

COALITIONS & MOVEMENTS BUILDING:

TOWARDS WINNING THE FIGHT
AGAINST CORRUPTION





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CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS	7
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	8
INTRODUCTION	13
1.1. Background	13
1.2. Role of coalitions and movements in a society and possible results	14
1.3. The Legal and Political environment and opportunities for coalitions and movements building in Kenya	15
1.4. Objectives	15
2. METHODOLOGY	17
2.1 Research Techniques	17
2.2 Literature Review	17
2.3 Case Study	17
2.4 Primary Research	17
2.5 Data Analysis, Findings Triangulation and Draft Report Writing	17
2.6 Report Findings Validations	18
2.7 Anticorruption Coalitions and Movements Building Framework	18
2.8 Ethical Guidelines	18
3. HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF ANTI-CORRUPTION COALITIONS AND MOVEMENTS IN KENY AND BEYOND	19
3.1. Introduction	19
Why Anti-Corruption Coalitions and Movements?	19
3.2. Anticorruption Movements and Coalitions in Kenya and beyond	20
a) Movements	20
3.2.1. Transparency International Movement	20
3.2.2. The Mau Mau Movement	21
3.2.3. Unga Revolution - Kenya	21
3.2.4. The Sudan Revolution	23
3.2.5. "Y'En A Marre!" (We're Fed Up!) Movement - Senegal	23
3.2.6. The Yellow Vests Movement - France	25
b) Coalitions	27
3.2.7. The United Nations Convention Against Corruption	27
3.2.8. The African Parliamentarians Against Corruption (APNAC)	27
3.2.9. The Shule Yangu Alliance Campaign	28
3.2.10. The National Integrity Alliance	29
3.2.11. Name and Shame Corruption Network (NASCON) - Kenya	30
3.2.12. The Ghana Anti-Corruption Coalition (GACC)	31
3.3. Summary of Key Best practises from Anti-Corruption Coalitions and Movements	33
3.4. Summary of Challenges Facing Anti-Corruption Coalitions and Movements	34
4. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	36
4.1. Conclusion	36
4.2. Recommendations	36
2. Resource Mobilization	36
3. Media and Technology	37
4. Stages in anti-corruption coalitions and movements building	37
5. Potential coalition/movement members	38
5. APPENDICES	39
1. Coalition Building Framework	39
2. List of Respondents	40





ABBREVIATIONS

AU	African Union
CSO	Civil Society Organizations
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
KII	Key Informant Interview
TI-Kenya	Transparency International Kenya
GACC	Ghana Anti-Corruption Coalition
NASCON	Name and Shame Corruption Network
TI	Transparency International
UNCAC	United Nations Convention Against Corruption





EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Introduction

This report discusses findings of a study on the role of movements and coalitions in winning the fight against corruption. Various anti-corruption movements and coalitions in Kenya and beyond have been examined in terms of their formation & objectives, best practices, challenges and lessons learnt. Further, the legal and political environments in Kenya are discussed as well as the role of media and technology in movement building and anti-corruption work. Public inclusion in coalitions and success/failure factors are also analysed. To summarize, the possible methods of resource mobilization as well as the prerequisites for movements building are explored. The report is informed by findings from the primary research as well as secondary review on movement building.

Role Of Coalitions And Movements In A Society And Possible Results

Movements and coalitions play a critical role in the journey of pursuing anti-corruption work. Possible activities could include; Whistle-blowing, collective citizen's actions, public demonstrations, media exposes, writing of petitions, public interest litigation and "name and shame" campaigns. In addition, other activities include conducting trainings for member organizations and participants, public awareness and civic education. Other activities could encompass conducting research, lobbying for legislative reforms, legal aid and social auditing.

The Political Environment for Coalitions and Movements Building

The discussants in the focus group discussions and the key informants seemed to agree that the political environment in Kenya is not conducive for coalitions and movements building. The respondents noted that there was no political goodwill from the political class since majority of them have been involved in various corruption scandals.

The Constitutional and Legal Framework for Coalitions and Movements Building

The Constitution of Kenya offers enough protection for the rights of the citizens participating in movements and coalitions. Specifically, Chapter Four and particularly Articles 36 and 37¹ of the

Constitution of Kenya, provide for the freedom of association and freedom to assemble, to demonstrate, to picket and to petition the authorities.

Why Coalitions and Movements In The Fight Against Corruption?

Coalitions & movements are in a way the default option for anyone seeking to jump-start broad-based reform. They present an opportunity for pursuing anti-corruption work with a shared collective vision since they are louder than individuals or individual organizations, and through such formations, information and knowledge sharing becomes easier. While coalitions are more structured than movements, the latter offers an opportunity for uniting elites and civil society to form mass movements in a multi-faceted program of reform, deepening and rewarding political will while strengthening civil society. Coalitions on the other hand, offer structures for resource mobilisation, implementation of activities and central coordination, geared towards achieving a common goal.

The study presents an analysis of coalitions and movements in Kenya and beyond together with key lessons from them. The coalitions and movements presented herein include, Transparency International Movement (TI), The MauMau Movement, The Name and Shame Anticorruption Network and the Unga Revolution, The National Integrity Alliance (NIA) in Kenya, The Sudan

¹<https://www.klrc.go.ke/index.php/constitution-of-kenya/112-chapter-four-the-bill-of-rights/part-2-rights-and-fundamental-freedoms/202-36-freedom-of-association>



Revolution, The “Y’En A Marre!” (We’re Fed Up!) Movement in Senegal, the Ghana Anticorruption Coalition, the Yellow Vests Movement in France.

Best Practices and Key Lesson from Anti-Corruption Coalitions and Movements

Best practices are a set of guidelines, ethics or ideas that represent the most efficient or prudent course of action in a given situation. In the case of coalitions and movements building, the practices indicated below have been of essence.

Formalising movements is key to sustainability: formal movements entail people coming together and putting up structures to run the movement before kick-starting the activities.

- **The People:** Movements that attract the public have been found to be more effective.
- **Specific issues of concern/goal:** Movements should be formed to address a specific issue of concern.
- **Research, Publications and Reporting:** Accurate data and information is crucial in fighting corruption especially by coalitions.
- **Developing a sound understanding of the local corruption context** to be able to deploy appropriate tactics and harnessing the power of the media are ingredients of successful movements and coalitions.
- The identification of **key political stakeholders** is critical.
- **Non-violent action:** The world is evolving and so should the tactics employed in the fight against corruption
- **Coalition and movements need to be broad-based:** linking public and private actors besides civil society, faith-based organizations, trade unions and parliamentarians have been found to be more effective in pushing for broader reforms.
- **Adequate Resources:** Sufficient resources are very necessary for both movements and coalitions building especially where the arrangement is formal.
- **Youth and Women inclusion:** Successful movements are inclusive. Youths and women are usually the most affected by bad governance and as such, it is important to appeal to them to join a cause.
- **Scope and scale:** Movements whose activities take place in a larger geographical area and among various demographics tend to be more effective.
- **Promoting a participatory approach** that relies on dialogue among stakeholders would lead to an effective anti-corruption coalitions & movements and helps build and maintain momentum.

- **Media Campaigns:** Coalitions and movements should solidify core advocacy groups and generate broad public support through a robust media campaign.
- **A permanent Secretariat:** This is especially for coalitions that are structured. Coalitions that lack a permanent secretariat seem to die rather fast.
- **Legitimacy, Credibility and Visibility:** The agenda of anti-corruption movements should be one that the public easily identifies with.
- **Transparent and accountable leadership:** The leadership of the movements and coalitions should be transparent and should not have accountability issues.

Challenges Facing Coalitions and Movements Building

Several challenges lie in the way of successful **coalitions building**. They include;

- Inadequate resources including financial, human and physical resources hampers the day to day running of coalitions and movements and their sustainability.
- Political interference by the ruling elites who are usually the targeted group by the anti-corruption movements is a big risk factor that can kill a movement.
- Poor leadership especially in terms of coordination. Greed and selfishness of some coalition members and especially leaders have on many occasions led to betrayal of the coalitions’ interests.
- Many citizens may not feel a compelling reason at any given time to act against corruption nor perceive a meaningful chance of success if they did.
- If the regime in power is repressive and openly exploitative, it can use its resources to undermine coalitions and movements by co-opting its members, sometimes by offering lucrative job offers or financial rewards.
- In the wake of every emerging advancements in technology, cyber bullying is becoming a big threat to coalitions and movements building. Leaders and sometimes members, could be potential targets of sponsored hash tags to discredit them or tarnish their reputations, in addition to hacking of member organizations’ ICT systems.
- COVID-19 Pandemic poses a big threat to movements that rely on picketing and

demonstrations since the number of people engaged in physical meetings is controlled due to the guidelines on social distancing as a way of curbing the spread.

Opportunities for Coalitions and Movements Building

The greatest opportunity is the endemic nature of corruption in Kenya. For a movement to kick off, there must be an issue that needs to be addressed and the issue of corruption provides such an opportunity.

Economic issues like the ballooning public debt, high levels of unemployment, skyrocketing fuel prices and the high cost of living are all relevant

and pressing issues that could be addressed through movements and coalitions.

A youthful population also presents an opportunity for movements and coalitions building since they are young in age and are energetic.

The increased use of technology and social media is also a plus especially in movements building since the work of mobilizing the public can be done very easily.

The devolved units of governance also provide a good ground for building grassroots coalitions and movements that identify with the local people while addressing their specific needs.

Movements and Coalitions Building Framework

Pre-requisites / Necessary Conditions for Coalitions and Movements Building

COALITIONS	MOVEMENTS
Willing partners and stakeholders driven by common interest and with a reform agenda rather than push for selfish or organizational interests.	Corruption portrayed as an emergency through research and empirical data analysis broken down to show the real effects of the same to the public.
Specific, clear and inspiring objectives, a clear-cut plan for the movement, and a well organised and defined governance structure, as well as incentives for stakeholders.	A crisis or opportunity. In Kenya, for instance, the high levels of corruption and the poor rating by the TI's Corruption Perception Index is a crisis opportunity for an anti-corruption Movement. Ballooning Public debt and high cost of living are opportunities too.
A think tank at the national level is necessary to aid in strategy.	There should be basic civil liberties—freedom to organize, assemble, and voice criticism of the regime
A transparent and credible convener/leader	A citizenry that is enlightened and aware of the effects of corruption and other injustices or a citizenry that is eager to get information from public education programs.
A permanent secretariat, with long-term funding and/or membership fees, seem to be more sustainable.	Important also, is a reasonably free press; not only for it as a “watchdog”, but to also cover the movement’s activities.
Meaningful boundaries and legitimate linkages between state and society are essential if there are to be working limits on both official power and private influence, as well as the “space” required for a viable civil society	A community mobilization strategy
A clear method of documentation and reporting of the movement’s activities.	Added support from NGOs, aid partners and international organizations, including law enforcement, pro-democracy and anti-corruption groups, will provide essential resources, expertise, and encouragement.
A vetting and mapping criterion for the secretariat members.	A functioning state rather than the misrule of dictators or private armies



Resource Mobilization for Anti-Corruption Movements and Coalitions

This study suggests a few ways in which movements and coalitions could mobilize for resources.

- In coalitions, member organisations could use their existing staff to support the activities of coalitions by offering their expertise.
- Member partners with ample office space could spare some rooms for the operations of the coalition.
- A coalition could contract the services of a resource mobilization officer to draft funding proposals and funding strategies targeting local and international donors.
- Coalitions should consider localized fundraising where resources are mobilized from within the partners or local stakeholders. Overreliance on foreign donors may hamper the coalition's objectives due to bureaucracy and reporting mechanisms.
- Crowdfunding: Movements could explore the idea of crowdfunding where financial support is requested for and channelled through online fundraising platforms.
- Movements should explore less costly strategies in conducting their businesses. For instance, involving the public on a legitimate cause would bring citizens on board at almost no cost.
- Networking with other national and international movements could also be used to secure resources for coalitions.
- Encourage volunteerism in terms of human resources, hosting of meetings, transportation and other services like free media promotions.

Potential Coalitions and Movements Members

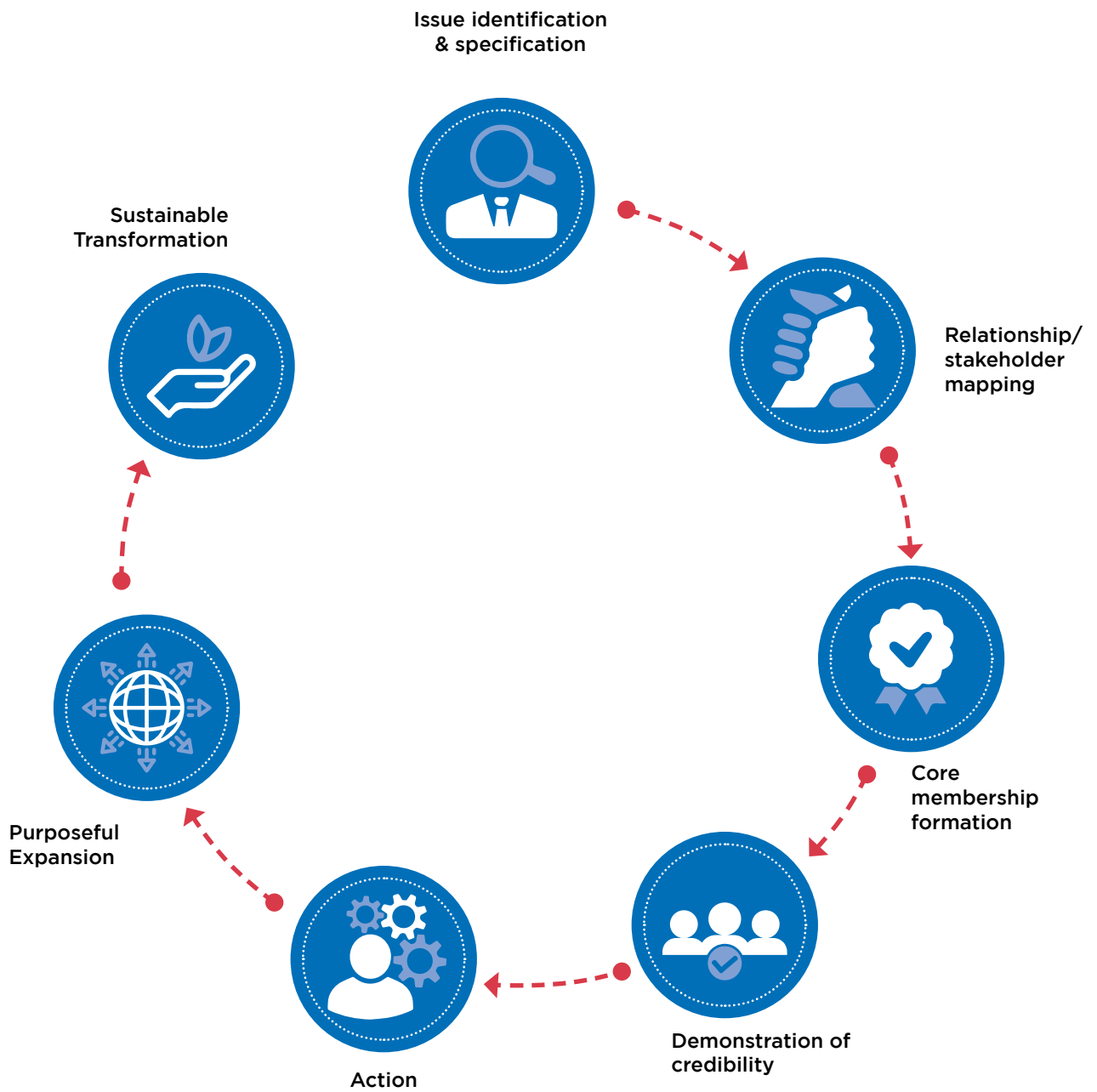
Recruitment of anti-corruption movements members should focus on potential stakeholders who suffer immediate and tangible costs of corruption, including the public, professional bodies, government elites and researchers/scholars. As for coalitions, Civil Society Organizations, businesses, both small and larger, are obvious candidates.

Role of the Media and Technology in Movements and Coalitions Building

- Increased visibility of activities being implemented created public awareness on the purpose of the coalitions and movements. This could also mobilise more participants to join in the cause.
- Social media platforms including Facebook and Twitter; and messaging platforms such as WhatsApp, Telegram among others are some of the best ways to pass information and mobilize for both resources and participants especially from among the youths.
- Effective use of technology would ensure proper communication and dissemination of information since most of the digital/internet media is shared through technological platforms. In the wake of COVID-19 Pandemic, technology is of great essence in the future of movements building since participants can, moving forward, engage virtually through platforms like; Google Meet, Teams, Webex, Zoom among others.
- Important to note, is the use of technology in archiving of information through cloud storage and use of technological applications in conducting and analysing research findings.



Proposed Steps in Movements & Coalitions Building





INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

Corruption is defined by Transparency International as the abuse of entrusted power for personal gain. On the other hand, the United Nations Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC) doesn't define corruption as such, but defines specific acts of corruption that should be considered within its jurisdiction. Such include; bribery, embezzlement, money laundering, concealment and obstruction of justice².

In the early 1990s, there was no global convention aimed at fighting corruption. Ways of measuring corruption or its impact on the global scale were also non-existent. However, corruption was still present within the society then and could be justified as business expenses by companies in their tax fillings. It's upon this background, and having experienced corruption within East Africa, that the World Bank official, Peter Eigen, together with his allies set up a small organisation to fight corruption. This would later on birth the Transparency International Movement with a Secretariat in Berlin as the first ever global movement with a focus on fighting corruption.

Kenya as a Country boasts of a robust Civil Society Network engaging in addressing the gaps in governance, justice, anti-corruption, social order and environment conservation among others. However, the levels of corruption especially in the Government institutions continue to increase according to various studies including the Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index 2020³, which ranked Kenya at no.124/180 with a meagre score of 31.

Kenya's history of fighting social and economic exploitations from the ruling class dates back to the pre-independence period, with the rise of the Mau Mau movement. The movement fought for the return of all lands that had been expropriated from Kenya's agrarian and pastoral communities by the European colonialists. This seems to have prepared grounds for a number of coalitions, movements and networks - including those allied to state agencies, business community, civil society as well as a combination of multi-stakeholders. To mention a few, in early 1990s, there was the Release Political Prisoners Movement whose goal was to put pressure on the then Government to release political prisoners. As a result, several political prisoners were released in 1993. Another movement that has existed since then is The Unga Revolution (2011). In terms of coalitions, we have had the National Integrity Alliance (2017) and the Name and Shame Corruption Network (2005) among others. However, such movements suffered and continue to suffer from a lack of coordination and other challenges including; conflict of interest, deviation from the main objective, inadequate resources and political sabotage among other problems.

On the regional and international fronts, Kenya has ratified several legally binding normative arrangements on anti-corruption, which equally reflect the resolve to fight socioeconomic and political evil in all its forms. The Kenyan parliament is a party to the African Parliamentarians Network against Corruption (APNAC) which was born out of the "Regional Seminar on Parliament and Good Governance: Towards a New Agenda for Controlling Corruption in Africa", held in Kampala, Uganda, in early February 1999.

APNAC-Kenya chapter was initiated in February 2001, through the efforts of the Kenyan Member of Parliament for Webuye constituency, Hon. Musikari Kombo. He is a former Chairman of a Parliamentary Anti-Corruption Select Committee that was created in 1998 to study corruption and its effects in

²<https://www.cmi.no/publications/file/3769-uncac-in-a-nutshell.pdf>

³<https://www.transparency.org/en/cpi/2020/index/nzl>



Kenya. The Select Committee made recommendations on draft anti-corruption legislation i.e. the Anti-Corruption and Economic Crimes Bill.

At the global level of the United Nations (U.N.), Kenya was the first country to ratify and become party to the Convention against Corruption (UNCAC), which was adopted to “promote and strengthen measures to prevent and combat corruption more efficiently and effectively.

Similarly, at the African Union (A.U.) regional level, Kenya is a party to. The African Union Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption (AUCPCC). This Convention was adopted to promote and strengthen development in Africa.

Besides the APNAC and UNCAC, there have been other organizations involved in anticorruption work in Kenya. However, their partnerships on matters an anticorruption movement are not well coordinated. These organizations include the UN Global Compact which majorly brings together members of the private sector, the African Centre for Open Governance (AfriCOG) and TI-Kenya which leads from the front in ensuring a Corruption Free Kenya.

1.2. Role Of Coalitions And Movements In A Society And Possible Results

Movements and coalitions in a society, play a critical role in the journey of pursuing good governance and social justice. This section divides the role of coalitions into possible activities by the coalitions, responsibilities and probable results.

a) Activities

Possible activities for coalitions and movements include: whistleblowing, collective citizen’s actions, public demonstrations, media exposés, writing of petitions, public interest litigation and “name and shame” campaigns. Coalitions could also conduct trainings for member organizations and participants in addition to conducting public awareness and education. Other activities could encompass conducting research, lobbying for legislative reforms, legal aid and social auditing.

b) Responsibilities

Coalitions and movements can adopt the following responsibilities in society

- i. Watchdog against entrenched corruption in the society
- ii. Developing anti-corruption policies and strategies advisory to public and private sectors
- iii. Watchdog against the violation of human rights and governance deficiencies
- iv. Advocate of marginalised groups’ interests
- v. Agitator on behalf of aggrieved citizens
- vi. Educator of citizens on their rights, entitlements, and responsibilities on one hand and the government about the pulse of the people on the other
- vii. Service provider to areas and people not reached by official efforts or as the government’s agent
- viii. Mobiliser of public opinion for or against a programme or policy

c) Possible Results

With effective role playing by coalitions and movements, the following would be among the envisaged results in a society.

- i. Public reforms and better governance
- ii. Fair political processes and stronger economic and social institutions
- iii. Enhanced rule of law and reduced graft within the society
- iv. Sociability/mutual encouragement among partners and enhanced autonomy of CSOs
- v. Improved national image domestically and internationally
- vi. Enhanced research and analysis capabilities besides quality research products.
- vii. Enhanced media/press freedom
- viii. Improved legal and technical advice
- ix. A more enlightened citizenry through public education



1.3 The Legal And Political Environment And Opportunities For Coalitions And Movements Building In Kenya

a) The Political Environment

The discussants in the focus group discussions and the key informants seemed to agree that the political environment in Kenya is not conducive for coalitions and movements building. The respondents noted that there was no political goodwill from the political class since majority of them have been involved in various corruption scandals. They further opine that politicians are good at whipping tribal emotions to disrupt and divert attention from potential coalitions and movements that may result in exposing or disrupting corruption. Politicians rally their tribal troops to discredit such movements as those which are out for witch-hunt. Political hooliganism and disregard for the rule of law in addition to sponsoring youth groups to engage in violent activities were seen to be some of the threats posed by the political class in anti-corruption coalitions and movements building.

b) The Constitutional and Legal Framework

On the other hand, the respondents applauded the constitutional and legal framework as one that supported movements and coalitions building. The Constitution of Kenya offers enough protection for the rights of the citizens participating in movements and coalitions. Specifically, Chapter Four and particularly Articles 36 and 37⁴ of the Constitution of Kenya, provide for the freedom of association and freedom to assemble demonstration, picketing and petitioning the authorities.

Article 36. Freedom of Association

(1) Every person has the right to freedom of association, which includes the right to form, join or participate in the activities of an association of any kind.

(2) A person shall not be compelled to join an association of any kind.

(3) Any legislation that requires registration of an association of any kind shall provide that--

(a) Registration may not be withheld or withdrawn unreasonably; and

(b) There shall be a right to have a fair hearing before a registration is cancelled.

37. Assembly, demonstration, picketing and petition

Every person has the right, peaceably and unarmed, to assemble, to demonstrate, to picket, and to present petitions to public authorities.

Creation of other offices and independent commissions like the Commission for Administration of Justice, the Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions and the Independent Policing Oversight Authority are also a big mileage in creating the much needed environment for coalitions and movements building.

Various studies⁵ have shown that anti-corruption networks that have a permanent secretariat, with long-term funding and/ or membership fees, seem to be more sustainable. The most stable networks appear to be those that are closely linked to and/or funded by a larger national, regional, or international organization. This, therefore, points to a need to have well-coordinated, structured and guided networking for effectiveness and sustainability.

The absence of strong anti-corruption movements in Kenya, presents a golden opportunity for actors especially in the CSOs to initiate a formidable force that will push for reforms in the Governance sector in Kenya.

1.4 Objectives

This study on anti-corruption coalitions and movements building sought to most specifically, accomplish the following;

- Conduct historical analysis of movements and coalitions in anti-corruption, in Kenya, Africa and beyond.

⁴<https://www.klrc.go.ke/index.php/constitution-of-kenya/112-chapter-four-the-bill-of-rights/part-2-rights-and-fundamental-freedoms/202-36-freedom-of-association>

⁵U4-Anti Corruption (2007)



- Assess the effectiveness and benefits of working as coalitions and movements in fighting corruption,
- Define possible roles that movements and coalitions would take up,
- Evaluate the success factors and necessary conditions for movement and coalitions building,
- Determine potential players for movements and coalitions building,
- Present a case study of a successful coalitions and movements in the anti-corruption field and
- Develop a forward-looking coalition building framework for anti-corruption work.





METHODOLOGY

2.1 Research Techniques

The research study employed a mixed technique with both secondary and primary research techniques forming the component of the research. Qualitative design was used to inform the various thematic areas with secondary data gathered through desk research and primary data through Focus Group Discussions and Key Informant Interviews. The study also reviewed a case study of anticorruption movements and coalitions in Ghana, Sudan and France from which the strategies of mobilizing the group action and the best practices are documented.

2.2 Literature Review

In relation to literature review, relevant research documents were reviewed, to enrich/complement the primary data. This literature includes, the Constitution of Kenya 2010, research reports about movements and coalitions building in the fight against corruption and Transparency International's Reports, especially the Corruption Perception Index among other relevant materials. The Literature review informed the historical analysis of movements in anti-corruption, governance, human rights, justice, and other related spheres in Kenya, assessed the effectiveness of anti-corruption movements and identified the key benefits of working as a network in the fight against corruption. This review further documents the best practises from key anti-corruption movements both locally, regionally internationally.

2.3 Case Study

This research conducted a case study of global anti-corruption movements and coalitions, and regional ones from Ghana, Sudan, France, Senegal and Kenya with an aim of extracting real life experiences and lessons from what has happened before and that which continues to happen in the fight against corruption in the said countries. The case study describes the events around strategies of anti-corruption movement building, execution of duty and sustainability mechanisms of the coalitions. From the case study, this research drew best practices in coalition building and movement in the everyday contexts in which they occur.

2.4 Primary Research

Primary research involved first-hand data collection through the use of Focus Group Discussions and Key Informant Interviews. Open ended guides were used to collect qualitative data. The Focus Group Discussions were conducted among various grassroots organizations that are partners in the human rights and anti-corruption work in their respective regions. Key informant interviews were conducted among key stakeholders and leaders in the anti-corruption and Governance field. Through the FGDs and KIIs, the study aimed at gathering in-depth information to supplement the secondary data. The FGDs and KIIs were conducted in Nairobi, Kisumu, Uasin-Gishu and Kwale Counties.

2.5 Data Analysis, Findings Triangulation and Draft Report Writing

Data analysis was conducted using content analysis techniques suitable for qualitative data analysis where information on selected thematic areas was generated. Upon generation of this information, systematic triangulation was conducted to ensure accuracy and coherence of information from both the secondary and primary sources. The report presents findings in form of a summary of the information obtained from primary research triangulated with the secondary review. A detailed report is generated from the findings of the research and includes recommendations and a matrix/framework for guiding coalitions and movements building, partnership and coordination of stakeholders in the fight against corruption.



2.6 Report Findings Validations

The draft report findings was subjected to a validation session by stakeholder to critique, correct and/or enrich the findings along set guidelines and standards. The outcome of the validation session was included in the report to add value to it. The validation session involved various stakeholders from the FGD and KII respondents among other players in the anti-corruption and Governance fields.

2.7 Anti-corruption Coalitions and Movements Building Framework

From the subject research report, and recommendations to guide movements and coalitions building was developed. The coalitions framework is annexed and is in form of a matrix that highlights the strategies, bare minimums and best practices for coalitions and movement building.

2.8 Ethical Guidelines

Throughout this study, the researcher upheld the highest ethical standards for consultation and observed the following principles:

- i. Held in confidence all information given by the stakeholders and participants,
- ii. Explained the rationale, objectives, and methodology to participating institutions and individuals; and secured their informed consent to participate in the study,
- iii. Listened to all participants' views during interviews and group discussions,
- iv. Respected and observed the values of TI-Kenya and
- v. Used the data for purposes of this study only.





HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF ANTI-CORRUPTION COALITIONS & MOVEMENTS IN KENYA & BEYOND

3.1. Introduction

This chapter, discuss the reason for anti-corruption coalitions and movements. Various coalitions and movements in Kenya and beyond have been examined in terms of their formation, objectives, best practices and challenges. Further, the legal and political environments in Kenya are discussed as well as the role of media and technology in movement building and anti-corruption work. Public inclusion in coalitions and success/failure factors are also analysed. To summarize, the possible methods of resource mobilization as well as the perquisites for movement building are explored. The chapter is informed by findings from the primary research as well as secondary review.

Why Anti-Corruption Coalitions and Movements?

While coalitions may be defined as structures of formal collaboration motivated by a common vision, seeking to attain common goals, movements refer to groups of people working together to advance their shared idea. Specifically, a movement could mean a campaign undertaken by social or other groups to advance a certain cause or stand against an issue considered to be oppressive. In terms of structure, coalitions are usually formal while movements are mostly informal.

Movements and coalitions present an opportunity for pursuing anti-corruption efforts with a shared collective vision. Typically, more organised civil society groups translate reformist pressure into tangible results by negotiating with and around existing power structures. This is because civil society lends credibility to anti-corruption initiatives and uses its often-trusted position within communities to bring together otherwise disparate groups.

Movements and coalitions are louder than individuals or individual organizations. When members of a movement speak the same language from various corners, it is easier to be heard than when an individual organization speaks. This is because the message is propagated by several people and organizations at a go making it difficult to be ignored by those targeted. Through such formations, information and knowledge sharing becomes easier since various experts are brought on board resulting into a pool of skills and knowledge to learn from while executing the planned activities.

World over, governments and public institutions who are the main targets of movements have been known to listen to masses either by choice or lack of it. It is also a bit difficult to manipulate masses compared to individuals or individual organizations.

Still, coalitions and movements are the best strategy that exists for creating a visible, quick and legitimate reform. The bigger the number, the more visible they become and are able to prove legitimacy compared to individuals.

Coalitions have become better platforms in mobilization of resources from within a society and from donors to push anti-corruption work. Through their established structures, participants can easily contribute what they have on terms of monetary support, skills, time and other materials in kind for running their activities. According to various discussants in Nairobi, nowadays donors tend to fund joint activities between organizations rather than those implemented by individual organisations.

⁴<https://www.klrc.go.ke/index.php/constitution-of-kenya/112-chapter-four-the-bill-of-rights/part-2-rights-and-fundamental-freedoms/202-36-freedom-of-association>

⁵U4-Anti Corruption (2007)



Movements and coalitions can help protect members from reprisals. Particularly critical is their potential for moderating costs and risks for “first movers”—that is, those who take the first steps against corruption in the face of both popular apathy and entrenched opposition from corrupt interests.

3.2 Anti-corruption Movements and Coalitions in Kenya and Beyond

a) Movements

3.2.1 Transparency International Movement⁶

TI was founded in Berlin in 1993 by Peter Eigen, a former World Bank Executive, together with a group of like-minded individuals with extensive international experience. These included Fritz Heimann, a senior legal counsel from General Electric; Kamal Hossain, a Bangladeshi former minister; Michael Hershman a US-based security specialist; Joe Githongo, the head of a Kenyan accountancy firm; Frank Vogl, a former Information Director of the World Bank and others.

The TI Secretariat (TI-S) was established with a specific mandate to provide support, co-ordination, and advice to the growing number of TI national chapters and leads the organisation’s international agenda. The Secretariat’s relationship with chapters is one of mutual support. It focuses on the global and regional fight against corruption and assists national chapters in enhancing their anti-corruption skills. The Secretariat coordinates initiatives within geographical regions and provides methodological support on the tools and techniques to fight corruption.

The founders established a distinctive ethos, which – though sometimes contested - has continued to guide the movement. TI has valued collaboration between different groups of civil society, government, and business stakeholders, as well as with other CSOs working on related issues such as human rights, good governance, transparency, integrity and accountability.

During the 1990s the TI movement grew rapidly, so that by the end of the decade there were already some 70 national chapters supported by the TI Secretariat in Berlin. The movement from the outset gave itself a global perspective, articulated under a common mission statement to create change towards a world free of corruption.

Key Activities

- Reducing Corruption in Politics (e.g. Political Party and Campaign Financing)
- Curbing Corruption in Public Contracting
- Enhancing Anti-corruption Standards in the Private Sector (e.g. Business Principles)
- Advancing International Conventions against Corruption
- Securing Access to Information
- Combating Money-laundering and Supporting the Recovery of Stolen Assets
- Fostering Anti-Corruption Education and Ethics
- Preventing Corruption in Aid and Development Cooperation
- Advancing the Accountability of Civil Society Organisations
- Promoting Judicial Reform and the Application of Anti-Corruption Laws
- Tackling corruption in Specific Industries and Sectors (e.g. environmental)
- Measuring Corruption.

Key Lessons

Clear objective: The movement was formed to fight corruption in all its dimensions. All country based chapters are centred around the same objective.

Research, Publications and Reporting: Accurate data and information is crucial in fighting corruption as a movement. TI’s Corruption Perception Index is a popular document that has been used by countries to measure progress in the fight against corruption.

⁶<https://www.transparency.org/en/our-story>



A permanent Secretariat: Transparency International coordinates its chapters from a permanent secretariat in Berlin Germany.

Networking and partnerships across the globe. Transparency International consists of more than 100 chapters – locally established, independent organisations – that fight corruption in their respective countries.

3.2.2 The Mau Mau Movement

The Mau Mau, was formed due to a pressing need by Kenyans to fight for the return of all lands that had been expropriated from Kenya's agrarian and pastoral communities by the European colonialists. The movement lasted between 1952 and 1960 and had a significant effect such that it helped hasten Kenya's independence. Loss of land to the white settler, poverty and lack of African's representation in politics fuelled the revolt. The movement, which involved mostly Kikuyu people, being the largest ethnic group in the Kenya, began to take shape when more radical Kikuyus joined the Kenya African Union (KAU) political party. The war between the British and the Mau Mau members began officially in 1952 when the state of emergency was declared and British troops were sent to Kenya. Round-ups and detention of Mau Mau sympathisers were done leading to loss of lives⁷.

This led to the arrest and detention of the 'Kapenguria six' who included Kung'u Karumba, Jomo Kenyatta, Bildad Kaggia, Achieng Oneko, Fred Kubai and Paul Ngei. They were charged with managing the Mau Mau and plotting to kill all white settlers. Upon their release and the end of state of emergency, Jomo Kenyatta became the president of the Kenya African National Union and led negotiations with the British for self-rule. In 1963, Kenya became independent and completely ended the colonial rule in 1964 when it became a republic.

Key Lessons

Clear Ideology: The members of the Mau Mau movement were clear about their set of ideas and ideals when it came to opposing the colonial rule, which formed the basis upon which the movement was anchored on.

Commitment: The members, including the leaders of the movement were willing to go to any extent to fight for return of their lands and their involvement in political affairs. Some were killed in the process while others went to jail.

The major driving force was nationalism and love for the country of Kenya: This was unselfish for the members of the movement, and therefore garnering support from the general public – otherwise known as Mau Mau sympathisers.

3.2.3 Unga Revolution - Kenya

Throughout 2011, Kenyans have faced the strain of rising food and fuel prices. According to the UN Food and Agricultural Organization, late and erratic rainfall led to an estimated 3.75 million people across the country becoming food insecure. The World Bank's Food Price Watch report states that the price of maize rose by 43 percent globally between September 2010 and September 2011.⁸

Particularly affected were those living in Kenya's urban areas, especially the slum-dwellers. According to some Nairobi residents, especially those who live in slums and earn very low incomes, commodities had become so expensive such that people were not even able to buy vegetables.

The rising prices and inflation prompted the creation of a movement led by a grassroots civil society group, 'Bunge la Mwananchi', or 'The People's Parliament'. It staged demonstrations throughout the year to pressurize the Kenyan government to bring down the price of unga (maize flour).

The Unga Revolution began with concerned voices over the price of maize flour in 2011, dominating the Labour Day celebrations. A large banner with 'UNGA' prominently scrawled across it was unfurled right under the platform on which the dignitaries were seated. Protesters staged a mock march-past parade before they were hurriedly bundled out, and persistent heckling greeted all the speeches, including that of the Secretary-General of the Central Organization of Trade Unions (COTU).

⁷<https://www.blackpast.org/global-african-history/mau-mau-1952-1960/>

⁸<https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/fr/node/25139>



The original 'Unga Revolution' was spearheaded by convener of Bunge la Wananchi – Women's' Caucus, Emily Kwamboka (activist) on May 31st 2011. Several university students and civil rights activists were arrested during the protest as the police said it was illegal because they had not sought permission for their march.

Two weeks prior to the march, Bunge had supported a street protest within the city centre led by the Consumers' Federation of Kenya (COFEK) against the government's announcement of a steep increase in the price of fuel, which would affect food prices.⁹ Synchronised acts of protest between COFEK and Bunge kept the issue in the media.



Photo: A protester raises her voice during protests against prices of Unga in Kenya

Source: Africa Sustainable Conservation News

Some demonstrators read out sections of the 2010 constitution, adopted a year before, stating their right to continue the protest.

Kwamboka mobilized and led protesters in Nairobi's Central Business District in demonstrations decrying the high cost of living and particularly the price of Unga, which then stood at KES 120 for a 2-kilo packet.

The then Prime Minister, Raila Odinga came out and met the protesters outside his Office Block along Harambee Avenue and asked for 21 days for a solution to be delivered.

The Unga Revolution finally resulted in the enactment of the Price Control (Essential Goods) Act of 2011, which allowed the Minister for Finance to declare any goods to be essential commodities and determine the maximum prices in consultation with the relevant industry. This made it possible for the government to control prices for essential goods like maize flour.

Key Lessons

- An issue directly affecting the public
- The role of the public in movements
- Women leadership in mobilizing for action

⁹<http://www.indiaenvironmentportal.org.in/files/file/Food%20Riots%20and%20Food%20Rights.pdf>



3.2.4 The Sudan Revolution

On December 19, 2018, protesters in Atbara, north of the capital, Khartoum, took to the streets after bread prices tripled overnight.¹⁰ The price hike followed a government decision to end wheat and fuel subsidies, at the recommendation of the IMF, amid longstanding financial troubles including spiralling inflation and currency chaos. Before long, protests began spreading in other parts of the country and escalating into demands for the departure of al-Bashir and his allies.

With protesters making it clear that the public outburst of anger was not simply about Sudan's economic crisis, a plethora of opposition movements joined forces to sign the Declaration of Freedom and Change (DFC). Unlike past groupings, the movement was not limited to political actors but brought together several women's associations, community groups, trade unions and academics angry at years of repression and corruption. The Sudanese Professionals Association, an umbrella group of 17 trade unions was at the heart of the new alliance, helping to rally crowds and organise marches aimed at bringing an end to al-Bashir's rule.

On April 6th 2019, during the anniversary of a 1985 non-violent popular uprising that removed President Jaafar Nimeiri after years of harsh rule, thousands of people converged outside the military headquarters in Khartoum, staging a sit-in that would become the hub of the protest for the movement's struggle for democracy. The mass gathering also marked the emergence of new cracks within Sudan's multi-layered security apparatus, with several reports suggesting that the army's rank and file was divided over whether to follow orders and crack down on demonstrators or side with them.

'Khartoum breaks out in early celebration on April 11, with chants of "New era, new nation!" filling the streets as word of al-Bashir's removal begins to spread after state TV says that the military is about to make an important announcement'.

The persistent demonstrations would lead to the military overthrow of President Omar al-Bashir, whose nearly 30-year rule was marked by conflict, oppression, and economic struggles.

Key Lessons

- Partnership between the opposition leaders and the Public
- Role of the youth in movement building
- Role of women in movements building
- Use of non-violent means of protest

3.2.5 "Y'En A Marre!" (We're Fed Up!) Movement - Senegal

'Y'En A Marre' was a mass oppositional movement that, formed in a casual conversation between a local reporter and some popular rap artists in a Dakar apartment in January 2011.

The journalist, Fadel Barro, casually taunted Senegalese rappers Fou Malade and Thiat, by saying everyone knew them, yet they weren't doing anything to change the country.¹² They decided then and there to form a collective aimed at mobilizing young people's interest in Senegalese politics.

The rappers Thiat, Fou Malade, and others in Y'En A Marre became the spokespeople for a generation at the end of their rope. Song lyrics directly targeted the source of the people's discontent. In one rap Fou Malade sang plainly, "In politics, nothing but hypocrites, robbers of cash. Government, why do you always lie, always?"

Frequent and worsening power outages sharpened their displeasure with Senegal's ongoing economic problems. Senegal imports all its energy and is thus acutely impacted by the fluctuations of world market prices for oil.

The rappers in the Y'En A Marre collective called for a peaceful protest in Dakar's Place de l'Obélisque on March 19, 2011. They announced this would be a non-partisan gathering aimed at promoting political involvement among the country's young people.

¹⁰<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/12/18/12-defining-moments-in-sudans-12-month-uprising>

¹¹<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/12/18/12-defining-moments-in-sudans-12-month-uprising>

¹²<https://origins.osu.edu/article/yen-marre-were-fed-senegal-season-discontent>



In the weeks that followed Y'En A Marre launched a voter registration drive in anticipation of the 2012 elections. They asked people not to pledge allegiance to any of the established political parties. Their goal was to sign up over 1 million new, mostly young voters who simply wanted change and could act as an independent voting bloc holding all the parties' feet to the fire.

In June 2011, the streets of Dakar, Senegal filled with a mass of demonstrators "fed up" with the political machinations of President Abdoulaye Wade. Led by popular rappers, the oppositional collective "Y'En A Marre" .

On June 23, as debate continued inside the National Assembly, reports filtered in from throughout the country of uprisings in Kaolack, Rufisque, Casamance, Thiès, and Pikene. By mid-afternoon, some delegates took the rostrum and began to speak out against the constitutional changes. One after another elected official implored their colleagues not to support Wade's proposals. Religious leaders started phoning in to plead for the constitutional changes to be dropped.

Following those interventions, the government announced that President Wade had withdrawn his proposed amendments.

Wade agreed to release those imprisoned during the protests without charges hoping to present himself as a magnanimous ruler.

Y'En A Marre was a product of decades of economic stagnation and neo-liberal reforms imposed from outside and embraced by corrupt beneficiaries. Political nepotism had turned the Senegalese state into a private family business.

One month after the momentous events of June, Y'En A Marre and opposition parties called for another protest to demand that Wade resign immediately. That was briefly arrested on charges of insulting the president.

On January 31st 2012, there was a massive march on the Presidential Palace to force Wade from power. Reports from international media noted that thousands of security forces had been deployed throughout Dakar and the country was on edge.



Fou Malde, rapper and a member of an opposition group, spoke at a rally in Dakar on Saturday demanding the president's resignation. *Rebecca Blackwell/Associated Press*



In March 2012, a Presidential election was held and Macky Sall defeated the incumbent Abdoulaye Wade who conceded defeat. The country was thrown into celebrations with a renowned Pop Artist Youssou Ndour, who was barred from running in the presidential race leading other artists in celebrating the ‘New Senegal’.

A documentary capturing the events, the film ‘Incorruptible’ documents the controversial presidential elections held in Senegal in 2012. The film is beautifully shot through a verity lens, reads real and raw, as it serves to demonstrate what the youth of African nations are capable of, to preserve democracy no matter how fierce, twisted and corrupt the ruling class proves to be.

Key Lessons:

- Started by professionals and artists – A journalist and rappers
- Use of the already existing influence of the artists to mobilize the youth
- Mobilizing the youth to register as voters to participate fully in political processes.
- Documenting of the Movements’ Activities through a documentary named “The Incorruptible.”

3.2.6 The Yellow Vests Movement – France

In late 2018 and early 2019, a diffuse social movement known as the **Yellow Vests**¹³ (gilets jaunes) organized protests in France against various regressive tax policies. Initially spurred by an increase in fuel prices due to higher taxes introduced by the Macron government, the movement incorporated many lower income and rural citizens who had never been politically active before and who rejected all links to existing political parties and trade unions. They were motivated by a deep sense of unfairness, believing that elites were harassing them through higher taxes without anything in return.

The protesters eventually augmented their initial demand to repeal the fuel tax by demanding the reintroduction of wealth taxation and the organization of citizen referenda to inform future policy choices.

In 2017, Emmanuel Macron proposed to replace the wealth tax with a real estate asset tax, gradually abolish the local housing tax for most residents, and (in a nod to green concerns) increase environmental taxes. At the same time, his government introduced a package of pension and social insurance reforms that reduced benefits for current retirees. Macron’s new taxes on fuel consumption included numerous business exemptions; as a result, the increase primarily affected rural households, where car use was most prevalent.

Such was the context in which the Yellow Vest movement emerged onto the political scene in 2018, bringing disaffected retirees and rural laborers—as well as others angry at the government—into the streets. Though there were protests prior to the introduction of increased diesel prices in September 2018, the latter gave momentum to what became the Yellow Vests movement. In October, a maintenance technician posted a video to social media calling for motorists to display their yellow safety vests (required by law to be carried in vehicles) as a way of registering their opposition to the new tax laws. The next month, via a Facebook event, a truck driver called for a blockade of public roads.

¹³<https://www.internationalbudget.org/publications/france-the-yellow-vests-and-their-social-media-driven-fight-over-fair-taxation/>





Photo: An Image of Protesters in the French Capital, Paris, during the Yellow Vests Protests in 2018
Source: The New York Times

The organizers of the Yellow Vests movement rejected all links with formal organizations, such as political parties and trade unions; they relied solely on social media to spread their message and organize protests around the country. Mainstream media gave the movement more visibility than its support may have warranted; coverage was continuous even as the number of demonstrators involved in the Yellow Vests movement quickly declined, from 300,000 during the first week of protests to 166,000 the following week, and several tens of thousands by January 2019. Contributing to this decline was the refusal of organizers to develop a broader movement, or even to adopt a message that would resonate beyond the parochial concerns of their most committed protesters.

Faced with the public popularity of the Yellow Vests movement, Macron ultimately offered some economic concessions. In a televised speech in December 2018, he announced a series of “emergency economic and social measures”; freezing fuel tax increases, freezing certain energy charges, increasing the minimum wage by 100 euros for all employees, and cancelling some of the pension changes for low-income retirees. He also offered an alternative political opportunity to the referenda: a series of public meetings held across the country, at which citizens were invited to debate. These meetings were well attended. Over 10,000 local meetings were held across the country, and the website set up by the government gathered over 1.4 million contributions.

Key Lessons

- Issues addressed by the movement affecting the citizens directly
- Role of social media in mobilizing the public
- Visibility through branding
- Role of a determined citizenry



b) Coalitions

3.2.7 The United Nations Convention Against Corruption

The United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC) is an international treaty adopted by the UN General Assembly in October 2003. UNCAC was one of the key manifestations of an international consensus that emerged in the early 1990s identifying corruption as an important problem which needed to be addressed. The treaty came into force in 2005 making it the first global anti-corruption convention. Kenya was the first nation to sign and ratify the convention. Speaking in Mexico, the then Justice Minister Kiraitu Murungi, stated “For us in Kenya, the fight against corruption is a matter of life and death.”¹⁴ As of May 2020, the convention had 186 Party State out of which 181 are UN member states. The convention provides for importance of both preventive and punitive measures when it comes to corruption. It also addresses the cross-border nature of corruption with provisions on international cooperation and on the return of the proceeds of corruption. Countries that have ratified the Convention, including Kenya in this case - are expected to cooperate in criminal matters and assist each other in matters relating to corruption.

The Convention is not just limited to governments, but calls for involvement of civil society and non-governmental organizations in accountability processes. It also insists on the importance of citizens’ access to information. In terms of coordination, The UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) in Vienna serves as Secretariat for the UNCAC. The UNCAC does not define corruption but provides for corruption manifestations which should be covered by legal provisions within its jurisdiction. Some of these corruption manifestations include bribery of national and foreign public officials and in the private sector, embezzlement, money laundering, concealment, and obstruction of justice.

Key Lessons

Involvement of a wide range of stakeholders: The UNCAC calls for involvement of the Civil Society and Non-Governmental Organisations in the fight against corruption and tracking of its provisions.

Structured engagement: The Convention has a permanent secretariat and requires member states to sign and ratify the treaty to participate in its implementation.

Documentation and tracking: The Convention follows up on the implementation of the provisions within the treaty and produces country review reports. This is preceded by country visits, meetings with government officials and review of documents.

3.2.8 The African Parliamentarians Against Corruption (APNAC)

The African Parliamentarians Network Against Corruption (APNAC) is a coalition which aims to coordinate, involve and strengthen the capacities of African parliamentarians to fight corruption and promote good governance. APNAC was formed in 1999 in Kampala, during a regional seminar on Parliament and Good Governance. The participants in the seminar, felt the need for African parliamentarians to come together and share information, experience and lessons in strengthening parliament in the fight against corruption. Since then, APNAC has been an important vehicle through which Parliamentarians have called for accountability, transparency, and public participation in the processes of government. APNAC also recognizes the essential role that the Members of Parliament play in combating corruption through the legislative processes, oversight and representative functions

¹⁵

APNAC-Kenya chapter was introduced in 2001, through the efforts of the former Webuye constituency MP, Hon. Musikari Kombo. This was done through an Anti-Corruption Select Committee in which Hon. Kombo was the Chair. The Select Committee was created to study corruption and its effects in Kenya. Consequently, the Select Committee produced a report that is popularly referred to as the ‘Kombo Report’ and which contained the infamous “List of Shame”. The “List of Shame” contained names of senior individuals in the government, and public corporations heavily implicated in corrupt practices that led to loss of huge amounts of public funds. The Select Committee also made recommendations on draft anti-corruption legislation i.e. the Anti-Corruption and Economic Crimes Bill. It was after Hon. Kombo attended the inauguration of APNAC in Uganda, that he decided to form a Kenyan

¹⁴<https://www.un.org/webcast/merida/statements/pressrelease2-eng.htm>

¹⁵https://apnacafrica.org/en_US/african-parliamentarians-network-against-corruption/



Chapter of the caucus to carry on the work of the Select Committee. The APNAC founder members approached TI-Kenya for assistance in institutionalizing it in the year 2000. TI-Kenya provided APNAC Kenya Chapter with the required support, including institutional back-up, professional and secretarial services. Though APNAC- Kenya Chapter suffers high turnover of its members as a result of parliamentary elections, it has continued to push for accountability in government processes through partnership with both CSOs and government bodies¹⁶.

Main objectives

- Building the capacity of parliamentarians to exercise oversight roles, especially on financial matters
- Sharing of information on best anti-corruption strategies and practices
- Undertaking projects aimed at controlling corruption based on best practices
- Cooperation with other organizations and civil society members with shared objectives

Lessons Learnt

Political goodwill and power mapping: APNAC recognizes the powerful role played by MPs in relation to fighting corruption through legislative, oversight and representation functions. Working with Parliamentarians is a key contributor to improving political goodwill in the fight against corruption.

Collaboration between the Government and the Civil Society: APNAC acts as a bridge between the state and the Civil Society through reforms that have been undertaken. For example, the formation of the Kenya Anti-Corruption Authority (KACA), created under an Act of Parliament.

3.2.9 The Shule Yangu Campaign Alliance

The ShuleYangu Campaign Alliance is a coalition of partners from the Government, Public and Private sector working together to protect schools against illegal land-grabs, support Government to issue title-deeds to public schools and support communities to own their schools. The alliance draws its history from the Langata Road Primary School attempted land grab in 2015. The pupils reported back from the December holiday only to find that a private developer had attempted to grab part of their playground. This triggered anger from activists and Civil Society Organisations who organised for a demonstration, in partnership with the school, to protest the grabbing. However, the Police used disproportionate force on the peaceful demonstrators who include the Primary School pupils, injuring some of them. The public outcry forced the President issue a presidential directive on the issuance of title deeds to all public schools in Kenya. In a bid to find more sustainable way of protecting public schools, the Shule Yangu Alliance Campaign was born. The Campaign concentrated on putting in place mechanisms to address the titling process, creating agency and catalysing citizen action and support towards protection of public schools. It also focused on strengthening partnerships for impact, enhanced advocacy building broader coalitions and movements towards accelerated universal titling of all public schools for the realization of education for all children.

In November 2018, the then Cabinet Secretary for Education, Amb. Amina Mohammed, and the Cabinet Secretary for Lands and Physical Planning, Ms. Farida Karoney, jointly gazetted a 15-member Multi-Agency Working Group on school land titling to fast track titling of public schools. In May 2019, an Inter-Ministerial Legal Working Group was formed, to complement ongoing efforts by the taskforce on school land titling, by providing legal support to schools facing legal cases in court, as well as equipping citizens with the necessary tools required in school land protection. Members of the working group are drawn from the Ministry of Education, Lands & Physical Planning, the National Lands Commission, Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions (ODPP), the State Law Office, and Shule Yangu Alliance. Currently, there are more than 10,000 schools titled across the country, up from 1,313 schools titled by 2015.

Key Lessons

Clear objective: The Shule Yangu Alliance Campaign was formed to protect public schools' land in Kenya and has remained true to the cause.

¹⁶<https://tikenya.org/the-african-parliamentarians-network-against-corruption-apnac/>



Stakeholder mapping: The Shule Yangu Alliance Campaign mapped the specific stakeholders within Government, Private Sector and Civil Society from the beginning. This led to great achievements and impact of the campaign.

Political goodwill: The Shule Yangu Alliance Campaign benefitted from the Presidential directive (2015) ordering all public schools to be titled. This prepared a way for partnerships with government agencies.

3.2.10 The National Integrity Alliance

The National Integrity Alliance (NIA) is a citizen-centred integrity and anti-corruption coalition comprising the Society for International Development, Transparency International-Kenya, Inuka Kenya Ni Sisi! and Mzalendo Trust. The NIA member organisations came together for a common purpose - to breathe life into the constitutional promise on Integrity by catalysing active citizenship and raising the capacity of frontline ethics and anti- corruption institutions to Detect, Deter, Disrupt and Defeat corruption at all levels of society. The NIA membership has collaborated in many events ,among them joint implementation of activities to mark the International Anti-Corruption Day since 2016.

In April 2017 the NIA launched the Red Card Campaign¹⁷ and declared a 90-day set of actions aimed at ensuring state and public focus on ethical leadership as a key issue in the 2017 general elections. The campaign sought to raise the voices of the faith-based communities, unions, political parties and individual citizens who speak powerfully for ethical leadership accountability in the 2017 general elections.

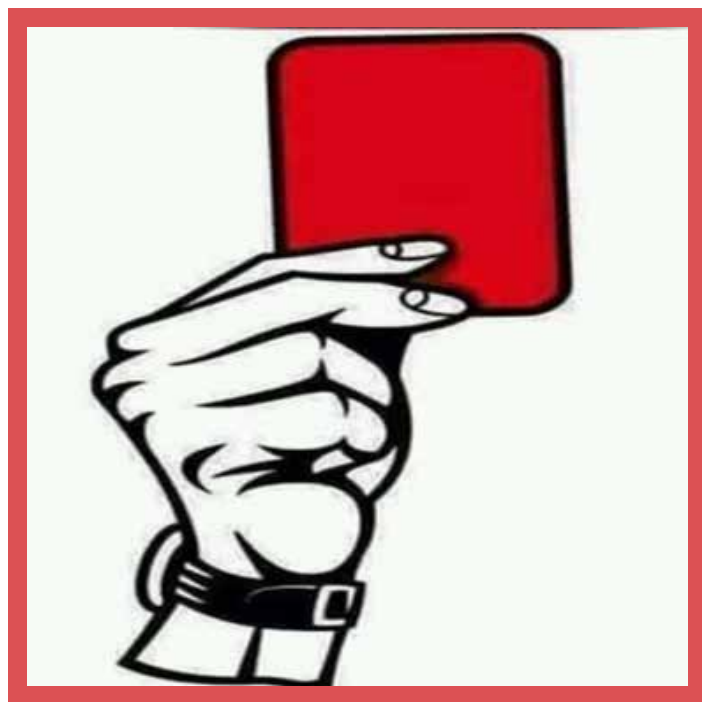


Photo: The Red Card Campaign Symbol

Source: @TIKENYA -Twitter

¹⁷from <https://tikenya.org/the-red-card-campaign/>



Key Lessons

- **Media campaigns and publicity:** The red-card campaign attracted media attention where opinion pieces, TV & Radio commentaries were done on why citizens ought to vote for leaders free of any corruption scandals.
- **Partnerships with governmental and non-governmental organizations:** The NIA coalition brought on board the CSOs and held consultative meetings with government agencies like EACC. This led to wider reach of the intended audience.

3.2.11 Name and Shame Corruption Network (NASCON) - Kenya

Name and Shame Corruption Networks (NASCON) Campaign was publicly launched on 24th May 2005¹⁸. The Campaign was to expose and blow the whistle on corruption networks, which had penetrated Kenyan society. It recognized that individual perpetrators of corrupt activities are temporary. However, the corruption networks, consisting of various interconnected nodes, remain deep-rooted and systemic. The Campaign was initiated after the resignation of John Githongo, former Permanent Secretary for Governance and Ethics. His resignation reflected the Kenyan population's pessimism regarding the government's fight against the vice, especially at a time when it was under immense public and foreign pressure to strengthen its promise on zero tolerance towards corruption.

Five steering committee member organisations were involved in the campaign. They were Mazingira Institute/Operation Firimbi, Kituo Cha Sheria, Kenya Human Rights Commission (KHRC), African Women's Development and Communication Network (FEMNET) and The Centre for Law and Research International (CLARION) - the Focal Point. A NASCON Coordinator based at CLARION spearheaded all activities. Membership ranged from leading civil society organizations to community-based organizations at the grassroots level. NASCON Campaign aimed to enhance Kenyan's awareness and education on the fight against corruption through public forums, lectures and radio programmes among other means. The Campaign used peaceful demonstrations and public petitions to communicate with relevant bodies and personalities.

The activities and operations were funded by way of membership fees by member organizations.

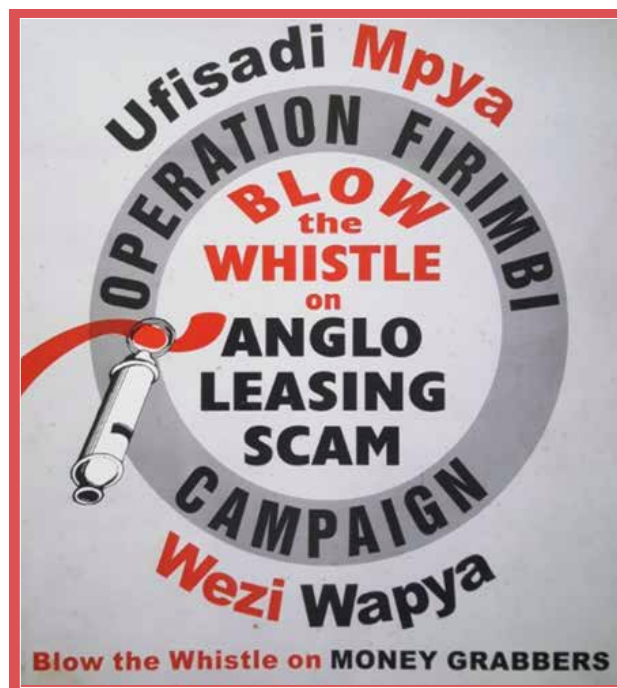


Photo: A Poster used by NASCON in their name and shame campaign.

Source: Pamabazuka.org

¹⁸http://mazinst.org/wp_mazinst/wp-content/uploads/publication/operation-firimbi-newsletter-20/20.pdf



3.2.11

On 25th January 2006, twenty-one civil society organizations released a press statement criticizing the Kibaki administration's attempt to defend and conceal new corruption and its insufficient action on old corruption. The former includes the baffling Anglo Leasing scam and the notorious Goldenberg affair, land grabbing and other gross human rights violations.

Failure for government to respond to the demands erupted in a volcano of anger and outrage, displayed in mass protest countrywide. On February 17th 2006, over 10000 Nairobi demonstrators marched through Kenyatta, Moi and Harambee Avenues in the city centre. They called for the resignation of government officials implicated in public corruption scandals, in particular Kiraitu Murungi, David Mwiraria, Chris Murungaru and Vice President Moody Awori for their roles in Anglo Leasing and Attorney General Amos Wako. The demonstrators read and presented petitions at their offices. The Kenya Police offered the demonstrators full cooperation to ensure a peaceful protest.

The following week, on Friday 24th February 2006, hordes of Kenyans took to the streets of Kitale, Mombasa and Kisumu to pressurize corrupt Ministers to resign. Nairobi civil society representatives held a march in the city centre as an expression of solidarity. Following the massive pressure, Kiraitu Murungi, David Mwiraria and Chris Murungaru resigned from their positions.

Key Lessons

- A clear objective
- Partnerships among the Civil Society Organizations
- A centralized secretariat
- Peaceful demonstrations
- Courage and commitment in calling out the government
- Participation of grassroots population

3.2.12 The Ghana Anti-Corruption Coalition (GACC)

The Ghana Anti-Corruption Coalition (GACC) was founded after the 9th International Anti-Corruption Conference in Durban, South Africa, that took place on October, 1999, by a cross-sectoral grouping of Government officials, official anti-corruption agencies, and civil society. It merges a variety of anti-corruption initiatives launched in 1998 when the Commission for Human Rights and Administrative Justice organized the first National Integrity Workshop.¹⁹ GACC's goal is to mould a diverse range of official and private-sector interests into a coalition, working wherever possible with international business, civil society, the media, and religious bodies. It grows out of a widely recognized need for a more structured relationship between and among local and international anti-corruption initiatives, and for ways of "deepening" the social roots of reform.

The Ghana Anti-Corruption Coalition (GACC) is a unique cross-sectoral grouping of public, private and civil society organisations (CSOs) with a focus on promoting good governance and fighting corruption in Ghana.²⁰ The organizations goals include;

- a) Educate the public on the forms of corruption and their impact on society.
- b) Campaign for the strengthening of anti-corruption laws, regulations policies, procedures, and systems.
- c) Sustained advocacy for law enforcement – Investigation, prosecution, sanctions, and asset recovery.

The GACC has accomplished several anti-corruption legislations through advocacy. This includes the Whistle-blower Act 2006 (Act 720), Office of the Special Prosecutor Act 2017 (Act 959), Witness Protection Act, 2018 (Act 975) and the Right to Information Act 2019 (Act 989).

¹⁹Anti-corruption Coalitions: Johnston and Kpunde (2004)

²⁰<https://uncaccoalition.org/anti-corruption-platforms/africa/ghana/ghana-anti-corruption-coalition/>



The GACC has also achieved legitimacy and acceptance as the premier anti-corruption organization in Ghana and the convener for anti-corruption issues. The GACC leads and facilitates bi-annual meeting of CSOs with the President of Ghana. The Coalition also maintains a platform for anti-corruption CSOs to discuss common issues and undertake joint advocacy. The GACC has also guided a number of groups and individuals who were victims of corruption to report the case and pursued it until it was resolved, and victims were compensated.

The GACC has achieved a lot in terms of audit report implementation in Ghana. The organisation has in the past, followed up on audit recommendations to government institutions and gotten them to fully implement these recommendations. Implementation means that embezzled and misappropriated money is returned to the state and the financial systems of public institutions are strengthened to prevent a recurrence of the financial infractions that led to audit citations.

GACC has facilitated the formation of Local Accountability Networks in sub-national entities. The Local Accountability Networks are made up of local CSOs that come together to advocate for anti-corruption measures in their communities. Their work has brought anti-corruption to the fore and has led to many remarkable achievements.

The organisation has also developed indicators for monitoring corruption in Ghana, built media capacity and formed the Network for Journalists against Corruption (JAC), in addition to coordinating the Business Action against Corruption Network (BAAC) and Business Integrity Forum (BIF) in Ghana for businesses to build self-monitoring mechanisms to promote business integrity.

Through the GACC, the Government of Ghana approved the World Bank diagnostic survey on corruption. This survey was conducted by the CDD from March to July, 2000, with additional support from the United Kingdom's Department for International Development, the Canadian International Development Association, and the United Nations Development Program.

Specifically, GACC has been instrumental in: Creating a forum for interaction among the three arms of government, public and private sector institutions, and civil society groups to work on anti-corruption strategies; Encouraging the exchange of information and joint sponsorship of programs, where appropriate, to achieve effective utilization of resources. Enhancing transparency and reducing opportunities for corruption in government, public and private institutions, and civil society organizations, Sponsoring initiatives leading to appropriate legal and institutional reforms. Strengthening the capacity of its constituent organizations and other anti-corruption bodies where necessary, Serving as the primary organization for the implementation of Ghana's anti-corruption plan.

Key Lessons

- GACC's strength lies in its convening role. The Coalition has brought together actors from the public, private and civil society space to pursue anti-corruption together.
- The GACC's cross-sectoral approach makes it a legitimate organisation that can represent the views and assessments of the public sector, private sector and civil society space.



3.3 Summary of Key Best Practises from Anti-Corruption Coalitions and Movements

Best practices are a set of guidelines, ethics or ideas that represent the most efficient or prudent course of action in a given situation.

MOVEMENTS	COALITIONS
Movements can be formal or informal: Formal movements require structures to be put first before pushing for an agenda. Informal movements begin by mobilising masses around an urgent agenda	A permanent Secretariat: Coalitions that lack a permanent secretariat seem to die rather fast.
The People: Movements that attract the public have been found to be more effective	Sound understanding of the local corruption context to be able to deploy appropriate tactics and channel the negative “outrage” into positive “hope”.
Specific Issues of concern/goal: Movements should be formed to address a specific issue of concern	The identification of key political stakeholders is critical to a strong anti-corruption coalition.
Non-violent action: The world is evolving and so should the tactics employed by movements.	Coalitions need to be broad-based: coalitions, linking public and private actors besides civil society, faith based organizations, trade unions and parliamentarians have been found to be more successful.
Adequate Resources: Sufficient resources are very necessary for movement building especially where the arrangement is formal	Media Campaigns: Coalitions should solidify core advocacy groups and generate broad public support through a robust media campaign
Youth and Women inclusion: The youths and women are usually the most affected by corruption & bad governance. Therefore, they should not be left out.	Research, Publications and Reporting: Accurate data and information is crucial in fighting corruption as a coalition
National unity: Unity means that the people will be guided by the issue affecting them and brush off any tactic that could be employed to divide them	Transparent and accountable leadership: The leadership of a coalition should be transparent and should not have accountability issues
Legitimacy, Credibility and Visibility: The agenda of the movement should be one that the public easily identifies with.	
Transparent and accountable leadership: The leadership of a movement should be transparent and should not have accountability issues	



3.4 Summary of Challenges Facing Anti-Corruption Coalitions and Movements

MOVEMENTS	COALITIONS
Poor leadership and lack of coordination	Lack of transparency and accountability in running the affairs of coalitions
Political interference by the ruling elites who are usually the targeted group of the movements is a big risk factor that can kill a movement.	Where economic resources are scarce, and where formal organizations are the target constituents—such coalitions are not easy to build
Negative ethnicity where some people feel that the fight against corruption is about targeting their tribesmen ('Mtu wetu syndrome' ²¹)	If the regime in power is repressive, openly exploitative, or skilled at using its resources to undermine the coalitions and co-opt its members, the most determined efforts may be curtailed
Deviation from the original objective is very likely to cause failure	Lack of factual and relevant information to build a cause remains a challenge to movement's building
Threats to life, intimidation, and harassment of anti-corruption movements' members and leaders	In the wake of ever emerging advancements in technology, cyber bullying has become a big threat to coalitions building. Members of the coalitions become victims of cyber-attacks and bullying
Sometimes citizens may not feel a compelling reason at any given time to act against corruption nor perceive a meaningful chance of success if they did.	
Lack of political goodwill in the fight against corruption.	
COVID-19 Pandemic poses a great threat to movements building since a large number of physical meetings and demonstrations are untenable.	

3.5. Opportunities for Coalitions and Movements Building

On whether there is an opportunity for movement building in Kenya, the discussants note that the ground is ripe and the need for anticorruption coalitions cannot be overemphasized.

The greatest opportunity is the endemic nature of corruption in Kenya. For a movement to kick off, there must be an issue that needs to be addressed and the issue of corruption provides such an opportunity.

Other economic issues like the ballooning public debt, high levels of unemployment, skyrocketing fuel prices and the high cost of living are all relevant and pressing issues that could be addressed through movements and coalitions.

A youthful population also presents an opportunity for coalitions building since they are young and are energetic.

²¹Mtu wetu is Swahili translation for 'our kin' or 'our tribesman'



The increased use of technology and social media is also a plus in movements building since the work of mobilizing the public can be done very easily. In countries like Sudan and France, social media played a big role in mobilizing for the Sudan Revolution and the Yellow Vest Movement respectively.

The devolved units of governance provide a good ground for movement building since even the people on the ground can easily get information and join the movements. Several donors have also started supporting accountability programs at the grassroots level.

Anchoring of the Principles of Public Participation in the Constitution under, Articles 1(2), 10(2), 33(1)(a), 35, 69(1)(d), 118, 174(c) and (d), 184(1)(c), 196,201(a) and 232(1)(d) of the Constitution; together with the provisions of the bill of rights under Articles 36 and 37 of the constitution also presents an opportunity for movements building.





CONCLUSION & RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1. Conclusion

Anti-Corruption coalitions and movements building is more of a pathfinding journey than a blueprint. Effective social action coalitions will differ considerably in organization, tactics, and agendas from one society to the next. The key to the strategy is a mix of continuity and adaptation. Coalitions and movements are merely means toward broader ends. They are not, in themselves, the solution to the problem, but rather a framework encouraging leaders and citizens to oppose corruption because it is in their best interests to do so. They also lay the groundwork for better governance, and a stronger civil society—in effect, diffusing political will throughout society rather than depending upon individual political leaders only. To the extent that they succeed at this, they will be following the path taken by other societies that have, through contention and over time, brought corruption under control—because it has been worthwhile for people to do so.

The continuity depends upon a solid internal economy of proper planning, while the adaptation requires the leadership to be aware of the broader need for political will and a strong civil society, the role a coalition can play in linking and supporting them, and of the transitions and changes that will affect the coalitions and movements in the course of its long-term development.

With proper understanding and support, however, coalitions and movements against corruption can become partners with reform minded officials and can develop significant anti-corruption strength from within the societies that need reform most.

4.2. Recommendations

1. Pre-requisites / Necessary Conditions for Coalitions and Movements Building

To have any chance of success, there are basic conditions that would be necessary for movements and coalitions building as highlighted below. The conditions, however, may vary from society to society and depending on the envisioned purpose.

- Willing partners and stakeholders driven by common interest and with a reform agenda
- A citizenry that is enlightened and aware of the effects of corruption and other injustices and in the absence of this, a citizenry that is eager to get information from public/civic education programs.
- Specific, clear and inspiring objectives, a clear-cut plan for the movement or the coalition, and a well organised and defined governance structure, as well as incentives for stakeholders.
- A crisis or opportunity. In Kenya, for instance, the high levels of corruption and the poor rating by the TI's Corruption Perception Index is a crisis opportunity for an Anti-Corruption coalitions and movements. Ballooning Public debt and high cost of living also present opportunities.
- Corruption portrayed as an emergency through research and empirical data analysis broken down to show the real and relatable effects of the same to the public.
- A community mobilization strategy
- Meaningful boundaries and legitimate linkages between state and society are essential if there are to be working limits on both official power and private influence, as well as the “space” required for a viable civil society



- Added support from NGOs, aid partners and international organizations, including law enforcement, pro-democracy and anti-corruption groups, will provide essential resources, expertise, and encouragement.
- A clear method of documentation and reporting of the coalitions or movements activities.

2. Resource Mobilization

Mobilizing adequate resources for a movement/coalition remains an uphill task since the resources are usually scarce and their need is paramount. This study suggests a few ways in which movements could mobilize for resources.

Coalitions

- Member partners could use their existing staff to support the coalitions in terms of offering their expertise.
- Member partners with ample office space could spare some rooms for the operations of the coalition
- Member partners in a coalition could consider paying membership fees and/or periodic subscriptions
- Coalitions should consider localized fundraising where resources are mobilized from within the partners or local stakeholders. Overreliance on foreign donors may hamper the coalition's objectives due to bureaucracy and reporting mechanisms.
- A coalition could contract the services of a resource mobilization officer to draft funding proposals and funding strategies targeting local and international donors.

Movements

- **Crowdfunding:** Movements could explore the idea of crowdfunding where financial support is requested for and channelled through online fundraising platforms.
- **Movements should explore less costly strategies in conducting their businesses.** For instance, involving the public on a legitimate cause would bring citizens on board at almost no cost.
- **Encouraging volunteerism** in terms of human resources, meeting hosting, transport services and other services like free media promotions.

3. Media and Technology

In Coalition and Movements building, the role of media cannot be underrated. It is an important cog that ensures visibility of the movement by magnifying its activities.

Coalitions and movements should use the media to increase accessibility and participation in their activities. Media can also be used in education of citizens, creation of awareness and mobilisation of participants to join hands in anti-corruption efforts.

Social media platforms including Facebook, WhatsApp, Telegram and Tik-Tok among others are some of the best ways to pass information and mobilize both resources and participants especially among the youths.

Coalitions and movements can effectively make use of technology to pass information and document its achievements. In the wake of COVID-19 Pandemic, technology is of great essence since participants can engage virtually through platforms like; Google Meet, Teams, Webex, Zoom among others.

Important to note, is the use of technology in archiving of information through cloud storage and use of technological applications in conducting and analysing research findings.

4. Stages in anti-corruption coalitions and movements building

Experiences from around the world suggest that successful and sustained reform is increased if anti-corruption agencies consider the following stages in the process of coalition building and functioning²²

²²AComm GAP 2009



i. Issue identification and specification: At this initial point, the overall problem and the reform objective are articulated and broken down for detailed analysis; policy options are defined along a continuum from minimum to maximum reform positions; and particular stakeholders either may support these options or may find them unpalatable.

ii. Relationship/stakeholder mapping: Significant actors are identified, and positions on key and related issues are plotted, especially regarding the policy options identified in the previous stage.

iii. Core membership formation: The core of a coalition or a movement is convinced about and becomes self-aware of the benefits of change; core actors are organized; early leaders and champions are identified; and the joint agenda takes shape.

iv. Demonstration of credibility: The coalition/movement should demonstrate its expertise on the key issues being addressed, act and show effectiveness, and prove that it is worthy of support from stakeholders.

v. Action: At this point, the movements and coalitions should carry out its activities intensively. This could be through; petitions, advocacy, research, public demonstrations picketing or public awareness and education.

vi. Purposeful expansion: At this critical point, small organizations should build a broader social and resource base while retaining coherence and effectiveness.

vii. Sustainable transformation: By this stage having grown and become polycentric, with initiatives on many fronts, movements and coalitions should build sustainable structures that outlive its current generation.

5. Potential coalition/movement members

Recruitment of members should focus on potential stakeholders who suffer immediate and tangible costs of corruption and have resources they can mobilize against it. Generally, the following would form useful partners.

- General Public
- CSOs and NGOs and their leaders
- Professional coalition's staff and researchers
- Journalists and Associations of Journalists
- Small firms, domestic entrepreneurs and investors,
- Aid/lending partners and other International Organizations
- Government elites
- Democracy groups and Religious Groups
- Anti-corruption champions and supporters
- Politicians especially those in the opposition side





APPENDICES

1. Stages and Tasks for various Actors in Anti-Corruption Coalition Building

PHASE	TASKS	ACTORS
Formation	Taking initiative Cooperation Agenda setting Early targets and tactics	Anti-corruption Champions
Credibility	Early Success: giving/taking credit Identifying and linking to social networks Articulating a future Finding resources Publicity	Anti-corruption Champions Networks
Expansion	Extending networks Identifying stakeholders Building core staff and expertise Sharing Information on coalition activities and techniques	Early Coalition Leaders and extended networks
Transformation	Polycentric action and agenda Diffusion and institutionalization of political will Empowerment of stakeholders and partners Counteracting cost and risks of corruption	Mature Coalition Overall Coordinators Leadership Extended network

Source: *Anti-corruption Coalitions: Johnston and Kpunde (2004). Contextualized: TI-Kenya (2021)*



2. Coalition Building Framework

A MOVEMENT/COALITION BUILDING MATRIX			
		Tick if available	Remarks
Level 1: Bare minimums	Purpose of the movement (Clear objective)		
	What is the Crisis/ emergency Opportunity?		
	Is the opportunity legitimate (appealing to the public)		
	Willing and focused partners		
	Credibility and independence (leadership)		
	Visibility strategy		
	Research findings, facts and figures		
	Seed resources		



		LEVEL OF AVAILABILITY		
		Adequate	Partially Available	Not Available
Level 2: Enablers	Freedom of press			
	Think tank at the national level			
	Freedom of assembly			
	Freedom of association			
	Reasonable level of order			
	A functioning State			
	A non-violent means strategy			
	An enlightened public			
	A community mobilization strategy			



		LEVEL OF AVAILABILITY		
		Adequate	Partially Available	Not Available
Level 3: Sustainability	Funding			
	Permanent secretariat			
	Coordination Strategy			
	Stakeholder management strategy			
	Documentation and Reporting Strategy			
	Technology			
	Exit strategy			
	Local and international networks			
	A vetting criterion			





Research Guides (FGD/KII)

FGD/KII Interview Guide

Introduction

Coalitions are structures of formal collaboration motivated by a common vision, seeking to attain common goals. Coalitions work together to share information, influence, and material resources. They may include individuals, groups, and organizations that arrange joint activities and collaborate in setting up some entity to further shared objectives.

Despite numerous efforts by various stakeholders, both state and non-state actors, corruption has persistently remained a threat to Kenya's prosperity, permeating nearly all critical sectors. It is on this basis that TI-Kenya has commissioned a research on movement building whose findings are intended to guide relevant stakeholders in strategizing and conceptualizing movement-focused action in achieving their objectives. It will also highlight best practices and act as an advocacy guide.

TI-Kenya seeks your views/knowledge/suggestions and input on this topic through the questions below:

1. What best practices can be learnt from the anti-corruption movements in Kenya? (Participant(s) to mention some movements and their uniqueness)
2. What best practices can be learnt from anti-corruption movements in Africa/Globally? (Participant(s) to mention some movements and their uniqueness)
3. Do you think the Kenyan Political environment is conducive for anti-corruption coalitions? Support your answer. (Moderator to allow recording views from those saying 'Yes' first then those of saying 'No')
4. Do you think the Kenyan Legal/Constitutional framework is conducive for anti-corruption coalitions? Support your answer. (Moderator to allow recording views from those saying 'Yes' first then those of saying 'No')
5. What opportunities exist in Kenya for anti-corruption movements building? (What are those factors that exist in Kenya that would make movement building easier?)
6. What challenges have you experienced while working with anti-corruption movements in Kenya and what are possible threats/challenges that would face anti-corruption movement building in Kenya?
 - A) Experience
 - B. Possible Challenges
7. What do you think would be the importance of fighting corruption through movements/coalitions? (as compared to fighting corruption as individual organisations)
8. What would you consider as the most crucial prerequisites for an effective anti-corruption movement building? (Irreducible minimums/things that must be put in place before forming a coalition)
9. What role should anti-corruption movements play in a society? (Participants to mentions various activities under those roles where possible)
10. What would make a somehow working coalition fail?
11. Which organizations / individuals do you think would be of value to be partners in an anti-corruption movement?



12. Which strategies can be used to ensure the public participates in the movement?
13. Which strategies can be used to ensure the political class in the movement? (How to win political goodwill)
14. What role would the media play in enhancing the coalition's agenda?
 - a. Broadcast media (TV/Radio)
 - b. Electronic/Social Media (Twitter/TikTok/Telegram/Facebook/WhatsApp)
 - c. Print Media (Newspapers/Magazines/Journals/Reports)
15. What would be the role of technology in such a movement?
16. What strategies should be used to ensure inclusivity in terms of gender/youth/elderly and PWDs?
17. What resource mobilizing strategies would be best for such a movement/coalition to ensure sustainability? (The facilitator to probe for financial/human/infrastructural resources strategies)
18. What strategies would you propose for inclusion in a coalition/movement building framework?
19. Any other relevant comments

List of Respondents

a) Key Informant Interviews

S/N	Key Persons	Anti-Corruption Movement
1.	Mr. Samuel Kimeu	Anti-Corruption work, activism and campaigns
2.	Mr. Francis Kuria	Religious sector representative
3.	John Obonyo	Coast Civil Society Reference Group
4.	African Parliamentarians Network Against Corruption	APNAC
5.	Cyprian Nyamwamu	
6.	Mr. Chris Owalla	Community Initiative Action Group Kenya
7.	Otieno Ombok	

b) Focus Group Discussions

1. TI-Kenya Nairobi partners - Nairobi
2. TI-Kenya North-Rift partners - Uasin Gishu
3. TI-Kenya Coast partners - Kwale
4. TI-Kenya Western Partners - Kisumu
5. TI- Kenya Selected Staff - Nairobi











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