THE FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION IN KENYA

Hello, my name is Joan Kadamu, a master's student from The Institute of Anthropology, Gender and African Studies (University of Nairobi). I am conducting a study that is part of my requirements for my master's programme.

Purpose

The study seeks to explore the contribution of women in leadership in the fight against corruption in Kenya.

It will specifically address the following two objectives:

1. To examine the roles played by women in leadership in the fight against corruption in Kenya.
2. To establish the challenges faced by women in leadership the fight against corruption in Kenya.

Identification

You have been identified as a potential informant/participant in the Focus Group Discussions as a resident of this county and someone who fits into the criteria chosen for the study participants/informants.

Procedure

If you agree to participate in the study you will be asked to take part in a Key Informant interview/In depth interview/Focus Group Discussion (FGD) where you will be engaged in discussion on the contribution of women in leadership in the fight against corruption in Kenya.

Confidentiality

Your confidentiality will be maintained at all times and there will be no use of names or any possible identifiers that may connect you with the reports or publications that will be availed as a result of the study.

Voluntarism

Participation in the study is of voluntary nature and if you choose not to participate you will not be penalized in any way. You will also be free to withdraw from the study at any time and refuse to answer any question that you deem is too personal. However, I humbly request your full participation and cooperation in the study.

Costs & Benefits

It will not cost you anything monetary to take part in the study apart from your time in the discussion. Also the study does not involve any direct benefits in the form of compensation prior to or after the discussions.

I _____ hereby voluntarily consent to participate in the study. I acknowledge that I have understood the explanation given to me with regard to the nature of the study by _____. I clearly understand that my role as a study participant/informant and acknowledge that my participation is completely voluntary.

Signature _____ Date _____

Signature of Reseacher/Assistant _____ Date _____

APPENDIX II: IN DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE

- i) What is your role/position and how long have you worked in your current position?
- ii) As an organization/institution what strategies do you have in place that are meant to curb corruption? (probe for: accounting procedures, internal guidelines on corruption)
- iii) To what extent do women in leadership positions contribute to the development and enforcement of these strategies? (probe for specific contributions by the women in the organization, how are they involved? do they generate the strategies?)
- iv) What would be your experience on how corruption and gender play out in your current setting? (Probe for; are women less likely to be corrupt? is being a woman a determinant of one's behavior towards corruption?)
- v) What would you say are the challenges women encounter in fight against corruption?(Probe for : In the current setting and in Kenya)
- vi) What strategies can be employed to enhance the active participation of women in leadership in the fight against corruption in Kenya?

APPENDIX III: KEY INFORMANT GUIDE

- i) In your opinion how would you describe the relationship between gender and corruption in Kenya? (Probe for perceptions that women are less corrupt than men, what is the space of women leaders in the fight against corruption?).
- ii) What has been the contribution of women in leadership in the fight against corruption in Kenya? (Probe for different contributions e. g whistleblowing, policy formulation, activism, streamlining use of public resources? for women as leaders are less likely to engage in corrupt practices? Are women less averse to corruption? Are they more honest than men, are women more transparent? Do they discourage or minimize opportunities for corruption?)
- iii) How would you describe the commitment of women leaders to the fight against corruption in Kenya? (Probe for do they think women see corruption as evil, have women been vocal in raising corruption issues, and are women honest in use of public resources?)
- iv) What challenges do women face in their attempts to speak up or act against corruption in Kenya? (Probe for specific examples, what are the most common challenges faced cultural, social, political, legal?)
- v) What strategies can be employed to enhance the active participation of women in leadership in the fight against corruption in Kenya?

APPENDIX III: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE

- i) In your opinion do you think women as leaders are less likely to engage in corrupt practices? (Probe for: are women less averse to corruption? are they more honest than men, are women more transparent? do they discourage or minimize opportunities for corruption? whether increasing the number of women in leadership can lead to a decrease in the levels of corruption)
- ii) What has been your experience when interacting with women leaders especially when seeking services? (Probe for likelihood of women soliciting bribes/engaging in corruption, how different do women offer services?)
- iii) What has been the contribution of women in leadership in the fight against corruption in Kenya (probe for different contributions e.g. whistleblowing, policy formulation, activism, streamlining use of public resources, are there any specific examples they can give?)
- iv) Do you think women in leadership are committed to the fight against corruption in Kenya? (Probe: do women see corruption as evil, have women been vocal in raising corruption issues, and are women honest in use of public resources?)
- v) What challenges do women face in their attempts to speak up or act against corruption in Kenya? (Probe for specific examples, what are the most common challenges faced? cultural, social, political, legal?)
- vi) What strategies can be employed to enhance the active participation of women in leadership in the fight against corruption?

APPENDIX IV: RESEARCH BUDGET

Item	Quantity	Amount per unit	Total
Research assistant	3 pax (10 days)	2000	60,000
FGDs Participants' compensation	32	250	8000
Transcription & Translation	1 pax for 5 days 4 FGDs 30 KII	1500	7,500
Printing and binding		-	5000
TOTAL			80,500